

Emona and its pre-Roman population: epigraphic evidence

Predrimsko prebivalstvo Emone v luči rimskih napisov

Marjeta ŠAŠEL KOS

Izvleček

O prebivalcih, ki so živeli v Emoni pred prihodom Rimljanov, in o njihovih potomcih se ne ve veliko. Na Ižanskem je bilo najdenih okoli sto nagrobnih spomenikov, ki nam nudijo dober pregled nad osebnimi imeni staroselcev, iz Emone pa jih poznamo le malo, a vendar ne tako malo, kot so še nedavno domnevali. Dejansko pomeni število nagrobnikov z nerimskimi imeni 10,7 % vseh emonskih nagrobnih spomenikov z ugotovljivimi imeni; vsaj osem nagrobnikov s staroselskimi imeni je bilo nedvomno odkritih v Ljubljani. Emonski prostor in Ižansko sta bila v predrimskem obdobju vedno soodvisna in tesno povezana, te vezi so bile bolj ali manj nasilno prekinjene, šele ko so Rimljani v Emoni ustanovili rimsko kolonijo, kar je povzročilo, da je bila večina staroselcev odrinjena na rob družbe.

Nekaterim se je uspelo prilagoditi novim razmeram in se vključiti v rimsko družbo, npr. *Buio* in njegova žena *Lasciontia* ter *Enno* in njegova žena *Cetetiu*. Njihov višji družbeni položaj (premožnejše peregrino prebivalstvo) jim je omogočil, da so si lahko kupili družinski nagrobnik. Nekateri staroselske družine so dobile rimsko državljanstvo in spremenile svoja osebna imena v družinska po rimskem vzoru, npr. *Vibunnii*. Ta imena in družbene vezi njihovih nosilcev zanimivo osvetljujejo življenje v Emoni, preden je postala rimsko mesto, pojasnjujejo pa tudi različne možnosti povezovanja, ki je bilo neizogibno, ko so bili nekdanji prebivalci emonskega prostora prisiljeni živeti skupaj s kolonisti.

Ključne besede: rimska doba, *colonia Iulia Emona*, Ižansko, osebna imena, peregrino prebivalstvo

Abstract

Not much is known about the pre-Roman inhabitants of Emona and their descendants, therefore it is all the more important to collect all available evidence. Epigraphic documents from the Ig area are abundant, containing a large selection of indigenous personal names, which, in contrast, are rather scarce at *colonia Iulia Emona*, but not as scarce as has been assumed. The tombstones with indigenous names in actuality represent 10.7% of all Emonian grave monuments with identifiable names. At least eight monuments with epichoric anthroponymy can be regarded as having been undoubtedly discovered at Ljubljana. The Emona–Ig areas were closely interdependent in the pre-Roman period and it was only with the foundation of a Roman colony at Emona that the earlier connections and identity of the pre-Roman inhabitants of Emona were forcibly disrupted, relegating the majority of them to a marginal existence.

However, there were some who managed to integrate themselves into the Roman society, earning enough money to erect a funeral monument for themselves and their families. This was the case of *Buio* and his wife *Lasciontia*, as well as of *Enno* and his wife *Cetetiu*. There were native families who were given citizenship, transforming their personal names into a *gentilicium*, as, for example, the *Vibunnii*. These names and social connections of their bearers shed a most interesting light on life in Emona before it became a Roman city, as well as on various means of integration, when the former inhabitants had to live side by side with the newcomers.

Keywords: Roman period, *colonia Iulia Emona*, Ig area, onomastics, peregrine inhabitants

A SHORT HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE

Not much is known about the pre-Roman inhabitants of Emona and their descendants, therefore it is all the more important to collect all the available evidence. Epigraphic documents from the Ig area are abundant (about a hundred tombstones have been found to date), containing a large selection of indigenous personal names. These, in contrast, are rather scarce at Emona, but not as scarce as has generally been assumed. It is claimed in the basic survey article about Emona in the *RE* that “einheimische Elemente kommen fast nicht zum Ausdruck”.¹ However, this impression can be modified, since in actuality the tombstones with indigenous names represent 10.7% of all grave monuments from Emona with identifiable names.² Classical sources do not offer any data concerning the indigenous population in the Emona basin, the only information referring to the nearby Nauportus, which Strabo calls a Tauriscan village (7.5.2 C 314). However, the Celtic Taurisci were in any case late-comers and probably had not arrived before the 3rd century BC; in this region, which was attached to Cisalpine Gaul and later to Italy in the Roman period (*Regio X*), there may not have been many present. Hence it can be assumed that in terms of ethnic identity, it was the pre-Tauriscan population that gave a more distinct stamp to the area. And indeed, this is well confirmed by the personal names from the Ig area.³ Already Jaroslav Šašel had suggested that Emona may have been a Venetic or Carnic village,⁴ and it in fact belonged, together with Nauportus and the Ig area, to the large northern Adriatic onomastic landscape, including the Venetic, Histrian, and Liburnian onomastic systems.⁵ The Nauportus-Emona basin and the Ig area represent the north-easternmost region within this area, which was at the same time located at the very border with Noricum and Pannonia and the Pannonian onomastic system.

Pre-Roman Emona developed at the confluence of the small Gradaščica and the Ljubljanica Rivers

and it can be regarded as an ideal river port. The settlement was located mainly on the right bank of the Ljubljanica, well protected by Castle Hill and by the river, as well as by Golovec Hill. The late Bronze and early Iron Age settlement was located on the Castle Hill, but also extended to the foothills in the Prule area, where recent excavations have revealed a carefully planned village with wooden houses and a street layout (10th to 5th centuries BC).⁶ It was located both along the Amber Route, leading from the northern Adriatic through Emona, Celeia, and Poetovio further to Carnuntum, and then to the Baltic area, as well as along the so-called route of the Argonauts along the Ljubljanica, Sava, and Danube Rivers. The inhabitants buried their dead on the left bank of the river. In the late Iron Age, at least since the 2nd century BC, the settlement extended on the slopes of Castle Hill, both towards the river bank and further in the direction of Acervo (Stari Trg near Višnja Gora), Neviodunum, and Siscia. This was an *emporium* along the navigable river and the inhabitants must have traded with nearby settlements, as well as with more distant ones, and not least with the central Pannonian *emporium* at Segestica/Siscia, located at the confluence of the Kolpa/Kupa (Colapis) River and the Sava, which belonged to the Segestani.

During the early Principate, Emonians are attested at Savaria, in a dedication to the local goddess from Emona, Aecorna: *Emonienses qui consistunt finibus Savar(iae)* (Fig. 1).⁷ The slab was dated by András Mócsy to the first half of the 1st century AD, most likely to the period before Claudius' reign, when Savaria was granted colonial status, since the new status of the town is not mentioned in the inscription.⁸ As has been plausibly argued, the community from Emona most probably comprised craftsmen and merchants with their families.⁹ They had better opportunities to prosper in a town where ‘Romanization’ and economic development had only recently begun, and Emona as an Augustan colony was an excellent starting point for such activities. Presumably several Emonians of peregrine status may have also been among the immigrants.¹⁰ Indeed, a family

¹ Šašel 1968, 566 (1992, 573).

² A recently compiled catalogue of all Emonian tombstones containing entirely preserved and identifiable names contains 65, while 7 of these have indigenous names. Some secondary literature, referring to these inscriptions, is omitted on purpose.

³ Repanšek 2016.

⁴ Šašel 1968, 540 (1992, 559).

⁵ Katičić 1968; Katičić 1976, 179; 182–183; Repanšek 2016.

⁶ Hvalec et al. 2009; Vojaković 2014.

⁷ *RIU* I, 135 = Šašel Kos 1999, 49 no. 6 = Tóth 2011, no. 202 = HD026749 = *lupa* 7971.

⁸ Mócsy 1959, 37; Balla et al. 1971, 23.

⁹ Saria 1935; Kovács 1998.

¹⁰ Likely also some members of Aquileian families, such as the Caesernii at Savaria, may have come from Emona, cf. Gregoratti 2013, 148.

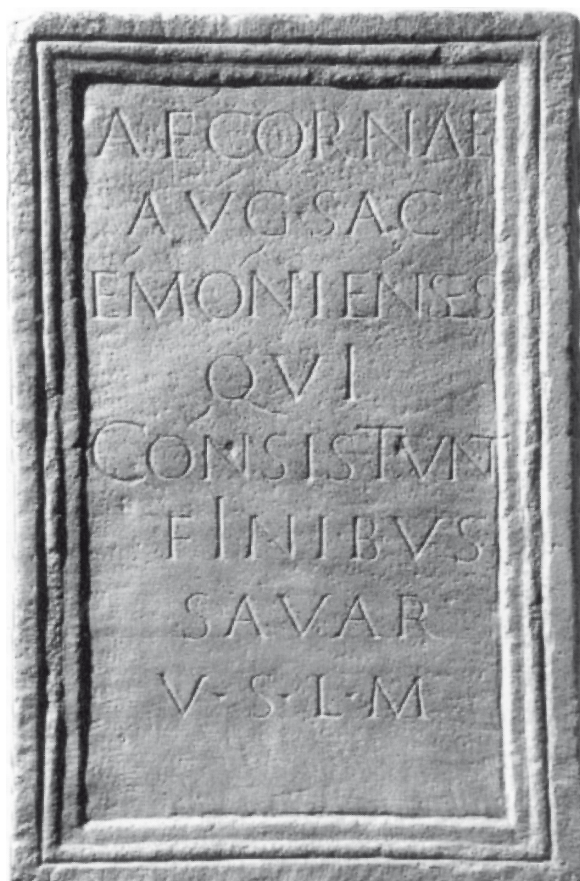


Fig. 1: Dedication to Aecorna from Savaria.
Sl. 1: Posvetilo Ekorni iz Savarije.
(Courtesy of / z dovoljenjem Savaria Múzeum)

from Emona has actually been documented in Savaria: on a tombstone one Lucius, son of Maximus, and his wife Salonia Marcella are mentioned.¹¹ It is interesting that the name Maximus/Maxima was most popular among the indigenous inhabitants from the Ig area, and is even attested among the less well documented native population of Emona,¹² while Lucius, although homonymous with the Latin *praenomen*,¹³ should undoubtedly be regarded as a personal name borne by the indigenous population,

¹¹ CIL III 4196 = RIU I, 57 = Balla et al. 1971, 104 no. 107 = HD040092 = lupa 3080: (*dom(o) Emon[a]*). Nothing is missing from Lucius' name, as noted erroneously in EDH. See also CIL III 10927 = RIU I, 60 = Balla et al. 1971, no. 109 = HD040101, in which one *Maximus Voltionis f(i)lius*) is mentioned, but his *origo* is broken off. Judging by the names, he could well have been from Emona.

¹² CIL III 10774 = EDR155652; see below.

¹³ Katičić 1968, 84, who presumes that it is Celtic, although this is far from being conclusive.

since it occurs several times as such in the Ig area.¹⁴ Lucius, son of Maximus, obviously belonged to the indigenous peregrine community of Emona, but was married to a woman with Roman citizenship. She bore the relatively rare *gentilicium* Salonia, which, however, is attested in northern Italy,¹⁵ from where the Salonii had most probably come. The advanced state of acculturation of the peregrine inhabitants was not least indicated by the fact that Lucius' name was abbreviated in the manner of the Roman *praenomen* as *L. Scarbantia* (*oppidum Iulia Scarbantia* in Pliny, *N. h.* 3.146) and Savaria with their territories were under strong influence of the Norican kingdom and were among the earliest 'Romanized' areas of Pannonia, where veterans and other immigrants from northern Italy had already settled in the first half of the 1st century AD.¹⁶

TITUS CAESERNIUS DIPHILUS, ASSUPAE LIBERTUS

In the mid-1st century BC, when the Romans already controlled the Emona basin, the first Roman settlers came to live at Emona, among them, as usual, many merchants and various artisans. Interestingly, the earliest person epigraphically documented on a tombstone from the late Republican period (around 30 BC) is a *sevir* from Aquileia, Titus Caesernius Diphilus, freedman of *Assupa*, member of the board of six (perhaps priests or town magistrates). He had his tombstone erected during his lifetime, which means that he must have been a resident of Emona for a more or less extended period of time (*Fig. 2*).¹⁷ The Roman community in Emona soon grew into a significant settlement and *emporium*, which eventually became a Roman colony, *colonia Iulia Emona*, possibly already under Octavian in the years after the battle at Actium (31 BC),¹⁸ or during the reign of Augustus after the Pannonian war of Tiberius in 8 BC, but certainly not later than after the end of the *bellum Batonianum* in AD 9.¹⁹ At Emona,

¹⁴ CIL III 3862 = AIJ 186 = EDR134951.

¹⁵ *Nomenclator*, s.v.; OPEL IV, 45; Alföldy 1969b, 117; it is twice attested at Aquileia.

¹⁶ As for example, Mócsy 1983–1984; see, on Savaria, Scherrer 2003; on both towns Kovács 2014, *passim*.

¹⁷ AIJ 176 = RINMS 3 = EDR073326; Zaccaria 1985, 112 no. 45; cf. Zaccaria 2006, 453.

¹⁸ Šašel 1970, 123–124 (1992, 286–287); Šašel Kos 2003; Zaccaria 2010, 108–109; id. 2007, 137–139.

¹⁹ See most recently Šašel Kos 2012; Slapšak 2014.



Fig. 2: Tombstone for Titus Caesernius Diphilus.
Sl. 2: Nagrobnik Tita Cezernija Difila.
(Courtesy of / dovoljenje: Narodni muzej Slovenije, photo /
foto T. Lauko)

Diphilus' master Assupa must have been a person of a certain status and reputation, and this could have been the reason why Diphilus did not style himself as *T(it)i l(ibertus)*, which would normally be expected. This would also well explain why he, as a *sevir* in Aquileia and a former slave of *Assupa*, settled at Emona. He may have been looking after his master's interests in this important *emporium* on the eve of its becoming a *colonia*, or may even have been involved in the very process of its transformation.

The Caesernii are not only the epigraphically best attested family at Emona and its hinterland, but were also among the very earliest settlers in the Emona basin.²⁰ They came to Emona from Aquileia; their economic significance is not least reflected in the large number of freedmen. Diphilus himself was a freedman, which is known both from his own statement and through his Greek name, such as were often given to slaves of foreign origin bearing names difficult to pronounce. Most interesting, however, is the name of his patron, *Assupa*, a masculine name ending in *-a*; masculine names with this predominantly feminine ending are attested several times in Noricum.²¹ The name is a *hapax* and may be a northern Adriatic name. It may be suggested that his family might have originally been from Emona or from the Emona region.²² Consequently, Diphilus would have been, through his master, acquainted with the town and might have had connections among the native in-

habitants. Although plausible, this is nonetheless just one possible scenario, since *Assupa* may have also been a descendant of a family belonging to an indigenous northern Italian community settled in Aquileia. Be that as it may, in both cases he would have had some connections with Emona.

Under Augustus, Emona became a Roman colony where colonists came to settle mainly from northern Italy, notably from Aquileia, but also from elsewhere; some may have been dispossessed owners of estates in Italy, whose property was given to veterans at their discharge during the years after Actium. The colonists were mostly civilians, but some veterans also chose to settle in this north-easternmost Italian town. What happened to the native population, who had been living at Emona before the arrival of the Roman colonists, is not at all clear, but it can be assumed that at least some of their land would have been confiscated.²³

MONUMENTS WITH INDIGENOUS NAMES FOUND AT EMONA

Despite the first impression that extremely few inscribed monuments of the indigenous population have come to light at Emona, and that several such had probably been brought to Ljubljana from the Ig area, a systematic analysis of all the Roman inscriptions of Emona has significantly modified this conclusion. Several tombstones with indigenous names from Ljubljana were undoubtedly found in their primary location, which means that they originated from Emona. Clearly the Emona-Ig areas were closely interdependent in the pre-Roman period. It was only with the foundation of the Roman colony at Emona that the earlier connections and identity of the pre-Roman inhabitants of Emona were forcibly disrupted, relegating the majority of them to a marginal existence. Nonetheless, some individuals were wealthy enough to set up a funerary monument for themselves and their family, thus preserving a memory of themselves for posterity.

Tombstones with epichoric names that were undoubtedly discovered in Ljubljana and not brought from elsewhere total seven; to these a votive altar should also be added. The first funerary monument was published by Petrus Apianus in 1534; most probably he had copied it from the slightly earlier manuscripts of Augustinus Tyferrus.²⁴ The

²⁰ Šašel 1960 (1992); Zaccaria 2006.

²¹ Betz 1956; see also Alföldy 1969a, 11–12; *Assupa* is listed under Pannonia in *OPEL* I, 81.

²² Thus already Saria (*AIJ* 176) and Untermann 1961, 131 § 194; cf. Krahe 1929, 11; Katičič 1968, 104.

²³ For various legal possibilities, see Gagliardi 2015.

²⁴ Šašel Kos 2016.

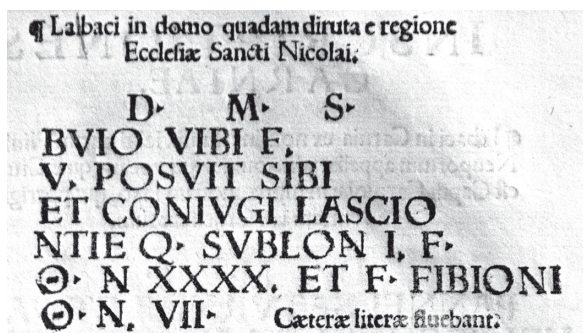


Fig. 3: Tombstone for Buio and Lasciontia (from Apianus, Amantius 1534, 372, 1).

Sl. 3: Nagrobnik za Buiona in Lasciontijo (iz: Apianus, Amantius 1534, 372, 1).

tombstone was found, according to Apianus, in a ruined house near the church of sv. Nikolaj (St. Nicholas), now the cathedral (*Laibaci in domo quadam diruta e regione Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai*); it was republished by Wolfgang Lazius (Fig. 3).²⁵ Johann Ludwig Schönleben noted that several inscriptions recorded by Lazius had been lost by his time, and as the first inscription he cited this tombstone: “*Harum ergo prima fuit e regione Templi D. Nicolai, in domo quadam privata*”.²⁶ The inscription reads:

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). / Buio Vibi f(ilius) / v(ivus) posuit sibi / et coniugi Lascio⁵{a}nti(a)e Q(uinti?) Subloani f(iliae) / Θ(obitae) an(norum) XXXX et f(ilio?) Fibioni / Θ(obito) an(norum) VII [---] / [---].

Translation: Sacred to the spirits of the departed. Buio, son of Vib(i)us, had (the monument) erected in his lifetime for himself and his wife Lasciontia, daughter of Quintus (?) Sublo (?), who died at the age of 40, and to the son (?) Fibio (?), who died at the age of 7 (or more?) ...

Buio, Buiio, or Buiius is one of the most popular indigenous names in the Ig area, attested almost exclusively in the Ig-Emona area, where it has been documented ten times on eight tombstones.²⁷ Possibly one *Ruii filia* from a lost tombstone from Ig

²⁵ Apianus, Amantius 1534, 372, 1 = Lazius 1551, 1195 = *CIL* III 3855 = EDR155648 = *lupa* 4200.

²⁶ Schönleben 1681, 217 no. I; since some names are the same as on tombstones from the Ig area, Muratori and Müllner assumed, without any other arguments, that Ig was its provenance.

²⁷ *CIL* III 10739 = EDR148360; *CIL* III 3860 = EDR135190; *CIL* III 3799 = EDR148216; *CIL* III 10740 = EDR148321;

may be interpreted as *Buii filia*, since the name may have been inexactly transcribed in the 16th century copy of the manuscript of Augustinus Tyfernus.²⁸ The occurrence of *Buio* at Emona thus merely reconfirms the great popularity of the name in the Ig area. The name *Buio* is a hypocoristic formation and for this reason it is *a priori* unreliable to assign it to any specific language, rather it may be claimed that the name is typically local and therefore ultimately of northern Adriatic origin.²⁹ *Vibus* and *Vibius* are names characteristic of the former *Regnum Noricum*,³⁰ but also favoured in the Ig area.³¹ *Lasciontia*, which also occurs on a tombstone from Mengeš not far from Ljubljana as *Lascontia*,³² but is elsewhere unknown, can therefore be regarded as a name characteristic of the inhabitants of the pre-Roman Emona area. Possibly the original nominative would have been *Lasc(i)onti*, in a similar manner as the attested *Voltaronti*: a typical epichoric formation.³³ The names *Sublo* (?), attested in the genitive as *Subloani* (but perhaps it should be read as *Sublo{a}ni*),³⁴ and *Fibio*, if copied correctly, have not been attested elsewhere,³⁵ hence nothing reliable can be said about their connections.

The second tombstone, lost as well, was discovered in Ljubljana, according to Iacobus Valvasonius (f. 52), “*In conventu Theutonicorum*”, the modern cultural centre of Križanke located within Roman Emona, which formerly belonged to the Order of the Teutonic Knights (Fig. 4).³⁶ It reads:

Ebon[icus or -ico ---?] / an(norum) LX / Velat[---] / Maxuma /⁵ NO[...] parentib(us) / suis.

Translation: Ebon[icus or: to Ebonicus] ... 60 years old ... Velat[-]? Maxuma ... to their (?) parents.

CIL III 3866 = EDR136395; *CIL* III 3826 = EDR148336; *AIJ* 140 = EDR148266; *RINMS* 82 = EDR134913.

²⁸ Tyfernus, *CVP* 3528, fol. 71^r = *CIL* III 3821 = EDR148423 = *lupa* 4186.

²⁹ Lochner-Hüttenbach 1965, 21–22; Katičić 1968, 72–73; Repanšek 2016, 324, 326.

³⁰ Cf. *Nomenclator* and *OPEL*; Alföldy 1977, 257–258.

³¹ *RINMS* 85 = EDR134929; *CIL* III 3803 = EDR148391; *CIL* III 3818 = EDR148404; *CIL* III 3862 = EDR134951.

³² *CIL* III 3895 + p. 1736 = *AIJ* 216 = *ILJug* 326 = *lupa* 3724.

³³ Repanšek 2016, 327; 329.

³⁴ With a superfluous *A* as in *Lascio{a}nti(a)e*: Repanšek 2016, 330.

³⁵ Listed in Katičić 1968, 98 and 82, and in *OPEL* II, 140 (Fibio); IV, 97 (as Subloanus).

³⁶ *CIL* III 10774 = EDR155652.

10774 (= Eph. IV n. 464) *ibidem* (praecedit Lubianae in conventu Theutonicorum) VALVASS.

EBON ///
AN · LX ·
VELAT
MAXVMA
5 NO /// PARENTIB ·
SVIS ·

Valvasonius f. 52 (inde Eph. l. c.).

Fig. 4: Tombstone of Ebonicus (from *CIL* III 10774).
Sl. 4: Ebonikov nagrobnik (iz: *CIL* III 10774).

The name *Velat[-]*, if correctly copied, cannot be restored on the basis of the available onomastic evidence,³⁷ whereas the name *Maximus/Maxima* (also *Maxuma*), is a common Latin *cognomen*, which, as has already been noted, was most popular as a personal name in the Ig area. It may have been translated or adapted from the language spoken in the Emona region, a phenomenon also known elsewhere.³⁸ *Ebonicus* is an indigenous name, which occurs on another two tombstones in the Ig area,³⁹ clearly referring to the Ig-Emona indigenous population.

According to Apianus, the third tombstone, also lost like the previous two, was discovered in Ljubljana, in the cemetery of the so-called German residence (*in coemeterio curiae cruciferorum*), the present-day Križanke (Fig. 5).⁴⁰ It reads:

Enno Secco/nis f(ilius) / vivus f(ecit) Cetetiuini / Rustici f(iliae) /⁵ Θ(obitae) an(norum) L / et fil(io) Valentioni / Θ(obito) an(norum) XXXV et Secu. / Secco Emon(i)s <Y> f(ilius) / Θ(obitus) an(norum) LI. Emon Y(filius ?) /¹⁰ Θ(obit.) / [---.

Translation: Enno, son of Secco, erected (the tombstone) in his lifetime for Cetetiu, daughter of Rusticus, who died at the age of 50 years. And for his son Valentio, who died at the age of 35 years, and Secu. Secco, son of Emo, who died at the age of 51 years. Emo, son, died ...

³⁷ OPEL IV, 152.

³⁸ As for example in Liburnia, Rider: Rendić-Miočević 1989.

³⁹ *CIL* III 3806 = 10732; 10741; see Lochner-Hüttenbach 1965, 23; Katičić 1968, 76; Repanšek 2016, 324.

⁴⁰ Apianus, Amantius 1534, 371, 4; *CIL* III 3861 = 10758 = EDR155653 = *lupa* 4201.

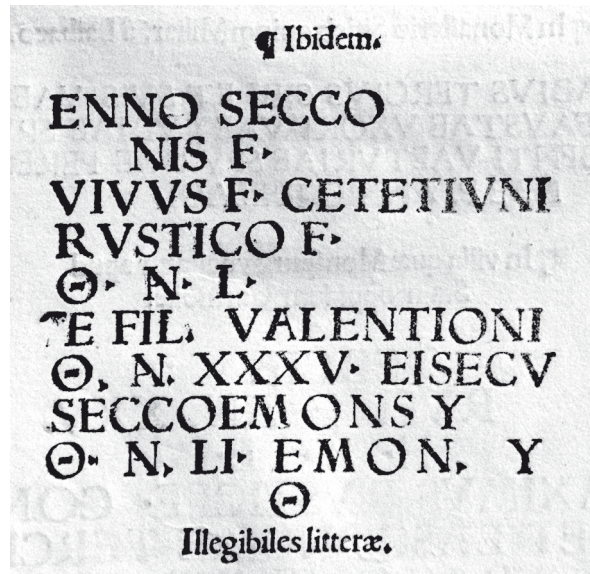


Fig. 5: Tombstone for Enno, Cetetiu, and their family (from Apianus, Amantius 1534, 372, 4).
Sl. 5: Nagrobnik za Enona in Cetetiu ter njuno družino (iz: Apianus, Amantius 1534, 372, 4).

The names *Enno* and *Em(m)o* are hypocoristic formations; they and related names, such as *Enna* and *Ennia*, are specific for the Ig-Emona area.⁴¹ The name *Secco* figures in several funerary inscriptions from the Ig area; it has been identified as Celtic and explained as a Celtic short name.⁴² However, as a hypocoristic name it should be regarded first of all an epichoric name, popular in the Ig-Emona area.⁴³ *Cetetiu*, a feminine name ending in *-u*, has not been attested elsewhere; feminine names ending in *-u* in the Ig area also include *Tetiu* and *Cot(t)iu*.⁴⁴ *Valentio* is a Latin *cognomen*, as is *Rusticus*, popular particularly in Hispania and northern Italy, but also in Pannonia;⁴⁵ interestingly, it was also one of the preferred personal names among the inhabitants of the Ig-Emona area and its environs.⁴⁶

The fourth tombstone, also lost, was discovered in 1695 in Ljubljana, when the chapel of sv. Mihael

⁴¹ Katičić 1968, 76–78; Repanšek 2016, 324.

⁴² *CIL* III 3810; 3877; 3871 = *AIJ* 195; Lochner-Hüttenbach 1965, 34–35; Katičić 1968, 96–97; Matasović 2003, 13.

⁴³ Repanšek 2016, 323; 324; 334; 335.

⁴⁴ *CIL* III 3814; Cotiu: Ragolič 2016. Feminine Ig area names in *-u*: Stifter 2012, 257–258; for *Cetetiu* he suggested the reading *et Tetiuni*, which is not plausible, see Repanšek 2016, 324; 326.

⁴⁵ *Nomenclator*, s.v.; OPEL IV, 37.

⁴⁶ Unpublished *corpus* of the Roman inscriptions from Emona and its territory.

(St. Michael) was pulled down. The chapel was a round ossuary south of the church of sv. Peter (St. Peter), and Ioannes Gregorius Thalnitscher saw it later in the cemetery of this church.⁴⁷ The inscription has been copied very unreliably, recording the Latin masculine name *Vitalis* and the feminine names *Voltia* and *Voltaronti* (or *Voltarontis*). The latter two are characteristic of the indigenous anthroponymy of the Ig-Emona area, particularly *Voltaronti*, which represents a specific case of indigenous morphology, probably preserving the nominative singular of ancient Indo-European feminine long *i*-stems. Like *Devontia* (originally, as it seems, *Devonti*) on the next tombstone, and *Lasc(i)ontia* (*Lasc(i)onti*) mentioned above, some female names in the Ig-Emona area seem to have been formed in *-ontī from the underlying masculine stems in -on-, which would represent a typically local pattern. The vernacular morphology of these female names could easily be integrated into the standard Latin paradigm of -iā stems.⁴⁸

The fifth tombstone was also discovered at Križanke, where Schönleben saw it in the church of St. Mary of the Order of the Teutonic Knights, near the altar, used as a kneeling bench; eventually it was built into the wall of the inner courtyard of their residence (Fig. 6).⁴⁹ The stele can be dated to the 1st century AD and reads:

C(aio) Iulio C(ai) l(iberto) / Quadrato / et Vibunni/ae Uss[...] f(iliae) /⁵ Devontiae / uxori vivae / Urb[anus?] f(ilius?) / Firmus I[...] N / v(ivi?) f(ecerunt?).

Translation: To Gaius Iulius Quadratus, freedman of Gaius, and to Vibunnia Devontia, daughter of Uss[-], his wife, in her lifetime. Urbanus (?), their son (?). Firmus ... (had the tombstone) made in their (?) lifetime.

The name *Vibunnius* is attested only five times,⁵⁰ and – with one exception from Salla in Panno-

⁴⁷ Thalnitscher, *Antiquitates Labacenses*, 1st ed., addition a¹ 39; 2nd ed., addition a² 45' no. 9; f. 53 no. 6; *CIL* III 3876 + p. 2328,189: *VITALIS BEA/TVLONS SIBI / ET VOLTARO/TIA. ET F. EI /⁵VOLTIA F. VOL/TARONTIAE / CONIVGI*. For the ossuary see Zadnikar 1982, 478–479.

⁴⁸ Repanšek 2016, 325; 326–327.

⁴⁹ Schönleben 1681, 227 no. I; *CIL* III 3863 = 10759 = *AIJ* 189 = *EDR*155588 = *lupa* 3704.

⁵⁰ *OPEL* IV, 166; also in *RINMS* 27 and *AIJ* 189; cf. *TRHR* (*Suppl.*) 59 = HD037843 = *lupa* 4564 from Zalaszentgyörgy (near Roman Salla), Upper Pannonia.

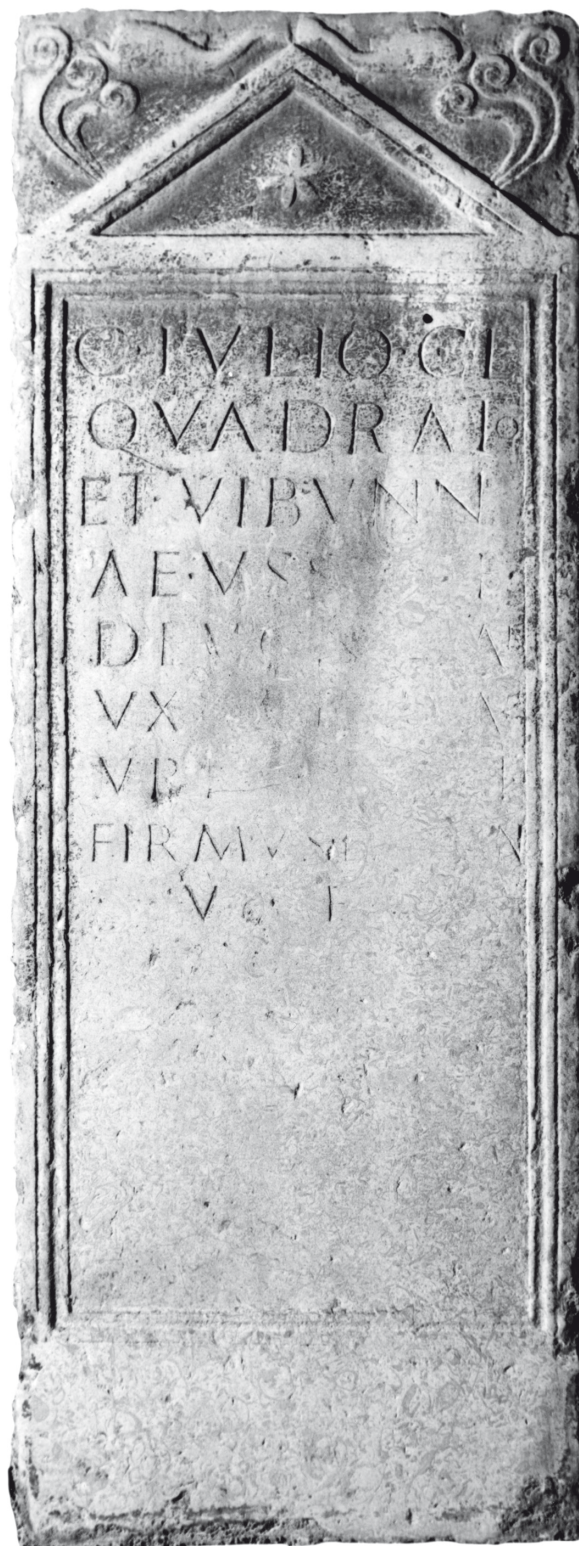


Fig. 6: Tombstone for Gaius Iulius Quadratus and his wife Vibunnia Devontia.

Sl. 6: Nagrobnik za Gaja Julija Kvadrata in njegovo ženo Vibunijo Devontijo.
(Archives / Arhiv Inštituta za arheologijo ZRC SAZU)

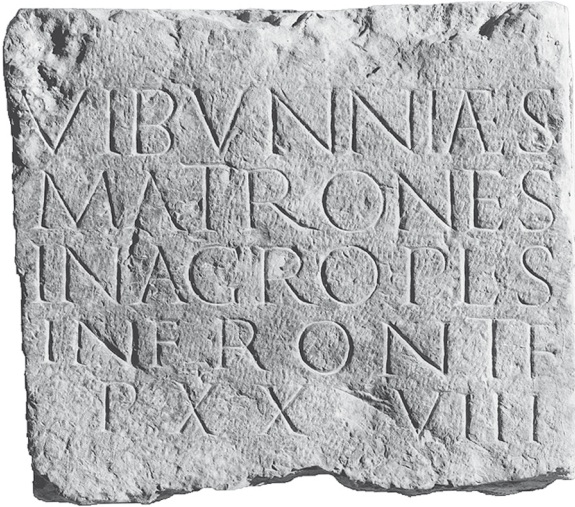


Fig. 7: Tombstone of Vibunna Matriona.

Sl. 7: Nagrobnik Vibunije Matrone.

(Courtesy of / dovoljenje: Narodni muzej Slovenije, photo / foto T. Lauko)

nia – only in the Emona area and may hence be regarded as characteristic of the Emona region. In all earlier editions of this tombstone, the name has incorrectly been read as *Vibunnae*, but the second *N* and *I* are clearly in ligature,⁵¹ hence the reading should be *Vibunnae*. This is much more plausible also from the onomastic point of view, since a *gentilicium* would rather be expected in this place. The name is a pseudo *gentilicium* derived from the indigenous personal name *Vibunn(i)us*. The name *Vibunnus* must be an epichoric personal name characteristic of the Emona area,⁵² likely belonging to the Ig onomastic sphere. The name starting in *Uss[-]* cannot be reconstructed and should not be regarded as Celtic.⁵³ Both are linked to the epichoric feminine name *Devonti(a)*, elsewhere not attested, and regarded by Wolfgang Meid as Celtic.⁵⁴ However, this explanation has recently been rejected by David Stifter and most notably by Luka Repanšek.⁵⁵ The name *Urb[-]* could

This person (Vibunnus Valerius) could have been from the Emona region.

⁵¹ It should additionally be noted that perhaps a small, half-size *I* is carved next to the second *N* at the very end of the line.

⁵² Meid 2005, 307; cf. 194 and 244.

⁵³ Repanšek 2016, 331, despite Meid 2005, 244 and 307; *Ussus* is attested once in Gallia Belgica, *Ussius* twice in northern Italy and once in Hispania and Gallia Belgica: *OPEL* IV, 188.

⁵⁴ Meid 2005, 307.

⁵⁵ Stifter 2012, 252; Repanšek 2016, 327; 334; 336.

plausibly be supplemented as *Urbanus*, since it is attested three times in the Ig area.⁵⁶

The sixth tombstone was discovered in 1893, in the house of the furniture maker Karl Krimmer, Maria Theresa St. no. 4 (present-day Gosposvet-ska), directly adjacent to the Roman cemetery (Fig. 7).⁵⁷ It reads:

---?] / *Vibunnae* / *Matrones* / in agro p(edes)
LS (!) / in fronte /⁵ p(edes) XXVIII.

Translation: (...? the tombstone) of Vibunna Matriona. (The grave plot measures) 50 (possibly 55 or 50 and a half?) feet in length, 28 feet in width.

Matrona bears the same (pseudo)*gentilicium* *Vibunna* as *Devontia* in the previous inscription. *Matrona* is also attested several times in the region, while in general it is a rare name.⁵⁸ Greek case endings, such as the genitive in this case, seem to be typical of the early inscriptions, the tombstone may have been from the 1st century AD. The family of the *Vibunnii* clearly belonged to the class of ‘Romanized’ well-to-do natives, who had Roman citizenship and were well integrated in the life of the Roman colony.

The *gentilicium* *Vibunnus* also appears on the altar dedicated to Victoria (Fig. 8),⁵⁹ which was found in Ljubljana in 1911, during the excavations at Mirje, conducted by Walter Schmid in the so-called goldsmith’s house (house IV), leaning against the wall in room 8, at a depth of 50 cm, together with three other altars (*RINMS* 17, 26, and 28). They were all missing the upper parts and were very likely collected to be used as construction material, perhaps to fortify the town walls in the late Roman period. The dedication reads:

[*Vict*]ori/[*ae*] *Aug(ustae) sa(nctae)* / [*s*]acrum /
Sex(tus) Vibun⁵nus Avitus / ex vot(o).

Translation: Sacred to holy Victoria Augusta. Sextus Vibunnus Avitus (had the altar erected) in accordance with his vow.

⁵⁶ *CIL* III 3877 = EDR135195: *Voltaronti Urbani f(ilia)* and twice in *CIL* III 13402 = EDR152812: *Sabina Urbani f(ilia)* and *Voltilius Urbanus*.

⁵⁷ *CIL* III 14354,16 = *RINMS* 60 = *lupa* 1158 = EDR129092.

⁵⁸ Kajanto 1965, 18; 21; 80; 305; *OPEL* III, 66 (in Pannonia it is attested seven times, elsewhere sporadically); Mócsy 1959, 203 (2/56), suggested that it was not a name.

⁵⁹ *RINMS* 27 = *AIJ* 163 = EDR129027.



Fig. 8: Altar dedicated to Victoria.

Sl. 8: Oltar posvečen Viktoriji.

(Courtesy of / dovoljenje: Narodni muzej Slovenije, photo / foto T. Lauko)

The cognomen of the dedicator, *Avitus*, was popular among the epichoric population both in the neighbouring Noricum and Pannonia,⁶⁰ and is in consonance with his *gentilicium*, formed from an indigenous name. He was likely one of the descendants of the indigenous community that had been living at Emona before the arrival of the Romans.

The last is a tombstone, which was discovered, according to Johann Ludwig Schönleben, around 1635 at Ljubljana, near the church of sv. Krištof (St. Christopher), when the town authorities had public guest lodgings built in this suburb (Fig. 9).⁶¹ The circumstances of its discovery, as described by Schönleben, are most interesting, suggesting that the monument may have been found *in situ*, unless, however, it had covered a late Roman grave. Underneath this tombstone, a stone lined grave was found, with a few remains of bones, two rounded golden bracelets, and a small golden chain. Schönleben added that the monument had

SECUNDAE.
EPPONIS F.
GVEDIUS RVFVS
: : : : : : : | FECIT
: : : : : : : | VXORI
ET SABINO E
IN FRONT. P. XII.
IN AGRO P. XVIII.

Fig. 9: Tombstone for Secunda, her husband Gaius Veditus Rufus, and their son Sabinus (from Schönleben 1681, 227 no. VII).

Sl. 9: Nagrobnik za Sekundo, njenega moža Gaja Vedija Rufa in njunega sina Sabina (iz: Schönleben 1681, 227 št. VII).

been built into the outside wall of the church of St. Christopher overlooking the public street, but was already missing at least since the time of Alfons Müllner.

Secundae / Epponis f(iliae). / G(aius) Veditus Rufus / [vividus?] fecit / ⁵ [sibi et?] uxori / et Sabino <f>(ilio). / In front(e) p(edes) XII / in agro p(edes) XVII.

Translation: To Secunda, daughter of Eppo. Gaius Veditus Rufus (had the tombstone) made in his lifetime for himself (?) and for his wife and his son Sabinus. (Dimensions of the grave plot): 12 feet in width, 17 feet in length.

Secunda was of a peregrine status, her father's name indicating that she had belonged to the indigenous community living at Emona. *Eppo* is well attested in the Ig area and belonged to the native Ig population;⁶² a Celtic identity for this short name has been explicitly rejected as ultimately inconclusive by David Stifter and Luka Repanšek.⁶³ However, *Secunda's* husband was a Roman citizen, bearing *tria nomina*, and may have been one of the colonists from Italy or their early descendants. His

⁶² RINMS 82, 88; *ILJug* 299.

⁶³ Stifter 2012, 252–253; Repanšek 2016, 324; 334–335; 337. Regarded by Katičić 1968, 79–80, as Celtic, but see Lochner-Hüttenbach 1965, 24–25 and Meid 2005, 195 and 270, allowing for the name not to necessarily be Celtic.

⁶⁰ OPEL I, 97; Alföldy 1977, 257–258.

⁶¹ Schönleben 1681, 216 no. VII = *CIL* III 3872 = EDR155656 = *lupa* 4204.

gentilicium is attested in Italy, notably in Aquileia,⁶⁴ but also in the East and in the Danube provinces,⁶⁵ which means that it spread with colonization. The tombstone could date back to the 1st century and may be regarded as an important testimony to an early symbiosis between the native population and the newcomers from Italy.

Two praetorian soldiers from Emona are documented on the *laterculi* from Rome that could well be descendants of a pre-Roman community of Emona: Lucius Vibienus Ianuarius from AD 144,⁶⁶ and Publius Aurelius Annamatus from AD 209.⁶⁷ The *gentilicium* *Vibienus* may have been derived from the indigenous name *Vibus* (or *Vibius*), which, as has been noted above, is characteristic both of the former *Regnum Noricum*, and specifically also of the Ig area. Ianuarius' family name ends in *-ienus*, such as *Tettienus*; this name is closely linked to Emona, since a merchant Lucius Tettienus Vitalis was born in Aquileia and brought up in Emona.⁶⁸ Otherwise *gentilicia*, ending in *-ienus*, are relatively rare. Aurelius Annamatus bears a cognomen, which is clearly Celtic and is amply attested in Pannonia;⁶⁹ it must have enjoyed a certain popularity even among the indigenous, non-Celtic population, since it is attested as *Adnomatus* at Ig, adapted to the local language.⁷⁰ Aurelius Annamatus perhaps belonged to a descendant of the peregrine population of Emona.

TOMBSTONES WITH UNCERTAIN PROVENANCE

It should be recalled that the provenance of the monuments, which were built into the walls of the Ljubljana cathedral and seminary building by order of Ioannes Gregorius Thalnitscher (1655–1719), is not certain. Thalnitscher claimed that these monuments were either from Emona or from nearby villages, and only for three did he

note the provenance: one was from Strahomer, a small village in the Ig area, while two were found in two suburbs of Ljubljana.

As he himself wrote, "it remains for us to record the inscriptions and monuments that were found here, as well as in the suburbs and the neighbouring sites where the Roman inhabitants once had their villas and estates. These have been gathered upon my own recent initiative to contribute towards a celebration of the glory of the ancient town of Ljubljana."⁷¹

Due to typical Ig personal names in most of these inscriptions (altogether 13, two are counterfeit), it has usually been assumed, most notably by Theodor Mommsen and Anton von Premerstein, that they were mainly from the Ig area.⁷² According to Premerstein, merely *CIL* III 3845 and 3838 (his numbers 42 and 37),⁷³ were discovered in Ljubljana, while all others must have been from the Ig area.⁷⁴ The first monument is the tombstone of Lucius Oclatius Tarquiniensis, a veteran of the 15th legion, found in the suburbs in front of the Knidasch house, which cannot be precisely located. The second of the two cited genuine inscriptions is a dedication to Hercules by two Clodii, father and son, from Zgornja Šiška in Ljubljana; Šiška was a suburb in Thalnitscher's times. Since both monuments were found in the suburbs and neither in the Ljubljana of his time (... *inscriptiones et monumenta, quae tum hic, tum in suburbiis* ...), it should not be excluded that at least one of the remaining ones would have come to light in Emona. But since their provenance is not certain, it is better not to include them among the tombstones from Emona.

It can thus be concluded that at least eight monuments with indigenous names can be regarded as having been undoubtedly discovered in Ljubljana and not brought from elsewhere. This percentage is actually higher than had been believed by the scholars of past generations, which means that the epichoric population of Emona did leave sufficient evidence in the *colonia Iulia Emona*. These docu-

⁶⁴ *Inscr. Aquil.* 648; 1049; 2531.

⁶⁵ Alföldy 1969b, 134; *OPEL* IV, 150.

⁶⁶ *CIL* VI 32520 (= 2379), col. III v. 39 = Dobó 1975, 58b = EDR126679; Šašel 1968, 548 (1992, 564).

⁶⁷ *CIL* VI 32640 col. I v. 15 = EDR134201; Šašel 1968, 549 (1992, 565); for both also see Visočnik 2015, 307, nos. 13 and 19.

⁶⁸ *CIL* V 7047 + 7127 = EDR113494 with bibliography.

⁶⁹ Meid 2005, 160.

⁷⁰ *CIL* III 3819 (+ p. 1047) = 10736 = *CLIC* p. 222, PAN 014 = EDR148415; Stifter 2012, 250–251; Repanšek 2016, 324; 334; 338; 342.

⁷¹ Thalnitscher 1701, 67 (*Restat pro coronide huius capituli, ut inscriptiones et monumenta, quae tum hic, tum in suburbiis ac vicinis locis ubi olim Romani incolae urbis suas habuere villas et praedia, me hortatore collecta ad excitandam veteris urbis Labacensis gloriam* ...). See also Dolničar (Lavrič) 2003, 262.

⁷² In *CIL* III, under their respective numbers; Premerstein 1902.

⁷³ Disregarding the two non-genuine inscriptions, his nos. 9 and 8.

⁷⁴ Premerstein 1902, 19.

ments allow us to examine the descendants of the pre-Roman inhabitants more closely. There were some who managed to integrate themselves into Roman society, and whose wealth allowed them to erect a funeral monument for themselves and their families. There were families of peregrine status, earning enough money to survive decently. This was the case of *Buio*, son of *Vib(i)us*, and his wife *Lasciontia*, daughter of *Sublo* (?), as well as of *Enno*, son of *Secco*, and his wife *Cetetiu*, daughter of *Rusticus*. Several indigenous women must have married Roman citizens, such as *Secunda*, daughter of *Eppo*, who married Gaius *Vedius Rufus*. There must undoubtedly also have been cases of indigenous men marrying Roman women, as could be inferred from the above mentioned tombstone of *Lucius Maximi filius* from Emona, who had

erected a tombstone at Savaria for his wife *Salonia Marcella*.⁷⁵ Freedmen had ex-indigenous women for wives, such as Gaius *Iulius Quadratus*, whose consort was *Vibunna Devontia*. There were individuals belonging to native families, who were given citizenship for their merits, transforming a characteristic name in their family (a patronymic) into a *gentilicium*, as, for example, the *Vibunnii*. These names and the social connections of their bearers shed a most interesting light on life in Emona before its transformation into a Roman city. They bear witness to various means of integration that were necessary when the former inhabitants had to live side by side with the newcomers.

⁷⁵ Mixed marriages were also common, e.g., in Aquileia, see Chiabà 2014, and are to be expected in every community.

Abbreviations

AIJ = V. Hoffiller, B. Saria, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien*, Heft I: *Noricum und Pannonia Superior*, Zagreb 1938.
 CIL = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*.
 CLIC = M. E. Raybould, P. Sims-Williams, *A Corpus of Latin Inscriptions of the Roman Empire Containing Celtic Personal Names*, Aberystwyth 2007.
 CVP = *Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus*.
 EDR = *Epigraphic Database Roma*.
 HD = *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg*.
 ILJug = A. et J. Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 5), Ljubljana 1963; iidem, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 19), 1978; iidem, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 25), 1986.
 Inscr. Aquil. = J. B. Brusin, *Inscriptiones Aquileiae*, I–III, Udine 1991–1993.
 lupa = F. und O. Harl, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org (Bilddatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern).
 Nomenclator = A. Mócsy et al., *Nomenclator* (Dissertationes Pannonicae 3/1), Budapest 1983.
 OPEL = B. Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, Vol. I: *Aba – Bysanus*, Budapest 2005²; Vol. II: *Cabalicius – Ixus*, Wien 1999; Vol. III: *Labareus – Pythea*, Wien 2000; Vol. IV: *Quadratia – Zures*, Wien 2002.
 RINMS = M. Šašel Kos, *The Roman Inscriptions in the National Museum of Slovenia / Lapidarij Narodnega muzeja Slovenije* (Situla 35), Ljubljana 1997.
 RIU = *Römische Inschriften Ungarns*.
 TRHR (Suppl.) = P. Kovács, *Tituli Romani in Hungaria reperti. Supplementum*, Budapest, Bonn 2005.
 ALFÖLDY, G. 1969a, *Epigraphica Norica. – Epigraphische Studien* 8, 1–34.

ALFÖLDY, G. 1969b, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia. – Beiträge zur Namenforschung* Bh. 4, Heidelberg.
 ALFÖLDY, G. 1977, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Noricum. – In / V: L'onomastique latine (Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S., N° 564)*, 249–264, Paris.
 APIANUS, P., B. AMANTIUS 1534, *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis non illae quidem Romanae, sed totius fere orbis summo studio ac maximis impensis Terra Mariae. conquisitae feliciter incipiunt. – Ingolstadii*.
 BALLA, L. et al. 1971, *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria* (eds. A. Mócsy, T. Szentléleky). – Budapest.
 BETZ, A. 1956, *Epigraphisches aus Pannonien und Noricum. – Carinthia* I 146, 434–438.
 CHIABÀ, M. 2014, *A proposito dei matrimoni fra indigeni e coloni ad Aquileia, comunità di frontiera. Le pietre 'raccontano'...* – In / V: M. Chiabà (ed. / ur.), *Hoc quoque laboris praemium. Scritti in onore di Gino Bandelli*, Polymnia 3, 83–98, Trieste.
 DOBÓ, Á. 1975⁴, *Inscriptiones extra fines Pannoniae Daciaeque repertae ad res earundem provinciarum pertinentes. – Budapest*.
 DOLNIČAR, J. G. 2003, *Zgodovina ljubljanske stolne cerkve: Ljubljana 1701–1714* (ur. / ed. A. Lavrič). – Ljubljana.
 GAGLIARDI, L. 2015, *Fondazione di colonie romane e espropriazioni di terre a danno degli indigeni. – Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Antiquité* [En ligne] 127/2 (<http://mefra.revues.org/2869>).
 GREGORATTI, L. 2013, *North Italic settlers along the 'Amber Route'. – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* 19, 133–153.
 HVALEC, S. et al. 2009, *Utrip Tribune. Doživetja arheološkega vsakdana. – Ljubljana*.
 KAJANTO, I. 1965, *The Latin Cognomina. – Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 36/2.
 KATIČIĆ, R. 1968, *Die einheimische Namengebung von Ig. – Godišnjak* 6, *Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* 4, 61–120.

- KATIČIĆ, R. 1976, *Ancient Languages of the Balkans I*; II. – Trends in Linguistics State-of-the-Art Reports 4; 5, The Hague, Paris.
- KOVÁCS, P. 1998, The merchants from Emona and the pomerium of Savaria. – *Münstersche Beiträge z. antiken Handelsgeschichte* 17, 100–120.
- KOVÁCS, P. 2014, *A History of Pannonia during the Principate*. – *Antiquitas Reihe* 1, 65. – Bonn.
- KRAHE, H. 1929, *Lexikon altillyrischer Personennamen*. – Heidelberg.
- LAZIUS, W. 1551, *Commentariorum Reipub. Romanae illius, in exteris provinciis, bello acquisitis, constitutae, libri duodecim*. – Basileae; 2nd edition: *Reipublicae Romanae in exteris provinciis, bello acquisitis, constitutae, commentariorum libri duodecim*. – Francofurti ad Moenum 1598 (with different pagination).
- LOCHNER-HÜTTENBACH, F. 1965, Die antiken Personennamen aus Ig bei Ljubljana. – In / V: *Arheološke študije II / Varia archaeologica II*, Situla 8, 15–45.
- MAINARDIS, F. 2008, *Iulium Carnicum. Storia ed epigrafia*. – Antichità Altoadriatiche, Monografie 4.
- MATASOVIĆ, R. 2003, Jezični tragovi Kelta u Iliriku. – *Latina et Graeca* 3, 5–25.
- MEID, W. 2005, *Keltische Personennamen in Pannonien*. – Archaeolingua, Ser. Minor 20.
- MÓCSY, A. 1959, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*. – Budapest.
- MÓCSY, A. 1983–1984, Eine Triester Familie in Westpannonien. – *Römisches Österreich* 11–12, 207–213.
- PREMERSTEIN, A. v. 1902, J. G. Thalnitschers Antiquitates Labacenses. – *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 5, Bbl., 7–32.
- RAGOLIČ, A. 20016, The funerary stele of Petto from Ig / Nagrobna stela Petona z Iga. – *Arheološki vestnik* 67, 277–296.
- RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, D. 1989, Imena Firmus, Valens, Maximus u procesu romanizacije ilirskog onomastika. – In / V: Id., *Iliri i antički svijet, 777–784*, Split.
- REPANŠEK, L. 2016, *Quiemonis* and the epichoric anthroponymy of Ig (*Quiemonis* v luči avtohtonih izanskih osebnih imen). – *Arheološki vestnik* 67, 321–357.
- SARIA, B. 1931, Emonska rojaška zveza v Savariji. – *Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo* 12, 5–10.
- SARIA, B. 1935, Eine emonenser Landsmannschaft in Savaria. – *Pannonia - Könyvtár* 8, Pécs 1935, 4 ff.
- SCHERRER, P. 2003, Savaria. – In / V: M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer (eds. / ur.), *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia. Pannonia I / Die autonomen Städte in Noricum und Pannonien – Pannonia I*, Situla 41, 53–80.
- SCHÖNLEBEN, J. L. 1681, *Carniolia antiqua et nova sive inclity ducatus Carnioliae annales sacro-prophani* Tomus I. – Labaci.
- SLAPŠAK, B. 2014, Na sledi urbanega: poti do prve izkušnje mesta v prostoru Ljubljane / Unravelling the Townscape: Tracing the First Urban Experience on the Location of the Present-day Ljubljana. – In / V: M. Ferle (ed. / ur.), *Emona. Mesto v imperiju / A city of the Empire*, 17–40, Ljubljana.
- STIFTER, D. 2012, On the Linguistic Situation of Roman-period Ig. – In / V: T. Meißner (ed. / ur.), *Personal Names in the Western Roman World*, Studies in Classical and Comparative Onomastics 1, 247–265, Berlin.
- ŠAŠEL, J. 1960 (1992), Caesernii. – *Živa antika* 10, 201–221 (= *Opera selecta*, 1992, 54–74).
- ŠAŠEL, J. 1968 (1992), Emona. – In / V: *RE Suppl.* XI, 540–578 (= *Opera selecta*, 1992, 559–579).
- ŠAŠEL, J. 1970 (1992), Drusus Ti. f. in Emona. – *Historia* 19, 122–124 (= *Opera selecta*, 1992, 285–287).
- ŠAŠEL KOS, M. 1999, *Pre-Roman Divinities of the Eastern Alps and Adriatic*. – Situla 38.
- ŠAŠEL KOS, M. 2003, Emona was in Italy, not in Pannonia. – In / V: M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer (eds. / ur.), *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia. Pannonia I / Die autonomen Städte in Noricum und Pannonien – Pannonia I*, Situla 41, 11–19.
- ŠAŠEL KOS, M. 2012, Colonia Iulia Emona – the genesis of the Roman city / *Colonia Iulia Emona – nastanek rimskega mesta*. – *Arheološki vestnik* 63, 79–104.
- ŠAŠEL KOS, M. 2016, Collecting Roman inscriptions beyond the Alps: Augustinus Tyfernus. – In / V: Z. Martirosova Torlone, D. LaCourse Munteanu, D. Dutsch (eds. / ur.), *A Handbook to Classical Reception in Eastern and Central Europe*, (forthcoming / v tisku).
- THALNITSCHER, I. G. 1701, *Historia Cathedralis Ecclesiae Labacensis S. Nicolao Archiepiscopo Myrensi sacra*. – Labaci.
- TÓTH, E. 2011, *Lapidarium Savariense. Savaria római feliratos köemlékei*. – Sombathely.
- UNTERMANN, J. 1961, *Die venetischen Personennamen I–II*. – Wiesbaden.
- VISOČNIK, J. 2015, Vojaki iz rimskih avtonomnih mest na Slovenskem, ki so službovali drugod po imperiju (Soldiers from Roman autonomous towns in Slovenia, active in other parts of the Roman Empire). – In / V: J. Istenič, B. Laharnar, J. Horvat (eds. / ur.), *Evidence of the Roman Army in Slovenia / Sledovi rimske vojske na Slovenskem*, Katalogi in monografije 41, 305–315.
- VOJAKOVIČ, P. 2014, Predrimska Emona v luči novih arheoloških odkritij / Pre-Roman Emona in the Light of New Archaeological Discoveries. – In / V: M. Ferle (ed. / ur.), *Emona. Mesto v imperiju / A city of the Empire*, 65–76, Ljubljana.
- ZACCARIA, C. 1985, Testimonianze epigrafiche dei rapporti tra Aquileia e l'Ilirico in età imperiale romana. – In / V: *Aquileia, la Dalmazia e l'Ilirico*, Antichità Altoadriatiche 26/1, 85–127.
- ZACCARIA, C. 2006, *Palatina tribus*. Cavalieri e senatori di origine libertina certa o probabile ad Aquileia. I. – I *Caesernii*. – In / V: M. Faraguna, V. Vedaldi Iasbez (eds. / ur.), *Δύνασθαι διδάσκειν. Studi in onore di Filippo Càssola per il suo ottantesimo compleanno*, Fonti e studi per la storia della Venezia Giulia. Studi 11, 439–455.
- ZACCARIA, C. 2007, Tra Natisone e Isonzo. Aspetti amministrativi in età romana. – In / V: M. Chiabà, P. Maggi, C. Magrini (eds. / ur.), *Le Valli del Natisone e dell'Isonzo tra Centroeuropa e Adriatico*, Studi e Ricerche sulla Gallia Cisalpina 20, 129–144.
- ZACCARIA, C. 2010, Tribù e confini dei territori delle città dell'Italia nordorientale. – In / V: M. Silvestrini (ed. / ur.), *Le tribù romane. Atti della XVI^e Rencontre sur l'épigraphie (Bari 8-10 ottobre 2009)*, 103–112, Bari.
- ZADNIKAR, M. 1982, *Romanika v Sloveniji*. – Ljubljana.

Predrimsko prebivalstvo Emone v luči rimskih napisov

KRATEK ZGODOVINSKI ORIS

O prebivalcih, ki so živeli v Emoni pred prihodom Rimljanov, in o njihovih potomcih se ne ve veliko, zato je toliko bolj pomembno, da izvrednotimo čim več razpoložljivega gradiva. Na Ižanskem je bilo najdenih okoli sto rimskodobnih nagrobnih spomenikov, ki nam nudijo dober pregled nad osebnimi imeni domačega prebivalstva, iz Emone pa jih, nasprotno, poznamo le malo, a vendar ne tako malo, kot so še nedavno domnevali. V ključnem članku o Emoni, v katerem je zbrana vsa do tedaj znana evidenca za zgodovino mesta, je zapisano, da "einheimische Elemente kommen fast nicht zum Ausdruck".¹ Dejansko pa pomeni število nagrobnikov z nerimskimi imeni 10,7 % vseh emonskih nagrobnih spomenikov z ugotovljivimi imeni.² V antičnih literarnih virih ni nobenega podatka, ki bi se nanašal na staroselsko prebivalstvo v emonski kotlini, Strabon le za bližnji *Nauportus* omenja, da je bil vas keltskih Tavriskov (7, 5, 2 C 314). Vendar pa so Tavriski razmeroma pozno poselili ta prostor, ki je v rimskem obdobju sprva pripadal Cisalpinski Galiji, pozneje pa Italiji (Deseti regiji). Kot se zdi, niso prišli pred 3. stoletjem pr. Kr., in po vsej verjetnosti jih ni bilo veliko. Sklepamo lahko, da niso bili Kelti tisti, ki bi dali emonskemu prostoru etnični pečat; kot namreč kažejo osebna imena na ižanskih nagrobnikih, je predkeltsko prebivalstvo očitno ohranilo svojo etnično identiteto.³ Že Jaroslav Šašel je domneval, da je bila predrimska Emona venetsko ali karnijsko naselje;⁴ dejansko sodi skupaj z Navportom in Igom v veliko severnojadransko jezikovno območje, ki vključuje imensko gradivo venetskega prostora, Istrije (Istre) in Liburnije.⁵ Prostor Navporta, Emone in Ižanskega predstavlja najbolj severovzhodno območje tega sklopa, ki meji na Norik in Panonijo in na obširen panonski onomastični sistem.

¹ Šašel 1968, 566 (1992, 573).

² Vseh emonskih nagrobnikov z ohranjenimi imeni in takšnimi, ki jih je mogoče rekonstruirati, je 65, od tega jih je 7, na katerih so domača imena. Sekundarna literatura ni nujno citirana k vsakemu napisu.

³ Repanšek 2016.

⁴ Šašel 1968, 540 (1992, 559).

⁵ Katičić 1968; Katičić 1976, 179; 182–183; Repanšek 2016.

Predrimska Emona je zrasla ob izlivu manjše reke Gradaščice v plovno Ljubljanico in je bila od nekdaj idealno rečno pristanišče. Naselje je nastalo predvsem na desnem bregu Ljubljanice, kjer sta ga poleg reke dobro varovala tako grajski hrib (Grad), ki se je vzdigoval nad njim, kot bližnji Golovec. Sledovi naselbine, ki je nastala v pozni bronasti dobi in živeła v zgodnji železni dobi, so bili odkriti na Gradu, razprostirala pa se je tudi ob vznožju hriba in vse do območja Prul, kjer so nedavna izkopavanja odkrila skrbno načrtovano vas z lesenimi hišami, povezanimi s cestami (10.–5. stoletje pr. Kr.).⁶ Postavljena je bila ob jantarjevi poti, ki je povezovala severnojadranske naselbine čez Emono, Celejo in Poetoviono s Karnuntom in območjem Baltika, hkrati pa tudi ob prastari argonavtski poti, ki je po Ljubljanici, Savi in Donavi ta prostor povezovala s Črnim morjem. Prebivalci so svoje mrtve pokopavali na levem bregu reke. V pozni železni dobi se je naselbina, ki je dokumentirana vsaj od 2. stoletja pr. Kr. dalje, na eni strani razprostirala po pobočju grajskega hriba vse do nabrežja, na drugi pa v smeri proti Acervu (Stari trg pri Višnji Gori); pot je nato vodila naprej proti Neviodonu in Sisciji. Nič manj kot *Nauportus* je bila tudi Emona po vsej verjetnosti emporij ob plovni reki, kamor so prihajali trgovci od drugod, prebivalci pa so trgovali tako z bližnjimi naselbinami kot tudi z bolj oddaljenimi, ne nazadnje s pomembnim panonskim emporijem v Segesti(ki)/Sisciji, ki je zrasel ob sotočju Kolpe (*Colapis*) in Save in je pripadal Segestanom.

V času zgodnjega principata so Emonci dokumentirani v Savariji, in sicer na posvetilu emonski boginji Ekorni: *Emonienses qui consistunt finibus Savar(iae) (sl. 1)*.⁷ András Mócsy je posvetilno ploščo datiral v prvo polovico 1. stoletja po Kr., zelo verjetno še v čas pred vladavino cesarja Klavdija, pod katerim je Savarija dobila status rimske kolonije, kajti novi mestni status na napisu še ni omenjen.⁸ Pripadniki emonske skupnosti so bili zelo verjetno predvsem razni obrtniki in trgovci s svojimi družinami.⁹ V mestu, kjer sta se proces

⁶ Hvalec et al. 2009; Vojaković 2014.

⁷ *RIU* I, 135 = Šašel Kos 1999, 49 št. 6 = Tóth 2011, no. 202 = HD026749 = *lupa* 7971.

⁸ Mócsy 1959, 37; Balla et al. 1971, 23.

⁹ Saria 1931; Kovács 1998.

romanizacije v recipročnem in najširšem pomenu tega pojma ter ekonomski razvoj šele nedavno začela, so imeli prebivalci ne preveč oddaljene avgustejske kolonije Emone odlične možnosti za razmah svojih dejavnosti. Domnevno je bilo med emonskimi imigranti tudi nekaj takih, ki so imeli status peregrina.¹⁰ Tej domnevi v prid namreč govori dejstvo, da sta na enem od nagrobnikov Emoncev iz Savarije omenjena Maksimov sin Lucij (*L(ucius) Maximi f.*) in njegova žena Salonija Marcela (*Salonia Marcella*).¹¹ Zanimivo je namreč, da je bilo ime *Maximus/Maxima* eno najbolj priljubljenih med staroselci na Ižanskem, izpričano pa je tudi med slabše poznanimi imeni predrimskega prebivalstva iz Emone.¹² Imena *Lucius* ne smemo šteti za latinski *praenomen* (in torej za del rimske troimenske formule),¹³ čeprav se glasita enako. Lucij je med imeni domačega prebivalstva emonske kotline nedvomno osebno ime, ki se nekajkrat pojavi na Ižanskem.¹⁴ Maksimov sin Lucij je očitno pripadal domorodni emonski skupnosti peregrinega statusa, njegova žena pa je imela rimsko državljanstvo. Njeno družinsko ime *Salonia* je razmeroma redko, vendar je dokumentirano v severni Italiji, od koder so *Salonii* zelo verjetno prišli v Emono.¹⁵ Kako naglo je napredovala akulturacija peregrinega prebivalstva Emone, nam ne nazadnje osvetljuje dejstvo, da je Lucijevo ime na posvetilu okrajšano kot *L.*, enako kot rimsko prvo ime (*praenomen*). Skarbantija (pri Pliniju omenjena kot *oppidum Iulia Scarbantia: N. h. 3, 146*) in Savarija ter njun teritorij so bili pod močnim vplivom Noriškega kraljestva in med prvimi romaniziranimi območji v Panoniji, kamor so se veterani in drugi imigranti iz severne Italije naselili že v prvi polovici 1. stoletja po Kr.¹⁶

¹⁰ Iz Emone pa so bili verjetno tudi člani nekaterih akvilejskih družin, kot npr. *Caesernii* v Savariji, prim. Gregoratti 2013, 148.

¹¹ *CIL* III 4196 = *RIU* I, 57 = Balla et al. 1971, 104 št. 107 = HD040092 = *lupa* 3080: (*dom(o) Emon(a)*). Lucijevo ime ni odlomljeno, kot je napačno navedeno v EDH. Glej tudi *CIL* III 10927 = *RIU* I, 60 = Balla et al. 1971, št. 109 = HD040101, kjer je omenjen *Maximus Voltionis f(ilius)*, žal pa je kamen na mestu omembe njegovega porekla (*origo*) odlomljen. Glede na imena smemo sklepati, da je bil zelo verjetno iz Emone.

¹² *CIL* III 10774 = EDR155652; glej spodaj.

¹³ Katičić 1968, 84, ki meni, da je keltsko, čeprav za svoje mnenje ne navaja odločilnih jezikovnih argumentov.

¹⁴ *CIL* III 3862 = *AIJ* 186 = EDR134951.

¹⁵ *Nomenclator*, s.v.; *OPEL* IV, 45; Alföldy 1969b, 117; ime je dvakrat dokumentirano v Akvileji.

¹⁶ Kot npr. Mócsy 1983–1984; za Savarijo glej Scherrer 2003; za obe mesti Kovács 2014, *passim*.

ASUPOV OSVOBOJENEC TIT CEZERNIJ DIFIL

Sredi 1. stoletja pr. Kr., ko so Rimljani že vzpostavili kontrolo nad emonskim prostorom, so v Emoni začeli prihajati prvi doseljenci, med katerimi je bilo pričakovati, da bo veliko trgovcev in raznih obrtnikov. Zato je tem bolj zanimivo, da je prva oseba, ki je v Emoni epigrafsko dokazana na nagrobniku iz poznorepublikanskega obdobja (ok. 30 pr. Kr.), *sevir*, član združenja šestih, morda svečnikov ali mestnih magistratov iz Akvileje, Asupov osvobodjenec *Titus Caesernius Diphilus*. Nagrobnik si je dal postaviti za življenja, kar pomeni, da je v Emoni prebival bolj ali manj daljše časovno razdobje (*sl. 2*).¹⁷ Skupnost Rimljanov v Emoni je kmalu zrasla v pomembno naselbino in emporij, ki sta končno postala rimska kolonija (*colonia Iulia Emona*), morda že pod Oktavijanom (Avgustom) v letih po bitki pri Akciju (31 pr. Kr.)¹⁸ ali pa v avgustejskem času po končani Tiberijevo panonski vojni leta 8 pr. Kr., nikakor pa ne pozneje kot po koncu velikega panonsko-dalmatinskega upora (*bellum Batonianum*) leta 9 po Kr.¹⁹ V Emoni je Difilov gospodar *Assupa* zelo verjetno veljal za ugledno osebnost, kar ne nazadnje izhaja iz dejstva, da se Difil ni označil kot *T(iti) l(ibertus)*, kar bi bilo praviloma pričakovati, temveč kot *Assupae l(ibertus)*. To bi hkrati lahko tudi pojasnilo, zakaj se je kot akvilejski *sevir* in nekdanji Asupov suženj naselil v Emoni. Ni izključeno, da je v tem pomembnem emporiju, ki je bil na tem, da postane rimska kolonija, skrbel za interese svojega gospodarja, morda pa je bil celo udeležen v procesu upravno-administrativnih sprememb, ki jih je zahtevala sprememba statusa naselbine.

Cezerniji niso le epigrafsko najboljše dokumentirana družina v Emoni in njenem zaledju, njeni člani so bili tudi med najzgodnejšimi naseljenci v emonski kotlini.²⁰ V Emoni so prišli iz Akvileje, na njihovo gospodarsko moč kaže ne nazadnje tudi veliko število osvobodjencev. Difil je bil osvobodjenec, kar sam omenja na nagrobniku, spričuje pa ga tudi njegovo grško ime; sužnjem tujega porekla so namreč pogosto dajali grška imena, zlasti v primerih, ko so bila njihova prvotna imena težko izgovorljiva. Posebej zanimivo je ime njegovega

¹⁷ *AIJ* 176 = *RINMS* 3 = EDR073326; Zaccaria 1985, 112 št. 45; prim. Zaccaria 2006, 453.

¹⁸ Šašel 1970, 123–124 (1992, 286–287); Šašel Kos 2003; Zaccaria 2010, 108–109; id. 2007, 137–139.

¹⁹ Glej nazadnje Šašel Kos 2012; Slapšak 2014.

²⁰ Šašel 1960 (1992); Zaccaria 2006.

gospodarja, *Assupa*, moško ime s končnico na *-a*; moška imena s končnico, ki je običajna za ženska imena, se nekajkrat pojavijo v Noriku.²¹ Ime je *hapax*, znano le z Difilovega nagrobnika, in je morda severnojadranskega izvora; ni tudi izključeno, da je njegova družina izvirala iz Emone ali s širšega emonskega prostora.²² V tem primeru bi Difil s posredovanjem svojega gospodarja lahko že pred prihodom navezal stike s posamezniki med staroselskim prebivalstvom in se seznanil z razmerami v mestu. Čeprav je takšen scenarij verjeten, je le eden od možnih, saj bi Asupa lahko pripadal tudi potomcem avtohtone skupnosti, naseljene v Akvileji. Kakorkoli že, v vsakem primeru je imel s prebivalci Emone verjetno predhodne stike.

Pod Avgustom je Emona postala rimska kolonija, kamor so se kolonisti priselili predvsem iz severne Italije, zlasti iz Akvileje, pa tudi od drugod. Nekateri so bili verjetno razlašeni lastniki posestev v Italiji, ki so jih oblasti dodelile veteranom; te je moral v letih po bitki pri Akciju Oktavijan (Avgust) v velikem številu odpustiti iz vojske, saj je bila večina že predolgo pod orožjem. Kolonisti so bili predvsem civilisti, nekaj pa je bilo tudi veteranov, ki so si za svoj novi dom izbrali najbolj severovzhodno italsko mesto. Kaj se je zgodilo s staroselskim prebivalstvom, ki je živelo v Emoni pred prihodom rimskih kolonistov, ni jasno, gotovo pa je rimska država zasegla vsaj del njihove zemlje.²³

V EMONI NAJDENI KAMNITI SPOMENIKI Z AVTOHTONIMI IMENI

Čeprav je veljalo prepričanje, da je bilo v Emoni najdeno minimalno število spomenikov, ki so jih postavili potomci staroselskega prebivalstva, in da so nekaj od teh skoraj gotovo prinesli v Ljubljano z Ižanskega, je sistematična analiza vseh rimskih napisov iz Emone pokazala, da to mnenje ni upravičeno. Več v Ljubljani odkritih nagrobnikov s staroselskimi imeni je bilo tudi dejansko najdenih v mestu, kar pomeni, da so izvirali iz Emone. Prostor Emone in Ižansko sta bila v predrimskem času soodvisna in tesno povezana,

²¹ Betz 1956; glej tudi Alföldy 1969a, 11–12; ime *Assupa* je v *OPEL* I, 81 navedeno pod Panonijo.

²² Tako že Saria (*AIJ* 176) in Untermann 1961, 131 § 194; prim. Krahe 1929, 11; Katičić 1968, 104.

²³ Kakšne so bile v zvezi s tem različne pravne možnosti, glej pri Gagliardi 2015.

do nasilne prekinitve je prišlo šele z ustanovitvijo rimske kolonije v Emoni, ki je povzročila velike spremembe v življenju predrimskega emonskega prebivalstva, saj se je večina nedvomno znašla na robu preživetja. Kljub vsemu pa so bili nekateri posamezniki dovolj premožni, da so sebi in svoji družini lahko postavili nagrobni spomenik in tako bodočim generacijam ohranili spomin nase in na svoje avtohtono poreklo.

Nagrobnikov s staroselskimi imeni, ki so bili odkriti v Ljubljani in nedvomno niso bili prineseni od drugod, je sedem, tem pa je treba dodati še en zaobljubni oltar. Prvi nagrobnik je leta 1534 objavil Petrus Apianus; zelo verjetno ga je prevzel iz malo zgodnejšega rokopisa Avgušтина Tyferna.²⁴ Pri Apianu piše, da je bil nagrobnik najden v ruševinah hiše blizu cerkve sv. Nikolaja, ki je današnja stolnica (*Laibaci in domo quadam diruta e regione Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai*); ponovno ga je objavil Wolfgang Lazius (*sl.* 3).²⁵ Janez Ludvik Schönleben omenja, da veliko napisov, objavljenih v Lazijevem epigrafskem korpusu, ni bilo več mogoče najti, in kot prvi zgubljen napis navaja prav tega: "*Harum ergo prima fuit e regione Templi D. Nicolai, in domo quadam privata*".²⁶ Napis se glasi:

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). / Buio Vibi f(ilius) / v(ivus) posuit sibi / et coniugi Lascio⁵{a}nti(a)e Q(uinti?) Subloani f(iliae) / Θ(obitae) an(norum) XXXX et f(ilio?) Fibioni / Θ(obito) an(norum) VII [---] / [---?].

Prevod: Posvečeno božanskim Manom. Vibov (ali Vibijev) sin Buio je dal postaviti (nagrobnik) za življenja sebi in svoji ženi Lasciontiji, hčerki Kvinta (?) Sublona (?), ki je umrla stara 40 let, in sinu (?) Fibionu (?), ki je umrl star 7 let (ali več?) ...

Buio, Buiio ali *Buiius* je eno najbolj priljubljenih staroselskih imen na Ižanskem, dokumentirano je skoraj izključno na prostoru Ižanskega in Emone, in sicer desetkrat na osmih nagrobnikih.²⁷ Morda

²⁴ Šašel Kos 2016.

²⁵ Apianus, Amantius 1534, 372, 1; Lazius 1551, 1195; *CIL* III 3855 = EDR155648 = *lupa* 4200.

²⁶ Schönleben 1681, 217 št. I; ker so nekatera imena enaka kot na nagrobnikih z Ižanskega, sta Muratori in Müllner brez dodatnih argumentov domnevala, da nagrobnik izvira z Iga.

²⁷ *CIL* III 10739 = EDR148360; *CIL* III 3860 = EDR135190; *CIL* III 3799 = EDR148216; *CIL* III 10740 = EDR148321; *CIL* III 3866 = EDR136395; *CIL* III 3826 = EDR148336; *AIJ* 140 = EDR148266; *RINMS* 82 = EDR134913.

bi lahko interpretirali tudi patronimik ženske, *Ruii filia*, na zgubljenem nagrobniku z Iga kot *Buii filia*, saj je domneva, da bi utegnilo biti ime pri Avguštinu Tyfernu napačno prepisano, upravičena.²⁸ Ime *Buio* v Emoni dopolnjuje in potrjuje njegovo veliko priljubljenost na Ižanskem. *Buio* je hipokoristična oblika imena in je zato *a priori* ne moremo z gotovostjo pripisati nobenemu od tedaj znanih jezikov, temveč lahko trdimo, da je ime izrazito lokalno in torej severnojadranskega porekla.²⁹ *Vibus* in *Vibius* sta imeni, značilni za nekdanje Noriško kraljestvo,³⁰ vendar sta bili priljubljeni tudi na Ižanskem.³¹ Ime *Lasciontia*, ki je znano v zelo podobni obliki *Lascontia* še z nagrobnika iz Mengša nedaleč od Ljubljane,³² medtem ko drugje ni dokumentirano, lahko opredelimo kot ime, značilno za predrimsko prebivalstvo Emone in njene širše okolice. Izvirni imenovalnik se je morda glasil *Lasc(i)onti*, podobno kot izpričan nominativ staroselskega ženskega imena *Voltaronti*, ki je bil nedavno razložen kot značilna tvorba lokalnega jezika.³³ Imeni *Sublo* (?), ki je v rodilniku zapisano kot *Subloani* (A je morda odveč in bi moralo biti pravilno prebrano kot *Sublo{a}ni*),³⁴ in *Fibio*, če sta bili pravilno prepisani, drugje nista poznani,³⁵ zato o njihovih povezavah ni mogoče reči nič konkretnega.

Tudi drugi nagrobnik je zgubljen, bil pa je prav tako nedvomno odkrit v Ljubljani, in sicer, kot piše Iacobus Valvasonius (f. 52), "In conventu Theutonicorum", torej na prostoru kulturnega centra Križank, ki so stale na območju Emone in so do druge svetovne vojne pripadale Nemškemu viteškemu redu (sl. 4).³⁶ Napis se glasi:

Ebon[icus or -ico ---?] / an(norum) LX / Velat[---] / Maxuma /⁵ NO[...] parentib(us) / suis.

²⁸ Tyfernus, CVP 3528, fol. 71^r = CIL III 3821 = EDR148423 = lupa 4186.

²⁹ Lochner-Hüttenbach 1965, 21–22; Katičič 1968, 72–73; Repanšek 2016, 324, 326.

³⁰ Prim. *Nomenclator* in OPEL; Alföldy 1977, 257–258.

³¹ RINMS 85 = EDR134929; CIL III 3803 = EDR148391; CIL III 3818 = EDR148404; CIL III 3862 = EDR134951.

³² CIL III 3895 + p. 1736 = AIJ 216 = ILJug 326 = lupa 3724.

³³ Repanšek 2016, 327, 329.

³⁴ Z odvečnim A, podobno kot v *Lascio{a}nti(a)e*: Repanšek 2016, 330.

³⁵ Navedeni pri Katičiču 1968, 98 in 82; glej tudi OPEL II, 140 (Fibio); IV, 97 (as Subloanus).

³⁶ CIL III 10774.

Prevod: Ebon[ik ali: Eboniku] ... star 60 let ... Velat[-]? Maksuma ... svojim staršem.

Imena *Velat[-]*, če je bilo pravilno prepisano, na osnovi razpoložljivega onomastičnega gradiva ne moremo dopolniti,³⁷ medtem ko je bilo ime *Maximus/ Maxima* (tudi *Maxuma*) tako v moški kot ženski obliki običajen in zelo pogost latinski kognomen (*cognomen*), na Ižanskem pa, kot že omenjeno, med najbolj priljubljenimi latinskimi osebnimi imeni. Morda je bilo prevedeno ali prilagojeno iz jezika, ki se je govoril na območju Emone, kar je pojav, ki je znan tudi drugje.³⁸ *Ebonicus* je staroselsko ime, ki se pojavi tudi na dveh drugih nagrobnikih z Ižanskega,³⁹ značilno je torej za avtohtono ižansko-emonsko prebivalstvo.

Tako kot prva dva je tudi tretji nagrobnik zgubljen, iz objave pri Apianu izhaja, da je bil odkrit v Ljubljani, na pokopališču tako imenovane nemške rezidence (*in coemeterio curiae cruciferorum*), torej na območju današnjih Križank (sl. 5).⁴⁰ Napis se glasi:

Enno Secco/nis f(ilius) / vivus f(ecit) Cetetiuni / Rustici f(iliae) /⁵ Θ(obitae) an(norum) L / et fil(io) Valentioni / Θ(obito) an(norum) XXXV et Secu. / Secco Emon(i)s <Y>(filius) / Θ(obitus) an(norum) LI. Emon Y(filius ?) /¹⁰ Θ(obit.) / [---.

Prevod: Sekonov sin Eno je dal napraviti (nagrobnik) za življenja Rustikovi hčerki Cetetiu, ki je umrla stara 50 let. In sinu Valentionu, ki je umrl star 35 let, in Seku. Emov sin Seko, ki je umrl star 51 let. Emo, sin, je umrl ...

Imeni *Enno* in *Em(m)o* sta kratki tvorbi (hipokoristika); ti dve in podobna imena kot npr. *Enna* in *Ennia*, so značilna za ižansko-emonsko območje.⁴¹ Ime *Secco* se nekajkrat pojavi na nagrobnih napisih z Ižanskega; opredeljeno je bilo kot keltsko in kot kratko ime (hipokoristik).⁴² Prav zaradi tega ga lahko razložimo predvsem kot staroselsko ime, priljubljeno na ižansko-emonskem območju.⁴³

³⁷ OPEL IV, 152.

³⁸ Kot npr. v Liburniji, Rider: Rendić-Miočević 1989.

³⁹ CIL III 3806 = 10732; 10741; glej Lochner-Hüttenbach 1965, 23; Katičič 1968, 76; Repanšek 2016, 324.

⁴⁰ Apianus, Amantius 1534, 371, 4; CIL III 3861 = 10758 = lupa 4201.

⁴¹ Katičič 1968, 76–78; Repanšek 2016, 324.

⁴² CIL III 3810; 3877; 3871 = AIJ 195; Lochner-Hüttenbach 1965, 34–35; Katičič 1968, 96–97; Matasović 2003, 13.

⁴³ Repanšek 2016, 323, 324, 334, 335.

Cetetiu je žensko ime, ki se končuje na *-u*, in drugod ni izpričano, ženska imena na *-u* pa so sicer na Igu že znana: *Tetiu* in *Cot(t)iu* (ali morda *Otiu*).⁴⁴ *Valentio* je latinski kognomen, tako tudi *Rusticus*, ki je bil priljubljen predvsem v Hispaniji in severni Italiji,⁴⁵ in je bil eno od najbolj pogostih osebnih imen med prebivalci izžansko-emonskega območja in bližnje okolice.⁴⁶

Četrty nagrobnik, tudi zgubljen, je bil odkrit leta 1695 v Ljubljani, ko so podrli kapelo sv. Mihaela. Ta kapela je bila okrogla kostnica, ki je stala južno od cerkve sv. Petra; kamen je Janez Gregor Dolničar pozneje videl na pokopališču te cerkve.⁴⁷ Napis je bil prepisan zelo nezanesljivo, omenjajo se latinsko moško ime *Vitalis* in ženski imeni *Voltia* in *Voltaronti* (ali *Voltarontis*). Zadnji dve sta značilni za avtohtona imena izžansko-emonskega območja, posebej *Voltaronti*; ta predstavlja svojevrsten primer oblikoslovja domačega jezika, ki je verjetno ohranil imenovalnik ednine starih indoevropskih ženskih dolgih *i*-jevskih korenov. Podobno kot ime *Devontia* na naslednjem nagrobniku, ki se je izvorno verjetno glasilo *Devonti*, in prej omenjeno ime *Lasc(i)ontia* (*Lasc(i)onti*), so bila nekatera ženska imena na izžansko-emonskem območju zelo verjetno tvorjena na **-ontī*, in sicer na osnovi moških debel na *-on-*, kar predstavlja izrazito lokalni vzorec. Domače oblikoslovje teh ženskih imen se je nato zlahka prilagodilo običajnemu latinskemu vzorcu imen, ki so se končevala na *-iā*.⁴⁸

Tudi peti nagrobni spomenik je bil najden v Križankah, kjer ga je Schönleben videl v Marijini cerkvi Nemškega viteškega reda, blizu oltarja; služil je kot klečalnik, pozneje pa je bil vzdian v zid notranjega dvorišča njihove rezidence (*sl.* 6).⁴⁹ Nagrobno ploščo časovno lahko umestimo v 1. stoletje po Kr., napis na njej pa se glasi:

C(aio) Iulio C(ai) l(iberto) / Quadrato / et Vibunni/ae Uss[...] f(iliae) /⁵ Devontiae / uxori vivae / Urb[anus?] f(ilius?) / Firmus I[...] N / v(ivi?) f(ecerunt?).

Prevod: Gaju Juliju Kvadratu, Gajevemu osvobodjencu, in njegovi ženi Vibuniji Devontiji, hčerki Uss[-], za življenja. Njun sin Urban (?), Firmus ... (je dal/so dali?) napraviti (nagrobnik) za življenja.

Ime *Vibunnius* je dokumentirano le petkrat⁵⁰ in z izjemo enega napisa iz Sale (*Salla*) v Panoniji zgolj na območju Emone, zato ga lahko po pravici prištevamo med imena, značilna za emonski prostor. V vseh dosedanjih objavah tega nagrobnika je bilo ime nepravilno prebrano kot *Vibunnae*, vendar sta drugi *N* in *I* nedvomno v ligaturi,⁵¹ torej je pravilno branje imena *Vibunnia*. Ta oblika pa je verjetnejša tudi z vidika onomastike, saj bi na tem mestu v vsakem primeru pričakovali družinsko ime, gentilicij. *Vibunnius* je psevdogentilicij, tvorjen iz avtohtonega osebnega imena *Vibunn(i)us*. Ime *Vibunnus* je očitno epihorsko osebno ime, značilno za emonsko območje;⁵² zato je mogoče z gotovostjo trditi, da je pripadalo izžanskemu imenskemu sklopu. Ime, ki se začne na *Uss[-]*, ni mogoče dopolniti, ni pa metodološko pravilno, da bi ga opredelili kot keltsko.⁵³ Obe imeni se v napisu pojavita v povezavi z ženskim imenom *Devonti(a)*, ki drugod ni izpričano in ki ga je Wolfgang Meid razložil kot keltsko,⁵⁴ vendar je njegovo razlago ovrgel že David Stifter in nedavno tudi Luka Repanšek.⁵⁵ Ime *Urb[-]* lahko najverjetneje dopolnimo kot *Urbanus*, na Ižanskem je namreč kar trikrat dokumentirano.⁵⁶

Šesti nagrobnik je bil odkrit leta 1893 v hiši mizarja Karla Krimmerja na cesti Marije Terezije

⁴⁴ *CIL* III 3814; Cotiu: Ragolič 2016. Za ženska izžanska imena na *-u* glej Stifter 2012, 257–258; za *Cetetiu* je predlagal čitanje *et Tetiuni*, kar pa ni ne upravičeno ne smiselno, glej Repanšek 2016, 324; 326.

⁴⁵ *Nomenclator*, s.v.

⁴⁶ Neobjavljen korpus rimskih napisov iz Emone in njenega upravnega območja.

⁴⁷ Thalnitscher, *Antiquitates Labacenses*, 1. izd., dodatek a¹ 39; 2. izd., dodatek a² 45' št. 9; f. 53 št. 6; *CIL* III 3876 + p. 2328, 189: *VITALIS BEA/TVLONS SIBI / ET VOLTARO/TIA. ET F. EI /⁵VOLTIA F. VOL/TARONTIAE / CONIVGI*. Za kostnico glej Zadnikar 1982, 478–479.

⁴⁸ Repanšek 2016, 325, 326–327.

⁴⁹ Schönleben 1681, 227 št. I; *CIL* III 3863 = 10759 = *AIJ* 189 = *EDR*155588 = *lupa* 3704.

⁵⁰ *OPEL* IV, 166; tudi *RINMS* 27 in *AIJ* 189; prim. *TRHR* (*Suppl.*) 59 = *HD*037843 = *lupa* 4564 iz Zalaszentgyörgy (pri antičnem mestu *Salla*), Zgornja Panonija. Ni izključeno, da je bila oseba (*Vibunnius Valerius*) z emonskega območja.

⁵¹ Dodatno lahko opazimo, da je poleg drugega *N* na samem koncu vrstice verjetno vklesan majhen polovičen *I*.

⁵² Meid 2005, 307; cf. 194 in 244.

⁵³ Repanšek 2016, 331, kljub Meidu 2005, 244 in 307; *Ussus* je dokumentiran enkrat v Galiji Belgiki, *Ussius* pa dvakrat v severni Italiji in enkrat v Hispaniji in Galiji Belgiki: *OPEL* IV, 188.

⁵⁴ Meid 2005, 307.

⁵⁵ Stifter 2012, 252; Repanšek 2016, 327, 334, 336.

⁵⁶ *CIL* III 3877 = *EDR*135195: *Voltaronti Urbani f(ilia) in dvakrat v CIL III 13402 = EDR152812: Sabina Urbani f(ilia) in Voltilius Urbanus*.

št. 4 (današnja Gosposvetska ulica), neposredno nasproti rimske nekropole (sl. 7).⁵⁷ Napis se glasi:

---?] / *Vibunniaes / Matrones. / In agro p(edes) LS (!) / in fronte /⁵ p(edes) XXVIII.*

Prevod: (... ? nagrobnik) Vibunije Matrone. (Grobna parcela meri) 50 (morda tudi 55 ali 50 in pol?) čevljev v dolžino in 28 čevljev v širino.

Matrona ima enak psevdogentilicij kot Devontija iz prejšnjega napisa. Ime *Matrona* je tudi nekajkrat dokumentirano na širšem emonskem območju, čeprav je načeloma redko.⁵⁸ Grške končnice sklonov, kot v tem primeru v rodilniku, so načeloma značilne za zgodnje napise; nagrobnik je morda iz 1. stoletja po Kr. Družina Vibunijev je očitno pripadala sloju romaniziranih premožnih staroselcev, ki so imeli rimsko državljanstvo in niso v nobenem pogledu izstopali iz družbenega konteksta življenja v rimski koloniji.

Družinsko ime *Vibunnius* se pojavi tudi na zaobljubnem oltarju, posvečenem boginji zmage Viktoriji (sl. 8),⁵⁹ odkritem v Ljubljani leta 1911, med izkopavanji na Mirju, ki jih je vodil Walter Schmid. Najden je bil na globini 50 cm v tako imenovani zlatarjevi hiši (hiša IV) v sobi 8, kjer je bil prislonjen na zid skupaj s tremi drugimi oltarji (*RINMS* 17, 26 in 28). Vsem so manjkali zgornji deli in zdi se zelo verjetno, da so bili pripravljene kot gradbeni material za ponovno uporabo, morda za dodatno utrditev mestnega obzidja v poznorimskem obdobju. Posvetilo se glasi:

[*Vict*]ori/[*ae*] *Aug(ustae) sa(nctae) / [s]acrum. / Sex(tus) Vibun⁵nius Avitus / ex vot(o).*

Prevod: Posvečeno sveti Viktoriji Avgusti. Sekst Vibunij Avit (je dal postaviti oltar) po zaobljubi.

Posvetiteljev kognomen *Avitus* je bil priljubljen med domorodnim prebivalstvom tako v sosednjem Noriku kot v Panoniji,⁶⁰ kar se ujema z njegovim družinskim imenom, izpeljanim iz staroselskega osebnega imena. Zelo verjetno je pripadal potomcem prebivalstva, ki je v Emoni živelo pred prihodom Rimljanov.

Zadnji je nagrobnik, ki je bil po podatku Janeza Ludvika Schönlebna odkrit okoli leta 1635 v Ljubljani, blizu cerkve sv. Krištofa, ko so mestne oblasti v tem predmestju dale zgraditi hišo za potujoče goste (sl. 9).⁶¹ Okoliščine odkritja, ki jih Schönleben natančno opisuje, so zelo zanimive, in skleпали bi lahko, da je bil spomenik najden *in situ*, razen če ni služil kot pokrov poznorimskega groba oz. sarkofaga. Pod nagrobnikom je bil namreč najden kamnit grob z nekaj ostanki kosti, dvema okroglima zapestnicama in majhno zlato verižico. Schönleben je še dodal, da je bil spomenik vzdan v zunanjo steno cerkve sv. Krištofa, ki je gledala na javno cesto, a je že vsaj v času Alfonsa Müllnerja veljal za zgubljenega.

Secundae / Epponis f(iliae). / G(aius) Vedius Rufus / [vivus?] fecit /⁵ [sibi et?] uxori / et Sabino <f>(ilio). / In front(e) p(edes) XII / in agro p(edes) XVII.

Prevod: Eponovi hčerki Sekundi. Gaj Vedij Ruf je dal za življenja napraviti (nagrobnik) zase (?) in za svojo ženo in sina Sabina. (Mere grobne parcele znašajo) v širino 12 čevljev in v dolžino 17 čevljev.

Sekunda je imela status meščanke brez državljanstva (to so bili tako imenovani peregrini prebivalci), ime njenega očeta pa kaže, da je pripadala skupnosti emonskih staroselcev. *Eppo* je dobro dokumentiran na Ižanskem in je pripadal potomcem ižansko-emonskega predrimskega prebivalstva;⁶² njegovega kratkega imena ni mogoče zanesljivo opredeliti kot keltsko, kar sta kot neutemeljeno zavrnila tako David Stifter kot Luka Repanšek.⁶³ Zanimivo pa je, da je bil Sekundin mož rimski državljan, ki je imel tri imena (*tria nomina*), in je bil morda eden prvih kolonistov iz Italije oz. njihov neposredni potomec. Njegovo rodovno ime je dokumentirano v Italiji in tudi v Akvileji,⁶⁴ s kolonizacijo pa se je širilo na vzhod in v obdonavske province.⁶⁵ Nagrobnik je iz 1. stoletja po Kr. in zanimivo osvetljuje zgodnje sožitje med staroselskim prebivalstvom in priseljenci iz Italije.

⁶¹ Schönleben 1681, 216, no. VII = *CIL* III 3872 = EDR155656 = *lupa* 4204.

⁶² *RINMS* 82, 88; *ILJug* 299.

⁶³ Stifter 2012, 252–253; Repanšek 2016, 324, 334–335, 337. Katičić 1968, 79–80, je ime imel za keltsko, toda glej Lochner-Hüttenbach 1965, 24–25 ter Meid 2005, 195 in 270, ki menita, da ime ni nujno keltsko.

⁶⁴ *Inscr. Aquil.* 648; 1049; 2531.

⁶⁵ Alföldy 1969b, 134; *OPEL* IV, 150.

⁵⁷ *CIL* III 14354,16 = *RINMS* 60 = *lupa* 1158 = EDR129092.

⁵⁸ Kajanto 1965, 18, 21, 80, 305; Mócsy 1959, 203 (2/56), je menil, da naj ne bi šlo za ime.

⁵⁹ *RINMS* 27 = *AIJ* 163 = EDR129027.

⁶⁰ *OPEL* I, 97; Alföldy 1977, 257–258.

Na seznamih pretorijancev v Rimu (*laterculi*) sta dokumentirana dva pretorijanca iz Emone, ki bi lahko veljala za potomca predrimске emonske skupnosti: *Lucius Vibienus Ianuarius* iz leta 144 po Kr.,⁶⁶ in *Publius Aurelius Annamatus* iz leta 209.⁶⁷ Januarijev gentilicij je verjetno izpeljan iz domačega osebnega imena *Vibus* (ali *Vibius*), ki je, kot že omenjeno, značilen za nekdanje Noriško kraljestvo in posebej tudi za Ižansko. Januarijevo gentilno ime se končuje na *-ienus*, kar je razmeroma redko. Z Emono so bili npr. povezani Tetieni: trgovec *Lucius Tettienus Vitalis* je bil rojen v Akvileji, odraščal pa je v Emoni.⁶⁸ Publij Avrelj Anamat ima kognomen, ki je nedvomno keltski in dobro dokumentiran v Panoniji;⁶⁹ zanimivo je, da ga v obliki *Adnomatus*, bolj ustreznemu lokalnemu jeziku, najdemo tudi na Igu.⁷⁰ *Annamatus* je zelo verjetno pripadal potomcem staroselskega prebivalstva Emone.

NAGROBNIKI NEGOTOVE PROVENIENCE

Provenienca rimskih spomenikov, ki so bili po naročilu Janeza Gregorja Dolničarja (1655–1719) vzdani v stene ljubljanske stolnice in semenišča, ni povsem jasna, kajti Dolničar piše, da so bili spomeniki bodisi iz Emone bodisi iz bližnjih vasi. Le za enega z Ižanskega je zabeležil natančno najdišče, namreč vasico Strahomer, za dva pa najdišči iz ljubljanskih predmestij. Kot je sam zapisal: “Za krono tega poglavja preostaja, da zabeležimo napise in spomenike, ki so bili najdeni tako tukaj kot v predmestjih in sosednjih krajih, kjer so rimski prebivalci mesta nekoč imeli svoje pristave in posestva, in ki so, zbrani na mojo pobudo nedolgo tega, doprinesli svoj delež k oživitvi slave starega ljubljanskega mesta.”⁷¹

⁶⁶ *CIL* VI 32520 (= 2379), col. III v. 39 = Dobó 1975, 58b = EDR126679; Šašel 1968, 548 (1992, 564).

⁶⁷ *CIL* VI 32640 col. I v. 15 = EDR134201; Šašel 1968, 549 (1992, 565); za oba glej tudi Visočnik 2015, 307, št. 13 in 19.

⁶⁸ *CIL* V 7047 + 7127 = EDR113494, z bibliografijo.

⁶⁹ Meid 2005, 160.

⁷⁰ *CIL* III 3819 (+ p. 1047) = 10736 = *CLIC* str. 222, PAN 014 = EDR148415; Repanšek 2016, 324; 334; 338; 342.

⁷¹ Thalnitscher 1701, 67 (*Restat pro coronide huius capitatis, ut inscriptiones et monumenta, quae tum hic, tum in suburbiis ac vicinis locis ubi olim Romani incolae urbis suas habuere villas et praedia, me hortatore collecta ad excitandam veteris urbis Labacensis gloriam ...*). Glej tudi Dolničar (Lavrič) 2003, 262.

Zaradi značilnih ižanskih osebnih imen v večini teh napisov (vseh je 13, dva sta ponarejena) je veljalo mnenje, ki sta ga zagovarjala predvsem Theodor Mommsen in Anton von Premerstein, da večina spomenikov izvira z Ižanskega.⁷² Po Premersteinovem prepričanju sta bila v Ljubljani odkrita le *CIL* III 3845 in 3838 (njegovi številki 42 in 37),⁷³ vsi ostali naj bi bili prineseni z Ižanskega.⁷⁴ Prvi od teh dveh spomenikov je nagrobnik veterana 15. legije Lucija Oklatija Tarkvinčana (*L. Oclatius Tarquiniensis*), najden v predmestju tedanje Ljubljane pred hišo Knidasch, ki je ni mogoče natančno locirati. Drugi pa je posvetilo Herkulu iz Zgornje Šiške v Ljubljani (v Dolničarjevih časih še predmestje), ki sta ga dala postaviti dva Klodija, oče in sin. Glede na to, da sta bila oba spomenika najdena v predmestjih in ne v tedanji Ljubljani (... *inscriptiones et monumenta, quae tum hic, tum in suburbiis ...*), se zdi zelo verjetno, da je bil vsaj eden od preostalih odkrit v Ljubljani. Toda ker za večino ni jasno, od kod točno izvirajo, jih nisem vključila med emonske.

Iz analize emonskih napisov izhaja, da vsaj osem spomenikov z domačimi imeni ni bilo prinesenih od drugod, temveč so bili nedvomno najdeni v Ljubljani. Ta delež je dejansko večji, kot so mislili raziskovalci preteklih generacij, kar pomeni, da je staroselsko prebivalstvo Emone vendarle zapustilo dovolj občutno sled v rimski koloniji Emoni; ti napisi nam omogočajo, da jih lahko bolj natančno preučimo. Nekaterim je uspelo, da so se prebili v višje sloje rimske družbe, njihovo bogastvo pa jim je omogočilo, da so si lahko postavili družinski nagrobni spomenik. Nekatere družine peregrinega statusa so bile dovolj premožne, da so lahko dostojno živele. Takšna sta bila primera Buiona in njegove žene Lascientije ter Enona in njegove žene Cetetiu. Nekatere domačinke so se poročile z rimskimi državljani, tako npr. Eponova hčerka Sekunda, ki se je omožila z Gajem Vedijem Rufom. Nedvomno so bili tudi primeri, ko so se staroselci poročili z Rimljankami, kot je mogoče sklepati s prej omenjenega nagrobnika Maksimovega sina Lucija iz Emone, ki je dal v Savariji postaviti nagrobni spomenik za ženo Salonijo Marcelo.⁷⁵ Osvobodenci

⁷² Glej *CIL* III, k ustreznim številkam napisov; Premerstein 1902.

⁷³ Ne oziraje se na oba potvorjena napisa, njegov št. 9 in 8.

⁷⁴ Premerstein 1902, 19.

⁷⁵ Mešani zakoni niso bili nič neobičajnega tudi npr. v Akvileji, glej Chiabà 2014, in jih lahko pričakujemo v vsakem mestu.

so imeli za žene pripadnice nekdanje skupnosti emonskih staroselcev, ki pa so, kot se zdi glede na psevdorodovno ime, že imele državljanstvo. Tak je bil primer Gaja Julija Kvadrata in njegove žene Vibunije Devontije. Nekateri posamezniki med staroselci, ki so se hoteli in znali prilagoditi novim razmeram, so za zasluge dobili rimsko državljanstvo, za gentilicij pa so uporabili ime oz. patronimik, značilen za njihovo družino, kot npr. ravno Vibuniji. Ta imena in socialne vezi njihovih nosilcev na zanimiv način osvetljujejo življenje v Emoni, preden se je spremenila v rimsko mesto,

predvsem pa pričajo o različnih načinih prilagajanja domačega prebivalstva novim razmeram, ki je bilo nujno za sožitje z rimskimi kolonisti.

Marjeta Šašel Kos
Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU
Inštitut za arheologijo
Novi trg 2
SI-1000 Ljubljana
mkos@zrc-sazu.si