

The territory of Poetovio and the boundary between Noricum and Pannonia

Upravno območje Petovione in meja med Norikom in Panonijo

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Izvleček

V prispevku smo poskušali določiti upravno območje Petovione, pri čemer smo navedli izbor dosedanjih (maloštevilnih) raziskav, ki so se dotaknile te problematike. Zaradi odsotnosti kakršnihkoli mejnikov smo poskusili s pomočjo Thiessnovih poligonov in geografskega informacijskega sistema (GIS) zamejiti upravno območje. Dobljene rezultate smo podkrepili z redkimi pisnimi viri ter tudi arheološkimi in epigrafskimi najdbami. Pri določitvi teoretičnega mestnega območja Petovione ostaja problematična predvsem severna meja.

Ključne besede: rimska doba, Panonija, Norik, *Poetovio* (Ptuj), mestno območje (*ager*), meje, Thiessnovi poligoni, poraba energije, *Aquae Iasae*

Abstract

The article contains a new attempt at delimiting the territory of the Roman city of Poetovio. It is a topic tackled in few studies by the past and the article begins with their brief presentation. In the absence of boundary stones or other clear markers, the boundary was sought through the use of Thiessen polygons and GIS analyses, which were then compared to the few existing literary sources, as well as archaeological and epigraphic finds. The results enabled a theoretical boundary of Poetovio's territory to be proposed, with the most problematic part being its northern boundary.

Keywords: Roman period, Pannonia, Noricum, Poetovio (Ptuj), city territory (*ager*), boundaries, Thiessen polygons, site catchment analysis, *Aquae Iasae*

1. INTRODUCTION

Poetovio was an important city during the Roman period and much has been written on its central role in the early development of Roman Pannonia. In contrast, researchers devoted much less time to the delimitation of its territory and the boundary between Noricum and Pannonia. In the absence of solid evidence on the subject, this is also understandable. The city was located at the edge of the province and boundaries were changing;

Poetovio at one time formed an administrative part of Pannonia and another time of Noricum.

The scarce literary sources tell us very little as to where Poetovio belonged in the administrative sense. Pliny the Elder (roughly 23–79),¹ for

¹ N. h. III 146: *A tergo Carnorum et Iapudum, qua se fert magnus Hister, Raetis iuguntur Norici. Oppida eorum Virunum, Celeia, Teurnia, Aguntum, Iuva<u>m, omnia Claudia, Flavium Solvense. Noricis iuguntur lacus Pe<l>so, deserta Boiorum; iam tamen colonia Divi Claudii Sa<v>aria et oppido Scarbantia Iulia habitantur.*

example, mentions that Savaria and Scarbantia, during occupation and until the reign of Claudius (41–54) probably belonged to Noricum² or were under the Norican sphere of influence. According to Veleius Paterculus (19 BC–AD 31), the same can for AD 9 be said of Carnuntum.³ Either under Claudius or under Vespasian,⁴ the eastern part of Noricum came under Pannonia; the cities of Savaria, Scarbantia, Carnuntum and Poetovio, initially belonging to Lower Illyricum, were now part of the province of Pannonia.⁵ The date of this administrative change is an obvious one, as Noricum at this time became a province, more precisely *inermis provincia*, with military forces no longer needed here due a long period as a Roman ally. All the mentioned cities are located along an important and old communication link, namely the Amber Route.⁶ Even before the reign of Claudius, two legions were stationed along this route at strategic positions, i.e. at Poetovio⁷ (*legio VIII Augusta*) and Carnuntum⁸ (*legio XV Apollinaris*). In order to keep Noricum a province without legions, both camps, as well as a stretch of land along the boundaries, were transferred to Illyricum and the road leading from Carnuntum to the territory of Celeia became a *via militaris*⁹ and controlled by the army from Illyricum; this meant that Celeia remained part of Noricum without military presence and the Romans could continue to control and protect the Amber Route.¹⁰

Following the reforms of Diocletian, Poetovio again came under Noricum, more precisely the newly founded province of *Noricum Mediterraneum*. In *Itin. Burd.* (561, 5) Poetovio is mentioned as the last city of Noricum; by crossing a bridge, a traveller could step into Upper Pannonia¹¹ and

continue the journey towards the post of Ramista (present-day Formin).¹²

2. BOUNDARIES OF THE POETOVIO TERRITORY IN LITERATURE

There have been rare attempts at delimiting the territory of Poetovio. This endeavour is, of course, hindered by the fact that the city, through centuries, belonged now to this and later to the other province. Particularly problematic, however, is the lack of sufficient evidence to draw its boundaries. I shall present a selection of authors who dealt with this topic and repeat their arguments.

The topic was briefly discussed by Anton von Premerstein¹³ in his article on epigraphic monuments from Maribor. He considered the part of the Maribor area on the left bank of the Drava river as belonging to Pannonia Superior, i.e. to the nearby colony of Poetovio; the Drava thus represented the boundary between two provinces. But the problem with this interpretation is that the city of Poetovio spread across both banks of the Drava. Premerstein did not tackle that part of the boundary, as he only concentrated on the Maribor area. He ascertained that Emperor Trajan, after founding the colony, settled the area of Maribor with families who gained citizenship under his reign. This may be evidenced by the inscriptions from Maribor containing the nomen gentilicium of *Ulpus*, which include an ash chest mentioning an Ulpus Catullinus¹⁴ and a now lost funerary stele mentioning a Marcus Ulpus Primus.¹⁵

In his article entitled *Das Stadtbezirk Poetovios*, Hans Pirchegger attempted to delimit the whole territory of Poetovio.¹⁶ He based his study on geographical features, but even more on the inscriptions known at that time. Based on inscriptions mentioning *colonia Poetovionensis*,¹⁷ he ascribed Starše to the territory of Poetovio. The latter further included the areas of Klenovnik¹⁸ and Križovljan,¹⁹ but also of Aquae Iasae²⁰ in Croatia. From Klenovnik

² Alföldi 1936, 540–541; id. 1974, 41, 57; Tóth 1980, 82; Šašel 1989, 60; Fitz 1989–1990, 82; Šašel Kos 2010, 220, 222. Differently by Kovács 2008, 238–239.

³ Vell. II 109, 5: “*A Carnunto, qui locus Norici regni...*” Fehér, Kovács (eds.) 2005, 111–116.

⁴ The former date, under Claudius, is more probable. See Šašel Kos 2010, 222.

⁵ Saria 1939, 78; Toth 1980, 82; Šašel 1989, 60; Fitz 1993, 16–19; Graßl 1994, 517–524; Gassner, Jilek 2002, 85; Šašel Kos 2010, 217–223.

⁶ Ubl 2008.

⁷ Ritterling 1925, 1647; Horvat et al. 2003, 165.

⁸ Mosser 2002, particularly 122–123.

⁹ Šašel 1977.

¹⁰ Ubl 2008, 135; Šašel Kos 2010, 209–210.

¹¹ “*Transis pontem intras Pannoniam Inferiorem.*” The itinerary contains an error here, as it should rather state *Pannoniam Superiorem*.

¹² Šašel 1975, 94.

¹³ Premerstein 1904.

¹⁴ *AIJ* 111; *ILLPRON* 1813; *lupa* 2129.

¹⁵ *CIL* III 15206; *AIJ* 112; *ILLPRON* 1814; *lupa* 3661.

¹⁶ Pirchegger 1911.

¹⁷ *CIL* III 4100 and 4101.

¹⁸ *CIL* III 4111.

¹⁹ *CIL* III 4108; *AIJ* 449; *lupa* 20217.

²⁰ *CIL* III 4117 (see Chapter 6).

and Križovljan,²¹ two altars dedicated to Jupiter mention two decuriones of Poetovio, respectively, while Aquae Iasae yielded an inscription slab relating that the city of Poetovio had a major building constructed at Aquae Iasae, probably part of the baths. Pirchegger drew the southern boundary based on the tombstone mentioning a Caius Iulius Romanus from Studenice,²² who may also have been mentioned on an altar found at Hajdina in Ptuj.²³ He saw evidence for the west boundary in an altar dedicated to Noreia²⁴ from Črešnjevec. In his opinion, the road leading along the foot of the Pohorje Hills, must have belonged to Noricum and the tripoint between the territories of Celeia, Poetovio and Flavia Solva should be sought in the area of Pragersko.

Pirchegger also believed that the Romans did not consider large rivers (such as the Sava, Drava or Mura) as natural boundaries, which led him to include a small area beyond the Drava, along the eastern foot of the Pohorje, into the territory of Flavia Solva. In the east, he saw the hills of Slovenske gorice as belonging to the territory of Poetovio, which may have extended beyond Mura, though Pirchegger provided no evidence of this. In the south, the low hills of Ivančica and Kalnik supposedly did not form a natural boundary, which he rather saw in the line of Macelj–Donačka gora–Boč.

The territory of Poetovio was also briefly discussed by Mihovil Abramić,²⁵ who emphasized that the boundaries could only be drawn very approximately. In his opinion, the territory reached to the foothills of the Pohorje in the west, where it bordered the territory of Flavia Solva, and included Aquae Iasae in the southeast and the hills of Haloze in the south.

Erich Polaschek²⁶ touched on the boundary of Pannonia and with it the territory of Poetovio only briefly, when discussing the boundaries of Noricum. In his opinion, the boundary of Noricum reached to Starše, where it crossed the Drava. The road connecting Flavia Solva and Celeia must

have led through Noricum and supposedly ran to the east of the foot of the Pohorje. The settlement of Ragando²⁷ (present-day Spodnje Grušovje) was located on Norican territory. Consequently, Črešnjevec with the dedication to Noreia found there represented the boundary and was located in Noricum.

Balduin Saria²⁸ only repeated earlier suppositions; he ascribed Starše and Maribor to the territory of Poetovio. He ascribed the archaeological sites at Šmartno na Pohorju, Tinje, Modrič and Črešnjevec to Noricum, more precisely to the territory of Celeia. The territory of Poetovio supposedly reached beyond Haloze and included the area around Babinec-Križovljan and Aquae Iasae. In the east, the boundary supposedly ran along the Mura river, while he had insufficient evidence to define the northern boundary.

In 1963, Rudolf Egger and Hermann Vetters published an atlas of Austria²⁹ and marked, on map V/3, the Roman cities and the boundaries between them. They ascribed Maribor with its surroundings, the Pohorje Hills and almost the whole Drava Plain to the territory of Flavia Solva. In their opinion, Poetovio only had a narrow strip of land to the north and west of the city proper; while they did not delimit the territory to the south and east.

Géza Alföldy, in his book entitled *Noricum*,³⁰ determined the eastern boundary of Noricum, based on the Norican beneficiarii station of *mansio Ragando*, as running east of the village of Črešnjevec. To the north of the station, not only the Maribor area, but also part of the Drava Plain west of Poetovio belonged to Noricum. Based on the milestone from Starše (*CIL* III 5744), which he supposed to have stood along the road from Poetovio to Flavia Solva, he ascribed this area to Noricum. Contrary to this, the road station of *Advicesimum*, which he located to Gornja Radgona, still stood in Pannonia. The Norico-Pannonian boundary supposedly ran along the Lapinč river. He interpreted the dedication to the divinities of boundaries from Čadram as standing on the boundary between the territories of Celeia and Flavia Solva.

²¹ The inscription from Križovljan should be taken with caution, because the stone is built into a wall and nothing is known of its findspot. The mention of a decurio from Poetovio is not necessarily evidence of the area belonging to the territory of Poetovio (see Chapter 3).

²² *CIL* III 5299; *ILLPRON* 1922; *lupa* 4155.

²³ *CIL* III 10873.

²⁴ *CIL* III 5300.

²⁵ Abramić 1925b, 17.

²⁶ Polaschek 1936, 982.

²⁷ *CIL* III p. 2328, 47.

²⁸ *AIJ* p. 45, 122; Saria 1951, 1177–1178.

²⁹ Egger, Vetters 1963, Karte V/3.

³⁰ Alföldy 1974, 60–61. He repeated the same arguments in the article Alföldy 1989, 49–50.

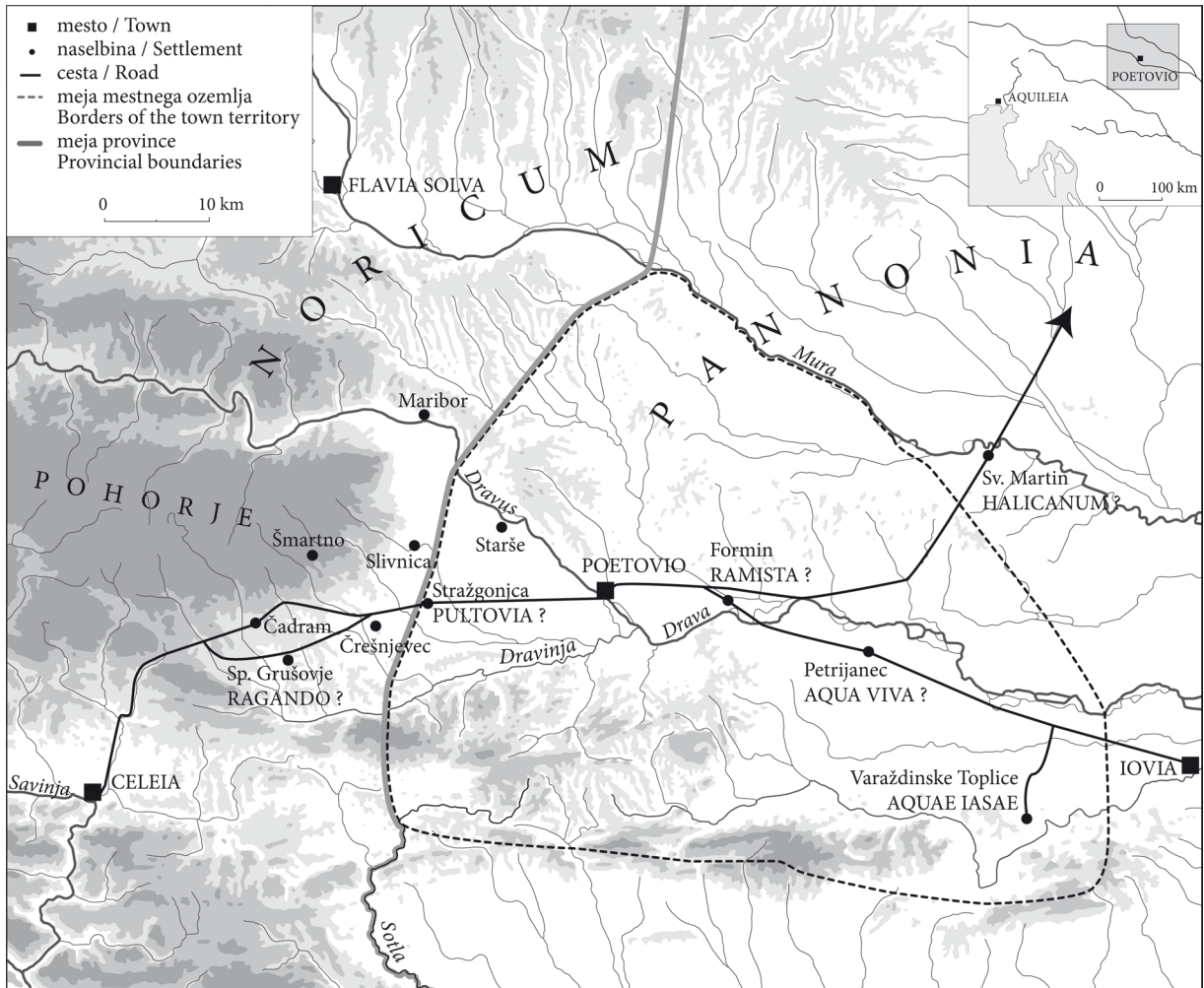


Fig. 1: Boundaries of the territory of Poetovio after Horvat et al. (2003, 154 Fig. 1).

Sl. 1: Meje upravnega območja Petovione po Horvat et al. (2003, 154 Fig. 1).

András Mocsy, in his book entitled *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*,³¹ drew the boundary between Pannonia and Noricum with a broken line as running in the direction Zidani most–Grobelno–Loče–Zgornja Bistrica–Razvanje–Maribor. At Maribor, it crossed the Drava, turned northwards, crossed the Mura at Straß in Steiermark and ran further to the north. According to him, the whole valley of the Lapinč river and eastern Steiermark belonged to Pannonia. For Maribor, it is not quite clear as to the province in which the area lay.

Erich Hudeczek³² touched upon the issue of the boundaries of the Poetovio ager only when attempting to delimit the territory of Flavia Solva. He stated Starše as a border point, located at the Roman road between Poetovio and Flavia

Solva, without being able to substantiate this. He believed that the milestone from Starše (*CIL* III 5744) was only interpreted as Norican because of the formulation. He did not suggest the extent of the territory of Flavia Solva to the south, but included in it the western fringes of the Drava Plain, as well as the eastern Pohorje Hills as far as Slivnica.³³ He saw the dedication to the divinities of boundaries from Čadram as problematic; if the road along the foot of the Pohorje did run across Norican territory, the Pohorje Hills could not be ascribed to Pannonia. This would also mean that the territory of Flavia Solva reached far to the south, which would considerably shrink the territory of Celeia. Hudeczek believed that the natural continuation of the Pohorje should be followed

³¹ Mocsy 1974, Fig. 59.

³² Hudeczek 1988, 23–24.

³³ *CIL* III 5309 and 11714.

and the boundary between Noricum and Pannonia sought south of Slivnica.

The question of whether eastern Steiermark belonged to Pannonia or Noricum has been posed also by Ortolf Harl.³⁴ He believes that the Raab river with its tributaries separated Noricum and Pannonia. He writes that the inscriptions mentioning high-ranking officials do not necessarily appear only in the place of their origin. More reliable are the military tombstones, because soldiers were enlisted according to military districts. Based on the tombstones and stamps on bricks that mention units of soldiers from Upper Pannonian legions (*XIV* and *X Gemina, I Adiutrix*), he believes that eastern Steiermark belonged to Pannonia, as noted already by Mocsy on his map of Pannonia. This would put Maribor on the boundary between the provinces that also represented the point of the Drava crossing. He did not, however, clearly state whether Maribor belonged to Noricum and Pannonia.

In the book on the autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia, Irena Lazar³⁵ wrote about the boundaries of the territory of Celeia. She drew the eastern boundary along the Sava, Sotla and current state boundary up to the Norican settlement of Ragando, further past Slovenske Konjice, after which it turns northwards; the settlements at the foot of the Pohorje would thus belong to Noricum.

In recent years, the delimitation of the territory of Poetovio has been the topic tackled by Jana Horvat and her colleagues.³⁶ Their article summarizes previous discussions on the topic and includes a map (*Fig. 1*).

3. DELIMITING THE TERRITORY OF POETOVIO

As shown above, the boundaries of Poetovio's territory are far from clearly definable. The first problem is that there are no boundary stones mentioning Poetovio to help us. In Dalmatia, for example, several such stones have been recovered, either determining the boundary between two neighbouring tribes, private individuals or defining access to a water source, forests and so forth.³⁷ The only boundary stone from Slovenia was found

at Bevke and determined the boundary between Aquileia and Emona, confirming, in the opinion of Marjeta Šašel Kos, the position of Emona as part of Regio X.³⁸ For the territory of Poetovio, as stated above, no such evidence has been found, although the altar from Čadram, dedicated to the divinities of boundaries (see below), might have played a similar role.³⁹

The boundaries might also be hinted at by the inscriptions mentioning city officials, though these may be misleading. In the past, the findspots of such inscriptions were usually regarded as having belonged to the territory of the city where the *duumviri*, aediles, quaestores, decurioni and other officials named in the inscriptions served.⁴⁰ This information was used to determine the hinterland of cities, but also to infer on the boundaries of provinces.⁴¹ Today, however, we have a number of examples of inscriptions naming city officials that were found outside the territories of cities where they served.⁴² In addition, most known inscriptions of this type were not found *in situ*, but rather in secondary use, as building material in the walls of churches or other buildings; their primary position is thus only rarely clear.

Scholars also often drew boundaries based on geographical features, which they believed to have been considered by the Romans when determining city territories. This may in some cases have been a correct assumption, but very often (as in the case of Poetovio) not possible. In connection with this, we should mention that the boundaries across hilly or mountainous terrains of the Roman Empire might never have been precisely determined.⁴³ Moreover, rivers in the Roman period were not regulated and changed their courses on several occasions during the centuries. The Romans considered them more as boundary zones

³⁴ Harl 1997, 195–199.

³⁵ Lazar 2002, 72.

³⁶ Horvat et al. 2003, 160.

³⁷ Wilkes 1974.

³⁸ Šašel Kos 2002.

³⁹ *ILJug* 405.

⁴⁰ Alföldy 1970, 160, 166–167; id. 1974, 98 Fig. 11; id. 1989, 48–49.

⁴¹ Gassner, Jilek 2002, 85–86.

⁴² Alföldy 1970, 166; id. 1989, 48. Alföldy is aware that city officials could visit other places and settle there as landowners. He also emphasizes that only a concentration of such inscriptions could serve as possible evidence. Examples of such inscriptions are also cited by: Vetters 1977, 310; Harl 1997, 196–197; Ehrenreich, Fuch, Wedenig 2006; Breščak, Lovenjak 2010. I therefore believe that individual finds must be considered with caution.

⁴³ Gassner, Jilek 2002, 86.

than boundary lines.⁴⁴ In the case of Celeia, for example, its territory supposedly reached across the Sava at Brestanica.⁴⁵ In addition to a lack of other material evidence, the absence of natural boundaries makes determining the boundaries of a city territory completely impossible. We cannot (and must not) determine the extent of a city's hinterland according to standards fixed in advance, because it varies from city to city. This was clearly shown in the case of Emona, the boundary of which towards Aquileia actually ran far more to the east than supposed prior to the discovery of the boundary stone near Bevke.⁴⁶

Neither can we draw conclusions with the aid of onomastics, i.e. the study of the names mentioned in inscriptions that reveal similarities or differences within city territories. Pliny the Elder mentions the Sereti, Serapili, Iasi and Andiseti among the Pannonian tribes who probably lived along the Drava.⁴⁷ The tribes living in the area of Poetovio were included into the Celtic Taurisci,⁴⁸ who also lived in Noricum. Celtic names in Pannonia and Noricum are very similar and no islands of particular names are noticeable. The attempt by Jenő Fitz to compare the *cognomina* also failed to bring the desired results.⁴⁹

4. USE OF THIESSEN POLYGONS

As shown above, boundary stones, literary sources and small finds did not provide clear evidence for determining the territory of the Poetovio. This led me to make use of Thiessen polygons. This method is based on two assumptions, firstly, that the boundaries between settlement centres (archaeological sites) are not known and, secondly, that the centres, spread across a certain area, act as centres of power for the parts of the countryside lying closer to one centre rather than any other. All points within any given polygon lie closer to the centres of this polygon rather than any other. It is a practical operation, in which we connect two cities, obtaining a segment line, after which

we draw a perpendicular line at the centre of the segment line; the perpendicular line represents one side of a Thiessen polygon.

Having said that, we should be aware that Thiessen polygons are merely analytical tools to explain spatial relations. The shape of the obtained polygon does point to correct relations, but only additional analysis allows us to confirm whether the obtained extent of the polygon is reliable or not.⁵⁰ The knowledge on the economic space plays an important role here, because it allows us to understand the dynamics of the area under study, for example the character of the Roman city and its functioning. Consequentially, this enables us to understand the role of the city in a wider context and the understanding of the economic significance forms a basis for further economic, cultural, historical, political and other studies.

In Slovenian archaeology, the first to use the methodology of spatial studies was Božidar Slapšak in his dissertation.⁵¹ With the advancement of computer-based data processing (the geographic information system or GIS), spatial archaeology gained impetus, also in Slovenia.⁵² The search for new interpretations and explanations of the role of individual sites involved a proliferation of new methodologies of spatial and landscape archaeology such as establishing the economic hinterland and cost surface analysis on the Iron Age sites of the Dolenjska region,⁵³ Thiessen polygons in the study of the distribution of finds in the Krupsko polje in Bela krajina,⁵⁴ site catchment analysis modules on the case study of economic hinterland of the Early Middle Age settlements in the Bled area,⁵⁵ von Thünen model on the example of Roman Emona⁵⁶ and others.

Use of Thiessen polygons and the site catchment analysis on the example of Poetovio⁵⁷

The above-described method of Thiessen polygons was applied to the area of Poetovio, based on

⁴⁴ Gassner, Jilek 2002, 86.

⁴⁵ Alföldy 1974, 60; *RINMS* 180; Lazar 2002, 72. For the changes in the course of the Sava and the supposition that the milestones in the Roman period stood to the north of the river see *ILSI* 1, p. 17.

⁴⁶ Šašel Kos 2002.

⁴⁷ *N. h.* III 147–148.

⁴⁸ Horvat et al. 2003, 158.

⁴⁹ Fitz 1977; id. 1989–1990, 83–84.

⁵⁰ Slapšak 1995, 48.

⁵¹ Slapšak 1995; Novaković 2003, 250.

⁵² Dular et al. 1992.

⁵³ Dular, Tecco Hvala 2007, 198–203; Novaković 2003, 117–118.

⁵⁴ Budja 1989.

⁵⁵ Štular 2006.

⁵⁶ Županek 2002.

⁵⁷ I thank Benjamin Štular, Iza ZRC SAZU, for his help in this chapter and for creating the maps.



Fig. 2: Thiessen polygons.
Sl. 2: Thiessnovi poligoni.

the assumption that the administrative boundaries were the same as the ideal economic ones. Very important in drawing Thiessen polygons is to map sites of the same type, because the underly-

ing assumption is that all sites are known.⁵⁸ My analysis took into consideration all archaeologically attested neighbouring cities that were autonomous. I mapped the economically self-governing cities

⁵⁸ Slapšak 1995, 48.



Fig. 3: Thiessen polygons and site catchment analysis.

Sl. 3: Thiessnovi poligoni z upoštevanjem izračuna porabe energije za pot.

and disregarded the differences in their status (*colonia*, *municipium* or *civitas*), because the cities may have differed in status, but did not form hierarchical relationships; each required a relatively large hinterland to secure its survival.

Apart from Poetovio, the analysis involved the following cities: Celeia,⁵⁹ Flavia Solva,⁶⁰ Salla,⁶¹

⁵⁹ Lazar 2002.

⁶⁰ Hudeczek 1988.

⁶¹ Redő 2003.

Iovia,⁶² Andautonia⁶³ and Neviodunum.⁶⁴ Based on the current state of research, I believe that these towns represent a complete set, i.e. that all relevant sites are known.⁶⁵

The first step (Fig. 2) was to map the towns and create Thiessen polygons. The obtained polygons represent an approximation of the actual delimitation in the case of boundaries running across the mid-distance between individual cities. Other criteria, primarily the relief, were not considered in this step. The result served merely as an analytical aid, to later, after conducting the site catchment analysis, enable the comparison of the two analyses.

The next step (Fig. 3) was to include the relief (but not rivers – i.e. the Mura) in the Thiessen polygons, supposing that this would change the shape and extent of the previously drawn polygons. In the usual Thiessen polygon, each point on the polygon is equidistant from each adjacent centre, which means that the calculation is based on the line as the crow flies. This step also involved a site catchment analysis, which means that accessing each point on the polygon required the same amount of energy.⁶⁶

I expected that the boundary thus formed would shift to the highest peaks, i.e. to the Pohorje Hills in the northwest and to the Ivančica summit in the south. However, the resulting boundaries almost coincided with those in the previously created polygons! Because of the undulating terrain also in other areas around Poetovio, neither the Pohorje nor Ivančica represented an obstacle that would shift or change the territory boundaries when site catchment analysis are taken into considered.

5. ATTEMPT AT A NEW DELIMITATION OF THE POETOVIO TERRITORY

The new delimitation of the city territory of Poetovio was drawn with the use of Thiessen polygons that included the results of the site catchment analysis (Fig. 4). Rivers (in this case the Mura) were not considered in the site catchment analysis. The Mura, however, represents the largest natural obstacle in the area between Salla and Poetovio, which led me to shift the boundary in the northeast closer to Poetovio, i.e. towards the southwest and determine the river as the most likely boundary.

The territory thus obtained can at least in part be substantiated by material evidence, which will be presented below.

Votive inscription from Čadram

The parish church in Čadram was torn down in 1937 and, during demolition, workers stumbled upon several Roman and Gothic stones. These included a small votive altar dedicated by Quintus Proculus Finitus to the female/male protectors of boundaries called *Termunes*.⁶⁷ This altar is not a boundary stone. However, dedications to the divinities of boundaries symbolized and represented boundaries⁶⁸ and, very probably, stood in their immediate vicinity. The findspot of the altar has been widely discussed in the past years. Built into a church wall, it was certainly found in secondary location,⁶⁹ which makes its original location near the boundary as drawn with the aid of Thiessen polygons uncertain. Furthermore, literature on this find raises the question of which boundary this inscription supposedly referred to, either between Noricum and Pannonia⁷⁰ or between Celeia and Flavia Solva.⁷¹ Thiessen polygons and the site catchment analysis favour the former, i.e. the boundary between the provinces of Noricum and Pannonia, which is also the boundary between the city territories of Poetovio and Celeia. It is of interest that the dedicator, Quintus Proculus Finitus, also appears on a dedication to Mars found

⁶² Gregl, Migotti 2004.

⁶³ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 129.

⁶⁴ Lovenjak 2003.

⁶⁵ Halicanum (present-day Sv. Martin na Muri, Croatia), which may positively be determined as a road station on the road from Poetovio to Carnuntum or Savaria on the basis of a note in the Antonine Itinerary and by the Anonymous of Ravenna, was not considered in the analysis. Its status of a municipium, supposedly obtained under Hadrian (*Municipium Aelium Halicanum*), can only be supposed on the basis of the inscription from Aquincum (*Tit. Aq. 652; lupa 2959; HD008266*). See Patsch 1912, 2878; Soproni 1979; Šašel 1981; Kerman 1990; Fitz 2003.

⁶⁶ Štular 2006.

⁶⁷ *ILJug* 405; *lupa* 9512; *HD021879*; Saria 1939, 18; id. 1946, 56–59.

⁶⁸ Taubenschlag 1934.

⁶⁹ Saria 1939, 79.

⁷⁰ Saria 1939, 18, 78; id. 1946, 58–59.

⁷¹ Alföldy 1974, 99 fn. 94.



Fig. 4: Theoretical boundaries of the territory of Poetovio.

Sl. 4: Teoretična meja upravnega območja Petovione.

at Laporje.⁷² According to our polygons, Laporje is located just inside the ager of Poetovio, but very close to the theoretical boundary. The dedication

to Termunes could thus have been set up by a man living in the immediate vicinity of the boundary.

Thiessen polygons were also used by Slapšak when attempting to establish the economic hinterland of the Roman city in Ajdovščina near Rodik. When comparing the obtained polygons with

⁷² *AIJ* 83; *lupa* 8855; *Saria* 1939, 36.

the finds from the vicinity, he observed that an inscription,⁷³ mentioning the area around the hill of Rodik and the town in Ajdovščina, was found only a few kilometres outside the polygon of the territory. The inscription is also not a boundary stone, but does mark the boundary between the land of Gaius Laecanius Bassus and that of the Rundictes. It may be pure coincidence, but the altar from Čadram offers an almost identical picture for the ager of Poetovio. Its inscription does not specify the boundary, but the mention of the divinities certainly indicates one, either between provinces and/or cities, possibly even between private estates.

Mansio Ragando

Only a few kilometres south of Čadram lies Spodnje Grušovje, the location of the road station of Ragando, in the distance of 18 Roman miles from Poetovio. A settlement of a considerable size on this spot is corroborated by small finds. According to Thiessen polygons, the station is located only slightly to the west of the boundary, i.e. in Noricum. The station is also referred to on an inscription slab, found already in 1889 in Aquileia,⁷⁴ which mentions a Licinius Fulgentius *natus in Norico Ragandone*.⁷⁵ This clearly locates the station to Noricum. However, the inscription is dated to the 4th century and reflects the state of affairs at that time. After the reforms of Diocletian, the territories of Poetovio and Celeia both belonged to the newly founded province of *Noricum Mediterraneum*. The inscription tells us that Licinius Fulgentius died over 50 years old; if the inscription dates more precisely to the beginning of the 4th century, we could undoubtedly locate *mansio Ragando*, according to the boundaries determined with Thiessen polygons, to Noricum. If the inscription is of a later date, it cannot and should not be taken in consideration when attempting to determine the boundary in question.

⁷³ *CIL* V 698; *ILJug* 450; *lupa* 16158; Slapšak 1995, 69 (with references).

⁷⁴ Maionica 1893, 117; *CIL* III p. 2328⁴⁷; *Inscr. Aquil.* 2858; *lupa* 17098.

⁷⁵ *D(is) M(anibus) et in perpetuo / securitatem Licinius / Fulgent(ius) ex(archus) n(umeri) eq(uitum) Stabl(e)s(ianorum) / natus in Nor(ico) Ragand(one) /⁵ qui vixit an(nos) L m(enses) VI / d(ies) III qui perit in aqua / Aquil(e)ae die V Idus Iul(ias) / facta memor(ia) de suo per Avit(um) exarchum /¹⁰ [et] filium Adiurmium.*

Maribor

The cult of the Nutrices ranks among the most important ones in the area of Poetovio, alongside that of Mithra. Numerous inscriptions and reliefs dedicated to these wet nurses and protectresses of infants and youth were found in Zgornji Breg and Spodnja Hajdina at Ptuj. Their sanctuary is believed to have stood in Spodnja Hajdina,⁷⁶ while Abramić supposed a second, smaller sanctuary at Zgornji Breg.⁷⁷ In the 1980s, for example, a grave from the 4th century was unearthed while planting apple trees on the hill of Panorama. It was lined with six stone slabs and covered with the seventh one. All the slabs bore dedications to the Nutrices and certainly originated from a sanctuary that must have been located in the vicinity.⁷⁸

The numerous finds with dedications to the Nutrices are limited to Poetovio, with a single exception found in Maribor. The latter was an altar, which is now lost, but we do have its transcription and the information that it was visible in *Marchburgi in basi turris ecclesiae*.⁷⁹ Because of the considerable distance separating Ptuj and Maribor, it is unlikely that the inscription was originally from Poetovio.⁸⁰ The altar thus most probably originated from the Maribor area. In this case, the cult of the Nutrices suggests that Maribor belonged to the territory of Poetovio.⁸¹ Furthermore, the inscription on the altar mentions a Valeria Marcella.⁸² Her *nomen gentile* is a well known one in Poetovio. In the 2nd century, the Valerii were the most prominent family of Poetovio, the members of which held high-ranking positions in the city administration, as many as four serving as *duoviri*.⁸³ A very prominent personality from this family was also Marcus Valerius Maximianus the Younger, who had a successful military career and went on to become the first known Pannonian senator.⁸⁴ The family was originally from north Italy and probably came to Poetovio in the first half of the 1st century. During the 1st and 2nd

⁷⁶ Gurlitt 1896.

⁷⁷ Abramić 1925b, 32.

⁷⁸ Šašel Kos 1999, 168.

⁷⁹ *CIL* III 5314 = 11713; Šašel Kos 2001, 343–346 with earlier references.

⁸⁰ Gurlitt believed that the inscription undoubtedly originated from Spodnja Hajdina. See Gurlitt 1896.

⁸¹ Šašel Kos 1999, 178–180.

⁸² Šašel Kos 1999, 180.

⁸³ Šašel Kos 1993, 222–225.

⁸⁴ Alföldy 1964–1965.

centuries, the family prospered, while in the 3rd century its economic strength began to wane. Its members were marrying those of other prominent families, such as the Tetii or the Tiberinii, while some members are also known to have moved from the city to the countryside.⁸⁵

Alföldy compiled a list of the members of the Valerii family, to which we can add the above-mentioned Valeria Marcella, though I will not venture to speculate on her family ties with any of the other members mentioned in the inscriptions. The family may have had estates in or around Maribor, where part of it lived.

Apart from the Valerii, inscriptions from the Maribor area also mention the Ulpii, who acquired citizenship under Trajan; hence their *nomen gentile*. Premerstein supposed that they came to the Maribor area soon after they acquired citizenship, which would again indicate a connection to Poetovio that was accorded the status of a *colonia* under the same emperor (see Chapter 2).

Geographically, Maribor lies closer to Poetovio than to Flavia Solva. The existence of a Roman settlement in the modern city has not yet been proven, but the area must have played a significant role in the Roman times, with the roads from Celeia to Flavia Solva and from Poetovio to Virunum passing through it, but also the Drava, which was used for river transport.

Aqueduct Fram–Spodnja Hajdina

The beginning of the Roman aqueduct named *Zlati studenec* (*Golden Spring* in translation) was found already in the second half of the 19th century at the foot of the Pohorje Hills, more precisely at Fram (Fig. 4).⁸⁶ Later field surveys, trial trenching and investigations in advance of the Slovenian motorway cross construction stumbled upon and documented its remains in several locations.⁸⁷ We thus know that it ran from Fram past Rače, Brezula, Brunšvik, Kungota, Gerečja vas, Skorba to Spodnja Hajdina.⁸⁸

We assume that the aqueduct ran entirely within the territory of Poetovio and did not enter it from another province, i.e. from Noricum. The bricks

found to partially make up the conduit support this assumption. Numerous bricks bear the stamp of *legio XIII Gemina*, which was stationed at Poetovio from AD 45 to roughly 96 or 98, when it was transferred to Vindobona (present-day Wien (Vienna)). This shows that the aqueduct was initially constructed to supply the army camp at Poetovio, later also the public buildings in the west part of the city.⁸⁹ Already in the time of the aqueduct construction, the hamlets along the foot of the Pohorje would thus belong to the ager of Poetovio. Thiessen polygons and the site catchment analysis showed a similar picture.

Quarries

Attempts to determine the Roman boundary between the city territories of Celeia and Poetovio should also take into consideration the important quarries in the Pohorje Hills. Lenses of Pohorje or eastern Alpine marble⁹⁰ are located in the area between Šmartno na Pohorju, Bojtina, Frajhajm and Loka pri Framu or the valley of the Bistrica river near Nova vas.⁹¹ This area has several quarries, named after nearby farmsteads (Motaln, Privici, Lunežnik, Kersnik, Trmota, Bistrica, Planica and others),⁹² but only the so-called Puderšnik Quarry (Puderšnikov kamnolom in Slovenian) has been positively identified as Roman.⁹³ The area at the north-eastern foot of the hill Motalnov hrib near Šmartno revealed a layer of stone chip-pings, but also blocks of marble with quarrying and stoneworking tool marks.⁹⁴ Also found here was an altar dedicated to Saxan, protector of the stonemasons.⁹⁵ The altar is made of Pohorje marble.⁹⁶ Additional evidence of Roman quarrying in the Pohorje is provided by the blocks bearing quarrying and stoneworking tool marks (wedge holes, roughly dressed surface, basic geometric forms marked out with a point chisel) that are built into the churches of St Michael in Črešnjevce, St Laurent in Lovrenc na Dravskem polju and St Anne in Fram.⁹⁷

⁸⁹ Saria 1939; Lubšina-Tušek 2008, 126.

⁹⁰ Djurić 1997, 79.

⁹¹ Djurić et al. 2004, 372.

⁹² Pahič 1990.

⁹³ Djurić 2001, 64.

⁹⁴ Djurić et al. 2004, 403–404.

⁹⁵ *AIJ* 100; *lupa* 6589; *HD024513*; Saria 1935.

⁹⁶ Djurić et al. 2004, 409.

⁹⁷ Djurić 2001, 62.

⁸⁵ Alföldy 1964–1965, 143–144.

⁸⁶ Pahič 1975.

⁸⁷ Mikl-Curk 1972; Pahič 1974; Jevremov 1977; Tušek 1990; Lubšina 2004; Lubšina-Tušek 2008; Urek, Kovač 2009.

⁸⁸ Saria 1939, 15, 16, 22, 23, 24–28, 36, 51, 55–56.

Bojan Djurić supposes that the *officina* of the quarry was located in the vicinity of Šmartno, somewhere between Zgornja Polskava and the main Roman road from Celeia to Poetovio, possibly even at the north-eastern edge of the Velenik forest.⁹⁸ From there, marble blocks and part-finished products were transported along the state road to Poetovio.⁹⁹

Based on marble analyses, Djurić supposes that the early, simple steles from Poetovio, dated around AD 25, were made from the marble quarried at Gummern in Kärnten, Austria.¹⁰⁰ The extraction of the marble from Pohorje supposedly only began in the second quarter of the 1st century; it was, for example, used to make the stele of Marcus Petronius Classicus,¹⁰¹ centurion of *legio VIII Augusta*, and of a retired soldier of the same legion.¹⁰² The so-called architectural and aedicular-type steles from the mid-1st century were again only made of Gummern marble, while the steles with moulded frames continued to be made of Pohorje marble.¹⁰³ This suggests that a particular marble (Gummern) was used to make a particular type of stele by specific orders, and that the distance from the quarry to the city played a lesser role.

The question of the status of the quarries on the Pohorje, i.e. who owned them, is a more difficult one. Based on the steles from the 1st century,¹⁰⁴ Djurić supposes that Pohorje marble began to be extracted in the second quarter of the 1st century by the soldiers of the Eighth Augustan Legion.¹⁰⁵ The high-quality marble first served the needs of Poetovio,¹⁰⁶ while products of Pohorje marble were later being exported also outside the city territory. The dates of the funerary monuments from Poetovio, the marble blocks with stoneworking tool marks built into the walls of churches and, most of all, the distribution of the products of Pohorje marble, which locates the centre of their trading

to Poetovio, led Djurić to ascribe the quarry/quarries from the vicinity of Šmartno na Pohorju to the city territory of Poetovio.¹⁰⁷

Slivnica near Maribor

In earlier literature, we find that the area around Slivnica was most often attributed to the city territory of Flavia Solva.¹⁰⁸ This attribution was based on the tombstone of Caius Iustus Proculus,¹⁰⁹ whom the inscription revealed as *aedilis* of Flavia Solva. Assuming that officials could only serve within the territory of their city, the area of Slivnica and northwards was thus set outside the territory of Poetovio. The evidence given above, i.e. the quarries in the vicinity of Šmartno, the aqueduct at Fram, the inscription from Starše mentioning *colonia Poetoviensis* and the inscription from Maribor dedicated to Nutrices, however, shows that Slivnica as well, located between Fram and Maribor, belonged to the territory of Poetovio. The tombstone could thus serve as yet another example of city officials serving outside the territory of their native city.

Aquae Iasae

The thermal springs in the area of present-day Varaždinske Toplice led the Romans to found a settlement in this spot and name it Aquae Iasae. The systematic archaeological excavations have been conducted here since 1953 and revealed a public area (forum) with a porticus and temples, as well as baths and a basilica in their vicinity.¹¹⁰ The first baths were built already in the 1st century and later extended and rearranged on several occasions, last under Constantine I.¹¹¹

The inscription slabs, most often dedicated to the nymphs, but also other divinities, reveal that the thermal springs were visited by private individuals, but also high-ranking officials and soldiers.¹¹² A particularly important inscription for this article

⁹⁸ Djurić 2001, 63.

⁹⁹ Djurić et al. 2004, 409.

¹⁰⁰ The stele of Saturninus, *hastatus* of the Eighth Augustan Legion, is dated to around AD 25 (*AIJ* 262; *lupa* 3749). See Djurić 2005, 77; Djurić et al. 2004, 405.

¹⁰¹ *CIL* III 4060; *CIL* III 10869; *AIJ* 260; *lupa* 3102.

¹⁰² *lupa* 6194; *HD004954*. See Djurić 2005, 77; id. 2008, 162.

¹⁰³ Djurić 2005, 409–410; id. 2008, 163.

¹⁰⁴ *AIJ* 260; *CIL* III 4060, *CIL* III 10869; *lupa* 3102; Djurić 2005, 78.

¹⁰⁵ Djurić 2008, 161.

¹⁰⁶ Djurić 2005, 80; Djurić et al. 2004, 410; Djurić 2008, 164.

¹⁰⁷ Djurić et al. 2004. The article contains an error; Hinker ascribes Šmartno na Pohorju first to Poetovio (see 383–403) and then to Celeia (see 421–425).

¹⁰⁸ Hudeczek 1988, 23.

¹⁰⁹ *CIL* III 5309; *lupa* 9525.

¹¹⁰ Kušan Špalj, Nemeth-Ehrlich 2012 with earlier literature.

¹¹¹ *CIL* III 4121; *AIJ* 469; *lupa* 5339.

¹¹² *AIJ* 458–471.

is one dating from the reign of Marcus Aurelius, which states that the governor of Pannonia Superior, Lucius Dasumius Tullius Tuscus, ordered the *res publica Poetovionensis* to build a part of the bath complex; the work was arranged by procurator Titus Geminius Rufinus.¹¹³ The mention of Poetovio was evidence enough for the researchers in the past to ascribe Aquae Iasae to the territory of Poetovio. Comparing the baths to others known across the Empire (Aquae Sulis, present-day Bath; Aquae Granni, present-day Aachen; Aquae, present-day Baden-Baden), Harald von Petrikovits supposed that the soldiers not only visited the spa and baths complex at Aquae Iasae, but were also involved in its construction. He believed that Aquae Iasae, located at the edge of the province of Pannonia Superior, became the spa of the legions stationed in (Upper) Pannonia.¹¹⁴

The analysis made with the use of Thiessen polygons and the site catchment analysis, taking into consideration the natural and other sources, puts Aquae Iasae outside the city territory of Poetovio. If geographic location of the spa were the sole criterion, Aquae Iasae would belong to Iovia¹¹⁵ rather than Poetovio. From the administrative point of view, however, the opposite has always been the accepted interpretation. Throughout the Imperial period, from its very beginnings, Poetovio played a considerably more important role (army camp, colony from the reign of Trajan onwards, seat of Illyrian customs) in comparison to Iovia. Andautonia was located considerably farther to the south and it is thus not very likely that the baths formed part of its territory. The inscription mentioning *res publica Poetovionensis* would thus speak in favour of the baths forming part of the territory of Poetovio.

6. SOUTHERN BOUNDARY

The author most occupied with the southern boundary of Poetovio's territory was Pirchegger. In the southwest, he located the farthest point at Studenice. This is the findspot of the tombstone of Caius Iulius Romanus, which, in his opinion,

¹¹³ *CIL* III 4117, *AIJ* 461; *lupa* 5346; Von Petrikovits 1968; on Dasumius Tullius Tuscus see Reidinger 1956, 83–84 No. X; Dobó 1968, 109–110 No. 88; Fitz 1993, 487–489 No. 289; on Geminius Rufinus, only known from this inscription, last by Fitz 1993, 727 No. 404.

¹¹⁴ Von Petrikovits 1968, 93.

¹¹⁵ Gregl, Migotti 2004, 135 with earlier literature.

is the same person as the one mentioned on an altar from Hajdina; this he considered evidence for attributing Studenice to the ager of Poetovio. From there, he drew the boundary along the peaks of the Haloze, in the line of Boč–Donačka gora–Macelj. Further to the east, he determined the boundary based on the inscription slabs from Klenovnik and Križovljan, each of which mentions a *decurio* from Poetovio (see Chapter 2).

All the locations mentioned above fall within the theoretical boundary drawn with the use of Thiessen polygons and the site catchment analysis. Pirchegger's boundary in the south-west runs just slightly more to the west of Studenice, while considerably more territory is included in the south and the southeast.

7. CONCLUSION

The lack of conclusive evidence, particularly boundary stones, has prevented the boundaries of the ager of Poetovio to be drawn with any certainty. This led me to reconsider the known stone monuments and other archaeological finds and to attempt to determine the boundaries also with the aid of the GIS-based site catchment analysis and Thiessen polygons.

The obtained results showed that in the northeast, the territory of Poetovio supposedly reached to the Mura, which represents the largest natural obstacle between Poetovio and Salla.

The determination of the northern border is hindered by a lack of conclusive evidence and I thus turned to the boundaries as drawn with the aid of Thiessen polygons and the site catchment analysis. This led me to include the area of Maribor, previously attributed to Flavia Solva, in the territory of Poetovio. Such an interpretation is corroborated by several inscription slabs found in and around the present-day town, which mention families that acquired citizenship under Trajan and were thus given the nomen gentile of Ulpius.¹¹⁶ According to Premerstein, these families came to the area of Maribor from the nearby colony of Poetovio. A further proof is the now lost votive altar dedicated to the Nutrices that mention a Valeria Marcella. The cult of the Nutrices is only known from Poetovio, while the Valerii represented one of the most prominent families in Poetovio.

¹¹⁶ *AIJ* 111; *ILLPRON* 1813; *lupa* 2129 and *CIL* III 15206; *AIJ* 112; *ILLPRON* 1814; *lupa* 3661.

The Pohorje Hills and the road leading along its foot, connecting Celeia and Flavia Solva, have previously been attributed to Noricum. Computer analysis, however, showed that it could theoretically have formed part of the territory of Poetovio. Speaking in favour of this is the beginning of the first Roman aqueduct of Poetovio found at Fram in the 19th century; it ran in a straight line to the army camp at Spodnja Hajdina. Its construction included bricks bearing stamps of *legio XIII Gemina*, which was stationed at Poetovio from 45 to either 96 or 98. We suppose that the legion was involved in the construction of the aqueduct and built it entirely within the territory of Poetovio.

Also connected with the presence of the army in Poetovio are the quarries in the Pohorje. The only quarry confirmed as Roman so far is that below Motaln at Šmartno na Pohorju. According to Djurić, the *officina* should be sought at the north-west edge of Velenik, whence part-finished products were transported along the state road to Poetovio. This is evidenced primarily by the blocks with stoneworking marks built into the walls of the churches of St Michael in Črešnjevca, St Laurent in Lovrenc na Dravskem polju and St Anne in Fram. The Pohorje marble quarry at Šmartno was opened in the second quarter of the 1st century AD, probably by the soldiers of the legion *VIII Augusta* stationed at Poetovio from 9 BC to AD 45, who used the marble for their tombstones. Poetovio would thus have a quarry within its territory that initially primarily met its own needs.¹¹⁷

The west boundary of the Poetovio territory is suggested by the altar dedicated to Termunes, divinities of boundaries, which was found in 1937 during the demolition of the parish church in Čadram. Saria saw it as an indication of the nearby boundary between Noricum and Pannonia, while Alföldy saw it as evidence of the boundary between the city territories of Celeia and Flavia Solva. Based on the theoretical boundary of the Poetovio ager, I favour the former interpretation. Čadram lies only a few kilometres from the theoretical boundary and the inscription mentions a Quintus Proculus Finitus, who again appears on an altar dedicated to Mars from Laporje, a site also located close to the theoretical boundary.

South and not far from Čadram, at Spodnje Grušovje, is the location of a Roman road station of Ragando, servicing the state road from Celeia to Poetovio. The inscription from Aquileia

mentions a Marcus Licinius Fulgentius, born in Norican Ragando. The inscription is dated to the 4th century, which shows that at that time Ragando doubtlessly belonged to Noricum. Whether this was also the case for previous centuries, we can as yet not say. What I can say is that Thiessen polygons and the site catchment analysis also locate Spodnje Grušovje to Noricum.

In the southwest, the boundary was drawn by accepting Pirchegger's assumption of the ager of Poetovio reaching to Studenice. This is the findspot of the tombstone of Iulius Romanus, who is also mentioned as dedicant on an altar from Hajdina.

The determination of the southern boundary involves no archaeological evidence, it is based solely on geography. The terrain here is quite undulating, but not impassable. Located to the south-west and south of Poetovio is the hills of Haloze, while the neighbouring Roman city of Andautonia is delimited to the north by Mount Medvednica and beyond that also Ivančica. The site catchment analysis and Thiessen polygons showed that the theoretical boundary ran slightly to the south of Ivančica. In the southwest, Pirchegger included into the ager of Poetovio the areas of Klenovnik and Križovljan, where two inscription slabs were found in the 19th century each mentioning a *decurio* from Poetovio. The theoretical boundary runs further to the east of the two sites to include Aquae Iasae.

The eastern boundary of Poetovio has always been drawn to include the said baths, based on an inscription mentioning *res publica Poetovionensis*. It has to be said that such a boundary deviates from the theoretical one, but is accepted as the most likely also because of the fact that Poetovio played a considerably more important role and also enjoyed a higher status in comparison with either the neighbouring Iovia, which otherwise lies closer to Aquae Iasae, or the municipium of Andautonia.

The above-presented delimitation of the ager of Poetovio does not aspire to be the final one. It is merely an attempt at interpreting the known archaeological evidence and sources with the use of new methodologies, particularly those based on the use of GIS. The correctness of the theoretical boundaries can only be confirmed through new finds and findings. It is also my hope that this contribution will inspire other researchers to attempt similar analyses for other, neighbouring Roman city territories.

¹¹⁷ Djurić et al. 2004; Djurić 2008, 160.

Addendum

Investigations at Aquae Iasae are ongoing. The excavations conducted since 2001 in the area of the spring pool have shown that the renovation of the pool in the 4th century used earlier inscriptions, reliefs and even statues as building material. The inscribed stones include a pedestal for a statue and two altars that are of interest here. The pedestal bore a dedicatory inscription mentioning Quintus Gavius Fronto, *primus pilus* of the legion *XIII Gemina* and *praefectus* of the communities of

the Scordisci, Breuci and Iasi.¹¹⁸ Both the mention of the Thirteenth Legion, which was stationed at Poetovio, and even more so the two altars,¹¹⁹ each mentioning a priest who attended to the maintenance of the Imperial cult at Poetovio (*avgustalis Coloniae Ulpiae Traianae Poetoviensis*), confirm our assumption on the spa of Aquae Iasae forming part of the territory of Poetovio.

Translation: Andreja Maver

¹¹⁸ Kušan Špalj 2014, 152 No. 64.

¹¹⁹ Kušan Špalj 2014, 159 No. 73 and 164 No. 79.

Abbreviations / Kratice

AIJ = V. Hoffiller, B. Saria, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien*, Heft I: *Noricum und Pannonia Superior*. – Zagreb 1938.
CIL = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*.

HD = EDH, Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg (skrbnik / Service provider: Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften; <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home?&lang=de>).

ILJug = A. et J. Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae, quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 19). – Ljubljana 1978; iidem, *Inscriptiones Latinae, quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 25). – Ljubljana 1986.

ILLPRON = *Inscriptionum lapidariarum Latinarum provinciae Norici*.

ILSI 1 = M. Lovenjak, *Inscriptiones Latinae Sloveniae 1. Neviodunum* (Situla 37). – Ljubljana, 1998.

Inscr. Aquil. = J. B. Brusin, *Inscriptiones Aquileiae I–III*. – Udine 1991–1993.

lupa = UBI ERAT LUPA – F. und O. Harl, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org (Bildatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern).

RE = Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus-Ziegler, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. – Stuttgart 1893–1995.

RINMS = M. Šašel Kos, *The Roman Inscriptions in the National Museum of Slovenia / Lapidarij Narodnega muzeja Slovenije* (Situla 35). – Ljubljana 1997.

Tit. Aq. = Kovács, P., Á. Szabó 2010, *Tituli Aquincenses II* (*Tituli sepulcrales et alii Budapestini reperti*). – Budapestini.

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Upravno območje Petovione in meja med Norikom in Panonijo

1. UVOD

Petoviona je bila v antiki velikega pomena, o njeni osrednji vlogi v zgodnjem razvoju Panonije je bilo napisano mnogo. Toliko manj so se znanstveniki posvečali zamejitvi agra in hkrati meji med Norikom in Panonijo. To je razumljivo, saj trdnih dokazov o upravnem območju Petovione ni. Mesto je stalo na robu province, meje so se spreminjale, *Poetovio* pa je administrativno pripadala enkrat Panoniji, spet drugič Noriku.

Skromni znani viri nam o administrativni pripadnosti Petovione povedo zelo malo. Pri Pliniju starejšem (ok. 23–79)¹ lahko najdemo podatek, da sta *Savaria* in *Scarbantia* v času okupacije in do vladavine cesarja Klavdija (41–54 n. št.) najverjetneje sodili v Norik² oz. pod noriško interesno sfero. Prav sem je po Veleju Paterkulu (19 pr. n. št.–31. n. št.) v letu 9 n. št. sodil tudi Karnunt.³ Bodisi pod Klavdijem bodisi pod Vespazijanom⁴ je bil vzhodni del Norika prestavljen v Panonijo; mesta *Savaria*, *Scarbantia*, *Carnuntum* in *Poetovio*, ki so na začetku sodila v Spodnji Ilirik, so odtlej sodila k provinci Panoniji.⁵ Časovna umestitev te administrativne spremembe je razumljiva, ker je Norik tedaj postal provinca, in sicer *inermis provincia* (provinca brez vojaških enot), saj zaradi dolgoletnega zavezništva z Rimom vojska v provinci

ni bila potrebna. Vsa omenjena mesta pa so ležala ob pomembni stari prometni povezavi, jantarjevi poti,⁶ vzdolž katere sta bili še pred nastopom Klavdija na strateških položajih postavljeni dve legiji, v Petovioni⁷ (*legio VIII Augusta*) in v Karnuntu⁸ (*legio XV Apollinaris*). Da pa bi Norik ostal provinca brez legij, sta bila oba tabora vključno z večjim pasom ob meji prestavljena v Ilirik, cesta od Karnunta vse do mestnega območja Celeje pa je postala *via militaris*⁹ pod nadzorom vojske iz Ilirika; tako je Celeja brez vojske ostala v Noriku, jantarjevo pot pa so Rimljani lahko nadzorovali in ščitili še naprej.¹⁰

Po Dioklecijanovih reformah je bila Petoviona ponovno v Noriku, tokrat v novoustanovljeni provinci *Noricum Mediterraneum*. V *Itin. Burd.* (561, 5) se Petoviona omenja kot zadnje mesto Norika. Od tod je popotnik čez most vstopil v Zgornjo Panonijo¹¹ in nadaljeval pot proti naslednji postaji, imenovani *Ramista* (danes Formin).¹²

2. DOSEDANJA MNENJA O RAZDELITVI UPRAVNEGA OBMOČJA PETOVIONE

V literaturi sicer redko, a vendar zasledimo poskuse zamejitve upravnega območja Petovione. Problematično ni zgolj menjava administrativne pripadnosti mesta v teku stoletij, temveč tudi pomanjkanje zadostnih argumentov, da bi njeno mejo sploh lahko začrtali. V nadaljevanju bomo predstavili izbor avtorjev, ki so o meji upravnega območja Petovione pisali, in navedli njihove argumente zamejitve.

Na kratko se te problematike dotakne A. Premerstein¹³ v članku o epigrafskih spomenikih iz Maribora. Del mariborskega okoliša na levem bregu Drave prišteva k Zgornji Panoniji oz. k bližnji koloniji Petovioni. Po njegovem mnenju je

¹ N. h. III 146: *A tergo Carnorum et Iapudum, qua se fert magnus Hister, Raetis iuguntur Norici. Oppida eorum Virunum, Celeia, Teurnia, Aguntum, Iuva<u>m, omnia Claudia, Flavium Solvense. Noricis iuguntur lacus Pe<l>so, deserta Boiorum; iam tamen colonia Divi Claudii Sa<v>aria et oppido Scarbantia Iulia habitantur.* Prevod (Hriberšek 2012, 248): "V ozadju Karnov in Japudov, koder teče veliki Hister, se z Reti povezujejo Noriki. Njihova mesta so Virunum, Celeja, Teurnija, Aguntum in Juvavum, ki so vsa klavdijska <mesta>, ter flavijski municipij Solva. Noriki mejijo na jezero Pelzon in pušče Bojev, ki pa jih danes kljub temu naseljujeta Savarija, kolonija božanskega Klavdija, in mesto *Scarbantia Iulia*."

² Alföldi 1936, 540–541; id. 1974, 41, 57; Tóth 1980, 82; Šašel 1989, 60; Fitz 1989–1990, 82; Šašel Kos 2010, 220, 222. Drugače Kovács 2008, 238–239.

³ Vell. II 109, 5: "*A Carnunto, qui locus Norici regni ...*" Fehér, Kovács (ur.) 2005, 111–116.

⁴ Verjetnejša je prva možnost. Glej Šašel Kos 2010, 222.

⁵ Saria 1939, 78; Toth 1980, 82; Šašel 1989, 60; Fitz 1993, 16–19; Graßl 1994, 517–524; Gassner, Jilek 2002, 85; Šašel Kos 2010, 217–223.

⁶ Ubl 2008.

⁷ Ritterling 1925, 1647; Horvat et al. 2003, 165.

⁸ Mosser 2002, zlasti 122–123.

⁹ Šašel 1977.

¹⁰ Ubl 2008, 135; Šašel Kos 2010, 209–210.

¹¹ "*Transis pontem intras Pannoniam Inferiorem.*" Na tem mestu je v itinerariju napaka, pisati bi moralo *Pannoniam Superiorem*.

¹² Šašel 1975, 94.

¹³ Premerstein 1904.

bila Drava ločnica med obema provincama. Toda kje je tekla meja med provincama Norikom in Panonijo, ko pa je tudi Petoviona ležala na obeh bregovih Drave? Premerstein njenega poteka ne poda. V članku se je namreč osredotočil zgolj na to, h kateri provinci uvrstiti mariborsko območje. Ugotavlja, da je cesar Trajan po ustanovitvi kolonije Petovione na območje Maribora naselil družine, ki so pod istim cesarjem dobile državljanstvo. Na to bi kazali napisi z gentilicijem *Ulpus*, najdeni v Mariboru, med njimi tudi pepelnica z omembo Marka Ulpija Katulina¹⁴ (*Marcus Ulpus Catullinus*) ter danes izgubljena nagrobna stela z omembo Marka Ulpija Prima¹⁵ (*Marcus Ulpus Primus*).

V celoti je poskušal upravno območje Petovione v članku *Das Stadtbezirk Poetovios* zamejiti H. Pirchegger.¹⁶ Svoje razmišljanje je argumentiral na osnovi geografskih danosti, zlasti pa na do takrat znanih napisnih kamnih. Starše so po napisih, na katerih se omenja *colonia Poetovionensis*,¹⁷ sodile k petovionskemu agru. Sem je prišel tudi območje Klenovnika¹⁸ in Križovljana¹⁹ ter *Aquae Iasae*²⁰ na Hrvaškem. Iz Klenovnika in Križovljana²¹ sta znana oltarja, posvečena Jupitru, na katerih se omenjata dekuriona Petovione, v *Aquae Iasae* pa je bil odkrit napisni kamen, na katerem je zapisano, da je mesto *Poetovio* poskrbelo za neko večjo gradnjo, verjetno dela term. Kot argument za potek južne meje je Pircheggerju služil nagrobnik z omembo Gaja Julija Romana (*Caius Iulius Romanus*) iz Studenic,²² saj se morda ista oseba omenja na oltarju s Hajdine.²³ Na zahodu se je Pirchegger oprl na oltar, posvečen Noreji,²⁴ najden na Črešnjevcu. Cesta, ki je tekla ob vznožju Pohorja, je po njegovem mnenju sodila k Noriku. Nekje v okolici Pragerskega je torej treba, po njegovem mnenju, iskati tromejo med upravnimi območji Celeje, Petovione in Flavije Solve.

Pirchegger je še menil, da Rimljani večjih rek (npr. Save, Drave, Mure) niso upoštevali kot naravne meje, zato je k mestnemu območju Flavije Solve sodil tudi manjši odsek onstran Drave, ob vzhodnem vznožju Pohorja. Na vzhodu je upravno območje Petovione obsegalo Slovenske gorice, morda je segalo celo onstran Mure, kar pa Pirchegger ni znal argumentirati. Na jugu manjši vzpetini Ivančica in Kalnik naj ne bi predstavljali naravne meje. Južno mejo petovionskega agra bi po Pircheggerju morali vleči v smeri Macelj–Donačka gora–Boč.

Na kratko je o upravnem območju Petovione spregovoril M. Abramič,²⁵ pri čemer je poudaril, da lahko meje povlečemo le približno. Na zahodu naj bi upravno območje segalo do vznožja Pohorja, kjer je mejilo na Flavijo Solvo. Na jugovzhodu naj bi k petovionskemu območju sodile *Aquae Iasae*, na jugu pa Haloze.

E. Polaschek²⁶ se meje Panonije in s tem mestnega območja Petovione dotakne samo bežno, ko govori o mejah Norika. Meja naj bi po njegovem mnenju segala do Starš, kjer naj bi prečkala Dravo. Cesta, ki je povezovala Flavijo Solvo s Celejo, je morala biti noriška in je tekla nekoliko vzhodneje od vznožja Pohorja. Vsekakor je cestna postaja *Ragando*²⁷ (danes Spodnje Grušovje) že ležala na noriškem ozemlju. Črešnjevce s posvetilom Noreji naj bi potemtakem predstavljal mejno točko in ležal v Noriku.

B. Saria²⁸ predpostavke, ki so bile sprejete pred njim, samo povzema: k mestnemu območju Petovione naj bi sodili Starše in Maribor. Arheološka najdišča Šmartno na Pohorju, Tinje, Modrič in Črešnjevce je Saria pripisal Noriku oz. mestnemu območju Celeje. Petovionsko upravno območje naj bi segalo čez Haloze in vključevalo ozemlje Babinec–Križovljan ter *Aquae Iasae*. Na vzhodu naj bi meja potekala do Mure, za potek severne meje pa Saria ni imel zadostnih dokazov, da bi si jo upal definirati.

Leta 1963 sta R. Egger in H. Veters izdala atlas Avstrije²⁹ ter na karti V/3 vrisala antične kraje in meje med njimi. Mestnemu območju Flavije Solve sta pripisala Maribor in okolico, Pohorje in skoraj celotno Dravsko polje. Petoviona je po njenem mnenju zavzemala le ozek pas ozemlja na severu

¹⁴ AIJ 111; ILLPRON 1813; lupa 2129.

¹⁵ CIL III 15206; AIJ 112; ILLPRON 1814; lupa 3661.

¹⁶ Pirchegger 1911.

¹⁷ CIL III 4100 in 4101.

¹⁸ CIL III 4111.

¹⁹ CIL III 4108; AIJ 449; lupa 20217.

²⁰ CIL III 4117 (glej pogl. 6).

²¹ Napis iz Križovljana je treba upoštevati s pazljivostjo, saj je kamen vzidan kot spolja in o njegovem najdišču ne vemo ničesar. Omemba dekuriona Petovione ne pomeni nujno, da je to območje sodilo k petovionskemu agru (glej pogl. 3).

²² CIL III 5299; ILLPRON 1922; lupa 4155.

²³ CIL III 10873.

²⁴ CIL III 5300.

²⁵ Abramič 1925a, 24.

²⁶ Polaschek 1936, 982.

²⁷ CIL III p. 2328, 47.

²⁸ AIJ str. 45, 122; Saria 1951, 1177–1178.

²⁹ Egger, Veters 1963, karta V/3.

in zahodu. Na jugu in vzhodu mestnega območja Petovione nista zamejila.

Po G. Alföldyju v delu *Noricum*³⁰ je vzhodna noriška meja tekla vzhodno od vasi Črešnjevca, kjer je stala noriška benefiarna postaja *mansio Ragando*. Severno od nje ni v Norik sodilo samo mariborsko območje, ampak tudi del Dravskega polja zahodno od Petovione. Na podlagi miljnika *CIL III 5744* iz Starš, za katerega domneva, da je stal na cesti *Poetovio-Flavia Solva*, je to območje pripisal Noriku. Cestno postajo *Ad vicesimum*, ki jo je lociral v Gornjo Radgono, je še prišteval k Panoniji. Noriško-panonska meja naj bi tekla vzdolž reke Lapinč. Posvetilo božanstvom mej iz Čadrama je razlagal kot mejno postajo med mestnima območjema Celeje in Flavije Solve.

Mejo med Panonijo in Norikom je A. Mocsy v delu *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*³¹ s črtkano linijo vrisal na karto v smeri Zidani Most–Grobelno–Loče–Zgornja Bistrica–Razvanje–Maribor. V Mariboru je meja prestopila Dravo, se obrnila proti severu, v kraju Straß in Steiermark prestopila Muro in tekla naprej proti severu. Celotna dolina reke Lapinč in vzhodna avstrijska Štajerska sta po njegovem mnenju sodili k Panoniji. Za Maribor ni povsem jasno, v katero od obeh provinc naj bi sodil.

E. Hudeczek³² se dotakne meje petovionskega agra zgolj pri definiranju južne meje mestnega območja Flavije Solve. Kot mejno točko navaja Starše, ki so ležale na antični cesti med Petoviono in Flavijo Solvo, a dokazov za to nima. Miljnik iz Starš (*CIL III 5744*) je bil po njegovem mnenju opredeljen kot noriški zgolj na podlagi formulacije. Kako daleč na jug je območje Flavije Solve segalo, ni vedel, a je k njenemu teritoriju prišteval še zahodni rob Dravskega polja ter vzhodno Pohorje vse do Slivnice.³³ Problematično se mu je zdelo posvetilo božanstvom mej v Čadramu. Če je cesta ob vznožju Pohorja res bila noriška, potem Pohorje ne bi smelo biti pripisano Panoniji. Vendar bi po drugi strani ozemlje Flavije Solve segalo daleč na jug, torej bi Celeji odvezelo precej ozemlja. Po njegovem mnenju je treba slediti naravnemu nadaljevanju Pohorja in iskati mejo med Norikom in Panonijo južno od Slivnice.

Vprašanje, ali je vzhodna avstrijska Štajerska pripadala Panoniji ali Noriku, si je postavjal tudi

O. Harl.³⁴ Menil je, da reka Raba in njeni pritoki razmejujejo Norik in Panonijo. Piše, da se napisi višjih uradnikov ne pojavljajo nujno samo v kraju, iz katerega izhajajo. Zanesljivejši so vojaški nagrobniki. Vojaki so bili v vojsko vpoklicani po vojaških okrožjih. Ker se na nagrobnikih in žigih opek omenjajo enote vojakov zgornjepanonskih legij (*legio XIV* in *X Gemina, I Adiutrix*), meni, da je torej območje avstrijske Štajerske sodilo k Panoniji, na kar je opozoril že Mocsy na svoji karti Panonije. Maribor bi s tem imel mejno lego, kjer je verjetno potekal tudi prehod čez Dravo in meja med provincama Norikom in Panonijo. Ni povsem jasno, kam mesto postavlja.

V publikaciji o avtonomnih mestih Norika in Panonije je I. Lazar³⁵ pisala o meji Celeje. Vzhodno mejo je začrtala po Savi, Sotli in današnji državni meji vse do noriške postaje *Ragando* in naprej čez Slovenske Konjice, kjer se je obrnila severno. Naselbine ob vznožju Pohorja od Slivnice proti zahodu so torej že stale na noriških tleh.

V zadnjih letih se je skupaj z drugimi avtorji z zamejitvijo mestnega območja Petovione ukvarjala J. Horvat.³⁶ V članku so povzeli pretekle argumente za mejo in jih prikazali na karti Petovione (*sl. 1*).

3. PROBLEMATIKA ZAMEJITVE UPRAVNEGA OBMOČJA PETOVIONE

Prvi problem je, da za Petoviono nimamo mejnikov, ki bi določali mejo upravnega območja. V Dalmaciji je bilo odkritih več napisnih kamnov, ki so označevali mejo med dvema sosednjima plemenoma, privatnima osebama oz. določevali dostop do vodnjaka, gozdov itd.³⁷ Edini mejnik na današnjem slovenskem prostoru je bil doslej odkrit v Bevkah, označeval je mejo med Akvilejo in Emono in naj bi, po mnenju M. Šašel Kos, potrdil pripadnost Emone k Deseti regiji.³⁸ Za petovionsko upravno območje, kot rečeno, ni znanih podobnih primerov. Lahko pa bi imel podobno vlogo samo oltar, posvečen boginjam/bogovom mej iz Čadrama (glej v nadaljevanju).³⁹

Zavajajoči so lahko tudi napisni kamni z omembo uradnikov. Najdišča takšnih napisov so običajno

³⁰ Alföldy 1974, 60–61. Iste argumente zastopa avtor tudi v članku Alföldy 1989, 49–50.

³¹ Mocsy 1974, Fig. 59.

³² Hudeczek 1988, 23–24.

³³ *CIL III 5309* in 11714.

³⁴ Harl 1997, 195–199.

³⁵ Lazar 2002, 72.

³⁶ Horvat et al. 2003, 160.

³⁷ Wilkes 1974.

³⁸ Šašel Kos 2002.

³⁹ *ILJug* 405.

povezovali z upravnim območjem tistega mesta, kjer so bili najdeni,⁴⁰ saj je namreč veljalo, da lahko napise za župane, edile, kvestorje, dekurione in druge mestne funkcionarje najverjetneje najdemo samo znotraj upravnega območja nekega mesta. Ko so tako določili pripadajoče zaledje mesta, so sklepali tudi na meje provinc.⁴¹ Danes je znanih kar nekaj primerov, kjer se napisi mestnih funkcionarjev najdejo tudi zunaj območij mest, kjer so opravljali funkcije.⁴² Dodatno se je treba zavedati, da večina znanih napisnih kamnov ni odkrita *in situ*, ampak v sekundarni rabi, uporabljena kot gradbeni material v stenah cerkva ali zidovih, in je zato njihovo primarno najdišče le redkokdaj jasno.

Ničkolikokrat so se avtorji člankov o mejah naslanjali na naravne danosti, za katere so menili, da so jih Rimljani upoštevali pri določevanju mej. Takšno razmišljanje je sicer v nekaterih predelih možno, večkrat (kot tudi v primeru Petovione) pa nemogoče. Morda natančen potek mej v gorovjih v rimskem imperiju sploh ni bil določen.⁴³ Na drugi strani pa reke v antiki niso bile regulirane in so v stoletjih večkrat spremenile tok. Za Rimljane so predstavljale bolj mejno cono kot mejno linijo.⁴⁴ V primeru Celeje se domneva, da je mestni teritorij pri Brestanici segal čez reko Savo.⁴⁵ Toda, če naravnih danosti nimamo, iskanje mej teritorija sploh ni mogoče. Obsega mestnega zaledja namreč ne moremo (in ne smemo) iskati po nekih vnaprej določenih merilih, saj je širina zaledja bila pri vsakem mestu drugačna. Naj opomnimo samo na primer Emone, kjer je meja med tem mestom in Akvilejo tekla precej vzhodneje, kot so predvidevali do odkritja miljnika pri Bevkah.⁴⁶

Niti onomastika, s katero bi na podlagi imen, ki so se ohranila na kamnitih spomenikih, lahko sklepali na podobnosti ali razlike znotraj mestnih

območij, nam pri določitvi mestnega zaledja Petovione ni v pomoč. Plinij starejši med panonskimi plemeni omenja Serete, Serapile, Jaze in Andizete, ki so verjetno živeli vzdolž Drave.⁴⁷ Plemena, ki so živela na območju Petovione, so sodila med keltske Tavriskse,⁴⁸ ki pa so poseljevali tudi noriško območje. Ker so keltska imena med Panonijo in Norikom zelo podobna, ni opaziti otokov posebnih imen. Niti poskus J. Fitzsa s primerjavo *cognomina* ni prinesel zelene rešitve.⁴⁹

4. UPORABA THIESSNOVIH POLIGONOV

Ker nam na primeru Petovione niti mejniki niti pisni viri in arheološke najdbe niso omogočili določiti upravnega zaledja mesta, smo si pri zamejitvi idealnega gospodarskega prostora pomagali z metodo Thiessnovih poligonov. Predpostavki te metode sta, da meje med poselitvenimi centri (arheološkimi najdišči) niso znane, centri pa so, razpršeni na nekem območju, nosilci moči na tistem delu podeželja, ki leži bliže posameznemu centru kot kateremukoli drugemu. Katerakoli točka znotraj poligona je bližja središču svojega poligona kot kateremukoli drugemu središču. Gre za praktično izvedbo, pri kateri sosednji mesti povežemo in na sredini povezovalne daljice narišemo pravokotnico, ta pa predstavlja stranico Thiessnovega poligona.

Pri tem se je treba zavedati, da so Thiessnovi poligoni zgolj analitični pripomoček, s katerim razlagamo prostorska razmerja. Oblika nastalega poligona sicer kaže na pravilnosti v razmerju, a šele z dodatno analizo poligonov lahko potrdimo, ali je dobljeni obseg poligona zanesljiv ali ne.⁵⁰ Poznavanje gospodarskega prostora je pomembno, saj tako razumemo dinamiko obravnavanega območja, npr. značaj antičnega mesta in njegovo funkcioniranje, s tem pa lahko vlogo preučevanega mesta razumemo v širšem kontekstu; razumevanje gospodarskega pomena ponuja osnovo za nadaljnje ekonomske, kulturnozgodovinske, politične in druge raziskave.

Prvi je v slovenski arheologiji v svoji doktorski disertaciji uporabil metodologijo prostorskih študij B. Slapšak.⁵¹ Z razvojem računalniške obdelave podatkov (geografskega informacijskega sistema

⁴⁰ Alföldy 1970, 160, 166–167; id. 1974, 98 Fig. 11; id. 1989, 48–49.

⁴¹ Gassner, Jilek 2002, 85–86.

⁴² Alföldy 1970, 166; id. 1989, 48. Alföldy se zaveda, da so uradniki lahko obiskovali druge kraje in se na novem mestu naselili kot posestniki. Poudarja, da bi lahko kot morebiten dokaz na bližnjo mejo kazala samo večja koncentracija takšnih napisov. Primere navajajo tudi: Vettors 1977, 310; Harl 1997, 196–197; Ehrenreich, Fuch, Wedenig 2006; Breščak, Lovenjak 2010. Zato menim, da je posamične najdbe treba pazljivo obravnavati.

⁴³ Gassner, Jilek 2002, 86.

⁴⁴ Gassner, Jilek 2002, 86.

⁴⁵ Alföldy 1974, 60; *RINMS* 180; Lazar 2002, 72. O spremembi toka reke Save in domnevi, da so bili miljniki v antiki postavljeni severno od reke, glej *ILSI* 1, str. 17.

⁴⁶ Šašel Kos 2002.

⁴⁷ *N. h.* III 147–148.

⁴⁸ Horvat et al. 2003, 158.

⁴⁹ Fitz 1977; id. 1989–1990, 83–84.

⁵⁰ Slapšak 1995, 48.

⁵¹ Slapšak 1995; Novaković 2003, 250.

GIS) je prostorska arheologija dosegla razcvet, tudi v Sloveniji.⁵² Pri doseganju novih interpretacij in razlage vloge najdišč so se začele kopičiti nove metodologije prostorske in krajinske arheologije, kot so določanje gospodarskega zaledja in analiza stroškovnih površin na najdiščih Dolenjske v železni dobi,⁵³ model Thiessnovih poligonov pri distribuciji najdb na Krupskem polju v Beli krajini,⁵⁴ uporaba modulov za izračunavanje porabe energije za pot na primeru študija gospodarskega zaledja zgodnesrednjeveških naselbin v blejskem kotu,⁵⁵ uporaba von Thünenovega modela na primeru antične Emone⁵⁶ itd.

Uporaba Thiessnovih poligonov in izračun porabe energije za pot na primeru Petovione⁵⁷

Zgoraj opisano metodo Thiessnovih poligonov smo uporabili na primeru Petovione, pri čemer smo se vprašali, kakšen rezultat bi dobili ob predpostavki, da je administrativna meja enaka idealni gospodarski. Za izdelavo Thiessnovih poligonov je pomembno kartiranje istovrstnih najdišč, tj. izhodiščna predpostavka temelji, da so znana vsa najdišča.⁵⁸ V naši analizi smo upoštevali vsa arheološko izpričana sosednja mesta, ki so bila avtonomna. Kartirali smo samoupravna mesta, pri čemer nismo upoštevali razlik v statusu avtonomnih mest (kolonija, municipij ali *civitas*). Čeprav mesta niso bila enakovredna po statusu, niso bila v medsebojnem hierarhičnem odnosu. Za svoj obstoj so potrebovala razmeroma veliko gospodarsko zaledje.

Pri analizi smo upoštevali naslednja mesta: *Celeia*,⁵⁹ *Flavia Solva*,⁶⁰ *Salla*,⁶¹ *Iovia*,⁶² *Andautonia*⁶³ in *Neviodunum*.⁶⁴ Menimo, da na podlagi stanja raziskav našeta mesta lahko obravnavamo

kot popolni nabor, tj. da so znane vse relevantne lokacije.⁶⁵

V prvem koraku (*sl. 2*) smo omenjena mesta kartirali in izdelali Thiessnove poligone. Poligoni, ki smo jih dobili, so samo približek dejanske razmejitve v primeru, da je meja potekala po sredi med dvema sosednjima mestoma. Drugih kriterijev, predvsem reliefa, v tem koraku nismo upoštevali. Rezultat nam je služil zgolj kot analitični pripomoček, da smo lahko kasneje, po izračunu porabe energije za pot, obe analizi primerjali med seboj.

V naslednjem koraku (*sl. 3*) smo pri izdelavi Thiessnovih poligonov upoštevali tudi relief (ne pa rek – torej Mure), za katerega smo predpostavljali, da bo nekoliko spremenil prej izrisani poligon tako glede oblike kot celotnega obsega. Za običajni Thiessnov poligon velja, da je vsaka točka na mnogokotniku enako oddaljena od sosednjih si središč, torej izračun na podlagi zračne črte. V tem koraku pa smo izračunali porabo energije za pot. To pomeni, da je za dostop do vsake točke poligona potrebna enaka količina energije.⁶⁶

Domnevali smo, da se bo meja, izračunana s Thiessnovimi poligoni na severozahodu, na območju Pohorja in na jugu, na vzpetini Ivančica, ob upoštevanju porabe energije za pot, prestavila na najvišje vrhove. Pokazala se nam je nekoliko drugačna slika. Dobljeni rezultat je skoraj sovpadal z že prej izrisanimi Thiessnovimi poligoni! Niti Pohorje niti Ivančica, zaradi splošno hribovitega ozemlja tudi iz smeri drugih središč, ne pomenita ovire, zaradi katere bi se meje upravnega območja Petovione, dobljene z upoštevanjem porabe energije, premaknile in spremenile.

5. POSKUS NOVE ZAMEJITVE PETOVIONSKEGA MESTNEGA OBMOČJA

Novo zamejitev mestnega območja Petovione smo izrisali na podlagi Thiessnovih poligonov in z upoštevanjem porabe energije za pot (*sl. 4*). Prvi so nam pokazali razdelitev mestnega območja brez

⁵² Dular et al. 1992.

⁵³ Dular, Tecco Hvala 2007, 198–203; Novaković 2003, 117–118.

⁵⁴ Budja 1989.

⁵⁵ Štular 2006.

⁵⁶ Županek 2002.

⁵⁷ Za pomoč pri poglavju in izdelavo kart se najlepše zahvaljujem Benjaminu Štularju, Iza ZRC SAZU.

⁵⁸ Slapšak 1995, 48.

⁵⁹ Lazar 2002.

⁶⁰ Hudeczek 1988.

⁶¹ Redő 2003.

⁶² Gregl, Migotti 2004.

⁶³ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 129.

⁶⁴ Lovenjak 2003.

⁶⁵ Halikana (danes Sv. Martin na Muri), ki ga na podlagi omembe v itinerariju Antonini in pri anonimnem geografu iz Ravene lahko zagotovo opredelimo kot cestno postajo na cesti *Poetovio–Carnuntum* oz. *Poetovio–Savaria*, pri analizi nismo upoštevali. Status municipija, ki naj bi ga mesto dobilo pod Hadrijanom (*Municipium Aelium Halicanum*), je na podlagi napisa iz Akvinka (*Tit. Aq. 652; lupa 2959; HD008266*) zgolj domneven. Glej Patsch 1912, 2878; Soproni 1979; Šašel 1981; Kerman 1990; Fitz 2003.

⁶⁶ Štular 2006.

upoštevanja naravnih danosti, z izračunom porabe energije za pot pa smo prikazali, kako se poligon ob upoštevanju geografskih značilnosti spremeni. Rek (v našem primeru Mure) pri izračunu porabe energije predhodno nismo upoštevali, zato smo dobljeni poligon na severovzhodu premaknili nekoliko jugozahodneje in stranico poligona postavili na Muro. Ta reka je največja naravna ovira med Salo in Petoviono, zato jo predlagamo kot verjetno mejo.

Za dobljeno zamejitev mestnega območja lahko vsaj delno podamo tudi argumente, ki bodo razloženi v nadaljevanju.

Votivni napis iz Čadrama

Pri podiranju stare župne cerkve v Čadramu leta 1937 so delavci naleteli na več rimskih in gotskih kamnov, med katerimi je bil tudi votivni oltarček, ki ga je Kvint Prokulej Finit (*Quintus Proculeius Finitus*) posvetil zaščitnicam/zaščitnikom mej, imenovanim *Termunes*.⁶⁷ Omenjeno posvetilo ni mejnik, vendar so posvetila božanstvom mej simbolizirala in reprezentirala meje⁶⁸ in so, zelo verjetno, stala v njihovi neposredni bližini. Okoliščine odkritja so v preteklih letih postale tema številnih diskusij. Odkrit je bil v sekundarni legi,⁶⁹ tako je že na tem mestu njegova postavitev v bližini meje, ki smo jo očrtali, vprašljiva. Dalje lahko v literaturi sledimo razpravi o tem, katero mejo bi omenjeni napis predstavljal. Doslej se je domnevalo, da je oltar stal ali v bližini noriško-panonske meje⁷⁰ ali je nakazoval bližino meje med mestnima območjema Celeje in Flavije Solve.⁷¹ Kot smo prikazali s pomočjo Thiessnovih poligonov in z izračunom porabe energije, je verjetnejša prva predpostavka, s čimer bi oltar predstavljal bližino meje med celejskim in petovionskim agrom in hkrati seveda tudi noriško-panonsko mejo. Zanimivo je, da je posvetitelj napisa, Kvint Prokulej Finit, zapisan tudi na posvetilu Marsu iz Laporja.⁷² Kraj po naši analizi poligonov teoretično leži znotraj petovionskega agra, a vendar zelo blizu teoretične

meje. Potemtakem bi posvetilo Termunam postavil možki, ki je živel v neposredni bližini meje.

Meje gospodarskega prostora je za rimskodobno najdišče Ajdovščina pri Rodiku naredil na podlagi Thiessnovih poligonov tudi B. Slapšak. Ko je analize primerjal z najdbami v okolici, je ugotovil, da je napis,⁷³ ki omenja območje rodiške Ajdovščine, ležal samo nekaj kilometrov zunaj poligona teritorija. Napis prav tako ni mejnik, a označuje razmejitev posestva med Gajem Lekanijem Basom (*Caius Laecanius Bassus*) in Rundikti (*Rundictes*). Morda gre zgolj za naključje, vendar nam skoraj identično sliko prikazuje oltar iz Čadrama za petovionski ager. Na njem sicer nimamo jasno definirano, da gre res za označbo meje, vsekakor pa omemba božanstev mej nakazuje na neko razmejitev, bodisi provincialno in/ali mestno mejo bodisi zamejitev privatne posesti.

Mansio Ragando

Samo nekaj kilometrov južneje od Čadrama je v Spodnje Grušovje locirana cestna postaja *Ragando*, oddaljena 18 rimskih milj od Petovione. Tudi arheološki ostanki kažejo na obsežnejšo naselbino na tem mestu. Po Thiessnovih poligonih postaja leži le nekoliko zahodneje od stranice poligona, torej že v Noriku. Dodatno zmedo pri lociranju cestne postaje nam povzroča napisni kamen, odkrit že leta 1889 v Akvileji.⁷⁴ Napis na njem med drugim sporoča, da je bil pokojni Licinij Fulgentij (*Licinius Fulgentius*) *natus in Norico Ragandone*.⁷⁵ S tem podatkom je cestna postaja locirana nedvomno v Norik. Toda napis je datiran v 4. st. in podatek nam odslikava stanje v tem času. Po Dioklecijanovih reformah je območje Petovione in Celeje z zaledjem sodilo v novoustanovljeno provinco *Noricum Mediterraneum*. Na napisu beremo, da je Licinij Fulgentij umrl star več kot 50 let. Če bi napis lahko datirali natančneje, torej na začetek 4. st., potem bi lahko *mansio Ragando* po naši določitvi meje brez dvoma postavili na

⁷³ CIL V 698; *ILJug* 450; *lupa* 16158; Slapšak 1995, 69 (z literaturo).

⁷⁴ Maionica 1893, 117; CIL III p. 2328⁴⁷; *Inscr. Aquil.* 2858; *lupa* 17098.

⁷⁵ *D(is) M(anibus) et in perpetuo / securitatem Licinius / Fulgent(ius) ex(archus) n(umeri) eq(uitum) Stabl(e)s(ianorum) / natus in Nor(ico) Ragand(one) /⁵ qui vixit an(nos) L m(enses) VI / d(ies) III qui perit in aqua / Aquil(e)ae die V Idus Iul(ias) / facta memor(ia) de suo per Avit(um) exarchum /¹⁰ [et] filium Adiurmium.*

⁶⁷ *ILJug* 405; *lupa* 9512; *HD021879*; Saria 1939, 18; id. 1946, 56–59.

⁶⁸ Taubenschlag 1934.

⁶⁹ Saria 1939, 79.

⁷⁰ Saria 1939, 18, 78; id. 1946, 58–59.

⁷¹ Alföldy 1974, 99 op. 94.

⁷² *AIJ* 83; *lupa* 8855; Saria 1939, 36.

noriško ozemlje. Če pa je napis datiran v drugo polovico 4. st., ga pri določitvi meje ne moremo in ne smemo upoštevati.

Maribor

Nutrice so bile poleg čaščenja Mitre eden izmed pomembnejših kultov na območju Petovione. Številni napisi in reliefi, posvečeni dojljam in zaščitnicam dojenčkov in mladine, so bili odkriti na Zgornjem Bregu in Spodnji Hajdini, kjer je bilo tudi njihovo svetišče,⁷⁶ čeprav Abramić sklepa na manjše svetišče tudi na Zgornjem Bregu.⁷⁷ V osemdesetih letih 20. st. so pri nasadu jablan na Panorami našli na grob, datiran v 4. st., ki je bil obložen s šestimi ploščami in pokrit s sedmo. Plošče so nosile posvetitve Nutricam in so nedvomno izvirale iz svetišča, ki je moralo biti nekje v bližini.⁷⁸

Prav zaradi številnih najdb s posvetili Nutricam, ki zunaj Petovione sicer niso znane, je presenetljivo, da je bil en oltar najden tudi v Mariboru. Kamen je danes sicer izgubljen, a ohranil se je prepis in podatek, da je bil viden v *Marchburgi in basi turris ecclesiae*.⁷⁹ Da je bil napis iz Petovione naknadno prinesen v Maribor, je zaradi razdalje manj verjetno.⁸⁰ Verjetneje je, da je izviral iz mariborskega okoliša. To bi nakazovalo, da je Maribor sodil k Petovioni.⁸¹ Na napisu je bila izpričana Valerija Marcela (*Valeria Marcella*).⁸² Gentilno ime omenjene ženske je dobro poznano prav iz Petovione. Valeriji so bili v 2. st. najuglednejša petovionska družina in so dosegli visoke mestne magistrature, kar štirje njeni člani so dosegli duovirat.⁸³ Prav tako je iz iste družine izviral Mark Valerij Maksimijan mlajši (*Marcus Valerius Maximianus*), ki je po uspešni vojaški karieri postal celo prvi znani panonski senator.⁸⁴ Družina je izvirala iz severne Italije in se je v Petoviono priselila verjetno v prvi polovici 1. st. V 1. in 2. st. je bila družina izredno uspešna in premožna, v 3. st. pa je njena ekonomska moč začela počasi usihati. Njeni člani so se poročali s

pripadniki drugih uglednih družin, kot so Tetiji ali Tiberiniji, posamezni predstavniki družine pa so se iz mesta selili na podeželje.⁸⁵

K seznamu, ki ga je za Valerije izdelal G. Alföldy, lahko prištejemo tudi Valerijo Marcelo, pri čemer bi bilo sklepanje na vrsto sorodstvene vezi z ostalimi člani, omenjenimi v napisih, precej tvegano. Morda je imela družina na mariborskem območju ali njegovi okolici posesti, kjer je živela.

Poleg Valerijev je treba omeniti še Ulpije, ki so državljanstvo dobili pod Trajanom in od takrat nosili takšen gentilicij. Premerstein je predpostavljal, da so se na območje Maribora naselili kmalu po prevzemu državljanstva, kar bi kazalo na povezavo s Petoviono, ki je pod omenjenim cesarjem dobila status kolonije (glej pogl. 2).

Z geografskega vidika gledano, pa Maribor leži bližje Petovioni kot Flaviji Solvi. Za zdaj obstoj rimske naselbine v mestu še ni bil dokazan, a območje Maribora je moralo imeti v antiki pomembno vlogo: skozenj sta morali teči cesti *Celeia-Flavia Solva* in *Poetovio-Virunum*, Drava, ob kateri leži, pa je bila v rabi za rečni transport.

Vodovod Fram-Spodnja Hajdina

Že v drugi polovici 19. st. je bil pod Pohorjem, natančneje v Framu, odkrit začetek rimskega vodovoda, poimenovan Zlati studenec (*sl. 4*).⁸⁶ Ob kasnejših topografskih pregledih, sondiranjih in raziskavah na trasah avtoceste so na vodovod našli večkrat in ga tudi dokumentirali.⁸⁷ Njegova trasa vodi od Frama čez Rače, Brezulo, Brunšvik, Kungoto, Gerečjo vas, Skorbo vse do Spodnje Hajdine.⁸⁸

Domnevamo, da je bil vodovod speljan znotraj petovionskega agra, in ne iz sosednje province, iz Norika v Panonijo. Našo domnevo dodatno podpirajo opeke, iz katerih je bil deloma sestavljen kanal vodovoda. Številne nosijo pečat legije Trinajste dvojne, ki je bila nameščena v Petovioni od leta 45. Med letoma 96 in 98 je bila premeščena v Vindobono (danes Dunaj). Akvedukt je torej s pitno vodo oskrboval v prvi vrsti legijski tabor v Petovioni, kasneje pa tudi stavbe javnega značaja v zahodnem delu mesta.⁸⁹ Zaselki ob vznožju Pohorja

⁷⁶ Gurlitt 1896.

⁷⁷ Abramić 1925a, 38.

⁷⁸ Šašel Kos 1999, 168.

⁷⁹ *CIL* III 5314 = 11713; Šašel Kos 2001, 343–346 s starejšo literaturo.

⁸⁰ Gurlitt je menil, da je napis nedvomno izviral s Sp. Hajdine. Glej Gurlitt 1896.

⁸¹ Šašel Kos 1999, 178–180.

⁸² Šašel Kos 1999, 180.

⁸³ Šašel Kos 1993, 222–225.

⁸⁴ Alföldy 1964–1965.

⁸⁵ Alföldy 1964–1965, 143–144.

⁸⁶ Pahič 1975.

⁸⁷ Mikl-Curk 1972; Pahič 1974; Jevremov 1977; Tušek 1990; Lubšina 2004; Lubšina-Tušek 2008; Urek, Kovač 2009.

⁸⁸ Saria 1939, 15, 16, 22, 23, 24–28, 36, 51, 55–56.

⁸⁹ Saria 1939; Lubšina-Tušek 2008, 126.

so torej po naših argumentih administrativno že sodili k petovionskemu agru. Thiessnovi poligoni in izračun porabe energije za pot so pokazali podobno sliko.

Kamnolomi

Ko tako poskušamo opredeliti rimsko mejo med mestnima območjema Celeje in Petovione, ne smemo spregledati pomembnih kamnolomov marmorja na Pohorju. Marmorne leče pohorskega oz. vzhodnoalpskega marmorja⁹⁰ ležijo med kraji Šmartno na Pohorju, Bojtina, Frajhajm in Loka pri Framu oz. v dolini Bistrice blizu Nove vasi.⁹¹ Na tem območju je sicer poznanih več kamnolomov, poimenovanih po bližnjih kmetijah (Motaln, Pri vici, Lunežnik, Kersnik, Trmota, Bistrica, Planica itd.),⁹² a je kot rimski kamnolom z gotovostjo opredeljen zgolj t. i. Puderšnikov kamnolom (pod Motalnom).⁹³ Na severovzhodnem vznožju Motalnovega hriba pri Šmartnem je bila najdena plast kamnitega drobirja, med katerim so bili tudi bloki marmorja s kamnoseškimi sledovi.⁹⁴ V kamnolomu je bil odkrit tudi oltar, posvečen Saksanu, zaščitniku kamnosekov.⁹⁵ Izdelan je iz pohorskega marmorja.⁹⁶ Dodatno bi za rimsko pridobivanje marmorja na Pohorju govorili bloki s kamnoseškimi sledovi (žepi za zagozde, primarna obdelava površin, osnovna kamnoseška risba), ki so vzdani v cerkvah sv. Mihaela na Črešnjevcu, sv. Lovrenca v Lovrencu na Dravskem polju in sv. Ane v Framu.⁹⁷

B. Djurić domneva, da je *officina* kamnoloma stala v okolici Šmartnega. Morda je ležala nekje med Zgornjo Polskavo in rimsko državno cesto *Celeia–Poetovio*, morda celo na severovzhodnem robu gozda Velenik.⁹⁸ Od tu so lahko marmor in tudi polizdelke transportirali po državni cesti proti Petovioni.⁹⁹

Djurić na podlagi izvedenih analiz predpostavlja, da so v Petovioni za izdelavo preprostih stel, datiranih ok. l. 25, uporabljali marmor iz Gummerna

na Koroškem.¹⁰⁰ Šele v drugi četrtini 1. st. naj bi začeli izkoriščati marmor na Pohorju, iz katerega je narejena stela za Marka Petronija Klasika (*Marcus Petronius Classicus*),¹⁰¹ centuriona legije Osme Avguste, in za odsluženega vojaka iste legije.¹⁰² Sredi 1. st. so za arhitekturni in edikulasti tip stel uporabljali spet samo marmor iz Gummerna, profilirane stele so še vedno izdelovali iz pohorskega marmorja.¹⁰³ Zdi se, da so določen tip stel po naročilu izdelovali samo iz določenega marmorja (Gummern), kljub temu da je bil pohorski marmor Petovioni bližji.

Težje je odgovoriti na vprašanje, kakšen status so imeli kamnolomi na Pohorju oz. v čigavi lasti so bili. Djurić je na podlagi stel iz 1. st. domneval,¹⁰⁴ da so pohorski marmor začeli v drugi četrtini 1. st. lomiti vojaki legije Osme Avguste, ki so tudi odprli omenjeni kamnolom.¹⁰⁵ Kvalitetni marmor so poiskali najprej zlasti za potrebe Petovione,¹⁰⁶ pozneje so izdelke iz pohorskega marmorja izvažali tudi drugam. Na podlagi datacije petovionskih nagrobnih spomenikov, na podlagi marmornih blokov s kamnoseškimi sledovi, vzdanih v cerkve, ter zlasti na podlagi razširjenosti izdelkov iz pohorskega marmorja, ki priča, da je bilo središče trgovine s temi izdelki v Petovioni, je Djurić kamnolom(e) iz okolice Šmartnega na Pohorju pripisal petovionskemu upravnemu območju.¹⁰⁷

Slivnica pri Mariboru

Nekoliko vprašljiva je v starejši literaturi administrativna opredelitev območja Slivnice. Najpogosteje so jo prištevali k mestnemu območju Flavije Solve.¹⁰⁸ Ob upoštevanju prej omenjenih kamnolomov v Šmartnem, vodovoda v Framu, Starš z omembo mesta *Poetovio* in ne nazadnje

¹⁰⁰ Ok. leta 25 je datirana stela za Saturnina, suličarja legije Osme Avguste (*AIJ* 262; *lupa* 3749). Glej Djurić 2005, 77; Djurić et al. 2004, 405.

¹⁰¹ *CIL* III 4060; *CIL* III 10869; *AIJ* 260; *lupa* 3102.

¹⁰² *lupa* 6194; *HD*004954. Glej Djurić 2005, 77; id. 2008, 162.

¹⁰³ Djurić 2005, 409–410; id. 2008, 163.

¹⁰⁴ *AIJ* 260; *CIL* III 4060, *CIL* III 10869; *lupa* 3102; Djurić 2005, 78.

¹⁰⁵ Djurić 2008, 161.

¹⁰⁶ Djurić 2005, 80; Djurić et al. 2004, 410; Djurić 2008, 164.

¹⁰⁷ Djurić et al. 2004. V članku se je pojavila napaka. C. Hinker Šmartno na Pohorju enkrat pripiše Petovioni (glej 383–403), spet drugič Celeji (glej 421–425).

¹⁰⁸ Hudeczek 1988, 23.

⁹⁰ Djurić 1997, 79.

⁹¹ Djurić et al. 2004, 372.

⁹² Pahič 1990.

⁹³ Djurić 2001, 64.

⁹⁴ Djurić et al. 2004, 403–404.

⁹⁵ *AIJ* 100; *lupa* 6589; *HD*024513; Saria 1935.

⁹⁶ Djurić et al. 2004, 409.

⁹⁷ Djurić 2001, 62.

⁹⁸ Djurić 2001, 63.

⁹⁹ Djurić et al. 2004, 409.

Maribora z napisom, posvečenim Nutricam, po našem mnenju administrativna pripadnost območja Slivnice ni več vprašljiva. Ker so k Petovioni po naših argumentih sodili vsi prej omenjeni kraji, je k omenjenemu mestu morala soditi tudi Slivnica, ki leži med Framom in Mariborom. K Flaviji Solvi so jo prištevali zgolj na podlagi nagrobnika Gaja Justija Prokula¹⁰⁹ (*Caius Iustus Proculus*). Ker je pokojnik na kamnu opisan kot edil Flavije Solve in ker se je domnevalo, da so uradniki opravljali službe zgolj znotraj upravnega območja nekega mesta (glej predhodno besedilo), so tudi območje od Slivnice naprej prištevali k mestnemu območju Flavije Solve. Nagrobnik je lahko zgolj še ena od potrditev, da so mestni uradniki opravljali funkcije tudi zunaj teritorija svojega mesta.

Aquae Iasae

Termalni vrelci na območju današnjih Varaždinskih Toplic so bili vzrok, da so Rimljani na tem mestu ustanovili naselbino *Aquae Iasae*. S sistematičnimi arheološkimi izkopavanji, ki potekajo že od leta 1953, so razkrili javni prostor (forum) s stebriščem in svetišči, nedaleč stran sta ležala kopališče in bazilika.¹¹⁰ Prvo kopališče s pripadajočo naselbino je bilo zgrajeno že v 1. st., kasneje je bilo večkrat dograjeno in prezidano, nazadnje pod Konstantinom I.¹¹¹

Napisni kamni, ki so jih najpogosteje nimfam, pa tudi drugim božanstvom v zahvalo posvečali obiskovalci zdravilišča, razkrivajo, da so zdravilne vrelce obiskovale tako privatne osebe kot tudi višji uradniki in vojaki.¹¹² Za določitev petovionskega upravnega območja je pomemben zlasti napis, datiran v čas vladanja Marka Avrelija, na katerem je zapisano, da je po naročilu upravitelja Zgornje Panonije, Lucija Dazumija Tulija Tuska (*Lucius Dasumius Tullius Tuscus*), mesto *Poetovio* sezidalo del term; za delo je poskrbel prokurator (nadzornik financ) Tit Geminij Rufin (*Titus Geminus Rufinus*).¹¹³ Predvsem omemba mesta Petovione je bila raziskovalcem v preteklosti zadosten dokaz, da

so *Aquae Iasae* pripisovali petovionskemu upravnemu območju. Na podlagi primerjav z drugimi kopališči, ki se pojavljajo po imperiju (*Aquae Sulis*, danes Bath; *Aquae Granni*, danes Aachen; *Aquae*, danes Baden-Baden), je H. von Petrikovits predvideval, da zdraviliško-kopališkega kompleksa v *Aquae Iasae* vojaki niso samo obiskovali, ampak so morda celo sodelovali pri njegovi gradnji. *Aquae Iasae*, ki ležijo skorajda na robu province Zgornje Panonije, so, tako Petrikovits, postale zdravilišče (zgornje)panonskih legij.¹¹⁴

Po analizi, ki smo jo naredili in ki v veliki meri upošteva naravne geografske in druge vire, so *Aquae Iasae* seveda zunaj petovionskega mestnega območja; z vidika rimske administracije pa je doslej prevladovalo nasprotno mnenje. Če bi upoštevali geografsko lego zdravilišča, bi *Aquae Iasae* prej sodile k Joviji¹¹⁵ kot k Petovioni. Toda Petoviona je imela v času cesarstva od samega začetka neprimerno pomembnejšo vlogo (legijski tabor, od Trajana naprej kolonija, sedež ilirske carine) od manj pomembne Jovije. Andavtonija pa je bila od toplic bolj oddaljena, torej ni verjetno, da bi te pripadale njenemu upravnemu teritoriju. Zgoraj omenjeni napis, na katerem se omenja mesto *Poetovio*, bi torej govoril v prid temu, da je bilo zdravilišče pod petovionsko upravo.

6. JUŽNA MEJA

Poteku južne meje se je doslej najbolj posvetil Pirchegger. Na jugozahodu je kot skrajno točko petovionskega agra določil Studenice, kjer je bil odkrit nagrobnik Gaja Julija Romana. Meni, da je na oltarju s Hajdine omenjena ista oseba, zato območje Studenic priključuje k mestnemu območju Petovione. Po njegovem mnenju je tudi treba iskati mejo mestnega območja po vrhovih Haloz, v smeri Boč–Donačka gora–Macelj. Potek meje na jugozahodu je določil na podlagi napisnih kamnov, ki so jih odkrili v Klenovniku in Križovljanu, na katerih se omenjata dekuriona Petovione (glej pogl. 2).

Vsi omenjeni kraji so znotraj teoretične meje. Meja, ki jo je predpostavljal Pirchegger, po izrisu Thiessnovih poligonov in izračunu porabe energije za pot na jugozahodu poteka samo nekoliko zahodnejše od Studenic, medtem ko smo na jugu in jugovzhodu k mestnemu območju Petovione pripisali še ozemlje onstran omenjenih najdišč.

¹⁰⁹ CIL III 5309; lupa 9525.

¹¹⁰ Kušan Špalj, Nemeth-Ehrlich 2012 s starejšo literaturo.

¹¹¹ CIL III 4121; AIJ 469; lupa 5339.

¹¹² AIJ 458–471.

¹¹³ CIL III 4117, AIJ 461; lupa 5346; Von Petrikovits 1968; za Dazumija Tulija Tuska glej Reidinger 1956, 83–84 št. X; Dobó 1968, 109–110 št. 88; Fitz 1993, 487–489 št. 289; za Geminija Rufina, ki je znan le s tega napisa, nazadnje Fitz 1993, 727 št. 404.

¹¹⁴ Von Petrikovits 1968, 93.

¹¹⁵ Gregl, Migotti 2004, 135 z navedbo starejše literature.

7. SKLEP

Zamejitev mestnega območja Petovione zaradi odsotnosti virov in mejnikov še vedno ni dokončno določena. S pomočjo kamnitih spomenikov in arheoloških najdb ter tudi z analizo izračuna porabe energije za pot in s Thiessnovimi poligoni smo poskušali določiti njegove meje in jih argumentirati.

Na severovzhodu je petovionski ager segal domnevno do reke Mure, ki je pomenila največjo naravno oviro med Petoviono in Salo.

Natančna določitev severne meje je zaradi pomanjkanja oprijemljivih dokazov težavnejša, zato smo upoštevali meje, ki smo jih dobili z izrisom Thiessnovih poligonov in izračunom porabe energije za pot. Območje Maribora, ki so ga doslej pripisovali agru Flavije Solve, smo prišteli k Petovioni. V mestu in okolici je bilo namreč odkritih kar nekaj napisnih kamnov z omembo družin, ki so dobile državljanstvo pod Trajanom in so nosile gentilicij *Ulpus*.¹¹⁶ Po Premersteinu so se v mariborski okoliš naselile iz bližnje kolonije Petovione. Prav tako bi o pripadnosti Maribora Petovioni govoril tudi danes izgubljen votivni oltar, posvečen Nutricam, na katerem se je omenjala *Valeria Marcella*. Kult Nutric je izpričan samo v Petovioni, Valeriji pa so bili ena najpomembnejših družin v mestu.

Poleg tega sta bila Pohorje ter cesta, ki je tekla ob njegovem vznožju in povezovala Celejo s Flavijo Solvo, pripisana Noriku. Računalniška obdelava je pokazala, da je vzhodno Pohorje s pripadajočimi naselji ob njegovem vznožju pripadalo teoretičnemu mestnemu območju Petovione. V Framu je bil v 19. st. odkrit začetek prvega rimskega vodovoda, ki je v ravni liniji tekkel vse do legijskega tabora na Spodnji Hajdini. Zgrajen je bil iz opek z žigom legije Trinajste dvojne, ki je bila v Petovioni stacionirana od leta 45 vse do leta 96 oz. 98. Predpostavljali smo, da je legija poskrbela za gradnjo vodovoda in ga speljala v celoti znotraj mestnega območja Petovione.

Tudi kamnolome na Pohorju lahko povezujemo z vojaško navzočnostjo v Petovioni. Kot rimski kamnolom je bil doslej potrjen samo Motalnov kamnolom v Šmartnem na Pohorju. Na severozahodnem robu Velenika je po Djuriću treba iskati *officino*, od koder so polizdelke po državni cesti dovažali v Petoviono. V prid temu bi govorili zlasti bloki s kamnoseškimi sledovi, vzdani v cerkvah sv. Mihaela na Črešnjevcu, sv. Lovrenca v Lovrencu

na Dravskem polju in sv. Ane v Framu. Kamnolom pohorskega marmorja na Šmartnem je bil v uporabi od druge četrtine 1. st. Verjetno so prav vojaki legije Osme Avguste, ki je bila v Petovioni stacionirana od leta 9 pr. n. št. do leta 45, začeli lomiti pohorski marmor in ga uporabljati za svoje spomenike. Petoviona bi tako dobila individualni kamnolom, ki je ležal znotraj mestnega območja in ki je (v prvih letih) zadoščal zlasti za potrebe mesta.¹¹⁷

Na zahodu nam o bližnji meji poroča oltar, posvečen božanstvom mej Termunam, ki je bil odkrit leta 1937 pri podiranju župne cerkve v Čadramu. Saria ga je opredelil kot dokaz bližnje noriško-panonske meje, G. Alföldy pa kot dokaz za bližnjo mejo med mestnima območjema Celeje in Flavije Solve. Sami se nagibamo k prvi domnevi. Najdišče leži samo nekaj kilometrov zunaj teoretične meje petovionskega agra, kot dedikant pa se omenja Kvint Prokulej Finit, ki je izpričan tudi na oltarju, posvečenem Marsu, iz kraja Laporje, ki leži prav tako v bližini teoretične meje.

Nekoliko južneje od Čadrama je v Sp. Grušovje locirana cestna postaja *Ragando*, ki je ležala na državni cesti *Celeia-Poetovio*. Na napisu iz Akvileje se omenja Mark Licinij Fulgentij, ki je bil rojen v noriškem kraju *Ragando*. V 4. st., kakor je napis datiran, je to območje gotovo sodilo v Norik. Kako je bilo v 2. in 3. st., pa ne moremo z zagotovostjo trditi. Po izrisu Thiessnovih poligonov in izračunu porabe energije za pot leži Sp. Grušovje že na noriških tleh.

Na jugozahodu smo kot kriterij upoštevali Pircheggerjevo predpostavko, da je ager Petovione segal do Studenic. Tukaj je bil namreč odkrit nagrobnik Julija Romana, ki se omenja kot dedikant tudi na oltarju iz Hajdine.

Pri določitvi južne meje nimamo arheoloških dokazov, da bi jih lahko upoštevali pri zamejitvi, zato smo se oprli zlasti na geografske danosti. Površje je na tem mestu precej razgibano, a ne neprehodno. Jugozahodno in južno od Ptuja ležijo Haloze, Andavtonijo pa na severozahodu in severu obdajata gora Medvednica in nekoliko oddaljena Ivančica. Izračun porabe energije za pot in Thiessnovi poligoni so mejo postavili nekoliko južno od Ivančice. Na jugozahodu je po Pircheggerju sodilo k petovionskemu agru še območje Klenovnika in Križovljana, kjer sta bila v 19. st. odkrita napisna kamna z omenjenima petovion-

¹¹⁶ *AIJ* 111; *ILLPRON* 1813; *lupa* 2129 ter *CIL* III 15206; *AIJ* 112; *ILLPRON* 1814; *lupa* 3661.

¹¹⁷ Djurić et al. 2004; Djurić 2008, 160.

skima dekurionoma. Teoretična meja, ki smo jo načrtali, poteka nekoliko vzhodneje od obeh krajev.

Največji problem pri zamejitvi pa nam pomenijo *Aquae Iasae*, ki so jih doslej na podlagi napisa, na katerem se omenja mesto Petoviona, pripisovali prav temu mestu. Takšna opredelitev je tudi najverjetnejša, saj je Petoviona imela pomembnejšo vlogo in višji status kot municipij Andavtonija ali geografsko bližje ležeča Jovija.

Zavedamo se, da dobljen rezultat zamejitve petovionskega agra ni dokončen. Gre zgolj za poskus, kako povezati arheološko gradivo in vire z novejšo metodologijo, zlasti z uporabo sistema GIS. Ali je naša teoretična zamejitev petovionskega mestnega območja pravilna, bomo lahko potrdili samo z novimi najdbami. Vsekakor pa upamo, da bo ta članek spodbudil raziskovalce k izvedbi podobnih analiz še za druga mesta.

Dodatek

Raziskave v arheološkem parku *Aquae Iasae* še zdaleč niso zaključene. Izkopavanja, ki okrog izvirskega bazena potekajo od leta 2011, so pokazala, da so pri obnovi tega bazena v 4. stoletju kot gradbeni material uporabili starejše napise, reliefe in celo kipe. Med odkritimi napisnimi kamni je potrebno izpostaviti podstavek za kip s počastilnim napisom, v katerem se omenja Kvint Gavij Fronto (*Quintus Gavius Fronto*), prvi centurion (*primus pilus*) legije Trinajste dvojne (*legio XIII Gemina*) in prefekt skupnosti Skordiskov, Brevkov in Jazov.¹¹⁸ Ne samo omemba XIII. legije, ki je bila stacionirana v Petovioni, ampak zlasti dva oltarja¹¹⁹ z omembo svečenika, ki je skrbel za cesarski kult v Petovioni (*avgustalis Coloniae Ulpiae Traianae Poetoviensis*) podkrepijo našo predpostavko o uvrstitvi toplic *Aquae Iasae* v upravno območje Petovione.

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¹¹⁸ Kušan Špalj 2014, 152 št. 64.

¹¹⁹ Kušan Špalj 2014, 159 št. 73 in 164 št. 79.

