

The worship of Savus and Nemesis in Andautonia

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Izvleček

Oltar, posvečen rečnemu bogu Savusu, in kamnita plošča z reliefom Nemeze, oba iz Andavtonije (zdaj Ščitarjevo blizu Zagreba), pričata o kultih v tem rimskem mestu in osvetljujejeta njegovo topografijo. Najdišče oltarja, ki ga je Savusu dal postaviti Mark Juencij Primigenij s svojimi družabniki (*socii*), je mogoče povezati s krajem, kjer je bilo zelo verjetno andavtonijsko pristanišče. Sklepamo lahko, da so Savusu postavljali spomenike predvsem prevozniki blaga in trgovci in da je bila plovba po Savi do Siscije mestoma nevarna; Andavtonija je bila pomembna postojanka na rečni poti, ki je povezovala Donavo z Ljubljano. Spomenik z reliefom Nemeze, ki je upodobljena tudi z atributi Diane, pa dokazuje, da so v Andavtoniji organizirali gladiatorske igre in borbe z divjimi živalmi. Posvetitelj Julij Viktorin, ki je bil bodisi veteran bodisi član municipalne aristokracije, je morda sodeloval pri njihovi organizaciji.

Ključne besede: Andautonia, rimsko cesarstvo, Savus, Nemeza, topografija, rimsko pristanišče, amfiteater, zagrebško območje

Long before any kind of systematic research was done, many archaeological finds, including some significant stone monuments, were discovered in the area of Andautonia (*fig. 1*). A stone altar dedicated to the river deity Savus was found in 1870 in a Sava oxbow near Ščitarjevo.¹ A marble slab inscribed on both sides was discovered in the

¹ *CIL* III, 4009; *AIJ* 475; Degmedžić 1957, 103; the dimensions: height 56 cm, width 36 cm, depth 21 cm.

Abstract

Two monuments from *Andautonia*, present-day Ščitarjevo near Zagreb, provide evidence of the cults attested at the Roman town and serve as guidelines to its topography: an altar dedicated to the river deity *Savus* and a stele with the relief of the goddess *Nemesis*. The position where the altar dedicated to Savus was found and the content of the inscription indicate the possible location of the town's river-port. Monuments dedicated to Savus found along the river are associated with the profession of travellers seeking the protection of the river deity in their business ventures. The find from Andautonia attests to the role of the town in river traffic in Roman times. The depiction of *Nemesis* on a stele not only supports the conjecture of gladiatorial combats in Andautonia held in venues specifically assigned for such events, but also suggests other aspects of the worship of *Nemesis* in Andautonia and testifies to the great importance of her cult. Inscriptions on both monuments provide additional information about the people and social groups connected with the cults of Savus and *Nemesis* in Andautonia.

Keywords: Andautonia, Roman Empire, Savus, Nemesis, topography, Roman port, amphitheatre, Zagreb region

mid 18th century in Petrovina Turopoljska near Velika Gorica. An honorary inscription to *Lucius Funisulanus Vettonianus*, an Andautonian patron, was engraved on one side, and a relief dedicated to the goddess *Nemesis* with a votive inscription below it was depicted on the other.² At the end of the 19th century, both monuments were transferred

² *CIL* III, 4008, 4013; *AIJ* 475, 479; *ILS* 3908/9; Degmedžić 1957, 96–101.



Fig. 1: Ščitarjevo and the archaeological park. Aerial view from the north (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, photo D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

Sl. 1: Ščitarjevo in arheološki park. Zračni posnetek s severa (Arheološki muzej v Zagrebu, foto D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

to the National Museum in Zagreb, the precursor of today's Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, where they are currently preserved.

1. THE WORSHIP OF THE DEITY SAVUS

The dedication to Savus from Andautonia reads:

.....SAVO·AVG(usto)

.....SAC(rum)

.....M(arcus) IVENTIVS

.....PRIMIGENIV(s)

5E]T·SOCI V(otum)·S(olverunt) L(ibentes
M(erito)).

In translation:

Dedicated to Savus Augustus. Marcus Iuentius Primigenius with associates, fulfilled his vow willingly and deservedly.

To date, eight inscriptions dedicated to the river god Savus were found in the Sava River basin along the watercourse from the area around Litija in Slovenia to Sisak in Croatia (ancient Siscia), including the one from Andautonia (fig. 2).³ The others are a limestone altar found in the Sava River bed at Vernek near Litija and a lead curse tablet



Fig. 2: Altar dedicated to Savus from the Savišće oxbow near Ščitarjevo, presently in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, photo I. Krajcar).

Sl. 2: Savusu posvečen oltar iz Savišća, starega savskega rečnega korita pri Ščitarjevu (Arheološki muzej v Zagrebu, foto I. Krajcar).

³ Šašel Kos 1994, 99–102

found during the dredging of the Kupa River bed in Sisak.⁴ Five altars were dedicated to Savus as well as to Adsalluta. They probably originate from the site of Škarje in the hamlet of Sava near the village of Podkraj, close to Hrastnik.⁵

Roman period river names in these regions are mainly masculine such as the Dravus and Danubius, as is also the Latin name for the river, *fluvius*, while the present-day river name of the Savus is feminine, the Sava. The gentilicium *Iuentius* is known in this form from Salona.⁶ The family probably originated from northern Italy, later moving to Dalmatia and Pannonia; they were most probably tradesmen. The associates of Iuentius (*socii*) were probably business partners, or companions, in a business venture or association.⁷ The monument dates to the 2nd or 3rd century AD.⁸

Scholars were mostly interested in the nature of the business in which Primigenius and his companions were engaged. Viktor Hoffiller believed the altar was erected by members of the fishermen's guild (*AIJ* 475). Otto Hirschfeld presumed it was raised by customs officers leasing the customs duty (*CIL* III 4009), but Andautonia was far from the border. Ivica Degmedžić suggested the customs station (*portorium*) in Siscia, or a station along the road Siscia – Poetovio, possibly a border from the earlier period.⁹ However, as the dedication to Adsalluta (*AIJ* 26) from the sanctuary near Podkraj, mentioning helmsmen, may suggest, it seems more likely to connect the altar dedicated to Savus to navigation, transport, or trade on the Sava River (*fig. 3*).¹⁰

This is further indicated by the position where the monument was found. It seems that the Roman port was located at Savišće, a present-day Sava oxbow, approximately 800 m southeast from Andautonia. Here, a former meander brought the river closest to the town, creating favourable conditions for a port (*fig. 4*). In the mid-20th century, a possible layout of buildings or port devices was visible on the surface of the terrain at Savišće.¹¹

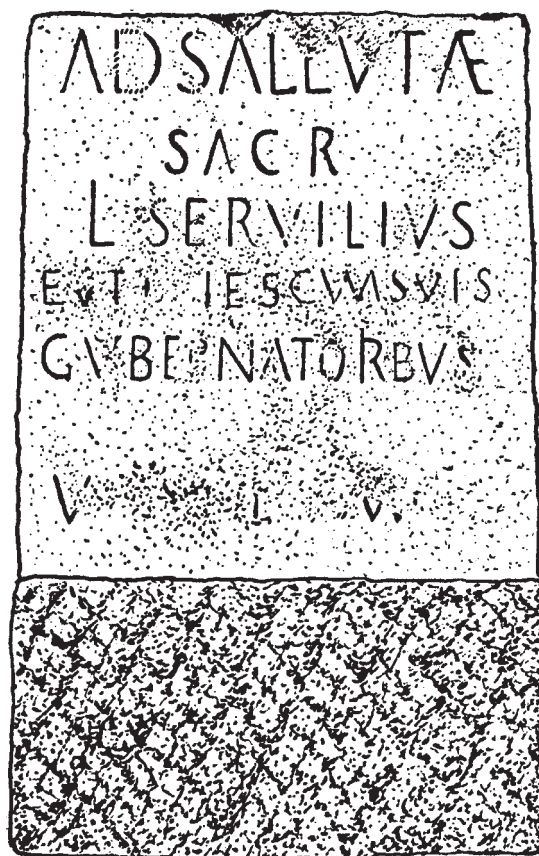


Fig. 3: Altar dedicated to Adsalluta (*AIJ* 26, drawing), found in secondary use at Šentjur na Polju.

Sl. 3: Adsaluti posvečen oltar (*AIJ* 26, risba), najden v sekundarni legi v Šentjurju na Polju.

Trial excavations on a small scale have not produced the expected results so far, since the area investigated was too small.¹²

The cult of Savus was limited to the upper course of the Sava to Siscia, associated with the Celtic people of the Taurisci,¹³ who formerly dwelt in this area (Pliny, *N. h.* III 131). At the end of prehistory, before the arrival of the Romans and also during Roman rule, the Taurisci controlled most of the fluvial navigation. It seems that Adsalluta was a local deity, worshipped at the site of the sanctuary of Savus and Adsalluta at the hamlet of Sava near Podkraj, situated above the dangerous rapids in the Sava River,¹⁴ and between waterfalls such as the ones

⁴ *CIL* III 3896 = *RINMS* 95 (Vernek); curse tablet: *AIJ* 557; Marco Simón, Rodà de Llanza 2008, 167–198.

⁵ Šašel Kos 1994, 103–104.

⁶ Brunšmid 1905, 140; Degmedžić 1957, 103.

⁷ Mócsy 1959, 23. Cf. Manigk 1925, 772–773

⁸ Rendić-Miočević 1994, 131–132.

⁹ Degmedžić 1957, 103; on the importance of the Siscian *portorium* see Dobó 1968, 185.

¹⁰ *AIJ* 26; Šašel Kos 1994, 100–102.

¹¹ Vikić-Belančić 1981, 129–130; *PUMN* I, graphical presentation 4.

¹² Trial excavation at Savišće was directed by Branka Vikić-Belančić and Marcel Gorenc from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb in the 1980s, unpublished; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Vojvoda 1994, 41.

¹³ Šašel Kos 1994, 106.

¹⁴ Šašel Kos 1994; Krajšek, Stergar 2008.

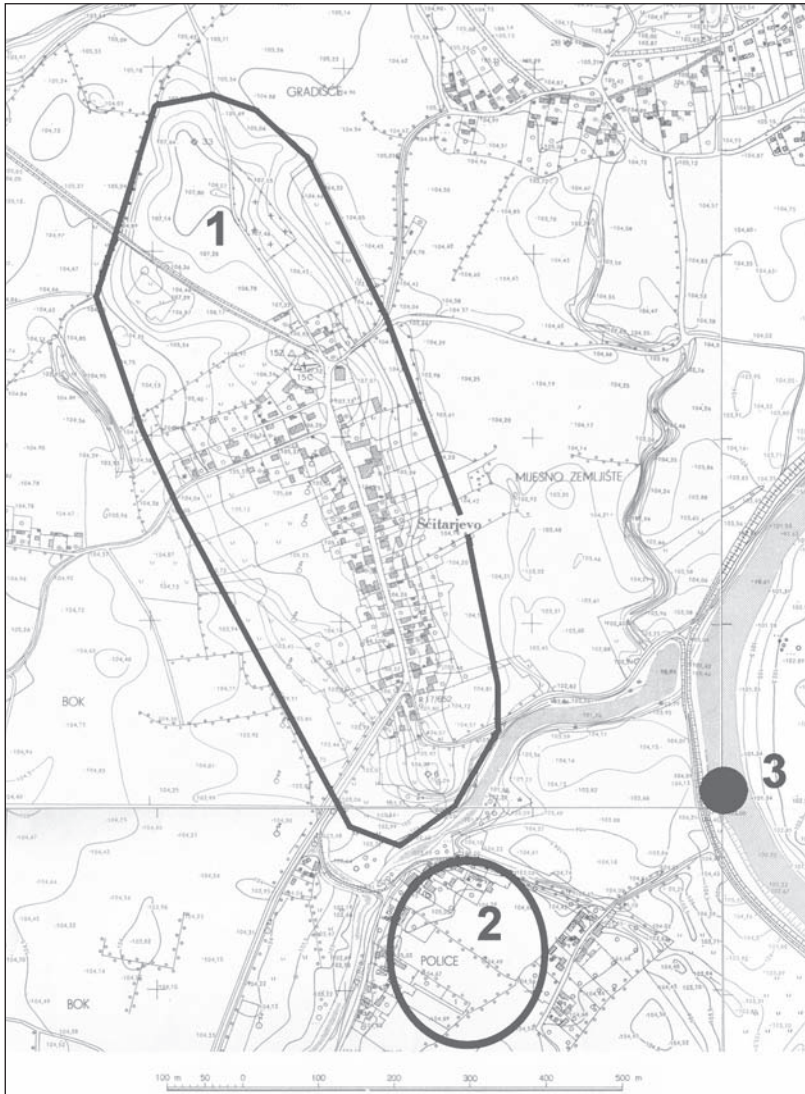


Fig. 4: Andautonia region: 1 Ščitarjevo – conjectured area of the Roman town, 2 Hamlet of Kutelo – possible location of the amphitheatre, 3 Savišće oxbow – conjectured location of the port on the Sava River (source: Basic state Map 1:5000, reduced 50%, Zavod za kartografiju “Geokarta”, Belgrade 1966).

Sl. 4: Območje Andavtonije: 1 Ščitarjevo – rimsko mesto; 2 zaselek Kutelo – možna lokacija amfiteatra; 3 staro rečno korito Savišće – možna lokacija pristanišča na Savi (vir: karta 1:5000, pomanjšana na 50 %, Geokarta, Beograd 1966).

at Zidani Most, Prusnik near Zagorje, and Beli Slap between Trbovlje and Hrastnik.¹⁵ There, boatmen and merchants would erect altars dedicated to Savus and Adsalluta, or to Adsalluta alone.¹⁶

Downstream of Siscia no monuments or objects connected to the cult of Savus have been found

¹⁵ Dular 2009, 36

¹⁶ The analysis of the onomastics, social status, and ethnic origin of the dedicators of the altars suggests they were passing travellers, mostly tradesmen and their helpers. An altar dedicated to Adsalluta is especially indicative because it mentions the helmsmen of river ships (*AIJ* 26). See Šašel Kos 1994, 113; cf. Fitz 1980, 164.

so far. Strabo mentions a river Noarus flowing by Segestica and towards the Danube (VII 5.2 C 313–314; VII 5.12 C 318). According to the current interpretation, this could have been an older name for the Sava or a name from another language for the river. Noarus may perhaps have been an older name denoting only the lower part of the river,¹⁷ which could explain the lack of material evidence confirming the cult of Savus downstream of Sisak (Segestica/Siscia). Nevertheless, we can presume that Savus was, in a later period, worshipped along the entire course of the river, and we can expect

¹⁷ Šašel Kos 2002.

material confirmation in the future. Since there are no rapids that would imperil navigation in the lower course of the river, we can anticipate such confirmation being found near ports and crossings like Servitium, Marsonia, or Sirmium. River shallows and bars were dangerous for navigation in summer, during low water levels in the lower Sava. Thus the cult of the river deity, a protector of navigation, could also be connected to such river sites.

The starting point for navigation along the Sava was Nauportus, where on the small but navigable Ljubljana River, vessels would load goods arriving from the Adriatic coast through the Postojna Gate.¹⁸ Such navigation took place along the Ljubljana to the Sava, and further on towards present-day Slavonia and Sarmia, and then as far as the Danube, the border of the Empire and a waterway connecting several Roman provinces. River traffic was active in the opposite direction as well, involving the transport of various goods and products of Pannonia and other countries connected to the river network.¹⁹ This combined route had been used since prehistoric times, as can be inferred from the return route of Jason and the Argonauts from the Black Sea, such as it is described by Apollonius of Rhodes, i.e. along the Danube to the Adriatic Sea.²⁰

Apart from ancient literary sources describing the navigation on the Sava River (notably Strabo), archaeological finds also supply important data. The remains of a river barge were found at the site of "Kovnica" in Sisak in 1985.²¹ Roman bricks with Siscia stamps found in Nevioudunum (present-day Drnovo), provide reliable evidence of heavy cargo transport upstream along the Sava.²² A boat loaded with scrap bronze objects was found in the Kupa River at Kobilić Pokupski, not far from Karlovac. The cargo was probably being transported to the metal foundries in Siscia.²³ Evidence confirming the use of smaller rivers for navigation in Roman times, in addition to the evidence from the Ljubljana River,²⁴ can be derived from archaeological finds from mining and metallurgical areas in northwest Bosnia. Iron ore and ingots were transported along

the Japra and Sava Rivers to the Una,²⁵ and further on along the Sava to Siscia. The return route was used for the transport of bricks with Siscian stamps, like the ones found in the Japra valley.²⁶

Throughout history, upstream navigation on the Sava and other rivers was conducted with the aid of draught animals and human haulage pulling a ship or a barge from the shoreline. Downstream navigation was easier, except over dangerous rapids and waterfalls. Spring and autumn were the best seasons to navigate the Sava due to high river levels. Low water levels would make the journeys in the summer dangerous, especially over rapids, which were practically impassable in that season.²⁷ The transport along the Sava remained more or less unchanged until the industrial revolution.²⁸ It acquired special importance in the 18th and 19th centuries due to the increase of grain exports from Hungary and Slavonia. The grain was shipped upstream along the Sava and Kupa Rivers to Karlovac, where it was transferred to carts, and transported to the ports of Senj and Rijeka along recently opened roads.²⁹ The other route went upstream along the Sava from Sisak to the area of Ljubljana (and even further upstream, as far as Kranj), and then by road to Trieste. The downstream route was mostly used for transporting imported goods such as sugar, coffee, and various manufactured products.³⁰ The navigation route along the Sava towards Slavonia remained important until the construction of the railway line in the 19th century.³¹

The importance of Andautonia lay in its traffic position. The important Roman road Siscia – Poetovio crossed the Sava River here.³² The intersection of that road with the river transport system allowed the loads to be transferred from river vessels to carts or draught animals and vice versa, thus allowing various loads to be transported by road

²⁵ Downstream of Dubica on the Una, 97 iron ingots with an average weight of 4.4 kg were found. These finds also confirm the route of the Roman waterway: Durman 1992, 127; Durman 2002, 28–29.

²⁶ Basler 1975–1976, pl. XVII/3; Durman 1992, 127.

²⁷ Dular 2009, 40.

²⁸ Planinc 1914, 123–126; Šašel Kos 1994, 110–111; Dular 2009, 40; Šašel Kos 2009, 47–49.

²⁹ Karaman 1989, 65–69.

³⁰ Planinc 1914, 123–126; Šašel Kos 1994, 110–111.

³¹ The construction of the railway line Zidani Most – Sisak in 1862 is especially important. At this point the river traffic upstream of Sisak, where goods were transferred to the railways, was reduced (Karaman 1972, 47–48).

³² Klemenc documented remains of the wooden bridge supports at Ščitarjevo: Klemenc 1938, 108.

¹⁸ Horvat, Mušič 2007; Istenič 2009.

¹⁹ See Strabo IV 6.10 C 207.

²⁰ Šašel Kos 1994, 106.

²¹ Šarić 1986a, 28–29.

²² Petru 1990, 90; Durman 1992, 127.

²³ Šarić 1986b.

²⁴ Turk et al. 2009.



Fig. 5: The Sava River basin in the Andautonian region with topographical features marked.
 Sl. 5: Porečje Save, območje Andavtonije s topografsko pomembnimi točkami.

to Poetovio, and further on to Carnuntum and the Danube *limes*. The goods from the northern provinces and areas outside the borders could arrive from the opposite direction, such as amber from the Baltic regions.

At this site the former town lies on a naturally elevated position protecting it from floods, which also allowed the river to be crossed. The opposite river bank also had an elevated part near the present-day Ivanja Reka and Jelkovac. In cold and rainy seasons, the river would flood the surrounding lower terrain, creating a wide flooded area difficult to cross. The elevated parts allowed the road to pass through an area safe from the high Sava waters, since only the elevations were dry and passable and could provide access to the actual river bed, the location for a ferry or a bridge. Low-lying river banks and the fact that the river bed was higher than the surrounding areas made it impossible to cross the Sava downstream of Andautonia all the way to Siscia. This hydrological phenomenon was caused by the deceleration of the river flow and alluvial sedimentation in the riverbed.

This is the reason why the Sava has no tributaries from the Zagreb area³³ all the way to Sisak and the

Kupa confluence (fig. 5). All the water from the right bank, from Turropolje onwards, is collected by the Odra, which flows into the Kupa just before Sisak. From the left bank, the water goes to the Lonja River, with its confluence into the Sava only twenty kilometres downstream of Sisak. In winter and spring, the flooded Sava waters in the area between the Odra and Lonja Rivers would create a ten kilometre wide floodplain zone very difficult to ford.³⁴ A similar water regime existed until the modern regulation of the Sava River in the 20th century.

The wider Zagreb area is distinguished by another hydrological phenomenon. After leaving its narrow valley near Krško, the Sava gradually turns from a typical mountain river with a fast flow and large river-fall into a lowland river. The large river-fall (around 3.6 m/km – altitude metres per linear kilometre of the river flow) extends to a place called Rugvica, a few kilometres downstream of Ščitarjevo (fig. 5). Further downstream, the river-fall is around 0.04 m/km.³⁵ To this point of Rugvica, the river has mostly accumulated a post-Pleistocene thick gravel layer with larger sand grains, and with smaller sand grains with clay layers downstream.

³³ Vugrov potok at Resnik is the Sava's final left tributary, and the smaller tributary at Lučko is a final right tributary.

³⁴ Durman 1992, 118–120

³⁵ Šterc 1979, 47–49; ZL II, 291–292.

This is the reason why Rugvica is sometimes considered the point where the Sava becomes a lowland river.³⁶ For several decades, this spot has been planned as the site of a modern river port for the city of Zagreb, receiving ships of the standard Sava size.³⁷ This crucial point of the course of the river Sava and its navigation is located within the municipal territory of Andautonia.

The above suggests another aspect of activities in the port of Andautonia. The cargo would not only have been transferred between land and river routes, but also within water routes themselves; from larger ships to smaller ones suitable for upstream navigation along the faster and more dangerous Sava. This would have been particularly useful for the upstream transport of heavier loads, such as grains from Pannonia, iron products, and building material from Siscian workshops and factories. The cargo would have been reloaded from larger to smaller ships appropriate for the upper course of the river, shipping goods from Italy and the Alpine provinces. The larger river ships that were emptied could load these goods and transport them downstream to their departure ports.

Andautonia, at a significant intersection and an important point in Sava traffic, was a place where many river boatmen, road transporters, tradesmen and travellers would linger. A safe trip crossing dangerous points was believed to have depended on the benevolence of Savus, who was worshipped along the waterway. Marcus Iuentius Primigenius, a tradesman or a ship-owner, along with his business associates, probably raised the altar in the Andautonia port because their journey, or a business venture, was successful. It is likely that Marcus Iuentius Primigenius was an inhabitant of Andautonia, but we cannot exclude the possibility that he was a foreign merchant who erected the altar to the local divinity.

2. NEMESIS AND ANDAUTONIA

A relief of the goddess Nemesis with an inscription (*CIL* III, 4008; *AIJ* 475) was engraved on a marble slab inscribed on both sides. The older honorary inscription to *Lucius Funisulanus Vettonianus* (*fig. 6*), an Andautonian patron, was erected at the end of the 1st century AD, during the reign of the emperor Domitian, whose name

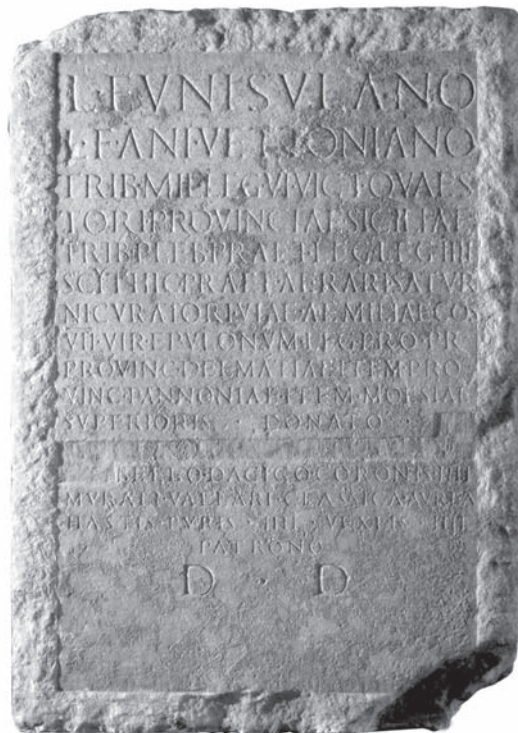


Fig. 6: Marble slab with an honorific inscription to the senator L. Funisulanus Vettonianus from Petrovina Turopoljska, presently in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, photo I. Krajcar).

Sl. 6: Marmorna plošča s počastitvenim napisom senatorju Luciju Funisulanu Vettonianu iz Petrovine Turopoljske (Arheološki muzej v Zagrebu, foto I. Krajcar).

was erased as a result of *damnatio memoriae* after his murder in 96 AD (*CIL* III, 4013; *AIJ* 479). In the second half of the 2nd century or in the 3rd century AD, the other side of the stele was used as a votive monument to Nemesis (*fig. 7*).³⁸ Currently, this is the earliest inscription giving evidence of municipal rank, and the only one specifically calling Andautonia a *municipium*. It reads as follows:

[D(eae)] NEM(esi) REG(inae) AVG(ustae) SAC(rum)
 [...] IVL(ius) VICTORINVS VE[(teranus?)]
 [D(ecurio)] MVN(icipi) AND(autoniae) CVM SVIS
 V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito).³⁹

In translation:

Dedicated to Nemesis Regina Augusta...Iulius Victorinus, veteran, decurio (or citizen) of the

³⁶ Riđanović 1993, 173; *ZL* II, 291–292.

³⁷ Ilić 1993, 203–211; *ZL* II, 291–292.

³⁸ Rendić-Miočević 1994, 117–119; Degmedžić 1957, 101.

³⁹ The monument dimensions: height 85.9 cm, weight 63 cm, depth 13 cm



Fig. 7: The marble Nemesis monument from Petrovina Turopoljska, presently in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, photo I. Krajcar).
Sl. 7: Marmorna plošča z upodobitvijo Nemeze iz Petrovine Turopoljske (Arheološki muzej v Zagrebu, foto I. Krajcar).

municipality of Andautonia, with his (family?), fulfilled his vow willingly and deservedly.

Monument recycling was rather frequent in antiquity. If there was a lack of stone or a monument carved on a rare stone of high quality became unsuitable or obsolete, it would be given a new purpose. The original content could remain in its place if the new user decided it would not obstruct the purpose of the new monument. In this case, the monument dedicated to Nemesis would be compatible with the one to Funisulanus, and the stele would be visible from both sides. The manner in which the name of Domitian was erased suggests that the inhabitants of Andautonia wanted to preserve the inscription to Funisulanus since it must have had great importance for the community. Another possibility is that the inscription with the erased emperor's name served its purpose until the monument to Nemesis was engraved. Then the Funisulanus inscription may have become obsolete; a century or even more had passed from its placement. The memorial to Funisulanus survived probably because the person

ordering the monument or the stonemason knew the new monument would be embedded in or leant against a wall, therefore removing the old inscription was not necessary.

The upper three quarters of the Nemesis monument contain an image of the goddess, which is placed in the aedicule with a vault which has an arch leant against the stylized Corinthian capitals of the pilasters framing the relief from both ends. The right pilaster with a capital is well preserved, while the left is damaged so only an outline of a capital can be distinguished. Nemesis is standing dressed in a short sleeveless chiton fastened with a circular plate fibula on each shoulder, and girded with a belt tied in a knot below the breasts. She is wearing boots.⁴⁰ It is the way the belt is girded that has led some authors to the conclusion that Nemesis is here identified with Diana.⁴¹ The image of the goddess is rather clumsy in proportion, with a thick body and limbs and an oversized head. The hair with exuberant locks combed to the back can be seen on both sides of her face, with a parting in the middle. The hair is additionally decorated with a diadem on the top, also an attribute of Diana.

The goddess carries a whip and a dagger (or a short sword) in her right hand, both turned upwards. The left arm is covered with an embossed rectangular shield with a prominent rhomboid umbo and reinforced edges. A burning torch, a palm branch and a trident all protrude above the shield. Below the shield, beside the left foot of the goddess, is an upright wheel with six spokes, and a griffin lifting its head and turning its snout towards the hand of the goddess. A bust of *Sol* is engraved in the upper left corner and *Luna* with a crescent moon upon her head on the right.⁴²

We cannot be certain as how to read the remains of the letters that define the status of *Victorinus*. The older reading (*CIL* III, 4013) interprets the ligature at the end of the second line as *VET*. Brunšmid and Hoffiller explicitly claim that the letter *T* does not exist, which is also accepted in later scholarship.⁴³ Nonetheless, the ligature was always interpreted as *veteran*. Today, we can distinguish a vertical cut after the ligature. Since earlier authors did not interpret it as a letter, the cut probably represents damage

⁴⁰ Brunšmid 1905, 66.

⁴¹ Karanastassi, Rausa, de Bellefonds 1992, 766

⁴² Brunšmid 1905, 66; Degmedžić 1957, 100–101; Rendić-Miočević 1994, 118.

⁴³ Brunšmid 1905, 65–66; *AIJ* 479; Degmedžić 1957, 100–101; Rendić-Miočević 1994, 118–119.



Fig. 8: Relief of venatores and Diana from Teurnia, Noricum (Hornum 1993, pl. 25).

Sl. 8: Relief borilcev z zvermi in Dijane iz Teurnije (Hornum 1993, pl. 25).

caused by the metal clamps used to hold the monument earlier in the museum. A similar cut can be distinguished on the same edge of the monument above the capital of the right pilaster. The same ligature could perhaps also be read as the (later) title of a Roman knight (*eques*): *v(ir) e(gregius)*. In either case, as a veteran or a knight, Iulius Vicotrinus was a highly respectable and honourable member of the Andautonian community. The damage at the beginning of the third line was usually interpreted as the letter D (*decurio*) or C (*civis*), i.e. a member of a municipal council or an ordinary citizen.⁴⁴ *Suis* stands for people who were subordinates to Iulius Victorinus, as opposed to equal companions or associates (*socii*). The identity of this group is hard to resolve. They could have been slaves, servants, protégées, or members of his family.

During the development of the cult of Nemesis, the Classical Greek goddess of righteous retribution assumed many meanings and attributes. The attribute personifications of Faith and Justice (*Dike* and *Tyche*) remained the core of the cult. Nemesis was also frequently depicted on the reverse of Roman coins as *Pax Nemesis*. As such, she was worshipped by army commanders, and was also the patroness of training fields as *Nemesis Campestris*. She also appears as the protectress of cities, most

probably due to her relation to *Tyche* and *Fortuna*. In Imperial Rome, the cult of Nemesis was mostly connected to the amphitheatre games and their participants, *gladiatores* and *venatores*.⁴⁵

Such is also the case of our monument, as is indicated by the attributes of the goddess. The shield, the dagger (or a short sword), and a trident are unquestionably attributes of gladiators. A trident is an assault weapon of the *retiarii*, gladiators using a net for defence, hence their name. A short sword and a shield were used by two kinds of gladiators: the Thracian and the Samnite (*Thraex* and *Samnes*). A whip and a torch are characteristic attributes of *venatores*, hunters and animal fighters in Roman games. A torch also symbolizes the power of the punishment, while a palm branch denotes victory.⁴⁶ It is likely that the identification of Nemesis with Diana, the goddess of the hunt, was present because of the venatorial events such as hunting and animal taming (fig. 8). The wheel symbolizes ever-changing faith and fortune, and is considered an attribute of *Tyche* and *Fortuna*. The griffin, symbolizing strength and power, helps Nemesis to bring peace and maintain order in the state.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ On Nemesis in general, see Hornum 1993.

⁴⁶ Hornum 1993, 67.

⁴⁷ Rossbach 1902, 158; Hornum 1993, 31–32.

⁴⁴ Brunšmid 1905, 66–67.

There is another link between Nemesis and gladiatorial and venatorial spectacles. Criminals, war prisoners and fugitive slaves were punished during the games in fights with animals, i.e. order was restored and justice administered. In this case, the authority of Nemesis as a protectress of gladiatorial and venatorial fights (*munus* and *venatio*) could interweave with her role as protectress of justice and order, where helped by a griffin. It seems that the authority of Nemesis over maintaining order in the state was the reason her shrines were erected at the sites of games in amphitheatres. Here, the goddess was an ally of the state in righteous punishment.⁴⁸

Monuments and altars dedicated to Nemesis were raised throughout the Roman Empire. Most often she was worshipped alongside amphitheatres, hippodromes, stadia, and theatres.⁴⁹ The shrines in the vicinity of such facilities are of three different kinds. The first is an independent structure in the shape of a smaller temple. It is restricted to the cities of three Danube provinces, Noricum, Pannonia and Dacia: Flavia Solva, Aquincum, Carnuntum, Sarmizegetusa.⁵⁰ The second type is a separated room for the cult, and the third is a designated space (usually a niche) in amphitheatres or other venues of gladiatorial or venatorial games. These shrines were distributed over the then entire Roman Empire. They were discovered in amphitheatres in Noricum, Pannonia, Hispania, Africa, and Britannia.⁵¹ Many inscriptions and monuments dedicated to Nemesis were found outside the framework of such structures, frequently dislocated or in secondary use. In Croatia, traces of the cult of Nemesis were found in amphitheatres in Salona, Pola, and perhaps in Burnum (Ivoševci).⁵² In Pola and Salona, the place of worship was situated in separate rooms within the amphitheatre and therefore belongs to the second kind. An altar dedicated to Nemesis was found in Daruvar, ancient Aquae Balissae (*AII* 585). Our stele and the altar from Aquae Balissae

fall outside such specific construction types and leave us uncertain of the kind they belong to.

The relief of Nemesis with the described attributes indicates the presence of amphitheatre games, thus opening the possibility of an amphitheatre or a facility of similar character used for games in Andautonia. Although the monument was found in Petrovina, it can well be hypothesized that it was transported there from Andautonia and built into a medieval church. Due to its importance, the original monument raised for Lucius Funisulanus Vettonianus, an Andautonian patron, had to have been placed within the town. Most probably, the relief dedicated to Nemesis did stand there, or in the immediate vicinity.

Gladiatorial games could have been organized in *forum* (Vitruvius V 5.2–3). In some cities, especially in communities with a Greek heritage, existing facilities such as theatres, stadia and hippodromes were used. In the east, the cult of Nemesis was confirmed in various structure types where the amphitheatre games were organized, but in the western part of the Empire so far it has been confirmed only in amphitheatres.⁵³ Such a situation also applies to Roman Pannonia. In Andautonia, the cult of Nemesis most certainly was not connected to the theatre, stadium, or hippodrome since such facilities were quite uncommon in these parts of the Empire. Two possibilities remain: worship in an amphitheatre or in a *forum*.

Even though we have no documented cases of worshipping Nemesis in a town forum so far, the possibility should not be excluded. In that case, it is considered that both sides of the monument could have been seen. On one side, the inscription to Funisulanus with the name of Domitian removed, as important for the community of Andautonia over a long period, and the relief of Nemesis, the protectress of games, justice and order on the other side. Consequently, both sides of the monument were important for the town and were appropriate for public space.

At the time when the relief of Nemesis was made (the second half of the 2nd century, or the beginning of the 3rd century AD), Andautonia was in the period of its strongest development and spatial growth. The town was expanding in all directions, mostly towards the south, taking up a maximum space of 1000 x 400 m.⁵⁴ Due to its size and importance, we can be quite certain

⁴⁸ Hornum 1993, 88–89.

⁴⁹ The original events in hippodromes, stadia, and theatres (races, athletic events, plays) were not connected to Nemesis. The cult of Nemesis was present there only because they also featured gladiatorial combats (Hornum 1993, 50–56).

⁵⁰ Hornum 1993, 56–57.

⁵¹ *Virunum* (Gugl 2001a, Gugl 2001b), *Savaria* (Buócz 1994, 28–29), *Scarbantia* (Póczy 1980, 259).

⁵² Salona: Ceci 1962, 12; Pola: *CIL* V, 17; *CIL* V, 8134; *CIL* V, 8135; Burnum: Cambi et al. 2006, 21–23.

⁵³ Hornum 1993, 50.

⁵⁴ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan-Špalj 2003, 119–120

that Andautonia had a separate facility used for gladiatorial games. In scholarship, the relief of Nemesis is considered a proof of this theory. It is assumed that the amphitheatre was made of wood (as were early amphitheatres in Italy) since it left no traces.⁵⁵ The construction of wooden amphitheatres was retained even later on in European provinces rich in wood. The first amphitheatre in Carnuntum, a Roman army camp, was made of wood in the second half of the 1st century. A new one, made of stone, was constructed in its place around year 150.⁵⁶

Traces of wooden construction in Andautonia are not preserved due to the nature of the material. Since merely a few remains from the earliest period of the town are preserved, we can only assume that the architecture of those times was wooden; wooden architecture in Andautonia is indicated by the traces of charred wood found during archaeological excavation at several locations in the town.⁵⁷ Our monument dates to the second half of the 2nd century or the beginning of the 3rd century AD, when most facilities in Andautonia were made of stone. The amphitheatre in Andautonia would certainly have been made of stone, easily accessible from several quarries on Medvednica.⁵⁸ There is no reason why the amphitheatre would have been made of wood when all other important structures were made of stone.

The topography of other cities in the Roman Empire, especially those in Pannonia and the neighbouring province of Dalmatia, leads to further considerations. A large number of amphitheatres were placed outside the town walls due to lack of space. Carnuntum and Aquincum each had two amphitheatres, one for the army camp and another for the city. In both cases, the amphitheatre was outside the town walls.⁵⁹ Scarbantia and Gorsium also had amphitheatres outside the town walls.⁶⁰ In Salona, the amphitheatre was once again constructed outside the town walls and was only at a later period incorporated into the fortification system, while the one in Pola remained outside

the town walls.⁶¹ Various sources confirm that in 351 AD, the emperor Constantius II defeated the usurper Magnentius by the walls of Mursa, at the amphitheatre outside the walls next to the southeast corner of the wall (Zosimus II 50.2). In such cases, the amphitheatres were in the vicinity of main roads leading from the town.

Consequently, it can be presumed that the amphitheatre in Andautonia was located outside the town walls and outside the area of the explored remains of the town. When considering a possible location, several natural factors should be taken into account. Andautonia was expanding by following a natural elevation protected from the Sava floods, which therefore limited the town's expansion. The river is located north and east of the town, while its course underwent considerable changes over time. The terrain towards the Sava is low and prone to flooding, so it is highly unlikely that the amphitheatre was located there. The western side of the town had several streams, also making it an unsuitable location. The most favourable location was south of the town. The hamlet of Kutelo is located at that place today, also on elevated terrain protected from floods, and is separated from Ščitarjevo by a dry river bed (*fig. 4*). Several archaeological investigations at Kutelo have confirmed the existence of a cremation cemetery from the period between the 2nd and the 4th centuries AD, and discovered traces of the Roman road leading from Andautonia to Siscia.⁶² The excavations conducted so far covered a relatively small surface and no significant traces of architecture were found. The surface traces of the Roman town were erased by the intensive and long-term removal of stones used for construction purposes in Ščitarjevo, around Velika Gorica, and in Zagreb. Matija Petar Katančić, who could see the ruins of Andautonia at the end of the 18th century, mentioned outskirts of the Roman town in the present area of Kutelo and further to the south.⁶³ Although Katančić did not identify the ruins as an amphitheatre,⁶⁴ the description of a structure outside the central urban area could indicate that

⁵⁵ Degmedžić 1957, 101; Póczy 1980, 255. Early amphitheatres in Italy: Meier 1894, 1960; Schneider 1918, 779.

⁵⁶ Fitz 1980, 173; Hönle 1984, 157.

⁵⁷ See Vikić-Belančić 1981; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1984; cf. Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan-Špalj 2003, 123.

⁵⁸ Vikić-Belančić 1981, 143; Gregl 1994, 36.

⁵⁹ Szilágyi 1968, 127–128; Póczy 1980, 259; Kandler 2004, 15; Zsidi 2004, 217.

⁶⁰ Gömöri 2003, 85; Fitz 2004, 203.

⁶¹ Suić 2003, 216, 225, 263–265.

⁶² In 1962 conducted by Branka Vikić-Belančić (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb), 1982 and 1983 conducted by Pavo Vojvoda (Turopolje Museum); Vikić-Belančić 1981, 132; Vojvoda 1997; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan-Špalj 2003, 119.

⁶³ Katančić 1795, 134.

⁶⁴ Katančić was not very precise about the purpose and the function of the ruins. He identified only the town walls and the southern gate (Katančić 1795, 133–134).

the town's amphitheatre might be located somewhere in this area next to the main road towards the south and Siscia. Perhaps future excavation will offer a more precise answer. Future research could be encouraged by a fairly new discovery of an amphitheatre in Virunum where, in 1999, two reliefs of Nemesis were found among the few amphitheatre remains.⁶⁵

If the amphitheatre did in fact exist, our monument dedicated to Nemesis would have been placed inside or in a separate shrine close by. In that case, the inscription to Funisulanus was probably hidden by placing the monument inside the niche or immured in the shrine's walls. Due to the characteristics of the cult, Nemesis was worshipped by the gladiators and *venatores* themselves, as well as by other people, especially soldiers and public officials. Although it would seem likely that most dedicatory inscriptions would mention the actual participants of the amphitheatre games, the situation is quite different since soldiers, public officials, citizens, or even entire communities, such as cities, are mentioned more frequently.⁶⁶ This was the case of Iulius Victorinus, if he was an ordinary citizen or a town councillor.

He may have seen the goddess as a protectress of amphitheatre games and its participants, as indicated by the attributes of the goddess, but also as a patroness of the *municipium* of Andautonia.⁶⁷ This latter role would have been especially indicative since the function of *decurio* gave him the right to perform public duties on behalf of the community. The town councillor (*decurio*) from Sarmizegetusa in Dacia is mentioned as a worshipper of Nemesis, and the *decurio* of Siscia is the dedicator of the altar to Nemesis from Savaria.⁶⁸ Evidence of worshipping Nemesis as a protectress of the city was found in Carnuntum and Ephesus. It reflects the identification of Nemesis with Tyche/Fortuna.⁶⁹

The group of people referred to by *suis* remains unknown. The weapons held by Nemesis are a combination of gladiatorial and venatorial weapons, therefore indicating that they might have been members, together with Victorinus, of the municipal association organizing gladiatorial and venatorial games. Some scholars connect this

relief of Nemesis with Diana, the protectress of hunters and hunting,⁷⁰ and indeed, the purpose of venatorial games was to present hunters and hunting to urban spectators. It may be suggested that wild oxen were used in venatorial events in the Andautonian region, present-day Turopolje. Tur is an Old Slavic word for large extinct European wild cattle (*Bos primigenius*). The name Turopolje ("Aurochs Plain") stems from that word. The aurochs existed in this region until the end of the Middle Ages.

3. CULT MONUMENTS AS TOPOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL LANDMARKS

Material evidence of ancient cults, one regional and the other spread throughout the entire Roman empire, imply not only the topography of the ancient town, but also shed light on the individuals and social groups worshipping them. From a strictly religious sphere, the data acquired from the monuments become referential, serving as evidence of urban and economic developments, topography and eco-history.

The site of the discovery of the altar dedicated to Savus unquestionably indicates the location of the town's port on a meander of the Sava. The intersection of important water and land routes from Siscia to Poetovio gave great importance to the Andautonian port, as did the fact that this is the point where the course of the Sava becomes calmer, transforming it from a fast mountain river to a calm lowland one. The present knowledge of the cult of Savus restricts it to the upper course of the Sava to Siscia, and indeed, this part of the river is the most dangerous. However, new evidence of the cult of Savus downstream from Siscia would not be surprising. The protection of Savus was needed for a safe passage of boatmen and tradesmen along the river. Therefore, they were the main dedicators of the monuments. The Andautonian port was a suitable place to request the protection of Savus, which is confirmed by the altar erected by Marcus Iuentius Primigenius with his *socii*.

The Nemesis monument can be regarded as evidence for amphitheatre games in Andautonia. By comparing this monument to similar ones in Pannonia and elsewhere, and analyzing the topography of Andautonia, we can conclude that there was an amphitheatre in the broader region

⁶⁵ Jernej 2000; Gugl 2001.

⁶⁶ Hornum 1993, 70–74, 89.

⁶⁷ Degmedžić 1957, 100–101.

⁶⁸ *CIL* III, 13781; Hornum 1993, 73, 262; Savaria: Hornum 1993, 225..

⁶⁹ Hornum 1993, 41–42.

⁷⁰ Karanastassi, Rausa, de Bellefonds 1992, 766.

of the town. The topographic factors for the location of the amphitheatre would indicate the area of Andautonia towards the south, close to the main road to Siscia.⁷¹ The cult of Nemesis was widespread across the Empire, mostly associated with gladiatorial and venatorial combats and the corresponding structures. In Pannonia, it was mostly connected with amphitheatres. Despite that fact, most dedicators were not participants of the games, but rather soldiers, town and state officials, as well as other members of communities.

The two monuments under consideration also shed light on the people who raised them. Marcus Iuentius Primigenius was probably one of many who were conducting business connected to navigation on the Sava and the Andautonian port; perhaps he was a resident of the town. The cult of Nemesis and the characteristics of the relief indicate the presence of games, gladiators, and *venatores*. Iulius Victorinus was, as a veteran or perhaps a member of the equestrian order, a respectable citizen of Andautonia, perhaps even

⁷¹ An elevated terrain protected from floods outside the urban area can be found at the present-day hamlet of Kutelo, where Katančić described seeing the outskirts of the ancient town (Katančić 1795, 134).

a *decurio* of the city. Data concerning the relation between this monument and gladiatorial games, possibly even an amphitheatre, suggest Nemesis as the protectress of the town. In both cases, the dedicators of these two monuments are witnesses of the dynamic development of ancient Andautonia, and its integration into the *orbis Romanus* in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

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Abbreviations

ARP 1980 = A. Lengyel, G. T. B. Radan (eds.), *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, Budapest 1980.
 AIJ = V. Hoffiller, B. Saria, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien*, Heft I: *Noricum und Pannonia superior*, Zagreb 1938.
 CIL = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*.
 ILS = *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*.
 LIMC = *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*.
 PUMN = N. Beniĉ-Hlebec et al., *Plan uređenja manjeg naselja – Šćitarjevo*, vol. I and II, Zagreb 1984.
 RE = *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.
 Vitruvius = Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, *Deset knjiga o arhitekturi – De architectura libri decem* (transl. M. Lopac), Zagreb 1999.
 ZL = J. Bilić, H. Ivanković (eds.), *Zagrebački leksikon*, vol. I and II, Zagreb 2006.

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Čaščenje Savusa in Nemeze v Andavtoniji

Povzetek

Avtor v članku ugotavlja, kako izpovedni so lahko rimski spomeniki z napisi in reliefi za topografijo antičnega mesta. Izhodišče sta mu oltar, posvečen rečnemu bogu Savusu, in plošča, na kateri je na eni strani napis patrona mesta Lucija Funisulana Vetonijana (*L. Funisulanus Vettonianus*) s konca 1. stoletja po Kr., na drugi strani pa relief Nemeze, pod katerim je vklesano posvetilo boginji; oba izvirata iz Andavtonije, danes Ščitarjeva blizu Zagreba. Savusa, katerega kult je bil regionalnega pomena, so, sodeč po doslej odkritih posvetilih, častili ob gornjem toku Save do Siscije (Siska), kult Nemeze pa je bil razprostranjen po celem imperiju. Spomenika nista pomembna le za topografijo mesta, temveč nam spregovorita tudi o posvetiteljih in o družbenih slojih, iz katerih sta eden in drugi izvirala, ter dokazujeta gospodarski razvoj mesta in njegovo vsestransko umeščenost v *orbis Romanus*.

Savusov žrtvenik je bil odkrit leta 1870 v starem koritu reke Save v neposredni bližini Ščitarjeva. V 2. ali morda 3. stoletju ga je dal postaviti Mark Juencij Primigenij (*M. Iuencius Primigenius*) z družabniki (*socii*). Bil je verjetno eden mnogih, katerih posli so bili vezani na plovbo po reki, pa mu je bila zato pomembna naklonjenost rečnega božanstva. Kraj, kjer je bil oltar najden, kaže, da je v antiki obstajalo rečno pristanišče na nekdanjem meandru reke na južni periferiji Andavtonije. Pristanišče je bilo še posebej pomembno zato, ker sta se v mestu križali vodna in kopenska pot, ki sta povezovali Siscijo s Petovionom (*Poetovio*), hkrati pa je bilo to območje reke, kjer se njen hitri planinski tok spremeni v mirnega ravninskega. Zato morda ni naključje, da so bila posvetila Savusu najdena le ob zgornjem toku reke, čeprav ne moremo izključiti, da bodo v prihodnje prišla na dan tudi ob njenem spodnjem toku. Prevoznikom z ladjami in trgovcem je bila naklonjenost rečnega boga pomembna in gotovo so bili prav oni

med najbolj številnimi posvetitelji oltarjev. Andavtonijsko pristanišče je bilo nedvomno zelo primeren kraj za kult Savusa, zato ne preseneča, da je bil oltar, ki ga je bil dal postaviti Mark Juencij Primigenij s svojimi družabniki, najden na tem mestu.

Drugi spomenik je bil odkrit v 18. stoletju, vzidan v cerkev v Petrovini Turopoljski, ok. 15 km južno od Ščitarjeva. Relief z upodobitvijo Nemeze in zaobljubni napis sta vklesana na marmorni plošči, ki je bila uporabljena tudi na drugi strani, kjer je vklesan počastitveni napis Luciju Funisulanu Vetonianu (*L. Funisulanus Vettonianus*) iz časa cesarja Domicijana (81–96 po Kr.). V drugi polovici 2. ali v začetku 3. stoletja so ploščo uporabili za relief Nemeze in spremljajoči zaobljubni napis, ki ga je dal vklesati Julij Viktorin (*Iulius Victorinus*). Napis je nekoliko poškodovan, zato ni povsem jasno, ali je bil Viktorin veteran ali rimski vitez, morda tudi član mestnega sveta (*decurio*). Doslej je to edini napis, na katerem je Andavtonija izrecno omenjena kot rimski municipij (*MVN AND*). Upodobitve gladiatorskih in lovskih atributov na Nemezinem reliefu kažejo, da so se v Andavtoniji uprizarjale gladiatorske igre in borbe z divjimi živalmi (*venationes*). Da je v mestu po vsej verjetnosti obstajal amfiteater, ne dokazuje le ta napis in njegova primerjava s podobnimi v Panoniji in drugod po imperiju, temveč je mogoče na njegov obstoj sklepati tudi na osnovi topografskih značilnosti Andavtonije. Te kažejo, da bi bil najugodnejši prostor za izgradnjo amfiteatra južno od mesta ob glavni cesti proti Sisciji. Kult Nemeze je bil razprostranjen po vsem rimskem imperiju in je bil predvsem vezan na gladiatorske igre in borbe z divjimi zvermi ter z objekti, kjer so se le-te uprizarjale. V Panoniji je bil predvsem povezan z amfiteatri. Vendar pa posvetitelji večinoma niso bili neposredni udeleženci iger, temveč vojaki, mestni in državni visoki uradniki ter

skupnosti meščanov. V eno teh skupin posvetiteljev sodi tudi Julij Viktorin. Nemeza bi mogla v Andavtoniji imeti tudi vlogo zaščitnice mesta, kar je v nekaterih rimskih mestih že znano.

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