

The Bestoen bishopric in the light of prior research

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Izveček

Namen članka je na osnovi analize arheoloških, epigrafskih, literarnih in drugih virov geografsko umestiti Bestojsko škofijo, njeno centralno območje in sedež škofije. Bestojski škof Andreas je bil eden od soprodpisnikov aktov salonitanskih sinod v letih 530 in 533 po Kr.; želel je doseči, da bi se njegova škofija razdelila na dva dela. K temu je bil prisiljen tako zaradi njene velikosti kot tudi zaradi revščine, zaradi katere ni mogel omogočiti pomoči revnim in niti svojim duhovnikom. Iz teh razlogov se je pastoralna skrb za krščanski življenj v njegovi škofiji zelo zmanjšala. Andreasovi želji niso ugodili. Njegova škofija se je nahajala v gorati notranjosti rimske Dalmacije, zelo verjetno v območju Rame (v severni Hercegovini), ob zgornjem Vrbasu, v dolini reke Lašve ter na območju Zenice (v srednji Bosni). Središče škofije je bilo morda v antični naselbini v Grudinah (Crkvine) na območju Čipuljić-Bugojno (v srednji Bosni), kjer je bila najdena opeka z žigom Bistues. Lokacija škofijskega sedeža ni povsem gotova.

Ključne besede: rimska Dalmacija, zgodnje krščanstvo, Bistue, Bestojska škofija

Abstract

The aim of this article is to locate the Bestoen bishopric, its central area and the see of its bishop, on the basis of the results of the analysis of archaeological, epigraphic, literary and other sources. The Bestoen bishop Andreas co-signed acts of the Salona synods in the years 530 and 533 AD, and tried to bring about its division into two bishoprics. He was forced to do so, on account of both its size and its poverty, which prevented the bishopric from providing help for the poor and for its clergy. This resulted in diminished pastoral care for the Christian population that was entrusted to him. Andreas' request was not fulfilled. His bishopric was situated in the mountainous inland of Roman Dalmatia, most probably in the area of the Rama River (northern Herzegovina), as well as along the upper Vrbas, the valley of the river Lašva and the area of Zenica (central Bosnia). The possibility that its centre was at the ancient settlement of Grudine (Crkvina) in Čipuljić-Bugojno (central Bosnia), where a Roman brick with the stamp *Bistues* was discovered, is not entirely to be excluded.

Keywords: Roman Dalmatia, Early Christianity, Bestoen bishopric

INTRODUCTION

Discussions on the Bestoen bishopric (*Bestoensis ecclesia*) follow the disputes on the Salonitan provincial synods that took place in 530 and 533 AD, and were presided by the Salonitan archbishop Honorius II (527-547).¹ These discussions and disputes have intensified with the beginning of the archaeological researches of early Christian objects in northern Herzegovina and middle Bos-

nia, particularly after the discovery of the double early Christian basilica in Bilimišće - Zenica (middle Bosnia) in 1891, which dates back to the end of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th century.² The Bestoen bishop Andreas (*Andreas episcopus Bestoensis ecclesiae, Andreas episcopus Bestoensis*) participated in both Salonitan synods.³ At the first synod, he warned against the poverty of his Church, which was not able to take care of the poor, or organize the material needs of its clergy.⁴

¹ About the Salonitan provincial synodes, see: Kuntić-Makvić 1998, 997-1002.

² Truhelka 1892, 340-349; 1893, 273-275; 1895, 210-221; 1914, 221-227; Chevalier 1995, 341-345.

³ Farlati 1753, 162-164, 173-174; Batthyány 1785, 285-292; Kukuljević-Sakcinski 1874, 195-198; Archidiaconus 1894, 13-18; Bulić, Bervaldi 1912-1913, 51-53; Šišić 1914, 157-164; Vanino 1942, 140-142 note 10 12; Klaić 1967, 76-85; Gunjača 1973, 53-55; Ivanišević 1994, 159-161.



Fig. 1: Bistue vetus and Bistue nova on Tabula Peutingeriana.
Sl. 1: Bistue vetus i Bistue nova na Tabuli Peutingeriani.

At the second synod, he tried to organize the division of his large bishopric in order to take better care of the clergy and to give better pastoral help to the Christian population.⁵ The research on the Bestoen bishopric, the see of its bishop and the central church has been difficult as there is the lack of adequate sources. At firstly there is the lack of the travel station *Bistue vetus* and *Bistue nova*⁶ from one of the main Roman roads, which was connecting *Salona* with the coal mine region *Argentaria* (Podrinje, Eastern

Bosnia), registered in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Fig. 1); secondly *Bistue betus*⁷, that is, *Ibisua* from the *Geography* of an *Anonymous of Ravenna*;⁸ thirdly the seal *Bistues* from the Roman brick from the ancient settlement on *Grudine* (*Crkvina*) in Čipuljić - Bugojno (Fig. 2),⁹ and finally six early emperor inscriptions of the magistrate of the Bestoen municipality (from Varvara near the Rama springs,¹⁰ from Fazlići near Vitez in the valley of the river Lašva¹¹ and from Bilimišće - Zenica).¹²

⁴ Vanino 1942, 141, Not. 10 "Congregatis beatissimis viris episcopis presbyteris dyaconibus nobilibusque filiis et cuncti ordinis clero Honorius dixit Decet nos iugiter ecclesiasticae ordinationis sollicitudine communiri ut licentia pravae usurpationis ablatam [ablata] ea nobis exercere filiorum (?studeamus?) [exercenda putemus] quae ne(c) canonicam latet [laedunt?] [latent] disciplinam nec ad detestanda pauperum damna prorumpunt sicut nuper Bestoensis ecclesiae scriptum tenentes agnoscimus quae tanto est divino honore commodata [tanto est onere incommodata] ut non solum oppressis adesse non cogitet sed nec suae a deo [adeo] valeat subvenire pressurae".

⁵ Vanino 1942, 142 Not. 12 "Andreas vir venerabilis (episcopus) bestoensis ecclesiae dixit 'Necesse nobis est bonae institutionis formam libenter amplecti praesertim quum de sacro laudabiliter cogitatur [cogitatis] obsequio. Ad que [Atque] ideo quaeso ut a loco Capella [Capellae] Arena usque ad has urbes (et) basilicas [basilicas] quae in mea patricinia [parochia] continentur ad proponendum i(i)sdem locum faciatur [locis faciatis] episcopum pertinere. Tanta vexationis labore submoto aptior mihi sollicitudo sit de sacerdotibus plebeque commissa quantus [quanto] grex dominicus (a) vicino pastore melius gubernetur'. Honorius vir beatus [beatissimus] archiepiscopus respondit 'Non est dubium venerabilis frater et te [bonae] ordinationis intuitu libenter offerre quibus et perpetuum talis gloriam mereatur [oblatio] et divinum melius perficeretur absequium. Et ideo cum divinitus [divinitas] propitiata concesserit adhuc unum ad quem eadem loca pertinere debeant curabimus ordinare [ordinari] pontificem".

⁶ About the sources in which this is mentioned, see in: *Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine* 1, 158 (Sarajevo 1988).

⁷ *Geogr. Rav.* IV 16 (211 15).

⁸ *Geogr. Rav.* IV 19 (218 2).

⁹ Petrović 1960-1961, 230 Fig. 1; Bojanovski 1988, 162.

¹⁰ Patsch 1906, 151-158, Nr. 1-3; 1909, 107-108 No. 1-3; *ILIug.* 1753, 1755, 1756: [T.] Fl(avio) [Li]c(inio) / ce(c(urioni) (duo)vir(o) Bist(uensium) / Fla(vii) / Licin]ianus / ⁵et [—]n[ianus] / [pa]tri; D(is) M(anibus) / T. Fl(avio) Liciniano / dec(urioni) mun(icipii) / Bis[t(uensium)] (duo)vir(o) [— / ⁵defu]ncto / an(norum) [—]; D(is) M(anibus) / Ael(iae) Procu[?]l[ae] [mat(ri)] / T. Fl(avius) [— / ⁵dec(urio) m]un(icipii) Bist(uensium) / (duo)vir[—].

¹¹ Hoffer 1893, 321-323; Truhelka, Patsch 1893, 704; Truhelka, Patsch, Hoffer 1895, 243-244, Nr. 16 Fig. 57, 245-247, Fig. 58; *CIL* III, 12761, p. 2256; Bojanovski 1974, 134, Not. 4; 1988, 158: D(is) M(anibus) / P. Ael(ius) Iustus / d(e)c(urio) m(unicipii) Bist(uensium) / et Ael(ia) Procula / ⁵coniux vivi sibi / posuerunt.



Fig. 2: Roman brick from the ancient settlement on Grudine (Crkvina) Čipuljić - Bugojno (after Paškvalin 1998).
Sl. 2: Rimski cigla iz antičkog naselja na Grudinama (Crkvina) Čipuljić - Bugojno (prema Paškvalinu, 1988).

EARLY RESEARCHES

Supervising the excavations of the ancient settlement and double early Christian basilica in Bilimišće - Zenica (Fig. 3), Sarajevo's archaeologist Ćiro Truhelka was the first one to identify them with the see of the Bestoen bishop Andreas, equating them with the travel station *Bistue nova*

from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.¹³ Presenting the research results of the early Christian objects and the history of early Christianity in the inland of Roman Dalmatia on the First congress of Christian archaeology, Truhelka elaborated this thesis of his into more detail.¹⁴

He finally gave shape to his thesis the monograph about early Christian archaeology, where he identified *Bistue nova* once again with ancient objects in Bilimišće - Zenica. He located the *Bistue vetus* travel station near the springs of Rama.¹⁵ There were namely the remains of the early Christian basilica in Varvara (Rama) and the early emperor inscriptions of the magistrate of the Bestoen municipality.¹⁶ Truhelka described the Bestoen bishopric as one of the largest ones in the area of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Because of the plastic of the interior of the northern basilica (Fig. 4), Truhelka's propositions about the early Christian origin of the basilica in Bilimišće Zenica have been disputed by several authors. However, modern research on several early Christian objects from the south-western Bosnia and middle Dalmatian inland have confirmed his propositions.¹⁷

Truhelka's contemporary dr. Carl Patsch (1856-1945) has additionally shaped the thesis about two Bistuen municipalities, identifying them with the *Bistues* from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. On the basis of the arguments which Ćiro Truhelka also used, Patsch located the *Bistue vetus* in Varvara (Rama), and *Bistue nova* in Zenica.¹⁸ Patsch's thesis about the identification of ancient objects and the basilica in Bilimišće (Zenica) with the travel station *Bistue nova* have been additionally supported by inscriptions of priests of the city of Rome (*sacerdos urbis Romae*),¹⁹ the province of Roman Dalmatia (*sacerdos provinciae Delmatiae*)²⁰ and one Roman knight (*vir egregius*).²¹ However, later research has shown that there was no larger ancient settlement in Varvara, especially not one that would be appropriate to be a bishop see.²²

¹² Truhelka 1893, 275; Patsch 1909, 104-105; *CIL* III, 12765; Truhelka 1893, 278; *CIL* III, 12766 = 12762; Sergejevski 1932, 37-40; Bojanovski 1974, 134, Not. 3; 1988, 158 *D(is) M(anibus) / T(ito) Fl(avio) T(iti) f(ilio) Luci/ o dec(urioni) mun(icipii) / Bist(uensium) et Aur(eliae) / ⁵Procul(a)e / Fl(avia) Procill(a) v(iva) f(ecit) et si/bi et suis; [± 4] C[± 10] ti / II v(iro) munic(ipii) Bjist(uensium) / sacerdoti [provi]nc(iae) / Delmat(iae) / ⁵U[lp(ia)?] / P[ro]cill(a) cojn(iugi) / [et] s[ib]i.*

¹³ Truhelka 1892, 340-345; 1893, 273-284.

¹⁴ Truhelka 1895, 210-221.

¹⁵ Truhelka 1931, 129-136.

¹⁶ Patsch 1906, 151-159; 1909, 105-115.

¹⁷ Cambi 1994, 33-49; Cambi, Gamulin, Tonković 1999, 14-15, 110.

¹⁸ Truhelka, Patsch 1893, 700-701 705; Truhelka, Patsch, Hoffer 1895, 236-245; Patsch 1897a; 1906, 151-159; 1909, 105-112.

¹⁹ *CIL* III, 12767.

²⁰ *CIL* III, 12766.

²¹ *CIL* III, 12763.

²² Bojanovski 1988, 163 Not. 49.

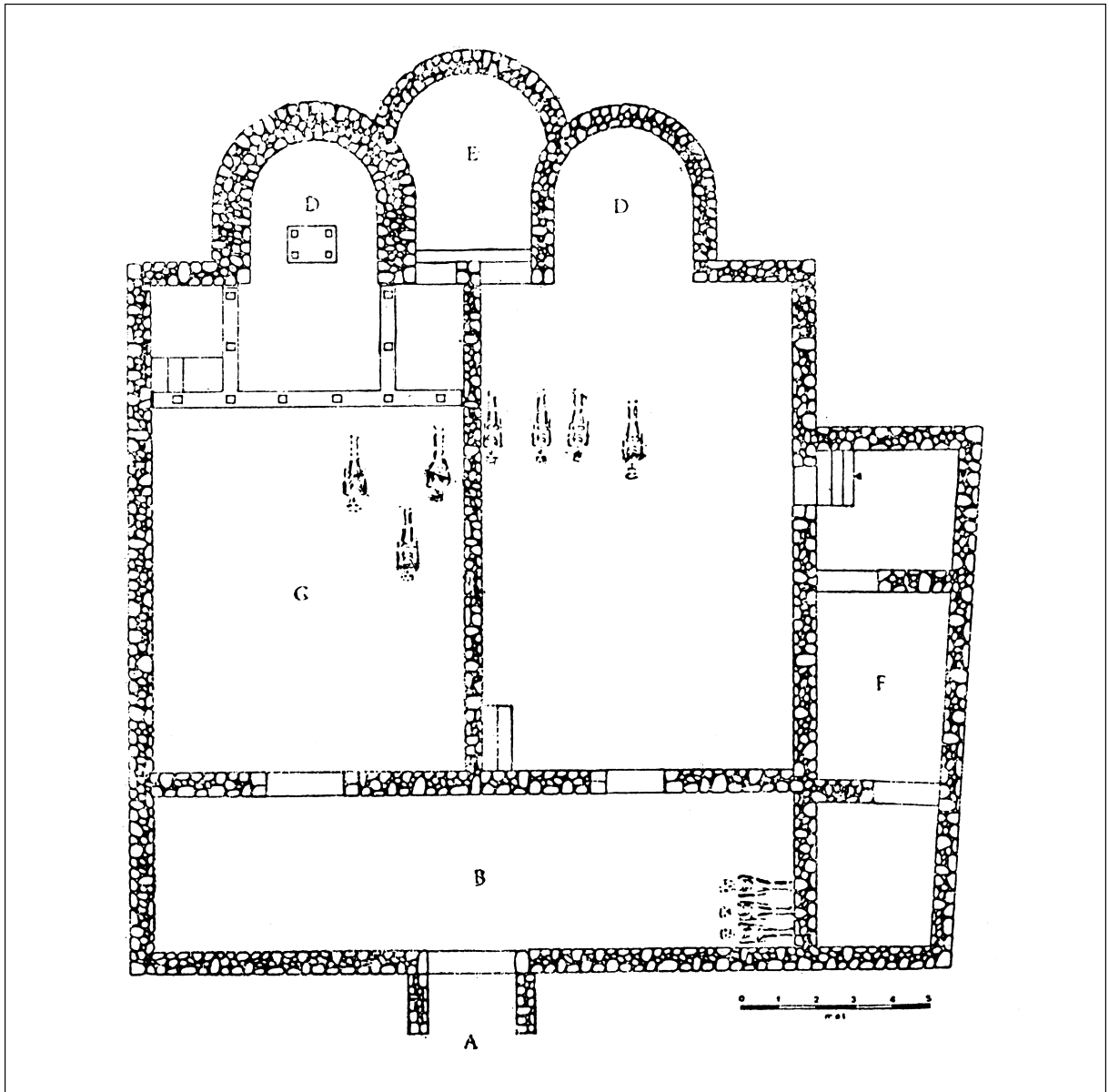


Fig. 3: Double early Christian basilica in Bilimišće - Zenica (after Basler 1972).

Sl. 3: Ranokršćanska dvojna bazilika iz Bilimišća - Zenica (prema Basleru, 1972).

There was obviously a smaller settlement (*vicus*) with a single-nave cemetery basilica from the 5th and 6th centuries (Fig. 5).²³ Despite that, the location of the travel station *Bistue vetus* in Varvara has been confirmed by the authors.²⁴ Truhelka's and Patsch's location of the travel station *Bistue nova* in Bilimišće and *Bistue vetus* in Varvara was rarely disputed not only for the authors' scientific authority, but also as the new research has not been done since.

Even an excellent expert of the Lašva-Zenica area topography, the Slovenian Jesuit Alexander Hoffer (1839-1914) who was in service in middle Bosnia, identified *Bistue Nova* with the centre of the Bestoen bishopric. He too researched for its centre in middle Bosnia, relying mainly on an early emperors' inscription from Fazlići where one magistrate from the Bestoen municipality is mentioned.²⁵ Taking into account the results of Truhelka's research he located them into Bilimišće (Zenica) too.²⁶

²³ Basler 1988, 11-14.

²⁴ Pavan 1958, 59-60; Pašalić 1960, 38-39; Alföldy, Mücsy 1965, 156; Wilkes 1969, 273.

²⁵ Truhelka, Parsch, Hoffer 1895, 245-247, Fig. 58.

²⁶ Hoffer 1893, 321-323; 1901, 59.

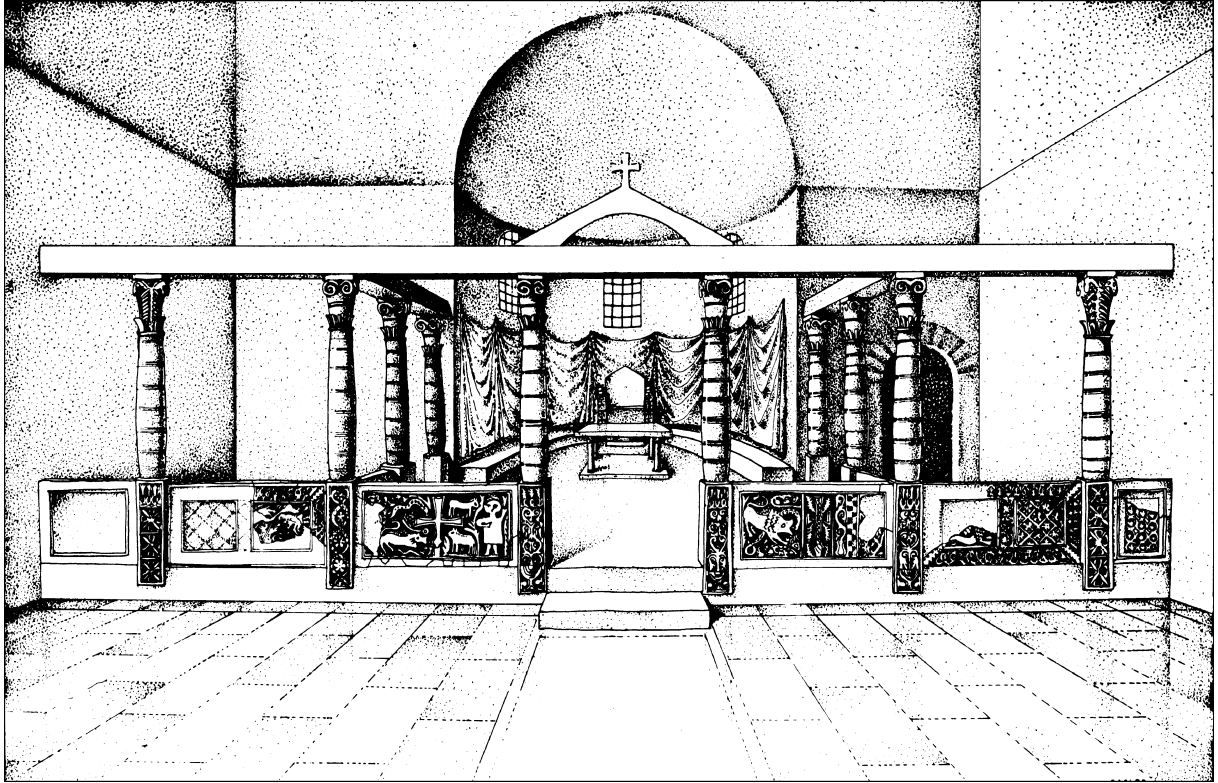


Fig. 4: An ideal reconstruction of the interior of the northern basilica in Bilimišće - Zenica (after Basler 1972).
Sl. 4: Idealna rekonstrukcija unutrašnjosti sjeverne bazilike iz Bilimišća - Zenica (prema Basleru, 1972).

As opposed to the authors mentioned above, the founder of Croatian early Christian archaeology Frane Bulić (1846-1934), located the centre of Bestoen bishopric in Šuica in the chronotaxis of the bishops of Salona and Split. He was obviously misled by the findings of the early Christian basilica from *Crkvina* in Bogdašići from the 6th century, and the traces of an ancient settlement near Šuica.²⁷ He located Šuica in the Duvno field.²⁸

A historian from Zagreb Ferdo Šišić (1869-1940), mentioned several times the Bestoen bishopric and was the first one who tried to determine its borders. In the handbook about the sources of early Middle Age Croatian history, he located it in the area from Sarajevo to the area between the rivers Bosna and Lašva, and from Drina in the east to the Dalmatian border in the west. He too located its centre, identifying it with the municipality *Bistue (Bestoe) vetus* and its cathedral in the area of Zenica.²⁹ He also found the arguments for that in the Roman inscriptions where the magistrates of the Bestoen

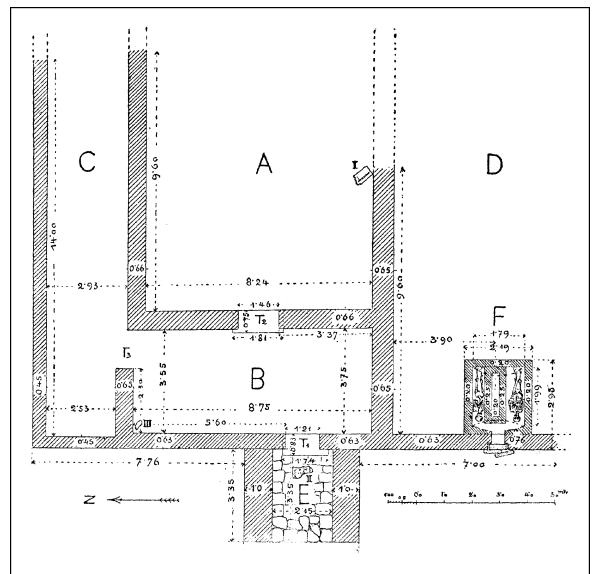


Fig. 5: Remains of the cemetery basilica in Varvara - Rama (after Patsch 1906).

Sl. 5: Ostaci ceterijalne bazilike u Varvari - Rama (prema Patschu, 1906).

²⁷ Patsch 1902, 6-8; 1904, 227-228; Chevalier 1995, 191-192.

²⁸ Bulić, Bervaldi 1912-1913, 55 "Bestoensis (with the center in Bistue Šuica on the Duvno field) with the bishop Andreas present on both Councils)".

²⁹ Šišić 1914, 155-156.

municipality are mentioned, as well as in the early Christian basilica from Bilimišće (Zenica). In the synthesis of Croatian early Middle Age history, Šišić talks about the bishopric *Bistue nova*, which he too locates in the area of Zenica, whereas he identifies the early Christian basilica from Bilimišće (Zenica) with its cathedral.³⁰ In the paper about the Bosnia-Đakovo bishopric, Šišić talks about the first traces of Christianity in the "real Bosnia", referring to the area from the source of the river Bosna to Vranduk identifying them to "Andreas the episcopus of the Bestoen church". Šišić identifies Andreas's bishopric with the settlement *Bistua* (*Bestoa*) near Zenica, where he locates the cathedral church. Šišić argues about the basilic in Bilimišće (Zenica) and its destruction which is connected with the invasions of the Avars and the Slavs from the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century.³¹

A historian from Sarajevo and Belgrade Vladimir Ćorović (1885-1941), points out the Zenica basilica as the main one in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and connects it with *Bistua*, which was a bishop see from the 6th century.³² Furthermore he located the travel station *Bistue nova* connecting it with the bishop see and a larger Christian parish.³³ He mentioning a double early Christian basilic, obviously meaning the Bilimišće (Zenica) basilic too, which is confirmed by the note which he wrote to support his claim.³⁴

In the old Croatian encyclopedia, *Bistue vetus* and *Bistue nova* were mentioned as Roman places in Bosnia. The first one, which is claimed to be a municipality and the seat of the bishop of the Bestoen church, Andreas (*episcopus Bestoensis ecclesiae*), has been identified with Varvara in Rama. There are references to historian Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski³⁵ and Carl Patsch in this section.³⁶ The second one is located in Zenica, on the grounds of the inscription of the magistrate of the Bestoen municipality and the other remains of ancient objects.³⁷

Not even the Zagreb church historian Miroslav Vanino (1879-1965) did not escape the idea about the basilic in Bilimišće (Zenica) as the centre of the Bestoen bishopric, as the see of the Bestoen bishop Andreas. Relying on Truhelka's research, he was convinced that the *Bistue nova* was almost certainly located in the Zenica area where, as he claimed, was the centre of the Bestoen bishopric.³⁸ The identification of *Bistue nova* with the centre of the Bestoen bishopric and its location in the Zenica area was also accepted by the Croatian church historian Ambrozije Benković (1890-1970).³⁹

The archaeologist from Zagreb, Grga Novak (1880-1978), also incidentally mentioned the travel stations *Bistue nova* and *Bistue vetus*. Obviously misled by the authorities of Ćiro Truhelka and Carl Patsch, he too placed *Bistue nova* among ancient Dalmatian bishoprics, locating it in Zenica. He connected *Bistue vetus* with "the ruins of Varvara in Otinovci".⁴⁰ Evidently, Novak had little knowledge of the geography of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as Varvara is not located in Otinovci, which are on the Kupres field, but upper Rama. Novak confused ancient objects from Varvara with the ancient settlement and the early Christian basilic from the 6th century in Otinovci near Kupres,⁴¹ which is dated at the end of 6th century.⁴² He locates in Otinovci the travel Station *Ad Matricem*, known from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.⁴³ The revision research placed the basilic in Otinovci (*Fig. 6*) into the basilic group of the type of Narona's basilicas. In its dimensions, it is very similar to those in Bilimišće (Zenica), Breza near Sarajevo, Homolj near Kiseljak in middle Bosnia and Rešetarica near Livno (west Bosnia).⁴⁴

Expert for the topography and archaeology of the middle Bosnian area, the Jesuit Ivan Ev. Kujundžić (1872-1933), disputed on two occasions the identifications of *Bistue nova* with ancient objects in Zenica and *Bistue vetus* with those in Varvara (Rama). He made systematic analysis of the trac-

³⁰ Šišić 1990, 152, footnote 73.

³¹ Šišić 1935, 54-55.

³² Ćorović 1925, 30.

³³ Ćorović 1940, 90.

³⁴ Truhelka 1895, 18-21; Patsch 1897a.

³⁵ Kukuljević-Sakcinski 1874, 195.

³⁶ Patsch 1897a, 505.

³⁷ *CIL* III, 12761, 12765, 12766; *Hrvatska enciklopedija* 2, 598-599 (Zagreb 1941).

³⁸ Vanino 1942, 140-144.

³⁹ Benković 1966, 13.

⁴⁰ Novak 2001, 70.

⁴¹ Dolić 1888, 10-12; Basler 1972, 108-109; 1993, 69, Pl. 26, Fig. 75.

⁴² Chevalier 1995, 362-363.

⁴³ Bojanovski 1974, 167, 170; 1988, 163, 232.

⁴⁴ Gudelj 2000, 101.

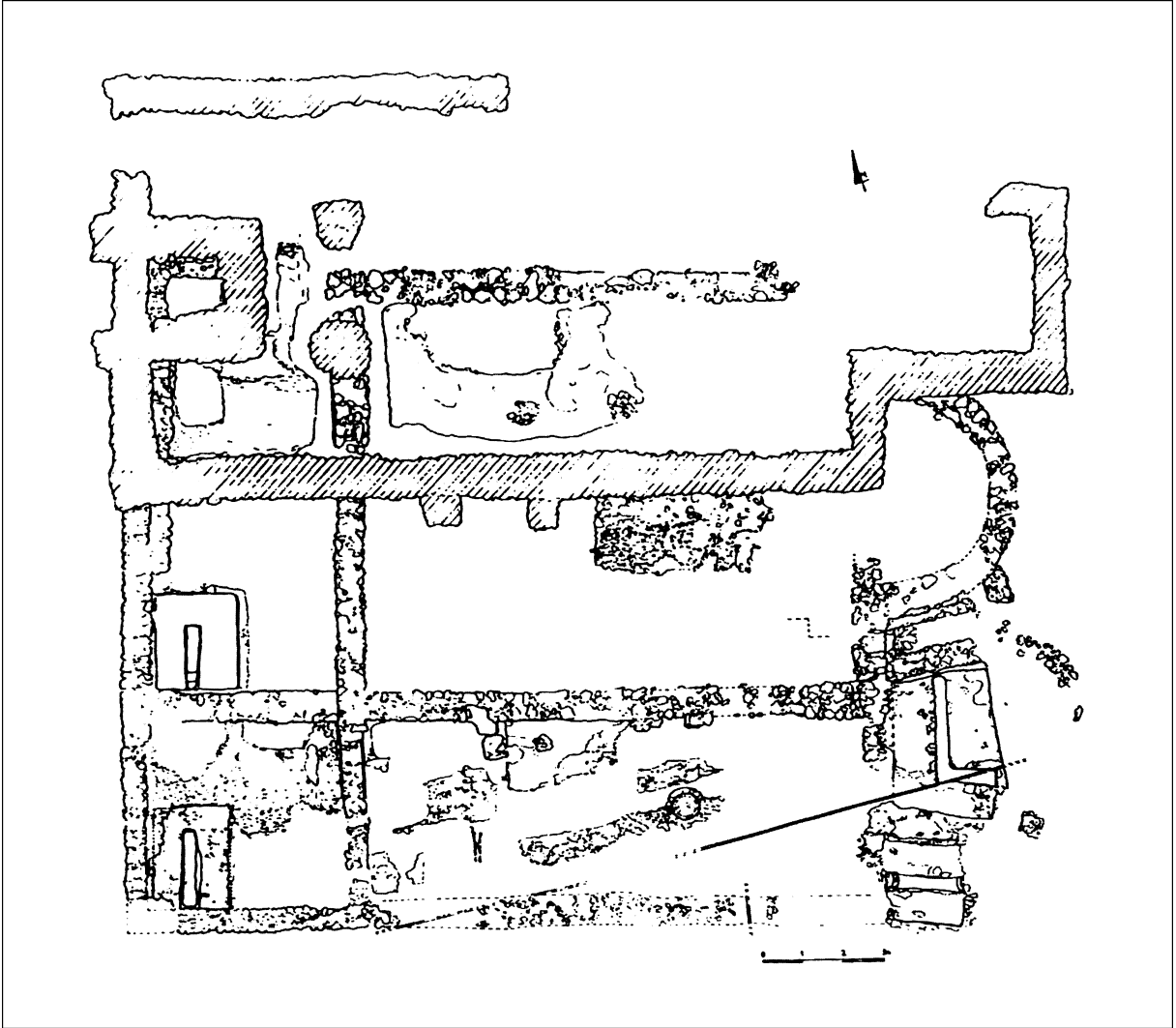


Fig. 6: Remains of the early Christian basilica in Otinovci - Kupres (after Gudelj 2000).

Sl. 6: Ostaci ranokršćanske bazilike u Otinovcima - Kupres (prema Gudelju, 2000).

es of Roman communications and settlements in the area of the valley of the river Lašva and Zenica. The results were confronted with the data on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, analyzing both, the inscription of the Bestoen magistrates, and the relicts of the Roman toponomastic of the Lašva area.⁴⁵ He identified the *Bistue nova* with the ancient settlement and the basilic from *Crkvina* in Mali Mošunj near Vitez.⁴⁶ As it has not been researched by experts before, and its ground-plan has not been acknowledged, this basilic is roughly dated back to the beginning of the 5th century. It could be

single-nave or triple-nave.⁴⁷ The identification of *Bistue nova* with the ancient settlement in Mali Mošunj was also approved by the Russian archaeologist working in Sarajevo, Dimitrije Sergejevski (1886. - 1965.). He considered this location as a more natural environment for the emergence of the urban settlement, and he pointed out a larger number of ancient objects in the Lašva valley as opposed to the number of objects in the Zenica area.⁴⁸

A church historian Krunoslav Draganović (1903-1983) working in Sarajevo, Zagreb and Rome, has first stated that at the Solin (*sic!*) synods (in 530

⁴⁵ Kujundžić 1924-1926, 75-83; 1933, 253-261.

⁴⁶ Truhelka 1893, 687-692; Hoffer 1895, 54-58; Kujundžić 1916-1917, 477-496; Marković 1931, 150-158; Basler 1972, 94-97; 1991, 61-62, Pl. 22, Fig. 61-62.

⁴⁷ Chevalier 1995, 338-340.

⁴⁸ Sergejevski 1932, 36-37.

and 532) Andreas the bishop ecclesiae Bestoensis signed the written documents and that the old Christian basilic in Zenica is the bishop's residence Bistun (*sic!*) or Beston (*sic!*). He explained that it was the opinion of the majority of archaeologists. Still, he did not miss the opportunity to point out the possibility of identifying the ancient settlement in Mošunj near Travnik with the see of bishop Andreas, as suggested Ivan Ev. Kujundžić.⁴⁹ He presented a similar opinion in the first schematism of the Catholic Church in the former Yugoslavia. Writing about the widespread Christianity of the Latin ceremony and the language in Bosnia from the 4th to the 6th centuries, he claimed that the proof for this phenomenon was also the bishopric in *Beston* or *Bistun* which was mentioned at the Split synodes in 530 and 533, and which he located into Zenica or Mošunj (near Vitez).⁵⁰ Later, he was not certain if the see of this bishopric (*ecclesia bestoensis*) was near Zenica.⁵¹ In the Italian version of the same paper, he stated that its see was near Zenica.⁵² Then, he considered that the bishopric *Bistue vetus* was in question, whose bishop took part in the work of the Salonitan synods in 530 and 533. He located it into an undefined area between the bishopric of Duvno and Varvara.⁵³ Later researches, however, has shown that the Duvno bishopric did not exist in the ancient times.⁵⁴ Draganović continued however elaborating on the New Bistua, which he located carefully into Zenica, he also discussed about the Old Bistua which he located with caution into Varvara.⁵⁵ In the second issue of the Schematism mentioned above, Draganović redefines judgments about the Bestoen bishopric, according to the results of the scientific research done afterwards. In the Schematism Draganović discussed about the seat of the bishop *Bistue nova* locating it into middle Bosnia, in the area between Zenica and Travnik but still giving the possibility to the location to Mošunj (according him "Mansiones") near Vitez. He was looking for arguments in the fact that Zenica lies outside the area of important Roman roads. Oddly enough, Draganović stated that the synod (he mentioned

previously the Salona synodes from the years 530 and 533) concluded that the bishopric should be divided on account of its size and that another one should be established in the municipality of *Bistue vetus*. He stated that the implementation of the synodes decision had to be postponed because of the problems involved. Furthermore, he points out that *Bistue nova* was considered to be located somewhere in Rama, in the village Varvara near the excavations of the old basilic (as there was "decurio Bestoensis" on one inscription). As there were finds of several inscriptions with the memorial "Bestoensis" found in the Zenica area, Travnik, Bugojno to Rama, it is assumed that this whole area was designated with that name. Draganović pointed out at that occasion that it was most likely that *Old Bistua* was a large Roman settlement near Bugojno and Čipuljić.⁵⁶ Evidently Draganović tried to follow the results of scientific research, but he did not understand much of the problems around the Bestoen municipality, its magistrate and the Bestoen bishopric. This was conceivable regarding the fact that Draganović was an expert in the field of new church history. Unfortunately, his opinions on this matter were accepted and included in the new schematism of the Sarajevo's archbishopric.⁵⁷

The Italian historian and archaeologist Massimiliano Pavan (1920-1991) was much more cautious: in his research the inscriptions with the memorials of Bestoen magistrates and the remains of ancient settlements from Zenica, Fazlići and Mali Mošunj in middle Bosnia do not allow precise locating of the municipality of *Bistue nova*.⁵⁸ Referring to Carl Patsch, he too located *Bistue vetus* into Varvara (Rama).⁵⁹

RECENT RESEARCH

Sarajevo's historian and archaeologist Esad Pašalić (1915-1967) originally accepted Truhelka's and Patsch's identification of ancient objects from Bilimišće - Zenica with the travel station *Bistue*

⁴⁹ Draganović 1934, 4.

⁵⁰ Draganović 1939, 136.

⁵¹ Draganović 1943a, 110.

⁵² Draganović 1943b, 215.

⁵³ Džaja, Draganović 1970, 153.

⁵⁴ Škegro 2002, 14-114.

⁵⁵ Džaja, Draganović 1970, 154.

⁵⁶ Draganović 1975, 330.

⁵⁷ *Vrhbosanska nadbiskupija početkom trećeg tisućljeća*, 20 (Sarajevo, Zagreb).

⁵⁸ Pavan 1958, 57-59.

⁵⁹ Pavan 1958, 59-60.

nova, and those from Varvara with *Bistue vetus*.⁶⁰ Afterwards, on the basis of his own research of the communication roads, settlements and other ancient buildings, as well as mining activities in the area of the upper flow of the Vrbas river, the Lašva valley and the area of Fojnica, Kreševo and Kiseljak, he accepted the location of *Bistue nova* in Mali Mošunj (near Vitez).⁶¹ Beside the fact that there was a larger Roman settlement with an early Christian basilic, he searched for additional arguments which would substantiate this thesis. He argues that this settlement was located on the mining communication road that connected other mining areas of the upper flow of the Vrbas river, the Lašva valley and the area of Fojnica, Kreševo and Kiseljak in middle Bosnia and Podrinje area in eastern Bosnia (*Argentaria*) with *Salona*. He also states that there remain many ancient settlements and communication roads in the Lašva valleys well as a few basilicas. Also the Roman inscription confirms the fact that the area of Lašva and Zenica form a part of the Bestoen bishopric.⁶² Furthermore, the name of the village *Bestovljani* (Pokrajčići) near Vitez bears in fact the name of the ancient village *Bestue*. The native population fled because of the invasions of the Slavs.⁶³ Against the location of the Bestoen municipality into Zenica, he put the arguments of the lack of existence of the continuation of the Roman road towards the mining region *Argentaria*. He also argued that here is no existence of a larger ancient settlement in Zenica.⁶⁴ Later research, however, confirmed that there existed several ancient settlements and objects in the Zenica area, as well as a road connecting them with ancient settlements in Visoko field and Sarajevo field. However, none of the findings was not comparable to the importance of the findings from Mali Mošunj near Vitez.⁶⁵ Patsch's location of *Bistue*

into Varvara (Rama) was corroborated by arguments of his own research that he has done on ancient communications and objects in Rama and the surrounding areas.⁶⁶ He has though confirmed Kujundžić's thesis about the identification at the ancient settlement in Mali Mošunj with *Bistue nova* being the centre of the Bestoen bishopric. After Pašalić, others have accepted this thesis as well (for instance, the Belgrade historians Ivanka Nikolajević,⁶⁷ Sima Ćirković⁶⁸ and the others).

The Hungarian historians and archaeologists Géza Alföldy and Andreas Mócsy did not investigate directly the Bestoen bishopric, although they too accepted the identification of *Bistue vetus* with ancient objects in Varvara, and *Bistue nova* with those in Vitez near Travnik.⁶⁹ The first one was located without particular grounds into the tribal area of the Illyrian *Deretini*, and the other into the area of the Pannonian *Maezei*.⁷⁰ Both were considered to have achieved the status of a municipality during the Flavian dynasty (69-96).⁷¹ A similar view was adopted by the English historian John J. Wilkes, who finds Andreas of Beste (*Bestae ecclesia*, sic!) in the Salona synodes in the years 530 and 533. He identified this place with the municipality *Bistue nova*, locating it into Zenica and Vitez,⁷² and then in Rogatica in east Bosnia.⁷³ He included into its ager, except the Lašva valley the Zenica area.⁷⁴ *Bistue vetus*, to which he attributes the status of a municipality, he has located into Varvara as well.⁷⁵ Finally, he has located 'New' Biste near Travnik, and 'Old' Bistua in the valley of the river Rama.⁷⁶

The Sarajevo historian and archeologist, Marko Vego (1907-1985), has defined the "bishopric of Bistue" as an old Bosnian bishopric, located in the part of the Roman Dalmatia, and did not cross over into Pannonia. The territory of the Bestoen bishopric (*bestoensis ecclesia*) was, according to

⁶⁰ Pašalić 1953, 282-284.

⁶¹ About the settlement: Truhelka, Patsch 1893, 685-692; Truhelka, Patsch, Hoffer 1895, 229-233; Hoffer 1895, 54-58; Marković 1931, 154-158; Mandić 1931, 20-22; Kujundžić 1916-1917, 477-496.

⁶² *CIL* III, 12765, 12766, 12767, 12761.

⁶³ Kujundžić 1924-1925, 82-83; 1933, 260-261.

⁶⁴ Pašalić 1960, 44-54.

⁶⁵ Bojanovski 1973, 393-415.

⁶⁶ Pašalić 1960, 38-39, 40.

⁶⁷ Nikolajević 1973, 235-243.

⁶⁸ Ćirković 1964, 31, 32.

⁶⁹ Alföldy, Mócsy 1965, 156.

⁷⁰ Alföldy, Mócsy 1965, 178.

⁷¹ Alföldy, Mócsy 1965, 201, 204.

⁷² Wilkes 1969, 432, 356, 393.

⁷³ Wilkes 1992, 289.

⁷⁴ Wilkes 1969, 274-275.

⁷⁵ Wilkes 1992, 170.

⁷⁶ Wilkes 1992, 256.

him, considerably larger from the territory of the middle age Bosnian bishopric. According to Vego, at the first Salona synod in 530, there was a mention of "Andreas episcopus bestoensis ecclesiae", and at the second in 533 the "bishop Andreas of Bestue", who suggested the division of a part of his large bishopric from Capella and Arena (*a loco Capellae et Arena*) and the pronouncement of a new bishop for that area. Capella and Arena would be, according to him, Capella and Vranica in Bosnia.⁷⁷ Vego did not agree with the location of the see of the Bestoen bishopric into the area of Zenica, where was found a basilic. He concluded that there existed *Bistue nova*, *Bistue vetus* and *Bistua*,⁷⁸ and that there was no proof that the *municipium Bistue* was the see of the "Bosnian Latin bishopric".⁷⁹

The Sarajevo archaeologist Đuro Basler (1917-1990) located into Bilimišće - Zenica the center of the municipality *Bistue nova*, identifying it with the see of the Bestoen bishop Andreas. Except in the inscriptions where there were mentioned the magistrates of the Bestoen municipality and the priests of the cults of Rome (*sacerdos urbis Romae*) and of the Roman Province Dalmatia (*sacerdos provinciae Delmatiae*), additional arguments to him were the basilic from Bilimišće and the magnificence of the interior of its northern church.⁸⁰ Later, he conceded that the centre of the Bestoen bishop Andreas could have been located in the ancient settlement in *Grudine (Crkvina)* in Čipuljić - Bugojno, namely in the basilic located there.⁸¹ Then he located into the same place the metropolitan centre *Bistue vetus*.⁸²

A new approach to the issues around both of the *Bestoes* and the Bestoen bishopric was presented by the Sarajevo archaeologist Ivo Bojanovski (1915-1993), who questioned Ivan Ev. Kujundžić's and Esad Pašalić's thesis about the identification of the ancient settlement in Mali Mošunj (Vitez) with the centre of the Bestoen bishopric. He reproached to Pašalić the lack of examination of the whole epigraphic material from the area where the inscriptions with the memorial of the magistrates of the Bestoen municipality appears. Also he dis-

putes about finding the relation of the road *Salona - Argentaria*, which did not correspond with the data on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Bojanovski came to the conclusion about the existence of one Bestoen municipality: he explained the appearance of its magistrates in several places in central Bosnia and northern Herzegovina with the life on the land that they possessed outside the centre of the municipality. He supposed that the territory of the Bestoen municipality was exactly on the area of the Illyrian-Pannonian tribe *Daesitiates*,⁸³ that is, the Bestoen bishopric.

Into the area of this municipality he has included the Zenica, Lašva valley, upper Vrbas valley in middle Bosnia and Rama area in northern Herzegovina.⁸⁴ He has observed the importance of the ancient settlement on *Grudine (Crkvina)* in Čipuljić - Bugojno and the importance of the seal *Bistues*, early Christian basilica, baptistery and their decorative plastics. He pointed out the importance of the mining and the central position of the area of Ganja Vrbas in the Bestoen municipality which he also identified with *Bistue nova*.⁸⁵ On the grounds of the established traces of the main road *Salona - Argentaria* on the field (Fig. 7), *Bistue vetus* was located into an ancient settlement in Tomislavgrad (west Bosnia) instead of Varvara (Rama).⁸⁶ Later, he came to the conclusion that the Bestoen municipality (*municipium Bistuensium*) extended itself between the mountains Vranica and Bitovnja in the east and Ljubuša and Raduša mountains in the southwest, Vlašić mountain in the north Vran mountain in the south. To back this up, he cited the existence of the Bestoen bishop Andreas to divide one part of his large bishopric "from Copella [Capellae] and Arena to those towns and basilicas which are under my protection".⁸⁷ He personally did not name them a Copella [Capella] and Arena, but he cited Croatian historian Vjekoslav Klaić's (1849-1928) and Marko Vego's opinions according to which the mountains in question would be Capella and Vranica in central Bosnia. The formation of the Bestoen municipality he regarded in the process of municipalisation of the tribe

⁷⁷ Vego 1972, 88; 1980, 439.

⁷⁸ Vego 1972, 89; 1980, 440.

⁷⁹ Vego 1972, 89 Not. 18.

⁸⁰ Basler 1972, 125-134; 1993, 79-83, 96-99.

⁸¹ Basler 1988, 14.

⁸² Basler 1990, Map of the early Christian monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁸³ About the *Daesitiates*: Paškvalin 1996, 93-116; 2000a, 63-81; 2000b, 191-241.

⁸⁴ Bojanovski 1974, 138-140.

⁸⁵ Bojanovski 1974, 134-136, 138, 139, 141, 144-146, 150, 166, 170.

⁸⁶ Bojanovski 1974, 160-166, 170, 187, 189, 233, 236, 244.

⁸⁷ "a loco Copella [Capellae] et Arena usque ad has urbes (et) basilicas [basillicasque] quae in mea patrocina continentur".

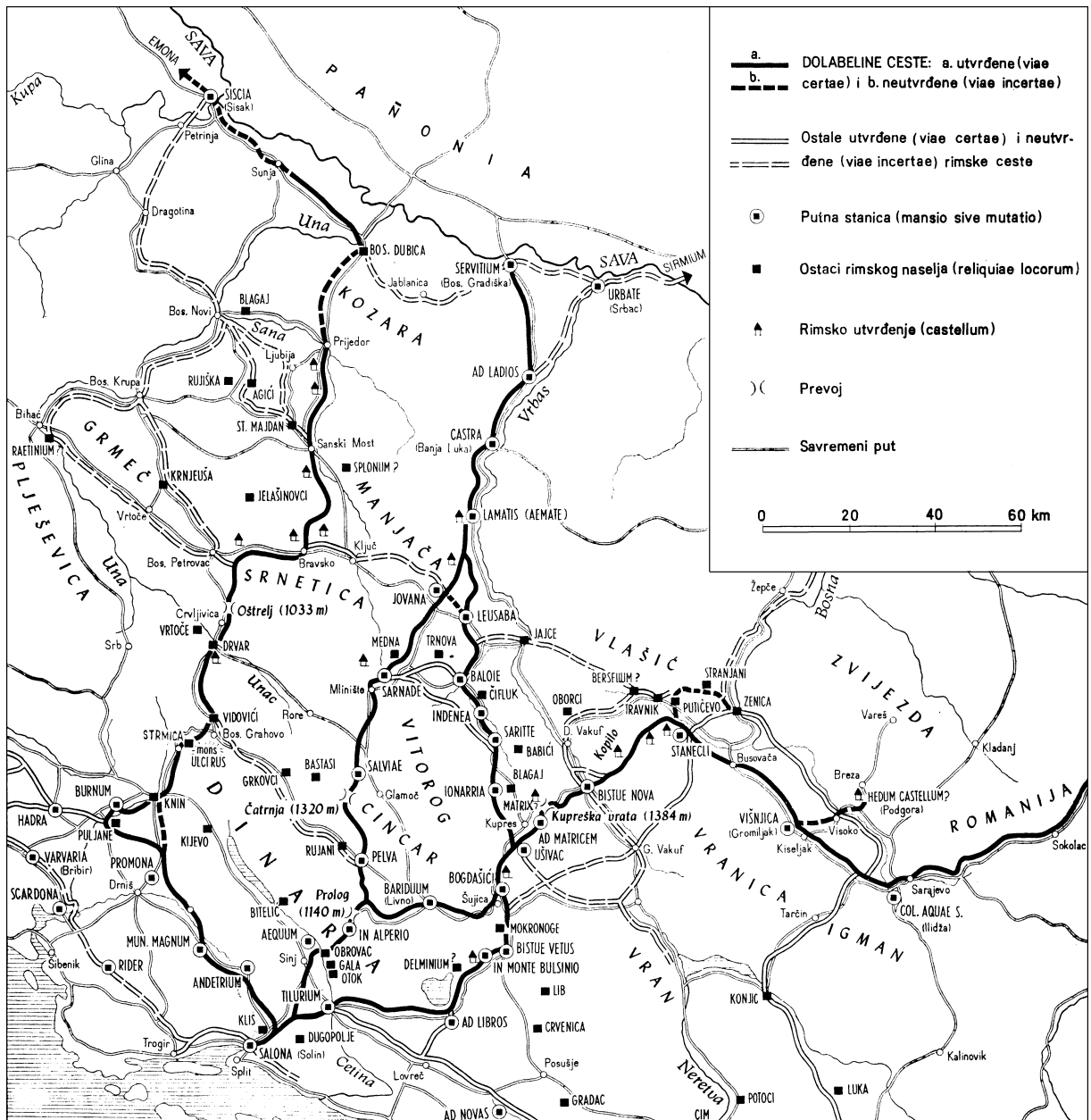


Fig. 7: Reconstruction of the traces of the Roman roads Salona-Argentaria (after Bojanovski 1974).

Sl. 7: Rekonstrukcija pravaca rimskih cesta na potezu Salona - Argentaria (prema Bojanovskom, 1974).

territory of the *Daesitiates* (Fig. 8), and its centre in the ancient settlement on *Grudine* (*Crkvina*) in Čipuljić - Bugojno.⁸⁸ For establishing the territory of the Bestoen municipality, he too follows the inscription with the memorial of its magistrates, while in the headwords *nova* and *vetus* which appear next to the settlements *Bistue* from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, he observed as the local toponyms. Bojanovski concluded that the borders of the Bestoen municipality overlapped the territory

of the Bestoen bishopric, which was typical in the late Antiquity. In the area where the Bestoen bishopric was located, he observed a encircled geographic unit, which consists of Rama (northern Herzegovina), the area of the upper Vrbas valley, the Lašva valley, and the Zenica area (middle Bosnia). Its centre was in the ancient settlement on *Grudine* in Čipuljić. The main argument for the location of the centre of the Bestoen municipality and the travel station *Bistue nova*, that is, the Bestoen

⁸⁸ Bojanovski 1988, 156; Klaić, 1878, 41; Vego 1972, 88.

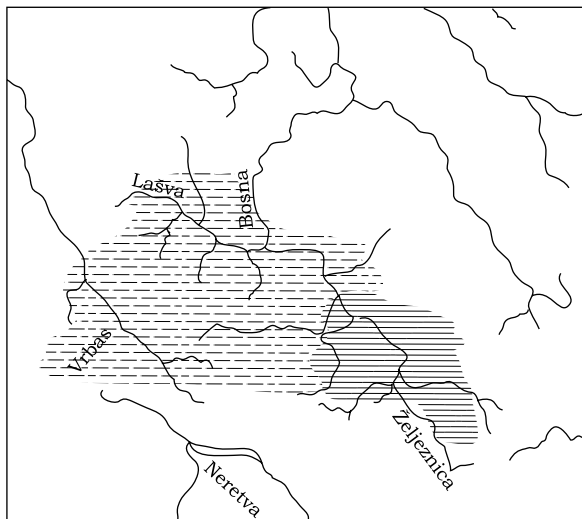


Fig. 8: The territory of the tribe Daesidiates.
Sl. 8: Plemensko področje Desitijata.

bishopric, into this settlement was the seal *Bistues*, in which he saw the name of the craftsman manufactory which has made it and which got the name after the settlement in which it was. Still, the crucial argument for this are the traces of the main road *Salona-Argentaria*, which passes through the settlement on *Grudine* in Čipuljić as well, and which corresponds in general to the information's from *Tabula Peutingeriana*.⁸⁹

The results which Ivo Bojanovski got from the research on the Bestoen municipality, that is, the locating of the travel stations *Bistue nova* and *Bistue vetus*, were accepted by the Zadar archaeologist Slobodan Čače, who located the Bestoen bishopric into the highland inlands of Roman Dalmatia.⁹⁰ He too considers that *Bistue nova* has achieved its municipal status in the time of the Flavian dynasty, and that soon after its founding it has grown into one of the most important settlements in the inland of Dalmatia. According to Čače, this place should be looked for outside the ethnical and the political area of the *Delmatae*. Čače has located it in (Bugojno).⁹¹ He has interpreted the *Ibisua* from

the *Geography* of an Anonymous of Ravenna as *i(n) Bis(t)ua*⁹² and has identified it with *Bistue nova*, and *Bistue betus* with *Bistue vetus*, which he, like Bojanovski, has located into Tomislavgrad (Duvno).⁹³

Thereby, Čače's research of the settlements from the *Geography* of the Ravenna Anonymous greatly overlaps with the results of Bojanovski's research of the road system (Fig. 9). The research results which Bojanovski got about the Bestoen municipality, that is, about *Bistue nova* and *Bistue vetus*, are incorporated into modern encyclopaedistic through Slovenian historian and archeologist Marjeta Šašel Kos. She identifies the Bestoen municipality with the travel station *Bistue nova*, and, relying on Ivo Bojanovski, locates it to the ethnic area of the *Daesitiates*, namely the river basins of the upper Vrbas, Rama and Lašva, where there were Roman gold mines and iron mines.⁹⁴ She does not accept Carl Patsch's location of the *Bistue nova* into Zenica, nor does she agree John J. Wilkes' location of the *Bistue vetus* into Vitez. Moreover, she does not accept with the location of the *Bistue vetus* in Varvara (Rama), but into the area around Tomislavgrad (Duvno).⁹⁵ A similar opinion is offered by the French archaeologist Pascale Chevalier, who also, with a certain amount of caution, locates the *Bistue nova* into Čipuljić - Bugojno. In the matter of *Bistue vetus*, Chevalier vacillates between Bilišće (Zenica) and Tomislavgrad (Duvno).⁹⁶

The locality of *Grudine* (*Crkvina*) in Čipuljić has been incorporated into scientific literature by Carl Patsch in 1895,⁹⁷ whereas the testing archaeological excavations were done by the Sarajevo archaeologist Jozo Petrović (1892-1967) in 1957 and 1958. Petrović found the brick with the seal *Bistues*.⁹⁸ Systematic archaeological research at that locality have begun in 1959 and lasted with certain interruptions until 1981. Despite that, this locality, with the continuity of settlements from the 1st to the 15th century,⁹⁹ a long pre-historic tradition¹⁰⁰ has never been entirely researched.¹⁰¹ Except excavation on some ancient objects and a basilic, on this locality there has been an excavation of a

⁸⁹ Bojanovski 1988, 155.

⁹⁰ Čače 1993, 361.

⁹¹ Čače 1993, 391.

⁹² Čače 1993, 392.

⁹³ Čače 1993, 419, Map on the page 432.

⁹⁴ About these mines: Škegro 1999, 39-56, 119-138.

⁹⁵ Šašel Kos 1997, 696.

⁹⁶ Chevalier 1995, 22, 23, 25.

⁹⁷ Patsch 1895, 586; 1897b, 512-513; 1907, 470.

⁹⁸ Petrović 1958, 267-269; 1960-1961, 229-231.

⁹⁹ Paškvalin 1998, 556; 2003, 57, Not. 126.

¹⁰⁰ Bojanovski 1991, pass.

¹⁰¹ Paškvalin, Miletić 1988; Paškvalin 1998, 549-550.

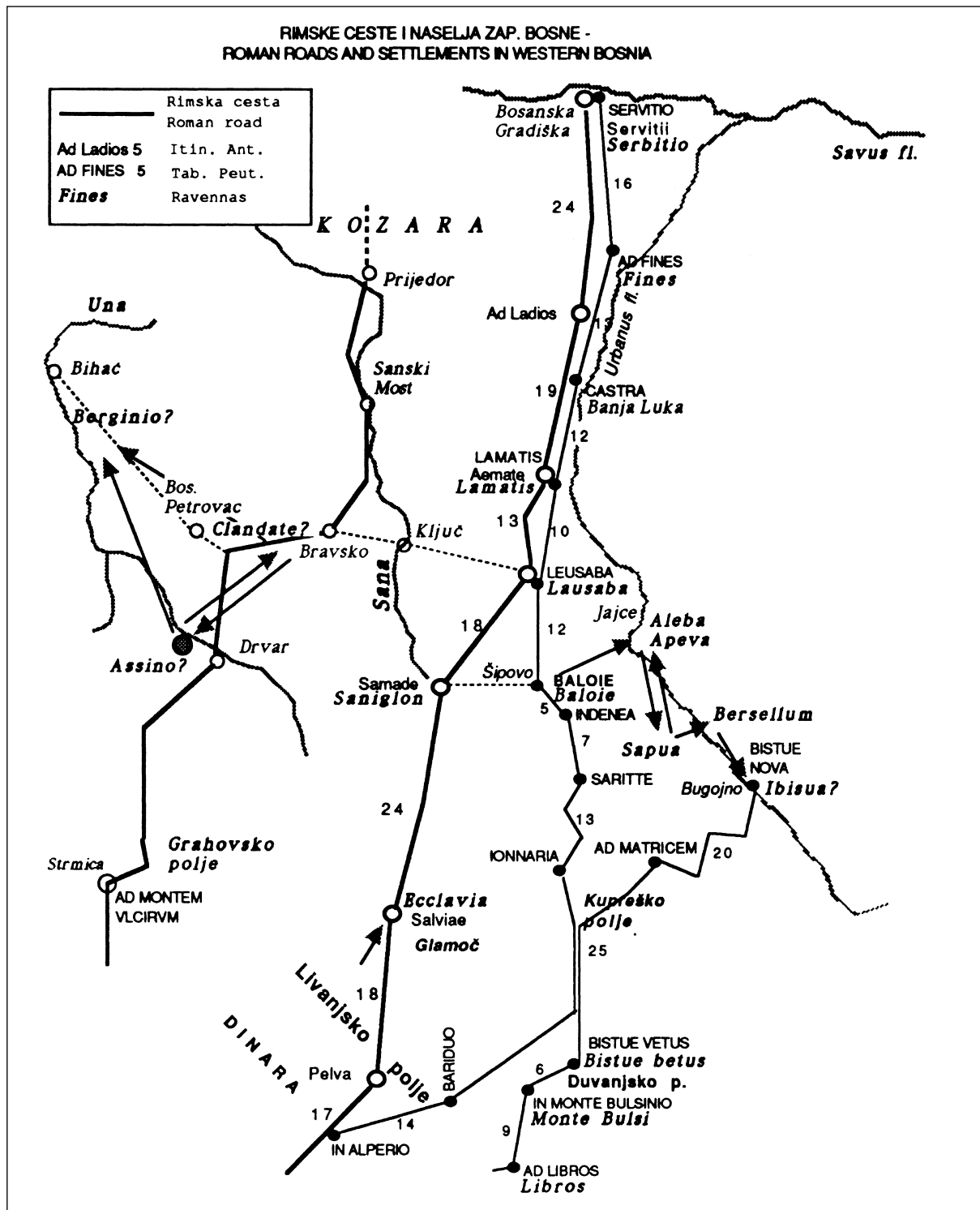


Fig. 9: Roman roads and settlements in western Bosnia (after Čače 1993).
 Sl. 9: Rimske ceste i naselja u zapadnoj Bosni (prema Čači, 1993).

pre-Romanesque church (Fig. 10) and an early middle age necropolis with more than 770 graves. Almost one third of the graves contained added

objects that were characteristic for Croatian-Dalmatian culture group (earrings, rings, spurs, weapons, etc.).¹⁰² The results of the research of ancient objects

¹⁰² Miletić 1966, 159.

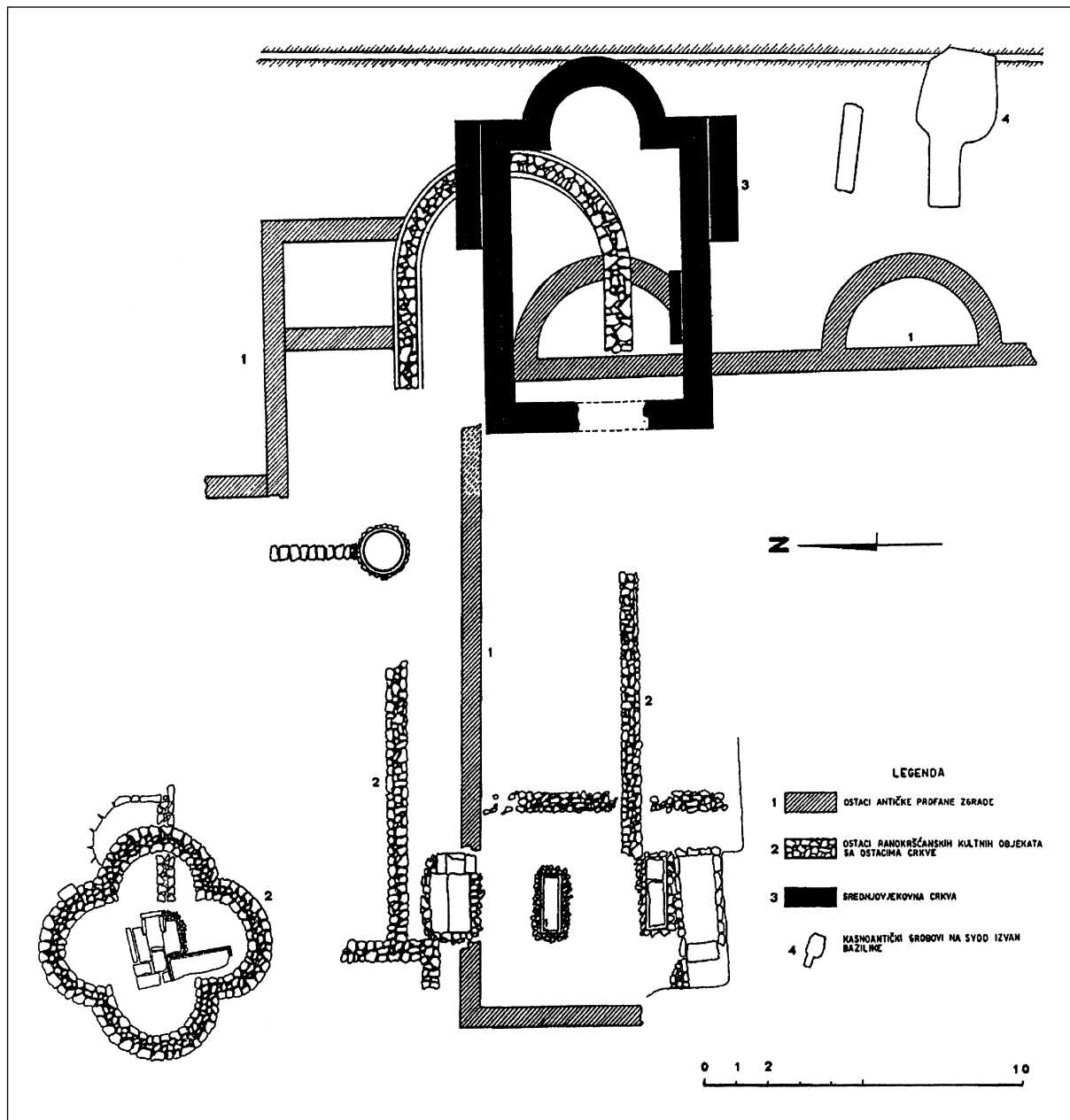


Fig. 10: Christian structures on Grudine (Crkvina) in Čipuljić - Bugojno (after Paškvalin 1998).

Sl. 10: Kršćanske građevine s Grudina (Crkvina) u Čipuljiću - Bugojno (prema Paškvalinu, 1998).

and the basilic have been published on several occasions,¹⁰³ whereas the research results of early middle age objects remained for the most part unpublished. All the aspects of the research were considered; firstly the findings from the locality *Grudine (Crkvina)* in Čipuljić and the basilic there, and secondly the epigraphic and numismatic sources, traces of communications, settlements, basilicas and economic aspects from the assumed territory

of the Bestoen municipality, that is, the see of the Bestoen bishop. The crucial arguments to confirm this was the brick with the seal *Bistues*, where there is the name of the ancient settlement mentioned; furthermore there is the basilic,¹⁰⁴ its position next to one of the most important Roman roads which connected *Salona* with the land of the Illyrian-Pannonian *Daesitiates (a Salonis ad Hedum castellum Daesitiatum)*.¹⁰⁵ Also there is the mine region

¹⁰³ Paškvalin 1990, 194-200; 1990a, 43-51; 1991, 209-218; 1995, 755-781; 1998, 549-619; 2003, 129-204.

¹⁰⁴ Paškvalin 1998, 549-619; 2003, 129-191.

called *Argentaria* in Podrinje etc. Among the early Christian communities from the assumed area of the Bestoen municipality, he considered the oldest one to be the one from the ancient settlement of Čipuljić - Bugojno, which had its oratory (*domus ecclesiae*) in the *thermae* before Constantine the Great (306-337), and on the foundations of which there was erected an older basilic at the beginning of the 5th century. The early Christian parish whose oratory seems to have been discovered also in the ancient objects in Putovići near Zenica, according to Veljko Paškvalin's opinion was not as strong as the one in Čipuljić, although it is presumed to have been built before Constantine the Great.¹⁰⁶ In the first phase, the basilic on *Grudine* in Čipuljić had a circular pool which, according to Paškvalin, could originally be part of the sacral building (*domus ecclesiae*) from the time before Constantine the Great,¹⁰⁷ and turned later with the building of the basilic into a baptistery.¹⁰⁸ From

the same object also originate fragments of pluteys with the motif of a shoal of fish (*Fig. 11*) and a vineyard and grapes, which are ascribed to one of the oldest presentations of Christian art (the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century).¹⁰⁹ From the same time, according to Veljko Paškvalin, date the tombs from the basilic on *Grudine* in Čipuljić and its surroundings. In one of them, Paškvalin looks for the burial place of the Bestoen bishop Andreas.¹¹⁰ He ascribed the second phase of erecting this basilic and the baptistery in form of four leaves to the reconstruction that was performed in the time of the bishop Andreas.¹¹¹ He placed the founding of the Bestoen bishopric between the building of the Salona cathedral (*basilica urbana*) in the times of bishops Sympherius (ca. 397-405) and Haesichius (406-418)¹¹² and the Salontan synodes (530 and 533) where its Bestoen bishop took active part.¹¹³ Despite the results which were got by field research performed by Esad Pašalić,

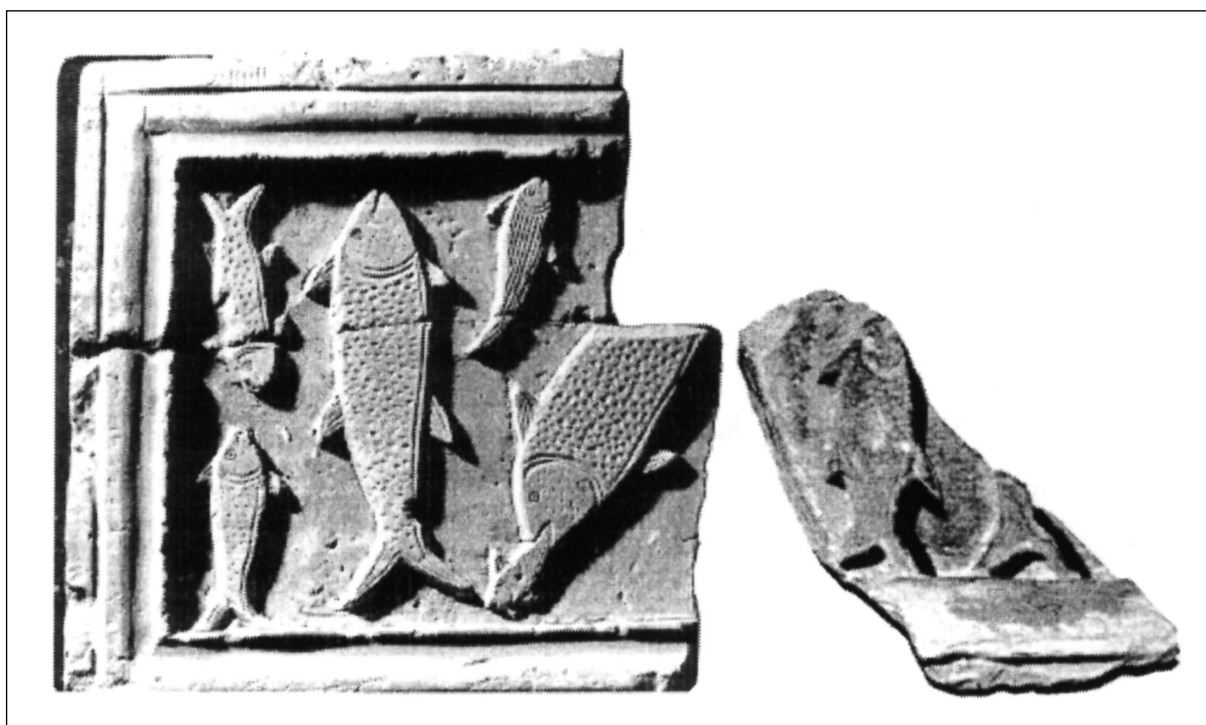


Fig. 11: Fragments of the pluteys from Grudine (Crkvina) Čipuljić - Bugojno (after Paškvalin 1998).
Sl. 11: Ulomci pluteja s Grudina (Crkvina) Čipuljić - Bugojno (prema Paškvalinu, 1998).

¹⁰⁵ *CIL* III, 3201 = 10159.

¹⁰⁶ Paškvalin 2003, 53.

¹⁰⁷ Paškvalin 1998, 556-559.

¹⁰⁸ Paškvalin 1998, 557 Not. 29.r

¹⁰⁹ Paškvalin 1991, 209-218; 1998, 567-569.

¹¹⁰ Paškvalin 1998, 563-566.

¹¹¹ Paškvalin 1995, 755-781; 2003, 40-61.

¹¹² Marin 1994, 38-39.

¹¹³ Paškvalin 2003, 56-57, Not. 124.

Ivo Bojanovski and Veljko Paškvalin, modern history was still, partly or entirely, pervaded by the theses about *Bistue* and the Bestoen bishopric that were given by Ćiro Truhelka and Carl Patsch at the end of the 19th century. The Sarajevo and Mostar archaeologist Snežana Vasilj points out that with the finding of the sacral complex in Zenica, confirms the assumption about the see of the bishopric "bestoensis" and its bishop Andreas. She places it in the area of the Roman municipality Bistue Nova, which she locates into Zenica, and identifies the basilicas there as its cathedrals.¹¹⁴

The Zagreb church historian Juraj Kolarić argues about the bishop of the bishopric *Bistue nova* which he locates between Zenica and Travnik, namely in the village Mošunj (Vitez) or Zenica.¹¹⁵ Previously he located the bishop of *Bistua* into Zenica.¹¹⁶ Kolarić points out how it can allegedly be found out from the records of the Solin synodes (*sic!*) that this bishopric was divided and that a new one was formed with its see in the municipality *Bistue vetus* near Rama,¹¹⁷ which could not be so.

The Sarajevo's archaeologist and historian Enver Imamović states without any arguments, contradicting all the other researchers, that at the Salonitan provincial synodes in 530 and 533 the Bosnian (*sic!*) bishop Andreas was mentioned. Imamović states that Andreas represented the Bestuen bishopric (*sic!*) which was, named after the town Bistue (*sic!*) where he supposedly had its see. Imamović argues that the bishopric was located near Vitez (middle Bosnia) or near Varvara (northern Herzegovina), because both of these towns bore the same name: *Bistue vetus* (Varvara) and *Bistue nova* (Mali Mošunj near Vitez).¹¹⁸ Previously, Imamović came to the conclusion that Andreas was allegedly the bishop of the town Bistue nova, which he identifies with Zenica and Mali Mošunj.¹¹⁹ According to his other works, Imamović, although not directly, tries to prove the existence of the Bosnian state and the Bosnian (Muslim) people in ancient times.¹²⁰ That is also evident from

his article about early Christianity, in which he discusses about the Bestoen bishop whose bishopric was situated on the territory of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina but not about the Bosnian bishop.¹²¹ The Zadar's medievalist Milko Brković, discusses about the Bosnian church as sufragan Salonitan, namely about it being mentioned at the synodes of 530 and 533 and about the Bosnian bishop Andreas who governed it. According to him, this bishopric was divided into two parts and its division was claimed by its bishop but this division did not fulfill because of the invasion of Barbarian people into the Roman Empire who had destroyed its every memory.¹²² At another point, Brković talks about the old bishop see *Bistue vetus* which he locates into *Gruđine* (*Crkvina*) in Čipuljić - Bugojno.¹²³

A church historian from Zagreb, Franjo Šanjek, in the discussion about early Christian bishop sees and sacral objects in the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, concludes that Andreas the bishop "Bestoensis" signed the conclusions of the Salona synodes in 530 and 533 and resided in the Roman municipality Bistue nova near Zenica (Mošunj?). As opposed to the documents of the synodes mentioned above, Šanjek claims that at the Salona synodes it was concluded that the bishopric was obviously too large should have been divided in the way to found another bishop see in the municipality Bistue vetus which was allegedly near Bugojno.¹²⁴ Already at the next page of the same book, Šanjek connects the *Bistue vetus* with the sacral object in Čipuljić - Bugojno, and *Bistue nova* with *Crkvina* in Mošunj.¹²⁵ A historian from Zagreb, Bruna Kuntić-Makvić has a similar opinion, according to which there was allegedly the division of Andreas's bishopric into *Bistue Nova* and *Bistue Vetus* concluded in Salona, and that the latter was situated near Bugojno.¹²⁶

The archaeologist from Split, Nenad Cambi, discusses about the *Bistue* as the church centre in Dalmatia, and makes a connection of them with Zenica and Bugojno alternatively.¹²⁷ On the other

¹¹⁴ Vasilj 1993, 18 19.

¹¹⁵ Kolarić 1993, 10.

¹¹⁶ Kolarić 1993, 10.

¹¹⁷ Kolarić 1993, 10.

¹¹⁸ Imamović 1994, 30; 1998, 36.

¹¹⁹ Imamović 1983, 44.

¹²⁰ Imamović 1995, pass.

¹²¹ Imamović 1983, 43.

¹²² Brković 2002, 86.

¹²³ Brković 2002, 198.

¹²⁴ Šanjek 1997, 33.

¹²⁵ Šanjek 1997, 34.

¹²⁶ Kuntić-Makvić 2003, 38.

¹²⁷ Cambi 2002, 209.

place, he characterises *Bistue* as a Roman town and the bishopric in Bosnia: he locates them in the area of Zenica or Bugojno.¹²⁸

The author of the headword about the *Bistue nova* in the new *Croatian encyclopedia* describes that place as the municipality and a travel station on the Roman road *Salona -Argentaria* on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and about the mention of the *episcopus Bestoensis ecclesiae* in the year 533. It is emphasized that it has not been proved with certainty where this municipality was situated, and after mentioning the majority of the suggested locations, the author deems Zenica, namely Mali Mošunj, the most reliable one. The author does not bring *Bistue nova* into connection with *Bistue vetus*, but with the municipality and the travel station on the road *Salona - Argentaria*. After mentioning the majority of the suggested locations for the *Bistue vetus*, the author deems Varvara (Rama) as the most reliable one.¹²⁹

Under the headword about the *Archbosnian bishopric* in the recently published *General religion lexicon* there is also the observation that in the early Christian period in the area of Bosnia there is mention of the bishoprics *Bistua Nova*, from which *Bistua Vetus* was founded. There is also a mention of the bishopric of the *Martari*, which was allegedly the regional diocese of the metropolis in *Sirmium* and *Salona*. From this wrong conclusion, one can falsely deduce that in early Christian times in the area of Bosnia (without Herzegovina) there were the bishoprics *Bistua nova*, *Bistua vetus* and *Martari (ecclesia Martariensis)*, and that from the younger one (*Bistue nova*) the older one (*Bistue vetus*) was formed, and also that *Bistue vetus* and *Bistue nova* were subordinated to the metropolis in *Sirmium*, and not to the one in *Salona*,¹³⁰ which is, of course, completely absurd.

In the latest handbook of the Franciscans of *Bosna Srebrena* (Silver Bosnia), it is stated that at the Salona council in 530 the Bosnian bishop Andreas also took part, and that his see was in the settlement *Bistuae* (*Bistue nova* near Zenica), that the bishopric, on account of its size, was divided, so that the new bishop see was situated in the settlement *Bistuae Vetus* near Rama.¹³¹ This could, however, not be deduced from the documents of the Salona synodes.

According to the official website of the *Đakovo bishopric*, in the history review from Antun Jarm,

that the origin of the Bosnian bishopric was the old Christian bishopric "bestoensis" or "bistuensis", the see of which was in Mošunj near Travnik, or less probably in Zenica and that its bishop Andreas co-signed the documents of the church councils in the years 530 and 533. Jarm points out that the bishopric *Bistua* positively encompassed the heart and the oldest part of today's Bosnia and, although the state had adopted Christianity a few centuries ago, did not have its bishoprics and that it, by the church law and by the law of history, belonged to the metropolis in Split.¹³²

CONCLUSION

The Bestoen bishopric was mainly the topic of casual interest of scientists who were involved in the research of the history Dalmatia and the *Bistuensis* municipality, the travel stations *Bistue vetus* and *Bistue nova* known from the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and alike. Older researchers, headed by Ćiro Truhelka and Carl Patsch, have hastily identified them with ancient objects, namely basilicas in Varvara (*Bistue vetus*) and Bilimišće (*Bistue nova*). More serious research which was conducted by Ivan Ev. Kujundžić has changed their thesis, and there is a firm opinion about the need to locate the *Bistue nova* into the ancient settlement of Mali Mošunj. Despite that, Truhelka's and Patsch's opinion still pervades modern historiography and encyclopaedistic. Systematic researches of ancient communication roads, settlements, basilicas, church furniture, epigraphic and numismatic and narrative sources, which was conducted by Esad Pašalić, Ivo Bojanovski, Veljko Paškvalin and others, have lead to new solutions. First of all, the thesis about the uniformity of a Bestoen bishopric has crystallized, inside the borders of which was located the Rama area, the region of the upper Vrbas, the Lašva valley and the area of Zenica, with its government, economical and church centre in the ancient settlement on *Grudine (Crkvina)* in Čipuljić (which was probably called *Bistues*), and that the Bestoen bishopric, known from the documents of the Salona synodes in 530 and 533 by its bishop Andreas, was situated on the tribe area of the Illyrian-Pannonian *Daesitiates*, in central Bosnia. What can be reproached to these researchers is the neglect

¹²⁸ Cambi 1976 240-242, Not. 12-18; 2002, 383.

¹²⁹ *Bistue Nova*, in: *Hrvatska enciklopedija* 2, 144 (Zagreb 2000).

¹³⁰ *Opći religijski leksikon*, 1020 (Zagreb 2002).

¹³¹ Barun 2003, 48.

¹³² <http://djakovo.hbk.hr/html/biskupija/povijest/povijest.htm> (August 02 2004).

of the contents of the documents from the Salona synodes. In those documents one can doubtlessly find that bishop Andreas's Bestoen bishopric had such proportions that even he himself was forced to ask for its division. He suggested that it should be divided from Copella [Capella] and Arena to those towns and basilicas which were under its jurisdiction. Considering the that the synodes took place in *Salona*, one should assume that bishop Andreas was suggesting that areas under his jurisdiction should be those to the west of Copella [Capella] and Arena. The ones on the east side should form the new bishopric. It is not hard to notice in Copella [Capella] the mountains of Kopilo, through which goes the main Roman road which connected the ancient settlement on *Grudine* (*Crkvina*) in Čipuljić - Bugojno with the one in Mali Mošunj (near Vitez), and Vranica which is known for its Roman goldmines, after which it probably got its name (Latin: *Avranus mons* > *Vranus mons* = Croatian: *Vranica*). It was also unnoticed that under the jurisdiction of the bishop Andreas there were, as he has already pointed out, several towns and basilicas. If we can make judgments on the basis of the early emperor inscriptions with a memorial of the magistrate of the Bestoen municipality and the brick with the seal

Bistues, the towns and basilicas should be looked for precisely in the area of Rama, the upper Vrbas, the Lašva valley and the area of Zenica. The research up to this point has shown that the ancient settlements with urban traits were situated on *Gradina* (*Crkvina*) in Čipuljić, Mali Mošunj and, most probably in Varošluk (Turbe). To the east of them would probably be the one in Gornja Višnjica (Kiseljak) which probably had the status of a municipality, including the one from Ilidža (Sarajevo) in middle Bosnia. Furthermore, the bishop Andreas's statement about poverty of his church remained unnoticed. If the remains of the early Christian basilicas from the territory in question are taken into consideration, the words of bishop Andreas prove to be utterly true. All of these basilicas are single-nave and of modest proportions. From the documents of the Salona synodes it is evident that that insistence of bishop Andreas on the division of his bishopric is would be discussed on another occasion. It is a well-known fact that the beginning of a reconquest initiated by the Byzantine emperor Justinianus. In such circumstances, as it is well-known in church practices, new bishoprics were not founded. Despite that, some of the mainly modern authors talk about this as of indisputable facts.

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Bestoenska biskupija u svjetlu dosadašnjih istraživanja

Sažetak

Kad se govori o Bestoenskoj biskupiji onda se misli na kasnoantičku biskupiju, poznatu po njenom biskupu Andriji (*Andreas episcopus Bestoensis ecclesiae, Andreas episcopus Bestuensis*). On je, zajedno s drugim dalmatinskim i nekoliko panonskih biskupa, supotpisao akte provincijalnih crkvenih sabora koji su se 530. i 533. održali u Salonu pod predsjedanjem salonitanskog nadbiskupa Honorija II. (527.-547.). Ova se biskupija po svoj prilici prostirala na negdašnjem dezitijatskom plemenskom području, odnosno na području na kojem se prostirao i bistuenski municipij (*municipium Bistuensium*). Dužnosnici ovog municipija potvrđeni su na natpisima u Varvari kod vrela Rame, u Fazlićima kod Viteza te u Bilimišću u Zenici. Ilirsko-panonski Dezitijati nastavali su središnju Bosnu, odnosno prostore uz gornji tok rijeke Bosne, lašvanski kraj te područje oko gornjeg toka rijeke Vrbasa (*sl. 8*). Povijest ih je, zajedno s Delmatima, upamtila kao glavne protagoniste borbe protiv rimskih okupatora (6.-9. poslije Kr.). Rimski carski biograf Gaj Svetonije Trankvil (oko 75.-150.) ovaj je ustanak proglasio najtežim ratom kojeg su Rimljani vodili poslije punskih ratova (*gravissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica*). Novija istraživanja središte biskupa Andrije dovode u vezu s antičkim naseljem i ranokršćanskom bazilikom na Grudinama u Čipuljici (Bugojno) u središnjoj Bosni (*sl. 10; 11*). U isto se mjesto, temeljem žiga *Bistues* s jedne rimske opeke (*sl. 2*), locira i središte bistuenskog municipija (*municipium Bistuensium*). Dobar pozna-

vatelj topografije lašvansko-zeničkog kraja isusovac Ivan Ev. Kujundžić (1872.-1933.), bistuenski municipij odnosno središte biskupa Andrije, bio je doveo u vezu s antičkim naseljem i ranokršćanskom bazilikom u Malom Mošunju kod Viteza. Kujundžićevu tezu dodatno je bio ojačao sarajevski arheolog Esad Pašalić (1915.-1967.). Prethodno su sarajevski arheolozi Čiro Truhelka (1865.-1942.) i Carl Patsch (1856.-1945.) središte biskupa Andrije bili doveli u vezu s dvojnomo ranokršćanskom bazilikom u Bilimišću u Zenici (*sl. 3; 4*). U aktima spomenutih salonitanskih sabora među ostalim zabilježen je i intervent biskupa Andrije za razdiobom njegove biskupije. Na to je bio motiviran učinkovitijom skrbi za siromahe svoje biskupije, boljom pastorizacijom povjerenog mu kršćanskog puka te lakšom upravom svoje dijeceze. Predlagao je da se na području njegove biskupije utemelji još jedna dijeceza. Predlagao je da u njene okvire uđe područje od Kapele i Arene sve do gradova i bazilika koji su bili pod njegovom jurisdikcijom (*a loco Copella [Capellae] et Arena usque ad has urbes (et) basilicas [basillicasque], quae in mea patrocinia continentur*). Ne treba osobito mudrosti da se u Kopeli (Kapeli) *Copella [Capella]* vidi planinski prijevoj Kopilo kojim je prolazila trasa rimske magistralne ceste koja je povezivala glavni grad Dalmacije *Salonu* (Solin kod Splita) sa srebronosnim rudarskim područjem oko Srebrenice u istočnoj Bosni (*via Salona - Argentaria*). Trasu joj je na terenu dobrim dijelom ustanovio Ivo Bojanovski (1915.-1993.) (*sl. 7*). Među

ostalim ova je cesta spajala i antička naselja u Čipuljiću i Malom Mošunju. U Areni [*Arena*] se također može naslutiti planina Vranica (lat.: *Avranus mons* > *Vranus mons* = hrv.: Vranica) poznata po proizvodnji velikih količina zlata u rimsko doba (*aurariae Delmaticae*). U skladu s tim, biskup Andrija je, za novu dijecezu po svoj prilici predlagao područje istočno od Kopila i Vranice (ako se gleda iz salonitanske perspektive), odnosno istočno od regiona gornjeg Vrbasa. Na tom je prostoru uistinu bilo više ranokršćanskih bazilika (*Varošluk* u Turbetu, *Gradina* u Zukićima (Karahodže) kod Travnika, *Bukovica* iznad Travnika, *Kalvarija* iznad Malog Mošunja, *Bilimišće* u Zenici i dr.) i urbanih naselja (Mali Mošunj kod Viteza, *Varošluk* u Turbetu). Nažalost, raspoloživa vrela ne govore ništa više o Bestoenskoj biskupiji niti o njenom biskupu Andriji. Temeljem nekoliko rimskih natpisa, putnih stanica *Bistue vetus* i *Bistue*

nova sa *Tabule Peutingeriane* (sl. 1) i *Geografije* Ravenskog Anonima (sl. 9), središte bistuenskoj municipija i Bestoenske biskupije lociralo se i u Varvaru (sl. 5) ali i drugdje po središnjoj pa i istočnoj Bosni. Danas se iskristaliziralo mišljenje da ih se ipak treba tražiti u antičkom naselju u Čipuljiću - Bugojno.

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