

The Importance of the Ottoman-era Travelogues for the Reconstruction of the Roman Road Network in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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The landscape changes caused by men, firstly, but also by nature, led to many roads built by the Romans be permanently lost or buried. Thus, the majority of researchers are more focused on certain new research methods based primarily on the development of digital technology. Therefore, a Geographical Information System, especially the Least cost-path, is frequently used in determining the probable direction of certain Roman roads, while satellite images and Lidar are used for locating roads covered by the soil.³ In addition to these methods, travel books written during the Ottoman rule are also highly significant for the research of the Roman roads in the territory of central and western Balkans.

Jovan Ristić, a famous Serbian diplomat and historian, noticed, already in the middle of the nineteenth century, that “no country was visited by foreigners as much as the south-eastern parts of Europe.”⁴ That refers particularly to the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Ottoman rule. A large number of travellers from the Habsburg Empire, France, Great Britain, and Italy went through Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1463 and 1878. Their travel descriptions are of the utmost importance for studying social structure, population, migrations,

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³ For more on methods used for the research of the Roman road, see: G. Popović, “The methodology of Roman communication research in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina,” *Acta Illyrica* III (2019): 63-78.

⁴ “ни одну землю странцы нису толико обилазили колико югонсточне краеве Европе.” J. Ristić, “О историчној важности успомена стариј путника неки, кои су крозъ србию прошли, а особито Бертрандона де ла Брокьера” [About the historical importance of the memory of some of the old travelers, who traveled through Serbia, in particular Bertrandon de la Broquière], *Yearbook of the Serbian Slavic Society* VI (1854): 209.

flora, and fauna. At the same time, they are noteworthy for studies of the Roman road remains in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁵

Certain travellers mention the remains of the Roman roads while describing the landscape they were passing by, settlements, traditional clothing, and customs, as well as the experiences from the journeys. Unlike the travellers from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who, mostly, mention the direction of their journeys, the travellers of the nineteenth century offer much more information regarding the quality of the roads.⁶ Some travellers mention only old stone-paved roads, without trying to determine their origin, while others, especially those who travelled through other parts of the Ottoman Empire, call these roads Roman.

Early researchers of the Roman roads in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina did not use old travel books in their research, or, if they did, like in the case of Ivo Bojanovski, they used them rarely.⁷ That is how plenty of highly notable information on the location of certain Roman roads and their condition remained unknown in scientific circles. By using three Roman roads as our examples, we tried to emphasize the importance of travel books and descriptions from the period of Ottoman rule for the research of the Roman road network in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I. The remains of the Roman road on Mount Majevisa

The data recorded by the French Chaumette des Fossés and the British James Henry Skene are of the invaluable importance for the research of the Roman roads in north-eastern Bosnia. Chaumette des Fossés was a secretary of the French Consulate, from December 1806 to July 1807, in Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina, with headquarters in Travnik. During his short stay, Fossés managed to visit many areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina and wrote a book about it, entitled *Voyage en Bosnie dans les années 1807 et 1808*. The description of an old road that Fossés saw in

⁵ G. Popović, “Rimske komunikacije na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine u delima francuskih i engleskih putopisa XIX veka” [Roman Roads in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Works of French and English travelers from the XIX century], *Contributions* 48 (2019): 24.

⁶ European travellers rarely travelled through Bosnia and Herzegovina in the eighteenth century and therefore there are not travel books or descriptions from this period. For more information, see: G. Popović, “Rimske komunikacije,” 23.

⁷ See: G. Popović, “Rimske komunikacije,” 39.

north-eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina is highly significant for the research of the Roman terrestrial communication.

We have already talked about the spa in Novi Pazar, which is already presented as Trajan's. There is, however, one more important monument that testifies to the power of this emperor. There is a part of a beautiful road he built to transfer the legions that were garrisoned in Illyria to Dacia. This road is located in a large forest which stretches for more than several miles from the Spreča to the vicinity of Bijeljina. The road was built of large flat stones and its width is around fifteen feet.⁸

According to Fossés, the remains of the road built of large flat stones, about 4.9 meters wide, can be found in the forest stretching from the Spreča River to the vicinity of the town of Bijeljina. Allegedly, the road was built by Trajan in order to transport Roman legions from the Illyrian province all the way to Dacia. It can be concluded, based on the material used for the construction, as well as the width of the road, that the remains belong to the road built by the Romans. The identical Roman roads, built of large flat stones, were found in north-eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, on Mount Bišina and the plateau of Mount Romanija.⁹

As for the location of the road, Fossés mentions only that it is in a large forest between the Spreča River and the town of Bijeljina. Mount Majejica, located between the said river and town, is largely covered by forest even today. Based on that, it can be concluded that the remains of the Roman road which Chaumette des Fossés mentions can be found somewhere on Mount Majejica. It is not possible to determine a more

⁸ “Nous avons déjà parlé des bains d'Yéni-Bazar, attribués à Trajan: mais il existe un monument plus incontestable de la puissance de cet empereur. Dans l'immense forêt qui s'étend depuis la Spreča jusque près de Bellina, on trouve, pendant l'espace de plusieurs lieues y des restes d'un, très beau chemin qu'il avait fait construire pour faire passer en Dacie les légions stationnées dans l'Illyrie. Il est formé de grandes pierres plates, et de la largeur 15 pieds environ.” Ch. Fossés, *Voyage en Bosnie, dans les années 1807 et 1808* [Travel to Bosnia, in the years 1807 and 1808] (Paris: J. Didot, 1822), 24.

⁹ For the Roman road on Mount Bišina: G. Popović, “Rimske komunikacije u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni sa posebnim osvrtom na novootkrivenu dionicu puta na planini Bišini” [Roman terrestrial communication in north-eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina with a focus on a newly discovered road section on Mount Bišina], *Acta Illyrica II* (2018): 193-216; We will discuss the road across Mount Romanija further in the paper.

definite location of the remains of this Roman road using the information provided by the French diplomat.

In our opinion, while travelling through Bosnia and Herzegovina, Fossés visited Tuzla, the largest and most significant town in north-eastern Bosnia in the nineteenth century, and then headed to Bijeljina across Mount Majejica. The description of salt mines in Gornja and Donja Tuzla points to that.¹⁰ Fossés could reach Bijeljina from central Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the French Consulate headquarters was located, using one additional road that led across Mount Romanija and the valley downstream of the Drina river. However, the journey down the valley of the Drina River in 1808 was perilous due to Ottoman military operations against the Serbian rebels located on the right bank of the river. For all these reasons, it is highly unlikely the French diplomat chose this road. The fact that Fossés did not write anything about the remains of the Roman road between the villages of Branjevo and Šepak as well as the road between Kraljevo Polje and Lukavica, which he most certainly would have seen, supports our claim.¹¹

The British travel writer James Henry Skene crossed Mount Majejica 43 years after Fossés's journey. In the book entitled *The Danubian Principalities, The Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk*, Skene gives a detailed description of his journey through Bosnia and Herzegovina, which took place in 1851. After crossing the Drina River near the village of Rača, Skene spent a night in Bijeljina and then headed to Tuzla.¹² Having left Bijeljina, he travelled across low hills overgrown by forest and spent a night in an inn after six hours of riding. The only inhabited place he rode through on the first day was the village of Čađavica.¹³ The

¹⁰ Fossés, *Voyage en Bosnie*, 4-5.

¹¹ The remains of the Roman road between the villages of Branjevo and Šepak were used until the end of the nineteenth century. One part of the Roman network still exists, but it is in a very bad condition. For more information on the remains of the Roman road, see: E. Vorliček, "Римске старине у Брањево котара Зворничкој" [Roman antiquities in Branjevo, county of Zvornik], *Journal of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina* 8 (1896): 197-199; G. Popović, "Римска путна станица Gensis" [Roman road station Gensis], *Collection of works from Faculty of Philosophy in Priština* 249:4 (2019): 57; The remains of the Roman road between Kraljevo polje and Lukavica will be discussed further in the paper.

¹² J. H. Skene, *The Danubian Principalities, The Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk*, vol. 2 (London: R. Bentley, 1854), 197, 199-201.

¹³ Skene, *The Danubian Principalities*, 201.

next day, Skene crossed multiple hills, overgrown by forest as well as two valleys before arriving at the remains of an old paved road.

On proceeding we came to a road paved in the same manner as I had often seen in Greece, and dating probably from the time of the Romans, or at least of the Lower Empire. It is strange that so much labour should have been bestowed on a road so unskilfully planned, for such causeways generally go in as straight a line as possible, without paying any attention to the levels, although I have seen them with ancient wheel-marks, indicating that they were not merely horse or mule tracks.¹⁴

Further descriptions show that Skene travelled through the thick forest again, meeting a nomadic tribe of Gypsies in the process. After the detailed depiction of this encounter, the travel writer states that he reached Gornja Tuzla in less than an hour of horse riding.¹⁵

There are reasonable grounds to assume that James Henry Skene used the same roads as Chaumette des Fossés while travelling from Bijeljina to Gornja Tuzla. That would imply that the remains of the Roman road described by Fossés are identical to the ones mentioned by Skene. According to the information given by the British travel writer, it can be concluded that the remains of the Roman road network were between the village of Čađavica in the north and Gornja Tuzla in the south. Even though Skene does not state the exact location, it can be concluded, based on the detailed description of the journey, that the remains of the Roman road were near Gornja Tuzla, at a distance covered in two or three hours of riding.

The information that Chaumette des Fossés and James Henry Skene offer about the remains of the Roman road on Mount Majevisa is highly significant. Namely, it is an unknown Roman terrestrial communication route. There is no information on this road in ancient and medieval travel maps. Moreover, it is not mentioned in relevant academic references, either.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 205.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 206-209.

The location of the Roman road on Mount Majevisa can be indicated by the toponym *Kaldrma* in the village of Tutnjevac.¹⁶ This term was frequently used in north-eastern Bosnia for old stone-paved roads.¹⁷ Aside from the *Kaldrma* toponym, where a smaller Roman villa was discovered in 1956, the remains of the Roman fortification were recorded in the village of Tutnjevac.¹⁸ Also, coins dating from the reign of Emperor Licinius were found in the same village.¹⁹ Various remains from the ancient period would indicate that the old, stone-paved road in the village of Tutnjevac is of Roman origins. However, the position of the village itself does not allow us to pinpoint it as the location of the Roman road mentioned by James Henry Skene and Chaumette des Fossés. Namely, Tutnjevac is located near the village of Gornja Čađavica, only around 5 kilometres away. If Skene had recorded the accurate description of his journey, then the remains of the Roman road he mentions would be much closer to Gornja Tuzla than Čađavica.

The exact location of the remains of the Roman road on Mount Majevisa, as well as its direction, can only be provided by new research, which would include a thorough study of the terrain in the territory between Gornja Tuzla and the village of Čađavica.

¹⁶ I. Čremošnik, “*Kaldrma*, Tutnjevac, Ugljevik” [Kaldurma, Tutnjevac, Ugljevik], in *Archaeological Lexicon of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, vol. II, ed. B. Čović (Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, 1988), 92.

¹⁷ The Roman road on Mount Bišina is called “Jerinina Kaldrma” by the locals. See: G. Popović, “Rimske komunikacije u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni,” 200-201; “*Kaldrma* Proklete Jerine” is the name for the remains of the Sarajevo polje - Drinjača Roman road. See: I. Bojanovski, “Prilozi za topografiju rimskih i predrimskih komunikacija i naselja u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji (s posebnim obzirom na područje Bosne i Hercegovine), III – Prilog proučavanju antičkih naselja i komunikacija u istočnoj Bosni” [Contributions to the topography of Roman and pre-Roman communications and settlements in the Roman province of Dalmatia (with particular reference to the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina), III - Contribution to the study of ancient settlements and communications in eastern Bosnia], *Godišnjak* 19 (1981): 133-134.

¹⁸ I. Čremošnik, “*Kaldrma*,” 92; C. Patsch, “Малѣ римскѣ нахођаји и посматрања” [Small Roman Findings and Observations], *Journal of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina* 9 (1897): 520; I. Čremošnik, “Veliko Brdo, Tutnjevac, Ugljevik [Veliko Brdo, Tutnjevac, Ugljevik], in *Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine*, tom II, ed. B. Čović (Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, 1988), 98.

¹⁹ G. Kraljević, “Krčevina, Tutnjevac, Ugljevik” [Krčevina, Tutnjevac, Ugljevik], in *Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine*, tom II, ed. B. Čović (Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, 1988), 93.

II. The Roman terrestrial communication: Sarajevsko polje – Drinjača

The fact that certain Roman road communications were also used during the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina is best exemplified by the road leading from Sarajevo Polje to the valley of the Drinjača River and the Drina river. James Henry Skene, while travelling through Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1851, headed from Sarajevo to Zvornik, which is on the banks of the Drina River. According to the descriptions of his journey, he travelled through the village of Mokro, where he spent the first night, and then on the second day, he crossed the Ravna Romanija plateau and continued to follow the road leading him past the villages of Kozlica (*Koslicza*) and Mičivoda (*Micsvoda*).²⁰ Skene mentions the road he was using on the third day of his journey. “Our road was now paved in the old way, and most abominable it was,”²¹ states Skene. After spending the night in an inn, he describes the continuation of his journey this way:

At daylight we set off again, in a mountain fog, with two foot-soldiers besides our mounted escort, as we had an ugly pass to go through. Still that odious pavement, which seemed to be constructed on the best principles for obstructing the way! It was especially obnoxious in long descent of at least 2, 000 feet; for it effectually prevented our poor horses from keeping on their feet on this occasion.²²

According to the information from the travel book, it can be concluded that Skene reached the old, stone-paved road near Kraljevo Polje and followed it to the village of Lukavica. The paved road mentioned by the British travel writer is a part of the Roman terrestrial communication which connected central areas of the Roman province called Dalmatia to Sirmium. The Roman road communication was leading from Sarajevo Polje through Hreša, Kadino Selo, Ravna Romanija, Podromanija, and Sokolac. By going around Han Pijesak from the west side, the ancient terrestrial communication continued through

²⁰ While the villages Mokro and Mičivode still exist today, the location of the village Kozlica is uncertain for now. It is possible that the name Kozlica refers to what is now the village Košutica, which is located south-west of Mičivoda. The location of Košutica in relation to the Ravna Romanija plateau and Mičivoda village speaks in support of it.

²¹ Skene, *The Danubian Principalities*, 357.

²² *Ibidem*, 357.

Kraljevo Polje and under the peak of the Sikire descending down the serpentines to the village of Lukavica. Following the Jadar River and then the Drinjača River, this Roman road merged with the *Sirmium – Argentaria* terrestrial communication at the mouth of the Drinjača river into the Drina.²³ Thirty Roman milestones, twelve of which are the epigraph ones, were found together with the remains of the Roman road along the Sarajevsko Polje – Drinjača road.²⁴

Based on the information recorded by James Henry Skene, it can be seen that one part of the Sarajevsko polje – Drinjača Roman road was still used in the middle of the nineteenth century. Although the British traveller did not hide his dissatisfaction with the quality of the road, that does not mean that the upper layer of the road was in bad condition. The smooth stone used to pave the road certainly led to horses slipping while going down the steep mountain. If it is assumed that the road could have been wet, as the travel descriptions mentioned rain on previous days, the difficulties the British travel writer had while going down to the village Lukavica (or rather the difficulties his horse had) can then be understood.

The French Monsieur Quiclet and Poulet travelled using the same Roman road between Kraljevo Polje and the village of Lukavica in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, they do not mention the road condition or anything about the possibility of it being the remaining part of the ancient road. Quiclet, who gives a more detailed description of his journey, states that, after a night spent in the village of Mačkovac, he passed through Kraljeva Gora and Kraljevo Polje, ultimately going down to the valley of the Jadar River and then the Drinjača river.²⁵ The mentioned toponym indicates that Quiclet travelled using the same road as James Henry Skene, around two centuries later. Poulet does not, however, state in detail which road he used, but it is certain that it was

²³ For more information on the Drinjača-Sarajevo polje Roman road, see: Ph. Ballif, *Römische Strassen in Bosnien und der Hercegovina* (Wien: Bosnisch-Hercegovinischen Lande Smuseum, 1893), 38-40; I. Bojanovski, "Prilozi za topografiju rimskih i predrimskih komunikacija," 170-175.

²⁴ All epigraph milestones are from the third century. For more information, see: G. Popović, "Milestones from the Roman Road Drinjača – Sarajevsko polje," *Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Prištini* 49:3 (2019): 201-211.

²⁵ M. Quiclet, *Les voyages de M. Quiclet a Constantinople par terre* (Paris: Chez Pierre Prome, 1664), 85-86.

identical to the one described by Quiclet.²⁶ Poulet and Quiclet embarked on a journey to Constantinople together in 1658, but had a dispute in Dubrovnik. After that, they travelled separately, albeit in the same direction.²⁷ Given the fact that neither of the French complained about the quality of the road, it can be assumed that it was in somewhat better condition than in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Johann Roskiewicz states that the Sarajevo – Zvornik – Rača road was adjusted to the vehicular traffic after 1862.²⁸ Nevertheless, he does not give an answer to the question if certain road repairs were done on the part of the road which was of ancient origins. The remains of the Roman road between Kraljevo Polje and the village of Lukavica were a part of the main road communication until the end of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Under the new Austro-Hungarian rule, the reconstruction of the existing and the construction of new roads started in 1878.²⁹ As a result of the construction of the new road between Vlasenica and Han Pijesak, which went up Mount Javor, the remains of the Roman terrestrial communication between Kraljevo Polje and Lukavica lost their significance. They were in use for some time more, but only by the nearby locals.³⁰

III. The remains of the Roman road near Trebinje

We can see from the foreign travellers' records that not all Roman terrestrial communication routes were used until the end of the Ottoman rule, but were, like the remains of the Roman road near Trebinje,

²⁶ Poulet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant* (Paris: Chez Lovys Billaine, 1667); The original manuscript which refers to Bosnia and Herzegovina was published by Vjekoslav Jelavić at the beginning of the twentieth century. See: V. Jelavić, “Доживљаји Француза Poulet-а на путу кроз Дубровник и Босну (године 1658)” [The Adventures of Frenchman Poulet on his way through Dubrovnik and Bosnia (1658)] *Journal of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina* 20 (1908): 23-75.

²⁷ V. Jelavić, “Доживљаји Француза Poulet-а,” 23.

²⁸ J. Roskiewicz, *Studien über Bosnien und die Herzegovina* (Leipzig, Wien: F. A. Brockhaus, 1868), 60.

²⁹ I. Terić, “Изградња саобраћајница у Босни и Херцеговини од средине XIX вијека до Аустроугарске окупације” [The construction of roads in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the middle of the nineteenth century to the Austro-Hungarian occupation] *Contributions* 18 (1981): 69.

³⁰ Heinrich Renner crossed the newly built road while travelling through Bosnia and Herzegovina at the beginning of the 1880s. See: H. Renner, *Durch Bosnien und die Herzegovina* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1897), 248-249.

destroyed by the locals. Alexander Hilferding (*Александр Гильфердинг*), a Russian consul in Sarajevo, writes about that in his travel book entitled *Босния, Герцеговина и Старая Сербия*.

As Hilferding headed from Dubrovnik to Sarajevo in 1857, he went through Trebinje and Stolac instead of using the valley of the Neretva River, which was the main and the nearest road at that time. The Russian consul, according to his descriptions, passed by the Duži monastery, located in the south-east of Trebinje.³¹ Later on, the road took him through the village of Dražin Do where Hilferding crossed the Trebišnjica River and reached a stone-paved road.

We crossed the Trebišnjica River in a primitive wide boat; we were transferred first and then the horses. The road was in poor condition here as well. Unexpectedly and to our great surprise, a fragment of a stone-paved road emerged. Being interested in its origin, I received this simple answer: ‘The road was in such a bad condition that a Turk broke his neck there on one occasion. His sons paved this part of the road after that, following a vow.’ Still, it was inexplicable to me why heaps of stones were deliberately scattered in several places along this path so that one could stumble and break his neck here just like the Turk from the story. – When it approaches Trebinje, the good road ends.³²

The small stone-paved part of the road, which was so interesting to the Russian consul, could have been a part of the Roman road which connected Narona (the village of Vid near Metkovići), a significant trade

³¹ A. Hilferding, *Собрание сочинений А. Гильфердинга: Босния, Герцеговина и Старая Сербия, Томъ 3* [Collected Works by A. Hilferding: Bosnia, Herzegovina and Old Serbia, Vol. 3] (Saint Petersburg: D. E. Kožančikova Д. Е. Кожанчикова 1873), 8-10.

³² “Мы переѣхали рѣку Требишницѣ на первобытной широкой лодкѣ; сначала перевезли насъ, а потомъ лошадей. Дорога была нестерпимо дурна; но потомъ вдругъ представился, къ крайнему нашему удивленію, кусокъ очень порядочной мостовой. Я спросилъ о происхожденіи этого невиданнаго явленія, и получилъ вотъ какой нѣвѣрный отвѣтъ: «дорога была тутъ прежде такая, что ѣхалъ Турокъ и сломалъ себѣ шею; тогда сыновья его, по обѣту, вымостили это мѣсто». Но странно, что поперекъ этой дороги въ нѣсколькихъ мѣстахъ положены нарочно грядки камней, такъ что и тутъ какъ разъ споткнешься и сломишь себѣ шею, какъ тотъ Турокъ, о которомъ мнѣ говорили. — Когда подѣвжаешь къ Требишню, хорошая дорога прекращается.” A. Hilferding, *Собрание сочинений*, 15-16.

port on the Neretva River, to Trebinje, where the Roman road station called *Asamo* was located in ancient times.³³ The remains of this ancient road were recorded in the terrain from Vid to Cicina, near Hum.³⁴ According to Pandža and Vukorep, who researched this terrestrial communication route, it crossed the Trebišnjica River at the village of Dražin Do and continued to Trebinje.³⁵ One Austro-Hungarian topographic map, which they used in determining the direction of the Roman road communication in the field, led them to this conclusion. Nonetheless, the researchers do not reveal which map they used.³⁶

As noted previously, the *Asamo* road station was located in the place of what is now Trebinje. Except the Roman road which led from Trebinje to the west, to Naron, there was one additional road which was going to the south, to the Roman settlement called *Epidaurum*.³⁷ One part of the Roman terrestrial communication led to the north from Trebinje and passed on its way the *Leusinium* road station (the village Panik near Bileća) while continuing to the valley of the Drina river.³⁸

³³ G. Samardžić, “Путна станица Асамо у историјским изворима” [Road station Asamo in historical sources] *Radovi* 16:2, (2014): 85-98.

³⁴ Ž. Pandža, S. Vukorep, “Rimska cesta od Vida (Naron) u dolini Neretve do sela Cicina – Hum kod Trebinja” [Roman road from Vid (Naron) in the Neretva valley to the village of Cicina - Hum near Trebinje], *Herzegovina* 2 (2016): 25-63.

³⁵ Ž. Pandža, S. Vukorep, “Rimska cesta,” 59.

³⁶ Taking everything into account, it is most likely that they used Austro-Hungarian maps made at the beginning of the 1880s. On the importance of these maps for the research of the Roman roads, see: G. Popović, “The methodology of Roman communication research,” 71.

³⁷ D. Sergejevski, “Rimska cesta od Epidauruma do Anderbe” [Roman road from Epidaurum to Anderba], *Journal of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina* 17 (1962): 75-78.

³⁸ G. Samardžić, *Источна Херцеговина у римско доба* [East Herzegovina in the Roman period] (Kosovska Mitrovica: Faculty of Philosophy, 2015), 267-273; G. Samardžić, “Биљешке о комуникацији Мокри До-Дилунтум са успутним насељима” [Notes on the communication of Mokri Do - Diluntum with incidental settlements] *Collection of works from Faculty of Philosophy in Priština* 45:4 (2015): 153-164; G. Samardžić, “Биљешке о античкој топографији источне Херцеговине на основу римских итнерара” [Notes on the ancient topography of eastern Herzegovina based on Roman itineraries], in *Society and space, an epistemology of space, social space, cultural and historical meanings*, ed. P. Milenković, S. Stojšin, A. Pajvančić-Cizelj (Novi Sad: Faculty of Philosophy, 2015), 324-340; G. Samardžić, “On Beneficiaries’ Inscriptions from the South of the Province of Dalmatia (A few examples from the area of eastern Herzegovina),” *Collection of works from Faculty of Philosophy in Priština* 47:3 (2017): 263-271; G. Samardžić, “Подручје Гацка у античким изворима и савременој историографији” [The Gacko area in ancient sources and

Using the information provided in the Alexander Hilferding's travel descriptions, it can be concluded that the remains of the Roman road were on the right bank of the Trebišnjica River, most likely in the place of, or near the Trebinje settlement of Mostaći. While travelling down the Roman road, Hilferding noticed piles of scattered stones, which were most probably removed from the road itself. Consequently, it can be reasonably assumed that the locals took the stones which the road was paved with and used them as secondary construction materials.

The fact that certain parts of the Roman roads were intentionally destroyed and their upper layer used for construction purposes can be exemplified by the remains of the ancient road communication route in the valley of the middle flow of the Drina river. The stones used to pave the Roman road were removed in the village of Zalužje and utilized in the construction of the new Bratunac – Skelani road at the end of the 1880s.³⁹

IV. Conclusion

The above-mentioned examples emphasize the importance of the travelogues for the research of the Roman road network in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Owing to the work of the travel writers, new Roman roads can be discovered, their location prior to destruction can be determined, and we can find out how long they were used for traffic.

James Henry Skene and Chaumette des Fossés give accounts of the Roman road remains not previously known to the historical science. According to the information given in the travel descriptions, it can be concluded that the Roman road was located on the slopes of Mount Majevisa, i.e., between the village of Čađavica and the town of Gornja Tuzla. Even though the information provided by Skene and Fossés is not enough to discern the exact location of the remains of the Roman road communication, it is, however, a good starting point for further research.

The Roman roads continued to be used for many centuries after the end of the Roman Empire on highly inaccessible, mountainous terrains of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That is exemplified by the remains of the

contemporary historiography], in *Writers of Serbian history*, ed. Draga Mastilović (Gacko: Serbian Educational and Cultural Society Prosvjeta, 2017), 71-89.

³⁹ Č. Truhelka, "Rimska cesta u kotaru srebreničkom" [Roman road in Srebrenica district], *Journal of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina* 3 (1891): 239-240.

Roman road between Kraljevo Polje and the village of Lukavica in eastern Bosnia. Due to the steep ascent, this part of the Roman terrestrial communication was unavoidable for all passengers who were travelling from Sarajevo to the valley of the Drina River and further to Belgrade.

Unlike mountainous areas, where the Roman roads were the only path through dense forests and steep slopes, this was not the case with the valleys. There was no need to build good, stone-paved roads in the valleys during the Ottoman rule because all the transport of goods and people was done by horses. That is the reason why remains of the Roman terrestrial communication were destroyed and the stone was used as a construction material. The travel records show that a similar thing happened to the part of the *Narona – Asamo* Roman road. However, owing to the information mentioned by Alexander Hilferding, we can determine more accurately the location where the remains of the Roman road can be found.

Based on all of the above, we can conclude that the travelogues written during the Ottoman rule of Bosnia and Herzegovina are of great importance for the study of the Roman road network. However, the travel books should not be used alone, but in combination with other methods designed for the research of the Roman terrestrial communication.

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