

Cincibilus and the march of C. Cassius Longinus towards Macedonia

Cincibil in pohod Gaja Kasija Longina proti Makedoniji

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Izveček

Članek je komentar k Livijevi epizodi o neuspelem pohodu Gaja Kasija Longina (konzul leta 171 pr. Kr.), ki je z vojsko krenil iz Akvileje proti Makedoniji. Senat ga je odpoklical, še preden je prodrl v osrčje Ilirika, na povratku pa je njegova vojska opustošila ozemlja Japodov, Histrov, Karnov in alpskih ljudstev, zaveznikov kralja Keltov onkraj Alp, Cincibila, ter odgnala v sužnost več tisoč ljudi. Cincibilova prestolnica bi utegnila biti v Celeji, Kelti onstran Alp pa bi morda utegnili biti Noriki oz. verjetneje Tavriski. Ni povsem jasno, kdo so bili *Alpini populi* v zavezništvu s Cincibilom; zanimivo je, da tudi Plinij v zaledju Histrov in Tergesta omenja alpska ljudstva, ki jih našteva po imenih.

Ključne besede: doba rimske republike, Gaj Kasij Longin, Cincibil, Karni, Noriki, Tavriski, alpska ljudstva

Abstract

Livy's passage about the ill-fated march, that C. Cassius Longinus (consul in 171 BC) planned from Aquileia to Macedonia, is analysed and commented upon. Longinus was recalled by the Senate, and on his way back his army plundered the lands of the Iapodes, Carni, Histri, and Alpine peoples, the allies of the king of the transalpine Celts, Cincibilus, taking several thousand slaves. It is proposed that the residence of Cincibilus might have been at Celeia. The identity of the transalpine Celts is discussed (the Norici or more probably the Taurisci?), as well as the identity of the *Alpini populi*, on whom some light may be shed by Pliny's mention of the Alpine peoples in the hinterland of the Histri and Tergeste.

Keywords: Roman Republican period, C. Cassius Longinus, Cincibilus, Carni, Norici, Taurisci, Alpine peoples

THE MARCH OF THE CONSUL GAIUS CASSIUS TOWARDS MACEDONIA AS DESCRIBED BY LIVY

The Celtic kingdom of Cincibilus and his brother is mentioned by Livy for the years 171–170 BC, at the time of the affair of the consul C. Cassius Longinus (43.1.4 ff.; 43.5 ff.). Livy's text reads in translation as follows:¹

¹ Translation (with minimal changes) by Schlesinger 1951; short commentary: Briscoe 2012, 388–390. The Latin text: *Alter consul C. Cassius nec in Gallia, quam sortitus erat,*

memorable quicquam gessit et per Illyricum ducere legiones in Macedoniam uano incepto est conatus. Ingressum hoc iter consulem senatus ex Aquileiensium legatis cognouit, qui querentes coloniam suam nouam et infirmam necdum satis munitam inter infestas nationes Histrorum et Illyriorum esse, cum peterent, ut senatus curae haberet, quomodo ea colonia munitur, interrogati, uellentne eam rem C. Cassio consuli mandari, responderunt Cassium Aquileiam indicto exercitu profectum per Illyricum in Macedoniam esse. Ea res primo incredibilis uisa, et pro se quisque credere Carnis forsitan aut Histris bellum inlatum. Tum Aquileienses: nihil se ultra scire nec audere adfirmare, quam triginta dierum frumentum militi datum et duces, qui ex Italia itinera in Macedoniam nossent, conquisitos abductosque. Enimvero senatus indignari

43.1.4 ff. (171 BC): ‘Gaius Cassius the second consul failed to accomplish anything of note in Gaul, which had fallen to his lot, and made a vain attempt to lead his legions through Illyricum into Macedonia. (5) The consul’s venture on this journey became known to the senate through an embassy from Aquileia, which complained that their colony was new and weak and had been as yet insufficiently fortified against the surrounding hostile tribes of Histri and Illyrians; (6) on their requesting that the senate should concern itself with means for fortifying this colony, they were asked if they wished this matter to be entrusted to Gaius Cassius the consul, (7) but replied that Cassius, having mustered his army at Aquileia, had set out through Illyricum for Macedonia. This report seemed unbelievable at first, and the senators each thought to himself that perhaps a campaign against the Carni or Histri had been begun. (8) Then the envoys from Aquileia said that they knew and dared assert nothing more than that thirty days’ grain had been issued to the soldiery, and that guides who knew the roads from Italy into Macedonia had been sought out and taken along. (9) Then indeed the senate was incensed that the consul had such effrontery as to leave his own district, trespass upon his colleague’s, lead his army by a dangerous, untried route among foreign peoples, and leave open to so many tribes the way into Italy. (10) A full senate decreed that the praetor Gaius Sulpicius should name three envoys from among the senators, who should that very day set out from the city and with all possible speed overtake the consul Cassius, wherever he might be; (11) they were to declare to him that he must not engage in war with any people unless the senate had determined on war against them. (12) The following envoys set out: Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Marcus Fulvius, and Publius Marcius Rex. Fear for the consul and his army displaced for the present any consideration of fortifying Aquileia.’

tantum consulem ausum, ut suam prouinciam relinqueret, in alienam transiret, exercitum nouo periculoso[que] itinere inter exteris gentes duceret, uiam tot nationibus in Italiam aperiret. Decernunt frequentes, ut C. Sulpicius praetor tris ex senatu nominet legatos, qui eo die proficiscantur ex urbe et, quantum adcelerare possint, Cassium consulem, ubicumque sit, persequantur; nuntient, ne bellum cum ulla gente moueat, nisi cum qua senatus gerendum censuerit. Legati hi profecti M. Cornelius Cethegus, M. Fulvius, P. Marcius Rex. Metus de consule atque exercitu distulit eo tempore muniendae Aquileiae curam.

The epilogue of this adventure followed in chapter 5 of the same book:

‘(1) At this same time [i.e. 170 BC] complaints were made to the senate about Gaius Cassius, who had been consul the year before and was then a tribune of the soldiers in Macedonia with Aulus Hostilius, and envoys of Cincibilus, a king of the Gauls, arrived. (2) The king’s brother spoke before the senate, complaining that Gaius Cassius had ravaged the land of the Alpine peoples, their allies, and had dragged thence into slavery many thousand persons. (3) About the same time envoys of the Carni, Histri, and Iapydes arrived; they said, first, that guides had been demanded of them by the consul Cassius, to show him the way as he was leading his army to Macedonia; (4) he had left them peaceably as if to wage a war elsewhere. Next, that returning from the middle of his journey, he had traversed their territory as an enemy; slaughter, pillage and burning had taken place everywhere; nor did they know to that very minute why they had been treated as enemies by the consul. Both to the absent prince of the Gauls [regulo Gallorum absenti] (5) and to these peoples the answer was given that the senate neither had known that these occurrences of which they complained would take place nor, if they had taken place, did the senate approve. But to condemn an ex-consul in his absence without a trial would be an injustice, since he was absent in the service of the state; (6) when Gaius Cassius should have returned from Macedonia, then, if they wished to accuse him to his face, on hearing the case the senate would see to it that amends were made. (7) It was voted not only to make a reply to these peoples, but to send envoys, two to the prince beyond the Alps and three to the several other peoples; the envoys were to announce what the opinion pronounced by the Fathers was. They determined to send to the envoys gifts of two thousand asses apiece [ex binis milibus aeris] and to the two princely brothers the following special gifts, two twisted necklaces made of five pounds of gold [ex quinque pondo auri] and five silver vessels of twenty pounds [ex viginti pondo], and two horses with trappings for head and chest, along with their grooms, and cavalry weapons and military cloaks, and to the princes’ attendants, both free and slave, garments. These things were sent; the following was granted at their request – that they should have the privilege of buying ten horses apiece and of exporting them from Italy. As envoys there were sent with the Gauls across the Alps Gaius Laelius and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, and to the

other peoples, Gaius Sicinius, Publius Cornelius Blasio, and Titus Memmius.²

THE KINGDOM OF CINCIBILUS AND THE ALPINE PEOPLES

The kingdom of Cincibilus and his brother (171–170) has generally been identified with the Norican kingdom,³ although Cincibilus is only called the king of the Celts (*rex Gallorum*) or merely ruler, prince (*regulus*) by Livy. The most exhaus-

² *Eodem tempore de C. Cassio, qui consul priore anno fuerat, tum tribunus militum in Macedonia cum A. Hostilio erat, querellae ad senatum delatae sunt, et legati regis Gallorum Cincibili uenerunt. Frater eius uerba in senatu fecit questus Alpinorum populorum agros, sociorum suorum, depopulatum C. Cassium esse et inde multa milia hominum in seruitutem abripuisse. Sub idem tempus Carnorum Histrorumque et Iapydum legati uenerunt: duces sibi ab consule Cassio primum imperatos, qui in Macedoniam ducenti exercitum iter monstrarent; pacatum ab se tamquam ad aliud bellum gerendum abisse. Inde ex medio regressum itinere hostiliter peragrasse fines suos; caedes passim rapinasque et incendia facta; nec se ad id locorum scire, propter quam causam consuli pro hostibus fuerint. Et regulo Gallorum absenti et his populis responsum est senatum ea, quae facta querantur, neque scisse futura, neque, si sint facta, probare. Sed indicta causa damnari absentem consularem uirum iniurium esse, cum is rei publicae causa absit; ubi ex Macedonia redisset C. Cassius, tum, si coram eum arguere uellent, cognita re senatum daturum operam, uti satisfiat. Nec responderi tantum iis gentibus, sed legatos mitti, duos ad regulum trans Alpibus, tres circa eos populos placuit, qui indicarent, quae patrum sententia esset. Munera mitti legatis ex binis milibus aeris censuerunt; fratri reguli haec praecipua, torques duo ex quinque pondo auri facti et uasa argentea quinque ex uiginti pondo et duo equi phalerati cum agasonibus et equestria arma ac sagula, et comitibus eorum uestimenta, liberis seruisque. Haec missa; illa petentibus data, ut denorum equorum iis commercium esset educendique ex Italia potestas fieret. Legati cum Gallis missi trans Alpibus C. Laelius, M. Aemilius Lepidus, ad ceteros populos C. Sicinius, P. Cornelius Blasio, T. Memmius.* Short commentary: Briscoe 2012, 403–406; p. 405: “[...] the numbers of necklaces, vessels, and horses are presumably the totals for the two brothers, not the number for each; similarly, the weights are totals, not that for each necklace and vessel, respectively”. While the observation about the weights may be plausible, it seems strange that the number of vessels is odd for the two men.

³ Zippel 1877, 108 ff.; Alföldy 1974, 30 ff.; Winkler 1977, 188–189; Dobesch 1980, 108–157; Dyson 1985, 69–72; Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 230 ff., with additional citations; neutrally Urban 2000, 332–333; see recently also Krmnicek 2010, 15–17; Hainzmann 2011, 323 ff.

tive commentary is still that of Gerhard Dobesch.⁴ Although he shared the *communis opinio*, he did emphasize that it was only based on Livy’s note that Cincibilus reigned ‘on the other side of the Alps’ (*trans Alpibus*). This may mean the whole range of mountains in present-day Austria and Slovenia to Mons Albius (Snežnik), occasionally also including Velika and Mala Kapela, and the Velebit Mts. in Croatia. Dobesch nonetheless drew the generally accepted conclusion, notably that Cincibilus had been a Norican king, which he based primarily on his definition of the Alpine peoples. According to him, these could have been the Taurisci from the region of Nauportus (Vrhnik), the Catali, Latobici, or else unknown smaller peoples and tribes (*Fig. 1*).⁵ We should, however, be aware that we are only dealing with hypotheses; controversial items are first, the ethnic identity of Cincibilus and his brother, second, the identity of the Alpine peoples mentioned as allies of their kingdom, and, further, which route was taken by C. Cassius Longinus to reach Macedonia. Livy (as the only source for this episode) gives no precise answers to these three questions, which are closely interrelated. However, some interpretations are more credible than others.

Most interestingly, some fifteen years earlier, in 186 BC, Livy mentioned certain *Galli transalpini*, who descended from the Alps into Cisalpine Gaul to found a town in the area of the future Aquileia; their identity is also not clear, although it can be plausibly argued that they were the Taurisci (Livy, 39.22.6).⁶ The last episode concerning the Celts in the hinterland of Aquileia before the incident at the time of Cincibilus is Livy’s mention of Catmelus, who in 178 BC, in place of a king or, better, ruler, commanded a troop of 3000 Celtic soldiers during the war of the Romans against the Histri (41.1.8: *Ab eadem regione mille ferme passuum castra erant Gallorum: Catmelus pro regulo praeerat tribus haud amplius milibus armatorum.*). Catmelus perhaps commanded the Taurisci, or the Carni who may well have been Roman allies at that time,⁷ since from their complaint in the sen-

⁴ Dobesch 1980, 108–157; Alföldy 1974, 31 ff.; see also Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 29, 230–232; Šašel Kos 1997, 26 ff.; Bandelli 2001, 20–21; Bandelli 2004, 103, with earlier bibliography in n. 36.

⁵ Dobesch 1980, 125–126. In the most recent article on the Taurisci, Guštin 2011a, 120, this is even regarded as information derived from the ancient sources.

⁶ Sartori 1960 (1993); see now Cecovini 2013, with earlier bibliography.

⁷ Dobesch 1980, 98–108.

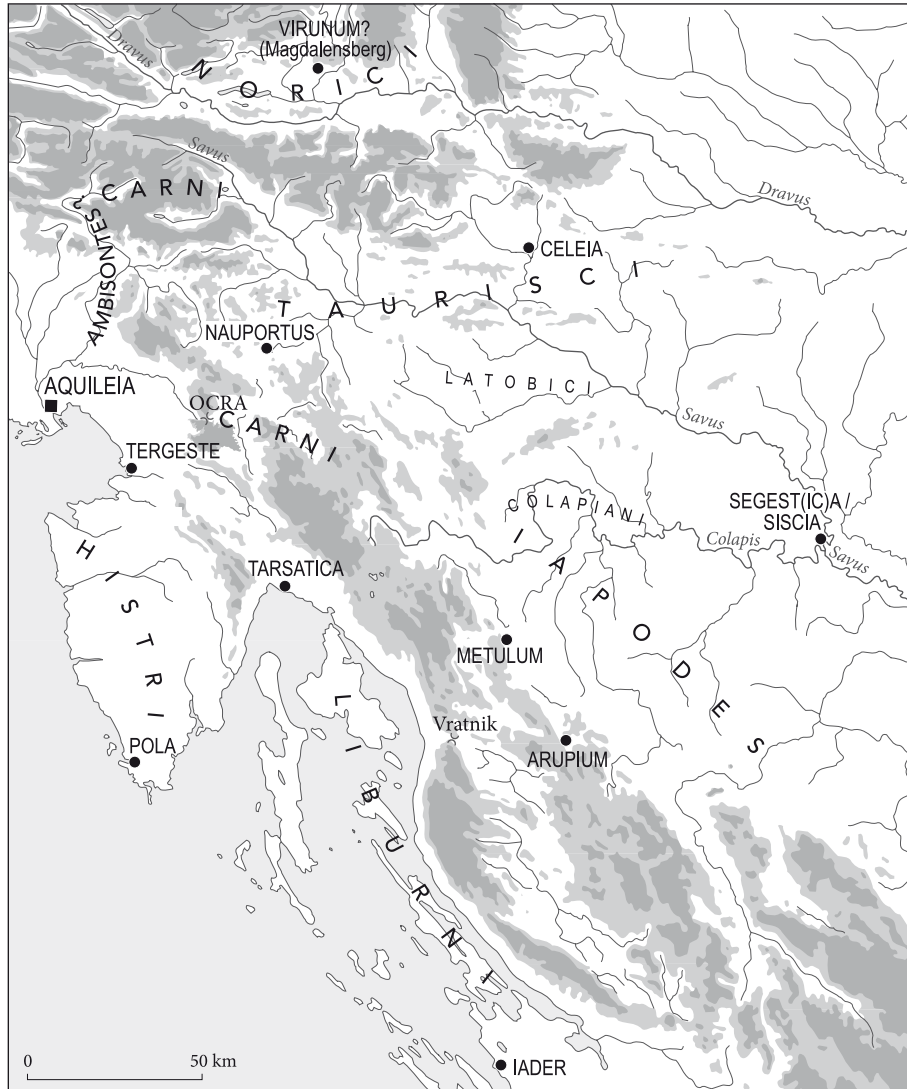


Fig. 1: The regions of the Carni, Taurisci, and Norici.

Sl. 1: Severnojadranski in jugovzhodni alpski prostor v 2. stoletju pr. Kr.

ate after Longinus' devastations of their territory (Livy, 43.5.3) it can be inferred that they already had some kind of agreement with the Roman state, perhaps concluded after the Histrian war. The supposed support of the Carni offered to the Romans against the Histri could also explain the fact that they had previously occupied some of the Histrian territories, eventually reaching as far as Tergeste (Trieste), which Strabo knew as their settlement (7.5.2 C. 314).⁸ The fact that they were regarded by the senate as possible Roman enemies at the time of Longinus' march (see Livy's text quoted above), could either indicate that the senate was not well informed about the situation, or else (which seems more likely) that there were

several Carnian tribes, some of whom might have been unreliable. The Aquileians, whose judgement certainly had more weight, only feared the Histri and the 'Illyrians', probably the Iapodes. If the Carni, Histri, and Iapodes complained in the senate against the mistreatment by Cassius Longinus, it can be concluded that each of them might have had an agreement with the Roman state.⁹

A Norican king is first attested no earlier than the time of Caesar; during his conflict with Ariovistus, the Norican king Voccio was his ally,¹⁰ as was also a Norican king mentioned by Caesar, who in 49 BC sent him a strong cavalry detachment of some 300

⁹ Zaccaria 1996, 141–142; Vedaldi Iasbez 2001, 74–75.

¹⁰ Caesar, *Bell. Gall.*, 1.53.4; Alföldy 1974, 40 ff.; Dobesch 1980, 453–455; etc.; Kos 2004.

⁸ Dobesch 1980, 107–108; Rossi 1996 (*Scritti*, 1996).

horsemen to Corfinium;¹¹ Caesar made no mention of his name, hence it cannot be certain whether he was Voccio or not. The Norican kingdom, however, is first mentioned by Velleius Paterculus in connection with the planned war against Maroboduus in AD 6, when Tiberius chose Carnuntum for his winter camp, a place in the Norican kingdom (obviously after the disintegration of the Boian kingdom ca. 50 BC).¹² What could be said of the Celtic king Cincibilus? Most probably he could not have been the king of the Celtic Carni, who were separately referred to by Livy in Longinus' affair, although the Carni, too, like the Taurisci, were a league of tribes. Tribes belonging to the Carni were presumably settled in the Soča/Isonzo valley and also on the other side of the Alps, in Gorenjska, since the two regions communicated with each other.¹³

In Livy's narrative neither the Celtic Norici nor the Celtic Taurisci are mentioned by name, thus Cincibilus could either have been the king of the Norici with their centre somewhere in Austrian Carinthia, as is usually assumed,¹⁴ or else he could have been the king of the Taurisci (those dwelling in present-day Slovenia), which would perhaps be more likely.¹⁵ This would seem plausible in terms of the geopolitical situation on the outskirts of Italy; the Taurisci occupied a strategically much more important region than the Norici. It is known that they were settled at Nauportus, which was the key point along the Amber Route and, at the same time, along the route of the Argonauts, since an important commercial fluvial route began from there, which led via the Sava River straight to the Danube. Cincibilus may have resided at Celeia (Celje), the next main station along the Amber Route, where on the basis of small finds from the bed of the Savinja River continuous settlement in the area of the foothills of Miklavški hrib can be established from at least the beginning of the second century BC.¹⁶ The

early importance of Celeia may be inferred from its later significant position in the Norican kingdom; large quantities of the 'Tauriscan' coins have been discovered in the town during the second and first centuries BC.¹⁷ In the early imperial period, Celeia may have been the main administrative centre of the province of Noricum.¹⁸

Actually, much of Norican and Tauriscan history remains obscure, despite so many recent studies on this topic,¹⁹ and their relationship is not at all clear, which is not least indicated by the recently documented early coinage.²⁰ Probably both names were at certain periods and in certain political constellations at least partly interchangeable, which is indeed proven both by Strabo's 'region of the Norican Taurisci' (4.6.12 C. 208: *ἐν τοῖς Ταυρίσκοις τοῖς Νορικῶις*)²¹ and Pliny's 'Norici who were once called Taurisci' (N. h. 3.133: *quondam Taurisci appellati, nunc Norici*).

Regions known as Norican probably consisted of various small 'kingdoms' or, better, principalities,²² each with its own local identity, of which each gained the upper hand at a different time. These multiple identities, which were not so extraordinarily different culturally, were understood by the outsiders as Norican, and thus each 'kingdom' was in turn called Norican because only by bearing this name it could become recognizable abroad. The pre-Celtic name Noricum had primarily political and geographical, and not ethnic, connotations.²³ A 'Norican kingdom' may have existed in Noricum before the coming of the Celts. The situation may have not been unlike that in Illyria, where the 'Illyrian' kingdom of Agron and Teuta was indeed Ardiaean, with centres at Pharos (Stari grad on the island of Hvar) and Rhizon (Risan in Montenegro),

¹⁷ Kos 1977, 35 ff., 52, and *passim*.

¹⁸ Šašel Kos 1997, 37; Scherrer 2002, 15 and *passim*; on early imperial Celeia: Lazar 2002, 71; Krempuš, Gaspari, Novšak 2007.

¹⁹ Alföldy 1966; Petru 1977; Božič 1991; Haider 1993; Guštin 1996; Šašel Kos 1998; Grašl 2000; id. 2001; cf. Guštin 2011a; Pichler, Gleirscher 2011 (place the Tauriscan gold mine among the Salassi, the 'western' Taurisci, which does not seem plausible).

²⁰ Kos 2010. Of the early coins of the so-called *Kugelreiter* type (2nd century BC), the first, older, group is centred around Völkermarkt in southeastern Austrian Carinthia, while the second group is attested in northeastern Italy, and also at Most na Soči. See particularly also Kos 2012, on the earliest Tauriscan tetradrachms, the *Ves-* group.

²¹ Taken from Polyb. 34.10.10–14.

²² See, e.g., Gleirscher 1997, 26–29.

²³ Thus already Polaschek 1936, 974.

¹¹ *Bell. civ.* 1.18.5 (... *equitesque ab rege Norico circiter CCC*); according to Alföldy 1974, 41, this king was Voccio; Dobesch 1980, 347; 401–402.

¹² 2.109.5; Alföldy 1974, 62.

¹³ Božič 1999, 203 (for the Soča/Isonzo valley); Guštin 2011b (for Gorenjska); cf. Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 231; 238. I would like to thank Dragan Božič for helpful discussion on the Celtic finds in both regions and the relevant literature on these problems, which, however, await further discoveries.

¹⁴ See footnote 3; an important Celtic settlement was Gracarca, see Gleirscher 1997.

¹⁵ Cassola 1979 (1994); Bandelli 2001, 21.

¹⁶ On the Celtic Celeia, see now Tiefengraber 2011; cf. also Šašel 1970, 140 (1992, 583).

while the 'Illyrian' king Genthius reigned among the Labeates, residing at Scodra (Shkodra) and Lissus (Lezha) in present-day Albania.²⁴

Quite likely the political influence of a 'Norican' kingdom, which was the most powerful at the time, extended over a large area. Iulium Carnicum (Zuglio) and Gorenjska (Upper Carniola) had most probably once been in the Norican kingdom, and probably also the Kobarid – Most na Soči area, particularly if it was indeed inhabited by the Ambisontes, who were regarded as Norican.²⁵ The strong Celtic settlement in this region is further confirmed by a recently discovered coin-hoard and coins such as those minted in the Norican kingdom.²⁶ And lastly, Strabo also mentioned that some Norici and Carni inhabited the regions as far to the southwest as the Adriatic and Aquileia (4.6.9 C. 206). According to Ptolemy, Mt. Ocre (Nanos) represented the boundary between Italy and Noricum (3.1.1).

The brother of Cincibilus, whom Livy does not name, intervened in the senate in 170 BC as the king's envoy on account of the 'Alpine peoples' (*Alpini populi*), who were their allies. Who these Alpine peoples actually were depends both on the location of Cincibilus' kingdom and, most of all, on the route taken by the consul; any attempt at their identification, however, should be regarded as hypothetical. The consular army of Cassius Longinus treated the Alpine peoples as enemies, in a like manner as they did the Carni, Histri, and Iapodes, who also sent to the senate their own representatives to complain about the criminal conduct of the consul. It is most interesting that Pliny the Elder, too, describes some peoples in the hinterland of the Histri and Tergeste as Alpine peoples. He says that there are many peoples in the Alps, of which the well known ones are – from Pola to the region of Tergeste – the Fecusses, Subocrini, Catali, Menocaleni, and, next to the Carni, those who were once called Taurisci and are now Norici (Fig. 2).²⁷ Thus the Alpine peoples in Livy's text could have been the Subocrini or Catali, or perhaps Menocaleni, who are elsewhere

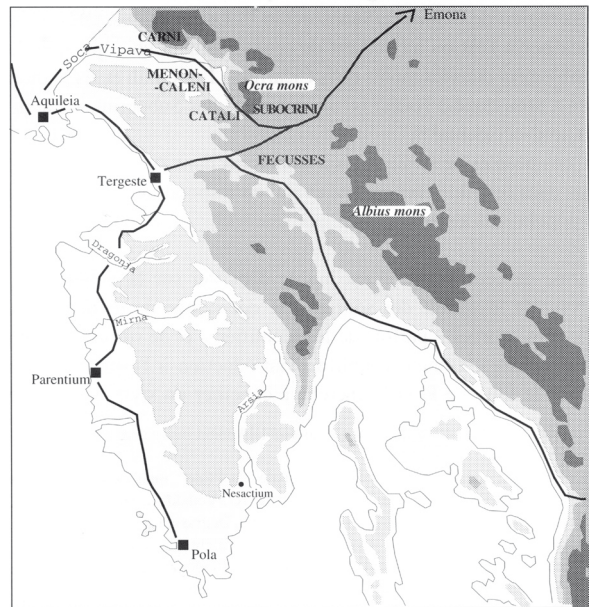
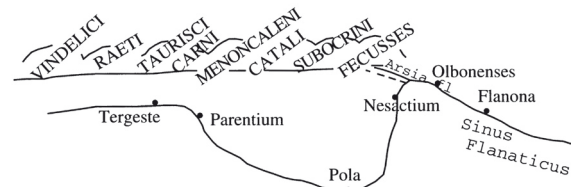


Fig. 2: Alpine peoples mentioned by Pliny (from Marion 1998, 133).

Sl. 2: Pri Pliniju omenjena alpska ljudstva (iz Marion 1998, 133).

not attested. The Subocrini, as is indicated by their name, must be linked with the Ocre pass (Razdrto below Mt. Nanos) and Mt. Ocre; the important hilltop settlement at Grad near Šmihel below Mt. Nanos might have been their settlement. The Catali must have been settled next to the Carni, in the hinterland of Tergeste, since they are also known from the honorific inscription for the senator L. Fabius Severus from Tergeste, in which their *adtributio* to Tergeste in the Augustan period is documented; their territories were annexed to the colony together with those of the Carni.²⁸

THE ROUTE TAKEN BY CASSIUS LONGINUS

A year earlier (171 BC), after the outbreak of the war against the last Macedonian king Perseus, the

²⁴ Šašel Kos 2005, 289; ead. 2007.

²⁵ Šašel 1972, 140–144 (1992, 293–297); however, see Scherrer 2002, 32.

²⁶ Kos, Žbona Trkman 2009 (hoard), Osmuk 1997 (Gradič above Kobarid).

²⁷ 3.133: *Incolae Alpium multi populi, sed inlustres a Pola ad Tergestis regionem Fecusses, Subocrini, Catali, Menocaleni iuxtaque Carnos quondam Taurisci appellati nunc Norici*. See Marion 1998, 132–135; Rossi 2008, 196.

²⁸ CIL V 532 = ILS 6680 II, v. 1 ff.; *Ins. It.* X 4, 31; cf. Zaccaria 1992, 215–216 (from the reign of Antoninus Pius). See also Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 240–241; Slapšak 2003.

Macedonian command was assigned to P. Licinius Crassus, while C. Cassius Longinus was allotted, against his expectations and wishes, Cisalpine Gaul, where he saw no chances to attain glory and enrich himself. As is clear from Livy, after his arrival in Cisalpina, he decided to proceed without permission of the senate towards Macedonia through Illyricum. This indeed is a most imprecise piece of information; as Dobesch pertinently noted, “Die Angabe bei Livius ‘durch Illyrien’ (*per Illyricum*) besagt wieder einmal alles und nichts.”²⁹ Clearly it does not refer to the Roman Illyricum of the time of Cincibilus and Cassius Longinus around 170 BC, which consisted of the territories the Romans had conquered after the two Illyrian wars; the kingdom of Genthius farther south had not been subdued until 168 BC. With his fall shortly after the defeat of Perseus, the name Illyricum gradually spread out until it eventually comprised most of the western Balkans. In the context of Longinus’ march, it was used by Livy anachronistically, referring to the situation of his own time, when it indeed designated the western Balkans.

The story of Cassius Longinus throws an interesting light on Celtic kingdoms beyond the Alps, on the contacts of the Romans with the Balkan area, as well as on the strategic and geopolitical importance of the countries along the old Balkan commercial route, which had been linked to the mythical-legendary story of the return of the Argonauts from the Black Sea along the Danube, the Sava, and the Ljubljana. Longinus set out from Aquileia, which he left without sufficient military protection. He supplied his army with provisions for thirty days and procured the guides who knew the way from Italy to Macedonia, taking them from among the Carni, Histri, and Iapodes. Obviously he chose the shortest route through the Balkans, across the Odra Pass to the Ljubljana and Sava valleys, in the direction of the Danube, which more or less corresponded to the fluvial route of the Argonauts, as has decisively been argued by Dobesch.³⁰ The route led further to Segestica/Siscia (Sisak), Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), and Singidunum (Belgrade), and thence on to Macedonia; this direction is not only confirmed by Livy’s remark that the senate feared Longinus would have made known the way to Italy to so many peoples settled along his line of march (... *viam tot nationibus in Italiam aperiret*, 43.1.9), but also by Livy’s data in

book 40, that from Macedonia it is only possible to lead an army to Italy across the region of the Scordisci (40.57.7). Most probably Longinus did not even reach Segestica,³¹ since the town is not mentioned in this context, and neither are the Pannonian peoples in its neighbourhood.

In any event, the southeastern Alpine area, the Odra Pass, and the Emona (Ljubljana) Basin must have since 171 BC gradually become more familiar to the Romans, which is also confirmed by archaeological finds.³² It is much less likely that Longinus would have proceeded from Aquileia to Tarsatica (Rijeka), that is, through Istria, and further along the coast, as has been postulated by some scholars,³³ since the coastal road in Dalmatia was more or less impassable and it would have led him to the kingdom of Genthius. In that case, the Liburni would have probably been mentioned by Livy. If, however, it is assumed that Longinus would have gone from Tarsatica on to Senia (Senj), and then across the Vratnik Pass and the Lika region to Metulum and the heart of the country of the transalpine Iapodes, this would mean a large detour on his way to Macedonia, and therefore does not seem plausible at all.

The senate was informed of the consul’s departure by the envoys from Aquileia, who did not dare to accuse him directly but merely declared that their colony remained without sufficient military protection in case of possible attacks by the hostile Histri and Illyrian peoples. The senators directed the envoys to the consul and only when they were told that he had left Aquileia with his army did they realize that he was indeed gone. It became immediately clear to them into what a precarious situation he had plunged not so much Aquileia as most of all himself, his army, and the Roman state, since he would have literally opened the entrance to Italy, had he been able to proceed further than he eventually did. The strategic importance of the Odra Pass was obviously very well known to the Roman politicians at that time. Three senators were dispatched the same day to catch up with him and prevent him from engaging in any war without the permission of the senate. The fear of the senators was more than justified, since in the second century BC the interior of Illyricum was almost a

²⁹ Dobesch 1980, 116.

³⁰ Thus also Polaschek 1936, 974; Dobesch 1980, 117 ff.

³¹ Despite the contrary hypothesis of Morgan 1974, 188–189.

³² Horvat, Bavdek 2009; Guštin, Gaspari 2005; Miškec 2003.

³³ Degrossi 1962, 768; cf. also Vedaldi Iasbez 2001, 74–75.

terra incognita and the hostility of the indigenous inhabitants could well have been expected. The routes in the interior of the Balkans, even along the Sava and the Danube rivers, were only known to a few merchant caravans, who transported goods from the distant Greek and Greek influenced countries to the southeastern Alpine principalities; not surprisingly, imported objects were not very numerous.³⁴

ERRONEOUS IDEAS ABOUT THE SIZE OF THE BALKANS

It is most interesting that in terms of geography, even in the second century BC the Greeks had quite erroneous concepts of the space and distances between the interior of the Balkans and Italy. Philip V, the father of the last Macedonian king Perseus, was looking for allies among the barbarian peoples and tribes who were settled along the Danube, in order to persuade them to invade Italy (Livy, 39.35.4). These were the Bastarnae (40.57.6–7) and probably also the Scordisci, since Livy noted that it was only possible to lead an army to Italy across the region of the Scordisci (40.57.7). Part of the Celtic Scordisci inhabited the region around the confluence of the Sava and the Danube, in the area of Singidunum (Belgrade).³⁵ However, Philip was wrong about the length of Illyricum; this is well illustrated by the story that he climbed to the top of Mt. Haemus (the Balkan Mts.) in the country of the Thracian Maedi, in order to see at the same time the Black Sea and the Adriatic, as well as the Danube and the Alps (Livy, 40.21.2). The visual assessment of distances would greatly help him, so he believed, in planning the war against the Romans.³⁶

Philip V died in 179, and Perseus obviously inherited his father's project of attacking Italy across Illyria with the help of the Bastarnae and the Scordisci. The senate learned of these plans from Eumenes of Pergamum, who informed them that Perseus negotiated with the Bastarnae to lend him support against the Romans (42.11.2 ff.; 42.11.4: *Bastarnarum gentem excitam sedibus suis, quorum auxilii fretus in Italiam transiret*).³⁷ It seems that

the Pannonians had not yet become an important factor in the Balkans at that time, since they do not appear in any of these plans. Even earlier, such an invasion was allegedly contemplated by Hannibal, who in 192 BC advised Antiochus of Syria to involve Philip V in the war against the Romans by invading Italy together.³⁸ The distances in the Balkans were not correctly assessed at that time, since it was generally believed that they were much shorter. Even Polybius shared this opinion (24.4), which was criticised by Strabo and Pomponius Mela.³⁹

A similar invasion of Italy was also planned in 65 BC by Mithridates VI Eupator, the king of Pontus, who was one of the most formidable enemies of the Romans in Asia Minor. He caused them much damage, until he was conquered in the three Mithridatic Wars, waged by Sulla, L. Licinius Lucullus, and Pompey the Great. According to Appian, before Pompey decisively defeated him, he had allegedly intended to invade Italy across the Balkans: *'Mithridates finally reached the regions of the Maeotis (the sea of Azov), of which there were many rulers [...] He even formed an alliance with them in contemplation of other and more novel exploits, such as marching through Thrace to Macedonia, through the country of the Macedonians to the Paeones, and passing over the Alps into Italy.'* (Mithr. 102.472–473). By the Paeones the Pannonians are meant, as is clear from a passage in Appian's *Illyrian History*, in which he explained the usage of his time (Illyr. 14.40: *'The Greeks call them Paeones, the Romans Pannonians...'*).⁴⁰ Elsewhere in the book about the Mithridatic Wars Appian mentioned that Mithridates also engaged the Celts (most probably the Scordisci) in his plans of marching into Italy: *'Filled with this idea he was for hastening to the Celts; but the very boldness of the plan, which would have brought him great glory, made the soldiers shrink from prolonged service in a foreign land, against men whom they could not overcome even in their own country.'* (109.520–521).⁴¹ A march from Italy to Macedonia

³⁴ Gabrovec 1987, 55 and Fig. 2; Teržan 1990; Dular, Tecco Hvala 2007, 250; Križ 2008, 56–61.

³⁵ Papazoglu 1978, 271 ff.; Popović 1987; Tasić (ed.) 1992; Jevtić, Lazić, Sladić 2006.

³⁶ Walbank 1967, 248–250; he identified the mountain with Vitoša, 2100 m.

³⁷ Cf. Livy, 40.5.9–10; 44.26.2 and Plutarch, *Aemil. Paul.* 9.7; Dobesch 1980, 109; Šašel Kos 2005, 533.

³⁸ Livy, 34.60; App., *Syr.* 7; Justin, 31.3.5–10. Cf. Patsch 1932, 32–33; Šašel Kos 2005, 530–534.

³⁹ 7.5.1 C. 313 (Strabo); 2.2.17–18 (Pomp. Mela): *e quis Haemos in tantum altitudinis abit, ut Euxinum et Hadrian ex summo vertice ostendat.*

⁴⁰ Šašel Kos 2005, 375 ff.

⁴¹ His plans are also mentioned by Plutarch (*Pomp.* 41.2), Strabo (7.4.3 C. 309), Cassius Dio (37.11), and Florus (1.40.25), who erroneously mentioned an invasion through Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece.

across Illyricum had actually never been put into effect before Tiberius.

THE IDENTITIES OF THE PEOPLES ATTACKED ON LONGINUS' RETURN MARCH

Although the southeastern Alpine area was strategically most important for Italy, since the Apennine peninsula was easily accessible along the ancient Amber route across the Odra pass, it was not in the least under Roman control in the first half of the second century BC. This is confirmed by the fact that the army of Cassius Longinus had to be led by foreign guides. When he was overtaken and summoned back by the senatorial envoys, he obviously allowed his soldiers to plunder and devastate the territories through which some days or some weeks previously they had been escorted towards Macedonia, that is, the areas of the Iapodes, Histri, Carni, and Alpine peoples. One of the most serious accusations of Cincibilus' brother was that the soldiers took a great number of slaves.⁴² The Alpine peoples were the last mentioned on the consul's way, and indeed it seems plausible to identify them with the Taurisci; the question is, with which Taurisci. These Tauriscan peoples certainly had their own names, which, however, are not preserved in the sources. Livy called them simply 'Alpine peoples'. They may well have been the Taurisci from the Nauportus-Emona region and those further to the southeast, such as the Tauriscan Latobici, as has already been postulated.⁴³

They were Cincibilus' allies and their more precise identification depends on where the residence of Cincibilus should be located. The king could have most likely resided, as we have seen, either among the Norici in Austrian Carinthia, or among the Taurisci to the south of the Karavanke Mts., most probably at Celeia. Farther away from the peoples living along the route of the Argonauts, the Celtic kingdom of Cincibilus must have been more centralized. The exact role of his brother in the kingdom is not known, he may have been a co-ruler or a regent; in the affair of Longinus he acted as a representative of their allies.

He was not successful in obtaining satisfaction for them for the damage they had suffered from

the consular army, and neither were the embassies of the other three peoples. The senate, as is clear from Livy's text, refused to accuse the consul in his absence, which had probably been previously arranged to protect him. He had been sent to Macedonia, where he acted in a subordinate function of a tribune of soldiers (*tribunus militum*) under A. Hostilius Mancinus. The senators, however, did show some good will to make amends for the injustice caused by the consul, and made a decision to send two envoys to Cincibilus and three to the other peoples, the Carni, Histri, and Iapodes.

Where exactly were the territories of the other peoples that had been devastated by the Roman army? The Carni must have been the Carnic tribes settled in the hinterland of Aquileia on the way to the Odra pass, while the Histri, who had lost much of their territory after the Histrian war in 177 BC, may still have inhabited some area to the east of Tergeste, as well as the territory of Aegida (Koper or more probably Sermin, a prominent commercial centre at the time of Cincibilus).⁴⁴ Both might have reached towards the Odra pass, which was also the goal of the Iapodes, since Strabo mentioned that Mt. Odra was situated near them, while in the past they had even been settled on both sides of the mountain (4.6.10 C. 207). These could have been some small local peoples politically dependent on the Iapodes.

On the other hand, it is known from Pliny that Odra had once been a town of the Carni; in his time the town no longer existed (*N. h.* 3.131). Strategically, the Odra pass was of exceptional importance, and long before the Romans this was known to all the peoples in the vicinity of the pass. Merely 7 km east of the pass, an important indigenous fortified settlement was located at Grad near Šmihel (perhaps Pliny's Odra?), where a hoard of Roman weapons from the beginning of the second century BC (or even earlier) was discovered.⁴⁵ The settlement probably belonged to the Carni or to the Subocrini (a tribe of the Carni?) and some temporary damage done to it may tentatively be linked to an attack by Longinus' soldiers; it does not seem at all likely to ascribe to them its permanent destruction.

The epilogue of the affair has also been noted by Livy, as is clear from the cited passage. To Cincibilus and his brother (Livy calls them *reguli*

⁴² The identities of the peoples attacked on Longinus' return march.

⁴³ Dobesch 1980, 125–126.

⁴⁴ Horvat 1997 (on Sermin); Šašel 1989 (1992), however, identified Aegida with Koper.

⁴⁵ Horvat 2002; Horvat 2009, 358–361.

in this passage, see the above quoted translation) the senate sent two most illustrious former consuls and known diplomats, C. Laelius, a friend of Scipio Africanus, who in 189 BC was a proconsul in Cisalpine Gaul, and M. Aemilius Lepidus, who was two times consul with a command in Liguria. He acquired great experience in dealings with the Celtic peoples, particularly with the Cenomani. The senators gave Cincibilus and his brother regal gifts, among others two golden necklaces worth 200 golden *stateres*,⁴⁶ five heavy silver vessels, but most of all the right to import, each of them, ten horses from Italy, which had previously been forbidden.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ The weight of a golden *stater* was 8.17 g; see on such necklaces Guštin 2009.

⁴⁷ Livius, *Ab urbe con.* 43.5.7–9. See Urban 2000, 333. Šašel Kos 2008.

It was probably on this occasion that *hospitium publicum* was concluded between the Celtic kingdom of Cincibilus and the Romans,⁴⁸ at the time of the battle near Noreia in 113 BC, when the Roman army attacked the Cimbri who had invaded the Taurisci or the Norici, this agreement was already in effect. For various reasons, both political and economic, the Roman senate made an effort to maintain appropriate contacts with the Celts in the hinterland of Aquileia and on the other side of the Alps.

Paper treating this subject was presented at the conference: 'Region im Umbruch – Der obere Donauraum 50 v. bis 50 n. Chr.', at the University of Graz, 17–20 November, 2011.

⁴⁸ Dobesch 1980, 280 ff.; Zaccaria 1996, 141–142; Scherrer 2002, 12; Graßl 2004, 295–296.

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Cincibil in pohod Gaja Kasija Longina proti Makedoniji

LIVIJEVO POROČILO O POHODU KONZULA GAJA KASIJA PROTI MAKEDONIJI

Livij omenja keltsko kraljestvo Cincibila in nje-govega brata v letih 171–170 pr. Kr., ko piše o aferi, ki jo je povzročil konzul Gaj Kasij Longin (43, 1, 4 ss; 43, 5 ss). Livijevo besedilo se v prevodu glasi:¹

43, 1, 4 ss (171 pr. Kr.): “*Drugi konzul Gaj Kasij ni uspel napraviti nič omembe vrednega v Galiji, ki mu je pripadla po žrebu, zato je neuspešno poskusil povesti svojo vojsko čez Ilirik v Makedonijo. (5) Senat je za to konzulovo odpravo zvedel od odposlancev iz Akvileje, ki so se pritožili, da je njihova kolonija nova in šibka in da še ni dovolj dobro utrjena proti napadom okoliških sovražnih ljudstev Histrov in Ilirov. (6) Ko so prosili, da bi senat razmislil o načinu kako kolonijo vojaško utrditi, so jih vprašali, če te zadeve ne bi raje hoteli zaupati konzulu Gaju Kasiju, (7) na kar so odvrnili, da je Kasij potem, ko je zbral svojo vojsko v Akvileji, odrinil čez Ilirik v Makedonijo. Ta vest se je najprej zdela neverjetna in senatorji so si vsak pri sebi sprva mislili, da se je morda začel vojaški pohod proti Karnom*

ali Histrom. (8) Nato so Akvilejci odvrnili, da ne vedo in si ne upajo trditi ničesar več kot to, da so vojakom razdelili živež za trideset dni ter poiskali in vzeli s seboj vodiče, ki so poznali poti iz Italije v Makedonijo. (9) To, da je bil konzul tako predrzen, da je zapustil svojo provinco in nezakonito prestopil v provinco svojega kolega, da je vodil vojsko po novi in nevarni poti med tuja ljudstva ter odprl pot v Italijo tolikemu številu ljudstev, je senat v resnici razjezilo. (10) Soglasno so sklenili, da pretor Gaj Sulpicij imenuje tri odposlance izmed senatorjev, ki naj bi še isti dan odpotovali iz mesta in kolikor mogoče hitro prišli na sled konzulu Kasiju, kjerkoli že utegne biti; (11) prenesejo naj mu sporočilo, da se ne sme zaplesti v vojno z nobenim ljudstvom, razen v primeru, da se je senat odločil za vojno proti njemu. (12) Na pot so poslali te poslanca: Marka Kornelija Cetega (M. Cornelius Cethegus), Marka Fulvija (M. Fulvius) in Publija Marcija Reksa (P. Marcius Rex). Strah za konzula in njegovo vojsko je v tistem trenutku prevladal nad skrbjo, kako utrditi Akvilejo.”

Epilog tega podviga je sledil v petem poglavju iste knjige:

“(1) V istem času [namreč leta 170 pr. Kr.] so do senata prišle pritožbe nad Gajem Kasijem, ki je bil eno leto prej konzul, tedaj pa je bil v Makedoniji vojaški poveljnik (tribunus militum, “polkovnik”) pod Avlom Hostilijem (A. Hostilius), in prispeli so poslanci kralja Keltov Cincibila. (2) Pred senatom je govoril kraljevi brat in se pritožil, da je Gaj Kasij opustošil ozemlje alpskih ljudstev, njihovih zaveznikov, ter od tam odvedel v sužnost več tisoč ljudi. (3) Približno v istem času so prišli tudi odposlanci Karnov, Histrov in Japidov; najprej so povedali, da je konzul Kasij od ljudstev zahteval vodiče, da mu pokažejo pot v Makedonijo, kamor je vodil vojsko; (4) mirno jih je zapustil, in vse je kazalo, da je nameraval začeti vojno nekje drugje. Nato pa se je na pol poti obrnil in prečkal njihovo deželo kot sovražnik; povsod se je dogajalo klanje, ropanje in požiganje. Niti do tega trenutka ne vedo, zakaj jih je konzul obravnaval kot sovražnike. Senat je dal odgovor tako vladarju Keltov, ki ni bil prisoten [regulo Gallorum absentis], (5) kot tem ljudstvom, da namreč niso vedeli, da se bo to, nad čemer so se poslanci pritožili, zgodilo, niti teh dogodkov, ki so se že zgodili, ne odobravajo. Toda obsoditi nekdanjega konzula v njegovi odsotnosti brez sodbe bi

¹ Latinsko besedilo: *Alter consul C. Cassius nec in Gallia, quam sortitus erat, memorabile quicquam gessit et per Illyricum ducere legiones in Macedoniam uano incepto est conatus. Ingressum hoc iter consulem senatus ex Aquileiensium legatis cognovit, qui querentes coloniam suam nouam et infirmam necdum satis munitam inter infestas nationes Histrorum et Illyriorum esse, cum peterent, ut senatus curae haberet, quomodo ea colonia munitur, interrogati, uellentne eam rem C. Cassio consuli mandari, responderunt Cassium Aquileiam indicto exercitu profectum per Illyricum in Macedoniam esse. Ea res primo incredibilis uisa, et pro se quisque credere Carnis forsitan aut Histris bellum inlatum. Tum Aquileiensis: nihil se ultra scire nec audere adfirmare, quam triginta dierum frumentum militi datum et duces, qui ex Italia itinera in Macedoniam nossent, conquisitos abductosque. Enimvero senatus indignari tantum consulem ausum, ut suam prouinciam relinqueret, in alienam transiret, exercitum nouo periculosos[que] itinere inter exterarum gentes duceret, uiam tot nationibus in Italiam aperiret. Decernunt frequentes, ut C. Sulpicius praetor tris ex senatu nominet legatos, qui eo die proficiscantur ex urbe et, quantum adcelerare possint, Cassium consulem, ubicumque sit, persequantur; nuntient, ne bellum cum ulla gente moueat, nisi cum qua senatus gerendum censuerit. Legati hi profecti M. Cornelius Cethegus, M. Fulvius, P. Marcius Rex. Metus de consule atque exercitu distulit eo tempore muniendae Aquileiae curam. Prevod je mestoma nekoliko svobodnejši; kratak, predvsem jezikovni komentar: Briscoe 2012, 388–390.*

bila krivica, saj je odsoten v službi države; (6) če ga bodo hoteli obtožiti v njegovi prisotnosti, potem ko se bo Gaj Kasij vrnil iz Makedonije, bo senat po zaslišanju poskrbel, da bodo dobili zadoščenje. (7) Izglasovali so ne le, da dobijo ta ljudstva odgovor, temveč tudi, da pošljejo odposlance, dva k vladarju (regulus) onstran Alp in tri k tem drugim ljudstvom; odposlanci naj bi jih obvestili, kakšno je mnenje, ki so ga izrekli Očetje. (8) Poslancem so sklenili poslati darila v znesku dva tisoč asov [ex binis milibus aeris], obema bratoma vladarjema (reguli) pa tale posebna darila: dva torkvesa iz petih funtov zlata [ex quinque pondo auri], pet srebrnih posod iz dvajset funtov [ex viginti pondo] in dva konja z opremo za glavo in prednji del, skupaj z njunima konjušnikoma, ter konjeniško orožje in vojaške plašče, spremljevalcem obeh vladarjev (reguli), tako svobodnim kot sužnjem, pa oblačila. (9) Te stvari so poslali; druge so poslancem odobrili na njihovo prošnjo – dobili so posebno pravico, da kupijo vsak deset konj in jih izvozijo iz Italije. (10) Kot poslanci so bili s Kelti čez Alpe poslani Gaj Lelij [C. Laelius] in Mark Emilij Lepid [M. Aemilius Lepidus], k drugim ljudstvom pa Gaj Sicinij [C. Sicinius], Publij Kornelij Blazio [P. Cornelius Blasio] in Tit Memij [T. Memmius].”²

² Eodem tempore de C. Cassio, qui consul priore anno fuerat, tum tribunus militum in Macedonia cum A. Hostilio erat, querellae ad senatum delatae sunt, et legati regis Gallorum Cincibili uenerunt. Frater eius uerba in senatu fecit questus Alpinorum populorum agros, sociorum suorum, depopulatum C. Cassium esse et inde multa milia hominum in seruitutem abripuisse. Sub idem tempus Carnorum Histrorumque et Iapydum legati uenerunt: duces sibi ab consule Cassio primum imperatos, qui in Macedoniam ducenti exercitum iter monstrarent; pacatum ab se tamquam ad aliud bellum gerendum abisse. Inde ex medio regressum itinere hostiliter peragrasse fines suos; caedes passim rapinasque et incendia facta; nec se ad id locorum scire, propter quam causam consuli pro hostibus fuerint. Et regulo Gallorum absenti et his populis responsum est senatum ea, quae facta querantur, neque scisse futura, neque, si sint facta, probare. Sed indicta causa damnari absentem consularem uirum iniurium esse, cum is rei publicae causa absit; ubi ex Macedonia redisset C. Cassius, tum, si coram eum arguere uellent, cognita re senatum daturum operam, uti satisfiat. Nec responderi tantum iis gentibus, sed legatos mitti, duos ad regulum trans Alpis, tres circa eos populos placuit, qui indicarent, quae patrum sententia esset. Munera mitti legatis ex binis milibus aeris censuerunt; fratri reguli haec praecipua, torques duo ex quinque pondo auri facti et uasa argentea quinque ex uiginti pondo et duo equi phalerati cum agasonibus et equestria arma ac sagula, et comitibus eorum uestimenta, liberis seruisque. Haec missa; illa petentibus data, ut denorum equorum iis commercium esset educendique ex Italia potestas fieret.

CINCIBILOVO KRALJESTVO IN ALPSKA LJUDSTVA

V strokovni literaturi načeloma prevladuje mnenje, da je bilo kraljestvo Cincibila in njegovega brata (omenjeno le v letih 171–170) noriško kraljestvo,³ čeprav Livij Cincibila imenuje le kralj Keltov (*rex Gallorum*) oz. vladar, (mali) kralj (*regulus*); najizčrnejši komentar je še vedno monografija Gerharda Dobescha o Keltih v Avstriji.⁴ Kljub temu da je tudi on v Cincibilu videl noriškega kralja, pa je vendar poudaril, da mnenje temelji zgolj na Livijevi notici o Cincibilovi vladavini “na drugi strani Alp” (*trans Alpis*). To pa lahko pomeni celotno gorsko verigo v Avstriji in Sloveniji do Sneznika (*Mons Albius*), občasno pa lahko vključuje Veliko in Malo Kapelo ter Velebit na Hrvaškem. Dobesch je svoje mnenje opiral predvsem na svojo opredelitev alpskih ljudstev. To naj bi bili bodisi Tavriski z območja Navporta bodisi Katali, Latobiki oz. manjša neznana ljudstva ali plemena v njihovi soseščini (*sl. 1*).⁵ Vsekakor je treba vedeti, da so te interpretacije le hipotetične; sporna je tako etnična pripadnost Cincibila in njegovega brata kot identiteta alpskih ljudstev, ki so omenjena kot zavezniki Cincibilovega kraljestva, in končno je sporna tudi pot, po kateri je Gaj Kasij Longin prodiral proti Makedoniji. Livij, ki je edini vir za to epizodo iz rimske zgodovine, ne ponuja natančnega odgovora na nobeno od teh treh med seboj tesno povezanih vprašanj, vendar pa so nekatere možne interpretacije verjetnejše kot druge. Zanimivo je, da v 39. knjigi omenja Kelte onkraj Alp (*Galli transalpini*), ki so leta 186 pr. Kr., torej

Legati cum Gallis missi trans Alpis C. Laelius, M. Aemilius Lepidus, ad ceteros populos C. Sicinius, P. Cornelius Blasio, T. Memmius. Kratek komentar: Briscoe 2012, 403–406; str. 405: “[...] the numbers of necklaces, vessels, and horses are presumably the totals for the two brothers, not the number for each; similarly, the weights are totals, not that for each necklace and vessel, respectively”. Kar se tiče navedenih tež, je njegovo mnenje verjetno, nenavadno pa se zdi, da bi brata dobila skupaj pet posod.

³ Zippel 1877, 108 ss; Alföldy 1974, 30 ss; Winkler 1977, 188–189; Dobesch 1980, 108–157; Dyson 1985, 69–72; glej tudi Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 230 ss, z dodatnimi citati; Urban 2000, 332–333; nedavno Krmnicek 2010, 15–17; Hainzmann 2011, 323 ss.

⁴ Dobesch 1980, 108–157; Alföldy 1974, 31 ss; glej tudi Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 29, 230–232; Šašel Kos 1997, 26 ss; Bandelli 2001, 20–21; Bandelli 2004, 103, s citati iz starejše literature v op. 36.

⁵ Dobesch 1980, 125–126. V zadnjem članku o Tavriskih, Guštin 2011a, 120, je celo navedeno, da je podatek vzet iz antičnega vira.

kakih petnajst let prej, želeli na območju bodoče Akvileje ustanoviti mesto. Čeprav identiteta teh Keltov ni povsem jasna, je treba zelo verjetno v njih prepoznati Tavriskie (Livij, 39, 22, 6).⁶

Zadnji znani dogodek, ki se je nanašal na Kelte v zaledju Akvileje pred omenjenimi neljubimi dogodki v času Cincibilovega vladanja, je Livijeva omemba Katmela (*Catmelus*), ki je leta 178 pr. Kr. namesto (neimenovanega) vladarja (*regulus*, mali kralj) na strani Rimljanov v vojni proti Histrom poveljeval četi 3000 keltskih vojakov (41, 1, 8). Katmel je morda poveljeval Karnom, ki bi v tistem času lahko bili rimski zavezniki,⁷ kajti glede na njihovo pritožbo v senatu po tem, ko je Longin opustošil njihovo ozemlje (Livij, 43, 5, 3), bi lahko sklepali, da so tedaj že imeli neke vrste dogovor z rimsko državo, ki so ga morda sklenili po vojni s Histri. Domnevna pomoč, ki naj bi jo Karni nudili Rimljanom proti Histrom, bi lahko tudi razložila dejstvo, da so predtem zasedli nekaj histrijskega ozemlja in se navsezadnje polastili tudi Tergesta, naselbine, ki je bila Strabonu poznana kot karnijska vas (7, 5, 2 C. 314).⁸ Da je senat obravnaval Karne kot možne rimske sovražnike, ki bi v času Longinovega pohoda utegnili napasti Akvilejo (kot izhaja iz zgoraj citiranega Livijevega besedila), bi kazalo bodisi na to, da senat ni bil dobro obveščen o razmerah na meji svoje države, bodisi da je šlo za različna karnijska plemena, od katerih nekatera Rimu niso bila naklonjena, kar je verjetneje. Akvilejci, katerih presoja je imela gotovo večjo težo, so se bali le Histrov in "Ilirov", verjetno Japodov. Ker so se Karni, Histri in Japodi pri senatu pritožili nad sovražnim ravnanjem Kasija Longina, lahko sklepamo, da je imelo vsako od teh ljudstev z rimsko državo urejene odnose in sklenjen uradni dogovor.⁹

Noriški kralj se v virih ne omenja pred Cezarjem; v času Cezarjevega spora z Ariovistom pa je bil noriški kralj Vokcion (*Voccio*) njegov zaveznik.¹⁰ Na Cezarjevi strani je bil tudi v njegovi *Državlanski vojni* omenjeni noriški kralj, ki mu je poslal v Korfinij leta 49 pr. Kr. močan oddelek tristotih konjenikov;¹¹ Cezar ni navedel njegovega imena, zato ni gotovo, ali

je šlo za Vokciona ali za kakšnega drugega noriškega kralja. Noriško kraljestvo pa se prvič omenja šele pri rimskem zgodovinarju Veleju Paterkulu (*Velleius Paterculus*) v zvezi z vojno, ki so jo Rimljani leta 6 po Kr. načrtovali proti Maroboduu (*Maroboduus*). Tedaj je Tiberij za svoj zimski vojaški tabor izbral Karnuntum, "kraj v Noriškem kraljestvu", ki je segalo tako daleč proti severovzhodu očitno po propadu kraljestva Bojev ok. leta 50 pr. Kr.¹² Kaj lahko rečemo o Cincibilovem keltskem kraljestvu? Ne zdi se verjetno, da bi bil vladar keltskih Karnov, ki jih Livij v svojem opisu Longinovega pohoda omenja posebej, čeprav so bili tudi Karni, podobno kot Tavriski, zveza plemen in domnevno naseljeni na širokem prostoru, tudi v Posočju in onkraj Alp na Gorenjskem, ki je v prazgodovini namreč imelo stike z dolino Soče.¹³

V Livijevi pripovedi niso poimensko omenjeni niti keltski Noriki niti keltski Tavriski; Cincibil bi bil torej lahko bodisi kralj Norikov s središčem kraljestva nekje na avstrijskem Koroškem,¹⁴ kar je prevladujoče mnenje, bodisi kralj Tavriskov (tistih namreč, ki so prebivali v današnji Sloveniji), kar se zdi verjetnejša hipoteza.¹⁵ Bolje bi namreč ustrezala geopolitičnim razmeram na severovzhodnem robu Italije; ozemlje, kjer so bili naseljeni Tavriski, je bilo strateško veliko večjega pomena kot območje Norikov. Ve se namreč, da so Tavriski prebivali v Navportu, ki je bil ključna točka ob jantarjevi poti, hkrati pa tudi ob argonavtski poti, kajti v Navportu je bilo izhodišče pomembne trgovske rečne poti, ki je vodila po Ljubljani in Savi vse do Donave. Cincibil je imel sedež svojega kraljestva morda v Celeji, ki je bila naslednja pomembna postaja ob jantarski poti; drobne najdbe iz struge Savinje dokazujejo, da je na vznožju Miklavškega hriba obstajala kontinuirana poselitev vsaj od začetka 2. stoletja pr. Kr.¹⁶ Na zgodnji pomen Celeje lahko sklepamo glede na važno vlogo, ki jo je pozneje imela v noriškem kraljestvu; v mestu je bila najdena večja količina "tavriskijskih" novcev tako iz

¹² 2, 109, 5; Alföldy 1974, 62.

¹³ Božič 1999, 203 (za Posočje); Guštin 2011b (za Gorenjsko); prim. Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 231; 238. Za diskusijo o keltskih najdbah v Posočju in na Gorenjskem ter literaturo, ki se nanje nanaša, se lepo zahvaljujem Draganu Božiču.

¹⁴ Glej op. 3; pomembna keltska naselbina je bila na Gracarci, Gleirscher 1997.

¹⁵ Càssola 1979 (1994); Bandelli 2001, 21.

¹⁶ O keltski Celeji zdaj Tiefengraber 2011; prim. tudi Šašel 1970, 140 (1992, 583).

⁶ Sartori 1960 (1993); epizodo obravnava nazadnje Cecovini 2013, ki kritično izvrednoti dosedanje razlage.

⁷ Dobesch 1980, 98–108.

⁸ Dobesch 1980, 107–108; Rossi 1996 (*Scritti*, 1996).

⁹ Zaccaria 1996, 141–142; Vedaldi Iasbez 2001, 74–75.

¹⁰ Caesar, *Bell. Gall.*, 1, 53, 4; Alföldy 1974, 40 ss; Dobesch 1980, 453–455; etc.; Kos 2004.

¹¹ *Bell. civ.* 1, 18, 5 (... *equitesque ab rege Norico circiter CCC*); Alföldy 1974, 41, meni, da je bil ta kralj Vokcion; Dobesch 1980, 347; 401–402.

2. kot iz 1. stoletja pr. Kr.¹⁷ V zgodnjecesarskem obdobju je bila Celeja po vsej verjetnosti glavno upravno središče Norika.¹⁸

Kljub številnim nedavnim študijam, ki obravnavajo zgodovino Norikov in Tavriskov ter etnično opredelitev enega in drugega ljudstva, ostaja dejansko še mnogo vprašanj brez dokončnega odgovora;¹⁹ odnos med njima še vedno ni pojasnjen, kar nenazadnje dokazujejo tudi njihovi zgodnji novci, ki tega odnosa niso razčistili.²⁰ Verjetno sta bili v določenih obdobjih in v določenih političnih razmerah ti dve imeni vsaj deloma zamenljivi, kar bi dokazovala tako Strabonova besedna zveza “*območje noriških Tavriskov*” (4, 6, 12 C. 208: *ἐν τοῖς Ταυρίσχοις τοῖς Νορικῶις*)²¹ kot Plinijeva formulacija “*Noriki, ki so se nekoč imenovali Tavriski*” (N. h. 3, 133: *quondam Taurisci appellati, nunc Norici*).

Dežele, ki so veljale za noriške, so bile verjetno razdeljene na manjše “kneževine” oz. “kraljestva”, ki so imeli vsak svojo identiteto;²² v različnih časovnih obdobjih je eno ali drugo prevladalo in postalo tudi na zunaj prepoznavnejše od drugih. Domnevamo lahko, da so ta “kraljestva”, ki se med seboj kulturno niso dosti razlikovala, zunanji opazovalci razumeli kot noriška in vsako od njih, ki se je v zunanjepolitičnem smislu uveljavilo, se je imenovalo noriško, saj je bilo le pod tem imenom prepoznavno na zunaj. Predkeltsko ime Norik je imelo namreč predvsem politične in geografske, manj pa etnične konotacije.²³ Neko “Noriško kraljestvo” je utegnilo v Noriku obstajati še pred prihodom Keltov. Situacija je bila morda podobna tisti v Iliriji, kjer je bilo “Ilirsko kraljestvo” Agrona in Tevte dejansko ardiejsko, s kraljevima rezidencama v Farosu (Stari grad na otoku Hvaru)

in Rizonu (Risan v Črni Gori), medtem ko je bilo “Ilirsko kraljestvo” kralja Gentija v južni Iliriji predvsem labeatsko (Gentij je vladal Labeatom), s kraljevima rezidencama v Skodri (Shkodra) in Lisosu (Lezha) v današnji Albaniji.²⁴

Zelo verjetno je politični vpliv “Noriškega” kraljestva, ki je bilo v določenem času najmočnejše, segal daleč na sosednja območja. *Iulium Carnicum* (Zuglio) in Gorenjska sta zelo verjetno nekoč pripadala Noriškemu kraljestvu in verjetno tudi območje Kobarida in Mosta na Soči, posebej še, če so v Posočju res prebivali Ambisonti, ki so bili eno od noriških ljudstev.²⁵ Močno keltsko poselitev v Posočju dokazuje tudi nedavno najdena zakladna najdba novcev in posamezni novci, enaki novcem, ki so bili kovani pri Norikih.²⁶ Zanimiv je tudi podatek pri Strabonu, da so nekateri Noriki in Karni prebivali na območjih, ki so na jugozahodu segala vse do Jadranskega morja in Akvileje (4, 6, 9 C. 206). Ptolemaj navaja, da je gora Okra predstavljala mejo med Italijo in Norikom (3, 1, 1).

Cincibilov brat, katerega imena Livij ne omenja, je v senatu leta 170 pr. Kr. kot kraljevi poslanec posredoval v korist “alpskih ljudstev” (*Alpini populi*), ki so bili zavezniki kraljestva. Kdo so bila ta alpska ljudstva, je odvisno deloma od lokacije Cincibilovega kraljestva, predvsem pa od poti, po kateri je prodiral konzul Kasij Longin; njihova identifikacija v vsakem primeru ostaja le hipotetična. Konzularna vojska pod poveljstvom Longina je z alpskimi ljudstvi na povratku ravnala kot s sovražniki, podobno kot je obravnavala Karne, Histre in Japode, ki so prav tako poslali v senat svoje predstavnike, da bi se pritožili nad konzulovim zločinskim ravnanjem.

Zelo zanimivo je, da je tudi Plinij v svoji *Naravo-slovni enciklopediji* nekaj ljudstev v zaledju Histrov in Tergesta označil kot alpska ljudstva. Pravi, da v Alpah prebiva mnogo ljudstev, med katerimi so na območju med Polo in ozemljem Tergesta dobro znani Fekusi (*Fecusses*), Subokrini (*Subocrini*), Katali (*Catali*) in Menokaleneni (*Menocaleni*) ter v soseščini Karnov tisti, ki so se nekoč imenovali Tavriski in so zdaj Noriki (*sl. 2*).²⁷ Alpska ljudstva

¹⁷ Kos 1977, 35 ss, 52 in *passim*.

¹⁸ Šašel Kos 1997, 37; Scherrer 2002, 15 in *passim*; o zgodnjecesarski Celeji: Lazar 2002, 71; Krempuš, Gaspari, Novšak 2007.

¹⁹ Alföldy 1966; Petru 1977; Božič 1991; Haider 1993; Guštin 1996; Šašel Kos 1998; Graßl 2000; id. 2001; prim. Guštin 2011a; Pichler, Gleirscher 2011 (rudnik zlata pri Tavriskih locirata k Salasom, “zahodnim” Tavriskom, kar ni verjetno).

²⁰ Kos 2010. Prva in zgodnejša skupina novcev v okviru zgodnjih novcev “*Kugelreiter*” (2. stoletje pr. Kr.) je osredotočena na okolico Velikovca (Völkermarkt) in jugovzhodne avstrijske Koroške, medtem ko je druga skupina dokumentirana v severovzhodni Italiji in tudi v Mostu na Soči. Glej posebej tudi Kos 2012, o najzgodnejših tavriskijskih tetradrahmah z venetiskim napisom *Ves*.

²¹ Vzeto iz Polibija, 34, 10, 10–14.

²² Prim. npr. Gleirscher 1997, 26–29.

²³ Tako že Polaschek 1936, 974.

²⁴ Šašel Kos 2005, 289; ead. 2007.

²⁵ Šašel 1972, 140–144 (1992, 293–297); tega mnenja niso sprejeli avstrijski kolegi, glej npr. Scherrer 2002, 32.

²⁶ Kos, Žbona Trkman 2009 (zaklad), Osmuk 1997 (Gradič nad Kobaridom).

²⁷ 3.133: *Incolae Alpium multi populi, sed inlustres a Pola ad Tergestis regionem Fecusses, Subocrini, Catali, Menocaleni iuxtaque Carnos quondam Taurisci appellati nunc Norici*. Glej Marion 1998, 132–135; Rossi 2008, 196.

v Livijevem besedilu bi torej lahko bila Subokrini ali Katali, ali pa morda Menokaleni, ki v antičnih virih sicer niso nikjer omenjeni. Kot kaže njihovo ime, je treba Subokrine povezati z goro Okro in prelazom pod njo; eno njihovih naselij bi utegnili biti pomembna višinska naselbina na Gradu pri Šmihelu pod Nanosom. Katali so morali prebivati v soseščini Karnov v zaledju Tergesta, kajti znani so tudi s počastitvenega napisa za senatorja Lucija Fabija Severa (*L. Fabius Severus*) iz Tergesta, na katerem je omenjena njihova administrativna priključitev (*adtributio*) k Tergestu v avgustejskem obdobju; njihov teritorij je bil priključen h koloniji skupaj s teritorijem Karnov.²⁸

POT KASIJA LONGINA

Leto poprej (171), po izbruhu vojne proti zadržemu makedonskemu kralju Perzeju, je bila vrhovna vojaška oblast v Makedoniji dodeljena Publiju Liciniju Krasu (*P. Licinius Crassus*), medtem ko je Gaju Kasiju Longinu pripadla Cisalpinska Galija, česar ni pričakoval niti si ni želel, ker se v tej provinci ni nadejal ne slave ne bogastva. Kot je razvidno iz Livijeve *Zgodovine*, se je po prihodu v Cisalpino brez dovoljenja senata odločil odri-niti v Makedonijo čez Ilirik. To je dejansko zelo splošen podatek, kar je opazil že Dobesch, ki je pripomnil: "Die Angabe bei Livius 'durch Illyrien' (*per Illyricum*) besagt wieder einmal alles und nichts."²⁹ Očitno se ne nanaša na rimski Ilirik v času Cincibila in Kasija Longina ok. 170 pr. Kr., ki je obsegal le tista območja in regije, ki so jih Rimljani osvojili po prvih dveh ilirskih vojnah; Gentijevo kraljestvo, ki je ležalo južneje, je bilo premagano šele leta 168 pr. Kr. Po padcu njegovega kraljestva malo po porazu makedonskega kralja Perzeja se je ime Ilirik postopoma začelo širiti, kot se je postopoma širila rimska oblast na tem prostoru, dokler ni končno obsegalo večine zahodnega Balkana. V kontekstu Longinovega pohoda je Livij ime uporabil anahronistično, v smislu administrativne ureditve njegovega časa, ko je Ilirik dejansko obsegal zahodni Balkan.

Longinova zgodba meče zanimivo luč na keltska kraljestva onstran Alp, na stike rimske države z Balkanom in ne nazadnje na strateški in geopo-

litični pomen dežel ob stari balkanski trgovski poti, ki je bila povezana z mitično-legendarno zgodbo o povratku Argonavtov od Črnega morja po Donavi, Savi in Ljubljani. Longin je odrinil na pot iz Akvileje, ki jo je pustil brez vojaške zaščite. Vojsko je oskrbel z živežem za trideset dni in si pri Karnih, Histrih in Japodih pridobil vodiče, ki so poznali pot iz Italije v Makedonijo. Najverjetneje je izbral najkrajšo pot čez Balkan, ki je v smeri proti Donavi vodila čez prelaz Okro v dolino Ljubljani-ce in Save, in se je bolj ali manj ujemala z rečno potjo Argonavtov, kot je dokazoval že Dobesch.³⁰ Pot je vodila najprej do Segestike/Siscije, Sirmija in Singiduna, od tam pa naprej v Makedonijo; te poti ne potrjuje le Livijeva pripomba, da se je senat bal, da bo Longin "odprl pot" v Italijo številnim ljudstvom, čez ozemlja katerih je prodiral (... *viam tot nationibus in Italiam aperiret*, 43, 1, 9), ampak tudi Livijev podatek v 40. knjigi, kjer pravi, da je možno peljati vojsko iz Makedonije v Italijo le čez deželo Skordiskov (40, 57, 7). Zelo verjetno pa je, da Longin ni dosegel niti Segestike,³¹ ker se v zvezi z njegovim pohodom ne omenjajo niti to mesto niti panonska ljudstva v njegovi soseščini.

V vsakem primeru je jasno, da so jugovzhodni alpski prostor, prelaz Okra in Emonska kotlina od leta 171 pr. Kr. dalje Rimljanom postajali vse bolj domači, kar potrjujejo tudi arheološke najdbe.³² Mnogo manj verjetno pa je mnenje nekaterih, da bi Longin iz Akvileje odrinil proti Tarsatiki, torej čez Istro in potem naprej ob obali,³³ saj je bila obalna pot v Dalmaciji tedaj bolj ali manj neprehodna, predvsem pa bi vojsko pripeljala do Gentijevega kraljestva. V tem primeru bi bili pri Liviju zelo verjetno omenjeni tudi Liburni. Hipoteza, da bi se Longin iz Tarsatike usmeril proti Seniji in šel potem čez prelaz Vratnik in Liko na Metulum, v samo osrčje dežele transalpinskih Japodov, bi pomenila velik ovinek na poti v Makedonijo in se zato nikakor ne zdi verjetna.

Senat so o konzulovem odhodu obvestili odposlanci iz Akvileje, ki pa ga niso upali neposredno obtožiti, temveč so le navedli, da je njihova kolonija ostala brez zadostne vojaške zaščite v primeru možnih napadov sovražnih Histrov in Ilirov. Kot rečeno, so se senatorji, ko so dojeli, da je konzul brez dovoljenja zapustil Akvilejo, takoj zavedli, v kakšno nevarnost je pahnil ne le Akvilejo, temveč

²⁸ *CIL* V 532 = *ILS* 6680 II, v. 1 ss; *Ins. It.* X 4, 31; prim. Zaccaria 1992, 215–216 (iz časa Antonina Pija). Glej tudi Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 240–241; Slapšak 2003.

²⁹ Dobesch 1980, 116.

³⁰ Tako tudi Polaschek 1936, 974; Dobesch 1980, 117 ss.

³¹ Kljub drugačnemu mnenju Morgana 1974, 188–189.

³² Horvat, Bavdek 2009; Guštin, Gaspari 2005; Miškec 2003.

³³ Degrassi 1962, 768; prim. tudi Vedaldi Iasbez 2001, 74–75.

predvsem sebe, svojo vojsko in rimsko državo s tem, da bi dobesedno "odprl vhod" v Italijo, če bi mu uspelo prodreti dlje, kot mu je, preden so ga ustavili. Strateška pomembnost prelaza Okre je bila očitno rimskim politikom tistega časa že dobro znana. Trije senatorji so bili še isti dan poslani, da konzula dohitijo in mu preprečijo, da bi se spustil v vojno brez dovoljenja senata. Strah senatorjev je bil več kot upravičen, saj je bila v 2. stoletju pr. Kr. notranjost poznejšega Ilirika skoraj *terra incognita*, tamkajšnja ljudstva pa so bila pričakovano sovražna. Poti po notranjosti Balkana, celo rečna pot po Savi in Donavi, so bile znane le maloštevilnim trgovskim karavanam, ki so uvažale dragocenejšje predmete iz daljnih grških in drugih Grčiji sosednjih dežel v jugovzhodne alpske dežele; nič ne preseneča, da v lokalnih naselbinah in nekropolah ni bilo najdenih prav veliko predmetov, ki bi bili uvoženi iz bolj oddaljenih mediteranskih in črnomoških dežel.³⁴

NAPAČNE PREDSTAVE O RAZDALJAH NA BALKANU

Zelo zanimivo je, da so imeli, kar se geografije tiče, Grki še v 2. stoletju pr. Kr. popolnoma napačne predstave o prostoru in razdaljah med osrednjim Balkanom in Italijo. Filip V., oče zadnjega makedonskega kralja Perzeja, je iskal zaveznike med barbarskimi ljudstvi in plemeni, ki so bila naseljena vzdolž Donave, in jih skušal pregovoriti, da bi napadla Italijo (Livij, 39, 35, 4). To so bili Bastarni (40, 57, 6–7) in verjetno Skordiski, kar sklepamo glede na Livijevo pripombo, da je bilo mogoče voditi vojsko v Italijo le čez deželo Skordiskov (40, 57, 7). Del keltskih Skordiskov je bil namreč naseljen na širokem območju izliva Save v Donavo pri Singidunu (Beograd).³⁵ Toda Filip se je motil glede dolžine (poznejšega) Ilirika, kar nazorno kaže anekdota o njegovem vzponu na vrh Hema (*Haemus*, pogorje Balkan) v deželi tračanskih Medov, da bi z vrha videl hkrati Črno in Jadransko morje ter Donavo in Alpe (Livij, 40, 21, 2). Bil je prepričan, da bi mu predstava o prostoru, ki bi jo dobil na vrhu gore, zelo pomagala pri načrtovanju vojne proti Rimljanom.³⁶

Filip V. je umrl leta 179, Perzej pa je očitno nasledil očetov načrt, da bi s pomočjo Bastarnov in Skordiskov napadel Italijo čez Ilirijo. Senat je za te načrte zvedel od kralja Evmena iz Pergamona, ki je senatorje obvestil, da se Perzej pogaja z Bastarni, da bi ga podprli v boju proti Rimljanom (42, 11, 2 ss; 42, 11, 4).³⁷ Kaže, da Panonci v tistem času na Balkanu še niso igrali pomembnejše vloge, ker se v teh načrtih nikjer ne omenjajo. Še predtem naj bi o podobnem napadu na Italijo razmišljal Hanibal, ki je leta 192 pr. Kr. svetoval Antiohu iz Sirije, da bi se s Filipom V. povezal v vojni proti Rimljanom, ter da bi skupaj napadla Italijo čez Balkan.³⁸ Razdalje tedaj namreč niso bile pravilno ocenjene, prevladovalo je mnenje, da so precej krajše. Celo geografsko razgledan Polibij je bil tega mnenja (24, 4), kritizirala sta ga še Strabon in Pomponij Mela.³⁹

Podoben vpad v Italijo je leta 65 pr. Kr. načrtoval Mitridat VI. Evpator, pontski kralj, ki je bil eden najbolj zagriženih sovražnikov Rima v Mali Aziji. Povzročil jim je zelo veliko škode, dokler ni bil končno premagan v treh mitridatskih vojnah, ki so jih vodili Sula, Lucij Licinij Lukul (*L. Licinius Lucullus*) in Pompej Veliki. Apijan piše, da je Mitridat, preden ga je Pompej odločilno premagal, baje nameraval napasti Italijo čez Balkan: "*Mitridat je končno prispel na območje Meotide (Azovsko morje), kjer je vladalo mnogo vladarjev [...] Z njimi je celo sklenil zaveznitvo z namenom, da bi se lotil drugih in novih podvigov, kot na primer pohoda čez Trakijo v Makedonijo, skozi deželo Makedoncev do Peoncev ter čez Alpe v Italijo.*" (*Mithr.* 102, 472–473). S Peonci je Apijan mislil na Panonce, kot je jasno iz odstavka v njegovi *Ilirski zgodovini*, v katerem je razložil rabo svojega časa (*Illyr.* 14, 40: "*Grki jih imenujejo Peonce, Rimljani Panonce ...*").⁴⁰ Na drugem mestu v knjigi o mitridatskih vojnah pa je Apijan omenil, da je Mitridat v svoje načrte o pohodu v Italijo pritegnil tudi Kelte (zelo verjetno Skordiske, 109, 520–521): "*Navdušen nad to idejo je hotel takoj pohiteti h Keltom; toda ravno drznost tega načrta, ki bi mu prinesla veliko slavo, je povzročila, da so se njegovi vojaki prestrašili dolgega služenja vojske v tuji deželi, v bojih proti možem,*

³⁴ Gabrovec 1987, 55 in sl. 2; Teržan 1990; Dular, Tecco Hvala 2007, 250; Križ 2008, 56–61.

³⁵ Papazoglu 1978, 271 ss; Popović 1987; Tasić (ur.) 1992; Jevtić, Lazić, Sladić 2006.

³⁶ Walbank 1967, 248–250; vrh v tem pogorju naj bi bil Vitoša, visoka 2100 m.

³⁷ Prim. Livij, 40, 5, 9–10; 44, 26, 2 in Plutarh, *Aemil. Paul.* 9, 7; Dobesch 1980, 109; Šašel Kos 2005, 533.

³⁸ Livij, 34, 60; Apijan, *Syr.* 7; Justin, 31, 3, 5–10. Prim. Patsch 1932, 32–33; Šašel Kos 2005, 530–534.

³⁹ 7, 5, 1 C. 313 (Strabon); 2, 2, 17–18 (Pomp. Mela): *e quis Haemos in tantum altitudinis abit, ut Euxinum et Hadriam ex summo vertice ostendat.*

⁴⁰ Šašel Kos 2005, 375 ss.

ki jih še v lastni domovini niso mogli premagati.”⁴¹ Pohod iz Italije v Makedonijo čez Ilirik se pred Tiberijem nikoli ni uresničil.

IDENTITETE LJUDSTEV, KI JIH JE LONGIN NAPADEL NA POVRATKU

Čeprav je bilo območje jugovzhodnih Alp strateško izjemnega pomena za Italijo, saj je bil Apeninski polotok zlahka dostopen po jantarski poti in čez prelaz Okro, v prvi polovici 2. stoletja pr. Kr. tudi le deloma še ni bil pod rimskih nadzorom. Na to kaže dejstvo, da so morali vojsko Kasija Longina voditi tuji vodiči. Ko so senatski odposlanci konzula dohiteli in mu ukazali, da se vrne, je očitno dovolil svojim vojakom, da so vsevprek ropali in puščali območja, skozi katera so jih nekaj dni oz. nekaj tednov predtem vodiči spremljali na poti proti Makedoniji, torej območja Japodov, Histrov, Karnov in alpskih ljudstev. Ena najresnejših obtožb Cincibilovega brata je bila, da so vojaki odgnali veliko število ljudi v sužnost.⁴² Alpska ljudstva so bila zadnja omenjena na konzulovi poti in zdi se zelo verjetno, da jih je treba enačiti s Tavriski; vprašanje je le, s katerimi Tavriski. Posamezna ljudstva v tavriskijski zvezi so gotovo imela svoja imena, ki pa v virih niso ohranjena; Livij jih preprosto imenuje “alpska ljudstva”. To so bili morda Tavriski z območja Navporta in Emone, ali pa nekoliko bolj proti jugovzhodu naseljeni Latobiki.⁴³

Vsekakor je šlo za Cincibilove zaveznike, njihova natančnejša opredelitev pa je odvisna od lokacije Cincibilovega kraljestva. Kralj oz. vladar (*regulus*) je lahko imel svoje središče, kot rečeno, ali pri Norikih na avstrijskem Koroškem ali pri Tavriskih, najverjetneje v Celeji. Bolj kot je bilo kraljestvo oddaljeno od ljudstev ob argonavtski poti, bolj je moralo biti centralizirano. Natančna vloga Cincibilovega brata v kraljestvu ni znana, morda je bil sovladar ali vladarjev namestnik; v Longinovi zadevi je nastopal kot predstavnik zaveznikov kraljestva.

Njegova misija ni bila uspešna, saj zanje ni dobil zadoščenja za škodo, ki jim jo je povzročila konzularna vojska, podobno neuspešna pa so bila

tudi odposlanstva drugih treh ljudstev. Kot je razvidno iz Livijevega besedila, senat ni hotel obtožiti konzula v njegovi odsotnosti, ki je bila verjetno namenoma vnaprej načrtovana, da bi ga zaščitili pred obtožbami oškodovanih ljudstev. Poslan je bil v Makedonijo na mesto vojaškega poveljnika (*tribunus militum*), podrejenega Avlu Hostiliju Mancinu (*A. Hostilius Mancinus*). Senatorji pa so vendarle pokazali nekaj dobre volje, da bi poravnali škodo, ki jo je povzročila konzulova vojska, zato so se odločili poslati dva odposlanca k Cincibilu in tri h Karnom, Histrom in Japodom.

Kje točno je treba iskati območja drugih ljudstev, ki jih je opustošila rimska vojska? Karni so bili verjetno tista karnijska plemena, ki so bila naseljena v zaledju Akvileje in se raztezala proti prelazu Okra. Histri, ki so sicer zgubili veliko svojega ozemlja po histrijski vojni leta 177 pr. Kr., so tedaj morda še vedno prebivali vsaj na delu območja vzhodno od Tergesta ter na teritoriju Egide (*Aegida*, Koper ali verjetneje Sermin, v času Cincibila pomembno trgovsko središče).⁴⁴ Tako poselitev Karnov kot Histrov se je razprostirala v smeri proti prelazu pod Okro, ki je bil verjetno tudi cilj Japodov, saj Strabon omenja, da je bila gora Okra blizu njihovega ozemlja, v preteklosti pa naj bi celo poseljevali obe strani gore (4, 6, 10 C. 207). To so bila morda manjša lokalna ljudstva, ki so bila politično pod nadoblastjo Japodov.

Zanimiva je Plinijeva notica, da je bila Okra nekoč mesto pri Karnih, ki v njegovem času ni nič več obstajalo (*N. h.* 3, 131). Strateško je bil prelaz čez Okro izjemnega pomena, kar je bilo dolgo pred Rimljani jasno vsem ljudstvom, ki so živela v njegovi bližini. Le 7 km vzhodno od prelaza je stala pomembna utrjena višinska naselbina na Gradu pri Šmihelu (morda Plinijeva Okra?), kjer je bil najden zaklad rimskega republikanskega orožja z začetka 2. stoletja pr. Kr.⁴⁵ Naselbina je verjetno pripadala Karnom ali Subokrinom (eno karnijskih plemen?) in ni izključeno, da so jo Longinovi vojaki izropali, ni pa nikakor verjetno, da bi njihov napad povzročil propad te naselbine.

Livij je, kot izhaja iz citiranega odlomka, zabeležil tudi epilog te nenavadne epizode iz rimske zgodovine. K Cincibilu in njegovemu bratu (Livij ju na tem mestu imenuje vladarja, *reguli*) je senat poslal dva najuglednejša diplomata in nekdanja konzula, Gaja Lelija (*C. Laelius*), prijatelja Scipi-

⁴¹ Njegove načrte omenjajo tudi Plutarh (*Pomp.* 41, 2), Strabon (7, 4, 3 C. 309), Kasij Dion (37, 11) in Florus (1, 40, 25), ki je napačno omenil vdor čez Trakijo, Makedonijo in Grčijo.

⁴² Identitete ljudstev, ki jih je Longin napadel na povratku.

⁴³ Dobesch 1980, 125–126.

⁴⁴ Horvat 1997 (o Serminu); Šašel 1989 (1992) je Egido lociral v Koper.

⁴⁵ Horvat 2002; Horvat 2009, 358–361.

ona Afričana, ki je bil leta 189 pr. Kr. prokonzul v cisalpinski Galiji, in Marka Emilija Lepida (*M. Aemilius Lepidus*), ki je bil dvakrat konzul in je upravljal Ligurijo. Pridobil si je veliko izkušenj pri sodelovanju oz. konfliktih s Kelti, posebej s Cenomani. Senatorji so Cincibilu in njegovemu bratu dali poslati kraljevska darila, med drugim dve zlati ovratnici (torkvesa), vredni 200 zlatih staterov,⁴⁶ pet težkih srebrnih posod, predvsem pa pravico, da je vsak od njiju smel uvoziti deset konj iz Italije, kar je bilo predtem prepovedano.⁴⁷ Verjetno je rimska država ob tej priliki s keltskim kraljestvom Cincibila sklenila dogovor o zavezništvu, uradnem medsebojnem "gostoljubju" (*hospitium publicum*);⁴⁸ v času bitke pri Noreji leta 113 pr. Kr., ko je rimska vojska napadla Kimbre, ki so vdrli na ozemlje Tavriskov ali Norikov, je ta dogovor namreč že obstajal. Rimski senat si je iz

raznih razlogov, tako političnih kot gospodarskih, prizadeval, da bi vzdrževal dobre stike s Kelti v zaledju Akvileje in onstran Alp.

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⁴⁶ Teža zlatega statera je bila 8,17 g; k takšnim ovratnicam glej Guštin 2009.

⁴⁷ Livij, *Ab urbe con.* 43, 5, 7–9. Glej Urban 2000, 333. Šašel Kos 2008.

⁴⁸ Dobesch 1980, 280 ss; Zaccaria 1996, 141–142; Scherrer 2002, 12; Graßl 2004, 295–296.