

## The boundary stone between Aquileia and Emona

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### Izvleček

V strugi Ljubljanice pod Bevkami je bil poleti 2001 najden mejnik med Akvilejo in Emono, izdelan iz nabrežinskega apnenca. Datacija mejnika je predklavdijska, najverjetneje je iz avgustejske dobe. Sodeč po drugih znanih mejnikih sta imeli na njem omenjeni mesti enakovreden pravni položaj in sta pripadali isti administrativni enoti. Mejniki torej dolazuje, da Emona ni nikoli pripadala Iliriku oz. pozneje provinci Panoniji, temveč je bila v Italiji, pred tem pa v Cisalpinski Galiji.

### Abstract

In the summer of 2001, a boundary stone between Aquileia and Emona, made of Aurisina/Nabrežina limestone, was discovered in the bed of the Ljubljanica River below Bevke, some 13 km to the southwest of Ljubljana. It is most probably dated to the Augustan period and is certainly pre-Claudian. According to other similar boundary stones, neither of the two communities involved could be subordinate to the other and both belonged to the same administrative unit. This means that both towns belonged to Italy and that Emona had never been part of Illyricum (or, later, of the province of Pannonia).

### THE SITE OF DISCOVERY

In the early summer of 2001, a boundary stone was discovered in the bed of the Ljubljanica River below Bevke (some 13 km to the southwest of Ljubljana), at the mouth of a supposed drainage ditch, some three hundred metres east of the confluence of the Ljubljanica River and the Borovniščica Stream. The mentioned drainage ditch may have been an old bed of the Ljubljanica, or, more probably, the continuation of the Borovniščica Stream, since it is significant that right at that point the Ljubljanica makes an abrupt turn into one of its few meanders.<sup>1</sup> The point of discovery of the boundary stone is merely 1 km east of a farmhouse called Kamin, which is situated between the Zrnica and Borovniščica Streams (*fig. 1*). It is important to emphasize that the boundary stone was found more

or less *in situ*, almost at the meander which, had it existed in the Roman period, would have no doubt been a good point of orientation in this part of the Ljubljana Marsh. Near the mentioned farmhouse there is a relatively important find-spot from the early Roman period (coins, a bronze statuette of Apollo,<sup>2</sup> a medallion with a Prima Porta Type portrait of Augustus,<sup>3</sup> fragments of weapons). Finds from there are also known from the early Iron Age (pottery), while there are none that would indicate an epichoric Tauriscan settlement. This may be due to an incidental lack of evidence, since the region of Bevke has not been explored yet, or such a settlement had actually never existed, which indeed would seem to me less likely. There are, however, sporadic late La Tène period finds.<sup>4</sup> Most probably a small Roman merchant station existed in the immediate vicinity, perhaps an emporium, which

<sup>1</sup> My grateful thanks are due to Andrej Šemrov, who kindly asked me to publish the boundary stone and gave me all the data concerning the findspot and the hypothesized former river bed of the Ljubljanica. I would also like to thank Claudio Zaccaria for having kindly read this article.

<sup>2</sup> J. Istenič, Un bronetto di Apollo (Beleno?) dal fiume Ljubljanica (Slovenia), *Aquil. Nos.* 72, 2001, 57-70.

<sup>3</sup> J. Istenič, A uniface medallion with a portrait of Augustus from the River Ljubljanica (Slovenia), *Germania* 81/1, 2003, forthcoming.

<sup>4</sup> Roman coins, particularly the 19 Republican *denarii*, are published in: A. Šemrov, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit*

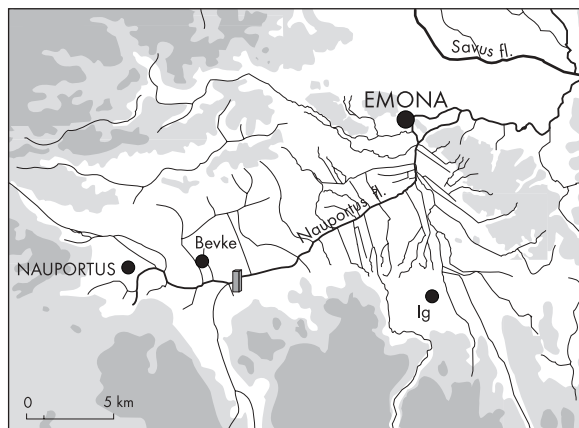


Fig. 1: The exact site of discovery of the boundary stone from Bevke.

Sl. 1: Natančno najdišče mejnika iz Bevke.

must have been of some importance in the broad area of the Emona Basin, delimited by the triangle of Nauportus-Ig-Emona. Its importance is *eo ipso* confirmed by the discovery of the boundary stone, which makes it almost certain that somewhere in the near vicinity a bridge or a ferry must have existed at least in the late Republican period, if not earlier - in addition to the inevitable road or path connecting the nearby settlements.

The boundary stone is made of Aurisina/Nabrežina limestone<sup>5</sup> and has the shape of a *cippus*, most of which was roughly worked, as it was intended to be fixed relatively deep in the earth. Only its upper part is smoothly polished. It is wholly preserved, although the surface is badly damaged by erosion. Its dimensions are 130 x 50 x 16 cm; smoothly worked upper part: 32 x 43 cm. The narrow upper panel: 11 x 36 cm; height of the letters: 8 cm. It was brought to the National Museum of Slovenia, where it is presently kept in the *lapidarium* (inv. no. L 204; fig. 2).

Inscription on the narrow upper panel: *Finis*

Inscription on one of the sides: *Aquileien/sium*

Inscription on the other side: *Emonen/sium*

The letters are regular, elegant and carefully cut, the Emona side is damaged in its upper right corner,

therefore the letter *N* is badly damaged. *Q* has a stiff tail, which may indicate an early date. An early date is also suggested by the use of Aurisina limestone, which in the Emona Basin was used for the stone monuments of the late Republican and (early) Augustan periods. The building inscription of the *magistri vici* from Nauportus (*CIL* III 3777 = 10719 = *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2286)<sup>6</sup> is made of the same stone, as is also the tombstone of T. Caesernius Diphilus in Emona (*AIJ* 176),<sup>7</sup> which are both dated either to the last years of Caesar, or to the Triumviral period, or, at the latest, to the early Augustan Principate. Since local quarries had most probably not been operating yet, and consequently there were no stone-cutter workshops, it can be supposed that the inscribed stone monuments had been produced in Aquileia and brought directly from there to the Emona Basin. The reading *Finis* on the upper panel matches the *Aquileienses* on the "Aquileian" side, while in relation to the *Emonenses* it is placed upside down. According to C. Zaccaria, the areas of Duino/Devin and Aurisina/Nabrežina did not belong to the *ager* of Tergeste, as has been supposed by A. Degrassi,<sup>8</sup> but rather to Aquileia. The Aurisina quarries had first perhaps been under the jurisdiction of the *res publica* of Aquileia, but probably came early into imperial possession.<sup>9</sup> Stone monuments made of Aurisina limestone are thus the best evidence for direct contacts between Aquileia and the Emona Basin, and fully confirm the close trade contacts with Nauportus, mentioned by Strabo (see *infra*).

## FINIS

The original meaning of the word *finis* is a line delimiting the surface of a given area, i.e. its utmost margin; however, it is also used for the delimited region itself. *Fines* are lines which delimited the land and divided it into single estates. The entire *ager publicus* was delimited, not merely those areas that were assigned to somebody. Land which was delimited but not yet measured and divided was called *ager arcifinius*.<sup>10</sup> This was a land acquired by occupation and, not yet having been surveyed or assigned, had irregular boundaries. Any other land within the Roman state

in *Slovenien* IV (Berlin 1998) 109/1 and 109/2 (pp. 237 ff). For the data concerning other finds I am also indebted to Andrej Šemrov.

<sup>5</sup> Petrographic analysis of the stone is presented in the same volume of the *Arheološki vestnik* by Anton Ramovš.

<sup>6</sup> M. Šašel Kos, *The Roman Inscriptions in the National Museum of Slovenia / Lapidarij Narodnega muzeja Slovenije*, Situla 35 (Ljubljana 1997) no. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, no. 3.

<sup>8</sup> C. Zaccaria, *Regio X Venetia et Histria. Tergeste - Ager Tergestinus et Tergesti adtributus*, in: *Supplementa Italica*, n.s. 10 (Roma 1992) 163.

<sup>9</sup> *Cit. ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> A. Schulten, s.v. *Finis*, in: *Diz. ep.* vol. III. F-H (Roma 1922) 89-92.



*Fig. 2: The inscriptions on the boundary stone from Bevke.*  
*Sl. 2: Napisi na mejniku iz Bevke.*

had its owner, a physical or legal entity. There are essentially three categories of *finēs* (as well as combinations of them): 1. *finēs fundi*, i.e. boundaries of various private estates including grave plots, 2. *finēs civitatis*, i.e. boundaries between towns and tribes, and 3. *finēs provinciae et populi Romani*, i.e. boundaries between provinces and between the Roman empire and *barbaricum*. The new boundary stone belongs to the 2nd category. Every autonomous town was assigned its territory, which also included *vici* and other small settlements; these, however, could not have their own territory, because it was subordinated to that of the autonomous town, although *vicani* possessed estates similar to the *prata publica* of the towns.

Several boundary stones between towns and peoples and/or tribes organized into *civitates* have been found to date in Italy and the provinces of the Roman empire. They are relatively numerous in Dalmatia and Africa, but several have also been found in Italy, Gallia, Hispania, and various provinces of Asia Minor. Sporadically, they are found almost everywhere. J. Wilkes collected 27 boundary stones from Dalmatia, most of which are boundary stones between two *civitates*.<sup>11</sup> Of particular significance is the inscription inscribed on a natural limestone rock on the slopes of the Velebit Mts. in the hinterland of Jablanac, between the Ortoplini and Parentini. It allowed an approach to the water source 500 paces long and 1 pace wide to the Ortoplini within the territory of the Parentini (*CIL* III 15053 = *ILS* 5953b).<sup>12</sup> Such a path was of vital importance both for men and their flocks, which were one of the most important sources of their living. This boundary inscription is excellent evidence for the significance of delimited pastures, suitable for grazing cattle or sheep, which was not only essential for tribes organized around villages or a more or less urbanized tribal centre, but also for the inhabitants of small and large cities. This has recently been emphasized also for Aquileia.<sup>13</sup> Retaining some of its former territorial possessions must have been important for the city, which saw

the establishment of several new autonomous towns (Tergeste, Forum Iuli, Iulium Carnicum) within the boundaries of what it had once been its territory.

Interesting and important for an interpretation of the boundary inscription from Bevke are similar boundary stones from northern Italy. The earliest are boundary stones, which fixed the borders between Patavium and Ateste (*CIL* V 2492 = *ILS* 5944: *L. Caicilius Q. f. / procos., / terminos / finisque ex / senati consulto / statui iusit inter / Patavinos / et Atestinos*).<sup>14</sup> A boundary stone is also known between Ateste and Veicetia (*CIL* V 2490 = *ILS* 5945: *Sex. Atilius M. f. Saranus, pro cos., / ex senati consulto / inter Atestinos et Veicetinos / finis terminosque statui iusit*). A boundary stone between the Tridentini and Feltrini from Monte Pèrgol in Val Cadino (the broad area of Trento) is from a later period, the 1st century AD (*Suppl. It.* 6, 143-144 no. 1: *Finis inter / Trid(entinos) et Feltr(inos) / Lim(es) lat(us) p(edes) IIII*),<sup>15</sup> while several of them were inscribed on both sides, such as two boundary stones between Pisaurum and Suasa (*Fine(es) / Suasanor(um) // Fin(es) Pisaurens(ium)*),<sup>16</sup> or several boundary stones from Gallia Narbonensis, between Aquae Sextiae and Arelate (e.g. *Fines / Aquens(ium) // [F]ines / Arelat(ensium)*): *ILS* 5975 = *ILN* III 281).

Most interesting are three boundary inscriptions from the early 1st century AD, most probably from the Augustan period, inscribed on the rocks in the mountains of Civetta and Coldai, some 30 km to the northwest of Belluno.<sup>17</sup> Two read: *Fin(es) / Bel(lunatorum), Iul(iensium)* (an expected *et* having been omitted), while the third seems to contain mainly *Fin(es)*.<sup>18</sup> They testify that the region of Cadore, settled by the Catubri, belonged to the *ager* of Iulium Carnicum, although the mountainous region of Cadore gravitates more towards Belluno. This reading has therefore recently been challenged by G. L. Gregori, who interpreted the inscriptions as *Fines Iuliensium Bellunatorum*,<sup>19</sup> while C. Zaccaria suggested that perhaps both towns had the right to exploit the region.<sup>20</sup> It is difficult to decide between the two

<sup>11</sup> J. J. Wilkes, *Boundary Stones in Roman Dalmatia I. The Inscriptions*, *Arh. vest.* 25, 1974, 258-274.

<sup>12</sup> Wilkes, *ib.*, 258-259, no. 2; J. Šašel, *Pastorizia e transumanza. Contributo alla discussione*, *Rivista storica dell'antichità* 10, 1980, 179-185 [= *Opera selecta*, *Situla* 30 (Ljubljana 1992) 522-528].

<sup>13</sup> I. Modugno, *La viabilità aquileiese tra fascia rivierasca e montagne: la questione della transumanza. Una nota preliminare*, *Journal of Ancient Topography* 9, 1999, 51-66.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. also similar ones *CIL* V 2491 = *ILS* 5944a; *AE* 1923, 64.

<sup>15</sup> A. Buonopane, *Regio X Venetia et Histria - Tridentum*, in: *Supplementa Italica*, n.s. 6 (Roma 1990) 143-144.

<sup>16</sup> G. Paci, *Terre dei Pisaurens nella valle del Cesano*, *Picus* 16-17, 1996-1997, 115-148: these two boundary inscriptions actually marked the lands of Pisaurum within the territory of Suasa.

<sup>17</sup> A. Degrassi, *Il confine nord-orientale dell'Italia romana*, *Diss. Bernenses* 1, 6 (Bern 1954) 42-43.

<sup>18</sup> L. Lazzaro, *Regio X Venetia et Histria, Bellunum*, in: *Supplementa Italica*, n.s. 4 (Roma 1988) 317-319, no. 1.

<sup>19</sup> G. L. Gregori, *Vecchie e nuove ipotesi sulla storia amministrativa di Iulium Carnicum e di altri centri alpini*, in: *Iulium Carnicum: centro alpino tra Italia e Norico dalla protostoria all'età imperiale. Atti del Convegno, Arta Terme - Cividale, 29-30 settembre 1995*, *Studi e Ricerche sulla Gallia Cisalpina* 13 (Roma 2001) 169-172.

<sup>20</sup> C. Zaccaria, *Iulium Carnicum. Un centro alpino tra Italia e Norico (I sec. a.C. - I sec. d.C.)*, in: *Iulium Carnicum* (cit.

readings, because both are plausibly argued. It could merely be added that one of the reasons for Gregori's reconsideration has no real ground; it is precisely the Bevke boundary stone which proves that borders between two town territories must often have had little to do with natural boundaries or the proximity of a given area to the towns involved.

### COMMENTARY

The Bevke boundary stone delimited the territories of Aquileia and Emona. The site of discovery makes it clear that at a certain period, which is dependent on the date of the boundary stone and cannot be precisely determined, but can by no means be later than the reign of Claudius, the boundary ran somewhere near Bevke, assigning Nauportus to Aquileia, while Ig belonged to Emona. Historical reflections already convinced G. Zippel to draw the conclusion, in my opinion inevitable, that Nauportus actually belonged to Cisalpine Gaul, and was therefore legally dependent on Aquileia.<sup>21</sup> Despite the opinion to the contrary of A. Degrassi, this was further argued by J. Šašel, who logically concluded that Emona, too, had been included in Cisalpina at least since Caesar's proconsulate onwards.<sup>22</sup> Šašel's arguments have been strengthened by additional evidence in favour of the hypothesis that the Emona Basin belonged to Cisalpina at least since the late Republican period.<sup>23</sup> Nauportus was organized as a Roman *vicus*, it was governed by two *magistri vici*, of whom two pairs are known by their names: they were freedmen, and most probably all of them belonged to Aquileian families.<sup>24</sup> Nauportus was the last important trade outpost of Aquileia towards the east, and its importance was emphasized by Strabo, who, in two often cited

passages, mentioned that cargoes had been transported on wagons from Aquileia to Nauportus, where they were further conveyed on boats along the rivers to Segestica and to the Danube (4.6.10 C 207; 7.5.2 C314). Nauportus, an important merchant settlement with large warehouses on the banks of the Ljubljanica River (= Nauportus or Emona River), had always been most closely connected with Aquileia and prospered particularly in the late Republican and Augustan periods.<sup>25</sup> Traffic along the rivers was of great importance; like any other traffic in the Roman period, it was no doubt legally regulated.<sup>26</sup> The new boundary stone has now ultimately confirmed the hypothesis that Nauportus actually belonged to this city's territory.

Consequently, it must be observed that to the west, the territory of Emona consisted of a very narrow strip of land. This was most probably compensated by most of the Gorenjska (Upper Carniola) region to the north, and by the territory extending in the direction of Celeia and Neviodunum. The *ager* of Emona presumably ran to the north up to Atrans (= Trojane) and the Karavanke Mts., corresponding to the southern border of Noricum. To the east it extended to the Višnja Gora region (cf. the tombstone of a *decurio* of Emona from the village of Jezero, *ILSI* 68, and a milestone of Antoninus Pius, noting 44 miles from Neviodunum, *CIL* III 11322 = *ILSI* 180), where Pannonia began, while the Colapis River (= Kolpa/Kupa) would delimit the Emona territory from Liburnia in the province of Dalmatia.<sup>27</sup>

It is not easy to give a historical explanation of the boundary stone because, although pre-Claudian, it cannot be dated more precisely. There are, however, at least two certain starting-points.

First, it is in any case clear that neither of the two communities involved was subordinate to the

in n. 19) 142 and n. 24.

<sup>21</sup> G. Zippel, *Die römische Herrschaft in Illyrien bis auf Augustus* (Leipzig 1877) 195.

<sup>22</sup> Degrassi, *Confine* (cit. in n. 17) 87; J. Šašel, Lineamenti dell'espansione romana nelle Alpi Orientali e nei Balcani occidentali, in: *Aquileia e l'arco alpino orientale*, Ant. Altoadr. 9 (Udine 1976) 71-90 [= *Opera selecta*, Situla 30 (Ljubljana 1992) 408-431]; id., Zur Frühgeschichte der XV. Legion und zur Nordostgrenze der Cisalpina zur Zeit Caesars, in: *Römische Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Epigraphik. Festschrift für Artur Betz zur Vollendung seines 80. Lebensjahres*, Archäologisch-epigraphische Studien 1 (Wien 1985) 547-555 [= *Opera selecta*, Situla 30 (Ljubljana 1992) 469-477].

<sup>23</sup> M. Šašel Kos, The 15th Legion at Emona - Some Thoughts, *ZPE* 109, 1995, 227-244, Pl. IV: 4,5; cf. also ead., Caesarian Inscriptions in the Emona Basin?, in: G. Paci (ed.), *Epigrafia romana in area adriatica (Actes de la IX<sup>e</sup> rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie du monde romain)* (Macerata 1998) 101-112, and particularly ead., Caesar, Illyricum, and the Hinterland of Aquileia, in: G. Urso (ed.), *L'ultimo Cesare. Scritti, Riforme, Progetti, Poteri, Congiure*, Monografie / Centro ricerche e documentazione sull'ant. class. 20 (Roma 2000) 294-296.

<sup>24</sup> M. Šašel Kos, *Nauportus: antični literarni in epigrafski viri (Nauportus: Literary and Epigraphical Sources)*, in: J. Horvat, *Nauportus (Vrhnika)*, Dela 1. razr. SAZU 33 (Ljubljana 1990) 22-33 (pp. 149-159).

<sup>25</sup> J. Horvat, *Nauportus (Vrhnika)*, Dela 1. razr. SAZU 33 (Ljubljana 1990).

<sup>26</sup> C. Cloppet, Remarques sur le droit des cours d'eau sous l'Empire Romain. Difficultés et essais de solutions, in: R. Bedon, A. Malissard (eds), *La Loire et les fleuves de la Gaule romaine et des régions voisines*, Caesarodunum 33-34 (Limoges 1999-2000) 331-350.

<sup>27</sup> J. Šašel, Emona, in: *RE Suppl.* XI (Stuttgart 1968) 567 [= *Opera selecta*, Situla 30 (Ljubljana 1992) 574]; M. Lovenjak, *Inscriptiones Latinae Sloveniae 1. Neviodunum*, Situla 37 (Ljubljana 1998) 16-17.

other. Thus it can plausibly be postulated that at the time when the boundary stone was erected, Emona was already *colonia Iulia*.

Second, it seems certain that both towns belonged to the same administrative unit, in this case Italy or the Italian *Regio decima*, since - had Emona been in Illyricum or Pannonia - this should and would have been mentioned in the inscription. Thus, for example, a boundary stone was discovered in the ruins of Marcianopolis, inscribed on two sides; on one was written: *F(ines) terr(itorii) Thrac(um)*, on the other: *F(ines) terr(itorii) Odess(itanorum)* (AE 1928, 152), and several others with similar inscriptions were found in the area of Odessus (Lower Moesia).<sup>28</sup>

It can hardly be hypothesized that the boundary stone could be dated to the period before 42 BC, i.e. before Cisalpine Gaul became Italy, since this would mean that Emona had already existed as a colony at such an early date, which, historically considered, would not be impossible, although archaeological finds are (still) lacking. Emona became a Roman colony most probably under Octavian, either after his Illyrian wars in 33 BC, or after Actium a couple of years later.<sup>29</sup>

Obviously, a thorough revision of the eastern part of the *ager* of Aquileia is required. It was hitherto believed that it extended as far as Ad Pirum (= Hrušica); consequently, the broad area of Razdrto and Postojna has always been considered as a geographically convenient border between the administrative territories of Aquileia and Emona. No scholar has ever seriously questioned this delimitation, and even the mere possibility that the *ager* of Aquileia might ever have extended so close to that of Emona had not occurred to anybody. There were some uncertainties regarding the boundaries between the territories of Aquileia and Tergeste, but most scholars accepted the borders established by A. Degrassi.<sup>30</sup> A problematic point was, perhaps, the territory of the road-station and

settlement at Fluvio Frigido, later Castra (= Ajdovščina) and the entire valley of the Vipava River,<sup>31</sup> as well as settlements in the Karst area, for which the boundaries of the later ecclesiastic administration were - probably erroneously -<sup>32</sup> considered as decisive. Thus Samatorca, Skopo, Komen, Dornberg, Branik and Vipava would have belonged to Aquileia, while Brestovica, Tomaj, and Senožeče would have been under the jurisdiction of Tergeste.<sup>33</sup>

When Aquileia had been the only autonomous town in the broad area of northeastern Italy, it certainly possessed more land than later, when other colonies were subsequently founded in its proximity. Each of them needed some territory of their own, but this was necessarily smaller than it would have been, had there been no other city already in existence. These towns were Tergeste, Iulium Carnicum, Emona, and Forum Iuli. The existence of Aegida concerned mainly Tergeste, not Aquileia.<sup>34</sup> To possess as much territory as possible was of course vital for the inhabitants of Roman towns, especially for all those who lived from stock-raising and all the crafts and trades connected with it, such as the processing of milk, meat, skins, and wool, from cheese to clothes production. They needed enough space for pastures and transhumance. According to J. Šašel, P. Publicius Ursio, a custodian of pastures and forests (*saltus*) known from a tombstone from Ajdovščina (*Ins. It. X 4, 340*), carried out his job somewhere along the borders of the territories of Tergeste, Forum Iuli and Emona.<sup>35</sup> Even if it is hypothesized that the boundaries of the town territories changed with time, it is now almost certain that Emona never extended as far towards the west.

Like Emona, the *ager* of Tergeste, too, was relatively small vis-à-vis Aquileia; it did not reach, as has been pointed out, even as far as Duino/Devin and Aurisina/Nabrežina. On the other hand, however, it comprised most of the Istrian interior, extending as far as Odra Mt. and the Arsia River.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Lazarenko, I., The Southern Boundary of *Terra Odessitanorum* (1<sup>st</sup> - beginning of 2<sup>nd</sup> c.), *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 6, 2002, 45-57; see also a boundary stone between the Thracians and the city of Thasos: AE 1992, 1533.

<sup>29</sup> Šašel Kos, *15th legion* (cit. in n. 23).

<sup>30</sup> Degrassi, *Confine* (cit. in n. 17). Borders, proposed by him, were most recently discussed (and more or less accepted) by Zaccaria, *Tergeste* (cit. in n. 8) 163-164.

<sup>31</sup> Degrassi, *Confine* (cit. in n. 17) 15 n. 7, who ascribed the area to Aquileia. Dessau and Sticotti ascribe it to Tergeste, also J. Šašel, in *ILJug* 451, 1221, 1222.

<sup>32</sup> Sources for these boundaries are from the late Middle Ages, when the settlement pattern of this region was entirely different from what it had been in antiquity. I would like to thank Prof. Rajko Bratož for a helpful discussion about this problem.

<sup>33</sup> Degrassi, *Confine* (cit. in n. 17) 24. See lastly Modugno, *Viabilità* (cit. in n. 13) 57. Italian names for these towns and villages are: Samatorza, Scopo, Comeno, Montespino, Rifembergo, and Vipacco; Brestovizza, Tomadio, and Senosecchia.

<sup>34</sup> See on Aegida, among others, Degrassi, *Confine* (cit. in n. 17) 72-74; J. Šašel, Koper - Capodistria, in: *Koper med Rimom in Benetkami / Capodistria tra Roma e Venezia. Prispvki k zgodovini Kopra / Contributi per la storia di Capodistria* (Ljubljana 1989) 5-14 [= *Opera selecta*, Situla 30 (Ljubljana 1992) 680-689]; Zaccaria, *Tergeste* (cit. in n. 8) 161-162.

<sup>35</sup> Šašel, *Pastorizia* (cit. in n. 12) 184 [= *Opera selecta*, Situla 30 (Ljubljana 1992) 527].

<sup>36</sup> Zaccaria, *Tergeste* (cit. in n. 8) 163-164.

In the case of Emona such a small *ager* to the west of the town, as it is documented on the new boundary stone, is nonetheless surprising. Did it ever change? In my opinion, it is not possible to answer this question with certainty. Aquileia might have insisted on the legal possession of this territory even at a later date, when, with the changed economic and geopolitical situation, it was no longer important for the city to have a base at Nauportus, which did indeed naturally gravitate towards Emona, where in any case many colonists from Aquileia settled when it had become a colony. It may be hypothesized that *de iure* Nauportus may have remained within the territory of Aquileia, while *de facto* it belonged to Emona. In any case, the once flourishing large village began to decline rapidly after the reign of Tiberius, and from the middle of the 1st century AD onwards it was merely an insignificant

settlement. It gained in importance again in the late Roman period when it was a part of the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* system. On the other hand, however, the boundaries between the territories of Aquileia and Emona might have been officially changed when Emona became a dominant city in the area.

The new boundary stone, which is probably dated to the reign of Augustus, and should, as we have argued, certainly not be dated later than the reign of Claudius, must be considered proof that Emona already belonged to Italy in this period. This means that the town had never belonged to Illyricum (or, later, to the province of Pannonia), as is still the predominant opinion, despite so many arguments which have indicated the opposite even earlier.<sup>37</sup> The main importance of the new epigraphic discovery should be seen precisely in this proof.

<sup>37</sup> J. Šašel, Zur verwaltungstechnischen Zugehörigkeit Emonas, *Acta Arch. Acad. Sc. Hung.* 41, 1989, 169-174 [= *Opera selecta* (Ljubljana 1992) 707-714]; M. Šašel Kos, Was Emona in Italy or Pannonia?, in: *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia II*, Situla 41 (Ljubljana 2002) (forthcoming).

## Mejnik med Akvilejo in Emono

### NAJDIŠČE

Zgodaj poleti 2001 so potapljači v strugi Ljubljance pod Bevkami (15 minut peš) odkrili mejnik in ga s posredovanjem Andreja Šemrova ljubeznivo prepeljali v lapidarij Narodnega muzeja. Mejnik je bil najden pri ustju izsuševalnega jarka (?), kakih tristo metrov vzhodno od izliva potoka Borovniščice v Ljubljano. Za omenjeni jarek verjetno napačno domnevajo, da bi utegnil biti stara struga Ljubljance, kajti vse najdbe izvirajo iz zdajšnje struge. Torej je verjetneje, da je bila ta bolj ali manj identična z nekdanjo, antično, posebej še, ker se tik nad najdiščem obrne in tvori enega redkih meandrov. Morda je jarek nekakšno nadaljevanje Borovniščice.<sup>1</sup> Točka, kjer je bil mejnik odkrit, je le kak kilometer vzhodno od kmetije, ki se imenuje Kamin in se nahaja med potokoma Zrnica in Borovniščica (*sl. 1*). Potrebno je poudariti, da je bil mejnik najden bolj ali manj *in situ*, le malo oddaljen od meandra, ki bi v primeru, da je obstajal tudi že v rimskem obdobju, predstavljal zelo dobro orientacijsko točko na tem območju Ljubljanskega barja. Blizu omenjene kmetije se nahaja pomembno zgodnjorimsko najdišče (novci, bronast kipec Apolona,<sup>2</sup> medaljon z upodobitvijo Avgusta tipa *Prima Porta*,<sup>3</sup>

orožje). Med najdbami je tudi keramika iz starejše železne dobe, medtem ko so (pozno)latenske najdbe le sporadične. Manjkajo najdbe, ki bi dokazovale staroselsko naselbino Tavriskov; pomanjkanje tovrstnih najdb bi utegnili biti zgolj slučajno, kajti širše območje Bevk še ni bilo raziskano, lahko pa (čeprav je to manj verjetno), da takšna naselbina dejansko ni obstajala. Posamezne latenske najdbe s tega območja so znane.<sup>4</sup> Zelo verjetno je v neposredni bližini najdišča mejnika obstajala manjša rimska prekladalna postaja, verjetno majhen emporij, ki v širšem prostoru Emonske kotline, ki ga je omejeval trikotnik Navport-Ig-Emona, ni bil nepomemben. To namreč *eo ipso* dokazuje mejnik; nekje v bližini lahko vsaj v poznorepublikanski dobi, če ne že prej, domnevamo obstoj mostu ali broda čez Ljubljano, naselje pa je moralo biti s sosednjimi povezano tudi z lokalno cesto.

Mejnik v obliki pravokotnega stebrička (*cippus*) je izdelan iz nabrežinskega apnenca;<sup>5</sup> večji del je neobdelan, ker je bil zakopan precej globoko v zemljo, le zgornji del je obdelan in zglajen. Ohranjen je cel, vendar je po površini močno erodiran (130 x 50 x 16 cm; mere lepo obdelanega zgornjega dela: 32 x 43 cm; ozka zgornja ploskev: 11 x 36 cm; v. črk: 8 cm). Hrani se v lapidariju Narodnega muzeja Slovenije (inv. št. L 204; *sl. 2*).

<sup>1</sup> Zahvaljujem se Andreju Šemrovu, ki mi je ljubeznivo posredoval vse podatke v zvezi z odkritjem mejnika in o najdišču ter mi omogočil njegovo objavo. Zahvaljujem se mu tudi za njegov predlog razlage o nastanku tako imenovane stare struge Ljubljance in o njeni povezavi z Borovniščico.

<sup>2</sup> Glej J. Istenič, Un bronetto di Apollo (Beleno?) dal fiume Ljubljana (Slovenia), *Aquil. Nos.* 72, 2001, 57-70.

<sup>3</sup> J. Istenič, A uniface medallion with a portrait of Augustus from the River Ljubljana (Slovenia), *Germania* 81/1, 2003, v tisku.

<sup>4</sup> Rimski novci, predvsem 19 republikanskih denarijev, so objavljeni pri: A. Šemrov, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien* IV (Berlin 1998) 109/1 in 109/2 (str. 237 ss). Andreju Šemrovu se lepo zahvaljujem tudi za podatke o drugih najdbah.

<sup>5</sup> Analizo kamnine je v posebnem članku v isti številki Arheološkega vestnika predstavil A. Ramovš.

Napis na zgornji ozki ploskvi: *Finis*

Napis na eni od širših strani: *Aquileien/sium*

Napis na drugi strani: *Emonen/sium*

Črke so pravilne, lepe in skrbno izklesane, na emonski strani je nekoliko odlomljen zgornji desni kot, zato je črka *N* močno poškodovana. *Q* ima raven repek, kar je značilno za zgodnje napise. Zgodnji datum dokazuje tudi uporaba nabrežinskega apnenca, ki je na emonskem območju značilen za spomenike iz poznorepublikanske in (zgodnje) avgustejske dobe. Gradbeni napis dveh vaških načelnikov (*magistri vici*) iz Navporta (*CIL* III 3777 = 10719 = *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2286)<sup>6</sup> je izdelan iz tega kamna, enako tudi nagrobnik Tita Cezernija Difila (*T. Caesernius Diphilus*) iz Emone (*AJJ* 176);<sup>7</sup> oba sta datirana bodisi v zadnja Cezarjeva leta, bodisi v čas drugega triumvirata, ali pa v zgodnje avgustejsko obdobje. Tedaj namreč lokalni kamnolomi še niso bili izkoriščani in kamnoseških delavnic še ni bilo; kamniti spomeniki z napisi so bili izdelani v Akvileji in pripeljani direktno od tam v Emonsko kotlino. Napis *Finis* na zgornji ploskvi se ujema z *Aquileiensis* na "akvilejski" strani, medtem ko glede na *Emonens* stoji na glavi. Po mnenju C. Zaccarije območji Devina in Nabrežine nista pripadali agru Tergesta, kot je menil A. Degrassi,<sup>8</sup> pač pa Akvileji. Nabrežinski kamnolomi so bili najprej pod upravo mesta (*res publica*) Akvileje, verjetno pa so kmalu prešli v cesarsko last.<sup>9</sup> Kamniti spomeniki iz nabrežinskega apnenca so eden najboljših dokazov za neposredne stike med Akvilejo in Emonsko kotlino in potrjujejo tesne trgovske stike z Navportom, ki jih omenja Strabon (glej nižje).

### FINIS

Prvotni pomen besede *finis* je črta, ki označuje površino določenega ozemlja, namreč njegov skrajni rob; *finis* pa je lahko pomenil tudi ozemlje samo. *Fines* so črte, ki so razmejevale zemljo in jo delile na posamezna posestva. Celotni *ager publicus* je bil razdeljen, ne zgolj tisto ozemlje, ki je bilo nekomu dodeljeno. Svet, ki je bil razmejen, ne pa tudi izmerjen in nekomu dodeljen, se je imenoval *ager arcifinius*.<sup>10</sup> To je bila dežela, ki jo je okupirala rimska država; ni bila še izmerjena in dodeljena, zato meje še niso bile natančno določene. Vsako drugo ozemlje v rimski državi je imelo lastnika, fizično ali pravno osebo. Razlikujemo predvsem tri kategorije *fines* in seveda njihove kombinacije: 1. *fines fundi*: meje različnih privatnih posestev vključno z grobnimi parcelami, 2. *fines civitatis*: meje med mesti in ljudstvi/plemeni ter 3. *fines provinciae et populi Romani*: meje med provincami ter med rimsko državo in barbarikom. Novi mejnik pripada 2. kategoriji. Vsako avtonomno mesto je imelo svoj teritorij, v okviru katerega so bile tudi

vasi (*vici*) in druge majhne naselbine; te niso mogle imeti svojega lastnega ozemlja, ker so bile podrejene mestu, čeprav so vaščani (*vicani*) lahko izkoriščali javna zemljišča, podobna mestu pripadajočim travnikom (*prata publica*).

Več mejnikov med mesti in ljudstvi oz. plemeni, organiziranimi v *civitates*, je bilo najdenih tako v Italiji kot v provincah rimskega imperija. V Dalmaciji in Afriki so relativno številni, več jih je bilo najdenih tudi v Italiji, Galiji, Hispaniji in v nekaterih provincah Male Azije, medtem ko so drugod redki. J. Wilkes je zbral 27 mejnikov iz Dalmacije, od katerih je večina označevala meje med dvema mestnima oz. plemenskima občinama (*civitates*).<sup>11</sup> Posebej zanimiv je napis, vklesan v živo skalo na pobočju Velebita v zaledju Jablanaca, mejnik med Ortoplini in Parentini. Ortoplinom je na ozemlju Parentinov dovoljeval dohod do izvira žive vode, ki je bil dolg 500 korakov in širok 1 korak (*CIL* III 15053 = *ILS* 5953 b).<sup>12</sup> Takšna steza je bila izjemno pomembna tako za ljudi kot za njihove črede, saj je voda eden glavnih virov življenja. Mejnik odlično dokazuje, kako zelo pomembno je bilo natančno razmejiti pašnike in drugo zemljo, primerno za rejo goveda, konj, drobnice in prašičev, kar ni bilo pomembno le za plemena in njihove vasi, temveč tudi za prebivalce manjših in večjih mest, ki so tudi živeli od svojih čred. Nedavno je bil ta vidik poudarjen tudi za Akvilejo.<sup>13</sup> Nedvomno je bilo zanjo pomembno, da je obdržala vsaj nekaj nekdanjega teritorija, saj so v okviru mej njenega upravnega območja zrasla kar tri avtonomna mesta (Tergeste, Forum Iuli in Iulium Carnicum).

Zanimivi in pomembni za presojo pomena mejnika iz Bevk so še zlasti podobni mejniki iz severne Italije. Najstarejši so mejniki, ki so določali meje med Patavijem in *Ateste* (*CIL* V 2492 = *ILS* 5944: *L. Caecilius Q. f. / procos., / terminos / finisque ex / senati consulto / statui iusit inter / Patavinos / et Atestinos*).<sup>14</sup> Znan je tudi mejnik med *Ateste* in Veicetijo (*CIL* V 2490 = *ILS* 5945: *Sex. Attilius M. f. Saranus, pro cos., / ex senati consulto / inter Atestinos et Veicetinos / finis terminosque statui iusit*). Mejnik med Tridentini in Feltrini z Monte Pèrgol v Val Cadino (širše območje Trenta) je poznejši, iz 1. stoletja po Kr. (*Suppl. It.* 6, 143-144 št. 1: *Finis inter / Trid(entinos) et Feltr(inos). / Lim(es) lat(us) p(edes) IIII*);<sup>15</sup> nekaj mejnikov pa ima, tako kot mejnik iz Bevk, napis na obeh straneh, tako npr. dva mejnika med Pisavrom in Suaso (*Fine(s) / Suasanor(um) // Fin(es) Pisaurens(ium)*)<sup>16</sup> ali pa mejniki iz Narbonske Galije, med mestoma *Aquae Sextiae* in *Arelate* (npr. *Fines / Aquens(ium) // [F]ines / Arelat(ensium)*): *ILS* 5975 = *ILN* III 281).

Zelo zanimivi so trije mejniki iz 1. stoletja po Kr., zelo verjetno iz avgustejske dobe, ki so vklesani na skale v gorah Civetta in Coldai, kakih 30 km severozahodno od Belluna.<sup>17</sup> Na dveh piše: *Fin(es) / Bel(lunatorum), Iul(iensium)* (kaže, da je bil *et*, ki bi ga pričakovali, izpuščen), na tretji skali pa je vklesano le *Fin(es)*.<sup>18</sup> Ti napisi pričajo, da je območje Cadore,

<sup>6</sup> M. Šašel Kos, *The Roman Inscriptions in the National Museum of Slovenia | Lapidarij Narodnega muzeja Slovenije*, Situla 35 (Ljubljana 1997) št. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, št. 3.

<sup>8</sup> C. Zaccaria, *Regio X Venetia et Histria. Tergeste - Ager Tergestinus et Tergesti adtributus*, v: *Supplementa Italica*, n. s. 10 (Roma 1992) 163.

<sup>9</sup> *Cit. ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> A. Schulten, s. v. *Finis*, v: *Diz. ep.* vol. III. F-H (Roma 1922) 89-92.

<sup>11</sup> J. J. Wilkes, *Boundary Stones in Roman Dalmatia I. The Inscriptions*, *Arh. vest.* 25, 1974, 258-274.

<sup>12</sup> Wilkes, *ib.*, 258-259, št. 2; J. Šašel, *Pastorizia e transumanza. Contributo alla discussione*, *Rivista storica dell'antichità* 10, 1980, 179-185 [= *Opera selecta* (Ljubljana 1992) 522-528].

<sup>13</sup> I. Modugno, *La viabilità aquileiese tra fascia rivierasca e montagne: la questione della transumanza. Una nota preliminare*, *Journal of Ancient Topography* 9, 1999, 51-66.

<sup>14</sup> Prim. tudi dva temu podobna: *CIL* V 2491 = *ILS* 5944a; *AE* 1923, 64.

<sup>15</sup> A. Buonopane, *Regio X Venetia et Histria - Tridentum*, v: *Supplementa Italica*, n. s. 6 (Roma 1990) 143-144.

<sup>16</sup> G. Paci, *Terre dei Pisaurensi nella valle del Cesano*, *Picus* 16-17, 1996-1997, 115-148: ta dva mejnika sta označevala ozemlje, ki je v okviru mestnega teritorija Suase pripadalo mestu *Pisaurum*.

<sup>17</sup> A. Degrassi, *Il confine nord-orientale dell'Italia romana*, *Diss. Bernenses* 1, 6 (Bern 1954) 42-43.



ki so ga naseljevali Katubrini, pripadalo mestnemu teritoriju mesta *Iulium Carnicum*, čeprav gorato območje Cadore bolj gravitira k Bellunu. Zato je takšno čitanje teh napisov nedavno postavil pod vprašaj G. L. Gregori, ki jih je raztolmačil kot *Fines Iulensium Bellunatorum*,<sup>19</sup> C. Zaccaria pa je predlagal, da sta morda obe mesti imeli pravico izkoriščati obmejno območje Cadore.<sup>20</sup> Težko se je odločiti med enim in drugim branjem napisov, ker so za vsako navedeni tehtni argumenti. Lahko le dodam, da eden od razlogov, ki jih Gregori navaja v prid novemu branju, nima teže; ravno mejnik iz Bevk dokazuje, da se meje med mestnimi teritoriji pogosto niso ozirale na naravne meje in še manj na bližnji enega ali drugega mesta, temveč so potekale povsem samovoljno, odvisno od vpliva in interesov politično močnejšega mesta.

### KOMENTAR

Mejnik iz Bevk je razmejeval mestni območji Akvileje in Emona. Iz najdišča jasno izhaja, da je v določenem obdobju, ki ga sicer ni mogoče povsem natančno opredeliti, odvisno pa je od datacije mejnika, meja potekala nekje v bližini Bevk, pri čemer je Navport pripadal Akvileji, Ig pa Emoni. Vsekakor gre za zgodnji čas, ki nikakor ne more biti poznejši od vladarje Klavdija. Zgodovinski razmislek je navedel že G. Zippela na sklep - po mojem mnenju neizogiben - da je Navport od nekdanj pripadal Cisalpinski Galiji in je bil torej pravno pod okriljem Akvileje.<sup>21</sup> Čeprav je A. Degrassi menil drugače, da je bil namreč Navport v Iliriku, je J. Šašel z dodatnimi argumenti dokazoval njegovo pripadnost Cisalpinski Galiji ter logično zaključil, da je vsaj od Cezarjevega prokonzulata dalje tej provinci pripadala tudi Emona.<sup>22</sup> Šašlovi dokazi so bili podprti z novo evidenco v prid hipotezi, da je Emonska kotlina pripadala Cisalpini vsaj v poznem republikanskem obdobju.<sup>23</sup> Navport je bil organiziran kot rimski *vicus*, upravljala sta ga vaška načelnika (*magistri vici*), od katerih po imenu poznamo dva para: vsi so bili osvobodenci in so bili zelo verjetno vsi člani akvilejskih družin.<sup>24</sup> Navport je bil zadnja trgovska akvilejska postojanka na vzhodu in njegovo pomembnost je Strabon še posebej poudaril; na dveh pogosto citiranih mestih v svoji *Geografiji* namreč omenja, da je bilo trgovsko

blago pritorovjeno na vozovih iz Akvileje do Navporta, kjer je bilo preloženo na čolne in se je od tam naprej peljalo po rekah do Segestike in naprej do Donave (4.6.10 C 207; 7.5.2 C314). Navport, ki je bil pomembna trgovska naselbina z velikimi skladišči na bregu Ljubljanice (reka je imela dve imeni: Navport oz. Emona) in vedno tesno povezan z Akvilejo, je doživel največji razcvet posebej v poznorepublikanski in avgustejski dobi.<sup>25</sup> Promet po rekah je bil izredno pomemben in najcenejši; kot vsak drug promet v rimski dobi je bil tudi rečni nedvomno pravno urejen.<sup>26</sup> Novi mejnik je dokončno potrdil hipotezo, da je Navport pripadal Akvileji.

Ugotoviti moramo torej, da je imela Emona na zahodu le relativno ozek pas ozemlja. Pomanjkanje upravnega območja na zahodu je bilo verjetno uravnoteženo tako, da je mesto imelo veliko več agra na severu (verjetno vso Gorenjsko) ter v smeri proti Celeji in Neviodunu. Na severu je ager po vsej verjetnosti segal do Atransa (Trojane) in Karavank in je ustrezal južni meji Norika. Na vzhod pa je segal do območja Višnje Gore (prim. nagrobnik emonskega mestnega svetnika - *decurio* - v vasi Jezero, *ILSI* 68, in miljnik Antonina Pija, na katerem je označenih 44 milj iz Nevioduna, *CIL* III 11322 = *ILSI* 180). Tu se je začela Panonija, reka *Colapis* (Kolpa) pa je zelo verjetno razmejevala emoski teritorij in Liburnijo, eno od regij v provinci Dalmaciji.<sup>27</sup>

Ni lahko podati zgodovinske razlage mejnika iz Bevk, kajti čeprav je predklavdijski, ga ni mogoče bolj natančno časovno opredeliti. Vendar pa imamo dve trdni izhodiščni točki.

Prvič: v vsakem primeru je jasno, da nobeno od obeh mest ni bilo drugemu podrejeno oz. nadrejeno. V času torej, ko je bil mejnik postavljen, je Emona že bila *colonia Iulia*.

Drugič: s skoraj popolno gotovostjo lahko trdimo, da sta obe mesti pripadali isti administrativni enoti, v tem primeru torej italjski Deseti regiji (*Regio decima*), kajti če bi bila Emona v Iliriku ali Panoniji, bi to moralo biti in bi bilo na napisu navedeno. Mejnik, ki omenja provincialno mejo, je bil npr. odkrit v ruševinah Marcianopole, popisane je na obeh straneh; na eni piše: *F(ines) terr(itorii) Thrac(um)*, na drugi pa: *F(ines) terr(itorii) Odess(itanorum)*, na območju Odesa pa je bilo najdenih še več mejnikov s podobnim besedilom.<sup>28</sup>

Težko bi domnevali, da bi bilo mejnik mogoče datirati v čas pred leto 42 pr. Kr., torej v dobo, ko provinca Cisalpinska Galija še ni postala del Italije, kajti to bi pomenilo, da je

<sup>18</sup> L. Lazzaro, *Regio X Venetia et Histria, Bellunum*, v: *Supplementa Italica*, n. s. 4 (Roma 1988) 317-319, št. 1.

<sup>19</sup> G. L. Gregori, *Vecchie e nuove ipotesi sulla storia amministrativa di Iulium Carnicum e di altri centri alpini*, v: *Iulium Carnicum: centro alpino tra Italia e Norico dalla protostoria all'età imperiale. Atti del Convegno, Arta Terme - Cividale, 29-30 settembre 1995*, Studi e Ricerche sulla Gallia Cisalpina 13 (Roma 2001) 169-172.

<sup>20</sup> C. Zaccaria, *Iulium Carnicum. Un centro alpino tra Italia e Norico (I sec. a.C. - I sec. d.C.)*, v: *Iulium Carnicum* (cit. v op. 19) 142 in op. 24.

<sup>21</sup> G. Zippel, *Die römische Herrschaft in Illyrien bis auf Augustus* (Leipzig 1877) 195.

<sup>22</sup> Degrassi, *Confine* (cit. v op. 17) 87; J. Šašel, *Lineamenti dell'espansione romana nelle Alpi Orientali e nei Balcani occidentali*, v: *Aquileia e l'arco alpino orientale*, Ant. Altoadr. 9 (Udine 1976) 71-90 [= *Opera selecta* (Ljubljana 1992) 408-431]; id., *Zur Frühgeschichte der XV. Legion und zur Nordostgrenze der Cisalpina zur Zeit Caesars*, v: *Römische Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Epigraphik. Festschrift für Artur Betz zur Vollendung seines 80. Lebensjahres*, Archäologisch-epigraphische Studien 1 (Wien 1985) 547-555 [= *Opera selecta* (Ljubljana 1992) 469-477].

<sup>23</sup> M. Šašel Kos, *The 15th Legion at Emona - Some Thoughts*, *ZPE* 109, 1995, 227-244, t. 4: 4 in 5; prim. tudi ead., *Caesarian Inscriptions in the Emona Basin?*, v: G. Paci (ur.), *Epigrafia romana in area adriatica (Actes de la IX<sup>e</sup> rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie du monde romain)* (Macerata 1998) 101-112; ter posebej ead., *Caesar, Illyricum, and the Hinterland of Aquileia*, v: G. Urso (ur.), *L'ultimo Cesare. Scritti, Riforme, Progetti, Poteri, Congiure*, Monografie / Centro ricerche e documentazione sull'ant. class. 20 (Roma 2000) 294-296.

<sup>24</sup> M. Šašel Kos, *Nauportus: antični literarni in epigrafski viri (Nauportus: Literary and Epigraphical Sources)*, v: J. Horvat, *Nauportus (Vrhniko)*, Dela 1. razr. SAZU 33 (Ljubljana 1990) 22-33 (str. 149-159).

<sup>25</sup> J. Horvat, *Nauportus (Vrhniko)*, Dela 1. razr. SAZU 33 (Ljubljana 1990).

<sup>26</sup> C. Cloppet, *Remarques sur le droit des cours d'eau sous l'Empire Romain. Difficultés et essais de solutions*, v: R. Bedon, A. Malissard (ur.), *La Loire et les fleuves de la Gaule romaine et des régions voisines*, Caesarodunum 33-34 (Limoges 1999-2000) 331-350.

<sup>27</sup> J. Šašel, *Emona*, v: *RE Suppl.* XI (Stuttgart 1968) 567 [= *Opera selecta* (Ljubljana 1992) 574]; M. Lovenjak, *Inscriptiones Latinae Sloveniae 1. Neviodunum, Situla* 37 (Ljubljana 1998) 16-17.

bila Emona že tedaj kolonija. Tako zgoden datum bi, zgodovinsko gledano, ne bil nemogoč, vendar arheološke najdbe za takšno časovno umestitev (še vedno) v celoti manjkajo. Emona je postala rimska kolonija po vsej verjetnosti pod Oktavijanom, bodisi po končanih ilirskih vojnah leta 33 pr. Kr. ali pa po bitki pri Akciji nekaj let pozneje.<sup>29</sup>

Očitno je torej, da je potrebno ponovno določiti mejo akvilejskega agra na vzhodu. Doslej je prevladovalo mnenje, da se je raztezal do območja Ad Pirum (= Hrušica); širše območje Razdrtega in Postojne smo vedno šteli za geografsko primerno mejno območje med upravnimi teritoriji Akvileje in Emone. Te meje ni nikdar nihče resno postavil pod vprašaj in nikomur se ni porodila misel, da bi akvilejski ager kdajkoli po ustanovitvi rimske kolonije v Emoni lahko segal praktično neposredno do Emone. Obstajalo je nekaj nejasnosti v zvezi z mejo med teritoriji Akvileje in Tergesta, vendar so večinoma vsi sprejeli mejo, ki jih je postavil A. Degrassi.<sup>30</sup> Problematična točka je morda bila večja naselbina in cestna postaja Fluvio Frigido, pozneje vojaška trdnjava, imenovana Castra (= Ajdovščina), ter cela Vipavska dolina<sup>31</sup> kot tudi naselbine na Krasu. Za te slednje prevladuje mnenje, po vsej verjetnosti zmotno,<sup>32</sup> da je zanje odločilna meja poznejše cerkvene ureditve; tako naj bi Samatorca, Skopo, Komen, Dornberg, Branik in Vipava pripadali Akvileji, Brestovica, Tomaj in Senožeče pa naj bi bili pod pravno Tergesta.<sup>33</sup>

Ko je bila Akvileja edino avtonomno mesto na širšem območju severovzhodne Italije, je nedvomno imela v svoji upravi veliko več ozemlja kot pozneje, ko so bile v njeni bližini ustanovljene druga za drugo še druge kolonije. Vsako mesto je potrebovalo za preživetje svojih prebivalcev nekaj lastnega upravnega ozemlja, ki pa je bilo manjšega obsega kot bi bilo v primeru, če ga ne bi bilo potrebno deliti z drugimi. Ta mesta so bila *Tergeste*, *Iulium Carnicum*, *Emona* in *Forum Iuli*. Obstoj Egide je utegnil biti problematičen predvsem za Tergeste, ne za Akvilejo.<sup>34</sup> Imeti čim več ozemlja je bilo za prebivalce rimskih mest nadvse pomembno, zlasti za tiste, ki so se preživljali z živinorejo, tako govedorejo kot vzrejo drobnice in prašičev, ter z vsemi s tem povezanimi aktivnostmi, kot npr. s pridelavo mleka in mlečnih izdelkov, predvsem s sirarstvom, s predelavo mesa in kož, z izdelovanjem volne in volnenih izdelkov ter s trgovino z vsemi temi izdelki. Potrebovali so dovolj raznovrstnih pašnikov na različnih nadmorskih višinah,

ki so jim nudili tudi možnosti transhumance. Po Šašlovem mnenju je Publij Publicij Urzion (*P. Publicius Ursio*), čuvaj pašnikov in gozdov (*saltus*), znan z nagrobnega napisa iz Ajdovščine (*Ins. It. X 4, 340*), svojo službo opravljal nekje vzdolž meja med mestnimi teritoriji Tergesta, mesta *Forum Iuli* in Emone.<sup>35</sup> Četudi bi bila upravičena domneva, da so se meje mestnih območij s časom spreminjale, je zdaj skoraj gotovo, da emonski teritorij nikdar ni segal tako daleč na zahod.

Podobno kot emonsko je bilo tudi mestno območje Tergesta v smeri proti Akvileji razmeroma majhno; kot je bilo že omenjeno, ni segalo niti do Devina in Nabrežine. Na drugi strani pa mu je pripadala pretežna notranost Istre in je na vzhodu segalo do gore Okre (Nanos) in reke Arsije (Raše).<sup>36</sup>

V primeru Emone pa je tako majhen teritorij zahodno od mesta, kot ga določa novi mejnik, vendarle presenetljiv. Je morda kdaj pozneje prišlo do spremembe meje? Mislim, da na to vprašanje ni mogoče zanesljivo odgovoriti. Akvileja je morda vztrajala na tem, da je bila pravni lastnik tega ozemlja tudi pozneje, ko zaradi spremenjene ekonomske in geopolitične situacije za mesto ni bilo več pomembno, da bi imelo trgovsko bazo v Navportu, ki je bil dejansko mnogo bolj povezan z bližnjo Emono. Ne smemo pa pozabiti, da je v Emoni, ko je le-ta postala kolonija, živel velik odstotek Akvilejcev. Domnevamo lahko, da je Navport *de iure* ostal pod jurisdikcijo Akvileje, *de facto* pa je pripadal Emoni. V vsakem primeru pa ugotavljamo, da je nekoč cvetoča naselbina začela naglo propadati po koncu Tiberijeve vlade, od srede 1. stoletja dalje pa je bila le nepomembna naselbina. Ponovno je postala pomembnejša v poznorimskem obdobju, ko je bila vključena v obrambni sistem *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*. Ne moremo pa izključiti možnosti, da je bila meja med mestnima območjema Akvileje in Emone vendarle uradno spremenjena v prid Emoni, ko je le-ta na prostoru vzhodno od Okre igrala dominantno vlogo.

Novi mejnik, ki najverjetneje sodi v Avgustov čas, gotovo pa ni poznejši, kot kaže zgoraj navedena evidenca, od Klavdijeve vlade, je nedvomen dokaz za pripadnost Emone Italiji že v tem času. To pomeni, da mesto ni nikoli pripadalo Iliriku oz. pozneje provinci Panoniji, kar je v znanstvenih krogih še vedno prevladujoče mnenje, čeprav je bilo že v preteklosti zbranih toliko tehtnih dokazov, ki so pričali proti temu.<sup>37</sup> Največji pomen nove epigrafske najdbe je ravno v tem, da je odločilni dokaz za pripadnost Emone Italiji.

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<sup>28</sup> Lazarenko, I., The Southern Boundary of *Terra Odessitanorum* (1<sup>st</sup> - beginning of 2<sup>nd</sup> c.), *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 6, 2002, 45-57.

<sup>29</sup> Šašel Kos, 15th legion (cit. v op. 23).

<sup>30</sup> Degrassi, *Confine* (cit. v op. 17). O mejah, ki jih je predlagal D., nazadnje piše (in jih bolj ali manj sprejema) Zaccaria, *Tergeste* (cit. v op. 8) 163-164.

<sup>31</sup> Degrassi, *Confine* (cit. v op. 17) 15 op. 7, ki to območje pripisuje Akvileji. Dessau in Sticotti ga pripisujeta Tergestu, tako tudi J. Šašel, v *ILJug* 451, 1221, 1222.

<sup>32</sup> Viri o teh mejah izvirajo iz poznega srednjega veka, ko je bila poselitvena slika tega prostora precej drugačna od antične. Zahvaljujem se prof. Rajku Bratožu za diskusijo o tem problemu.

<sup>33</sup> Degrassi, *Confine* (cit. v op. 17) 24. Glej nazadnje Modugno, *La viabilità* (cit. v op. 13) 57. Italijanska imena za ta mesta in vasi so: Samatorca, Scopo, Comeno, Montespino, Rifembergio in Vipacco; Brestovizza, Tomadio in Senosecchia.

<sup>34</sup> O Egidi glej med drugimi Degrassi, *Confine* (cit. v op. 17) 72-74; J. Šašel, Koper - Capodistria, v: *Koper med Rimom in Benetkami / Capodistria tra Roma e Venezia. Prispievki k zgodovini Kopra / Contributi per la storia di Capodistria* (Ljubljana 1989) 5-14 [= *Opera selecta*, Situla 30 (Ljubljana 1992) 680-689]; Zaccaria, *Tergeste* (cit. v op. 8) 161-162.

<sup>35</sup> Šašel, *Pastorizia* (cit. v op. 12) 184 [= *Opera selecta*, Situla 30 (Ljubljana 1992) 527].

<sup>36</sup> Zaccaria, *Tergeste* (cit. v op. 8) 163-164.

<sup>37</sup> J. Šašel, Zur verwaltungstechnischen Zugehörigkeit Emonas, *Acta Arch. Acad. Sc. Hung.* 41, 1989, 169-174 [= *Opera selecta* (Ljubljana 1992) 707-714]; M. Šašel Kos, Was Emona in Italy or Pannonia?, v: *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia II*, Situla 41 (Ljubljana 2002) (v pripravi).