

# Via publica in druge komunikacije med Celejo in Neviodunom v poznorimskem obdobju

## Via publica and other communications between Celeia and Neviodunum in the Late Roman period

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*Predstavljen je poskus rekonstrukcije poteka rimske ceste Celeja – Neviodunum, katere trasa je bila v literaturi večkrat zelo različno interpretirana. Najdišče miljnikov v Brestanici na desni strani Save, dokazani ostanki rimskega mostu čez Savo v Zidanem mostu, geografske danosti in arheološke najdbe nakazujejo potek trase po desni strani Savinje in Save. V poznorimskem obdobju njen potek dodatno potrjujejo manjše utrdbe, ki so bile razporejene vzdolž nje in so imele nalogo kontrolirati promet po njej in obeh rekah. Ostanki značilne poznorimske vojaške noše na nekaterih višinskih postojankah v notranjosti hribovitega sveta med Celejo in Neviodunom nakazujejo tudi obstoj manjših komunikacij, ki so izkoriščale najugodnejše naravne prehode skozi hriboviti svet. Tako nakazana mreža cest in poti potrjuje strateško in tranzitno pomembnost območja v neposredni bližini bitk državljanskih vojn v drugi polovici 4. st.*

*Ključne besede: poznorimska doba, 4.-5. st., rimska cesta, poznoantične utrdbe, Stražnik, Kozjek, Gradišče pri Dunaju, Gradec pri Prapretnem, Zidani most, Brestanica*

*The paper presents an attempted reconstruction of the route of the Roman road from Celeia to Neviodunum which has been interpreted in different ways in the literature on a number of occasions. The discovery of milestones at Brestanica on the right bank of the River Sava, the proven remains of a Roman bridge over the Sava at Zidani most, geographical facts and archaeological finds all indicate that the road passed along the right bank of the Savinja and Sava rivers. In the late Roman period this route was additionally confirmed by smaller fortifications that were distributed along the road with the task of controlling the traffic on the road and on both rivers. The remains of the characteristic late Roman military outfit found on several highland positions in the interior of the hilly landscape between Celeia and Neviodunum also indicate that there were some smaller communications, which made use of the most favourable natural passages through the hilly terrain. This kind of road and trail network confirms the strategic and transit importance of the region, which lay in the immediate vicinity of battles that were waged during the civil wars in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.*

*Key words: late Roman period, 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c., Roman road, late Roman fortifications, Stražnik, Kozjek, Gradišče pri Dunaju, Gradec pri Prapretnem, Zidani most, Brestanica.*

Leta 1886 je arheologe in zgodovinarje vznemirila slučajna najdba treh miljnikov na savskem rečnem bregu, nasproti tedanjega Rajhenburga, današnje Brestanice ob Savi (Deschmann 1887; Šašel 1975, 98). Pomembna ni bila le zato, ker je potrdila obstoj državne rimske ceste, katere obstoj so prej le slutili, ampak tudi zato, ker je opozorila na pomembnost te ceste še v poznorimskem obdobju.

Intenzivne raziskave območja južno in jugovzhodno od Celja pa so v zadnjih desetletjih omogočile tudi mnogo boljše poznavanje naselbinske slike območja, na katerega robu je cesta tekla: zelo nazorno se je pokazala podoba od glavnih cest odmaknjenega prostora, ki je bil v rimskem času intenzivneje poseljen le v dolinah rek Save, Savinje, Sotle in

In 1886 archaeologists and historians were alarmed by the accidental find of three milestones on the bank of the River Sava, opposite what was then Rajhenburg – the present-day Brestanica ob Savi (Deschmann 1887; Šašel 1975, 98). The discovery was important not just because it confirmed the existence of a Roman state road – which they believed was there even beforehand – but also because it indicated how significant the road still was in the late Roman period.

Intensive exploration of the area to the south and south-west of Celje over recent decades has made it possible to learn much more about the settlements in the region along which the road passed. It became clear that in the area removed from the main roads, during Roman times only the valleys of the rivers Sava, Savinja, Sotle and Voglajna and of Šmarski and Mestinjski brooks were densely popu-

Vogljane ter Šmarskega in Mestinjskega potoka, v notranjosti pa le sporadično obljuden. Povsem drugačno vlogo je to območje dobilo v poznoantičnem obdobju, ko se je naselbinska slika povsem spremenila: izginile so naselbine v ravninskih območjih, pojavila pa so se močna naselbinska jedra v odmaknjeni notranjosti. Prehod med obema oblikama poselitve se nakazuje že ob koncu 3. st. in še posebej v 4. st., ko so se prvim pribežališčem na naravno zavarovanih hribih pridružile tudi manjše vojaške postojanke.

Miljniki iz 3. in 4. st. v Brestanici pa ob mnogih novejših najdbah izpričujejo povečan pomen ceste in poti, ki so takrat povezovali obe mesti in ki so jih, kot bomo poskušali pokazati v nadaljevanju, dodatno zavarovali. Članek posvečam slavljencu, dragemu kolegu Željku Tomičiću, ki je s svojimi raziskavami na Hrvaškem in posebej ob vzhodni jadranski obali dal pomemben prispevek k boljšemu razumevanju poznoantične poselitvene slike.

### **Domneve o poteku državne ceste *Celeia* – *Neviodunum***

Če izpustimo obrobne navedbe te ceste pri starejših avtorjih in vrisan (bolj ali manj hipotetičen potek) v različnih kartah, ki so prikazovale ta prostor v arheoloških obdobjih (delni pregled pri: Pahič 1983), je bil prvi, ki se je nekoliko dalje pomudil ob trasi te ceste K. Dežman, ob objavi miljnikov iz Brestanice (Deschmann 1887). On je ugotavljal, da je šla cesta najverjetneje po levi strani Save in sicer zaradi mostu, ki naj bi se nahajal v bližini najdišča miljnikov. Zaradi kupa lomljenec, ki so bili najdeni pri raziskovanju v okolici najdišča miljnikov je domneval most v neposredni bližini in zato posledično potek ceste proti Celeji po levi strani Save. V nadaljnjem poteku ceste proti Celju se je pridružil izvajanjem Kennerja, ki je domneval potek ceste od Celja vzdolž Savinje do Laškega in Rimskih toplic.

Drugačen potek je ugotavljal A. Müllner, ki je baziral na starejših poročilih o arheoloških ostankih v Zidanem mostu (Müllner 1892). Tu so namreč že leta 1830 našli v malti nosilcev rimskega mostu as Klavdija, leta 1834 pa ob veliki suši ostanke podpornikov mostu in branik, ki so jih zaradi varnejše plovbe morali odstraniti in pri tem našli še nekaj rimskih novcev. Müllner je lahko določil le dva: denar Flaminija Cila in Galijenov novc. Omenja tudi, da je most stal tik nad sotočjem Save in Savinje in je zaradi tega tudi logično speljal traso ceste po desni strani obeh rek (Müllner 1892, 53). Zanimivo je, da se tovrsten potek ceste zelo dobro sklada z vrisanim potekom ceste pri F. Pichlerju, ki ga je vnesel v svoj zemljevid rimskih najdišč na Štajerskem (Pichler 1867, Karta). Glede na dejstvo, da gre v Pichlerjevem delu le za katalog novcev in karte ne komentira, ni jasno, na katere podatke se je pri tej določitvi trase oprl.

V temeljnem delu o rimskih cestah na Kranjskem, ki sta ga pripravila Premerstein in Rutar leta 1899, je kot dejstvo sprejet most v Brestanici in zato zarisana cesta po levi strani Save, ob Savinji pa sta v načrtu cest njen potek speljala brez argumentov prav tako po levi strani reke (Premerstein, Rutar 1899, 30 in načrt).

Prvi, ki je domneval, da je bila obravnavana cesta speljana skozi notranjost hribovitega predela med obema mesto-

lated, whereas the heartland was only sporadically settled. In the late Roman period this region played a very different role, and the settlement structure changed entirely: the settlements in the plains disappeared, and strong population centres appeared further inland. The transition between the two forms of settlement is already noticeable at the end of the 3rd century, and especially in the 4th century, when alongside the first shelters in the naturally protected hills, small new military strongholds also appeared.

The Brestanica milestones from the 3rd and 4th centuries, along with a number of more recent finds, indicate an increased importance of the road and trails, which linked the two towns and provided them with additional security, as we will try to present in this paper. I dedicate this paper to the honouree, my dear colleague Željko Tomičić, who has, with his excavations in Croatia and especially on the western Adriatic coast, provided a significant contribution to a better understanding of the late Roman settlement structure.

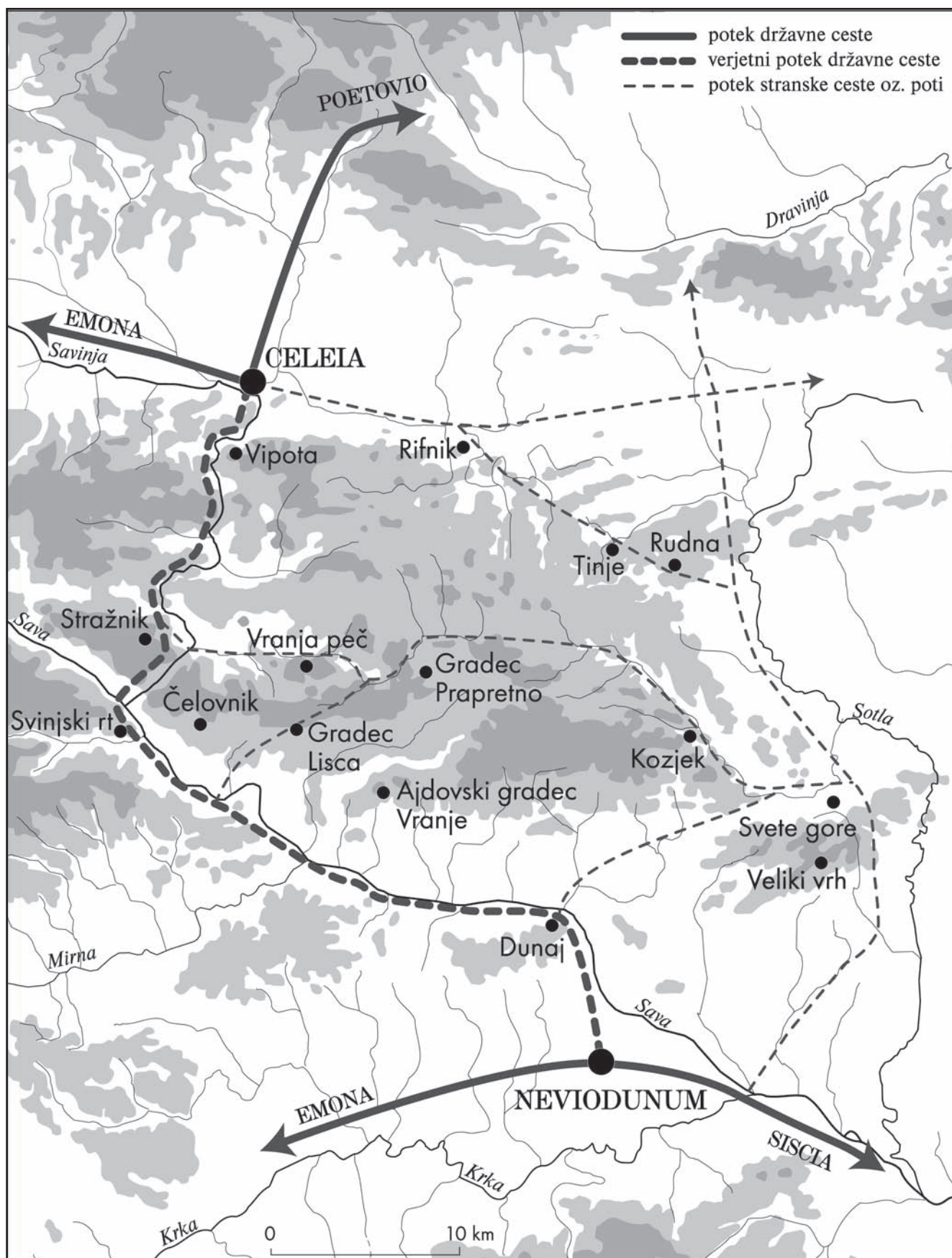
### **Hypotheses on the route of the *Celeia* – *Neviodunum* state road**

If we disregard marginal references to the road by older authors and various maps, on which it (its more or less hypothetical route) was marked, that showed this region in various archaeological periods (a partial overview in: Pahič 1983), the first to spend some time considering the issue of the route of the road was K. Dežman, when he published the discovery of the Brestanica milestones (Deschmann 1887). He concluded that the road most probably went along the left bank of the River Sava, and this due to the bridge, which was allegedly located near the site at which the milestones were found. Due to the heaps of stone that were found during the exploration in the vicinity of the location in which the milestones were discovered, he assumed that the bridge was in their immediate vicinity, and therefore that the road leading to *Celeia* went along the left side of the Sava. As for the further route of the road leading towards Celje, he agreed with the conclusion of Kenner, who assumed that the road went from Celje along the Savinja to Laško and Rimske toplice.

A. Müllner reached a different conclusion as regards the route of the road. He based his assumption on older reports about archaeological finds at Zidani most (Müllner 1892). To wit, in 1830 in the plaster of the pillar of the Roman bridge in that town a Claudian as was found, and in 1834, after a great drought the remains of the bridge support and wall had to be removed to secure safe navigation. On that occasion more Roman coins were discovered. Müllner could identify just two of them: a Flaminius Cilo denarius and a Gallienus coin. He also mentioned that the bridge stood in the immediate vicinity of the confluence of the Sava and Savinja rivers, and therefore it is logical that it took the road along the right side of both rivers (Müllner 1892, 53). It is interesting that this route corresponds well with the road that F. Pichler marked on his map of Roman sites in Styria (Pichler 1867, Map). Given the fact that Pichler's work deals only with the coin catalogue, and that he provided no comment on the maps, it is not clear which data he used to back up such a hypothesis.

In the fundamental work on Roman roads in Carniola prepared by Premerstein and Rutar in 1899, the bridge at Brestanica is taken as fact, and for this reason the road is marked along the left side of the River Sava, but also along the Savinja, the road is marked in the drawing along the left side of the river, without any arguments to support it (Premerstein, Rutar 1899, 30 and the drawing).

The first to assume that the road under discussion went through the heartland of the hilly terrain that lies between the two towns, and not through the plain by the rivers, was the historian M. Kos (Kos 1939, 231). What prompted him to suggest this route were nu-



Sl. 1 Zemljevid prostora med Nevioudunom in Celejo z vrisanimi možnimi trasami cest in poznorimskimi utrdбами  
 Fig. 1 Map of the area between Nevioudunum and Celeia with possible road routes and late Roman fortifications marked



ma in ne po ravnici ob rekah, je bil zgodovinar M. Kos (Kos 1939, 231). Povod za to traso so mu dali številni toponimi, ki kažejo na antično poselitev – predvsem Laško, Lahomno, Lahov graben, Laška vas idr., ki so bili ugotovljeni v zaledju Laškega. Zato je domneval potek ceste iz Laškega na Jurklošter in nato dalje preko Vranja pri Sevnici proti Savi.

Prav tako skozi hribovito notranjost, a po drugi trasi, je v zemljevidu Slovenije v rimski dobi, v delu »Arheološka najdišča Slovenije«, zarisal potek ceste J. Šašel (Šašel 1975, 67). Potekala naj bi nekako na relaciji Celje – Šentjur – Kozje – Brestanica – Drnovo. Pri tem se je opiral na stara srednjeveška naselitvena jedra v notranjosti prostora med Savo in Savinjo kot so Podsreda, Kozje in Pilštanj in ne na arheološko argumentacijo (Šašel ustno).

Ob izkopavanjih na Ajdovskem gradcu pri Vranju je tej cesti namenil pozornost tudi P. Petru: njen potek je še leta 1975 istovetil z Dežmanovo varianto (Petru 1975, 10-12). Kot osnova so mu služili predvsem podatki o rimskih najdiščih na levi strani Save in pri topografskih ogledih ugotovljena »stara« oziroma »rimska« cesta, ki jo je topografska ekipa zasledovala v dolžini nekaj kilometrov med Brestanico in Sevnico. V svojem sintetičnem pregledu rimske provincialne arheologije v Sloveniji leta 1977 pa je na zemljevidu njen potek zarisal že v smeri Brestanica – Ajdovski gradec – Laško – Celje in ga leta 1982 podrobneje argumentiral (Petru 1977, Abb. 1; Petru 1982, 19-20). Za tovrsten potek se je odločil predvsem zaradi pomembnega najdišča Ajdovski gradec, pri čemer pa ni upošteval, da je le-to svoj višek doseglo v poznoantičnem in ne rimskem obdobju. Kot drug možen potek te ceste je takrat omenjal tudi varianto, ki jo je leta 1975 zarisal že J. Šašel (Petru 1982, 20).

### Poskus rekonstrukcije poteka ceste

Ob kritičnem pretresu navedenih tras in terenskih obhodih, ki sem jih opravil v 70 tih let preteklega stoletja, se kaže kot najverjetnejša trasa, ki jo je leta 1892 načrtal že A. Müllner.<sup>1</sup> Skicirajmo na kratko njen potek. Od Celja do Laškega in dalje do Rimskih toplic je smer trase nedvoumna in je njen potek v grobem skladen s sedanjo cesto. Prehod po dolini Savinje od Rimskih toplic proti Zidanem mostu so vse do začetka 19. st. onemogočale skalne gmote, ki so zapirale prehod po dolini Savinje (Mlinar 1956, 74). Potek stare ceste je zato od Rimskih toplic dalje mogoče slediti na sedlo pri Grmadi in nato do Zidanega mosta. Cesto čez Grmado ljudsko izročilo še danes označuje kot »stara rimsko cesto«. Od Zidanega mosta je njeno nadaljevanje po desni strani Save mimo Radeč, Boštanja in Krškega do Drnovega neproblematično.

Pomembno dopolnilo k lokaciji mostu v Zidanem mostu je podatek A. Vogrinove o rimskih najdbah, ki jih je odkrila pri površinskem pregledu na parceli Trubarjev grič nasproti železniške postaje, torej v neposredni bližini rimskega mosta na južni strani Save (Vogrin 1986). Tudi doslej opravljene raziskave rimskih mostov v Sloveniji, ki jih je opravil A. Ga-

merous place-names which indicate the existence of Roman settlements – primarily Laško, Lahomno, Lahov graben, Laška vas, etc., in the hinterlands of Laško. For this reason he suggested that the road went from Laško to Jurklošter, and then continued through Vranje near Sevnica towards the Sava.

In "Arheološka najdišča Slovenije" (Archaeological Sites of Slovenia), J. Šašel (Šašel 1975, 67) also marked a road on the map of Slovenia in the Roman period which went through the hilly hinterland, but along a different route. This route was more or less the following: Celje – Šentjur – Kozje – Brestanica – Drnovo. In suggesting this, he relied on old medieval settlement centres in the hinterland of the region between the Sava and Savinja rivers, such as Podsreda, Kozje and Pilštanj, rather than on archaeological arguments (Šašel orally).

During the excavations at Ajdovski gradec near Vranje, the significance of this road was also pointed out by P. Petru: in 1975 he still supported the route suggested by Dežman (Petru 1975, 10-12). He founded his conclusion primarily on the data regarding the Roman sites on the left side of the River Sava and the "old", or "Roman", road which was identified during the topographic research between Brestanica and Sevnica, with a length of several kilometres. In his concise overview of Roman provincial archaeology of Slovenia in 1977, he had already marked the road on the map along the route Brestanica – Ajdovski gradec – Laško – Celje and in 1982 he provided more in-depth arguments for this (Petru 1977, Abb. 1; Petru 1982, 19-20). He chose this route primarily because of the important archaeological site of Ajdovski gradec, disregarding the fact that it had reached its culmination in the late Roman period, rather than in the Roman period. He also mentioned a possible different route of the road, which had been marked by J. Šašel already in 1975 (Petru 1982, 20).

### Attempted reconstruction of the route of the road

During the critical consideration that I gave to the previously mentioned routes and field surveys I conducted during the 1970s, it appeared that the most probable route was the one drawn by A. Müllner in 1892.<sup>1</sup> Let us sketch its course: from Celje to Laško, and then to Rimske toplice the route is undoubted and its course by and large corresponds to the present-day road. Its passage through the Savinja valley from Rimske toplice towards Zidani most has been impeded since the early 19th century by rocky masses which closed the passage through the Savinja valley (Mlinar 1956, 74). For this reason it is possible that after Rimske toplice the old road went over the pass near Grmada and from there to Zidani most. In popular tradition the road through Grmada is still called "the old Roman road". After Zidani most, the route is uncontested: it continued along the right side of the Sava, and passed by Radeče, Boštanj and Krško, to Drnovo.

A significant addition to the location of the bridge at Zidani most is the information provided by A. Vogrin about the Roman find discovered by her during ground survey on the Trubarjev grič, a plot of land opposite the railway station, that is, in the immediate vicinity of the Roman bridge at the southern side of the Sava (Vogrin 1986). The research on Roman bridges in Slovenia carried out thus far by A. Gaspari confirms that a Roman bridge did indeed exist at Zidani most, and at the same time he rejects the possibility that it stood at Brestanica.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that on the left side of the Sava there is a number of

1. Referat o poteku rimske ceste Celeia – Neviodunum sem prebral na simpoziju, ki ga je leta 1978 organiziralo Arheološko društvo Slovenije v Škofji loki, a prispevki niso bili nikoli objavljeni.

1. I read the paper on the route of the Celeia – Neviodunum road in 1978 at a symposium that was organised in Škofja Loka by the Archaeological Society of Slovenia, but the proceedings have never been published.

spari potrjujejo obstoj rimskega mostu pri Zidanem mostu in hkrati zanikajo možnost njegovega obstoja v Brestanici.<sup>2</sup>

Dejstvo, da je na levi strani Save znanih več najdišč, je treba pripisati že opravljeni arheološki topografiji, ki na južni strani Save še manjka. Vsekakor se je mogoče strinjati z zagovorniki Dežmanove variante, da je tudi na levi strani Save obstajala neka povezava med že ugotovljenimi rimskimi naselji, ni pa dokazov, da gre za na miljnkih označeno državno cesto (*via publica*).

Proti poteku skozi hribovito notranost govori predvsem sama konfiguracija terena: cesta bi morala premagati več višin, medtem ko v Müllnerjevi varianti samo en težji vzpon in sicer sedlo pri Grmadi. Pomemben posreden indikator proti poteku ceste preko hribovite notranosti je tudi dejstvo, da je bila ta v rimskem času skromno poseljena, v 5. in 6. st. pa je prav tu prišlo do največje koncentracije avtarkično naravnanih utrjenih naselbin (Ciglencečki 1987, 140-141). Seveda pa ta premik v notranost ne bi bil smiseln, če bi skozenj vodila dobro ohranjena državna rimska cesta, katere zadnja popravila segajo še v sredino 4. st.

Upoštevamo lahko tudi, sicer nezanesljiv, a skupaj z drugimi vendarle izpoveden podatek: ljudsko izročilo v notranosti o neki »rimski« ali stari cesti v domnevni smeri ne ve ničesar.

### Utrdbe ob državni cesti

Kartiranje poznorimskih najdišč je opozorilo na obstoj nekaj višinskih utrd ob domnevni trasi državne ceste, ki so pridobile na pomenu prav v 4. st. Dioklecijanove reforme vojske so imele močan vpliv na transformacijo vojaških utrd. Legijski tabori so postopno izginili, pojavila pa se je množica manjših kastelov, ki pa so bili v veliki meri razporejeni po globini teritorija in so bili mnogo bolj naravno zavarovani. Ker so bile v veliki meri prilagojene terenskim danostim jih je – posebej v hribovitem svetu – težko ločiti od sočasnih naselbin. Tako se ob slabši raziskanosti pojavi problem identificiranja vojaških postojank, predvsem iz časa druge polovice 4. in prve polovice 5. st., ko so bile v tem prostoru morda tudi del širše zasnovane obrambe Italije. Zelo koristna je zato primerjava s sočasnimi in v pisanih virih izpričanimi vojaškimi utrdami na Hrušici in Martinj hribu v slovenskem območju (Ulbert 1981; Leben, Šubic 1990) ter dobro raziskanimi vojaškimi kasteli v Reciji Sekundi, kot npr. Lorenzberg, Goldberg, itd. (Werner 1969; Moosdorf-Ottinger 1981).

Drobne najdbe iz 3., 4. in začetka 5. st. so opozorile na pravcati sistem postojank vzdolž Savinje in Save. Ob že poznanih Gradcu pri Lisci, Dunaju pri Mladevinah in Vipoti nad Pečovnikom (Ciglencečki 1992, 19-20, 25-27, 31-33) so terenski pregledi pokazali obstoj več manjših postojank na izpostavljenih in naravno dobro zaščitenih hribih, ki so bile redko dodatno utrjene: Stražnik (Šemrov 2004, 143), Svinjski rt pri Radečah (Šemrov 2004, 126/1) in Kincl pri Čelovniku (neobjavljeno). Glede na razvrstitev vzdolž domnevne rimske ceste Celeia – Neviodunum in njihovo dobro medsebojno vidljivost je mogoče sklepati, da so služile kontroli

2. A. Gaspari ustno. O raziskavah je poročal tudi v svoji diplomski nalogi.

known sites is a result of the archaeological topographic survey that has been carried out there, whereas on the southern side of the Sava such a survey is still due. In any case, we can agree with the supporters of Dežman's theory, according to which a certain communication also existed along the left side of the Sava, linking the already existing Roman settlements; however, there is no proof that this was the state road (*via publica*) that was marked on the milestones.

The main argument against the proposed route which leads through the mountainous hinterland is the configuration of the terrain itself: the road would have had to overcome several heights, whereas in Müllner's version there would have been only one difficult climb in addition to the pass near Grmada. Another important indirect indication which suggests that the road did not pass through the mountainous heartland is the fact that in the Roman period this region was very sparsely inhabited, and in the 5th and 6th century it was the site of the largest concentration of autarchically organised fortified settlements (Ciglencečki 1987, 140-141). Obviously, such a move inland would make no sense if there was a well maintained Roman state road there, which was last repaired as late as the middle of the 4th century.

We should also take into consideration another bit of information, which, although uncertain, was reported together with others: popular tradition in the hinterland says nothing about a "Roman" or old road along the suggested route.

### Fortifications on the state road

Mapping of the late Roman sites suggested that there were several highland forts along the alleged route of the state road, which gained importance in the 4th century.

Diocletian's reforms of the military had a strong impact on the transformation of military forts. Legionary camps gradually disappeared, and a host of small forts were erected, which were distributed to a large degree deep in the territory, and were much better protected. Since they were adapted to the landscape features to a large extent, particularly in the mountainous environment, it is difficult to distinguish them from the contemporary settlements. Therefore, in situations in which the research has not been extensive, the problem of identification of military positions appears, especially of those from the second half of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century, when in this area, and maybe also in a larger region, the defence of Italy was established. For this reason it is very useful to make a comparison with the contemporary military fortifications on Hrušica and Martinj hrib in the territory of Slovenia, which are also mentioned in some written sources (Ulbert 1981; Leben, Šubic 1990), and with the well-researched military forts in Raetia Secunda, such as Lorenzberg, Goldberg, etc. (Werner 1969; Moosdorf-Ottinger 1981).

Small finds from the 3rd, 4th and early 5th centuries indicate that there was a real system of military stations along the Savinja and Sava rivers. Along with the already known positions at Gradec near Lisca, Dunaj near Mladevine and Vipota over Pečovnik (Ciglencečki 1992, 19-20, 25-27, 31-33), field surveys have revealed several smaller stations on exposed and naturally well-protected hills, which were rarely additionally fortified: Stražnik (Šemrov 2004, 143), Svinjski rt near Radeče (Šemrov 2004, 126/1) and Kincl near Čelovnik (unpublished). Due to their distribution along the suggested Celeia – Neviodunum Roman road, and their mutual visibility, it is possible to conclude that their function was to control the traffic and signal alerts. Those that stood by the rivers had an excellent view of the

2. A. Gaspari orally. He also reported on the excavations in his degree thesis.



Sl. 2 Pogled na utrdbo Svinjski rt tik nad Savo z vzhodne strani  
Fig. 2 A view of Svinjski rt fort above the Sava, from the eastern side



Sl. 3 V sredini slike utrdba Stražnik visoko nad dolino Savinje  
Fig. 3 In the centre of the picture: Stražnik fort high above the Savinja Valley



prometa in signalizaciji. Za tiste ob rekah je značilno, da je z njih odličen pregled na dolino Savinje in Save in smemo domnevati, da so kontrolirale tudi rečni promet. Glede na to, da doslej niso bile sistematično raziskane, je njihov značaj mogoče presojati le po površinskih znakih in doslej odkritih drobnih najdbah. Med njimi je najbolje razvidna in značilna utrdba Stražnik (ndm. v. 648 m) s katere je odličen pregled nad večjim delom spodnjega toka Savinje. Umetno je bil utrjen manjši prostor velikosti 50 x 40 m, ki se na severni strani naslanja na razgledni skalni greben, na lažje dostopni strani pa je zaščiten z okopom (zid?). Serija novcev predvsem iz 3. in 4. st. nakazuje okvirno razpon trajanja te majhne utrdbe, ki je nedvomno imela kontrolno funkcijo. Zaradi izpostavljene lege in manjših dimenzij stalna naselbina na njej ni verjetna.

### Ostale komunikacije med Celejo in Neviodunom

Ob dobro vzdrževani državni cesti pa so v tem območju obstajale tudi manjše ceste in poti, ki jih danes posredno nakazujejo le vzdolž njih ležeča naselja in utrdbe. O trasi ceste po dolini Voglajne proti vzhodu je bilo postavljeno že mnogo domnev, zanesljivo je le dejstvo, da je ob njej precej rimskih naselbin (podroben pregled tras te ceste pri: Pahič 1983, 247-262). Arheološko še ni bila potrjena, vendar je neka manjša cesta glede na intenziteto poselitve ob njej zelo verjetna (Saria, Klemenc 1939, 75). V bližini Mestinja naj bi se združila s komunikacijo, ki je povezovala Neviodunum s Petoviono.

Povezava, ki je tekla skozi Obsotelje arheološko prav tako ni potrjena, a ležijo v tej liniji številna rimska najdišča ob Sotli (Korošec 1978, 522; Pahič 1983, 278). Na pomen poti v poznorimskem času kaže močna višinska utrdba Svete gore nad Bistrico ob Sotli, ki je kontrolirala prehod domnevne ceste čez edini večji vzpon in je imela odličen pregled nad srednjim Obsoteljem.

Kartiranje višinskih poznoantičnih postojank je v območju med Celejo in Neviodunom pokazalo še eno pomembno linijo, ki je morala biti v poznorimskem obdobju intenzivneje uporabljena in spretno izkorišča dolino reke Gračnice ter potoka Bistrice in je vzporedno z državno cesto ob Savi omogočala prečenje sicer slabo prehodnega hribovitega območja. Njen potek od Rimskih toplic do Bistrice ob Sotli se zdi logičen in podprt z elementi poznorimske materialne kulture na višinskih postojankah v neposredni bližini. Tako je bila poznorimska plast odkrita na višinskih utrdbah Vranja peč (Bitenc 2001a; Šemrov 2004, 139), Gradec pri Prapretnem (Ciglenečki 1994, 244, Abb. 5; Šemrov 2004, 141) in Svete gore nad Bistrico ob Sotli (Korošec 1997; Šemrov 1998, 132; Šemrov 2004, 109). Tem že poznanim utrdbam se pridružuje tudi pred nedavnim odkriti Kozjek (ndm. v. 625 m) na strmem pobočju Vetrnika nad Kozjem, kjer je mogoče na travnatem pobočju in sedlu med dvema skalnima grebenoma videti naselbinske terase in na njih domnevati manj kvalitetno grajene stavbe.<sup>3</sup> Dohod v naselbino je z lažje dostopne južne strani zapiral 1,8 m globok jarek nekaj metrov pred vhodom v naselbino. Spet je mogoče opaziti veliko

3. Najdišče sta odkrila Ž. Šmit in T. Drčar leta 1993, ki sta našla tudi nekatere poznorimske predmete.

Savinja and Sava valleys, and one can assume that they also controlled the river traffic. Since they have yet not been systematically researched, their significance may be judged only on the basis of their surface features and small finds that have been discovered thus far. The most visible and important among them is the fort of Stražnik (at 648 m above sea level), which offers an excellent view over a large part of the lower course of the Savinja river. There, a smaller enclosure of 50 x 40 m was artificially fortified. On its northern side there was a rocky ridge which provided the view, and on the more accessible side it was protected by a ditch (and a wall?). A host of coins, dating mostly from the 3rd and 4th century, suggests an approximate time frame in which this small fort was used, and it is not in doubt that it served to control the communications. Given its exposed position and small dimensions, it is improbable that it was used as a permanent settlement.

### On communications between Celeia and Neviodunum

Besides the well-maintained state roads, there were also smaller roads and trails which crossed this region. Nowadays, the only indirect indication of their existence is settlements and forts which used to be located along these communications. Already there are many theories on the route of the road which passed through the Voglajna valley in an eastward direction; the only certain fact, though, is that there were quite a few settlements and forts that stood by that road (a detailed overview of the route in: Pahič 1983, 247-262). Although it has not been archeologically confirmed, given the intensity of inhabitation along that route, it is very probable that a smaller road did indeed pass there (Saria, Klemenc 1939, 75). In the vicinity of Mestinje that road would have joined the communication linking Neviodunum and Petoviona.

Thus the link which passed through Obsotelje has not been confirmed by archaeological explorations, but along that route there is a number of Roman sites on the Sotla river (Korošec 1978, 522; Pahič 1983, 278). The significance of roads in the late Roman period is indicated by the strong highland fort of Svete gore above Bistrica ob Sotli, which controlled the passage along the suggested road over the only steep climb, and provided an excellent view over central Obsotelje.

Mapping of the late Roman highland military stations in the region between Celeja and Neviodunum has revealed yet another important line, which must have been intensely used in the late Roman period, since it makes use of the valley of the Gračnica river and Bistrica brook, and alongside the state road by the River Sava, it made it possible to cross the rugged hilly terrain. The route of this road leading from Rimske toplice to Bistrica ob Sotli seems logical, and supported by elements of late Roman material culture discovered at highland military stations in the immediate vicinity. For example, the late Roman layer was discovered at the highland forts of Vranja peč (Bitenc 2001a; Šemrov 2004, 139), Gradec near Prapretno (Ciglenečki 1994, 244, Abb. 5; Šemrov 2004, 141) and Svete gore above Bistrica ob Sotli (Korošec 1997; Šemrov 1998, 132; Šemrov 2004, 109). Besides these already known forts, there is also the recently discovered Kozjek (at 625 m above sea level), on a steep slope of Vetrnik above Kozje, where it is possible to see settlement terraces on the grass-covered slope and ridge between two rocky crests, and assume that on top of them there were buildings of rather poor quality.<sup>3</sup> On the more easily accessible side, the settlement was closed off by a ditch 1.8m deep, which stood several metres before the entrance. Once again, it is noticeable that the hill-

3. The site was discovered in 1993 by Ž. Šmit and T. Drčar, who also found some late Roman items.

prilagojenost postojanke izoblikovanosti terena in zelo majhne umetne posege. Najdbe kažejo predvsem elemente 3. in v večjem delu 4. st. (T. 1). Novci postavljajo težišče obstoja utrdbe v zaključek 4. st. (neobjavljeno).

Poleg te postojanke, s katere je odličen pregled nad precejšnjim delom hipotetične komunikacije med Pilštanjem in Svetimi gorami, je vzdolž te trase še nekaj najdb posameznih poznorimskih novcev, ki potrjujejo pomen te komunikacije v 4. st.

S tako zarisane trase ceste Rimske Toplice – Bistrica ob Sotli, se glede na konfiguracijo terena in višinske utrdbe z znaki vojaške prisotnosti v 4. st. nakazuje tudi dve povezavi proti dolini Save. Prva teče med Jurkloštom in Loko in jo, poleg prehodnosti določa tudi višinska utrdba Gradec pri Lisci (Mlinar 1956, 73; Ciglencečki 1992). Druga pa je povezovala cesto Rimske toplice – Bistrica ob Sotli z Brestanico, najdiščem miljnikov, kjer dva srednjeveška gradova in pomemben prehod čez Savo poudarjajo prometni pomen kraja. Ta strateško izjemno pomemben kraj je odlično obvladovala višinska utrdba Gradišče pri Dunaju, ki kaže najmočnejše znake prisotnosti poznorimskega vojaštva (Ciglencečki 1992, 25-27; Ciglencečki 1994, 242, Abb. 2; Bitenc 2001; Pflaum 2001b; Pflaum 2001c; Šemrov 2004, 372-391).

Močni znaki poznorimske poselitve na Tinju nad Loko pri Žusmu in Rudni pri Rudnici dopuščajo več razlag. Tinje smo doslej interpretirali kot naselbino izven prometnih poti, kjer je bilo mogoče računati predvsem na pomen železarstva v bližini (Ciglencečki 2000, 151-152). Njemu se je v zadnjem času pridružilo najdišče Rudna s številnimi znaki poselitve v poznorimskem času in depojem iz druge polovice 4. st. (Ciglencečki 1991; Pflaum 2001; Pflaum 2001a; Istenič 2001; Šemrov 2004, 142). Kot možna razlaga njunega nastanka se zato ponuja tudi varianta ceste oziroma poti, ki je pri Rifniku zavila proti JV in mimo obeh najdišč po najkrajši možni liniji povezovala komunikaciji ob Voglajni in Sotli.

### Sklep

Bežen pregled poteka državne ceste, manjših komunikacij ter sočasnih utrjenih postojank ob njih je pokazal, da je pomen prostora med Celejo in Neviodunom v poznorimskem času močno narasel. Miljniki in zgodnejše gradivo (predvsem novci) kažejo, da na pomenu pridobi že v nemirnem času druge polovice 3. st., ko smo tudi na sosednjih sorodnih višinskih postojankah opazili prve znake oživiljenega bivanja (Ciglencečki 1990, 154-156).

Mnogo intenzivnejše dogajanje je opazno v drugi polovici 4. in začetku 5. st. Poleg zgoraj omenjenih utrdb tudi nastanek nekaterih drugih v širši regiji na važnih strateških mestih (Brinjeva gora, Zbelovska gora in Ančnikovo gradišče) kaže, da so takrat veliko pozornost posvetili prav kontroli prometnih poti iz vzhoda in severa proti Italiji. Tako je bilo potrebno omogočiti tudi hitrejše premike čet med obema vpadnicama, kar je rezultiralo v obnovi in zavarovanju ceste Celeia – Neviodunum. Podoben značaj in strukturo najdb je mogoče opaziti tudi na bližnji utrdbi Kuzelin v hrvaškem Prigorju, kjer V. Sokol prav tako domneva vojaško postojanko za varstvo ceste proti Petovionu (Sokol 1994, 202-203).

Glede na doslej ugotovljene novčne najdbe in pred-

fort was well adjusted to the features of the terrain, and there were very few man-made interventions. The finds reveal elements of the 3rd century, and to a larger extent those of the 4th century (Pl. 1). The discovered coins place the fort at the end of the 4th century (unpublished).

Alongside this hillfort, which provides an excellent view of a large part of the hypothetical communication between Pilštanj and Svete gore, along this route there have been several other discoveries of individual late Roman coins that confirm the importance of this communication in the 4th century.

In view of the configuration of the terrain and highland forts with signs of military presence in the 4th century, we can discern two links leading from the Rimske toplice – Bistrica ob Sotli road towards the Sava valley. The first one passes between Jurklošter and Loka and, besides its practicability, it is also determined by the highland fort Gradec near Lisca (Mlinar 1956, 73; Ciglencečki 1992). The second one linked the Rimske toplice – Bistrica road at the Sotla river with Brestanica, the site at which the milestones were found, where two medieval castles and an important crossing over the River Sava emphasise the importance of this area in terms of traffic. This strategically very significant area was well covered by the hillfort of Gradišče pri Dunaju, which provides the strongest signs of the presence of late Roman military units (Ciglencečki 1992, 25-27; Ciglencečki 1994, 242, Abb. 2; Bitenc 2001; Pflaum 2001b; Pflaum 2001c; Šemrov 2004, 372-391).

Strong signs of late Roman settlement on Tinje above Loka pri Žusmu and Rudna pri Rudnici can be explained in different ways. Tinje has so far been interpreted as a settlement away from transport routes, where it was possible to rely primarily on the important iron production in the vicinity (Ciglencečki 2000, 151-152). In recent times, the site of Rudna was added to it, which revealed numerous signs of settlement in the late Roman period, and a hoard dating from the second half of the 4th century (Ciglencečki 1991; Pflaum 2001; Pflaum 2001a; Istenič 2001; Šemrov 2004, 142). Therefore, one of the possible reasons for its development is a variant of a road or trail which at Rifnik turned towards the south-east and passed by both sites, thus linking the communications along the Voglajna and Sotla with the shortest possible line.

### Conclusion

A brief overview of the route of the state road, smaller communications and contemporary fortified positions situated beside them, has shown that the area between Celeia and Neviodunum gained a lot of importance in the late Roman period. The milestones and historical material (primarily coins) indicate that its importance had already grown during the turbulent times in the second half of the 3rd century, when we can also notice the first signs of more intensive inhabitation on neighbouring highland positions (Ciglencečki 1990, 154-156).

Much more intensive developments can be noticed in the second half of the 4th century and in the early 5th century. Along with those previously mentioned, other forts were also erected in a wider area at strategically important locations (Brinjeva gora, Zbelovska gora and Ančnikovo gradišče), which suggests that at the time a lot of attention was paid to controlling the communications leading from the east and north towards Italy. For this reason it was necessary to ensure the possibility of a quick transfer of troops between the two access roads, which led to the reconstruction and securing of the Celeia – Neviodunum road. Similar importance and structure of finds can also be observed at the nearby fort of Kuzelin in the Croatian Prigorje region, where V. Sokol also assumed that it functioned as a military position for securing the road to Petoviona (Sokol 1994, 202-203).



mete vojaške noše ob obravnavanih komunikacijah opazimo največjo obljudenost v drugi polovici 4. st. Na takratno nemirno dogajanje opozarjata tudi dva manjša novčna depoja z Rudne (valentinijanski čas) in Svinjskega rta (med novci prepoznan le Gracijan) (Ciglencečki 1991; Šemrov 1998, 153/2).

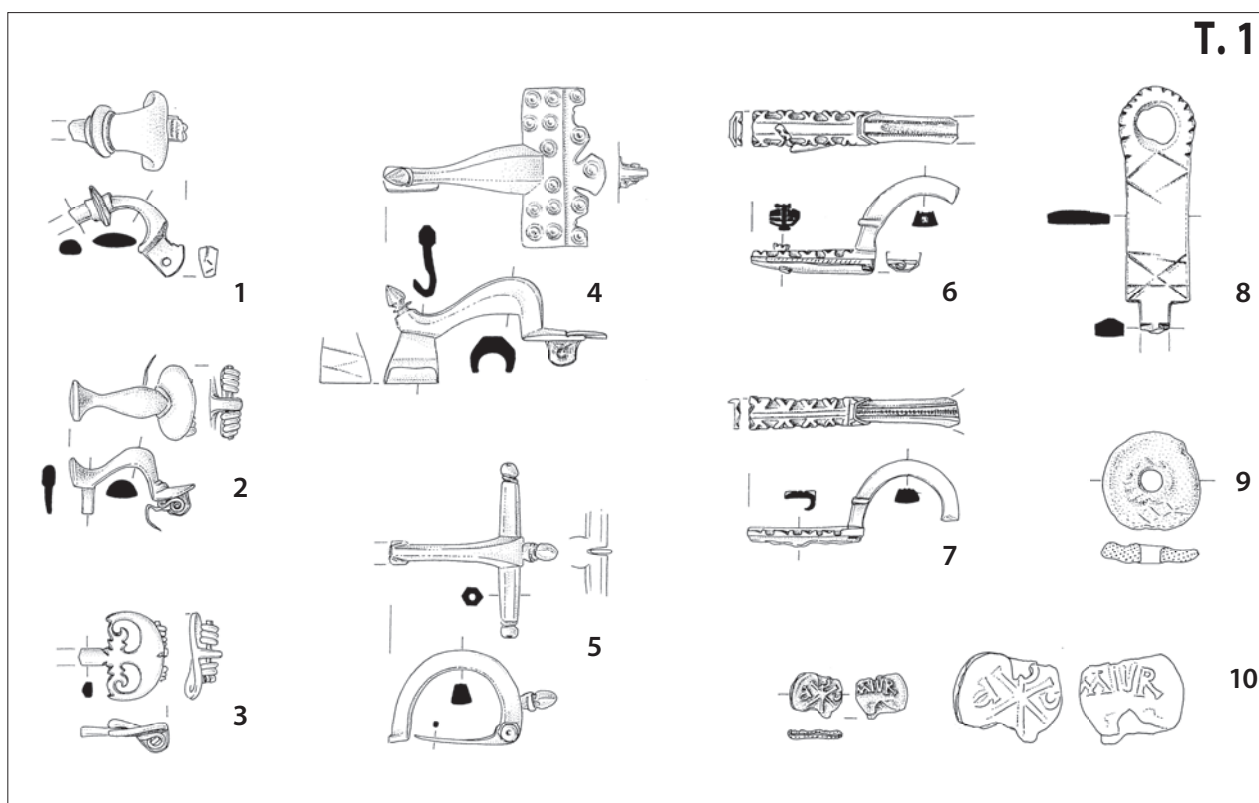
Skopi arheološki podatki nam tako ob historičnih virih, ki v tem času omenjajo državljanske vojne v širšem območju, kažejo posredno, zakaj je prav takrat ta prostor pridobil na strateškem pomenu (Klemenc 1950, 61-68; Šašel 1971, 38-39; Cedilnik 2004, 338). Močan poudarek o pomenu tega območja dodatno izražajo teze o zadrževanju Alarika v širšem celejanskem območju (Grassl 1996), oziroma domneva, da Celeia v 4. st. pridobi na pomenu kot mogoča prestolnica Mediteranskega Norika (Ladstätter 2000, 219-220).

Given the numismatic finds and items belonging to military uniform that have been discovered thus far along the communications discussed, we can notice that the population was highest in the second half of the 4th century. The turbulent events that followed are also reflected in two smaller hoards of coins from Rudna (from the time of Valentinianus) and Svinjski rt (the only one identified was a Gratianus coin) (Ciglencečki 1991; Šemrov 1998, 153/2).

Scarce archaeological data, along with historical sources which mention civil wars that were waged at the time in a wider region, indicate indirectly why this area gained strategic importance precisely at that time (Klemenc 1950, 61-68; Šašel 1971, 38-39; Cedilnik 2004, 338). The significance of the region is further underlined by various theses on the presence of Alaric in the wider area of Celeia (Grassl 1996), and by the assumption that Celeia gained importance in the 4th century as the possible capital of the province of Noricum Mediterraneum (Ladstätter 2000, 219-220).

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T. 1: Kozjek (1-8 bron, 9-10 svinec)  
Pl. 1: Kozjek (1-8 bronze, 9-10 lead)