



# TYCHE

## Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer  
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 17, 2002

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H O L Z H A D E R N



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MARJETA ŠAŠEL KOS

## The Noarus River in Strabo's *Geography*

Strabo is the only ancient author who twice mentioned an elsewhere unknown Noarus River near Segestica (close to Siscia, present-day Sisak in Croatia). In the 5<sup>th</sup> chapter of his 7<sup>th</sup> book he described the European regions situated south of the Danube. These regions comprised Greece, Macedonia, and Epirus, and included the Illyrian and Thracian peoples. Strabo further mentioned the mountain chains of Illyria, Paonia, and Thrace, which extend from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, referring particularly to the important Mount Haemus. We are told that, according to Polybius, it was possible to see both seas from its top, but Strabo corrected this, remarking that the distance to the Adriatic was too long, with several obstacles blocking the view. He made mention of the Ardiaei, Autariates, and Dardania. In the next paragraph, he began to describe the regions between Italy and Germania, saying that they had been partly devastated by the Dacians after they had conquered the Boii and Taurisci under Critasirus. The allies of the Dacians were often the Scordisci, Celts who had settled down between the Illyrian and Thracian tribes. The rest of these lands were occupied by the Pannonians up to Segestica to the north and the Ister to the east. This sentence begins the passage, which is of particular interest for our analysis, concerning the regions between Aquileia and Segestica (Fig. 1).

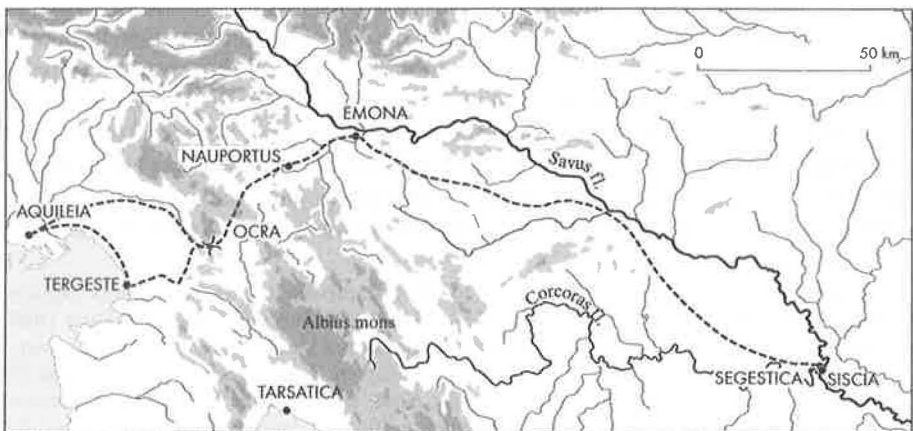


Fig. 1: The trade route Aquileia (Tergeste) – Ocra – Nauportus – Segestica. Computer generated by M. Belak.

Strabo's text is as follows (7. 5. 2 c. 313–314)<sup>1</sup>:

„*Segestica is a town of the Pannonians, situated at the confluence of several rivers, all of which are navigable. It is suitably placed as a base in the war against the Dacians, because it is located at the base of the Alps, which extend to the regions of the Iapodes, a mixed Celtic and Illyrian people. From there, too, flow rivers, which convey to Segestica many goods from elsewhere, as well as from Italy. For those who travel across Odra, the route from Aquileia to Nauportus, a settlement of the Taurisci, is 350 stades long. Wagons loaded with cargo are driven down to Nauportus. Some say that the distance is 500 stades.*

*Odra is the lowest part of the Alps, which extend from the regions of the Raeti to the Iapodes. There, the mountains rise again and are called Albani. In a similar way, a road leads across Odra from the Carnic village of Tergeste to a marsh called Lugeum. The Corcoras River flows near Nauportus; it carries cargo and empties into the Savus River (and the latter into the Dravus), which in turn flows into the Noarus at Segestica. There, the Noarus is made larger by the Colapis River, which takes its source below the mountain Albius, flowing through the lands of the Iapodes. The Noarus flows into the Danuvius in the region of the Scordisci. These rivers flow mainly to the north. The road from Tergeste to the Danuvius is some 1200 stades long. Near Segestica, there is the fortress of Siscia, and also Sirmium; both are situated along the route leading to Italy.“*

In analysing texts of any Greek or Roman geographer, it must be kept in mind that they cannot offer us precise geographical data, because scale maps in the modern sense of the word, contrary to the established opinion, seem to have been unknown in antiquity, including the famous map of Agrippa<sup>2</sup>. The lack of such maps could account for the fact that throughout antiquity, even the most experienced officers, historians, and also geographers could commit elementary geographical errors<sup>3</sup>. Ancient maps must instead have contained the geographically most important landmarks, accompanied by explanatory descriptions; Roman maps must have been in particular intended for the use of the army, and were probably annotated march-routes<sup>4</sup>. Strabo was no exception; his work is a mine of various data and information, some of which is not exact. His erroneous statement in the cited passage that the rivers he listed mainly flow to the north, as well as the erroneous distance between Tergeste and the Danube, can best be explained by the lack of a map. Most of his data are relatively correct, but his descriptions also contain certain errors and misconceptions, which should not be surprising. He was born ca. 64 BC at Amaseia in Pontus, and was the

<sup>1</sup> Translation of Strabo's text as edited by R. Baladié for the Belles Lettres edition: Strabon, *Géographie*, Tome IV (Livre VII). Texte établi et traduit par R. Baladié, Paris 1989. I would very much like to thank Claudio Zaccaria for having kindly commented on my text.

<sup>2</sup> K. Brodersen, *Terra Cognita. Studien zur römischen Raumerfassung*, Spudasmata 59 (1995) 18 ff., 268 ff., on Strabo: 280–284; Id., *Neue Entdeckungen zu antiken Karten*, *Gymnasium* 108 (2001) 137–148; Id., *The presentation of geographical knowledge for travel and transport in the Roman world. Itineraria non tantum adnotata sed etiam picta*, in: *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, eds. C. Adams and R. Laurence, London, New York 2001, 7–21: with a thorough discussion of the topic and all relevant citations.

<sup>3</sup> Brodersen, *Terra Cognita* (s. n. 2), 26–28.

<sup>4</sup> Brodersen, *Itineraria* (s. n. 2), 12 ff.



author of a *Geographia* in 17 books, the most important source for ancient geography in the Augustan age<sup>5</sup>. He was also the author of a lost history (*Historical notes*), which continued Polybius' *History*. Strabo used the work of the stoic philosopher and historian Posidonius (ca. 135–ca. 51 BC), and obviously shared his interest in geography. The reliability of his data depended mainly on the sources he used. As has been pointed out by W. Aly, the part of Pannonia including the region of Segestica/Siscia had become known to the Romans at a relatively late date, after the attack of the Cimbri and after Octavian's Illyrian Wars. The topographical names were new to the Romans, and previously the geography of this area had been known merely from Greek sources. Strabo attempted to combine both reports and make correct identifications. From this point of view it is astonishing that the result was not much worse<sup>6</sup>.

The source Strabo excerpted for the cited passage can be narrowed down chronologically to the period after the founding of Aquileia in 181 BC and before Tergeste, which is mentioned here as a village of the Carni, became a Roman *colonia*. This probably occurred during Caesar's proconsulship in both Gauls and Illyricum, which he obtained in 58 BC, and before 52 BC, when Tergeste was plundered by the Iapodes and was already referred to as a colony (Hirt. in Caes., *Bell. Gall.* 8. 24. 3; Appian, *Illyr.* 18. 52)<sup>7</sup>. U. Kahrstedt hypothesized a source from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, possibly Polybius or Artemidorus<sup>8</sup>. This would correspond well with the mention of the traffic along the Corcoras, which reflected the pre-Celtic settlement pattern, as well as with the mention of the Noarus, which betrays a lack of recent geographical knowledge. A. Grilli proposed Posidonius as Strabo's source for the cited passage<sup>9</sup>. An interesting chronological indicator is also Strabo's remark that Segestica could serve as a well-located base in the Dacian war, but this may have been Strabo's own observation, since in his time the Dacian threat was particularly serious. Burebista was a powerful Dacian king, who had first conquered neighbouring regions, and then directed his expansionary efforts towards the west. It has generally been believed that this had occurred at an early stage during Caesar's proconsulship. However, Gerhard Dobesch interpreted the fact that Caesar did not secure the defense of the eastern boundary of Cisalpine Gaul as indirect proof that there was no immediate

<sup>5</sup> J. Engels, *Augusteische Oikumenegeographie und Universalhistorie im Werk Strabons von Amaseia*, *Geographica Historica* 12 (1999).

<sup>6</sup> W. Aly, *Strabonis Geographica, Bd. 4, Strabon von Amaseia. Untersuchungen über Text, Aufbau und Quellen der Geographika*, *Antiquitas* 1/5 (1957) 299.

<sup>7</sup> A. Frascchetti, *Per le origini della colonia di Tergeste e del municipio di Agida*, *Siculorum Gymnasium* 28 (1975) 319–335; C. Zaccaria, *Tergeste e il suo territorio alle soglie della romanità*, in: *Celti nell'Alto Adriatico* (Antichità Altoadr. 48), Trieste 2001, 95–118.

<sup>8</sup> U. Kahrstedt, *Studien zur politischen und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Ost- und Zentralalpen vor Augustus*, *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Phil.-hist. Klasse 1927, Heft 1), Berlin 1927, 1–2. See also M. Šašel Kos, *Nauportus: Literary and Epigraphical Sources*, in: J. Horvat, *Nauportus* (Vrhnika) (Dela 1. razr. SAZU 33), Ljubljana 1990, 143 ff.

<sup>9</sup> A. Grilli, *Geografia e storia: le Alpi orientali in Strabone*, *Quaderni ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità classiche* 14 (1985) 178–179.

Dacian threat during his proconsulship. This is also corroborated by recent numismatic analyses made by R. Göbl. As has been pointed out by Dobesch, the *terminus post quem* may have been the year 49 BC, when the Norican king sent a strong cavalry detachment to Caesar in Corfinium<sup>10</sup>. Caesar intended to march against Burebista in 44 BC. Eventually, Burebista conquered the coalition of the Boii and Taurisci under Critasirus, and extended his authority as far as Noricum, but this seems to have happened after Caesar's death, ca. 41–40 BC. Burebista must have died soon afterwards, and after his death Pannonia and Noricum were never again seriously endangered by the Dacians. However, it seems that for some time the Dacian threat continued to have been present, since Appian mentioned the war with the Dacians and Bastarnae as one of the reasons for Octavian's conquest of Segesta in 35–34 BC (*Illyr.* 22. 65). Regardless of the exact chronology of the founding of Tergeste as a Roman colony (and disregarding Burebista's victory over Critasirus, which may not be important for the chronology of Strabo's source), it could be concluded that Strabo's source still considered Tergeste a Carnic village. It could roughly be dated to the period before Caesar, perhaps the early first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC or earlier. Strabo directly or indirectly used two sources since he mentioned two different distances from Aquileia to Nauportus (=Vrhnika), ascribing the second to the opinion of 'some others'. Also, a Greek source may be supposed on the basis of his remark that the fortresses of Siscia and Sirmium are situated on the road to Italy; a Roman source would obviously consider Italy as a starting point.

Strabo made the first inexact statement by claiming that Segestica was located at the confluence of several navigable rivers. Indeed it lay near the confluence of the Colapis and Savus Rivers, and at the site where the Odra flows into the Savus, but of the three the Odra is not navigable. Segestica should perhaps more correctly be called Segesta (thus in Appian, *Illyr.* 23), since Segestica seems to be the adjective, referring to a noun such as 'land', 'country', 'peninsula' or similar. It should most probably be located at the site of Pogorelec (Pliny, *n. h.* 3. 148: *Colapis in Savum influens iuxta Sisciam gemino alveo insulam ibi efficit, quae Segestica appellatur*), which is like a peninsula, and is situated in the area of the Kupa meander at the spot where the Odra joins the Kupa<sup>11</sup>. When referring in this context to the Iapodes as a mixed Celto-Illyrian people, Strabo may have meant the Colapiani mentioned in Pliny (*n. h.* 3. 147–148), because a few sentences afterwards he mentions that the Colapis River (= Kolpa/Kupa) „takes its source below the mountain Albius, flowing through the lands of the Iapodes“. Strabo's Albius Mountain, wrongly translated by R. Baladić as 'les monts Albia', to conform to the 'Albian mountains' mentioned a few sentences above, can here only mean the mountain of Snežnik [Snowy Mountain, in translation], because the source of the Kolpa/Kupa River is actually located at its base. The

<sup>10</sup> G. Dobesch, *Zur Chronologie des Dakerkönigs Burebista*, in: R. Göbl, *Die Hexadrachmenprägung der Gross-Boier. Ablauf, Chronologie und historische Relevanz für Noricum und Nachbargebiete*, Wien 1994, 51–68; G. Dobesch, *Die Boier und Burebista*, in: J. Tejral, K. Pieta, J. Rajtár (Hrsg.), *Kelten, Germanen, Römer im Mitteldonaugebiet vom Ausklang der Latène-Zivilisation bis zum 2. Jahrhundert*, Brno, Nitra 1995, 15–19.

<sup>11</sup> Most recently, T. Lolić, *Siscia*, in: *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia, II: Pannonia*, Situla 41 (2003) (forthcoming).

Colapiani who inhabited the valley of the Colapis seem to have been a marginal Iapodian tribe, whose archaeological material shows several specific characteristics. Some time in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC they were conquered by the Taurisci, along with the inhabitants of the hitherto flourishing hillforts of the Dolenjska (Lower Carniola) region, and were consequently to some extent Celticized<sup>12</sup>. The Albian mountains in the territory of the Iapodes can be identified with the mountain-range of the Lika region, i. e. Velika and Mala Kapela. Two different distances in stades are cited for the length of the road between Aquileia and Nauportus. The first, 350 stades, which equals ca. 65 km, is too short, the second, 500 stades, is ca. 93 km and may be considered correct, since the actual distance is ca. 103 km; however, in antiquity a slightly shorter route may have been in use<sup>13</sup>.

Strabo next mentioned Tergeste<sup>14</sup>, whence the road across Odra led to a marshland depression called Lugeum (either Cerknjško jezero [Cerknica Lake] or Ljubljansko barje [the Ljubljana Marshes]) and to the emporium of Nauportus. The Corcoras is confused here with the Nauportus/Emona River (=the Ljubljana). However, the Corcoras can only be the Krka River and indeed, this has been the usual identification<sup>15</sup>, because its modern name can well be considered to derive from its ancient hydronym<sup>16</sup>. It can be added that the Ljubljana River was referred to by two ancient names, and it is hardly plausible to assume a third one. The Nauportus/Emona River became important some time after the foundation of Aquileia, when trade developed between Aquileia and Tergeste on the Italian side, with Segest(ic)a/Siscia in the region of the Pannonians, the route leading across Nauportus and Emona. The Ljubljana is mentioned as the Nauportus River by Pliny the Elder (*n. h.* 3. 128), and as the Emona River in a tombstone from the village of Putinci in eastern Symria, now lost, of an Amantine hostage who drowned in it (*CIL* III 3224). Strabo's confusion of the Corcoras and Nauportus Rivers may either be due to erroneous data in his source, or to his misunderstanding of the source, which may have mentioned both rivers, or even to his (supposed) maladroitness combination of sources. The source of the Nauportus/Emona (Ljubljana) River is actually by Nauportus, while that of the Corcoras (Krka) is several dozen kilometres to the east, at the village of Krka near Ivančna Gorica<sup>17</sup>. Both empty into the Savus (Sava), the Nauportus/Emona at Zalog (the *ager* of Emona), the Corcoras near Brežice (the *ager* of Neviodunum). All in all, Strabo's error is not particularly serious, as the river runs 'only' some ten km from Nauportus, and 'near' Nauportus is not a very precise adverb. And indeed, it is correctly stated that it

<sup>12</sup> D. Božič, *Ljudje ob Krki in Kolpi v latenski dobi (Zur latènezeitlichen Bevölkerung an Krka und Kolpa)*, *Arh. vest.* 52 (2001) 181–198.

<sup>13</sup> The numbers were calculated by Baladić, *Strabon* (s. n. 1), 116 n. 4.

<sup>14</sup> R. F. Rossi, φρούριον — κόμη καρνική: *qualche osservazione su Tergeste preromana e romana*, in: *Studi in onore di Albino Garzetti*, eds. C. Stella, A. Valvo, Brescia 1996, 341–353.

<sup>15</sup> C. Patsch, *Corcoras*, *RE* IV, 1 (1900) 1219 (cf. also *RE* Suppl. III, s.v.); Aly, *Strabon* (s. n. 6), 296; Grilli, *Alpi* (s. n. 9).

<sup>16</sup> F. Bezljaj, *Slovenska vodna imena (Slovenian Water Names)* Dela 2. razr. SAZU 9, I, Ljubljana 1956, 305–308, particularly 308.

<sup>17</sup> B. Saria, *Ljubljana pri Strabonu (La Ljubljana chez Strabon)*, *Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo* 14 (1933) 140–141.

flows into the Savus River. The river traffic along the Corcoras reflects the prehistoric settlement situation and the important Dolenjska (Lower Carniola) route along the Krka valley, where several prominent Hallstatt period hillfort settlements were located, and which was the shortest route to reach the important Pannonian emporium at Segest(ic)a/Siscia<sup>18</sup>. Any identification of the Corcoras with the Ljubljana River has been obsolete at least since B. Saria's article, in which he sufficiently clearly demonstrated that the Corcoras could only be identified with the Lower Carniolan Krka<sup>19</sup>.

Strabo confused two important trade routes in the area east of Tergeste; each, however, important at a different time: the two just described. The totally erroneous mention of the Dravus River in the context of rivers important for traffic between Aquileia and Segestica can only be explained by the fact that this was an important river in the broad area of Illyricum. A. Grilli hypothesized that Strabo's source, Posidonius, may have mentioned both the Carniolan Krka and the Carinthian/Styrian Gurk (=Krka in Slovenian), specifying that the former empties into the Savus, the latter into the Dravus: hence Strabo's mention of the Dravus at the wrong place<sup>20</sup>. R. Baladić has suggested that the inclusion of the Dravus in Strabo's description of the rivers near Segestica/Siscia could have been due to the fact that he copied a marginal remark made by the author of his source, concerning other important river(s) in Illyricum<sup>21</sup>. On the other hand, this may have figured on the contemporary maps, similar to the *itineraria picta*, since the error that the Savus empties into the Dravus may possibly be present in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

Interestingly, in his 4<sup>th</sup> book Strabo described the same trade route from Aquileia across the Ocra Pass to Nauportus and further to Segestica, but his description is slightly different (4. 6. 10 c. 207): „*Ocra is the lowest part of the Alps, where the Iapodes border on the Carni. Cargoes on wagons are transported across it from Aquileia to the place called Nauportum along the route, which is not much longer than 400 stades (=74 km). The goods are conveyed further on boats along rivers to the Ister and the regions along the Ister. A navigable river flows near Nauportum, which comes from Illyris and empties into the Savus; in that way the cargoes are easily transported to Segestica and as far as the Pannonians and the Taurisci.*“ Usually the passage is interpreted as having been taken from a later and better informed source; this may well be so, but it actually gives less information, is in part quite vague, and perhaps for this reason it is not erroneous. U. Kahrstedt hypothesized that Strabo's source for this

<sup>18</sup> J. Šašel, *Strabo, Ocra and Archaeology*, in: *Ancient Europe and the Mediterranean. Studies presented in honour of Hugh Hencken*, Warminster 1977, 157–160 (= *Opera selecta*, 1992, 630–633).

<sup>19</sup> The Corcoras has still been incorrectly identified with the Ljubljana River by Baladić, *Strabon* (s. n. 1), 305, because he did not know of Saria's article.

<sup>20</sup> Grilli, *Alpi* (s. n. 9). The same opinion was earlier expressed by N. Vulić, *Nekoliko pitanja iz rimske prošlosti III (Quelques questions relatives au passé romain des pays des Slaves du sud)*, Glas Srpske kraljevske akademije 114, 2. razred 64 (1925) 86 („Strab. C. 314.').

<sup>21</sup> Baladić, *Strabon* (s. n. 1), 305–306.

passage should be dated to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and may have been Posidonius<sup>22</sup>.

The Noarus is mentioned again by Strabo in chapter 5 of his 7<sup>th</sup> book, in the 12<sup>th</sup> paragraph in which he outlined the regions of the Scordisci. He said that the „*Great Scordisci* (μεγάλοι Σκορδίσκοι) were settled between two rivers which flow into the Ister, the Noarus, flowing near Segestica, and the Margus (or, as some say, Bargus). The Little Scordisci, however, inhabited the other bank of the Margus and bordered on the Triballi and Mysians“ (7. 5. 12 c. 318). The reference to the Noarus is consistent with Strabo's previous description of the river: it flows past Segestica and empties into the Ister in the region of the Scordisci.

Many earlier identifications of the Noarus River are illogical, because some do not even correspond to a single segment of Strabo's data concerning this river. E. Polaschek wrote a relatively long contribution about the Noarus for the Real-Encyclopädie, concluding overhastily that the actual geographical situation did not correspond to Strabo's data. Consequently, he tentatively identified the river with the Raab, the ancient Arrabo (*Tab. Peut.* 4. 3; *It. Ant.* 261. 8), called Narabon by Ptolemy (2. 16. 1 and 2, ed. Nobbe)<sup>23</sup>. The Raab is indeed a right bank tributary of the Danube, but its source is in Austrian Styria and it mainly flows through Hungary and empties into one of the arms of the Danube at Győr. It has nothing to do with Segestica/Siscia, nor with the Savus River, nor with the Scordisci, and nothing even with the Dravus River, although it was merely the latter that was evidently erroneously mentioned by Strabo in the context of the rivers near Segestica. Polaschek cited other earlier identifications, some of which should be rejected for similar reasons, such as the Korana (M. P. Katancsich) and the Mur/Mura (C. Müller, F. Pichler). The former is a relatively small river flowing through the region of Plitvička jezera (Plitvice Lakes); it flows into the Kupa river near Karlovac. The Mur/Mura is a left bank tributary of the Drava, which has its source in the Lower Tauern and empties into the Drava at Legrad in Croatia. Strangely, even N. Vulić proposed an identification of the Noarus with the Mur/Mura<sup>24</sup>. J. Fitz avoided expressing his own opinion on the question, citing Polaschek and G. Alföldy, who identified the Noarus with the Drina, the ancient Drinus<sup>25</sup>.

More plausible is the identification with the Odra River<sup>26</sup>, which has recently again been proposed by R. Baladié. He suggested that the Noarus would have been the Odra River, prolonged along the lower course of the Sava as far as the Danube<sup>27</sup>. However, the Odra is a small tributary of the Kupa, not fully navigable, its name is

<sup>22</sup> Kährstedt, *Studien* (s. n. 8). Cf. Šašel, *Strabo* (s. n. 18).

<sup>23</sup> E. Polaschek, *Noaros*, RE XVII, 1 (1936) 783–785.

<sup>24</sup> Vulić, *Questions* (s. n. 20).

<sup>25</sup> J. Fitz, *Noaros*, in: *Der kleine Pauly* 4 (1972) 142; G. Alföldy, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien* (mit einem Beitrag von A. Mócsy), Budapest 1965, 55; cf. id., *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 89 (1962) 148. Cf. also C. Voltan, *Le fonti letterarie per la storia della Venetia et Histria. I: Da Omero a Strabone* (Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Memorie 42), Venezia 1989, 383 and 431 n. 745; E. Olshausen, *Noaros*, in: *Der neue Pauly* 8 (2000) 967.

<sup>26</sup> K. Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer* III, München 1812, 563.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Baladié, *Strabon* (s. n. 1), 306.

Slavic<sup>28</sup>, and it is no doubt significant that no ancient name has been preserved for it from antiquity. It is most unlikely that it could have been confused with a large navigable river, a tributary of the Danube. In my opinion the only plausible identification of the Noarus is with the lower course of the Savus (Fig. 2), which was proposed at an early date by W. Kubitschek<sup>29</sup>, and again later, e. g. by W. Aly<sup>30</sup>.

Summarizing Strabo's data from the two cited passages concerning the Noarus, the following can be concluded. As we have seen, the mention of the Dravus River in the context of the rivers near Segestica is erroneous, and possible explanations are offered for Strabo's error. The starting point for the identification of the Noarus can only be the geographical context of the trade route Aquileia–Tergeste–Nauportus–Segestica/Siscia, correctly described by Strabo. The Noarus is mentioned in this context, therefore rivers that have no connection with the Segestica/Siscia region cannot and should not be considered for possible identification. According to Strabo's description, the Noarus can best be identified with the lower course of the Savus River, since the Colapis indeed empties into it at Segestica/Siscia, and it indeed flows into the Danuvius/Ister in the region of the Scordisci, at Singidunum (= Beograd). The identification is also well corroborated by the second passage in which the Noarus is mentioned. Noarus may be an older name for the Savus, or another name (taken from some other language) for this important river, or an older name for its lower course, which was applied to it when the entire course of the river had not been entirely clear.

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<sup>28</sup> E. Dickenmann, *Studien zur Hydronymie des Savessystems* II, Heidelberg 1966, 55–56.

<sup>29</sup> W. Kubitschek, *Itinerar-Studien* (Denkschriften der Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl. 61, 3. Abh.), Wien 1919, 59. He suggested that the Drabus should be interpreted as another name for the middle course of the Savus, but it is not at all necessary, if Baladié's proposal to eliminate the Dravus as merely a marginal remark in the text is accepted.

<sup>30</sup> Aly, *Strabon* (s. n. 6), 296.

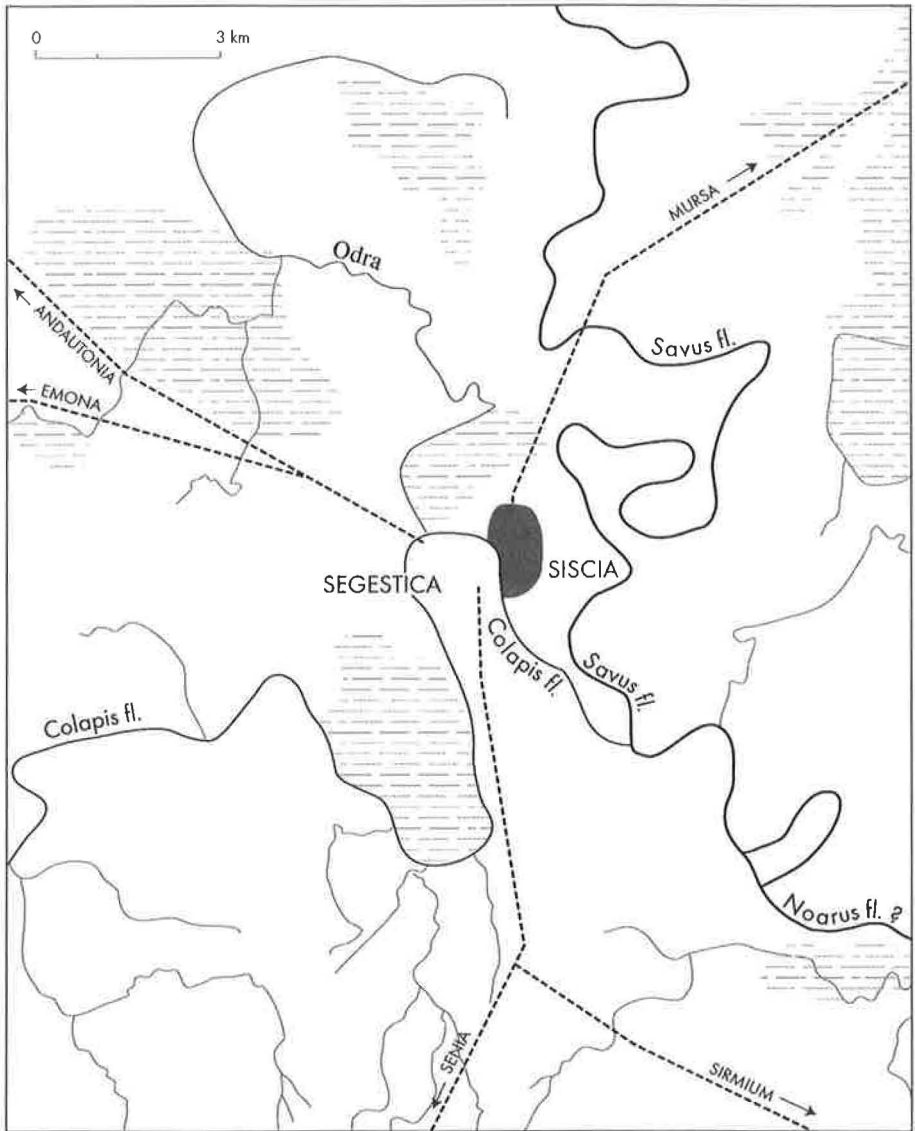


Fig. 2: Rivers in the region of Segestica/Siscia. After J. Šašel, *Siscia*, RE Suppl. XIV (1974) 723–724 (= *Opera selecta* [1992], 611). Computer generated by M. Belak