

Savus and Adsalluta

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Izvleček

V članku je zbrano vse epigrafsko gradivo, ki se nanaša na kult Adsallute in Savusa. Gre za napise, ki so jih našli pri zaselku Sava nasproti železniške postaje Hrastnik, in za napise brez najdiščinih podatkov iz Šentjurja na Polju blizu Loke pri Zidanem mostu, Radeč in Hrastnika. Adsalluta in Savus sta bila pomembni lokalni vodni božanstvi. Kult Adsallute je bil v nasprotju s kultom Savusa, ki so ga častili ob celem toku Save, omejen na področje brzic med zaselkom Savo in Radečami, na kultno mesto ob bregu Save pri zaselku Sava in na prejkone obstoječi sveti gaj in naselbino ob njeni kapelici. Ni izključeno, da je bil ta sveti kraj neke vrste božja pot domačinom, predvsem pa je boginja bdela nad varnim prehodom pogostih popotnikov, kajti vodna pota so v prazgodovini, antiki in še dolgo v novi vek v bistveno večji meri kot danes izkoriščali za prevažanje najrazličnejših tovorov.

Stone monuments with dedications to local deities have been found (and are still frequently discovered) throughout Italy and the Roman provinces in large urban centres no less than in remote settlements, as well as at isolated cult sites. These deities were worshipped by a limited circle of believers in more or less limited territories, and most often it is extremely difficult to distinguish the true nature and extent of the sphere of influence of such deities. Often merely the name of the deity was preserved on the inscriptions without any accompanying epithets or reliefs, such that local cults can be elucidated only with the most precise study of the scarce available evidence. It is necessary to determine the exact context of the find, to become acquainted with the micro-topography of the site and with any eventual local natural features, and to determine the ethnic and social status of the dedicants of the inscribed monuments. Each region, particularly if it was enclosed by natural borders such as hills and mountains, major rivers, deep valleys or swamps, was a world unto itself; it was settled by people who spoke their own language, had their own customs, and worshipped their own gods. The evidence indicates that these gods, whose benevolence was often also sought by travellers and even "pilgrims", were most often for-

Abstract

All the epigraphic evidence for the cult of Adsalluta and Savus is collected in the article. Most of the votive monuments were discovered at the site of Sava opposite the railway station of Hrastnik, whereas the exact provenance of those presently at Šentjur na Polju near Loka by Zidani most, at Radeče, and at Hrastnik is not entirely clear. Adsalluta and Savus were important water deities; Savus was worshipped at several places along the river Sava, while the cult of Adsalluta was locally limited merely to the region of rapids between the village of Sava and Radeče, to the cult site on the bank of the Sava, her hypothesized sacred grove and the hamlet near her sanctuary. It cannot be excluded that this sacred area could have been some kind of pilgrimage site for the local inhabitants. Mainly, however, the goddess watched over the safe passage of the frequent travellers, for in prehistory, the Roman period and up to the building of the southern railway, such water routes were utilized for the transport of the most varied cargoes to a much greater extent than today.

eign and unimportant even to their nearby neighbours.

The pre-Roman deities worshipped by the inhabitants of the southeastern Alpine region in the period of the height of the Norican Kingdom and even prior to this – whose names are known solely from Roman period inscriptions – have not yet been studied exhaustively. Only several general surveys are available.¹ There are also few studies about the numerous individual deities.² In this article I wish to collect and evaluate all evidence (primarily epigraphic material) that refers to the deities named *Adsalluta* and *Savus*. Several small altars dedicated to *Savus* and *Adsalluta*, or merely to *Adsalluta*, were discovered at the end of the 18th century and in the first half of the last century, and were published in the second half of the last century and afterwards. Most of them were found near the river Sava in the vicinity of the hamlet of Sava (*fig. 1*), located on the right bank of the river opposite the railway station of Hrastnik and added to the administrative district of Hrastnik after the second world war (A. Müllner cites the name Na Savi for the hamlet, and Saudörfel in German, while W. Schmid notes it as Savedörfel). The monuments were first published by R. Knabl,³ and they have often been cited afterwards in scholarly texts, although only in passing.⁴ The

remains of a sanctuary to which the votive altars belonged were also supposed to have been discovered in the hamlet of Sava. The sanctuary was cited fleetingly several times in the literature, and it was supposed to have been excavated in 1917 by W. Schmid (see further below), although no report about the excavations was published and nothing more was written about the sanctuary.

Inscriptions from the hamlet of Sava. Altars which were erected to both deities:

1. *AIJ* 27, drawing (fig. 2, 3).

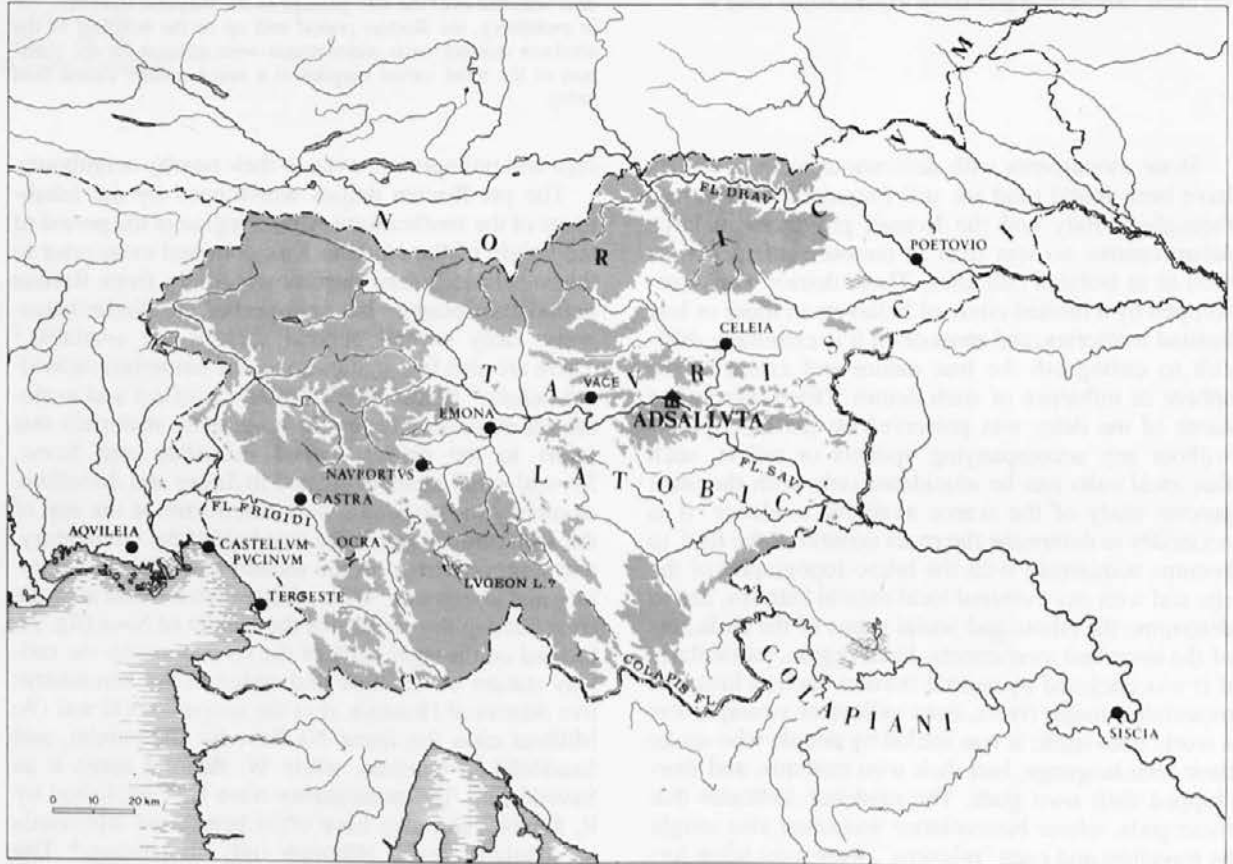
The provenience is otherwise unknown. It presently serves, as does no. 6, as the base of the left lateral pillar in the gates leading to the graveyard of the church of St Jurij [George] in Šentjur na Polju (near Loka at Zidani Most). Both inscriptions were mentioned by J. Orožen, *Das Dekanat Tüffer* (Graz 1881), 447-448 (St. Georgen am Felde); also see *ANSI* 265. Considering that six altars were discovered *in situ* at one site (at a timber-chute for lumber, called Škarje, near the hamlet of Sava), it may be suggested that the remaining four inscriptions, nos. 1, 4, 6 and 8, that were found in secondary use and lack provenience, also came from the same site, although there is no ultimate proof for this supposition.

S(avo) et / Adsallut(ae) / C. M[e]mm(ius) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

Beginning of the 1st century A.D.

The *nomen gentile* could also be interpreted as *Mammius*. The stone is damaged more than it had been

Fig. 1: The area during the late prehistoric and Roman periods. *Sl. 1: Podoba dežele v antiki.*



at the time when Saria published it. The third line is almost illegible.

2. *CIL* III 5138. Müllner, *Emona*, no. 233 (= *ILS* 3907 = *AE* 1934, 71. *RISr* 362 (fig. 4).

It was discovered in 1845 (E. Weber, *RISr*, incorrectly cites the year as 1792) at Ribnikar field below the Škarje timber-chute, and is in the Joanneum.

Savo et Ad/sallutae / sacr(um) / P(ublius) Ant(oni)us Secundus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

1st or 2nd century A.D.

3. *CIL* III 11684. Müllner, *Emona*, n. 234 (fig. 5).

Found in 1873 in a field below the Škarje timber-chute, kept in the house of J. Koritnik, now in the Regional Museum of Celje:

Adsallut(ae) / et Savo / Aug(usto) sac(rum) / C(aius) Cassius / Quietus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

1st or 2nd century A.D.

The beginning *C* in line 4 and the beginning *Q* in line 5 were not noted on the stone by O. Hirschfeld, and he remarked that perhaps Müllner had only conjectured the letters.

4. *AIJ* 255, photo (fig. 6).

A small votive altar damaged along the bottom, discovered in 1910 during the demolition of the old church nave at Radeče near Zidani Most. It is now walled into the western wall of the new church. The true site of discovery is thus unknown, but it is not excluded that it was brought from the hamlet of Sava:

S(avo) et Ats(allutae) / C. Iul(ius) Ius(tus) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

1st or 2nd century A.D.

5. *CIL* III 5134 (right section) = 11680 (entire altar). Müllner, *Emona*, no. 237 (fig. 7).

A small base for sculptures of both gods (?): the right side of the base was found in 1792 – in all probability at the Škarje timber-chute, although this is not specifically mentioned – and was kept at the house of J. Koritnik (house no. 29). The left section was discovered in 1880; both are now joined in the National Museum in Ljubljana (see J. Binder, *Zu C.I.L. III, 5134, Arch-epigr. Mith.* 4, 1880, 224):

Savo et Ads(allutae) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / Secundio.

The period of the Principate

The following altars were dedicated only to Adsalluta:

6. *AIJ* 26, drawing = *AE* 1938, 151 (fig. 8).

The provenience is unknown. The monument presently serves as the base of the right lateral pillar of the gates leading into the graveyard of the church of St Jurij [George] at Šentjur na Polju. See no. 1 for further information:

Adsallutae / sacr(um) / L. Servilius / Euty[c]hes (?) cum suis / gubernatoribus /⁵ v(otum) [s(olvit)] l(ibens) m(erito).

1st century A.D. ?

Fig. 2: An altar dedicated to Savus and Adsalluta from Šentjur na Polju (phot. A. Šemrov).

Sl. 2: Oltar s posvetilom Savusu in Adsalluti iz Šentjurja na Polju (foto A. Šemrov).



The inscription is presently much more worn than it had been when published by B. Saria in *AIJ*. Lines 4 and 5 are almost illegible.

7. *CIL* III 5135. Müllner, *Emona*, no. 235 (fig. 9).

A small votive altar. According to T. Mommsen, its provenience is uncertain. As the site was not noted in the Acts of the Historical Society for Carniola, P. Hitzinger wrongly included the inscription among those from Ig, although Knabl had already suggested – certainly correctly – that the altar had been found at the hamlet of Sava. It has been in the National Museum in Ljubljana since 1832:

Adsallutae / Aug(ustae) sacr(um) / G. Caecina / Faustinus.

1st or 2nd century A.D.

8. *CIL* III 11685. Cf. F. Pichler, *Mitt. Zent. Komm.* 8, 1882, cxiii [no. 75] (fig. 10).

The small altar was discovered in 1881 at Hrastnik in the old house of the Burger family and was immured into the southern wall of the new Burger house, formerly the Peklar home.⁵ The house was demolished during the construction of a modern road through Hrastnik; the altar was transferred to the Museum collections of Hrastnik. Its provenience is listed as Klempas, opposite the site of the Škarje timber-chute, and it can justifiably be suggested that this inscription also belongs to the group of votive inscriptions dedicated to Adsalluta, or Savus and Adsalluta, and originating from their sanctuary:

Adsallute Aug(ustae) / C. C(---) A(---).

1st or 2nd century A.D.

9. *CIL* III 5136 + p. 1828 and 2328, 26. Müllner, *Emona*, no. 236 (fig. 11).

The altar was found in 1792 at Ribnikar field below the Škarje timber-chute. It was first walled into the Koritnik house, and is currently in the National Museum in Ljubljana:

Adsallute Aug(ustae) sac(rum) / Ocellio / Castrici /⁵ Marcell(i) ser(vus) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

2nd century A.D.

10. Müllner, *Emona*, no. 238.

A fragment of an altar without a preserved inscription discovered at the Škarje timber-chute. In 1873, it could be found at the Koritnik house.

Inscriptions dedicated only to Savus were found at three different sites along the river Sava. Altars are known from Vernek opposite Kresnice and from Ščitarjevo (Roman *Andautonia*), and a curse-tablet was found at Sisak (Roman *Siscia*).

11. *CIL* III 3896, cf. p. 1736 and 2328, 26. Müllner, *Emona*, no. 231.

An altar found in the middle of the last century at Vernek in a channel of the Sava opposite the railroad station at Kresnice near Litija, now in the National Museum in Ljubljana:

Savo Aug(usto) / sac(rum) / P. Rufrius / Verus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Probably 2nd century A.D.

12. *AJ* 475, photo. (= *CIL* III 4009, cf. p. 1746 = *ILS* 3908/9).

An altar found at Ščitarjevo in an oxbow of the river Sava, now in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb:

Savo Aug(usto) | sac(rum) | M. Iu(ventius) | Primigeniu[s] | [e]t soci(i) v(otum) s(oluerunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).

1st or 2nd century A.D.

Publius Rufrius Verus and Marcus Ju(ventius) Primigenius most probably belonged to families that had emigrated from northern Italy to the Norican-Pannonian region. River gods were most often worshipped by merchants. The associates of Juventius mentioned on the inscription, i.e. the members of some society, were probably in a subordinate position, as they are not mentioned by name in the inscription.

13. *AJ* 557, phot. and drawing. E. Vetter, Eine lateinische Fluchtafel mit Anrufung des Wassermannes, *Glotta* 39, 1960, 127-132 (also see his article with the same title in: *Glotta* 36, 1958, 304-308, and *Ann. épigr.* 1921, 95):

A small lead tablet bearing a curse found in 1913 in Sisak among material dredged from the river Kolpa (in Croat. Kupa, Latin *Colapis*). The inner side bears the name of opponents in some legal suit and the imprecation which should prevent them from saying anything against the authors of the tablet. The end of the text is illegible. The curse was again inscribed on the exterior side and addressed to the god Savus, although without listing the names of the opponents. The text is cited according to Vetter:

Data Deprementi | Ma(n)data dab̄is | Savo cura(m) aga(t) | deprema(t) advero(s) |⁵ nosstros om(m)utua(nt) ne | contra nos locui au(t) | age[r]ē isti [possi(nt).....].

2nd century A.D.

The curse was written in extremely barbaric Latin and it would be difficult to translate it entirely, however the meaning is clear: "You will give a command to Savus to see to it that he pulls them downwards, that they become speechless, that they cannot say or do anything against us..."

Fig. 3: Altars nos. 1 and 8 immured in the gates leading to the graveyard of the church of St Jurij [George] at Šentjur na Polju. *Sl. 3:* Vhod na pokopališče ob cerkvi sv. Jurija v Šentjurju na Polju.



The river god Savus was also represented on coins together with Colapis (the god of the river Kolpa/Kupa) on coins minted in Siscia (the Kolpa/Kupa joins the Sava at Siscia, hence the identification of both river gods is not in question). Images of river gods appear on gold coins and silver medallions of Gallienus (A. Alföldi, *Siscia, Vorarbeiten zu einem Corpus der in Siscia geprägten Römerringen*, *Num. Köz.* 26-27, 1927-1928 [1931] 47, nos. 14 and 2) and on the antoniniani of Probus (P. H. Webb, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, V 2 [London 1933, repr. 1972], Probus nos. 764-766).⁶

Knabl examined some of the dedications to Adsalluta (or Adsalluta and Savus) himself, i.e. those inscriptions that were then accessible to him; drawings and copies of the same inscriptions were also sent to him in 1850 by Adolf v. Morlot, who was investigating the regions along the Sava from the geological viewpoint. Knabl, who was involved in epigraphy only on an amateur basis, did not publish the inscriptions - except one - suitably. Only one fragment of the *Secundio* inscription (no. 5) was known in his period, and he inaccurately interpreted the dedication of P. Antonius Secundus (no. 2). Nonetheless, his report is valuable because of the data about provenience (he notes for the inscriptions erected by *Secundio* and *Ocellio* that they were discovered in 1792 and that for 35 years they had been walled into the house of J. Koritnik (Goritnigg), and furthermore because of geological data. As Adsalluta was honoured together with Savus several times, he presumed that both were river gods. He rejected the hypothesis that Adsalluta could be the personification of some small stream in the immediate vicinity of the site of discovery, such as the Trboveljščica (German *Trifail*), a tributary joining the Sava at Trbovlje not far from the hamlet. In his opinion, the goddess could personify only a river navigable at least by small boats. The most likely explanation, according to him, was that Adsalluta personified the river Savinja, with its influx into the Sava at Zidani Most, nearly a two hour walk from the site of the altars. Travellers would have erected small votive altars to one or both deities after being delivered from some danger while travelling by river, or for some other reasons. The name *Adsalluta* would represent the preserved Celtic name for the river Savinja. Knabl further mentions that the Celtic name for the Savinja would already have gone out of use under the Romans and it would have been replaced by the shorter name *Sana*. According to Knabl, this would actually be merely the Latin translation of the name *Adsalluta*: *Adsalluta* would thus be the goddess of medicinal waters, as the Savinja runs through Laško and the thermal spa there. The German name for the Savinja, the *San* (correctly, the *Sann*) would be derived from the Latin *Sana*, while the Slovenian name would have no connection whatsoever with the German (or Latin), as it means merely "the little Sava".⁷ His explanation of the names is certainly incorrect: it is considered more than unlikely, according to F. Bezljaj, that the Latin hydronym *fluvius Sana* (9th century data in *Conversio*

Bagoariorum et Carantanorum 16) referred to the river Savinja.⁸ Bezljaj also considered there to be no doubt that the German form of the name developed from the Slovenian, although the source of such a development would not be the present-day, relatively recent name Savinja, but rather an earlier form for the name of this river: *Savьna. There is no doubt, however, that the name is pre-Slavic.⁹

Knabl also cited *in extenso* Kandler's publication of three altars dedicated to Adsalluta in the journal *L'Istria*,¹⁰ where the author merely mentioned that they were dedicated to a local deity unknown until then. Several years later, Knabl published a correction to the reading of inscription no. 2.¹¹ These inscriptions were republished by P. Hitzinger,¹² who accepted Knabl's explanation of the name Adsalluta and added the interpretation of D. Terstenjak that Adsalluta would have been the goddess of rocky reefs, which he attempted to argue on the basis of incorrect etymology.

Fig. 4: An altar dedicated to Savus and Adsalluta from the timber-chute called Škarje, near the hamlet of Sava, presently in Graz (phot. C. Narobe).

Sl. 4: Oltar s posvetilom Savusu in Adsalluti z drže Škarje pri Savi, zdaj v Gradcu (foto C. Narobe).



AN EXACT DETERMINATION OF THE SITE OF THE ALTARS DEDICATED TO ADSALLUTA OR TO SAVUS AND SAVUS.

In Knabl, where these inscriptions were first published, and in the majority of later citations up to the second world war, the site of discovery of the sanctuary of Adsalluta and the altars dedicated to her and Savus, was named as Sava (Saudörfel in German, but SAVEDÖRFEL according to Schmid), and it was additionally noted that the site was opposite Hrastnik. The hamlet is also called Sava in Brečko's history of Hrastnik.¹³ In Müllner, who published the monuments in a supplement to his *Emona* and also cited detailed data about the discovery, the hamlet was called Na Savi. It was also cited under this name on a Franciscan land-registry record from 1825 (cadastral region Podkraj, N. 201, sheet 1), along with the German name Saudörfel, as it also was in J. Orožen.¹⁴ The monograph on the archaeological sites of Slovenia (*Arheološka najdišča Slovenije*) contains data recorded by L. Bolta, who specifically noted that the site where altars dedicated to Adsalluta or to Savus and Adsalluta were discovered, known in the earlier literature as Sava, is properly called Za Savo (p. 267). The site can thus be found in *ANSI* only under this name. Nonetheless everything indicates that this statement in *ANSI* is incorrect, as both on the specific 1:5000 map of the region (*TTN Trbovlje 24*) and in the Atlas of Slovenia (*Atlas Slovenije*) this hamlet is cited under the name of Sava (Podkraj). However, Bolta, following an agreement among archaeologists, based his data on the 1954 Lexicon of Slovenian Place Names. This is misleading since the village of Za Savo is located west of this site on the opposite, left bank of the Sava south of Zagorje. The hamlet which has always been called Sava, or Na Savi, is still called Sava today.

It is more difficult to determine in what field these altars were found. In the first publication of these monuments, Knabl merely noted that two of them (nos. 5 and 9) were walled into the Koritnik house and cites a date of 1792 for the discovery. He wrote that the inscription of Antonius Secundus (no. 2; incorrectly explained as a dedication erected to the deities by Pannonian and Norican boatmen, *scapharii*) was discovered in 1845 west of the Koritnik house, a quarter-hour upstream in a field at the base of a slip or chute for timber called Škarje (*Holzriesel Škarje*), exactly opposite the area of Klempas. The latter cannot be found on modern maps and in lists of Slovenian place names, although its existence can be confirmed at the site itself, and it was also cited by Orožen (Klempasovo),¹⁵ in *ANSI* (Klempas, 264) and by Brečko (Klempas).¹⁶ E. Weber (*RIS* 362) noted for the inscription currently in the Joanneum that it was found in 1792, without citing any sources. Müllner published these altars together with other Roman inscriptions immediately after the appearance of the first two volumes of *CIL* III (which included inscriptions nos. 2, 5, 7 and 9, but not 3) as a supplement to his monograph about Emona, in section XXX: Na Savi

(Saudörfel, nos. 233-238).¹⁷ He evidently visited the site on 6 August 1873, as is apparent from the notes to inscriptions 234 and 238 (*Standort: Haus des Koritnik. 6. August 1873*). All inscriptions are cited as having been discovered at Ribnikar field at Škarje (*Škarje*), whereas inscription 234 (no. 3 here) was also noted to have been discovered at Ribnikar mill. Müllner's exact description of the site of discovery (pp. 309-310) indicates that all the altars with known provenience were found approximately in one and the same place. In his period, a gently elevated and once cultivated plot of land was located just adjacent to the road leading along the bank of the Sava, some hundred paces from the Ribnikar mill (to the east, although Müllner mistakenly did not note the direction), with the sandy Šarje timber-chute not far distant (also to the east). The remains of Roman walls and bricks and a large gold coin had

Fig. 5: An altar dedicated to Savus and Adsalluta from the timber-chute called Škarje, near the hamlet of Sava, presently in Celje.

Sl. 5: Oltar s posvetilom Savusu in Adsaluti z drčje Škarje pri Savi, zdaj v Celju.



been discovered while ploughing, and while digging sand at the Škarje timber-chute, they came across the mentioned altars which were buried under river gravel. Because of the remains of walls and the find of votive altars, as well as the favourable position of the site – the banks of the Sava in this section are otherwise fairly inaccessible – Müllner considered that at Ribnikar meadow a sanctuary of the gods of both rivers existed: the Sava (*Savus*) and the Savinja (*Adsalluta*).

The timber-chute of Škarje, which lies some hundred meters east of the Ribnik stream, is still remembered today only by the oldest farmer from the village of Matica: in his youth, logs were transported down to the Sava bank with this chute, which widened at the top and bottom into a scissors shape and was therefore called Škarje (Scissors) at both ends.¹⁸ The altars were discovered at the lower Škarje, and the site of the find is marked at present by a small pyramid (*fig. 12*). The site has been excavated since 1993 by the Celje Regional Office for the Protection of the Natural and Cultural Heritage. Considering that the altars were found buried in gravel, it would be theoretically possible to hypothesize that the sanctuary where they were erected had been placed somewhat higher above the bank and the site of discovery, and had perhaps been demolished in some natural catastrophe (flood, landslide, earthquake), due to which the stones slipped down the slope and were subsequently covered by a layer of gravel and sand.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SANCTUARY

It is mentioned in *ANSI* (p. 267) that the altars come from a former sanctuary, where "prehistoric pottery fragments, Roman coins and bricks" were also found. Additionally, there were various Roman finds, remains of structures, brick and other material from the Ribnikar (in earlier literature written in German, the owner was noted as Ribnikar) and Koritnik fields. Considering the large number of altars found in the vicinity of Ribnikar mill (at least six, and perhaps even ten), there is no doubt that somewhere in the vicinity a sanctuary, or at least a small shrine, dedicated to both gods had been located. It is nonetheless debatable as to whether the remains of architecture said to have been excavated by W. Schmid in 1917 can actually be interpreted as a sanctuary. This sanctuary is mentioned several times in the literature. In a report about archaeological excavations in Austria from 1912 to 1924, Schmid wrote that at Sava opposite Hrastnik there once stood a small sanctuary of Adsalluta: a wooden shrine paved with broken stones and covered with Roman brick. It had approximately square dimensions (11.2 x 11.5 m) and, on the published sketch, a trapezoidal plan (*fig. 13*).¹⁹ In addition to remains of prehistoric pottery, finds included a very worn denarius of the Triumvir Marcus Antonius minted in 32-31 B.C. for the 14th legion, which had remained in circulation for more than two centuries and thus cannot be utilized as a chronological indicator.²⁰ Brečko mentioned that Schmid excavated the sanctuary in 1915 with Russian

prisoners-of-war (the year is most probably wrong), and had a part of the stone paving that he discovered taken to the museum in Graz.²¹

Schmid further claimed that the altars had been produced from Podpeč limestone. According to this theory, those transporting cargo would have ordered the carving of the altars to be done in Emona, taken them with themselves as extra cargo and after having successfully completed their trip, erected them in the sanctuary of Adsalluta. Schmid also mentioned that not far from the sanctuary there was a chapel dedicated to St Nicholas, the patron of sailors and the protector of travellers who expose themselves to the rapids, uncertainties and other dangers of river transport. The Christian church was known to have wished to supplant and suppress the deeply rooted and stubborn belief in river deities with the image of St Nicholas. It is incomprehensible that Schmid could have claimed the altars had been made from Podpeč limestone, as the first publication had explicitly emphasized that they had been made of local stone. This claim led all later researchers who had not carefully noted Knabl's exact identification of the type of stone in the first report into the repetition of Schmid's mistake.

Schmid's explanation was recapitulated by P. Petru, who hypothesized that the altars had been discovered at various sites along the Sava – i. e. that those without provenience had been discovered near the site where they were subsequently immured – from which he concluded that Adsalluta had been worshipped at various places along the river.²² In a note to his article about Emona in the *RE*, J. Šašel has been misled to note that the trade in limestone from Podpeč could be

proven to have extended all the way to the chapel of Adsalluta opposite Zagorje.²³ Since Knabl mentions that data about the monuments – in addition to the fact that he himself had seen them – had been acquired with the aid of the well-known Austrian geologist A. v. Morlot, his statements can be accepted in principle without reservations. The altars were actually carved from local stone, a dark-grey limestone similar only in colour to that from Podpeč, which was quarried at sites between Zidani Most and Laze. A further confirmation of this has been received from a geologist, Professor A. Ramovš, who inspected the three altars in the National Museum in Ljubljana. This is additional evidence that Adsalluta undoubtedly was a local deity worshipped in a very limited area, who was influential only in the framework of the narrow geographic boundaries of the site where the altars were discovered. The sanctuary was mentioned again by Schmid in the article *Südsteiermark im Altertum*,²⁴ where he wrote that the supposed goddess of the Savinja, Adsalluta, was actually the goddess of river rapids and waterfalls. This was also recapitulated by Orožen.²⁵ The plan of the supposed sanctuary was published twice by Schmid with an approximately similar description, while in the text he merely noted that it was excavated in 1917.²⁶ The sanctuary is also mentioned by B. Saria,²⁷ who noted that altars were erected to Adsalluta by others in addition to local inhabitants. These scarce notes are not sufficient to conclude whether the remains of the Roman or La Tène-Roman (?) building excavated by Schmid in 1917 (which unfortunately cannot be reconstructed) actually belonged to the sanctuary of Adsalluta and Savus, but it is certain that a small sanctuary or shrine to both deities existed somewhere in this area.

Fig. 6: An altar dedicated to Savus and Adsalluta, built into the church at Radeče near Zidani most (phot. A. Šemrov).

Sl. 6: Oltar s posvetilom Savusu in Adsalluti, vzidan v cerkev v Radečah pri Zidanem mostu (foto A. Šemrov).



THE INTERPRETATION OF THE CULT

The region where the altars were found was settled by the Celtic Taurisci. Ancient literary sources, primarily Strabo and Pliny, are not particularly clear about the extent of Tauriscan territory. A frequently cited fragment from Strabo (IV 6.9 C 206) states that the hinterland of the northern Adriatic bay and the hinterland of Aquileia were settled by several Norican tribes and the Carni, adding that the Taurisci, too, were a part of the Norici (...των δὲ Νορικῶν εἴσι καὶ οἱ Ταυρίσκοι). The next passage in the same book (IV 6.10 C 207) mentions that it was possible to transport cargo, loaded on boats in Nauportus, without effort along the Sava to Segestica, and to the Pannonians and Taurisci. Nauportus was a settlement of the Taurisci (VII 5.2 C 314),²⁸ as was Noreia (not yet located), cited by Pliny as having fallen into ruin (*N.h.* III 131). Pliny, who enumerated the tribes in the province of Pannonia, mentioned the mountain *Claudius* (most probably either Moslavačka Gora near Kutina, or Ivančica near Varaždin), in front of which the Scordisci were settled, and beyond them the Taurisci (...mons Claudius, cuius in fronte Scordisci, in tergo Taurisci, III 148). The succession of tribes listed were

probably once part of the Tauriscan federation that was destroyed in the war with Burebista. A part of the Taurisci came under the dominion of the Norican kingdom (*...iuxtaque Carnos quondam Taurisci appellati nunc Norici*, III 133). On the basis of the cited sources, it can be concluded that at the end of the 4th century B.C. the future Roman province of Noricum and a part of *regio X* and Pannonia were settled by a series of Celtic tribes from the east, or the northeast. The two most powerful peoples, the Norici and the Taurisci, fought both in the period of settlement and later for domination over related and neighbouring tribes.²⁹

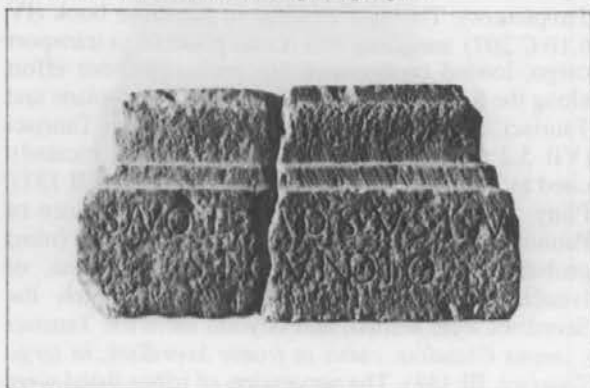
The latter probably did achieve supremacy in part of the southeastern Alpine region, although considering their hostile policies towards Rome – in contrast to the Norici, who nourished friendly contacts with the Romans – they could not count on lasting success. Coin finds from the second half of the 1st century B.C. eloquently indicate that the Tauriscan tribal federation which had earlier been politically independent, was forced under Norican sovereignty. La Tène finds from the so-called Mokronog Cultural Group with an extensive distribution throughout central and eastern Slovenia and northwestern Croatia, from Upper Carniola to Styria and in a large section of the Ljubljana basin have uniform features.³⁰ This region is simultaneously identical with the area where eastern Norican silver coins were in circulation during the 1st century B.C.³¹ In relation to both the archaeological and numismatic finds it is possible to hypothesize that the tribes settled here were closely related to one another and in all probability were under a fairly unified leadership: one of the seats of power was almost certainly in Celje (Celeia). As sources up to Pliny do not cite other tribes, rather only the Taurisci were known by name from this area, this name can justifiably be used by archaeologists and historians who wish to determine the ethnic composition of the Mokronog Group. Thus it would perhaps not be far from the truth if Adsalluta were to be called a Tauriscan deity. This seems yet more reasonable if it is

added that the Taurisci evidently were greatly desirous of controlling the river traffic along the Ljubljana and Sava rivers, which enabled them also to control the trade routes from Aquileia and Tergeste to Pannonia and the settlements along the Danube.

If we read the 1911 report of Karl Pick about cargo traffic along the Ljubljana and the Sava, it is surprising how similar it is to that written by Strabo about trade on the same rivers. Strabo, writing of trade between Italy and lands to the east and north, said (V 1.8 C 214): *They [Illyrian tribes along the Danube] are supplied with all that the sea offers, with wine loaded in wooden barrels on carts [to Nauportus, where the cargo was shifted to boats: IV 6.10 C 207 and VII 5.2 C 314], whereas those [the Romans] received slaves, livestock and hides.* Pick similarly stated: *Cargo transport was of the greatest significance for the inhabitants of Carniola throughout the centuries...Trade was developed in Carniola due to its favourable geographical position between Italy, eastern and northern lands. Exports from Carniola were mainly iron, mercury, wood, linen, glass, sieves, wax, honey and livestock, while imports were Italian and Stryrian wine, Italian oil and salt from the sea coast.*³² Tauriscan Nauportus was the key settlement for supervision of the transit trade, the Sava ran through the centre of the territory of the Taurisci, and thus the following hypothesis of Šašel seems yet more likely. He suggested that the Tauriscan settlement of Noreia mentioned in Pliny – there were undoubtedly more such toponyms – should be considered to be identical to the Noreia about which Strabo wrote (V 1.8 C 214) that it was distant 1200 stades (ca. 222 km) from Aquileia along navigable rivers, and should be located at Vače.³³ Strabo wrote that Gn. Papirius Carbo unsuccessfully fought against the Cimbri in its vicinity, and that the region was known for the extraction of gold and the manufacture of iron. The data from Strabo do not correspond to the actual state and it is necessary in one way or another to modify them. There is obviously either an incorrect idea about the course of the relevant rivers or confusion in the sources, and thus it would perhaps be possible to explain the data about a navigable river running from Aquileia to Noricum – which does not exist – as referring to the trade route along the Ljubljana and Sava Rivers. This was a trade route known from ancient times, as is well illustrated by the legend of the Argonauts. Thus the Noreia on – or near – the Sava could well be the same as that mentioned by Pliny as the Tauriscan Noreia which lapsed into ruin, probably because of the battles conducted by the Romans against the Taurisci from the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. This section of the right bank of the Sava in the vicinity of the hamlet of Sava, where altars dedicated to Adsalluta and Savus were discovered, belonged to Noricum and not to Pannonia in the Roman period, which is also true for the entire section from Brestanica to Litija, as is shown by milestones discovered on the right bank of the Sava near Spodnje Pijavško opposite Brestanica where the distance was measured from Celeia, rather than from the nearer Nevioudunum.³⁴

Fig. 7: A small base bearing a dedication to Savus and Adsalluta from the timber-chute called Škarje, near the hamlet of Sava, presently in the National Museum in Ljubljana.

Sl. 7: Majhna baza s posvetilom Savusu in Adsalluti z drčce Škarje pri Savi, zdaj v Narodnem muzeju v Ljubljani.



Travel and the transport of goods on rivers and various other exploitations of a river required the benevolence of the river gods, hence it is not at all surprising that a cult of the god of the river Sava has been documented at several places along its course (nos. 11-13). A greater mystery surrounds the deity *Adsalluta*, whose role we will attempt to illuminate on the basis of the existing evidence. No etymology exists for the name *Adsalluta* that would help explain the essential nature of this deity. Judging from the prefix *Ad-* (corresponding in meaning to the Latin *ad*), which is significant for an entire series of Celtic names and is well documented in material referring to Norican names (such as *Adiatullus*, *Adnamatus* and *Adsedilus*),³⁵ it could be concluded that it was a Celtic name, although H. Krahe lists it as Illyrian,³⁶ while A. Mayer did not include it in his lexicon of Illyrian names.³⁷ *Adsalluta* was listed among Celtic names by A. Holder,³⁸ who noted it – as Knabl already had – as a Norican river deity, the goddess of the river Savinja. She was also defined as such by M. Ihm in *RE*³⁹ and in his short article written about Celtic river gods.⁴⁰ K. H. Schmidt merely called her a Norican goddess.⁴¹ Krahe related the root of the name *Adsalluta* to the toponym *Salluntum*, to the name of the Ligurian people *Sal(luvii)*, and the personal name *Sallus* from

Dalmatia,⁴² yet it is perhaps not entirely excluded that its meaning could have been identical or similar to the Latin word *salus*, signifying health and well-being. The conclusion that both words, the Latin and the similarly sounding Celtic, could have had a common Indo-European source may be totally incorrect and cannot be more than a mere suggestion. It is much more probable, however, that the name of the goddess awakened certain associations in Romanized natives and Romans – as the similarity with the Latin word *salus* is undeniable – and, ignoring the true meaning of her name, they thought of her healing powers. It is also documented elsewhere that a personification of Well-Being, *Salus*, was worshipped alongside springs, such as at Baños de Montemayor (*Zephyrus* 16, 1965, 5 ff.) and Baños de Valdelazura (*Hispania Epigraphica* 2, 1990, 71 no. 216) in Spain and perhaps at S. Vittore di Cingoli in the fifth Italic region (*Ann. épigr.* 1985, 358). The cults of water, which was a necessity for the existence of every settlement, and particularly the cults of curative waters – in the absence of developed and accessible medical sciences, medicinal and hot springs were utilized by the people of that time much more than they are today with the predominance of hospitals – were often also related to other cults.⁴³

It is interesting that none of the preserved dedications to *Adsalluta* bear a Tauriscan personal name which could be reliably attributed to the local indigenous population, such as *Diastumarus*, *Iblendus*, *Chilo*, *Coma* (*CIL* III 5144a = 11683, Retje), *Atecurus*, *Mitto*, *Docnimarus* (*ILJug* 385, Krnice), *Ateloudus*, *Tutor*, *Boniata* (*ILJug* 365, Spodnje Dovže), *Quinctus*, *Cata* (*CIL* III 11681, Sava), *Diastulus*, *Titua* (*CIL* III 11686, Matica), and others documented in this section of Noricum. It must be concluded that even after the Roman occupation the majority of the local inhabitants still worshipped the goddess in a manner that was customary before the introduction of epigraphic culture, that is, before the Romanization of these regions had progressed to the extent that the inhabitants began to erect stone funerary and votive monuments with engraved inscriptions. The “prehistoric” manner of worshipping the goddess has unfortunately left no archaeological traces whatsoever.

If an attempt is made to define her domain, her sphere of influence and her significance, it can be concluded for several reasons that this was a deity related to water in one way or another.

Firstly, the sanctuary, chapel or cult structure was dedicated to *Adsalluta* and to *Adsalluta* and *Savus* judging by the preserved votive inscriptions.⁴⁴ The inscriptions indicate that *Savus* himself was not worshipped at this site, rather the cult area was primarily intended for the worship of *Adsalluta*. It was located along a bank of the river Sava, near a stream called Klecin (*Klezin*) at the beginning of the 19th century (data from the Franciscan land-registry record) and currently called Ribnik, thus near the juncture of two bodies of water. The reasons for Knabl's mention of *Trifail* stream in relation to *Adsalluta*⁴⁵ are not entirely clear, as the Trboveljščica flows into the Sava on the opposite bank.

Fig. 8: An altar dedicated to *Adsalluta* from Šentjur na Polju (phot. A. Šemrov).

Sl. 8: Oltar s posvetilom *Adsalluti* iz Šentjurja na Polju (foto A. Šemrov).



Secondly, several dedicatory monuments were erected to the goddess together with the river god Savus (five out of nine). The latter was obviously closely associated with her in the notions of her worshippers, and he perhaps represented her husband; gods were sometimes worshipped in pairs in the Celtic religion.⁴⁶ At least one aspect of the divinity of Adsalluta must have been related to water in some manner since it is known that Celtic goddesses frequently appeared as the consorts of gods, and did not personify any different conceptional sphere, but rather the female principle of the same concept.⁴⁷

Thirdly, one of the altars, dedicated only to Adsalluta, was erected by L. Servilius Eutyches with his helmsmen. The word *gubernator*, pilot, which is relatively rare in epigraphic sources,⁴⁸ most often appears on inscriptions in a military context, as a rank in one or the other fleet, either of Misenum or Ravenna, and only rarely in a private context, such as on an inscription from Crete, where the pilot and the owner of a boat are mentioned.⁴⁹ The word was obviously used in this case without reference to military affairs, as no military unit is noted. The individual superior to the pilots, L. Servilius Eutyches, judging by the formula of the name without filiation and with a Greek cognomen,⁵⁰ was more than likely a freedman. The *praenomen* Lucius and the *nomen gentile* Servilius indicate that he may have been freed from service to the rich Aquileian family of the *Servilii*, one branch of which was documented in Nauportus.⁵¹ L. Servilius Sabinus, whose family was almost certainly from Aquileia (*tribus Velina*), had a sanctuary dedicated to Neptune with a portico built at his own cost at Bistra near Nauportus. He most probably was an Aquileian merchant who utilized transport along the Ljubljana and Sava Rivers and thus understandably was a worshipper of Neptune. It cannot be entirely excluded that L. Servilius Eutyches was his freedman, as this would not be contradicted by the chronology of the inscriptions. The Sabinus inscription is dated to the 1st century A.D., which could well be the date of Eutyches' dedication to Adsalluta. As is shown by the plural form of the word *gubernatores*, Eutyches was evidently the owner or overseer of a large number of merchant craft, who at some point, with his pilots, erected an altar to the goddess Adsalluta at her sanctuary. Just as Sabinus wished to secure the benevolence of the water deity at the source of the Ljubljana (*Emona* or *Nauportus*), so did Eutyches deliver himself to the protection of Adsalluta in the central course of the Sava. That both individuals could have been members of the same family is made more likely by the fact that the *gens Servilia*, which is otherwise well documented in northern Italy, Hispania, Gallia Narbonensis and Dalmatia, is very rare in Noricum and Pannonia. Only Eutyches is known from Noricum, whereas three other members of the family are known from Pannonia; they were all soldiers.⁵²

Knabl's hypothesis that Adsalluta was the goddess of the river Savinja was long dominant in the literature.⁵³ E. Polaschek was of the same opinion, based on the verbally expressed suggestion of B. Saria.⁵⁴ The

idea of Trstenjak that she was the goddess of dangerous river reefs was overlooked in scholarly circles.⁵⁵ W. Schmid later expressed the opinion that she might be connected to the rapids in this section of the Sava. This explanation was also recapitulated by J. Orožen⁵⁶ and P. Petru. The latter, as has already been mentioned, considered that she had been worshipped at several critical points along the river.⁵⁷

Several reasons predicate against the thesis that Adsalluta was the goddess of the river Savinja. Rivers were most often personified by male deities, and in the Roman Empire rivers consecrated to gods were fairly common. Series of dedications to river gods were also known from the northern Adriatic and Pannonian-Danubian regions, such as to *Aesontius* (*Inscr. Aquil.* 96), to *Timavus* (*ILS* 3900 = *Ins. It.* X 4, 318) and to *Padus* (*ILS* 3903). *Dravus* (*AII* 267, 268) was worshipped together with *Danubius* at Tenja near Osijek (*Mursa: CIL* III 10263) and perhaps at Poetovio (*AII* 266), as was *Danubius* alone (*ILS* 3911 = *CIL* III 3416) and *Danubius* together with *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, *Salacea* and the unknown *Agaunus* (*CIL* III 14359, 27, from *Vindobona*). The closest examples are *Laburus* (perhaps the *Ljubljana: CIL* III 3840) and *Aquo* (the *Voglajna* stream: Šašel, see n. 2). Female deities who personified rivers were also known, such as the Gallic *Sequana*, the goddess of the river *Seine*, and the popular Spanish river goddess *Navia/Nabia*; it thus cannot

Fig. 9: An altar dedicated to Adsalluta from the hamlet of Sava, presently in the National Museum in Ljubljana.

Sl. 9: Oltar s posvetilom Adsaluti iz zaselka Sava, zdaj v Narodnem muzeju v Ljubljani.



be excluded *a priori* that Adsalluta would have been a river goddess. In that case, however, it could be expected that her sanctuary, or rather the altars dedicated to her, would be found along the Savinja river and not several kilometres distant from this river, along the Sava. The Savinja enters the Sava at Zidani Most, which is almost two hours on foot from the site where the altars to Adsalluta were discovered, a sufficiently large distance to exclude the possibility of connecting Adsalluta to the Savinja. Additionally, it must be considered that – in the context of the entire empire – very few other local goddesses of limited geographic extent, such as Adsalluta, have so many epigraphic monuments preserved (certainly nine, and most probably ten as one of the altars lacks an inscription). Therefore, it would be yet more surprising that to date not a single dedication has been found along the course of the Savinja. This single fact by itself would lead to a probable conclusion that Adsalluta cannot be identified with the Savinja. The Savinja was certainly an important navigable river which ran through one of the largest Tauriscan settlements, Celeia. The major role it also played in the economy of the city during the Principate and later, and the danger it represented due to frequent flooding are indicated by a dedication to Neptune, erected to the river god by the inhabitants of Celeia (*CIL* III 5197). Monuments to Neptune, like those to other river deities, eloquently testify to trade along the river systems. Three dedications to Neptune are known from Emona on the Ljubljana (*CIL* III 3841, 10765, 13400; together with the Nymphs), where an association of boatmen was also documented (*collegium naviculariorum*, *AJJ* 178). Perhaps some of the dedicants of altars to Adsalluta and Savus belonged to this *collegium*. It is interesting that two guilds of boatmen (for both large and small craft) existed in Ljubljana until the last century.⁵⁸ Two further dedications to Neptune were discovered along the Sava, one directly across from the sanctuary of Adsalluta at Klembas (or Klempas) near Hrastnik (*CIL* III 5137) and one near Čatež (*CIL* III 14354,22) dedicated to Neptune *Ovianus*. The latter indicates that Neptune frequently assumed the role of local water deities.

It is true that the sanctuary of Adsalluta was located at one of the most unsafe segments of the Sava, and undoubtedly her cult was related to the dangerous navigation through this area. The idea, however, that Adsalluta would have been the concrete personification of dangerous reefs or rapids in the section of the Sava east and west of Hrastnik does not seem justified, primarily because the Sava had its own deity, the powerful god Savus, who was, judging by the preserved epigraphic monuments, worshipped along the entire course of the river. The name of the river Sava was mentioned by Strabo (IV 6.10 C 207 and VII 5.2 C 314) and by later writers concerned with geography, and was undoubtedly of pre-Celtic origin.⁵⁹ Savus was a powerful god whose sphere of influence in the conceptual world of the inhabitants along the river was more extensive than could be concluded merely from the texts on the altars dedicated to him. This is indicat-

ed by the curse-tablet written in vulgar Latin discovered in Siscia (no. 13); it was addressed to the god Savus by a group of people, calling on him to pull down (drown?) their opponents in a legal process, to silence them and thus prevent them testifying against the writers of the curse. A precise translation of the inscription on the tablet cannot be presented, as due to numerous mistakes and unclear areas the text is illegible in places, although the notes of Hoffiller and Vetter about it and the text on the exterior side of the tablet, which is comprehensible despite the mistakes, nonetheless enable the meaning to be extracted. The names of the opponents listed in the text on the interior side of the tablet, which is not cited here, are interesting as they indicate that Roman Siscia was a cosmopolitan harbour and merchant centre. In addition to *L. Dometiu(s?) Secundo*, *L. Larcio* and *Luccillius Vallens* (the names cited according to Hoffiller), who were probably from Siscia as their place of birth was not listed, a certain individual from Cibalae was also mentioned among the opponents (the citation of the name is uncertain in reference to Vetter's corrections), as well as *P. (?) Citroniu(s) Cicorelliu(s)* from Narbo and *Lic(i)nius Sura* from Hispania; the Moesian *Novae* were perhaps also mentioned (according to Vetter's

Fig. 10: An altar dedicated to Adsalluta from the Museum Collections at Hrastnik (phot. A. Šemrov).

Sl. 10: Oltar s posvetilom Adsaluti iz Muzejskih zbirke v Hrastniku (foto A. Šemrov).



reading, although the interpretation of the text is uncertain). This was obviously a group of merchants who, together with the goods that they transported and sold, travelled with their boats, thus the request of their opponents that Savus pull them to the bottom of his waters is understandable. The inscription on the tablet is further interesting as it proves that water, which was otherwise mainly considered to be the source of life and fertility, was also related to the demonic forces of the underworld.⁶⁰

THE NATURE AND SPHERE OF INFLUENCE OF THE CULT OF ADSALLUTA

As has been seen, there is no doubt that the goddess was in some manner related to water, as otherwise the cult site, chapel or small sanctuary dedicated to her would not be located on the bank of the river in the vicinity of a stream. In addition, she was worshipped together with Savus and an altar was dedicated to her by L. Servilius Euchtyches with his pilots. One possible explanation would be that Adsalluta was the patroness of thermal springs existing in the period of her cult in the area where altars dedicated to her were found. No proof presently exists for such thermal springs, although in terms of geology this section of the Sava has a tectonic structure suitable for the theoretical appearance of thermal or medicinal springs. This is a region where thermal springs could appear and again disappear. The entire region from Medijske Toplice [Springs] to Laško and Rimske Toplice is

Fig. 11: An altar dedicated to Adsalluta from the timber-chute called Škarje, near the hamlet of Sava, presently in the National Museum in Ljubljana.

Sl. 11: Oltar s posvetilom Adsaluti z drčje Škarje, zdaj v Narodnem muzeju v Ljubljani.



famous for medicinal hot springs, and the closest hot spring was discovered on the opposite bank of the Sava at the cement factory in Trbovlje.⁶¹ Springs of water, whether normal or, particularly, thermal sources, were most often dedicated to the Nymphs.⁶² Seneca writes that the sources of powerful rivers were worshipped, altars were erected at sites where violent waters unexpectedly erupted from hidden springs, springs of thermal water were the object of cult devotion, and several lakes were worshipped because of their dark waters or unplumbed depth (*Ep. XLI, 3: Magnorum fluminum capita veneramur; subita ex abdito vasti amnis eruptio aras habet; coluntur aquarum calentium fontes, et stagna quaedam vel opacitas vel immensa altitudo sacrauit.*). Thus the Nymphs were worshipped at the nearby Rimske Toplice, too (*CIL III 5146-48 and 11688*), where one of the altars was also dedicated to Health (*Valetudo: 5149*). The patrons of thermal springs in the Celtic world were not uncommonly more or less local Celtic deities, goddesses as well as gods, such as *Coventina*, who was worshipped at the station of *Brocolitia* (Carrawburg: *RIB nos. 1523-1535*) at Hadrian's Wall in Britannia, and in Hispania under the name *Cohvetena* (Guitiriz and Santa Cruz de Loyo, Lugo: F. Arias Vilas, P. Le Roux, A. Tranoy, *Inscriptions romaines de la province de Lugo* [Paris 1979] p. 80, nos. 57 and p. 81, no. 58), or, for example, *Varna/Uvarna* in Hispania.⁶³

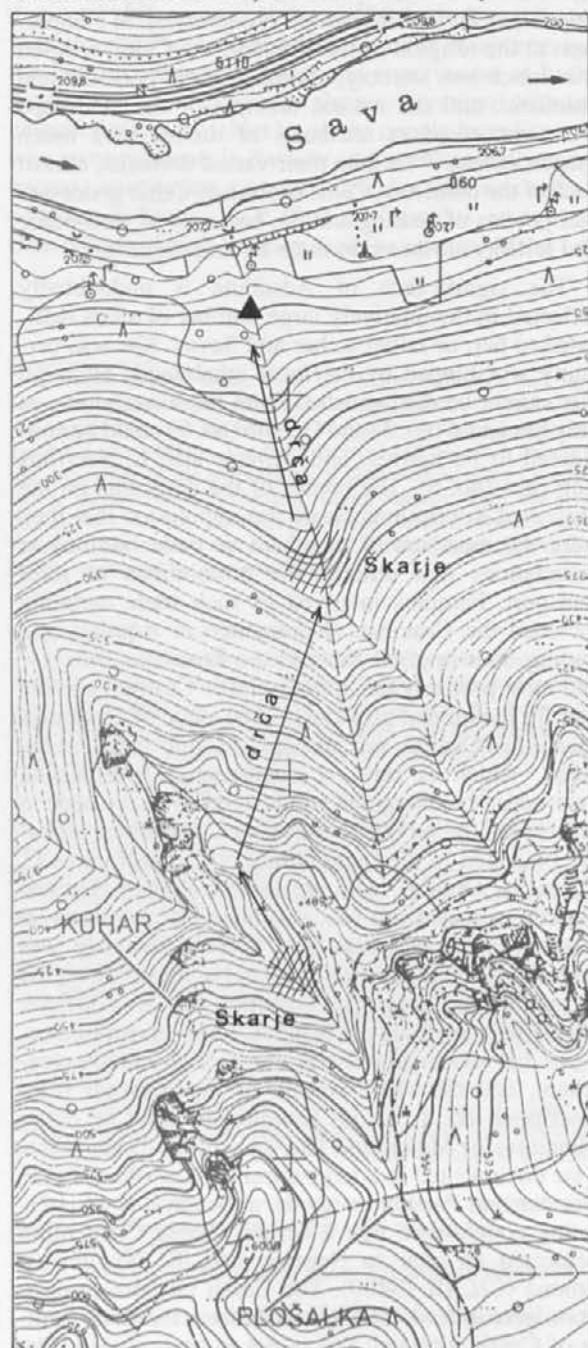
Adsalluta could further be presented as the patroness of a holy grove extending to the Sava, particularly as the banks of the Sava in this particular section are rather inaccessible, while the region where the altars were discovered is exceptionally pleasant and easily passable, as was emphasized by Müllner in his description of the site of discovery of the altars. Adsalluta must have been most closely connected with nature and the natural features of this region and her role should probably be seen as that of some powerful riparian nymph, perhaps also with certain traits of Diana. Polyvalence is significant for Celtic and non-Roman religions with close connections to nature in general; it is, however, difficult to determine the distinct forms.⁶⁴ The benevolence of any riparian guardian would certainly have been important to the boatmen, raftsmen, artisans, merchants and all those who travelled by boat or other craft along the river.

Navigation downstream was possible along the entire course of the Sava, although the rapids and banks in certain areas made it very hazardous. Transport upstream was impossible in certain areas, including the mentioned section from Zidani Most to Zalog, without barges towed by draft animals along towpaths deliberately constructed for this purpose, in some cases cut into rocky cliffs. The opposite or left bank of the Sava was much more densely settled in the Roman period than the right bank and was more important in terms of communication and transport, as the configuration of the terrain was more suitable for construction of a major route: the main road connecting Celeia and Nevioudunum and settlements further along the Sava to the east was located on this side. The

southern railway, which replaced this road in a certain sense, was built in the first half of the last century on this left bank of the river. The towpath on the right bank of the Sava, i.e. the *Treppelweg*, controlled by the imperial bureau for river navigation (*k.k. Navigations-Amt*), was abandoned only after construction of the railway. This path had enabled barges to be towed up the Sava in past centuries and navigation on the river was very active until the railway from Zidani Most to Sisak was opened in 1862. Such travel and transport was described by A. Planinc from Brod below Boštanj

Fig. 12: A section from the TTN Trbovlje 24 map with the Škarje timber-chute drawn.

Sl. 12: Izsek iz TTN Trbovlje 24 z vrisano drčo Škarje.



on the Sava, who came from a house where there was a prominent ferry station. The roads were in such poor condition in the 18th and 19th centuries that river transport was more important and the busy commerce was particularly aided by trade with Trieste in grain, which was loaded onto barges for transport from Sisak to Zalog. Grain and wine, loaded at Krško and Videm, were the usual cargoes. The journey lasted 16-26 days and was difficult, as the towpath along the river was not completely suitable for draft animals and in certain sections the barges had to be pulled by muscular men and youths. Cargoes downstream on the Sava could not be too heavy: merchants in the Sava basin brought in sugar, coffee, oil, iron and manufactured goods. The best seasons for transport were spring and fall, as in summer it was often hard to steer a boat through dangerous rapids because of drought; at least one or two boats had accidents each year. The helmsman who knew how to steer a boat safely always had an honoured place.⁶⁵ Judging by the dedication erected to Adsalluta by L. Servilius Eutyches and his helmsmen (no. 6), the situation was not greatly different in the Roman period.

Navigation along the Sava at the end of the prehistoric period and under the Romans probably transpired in a similar manner and the towpath, probably located in more or less the same position, would have been utilized at least in the Roman period if not before.⁶⁶ At Brestanica (formerly Rajhenburg, in German Reichenburg), opposite which several Roman milestones were found, a bridge across the Sava was supposed to have been located, and a *villa rustica* was discovered at Zidani Most. The only large Roman settlement on the right bank of the river was near Radeče, and important stations on this towpath must also have been the hamlet of Sava with a sanctuary dedicated to Adsalluta and Savus and the site where an altar dedicated to Savus was found at Vernek, opposite the railway station in Kresnice. This path in places might have led through sacred groves and sacred areas, one of which would have been dedicated to Adsalluta. After successful completion of a trip, the travellers and other users of this route would have erected votive altars in gratitude, after having previously begged for benevolence and help. If it is possible to depend on the data from Pečnik's unpublished archaeological map of Radeče and Zagorje, in addition to remains of Roman houses, graves were also found in the hamlet of Sava.⁶⁷ These graves cannot be dated more specifically, but it would not be at all surprising if they were contemporary to the cult of Adsalluta. It is certainly more likely than not that a small settlement would be located in the vicinity of a sacred grove, such as a *Lucus Adsallutae* unattested in sources, which would have made a living from looking after the sanctuary and taking care of this section of the towpath: the local inhabitants certainly must also have been involved in the transit trade, which was most probably the economic basis for the existence of such a village. The remains of a Roman settlement were actually confirmed by the excavations of the Regional Office for

the Protection of the Natural and Cultural Heritage in Celje in 1993 and 1994.

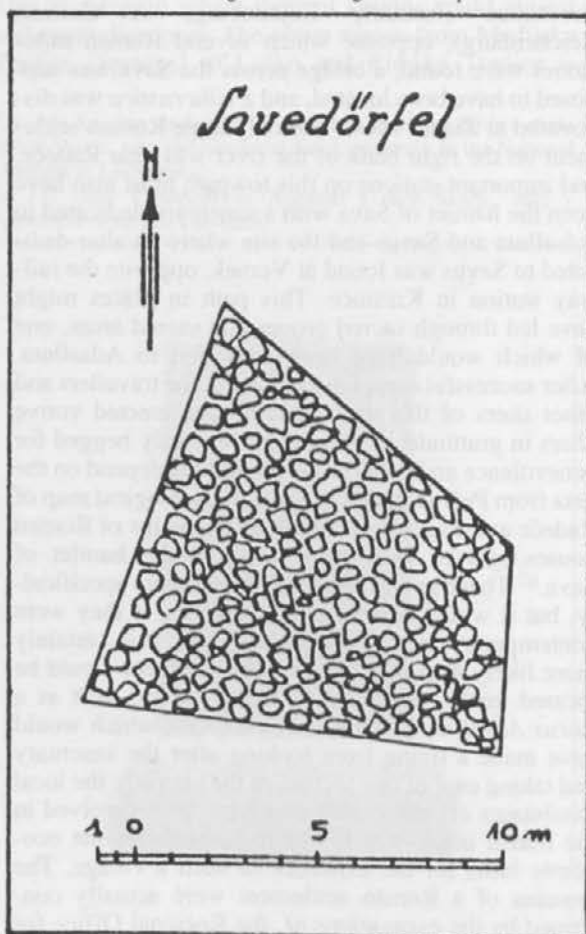
It might be possible to cite, as a close parallel to the dedications to Savus and Adsalluta, the dedication found in Topusko to Vidasus and Thana (*AII* 516-518; *CIL* III 3941). Topusko, the Roman *Ad Fines* (?), was known even in the early Roman period as a medicinal area with thermal springs. It lies in the Kupa / Kolpa valley, at the juncture of this river with the Glina. The parallel is particularly attractive in light of the hypothesis of Ihm that Vidasus could be in some manner related to a tributary of the Sava, called the Valdasus, mentioned in Pliny (*N.h.* III 148): *...inde XLV Taurunum, ubi Danuvio miscetur Saus; supra influunt Valdasus, Urpanus, et ipsi non ignobiles.*⁶⁸ It is certain that Vidasus and Thana were local and, most probably, water dieties.⁶⁹ Celtic river and water dieties, as well as others closely connected to nature, are well documented in the Celtic world, particularly in provinces with strong Celtic traditions, such as Gallia, Hispania and Britannia.⁷⁰ Worship of them was tenaciously rooted among the people, and in Hispania – and certainly elsewhere, too – even in the late 7th century the Christian church persecuted “those who kindle torches and worship sacred springs and trees” (*accensores faculorum et excolentes sacra fontium vel arborum*: the

2nd Canon of the 16th Council in Toledo in 693).⁷¹ St Martin of Bracara (510/520 - 579), originally from Pannonia, cited an interesting mythological story to explain the source of water cults in his work *De correctione rusticorum* (VIII): “...Many of those demons who had been expelled from heaven dwell either in the sea, or in rivers, springs and forests... People ignorant of God worship them as gods and offer sacrifices to them. They are called Neptune in the sea, river monsters in the rivers and Nymphs at springs...” (*Praeter haec autem multi daemones ex illis, qui de caelo expulsi sunt, aut in mari, aut in fluminibus, aut in fontibus, aut in silvis praesident, quos similiter homines ignorantes deum quasi deos colunt et sacrificia illis offerunt. Et in mari quidem Neptunum appellant, in fluminibus lamias, in fontibus Nymphas...*). In comparison to the religion of the Romans, the Celtic religion was much less stereotyped, much more personal and animistic, and the natural features of the landscape were conceived as attributes of dieties to a much greater extent.⁷² Despite their varied domains, almost each of the numerous Celtic or Roman-Celtic goddesses had powers of healing and the bestowal of well-being and fertility attributed to them by their believers.

The significance of Adsalluta is undoubtedly reflected in the relatively large number of altars dedicated to her, or rather to her and Savus. She was certainly worshipped by the local inhabitants, although this cannot be distinguished from the inscriptions, as only Secundio (no. 5) and Ocellio (no. 9) could be considered to be natives, and perhaps also L. Servilius Eutyches (no. 6). The names of the dedicants on the preserved inscriptions create the impression that they were the members of merchant or trade families or associations that utilized the possibilities of river transport. Families involved in such trade certainly included the Caecinae, documented in Aquileia and tracing their original roots to the Etruscans (no.7),⁷³ and most probably the northern Italic Castricii and the Servilii mentioned previously. The slave of Castricius Marcellus, Ocellio, was perhaps of Celtic origin, as the name, which is rare, is documented from Celtic provinces,⁷⁴ although he would certainly have been in this area in the service of his master. The above probably belonged to the same family of C. Castricii as C. Castricius Optatus, who erected an altar to Neptune directly across from the sanctuary of Adsalluta at Klempas near Hrastnik. The family obviously was intensively involved with trade and transport along the Sava in the 1st and/or 2nd centuries A.D. It is difficult to conclude anything about the Antonii (inscription no. 2), as this *nomen gentile* was widely distributed everywhere, and the same is true of the dedicant from inscription no. 1, whose gentilicium could be either Memmius or Mammius. The Cassii (no. 3) are otherwise documented at a large number of northern Italic, Norican and Pannonian towns, although it is an interesting coincidence that a certain Cassia Clementilla dedicated an altar to Neptune and the Nymphs at Emona (*CIL* III 13400). The Cassii on both inscriptions were indeed not necessarily from the same family of Cassii, although this is not to be excluded. The

Fig. 13: A plan of the supposed sanctuary of Adsalluta according to W. Schmid.

Sl. 13: Tloris domnevnega Adsallutinega svetišča po Schmidu.



Cassii are relatively well documented in Emona, and were a rich and influential family, as can be concluded from the fact that one of them, P. Cassius Secundus, was member of the equestrian order and was perhaps even admitted among senators.⁷⁵

From data obtained by analysis of the onomastic material about the social status and ethnic origin of the dedicants, it is thus evident that the altars to Adsalluta or to Savus and Adsalluta were dedicated mainly, it could be said, by travellers in transit, and mostly by merchants or rather their staff, who wished to ensure the benevolence of the gods during navigation along the river and passage through the sacred riparian area. If the role of Adsalluta is compared to that of Aecorna, the great protectress of the Emona basin,⁷⁶ some fundamental differences can be established. A sanctuary with a portico was erected to Aecorna in Nauportus by the entire community under the supervision of both *magistri vici*, and at Savaria she was honoured with an elegant dedicatory tablet by all the people from Emona who were residents in Savaria and were mutually connected, constituting a community. An altar was erected to her in Emona by P. Cassius Secundus, an equestrian officer of high military rank, *praefectus* of the 1st

ala Britannica milliaria c. R., twice decorated by Trajan for successes in the Dacian Wars, as is mentioned on the inscription.⁷⁷ Aecorna was an important pre-Roman local patroness worshipped by the entire community, and, among others, by Roman individuals belonging to the upper class. The cult of Adsalluta did not extend, at least inasmuch as is currently apparent, into any larger town or rural settlement, rather it was locally limited merely to the area of the rapids extending from the hamlet of Sava to Radeče, to the cult site on the bank of the Sava, the supposed sacred grove, and the hamlet near her sanctuary. It cannot be excluded that this sacred area could have been some kind of pilgrimage site to the local inhabitants. Mainly, however, the goddess watched over the safe passage of the frequent travellers, for in prehistory, the Roman period and up to very recently, such water routes were utilized for the transport of the most varied cargoes to a much greater extent than today. Lively trade developed on the ancient route of the Argonauts during the Roman Empire, and the fate of boatmen on the dangerous river Sava was decided – according to the beliefs of the local population and Roman merchants and travellers – by *Savus* and *Adsalluta*.

I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Stane Gabrovec and Dr. Dragan Božič for their kindness in reading this article and making suggestions, and the latter in particular for suggesting topographical emendations. For their decisive and unselfish aid during inspection of the monuments at their various sites I would like to thank Primož Pavlin and Andrej Šemrov. They are also the authors of the photographs from Šentjur, Radeče and Hrastnik. My thanks are also due to Barbara Smith-Demo for having translated the text into English.

¹ I. Chirassi Colombo, I culti locali nelle regioni alpine, *Ant. Altoadr.* 9, 1976, 173-206; V. Kolšek, Pregled antičnih kultov na slovenskem ozemlju (Übersicht über die antiken Kulte im slowenischen Gebiet), *Arch. vest.* 19, 1968, 273-286; see also R. Marič, *Antiški kultovi u našoj zemlji* (Beograd 1933) 62 (Adsalluta is merely mentioned).

² See for ex. K. Wigand, Die Nutrices Augustae von Poetovio, *Jh. Österr. Arch. Inst.* 18, 1915, 190-218; E. Diez, Nutrices, in: *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* VI 1 (1992) 936-938 in VI 2 (1992) 620-622. P. Petru, Cernunnos v Sloveniji (Cernunnos in Slovenien), *Situla* 4, 1961, 31-48; J. Šašel, Aquo, Aquonis, m., personifikacija in imensko izhodišče za potok Voglajna (Aquo, Aquonis, m., Personifizierung und Namensprung für den Voglajna-Bach), *Linguistica* 20/2, 1980, 61-66; M. Šašel Kos, Boginja Ekorna v Emoni, *Zgod. čas.* 46, 1992, 5-12.

³ R. Knabl, Inschriftliche Funde aus neuerer und neuester Zeit in und an den Grenzen des Kronlandes Steiermark, *Mitt. Hist. Ver. St.* 2, 1851, 43-57 (I. Sava [Saudörf]), drawings T. 1.

⁴ See *Arheološka najdišča Slovenije* (1975) 267.

⁵ J. Orožen, *Zgodovina Trbovelj, Hrastnika in Dola 1* (Trbovlje 1958) 33 and n. 18; S. Brečko, *Hrastnik skozi desetletja* (Hrastnik 19782) 5. Dr. M. Jelen from the Geological Institute kindly drew my attention to Brečko's book.

⁶ J. A. Ostrowski, *Personifications of Rivers in Greek and Roman Art* (Warszawa, Kraków 1991) 58 and fig. 60.

⁷ Knabl (n. 3) 47-48.

⁸ F. Bezljaj, *Slovenska vodna imena 2* (Ljubljana 1961) 174.

⁹ *Ib.*, 175-176.

¹⁰ P. Kandler, *Inscrizioni antiche alla Sava, L'Istria* 2, 1847, no. 56-57, 228.

¹¹ R. Knabl, Epigraphische Excursus, *Mitt. Hist. Ver. St.* 6, 1855, 163-165.

¹² P. Hitzinger, *Votivsteine zu Ehren der Göttin Adsalluta*, *Mitt. Hist. Ver. Krain* 11, 1856, 70-71 (see also D. Terstenjak, *Adsallutae Aug. sacr. G. Caecina Faustinus*, *Novice* 14, 1856, 62 in 66-67).

¹³ Brečko (n. 5) 454.

¹⁴ Orožen (n. 5) 33-34.

¹⁵ *Ib.*, 32.

¹⁶ Brečko (n. 5) 454.

¹⁷ A. Müllner, *Emona. Archaeologische Studien aus Krain* (Laibach 1879). See also *Id.*, *Das Heiligtum des Saus und der Adsalluta zu Saudörf*, *Laibacher Zeitung* 1874, no. 14, 94-95; no. 15, 102-103; no. 16, 110-111.

¹⁸ I would like to thank Dr. L. Placer from the Geological Institute for these data.

¹⁹ W. Schmid, *Römische Forschung in Österreich 1912-1924. Die südlichen Ostalpenländer*, *Ber. Röm. Germ. Komm.* 15, 1923/24, 183-184.

²⁰ P. Kos, *FMRS* I 323.

²¹ Brečko (n. 5) 5; P. Scherrer, *Grabbau - Wohnbau - Turmbau - Praetorium. Angeblich römerzeitliche Sakralbauten und behauptete heidnisch-christliche Kultkontinuitäten in Noricum*, *Berichte u. Materialien* 4, 1992, 39-41.

²² Petru (n. 2) 39-40.

²³ J. Šašel, s. v. Emona, in: *RE Suppl.* 11 (1968) 550 n.

²⁴ W. Schmid, *Südsteiermark im Altertum*, in: *Südsteiermark. Ein Gedenkbuch* (Graz 1925) 16.

²⁵ Orožen (n. 5) 33.

²⁶ W. Schmid, *Der heilige Bezirk von Brunn bei Fehring in Steiermark*, *Jh. Österr. Arch. Inst.* 31, 1938, Bb. 97-98. *Id.*, *Das Eindringen der römischen Kultur in Noricum*, *Das Joanneum* 6, 1943, 20, Abb. 16. Cf. also *Deutsche Wacht* 8, 1883, no. 58, 4.

²⁷ B. Saria, *Novi napisi*, *Glas. Muz. dr. Slov.* 18, 1937, 133.

²⁸ M. Šašel Kos, *Nauportus: antični literarni in epigrafski viri* (Nauportus: Literary and Epigraphical Sources), in: *Jana Horvat, Nauportus (Vrhnik)* (Ljubljana 1990) 17-21 (143-148).

²⁹ Opinions about the Taurisci are not uniform; however, these problems will be dealt with elsewhere. See G. Alföldy, *Noricum* (London, Boston 1974) 25-27; P. Petru, *Die ostalpinen Taurisker und Latobiker*, in: *ANRW* II 6 (1977) 473-499; J. Šašel, *Lineamenti dell'espansione romana nelle Alpi Orientali e nei*

- Balcani occidentali, *Ant. Altoadr.* 9, 1976, especially 71-79 (= *Opera selecta* 1992, 408-416). Id., *Miniera aurifera nelle Alpi Orientali*, *Aquil. Nos.* 45/46, 1974/75, 148-152 (= *Opera selecta*, 538-540).
- ³⁰ D. Božič, *Keltska kultura u Jugoslaviji*. Zapadna grupa, in: *Praist. jug. zem.* 5 (1987) 855-897.
- ³¹ P. Kos, *The Monetary Circulation in the Southeastern Alpine Region (ca. 300 B.C. - A.D. 1000)*, *Situla* 24 (1986) 20-24.
- ³² K. Pick, *O čolnih na Savi in na Ljubljani*, *Carniola* 2, 1911, 172.
- ³³ J. Šašel referred a few times to this possibility orally, but never dealt with his hypothesis in an article, due to lack of arguments. For location of Noreia see Alföldy (n. 29) 47-51, and especially n. 49 and 50 (p. 298), where he discussed various proposals of his predecessors.
- ³⁴ J. Šašel, in: *ANSI* p. 86, no. 102-104; Alföldy (n. 29) 60.
- ³⁵ F. Lochner von Hüttenbach, *Die römzeitlichen Personennamen der Steiermark* (Graz 1989) 11-13.
- ³⁶ H. Krahe, *Die Sprache der Illyrier*, 1, *Die Quellen* (Wiesbaden 1955) 50-51. In his earlier monographs no mention is made of Adsalluta: *Lexikon altillyrischer Personennamen* (Heidelberg 1929), and *Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen* (Heidelberg 1925).
- ³⁷ A. Mayer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier* 1 (Wien 1957).
- ³⁸ A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* 1 (Leipzig 1896, repr. Graz 1961) 46.
- ³⁹ M. Ihm, in: *RE* I 1 (1893) 421-422.
- ⁴⁰ Id., *Keltische Flussgottheiten*, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth.* 19, 1896, 78.
- ⁴¹ K. H. Schmidt, *Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen* (Tübingen 1957) 116.
- ⁴² Krahe (n. 36).
- ⁴³ For many interesting thoughts about the worship of water, see G. Susini, *Culti idrici in area coloniarum: preambolo alla ricerca*, in: *Studi triestini di antichità in onore di Luigia Achillea Stella* (1975) 397-401, and Id., *Culti salutari e delle acque: materiali antichi nella Cispadana*, *Studi Romagnoli* 26, 1975, 321-338.
- ⁴⁴ Alföldy (n. 29) 60, wrongly writes that a chapel of Neptunus and Adsalluta was located at the site of Za Savo, but see p. 239.
- ⁴⁵ Knabl (n. 3) 47.
- ⁴⁶ J. Vendryes, *La religion des Celtes*, in: *Les religions des Celtes, des Germains et des anciens Slaves*, *Les religions de l'Europe ancienne* 3 (Paris 1948) 269 ff.
- ⁴⁷ M. J. Green, *A Corpus of Religious Material from the Civilian Areas of Roman Britain*, *BAR Brit. Ser.* 24 (1976) 21.
- ⁴⁸ *Diz. epigr.* 3 (1922) 594 s. v.
- ⁴⁹ *CIL* III 3.
- ⁵⁰ H. Solin, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom I*, *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 48 (Helsinki 1971) 146 ff. See also Alföldy (n. 29) 129, and n. 178 (p. 324) and 179 (p. 325), who noted examples of Norican slaves with Greek names.
- ⁵¹ Šašel Kos (n. 28) 23, no. 6, and 29 (150, no. 6, 155-156).
- ⁵² A. Mócsy, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen* (Budapest 1959) 159.
- ⁵³ Ihm (n. 39 and 40); H. Dessau, *ILS* 3907; Holder (n. 38).
- ⁵⁴ E. Polaschek, *Noricum*, in: *RE* XVII (1936) 1022 (in the article by V. Kolšek [n. 1, p. 281] the opinion according to which Adsalluta would personify the upper course of the river Sava was wrongly attributed to Polaschek).
- ⁵⁵ See n. 12.
- ⁵⁶ See n. 14.
- ⁵⁷ Petru (n. 2) 39-40.
- ⁵⁸ Pick (n. 32) 173-174.
- ⁵⁹ Bezljaj (n. 8) 171-174.
- ⁶⁰ C. Bruun, *Water as a Cruel Element in the Roman World*, in: *Crudelitas. The Politics of Cruelty in the Ancient and Medieval World*, *Medium Aevum quotidianum* (Krems 1992) 74-80, especially 79.
- ⁶¹ I would like to thank Dr. L. Placer from the Geological Institute for data about the thermal spring at Trbovlje, as well as for confirmation of my supposition.
- ⁶² R. Chevallier, *Introduction au colloque*, in: *Les eaux thermales et les cultes des eaux en Gaule et dans les provinces voisines*, *Caesarodunum* 26 (1992) 5-27. Generally about the worship of water: C. Bourgeois, *Divona I, Divinités et ex-voto du culte gallo-romain de l'eau* (Paris 1991) *passim*. Cf. also the forthcoming publication: *Il culto delle acque e la "persistenza del sacro"*, *Mediterraneo tardoantico e medievale*, *Quaderni* 2.
- ⁶³ N. Dupré, M. J. Pérex Agorreta, *Thermalisme et religion dans le nord de l'Hispania (des Pyrénées à l'Ebre)*, in: *Les eaux thermales* (n. 62) 158-159, 164.
- ⁶⁴ Cf. H. Kenner, *Die Götterwelt der Austria Romana*, in: *ANRW* II 18,2 (1989) 960, and Šašel Kos (n. 2) 11.
- ⁶⁵ A. Planinc (edited by J. Wester), *Nekdanje brodarstvo po Savi*, *Carniola* 5, 1914, 123-136.
- ⁶⁶ K. Deschmann, *Die jüngst aufgefundenen Meilensteine aus Unter-Krain*, *Mitt. Zent. Komm.* 13, 1887, lxxxiv-lxxxvii. About navigation on the river Sava in antiquity see also C. Patsch, *Die Sava-Schiffahrt in der Kaiserzeit*, *Jh. Österr. Arch. Inst.* 8, 1905, 139-141.
- ⁶⁷ J. Pečnik, *Beschreibung der Karte Ratschach und Sagor aus prähistorischer Zeit* (1889) no. 42: "Unter N^o 42 bezeichnete römische Gräber und Häuser bei Sava. Es befinden sich auf den Äckern des Ribnjakar und Koritnik mehrere Reste von Gebäuden und römische Ziegeln bei Arbeiten auf dem Felde gefunden worden sind. Auch mehrere Steinplatten mit Inschriften gefunden, was der Zeichen ist, das auch dort eine römische Gebäude gestanden hat." (*sic*). I would like to thank Dr. D. Božič who kindly drew my attention to Pečnik's data.
- ⁶⁸ Ihm (n. 40).
- ⁶⁹ See A. Mayer, *Die illyrischen Götter Vidasus und Thana*, *Glotta* 31, 1948-1951, 235-243, who suggested that these deities were the local equivalents of Silvanus and Diana. For a similar opinion see also J. Fitz, in: *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia* (Budapest 1980) 163, for which, however, there is no evidence. See also D. Rendić-Miočević, *Ilirske pretstave Silvana na kultnim slikama s područja Dalmata* (Representations illyriennes de Sylvanus sur les monuments du culte dans le domaine dalmate), *Glas. Zem. muz.* 10, 1955, 8-9, 29, and P. F. Dorsey, *The Cult of Silvanus. A Study in Roman Folk Religion*, *Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition* 20 (Leiden, New York, Köln 1992) 72.
- ⁷⁰ See for ex. Vendryes (n. 46); E. Thevenot, *Le Culte des Eaux et le Culte Solaire à Entrains (Nièvre)*, *Ogam* 1954, 9-20; J. M. Blázquez, *Le Culte des Eaux dans la Péninsule Ibérique*, *Ogam* 1957, 209-233; Id., *Einheimische Religionen Hispaniens in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, in: *ANRW* II 18,1 (1986) 164-275; Green (n. 47); E. Birley, *The Deities of Roman Britain*, in: *ANRW* II 18,1 (1986) 3-112.
- ⁷¹ Cf. Blázquez, *Le Culte des Eaux* (n. 70) 231.
- ⁷² Green (n. 47) 7-8.
- ⁷³ Mócsy (n. 52) 152; G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (Heidelberg 1969) 68.
- ⁷⁴ A. Mócsy et al., *Nomenclator*, *Diss. Pann.* 3/1 (1983) s. v.
- ⁷⁵ A. and J. Šašel, *Le préfet de la 1^e aile Britannique milliaire sous Trajan à Emona*, *Arh. vest.* 28, 1977, 334-345.
- ⁷⁶ Šašel Kos (n. 2).
- ⁷⁷ Šašel (n. 75).

Savus in Adsalluta

Prevod

V velikih mestnih središčih nič manj kot v zakotnih naselbinah in od naselij odmaknjenih kulturnih mestih po Italiji in provincah so bili najdeni, in se pogosto še najdejo, kamniti spomeniki s posvetili lokalnim božanstvom. Častil jih je omejen krog vernikov na bolj ali manj omejenih območjih in največkrat je zelo težko določiti pravo naravo in meje vplivnega območja teh bogov. Pogosto je na napisih ohranjeno zgolj ime božanstva, brez spremljajočega pridevka ali reliefa, tako da je lokalni kult mogoče osvetliti le z natančnim študijem skromne razpoložljive evidence. Potrebno je natančno opredeliti kontekst najdbe, se seznaniti z mikrotopografijo najdišča in z morebitnimi lokalnimi naravnimi posebnostmi, ter določiti etnično in socialno pripadnost posvetiteljev napisnih spomenikov. Vsaka pokrajina, posebej če jo zapirajo naravne meje, kakršni so hribi in gore, večje reke, globoke doline ali močvirja, je bila svet zase; naseljevali so jo ljudje, ki so govorili svoje lastno narečje, imeli svoje lastne običaje in šege in častili svoje lastne bogove. Evidenca kaže, da so bila ta božanstva, za katerih naklonjenosti so se neredko pote govali tudi popotniki in celo "romarji", največkrat tuja in nepomembna že njihovim bližnjim sosedom.

Predrimskih božanstev, ki so jih častili prebivalci jugovzhodnega alpskega prostora v času razcveta noriškega kraljestva in še pred tem - njihova imena so nam znana šele z rimskodobnih napisov - ni še nihče izčrpno obravnaval. Imamo le nekaj pregledov.¹ Malo je tudi študij o številnih posameznih božanstvih.² V članku želim zbrati in ovrednotiti vso evidenco (gre predvsem za epigrafsko gradivo), ki se nanaša na boštvi, imenovani *Adsalluta* in *Savus*. Konec 18. stoletja in v prvi polovici prejšnjega stoletja je bilo odkritih nekaj majhnih žrtvenikov, posvečenih Savusu in Adsalluti, ali le Adsalluti, ki so v strokovni literaturi znani od srede prejšnjega stoletja. Največ so jih našli blizu reke Save pri zaselku Sava (sl. 1), ki leži na desnem bregu Save nasproti železniške postaje Hrastnik in ki je bil po drugi svetovni vojni priključen Hrastniku (Müllner navaja za zaselek ime Na Savi, nemško Sauditörfel, oz. pri Schmidu Savedörfel). Prvi jih je objavil Knabl,³ v literaturi pa so bili nato še nekajkrat, vendar le na kratko omenjeni.⁴ V zaselku Sava naj bi odkrili tudi ostanke svetišča, ki so mu najdeni votivni oltarčki pripadali. To svetišče je v literaturi nekajkrat bežno omenjeno, izkopal naj bi ga Schmid leta 1917 (glej niže), vendar poročilo o izkopavanjih ni bilo objavljeno, oz. kaj več o svetišču ni bilo napisanega.

Napisi iz zaselka Sava. Obema božanstvoma so bili postavljeni:

1. *AII* 27, risba (sl. 2,3). Najdišče je sicer neznano, danes služi tako kot št. 6 za podnožje levega stranskega stebra v vratih, ki vodijo na pokopališče ob cerkvi sv. Jurija v Šentjurju na Polju (blizu Loke pri Zidanem mostu). Oba napisa omenja že J. Orožen, *Das Dekanat Tüffer* (Graz 1881) 447-448 (St. Georgen am Felde), glej tudi *ANSI* 265. Glede na to, da je bilo šest oltarjev najdenih *in situ* na enem mestu: na drči za spuščanje lesa, imenovani Škarje, pri zaselku Sava, bi lahko domnevali, da tudi preostali štirje napisi, torej št. 1, 4, 6 in 8, ki so bili najdeni v sekundarni legi in so brez najdiščnih podatkov, izvirajo z istega najdišča, vendar za to ni dokaza.

S(avo) et | Adsallut(ae) | C. M[e]mm(ius) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

Začetek 1. stoletja po Kr.?

Gentilno ime bi mogli dopolniti tudi kot *Mammius*. Kamen je sedaj v slabšem stanju kot je bil, ko ga je objavil Saria. 3. vrstica skoraj ni čitljiva.

2. *CIL* III 5138. A. Müllner, *Emona*, št. 233 (= *ILS* 3907 = *AE* 1934, 71). *RISr* 362 (sl. 4). Najden je bil leta 1845 (Weber napačno navaja letnico 1792) na Ribnikarjevi njivi pod drčo Škarje; hranijo ga v Joanneu:

Savo et Adsallutae | sacr(um) | P(ublius) Ant(onium) Secundus | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

1. ali 2. stoletje po Kr.

3. *CIL* III 11684. A. Müllner, *Emona*, št. 234 (sl. 5). Najden je bil 1873 na njivi pod drčo Škarje, hranili so ga v hiši J. Koritnika, zdaj je v muzeju v Celju:

Adsallut(ae) | et Savo | Aug(usto) sac(rum) | C(aius) Cassius | Quietus | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

1. ali 2. stoletje po Kr.

Začetnega *C* v vr. 4 in začetnega *Q* v vr. 5 Hirschfeld ni več videl na kamnu; pripomnil je, da je črki Müllner morda le domneval.

4. *AII* 255, fot. (sl. 6). Spodaj poškodovan votivni oltarček, odkrit leta 1910 pri podiranju stare cerkvene ladje v Radečah pri Zidanem mostu, je sedaj vzdian v zahodno steno nove cerkve. Pravo najdišče je torej neznano; ni izključeno, da je bil prinesen iz zaselka Sava:

S(avo) et Ats(allutae) | C. Iul(ius) Ius(tus) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

1. ali 2. stoletje po Kr.

5. *CIL* III 5134 (desni del) = 11680 (cel oltar). A. Müllner, *Emona*, št. 237 (sl. 7). Majhna baza za kipca obeh božanstev (?): desna stran baze je bila najdena leta 1792 - po vsej verjetnosti na drči Škarje, čeprav to ni izrecno omenjeno - in je bila shranjena v hiši J. Koritnika (hišna št. 29). Levi del je bil najden leta 1880; oba dela se nahajata sestavljena v Narodnem muzeju v Ljubljani (glej J. Binder, *Zu C.I.L. III, 5134, Arch.-epigr. Mitth.* 4, 1880, 224):

Savo et Ads(allutae) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) | Secundio.
Obdobje principata

Le Adsalluti so posvečeni naslednji žrtveniki:

6. *AII* 26, risba = *AE* 1938, 151 (sl. 8,3). Najdišče je neznano. Spomenik danes služi kot podnožje desnega stranskega stebra v vratih, ki vodijo na pokopališče ob cerkvi sv. Jurija v Šentjurju na Polju. Zanj velja to, kar smo ugotovili za št. 1.:

Adsallutae | sacr(um) | L. Servilius | Euty[c]hes (?) cum suis | gubernatoribus | v(otum) [s(olvit)] l(ibens) m(erito).

1. stoletje po Kr.?

Napis je zdaj bolj izlizan kot kaže risba v *AII*: 4. in 5. vrstica sta skoraj nečitljivi.

7. *CIL* III 5135. A. Müllner, *Emona*, št. 235 (sl. 9). Majhen votivni oltar. Po Mommsenu je negotove provenience. Ker najdišče v aktih Zgodovinskega društva za Kranjsko ni bilo navedeno, je Hitzinger napis napačno pripisal iškim, vendar je že Knabl - gotovo pravilno - domneval, da je bil oltarček najden v zaselku Sava. Od leta 1832 je v Narodnem muzeju v Ljubljani:

Adsallutae | Aug(ustae) sacr(um) | G. Caecina | Faustinus.

1. ali 2. stoletje po Kr.

8. *CIL* III 11685; prim. F. Pichler, *Mitt. Zent. Komm.* 8, 1882, cxiii [no. 75] (sl. 10). Oltarček je bil odkrit leta 1881 v stari hiši družine Burger v Hrastniku in je bil vzdian v južno steno nove Burgerjeve hiše, nekdanje Peklarjeve domačije.⁵ Ko so ob gradnji današnje ceste skozi Hrastnik hišo podrli, so kamen prenesli v Muzejske zbirke Hrastnik (Cesta 1. maja št. 40). Na pojasnilnem

kartončku je navedeno, da je bil najden v Klempasu, nasproti najdišča večine oltarjev. Upravičeno lahko domnevamo, da pripada tudi ta napis sklopu votivnih napisov, posvečenih Adsaluti, oz. Savusu in Adsaluti, ki so izvirali iz njunega svetišča:

Adsalute Aug(ustae) / C. C(---) A(---).

1. ali 2. stoletje po Kr.

9. *CIL* III 5136 + p. 1828 in 2328,26. A. Müllner, *Emona*, št. 236 (sl. 11). Najden je bil leta 1792 na Ribnikarjevi njivi pod drčo Škarje. Najprej je bil vzdian v Koritnikovo hišo, danes je v Narodnem muzeju v Ljubljani:

Adsalute Aug(ustae) sac(rum) / Ocellio / Castrici /⁵ Marcelli ser(vus) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

2. stoletje po Kr.

10. A. Müllner, *Emona*, št. 238. Fragment oltarja, na katerem napis ni ohranjen; najden je bil na drči Škarje, leta 1873 je bil v Koritnikovi hiši.

Napisi, ki so jih naslovili le na Sava, so bili najdeni na treh različnih mestih vzdolž reke Save; znana sta oltarja iz Verneke nasproti Kresnic in iz Ščitarjevega (antične Andavtonije), ter zarotitvena ploščica iz Siska (antične Siscije).

11. *CIL* III 3896, prim. p. 1736 in 2328,26. A. Müllner, *Emona*, št. 231: Oltar, najden sredi prejšnjega stoletja v Verneku, v strugi Save nasproti železniške postaje Kresnice pri Litiji, je zdaj v Narodnem muzeju v Ljubljani:

Savo Aug(usto) / sac(rum) / P. Rufrius / Verus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Verjetno 2. stoletje po Kr.

12. *AIJ* 475, fot. (= *CIL* III 4009, cf. p. 1746 = *ILS* 3908/9). Oltar, najden v Ščitarjevem, v starem rečnem rokavu Save, je zdaj v Arheološkem muzeju v Zagrebu:

Savo Aug(usto) / sac(rum) / M. Iuuentius / Primigeniu[s] / [e]t soci(i) v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).

1. ali 2. stoletje po Kr.

Tako Publij Rufrij Ver kot Mark Ju(v)encij Primigenij sta po vsej verjetnosti pripadala družinama, ki sta se v noriško-panonski prostor naselili iz severne Italije. Rečnim božanstvom so se pripravljali predvsem trgovci. Na napisu omenjeni Juvencijevi družabniki ali člani kakega združenja, so bili prejkone v podrejenem položaju, ker na napisu niso omenjeni poimensko.

13. *AIJ* 557, fot. in risba. E. Vetter, Eine lateinische Fluchttafel mit Anrufung des Wassermannes, *Glotta* 39, 1960, 127-132 (glej tudi njegov članek z istim naslovom v: *Glotta* 36, 1958, 304-308 in *Ann. épigr.* 1921, 95); Svinčena zarotitvena ploščica, najdena 1913 v Sisku med materialom, ki je bil z bagrom izkopen v reki Kolpi. Na notranji strani so navedena imena nasprotnikov v nekem sodnem procesu in zarotitev, da leti proti piscem te ploščice ne bi mogli nič slabega pričati. Konec besedila je nečitljiv. Na zunanji strani je zakletev ponovno izrečena in naslovljena na boga Savusa, vendar brez naštevanja imen nasprotnikov (čitanje po Vetterju):

Data Deprementi / Ma(n)data dabis / Savo cura(m) agat(t) / deprema(t) ad veraro(s) /⁵ nostros om(m)utua(nt) ne / contra nos locui au(t) / age[r]e isti [possit].....].

2. stoletje po Kr.

Zakletev je napisana v zelo barbarski latinščini in bi jo bilo težko v celoti prevesti, smisel pa je jasen: "Naročilo boš dal Savusu, da poskrbi za to, da jih bo potegnil navzdol, da obmolkejo, da ne bodo mogli proti nam govoriti ali delovati"...

Rečni bog Savus je upodobljen tudi na novcih, in sicer skupaj s Kolapisom (božanstvom reke Kolpe) na novcih, kovanih v Sisciji (Kolpa se pri Sisciji izliva v Savo, zato identifikacija obeh rečnih

božanstev ni sporna). Lika rečnih božanstev se pojavljata na Galijenovih zlatnikih in srebrnih medaljonih (A. Alföldi, *Siscia, Vorarbeiten zu einem Corpus der in Siscia geprägten Römermünzen*, *Num. Köz.* 26-27, 1927-1928 [1931] 47, št. 14 in 2) ter na Probvih antoninijanih (P. H. Webb, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* V 2 [London 1933, repr. 1972] Probus št. 764-766).⁶

Knabl si je nekaj posvetil Adsaluti (oz. Adsaluti in Savusu), tistih namreč, ki so mu bila tedaj dostopna (št. 2, 5, 7 in 9), sam oglelal, risbe in prepise napisov pa mu je leta 1850 poslal tudi Morlot, ki je kraje ob Savi raziskoval z geoloških vidikov. Knabl, ki se je z epigrafiko ukvarjal le ljubiteljsko, napisov razen enega ni ustrezno objavil. Od napisa Sekundiona (št. 5) je bil v njegovem času znan le fragment, napis Publija Antonija Sekunda (št. 2) je popolnoma napačno prebral, pač pa je njegovo poročilo dragoceno zaradi najdiščinskih podatkov (za napisa, ki sta ju dala postaviti *Secundio* in *Ocellio*, omenja, da sta bila najdena leta 1792 in da sta že 35 let vzdiana v hišo J. Koritnika (Goritnigg), in sicer tako, da je narobe obrnjena baza s Sekundionovim napisom služila kot neke vrste ovršje oltarju z Ocelionovim napisom), predvsem pa zaradi geoloških podatkov. Ker je bila Adsaluta nekajkrat počaščena skupaj s Savusom, je domneval, da gre v obeh primerih za rečni božanstvi. Zavrgel je domnevo, da bi Adsaluta utegnila posebljati kak majhen potok v neposredni bližini najdišča, npr. Trboveljščico (nemško Trifail), ki se nedaleč od zaselka pri Trbovljah izliva v Savo. Menil je namreč, da božanstvo lahko predstavlja le plovno reko, ki je prevozna vsaj z manjšimi plovili. Po njegovem mnenju bi bila najverjetnejša razlaga, da bi Adsaluta posebljala reko Savinjo, ki se izliva v Savo pri Zidanem mostu, skoraj dve uri hoda od najdišča oltarjev. Zaobljubne oltarčke naj bi potniki postavili enemu ali obema božanstvom za rešitvi iz kakšne nevarnosti med vožnjo po reki, ali iz kakšnega drugega vzroka, v imenu *Adsaluta* pa naj bi bilo ohranjeno keltsko ime reke Savinje. Razen tega Knabl še omenja, da naj bi keltsko ime za reko Savinjo že za Rimljanov prišlo iz rabe in naj bi ga nadomestilo krajše ime Sana, ki naj bi bilo po Knablovem mnenju pravzaprav le latinski prevod imena Adsaluta: Adsaluta bi torej bila boginja zdravilne vode, saj Savinja teče mimo Laškega in tamkajšnjih zdravilnih toplic. Nemško ime za Savinjo, San (pravilno Sann), naj bi izviralo iz latinskega imena Sana, medtem ko slovensko ime z nemškim ne bi imelo nikakršne zveze, saj pomeni le majhna Sava.⁷ Njegova razlaga imena je vsekakor popolnoma napačna: da bi bila z latinskimi hidronimom *fluvius Sana* mišljena reka Savinja (podatek iz 9. stoletja, *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 16), je po mnenju F. Bezlaja skoraj neverjetno.⁸ Po Bezlajevem mnenju tudi ni dvoma o tem, da se je nemška oblika imena razvila iz slovenskega, čeprav za ta razvoj ni bilo izhodišče današnje, sorazmerno mlado ime Savinja, temveč starejša oblika imena za to reko: *Savina. Ni pa dvoma, da je ime predslavonsko.⁹

Knabl v svojem članku in *extenso* navaja tudi Kandlerjevo objavo treh Adsaluti posvečenih oltarjev v časopisu *L'Istria*,¹⁰ kjer avtor zgolj omenja, da so posvečeni lokalnemu, doslej še neznanemu božstvu. Nekaj let pozneje je Knabl objavil popravek k čitanju napisa št. 2.¹¹ Ponovno je te napise objavil Hitzinger,¹² povzel Knablovo razlago imena Adsaluta in dodal Terstenjakovo razlago, po mnenju katerega naj bi bila Adsaluta boginja skalnatih čeri, kar je skušal utemeljiti z napačnimi etimologijami.

K NATANČNI DOLOČITVI NAJDIŠČA OLTARJEV, KI SO BILA POSTAVLJENA ADSALUTI ALI NJEJ IN SAVUSU

Pri Knablu, kjer so ti kamni prvič objavljeni, in pri večini poznejših omemb bodisi Adsalutinega svetišča bodisi njej, oz. njej in Savusu posvečenih napisov, vse do 2. svetovne vojne, se najdišče imenuje Sava (nemško Saudörfel, pri Schmidu SAVEDörfel), navedeno pa je tudi, da gre za najdišče nasproti Hrastnika. Sava se zaselek imenuje tudi v Brečkovi zgodovini Hrastnika.¹³ Pri Müllnerju, ki je spomenike objavil v dodatku k svoji *Emoni* in navedel tudi zelo natančne najdiščne podatke, se kraj imenuje Na Savi. Pod tem imenom je zaselek naveden tudi na franciscejskem katastru iz leta 1825 (k.o. Podkraj, N. 201, list 1), ob nemškem imenu Saudörfel, in pri Orožnu.¹⁴ V *Arheološka najdišča Slovenije* pa je vnesen podatek Bolte, ki izrecno opozar-

ja, da se najdišče oltarjev, posvečenih Adsaluti ali Savusu in Adsaluti, ki je bilo v stari literaturi znano kot Sava, pravilno imenuje Za Savo (str. 267). Tako je najdišče v ANSI mogoče najti le pod tem imenom. Vendar vse kaže, da je ta navedba v ANSI napačna, ker je tako na zemljevidu 1:5000 (*TTN Trbovlje 24*), kot v *Atlasu Slovenije* ta zaselek naveden pod imenom Sava (Podkraj). Bolta se je po dogovoru med arheologi opiral na podatek v Krajevem imeniku iz leta 1954, ki je v danem primeru zavajajoč, kar je posebej škoda, ker obstaja zaselek Za Savo zahodno od našega najdišča na nasprotnem, levem bregu Save južno od Zagorja. Zaselek, ki se je od nekdaj imenoval Sava oz. Na Savi, se tudi zdaj imenuje Sava.

Težje je določiti ledino, na kateri so bili ti oltarji najdeni. Knabl v prvi objavi teh spomenikov zgolj omenja, da sta bila dva od njih (št. 5 in 9) vzdana v Koritnikovo hišo in navaja letnico odkritja 1792. Pač pa za napis Antonija Sekunda (št. 2; napačno ga razloži kot posvetilo, ki so ga bogovoma postavili panonski in noriški čolnarji, *scapharii*) piše, da je bil najden leta 1845 zahodno od Koritnikove hiše, četrte ure proti toku Save na njivi, ki je ležala ob vznožju drčje za spuščanje lesa, imenovane Škarje (*Holzriesel Škarje*), točno nasproti kraja Klempas. Tega kraja sicer na modernih zemljevidih in v seznamih slovenskih krajev ni mogoče najti, vendar se je o njegovem obstoju mogoče prepričati na kraju samem, naveden pa je tudi pri Orožnu (Klempasovo),¹⁵ v ANSI (Klempas, 264) in pri Brečku (Klempas).¹⁶ E. Weber (*RISr 362*) za isti napis, ki se hrani v Joanneu, brez navedbe literature omenja, da je bil najden leta 1792. Müller je že po izidu *CIL III* (kjer so bili vključeni napisi št. 2, 5, 7 in 9, ne pa 3) te oltarje objavil skupaj z drugimi rimskimi napisi kot dodatek v svoji monografiji o Emoni pod razdelkom XXX: Na Savi (Saudörfel, št. 233 - 238).¹⁷ Najdišče si je očitno ogledal 6. avgusta 1873, kar je razvidno iz omembe k napisu 234 in 238 (*Standort: Haus des Koritnik. 6. August 1873*). Kot najdiščni podatek za vse napise omenja Ribnikarjevo njivo pri Škarjah (*Škarje*), pri napisu št. 234 (št. 3) pa še dodaja, da je bil najden pri Ribnikarjevem mlinu. Iz Müllernevega natančnega opisa najdišča (str. 309-310) izhaja, da so bili vsi oltarčki z znanimi najdiščnimi podatki najdeni približno na enem in istem mestu. Tik ob poti, ki vodi ob bregu Save, nekaj sto korakov od Ribnikarjevega mлина (in sicer vzhodno od mлина, čeprav Müller smeri pomotoma ne navede), je bil v njegovem času teren blago nagnjen, nekoč so ga obdelovali, nedaleč proč (v vzhodni smeri) pa se je nahajala peščena drča Škarje. Pod to trato so odkrili ostanke rimskega zidovja in opek in pri oranju velik zlat novc, na drči Škarje pa so pri kopanju peska našli na omenjene oltarje, ki so bili zakopani pod prodom. Glede na ostanke zidovja in najdbo votivnih oltarjev ter ugodno lego najdišča - sicer so bregovi Save na tem odseku težko dostopni - je Müller domneval, da je na Ribnikarjevi trati stalo svetišče božstev obeh rek: Save (*Savus*) in Savinje (*Adsalluta*).

Danes za drčo Škarje, ki leži nekaj sto metrov vzhodno od potoka Ribnik, ve le še najstarejši kmet z Matice, ki se še spominja, da so za njegovih mladih let spravljali hlode proti bregu Save po tej drči, ki se zgoraj in spodaj razširi v obliki škarj in se na obeh mestih imenuje Škarje.¹⁸ Najdišče oltarjev je pri spodnjih Škarjah, mesto najdbe pa danes obeležuje manjša piramida (*sl. 12*). Od leta 1993 koplje na najdišču ekipa celjskega Zavoda za zaščito naravne in kulturne dediščine. Glede na to, da so bili najdeni kamni zakopani v prod, bi bilo teoretično tudi možno, da je stalo svetišče, v katerem so bili postavljeni, nekje višje nad bregom, nad najdiščem, in se je utegnulo zrušiti ob kaki naravni katastrofi (poplave, plaz, potres), ob kateri so kamni zdrsnili po bregu navzdol in jih je nato prekril sloj prodnatega peska.

K PROBLEMU SVETIŠČA

V ANSI (str. 267) je omenjeno, da žrtveniki izvirajo iz nekdanjega svetišča, kjer so našli tudi "prazgodovinske črepinje, rimski denar in opeko". Sem sodijo tudi razne rimske najdbe, ostanke poslopij, opek in drugih predmetov, ki so bili najdeni na Ribnikarjevih (v starejši, nemško pisani literaturi se lastnik mлина imenuje Ribnik) in Koritnikovih njivah. Pri tolikem številu oltarjev, ki so bili najdeni v bližini Ribnikarjevega mлина (vsaj šest, zelo verjetno pa deset), ni dvoma, da je nekje v bližini stalo svetišče ali vsaj kapela, posvečena obema bogovoma. Vendar je

problematično, če je res mogoče kot svetišče interpretirati ostanke arhitekture, ki naj bi jo izkopal W. Schmid leta 1917. Svetišče je v literaturi nekajkrat omenjeno. Schmid v poročilu o arheoloških raziskavah v Avstriji v letih 1912-1924 piše, da je v Savi nasproti Hrastnika stalo majhno Adsolutino svetišče, lesena kapelica, tlakovana z lomljeni in pokrita z rimsko opeko, približno kvadratnega tlorisa (11,2 x 11,5 m); na skici, ki jo objavlja, ima tloris trapezoidno obliko (*sl. 13*).¹⁹ V kapelici je bil najden poleg ostankov prazgodovinskega posodja močno izpran denarij triumvira Marka Antonija, kovan v letih 32-31 pr. Kr. za 14. legijo, ki pa se je obdržal v obtoku dve stoletji in več in zaradi tega ni uporaben kot kronološki indikator.²⁰ Brečko omenja, da je Schmid izkopal svetišče 1915 (letnica po vsej verjetnosti ni točna) z ruskimi umetniki in dal del kamnitega tlaka, ki ga je našel, odpeljati v graški muzej.²¹

Schmid dalje piše, da so bili oltarji izdelani iz podpeškega apnenca. Prevozniki naj bi si jih dali izdelati v Emoni, jih vzeli s seboj kot dodatni tovor in jih po uspešno prestani vožnji postavili v Adsolutinemu svetišču. Schmid tudi omenja, da stoji nedaleč od svetišča kapelica patrona mornarjev sv. Miklavža, zavetnika popotnikov, ki se na vožnjah po rekah izpostavljajo nevarnim rečnim brzicam in drugim nevarnostim rečne plojbe. Krščanska cerkev je, kot je znano, s podobo sv. Miklavža želela izpodrinuti in ukiniti globoko zakoreninjeno in trdoživo ljudsko vero v rečna božanstva. Ni razumljivo, kako je mogel Schmid trditi, da so oltarčki iz podpeškega apnenca, saj je bilo v prvi objavi izrecno poudarjeno, da so bili izdelani iz lokalnega kamna. S svojo trditvijo je namreč zavedel vse poznejše raziskovalce, ki niso bili pozorni, da je Knabl v svojem prvem poročilu kamnino natančno opredelil.

Schmidovo razlago je povzel Petru, ki je bil mnenja, da so bili oltarji najdeni na različnih mestih ob Savi in da so bili tisti brez najdiščnih podatkov najdeni blizu mesta, kjer so jih vzdali, iz česar je sklepal, da so torej Adsolutno častili na več točkah ob reki.²² Šašel v eni od opomb v članku o Emoni na osnovi Schmidovega napačnega podatka zmotno pripominja, da je trgovina s podpeškim apnencem doslej dokazljiva vse do Adsolutine kapelice nasproti Zagorja.²³ Ker Knabl omenja, da mu je podatke o spomenikih - poleg tega, da jih je sam videl - posredoval znani avstrijski geolog Morlot, smemo njegovim navedbam tudi načelno brez pridržkov zaupati. Oltarčki so bili dejansko izklesani iz lokalnega kamna, temnosivega apnenca, le po barvi podobnega podpeškemu, ki so ga lomili v kamnolomih med Zidanim mostom in Lazami. Da gre nedvomno za lokalni apnec, je potrdil tudi profesor Ramovš, ki si je v Narodnem muzeju v Ljubljani natančno ogledal tri tam shranjene žrtvenike. To je dokaz več, da gre nedvomno za lokalno zelo omejeno čaščenje božanstva, ki je bilo sicer vplivno, vendar zgolj v okviru ozkih geografskih meja najdišča - ali najdišč - oltarjev. Svetišče Schmid omenja še v članku *Südsteiermark im Altertum*,²⁴ kjer piše, da je bila domnevna boginja Savinje Adsoluta pravzaprav boginja rečnih brzic in slapov. To misel povzema tudi Orožen.²⁵ Tloris domnevnega svetišča Schmid dvakrat objavlja s približno enakim opisom, medtem ko v besedilu zgolj omeni, da je bilo raziskano leta 1917.²⁶ Svetišče omenja tudi Saria,²⁷ ki pripominja, da oltarje Adsaluti niso postavljali zgolj domačini. Na osnovi teh skopihotic ni mogoče vedeti, ali ostanke rimske oz. latensko-rimske (?) zgradbe, ki jo je Schmid izkopal leta 1917 in ki je žal ni mogoče rekonstruirati, v resnici pripadajo svetišču Adsalute in Savusa, prav gotovo pa je, da je nekje na tem prostoru obstajala kapelica ali manjše svetišče obeh božanstev.

K INTERPRETACIJI KULTA

Območje, kjer so bili žrtveniki najdeni, je pripadalo keltskim Tavriskom. Glede obsega tavriskijske poselitve antični literarni viri, predvsem Strabon in Plinij, niso najbolj jasni. Strabon v pogosto citiranem odlomku (IV 6,9 C 206) piše, da so zaledje severnojadranskega zaliva in zaledje Akvileje naseljevala nekatera noriška plemena in Karni, ter dodaja, da Norikom pripadajo tudi Tavriski (... τῶν δὲ Νορικῶν εἰσὶν καὶ οἱ Ταυρισκοί). V isti knjigi v naslednjem odstavku (IV 6, 10 C 207) omenja, da je bilo mogoče tovor, ki so ga pri Navportu nalozili na ladje, brez truda prepeljati po Savi do Segestike, do Panoncev in Tavriskov. Navportus je bil tavriskijska naselbina

(VII 5,2 C 314)²⁸ in prav tako Noreja (nelocirana), za katero Plinij piše, da je propadla (*N.h.* III 131). Plinij, ki našteva plemena v provinci Panoniji, omenja goro *Claudius* (po vsej verjetnosti Moslavačka gora ali Ivančica), pred katero so naseljeni Skordiski, za njo pa Tavriški (... *mons Claudius, cuius in fronte Scordisci, in tergo Taurisci*, III 148). Vrsta plemen, ki jih sicer našteva, je bila nekoč verjetno del tavriskijske zveze, ki je propadla v bojih z Burebisto. Del Tavrisikov je prišel pod oblast noriškega kraljstva (... *iuxtaque Carnos quondam Taurisci appellati nunc Norici*, III 133). Na osnovi omenjenih virov lahko sklepamo, da je bodočo rimsko provinco Norik ter del 10. regije in Panonije konec 4. stoletja pr. Kr. z vzhoda oz. severovzhoda naselila vrsta keltskih plemen, od katerih sta se, kot vse kaže, dve najmočnejši ljudstvi, Noriki in Tavriški, v času doseljavanja in pozneje bojevali za nadoblast nad sorodnimi in sosednjimi plemeni.²⁹

V delu jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora so slednji v določenem času po vsej verjetnosti premoč tudi dosegli, vendar glede na Rimu sovražno politiko - v nasprotju z Noriki, ki so z Rimljani gojili prijateljske stike - niso mogli računati na dolgotrajnejše uspehe. Novčene najdbe iz 2. polovice 1. stoletja pr. Kr. zgovorno kažejo, da je bila prej politično samostojni plemenski zvezi vsiljena noriška nadoblast. Latenske najdbe t.i. mokronoške kulturne skupine s prostranega območja osrednje in vzhodne Slovenije in severozahodne Hrvaške, od Gorjancev do Štajerske in z velikim delom Ljubljanske kotline kažejo enotno podobo,³⁰ to ozemlje pa je hkrati identično s prostorom, kjer so bili v 1. stoletju pr. Kr. v obtoku vzhodnonoriški srebrniki.³¹ Glede na arheološke in glede na numizmatične najdbe je mogoče domnevati, da so bila tu naseljena plemena med seboj zelo sorodna in po vsej verjetnosti pod razmeroma enotnim vodstvom: eden od sedežev oblasti je bila gotovo tudi Celeja. Ker do Plinija viri ne navajajo drugih plemen, temveč so s tega prostora po imenu znani le Tavriški, lahko to ime upravičeno uporabita tudi arheolog in zgodovinar, ko želita etnično opredeliti mokronoško skupino. Tako morda ne bo daleč od resnice, da Adsaluto poimenujemo tavriskijsko boginjo. To se mi zdi toliko bolj primerno zato, ker so si Tavriški očitno zelo prizadevali imeti v rokah nadzor nad rečnim prometom po Ljubljani in Savi - in Adsaluto so častili skupaj s Savusom - in s tem obvladovati trgovske poti od Akvileje in Tergesta do Panonije in obdonavskih naselbin.

Ko beremo poročilo Karla Picka o tovornem prometu po Ljubljani in Savi, nas presenetli, kako podobno je temu, kar je o trgovini po istih rekah zapisal Strabon. Strabon, ki govori o trgovini med Italijo in vzhodom in severnimi deželami, pravi (V 1,8 C 214): *Ti* (namreč ilirska plemena ob Donavi) *se oskrbijo z vsem, kar nudi morje, z vinom, ki ga torovijo v lesenih sodih na vozovih* [do Navporta, tam preložiijo tovor na ladje: IV 6,10 C 207 in VII 5,2 C 314], *oni* (namreč Rimljani) *pa s sužnji, živino in kožami*. Pick podobno ugotavlja: *Tovorni promet je bil za prebivalstvo Kranjske skozi stoletja največjega pomena, ... trgovina pa se je razvijala na Kranjskem radi ugodne zemljišne lege med Italijo, vzhodom in severnimi deželami. Iz Kranjske se je izvažalo poglavito železo, živo srebro, les, platno, steklo, rešeta, vosek, med ter živina, dovažala pa so se laška in štajerska vina, laško olje ter sol od morske obali.*³² Ključno naselje za nadzor nad tranzitno trgovino je bil prav gotovo Navport: Sava je tekla po sredi ozemlja Tavrisikov in vse bolj se mi zdi verjetno Šašlovo mnenje, da bi mogli pri Pliniju omenjeno tavriskijsko naselbino Norejo - toponimov s tem imenom je bilo nedvomno več - enačiti z Norejo, za katero Strabon (V 1,8 C 214) piše, da je od Akvileje oddaljena ob plovni reki 1200 stadijev (ok. 222 km) in jo locirati na Vače.³³ V bližini tega mesta, piše Strabon, se je Gnej Papirij Karbon neuspešno bojeval proti Cimbrom, območje pa je bilo znano po izpiranju zlata in železarstvu. Strabonovega podatka nikakor ni mogoče uskladiti z realnim stanjem in ga je potrebno tako ali drugače popraviti. Očitno gre za napačne predstave o toku rek ali za zmešnjavo v virih, zato bi morda smeli podatek o plovni reki, ki naj bi tekla od Akvileje v Norik - takšne reke namreč ni - razložiti kot podatek, ki bi se nanašal na trgovsko pot po Ljubljani in Savi. To je bila iz pradavnine poznana trgovska pot, kar lepo ponazarja legenda o Argonavtih. Tako bi obsavska Noreja utegnili biti prav tista, ki jo Plinij omenja kot Norejo pri Tavriskih, in ki je - bržčas zaradi bojev, ki so jih Rimljani od začetka 2. stoletja pr. Kr. vodili proti Tavrisikom -

popolnoma propadla. Ta del južnega brega Save okoli zaselka Sava, kjer so bili najdeni Adsaluti in Savusu posvečeni oltarji, od Brestanice do Litije, je v rimski dobi pripadal provinci Noriku in ne Panoniji, na kar kažejo na južnem bregu Save pri Spodnjem Pijavškem nasproti Brestanice najdeni miljniki, na katerih je razdalja merjena od Celeje in ne od bližjega Neviuduna.³⁴

Potovanje in prevažanje blaga po rekah ter kakršna koli druga izraba rečnega toka je zahtevala naklonjenost rečnih bogov, zato niti najmanj ne preseneča, da je na več mestih ob reki Savi dokumentiran kult boga te reke (št. 11-13). Bolj skrivnostno je božanstvo *Adsalluta*, katere vlogo bomo skušali osvetliti na podlagi obstoječe evidence. Za ime *Adsalluta* nimamo etimologije, ki bi nam morda pomagala razložiti bistvo tega boštva. Sodeč po prefiksu *Ad-* (pomensko ustreza latinskemu *ad*), ki je značilen za celo vrsto keltskih imen in je v noriškem imenskem gradivu dobro dokumentiran (npr. *Adiatullus*, *Adnamatus* in *Adsedilus*),³⁵ bi mogli sklepati, da gre za keltsko ime, čeprav ga Krahe navaja med ilirskimi,³⁶ medtem ko ga Mayer ni vključil v svoj leksikon ilirskih imen.³⁷ Adsaluta je našeta med keltskimi imeni pri Holderju,³⁸ ki jo je označil - tako kot že Knabl - kot noriško rečno boginjo, boginjo reke Savinje. Enako jo je opredelil tudi Ihm v *RE*³⁹ in v kratkem prispevku, ki ga je napisal o keltskih rečnih bogovih.⁴⁰ Schmidt jo je imenoval le noriško boginjo.⁴¹ Morda ni popolnoma izključeno, da bi utegnili imeti koren imena *Adsalluta*, ki ga Krahe sicer povezuje s toponimom *Salluntum*, z imenom ligurijskega ljudstva *Sal(luvii)* in osebnim imenom iz Dalmacije, *Sallas*,⁴² enak ali podoben pomen kot latinska beseda *salus*, ki pomeni zdravje, blagostanje. Sklepanje, da bi obe besedi, latinska in podobno zveneča keltska, utegnili imeti skupen indoevropski izvor, je lahko docela napačno in prav gotovo ne more biti več kot zgolj hipoteza. Mnogo verjetneje pa je, da je rimskemu človeku ime boginje, ne glede na pravi pomen njenega imena, zbujačo določeno asociacijo - kajti podobnost z latinsko besedo *salus* je nesporna - in s tem misel na njene zdravilne moči. Nekod je tudi dokumentirano, da so ob izvirih vode častili posebej Blagostanje, *Salus*, tako npr. v Baños de Montemayor (*Zephyrus* 16, 1965, 5 ss) in v Baños de Valdelazura (*Hispania Epigraphica* 2, 1990, 71 št. 216) v Hispaniji ter morda v S. Vittore di Cingoli v peti italjski regiji (*Ann. épigr.* 1985, 358). Kultu vode, ki je bila pogoj za življenje sleherne naselbine, in posebej še kultu zdravilnih vod - zdravilni in topli vrelci so tedanjemu človeku ob pomanjkljivo razviti in širšim platem slabo dostopni medicinski veči bolj kot danes nadomeščali bolnico - so bili pogosto povezani še z drugimi kultu.⁴³

Zanimivo je, da se na nobenem od ohranjenih posvetil Adsaluti ne pojavi kakšno tavriskijsko ime, ki bi ga mogli zanesljivo pripisati domačemu peregrinemu prebivalstvu, kot npr. *Diastumarus*, *Iblendus*, *Chilo*, *Coma* (*CIL* III 5144a = 11683, Retje), *Atecurus*, *Mitto*, *Docnimarus* (*ILJug* 385, Krnice), *Ateloudus*, *Tutor*, *Boniata* (*ILJug* 365, Spodnje Dovže), *Quinctus*, *Cata* (*CIL* III 11681, Sava), *Diastulus*, *Titua* (*CIL* III 11686, Matica) in druga, ki so dokumentirana v tem delu Norika. Sklepati moramo, da je večina lokalnega prebivalstva tudi po rimski okupaciji še vedno boginjo častila na način, kakršen je bil v navadi med ljudmi pred uvedbo epigrafske prakse, torej preden je romanizacija teh predelov napredovala do te mere, da so začeli postavljati kamnite nagrobne in votivne spomenike z vklesanimi napisi. "Prazgodovinski" način čaščenja boginje pa v arheologiji žal ni zapustil nobenih sledov.

Ko skušamo opredeliti njeno domeno, njeno vplivno območje in njen pomen, lahko iz več razlogov sklepamo, da gre za božanstvo tako ali drugače povezano z vodo.

Prvič: Svetišče ali kapelica ali kulturni prostor je bil, sodeč po ohranjenih votivnih spomenikih, posvečen Adsaluti ter Adsaluti in Savusu.⁴⁴ Savusa samega, kot kažejo napisi, na tem mestu niso častili, torej je bil kulturni prostor v prvi vrsti namenjen čaščenju Adsalute. Nahajal se je ob bregu reke Save, blizu potoka, ki se je v začetku 19. stoletja po podatku iz franciscejskega katastra imenoval Klecin (Klezin) in se zdaj imenuje Ribnik, torej blizu sotočja dveh vod. Zakaj Knabl v povezavi z Adsaluto omenja potok Trifail,⁴⁵ ni povsem jasno, saj Trboveljščica priteka v Savo na nasprotnem bregu reke.

Drugeč: Boginji so bila posvetila nekajkrat postavljena v družbi z rečnim bogom Savusom (od devetih kar pet), ki je bil v

predstavah njenih častilcev očitno tesno povezan z njo in je morda imel vlogo njenega soproga: za keltsko religijo je značilno, da so bili bogovi včasih čaščeni v paru.⁴⁶ Vsaj en vidik Adsallutine božanskosti je moral biti na nek način povezan z vodo: znano je namreč, da se keltske boginje pogosto pojavljajo kot družice bogov, pri čemer ne posebejlo nekega različnega predstavnega sveta, temveč ženski princip istega koncepta.⁴⁷

Tretjič: Enega od oltarjev, posvečenih le Adsalluti, je dal postaviti Lucij Servilij Evtih s svojimi krmarji. Beseda *gubernator*, krmar, ki je v epigrafiki razmeroma redka,⁴⁸ se na napisih pojavlja največkrat v vojaškem kontekstu, kot funkcija v enem ali drugem od obeh vojaških brodovij, misenskega in ravenskega, in le redko v privatnem kontekstu, npr. na napisu s Krete, kjer sta omenjena krmar in lastnik ladje.⁴⁹ Tukaj je beseda uporabljena očitno zunaj vojaške sfere, saj se ne navaja nobena vojaška enota, nadrejena oseba krmarjev, Lucij Servilij Evtih, pa je bil sodeč po imenski formuli, v kateri ni filiacije, kognomen pa je grški,⁵⁰ več kot verjetno osvobodjenec. *Praenomen* Lucij in gentilno ime Servilij kažeta, da je bil oproščeneц bogate akvilejske družine Servilijev, od katere je ena veja dokumentirana v Navportu.⁵¹ *L. Servilius Sabinus*, katerega *tribus Velina* priča, da je bil po rodu iz Akvileje, je dal v Bistri pri Navportu na svoje stroške zgraditi Neptunu svetišče s portikom. Po vsej verjetnosti je bil akvilejski trgovec, ki je izkoriščal promet po Ljubljani in Savi in je bil zato razumljivo častilec Neptuna. Ni povsem izključeno, da bi bil *L. Servilius Evtiches* njegov oproščeneц, čemur časovna opredelitev napisov ne bi nasprotovala. Sabinov napis je datiran v 1. stoletje po Kr., kar bi lahko bila tudi datacija Evtihovega posvetila Adsalluti. Kot kaže množinska oblika besede *gubernatores*, je bil Evtih očitno lastnik ali nadzornik večjega števila trgovskih plovil, ki je ob neki priliki s svojimi krmarji v Adsallutinem svetišču postavil boginji oltar. Tako kot si je Sabin želel zagotoviti naklonjenost vodnega božanstva ob izviru Ljubljani (v antiki *Emona* oz. *Nauportus*), se je Evtih na srednjem toku Save izročil v varstvo Adsalluti. Da sta obe osebi pripadali isti familiji, je toliko verjetneje, ker je *gens Servilia*, ki je sicer v severni Italiji, Hispaniji, Narbonenzijski Galiji in Dalmaciji dobro dokumentirana, v Noriku in Panoniji zelo redka. V Noriku je znan le Evtih, v Panoniji pa trije člani družine, ki so bili vsi vojaške osebe.⁵²

V literaturi je dolgo vladalo Knablovo mnenje, da je Adsalluta boginja reke Savinje.⁵³ Tako je menil tudi Polaschek, ki se je opiral na ustno mnenje Sarije.⁵⁴ Terstenjakova misel, da bi šlo za boginjo nevarnih rečnih čeri, je bila v strokovnem svetu prezrta.⁵⁵ Schmid je pozneje izrazil mnenje, da bi utegnili biti povezana z brzicami na tem odseku Save. To razlago sta povzela tudi Orožen⁵⁶ in Petru, ki je bil (kot smo že omenili) mnenja, da so jo častili na več kritičnih točkah ob reki.⁵⁷

Več razlogov govori proti tezi, da bi bila Adsalluta boginja reke Savinje. Reke so največkrat poseblejla moška božanstva, v rimskem imperiju so posvetila bogovom rek dosti pogosta in tudi v severnojadranskem in panonsko-obdonavskem svetu je znana vrsta posvetil rečnim bogovom, tako npr. Ezonciju (*Aesontius*, *Inscr. Aquil.* 96), Timavu (*ILS* 3900 = *Ins. It.* X 4, 318), Padu (*ILS* 3903), Dravu (*AJL* 267 in 268), ki je bil skupaj z Danubijem čaščen v Tenju (Tenje) pri Osjeku (antični Mursi: *CIL* III 10263) in morda v Petovionu (*AJL* 266), dalje Danubiju samemu (*ILS* 3911 = *CIL* III 3416) in Danubiju skupaj z Jupitrom, Neptunom, Salacejo in neznanim Agavnom (*CIL* III 14359,27, iz Vindobone), od najbližjih pa Laburu (morda Ljubljani: *CIL* III 3840) in Akvonu (Vogljajni: Šašel, op. 2). Znana pa so tudi ženska božanstva, ki so poseblejla reke, tako npr. galska Sekvana, boginja reke Seine in priljubljena hispaniska rečna boginja *Navia/Nabia*; a priori torej ne bi mogli izključiti, da je bila Adsalluta rečna boginja. Vendar bi bilo v tem primeru pričakovati, da bodo njeno svetišče ali njej posvečeni oltarji najdeni ob reki Savinji in ne več km proč od te reke, ob reki Savi. Savinja se v Savo izliva pri Zidanem mostu, kar je skoraj dve uri hoda od najdišča Adsallutinih oltarjev, to pa je dovolj velika razdalja, ki izključuje možnost povezave Adsallute s Savinjo. Poleg tega je treba upoštevati tudi dejstvo, da se je za redkokatero lokalno tako omejeno boginjo kot Adsalluta - gledano v okvirih celega imperija - ohranilo toliko epigrafskih spomenikov kot zanjo (gotovo devet, po vsej verjetnosti pa deset, eden od oltarjev je namreč brez napisa). Zato bi tem bolj presenečalo, da se doslej ni našlo

nobeno posvetilo ob toku reke Savinje. Mislim, da lahko z največjo mero verjetnosti trdimo, da že samo to dejstvo govori proti identifikaciji Adsallute s Savinjo. Savinja je bila vsekakor pomembna plovna reka, ki je tekla skozi eno največjih tavriskih naselbin Celejo; kako veliko vlogo je igrala v gospodarskem življenju mesta tudi za časa principata in pozneje in kako nevarna je bila zaradi pogostega poplavljanja, kaže posvetilo Neptunu, ki so ga dali Celejani rečnemu bogu javno postaviti (*CIL* III 5197). Posvetila Neptunu, tako kot drugim rečnim božanstvom, zgovorno pričajo o trgovanju po rekah. Kar tri posvetila Neptunu so znana iz Emone ob Ljubljani (*CIL* III 3841, 10765, 13400: skupaj z Nimfami), kjer je dokumentirano tudi združenje čolnarjev (*collegium naviculariorum*, *AJL* 178). Temu kolegiju je morda pripadal tudi kdo od posvetiteljev Adsallutinih in Savusovih oltarčkov. Zanimivo je, da sta še do preteklega stoletja v Ljubljani obstajala ceh malih in velikih čolnarjev.⁵⁸ Dve posvetili Neptunu sta bili dalje najdeni ob Savi, eno ravno nasproti Adsallutinega svetišča, v Klembasu (Klempasu) pri Hrastniku (*CIL* III 5137) in eno pri Čatežu (*CIL* III 14354,22), posvečeno Neptunu Oviانو. Slednje kaže, da je Neptun pač pogosto prevzel vlogo domačih vodnih boštev.

Res je, da je Adsallutina kapelica stala na enem najnevarnejših odsekov ob Savi in nedvomno je bil njen kult povezan z nevarnostjo prehoda čez to območje, vendar se mi zdi mnenje, da bi Adsalluta konkretno poseblejla nevarne čeri na predelu Save vzhodno in zahodno od Hrastnika, oz. brzice reke na tem odseku, manj utemeljeno predvsem zato, ker je Sava imela svoje božanstvo, mogočnega boga Savusa, ki so ga, sodeč po ohranjeni epigrafski evidenci, častili ob celotnem toku reke. Ime reke Save je omenjeno pri Strabonu (IV 6,10 C 207 in VII 5,2 C 314) in poznejših geografskih piscih in je nedvomno predkeltskega izvora.⁵⁹ Savus je bil mogočen bog, katerega vplivno področje in delovanje je imelo v predstavah prebivalcev ob reki večje razsežnosti, kot bi mogli sklepati zgolj iz besedil na njemu posvečenih oltarjih. Na to kaže v Sisciji najdena, v vulgarni latinščini napisana zarotitvena ploščica (št. 13), ki jo je skupina ljudi naslovila na boga Savusa, da bi njihove nasprotnike v nekem sodnem procesu potegnil navzdol (utopil?), da bi umolknil in tako preprečil, da bi na sodišču pričali proti skupini piscev zarotitve. Natančnega prevoda napisa na ploščici ni mogoče podati, ker je besedilo zaradi številnih napak in nejasnosti mestoma nerazumljivo, vendar je glede na Hoffillerjevo in Vetterjevo pripombe k tekstu in glede na besedilo na zunanji strani ploščice, ki je kljub napakam razumljivo, smisel vendarle mogoče izluščiti. Imena nasprotnikov, ki so našeta v besedilu na notranji strani ploščice, ki ga ne navajam, so zanimiva, ker kažejo, kakšno kozmopolitsko pristaniško in trgovsko mesto je bila antična Siscija. Poleg Lucija Domicija Sekundona (*L. Domitius*?) *Secundo*: čitanje imen po Hoffillerju), Lucija Larciona (*Lucius Larcio*) in Lucilija Valensa (*Luccillus Vallens*), ki so bili glede na to, da pri njihovih imenih ni pripisan njihov rodni kraj, verjetno Siscijani, so med nasprotniki omenjeni še neka oseba (čitanje imena je glede na Vetterjevo popravke negotovo) iz Cibal, Publij (?) Citronij Kikorelij (P. (?) *Citronius Cicorellius*) iz Narbone in Licinij Sura (*Licinius Sura*) iz Hispanije, morda pa so navedene še mezijske *Novae* (po Vetterjevem čitanju, vendar je negotovo). Očitno je šlo za skupino trgovcev, ki so skupaj z blagom, ki so ga prevažali in prodajali, potovali z ladjami, zato je razumljiv poziv njihovih nasprotnikov Savusu, naj jih potegne na dno svojih vod. Napis na ploščici je zanimiv tudi zato, ker dokazuje, da so vodo, ki je bila sicer predvsem vir življenja in plodnosti, v antiki povezovali tudi z demonskimi silami podzemnega sveta.⁶⁰

NARAVA IN VPLIVNO OBMOČJE ADSALLUTINEGA KULTA

Kot smo videli, ni dvoma o tem, da je bila boginja na nek način povezana z vodo, sicer njej posvečen kulturni prostor, kapelica ali manjše svetišče, ne bi stal ob bregu reke blizu potoka. Poleg tega je bila čaščena tudi skupaj s Savusom in njej je oltar posvetil Lucij Servilij Evtih s svojimi krmarji. Ena od možnih razlag bi bila gotovo ta, da je bila Adsalluta zavetnica toplih vrelcev, ki bi v času nastanka njenega kulta obstajali na mestu najdišča njej posvečenih oltarjev. Za obstoj toplih vrelcev doka-

zov iz moderne dobe sicer ni, pač pa ima - geološko gledano - ta predel Save primerno tektonsko strukturo, ki bi pojav toplih oz. zdravilnih vrelcev teoretično vsekakor dopuščal. To je območje, kjer se topli vrelci lahko pojavijo, pa spet izginejo. Širše področje od Medijskih toplic do Laškega in Rimskih toplic je znano po zdravilni topli vodi, najbližji topli vrelci pa je bil odkrit na nasprotnem bregu Save pri cementarni v Trbovljah.⁶¹ Izvirni vode, bodisi navadne, posebej pa še termalne, so največkrat posvečeni Nimfam.⁶² Seneka piše, da častijo izvire mogočnih rek, postavljajo oltarje na krajih, kjer iz skritih izvirov nenadoma bruhne na dan silovita voda, predmet kulturnega čaščenja so izviri tople vode, nekatera jezera so posvečena zaradi temne vode ali neskončne globine (*Ep. XLI, 3: Magnorum fluminum capita veneramus; subita ex abdito vasti amnis eruptio aras habet; coluntur aquarum calentium fontes, et stagna quaedam vel opacitas vel immensa altitudo sacravit*). Tako so častili Nimfe v antiki tudi v sosednjih Rimskih toplicah (*CIL III 5146-5148 in 11688*), kjer je eden od oltarjev posvečen tudi Zdravju (*Valtudo: 5149*). Zavetniki toplih vrelcev pa so bili v keltskem svetu neredko tudi bolj ali manj lokalni keltski bogovi in tudi boginje, tako npr. *Coventina*, ki so jo častili ob Hadrijanovem zidu v Britaniji, v postaji *Brocolitia* (Carrawburg; *RIB št. 1523-1535*) in v Hispaniji, pod imenom *Cohvetena* (Guitiriz in Santa Cruz de Lugo; *Lugo: F. Arias Vilas, P. Le Roux, A. Tranoy, Inscriptions romaines de la province de Lugo* [Paris 1979] 80, št. 57 in 81, št. 58), ali *VarnalUvarna* v Hispaniji.⁶³

Dalje bi si bilo Adsaluto mogoče predstavljati tudi kot zavetnico svetega gaja, ki se je raztezal do brega Save, posebej, ker so bregovi Save na omenjenem predelu dokaj nepristopni in je območje najdišča oltarjev izjemoma prijazno in lahko prehodno, kot je poudaril v svojem opisu najdišča oltarjev že Müllner. Vsekakor je morala biti Adsaluta kar najtesneje povezana z naravo in naravnimi danostmi tega prostora, te ozke in težko prehodne soteske, in si je njeno vlogo verjetno treba predstavljati kot vlogo kakšne mogočne obrežne nimfe, morda z nekaterimi potezami Diane. Za keltsko in nerimsko, z naravo tesno povezano religijo nasploh, je značilna določena polivalentnost, ki je pač težko opredeljiva.⁶⁴ Čolnarjem in splavarjem, rokodelcem in predvsem trgovcem in vsem, ki so z ladjami in čolni potovali po reki, je bila naklonjenost obrežne gospodarice takšne ali drugačne narave vsekakor pomembna.

Potovanje po Savi v smeri rečnega toka je bilo v celoti izvedljivo s plovili, vendar je bilo zaradi brzic in čeri mestoma gotovo tudi zelo nevarno. Potovanje v obratno smer pa na marsikaterem odseku, med drugim tudi na omenjenem predelu od Zidanega mosta do Zaloga, ni bilo mogoče brez vleke plovil z vprežno živino po nalaže za to napravljenih obrežnih kolozovih in v skalnate stene izsekanih poteh. Nasprotni, levi breg Save, je bil v antiki veliko gosteje naseljen od desnega in tudi komunikacijsko pomembnejši, saj je bila konfiguracija tal ugodnejša za izgradnjo večje prometnice: po njem je tekla glavna cesta, ki je povezovala Celejo z Neviodunom in vzhodnje ležečimi obsavskimi mesti. Južna železnica, ki je to pot v nekem smislu nadomestila, je bila v prvi polovici prejšnjega stoletja prav tako zgrajena na levem bregu reke. Šele z izgradnjo železnice je bila opuščena vlečna pot na desnem bregu Save, t.i. *Treppelweg*, ki je bila pod nadzorstvom cesarskega urada za rečno plovbo (*k. k. Navigations-Amt*). Ta pot je v preteklih stoletjih omogočala vleko ladij s pomočjo vprežne živine po Savi navzgor, saj je bilo brodarjenje po reki, ki je izumrlo, ko so leta 1862 odprli hrvaško železnico Zidani most - Sisak, zelo živahno. Opisuje ga A. Planinc z Broda pod Boštanjem ob Savi, doma z domačije, kjer je bila znamenita brodniška postaja. Ceste so bile v 18. in 19. stoletju tako slabe, da so bile rečne poti tem bolj pomembne, k živalni trgovini pa je posebej pripomoglo povpraševanje Tržačanov po žitu, ki so ga tvorili z ladjami od Siska do Zaloga. Žito in vino, ki so ga natovarjali v Krškem in Vidmu, sta bila najobičajnejši tovar. Pot, ki je trajala od 16 do 26 dni, je bila naporna, saj vlečna pot ob reki ni bila povsod urejena za vprežno živino in so morali na marsikakem odseku ladje vleči krepki fantje in mošje. Po Savi navzdol tovar ni smel biti pretežak; trgovcem v obsavskih krajih so dovažali sladkor, kavo, olje, železo in manufakturno blago. Ugoden čas za torovanje je bil predvsem pomladi in jeseni, poleti ob suši je bilo često težko spraviti ladje čez nevarne čeri; vsako leto sta se razbili vsaj ena ali dve ladji.

Častno mesto na ladji je imel vedno krmar, ki jo je znal varno krmariti.⁶⁵ Sodeč po posvetilu, ki ga je Lucij Servilij Evtil s svojimi krmarji postavil Adsaluti (št. 6), tudi v antiki ni bilo dosti drugače.

Verjetno je brodarjenje po Savi potekalo ob koncu prazgodovinskega in v rimskem obdobju na podoben način in vlečna pot je bila na več ali manj isti trasi v uporabi že v antiki in morda še prej.⁶⁶ Pri Brestanici, nasproti katere je bilo najdenih več rimskih mljnikov, se je domnevno nahajal most čez Savo; pri Zidanem mostu so odkrili antično pristavo (*villa rustica*). Večje antično naselje na desnem bregu reke je bilo le pri Radečah, pomembni postaji na tej vlečni poti pa sta bila tudi zaselek Sava z Adsaluti in Savusu posvečeno kapelico in najdišče Savusu posvečenega oltarja pri Verneku, nasproti železniške postaje Kresnice. Ta pot je namreč utegnila ponekod voditi tudi čez svete gaje in svete kraje in eden teh je bil posvečen Adsaluti. Po uspešno opravljenem potovanju so ji popotniki in uporabniki teh poti v zahvalo postavljali zaobljubne oltarje, potem ko so jo poprej prosili za dobrohotnost in pomoč. Če lahko zaupamo podatkom iz neobjavljene Pečnikove arheološke karte Radeč in Zagorja, so bili v zaselku Sava najdeni poleg ostankov rimskih hiš tudi grobovi.⁶⁷ Natančnejša časovna opredelitev teh grobov ni znana, ne bi pa niti najmanj presenečalo, če bi bili sočasni z razcvetom kulta Adsalute. Vsekakor je bolj verjetno kot ne, da se je v bližini svetega gaja nahajala manjša naselbina, kak v virih neizpričan *Lucus Adsalutae*, ki je živel od tega, da je skrbel za kapelico oz. svetišče in oskrboval ta del vlečne poti; domače prebivalstvo se je nedvomno ukvarjalo tudi s tranzitnim prometom, kar je bila po vsej verjetnosti ekonomska podlaga tega zaselka. Izkopavanja celjskega Zavoda za zaščito leta 1993 in 1994 so tudi dejansko potrdila ostanke antične naselbine.

Morda bi mogli navesti kot bližnjo paralelo k posvetilom Savusu in Adsaluti v Topuskem najdena posvetila Vidasu in Tani (*Vidasus, Thana: AIJ 516-518; CIL III 3941*). Topusko, v antiki morda *Ad fines*, je bil že iz zgodnjega rimskega obdobja znan zdraviliški kraj s toplimi vrelci, ki leži v dolini reke Kolpe, na sotočju te reke z Glino. Paralela je posebej privlačna v luči lhmove hipoteze, da bi utegnil biti Vidasu in kakšni povezavi s pritokom Save Valdasom, ki je omenjen pri Pliniju (*N.h. III 148*): *... inde XLV Taurunum, ubi Danuvio miscetur Saus; supra influunt Valdasus, Urpanus, et ipsi non ignobiles*.⁶⁸ Vsekakor sta bila Vidasu in Thana lokalni, po vsej verjetnosti vodni božanstvi.⁶⁹ Keltska rečna, vodna in druga z naravo tesno povezana božanstva so v keltskem svetu dobro dokumentirana, posebej v izrazito keltskih provincah, kot v Galiji, Hispaniji in Britaniji.⁷⁰ Njihovo čaščenje je bilo med ljudstvom trdovratno zakoreninjeno in krščanska cerkev je v Hispaniji - in gotovo tudi drugod - še v pozno 7. stoletje preganjala "tiste, ki prižigajo bakle in častijo svete izvire in drevesa" (*accensores faculorum et excolentes sacra fontium vel arborum: 2. kanon 16. koncila v Toledu leta 693*).⁷¹ Sv. Martin iz Brakare (510/520 - 579), po rodu iz Panonije, je v spisu *O spreobrnitvi kmetov (De correctione rusticorum, VIII)* navedel zanimivo mitološko zgodbo, ki pojasnjuje izvor kulta vod: "Poleg teh pa mnogo tistih demonov, ki so bili pregnani iz nebes, domuje bodisi v morju, bodisi v rekah, izviri in gozdovih. Na podoben način častijo ljudje, ki ne poznajo (pravega) boga, tudi nje skoraj kot bogove in jim prinašajo žrtve. V morju jih imenujejo Neptuna, v rekah rečne pošasti, v izviri nimfe"... (*Praeter haec autem multi daemones ex illis, qui de caelo expulsi sunt, aut in mari, aut in fluminibus, aut in fontibus, aut in silvis praesident, quos similiter homines ignorantem deum quasi deos colunt et sacrificia illis offerunt. Et in mari quidem Neptunum appellant, in fluminibus lamias, in fontibus Nymphas...*). Keltska religija je bila v primerjavi z rimsko mnogo manj stereotipna, mnogo bolj osebna in animistična, mnogo bolj jo je oblikovala narava kraja kot funkcija boga,⁷² in skoraj vsaki od številnih keltskih ali rimsko-keltskih boginj so kljub njihovim različnim domenam verniki pripisovali tudi moč ozdravljenja in podeljevanja blagostanja in plodnosti.

Pomembnost Adsalute se nedvomno zrcali v razmeroma velikem številu njej posvečenih oltarjev ali posvetil njej in Savusu. Prav gotovo jo je častilo lokalno prebivalstvo, vendar z napisov tega ni mogoče razbrati; domačina bi utegnila biti zgolj *Secundio* (št. 5) in *Ocellio* (št. 9), morda *Lucius Servilius Eutyches* (št. 6). Sicer zbuja imena dedikantov na ohranjenih

posvetilih vtis, da gre za člane trgovskih ali podjetniških družin, ki so izkoriščale prometne možnosti po rekah. Med takšne družine so gotovo sodili iz etruščanskega sveta izvirajoči in v Akvileji dokumentirani *Caecinae* (št. 7),⁷³ po vsej verjetnosti severnoitalski *Castricii* in zgoraj omenjeni *Servillii*. Suženj Kastričija Marcela, *Ocellio*, je bil morda keltskega rodu - ime, ki je redko, je dokumentirano v keltskih provincah,⁷⁴ vendar je bil v teh krajih gotovo v službi gospodarja. Le-ta je bržčas pripadal isti družini Gajev Kastričijev kot *C. Castricius Optatus*, ki je ravno nasproti Adsalutine kapelice, v Klempasu pri Hrastniku, postavil oltar Neptunu. Družina se je v 1. ali 2. stoletju po Kr. očitno intenzivno ukvarjala s trgovino in tovarjenjem po Savi. O Antonijih je težko karkoli sklepati, ker je gentilno ime povsod zelo razširjeno, prav tako o dedikantu z napisa št. 1, za katerega ni gotovo, ali je bil *Memmius* ali *Mammius Cassii* (št. 3) so sicer dokumentirani v večjem številu severnoitalskih, noriških in panonskih mest, vendar je zanimiva koincidenca, da je neka *Cassia Clementilla* posvetila oltar Neptunu in Nimfam v Emoni (*CIL* III 13400). Ni seveda nujno, da gre pri obeh napisih za Kasije ene družine, vendar je to vsekakor možno. *Cassii* so v Emoni razmeroma dobro dokumentirani. Bili so bogata in vplivna družina, kar je mogoče sklepati iz dejstva, da je eden njenih članov *P. Cassius Secundus* dosegel viteški stan in je bil morda celo sprejet med senatorje.⁷⁵

Iz podatkov, ki nam jih omogoča analiza onomastičnega gradiva o socialnem statusu in etnični pripadnosti dedikantov, je torej razvidno, da so Adsaluti ali Savusu in Adsaluti oltarje

posvečali predvsem, lahko bi rekli, tranzitni potniki, v največji meri gotovo trgovci ali njihov personal, ki so si želeli zagotoviti naklonjenost božanstev pri plovbi po reki in ob prehodu čez obrežni sveti kraj. Če vlogo Adsalute primerjamo z vlogo Ekorne, velike zaščitnice emonske kotline,⁷⁶ lahko ugotovimo nekaj bistvenih razlik. Ekorni je v Navportu postavila svetišče s portikom vsa vaška skupnost pod nadzorom obeh vaških načelnikov; v Savariji so jo z elegantno posvetilno ploščo počastili vsi Emonci, ki so v tem mestu živeli in bili med seboj povezani v močno interesno skupnost. V Emoni ji je postavil oltar *P. Cassius Secundus*, rimski vitez in visok vojaški funkcionar, prefekt Prve britanske ale, ki jo je zaradi uspehov v dačanski vojni, kot je omenjeno na napisu. Trajan dvakrat odlikoval.⁷⁷ Ekorna je bila pomembna predrimska lokalna zavetnica, ki jo je častila vsa mestna skupnost, med posamezniki pa najvišje rimske osebnosti. Adsalutin kult se ni raztezal, vsaj glede na dosedanje evidenco, niti na kakšno večjo mestno ali vaško naselbino, temveč je bil lokalno omejen zgolj na območje brzic od zaselka Save do Radeč, na kulturno mesto ob bregu Save pri zaselku Sava in na prejkone obstoječi sveti gaj in zaselek ob njeni kapelici. Ni izključeno, da je bil ta sveti kraj neke vrste božja pot domačinom, predvsem pa je boginja bdela nad varnim prehodom pogostih popotnikov, kajti vodna pota so v prazgodovini, antiki in še dolgo v novi vek v bistveno večji meri kot danes izkoriščali za prevažanje najrazličnejših tovorov. Trgovina se je po starodavni argonavtski poti živahno odvijala tudi za časa rimskega imperija, o srečni usodi čolnarjev pa sta ob nevarni Savi odločala - tako je verjel antični človek - *Savus in Adsalluta*.

Lepo se zahvaljujem prof. dr. Stanetu Gabrovcu in dr. Draganu Božiču, ki sta ljubezno prebrala članek in ga kritično ocenila, Draganu Božiču pa še posebej za popravke v zvezi s topografskimi podatki. Za odločilno in požrtvovalno pomoč pri terenskem ogledu spomenikov se zahvaljujem Primožu Pavlinu in Andreju Šemrovu, ki sta tudi fotografirala napise iz Šentjurja, Radeč in Hrastnika.

¹ I. Chirassi Colombo, I culti locali nelle regioni alpine. *Ant. Altoadr.* 9, 1976, 173-206; V. Kolšek, Pregled antičnih kultov na slovenskem ozemlju (Übersicht über die antiken Kulte im slowenischen Gebiet), *Arh. vest.* 19, 1968, 273-286; glej tudi R. Marič, *Antični kultovi u našoj zemlji* (Beograd 1933) 62 (Adsaluto le omenja).

² Glej npr. K. Wigand, Die Nutrices Augustae von Poetovio, *Jh. Österr. Arch. Inst.* 18, 1915, 190-218; E. Diez, Nutrices, v: *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* VI 1 (1992) 936-938 in VI 2 (1992) 620-622; P. Petru, Cernunnos in Sloveniji (Cernunnos in Slowenien), *Situla* 4, 1961, 31-48; J. Šašel, Aquo, Aquonis, m., personifikacija in imensko izhodišče za potok Voglajna (Aquo, Aquonis, m., Personifizierung und Namensursprung für den Voglajna-Bach), *Linguistica* 20/2, 1980, 61-66; M. Šašel Kos, Boginja Ekorna v Emoni, *Zgod. čas.* 46, 1992, 5-12.

³ R. Knabl, Inschriftliche Funde aus neuerer und neuester Zeit in und an den Gränzen des Kronlandes Steiermark, *Mitt. Hist. Ver. St.* 2, 1851, 43-57 (I. Sava [Saudörf]), risbe t. 1.

⁴ Glej *ANSI* (1975) 267.

⁵ J. Orožen, *Zgodovina Trbovelj, Hrastnika in Dola 1* (Trbovlje 1958) 33 in op. 18; S. Brečko, *Hrastnik skozi desetletja* (Hrastnik 1978) 5. Na knjigo me je ljubezno opozoril dr. M. Jelen z Geološkega zavoda.

⁶ J. A. Ostrowski, *Personifications of Rivers in Greek and Roman Art* (Warszawa, Kraków 1991) 58 in sl. 60.

⁷ Knabl (op. 3) 47-48.

⁸ F. Bezljaj, *Slovenska vodna imena 2* (Ljubljana 1961) 174.

⁹ *ib.*, 175-176.

¹⁰ P. Kandler, Inscrizioni antiche alla Sava, *L'Istria* 2, 1847, št. 56-57, 228.

¹¹ R. Knabl, Epigraphische Excursus, *Mitt. Hist. Ver. St.* 6, 1855, 163-165.

¹² P. Hitzinger, Votivsteine zu Ehren der Göttin Adsalluta, *Mitt. Hist. Ver. Krain* 11, 1856, 70-71 (glej tudi D. Terstenjak, *Adsallutae Aug. sacr. G. Caecina Faustinus*, *Novice* 14, 1856, 62 in 66-67).

¹³ Brečko (op. 5) 454.

¹⁴ Orožen (op. 5) 33-34.

¹⁵ *ib.*, 32.

¹⁶ Brečko (op. 5) 454.

¹⁷ A. Müllner, *Emona. Archaeologische Studien aus Krain* (Laibach 1879). Glej tudi id., Das Heiligthum des Saus und der Adsalluta zu Saudörf, *Laibacher Zeitung* 1874, št. 14, 94-95; št. 15, 102-103; št. 16, 110-111.

¹⁸ Za podatek se lepo zahvaljujem dr. L. Placerju z Geološkega zavoda.

¹⁹ W. Schmid, Römische Forschung in Österreich 1912-1924. Die südlichen Ostalpenländer, *Ber. Röm. Germ. Komm.* 15, 1923/24, 183-184.

²⁰ P. Kos, *FMRS* I 323.

²¹ Brečko (op. 5) 5. K svetišču prim. tudi P. Scherrer, *Grabau - Wohnbau - Turmburg - Praetorium. Angeblich römische Sakralbauten und behauptete heidnisch - christliche Kultkontinuitäten in Noricum*, *Berichte und Materialien* 4, 1992, 39-41, ki dvomi v Schmidovo interpretacijo.

²² Petru (op. 2) 39-40.

²³ J. Šašel, s. v. Emona, v: *RE Suppl.* 11 (1968) 550 op.

²⁴ W. Schmid, Südsteiermark im Altertum, v: *Südsteiermark. Ein Gedenkbuch* (Graz 1925) 16.

²⁵ Orožen (op. 5) 33.

²⁶ W. Schmid, Der heilige Bezirk von Brunn bei Fehring in Steiermark, *Jh. Österr. Arch. Inst.* 31, 1938, Bb. 97-98. Id., Das Eindringen der römischen Kultur in Noricum, *Das Joanneum* 6, 1943, 20, Abb. 16. Prim. tudi *Deutsche Wacht* 8, 1883, št. 58, 4.

²⁷ B. Saria, Novi napisi, *Glas. Muz. dr. Slov.* 18, 1937, 133.

²⁸ M. Šašel Kos, Nauportus: antični literarni in epigrafski viri (Nauportus: Literary and Epigraphical Sources), v: Jana Horvat, *Nauportus (Vrhnik)* (Ljubljana 1990) 17-21 (143-148).

²⁹ Mnenja o Tavriških si niso povsem enotna, vendar tu ni mesto, da bi se spuščali v te probleme. Glej G. Alföldy, *Noricum* (London, Boston 1974) 25-27; P. Petru, Die ostalpinen Taurischer und Latobiker, v: *ANRW* II 6 (1977) 473-499; J. Šašel, Lineamenti dell'espansione romana nelle Alpi Orientali e nei Balcani occidentali, *Ant. Altoadr.* 9, 1976, posebej 71-79 (= *Opera selecta* 1992, 408-416). Id., Miniera aurifera nelle Alpi Orientali, *Aquil. Nos.* 45/46, 1974/75, 148-152 (= *Opera selecta* [1992] 538-540).

³⁰ D. Božič, *Keltska kultura u Jugoslaviji*. Zapadna grupa, v: *Praist. jug. zem.* 5 (1987) 855-897.

³¹ P. Kos, *The Monetary Circulation in the Southeastern Alpine Region (ca. 300 B.C. - A.D. 1000)*, *Situla* 24 (1986) 20-24.

³² K. Pick, O čolnih na Savi in na Ljubljani, *Carniola* 2, 1911, 172.

³³ To mnenje je J. Šašel nekajkrat izrazil ustno, nikdar pa ga ni izdelal v članku, ker je imel zanj premalo dovolj tehtnih dokazov. K lokaciji Noreje glej sicer Alföldy (op. 29) 47-51 in posebej op. 49 in 50 (str. 298), kjer navaja dotedanje predloge.

³⁴ J. Šašel, v: *ANSI* str. 86, št. 102-104; Alföldy (op. 29) 60.

³⁵ F. Lochner von Hüttenbach, *Die römischen Personennamen der Steiermark* (Graz 1989) 11-13.

³⁶ H. Krahe, *Die Sprache der Illyrier*, 1, *Die Quellen* (Wiesbaden 1955) 50-51. V svojih zgodnejših monografijah Adsalute ne navaja: *Lexikon altillyrischer Personennamen* (Heidelberg 1929) in *Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen* (Heidelberg 1925).

³⁷ A. Mayer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier* 1 (Wien 1957).

³⁸ A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* 1 (Leipzig 1896, repr. Graz 1961) 46.

³⁹ M. Ihm, v: *RE* I 1 (1893) 421-422.

⁴⁰ Id., *Keltische Flussgottheiten*, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth.* 19, 1896, 78.

⁴¹ K. H. Schmidt, *Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen* (Tübingen 1957) 116.

⁴² Krahe (op. 36).

⁴³ Glej za marsikakšno zanimivo misel v zvezi s kultu voda G. Susini, *Culti idrici in area colonaria: preambolo alla ricerca*, v: *Studi triestini di antichità in onore di Luigia Achillea Stella* (1975) 397-401 in id., *Culti salutari e delle acque: materiali antichi nella Cispadana*, *Studi Romagnoli* 26, 1975, 321-338.

⁴⁴ Alföldy (op. 29) 60 napačno piše, da je v zaselku Za Savo stala Neptunova in Adsalutina kapelica, toda glej str. 239.

⁴⁵ Knabl (op. 3) 47.

⁴⁶ J. Vendryes, *La religion des Celtes*, v: *Les religions des Celtes, des Germains et des anciens Slaves*, *Les religions de l'Europe ancienne* 3 (Paris 1948) 269 ss.

⁴⁷ M. J. Green, *A Corpus of Religious Material from the Civilian Areas of Roman Britain*, *BAR Brit. Ser.* 24 (1976) 21.

⁴⁸ *Diz. epigr.* 3 (1922) 594 s. v.

⁴⁹ *CIL* III 3.

⁵⁰ H. Solin, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom* I, *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 48 (Helsinki 1971) 146 ss. Glej tudi Alföldy (op. 29) 129 in op. 178 (str. 324) in 179 (str. 325), ki navaja primere noriških sužnjev z grškimi imeni.

⁵¹ Šašel Kos (op. 28) 23, št. 6 in 29 (150, št. 6, 155-156).

⁵² A. Mócsy, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen* (Budapest 1959) 159.

⁵³ Ihm (op. 39 in 40); H. Dessau, *ILS* 3907; Holder (op. 38).

⁵⁴ E. Polaschek, *Noricum*, v: *RE* XVII (1936) 1022 (v članku V. Kolšek [op. 1, str. 281] se Polascheku napačno pripisuje mnenje, da naj bi Adsaluta posebej ljala zgornji tok Save).

⁵⁵ Glej op. 12.

⁵⁶ Glej op. 14.

⁵⁷ Petru (op. 2) 39-40.

⁵⁸ Pick (op. 32) 173-174.

⁵⁹ Bezljaj (op. 8) 171-174.

⁶⁰ C. Bruun, *Water as a Cruel Element in the Roman World*, v: *Crudelitas. The Politics of Cruelty in the Ancient and*

Medieval World, *Medium Aevum quotidianum* (Krems 1992) 74-80, posebej 79.

⁶¹ Za potrdilo moje domneve s strani strokovnjaka in za podatek o izviru v Trbovljah se lepo zahvaljujem dr. L. Placerju z Geološkega zavoda Slovenije.

⁶² R. Chevallier, *Introduction au colloque*, v: *Les eaux thermales et les cultes des eaux en Gaule et dans les provinces voisines*, *Caesardunum* 26 (1992) 5-27. Na splošno h kultu voda glej tudi nekoliko dolgovozno delo C. Bourgeois, *Divona I, Divinités et ex-voto du culte gallo-romain de l'eau* (Paris 1991) *passim*. Prim. tudi napovedano publikacijo: *Il culto delle acque e la "persistenza del sacro"*, *Mediterraneo tardoantico e medievale*, *Quaderni* 2.

⁶³ N. Dupré M. J. Pérex Agorreta, *Thermalisme et religion dans le nord de l'Hispania (des Pyrénées à l'Ebre)*, v: *Les eaux thermales* (op. 62) 158-159, 164.

⁶⁴ Prim. H. Kenner, *Die Götterwelt der Austria Romana*, v: *ANRW* II 18,2 (1989) 960 in Šašel Kos (op. 2) 11.

⁶⁵ A. Planinc (priretil J. Wester), *Nekdanje brodarstvo po Savi*, *Carniola* 5, 1914, 123-136.

⁶⁶ K. Deschmann, *Die jüngst aufgefundenen Meilensteine aus Unter-Krain*, *Mitt. Zent. Komm.* 13, 1887, lxxxiv-lxxxvii. K plovi bi po Savi v antiki glej tudi C. Patsch, *Die Saveschiffahrt in der Kaiserzeit*, *Jh. Österr. Arch. Inst.* 8, 1905, 139-141.

⁶⁷ J. Pečnik, *Beschreibung der Karte Ratschach und Sagor aus prähistorischer Zeit* (1889) št. 42: "Unter N^o 42 bezeichnete römische Gräber und Häuser bei Sava. Es befinden sich auf den Äckern des Ribnikar und Koritnik mehrere Reste von Gebäuden und römische Ziegeln bei Arbeiten auf dem Felde gefunden worden sind. Auch mehrere Steinplatten mit Inschriften gefunden, was der Zeichen ist, das auch dort eine römische Gebäude gestanden hat." (*sic*). Podatek mi je ljubeznivo posredoval dr. D. Božič, za kar se mu lepo zahvaljujem.

⁶⁸ Ihm (op. 40).

⁶⁹ Glej A. Mayer, *Die illyrischen Götter Vidasus und Thana*, *Glotta* 31, 1948-1951, 235-243, ki je menil, da sta bogova lokalni inačici Silvana in Diane. Za podobno mnenje glej tudi J. Fitz, v: *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia* (Budapest 1980) 163, za kar pa ni prave evidence. Prim. tudi D. Rendić-Miočević, *Ilirske pretstave Silvana na kulturnih slikama s področja Dalmata* (*Représentations illyriennes de Sylvanus sur les monuments du culte dans le domaine dalmate*), *Glas. Zem. muz.* 10, 1955, 8-9, 29, in P. F. Dorcey, *The Cult of Silvanus. A Study in Roman Folk Religion*, *Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition* 20 (Leiden, New York, Köln 1992) 72.

⁷⁰ Glej npr. Vendryes (op. 46); E. Thevenot, *Le Culte des Eaux et le Culte Solaire à Entrains (Nièvre)*, *Ogam* 1954, 9-20; J. M. Blázquez, *Le Culte des Eaux dans la Péninsule Ibérique*, *Ogam* 1957, 209-233; id., *Einheimische Religionen Hispaniens in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, v: *ANRW* II 18,1 (1986) 164-275; Green (op. 47); E. Birley, *The Deities of Roman Britain*, v: *ANRW* II 18,1 (1986) 3-112.

⁷¹ Prim. Blázquez, *Le Culte des Eaux* (op. 70) 231.

⁷² Green (op. 47) 7-8.

⁷³ Mócsy (op. 52) 152; G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (Heidelberg 1969) 68.

⁷⁴ A. Mócsy et al., *Nomenclator*, *Diss. Pann.* 3/1 (1983) s. v.

⁷⁵ A. in J. Šašel, *Le préfet de la 1^e aile Britannique milliaire sous Trajan à Emona*, *Arh. vest.* 28, 1977, 334-345.

⁷⁶ Šašel Kos (op. 2).

⁷⁷ Šašel (op. 75).