

Emonske podeželje Emona's countryside

Jana Horvat, Milan Sagadin

Izvleček: Predstavljamo rekonstrukcijo meja emonskega agra in potek glavnih prometnih poti. Poselitvena slika je nepopolna, saj temelji predvsem na rezultatih prostorsko zelo omejenih zaščitnih raziskovanj. Na začetku rimske dobe, konec 1. st. pr. Kr. in na začetku 1. st. po Kr., je kratek čas obstajala utrjena naselbina v Kranju, z večinoma iz Italije priseljenim prebivalstvom. Sočasno so bile opuščene višinske utrjene naselbine domačinov, nastale pa so nove v ravnini. Večja naselja so bila identificirana v Mengšu, na Igju, v Šmartnem pri Cerkljah in Blagovici. Na ravninah je prevladovala razpršena poselitev, katere osnova so bile rustike. Orisujeta se dve glavni fazi vil, starejša od prve polovice ali sredine 1. st. do 3. st. (prva polovica?) in mlajša od 3. st. (konec?) do začetka 5. st. Najpozneje v srednji tretjini 5. st. so bile opuščene zadnje nižinske naselbine in vile, oblikovalo se je novo središče na strateški točki v Kranju – Carnium, težišče poselitve pa se je premaknilo na utrjene višinske postojanke.

Ključne besede: Emona, ager, meje, ceste, poselitev, gospodarstvo, verovanje

Abstract: The contribution brings an overview of the boundaries of Emona's territory, the main lines of communication, the settlement and other aspects of life in the countryside of Emona. There are still numerous gaps in the body of knowledge as the available information mainly comes from small-scale rescue investigations. At the beginning of the Roman period in Slovenia, i.e. in the late 1st century BC and the early 1st century AD, the fortified settlement at Kranj was inhabited for a short while, mostly by Italian immigrants. Contemporaneously, hilltop settlements of the local population were being abandoned and new settlements sprang up in the lowland. Secondary settlements have been identified at Mengeš, Ig, Šmartno near Cerkle and Blagovica. Lowland settlement was dispersed and dominated by country villas. Evidence suggests two phases of these villas, the first one spanning from the first half or the mid-1st to the 3rd century (first half?) and the second one from the (late?) 3rd to the early 5th century. The last of the lowland settlements and villas were abandoned in the second third of the 5th century at the latest, and a new centre formed on the strategic and naturally protected location at Kranj – Carnium, with habitation in general gravitating towards fortified hilltop settlements.

Keywords: Emona, ager, boundaries, roads, settlement, economy, places of worship

Colonia Iulia Emona je ležala na izredno pomembni prometni točki na območju jugovzhodnih Alp, na kríšču kopnih magistralnih poti in ob plovni poti Ljubljanica–Sava–Dunava. Po rimski osvojitvi je bila vključena v Italijo in je predstavljala njen skrajno severovzhodno območje.¹

Naključnim najdbam z območja mesta so od začetka 20. st. sledile številne arheološke raziskave, tako da je Emona razmeroma dobro poznana.² Drugače je z emonskim podeželjem, za katerega črpamo podatke predvsem iz naključnih odkritij in prostorsko zelo omejenih zaščitnih raziskovanj, ki pa večinoma še niso bila objavljena.³ Območje severno od Emone – Savsko ravan – je sistematično proučeval Milan Sagadin.⁴ Njegovo pregledno delo dopolnjujejo študije ožjih območij, na primer Dežele,⁵ Kranjskega polja,⁶ Kamniškobistriške ravni,⁷ Črnega grabna⁸ in osrednjega dela Ljubljanske kotline.⁹ Okolico Emone z radijem 30 kilometrov je analizirala Bernarda Županek, pri čemer je ob pomanjkanju kakovostnih arheoloških podatkov odprla predvsem teoretična vprašanja.¹⁰

V tem prispevku želiva na kratko predstaviti najpomembnejše vedenje in osnovna vprašanja, ki bi bila lahko tudi usmeritev k prihodnjim raziskavam. Izognila se bova bolj ambicioznim interpretacijam, saj meniva, da ob zdajšnjem stanju virov niso umestne.

Meje emonskega agra

Edini zanesljivi podatek o poteku meje emonskega agra je mejnik med ozemljji Emone in Akvileje, ki je bil najden v strugi Ljubljanice pri Bevkah in sodi verjetno v avgustejsko obdobje (sl. 1).¹¹

Ob cesti med Navportom in Emonom, ki je potekala po severnem obrobu Ljubljanskega barja, je ležala obcestna postaja *mutatio Ad nonum*, ki jo *Itinerarium Burdigalense* navaja 9 milj od Emone (= 13,320 km).¹² Po imenu sodeč sodi naselbina na emonsko ozemlje, po razdalji pa jo je mogoče locirati na območje Stare Šrange, jugozahodno od Loga pri Brezovici, od koder pa rimske naselbinske ostanki

Colonia Iulia Emona boasted a prominent spot within the communication network in the south-eastern Alps; it was situated on the crossroads of major land routes and on the navigable waterway along the Rivers Ljubljanica, Sava and Danube. Once conquered, the Romans included the area in Italy as its north-easternmost territory.¹

Emona has been yielding chance finds for centuries, while archaeological investigations began in the early 20th century. Since then, Emona has seen a long succession of excavations providing a fair amount of data on the Roman town.² To the contrary, not much is known on Emona's countryside, with the knowledge mainly coming from chance finds and small-scale rescue investigations that remain largely unpublished.³ Milan Sagadin has systematically studied the territory north of Emona, more precisely the lowland area of the Savska ravan.⁴ His overview has been supplemented by the studies of smaller areas, such as Dežela,⁵ Kranjsko polje,⁶ Kamniškobistriška ravan,⁷ Črni graben⁸ and the central part of the Ljubljana basin.⁹ Bernarda Županek analysed the surroundings of Emona in a 30km radius, but a lack of reliable archaeological data only led her to concentrate on theoretical questions.¹⁰

This contribution aims to briefly present the most important knowledge and the basic questions that can point the way for further research. More ambitious interpretations are avoided, as the state of research is deemed insufficient.

Boundaries of the territory of Emona

The only solid piece of evidence on that subject is the boundary stone between the territories of Emona and Aquileia, which was found in the riverbed of the Ljubljanica at Bevke and probably dates to the Augustan period (Fig. 1).¹¹

A clue for this part of the boundary is also the relay station called *mutatio Ad nonum*, which was located on the road between Nauportus and Emona that ran along the northern edge of the Ljubljansko barje and placed in *Itinerarium Burdigalense* at a distance of nine miles from Emona (= 13.320 km).¹² The name indicates that the settlement was located in the *ager* of Emona, while the nine-mile distance places it in the area of Stara Šrange, south-west of Log pri Brezovici; no Roman remains have been documented in that area.¹³

1 Šašel 1968, str. 541; Šašel Kos 2003; Šašel Kos 2012; Gaspari 2014, str. 12–14.

2 Šašel 1968, str. 544–545; Vičič 2003; Plesničar Gec 1999; Gaspari 2010; Gaspari 2014.

3 Osnovni pregledi: ANSL, str. 169–209; Horvat 1999, str. 227–228, 253.

4 Sagadin 1995b; Sagadin 2008; Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004.

5 Sagadin 2000.

6 Sagadin 2006a.

7 Sagadin 1999; Sagadin 2002. Prim: Horvat 2006a, str. 39; Novšak 2012, str. 8–10, sl. 7.

8 Sagadin 2004.

9 Gaspari 2014, str. 111, 214–217, sl. 115.

10 Županek 2001; Županek 2002a; Županek 2002b; Županek 2003.

11 Šašel Kos 2002a; Šašel Kos 2002b; Šašel Kos 2014. Domnevne meje emonskega agra pred odkritjem mejnika: Vičič 2003, str. 21–23, sl. 4.

12 *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 560, 6; Šašel 1975a, str. 78, 89.

1 Šašel 1968, p. 541; Šašel Kos 2003; Šašel Kos 2012; Gaspari 2014, pp. 12–14.

2 Šašel 1968, pp. 544–545; Vičič 2003; Plesničar Gec 1999; Gaspari 2010; Gaspari 2014.

3 Overviews in: ANSL pp. 169–209; Horvat 1999, pp. 227–228, 253.

4 Sagadin 1995b; Sagadin 2008; Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004.

5 Sagadin 2000.

6 Sagadin 2006a.

7 Sagadin 1999; Sagadin 2002. Cf. Horvat 2006a, p. 39; Novšak 2012, pp. 8–10, Fig. 7.

8 Sagadin 2004.

9 Gaspari 2014, pp. 111, 214–217, Fig. 115.

10 Županek 2001; Županek 2002a; Županek 2002b; Županek 2003.

11 Šašel Kos 2002a; Šašel Kos 2002b; Šašel Kos 2014. For the boundaries of the territory of Emona as presumed prior to the discovery of the boundary stone see: Vičič 2003, pp. 21–23, Fig. 4.

12 *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 560, 6; Šašel 1975a, pp. 78, 89.

13 Šaria 1936a; Šašel 1975a, p. 89; Šašel 1975b, p. 176.

niso poznani.¹³ Meja med emonskim agrom in akvilejskim agrom, kamor je sodil Navport, je torej potekala zahodno od Stare Šrange, kar se geografsko dobro ujema z mejo, ki jo določa mejnik pri Bevkah.¹⁴

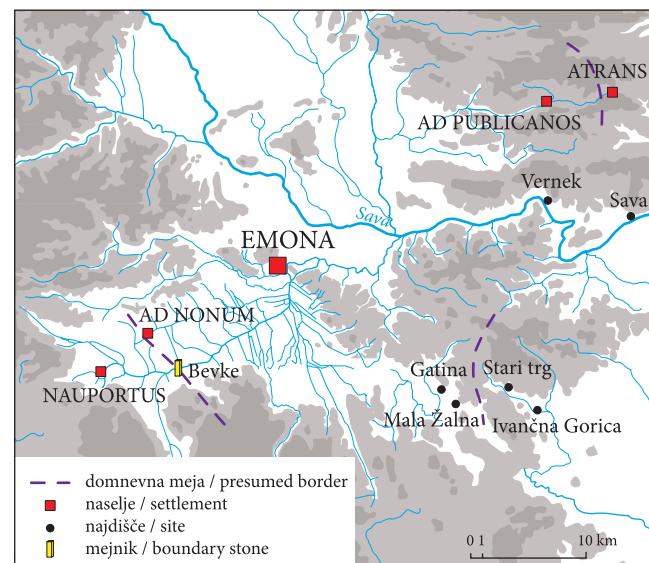
Drugi indici za potek meje teritorija so razmeroma nezanesljivi.¹⁵ Pri Ivančni Gorici jugovzhodno od Emone je bil najden milnjik z oznako 44 milj od Neviiodunuma, se pravi, da je to območje verjetno sodilo na njegovo ozemlje.¹⁶ Mejo med emonskim in neviiodunumskim ozemljem, ki je bila hkrati meja med Italijo in Panonijo, domnevamo na prvi naravni pregradi zahodno od Ivančne Gorice, to je na višnjegorskem klancu.¹⁷

Zahodno od višnjegorskega klanca, iz Gatine pri Grosuplju in Male Žalne pri Višnji Gori, izvirata dva napisa, ki ju po imenih lahko povežemo z ižansko skupino. To nakazuje, da je Grosupelska kotlina sodila na emonsko ozemlje.¹⁸

Vzhodna meja emonskega ozemlja ni jasna. Na posvetilnih oltarjih, dveh iz Verneka in enim iz vasi Sava pri Litiji, ni indicev za opredelitev pripadnosti mestnemu teritoriju.¹⁹

Med postajo *Savo fluvio* (verjetno v bližini Črnuč) in Atransom (Trojane) omenja *Tabula Peutingeriana* naselje *Ad publicanos*. Ime opozarja, da gre za carinsko postajo. Ta je še ležala v Italiji, medtem ko je bil Atrans carinska postaja v Noriku. Po *Tabuli Peutingeriani* leži *Ad publicanos* 11 milj od postaje *Savo fluvio* (= 16,3 km) in 6 milj od Atransa (= 8,88 km). Navedena skupna razdalja teh dveh etap (*Savo fluvio–Ad publicanos–Atrans*) je prekratka v primerjavi z razdaljo Črnuče–Trojane, zato postaje *Ad publicanos* samo na podlagi tega vira ni mogoče locirati.²⁰ V Blagovici (7,3 km zahodno od Trojan) so odkrili ostanke naselbine, grajene v več fazah od 1. do 4. st., temelje zgodnjерimskih zdanih grobnic in poznorimske skeletne grobove.²¹ To nakazuje, da je v Blagovici ležala postaja *Ad publicanos*,²² meja med Italijo in Norikom pa je verjetno potekala med Blagovico in Trojanami.

Severna meja med emonskim ozemljem in Norikom je najverjetneje šla po najizrazitejši geografski ločnici, po razvodju med Savo in Dravo oziroma po Karavankah in Kamniško-Savinjskih Alpah.²³ Marjeta Šašel Kos domneva,



Sl. 1: Domnevni potek južne in vzhodne meje emonskega ozemlja z najpomembnejšimi opornimi točkami.

Fig. 1: Presumed southern and eastern boundary of the territory of Emona with marked indicative sites.

It also shows that the boundary between the territories of Emona and Aquileia, with Nauportus located in the latter, ran west of Stara Šrange, which corresponds geographically with the border line as located by the stone from Bevke.¹⁴

Indications for the boundary elsewhere are less reliable.¹⁵ Southeast of Emona, at Ivančna Gorica, a milestone was found that marked the distance of 44 miles from Neviiodunum, meaning that the area probably formed part of the territory of Neviiodunum.¹⁶ It is presumed that the boundary between the territories of Emona and Neviiodunum, which also represented the boundary between Italy and the province of Pannonia Superior, was located at the first natural barrier west of Ivančna Gorica, i.e. at Višnjegorski klanec.¹⁷

Two inscriptions unearthed west of Višnjegorski klanec, more precisely at Gatina near Grosuplje and Mala Žalna near Višnja Gora, contain names that could be connected with the onomastic group of Ig, which suggests that the Grosuplje basin belonged to the territory of Emona.¹⁸

Nothing can be said of the eastern boundary of Emona. The inscriptions on the votive altars, two from Vernek and one from Sava near Litija, hold no clues as to the associated town territory.¹⁹

Tabula Peutingeriana shows a settlement called *Ad publicanos* located between the Savo fluvio station (probably in the vicinity of

¹³ Saria 1936a; Šašel 1975a, str. 89; Šašel 1975b, str. 176.

¹⁴ Prim. Šašel 1975a, str. 89.

¹⁵ Prim. Weber 2011–2012.

¹⁶ Lovenjak 1998, str. 17, 338–340, št. 180; Lovenjak 2006, str. 42, 45.

¹⁷ Schmid 1913, str. 65; Saria 1936b, str. 154; Lovenjak 1998, str.

¹⁸ 17.

Dva milnjika iz starega trga pri Višnji Gori – brez ohranjenega

napisa in oba izgubljena – sta tako verjetno sodila še na ozemlje

Nevioduna: Lovenjak 1998, str. 17, 336–338, št. 178, 179.

¹⁹ AJL 221–222; Lovenjak 1998, str. 17.

²⁰ Šašel Kos 1997, str. 287–294, št. 94–96.

²¹ Šašel 1975a, str. 76, 89–90. Za Atrans: Bolta, Šašel 1975.

²² Zupančič 1979; Sagadin 2004, str. 47–48; Plestenjak et al. 2013.

²³ Plestenjak et al. 2013.

²⁴ Npr. Šašel Kos 1997, str. 287–288; Vičič 2003, str. 21–23, sl. 4.

¹⁴ Cf. Šašel 1975a, p. 89.

¹⁵ Cf. Weber 2011–2012.

¹⁶ Lovenjak 1998, pp. 17, 338–340, No. 180; Lovenjak 2006, pp. 42, 45.

¹⁷ Schmid 1913, p. 65; Saria 1936b, p. 154; Lovenjak 1998, p. 17. The two milestones from Stari trg near Višnja Gora – without a surviving inscription and both now lost – were thus probably located within the territory of Neviiodunum: Lovenjak 1998, pp. 17, 336–338, Nos. 178, 179.

¹⁸ AJL 221–222; Lovenjak 1998, p. 17.

¹⁹ Šašel Kos 1997, pp. 287–294, Nos. 94–96.

da je bilo pomanjkanje emonskega ozemlja na zahodu in jugu tako uravnoteženo z večjim območjem na severu – s celotno Gorenjsko.²⁴

Edino oporo za domnevo o poteku severozahodne meje emonskega ozemlja ponuja nagrobnik z Mosta na Soči, ki sodi v čas triumvirata ali v zgodnje cesarsko obdobje in omenja pokojnika, vpisanega v tribus *Claudia*. To volitno okrožje je značilno za Emono, meščani *Forum Iulii*, ki leži bliže Mostu na Soči, pa so bili vpisani v tribus *Scaptia*. Zato je Claudio Zaccaria opozoril na možnost, da bi lahko območje Mosta na Soči in levih pritokov Soče sodilo na emonsko ozemlje.²⁵

Plovna pot in ceste

Antični pisni viri in arheološke najdbe kažejo na izjemen pomen plovbe po Ljubljanici. Plovna pot se je začela na akvilejskem mestnem ozemlju, ob izvirih Ljubljance v Navportu, kjer je v avgustejskem obdobju stala utrjena postojanka s skladišči in pristaniščem.²⁶ Nenavadno pričata o plovbi dve avgustejski tovorni ladji z Ljubljanskega barja.²⁷ Tudi številni predmeti iz struge Ljubljance, ki so pogosto povezani z vojsko, so sled intenzivnega rečnega prometa predvsem v avgustejskem obdobju. Drobnih najdb iz reke je manj od konca avgustejske dobe, kar kaže na upad prometa po vodi in večjo vlogo cestne povezave.²⁸

Pristanišče na Ljubljanci v Emoni je arheološko slabo poznano.²⁹ V mestu so častili Neptuna, ki ga lahko povežemo z rečno plovbo.³⁰ O prometu po Savi pričajo napisni čolnarjev, posvečeni Savusu in Adsalutu iz svetišča ob rečnih brzicah v kraju Sava pri Hrastniku, sicer že na noriškem ozemlju.³¹

Emonsko ozemlje so prečkale tri državne ceste, omenjene v antičnih itinerarjih: proti Akvileji, Celeji in Neviodunu (sl. 2).³²

Via publica Aquileia–Emona je bila, po pisnih virih sodeč, zgrajena v avgustejskem obdobju.³³ Med Navportom in Emono je potekala po severnem obrobju Ljubljanskega barja, kjer je bila odkrita na več odsekih.³⁴ Ob cesti je

Črnučel) and Atrans [Trojane]. The name, *Ad publicanos*, reveals the settlement to be a customs post. It was part of Italy, while Atrans, also a customs post, was located in the province of Noricum. *Tabula Peutingeriana* further relates that *Ad publicanos* was located at a distance of eleven miles from Savo fluvio (=16.3 km) and six miles from Atrans (= 8.88 km). The total distance of the two sections (Savo fluvio – *Ad publicanos* – Atrans) is shorter than the actual distance between Črnuče and Trojane, making it impossible to locate *Ad publicanos* on the basis of this source alone.²⁰ Remains of a settlement were excavated at Blagovica (7.3 km west of Trojane), with several construction phases spanning from the 1st to the 4th century, as well as the foundations of Early Imperial funerary architecture and Late Roman inhumation burials.²¹ The remains might be those of *Ad publicanos*,²² which suggests that the boundary between Italy and Noricum ran somewhere between Blagovica and Trojane.

The northern boundary between the territory of Emona and Noricum most likely followed the most prominent geographical barrier, i.e. along the Kamniško-Savinjske Alpe and Karavanke mountain ranges that represent the watershed between the Rivers Sava and Drava.²³ In connection with that, Marjeta Šašel Kos presumes that the Romans compensated for the lack of land attributed to Emona in the west and the south by including in its territory a large area on the north – the whole region of Gorenjska.²⁴

As for the boundary in the northwest, the only piece of indirect evidence is a tombstone from Most na Soči that dates either to the time of the Triumvirate or the Early Imperial period and mentions a deceased of the Claudian voting tribe. It is the voting tribe typical of Emona, while the inhabitants of Forum Iulii, located closer to Most na Soči than Emona, belonged to the voting tribe of Scaptia. This led Claudio Zaccaria to suggest the possibility of the area of Most na Soči and the left tributaries of the River Soča forming part of the territory of Emona.²⁵

Navigable waterway and roads

Ancient literary sources and archaeological finds tell of the importance of navigation along the River Ljubljana. The navigable waterway began in the Aquileian territory, at the springs of the Ljubljana at Nauportus, the site of an Augustan fortified trans-shipment post with storehouses and a harbour.²⁶ Indirect evidence of the navigation across the Ljubljansko barje comes from two Augustan-period cargo ships,²⁷ but also from the numerous objects recovered from the bed of the Ljubljana, many connected with the army. These clearly show that navigation was particularly intense in the Augustan period. From

24 Šašel Kos 2002a, str. 377, 381.

25 Svoljšak, Žbona-Trkman 1986, str. 390, št. 5, t. 2; Zaccaria 2007, str. 137–138.

26 Šašel Kos 1990; Horvat 1990; Mušič, Horvat 2007; Horvat 2008; Horvat, Peterle Udovič, Tolar, Toškan 2016.

27 Gaspari 1998a; Gaspari 1998b; Gaspari 2009; Erič et al. 2014.

28 Istenič 2009a; Istenič 2009b.

29 Istenič 2009c.

30 Šašel Kos 2008, str. 692.

31 Šašel Kos 1994.

32 Šašel 1975a.

33 Festus, VII; Šašel 1975a, str. 75–80, 97.

34 Vuga 1979a; Vuga 1979b; Vuga 1981; Horvat 1990, str. 43–45, 167–168.

20 Šašel 1975a, pp. 76, 89–90. For Atrans see: Bolta, Šašel 1975.

21 Zupančič 1979; Sagadin 2004, pp. 47–48; Plestenjak et al. 2013.

22 Plestenjak et al. 2013.

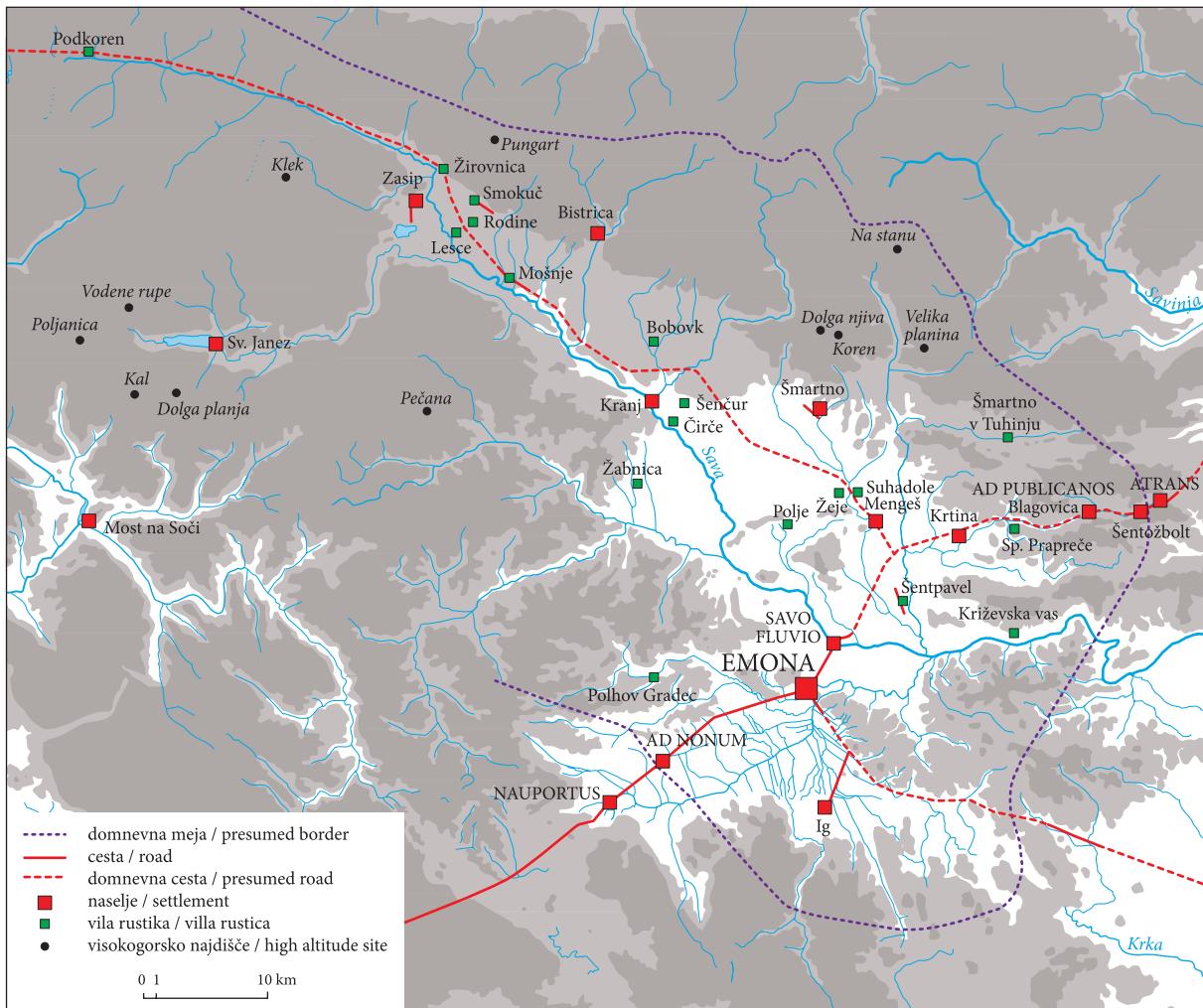
23 E.g. Šašel Kos 1997, pp. 287–288; Vičič 2003, pp. 21–23, Fig. 4.

24 Šašel Kos 2002a, pp. 377, 381.

25 Svoljšak, Žbona-Trkman 1986, p. 390, No. 5, Pl. 2; Zaccaria 2007, pp. 137–138.

26 Šašel Kos 1990; Horvat 1990; Mušič, Horvat 2007; Horvat 2008; Horvat, Peterle Udovič, Tolar, Toškan 2016.

27 Gaspari 1998a; Gaspari 1998b; Gaspari 2009; Erič et al. 2014.



Sl. 2: Poti, večje naselbine in najpomembnejše vile rustike na emonskem ozemlju.

Fig. 2: Roads, large settlements and prominent villæ rusticae in the territory of Emona.

ležala postaja *Ad nonum*,³⁵ na območju Loga pri Brezovici je bil odkrit milnjik.³⁶

Potek državne ceste Emona–Neviodunum kažejo najdbe milnjnikov³⁷ in posamezni odkriti odseki cestišča, tako na primer v vzhodnem predmestju Emone.³⁸

Cestišče državne ceste Emona–*Celeia* je bilo ugostljeno na območju severnega emonskega grobišča. Na nadaljnji potek proti severu se da sklepati na podlagi prostorskoga razporeda rimskega najdišč ter po ostankih rimskega mostu na Savi pri Črnučah.³⁹ Most je stal tam, kjer je bilo poplavno območje Save najožje. V njegovi

the end of this period onwards, the number of small finds from the river decreases, which indicates lighter traffic along the river and a greater role of the land route.²⁸

At Emona, the worship of Neptune can be related to river traffic,²⁹ though the harbour is archaeological poorly known.³⁰ The inscriptions of boatmen dedicated to Savus and Adsaluta were discovered in a sanctuary located at the rapids of the River Sava at Sava near Hrastnik, otherwise already in Norican territory.³¹

Apart from the waterway, three roads mentioned in the Roman itineraries crossed the territory of Emona: towards Aquileia, Celeia and Neviodunum [Fig. 2].³²

³⁵ Morda v Stari Šrangi pri Logu pri Brezovici. *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 560, 6; *Saria* 1936a; Šašel 1975a, str. 78, 89; Šašel 1975b, str. 176.

³⁶ *Saria* 1936a; Šašel 1975a, str. 83, št. 45; Šašel 1975b, str. 176.

³⁷ Premerstein, Rutar 1899, str. 17–25; Lovenjak 1998, str. 333–338; Lovenjak 2006.

³⁸ Schmid 1913, str. 66; Hvalec et al. 2009. Potek ob vzhodnem robu kotline Ljubljanskega barja: Gaspari 2014, str. 111, 215, sl. 115.

³⁹ Pick, Schmid 1913; Gaspari 2010, str. 137–140.

²⁸ Istenič 2009a; Istenič 2009b.

²⁹ Šašel Kos 2008, p. 692.

³⁰ Istenič 2009c.

³¹ Šašel Kos 1994.

³² Šašel 1975a.

bližini je bila verjetno postaja *Savo fluvio*, a njeni ostanki še niso bili odkriti.⁴⁰ Nato je cesta domnevno tekla po najkrajši in najbolj naravni trasi čez Kamniškobistriško ravan, konkretno cestišče pa še ni bilo ugotovljeno.⁴¹ Prav tako ni znana lega postaje *Ad quartodecimo*, ki jo omenja *Itinerarium Burdigalense*.⁴² Cesta se je nadaljevala skozi Črni graben mimo postaja *Ad publicanos* (morda Blagovica)⁴³ do Trojan, ker je stala že prva carinska postaja v Noriku – *Atrans*.⁴⁴ Antična arhitektura ob cerkvi v Šentožboltu morda predstavlja ostanke priprežne postaje pred začetkom strmega trojanskega klanca, medtem ko je manjša in zelo slabo poznana trdnjava na Učaku varovala dostop na vrh klanca.⁴⁵ Na nadaljnji potek ceste kažejo lega rimske naselbine in cestišča na Trojana ter cestišče, odkrito ob vzhodnem vznožju trojanskega klanca. Kaže, da moramo rimske ceste iskati neposredno pod staro avstro-ogrsko cesto, ki je bila v uporabi do konca petdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja.⁴⁶

Glavno pot čez Gorenjsko, ki ni omenjena v itinerarijih, lahko slutimo po zgoščeni legi naselbinskih jeder in posameznih, z izkopavanji ugotovljenih odsekih cestne trase: Mengeš–Suhadole–Moste pri Komendi–Lahovče–Šenčur–Pivka–Ljubno–Brezje–Mošnje (trasa cestel)–Radovljica–Lesce–Žirovnica–Moste pri Žirovnici–Podkoren.⁴⁷

Posvetila boginji Belestis v Podljubelju (nem. Unterloibl), na severni strani Karavank, kažejo prometno povezavo preko Ljubelja v Norik.⁴⁸

Rimska cesta je bila najdena med Bledom in Zasipom.⁴⁹ V Smokuču in Doslovčah je bila odkrita cesta z nizom poznorimskih grobov. Gre za stransko cesto, ki je vedila ob vznožju Karavank.⁵⁰ Dve vzporedni rimski tlakovani cesti sta bili odkriti v Šmartnem pri Cerkljah,⁵¹ cesta pri Šentpavlu je bila v rabi v 4. st.,⁵² manjša rimska grobišča med Emono in Mednim pa morda nakazujejo potek še ene poti naravnost iz Emone proti Gorenjski.⁵³

Stranska cesta, ki je bila zanesljivo še v rabi v 4. st., je prek Ljubljanskega barja pripeljala na vzhodni rob

Literary sources reveal that the *via publica* from Aquileia to Emona was constructed in the Augustan period.³³ Between Nauportus and Emona, it ran along the northern edge of the Ljubljansko barje and has been unearthed in several locations.³⁴ The Ad nonum station was located in this section,³⁵ while a milestone was found in the area of Log.³⁶

The road from Emona to Neiodunum is indicated by the finds of milestones³⁷ and of the road itself, the latter excavated in the eastern suburbs of Emona.³⁸

The remains of the road from Emona towards Celeia have been documented in the area of the northern cemetery of Emona. Further northwards, the route can be surmised from the distribution of Roman-period sites and the remains of the Roman bridge across the Sava at Črnuče.³⁹ The bridge was located where the floodplain of the Sava is at its narrowest. The Savo fluvio station must have been located in its vicinity, though no remains of the station have as yet been recovered.⁴⁰ From there, the road presumably took the shortest route across the plain of the Kamniškobistriška ravan, with no documented sections known as yet.⁴¹ Also unknown is the location of the Ad quartodecimo station mentioned in *Itinerarium Burdigalense*.⁴² The road continued across Črni graben and past the Ad publicanos station (possibly Blagovica)⁴³ to Trojane (Atrans), the site of the first customs post upon reaching Noricum.⁴⁴ The Roman architecture at the church in Šentožbolt may represent the remains of the relay station located at the foot of the steep slope leading to the Trojane Pass, while a poorly investigated fortlet on the hill of Učak controlled the access to the pass itself.⁴⁵ East of the pass, the route is indicated by the locations of the Roman settlement and road at Trojane, as well as the road unearthed at the foot of the eastern slope to Trojane Pass. It is therefore feasible to presume the remains of the Roman road directly underneath the old road from the Austro-Hungarian period in use until the late 1950s.⁴⁶

The route north from Emona, across the present-day Gorenjska region, is not featured on any of the itinerary maps, but may be presumed from the concentrations of settlements and individual archaeologically investigated road sections: Mengeš – Suhadole – Moste pri Komendi – Lahovče – Šenčur – Pivka – Ljubno – Brezje –

⁴⁰ Šašel 1975a, str. 94 (lokacijo pušča odprto).

⁴¹ Sagadin 1999, str. 46–47, karta 6; Sagadin 2004; Novšak 2012, str. 9, sl. 7.

⁴² Šašel 1975a, str. 89.

⁴³ Zupančič 1979; Sagadin 2004, str. 47–48. Glej tudi zgoraj.

⁴⁴ Bolta, Šašel 1975.

⁴⁵ Sagadin 2004, str. 44–47; Sagadin 2006b.

⁴⁶ Bolta 1958–1959; Sagadin 2004, str. 44; Sagadin 2006b.

⁴⁷ Sagadin 1999, str. 17; Sagadin 2006a, str. 25–26; Lux, Sagadin 2012, str. 312; Lovenjak 2012. Dokumentacija ZVKDS OE Kranj. O vplivu poti na zgostitev naselij tudi Županek 2001, str. 71–72; Županek 2003, str. 212.

⁴⁸ Šašel Kos 1999a, str. 21–22; Šašel Kos 2000, str. 30–31.

⁴⁹ Svoljšak, Čučnik 2010.

⁵⁰ Svoljšak 2004; Lux 2007.

⁵¹ Žižek, Tomažinčič 2006.

⁵² Novšak 2012, str. 20, 23.

⁵³ Gaspari 2014, str. 214, sl. 115.

³³ Festus, VII; Šašel 1975a, pp. 75–80, 97.

³⁴ Vuga 1979a; Vuga 1979b; Vuga 1981; Horvat 1990, pp. 43–45, 167–168.

³⁵ Possibly at Stara Šranga near Log pri Brezovici. *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 560, 6; Saria 1936a; Šašel 1975a, pp. 78, 89; Šašel 1975b, p. 176.

³⁶ Saria 1936a; Šašel 1975a, p. 83, No. 45; Šašel 1975b, p. 176.

³⁷ Premerstein, Rutar 1899, pp. 17–25; Lovenjak 1998, pp. 333–338; Lovenjak 2006.

³⁸ Schmid 1913, p. 66; Hvalec et al. 2009. For the route along the eastern edge of the Ljubljansko barje see: Gaspari 2014, pp. 111, 215, Fig. 115.

³⁹ Pick, Schmid 1913; Gaspari 2010, pp. 137–140.

⁴⁰ Šašel 1975a, p. 94 (leaves the location question open).

⁴¹ Sagadin 1999, pp. 46–47, Map 6; Sagadin 2004; Novšak 2012, p. 9, Fig. 7.

⁴² Šašel 1975a, p. 89.

⁴³ Zupančič 1979; Sagadin 2004, pp. 47–48. Also see above.

⁴⁴ Bolta, Šašel 1975.

⁴⁵ Sagadin 2004, pp. 44–47; Sagadin 2006b.

⁴⁶ Bolta 1958–1959; Sagadin 2004, p. 44; Sagadin 2006b.

današnjega Ig-a.⁵⁴ Na Ižanskem je bila odkrita mreža starih poti, a večinoma niso datirane.⁵⁵

Spremembe poselitve na začetku rimske dobe

V predrimskem obdobju so na poznejšem emonskem ozemlju prevladovale višinske utrije naselbine, a so zelo slabo poznane.⁵⁶ Po legi izstopa naselbina na Prulah v Ljubljani, ki je ležala na ravniči ob Ljubljanici in je datirana v latensko dobo, od začetka 3. st. do sredine 1. st. pr. Kr.⁵⁷

Takojo po vzpostavitvi rimske oblasti se je poselitvena slika razmeroma hitro spremajala in se je ustalila še v prvi polovici 1. st. po Kr.⁵⁸

Na Gornjem trgu v Ljubljani je v drugi polovici 1. st. pr. Kr. in na začetku 1. st. po Kr. živel naselbina staroselcev in prvih prišlekov iz Italije,⁵⁹ na bližnjih Prulah pa je od srednjeavgustejskega do zgodnjetiberijskega časa stal vojaški tabor.⁶⁰ Kolonija Emona, ki je pritegnila priseljence iz Italije, je bila postavljena na nasprotnem bregu Ljubljanice na koncu avgustejskega obdobja.⁶¹

Kranj je bil močna poselitvena točka v starejši železni dobi, jasne naselbinske plasti iz mlajše železne dobe pa niso poznane. Rimljani so v Kranju postavili utrjeno naselbino z zidanim obzidjem in stolpi. Čeprav sta bili ugotovljeni dve fazi obzidja, je naselbina obstajala le kratek čas, omejena v srednje- in poznoavgustejsko obdobje.⁶² Podobno kot Kranj so bile tudi druge najzgodnejše rimske naselbine v jugovzhodnih Alpah, to so Navport, Štalenska gora in Gurina, naravno zavarovane in utrijene.⁶³ Okoliščine, ki so vplivale na nastanek naselbine v Kranju, so se verjetno bistveno spremenile na začetku 1. st. po Kr. Ko obrambna lega ni bila več odločilna, je morda postal pomembnejše tisto, kar Kranju manjka: bližina plodne zemlje, vode in ceste.⁶⁴ Lahko pa slutimo vzrok za spremembo tudi v tem, da neposredna prometna povezava

Mošnje (remains of the road) – Radovljica – Lesce – Žirovnica – Moste near Žirovnica – Podkoren.⁴⁷

The dedications to the goddess Belestis at Unterloibl (Podljubelj in Slovenian), on the northern side of the Karavanke mountain range, indicate a communication with Noricum that ran across the Ljubelj Pass.⁴⁸

A section of a Roman road has been documented between Bled and Zasip.⁴⁹ At Smokuč and Doslovče, a road lined with Late Roman burials has been unearthed; this was a side road leading along the foot of the Karavanke Mountains.⁵⁰ Two parallel and paved roads were unearthed at Šmartno near Cerkle.⁵¹ The road found at Šentpavel was in use in the 4th century.⁵² The small Roman cemeteries between Emona and Medno might indicate another, western route from Emona towards Gorenjska.⁵³

The side road certainly still in use in the 4th century was the one that led across the Ljubljansko barje to the eastern edge of the present-day Ig.⁵⁴ The Ig area revealed a mesh of old roads, but they are for the most part undated.⁵⁵

Settlement changes at the beginning of the Roman period

In late prehistory, most settlements in the future territory of Emona were located on fortified hilltops, though they are poorly known.⁵⁶ The settlement at Prule stands apart, as it was located in the plain beside the River Ljubljanica; it dates to the La Tène period, spanning from the early 3rd to the mid-1st century BC.⁵⁷

Immediately after Roman occupation, the settlement structure began changing rapidly with the process gradually completed in the course of the first half of the 1st century AD.⁵⁸

In Ljubljana, a settlement of local inhabitants and Italian newcomers flourished in the second half of the 1st century BC and the early 1st century AD at Gornji trg,⁵⁹ while a military camp located at nearby Prule was in use from the Middle Augustan to the Early Tiberian period.⁶⁰ The colony of Emona, which was populated with the immigrants

⁴⁷ Sagadin 1999, p. 17; Sagadin 2006a, pp. 25–26; Lux, Sagadin 2012, p. 312; Lovenjak 2012. Documentation of the ZVKDS OE Kranj. For the influence of the road on the density of settlements also see: Županek 2001, pp. 71–72; Županek 2003, p. 212.

⁴⁸ Šašel Kos 1999a, pp. 21–22; Šašel Kos 2000, pp. 30–31.

⁴⁹ Svoljšak, Čučnik 2010.

⁵⁰ Svoljšak 2004; Lux 2007.

⁵¹ Žižek, Tomažičič 2006.

⁵² Novšak 2012, pp. 20, 23.

⁵³ Gaspari 2014, p. 214, Fig. 115.

⁵⁴ Korošec 1964; Pleterski, Vuga 1987, Fig. 1; Velušček 2006, pp. 42–43; Gaspari 2014, p. 123, Fig. 128.

⁵⁵ Pleterski, Vuga 1987, pp. 137–143, Fig. 1. For the topographic observations concerning different old roads see: D. Vuga, in: *Varstvo spomenikov* 22, 1979, pp. 278, 282–284, 314–315; D. Vuga, in: *Varstvo spomenikov* 23, 1981, pp. 261–262, 264–265.

⁵⁶ Gabrovec 1966a; Sagadin 2004, pp. 42–44; Pavlin, Dular 2007, pp. 66–73; Horvat 2015a.

⁵⁷ Hvalec et al. 2009; Vojakovič 2014, pp. 71–76; Gaspari 2014, pp. 101–107.

⁵⁸ Horvat 2009; Horvat 2015b.

⁵⁹ Vičič 1994; Vičič 2002; Gaspari 2014, pp. 120–122.

⁶⁰ Hvalec et al. 2009; Gaspari 2014, pp. 127–133; Gaspari et al. 2014, pp. 138–146.

⁵⁴ Korošec 1964; Pleterski, Vuga 1987, sl. 1; Velušček 2006, str. 42–43; Gaspari 2014, str. 123, sl. 128.

⁵⁵ Pleterski, Vuga 1987, str. 137–143, sl. 1. Topografska opažanja različnih starih poti: D. Vuga, v: *Varstvo spomenikov* 22, 1979, str. 278, 282–284, 314–315; D. Vuga, v: *Varstvo spomenikov* 23, 1981, str. 261–262, 264–265.

⁵⁶ Gabrovec 1966a; Sagadin 2004, str. 42–44; Pavlin, Dular 2007, str. 66–73; Horvat 2015a.

⁵⁷ Hvalec et al. 2009; Vojakovič 2014, str. 71–76; Gaspari 2014, str. 101–107.

⁵⁸ Horvat 2009; Horvat 2015b.

⁵⁹ Vičič 1994; Vičič 2002; Gaspari 2014, str. 120–122.

⁶⁰ Hvalec et al. 2009; Gaspari 2014, str. 127–133; Gaspari et al. 2014, str. 138–146.

⁶¹ Gaspari 2010; Gaspari 2014; Gaspari et al. 2014, str. 146–152.

⁶² Sagadin 1995b, str. 14–15; Sagadin 2003; Sagadin 2008; Sagadin 2010; Sagadin 2015a.

⁶³ Horvat 2010a.

⁶⁴ Sagadin 2008, str. 173.

Kranja s Forumom *Iulii* prek Cerkljanskega ni bila več tako pomembna kot v prvi fazi rimske oblasti.⁶⁵

Mengeš je bil v času starejše in mlajše železne dobe močno poselitveno središče. Osrednja utrjena naselbina je ležala na hribu Gobavica, na njenem vznožju so bila grobišča in tudi manjše poselitvene točke.⁶⁶ Najpoznejše v avgustejskem obdobju Gobavica ni bila več poseljena. Drobne rimske vojaške najdbe pričajo le še o manjši rimske vojaški postojanki ali pa vsaj o vojaških aktivnostih od predavgustejskega oziroma zgodnjeavgustejskega do poznoavgustejskega časa.⁶⁷ V tem obdobju pa je že nastala naselbina v ravnini na vznožju Gobavice.⁶⁸

Prenos poselitvenega jedra v ravnino se vidi tudi na območju Šmartnega pri Cerkljah. Višinska utrjena naselbina Straža nad Šmartnim je bila poseljena v starejši in mlajši železni dobi, do druge tretjine 1. st. pr. Kr. (še v stopnji LT D2 oziroma Mokronog III). V zadnji fazi naselbine se pojavijo rimske vojaške najdbe. V avgustejskem in zgodnjeteriberijskem obdobju je bila verjetno na hribu le še manjša vojaška postojanka, naselbina pa je bila že opuščena.⁶⁹ Rimska najdišča na območju vasi Šmartno pričajo o premiku poselitve v ravnino.⁷⁰

Zdi se torej, da je bil v avgustejskem obdobju poleg zgostitve vojske na prometnem vozlišču v Emoni potreben tudi vojaški nadzor v širšem zaledju Emone. Hkrati so se naselja avtohtonih prebivalcev premaknila v nižine.

Strnjene naselbine

Najpoznejše v prvi polovici 1. st. se je na emonskem teritoriju izoblikovalo nekaj večjih naselbin (sl. 2). Najpomembnejša med njimi je verjetno ležala v Mengšu, na ravnini pod Gobavico, na kateri je stal njen prazgodovinski predhodnik. Arheološko raziskani so bili samo zelo omejeni predeli, ki kažejo, da je naselbina živila od avgustejskega obdobja do vsaj konca 4. st. Središče naselbine je bilo na območju današnje osnovne šole, kjer so bili odkriti številni dobro grajeni ostanki zidanih stavb. Jugozahodno od središča so bili pri gradnji športne dvorane izkopane lesene stavbe in ostanki metalurških delavnic (obloge talilnih peči, šobe za vpihanje zraka, žlindra). Med obema območjem je ležalo grobišče z žganimi in skeletnimi grobovi (2.–4. st.).⁷¹

from Italy, was founded on the opposite bank of the Ljubljanica in the Late Augustan period.⁶¹

Another prominent centre was at Kranj, which was inhabited in the Early Iron Age, but revealed no clear habitation layers dating to the Late Iron Age. The Romans set up a fortified settlement here, with stone-built defensive walls and towers. Even though two phases of the defensive walls have been established, the settlement only existed for a short time, in the Middle and Late Augustan period.⁶² Similarly as that at Kranj, other earliest Roman settlements in the south-eastern Alps, i.e. Nauportus, Magdalenberg and Gurina, were also naturally protected and fortified.⁶³ The circumstances that led to the establishment of the settlement at Kranj must have changed dramatically in the early 1st century AD. When a defensive location lost its major significance, other factors gained in importance, ones that Kranj lacks, such as the vicinity of fertile land, water and communications.⁶⁴ A reason for the change may also be seen in the fact that a direct route from Kranj to Forum Iulii across the Cerkljansko area lost its significance in comparison with the initial phase of the Roman presence.⁶⁵

Another central settlement in the Early and Late Iron Ages was at Mengeš. The main fortified settlement was situated on the hill of Gobavica, with cemeteries and smaller settlements strewn at the foot.⁶⁶ Gobavica ceased to be inhabited in the Augustan period at the latest. Small Roman military finds reveal either a minor military post or limited military activity taking place there from the pre- or Early Augustan to the Late Augustan period.⁶⁷ During this time, a settlement developed in the plain at the foot of Gobavica.⁶⁸

The shift of habitation from the hilltops to the plains is also discernible in the area of Šmartno near Cerkle. The fortified settlement on the hill of Straža above Šmartno was inhabited in the Early and Late Iron Ages up to the second third of the 1st century BC (LT D2 or Mokronog III). Roman military finds appeared already in the last phase of the settlement. In the Augustan and Early Tiberian periods, it is presumed that only a small military post still existed on the hill, while the settlement there had already been abandoned.⁶⁹ The Roman habitation in the area of the present village of Šmartno indicates a shift of settlement into the plains.⁷⁰

Evidence suggests that, in the Augustan period, the concentration of the army at the communication node at Emona was accompanied by a military control of its wider hinterland. Concurrently, the local population generally moved their settlements into the lowland.

⁶⁵ Horvat 2009, str. 372; Horvat 2015b, str. 282.

⁶⁶ Turk 1999; Železnikar 1999.

⁶⁷ Horvat 2015a, str. 185–190.

⁶⁸ Sagadin 1995a, str. 230.

⁶⁹ Horvat 2015a, str. 172–184, 188–190.

⁷⁰ Žižek, Tomažič 2007; Horvat 2015a, str. 172–173.

⁷¹ Sagadin 1989; Sagadin 1995a; Sagadin 1999; M. Sagadin, Antično grobišče v Mengšu, v tisku; dokumentacija ZVKDS OE Kranj. Ob gradnji osnovne šole je bilo uničenih veliko zidov; pomembna najduba je 7 metrov globok vodnjak.

⁶¹ Gaspari 2010; Gaspari 2014; Gaspari et al. 2014, pp. 146–152.

⁶² Sagadin 1995b, pp. 14–15; Sagadin 2003; Sagadin 2008; Sagadin 2010; Sagadin 2015a.

⁶³ Horvat 2010a.

⁶⁴ Sagadin 2008, p. 173.

⁶⁵ Horvat 2009, p. 372; Horvat 2015b, p. 282.

⁶⁶ Turk 1999; Železnikar 1999.

⁶⁷ Horvat 2015a, pp. 185–190.

⁶⁸ Sagadin 1995a, p. 230.

⁶⁹ Horvat 2015a, pp. 172–184, 188–190.

⁷⁰ Žižek, Tomažič 2007; Horvat 2015a, pp. 172–173.

V poznoantični čas sodi pet napol vkopanih stavb, grajenih z lesenimi stojkami, stene pa so bile izdelane iz prepleta in ometane z ilovico. Kontinuiteta med to poselitveno fazo v Mengšu in starejšo rimske naselbino ni ugotovljena.⁷²

Mengeš je oddaljen od najbolj smiselnega poteka državne ceste Emona–Celeia. *Itinerarium Burdigalense* omenja postajo *Ad quartodecimo*, oddaljeno 20 milij od Emone in 10 milij od Atransa. Po razdaljah sodeč lociranje te postaje v Mengeš ni mogoče.⁷³

V Šmartnem pri Cerkljah je verjetno stala manjša naselbina, od katere so znani le obrobni predeli. Raziskali so poznorimsko zidano stavbo z ostanki dveh metalurških peči, dve cesti ter grobišče z žganimi in skeletnimi grobovi, ki segajo od druge polovice 1. st. do poznorimske dobe. Večina pokopov je bila v preprostih jamah, najdeni sta bili dve pravokotni in ena kupolasta grobnica.⁷⁴

Manjša strnjena naselbina je bila odkrita v Zasipu pri Bledu, kjer so bile na prisojnih terasah postavljene zidane stavbe. Železarsko dejavnost nakazujejo keramične šobe za vpihanje zraka v talilne peči. Drobne najdbe iz manjših izkopavanj sodijo v drugo polovico 1. st. in morda še na začetek 2. st.⁷⁵

V Bistrici pri Tržiču je bila odkrita majhna terasasta naselbina iz 1. do 2. st.⁷⁶ Po bogatih grobovih iz prve polovice 1. st. sodeč je ležala manjša naselbina ali vila tudi v Polhovem Gradcu.⁷⁷

Rimska naselbina na Iglu je imela verjetno svojega predhodnika v velikem prazgodovinskem gradišču na Pungrtu.⁷⁸ Obstoje strnjene naselbine dokazujejo predvsem grobišča z nagrobniki,⁷⁹ posamične najdbe⁸⁰ in potek rimske ceste, ki prek Barja povezuje Škofljico z Igom in pripelje na vzhodni rob današnje vasi.⁸¹

Samo preproste lesene stavbe pa so sestavljale naselbino v Krtini, ki je po drobnih najdbah datirana v čas od 2. do 4. st.⁸²

Secondary settlements

During the first half of the 1st century, several secondary settlements were established in the territory of Emona (Fig. 2). The most important of these was probably located at Mengeš, on the plain below the hill of Gobavica and the prehistoric predecessor on its top. Only small-scale investigations have as yet been conducted in the Roman settlement, suggesting it spanned from the Augustan period to at least the late 4th century. The centre was located in the area of the present-day primary school, which yielded the remains of numerous well-constructed stone buildings. Remains of wooden buildings and metalworking workshops (smelting furnace lining, air nozzles, slag) have been excavated to the southwest of the settlement centre. A cemetery with cremation and inhumation burials (2nd–4th centuries) occupied the area in between.⁷¹

The five semi-sunken buildings constructed of wooden posts and wattle-and-daub walls date to Late Antiquity. It has not been possible to establish continuity between the earlier Roman settlement and this late habitation.⁷²

Mengeš does not lie on the most probable route of the main road from Emona to Celeia. It is not likely to identify Mengeš as the location of the *Ad quartodecimo* station mentioned in *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, as it was reportedly located 20 miles from Emona and 10 miles from Atrans, which fails to correspond with the actual distances between Mengeš and the two Roman sites.⁷³

A secondary settlement was probably located at Šmartno near Cerkle, of which only the peripheral areas have been investigated. Excavation there revealed a Late Roman stone building with the remains of metalworking furnaces, two roads and a cemetery with cremations and inhumations spanning from the second half of the 1st century to the Late Roman period. Most burials had simple grave pits, two had a rectangular burial chamber and one a domed burial chamber.⁷⁴

Another small settlement was found at Zasip near Bled, where stone buildings were constructed on sunny terraces. Ironworking was practiced here as well, as evidenced by ceramic air nozzles. The small finds recovered during small-scale excavations date to the second half of the 1st and possibly the early 2nd century.⁷⁵

A small terraced settlement from the 1st and 2nd centuries has been unearthed at Bistrica pri Tržiču.⁷⁶ Based on the rich burials from the first half of the 1st century, a small settlement or villa was also located at Polhov Gradec.⁷⁷

⁷² Sagadin 1989; Sagadin 1995a; Sagadin 1999.

⁷³ Šašel 1975a, str. 78, 89 (*Itinerarium Burdigalense*, 560, 8); Sagadin 1995a, str. 217, 230–231; Sagadin 1999, str. 16–17.

⁷⁴ Žižek, Tomažinčić 2007; Horvat 2015a, str. 172–173.

⁷⁵ Sagadin 1990, str. 379–383; Sagadin 1995b, str. 15–16, t. 1–2.

⁷⁶ Sagadin 1984; Sagadin 1995b, str. 17, 21.

⁷⁷ Ložar 1938; Mrav 2005; Božič 2005, str. 294–295; Železnikar 2009, str. 283–287.

⁷⁸ Vuga 1979c; Obris naselja (http://gis.arso.gov.si/evode/profile.aspx?id=atlas_voda_Lidar@Arso).

⁷⁹ Šašel 1959; Raziskovanja 1979; Pieterski, Vuga 1987; Šašel Kos 1997, str. 255–286; Šašel Kos 2009; Ložić 2009; Grahek, Ragolič 2016 – v tej publikaciji.

⁸⁰ Pieterski, Vuga 1987, str. 137–140; FMRSL 1, str. 148–149, št. 137; Kos 1991.

⁸¹ Pieterski, Vuga 1987, sl. 1; Gaspari 2014, str. 123, sl. 128.

⁸² Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004, str. 214 (sl. 3), 216.

⁷¹ Sagadin 1989; Sagadin 1995a; Sagadin 1999; M. Sagadin, Antično grobišče v Mengšu, in print; documentation of the ZVKDS OE Kranj. Numerous walls were destroyed in advance of the primary school construction; a 7m deep well was also found.

⁷² Sagadin 1989; Sagadin 1995a; Sagadin 1999.

⁷³ Šašel 1975a, pp. 78, 89 (*Itinerarium Burdigalense*, 560, 8); Sagadin 1995a, pp. 217, 230–231; Sagadin 1999, pp. 16–17.

⁷⁴ Žižek, Tomažinčić 2007; Horvat 2015a, pp. 172–173.

⁷⁵ Sagadin 1990, pp. 379–383; Sagadin 1995b, pp. 15–16, Pl. 1–2.

⁷⁶ Sagadin 1984; Sagadin 1995b, pp. 17, 21.

⁷⁷ Ložar 1938; Mrav 2005; Božič 2005, pp. 294–295; Železnikar 2009, pp. 283–287.

Razpršena poselitev

Na emonskem podeželju je verjetno prevladovala razpršena poselitev, osnova te so bile rustike (sl. 2).⁸³ Večinoma so poznane samo lege vil in v nekaterih primerih, na podlagi površinskih najdb in maloštevilnih sondiranj, groba kronologija. Sistematične arheološke raziskave so potekale v vili V ključeh v Rodinah.⁸⁴ Druga maloštevilna večja izkopavanja, kot so bila v Mošnjah in v Polju pri Vodicah, še niso temeljno analizirana in objavljena. Čeprav lahko o razvoju poselitev povemo zelo malo, se na podlagi zdajšnjega vedenja orisujeta glavni fazi vil rustik, starejša od 1. do 3. st. (prva polovica?) in mlajša od 3. st. (konec?) do začetka 5. st.⁸⁵

Najzgodnejšo razpršeno poselitev ravnine v prvi polovici 1. st. dokazuje vodnjak iz Suhadol, verjetno zgrajen bližini ene prvih vil rustik. Na njegovem dnu so ležali



Sl. 3: Suhadole. Štirogeline kopače iz vodnjaka. Prva polovica 1. st. Po: Horvat 2006a, 18.

Fig. 3: Suhadole. Four-pronged hoes from the well. First half of the 1st century. After: Horvat 2006a, 18.

⁸³ Izraz vila rustika uporabljamo kot strokovni termin, ki se je uveljavil v okviru rimske provincialne arheologije. Gre za izolirano in verjetno zaokroženo kmetijsko posest, v jedru katere je zidana glavna bivalna stavba z gospodarskim delom ali z dodatnimi gospodarskimi postopki; Lenz 2001, str. 58–59. Pojem *villa rustica* v antičnih literarnih virih in kot arheološki termin, npr. Gros 2001, str. 264–270; Höcker 2003. Ustrezen slovenski prevod izraza bi bil lahko *samotni dvor*, prim. *samotna kmetija*: Ilešič 1950, str. 85–93.

⁸⁴ Valič, Petru 1964–1965.

⁸⁵ Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004, str. 215–217.

The Roman settlement at Ig probably had its predecessor in the large prehistoric hillfort on Pungrt.⁷⁸ The extent of the settlement is indirectly attested by the locations of the cemeteries with tombstones and burial enclosures,⁷⁹ stray finds⁸⁰ and the route of the Roman road across the Ljubljansko barje, connecting Škofljica with Ig and documented at the eastern edge of the modern village of Ig.⁸¹

The settlement at Krtina was made up of simple wooden buildings; small finds date it from the 2nd to the 4th century.⁸²

Dispersed settlement

The predominant form of habitation in the countryside of Emona, however, must have been a dispersed one, based on villas (Fig. 2).⁸³ Most of our knowledge on these villas consists only of their location. The surface finds and trial trenching results in some cases give a more or less precise chronological information. A systematic archaeological investigation has been conducted of the villa at V ključeh near Rodine.⁸⁴ The few larger-scale excavations, such as those at Mošnje and Polje pri Vodicah, have as yet not been analysed in detail and published. Although very little can be said of the development of the villas in this area, it is possible to identify two main phases: the early one spanning from the 1st to the 3rd century (first half?) and the late one lasting from the (late?) 3rd to the early 5th century.⁸⁵

The earliest evidence of dispersed lowland settlement dates to the first half of the 1st century: it is a well found at Suhadole, which was presumably built in the vicinity of an early villa. Recovered from its bottom were objects, mainly ceramic jugs, bronze buckets and iron mounts for wooden buckets, that came there prior to it being filled in the mid-1st century. Also found were six four-pronged hoes (Fig. 3); it is a tool introduced by colonists from the Apennine Peninsula who used it for tilling and weeding.⁸⁶ The hoes from Suhadole, possibly also the *dolabra* from Loka pri Mengšu,⁸⁷ suggest an increased need for arable land at the beginning of the Roman period.

Individual small finds from the villa at Mošnje date its construction to the first half of the 1st century. The majority of the finds indicates that the main period of occupation spans from the mid-1st to the first half of the 2nd century, when the villa is abandoned.⁸⁸ It had a large enclosed yard (measuring 120 m in length) crossed by a road and the main residential quarters with outhouses arranged around it. The well-constructed main quarters (36.8 x 17.3 m) included a bath complex composed of three rooms with painted walls, hypocaust

⁷⁸ Vuga 1979c; for an outline of the settlement see: http://gis.arso.gov.si/evode/profile.aspx?id=atlas_voda_Lidar@Arso.

⁷⁹ Šašel 1959; Raziskovanja 1979; Pleterski, Vuga 1987; Šašel Kos 1997, pp. 255–286; Šašel Kos 2009; Ložič 2009; Grahek Ragolič 2016 – in this book.

⁸⁰ Pleterski, Vuga 1987, pp. 137–140; FMRSL 1, pp. 148–149, No. 137; Kos 1991.

⁸¹ Pleterski, Vuga 1987, Fig. 1; Gaspari 2014, p. 123, Fig. 128.

⁸² Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004, pp. 214 (Fig. 3), 216.

⁸³ Lenz 2001, pp. 58–59; Gros 2001, pp. 264–270; Höcker 2003.

⁸⁴ Valič, Petru 1964–1965.

⁸⁵ Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004, pp. 215–217.

⁸⁶ Sagadin 2002, pp. 44–45; Božič 2005, 338–342; Horvat 2006.

⁸⁷ Documentation of the ZVKDS.

⁸⁸ Personal examination of the small finds.

predmeti, ki so prišli vanj še pred zasutjem sredi 1. st. Med najdbami prevladujejo keramični vrči, bronasta vedra in železni okovi za lesena vedra. Najdenih je bilo tudi šest štirirogeljnih kopač (sl. 3). Gre za orodje, ki se je s kolonisti širilo z Apenskega polotoka in so ga uporabljali za globoko okopavanje tal ter čiščenje s plevelom preraščenih površin.⁸⁶ Kopače iz Suhadol, kot morda tudi dolabra iz Loke pri Mengšu,⁸⁷ kažejo, da so se na začetku rimske dobe verjetno razširile tudi obdelovalne površine.

Gradnjo vile v Mošnjah lahko na podlagi posameznih drobnih najdb postavimo v prvo polovico 1. st. Glavnina gradiva kaže glavni čas uporabe od sredine 1. do prve polovice 2. st., ko je bila vila opuščena.⁸⁸ Imela je veliko obzidano dvorišče (dolžina 120 m), ki ga je prečila cesta, ob obodni zid pa so bili prislonjeni glavna bivalna stavba in gospodarski objekti. Kakovostno grajena glavna stavba (36,8 x 17,3 m) je imela kopalnico, sestavljeno iz treh prostorov s poslikanim ometom, talnim ogrevanjem in mozaiki. Mlajše drobne najdbe in številni novci na vrhu ruševinskih plasti pričajo o nadaljevanju življenja v neposredni bližini vile v 3. in 4. st.⁸⁹

Vila iz druge polovice 1. in prve polovice 2. st., odkrita v Ključeh pri Rodinah, je imela tri stavbe in obzidano četverokotno dvorišče (sl. 4). V vili najden kos surovega železa kaže na železarsko dejavnost.⁹⁰

Vilo v Spodnjih Praprečah, na vhodu v dolino Črnega grabna, maloštevilne drobne najdbe datirajo v čas od druge polovice 1. do 3. st.⁹¹ Majhno naselje ali vilo rustiko kaže tudi grobišče v Bobovku, kjer so pokopavali v drugi polovici 1. in v 2. st.⁹² Razpršeno poselitev v obliki zaselkov ali vil lahko opazujemo tudi na Ižanskem, v okolini naselbine na Ig.⁹³

V 4. st. je bilo podeželje razmeroma gosto pozidano z vilami. Kdaj so bile zasnovane vile te mlajše skupine, ni jasno, morda že v 3. st. Prav tako ne vemo, kdaj natančno so bile opuščene. Zanje so značilni kakovostna gradnja in v primerjavi s starejšim obdobjem višji bivalni standardi, na primer prostori s talnim ogrevanjem.⁹⁴ V Žabnici se ostanki antične arhitekture raztezajo na razdalji okoli 300 metrov. V osrednjem stavbnem kompleksu, velikem približno 50 x 100 metrov, so bili odkriti tubuli, mozaiki in slikan omet.

⁸⁶ Sagadin 2002, str. 44–45; Božič 2005, str. 338–342; Horvat 2006.

⁸⁷ Dokumentacija ZVKDS.

⁸⁸ Oseben pregled gradiva.

⁸⁹ Lux 2008; Kramar, Lux, Mirtič 2008; Lux, Sagadin 2012; Lavrič 2015.

⁹⁰ Valič, Petru 1964–1965; Sagadin 1995b, str. 15; Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004, str. 216; Mlekuž 2013, str. 123, sl. 6.3. Železo: Meterc 1992. Naključno najdeni novci zajemajo daljše obdobje: FMRS 2, str. 136, št. 110. FMRS 4, str. 150–151, št. 70.

⁹¹ Sagadin 1995b, str. 17–18, t. 3–4; Sagadin 2004, str. 48–49.

⁹² Petru 1958–1959; Petru, Valič 1958–1959.

⁹³ Pleterski, Vuga 1987, str. 137–143, sl. 1.

⁹⁴ Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004, str. 216.

and floor mosaics. The small finds and numerous coins found on top of the debris layers date to the 3rd and 4th centuries and reveal a continuation of habitation in the immediate vicinity.⁸⁹

The villa at V ključeh near Rodine dates to the second half of the 1st and first half of the 2nd century. It had three buildings and an enclosed rectangular yard (Fig. 4). A piece of raw iron suggests ironworking activity at the villa.⁹⁰



Sl. 4: Vila rustika V ključeh pri Rodinah, druga polovica 1. in prva polovica 2. st. Vila stoji na robu savske terase, nad poplavnim območjem, ki je bilo nekoč verjetno zamočvirjeno ali ojezereno (ledinsko ime Blata). Vidi se obzidano dvorišče (približno 67 x 71 x 76 x 62 m) z vsaj tremi stavbami, ki so bile prislonjene na obodni zid. Ves kompleks obdaja zunanji zid, od katerega so razpoznavne tri stranice (68 x 124 x 105 m). Lidarski posnetek, avtor Dimitrij Mlekuž, ZVKDS, Center za preventivno arheologijo.

Fig. 4: Villa rustica at Ključe near Rodine, second half of the 1st and first half of the 2nd century. The villa is located at the edge of a terrace of the Sava river, raised above the flood area that was presumably once either a marsh or a lake (local name of Blata, meaning ‘muds’). The image shows an enclosed yard (67 x 71 x 76 x 62 m) with at least three buildings positioned along the enclosure. The enclosure is visible on three sides (68 x 124 x 105 m). Lidar image by Dimitrij Mlekuž, ZVKDS, Center za preventivno arheologijo.

The villa at Spodnje Prapreče, located at the entrance into the valley of Črni graben, has yielded few finds thus far, which date it from the second half of the 1st to the 3rd century.⁹¹ The cemetery at Bobovek, with burials from the second half of the 1st and the 2nd century, indicates the existence of either a small settlement or a villa.⁹² The existence of hamlets or farmsteads has also been noted in the surroundings of the settlement at Ig.⁹³

In the 4th century, there were fairly numerous villas strewn across the countryside. The beginning of these late-phase villas has not

⁸⁹ Lux 2008; Kramar, Lux, Mirtič 2008; Lux, Sagadin 2012; Lavrič 2015.

⁹⁰ Valič, Petru 1964–1965; Sagadin 1995b, p. 15; Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004, p. 216; Mlekuž 2013, p. 123, Fig. 6.3. For the raw iron see: Meterc 1992. The stray coin finds show a time span that is longer than suggested by the small finds: FMRS 2, p. 136, No. 110; FMRS 4, pp. 150–151, No. 70.

⁹¹ Sagadin 1995b, pp. 17–18, Pls. 3–4; Sagadin 2004, pp. 48–49.

⁹² Petru 1958–1959; Petru, Valič 1958–1959.

⁹³ Pleterski, Vuga 1987, pp. 137–143, Fig. 1.

Novci kažejo na sredino 4. st., v bližini najden del nagrobnega spomenika pa je verjetno iz druge polovice 2. st.⁹⁵ Okoli 1,5 kilometra od Žabnice je pri sv. Miklavžu v Spodnjih Bitnjah stala približno sočasnata vila.⁹⁶ V 3. do 4. st. z mogočimi zgodnejšimi začetki sodijo tudi vile v Čirčah,⁹⁷ Žejah pri Komendi,⁹⁸ Polju pri Vodicah⁹⁹ in Šentpavlu.¹⁰⁰ Na konec 4. in v začetek 5. st. lahko postavimo z mozaiki okrašene stavbe, odkrite v Lescah, na Rosovih grobljih v Šmartnem v Tuhinju in v Križevski vasi pri Moravčah (sl. 7).¹⁰¹ Mozaiki so podobni tistim iz zgodnjekrščanskih cerkva v Emoni, tako da gre verjetno za ostanke podeželskih cerkvenih zgradb, ki so bile v Lescah in Šmartnem v Tuhinju morda postavljene v okviru vil.¹⁰²

Razširjenost vil priča, da so bili konec 1. in v 2. st. posejeni že vsi ravninski predeli.¹⁰³ Trenutno stanje raziskav, pri čemer upoštevamo naselbinske točke iz celotnega antičnega obdobja, nakazuje več razmeroma gostih območij poselitve na Savski ravni: med Mengšem in Šmartnim pri Cerkljah (sl. 5), vzdolž Kokre (med Šenčurjem in Naklim) in na zahodnem delu Sorškega polja, med Tržiško Bistrico in Zgošo ter v Deželi.¹⁰⁴ Na širšem območju Komende je opazna zgostitev naselbinskih točk, ki sodijo v 3. do 4. st.¹⁰⁵ Po zgoščenosti najdišč sodeč sta tudi Srednja vas pri Šenčurju¹⁰⁶ in Žirovnica močnejši poznorimski poselitveni območji.¹⁰⁷

Bernarda Županek je raziskovala vpliv mesta (Emona) na razporeditev naselbin v okolici. Ugotovila je rednost naselbinskih točk do šestega kilometra okoli Emone in domnevala prvo zgostitev naselbin med 12. in 15. kilometrom ter drugo med 24. in 27. kilometrom. V pasu predvidene prve zgostitve ležita lokalni središči Mengše in Ig,¹⁰⁸ vendar prostor ni dovolj raziskan, da bi lahko domnevo Županekove potrdili.

Gospodarstvo

Gospodarsko osnovo razpršene in razmeroma goste poselitve, ki jo opažamo na bolje raziskanih manjših ob-

been confirmed, but may date to the 3rd century. Also unknown is the exact date of their abandonment. The villas in question were well-built and provided more comfortable living in comparison with the earlier villas as they included rooms with underfloor heating.⁹⁴ The architectural remains at Žabnica spread across 300 m. The main building complex, measuring roughly 50 by 100 m, revealed tubuli, mosaics and painted plaster, but also coin finds that date it to the mid-4th century.⁹⁵ Built into the nearby church is a block of funerary architecture, which probably dates to the second half of the 2nd century. A contemporary villa stood some 1.5 km north of Žabnica at the church of sv. Miklavž (St Nicholas) in Spodnje Bitnje.⁹⁶ Also dating to the 3rd and 4th centuries, with possible earlier beginning, are the villas at Čirče,⁹⁷ Žeje pri Komendi,⁹⁸ Polje pri Vodicah⁹⁹ and Šentpavel.¹⁰⁰ The buildings decorated with mosaics that have been unearthed at Lesce, Rosove groblje in Šmartno v Tuhinju and in Križevska vas near Moravče (Fig. 7) date to the late 4th and early 5th centuries.¹⁰¹ Their mosaics are comparable with those uncovered in the Early Christian churches in Emona, suggesting that they represent the remains of church buildings in the countryside, which may have formed part of a villa in the case of Lesce and Šmartno v Tuhinju.¹⁰²

The distribution of the villas reveals that in the late 1st and in the 2nd century almost all of the lowland was settled.¹⁰³ The current state of research indicates several areas of relatively dense habitation on the Savska ravan: between Mengše and Šmartno near Cerkle (Fig. 5), along the River Kokra (between Šenčur and Naklo), in the western part of Sorško polje, between the River Tržiška Bistrica and Zgoša, as well as in Dežela.¹⁰⁴ The wider area of Komenda shows a concentration of settlement sites from the 3rd and 4th centuries.¹⁰⁵ Srednja vas pri Šenčurju¹⁰⁶ and Žirovnica also appear to bear concentrated remains of Late Roman habitation.¹⁰⁷

Bernarda Županek studied the influence of the city (Emona) on the distribution of the settlements in its surroundings. She observed a scarcity of settlement sites in the distance of up to 6 km from Emona and presumed the first concentrations in the distance between 12 and 15 km, and the second concentration in the distance between 24 and 27 km. The local centres at Mengše

95 Šubic, Sagadin 1983; Sagadin 1995b, str. 19; Nanut, Vršnik 2016. Odprto ostaja tudi vprašanje, ali gre za veliko vilu, več poselitvenih faz ali za strnjeno naselje.

96 Sagadin 1990, str. 375–379, t. 1–2; Sagadin 1995b, str. 19. Najdišče je morda povezano z Žabnico v enotno večje naselje.

97 Sagadin 1995b, str. 18–19.

98 Sagadin 1995b, str. 18, t. 4: 4–8; Sagadin 2002, str. 43.

99 T. Žerjal, osebno.

100 Josipovič, Sagadin 2001; Jerončič, Novšak 2006.

101 Božič 1995, str. 44–49. Križevska vas: Gabrovec 1954, str. 132–142.

102 Božič 1995, str. 44–49; Plesničar-Gec 1983; Djurić 2005; Djurić 2012.

103 Sagadin 1995b, str. 20.

104 Sagadin 2008, str. 173–176, karta 7.

105 Sagadin 2002, str. 43–45.

106 Sagadin 2006a, str. 23–25.

107 Sagadin 2000, str. 150–152.

108 Županek 2001, str. 71–73; Županek 2002a, str. 47–48; Županek 2003, str. 212.

94 Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004, p. 216.

95 Šubic, Sagadin 1983; Sagadin 1995b, p. 19; Nanut, Vršnik 2016. It is not clear whether these are the remains of a large villa, of several habitation phases of a villa or of a secondary settlement.

96 Sagadin 1990, pp. 375–379, Pls. 1–2; Sagadin 1995b, p. 19. The site may be connected with that at Žabnica forming a single large settlement.

97 Sagadin 1995b, pp. 18–19.

98 Sagadin 1995b, p. 18, Pl. 4: 4–8; Sagadin 2002, p. 43.

99 T. Žerjal, pers. comm.

100 Josipovič, Sagadin 2001; Jerončič, Novšak 2006.

101 Božič 1995, pp. 44–49. For Križevska vas see: Gabrovec 1954, pp. 132–142.

102 Božič 1995, pp. 44–49; Plesničar-Gec 1983; Djurić 2005; Djurić 2012.

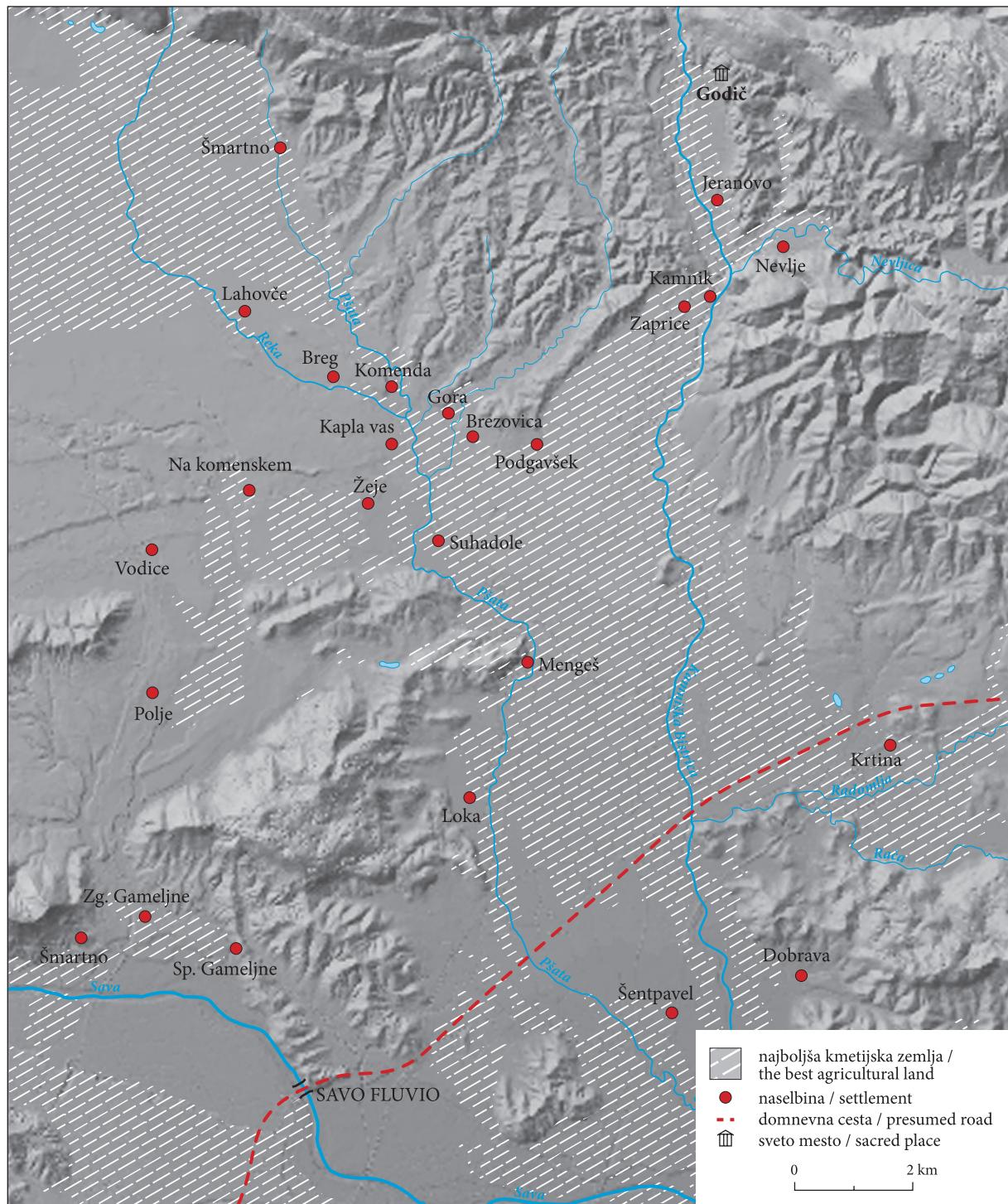
103 Sagadin 1995b, p. 20.

104 Sagadin 2008, pp. 173–176, Map 7.

105 Sagadin 2002, pp. 43–45.

106 Sagadin 2006a, pp. 23–25.

107 Sagadin 2000, pp. 150–152.



Sl. 5: Antična najdišča ob Kamniški Bistrici in Pšati. Območja najboljše kmetijske zemlje po Sagadin 2008, karta 7 (pripravila M. Erič in V. Celin po Digitalni pedološki karti Slovenije, Ministrstvo za kmetijstvo gozdarstvo in prehrano R Slovениje, 2000).

Fig. 5: Roman-period sites along the Kamniška Bistrica and Pšata rivers. Areas of prime agricultural land after Sagadin 2008, Map 7 (prepared by M. Erič and V. Celin on the basis of the Digitalna pedološka karta Slovenije, Ministrstvo za kmetijstvo gozdarstvo in prehrano R Slovencije, 2000).

močjih, najverjetneje pomeni poljedelstvo na kakovostnih zemljiščih v ravnini.¹⁰⁹ Antična najdišča v visokogorju Gorenjske s svojo enakomerno razširjenostjo in tam najdenimi živinskimi zvонci nakazujejo sezonsko pašo v gorah (sl. 2).¹¹⁰

V severnem predmestju Emone so stali lončarski obrati. Edina na tem predelu arheološko raziskana lončarska peč je bila po opustitvi zapolnjena z lokalnimi keramičnimi izdelki, ki so datirani v drugo polovico 1. in v prvo polovico 2. st.¹¹¹ S proizvodi emonskih delavnic so se oskrbovali na emonskem podeželju, na primer v vili v Mošnjah,¹¹² le posamič pa so segli prek meja agra, denimo do svetišča Savusa in Adsalute v Savi pri Hrastniku.¹¹³

O lončarskih in opekarskih obratih zunaj Emone so znane samo lokacije (sl. 6). Velik opekarski obrat (200 x 140 m) je stal na Brezovici pri Ljubljani,¹¹⁴ sledovi še enega so bili odkriti na Dobrovi pri Ljubljani.¹¹⁵ Na Dobravi pri Ihanu je morala tudi biti velika lončarska delavnica ali opekarna, ki pa je bila zaradi kopanja ilovice v 20. st. večidel uničena.¹¹⁶

Po napisu, ki omenja *collegia dendrophorum in centonariorum*, sklepamo, da so se na območju Ig ukvarjali z lesarstvom, na izdelavo kovinskih predmetov pa kaže orodje, upodobljeno na nagrobnikih.¹¹⁷

Skromni sledovi železarstva so bili odkriti v Mengšu, Šmartnem pri Cerkljah, Zasipu in na Rodinah.¹¹⁸ Raziskovalci so zaradi močnega železarstva v srednjem in novem veku domnevali, da je bilo to na istem območju dobro razvito tudi v antiki,¹¹⁹ vendar za zdaj še nimamo zanesljivih arheoloških dokazov za kopanje oziroma nabiranje železove rude in primarno taljenje železa.

Kamnolomi kremenastega peščenjaka, iz katerega so zgradili Emono, so ležali na pobočjih Grajskega griča (sl. 6).¹²⁰ Pomembnejši arhitekturni členi v Emoni so bili izdelani iz lokalnih apnencev. Tako je bil v rabi gliniški apnenec z nahajališč med Podutikom in Kamno Gorico.¹²¹ Podpeški kamen so uporabljali za spomenike z napisimi in zidove v Emoni od 2. st. naprej.¹²² Tri kamnoseške delavnice, ki so uporabljale

¹⁰⁹ Sagadin 2008, str. 161–176, karta 7.

¹¹⁰ Cevc 1997; Cevc 2006a; Horvat 2002; Horvat 2006b; Horvat 2010b.

¹¹¹ Istenič, Plesničar-Gec 2001; Istenič, Daszkiewicz, Schneider 2003; Istenič 2011.

¹¹² J. Horvat, v pripravi.

¹¹³ Prim. Krajšek, Stergar 2008.

¹¹⁴ Müllner 1894; Rutar 1899, str. 35; Šašel 1975b. 0 žigih na opekah iz Emone: Šašel 1968, str. 558–559; Gaspari 2014, str. 177.

¹¹⁵ Železnikar 2009, str. 287–288.

¹¹⁶ Stražar 1974, str. 33–35; Gabroveč 1975.

¹¹⁷ Šašel 1959, str. 122, sl. 5; Šašel Kos 1997, str. 255–256, 261–264; Šašel Kos 1999b, str. 235.

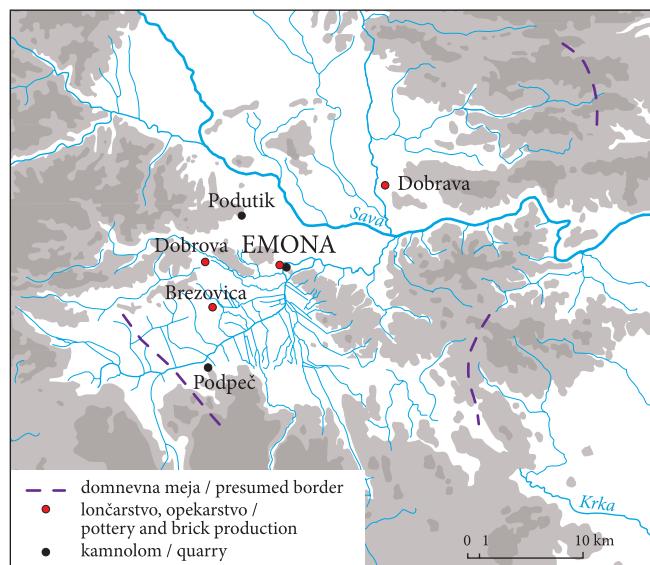
¹¹⁸ Glej zgoraj.

¹¹⁹ Šašel 1960, str. 218–220; Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004, str. 209–211.

¹²⁰ Ramovš 1990, str. 15; Gaspari 2010, str. 133–134.

¹²¹ Ramovš 1990, str. 15–20.

¹²² Šašel Kos 1997, str. 18–19, sl. 3; Gaspari 2014, str. 176.



Sl. 6: Kamnolomi in lončarske oz. opekarske delavnice na južnem delu emonskega ozemlja.

Fig. 6: Quarries, pottery workshops and brickworks in the southern part of Emona's territory.

and Ig lie in the belt of the first concentrations,¹⁰⁸ but the areas are not investigated well enough to enable us to either confirm or refute Županek's supposition.

Economy

The economy of this dispersed, but relatively densely distributed settlement was probably based on arable farming on the fertile land in the plains.¹⁰⁹ In addition, the evenly distributed Roman-period sites in the alpine areas of the region of Gorenjska that yielded animal bells indicate seasonal mountain pasture (Fig. 2).¹¹⁰

The northern suburbs of Emona yielded pottery workshops. One of them has been investigated, more precisely its pottery kiln, which came to be filled, after production had ceased, with local ceramic products from the second half of the 1st and first half of the 2nd centuries.¹¹¹ The products of the workshops at Emona were used in the countryside, for example at the villa in Mošnje,¹¹² but only individual products reached beyond the boundaries of the Emona territory, for example to the sanctuary of Savus and Adsalluta at Sava near Hrastnik.¹¹³

For the pottery workshops and brickworks outside Emona, only their location is known and not their products (Fig. 6). A large brickworks (200 x 140 m) was located at Brezovica near Ljubljana,¹¹⁴ while traces

¹⁰⁸ Županek 2001, pp. 71–73; Županek 2002a, pp. 47–48; Županek 2003, pp. 212.

¹⁰⁹ Sagadin 2008, pp. 161–176, Map 7.

¹¹⁰ Cevc 1997; Cevc 2006a; Horvat 2002; Horvat 2006b; Horvat 2010b.

¹¹¹ Istenič, Plesničar-Gec 2001; Istenič, Daszkiewicz, Schneider 2003; Istenič 2011.

¹¹² J. Horvat, in preparation.

¹¹³ Cf. Krajšek, Stergar 2008.

¹¹⁴ Müllner 1894; Rutar 1899, p. 35; Šašel 1975b. For the stamps on the bricks from Emona see: Šašel 1968, pp. 558–559; Gaspari 2014, p. 177.

podpeški kamen, so bile verjetno na Ig, v Strahomerju in Iški vasi. Najstarejši ižanski nagrobnik je iz prve polovice 1. st., večina pa sodi v čas od sredine 2. do sredine 3. st.¹²³ Tuf, verjetno iz lokalnih kamnolomov, so uporabili kot gradbeni in dekorativni kamen pri gradnji vil in Mošnjah¹²⁴ in pri Rodinah¹²⁵ ter za nagrobnik, vzidan v cerkev v Lescah.¹²⁶

Prebivalstvo

V Emoni so v času ustanovitve prevladali doseljenici z Apeninskega polotoka, kar se dobro vidi v epigrafskih spomenikih.¹²⁷ Imena na nagrobnikih severno od Emone (Savska ravan) kažejo tako priseljene Rimljane kot keltski substrat.¹²⁸ Na območju osrednje in vzhodne Slovenije se je v predrimskem obdobju širila mokronoška skupina, katere glavni nosilci so bili keltski Tavriski.¹²⁹

Imena na nagrobnikih iz Iga in iz Grosupeljske kotline so povezana s predrimsko etnično skupino, ki je bila blizu Venetom.¹³⁰ Posebnost staroselcev ižanskega konca je postavljanje številnih kamnitih nagrobnikov, kar morda kaže na to, da so se številni med njimi ukvarjali s kamno-seštvom.¹³¹ Drugod na podeželju so ostanki nagrobnikov in grobnič redki. Ostanki monumentalnih grobnič so bili odkriti v Blagovici,¹³² nagrobniki v Mengšu,¹³³ posamezni nagrobniki pa se verjetno vežejo na razpršeno poselitev.¹³⁴

V Emoni je bilo odkritih nekaj grobov z orožjem iz srednje- in poznoavgustejskega časa. Pridajanje orožja je predirmska tradicija, ki kaže, da gre verjetno za pokope pripadnikov rimskih pomožnih enot, po izvoru Keltov s širšega območja jugovzhodnih Alp.¹³⁵ Grobovi z orožjem so na emonskem podeželju izredno redki in jih srečamo samo v Polhovem Gradcu (prva polovica 1. st.)¹³⁶ in Bobovku (flavijsko obdobje).¹³⁷ V teh dveh primerih gre morda za pokope veteranov iz pomožnih enot, ki so se vrnili v domače okolje in se ustalili v novih nižinskih naselbinah.¹³⁸

¹²³ Ložič 2009; Šašel Kos 1997, str. 254–286.

¹²⁴ Lux 2008; Kramar, Lux, Mirtič 2008, str. 171–172, 179; Lux, Sagadin 2012, str. 314.

¹²⁵ Valič, Petru 1964–1965, str. 323.

¹²⁶ AJ 218.

¹²⁷ Šašel 1968, str. 565–566.

¹²⁸ Šašel 1960, str. 218; Šašel Kos 1997, str. 288; Zupančič 2003, str. 8.

¹²⁹ Gabrovec 1966b, str. 195–197; Božič 1987; Božič 1999, str.

¹³⁰ 192–201.

¹³¹ Šašel Kos 1997, str. 255; Repanšek 2016.

¹³² Šašel 1959; Šašel Kos 1997, str. 255; Šašel Kos 2008, str. 697.

¹³³ Sagadin 2004.

¹³⁴ Sagadin 1999.

¹³⁵ Npr. Šašel 1960, str. 18; Sagadin 1995b, str. 19; Šašel Kos 1997, str. 287–306; Zupančič 2003, str. 8; Ložič 2009.

¹³⁶ Gaspari 2014, str. 124–126; Gaspari et al. 2015.

¹³⁷ Ložar 1938; Božič 2005, str. 294–295; Mrav 2005; Istenič 2013, str. 26.

¹³⁸ Petru, Valič 1958–1959; Istenič 2013, str. 26.

¹³⁹ Horvat 2009, str. 373–374; Istenič 2013, str. 26–27; Gaspari et al. 2015, str. 160–161.

of another one were found at Dobrova near Ljubljana.¹¹⁵ The pottery workshop or brickworks at Dobrova near Ljubljana must have been quite extensive, but loam extraction in the 20th century destroyed most of it.¹¹⁶

The inscription mentioning *collegia dendrophorum* and *cetonariorum* shows that woodworking activities took place in the Ig area, while depictions on funerary reliefs also attest to the production of metal tools and implements.¹¹⁷

Traces of ironworking have been unearthed at Mengše, Šmartno near Cerkle, Zasip and Rodine.¹¹⁸ Based on the importance of ironworking activities in the medieval and the modern periods, scholars have supposed that ironworking must have been well developed in Roman times as well,¹¹⁹ though no reliable archaeological evidence of extraction or collection of iron ore and primary iron smelting has as yet come to light.

The quartz sandstone used to build the walls of the colony of Emona was quarried on the slopes of the nearby Grajski grič (Fig. 6).¹²⁰ Architectural members were made of locally available limestones. One of those was Podutik limestone quarried between Podutik and Kamna Gorica.¹²¹ Podpeč limestone was used for monuments with inscriptions and the walls of Emona from the 2nd century onwards.¹²² Three stonemason's workshops using Podpeč limestone were presumably active at Ig, Strahomer and Iška vas. The earliest tombstone from Ig dates to the first half of the 1st century, though most span from the mid-2nd to the mid-3rd century.¹²³ The tuff, probably also quarried locally, was used as building material and as decorative stone in the construction of the villas at Mošnje¹²⁴ and Rodine,¹²⁵ but also for the tombstone built into the church in Lesce.¹²⁶

Population

For the time of the foundation of the colony, the epigraphic monuments show that the inhabitants of Emona mainly came here from the Apennine Peninsula.¹²⁷ In the pre-Roman period, central and eastern Slovenia lay within the area of the Mokronog group, dominated by the Celtic tribe of Taurisci.¹²⁸ Thus, the names on the tombstones found north of Emona (in the Savska ravan) reveal both Roman immigrants and a population of Celtic origin.¹²⁹

¹¹⁵ Železnikar 2009, pp. 287–288.

¹¹⁶ Stražar 1974, pp. 33–35; Gabrovec 1975.

¹¹⁷ Šašel 1959, p. 122, Fig. 5; Šašel Kos 1997, pp. 255–256, 261–264; Šašel Kos 1999b, p. 235.

¹¹⁸ See above.

¹¹⁹ Šašel 1960, pp. 218–220; Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004, pp. 209–211.

¹²⁰ Ramovš 1990, p. 15; Gaspari 2010, pp. 133–134.

¹²¹ Ramovš 1990, pp. 15–20.

¹²² Šašel Kos 1997, pp. 18–19, Fig. 3; Gaspari 2014, p. 176.

¹²³ Ložič 2009; Šašel Kos 1997, pp. 254–286.

¹²⁴ Lux 2008; Kramar, Lux, Mirtič 2008, pp. 171–172, 179; Lux, Sagadin 2012, p. 314.

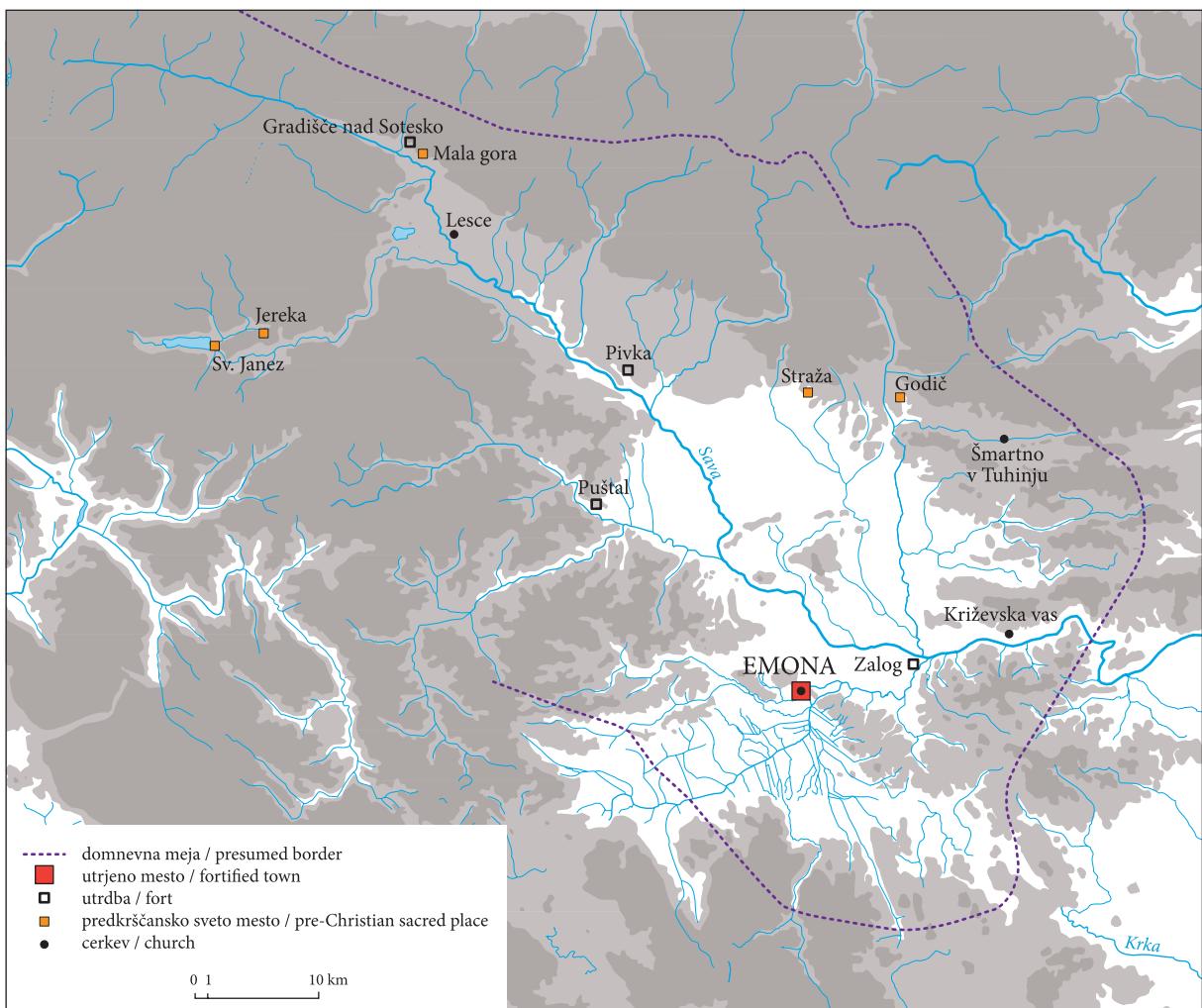
¹²⁵ Valič, Petru 1964–1965, p. 323.

¹²⁶ AJ 218.

¹²⁷ Šašel 1968, pp. 565–566.

¹²⁸ Gabrovec 1966b, pp. 195–197; Božič 1987; Božič 1999, pp. 192–201.

¹²⁹ Šašel 1960, p. 218; Šašel Kos 1997, p. 288; Zupančič 2003, p. 8.



Sl. 7: Izbrane točke iz poznorimskega obdobja na emonskem ozemlju.
Fig. 7: Select Late Roman sites in the territory of Emona.

Sveta mesta

Kot tudi drugod po imperiju so sveta mesta ležala pogosto na značilnih točkah v pokrajini, kot so vodni izviri, brzice, jame in prelazi (sl. 7).¹³⁹

Čaščenje božanstev, med katerimi so verjetno še dolgo prevladovala stara predrimска, se je na emonskem podeželju le redko izrazilo v postavljanju posvetilnih napisov.¹⁴⁰ Ob brzicah Ljubljанице pri Fužinah je bil najden oltar, posvečen drugače neznanemu bogu Laburusu.¹⁴¹ V Podkornu je bilo postavljeno posvetilo Saverkni, ki je morda predstavljala božanstvo izvirov Save Dolinke.¹⁴²

Pri Sv. Janezu v Bohinju, ob izteku Jezernice, je bila izkopana preprosta lesena stavba z močno žganinsko plastjo, v kateri je bilo 155 novcev in sedem fibul. Fibule

The names carved into the tombstone in the Ig area and the Grosuplje basin reveal a pre-Roman ethnic group close to the Veneti.¹³⁰ The local population of the Ig area set up numerous tombstones, which may suggest that many of them were stonemasons.¹³¹ Elsewhere in the Emona countryside, remains of tombstones and funerary architecture in general are rare. Remains of funerary architecture have been found at Blagovica,¹³² and several tombstones at Menges,¹³³ while the individual finds of tombstones elsewhere are probably connected with the dispersed habitations.¹³⁴

The cemeteries of Emona yielded several graves with weapons from the Middle and Late Augustan periods. Placing weapons in graves is a pre-Roman tradition, revealing the deceased as members

139 Šašel Kos 1999a; Šašel Kos 2000.

140 Šašel Kos 1997, str. 255; Šašel Kos 2008, str. 696–698.

141 Šašel Kos 1999a, str. 24; Šašel Kos 2008, str. 691.

142 Lovenjak 2007; Lovenjak 2012.

130 Šašel Kos 1997, p. 255; Repanšek 2016.

131 Šašel 1959; Šašel Kos 1997, p. 255; Šašel Kos 2008, p. 697.

132 Sagadin 2004.

133 Sagadin 1999.

134 E.g.: Šašel 1960, p. 18; Sagadin 1995b, p. 19; Šašel Kos 1997, pp. 287–306; Zupančič 2003, p. 8; Ložič 2009.

segajo od pozolatenskega do srednjecesarskega obdobja, novcev je največ iz 2. in iz 4. st. Sestava najdb, ki se razlikuje od sočasnih naselbinskih sklopov, nakazuje, da je tu stalo svetišče.¹⁴³

Odkriti sta bili dve jamski svetišči.¹⁴⁴ V skalnem spodmolu Pod griču pri Godiču, na izviru potoka Ribnik, je bil raziskan 8 metrov dolg zidan hodnik ter najdeni številni novci, fina keramika, oljenke, srebrne palmete in živalske kosti. Med 210 novci jih velika večina sodi v 4. st. Najmlajša sta dva Honorijeva novca, kovana v letih 408–423.¹⁴⁵ Podobno svetišče je moralo biti tudi v jami Mala gora nad Mostami, kjer slikan omet nakazuje opremo svetišča, votivne darove in ostanke ritualov pa predstavljajo novci, lončenina, oljenke in srebrne palmete. Med 448 novci prevladujejo tisti iz 4. st., najmlajša dva pa sta bila kovana v letih 408–423.¹⁴⁶

Na Jereki v Bohinju in na Straži nad Šmartnim so bili najdeni miniaturni lemeži in črtala, katerih pomen je bil verjetno votiven.¹⁴⁷ Zdi se, da sta ti dve stari višinski naselbini, sicer opuščeni na začetku rimske dobe, morda obdržali ali pozneje pridobili posebno vlogo v čaščenju božanstev.¹⁴⁸

Neznanemu božanstvu sta bili najverjetneje darovani zlati fibuli z odročnega prelaza Volovljek v Kamniško-Savinjskih Alpah.¹⁴⁹ Tudi srebrno fibulo s Pečic na Veliki Planini, položeno pod velik kamen, lahko razlagamo kot posamični votivni dar.¹⁵⁰

Mozaiki iz Lesc, Šmartna v Tuhinju in Križevske vasi so prva sled krščanstva na podeželju konec 4. in na začetku 5. st.¹⁵¹

Spremembe v poznorimski dobi

Ravnine so bile v 4. st. še dobro poseljene,¹⁵² manjka pa natančnih arheoloških virov o koncu nižinske poselitve. Zadnjo fazo verjetno predstavljajo stavbe z zgodnjekrščanskimi mozaiki iz Lesc in Šmartna v Tuhinju. Njim sočasni so verjetno ostanki zgodnjekrščanskega mozaika iz Križevske vasi, ki pa leži že v hribovitem svetu nad Savo

of Roman auxiliary units, Celtic in origin, probably enlisted from the south-eastern Alpine region.¹³⁵ In the countryside of Emona, graves with weapons are extremely rare and have thus far only been documented at Polhov Gradec (first half of the 1st century)¹³⁶ and Bobovek (Flavian period).¹³⁷ These may represent the burials of veterans serving in the auxiliary units, who returned to their home territory after retiring and settled in the newly formed lowland settlements.¹³⁸

Places of worship

As elsewhere across the Empire, sacred sites were often located on prominent spots in the landscape such as water springs, rapids, caves and mountain passes (Fig. 7).¹³⁹

The worships of divinities in the countryside of Emona, which predominantly included those of pre-Roman origin probably long into the Roman period, only rarely involved setting up votive inscriptions.¹⁴⁰ One of these is an altar dedicated to the otherwise unknown god Laburus, which was found at the rapids on the Ljubljanica at Fužine.¹⁴¹ Another example is the dedication to Saverarna, who may have been the divinity of the springs of the Sava Dolinka, which was put up at Podkoren.¹⁴²

A simple wooden building with a thick layer of burnt remains has been excavated at the church of sv. Janez (St John) in Bohinj, at the outflow of the River Jezernica, which revealed 155 coins and seven brooches. The brooches date from the Late La Tène to the Middle Imperial period, while most coins date to the 2nd and the 4th century. The composition of the finds, which differs markedly from contemporary habitation sites, suggests the existence of a sanctuary.¹⁴³

There are also two sacred cave sites known in the countryside of Emona.¹⁴⁴ The rock shelter of Pod grič near Godič, at the spring of the Ribnik stream, revealed an eight-metre long path leading to it, as well as numerous coins, ceramic tableware, oil lamps, silver leaf plaques and animal bones. Most of the 210 recovered coins date to the 4th century, with the latest two coins, of Honorius, minted in 408–423 AD.¹⁴⁵ A similar sanctuary must have existed in the cave of Mala gora above Moste, where painted plaster indicates a decorated sanctuary interior, while the recovered coins, pottery, oil lamps and silver leaf plaques represent votive offerings and remains of rituals. Most of the 448 coin finds again date to the 4th century, with the latest two minted in 408–423 AD.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Josipovič, Gaspari, Miškēc 2012.

¹⁴⁴ Šašel Kos 2000, str. 31–33.

¹⁴⁵ Knific 1997a; FMRL 3, str. 137–147, št. 82; FMRL 4, str. 162–167, št. 83; FMRL 5, str. 123, št. 59.

¹⁴⁶ Tudi imenovana Jama pod Žičico. Knific 1997b; Sagadin 2000, str. 149–150; FMRL 4, str. 147–150, št. 69; FMRL 5, str. 88–115, št. 49.

¹⁴⁷ Gabrovec 1966a, str. 248–249, 261, t. 1: 1–12, 14–16; Horvat 2015a, str. 181, t. 3: 8.

¹⁴⁸ Pregledno o svetiščih na višinah: Šašel Kos 1999a, str. 25–31; Šašel Kos 2000, str. 36–38.

¹⁴⁹ Horvat 2002, str. 124; Horvat 2006b, str. 29–30. Sveta mesta na prelazih: Šašel Kos 1999a, str. 20–22; Šašel Kos 2000, str. 30–31.

¹⁵⁰ Horvat 2002, str. 124–125; Horvat 2006b, str. 29–30; Cevc 2006b.

¹⁵¹ Glej zgoraj, op. 101–102.

¹⁵² Glej zgoraj.

¹³⁵ Gaspari 2014, pp. 124–126; Gaspari et al. 2015.

¹³⁶ Ložar 1938; Božič 2005, pp. 294–295; Mrav 2005; Istenič 2013, p. 26.

¹³⁷ Petru, Valič 1958–1959; Istenič 2013, p. 26.

¹³⁸ Horvat 2009, pp. 373–374; Istenič 2013, pp. 26–27; Gaspari et al. 2015, pp. 160–181.

¹³⁹ Šašel Kos 1999a; Šašel Kos 2000.

¹⁴⁰ Šašel Kos 1997, p. 255; Šašel Kos 2008, pp. 696–698.

¹⁴¹ Šašel Kos 1999a, p. 24; Šašel Kos 2008, p. 691.

¹⁴² Lovenjak 2007; Lovenjak 2012.

¹⁴³ Josipovič, Gaspari, Miškēc 2012.

¹⁴⁴ Šašel Kos 2000, pp. 31–33.

¹⁴⁵ Knific 1997a; FMRL 3, pp. 137–147, No. 82; FMRL 4, pp. 162–167, No. 83; FMRL 5, p. 123, No. 59.

¹⁴⁶ Also named Jama below Žičica. Knific 1997b; Sagadin 2000, pp. 149–150; FMRL 4, pp. 147–150, No. 69; FMRL 5, pp. 88–115, No. 49.

(sl. 7).¹⁵³ Emona je bila postopno opuščena v drugi tretjini 5. st., najpozneje takrat so bile opuščene tudi zadnje nižinske naselbine.¹⁵⁴

V drugi polovici 4. st. so nastale prve stalne višinske naselbine, skrite v hriboviti pokrajini, ki obroblja Savsko ravan.¹⁵⁵

Majhne utrdbe so v drugi polovici 4. st. varovale ključne prometne točke v Ljubljanski kotlini (sl. 7). Na Gradišču v Zalogu, na sotočju Save in Ljubljanice, je stala trdnjava v obliki nepravilnega štirikotnika. Velika je bila približno 135 x 60 metrov, zidovi pa so bili debeli 2,8 metra. V trdnjavi so bili najdeni novci iz druge polovice 4. st.¹⁵⁶ Na Gradišču nad Pivko pri Naklem je bil odkrit stolp, velik 10 x 10 metrov, ki ga drobne najdbe okvirno datirajo v poznoantično obdobje. Zaradi lege na nizkem griču tik nad potjo, ki vodi čez Gorenjsko, Ciglenečki dopušča možnost datacije že v poznorimsko obdobje.¹⁵⁷ Na Gradišču nad Sotesko je nad zoženim delom Savske doline in na vrhu zelo strmega hriba stala poligonalna utrdba, ki jo površinske keramične najdbe umeščajo v poznorimsko oziroma širše v poznoantično dobo.¹⁵⁸ Utrdba Puštal nad Trnjem pri Škofji Loki, ki je nadzorovala prehod proti zahodu po dolini Selške Sore, je bila aktivna že na prehodu iz 4. v 5. st.¹⁵⁹

Poselitvena slika se je popolnoma spremenila v drugi polovici 5. st. Težišče poselitve se je skoraj v celoti premaknilo na višinske naselbine, ki so bile na novo utrjene in pozidane. Številne se nizajo nad obrobjem Savske ravni.¹⁶⁰ Primitivna poznoantična bivališča (polzemljanke) v Mengšu in Žirovnici¹⁶¹ predstavljajo verjetno le skromne nižinske zaselke in v njih ne moremo videti kontinuiranega nadaljevanja življenja rimskih naselbin.¹⁶²

V poznoantičnem času je bil Kranj (*Carnium*) najpomembnejše in največje središče na območju Ljubljanske kotline. Naravno dobro zavarovani skalnati pomol nad

Miniature ploughshares and coulters have been unearthed at Jereka in Bohinj and at Straža above Šmartno; their size suggests a probable votive character.¹⁴⁷ It seems that these two settlements, located on hilltops, were abandoned at the beginning of the Roman period but either retained or later gained the status of a sacred site.¹⁴⁸

The two gold brooches found at the remote mountain pass of Volovjek in the Kamniško-Savinjske Alpe were probably offered to an unknown divinity.¹⁴⁹ The silver brooch placed under a large stone at Pečice on Velika Planina, may also be interpreted as an individual votive offering.¹⁵⁰

The mosaics from Lesce, Šmartno v Tuhinju and Križevska vas represent the first traces of Christianity in the countryside of Emona, dating to the late 4th and the early 5th century.¹⁵¹

Changes in the Late Roman period

In the 4th century, the lowland appears to have been inhabited as densely as previously.¹⁵² There is very little reliable evidence as to the end of lowland settlement. The last phase can probably be seen in the buildings with Early Christian mosaics at Lesce and Šmartno v Tuhinju. The remains of an Early Christian mosaic from Križevska vas are probably contemporary, but the site is located in the hills above the River Sava (Fig. 7).¹⁵³ Emona was gradually abandoned during the second third of the 5th century, the period when the last of the lowland settlements were presumably abandoned.¹⁵⁴

The first permanently inhabited hilltop settlements appeared in the second half of the 4th century, hidden away in the hills surrounding the Savska ravan.¹⁵⁵

Also in the second half of the 4th century, small forts were built to protect the key communication points in the Ljubljana basin (Fig. 7). The fort at Gradišče in Zalog, located at the confluence of the Sava and the Ljubljanica, was subrectangular in plan, measured roughly 135 x 60 m and was enclosed within 2.8 m thick walls. The coin finds recovered from the fort date to the second half of the 4th century.¹⁵⁶ The tower at Gradišče above Pivka near Naklo measures 10 x 10 m in plan and has been dated, with the help of small finds, to Late Antiquity; because of its location on a low elevation just above the road leading across Gorenjska, however, Ciglenečki allows for its

153 Glej zgoraj.

154 Ciglenečki 1999, str. 291, 305; Ciglenečki 2008, str. 485–486; Ciglenečki 2012, str. 463–466.

155 Ciglenečki 2008, str. 487–489. Npr. Gora nad Polhovim Gradcem: Božič 2005; Slabe 2009; Grdavov hrib: Sagadin 2015b.

156 Mikl Curk 1986; FMRSI 3, str. 223–224, št. 89; Ciglenečki 2015, str. 408.

157 Valič 1968; Sagadin 2008, str. 168–169; Ciglenečki 1987, 81; Ciglenečki 2011, str. 265–267; Ciglenečki 2015, str. 410.

158 Ciglenečki 1987, str. 87; Ciglenečki 2011, str. 265–266; Ciglenečki 2015, str. 410; Sagadin 2000, str. 152.

159 FMRSI 3, 1995, str. 130–131, št. 71; FMRSI 4, 1998, str. 153–155, št. 76; FMRSI 5, 2004, str. 117–118, št. 53; Štukl 2004; Ciglenečki 2011, str. 268–269; Ciglenečki 2015, str. 419.

160 Ciglenečki 1987; Ciglenečki 1999, str. 292–294, 306; Ciglenečki 2008, str. 489–490; Ciglenečki 2012, str. 468–469; Sagadin 2008, str. 176–178, karta 8.

161 Sagadin 1989; Sagadin 1995, str. 218–224; Sagadin 2000, str. 151–152.

162 Ciglenečki 1999, str. 291, 305.

147 Gabrovček 1966a, pp. 248–249, 261, Pl. 1: 1–12, 14–16; Horvat 2015a, p. 181, Pl. 3: 8.

148 For an overview of the sanctuaries on elevations see: Šašel Kos 1999a, pp. 25–31; Šašel Kos 2000, pp. 36–38.

149 Horvat 2002, p. 124; Horvat 2006b, pp. 29–30. For the sacred sites on mountain passes see: Šašel Kos 1999a, pp. 20–22; Šašel Kos 2000, pp. 30–31.

150 Horvat 2002, pp. 124–125; Horvat 2006b, pp. 29–30; Cevc 2006b.

151 See above, note 101–102.

152 See above.

153 See above.

154 Ciglenečki 1999, pp. 291, 305; Ciglenečki 2008, pp. 485–486; Ciglenečki 2012, pp. 463–466.

155 Ciglenečki 2008, pp. 487–489. E.g.: Gora above Polhov Gradec: Božič 2005; Slabe 2009; Grdavov hrib: Sagadin 2015b.

156 Mikl Curk 1986; FMRSI 3, pp. 223–224, No. 89; Ciglenečki 2015, p. 408.

sotočjem Save in Kokre je bil ponovno poseljen v 4. st., pravi razcvet pa je doživel v drugi polovici 5. in v 6. st.¹⁶³

Arheološko sliko na zatonu antike posredno potrjuje Anonimni Ravenat v opisu dežele Karneole, kjer je na prvem mestu *Carnium*, sledi pa mu seznam 24 večinoma neidentificiranih naselij.¹⁶⁴

Zahvale

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earlier beginnings (3rd–4th centuries).¹⁵⁷ Gradišče above Soteska is the site of a polygonal fort built on top of a steep hill that overlooks a very narrow section of the valley of the Sava; surface ceramic finds attribute it to the Late Roman period or to Late Antiquity.¹⁵⁸ Another fort is known at Puštal above Trnje near Škofja Loka, which controlled the passage westwards through the valley of the Selška Sora river and must have been active already at the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th century.¹⁵⁹

In the second half of the 5th century, the settlement picture appears fully changed. Settlements were almost exclusively located on hilltops; they were equipped with new fortifications and buildings in the interior. A number of these hilltop settlements border the Savska ravan.¹⁶⁰ The primitive Late Antiquity dwellings (semi-sunken houses) unearthed at Mengeš and Žirovnica¹⁶¹ are probably the remains of small lowland hamlets and cannot be seen as the continuation of life of the earlier Roman settlements.¹⁶²

The most important and largest Late Antique centre in the Ljubljana basin was Kranj – Carnium. The naturally well protected rocky promontory overlooking the confluence of the Rivers Sava and Kokra was again inhabited in the 4th century and was particularly prosperous in the second half of the 5th and the 6th century.¹⁶³

The archaeological picture in the final days of the Roman Empire is indirectly confirmed by the writings of the Anonymous of Ravenna, who describes the land of Carneola and lists Carnium first, followed by 24 other, as yet mostly unidentified settlements.¹⁶⁴

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¹⁵⁷ Valič 1968; Sagadin 2008, pp. 168–169; Ciglenečki 1987, 81; Ciglenečki 2011, pp. 265–267; Ciglenečki 2015, str. 410.

¹⁵⁸ Ciglenečki 1987, p. 87; Ciglenečki 2011, pp. 265–266; Ciglenečki 2015, p. 410; Sagadin 2000, p. 152.

¹⁵⁹ FMRSI 3, 1995, pp. 130–131, No. 71; FMRSI 4, 1998, pp. 153–155, No. 76; FMRSI 5, 2004, pp. 117–118, No. 53; Štukl 2004; Ciglenečki 2011, pp. 268–269; Ciglenečki 2015, p. 419.

¹⁶⁰ Ciglenečki 1987; Ciglenečki 1999, pp. 292–294, 306; Ciglenečki 2008, pp. 489–490; Ciglenečki 2012, pp. 468–469; Sagadin 2008, pp. 176–178, Map 8.

¹⁶¹ Sagadin 1989; Sagadin 1995, pp. 218–224; Sagadin 2000, pp. 151–152.

¹⁶² Ciglenečki 1999, pp. 291, 305.

¹⁶³ Vidrih Perko Sagadin 2004, pp. 217–221; Sagadin 2008; Ciglenečki 2012, pp. 467–469.

¹⁶⁴ Šašel 1970–1971.

¹⁶³ Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004, str. 217–221; Sagadin 2008; Ciglenečki 2012, str. 467–469.

¹⁶⁴ Šašel 1970–1971.

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- Jana Horvat
Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU
Institut za arheologijo
Novi trg 2
1000 Ljubljana
jana.horvat@zrc-sazu.si
- Milan Sagadin
Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije
OE Kranj
Tomšičeva ulica 7
4000 Kranj
Milan.sagadin@zvkds.si

