

POZNOANTIČNA POSELITEV SLOVENIJE

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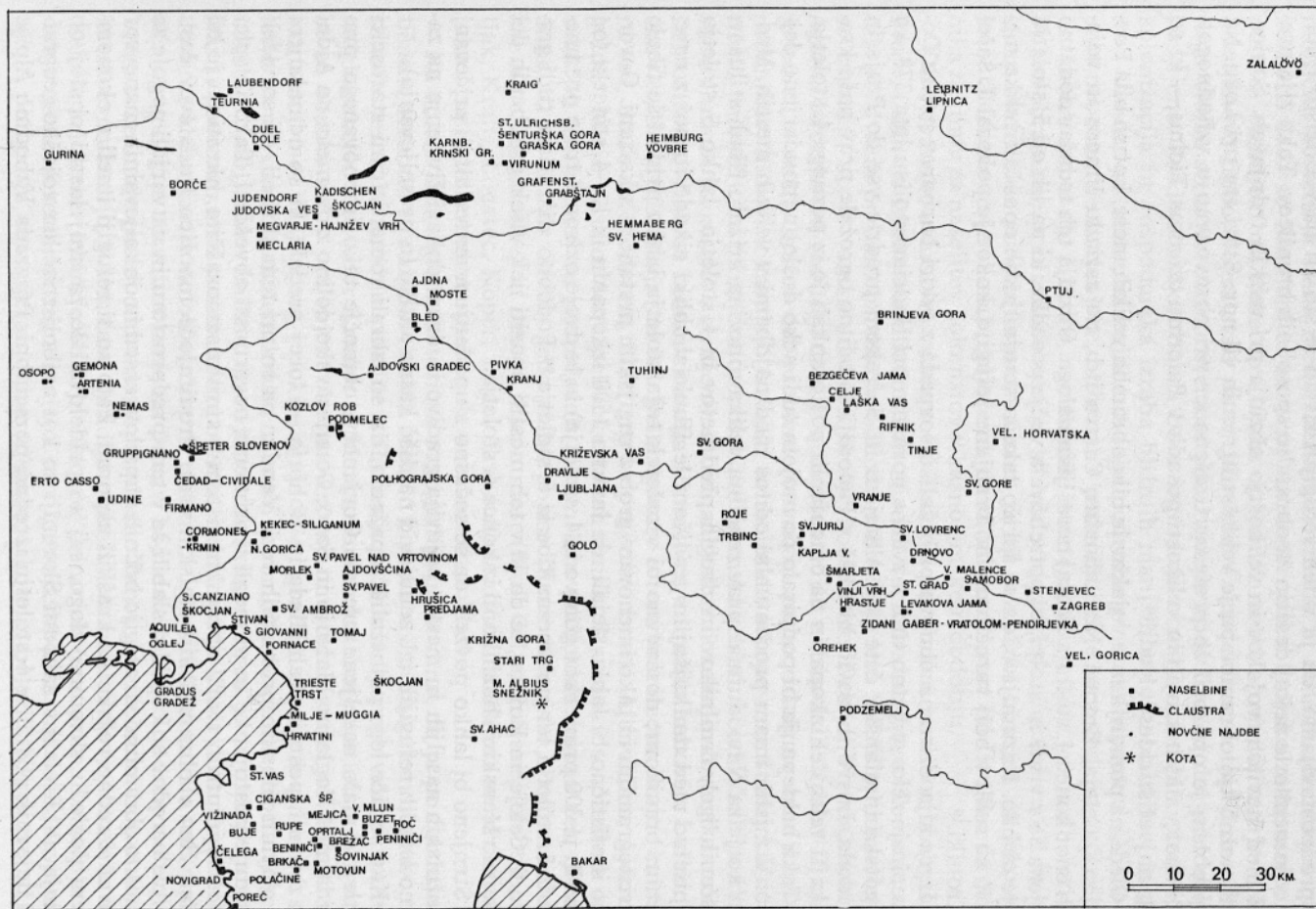
Narodni muzej, Ljubljana

Da razumemo kasno antično topografijo Slovenije, moramo upoštevati geografske danosti našega prostora, zasnove poselitve iz zgodnje antike in, končno, širše vojno-politične dogodke 4.—6. stoletja.

Geografske danosti Slovenije se v zgodnjerimskem času kažejo v politični luči kot mejno področje in v naselitvenem pogledu kot prostor mnogih več ali manj za koloniziranje ugodnih dolin oziroma predelov.¹ Zgodnje antična mejna pozicija naših krajev narekuje v okupacijski fazi — do ureditve urbanizacije s samoupravo v mestih — izgradnjo utrdb za vojaške garnizije z jedrom in prezi-movališči v legijskih taborih Emone in Poetovije. V okupacijski fazi se zaradi stalnih vojaških posadk in njihovih spremljevalcev — od družin do raznih pre-kupčevalcev — izredno poveča povpraševanje in s tem zviša proizvodnja in na-raste trgovina. Vojska je torej posredni ekonomski faktor. Direktno je vojaštvo omenjeno pri Tacitu, *Annales* 1, 20: »Interea manipuli, ante coeptam seditio-nem *Nauportum missi ob itinera et pontes et alios usus*...« Odločilno je pri-spevalo k večji menjavi blaga in postavilo hkrati z mrežo cest temelje za na-daljnjo kolonizacijo pokrajine.² Vrh tega so legijski tabori v Ljubljani in v Ptujju osnova za razvoj tukajšnjih naselbin.³ Izgradnji Emone z obzidjem in štirideset stanovanjskimi inzulami ter z regulacijo Ljubljanice je nujno sledila poselitev okolice. To izhaja tudi iz dejstva, da nekateri nagrobniki spi-čujejo veterane legije XV. *Apollinaris*, ki so po odsluženju vojaškega roka do-bili v okolici svoje posestvo, veliko 700 × 700 m in stanovanjsko stavbo v me-stu.⁴ Podobno je potekala naselitev veteranov tudi po drugih postojankah in vplivala na pokrajino. Ob takih točkah so s krčenjem in trebljenjem širili obde-lovalne površine, hkrati pa je pritegnil tak zaselek oziroma vas še obrtnike od lončarjev do kovačev. Večinoma so nastajali ti centri ob novih cestah, vendar v bližini prazgodovinskih postojank, kakor je to razvidno vzdolž ceste Emona—Siscia ali na prostoru med Kamnikom in Kranjem.⁵ Nasprotno temu pa je z izgradnjo državnih cest povsem na novo civiliziran svet Trnovskega gozda, Krško polje in predeli v obrobju Slovenskih goric, kakor nazorno govore zem-ljevidi v ANSI.⁶ Z ekonomskega vidika razumljiva je težnja po opuščanju pra-zgodovinskih gradišč in naselitev v dolini vzdolž novozgrajenih cest. Tako je

le malo zgodnjeantičnih postojank na hribih oziroma na vrhovih gričev, pač pa je izrazita naselitev ravninskega sveta, kar je značilnost te dobe. Svet, ki je bil kultiviran v tej dobi, je naseljen tudi v kasni antiki, kar dokazuje vrsta najdišč na omenjenih področjih. Analiza neposredne okolice Nevioduna kaže, da so na Krškem polju iztrebili gozd v zgodnjerimski dobi in tako pripravili večje površine za poljedelstvo. Stopnjema so te površine naraščale zaradi povečanja njiv, vinogradov in pašnikov. Nam vsem je poznan podatek, da je cesar Prob v sredini 3. stoletja dovolil gojenje trte oziroma dal izkrciti v Panoniji gozdove, da bi dobil nove površine za nasaditev trt. Kasnejših posegov v pokrajinsko podobo na Krškem polju z arheološkimi dokazi ne moremo potrditi, vendar so obdelano področje gospodarsko izkoriščali tudi v 4. stoletju, sodeč po najdiščih Veliko in Malo Mraševo, Gorica, Podlog in Velika vas.⁷ Velike spremembe v naselitveni podobi in historični topografiji naših krajev so se začele po vdoru Kvadov in Markomanov.⁸ Do takrat so ljudje očitno slepo zaupali v geslo *pax Romana* — mir v mejah imperija. Barbarski vdor z množico pobitih, zaslužjenih, na eni strani, in uničenimi ali požganimi naselji, posestvi, imetji, skladišči itd., na drugi, kakor da je streznil prebivalstvo in rimsko upravo.⁹ Uredili so posebno obrambno črto imenovano *praetentura Italiae et Alpium*, od katere je zanesljivo določljiva le Ločica kot postojanka in legijsko taborišče.¹⁰ Kakor kažejo dosedanje najstarejše antične najdbe na Rifniku,¹¹ na Vranju pri Sevnici¹² in Martinj hribu,¹³ segajo zametki teh utrjenih pribežališč v pozno 2. stoletje oziroma v čas po markomanskih vojnah in so tako sočasni s podatkom o pretenturi. To pa hkrati dokazuje, da je bila njihova okolica obdelana in da je dajala možnost za preživljanje. Sodeč po zobeh prebivalcev je bila poglavitna prehrana mleko in mlečni izdelki ter meso, kar kaže, da so morali obstajati v okolici samih trdnjav obsežni pašniki in primerna lovišča.¹⁴ Pašnike so dobili tudi s krčenjem gozda okoli trdnjave, saj je moral biti prostor pred obzidjem v širini najmanj 100 m in največ 300 m čistina, da je onemogočal sovražniku kritje za drevesi in drugimi ovirami, hkrati pa omogočal lokostrelcem in vojakom s puščicami, balistami in katapulti obstreljevati nasprotnika.

Nekatere kasnoantične trdnjave ali obzidane postojanke z izredno veliko površino so očitno služile tudi za varno spravljanje živine oziroma drobnice. Tako si na Velikih Malencah¹⁵ z izmerami trdnjave 440 × 300 m ne moremo zamisljati, da bi vsa površina služila za stanovanjsko poslopje, marveč moramo predpostavljati obore in hleve za živino. O tem nas prepričuje tloris 700 × 100 do 200 m velike utrdbe Sv. Pavel nad Vrtovinom,¹⁶ ki ima prečno obzidje, s katerim je ločen severni stanovanjski del (v katerem smo našli tudi temelje stavb) od mnogo večjega pašnika oziroma obora. Tem velikim utrdbam lahko priključimo še raziskovalno komaj načete refugije od Podzemlja, Sv. Ambroža, Kekca-Siliganuma nad Novo Gorico, Ajdne nad Potoki, Ajdovskega gradca v Bohinju, Pivke pri Naklem, Kranja, Polhograjske gore, Sv. Gore v Zasavju, Orehka, Zidanega Gabra, Tinja pri Jelšah do Puščave nad Starim trgom pri Slovenjgradcu,¹⁷ ki bi jih po površini lahko medsebojno vzporejali. Ob tej razumljivi želji po večanju svoje ekonomske oziroma življenjske neodvisnosti pa se pojavi novo vprašanje, kako so mogli na naštetih trdnjavah braniti včasih tudi do 1500 m dolgo obzidje npr. na Velikih Malencah. Iz vojaških vidikov je smiselnejša zasnova utrdb na Rifniku, Vranju, Ajdovskem gradcu v Bohinju, Polhograjski gori ali Sv. Ambrožu na Krasu, kjer je obzidje dolgo od 210 do 300 m.



Najdišča iz časa pozne antike. — Archaeological sites from the late Antiquity

Če predpostavljamo, da je v teh refugijih živel le sto ali največ tristo ljudi, je to pomenilo le nekaj desetina za obrambo sposobnih branilcev. Tako zija prepad med številom vojakov in velikostjo obzidja pri velikih trdnjavah. Somena z možnostjo obrambe pa je velikost utrjenih vil npr. Stari trg pri Ložu. Na ta problem je opozoril že profesor Grafenauer pri obravnavanju vzhodnogot-skih enot v naših krajih in velikosti posadk v Palermu oziroma Ticinu — ki so šteje največ štirideset ljudi.¹⁸

Glede na pomanjkanje vojakov je bila obramba velikih mest, kot so bila Poetoviona, Celeja, Emona, Neviodunum, Castra itd., po razsulu limesa in vojaških enot konec 4. stoletja skoraj nerešljiva naloga. Obzidja teh trdnjav dodatno utrjena še z vrati in stolpi, bi potrebovala večje posadke, ki pa jih od 5. stoletja dalje ni bilo. Razumljivo, da so spričo takega stanja ljudje opuščali velika mesta in se selili v bolj varne naravno branjene refugije, kakor je pokazal J. Šašel v Kroniki.¹⁹

Izgradnja oziroma obnova pribežališč sovpada z vdori barbarov preko Donave, in je zelo verjetno tudi v zvezi s porazom pri Hadrianopolisu leta 378, ko so gotske in alanske čete pod Alatejem in Safrakom prodrle vse do Ptuja in Stridona. Iz svojih novih bivališč v Panoniji so očitno ogrožale prav naše kraje, kajti velik del izkopanin na omenjenih postojankah je iz poznega 4. stoletja.

Taka naklepanja bi podpiralo po mojem tudi neko doslej nepoudarjeno dejstvo. V mislih imam procentualni odnos med najdbami v velikih mestih. Medtem ko je za Neviodunum prav značilna velika množina križnih fibul, stilusov, koščenih igel, črnilnikov in drugih predmetov iz 4. stoletja, lahko 5. stoletju pripišemo med tamkajšnjim gradivom le fibulo v obliki cikade in nož z narebrenim branikom; domnevno bi v začetek tega stoletja lahko pridali še fibulo s kristogramom in tako imenovani grob z rugijskim prstanom s kačami. Govorjeno statistično bi lahko dejali, da imamo 1500 izkopanin iz 1.—4. stoletja (od katerih je 300 primerkov gotovo iz 4. stoletja) in le dvoje oziroma troje predmetov iz 5. stoletja ter nobene najdbe iz 6. stoletja.²⁰ Podobno sliko daje tudi gradivo iz Celeje in Emone, le da je v teh mestih opaziti nek višek gradbenih del s starokrščanskimi bazilikami iz konca 4. stoletja.

Strnjeno bi lahko povzeli, da se sočasno z upadanjem materialnih pričevanj v nižinskih naseljih in mestih pojavlja gradivo in drugi dokazi življenja na zavetno ležečih refugijih (gl. zemljevid najdišč kasne antike in preseljevanja).

Kar se tiče lege pribežališč opazimo, da so izbrali romanizirani staroselci dotlej le malo naseljene predele Gorjancev, območje tako imenovanega pragozda med Voglajno, Savinjo in Savo, Gornjesavsko dolino z osamelci na Ajdnu ter zatišnih postojankah Bleda in Bohinja — torej predele, ki so odmaknjeni od glavnih rimskih prometnih vezi. Vendar pa so pri tem skrbeli, da so videli sosednje postojanke in se mogli v primerih nevarnosti obveščati. Tako je splet zatočišč in utrdb tvoril obrambni sistem v smislu samozaščite, hkrati pa je bil važen člen v obrambi iliro-italskih vrat. Prodirajočo množico ljudstev v času selitve narodov so cepili in slabili že v tem predprostoru in ustvarjali pogoje za uspešno obrambno strategijo bočnih napadov, zased in obkoljevalnih manevrov glavnine redne vojske na kraških zaporah. Zato so ti refugiji imeli v ekonomskem pogledu skromno vlogo, saj so pridelovali le za svoj lastni obstoj ob trdnjavah. Prelazi v zahodni Sloveniji so kot najbolj značilen vojaško-geografski dejavnik postali v 4. stoletju izredno pomembni. Pregrada Vzhodnih Alp je

mogočna poslednja stena med cesarstvom vzhoda in zahoda ter branik pred barbari. Zato so Rimljani te naravne ovire okrepili z linijsko zasnovanim zapornim obzidjem od Reke do Ziljske doline. Zametki obrambe segajo v Dio-klecijanovo dobo, dograjevali pa so jih skozi 4. in del 5. stoletja. Z naselitve-nega vidika so zapore zanimive, ker potekajo po področju, ki drugače ni bilo poseljeno. Predpostavljali bi, da bo z izgradnjo obzidja nastopila pospešena kolonizacija in gospodarska izraba bližnjih manjših ravnin, travnikov in goz-dov. Vendar pa neznatne najdbe iz tega področja govore nasprotno. Očitno so prav neprimerne življenjske možnosti v področju, ki je brez vode in nad višino, do katere uspevajo žitarice, spodbudile stratega, da je tam postavil obzidje. Vojno-obrambne prednosti območja so bile v njegovi slabi poseljenosti in kraškem svetu brez vode in hrane, s čimer je bil sovražnik obsojen na lakoto in žejo. Glede na to je skoraj izključeno, da bi bil gorati svet od Hrušice do Snež-nika zanimiv za naselitev kolonistov v kasnorimskem obdobju.

Ob slovansko-avarskem vdoru so se škofje s skupinami vernikov iz območja Ptuja, Celja in Ljubljane umaknili in naselili del zahodne Istre. To se je zgo-dilo predvsem po langobardskem odhodu v Benečijo leta 568. V teh desetletjih so zapustili svoja verska središča škofje Poetovione, Celeje, Viruna, Emone, Agunta in cerkveni voditelji drugih manjših središč v Vzhodnih Alpah.²¹ Z njimi je odšel iz naših krajev del prebivalcev, mnogi pa so ostali na zemlji svojih prednikov, kakor dokazujejo izsledki arheoloških izkopavanj, študij kasnoan-tičnih patrocinijev in najbolj neposredno imenski relikti. V odročnih predelih so se ohranili staroselci v strnjenih skupinah, kakor dokazuje slovanska oznaka Lah oziroma Vlah za romaniziranega Iliro-Kelta v imenih Lahovče, Laško, Laška vas, Bašelj, Belšinja vas itd. Delno govore o tem tudi imena krajev kot Sta-ra vas, Staro selo oziroma Stari trg in posredno imena Ajdovščina, Ajdovski gradec, Mirje, Gradec ter izpeljanke iz teh oznak. Staroselci so preživel tudi v večjih krajih, saj so posredovali slovanskim prišlekom imena rek (Drava, Sava, Krka, Kolpa, Soča), geografske pojme (Kras, Kranjska, Podjuna, Julij-ske Alpe, Karavanke) in mnoga imena mest (Ptuj, Celje, Trojane, Trebnje, Be-ljak, Kranj, Logatec, Koper, Piran, Trst itd.). Antična dediščina se je ohranila tako s posredništvom staroselcev še v slovansko dobo.²²

Na koncu lahko glede historične topografije ugotovimo, da je po zgodnjean-tičnem prehodu s prazgodovinskih središč k postajam in naseljem ob novo tra-siranih cestah v antično poselitev Slovenije in v ustroj prebivalstva, zarezal najglobokejšo sled vdor Kvadov in Markomanov. Antična populacija Slovenije se ne obnovi več v prejšnjem obsegu, krčenja in pridobivanja novih ledin ne zaznamujemo. Večji poseg v pokrajino je šele izgradnja zapornih zidov v 4. sto-letju na prej neobljudenem kraškem svetu v območju Snežnika, Notranjske in obrobja Ljubljanske kotline. Iz vojno-strateških razlogov je potrebno predpo-staviti povezavo med posameznimi odseki, vendar pa po doslej znanih podatkih do širše kolonizacije vzdolž te črte ni prišlo. Drug v širokem smislu važen poli-tični dogodek je opustitev meje na Donavi konec 4. stoletja. Ljudstva z drugega brega reke imajo poslej odprt dostop v plodno Panonijo, z železom bogati Norik in mikavno Italijo. V tem času zgradijo pribežališča na skritih vzpetinah in osa-melcih, pri čemer izbirajo običajno že prej delno izkrčene griče. Naslednje ob-dobje stopetdesetih let zaznamujejo številni vojaško-politični dogodki, plenje-nja in požiganja, razseljevanja in umikanja, lakote in bolezni. Kljub vse težjim

življenjskim možnostim so romanizirani iliro-keltski staroselci v odročnih predelih — proč od cest, po katerih so se valile trume ropajočih plemen — še naprej obdelovali svoje njive, ohranjali plodne površine in pašnike, skrbeli za svoj vsakdanji kruh in prenašali tako del starodavne kulture tudi na slovanske prišleke.

¹ S. Petru, Nekaj antičnih zemljepisnih pojmov o naših krajih, *Arheološki vestnik* 19 (1968) 375.

² B. Saria, Doneski k vojaški zgodovini naših krajev v rimski dobi, *Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo* 20 (1939) 115 ssl. I. Curk, *Rimljani na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana 1976). P. Petru, Tiberijev portret iz Emone, *Adriatica praehistorica et antiqua*, Miscellanea G. Novak dicata (Zagreb 1970) 657.

³ I. in J. Curk, *Ptuj*, Kulturni in naravni spomeniki Slovenije 4 (1970).

⁴ J. Šašel, Emona, *RE*, suppl. XI (1971) 540.

⁵ M. Kos, *Zgodovina Slovencev* (Ljubljana 1955) 35. S. Pahič, *Nov seznam noriško-panonskih gomil*, Razprave 1. razr. SAZU 7 (1972) priloga 2.

⁶ *Arheološka najdišča Slovenije* (Ljubljana 1975) s priloženimi zemljevidi.

⁷ P. Petru, Evidenca najdišč, *Varstvo spomenikov* 5 (1962) 52 ssl.

⁸ P. Petru, Rimsko podeželje na Dolenjskem v luči najdb na avtomobilski cesti, *Dolenjski zbornik* 1 (1961) 211.

⁹ *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* I, Katalogi in monografije 5 (1971).

¹⁰ P. Petru, Najnovija istraživanja klauzura Julijskih Alpa, *Osiječki zbornik* 12 (1962) 5 ssl. Idem, Novejša arheološke raziskave *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* in kasnoantičnih utrdb v Sloveniji, *Arheološki vestnik* 23 (1972) 343 ssl. R. Matejčič, Sedam godina rada u istraživanju Liburnijskog limesa, *Osiječki zbornik* 12 (1969) 24 ssl. J. Šašel, Über Umfang und Dauer der Militärzone Praetentura Italiae et alpium, *Acta of the fifth Epigraphic Congress 1967* (1970) 317.

¹¹ L. Bolta, Poznoantično grobišče na Rifniku pri Sentjurju, *Arheološki vestnik* 21—22 (1970-71) 127.

¹² P. Petru, T. Ulbert, *Vranje pri Sevnici*, Katalogi in monografije 12 (1975).

¹³ F. Leben, Gradišče pri Martinj hribu, *Varstvo spomenikov* 9 (1963-64) 192.

¹⁴ V. Krušič, Karies na zobnem gradivu z Vranja in njegovo vrednotenje, *Katalogi in monografije* 12 (1975) 123 ssl.

¹⁵ B. Saria, Die vorgeschichtlichen Ringwallsysteme in Slovenien, *Südost-Forschungen* 15 (1956) 41 ssl.

¹⁶ D. Svoljšak, Zgodnjeantična naselbina na Sv. Pavlu nad Vrtovinom, *Arheološki vestnik* 19 (1968) 422.

¹⁷ S. Pahič, O rimski cesti pod Uršljo goro in še kaj, *Koroški fužinar* 16, št. 10—12 (1965) 38. A. Valič, Po zgodovinskih poteh v okolici Jesenic, Jeklo in ljudje, *Jesenjski zbornik* 1 (1964) 476; A. Valič, *Arheološki spomeniki Gorenjske*, Kulturni in naravni spomeniki Slovenije 76 (1977) 11. J. Dular, Podzemelj-Kučar, starokrščanska cerkev, *Arheološki pregled* 17 (1975) 121. P. Petru, Zgodnjesrednjeveška naselbina na Polhograjski gori, *Arheološki vestnik* 18 (1967) 435 ssl. D. Vuga, Sveta gora v Zasavju (Rovišče), *Arheološki vestnik* 25 (1974) 424. Za Obsoletjsko Sv. Goro glej J. Korošec ml., Dodatno poročilo o raziskavah zgodnjesrednjeveške gradbene dejavnosti na Svetih gorah nad Sotlo, *Arheološki vestnik* 25 (1974) 518 z literaturo. P. Petru, Obnovljena antika v Ajdovščini, *Varstvo spomenikov* 10 (1965) 131 ssl.; P. Petru, Ajdovščina: neue Ausgrabungsergebnisse, *Roman Frontier Studies 1969* (Cardiff 1974) 178 ssl. S. Gabrovec, Latensko obdobje na Gorenjskem, *Arheološki vestnik* 17 (1966) 243 s sliko 1 in 2 (Ajdovski gradec v Bohinju). S. Petru, Nekaj zgodnjesrednjeveških najdb iz Gorjancev, *Arheološki vestnik* 18 (1967) 435 ssl. J. Kastelic, *Slovanska nekropola na Bledu*, Dela 1. razr. SAZU 13 (1960). D. Svoljšak, T. Knific, *Srednjeveške najdbe Vipavske doline*, Situla 17 (1976).

¹⁸ B. Grafenauer, *Zgodovina Slovencev* I (Ljubljana 1966). V. Bierbrauer, *Die ostgotischen Grab- und Schatzfunde in Italien*, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Biblioteca studi medievali VII (Spoleto 1975) 35.

¹⁹ J. Šašel, Problem naseljevanja vzhodnoalpskih Slovanov, *Kronika* 20 (1972) 3 ssl.

²⁰ S. in P. Petru, *Neviodunum (Drnovo pri Krškem)*, Katalogi in monografije 15 (1978).

²¹ J. Rus, Joannes, prvi škof istrske in zadnji panonske Emone, *Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo* 20 (1939) 147.

²² P. Petru, *Zaton antike v Sloveniji* (Ljubljana 1976).

LATE ROMAN SETTLEMENT IN SLOVENIA

Summary

I was given the task of speaking at this colloquium organised by the Archaeological Society of Slovenia on the historical topography of Slovenia in the late Roman period, on aspects of chronology and settlement. This is not an easy task, although documentation has now been collected and is presented cartographically in the book *Arheološka najdišča Slovenije* (Archaeological sites in Slovenia). It is thus necessary only to call attention to general aims rather than to go into details. Irena Sivec and Marijan Slabè will also outline many topographical details for this period, which alleviates my task.

The key to an understanding of the late Roman topography of Slovenia is to be found in the geographical features of our country, in the distribution of settlements and how they were set up in early Roman times and finally in the general military and political events of the 4th to 6th centuries.

During the early Roman period the geographical features of Slovenia can be seen politically as a border region, and from a settlement point of view as a region of many valleys and pockets of land more or less suitable for colonising. The early Roman border position of Slovenia meant that during the occupation period — up to the establishment of autonomous towns — military garrison forts were built, with their centre and winter quarters at the legionary headquarters of Emona and Poetovio. According to Tacitus, *Annals* I, 20, the army was *interea manipuli ante coeptam seditionem Nauportum missi ob itinera et pontes et alios usus* ... and thus contributed to increased trade; at the same time, through the building of a network of roads the army laid the foundations for the further colonisation of the region. Moreover the legionary camps at Ljubljana and Ptuj formed the basis for later development of settlements there, especially at Emona, where the building of a town with surrounding walls and 40 dwelling insulae and the regulation of the river Ljubljanica became the focus for the occupation of the surrounding area. Several grave stones testify that veterans of the XVth Apollinaris legion, having served out their military terms, were granted their *agraria missio* in the surrounding area. The veterans were also given land near other military posts, with equal advantages, which indirectly had a significant influence on the occupation of the country. At such places forest areas were cleared for arable land while at the same time growing needs drew artisans, from potters to smiths, to the little settlements or villages. Usually such centres grew up around new roads, not far from prehistoric sites, as is evident along the Emona—Siscia road or in the regions between Kamnik and Kranj. The opposite of this occurs when arterial roads were built in newly-settled areas such as the forest of Trnovski gozd, the Krka plain and the foothills of Slovenske gorice, as is clearly evidenced by maps in the book *Arheološka najdišča Slovenije* (ANSI). For economic reasons there was a tendency to leave prehistoric sites on the hills and settle in the valleys along the newly-built roads. The area which was cultivated during this period was still inhabited in the late Roman era, as is proved by a number of sites in the above-mentioned places. Gradually the cultivated areas increased by the growth of fields, vineyards and pastures. In the middle of the 3rd century the emperor Probus gave permission for the cultivation of vines and this led to further clearance of woodland areas.

A great change in the settlement pattern and historical topography of Slovenia came after the incursion of the Quadi and Marcomanni. Until that time people had evidently blindly trusted in the watchward *pax Romana* — piece within the borders of the empire. A barbaric invasion resulting in a majority of the people being killed or enslaved on the one hand and villages, farms, barns and goods being destroyed on the other seemed to sober both population and the Roman administration alike. A special defence line called the *praetentura Italiae et Alpium* was set up of which only the post at Ločica, a legionary fortress, can today be reliably positioned. As shown by the earliest Roman finds from Rifnik, Vranje pri Sevnici and Martinj hrib, the origins of these three fortified refuges reach back to the late 2nd century and the period after the Marcomannic wars and are thus contemporary with the setting up of the *praetentura*. At the same time this proves that the area surrounding

these posts was cultivated and capable of supporting life. An analysis of the teeth of the inhabitants of these refuges shows that the basis of their diet were milk, milk products and meat, which shows that there must have been extensive pastures and good hunting grounds around the fortresses themselves.

Some late Roman forts or walled strongholds obviously also served as safe quartering for livestock, judging by their exceptional size. Thus at Velike Malence, where the stronghold measures 440×300 metres, it is hardly likely that the whole area would have been used for human living quarters; we must rather imagine pens and sheds for cattle. A good example of this is the fort at Sveti Pavel nad Vrtovinom with a plan of 700×100 —200 metres. A considerable amount of the surrounding wall is still extant and shows the northern section partitioned off for living quarters (we also found the foundations of buildings here) from the much larger pasture or enclosure. To these large forts the following sites can be added, where excavations have just begun: Podzemelj, Sveti Ambrož, Kekec (Siliganum) above Nova Gorica, Ajdna nad Potoki, Ajdovski Gradec at Bohinj, Pivka near Naklo, Kranj, Polhograjska Gora, Svete Gore v Zasavju, Orehek, Zidani Gaber, Tinje near Jelše and Puščava above Stari Trg pri Slovenj Gradcu which all have comparable areas. This understandable wish by these forts to improve their economic independence raises a new question: how were the inhabitants able to defend the walls of these forts, sometimes as much as 1500 metres round, e.g. at Velike Malence, even with reinforcements of people from the surrounding area? From a military standpoint a more sensible basis for a fort can be seen at Rifnik, Vranje, Ajdovski Gradec at Bohinj, Polhograjska Gora or Sveti Ambrož na Krasu, where the walls are 200—300 metres long and the rest are natural defences. If we suppose that only one or at the most three hundred people lived in these refuges, then only a few score able-bodied men would be available for defence. This meant a yawning gap in the big fortresses between the length of the walls and the number of available warriors. Fortified villas, such as Stari trg near Lož, had a much better proportion between their size and possibilities of defence. Prof. Grafenauer drew attention to this problem with regard to Ostrogothic units on Slovene territory.

The lack of soldiers after the dissolution of the *limes* and military units at the end of the 4th century meant that the defence of the large cities such as Poetovio, Celeia, Emona, Nauportus, Castra etc. represented an almost insoluble problem. The walls of these cities were additionally fortified with gates and towers and these demanded many more troops, which were no longer available from 5th century onwards. It is not surprising that the answer to such a state of affairs was to leave the big towns and settle in safer, naturally defended refuges, as J. Šašel pointed out in "Kronika".

The building or renovation of the sanctuaries coincides with incursion by barbarians over the Danube; the most probable reason was the defeat at Hadrianopolis in 378 A. D. when Gothic and Alanic bands under Alateus and Shaftrak broke through as far as Ptuj and Stridon. From their new territory in Pannonia they threatened Slovenia, and thus triggered off the building of refuges, as a large proportion of finds excavated at these posts dating from the late 4th century testifies.

In summary, the decline in finds from low lying settlements and towns coincides with the appearance of material finds and other proofs of life in refuges lying in secluded position (see map of late Roman and early mediaeval sites).

When choosing sites for their refuges it can be seen that throughout the whole era the Romanised population chose only sparsely inhabited areas of the Gorjanci hills, the virgin forest area between the rivers Voglajna, Savinja and Sava, the upper Sava valley and isolated hills on Ajdna and sheltered spots at Bled and Bohinj, areas lying back from the main Roman road links. At the same time, they made sure that individual posts could be seen one from another so that they could inform each other in times danger. Thus the network of refuges on the fortified hills formed a defence system, in the sense of self-defence, while at the same time it was an important factor in the defence of the Illyro-Italic gateway. The invading masses of people during the time of the Great Migrations were split up and weakened already at this threshold area and this created conditions for an effective defence system of flank attacks, ambushes and encircling manoeuvres by the main body of the regular army

in the Karst blockades. So from an economic point of view these refuges played only a small role, as they produced only enough for their own existence.

Passes in western Slovenia took on a special significance in the 4th century as an important military/geographical factor. The barrier of the Eastern Alps was a final wall between the east and west of the empire and a bulwark against the barbarians. The Romans therefore strengthened these natural barriers with blockade walls stretching in a line from Rijeka to the Gail valley. The origins of this kind of defence reach back to the age of Diocletian while additions were made throughout the 4th and into the 5th centuries. These barriers are interesting from the point of view of the settlement of the area as they ran through regions which otherwise were not inhabited. It could be postulated that building the defence walls would lead to a more rapid colonisation and agricultural exploitation of the small plains, meadows and woods nearby. However, the insignificant finds from this region contradict this idea. Obviously the unfavourable living conditions in a region which was without water and at an altitude too high for the cultivation of cereals inspired the strategists to choose this site for their defence walls. The advantages for the military defence of the region lay in its sparse population and Karst landscape without water or food so that the enemy would be condemned to hunger and thirst. The mountainous region from Hrušica to Snežnik was therefore of very little interest to colonists of the late Roman period.

At the time of the Slovene/Avar invasion a number of bishops and groups of Christians from the region around Ptuj, Celje and Ljubljana retreated from this area and settled in a part of western Istria. The Lombards moved out of Slovenia on to Venetia in 568 and during the next few decades the bishops of Poetovio, Celeia, Virunum, Emona and Aguntum left their bishoprics as did church dignitaries from other, smaller centres in the Eastern Alps. Part of the population left with them but many stayed in the land of their forefathers, as is proved by the Slavonic term Lah or Vlah, referring to the Romanised Illyro-Celts, in names such as Lahovče, Laško, Laška Vas, Bašelj, Belšinja Vas etc. Further evidence lies in place names such as Stara vas, Staro selo or Stari trg and indirectly in the names Ajdovščina, Ajdovski Gradec, Mirje, Gradec and derivatives of these. The original settlers lived on in larger areas as well, and handed down river names to the Slavonic newcomers (Drava, Sava, Krka, Soča), geographical terms (Kras-Karst, Kranjska-Carnia, Podjuna-Juan valley, Julijske Alpe-Julian Alps, Karavanke-Karawanken mountains) and many town names (Ptuj, Celje, Trojane, Trebnje, Beljak-Villach, Kranj, Logatec, Koper-Capodistria, Piran-Pirano, Trst-Trieste etc.). So the Roman heritage passed on to the Slavonic area via the indigenous population.

We can conclude from the historical topography of Roman Slovenia that after the early migration from prehistoric sites to villages and settlements along the newly constructed roads the incursion of Quadi and Marcomanni upset this organisation. The Roman population of Slovenia never recovered to its former extent and there is no further evidence of clearing new land for agriculture. Only the building of the defence walls in the 4th century represents any significant encroachment into the country, in the previously uninhabited Karst region around Snežnik, Notranjska and the edge of the Ljubljana basin. For strategic reasons links between individual sections must have existed, but presently available data indicate that there was never any wider colonisation along this line. A further important political event was the abandonment of the border along the Danube at the end of the 4th century. From that time on tribes from the other side of the river had free access to fertile Pannonia, to Noricum rich in iron and to the attractions of Italy. To this period belongs the building of the refuges on secluded uplands and isolated hills, for which already partly cleared hills were the preferred choice. The following period of 150 years marks a time of numerous military and political events, plundering and burning, displacement and retreat, hunger and disease. In spite of the increasing troubles and disasters the Romanised Illyro-Celtic population, far from the roads along which poured hordes of plundering tribes, continued to work their fields, look after woodland and pastures and see to their daily wants and thus hand down a part of their ancient culture, material tradition and cultivated soil to their Slavonic successors.