ANTICHITÀ ALTOADRIATICHE LXVIII

ASPETTI E PROBLEMI DELLA ROMANIZZAZIONE. VENETIA, HISTRIA E ARCO ALPINO ORIENTALE

a cura di Giuseppe Cuscito



TRIESTE EDITREG sas 2009 «Antichità Altoadriatiche»

© Centro di Antichità Altoadriatiche

Via Patriarca Poppone 6 - 33053 Aquileia (UD) www.aaadaquileia.it; e-mail:info@aaadaquileia.it

Direttore responsabile: Giuseppe Cuscito

Autorizzazione del Tribunale di Udine n. 318 del 27 ottobre 1973

© Editreg sas di Fabio Prenc

Sede operativa: via U. Foscolo 26 - 34129 Trieste tel./fax ++39 40 362879, e-mail: editreg@libero.it

ISSN 1972-9758

Il presente volume è stato stampato con il contributo di:

Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali

Direzione Generale per i Beni Librari e gli Istituti Culturali - Promozione del Libro e della Lettura - Servizio IV

Regione Autonoma Friuli-Venezia Giulia

Presidenza della Giunta (L.R. 23/65) - Assessorato alla Cultura (L.R. 68/81)



FONDAZIONE CLUP

Le immagini di proprietà dello Stato italiano sono state pubblicate su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali - Dipartimento per i Beni Culturali e Paesaggistici - Direzione Regionale per i Beni Culturali e Paesaggistici del Friuli Venezia Giulia - Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Friuli Venezia Giulia ed è vietata l'ulteriore riproduzione e duplicazione con ogni mezzo senza l'autorizzazione della Soprintendenza.

INDICE

Premessa	p.	7
Diario	>>	8
Introduzione ai lavori	»	11
Saluto	>>	15
I TESTI		
Hartmut Galsferer La Romanizzazione - una, molte o nessuna?	>>	17
GINO BANDELLI Note sulla categoria di romanizzazione con riferimento alla Venetia e all'Histria	»	29
CLAUDIO ZACCARIA Romani e non Romani nell'Italia nordorientale: la mediazione epigrafica	»	71
PATRIZIA DONAT La ceramica nella Cisalpina nordorientale dalla fondazione di Aquileia ad Augusto	»	109
Mirta Faleschini, Giuliano Righi, Gloria Vannacci Lunazzi, Serena Vitri		
La Carnia tra Celti e Romani. Evoluzione degli insediamenti attraverso l'analisi di alcuni siti campione	»	147
LOREDANA CAPUIS La romanizzazione del <i>Venetorum angulus</i>	»	179
GIOVANNELLA CRESCI MARRONE Gli insediamenti indigeni della <i>Venetia</i> verso la romanità	»	207
MONICA CHIABÀ Problemi e metodi nello studio dei rapporti tra <i>incolae</i> e coloni nella <i>Venetia</i> orientale. Il caso di Aquilcia	»	221

Franca Maselli Scotti, Luciana Mandruzzato, Cristiano - Tiussi		
La prima fase dell'impianto coloniario di Aquileia. La situazione attuale degli studi e delle ricerche	p.	235
Maurizio Buora Sevegliano: un esempio di romanizzazione	» >	279
Federica Fontana I culti della Romanizzazione	>>	297
PAUL GLEIRSCHER Gurina e Magdalensberg. Note sull'attuale discussione riguardante la fase insediativa iniziale d'epoca romana in <i>Noricum</i>	»	309
HEIMO DOLENZ, STEFAN KRMNICEK, ELENI SCHINDLER-KAUDELKA, HELGA SEDLMAYER, SUSANNE ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER Zur vorannexionszeitlichen Siedlung auf dem Magdalensberg	»	329
FULVIA MAINARDIS Forme e modalità dell'acculturazione epigrafica tra diglossia e digrafia	>>	331
JANA HORVAT Selected Aspects of Romanisation in Western and Central Slovenia	»	355
Robert Matuašić Città e territorio: aspetti della romanizzazione in Istria	»	383
Franco Crevatin Ancora sulla romanizzazione dell'Istria	>>	401

Jana Horvat

SELECTED ASPECTS OF ROMANISATION IN WESTERN AND CENTRAL SLOVENIA

In this paper, Romanisation is understood as a complex of extensive processes, comprehending changes in the prehistoric communities, immigration from Italy and inclusion of the south eastern Alpine area into the Roman state 1. These processes could be perceived through various kinds of archaeological material, but only selected archaeological evidences will be discussed here, those which reflect the gradual spread of the Roman influence, the role of the trade and traffic connections, the settlements of Roman immigrants, the changes in the settlement pattern and the temporary militarisation of the region.

The Roman colony of Aquileia, founded in the year 181 BC, assumed already at the beginning the role of an *emporium*, which connected the traffic routes of the Adriatic, the north Italian plain, western Balkans and eastern Alps ². Aquileia was a starting-point of the Roman influences, which made step-by-step progress into the south eastern Alpine area for almost two hundred years long ³.

Only a few Roman interventions into the area of the south eastern Alps are known from the historical and epigraphic sources before the Octavian period. The most important are: occupation of Histria in 178/177 BC, expedition of C. Cassius Longinus in 171 BC, which affected the Carni, Histri, Japodes and probably Taurisci, expedition of C. Sempronius Tuditanus in 129 BC against the Japodes, Taurisci, Histri and possibly also the Carni, expedition of L. Aurelius Cotta and Metellus against Segesta in 119 BC, the victory of M. Aemilius Scaurus over the Carni and probably Taurisci in 115 BC and the defeat of Cn. Papirius Carbo inflicted by the Cimbri in 113 BC 4. Aquileia was the only autonomous community of the Roman citizens in the region for a very long period. The new cities

- ¹ Alföldy 2005.
- ² ZACCARIA 1994; ZACCARIA 1996.

³ Reviews of the Romanisation processes: Sašel 1976; Zaccaria 1992a; Zaccaria 1994; Sašel Kos 1995; Sašel Kos 1997; Sašel Kos 1998; Sašel Kos 2000; Šašel Kos 2005; Horvat 1995a; Horvat 1997; Horvat 1999; Vidrih Perko 1996; Buora 1997; Gaspari 1998a; Gaspari 1998b.

⁴ Zaccaria 1992a; Šašel Kos 1997; Šašel Kos 2005.

of Concordia, Tergeste, Forum Iulii and Iulium Carnicum were founded in the Caesarian period and somewhat later ⁵.

INDIGENOUS POPULATION AND TRAFFIC CONNECTIONS

The mountainous character of the south eastern Alpine region predestined natural communications and territorial development of the prehistoric communities.

Two long-distance traffic routes joined in the Ljubljana basin. The so-called Amber route connected the Baltic Sea with the northern Adriatic area. The so-called Argonaut's route, which followed the lower Danube and the Sava rivers, linked the Black Sea with the northern Adriatic ⁶. The united route traversed the western Slovenia, crossing the Postojna basin, and ending in the Aquileia and Tergeste regions ⁷. Special importance is presumed also for the route along the Natiso / Nadiža and Soča rivers, connecting the Friuli plain with Noricum ⁸.

Four archaeological groups existed in the La Tène period on the territory of modern Slovenia (fig. 1). The Mokronog group extended over central and eastern Slovenia and formed a part of the eastern Celtic culture. It can be identified with the Celtic Taurisci ⁹. The Notranjska-Kras group was situated in south western Slovenia, controlling the routes leading from the continental interior to the bays of Trieste and Kvarner ¹⁰. The Idrija group was settled in the valleys of the Soča and Idrijca rivers ¹¹. Both groups had a very similar material culture, demonstrating besides original characteristics also a combination of the regional north Adriatic and Celtic elements, and both should be probably identified with the tribe of the Carni ¹². The Vinica group, located along the Kolpa / Kupa river in the southern Slovenia, combined autochthonous elements with those typical for the culture of the Japodes and of the Celts as well. It can be probably identified with the Japodian tribe of Colapiani ¹³.

- ⁵ Concordia Caesarean colony or the time of *triumviri*, ZACCARIA 1995. Tergeste Caesarean colony, ZACCARIA 1992b, p. 152; Forum Iulii Caesarean municipium, GIAVITTO 1998, pp. 203-206; CHIABA 2007; ZACCARIA 2007. Iulium Carnicum certainly a colony in the Augustan period, MAINARDIS 2008.
 - ⁶ ŠAŠEL Kos 1997, pp. 34-38.
 - ⁷ ŠAŠEL 1974a; ŠAŠEL 1977.
 - ⁸ Bosio 1991, pp. 192-199; Chiabà, Maggi, Magrini 2007; Magnani 2007.
 - ⁹ Guštin 1984; Božič 1987; Božič 1999a, pp. 192-201.
 - ¹⁰ Guštin 1973; Guštin 1979; Božič 1999a, pp. 202-203.
 - 11 Guštin 1991; Božič 1999a, p. 203; Božič 1999b; Božič 1999c.
 - ¹² VEDALDI IASBEZ 1994, pp. 229-239; Božič 1999a, p. 203.
 - 13 Božič 1999a, pp. 201-202; Božič 2001.

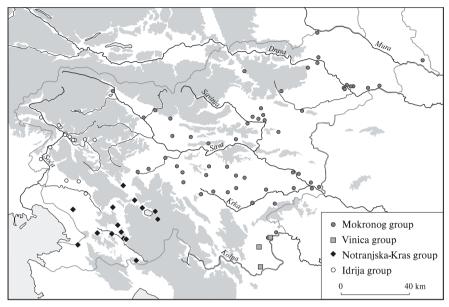


Fig. 1. Archaeological groups of the La Tène period: the Mokronog, the Notranjska-Kras, the Idrija and the Vinica group (after Božič 1999a, fig. 1).

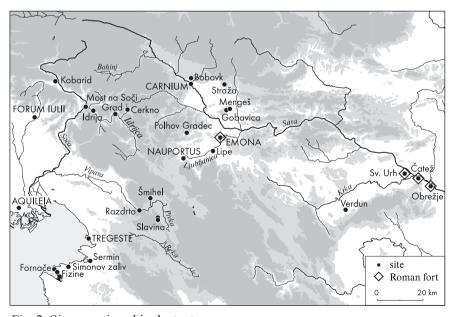


Fig. 2. Sites mentioned in the text.

The 2^{ND} century BC

Sermin, situated at the mouth of the Rižana river, represented one of the strategic key-sites on the coast of north western Istria. It was settled during the Neolithic and Eneolithic periods, Bronze Age and Early Iron Age ¹⁴. After the conquest of Istria (177 BC), Sermin was probably one of the more prominent commercial centres. The Roman material dominated the archaeological finds at least from the middle of the 2nd century BC. It primarily consists of the late Greco-Italic amphorae, black-slip pottery, coarse thin-walled pottery and grey Venetic ware ¹⁵. It seems that the Roman influence had already thoroughly penetrated into the area.

New Roman centres increased along the coast at the end of the 2nd century BC and at the beginning of the 1st century BC ¹⁶. Villas and production installations were constructed especially from the middle of the 1st century BC onwards ¹⁷.

The Karst plateaus of western Slovenia represent an important geographical barrier between the coast and the interior. During the period of the Roman expansion, also a cultural barrier was formed on this obstacle. In contrast to the coast, the Roman influences in the interior, which was populated by the Notranjska-Kras group, were very rare in the 2nd century BC.

The Razdrto pass (600 m a. s. l.), Ocra in the ancient literary sources, was the first important passage on the route leading from Aquileia and Tergeste to the east ¹⁸. A large fortified prehistoric settlement Grad near Smihel was situated just 7 km east of the Razdrto pass, at the north margin of the Postojna basin, thus controlling the traffic through the wide region ¹⁹. A hoard of Roman weapons was discovered in the rampart of the settlement. As can be seen from damages, the weapons had been used in battle before being deposited (figg. 3-4). The hoard consisted of several types of Roman javelins - *pila*, among which the heavy and light *pila* after Polibius' description can be identified. The types of *pila* discovered here are very rare, but some of them, such as the incendiary *pila*, even seem to be unique. The other important types of weapons are javelins, spears, catapult bolts, arrowheads and asymmetrical iron rods. Furthermore three swords, probably early *gladii*, and a helmet were found. Following analogies of the *pila* types, the hoard can be dated to the end of the 3rd century

¹⁴ Svetličič 1997; Sakara Sučević, Stokin 2007.

 $^{^{15}}$ HORVAT 1997, pp. 117-120, 130-133. To compare with Sevegliano, especially with the US 2136, dated to the 2^{nd} century BC, *Sevegliano romana* 2008.

¹⁶ HORVAT 1997, p. 120; e.g. Fornače: STOKIN 1992; HORVAT 1995a.

¹⁷ E. g. Fizine: GASPARI et alii 2007; Simonov zaliv: STOKIN 2001.

¹⁸ Sašel 1974a; Sašel 1977; Bavdek 1996; Guštin, Gaspari 2005; Horvat, Bavdek 1996.

¹⁹ Guštin 1979; Horvat 2002.

BC or in the first half of the 2nd century BC. It is probably a remnant of a very early Roman military action in the area of the Postojna basin. Considering the predominance of the long-distance weaponry, the action was probably connected with the besieging of fortified strongholds. It had probably two general objectives, to protect the young colony of Aquileia and to secure the route over the Razdrto pass ²⁰.

Victoriati, which were minted between 211 and 170 BC (approximately), and removed from the monetary system in 141 BC, are the next important evidence of the contacts with the Roman world. Considering the territory of Slovenia, the individual finds of victoriati appear almost exclusively in the Kras and Notranjska regions (fig. 5). They represent the monetary circulation in the first half and in the middle of the 2nd century BC ²¹. Several hoards, containing victoriati or not, appear immediately after the middle of the 2nd century BC: Dutovlje, buried in 148 BC or later ²², Gradišče near Knežak and Baba near Slavina, both buried in 146 BC, in the Ljubljanica river near Blatna Brezovica, deposited in 147 BC or later ²³, and Skrinjica in Kobarid ²⁴. It seems that the Roman traffic was directed along the Amber Route already in the middle of the 2nd century BC ²⁵.

The rests of a very modest settlement, probably made of wood and without any fortifications, were discovered 450 metres east of the Razdrto pass – at the location called Mandrga. A large amount of Adriatic wine amphorae, exclusively of the Lamboglia 2 type, was excavated there. The fine ceramics consisted of black-slip dishes, which are probably connected with the circle of the *campana B*, and of thin-walled pottery (high beakers without decoration of the type Marabini 3 and hemispherical cups). The cooking ware was represented by fabrics and forms (pots, baking dishes and lids) of the middle Italian tradition. Bowls in the grey depurated ceramics and special types of cooking pots and lids originate probably in the Venetic region. Very few pieces of coarse ceramics had provenience in the eastern Alps: pots and bowls with thickened rim, and graphite ceramics ²⁶.

According to the forms of the fine black-slip ceramics and the other Italian forms, the site of Mandrga can be dated to the end of the 2nd and

²⁰ Horvat 2002; Kmetič, Horvat, Vodopivec 2004.

²¹ Miškec 2003.

²² Kos 1986, pp. 30-31; *FMRSl* I, no. 45; Miškec 2007, p. 276.

²³ Miškec 2003, p. 373; Kos, Šemrov 2003.

²⁴ MAGGI, ŽBONA TRKMAN 2007, pp. 66, 70, 74, fig. 11, note 69.

²⁵ Miškec 2003, p. 374, fig. 3.

²⁶ BAVDEK 1996; HORVAT, BAVDEK 2009.

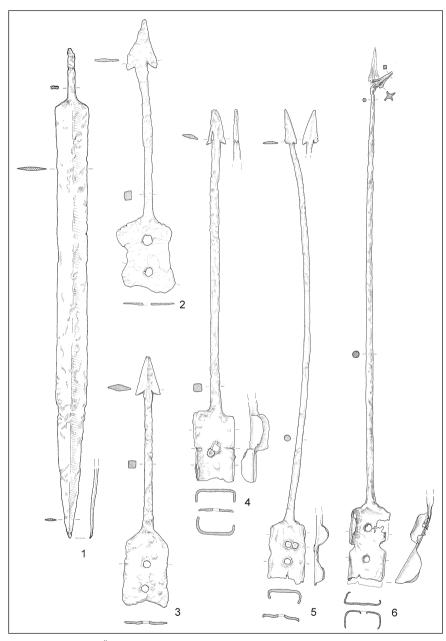


Fig. 3. Grad near Šmihel. The types of Roman weapons from the hoard: 1 gladius, 2-6 various types of pila. End of the 3^{rd} century BC or the first half of the 2^{nd} century BC (after HORVAT 2002). All iron. Scale 1 = 1:6, 2-6 = 1:4.

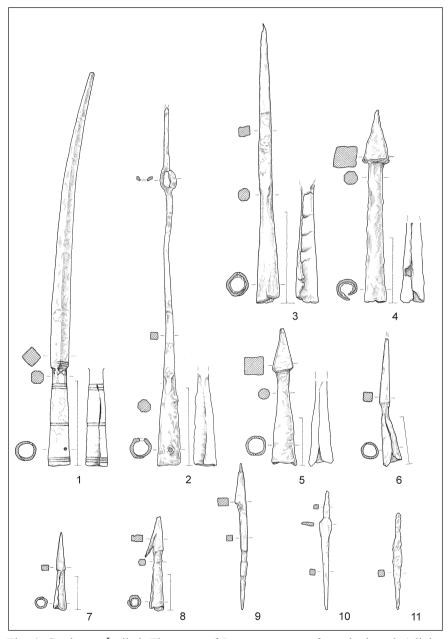


Fig. 4. Grad near Šmihel. The types of Roman weapons from the hoard: 1 light pilum, 2 incendiary pilum, 3 javelin, 4-6 catapult bolts of various calibres, 7-8 arrowheads, 9-11 iron rods. End of the 3rd century BC or the first half of the 2nd century BC (after HORVAT 2002). All iron. Scale 1:3.

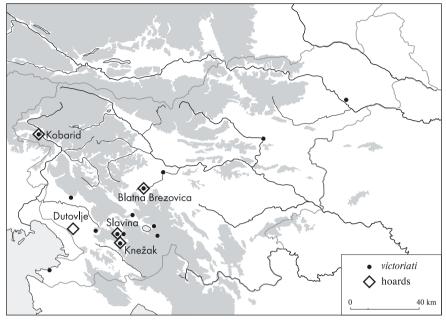


Fig. 5: Distribution of the Republican *victoriati* and the hoards, deposited immediately after the middle of the 2nd century BC. The territory of the Slovenian lands (after MIŠKEC 2003, fig. 3, with minor additions).

at the beginning of the 1st century BC (the middle European phase La Tène D1a) and seems to be short lived 27.

The archaeological material has very close similarities with Aquileia, with the sites in the Friuli plain and near the coast ²⁸. But Mandrga is positioned in the area where the Roman material is exceptional before the Augustan period ²⁹. Therefore Mandrga can be interpreted as an isolated Roman traffic and commercial post situated at the important crossing, in the middle of the relatively foreign environment. The site reflects the importance of the commercial route connecting *Caput Adriae* with the Sava river valley already at the end of the 2nd century BC.

A sanctuary was located at Gradič near Kobarid, within an Early Iron Age settlement of the Late Iron Age Idrija group. It provided a large amount of the Roman material from the end of the 2nd century BC at the latest: small

²⁷ HORVAT, BAVDEK 2009.

²⁸ E. g. Sevegliano romana 2008; STOKIN 1992; HORVAT 1995a; HORVAT 1997.

²⁹ HORVAT 1995a, pp. 36-37; HORVAT 1995b.

bronze statues of the Roman divinities, votive plaques and the numerous fragments of amphorae Lamboglia 2 ³⁰. This indicates the circulation of the Italian material, especially the wine amphorae, at the end of the 2nd and in the first half of the 1st century BC also along the Natisone / Nadiža and Soča river valleys, which connected the north Italian plain with Noricum.

THE 1ST CENTURY BC

Caesar's proconsulate in Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul and in Illyricum (59-49 BC) brought military and administrative reorganisation to the south eastern Alpine area ³¹. The archaeological vestiges of the Roman presence, which are of pre-Augustan or even Caesarean date, are perceived in central Slovenia, mainly in Nauportus and Emona ³².

The period of changes culminated in Octavian's Illyrian wars in 35/33 BC, when central Slovenia with the Ljubljana basin, Dolenjska and the Sava river valley was already firmly in the hands of the Romans. The eastern part of Slovenia (the town territories of Celeia and Poetovio) was a part of the Norican kingdom and annexed approximately in 16 BC, the rest during the Pannonian-Dalmatian wars in 14 to 9 BC at the latest. The region was endangered seriously during the rebellion of the Delmatae and Pannonii in 6-9 AD ³³.

Direct testimonies of the military activities were discovered in the Idrijca river valley, in Emona and in the Sava river valley. Nauportus was very prosperous at that time, when the new Roman settlements were founded in Carnium and Emona. Immigration of the Italian population increased, as well as the import of Roman merchandise ³⁴.

The Idrijca region

The river basins of the Soča and Idrijca and the region of Bohinj were settled by the indigenous population of the Idrija group, that means probably by a part of the Carni ³⁵. The mountains and deep narrow valleys of the region are difficult to cross. However, the traffic communications

 $^{^{30}\,}$ О
SMUK 1987; ОSMUK 1997; ОSMUK 1998a; ОSMUK 1998b; unpublished data by N. Osmuk.

³¹ ŠAŠEL KOS 2000: VEDALDI IASBEZ 2000.

³² Šašel Kos 1998; Vičič 1994.

³³ ŠAŠEL Kos 1997, pp. 31-33.

³⁴ HORVAT 1999, pp. 218-219.

³⁵ Guštin 1991; Božič 1999a, p. 203; Božič 1999c.

seem to be important in this area in the late prehistory, because they link Noricum ³⁶ as well as the iron mining area of Bohinj with Italy ³⁷.

The central settlement of the Idrija group was in Most na Soči, at the confluence of the Soča and Idrijca rivers ³⁸, and an important sanctuary was located near the settlement in Kobarid in the Soča valley ³⁹. The known settlements in the valley of the Idrijca are situated high above the river, on the well defended and important strategical places ⁴⁰. Finds of Roman coinage are scarce in the region before the middle of the 1st century BC ⁴¹.

Grad near Reka is situated on the steep ridge high above the gorge of the Idrijca river. A few terraces have been preserved, however it is not known whether there was a settlement or another type of site (e.g. observation point, sacrificial site). A considerable quantity of metal work has been collected by unauthorised amateurs. Parts of the Early Iron Age attire were present, as well as parts of the Late La Tène attire and La Tène iron tools, which provide evidence for the presence of an indigenous population ⁴². The indigenous cemetery (Reka pri Cerknem), dated mostly to the Augustan period, is situated immediately below Grad ⁴³.

The finds, which were discovered on the terraces of Grad, on the steep slopes below the site and on the peaks above the site, are predominated by Roman *militaria*: oblong lead sling shots with sharpened points, catapult bolts with pyramidal heads and with sockets or rod-like tangs, tri-lobed and single-lobed arrowheads, tanged *pila* with a single-lobed barb, asymmetrical iron rods and shoe nails (fig. 6). Three brooches of Alesia type were made of brass. The youngest coin was minted in 56 BC ⁴⁴.

Janka Istenič compared the weapons from Grad with the finds from two battlefields: Andagoste in north western Spain, which was dated to the fourth decade BC ⁴⁵, and Crap-Ses gorge in Graubünden, dated to 16/15 BC ⁴⁶. Similar weapons as at Grad were discovered also in the Late

```
<sup>36</sup> See note 8.
```

³⁷ GABROVEC 1966; MLINAR, PETTARIN 2007, p. 46.

³⁸ Guštin 1991, pp. 24-25; Mlinar, Pettarin 2007, pp. 43-46; Maggi, Zbona Trkman 2007, pp. 68-70.

³⁹ OSMUK 1987.

⁴⁰ Božič 1999b.

⁴¹ Miškec 2007, p. 276.

⁴² Božič 1999b, pp. 71-75; ISTENIČ 2005a.

⁴³ Guštin 1991, pp. 31-33, pls. 29-37.

⁴⁴ Воžіč 1999b, pp. 71-75; Іѕтеліč 2005a; Іѕтеліč 2005b, p. 190, note 11, pl. 1:1, 8, 11.

⁴⁵ ISTENIČ 2005a.

⁴⁶ ISTENIČ 2005b, p. 190, note 11.

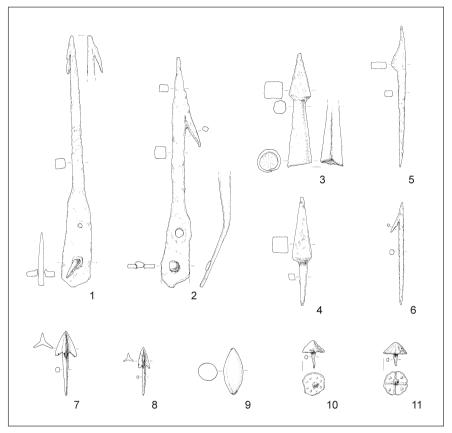


Fig. 6. Grad near Reka. The types of Roman weapons and other Roman finds: 1-2 pila, 3-4 catapult bolts, 5 rod, 6-8 arrowheads, 9 sling shot, 10-11 shoe nails. Fourth decade BC (after ISTENIČ 2005a). 1-8, 10-11 iron, 9 lead. Scale 1:3.

La Tène settlement of Gradišče in Cerkno, which is approximately 8 km distant: catapult bolts with pyramidal heads and with sockets or rod-like tangs, oblong lead sling shots with sharpened points and asymmetrical iron rods. Several Republican coins were discovered, but no Augustan coins. There was also a treasure of 12 *denarii* with the youngest coin minted in 47/46 BC ⁴⁷.

The weapons from Grad near Reka and Gradišče in Cerkno are presumably contemporary and bear evidence for the Roman siege of the

⁴⁷ Božič 1999b, pp. 75-76; ISTENIČ 2005a, p. 83.

indigenous outposts. After coin finds and analogies with Andagoste, this event was dated into the fourth decade BC by Janka Istenič ⁴⁸. This chronology is indirectly confirmed by the ancient literary sources. Appian mentions the Carni among the tribes defeated by Octavian in the war of 35/33 BC ⁴⁹. According to historical analysis, the events in the Idrijca valley should occur at the beginning of the war, hence in 35 BC ⁵⁰.

A tombstone of a veteran (?) from Most na Soči, which is dated into the Augustan period ⁵¹, gives evidence of the relatively early inclusion of the Soča and Idrijca regions into Italy. Another deceased, who is mentioned on another tombstone from Most na Soči, was inscribed in the *tribus Claudia*. The *tribus Claudia* could be connected with the colony *Iulia Emona*. The tombstone is dated to the time of the triumviri or at the beginning of the imperial period ⁵². The relatively swift pacification of the area is also demonstrated by the indigenous middle Augustan tombs with Roman weapons ⁵³.

The indigenous central settlement in Most na Soči continued into the Roman period ⁵⁴, as well as at least a part of the old hill-top settlements according to isolated finds ⁵⁵.

Nauportus

In the Late Iron Age, a Celtic settlement was probably located in the region of Vrhnika, which the Romans later renamed Nauportus. The archaeological evidence for this settlement is still very poor, yet the Greek historian and geographer Strabo reported, following a source of the 2nd century BC, that the goods were transported by wagons from Aquileia to Nauportus, a settlement of the Taurisci, and from there the goods were conveyed by boat along rivers to the Danube ⁵⁶. On the basis of the name

 $^{^{48}\,}$ Istenič 2005a; Istenič 2005b, p. 190, note 11; Božič 1999, 76 preferred the date of approximately 15 BC.

⁴⁹ Appian, *Illyr*. 16, 46; ISTENIČ 2005a, 84; ŠAŠEL Kos 2005, pp. 413-414.

⁵⁰ ISTENIČ 2005a.

⁵¹ SVOLJŠAK, ŽBONA TRKMAN 1986, pp. 390-391, no. 6; ŠAŠEL 1985 dated it between the 51 and 31 BC; SAŠEL KOS 2000, pp. 282-283; MOSSER 2003, pp. 93-94, 139, 166; ZACCARIA 2007, p. 138.

⁵² SVOLJŠAK, ŽBONA TRKMAN 1986, p. 390, no. 5; ZACCARIA 2007, p. 138.

⁵³ Idrija near Bača, Reka near Cerkno; Guštin 1991, pp. 13-20, 25-27, pls. 12, 15-17, 21, 29-34; GASPARI 2008, pp. 38-44.

⁵⁴ MAGGI, ŽBONA TRKMAN 2007, pp. 68-70.

⁵⁵ Božič 1999b, pp. 75-77.

⁵⁶ Strabo 7, 5, 2; ŠAŠEL Kos 1990, pp. 17-19, 143-145.

of the settlement and historical analogies, it can be concluded that a toll station in the hands of the Celtic tribe of the Taurisci existed at Nauportus ⁵⁷.

The Romans probably controlled the Nauportus region as early as the first half of the 1st century BC. The settlement was granted the status of a village (*vicus*). Two inscribed stones from the middle of the 1st century BC (the period of Caesar or Octavian) mention officials – two pairs of village heads (*magistri vici*). All of them were freedmen and members of Aquileian or Italian merchant families. The inscriptions further mention the construction of a portico and a sanctuary, which was dedicated to the local goddess Aecorna. It can be concluded from the historical and epigraphic data that Nauportus was an important settlement where merchant families from Aquileia played a leading role. The proportion of immigrants from Italy was quite considerable from the very beginning 58.

A boundary stone, probably of the Augustan date, which was found in the Ljubljanica river between Nauportus and Emona, provides evidence that Nauportus was located on the territory of Aquileia and that both the settlements, Nauportus and Emona, were situated in Italy ⁵⁹.

The earliest known part of Nauportus was built on the right bank of the Ljubljanica river, in the area called *Dolge njive*, probably in the pre-Augustan or in the early Augustan period (fig. 7). The position in the plain, at the bend of the river, and on the edge of a marsh was excellent both for river transport and for defence. Evidently in the period when the Romans built it, the concern was for effective defence, as is also indicated by the defensive walls, towers, and defensive ditch. An extensive square was located in the centre of the stronghold, encircled by a colonnade and large warehouses. The warehouses, used both for storage and trading, were built as rows of long narrow rooms (6 m wide and up to 27 m long), which could be completely opened towards the square. A probable temple stood at the corner of the square 60.

The bank of the Ljubljanica river was consolidated all along the site with stone pavements or layers of sand and could function as a large landing stage. The most important part of the river port lay north of the stronghold, consisting of a rectangular wooden quay, while the bank was paved with stone and reinforced with individual wooden piles ⁶¹.

⁵⁷ ŠAŠEL 1966; ŠAŠEL KOS 1990, pp. 20, 146-147.

⁵⁸ ŠAŠEL KOS 1990; ŠAŠEL KOS 1998; ŠAŠEL KOS 2000, pp. 294-297.

⁵⁹ Šašel Kos 2002a; Šašel Kos 2002b.

⁶⁰ Mušič, Horvat 2007; Horvat, Mušič 2007, pp. 165-167.

⁶¹ LOGAR 1986; MUŠIČ, HORVAT 2007, p. 262; unpublished data.

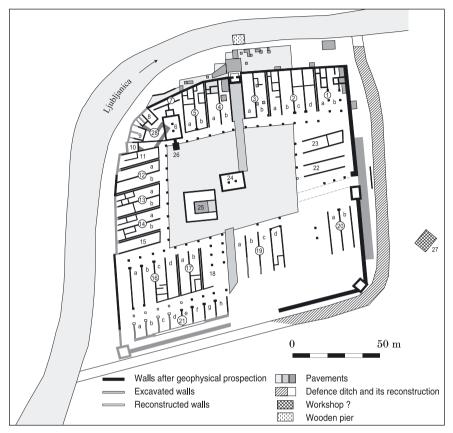


Fig. 7. Merchant stronghold at Dolge njive in Nauportus. Augustan period (after Mušič, Horvat 2007, fig. 39, with minor additions).

The stronghold at Dolge njive was a fortified trans-shipment post handling transit transport and trade. The size of the settlement and the great size of the warehouses indicate an exceptional amount of cargo. The archaeological material demonstrates that it was particularly active in the Augustan period 62. The stronghold must have played an important role in supplying the legions in the area of the central Danube basin and

⁶² Mušič, Horvat 2007, pp. 254-261.

the northern Balkans. This supply route was probably in the hands of the Aquileian merchants ⁶³.

Tacitus reported that detachments of the Roman army were present in the area of Nauportus in 14 AD to construct roads, bridges and to perform several other tasks. After the start of the rebellion at the death of Augustus, the soldiers plundered Nauportus ⁶⁴. The archaeological evidence for this event has not been found for the present. However, the site of Dolge njive declined soon after the beginning of the 1st century AD, although other parts of Nauportus continued to exist ⁶⁵.

Emona

Emona had the most important geo-political position in central Slovenia. It was situated at the narrowest point of the Ljubljana basin, on the crossroads of mainland routes and near the confluence of the navigable Ljubljanica and Sava rivers. Nevertheless, it was overshadowed by Nauportus in the 1st century BC 66.

The Late Iron Age Emona was located on the eastern bank of the Ljubljanica river, under the Castle Hill (fig. 8). The settlement strata from the pre-Augustan or Early Augustan period revealed local coarse wares, fine La Tène wares as well as several types of Italian pottery (black-slip and thin-walled ceramics) ⁶⁷. A tombstone of a member of the Caesernii family, probably from the Late Republican period, testifies that Emona was important enough to attract settlers (merchants?) from Aquileia ⁶⁸.

A military fort was constructed near the indigenous settlement at the end of the 1st century BC. A rampart made of stone and wood, a double defensive ditch and a road along the rampart (*via sagularis*) have been excavated. In the first decade of the 1st century AD, the fort was demolished and the area was built up with wooden barracks, which probably formed a part of the second military fort ⁶⁹.

A colony was founded in Emona, perhaps already in the time of Octavian 70. However, a new Roman settlement with orthogonal grid-plan,

⁶³ Horvat, Mušič 2007, p. 171; Mušič, Horvat 2007, p. 267; Egri 2008, p. 46.

⁶⁴ Tacitus, Ann. 1, 20, 1; ŠAŠEL Kos 1990, pp. 21, 148.

⁶⁵ Horvat 1990; Horvat, Mušič 2007; Mušič, Horvat 2007.

⁶⁶ ŠAŠEL KOS 1995, pp. 230-234; ŠAŠEL KOS 2000, pp. 294-297; ŠAŠEL KOS 2003.

⁶⁷ VIČIČ 1993; VIČIČ 1994; HVALEC et alii 2009.

⁶⁸ ŠAŠEL KOS 1995, pp. 230, 235-236; ŠAŠEL KOS 1998, pp. 104-105.

⁶⁹ HVALEC *et alii* 2009; VIČIČ 1999; VIČIČ 2002; VIČIČ 2003, pp. 22-23; T. Zerjal, pers. comm.

⁷⁰ ŠAŠEL Kos 1995, pp. 231-233, 240.

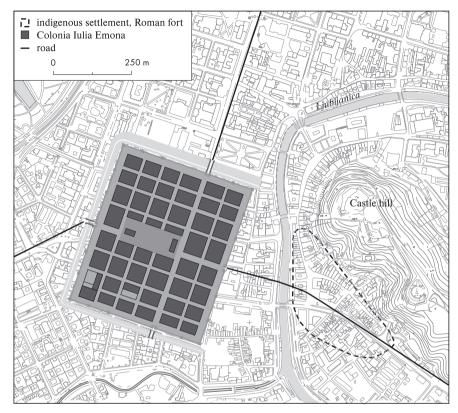


Fig. 8. Emona at the beginning of the Roman period: Roman colony and approximate positions of the indigenous settlement and of the Roman military forts.

forum and defence walls was built on the western bank of the Ljubljanica river, outside the old settlement areas, only at the beginning of the 1^{st} century AD 71 .

The Ljubljanica and Sava river routes

Inland navigation along the Ljubljanica - Sava - Danube rivers and its importance for trade is mentioned by Strabo, referring to the 2nd and

⁷¹ Vičič 2003, pp. 24 ss.

1st centuries BC 72. These rivers functioned as a prominent communication route during the Roman empire 73. There are several indications that the river route was intensively used for military transports, at least from the Augustan period to the end of the 1st century AD 74. The waterway started (and ended) in Nauportus, where the fortified complex of magazines – probably a logistics base – was located 75. River transports of the Augustan period are demonstrated by a Roman barge, discovered between Nauportus and Emona 76, and by numerous finds of Roman weapons in the Liublianica river 77. The military fort, which existed in Emona at the end of the 1st century BC and in the first decade AD, had also an important traffic position on the river 78. A whole series of military forts of Augustan date was discovered near the entrance of the Sava river into the Pannonian plain, at the Brežice Gates: Sv. Urh 79, Čatež - Sredno polje 80 and Obrežje (fig. 2). The fort in Obrežie had two phases, which are dated to the middle and late Augustan period. The forts of earlier and later phases were built on rectangular ground plans of very similar dimensions (290 x 210 m and 300 x 215 m) and were defended partly by a single ditch and partly by double ditches 81. Aerial photography has indicated further potential forts at the Brežice Gates 82.

The navigation and inland routes proceeded towards Segestica / Siscia, which was situated at the confluence of the Sava and Kupa / Kolpa rivers. The town had an important geo-political position, which enabled control over south Pannonia and the northern Balkans. Therefore, there was a military base and a legionary fortress from Octavian's wars onwards 83.

⁷² Strabo 4, 6, 10; 7, 5, 2; ŠAŠEL KOS 1990, pp. 17-20, 143-147; the Late Iron Age archaeological finds from the Ljubljanica river: GASPARI 2007.

⁷³ ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, pp. 34-36; TASSAUX 2004.

⁷⁴ ISTENIČ 2009; EGRI 2006; EGRI 2008.

⁷⁵ Mušič, Horvat 2007, p. 267; Egri 2008, p. 46.

⁷⁶ GASPARI 1998a; GASPARI 1998b; GASPARI 2007, p. 151 (the barge is dated to the beginning of the 1st century AD); GASPARI 2009, p. 107.

⁷⁷ ISTENIČ 2000; ISTENIČ 2003a; ISTENIČ 2003b; ISTENIČ 2009; GASPARI 2007, pp. 147-151.

⁷⁸ HVALEC et alii 2009.

⁷⁹ Mason 2008, p. 195; G. Tica, pers. comm.

⁸⁰ Guštin 2002.

⁸¹ Mason 2006; Mason 2008.

⁸² Guštin 2002, p. 69, fig. 1; Mason 2008, p. 196.

 $^{^{83}\,}$ Sašel 1974b, pp. 731-735; Lolić 2003, pp. 133, 140; Sašel Kos 2005, pp. 437-442.

Carnium

Carnium was situated on the excellently protected prominence at the confluence of the Sava and the Kokra rivers. A settlement was located there, which was fortified with stone walls and protruding towers. However, it was very short lived, only during the middle and late Augustan periods. Its status is not known 84.

The existence of Early Roman Carnium was perhaps the result of special geo-political circumstances. It seems that the east-west connection (Iulium Carnicum - Carnium - Virunum or Celeia), which traversed the region of the Idrija group, was temporarily promoted. Carnium is situated at the crossing of this route and the one leading from Emona to the north 85. Later on, the east-west route was to be the cause of the renewed prosperity of Carnium in the Late Antiquity and in the Medieval period 86.

Settlement continuation and discontinuation

Fortified hill-top settlements were the standard feature throughout the south eastern Alpine area in the pre-Roman period.

At least part of the indigenous hill-top settlements continued to be occupied long into the Roman period in the western part of Slovenia (the Adriatic coast, the regions of Notranjska as well as the Soča and the Idrijca valleys) 87. However, some settlements were abandoned in very different periods, e.g. Grad near Šmihel perhaps at the end of the middle La Tène period, Baba near Slavina in the La Tène D2 period, Ambroževo gradišče near Slavina in the first half of the 1st century AD 88.

The finds of the Augustan period, especially parts of *militaria*, were detected on the indigenous hill-top fortified settlements in the Gorenjska region, north of Emona. These finds represent the final occupation of the sites ⁸⁹. The population obviously moved into the plain, into the new settlements, such as was Mengeš – a large agglomeration of unknown status, which was inhabited at least from the first half of the 1st century AD ⁹⁰.

- 84 SAGADIN 2003; unpublished.
- 85 The suggestion of A. Pleterski.
- 86 CIGLENEČKI 1999, p. 296; KOSI 1998, pp. 60, 247-253.
- ⁸⁷ Vidrih Perko 1997a; Vidrih Perko 1997b; Slapšak 2003, pp. 247-250; Horvat 1997, p. 120; Horvat 1999, pp. 224-226; Horvat 2005, pp. 239-244; Božič 1999b, pp. 76-77; Gaspari 1998-99.
 - 88 HORVAT 2005, pp. 242-244.
 - ⁸⁹ Gobavica above Mengeš; Straža above Šmartno pri Cerkljah; unpublished.
 - ⁹⁰ SAGADIN 1995.

The first estates with the *villa rustica* were established perhaps already at the beginning of the 1st century AD 91.

The fortified hilltop settlements prevailed also in the Dolenjska region (southeast of Emona) in the late La Tène period. They were obviously completely abandoned before the Augustan period ⁹². This territory later formed a part of the province of Pannonia ⁹³.

Weapons in graves

The old La Tène custom of placing weapons into the graves was preserved in some groups of the indigenous population at the beginning of the Roman period. The custom is known in the territory of the former Idrija group, in the cemeteries of Idrija near Bača and Reka near Cerkno. The rich male graves of the Augustan period contained Roman weapons: *gladii*, helmets, shield buckles, spears and rarely *pila*. The graves comprised also iron tools and metal vessels ⁹⁴.

The habit of placing weapons into the grave was preserved also at some cemeteries in the Dolenjska region, in the area of the former Mokronog group. The typical forms of weapons, which appear in the graves of the phase Mokronog IIIb (La Tène D2) 95, were replaced by the middle Augustan types: helmets of the Weisenau type, *gladii*, round shield buckles with long handles and spears 96.

The graves with weapons are most exceptional in the other regions. They were deposited in the destructed graves from the first half of the 1st century from Polhov gradec ⁹⁷. A *gladius* was found in the oldest and richest grave in Bobovk ⁹⁸.

The latest graves with weapons are grave 136 from Verdun, containing terra sigillata with the stamp *ipp* ⁹⁹, and grave 1 from Bobovk with the oil-lamp of the type Loeschcke IX, originating from the middle of the 1st century AD or later ¹⁰⁰.

- 91 HORVAT 2006.
- 92 Božič 1999a, pp. 200-201; Dular, Tecco Hvala 2007, pp. 150-154.
- 93 LOVENJAK 1998, pp. 13-17.
- ⁹⁴ Guštin 1991, pp. 32, 54, 56, pls. 12: 3; 16: 1-2; 17: 1,9,12-13; 30: 1-4; 31: 10;
 32: 5; 33: 12,14-15; 34: 1-2. Gaspari 2008, pp. 38-44.
 - 95 Božič 1999a, pp. 199-200.
- ⁹⁶ Božič 1999a, p. 200; Breščak 1989, Verdun graves 1, 41, 84, 112; Breščak, Gregl 2002, pp. 139, 141-142; Gaspari 2008, pp. 38-44.
 - 97 Božič 2005, pp. 294-295.
 - 98 PETRU, VALIČ 1958-59, pls. 1-4.
 - 99 Breščak, Gregl 2002, grave 136, pp. 141-142
- 100 Petru, Valič 1958-59, pls. 1-4; chronology of the oil-lamp: Istenič 1999, pp. 150-152.

JANA HORVAT

These graves may be mostly interpreted as the burials of local men recruited into auxiliary units 101 .

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank to Marjeta Šašel Kos, Dragan Božič and Andrej Pleterski, who contributed valuable comments. The figures were prepared by Mateja Belak and Dragotin Valoh. For editing of the English text, I am grateful to Alan McConnell Duff.

¹⁰¹ Istenič 2005a, p. 84; Gaspari 2008, pp. 38-44.

BIBLIOGRAFIA

- ALFÖLDY 2005 = G. ALFÖLDY, Romanisation Grundbegriff oder Fehlgriff? Überlegungen zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Erforschung von Integrationsprozessen im Römischen Weltreich, in Limes 19, Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Pécs, Hungary, September 2003, Pécs, pp. 25-56.
- Banchig, Magnani, Pessina 2007 = G. Banchig, S. Magnani, A. Pessina (eds.), Terre d'incontro. Kraji srečanj, Cividale del Friuli (UD).
- BAVDEK 1996 = A. BAVDEK, Fundorte aus spätrepublikanischer und frührömischer Zeit in Razdrto am Fuße des Nanos, «Arheološki vestnik», 47, pp. 297-307.
- Breščak 1989 = D. Breščak, Verdun pri Stopičah, Katalog razstave, Novo mesto.
- Breščak, Gregl 2002 = D. Breščak, Z. Gregl, Katalog / Catalogue, in N. Pirnat-Spahić, Ž. Škoberne (eds.), Oživljene kulture. Arheološka odkritja na Gorjancih / Žumberku od prazgodovine do zgodnjega srednjega veka / Revived cultures. Archaeological Excavations in the Gorjanci / Žumberak Hills from Prehistory to the Early Middle Ages, Ljubljana, pp. 103-174.
- Bosio 1991 = L. Bosio, Le strade romane della Venetia e dell'Histria, Padova.
- Božič 1987 = D. Božič, *Zapadna grupa*, in *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja*, 5, *Željezno doba*, Sarajevo, pp. 855-897.
- Božič 1999a = D. Božič, *Die Erforschung der Latenèzeit in Slowenien seit Jahr* 1964, «Arheološki vestnik», 50, pp. 189-213.
- Božič 1999b = D. Božič, *Tre insediamenti minori del gruppo protostorico di Idrija Pri Bači dell'Isontino*, in S. Santoro Bianchi (ed.), *Studio e conservazione degli insediamenti minori romani in area alpina* (Atti dell'incontro di studi, Forgaria del Friuli 1997), Studi e Scavi, 8, Imola (BO), pp. 71-79.
- Božič 1999c = D. Božič, *Poljedelci in živinorejci v Posočju*, in *Zakladi tisočletij*, Ljubljana, pp. 177-180.
- Božič 2001 = D. Božič, *Ljudje ob Krki in Kolpi v latenski dobi / Zur latènezeitli-chen Bevölkerung an Krka und Kolpa*, «Arheološki vestnik», 52, pp. 181-198.
- Božič 2005 = D. Božič, *Die spätrömischen Hortfunde von der Gora oberhalb von Polhov Gradec*, «Arheološki vestnik», 56, pp. 293-368.
- BUORA 1996 = M. BUORA (ed.), *Lungo la via dell'Ambra* (Atti del Convegno di Studio, Udine-Aquileia 16-17 sett. 1994), Udine.
- BUORA 1997 = M. BUORA, La romanizzazione della Slovenia e dell'Europa centroorientale alla luce di recenti studi, «Aquileia Nostra», 68, cc. 263-267.
- CHIABÀ 2007 = M. CHIABÀ, *La romanizzazione tra Natisone e Isonzo: problemi e spunti per una riflessione*, in CHIABÀ, MAGGI, MAGRINI 2007, pp. 53-58.
- CHIABÀ, MAGGI, MAGRINI 2007 = M. CHIABÀ, P. MAGGI, C. MAGRINI (eds.), Le Valli del Natisone e dell'Isonzo tra Centroeuropa e Adriatico, Studi e Ricerche sulla Gallia Cisalpina, 20, Roma.
- CIGLENEC'KI 1999 = S. CIGLENEC'KI, Results and Problems in the Archaeology of the Late Antiquity in Slovenia, «Arheolos'ki vestnik», 50, pp. 287-309.

- DULAR, TECCO HVALA 2007 = J. DULAR, S. TECCO HVALA, South-Eastern Slovenia in the Early Iron Age, Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae, 12, Ljubljana.
- EGRI 2006 M. EGRI, Campaniile romane în regiunea Dunării. Aprovizionarea cu ulei de măsline de la Augustus la Traian (Roman campaigns in the Lower Danube region. The olive oil supplies, from Augustus to Trajan), in Dacia Augusti provincia. Crearea provinciei, București, pp. 417-428.
- EGRI 2008 = M. EGRI, Roman campaigns in the Danube region. The olive oil supply from Augustus to Trajan, «Ephemeris Napocensis», 18, pp. 45-56
- FMRSl I = P. Kos, Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien, I, Berlin, 1988
- GABROVEC 1966 = S. GABROVEC, *Latensko obdobje na Gorenjskem (Die Latènezeit in Oberkrain*), «Arheološki vestnik», 17, pp. 243-270.
- GASPARI 1998a = A. GASPARI, "Pontonium" iz Lip na Ljubljanskem barju (A "Pontonium" from Lipe on the Ljubljana moor), «Arheološki vestnik», 49, pp. 187-224.
- GASPARI 1998b = A. GASPARI, Das Frachtschiff aus Lipe im Moor von Laibach (Ljubljana), «Jahrbuch des Römisch-Gemanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz», 45. 2, pp. 527-550.
- GASPARI 1998-99 = A. GASPARI, Römische Schmiedewerkstätten auf dem Hügel Ulaka in Innerkrain, Slowenien, «Archaeologia Austriaca», 82-83, pp. 519-523.
- Gaspari 2007 = A. Gaspari, The Ljubljanica River. Evidence for a Late Iron Age Ritual Site in the South-eastern Alps (Slovenia), in S. Groh, H. Sedlmayer (eds.), Blut und Wein. Keltisch-römische Kultpraktiken, Protohistoire Européene, 10, Montagnac, pp. 141-154.
- GASPARI 2008 = A. GASPARI, Posoški bojevniki med samostojnostjo in rimsko vojaško službo (The warriors of Posočje during independence and Roman military service), in Vojske, orožje in utrdbeni sistemi v Posočju, Tolmin, pp. 29-48.
- GASPARI 2009 = A. GASPARI, Tovorna ladja sredozemske šivane kostrukcije iz Lip, in Ljubljanica: kulturna dediščina reke, Ljubljana, pp. 107-109.
- GASPARI et alii 2007 = A. GASPARI, V. VIDRIH PERKO, M. ŠTRAJHAR, I. LAZAR, Antični pristaniški kompleks v Fizinah pri Portorožu zaščitne raziskave leta 1998 / The Roman port complex at Fizine near Portorož rescue excavations in 1998, «Arheološki vestnik», 58, pp. 167-218.
- GIAVITTO 1998 = A. GIAVITTO (ed.), Regio X. Venetia et Histria. Forum Iulii, in Supplementa Italica, n. s., 16, Roma, pp. 195-276.
- Guštin 1973 = M. Guštin, Kronologija notranjske skupine (Cronologia del gruppo preistorico della Notranjska [Carniola Interna]), «Arheološki vestnik», 24, pp. 461-506.
- Guštin 1979 = M. Guštin, *Notranjska*, Katalogi in monografije, 17, Ljubljana.
- Guštin 1984 = M. Guštin, *Die Kelten in Jugoslawien*, «Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz», 31, pp. 305-363.
- Guštin 1991 = M. Guštin, *Posočje*, Katalogi in monografije, 27, Ljubljana.
- Guštin 2002 = M. Guštin, *Il campo militare romano a Čatež presso Brežice (Slovenia)*, «Quaderni Friuliani di Archeologia», 12, pp. 69-75.
- Guštin, Gaspari 2005 = M. Guštin, A. Gaspari, Ocra: il passo tra il mondo romano e le comunità protostoriche continentali, in G. Bandelli, E.

- MONTAGNARI KOKELJ (eds.), *Carlo Marchesetti e i Castellieri 1903-2003*, Fonti e Studi per la Storia della Venezia Giulia, Serie seconda: Studi, 9, Trieste, pp. 353-360.
- HORVAT 1990 = J. HORVAT, *Nauportus (Vrhnika)*, Dela 1. razreda SAZU, 33, Ljubljana.
- HORVAT 1995a = J. HORVAT, Ausbreitung römischer Einflüsse auf das Südostalpengebiet in voraugusteischer Zeit, in Provinzialrömische Forschungen, Festschrift für G. Ulbert, Espelkamp, pp. 25-40.
- HORVAT 1995b = J. HORVAT, Notranjska na začetku rimske dobe: Parti pri Stari Sušici, Ambroževo gradišče in Baba pri Slavini (Notranjska [Inner Carniola] at the Beginning of the Roman Period: Parti near Stara Sušica, Ambroževo gradišče and Baba near Slavina), «Arheološki vestnik», 46, pp. 177-216.
- HORVAT 1997 = J. HORVAT, *Sermin*, Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae, 3, Ljubljana.
- HORVAT 1999 = J. HORVAT, Roman Provincial Archaeology in Slovenia Following the Year 1965: Settlement and Small Finds, «Arheološki vestnik», 50, pp. 215-257.
- HORVAT $2\hat{0}\hat{0}\hat{2} = J$. HORVAT, *The Hoard of Roman Republican Weapons from Grad near Smihel*, «Arheološki vestnik», 53, pp. 117-192.
- HORVAT 2005 = J. HORVAT, Poselitev na Pivškem in ob zgornjem toku Reke od pozne bronaste dobe do pozne antike / Settlement in the Pivka Area and Along the Upper Course of the Reka River From the Late Bronze Age to the Late Antique Period, in Kras. Voda in življenje v kamniti pokrajini / Water and Life in a Rocky Landscape, Ljubljana, pp. 220-248
- HORVAT 2006 = J. HORVAT, Dekle je po vodo šlo... Rimski vodnjak iz Suhadol, Kamnik.
- HORVAT, BAVDEK 2009 = J. HORVAT, A. BAVDEK, *Okra / Ocra*, Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae, 17, Ljubljana.
- HORVAT, MUŠIČ 2007 = J. HORVAT, B. MUŠIČ, Nauportus, a commercial settlement between the Adriatic and the Danube, in Chiabà, Maggi, Magrini 2007, pp. 165-174.
- MAGRINI 2007, pp. 165-174. HVALEC *et alii* 2009 = S. HVALEC *et alii*, *Gradbeni dnevnik*. *Utrip Tribune*, Ljubljana.
- ISTENIČ 1999 = J. ISTENIČ, *Poetovio, zahodna grobišča I / Poetovio, the western cemeteries I*, Katalogi in monografije, 32, Ljubljana.
- ISTENIČ 2000 = J. ISTENIČ, A Roman late-republican gladius from the river Ljubljanica (Slovenia), «Arheološki vestnik», 51, pp. 171-182.
- ISTENIČ 2003a = J. ISTENIČ, A uniface medallion with a portrait of Augustus from the River Ljubljanica (Slovenia), «Germania», 81/1, pp. 263-276.
- ISTENIČ 2003b = J. ISTENIČ, The Early Roman "Hoard of Vrhnika": A Collection of Finds from the River Ljubljanica, «Arheološki vestnik», 54, pp. 281-298.
- ISTENIČ 2005a = J. ISTENIČ, Evidence for a very late Republican siege at Grad near Reka in Western Slovenia, «Carnuntum Jahrbuch», 2005, pp. 77-87.
- ISTENIČ 2005b = J. ISTENIČ, *Brooches of the Alesia group in Slovenia*, «Arheološki vestnik», 56, pp. 187-212.
- ISTENIČ 2009 = J. ISTENIČ, The Early Roman military route along the River Ljubljanica (Slovenia), in A. MORILLO, N. HANEL, E. MARTÍN (eds.),

- XXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, (León Spain, Septiembre 2006), Madrid.
- KMETIČ, HORVAT, VODOPIVEĆ 2004 = D. KMETIČ, J. HORVAT, F. VODOPIVEC, Metallographic examinations of the Roman Republican weapons from the hoard from Grad near Smihel, «Arheološki vestnik», 55, pp. 291-312.
- Kos 1986 = P. Kos, The Monetary Circulation in the southeastern Alpine Region ca. 300 B. C. A. D. 1000, Situla, 24, Ljubljana.
- Kos, Šemrov 2003 = P. Kos, A. Šemrov, Skupna najdba keltskih in rimskih novcev v reki Ljubljanici. Doprinos h kronologiji novcev plemena Tavriskov / A hoard of Celtic and Roman coins from the Ljubljanica River. A contribution to the chronology of the coinage of the Taurisci, «Arheološki vestnik», 54, pp. 381-395.
- Kosi 1998 = M. Kosi, Potujoči srednji vek. Cesta, popotnik in promet na Slovenskem med antiko in 16. stoletjem (Roads, travellers and traffic in Slovenian territory from antiquity to the 16th century), Ljubljana.
- LOGAR 1986 = N. LOGAR, *Vrhnika / Dolge njive*, «Arheološki pregled», 1985, pp. 126-127.
- LOLIČ 2003 = T. LOLIČ, *Colonia Flavia Siscia*, in ŠAŠEL KOS, SCHERRER 2003, pp. 131-152.
- LOVENJAK 1998 = M. LOVENJAK, *Inscriptiones Latinae Sloveniae 1: Neviodunum*, Situla, 37, Ljubljana.
- MAINARDIS 2008 = F. MAINARDIS, Iulium Carnicum. *Storia ed epigrafia*, Antichità Altoadriatiche, Monografie, 4, Trieste.
- MAGGI, ŽBONA TRKMAN 2007 = P. MAGGI, B. ŽBONA TRKMAN, *Tra Natisone e Isonzo: il territorio in età romana*, in Chiabà, Maggi, Magrini 2007, pp. 59-77.
- MAGNANI 2007 = S. MAGNANI, Le vie di comunicazione in epoca romana. Cestne komunikacije v rimskem obdobju, in BANCHIG, MANGANI, PESSINA 2007, pp. 130-151.
- MASON 2006 = PH. MASON, *The Augustan fort at Obrežje, Slovenia*, in D. DAVIDSON, V. GAFFNEY, E. MARIN (eds.), *Dalmatia. Research in the Roman Province 1970-2001*, BAR, International Series, 1576, Oxford, pp. 67-71.
- pp. 67-71.

 MASON 2008 = Ph. MASON, The Roman Fort at Obrežje and Augustan Military Activity in the Sava Valley in Slovenia, in Rom auf dem Weg nach Germanien: Geostrategie, Vormarschtrassen und Logistik, Bodenaltertümer Westfalens, 45, Mainz, pp. 187-198.
- MIŠKEC 2003 = A. MIŠKEC, The Early Romanization of the Southeastern Alpine Region in the Light of Numismatic Finds, «Arheološki vestnik», 54, pp. 369-379.
- Miškec 2007 = A. Miškec, Monetary circulation in the Posočje Region in the Antiquity, in Chiabà, Maggi, Magrini 2007, pp. 275-281.

 Milnar, Pettarin 2007 = M. Mlinar, S. Pettarin, L'età del ferro nelle Valli
- MILNAR, PETTARIN 2007 = M. MLINAR, S. PETTARIN, L'età del ferro nelle Valli dell'Isonzo e del Natisone, in CHIABÀ, MAGGI, MAGRINI 2007, pp. 43-52.
- MOSSER 2003 = M. MOSSER, Die Steindenkmäler der legio XV Apollinaris, «Wiener Archäologische Studien», 5, Wien.
- MUŠIČ, HORVAT 2007 = B. MŪŠIČ, J. HORVAT, Nauportus an Early Roman trading post at Dolge njive in Vrhnika, «Arheološki vestnik», 58, pp. 219-283.

- OSMUK 1987 = N. OSMUK, *Die Bronzeplastik aus Kobarid*, «Archaeologia Iugoslavica», 24, pp. 57-79.
- OSMUK 1997 = N. OSMUK, Kobarid od prazgodovine do antike [Kobarid from Prehistory to the Roman Age], in Kobarid, Kobarid, pp. 9-16.
- OSMUK 1998a = N. OSMUK, Le sanctuaire protohistorique de Kobarid (Slovénie), «Instrumentum», 7, p. 13.
- OSMUK 1998b = N. OSMUK, *Plaquette votive de Kobarid (SI)*, inspirée d'un denier républicain, «Instrumentum», 7, p. 17.
- Petru, Valič 1958-59 = P. Petru, A. Valič, Drugo začasno poročilo o izkopavanjih v Bobovku pri Kranju (Zweiter vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen in Bobovk bei Kranj), «Arheološki vestnik», 9-10, pp. 133-172.
- SAGADIN 1995 = M. SAGADIN, *Mengeš v antiki (Mengeš in the Roman Period)*, «Arheološki vestnik», 46, pp. 217-245.
- SAGADIN 2003 = M. SAGADIN, Zgodnjeantični Kranj (Ancient Kranj), in Avguštinov zbornik, 50 let Gorenjskega muzeja, Kranj, pp. 71-81.
- SAKARA SUČEVIĆ, STOKIN 2007 = M. SAKARA SUČEVIĆ, M. STOKIN, Le ultime ricerche sull'insediamento di Sermino lungo l'antico corso del Formio dall'età preistorica al medioevo / Zadnje raziskave na naselbini Sermin od prazgodovine do srednjega veka ob antičnem toku reke Formio, in BANCHIG, MAGNANI, PESSINA 2007, pp. 87-104.
- Sevegliano romana 2008 = Sevegliano romana. Crocevia commerciale tra Celti e Longobardi, a cura di M. Buora (ed.), Cataloghi e Monografie Archeologiche dei Civici Musei di Udine, 10, Trieste.
- SLAPŠAK 2003 = B. ŠLAPŠAK, O koncu prazgodovinskih skupnosti na Krasu / The end of prehistoric communities in the Karst region, «Arheološki vestnik», 54, pp. 243-257.
- STOKIN 1992 = M. STOKIN, Naselbinski ostanki iz 1. st. pr. n. št. v Fornačah pri Piranu (Settlement remains from the first century B. C. at Fornače near Piran), «Arheološki vestnik», 43, pp. 79-92.
- STOKIN 2001 = M. STOKIN, Simonov zaliv: antična vila (Simon's Bay: Roman villa), «Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia», 11/2, pp. 405-412.
- SVETLIČIČ 1997 = V. SVETLIČIČ, *Drobne najdbe / Small Finds*; *Prazgodovina / Prehistory*, in HORVAT 1997, pp. 31-56, 113-116.
- SVOLJŠAK, ZBONA-Trkman 1986 = D. SVOLJŠAK, B. ZBONA-TRKMAN, *Novi napisi v Posočju (Neue Inschriften im Sočagebiet*), «Arheološki vestnik», 37, pp. 385-398.
- ŠAŠEL 1966 = J. ŠAŠEL, *Keltisches portorium in den Ostalpen (zu Plin. n. h. III 128)*, in *Corolla memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata*, «Römische Forschungen in Niederösterreich», 5, Graz Köln, pp. 198-204 (= ŠAŠEL 1992, pp. 500-506).
- ŠAŠEL 1974a = J. ŠAŠEL, *Okra*, «Kronika», 22, pp. 9-17.
- ŠAŠEL 1974b = J. ŠAŠEL, *Siscia*, in *RE Suppl.*, 14, pp. 702-741 (= ŠAŠEL 1992, pp. 600-620).
- ŠAŠEL 1976 = J. ŠAŠEL, *Lineamenti dell'espansione romana nelle Alpi orientali e dei Balcani occidentali*, «Antichità Altoadriatiche», 9, pp. 71-90 (= ŠAŠEL 1992, pp. 408-431).
- ŠAŠEL 1977 = J. ŠAŠEL, Strabo, Ocra and Archaeology, in Ancient Europe and the Mediterranean. Studies presented in honour of Hugh Hencken, Warminster, pp. 157-160 (= in ŠAŠEL 1992, pp. 630-633).

- ŠAŠEL 1985 = J. ŠAŠEL, Zur Frühgeschichte der XV. Legion und zur Nordostgrenze der Cisalpina zur Zeit Caesaers, in Römische Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Epigraphik. Festschrift A. Betz, «Archäologischepigraphische Studien», 1, Vienna, pp. 547-555 (= ŠAŠEL 1992, pp. 469-477).
- ŠAŠEL 1992 = J. ŠAŠEL, *Opera selecta*, Situla, 30, Ljubljana.
- ŠAŠEL KOS 1990 = M. ŠAŠEL KOS, Nauportus: antični literarni in epigrafski viri / Nauportus: Literary and Epigraphical Sources, in HORVAT 1990, pp. 17-33, 143-159.
- ŠAŠEL Kos 1995 = M. ŠAŠEL Kos, *The 15th legion at Emona some thoughts*, «Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik», 109, pp. 227-244.
- ŠAŠEL KOS 1997 = M. ŠAŠEL KOS, The End of the Norican Kingdom and the Formation of the Provinces of Noricum and Pannonia, in B. DJURIĆ, I. LAZAR (eds.), Akten des IV. internationalen Kolloquiums über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens, Situla, 36, Ljubljana, pp. 21-42.
- ŠAŠEL Kos 1998 = M. ŠAŠEL Kos, *Caesarian inscriptions in the Emona basin*?, in *Epigrafia romana in area adriatica* (Actes de la IX^e Rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie du monde romain, Macerata, 10-11 novembre 1995), G. PACI (ed.), Pisa-Roma, pp. 101-112.
- ŠAŠEL KOS 2000 = M. ŠAŠEL KOS, *Caesar, Illyricum, and the hinterland of Aquileia*, in URSO 2000, pp. 277-304.
- Šašel Kos 2002a = M. Šašel Kos, *The boundary stone between Aquileia and Emona*, «Arheološki vestnik», 53, pp. 373-382.
- ŠAŠEL Kos 2002b = M. ŠAŠEL Kos, Il confine nord-orientale dell'Italia romana. Riesame del problema alla luce di un nuovo documento epigrafico, «Aquileia Nostra», 73, cc. 245-260.
- ŠAŠEL KOS 2003 = M. ŠAŠEL KOS, *Emona was in Italy, not in Pannonia*, in ŠAŠEL KOS, SCHERRER 2003, pp. 11-19.
- ŠAŠEL Kos 2005 = M. ŠAŠEL Kos, Appian and Illyricum, Situla, 43, Ljubljana.
- ŠAŠEL KOS, SCHERRER 2003 = M. ŠAŠEL KOS, P. SCHERRER (eds.), The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia Die autonomen Städte in Noricum und Pannonien, Pannonia 1, Situla, 41, Ljubljana.
- TASSAUX 2004 = F. TASSAUX, Les importations de l'Adriatique et de l'Italie du nord vers les provinces danubiennes de César aux Sévères, in G. URSO (ed.), *Dall'Adriatico al Danubio*, Pisa, pp. 167-205.
- URSO 2000 = G. URSO (ed.), *L'ultimo Cesare*, «Centro ricerche e documentazione sull'antichità classica, Monografie», 20, Roma.
- VEDALDI IASBEZ 1994 = V. VEDALDI IASBEZ, La Venetia Orientale e l'Histria. Le fonti letterarie greche e latine fino alla caduta dell'Impero Romano d'Occidente, Ricerche e studi sulla Gallia Cisalpina, 5, Roma.
- VEDALDI IASBEZ 2000 = V. VEDALDI IASBEZ, Cesare, Forum Iulii e il confine nordorientale dell'Italia, in URSO 2000, pp. 329-352.
- VIČIČ 1993 = B. VIČIČ, Zgodnjerimsko naselje pod Grajskim gričem v Ljubljani.

 Gornji trg 15 (Frührömische Siedlung unter dem Schloßberg in Ljubljana. Gornji trg 15), «Arheološki vestnik », 44, pp. 153-201.
- Vičič 1994 = B. Vičič, Zgodnjerimsko naselje pod Grajskim gričem v Ljubljani. Gornji trg 30, Stari trg 17 in 32 (Die frührömische Siedlung unterhalb des Schloβbergs in Ljubljana. Gornji trg 30, Stari trg 17 und 32), «Arheološki vestnik», 45, pp. 25-80.

- VIČIČ 1999 = B. VIČIČ, *Die frührömische Fabrica vom Gornji trg 3 in Ljubljana*, «Instrumentum», 10, pp. 1, 15, 31.
- Vičič 2002 = B. Vičič, Zgodnjerimsko naselje pod Grajskim gričem v Ljubljani. Gornji trg 3, «Arheološki vestnik», 53, pp. 193-221.
- VIČIČ 2003 = B. VIČIČ, *Colonia Iulia Emona*, in ŠAŠEL Kos, SCHERRER 2003, pp. 21-45.
- VIDRIH PERKO 1996 = V. VIDRIH PERKO, Il quadro della romanizzaione nei territori dell'attuale Slovenia secondo gli scavi degli ultimi cinque anni e le più recenti indagini sui materiali, in BUORA 1996, 313-326.
- VIDRIH PERKO 1997A = V. VIDRIH PERKO, Rimskodobna keramika z Ajdovščine pri Rodiku (Roman Pottery from Ajdovščina near Rodik), «Arheološki vestnik», 48, pp. 341-358. VIDRIH PERKO 1997B = V. VIDRIH PERKO, Some late Roman ceramic finds from the
- VIDRIH PERKO 1997B = V. VIDRIH PERKO, Some late Roman ceramic finds from the Slovenian Karst region, «Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta», 35, pp. 249-258.
- ZACCARIA 1992A = C. ZACCARIA, L'arco alpino orientale nell'età romana, in S. SANTORO BIANCHI (ed.), Castelraimondo. Scavi 1988-1990. I. Lo scavo, «Cataloghi e monografie archeologiche dei Civici musei di Udine», 2, Roma, pp. 75-98.
- ZACCARIA 1992B = C. ZACCARIA, Regio X. Venetia et Histria. Tergeste Ager Tergestinus et Tergesti adtributus, in Supplementa Italica, n. s., 10, Roma, pp. 139-283.
- ZACCARIA 1994 = C. ZACCARIA, Il ruolo di Aquileia e dell'Istria nel processo di romanizzazione della Pannonia, in G. Hajnóczi (ed.) La Pannonia e l'impero romano, Roma, pp. 51-70.
- ZACCARIA 1995 = C. ZACCARIA, Alle origini della storia di Concordia romana, in P. CROCE DA VILLA, A. MASTROCINQUE (eds.), Concordia e la X Regio, Padova, pp. 175-186.
- ZACCARIA 1996 = C. ZACCARIA, Aspetti degli emporia del Caput Adriae in età romana, in Buora 1996, pp. 139-155.
- ZACCARIA 2007 = C. ZACCARIA, Tra Natisone e Isonzo. Aspetti amministrativi in età romana, in Chiabà, Maggi, Magrini 2007, pp. 129-144.