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NAUPORTUS / VRHNIKA

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Izvleček

Navport je imel dober geostrateški položaj na kopenskih poteh, ki so povezovale Italijo in severni Jadran s srednjo in severno Evropo, osrednjim Podonavjem in Balkanom. Ležal je na prazgodovinski jantarjevi poti in na začetku pomembne plovne poti po rekah Ljubljanici, Savi in Donavi do Črnega morja. Sredi 1. stoletja pr. n. št. je postal vikus (*municipi instar*) na ozemlju Akvileje. Njegovi prebivalci so se ukvarjali predvsem s trgovino po Ljubljanici in cesti *via publica* od Akvileje do Emone. Arheološke raziskave prinašajo nove dokaze o notranji organizaciji naselbine, rečnem pristanišču, nekropolah in utrdbah od 2. stoletja pr. n. št. do 5. stoletja n. št. Prvi vrhunec se je zgodil v poznorepublikanskem in avgustejskem obdobju, geostrateški pomen pa je naselje ponovno pridobilo v poznem rimskem obdobju, ko je bila na Gradišču (Hribu) zgrajena rimska utrdba.

Ključne besede: Italija, X. regija, Navport, naselbina, vikus, utrdba, cestna postaja, skladišča, pristanišče

Abstract

Nauportus enjoyed a geostrategic position on the land routes connecting Italy and the northern Adriatic with central and northern Europe, the central Danube Basin, and the Balkans. It lay on the prehistoric Amber Route and at the beginning of an important waterway along the Ljubljanica, Sava, and Danube Rivers to the Black Sea. In the mid-1st century BC, it became a vicus (*municipi instar*) on the territory of Aquileia. Its inhabitants were mainly occupied with commerce along the Ljubljanica and the *via publica* from Aquileia to Emona. Recent archaeological research offers ever new evidence on the inner organisation of the settlement, on its river ports, necropolises, and forts from the 2nd century BC to the 5th century AD. During this period, its first peak occurred in the Late Republican and Augustan periods. It again gained in geostrategic importance in the Late Roman period, when a Roman fort was constructed at Gradišče/Hrib.

Keywords: Italy, Regio X, Nauportus, settlement, vicus, fort, road station, storehouses, port

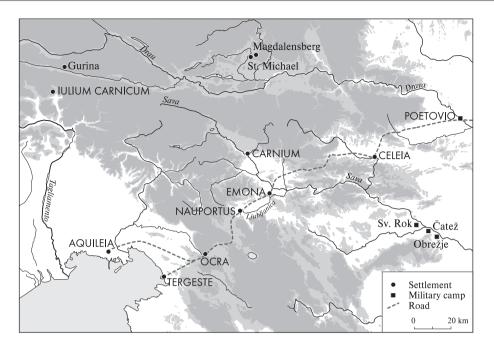


Fig. 1: Caput Adriae and the south-eastern Alpine region in the early 1st century AD (from Horvat 2010, Fig. 1).

INTRODUCTION

Roman Nauportus, in the modern-day town of Vrhnika in central Slovenia, was located at the southwestern edge of the Ljubljansko barje (Ljubljana Marshes) and near the several karst springs of the Ljubljanica River that represented the beginning of the navigable route along the Ljubljanica, Sava and Danube Rivers to the Black Sea.¹

It also stood on a land route. The prehistoric Amber Route and the later via publica from Aquileia to Emona connected Italy and the northern Adriatic (Caput Adriae) with central Europe and the central Danube Basin (*Fig. 1*). From the Friuli Plain and Aquileia, it led across the Ocra Pass (Razdrto), which is the lowest passage in the Eastern Alps. Before reaching Nauportus, it also passed through Longaticum (Logatec).² After it, the route continued to the colonia Iulia Emona (Ljubljana), located some 20 km to the southwest.

The new discoveries, archaeological excavations and targeted research in the last twenty years brought new evidence on the development of Nauportus (*Fig. 2;* 5), which has in part already been published. Jana Horvat summarised the bulk of the available evidence.³ In this article, the focus is on the evidence from the excavations and other research conducted in recent years, which is presented alongside the most important historical and archaeological knowledge.

GEOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE

The Roman settlement of Nauportus was situated at the junction of marshy (Ljubljansko barje), karst (Dinaric Alps) and hilly terrain (Rovtarsko or Škofjeloško hribovje). It developed along the Ljubljanica River and the south-eastern slopes of a relatively low and wide ridge, elevated some 50 m above the surrounding marshes (*Fig. 2*). Rising at the eastern end of this ridge is the domed peak of Sv. Trojica (350 m), while the western part is formed into a peak called Tičnica (366 m).⁴ The southern and eastern foot of Sv. Trojica on the left bank of the Ljubljanica is slightly elevated above the marshy plain, higher than the right bank, which makes the left bank more suitable for settlement.

PREHISTORY

Several exceptional prehistoric finds have been found in the area. At Verd, the earliest evidence of human presence is a hunter's camp from the Late Stone Age, more precisely the 8th millennium BC.⁵ The area also revealed a pile-dwelling settlement from the 47th century BC,⁶ as well as pile-dwellings and the remains of a wagon wheel dated roughly to 3200 BC.⁷ The artefacts recovered from the Ljubljanica and its tributary Ljubija

¹ General overview in Horvat 1990; Horvat 2020.

² Horvat, Bavdek 2009, 130.

³ Last overview in Horvat 2020.

⁴ Lovrenčak, Orožen Adamič 1998, 382–383.

⁵ Gaspari 2006a.

⁶ Velušček et al. 2023.

⁷ Velušček 2009.

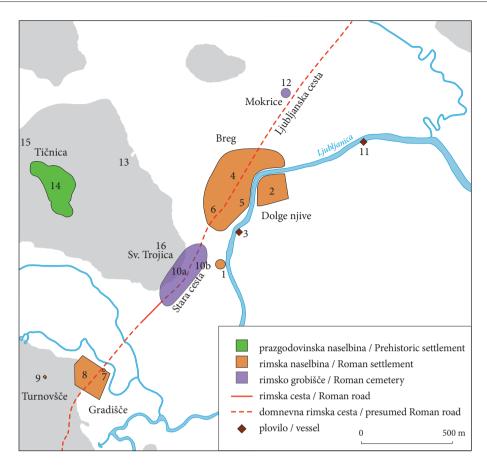


Fig. 2: Vrhnika – Nauportus in prehistory and the Roman period (from Horvat 2020, Fig. 1) **1** Stara pošta; **2** Dolge njive; **3** Ljubljanica River: logboat and ship; **4** Breg, Jelovškova ulica 10–11; **5** Breg, motorway exit 1 (1974, 2007); **6** Breg, Delavsko naselje; **7** Gradišče 5; **8** Gradišče; **9** Turnovšče; **10a** excavated necropolis (Čuža 4); **10b** Stara cesta 6; **11** Ljubljanica River (ship); **12** Mokrice; **13** Košace; **14** Tičnica – prehistoric hillfort; **15** prehistoric necropolis; **16** Sv. Trojica.

indicate the area was also inhabited towards the end of the Middle and beginning of the Late Bronze Age.⁸

Prehistoric remains are also on Tičnica, which holds a hillfort (*Figs. 2:* 14; 3) with high defensive ramparts. Its size and strategic location suggest it was the central prehistoric settlement in the western part of the Ljubljansko barje. It thus far only revealed finds from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages.⁹ Contemporary graves were unearthed on the hill's north-western slope (*Fig. 2:* 15; 3). The postholes found on the lower terraces, outside the rampart, suggest this part may have been inhabited as well.¹⁰

Prehistoric sherds (Late Bronze/Early Iron and Late Iron Age) were also found at Gradišče (*Fig. 2: 7*), where a small settlement may have stood.¹¹

¹¹ Žerjal 2019.

Literary sources (see below) tell us that a settlement of the Taurisci tribe (Late Iron Age) was located here, but it has as yet not been identified.

ANCIENT LITERARY SOURCES

Nauportus appears in the classical literary sources as the ancient name of the settlement and the river.¹²

Greek geographer Strabo mentions the settlement of Nauportus twice, in his description of northern Italy. He uses two slightly different names for the settlement: *Pámporton* and *Naúponton*. He writes that cargo was transported from Aquileia on freight wagons across the Ocra Pass to Nauportus, reloaded onto boats and transported by river that joined the Savus River down to Segestica, the lands of the Pannonians, and further on to the Danube.¹³ Strabo did not write from personal experience, but rather used the work of earlier Greek

⁸ Gaspari 2006b; Gaspari, Erič 2008, 410–411; Gaspari, Masaryk 2009, 196–197.

⁹ Gaspari, Masaryk 2009, 202; Gaspari, Mlekuž 2013; Gaspari, Vinazza 2018.

¹⁰ Ipavec et al. 2021. Archaeological excavations that the Stik company conducted in September 2023.

¹² Šašel Kos 1990; Šašel Kos 2017.

¹³ Strabo 4, 6, 10; Strabo 7, 5, 2; Šašel 1977; Šašel Kos 1990, 17–20, 143–147; Šašel Kos 2017.



Fig. 3: Vrhnika. Prehistoric hillfort at Tičnica (adapted from Gaspari, Masaryk 2009, Fig. 1).

geographers, namely Poseidonius, from the late 2nd and early 1st centuries BC, and Polybius, who lived in the 2nd century BC (died 117 BC).¹⁴ He describes the traffic along the Amber Route, which also features in the Myth of the Argonauts and the works of other ancient authors.¹⁵

Pliny the Elder mentions only the homonymous river of Nauportus, associated with the legend of the Argonauts, but not the settlement.¹⁶

The linguistic analyses of the pre-Roman names attested on inscriptions (for instance Aeqorna – see below) suggests that pre-Roman Nauportus was part of the broader northern Adriatic onomastic region, which consisted of the Venetic, Histrian or Liburnian name traditions.¹⁷

The inconsistencies in the sources most probably reflect the different political situations in different periods, which may have succeeded each other in relatively short intervals. The settlement was, at least at some point, in the possession of the Taurisci.¹⁸ A Tauriscan toll station is believed to have stood in Nauportus in the 2^{nd} century BC.¹⁹

In Book 4, Strabo's text implies that Nauportus was under Roman control by the 1st century BC.²⁰

The Romans called the settlement Nauportus, which is believed to be a hybrid word composed of the Greek *nau* 'ship' and the Latin *portus* 'harbour, store-houses'. It could, however, be a fully Latin name or the result of a pseudo-etymological Latin adaptation of an autochthonous pre-Celtic name.²¹ Pliny the Elder offered a slightly different explanation, wrongly supposing that the name Nauportus would have been composed of the words *navis* 'ship' and *porto* 'carry'.²²

The settlement is also mentioned by Velleius Paterculus,²³ Tacitus,²⁴ and written/depicted as a road station between Longaticum and Emona on *Tabula Peutingeriana*.²⁵

¹⁴ Šašel 1977; Šašel Kos 1990, 17–20, 143–147; Šašel Kos 2017.

¹⁵ Strabo 5, 1, 8; Šašel 1977.

¹⁶ Plin. Nat. His. 3, 128; Šašel Kos 1990, 19–20, 145–146; Šašel Kos 2017, 227–228.

¹⁷ Repanšek 2016 with further references.

¹⁸ Šašel Kos 1990, 17–21, 143–147.

¹⁹ Šašel 1966.

²⁰ Strabo 4, 6, 10; Šašel Kos 1990, 17–19, 143–145; Horvat 2020, 32.

²¹ Šašel Kos 1990; Repanšek 2016, 197–199; Šašel Kos 2017, 227–228.

²² Plin. Nat. His. 3, 128; Šašel Kos 1990, 19–20, 145–146; Šašel Kos 2017, 227–228.

²³ Velleius Paterculus 2, 110, 4; Šašel Kos 1990, 21, 147.

²⁴ Tacitus, Annales 1, 20,1; Šašel Kos 1990, 21, 148.

²⁵ Tabula Peutingeriana IV, 1.

THE LATE LA TÈNE OR LATE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

Archaeological investigations at the Stara pošta site (Fig. 2: 1), on the left bank of the Ljubljanica, unearthed habitation remains from the Late Republican period. Three phases of human activities have been identified. In Phase 1, the riverbank was cleared. Afterwards (Phase 2), the area was covered with thick layers that contained a large amount of imported Italic pottery, animal bones, cultivated plants, charcoal, wood and debris material including that from fireplaces. The authors interpret these as the remains of a burnt-down building that slid down the riverbank, although they may simple be waste material. A wooden container, possibly functioning as a water tank, is clear evidence of the proximity of human habitation. In Phase 3, a pavement of small stones suggests the bank was reinforced and levelled. The ceramic assemblage of Phases 2 and 3 encompasses almost exclusively imported pottery from central and northern Italy. Black-slip pottery includes a Lamboglia 6 dish, several Lamboglia 5 dishes with a rounded rim and fragments of conical Lamboglia 28 bowls, forms common in northern Italy at the end of the 2nd and first half of the 1st centuries BC. Thin-walled pottery, spindle-shaped Marabini 1 and 3 beakers, a Late Republican oil lamp of the Esquilino type, fine table pottery, Lamboglia 2 amphorae, Central Italian Cooking Ware, Grey Venetic Ware bowls and mortars represent trading goods from the Italian Peninsula and the Po Plain in particular. The scarce La Tène pottery, few Graphite Ware sherds, the Posočje type penannular brooch (last decades of the 1st century BC) and four Tauriscan coins confirm contacts with local indigenous communities. Small finds and radiocarbon dates place these three phases between the late 2nd and the mid-1st century BC. Afterwards, the area was abandoned.26

The predominance of imported pottery suggests a strong presence of Italian settlers – most probably merchants. We may therefore assume that the remains of a river port or storehouses for the goods imported from the Italian Peninsula could be located in the vicinity.²⁷ Stara pošta is certainly among the locations suitable for a river crossing and port, a function that the area also had later, in the Middle Ages.²⁸

The Stara pošta site might be the remains of the settlement governed by the Celtic Taurisci that Strabo mentions in Book 7 (presumably referring to the situation in the 2nd century BC).²⁹ In Book 5, he reports that the indigenous population of the Eastern Alps traded with Aquileia and exchanged imported goods such as

wine for slaves, animals, horses and other perishable merchandise. $^{\rm 30}$

It is also possible that the site hosted a river port and settlement of Italian merchants from the late 2^{nd} onwards, possibly established in proximity to the Late La Tène village of the indigenous population. This village might have been located in the lowland west of Stara pošta, between the river and the eastern foot of Sv. Trojica. Its traces could be identified in the Graphite Ware found at the Delavsko naselje site (*Figs. 2: 6; 5:* 6).³¹ The hilltop of Sv. Trojica (*Fig. 2:* 16) was severely altered by the construction of the medieval church and its churchyard, which destroyed all possible traces of previous habitation. The situation in Nauportus might be similar to that in Emona (Ljubljana), with an acropolis on Grajski grič and a proto-urban emporium below it and near the Ljubljanica (Prule).³²

The investigations conducted in 2007 on the right bank of the Ljubljanica, in the southern part of Dolge njive (350 m north of Stara pošta; *Figs. 2: 2; 4; 5:* 5) revealed traces of continuous activities such as cutting trees and woodworking taking place from the $4^{\text{th}}/3^{\text{rd}}$ to the 1^{st} century BC. These remains, however, are not an indicator of a settlement in the immediate vicinity. A ground surface with woodworking waste was dated between the end of the 2^{nd} and the mid- 1^{st} century BC, which is contemporary with the Stara pošta site.³³ Stray metal finds (brooches, Late La Tène sword) and La Tène pottery confirm activities in the river meander at Dolge njive, possibly suggesting another settlement area (*Fig. 5: 8*).³⁴

In addition, a logboat (14.4 m long) from the late 2^{nd} century BC and a sewn boat dated broadly to the 2^{nd} century BC were discovered in the riverbed of the Ljubljanica (*Fig. 2: 3*). The technology of sewn boats is typical of the northern Adriatic. The two craft may be associated with the traffic that ran from Italy eastwards and northwards.³⁵

According to Strabo (see above), the Romans controlled the whole route, from the ports of *Caput Adriae* to the Emona Basin already in the late 2nd or early 1st century BC. This might be the result of the military campaign of C. Sempronius Tuditanus in 129 BC or the campaign of M. Aemilius Scaurus in 115 BC.³⁶

These remains from Nauportus are the archaeological evidence of the early Roman presence as related in the literary sources.

²⁶ Vojaković et al. 2019.

²⁷ Vojaković et al. 2019; Bekljanov Zidanšek et al. 2022.

²⁸ Cfr. Turk et al. 2009, Cat. No. 50.

²⁹ Strabo 7, 5, 2; Šašel 1966; Šašel Kos 1990, 17–20, 143–147.

³⁰ Strabo 5, 1, 8; Šašel 1977; Horvat, Bavdek 2009, 145–146.

³¹ Bekljanov Zidanšek, Žerjal 2018.

³² Novšak et al. 2017; Vojaković 2023.

³³ Horvat et al. 2016; Horvat 2020, 22–23.

³⁴ Mušič, Horvat 2007; Horvat et al. 2016, 223; Horvat 2020, 23.

³⁵ Gaspari 2017.

³⁶ Šašel 1966; Šašel Kos 1990; Horvat, Bavdek 2009; Gaspari 2017.

THE LJUBLJANICA RIVER

The port of Nauportus marks the beginning of the navigable route along the Ljubljanica, Sava, Drava and Danube. The river traffic was important from the Middle Bronze Age onwards, as proved by the huge amounts of finds from the Ljubljanica³⁷ and the several passages of ancient authors mentioning the river, especially associated with the legend of the Argonauts.³⁸

With the annexation of the whole Ljubljana Basin to the Roman Empire in the middle of the 1st century BC, river traffic intensified. The consolidation of the Roman rule, the presence of the Roman army and Italic newcomers gave an impetus to trading on a larger scale. The shipwrecks and stray finds from the riverbed reveal particularly heavy traffic in the Augustan period.³⁹

The river was also connected with an important river cult, which is reflected in the frequent votive gifts from individuals and prehistoric communities. Depositions of diverse artefacts have been documented from the Middle Bronze Age onwards.⁴⁰

The worship of the goddess Aequorna or Aecorna, a pre-Roman and pre-Celtic local deity, probably connected with the river or the marshes, is documented at Nauportus on two stone inscriptions from the first half or the mid-1st century BC.⁴¹ They show the cult was adopted by Italian settlers and describe the concern of *magistri vici*, who provided for the erection of a porticus⁴² and a sanctuary dedicated to the goddess.⁴³ The inscriptions' original positions are unknown. They were found built into the church of St Paul at Gradišče (*Fig. 2:* 8), although Walter Schmid presumed, they originally formed part of a sanctuary at Dolge njive (*Fig. 2:* 2).⁴⁴

Another sanctuary was dedicated to Neptunus. An Italian settler with Aquileian roots probably built it in the 1st century AD at the springs in the nearby Bistra Monastery, only 5 km southeast of Nauportus.⁴⁵

THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD

According to inscriptions, Nauportus was a vicus within the Aquileian territory at least from the mid-1st century BC onwards, with the freedmen of Aquileian merchant families in the leading role (as magistri vici).⁴⁶ A boundary stone between the territories of the Italian colonies Aquileia and Emona, discovered at the nearby village of Bevke, shows that Nauportus lay in the Aquileian territory even after the deduction of colonia Iulia Emona, which probably occurred in AD 14/15.⁴⁷

The strategic significance of the settlement on the border between Italy and Illyricum became important in the time of the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising (AD 6–9), when the insurgents planned an attack upon Italy via Nauportus, as Veleius Paterculus mentions.⁴⁸

The soldiers stationed in Nauportus for constructing roads and bridges joined the revolt of the three Pannonian legions immediately after the death of Augustus (in the summer of AD 14) and plundered Nauportus that Tacitus describes as vicus, municipium instar, i.e. 'like a small town'.⁴⁹

THE AUGUSTAN FORT AT DOLGE NJIVE

The Dolge njive site, on the right bank of the Ljubljanica (*Figs. 2: 2; 4*), revealed a vast fort of a civil character, with storehouses and a river port, that was constructed either in the pre-Augustan or in the Early Augustan period (fourth or third decade BC).⁵⁰ It was investigated largely by Walter Schmid in 1934 and 1936,⁵¹ and by Iva Mikl Curk in 1969.⁵² Later geophysical surveys and new interpretations corrected their ground plan.⁵³

The fort had an irregularly rectangular plan $(130 \times 144 \text{ m})$, adapted to the course of the Ljubljanica protecting its west and north sides. The other, east and south sides were protected with a moat (roughly 7 m wide and 3.5 m deep), but also defensive walls that enclosed the whole fort. The walls were 2 m thick in the south and 3 m in the east. Their faces were made of roughly worked stones and bound together with narrow transverse courses of stone and horizontal wooden beams spanning the thickness of the wall, the core was filled with clay and rubble. The defensive wall along the river

⁵⁰ Mušič, Horvat 2007; Horvat et al. 2016; Horvat 2017; most recently Horvat 2020.

³⁷ Horvat 1990; Turk et al. 2009; Gaspari, Erič 2012; Horvat 2012b; Istenič 2019.

³⁸ Šašel Kos 1990; Šašel Kos 2017.

³⁹ Horvat 1990; Gaspari, Erič 2008; Gaspari, Erič 2012; Istenič 2009a; Istenič 2009b; Istenič 2019; Gaspari 2017.

⁴⁰ Gaspari 2004; Gaspari 2006b; Gaspari 2009; Turk, Gaspari 2009; Gaspari 2017; Šašel Kos 2017.

⁴¹ Šašel Kos 1997, 117–120; Šašel Kos 1999.

⁴² *CIL* III 3777 (+ p. 10719) = 12 2286 = *ILLRP* 34 = *RIMS* 1; Šašel Kos 1990, 23, No. 3, 26–27.

⁴³ *CIL* III 3776 = 12 2285 = *ILS* 4876 = *ILLRP* 33; Šašel Kos 1990, 22, No. 2, 26.

⁴⁴ Horvat 1990, 74–75; Šašel Kos 1997, 117–120; Šašel Kos 1999.

⁴⁵ Šašel Kos 1990, 21–22, 148–149. Jaroslav Šašel sets it to the second half of the 1st century AD (Šašel 1960–1961, 189), Claudio Zaccaria (Zaccaria 1985, 111, no. 40) to the beginning of the 1st century AD.

⁴⁶ Šašel Kos 1990; Šašel Kos 2017; Horvat 2020, 34.

⁴⁷ Šašel Kos 2002.

⁴⁸ Velleius Paterculus 2, 110, 4; Šašel Kos 1990, 21, 147.

⁴⁹ Tacitus, *Annales* 1, 20,1; Šašel Kos 1990, 21, 148.

⁵¹ Schmid 1943, 9–13; Horvat 1990, 50–51, 97–109, 172, 207–211.

⁵² Mikl Curk 1974; Horvat 1990, 97–99, 205.

⁵³ Mušič, Horvat 2007; Horvat 2008; most recently Horvat 2020.

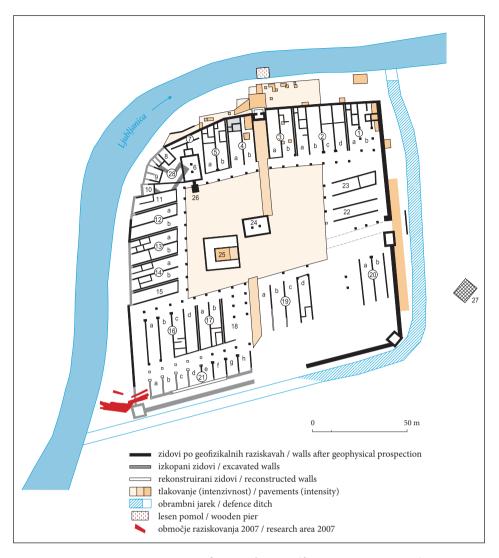


Fig. 4: Nauportus. Augustan fort at Dolge njive (from Horvat 2020, Fig. 2).

was approximately 1 m wide with buildings abutting it from the interior. Four square towers protected the corners and two entrances.

The main street was thickly paved. The centre held a roughly 5,500 m² large paved square or forum surrounded by portici and oblong storehouses in one or two rows (*Fig. 4*: 1–5,11–20, 22–23). The storehouses consisted of long and narrow rooms (length 20–26 m, width 6 m). They were built individually, in pairs or in sets of four. The remains of burnt clay plaster suggest a wooden superstructure resting on stone foundations and covered with tiled roofs. A building with a series of small rooms in the style of tabernae was discovered near the south wall (*Fig. 4*: 21).

In the middle of the square stood a sanctuary, with a raised podium and a staircase in the east (*Fig. 4: 25*), as well as a rectangular building with a pair of columns in the centre (*Fig. 4: 24*). Several building phases are documented in the north-western corner of the settlement.⁵⁴ Finely decorated architectural elements and the inscriptions dedicated to Aecorna led Schmid to interpret Building 8 (*Fig. 4*: 8) as a sanctuary of this local deity,⁵⁵ although the actual findspot of the inscriptions is unknown.⁵⁶

The paved riverbank at Dolge njive is probably an indication of a river port.⁵⁷

Jana Horvat⁵⁸ parallels the fortified storehouse complex of Nauportus with the similar settlements that appeared in the eastern Alpine area in the Late Republi-

⁵⁴ Mušič, Horvat 2007; Horvat 2020.

⁵⁵ Schmid 1943, 11–12.

⁵⁶ EDR 128824, 156071; Šašel Kos 1990, 22–23, 25–27, 149, 152–155; Šašel Kos 1998; Šašel Kos 1999.

⁵⁷ Horvat et al. 2016.

⁵⁸ Mušič, Horvat 2007; Horvat 2008; Horvat 2009a; Horvat 2009b; Horvat 2010; Horvat 2012a; Horvat 2012b; Horvat 2017; Horvat 2020.

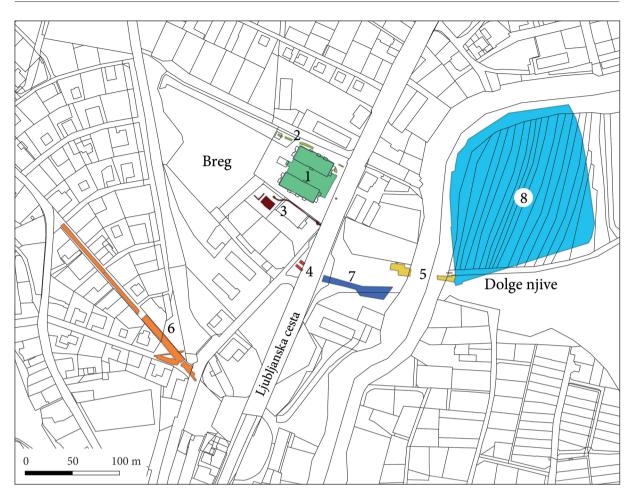


Fig. 5: Nauportus, Breg. Archaeological sites: 1 Jelovškova ulica 10–11 (Kočevarjev vrt, 2005); 2 Jelovškova ulica 10–11 (2006);
3 Jelovškova ulica 8 (2020-2021); 4 Ljubljanska cesta 9 (2020); 5 Breg, motorway exit (2007); 6 Breg, Delavsko naselje (2017);
7 Breg, motorway exit (1974); 8 fort at Dolge njive. Scale = 1:4000 (map by Sašo Poglajen).

can and Augustan periods; Gurina,⁵⁹ Magdalensberg,⁶⁰ Iulium Carnicum⁶¹ and Carnium⁶² were fortified civil settlements of Italic merchants.

The fortified storehouses at Dolge njive probably operated as a reloading and supply post for the cargo travelling overland from Italy and onwards along the navigable Ljubljanica or in the opposite direction. This cargo was probably connected with supplying the legions deployed to the central Danube Basin and the northern Balkans.⁶³ Army presence and military transport are indirectly confirmed by the weapons discovered within the settlement and even more so in the Ljubljanica River.⁶⁴ Epigraphic evidence shows the transhipment station was managed by the merchant families from Aquileia. The concentration of coins and other small finds show they played a particularly important role from the Early to the Late Augustan period.⁶⁵ The fortified complex at Dolge njive was abandoned shortly after the death of the Emperor Augustus.⁶⁶

VIA PUBLICA FROM AQUILEIA TO EMONA

The Late Augustan period brought about significant changes in the communication network with the construction of the *via publica* connecting Aquileia and Emona.⁶⁷ Its section across the marshy Ljubljansko barje was a major construction feat. It is also supposedly one

⁵⁹ Gamper 2004, 163; Gamper 2007, 421.

⁶⁰ Dolenz 2007, 66; Dolenz et al. 2008.

⁶¹ Bandelli, Fontana (eds) 2001.

⁶² Sagadin 2003; Sagadin 2008; Sagadin 2015.

 $^{^{63}}$ Mušič, Horvat 2007; Horvat 2012a, Horvat 2012b; Horvat 2020.

⁶⁴ Istenič 2009a; Istenič 2009b; Istenič 2012; Istenič 2019.

⁶⁵ Horvat 1990; Mušič, Horvat 2007, 254–261, 278–279; Gaspari, Erič 2012; Gaspari 2017; Horvat 2019.

⁶⁶ Mušič, Horvat 2007; Horvat et al. 2016; Horvat 2017; Horvat 2020.

⁶⁷ Festus, Breviarium, 7; Šašel 1975, 80.

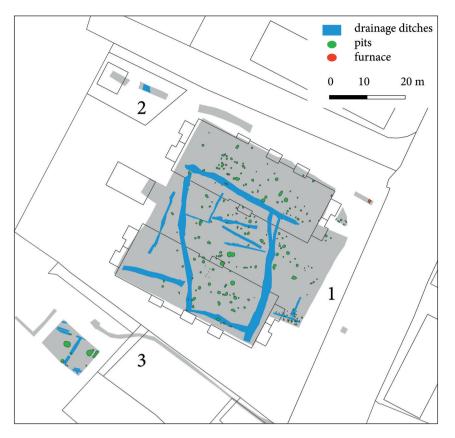


Fig. 6: Nauportus, Breg. **1** Jelovškova ulica 10–11 (2005); **2** Jelovškova ulica 10–11 (2007); **3** Jelovškova ulica 8 (2020–2021). Wooden buildings, wells, furnace and drainage ditches drawn onto a cadastral map. Scale = 1:1000 (map by Sašo Poglajen).

of the roads that Tacitus mentions in connection with the events in AD 14. 68

The remains of this road came to light at several locations in Nauportus, showing that it ran along the left bank of the Ljubljanica (under the present-day street of Ljubljanska cesta) and at the southern foot of Sv. Trojica, supposedly under the medieval Stara cesta road (*Fig.* 2).⁶⁹

The road across the marshes meant that part of the merchandise was now transported on land, though traffic on the Ljubljanica remained important throughout the Roman period (and the Middle Ages). River transport was still cheaper for transporting goods destined for the Balkans. The consolidation of the Roman authority in the central Danube Basin and the Danube frontier caused Nauportus to lose its role as an important post on the military supply line. From the middle of the 1st century AD onwards, the settlement was greatly reduced at the expense of the newly founded Emona, which now became the regional centre of traffic and commerce. The transcontinental importance of the Ljubljanica ceased.⁷⁰

BREG - THE LEFT BANK OF THE LJUBLJANICA

With the decline of the fort at Dolge njive and the construction of the *via publica*, the core of the Roman settlement of Nauportus moved along the main road to the left bank, to the area of Breg. Several archaeological excavations took place here and produced similar results (*Figs. 2:* 4–6; 5). Traces of the settlement came to light across an approximately 600 m long and 200 m wide area oriented southwest–northeast. Remains of buildings and land use could be traced from the end of the 1st century BC onwards.

Small-scale trial trenching was carried out in front of the house Ljubljanska cesta 9 (*Fig. 5:* 4). In the deepest levels, around 2 to 2.5 m under the modern-day ground, Middle and Late Augustan layers were detected: alternating alluvial clayey sediments and layers filled with organic matter, water-logged wood and sherds, which are contemporary with the fort at Dolge njive.⁷¹

The most extensive investigations in Breg were conducted at Jelovškova ulica 10–11 (former Kočevarjev vrt; *Figs. 2:* 4; *5:* 1). A small part revealed vertical postholes and a ditch with finds from the Mid-

⁶⁸ Tacitus, *Annales* 1, 20,1; Šašel 1975, 80; Šašel Kos 1990, 21, 147.

⁶⁹ Horvat 1990.

⁷⁰ Istenič 2009a, 78; Istenič 2009b; Istenič 2012; Istenič

^{2019;} Gaspari 2017, 144-146; Horvat 2019.

⁷¹ Plohl et al. 2020.



Fig. 7: Nauportus, Breg. **1** Jelovškova ulica 10–11 (2005); **2** Jelovškova ulica 10–11 (2007); **3** Jelovškova ulica 8 (2020–2021); **4** Ljubljanska cesta 9 (2020). Stone buildings. Sscale = 1:1000 (map by Sašo Poglajen).

dle Augustan times.⁷² The rest of the excavation area revealed large drainage ditches with wooden palisades and many postholes and pits (*Fig. 6:* 1) that are later, dating to the beginning and first half of the 1st century AD. The vertical postholes represent several phases of wooden buildings. There are no indications of their function, only some traces of metalworking (bronze).⁷³ An inscription on a lead tablet mentions an Arius from Nauportus (*Arius Nauportanus*).⁷⁴ Also investigated were three wells lined with reused wooden barrels, dendrochronologically dated to AD 3 and AD 10 as *terminus post quem*.⁷⁵ Several postholes for wooden buildings with simple hearths, a drainage ditch and a palisade were detected northeast of Jelovškova ulica 10–11 as well (*Figs. 5: 2; 6: 2*). A potential metallurgical furnace (indicated by the find of a crucible) was unearthed between the layers of burnt wooden buildings from different phases. The earliest finds here date to the Middle and Late Augustan period.⁷⁶

A smaller area was excavated at Jelovškova 8 (*Fig.* 5: 3), yielding similar ditches, postholes, dump pits and a barrel-lined well (*Fig.* 6: 3).⁷⁷

The area of Delavsko naselje and Partizanski tabor revealed the remains of the Roman settlement within the length of 100 m and width of 50 m (*Figs. 2:* 6; 5: 6; 8).⁷⁸ The earliest structure here is the drainage system.

⁷² Horvat 2009a; Horvat 2009b; Horvat 2017; Horvat 2020, 27; Berden et al. 2019.

⁷³ Horvat 2009a; Horvat 2009b; Horvat 2012a; Horvat 2012b; Horvat 2017; Horvat 2020, 27, Fig. 3.

⁷⁴ Grassl 2017; Horvat 2020, 33, Fig. 8.

⁷⁵ Čufar et al. 2019; Horvat 2020, 27.

⁷⁶ Pavlovič, Rutar 2006.

⁷⁷ Ipavec et al. 2022.

⁷⁸ The street of Delavsko naselje, junction with Jelovškova ulica and Robova cesta and beginning of the street of Partizanski tabor.

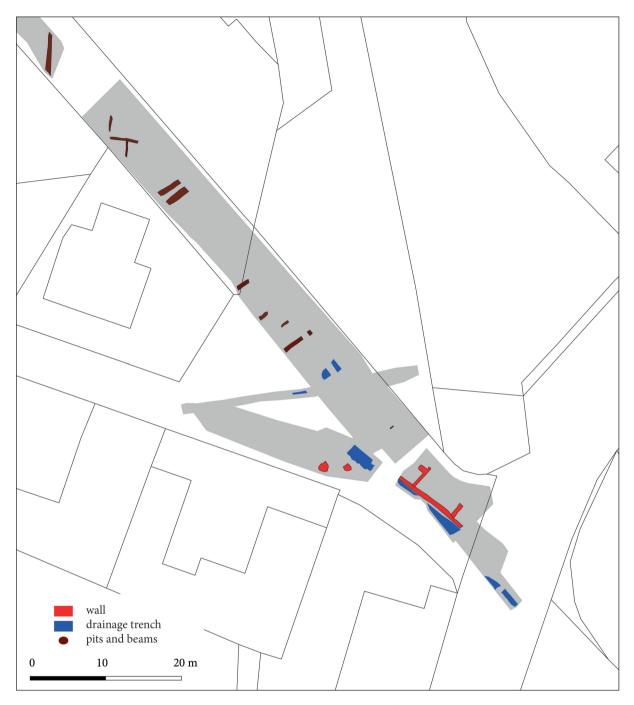


Fig. 8: Nauportus, Breg - Delavsko naselje. Drainage ditches, wooden and stone buildings. Scale = 1:500 (map by Sašo Poglajen).

It consisted of wide and deep ditches leading into the Ljubljanica interconnected perpendicularly or diagonally with shorter ditches.⁷⁹

Wooden buildings spread westwards to the foot of Sv. Trojica. Their construction technique is slightly different from those in the areas mentioned above. The foundations were visible as perpendicular narrow and shallow ditches (*Figs. 8; 9*) that presumably held sleeper beams. Some of these narrow slots were filled with sand (*Fig. 10*), which is a common feature in northern Italy, especially in the wetlands of the Po Plain. There, the construction of foundations was adapted to the wet conditions by first laying sand and then a course of stones or bricks.⁸⁰ In this way, the wooden parts of the foundations were protected from rapid deterioration due to the constant presence of groundwater. In the

⁷⁹ Žerjal, Bekljanov Zidanšek 2018; Bekljanov Zidanšek, Žerjal 2018.

⁸⁰ Bonetto, Previato 2013, especially 231–233, 253–254, Fig. 5.



Fig. 9: Nauportus, Breg – Delavsko naselje. Slots for the sleeper beams supporting wooden buildings.



Fig. 10: Nauportus, Breg – Delavsko naselje. Sand-filled slots and a hearth of a wooden building.

Delavsko naselje street the buildings in the south-eastern part were probably oriented SW-NE in alignment with the main road (Fig. 8). Further up, at the foot of Sv. Trojica, their orientation was different (W-E or S-N). The buildings had floors of packed limestone rubble or crushed dolomite. Some were covered with roof tiles. At least three construction phases have been discovered. Hearths indicate that some can be interpreted as dwellings (Fig. 10), others could have served as storage rooms, stables or workshops. Small finds (pottery sherds, fragments of glass items and coins) point to a longer period of occupation, from the early 1st century AD to at least the 4th century. Nearer to the presumed main road, excavations revealed a set of walls that probably formed part of a substantial stone building (Fig. 8) with at least two large rooms and a rectangular structure abutting one of the walls. On the other side of a drainage ditch, two rectangular foundations and large amounts of roof tile debris point to several stone buildings.81

At the Jelovškova 10–11 site, earlier wooden buildings were all torn down and the ditches filled after the middle of the 1st century AD. Two large oblong buildings with stone foundations (one measuring 15×30 m) were built in the second half of the 1st century AD (*Fig. 7:* 1). They could be storehouses⁸² or stables.⁸³ In the 2nd century AD, the buildings were probably demolished and a large rectangular wall built that enclosed a larger area (33 × minimum 41 m). Several column/pillar footings suggest these buildings were roofed. The stone buildings with sandy gravel floors in the eastern part of this site, near the main road, date to the 3rd and 4th centuries AD.⁸⁴ A small stone building was documented at Jelovškova 8 (*Fig.* 7: 3).⁸⁵ A wall with a sandy gravel floor was found at the Ljubljanska 9 site (*Fig.* 7: 4), while a brick antefix associated with it points to tile roofing.⁸⁶

Remains of stone masonry storehouses, as ruins of mortar pavements and painted wall plaster were also found between the main road and the left bank of the Ljubljanica (*Figs. 2:* 5; 5: 5). In the vicinity, a wooden palisade and several layers of sand served as a reinforcement of the riverbank.⁸⁷ A long narrow building that is similar to those at Dolge njive and hence interpreted as a storehouse revealed small finds that date it to the Augustan period (*Figs. 2:* 5; 5: 7).⁸⁸

In recent years, Roman finds were also documented at Košace, on the northern slope of Sv. Trojica (*Fig. 2:* 13).⁸⁹

To summarise, evidence shows that the *via publica* was lined with wooden and stone buildings or buildings with stone foundations. The remains of gravel and concrete floors, painted wall plaster, mosaic tesserae and terracotta antefixes show these included lavishly furnished houses. Buildings became less densely spaced further from the road and consisted of rare wooden buildings and traces of artisan activities. The size of the settlement is estimated at around 10 ha.

⁸¹ Žerjal, Bekljanov Zidanšek 2018; Bekljanov Zidanšek, Žerjal 2018.

⁸² Horvat 2009a; Horvat 2009b; Horvat 2012a; Horvat 2012b; Horvat 2020, 27–28.

⁸³ Cfr. Busana et al. 2012.

⁸⁴ Horvat 2009a; Horvat 2009b; Horvat 2012a; Horvat 2012b; Horvat 2020, 27–28.

⁸⁵ Ipavec et al. 2022.

⁸⁶ Plohl et al. 2020.

⁸⁷ Žerjal, Peterle Udovič 2007–2008; Horvat et al. 2016; Horvat 2017; Horvat 2020.

⁸⁸ Mikl Curk 1974, 376–378; Horvat 1990, 64–65, 178– 179.

⁸⁹ Tica 2021.

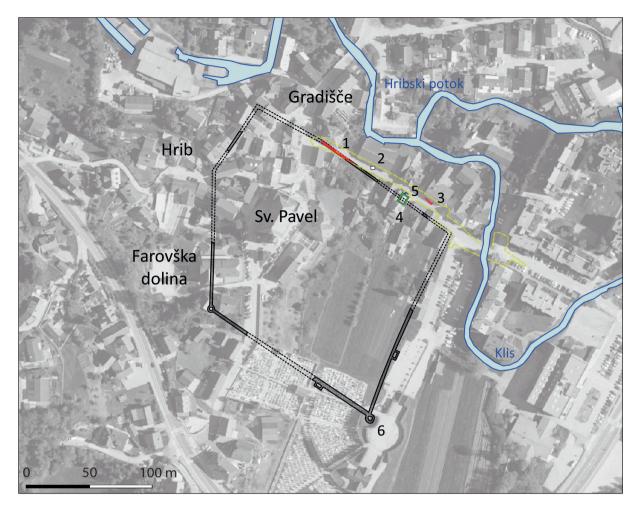


Fig. 11: Jenny's ground plan of the Late Roman fortification on a (DOF) orthophoto (re-adapted to QGIS): **1** part of the Late Roman defensive wall discovered during the 2018 excavation; **2** Early Roman walls (Area 2); **3** Early Roman walls (Area 1); **4** tower / Building A, investigated in 1992 at Gradišče 5; **5** earlier architecture / Building B, investigated in 1992 at Gradišče 5; **6** north-east tower, investigated in 1962–1963; yellow – area researched in 2018 (from Žerjal 2019, Fig. 1; by Sašo Poglajen).

THE GRADIŠČE/HRIB AREA IN THE EARLY ROMAN PERIOD

Another Early Roman settlement area is at Hrib or Gradišče (*Figs. 2: 7; 11*), some 1200 m southwest of Breg along the main road. Different Roman finds were reported in the area (architectural remains, coins, pottery and iron finds from the 1st to the 4th century AD).⁹⁰

Two groups of houses built of stone bound with white lime mortar were found during the renovation of the communal infrastructure under the street of Gradišče (*Fig. 11: 2, 3*). The recovered coin and other small finds including an abundance of iron items and metalworking (bronze and iron) remains dates from the second quarter of the 1st century AD onwards. Having said that, the different postholes could indicate an earlier wooden phase. Fragments of painted wall plaster and

⁹⁰ ANSI 1975, 207–208; Horvat 1990, 74–76; Bavec, Horvat 1996; Horvat 2020, 30.

mosaic tesserae were found in the ruins and backfills, indicating the existence of richly furnished buildings in the area.⁹¹

The orientation and method of construction here coincide with the findings from the earlier excavations in the basement of the house at Gradišče 5 (*Figs. 2: 7*; *11:* 5), where a stone wall of a building (B), floors and hearths came to light. These remains date from the middle or second half of the 1st century AD onwards.⁹² We also have the information that, in 1900, Samuel Jenny excavated a large building (33 m long with 0.57 m thick walls).⁹³ The geophysical survey in fields and gardens south of Gradišče showed a multitude of walls; they presumably belong to an Early Roman settlement.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Žerjal 2019.

⁹² Bavec, Horvat 1996, Building B.

⁹³ Jenny 1906, 276; its location is unknown.

⁹⁴ Horvat 1996, 104, Fig. 12, Fig. 4.

Another notable find from the Gradišče 5 site is a relief-decorated stone architrave recovered in secondary position. Judging by its size, it originates from a public building, possibly a temple.⁹⁵ The column shaft of Nabrežina limestone (4 m high) discovered in front of Gradišče 5 undoubtedly belonged to a monumental building.⁹⁶ Could we connect them to the inscriptions once built in the church of St Paul at Gradišče that mention a sanctuary of the goddess Aequorna and a porticus?⁹⁷

THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD

The need to secure the eastern passages to Italy made the Nauportus area strategically important also in the Late Roman times. Several fortifications were built, including a large fort at Hrib or Gradišče (*Fig. 2:* 8), a tower at Turnovšče (*Fig. 2:* 9) and a linear defensive wall (called 'Ajdovski zid' in Slovenian) forming part of the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* barrier system (*Fig. 13*).⁹⁸

The fort at Gradišče or Hrib is poorly known (*Figs.* 2: 8; 11). It is located on the western edge of the Ljubljansko barje, on a naturally well-protected site. The western part is raised on a rocky shelf dominated by the church of St Paul. The hill gently descends eastwards. It offers a good view over the south-western periphery of the marshy plain and, more importantly, over the two old westbound routes, on land and water.⁹⁹ In 1900, Samuel Jenny carried out an excavation here and outlined the ground plan.¹⁰⁰ In 1962 and 1963, Peter Petru supervised small excavations of a part of the walls and the southeast tower (*Fig.* 11: 6).¹⁰¹

The fort (*Fig. 11*) is irregularly pentagonal in plan (north side 179 m, south side 159 m, east side 159 m, west side branches 64 m and 112 m; approximately 2.76 ha). It stretches over very uneven terrain (up to 10 m of difference in altitude). The defensive walls are 2 m thick with 2.3 m thick foundations that have a 30 cm wide interior ledge. The corner towers are round (exterior diameter of 5.53 m, interior diameter of approx. 3.35 m, 1–1.08 m thick walls). The rectangular towers



Fig. 12: Gradišče. Late Roman fort - defensive wall.

 $(4.08 \times 2.04 \text{ m})$ have 1 m thick walls that lean against the defensive walls from the outside.¹⁰²

The fort did not have a moat as it was naturally well protected by a deep sinkhole called Farovška dolina and the stream of the Hribski potok in the north that forks into the winding Klis flowing parallel to the east wall.¹⁰³

In 2018, the research in the street of Gradišče confirmed Jenny's precise course of the north-eastern defensive wall (*Fig. 11:* 1; *12*).

The *via publica* from Aquileia to Emona probably ran through the fort. Samuel Jenny and Jernej Plečnik,¹⁰⁴ but also Walter Schmid in 1916 detected the road in the southern part of the fort.¹⁰⁵ The square Building A, excavated at Gradišče 5 in 1992 (*Fig. 11:* 4) might be part of the north gate that stood in the middle of the north wall.

Unfortunately, no new dating elements were found to suggest when the fort was constructed. The dangerous conditions of the late 260s and early 270s in the Eastern Alps caused extensive, but non-permanent migrations to the hills, fortification of towns and the abandonment of some settlements.¹⁰⁶ In northern Italy, Gaul and Spain,

⁹⁵ Bavec, Horvat 1996; Horvat 2020, 29, Fig. 5.

⁹⁶ Žerjal 2019.

⁹⁷ CIL III 3776 = 12 2285 = ILS 4876 = ILLRP 33; CIL III 3777 (+ p. 10719) = 12 2286 = ILLRP 34 = RIMS 1; Šašel Kos 1990, 22–23, Nos. 2, 3; Horvat 1990, 74–75; Šašel Kos 1997, 117–122.

⁹⁸ Ciglenečki 2015; Žerjal 2019; Horvat 2020. For the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, also see Kusetič et al. 2014; Kos 2012; Kos 2014a; 2014b; 2014c; 2014d; Višnjić, Zanier 2019.

⁹⁹ Šašel 1971, 75–77; Horvat 1990, 74.

¹⁰⁰ Jenny 1906; in cooperation with Jernej Pečnik (Pečnik 1904, 185).

¹⁰¹ Petru 1962; Petru 1962–1964a; Petru 1962–1964b; ANSI 1975, 207–208; Horvat 1990, 76.

¹⁰² Jenny 1906, 269–276.

¹⁰³ Jenny 1906, 269; Saria 1939, 145.

¹⁰⁴ Jenny 1906, 276; ANSI 1975, 207.

¹⁰⁵ Schmid 1923–1924, 185–186; Horvat 1990, 74–76.

¹⁰⁶ Ciglenečki 2015, 403.

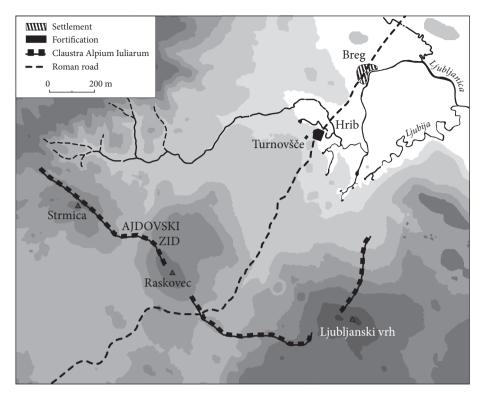


Fig. 13: Nauportus and its Late Roman fortifications (from Horvat 2019, Fig. 9).

many cities were fortified with defensive walls.¹⁰⁷ The construction of the principia and the fort at Tarsatica (Rijeka) is dated to the 260s,¹⁰⁸ the construction/reinforcement of the city walls in Aquileia to the late 3rd and early 4th century AD.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, Italy's main route to the Balkans was secured, and with it the eastern and north-eastern flank of the Roman Empire. In the mid-270s or 280s, the Castra fort was built in Ajdovščina,¹¹⁰ up to a decade later also the Ad Pirum fort at Hrušica.¹¹¹ This shows the Roman strategists were well aware of the necessity to protect this area of passage. Having said that, the construction of the Castra fort only makes sense if the pass at the most easily defensible part of the Alpine crossing at Ad Pirum and the entrance to the hills near Nauportus were secured as well.¹¹² The Hrib fort at Nauportus has similar dimensions as the Castra fort (both approx. 2.6 ha). They differ in the outline and towers, since Castra only has round towers, whereas Hrib has round towers in the corners (undoubtedly built simultaneously with the walls) and rectangular ones along the sides.¹¹³ The question of whether the Hrib fort was

¹¹² Saria 1939; most recently in Ciglenečki 2015, 402.

built in the last quarter of the $3^{\rm rd}$ century or in the 270s remains open. 114

Petru conducted several campaigns of systematic research on the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* barrier system, which was built in the third quarter of the 4th century AD. He observed that the method of construction employed here differed from that of the defensive walls at Hrib. The faces of the walls at Hrib shows a regularly coursed masonry construction with an abundance of mortar in the faces and the core. Contrary to this, the linear barrier wall at Kalce and Zaplana (part of *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*) has a herringbone construction.¹¹⁵

The coins from the middle and second half of the 4th century AD¹¹⁶ indicate that the fort at Hrib was still in function when the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* barrier system was erected.

The remains of a tower were discovered at Turnovšče (*Figs. 2:* 9; *13*; floor plan 11.5×11.5 m).¹¹⁷ It had roughly 1.6 m thick foundations. Its construction was

¹¹⁴ Saria 1939; Petru 1975; Pröttel 1996; last review in Ciglenečki 2015, 402–403; all based on comparing the ground plans.

¹¹⁵ Petru 1962; Petru 1962–1964a; Petru 1962–1964b; ANSI 1975, 207–208; Horvat 1990, 76.

¹¹⁶ Müllner mentions the coins of Vespasian, Domitian, Constantius II, Valentinian, Valens and Theodosius (Müllner 1879, 114; Šašel 1971, 77; *FMRSl* I 206/1, Nos. 11, 12, 24, 26– 28). Žerial 2019: coin of Constantius II (minted in 351–355).

¹¹⁷ Slabe 1979; already Müllner 1879; Horvat 1990, 78; etc.; most recently in Ciglenečki 2015, 395–396, 402.

¹⁰⁷ Johnson 1983, 113–121; Bonetto 1998, 188–192; Christie 2001, 112–114; Brogiolo 2006, 9.

¹⁰⁸ Radić Štivić, Bekić 2009.

¹⁰⁹ Bonetto 1998, 188–191; Bonetto 2013.

¹¹⁰ Osmuk 1997; Kos 2012, 285, 299.

¹¹¹ Kos 2014b, 127, 130.

¹¹³ Ciglenečki 2015, 402.

similar to that of the nearby fort at Hrib, which suggests a dating to the late 3rd century AD. Later extensions were poorly constructed. Numerous pieces of window and door frames made of tuff were found. Modest small finds, for example an African Atlante VIII oil lamp, show quite a long use of the tower, at least until the second half of the 4th century or the early 5th century AD.¹¹⁸

To summarise, the last graves and different small finds from several sites show the Roman settlement Nauportus was abandoned in the mid-5th century AD, when the Roman Empire was already collapsing.¹¹⁹

NECROPOLISES

The main Roman road ran below the slopes of Sv. Trojica, supposedly under the medieval route of Stara cesta (*Fig. 2*). The construction of medieval houses along Stara cesta frequently brought to light sarcophagi, tombstones and graves from the 1st century AD to the Late Roman period.¹²⁰

One or two destroyed cremation graves were documented recently on the east side of Stara cesta (*Fig.* 2: 10b).¹²¹

Archaeological excavations on a terrace above the presumed Roman road came across a part of the necropolis (*Fig. 2:* 10a). They revealed 63 graves: 55 cre mations, 3 inhumations and 5 supposed inhumations though no bones survived. Most of the graves were heavily disturbed or robbed. The burials span from the second half of the 1st to the 4th or even 5th century AD. The cremations have simple pits or cists of stone or brick. There are two bustum burials; one of them was a relatively rich burial of a man, from the mid-1st century AD.¹²² The simple form of the graves (simple pits and stone cists) and the goods correlate well with those from other countryside cemeteries in the Kras and the Notranjska region (south-western Slovenia), parts of Regio X (agri of Aquileia and Tergeste), as well as Liburnia (ager of Tarsatica).¹²³ Simple burial pits are also typical in the adjacent countryside of Emona.¹²⁴ On the other hand, brick cists reflect Italic influences and are usual in urban cemeteries, very common at Emona,¹²⁵ and in the cemeteries along the via publica from Aquileia to Emona.¹²⁶ They also occassionally occur in the countryside cemeteries of the indigenous population.¹²⁷ In the eastern part of Regio X, bustum burials are only documented in urban necropolises or those with a strong Roman note.¹²⁸

Another, northern cemetery of Nauportus was probably situated along the road north of the settlement at Breg (*Fig. 2:* 12).¹²⁹

Isolated graves in the vicinity of Vrhnika might indicate smaller settlements or individual villas at Mirke and Verd.¹³⁰

Translation: Andreja Maver

¹²⁸ The bustum type burials in Slovenia have been unearthed in the necropolises at Križišče near Koper (Novšak et al. 2019) and Emona; for the latter, see Županek 2018 and the unpublished reports for the Tržaška cesta – Tobačna (Hofman 2009) and Trg Mladinskih delavnih brigad sites (Draksler et al. 2022).

¹²² Mulh, Černe 2018.

¹²³ Cerknica: Urleb 1983; Rodik: Istenič 1987; Volarje near Žirje: Bavdek 2005. Overview in Horvat, Tratnik 2022.

¹²⁴ Cfr. Sivec, Županek 2013 for Podlipoglav; Tomažinčič, Josipovič 2020 for Šmarje near Cerklje; Grahek, Horvat 2022 for Ig.

¹²⁵ Plesničar-Gec 1972; Petru 1972.

¹²⁶ Tratnik 2014 for Vipava.

¹²⁷ Cfr. the necropolis below the prehistoric hillfort at Socerb/San Servolo near Tergeste, which was used at least till the 1st century AD (Dugulin 2002), or the necropolis at Podlipoglav near Emona (Sivec, Županek 2013).

¹²⁹ Horvat 1990, 66–67, 179–180.

¹³⁰ Horvat 1990, 80–82, 188–189.

¹¹⁸ Šašel 1971, 76–77; Slabe 1977; Slabe 1979; Ciglenečki 1987, 90; Horvat 1990, 77–78; Ciglenečki 2015, 396–396; for the oil lamp, see Pröttel 1996.

¹¹⁹ Žerjal 2019.

¹²⁰ Horvat 1990, 72–73; Horvat 2020.

¹²¹ Žorž 2015, lot no. 2247/8, Vrhnika cadastral municipality, between the addresses Stara cesta 4a and 6.

Abbreviations

ANSl = Arheološka najdišča Slovenije. – Ljubljana 1975.

CIL = Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum.

- *EDR* = *Epigraphic Database Roma*.
- FMRSI I = P. Kos, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien* I – Berlin 1988.
- *ILLRP = Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae*, ed. A. Degrassi, Firenze, vol. I, 19722; vol. II, 1963.
- *ILS = Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, ed. H. Dessau, Berlin 1892–1916.
- RIMS = M. Šašel Kos, The Roman Inscriptions in the National Museum of Slovenia / Lapidarij Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, Situla 35, 1997.
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