

Barriers in the Julian Alps and *Notitia Dignitatum*

Zapore v Julijskih Alpah in *Notitia dignitatum*

Peter KOS

Izvleček

Avtor analizira opis in upodobitev funkcije *comes Italiae* v priročniku *Notitia dignitatum* iz začetka 5. stoletja in ugotavlja, da pod izrazom *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* ni mogoče razumeti celotnega alpskega pasu od Ligurskega morja do Kvarnerskega zaliva. Predstavlja tudi argumente, da se lahko izraz nanaša samo na linijske zaporne zidove s stolpi v Julijskih Alpah iz 4. stoletja, za katere uporabljamo tudi poimenovanje Amijana Marcelina *claustra Alpium Iuliarum*. Izraz se ne more nanašati na globinsko obrambo, ki je bila vzpostavljena po prenehanju delovanja linijskih zapor v začetku 5. stoletja. V *Notitia dignitatum* omenjenih treh legij *Iuliae Alpinae*, ki jih prav zaradi naziva povezujemo z Julijskimi Alpami, pa ne moremo vzporejati s funkcijo *comes Italiae*.

Ključne besede: *tractus Italiae circa Alpes*, *Notitia dignitatum*, *claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, 4. in 5. stoletje

Abstract

The author analyses the description and depiction of the function of the *comes Italiae* in the manual *Notitia Dignitatum* from the beginning of the 5th century, and establishes that the term *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* cannot be understood to mean the entire Alpine belt from the Ligurian Sea to the Bay of Kvarner. The argument is also presented that the expression refers only to the line of barrier walls with towers in the Julian Alps from the 4th century, for which the term from Ammianus Marcellinus is also used, i.e. *claustra Alpium Iuliarum*. The expression need not refer to the system of defence-in-depth that was placed after the cease in activity of the linear barriers at the beginning of the 5th century. The three legions of the *Iuliae Alpinae* mentioned by the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which must be related to the Julian Alps because of this name, cannot be connected to the function of *comes Italiae*.

Keywords: *Tractus Italiae circa Alpes*, *Notitia Dignitatum*, *claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, 4th and 5th centuries

TRACTUS ITALIAE CIRCA ALPES

Roman writers used numerous terms for the defensive line of barrier walls in the Julian Alps, so that the term *claustra Alpium Iuliarum* is only one of the names (cf. *Tab. 1*) – Šašel referred to it as a technical expression¹ – and this appears to

justify the conclusion that an official name for the barrier did not even exist.²

It seems that the only mention of the defensive system in the Julian Alps in an official Roman

¹ Šašel 1970–1971, 38 (= Šašel 1992, 733).

² In ancient geographic sources, the Julian Alps encompassed almost all the border areas between the Apennine and Balkan peninsulas, and extended from the Carnic Alps to the Kvarner Bay: Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 72–81.

Tab. 1: Names for the walled barriers in various texts.

Tab. 1: Poimenovanje zidanih zapor pri različnih avtorjih.

Mentions of the barrier ¹ Poimenovanje zapor	Year referred to Leto, na katerega se nanaša vir	Author Avtor
claustra Alpium Iuliarum ²	352	Ammianus Marcellinus
'Alpeon teichos palaion ³	352	Iulianus
Alpium vallum ⁴	375, 388	Sanctus Ambrosius
murus Alpibus ⁵	388	Sanctus Ambrosius
Iulia claustra ⁶	388	Pacatus Drepanius
claustra ⁷	388	Paulus Orosius
claustra ⁸ semirutae turres, ⁹ moenia, ¹⁰ vallum, ¹¹ munita loca ¹²	394	Claudius Claudianus
claustra Italiae ¹³	401	Rufinus Turranius
tractus Italiae circa Alpes ¹⁴	early 5 th cent. / zgodnje 5. st.	<i>Notitia Dignitatum</i>

¹ Only the expressions are listed that refer to walled barriers. /Navedena so le poimenovanja, ki se nanašajo na zidane linijske obrambne zapore.

² Amm. Marc. 31. 11. 3.

³ Iul., *Oratio* 3. 17.

⁴ Ambros., *Ep.* 40. 22.

⁵ Ambros., *De obitu Valentiniani* 2.

⁶ Pac., *Theodosio Augusto* 12. 30. 2.

⁷ Oros. 7. 35. 3.

⁸ Claud., *De tertio consulatu Honorii* 92.

⁹ Claud., *Prob. et Olybr.* 109.

¹⁰ Claud. *Prob. et Olybr.* 109.

¹¹ Claud., *De tertio consulatu Honorii* 91.

¹² Claud., *De tertio consulatu Honorii* 91.

¹³ E. Schwarz, T. Mommsen (eds. / ur.), *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*, 1908, IX 2, 951.

¹⁴ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXVIII (Faleiro 2005, 423).

document is represented by the expression *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* in the manual *Notitia dignitatum tam civilium quam militarium in partibus orientis / occidentis* (further *ND*),³ although the Julian Alps and the defensive barriers were not explicitly mentioned.

The late Roman manual *Notitia Dignitatum*, which provides an overview of the high civil and military officials both for the eastern (*Or.*) and the western (*Occ.*) parts of the Late Roman Empire, was preserved in only a few copies made in the 15th and 16th centuries on the basis of a medieval manuscript from the 9th–10th centuries, the *Codex Spirensis*, which among other documents also contained the *ND*, but was lost in the 17th century.

The *ND* represents the only preserved source for the study of the administrative and military history of the 4th and 5th centuries. It should be noted that because of numerous open questions it remains highly problematic as a source.

While as a manual with a list of functions for the eastern part of the Empire (*Or.*), which they had ceased to modify around the year 400, fairly faithfully reflects the situation around the year 394, the list for the western part of the Empire (*Occ.*), because of numerous supplements and corrections that were entered in it up to around 425, does not reflect the actual state in the western part of the Empire at any given period.⁴ The *ND* manual, such as we know it, is most likely a document composed from various manuals produced in various periods,⁵ although the basic original document probably was created during the reign of Theodosius. According to numerous researchers, it was more of an ideological text whose purpose was to propagate the unity of the Empire, and not a document that would serve as an aid to administration.⁶ Thus the considerable confusion is not greatly surprising in the list of military units that at least broadly represent

⁴ Kulikowski 2000, 360.

⁵ Brennan 1995.

⁶ Kulikowski 2000, 360.

³ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXVIII (Faleiro 2005, 423).



Fig. 1: The illustration of the function of *comes Italiae* in the manual *Notitia Dignitatum*.

a – copy from 1542; b – copy from 1550–1551.

Sl. 1: Ilustracija funkcije *comes Italiae* v kopiji priročnika *Notitia dignitatum*.

a – kopija iz leta 1542; b – kopija iz leta 1550–1551.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München: a – Clm 10291, codex 1, fol. 154v; b – Clm 10291, codex 2, fol. 214v.

the state during the reign of Theodosius.⁷ The *ND* manual thus has only limited value as a historical source for the interpretation of conditions in the 4th and 5th centuries, particularly in the western part of the Empire, the location of the Julian Alps defensive system, and even as a whole, it should be treated with the greatest reserve.⁸

The best review of all open questions with a synthesis of all studies to the present was undoubtedly offered by Palme.⁹

It should be noted that closest to the illustrations in the original manuscript from the 9th–10th centuries (*Codex Spirensis*) are the drawings from the second version of the *ND* copy from 1550–1551 (containing only illustrations), which is kept in Munich (codex 2).¹⁰ In the first version of the *ND* copy from Munich, probably made in 1542 (codex

1),¹¹ the drawings were too updated and adjusted to the period, and hence reflect the architectural style of the 16th century, when the copy was made (Fig. 1a). The customer after acquiring the first version of the copy then requested a new version of the drawings to be as close as possible to the original (Fig. 1b).¹²

The term *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* appears in the *ND* on a drawing illustrating the function of the *comes Italiae* with a fortified town in Italy in the foreground, lying at the foot of mountains. Two lines of masonry walls were depicted in the mountains, fortified with parapets, each with a tower in the center, which undoubtedly represents a linear defensive barrier.¹³ Scholars have been

⁷ Kulikowski 2000, 375.

⁸ Kulikowski 2000, 376.

⁹ Palme 2011.

¹⁰ München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm 10291 (codex 2 = fol. 171–222). Maier 1969, 1006; Grigg 1987.

¹¹ München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm 10291 (codex 1 = fol. 1–170).

¹² Maier 1969, 999, 1025; Boudartchouk 2008, 49. A detailed comparative analysis of the illustration of *comes Italiae* in both Munich codexes is presented by Maier (1969, 1010–1011).

¹³ Boudartchouk 2008, 55.

united since the beginning of the 20th century that the depicted fortified town is *Aquileia*, and similarly that the depicted mountains are the Julian Alps.¹⁴ The depiction of two lines of walls with towers in the mountains thus undoubtedly represents the line of defence structures in the Julian Alps.¹⁵ Only on the basis of the depiction, which illustrates the function of the *comes Italiae*, can it be concluded that the expression *tractus* refers to a walled defensive structure, which it would not be possible to assume merely on the basis of the text.¹⁶

For the expression *tractus Italiae circa Alpes*, which is not defined in detail, various opinions have appeared in the literature in terms of its geographical location as well as its chronological determination.

Most frequently the opinion appears in the literature that the mentioned term encompasses an entire band across northern Italy, which would extend in an arc across the Alps from Nice, through the hinterland of Torino, Aosta, and Trento, all the way to the Bay of Kvarner.¹⁷ *Tractus Italiae circa Alpes* would in this way also encompass the defensible barriers, known, among other names, as the *claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, which would represent at least the eastern part of a large broader defence system.¹⁸ The linear barriers in the Julian Alps would thus be merely the most exposed part of the defensive system of *tractus Italiae circa Alpes*.¹⁹ Utilizing this hypothesis, Šašel also tried to reconstruct the defensive system mentioned by the *ND*, and divided it into six sections between Nice and Rijeka.²⁰ As evidence for the division of the defensive zone into sections, one of which was the Julian Alps, Šašel noted the fact that three legions *Iuliae Alpinae* were active throughout the entire zone.²¹

Along the entire alpine arc from the hinterland of Nice to the Julian Alps, remains of linear walled barriers with towers are documented only

in the region of the Julian Alps. For the other Alpine regions, Roman authors do not report about barriers, and no remains of linear defensive structures have been discovered in the field.²² In the Cottian Alps (*Alpes Cottiae*, Ital. *Alpi Cozie*) in the hinterland of the Roman town of *Segusium* (today Susa near Torino), where Šašel placed the *claustra Alpium Cottiarum*,²³ the barriers, for instance, were designed in a significantly different manner. They were not built as linear powerful walls with integrated towers, as they were depicted in the *ND*, rather the passage through the valley together with the fortified town was defended only by simple towers.²⁴

Already on the basis of these facts as well as the depiction on the drawing in the *ND* it can be concluded that the term *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* denotes only the linear barrier walls with towers in the Julian Alps.

The *ND* reported that the *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* came within the jurisdiction or under the command of the *comes Italiae* (*sub dispositione viri spectabilis*);²⁵ presumably his seat would have been in Aquileia, and his task would have been primarily the defence of the *tractus* in the northeastern Alps.²⁶ The function of *comes Italiae* was in fact first mentioned by the *ND*.²⁷

Scharf is convinced that the expression *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* does not denote, as could be concluded from the name, the entire northern Italic diocese *Italia annonaria*, but merely its northern border zone along the Alps. According to him, the term *comes Italiae* must be understood only as an expression for the command section on the northern border zone along the Alps,²⁸ which is explicitly stated in the *ND*: *Sub dispositione viri spectabilis comitis Italiae: Tractus Italiae circa Alpes*.²⁹ An identical term can be found in the mention of *comes Argentoratensis*, which described his presence as: *Sub dispositione viri spectabilis comitis Argentoratensis: Tractus Argentoratensis*.³⁰

The mention of the commands for *Argentoratum* (today Straßburg) and Italy are listed in the *ND*

¹⁴ Evidence provided by Degraasi 1954, 151.

¹⁵ Hoffmann 1970, 22; Bosio 1979, 525–526; Zaccaria 1981, 81; Christie 1991, 418; Marcone 2002, 176–177; Marcone 2004a, 357.

¹⁶ Oxford Latin Dictionary, s.v.

¹⁷ Christie 1991, 418, 419 fig. 3; Šašel 1984, 118 (= Šašel 1992, 800); Šašel 1993, 211; Rollinger 1996, 204; Bigliardi 2004, 14.

¹⁸ Šašel 1970–1971, 37 (= Šašel 1992, 732); Šašel 1988, 109 (= Šašel 1992, 815); Christie 2008, 566.

¹⁹ Ciglencečki 2011, 259.

²⁰ Šašel 1993.

²¹ Šašel 1970–1971, 38 (= Šašel 1992, 733).

²² See Napoli 1997, who provides no evidence of other barriers in the Alps.

²³ Šašel 1993, Insert.

²⁴ Barelo, Ferrero, Uggé 2013, 38. See also Mollo 2005.

²⁵ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXIV 4–5.

²⁶ Cracco Ruggini 2000, 19. Marcone 2002, 177.

²⁷ Seeck 1900.

²⁸ Scharf 2005, 70.

²⁹ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXIV 4–5.

³⁰ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXVII 4–5.

manuscript at the end of the chapter on *comites* and in this case the geographic sequence was not followed. On the basis of the identical structure of the texts it is clear that these two chapters contained subsequently added data. The same is true for the mention of *comes Britanniae*, listed at the very end of this chapter, only in place of *tractus*, the expression *provincia Britannia* is used.³¹ In all three cases, the vignette shows only a depiction of one fortified place and not a row of forts, which usually correspond in number to the number of garrisons.³² Scharf therefore concludes that the three entries in *ND* reflect a chronologically later development of the office (*officium*) or that the entries were most probably later added to the text of the *ND*.³³ Rollinger is otherwise convinced that the term *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* belongs to the earlier stratum of the source used by the *ND*, thus at least in the last third of the 4th century.³⁴

On the basis of the image in the *ND* it is clear that the expression *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* could refer only to linear barriers rather than a defence-in-depth.³⁵ Therefore, I cannot agree with the opinion of Ciglencečki and Milavec, who identified the dense network of Late Roman strongholds in northeastern Italy and northwestern Slovenia as the broadly developed system that the *ND* mentioned as *tractus Italiae circa Alpes*. Those strongholds are not connected to the barrier system of the Julian Alps and stand in strategic positions on naturally protected elevations from where they can control the surroundings.³⁶ The *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* is frequently associated with the establishment of a new defensive strategy, with a in depth designed defence, which would have been organized from large northern Italian towns,³⁷ while its headquarters would have been located around the fortified towns and fortresses connecting the Po River valley with the Alpine passes.³⁸ With the so-called new defensive strategy, a system of defence-in-depth would have also been connected to the system of fortifications, which together with fortified towns protected the main road connections to the Alpine

valleys.³⁹ Based on the conviction that the *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* represented the entire Alpine belt comes the frequently supported opinion that the *castra* and *castella* on the southern foothills of the Alps from the period of the 5th–7th centuries represented the successors to the defence system of the *tractus Italiae circa Alpes*.⁴⁰

It has usually been assumed that the *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* would have been founded at the beginning (or in the first third)⁴¹ of the 5th century as a result of the collapse of the Roman defence in Pannonia, the decisive battles for the Illyro-Italic passes in the second half of the 4th century, and Alaric's siege of Rome.⁴² The *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* with the segment in the Julian Alps would be, according to Šašel, the successor to the defensive military zone of the *claustra Alpium Iuliarum*.⁴³

I am convinced that it is impossible that the *ND* with a depiction illustrating the function of *comes Italiae* and a vignette representing the appearance of the *tractus Italiae circa Alpes*, would reflect the situation from the beginning of the 5th century, when the defence line in the Julian Alps had already been abandoned and was most probably in decline. It is more likely to reflect the state in the 4th century (which would agree with Rollinger's proposal)⁴⁴ and is therefore merely the expression for the linear barriers known under the technical name of *claustra Alpium Iuliarum*.⁴⁵

THE LEGIONS IULIAE ALPINAE

Only the *ND* mentions three legions that were connected to the defence of northeastern Italy in the Julian Alps because of their name *Iulia Alpina*.⁴⁶ Two of them were also connected to the function of *comes Italiae*, who would command the legions,⁴⁷

³⁹ Brogiolo, Gelichi 1992. See also Rinaldi 2008.

⁴⁰ Wolfram 1980, 380; Bierbrauer 1985, 498; id. 1987, 336–337; Negro Ponzi Mancini 1999, 138; Brogiolo, Castelletti 2001, 56.

⁴¹ Suggested by Bierbrauer 1985, 497; id. 1987, 335.

⁴² Šašel 1970–1971, 38 (= Šašel 1992, 733); Christie 2006, 303; id. 2008, 566.

⁴³ Šašel 1984, 119 (= Šašel 1992, 801).

⁴⁴ Rollinger 1996, 204.

⁴⁵ For more details on this defense system, see Šašel, Petru (eds.) 1971.

⁴⁶ Degrassi 1954, 144. According to Christie 1991, 417, the barriers in the Julian Alps were occupied by the 3 legions *Iuliae Alpinae*.

⁴⁷ According to Degrassi (1954, 144) the *comes Italiae* commanded the I and III legions. According to Šašel 1988,

³¹ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXVII 5.

³² Scharf 2005, 70.

³³ Scharf 2005, 71.

³⁴ Rollinger 1996, 204.

³⁵ See also Bigliardi 2004, 15.

³⁶ Ciglencečki, Milavec 2009, 181, 183.

³⁷ Christie 1991, 418; Mollo 2005, 48; Martinez Jimenez 2011, 42.

³⁸ Christie 2008, 566.

Tab. 2: The names of the three alpine legions in the manual *Notitia Dignitatum*.Tab. 2: Poimenovanja treh alpskih legij v priročniku *Notitia dignitatum*.

Legions - various names Legija - različna poimenovanja	Type of legion Vrsta legije	Stationed Namestitev	Command Poveljstvo
I			
<i>Prima Alpina</i> (<i>Not. Dign. Occ. V 257</i>)	<i>pseudocomitatensis</i> (<i>Not. Dign. Occ. V 256</i>)	<i>intra Italiam</i> (<i>Not. Dign. Occ. VII 2</i>)	<i>sub dispositione viri illustris magistri peditum</i> (<i>Not. Dign. Occ. V 1</i>)
<i>Prima Iulia</i> (<i>Not. Dign. Occ. VII 34</i>)			
<i>Alpini</i> (<i>Not. Dign. Occ. V 107</i>)			
II			
<i>Secunda Iulia</i> (<i>Not. Dign. Occ. VII 60</i>)	<i>pseudocomitatensis</i> (<i>Not. Dign. Occ. V 256</i>)	<i>intra Illyricum</i> (<i>Not. Dign. Occ. VII 40</i>)	<i>cum viro spectabili comite Illyrici</i> (<i>Not. Dign. Occ. VII 40</i>)
<i>Secunda Iulia Alpina</i> (<i>Not. Dign. Occ. V 258</i>)			
III			
<i>Tertia Iulia</i> (<i>Not. Dign. Occ. VII 35</i>)	<i>comitatensis</i> (<i>Not. Dign. Occ. V 223</i>)	<i>intra Italiam</i> (<i>Not. Dign. Occ. VII 2</i>)	<i>sub dispositione viri illustris magistri peditum</i> (<i>Not. Dign. Occ. V 1</i>)
<i>Tertia Iulia Alpina</i> (<i>Not. Dign. Occ. V 99, 248</i>)			

and also with the *tractus Italiae intra Alpes*. For all three legions the term appears in at least two forms in various places in the *ND* (Tab. 2). Two legions, the *Prima Iulia*,⁴⁸ *prima Alpina*,⁴⁹ or rather *Alpini*⁵⁰ and *Tertia Iulia*,⁵¹ or *Tertia Iulia Alpina*⁵² were stationed *intra Italiam*⁵³ under the command of a *magister peditum*.⁵⁴ The *ND* lists under his command 32 *legiones comitatenses*,⁵⁵ including the *tertia Iulia Alpina*, and 18 *legiones pseudo comitatenses*,⁵⁶ among them *legio prima Alpina* and *legio secunda Iulia Alpina*.⁵⁷ No military unit is specifically mentioned under the function *comes Italiae*.⁵⁸

As the third legion with that name, the *ND* mentions the *secunda Iulia Alpina*⁵⁹ or *Secunda Iulia*.⁶⁰ While the first and third legions were sta-

tioned in Italy (*intra Italiam*), the second legion, which was placed among *pseudo comitatenses*, was stationed in Illyricum (*intra Illyricum*⁶¹). It was specifically noted that this legion had been under the command of the *comes Illyrici* (*cum viro spectabili comite Illyrici*).⁶²

The list of commands of military units in the *ND* (*Occ. I and V*) can only partially be compared to the list of military units in *Occ. VII*. In the *ND*, the military units are listed by region and by commander. First the infantry units are listed, followed by the cavalry units. In both cases, only for Italy (*intra Italiam*) are no military commanders listed, neither for the infantry,⁶³ nor the cavalry.⁶⁴ All *comites rei militaris* were under the command of the supreme commander, the *magister militum*, although for all the *ND* lists their troops. They were thus deputies of the supreme commander and in such a role commanded the units listed by the *ND*. The only exception is the *comes Italiae*, as under his function not a single military unit is mentioned and, despite some other opinions,⁶⁵ evidently did not have his own troops.⁶⁶

109 (= Šašel 1992, 815), all three legions that were responsible for the defense of eastern Italy, were commanded by the *comes Italiae*.

⁴⁸ *Not. Dign. Occ. VII 34*.

⁴⁹ *Not. Dign. Occ. V 257*.

⁵⁰ *Not. Dign. Occ. V 107*.

⁵¹ *Not. Dign. Occ. VII 35*.

⁵² *Not. Dign. Occ. V 99, 248*.

⁵³ *Not. Dign. Occ. VII 2*.

⁵⁴ *Not. Dign. Occ. V 1*.

⁵⁵ *Not. Dign. Occ. V 223*.

⁵⁶ *Not. Dign. Occ. V 256*.

⁵⁷ *Not. Dign. Occ. 258*.

⁵⁸ Scharf 2005, 158.

⁵⁹ *Not. Dign. Occ. V 108, 258*.

⁶⁰ *Not. Dign. Occ. VII 60*.

⁶¹ *Not. Dign. Occ. VII 40*.

⁶² *Not. Dign. Occ. VII 40*.

⁶³ *Not. Dign. Occ. VII 2*.

⁶⁴ *Not. Dign. Occ. VII 158*.

⁶⁵ Hoffmann 1970, I 150.

⁶⁶ Scharf 2005 158, 302 n. 39.

On the basis of the entries in the *ND* it is possible to conclude that the *comes Italiae* had command over only the *tractus Italiae circa Alpes*, which represented a regionally limited area, in contrast the *ND* does not even specify the military units that were under his command, nor his functions (*officium*).⁶⁷ Hence it seems that only the *comes Italiae*, in contrast to other *comites*, had no concrete operative command powers.⁶⁸ This was the reason that Seeck suggested that the function of *comes Italiae* had originated only in the 5th century, when a military command for the region was no longer necessary.⁶⁹ Scharf also considers that the *comes Italiae* could not have been the commander of some section (*tractus*) before the year 412, when the Visigoths left Italy.⁷⁰

If the *ND* were to be followed completely, we would have to conclude that the three legions *Iuliae Alpinae* were not connected to the defensive *tractus Italiae circa Alpes*, which was the responsibility of the *comes Italiae*, who in fact did not have his own military units. At the same time, we would have to conclude that the *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* was a defensive formation from the beginning of the 5th century.

Other written sources, however, tell a different story. Even in the period of Alaric's first crossing of the Julian Alps on the way to Italy in 401, the linear barriers in the Julian Alps had been undefended,⁷¹ as was also the case in the period of his second invasion in 408,⁷² and in the 5th century they already had no defensive function whatsoever. Why then would the *ND* mention in the early 5th century the evidently abandoned linear barrier as a *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* and depict it in the form of a line of walls with towers, while it would be headed by a deputy military commander (*comes rei militaris*)⁷³ without his own soldiers?

Given the unreliability of the *ND* as a historical source, particularly in terms of the part referring to the western part of the Empire (*Occ.*), and the confusion in the list of the military units, it seems

that in this segment, as well, we cannot fully follow the *ND*, and particularly on the basis of data listed in it we cannot come to firm conclusions.

It is much more likely that the mention of the three legions of the Julian Alps referred to the situation in the much less detailed and defined period of the 4th century.

The three legions that were mentioned by the *ND* were established in the framework of the Diocletian military reform.⁷⁴ Their role would have been – as is shown by their titles – the defence of northeastern Italy,⁷⁵ although Ritterling thought that they had been stationed in the new Diocletian province of *Alpes Cottiae*⁷⁶ in present-day northwestern Italy, which most probably was not the case. They were active in the region of the Julian Alps,⁷⁷ and they would also have been responsible for the construction of barriers.⁷⁸ Two legions were active in the region of the barriers that extended on the northeast of the Italic diocese of *Italia Annonaria* (hence *intra Italiam*), while one, under the command of the *comes Illyrici*, was active in the region of the barriers that had been built *intra Illyricum*, hence in the diocese of *Illyricum (dioecesis Illyrici)*.⁷⁹ At least for this legion it could be assumed with great probability (also in the light of the most recent archaeological excavations),⁸⁰ that it was stationed in *Tarsatica*, (present-day Rijeka), the most important fortress in the Illyrian part of the barrier wall. This definitely seems more likely than the placement of the command of the legion at Velike Malence,⁸¹ 100 km from the line of defensive barriers.

The *ND* is also followed by Ciglencečki, who believes that the positions of the legions I – III *Alpinae* should be sought at least at the upland strongholds of Tonovcov grad and Puštal pri Trnju⁸² Ciglencečki and Milavec are also convinced that units of legions I, II, and III *Iuliae Alpinae*

⁶⁷ Scharf 2005, 303.

⁶⁸ Marcone 2004b, 287 n. 49.

⁶⁹ Seeck 1900, 657.

⁷⁰ Scharf 2005, 304.

⁷¹ Turr. Ruf., Prologus in libros historiarum Eusebii 2–15 (Schwartz, Mommsen [eds.] 1908, IX 2, 951).

⁷² Philost. 12. 2 (Bidez 1913, 140). Šašel (1971, 38) related that report to Alaric's campaign in 401, while Graßl (1996, 183) proved with valid arguments that this referred to his campaign in 408.

⁷³ *Not. Dign. Occ.* I 30.

⁷⁴ Ritterling, 1925, Sp. 1365–1367.

⁷⁵ Hoffmann 1970, I 150; Šašel 1988, 109 (= Šašel 1992, 815).

⁷⁶ Ritterling 1925, Sp. 1404–1405.

⁷⁷ Christie 1991, 417.

⁷⁸ Ulbert 1981, 43.

⁷⁹ Šašel 1988, 109 (= Šašel 1992, 815). Degrassi (1954, 144) is convinced that *legio II Iulia Alpina* under the command of the *comes Illyrici* could not have defended barrier walls that were in the Italic diocese.

⁸⁰ Bekić, Radić-Štivić 2009.

⁸¹ As one of the possible suggestions in Šašel 1988, 109 (= Šašel 1992, 815).

⁸² Ciglencečki 2011, 271.

were deployed along a dense network of stations in strategic positions on naturally protected elevations between Forum Iulii and Emona, from which it was possible to oversee the surroundings and control important routes of communication.⁸³ These stations were placed in the context of the *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* as a continuation of the defensive system of northeastern Italy. In both cases, the above military units would have been active after the abandonment of the linear barriers, hence after the introduction of a new defensive strategy, a in-depth- defence of Italy.⁸⁴ No evidence exists connecting the three legions of the Julian Alps with the defensive basis of the *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* and place them in the 5th century at sites lying on strategic points on both sides of the former linear barrier.

CONCLUSION

1 – The expression *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* cannot be interpreted as referring to a defensive zone extending along the Alps in an arc from the Ligurian Sea to the Bay of Kvarner.

2 – Citing the *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* as the predecessor of the defensive system composed in the period of the 5th–7th centuries of *castra* and *castella* at the exits from Alpine valleys is methodologically incorrect.

3 – *Tractus Italiae circa Alpes* is the term used in the ND for the barriers in the Julian Alps, otherwise known under the expression *claustra Alpium Iuliarum*. The term *tractus* and the accompanying illustration undoubtedly reflect the situation in the 4th century.

4 – The expression *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* cannot be connected to a new defensive strategy, a in-depth- defence of Italy, which appeared after the decline of the linear defensive system in the Julian Alps.

5 – The three legions, which because of the name *Iuliae Alpinae* are connected to the Julian Alps, were not commanded by the *comes Italiae*, who did not control his own military units.

6 – The legions *Prima*, *Secunda*, and *Tertia Iulia Alpina* were active on the linear defensive system in the Julian Alps in the 4th century, with two in the Italian section of the barrier (*intra Italiam*), and one in the section of the barrier in the Illyrian diocese (*intra Illyricum*).

⁸³ Ciglencečki, Milavec 2009, 184; Ciglencečki 2011, 271.

⁸⁴ See also Christie 2008, 566.

Translation: Barbara Smith Demo

BARELLO, F., F. FERRERO, S. UGGÉ 2013, Evidenze archeologiche in Valle di Susa: acquisizioni, bilanci, prospettive di ricerca. – *Segusium* 52, 23–78.

BEKIĆ, L., N. RADIĆ-ŠTIVIĆ (eds. / ur.) 2009, *Tarsatički principij. Kasnoantičko vojno zapovjedništvo / Principia di Tarsatica. Quartiere generale d'epoca tardoantica*. – Rijeka.

BIDEZ, J. (ed. / ur.) 1913, *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*, XXI, *Philostorgius*. – In / V: *Historia ecclesiastica*, Leipzig.

BIERBRAUER, V. 1985, Frühmittelalterliche Castra im östlichen und mittleren Alpengebiet: Germanische Wehranlagen oder romanische Siedlungen?. – *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 15, 497–513.

BIERBRAUER, V. 1987, *Invillino – Ibligo in Friaul 1. Die römische Siedlung und das spätantik-frühmittelalterliche Castrum*. – *Münchener Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 33.

BIGLIARDI, G. 2004, Alps, id est Claustra Italiae. La trasformazione dei complessi fortificati romani dell'arco Alpino centro-orientale tra l'età tardo-repubblicana e l'età tardo-antica. – *Aquileia nostra* 75, 318–371.

BOSIO, L. 1979, Le fortificazioni tardoantiche del territorio di Aquileia. – In / V: *Il territorio di Aquileia nell'Antichità*, *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 15, 515–536.

BOUDARTCHOUK, J.-L. 2008, La frontière et les limites de l'Empire romain tardif. En mots et en images, à travers la *Notitia Dignitatum* (ca. 400–430). – *Archéopages* 21, 48–55.

BRENNAN, P. 1995, The *Notitia Dignitatum*. – In / V: *Les littératures techniques dans l'antiquité romaine*, *Entretiens Hardt* 42, 147–178.

BROGIOLO, G. P., L. CASTELLETTI 2001, *Archeologia a Monte Barro I. Il grande edificio e le torri*. – Lecco.

BROGIOLO, G. P., S. GELICHI 1992, *Nuove ricerche sui castelli altomedievali in Italia settentrionale*. – Firenze.

CHRISTIE, N. 1991, The Alps as a frontier (A.D. 168–774). – *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 4, 410–430.

CHRISTIE, N. 2006, *From Constantine to Charlemagne: An Archaeology of Italy, AD 300–800*. – Aldershot, Burlington.

CHRISTIE, N. 2008, From the Danube to the Po: Late Roman Defence in Pannonia and Italy. – In / V: A. Poulter (ed. / ur.), *The Transition to Late Antiquity*,

- on the Danube and Beyond, Proceedings of the British Academy 141, 547–578.
- CIGLENEČKI, S. 2011, Utrdba Tonovcov grad – pomemben člen poznorimske obrambe Italije / The Fort at Tonovcov grad – An important part of the Late Roman defence system of Italy. – In / V: S. Ciglenečki, Z. Modrijan, T. Milavec (eds. / ur.), *Poznoantična utrjena naselbina Tonovcov grad pri Kobaridu. Naselbinski ostanki in interpretacija / Late Antique fortified settlement Tonovcov grad near Kobarid. Settlement remains and interpretation*, Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 23, 259–271.
- CIGLENEČKI, S., T. MILAVEC 2009, The defence of north-eastern Italy in the first decennia of the 5th century. – *Forum Iulii* 33, 175–187.
- CRACCO RUGGINI, L. 2000, Aquileia nel Mediterraneo tardoantico. – In / V: P. Cammarosano (ed. / ur.), *Il patriarcato di Aquileia. Uno stato nell'Europa Medievale*, 11–24, Udine.
- DEGRASSI, A. 1954, *Il confine nord-orientale dell'Italia romana. Ricerche storico-topografiche*. – *Dissertationes Bernenses* 1/6.
- DI DARIO, B. M. 2005, *La notitia dignitatum. Immagini e simboli del tardo impero romano*. – Padova.
- FALEIRO, C. N. 2005, *La Notitia Dignitatum: nueva edición crítica y comentario histórico*. – Madrid.
- GRASSL, H. 1996, Der Südostalpenraum in der Militärgeographie des 4. / 5. Jahrhunderts. – In / V: R. Bratož (ed. / ur.), *Westillyricum und Nordostitalien in der spätrömischen Zeit*, Situla 34, 177–184.
- GRIGG, R. 1987, Illustrations and Text in the lost Codex Spirensis. – *Latomus* 46, 204–210.
- HOFFMANN, D. 1970, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum*. – Düsseldorf.
- KULIKOWSKI, M. 2000, The “Notitia Dignitatum” as a Historical Source. – *Historia* 49, 358–377.
- MAIER, I. 1969, The Barberinus and Munich codices of the “Notitia Dignitatum omnium”. – *Latomus* 28, 960–1035.
- MARCONI, A. 2002, Tra Adriatico e Danubio nel IV secolo. – In / V: M. Buora, W. Jobst (eds. / ur.), *Roma sul Danubio. Da Aquileia a Carnuntum lungo la via dell'ambra*, Cataloghi e Monografie Archeologiche dei Civici Musei di Udine 6, 173–178.
- MARCONI, A. 2004a, L'illirico e la frontiera nordorientale dell'Italia nel IV secolo D.C. – In / V: G. Urso (ed. / ur.), *Dall'Adriatico al Danubio. L'Illirico nell'età greca e romana*, 343–359, Pisa.
- MARCONI, A. 2004b, Tarda Antichità tra Aquileia e Norico. – In / V: A. Marconi (ed. / ur.), *Società e cultura in età tardoantica. Atti dell'incontro di studi*, 277–289, Udine.
- MARTINEZ JIMENEZ, J. 2011, Monte Barro: An Ostrogothic Fortified Site in the Alps. – *Assemblage* 11, 34–46.
- MOLLO, E. 2005, Le “chiuse” alpine fra realtà e mito. – In / V: *I Longobardi e le Alpi*. Atti della giornata di studio “Clusae Longobardorum, i Longobardi e le Alpi”, Chiesa di San Michele, 6 marzo 2004, La biblioteca di Segusium 4, 47–66.
- NAPOLI, J. 1997, *Recherches sur les fortifications linéaires romaines*. – Roma.
- NEGRO PONZI MANCINI, M. M. 1999, Romani, bizantini e longobardi: le fortificazioni tardo antiche e altomedievali nelle alpi occidentali. – In / V: Brogiolo, G. P. (ed. / ur.), *Le fortificazioni del Garda e i sistemi di difesa dell'Italia settentrionale tra tardo antico e alto Medioevo*, 137–154, Mantova.
- PALME, B. 2011, *Notitia Dignitatum*. – In / V: *Imperium and Officium Working Papers (IOWP)*, Version 01, 1–6, Wien (<http://iowp.univie.ac.at/?q=node/160> [last access / zadnji dostop: Dec., 2013]).
- RINALDI, C. 2008, Fortificazioni tardoantiche: un caso comasco. – In / V: *Storiadelmondo*, Periodico telematico di Storia e Scienze Umane 56, 15 novembre 2008 (<http://www.storiadelmondo.com/56/rinaldi.fortificazioni.pdf> [last access / zadnji dostop: Dec., 2013]).
- RITTERLING, E. 1925, Legio. – In / V: *RE* XII.2, 1329–1829.
- ROLLINGER, R. 1996, Eine spätantike Strassenstation auf dem Boden des heutigen Vorarlberg? – *Montfort* 48, 187–242.
- SEECK, O. 1900, Comites 46 (= Comes Italiae). – In / V: *RE* IV.1, 657.
- SCHARF, R. 2005, *Der Dux Mogontiacensis und die Notitia Dignitatum. Eine Studie zur spätantiken Grenzverteidigung*. – Berlin.
- SCHWARTZ, E., T. MOMMSEN (eds. / ur.) 1908, Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller, IX 2. Eusebius. – In / V: *Historia ecclesiastica*, Leipzig.
- ŠAŠEL, J. 1970–1971 (1992), *Alpes Iuliana*. – *Arheološki vestnik* 21–22, 33–44 (= *Opera Selecta*, Situla 30, Ljubljana 1992, 728–739).
- ŠAŠEL, J. 1971, *Antični viri / Ancient sources*. – V: J. Šašel, P. Petru (eds. / ur.), *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum I, Fontes*, Katalogi in monografije 5, 17–45.
- ŠAŠEL, J. 1984 (1992), Sistemi di difesa della “porta illirico-italica” nel Tardo Antico. – In / V: *Il crinale d'Europa. L'area illirico-danubiana nei suoi rapporti con il mondo classico*, 113–123, Roma (= *Opera Selecta*, Situla 30, Ljubljana 1992, 795–805).
- ŠAŠEL, J. 1988 (1992), L'organizzazione del confine orientale d'Italia nell'alto medioevo. – In / V: *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 32, 107–114 (= *Opera Selecta*, Situla 30, Ljubljana 1992, 813–820).
- ŠAŠEL, J. 1993, Storia militare di Milano nel quarto secolo. – In / V: *Arheološki vestnik* 44, 209–211.
- ŠAŠEL, J., P. PETRU (eds. / ur.) 1971, *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum I, Fontes*. – Katalogi in monografije 5.
- ULBERT, T. 1981, *Ad Pirum (Hrušica). Spätrömische Passbefestigung in den Julischen Alpen*. – *Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 31.
- VEDALDI IASBEZ, V. 1994, *La Venetia Orientale e l'Histria. Le fonti letterarie greche e latine fino alla caduta dell'Impero Romano d'Occidente*. – Roma.
- ZACCARIA, C. 1981, Le fortificazioni romane e tardo antiche. – In / V: T. Miotti (ed. / ur.), *Storia ed evoluzione dell'arte delle fortificazioni in Friuli*, Castelli del Friuli 5, 61–95.
- WOLFRAM, H. 1980, *Geschichte der Goten. Von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts*. – München.

Zapore v Julijskih Alpah in *Notitia dignitatum*

TRACTUS ITALIAE CIRCA ALPES

Antični avtorji so za zidane linijske obrambne zapore na Julijskih Alpah uporabljali številne izraze, tako da je termin *claustra Alpium Iuliarum* le eno od poimenovanj zapor (*tab. 1*) – Šašel ga označuje kot tehnični izraz¹ – in zdel bi se upravičen sklep, da nek uradni naziv za zapore ni obstajal.²

Zdi se, da edino omembo obrambnega sistema na Julijskih Alpah v uradnem rimskem dokumentu predstavlja izraz *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* v priročniku *Notitia dignitatum tam civilium quam militarium in partibus orientis / occidentis* (v nadaljevanju *ND*),³ pa čeprav Julijske Alpe in obrambne zapore v besedilu niso izrecno omenjene.

Poznorimski priročnik *Notitia dignitatum*, ki podaja pregled visokih civilnih in vojaških uradnikov tako za vzhodni (*Or.*) kot za zahodni (*Occ.*) del poznorimskega imperija, je ohranjen le v nekaj kopijah, izdelanih v 15. in 16. stoletju na osnovi srednjeveškega rokopisa iz 9./10. stoletja *Codex Spirensis*, ki je med drugimi dokumenti vseboval tudi *ND*, že v 17. stoletju pa je bil izgubljen.

ND predstavlja edini ohranjeni vir za študij upravne in vojaške zgodovine 4. in 5. stoletja. Treba pa je opozoriti, da je zaradi številnih odprtih vprašanj kot vir zelo problematičen.

Medtem ko priročnik s seznamom funkcij za vzhodni del imperija (*Or.*), ki so ga nehali dopolnjevati okoli leta 400, dokaj verno odslikava stanje okoli 394, pa seznam za zahodni del imperija (*Occ.*) zaradi številnih dopolnitev in popravkov, ki so jih vanj vnašali vse do okoli leta 425, ne odraža dejanskega stanja v zahodnem delu imperija v nobenem specifičnem obdobju.⁴ Priročnik *ND*, kakršnega poznamo, je namreč po vsej verjetnosti dokument, sestavljen iz različnih priročnikov, izdelanih v različnih obdobjih,⁵ čeprav je osnovni originalni dokument verjetno nastal v času vlade

Teodozija. Po mnenju številnih raziskovalcev gre bolj za ideološki tekst, katerega namen je bilo propagirati enotnost imperija, in ne za dokument, ki naj bi služil kot pomoč administraciji.⁶ Tako ne preseneča zlasti velika zmeda, prisotna v seznamu vojaških enot, ki zgolj v grobem predstavlja stanje v času Teodozija.⁷ Priročnik *ND* ima zato za interpretacijo razmer v 4. in 5. stoletju zlasti v zahodnem delu imperija, kamor je sodil tudi obrambni sistem Julijskih Alp, kot zgodovinski vir le omejeno vrednost, pa tudi kot celoto ga moramo obravnavati z največjim pridržkom.⁸

Najboljši pregled vseh odprtih vprašanj in sintezo dognanj dosedanjih študij podaja nedvomno Palme.⁹

Pri tem velja opozoriti, da so ilustracijam v originalnem rokopisu iz 9./10. stoletja (*Codex Spirensis*) najbližje risbe iz druge verzije kopije *ND* iz leta 1550–1551 (ta vsebuje le ilustracije), ki se hrani v Münchnu (codex 2).¹⁰ V prvi verziji kopije *ND* iz Münchna, verjetno izdelani 1542 (codex 1),¹¹ so bile risbe namreč preveč posodobljene in prilagojene času, zato odražajo arhitekturni slog 16. stoletja, v katerem je bila kopija izdelana (*sl. 1*). Naročnik je po prevzemu prve verzije kopije tako zahteval novo izdelavo risb, ki naj bodo čimbolj podobne originalu (*sl. 2*).¹²

Poimenovanje *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* se v *ND* pojavlja na risbi, ki ilustrira funkcijo *comes Italiae* in ima v ospredju upodobljeno utrjeno mesto v Italiji, ki leži ob vznožju gora. Na gorah sta upodobljeni dve liniji zidanih zapornih zidov, utrjenih s cinami, vsaka s stolpom v sredini, kar nedvomno predstavlja linijske obrambne zapore.¹³ Da je upodobljeno utrjeno mesto *Aquileia*, so si raziskovalci edini že od začetka 20. stoletja, prav

¹ Šašel 1970–1971, 38 (= Šašel 1992, 733).

² V antični geografski predstavi so Julijske Alpe obsegale skoraj vse mejno območje med Apeninskim in Balkanskim polotokom in so se razprostirale od Karnijskih Alp do Kvarnerja: Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 72–81.

³ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXVIII (Faleiro 2005, 423).

⁴ Kulikowski 2000, 360.

⁵ Brennan 1995.

⁶ Kulikowski 2000, 360.

⁷ Kulikowski 2000, 375.

⁸ Kulikowski 2000, 376.

⁹ Palme 2011.

¹⁰ München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm 10291 (codex 2 = fol.171–222). Maier 1969, 1006; Grigg 1987.

¹¹ München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm 10291 (codex 1 = fol.1–170).

¹² Maier 1969, 999, 1025. Boudartchouk 2008, 49. Podrobno primerjalno analizo ilustracij *comes Italiae* v obih münchenskih kodeksih podaja Maier (1969, 1010–1011).

¹³ Boudartchouk 2008, 55.

tako o tem, da so upodobljene gore Julijske Alpe.¹⁴ Upodobitev dveh linij zidov s stolpi na gorah tako nedvomno predstavlja linijske obrambne strukture na Julijskih Alpah.¹⁵ Zato lahko šele na osnovi upodobitve, ki ilustrira funkcijo *comes Italiae*, sklepamo, da se izraz *tractus* nanaša na zidane obrambne strukture, o čemer zgolj na osnovi teksta ne bi bilo mogoče domnevati.¹⁶

Prav za izraz *tractus Italiae circa Alpes*, ki v podrobnostih ni opredeljen, se v literaturi pojavljajo različna mnenja tako glede njegove geografske umestitve kot njegove časovne opredelitve.

V strokovni literaturi se najpogosteje pojavlja mnenje, da obsega omenjeni izraz celoten pas severne Italije, ki naj bi se v loku raztezal po Alpah od Nice, preko zaledja Torina, Aoste, Trenta, pa vse do Kvarnerskega zaliva.¹⁷ *Tractus Italiae circa Alpes* naj bi tako obsegal tudi obrambne zapore, med drugim poznane pod imenom *claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, ki pa naj bi predstavljale zgolj vzhodni del veliko širšega obrambnega sistema.¹⁸ Linijske zapore na Julijskih Alpah bi bile tako le najbolj izpostavljeni del obrambnega sistema *tractus Italiae circa Alpes*.¹⁹ Pod to predpostavko je Šašel tudi skušal rekonstruirati obrambni sistem, ki naj bi ga omenjala *ND*, in ga med Nico in Reko razdelil na šest sekcij.²⁰ Kot dokaz za delitev obrambnega pasu v sekcije, ena od katerih so bile Julijske Alpe, navaja Šašel dejstvo, da so na celotnem pasu delovale tri legije *Iuliae Alpinae*.²¹

Na celotnem alpskem loku od zaledja Nice do Julijskih Alp so ostanki linijskih zidanih zapornih zidov s stolpi dokumentirani le na območju Julijskih Alp. Za ostale alpske predele antični avtorji o zaporah ne poročajo, prav tako na terenu niso bili odkriti ostanki linijskih obrambnih struktur.²² V Kotijskih Alpah (*Alpes Cottiae*, danes ital. Alpi Cozie) v zaledju antičnega mesta *Segusium* (danes

Susa pri Torinu), kamor Šašel umešča *claustra Alpium Cottiarum*,²³ so bile na primer zapore zasnovane bistveno drugače. Zgrajene niso bile kot linearni mogočni zidovi z vgrajenimi stolpi, kot jih upodablja *ND*, ampak so prehod po dolini skupaj z utrjenimi mesti zapirali le preprosti stolpi.²⁴

Že na osnovi teh dejstev in upodobitev na risbi v *ND* bi lahko zaključili, da izraz *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* označuje le linijske zaporne zidove s stolpi v Julijskih Alpah.

ND poroča, da je *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* sodil v pristojnost oziroma pod poveljstvo *comes Italiae (sub dispositione viri spectabilis)*,²⁵ domnevno naj bi imel sedež v Akvileji, njegova naloga pa naj bi bila predvsem obramba linijskih zapor (*tractus*) na severovzhodnih Alpah.²⁶ Funkcijo *comes Italiae* prvič omenja prav *ND*.²⁷

Scharf je prepričan, da izraz *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* ne označuje, kot bi sklepali iz imena, celotne severne italške dieceze *Italia Annonaria*, ampak samo njen severni mejni pas vzdolž Alp. Tudi pod terminom *comes Italiae* moramo po njegovem mnenju razumeti le izraz za komando odseka na severnem mejnem pasu vzdolž Alp,²⁸ kar je v *ND* izrecno navedeno: *Sub dispositione viri spectabilis comitis Italiae: Tractus Italiae circa Alpes*.²⁹ Identično poimenovanje najdemo pri omembi *comes Argentoratensis*, ki opisuje njegovo pristojnost kot: *Sub dispositione viri spectabilis comitis Argentoratensis: Tractus Argentoratensis*.³⁰

Omembi poveljstev za *Argentoratum* (danes Straßburg) in Italijo sta v rokopisu *ND* navedeni na koncu poglavja o *comites* in v tem primeru geografsko zaporedje ni bilo upoštevano. Na osnovi enake strukture tekstov je jasno, da gre pri teh dveh poglavjih za naknadno vnesene dodatke. Isto velja za omembo *comes Britanniae*, ki stoji povsem na koncu tega poglavja, le da je namesto *tractus* naveden izraz *provincia Britannia*.³¹ V vseh treh primerih prikazuje vinjeta le upodobitev enega utrjenega mesta in ne vrste trdnjav, ki običajno po številu ustrezajo številu garnizonov.³² Scharf zato sklepa, da se v teh treh vpisih v *ND* odraža časovno

¹⁴ Evidenco podaja Degrassi 1954, 151.

¹⁵ Hoffmann 1970, 22; Bosio 1979, 525–526; Zaccaria 1981, 81; Christie 1991, 418; Marccone 2002, 176–177; Marccone 2004a, 357.

¹⁶ Oxford Latin Dictionary, s. v.

¹⁷ Christie 1991, 418, 419 sl. 3; Šašel 1984, 118 (= Šašel 1992, 800); Šašel 1993, 211; Rollinger 1996, 204; Bigliardi 2004, 14.

¹⁸ Šašel 1970–1971, 37 (= Šašel 1992, 732); Šašel 1988, 109 (= Šašel 1992, 815); Christie 2008, 566.

¹⁹ Ciglencčki 2011, 259.

²⁰ Šašel 1993.

²¹ Šašel 1970–1971, 38 (= Šašel 1992, 733).

²² Glej Napoli 1997, ki ne podaja nobene evidence za druge zapore na Alpah.

²³ Šašel 1993, priloga.

²⁴ Barelo, Ferrero, Uggé 2013, 38. Glej tudi Mollo 2005.

²⁵ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXIV 4–5.

²⁶ Cracco Ruggini 2000, 19; Marccone 2002, 177.

²⁷ Seeck 1900.

²⁸ Scharf 2005, 70.

²⁹ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXIV 4–5.

³⁰ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXVII 4–5.

³¹ *Not. Dign. Occ.* XXVII 5.

³² Scharf 2005, 70.

kasnejši razvoj služb (*officium*) oziroma so bili vpisi najverjetneje kasneje dodani v tekst *ND*.³³ Rollinger je sicer prepričan, da sodi *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* k starejšim plastem virov, ki jih je uporabljala *ND*, torej vsaj v zadnjo tretjino 4. stoletja.³⁴

Na osnovi upodobitve v *ND* je jasno, da se lahko izraz *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* nanaša le na linijske zapore in ne na globinsko zasnovano obrambo.³⁵ Zato se ne morem strinjati z mnenjem Ciglenceškega in Milavčeve, ki v gosti mreži poznoantičnih postojank v severovzhodni Italiji in severozahodni Sloveniji prepoznavata široko razvejan sistem, ki naj bi ga *ND* omenjala kot *tractus Italiae circa Alpes*. Te postojanke niso povezane z zapornim sistemom Julijskih Alp in stojijo na strateških položajih na naravno zaščitenih vzpetinah, od koder nadzorujejo okolico.³⁶ *Tractus Italiae circa Alpes* sicer pogosto povezujejo z vzpostavljanjem nove obrambne strategije, z globinsko zasnovano obrambo, ki naj bi bila organizirana iz večjih severnoitalskih mest,³⁷ njeno poveljstvo pa naj bi bilo nastanjeno okoli utrjenih mest in trdnjav, ki Padsko nižino povezujejo z alpskimi prelazi.³⁸ S tako imenovano novo obrambno strategijo, globinsko zasnovano obrambo naj bi bil povezan tudi sistem trdnjav, ki so skupaj z utrjenimi mesti varovale glavne cestne povezave po alpskih dolinah.³⁹ Iz prepričanja, da predstavlja *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* celoten alpski pas, izhaja tudi v literaturi pogosto zastopano mnenje, da so *castra* in *castella* na južnih obronkih Alp iz obdobja 5.–7. stoletja nasledniki obrambnega sistema *tractus Italiae circa Alpes*.⁴⁰

V strokovni literaturi je pogosto zastopano mnenje, da naj bi bil *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* osnovan v začetku (oziroma prvi tretjini)⁴¹ 5. stoletja kot posledica propada rimske obrambe v Panoniji, odločilnih bitk za iliro-italske prehode v 2. pol. 4. stoletja in Alarikovega obleganja Rima.⁴² *Tractus Italiae circa Alpes* s segmentom v Julijskih Alpah

naj bi bil po Šašlu naslednik obrambne vojaške cone *claustra Alpium Iuliarum*.⁴³

Po mojem prepričanju je nemogoče, da bi *ND* z upodobitvijo, ki ilustrira funkcijo *comes Italiae* in v sliki predstavlja videz *tractus Italiae circa Alpes*, odražala stanje iz začetka 5. stoletja, ko je bila linijska obrambna črta na Julijskih Alpah že opuščena in po vsej verjetnosti propadajoča. Verjetneje odraža stanje iz 4. stoletja (kar bi se ujemalo z Rollingerjevim predlogom)⁴⁴ in je po temtakem zgolj poimenovanje za linijske zapore, ki jih poznamo pod tehničnim izrazom *claustra Alpium Iuliarum*.⁴⁵

LEGIJE IULIAE ALPINAЕ

Samo *ND* omenja tri legije, ki jih zaradi naziva *Iulia Alpina* povezujejo z obrambo severovzhodne Italije na Julijskih Alpah,⁴⁶ dve od njih pa tudi s funkcijo *comes Italiae*, ki naj bi legijam poveljeval,⁴⁷ in s tem tudi s *tractus Italiae intra Alpes*. Za vse tri legije se v *ND* na različnih mestih pojavlja naziv vsaj v dveh oblikah (*tab. 2*). Dve legiji *Prima Iulia*,⁴⁸ *prima Alpina*⁴⁹ oziroma *Alpini*⁵⁰ in *Tertia Iulia*⁵¹ oziroma *Tertia Iulia Alpina*⁵² sta bili stacionirani *intra Italiam*⁵³ pod poveljstvom *magister peditum*.⁵⁴ *ND* našteva pod njegovim poveljstvom 32 *legiones comitatenses*,⁵⁵ kamor sodi tudi *tertia Iulia Alpina*, ter 18 *legiones pseudo comitatenses*,⁵⁶ med njimi *legio prima Alpina* in *legio secunda Iulia Alpina*.⁵⁷ Pod funkcijo *comes Italiae* se izrecno ne omenja nobena vojaška enota.⁵⁸

⁴³ Šašel 1984, 119 (= Šašel 1992, 801).

⁴⁴ Rollinger 1996, 204.

⁴⁵ O omenjenem zapornem sistemu podrobno Šašel, Petru (ur.) 1971.

⁴⁶ Degrassi 1954, 144. Po Christie 1991, 417 so zapore na Julijskih Alpah zasedale 3 legije *Iuliae Alpinae*.

⁴⁷ Po Degrassi 1954, 144 je *comes Italiae* poveljeval I. in III. legiji. Po Šašel 1988, 109 (= Šašel 1992, 815) je vsem trem legijam, ki so bile odgovorne za obrambo vzhodne Italije, poveljeval *comes Italiae*.

⁴⁸ *Not. Dign. Occ.* VII 34.

⁴⁹ *Not. Dign. Occ.* V 257.

⁵⁰ *Not. Dign. Occ.* V 107.

⁵¹ *Not. Dign. Occ.* VII 35.

⁵² *Not. Dign. Occ.* V 99, 248.

⁵³ *Not. Dign. Occ.* VII 2.

⁵⁴ *Not. Dign. Occ.* V 1.

⁵⁵ *Not. Dign. Occ.* V 223.

⁵⁶ *Not. Dign. Occ.* V 256.

⁵⁷ *Not. Dign. Occ.* 258.

⁵⁸ Scharf 2005, 158.

³³ Scharf 2005, 71.

³⁴ Rollinger 1996, 204.

³⁵ Glej tudi Bigliardi 2004, 15.

³⁶ Ciglencečki, Milavec 2009, 181, 183.

³⁷ Christie 1991, 418; Mollo 2005, 48; Martinez Jimenez 2011, 42.

³⁸ Christie 2008, 566.

³⁹ Brogiolo, Gelichi 1992. Glej tudi Rinaldi 2008.

⁴⁰ Wolfram 1980, 380; Bierbrauer 1985, 498; id. 1987, 336–337; Negro Ponzi Mancini 1999, 138; Brogiolo, Castelletti 2001, 56.

⁴¹ Tako Bierbrauer 1985, 497; id. 1987, 335.

⁴² Šašel 1970–1971, 38 (= Šašel 1992, 733); Christie 2006, 303; id. 2008, 566.

Kot tretja legija s tem imenom se v *ND* pojavlja *secunda Iulia Alpina*⁵⁹ oziroma *Secunda Iulia*.⁶⁰ Medtem ko sta bili prva in tretja legija nameščeni v Italiji (*intra Italiam*), je bila druga legija, ki je uvrščena med *pseudo comitatenses*, nameščena v Iliriku (*intra Illyricum*⁶¹). Pri tej legiji je izrecno navedeno, da je bila pod poveljstvom *comes Illyrici* (*cum viro spectabili comite Illyrici*).⁶²

Sezname poveljstev vojaških enot v *ND* (*Occ. I* in *V*) je mogoče le deloma primerjati s seznamom vojaških enot v *Occ. VII*. V *ND* so vojaške enote našteje po regijah in po poveljnikih. Najprej so našteje pehotne enote, sledi seznam konjeniških enot. V obeh primerih samo za Italijo (*intra Italiam*) ni naveden vojaški poveljnik niti za pehoto⁶³ niti za konjenico.⁶⁴ Vsi *comites rei militaris* so bili pod poveljstvom vrhovnega poveljnika *magister militum*, vendar *ND* pri vseh našteva njihove čete. Bili so torej namestniki vrhovnega poveljnika in v taki vlogi so poveljevali enotam, ki jih našteva *ND*. Edino izjemo predstavlja *comes Italiae*, saj se pod njegovo funkcijo ne omenja nobena vojaška enota in kljub nekaterim drugačnim mnenjem⁶⁵ očitno ni razpolagal z lastnimi četami.⁶⁶

Na osnovi navedb v *ND* je mogoče sklepati, da je imel *comes Italiae* poveljstvo le nad *tractus Italiae circa Alpes*, ki je predstavljal regionalno omejeno območje, nasprotno pa *ND* ne navaja niti vojaških enot, ki bi bile pod njegovim poveljstvom, niti njegove funkcije (*officium*).⁶⁷ Zato se zdi, da samo *comes Italiae* za razliko od drugih *comites* ni imel nikakršne konkretne operativne poveljniške moči.⁶⁸ Prav zato je Seeck domneval, da je funkcija *comes Italiae* nastala šele v 5. stoletju, ko vojaško poveljstvo za to območje ni bilo več potrebno.⁶⁹ Tudi Scharf domneva, da *comes Italiae* ni mogel biti poveljnik nekega odseka (*tractus*) pred letom 412, ko so Italijo zapustili Zahodni Goti.⁷⁰

Če bi popolnoma sledili *ND*, bi morali zaključiti, da tri legije *Iuliae Alpinae* niso bile povezane z obrambo *tractus Italiae circa Alpes*, ki je bil

v pristojnosti *comes Italiae*, ta pa ni razpolagal z lastnimi vojaškimi enotami. Obenem bi tudi sklepali, da je *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* obrambna tvorba iz začetka 5. stoletja.

Vendar ostali pisni viri govorijo drugačno zgodbo. Že v času prvega Alarikovega prehoda Julijskih Alp na poti v Italijo leta 401 so bile linijske zapore na Julijskih Alpah nebranjene,⁷¹ prav tako v času njegovega drugega pohoda leta 408⁷² in v 5. stoletju niso imele nikakršne obrambne funkcije več. Zakaj bi torej v zgodnjem 5. stoletju *ND* omenjala očitno opuščene linijske zapore kot *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* in ga upodobila v obliki linijskih zidanih zapor in stolpov, načeloval pa bi mu namestnik vojaškega poveljnika (*comes rei militaris*)⁷³ brez lastne vojske?

Glede na nezanesljivost *ND* kot zgodovinskega vira, še zlasti pa njenega dela, ki se navezuje na zahodni del imperija (*Occ.*), ter zmede pri seznamih vojaških enot, se zdi, da tudi v tem delu ne moremo povsem slediti *ND*, predvsem pa na osnovi v njej navedenih podatkov ne moremo postavljati trdnih zaključkov.

Mnogo verjetnejša je domneva, da se omembe treh legij Julijskih Alp nanašajo na stanje iz podrobneje neopredeljenega obdobja v 4. stoletju.

Tri legije, ki jih omenja *ND*, so bile ustanovljene v okviru Dioklecijanovih vojaških reform.⁷⁴ Njihova naloga naj bi bila – kot povedo njihovi nazivi – obramba severovzhodne Italije,⁷⁵ čeprav je Ritterling menil, da so bile nameščene v novi dioklecijanski provinci *Alpes Cottiae*⁷⁶ v današnji severozahodni Italiji, kar pa po vsej verjetnosti ne drži. Delovale so na območju Julijskih Alp,⁷⁷ odgovorne pa naj bi bile tudi za izgradnjo zapor.⁷⁸ Dve legiji sta delovali na območju zapor, ki so se raztezale na severovzhodu italske dieceze *Italia Annonaria* (torej *intra Italiam*), ena pa je pod poveljstvom *comes Illyrici* delovala na območju zapor, ki so bile zgrajene *intra Illyricum*, torej

⁵⁹ *Not. Dign. Occ. V* 108, 258.

⁶⁰ *Not. Dign. Occ. VII* 60.

⁶¹ *Not. Dign. Occ. VII* 40.

⁶² *Not. Dign. Occ. VII* 40.

⁶³ *Not. Dign. Occ. VII* 2.

⁶⁴ *Not. Dign. Occ. VII* 158.

⁶⁵ Hoffmann 1970, I 150.

⁶⁶ Scharf 2005 158, 302 op. 39.

⁶⁷ Scharf 2005, 303.

⁶⁸ Marccone 2004b, 287 op. 49.

⁶⁹ Seeck 1900, 657.

⁷⁰ Scharf 2005, 304.

⁷¹ Turr. Ruf., Prologus in libros historiarum Eusebii 2–15 (Schwartz, Mommsen (ur.) 1908, IX 2, 951).

⁷² Philost. 12. 2 (Bidez 1913, 140). Šašel (1971, 38) to poročilo povezuje z Alarikovim pohodom leta 401, medtem ko Graßl (1996, 183) argumentirano dokazuje, da se nanaša na njegov pohod leta 408.

⁷³ *Not. Dign. Occ. I* 30.

⁷⁴ Ritterling, 1925, Sp. 1365–1367.

⁷⁵ Hoffmann 1970, I 150; Šašel 1988, 109 (= Šašel 1992, 815).

⁷⁶ Ritterling 1925, Sp. 1404–1405.

⁷⁷ Christie 1991, 417.

⁷⁸ Ulbert 1981, 43.

v diecezi Ilirika (*dioecesis Illyrici*).⁷⁹ Vsaj za to legijo bi lahko z veliko verjetnostjo (tudi v luči najnovejših arheoloških raziskovanj)⁸⁰ domnevali, da je bila stacionirana v Tarsatici (*Tarsatica*, danes Rijeka), najpomembnejši utrdbi na ilirskem delu zapor. Nedvomno se zdi to precej verjetneje kot namestitev poveljstva legije v Velikih Malencah,⁸¹ 100 km pred linijskimi obrambnimi zaporami.

ND sledi tudi Ciglenečki, ki domneva, da moramo vsaj na višinskih postojankah Tonovcov grad in Puštal pri Trnju iskati pozicije legij I. – III. *Alpinae*.⁸² Ciglenečki in Milavec sta prav tako prepričana, da so bile enote legij I., II. in III. *Iuliae Alpinae* razmeščene po gosti mreži postojank na strateških položajih na naravno zaščiteneh vzpetinah med Forum Iuli in Emono, od koder je bilo mogoče nadzorovati okolico in pomembne komunikacijske poti.⁸³ Te postojanke postavljata v kontekst *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* kot nadaljevanje obrambnega sistema severovzhodne Italije. V obeh primerih naj bi bile omenjene vojaške enote aktivne po opustitvi linijskih zapor, torej po uvedbi nove obrambne strategije, globinsko zasnovane obrambe Italije.⁸⁴ Nikakršnih dokazov ni, da bi lahko tri legije Julijskih Alp povezovali z obrambno zasnovano *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* in jih v 5. stoletju umeščali na najdišča, ki ležijo na strateških točkah na obeh straneh nekdanjih linijskih zapor.

ZAKLJUČEK

1 – Pod izrazom *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* ni mogoče razumeti obrambnega pasu, ki bi se po Alpah v loku raztezal od Ligurskega morja do Kvarnerskega zaliva.

2 – Omenjanje *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* kot predhodnika obrambnega sistema, ki so ga v času 5.–7. stoletja sestavljala *castra* in *castella* na izhodih iz alpskih dolin, metodološko ni pravilno.

3 – *Tractus Italiae circa Alpes* je naziv ND za zapore na Julijskih Alpah, ki jih poznamo pod izrazom *claustra Alpium Iuliarum*. Izraz *tractus* in spremljajoča ilustracija njegove podobe nedvomno odražata stanje 4. stoletja.

4 – Izraza *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* ne moremo povezovati z novo obrambno strategijo, globinsko zasnovano obrambo Italije, ki se pojavi po propadu linijskega obrambnega sistema na Julijskih Alpah.

5 – Trem legijam, ki jih zaradi naziva *Iuliae Alpinae* povezujemo z Julijskimi Alpami, ni poveljeval *comes Italiae*, saj ni razpolagal s svojimi vojaškimi enotami.

6 – Legije *Prima*, *Secunda* in *Tertia Iulia Alpina* so na linijskem obrambnem sistemu na Julijskih Alpah delovale v 4. stoletju, in sicer dve na italiskem delu zapor (*intra Italiam*), ena pa na delu zapor v ilirski diecezi (*intra Illyricum*).

Peter Kos
Narodni muzej Slovenije
Prešernova 20
SI-1000 Ljubljana
peter.kos@nms.si

⁷⁹ Šašel 1988, 109 (= Šašel 1992, 815). Degrassi (1954, 144) je prepričan, da *legio II Iulia Alpina* pod poveljstvom *comes Illyrici* ni mogla braniti zapornih zidov, ki so bili v italiski diecezi.

⁸⁰ Bekić, Radić-Štivić 2009.

⁸¹ Kot eden izmed predlogov pri Šašel 1988, 109 (= Šašel 1992, 815).

⁸² Ciglenečki 2011, 271.

⁸³ Ciglenečki, Milavec 2009, 184; Ciglenečki 2011, 271.

⁸⁴ Glej tudi Christie 2008, 566.