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Municipium Aelianum**

Abstract: The paper focuses on the Upper Moesian *municipium Aelianum*, whose existence and location have been long debated. Relatively recently, a new epigraphic attestation of the municipium has been discovered and published, which calls for a reconsideration of all existing data and hypotheses about this little-known Roman town, in order to contribute to the study of the urbanisation in the Roman province of Upper Moesia.

Keywords: municipium Aelianum, Upper Moesia, Hadrian, Roman urbanisation.

Introduction

The existence of the Upper Moesian *municipium Aelianum* was, until recently, attested by a single inscription from another provincial town, Ulpiana. The inscription was erected by *P. Licinius P. f. Pap(iria) Aelianus*, a decurion in the councils of three Roman municipia in the province: Ulpiana, Viminacium, and Aelianum, along with his wife *Ulpia Cassia*. Emil Čerškov discovered the monument in Ulpiana in 1956 and provided only a brief note about it in his book *Romans in Kosovo and Metohija* (Rimljani na Kosovu i Metohiji). The text and the drawing of the inscription were later published by Zef Mirdita, though without a photograph. It is a plaque of white marble in the form of *tabula ansata*, measuring 112 x 50 x 9 cm.

Editions: Čerškov 1956, 86, note 101; Mirdita 1978, 161–166; *AE* 1978, 702; *ILJug* 527. M. Gabričević 1984, 77–80.

P. Licinius P. f. Pap(iria) | Aelianus dec(urio) muni|cipior(um) Ulpiani et Aeli Vimina(ci) | et Aeliani et Ulpia Cassia eius |⁵ porticum incendio con|sumptam sua pecunia restit(uerunt).

Martin Gabričević emended the reading of the wife's name in line 4, suggesting *Cassia* instead of *Cassa*, contrary to all other editions. His argument is

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Fig. 1: Inscription from Ulpiana, Photo: M. Gabričević, ZMKM.

based on the presence of a small letter *I* between the upper strokes of *S* and *A*, a common stylistic feature in the inscription where most “*I*” letters are either raised or engraved within other letters. The inscription displays numerous ligatures. Gabričević’s reading is verifiable through the high-quality photograph published in the same volume of *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova i Metohije*. Additionally, a black-and-white photograph of the plaque is available in the Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg (EDH) database under the signature Foo7013. It’s noteworthy that Gabričević’s edition is not documented in the EDH, which instead accepts Mirdita’s reading of *Cassa*. Regarding the mention of the town’s name, Gabričević expresses scepticism. He associates *Aeliani* in line 4 with the decurion’s cognomen, possibly a third person, rejecting the notion that *Aelianum* was the name of the municipium. However, such an interpretation might be less logical. Despite this, there seems to be little doubt that the text refers to three Upper Moesian *municipia*.

In the Danubian provinces, particularly in Upper Moesia, it was not uncommon for individuals to carry out official duties in multiple towns in the province or in the neighbouring provinces. Numerous epigraphic examples bear witness to this practice.¹ For example, *L. Quesidius* (perhaps *Co`esidius* (?)) *C.f. Praesens* held a dignitary position in Drobeta in Dacia and in the Upper Moesian capital, Viminacium. *C. Tit(ius) Antonius Peculiaris* served as a decurion in the

¹ See below.

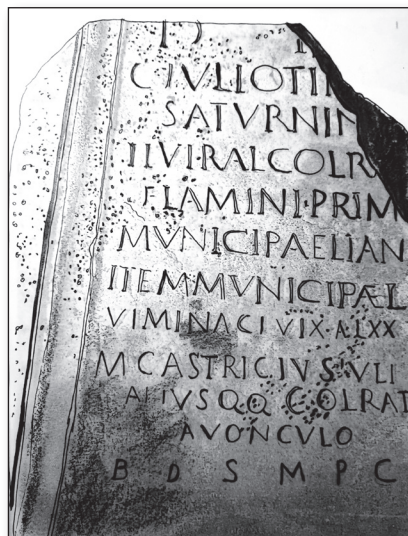


Fig. 2: Inscription from Ratiaria, Drawing after the photography of K. Karadimitrova.

municipium Singidunum and in the colonia Aquincum in Lower Pannonia.² A decurion in the councils of the colony of Scupi and municipium Ulpiana erected a funerary inscription to his son in *municipium D(ardanorum)* (Sočanica), where he might have also held an official duty.³ *Titus Aurelius Atticus* (IMS I 16) held the position of *quinquennalis* in both Singidunum and Sirmium.

New attestation of municipium Aelianum

Another inscription mentioning this *municipium* was discovered in Ratiaria (Arčar) in 2010 and published the same year, though it has not received due attention in the literature. Unfortunately, not unlike the first attestation, the new inscription offers no insights into its location. However, it prompts a series of crucial questions, not only pertaining to the debated location of the town but also the organisational aspects of the imperial cult in the province. This is particularly notable as it mentions the priest, a flamen. On a broader scale, the inscription invites scrutiny of the consolidation of territories, urbanisation, activation of mines, and road construction in Upper Moesia during the reign of Hadrian.

² CIL III 6452. Fishwick 2015, 277–279.

³ Fragmentary inscription from Sočanica (*Municipium Dardanorum*), ILJug 1380: ----] | ornatus or|namentis dec(urionalibus) | col(oniae) Fl(auiae) Scupino|rum et mun(icipii) spl(endidissimi) | Ulp(ianorum) filio pii(ssimo) | l(oco) d(ato) d(creto) co(lonorum). The reading *co(lonorum)* is better than *co(loniae)*, see: Dušanić 1971, 249; 1977, 87 note 222.

It is a funerary inscription engraved on a marble stele, 123 x 62 x 12 cm, letter height 7.5–4.5 cm. The monument was discovered in the territory of the colony of Ratiaria. The context of the finding is not specified, as it is possible that the information is not available.

Karadimitrova 2010, 179–189; Tab. 31, 1; AE 2010, 1391.

D(is) M(anibus) | C. Iulio Tib. [f.] | Saturnin[o] | Iiviral(i) col(oniae) Ra[t(iariae)] |⁵ flamini prim[o] | municip(i) Aelian(i) | item municip(i) Ael(i) | Viminaci uixit a(nnis) LXX. | M. Castricius Iuli|ioanus q(uin)q(uennalis) col(oniae) Rat(iariae) | auonculo (!) | b(ene) d(e) s(e) m(erenti) p(onendum) c(urauit).

The deceased *C. Iulius Tib. f. Saturninus* held the position of *Iiviralis* of the colony Ratiaria and served as a *flamen* in two provincial towns: *municipium Aelianum* and *municipium Aelium Viminacium*. The inscription was erected by his nephew, *M. Castricius Iulianus*, who held the role of *quinquennalis* in Ratiaria. The *editio princeps* places its primary emphasis on the interpretation of the term “*flamen primus*,” with limited discussion on other aspects. Taking into account various epigraphic analogies from both the Danubian provinces and other parts of the Empire, it appears probable that the dedicator’s intention was to emphasize that Saturninus was the inaugural individual to undertake this role in a recently established Hadrianic *municipium*.⁴ The commentary to the edition in *L’annee epigraphique* 2010 offers the same interpretation.

A recently published inscription from Durostorum in Lower Moesia also provides a highly informative analogy.⁵ As an analogy, the authors of the article cite two votive inscriptions from Apulum, erected by the first *IIIvir* of the *municipium*: *T. Fl(avius) Italicus primus IIIvir mun(icipii) Aur(elii) Ap(ulensis)*⁶ and *C. Iul(ius) Valentinus primus IIIvir annualis mun(icipii) Sep(timii) Apul(ensis)*,⁷ who was also the patron of the corporation of *fabri*. Also, the already mentioned decurion in the town councils of Drobeta and Viminacium, *L. Quesidius C.f. Praesens*, was also *primus quinquennalis mun(icipii) P. Ael(ii) Dru(betensium)*.⁸

⁴ Karadimitrova does not include any of the examples from the Danubian provinces.

⁵ Donevski & Matei-Popescu 2021, 329.

⁶ IDR III/5, 144: *I(oui) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | T. Fl(auius) Itali|cus pri|mus IIIuir | mun(icipii) Aur(elii) Ap(ulensis) | u(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito)*; IDR III/5, 52: *Deanae (!) sacrum | T. Fl(auius) Italicus prim(us) IIIuir | mun(icipii) cum Statilia Lu|cia coniuge et Fl(aui) Sta|tiliano filio ex uoto*

⁷ IDR III/5, 204: *I(oui) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Aetern(o) | C. Iul(ius) Valenti|nus IIIuir pri|mus annualis | mun(icipii) Sep(timii) Apul(ensis) | et patr(onus) coll(egii) fab(rum) | mun(icipii) s(upra) s(cripti) ex uoto | posuit.*

⁸ IMS II 75: *D(is) M(anibus) | L. Quesidio C. | filio Praesenti | dec(urioni) et q(uin)q(uennali) pri|smo mun(icipii) P. Ael(ii) Dru(betensium) | [et] dec(urioni) [mun(icipii)] Vim(inacensium), uixit | an(nis) LXIII L. Quesid(ius) Pr[ae]|sentia(nus) fil. et Luc(i)us*

A *flamen* and *primus quinquennalis* is attested in Sarmizegetusa as well.⁹ Previous examples may be associated with another inscription from Apulum that directly highlights the inscription was erected in 'the first year of the established municipium', *anno primo facti municipi*.¹⁰ Outside the Danubian provinces, there are numerous inscriptions that highlight the novelty of an office.¹¹ For example, the inscription *CIL* II 895 from the African town of Volubilis, which received the status of municipium with Latin rights under Claudius, attests the married couple of the 'first' flamines in the municipium. *M. Valerius Bostaris f. Severus* was a *duumvir* and *flamen primus* at Volubilis, and his wife *Fabia Bira Izeltae f. was flaminica prima*.¹²

Ubication of Aelianum

In a 1958 article, Andras Mócsy included *Municipium* as one of the autonomous Roman towns in Upper Moesia. The toponym is documented in the Roman itineraries as a *mansio* on the road Viminacium-Naissus (*via militaris*).¹³ According to the data from *Tabula Peutingeriana*, *Itinerarium Antonini* and *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, it is the first station south of Viminacium, located at a distance of 18 Roman miles (27 km).¹⁴ The station is identified with the Roman site near the village Kalište at the confluence of the Vitovnica River and the Mlava River, where the remains of a Roman quadrangular fortification were observed and documented as early as 1870 by Felix Kanitz.¹⁵ Kanitz also documented the discovery of numerous bricks with stamps of the *legio VI Claudia*.¹⁶ Nikola Vulić and Anton von Premerstein, who visited the site in August 1900,

Regu|lin(us) IIuir q(uin)q(uennalis) et Au|¹⁰rel(ius) Fir(mus?), q(uin)q(uennalis) mu(nicipii) Ael(ii) Vim(inacensium) | s(cribendum) c(urauerunt) | h(ic) s(itus) e(st).

⁹ *CIL* III 1503: *Q. Ianuario Q(uinti) f. | Collina Rufo | Tauio flamini | q(uin)q(uennali) prim(o) pro Imp(eratore) | ordo col(oniae) Ulp(iae) Trai(anae) | Dacic(ae) Sarmizeg(etusae).*

¹⁰ *CIL* III 7805 C. *Ceruoni[o] | Pap(iria) Sabino q(uin)[q(uennali)] | col(oniae) Dac(icae) dec(urioni) mun[i]cipi(i) Apul(ensis) | patron(o) | [c]ollegi(i) fabr(um) col(oniae) | [et m]unicipi(i) s(upra) s(criptorum) pa[tr]o no causarum | [piis]simo(?) am[ico] | rarissim[o] | Sex. Sentinas Maxi|mus anno primo | [f]acti municipi(i) | posuit || [Ob] cuius | [sta]tuae dedi|[cat]ionem Lu|[ci]a Iulia uxor | [C]eruoni per | omnes balne|[as] populo pu|blice oleum | posuit | l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

¹¹ Cf. e.g. *CIL* XIII 1048; *CIL* VIII 5368.

¹² *Flamen primus* cf.: *IL Afr* 634; *AE* 1980, 615. Cf. Hemelrijk 2006.

¹³ Petrović 2019 (with bibliography).

¹⁴ *Tab. Peut.* segm. VI: *Municipio. It.Ant.* 134–135.4: *Municipio XXVII; It. Hieros.* 565.1–566.8: *mansio Municipio.*

¹⁵ Kanitz 1892, 60–62; *IMS* II, 56.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

assumed that this might have been the urban centre of Viminacium. Although their theory was later proven incorrect, it nevertheless provides insight into the impressions of these scholars regarding the visible remains and the geo-strategic position of the place.

Before the publication of the inscription from *Ulpiana*, which definitely confirmed the existence of the *municipium* called *Aelianum*, Mócsy correlated the data from the itineraries mentioning the toponym *Municipium*, the archaeological remains at Kalište with the Roman mines *Aeliana Pincensia*, located in the valleys of Pek (*Pincus*) and Mlava, whose name is attested in mining coins.¹⁷ Drawing inspiration from the example of the pair of *metalla Ulpiana* and *municipium Ulpianum*, he postulated that there must have been other pairs as well: *metalla Aeliana Pincensia* and *municipium *Aelianum*, and *metalla Aureliana* and **municipium Aurelianum*. He hypothesised that the *municipium* at Kalište emerged through the urbanisation of the mining district *Aeliana Pincensia*, which extended from the Danube (*Pincum*, V. Gradište) to the Mlava.

Slobodan Dušanić and Miroslava Mirković rejected Mócsy's hypothesis, highlighting that the itineraries mention *Municipium* at Kalište as a *mansio* (a road station), and not as a *civitas*, a town. Dušanić criticised Mócsy's views on the municipalisation of the mines, rejecting his thesis that the *Pincus* mines were administered from Kalište. In Dušanić's opinion, this "would be inexplicably eccentric for a *vicus metalli*", which, according to him, should be sought at *Pincum* (Veliko Gradište), on the Danube bank.¹⁸ M. Mirković, in her 1968 book about the Roman towns on the Danube in Upper Moesia, mentions the locality at Kalište as a site where "contours of the ancient town are still discernible", but there is no further discussion about this region.¹⁹ She included this whole area in the territory of Viminacium, considering the station "*Municipium*" as the first road station on Viminacium's territory, which, according to this author, was very extensive, stretching from this station to the Iron Gates region on the Danube. In the second volume of the corpus of the Upper Moesian inscriptions (*Inscriptions de la Mésie supérieure*), Mirković included the inscriptions discovered at Kalište in the *territorium* of Viminacium (*IMS* II 297–307), rejecting the possibility that this was a different administrative entity. In the introduction to the same volume, M. Mirković references the mention of the *municipium Aelianum* in the inscription from *Ulpiana*, which had recently been published in *ZPE*. However, she approaches this information with great caution, noting that, at that time, a photograph of the inscription was not yet available. She highlighted that even if the inscription attested a town named *Aelianum*, it need not necessarily be iden-

¹⁷ *BMC* III, p. 533 no. 1853 [AD 128–138]. Dušanić 1977, 57.

¹⁸ Dušanić 1977, 77, note 157.

¹⁹ Mirković 1968.

tified as the locality at Kalište. This remains a pertinent observation, especially considering that the new attestation of the municipium did not resolve the question of the town's localisation. Another editor, Martin Gabričević, addressed this issue and rejected the notion of a Roman autonomous town at Kalište because of its close proximity to Viminacium and the small territory it covered. However, this may not be a compelling argument against the existence of a municipium at Kalište, as there is no formal obstacle for two Roman towns to coexist in close vicinity. In the region around Viminacium, there is also another independent town, Margum, which was elevated to the status of municipium in a later period.²⁰ Similar instances exist, for example, with Sirmium and Bassianae in the neighbouring Lower Pannonia, which are also positioned at a comparable distance. Concerning the size of its territory, there are numerous examples of well-explored "small towns", especially in neighbouring Pannonia, which did not extend over a much larger territory than a village and did not have monumental buildings.²¹ A recent study by D. Donev sheds light on the phenomenon of "small towns" in the Danubian provinces.²²

D. Piletić (Piletić 1970), who explored the locality 'Gradište' at Kalište, discovered a Roman castle of quadrangular shape measuring 154 x 56.5 m with square-shaped towers of 5 x 5 m and 120 cm-thick walls, dating back to the first century. The *castellum* was positioned next to the *via militaris*, and its primary role was undoubtedly to protect the road.²³ This location was also crucial for accessing the mining complexes in the Mlava-Pek region from the interior of the province and the southwest. Further archaeological excavations in the Kalište region were carried out in several campaigns during the 1980s.²⁴ The data published in the individual excavation reports, summarised in the 2012 monograph by M. Cunjak, the archaeologist leading the excavations, strongly suggest that this might have been a considerable agglomeration. Regardless of the administrative status that the place might have had in the Roman times, it was a Roman urban settlement that thrived from the middle of the first century until the Migration Period.²⁵ Besides the strong 22-metre-long walls with columns,²⁶ the

²⁰ *IMS II*, 207–211; Mócsy 1974, 196.

²¹ Baret 2020, 111–112.

²² Donev 2020.

²³ For the Roman road see Petrović 2019, 127–157 with bibliography.

²⁴ Cunjak & Pindić 1985; Цуњак 2012.

²⁵ Cf. Diers 2019 (a very instructive study about urban settlements without the formal status of towns, taking Upper Moesian *Timacum Minus* as an example).

²⁶ *IMS II*, 56; Цуњак 2012, 17.

finds include the remains of the water system, *thermae*,²⁷ the remains of buildings and necropolises, the remains of a ceramic workshop, along with portable material. In the vicinity of the Roman castrum, the remnants of a Roman necropolis have been discovered at the locality “Staro groblje” (“Old Cemetery”).²⁸ The excavations revealed a building with a hypocaust precisely dated to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, thanks to numismatic finds.²⁹ In the environs of Kalište, in the village of Kravlji Do, the remains of a *villa rustica* with a floor mosaic with representations of horses and centaurs were found in 1959.³⁰ As mentioned earlier, several inscribed monuments were unearthed at Kalište. Most of the known inscriptions were published by Nikola Vulić and Anton von Premerstein. These are mostly votive monuments: altars dedicated to *Mars*,³¹ *Silvanus Domesticus*,³² and an altar dedicated to several deities, *Apollo*, *Diana*, *Silvanus*,³³ the reading of which could benefit from revision. Cunjak also mentions a ring with a blue stone with an engraved image of the goddess Diana. A fragment of a Mithraic relief also comes from the locality “Gradište”.³⁴ One of the inscriptions from Kalište is the funerary monument *IMS II 303*, which *M. Ulpus Surio* erected for his mother. Among other noteworthy findings are an alphabetical graffito and a bronze weight (*IMS II 307*).³⁵ The continuity of occupancy from the middle of the first century to the migration period is affirmed by numerous portable finds, especially numismatic material.

The fact that localities concentrated around the confluence of the Vitovnica and the Mlava Rivers underwent serious destruction in the past implies that the remains that were saved, explored and recorded by the archaeologist are only a fragment of what might have existed there in antiquity. The locality sustained significant damage in 1870, during the construction of the railway that passed right next to “Gradac”. Severe damage was also inflicted on the locality in

²⁷ Cunjak (Цуњак 2012) mentions the finding of Traian’s coins in the *thermae*. He distinguishes three building phases: the first in the times of Hadrian, the second at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, and the last phase in the times of the emperor Constantine.

²⁸ Цуњак 1983, 67; Цуњак & Пиндић 1985, 93–96.

²⁹ It is not clear on what evidence rests the claim in *IMS II*, Introd. 56, note 20 that there is “une rupture entre le début du Ier et la fin du IIIe siècle.”

³⁰ Mirković 1968, 68, Спасић-Ђурић 2015, 34 with the drawing of the mosaic made by M. Pindić (fig. 35); Cunjak 2012, 21 note 17).

³¹ *IMS II 299*.

³² *IMS II 300*.

³³ *IMS II 297*.

³⁴ Tomović 1989–1990, 92, n. 3.

³⁵ Spasić-Ђurić 2002, 142, fig. 121 a; Spasić-Ђurić 2015, 197, n. 126.

1955, during the construction of the road between Požarevac and Peterovac on the Mlava, when it was destroyed as it served as the exploitation site for road-filling works. Cunjak, in his detailed and emotional description of the events, refers to this as an “uncompromising wildfire”.³⁶ This information calls for caution when discussing the character of the settlement based on archaeological remains.

The Emperor Hadrian and the Urbanisation of Upper Moesia

The name of municipium Aelianum indicates that the town was a Hadrianic foundation, given that the toponym is derived from Hadrian’s gentile name. This emperor played a significant role in the urbanisation of the Danubian provinces. Numerous towns received the status of municipium during his reign, with especially notable among them being towns on the Danube, such as Carnuntum, Aquincum, Viminacium, Drobeta. To the list of the places whose change of status under Hadrian is directly attested, one could add a number of *municipia* whose Hadrianic date is inferred from different indications, such as the pseudo-tribe *Aelia*, onomastic evidence, epigraphic attestations that offer a *terminus ante quem* or *terminus post quem*.³⁷ Some of these include Salla, Mogetiana,³⁸ municipium Iasorum, Cibalae, Bassianae,³⁹ etc.⁴⁰ A number of municipia in Dalmatia are possibly Hadrianic (*Aquae S., Delminium*).⁴¹ Also, we cannot rule out that they were granted Latin rights, although direct, unambiguous evidence is lacking.⁴² In Upper Moesia, no autonomous Roman towns except for the Roman colony of *Scupi* predate Trajan’s reign. A critical urbanising impulse happened under Hadrian. It is epigraphically attested that Hadrian granted the municipal status to Viminacium.⁴³ Another important Roman settlement on the Danube that was also a legionary seat, Singidunum, probably also became a *municipium* at this time. In the Introduction to the first volume of the *Inscriptions de la Mésie supérieure* (“*Singidunum et son territoire*”), Miroslava Mirković assumed this date based on the evidence of the inscription *IMS I 47*. Namely, the *terminus ante quem non* would be Trajan’s reign, but she was inclined to think that the mu-

³⁶ Цуњак 2012, 16–19.

³⁷ M. Boatwright (2000, 39–40, note 15) is sceptical about all these cases, although the Hadrianic date is not problematic but just not directly attested.

³⁸ Kovács 2003.

³⁹ Dušanić 1967, 70 note 70; Mócsy 1974, 143.

⁴⁰ Kos and Scherrer 2002.

⁴¹ Grbić 2014, 142–143.

⁴² Boatwright 2000, 38.

⁴³ Cf. *IMS II 48*.

nicipal status was granted under Hadrian, at the same time as Viminacium and other towns on the Danube, which is a very logical and likely assumption. The fact that there is another town in Upper Moesia founded under this emperor is not surprising.

The outset of Hadrian's reign is characterised by events that threatened to overturn the achievements of Trajan's great successes in the Dacian wars and undermine the stability of the entire Danubian region. The coordinated attacks by the Sarmatian Jazyges, residing around the Tisza River to the north of the Iron Gates region, and their kinsmen, the Roxolani, presented a significant danger to the new province of Dacia and the neighbouring Lower Pannonia, Upper and Lower Moesia. Even though these tribes had allied with Rome during the Dacian wars, they rebelled after Trajan's death. The governor C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus was killed in the attacks.⁴⁴ Hadrian's response – to combine Pannonia and Dacia under one command, entrusted to the knight Q. Marcius Turbo – and his personal presence on the Danube early in 118 CE underscored the gravity of the situation.⁴⁵ According to Cassius Dio, Hadrian ordered the removal of the wooden superstructure of Trajan's bridge on the Danube, between Pontes and Drobeta, as he was "afraid that it might also make it easy for the barbarians, once they had overpowered the guard at the bridge, to cross into Moesia" (Cass. Dio LXVIII 13, 6: Ἀδριανὸς δὲ τοῦναντίον φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τοὺς φρουροὺς αὐτῆς βιάζομενοις ῥάδια διάβασις ἐς τὴν Μυσίαν ἦ, ἀφείλε τὴν ἐπιπολῆς κατασκευὴν. The effective resolution of the conflict was followed by a series of consolidating measures in the Danubian provinces.⁴⁶ The process of urbanisation in this region could be viewed as a part of Hadrian's efforts to consolidate power, contributing to the stability in the provinces on the Danubian *limes* by strengthening the loyalty of the provincials. Several measures could also be attributed to the same goal, such as the reorganisation of the newly founded Dacia, withdrawal from a part of the conquered territories, and delimitation and redefinition of the territories.⁴⁷ Upper Moesian milestones from Hadrian's reign indicate that the emperor spurred road building and repairs in the provinces, particularly in the communications between the mining districts in Dardania and those gravitating towards the Danube, as well as the south, Scupi.⁴⁸ A fragmented inscription from Viminacium (*IMS* II 50) testifies that

⁴⁴ Syme 1971, 164–164; Birley 1997, 84–85

⁴⁵ Hist. Aug. *Hadr.* 6.6, 6.8; Cass. Dio 69.9.6; Syme 1971, 163; Halfmann 1986, 190; Mócsy 1974, 100.

⁴⁶ Mócsy 1974, 100, 376.

⁴⁷ Nikolić 2022, 94–96.

⁴⁸ *IMS* VI 195 and 199, milestones from Đeneral Janković and Scupi speak of road-building between Scupi and *Ulpiana* under the legate *Coelius Rufus* 120 (cos. suff. 119):

the building of the road that connected the Morava valley and Dardania, which was according to this inscription *compendium*, a shortcut, was completed during Hadrian's reign.⁴⁹

Conclusions

The conclusions can be summarised as follows: the mention of *municipium Aelianum* in two inscriptions unequivocally attests to its existence. The fact that it was named after Hadrian's gentile name indicates the Hadrianic date of its foundation. Both inscriptions mention dignitaries who performed duties in different towns of the province, and both were erected in other towns, providing no evidence about the town's location. The suggestion that *Aelianum* could be identified as the remains of the Roman town located at the site in the village Kalište on the Mlava River mentioned in the Roman itineraries as *Municipium* should not be discarded merely because there is no better idea of where else it could have been located. Its origin may not necessarily be strictly linked to the municipalisation of the mines, as assumed by Mócsy and rejected by Dušanić and other scholars. Nevertheless, the substantial archaeological findings at Kalište (considering that many remains may not have been recovered due to extensive site destruction), the exceptional geo-strategic position of the place, and the suggestive toponym "Municipium" in the itineraries suggest that it might have been an autonomous Roman town, perhaps *Aelianum*.

List of Abbreviations:

- AE — *L'Année épigraphique*, Paris
 ANRW — *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, New York
 CIL — *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin
 IDR — *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, Bukuresti
 IMS — *Inscriptions de la Mésie supérieure*, Belgrade
 ZPE — *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bonn

Imp(eratori) Caesari | divi Traiani Parthici f. | divi Nervae nepoti | Traiano Hadriano | Aug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) IIII | co(n)s(uli) III L(ucio) Coelio Rufo | leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) col(onia) Scupin(orum) | m(ilia) p(assuum) VIII.

⁴⁹ IMS II 50: [*Imp(erator) Caes*]ar | *divi Tr[ai]ani Parthici f. di[vi] Nervae*] | [*n]epos Tr[ai]anus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) max(imus)*] | [*trib(unicia) pot(estate) --- c]o(n)s(ul) III p(ater) [p(atriciae)] | [per --- leg(atum) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)? viam] novam qua[e] coe?][*pta a divo patre suo Traia]no compen[dio] | [facto per m(ilia) p(assuum) ---] a Ma[rgo flumine] in Dardania[m] | [direxit? et munivit? ut vehicula?] com- meare | [possint ---] fe[cit.]**

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