

Colonia Iulia Emona – the genesis of the Roman city

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Izvleček

Emona ni bila nikoli mesto v provinci Panoniji; najprej je pripadala cisalpinski Galiji, od leta 41 pr. Kr. pa Italiji. Mejniki iz Bevke, ki najverjetneje sodi v čas vladanja Avgusta ali morda Tiberija, je dokončno potrdil, da je bila Emona italjsko mesto že v prvi polovici 1. stoletja po Kr., skoraj nedvomno pa je pripadala Italiji že pred tem. Obstoječi viri in arheološko gradivo ne omogočajo, da bi lahko opredelili natančen čas, ko je postala rimska kolonija. Predlagani časovni termini segajo od časa Oktavijana po bitki pri Akciju do začetka Tiberijevega vladanja. Ker so se dejansko vsi argumenti, s katerimi so dokazovali slednjo hipotezo, izkazali za napačne, je treba po vsej verjetnosti iskati *terminus ad quem* v času malo preden je Oktavijan postal Avgust, s čimer bi se dobro ujemalo tudi ime kolonije, *Iulia*.

Ključne besede: rimska doba, Emona (Ljubljana), Deseta italjska regija, Avgust, Tiberij

Abstract

Emona was never a Pannonian city; it first belonged to Cisalpine Gaul and since 41 BC to Italy. The boundary stone from Bevke, which is most probably dated to the period of Augustus or perhaps Tiberius, ultimately confirmed that Emona was already an Italian city in the first half of the first century AD, but it must also have belonged to Italy earlier. There is no decisive evidence to establish the precise time when the town became a Roman colony. The proposed dates range from the time of Octavian after the battle at Actium to the beginning of Tiberius' reign. While all the arguments supporting the latter hypothesis have proven to be invalid, a *terminus ad quem* must be sought most probably in the last years of Octavian's rule, which would also be indicated by the colony's name *Iulia*.

Keywords: Roman period, Emona (Ljubljana), Italy (Regio X), Augustus, Tiberius

The history of a Roman city is always fragmentary, and Emona (present-day Ljubljana) is no exception. The beginnings of the settlement bearing a pre-Roman name are not clear, and the foundation date of the Roman colony is disputed, as well as the military role of Emona during the Roman conquest in the late Republic and under Augustus. For some scholars it is still questionable whether the town belonged to Italy or to Illyricum/Pannonia in the first century AD. However, recent excavations and new chance finds such as the boundary stone between the territories of the

Aquileians and Emonians, as well as the re-interpretation of the extant evidence, throw fresh light on these controversial problems. Several disputed points concerning the beginnings of Emona could profitably be re-assessed, some deserving a separate analysis. This contribution will be limited to the three most controversial issues, notably defining the geographical and administrative position of Emona, discussing the building inscription of Augustus (already dead) and Tiberius, as well as the problem of the foundation date of the *colonia Iulia Emona*.

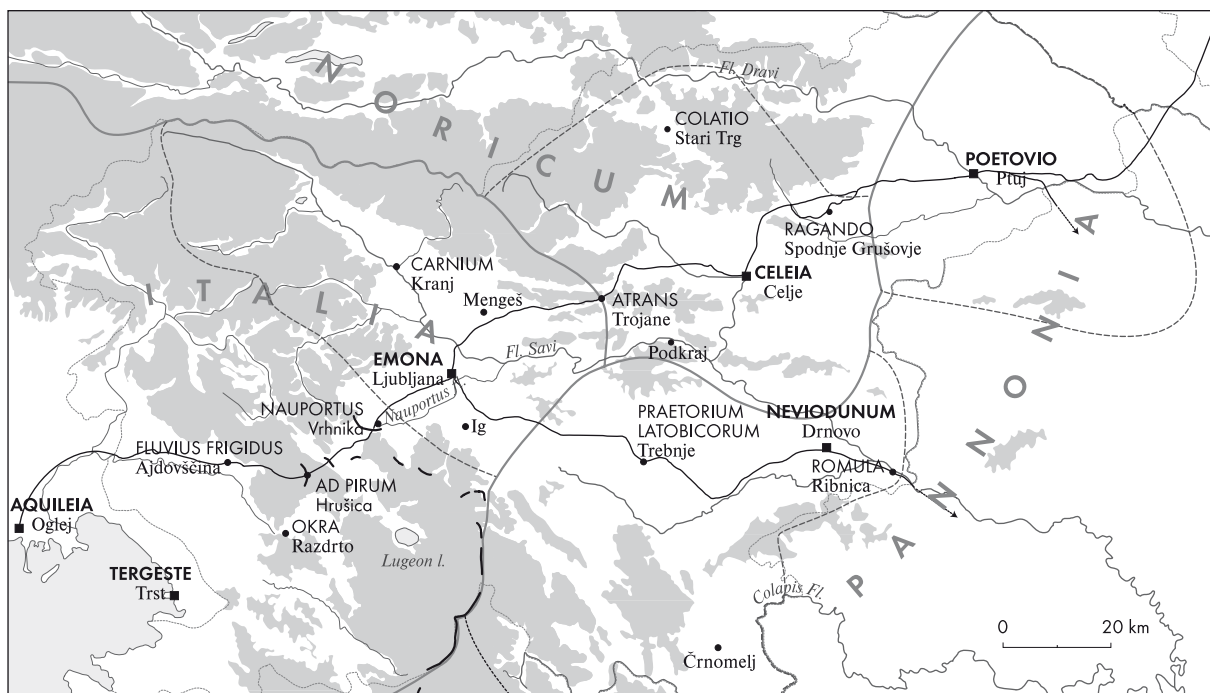


Fig. 1: Map showing the triple border region between Italy, Noricum, and Pannonia.
Sl. 1: Zemljevid, ki prikazuje prostor tromeje med Italijo, Norikom in Panonijo.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE POSITION OF EMONA

Emona has often been wrongly linked to Pannonia, although it never actually belonged to it administratively (fig. 1).¹ Even in terms of geography it would perhaps be more natural for Emona to be included within Noricum, and indeed, there are some indications that the southeastern Alpine region had temporarily been under the authority of the Norican kingdom, or at least under its influence.² Perhaps the regions to the north and to the south of the Karavanke Mountains had, towards the end of the fourth century BC, been settled by the same Celtic Taurisci,³ part of which became assimilated with the indigenous population in Noricum and began to be called the Norici, while the Taurisci in

present-day Slovenia retained their original name. The influence of the Norican kings, particularly in the first century BC, seems to have reached far and wide; Carnuntum, too, had not belonged to Pannonia at the beginning of its history, although the town was later the capital of the province. It was mentioned by Velleius Paterculus as “a place in the Norican kingdom” (2. 109. 5).⁴

The Romans probably conquered the regions of Nauportus and Emona during Caesar’s proconsulate and annexed them to Cisalpine Gaul; contrary to the current opinion, they had never belonged to Illyricum (fig. 2).⁵ Cisalpina must have become a Roman province at some point in the course of the first half of the first century BC, most probably considerably before Caesar, possibly even after the invasion of the Cimbri into the Po (Padus) valley in 101 BC.⁶ It was incorporated into Italy as late as 41 BC, after the battle of Philippi, upon the intervention of Octavian.⁷ According to Theodor

¹ Regarded a Pannonian city in earlier scholarship, as, e.g., Saria 1938, 253; Degrossi 1954, 87; Mócsy 1974, 74–76; uncertain: Fitz 1996, 128 and n. 8. See the latest comprehensive discussion in favour of the town having been in Italy in Šašel Kos 2003; still most important Šašel 1989 (1992); recent contrary opinions: Kovács, in Bence, Kovács 2005, 206–207, cf. also pp. 40, 62, 195; Alföldy 2011a, 385; id. 2011b, ad no. 14, 1063; cf. Królczyk 2009, 45.

² Šašel Kos 1998b, 210 ff.

³ Graßl 2001; id. 2000.

⁴ “*Locus Norici regni*”, at the beginning of the campaign against Maroboduus in AD 6, just before the outbreak of the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion.

⁵ Šašel 1985 (1992).

⁶ Càssola 1991, 33 ff.; Laffi 1992.

⁷ App., *Bell. civ.* 3. 30. 115; 5. 3. 12; 22. 87; Dio 48. 12. 4; Sartori 1994.



Fig. 2: Cisalpine Gaul at the time of Caesar (adapted from Šašel Kos 2005, 341 fig. 81).

Sl. 2: Cisalpinska Galija v času Cezarja (prirejeno po Šašel Kos 2005, 341 sl. 81).

Mommsen, Emona would have always been in Italy. This was convincingly argued by Jaroslav Šašel, while additional arguments have recently been collected in support of this thesis.⁸

That the town indeed always belonged administratively to Italy has recently been confirmed by the find of a boundary stone between the territories of Aquileia and Emona, discovered near Bevke, which is most probably dated to the period of Augustus or perhaps Tiberius (fig. 3).⁹ There

are two arguments in favour of this early dating, and one is paleographic, since the letter-forms closely resemble those of the earliest inscriptions of the Emona Basin. The other, however, is even more important; the boundary stone was made of Aurisina (in Slovenian Nabrežina) limestone, from which only the earliest stone monuments on the territory of Nauportus–Emona were produced, all of them dated to the last half of the first century BC and the first half of the first century AD.¹⁰ The region of Nauportus and the Emona Basin were transit areas, situated along the Amber route and the so-called route of the Argonauts. As has been discussed elsewhere, it

⁸ *CIL* III, p. 489. Ritterling 1924, 1240, assumed that Augustus founded several colonies in Illyricum, which in the early years of his rule still belonged to Italy (Emona, Salona, and Iader); Šašel 1989 (1992); Šašel Kos 2003.

⁹ Šašel Kos 2002a: *Finis / Aquileien/sium / Emonen/sium*.

¹⁰ Šašel Kos 1998c; ead. 2002a; ead. 2002b.



*Fig. 3: The boundary stone between the territories of Aquileia and Emona (Šašel Kos 2002a, fig. 2).
Sl. 3: Mejniki med upravnim območjem Akvileje in Emone (Šašel Kos 2002a, sl. 2).*

was a key area for any military actions that were intended to secure or prevent passage through the so-called Italo-Illyrian Gates at Postojna. In the 3rd century AD, the first belt of fortifications, part of the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* system for the protection of Italy, was constructed precisely in this region.¹¹

Emona's ambiguous geographical position in the area of the triple border between Italy, Noricum, and Pannonia is well reflected in Ptolemy's *Geography*, where Emona is mentioned in two passages. Of these two, the first is particularly relevant. In the second book, in which he described the geographical position of Upper Pannonia and listed the Upper Pannonian peoples and towns, Emona is located "between Italy and Pannonia, below Noricum", or: "between (that part of) Italy (which is situated) below Noricum, and Pannonia".¹² Herbert Graßl analyzed all the passages in Ptolemy in which towns are defined as being situated between two regions, coming to the conclusion that Ptolemy always used the preposition in terms of geography and not administrative settlement.¹³ Geographers of the time were puzzled by the inconsistency of the geographical and administrative borders of this area, which is also indicated by Ptolemy's criticism of his older contemporary, Marinus of Tyre (his text is not preserved).

Marinus was criticized by Ptolemy for various errors, including having incorrectly defined the boundaries of the province of Pannonia. According to Marinus, Italy also bordered on Pannonia in the north, while at the same time he did not record a common border between Pannonia and Italy in the south, where he had Pannonia border only on Dalmatia (1. 16, ed. Nobbe). It is precisely the area of Emona that is here in question. With his description of Emona's position, Ptolemy perhaps wished to express the discrepancy between the geography and administrative reality, in a similar way in which he described the position of Iulium Carnicum as being located between Italy and Noricum (2. 13. 4, ed. Nobbe). In another passage, Ptolemy placed the town in Noricum (8. 7. 5, ed. Nobbe), just as he placed Emona in Upper Pannonia (8. 7. 6, ed. Nobbe). Since it is clear that Iulium Carnicum, which may indeed temporarily have been depend-

ent on the Norican kingdom in the course of the second and/or first century BC, always belonged to Cisalpine Gaul and subsequently to Italy,¹⁴ the same may be claimed for Emona. It can additionally be emphasized that both towns bore the same title *Iulia* and their inhabitants were inscribed in the same voting tribe of *Claudia*, which may indicate that both attained the status of a town at more or less the same time.¹⁵

Pliny is the first to mention Emona as a Roman colony, but he placed it in Pannonia (*N. h.* 3. 147). However, his data about Emona as a Roman colony in Pannonia should be understood in terms of geography,¹⁶ which is corroborated by the fact that the Alps had always been regarded as a natural boundary of Italy.¹⁷ As is well known, political-administrative boundaries of the provinces often disregarded geographical borders: hence the contradictory statements in classical authors. In a similar way Pomponius Mela, who was one of Pliny's sources,¹⁸ described in two passages the position of Tergeste, placing it in Illyricum or on its very border;¹⁹ he referred to the geographical boundaries, in terms of which Histria had for a long time been regarded as "Illyricum", a synonym for a "foreign" land on the outskirts of Italy.

When under Augustus Italy was partitioned into twelve administrative regions, Emona with its territory became part of the Tenth region (*regio X*), later called "Venetia and Histria". It is clear from what has been said that neither Pliny's nor Ptolemy's statements have any bearing on the administrative settlement of the border region between Italy, Noricum, and Pannonia, and consequently cannot be taken as evidence for the administrative status of Emona. The town had never been in Illyricum, neither in the undivided province nor in Pannonia. The final confirmation of this thesis is the boundary stone between Aquileia and Emona, mentioned *supra*.

¹¹ Šašel Kos 2003, 12.

¹² 2. 14. 7 ed. Nobbe: Μεταξὺ δὲ Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ τὸ Νορικὸν Παννονίας πάλιν Ἡμωνα. See the commentary in Graßl 1994, 519.

¹³ Graßl 1994, 520–521.

¹⁴ Mainardis 2008, 21 ff.

¹⁵ Mainardis 2008, 40–41.

¹⁶ Marion 1999; see, for Pliny's sources, also Sallmann 1971.

¹⁷ See, e.g., Livy, 21. 35. 8–9; 39. 54. 12. Graßl 1996, for other references.

¹⁸ Brodersen 1994, 14; Domic Kunić 2004, 124–125; 134.

¹⁹ In 2. 55: *Illyricis usque Tergestum, cetera Gallicis Italicisque gentibus cingitur*; and in 2. 57: *Tergeste intumo in sinu Hadriae situm finit Illyricum*.



Fig. 4: The building inscription of Augustus and Tiberius (*CIL* III 10768 = *AIJ* 170a = *ILJug* 303 = *RINMS* 34).
Sl. 4: Gradbeni napis Avgusta in Tiberija (*CIL* III 10768 = *AIJ* 170a = *ILJug* 303 = *RINMS* 34).

THE FRAGMENTARY IMPERIAL BUILDING INSCRIPTION OF AUGUSTUS AND TIBERIUS

In a building inscription from Emona, which is certainly one of the most significant Roman monuments of the city, Augustus is mentioned together with the emperor Tiberius, under whose auspices Emona was given an important building or structure.²⁰ The inscription reads in Latin as follows (fig. 4):

²⁰ *CIL* III 10768 + p. 2328,26 = *AIJ* 170a = *ILJug* 303 = *RINMS* 34. The reading is from the *RINMS*, with slight modifications. See also Premerstein, Rutar 1899, 9–10; Cuntz 1913, 195–200; Šašel, Weiler 1963–1964, 40–42 (= 1992, 277–279), and Mráv 2001. The remaining references are cited in *RINMS*.

[*Imp(erator) Caesar divi f.*] *Augustu[s, pont(ifex) max(imus),*
[co(n)s(ul) XIII, imp(erator) XXI, trib(unicia) potest(ate)] XXXVII, pate[r patriae],
Ti. Caesar divi (?) Au]gusti f(ilius) Aug[ustus],
[pont(ifex) max(imus) (?), co(n)s(ul) II, imp(erator)]
VI, trib(unicia) potest(ate) XV[I]
[- - - d]ederunt.

Translation: The Emperor Caesar, son of the deified (Caesar), Augustus, chief priest, consul for the thirteenth time, saluted imperator twenty-one times, holder of the tribunician power thirty-seven times, father of his country, and Tiberius Caesar, son of the deified (?) Augustus, Augustus, chief priest (?), consul for the second time, saluted imperator six times, holder of the tribunician power sixteen times, gave (the town) [?].

According to Otto Cuntz, the fragment should be dated to the month of May, AD 15,²¹ while Jaroslav Šašel and Ingomar Weiler dated it to the period after the death of Augustus on 19 August AD 14 and the spring of the next year. Augustus had been proclaimed *divus* on 17 September AD 14, but they pointed out that the supplement *divus* was not certain, as was neither *pontifex maximus* for Tiberius, the honour he had been awarded on 10 March AD 15.²² If the autumn of AD 14 is accepted as the date, the monument may be linked to the assumed stay of Tiberius' son Drusus at Emona at the time of the mutiny of the Pannonian legions in September of that year, when, after the successful mission, he was returning from the summer camp of these legions.²³

As is evident, the last line is fragmentary and the purpose of the emperors' munificence remains unknown. Otto Hirschfeld in the *CIL* did not supplement it, this was proposed by Otto Cuntz and Balduin Saria, who suggested the city walls (*murum*) as the object of the imperial grant, while the supplement [*murum turresq(ue)? d]e]derunt*, "they gave the city walls and towers" was first introduced by Anton von Premerstein and Simon Rutar.²⁴ It should be noted, however, that Cuntz and Saria precipitately added the fragment of another imperial inscription from Emona to the left side of the text,²⁵ thus erroneously restoring the last two lines of the inscription. This was rejected by Šašel, who convincingly argued that the resemblance of the two fragments was only superficial, and also pointed out that the preserved moulding at the bottom was different from the moulding of the Augustan-Tiberian fragment. He dated the second fragment to the first half of the first century AD (*fig. 5*).²⁶

Several years ago, Zsolt Mráv published a most interesting reconstruction of both fragments and their archaeological context.²⁷ He once again proposed connecting both inscriptions, not, however, identifying them as one and the same inscription but as two separate inscriptions, linked together by having both belonged to the city walls (*fig. 6*). According to him, each imperial inscribed slab



Fig. 5: Slab with an imperial inscription, probably a building inscription (AIJ 170b = *ILJug* 304 = *RINMS* 35).

Sl. 5: Ploščica z vladarskim napisom, verjetno odlomek gradbenega napisa (AIJ 170b = *ILJug* 304 = *RINMS* 35).

would have been built into the wall above one of the main entrances into the town, the first above the eastern town gate, and the second above the southern town gate. He came to this conclusion by comparing the quality of the marble, which in his opinion was of the same provenance in the case of both monuments. He next compared the characteristic letters of both inscriptions, which, despite some small differences, led him to the same conclusion: the two inscribed stones must have been made in the same workshop at the same time.²⁸ He supplemented the second, smaller, fragmentary slab by adapting its hypothesized original text to the hypothetically supplemented text of the first inscription, with small changes dictated by different abbreviations and the different state of preservation:

[*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Divi f(ilius) Augustus*
pont(ifex) max(imus)]
[co(n)s(ul) XIII imp(erator) XXI trib(unicia)
potest(ate)] XXXVII pater patriae],
[Ti. C]aesar [Divi Augusti f(ilius) Augustus]
[po]nt(ifex) max(imus) [co(n)s(ul) II imp(erator)]
VI trib(unicia) potest(ate) XVI]
m[urum turresque or portasque dederunt].

²¹ Cuntz 1913, 195–200.

²² Šašel, Weiler 1963–1964, 42 (1992, 279).

²³ Šašel 1970 (1992).

²⁴ Premerstein, Rutar 1899, 9–10.

²⁵ AIJ 170b; *ILJug* 304; *RINMS* 35.

²⁶ Šašel 1955. The fragment reads: --- / [--- *C]aesar*
 [---] / [--- *po]nt(ifex) max(imus) [---] / vac. *M*[---].*

²⁷ Mráv 2001.

²⁸ Mráv 2001, 84 ff.

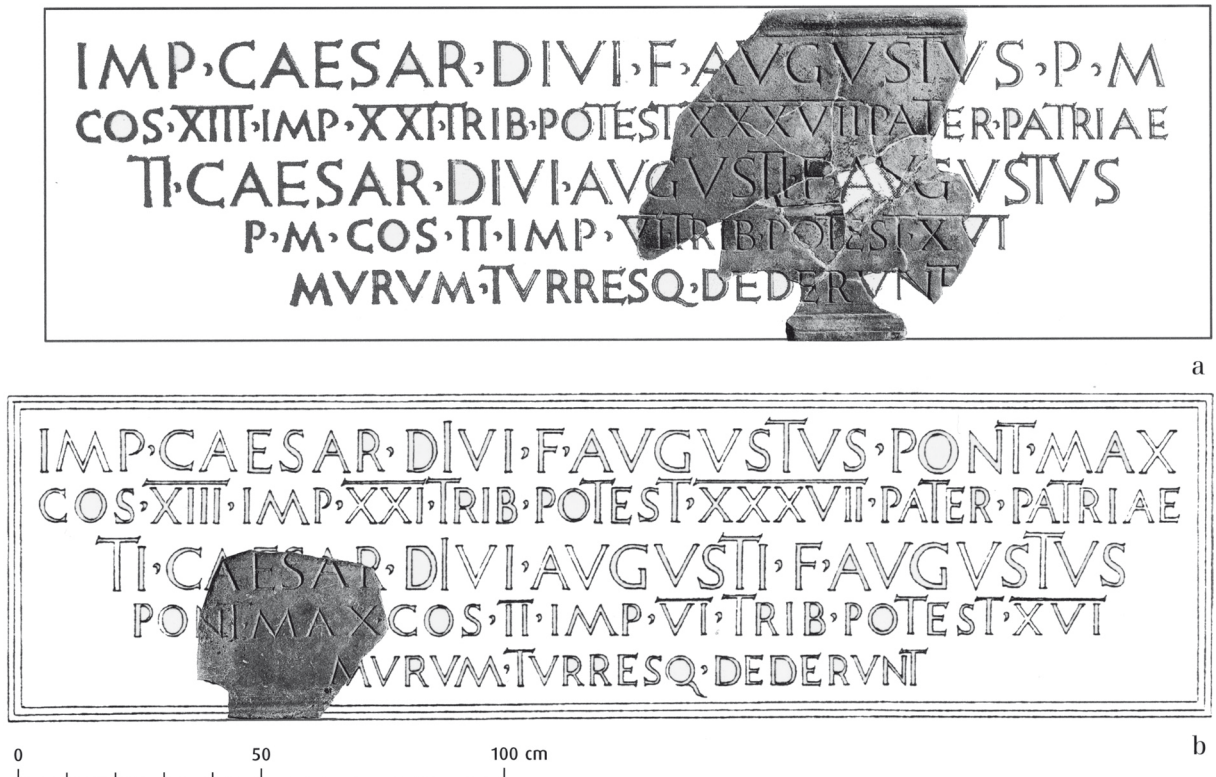


Fig. 6: Reconstruction of the text according to Z. Mráv (2001, fig. 6).

Sl. 6: Dopolnitev besedila po Z. Mrávu (2001, sl. 6).

In the letter *M*, preserved in the last line, he saw a confirmation for the supplemented *murum*, i.e., the city walls. Because the title *pontifex maximus* is partly preserved in this fragment he dated the inscription between 10 March 15 AD, when according to the *Fasti Praenestini* Tiberius had been awarded it,²⁹ and early summer 15 AD, when he had been acclaimed emperor for the seventh time.³⁰

It should be emphasized, however, that Mráv's supplements to the text of the second fragment, and also his proposed original position of both slabs, even if they represent an interesting attempt, nonetheless remain hypothetical, not least because the first, larger, imperial inscription has only been hypothetically supplemented. There is no certainty whatsoever that city walls were indeed mentioned in the last line. Mráv has no supporting element that could decisively confirm his further hypotheses. His main argument concerning the text of both slabs is his assumption that the marble of both monuments is of the same quality and provenance, and that both inscriptions were – in terms of paleography – produced in the same workshop at the same time,

and belonged to the same building programme. The petrographic analysis, however, has revealed that the marble of each fragment is slightly different, originating from different places (*loci*) in the same quarry, Gummern in Austrian Carinthia, the largest in Noricum.³¹ Not only the moulding but also the thickness of both slabs is different, and the careful comparison of letters, too, shows slight differences; these facts make his argument at least inconclusive, if they do not reject it altogether.

Much of his evidence concerning the original placement of both inscribed slabs is based on the circumstances of their discovery and their find spots, since each of them was found during diggings, hence, at least theoretically close to the original site where it had once been erected. However, Roman stones are problematic precisely because they were often reused in antiquity. Let us examine once more the sites of discovery of both inscribed monuments. The first is a part of a slab, broken into 15 pieces of varied sizes that fit together (79 × 82 × 3.5 cm; height of the letters: 11.5–7.0 cm; the expected

²⁹ Kienast 1990, 77.

³⁰ Mráv 2001, 92–93.

³¹ Unpublished results of the analyses carried out by H. W. Müller. For the information I am much indebted to Bojan Djurić.

size of the slab: 0.79 × ca. 3.50 m).³² “It was dug up in 1887 in Ljubljana at a depth of 1 meter while shifting the city water pipes at present-day Trg francoske revolucije (French Revolution Square), at the corner with Salendrova St.”³³ Perhaps it may have been unearthed near the site where it had originally been placed, but this would not necessarily be the entrance to the city through the walls.

The second is a fragmentary marble slab of which merely a portion from the centre of its lower part is preserved, as well as an additional small fragment of the singly moulded edge of the slab (49 × 74 × 4.7 cm; height of the letters: 11–9 cm).³⁴ It was discovered in 1911 during the excavations of Emona, conducted by Walter Schmid, in the last cultural stratum in the southeastern corner of house IV, which was named the “goldsmith’s house” by Schmid and was situated not far from the southern city wall. This stone was certainly not found *in situ*, since it must have been brought to this house, together with four altars,³⁵ when it had ceased to exist as a residence and/or a workshop and was converted to some kind of a storehouse, probably in times of danger, when, as it seems, the inhabitants hastily gathered building material, perhaps to repair the city walls.³⁶ The stone monuments were found leaning against the wall in room 8. On such a basis, however, it certainly seems too hasty to draw conclusions concerning the original location of both imperial building inscriptions.

Saria regarded the inscriptions as an important testimony for the foundation date of Emona as a Roman colony, since he erroneously linked the grant of the city walls to the foundation of a colony. A Republican higher magistrate with *imperium* or an emperor could have granted the building of town walls at any point in a town’s history, for which several analogies can be cited.³⁷ Mráv rightly saw

that the imperial building inscriptions have no bearing on the foundation of a colony in Emona, and accepted for this a date during the Augustan period. Some, however, still see a much closer connection between the founding of the colony and the building of the new town (*urbs quadrata*) with the town walls.³⁸ The evidence should therefore be presented and re-interpreted, partly also on the basis of new discoveries.

WHEN DID EMONA BECOME A ROMAN COLONY?

It has generally been believed that Emona was a camp of the legion XV Apollinaris before it moved to Carnuntum; the existence of a legionary camp at Emona would mean that the town could not have become a colony before the departure of the legion. This was for a long time believed to have happened under Tiberius, after the revolt of the Pannonian legions, when the legion allegedly left for Carnuntum.³⁹ The thesis was based primarily on the influential article by Balduin Saria, in which he argued that Emona had been the fortress of the legion XV Apollinaris.⁴⁰ András Mócsy in his *RE*-article on Pannonia even wrote: “Die Gründungszeit hat B. Saria Laureae Aquincenses I 252 ff. endgültig auf Tiberius festsetzen können. Die Gründung erfolgte durch Ansiedlung von Veteranen der Legio XV Apollinaris ...”⁴¹ Šašel, who regarded the city neither as a legionary camp, nor a veteran colony, in his earlier contributions did believe that Emona had been founded upon the decision of both Augustus and Tiberius early under the second emperor;⁴² later, however, he modified his opinion, ascribing its foundation to Octavian or Augustus.⁴³

Saria’s main argument for the existence of a legionary fortress prior to the colony was the tombstone, probably a cenotaph, of T. Iunius Montanus

³² Šašel 1970, 122 n. 1 (1992, 285 n. 1).

³³ *RINMS* 34. Formerly Nemški trg (German Square), it was called Napoleonov trg (Napoleon Square) before the Second World War.

³⁴ *RINMS* 35.

³⁵ *RINMS* nos. 17, 26, 27, 28.

³⁶ Cuntz 1913, 195–200 no. 5, fig. 5, drawing fig. 6 (cf. 203–204 no. 9, and Schmid 1913, p. 103).

³⁷ For ex., *ILS* 2702: the colony of *Fanum Fortunae*, founded under the Triumvirate, received town walls under Augustus in AD 9 or 10. The nearest example is Tergeste, a (probable) Caesarian colony, which received city walls under Octavian in 33–32 BC, *CIL* V 525 = *Ins. It.* 10.4, 20 (*Lupa* 16234); see Zaccaria 1992, 152 and 213 ad no. 20; Harl, in Harl, Niederstätter 2011, 701–714.

³⁸ Kovács in Bence, Kovács 2005, 206–207; Gaspari 2010, 147–148.

³⁹ Šašel Kos 1995, n. 3, with earlier citations, among which see Pavan 1955, 382; Degraffi 1954, 110–111; Alföldy 1974, 57; Mócsy 1974, 74–76; Fitz 1980, 143; and also Šašel 1968, 564–565 (1992, 572–573).

⁴⁰ Saria 1938; id. 1939, 119–121; id. 1941.

⁴¹ Mócsy 1962, 596. Saria’s article (1938) has had a long-lasting impact on later historiography, see footnote 3 in Šašel Kos 1995.

⁴² Šašel 1968, 564–565 (1992, 572–573).

⁴³ Šašel 1989 (1992), 708, 710.



Fig. 7: The tombstone of T. Iunius Montanus (AIJ 173 = RINMS 36).

Sl. 7: Nagrobnik Tita Junija Montana (*T. Iunius Montanus*; AIJ 173 = RINMS 36).

(fig. 7).⁴⁴ Montanus, who was enrolled in the voting tribe of *Aniensis* – his family may have been from Alexandria Troas –⁴⁵ was six times military tribune, six times prefect of horsemen, twice prefect of the craftsmen (staff officers), twice deputy legate (*pro legato*). The function of a *pro legato* was formerly explained as that of a substitute for the legionary commander, thus notably by Saria, who suggested that Montanus commanded the legion

XV *Apollinaris*, which would make it very likely that Emona had been this legion's camp. However, Šašel analysed the function of *pro legato* and came to the conclusion,⁴⁶ shared by Hubert Devijver,⁴⁷ that the title signified an equestrian officer who had performed various military, technical, and most of all administrative duties, needed to consolidate the Roman dominion in recently conquered lands of the Empire. An Augustan group of these officers, including T. Iunius Montanus, is attested in the Alpine regions and Illyricum.

Other subsequent studies have decisively modified Saria's conclusions, which are now contradicted by epigraphic, numismatic, and other archaeological evidence.⁴⁸ Ultimately it has even become clear that the legion did not move to Carnuntum before the reign of either Caligula or Claudius.⁴⁹ Recent research and new discoveries have thrown a different light on the history of the legion XV *Apollinaris* in the period when it was stationed in Illyricum.⁵⁰

However, the fact that Emona had most probably never been a legionary fortress for a lengthy period does not preclude that in times of war soldiers from this legion and from other units would have been stationed in short-lived camps in or near the town.⁵¹ When Caesar's Gallic war began, for example, three legions were encamped near Aquileia (*Bell. Gall.* 1. 10. 3), and subsequently wintered in the region occasionally. Thus during the Pannonian war of Tiberius (12–8 BC), a military camp was built just outside Emona at modern Prule (Tribuna), and the town obviously served as an important logistic base.⁵² The fluvial military route along the Ljubljanica (Nauportus) River must already have played an important role during Octavian's Illyrian war in 35–33 BC, but particularly so in the course of Tiberius' conquest of Illyricum,⁵³ which also implies a great importance of the river port at Emona. Military presence must also have been

⁴⁶ Šašel 1974.

⁴⁷ Devijver 1992.

⁴⁸ Discussion in Šašel Kos 1995; Schmid 1941; Šašel 1968, 561–566; Wells 1974; Kos 1986, 54–56; Šašel Kos 1998a; Plesničar-Gec 1998; Plesničar Gec 1999, 100–106; Vičič 2003, 23–24; Gaspari 2010, 113 ff.

⁴⁹ Kandler 2004, 16; Mosser 2002, 123; Gassner, Jilek, in Gassner, Jilek, Ladstätter 2002, 60–63.

⁵⁰ Mosser 2003.

⁵¹ Šašel 1968, 562 ff. (1992, 571 ff.); Gaspari 2010, 121 ff. During the Augustan period the legions were still quite mobile, the concept of permanent camps had only begun to develop, see Eck 2010, 28.

⁵² Hvalec et al. 2009; Miškec 2009; Gaspari 2010, 113 ff.

⁵³ Istenič 2009; ead. 2009a.

⁴⁴ AIJ 173 = RINMS 36.

⁴⁵ Halfmann 1979, 103 no. 6a.

strong at the time of the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion in AD 6–9. A second phase of the camp could be identified during the excavations; the walls of the older camp had been levelled, the two ditches filled up, and wooden barracks erected.⁵⁴

Mommsen believed that Emona had already become a colony under Octavian, at some time after Tergeste; Tergeste may have been a Caesarian colony.⁵⁵ A convenient date would have been some years after the battle at Actium in 31 BC (which took place two years after Octavian's Illyrian war), and probably before 27 BC, when Octavian was bestowed the name Augustus;⁵⁶ in those years he had to discharge a large number of veterans. No contrary evidence can be cited against this thesis;⁵⁷ Emona would in any case have been established as a Roman colony on Italian soil.⁵⁸ This has been accepted with additional arguments by Claudio Zaccaria, who recently proposed that the regions on the left bank of the Soča/Isonzo River (notably the Most na Soči / formerly Sv. Lucija [Santa Lucia] area) would have become part of the territory of Emona.⁵⁹

The town should not necessarily be regarded as a veteran colony, since only four tombstones of veterans of the legions VIII and XV, later known as *Augusta* and *Apollinaris*, have been discovered so far. The bulk of Emona's colonists consisted of civilian inhabitants who came to live in the newly founded town from various cities in Italy, mainly from northern Italy and notably also from Aquileia.⁶⁰ Some of the colonists may have been dispossessed Italians who had been driven from their hometowns or country estates by newly settled veterans from triumviral legions, as had happened to Horace's family (*Epist.*, 2. 2. 46–51). None of the colonists in Emona claimed that they were *deductus coloniam*, as did veterans in Savaria,⁶¹

and it should be noted that many veterans were also living in Aquileia.⁶²

Chronological indications to determine the beginnings of the colony are scarce. The title of the colony, *colonia Iulia*, was bestowed on newly founded colonies by Caesar and Octavian (up to 27 BC),⁶³ and only in rare cases did cities receive the name *Iulia* also from Augustus.⁶⁴ Thus it cannot be entirely excluded that Emona was founded during his reign.⁶⁵ On the other hand, there is no explicit evidence that colonies with the title *Iulia* would have been founded under Tiberius or Caligula.⁶⁶ In the case of Emona, the name *Iulia* would best indicate Octavian as the founder. The *tribus Claudia* of Emona's citizens is not a chronological indicator, and often it is related to cities founded by Claudius.⁶⁷ In eastern Venetia, however, it is characteristic of Concordia (founded either by Caesar or by Octavian) and Iulium Carnicum, which most probably became a Roman *municipium* under Octavian.⁶⁸ The voting tribe *Iulia*, which occasionally appears in the lists of praetorians from Emona attested in Rome, is actually a pseudo-tribus, derived from the name of the colony.⁶⁹

Indeed, there are some further indications that would make such an early date plausible. Octavian/Augustus may have founded Emona as the last colony in Italy, in order to consolidate Roman authority in the border region with Illyricum.⁷⁰ Pola in Istria was an old Caesarian colony,⁷¹ while Parentium may have been founded as a colony

⁶² *Inscr. Aquil.*: see the indexes for veterans and soldiers of different rank.

⁶³ Christol, Heijmans 1992, 41–44; cf. also Kraft 1957, 91.

⁶⁴ Galsterer-Kröll 1972, 65–70; Vittinghoff 1977, 10. The title was also awarded by a few much later emperors. For the urbanization under Caesar and Augustus, see also Brunt 1971, 234 ff. and in appendices 15–17; cf. Keppie 1983, 46, 209.

⁶⁵ Recently the year 14 BC has been suggested: Strobel 2010, 366; cf. Strobel 2011, 206–207, 226.

⁶⁶ Cf. Galsterer-Kröll 1972, 70; Šašel 1992 (1987), 662 and n. 2; Tiberius' urbanization policy is controversial, despite Alföldy 1961.

⁶⁷ Forni 1956a (2006); id. 1956b (2006).

⁶⁸ Zaccaria 2010, 104. On the date: Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 303–306; Zaccaria 1995, 180–181.

⁶⁹ Šašel 1968, 564 (1992, 572); Forni 1985, p. 57–58 (nos. A 49–53), p. 86–87 (nos. 234–243).

⁷⁰ Šašel Kos 1995; ead. 2003.

⁷¹ Frascchetti 1983; Keppie 1983, 203–204; Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 387–388; Starac 1999, 133–135.

⁵⁴ Hvalec at al. 2009, 4.

⁵⁵ *CIL* III, p. 489; Gregori 1990, 223; Frascchetti 1975; Zaccaria 1992, 152.

⁵⁶ Levick 2010, 72 ff.

⁵⁷ Šašel 1970, 123–124 (1992, 286–287), saw no conclusive argument against this dating.

⁵⁸ Šašel 1989 (1992); Šašel Kos 2003; ead. 2002a.

⁵⁹ Zaccaria 2010, 108–109; id. 2007, 137–139.

⁶⁰ Šašel 1968, 564–565 (1992, 572–573); Keppie 1984, 77–79, suggested a veteran colony; cf. Gaspari 2010, 144, who is uncertain.

⁶¹ Balla et al. 1971, no. 95 = Tóth 2011, no. 201 = *Lupa* 3339; and Balla et al. 1971, no. 96 = Tóth 2011, no. 211 = *Lupa* 3335.

under Octavian.⁷² In the hinterland of Aquileia, three areas were strategically most important for the safety of Italy during the Caesarian and early Augustan periods: the regions of Iulium Carnicum, Tergeste-Aegida, and Nauportus-Emona. Tergeste was almost certainly a Caesarian colony.⁷³ Iulium Carnicum, as has been noted, most probably became a *municipium* under Octavian.⁷⁴ The town was situated near the border with Noricum, while Emona was near the border of Noricum and Illyricum (later Pannonia). The founding of Emona would fit in this urbanization programme very well.

Admittedly, the archaeological material that would confirm an early Augustan settlement is scarce to date, and there is no decisive evidence that could prove the proposed dating, so it must ultimately remain hypothetical. In any case, it can be assumed that a colony existed in Emona by the time of Tiberius' Pannonian war. This may indirectly be confirmed by the fact that hostages were kept in Emona; it is known that a ten year old boy from the Pannonian Amantini, called [S]cemaes (perhaps [S]cenas?), drowned in the river in Emona.⁷⁵ His tombstone, actually a cenotaph, was found in Putinci, in the territory of Bassianae (Syrmia/Srem). This much more probably refers to Tiberius' negotiations with the Amantini during his Pannonian war (12–8 BC)⁷⁶ than during the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion (6–9 AD), when a hostile invasion had to be checked and attacks countered, and there was little time for diplomacy. Hostages were usually detained on Italian soil,⁷⁷ notably for reasons of safety and not least to introduce the upper class children of foreign peoples to the Roman culture and lifestyle. If by 14 BC (when the first revolts in Illyricum were reported) the colony had already existed, the best occasion for its foundation would have been the years after Actium, when the situation in Illyricum

stabilized after Octavian's war in 35–33 BC. Founding a colony near the border with Illyricum would have contributed to the safety of Italy.

Why was Emona not mentioned by Velleius Paterculus when he described the strategic plans of the rebels in AD 6, one of which was to invade Italy through the border regions of Nauportus and Tergeste (2. 110. 4)?⁷⁸ First of all, he wrote his *History* as a literary work; it was intended for his patron M. Vinicius (cos. AD 30), and Velleius designed his narrative to be very brief, while also aspiring to be instructive, with an emphasis on the main protagonists who influenced historical events.⁷⁹ Topographical details were of secondary importance. Second, Nauportus (a legendary station of the Argonauts) was nearer Italy and it was a fortified *vicus*;⁸⁰ it very much resembled a town, perhaps more than Emona, which at that time had no town walls. Indeed Tacitus, when describing the revolt of the legions in Illyricum in the autumn of AD 14, after the death of Augustus, referred to Nauportus as a town (*Ann.* 1. 20: *municipii instar*). He, too, did not mention Emona because he saw no need to do so. He made no mention even of the legionary camps, neither the winter camps of each legion (XV Apollinaris, VIII Augusta, and IX Hispana),⁸¹ nor the summer camp, where all three were stationed at the time of the arrival of Tiberius' son Drusus, who had been sent to quell the revolt. If Tacitus deemed it unimportant to mention the centre of the revolt and the destination of the emperor's son, the omission of Emona should not surprise us. Soldiers were sent to the Aquileian village of Nauportus to build roads and bridges and carry out other tasks, which may or may not have included some construction work at Emona; such activities are not mentioned.

The archaeological evidence so far discovered, also in the course of recent and partly unpublished excavations,⁸² indicates that the early colony should mainly be sought outside the fortified rectangular town, which was probably built late in the reign of Augustus and early in that of Tiberius.⁸³ The

⁷² Laffi 2007, 57, 130, 140; Bandelli 2008, 730, accepts Laffi's hypothesis that Parentium had never been a *municipium*. On Parentium see also Šašel 1992 (1987); Tassaux 1986; Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 370–372; Starac 1999, 125–133; cf. Keppie 1983, 202 f.

⁷³ Fraschetti 1975; Zaccaria 1992, 152.

⁷⁴ It became *colonia* possibly under Augustus, Mainardis 1994, 78–79; or Claudius, Zaccaria 2010, 107. According to Gregori 2001, 172–175, it was never a colony, which seems less plausible: Mainardis 2008, 40–41.

⁷⁵ *CIL* III 3224; Dušanić 1967, 67–69 (2010, 818–826); see also Mikl-Curk 1996.

⁷⁶ Dušanić, *l.c.*; see also Čaće 1985, 601. The Pannonian war seems more likely to me, while Octavian's Illyrian war, suggested earlier, is not plausible.

⁷⁷ Scardigli 1994.

⁷⁸ *Pars petere Italiam decreverat iunctam sibi Nauporti ac Tergestis confinio.*

⁷⁹ Assessment of his work in Schmitzer 2000.

⁸⁰ Mušič, Horvat 2007.

⁸¹ The legion VIII Augusta was stationed at Poetovio, XV Apollinaris probably at Siscia, and IX Hispana perhaps at Sirmium, see Šašel Kos 1995, 237.

⁸² Gaspari 2010, 25 ff.

⁸³ Šašel 1953; Plesničar Gec 1999, 43 ff.; Vičič 2003, 27; cf. Gaspari 2010, 78 ff.

building of a town with a regular network of roads dividing *insulae* does not exclude at all the existence of an earlier colony mostly outside this area, particularly since it is not necessary to assume that it must have been a large settlement. An average colony at that time numbered 3000 inhabitants,⁸⁴ but there may have been fewer; Emona could have been a small colony. The Ljubljana area had been settled from the Eneolithic period onwards; Emona is a pre-Roman place name and no doubt a Roman *emporium* existed in the Late Iron Age village on the right bank of the Ljubljanica (Nauportus) River at the time of Caesar or soon after his death, when a Roman village (*vicus*) was most probably established at Nauportus (Vrhnika).⁸⁵ These two settlements were strategically most significant in terms of fluvial commerce along the Ljubljanica (the Nauportus) and the Sava, which Roman merchants probably exploited at least partly together with the Taurisci; both settlements must have had important ports and docks, Emona had probably several.

A settlement on the right bank of the Ljubljanica was proposed by Šašel on the basis of (sporadic) Celtic and Roman coins from the second and first centuries BC, a hoard of Celtic coins from the Gradaščica River in the area of Trnovo,⁸⁶ and other archaeological finds, which would indicate a late Iron Age settlement in the areas of Trnovo, Šentjakob, Prule (south and southeast of Emona), and possibly near the northern cemetery, as well as a mid-Augustan settlement of the area *intra muros*.⁸⁷ There is relatively recent archaeological evidence from the area of Gornji trg to support this thesis,⁸⁸ and while recent and current excavations have revealed short-lived military camps, future excavations will no doubt throw new light on the settlement at Emona on the right bank of the Ljubljanica, although much of it was destroyed by the mediaeval town. The Romans may have preferred to settle on the right bank because a Late Bronze and Early Iron Age cemetery and recently discovered Early Iron Age tumuli burials

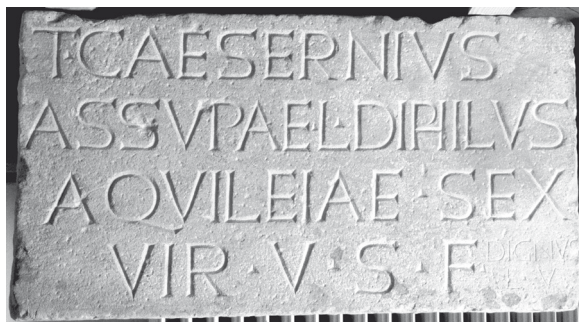


Fig. 8: The tombstone of T. Caesernius Diphilus (AIJ 176 = RINMS 3).

Sl. 8: Nagrobnik Tita Cezernija Difila (T. Caesernius Diphilus; AIJ 176 = RINMS 3).

were situated on the left bank,⁸⁹ which, up to the Roman period, must have been mainly intended for the dead. Dispossessed Italians, including some veterans, had to be offered new homes, preferably on Italian soil. A strategically placed flourishing Roman *emporium* at Emona eventually became a Roman colony.

A testimony to an early important Roman settlement at Emona is the late Republican funerary monument of an Aquileian *sevir*, T. Caesernius Diphilus, freedman of T. Caesernius Assupa, who had his tombstone erected while still alive (fig. 8).⁹⁰ He was living at Emona and wished to be buried in the town, where as a *sevir* he may have been in charge of organizing municipal life, including its religious aspects. His tombstone was made of Aurisina limestone and was found 3 m below the bed of the Ljubljanica River, in the area of the modern Novi trg. It was dated to the Augustan period by Giovanni Brusin,⁹¹ but might well be from around 30 BC or even earlier.⁹² It may have been a part of a mausoleum⁹³ and is certainly the earliest inscription found to date at Emona. The Caesernii are one of the epigraphically best-attested families at Emona, most of them having probably come from Aquileia.⁹⁴ Their economic importance

⁸⁴ Brunt 1971, 259–260. Cf. Gaspari 2010, 136.

⁸⁵ Horvat 1990 (including the chapter on literary sources and epigraphy by Šašel Kos); Horvat 2009.

⁸⁶ Šašel 1968, 542 (1992, 560); 569 (1992, 575); Kos 1977, 53 (coins could not be found in the museum).

⁸⁷ Šašel 1968, 542–543 (1992, 560–561); for the area of forum corroborated by Plesničar 2006, 21 ff., 65; and Kos 2006, 71–72.

⁸⁸ Vičič 1993; id. 1994; id. 2002; id. 2003, 22–23.

⁸⁹ <http://www.arheologijaljubljane.si/2012/arheologija-kongresnem-trgu-in-v-parku-zvezda/>

⁹⁰ AIJ 176 = RINMS 3: T. Caesernius / Assupae l. Diphilus / Aquileiae sex/vir v(ivus) s(ibi) f(ecit). Dignus l(ibertus) v(ivus).

⁹¹ Brusin 1956.

⁹² Around 30 BC: G. Alföldy, personal communication; a late Republican date was proposed by Šašel Kos 1998c; Tassaux 2000, 377 no. 19; 393; 402; Bandelli 2002, 18.

⁹³ Tassaux 2000, 377 no. 19; 402.

⁹⁴ Šašel 1960 (1992); Zaccaria 2006.

is not least reflected in the large number of freedmen. Diphilus' former master and patron was T. Caesernius Assupa, bearing an epichoric name;⁹⁵ he, too, was probably a freedman.⁹⁶ This may be proof that members of the indigenous population, who were familiar with the geography, natural resources, and social structure of local settlements in the hinterland of Aquileia, had been actively involved in the colonizing process. Some of the Roman colonists were no doubt merchants who saw great economic potential in a Roman town nearer the boundaries of newly conquered provinces;⁹⁷ several may have moved to Emona for this reason.

Summing up, it may be stated that Emona had never been a Pannonian city; it first belonged to Cisalpina, and since 41 BC, when Cisalpine Gaul ceased to be a province, to Italy. The boundary

stone from Bevke, confirming Emona as an Italian city, therefore came as no surprise but rather as a confirmation of a plausible hypothesis. It may be regarded as surprising in so far as it revealed that the *ager* of Aquileia extended as far as Bevke, including Nauportus. There is no decisive evidence to establish the precise time when Emona became a Roman colony. The proposed dates range from the time of Octavian after the battle at Actium, when so many veterans from the triumviral legions had to be discharged, to the beginning of Tiberius' reign. While all the arguments supporting the latter hypothesis proved to be invalid, a *terminus ad quem* must be sought most probably in the years late under the rule of Octavian, which would also be indicated by the colony's name *Iulia*.

⁹⁵ Masculine names ending in *-a*, are well attested in Noricum, see Betz 1956, but are not limited exclusively to this country.

⁹⁶ Zaccaria 2010, 453; it is less likely that as a member of an upper class indigenous family he would have settled in Aquileia.

⁹⁷ Tassaux 2004, 170 ff.

Abbreviations / Kratice

AIJ = V. Hoffiller, B. Saria, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien*, Heft I: *Noricum und Pannonia Superior*. – Zagreb 1938.

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

ILJug = A. et J. Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 5). – Ljubljana 1963; iidem, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 19). – 1978; iidem, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMIII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 25). – 1986.

Inscr. Aquil. = J. B. Brusin, *Inscriptiones Aquileiae I–III*. – Udine 1991–1993.

Ins. it. = *Inscriptiones Italiae*, vol. X – *regio X*, fasciculus IV – *Tergeste*, curavit Petrus Sticotti, Roma (La libreria dello stato), 1951.

Lupa = *Ubi erat Lupa*, <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/>

RE = Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus-Ziegler, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.

RINMS = M. Šašel Kos, *The Roman Inscriptions in the National Museum of Slovenia / Lapidarij Narodnega muzeja Slovenije* (Situla 35). – Ljubljana 1997.

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Colonia Iulia Emona – nastanek rimskega mesta

Zgodovinska slika rimske Emone (zdaj Ljubljane) bo zaradi pomanjkljivih pisnih in arheoloških virov vedno polna vrzeli, ki jih vsaka generacija skuša po svojih močeh čim bolj(e) zapolniti. Začetki naselbine, ki nosi predrimsko ime, so nejasni, prav tako se ne ve, kdaj je bila v njej ustanovljena rimska kolonija in kakšna je bila njena vojaška vloga v času rimskega osvajanja konec republike in pod Avgustom. Nekateri se še vedno sprašujejo, ali je mesto v 1. stoletju po Kr. pripadalo Italiji ali Iliriku/Panoniji. Na vsa ta vprašanja mečejo novo luč rezultati nedavnih izkopavanj in nove slučajne najdbe, kot npr. mejnik med ozemljem prebivalcev Akvileje in Emone, ter ponovna analiza virov, ki so nam na voljo. Novo arheološko gradivo še čaka na obdelavo, marsikaj starega bi lahko na novo ovrednotili, ta prispevek pa bo obravnaval tri najbolj sporna vprašanja, ki se tičejo začetkov Emone: geografsko umeščenost in administrativno pripadnost mesta, pomen gradbenega napisa (že umrlega) Avgusta in Tiberija za zgodovino mesta in problem ustanovitve rimske kolonije v Emoni.

GEOGRAFSKA UMEŠTITEV EMONE IN NJENA ADMINISTRATIVNA PRIPADNOST

Emono so pogosto napačno povezovali s Panonijo, ki ji v administrativnem smislu pravzaprav ni nikdar pripadala (*sl. 1*).¹ Tudi z geografskega stališča bi morda bolj sodila v Norik in dejansko se zdi, da je bilo jugovzhodno alpsko območje nekaj časa pod oblastjo Noriškega kraljestva oz. vsaj pod močnim vplivom noriških kraljev.² Morda so keltski Tavrski proti koncu 4. stoletja pr. Kr. poselili dežele severno in južno of Karavank;³ tisti severno so se verjetno pomešali z domačim prebivalstvom v Noriku in prevzeli ime dežele ter se začeli imenovati Noriki, medtem ko so Tavrski v današnji Sloveniji obdržali svoje staro ime. Vpliv

noriških kraljev je posebej v 1. stoletju pr. Kr. segal daleč in na široko; tudi Karnuntum na začetku svoje zgodovine ni pripadal Panoniji, čeprav je bil pozneje glavno mesto province Panonije. Velej Paterkul ga namreč omenja kot “*kraj v Noriškem kraljestvu*” (2, 109, 5).⁴

Rimljani so verjetno osvojili območje Navporta (zdaj Vrhnika) in Emone v času Cezarjevega prokonzulata in ga priključili Cisalpinski Galiji; v nasprotju s prevladujočim mnenjem to ozemlje ni nikdar pripadalo Iliriku (*sl. 2*).⁵ Cisalpinska Galija je postala rimska provinca najverjetneje na začetku 1. stoletja pr. Kr., verjetno precej časa pred Cezarjem, morda celo že po vdoru Cimbrov v Padsko nižino leta 101 pr. Kr.⁶ Del Italije je postala po posredovanju Oktavijana leta 41 pr. Kr., po bitki pri Filipih.⁷ Po mnenju Theodorja Mommsena je bila Emona od nekdaj v Italiji, kar je prepričljivo dokazoval tudi Jaroslav Šašel; v prid tej tezi je bilo njegovim argumentom nedavno dodanih še nekaj novih.⁸

Pred nekaj leti pri Bevkah najdeni mejnik med ozemljem Akvileje in Emone, ki sodi najverjetneje v čas Avgusta ali Tiberija, je dokončno potrdil, da je mesto administrativno vedno pripadalo Italiji (*sl. 3*).⁹ Dva argumenta sta odločilna za zgodnjo datacijo spomenika: paleografija napisa in še posebej izvor kamnine. Oblike črk so zelo podobne črkam na najzgodnejših napisih z območja Emonske kotline, kamnina pa je nabrežinski apnenec, iz katerega so bili izdelani le najzgodnejši kamniti spomeniki z območja Navporta in Emone; vsi so datirani v drugo polovico 1. stoletja pr. Kr. in prvo polovico 1. stoletja po Kr.¹⁰ Ozemlje Navporta in Emonske kotline je bilo prehodno, nahajalo se je ob jantarski cesti in hkrati tudi ob tako imenovani argonavtski poti (ti dve poti sta se razcepili prav

¹ V starejši strokovni literaturi velja za panonsko mesto, glej npr. Saria 1938, 253; Degrassi 1954, 87; Mócsy 1974, 74–76; negotov je Fitz 1996, 128 in op. 8. Za pripadnost Emone Italiji glej nazadnje Šašel Kos 2003; še vedno zelo pomemben je Šašel 1989 (1992); nedavna nasprotna mnenja: Kovács, v Bence, Kovács 2005, 206–207, prim. str. 40, 62, 195; Alföldy 2011a, 385; id. 2011b, komentar k št. 14, 1063; prim. Królczyk 2009, 45.

² Šašel Kos 1998b, 210 ss.

³ Graßl 2001; id. 2000.

⁴ “*Locus Norici regni*”, na začetku vojaške odprave proti Marobodu leta 6 po Kr., tik pred izbruhom panonsko-dalmatinskega upora.

⁵ Šašel 1985 (1992).

⁶ Càssola 1991, 33 ss; Laffi 1992.

⁷ App., *Bell. civ.* 3. 30. 115; 5. 3. 12; 22. 87; Dio 48. 12. 4; Sartori 1994.

⁸ *CIL* III, str. 489. Ritterling 1924, 1240, je menil, da je Avgust ustanovil več mest v Iliriku, ki so na začetku njegove vlade še pripadala Italiji (Emona, Salone in Iader); Šašel 1989 (1992); Šašel Kos 2003.

⁹ Šašel Kos 2002a: *Finis / Aquileien/sium / Emonen/sium*.

¹⁰ Šašel Kos 1998c; ead. 2002a; ead. 2002b.

pri Emoni, jantarska se je nadaljevala proti Celeji, argonavtska proti Sisciji). Kot je bilo že poudarjeno, je bil emonski prostor ključen za kakršnokoli vojaško obrambo, ki naj bi nadzorovala in varovala vhod skozi tako imenovana iliropitaljska vrata pri Postojni. V 3. stoletju po Kr. je bil prav tu zgrajen prvi pas zapornega sistema utrdb, del alpskih zapor (*Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*), ki naj bi ščitile Italijo pred sovražnimi vdori.¹¹

Geografom ne povsem jasna geografsko-administrativna umeščenost Emone v prostor tromeje med Italijo, Norikom in Panonijo se lepo zrcali v Ptolemajevi *Geografiji*, kjer omenja Emono na dveh mestih. Posebej pomembno je prvo iz 2. knjige, v kateri med drugim opredeli geografsko lego Zgornje Panonije in navaja zgornjepanonska ljudstva in mesta. Za Emono piše, da leži “*med Italijo in Panonijo, pod Norikom*” oz. “*med (tistim delom) Italije (ki je umeščen) pod Norikom, in Panonijo*”.¹² Herbert Graßl je analiziral vsa tista mesta pri Ptolemaju, v katerih piše, da naselbine ležijo med dvema regijama, in ugotovil, da Ptolemaj predlog 'med' vedno uporablja v geografskem smislu, ne glede na administrativno pripadnost mest.¹³ Geografi so bili gotovo nekoliko v dvomih, kako naj se odločijo, ker se na jugovzhodnem alpskem območju geografske meje niso ujemale z administrativnimi. Na to kaže tudi Ptolemajeva kritika njegovega malo starejšega sodobnika Marina iz Tira (*Tyre*), katerega besedilo ni ohranjeno.

Ptolemaj Marina kritično ocenjuje zaradi različnih napak, med katerimi navaja tudi to, da je nepravilno opredelil meje province Panonije. Po Marinu je namreč Italija na severu mejila tudi na Panonijo, medtem ko pa ni zabeležil skupne južne meje Panonije z Italijo, pač pa je po njegovo Panonija na jugu mejila neposredno na Dalmacijo (1, 16, izd. Nobbe). Ta podatek se nanaša ravno na območje Emone; v svojem opisu lege Emone je Ptolemaj zelo verjetno izrazil neskladnost med geografsko in administrativno umeščenostjo mesta. Podobno je opisal lego Julija Karnika (*Iulium Carnicum*), ki naj bi ležal med Italijo in Norikom (2, 13, 4, izd. Nobbe). Na drugem mestu v svoji *Geografiji* pa je Ptolemaj mesto postavil v Norik (8, 7, 5, izd. Nobbe), podobno kot je postavil Emono v Zgornjo Panonijo (8, 7, 6, izd. Nobbe). Glede na to, da je Julij Karnik vedno pripadal Cisalpinski

Galiji in pozneje Italiji,¹⁴ čeprav je bil morda kdaj v 2. in/ali 1. stoletju pr. Kr. začasno odvisen od Noriškega kraljestva, lahko podobno trdimo tudi za Emono. Dodatno lahko še poudarimo, da sta imeli obe mesti v naslovu ime *Iulia* in da so bili njuni prebivalci vpisani v volilno okrožje *Claudia*, kar morda kaže na to, da sta obe dosegli status avtonomnega mesta bolj ali manj ob istem času.¹⁵

Plinij je prvi, ki omenja, da je bila Emona rimska kolonija, postavlja pa jo v Panonijo (*N. h.* 3, 147). Novejše analize posameznih mest iz Plinijeve 3. knjige so pokazale, kako je uporabljal različne vire in kako lahko te vire pri posameznih mestih z veliko gotovostjo opredelimo bodisi kot geografske bodisi kot administrativne. Podatek o Emoni v Panoniji je potrebno razumeti v smislu geografske umeščenosti mesta,¹⁶ kar je posebej razumljivo glede na to, da so rimski geografi in zgodovinarji od nekdaj smatrali Alpe kot naravno mejo Italije.¹⁷ Znano je namreč, da se politično-administrativne meje provinc pogosto niso ozirale na geografske meje – od tod neskladni podatki pri antičnih avtorjih. Podobno je tudi Pomponij Mela, ki je bil eden od Plinijevih številnih virov,¹⁸ Tergeste postavil v Ilirik oz. na samo mejo Ilirika;¹⁹ v mislih je imel namreč geografske meje, kajti Histrijo (Istro) so dolgo časa smatrali za del Ilirika, kar je bil sinonim za tujo deželo na robu Italije.

Ko je bila pod Avgustom Italija razdeljena na dvanajst administrativnih enot, je Emona s svojim upravnim teritorijem pripadla 10. regiji (*regio X*), ki se je pozneje imenovala “Venetija in Histrija” (*Venetia et Histria*). Iz vsega povedanega jasno izhaja, da se niti Plinijeve niti Ptolemajevi podatki ne nanašajo na administrativno ureditev mejnega prostora med Italijo, Norikom in Panonijo, in jih zato ne moremo jemati kot evidenco, ki bi kakorkoli lahko dokazovala uradno upravno pripadnost Emone. Mesto ni bilo nikdar v Iliriku, niti v nerazdeljeni provinci, niti v Panoniji. Dokaz za to je prinesel zgoraj omenjeni mejnik med Akvilejo in Emono, ki je dokončno potrdil to že prej dobro argumentirano mnenje.

¹⁴ Mainardis 2008, 21 ss.

¹⁵ Mainardis 2008, 40–41.

¹⁶ Marion 1999; k Plinijevim virom glej tudi Sallmann 1971.

¹⁷ Npr. Livij, 21, 35, 8–9; 39, 54, 12. Graßl 1996, še za druge citate.

¹⁸ Brodersen 1994, 14; Domic Kunić 2004, 124–125, 134.

¹⁹ 2, 55: *Illyricis usque Tergestum, cetera Gallicis Italicisque gentibus cingitur*; 2, 57: *Tergeste intumo in sinu Hadriae situm finit Illyricum*.

¹¹ Šašel Kos 2003, 12.

¹² 2, 14, 7 izd. Nobbe: Μεταξὺ δὲ Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ τὸ Νωρικὸν Παννονίας πάλιν Ἦμωνα. Glej Graßl 1994, 519.

¹³ Graßl 1994, 520–521.

ODLOMEK VLADARSKEGA GRADBENEGA NAPISA Z OMEMBO AVGUSTA IN TIBERIJA

Na gradbenem napisu iz Emone, ki je nedvomno eden najpomembnejših emonskih kamnitih spomenikov, je Avgust omenjen skupaj s cesarjem Tiberijem; oba vladarja sta se odločila mestu s finančno podporo omogočiti neko pomembno gradnjo, kaj točno pa sta mestu poklonila, žal na napisu ni ohranjeno.²⁰ Napis se v latinščini glasi (sl. 4):

[*Imp(erator) Caesar divi f.] Augustu[s, pont(ifex) max(imus),] [co(n)s(ul) XIII, imp(erator) XXI, trib(unicia) potest(ate)] XXXVII, pate[r patriae], Ti. Caesar divi (?) Aug[ust]i f(i)lius Aug[ust]us, [pont(ifex) max(imus) (?) , co(n)s(ul) II, imp(erator)] VI, trib(unicia) potest(ate) XV[I] [- - - d]e[re]unt.*

Prevod: Vladar Cezar, sin božanskega (Cezarja), Avgust, najvišji svečenik, trinajstkrat konzul, enaindvajsetkrat izklican za vrhovnega poveljnika (*imperator*), ki mu je bila sedemtridesetkrat potrjena oblast tribuna, in Tiberij Cezar, sin božanskega (?) Avgusta, Avgust, najvišji svečenik (?), dvakrat konzul, šestkrat izklican za vrhovnega poveljnika, ki mu je bila šestnajstkrat potrjena oblast tribuna, sta dala (mestu) [?].

Po mnenju Otta Cuntza naj bi bil odlomek časovno umeščen v maj leta 15 po Kr.,²¹ medtem ko sta ga Jaroslav Šašel in Ingomar Weiler datirala v čas od Avgustove smrti 19. avgusta leta 14 po Kr. do pomladi naslednjega leta. Avgusta so proglasili za božanskega (*divus*) 17. septembra leta 14, vendar, kot sta opozorila, dopolnitev *divus* ni gotova, kot tudi ni jasno, če je Tiberij že bil najvišji svečenik (*pontifex maximus*); to je bila častna funkcija, ki jo je dosegel 10. marca leta 15.²² Če sprejmemo datacijo napisa v jesen leta 14, bi spomenik lahko povezali z domnevnim postankom Tiberijevega sina Druza (*Drusus*) v Emoni v času upora panonskih

legij septembra tega leta, ko se je po uspešni misiji vračal iz poletnega tabora teh legij.²³

Kot je povsem jasno, je zadnja vrstica napisa razlomljena na več fragmentov in ravno predmet gradnje, ki sta ga cesarja poklonila mestu, ostaja neznan. Otto Hirschfeld zato v *CIL*-u vrstice ni dopolnil, za dopolnitev sta se odločila Otto Cuntz in nato Balduin Saria, ki sta kot predmet darila obeh cesarjev predlagala mestno obzidje (*murum*); dopolnitev [*murum turresq(ue)? d]e[re]unt*, "mestu sta dala mestno obzidje s stolpi" pa sta prva predlagala Anton von Premerstein in Simon Rutar.²⁴ Treba je še dodati, da sta Cuntz in Saria temu odlomljenemu napisu prenačljeno dodala odlomek še enega vladarskega napisa iz Emone in ju sestavila v celoto ter tako napačno dopolnila zadnji dve vrstici besedila.²⁵ Njuno rekonstrukcijo napisa je zavrnil Šašel, ki je prepričljivo dokazoval, da se podobnost obeh odlomkov ob natančni primerjavi izkaže za slabo utemeljeno, saj je že ohranjena profilacija na spodnjem delu obeh spomenikov različna. Odlomek drugega vladarskega napisa je datiral v prvo polovico 1. stoletja po Kr. (sl. 5).²⁶

Pred nekaj leti je Zsolt Mráv objavil zanimivo dopolnitev obeh odlomkov skupaj z razlago njunega domnevnega arheološkega konteksta.²⁷ Tudi on je predlagal, da se oba napisa povežeta, vendar ne v smislu, da bi pripadala istemu spomeniku, temveč dvema ploščama z enakim napisom; obe naj bi bili vzdani v emonsko obzidje (sl. 6). Po njegovem mnenju naj bi bila vsaka vzdana nad enim od glavnih vhodov v mesto, nad mestnimi vrati torej, in sicer prva nad vzhodnimi, druga pa nad južnimi. Primerjal je kamnini obeh spomenikov in prišel do sklepa, da gre za marmor istega porekla; primerjal pa je tudi karakteristične črke obeh napisov, ki so se mu kljub manjšim razlikam zdele zelo podobne. Svoja opazovanja je sklenil z domnevo, da sta bila oba spomenika izdelana istočasno v isti kamnoseški delavnici.²⁸ Napis na drugem manjšem odlomku je dopolnil tako, da ga je sestavil s prvim daljšim in deloma hipotetično dopolnjenim besedilom, in torej drugi napis hipotetično prilagodil prvemu ter tako dobil sledeče besedilo:

²⁰ *CIL* III 10768 + p. 2328,26 = *AIJ* 170a = *ILJug* 303 = *RINMS* 34. Čitanje iz *RINMS*, z minimalnimi spremembami. Glej tudi Premerstein, Rutar 1899, 9–10; Cuntz 1913, 195–200; Šašel, Weiler 1963–1964, 40–42 (= 1992, 277–279), Mráv 2001. Preostala literatura je citirana v *RINMS*.

²¹ Cuntz 1913, 195–200.

²² Šašel, Weiler 1963–1964, 42 (1992, 279).

²³ Šašel 1970 (1992).

²⁴ Premerstein, Rutar 1899, 9–10.

²⁵ *AIJ* 170b; *ILJug* 304; *RINMS* 35.

²⁶ Šašel 1955. Odlomek se glasi: --- / [--- C]aesar [---] / [--- po]nt(ifex) max(imus) [---] / vac. M[---].

²⁷ Mráv 2001.

²⁸ Mráv 2001, 84 ss.

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Divi f(ilius) Augustus
pont(ifex) max(imus)]
[co(n)s(ul) XIII imp(erator) XXI trib(unicia)
potest(ate)] XXXVII pater patriae],
[Ti. C]aesar [Divi Augusti f(ilius) Augustus]
[po]nt(ifex) max(imus) [co(n)s(ul) II imp(erator)]
VI trib(unicia) potest(ate) XV[I]
m[urum turresque ali portasque dederunt].

Ključna pri tej sestavi naj bi bila črka *M*, ki je ohranjena v zadnji vrstici drugega napisa, saj je Mráv domneval, da jo je mogoče dopolniti le kot *murum*, torej “mestno obzidje”, čeprav bi bile možne tudi druge dopolnitve (npr. *militēs* ali *monumentum*). Druga pomembna postavka v drugem napisu je ohranjeni naziv *pontifex maximus*, ki ga je Mráv pripisal Tiberiju in napis datiral po 10. marcu leta 15 po Kr., ko je cesar dobil to funkcijo, kot je razvidno iz prenestinskega koledarja (*Fasti Praenestini*).²⁹ Napis bi bil torej časovno umeščen med ta datum in poletje leta 15, ko je bil Tiberij sedmič izklican za vrhovnega poveljnika (*imperator*); na prvem odlomku je namreč ohranjen šesti izklic.³⁰

Problematično pri tej sicer zanimivi rekonstrukciji je, da so Mrávove dopolnitve besedila drugega odlomka povsem hipotetične in enako velja tudi za njegov predlog prvotne postavitve obeh plošč z vladarskim napisom. Ne smemo pozabiti, da že dopolnitve prvega vladarskega napisa temeljijo zgolj na domnevi; niti najmanj ni namreč gotovo, da je bilo v zadnji vrstici omenjeno mestno obzidje. Mráv ne razpolaga z nikakršnim podatkom, ki bi odločilno podprl njegove nadaljnje hipoteze. Glavna argumenta, ki ju navaja v prid svoji domnevi, da sta obe besedili identični, sta ista kvaliteta in isti izvor marmorja obeh spomenikov ter enake črke na obeh napisih. Izdelana naj bi bila torej v isti delavnici in pripadala naj bi istemu gradbenemu načrtu. Vendar pa je analiza kamnine pokazala, da je vsak spomenik napravljen iz nekoliko drugačnega marmorja, lomljenega na dveh različnih mestih (*loci*) v sicer istem kamnolomu Gummern na avstrijskem Koroškem, ki je bil v Noriku največji.³¹ Vsak odlomek ima drugačno profilacijo in tudi debelina enega in drugega se močno razlikuje (3,5 in 4,7 cm!). Podobno velja za črke: čeprav so si na prvi pogled podobne, kažejo manjše razlike.

²⁹ Kienast 1990, 77.

³⁰ Mráv 2001, 92–93.

³¹ Neobjavljeni rezultati analiz, ki jih je opravil H. W. Müller. Za podatek se lepo zahvaljujem Bojanu Djuriću.

Vsa ta dejstva njegovo hipotezo vsaj zelo omajejo, če je že povsem ne ovržejo.

Predlagani kontekst prvotne postavitve obeh spomenikov temelji v največji meri na najdiščnih podatkih, kajti oba sta bila izkopana; to bi pomenilo, da sta bila vsaj teoretično najdena blizu kraja, kjer sta bila nekoč postavljena. Vendar pa so rimski kamni problematični prav zato, ker so bili tako pogosto ponovno uporabljeni že v antiki. Smiselno je še enkrat natančno preučiti okoliščine najdbe obeh spomenikov. Prvi je del marmorne plošče, ki je razbit na 15 manjših kosov različnih velikosti, ki se dajo sestaviti (79 × 82 × 3,5 cm; višina črk: 11,5–7,0 cm; predvidena velikost naj bi bila pribl. 0,79 × 3,50 m).³² Izkopan je bil v Ljubljani leta 1887, na globini enega metra, ko so prestavljali cevi za vodovod na današnjem Trgu francoske revolucije, na vogalu s Salendrovo ulico.³³ Morda je bil del plošče odkrit blizu mesta, kjer je bila prvotno vzdana, vendar nikakor ni nujno, da so bila to glavna vrata v mestnem obzidju.

Drugi spomenik je odlomljena marmorna plošča, od katere je ohranjen le fragment iz sredine spodnjega dela, poleg tega pa še majhen odlomek profiliranega roba plošče (49 × 74 × 4,7 cm; višina črk: 11–9 cm). Odkrita je bila leta 1911 med izkopavanji Emone, ki jih je vodil Walter Schmid, in sicer v najbolj recentni kulturni plasti v jugovzhodnem kotu hiše IV, ki jo je Schmid poimenoval “zlatarjeva hiša”;³⁴ stala je nedaleč od južnega mestnega obzidja. Kamen gotovo ni bil najden *in situ*, kajti morali so ga prinesli v to hišo skupaj s štirimi oltarji,³⁵ ko je le-ta nehala obstajati kot stanovanjska hiša in/ali delavnica. V času nevarnosti je bila po vsej verjetnosti spremenjena v neke vrste skladišče, kamor so, kot vse kaže, prebivalci v naglici prinašali gradbeni material, morda zato, da bi popravili obzidje.³⁶ Kamniti spomeniki, ki so bili odkriti med izkopavanji, so bili prislonjeni na steno v sobi 8. Glede na navedene podatke o najdiščih obeh vladarskih napisov je gotovo pre nagljeno sklepati o njuni prvotni legi.

Saria je bil mnenja, da sta napisa pomembni pričevanja o ustanovitvi rimske kolonije v Emoni, kajti napačno je povezal gradnjo rimskega obzidja z ustanovitvijo kolonije, ne glede na to, da na na-

³² Šašel 1970, 122 op. 1 (1992, 285 op. 1).

³³ RINMS 34. Prej Nemški trg se je pred 2. svetovno vojno imenoval Napoleonov trg.

³⁴ RINMS 35.

³⁵ RINMS št. 17, 26, 27, 28.

³⁶ Cuntz 1913, 195–200 št. 5, sl. 5, risba sl. 6 (prim. 203–204 št. 9 in Schmid 1913, str. 103).

pisu obzidje sploh ni omenjeno. Nosilec vrhovne oblasti (*imperium*) v času republike oz. pozneje vladar je lahko mestu odobril gradnjo obzidja ob raznih priložnostih, ki nikakor niso bile povezane z ustanovitvijo mesta, za kar obstaja več paralel.³⁷ Mráv gradnje obzidja povsem pravilno ni povezoval z ustanovitvijo kolonije v Emoni; nastanek kolonije je datiral v avgustejsko obdobje. Nekateri pa vseeno menijo, da vendarle obstaja bolj tesna povezava med ustanovitvijo kolonije in gradnjo novega mesta na levem bregu Ljubljaničice (*urbs quadrata*), ki je bilo obzidano.³⁸ Zato ni odveč, da se glede na novo razlago virov, ki so nam na razpolago, in deloma tudi glede na nova odkritja ponovno soočimo s problematiko nastanka kolonije.

KDAJ JE EMONA POSTALA RIMSKA KOLONIJA?

Zelo dolgo je prevladovalo mnenje, da je bila Emona tabor 15. Apolonove legije (*legio XV Apollinaris*), preden se je le-ta preselila v Karnunt (*Carnuntum*); obstoj legijskega tabora v Emoni bi namreč pomenil, da mesto pred odhodom legije ne bi moglo postati kolonija. Dolgo časa je prevladovalo prepričanje, da se je to zgodilo pod Tiberijem, po uporabi panonskih legij, ko naj bi 15. legija odšla v Karnunt.³⁹ Ta teza je temeljila predvsem na zelo vplivnem članku Balduina Sarie, v katerem je dokazoval, da je bila Emona vojaški tabor 15. Apolonove legije.⁴⁰ András Mócsy je v članku o Panoniji v *Realencyclopädie* celo zapisal: "Die Gründungszeit hat B. Saria Laureae Aquincenses I 252 ff. endgültig auf Tiberius festsetzen können. Die Gründung erfolgte durch Ansiedlung von Veteranen der Legio XV Apollinaris ...".⁴¹ Ša-

šel, ki je smatral, da Emona ni bila nikdar (stalni) legijski tabor niti veteranska kolonija, je v svojih zgodnjih prispevkih vendarle podobno menil, da je bila Emona kot kolonija ustanovljena po odločitvi Avgusta in Tiberija na samem začetku vladanja drugega cesarja;⁴² pozneje pa je svoje mnenje spremenil in ustanovitev kolonije postavil v čas Oktavijana ali Avgusta.⁴³

Sariev glavni dokaz, da bi v Emoni obstajal legijski tabor, preden je mesto postalo kolonija, je bil nagrobnik (morda kenotaf) Tita Junija Montana (*T. Iunius Montanus*; sl. 7).⁴⁴ Montan, ki je bil vpisan v volilno okrožje (*tribus*) *Aniensis* – njegova družina je verjetno izvirala iz Aleksandrije v Troadi –,⁴⁵ je bil šestkrat vojaški tribun, šestkrat prefekt konjenice, dvakrat načelnik obrtnikov (inženirjev) in dvakrat namestnik legata (*pro legato*). Funkcijo *pro legato* so prej razlagali kot funkcijo namestnika legijskega poveljnika, tako tudi Saria, ki je domneval, da je Montan poveljeval 15. Apolonovi legiji; to bi pomenilo, da bi bila Emona zelo verjetno vojaški tabor te legije. Vendar pa je Šašel natančno analiziral funkcijo *pro legato* in zaključil, da ta naziv ni pomenil legijskega poveljnika, temveč oficirja viteškega stanu, ki je opravljal različne vojaške, tehnične, predvsem pa administrativne funkcije z nalogo, da bi utrdil rimsko oblast na območjih, ki so bila šele nedavno osvojena in priključena imperiju;⁴⁶ podobnega mnenja je tudi Hubert Devijver.⁴⁷ Skupina teh oficirjev, vključno s Titom Junijem Montanom, je dokumentirana v času Avgusta v alpskih deželah in v Iliriku.

Še več poznejših študij je pokazalo, da Sarievi zaključki niso pravilni, saj jim nasprotuje epigrafsko, numizmatično in drugo arheološko gradivo.⁴⁸ Končno pa se je celo izkazalo, da je bila 15. Apolonova legija predstavljena v Karnunt šele za vlade cesarja Kaligule ali Klavdija.⁴⁹ Nove raziskave in nova odkritja mečejo drugačno luč na zgodovino legije v času, ko je bila nameščena v Iliriku.⁵⁰

³⁷ Npr. *ILS* 2702: kolonija *Fanum Fortunae*, ustanovljena v času triumvirata, je dobila obzidje pod Avgustom leta 9 ali 10. Najbližji primer je Tergeste, verjetno pod Cezarjem ustanovljena kolonija, ki je dobila obzidje pod Oktavijanom leta 33–32 pr. Kr., *CIL* V 525 = *Ins. It.* 10.4, 20 (*Lupa* 16234); glej Zaccaria 1992, 152 in 213, k št. 20; Harl, v Harl, Niederstätter 2011, 701–714.

³⁸ Kovács v Bence, Kovács 2005, 206–207; Gaspari 2010, 147–148.

³⁹ Šašel Kos 1995, op. 3, s starejšimi citati, med katerimi glej Pavan 1955, 382; Degrossi 1954, 110–111; Alföldy 1974, 57; Mócsy 1974, 74–76; Fitz 1980, 143; pa tudi Šašel 1968, 564–565 (1992, 572–573).

⁴⁰ Saria 1938; id. 1939, 119–121; id. 1941.

⁴¹ Mócsy 1962, 596. Sariev članek (1938) je imel zelo močan vpliv na kasnejše zgodovinopisje, glej op. 3 v Šašel Kos 1995.

⁴² Šašel 1968, 564–565 (1992, 572–573).

⁴³ Šašel 1989 (1992), 708, 710.

⁴⁴ *AIJ* 173 = *RINMS* 36.

⁴⁵ Halfmann 1979, 103 št. 6a.

⁴⁶ Šašel 1974.

⁴⁷ Devijver 1992.

⁴⁸ Diskusija pri Šašel Kos 1995; Schmid 1941; Šašel 1968, 561–566; Wells 1974; Kos 1986, 54–56; Šašel Kos 1998a; Plesničar-Gec 1998; Plesničar Gec 1999, 100–106; Vičič 2003, 23–24; Gaspari 2010, 113 ss.

⁴⁹ Kandler 2004, 16; Mosser 2002, 123; Gassner, Jilek, v Gassner, Jilek, Ladstätter 2002, 60–63.

⁵⁰ Mosser 2003.

Vendar pa dejstvo, da Emona zelo verjetno nikdar ni bila dalj časa legijski tabor, ne pomeni, da v mestu ali njegovi neposredni bližini v času vojn niso bili utaborjeni v pohodnih oz. kratkotrajnih vojaških taborih vojaki iz 15. legije ali iz drugih enot.⁵¹ Ko se je začela Cezarjeva galska vojna, so bile npr. tri legije utaborjene pri Akvileji (*Bell. Gall.* 1, 10, 3), občasno pa so na akvilejskem območju tudi prezimile. Podobno je bil v času Tiberijeve panonske vojne (12–8 pr. Kr.) vojaški tabor postavljen v Emoni ali tik pri mestu, na današnjih Prulah (Tribuna), Emona pa je nedvomno služila tudi kot važna logistična baza.⁵² Rečna vojaška pot po Ljubljani (z antičnim imenom *Nauportus*) je igrala pomembno vlogo že med Oktavijanovo ilirsko vojno v letih 35–33 pr. Kr., posebej pa še v času Tiberijevega osvajanja Ilirika,⁵³ kar je *eo ipso* pomenilo, da je moralo biti v Emoni važno pristanišče. Prisotnost vojaštva je bila nedvomno zelo močna tudi v času panonsko-dalmatinskega upora v letih 6–9 po Kr. Izkopavanja so odkrila tudi drugo fazo vojaškega tabora na Prulah; zidovi starejšega tabora so bili porušeni, oba jarka zasuta, na to pa so postavili lesene barake.⁵⁴

Mommsen je menil, da je Emona postala kolonija že pod Oktavijanom, nekaj deset let za Tergestom; Tergeste je bilo verjetno kolonija v času Cezarja.⁵⁵ Primeren datum bi bil v letih po bitki pri Akciju leta 31 pr. Kr., ko je Oktavijan dve leti po koncu svoje ilirske vojne premagal Antonija, in verjetno pred letom 27 pr. Kr., ko so mu v senatu podelili ime *Augustus*;⁵⁶ v teh letih je namreč moral poskrbeti za zelo veliko število iz vojske odpuščenih veteranov. Dejansko ni ničesar, kar bi nasprotovalo tej tezi;⁵⁷ Emona je bila v vsakem primeru ustanovljena kot rimska kolonija na italjskih tleh.⁵⁸ To časovno umestitev je sprejel z nekaj dodatnimi argumenti Claudio Zaccaria, ki je nedavno predlagal, da bi teritorij na levem bregu Soče (predvsem območje

Mosta na Soči) pripadal upravnemu ozemlju kolonije Emone.⁵⁹

Mesto po vsej verjetnosti ni bilo veteranska kolonija, saj so bili doslej vsega skupaj najdeni le štirje nagrobniki veteranov 8. in 15. legije, pozneje znanih kot 8. *Augusta* in 15. *Apollinaris*. Večino emonskega prebivalstva so predstavljali civilisti, kolonisti, ki so prišli iz različnih mest Italije, predvsem iz severne Italije in iz Akvileje.⁶⁰ Med kolonisti je bilo verjetno tudi nekaj takih, ki jih je Oktavijan/Avgust razlastil, da so se na njihove domove in posestva lahko naselili veterani iz njegovih in Antonijevih številnih legij. To se je zgodilo npr. Horacijevi družini (*Epist.*, 2, 2, 46–51), ki je bila pregnana z lastnega doma. Na nobenem nagrobniku iz Emone ne piše, da bi bil kdo *deductus coloniam*, kot je to npr. znano za veterane iz Savarije,⁶¹ vedeti pa je treba, da je bilo veliko veteranov naseljenih tudi v drugih mestih, ki niso bila veteranske kolonije, tako npr. v Akvileji.⁶²

Težko je določiti, kdaj točno je v Emoni nastala kolonija; naziv kolonije, *colonia Iulia*, sta novo ustanovljenim mestom podeljevala Cezar in Oktavijan (do leta 27 pr. Kr.),⁶³ le redko pa je mestom podelil ime *Iulia* tudi Avgust.⁶⁴ Tako ne more biti povsem izključeno, da je bila Emona morda ustanovljena v času njegovega vladanja, morda na samem začetku.⁶⁵ Na drugi strani pa ni nedvoumnega dokaza za to, da bi naziv *Iulia* dobila mesta, ki bi bila ustanovljena pod Tiberijem ali Kaligulo.⁶⁶ V primeru Emone se zdi najverjetneje, da ime *Iulia* kaže na to, da je mesto ustanovil Oktavijan. Volilno okrožje (*tribus*) *Claudia*, v katero je bila vpisana večina emonskih prebivalcev z rimskim državljanstvom, časovno ni

⁵⁹ Zaccaria 2010, 108–109; id. 2007, 137–139.

⁶⁰ Šašel 1968, 564–565 (1992, 572–573); Keppie 1984, 77–79, je menil, da je bila veteranska kolonija; prim. Gaspari 2010, 144, ki je negotov.

⁶¹ Balla et al. 1971, št. 95 = Tóth 2011, št. 201 = *Lupa* 3339; Balla et al. 1971, št. 96 = Tóth 2011, št. 211 = *Lupa* 3335.

⁶² *Inscr. Aquil.*: glej indekse za veterane in vojake različnega ranga.

⁶³ Christol, Heijmans 1992, 41–44; prim. tudi Kraft 1957, 91.

⁶⁴ Galsterer-Kröll 1972, 65–70; Vittinghoff 1977, 10. Naslov so podeljevali tudi mnogo kasnejši cesarji. K urbanizaciji pod Cezarjem in Avgustom glej tudi Brunt 1971, 234 ss in v dodatkih 15–17; prim. Keppie 1983, 46, 209.

⁶⁵ Nedavno je bilo predlagano leto 14 pr. Kr.: Strobel 2010, 366; prim. Strobel 2011, 206–207, 226.

⁶⁶ Prim. Galsterer-Kröll 1972, 70; Šašel 1992 (1987), 662 in op. 2; Tiberijevega politika urbanizacije ni jasna, kljub članku Alföldy 1961.

⁵¹ Šašel 1968, 562 ss (1992, 571 ss); Gaspari 2010, 121 ss. V avgustejskem času so bile legije še precej mobilne, koncept stalnih taborov se je šele začel razvijati, glej Eck 2010, 28.

⁵² Hvalec et al. 2009; Miškec 2009; Gaspari 2010, 113 ss.

⁵³ Istenič 2009; ead. 2009a.

⁵⁴ Hvalec et al. 2009, 4.

⁵⁵ *CIL* III, str. 489; Gregori 1990, 223; Frascchetti 1975; Zaccaria 1992, 152.

⁵⁶ Levick 2010, 72 ss.

⁵⁷ Šašel 1970, 123–124 (1992, 286–287), ni videl ničesar, kar bi odločilno govorilo proti tej dataciji.

⁵⁸ Šašel 1989 (1992); Šašel Kos 2003; ead. 2002a.

opredeljivo in je pogosto povezano z mesti, ki jih je ustanovil Klavdij.⁶⁷ V vzhodni Venetiji je npr. dokumentirano za Konkordijo (*Concordia*), ki jo je ustanovil bodisi Cezar bodisi Oktavijan, in za Julij Karnik (*Iulium Carnicum*), ki je zelo verjetno postal rimski municipij pod Oktavijanom.⁶⁸ Volilno okrožje *Iulia*, ki se včasih pojavi pri pretorijancih iz Emone, navedenih na seznamih pretorijancev v Rimu, je dejansko napačno, gre za tako imenovano psevdookrožje, ki so ga pomotoma izpeljali iz imena kolonije.⁶⁹

So pa še drugi argumenti, ki bi govorili v prid zgodnji ustanovitvi kolonije v Emoni. Oktavijan/Avgust je morda z ustanovitvijo zadnjega rimskega mesta v Italiji želel utrditi rimsko oblast na območju, ki je mejilo z Ilirikom.⁷⁰ Pola v Istriji je bila stara kolonija iz časa Cezarja,⁷¹ medtem ko je bil Parencij (*Parentium*) ustanovljen po vsej verjetnosti kot kolonija pod Oktavijanom.⁷² V zaledju Akvileje so bila tri območja strateško zelo pomembna za varnost Italije v času Cezarja in v zgodnjih letih Avgustove vlade: teritorij Julija Karnika (*Iulium Carnicum*), Tergesta-Egide (*Aegida*) in Navporta-Emone. Tergeste je bilo kot kolonija skoraj gotovo ustanovljeno za časa Cezarja.⁷³ Kot je bilo že omenjeno, je *Iulium Carnicum* zelo verjetno postal municipij pod Oktavijanom.⁷⁴ Mesto je ležalo na mejnem prostoru z Norikom, medtem ko je bila Emona blizu mej Norika in Ilirika (poznejše Panonije); ustanovitev Emone bi bila v skladu s programom urbanizacije mejnih območij.

Dejstvo pa je, da je do danes odkritega arheološkega gradiva, ki bi podpiralo zgodnjeavgustejsko naselitev v Emoni, zelo malo, zato ostaja z arheološkega vidika zgodnja datacija kolonije še odprta. V vsakem primeru lahko domnevamo, da je kolonija

v Emoni že obstajala v času Tiberijeve panonske vojne, kar posredno potrjuje dejstvo, da so v njej prebivali talci; znano je namreč, da je v Emoni v reki utonil desetletni deček [*S]cemaes* (morda [*S]cenas?*) iz ljudstva panonskih Amantinov.⁷⁵ Njegov nagrobnik, dejansko gre za kenotaf, je bil najden v v Putincih (Srem) na območju antičnih Basian (*Bassianae*). Najverjetneje se nanaša na Tiberijevo diplomatska pogajanja z Amantini v času panonske vojne (12–8 pr. Kr.)⁷⁶ in ne na panonsko-dalmatinski upor (6–9 po Kr.), ko je bilo treba nanagloma zajezi invazijo upornikov in odbiti njihove napade, za diplomacijo pa ni preostalo veliko časa. Talce so običajno poslali na italško ozemlje,⁷⁷ predvsem zaradi varnosti, saj je šlo za otroke uglednih družin tujih ljudstev, deloma pa tudi zato, da so se seznanili z rimsko kulturo in načinom življenja. Če je torej ok. leta 14 pr. Kr. (ko zgodovinarji poročajo o prvih uporih v Iliriku) kolonija že obstajala, se zdi najprimernejša priložnost za njeno ustanovitev obdobje po bitki pri Akciju, ko so se po Oktavijanovi ilirski vojni v letih 35–33 pr. Kr. razmere v Iliriku stabilizirale. Ustanovitev kolonije blizu meje z Ilirikom bi nedvomno veliko prispevala k varnosti Italije.

Zakaj Emona ni omenjena pri Veleju Paterkulu, ko opisuje strateški načrt upornikov leta 6 po Kr., po katerem naj bi del uporniške vojske napadel Italijo čez obmejno območje Navporta in Tergesta (2, 110, 4)?⁷⁸ Prvič, njegova *Zgodovina* je bila napisana predvsem kot literarno delo, posvečena je bila Marku Viniciju, konzulu leta 30 po Kr., in namenjena predvsem njemu, pripoved je zelo sežeta, z ambicijo, da bi bila poučna, in zato s poudarkom na glavnih akterjih, ki so vplivali na zgodovinski potek dogodkov.⁷⁹ Topografske podrobnosti so bile drugotnega pomena. Drugič, Navport (ki je bil legendarna postaja na povratku argonavtov) je bil bližje Italiji in bil je z obzidjem utrjena vas;⁸⁰ podoben je bil mestu, bržkone celo bolj kot Emona, ki tedaj še ni imela obzidja. Ko Tacit opisuje upor legij v Iliriku jeseni leta 14 po Kr., kmalu po

⁶⁷ Forni 1956a (2006); id. 1956b (2006).

⁶⁸ Zaccaria 2010, 104. K dataciji: Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 303–306; Zaccaria 1995, 180–181.

⁶⁹ Šašel 1968, 564 (1992, 572); Forni 1985, str. 57–58 (št. A 49–53), p. 86–87 (št. 234–243).

⁷⁰ Šašel Kos 1995; ead. 2003.

⁷¹ Fraschetti 1983; Keppie 1983, 203–204; Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 387–388; Starac 1999, 133–135.

⁷² Laffi 2007, 57, 130, 140; Bandelli 2008, 730, sprejme Laffijevo hipotezo da *Parentium* nikdar ni bil municipij. K Parenciju glej tudi Šašel 1992 (1987); Tassaux 1986; Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 370–372; Starac 1999, 125–133; prim. Keppie 1983, 202 f.

⁷³ Fraschetti 1975; Zaccaria 1992, 152.

⁷⁴ Kolonija je mesto postalo morda pod Avgustom, Mainardis 1994, 78–79; ali Klavdijem, Zaccaria 2010, 107. Po mnenju Gregorija 2001, 172–175, ni bilo nikdar kolonija, kar se zdi manj verjetno: Mainardis 2008, 40–41.

⁷⁵ *CIL* III 3224; Dušanić 1967, 67–69 (2010, 818–826); glej tudi Mikl-Curk 1996.

⁷⁶ Dušanić, *l. c.*; tudi Čače 1985, 601. Panonska vojna se zdi najverjetnejša priložnost, medtem ko je prej predlagana Oktavijanova ilirska vojna gotovo prezgodaj.

⁷⁷ Scardigli 1994.

⁷⁸ *Pars petere Italiam decreverat iunctam sibi Nauporti ac Tergestis confinio.*

⁷⁹ Njegovo delo z literarno-narativnega vidika oceni Schmitzer 2000.

⁸⁰ Mušič, Horvat 2007.

Avgustovi smrti, za Navport dejansko pravi, da je bil podoben mestu (*Ann.* 1, 20: *municipii instar*). Tudi on ne omenja Emone, ker se mu to preprosto ni zdelo potrebno. Poimensko ni omenil niti vojaških taborov upornih legij, niti njihovih stalnih zimskih taborov (šlo je za legije *XV Apollinaris*, *VIII Augusta* in *IX Hispana*),⁸¹ niti poletnega tabora, kjer so bile vse tri nameščene v času upora in v času prihoda Tiberijevega sina Druza (*Drusus*), ki je bil poslan, da bi zatrl upor. Če se Tacitu ni zdelo vredno omeniti središča upora in destinacije cesarjevega sina, nas res ne sme presenetiti, da je izpustil omembo Emone. Vojaki so bili poslani v akvilejsko vas Navport gradit ceste in mostove ter izvrševati še dodatne naloge, kar bi morda lahko vključevalo tudi kakšna gradbena dela v Emoni, vsekakor pa to ni omenjeno.

Doslej odkrito arheološko gradivo, tudi med izkopavanji zadnjih let, ki so deloma še neobjavljena,⁸² kaže, da je treba zgodnjo fazo kolonije iskati predvsem izven utrjenega pravokotnega mesta, ki so ga verjetno zgradili pozno pod Avgustom in v prvih letih Tiberijeve vlade.⁸³ Gradnja mesta s pravilnim rastrom ulic, ki so razmejevale *insulae*, nikakor ne izključuje obstoj zgodnejše poselitve izven tega območja, posebej, ker ni nujno, da bi bila ta prvotna rimska naselbina velika. Povprečna kolonija je v tistem času sicer štela 3000 prebivalcev,⁸⁴ lahko pa jih je bilo tudi precej manj; Emona je bila verjetno majhna kolonija, posebej še na začetku obstoja. Ljubljansko območje je bilo poseljeno od eneolitika naprej; Emona je predrimsko krajevno ime in zelo verjetno je v pozni železni dobi na prostoru naselbine domačinov na desnem bregu Ljublanice (antičnega Navporta) obstajal rimski emporij. Ta je nastal verjetno v času Cezarja ali kmalu po njegovi smrti, ko so v bližnjem Navportu ustanovili rimsko vas (*vicus*).⁸⁵ Ti dve naselbini sta bili strateško zelo pomembni pri organizaciji trgovanja po Ljublanici in Savi, pri kateri so bili vsaj delno udeleženi poleg domačinov Tavriskov tudi rimski trgovci; obe naselbini sta morali imeti tudi ustrezni pristanišči, Emona jih je imela verjetno več.

⁸¹ Legija *VIII Augusta* je imela tabor v Petovionii, *XV Apollinaris* verjetno v Sisciji, *IX Hispana* pa morda v Sirmiju, glej Šašel Kos 1995, 237.

⁸² Gaspari 2010, 25 ss.

⁸³ Šašel 1953; Plesničar Gec 1999, 43 ss; Vičič 2003, 27; prim. Gaspari 2010, 78 ss.

⁸⁴ Brunt 1971, 259–260. Prim. Gaspari 2010, 136.

⁸⁵ Horvat 1990 (vključno s poglavjem Šašel Kos o virih in napisih); Horvat 2009.

Naselbino na desnem bregu Ljublanice je Šašel domneval na osnovi (sporadičnih) keltskih in rimskih novcev iz 2. in 1. stoletja pr. Kr., zakladne najdbe keltskih novcev iz Gradaščice na območju Trnovega⁸⁶ in drugih arheoloških najdb, ki so dokazovale keltsko poselitev na prostoru Trnovega, Šentjakoba in Prul. Sledove je ugotavljal tudi na območju blizu severne nekropole, srednjeavgu-stejsko poselitev pa tudi na območju obzidanega mesta (*intra muros*).⁸⁷ To tezo podpirajo arheološka izkopavanja na območju Gornjega trga,⁸⁸ prihodnje raziskave na prostoru srednjeveškega mesta pa jo bodo gotovo še dodatno osvetlile, čeprav je ravno srednjeveška poselitev uničila predhodno naselbino. Medtem so nedavna in tekoča izkopavanja odkrila kratkotrajna vojaška tabora in gotovo lahko pričakujemo še nova pomembna odkritja. Prvi Rimljani, ki so se naselili na območju Emone, so si verjetno raje izbrali prostor na desnem bregu, prvi trgovci zato, ker je tam že obstajala naselbina domačinov, s katerimi so trgovali, prvi kolonisti pa verjetno zato, ker je domače prebivalstvo na levem bregu dolga stoletja pokopavalo svoje mrtve. Poleg nekropole iz pozne bronaste in starejše železne dobe so arheologi nedavno odkrili pokope pod gomilami iz starejše železne dobe⁸⁹ – levi breg je bil namenjen prebivališču mrtvih. Razlaščenim Italikom in drugim kolonistom, med njimi tudi nekaj veteranom, je država morala ponuditi nove domove, po možnosti na italjski zemlji. Cvetoč emporij v Emoni, s strateško ugodno lego, je v primernem trenutku postal rimska kolonija.

Tezo o zgodnji rimski poselitvi Emone večjega obsega podpira poznorepublikanski nagrobnik akvilejskega sevira (član združenja šestih visokih mestnih uradnikov) Tita Cezernija Difila (*T. Caesernius Diphilus*), osvobojenca Tita Cezernija Asupe (*Assupa*), ki si je dal postaviti nagrobni spomenik še za življenja (*sl.* 8).⁹⁰ V Emoni je živel in želel biti pokopan v mestu, kjer je bil morda kot *sevir* udeležen pri organiziranju mestne uprave, kultov in infrastrukture. Nagrobnik, ki je iz nabrežinskega apnenca, je bil najden 3 metre pod dnom

⁸⁶ Šašel 1968, 542 (1992, 560); 569 (1992, 575); Kos 1977, 53 (novcev v muzeju niso našli).

⁸⁷ Šašel 1968, 542–543 (1992, 560–561); glej za prostor foruma tudi Plesničar 2006, 21 ss, 65; in Kos 2006, 71–72.

⁸⁸ Vičič 1993; id. 1994; id. 2002; id. 2003, 22–23.

⁸⁹ <http://www.arheologijaljubljane.si/2012/arheologina-kongresnem-trgu-in-v-parku-zvezda/>

⁹⁰ *AIJ* 176 = *RINMS* 3: *T. Caesernius / Assupae l. Diphilus / Aquileiae sex/vir v(ivus) s(ibi) f(ecit). Dignus l(ibertus) v(ivus)*.

Ljubljance v območju Novega trga. Giovanni Brusin ga je datiral v avgustejsko obdobje,⁹¹ vendar je lahko starejši, iz časa ok. 30 pr. Kr. ali celo še zgodnejši,⁹² verjetno predstavlja del mavzoleja,⁹³ prav gotovo pa je najstarejši doslej odkriti napis v Emoni. Cezerniji so dobro znani z napisov, so ena najboljše dokumentiranih družin v Emoni, kamor so se vsaj deloma verjetno priselili iz Akvileje.⁹⁴ Njihovo ekonomsko moč ne nazadnje dokazuje veliko število osvobodencev. Difilov nekdanji gospodar in zavetnik (*patronus*) je bil Tit Cezernij Asupa, ki je imel je domorodno ime,⁹⁵ tudi on je bil verjetno osvobodjenec.⁹⁶ Primer teh Cezernijev kaže, da so bili posamezniki iz vrst domačinskega prebivalstva, ki so dobro poznali geografijo, naravne vire dežele in družbeno strukturo lokalnih naselbin v zaledju Akvileje, dejavno udeleženi pri procesu kolonizacije. Med novo naseljenimi Rimljani pa jih je bilo veliko nedvomno trgovcev, ki so prepoznali velike ekonomske možnosti rimskega mesta blizu mej nedavno osvojenih provinc;⁹⁷ gotovo se jih je veliko naselilo v Emoni iz tega razloga.

Če povzamem, je jasno, da Emona ni bila nikdar mesto v Panoniji; najprej je pripadala Cisalpinski Galiji, ko pa je ta leta 41 pr. Kr. nehala biti provinca, pa Italiji. Mejnik iz Bevk, ki je dokazal, da je bila Emona italsko mesto, s tega stališča ni presenetljiv, pravzaprav je le potrdil dobro utemeljeno hipotezo. Presenetljiv je zato, ker z napisa na njem izhaja, da je upravno ozemlje Akvileje segalo vse do Bevk in vključevalo Navport. Ni pa dovolj virov, na osnovi katerih bi lahko zamejili čas, ko je Emona postala rimska kolonija. Predlagani časovni termini segajo od časa Oktavijana po bitki pri Akciju, ko je bilo treba odpustiti ogromno število veteranov iz legij nekdanjih triumvirov, do začetka Tiberijevega vladanja. Ker so se dejansko vsi argumenti, s katerimi so dokazovali slednjo hipotezo, izkazali za napačne, je treba po vsej verjetnosti iskati *terminus ad quem* v času, malo preden je Oktavijan postal Avgust, s čimer bi se dobro ujemalo tudi ime kolonije, *Iulia*.

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⁹¹ Brusin 1956.

⁹² Ok. 30 pr. Kr.: G. Alföldy, ustno ob obisku lapidarija. Poznorepublikansko datacijo predlaga Šašel Kos 1998c; Tassaux 2000, 377 no. 19; 393; 402; Bandelli 2002, 18.

⁹³ Tassaux 2000, 377 no. 19; 402.

⁹⁴ Šašel 1960 (1992); Zaccaria 2006.

⁹⁵ Moška imena na *-a* so v Noriku dobro izpričana, glej Betz 1956, niso pa omejena le na to deželo.

⁹⁶ Zaccaria 2010, 453; manj verjetno je, da bi se kot član višjega sloja domorodnega prebivalstva naselil v Akvileji.

⁹⁷ Tassaux 2004, 170 ss.