

The funerary stele of Petto from Ig

Nagrobna stela za Petona z Iga

Anja RAGOLIČ

Izvleček

Med arheološkimi izkopavanji leta 2014 na ledini Marof na Igu je bila poleg prvega doslej odkritega rimskega grobišča na tem območju odkrita tudi arhitektonska nagrobna stela. Napis na njej sporoča, da je bil nagrobnik postavljen za Petona in njegovo družino, katere člani nosijo tako rimska kot domača imena, značilna za ižansko območje: *Petto*, *Cotiu* (*Otiu?*), *Bugia*, *Quarta*, *Rustius* (*Rusticus?*) in *Firmus*. Stela je bila odkrita razbita na tri dele, ki so skupaj z drugimi obdelanimi kamni ležali v poznoantični jami. V članku je stela podrobneje opisana, napis interpretiran, predvsem pa so navedene možne interpretacije (načrtne?) depozicije rimskih kamnov v jami.

Ključne besede: Slovenija, Ižansko, rimsko obdobje, epigrafika, ižanska osebna imena, nagrobne stele

Abstract

During archaeological excavations in 2014 in the meadow called Marof in Ig, in addition to the first Roman cemetery to be discovered in this area, an architectural funerary stele was also found. The inscription reads that the gravestone was erected for Petto and his family, whose members bore both Roman and local names characteristic for the Ig area: *Petto*, *Cotiu* (*Otiu?*), *Bugia*, *Quarta*, *Rustius* (*Rusticus?*), and *Firmus*. The stele was found broken into three parts and together with other dressed stones lay in a pit from Late Antiquity. The article describes the stele in more detail, interprets the inscription, and particularly provides possible interpretations for the (deliberate?) deposition of the Roman stones in the pit.

Keywords: Slovenia, Ig area, Roman period, epigraphy, Ig anthroponymy, funerary stelae

A SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF THE IG AREA

The present day village of Ig lies on a gravel plain along the southern edge of the Ljubljansko barje (Ljubljana Marshes) in the immediate vicinity of Krim Mountain. The earliest archaeological finds in the area of the village and the near vicinity were from the Stone Age,¹ while the environs

were settled, with interruptions, throughout all of prehistory.² A hillfort from the Iron Age was probably located at Grajski hrib (Castle Hill) or Pungert,³ which rises above the former village nucleus called Studenec.⁴ A smaller settlement from the Late Iron Age perhaps existed below Pungert, and may have represented a station on the local

² Velušček 2004, 79; Velušček 2005; Čufar, Velušček, Kromer 2013; Draksler 2014.

³ Šašel 1975, 180.

⁴ Gestrin 1994, 2; Hostnik 1997, 9; Šašel Kos 2009b, 108.

¹ Gaspari, Erič 2006, 16, 17.

road that on the one side connected Ig with the Ljubljana basin, Notranjska and Dolenjska, and on the other with the Adriatic Sea.⁵

On the other hand, very little is known about the Roman period settlement at Ig. In the past, its legal position was defined as a *vicus*, on the basis of an incorrect reading of a building inscription from Vrhnika (*Nauportus*).⁶ The Baroque writer Johann Ludwig Schönleben⁷ wrongly supplemented the abbreviation *mag(istri) vici* on the inscription as *Magnus vicus*, and thought that the name referred to neighboring Ig. In the second half of the 19th century, Alfons Müllner in fact even considered Ig the site of Roman Emona because of the large number of funerary monuments found, as few Roman monuments with inscriptions were then known from Ljubljana.⁸ His opinion nonetheless remained solitary.

The Roman name for the settlements in the Ig region still remain unknown. Most probably more than one village existed in this area, and the peregrine communities would have lived in several (smaller) hamlets,⁹ which existed simultaneously, scattered throughout the vicinity of present day Ig. This is best shown by the finds from Iška Vas, where in front of the church of sv. Mihael (St. Michael) a small cemetery dated to the period from the 1st to the 4th centuries was excavated in 1985.¹⁰

Formally, these hamlets belonged to the administrative region of Emona, while the inhabitants lived through their own efforts. As is indicated by the images on stone monuments, the Roman-period inhabitants of Ig were involved in quarrying, forestry, and metalworking;¹¹ with such natural resources and craft products they also supplied the colony of Emona along the water course of the Iščica River.¹²

⁵ RINMS, p. 255.

⁶ CIL I, 1467 = I2, 2286 = III, 3777 + add. 1729 = 10719: Q(uintus) Annaius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) / Torravius / M(arcus) Fulginas M(arci) l(ibertus) / Philogenes / 5 mag(istri) vici de / vic(i) s(ententia) portic(um) f(aciundam) coir(averunt). Translation: Quintus Annaius Torravius, freedman of Quintus (and) Marcus Fulginas Philogenes, freedman of Marcus, village headmen, who according to the decision of the village assembly saw to the building of the colonnade (portico) (from: Šašel Kos 2004, 79).

⁷ Schönleben 1681, I 95, 216, cf. 218; RINMS, pp. 29–35, esp. 32.

⁸ Müllner 1879.

⁹ RINMS, p. 255.

¹⁰ Pleterski, Vuga 1987.

¹¹ Šašel 1959, esp. 122–123.

¹² Šašel Kos 2009b, 108.

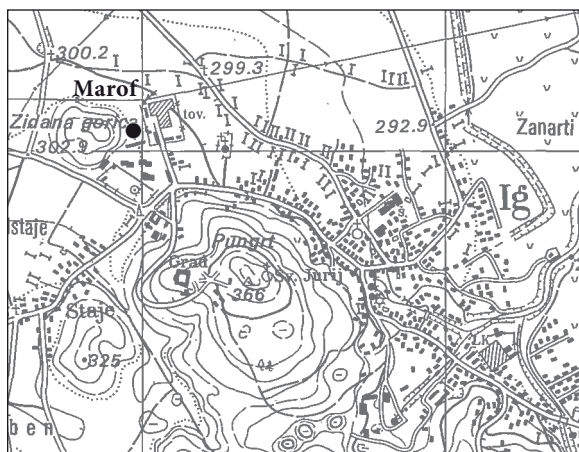


Fig. 1: Marof at Ig on the edge of the Ljubljansko barje.
Sl. 1: Marof na Igu na obrobju Ljubljanskega barja.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE

The fallow land called Marof lies between the remains of an old stone wall surrounding Zidana gorica (residential area of Ig), and the fenced in area of the KIG factory (Fig. 1).¹³ The planned construction of the Logistics Center for ZRC SAZU and more than a hundred Roman inscribed stones that today are immured in the local farms and churches,¹⁴ as well as the fact that the Ig region is included in the cultural heritage registry as EŠD 11406: Ig – Roman period village settlement, were valid reasons that this site be investigated prior to construction. Preliminary archaeological excavations were carried out in May 2014 on lot no. 1857/18 of the Ig cad. dist., under the leadership of Primož Pavlin (ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo).¹⁵ Of the five trenches excavated here, four were negative (no finds), while in one (the fourth) the archaeologists found three cremation graves. This was the reason and cause that excavations were expanded throughout a larger part of the meadow.

¹³ Grahek 2014a. The archaeological excavations and the individual finds were presented at the symposium *Emona 2000: urbanizacija prostora – nastanek mesta* on 16 April 2015 in Ljubljana, and will be published in part in the collected works of the symposium. The complete publication of the excavations with a more detailed description of the graves and finds is in preparation.

¹⁴ Šašel 1959; Hostnik 1997; RINMS, pp. 255–256 and RINMS 77–101. Several stone monuments from the Ig region in the 18th century were also immured in the Ljubljana Cathedral and Seminary, see Šašel Kos 1998.

¹⁵ Pavlin, Leghissa 2014.

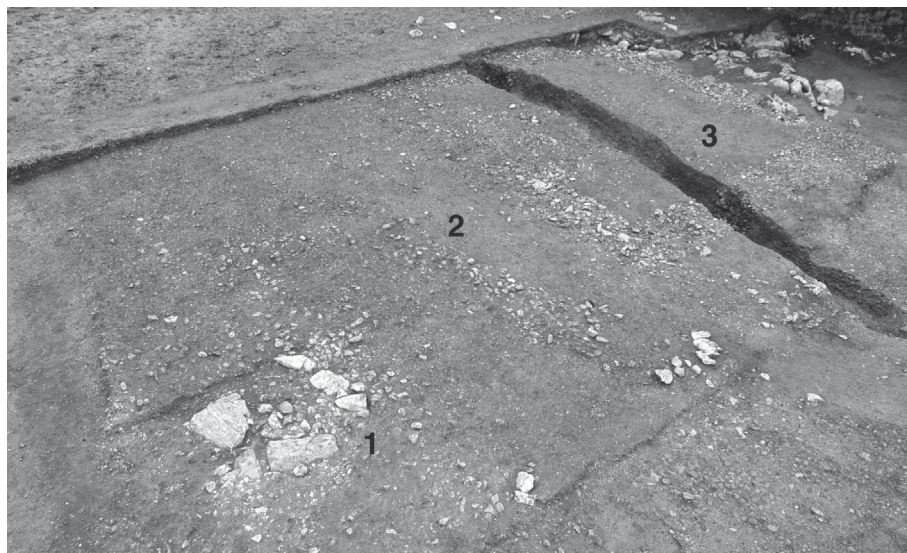


Fig. 2: Marof at Ig, excavations in 2014. The southwestern part of the excavation area and the archaeological structures documented after the removal of turf. View to the southwest. 1 – pit with stone monuments; 2 – road; 3 – Structure 1. Sl. 2: Marof na Igu, izkopavanja l. 2014. Jugozahodni del izkopnega polja in arheološke strukture, dokumentirane po odstranitvi ruše. Pogled proti jugozahodu. 1 – jama s kamnitimi spomeniki; 2 – cesta; 3 – objekt. (Photo / Foto M. Lukić)

The archaeological excavations that were carried out from the 8th of July to the 7th of October 2014, under the leadership of Lucija Grahek (ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo), also covered the track of the future access road. The archaeologists assumed there were even more graves at that place and that the construction of the Logistics Center for the ZRC SAZU would endanger them. Therefore the objective was to determine the scope, structure and state of preservation of the cemetery, which had already been defined as Roman period according to the grave goods in the test trenches. In the further excavations, 25 cremation graves were discovered, which on the basis of the material and comparisons with the Emona cemeteries were preliminarily dated to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. The cemetery, whose extent is still not known entirely despite the excavations, probably extended all the way to the local Ig-Staje road at the foot of Pungert, where in 2014 another small rescue excavation was performed because of the organization of an additional parking lot for the Zagorica residential block.¹⁶

In the southwestern part of the excavation field the cemetery road was documented (Fig. 2: 2). Three levels of the southeast-northwest running road could be identified (repair, leveling, and fill).

Wheel tracks were still visible, while along the road the drainage ditch for precipitation could also be recognized.

To the west of the cemetery road the drain foundations were excavated of Structure no. 1, which was damaged by recent digging of a ditch for a water supply system (Fig. 2: 3). The square structure measuring 7.76×7.75 m was interpreted as the fence for a grave plot. All four inner corners contained circular pits, but their purpose is not completely clear. They may have been pits for beams that supported some additional structures on the grave parcel. A base was discovered on the inner side of the plot, where the funerary stele discovered not far away may have stood (see below). Geophysical investigations in the neighboring lot (lot no. 1857/20 cad. dist. Ig), where excavations were not performed, uncovered yet another structure of a similar size (ca. 7×7 m) only 6 m south of Structure 1.¹⁷

On the eastern side of the cemetery road an irregularly shaped pit was discovered, measuring 2.7×2.8 m and 0.95 m in depth (Figs. 2: 1; 3–5). The upper part of the pit fill already contained

¹⁶ Vičić 1987, 257; Grahek 2014a, 55 pp.; Grahek 2014b.

¹⁷ Geo-electric mapping with measurement of electrical resistance was carried out on 29 August 2014 by Rok Plesničar; Plesničar 2014.



Fig. 3: Marof at Ig. The pit with stone monuments.
 Sl. 3: Marof na Igu. Jama s kamnitimi spomeniki.
 (Photo / Foto M. Lukić)

Fig. 4: Marof at Ig. The pit with stone monuments. The arrows indicate the top of the monument.
 Sl. 4: Marof na Igu. Jama s kamnitimi spomeniki. Puščici sta usmerjeni proti vrhu spomenika.

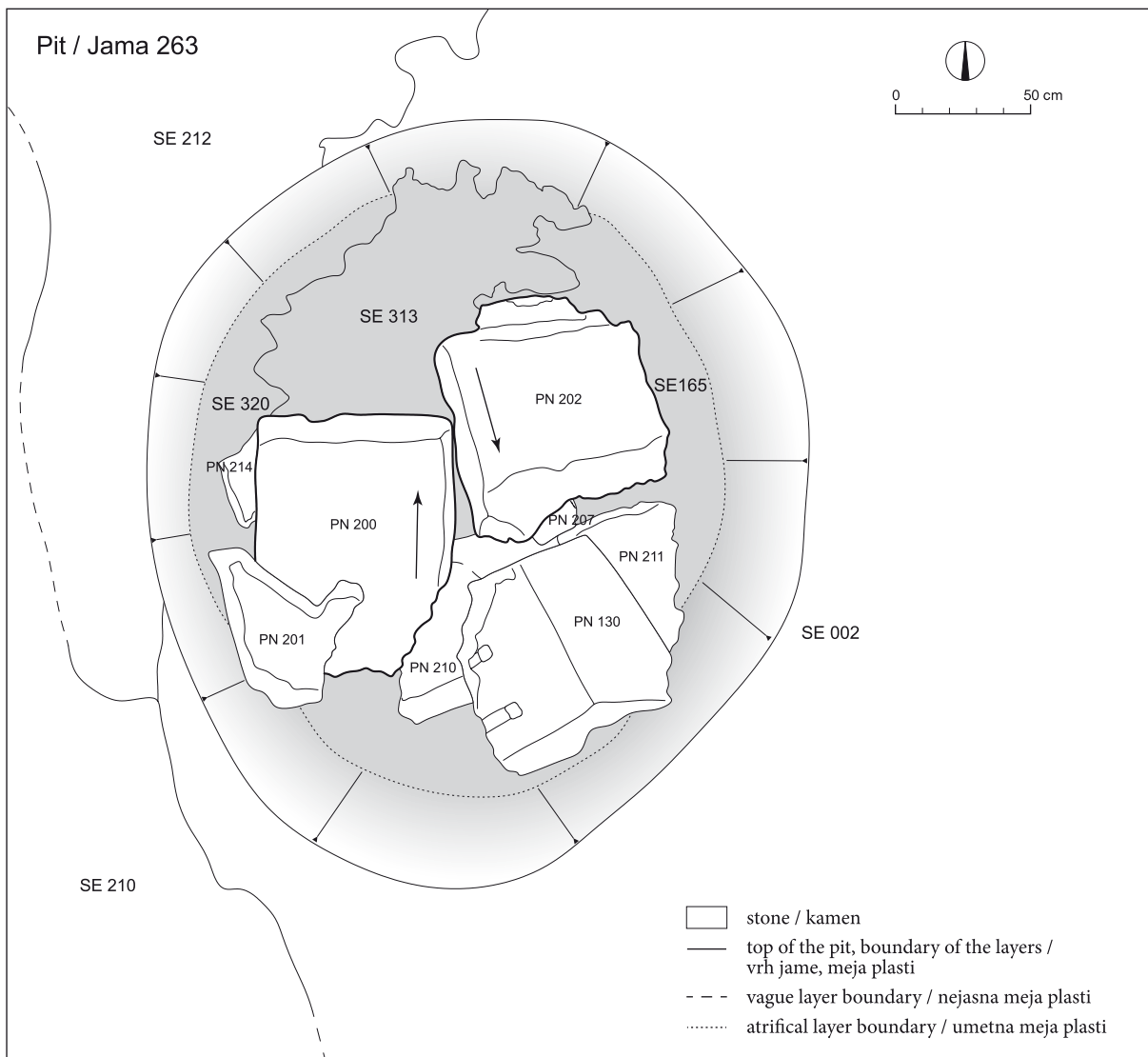




Fig. 5: Marof at Ig. The funerary stele for Petto and his family just after discovery.
Sl. 5: Marof na Igu. Nagrobna stela za Petona in družino takoj po odkritju.
(Photo / Foto M. Lukić)

several fragments of pottery, while deeper in the pit along with Late Roman pottery were found numerous fragments of animal bones, several tiny pieces of glass and metal objects, and fragments of charcoal and burnt human bones. Several worked stones were also found in the pit. In addition to a fragment of a lintel with wedges,¹⁸ a fragment of an extension for a tombstone,¹⁹ and other stones,²⁰ the pit also contained the tombstone broken into three parts (PN 202 + PN 200 = SE 308 + SE 309 and PN 211 = SE 317), which will be presented below.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FUNERARY STELE

The funerary stele in the form of an aedicula (Fig. 6),²¹ was made from local limestone that was quarried in the Podpeč area.²² The stele was found broken into three parts, and the central part of the left and right columns with part of

¹⁸ Special find (PN) 130 = Stratigraphic unit (SE) 166.

¹⁹ PN 201 = SE 309.

²⁰ PN 199, -205, -207, -208, -209, -210 = SE 316, -211 = SE 317, -212 = SE 318, -213 = SE 319, -214 = SE 320, -215, -216, and -217.

²¹ *lupa* 24391. H. 186; w. 76; d. 26.5 cm; h. of letters 3.8–5.4 cm.

²² For the macrolithological description of the tombstone see the contribution by Petra Žvab Rožič, Luka Gale, and Boštjan Rožič (2016) in this volume of *Arheološki vestnik*.

the inscription field by them was chipped. In the profiled gable was a depiction of a male head with short strands of hair elaborated so that it gives the impressions of a head covering. The male relief has a smoothly shaven chin, the nose is broken off, and the lips are somewhat damaged. The partly visible lips are emphasized and the eyes are round. Dolphins swimming downwards are carved in the upper corners, but without the tail fin being depicted, as the tail ends before this at the edge of the tombstone. The inscription field is deepened, flanked by half-columns with Corinthian capitals with acanthus leaves in two rows. The bases of the columns have the form of five ribbed circlets. The shank for placement in the base is preserved. Two fragments of the implant surface or base for placement of the tombstone, which also lay in the pit with the stone monuments, do not correspond to the dimensions of the shank of the funerary stele.²³

The inscription is carved on slightly over half of the inscription field, the empty space in the lower section was perhaps intended for a subsequent burial. The preservation of the letters is good, and the inscription (if the damage is ignored in lines 4 and 5 on the left and in lines 6 and 7 on the right) is almost entirely legible. Only the age of one of the deceased is missing.

²³ Width of the shank 44 cm; w. of the opening of the first base 34 cm, w. of the opening of the second base 36 cm.

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE INSCRIPTION AND COMMENTARY

The inscription on the funerary stele has the following inscription carved (Fig. 7):²⁴

Petto Firm̃'ŷ
f(ilius), aṅ(norum) L ēt Cotiu=
ni aṅ(norum) XL. Bugia
[ēī] Quar't'a
5 filias feceru(nt).
Rustius, Pet(t)=
onis f(ilius), Θ(obitus) aṅ(norum) [...]
ēt f(rater) Fīrmus, Θ(obitus) aṅ(norum) L.

L. 1: I added by the stonecutter above M.

L. 2 and 3: *Cotiuni* mistakenly in the dative instead of the nominative. Claudio Zaccaria reads the line as *c(oniugi) Otiu/ni*.²⁵

L. 4: *Quaria* in place of *Quarta*.

L. 5: The archaic nominative *filius* instead of *filiae*.

L. 6: Probably *Rusticus* instead of *Rustius*. *Petto* with one T.

L. 6–8: Probably a subsequent burial.

L. 8: *F(rater)* and not *f(ilius)* correctly suggested by Claudio Zaccaria.

Translation: Petto, son of Firmus, 50 years old and to Cotiu (!), 40 years old. Their daughters Bugia and Quarta erected (the tombstone). Rustius (Rusticus?), son of Petto, died aged ... and brother Firmus, died aged 50.

As can be seen from the transcription, there were several grammatical and/or carving errors:

- The name *Petto* was carved in line 1 with a double consonant T, while in line 6 it was carved with only one T;
- As it seems, the name *Quarta* was written as *Quaria* and *Rusticus* as *Rustius*.

As the anthroponymy of Ig is somewhat special and some names on the Roman inscribed stones from Ig are only attested here, the possibility must also be allowed that the deceased and one of the

²⁴ The interpretation of the inscription, which was cited in the newspaper *Delo* on the 26th of September 2014, on page 11, was based on the preliminary transcription of the letters just after the discovery of the find. Lucija Grahek, the leader of the excavations, noted in the same article that this was a first reading with possible later changes or additions.

²⁵ For valuable comments about the inscription I would like to thank prof. Claudio Zaccaria.



Fig. 6: Marof at Ig. The funerary stele for Petto and his family.
Sl. 6: Marof na Igu. Nagrobna stela za Petona in njegovo družino. (Photo / Foto M. Lukić)

daughters who erected the monument perhaps were truly named as was carved on the tombstone. However, as *Quarta* and *Rusticus* are attested on several funerary monuments from the Ig region, the above amendment is also most likely. The correct form of the first name is *Petto* and not *Peto*.

– In addition to the erroneous carving of the names on the tombstone, the stone carver also

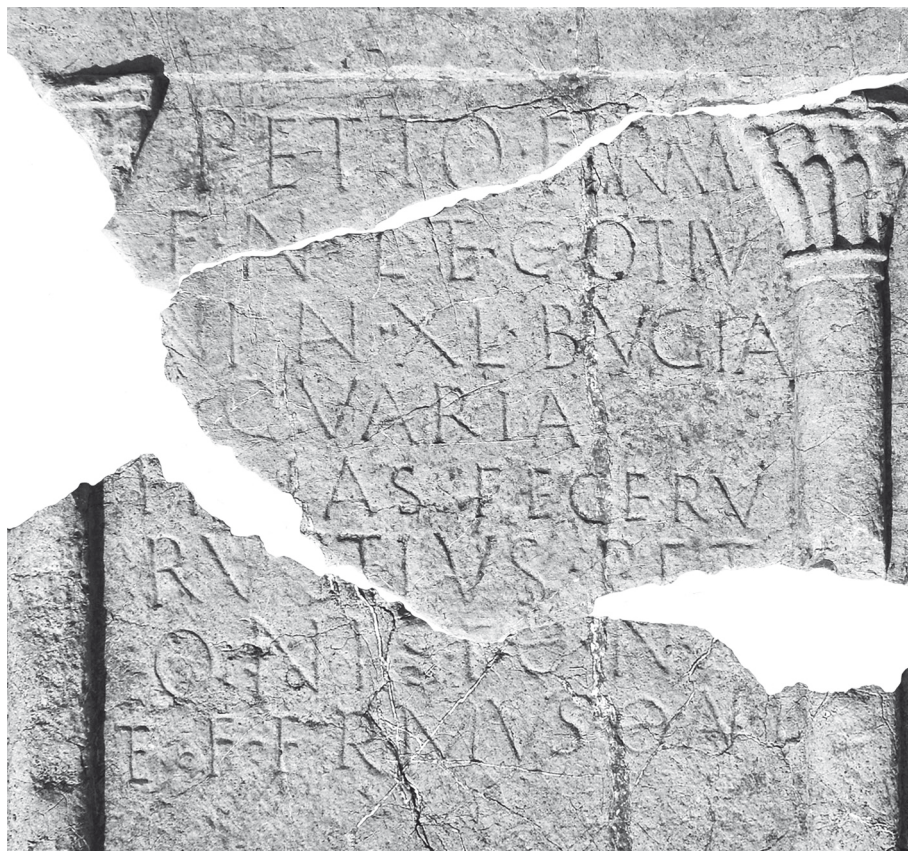


Fig. 7: Marof at Igu. Detail of the funerary stele for Petto – the inscription field.

Sl. 7: Marof na Igu. Detajl z nagrobne stele za Petona – napisno polje.

(Photo / Foto M. Lukić)

carved the archaic nominative *filius* instead of the correct Latin form *filiae*.

A review of existing epigraphic databases (Heidelberg *EDH*, Salzburg *lupa*, Frankfurt *EDCS*, and Rome *EDR*) has shown that the use of the archaic nominative is otherwise rare, but was nonetheless attested on 16 inscriptions discovered both in Italy and in the provinces.²⁶

– The next inconsistency was the contradictory use of the dative and nominative in the names of both parents. Both cases appear on tombstones to

refer to the deceased, although separately. If the monument immortalized the deceased directly, hence noted *who* was buried, the name was carved in the nominative. If the tombstone was erected as a memorial *to someone*, the stone carver inscribed the name in dative. In the case of the funerary stele from Marof, the names of the first deceased, Petto, and both sons were carved in the nominative, while the name of the wife, Cotiuni, was written in dative.

– Finally, the punctuation marks should also be noted, which are triangular in shape and consistently placed after each word or abbreviation, only in line 4 is the punctuation mark missing. Attention was drawn after the discovery of the stele by the mark (inasmuch that this was not merely damage to the stone at that spot, which is more likely) in the *praenomen Cotiuni*. It is placed after the letter C. The letter C is used in abbreviations on inscriptions for the name *Gaius*. Given the remaining text on the tombstone, such a reading is not possible in this case. Similarly, this letter cannot represent an abbreviation for the

²⁶ (1) *lupa* 707 = *RIU* 3, 714 = HD038198; – (2) *lupa* 783 = *CIL* III 13374 = *TitAq* II, 750 = HD068719; – (3) *lupa* 2748 = *TitAq* II, 756 = *AE* 1965, 47 = *AE* 1967, 371 = *AE* 1969/70, 480 = HD014851; – (4) *lupa* 6049; – (5) *AE* 2010, 1416; – (6) *AE* 1978, 376 = HD013518 = *EDR*077200; – (7) *CIL* II 38 (p. 802); – (8) *EDCS*-40200222; – (9) *RIU* 3, 714; – (10) HD009497 = *AE* 1988, 1005; – (11) HD033841 = *ILJug* 597; – (12) HD037160 = *CIL* III 10307; – (13) HD037371 = *RIU* 1227; – (14) HD042022 = *AE* 1963, 176; – (15) HD043062 = *CIL* III 12501; – (16) *EDR*153733 = *AE* 2012, 653.

female name *Gaia*, which is always written out in inscriptions as a female cognomen. It should be added that only a few individuals possessed Roman citizenship in the Ig area. A third possibility would only theoretically exist, where C would represent an abbreviation for wife – *coniux*, which, however, never occurs in the Ig area inscriptions. However, as can be read on the inscription, the tombstone was erected by the daughters and not the husband for his wife. The word *coniux* on tombstones usually stands after the name, and the affiliation with the deceased is further expressed with the term *eius* – his/her. Neither is present on the funerary stele. An example of an incorrectly placed punctuation mark from the Ig region is further known on the funerary stele of *Oppalo*, which is immured in the southern wall of the Ljubljana Cathedral, and which was certainly discovered somewhere in the Ig area (in Strahomer or Ig).²⁷

There are several reasons why mistakes occurred on Roman inscribed stones. The first reason is pronunciation: a given name that otherwise had two consonants could be spoken with an unemphasized second consonant and be carved in that manner on the monument. Another reason for mistakes could be the stonemason's knowledge of Latin or lack of it, with the result of his illiteracy being mistakes in the transcription of the template. A third possibility is that neither the phonetics nor the stone carver's knowledge were responsible, but simply that the mistake was in the template that the stonemason had received. The incorrect text on the template was hence copied unknowingly onto the stone, and the mistake of the customer was immortalized by the carving.

It is difficult to say what exactly caused the superficial execution of the inscription on the funerary stele from Marof. As a peregrine community lived in the Ig area, which had taken over the Roman funerary formulas but still bore their indigenous names and perhaps pronounced Roman names in their own way, it is very possible that a combination of all three possibilities was responsible for the inscription errors.

ANALYSIS OF THE PERSONAL NAMES

The names will be described and analyzed according to the order in which they occur on the tombstone (Fig. 8).

²⁷ *CIL* III 3866 = *AIJ* 192 = EDR136395 = *lupa* 3707.

First comes the name of the deceased father, *Petto*. *Petto* is a hypocoristic formation (i.e. a diminutive form, created by shortening a longer name). In line 1 on the funerary stele from Marof the name was carved as *Petto*, in lines 6 and 7 in the variants *Peto* (in the genitive *Petonis*). According to Radoslav Katičič,²⁸ the name appeared in Gaul as *Peto*, and as parallels he listed names taken from Alfred Holder.²⁹ The name was also attested once at Ig. It can be noted in the manuscript of Avgustinus Tyfernus that in the sacristy of the church at Ig was a carved tombstone for Venix, son of Empeto. The inscription was lost from as early as the time of Valentin Vodnik, while Tyfernus' transcription was used by all later authors, including András Mócsy, although the inscription can now reliably be interpreted as *Venixem(a) Petonis filia*.³⁰ Katičič's assumption that the *pater familias* must stand in the first place on the tombstone can now be refuted thanks to the discovery of the discussed funerary stele.³¹

Petto's wife was named *Cotiu* (or *Otiu?*, theoretically possible but less likely also *Cotiuinis/Otiuinis*), gen. *Cotiuinis/Otiuinis*. The name is a *hapax legomenon* in the Ig region, i.e. a name attested only once. It belongs among names ending in –ū, gen. –ūnis, which mostly appear in Noricum,³² although they are also known, for example, from Iška vas (*Tetiu*)³³ or Ig (*Amatu*).³⁴ The name is attested as *Cottia* in Gaul³⁵ (perhaps from the Gaulish *kotto- 'old')³⁶ and once as *Cottu* (on the monument as *Cotu*) in Dacia.³⁷

One of the two daughters who were responsible for erecting the tombstone was named *Bugia*. The name *Bugia* or *Bucia* is attested only four times.³⁸ It appears on a tombstone immured in the Ljubljana Cathedral (transported from the Ig region),³⁹ on a tombstone discovered in Celje,⁴⁰ on a tombstone

²⁸ Katičič 1966, 159; Katičič 1968, 91.

²⁹ Holder 1962, 973 – today inadequate.

³⁰ *CIL* III 3820 = *lupa* 4668; Mócsy 1959, 206. A new reading by Marjeta Šašel Kos in EDR148386.

³¹ See the contribution by Luka Repanšek (2016) in this volume of *Arheološki vestnik*.

³² Falkner 1948.

³³ *CIL* III 3814.

³⁴ *ILJug* 297 = *lupa* 4181 = HD017539 = EDR148250.

³⁵ Delamarre 2007, 76.

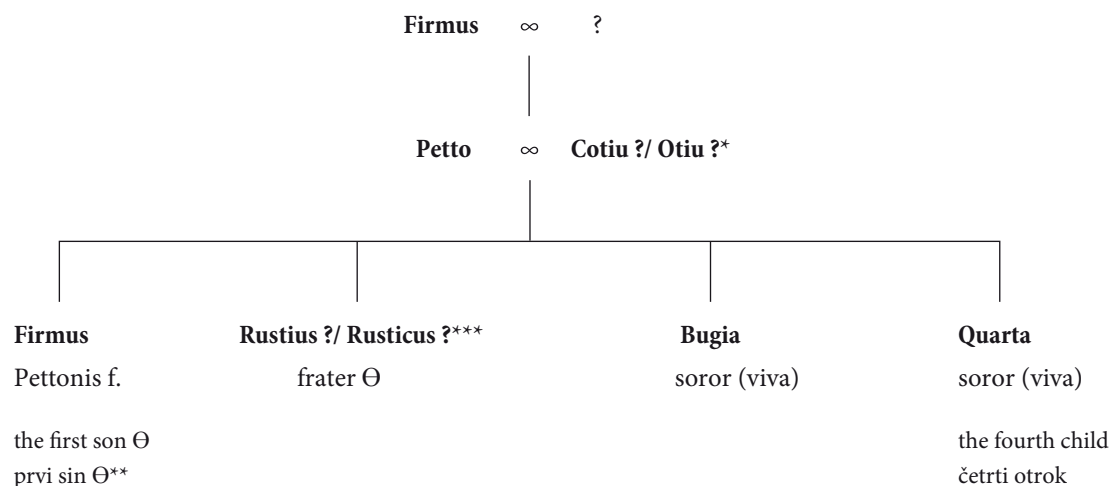
³⁶ In terms of the Ig variants, see Repanšek 2016, 340.

³⁷ *CIL* III 966 = *lupa* 14991 = HD044943.

³⁸ *OPEL* I, 131; Mócsy 1959, 167. A similar distribution was also noted by Katičič 1966, 158; Lochner von Hüttenbach 1989, 38.

³⁹ *CIL* III 3862 = *AIJ* 186 = *lupa* 3701 = EDR134951.

⁴⁰ *CIL* III 5265 = *AIJ* 57 = *lupa* 3616 = HD067148.



* I added Cotiu (?), since in view of other inscriptions from the Ig area, C as an abbreviation for *c(oniugi)* does not seem plausible. / Dodala sem Cotiu (?), saj glede na ostale napise z Ižanskega črka C zelo verjetno ne stoji kot okrajšava za *c(oniugi)*.

** He bears the same name as his grandfather. / Ima isto ime kot njegov ded.

*** I added Rusticus (?), because it is often attested in the inscriptions from the Ig area, while Rustius has not been documented to date at Emona and its territory. / Dodala sem Rusticus (?), saj se ime na napisnih spomenikih Ižanskega pogosto pojavlja, medtem ko Rustius doslej v Emoni in njenem upravnem območju še ni izpričano.

Fig. 8: Family tree of the persons inscribed on the stele from Marof at Ig (kindly suggested by Prof. Claudio Zaccaria).

Sl. 8: Družinsko drevo oseb, ki so imenovane na nagrobni steli z Marofa na Igu (po predlogu Claudia Zaccarije).

from Diex near Völkermarkt in Austria,⁴¹ and on a tombstone from the Thal area near Graz in Austria.⁴² In addition to the tombstone from the Ljubljana Cathedral, the name appears in the Ig region another two times.⁴³ According to Radoslav Katičič⁴⁴ and Wolfgang Meid⁴⁵ the name was defined as Celtic, while according to a recent analysis the name was most probably autochthonous to the Ig region.⁴⁶

The other daughter had an undoubtedly Roman name. The female form of the name, **Quarta**, appears more frequently than the male *Quartus*, and this was also characteristic for the Ig region.⁴⁷ The

name is attested throughout the entire western part of the Roman Empire, and is particularly common in northern Italy and Noricum.⁴⁸ It designates a child who was born fourth into a family.⁴⁹ This was a Latin cognomen, which at Ig was used in the function of a personal name (like *Rusticus* or *Firmus*, see below).

According to different letter forms the names of the sons were probably carved later on the stele. The first, **Rustius** or more likely **Rusticus**, bears a Latin name that is frequent at Ig.⁵⁰ (For the recorded *-ius* in place of the expected *-icus*, see above).

The name of the second son was **Firmus**, the same as the name of his grandfather, the father of Petto.

⁴¹ *CIL* III 11579 = *lupa* 2465 = HD056422.

⁴² *CIL* III 5440 = *lupa* 1217 = HD038640.

⁴³ Strahomer: *CIL* III 3788 = *lupa* 5563 = EDR148319 – *Bucioni* instead of *Bugioni*. Ig: *CIL* III 3797 = *lupa* 4655 = EDR148386.

⁴⁴ Katičič 1966, 150 and 158; Katičič 1968, 72.

⁴⁵ Meid 2005, 157, 158 and 179.

⁴⁶ Repanšek 2016, 388 and pass.

⁴⁷ Katičič 1968, 62; Stifter 2012, 261 (*CIL* III 3815 = *AIJ* 141 = *RINMS* 87 = *lupa* 3681 = EDR134931; – *CIL* III 3805 = *lupa* 4184 = EDR148392; – *ILJug* 1078 = *lupa* 4179 = HD013485 = EDR077176; – *CIL* III 3813 = EDR148399; – *CIL* III 3812 = EDR148402; – *CIL* III 10748 = *lupa* 4180 = EDR148403; – *CIL* III 3824 = *lupa* 4187 = EDR148425; – *CIL* III 10743 = *lupa* 3677 = EDR148334).

⁴⁸ *OPEL* IV, 16; Mócsy 1959, 186; Katičič 1968, 62; Alföldy 1969, 278–279; Lochner von Hüttenbach 1989, 128; Kakoschke 2012, 593–594.

⁴⁹ Kajanto 1965, 74, 75, 77 and 293.

⁵⁰ Katičič 1968, 62; Stifter 2012, 261 (*CIL* III 10745 = *RINMS* 81 = EDR134912; – *CIL* III 3800 = *AIJ* 132 = *RINMS* 85 = *lupa* 3672 = EDR134929; – *CIL* III 3813 = EDR148399; – *CIL* III 3812 = EDR148402; – *CIL* III 3804 = 10731 = *AIJ* 134 = *lupa* 3674 = EDR148271; – *CIL* III 3799 = 10730 = *lupa* 5564 = EDR148216; – *CIL* III 3808 = EDR148291; – *CIL* III 3861 = 10758 = *lupa* 4201 = EDR155653; – *AIJ* 195 = *lupa* 3709 = EDR136401).

This Latin name is attested throughout the western part of the Roman Empire, and was particularly frequent in northern Italy.⁵¹ It was attested several times at Ig and was evidently popular.⁵² Iiro Kajanto classified the name (derived from the Latin adjective *firmus*) among the names that marked the power of an individual, who was spiritually and naturally robust, powerful, decisive, consistent, and coherent.⁵³

On the tombstone are therefor documented on the one hand distinctly Roman names (cognomina), such as *Firmus* and *Quarta*, and on the other hand names of the autochthonous inhabitants of the Ig region: *Petto*, *Bugia*, and perhaps also *Cotiu/Otiu*. Until recently they were part of the collection of names from the Ig region that were incorrectly defined as Celtic (Gaulish), while recent analysis has shown that they should be interpreted as a special group within the northern Adriatic languages and onomastic areas.⁵⁴

THE DATING OF THE FUNERARY STELE FROM MAROF

According to analogous examples collected by Edisa Lozić in the Ig region, the funerary stele from Marof can be classified among the architectural stele of the aedicula type with a gable (A/III) or portrait niche (B/III).⁵⁵ A more precise attribution to one of the hypothesized Ig workshops is more difficult. As was noted by the author, workshops may have existed at Strahomer, at Ig, and in Iška vas, all working at the same time, between the 2nd and 3rd centuries.⁵⁶ The dolphins on the stele from Marof do not have triangular tail fins or incised lines marking the pectoral and dorsal fins that are characteristic for the Strahomer workshop. If the thickness of the stele is considered (26.5 cm), the tombstone from Marof could have been made at

Iška vas,⁵⁷ but also at the workshop in Ig, which is closest to the site of discovery.

According to the data from the excavation, the stele was definitely discovered in a Late Roman pit (see below). Lucija Grahek connected the latter to abandonment of the cemetery road, Structure 1, and the cemetery. Perhaps the stele even adorned a grave plot, near which it was discovered. The graves were dated from non-pottery grave goods (coins of Vespasian and Antoninus Pius, a glass urn, a fibula of type Almgren 69, and a fibula of the Emona type) to the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century.⁵⁸ It seems logical that the stele from Marof should probably also be placed in the same chronological framework.

The Devil's stones as the reason for the stele to be discarded?

During the excavations it was established that the Roman stone monuments had been deliberately placed in the pit. The stone remains lay within the pit, mixed with Late Roman pottery, which on the basis of analogies was dated to the 4th and 5th centuries.⁵⁹ Prior to deposition in the pit, the funerary stele was broken into two parts. They lay in the pit each facing in its own direction (*Figs. 3 and 4*: PN 200 and PN 202 + 211) with the inscription field turned downwards. Under the weight of the rest of the stone material, the larger part of the monument broke into two parts, so that at discovery the tombstone had already been broken into three parts (PN 200, 202, and 211). What was the reason for such a destruction of the funerary stele? What bothered the inhabitants of Marof in Late Antiquity to such an extent that they perhaps destroyed Roman stone monuments deliberately (?) and threw them into a pit?

The rich deposits of limestone in the immediate vicinity of Ig (Podpeč, Sv. Ana, Glinice, Staje, and Skopačnik),⁶⁰ and numerous topographic names indicate the use of local limestone to extract lime,⁶¹ although in the example of the above described pit such an interpretation is less likely. Lime kilns

⁵¹ OPEL II, 142; Mócsy 1959, 174; Alföldy 1969, 204; Lochner von Hüttenbach 1989, 79; Kakoschke 2012, 423, 424.

⁵² Katičić 1968, 62; Lochner-Hüttenbach 1965, 25 and 40; Stifter 2012, 261 (*CIL* III 3797 = *lupa* 4655 = EDR148386; – *CIL* III 3796 = *lupa* 4654 = EDR148387; – *CIL* III 3798 = *RINMS* 84 = *lupa* 4183 = EDR134927; – *CIL* III 3815 = *RINMS* 87 = *AIJ* 141 = *lupa* 3681 = EDR134931; – *CIL* III 3788 = 10727 = *lupa* 5563 = EDR148319; *ILJug* 299 = *lupa* 5570 = EDR148327; – *CIL* III 3866 = *AIJ* 192 = *lupa* 3707 = EDR136395.

⁵³ Kajanto 1965, 258.

⁵⁴ Stifter 2012; Repanšek 2016, 333–334.

⁵⁵ Lozić 2009, 212, 210 Fig. 4.

⁵⁶ Lozić 2009, 215.

⁵⁷ Lozić 2009, 212–214.

⁵⁸ Grahek 2014a, 64, 65.

⁵⁹ Such a dating was suggested shortly after the discovery of the find by Zvezda Modrijan, ZRC SAZU, Institut za arheologijo.

⁶⁰ Ramovš 1990, 15–20; *RINMS*, pp. 18, 19, Fig. 3.

⁶¹ Ramovš 1990, 163–166.

were usually located in the vicinity of quarries, as large quantities of stone were necessary to make firing profitable.⁶²

Similarly, it is less likely that the stone remains from the pit would have been used for building material. The reuse of Roman monuments is indicated by the numerous Roman tombstones immured in Ig houses, outbuildings, and churches, while at the same time the planned storage of Roman stone material is also shown by an example from Roman Emona. Walter Schmid during excavations in the city in 1911 in the so-called 'goldsmith's house' (House IV) in the vicinity of the southern Emona walls discovered several Roman monuments that had been deliberately set aside. The purpose of the house changed in Late Antiquity, and it then became some kind of warehouse where stone monuments were collected that could later be used as building material, and perhaps even for repairs to the town walls.⁶³ Even if it is assumed that the stone monuments at Marof were intended for reuse, why would the 'collectors' make their work more difficult and bury the stone material in a pit? Additionally, even for the archaeologists today it was very difficult to remove the monuments from the pit, as it required the efforts of several people at once.

Theoretically, the possibility would also exist that the tombstone (or its near vicinity) had been struck by lightning. Areas struck by lightning were ritually purified by priests, and the object that lightning had struck was ritually buried in a pit. The only example of such a lightning burial from Slovenia was discovered in 1901 on Rimski cesta (Roman Road) in Ljubljana.⁶⁴ As there is no trace of burning on the monument from Marof (or it might not necessarily be visible at all), but an inscription is missing that would mark such an object that had become taboo, I consider the hypothesis about a lightning strike to be less likely.⁶⁵

It is more likely that the pit from Later Antiquity should in fact be related to Christianity. Traces of pagan beliefs were retained in Emona even up to the late 4th century.⁶⁶ With the Edict of Milan in 313, Christianity became a faith with the same rights as the other religions in the Empire, while the Emperor Constantine (306–337) in his thirty years of rule radically acted against paganism: prohibiting the placement of images of the gods and commanding the destruction of pagan sanctuaries. His son Constantius II continued these policies, and in cases of negligence strictly punished provincial governors if they had not acted against paganism. In 392, Emperor Theodosius (379–392), an ardent Catholic, forbade paganism and customs associated with it. Temples were rarely destroyed to the end of the 4th century, but the decree of 399 required that temples throughout the state be destroyed. The systematic destruction of pagan statues and altars, as well as private sanctuaries, began in 407/408, particularly in the East.⁶⁷ On the other hand, in the West not a single law is known that would have ordered the destruction of pagan religious buildings. Demolition of the pagan statues, inscriptions, and temples, in particular the religious monuments, took place in a milder form than in the East.⁶⁸

Sources that describe or at least mention the destruction of pagan remains are rare. On the one hand it was related to local initiatives of small communities, while at the same time Christianity utilized such destruction for its own promotion.⁶⁹ Mark the Deacon in his life of St. Porphyry (*Vita Porphyrii*), Bishop of Gaza in 395–420, clearly described what was the Christian attitude to the old beliefs. The monuments were not merely destroyed, but were also purposely reused: '*...The bishop ordered that the remains of Marneon [pagan temple] be used for paving the square in front of the temple, so that on them could walk not merely men, but also women, pigs, dogs, and wild animals.*'⁷⁰ Some examples of the destruction of pagan monuments and in particular the re-use of the stone material are also known from

⁶² Bras 1977, 75.

⁶³ Šašel Kos 2014, 90, 91.

⁶⁴ RINMS 30; EDR129032; lupa 8884; EDCS-11300964: *Fulg(ur) c(onditum)*. Translation: Buried lightning. Stored: NMS, inv. no. L 49.

⁶⁵ Monuments with mention of the burial of lightning are known both from Italy and the provinces. See the most recently discovered example from the site of Todi: *Fulgur Conditum, il sepolcro del fulmine* [http://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2010/08/09/foto/fulgur_conditum-6175330/1/?refresh_ce] [last access 26. June 2016]. For the suggestion, I would like to thank Prof. Claudio Zaccaria and Prof. Fulvia Mainardis.

⁶⁶ Bratož 2014, 48 and 302.

⁶⁷ Pillinger 1985, 178, 179.

⁶⁸ Bratož 2014, 303, 304.

⁶⁹ De Vecchi 2012.

⁷⁰ Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porph.* 76: τὰ ὑπολειφθέντα σκύβαλα τῆς μαρμαρώσεως τοῦ Μαρνείου [...] ἐκέλευεν ὁ ὄσιος ἐπίσκοπος πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἔχω εἰς τὴν πλατεῖαν πλακωθῆναι, ἵνα καταπατώνται οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κυνῶν καὶ χοίρων καὶ κνωθάλων. For the re-use of Roman monuments, particularly in Late Antiquity, see Marano 2012.

Slovenia and neighboring regions. While the handling of pagan monuments in Aquileia was quite violent (Theodosius decreed a strict law against paganism in 391), several finds would indicate the destruction of monuments because of the spread of Christianity also in the lands of present-day Austria, primarily in Carinthia and Styria.⁷¹ When describing the battle at Frigidus, Augustine mentions the destruction of pagan images, and at Rifnik two votive inscriptions dedicated to the local aquatic deity *Aquo* served in the 5th century as a step and a cornerstone in the church building.⁷²

Christianity appeared in large towns in the southeastern Alpine region in the second half of the 4th and beginning of the 5th centuries, and in rural areas perhaps even a generation or two later.⁷³ The pit with stone monuments from Marof can also be dated to this period. It contained a tombstone (deliberately?) broken into two parts and thrown in with the inscription facing downwards, it clearly indicates the likelihood of a struggle between the old religion and the (new) Christianity. Perhaps Christians were bothered by the depictions on the

stele, which they did not connect to an image of the deceased but rather to the worship of some local deity. However, whether the thesis of the Devil's stones and the related demonization of Roman remains on the part of Christians could also be applicable and credible in the case of the deposition at Marof, will probably never be definitively explicated.⁷⁴

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Translation: Barbara Smith Demo

⁷¹ Pillinger 1985, 179–182 (with the citation of the following sites): Lendorf near Teurnia, Virunum, Hohenstein, Wabelsdorf/Vabnja vas, Wutschein/Bučinja vas, Frauenberg near Leibnitz/Lipnica, St. Margarethen/Šmarjeta in Lavamünd/Labotska dolina, and at Mauer an der Url in Austria along the Danube).

⁷² Bratož 2014, 304, 305.

⁷³ Bratož 1990, 8; Bratož 2014, 302.

⁷⁴ The funerary stele, together with the majority of stone material, was transported at the end of the excavations to temporary storage in the premises of the Municipality of Ig.

Abbreviations / Kratice

AE = *L'Année épigraphique*.

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

CIL = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*.

EDCS = *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clausz / Slaby* (Service provider / skrbnik: Manfred Clausz) [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi_de.php].

EDR = *Epigraphic Database Roma*. Service provider / skrbnik: DigiLab Centro interdepartimentale di ricerca e servizi, Sapienza Università di Roma [<http://www.edr-edr.it>].

HD = EDH, *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg* (Service provider / skrbnik: Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften [<http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home?&lang=de>]).

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 MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 25), 1986.

lupa = UBI ERAT LUPA – F. und O. Harl, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org (Bildatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern).

OPEL = B. Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, Vol. I: *Aba – Bysanus*, Budapest 2005²; Vol. II: *Cabalicius – Ixus*, Wien 1999; Vol. III: *Labareus – Pythea*, Wien 2000; Vol. IV: *Labareus – Pythea*, Wien 2002.

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

RIU = *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*. – Budapest 1972–2001.

TitAq = P. Kovács, A. Szabó (eds. / ur.), *Tituli Aquincenses 1 (Tituli operum publicorum et honorarii et sacri)*. – Budapestini 2009. P. Kovács, Á. Szabó (eds. / ur.), *Tituli Aquincenses 2 (Tituli sepulcrales et alii Budapestini reperti)*. – Budapestini 2010.

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Nagrobna stela za Petona z Iga

PREGLED ZGODOVINE IŽANSKEGA KOTA

Današnja vas Ig leži na prodnati ižanski ravnici ob južnem robu Ljubljanskega barja v neposredni bližini Krimskega hribovja. Najstarejše arheološke najdbe na območju današnje vasi in bližnje okolice sodijo v čas kamene dobe,¹ okoliš pa je bil s prekinitvami poseljen vso prazgodovino.² Gradišče iz železne dobe je bilo verjetno na Grajskem hribu oz. Pungertu,³ ki se dviga nad nekdanjim vaškim jedrom, imenovanim Studenec.⁴ Manjša naselbina iz mlajše železne dobe je morda nastala pod Pungertom, kraj je tako morda bil postajališče na lokalni cesti, ki je Ig na eni strani povezovala z Ljubljansko kotlino, Notranjsko in Dolenjsko ter na drugi strani z Jadranom.⁵

Nasprotno pa o rimskodobni naselbini na Igu vemo zelo malo. Njen pravni položaj je bil v preteklosti na podlagi napačnega branja gradbenega napisa⁶ z Vrhnike (*Nauportus*) opredeljen kot *vicus*.

Baročni pisec Janez Ludvik Schönleben⁷ je kratico *mag(istri) vici* na napisu namreč zmotno dopolnil kot *Magnus vicus* – (Veliko) vas in menil, da se ime nanaša na sosednji Ig. V drugi polovici 19. st. pa je Alfons Müllner zaradi velikega števila tam najdenih nagrobnikov prav na Ig lociral celo antično Emono, iz katere je bilo v njegovem času znanih manj rimskih spomenikov z napisi.⁸ Kljub temu je njegovo mnenje ostalo osamljeno.

Antično ime poselitve Ižanskega kota pa še vedno ostaja neznanka. Najverjetneje na tem območju ni bila samo ena vas, ampak je peregrinska skupnost živela v več (manjših) zaselkih,⁹ ki so obstajali sočasno razpršeni po današnjih vaseh v okolici Iga. To najbolj neposredno kažejo najdbe iz Iške vasi, kjer je bilo pred cerkvijo sv. Mihaela leta 1985 raziskano manjše grobišče, datirano v čas od 1. do 4. st.¹⁰

Formalno so ti zaselki sodili v upravno območje Emone, prebivalci pa so živeli samooskrbno. Kot kažejo upodobitve na kamnitih spomenikih, so se rimskodobni Ižanci ukvarjali s kamnoseštvom, gozdarstvom/lesarstvom in kovaštvom;¹¹ z omenjenimi naravnimi viri in obrtnimi izdelki so po vodni poti po Iščici¹² oskrbovali tudi kolonijo Emono.

¹ Gaspari, Erič 2006, 16, 17.

² Velušček 2004, 79; Velušček 2005; Čufar, Velušček, Kromer 2013; Draksler 2014.

³ Šašel 1975, 180.

⁴ Gestrin 1994, 2; Hostnik 1997, 9; Šašel Kos 2009a, 100.

⁵ *RINMS*, str. 255.

⁶ *CIL* I, 1467 = I², 2286 = III, 3777 + add. 1729 = 10719: *Q(uintus) Annaius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) / Torravius / M(arcus) Fulginas M(arci) l(ibertus) / Philogenes / 5 mag(istri) vici de / vic(i) s(ententia) portic(um) f(aciundam) coir(averunt)*. Prevod: Kvint Anaj Toravij, Kvintov osvobojenec, (in) Mark Fulginas Filogen, Markov osvobojenec, vaška načelnika, sta po sklepu vaške skupščine oskrbela izgradnjo stebrišča (portika) (prevod po: Šašel Kos 2004, 79).

⁷ Schönleben 1681, I 95, 216 cf. 218; *RINMS*, str. 29–35, predvsem 32.

⁸ Müllner 1879.

⁹ *RINMS*, str. 255.

¹⁰ Pleterski, Vuga 1987.

¹¹ Šašel 1959, zlasti 122–123.

¹² Šašel Kos 2009a, 100.

NAJDIŠČE

Ledina Marof leži med ostanki starega kamnitega zidu, ki obdaja Zidano gorico, in ograjenim območjem tovarne KIG (*sl. 1*).¹³ Načrtovana gradnja Logističnega centra ZRC SAZU in več kot sto rimskih napisnih kamnov, ki so danes vzdani po okoliških domačijah in cerkvah,¹⁴ kakor tudi dejstvo, da je območje Iga zapisano v registru kulturne dediščine (EŠD 11406: Ig – Rimskodobna vaška naselbina), so bili razlog, da se je pred gradnjo na tem mestu sondiralo. Predhodne arheološke raziskave so bile izvedene maja 2014 na parc. št. 1857/18 k. o. Ig pod vodstvom Primoža Pavlina (ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo).¹⁵ Od petih sond, ki so bile izkopane na omenjeni parceli, so bile štiri negativne, v eni (četrti) pa so arheologi našli na tri žgane grobove. Ti so bili povod in vzrok, da se je začelo na večjem območju ledine izkopavati.

Arheološke raziskave pod vodstvom Lucije Grahek (ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo), ki so potekale od 8. julija do 7. oktobra 2014, so zajele tudi traso bodoče dovozne ceste. Arheologi so predpostavljali, da je grobov na tem mestu še več, gradnja Logističnega centra ZRC SAZU pa bi jih ogrozila. Zato je bil cilj raziskav ugotoviti obseg, strukturo in ohranjenost grobišča, ki je bilo že po pridatkih grobov iz sondiranj opredeljeno kot rimskodobno. Z nadaljnjimi raziskavami je bilo odkritih 25 žganih grobov, ki so na podlagi gradiva in primerjav z emonskimi grobišči preliminarno datirani v 1. in 2. st. n. št. Grobišče, katerega obseg kljub izkopavanjem še ni znan v celoti, se je verjetno razprostiralo vse do vicinalne ceste Ig–Staje ob vzhodu Pungerta, kjer so bila leta 2014 prav tako opravljena manjša zaščitna arheološka izkopavanja na območju ureditve dodatnega parkirišča za blokovsko naselje Zagorica.¹⁶

V jugozahodnem delu izkopnega polja je bila dokumentirana grobiščna cesta (*sl. 2: 2*). Prepoznani so bili trije nivoji ceste (popravila, izravnave in nasutja), ki je tekla v smeri od jugovzhoda proti

severozahodu. V njej so bile še vidne kolesnice, ob cesti pa sta bila prepoznana obcestna jarka za odvajanje meteorne vode.

Zahodno od grobiščne ceste so bili izkopani drenažni temelji objekta (poimenovan objekt 1), ki je bil poškodovan z recentnim posegom ob izkopu jarka za vodovod (*sl. 2: 3*). Kvadraten objekt velikosti 7,76 × 7,75 m je interpretiran kot ograja grobne parcele. V vseh štirih notranjih vogalih so bile odkrite jame okrogle oblike, njihova namembnost ni popolnoma jasna. Morebiti je šlo za jame za sohe, ki so na grobni parceli podpirale dodatno konstrukcijo. Na notranji strani parcele je bil odkrit postament, na katerem je morda stala nagrobna stela, odkrita nedaleč stran (glej spodaj). Z geofizikalnimi raziskavami na sosednji parceli (parc. št. 1857/20 k. o. Ig), kjer izkopavanja niso bila izvedena, je bil samo 6 m južno od objekta 1 prepoznan še en objekt podobne velikosti (pribl. 7 × 7 m).¹⁷

Na vzhodni strani grobiščne ceste je bila odkrita jama nepravilne oblike, velikosti 2,7 × 2,8 m ter z 0,95 m globokim vkopom (*sl. 2: 1; 3–5*). V vrhnjem delu zasutja jame je ležalo več fragmentov keramike, globlje v jami pa so bili poleg poznoantične keramike najdeni številni kosi živalskih kosti, nekaj drobcev stekla in kovinskih predmetov ter koščki oglja in kalciniranih človeških kosti. V jami so bili večji obdelani kamni. Poleg fragmenta preklade z zagozdami,¹⁸ fragmenta nastavka za nagrobno ploščo¹⁹ ter drugih kamnov²⁰ je v jami ležal na tri dele razlomljen nagrobnik (PN 202 + PN 200 = SE 308 + SE 309 in PN 211 = SE 317), ki bo predstavljen v nadaljevanju.

NAGROBNA STELA

Nagrobna stela²¹ v obliki edikule (*sl. 6*) je bila izdelana iz lokalnega apnenca, ki so ga izkoriščali na območju Podpeči.²² Stela je bila ob odkritju

¹³ Grahek 2014a. Arheološke raziskave in posamezne najdbe so bile predstavljene na simpoziju *Emona 2000: urbanizacija prostora – nastanek mesta* 16. aprila 2015 v Ljubljani in bodo deloma objavljene v zborniku predavanj. Celovita objava izkopavanj s podrobnejšim opisom grobov in najdb je v pripravi.

¹⁴ Šašel 1959; Hostnik 1997; *RINMS*, str. 255–256 in *RINMS* 77–101. Nekateri kamniti spomeniki z Ižanskega so bili v 18. st. vzdani tudi v ljubljansko stolnico in semenišče, glej Šašel Kos 1998.

¹⁵ Pavlin, Leghissa 2014.

¹⁶ Vičič 1987, 257; Grahek 2014a, 55 ss; Grahek 2014b.

¹⁷ Geoelektrično kartiranje z merjenjem električnega upora je 29. avgusta 2014 opravil Rok Plesničar; Plesničar 2014.

¹⁸ Posebna najdba (PN) 130 = stratigrafska enota (SE) 166.

¹⁹ PN 201 = SE 309.

²⁰ PN 199, -205, -207, -208, -209, -210 = SE 316, -211 = SE 317, -212 = SE 318, -213 = SE 319, -214 = SE 320, -215, -216 in -217.

²¹ *lupa* 24391. Viš. 186; šir. 76; deb. 26,5 cm; viš. črk 3,8–5,4 cm.

²² Za makrolitološki opis in natančnejšo določitev kamnine glej prispevek Petre Žvab Rožič, Luke Galeta in Boštjana Rožiča (2016) v tej številki Arheološkega vestnika.

zlomljena na tri dele, osrednji del levega in desnega stebrička z delom napisnega polja ob njem je bil okrušen. V profiliranem zatrepu je upodobljena moška glava s kratko pramenasto frizuro, izdelana tako, da daje vtis pokrivala. Moški relief ima gladko obrito brado, odlomljen nos in nekoliko poškodovana usta. Delno vidne ustnice so poudarjene, oči so okrogle oblike. V zaklinkih sta izklesana navzdol plavajoča delfina, katerih repna plavut ni izdelana, saj se rep še pred repno plavutjo zaključí z robom nagrobnika. Napisno polje je poglobljeno, obdajata ga polstebra s korintskimi kapiteli, akantove liste imata izdelane v dveh vrstah. Baza stebra ima obliko petih narebrenih obročev. Vsadnik za pritrditvev v podlago je ohranjen. Dva fragmenta vsadnih plošč oz. podlag za postavitev nagrobnika, ki sta prav tako ležala v jami s kamnitimi spomeniki, ne ustrezata dimenzijam vsadnika nagrobne stele.²³

Napis je vklesan nekoliko čez polovico napisnega polja, prazen prostor v spodnjem delu je bil morda namenjen zapisom o naknadnih pokopih. Ohranjenost črk je dobra, napis (če odmislimo poškodbe v 4. in 5. vrstici na levi ter v 6. in 7. vrstici na desni strani) je skoraj v celoti berljiv. Manjka zgolj navedba starosti enega od pokojnikov.

TRANSKRIPCIJA NAPISA IN KOMENTAR

Napis na nagrobni steli ima vklesan napis (*sl.* 7):²⁴

Petto Firm'ī
f(i)lius), ān(norum) L ēt Cotiu=
ni ān(norum) XL. Bugia
[ēī] Quar't'a
5 filias feceru(nt).
Rustius, Pet(t)=
onis f(i)lius), Θ(obitus) ān(norum) [..]
ēt f(rater) Fīrmus, Θ(obitus) ān(norum) L.

Vr. 1: črka I vklesana nad črko M.

Vr. 2 in 3: *Cotiuni* zmotno v dajalniku namesto v imenovalniku. Claudio Zaccaria vrstico dopolnjuje kot *c(oniugi) Oti/ni*.²⁵

²³ Šir. vsadnika 44 cm; šir. odprtine prvega podstavka 34 cm, šir. odprtine drugega podstavka 36 cm.

²⁴ Interpretacija napisa, ki je bila navedena v Delu 26. septembra 2014, str. 11, temelji na preliminarnem prepisu besedila takoj po odkritju najdbe. Da gre za prvo branje z morebitnimi kasnejšimi spremembami oz. dopolnitvami, je v istem članku opozorila že Lucija Grahek, vodja izkopavanj.

²⁵ Za koristne pripombe pri branju napisa se najlepše zahvaljujem prof. Claudiu Zaccariji.

Vr. 4: *Quaria* zelo verjetno namesto *Quarta*.

Vr. 5: arhaični imenovalnik *flias* namesto *filiae*.

Vr. 6: verjetno *Rusticus* namesto *Rustius*. *Petto* z enim T.

Vr. 6–8: verjetno naknadna pokopa.

Vr. 8: Pravilneje *f(rater)* in ne *f(i)lius* po Claudiu Zaccariji.

Prevod: Peton, Firmov sin, star 50 let, in Kotiuni (!), stari 40 let. Hčerki Bugija in Kvarta sta postavili (nagrobnik). Rustij (Rustik?), Petonov sin, umrl star ..., in brat Firmus, umrl star 50 let.

Kot je razvidno iz prepisa, je na nagrobni steli vklesanih več slovničnih in/ali klesarskih napak:

– Ime *Petto* je v vr. 1 vklesano s podvojenim soglasnikom T, v vr. 6 pa je vklesano zgolj z enim T;

– ime *Quarta* je zapisano kot *Quaria* in *Rusticus* kot *Rustius*.

Ker je izžanska antroponimija nekaj posebnega in je nekaj imen na izžanskih rimskih napisnih kamnih izpričanih le tu, je možno, da so se pokojnika in ena od hčera, ki je postavila spomenik, morda res imenovali tako, kot je vklesano na nagrobniku. Toda ker sta *Quarta* in *Rusticus* izpričana na več nagrobnikih iz Ižanskega kota, je zgornja dopolnitev najverjetnejša. Pravilna imenovalniška oblika pokojnega Petona je *Petto* in ne *Peto*.

– Poleg osebnih imen na nagrobniku je klesar napačno vklesal tudi obliko besede "hčerki". Uporabil je arhaični imenovalnik *flias* namesto pravilne latinske oblike *filiae*.

Pregled epigrafskih baz (heidelberške EDH, salzburske lupa, frankfurtske EDCS in rimske EDR) je pokazal, da je raba arhaičnega imenovalnika sicer redka, pa vendar izpričana na 16 napisih, odkritih tako v Italiji kot v provincah.²⁶

– Naslednja napaka je zmotna raba dajalnika oz. imenovalnika pri imenu obeh staršev. Oba skloni se pojavljata na nagrobnikih za navajanje pokojnikov, vendar ločeno. Če je spomenik ovekovečil pokojnika neposredno, torej označeval, *kdo* je pokopan, je ime

²⁶ (1) *lupa* 707 = RIU 3, 714 = HD038198; – (2) *lupa* 783 = CIL III 13374 = TitAq II, 750 = HD068719; – (3) *lupa* 2748 = TitAq II, 756 = AE 1965, 47 = AE 1967, 371 = AE 1969/70, 480 = HD014851; – (4) *lupa* 6049; – (5) AE 2010, 1416; – (6) AE 1978, 376 = HD013518 = EDR077200; – (7) CIL II 38 (p. 802); – (8) EDCS-40200222; – (9) RIU 3, 714; – (10) HD009497 = AE 1988, 1005; – (11) HD033841 = ILJug 597; – (12) HD037160 = CIL III 10307; – (13) HD037371 = RIU 1227; – (14) HD042022 = AE 1963, 176; – (15) HD043062 = CIL III 12501; – (16) EDR153733 = AE 2012, 653.

bilo vklesano v imenovalniku. Če je nagrobnik bil *komu* postavljen v spomin, je klesar vklesal ime v dajalniku. Pri nagrobni steli z Marofa so imena prvega pokojnika Petona ter obeh sinov vklesana v imenovalniku, ime žene Kotiune pa v dajalniku.

– Ne nazadnje je treba opozoriti še na ločilna znamenja, ki so trikotne oblike in dosledno postavljena za vsako besedo oz. okrajšavo, le v vr. 4 ločilno znamenje manjka. Pri odkritju stele je več pozornosti povzročilo ločilno znamenje (če ni zgolj poškodba kamna na tem mestu, kar je verjetneje) v imenu *Cotiuni*. To je postavljeno za črko C. S črko C je na napisih okrajšano moško osebno ime *Gaius*. Glede na ostalo besedilo nagrobnika takšna dopolnitev v našem primeru ni možna. Prav tako črka ni bila okrajšava za žensko ime *Gaia*, ki je kot ženski kognomen na napisnih kamnih vedno izpisan. Poleg tega je le manjšina prebivalstva izžanskega kota imela rimsko državljanstvo. Zgolj teoretična je še tretja možnost, da bi lahko C predstavljal okrajšavo za ženo – *coniux*, ki pa na napisih Ižanskega doslej še ni izpričana. Vendar, kot beremo na napisu, sta nagrobnik postavili hčeri in ne mož svoji ženi. Beseda *coniux* na nagrobnikih običajno stoji za imenom, pripadnost pokojniku pa je dodatno izražena z besedo *eius* – njegov/njen. Ne enega ne drugega na nagrobni steli ni. Primer napačno postavljenega ločilnega znamenja je z Ižanskega poznan še na nagrobni steli za Opalona (*Oppalo*), vzdani v južno steno ljubljanske stolnice, a je bila gotovo najdena nekje na Ižanskem (v Strahomerju ali na Igu).²⁷

Razlogov za napake na rimskih napisnih kamnih je več. Prvi razlog je izgovarjava: neko ime, ki je sicer imelo dva soglasnika, se je lahko izgovarjalo z nepoudarjenim soglasnikom in bilo tako tudi vklesano v spomenik. Drugi razlog za napake je lahko klesarjevo znanje oz. neznanje latinščine in posledica njegove nepismenosti so bile napake v prepisu predloge. Tretja možnost pa je, da za napako nista bila kriva ne fonetika ne klesarjevo znanje, ampak je napaka bila že na predlogi, ki jo je klesar dobil. Tako je klesar na kamen nevede prerinjal napačen zapis na predlogi in z vklesanjem ovekovečil napake naročnika.

Kaj natančno je bilo vzrok za površno izvedbo napisa na nagrobni steli z Marofa, je težko reči. Ker je na Ižanskem živela peregrinska skupnost, ki je sicer prevzela rimsko nagrobno formulo, a je nosila svoja, domača imena, rimska imena pa morda

izgovarjala po svoje, je zelo verjetno, da je vzrok za napake pri napisu kombinacija vseh treh možnosti.

ANALIZA OSEBNIH IMEN

Posvetimo se na tem mestu osebnim imenom, vklesanim na nagrobniku (*sl.* 8). Opisana in analizirana bodo po vrstnem redu, kot so izpričana na nagrobniku.

Prvo nastopi ime pokojnega očeta Petona. **Petto** je t. i. hipokoristik (tj. ime kratkih zaporedij, nastalih s skrajšanjem daljšega imena). V vr. 1 je na nagrobni steli z Marofa ime vklesano kot *Petto*, v vr. 6 in 7 pa v varianti *Peto* (na kamnu v rodilniku *Petonis*). Po Radoslavu Katičiču²⁸ se ime pojavlja v Galiji kot *Peto*, kot vzporednice pa navaja imena, povzeta po Alfredu Holderju.²⁹ Enkrat je ime izpričano tudi na Ižanskem. V rokopisu Avgušтина Tyferna namreč zasledimo, da je bil v zakristiji cerkve na Igu vklesan nagrobnik za Veniksa, Empetonovega sina. Napisni kamen je že od Vodnika naprej izgubljen, Tyfernov prepis so prevzeli vsi kasnejši avtorji vključno z Andrásem Mócsyjem, vendar je napis sedaj zanesljivo mogoče interpretirati kot *Venixem(a) Petonis filia*.³⁰ Katičičevo predpostavko, da mora na nagrobniku na prvem mestu stati *pater familias*, je mogoče sedaj ovreči prav z odkritjem obravnavane nagrobne stele.³¹

Petonova žena se je imenovala **Cotiu** (ali *Otiu?*, teoretično možno, a manj verjetno tudi *Cotiunis/Otiunis*), rod. *Cotiunis/Otiunis*. Ime je na Ižanskem *hapax legomenon*, tj. doslej enkrat in edinkrat izpričano ime. Sodi med imena na –ū, rod. –ūnis, ki se pojavljajo večinoma v Noriku,³² čeprav so znana tudi npr. iz Iške vasi (*Tetiu*)³³ ali z Iga (*Amatu*).³⁴ Kot *Cottia* je ime izpričano v Galiji³⁵ in enkrat kot *Cottu* (na spomeniku kot *Cotu*) v Daciji.³⁶ Vsaj v primeru galske variante imena je mogoče ugotovljati etimološko povezavo z galskim *kotto- 'star'.³⁷

²⁸ Katičič 1966, 159; Katičič 1968, 91.

²⁹ Holder 1962, 973 – danes neustrezno.

³⁰ *CIL* III 3820 = *lupa* 4668; Mócsy 1959, 206. Novo branje Marjete Šašel Kos v EDR148386.

³¹ Glej prispevek Luke Repanška (2016) v tej številki Arheološkega vestnika.

³² Falkner 1948.

³³ *CIL* III 3814.

³⁴ *ILJug* 297 = *lupa* 4181 = HD017539 = EDR148250.

³⁵ Delamarre 2007, 76.

³⁶ *CIL* III 966 = *lupa* 14991 = HD044943.

³⁷ O ižanski varianti glej Repanšek 2016, 340.

²⁷ *CIL* III 3866 = *AIJ* 192 = EDR136395 = *lupa* 3707.

Ena izmed obeh hčera, ki sta poskrbeli za postavitve nagrobnika, se je imenovala **Bugia**. Ime *Bugia* oz. *Bucia* je v korpusu *OPEL* doslej izpričano samo štirikrat.³⁸ Pojavlja se na nagrobniku, vzdanim v ljubljanski stolnici (a prinesenem sem z Ižanskega),³⁹ na nagrobniku v Celju,⁴⁰ na nagrobniku iz Djekš blizu Velikovca (Diex, Völkermarkt) v Avstriji⁴¹ in na nagrobniku iz kraja Thal blizu Gradca (Thal bei Graz).⁴² Poleg nagrobnika iz ljubljanske stolnice se ime na Ižanskem pojavi še dvakrat.⁴³ Pri Radoslavu Katičiču⁴⁴ in Wolfgangu Meidu⁴⁵ je ime opredeljeno kot keltsko, po novi analizi pa gre za ime, najverjetneje avtohtono na Ižanskem.⁴⁶

Druga hči nosi brez dvoma latinsko ime. Ženska oblika imena **Quarta** se pojavlja pogosteje kot moška *Quartus* in prav takšna razporeditev je značilna tudi za Ižansko.⁴⁷ Ime je izpričano po zahodnem delu rimskega imperija, precej pogosto je zlasti v severni Italiji in Noriku,⁴⁸ označevalo pa je otroka, ki se je v družini rodil četrti.⁴⁹ Pri tem gre za latinski kognomen, ki je na Ižanskem rabljen v funkciji osebnega imena (prav tako kot *Rusticus* oz. *Firmus*, glej spodaj).

Glede na obliko črk sta bili verjetno naknadno na stelo vklesani imeni sinov. Prvi, **Rustius** oz. verjetneje *Rusticus*, nosi latinsko ime, ki je na Ižanskem pogosto.⁵⁰ (Glede zapisa *-ius* za pričakovano *-icus* glej zgoraj).

Ime drugega sina se je glasilo **Firmus**, enako kot ime deda, Petonovega očeta. Latinsko ime je izpričano po zahodnem delu imperija, zlasti pogosto je v severni Italiji.⁵¹ Na Igu je izpričano večkrat in je bilo očitno priljubljeno.⁵² Kot latinski kognomen se pri Iiru Kajantu pojavlja med imeni, ki so po pomenu označevala moč posameznika – ta je duševno in npravno trden, močan, odločen, stanovit in dosleden (lat. prid. *firmus*).⁵³

Na nagrobniku so torej izpričana na eni strani izrazito latinska imena (kognomni), kot sta *Firmus* in *Quarta*, ter na drugi strani imena avtohtonega prebivalstva Ižanskega: *Petto*, *Bugia* in morda tudi *Cotiu/Otiu*. Doslej je bil del imenskega zbira z Ižanskega zmotno opredeljen kot keltski (galski), nove analize pa kažejo, da jih je treba obravnavati kot posebno skupino v severnojadranskem imenskem fondu.⁵⁴

DATACIJA NAGROBNE STELE Z MAROFA

Po oblikovnih primerjavah, ki jih je za območje Iga zbrala Edisa Lozić, lahko nagrobno stelo z Marofa uvrstimo med arhitekturne stele tipa edikule z zatrepom (A/III) oz. portretno nišo (B/III).⁵⁵ Natančnejša opredelitev v eno od domnevnih ižanskih delavnic pa je težja. Kot ugotavlja avtorica, so delavnice morda stale v Strahomerju, na Igu in v Iški vasi in so delovale sočasno, med 2. in 3. st.⁵⁶ Delfina na steli z Marofa nimata trikotne repne plavuti niti vrezanih linij, ki bi označevale prsne in hrbtnne plavuti, značilne za delavnico iz Strahomerja. Če upoštevamo debelino stele (26,5 cm), bi

³⁸ *OPEL*, 131; Mócsy 1959, 167. Podobno razprostranjenost naštevata tudi Katičič 1966, 158; Lochner von Hüttenbach 1989, 38.

³⁹ *CIL* III 3862 = *AIJ* 186 = *lupa* 3701 = EDR134951.

⁴⁰ *CIL* III 5265 = *AIJ* 57 = *lupa* 3616 = HD067148.

⁴¹ *CIL* III 11579 = *lupa* 2465 = HD056422.

⁴² *CIL* III 5440 = *lupa* 1217 = HD038640.

⁴³ Strahomer: *CIL* III 3788 = *lupa* 5563 = EDR148319 – *Bucioni* namesto *Bugioni*. Ig: *CIL* III 3797 = *lupa* 4655 = EDR148386.

⁴⁴ Katičič 1966, 150 in 158; Katičič 1968, 72.

⁴⁵ Meid 2005, 157–158 in 179.

⁴⁶ Repanšek 2016, 338 ss.

⁴⁷ Katičič 1968, 62; Stifter 2012, 261 (*CIL* III 3815 = *AIJ* 141 = *RINMS* 87 = *lupa* 3681 = EDR134931; – *CIL* III 3805 = *lupa* 4184 = EDR148392; – *ILJug* 1078 = *lupa* 4179 = HD013485 = EDR077176; – *CIL* III 3813 = EDR148399; – *CIL* III 3812 = EDR148402; – *CIL* III 10748 = *lupa* 4180 = EDR148403; – *CIL* III 3824 = *lupa* 4187 = EDR148425; – *CIL* III 10743 = *lupa* 3677 = EDR148334).

⁴⁸ *OPEL* IV, 16; Mócsy 1959, 186; Katičič 1968, 62; Alföldy 1969, 278–279; Lochner von Hüttenbach 1989, 128; Kakoschke 2012, 593–594.

⁴⁹ Kajanto 1965, 74–75, 77 in 293.

⁵⁰ Katičič 1968, 62; Stifter 2012, 261 (*CIL* III 10745 = *RINMS* 81 = EDR134912; – *CIL* III 3800 = *AIJ* 132 = *RINMS* 85 = *lupa* 3672 = EDR134929; – *CIL* III 3813 =

EDR148399; – *CIL* III 3812 = EDR148402; – *CIL* III 3804 = 10731 = *AIJ* 134 = *lupa* 3674 = EDR148271; – *CIL* III 3799 = 10730 = *lupa* 5564 = EDR148216; – *CIL* III 3808 = EDR148291; – *CIL* III 3861 = 10758 = *lupa* 4201 = EDR155653; – *AIJ* 195 = *lupa* 3709 = EDR136401).

⁵¹ *OPEL* II, 142; Mócsy 1959, 174; Alföldy 1969, 204; Lochner von Hüttenbach 1989, 79; Kakoschke 2012, 423–424.

⁵² Katičič 1968, 62; Lochner-Hüttenbach 1965, 25 in 40; Stifter 2012, 261 (*CIL* III 3797 = *lupa* 4655 = EDR148386; – *CIL* III 3796 = *lupa* 4654 = EDR148387; – *CIL* III 3798 = *RINMS* 84 = *lupa* 4183 = EDR134927; – *CIL* III 3815 = *RINMS* 87 = *AIJ* 141 = *lupa* 3681 = EDR134931; – *CIL* III 3788 = 10727 = *lupa* 5563 = EDR148319; *ILJug* 299 = *lupa* 5570 = EDR148327; – *CIL* III 3866 = *AIJ* 192 = *lupa* 3707 = EDR136395).

⁵³ Kajanto 1965, 258.

⁵⁴ Stifter 2012; Repanšek 2016, 333–334.

⁵⁵ Lozić 2009, 212, 210 Fig. 4.

⁵⁶ Lozić 2009, 215.

bil nagrobnik z Marofa lahko izdelan v Iški vasi,⁵⁷ vendar pa tudi v delavnici na Igu, ki je najdišču najbližja vas.

Po podatkih z izkopavanj je bila stela nedvomno odkrita v poznoantični jami (glej spodaj). To Grahkova povezuje z opustitvijo grobiščne ceste, objekta 1 in grobišča. Morda je celo krasila grobno parcelo, v bližini katere je bila odkrita. Z nekeramičnimi prdatki (novca Vespazijana in Antonina Pija, steklena žara, fibula tipa Almgren 69 in fibula tipa Emona) so grobovi datirani na konec 1. oz. začetek 2. st.⁵⁸ Logično se zdi, da je bržkone v isti časovni okvir treba umestiti tudi stelo z Marofa.

“Hudičevi kamni” – razlog za zavrženje stele?

Že med izkopavanji je bilo ugotovljeno, da so bili rimski kamniti spomeniki v jamo odloženi namenoma. Kamniti ostanki so ležali v jami, pomešani s poznoantično keramiko, ki je na podlagi primerjav datirana v 4. in 5. st.⁵⁹ Nagrobna stela je bila pred odložitvijo v jamo zlomljena na dva dela. Ta sta v jami ležala obrnjena vsak v svojo smer (*sl.* 3 in 4: PN 200 in PN 202 + 211), z napisnim poljem obrnjenim proti tlom. Pod težo ostalega kamnitega gradiva se je potem na dva dela razlomil še večji del spomenika, tako da je bil nagrobnik ob odkritju zlomljen na tri dele (PN 200, -202 in -211). Toda kaj je bil razlog za tako uničenje nagrobne stele? Kaj je zmotilo poznoantične prebivalce Marofa, da so rimske kamnite spomenike morda načrtno (?) uničili in jih zmetali v jamo?

Bogate plasti apnenca v neposredni okolici Iga (v Podpeči, Sv. Ani, Glinicah, Stajah in Skopačniku)⁶⁰ in številna ledinska imena kažejo na izkoriščanje lokalnega apnenca za žganje apna,⁶¹ vendar je pri opisani jami takšna interpretacija manj verjetna. Apnenice so običajno stale v bližini kamnolomov, za pridobivanje apna pa so bile potrebne večje količine kamna, da se je žganje splačalo.⁶²

Manj verjetna je tudi predpostavka, da bi kamnite ostanke iz jame uporabili za gradbeni material. Ponovno uporabo antičnih spomenikov sicer

potrjujejo številni rimski nagrobniki, vzdani v ižanskih domačijah, gospodarskih poslopih in cerkvah, hkrati pa na načrtno skladiščenje antičnega kamnitega gradiva kaže tudi primer iz antične Emone. Walter Schmid je med izkopavanji mesta leta 1911 v t. i. zlatarjevi hiši (hiša IV) v bližini južnega emonskega obzidja naletel na več antičnih spomenikov, ki so bili tam namensko odloženi. Hišo so v pozni antiki uporabljali za nekakšno skladišče, kjer so zbirali kamnite spomenike, da bi jih kasneje uporabili kot gradbeni material, morda celo za popravilo obzidja.⁶³ Četudi predpostavljamo, da so bili kamniti spomeniki z Marofa namenjeni ponovni uporabi, se postavlja vprašanje, zakaj bi si “zbiratelji” otežili delo in kamniti material kopicili v jami? Dvigovanje spomenikov iz jame je bilo že za arheologe zelo naporno in je zahtevalo trud in napor več ljudi hkrati.

Teoretično bi obstajala tudi možnost, da je v nagrobnik (ali v njegovo bližino) udarila strela. Območje udarca strele so svečeniki obredno očistili, predmet, v katerega je strela udarila, pa obredno zakopali v jamo. Edini primer takšnega pokopa strele z območja Slovenije je bil odkrit l. 1901 na Rimski cesti v Ljubljani.⁶⁴ Ker pa na kamnitih spomenikih z Marofa ni sledov ožganosti (oz. morda ti sploh ne bi bili nujno vidni), prav tako manjka napis, s katerim bi takšen predmet, ki je postal tabu, označili, je po mojem mnenju predpostavka o udarcu strele manj verjetna.⁶⁵

Verjetneje je treba poznoantično jamo s spomeniki povezati s krščanstvom. Sledovi poganskega verovanja so se v Emoni ohranili vse do poznega 4. st.⁶⁶ Z milanskim ediktom leta 313 je postalo krščanstvo enakopravna vera s preostalimi religijami v cesarstvu, cesar Konstantin (306–337) pa je v svojem tridesetletnem vladanju radikalno nastopil proti poganstvu: prepovedal je postavljanje podob bogov in ukazal rušenje poganskih templjev. Njegov sin Konstancij II. je to politiko nadaljeval in ob morebitni malomarnosti strogo kaznoval provinci-

⁶³ Šašel Kos 2014, 90, 91.

⁶⁴ *RINMS* 30; EDR129032; *lupa* 8884; EDCS-11300964: *Fulg(ur) c(onditum)*. Prevod: Pokopana strela. Hrani: NMS, inv. št. L 49.

⁶⁵ Spomeniki z omembo pokopa strele so znani tako iz Italije kot iz provinc. Glej nazadnje odkrit spomenik z najdišča Todi: *Fulgur Conditum*, il sepolcro del fulmine [http://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2010/08/09/foto/fulgur_conditum-6175330/1/?refresh_ce] [zadnji dostop 26. 06. 2016]. Za predlog razlage se najlepše zahvaljujem prof. Claudiu Zaccariji in prof. Fulviji Mainardis.

⁶⁶ Bratož 2014, 48 in 302.

⁵⁷ Lozić 2009, 212–214.

⁵⁸ Grahek 2014a, 64–65.

⁵⁹ Takšno datacijo je kmalu po odkritju najdb postavila Zvezda Modrijan, Inštitut za arheologijo, ZRC SAZU.

⁶⁰ Ramovš 1990, 15–20; *RINMS*, str. 18–19, sl. 3.

⁶¹ Ramovš 1990, 163–166.

⁶² Bras 1977, 75.

alne namestnike, če niso ukrepali proti poganstvu. Leta 392 je cesar Teodozij (379–392), vnet katolik, prepovedal poganstvo in z njim povezane običaje. Templji so se sicer do konca 4. st. le redko uničevali, a z dekretom 399 je bilo določeno, da se uničijo vsa svetišča na deželi. Leta 407/408 se je začelo sistematično rušenje poganskih kipov in oltarjev ter tudi privatnih svetišč, zlasti na Vzhodu.⁶⁷ Nasprotno pa na Zahodu ni poznan noben zakon, ki bi odredil uničevanje poganskih sakralnih objektov. Rušenje poganskih kipov, napisov in svetišč, torej zlasti sakralnih spomenikov, je potekalo v bolj blagih oblikah kot na Vzhodu.⁶⁸

Virov, ki bi opisovali ali vsaj omenjali uničevanje poganskih ostalin, je malo. Na eni strani je to povezo z lokalnimi iniciativami manjših skupnosti, hkrati pa je krščanstvo takšna uničevanja uporabljalo za samopromocijo.⁶⁹ *Marcus Diaconus* je v življenjepisu sv. Porfirija (*Vita Porphyrii*), škofa v Gazi v letih 395–420, jasno opisal, kakšen je bil krščanski odnos do stare vere. Spomeniki se namreč niso samo uničevali, ampak zlasti ponovno uporabljali: “... Škof je naročil, da se ostanki *Marneona* [poganskega templja] uporabijo za tlakovanje trga pred templjem, tako da bodo lahko po njem hodili ne samo moški, temveč tudi ženske, psi, svinje in divje živali.”⁷⁰ Nekaj primerov uničevanja poganskih spomenikov in zlasti ponovne uporabe kamnitega gradiva je znanih tudi iz današnjega slovenskega prostora in sosednjih pokrajin. Medtem ko je bilo ravnanje s poganskimi spomeniki v Akvileji precej nasilno (Teodozij je leta 391 izdal strog zakon proti poganstvu), bi lahko nekatere najdbe kazale na uničevanje spomenikov zaradi širjenja krščanstva tudi na ozemlju današnje Avstrije, predvsem na Koroškem in Štajerskem.⁷¹ Avguštin v opisu bitke pri Frigidu omenja uničevanje poganskih podob, na Rifniku sta dva posvetilna napisa, posvečena

lokalnemu vodnemu božanstvu Akvonu (*Aquo*), služila v 5. st. kot stopnica in vogalni kamen cerkvene stavbe.⁷²

Krščanstvo se je v večjih mestih na jugovzhodno-alpskem prostoru pojavilo v drugi polovici 4. in na začetku 5. st., na podeželju morda celo generacijo do dve kasneje.⁷³ V ta čas bi lahko datirali tudi jamo s kamnitimi spomeniki z Marofa. Ker je bil v njej najdeni nagrobnik (namenoma?) zlomljen na dva dela ter odvržen z napisno ploskvijo navzdol, se jasno nakazuje verjetnost boja med staro vero in (novim) krščanstvom. Morda je kristjane zmotila upodobitev na steli, ki je niso povezali z upodobitvijo pokojnika, ampak so v njej videli čaščenje nekega domačega božanstva. Ali je teza o hudičevih kamnih in z njimi povezanim demoniziranjem rimskih ostalin od kristjanov primerna in verodostojna tudi na Marofu, pa verjetno nikoli ne bo zagotovo razjasnjeno.⁷⁴

Zahvala

Za pomoč pri interpretacij rezultatov arheoloških izkopavanj se najlepše zahvaljujem Luciji Grahek (ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo). Luki Repanšku (Oddelek za primerjalno in splošno jezikoslovje, Filozofska fakulteta) dolgujem zahvalo za potrpljenje pri razlagi zahtevne izzanske antroponimije, Rajku Bratožu (Oddelek za zgodovino, Filozofska fakulteta) za pomoč pri zgodovinskih virih in poganski/krščanski problematiki, Petri Žvab Rožič, Luki Galetu in Boštjanu Rožiču (vsi Naravoslovnotehniška fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani) pa za analizo kamnine. Hvala tudi Marjeti Šašel Kos (ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo) in Claudiu Zaccariji (Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Università degli Studi di Trieste) za kritične pripombe in koristne nasvete.

Anja Ragolič
Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU
Inštitut za arheologijo
Novi trg 2
SI-1000 Ljubljana
anja.ragolic@zrc-sazu.si

⁶⁷ Pillinger 1985, 178, 179.

⁶⁸ Bratož 2014, 303, 304.

⁶⁹ De Vecchi 2012.

⁷⁰ Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porph.* 76: τὰ ὑπολειφθέντα σκύβαλα τῆς μαρμαρῶσεως τοῦ Μαρνείου [...] ἐκέλευεν ὁ ὁσιος ἐπίσκοπος πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἔχῳ εἰς τὴν πλατεῖαν πλακωθῆναι, ἵνα καταπατώνται οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κυνῶν καὶ χοίρων καὶ κνωδάλων. Za ponovno uporabo antičnih spomenikov zlasti v pozni antiki glej Marano 2012.

⁷¹ Pillinger 1985, 179–182 (z navedbo naslednjih najdišč: Lendorf pri Teurniji, Virunum, Hohenstein, Wabelsdorf/Vabnja vas, Wutschein/Bučinja vas, Frauenberg pri Lipnici, St. Margarethen in Lavamünd/Šmarjeta v Labotski dolini, v obdonavski Avstriji pa Mauer an der Url).

⁷² Bratož 2014, 304–305.

⁷³ Bratož 1990, 8; Bratož 2014, 302.

⁷⁴ Nagrobna stela je bila z večino kamnitega materiala po koncu izkopavanj prepeljana v začasno hrambo v prostore občine Ig.