

Herausgegeben von:

Thomas Corsten
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TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Band 29, 2014

HOLZHAUSEN
DER VERLAG



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MARJETA ŠAŠEL KOS

The Problem of the Border between Italy, Noricum, and Pannonia*

Tafel 10–11

The boundary stone

A boundary stone between the territories of the Aquileians and Emonians, found by chance in 2001 in the bed of the Ljubljanica River below Bevke (some 13 km to the southwest of Ljubljana, pl. 10 and 11 *fig. 1* and *2*), confirmed the hypothesis that *colonia Iulia Emona* (present-day Ljubljana) had belonged to Italy since its foundation in the Augustan period.¹ The text reads:

Finis //
Aquileien-
sium. //
Emonen-
5 *sium.*

The boundary stone cannot represent a border between Italy and the province of Illyricum/Pannonia, as this should necessarily be mentioned in the inscription. The stone marked the border between two town territories that must have clearly belonged to the same administrative unit. Several similar boundary stones have been found in Italy and provinces, always denoting borders between towns or *civitates* either in Italy or in the same province, as for example between the Tridentini and Feltrini (*Finis inter /*

* My grateful thanks are due to William G. Kerr, Peter Kos, and Ekkehard Weber for having kindly read my paper and for offering valuable comments.

¹ M. Šašel Kos, *The Boundary Stone between Aquileia and Emona*, *Arheološki vestnik* 53 (2002) 373–382 (= AE 2002, 532 a–c); ead., *Il confine nord-orientale dell'Italia romana. Riesame del problema alla luce di un nuovo documento epigrafico*, *Aquileia nostra* 73 (2002) 245–260; see on Emona J. Šašel, *Emona*, *RE Suppl.* 11 (1968) 540–578 (= *Opera selecta* [Situla 30], Ljubljana 1992, 559–579); L. Plesničar Gec, *Urbanizem Emone / The Urbanism of Emona*, Ljubljana 1999; A. Gaspari, “*Apud horridas gentis ...*”. *Začetki rimskega mesta Colonia Iulia Emona / Beginnings of the Roman Town of Colonia Iulia Emona*, Ljubljana 2010; M. Šašel Kos, *Colonia Iulia Emona — The Genesis of the Roman City*, *Arheološki vestnik* 63 (2012) 79–104. See more on the date below.

Trid(entinos) et Feltr(inos). / Lim(es) lat(us) p(edes) IIII),² or from Gallia Narbonensis (*Fines / Aquens(ium) // Fines / Arelat(ensium)*).³

It was expected that this important discovery would settle the problem of the northeastern border of Italy for good, but not all were convinced and continued to regard Emona as a Pannonian city in the first century AD.⁴ Despite the fact that some scholars accepted the new data, adding further interesting details for a better understanding of the new reality,⁵ there are others (as is evident in the latest contributions) for whom Emona and its territory are still an object of dispute.⁶ It therefore seems necessary to draw attention once again to the contested border area of Italy. It should be stressed, however, that several illustrious scholars of the past never doubted that the town had always belonged to Italy;⁷ a different opinion has been introduced in scholarly literature by B. Saria and adopted by A. Degrassi and others.⁸

² A. Buonopane, *Regio X Venetia et Histria — Tridentum*, in: *Supplementa Italica*, n.s. 6 (Rome 1990), 143–144.

³ ILS 5975 = ILN III 281. Many others are listed in Šašel Kos, *Boundary Stone* (see n. 1), 376–377.

⁴ E.g. P. Kovács in: B. Fehér, P. Kovács (eds.), *Early Geographers — The Period of the Roman Conquest* (Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae I), Budapest 2005, 206–207, cf. also pp. 40, 62, 195; id., *Territoria, pagi and vici in Pannonia*, in: W. Eck, B. Fehér, P. Kovács (eds.), *Studia epigraphica in memoriam Géza Alföldy* (Antiquitas I 61), Bonn 2013, 132; 140 (with no arguments); cf. 138.

⁵ E.g. C. Zaccaria, *Tra Natisone e Isonzo. Aspetti amministrativi in età romana*, in: M. Chiabà, P. Maggi, C. Magrini (eds.), *Le Valli del Natisone e dell'Isonzo tra Centroeuropa e Adriatico* (Studi e Ricerche sulla Gallia Cisalpina 20), Rome 2007, 129–144; id., *Tribù e confini dei territori delle città dell'Italia nordorientale*, in: M. Silvestrini (ed.), *Le tribù romane. Atti della XVI^e Rencontre sur l'épigraphie (Bari 8–10 ottobre 2009)*, Bari 2010, 108–109; M. Vitelli Casella, *Il confine nord-orientale d'Italia nella Naturalis Historia (3, 130–147) alla luce del cippo di Bevke*, in: S. Busà et al. (eds.), *Uno sguardo extra moenia. Riflessioni su identità culturale e circolazione di idee tra Oriente e Occidente*, Marina di Patti 2012, 265–274; D. Dzino, *Illyricum in Roman Politics — 229 BC–AD 68*, Cambridge 2010, 71; 124; cf. Šašel Kos, *Colonia Iulia* (see n. 1).

⁶ G. Alföldy, *Review of "Roma e le province del Danubio"*, a cura di Livio Zerbini, 2010, *Epigraphica* 73 (2011) 385; id., *CIL II²/14, 2* (2011) ad no. 14, 1063; A. Domić-Kunić, *Literary Sources Before the Marcomannic Wars*, in: B. Migotti (ed.), *The Archaeology of Roman Southern Pannonia. The State of Research and Selected Problems in the Croatian Part of the Roman Province of Pannonia* (BAR Intern. Series 2393), Oxford 2012, 45; ambiguously I. Radman-Livaja, H. Ivezić, *A Review of South-Pannonian Indigenous Anthroponymy*, *ibid.*, 141.

⁷ See, among others, Th. Mommsen, *CIL III*, p. 489 ("Cum propter simplex Iuliae nomen tum propter locorum proximitatem Emona probabiliter iudicabitur condita una cum Pola et Tergeste ab Augusto per bellum Dalmaticum a. 720."); J. W. Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum*, Prague a.o. 1889, 111 ("iam Caesaris aetate E. in civitatem R. receptam fuisse puto"); R. Thomsen, *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasion* (Classica et Mediaevalia, Diss. 4), Copenhagen 1947, 141–142; 243.

⁸ B. Saria, *Emona als Standlager der Legio XV. Apollinaris*, in: *Laureae Aquincenses I* (Diss. Pann. 2, 10), Budapest 1938, 253; A. Degrassi, *Il confine nord-orientale dell'Italia romana* (Diss. Bernenses 1, 6), Bern 1954, 87; 109–113; discussion in J. Šašel, *Zur verwaltungstechnischen Zugehörigkeit Emonas*, *Acta Arch. Acad. Sc. Hung.* 41 (1989) 169–174

Since Saria's article, which for several decades decisively influenced subsequent scholarship, opinion prevailed that Emona was a fortress of the legion XV Apollinaris before it moved to Carnuntum in 14 AD, after the revolt of the Pannonian legions. Consequently, Tiberius would have founded a colony in the town after the legion's departure by settling its veterans in it. This thesis became particularly influential after it had been endorsed by A. Mócsy.⁹ However, it has long been proven that it was based on wrong premises.¹⁰ The tombstone of the *pro legato* T. Iunius Montanus cannot serve as an argument for the existence of a legionary fortress at Emona, as was erroneously believed by Saria,¹¹ and it has been demonstrated that the legion did not move to Carnuntum before the reign of Caligula or Claudius.¹² A thorough study of the monuments of the legion XV Apollinaris has much modified the early history of this legion and its activity in Illyricum,¹³ while recent discoveries have shed new light on the beginnings of Emona.¹⁴ It has been proven beyond doubt that the town had never been a legionary fortress.¹⁵ Nonetheless, in the course of the conquest of Illyricum during the Augustan age, Emona served as an important military and logistic base, as has been confirmed by the recent and yet unpublished excavations, revealing a short-term military camp outside Emona at modern Prule. It was in use during the Pannonian war of Tiberius (12–8 BC), and again — as is indicated by the second phase of the camp — at the time of the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion in AD 6–9.¹⁶

(= *Opera selecta* [see n. 1], 707–714) and M. Šašel Kos, *The 15th Legion at Emona — Some Thoughts*, ZPE 109 (1995) 227–244.

⁹ A. Mócsy, *Pannonia*, RE Suppl. 9 (1962) 596.

¹⁰ Šašel Kos, *15th Legion* (see n. 8).

¹¹ AIJ 173 = RINMS 36: T(itus) Iunius D(ecimi) f(ilius) / Ani(ensis) Montanus, / tr(ibunus) mil(itum) VI, praef(ectus) / equit(um) VI, praef(ectus) ⁵ fabr(um) II, pro leg(ato) II. Cf. H. Devijver, *The Monument of the Equestrian Officer T. Iunius Montanus (AIJ 173 — Emona)*, *Ancient Society* 23 (1992) 61–70; Šašel Kos, *15th Legion* (see n. 8).

¹² M. Kandler, in: M. Kandler et al., *Carnuntum*, in: M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer et al. (eds.), *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia. Pannonia II* (Situla 42), Ljubljana 2004, 16; M. Mosser, *C. Atius und die legio XV Apollinaris in Vindobona*, *Fundort Wien* 5 (2002) 123; V. Gassner, S. Jilek, in: V. Gassner, S. Jilek, S. Ladstätter (eds.), *Am Rande des Reiches. Die Römer in Österreich* (Österreichische Geschichte 15 v. Chr.–378 n. Chr., ed. H. Wolfram), Vienna 2002, 60–63.

¹³ M. Mosser, *Die Steindenkmäler der legio XV Apollinaris*, Vienna 2003.

¹⁴ Gaspari, "Apud horridas gentis ..." (see n. 1), particularly 113–125.

¹⁵ As already argued by W. Schmid, *Emona ni bila vojaški tabor (Das vermeintliche Legionslager von Emona)*, *Glas. Muz. dr. Slov.* 22 (1941) 44–54; Šašel, *Emona* (see n. 1), 561–566; C. M. Wells, *Emona and Carnuntum: Evidence for the Start of Roman Occupation*, in: E. Birley, B. Dobson, M. Jarrett (eds.), *Roman Frontier Studies 1969* (Eighth Intern. Congress of Limesforschung), Cardiff 1974, 185–190; P. Kos, *The Monetary Circulation in the South-eastern Alpine Region ca. 300 B.C. – A.D. 1000* (Situla 24), Ljubljana 1986, 54–56; Plesničar Gec, *Urbanism* (see n. 1), 100–106; B. Vičič, *Colonia Iulia Emona: 30 Jahre später*, in: M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer et al. (eds.), *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia. Pannonia I* (Situla 41), Ljubljana 2003, 23–24.

¹⁶ S. Hvalec et al., *Utrip Tribune. Doživetja arheološkega vsakdana*, Ljubljana 2009;

Erroneously interpreted data of Pliny the Elder

According to Herodian, a Greek historian of the third century AD (8.1.4), Emona was an Italian city,¹⁷ and indeed, in the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* (560.10) the border between Italy and Noricum is noted at Atrans (present-day Trojane), to the northeast of Emona: *fines Italiae et Norici*. A milestone from the reign of Constantius II, from AD 354, gives the distance across Illyricum from Atrans.¹⁸ It has never been disputed that the Roman colony of Emona was attached to Italy in the late second century AD and onwards, if not earlier. However, the text of Pliny the Elder, who is the first to mention Emona as a Roman colony, made most scholars believe that the city had belonged to Pannonia at the time of its foundation and at least as late as in Pliny's time. Pliny's passage is short but characteristic enough as to the nature of the source he used (*nat.* 3.147): "*Then come the acorn-producing lands of Pannonia, where the chain of the Alps gradually becomes less formidable, and slopes to the right and left hand with gentle contours as it traverses the middle of Illyricum from north to south. The part looking towards the Adriatic is called Dalmatia and Illyricum mentioned above, while the part stretching northward is Pannonia, terminating in that direction at the Danube. In it are the colonies of Emona and Siscia. Famous navigable rivers flowing into the Danube are the Drava from Noricum, a rather violent stream, and the Sava from the Carnian Alps which is more gentle, there being a space of 120 miles between them; the Drava flows through the Serretes, Serapilli, Iasi and Andizetes; the Sava through the Colapiani and Breuci.*"¹⁹

Acorn-producing lands imply forests, which is confirmed by Appian (*Ill.* 22, 63), who says that "*The country of the Paeones is wooded and extends from the Iapodes to the Dardanians.*" Clearly, for this part of his account of Pannonia Pliny did not use any official Augustan lists of towns, *civitates*, and *decuriae* composed by the Roman administration (*formulae*), but a geographical work (and a map?), containing de-

A. Miškec, *The Augustan Conquest of Southeastern Alpine and Western Pannonian Areas: Coins and Hoards*, *Arheološki vestnik* 60 (2009) 283–296; Gaspari, "*Apud horridas gentis ...*" (see n. 1), 141–142.

¹⁷ Cf. also HA, v. Maximini, 21.1 and 5; 31.3.

¹⁸ CIL III 3705 = 10617 = ILS 732 = HD044214 (EDCS-28701211); R. Noll, *Griechische und lateinische Inschriften der Wiener Antikensammlung*, Vienna 1962 (1986²), 96 no. 412, fig. 12: [...] recuperata re publica quinarios lapides per Illyricum fecit ab Atrante ad flumen Savum milia passus CCCXLVI.

¹⁹ Latin text according to H. Zehnacker, *Pline l'Ancien, Histoire naturelle, Livre III. Texte établi, traduit et comm. par H. Z.* (Belles Lettres), Paris 2004, 86–87: Inde glandifera Pannoniae, qua mitescentia Alpium iuga per medium Illyricum a septentrione ad meridiem versa molli in dextra ac laeva devexitate considunt. Quae pars ad mare Hadriaticum spectat, appellatur Delmatia et Illyricum supra dictum; ad septentriones Pannonia vergit. Finitur inde Danuvio. In ea coloniae Emona, Siscia. Amnes clari et navigabiles in Danuvium defluunt Dravus e Noricis violentior, Savus ex Alpibus Carnicis placidior, cxx intervallo: Dravus per Serretes, Serapillos, Iasos, Andizetes, Savus per Colapianos, Breucosque. Translation by H. Rackham, with some modifications.

scriptions (and depictions) of mountains, countries, and rivers, including the most important towns and peoples, proceeding in a geographical, not an alphabetical, order.²⁰ Consequently, as has already been observed by R. Thomsen, referring to Pliny and his mention of Emona in Pannonia, “no importance can be attached to this argument”.²¹ Pliny may have used an early source (Polybius or Posidonius), which is corroborated by the fact that he distinguished between Dalmatia and Illyricum, which would mean that the author he excerpted had understood Dalmatia in its original meaning as the region inhabited by the Delmatae, not as the Roman province.²² However, Pliny combined these geographical data with some very contemporary information — which is most significant — since he knew that Siscia was a Flavian colony.²³

In terms of geography, Emona certainly did not belong to Italy, since Italy was protected by the chain of the Alps as its natural boundary in the north, extending from the Ligurian Sea to the Adriatic. Livy, when referring to the *Galli transalpini*, who intended to found a town not far from the future Aquileia, expressed well the common opinion that the Alps represented the ultimate borders of Italy (*Alpes prope inexsuperabilem finem in medio esse*, 39.54.12).²⁴ In Strabo’s words, Odra Mt. was the lowest part of the Alps (4.6.10 C. 207), across which carts from Aquileia easily reached Nauportus (present-day Vrhnika, some 20 km west of Ljubljana). In this sense the geographical border between Italy and Illyricum/Pannonia should be sought either at the Odra Pass (Razdrto below Mt. Nanos) along the ancient Amber Route,²⁵ or at Ad Pirum (Hrušica), also named In Alpe Iulia, situated along the Augustan military road, which shortened the journey between Aquileia and Emona by one day.²⁶ Both settlements had been placed at the highest points along the two mentioned roads, no doubt representing important landmarks.

²⁰ Y. Marion, *Pline et l’Adriatique orientale: quelques problèmes d’interprétation d’Histoire Naturelle* 3.129–152, in: P. Arnaud, P. Counillon (eds.), *Geographica Historica* (Ausonius Études 2), Bordeaux, Nice 1998, 119–135; cf. also Zehnacker, *Pline* (see n. 19), 250.

²¹ Thomsen, *Italic Regions* (see n. 7), 141; recently Vitelli Casella, *Confine* (see n. 5), particularly p. 269, regarded it as Pliny’s error, but as just emphasized, Pliny’s preoccupation in this passage is geographical, taken from an early source, he is not concerned here with any official list of towns and peoples in Illyricum, therefore the fact that he mentioned Emona in Pannonia should actually not be taken as an error. Vitelli Casella offered some most interesting, but rather complicated, hypotheses concerning Pliny’s sources for ‘caput Adriae’, worthy of consideration when studying these problems in future.

²² Šašel, *Zugehörigkeit* (see n. 8), 709.

²³ A. Domić-Kunić, *Literary Sources for the Illyrian Provinces (Dalmatia and especially Pannonia) in Naturalis historia by Pliny the Elder* (in Croat., with summary), *Vjesnik Arh. muzeja u Zagrebu* 37 (2004) 164–166; 170–171; Zehnacker, *Pline* (see n. 19), 278; Vitelli Casella, *Confine* (see n. 5), 271–272.

²⁴ On the Alps see briefly H. Graßl, *Alpes (Alpen)*, in: DNP 1 (1996) 534–535.

²⁵ J. Horvat, A. Bavdek, *Okra. Vrata med Sredozemljem in Srednjo Evropo / Odra. The Gateway between the Mediterranean and Central Europe* (Opera Instituti arch. Sloveniae 17), Ljubljana 2009.

²⁶ J. Šašel, in: J. Šašel, P. Petru et al. (eds.), *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum I. Fontes* (Katalogi in monografije 5), Ljubljana 1971.

From the geographical point of view, Emona would have either belonged to Noricum (a less common opinion, but not unlikely)²⁷ or to Illyricum/Pannonia; Carnuntum, for example, the later capital of Pannonia, once belonged to Noricum as is clear from the text of Velleius Paterculus, who referred to it as “*a place in the Norican kingdom*” (2.109.5).²⁸ The border between Noricum and Illyricum, too, was adjusted by the Romans according to different strategic exigencies, as is also clear in the case of Savaria and Scarbantia. According to Pliny, these two towns must have once been attached to Noricum, since he mentioned that Noricum extended as far as Pelso Lake (Balaton), the deserted regions of the Boii, the colony of *divus* Claudius, Savaria, and *oppidum Scarbantia Iulia* (*nat.* 3.146).²⁹ However, they were transferred, along with Carnuntum, to Pannonia after the great Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion in the years 6–9 AD. The shift of this border occurred because it was important for the Romans to exercise a military control of the Amber Route, while Noricum was *provincia inermis*.

In view of several anomalies in Pliny's lists of northern Italian and Histrian towns,³⁰ not too much importance should be attached to the fact that Emona found no mention among the cities of *Regio X*; one could hardly expect it to have been mentioned twice. It is also not included among the northern Italian towns in Ptolemy's *Geography* (second century AD), although clearly it belonged to Italy in his time. Ptolemy did mention it twice; at the end of chapter 14 in his second book (ed. Nobbe) he defined the geographical position of Upper Pannonia, noting its peoples and towns, while in paragraph 7 he placed Emona “between (that part of) Italy (which is situated) below Noricum, and Pannonia”.³¹ Obviously he was puzzled by the discrepancy between geographical and administrative reality.

The Emona basin was situated at the junction of important roads, reaching on the one side towards the Adriatic, and on the other towards the region of Norican Celeia, and further to Pannonian Poetovio, while another road led to Pannonian Nevioudunum and Siscia. The transit and rather narrow area could have been barred in case of

²⁷ B. Saria, *Poetovio*, RE 21,1 (1951) 1170, with earlier citation; P. Kos, *Keltski novci Slovenije / Keltische Münzen Sloweniens* (Situla 18), Ljubljana 1977, 73; H. Graßl, *Die Grenzen der Provinz Noricum — Probleme der Quellenkunde in der antiken Raumordnung*, in: E. Olshausen, H. Sonnabend (eds.), *Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur historischen Geographie des Altertums 4, 1990* (Geographica Historica 7), Amsterdam 1994, 519; Šašel Kos, *Colonia Iulia* (see n. 1), 80.

²⁸ “Locus Norici regni”, at the beginning of the campaign against Maroboduus in AD 6, just before the outbreak of the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion.

²⁹ M. Šašel Kos, *The Early Urbanization of Noricum and Pannonia*, in: L. Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province del Danubio* (Pubblicazioni del LAD 1), Soveria Mannelli 2010, 220; differently Graßl, *Grenzen* (see n. 27), 522–523; P. Kovács, *Some Notes on the Division of Illyricum*, in: I. Piso (ed.), *Die Römischen Provinzen. Begriff und Gründung*, Cluj-Napoca 2008, 238–239, with earlier bibliography.

³⁰ J. Desanges, *Plin l'Ancien et l'Istrie: anomalies et hypothèses*, CRAI 148/3 (2004) 1181–1203.

³¹ Cf. Graßl, *Grenzen* (see n. 27), 519.

danger, therefore its strategic position was important as early as the Republican period, both for Noricum and for the Roman state. Since the Romans were much stronger, there can hardly be any doubt that in the course of gradual conquest of the regions beyond the Odra Pass they took possession of Emona to secure their further advance along the Amber Route and the route leading towards Siscia and Sirmium. Indeed, whether Emona had once been in Noricum or in Pannonia was hardly relevant for the Roman administrative boundaries. They could have been changed, extended, and/or adjusted to suit the current geopolitical situation, regardless of ethnic or geographical reality.

Some arguments in favour of Emona having been in Italy since its foundation

It is interesting that no one has asked an obvious question: why would Emona have been attached to Illyricum (Pannonia) after its foundation as a Roman colony some time during the reign of Augustus when much would speak in favour of it belonging to Italy from the very beginning of its existence? And why would the town have been transferred to Italy at some time before Maximinus Thrax when the Danubian limes was seriously threatened and the safety of Italy became precarious? The march of Maximinus to Aquileia via the first Italian city of Emona, mentioned by Herodian, was the first explicit reference — until the discovery of the boundary stone — that the town was in Italy. No one has denied that at a certain point of time Emona did belong to Italy. But why would the Roman state want to extend the boundary of Italy in the direction of the insecure frontier along the Danube at any time after the Pannonian war of Domitian,³² which clearly exposed the weak points and insufficient protection of the riverine frontier?

Regardless of the boundary stone, a strong argument in favour of Emona having been an (early) Augustan Italian colony is the fact that Octavian/Augustus had to dismiss thousands of his and Antony's veterans in the years following the battle of Actium in 31 BC, offering them land preferably in Italy. And indeed, the foundation of Emona would well accord with the Caesarian-Augustan urbanisation of Histria and the *caput Adriae* region, where Pola was a Caesarian colony,³³ and so was most

³² K. Strobel, *Die Donaukriege Domitians* (Antiquitas I 38), Bonn 1989; A. S. Stefan, *Les guerres daciques de Domitien et de Trajan. Architecture militaire, topographie, images et histoire* (CEFR 353), Rome 2005, chapters concerning Domitian; J. Gering, *Domitian, dominus et deus? Herrschafts- und Machtstrukturen im Römischen Reich zur Zeit des letzten Flaviers* (Osnabrücker Forschungen zu Altertum und Antike-Rezeption 15), Rahden/Westf. 2012, 276–292.

³³ A. Fraschetti, *La pietas di Cesare e la colonia di Pola*, *Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico. Archeologia e Storia Antica* 5 (1983), 77–102; L. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy, 47–14 B.C.*, London 1983, 203–204; V. Vedaldi Iasbez, *La Venetia orientale e l'Histria. Le fonti letterarie greche e latine fino alla caduta dell'Impero Romano d'Occidente* (Studi e Ricerche sulla Gallia Cisalpina 5), Rome 1994, 387–388; A. Starac, *Rimsko vladanje u Histriji i Liburniji — Društveno i pravno uređenje prema literarnoj, natpisnoj i arheološkoj građi, I: Histrija (Roman Rule in Histria and Liburnia)* (Monografije i katalozi, Arh. muzej Istre 10/1), Pula 1999, 133–135.

probably Tergeste,³⁴ while Parentium may have been founded as a colony under Octavian.³⁵ Aquileia had extended its influence in the direction of Noricum and Illyricum at an early date. Along the route towards Noricum, Iulium Carnicum very likely became a *municipium* under Octavian,³⁶ whereas beneath the Odra Pass, occupied by the Romans already in the mid-second century BC,³⁷ an Aquileian village flourished at Nauportus certainly under Octavian if not already under Caesar.³⁸

Emona, situated near the border with Noricum, as well as with Illyricum (Pannonia), was, like Nauportus, also an emporium in the late Republican period. It was a river port and station in the direction of Segesta/Siscia; as at Nauportus, river traffic played an equally significant role at Emona.³⁹ The Nauportus-Emona basin was strategically a most important area to defend the passage through the so-called Italo-Illyrian Gates at Postojna, or — vice versa — a starting point to conquer the regions further east or north.⁴⁰ It was important for the Roman state to have as strict control of this area as possible. Emona became a colony most probably early under Augustus.⁴¹

³⁴ A. Frascetti, *Per le origini della colonia di Tergeste e del municipio di Agida*, Siculorum Gymnasium 28 (1975), 319–335; C. Zaccaria, *Regio X Venetia et Histria. Tergeste — Ager Tergestinus et Tergesti adtributus*, in: Supplementa Italica, n.s. 10 (Rome 1992), 152.

³⁵ U. Laffi, *Colonie e municipi nello stato romano* (Storia e Letteratura 239), Rome 2007, 57; 130; 140; G. Bandelli, in: A. Giardina, G. Bandelli, E. Lo Cascio, T. Spagnuolo Vigorita, U. Laffi, *Colonie e municipi nello stato romano*, Athenaeum 96 (2008) 730, accepts Laffi's hypothesis that Parentium had never been a *municipium*. On Parentium see also J. Šašel, *Stages in the development of Roman Parentium*, in: *Opera selecta* (see n. 1), 661–668; F. Tassaux, *La population et la société de Parentium*, in: *Aquileia nella "Venetia et Histria"* (Antichità Altoadr. 28), Udine 1986, 157–183; Vedaldi Iasbez, *Venetia* (see n. 33), 370–372; Starac, *Roman Rule* (see n. 33), 125–133; cf. Keppie, *Colonisation* (see n. 33), 202 f.; V. Kovačić, F. Tassaux, *Parentium*, in: M.-B. Carre, V. Kovačić, F. Tassaux et al. (eds.), *L'Istrie et la mer. La côte du Parentin dans l'Antiquité* (Ausonius Éd., Mémoires 25), Bordeaux 2011, 223.

³⁶ It became *colonia* possibly under Augustus, F. Mainardis, *Iulium Carnicum*, in: Supplementa Italica n.s. 12 (Rome 1994), 78–79; or Claudius: C. Zaccaria, *Tribù e confini dei territori delle città dell'Italia nordorientale*, in: M. Silvestrini (ed.), *Le tribù romane. Atti della XVI^e Rencontre sur l'épigraphie (Bari 8–10 ottobre 2009)*, Bari 2010, 107. According to G. L. Gregori, *Vecchie e nuove ipotesi sulla storia amministrativa di Iulium Carnicum e di altri centri alpini*, in: G. Bandelli, F. Fontana (eds.), *Iulium Carnicum: centro alpino tra Italia e Norico dalla protostoria all'età imperiale. Atti del Convegno, Arta Terme — Cividale, 29–30 settembre 1995* (Studi e Ricerche sulla Gallia Cisalpina 13), Rome 2001, 172–175, it was never a colony, which seems less plausible: F. Mainardis, *Iulium Carnicum. Storia ed epigrafia* (Antichità Altoadr., Monografie 4), Trieste 2008, 40–41.

³⁷ Horvat, Bavdek, *Odra* (see n. 25).

³⁸ J. Horvat, *Nauportus (Vrhnika)* (Dela 1. razr. SAZU 33), Ljubljana 1990; M. Šašel Kos, *Nauportus: antični literarni in epigrafski viri (Nauportus: Literary and Epigraphical Sources)*, in: Horvat, *Nauportus* (cit.), 17–33 (pp. 143–159); B. Mušič, J. Horvat, *Nauportus — An Early Roman Trading Post at Dolge njive in Vrhnika. The Results of Geophysical Prospecting Using a Variety of Independent Methods*, Arheološki vestnik 58 (2007) 219–270.

³⁹ C. Zaccaria, *Da Aquileia ad Emona e da Emona ad Aquileia*, in: *Aquileia — Emona. Archeologia fra due regioni dalla preistoria al medioevo*, Udine 1989, 22–33.

⁴⁰ M. Šašel Kos, *Emona Was in Italy, Not in Pannonia*, in: *Autonomous Towns I* (see n. 15), 12.

⁴¹ Šašel Kos, *15th Legion* (see n. 8); Šašel Kos, *Colonia Iulia* (see n. 1).

When exactly this happened will probably never be known; recently a date after 25 BC has been proposed.⁴² As early as the second half of the first century BC, the town already attracted well-to-do settlers of certain social status, such as T. Caesernius Diphilus, a freedman of T. Caesernius Assupa and a *sevir* from Aquileia, known from his tombstone, which he had erected in his lifetime.⁴³ As an Aquileian *sevir*, Diphilus may have played an active role also at Emona; in any case he wanted to be buried in the town. It is noteworthy that his tombstone, like the boundary stone, was made of Aurisina limestone, a stone used for the earliest inscribed monuments in the Nauportus-Emona Basin.

As has been pointed out, urbanisation of the northeastern part of Italy started under Caesar and continued under Augustus; in Noricum, however, the same process began under Claudius,⁴⁴ while the first towns in Pannonia were founded as late as Vespasian; the only Claudian colony in Pannonia was Savaria, which may have previously belonged to Noricum.⁴⁵

There are certain additional features attested at Emona that are characteristic of Italian, not of provincial cities. Significant, for example, is the absence of the *beneficarii consularis*. Moreover, some inscribed monuments can be classified as typically Italian. Such are two tombstones that belong to a corpus of inscriptions, mentioning legacies of money, which the deceased bestowed on their heirs to provide for flowers or festivities on special anniversaries, or for other arrangements in order to perpetuate their memory. One of the two is fragmentary and still unpublished, offering no details, while the other was erected to L. Caesernius Primitivus, one of the board of five and the head of the *decuria* of the *collegium fabrum*, and his wife Ollia Primilla, by their son. His parents left by their wills 200 *denarii* to the four *decuriae* of the *collegium* in order that they would bring roses to their grave on the day of the festival of an old Italian goddess, Carna (pl. 10 fig. 3).⁴⁶ Such inscriptions rarely occur outside Italy: in a few cases they are known from Roman colonies in the East, but they had not been found in Noricum and Pannonia nor in other western provinces.⁴⁷

Velleius Paterculus and Tacitus

Enduring pre-eminence of Nauportus during the reign of Augustus

Velleius Paterculus (Tiberius' officer and historian) is one of the most important sources for the great Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion, which broke out in 6 AD, lasting four years. It was called by Suetonius, with good reason, "*the most serious of all wars*

⁴² Vitelli Casella, *Confine* (see n. 5), 269–270, based on his analysis of Pliny's use of sources.

⁴³ AIJ 176 = RINMS 3: T. Caesernius / Assupae l. Diphilus / Aquileiae sex/vir v(ivus) s(ibi) f(ecit). Dignus l(ibertus) v(ivus).

⁴⁴ E. Weber, *Die Anfänge der Provinz Noricum*, in: *Die Römischen Provinzen* (see n. 29), 225–235.

⁴⁵ Šašel Kos, *Urbanization* (see n. 29), 217.

⁴⁶ CIL III 3898 = M. Šašel Kos, *The Festival of Carna at Emona*, *Tyche* 17 (2002) 129–144.

⁴⁷ C. Kokkinia, *Rosen für die Toten im griechischen Raum und eine neue ροδισμός-Inschrift aus Bithynien*, *Mus. Helv.* 56 (1999) 204–221.

after the Punic” (Tib. 16) and can be reconstructed primarily on the basis of Velleius’ narrative, combined with that of Cassius Dio; it should be noted that Velleius took an active part in it. In a passage, in which he described the strength of the rebels and their strategy, he mentioned that experienced commanders under both Batos and Pinnes planned, with a part of the army (consisting of 200,000 infantrymen and 9000 cavalry), to attack Italy, which was connected to their territory by the border areas of Nauportus and Tergeste (2.110.4: ... *pars petere Italiam decreverat iunctam sibi Nauporti ac Tergestis confinio* ...). Another part of the army would invade Macedonia, while the third part was destined to defend their own territories.

Prior to the discovery of the boundary stone between the territories of Aquileia and Emona, scholars were at a loss how to explain Velleius’ statement that Italy bordered on the Pannonian peoples by way of the territory of Nauportus, since most of them believed that Nauportus belonged to Illyricum.⁴⁸ As is clear from the boundary stone, Nauportus was an Aquileian village. Why did Velleius not mention Emona? He noted very few place-names in his account of the rebellion, mainly referring to the most important landmarks that were well known to him and presumably to his audience, or to specific places, directly involved in the war actions. Emona must have been a rather small, recently founded colony, still without city walls, while Nauportus played a much more important role at the time of the rebellion. It was by all probability a Caesarian settlement, similar to a town, as Tacitus claimed when describing events of 14 AD (*ann.* 1.20), surrounded by well defendable walls,⁴⁹ and, moreover, according to Pliny the Elder, a mythical foundation of Jason (*nat.* 3.128).⁵⁰ In short, as a landmark during the Augustan period, Nauportus was much more significant than Emona.

Tacitus’ description of the mutiny of the Pannonian legions in AD 14, after the death of Augustus, is dramatic and ‘pictorial’, composed in a style that was congenial to his writing of history (*ann.* 1.16–30),⁵¹ however, despite its length it is lacking in

⁴⁸ See, for example, Saria, *Emona* (see n. 8), 253; Degrassi, *Il confine* (see n. 8), 87; A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London, Boston 1974, 74–76; cf. J. Fitz, *Änderungen in der Verwaltung Pannoniens*, *Specimina nova* 12 (1996) 128 and n. 8; Kovács, *Early Geographers* (see n. 4), 206–207 and passim; Alföldy, *Review* (see n. 6), 385. Discussion and further references in M. Šašel Kos, *Emona Was in Italy, Not in Pannonia*, in: *Autonomous Towns* (see n. 15), 11–19, and ead., *Colonia Iulia* (see n. 1).

⁴⁹ J. Horvat, B. Mušič, *Nauportus, a Commercial Settlement between the Adriatic and the Danube*, in: M. Chiabà, P. Maggi, C. Magrini (eds.), *Le Valli del Natisone e dell’Isonzo tra Centroeuropa e Adriatico* (Studi e Ricerche sulla Gallia Cisalpina 20), Rome 2007, 165–174; B. Mušič, J. Horvat, *Nauportus* (see n. 38) 219–270.

⁵⁰ It was only at a later date, when Nauportus declined — probably not before the 2nd century AD — that Jason and the Argonauts were linked to Emona: see a recent article by T. Braccini, *A Myth of Borders: the Argonauts from the Danube to Emona in Late Antique and Byzantine Authors*, *Arheo* 28 (2011) 105–117.

⁵¹ F. R. D. Goodyear, *The Annals of Tacitus, Vol. I: Annals 1. 1–54* (Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 15), Cambridge 1972, 194–238.

details, not least chronological and topographical.⁵² He mentioned no place names except Nauportus, neither the names of the three winter camps of the legions (XV Apollinaris, VIII Augusta, and IX Hispana),⁵³ nor even of their summer camp, where the mutiny had begun. This is particularly remarkable, as the summer camp was the destination of Tiberius' son Drusus, who was sent there with two praetorian cohorts (*ann.* 1.24) to help the governor of Lower Illyricum, Q. Iunius Blaesus,⁵⁴ quell the insurrection. Therefore the fact that Tacitus did not name Emona, a Roman colony in close proximity to Nauportus, where detachments of the legions had been sent to work, should cause no surprise.

The soldiers' complaints, as expressed by the instigator of the mutiny Percennius, were all of a general character. This is evident particularly well when he compared the legionary service to that of the praetorians, who had to serve fewer years and keep watch in the city, while the legionaries not only had to serve longer, but had to endure a much more cruel life among the *horridae gentes* (*ann.* 1.17) — an eloquent allusion to the recent wars in Germany and the Pannonian-Dalmatian war, which had only been ended less than six years ago, in 9 AD. Soldiers most of all demanded that military service be reduced to 16 years as had been agreed in 13 BC (Dio, 54, 25, 5–6). It is therefore also clear that their complaint about hilly and swampy land, allotted to the veterans upon discharge, cannot be linked to the creation of the colony of Emona, as believed by B. Saria and subsequent scholarship. Tacitus' rhetorical speeches referred to the soldiers' general grievances, not to specific historical circumstances related to the Pannonian legions about AD 14,⁵⁵ which has amply been proven by recent research.⁵⁶

Conclusion

Material evidence cannot be contradicted and it must be stressed how rarely a hypothesis is proven beyond doubt by some fortunate discovery. That Emona had belonged to Italy ever since it became *colonia Iulia* was first seriously argued several decades ago by J. Šašel;⁵⁷ it has now been proven by the aforementioned boundary

⁵² Goodyear, *Annals* (see n. 51), 196–197; see also V. E. Pagán, *The Pannonian revolt in the Annals of Tacitus*, in: Carl Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XII* (Coll. Latomus 287), Bruxelles 2005, 414–422, who, however, wrongly thinks that Emona was the legions' summer camp (p. 416).

⁵³ Tacitus mentioned their names only towards the end of his account, 1.30.

⁵⁴ J. Fitz, *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit I*, Budapest 1993, 71–72.

⁵⁵ So J. J. Wilkes, *A note on the mutiny of the Pannonian legions in A. D. 14*, CQ 56 (1963) 268–271, which was already doubted by Goodyear, *Annals* (see n. 51), 203.

⁵⁶ A. Kotzé, *Tacitus' Account of the Pannonian Revolt (Ann. 1.16–30)*, Akroterion 41 (1996) 124–132; Pagán, *Pannonian revolt* (see n. 52).

⁵⁷ J. Šašel, *Zur Frühgeschichte der XV. Legion und zur Nordostgrenze der Cisalpina zur Zeit Caesars*, in: E. Weber, G. Dobesch (eds.), *Römische Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Epigraphik. Festschrift für Artur Betz zur Vollendung seines 80. Lebensjahres* (Archäologisch-epigraphische Studien 1), Vienna 1985, 547–555 (= *Opera selecta* [see n. 1] 469–477); id., *Zur verwaltungstechnischen Zugehörigkeit Emonas*, Acta Arch. Acad. Sc. Hung. 41 (1989) 169–174 (= *Opera selecta* [see n. 1] 707–714).

stone from Bevke (*fig. 2*), delimiting the territories of Aquileia and Emona, which is most probably dated to the period of Augustus. This early dating can hardly be disputed since two important arguments speak in favour of it; the first and more significant one is the fact that the boundary stone was made of Aurisina limestone, quarried at Aurisina (called Nabrežina in Slovenian), a village located between Aquileia and Tergeste. Stone monuments made of this limestone have been discovered in the Emona area, but not beyond it. It was not easy to transport them so far, since it was necessary to cross the Odra Pass, while the first navigable river was the Nauportus (Ljubljana), rising at Nauportus; heavy cargo had to be brought thither on carts. Aurisina limestone was only used for the earliest monuments on the territory of Nauportus and Emona, dated to the last half of the first century BC and the first decades of the first century AD.⁵⁸ Soon after the establishment of the colony at Emona, quarries in the vicinity of the town began to operate, producing monuments such as those made of Podpeč limestone, which was not inferior in quality to Aurisina limestone.

The second argument for an early dating of the boundary stone is paleographic; paleography is often regarded as not particularly reliable, but not in this case. The letter-forms closely resemble those of the earliest inscriptions of the Emona Basin, all made of Aurisina limestone, such as, for example, the inscription of the *magistri vici* from Nauportus;⁵⁹ particularly characteristic is the letter Q.

The boundary stone from Bevke thus offers an indisputable proof that Emona belonged to Italy from the very beginning of its existence as a *colonia Iulia*. Indeed, this is merely a confirmation of a well-argued hypothesis that would hardly need any additional proof. What could actually be regarded as surprising was the fact that the Aquileian territory extended so far to the east as to include Nauportus. Nonetheless, this is understandable, since Nauportus had been an Aquileian village from the very beginning of its existence as a Roman settlement. Consequently, the *ager* of Emona, which reached towards the southwest only as far as Bevke, compensated for the lack of territory there by acquiring it elsewhere, particularly to the north of the city. There the border with Noricum in the direction of Virunum is not entirely clear, but it probably ran along Karavanke Mts. On the other hand, the border with Noricum towards Celeia is approximately known, since it was fixed, as mentioned above, slightly west of Atrans, which belonged to Celeia; the same is true for the boundary with Pannonia, which ran west of Praetorium Latobicorum (present-day Trebnje); this was the first important Pannonian station along the road leading towards Neviodunum and further to Siscia, Sirmium, and the East.

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⁵⁸ M. Šašel Kos, *Caesarian Inscriptions in the Emona Basin?*, in: G. Paci (ed.), *Epigrafia romana in area adriatica (Actes de la IX^e rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie du monde romain)*, Macerata 1998, 101–112.

⁵⁹ CIL III 3777 = ILLRP 34 = RINMS 1.

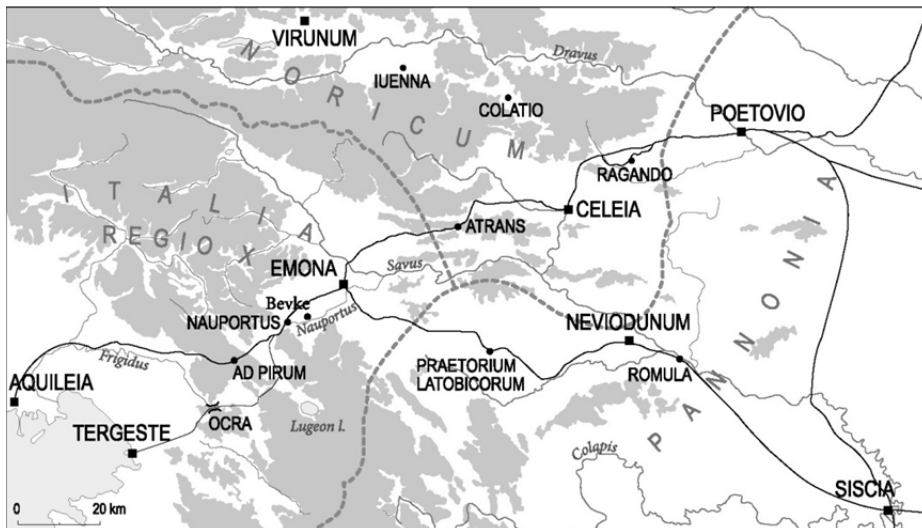


Fig. 1:

Fig. 3:



Fig. 2:

zu M. Šašel Kos, S. 153