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THE 2000-YEAR ANNIVERSARY OF THE CITY OF EMONA: URBANISM, IDEOLOGY AND EVERYDAY LIFE

In 2014-15 Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, marked the 2000-year anniversary of the Roman Emona, the first ever city in this area. Although expert opinions as to exactly when and where Emona emerged have differed widely for over a century [1], it is nevertheless clear that Emona, the city on the left bank of the Ljubljanica River largely excavated by Walter Schmidt and Ljudmila Plesničar Gec, can be considered Ljubljana's earliest urban predecessor.

Emona has been an important point of reference and a source of considerable prestige for Ljubljana ever since the 17th century, if not earlier [2]. Its significance is also recognised by the present city administration, which supported the formal marking of the anniversary. Mainly thanks to the efforts of the City Municipality of Ljubljana, the 2000-year anniversary was marked with numerous exhibitions, events, concerts and performances, as well as a scientific symposium: a proper *Ludi Saeculares*, in short. What exactly were we celebrating so enthusiastically? The first urban formation on the site of today's Ljubljana, the benefits of far-reaching roots, classical antiquity as the origin of civilisation, the city as civilised space? What was Emona's function in the past, and what is its function today? What was Emona's significance during antiquity? And what was its legacy for Ljubljana?

A city in an empire of cities

The city is the most obvious expression of the social, cultural and economic changes wrought by the Roman Empire, perhaps especially in areas which were previously less urbanised or not urbanised at all [3]. The area that is now Slovenia can certainly be counted among these. Cities – Emona among the first of them – sprang up immediately after Roman occupation, i.e. from the early 1st century AD on.

By the time the Roman colony at Emona had been built, the city had become the normative form of social, political and administrative organisation across the Roman Empire; it was the basic unit, whether accepted by the people living there or forced upon them. City rulers governed the territory belonging to the city and its people on behalf of Rome. This is why cities were seen as an essential part of imperial and military strategy: the Roman authorities used them as a means of holding and controlling territory, transforming the political landscape of an area, collecting taxes, administering law and recruiting soldiers [4].

Roman cities such as Emona were places with a special type of architecture and space, and a particular way of life. Both aspects were instrumental in achieving the Empire's political and ideological aims, especially once the Principate had been established.

This was primarily due to the city's particular form and architecture. Through public monuments and buildings, the layout of the city and arrangements for the territory surrounding it, the Empire displayed its superiority and power to its subjects; and at the same time it offered the space and lifestyle that not only epitomised but actually defined civilisation [5]. However, the Roman concept of urbanism did not

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[1]   Cf. the overview in Šašel Kos 2012, in particular pp. 100-103.
[2]   Županek 2011.
[3]   Laurence, Esmonde Cleary, Sears 2011, p. xiii.
[4]   Revell 2009, p. 49.
[5]   Strab. 4.1.5; Tac. *Agr.* 21; *Germ.* 16.

leave citizens free to choose their own way of life, it insisted on the correct way of living in a city: participation in public affairs, political involvement and responsibility, communal religious events and public spectacles [6]. A Roman city was more than the sum of its bricks and mortar, its houses and public buildings – it was bound up with the whole idea of how to live the Roman way. Through a life lived in the city, the people re-enacted over and over again the structures of politics, social organisation, religion and ideology which made up the shared cultural discourse holding the Empire together [7].

Firmly embedded in an extensive road network, Roman cities (Emona among them) were hubs of power and privilege, centres of culture and knowledge, spaces for interaction and trade, stages for spectacles and religious rituals, and places of civilised life. Cities were thus an integrating force behind a heterogeneous empire: by facilitating and encouraging the expansion of the typical Roman lifestyle, they created and recreated the ideology of the Empire [8]. The creation of Roman citizens and Romanness itself was an urban process. Although much has been written about the cultural change usually referred to as "Romanisation", relatively little attention has been paid to the role of cities in bringing this change about, even though the two were closely connected.

THE CITY OF EMONA: A NEW COLONY AND THE AUGUSTAN URBAN IDEAL

Despite dissenting opinions about the date of the founding of the Roman colony at Emona [9], the building of the city on the left bank of the Ljubljanica River can be indisputably dated to the late Augustan and early Tiberian periods. An inscription referring to a major imperial grant in the autumn of the year 14 or summer of the year 15 is the earliest reference we have to the existence of the city. The archaeological record confirms that the colony on the left bank of the Ljubljanica was being built during the last years of the reign of Emperor Augustus [10].

Roman colonies had been in existence for centuries before Augustus embarked on his large-scale colonisation programme, of course: the founding of colonies was a key aspect of Roman history and identity [11]. It reached a new height in the aftermath of the civil wars of the late Republic when Julius Caesar and Augustus founded colonies that occupied key coastal sites and inland districts linking Italy to the Greek East [12]. Augustus, especially, initiated a huge and ambitious programme, mobilising and relocating numerous Roman citizens to the east and west, to colonies from Syria to Lusitania [13]. At the same time urbanisation, imperial ideologies and state/political architectures were given strong legal and financial support and encouragement, not only in the new colonies but also in the reconstruction of existing cities [14].

The construction of the colony at Emona was part of Augustus' colonisation programme. Emona emerged at the start of the Principate, just when Roman imperial ideology was being strongly impressed upon the cities' urban forms – themselves the projections of Rome's cultural-political and ideological concepts. Thus, the Roman city can be seen as a systematic and crucial element in Roman imperialism, from Augustus on, at least [15]. The replication of the ideologies of architecture and myth found in the rebuilt Augustan capital seems to have been a core feature of the colonies of the Augustan period; it is not found in pre-Augustan colonies [16].

Colonisation at the time of Caesar and Augustus no longer consisted in merely dispatching a group of Roman citizens to a specific location, but rather involved building a town with rites similar to those that were traditionally believed to have been used for the founding of Rome [17]. Augustan colonies were created to a uniform model, including the ritual ploughing of the borders of the city's *pomerium*, and their topography and infrastructure were relatively standard. The city was filled with political imagery manifestly promoting what was called *res publica restituta* (in reality, the monarchy): forum, theatre, amphitheatre, porticoes, statuary and architectural ornamentation [18]. Monumental public architecture conveyed powerful iconographic and symbolic messages that emphasised Rome's power and superiority. The similarity to Rome was intended to give the Empire's central government a visible presence

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[6] REVELL 2009, p. 76.
[7] REVELL 2009, p. 36.
[8] Cf. ŽUPANEK 2014, pp. 61-62.
[9] Cf. ŠAŠEL KOS 2012; SLAPŠAK 2014.
[10] GASPARI 2010.
[11] Cf. LAURENCE, ESMONDE CLEARY, SEARS 2011, 37f.
[12] DE GIORGI 2011, p. 135.
[13] DE GIORGI 2011, p. 135.
[14] HÄUSSLER 1998, p. 11.
[15] Cf. WHITTAKER 1997; HÄUSSLER 1998; REVELL 2009, p. 49ff.
[16] LAURENCE, ESMONDE CLEARY, SEARS 2011, p. 55.
[17] LAURENCE, ESMONDE CLEARY, SEARS 2011, p. 55.
[18] WHITTAKER 1997, p. 145; ZANKER 1990, p. 101ff.

and strengthen the ties between individual cities and the centre [19]. Ralph Häussler has suggested that the ideology of Augustus' regime, which was crucial for the Empire's cohesion, was materialised in the architecture and iconography of the cities [20]. *Colonia Iulia Emona* was part of this discourse of power, unity and state strength, a discourse created as part of efforts to transform the identity of a vast empire which had until recently been divided into two warring parts.

Carefully planned in line with prevailing cosmological and symbological principles, the colony at Emona was given the conventional *urbs quadrata* structure. The orthogonal city grid was based on the celestial order, with the *decumani* being aligned with the axis of the Sun, and the *cardines* with that of the North Star. Thus Emona was an *imago mundi*, a small-scale image of the world, a reflection of the cosmic order that was the ultimate symbol of the stability of the Roman Empire. Like any other new Roman colony (especially during the Augustan period), Emona was admitted to the Roman world by means of a special ritual which included the augur declaring the omens to be auspicious and the ploughing of the *sulcus primigenius*. Such rituals conferred divine approval on the new city, thereby reinforcing its sanctity as an institution and glorifying it as an independent entity [21]. At the same time, the *deductio* and the building of Emona were based on the authority of ancient tradition originating in the building of Rome itself and on a centuries-long history in which civilians or veterans had been settling the occupied or newly established cities [22].

All in all, when the new *colonia Iulia Emona* was built, its form and associated rituals conveyed an important symbolic and ideological message. Together with its rural surroundings, it was an example of the radical rearrangement of space that followed a territory's incorporation into the Empire.

What about the indigenous inhabitants? The old settlement at the foot of Castle Hill covering today's neighbourhoods of Gornji trg and Stari trg had been occupied by its earlier inhabitants since the early 1st century BC (though over time, and especially in the second half of the same century, they were increasingly joined by Italic merchants and businessmen), and it continued to exist as a suburb of Emona throughout the 1st century AD [23]. In contrast to this (increasingly Roman) settlement, which was continuously inhabited, the La Tene community at Tribuna – to some extent at least, the successor to a major Late Bronze and Iron Age settlement – fell into decline and, following a break during which it was not occupied, a Roman military camp was later built there [24]. What happened to the indigenous population, how did they view the Romans, their supremacy, culture and way of life? One of the significant factors in the various responses and changes in identity was certainly the city and the way of life in the city – a distinctively Roman way of life that was both facilitated and imposed by the city. Yet, despite the colonial status of the new Roman settlement, the significance of the earlier settlement [25] was not wiped out but was instead reflected in the name of the new colony. Far from being a monolithic mechanism of exploitation and repression, the Roman Empire was a mosaic of interactions, assimilations and exchanges. To be Roman did not imply the imposition of the victors' fashions and habits on the conquered people: instead, earlier traditions lived on and were highly valued, eventually becoming a part of the Empire's heterogeneous mosaic.

THE CITY AS MACHINE: DISPLAYS AND VIEWS OF EMPIRE IN EMONA

The city, the visitor to the city and, even more, the inhabitant of the city are continuously interacting. The design of the city and its architecture forms a visual communication system through which the city exerts influence on its inhabitants, their behaviour, and what they think and experience. What was Emona like in this respect? The orthogonal ground plan with rectangularly intersecting streets bordering on blocks of buildings (fig. 1) was a clear sign that the colony at Emona had been planned by an organised group under the auspices of a single authority. Movement around the city was mostly determined by the two main streets (up to 14 P in width [26]) and the side streets. The grid of the city's *cardines* and *decumani*, including the *cloacae* running beneath the latter (some of them finished at a later point [27]), allowed the *decumanus maximus* to cut the city in two across the forum and then, on the one side, to continue into a major road leading to Aquileia and the heart of Italy, and on the other, to cross the Ljubljanica River and connect with the cities of Neviodunum, Siscia and Sirmium and onwards to the southeast.

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[19]   Cf. HÄUSSLER 1998.
[20]   HÄUSSLER 1998.
[21]   REVELL 2009, p. 46.
[22]   Cf. LAURENCE, ESMONDE CLEARY, SEARS 2011, p. 55.
[23]   Cf. VIČIČ 1994.
[24]   GASPARI et alii 2014, p. 152.
[25]   For prehistoric Emona see VOJAKOVIĆ 2014; cf. also SLAPŠAK 2014.
[26]   PLESNIČAR GEC 1999, p. 30.
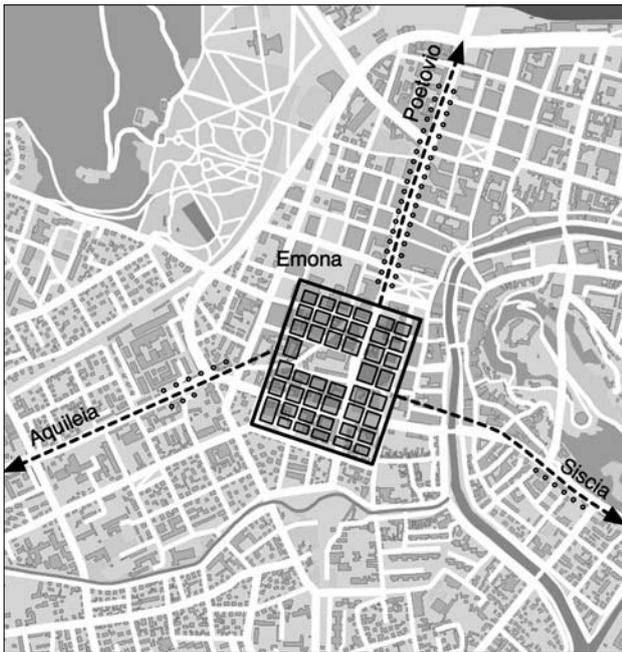[27]   GASPARI 2016, p. 171.

Fig. 1. Schematic layout of Emona with approach roads. The orthogonal city grid aligned with the celestial order was a small-scale symbol of the well-ordered world and testament to the solidity and stability of the Roman Empire (Dimitrij Mlekuž).

During public festivities, political rallies and religious processions, Emona's two principal streets served both as the main venues for the events and as objects of admiration (fig. 2). The prominent city gates – with an imperial inscription adorning at least one of the main entrances [28] and, to judge by the size of the pedestal [29], a huge statue positioned at the northern one – were used to direct and inform individuals, groups and organised processions. The city walls restricted movement, directing it either into or out of the city. Outside the city, the notable sights continued along the main approach roads, which were lined with funerary monuments. The largest cemetery, to the north, was divided into burial plots as early as the first few decades of the 1st century [30]. Some of them included grandiose monuments, designed to imperial standards [31].

Inside the city, public buildings served as landmarks: they formed the blocks which, together, defined the identity of the place, the component elements of the city [32]. In keeping with the Roman city concept, each city was required to have a monumental centre, a forum and public buildings in order to fulfil its role in Roman society's political, religious and social life. The forum in Emona, on the highest point of what was called the Ljubljana Gate [33] and at the intersection of the two main streets, occupied the plots of six *insulae* to the west of the main *cardo* [34] and was always large, relative to the size of the city. This might indicate that the colony at Emona was primarily conceived as a representational, political, administrative and religious centre rather than a residential area.

The forum in a Roman city was a place of justice for the entire civic community, a place where taxes were collected, and a meeting place for the worship of deified emperors [35]. With its honorific statues, monumental architecture and official inscriptions, the forum was a platform for the display of power and the promotion of imperial ideology, a space whose monumentality reflected the prosperity achieved under Roman supremacy. The massive forum structures discovered at Emona include, among other things, a basilica, porticoes, a column at the edge of the forum that would have originally supported a triumphal arch or vault marking the entrance to the forum area [36] and a temple (fig. 3). The latter (unfortunately poorly preserved, fig. 4) is believed to
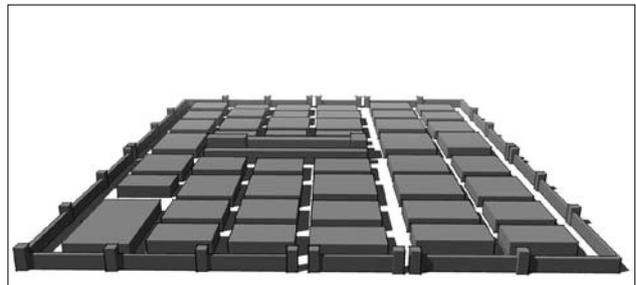

Fig. 2. Views and architectural mass in Emona. Both main streets offered visitors on their way through the city a series of sights, a sense of architectural mass, and a succession of public monuments and ornaments, as well as blockades and diversions (Dimitrij Mlekuž)..

[28]   Mrav 2001; but cf. Šašel Kos 2012, pp. 85-87.
[29]   Plesničar Gec 1974.
[30]   Županek forthcoming.
[31]   Cf. Petru 1962-63; Istenič 2012.
[32]   Cf. Thomas 2007, p. 120.
[33]   Plesničar Gec 1999, p. 30.
[34]   Plesničar Gec 1992, p. 60.
[35]   Cf. Laurence, Esmonde Cleary, Sears 2011, pp. 64-65.
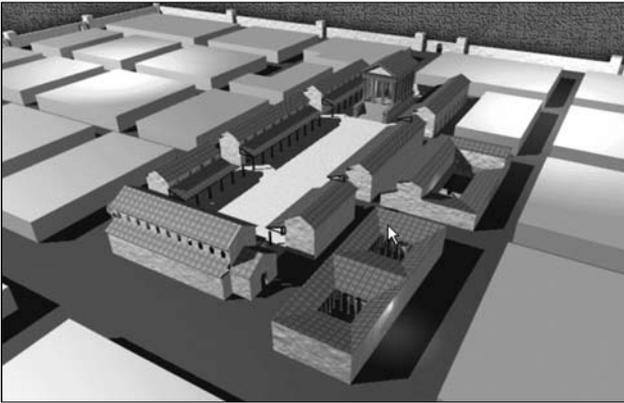[36]   Cf. Plesničar Gec 1999, p. 66, p. 76; Plesničar Gec 1992, p. 60.

Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the Emona forum showing a forum area with two long sides bounded by colonnades, one short side bounded by the temple and the other bounded by the basilica (built later). In the 1st century AD, this model was used for many cities in northern Italy (Ljudmila Plesničar Gec, Arxel Tribe d.o.o. / MGML).

Fig. 4. Slab bearing a relief, presumably from the frieze on the capitolium of Emona or, alternatively, from the forum balustrade (da PLESNIČAR GEC 2006, p. 31 Ljubljana, MGML, Inv. No. 510:LJU;0041117). It was discovered in 1990 in a secondary position in the water well in *insula* XIII. The slab depicts a griffin (the symbol of Apollo) and a *bucranium,* both of which were common motifs in Augustan iconography (Matevž Paternoster / MGML).

have been dedicated to the Capitoline Triad [37]. There are a number of grounds for supposing this: first, a passage from Vitruvius (1.7.1.), which states that the most prominent site in a city must be reserved for the *capitolium*; second, the date of its construction; and third, the view held by many scholars that *capitolia* were a standard urban feature of colonies in the Western Roman Empire [38]. A recent suggestion that the latter might have been limited to Italy and North Africa [39] does not undermine this assumption. By replicating the original Roman temple dedicated to the supreme triad on the Capitoline Hill, *capitolia* across the Empire served as a symbolic link between the cities in which they stood and the capital itself.

Religion was instrumental in maintaining loyalty, and by the first half of the 1st century Emonans were already worshipping the emperor and the imperial house [40]. The imperial cult included a ritualised declaration of loyalty to the emperor, which both endorsed and strengthened the dominance of imperial ideology [41].

Political decisions were closely bound up with rituals, as we can see even in the process used for the building of Emona. Another important structure in the Emonan forum was the basilica. As the embodiment of the city's political and judicial identity it can be considered a counterpart to the temple, whose func-

tion was to embody devotion to imperial religion. Not built until the late 2nd century [42], the Emonan basilica stood adjacent to the junction of the two main streets, the *cardo* and *decumanus maximus*, on a vacant space that had clearly been reserved for it [43]. The two most notable buildings in the obviously designed Emonan forum were therefore the temple on its western side and the basilica on its eastern side. Various reconstructions (fig. 3) point to their fundamental functions having been religious and politico-administrative.

The monumentality of the forum was also achieved by means of architectural ornaments and inscriptions in Latin, along with imperial and other statues (fig. 5), which have mostly not been preserved. Over time, Roman fora changed and became increasingly closed off. Once this process was complete in Emona, by the 2nd century at the latest [44], the forum

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[37] PLESNIČAR GEC 1999, p. 66.
[38] Overview in CRAWLEY QUINN, WILSON 2013, p. 118ff.
[39] CRAWLEY QUINN, WILSON 2013.
[40] PLESNIČAR GEC 1999, p. 66; cf. ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, pp. 137-139, pp. 170-172, pp. 208-210.
[41] HANSON 1997, p. 7; WHITTAKER 1997, pp. 147-148.
[42] PLESNIČAR GEC 2006, p. 67.
[43] PLESNIČAR GEC 2006, p. 26.
[44] PLESNIČAR GEC 2006, p. 67.

Fig. 5. Marble head of a deity, possibly Apollo (Plesničar Gec 1965, p. 100), discovered in 1964 in the south façade of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Ljubljana, MGML, Inv. No. 510:LJU;0042247). Apollo, a relatively unimportant deity in the Roman pantheon, was elevated by Augustus to be his personal patron following his victory in the Battle of Actium, in which Apollo's help was believed to have been decisive (Matevž Paternoster / MGML).

became a place where the state and its officials displayed their power and citizens displayed their status by filling the space with statues and honorific monuments.

Judging by descriptions of the appearance and functions of the forum, it can be seen as a place where Romanness was powerfully reproduced, a place where the idea of *romanitas* was most intensely realised. The monumentality of Emona's forum was echoed in the grandeur of its city walls. Over 2 metres thick and 6 to 8 metres high, Emona's city walls incorporated over 25 towers. The walls of a Roman city not only conferred a promise of security (no trivial matter, given the recent devastating civil war and the conflicts still raging across the newly occupied territories), but were also a clear sign of its status (usually colonial, as in the case of

Emona), symbolising the *securitas* of the Empire [45]. Intrinsically linked with imperial power, the walls of a Roman city were a symbol of the privileged position, enhanced autonomy and self-government [46] granted to its inhabitants by the emperor. They were a grandiose display of political privilege in an empire whose cities were competing with each other in terms of both monumentality and beauty. The erection of Emona's city walls could have been the result of a grant made to the city by two emperors, Augustus and his successor, Tiberius [47]. The inscription evidencing this was arguably chiselled into the magnificent main entrance on the walls' eastern side, i.e. above the *porta praetoria*, through which the *decumanus maximus* passed to become a major route leading from the Balkans to the heart of the Empire.

To date, no theatre or amphitheatre has been discovered in Emona or the surrounding area. Although a block situated between Rimska Street, French Revolution Square and Gregorčičeva Street has often been suggested as the possible location of one of these [48], it is also possible that their function was simply taken over by the forum [49]. The idea that any given ancient city must have had a full set of public buildings may just reflect a contemporary idealisation of urban life. In fact, many different versions of the ideal Roman city were implemented across the Roman world, along with completely new, local interpretations, proving that cities could sometimes do without some of their supposedly essential elements – as tacitly admitted by Pausanias in his well-known passage (10.4.1) dating to the 2nd century AD, in which he writes that, despite all its listed shortcomings, Panopeus could still be considered a *polis*.

At any rate, Emona, too, laid on spectacles, public events [50], various games, performances, gladiatorial games, fights or staged hunting scenes with wild animals, chariot races and theatre plays, whose function was to entertain and teach both the Emonans and the people from the surrounding areas about the Roman *virtus* [51]. In addition to this, a visit to the baths was a daily necessity. It involved a culturally specific set of activities which are difficult to understand from today's vantage point but were of great importance for the recreation of Roman identity [52]. There were several public baths in Emona. The earliest, in *insula* XLVI, can be dated to the Claudian period [53]. A large bath complex later sprang up in the three adjoining *insulae*, adjacent to the eastern part of the main

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[45] Cf. Whittaker 1997, p. 144.
[46] Latimer 2010, pp. 30-34.
[47] Šašel Kos 2014, p. 86.
[48] Plesničar Gec 1999, p. 90, fig. 154.
[49] Plesničar Gec 1999, pp. 89-92.
[50] Cf. Bell 2004.
[51] Cf. Zanker 2000, p. 38.
[52] Laurence, Esmonde Cleary, Sears 2011, p. 113.
[53] Gaspari 2014, p. 79.

decumanus [54]. Several smaller-scale baths were in operation in Emona at various times; of these, the facilities in *insula* XXXIX [55], *insula* XXX and *insula* XXI, as well as the luxurious private baths in *insula* XXXII datable to the early 4th century, have been investigated.

Emona's Roman identity, despite having been established by the very act of *deductio*, was further consolidated by means of a number of construction projects undertaken over the decades and centuries following its foundation. Recent studies show that the network of *cloacae* running beneath the *decumani* was constructed in several stages, and the water supply network bringing water to the city and distributing it across it was built during the Claudian period [56].The construction of the basilica in the 2nd century and the large baths in the 4th century has already been mentioned. Like any other Roman city, Emona was a blend of careful planning, a long construction process and local variations that evolved over time as urban architectural elements were appropriated [57].

THE CITY AND THE PEOPLE: LIVING THE ROMAN WAY

The city is an embodied ideology which is not just read but also experienced, recreated with our bodies and with the patterns of our everyday living habits, our activities, our life in the city [58]. As suggested above, the power of the Roman city lay not only in its form, but also in the way of life that it both facilitated and imposed; it lay in the practice of continually visiting, experiencing and using the city space, in making it part of the city-dwellers' mental maps. The wealth of the city was less important than the way its architecture facilitated certain specific activities. The Roman city was what Bourdieu called *habitus*: the lifestyle, values and expectations of the civic community which had been formed through the experiences and activities of everyday life. It was through the images, forms and rhythms of daily life that Roman cities functioned both as administrative machines managing the Empire and ideological machines producing Romans [59].

What did it mean to be Roman, or Emonan, to live in and interact daily with the urban environment and its society? There is no clear answer to this question. Identities in Roman society were as diverse as the many ways of life within it. Even the structures whose purpose was to hold the Empire together differed, to a certain extent, both across communities and within them. Yet they did have certain elements in common. The elements connecting the Emonans included urbanism, the emperor, religion, civic festivities and events forming part of their everyday interactions. Roman politics relied on citizens' active participation, with power acquired and expressed through public displays – especially of acts of munificence, religion and public spectacle [60]. Active participation was not confined to the elites or citizens: the Roman city was a place where the wider community could get involved, too. The urban way of life included shared activities, such as elections, spectacles, religious festivities and public sacrifices in accordance with each colony's calendar; these provided specific occasions when the people gathered and acted together as a community [61]. The creation and recreation of Emonan society was thus achieved through routinised everyday and occasional activities: the city was a machine for the cultural production of citizens [62]. At the same time, the cities themselves were transformed by this process, becoming clear expressions of their inhabitants' urban way of life. Local variations manifested themselves in the form and appearance of the cities, and were also reflected in their various identities and perceptions of Romanness.

THE CITY AND EVERYDAY OBJECTS: IDEOLOGY ON A SMALL SCALE

It was not only through the form and architecture of the city, or how it was experienced, or the events that took place there, that the early Empire made itself omnipresent in Emona: imagery on small-scale everyday objects also played an important part. In a Roman state where the vast majority of citizens were either illiterate or did not speak Latin, ideas and messages were conveyed visually by means of small-scale objects and coinage [63] as well as through large-scale architectural projects [64]. In the context of the highly competitive oligarchy of the leading families of Rome, Augustus' success can largely be

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[54] PLESNIČAR GEC 1999, p. 321.
[55] GASPARI, MASARYK, PETERLE UDOVIČ 2005, pp. 99-106.
[56] GASPARI 2016, p. 171.
[57] LAURENCE, ESMONDE CLEARY, SEARS 2011, p. 69.
[58] MLEKUŽ, ŽUPANEK forthcoming.
[59] MLEKUŽ, ŽUPANEK forthcoming.
[60] REVELL 2009, p. 48.
[61] REVELL 2009, p. 52.
[62] Cf. ŽUPANEK 2014, pp. 61-62.
[63] ZANKER 1990.
[64] In this context, the latter form a special category; cf. WALLACE-HADRILL 1986.

attributed to his clever use of images and symbols from 44 BC on [65]. These motifs later evolved into a new visual language which became a vehicle for promoting both the profound political changes taking place in the Augustan period and what was termed the Augustan Programme [66]. This radical change in political imagery gradually filtered through to art in the private sphere and to objects for daily use, such as gems and oil lamps [67].

The first object reflecting the Augustan revolution in the world of images is an oil lamp unearthed in 1-2 Gornji trg in Ljubljana in 2010 [68]. It has been dated to the mid to late Augustan period. The discus features an image fig. 6a). The motif was taken from a series of Octavian coins whose reverse depicts an equestrian monument erected for him in 43 BC (RRC 490/1 and 497/1) [69]; the statue, the coin, and perhaps also the oil lamp, celebrated Octavian's abilities as a military leader.

The second highly indicative item from Emona's private sphere is an iron ring with a nicolo intaglio which came to light during the most recent major excavations, carried out during the rebuilding of Slovenska Street (whose route largely coincides with that of Emona's *cardo maximus*). The gem features a depiction of a warship (*navis longa*) with its prow (*rostrum*) on the left and two standards (*signa*) above (fig. 6b). The depiction evidently evokes a naval military victory. The gem has been preliminarily dated to the 1st-2nd century [70], with the image itself being very similar to the one on the reverse of the silver *denarius* of Marcus Antonius issued in 32-31 BC. It was with such coins that Marcus Antonius made a special payment to his legions the day before the decisive Battle of Actium. The gem is believed to commemorate Augustus' victory in that battle, on 2 September 31 BC, a victory that led to the creation of the Principate and can be considered the origin myth of Augustus' empire [71].

The oil lamp and the gem can both be seen as reflecting the political use of motifs relating to victory, courage, peace, prosperity and the promotion of the Augustan family from the start of the Principate. The maker of the gem or the buyer of the oil lamp might not have been aware that they were promoting the ruler or the *saeculum aureum*; with the start of Augustus' reign, such images became ubiquitous and extremely popular. The items described above, which can be considered a veritable *multum in parvo*, are just two of many similar objects that have been discovered inside the city machine of Emona.

Fig. 6. Images of the victorious emperor on two everyday objects: a. an oil lamp from Stari trg (Ljubljana, MGML, Inv. No. 510:LJU;0060262); b gem from Slovenska Street (Ljubljana, MGML, Inv. no. 510:LJU;0061815) (Matjaž Bizjak, Matevž Paternoster / MGML).

[65] Cf. ZANKER 1990.
[66] ZANKER 1990, p. 79ff.
[67] Cf. ZANKER 1990, p. 265ff.
[68] ŽUPANEK, RAVNIK, KLASINC 2011.
[69] ŽUPANEK, MIŠKEC, RAVNIK forthcoming. Another possible source is a later series of coins (around 31 BC) featuring the same motif.
[70] I am grateful to Aleksandra Nestorović for this information.
[71] A similar gem is held by the British Museum (registration number 1865,0712.195), http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=398710&partId=1&searchText=intaglio&page=5, 6.7.2016.

CITY AND LANDSCAPE: THE EMPIRE'S MECHANISMS IN ACTION IN EMONA'S AGER

With the arrival of the Romans, the entire landscape underwent fundamental changes. The founding of the colony at Emona exerted an immediate influence on the wider surrounding area [72]. Emona became a centre of *Romanness* in an area where there had previously been no urban settlement as defined by the Romans. Undoubtedly, Emona's identity was defined as thoroughly Roman from the very beginning. The first contingent of colonists came mainly from Italy, especially from the Po Plain, though there were also two families from Gallia Narbonensis [73], which at that time was a thoroughly Romanised province over 100 years old. Emona soon became a centre for the dissemination of Roman power, as the magnificent architecture – not usual for this area – made abundantly clear, even before the visitor had entered the city. At the same time, the building of a city in this territory resulted in the creation of a fundamental distinction between city and non-city, between city and village or other forms of settlement, thereby introducing the concept of the "rural" for the first time.

Following the Roman conquest, the territory previously inhabited by the indigenous population was annexed to the Empire. At the same time, Emona was granted an *ager*. In the north, its border ran from Atrans (present-day Trojane) along the Karavanke Mountains, in the east it reached as far as Višnja Gora and in the south most probably ran along the Kolpa River [74]. In the west, Emona's territory bordered on the territory of Aquileia near the small village of Bevke in the Ljubljana Moors [75]. No centuriation in the Emona area has been conclusively identified [76]. Judging by similar cities, however, one part of Emona's territory must have been measured and divided into a regular chequerboard of square plots of land, with rectangularly intersecting paths running between them. In addition to the practical function of enabling land to be distributed to colonists, this exercise also had a clearly political purpose: inspecting, measuring and dividing a landscape was an excellent way of demonstrating the conqueror's power and control [77].

Roman quarries left an indelible mark on Emona's territory, inflicting clearly visible wounds on it. Among the intensively exploited quarries in Emona's immediate surroundings were the sites on the slope of Castle Hill in Ljubljana, in Podutik (5 km away) and in Podpeč (15 km away) [78].

A major aspect of the reorganisation of the landscape was the construction of new roads, which put Emona on the map of key Roman transport routes. The entire Empire was an extensive tissue of cell-like city territories, interconnected by a network of roads that allowed the circulation of goods, people, information and power, so roads were of crucial importance. As with the division of land, the building of a road network in the territory of Emona served a politico-ideological purpose as well as a practical one. New roads directed and dictated the movement of people within a landscape; their alignment created new, 'correct' routes, a new hierarchy of place and, above all, an altered, precisely defined interpretation of the space [79]. Some sections of road, such as the one leading through Babna gorica towards Ig [80] or the continuation of Emona's *cardo* towards the Sava River, were absolutely straight. Straight roads were not only efficient and economical, but were also evidence of the Empire's power to cut across a landscape, eliminate its natural irregularities, and subdue

Fig. 7. LIDAR image showing the Augustan "express" road via Hrušica, close to today's Col (Dimitrij Mlekuž).

[72]   Cf. ŽUPANEK 2002.
[73]   ŠAŠEL 1968, p. 565.
[74]   ŠAŠEL 1968, p. 567.
[75]   ŠAŠEL KOS 2002.
[76]   Cf. PLESNIČAR GEC 1999, pp. 21-23; GASPARI 2010, pp. 137-140.
[77]   PURCELL 2002, p. 15.
[78]   DJURIĆ, RIŽNAR forthcoming.
[79]   Cf. WITCHER 1998.
[80]   Cf. ŽUPANEK 2014, fig. 5.

and transform it [81]. Milestones clearly identified new roads as Roman, as possessing at least some of the power emanating from Rome itself and conferring some security guaranteed by the Empire [82]. The new Aquileia-Emona road via Hrušica [83] brought a significant change to the way Emona was linked with the Empire (fig. 7). The old route, which added a day to the journey time, went via Razdrto. The new road enabled information to flow more swiftly, resulting in improved control of the area. It also crossed the *Ad pirum summas alpes* mountain pass, a major triumph for Roman engineering.

To measure the land and distribute it among the colonists, provide it with new roads and bridges and establish a colony at its centre, was therefore to transform the "*uligines paludum vel inculta montium*" [84] inhabited by the indigenous people (who were considered hostile "*horridae gentes*") [85] into a place of victory where the enemy had been subjugated, and a domesticated space arranged in accordance with Roman ideas, rectangular and symmetrical. The landscape of Emona had a characteristically Roman appearance as well as a Roman identity [86].

What was life like in the area around Emona? The city also brought changes to its surrounding rural areas. The cities were created by Roman society, but the reverse was also true: Roman society was itself the product of the cities. This explains why the extent to which the countryside was urbanised or Romanised depended on the strength of its ties to the city. The people living in the area around Emona travelled to the city for market days, religious festivities or to enlist in the military. Moreover, it was only in the city that they could seek legal redress or enjoy a spectacle. They returned home, carrying in their minds a vivid image of what a true Roman city looked like and the lifestyle it both offered and imposed. It can thus be said that the Roman urban machine was also responsible for the Romanisation of the countryside and that the *habitus* of Romanness involved the entire landscape.

THE CITY AFTER THE CITY: LJUBLJANA AND THE USE OF ROMAN ANTIQUITY

Like many other cities, Ljubljana, as the capital of Slovenia, likes to invoke its proud and venerable past. For over 300 years Ljubljanans have thought of the ancient Emona as an important part of their heritage and one of the cornerstones on which their own identity is based.

The first time Emona was used for the validation of Ljubljana was during the city's Baroque period. This was a time of prosperity for Ljubljana: the worst of the Turkish threat was past, and it was expanding beyond its city walls and beginning to search for its ancient roots. At the same time, research into Emona was being presented as being closely connected with the legend of the Argonauts, the mythical builders of Emona [87]. Almost certainly for the first time since Antiquity, Emona was again being used for political purposes. For researchers, ecclesiastical dignitaries and city officials alike, ancient Emona, with its links to prestigious Greco-Roman antiquity, was testimony to the ancient rights of Ljubljanans to occupy the area. Its ancient roots were thought to reach much deeper than those of the other cities in the hereditary Habsburg lands: according to contemporary calculations, Emona was founded as early as 1222 BC (before even Rome itself!) [88]. The Emona of the Argonauts gave Ljubljana, a city on the margins of contemporary events, a venerable and glorious history.

Interest in Emona revived in the first half of the 20th century, when major excavations were undertaken and Emona's biggest monument, part of the southern walls in the Mirje neighbourhood, was reconstructed [89]. The reconstruction of the city walls was part of an extensive architectural programme intended to recreate Ljubljana as the symbolic capital of the Slovenes [90]. Through the transformation of the city walls into an even bigger, more beautiful and, to some extent, more conspicuously ancient monument, the Emonan past again became embedded in the collective memory of Ljubljana and Slovenia. Emona was portrayed as an honourable predecessor of Ljubljana which must be protected and celebrated.

Emona came into the limelight once again in the second half of the 20th century, during the post-war reconstruction of Ljubljana. This time it was portrayed as a predecessor to Ljubljana that, although ancient, was also surprisingly modern in both its urban planning and its architecture. This notion arose from a number of discoveries: the Roman *cloacae*,

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[81] PURCELL 1990; ZANKER 2000, p. 29.
[82] ZANKER 2000, p. 29.
[83] ŠAŠEL 1975, p. 96.
[84] Tac. *Ann*. I, 17, 30.
[85] Tac. *Ann*. I, 17, 3.
[86] Cf. ŽUPANEK 2001; ŽUPANEK 2002.
[87] ŽUPANEK 2011, pp. 47-59.
[88] ŽUPANEK 2011, pp. 67-69.
[89] ŽUPANEK 2012.
[90] STABENOW 2007, pp. 114-116.

which could still be utilised by much more recent sewerage systems; the remains of water supply pipes; and the remains of the luxurious hypocaust heating system, not unlike the central heating which only reached many parts of Ljubljana in the second half of the 20th century. Some contemporary experts suggested that the considerable interest and enthusiasm for Emona in evidence in the second half of the 20th century were once more closely linked to national self-confidence. As a tool used for political ends yet again, Emona was instrumental in strengthening Ljubljana's (and Slovenia's) position within the then Yugoslavia and in differentiating Ljubljanans (and Slovenians) from other Yugoslavs [91].

In short, its Emonan past has been of considerable significance for Ljubljana and its citizens throughout the long history of today's Slovenian capital. Emona, with its monuments, events, experiences and associated objects, gave Ljubljana an aura of continuity and culture. As a source of self-confidence, prestige and recognition, it was an affective and emotional experience for Ljubljanans and formed part of their collective memory. It has served Ljubljana as origin myth and *sui generis* since at least the 17th century. It was an important source of the social and ideological power that was instrumental in consolidating the identity of Ljubljana, the Ljubljanans and sometimes even the Slovenians as a special group, clearly distinguishable from and superior to others [92].

And today? Today Emona is again celebrated as an important part of our past. Interest in Emona is not just the result of the recent 2000-year anniversary celebrations. Antiquity is still considered one of the foundation stones of the Western world, a vehicle of civilisation, culture and prestige, the opposite of barbarianism (whatever its present definition might be). The pride that Ljubljanans and Slovenians feel in their Emonan past still draws on the idea of antiquity as the cradle of civilisation – whether that civilisation is brought to us by the Argonauts, the Greeks or the Romans. Within the framework of this discourse, Emona continues to play the role of Ljubljana's, Slovenia's, contribution to antiquity, making it part of the progress, culture and reputation that the concept of antiquity still evokes today.

ABSTRACT

In 2014-15, Ljubljana marked the 2000-year anniversary of the Roman colony of Emona, the first urban settlement in this area. The building of Emona was part of the Augustan politico-ideological programme, which aimed to colonise territory and rebuild the Empire, and it brought many significant changes to what is now Ljubljana. This article focuses on Emona as a place where early imperial ideology was created and recreated. This was achieved by means of the city's form and architecture, but also through the rhythm and style of daily life, which the Roman city both facilitated and imposed. By way of conclusion it is suggested that Emona, being Ljubljana's ancient predecessor, has been an important point of reference for Ljubljanans and Slovenians since the 17th century, and continues to be so today.

Keywords: city of Emona; Augustan colony; Roman urbanism; Roman imperial ideology; urban (re)creation of Roman identity; Emona as heritage.

POVZETEK
2000-letnica mesta Emona: urbanizem, ideologija in vsakdanje življenje

V letih 2014-2015 je Ljubljana praznovala 2000-letnico prve urbane poselitve na tem območju, rimske kolonije Emone. Izgradnja Emone, del avgustejskega politično-ideološkega programa kolonizacije prostora in prenove imperija, je v današnji ljubljanski prostor prinesla številne ključne spremembe. V prispevku se osredotočamo na Emono kot prostor produkcije in reprodukcije zgodnjeimperialne ideologije, tako skozi obliko in arhitekturo mesta kot skozi način in ritem vsakdanjega življenja, ki ga je rimsko mesto omogočalo in hkrati zahtevalo. V zaključku poudarjamo, da je bila Emona kot antična predhodnica Ljubljane vsaj od 17. stoletja naprej pomembna referenčna točka za Ljubljančane, pa tudi Slovence, in taka ostaja tudi danes.

Ključne besede: mesto Emona; avgustejska kolonija; rimski urbanizem; rimska imperialna ideologija; urbana (re)produkcija rimske identitete; dediščina Emone.

[91] Županek 2011, p. 118; 137.
[92] Županek 2011, p. 144.

Riassunto
Il 2 millenario della città di Emona: urbanesimo, ideologia e vita quotidiana

Nel 2014-15 Lubiana ha festeggiato l'anniversario del bimillenario della fondazione della colonia romana di *Emona*, primo insediamento urbano di quest'area. L'impianto della colonia di *Emona* faceva parte del programma politico-ideologico augusteo, che mirava alla colonizzazione del territorio e alla risistemazione dell'Impero, apportando numerosi significativi cambiamenti a quella che è l'odierna Ljubljana. Questo articolo focalizza la sua attenzione su *Emona* quale contesto in cui venne creata e rimodellata la prima ideologia imperiale. Questo fu possibile grazie alle forme e all'architettura della città, ma anche attraverso il ritmo e lo stile di vita di ogni giorno, che la città romana condusse e impose nell'area. In conclusione, si suggerisce che *Emona*, sia stata un importante punto di riferimento per i suoi cittadini e gli sloveni in generale dal XVII secolo fino ai giorni nostri.

Parole chiave: *Emona*; colonia augustea; urbanesimo romano; ideologia imperiale romana; (ri)creazione urbana dell'identità romana; *Emona* come patrimonio

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