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Valentin Vodnik and Roman Antiquities in the Time of Napoleon



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THE ILLYRIAN PROVINCES

Under Napoleon I, the Illyrian Provinces were established in October 1809, coming into existence after three French occupations, in 1797, 1805/6 and 1809. The provinces comprised western Carinthia, Carniola, the regions of Gorizia (Gorica) and Trieste (Trst), Istria, civil and military Croatia, as well as Dalmatia, including the Republic of Dubrovnik and the Bay of Boka Kotorska; the administrative centre of the Illyrian Provinces was at Ljubljana (fig. 1) ¹. For the time being the Austrian Habsburg Empire was deprived of its access to the Adriatic coast. These regions remained under French rule until the autumn of 1813. Archives concerning the Slovenian part of the Illyrian Provinces are kept in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia in Ljubljana, further in the Regional Archives in Koper/Capodistria (including the dislocated unit in Piran) and in Nova Gorica, as well as the Historical Archives of Ljubljana, including dislocated units in Idrija, Kranj, Novo mesto and Škofja Loka. Lists of their contents are now published in a special publication, which also includes detailed lists of the archives from various institutions elsewhere in the regions of the former Illyrian Provinces, including the archives in France ². This was a period of general economic crisis. It is understandable, therefore, that the lower classes of the Slovenian population generally, in particular peasants, disliked the French occupation and their exploitation; peasant risings even resulted. However, many acquisitions and decrees of the French government, such as loss of several legal and other rights of feudal landowners to the advantage of the state administration, as well as a simplified taxation system and compulsory military service for all male citizens, had a positive influence on further development of the Slovenian regions. For Slovenian culture, too, French rule had great

¹ PIVEC-STELE 1930; MELIK 1986.

² ŠUMRADA, KOPITAR 2005, 675-848. Other parts of the book are dedicated to other countries.



Fig. 1. The Illyrian Provinces (computer graphics: Mateja Belak).

significance, in particular because the Slovenian language was introduced into most primary schools and even certain others³. After the fall of the French Illyrian Provinces in the autumn of 1913, the state

³ ŠUMRADA 1990; REISP 1997; one of the first detailed synthetic accounts: DIMITZ 1876, 293-380 (*Die französische Herrschaft in Illyrien* [1809-1813]).

frontier established between the French and Austrian governments remained in use until 1818 as a boundary between the two Austrian duchies of Carniola and Styria ⁴.

When the Illyrian Provinces disintegrated with the fall of Napoleon, the Austrian government founded in its turn – on account of the many territorial changes which had occurred because of the Napoleonic Wars – an ‘Illyrian’ kingdom, which existed in its entirety for only six years (1816-1822). The kingdom of Dalmatia became an independent administrative unit, while the remaining regions included in this Illyrian kingdom consisted of Carniola, the region of Villach (Beljak), Gorizia and Trieste, all of Istria, the former Hungarian littoral with Rijeka, as well as ‘civil’ Croatia on the right bank of the Sava River. The kingdom lingered on for a few years in a reduced form, after it lost its strategic position in 1822 when Hungary regained possession of Rijeka and ‘civil’ Croatia. However, the kingdom was given the regions of Klagenfurt (Celovec) and Cividale in return. In 1830, the archbishop of Gorizia was awarded the title “metropolitan of Illyria”. The Illyrian kingdom was last mentioned in the constitution of 1849 ⁵. After this last attempt to revive the name ‘Illyrian’, it was never again attached – as a political name – to any country in this part of Europe.

BARON SIGISMUND (ŽIGA) ZOIS AND ANTON TOMAŽ LINHART

In the period of the Illyrian Provinces under French rule, Valentin Vodnik was the main personality who was interested in Roman and pre-Roman antiquities, and actively involved in their preservation. He was active in this field through the influence of baron Sigismund (Žiga) Zois, as well as of several other deserving scholars, notably the historian, poet and playwright Anton Tomaž Linhart and the linguist Bartholomäus (Jernej) Kopitar, all of whom were connected with the cultural circle of Zois ⁶; this included outstanding members of the Slovenian intellectual elite. Sigismund (Žiga) Zois (1747-1819; fig. 2) was a well-known enlightened and highly cultured naturalist and economist, who – despite his activity in other fields – did not disdain Roman antiquities, although this seems to have been only one of his side interests. At least, nothing has been preserved on the subject in his

⁴ ŠUMRADA 1998.

⁵ POLEC 1925.

⁶ VIDMAR 2006.

published correspondence, nor, as far as we can judge, in his archives ⁷. Zois originated from a well-to-do merchant family and owned many iron works in the Gorenjska region; indeed, metallurgy and advanced industrial technology, as well as mineralogy and geology, were his principal interests. At the same time, he was well educated and possessed broad general knowledge, not least in classical studies. Like the members of his cultural circle, Zois advocated Enlightenment principles and ideas, and did much to put them into practice. Outstanding personalities of his time stayed in his house, among the distinguished scholars the famous French geologist Déodat de Dolomieu, for example ⁸, and German geologist and mineralogist Friedrich Mohs; like Zois himself, the latter possessed an important collection of minerals. Zois was also visited by the emperor Joseph II. and by pope Pius VI. He was a member of several European societies, among them the "Académie Celtique" in Paris. We know of his interest in Roman epigraphy and of his activity as an antiquarian above all from sporadic remarks by Vodnik, as well as from an interesting anecdote of Bartholomäus (Jernej) Kopitar, one of the correspondents of Zois and Vodnik ⁹. On some occasion Zois entrusted Jakob Abraham Penzel, a classical philologist of German origin, who lived and taught for some years in Ljubljana and was one of Zois' many protégés, to go to Ig to copy a recently discovered Roman inscription there. Both Ig and Vrhnika were recognized as important Roman centres. While Vrhnika was known to have been called *Nauportus* in the Roman period, linked by Pliny the Elder to the legend of the return of the Argonauts (*N. h.* 3.128), Ig was erroneously believed to be "*Magnus vicus*", on the basis of Lazius' and Schönleben's misinterpretation of the two inscriptions from Vrhnika.

Vrhnika was historically much more important, since according to the legend it had been the last place reached by Jason and the Argonauts, when their ship Argo was travelling along the Danube, the Sava and the Ljubljanica Rivers towards the Adriatic Sea. The Ljubljanica was called the Nauportus River in Pliny. There, at *Nauportus*, the rivers ceased and the Argonauts had to transport the ship on their shoulders across the Alps. Despite its famous legendary past, however, only a few Roman inscriptions came to light at Vrhnika

⁷ However, only a part of his archives, preserved in the State Archives, have been put in order yet and evaluated, see FAGANEL 1999.

⁸ ŠUMRADA 2001.

⁹ Preserved in his autobiography: KOS 1973, 72-74.



Fig. 2. Baron Sigismund (Žiga) Zois. Courtesy of the National Museum of Slovenia.

and its vicinity, while many were discovered at Ig, for which no name was preserved in classical literature. On two building inscriptions from Vrhnika *mag(istri) vici* are mentioned, erroneously interpreted as meaning *Mag(nus) vicus*, and referring to Ig¹⁰. In late Roman writers the legend of the return of the Argonauts was connected with *Emona*, and Jason was no longer regarded as the founder of *Nauportus* but of *Emona*. This shift was understandable since the importance of *Emona* grew in the Augustan age at the expense of *Nauportus*, which declined after the first century AD.

Zois' interest in Roman inscriptions is referred to by Vodnik too. He remarked that Zois ordered one inscription from Ljubljana (*Emona*) and one from Trojane (*Atrans*) to be transferred to the Lyceum, where evidently antiquities were kept at the time (the Museum had not yet been founded). In view of Zois' many interests and hobbies, this was no doubt a less known aspect of his activities. Indeed, several of the Ig monuments later arrived in the National Museum, partly perhaps due to his efforts. He was rich enough to be able to spend money on transferring heavy Roman monuments from the various sites where they came to light. It is possible that Zois would have compiled – or have ordered to be compiled – a list of the Roman inscriptions known in his time, at least from Ljubljana and its vicinity. Such a catalogue has not been preserved to date. However, his vast manuscript legacy kept in the State Archives of Slovenia has not yet been properly researched and evaluated.

An outstanding member of Zois' cultural circle was Anton Tomaž Linhart. He was born in 1756 in Radovljica (where his father moved from Moravia), and died in Ljubljana in 1795. He was one of the main representatives of the Slovenian Enlightenment and rebirth. He attended the Jesuit high school and – after the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773 – classical gymnasium in Ljubljana, where he studied under the best teachers. His early interests were classical languages and poetry. The correspondence with one of his best friends Martin Kuralt, a poet and essayist and a fellow Francophile, reveals that both were well acquainted with the philosophical and cultural trends of contemporary Europe. In 1776, Linhart entered the Cistercian monastery at Stična,

¹⁰ ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, no. 1 (with earlier citations): *Q. Annaius Q. l. / Torravius / M. Fulginas M. l. / Philogenes / mag(istri) vici de / vic(i) s(ententia) portic(um) f(aciendum) coir(averunt)*; the inscription CIL III 3776, mentioning the sanctuary of the goddess Aequorna, also erected by the *mag(istri) vici*, is lost (see ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, *ibid.*, for a short commentary).

taking his vows in 1777, but he left the order a year afterwards and continued his studies in Vienna under Baron Joseph Sonnenfels, who was one of the outstanding personalities of Viennese cultural life. Under his influence, Linhart also became interested in theatre and composed a tragedy *Miss Jenny Love*, a little known play not staged in his own time. Upon his return to Carniola (where he joined in the Slovenian national movement and revival), he published a collection of poems (*Blumen aus Krain*), joined Zois' circle and was active in an abortive attempt to revive the "Academia operosorum", which had been founded in Ljubljana in 1693 and ceased to exist in 1725. It was to the merit of Zois that two comedies by Linhart were published, *Županova Micka* (an independent adaptation of Joseph Richter's *Die Feldmühle*) and *Ta veseli dan ali Matiček se ženi* (*This Happy Day, or Matiček Gets Married*, a Slovenian version of the French comedy of Pierre Augustin Carron de Beaumarchais: *Le mariage de Figaro ou la folle journée*); the former was performed in 1789, the latter after Linhart's death. After several jobs, Linhart eventually obtained a post as regional commissioner of schools for Gorenjska (Upper Carniola). He endeavoured to introduce courses of higher education in Ljubljana, and in 1792 studies of philosophy and theology were established within the lyceum¹¹.

In 1788, Linhart published the first part of his history, in which the prehistoric and Roman periods were well presented. He had given it a modest title *an Attempt at the history of Carniola and other southern Slavs of Austria*¹² because he was aware of all its shortcomings which inevitably accompany any seriously written historical work, in particular since he could not have drawn from many previous histories. The only important history concerning antiquity that had been written before Linhart was that of Johann Ludwig (Janez Ludvik) Schönleben, orator, theologian, and historian (1618-1681), who is regarded as the author of one of the first important monographs of the early history of Carniola¹³; it was written in Latin and titled *Carniolia antiqua et nova*¹⁴. A few years afterwards, Johann Weichard Valvasor (1641-1693) published his monumental description of Carniola entitled *Die Ehre des Herzogthums Crain* in 15 quarto volumes¹⁵, in

¹¹ GRDINA 2005, with cited literature on Linhart.

¹² LINHART 1788. (See also the annotated Slovenian translation of 1981, cited in the bibliography under Linhart).

¹³ See MIKLAVČIČ 1960-71 and also RADICS 1894.

¹⁴ SCHÖNLEBEN 1681.

¹⁵ VALVASOR 1689.

which, however, antiquity is not well represented. The relevant parts were written by Erasmus Francisci, but his contributions are limited to excerpts and compilations from earlier writers, including Schönleben as the immediate predecessor. Schönleben's history only covered the period up to AD 1000, since the second volume, intended to have contained the history of Carniola after AD 1000, was never written due to his premature death. His account of prehistoric, Roman, and early medieval periods was no doubt the best achievement of the earlier generations, but basically his work and Linhart's are totally different: Schönleben's, written in Latin, is analytical and still greatly anchored in classical literature, whereas Linhart's is synthetic. He viewed the regions of the southeastern Alps, northern Adriatic and Pannonian Plain in a pan-Slavic light, disregarding the political borders of his time, i.e. the end of the eighteenth century. His historical conception greatly influenced all later historians. His correct observation that the Slavs cannot be regarded as Illyrians, whose descendants were in his opinion the Skipetars (Albanians), may have contributed towards at least checking a little the historically unfounded Illyrian ideology in the pre-March 1848 period. In his history, Linhart gave consideration to factors conditioned by climate, morphology, hydrography, and other natural resources, as well as anthropology and cultural history – in short, the way people lived – while his less successful chapters are those devoted to the political and administrative history of the southeastern Alpine and northern Adriatic areas within the Roman Empire.

However, despite some weak points, Linhart's *History* was written on a higher level than many a contemporary, or even later, historical monograph, such as those of Anton Muchar von Ried from Austrian Styria and Gottlieb Frh. von Ankershofen from Austrian Carinthia¹⁶. Linhart attempted to write a thoroughly objective and comprehensive history of his country, reflecting as many primary sources as were available to him at the time. By defining Carantania as the first Slovenian state at the beginning of the Middle Ages – since it was the homeland of the first Slavs who had settled along the eastern Alpine rivers – he was the first to conceive and develop the idea of a national Slovenian history, abandoning the concept of regional histories. He wrote under the strong influence of Enlightenment rationalist history and fully absorbed the modern philosophical views and attitudes of his time, which gave great emphasis to the history of populations and civilization. He identified the population through language.

¹⁶ MUCHAR 1825; MUCHAR 1826; ANKERSHOFEN 1850; ANKERSHOFEN 1851.

Innovative as Linhart's history was, it had a great impact on more or less all later historians throughout the nineteenth century. However, from the point of view of modern criticism of historiography, it should be borne in mind that Linhart's interpretation of Carantania as the cradle of the Slovenian nation, actually meant to 'nationalize' the early phases of history when nations in the modern sense of the word did not yet exist. In essence it was a retrospective nationalisation of history, of which Linhart and subsequent historians of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries were not at all aware. In these periods his historical views were regarded as the only valid concept of Slovenian history¹⁷.

Both Zois and Linhart, in particular the former, had a great influence on the life and work of Valentin Vodnik.

VALENTIN VODNIK

Valentin Vodnik (born in Ljubljana in 1758, died in 1819; fig. 3), was a renowned Slovenian poet and linguist with many other interests, which also included history and archaeology. He entered the Franciscan order and studied theology; eventually he became a parish priest at Koprivnik in Bohinj, where he came to know baron Zois, who owned estates in the region of Bohinj, as well as iron-works there and elsewhere in Gorenjska (Upper Carniola). Vodnik became a member of his cultural circle and one of his protégés. Through Zois' mediation he also became acquainted with Linhart.

With the help of Zois, Vodnik was transferred to Ljubljana in 1796, where after two years he left the priesthood and became a professor at the classical college. From 1808, after a reorganization of high school studies, he became professor of history and geography (as well as, temporarily, also of religious instruction). After the French occupation and the foundation of the Illyrian Provinces in 1809, and after the reforms of the French government in 1810, he was entrusted with the post of headmaster of the newly founded three-year-lyceum, as well as the trade and applied art school, while he was also inspector of elementary schools. With the return of the Austrian government in 1813, he had to retire prematurely because of his French sympathies¹⁸.

¹⁷ ŠTIH 2005.

¹⁸ For the facts of his life, see KORUZA 1970, 107 ff.

His activities, greatly encouraged by Zois, were most of all devoted to the rebirth of his nation, in terms of moderate and practically oriented enlightenment. Thus he was notably a poet, composer of exhortative poems, journalist, linguist, writer of various text books, manuals and almanacs, including a cook book, collector, and also historian, with archaeological and numismatic interests. Zois provided him with books, as well as with advice and encouragement.

Vodnik also paid attention to the Roman inscriptions of his country and to Roman antiquities in general. That he was regarded by the authorities as an expert in archaeology is confirmed by the fact that they (the 'Gubernium') asked him to examine a newly discovered Roman mosaic in Capuchin Square in Ljubljana in July 1818. His last published work was dedicated to the Roman inscriptions in Illyria, as Slovenia was called in his time (see below). On his visits to the ruins of Emona and on his epigraphic journeys, Vodnik was a few times accompanied by his French colleague Étienne Marie Siauve, who, in Vodnik's own words, introduced him to the art of reading and correctly understanding Roman inscriptions¹⁹. Siauve was an archaeologist and a member of the "Académie Celtique" in Paris (as was also Zois, probably due to their acquaintance), who, as a high official in Napoleon's army ("commissaire des guerres")²⁰, had also been active in northern Italy²¹, and spent some time in Ljubljana in 1806 and particularly in 1809. At that time he was stationed in Udine (Friuli), where he initiated and supported research into the antiquities of the region, in particular investigations in Aquileia and Zuglio, which he believed to have been *Forum Iulii*²². In Aquileia he was aided by the painter Leopoldo Zuccolo, and he was also active in Istria, where in Pula – disappointed with the antiquarian work of Gian Rinaldo Carli – he studied the local monuments and had the sanctuary of Roma and Augustus transformed into a temporary museum²³. Carli was active as an erudite antiquarian at the time of Linhart in Koper/Capodistria²⁴. In Ljubljana, Siauve was a friend of Zois and his learned circle, and published, partly as a result of his antiquarian researches in Slovenia,

¹⁹ VODNIK 1818, no. 14.

²⁰ His official title is noted by DIMITZ 1876, 293, as having been *Commissaire-Ordonnateur*.

²¹ See VIGI FIOR 1993.

²² VIGI FIOR 1993.

²³ BUORA 1997, 144 ff.

²⁴ See on him VEDALDI IASBEZ 2004.

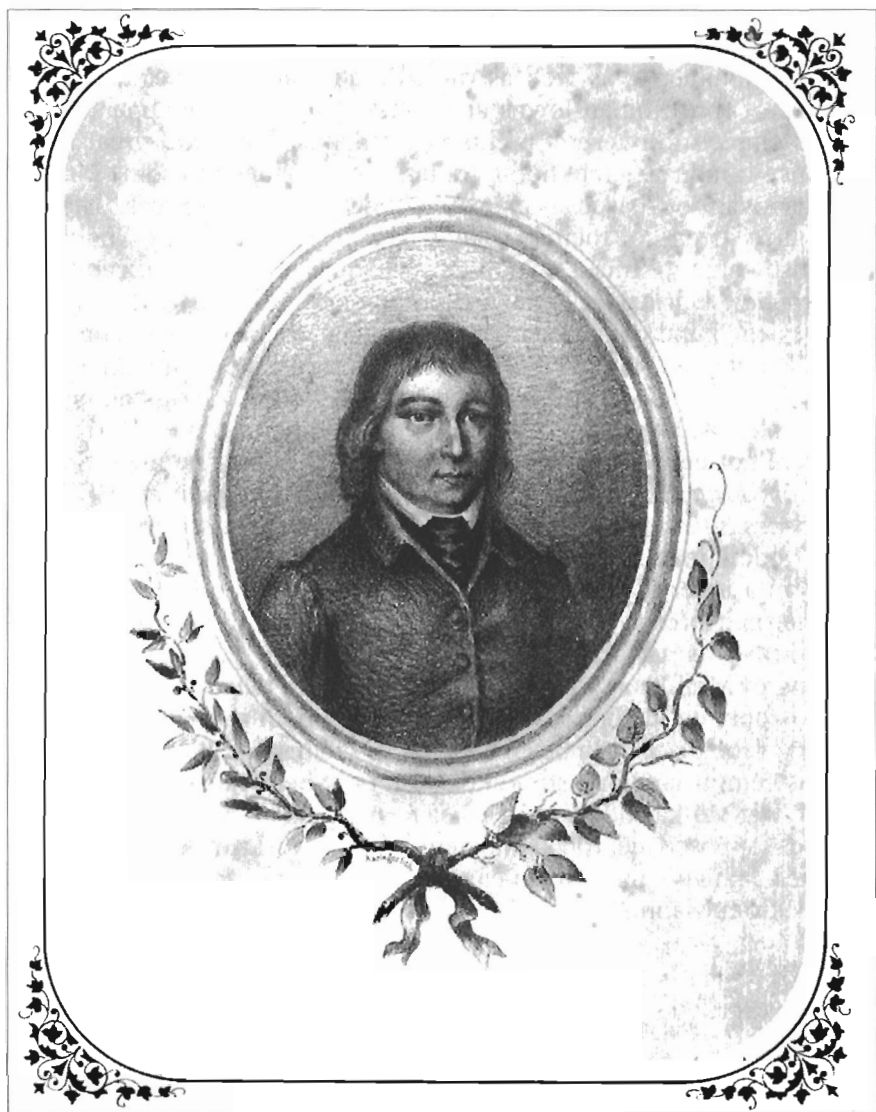


Fig. 3. Valentin Vodnik (from: «Vodnikov spomenik», ed. E. H. Costa, Ljubljana 1859).

a book *De antiquis Norici viis, urbibus et finibus epistola* ²⁵. At least from mid-June of 1810 he was in northern Italy, in Mantua and Verona.

Siauve was in general interested in everything related to antiquity, and in 1809 travelled with Vodnik through Slovenia in search of Roman monuments, as well as ruined archaeological sites and other remains of (pre)Roman towns and settlements. It also happened that they attempted to interpret prehistoric remains. This is of great interest, since it indicates that both scholars were engaged in some kind of landscape survey, based in part on classical literary sources. Thus in the course of one of their journeys, described in detail by Vodnik ²⁶, they also came to Stična, which they mistook for *Metulum*, capital of the *Iapodes*. During Octavian's Illyrian wars in 35–33 BC, *Metulum* was besieged and conquered by the Romans, after its inhabitants had all killed themselves. This episode is described by Appian in his *Illyrian wars* (19.54 ff.) ²⁷. As emerges from Vodnik's original, he and Siauve regarded Vir near Stična as a most important prehistoric site, but were not entirely certain whether it could indeed be identified as *Metulum*: *Mulum etiam inclinat in sententiam Metulum esse Vir seu Verh penes Sitizhina; videnda tamen Metlika; eo usque suspendit iudicium*. Vodnik made a drawing of the hillfort at Vir, which can be inferred from a letter of Siauve to Vodnik, written on July 12, 1810 from Mantua, and preserved in the National Museum of Slovenia ²⁸; the ground-plan is unfortunately lost. Siauve and Vodnik were also thinking of Metlika as a possible place where *Metulum* should be located, no doubt on the basis of the similarity of both names, but actually neither of the places can be considered as the historical *Metulum*. This famous central Iapodian stronghold can only be located in Lika, most probably at Velika and Mala Viničica near Ogulin ²⁹. *Noreia*, the not yet located supposed central settlement of the Norican Kingdom, also attracted Siauve's interest, as can be inferred from this same letter to Vodnik from Mantua ³⁰.

²⁵ SIAUVE 1812; see PIVEC-STELE 1960–71.

²⁶ COSTA 1848. The original manuscript is preserved in the National Museum of Slovenia.

²⁷ ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 432 ff.

²⁸ DULAR 1992, 37–38, made mention of it, as well as of the fact that Vrh above Vir near Stična was noted in Vodnik's *Itinerarium* of 1809 as a pre-Roman site; the letter is published by GABROVEC 1994, 15. This discovery was made by Dragan Božič, who in 1990 attentively studied the Museum archives concerning Vodnik.

²⁹ OLUJIĆ 2004; cf. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 432 ff.

³⁰ This and two other letters of Siauve to Vodnik were also published in German by DIMITZ 1865.

Vodnik also wrote a short history of Carniola, the region of Trieste and the county of Gorizia, which was published in 1809, and there is no doubt that he wrote this historical outline under the influence of Linhart's *History*. Vodnik's short book was most of all intended to be used as a text-book in high schools ³¹. In the same year is dated the copy of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, now kept in the National Museum of Slovenia, which was copied by Vodnik after the original edition of F. C. Scheyb. Scheyb produced the first full-size copy of the Viennese original and published it in Vienna in 1753. Siauve was looking for Scheyb's edition in the library of Zois, but Zois did not have it and ordered it immediately; however, it was unavailable. Kopitar sent a borrowed copy in October 1809 from Vienna to Ljubljana, along with a manuscript criticizing it, written by a court librarian J. B. Heyrenbach. For the sake of Siauve, who did not know German, Vodnik translated Heyrenbach's criticism into Latin (*Censura Tabulae Peutingerianae adservatae in Bibliotheca augusta Vindobonensi; auctore Josepho Heurenbach custode ejusdem Bibliothecae; latine brevius reddita opera Valentini Vodnik lectore publico Poëticae, Geographiae et Historiae in Lyceo Labacensi, in Carniola Provincia Illyrici, anno 1809*). His manuscript translation is now kept in the National and University Library in Ljubljana. In a letter to Kopitar of 1 March 1810, Vodnik mentioned that his transcription of the Peutinger Map was also coloured and collated under his supervision by two high-school students ³². It is 6.42 m long (40 cm shorter than the original because it was damaged), and 0.37 m high (3 cm higher because of the white linen on which it was glued). It is a special merit of Vodnik that in 1815 he brought his copy to Vienna and compared it with the original Peutinger Map; he set about his task in a thoroughly scientific way. Indeed, he corrected Scheyb in 77 places; his manuscript corrections first came from Vienna to Bratislava and eventually to Munich where they were used by C. Mannert in his Leipzig edition of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* of 1824 ³³. A modern copy of Peutinger's Roman map that would be satisfactory from all points of view has still to be produced ³⁴.

However, Vodnik's main interest concerning Roman antiquities were epigraphic monuments; he published some of the Roman inscrip-

³¹ VODNIK 1809.

³² KORUZA 1970, 103.

³³ KASTELIC 1942.

³⁴ TALBERT 2004.

tions from Illyria in fourteen instalments in the «Laibacher Wochenblatt» in 1818³⁵, and also in a short manuscript, titled *Itinerarium*, which is kept in the library of the National Museum of Slovenia. Some of the inscriptions published in the «Laibacher Wochenblatt» and in *Itinerarium* are the same. In his short paragraphs in the «Laibacher Wochenblatt», Vodnik also made mention of various Roman period small objects which had come to light during occasional diggings for private and public constructions. August Dimitz briefly assessed Vodnik's work as an historian and archaeologist, and particularly emphasized Vodnik's epigraphical work: Vodnik started his investigations in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana Basin; he also included some inscriptions from the sites along the Sava River. However, as Dimitz observed, the Roman inscriptions collected by Vodnik were altogether relatively few. Vodnik correctly identified two most important areas within the Roman *Emona*. From the finds of sarcophagi, urns and tombstones in the Capuchin convent suburb ('Kapuziner-Vorstadt'), beyond the present-day Ursuline monastery in the direction of Prešernova St., Vodnik concluded that a Roman cemetery had existed at that site, which he estimated to have measured 440 square feet. He further regarded the Gradišče area to have been a legionary fortress out of which later the colony of *Emona* developed³⁶. Modern and even most recent research has shown that *Emona* had developed out of a small Tauriscan settlement and an early emporium between Aquileian *Nauportus* and Pannonian *Siscia*, and became a Roman colony under Augustus. Probably it had never been a legionary fortress³⁷.

Vodnik commented upon inscriptions often in a wrong way, in particular when he could not consult Siauve. He corrected an earlier Schönleben's reading if it seemed erroneous to him, as in the case of a military tombstone of Varius, a veteran of the *legio XV*³⁸. Vodnik criticized Schönleben's reading *PE.EMONIAE* in the fifth line, and his explanation that it should be related to *Emona*; he correctly read *PETRONIAE*, the feminine name, probably of the wife of Varius. However, he misread the second line, in which the home-town (*origo*) of *Varius* was noted, *Narbo* in *Gallia* (present-day Narbonne). Vodnik saw *PNRION* and emended it to *PNARION*, inferring the word in a naive manner from Greek words, either from 'breathe' or from

³⁵ VODNIK 1818.

³⁶ DIMITZ 1859.

³⁷ VIČIČ 2003; ŠAŠEL KOS 2003; both with relevant bibliography.

³⁸ ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, no. 39.

‘sleep’³⁹, while actually the line should correctly be read as *Pap(iria tribu) Narbon(e)*: “from the voting tribe *Papiria*, from *Narbo*”. In one of his archaeological-epigraphic instalments, Vodnik compared his reading of one of the most important Roman inscriptions from *Emona*, the well-known tombstone of *M. Titius M. f. Ti. Barbius Titianus, decurio of Emona* (*AJN* 175), with that of Linhart and with that published by Gruterus⁴⁰. As is seen from one of Siauve’s letters to Vodnik, mentioned below, Vodnik had beforehand consulted Siauve on this matter. Vodnik also noted that this important monument had been transferred to Vienna in April 1807, to the Imperial Antiken-Sammlung, after it had been hewn off at the back side by half of its thickness, for easier transport.

In other instalments of the same magazine, Vodnik also published the Roman inscriptions from Ljubljana cathedral and the seminary building⁴¹. During the first decade of the eighteenth century Janez Gregor Dolničar (Ioannes Gregorius Thalnitscher) ordered thirteen interesting inscriptions from *Emona* and Ig (two are counterfeit) to be immured in the outer walls of the newly built cathedral and seminary, thus creating the first “lapidarium” in Ljubljana⁴². He was a Doctor of Laws and one of the most illustrious members and founders of the “Academia operosorum” (founded in Ljubljana in 1693). He was also a member of the Academy “dei Gelati” of Bologna and a member of the “Arcadia” in Rome, and had a keen interest in the archaeological heritage of his home town.

Both the original *Itinerarium* of Vodnik (fig. 4), as well as its transcription, are preserved in the National Museum library archives and the latter is titled *Copia*⁴³, which must have been made some years later. The author of this copy attentively copied the manuscript of Vodnik, both the text and the illustrations. However, Vodnik did not sketch all of the edited inscriptions. Valuable for the study of uncertain lettering and the artistic elements of these monuments are of course only the sketches in the original manuscript, although the drawings in

³⁹ «Laibacher Wochenblatt», 1818, no. 14.

⁴⁰ «Laibacher Wochenblatt», 1818, no. 21. GRUTERIUS 1603 was the most complete collection of the Roman inscriptions of the time.

⁴¹ In nos. 26, 27, 29-31, 34 of the «Laibacher Wochenblatt», of 1818.

⁴² ŠAŠEL KOS 1998.

⁴³ Due to misinformation I was given by the then head of the Museum library Branko Reisp, I erroneously noted that the manuscript preserved in the National Museum was not the original manuscript of Vodnik, as has been stated in modern literature, but a copy, ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, 49.

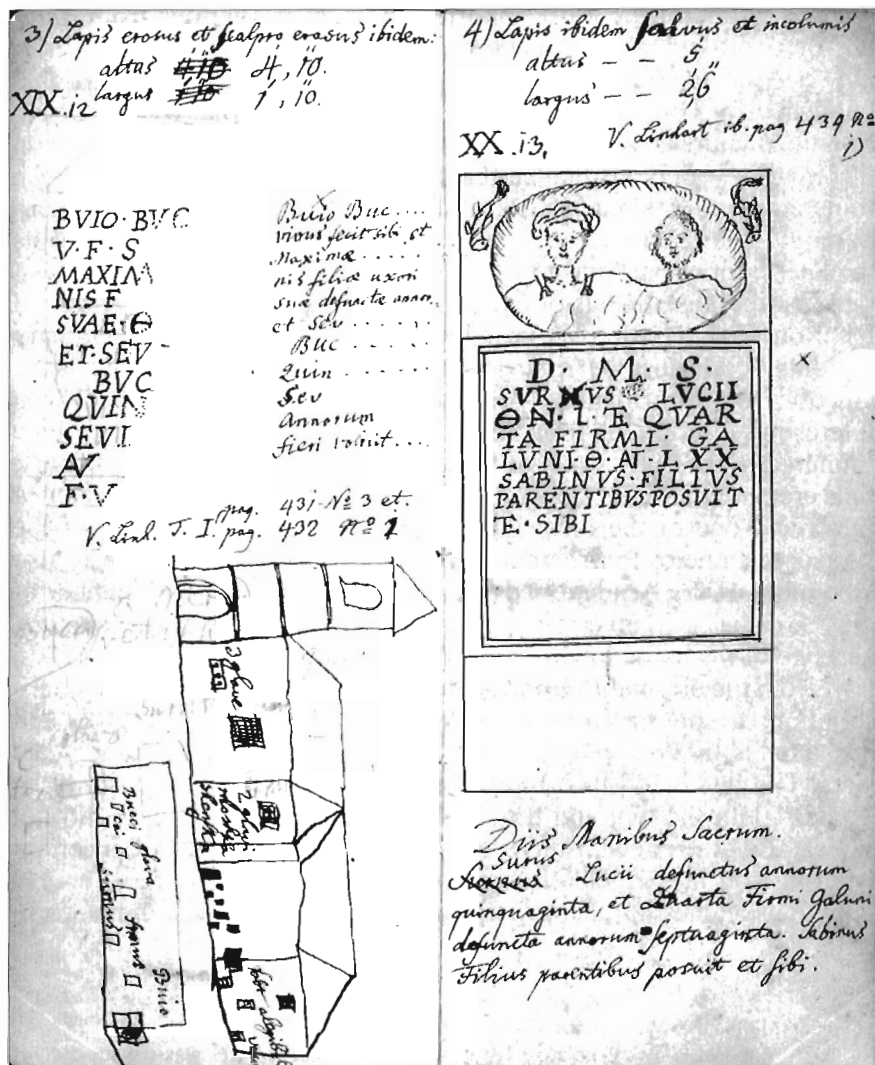


Fig. 4. A page from the *Itinerarium* of Vodnik. Courtesy of the National Museum of Slovenia.

the copy are in general better executed than the original. His *Itinerarium* of 1808 and 1809 was published without illustrations by Etbin Henrik Costa under the title *Copia eines Manuscriptes des Valentin Vodnik*; it comprises some 30 inscriptions from various sites, mostly from Carniola⁴⁴. Those of the inscriptions published by Vodnik that are actually preserved in the "lapidarium" of the National Museum, have already been accompanied by a commentary, and Vodnik's contribution to their reading has been duly evaluated, as in the case of the most interesting tombstone for *Durrius Avitus* and his family, which was reused by the widow of the brewer from Ljubljana, Nicolaus Merck, after his death in 1814. Vodnik had transcribed the original inscription in time, before it was hewn off (fig. 5)⁴⁵. Others, which almost all belong to *Emona* and its *ager*, still need to be properly studied. Most of the epigraphic comments of Vodnik are inadequate and obsolete; precious, however, are his observations concerning find-spots and the state of preservation of the inscribed monuments.

In a letter of 12 July 1810, which Siauue sent to Vodnik from Mantua, he first of all admired him for his patience to copy the Peutinger Map, and also discussed two Roman inscriptions, of which Vodnik had asked him his opinion. Both are from *Emona*, the first is a tombstone, once used in the church of the Order of the Teutonic Knights as a low footrest bench, and consequently badly damaged (*AIJ* 189); the second is the above mentioned tombstone of *M. Titius M. f. Ti. Barbius Titianus*⁴⁶. Siauue cited for the latter Linhart's *Versuch* (p. 308)⁴⁷, but noted that his translation is incorrect. Siauue's interpretations make it clear that his epigraphic knowledge was on a high level and well in accordance with the development the Roman epigraphy had reached towards the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Evidently it was much superior to that of Vodnik, who himself emphasized that in epigraphical matters he was guided by Siauue. Interestingly, this long letter of Siauue to Vodnik also contained information concerning the just mentioned tombstone of *Durrius Avitus*, which Vodnik wished to have transferred to the house of Zoïs. It was seen by the private secretary of Siauue, Mr. Alard, in the courtyard of

⁴⁴ COSTA 1848.

⁴⁵ ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, no. 97. It had already been copied by Augustinus Tyffernus in the early sixteenth century.

⁴⁶ Balduin Saria obviously did not know Siauue's letter to Vodnik and was not aware of his reading of these two inscriptions. Differences in their readings of no. 189 will be discussed in the publication of the Roman inscriptions from *Emona*.

⁴⁷ LINHART 1788.



Fig. 5. Tombstone for Durrius Avitus and his family, drawn by Vodnik and a few years later reused as tombstone for the brewer from Ljubljana, Nicolaus Merck. Courtesy of the National Museum of Slovenia.

the innkeeper Merck, then still alive. As has been said, this story ended sadly because upon Merck's death the original inscription was replaced by the funerary text for the deceased brewer.

Vodnik also endeavoured to save monuments from decay in the open air and to organize their transfer, if possible, to an interior location, being well aware of how fatal it is to have them exposed to the damaging effects of the changing weather: "... hier bemerke ich nur (when discussing *Vibius*' dedication to Ceres)⁴⁸, wie Schade es ist, daß ein so classisches Denkmahl der rauhesten Witterung im freyen Felde, dem Nordwinde und Regen preis gegeben, in der äussern Mauer der Christophskirche unverwahrt stehet"⁴⁹. Less than half a year later, he

⁴⁸ ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, no. 8.

⁴⁹ «Laibacher Wochenblatt», April 3, 1818, no. 14.

could remark with satisfaction that the stone had been removed from its previous position and immured in front of the entrance to the Public Library on the second floor of the Lyceum building, where some 15 years later the Museum (which at the time of Vodnik had not yet been founded) obtained its new rooms in the ground floor. This had been organized and paid for by Zois. Vodnik also mentioned that a Roman altar from Trojane (= *Atrans*), dedicated to Liber Pater ('Father Bacchus'), had been transferred to the same place at Lyceum at the expense of baron Žiga Zois, whom Vodnik called Apollo, no doubt wishing to emphasize his role as a protector of arts (*Sic Cererem et Bacchum servavit Apollo*)⁵⁰. This eloquent remark of Vodnik makes it clear that the altar of Ceres, too, had been removed with funding from Baron Zois, who had generously supported many efforts to save the historical and natural heritage of Carniola.

Incidentally, this episode is most interesting for the reconstruction of the early beginnings of the lapidary collection, as it is a rare piece of evidence proving the existence of some sort of lapidarium in the Lyceum building (formerly the Franciscan monastery) even before the National Museum was transferred to its ground floor, and even before the Museum had been founded. Vodnik also mentioned the collection of Roman inscribed stone monuments in the Lyceum in a letter to Siauve of 21 May, 1811 (in Latin), in which he also gave him information of the whereabouts of two Roman inscriptions (now both in the Lapidarium of the National Museum), and consulted him on a boundary stone of a grave plot. In this letter he referred to collecting Roman stones in the Lyceum (*Ceterum cogito, an non esset re factum, si eiusmodi cippos, quotquot haberi possent, in Lyceo nostro colligeremur*)⁵¹. An institution where antiquities could be stored and studied was urgently needed. However, the National Museum of Slovenia, which is – next to the Botanical Garden (founded in Ljubljana in 1810) – the second oldest cultural and scientific institution in the country functioning without interruption, was only founded two years after the death of Vodnik, in 1821. In that year, botanical, zoological, and geological collections, together with the antiquities important for national history and identity, were first collected in the former Pogačnik House (then owned by the Carniolan Estates [Landstandschaft]) at Salendrova St. No. 3. It was only in 1831, that the Mu-

⁵⁰ «Laibacher Wochenblatt», September 4, 1818, no. 37, cf. also «Hormayrs Archiv», 9, 1818, 528.

⁵¹ Kos 1988, 287-288, citation on 288.

seum's collections were transferred to a much better and more spacious location in the Lyceum building, which, however, was badly damaged during the earthquakes of 1895 and 1897 and had to be pulled down. It stood at the site of the present-day central market.

Vodnik, whose statue was erected after his death in the very vicinity of the Lyceum, no doubt knew the future Museum's curator and Maecenas, and head of the Museum Society (Musealverein), Franz Joseph Graf von Hohenwart. Most certainly, however, he would have approved his speech held at the celebration of the first anniversary of the new rooms of the Museum in the Lyceum building, in which he declared that 'the prosperity of the National Museum is the test-stone of our culture'⁵². Vodnik was active in the field of preserving the national cultural heritage without support from any institution. No such specialized institution had existed before the founding of the "Krainisches Museum" (Carniolan Museum), the future National Museum; in the time of Vodnik, the financial support to rescue antiquities for the public benefit was mainly supplied by Baron Zois. With the founding of the Museum in Ljubljana, an entirely new chapter began for collecting, preserving and studying antiquities in Slovenia. Valentin Vodnik died three years before this significant turn of the events.

THE CARNIOLAN MUSEUM UNDER COUNT HOHENWART

Ever since the existence of the Carniolan Museum in Ljubljana (Krainisches Landes-Museum) the care for antiquities and cultural heritage of the country in general was institutionalized. As Hohenwart had always insisted, a positive or negative attitude towards the cultural heritage of one's nation would necessarily be mirrored in the faster or slower development of the museum. He appealed to all people who were not indifferent to the cultural progress of Carniola (*An die wackern Krainer*)⁵³, to contribute to the collections of the Museum. Indeed, according to early accounts of the Museum's activities, apparently much had been saved and voluntarily offered to the Museum by the cultured, well-educated, and enthusiastic supporters of the new institution. It is not known how many Roman stones and other antiquities had been preserved in the first phase of the Museum's development when it had been for a short time located in the Pogačnik House,

⁵² «Jahresfeier» 1832, 6.

⁵³ Preserved in the Museum Archives; see e.g. HOHENWART 1832.

but an already existing small epigraphic collection in the Lyceum building must have soon been enlarged. Hohenwart referred to it in the pamphlet, which was issued at the celebration of the first anniversary of the new rooms of the Museum⁵⁴, expressing his pride at the rich epigraphic heritage of Carniola. He mentioned Roman monuments, some of which were preserved due to the praiseworthy care of the clergy. Some of the 'archaeological' activities of these years are briefly referred to in the *History of Carniola*, written by August DIMITZ who had already used the first volume of the *CIL* III, both the inscriptions and historical introductions and commentaries by Theodor Mommsen. In the course of several construction works in Ljubljana, Roman cemeteries, comprising both cremation and skeleton burials and various archaeological objects, were discovered along the roads leading to Trieste/Trst, Klagenfurt/Celovec and Vienna⁵⁵.

Hohenwart also mentioned the Roman inscribed monuments in his tiny guide to the Museum (comprising altogether 19 pages), the first guide that had been published⁵⁶. He gave inventory numbers and proveniences, and stated that some of them had been immured in the walls of the Museum building. Some of the inscriptions that were currently being discovered at various Carniolan sites certainly arrived in the Museum. It is mentioned in the Guide that sixteen monuments were immured in front of the entrance to the Museum, some of them having been found at Trebnje (*Praetorium Latobicorum*) whence they were transported to the Museum, while some had been donated to the Museum by Hohenwart himself, and nine had been transferred from the Ig castle to the Museum by the mayor of Ljubljana, Johannes Rep. (Janez Nepomuk) Hradecky. As soon as funding was available, the whole museum entrance hall, intended for the lapidary collection, was to be enclosed on all sides to prevent the monuments from further decay: Hohenwart can justly be regarded as the actual founder of the Museum's lapidarium. No doubt all other museum collections, archaeological included, were competently looked after in the same manner.

The Museum encountered great financial difficulties in the first years of its existence, as it had to depend entirely upon voluntary contributions. A Society for the Promotion of the Museum (*Musealverein, Društvo kranjskega deželnega muzeja*) was founded in the years 1837-1839 to help it raise additional funds. Towards the end of Hohenwart's

⁵⁴ «Jahresfeier» 1832.

⁵⁵ DIMITZ 1874, 82 ff.

⁵⁶ HOHENWART 1836.

activity in the Museum, in 1843, the Historical Society was founded, as a branch of the Historical Society of Inner Austria that had its seat in Graz. Both societies intended to take care of the archives and other material remains of the past, but since the aims of the latter were not much different from those of the former, their activities may have occasionally suffered from not being well delimited and defined. Thus Alfons Müllner, a later curator of the Museum (1889-1903), referred in his history of the Museum to an interesting proposal advanced in 1845 by Baron Anton Codelli von Fahrenfeld (who was then the head of the Historical Society), to the Museum Society⁵⁷. According to him, the administration of the Museum collections should have been divided in such a way that the Historical Society would have been responsible for the library, the archives, and the "lapidarium", while the rest of the Museum collections would be the responsibility of the Museum Society. He counted the Roman inscriptions to the written historical sources and – in accordance with his time – disregarded their archaeological value as archaeological monuments. This proposal could not be accepted because of legal impediments.

EPILOGUE

A new era was inaugurated with Karl Deschmann (Dežman), who became the chief curator and director of the Museum in 1852. He had studied law in Vienna, but was a well-known natural scientist and archaeologist who also enjoyed fame abroad. He discovered pile-dwellings near Ig on the Ljubljansko barje, which are dated to the Late Copper Age (i.e. the third millennium BC). They were named after him and are still known as 'Dežmanova kolišča'. He also wrote on Roman Neviodunum, as well as on the famous Iron-Age situla of Vače – one of the symbols of Slovenian archaeology – which he acquired for the Museum. Due to his exceptional ability and political involvement (in 1861 he was elected the provincial deputy and – by the Provincial Diet (Landtag) – a member of the Vienna Parliament), it became possible to construct a new Museum building, which was completed in 1885; the Museum collections opened to the public in 1888. The National Museum of Slovenia is still located in this palace.

I would very much like to thank Prof. Janez Šumrada and Prof. Richard J. A. Talbert for their valuable comments.

⁵⁷ MÜLLNER 1897-98 («Argo» 6, 55).

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