

THE ISSUE OF ORIGIN AND DIVISION OF THE PROVINCE OF ILLYRICUM*

The paper is divided into two units. The first analyses the narrative sources and inscriptions carved on epigraphic monuments dated to the 1st century whose content, directly or indirectly gives an insight into the issue of establishing the Roman province of Illyricum. Moreover, the paper discusses different scholarly regarding the problem of dating the origin of the province of Illyricum. The second part of the paper discusses the division of the province of Illyricum into two military units: *Illyricum Superius* and *Illyricum Inferius*, i.e. the Roman province of Dalmatia and Pannonia. There are four main hypotheses in scholarship regarding the time when Illyricum was divided into Pannonia and Dalmatia in administrative terms. The oldest hypothesis is that Illyricum was divided during or immediately after the quelling of the Great Illyrian Uprising or *Bellum Batonianum* (AD 6–9). The second hypothesis is that Illyricum was divided into two provinces at the end of Tiberius's reign (AD 14–37) at the latest, whereas some scholars believe that it was divided under Claudius (AD 41–54). The fourth hypothesis is that the final formation of the provinces took place under Vespasian (AD 69–79). All these hypotheses were analysed in detail in order to provide an answer to this important administrative question regarding Roman provincial history and archaeology.

Keywords: *Illyricum*, *Illyricum Superius*, *Illyricum Inferius*, province, *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, hypotheses, *legatus pro praetore*, *legatus exercitus*, honorary inscriptions, military diplomas / *Ključne riječi*: *Ilirik*, *Gornji Ilirik*, *Donji Ilirik*, *provincija*, *Panonija*, *Dalmacija*, *pret-postavke*, *legatus pro praetore*, *legatus exercitus*, *počasni natpisi*, *vojničke diplome*

The establishment of Illyricum as a military *provincia* can be defined as the result of the downfall of Gentius's kingdom in 168 BC. This is implied by Livy's text in which he argues that *praetor* Lucius Anicius divided Gentius's kingdom into three parts. The most important for the administrative history is the southern part which Livy had defined as *tertiam Agravonitas et Rhizonitas et Olciniatas accolaeque eorum*.¹ Some scholars assume that Roman Illyricum started to expand from this territory.² For the Romans, the situation they encountered in the territory of the former Gentius's kingdom was specific as the southern communities were accustomed to the monarchic centralised system, unlike the northern communities,

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1 Livy, 45. 26. 13–15.

2 Wilkes 1969: 29; Suić 1976: 185–186; Bojanovski 1988a: 30.

which further complicated the integration into the Roman administrative system.³ There are hypotheses that the territories for which the Romans used the term *socii et amici*, such as Illyricum, were subjected to the so-called *Lex provinciae*, which is not voted in the Senate but belongs directly to the authority of the Roman military commander in the field.⁴ In a way, this could be called the symbolic birth of Illyricum. However, we should be cautious when making such conclusions given that there had been no evidence of the province's existence up to Caesar's time.⁵ Since we know from Appian that the Delmatae paid tribute to Rome during his proconsulship, we can conclude that the Romans controlled the coastal part of Dalmatia.⁶ It seems that the entire interior still had not been conquered at that point. By analysing narrative sources (Posidonius, Vatinius's letters to Cicero, Pliny the Elder, Strabo, Velleius Paterculus), Čače justifiably concluded that the term *Illyricum* in the Late Republican period referred to the southern coast conquered by the Romans in 168 BC.⁷ The texts of these Graeco-Roman authors clearly show that the concept of Dalmatia began to develop quite early in the Roman discourse.⁸ Finally we should note that the idea of Illyricum as a province in the 2nd century BC was nothing more but a temporary provincial command.

In the provincial context, Illyricum was first mentioned by Cicero in his *In Publium Vatiniū testem interrogatio*. In his speech against pro-Caesar's tribune Publius Vatinius, Cicero states that Vatinius's most important service for Caesar was passing *Lex Vatinia de Caesaris provincia*,⁹ the law which granted Caesar the governorship over Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum. Some scholars believe that *Lex Vatinia de Caesaris provincia* is the law that validated the existence of Illyricum as a province in administrative terms. According to Bilić-Dujmušić, this law detached Illyricum from the province of Macedonia, which had been its integral part.¹⁰ Milivojević believes that, pursuant to Vatinius's law from 59 BC, Caesar governed Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, thus becoming the first governor of the reorganised protectorate.¹¹ Caesar's visit to Illyricum by the end of 57 BC is believed to

3 Milivojević 2021b: 114.

4 Neither narrative sources nor epigraphic monuments corroborated this term, instead it originated in the 19th century when the historiography of that time attempted to answer the question: was there a single law whose adoption established a certain territory as an administratively organised province? Modern scholarship believes that such a law did not exist, instead it was a proclamation that can be considered an amendment to the law (Lintott 1993: 30–31; Milivojević 2011b: 104).

5 Zippel introduced a thesis according to which the province of Illyricum was established around 118 BC after a successful military campaign of L. Caecilius Metellus against the Segestani and Delmatae in the period from 119 to 117 BC. According to Zippel, at this time Metellus organised expanded Illyricum as a province already in 118 BC. Zippel believes that all the circumstances suited Metellus to form a province (Zippel 1877: 189). Zaninović, Wilkes, and Bojanovski support Zippel's view (Zaninović 1966: 29; Wilkes 1969: 36; Bojanovski 1988a: 39). The *conventus* of Roman citizens (*conventus civium Romanorum*) were possibly formed then, but the province's origin can hardly be dated to the period of Metellus's campaign. In this period Illyricum signified a geographic and not administrative term.

6 *The Illyrians were afraid that he would attack them, as they were directly on his route, so they sent an embassy to Rome in order to apologize for the past events and offer him friendship and alliance, priding themselves as a brave nation. Although Caesar was hurrying with preparations against the Parthians, he nonetheless replied with dignity, that he would not accept friendship with those who had acted like them, but was prepared to pardon them if they would pay tribute and deliver hostages* (App. Ill. 13. 37–38). It is possible that the Delmatae, who controlled the central part of the Adriatic (from Narona to the river Titius – Krka), had started to pay this tribute since the time of Gaius Cosconius, who defeated them in the period from AD 78 to AD 76 (Bojanovski 1988a: 39; Čače 1989: 87; Šašel Kos 2000: 285).

7 Čače 2001: 34–44.

8 Posidon. *Athen.* 9. 8 p. 369 CD; Vatin. *ad fam.* 5. 9. 2; Plin. *HN* 3.142–144; Strabo 7. 5. 3; Vell. *Pat.* 2. 90, 1.

9 Cic. *Vat.* 11. 26–28.

10 Bilić-Dujmušić 2000: 20–22.

11 Milivojević 2021b: 124–129.

be one of the arguments for Caesar becoming the first governor of Illyricum through Vatinius's law.¹² Nevertheless, we should note that other Roman sources paint a different picture of Illyricum's administrative position. For example, in his speech *De provinciis consularibus* Cicero mentions only two Gauls under Caesar's authority. Accordingly, Džino and Domić Kunić reasonably assumed that perhaps at that time Illyricum was perceived as part of the Cisalpine provincial command (*imperium*).¹³

Apart from Cicero, the following sources attest Caesar's appointment and power in Illyricum: Plutarch, Suetonius, Cassius Dio, and Orosius. In Caesar's and Pompey's biographies, Plutarch writes that Illyricum was attached to Caesar's area of responsibility (*provincia*) over Cisalpine Gaul. However, he presented a different claim in the biography of Cato the Younger where he writes: *Caesar's party so cajoled the people as to get a vote passed giving to Caesar the government of Illyria and all Gaul*.¹⁴ The texts of Suetonius and Dio suggest that Illyricum was attached to Cisalpine Gaul, within Caesar's area of responsibility. Orosius is the only source clearly arguing that Illyricum was treated as a separate province pursuant to the law from AD 59.¹⁵ Nevertheless, it should be noted that Orosius lived much later than the other aforementioned authors.

We can accept the view that *Lex Vatinia de Caesaris provincia* was the law which ultimately gave shape to the Roman rule over the eastern Adriatic coast, and constructed Illyricum as a political concept. This means that under Caesar, Illyricum existed in the Roman political and administrative discourse *de iure*, but not *de facto*.¹⁶ This can be observed in Caesar's own description of his military campaign against the Pirustae: *When he had concluded the assizes of Hither Gaul he himself set out for Illyricum, for he learnt that the Pirustae were devastating by raids the portion of the Province nearest them. When he was come thither he made a levy of troops upon the states, and commanded them to assemble at a certain point*.¹⁷ Caesar uses the term *partem provinciae* in the source Latin text. In the context of his usage of the term *provincia*, for him and his readers it refers to the zone of military command.

The question arises what did the territory of Illyricum imply under Caesar's proconsulship? Although no precise response could be given to this question, it could be assumed that Caesar's area of responsibility included the region between the Emona basin and Siscia in the north, and the coastal belt from Histria to Lissos.¹⁸ This means that his area of responsibility involved different indigenous communities such as the Histri, Liburnians, Cisalpine Iapodes, the Issaeon alliance with Salona, Naronia and its surroundings, the polities of the Daorsi, Pleraei, Ardiaei and Iapodes.¹⁹ Indigenous communities in the Roman Illyricum seem to have had their own administration systems and Rome did not meddle into their internal organisation. Some communities were loyal to Rome,

12 Bilić-Dujmušić, Milivojević 2018: 62–77.

13 Cic. *Prov. cons.* 2 (3); 15 (36); Džino, Domić Kunić 2013: 124.

14 Plut. *Caes.* 14. 6; Plut. *Pomp.* 48. 3; Plut. *Cato Min.* 33. 3. The translation into English is that of the Loeb Classical Library edition by Bernadotte Perrin.

15 Suet. *Iul.* 22. 1; Cass. Dio. 38. 8. 5; Oros. 6. 7. 1.

16 Džino 2010: 80; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013: 122–133.

17 *Ipse conventibus Galliae citerioris peractis in Illyricum proficiscitur, quod a Pirustis finitimam partem provinciae incursionibus vastari audiebat. Eo cum venisset, civitatibus milites imperat certumque in locum convenire iubet* (Caes. *B. Gall.* 5. 1). Translated into English by W. A. McDevitte and W. S. Bohn.

18 The Emona basin, which was included in Cisalpine Gaul, was most likely part of Italy during Caesar's proconsulship until about 42 BC (Šašel Kos 2005: 340; 2015: 65). This would mean that under Caesar's proconsulship in Gaul and Illyricum, Cisalpine Gaul extended over the Odra pass towards the Emona basin, where Aquileia established its northernmost settlement (*vicus*) and an important *emporium* in Nauportus (Šašel Kos 2011: 107).

19 Džino 2010: 84–90; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013: 125; Šašel Kos 2015: 65.

but some tried to make use of the fact that Caesar was focused on civil wars in order to fight for their independence. The Delmataan alliance was notably strong in this period, Caesar's consul Aulus Gabinius and *quaestor pro praetore* Quintus Cornificius waged war against them in 48–47 BC. Gabinius was defeated and wounded at Sinodium in the Delmataan territory. He lost five cohorts and *signa* and died of wounds in Salona several months after the defeat.²⁰ According to *Bellum Alexandrinum*, *quaestor pro praetore* Quintus Cornificius commanded over two legions.²¹ Therefore, in the context of Illyricum, *quaestor pro praetore* Cornificius should be regarded as a military, and not a civilian official.

Considering the aforementioned, we can conclude that under Caesar Illyricum almost certainly was not organised as a Roman province in administrative terms.²² Illyricum was an addition to Caesar's area of responsibility (*provincia*) which gave him unlimited freedom of command. According to Mesihović, the fact that Caesar was given the proconsulship over Illyricum, together with Cisalpine Gaul, for the period of five years (*quinquennium*), shows that it is a specific, special magistrature, and not some regular service, but exercised over a fixed period. Sources show that under Caesar's proconsulship on the eastern Adriatic coast there is neither a permanent provincial apparatus nor provincial, civil institutions.²³ It is likely that during this period this region does not have a defined territory or capital. Unlike the period under Augustus, the Roman rule in Illyricum was limited to the coastal regions and some inland parts with smaller or larger Roman communities organised into *conventus civium Romanorum*.²⁴

The fact that Marcus Brutus governed the territory of Illyricum, together with Macedonia, in the period before Caesar's death proves that Illyricum did not have a provincial status before the Octavian's Illyrian wars (35–33 BC).²⁵ Illyricum was then treated as part of Macedonia.

Illyricum came under Octavian's jurisdiction after the treaty signed by *triumviri* in Brundisium in 40 BC. Nonetheless, it should be noted that this treaty did not secure the entire Illyricum to Octavian. The south-eastern part was awarded to Mark Anthony. This part of Illyricum bordered Macedonia, as well as the region between Scodra and Lissos. After the treaty of Brundisium, Octavian undoubtedly secured the Roman ascendancy in Illyricum and extended the existing border of the Roman territory in this region; however, the province still did not exist prior to 33 BC.²⁶ Namely, during his campaign from 35 to 33 BC, Octavian defeated the Segestani, Iapodes, Delmatae, and a series of smaller peoples as reported by Appian in detail.²⁷ Šašel Kos believes that from 35 to 33 BC Octavian extended his authority to include the part of Illyricum controlled by Mark Anthony according to the treaty of Brundisium.²⁸ Octavian managed to turn Roman Illyricum into a compact territorial unit, thereby meeting the basic prerequisite for forming a province in administrative terms.

20 Caes. *B. Alex.* 43. 1-3; App. *Ill.* 25. 71; 27.78; Zaninović 1966: 30; 2015: 390–391; Wilkes 1969: 42; Bojanovski 1988a: 40; Šašel Kos 2000, 285; 2005: 347–356; Džino 2010: 92–93.

21 Caes. *B. Alex.* 43, 1–3.

22 Šašel Kos 2015: 65.

23 Mesihović 2014: 14–15.

24 Šašel Kos 2015: 65.

25 Freber 1993: 125.

26 Šašel Kos 2005: 398–399; 2011: 107; Mesihović 2014: 17.

27 App. *Ill.* 16–30.

28 Šašel Kos 1999: 258–260.

Narrative sources are quite imprecise and do not offer a direct response to the question: when did Illyricum officially become a province? The possible *terminus post quem* of establishing the province of Illyricum could be the end of Octavian's military campaign – 33 BC. The successful military campaign secured the Roman coast that had already been controlled by the Romans on the right coast of the Adriatic Sea for decades. Judging by Dio's text, *terminus ante quem* was 27 BC when Octavian held a speech before the Senate and Illyricum is there listed amongst the provinces given to the senatorial administration.²⁹ We can conclude from Dio's text that Augustus left the government over Illyricum to the Senate so as to show himself as a democratic ruler. The first reason for this decision is propaganda. The provinces that he left to the Senate, including Illyricum, had been pacified. Augustus thus wanted to show that *the Senate and the people can live freely in the most beautiful part of the Empire, while he took over the provinces that were under a constant war threat*. Nevertheless, behind his concern for the people and the Senate lies the motive to control the military troops stationed in the provinces under a constant military threat. These legions and auxiliaries were better armed and trained than the army in smaller provinces. The same source states that Octavian, Augustus by then, soon returned Illyricum under his command.³⁰ Thus, Illyricum became an imperial province after a short period of being a senatorial province. We can assume that he made this decision because Illyricum bordered Italy and its strategic position was threatened by attacks of the Pannonians and other indigenous communities.³¹ Although the earliest evidence of these attacks dates to the period between 16 and 14 BC, we should not dismiss the possibility that the Pannonians and their related communities from the hinterland made organized attacks on the territory of the Roman Illyricum.

The analysis of Dio's and Suetonius's texts shows that following Tiberius's victory during *Bellum Pannonicum* in 11 BC, Illyricum became one of the imperial provinces governed by legates.³² By achieving victory in *Bellum Pannonicum*, Tiberius significantly extended the territory of Illyricum conquering southern parts of the Pannonian plains.³³ We know of two proconsuls from the time when Illyricum was a senatorial province – *Cnaeus Baebius Tamphilus Vala Numonianus* and *Publius Silius Nerva*.³⁴ After Illyricum became an imperial province, *legati Augusti pro praetore* became provincial governors instead of proconsuls.³⁵

29 Cass. Dio 53. 12. 4–8; Livy 34. 4; Strabo 17. 3. 25

30 Cass. Dio 53. 12. 4–8: *Africa, Numidia, Asia, Greece and Epirus, the Dalmatian and Macedonian districts, Crete and the Cyrenaic portion of Libya, Bithynia with Pontus which adjoined it, Sardinia and Baetica were held to belong to the people and the senate; while to Caesar belonged the remainder of Spain – that is, the district of Tarraco and Lusitania – and all the Gauls – that is, Gallia Narbonensis, Gallia Lugdunensis, Aquitania, and Belgica, both the natives themselves and the aliens among them. For some of the Celts, whom we call Germans, had occupied all the Belgic territory among the Rhine and caused it to be called Germany, the upper portion extending to the sources of that river, and the lower portion reaching to the British Ocean. These provinces, then, together with Coele-Syria, as it is called, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Cyprus and Egypt, fell at that time to Caesar's share; for afterwards he gave Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis back to the people, and for himself took Dalmatia instead.* Translated into English by Earnest Cary.

31 Vell. Pat. 2. 39. 3; Vell. Pat. 2. 96. 2–3; Suet. Aug., 20; Suet. Aug. 21; Suet. Tib. 9; Suet. Tib. 14; RG 30. 1; Frontin. 2. 1. 5; Livy 141; Flor. 2. 24; Fest. Brev. 7; Eutrop. 7. 9. Domić Kunić 2006: 102; 2012: 40; Kovács 2014: 25–29; Šačić Beća 2019: 238; 2022: 38–46.

32 Cass. Dio. 54. 34. 3–4; Suet. Tib. 9.

33 Domić Kunić 2006: 110; Mesihović 2010: 89; Džino 2012: 463; Šačić Beća 2019: 243.

34 AE 1986, 0547 = AE 2000, 1181 = AE 2008, 1031; CIL III 297; Cass. Dio. 54.20, 1–2; Bojanovski 1988a: 48–49; Šačić Beća 2022: 38.

35 The exact number of Roman legates in Illyricum prior to the outbreak of *Bellum Batonianum* (AD 6–9) is unknown. Written records only corroborate Marcus Servilius as legate in AD 6 when the rebellion began. An inscription from Posuški Gradac (near Posušje in Herzegovina, in the area of Narona) revealed that Marcus

We should note that there are different opinions regarding the date of the origin of Illyricum. Nagy observed that Illyricum was not found on the list of provinces when Octavian took an oath in the summer of 31 BC, but it appeared as one of the Roman provinces in 27 BC.³⁶ On the other hand, Džino believes that *terminus post quem* of the province's origin is 28 BC. He stated that scholars have not paid much attention to evidence referring to the early days of the province of Illyricum that can be derived from Propertius's love poem dedicated to Cynthia.³⁷ He mentions his love rival, whom Propertius fought over Cynthia's affection, as praetor who "came from Illyricum" – *Praetor ab Illyricis venit modo, Cynthia, terras*. Džino dated the second book of the *Elegies* mentioning a praetor from Illyricum to 29 or 28 BC, but he does not dismiss the possibility of the book being published in 27 BC, although he finds this less likely.³⁸ In their new research results in the book *Rimski ratovi u Iliriku* (Roman Wars in Illyricum), Džino and Domić Kunić state that Illyricum became a separate province between 32 and 28 BC.³⁹ Their dating seems acceptable. It is plausible that Octavian waited a few months after his military campaign to establish a province in Illyricum. On the other hand, it seems logical that the province was established before Octavian's speech before the Senate in 27 BC. Nevertheless, narrative sources do not contain enough evidence that would support this thesis. We know from the sources that the military campaign ended in 33 BC and that Illyricum as a province was mentioned for the first time officially in Octavian's speech before the Senate in 27 BC.

It is interesting that Dio identified the notion of the province of Illyricum with Dalmatia. Obviously, the word *Dalmatia* was a synonym for Illyricum during his time.⁴⁰

Servilius was *legatus Augusti pro praetore* in Illyricum. According to Dodig and Mesihović, Marcus Servilius was *legatus Augusti pro praetore* in Illyricum in the period from AD 4 to 5. Šašel Kos argues that the inscription has not been precisely dated, so Marcus Servilius might have been governor between AD 9 and 12. Nevertheless, Šašel Kos does not dismiss the possibility that Marcus Servilius governed Illyricum before the rebellion. The text carved on the monument from Posuški Gradac is the following: *M(arco) Servilio C(ai) filio co(n)[s(uli)] / VIIvir(o) epulon(um) leg(ato) / pr(o) p(aetore) / Caesaris Augu[sti]* (Dodig 2003: 233–234; Šašel Kos 2010: 125; 2022: 67–69; Mesihović 2014: 26). Based on the available references, we get the impression that the question of the date of Servilius's term as a legate in Illyricum still remains open. The last attested legate before the rebellion was Marcus Valerius Messalla Messallinus. He is mentioned by Dio at the beginning of his account on *Bellum Batonianum*, and writes: *The Dalmatians, chafing under the levies of tribute, had hitherto kept quiet, though unwillingly. But when Tiberius made his second campaign against the Germans, and Valerius Messallinus, the governor of Dalmatia and Pannonia at the time, was sent out with him, taking most of his army along, the Dalmatians, too, were ordered to send a contingent; and on coming together for this purpose and beholding the strength of their warriors, they no longer delayed, but, under the vehement urging of one Bato, a Desidiatian, at first a few revolted and defeated the Romans who came against them, and then the rest also rebelled in consequence of this success* (Dio 55. 29, 1–3). Translated into English by Earnest Cary.

36 Nagy 1991: 67.

37 Sextus Propertius, *Elegiae* (1. 8. 1–4):

Tunc igitur demens, nec te mea cura moratur? / An tibi sum gelida vilior Illyria? / Et tibi iam tanti, quicumque est, iste videtur, / Ut sine me vento quolibet ire velis?

Are you, therefore, mad, does my love not delay you? / Am I worth less to you, than chilly Illyria? / And is he, whoever he is, already so important to you, / that you are willing to go without me wherever the wind blows? *Praetor ab Illyricis venit modo, Cynthia, terras, / maxima praeda tibi, maxima cura mihi.*

The Praetor came from the land of Illyria, Cynthia, / the greatest booty to you, the greatest worry to me.

38 Džino 2008: 701–703.

39 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013: 160.

40 Based on the narrative source analysis, Čače assumed that the term *Dalmatia* appeared in the Roman discourse at the end of the 2nd century BC. In their descriptions of the eastern Adriatic coast, Graeco-Roman authors noted the division of the territory by communities that inhabited certain parts of this coast. However, after the Delmatae strengthened their territorial position, the central Dalmatian territory became understood as a separate unit named after them. According to Čače, it is suggested that the name *Dalmatia* signifies a geo-

What is more, Dio uses the title of *archon* of Dalmatia and Pannonia for Augustus's governor Valerius Messallinus.⁴¹ It seems that Dio used the Greek term *archon* in order to emphasise that this person was a governor. Namely, in the context of Valerius's reference, the term *archon* should be interpreted as a general description of a public office, and not a strict official title. Dio's view of Dalmatia when describing events before *Bellum Batonianum* should be understood accordingly.

Dio writes that in his address to the Senate, Octavian Augustus said that he conquered Pannonia.⁴² However, the Pannonian peoples living in the territory of present-day Bosnia had not been subjugated during Octavian's campaign. A line of defence *Tilurium – Burnum – Siscia – Poetovio – Carnuntum* was probably established then.⁴³ This was a good strategic move because it secured Italy from possible incursions of Pannonian and Norican peoples from the east.⁴⁴ Further, it laid the foundations for Tiberius's conquests of Pannonia during *Bellum Pannonicum*. However, we should bear in mind that all of the Pannonia was not conquered not even during the Pannonian war (*Bellum Pannonicum*). Although Augustus in *Res gestae* emphasised that the border extended as far as the Danube after *Bellum Pannonicum*, this information probably refers to only one part of this river's course.⁴⁵ This information possibly refers to only one part of the Danube river flow. Namely, Augustus's words that he *extended the Illyricum border all the way up to the Danube* should be understood in the context of the subjugation of the Andizetes and not the Celtic communities that lived to the north of the Drava river.⁴⁶ Under Tiberius, Panno-

graphic territory in the 2nd and 1st century BC. This name expanded to the territory that belonged not only to the Delmatae but their related communities. The name *Dalmatia* adopted a different meaning in Augustus's time. By familiarizing themselves with the inland of Illyricum, the Romans started to associate the term *Delmatae* with their neighbours in the hinterland, spreading the term *Dalmatia* towards the north and the east (Čače 2001: 45).

41 Cass. Dio 53. 12. 7; Cass. Dio 55. 29. 1–3.

42 Cass. Dio 53. 7. 1.

43 Šašel 1974: 195–199; Šašel Kos 1986: 146.

44 Scholars offered a thesis regarding the existence of a Roman *limes* (defence line) in the Delmatian region. This defence line, according to a certain number of scholars, extended from the Krka River to the Neretva River. Namely, a series of permanent legionary and auxiliary camps (*Burnum, Tilurium, Promona, Andetrium, Magnum, and Bigeste*) was built to the south of Dinara Mountain. The scholars who represent the idea of the existence of this *limes* believe that the Delmatian *limes* originated either as the result of Octavian's campaign against the Delmatae in 34–33 BC or after the Great Illyrian Revolt in AD 9 (Suić 1981: 232; Zaninović 1984: 66–68; Sanader 2002: 120–128; Šašel Kos 2005: 469–470). On the other hand, Periša has proved that the Delmatian *limes* probably never existed. By looking into the chronology of the origin of camps in Dalmatia, Periša concluded that camps were not established simultaneously, instead their origin is the result of different Roman military operations against the Delmatae and their related communities. Therefore, there was no planned *limes*. For example, the origin of *Tilurium* is associated with Octavian's campaign, and the origin of *Andetrium* and *Burnum* is associated with the Great Illyrian Revolt. Following the Revolt, the soldiers stationed in permanent Roman camps in the Delmatian territory had different tasks, such as construction and road surveillance, securing Roman colonizers and quelling probable new rebellions. Moreover, Periša believes that these camps were used as collection centres for recruiting the Delmatae and their former political allies the Daesitiae, Ditiones, and Maezaei. Since the recruits started to rebel at the beginning of the Great Illyrian Rebellion, the Romans now avoided placing all recruits from the Delmatian hinterland in one camp. Moreover, the camps were now located near ports from where the recruits could be transported to different parts of the Roman Empire to serve in the Roman army (Periša 2008: 510–514). Periša's thesis is well-demonstrated and suggests that there might have not been a *limes* in the Delmatae region.

45 *Pannoniorum gentes, qua[s] ante me principem populi Romani exercitus nunquam adit, devictas per Ti(berium) [Ne]ronem, qui tum erat privoignus et legatus meus, imperio populi Romani su[bi]eci protulique fines Illyrici ad r[iv]um fluminis Dan[ub]i (RG 30. 1). Translation: I subjected to Roman rule, through Tiberius Nero who was then my stepson and legate, certain Pannonian tribes that had not been reached by a Roman army before my reign, thereby extending the frontier of Illyricum as far as the Danube.*

46 Cass. Dio 54. 28. 1–2; Šašel Kos 1986: 154–162; 2011: 33, 2015: 66; Džino 2010: 129–134; Kovács 2014: 38–39.

nia implied the territory in the valleys of the Kupa, Sava, and Drava rivers, whereas the western part of the Pannonian lowland and Transdanubia were incorporated into Lower Illyricum, i.e. Pannonia, under Claudius.⁴⁷ We should note that the construction of limes along the Danube is associated with the period of Claudius's reign. The limes extended along provincial border.⁴⁸ We can conclude that Illyricum was territorially connected following Claudius's reign. The term *Illyricum* expanded with the spread of Roman rule in the Western Balkans and the Middle Danube. In the Roman political discourse, the term *Illyricum* originally had a certain ethnic meaning, but this perception was lost with the expansion of borders.

The division of the province of Illyricum in the light of recent research results

One of the more important questions of Roman provincial history is: when was Illyricum divided into two provinces? This question still remains open. We should bear in mind that there are different methodological approaches to solving this issue.

It should firstly be noted that there are four main scholarly hypotheses regarding the year when Illyricum was administratively divided into Pannonia and Dalmatia. The oldest and commonly accepted hypothesis is that Illyricum was divided during or right after the quelling of the Great Illyrian revolt, i.e. *Bellum Batonianum* (AD 6–9). It is evident that this hypothesis is mostly represented among Alföldy's followers who based their opinion on the data provided by Velleius Paterculus in his account of the events during *Bellum Batonianum*.⁴⁹ Namely, Velleius Paterculus referred to Marcus Valerius Messalinus as *praepositus Illyrico* in AD 6, and then he noted that Gaius Vibius Postumus was *praepositus Dalmatiae* in AD 9.⁵⁰ Bojanovski believes that Velleius's data suggests that Il-

47 Domić Kunić 2006: 66; Šašel Kos 2015: 66.

48 Tac. *Ann.* 12. 29. 2; *CIL* V 35; *CIL* III 146; Kovács 2014: 40.

49 Alföldy 1965: 26.

50 *Felix eventu, forte conatu prima aestate belli Messalini opus mandandum est memoriae. Qui vir animo etiam quam gente nobilior dignissimusque, qui et patrem Corvini habuisset et cognomen suum Cottae fratri relinqueret, praepositus Illyrico subita rebellionem cum semiplena legione vicesima circumdatus hostili exercitu amplius viginti milia fudit fugavitque et ob id ornamentis triumphalibus honoratus est* (Vell. Pat. 2. 112, 1–2).

Translation: An exploit of Messalinus in the first summer of the war, fortunate in its issue as it was bold in undertaking, must here be recorded for posterity. This man, who was even more noble in heart than in birth, and thoroughly worthy of having had Corvinus as his father, and of leaving his cognomen to his brother Cotta, was in command in Illyricum, and, at the sudden outbreak of the rebellion, finding himself surrounded by the army of the enemy and supported by only the twentieth legion, and that at but half its normal strength, he routed and put to flight more than twenty thousand, and for this was honoured with the ornaments of a triumph (Vell. Pat. 2. 112. 1–2).

Magna in bello Delmatico experimenta virtutis in incultos ac difficilis locos praemissus Germanicus dedit; celebri etiam opera diligentique Vibius Postumus vir consularis, praepositus Dalmatiae, ornamenta meruit triumphalia: quem honorem ante paucos annos Passienus et Cossus, viri quamquam diversis virtutibus celebres, in Africa meruerant. Sed Cossus victoriae testimonium etiam in cognomen filii contulit, adolescentis in omnium virtutum exempla geniti. At Postumi operum L. Apronius particeps illa quoque militia eos, quos mox consecutus est, honores excellenti virtute meruit (Vell. Pat. 2. 116. 1–2).

Translation: In the Dalmatian war Germanicus, who had been dispatched in advance of the commander to regions both wild and difficult, gave great proof of his valour. By his repeated services and careful vigilance the governor of Dalmatia, Vibius Postumus the consular, also earned the ornaments of a triumph. A few years before this honour had been earned in Africa by Passienus and Cossus, both celebrated men, though not alike in merit. Cossus passed on to his son, a young man born to exhibit every variety of excellence, a cognomen that still testifies to his victory. And Lucius Apronius, who shared in the achievements of Postumus, earned by the distinguished valour which he displayed in this campaign also, the honours which he actually won shortly afterwards. Translated into English by Frederick W. Shipley.

lyricum was divided after the capitulation of the Breuci at the Bathinus river in AD 8.⁵¹ However, when describing the Roman victory at the Bathinus, in his work Velleius does not indicate that any administrative division took place at that time within the existing province where *Bellum Batonianum* was waged. We can conclude from Velleius's description of events that followed immediately after the battle at the Bathinus that he regarded the territory of Pannonia and Dalmatia in geographic and not administrative terms since he writes: *The winter brought the reward of our efforts in the termination of the war, though it was not until the following summer that all Pannonia sought peace, the remnants of the war as a whole being confined to Dalmatia.*⁵² Apart from Velleius, both Suetonius and Dio corroborate the administrative integrity of Illyricum. Thus, Suetonius in Tiberius's biography writes that Tiberius conquered all of the Illyricum, while Dio clearly notes that Messallinus was the governor of Dalmatia and Pannonia that still had been part of one province.⁵³

Mesihović rightfully questioned that the new provinces could not have been officially established during the war. According to Mesihović, after the Roman disaster at the Teutoburg Forest in AD 9, in an attempt to avoid a new rebellion in Illyricum, the Romans divided this administrative unit into two provinces. Mesihović believes that the aim was to prevent the indigenous population from merging and creating a common identity.⁵⁴ However, it is unlikely that during the interaction with indigenous communities Rome could have gotten an impression that some common identity is being created. Illyricum was a Roman administrative construct. Roman sources clearly show that indigenous communities were independently building their own identities with regard to Rome.

According to Mesihović, Vibius Postumus was the governor of Dalmatia, and his administrative powers were the same as those of magistrate titled *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. He also agrees with Wilkes that, apart from Velleius, Florus as well confirms Vibius Postumus as the governor of Dalmatia.⁵⁵ Namely, Florus informed us that Augustus tasked Vibius to fully subjugate the Dalmatians *who forced this savage people to dig the earth and melt gold from its veins.*⁵⁶ For Kovács, Vibius, mentioned by Florus, is not identical with Vibius, mentioned by Velleius Paterculus.⁵⁷ Indeed, it is hard to believe that immediately after the end of the conflict with indigenous population Rome started exploiting mineral resources, even more so since one of the causes of *Bellum Batonianum* was the dissatisfaction of indigenous population with the relationship with the Roman government in the context of tributes and mineral resources.

According to Kovács, the rank of Vibius Postumus, *praepositus Delmatiae*, have been describing as Tiberius's military legate in Dalmatia,⁵⁸ meaning that in this particular case the word *praepositus* denoted a military and not civilian duty.⁵⁹ Therefore, Vibius Postu-

51 Bojanovski 1988a: 325.

52 Vell. Pat. 2. 114. Translated into English by Frederick W. Shipley.

53 Suet. *Tib.* 16–17; Cass. Dio 55. 29. 1.

54 Mesihović 2010: 90–92.

55 Wilkes 1969: 81–82; Mesihović 2014: 51.

56 Flor. 2. 25.

57 Kovács 2014: 42.

58 Kovács 2008: 244; 2014: 42.

59 In his comprehensive commentary on Velleius's work, Woodman concurs with Wilkes that Vibius Postumus was the governor of the province of Dalmatia in AD 9 (Woodman 1983: 184). Nevertheless, Woodman does not elaborate on the problem of the nature of that governorship, i.e. he does not specify whether it is civilian or military duty. Šašel Kos noted that Velleius, as a participant in the events he's describing, was a reliable witness of informal use of the names *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* at an early period (Šašel Kos 2010: 125). It is likely that the words *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* were not understood in the same way in Augustan period and later periods of Roman history.

mus should not be regarded as the governor of Dalmatia, but as a person who was *legatus exercitus* of Dalmatia. Namely, Illyricum was still a single province in the Augustan period, because in *Monumentum Ancyranum (Res Gestae)* Augustus mentions no division of Illyricum.⁶⁰ Augustus emphasised that the frontiers of Illyricum extended as far as the Danube and that territories of Pannonian communities were part of this province.

A significant number of scholars believe that Illyricum was divided into two provinces no later than the end of Tiberius's reign. This thesis is represented in the works of older generation scholars such as Braunert and Mócsy.⁶¹ As for contemporary scholars, it is important to highlight the works of Džino and Kovács who also came to a conclusion that the administrative division of Illyricum took place under Tiberius (AD 14–37).⁶² According to these two scholars, Tiberius continued with Augustan approach to an administrative organisation which implied the division of large provinces into smaller administrative units.⁶³ For Kovács, the account of Velleius Paterculus that Augustus was *on the point of sending his son Tiberius to Illyricum to strengthen by peace the regions he had subjugated in war* is a confirmation that Tiberius carried out the division of Illyricum.⁶⁴ Namely, the Hungarian scholar concluded that Velleius's phrase *ad firmanda pace* cannot refer to nothing else but the division of Illyricum and creation of new provinces – Pannonia and Dalmatia.⁶⁵

Furthermore, Braunert and Kovács pointed out that Velleius Paterculus made an *excursus* in his historical work in which he briefly enumerated the provinces of the Roman Empire, as well as the new provinces created by Tiberius, including Pannonia.⁶⁶ Referring to a philological analysis of Velleius's text by R. Rollinger and A. Schaub, Kovács claims that the term *provincia*, used by Velleius, can no longer be called untechnical as before, because Velleius can make a difference between a province and a military occupation.⁶⁷ However, this suggestion implies that all Danubian provinces, including Pannonia, were administratively organised under Tiberius. This is unlikely since by mentioning Pannonia Velleius wanted to emphasise Tiberius's military achievements, so he treats Pannonia just like the territory of the Scordisci, i.e. as a territorial and not administrative term.⁶⁸ Velleius himself suggests this when he notes that Tiberius conquered them by arms (*ut has armis*) and thereby annexed to the Empire.

60 RG 30. 1.

61 Braunert 1977: 207–217; Mócsy 1979: 177–186.

62 Džino 2008: 178–179; Džino 2010: 159–167; Kovács 2008: 245–251; 2014, 43–57.

63 Džino 2010: 162; Kovács 2008: 250–251; 2014: 52–53.

64 Vell. Pat. 2. 123. 1.

65 Kovács 2008: 249; 2014: 56.

66 *At Ti. Caesar, quam certam Hispanis parendi confessionem extorserat, parem Illyriis Delmatisque extorsit. Raetiam autem et Vindelicos ac Noricos Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro subiunxit provincias. Ut has armis (...)* (Vell. Pat. 2. 38–39). Translation: *Tiberius Caesar extorted from the Illyrians and Dalmatians a definite confession of submission such as that which Augustus had wrested from Spain. He also added to our empire as new provinces Raetia, Vindelicia, Noricum, Pannonia, and the Scordisci. These he conquered by arms.*

67 Braunert 1977: 207–217; Kovács 2014: 52–53.

68 In the analysis of Velleius's *excursus*, where he mentions the new provinces Raetia, Vindelicia, Noricum, Pannonia, and the Scordisci, Šašel Kos rightfully points out that in this case, we should take the terminology into account since the term "province" has several meanings. Šašel Kos believes that it is possible that Raetia and Noricum may have been governed by a *praefectus*, similarly to Pontius Pilatus being *praefectus Iudaeae*, while Pannonia and Moesia were governed by *legati exercitus*. Thus, Gaius Vibius Postumus was in charge of the Pannonian part of Illyricum in AD 9, and Aulus Caecina was in charge of Moesia in AD 6, as has been suggested *supra* (Šašel Kos 2010: 128–129). Such Velleius's interpretation of the term of the province of Pannonia seems justified given that at a different point in his text Velleius writes that Dolabella is the governor of the littoral part of Illyricum (Vell. Pat. 2. 125. 5).

Although Illyricum was not divided into two provinces under Tiberius, when it comes to military administration, certain changes took place. Like Germania, Illyricum was divided into two military districts – *Illyricum Superius* and *Illyricum Inferius*. This is corroborated by an honorary inscription for Tiberius's legate, Publius Cornelius Dolabella, from Epidaurum (Cavtat near Dubrovnik).⁶⁹ The bottom part of the inscription has not been preserved, but several humanists from the 16th century (Pighius, Smetius, Sylvius) saw and copied the whole inscription. Due to monument's importance, Mommsen personally visited Cavtat to see it. Bojanovski notably pointed out that the damaged part of the monument unquestionably contained the carved text mentioning Upper Illyricum (*civitates Superioris / provinciae {H}illyrici*).⁷⁰ Research carried out by Bojanovski regarding this monument is generally accepted today by the scholarship.⁷¹ Its authenticity is corroborated by the fact that Pighius and Smetius published the same inscription transcript irrespective of Sylvius, whose manuscript Mommsen was also not familiar with.⁷²

The scholars who advocate the hypothesis that Illyricum was divided under Tiberius argue that *Illyricum Superius* was in an administrative sense a province and not a military district. Thus, Kovács believes that *Illyricum Superius* could be identified with the province of Dalmatia, whereas he assumes that the province of Pannonia was *Illyricum Inferius*. Despite advocating the thesis that the province was divided under Augustus, Bojanovski and Mesihović also identify *Illyricum Superius* with the province of Dalmatia in geographic and ethnographic terms.⁷³ However, referring the technical term of *Illyricum Superius* to the military-administrative organisation seems more logical. We can regard Velleius Paterculus's statement as corroboration of this when he stated that Dolabella was the governor of the littoral part of Illyricum (*in maritima parte Illyrici*).⁷⁴ He commanded the legions stationed in the military district of *Illyricum Superius*, while Junius Blaesus was in charge of the legions from the Pannonian part of Illyricum (*Illyricum Inferius*), as confirmed by written sources. It should be emphasised that although there have been no attestations that the Pannonian part of Illyricum was named *Illyricum Inferius*, such a conclusion is legitimate if the Dalmatian part was named *Illyricum Superius*.

69 *P(ublio) Corneli[us] / Dolabell[ae] co(n)s(uli) / VIIviro epuloni / sodali Titiensi⁵ / leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) Divi Augusti / et T(iberi) Caesaris Augusti / civitates Superioris / provinciae {H}illyrici* (CIL III 01741 = AE 2008, 1035).

70 Bojanovski 1988a: 101–110; Kovács 2008: 246; 2014: 42–43; Glavičić 2008: 45; Šašel Kos 2010: 125–126; Mesihović 2014: 72.

71 Kovács is among the few who do not accept this thesis. He noted that the division to *Superius* – *Inferius* does not have evidence anywhere except in an uncertain inscription text reconstruction from Epidaurus. Kovács noted that the official name of the Illyrian *portorium* was *publicum portorium Illyrici utriusque et ripae Thracicae* in the 2nd century (AE 1928,153; 1934, 107). He also believes that this *Illyricum utrumque* was an allusion to earlier provinces, because according to Velleius, Dolabella served *in maritima parte Illyrici*, i.e. in Dalmatia. Kovács finds it particularly important that the narrative sources do not mention *Illyricum Superius* and *Illyricum Inferius*, but *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* (Kovács 2008: 246–247; 2014: 43–47).

72 Josip Lučić discovered the text of a public notary from Dubrovnik, Marcus Sylvius, and published it in 1966/1967. The inscription was printed in Rome in 1547 in the work of Marcus Sylvius under the title *In inscriptionem P. Cor. Dolabellae nuper in Illyrica Epidaurum effossam M. Sylvii Scribae Racusini commentariolus*. Mommsen was not familiar with Sylvius's transcript. It is important to note that the author not only described the finding's circumstances and copied the inscription, but also explained its content and compared it to other similar inscriptions. Apart from this, he cited certain ancient authors. Sylvius's work is kept today in the National and University Library in Zagreb (Glavičić 2008: 45). Also, a very rare form of the word *Hillyricum* proves the inscription's authenticity (Kovács 2008: 246).

73 Bojanovski 1988a: 325, fn. 2; 1988b: 101–110; Kovács 2008: 246; 2014: 42–43; Mesihović 2014: 61, 72.

74 Vell. Pat. 2. 125. 5.

Velleius, Tacitus, and Dio noted that the legions under the command of Junius Blaesus rebelled after the death of Augustus.⁷⁵ According to Velleius Paterculus, *legiones, quae in Illyrico errant* (legions stationed in Illyricum) had rebelled. We can conclude that consequently, Illyricum was one province in administrative terms at the moment of the rebellion. Moreover, even Tacitus in his *Annales* stated that the Pannonian legions (i.e. the Pannonian army) in Illyricum had rebelled. Analysing Tacitus's text, which is more specific in terms of terminology compared to Velleius, we can clearly distinguish the existence of Illyricum as a province in an administrative and Pannonia in a military-administrative sense (*Pannonicos exercitus*).⁷⁶ Contrary to Velleius and Tacitus, Cassius Dio, who does not use the name *Illyricum* for the province existing at the beginning of the 1st century AD, says that the Pannonian army was the one to start the rebellion.⁷⁷ When it comes to Cassius Dio, we should point out that he is known for applying the terminology of his own time to earlier periods.⁷⁸ Therefore, Šašel Kos rightfully concluded that at the time when the Pannonian legions started the rebellion in AD 14, Pannonia, or more precisely *Illyricum Inferius*, was officially still part of the province of Illyricum, as confirmed by military diplomas. Dolabella, a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, resided in Salona and governed the military district of *Illyricum Superius*, while Junius Blaesus, a *legatus exercitus*, commanded the Pannonian legions and had the role of the governor of *Illyricum Inferius*.⁷⁹

The information about the residence of Tiberius's son Drusus in Illyricum witnesses that Illyricum was divided under Tiberius only in the context of a military government, and not administration. His mission lasted from AD 17 to 20.⁸⁰ Kovács assumed that Drusus was sent to Illyricum to deal with the issue of Maroboduus and the Marcomanni. He also believes that Illyricum was perhaps divided during Drusus's official visit because Dolabella's oldest inscriptions could be dated to AD 17. Kovács Accordingly, concluded that the province must have been divided before AD 20.⁸¹ However, although Tacitus dedicated many pages of his *Annales* to Drusus's visit to Illyricum, in this context this Roman historian writes about Illyricum as one administrative unit.⁸² Indeed, Dalmatia can be recognised in Tacitus's text as a separate military district without an organised civil administration.⁸³ Apart from Tacitus, the epigraphic monument from the island of Vis (Issa) suggests this. This monument indicates that Drusus and Dolabella had built a military camp: *camp[um dedit]*.⁸⁴ Dolabella's title on the aforementioned inscription from the island of Vis is *legatus pro praetore*.

75 Vell. Pat. 2. 125. 5; Tac. Ann. 1. 16. 1–2; Cass. Dio 57. 4. 1–2.

76 Tac. Ann. 1. 16. 52.

77 Cass. Dio 57. 4. 1–2.

78 Šašel Kos 2010: 125.

79 Šašel Kos 2010: 125–126.

80 Kovács 2008, 251; Mesihović 2014: 82–83.

81 Kovács 2014: 57.

82 *Soon afterwards Drusus was sent into Illyricum to be familiarised with military service, and to win the goodwill of the army* (Tac. Ann. 2. 44. 1). *The suspension of business then ceased, and men went back to their occupations. Drusus was sent to the armies of Illyricum, amidst a universal eagerness to exact vengeance on Piso* (Tac. Ann. 3. 7. 1). Translated into English by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodrigg.

83 *In the following year Tiberius held his third, Germanicus his second consulship. Germanicus, however, entered the office at Nicopolis, a city of Achaia, whither he had arrived by the coast of Illyricum, after having seen his brother Drusus, who was then in Dalmatia, and endured a stormy voyage through the Adriatic and afterwards the Ionian Sea* (Tac. Ann. 2. 53. 1). Translated into English by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodrigg.

84 *Drusus Caesar T[i](beri) Aug(usti) f(ilius) divi] / Aug(usti) nepos co(n)s(ul) de[sig(natus) iterum / pontifex augur camp[um dedit] / Publio Dolabella leg(ato) pro [praetore] (ILJug I, 257 = AE 1964, 228).*

The inscriptions from Split are also proof that civil administration was not formed in Dalmatia under Tiberius.⁸⁵ We learn from these inscriptions that five roads had been built in Illyricum during Dolabella's governorship. Based on the inscription *CIL* III 3198a + p. 2275 we know that the roads were built by *vexillarii legionis VII et XI*, i.e. the soldiers. During the road construction, both legions were stationed in the hinterland of Salona, i.e. *Legio VII* was in Gardun, and *Legio XI* in Burnum.⁸⁶ One out of five roads built during Dolabella's governorship might have led to the frontier between Upper and Lower Illyricum. This is indicated by the information that the road [*viam*] *a colonia Salonitan[a] / [ad fin[es] provinciae Illyrici* ends at the border of the province of Illyricum, *ad fines provinciae Illyrici*[---]. Schmidt proposes the reconstruction of the destroyed part of the text as *ad fines provinciae Illyrici [superioris ---]*.⁸⁷ Such reconstruction seems logical since the number of miles indicated in the inscription (167 Roman miles) would correspond to the distance of the capital of Upper Illyricum (*Illyricum Superius*), Salona, from the potential border with Lower Illyricum (*Illyricum Inferius*). Accordingly, the northernmost border of *Illyricum Superius* should be sought in the mountain ranges of northern Bosnia, which would correspond to the number of miles carved on the monument.

All the parameters suggest that Dolabella's roads were built only by the legions stationed in Upper Illyricum, i.e. *Illyricum Superius*, meaning that he only commanded over the legions stationed in that part of Illyricum. The information that the legions' rebellion in AD 14 took place only in that part of Illyricum where legions were commanded by Junius Blaesus attests military and not civil nature of the administration in Upper and Lower Illyricum.⁸⁸ Considering that Dolabella and Junius Blaesus simultaneously commanded over legions in Illyricum, it is clear that this province must have been divided into two parts, where Dolabella had supreme command over the two legions stationed in Dalmatia, and Junius Blaesus over the three legions stationed in Pannonia. The name *Dalmatia* was used informally, while the Dolabella's inscriptions and the inscription from Epidaurum attest that the official name of this military district/province was still *Illyricum Superius*. The same apparently goes for Pannonia.

Regarding the issue of Illyricum's division, it is necessary to note that there is a significant number of scholars who agree with the opinion of Endre Tóth and Jenő Fitz that Illyricum was divided under Claudius (AD 41–54).⁸⁹ According to them, the province of Pannonia was established during that period, because Tacitus described Palpellius Hister as *qui Pannoniam praesidebat* around AD 50.⁹⁰ In addition, based on the studies carried out by Tóth and Fitz, scholars noted that the first town in Pannonia was Savaria, a Claudian colony, which stands as an argument for Pannonia being a civil province formed under Claudius. Kovács has made a detailed analysis overview of earlier opinions on division of Illyricum under Claudius in his monograph *A history of Pannonia during the Principate* from 2014.⁹¹

The epigraphic monument from Casinum, listing *cursus honorum* of senator Caius Ummidius Durmius Quadratus, attests to the existence of Illyricum as a province un-

85 *CIL* III 3198a + p. 2275, 2328, 19 = *CIL* III 10156 = *CIL* III 3200 + p. 2328, 19 = *CIL* III 10158 = *ILJug* I, 262. *CIL* III 3198b + p. 2275, 2328, 19 = *CIL* III 10156b = *CIL* XVII / 4 (p. 130–122), Tab. III–IV (= III 3201, 10159 cf. p. 2328⁹⁰).

86 Bojanovski 1974: 18; Sanader 2003: 501–510; Tončinić 2011: 11–15.

87 Schmidt 2006: 425–426.

88 Vell. Pat. 2. 125. 5; Tac. *Ann.* 1. 16. 1–2; Cass. Dio 57. 4. 1–2.

89 Tóth 1977: 278–286; 1981: 13–31; Fitz 2000: 65–73; 2003: 48–49.

90 Tac. *Ann.* 12, 29, 2.

91 Kovács 2014: 46–50.

der Claudius.⁹² Namely, among other magistratures, the monument has recorded that the aforementioned Ummidius Durmius Quadratus was a Claudian legate in Illyricum (*leg(ato) divi Claudii in Illyrico*). Šašel Kos has indicated that epigraphic texts are more accurate than Roman historians who were not cautious when using the correct terminology, so Tacitus's information that Palpellius Hister was the governor of Pannonia (*Pannoniam praesidebat*) should be considered with caution. Namely, Palpellius Hister must have governed the Pannonian part of Illyricum, i.e. *Illyricum Inferius*. Similarly to Junius Blaesus, he may have been a *legatus exercitus* and in charge of three Pannonian legions.⁹³

Something similar occurs with the interpretation of the rebellion of Scribonianus. Those who support the hypothesis of the division of Illyricum under Claudius also believe that Lucius Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus was the governor of Dalmatia in an administrative sense. Scribonianus, who rebelled against Claudius in AD 42, is titled the governor of Dalmatia by Suetonius and Cassius Dio, while Tacitus only stated that Scribonianus instigated a military rebellion in Dalmatia without specifying his duty.⁹⁴ However, as in the case of Palpellius Hister, Roman historians were not accurate, because they aimed to familiarise the readers with the events as best as possible and they, thus, used the inadequate terminology of their own time. On the other hand, the boundary marker from Vagan near Šipovo only reveals that under Claudius's predecessor, Caligula, Scribonianus was a *legatus pro praetore* without indicating the name of the province where he acted as a legate.⁹⁵ He was probably a *legatus pro praetore* of the military district of *Illyricum Superius*, similarly to Dolabella. The fact that sources do not make any associations between the Pannonian legions and this rebellion also supports the thesis about the division of Illyricum into two military districts.

The establishment of the colony of Savaria (*Colonia Claudia Savaria*) under Claudius by no means corroborates the formation of a new administrative unit, i.e. the province of Pannonia. Colony formation does not always have to be followed by the emergence of a province. Kovács made a good parallel with Germania Inferior and Britain. It should especially be noted that *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium* was established in Germania Inferior during the military administration three centuries before the introduction of civil administration.⁹⁶ The city may have been part of Noricum, and not Pannonia, at the time when it was awarded colonial privileges.⁹⁷ Therefore, the establishment of the colony of Savaria does not represent any ground-breaking event which propelled the establishment of the province of Pannonia.

92 *Q(uinto) Ummidio C(ai) f(ilio) Ter(etina) Durmio / Quadrato co(n)s(uli) XVvir(o) s(acris) f(aciundis) / leg(ato) Ti(beri) Caesaris Aug(usti) prov(inciae) Lusit(aniae) / leg(ato) divi Claudii in Illyrico eiusd(em) et ⁵/ Neronis Caesaris Aug(usti) in Syria proco(n)s(uli) / provinc(iae) Cypri q(uaestori) divi Aug(usti) et Ti(beri) Caesaris / Aug(usti) aed(ili) cur(uli) pr(aetori) aer(arii) Xvir(o) stlit(ibus) iud(icandis) curat(ori) / tabular(um) publicar(um) praef(ecto) frum(enti) dandi ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) (CIL X 5182).*

93 Šašel Kos 2010: 127.

94 Tac. *Ann.* 12. 52. 1–2; Suet. *Claud.* 13. 2; Cass. Dio 60. 15. 2–3.

95 *L(ucius) Arruntius / Cami[Il]lus Scri[b]o[n]ia[n]us le[g]atus] pro / pr(aetore) C(ai) [C]ae[s]aris Aug(usti) ⁵/ Germanici iudicem / dedit M(anium) Coelium (centurionem) / leg(ionis) VII inter Sapuates / e[st] La?]matinos ut fines / [reg]eret et terminus po[n]n(eret) (CIL III 9864a).*

96 According to Kovács, there is a handful of evidence that the urbanisation in newly-established provinces began almost immediately during the formation of the government. Right after conquering Britain in AD 43, Claudius formed the colony of Camulodunum and *municipium Verulamium* (Kovács 2014: 51). Tacitus delivered a detailed account of this (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 32; 14. 31–33).

97 Šašel Kos 1997: 42.

According to Slovenian scholars Jaroslav Šašel and Marjeta Šašel Kos, civil government was introduced in Pannonia and Dalmatia under the reign of Vespasian (AD 69–79).⁹⁸ According to Šašel Kos, there is no reason to deny the existence of separate provinces Illyricum Superius and Inferius in the early period, no later than the beginning of Tiberius's reign. Although the transcription of the inscription from Epidaurum has been preserved only in manuscripts, Šašel Kos argues that it can be deemed authentic evidence for the existence of Upper Illyricum (*Illyricum Superius*).⁹⁹ The information that *civitates* of Upper Illyricum erected the monument to Dolabella implies the existence of Lower Illyricum (*Illyricum Inferius*). Although *Illyricum Inferius* has not been epigraphically corroborated as a military district, Šašel Kos concluded that such an inference can be made from Tacitus's and Dio's description of the rebellion of three Pannonian legions from AD 14.¹⁰⁰ These legions were commanded by Junius Blaesus, *legatus exercitus*, who commanded the Pannonian legions, while Dolabella commanded the legions of the littoral part of Illyricum. Namely, Šašel Kos concluded that the existence of Upper Illyricum under Dolabella was attested by Velleius Paterculus since he calls this province the littoral of Illyricum.¹⁰¹ While Velleius does not specify that Dolabella was *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, this can be inferred from his text, meaning that there was a separate military government in the Dalmatian part of Illyricum that did not control the legions from the Pannonian part of Illyricum.

Jaroslav Šašel noted well that officially Illyricum under Tiberius was still one imperial province. Namely, if the names Pannonia and Dalmatia were used by unofficial sources, which are often imprecise and written in retrospect, it should not be regarded as evidence of Illyricum's division. In official documents, such as military diplomas, Illyricum appears as one province until Vespasian's reign,¹⁰² as suggested by the military diploma from Vukovar (Cornacum) awarded to decurion Dasius of the Breuci. This diploma mentions four *alae* serving in *in Illyrico sub Lucio Salvidieno Rufo*.¹⁰³ This is an important piece of information that shows that auxiliary units from the Pannonian part of the province were stationed in Illyricum under Lucius Salvidienus Salvianus Rufus.¹⁰⁴ This diploma shows that it is likely that Pannonia was not organised as a civil province under Nero. Šašel Kos reiterates that in some other diplomas from around Nero's time Illyricum appears as a province.¹⁰⁵

Particularly important for this context is an inscription from Nero's period dedicated to Marcus Seius and dated between AD 54 and 68.¹⁰⁶ This Greek epitaph is very important as it is so far the oldest epigraphic attestation of Pannonia's existence. The monument was erected by veteran *signifer* Marcus Seius in honour of Nero treating the emperor as

98 Šašel 1989: 57–61; Šašel Kos 1986: 188–190; 1997: 33–42; 2010: 123–130.

99 *CIL* III 01741 = *AE* 2008, 1035.

100 Tac. *Ann.* 1. 16. 1–2; Cass. Dio. 57. 4. 1–2.

101 Vell. Pat. 2. 125, 5: *in maritima parte Illyricum*; Šašel Kos 2010: 126.

102 Šašel 1989: 58–59.

103 *AE* 1998, 1056 = *AE* 2001, 1660; Dušanić 1998: 52–53.

104 Unlike Šašel Kos, Dušanić believes that this diploma does not attest to the existence of Illyricum, instead Lucius Salvidienus Salvianus Rufus was the governor of Pannonia. The fact that the name *Illyricum* appears on this diploma was interpreted by Dušanić as the practice of slowly replacing the name Illyricum with the names *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* (Dušanić 1998: 58; Šašel Kos 2010: 127). In this case, we should bear in mind that this is an official document and not some private inscription. It would be reasonable to expect the Romans to take into account the terminology when issuing official documents.

105 *AE* 1898, 0120 = *CIL* XVI 2; Šašel Kos 2010: 127.

106 *AE* 1961, 22; Kovács 2007: 99–102.

God Helios. This was certainly a reflection of this time since the last ruler of the Julio-Claudian dynasty identified with Helios.¹⁰⁷ Marcus Seius was probably a veteran of the Legion *XV Apollinaris*.¹⁰⁸ The monument was discovered in the settlement Prostanna in Pisidia, in present-day Antalya, Turkey. For Kovács, the epitaph from Nero's base is clear evidence of the existence of the independent province of Pannonia before the rule of Vespasian and he, thus, notes that the aforementioned theory of J. Šašel and M. Šašel Kos should not be considered.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, an important fact should be taken into consideration. Namely, unlike military diplomas, this inscription is private and cannot prove the province's existence. The Pannonian identity has certainly been developed as a specific set of identities from the Early Empire period and is based on different social and historical experiences of the indigenous population and Roman settlers.¹¹⁰ This is particularly prominent in specific social structures such as the army, whose member was Marcus Seius. Considering these circumstances, Šašel Kos notes that since this is a private inscription, there was no need to carve the province's name – *Illyricum Inferius*. This name was longer and soldiers stationed in Asia Minor may have never used it.¹¹¹ We can conclude that Pannonia was mentioned as the land where the legion of veteran Marcus Seius was stationed from AD 25 to 35. The name of Pannonia, which marked an ethnogeographic notion, had been used since the period of Octavian, i.e. Augustus, as witnessed by Strabo and Velleius Paterculus as well as Appian who used Octavian's *Memoires* while writing his *Illyrica*.¹¹² This geographic term was probably informally used for *Illyricum Inferius* until the establishment of a civil province named Pannonia. The same can be inferred for Dalmatia.

Final thoughts on the division of Illyricum

First of all, it should be pointed out that the majority of studies on the creation of provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia and the introduction of civil administration agree that Illyricum was firstly divided into two military districts – *Illyricum Superius* and *Illyricum Inferius*. This division took place no later than Tiberius's reign as witnessed by the inscription from Epidaurum, Salona inscriptions, and written records notably Velleius Paterculus, Tacitus, and Cassius Dio.¹¹³ The first attested governor in *Illyricum Superius* was Publius Cornelius Dolabella who commanded over two legions stationed in the littoral part of Illyricum, i.e. Upper Illyricum. Although *Illyricum Inferius* has not been epigraphically corroborated, the existence of *Illyricum Superius* certainly implies the existence of *Illyricum Inferius*.

107 Suet. *Ner.* 31. 1; Plin. *HN* 34. 45; Cass. Dio 66. 15. 1.

108 Kovács 2007: 102–103; Šašel Kos 2010: 123.

109 Kovács assumes that the *signifier* served in *Legio XV Apollinaris* under Tiberius (about AD 28) in Pannonia so he must have been familiar with the name of this province. Even if the name of the province had been changed after his service, he would have used the last name of the province, i.e. Pannonia (Kovács 2007: 105). However, the epigraphic monument from Casinum, which mentions *cursus honorum* of senator Caius Ummidius Durmius Quadratus, corroborates the existence of the province of Illyricum under Claudius (*CIL X* 5182). It should also be borne in mind that the reconstruction of the text from Casinum is more reliable than the reconstruction of the text from Pisidian Prostanna.

110 Džino, Domić Kunić 2012: 104.

111 Šašel Kos 2010: 129.

112 Strabo 7. 5. 10; Strabo 7. 5. 3; Vell. Pat. 2. 117. 1; Vell. Pat. 2. 110. 5–6; Vell. Pat. 2. 104. 3–4; App. *Ill.* 4. 22; App. *Ill.* 3. 14.

113 *CIL III* 01741 = *AE* 2008, 1035; *CIL III* 3198a + p. 2275, 2328, 19 = *CIL III* 10156 = *CIL III* 3200 + p. 2328, 19 = *CIL III* 10158 = *ILJug I*, 262. Vell. Pat. 2. 125. 5; Tac. *Ann.* 1. 16. 1–2; Tac. *Ann.* 2. 44; Cass. Dio 57. 4. 1–2.

We learn from epigraphic inscriptions that the legate governing *Illyricum Superius* had the rank of *legatus Augusti pro praetore*.¹¹⁴ Pannonian legions were commanded by a *legatus exercitus* as inferred from Tacitus's account of the rebellion of Pannonian legions from AD 14.¹¹⁵ Šašel Kos rightfully concluded that *legatus exercitus* in *Illyricum Inferius* had the role of a governor, as in the case of both *Germaniae* before Domitian.¹¹⁶ Important evidence of the existence of two military areas in Illyricum before Vespasian was the fact that Dalmatian legions did not participate in rebellions in Pannonia in AD 14. Moreover, written sources do not associate Pannonian legions with any rebellions of Dalmatian legate Scribonianus in AD 42.¹¹⁷ The inscription from Casinum shows that Pannonia and Dalmatia, as provinces in administrative terms, did not exist before Vespasian. The monument clearly notes that Ummidius Durmius Quadratus was Claudius's legate in Illyricum (*leg(ato) divi Claudi in Illyrico*).¹¹⁸ Moreover, military diplomas under Nero confirm that Illyricum was one province in administrative terms.¹¹⁹ When trying to find an answer to this important administrative question, we should give priority to official documents, such as military diplomas or public inscriptions, compared to public ones. Namely, private inscriptions frequently use terms such as Pannonia and Dalmatia which were used in informal speech and represent the result of forming certain regional identities created under the Roman influence. Critical analysis of the texts shows that Graeco-Roman authors, such as Cassius Dio, did not pay attention to the terminology and often used the terms from their own time to refer to earlier periods.

This text analysed four different hypotheses regarding the division of Illyricum and forming civil provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia. After summarizing the obtained results, we can conclude that the province of Illyricum, as one civil province, has existed since Vespasian's rule (AD 69–79). Such dating is suggested by J. Šašel and M. Šašel Kos giving priority to epigraphic monuments compared to narrative sources. The name of the province of Illyricum had appeared on official documents, such as military diplomas, until AD 60. The first confirmed governor of Pannonia (*legatus Augusti pro praetore Panonniae*), who originates from Vespasian's time, was Lucius Tampius Flavianus whose monument was discovered in the ancient town Fundi in Italy.¹²⁰

Finally, we should note several arguments to support the thesis on the establishment of the civil administration in Pannonia and Dalmatia under Vespasian. Namely, epigraphic and archaeological evidence suggests that intensive municipalisation of the inland Illyricum, i.e. in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina and northern Montenegro,

114 CIL III 01741 = AE 2008, 1035; AE 1999, 1223 = AE 2002, 1116 = AE 2008, 1031; *ILJug II*, 636 = AE 1964, 227 = AE 1966, 280 = AE 1989, 608 = AE 2008, 1035; CIL III 2908 + p. 1635, 2273; *ILJug II*, 874; AE 2003, 1332; CIL III 2883 + p. 1634, 2273 = CIL III 9973 = *ILJug III*, 2871; *ILJug II*, 919; CIL III 2974; CIL III 2975; CIL III 2976; CIL III 9832; CIL III 9833; CIL III 14322; CIL III 12794.

115 Tac. *Ann.* 1. 16; 52.

116 CIL XI 5271; CIL XII 113; Šašel Kos 2010: 126.

117 On the rebellion of Pannonian legions in AD 14: Vell. Pat. 2. 125. 5; Tac. *Ann.* 1. 16. 1–2; Cass. Dio 57. 4. 1–2; 6. On Scribonianus's rebellion: Tac. *Ann.* 12, 52, 1–2; Suet. *Claud.* 13, 2; Dio 60. 15. 2–3.

118 CIL X 5182.

119 AE 1998, 1056 = AE 2001, 1660; AE 1898, 0120 = CIL XVI 2.

120 [L(ucio) Tampio L(uci) f(ilio) F(lavi)ano] / [co(n)s(uli) II --- cand(idato) Cae]s(ar)is proco(n)s(uli) p[ro]v(inc)iae / [Africae extra sortem leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore) Pann[on]iae] / [curatori aqu[arum] ⁵/huic senatus auctore Imp(eratore) Caes(are) Vespasiano Aug(usto) triu[m]phalia ornamenta decrevit] / [ob res in Pannonia prospere gestas in qua] opsidibus(!) a Tran[sdanuviana] / [rum gentium principibus acceptis equitibus et pedlitibus omnibus ex [gente lazus]/[gum remissis Sueborum regibus ad civilis motus confirmavit] L(ucius) Tampius Rufus [-----] (AE 1966, 0068 = AE 1941, 0011 = CIL X 06225).

began in this period.¹²¹ The second fact is that both legions, *Legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis* and *Legio IX Claudia Pia Fidelis*, left *Illyricum Superius* (Dalmatia) during Vespasian's rule and it, therefore, became *provincial inermis*.¹²² The retreat of legions from *Illyricum Superius* resulted in large administrative changes, i.e. the formation of the civil province of Dalmatia which led to the official division of Illyricum that had been divided into military regions. Therefore, we can conclude that previously used informal names of military regions became the official names of Roman provinces Dalmatia and Pannonia in the period of AD 70–79.

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¹²¹ Bojanovski 1988a: 349.

¹²² Alföldy 1962: 271; Wilkes 1969: 95–107; Bojanovski 1988a 359; Tončinić 2011: 11–20.

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LCL

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L&G

Latina & Graeca, Zagreb

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SAŽETAK

Problem nastanka i podjele provincije Ilirik

Rad je podijeljen na dvije tematske cjeline. U prvom dijelu rada analiziraju se narativni izvori i natpisi uklesani na epigrafskim spomenicima iz prvog stoljeća čiji sadržaj izravno ili neizravno daje uvid u problematiku formiranja rimske provincije Ilirik. Također, u radu se razmatraju različite teze stručnjaka u vezi s problemom datiranja nastanka provincije Ilirik. Dio znanstvenika smatra da je *Lex Vatinia de Caesaris provincia* zakon kojim je ozvaničeno postojanje Ilirika kao provincije u administrativnome smislu odnosno dotadašnji protektorat je reorganiziran u provinciju. Kao jedan od argumenata za ovu tezu da je Cezar Vatinijevim zakonom postao prvi namjesnik provincije Ilirik uzima se i Cezarova posjeta Iliriku iz kraja 57. god. p. n. e. Ipak, treba imati u vidu da drugi rimski izvori daju drugačiju sliku o administrativnome položaju Ilirika. Treba napomenuti da Ciceron u svome govoru *De provinciis consularibus* spominje samo dvije Galije pod Cezarovom upravom. Može se prihvatiti mišljenje da je *Lex Vatinia de Caesaris provincia* bio zakon kojim je rimska vlast nad istočnim Jadranom konačno zakonski uobličena, a Ilirik konstruiran kao politički koncept. Izvjesno je da u vrijeme Cezarovog prokonzulata taj prostor nema definiranu teritoriju niti upravno središte. Za razliku od Augustovog vremena, rimska vlast u Iliriku bila je ograničena na priobalje i nešto unutrašnjosti s manjim ili većim rimskim zajednicama koje su bile organizirane u zoni odgovornosti *conventus civium Romanorum*, što je Cezaru omogućilo neograničenu slobodu zapovijedanja. Narativni izvori su pak dosta neprecizni i ne daju direktan odgovor na pitanje kada je Ilirik zvanično postao provincija. Potencijalni *terminus ante quem* za formiranje provincije Ilirik može označavati kraj Oktavijanove vojne kampanje, odnosno 33. god. p. n. e. Zahvaljujući uspješnoj vojnoj kampanji te je godine osigurano rimsko priobalje koje su već decenijama Rimljani kontrolirali na desnoj obali Jadranskog mora. Sudeći prema Dionovom tekstu, *terminus post quem* je 27. god. p. n. e. kada je Oktavijan pred senatom održao govor povodom diobe provincija između njega i senata.

U drugom dijelu rada razmatra se pitanje podjele provincije Ilirik na dvije vojne oblasti, *Illyricum Superius* i *Illyricum Inferius*, odnosno kasnije rimske provincije Dalmacije i Panonije. U znanosti postoje četiri glavne hipoteze o tome kada je Ilirik u administrativnome smislu riječi podijeljen na Panoniju i Dalmaciju. Najstarija hipoteza jeste da je Ilirik podijeljen u tijeku ili neposredno nakon sloma Velikog ilirskog ustanka odnosno *Bellum Batonianum* (6–9. god.) Druga hipoteza je da je Ilirik podijeljen na dvije provincije najkasnije krajem Tiberijeve vladavine (14–37. god.), dok dio znanstvenika smatra da je Ilirik podijeljen u vrijeme Klaudijeve vladavine (41–54. god.). Četvrta hipoteza jeste da je do konačnog formiranja provincija došlo za vrijeme vladavine Vespazijana (69–79. god.). Sve navedene hipoteze detaljno su analizirane kroz metodološke postavke s ciljem da se odgovori na ovo važno administrativno pitanje iz rimske provincijalne historije i arheologije.

Treba istaći da se većina studija koje govore o stvaranju provincija Panonije i Dalmacije i uvođenju civilne uprave slaže da je Ilirik bio podijeljen najprije na dvije vojne oblasti, *Illyricum Superius* i *Illyricum Inferius*. Na osnovu epigrafskih natpisa poznato je da je legat, koji je upravljao Gornjim Ilirikom (*Illyricum Superius*), imao rang *legatus Augusti pro pretore*, Panonskim legijama je zapovijedao *legatus exercitus*. Do podjele na dvije vojne oblasti došlo je najkasnije u vrijeme Tiberijeve vladavine o čemu svjedoče natpis iz Epidaura, salonski natpisi i pisani izvori, u prvom redu Velej Paterkul, Tacit i Dion Kasije.

Kada se sumiraju dobiveni rezultati, može se zaključiti da je provincija Ilirik, kao jedna civilna provincija, postojala do vremena Vespazijana (69–79. god.). Na takvu dataciju ukazuju epigrafski spomenici. Naime, u zvaničnim dokumentima, kao što su vojne diplome, administrativni naziv provincije Ilirik pojavljuje se do 60. godine (na vojnim diplomama). Prvi potvrđeni namjesnik Panonije (*legatus Augusti pro praetore Panonniae*) potječe iz Vespazijanovog vremena. To je Lucije Tampije Flavijan čiji je spomenik nađen u antičkom gradu Fundi u Italiji. Postoji nekoliko argumenata koji idu u prilog tezi o uspostavi civilne uprave u Panoniji i Dalmaciji u vrijeme Vespazijana. Naime, epigrafski i arheološki nalazi ukazuju da je tada počela intenzivnija municipalizacija u unutraš-

njosti Ilirika, odnosno na prostoru današnje Bosne i Hercegovine i sjeverne Crne Gore. Druga činjenica koja ide u prilog ovoj tezi jeste da su za vrijeme Vespazijanove vladavine obje legije, *Legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis* i *Legio IX Claudia Pia Fidelis*, napustile Gornji Ilirik (Dalmaciju) i tako je ona postala *provincia inermis*. Povlačenje legija iz Gornjeg Ilirika (*Illyricum Superius*) za posljedicu je imalo krupnu administrativnu promjenu odnosno formiranje civilne provincije Dalmacije. Formiranje civilne provincije Dalmacije dovelo je do zvanične podjele Ilirika koji je do tada bio podijeljen na vojne oblasti. Shodno tome može se zaključiti da su ranije korišteni neformalni nazivi za vojne oblasti postali zvanični nazivi rimskih provincija Dalmacije i Panonije sedamdesetih godina prvog stoljeća.