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PUTEVI I NASELJENA MESTA ZAPADNOG BALKANA NA POJTINGEROVOJ TABLI - ITINERARU

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Apstrakt: Sa rimskim osvajanjima i širenjem geografskog horizonta istovremeno i uporedo je išlo i građenje drumova po prostranom Rimskom carstvu, kojima su bile obuhvaćene bliže i dalje rimske provincije u zemljama sva tri kontinenta Starog sveta oko Sredozemlja. U ovom radu analizirana je sadržina znamenite Pojtingerove karte, za koju se pretpostavlja da je kopija originala iz druge polovine IV veka nove ere, koja se odnosi na zapadni deo Balkanskog poluostrva.
Ključne reči: Tabula peutingeriana, itinerar, Balkan, Rimska imperija, istorijska geografija, историјска картографија.

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WEST BALKAN ROADS AND SETTLEMENTS ON PEUTINGER'S MAP - ITINERARY

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Abstract: Roman conquests and the spread of geographical horizon were simultaneously accompanied by road constructions all over the vast Roman Empire, which encompassed both nearer and distant provinces in countries of all three ancient world continents around the Mediterranean. This paper analyzes the content of the eminent Peutinger's map, which is assumed to be a copy of the original map dating back to the second half of IV century AD referring to the West Balkan peninsula.
Key words: Tabula peutingeriana, itinerary, the Balkans, Roman Empire, historical geography, historical cartography.

UVOD

Iz vojnih i trgovinskih razloga, Rimljani su duž drumova vršili, preko svojih vojnih merača (menzores), terestrična merenja, što je bio nov napredak antičke geografije - specijalno u antropogeografskom odn. saobraćajnogeografskom pravcu. Rezultati tih merenja bili su sakupljeni u putnim tabelama *(itinereri),* docnije i u putnim kartama (*itineraria pikta*). Taj ogroman geodetsko-geografski posao, topografsko snimanje i premer Rimskog carstva, koji je u toku od 50 godina (44 p. n. e. - 7 g. nove ere) izvršio čitav korpus geodeta, poznat je po spomenu tek iz IV veka naše ere, prema zapisima kosmografa (izraz koji je počeo onda da zamenjuje naziv geografa) Etika (druga polovina IV veka). Komentare koji su išli uz kartu ovog premera,

INTRODUCTION

The Romans had both military and trade motive to perform terrestrial measurements along the roads by using their military gauge (menzores), which was a novel advancement of ancient geography – particularly from anthropogeographic, i.e. transport-geographical point of view. Results of the measurements were then entered into tablets *(itineraries),* and later on introduced into road maps (*itineraria pikta*). This wide-ranging geodetic and geographical endeavor, as well as topographic screening and measurement of the Roman Empire, run by a whole corpus of geodesists during a 50-year period (44 BC - 7 AD) was first mentioned in scripts of Ethicus, a IV century AD cosmographer (the term which then started to replace the term geographer). It was Pliny the Elder who

tzv. Popisi rimskih puteva (*Itineraria romana*), od kojih su neki sačuvani, spominje Plinije Stariji, koristeći ih radi uzimanja itinererskih-putnih otstojanja. Rimski itinereri imali su za cilj da označe puteve i udaljenosti između pojedinih mesta. Takva jedna znamenita karta je Pojtingerova tabla (*Tabula Peutingeriana*), koja predstavlja srednjovekovnu kopiju rimskog originala. Pretpostavlja se da je i taj stariji original bio sastavljen na osnovu jednoga još mnogo starijeg, dopunjenog, originala, možda iz vremena premera Rimske imperije, koji je otpočeo za vreme Cezara a završio za vreme Augusta (po K. A. Sališčevu).

Pretpostavlja se da je Pojtingerova tabla kopija kopije Agripine karte sveta. Naime, rimski general i geograf Markus Vipsanius Agripa (Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, 63-12 p. n. e.), sačinio je mapu Rimske imperije urezanu na mermeru, za imperatora Augusta. Mapa je prikazivala udaljenosti duž puteva koji vode do i iz Rima. Putnici su na osnovu nje mogli da pripreme svoj itinerer, planiraju stanice, odrede udaljenosti između njih, i obrate pažnju na reke i naselja na putu. Sačuvana su i tri opisa puteva - itinerari - Balkanskog poluostrva, sva tri iz poznijih rimskih vremena (po J. Cvijiću). Između svih ovih opisa puteva itinerara, koji daju prilično tačne podatke o položajima i o otstojanjima mesta, najznačajniji je tzv. Antonijev itinerarium, iz vremena imperatora Dioklecijana (vladao 284-305 g. umro 316. g. n. e.), neposrednog prethodnika Konstantina Velikog, iz čijeg je vremena i znamenita Pojtingerova tabla. Prema V. Petroviću, računa se da je ova tabla pretrpela tri glavne izmene. Prva potiče iz doba Augusta (u vezi sa rekonstrukcijom poštanskog sisitema *Cursus Publicus*), a druga iz vremena dinastije Severa (vezana za reorganizaciju prethodnog Augustovog poštanskog sistema ***Cursus publicus***). Treća izmena se vezuje za period od IV veka, kada su, u skladu sa širenjem hrišćanstva, unošeni novi elementi, sve do vremena nastanka srednjovekovne kopije koja je sačuvana do danas (Petrović V., 2007).

Kopija koja je predstavljala rimski original, morala je poticati sa sredine ili iz druge polovine

mentioned some of preserved comments which accompanied the map, so-called Roman road list (*Itineraria romana*), and used them to measure itinerary-transport distances. The purpose of Roman itineraries was to mark roads and distances among specific locations. Peutinger's map (*Tabula Peutingeriana*) represents one such prominent table and it is a medieval copy of the Roman original. The assumption is that the old original was also made based on another older original probably dating back from the period of Roman Empire measurements, which started during Cesar's rule and ended with Augustus (according to K. A. Sališčev).

Peutinger's map may have been a copy of Agrippa's world map. Namely, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (63-12 AD), a Roman general and geographer, designed a map of Roman Empire for Emperor Augustus and carved it into marble. The map marked the distance along the roads leading to and out of Rome. The passengers used it in order to make their own itineraries, plan their stops, establish distance between the stops, and pay attention to rivers and settlements along the roads. There are three preserved itineraries referring to the Balkan Peninsula dating back from late Roman period (according to J. Cvijić). Among all these itineraries, which provide rather accurate information on positions and distances among settlements, the most prominent one is so-called Antonio's itinerarium, dating back from Diocletian's rule (ruled 284-305 AD, died 316 AD), an emperor who was a direct predecessor of Constantine the Great during whose rule Peutinger's map was designed. According to V. Petrović, the map underwent three major adjustments. The first adjustment took place during Augustus's rule (it refers to *Cursus Publicus* postal system reconstruction) and the second one dated back from the Severan dynasty period (it refers to reorganization of the earlier Augustus Cursus *Publicus* postal system). The third adjustment started in IV century as new elements were introduced in line with the spread of Christianity and it lasted until the new medieval copy was made, which we managed to preserve until today. (Petrović V., 2007).

The copy which represented the Roman original

IV veka n. e., ali nikako ne pre 330. g. n. e., jer je antički trački grad Vizant, od 658 g. pre nove ere grčka kolonija, na karti ovde obeležen kao grad Konstantinopolis, koji je tek od 330 g. tako nazvan kao prestonica rimskog imperatora Konstantina Velikog (vladao od 306-337 g.); no ipak se i staro ime grada, sada kao ime predela i stanovništva, u obliku Bizantini, na karti i dalje održalo. Ta rukopisna karta (*itinerarium pictum)*, imala je veliki praktični značaj za vojne planere i stratege, pri izračunavanju pokreta vojnih jedinica, osiguravanju utvrđenja, skloništa i odmorišta. Ona je vremenom dopunjavana u skladu sa razvojem putne mreže i širenjem granica Rimske imperije. Prvobitno je rađena po jednom velikom originalu u Rimu 250. g. n. e., a zatim dopunjena, prvo oko 350. g., novim obalskim putevima i nekim ostrvima, pa zatim (manje dopune) u V i VI i na posletku u VIII i IX veku n. e., kada je dobila današnji izgled. Raznovrsnost toponima ukazuje da je namena karte bila višestruka, a ne, kako se to prvobitno pretpostavljalo, da je služila samo za vojne svrhe.

Pojtingerova tabla predstavlja kopiju nekog rimskog originala, koju je izradio nepoznati monah u gradu Kolmaru, u severoistočnoj Francuskoj, oko 1265. godine, a rimski original se u međuvremenu izgubio. U XVI veku rukopis iz Kolmara nađen je, navodno, 1489. g., u benediktinskom manastiru Tergernsee kod Salcburga u Bavarskoj, potom je 1507. godine dospeo u ruke Konrada Keltisa (Celtes), knjižara Maksimilijana I. Pre svoje smrti on je poverio mapu Konradu Pojtingeru (1465-1547) iz Augsburga, nemačkom diplomati i bibliofilu, po kojem je i dobila ime, sa zadatkom da je objavi. Pojtinger nije uspeo da je odštampa i posle njegove smrti dospela je do Avrama Ortelijusa, koji je pripremio za štampu i napisao komentar. Nakon njegove smrti karta je objavljena 1598. godine. To je sada najstariji štampani putokaz na svetu. Original Pojtingerove table из XII века čuva se u Nacionalnoj ili Dvorskoj biblioteci u Beču, pod nazivom *Codex Vindobonensis* (po latinskom imenu Beča).[1]

1 Austrian National Library, Vienna. Manuscript and Incunabula Collection, Cod. 324 CSA, CoM 35, Inv. No. 872/1. Digitalizovana karta može se videti na adresi http://www.euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger/index.html.

must have originated from mid or second half of IV century AD. Still, it could not have originated earlier than 330 AD because the ancient city of Byzantium – a Greek colony from 658 BC – was marked on the map as the city of Constantinopolis, which was given the name only in 330 AD as a capital of Constantine the Great, a Roman emperor (ruled 306-337 AD); but the old name of the city in the form of Byzantini remained on the map to denote the region and its population. This handwritten map (*itinerarium pictum)* was practical for both military and strategic planners as they planned shifts of their units, fortification, shelters and stops. In time, it was adjusted as the traffic network grew and the Roman Empire borderline expanded. It was first crafted in line with a large original in Rome in 250 AD and amended around 350 AD with novel coastal roads and some islands, after which some minor changes followed first in V and VI centuries, and then in VIII and IX centuries AD once it took the form it has today. The diversity of toponyms indicates the multiple purpose of the map instead of military use exclusively as it was assumed initially.

Peutinger's map represents a copy of some Roman original designed by an unknown abbot in the town of Colmar, north-east France around 1265, and the Roman original was lost in the meantime. In XVI century, the Colmar script was allegedly discovered in Tergernsee Benedictine monastery near Salzburg, Bavaria in 1489, after which Conrad Celtes, the librarian of Maximilian 1st got hold of it in 1507. Prior to his death, Celtes entrusted the map to Conrad Peutinger (1465-1547), a German diplomat and bibliophile from Augsburg after whom it was named, with a task to publish it. Peutinger failed to print it and after his death the map ended up in hands of Abraham Ortelius who prepared it for the print and wrote a commentary. After his death, the map was published in 1598. It has been the oldest printed waymark in the world. The XII century Peutinger's original map is exhibited in the National/Royal Library in Vienna, under the name of *Codex Vindobonensis* (Latin name for Vienna).[1]

Peutinger's map did not have the form of a

1 Austrian National Library, Vienna. Manuscript and Incunabula Collection, Cod. 324 CSA, CoM 35, Inv. No. 872/1. Digitalizovana karta može se videti na adresi http://www.euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger/index.html.

Pojtingerova tabla nije bila u obliku jedne prave zemaljske karte, kakve su inače poznate sve do pred kraj antičkog doba. Iz praktičnih razloga, bila je sastavljena iz 12 listova pergamenta (prvi krajnji zapadni list je izgubljen, rekonstruisao ga je K. Miler). Ukupno je duga 672 cm, široka 34 cm, što znači da je dužina veća oko 20 puta od širine. Na taj način, bila je podešena da se koristi kao svitak i da se nosi na put, upravo prototip danjašnjih sekcija.

Ova karta pretstavlja Rimsku Imperiju i druge zemlje u to doba dobro poznate, uglavnom ceo onda poznati svet, od Herkulovih stubova i Britanskih ostrva na zapadu, do ušća Ganga i ostrva Taprobana (Cejlona) na istoku. Kontinenti su sa severa i juga opkoljeni okeanom. Usled ovakvog oblika karte, veoma izduženog svitka, slika predela je jako sažeta, kao kad bi se Zemljina površina pespektivno nacrtala gledajući sa juga ka severu. Sredozemno more, Crno more i sva druga mora sasvim su sužena a izdužena; a u tom istom pravcu, sa zapada na istok, ili obrnuto, teku većina reka. Ali, ono što je glavno, tu su i putne mreže, takođe sve izdužene uporedničkim pravcem. Inače nema ni traga o astronomskim odredbama mesta ili o kartografskoj mreži, pa, razume se, kao što je već iz prethodnog jasno, ni o pravoj slici izgleda predela; ali se geograf i istoričar koji ume geografski da gleda ipak na toj karti veoma lako snalazi, brzo identifikuje predele, mesta.

Kopiju mape u punom obliku objavila je radionica Abrahama Orteliusa 1598. u Antverpenu, potom F. de Scheyb 1753, F. Desjardinis 1874. i C. Miller 1888, koji je dao i tumačenje karte. Na srpskom jeziku kartu je objavio I. Sindik (1931) a faksimil, rekonstrukciju i tumačenje karte dao je G. Škrivanić (1975). Za početak istraživanja južnoslovenskih zemalja na Pojtingerovoj karti važna su dela A. Evansa (1883) i K. Milera (Miller K., 1916). Za teritoriju Dalmacije važna su dela G. Novaka (1916) i M. Abramića (1926-27), za teritoriju Srbije i Crne Gore D. i M. Garašanina (1951; 1967), za teritoriju Bosne i Hercegovine E. Pašalić (1960) i mnogi drugi radovi novijeg datuma (Bosio L. 1983; Lisičar P. 1980; Tomović G. 1991; Petrović

regular earth map as these used to look prior to the end of ancient period. For practical reasons, it comprised 12 parchment sheets (the rearmost west sheet was lost and then reconstructed by K. Miler). The total length of the map was 672 cm and it was 34 cm wide, which meant that its length was 20 times larger than its width. Hence, it was intended to be used as a mobile scroll, which was a prototype of modern sections.

The map represents the Roman Empire and other countries well-known at the time, i.e. the whole known world, from Pillars of Hercules and the British Isles in the west to the Ganges delta and Taprobane Island (Ceylon) in the east. Continents from north and south were surrounded with ocean. Due to the map shape, i.e. the form of a scroll, the scenery image is rather compact as if the Earth's surface were drawn looking from south towards north. The Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and all other seas are narrow and long; and most rivers flow in west-east or east-west directions. But what matters are the transport networks which are all also elongated along the parallels. Still, there is no trace of astronomical coordinates or a cartographic network, which implies there is also no sign of a clear scenery image; but a geographer or historian skillful in geographical perspectives may easily observe the map and identify regions and locations.

The full-form copy of the map was first published at Abrahama Ortelius's workshop in Antwerpen in 1598, and then it was printed by F. de Scheyb in 1753, F. Desjardinis in 1874, and C. Miller in 1888, who also provided the map interpretation. The map was printed in Serbian by I. Sindik (1931) and the autotype, reconstruction, and interpretation was provided by G. Škrivanić (1975). It is the works of A. Evans (1883) and K. Miller (Miller K., 1916) that are pertinent for the beginning of research of south Slavic countries at the Peutinger's map. When it comes to the territory of Dalmatia, the relevant works are those of G. Novak (1916) and M. Abramić (1926-27), for Serbia and Montenegro there are writings of D. and M. Garašanin (1951; 1967), for Bosnia and Herzegovina the works of E. Pašalić (1960) and many other more recent writings (Bosio L. 1983; Lisičar P. 1980; Tomović G. 1991;

V., 2007; Jovanović V. 2003). Gavro Škrivanić (1975) je na osnovu obimne literature i faksimila iz originala koji se čuva u Nacionalnoj biblioteci u Beču, izvršio rekonstrukciju i obradu onog dela Pojtingerove table na kojem su predstavljeni rimski putevi i usputne stanice na prostoru južnoslovenskih zemalja. Ta rekonstrukcija je bila važna za sistematizaciju toponima u ovom tekstu. Na njoj su, pored rimskih putnih stanica, u zagradi ispisana i današnja imena mesta za koja je utvrđeno ili za koja se pretpostavlja da su postojala kao stanice. Stanična rastojanja u miljama prevedena su u kilometre (1 rimska milja = 1482 m, 1000 dvokoraka odnosno 1/4 sata hoda).

Petrović V., 2007; Jovanović V. 2003). Gavro Škrivanić (1975) exploited the vast bibliography and autotypes from the original preserved at the Austrian National Library in Vienna in order to perform reconstruction and processing of the part of Peutinger's map which represented Roman roads and stops in south Slavic countries. His reconstruction was relevant for the taxonomy of toponyms in this paper. Apart from Roman road stops, in brackets there are modern names for locations that have been estimated or assumed to have been road stops. The distance between the stops were converted from miles into kilometers (1 Roman mile = 1482 m, 1000 two paces, i.e. a ¼ of hour walk).

SISTEMATIZACIJA TOPONIMA NA POJTINGEROVOJ TABLI PO VRSTAMA

Sadržina karte obuhvata: naseljena mesta, gradove, tvrđave, logore rimskih legija, putnu mrežu, reke, jezera, planine, šume, pored posebnih naziva provincija, naroda, plemena; za naseljena mesta, planine i šume upotrebljeni su konvencionalni znaci u perspektivnom simboličkom izgledu; a prelomi na linijama puteva označavaju položaj uzastopnih putnih stanica, između kojih su rastojanja obeležena ciframa u miljama iznad putne linije. Veće stanice, municipiji, banje, obeleženi su vinjetama različite veličine, prema važnosti. Tolikom podrobnošću, širinom geografskog horizonta i relativno približnom vrednošću u ovakvom perspektivnom crtežu, - Pojtingerova tabla spada među jedne od najznatnijih geografskih spomenika čitavog antičkog sveta, osobito zbog svojih antropogeografskih podataka o naseljima i putevima, o predelima i narodima, koji su od naročite istorijsko-geografske vrednosti. Iako inače nisu naučno dostigli svoje učitelje Grke, Rimljani su ovim svojim itinererskim, putnim, saobraćajnim kartama, koje su služile u čisto praktične svrhe, vojničke, administrativne, i ekonomske, - radi što boljih transportnih veza o udaljenim provincijama, pri čemu je gusta mreža puteva prožela imperiju, - bili stvarno učinili nove

THE TAXONOMY OF TOPONYMS ON PEUTINGER'S MAP IN LINE WITH TYPES

The content of this map embraces the following: settlements, cities, fortresses, Roman military camps, transport networks, rivers, lakes, mountains, forests; apart from specific names of provinces, peoples, and tribes, the settlements, mountains and forests are designated by conventional marks which appear to be symbolic in perspective; breakpoints on the road lines represent the positions of consecutive road stops and the distance between each of these is provided above the road line in mileage. Major stops, municipia, and spas are marked with vignettes of different sizes depending on their relevance. Due to its meticulousness, the width of geographical horizon, and relatively close values on one such sketch, Peutinger's map remains one of most prominent geographical tributes of the ancient world, particularly due to its anthropogeographical data on settlements and roads, landscape and peoples, which are of an utmost historical-geographical pertinence. Despite the fact that they failed to scientifically outrun their Greek tutors, the Romans made significant steps towards the progress of the geographical knowledge of their time by designing their road maps, itineraries, which served for practical, military, administrative, and economic purposes due to better transport connections with their distant provinces as their dense road network

praktične korake ka napretku geografskih znanja o ondašnjem poznatom svetu. A Pojtingerova tabla je dragoceni spomenik toga napretka u čisto praktične, saobraćajno-geografske, privredno-geografske i političko-geografske svrhe.

Zemlje Balkanskog poluostrva, od vrha Tršćanskog zaliva do ušća Dunava i do Carigrada, zajedno sa naspramnim jadranskim delom Italije i naspramnom sredozemnom obalom Afrike do ušća Nila, obuhvataju delovi karte od kraja IV pa do početka IX segmenta (Segmentum IV/5 - IX/1) sa puno antropogeografskih podataka iz onog doba. Na karti je ucrtan *Singiduno* (Beograd) i njegov položaj na ušću Save u Dunav. U blizini su ucrtani još *Tauruno* (Zemun), *Tricornio* (Ritopek), *Monte Aureo* (Grocka).

Planine. Zemlja je obojena žutom bojom, granice kopna crnom, planine sivkastožutom i nijansom ružičaste boje. Fizičko-geografski elementi karte bili su za kartografa od sporednog značaja, s obzirom da se radi o putnoj karti, te su oskudno i shematski ucrtani, često bez imena. Na primer, nisu označeni nazivi planina u zaleđu Istre (veovatno Ćićarija), u zaleđu Salone i Splita (verovatno Dinara), između reka Dunava i Drine (verovatno Fruška Gora), kao ni planina iz kojih izviru reke Sava, Neretva, Morava i Drim. Na teritoriji današnje BiH nalaze se samo dve planine, jedna u zaleđu mesta Narone (kod Metkovića), *In monte Bulsino* (preme Mileru, pl. Raduša; po Škrivaniću pl. Čvrsnica), i nepoznata planina kod Trebinja (možda Leotar). Na prostoru današnje Srbije ucrtan je planinski venac *Monte aureo* (možda šumadijske planine i Kopaonik). U Bugarskoj bezimena planina je verovatno Balkan, a u Makedoniji Babuna. Šume nisu označene, što je i razumljivo s obzirom na veliku šumovitost balkanskog i panonskog prostora u to vreme. Čak i današnji ogoljeni kraški predeli bili su pod gustim šumama, koje su se prostirale sve do mora.

Reke. Hidrografski objekti (mora, jezera i reke) su označeni zelenom bojom. Rimski nazivi većih reka na zapadnom Balkanu su: Savus (Sava), Danuvius (Dunav), Dravus (Drava),

pervaded the whole Empire. It is Peutinger's map that remains a valuable testimonial of this progress used for practical, transport-geographical, economic-geographical, and political-geographical purposes.

West Balkan countries, ranging from the top of the Gulf of Trieste to the Danube delta and Istanbul, along with the Adriatic Italy coast and Mediterranean African coast to the Nile delta, are represented on the map starting with the end of segment IV up to the beginning of segment IX (Segmentum IV/5 - IX/1) with many anthropogeographical information dating back from that period. *Singiduno* (Belgrade) is entered into the map along with its position at the confluence of the Sava River into the Danube. In the vicinity, there are *Tauruno* (Zemun), *Tricornio* (Ritopek), and *Monte Aureo* (Grocka).

Mountains. The land is colored in yellow, the land boundaries in black, mountains in greyish-yellow and a pink nuance. Physical-geographical map elements were of minor relevance for the cartographer and they were schematic and obscure, often without names, as it was specifically a road map. For instance, there are no names of mountains in the hinterland of Istria (probably Ćićarija mountain), hinterland of Salona and Split (probably Dinara mountain), between the rivers of Danube and Drina (probably Fruška Gora mountain), nor of the mountains from which rivers of Sava, Neretva, Morava and Drim source. There are only two mountains entered for the modern B&H territory; one in the hinterland of the settlement of Narona (near Metković), *In monte Bulsino* (mountain Raduša according to Miller; mountain Čvrsnica according to Škrivanić), and an unknown mountain near Trebinje (possibly Leotar mountain). In modern day Serbia territory, there is a *Monte aureo* mountain range (possibly mountains of Šumadia and Kopaonik Mt.). The nameless mountain in Bulgaria is probably the Balkan Mt., and in Macedonia it is Babuna Mt. There is no designation of forests, which is intelligible considering the dense forest system of the Balkans and Pannonia of that time. Even the modern karst region was back then covered in forests which spread all the way to the sea.

Rivers. Hydrographic objects (seas, lake, and rivers) are colored in green. Roman names for large

Margus (Velika Morava), Axius (Vardar), Drinus (Drina), Urpanus (Vrbas), Queneus (Una), Basanius (Bosna), Arsia (Raša u Istri). Reke prema Pojtingerovoj tabli većinom teku od zapada prema istoku, paralelno sa putevima, često bez imena. Pogrešno su predstavljena izvorišta, tokovi, ušća i pritoke: Sava i Drava sačinjavaju jedan tok koji se uliva u Drinu a ova u Jadransko more (!?). Neretva izvire kod *Ad Zizia* (tamo gde izvire Trebišnjica) i uliva se u Jadransko more kod *Narone* (kod Vida, 4 km od Metkovića). Morava (Margum fl.) izvire iz bezimene planine (možda Kopaonik), i uliva se u Dunav. Reke su jako deformisane, pogotovo one koje teku poprečno na pravac pružanja puteva.

Ostrva i njihovi gradovi. Nazivi ostrva su teško čitljivi. Mogu se rekonstruisati: Crexa (Cres), Curicum (Krk), Polarria (ostrvo Lošinj, na njemu grad Apsorus - Osor), Arba (Rab), Cissa (grad na Pagu), Bavo (Čiovo), Solenta (Šolta), Brattia (Brač), Dimos (Hvar), Faros (Starigrad na Hvaru), Issa (Vis), Tauris (Šćedro), Corcyra Nigra (Korčula), Ladesta (Lastovo), Melitta (Mljet) i druga.

Putevi. Glavni ***javni putevi (Via publica),*** su označeni crvenom bojom, dok su toponimi ispisani uglavnom crnom bojom. Između naselja su rimskim brojevima ubeležena rastojanja u miljama. Kada se saberu sva označena rastojanja, proizilazi da je na karti prikazano oko 200.000 kilometara rimskih puteva. Na nekim segmentima puta nedostaje rastojanje između stanica a negde ima rastojanje ali nema putne linije ili završetka puta, verovatno usled greške prepisivača (npr. od Lihnida do Herakleje tj. od Ohrida do Bitolja). Svi panonski i dalmatinski putevi vodili su na zapadu preko Oglaja ili Akvileje (Aquileia) u Rim (Roma), a na istoku u Konstantinopolj (Constantinopolis). Putevi su pratili rečne doline, ne samo zbog manjih nagiba i lakše prohodnosti, nego i zbog lakšeg snabdevanja vodom putnika i vučnih, tovarnih i jahaćih životinja. Identifikacija i ubikacija nekih stanica na Pojtingerovoj karti je nepouzdana, zasnovana na pretpostavkama koje

West Balkan rivers are as follows: Savus (the Sava river), Danuvius (the Danube), Dravus (Drava), Margus (Velika Morava), Axius (Vardar), Drinus (Drina), Urpanus (Vrbas), Queneus (Una), Basanius (Bosna), Arsia (Raša in Istria). Most rivers on Peutinger's map take the west-east course parallel with the roads, and they are often unspecified. There is an evident wrong illustration of wells, flows, estuaries, and tributaries: the Sava and Drava rivers are represented as one single stream which flows into the Drina river, which further flows into the Adriatic Sea (!?). The Neretva River springs near *Ad Zizia* (the location of the Trebišnjica river spring) and flows into the Adriatic Sea near *Narona* (near Vid, 4 km far from Metković). The Morava River (Margum fl.) springs from an unidentified mountain (maybe Kopaonik Mt) and flows into the Danube. All the rivers are misshapen, particularly those which flow transversely from the road direction.

Islands and their towns. Names of islands are easily readable and might be reconstructed as follows: Crexa (Cres), Curicum (Krk), Polarria (Lošinj island and its town of Apsorus - Osor), Arba (Rab), Cissa (a town on the Pag island), Bavo (Čiovo), Solenta (Šolta), Brattia (Brač), Dimos (Hvar), Faros (Starigrad on Hvar island), Issa (Vis), Tauris (Šćedro), Corcyra Nigra (Korčula), Ladesta (Lastovo), Melitta (Mljet) and others.

Roads. Major public roads ***(Via publica) are marked in red and toponyms are mostly marked in black. The mileage distance between settlements is represented in Roman numbers. As we sum up all the entered distances, the result is around*** 200,000 kilometers of Roman roads designated at the map. Some parts of the roads are missing distance between stops, and in some locations there is the distance but without the road line or the road end, which is probably a result of the transcriber's error (e.g. from Lihnid to Heraclea, i.e. from Ohrida to Bitolj). All Pannonian and Dalmatian roads led westwards to Rome (Roma) across Oglaj/ Aquileia and eastwards to Constantinopolis. The roads spread along the river valleys not only because of minor elevation and easier passability but also due to a simpler water supply system for passengers as well as animals used for cart,

su izneli istoričari i arheolozi (Miller K., 1916; Sergejevski D., 1958; Jireček, 1959; Klemenc J., 1961; Garašanin D. i M., 1967; Mirković M. 1968; G. Škrivanić 1974 i drugi).

Uzdužni putevi mogu se podeliti u dva snopa - panonski (posavski i i podravski pravac), koji se kod Singidunuma nadovezuje na pomoravski put *Via Militaris*, i jadranski, koji se kod Drača nadovezuje na *Via Egnatia*.

Put duž Limesa dolinom Dunava povezivao je pogranične kastrume na Limesu. Prema Pojtingerovoj tabli, put je vodio od *Vindobona* (Beč) na *Garnunto* (Deutch Altenburg) i *Aquinco* (St. Budim), izlazio na *Tittoburgo* (Dalj). Zatim je produžavao duž desne (sremske) obale Dunava gde su bile stanice: *Cornaco* (selo Sotin, jugoistočno od Vukovara), *Cuccio* (Ilok), *Milatis* (Bonaštor), *Cusum* (Petrovaradin), *Acunum* (*Acumincum*, Stari Slankamen), *Bittio* (pogrešno, treba Rittio - Surduk), *Burgenis* (Novi Banovci), *Tauruno* (Zemun) i kod mesta *Confluenti(bus)* na ušću Save prelazio u *Singidunum* (Beograd).

Nizvodno od Singidunuma dolinom Dunava put je povezivao sledeće stanice: *Tricornio* (selo Ritopek), *Monte Aureo* (selo Seona kod Smedereva), *Margum fl.* (selo Dubravice kod ušća Velike Morave u Dunav), *Viminatium* (Kostolac), gde se put račvao. Jedan krak je moravski, vodio za Naissus (vidi poseban odeljak). Drugi krak je išao kroz Đerdapsku klisuru, duž desne obale Dunava: *Punicum* (Veliko Gradište), *Vicco Cuppe* (Golubac), *Ad Nouas* (selo Čezava kod Dobre), *Ad Scrofulas* (selo Bosman istočno od Golupca), *Faliatis* (treba Taliatis - Donji Milanovac), *Gerulatis* (selo Miroč između Donjeg Milanovca i Brze Palanke), *Unam* (selo Alun severozapadno od Brze Palanke), *Egeta* (Brza Palanka), *Clevora* (selo Mihajlovac severno od Negotina), *Ad Aquas* (Prahovo), *Dortico* (selo Rakitnica kod ušća Timoka u Dunav), *Ad Malum* (Vidin) i dalje za Contantinopolj (Carigrad). Sa leve strane Dunava ubeležena su mesta *Lederata* (Ram) i *Apo fl.* (reka Karaš kod Bele Crkve), zatim *Tierua* - Oršava, *Drubetis* - Turnu Severin, gde su bili priključci puteva za Dakiju, *Pelendoua* -

riding, or haulage. The identification and ubication of some road stops at Petinger's map are unreliable and based on assumptions made by historians and archaeologists (Miller K., 1916; Sergejevski D., 1958; Jireček, 1959; Klemenc J., 1961; Garašanin D. and M., 1967; Mirković M. 1968; G. Škrivanić 1974, and others).

Longitudinal roads may be divided into two beams - Pannonian (the Sava and Drava river directions), which adds to the *Via Militaris* Morava river direction road near Singidunum and Adriatic, which adds to the *Via Egnatia* near Durrës.

Road along the Danubian Limes connected cross-border castra on Limes. According to Peutinger's map, the road led from *Vindobona* (Vienna) over *Garnunto* (Altenburg) and *Aquinco* (St. Budim) to *Tittoburgo* (Dalj). Then, it continued along the right (Srem) Danube bank where the following road stops were located: *Cornaco* (Sotin village, southeast from the town of Vukovar), *Cuccio* (Ilok), *Milatis* (Bonaštor), *Cusum* (Petrovaradin), *Acunum* (*Acumincum*, Stari Slankamen), *Bittio* (an error, it should read Rittio - Surduk), *Burgenis* (Novi Banovci), *Tauruno* (Zemun), as the road met *Singidunum* (Belgrade) at the Sava river estuary near *Confluenti(bus)*.

Downstream from Singidunuma, along the Danube valley, the road connected the following road stops: *Tricornio* (Ritopek village), *Monte Aureo* (Seona village near Smederevo), *Margum fl.* (Dubravice village near the confluence of the Velika Morava river into the Danube), and *Viminatium* (Kostolac), the point where the road branches. One of the branches spread along the Morava river and it led to Naissus (see separate section). The other branch led through the Iron Gates along the right Danube bank: *Punicum* (Veliko Gradište), *Vicco Cuppe* (Golubac), *Ad Nouas* (Čezava village near Dobra), *Ad Scrofulas* (Bosman village east from Golubac), *Faliatis* (it should read Taliatis - Donji Milanovac), *Gerulatis* (Miroč village between Donji Milanovac and Brza Palanka), *Unam* (Alun village northwest from Brza Palanka), *Egeta* (Brza Palanka), *Clevora* (Mihajlovac village north from Negotin), *Ad Aquas* (Prahovo), *Dortico* (Rakitnica vilage at the confluence of the Timok river into the Danube), *Ad Malum* (Vidin) and

Krajova, i druga.

Put kroz Podravinu - od *Celeia* (Celje) nastavljao je pravcem: *Ragandone* (Belo Mesto), *Petavione* (Ptuj), *Remista* (Formin), *Aqua Uiua* (Petrijanec), *Populos* (kod Bartolovca), *Botiuo* (Ludberg), *Sonista* (selo Kunovac), *Piretis* (Vlajislava), *Luntulis* (Đurđevac), *Iuouia* (Kloštar), *Sirotis* (Orašac), *Boletino* (Sopje kod Gornjeg Miholjca), *Marmianis* (Donji Miholjac), *Seronis* (selo Viljevo), *Berebis* (Podravski Pograjci), *Iouallio* (Valpovo), *Mursa Minor* (selo Petrijevci), *Mursa Maior* (Osijek), *Ad Labores pont.* - *Ulcae* (Bobote kod Vukovara), bezimena stanica (verovatno *Cibalae* - Vinkovci), gde se put spajao sa posavskim pravcem i nastavljao prema Sirmiumu i Singidunumu.

Put kroz Posavinu, vodio je desnom obalom Save do ušća Vrbasa, gde je prelazio na levu obalu (Sergejevski, D., 1958). Od *Emone* (Ljubljana) do *Singidunuma* (Beograda) imao je 17 stanica: *Aceruone* (Višnja Gora), *Ad Protorium* (selo Trebnje), *Cruccio* (Novo Mesto), *Nouiodum* (Ozalj), *Romula* (Dubovac kod Karlovca), *Quadrata* (Vojnić), *Ad Fines* (Glina), *Siscia* (Sisak), *Ad Pretorium* (selo Bačin kod Dubice), *Servitio* (Gradiška), *Urbate* (Srpce), *Marsonie* (Slavonski Brod). *Tu se put račva* u dva kraka koji se spajaju kod Sirmiuma. Na severnom kraku su stanice: *Certis* (Striživojna južno od Đakova) i bezimena stanica (verovatno *Cibalae* - Vinkovci), gde se spaja sa podravskim putem i produžava na stanice: *Consilena* (Orlik), *Ulmospaneta* (po K. Mileru verovatno greškom spojeni Ulmo i Spaneta - Orašje i Kukujevci) i *Sirmium* (Sremska Mitrovica). Jedan krak od Cibalae vodi pored reke Save: *Ad Basante* (po K. Mileru to je Bosanski Šamac, po D. Sergejevskom i G. Škrivaniću - Bosut), *Saldis* (Soljani južno od Vinkovaca), *Ad Drinum* (Sremska Rača), i *Sirmium*. Od Sirmiuma ima još tri ili četiri stanice do Singidunuma: *Bassianis* (Donji Petrovci), *Idiminio* (Ugrinovci), *Tauruno* (Zemun) i *Confluentib(us)* (Ušće Save).

Kroz Pomoravlje od *Viminatiuma* (Kostolca) do *Naissusa* (Niša) i dalje dolinom Nišave prema *Sertici* (Sofiji) su bile stanice: *Municipio*

further on to Constantinopolis. On the left Danube bank, there were marks for the places of *Lederata* (Ram) and *Apo fl.* (the Karaš river near Bela Crkva), *Tierua* - Oršava, *Drubetis* - Turna Severin, where the road went on to Dacia, *Pelendoua* - Krajova, and others.

Road via the Drava river basin - from *Celeia* (Celje) the road continued as follows: *Ragandone* (Belo Mesto), *Petavione* (Ptuj), *Remista* (Formin), *Aqua Uiua* (Petrijanec), *Populos* (near Bartolovac), *Botiuo* (Ludberg), *Sonista* (Kunovac village), *Piretis* (Vlajislava), *Luntulis* (Đurđevac), *Iuouia* (Kloštar), *Sirotis* (Orašac), *Boletino* (Sopje near Gornji Miholjac), *Marmianis* (Donji Miholjac), *Seronis* (Viljevo village), *Berebis* (Podravski Pograjci), *Iouallio* (Valpovo), *Mursa Minor* (Petrijevci village), *Mursa Maior* (Osijek), *Ad Labores pont.* - *Ulcae* (Bobote near Vukovar), and an undesignated stop (probably *Cibalae* - Vinkovci) where the road merged with the road via the Sava river basin and continued towards Sirmium and Singidunum.

Road via the Sava river basin followed the right Sava river bank down to the Vrbas river estuary at which location it switched to the left river bank (Sergejevski, D., 1958). From *Emona* (Ljubljana) to *Singidunum* (Belgrade), it had the following 17 road stops: *Aceruone* (Višnja Gora), *Ad Protorium* (Trebnje village), *Cruccio* (Novo Mesto), *Nouiodum* (Ozalj), *Romula* (Dubovac near Karlovac), *Quadrata* (Vojnić), *Ad Fines* (Glina), *Siscia* (Sisak), *Ad Pretorium* (Bačin village near Dubica), *Servitio* (Gradiška), *Urbate* (Srpce), *Marsonie* (Slavonski Brod). *At this point, the road* bifurcates into two branches which merge near Sirmium. The road stops along the north branch are as follows: *Certis* (Striživojna south from Đakovo) and an undesignated stop (probably *Cibalae* - Vinkovci), at which point the road merges with the road via the Drava basin and continues with the following stops: *Consilena* (Orlik), *Ulmospaneta* (according to K. Miller, Ulmo and Spaneta - Orašje and Kukujevci are probably blended by mistake) and *Sirmium* (Sremska Mitrovica). There is a branch which leads from Cibala further along the Sava river: *Ad Basante* (according to K. Miller, it is Bosanski Šamac, and according to D. Sergejevski and G. Škrivanić – it is Bosut), *Saldis* (Soljani south

(selo Kalište kod Požarevca), *Iouis Pago* (Veliko Laole, južno od Petrovca na reci Mlavi), *Idimo* (selo Medveđa kod Svilajnca), *Horrea Margi* (u prevodu skladište ili žitnica na Moravi, današnja Ćuprija), *Presidio Dasmini* (kod sela Pločnik severoistočno od Stalaća), *Presidio Pompei* (Nerića Han između Deligrada i sela Rutevca kod Aleksinca), *Gramrianis* (Lipovac istočno od Aleksinca?), *Naisso* (Niš), *Romesiana* (Bela Palanka), *Turrib(us)* (Turres - Pirot).

Jadranski pravac *od Akvileje do Salone* vodio je preko Istre, zatim zaobilazio strmo i teško prohodno podvelebitsko primorje preko Like i severne Dalmacije. Polazeći od *Tergeste* (Trsta) nizale su se stanice: *Parentio* (Poreč), *Pola* (Pula), *Arsia* (Raša), *Alvona* (Labin), *Port(us) Flanaticus* (Plomin), *Tarsatica* (Trsat kod Rijeke), *Ad Turres* (Crikvenica), *Senia* (Senj). Od Senja put prelazi u Liku, da bi zaobišao podvelebitsko primorje, a i zbog osvajačkih i ekonomskih interesa u zaleđu. Stanice su: *Auendone* (selo Brlog), *Arupio* (Vitalj kod Otočca), *Epidotio* (Kvarte kod Perušića, blizu Gospića), *Ancus* (selo Kula severoistočno od Gospića), *Ausancatione* (selo Medak jugoistočno od Gospića), *Clambetis* (Obrovac na reci Zrmanji), *Havre-Ab-Havre* (Medviđa), *Burno* (selo Ivoševci kod Kistanja), *Promona* (Tepljuh kod Drniša), *Ad Pretorium Magno* (Beljina Glavica jugoistočno od Drniša), *Andretio* (Muć), *Salona* (Solin). Kod Burnuma se odvajao put: *Asseria* (Podgrađe kod Benkovca), *Nedino* (Nadin), *Jadera* (Zadar). Od Jadere vodio je primorski put preko *Scardone* (Skradina), *Lorana* (Vrpolja), *Traguria* (Trogira) i *Siclisa* (Kaštel Štafilić) do *Salone* (Solina).

Od Salone (Solin) do Durratiuma (Drača), vodio je put duž jadranskog primorja pravcem: *Spalato* (Split), *Epetio* (Stobreč), *Oneo* (Omiš), *Inario* (Makarska), *Bilubio* (selo Lokvinići u Gornjoj Vrlici), *Ad Novas* (Runovići jugoistočno od Imotskog), *Ad Fusciana* (selo Tihaljina), *Bigesta* (selo Humac na reci Trebižatu), *Narona* (kod sela Vid blizu Metkovića), *Ad Turres* (Tasovčić, kod Hutova; usputna stanica za kastrum Tures u Mogorjelu), *Dilunto* (Stolac), *Pardua* (selo Gornji Gradac jugoistočno od

from Vinkovci), *Ad Drinum* (Sremska Rača), and *Sirmium*. There are another three or four road stops from Sirmium to Singidunum: *Bassianis* (Donji Petrovci), *Idiminio* (Ugrinovci), *Tauruno* (Zemun), and Confluentib *(us)* (the Sava river estuary).

Through the Morava river basin, from *Viminatium* (Kostolac) to *Naissus* (Niš) and further down the Nišava river valley to *Sertica* (Sofia), the following road stops were located: *Municipio* (Kalište village near Požarevac), *Iouis Pago* (Veliko Laole, south from Petrovac na Mlavi), *Idimo* (Medveđa village near Svilajnac), *Horrea Margi* (meaning storehouse or granary on Morava river, modern day Ćuprija), *Presidio Dasmini* (near Pločnik village northeast from Stalać), *Presidio Pompei* (Nerića Han between Deligrad and Rutevac village near Aleksinac), *Gramrianis* (Lipovac east from Aleksinac?), *Naisso* (Niš), *Romesiana* (Bela Palanka), *Turrib(us)* (Turres - Pirot).

Adriatic road *from Akvilea to Salona* led via Istria, bypassed the steep and impassable foot of Velebit Mt. and continued via Lika and north Dalmatia. Starting with *Tergeste* (Trieste), the following road stops were: *Parentio* (Poreč), *Pola* (Pula), *Arsia* (Raša), *Alvona* (Labin), *Port(us) Flanaticus* (Plomin), *Tarsatica* (Trsat near Rijeka), *Ad Turres* (Crikvenica), and *Senia* (Senj). Near Senj, the road moves over to Lika in order to bypass the coast at the foot of Velebit Mt. and avoid the invasion and economic interests of hinterland. The stops were as follows: *Auendone* (Brlog village), *Arupio* (Vitalj near Otočca), *Epidotio* (Kvarte near Perušić, in the vicinity of Gospić), *Ancus* (Kula village northeast from Gospić), *Ausancatione* (Medak village southeast from Gospić), *Clambetis* (Obrovac on Zrmanja river), *Havre-Ab-Havre* (Medviđa), *Burno* (Ivoševci village near Kistanj), *Promona* (Tepljuh near Drniš), *Ad Pretorium Magno* (Beljina Glavica southeast from Drniš), *Andretio* (Muć), *Salona* (Solin). The following road branched near Burnum: *Asseria* (Podgrađe near Benkovac), *Nedino* (Nadin), and *Jadera* (Zadar). From Jadera, there was a coastal road via *Scardona* (Skradina), *Lorana* (Vrpolja), *Traguria* (Trogira) and *Siclisa* (Kaštel Štafilić) to *Salona* (Solina).

From Salona (Solin) to Durratium (Durrës), a road led along the Adriatic coast via the following line: *Spalato* (Split), *Epetio* (Stobreč), *Oneo* (Omiš),

Ljubinja), *Ad Zizio* (selo Mosko više Trebinja). Kod Ad Zizia se put račva u dva pravca koji se sastaju kod Skadra. Jedan krak ide pravcem *Asamo* (kod Trebinja), *Epitauro* (Cavtat), *Resinum* (Risan), *Batua* (Budva), *Vicinium* (Ulcinj), *Scobre* (Skadar). Na karti je pogrešno ucrtan Vicinium ispred Batua. Drugi krak ide zaleđem: *Ad Zizio* (Mosko), *Leusino* (Panik, selo kod Grančareva u dolini Trebišnjice), *Sallunto* (selo Riječine kod Nikšića), *Sanderva* (u Ozrinićima ili u Štedinu kod Nikšića), *Varis* (Povija, na izvorištu Zete), *Nalata* (kod Spuža), *Bersumno* (na ušću Ribnice, Podgorica), *Sinna* (Gradac na reci Cijevni) i *Scobre* (Skadar). Od Skadra put nastavlja pravcem *Lissum* (Lješ), *Pistum* (Išmi) *Durratio* (Drač) i dalje na *Lignido* (Ohrid) i *Thessalonice* (Solun).

Poprečni putevi spajali su uzdužne, koristeći rečne doline i planinske prevoje preko dinarsko-šarskih i karpatsko-balkanskih planina.

Put preko Slovenije povezivao je podravski, posavski i jadranski put. Išao je od *Aquileje* (Oglej) dolinom Vipave na *Alpe Iulia* (na Kružoj gori), *Longatico* (Logatec) i *Nauporto* (Vrhnika) do *Emone* (Ljubljana), a odatle preko stanica *Sauo fl.* (selo Laze), *Ad Publicanos* (Vače), *Adrante* (selo Trojane) do stanice *Celeia* (Celje), gde se put račvao. Jedan pravac je vodio prema Podravini, a drugi prema Koruškoj, trasom *Upellus* (Stara Vas), *Colatione* (Stari Trg), *Viruno* (Gospa Sveta).

Put od Salone (Solin) do Servitiuma (Gradiška) vodio je trasom (Miller K., 1916): *Andretio* (Muć), *Aequio* (selo Čitluk, severoistočno od Sinja), *Inalperio* (selo Prolog, zapadno od Livna), *Bariduo* (Glamoč), *Ionnaria* (selo Vaganj severozapadno od Glamoča), *Sarute* (selo Šarići kod Šipova), *Indenea* (kod Jezera na Pliva), *Baloie* (Majdan kod Mrkonjić grada), *Leusaba* (selo Bunari jugozapadno od Banjaluke), *Lamatif* (selo Slivno jugozapadno od Banjaluke), *Casra* (ili Castra, Banja Luka), *Ad Fines* (Mahovljani kod Laktaša), *Ad Ladios* (Trn kod Laktaša), *Seruitio* (Gradiška) gde se spajao sa posavskim putem.

Put od Salone* do *Sirmiuma preko Bosne, *Inario* (Makarska), *Bilubio* (Lokvinići village in Gorna Vrlica), *Ad Novas* (Runovići southeast from Imotski), *Ad Fusciana* (Tihaljina village), *Bigesta* (Humac village on Trebižat river), *Narona* (near the village of Vid in the vicinity of Metković), *Ad Turres* (Tasovčić, near Hutovo; a road stop on the way to Tures castrum in Mogorjel), *Dilunto* (Stolac), *Pardua* (Gornji Gradac village southeast from Ljubinje), *Ad Zizio* (Mosko village above Trebinje). At Ad Zizia, the road bifurcates and then merges again near Skadar. One branch leads via *Asamo* (near Trebinje), *Epitauro* (Cavtat), *Resinum* (Risan), *Batua* (Budva), *Vicinium* (Ulcinj), and *Scobre* (Skadar). Vicinium is incorrectly entered into the map before Batu. The other branch follows the hinterland via *Ad Zizio* (Mosko), *Leusino* (Panik, a village near Grančarevo in the Trebišnjica valley), *Sallunto* (Riječine village near Nikšić), *Sanderva* (in Ozrinići or in Štedin near Nikšića), *Varis* (Povija, at the Zete river spring), *Nalata* (near Spuž), *Bersumno* (at the Ribnica estuary, Podgorica), *Sinna* (Gradac on the Cijevna river), and *Scobre* (Skadar). From Skadra, the road continues via *Lissum* (Lješ), *Pistum* (Išmi), *Durratio* (Durrës) and further to *Lignido* (Ohrid) and *Thessalonice* (Thessaloniki).

Crossroads connected the longitudinal roads by using river valleys and mountain notches over Dinara-Šar and Carpathian-Balkan ranges.

Road via Slovenia connected the Drava basin, Sava basin, and Adriatic roads. Its route was from *Aquilea* (Oglej) down the Vipava valley in *Alpe Iulia* (at Kruža gora), *Longatico* (Logatec) and *Nauporto* (Vrhnika) to *Emona* (Ljubljana), from which point it followed the stops at *Sauo fl.* (Laze village), *Ad Publicanos* (Vače), *Adrante* (Trojane village) to *Celeia* (Celje) where it bifurcated. Another branch led to the Drava river basin and another to Koruška via *Upellus* (Stara Vas), *Colatione* (Stari Trg), and *Viruno* (Gospa Sveta).

Road from Salona (Solin) to Servitium (Gradiška) led via the following route (Miller K., 1916): *Andretio* (Muć), *Aequio* (Čitluk village northeast from Sinj), *Inalperio* (Prolog village west from Livno), *Bariduo* (Glamoč), *Ionnaria* (Vaganj village northwest from Glamoč), *Saruta* (Šarići village near Šipovo), *Indenea* (near Jezero on Pliva), *Baloie* (Majdan near Mrkonjić Grad), *Leusaba*

vodio je sledećim pravcem: *Tillurio* (Trilj na reci Cetini, južno od Sinja), *Ad Libros* (selo Vidoši ili Zidine kod Buškog Blata, jugoistočno od Duvna), *In Monte Bulsineo* (na planini Tušnici, zapadno od Duvna), *Bistue Vetus* (selo Varvara zapadno od Prozora, ili Otinovci kod Kupresa), *Ad Matricem* (Gornji Vakuf, možda Travnik), *Bistua Nuova* (selo Vitez na reci Lašvi), *Stanecli* (banja Kiseljak kod Sarajeva). Tu se put račva u dva kraka. Istočni krak vodi preko planine Romanije (nije ucrtana) do *Argentarie* (Srebrenice) na *Ad Drinum* (Drinjača - Kostajnik), *Genfis* (Lešnica) i preko Cera i Mačve u *Sirmium*. Južni krak je vodio preko Pazarića do Konjica (nije ucrtan).

Put od Ulciniuma (Ulcinja) preko severne Albanije, Kosova i Metohije i Toplice, do Naissusa (Niša) vodio je trasom: *Scobre* (Skadar), *Ad Picaria* (selo Puka istočno od Skadra), *Creueni* (Sveti Spas, u Albaniji), *Gabuleo* (selo Kušnin kod Prizrena), *Theranda* (Suva Reka severozapadno od Prizrena), *Viciano* (možda selo Ugljari jugozapadno od Prištine), *Vindenis* (srednjovekovna Vidina na Kosovu ili selo Glavnik jugozapadno od Podujeva), *Ad Fines* (Kuršumlija), *Hammeo* (Prokuplje), *Ad Herculem* (selo Brestovac), *Naisso* (Niš). Odatle je dalje nastavljao pravcem: *Timaco Maiori* (selo Niševac kod Bele Palanke), *Timaco Minori* (selo Ravna severno od Knjaževca, na levoj obali Timoka), *Combustira* (selo Kladorupa jugozapadno od Vidina), *Ratiaris* (Arčar kod Vidina), *Ad Malum* (Vidin).

Put od Durratiuma (Drača) do Soluna vodio je trasom ***Via Egnatia***, povezujući stanice: *Clodiana* (Pekini, na obali Škumbe južno od Tirane), *Scampus* (Elbasan), *Genesis Fl.* (selo Polisi), *Ad Dianam* (Bablja), *In Candabia* (selo Kukesi), *Pons Seruili* (selo Vraka u Albaniji), *Lignido* (Ohrid), *Nicea* (selo Džavato, severozapadno od Bitolja), *Cellis* (Ostrovska banja u Grčkoj), *Edessa* (Voden), *Pella* (Pela), *Thessalonice* (Solun). Kod Bitolja (*Heraclea*) odvajao se poprečni put prema prema severoistoku trasom: *Ceranus* (Prilep), *Gurbita* (Rajec), *Euristo* (Drenova), *Stopis* (Stobi - Gradsko, jugoistočno od Velesa), *Astibo* (Štip), *Tranupara* (Odrizari), *Peutalia* (Ćustendil), (Bunari village southwest from Banjaluka), *Lamatif* (Slivno village southwest from Banjaluka), *Casra* (or Castra, Banjaluka), *Ad Fines* (Mahovljani near Laktaši), *Ad Ladios* (Trn near Laktaši), and *Seruitio* (Gradiška), the point at which the road merged with the road via the Sava river basin.

Road from Salona* to *Sirmium via Bosnia followed the route via *Tillurio* (Trilj on Cetina river, south from Sinj), *Ad Libros* (Vidoši or Zidine village near Buško Blato, southeast from Duvno), *In Monte Bulsineo* (on Tušnica Mt. west from Duvno), *Bistue Vetus* (Varvara village west from Prozor or Otinovci near Kupres), *Ad Matricem* (Gornji Vakuf, possibly Travnik), *Bistua Nuova* (Vitez village on Lašva river), *Stanecli* (Kiseljak spa near Sarajevo). At this point, the road bifurcates. The east branch leads across Romanija Mt. (not located on the map) to *Argentarie* (Srebrenica), Ad *Drinum* (Drinjača - Kostajnik), *Genfis* (Lešnica) to Sirmium across Cer and Mačva. The south branch leads across Pazarić to Konjic (not entered on the map).

Road from Ulciniuma (Ulcinj) across north Albania, Kosovo and Metohia, and Toplica, to Naissus (Niš) led via *Scobre* (Skadar), *Ad Picaria* (Puka village east from Skadar), *Creueni* (Sveti Spas in Albania), *Gabuleo* (Kušnin village near Prizren), *Theranda* (Suva Reka northwest from Prizren), *Viciano* (possibly Ugljari village southwest from Priština), *Vindenis* (medieval Vidina in Kosovo or Glavnik village southwest from Podujevo), *Ad Fines* (Kuršumlija), *Hammeo* (Prokuplje), *Ad Herculem* (Brestovac village), *Naisso* (Niš). At this point the road continued via *Timaco Maiori* (Niševac village near Bela Palanka), *Timaco Minori* (Ravna village north from Knjaževac on the left Timok bank), *Combustira* (Kladorupa village southwest from Vidin), *Ratiaris* (Arčar near Vidin), and *Ad Malum* (Vidin).

Road from Durratium (Durrës) to Thessaloniki led via ***Via Egnatia*** route and it connected the following road stops *Clodiana* (Pekini on the Škumba bank south from Tirana), *Scampus* (Elbasan), *Genesis Fl.* (Polisi village), *Ad Dianam* (Bablja), *In Candabia* (Kukesi village), *Pons Seruili* (Vraka village in Albania), *Lignido* (Ohrid), *Nicea* (Džavato village northwest from Bitolj), *Cellis* (Ostrovska spa in Greece), *Edessa* (Voden), *Pella* (Pela), *Thessalonice*

Aelea (Palanka) i *Sertica* (Sofija).

Kod mesta *Stopis* (Stobi - Gradsko), taj poprečni put se ukršao sa uzdužnim ***povardarskim putem*** od Soluna prema Skoplju koji je išao trasom: *Thessalonice* (Solun), *Gallicum* (selo Kufalovo u Grčkoj), *Tauriana* (Dojran), *Idomenia* (selo Miletkovo, jugoistočno od Demir kapije), *Stenas* (Demir Kapija), *Antigona* (selo Tremnik, severozapadno od Demir kapije), *Ad Cephalon* (lokalitet Glavlje, jugoistočno od Velesa, ili selo Novoćani?), *Presidio* (Venole), *Ad Hercule* (severno od Velesa, Bela voda?), bezimena stanica (Katlanovska banja?), *Scopis* (Zlokućane kod Skoplja).

Naselja. Toponomastička građa na karti je romansakog porekla, ili je romanizovana, zadržavajući pri tome staru osnovu, na primer: umesto Rhison, stoji Resinum; umesto Tragurion, stoji Tragurio; umesto Lissos, stoji Lissum; umesto Epidavra, stoji Epitauro itd. Na stranim kartama, iz XVI veka, antička Anderua, ili Sanderua, na Pojtingerovoj tabli javlja se kao Anagastum, a u letopisu popa Dukljanina kao Onogošt. Ime Anagastum, od kojeg je kasnije nastao oblik Onogošt, gotskog je, odnosno germanskog porekla, a dolazi od imena nekog gotskog vojskovođe Anagasta, koji je najverovatnije ratovao u ovim krajevima krajem IV ili početkom V veka (Škrivanić G.,1971).

Na karti je ubeleženo oko 555 gradova i 3.500 drugih mesta. Nazivi, kao i ideogrami i vinjete koji označavaju naseljena mesta ili raskršća sa lokalnim putevima su crne boje. Naselja (*civitas*) su klasirana prema važnosti u carstvu. Manje usputne stanice ***(mansio)*** i svratišta (***mutatio***) obeleženi su laktastim prelomima puta. Veća naselja su obeležena vinjetama. Neutvrđena naselja predstavljena su vinjetama jedne ili više povezanih zgrada. Vinjeta sa dve krilne kule obeležava važnije utvrđene stanice na putu. Utvrđeni gradovi sa naseljem označeni su vinjetom sa kulama i zgradama opasanim zidom (na prime Akvileja, Tessalonice). Veliki gradovi su i dekorisani (Rim, Konstantinopolj, Antiohija). Prikazane

(Thessaloniki). Near Bitolj (*Heraclea*), a lateral road spread northeastward via the following route: *Ceranus* (Prilep), *Gurbita* (Rajec), *Euristo* (Drenova), *Stopis* (Stobi - Gradsko, southeast from Veles), *Astibo* (Štip), *Tranupara* (Odrizari), *Peutalia* (Ćustendil), *Aelea* (Palanka) and *Sertica* (Sofia).

Near the town of *Stopis* (Stobi - Gradsko), this lateral road intersected with a longitudinal road ***via the Vardar river basin*** from Thessaloniki towards Skopje and followed the route: *Thessalonice* (Thessaloniki), *Gallicum* (Kufalovo village in Greece), *Tauriana* (Dojran), *Idomenia* (Miletkovo village southeast from Demir Kapija), *Stenas* (Demir Kapija), *Antigona* (Tremnik village northwest from Demir Kapija), *Ad Cephalon* (Glavlje site southeast from Velesa, or Novoćani village?), *Presidio* (Venole), *Ad Hercule* (north from Veles, Bela voda?), an undesignated road stop (Katlanovska banja?), *Scopis* (Zlokućane near Skopje).

Settlements. The toponymy on the map is either Roman or has been Romanized, and it preserves its original base, e.g. there is Resinum instead of Rhison; Tragurio instead of Tragurion; Lissum instead of Lissos; Epitauro instead of Epidavra, etc. The ancient Anderua or Sanderua from foreign XVI century maps is referred to as Anagastum on Peutinger's map, and in the Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja it is referred to as Onogošt. The name Anagastum, from which Onogošt originates, is of a Gothic, i.e. German origin, derived from the name of a Gothic commander Anagasta, who probably fought in this area in late IV or early V centuries (Škrivanić G., 1971).

There are around 555 towns and 3, 500 other locations specified on the map. Names, ideographs and vignettes which denote settlements or local crossroads are in black color. Settlements (*civitas*) are classified in line with their relevance within the Empire. Minor road stops ***(mansio)*** and inns (***mutatio***) are marked with elbow-like road splits. Major settlements are marked with vignettes, and unfortified settlements are represented with vignettes of one or more bounded buildings. A two-tower vignette marks major fortified road stops. Fortified populated towns are designated with vignettes on which towers and buildings are surrounded with walls (e.g. Akvilea, Tessalonice). Major cities are

su i banje, svetilišta. Banje su obeležene vinjetom najčešće obojenom u sredini u plavo, u vidu pravougaone zgrade sa dve čeone kule, povezane zidom i vratima u sredini. Hramovi ili svetilišta su označeni vinjetom u obliku zgrade, a oni važniji i ispisanim nazivom (na primer, Ad Dianam, Templum Iouis i slično). Na Pojtingerovoj tabli ima naziva koji odstupaju od uobičajenih latinskih naziva za dato mesto. Pored nekih vinjeta nema imena (na primer Cibalae - Vinkovci). Vinjeta banje između Stobija i Skoplja verovatno označava Katlanovsku banju. Neki nazivi su spojeni. npr. Ulmo (Orašje kod Tovarnika) i Spaneta (Kukujevci kod Šida) ispisani su kao Ulmospaneta.

ZAKLJUČAK

Pojtingerova tabla bogatija je po toponomastičkoj građi od Ptolemejeve karte. Bitna razlika ovih dveju karata, između ostalog, leži i u njihovoj koncepciji i kompoziciji. Tako, dok se kod Ptolemejeve karte težilo što vernijem predstavljanju zemljine površine pomoću astronomske mreže, kod Pojtingerove karte se išlo za tim da bude što potpunija u zahvatu rimskog carstva. Odatle je predstava pokrajina u njihovom prostiranju došla do jačeg izražaja, a da ne govorimo o putnim pravcima, usputnim stanicama i obeleženim odstojanjima. Pojtingerova tabla je dragoceni spomenik napretka rimske kartografije u čisto praktične, saobraćajno-geografske, privredno-geografske i političko-geografske svrhe, u odnosu na antičku grčku kartografiju.

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even decorated (Rome, Constantinopolis, Antiohia). Spas and chancels are represented as well. Spa vignettes are usually blue in the middle, and there is a rectangular building with two front towers connected with walls and a door in the middle. Vignettes which denote chancels and temples are building-shaped, and the major ones have an inscripted name on it (e.g. Ad Dianam, Templum Iouis etc.). On Peutinger's map, there are names which deviate from typical Latin terms. Some vignettes are missing denotations (e.g. Cibalae - Vinkovci). Vignette which marks a spa between Stobi and Skopje probably refers to Katlanovska spa. Some names are blended such as Ulmo (Orašje near Tovarnik) and Spaneta (Kukujevci near Šid) which are written as Ulmospaneta.

CONCLUSION

Peutinger's map is richer in its toponomastic corpus than Ptolemy's map. The crucial difference between the two maps is, among other things, their concept and composition. Thus, Ptolemy's map attempts to use the astronomic network in order to authentically represent the Earth's surface, whereas Peutinger's map targets a comprehensive description of the Roman Empire. Hence, there is an expressive representation of provinces and their coverage, let alone the road directions, road stops, and marked distances. Peutinger's map is a valuable testimonial of the advancement of Roman topography for purely practical, transport-geographical, economic-geographical, and political-geographical purposes in comparison with the ancient Greek cartography.

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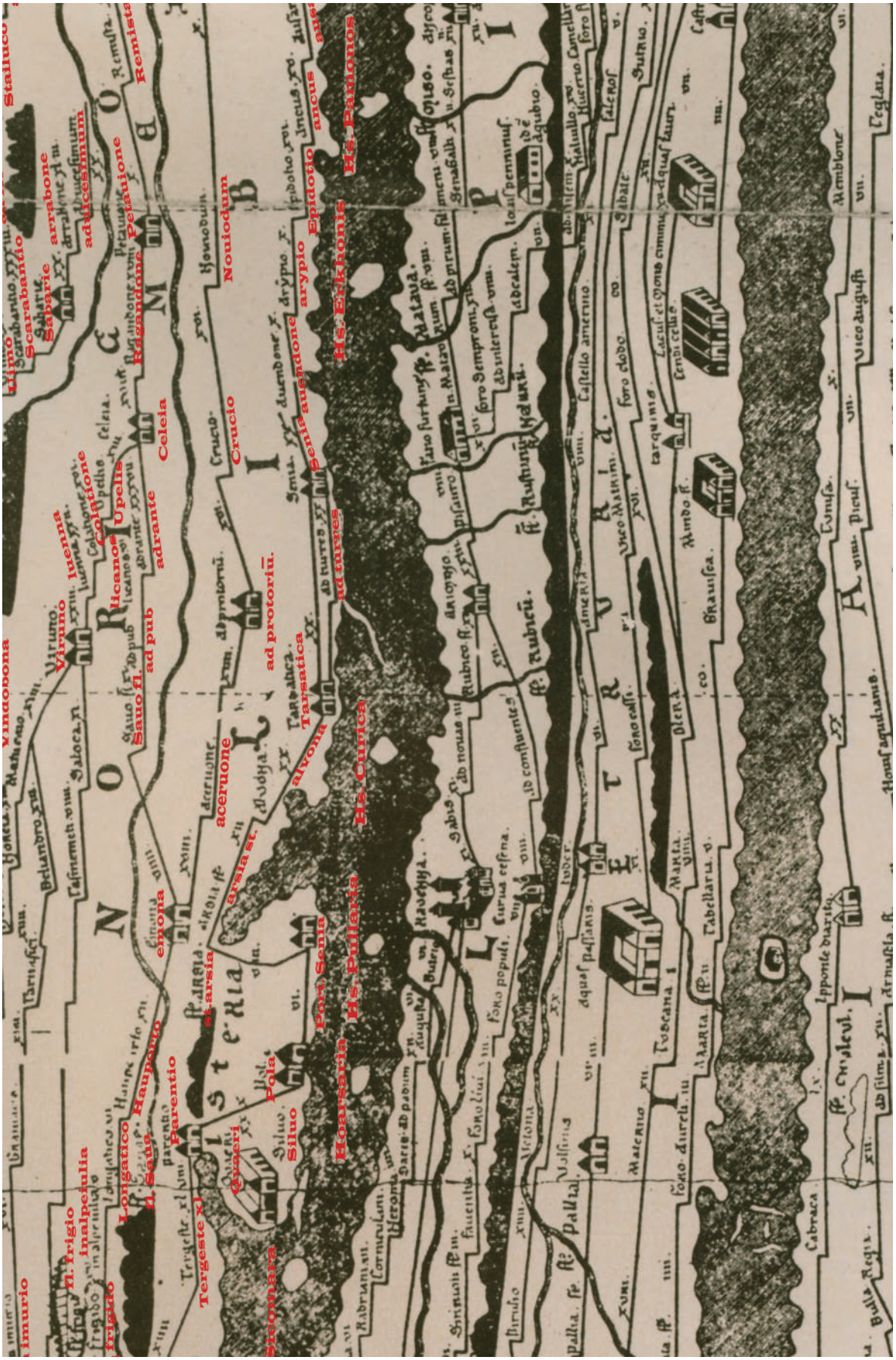
РЕЗИМЕ

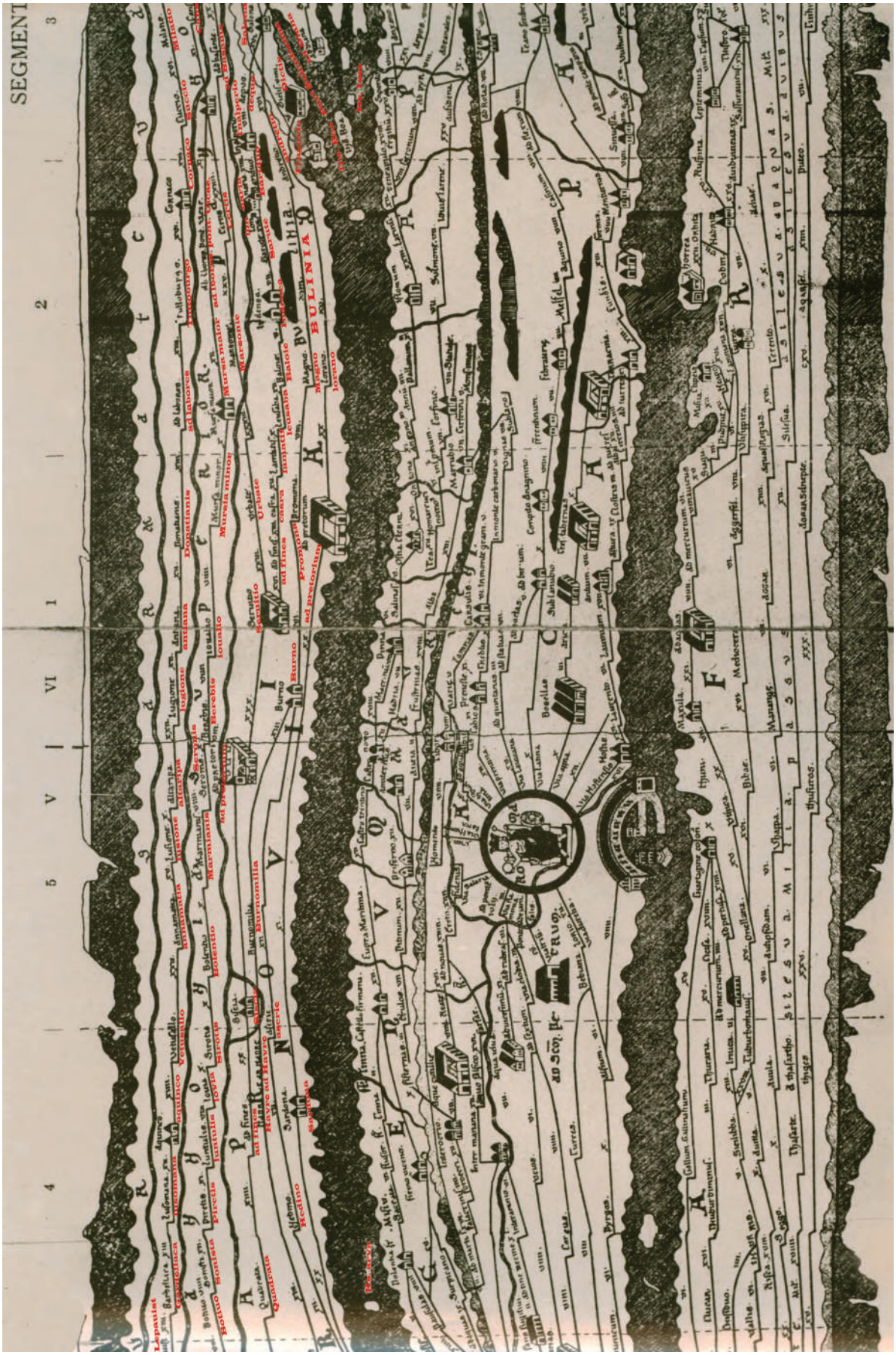
Pojtingerova tabla nije bila u obliku jedne prave zemaljske karte, kakve su inače poznate sve do pred kraj antičkog doba. Iz praktičnih razloga, bila je sastavljena iz 12 listova pergamenta. Na taj način, bila je podešena da se koristi kao svitak i da se nosi na put, upravo prototip danjašnjih sekcija. Ova karta pretstavlja Rimsku Imperiju i druge zemlje u drugoj polovini IV veka, uglavnom ceo onda poznati svet, od Herkulovih stubova i Britanskih ostrva na zapadu, do ušća Ganga i ostrva Taprobana (Cejlona) na istoku. Kontinenti su sa severa i juga opkoljeni okeanom. Usled ovakvog oblika karte, veoma izduženog svitka, slika predela je jako sažeta, kao kad bi se Zemljina površina pespektivno nacrtala gledajući sa juga ka severu. Sredozemno more, Crno more i sva druga mora sasvim su sužena a izdužena; a u tom istom pravcu, sa zapada na istok, ili obrnuto, teku većina reka. Ali, ono što je glavno, tu su i putne mreže, takođe sve izdužene uporedničkim pravcem. Inače nema ni traga o astronomskim odredbama mesta ili o kartografskoj mreži, pa, razume se, kao što je već iz prethodnog jasno, ni o pravoj slici izgleda predela; ali se geograf i istoričar ipak na toj karti veoma lako snalazi, brzo identifikuje predele, puteve, i usputna mesta. Zemlje Balkanskog poluostrva, od vrha Tršćanskog zaliva do ušća Dunava i do Carigrada, zajedno sa naspramnim jadranskim delom Italije i naspramnom sredozemnom obalom Afrike do ušća Nila, obuhvataju delovi karte od kraja IV pa do početka IX segmenta (Segmentum IV/5 - IX/1) sa mnogo antropogeografskih podataka iz onog doba.

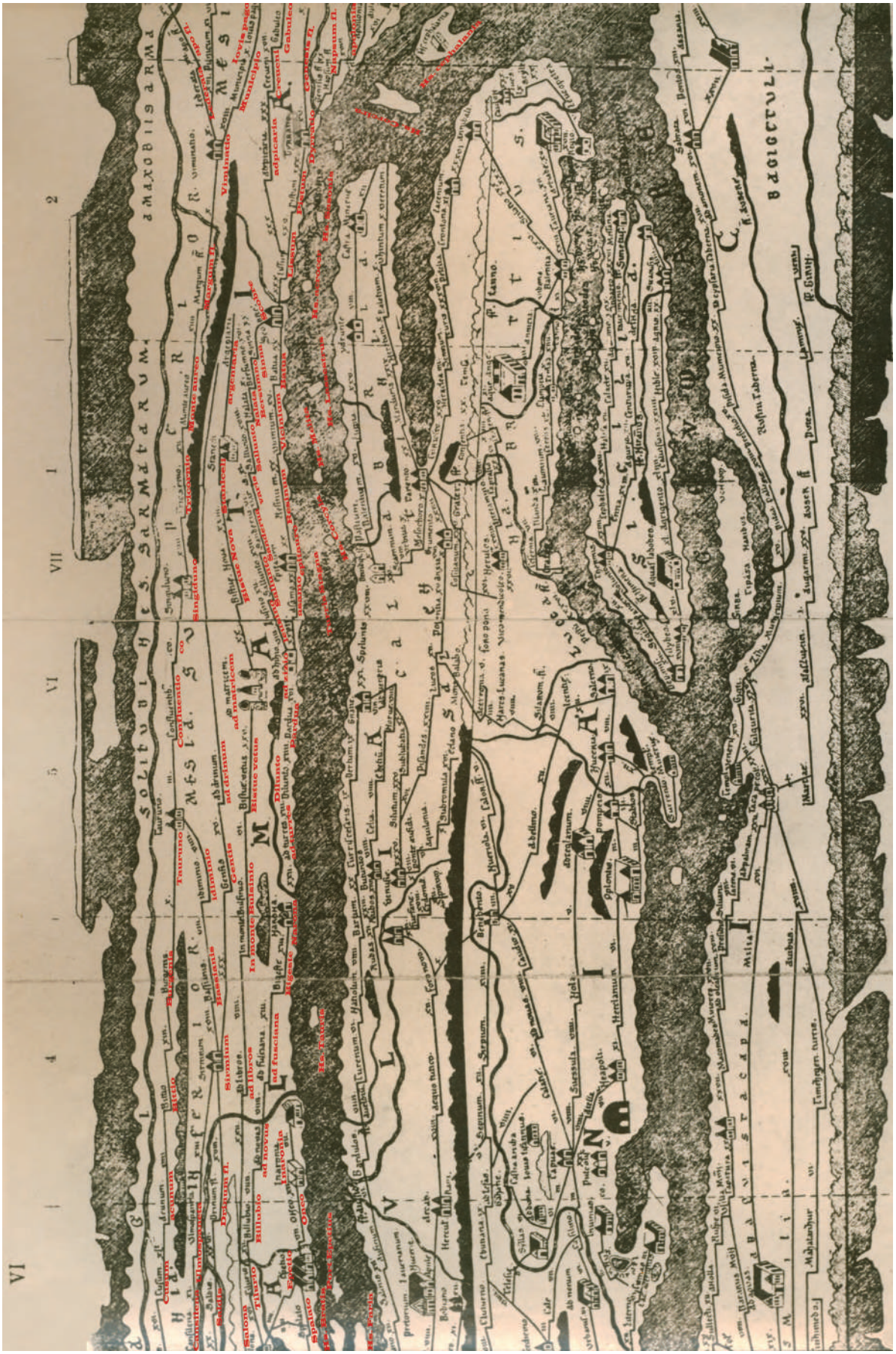
SUMMARY

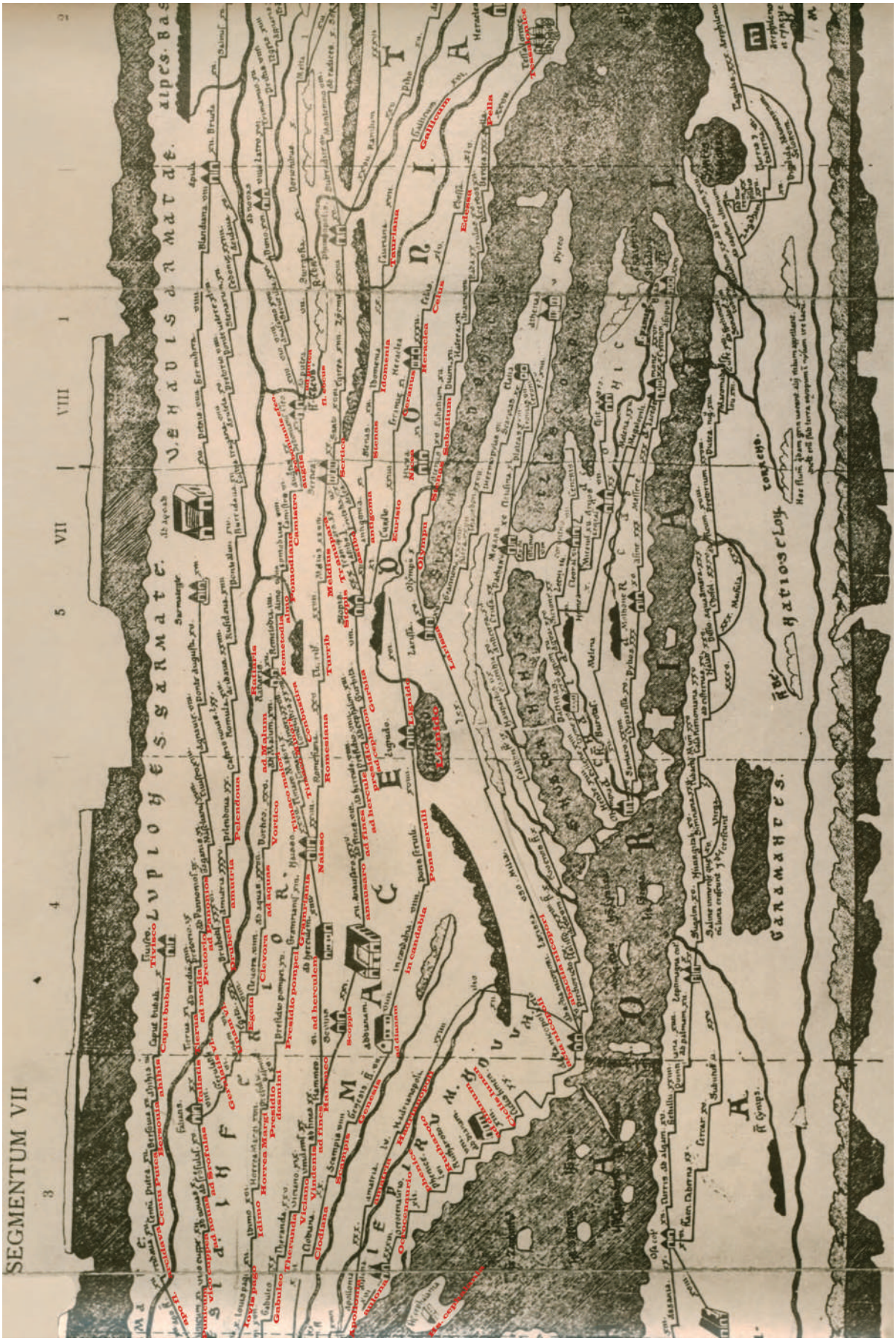
Peutinger's map did not have a form of a typical Earth map which used to be common by the end of ancient period. It comprised 12 sheets of parchment for purely practical reasons. Hence, its roll-like shape made it suitable for transport and it was a prototype of modern map sections. This map represented the Roman Empire and other lands in second half of IV century, meaning the entire known world at the time, from Pillars of Hercules and the British Isles in the west to the Ganges delta and Taprobane Island (Ceylon) in the east. Continents were surrounded by the ocean in north and south. Due to its rolled shape, the map landscape is narrow as if the Earth's surface were drawn looking from south to north. The Mediterranean, the Black sea, and all other seas are narrow and long, and most rivers flow in the same west-east direction. Still, the major feature is the transport network at which the roads are elongated longitudinally. In addition, there is no sign of astronomical coordinates or a cartographic network, which implies there is also no sign of a clear scenery image; but a geographer or historian skillful in geographical perspectives may easily observe the map and identify regions and locations. West Balkan countries, ranging from the top of the Gulf of Trieste to the Danube delta and Istanbul, along with the Adriatic Italy coast and Mediterranean African coast to the Nile delta, are represented on the map starting with the end of segment IV up to the beginning of segment IX (Segmentum IV/5 - IX/1) with many anthropogeographical information dating back from that period.

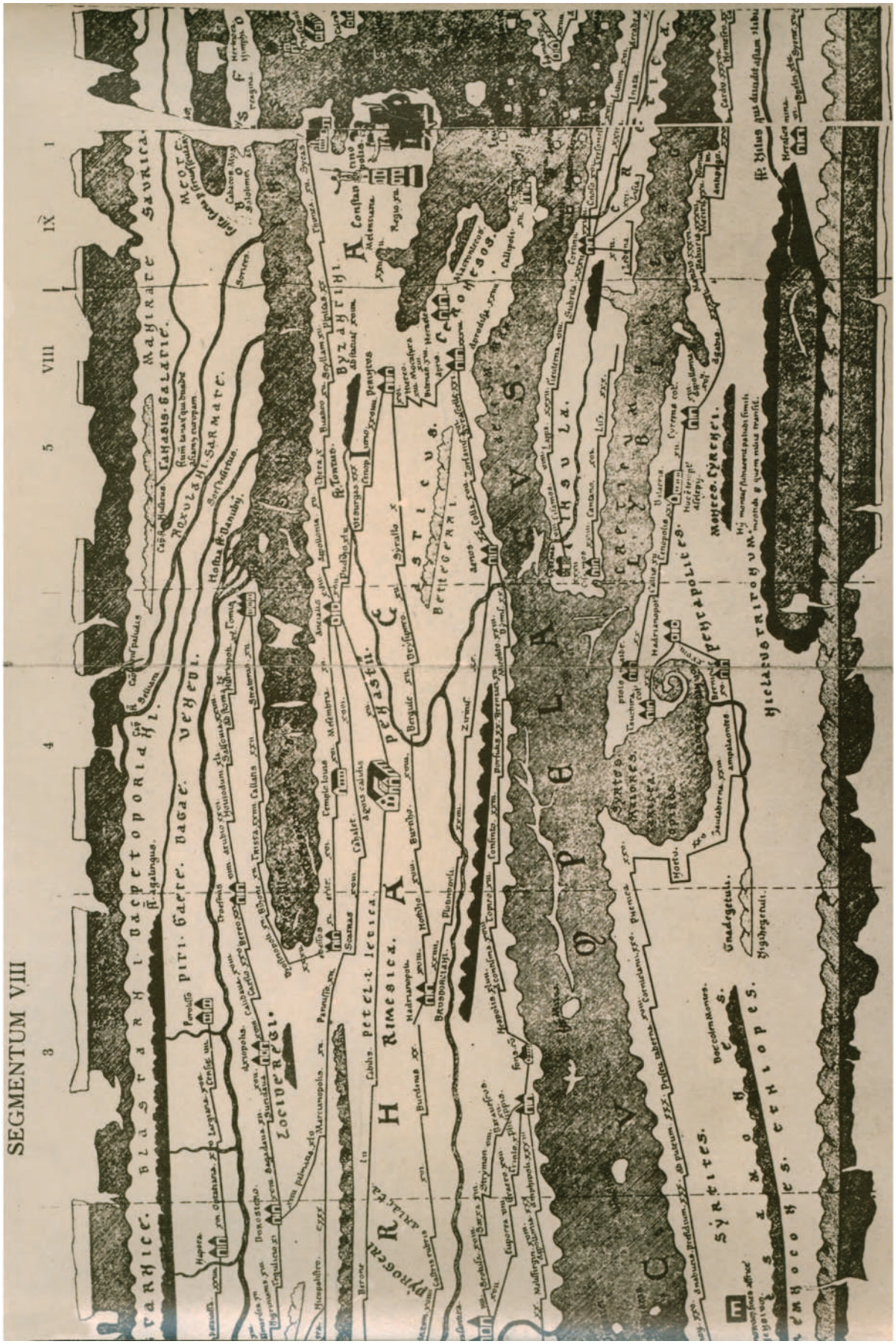
Sl. 1. - Pojtingerova karta, segmenti V - IX, na kojima se vide delovi Balkanskog poluostrva, od Akvileje do Konstantinopolja (po K. Mileru). Dopunjeno čitljivijom transkripcijom naziva naselja na centralno-zapadnom Balkanu i okolnim zemljama (gornji deo karte).
Picture 1. – Peutinger's map, segments V – IX representing parts of the Balkan Peninsula, from Akvilea to Constantinopolis (according to K. Miller). There is an additional readable transcription of settlement names in central-west Balkans and neighboring regions (upper map parts).


Istria
Tergeste
Parentio
Haupolis
Pola
Siluo
Port Sena
Hs. Pullaria
Hs. Cuica
Hs. Erkhonis
Hs. Pamonos
Nouiodum
Celeia
Crucio
Virunum
Scarabantio
Sabaria
arrabone
adiucestinum
Petauione
Ragandone
Cetio
Cetina
Tarsatica
Arsia fl.
Arsia st.
Acerone
Senia
Arypio
Epidotio
Ancus
Aquileia
Aquileia
Aquileia


SEGMENT
BULINIA
ROMA




SEGMENTUM VII


SEGMENTUM VIII
3
4
5
VIII
IX
Mauritaniæ Sitifensis.
Numidiæ.
Africæ.
Byzacium.
Tripolis.
Cyrenaica.
Mauritaniæ Cæsariensis.
Mauritaniæ Tingitanæ.
Hispaniæ Baeticæ.
Hispaniæ Tarraconensis.
Mauritaniæ Tingitanæ.
Mauritaniæ Cæsariensis.
Numidiæ.
Africæ.
Byzacium.
Tripolis.
Cyrenaica.
Mauritaniæ Sitifensis

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