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— *a River and its
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The Ljubljanica and the Roman army

Janka Istenič

The exceptional quantity of finds from the Ljubljanica which relate to the Roman army is particularly notable. Originally this was an army of conscripts (composed of citizens, mostly peasants, recruited in times of war), but from the beginning of the 1st century BC, it was increasingly modified to become an army of professional soldiers. This became the norm during the reign of the emperor Augustus. The nucleus of his army was formed of legionaries, *i.e.* men from the ranks of Roman citizens, who were organized into legions of approx. 5000 to 6000 foot soldiers; in the Augustan period these were mainly inhabitants of Italy, but subsequently they were drawn increasingly from the provinces. In newly conquered regions and in the provinces, the Romans enlisted men who were not Roman citizens. These recruits served in what were known as auxiliary units (infantry, cavalry, and mixed). All soldiers received regular and relatively good salaries, and after honorary discharge (usually after 25–30 years), they received significant benefits; legionaries were also granted severance pay.¹

From the available information, the finds from the bed of the Ljubljanica between Vrhnika and Ljubljana include at least twenty-nine swords and/or scabbards (or fragments), four daggers (three of which had scabbards), two helmets, a shield boss,

fifteen javelins (*pila*), eight pickaxes, five turf-cutters, five tent-pegs, parts of eight military belts, and two decorations (Cat. 60–72, 74–77; Fig. 85), spear-heads and spiked obstacles (*stimuli*), as well as boots with hob-nail soles.² Other artefacts found in the Ljubljanica also constituted the equipment of Roman soldiers, such as brooches for fastening clothing (Cat. 73) and bronze vessels, primarily cooking-pans and cauldrons (Cat. 55, 56). The total number of Roman military objects found is undoubtedly much larger than is recorded.³

Roman military finds from the Ljubljanica can be dated only from typological criteria and from parallels elsewhere, as they do not derive from chronologically dated contexts (or these were not documented at the time of discovery). The scarcity of comparative material makes the dating of the earliest (*i.e.* pre-Augustan and early Augustan) items particularly difficult, and therefore relatively imprecise. Such objects include a pre-Augustan helmet (Cat. 35), two relatively long swords with an oblique shoulder and a particularly long tip (Fig. 85),⁴ and a sword in a sheath with a net-like fitting (Cat. 67). Helmets like Cat. 35 were worn by Roman soldiers, but were also popular among upper class Celtic warriors.

The majority of the military finds from the Ljubljanica can be dated to the relatively long pe-

riod spanning the reign of Augustus, or to the period from the beginning of his reign to the middle of the 1st century AD (Cat. 60–66, 68–76; Fig. 86, 88). Rare later items with reliable dating include a Pompei type sword from the second half of the 1st century,⁵ a ring-pommel sword from the second half of the 2nd to the beginning of the 3rd century,⁶ a 3rd-century shield boss that hints, perhaps, at the presence of military units from the eastern empire (Cat. 77), 3rd to early 4th-century belt buckles (Cat. 80n, o), as well as 4th- to 5th-century brooches and belt fittings (Cat. 82, 85).

Roman weapons and military equipment recovered from other European rivers, such as the Rhine, Saône, Rhône, Kupa, Sava, Danube and others,⁷ constitute an important segment of the known corpus of Roman military finds, and indeed, constitute a large proportion of the complete and well-preserved Roman military items from the Augustan period and the 1st century AD.⁸ They were often found at or near Roman military sites.⁹ For the most thoroughly researched river, the Saône, Roman military and other objects derive mainly from the vicinity of fords.¹⁰ In all the rivers, military finds date predominantly to the second half of the 1st century BC and 1st century AD. Within this general framework, there are narrow chronological differences in the patterns of artefacts from individual rivers, or riverine sites. From the Saône, Roman military equipment of the late Republican period and the second half of the 1st century AD is relatively well represented.¹¹ This seems likely to relate to the intensive Roman military presence in the Saône valley during Caesar's Gallic Wars (58–51 BC), and subsequently during the civil war of AD 69, when rebellious troops based on the Lower Rhine moved towards Italy.¹² In the Augustan period, large military establishments were built along the Rhine; they functioned as spring-boards for military expeditions against the Germanic tribes to the east of the Rhine. At present, publications of Roman military finds from the Rhine show a clear dominance of items dating to the Augustan period and the 1st century AD.¹³

In interpreting military finds from rivers, the opinions of archaeologists have been divided between those who envisage such objects as accidental losses (*e.g.* while crossing a river or during a conflict),



Figure 85. The swords found in the Ljubljana near Bevke differ from characteristic Roman short swords of the Augustan period in their greater length, as well as in the form of their shoulders and tips.³⁰



Figure 86. Reconstruction of the probable original appearance of the military belt to which the belt-fitting belonged (Cat. 60).³¹

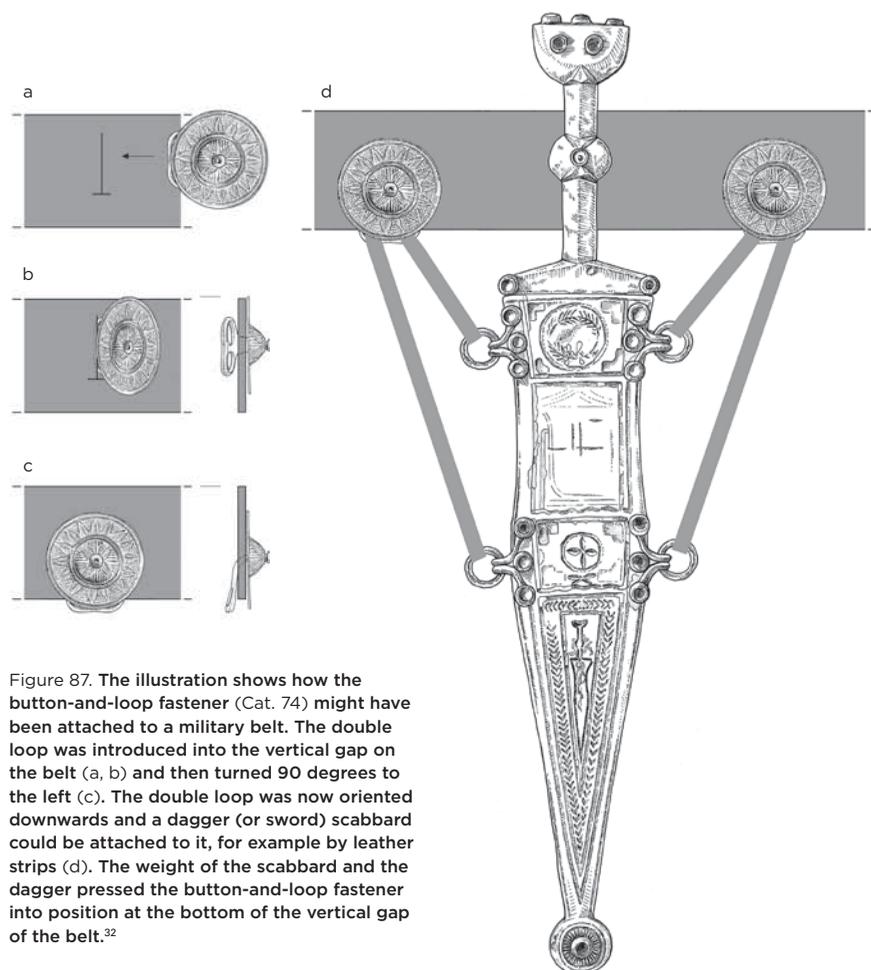


Figure 87. The illustration shows how the button-and-loop fastener (Cat. 74) might have been attached to a military belt. The double loop was introduced into the vertical gap on the belt (a, b) and then turned 90 degrees to the left (c). The double loop was now oriented downwards and a dagger (or sword) scabbard could be attached to it, for example by leather strips (d). The weight of the scabbard and the dagger pressed the button-and-loop fastener into position at the bottom of the vertical gap of the belt.³²

and those who interpret the occurrence of weapons as the result of deliberate deposition in connection with cult practices.¹⁴ In our opinion, the reasons for the appearance of Roman military finds in rivers are probably quite varied and may be similar to those for riverine finds of other types of objects.¹⁵ One frequent suggestion is that they represent cult-related offerings of weapons – *e.g.* official sacrifices connected with military operations or private dedicatory gifts made by Roman soldiers.¹⁶ This may be only one of the reasons, and need not necessarily apply to the non-Romanized soldiers in the auxiliary units. In fact, inscriptions on helmets recovered from rivers indicate that their owners definitely included legionaries,¹⁷ whereas members of auxiliary units are not explicitly documented. Publius Oppius, the owner of a helmet found in the Ljubljana (Cat. 76), was most probably a legionary. It seems that the practice of making votive offerings of Roman weapons was not an unfamiliar concept to Roman legionaries. Among other evidence, this is indicated by a helmet from Mušja jama at Škocjan, inscribed with the names of two owners, both Italian.¹⁸

Irrespective of whether Roman military finds were deliberately deposited or accidentally lost in the Ljubljana, they can be seen as the result of intensive river transport for military purposes during the period spanning the Roman conquest and the consolidation of the territory which later became the province of Pannonia. In the late Republican and Augustan periods (up to the construction of the road between *Nauportus* and *Emona*),¹⁹ the Ljubljana was an essential section of the route connecting Italy and the south-eastern Alps, the Balkans, and the central Danube basin. It was therefore important for the Roman army during the Illyrian Wars of Octavian (35–33 BC), when the navigable route along the Ljubljana and the Sava led to *Segesta* (*Siscia*; present-day Sisak, Croatia, sited at an exceptionally strategic location), which was one of the centres of resistance against the Romans, and where a Roman military fortress was subsequently established.²⁰ The same riverine route was probably used by the Roman army for transporting soldiers and their equipment, as well as military booty during the Pannonian Wars (14–9 BC), and also during the period of the Pannonian-Delmatean Revolt (AD 6–9), an incident which

required an exceptionally high concentration of Roman troops.²¹ After the Augustan period, the occurrence of chronologically-sensitive objects indicates a drastic decline in Roman military finds from the Ljubljana. This was probably related to the end of the active conquest phase in Pannonia and to the construction of the *Nauportus-Emona* road, when the importance of the river route along the Ljubljana was significantly reduced. However, its role did not totally disappear; at the end of the 2nd or in the 3rd century, *Emona* perhaps became a port of the Pannonian fleet (Fig. 94).²²

Roman military finds from the Ljubljana occur most frequently in the broad region from Vrhnika to the bend where the boundary-stone was found (Cat. 44), the greatest concentration being (near?) in the Bevke section, particularly in the area from the mouth of the Zrnica to the find-spot of the boundary stone (Figs. 79, 82).²³ To the east, the objects are scarcer, with a smaller cluster near Rakova Jelša.²⁴ Additional concentrations have been noted at Podpeč²⁵ and Črna vas²⁶.

The large number of Roman military objects at Vrhnika is not surprising, as an (intermittent) military presence at such a site is expected, and is even mentioned by the Roman historian, Tacitus (*Ann.* I. 20. 1) in connection with the rebellion of the Pannonian legions on the death of the emperor Augustus in AD 14.²⁷ The reasons for concentrations of Roman military artefacts elsewhere seem less clear. At Bevke, the finds may relate to a settlement which perhaps existed there.²⁸ On the other hand, the cluster in the vicinity of Rakova Jelša, may reflect the possible existence of an Augustan fort on the naturally well-defended terrain near the former mouth of the Prošca stream.²⁹ In addition, there was probably also periodic Roman military supervision at Podpeč, where the firm ground to the south extended as far as the river.

Most of the Roman military finds from the Ljubljana are paralleled by objects from other sites. However, some are unique. Such items include the medallion depicting the bust of Augustus (Cat. 63), the torque (Cat. 64), and the late Republican sword-scabbard (Cat. 67), as well as the sword and scabbard with extremely high quality decorated silver fittings and the mount of the corresponding military belt (Cat. 60–61).



Figure 88. Reconstruction of the probable original appearance of the dagger (Cat. 68).³³

Notes

- 1 Junkelmann 1997, 85–108, 120–123; Keppie 1984.
- 2 Soles similar to those in Bonnamour 2000b, fig. on p. 94, were seen by a diver (not an archaeologist) in the Ljubljanica at Bevke, as well as in the stretch of the river between Vrhnika and Bevke (Mladen Mück, pers. comm.).
- 3 Roman weaponry is very popular among collectors. While it has been possible to see (probably) the majority of Slovenian private collections, Roman finds from the Ljubljanica in foreign collections can only be surmised. Currently, an insistence on the literal interpretation of the European Convention on the Protection of Archaeological Heritage (Valetta, 16. 1. 1992) will result in the increasing illegal export of archaeological material, for which provenance information will be deliberately concealed and then quickly lost, leading to immeasurable loss.
- 4 Istenič 2009, figs. 3a, b, 4.
- 5 Gaspari 2002a, pl. 8: RM 5.
- 6 Kept in the National Museum of Slovenia, Inv. No. V 3051; for dating cf. Biborski 1994.
- 7 Dumont 2002; Hoffiller 1910–1911; Hoffiller 1912; Klein 2000; Miškov 1993; Pauly 1987; Schalles, Schreiter 1993; Thiel 2000; Vujović 2001.
- 8 Thiel 2000; Thiel, Zanier 1994.
- 9 Germany: Mainz (Klein 2000), Xanten (Schalles, Schreiter 1993; Torbrügge 1970–1971, 26–28), Augsburg–Oberhausen (Hübener 1973), Haltern and Oberaden (cf. Torbrügge 1970–1971, 26–28). Croatia: Sisak (cf. Hoffiller 1910–1911; Hoffiller 1912), Slavonski Brod (Miškov 1993). Serbia: Sremska Rača (Milošević 1987), Dubravica (Vujović 2001, 123). Cf. also Thiel 2000, 70.
- 10 Dumont 2002, 165–190.
- 11 Dumont 2002, 174–180. Significant, for example, is the ratio of swords of Mainz-type (dated to the Augustan period and the first half of the 1st century approx.) to those of Pompeii-type (dated to the second half of the 1st century approx.). For the finds from the Saône, the ratio is 4 (Mainz Type): 10 (Pompeii Type), and for the Rhine, this is 14 : 3 (cf. Istenič 2009).
- 12 Cf. Bonnamour, Dumont 1994, 145.
- 13 Cf. Klein 2000; Künzler 1996; Schalles, Schreiter 1993; Zee 2007.
- 14 Thiel 2000 with citations.
- 15 Cf. Istenič in this volume, pp. 79–85. Systematic archaeological excavations carried out in recent years at the small Roman fort of *Albaniana* (Alphen aan den Rijn, the Netherlands) and on the bed of the Rhine close to the fort have shown that the Roman weapons found in the river (which also included almost complete objects), together with pottery and other waste, had been used to fortify the bank, which was constantly undercut by the Rhine (Zee 2007).
- 16 Ancient sources mention the ritual offering of weapons captured from the enemy among the Greeks, Romans, and barbarians (Müller 2002, 24, 127; Thiel 2000, 72), but it is unlikely that most of the Roman weapons from the river would have been sacrificed by barbarians (Pauly 1987, 298–299; Thiel 2000, 72).
- 17 Pauly 1987, 299; Klein 2000, 59–60, n. 10. A legionary was also the owner of the Augustan sword with a scabbard found at the confluence of the Morava and the Danube (Vujović 2001), and a shield boss from the Tyne in England (MacMullen 1960, 34, no. 16).
- 18 Szombathy 1912, 168–169, figs. 180–181. Inscription: Kubritschek 1912; MacMullen 1960, 36, no. 49. Despite the fact that there is a chronological hiatus of more than half a millennium between the clearly votive prehistoric finds and the Roman helmet (dated to the second half of the 1st century BC or first half of the 1st century AD), votive sacrifice seems the most probable reason for the helmet to have fallen through the narrow opening into the cavity (Pauly 1987, 299).
- 19 Cf. Istenič in this volume, p. 85, n. 22.
- 20 Šašel Kos 2005, 438–442.
- 21 In AD 7, 10 legions were transferred to *Segesta/Segestica/Siscia*, accompanied by extensive auxiliary units and allies, – altogether more than 100,000 men (Keppie 1984, 166).
- 22 Šašel Kos in this volume, p. 94, Fig. 94.
- 23 In the Vrhnika section, four swords and/or their scabbards were found (or their fragments), a helmet, three *pila*, two spear-heads, and three tent-pegs; in the Verd section were found a dagger, part of a sword with scabbard, a *pilum* and a tent-peg; from the Blatna Brezovica section, there are four swords (two of them with scabbards) or their fragments, fragment of a sword scabbard fitting, a *pilum*, a shield-boss, two military belt fittings, an award (a torc) and two pickaxes; from the Bevke section, there are six swords (two with scabbards) or their fragments, fragments of two sword scabbard fragments, two *pila*, a helmet, an award and a belt-segment. Cf. Fig. 85, Cat. 60–67, 70, 72–74, 76–77.
- 24 The early Roman objects from the Rakova Jelša section comprise: two swords (one with scabbard), fragments of two scabbards, a dagger with a scabbard, a *pilum*, and a belt-buckle (Cat. 68, 75); late Roman objects include two parts of the same belt (Cat. 82).
- 25 From the Podpeč section come a dagger and two pickaxes. Cf. Cat. 72.

- 26 In the Črna vas section, a sword, a dagger in its sheath (Cat. 69), and a tool for cutting turf were found.
- 27 Šašel Kos 1995, 236–237.
- 28 Istenič in this volume, p. 84.
- 29 *Cf.* Knific in this volume, p. 139.
- 30 Kept in the National Museum of Slovenia, Inv. No. R 24449 and in the Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana, Inv. No. 510:LJU;32583.
- 31 Illustration by I. Rehar, concept by J. Istenič.
- 32 Illustration by I. Murgelj, concept by J. Istenič.
- 33 Illustration by I. Rehar, concept by J. Istenič.
- 34 Illustration by I. Rehar, concept by J. Istenič.
- 35 *Cf.* Gaspari in this volume, pp. 116–119.
- 36 *Cf.* Horvat in this volume, pp. 97–99, 101, Fig. 97–99.
- 37 Junkelmann 1997, figs. 28a and 58a; Fabia 1918, fig. 6094.