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Rimska Južna Panonija v času svetega Martina Tourskega

Hrvoje Gračanin, Univerza v Zagrebu

☉ *tem, ali so res vse poti vodile v Rim
in po kateri je jezdil sveti Martin.*

Povzetek: V tem članku bom orisal glavne zgodovinske procese na območju rimske Južne Panonije, to je provinc Pannonia Savia in Pannonia Secunda, v času svetega Martina iz Toursa (druga polovica 4. stol.). Pričujoča raziskava se ukvarja s politično, vojaško in ekonomsko situacijo v južnopanonski regiji in skuša osvetliti določena dogajanja v zgodnjem življenju in dejavnosti svetega Martina.

Administrativna ureditev in glavne prometne povezave v Južni Panoniji v pozni rimski dobi

Obširne administracijske spremembe, ki jih je uvedel cesar Dioklecijan (284-305 n. š.) ter za njim Konstantin I (306-337 n. š.), so dale dokončno podobo rimskih provinc Panonije v poznem rimskem obdobju ter dokončno zarisale meje provinc.¹ Ozemlje Južne Panonije je bilo razdeljeno med dve provinci; Panonijo Savio s centrom v Sisku in Panonijo Secundo s centrom v Sirmiumu (Sremska Mitrovica), medtem ko je bila severna Panonija razdeljena v Pannonio Primo s centrom v Savarii (Szombathely) ter Pannonio Valerio s centrom v Sopianae (Pécs).² Imena novih provinc se niso pričela uporabljati takoj, saj sta v Laterculus Veronensis, ki je bil napisan med leti 314-324³ omenjeni provinci Savensis in Valeria, vendar tudi Pannonia Inferior namesto Pannonia Secunda in Pannonia Superior namesto Pannonia Prima.⁴ Zdi se, da sta ti dve provinci končno dobili novi imeni pred 4. stol.n. š.⁵ Na višji administrativni ravni so bile vse štiri province združene v panonsko diocezo (dioecesis Pannoniarum), kasneje znano tudi kot Zahodni Ilirik (Illyricum occidentale), ki je bil del prefektуре Ilirika, Italije in Afrike (praefectura praetorio Illyrici Italiae et Africae).

V zvezi s povezavami z južno Panonijo sta obstajali dve cestni osi: severna, ki je tekla vzporedno z Dravo in nato Donavo, ter druga, južna prometna pot, ki je potekala vzporedno s Savo do njenega izliva v Donavo. Zahodna začetna točka za vse ceste, ki so vodile skozi južno Panonijo, je bil Oglej (Acquileia), medtem ko je bil Sirmium izhodišče za panonske ceste, ki so vodile proti vzhodnim provincam. Pomembna križišča poti so bila tudi Mursa (Osijek), Cibalae (Vinkovci) in Siscia.⁶ Najhitrejša prometna povezava med Italijo in provincami v spodnjem Podonavju je tekla vzdolž reke Save. Cesta se je začela v Ogleju in se nato razcepila pri Emoni ter nadaljevala proti vzhodu vzdolž desnega brega reke Save, najprej nekoliko stran od reke.⁷ Spustila se je proti jugu do Cruciuma (Gorenja Gomila severovzhodno od Novega mesta in južno od Škocjana),⁸ Savi se je zopet približala v Neviodonumu (Drnovo, jugozahodno od Krškega),⁹ prvem večjem naselju po Emoni, v pozni antiki lociranemu na meji med Italijo, Noricumom Medoterraneumom in Pannonio Savio. Iz Neviodonuma je cesta naredila ovinek proti jugu, kot vidimo iz ohranjenih itinerarjev, ter prispela na mejo med Kordunom in Banovino. Prva znana postojanka na tej cesti je bila Romula



(Dubovac pri Karlovcu),¹⁰ sledila je Quadrata (po vsej verjetnosti Topusko),¹¹ od koder je ena cesta najbrž vodila v Senio (Senj),¹² medtem ko se je druga končala v Siscii in šla preko postojanke Ad Fines (najverjetneje Mali Gradac).¹³ Iz Siscie sta proti vzhodu vodili dve cesti. Ena je nadaljevala pot vzdolž desnega brega reke Save in se ustavila pri postojankah Ad Praetorium (Gornji Bačin na levem bregu Une, zahodno od Hrvatske Dubice),¹⁴ Servitium (Bosanska Gradiška)¹⁵ in Urbas (Srbac vzhodno od izliva Vrbasa v Savo. Nato je cesta prečkala reko verjetno blizu Pričaca¹⁶ in se nadaljevala vzdolž južnega pobočja Dilja do Marsonie (Slavonski Brod).¹⁷ Od tam je potekala preko postojank Ad Basantem (najbrž Dragorilo blizu reke Bosit v bližini Županje)¹⁸ in Saldae (verjetno Posavski Podgajci),¹⁹ potem je zopet prečkala Savo, nekje med krajema Gradac in Trnjac vzhodno od Brčkega in Račinovcev.²⁰ Tako je prispela do postojanke Drinum Flumen (mogoče Prekaje in Donji Brodac).²¹ Cesta je morala še dvakrat prečkati reko. Najprej Drino, najbrž blizu vasi Balatum blizu same reke,²² s čimer je tako vstopila v provinco Moesia Prima, in nato zopet čez Savo pri Mačvanski (Mali) Mitrovici²³ preden je naposled prispela na svoj cilj, Sirmium, glavno mesto province Panonnie Secunde.

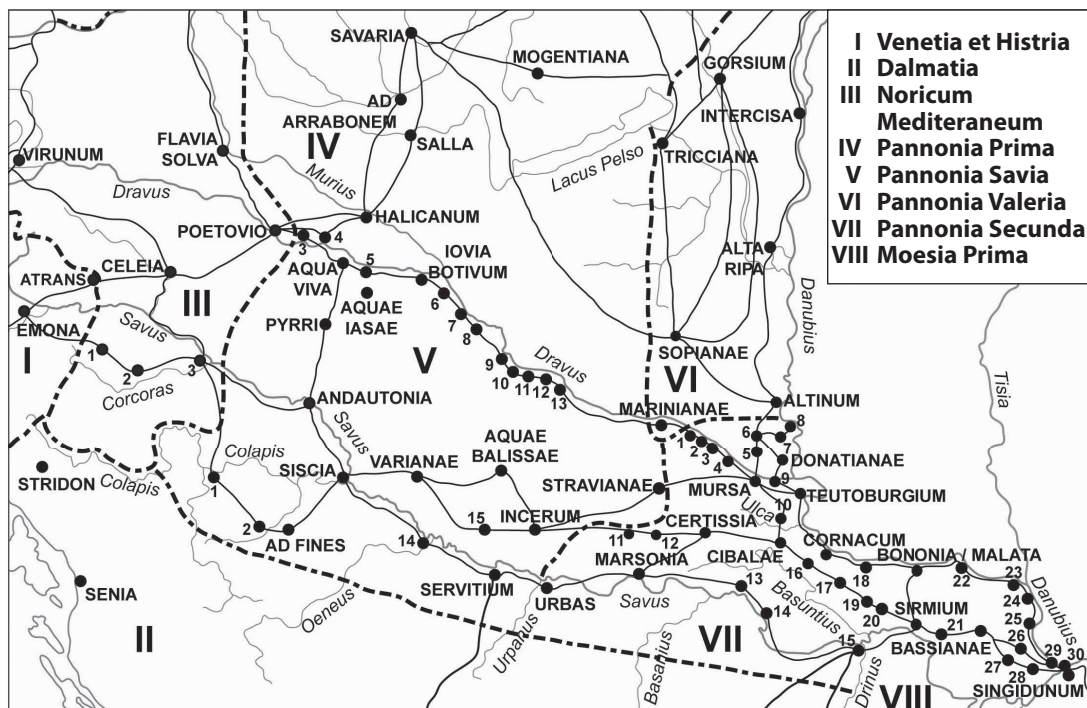
Druga cesta, ki je vodila proti vzhodu iz Siscie, je tekla skozi kraje severno od Save. Prva postojanka so bile Variannae (najbrž današnja Kutina),²⁴ kjer se je cesta razcepila na dve strani. Severna cesta je vodila skozi Lonjsko polje v Aquae Balissae (najbrž Daruvar),²⁵ medtem ko je južna cesta verjetno potekala vzdolž južnega pobočja Psunja v Menneianae (morda Bačindol severozahodno od Nove Gradiške).²⁶ Obe cesti sta se zopet srečali v Incerumu (možno da v bližini Tekića, severno od Slavonske Požege).²⁷ Ena cesta je nato potekala preko Požeške Kotline in preko Krndijskega prelaza v Stravianae (morda Gradec pri Našicah)²⁸ in dalje do Murse medtem ko je v drugi smeri cesta sledila severnemu pobočju Dilja, skozi Picentinum (morda Ruševo, vzhodno od Slavonske Požege) in Leuconum (morda Levanjska Varoš)²⁹ in prispela preko Certissia (verjetno Štrbinci in Budrovci Ibizu Đakova)³⁰ v Cibalae. Iz Murse in Cibalae, pomembnih prometnih stičišč, so vodile druge ceste. Iz Certiss(i)a se je odcepila cesta proti Marsoni,³¹ ki je tako povezovala Cibalae z južno cesto, ki je potekala ob reki Savi.

V pozni antiki je bila cesta ob Dravi bolj pomembna kot tista ob Savi.³² Začela se je v Poetovi in prva postaja na njej je bila Ramista (verjetno Formin med Ptujem in Ormožem),³³ kjer je bil pomemben prehod čez Dravo blizu izliva reke Pesnice. Ko je prečkala reko, je cesta prispela do Acque Vive (Petrijanac blizu Varaždina),³⁴ od koder se je ena pot nadaljevala proti jugu. Ta stranska pot, ki je povezovala ceste vzdolž Save in Drave, je vodila skozi Pyrri (najbrž Komin, zahodno od Križevcev)³⁵ in Andautonio (Ščitarjevo)³⁶ ter se končala v Sisci.³⁷ Ko je zapustila Acqua Vivo, je cesta vzdolž Drave vodila k postojanki Populi (najbrž blizu Bartolovcev na desnem bregu Plitvice),³⁸ nato se je nadaljevala skozi Iovio Botivum (Ludbreg),³⁹ Sunista (verjetno Kunovec Breg severozahodno od Koprivnice),⁴⁰ Piretae (najbrž Draganovec južno od Koprivnice),⁴¹ Lentoli (morda Virje severozahodno od Đurđevaca),⁴² Cardonum (možno v bližini Prugovca južno od Kloštarja Podravskega),⁴³ verjetno še preko ene postaje, ki se je imenovala Iovia (mogoče gre za Turnašico južno od Pitomača),⁴⁴ Cucconae (morda blizu Špišić Bukovice severozahodno od Virovitice),⁴⁵ Serota (morda blizu toponima Taborište v bližini Virotovice),⁴⁶ Bolentiuma (morda Orešac vzhodno od Suhopolja),⁴⁷ Marinianae (verjetno Donji Miholjac),⁴⁸ Serena (možno Sveti Đurađ severovzhodno od Valpovega),⁴⁹ Berebae (najbrž Podgajci Podravski jugovzhodno od Dolnjega Miholca),⁵⁰ Iovalia (morda Valpovo severozahodno od Osijeka)⁵¹ in skozi naselbino Mursella (najbrž Petrijevci severozahodno od Osijeka),⁵² preden je končno dosegla svoj cilj, Murso.

Cesta, ki je vodila iz Ptuja v smeri proti severovzhodu, je bila odcep slavne jantarne ceste. Iz postaje Curta (Ormož) je prečkala potok Trnava in nadaljevala pot po območju današnje Hrvaške skozi zahodno Međimurje do postaje Halicanum (verjetno Sveti Martin na Muri).⁵³ Nato je prečkala reko Muro blizu Murščaka in vstopila v današnje Prekmurje. Od tam se je



zopet pridružila jantarni poti pri postojanki Arrabo Flumen/ Ad Arraboneum (Katafa, jugovzhodno od Körmenda)⁵⁴ in se nadaljevala proti severu do pomebnega stičišča Savarie. Zdi se da je obstajal še en odcep te ceste, ki je vodil od Halicanuma do kraja Salla (Zalalövó) in nato do Savarie.⁵⁵ Ko je dosegla Murso, pomembno stičišče trgovskih poti, se je cesta vzdolž Drave nadaljevala proti jugu do Sirmiuma. Prva postaja na tej poti je bila Ad Labores Pontis Ulcae (Bobota).⁵⁶ Po tej postaji je cesta vodila v Cibalae, od koder je odcep vodil proti Certiss(i)i, medtem ko se je glavna cesta nadaljevala proti jugovzhodu s postajami Cansilena (najbrž Orolik južno od Vukovarja),⁵⁷ Ulmus (verjetno Orašje med Tovarnikom in Šidom),⁵⁸ Spaneta (najbrž Kukujevci jugovzhodno od Šida)⁵⁹ in Budalia (verjetno Martinci jugovzhodno od Kukujevcev),⁶⁰ dokler ni dospela do Sirmiuma. Nato se je cesta obrnila proti vzhodu proti Singidunumu (Beograd), kjer se je povezala z glavno trgovsko potjo vzdolž spodnje Donave.⁶¹ Najbližja postaja Sirmiumu je bila Fossae (pri vasi Šašinovci vzhodno od Sremske Mitrovice),⁶² od tam pa je cesta vodila do Bassianae (Donji Petrovci vzhodno od Sremske Mitrovice).⁶³ Po Bassianae se je cesta razcepila,⁶⁴ severni del je tekel skozi Idiminium (morda blizu Ugrinovcev severozahodno od Zemuna),⁶⁵ Taurunum (Zemun) in



zemljevid 1 Južna Panonija v drugi polovici četrtega stoletja po Kristusu: glavne ceste in naselja

NORICUM MEDITERRANEUM

1. Praetorium Latobiorum
2. Crucium
3. Neviodunum

PANNONIA SAVIA

1. Romula
2. Quadrata
3. Ramista
4. Curta
5. Populi
6. Sunista
7. Piretae
8. Lentoli
9. Cardonum
10. Iovia
11. Cucconae
12. Serota

13. Bolentium

14. Ad Praetorium
15. Menneianae

PANNONIA SECUNDA

1. Serena
2. Berebae
3. Iovalia
4. Mursella
5. Mons Aureus
6. Antianae
7. Ad Novas
8. Ad Militare
9. Ad Labores
10. Ad Labores Pontis Ulcae
11. Picentinum
12. Leuconum
13. Ad Basantem

14. Saldae

15. Drinum Flumen
16. Cansilena
17. Ulmus
18. Cuccium
19. Spaneta
20. Budalia
21. Fossae
22. Cusum
23. Acumincum
24. Rittium
25. Burgenae
26. Idiminium
27. Novicianae
28. Altina
29. Taurunum
30. Confluentes



Confluentes (pri izlivu Save v Donavo blizu Beograda),⁶⁶ medtem ko je južni odcep potekal skozi Novicianae (morda blizu Karlovčiča)⁶⁷ in skozi Altino (morda Zemunsko Polje zahodno od Zemuna).⁶⁸ Obe cesti sta se v Singidunumu združili.

Tretja pomembna prometna povezava v Južni Panoniji je bila cesta ob limesu (meji), ki je potekala vzdolž Donave. Od Taurunuma, ki je bil njena najjužnejša točka, je cesta potekala skozi nekaj vojaških postojank; Burgenae (Novi Banivci),⁶⁹ Rittium (Surduk),⁷⁰ Acuminum (Stari Slankamen),⁷¹ Cusum (Petrovaradin),⁷² Bononia-Malata (Banoštor),⁷³ ki je bil neposredno povezan z Sirmiumom preko Fruške Gore in po dolini potoka Almaš,⁷⁴ Cuccium (Ilok),⁷⁵ Cornacum (Sotin)⁷⁶ in Teutoburgium (Dalj).⁷⁷ Ko je zapustila Teutoburgium, je cesta začasno zapustila tudi tok Donave in se obrnila proti severovzhodu, da je obšla ogromno zamočvirjeno področje današnjega Kopačkega Rita. Nadaljevala je ob Dravi in prispela do postaje Ad Labores (Nemetin)⁷⁸ v eni smeri in v Murso v drugi.⁷⁹ Cesta je nato prečkala Dravo pri današnjem Nemetinu in nadaljevala proti severozahodu ter se postopno zopet bližala Donavi. Prva postaja na tem odseku je bila Donatiana (morda Lug severovzhodno od Osijeka).⁸⁰ Cesta je nato vodila v Antiana (najbrž Popovac),⁸¹ kjer se je združila s cesto iz Murse, ki je potekala skozi postajo Mons Aureus (morda Kamenac).⁸² Odcep je vodil proti vzhodu do utrdbe Ad Novas (verjetno Zmajevac / Vörösmart),⁸³ in dalje do še ene utrdbe Ad Militare (Batina Skela-Batina / Kiskőszeg),⁸⁴ ki je bila v bližini Donave. Glavna cesta pa je od Antinae potekala do Altinuma (Kölked)⁸⁵ v Panoniji Valerii in se nadaljevala proti severu.

Južna Panonija med državljansko vojno med Magnentiusom in Konstancijem II.

Prva leta petega desetletja v 4. stol. je Južno Panonijo zaznamoval konflikt med Galskim uzurpatorjem britanskega rodu po imenu Flavij Magnus Magnentius in zakonitim cesarjem konstantinove dinastije Konstancijem II. Proti koncu februarja l. 350 je Magnentius pridobil nadzor nad Italijo in njegova naslednja poteza je bila, da si poskusi podrediti Ilirik. Vendar sta mu to preprečila še dva prevzema prestola, tokrat v podporo Konstantinovi dinastiji, in sicer eden v Južni Panoniji in drugi v Italiji. Magister peditum Vetranio je bil proglašen za cesarja v Mursi in Sirmiumu prvega marca l. 350 na pobudo Konstancijeve sestre Konstantine, medtem ko si je Julij Nepotianus, sin Eutropije, polsestre Konstantina I., ter Konstancijev nečak, nadel škrlatni plašč v Rimu 3. junija l. 350. Medtem ko je bil poskus Nepotiana preprečen s strani Magnentiusovih čet pred koncem junija, pa je bil Vetranijev položaj mnogo bolj trden in Magnentius se je celo skušal pogajati z njim. Ko je Konstancij II. dobil proste roke na vzhodni fronti v jeseni l. 350, je bil pripravljen, da opravi z uzurpatorjem Magnentiusom. Cesar je napredoval proti Evropi in vkorakal v Serdico (Sofijo) s svojo vojsko 25. decembra. Ob istem času se je Vetranio odpovedal prestolu v Naissusu (Niš), glavnemu mestu Dardanie, kar je Konstanciju omogočilo, da je povečal svojo vojsko, saj je vključil Vetranijeve čete. Magnentius je ta premor izkoristil za pridobivanje dodatnih mož in okrepitev obrambnega sistema *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, ki je varoval prehod v Italijo.⁸⁶

Kot uvod v planirano ofenzivo proti Magnentiusu je Konstancij II. povzdignil svojega nečaka Klavdija Gala, sina polbrata Konstantina I, Julija Konstancija, v rang cesarja, v Sirmiumu, 1. marca l. 351, ter mu zaupal vodenje administracije na vzhodu.⁸⁷ Posledično je pozno pomladi ali zgodaj poleti l. 351 Konstancij ukazal svojim generalom v Sirmiumu, naj prično z ofenzivo. Njihov namen je bil, da si preko Ptuja in Emone izborijo prehod v severno Italijo, vendar je bilo napredovanje Konstancijevih enot zaustavljeno na vzhodnem delu *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* v bližini Trojan (Atrans). Magnentius je Konstancijevo izvidnico uspešno zvalil v zasedo v ozkih dolinah gorskega prelaza in utrpeli so velike izgube. Konstancijeva vojska se je bila prisiljena umakniti in zdaj je bil na potezi

Magnentius. Napredoval je v Južno Panonijo preko Celja (Celeia) in Ptuja (Poetovio) ter se pri Acqui Vivi obrnil na jug proti Sisku (Siscia). Nadaljeval je skozi Pyrri in Andautonio. Zavedal se je, da mora Siscio kot pomembno strateško točko zavzeti preden se lahko spopade z glavnino Konstancijeve vojske. Po začetnem neuspehu je mesto vendarle zavzel avgusta l. 351., ga oropal in s svojimi četami prečkal Savo.⁸⁸

Medtem je Konstancij II., ki ga je Magnentiusov uspeh prestrašil, hitro zapustil svoj položaj v Sirmiumu in se utaboril pri kraju Cibalae. V poskusu, da bi Konstancija pregnal iz Južne Panonije, je Magnentius pohitel proti Sirmiumu po glavni cesti vzdolž reke Save, vendar mu mesta ni uspelo zavzeti. Tako se je odločil, da se obrne proti Mursi. Po vsej verjetnosti je napredoval po cesti, ki je potekala vzdolž Donave, iz Sirmiuma do Bononie in nato preko krajev Cuccium, Cornacum in Teutoburgium proti Mursi. Magnentius je upal, da bo z obleganjem Murse prisilil Konstancija, da zapusti svoj položaj v Cibalae in ga tako izrini iz Južne Panonije. Konstanin je zares prispel branit Murso, vendar se je bitka, ki je bila ena od najbolj krvavih v zgodovini rimskega cesarstva, z mnogimi žrtvami na obeh straneh končala v prid Konstanciju.⁸⁹

Po težkem porazu se je Magnentius umaknil, verjetno ob reki Dravi, v Poetovio in nato skozi Celeijo in Emono do Akvileje. Spotoma je uničil prometne povezave in skladišča, da bi upočasil napredovanje sovražnika ter blokiral prehod v Julijskih Alpah tako, da je okrepil trdnjave na mejnem območju.⁹⁰ Konstancij, ki se je pripravljal na naslednjo fazo ofenzive, je moral popraviti nastalo škodo, še posebej na odsekih Mursa – Poetovio in Poetovio – Atrans in okrepiti svojo vojsko.⁹¹ Popravilo celotne ceste od Atransa do Taurunuma in mostov je bilo, kot priča zapis na mejniku odkritem v Sremski Mitrovici l. 1867, končano l. 354.⁹²

Ko je izdelal načrt za ofenzivo v svojem štabu v Sirmiumu, kjer je verjetno ostal do l. 352,⁹³ je Konstancij II. končno pomaknil svoje čete na cesto Sirmium-Cibalae-Mursa-Poetovio, se uspešno prebil skozi obrambni sistem Claustra Alpium Iuliarum avgusta l. 352 in zavzel pomembno trdnjavo Ad Pirum (Hrušica), kar mu je odprlo prehod v Italijo. Magnentius ni zmožgel ubraniti svojega položaja in je zbežal iz Akvileje, ki je padla v roke Konstanciju v začetku septembra. Tako je povzpeticnik praktično izgubil Italijo, vendar je premagal Konstancijevo izvidnico v Ticinumu (Pavia).⁹⁴ Za Magnentiusa se je situacija drastično slabšala in 3. novembra l. 352 je bil Konstancij že v Milanu (Mediolanum), kjer je ostal do poletja naslednjega leta.⁹⁵ Zadnja bitka se je odvijala v južni Galiji, avgusta l. 353, in po še enem porazu je Magnentius napravil samomor.

Južna Panonija je bila še posebej prizadeta v vojni, saj so se na tem področju odvijali najbolj intenzivni boji. Od mest je bila najbolj prizadeta Siscia, ki je bila direktno napadena in oropana, medtem ko sta bili mesti Sirmium in Mursa oblegani. Lahko si predstavljamo, v kakšni stiski se je znašla celotna regija, ko se je spremenila v bojišče in tako podeželsko kot mestno prebivalstvo je gotovo čutilo vse nevarnosti in tegobe vojne. V taki situaciji se je civilno prebivalstvo zateklo za debele zidove obzidanih mest ali v odročne, težko dostopne kraje. Usoda Siscie je gotovo spodbudila prebivalce drugih južno panonskih mest k bolj odločnemu odporu proti Magnentiusu, saj so vedeli, kaj lahko pričakujejo od zavojevalca. Poleg tega sta se obe vojski zanašali, da bosta od prebivalstva pobirali živež za vojsko (proviant). Konstancij je sicer postopal kot zakoniti vladar, medtem ko se je Magnentiusovo vedenje moralo zdeti kot nezakonita prisila. Povzpeticnik je tudi povzročil več škode med svojim umikom iz Južne Panonije. Ko je Konstancij pridobil popolno oblast v obeh južno-panonskih provincah, je takoj poskrbel za omilitev posledic vojne. Prav tako ni pozabil postaviti trajnega spomenika svoji zmagi pri Mursi, tako da je postavil slavolok. Zgodovinar tistega časa je bil do tega kritičen, saj so breme zmage na plečih nosile province.⁹⁶



Napad na Južno Panonijo

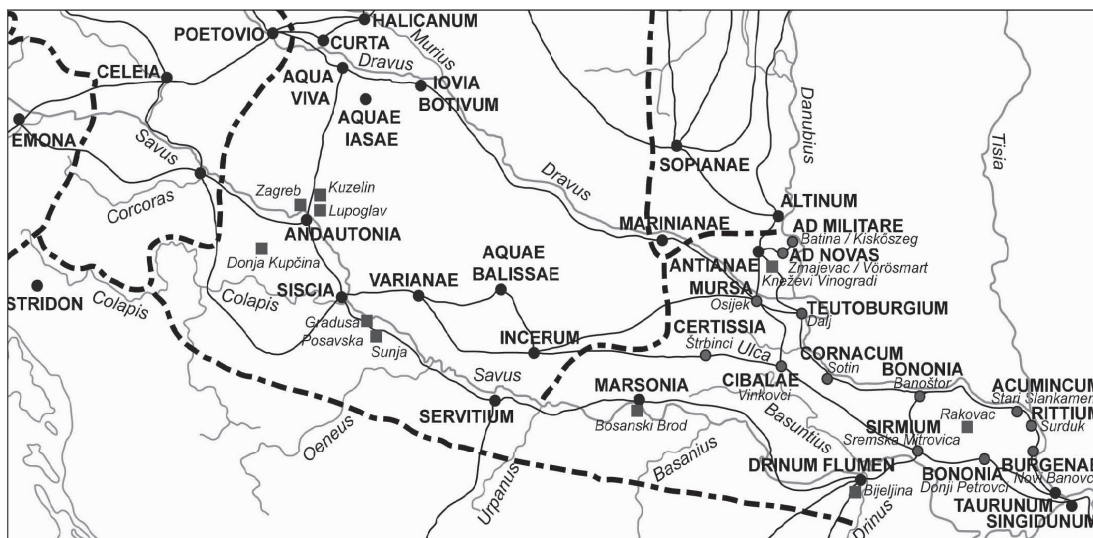
Konstancijeva zmaga nad Magnentiusom je v regijo prinesla politično stabilnost, vendar je bil mir hitro porušen zaradi grožnje od zunaj; preko meje je prišla nova nevarnost. Spomladi l. 357 so se Sarmati prebili preko meje ob Donavi ter napadli Panonno Secundo in Moesio Primo, Kvadi pa so vpadli v Panonno Valerio. Konstancij, ki je bil takrat v Rimu,⁹⁷ je odpotoval v Panonijo, kamor je prispel poleti l. 357, kot ponavadi ustanovil svoj štab v Sirmiumu in pričel pogajanja s Kvadi in Sarmati. Nestabilen položaj na limesu in grožnja Kvadov in Sarmatov je cesarja prisilila, da se je zadržal v Sirmiumu dlje časa, od koder je vodil dve pomladni ofenzivi v letih 358-359. Ko je pozno spomladi l. 359 odpotoval na vzhodno fronto, je bila meja na Donavi zavarovana in mir je trajal do l. 365.⁹⁸

L. 365 so Sarmati in Kvadi zopet napadli in oplenili Panonijo, vendar so bili ti vdori hitro zatrti.⁹⁹ Več škode so povzročili vpadi poleti l. 374. Sarmati in Kvadi so zopet prečkali Donavo in opustošili vzhodne in severne panonske regije. Napadali so med žetvijo in ubili ali zaslužnili lokalno prebivalstvo, ropali, odpeljali živino in požigali kmetije.¹⁰⁰ V začetku je bilo ogroženo celo glavno mesto Ilirika Sirmium in prebivalci so se že pripravljali, da bi zbežali, kar bi mesto prepustilo na milost in nemilost barbarom. Tej katastrofi so se izognili in napadalci so svoj bes stresli nad Panonno Valerio.¹⁰¹

Ta vpad je naznanil dobo novih nevarnosti za Panonijo. Najhujša kriza je nastopila po porazu rimskih čet pri Hadrionopolisu poleti l. 378. Na novo imenovani cesar Teodozij I, ki je bil postavljen za vzhodnega cesarja v Sirmiumu 19. januarja l. 379 prav z namenom, da ustavi germansko vstajo, je dosegel le delen uspeh v antični Trakiji in Vzhodnem Iliriku, in pozno l. 378 in v začetku l. 379 so se barbari razširili v vse province na Balkanskem polotoku, kjer so ropali in plenili vse do Julijskih Alp, torej tudi v panonskih regijah. Za njihove naslednje roparske pohode, ki so dosegli prag Italije, so napadalci uporabili glavne rimske ceste v regiji Sava – Drava – Donava. Iz tega razloga je bilo to celotno območje pod velikim pritiskom.¹⁰² Začetne vpade v Panonijo je začasno zaustavil general Maiorianus, ki je bil v tem času poveljnik obeh Ilirikov. Maiorianus je vodil svoje operacije iz Aquincuma v Valeri, vendar je njegova vlada nad celotnim Ilirikom trajala le kratek čas.¹⁰³

Potem, ko je Teodozij ob koncu l. 379 zbolel, je situacija zopet postala kritična. Goti so začeli ponovno napadati Ilirik v začetku l. 380, najbrž spomladi, pridružila pa sta se jim tudi Alatheus in Safrax, ki sta napadla Panonijo z svojimi hordami Ostrogotov, Alanov in Hunov. Takrat je vojaški poveljnik zahodnega Ilirika Vitalianus utrpel velik poraz, ko je poskušal izgnati horde iz panonskih provinc.¹⁰⁴ Kmalu se je pokazalo, za kako veliko katastrofo gre, saj Althaeusa in Safraxa ni nič več ustavilo. Vse panonske regije in obmejna območja so bili zdaj odprti za ropanje in pustošenje. Viri izrecno omenjajo ogromno škodo, ki sta jo utrpeli južnopanonski mesti Mursa in Stridon (verjetno v bližini Reke) in kot kaže je bil tudi Ptuj (Poetovio) zavzet in izropan.¹⁰⁵ V hrvaški historiografiji vlada splošno prepričanje, da so bile Cibalae, kjer je bila najdena zbirka kovancev (bronasti kovanci cesarjev Valentinijana I., Valensa, Gracijana in Valetninijana II. iz l. 376),¹⁰⁶ prav tako izropane. Enako lahko sklepamo za mnoga druga naselja, skozi katera so šli napadalci, v glavnem tista na rimski cesti ob Dravi, vendar tudi na cesti vzdolž Save, kot je razvidno iz najdišč kovancev v Bijeljini, verjetno blizu Bosanskega Broda, v Lupoglavu blizu Dugega Sela vzhodno od Zagreba, v Sisku, Gradusi Posavski in Sunji severno od Siska, v Zagrebu in v Donji Kupčini severovzhodno od Karlovca.¹⁰⁷ Možno je, da je bilo zadnje najdišče kovancev posledica gotskega napada na Stridon in da so napadalci prišli po lokalni cesti, ki je vodila od okolice današnjega Karlovca do Senie (Senj). Grožnja je bila tako resna, da je cesar Gracijan osebno prišel v Panonijo, potem ko je poslal vojsko pod poveljstvom generalov po imenu Bauto in Arbogastes v podporo Teodoziju, ki je bil premagan v Makedoniji. Tako združene vzhodne in zahodne sile pa so uspele zaustaviti Gote v vzhodnem Iliriku.¹⁰⁸ Gracijanovo bivanje v Panoniji avgusta in septembra l. 380 je potrjeno v virih.¹⁰⁹





zemljevid 2 Arheološka najdišča

Zdi se, da situacija v Panoniji ni bila razrešena na bojnem polju, saj viri, kot jih tradicionalno razumemo v moderni historiografiji, povejo, da je Gracijan sklenil premirje z napadalci. Tako so Ostrogoti, Alani in Huni Alatheusa in Safraxa dobili dovoljenje, da se naselijo na rimskem ozemlju, hkrati pa so se obvezali, da bodo izpolnjevali dolžnosti zaveznikov, to pomeni, da so varovali mejo rimskega imperija v zameno za letno plačo in redno dobavo hrane ter da so dali svoje čete na razpolago rimskemu imperiju za določen čas.¹¹⁰ Novi zavezniki so se v glavnem naselili v severnopanonskih provincah Valeri in Panoniji Primi, morda pa tudi na mejnem območju ob Donavi v Panoniji Secundi, še posebej v severnem delu te province.¹¹¹ To je navidezno potrjeno z nekaj arheološkimi najdbami, ki jih lahko pripišemo zaveznikom, najdenimi v Batini, Kneževih Vinogradih in Zmajevcu v hrvaški Baranji.¹¹² Logično je sklepati, da cesarska oblast ne bi dovolila zaveznikom, ki so bili do pred kratkim zapriseženi sovražniki imperija, da se naselijo v območja, ključna za prometno povezavo med zahodnimi in vzhodnimi rimskimi provincami, tj. Panonija Savia in Panonija Secunda.¹¹³ Napadi Alatheusovih in Safraksovih vzhodnih Gotov, Alanov in Hunov so tudi povzročili masovno izseljevanje lokalnega prebivalstva, kot poročajo Ambrozij iz Milana, panegirik Pacatus in Hieronim.¹¹⁴ Vendar je iz arheoloških najdb razvidno, da so mnoga mesta, vile in utrdbe ostale v uporabi v naslednjih desetletjih; to je še posebej razvidno iz najdbišč kovancev, odkritih v Banoštoru, Dalju, Donjih Petrovcih, Novih Banovcih, Osijeku, v utrdbi brez imena na griču blizu Rakovaca, v Sotinu, Sremski Mitrovici, Starem Slankamenu, Surduku, Štrbincih in Vinkovcih.¹¹⁵

Zdi se, da je takoj po podpisu sporazuma, oz. najkasneje l. 381, cesarska oblast poslala krščanske misijonarje med barbarske prišleke, da bi jih spreobrili pod direktnim nadzorom Amantiusa, škofa Iovie, kar je danes Alsóhétenyuspuszta, in pod okriljem oglejskega patriarhata.¹¹⁶ Nikakršnega dvoma ni, da je rimska oblast skušala asimilirati zaveznike v rimsko družbo s pomočjo pokristjanjevanja, vendar to dolgoročno ni uspelo. Identifikacija Amantiusove Iovie kot današnji Alsóhétenyuspuszta sama po sebi ne izključuje možnosti, da je bila Iovia Botivum v Panonni Savii, označena kot civitas v virih, tudi škofija.¹¹⁷

Prehodno obdobje obnavljanja ekonomije in nove državljanske vojne

Po naselitvi panonskih zaveznikov je njihova konjenica vestno odgovorila na pozive cesarske oblasti in njenih predstavnikov kar nekajkrat, a je bila prisotnost zaveznikov vedno potencialna grožnja miru v panonskih provincah. Vendar so Panoniji kljub temu zagotovili



kratek oddih od zunanjih nevarnosti. To lahko razberemo iz nekaterih virov. Tako, npr. škof Ambrozij iz Milana v svojem pismu iz l. 383 piše o bogati žetvi v Panoniji in bivši praeses de Lugdunensis Tertia, Valerij Dalmatinus se je lahko po izteku svojega mandata v poznih osemdesetih letih 4. stol. vrnil na svoja posestva v južni Valeri.¹¹⁸ Medtem ko so ob koncu l. 384 panonski zavezniki verjetno aktivno pomagali odbiti vpad Sarmatov, ki so prečkali Donavo in vdrli v Panonijo, se je krhko ravnovesje odnosov med cesarsko oblastjo in panonskimi zavezniki kmalu porušilo. Ugotovimo namreč, da so bili prebivalci Panonije ogroženi s strani neimenovanih barbarov l. 387, kar je ustvarilo pogoje za prodor povzpetnika Magnusa Maximusa v Italijo. To bi lahko pomenilo, da zavezniki niso izpolnili svoje dolžnosti kot varuhi rimskih meja ali celo, da so sami grozili prebivalstvu, kar v vsakem primeru kaže na naraščajočo napetost med njimi in cesarskim dvorom v Milanu.¹¹⁹

Panonski zavezniki niso podprli Magnusa Maximusa kot novega vladarja Italije. Do njega so bili odprto sovražni in so se raje pridružili Teodoziju, ko je v začetku poletja l. 388 korakal skozi regijo Sava-Drava-Donava v boj proti povzpetniku. V bitki pri Sisci, ki se je najbrž odvijala julija l. 388 so hunski in alanski konjeniki odigrali odločilno vlogo pri porazu povzpetnika, medtem ko je bil njihov prispevek k Teodozijevi zmagi v sledeči bitki pri Ptuju manjši.¹²⁰ Med tem napadom so se odvijali težki boji za tabor na današnjem hribu Kuzelinu, severno od vasi Donja Glavnica vzhodno od Zagreba, kjer se zdi, da je Magnus Maximus poskušal upočasniti napredovanje Teodozija.¹²¹ Aquae lasae - Varaždinske Toplice so bile porušene takrat, kar priča o tem, da je Teodozij hotel zavarovati svoje zaledje, preden je stopil v bitko z Magnusom Maximusom pri Ptuju (Poetovio).¹²² Kaže, da je Teodozij l. poslal vse zaveznike nazaj v njihova naselja kmalu po zmagi nad Magnusom Maximusom, med njimi pa so bili seveda tudi panonski zavezniki, saj ni hotel vkorakati v Italijo z vojsko barbarov ampak le z rimskimi četami.¹²³ Zapisek v enem samem viru je spodbudil raziskovalce k domnevi, da se je l. 392 zgodil še en vpad barbarov v Panonijo ali celo, da so se panonski zavezniki uprli in napadli Italijo, vendar je to malo verjetno, saj ni nobenega dokaza, ki bi povezoval te napadalce s samo Panonijo ali panonskimi zavezniki.¹²⁴ Čeprav panonski zavezniki niso posebej omenjeni v obstoječih virih, so verjetno sodelovali v Teodozijevi kampanji proti novemu zahodnorimskemu povzpetniku Evgeniju, ki je utrpel odločilen poraz v bitki v začetku septembra l. 394 pri reki Vipava (Frigidus), saj se je cesar Teodozij zopet mudil v regiji Sava - Drava - Donava.¹²⁵

Južna Panonija na prelomu stoletja

Kmalu po Teodozijevi smrti 17. januarja l. 395 so se zavezniki uprli, saj so bili nezadovoljni z ravnanjem rimskih oblasti med in po vojni proti Evgeniju. V vstajo so bili vpleteni predvsem zahodni Goti, ki so prebivali v dijocezi Trakija, bolj natančno v Dacia Ripensis in Moesia Secunda, vendar je povsem logično sklepati, da so se uprli tudi zavezniki v Panoniji, saj ni nihče poskušal zaustaviti Markomanov, Kvadov, Vandalov in Sarmatov, ki so verjetno l. 395 prečkali srednjo Donavo in oplenili Panonijo.¹²⁶ To bi pomenilo, da so vzhodnogotski, alatski in hunski zavezniki zanemarili svojo primarno dolžnost. Južni Panoniji je bilo tokrat sicer prizaneseno. Da je bila situacija na splošno bolj stabilna, je razvidno iz dejstva, da je Hieronim uspel najti kupca za posestvo svojega očeta v Stridonu l. 397.¹²⁷

Stilicho je uspel v prizadevanju, da bi pomiril srednje Podonavje l. 399 po obdobju, ki ga Klavdijan in Hieronim imenujeta obsidio,¹²⁸ in ga tako spet uvrstil med ozemlja, na katerih je bilo možno pobirati davke, o čemer priča odstavek Klavdijanove druge hvalnice ob času, ko je bil Stilicho konzul.¹²⁹ Zdi se primerno, da nalogo senatorja Flavija Lupusa, ki ga je Stilicho poslal v Panonijo, postavimo v ta čas. Njegova naloga je bila, da preceni davčno obremenitev za lokalne posestnike in da zagotovi, da se del denarja porabi za obnovo zaščitnih obzidij mest v provinci.¹³⁰ Vendar ta mir ni dolgo trajal. Zadnje ostanke blagostanja in sposobnost Panonije, da si opomore, so izbrisala desetletja, ki so sledila.



Dodatek

Nekaj točk o prvih letih življenja in dejavnosti svetega Martina Tourskega

Dejstvo je, da se je sv. Martin rodil v Savarii v Panoniji Primi in da je preživel svojo zgodnjo mladost v Italiji ter skoraj vsa svoja aktivna l. v Galiji, ki je postala njegova druga domovina. Vendar pa so nekatere podrobnosti prvih let njegovega življenja in začetkov njegove kariere še vedno predmet razprav med znanstveniki. Prvi problem je leto njegovega rojstva. R. Bratož (2006, 263–265) je pred kratkim skušal podati nove argumente v podporo t. i. dolge kronologije, po kateri naj bi se Martin rodil okrog l. 316 n. š. Ta teorija je postavljena ob bok t. i. kratki kronologiji, ki Martinovo rojstvo postavlja okrog l. 336. Glavne probleme glede sprejetja dolge kronologije je povzela D. Gáspár (2002, 119). Na kratko: če zavzame-mo položaj pristašev dolge kronologije, imamo precej težav pri usklajevanju informacij o Martinovem zgodnjem življenju in delu, ki jih podaja Sulpicij Sever. Martinov življenjepisec jasno pove, da je bodoči svetnik vstopil na pot vojaškega poklica, kot je bil primoran po zakonu, saj je bil njegov oče poklicni vojak sub rege Constantio, deinde sub Iuliano Caesare (Sulp. Sev. Mart. 2.2) in stopal po njej od svojega 15. do 20. leta (Sulp. Sev. Mart. 2.5: cum esset annorum quindecim ... sacramentis militaribus implicatus est, 2.6; triennium fere ante baptismum in armis fuit, 2.6; cum esset annorum duodeviginti, ad baptismum convolvavit ... per biennium fere posteaquam est baptismum consecutus ... militavit, 3.5) in da je Julijana zaprosil za honesta mission, ko je bil cesar v kraju Vangionae / Vormatia (Worms) (Sulp. Sev. Mart. 4.1). Če se ravnamo po dolgi kronologiji, bi se moralo Martinovo služenje vojaškega roka dogoditi med vlado Konstantina I.

Raziskovalci, ki zagovarjajo ta pogled, se zanašajo na pričevanje Sulpicija Severa, ki v svojih Dialogih (Sulp. Sev. Dialog. 2.7.4) pravi, da je bil Martin star 70 let, ko se je pogovarjal z Magnusom Maximusom in njegovo ženo o verskih zadevah l. 385/6 in na pričevanja Gregorja iz Toursa, ki v Zgodovini (Greg. Tur. Hist. 1.48, 10.31.3) piše, da je Martin umrl v enainosemdesetem letu med konzulatom Nonija Atiškega in Flavija Cezarija (to je l. 397) in da je bil rojen v enajstem letu vladavine Konstantina I (Greg. Tur. Hist. 1.36). V skladu s tem Bratož pravi (2006, 263-264), da se Sulpicij ni mogel zmotiti in izjaviti, da je bil mož pri petdesetih 20 let starejši, kot je bil v resnici. To bi torej zares pomenilo, da se je Martin rodil okrog l. 316 in se pridružil vojski l. 331. Poleg tega Bratož (2006, 264-265) tudi meni, da je Martin preživel v vojski 25 let in ne le pet ter nadaljuje, da je Sulpicij Sever »izpustil« 20 let vojaške službe, saj je hotel oblikovati Martinov lik tako, da bi odgovarjal resničnim asketskim idealom tistega časa in ta lik bi bil dvomljiv, če bi se Martin pridružil duhovništvu šele po dokončani polni vojaški karieri. Vendar gre tu le za domneve, ki ne ustrezajo kronološkemu okvirju v delu Vita sancti Martini Sulpicija Severa kot najzgodnejšemu viru o Martinovem življenju, in če bi jih sprejeli za resnične, bi morali prirediti preveč dobro znanih dejstev. Z drugimi besedami, domnevati moramo, da je poročilo Sulpicija Severa v osnovi točno, kar zadeva kronologije in osnovne informacija.

Kako naj torej razumemo komentar Sulpicija Severa, da je bil Martin septuagenarius l. 385/6, ki je povzročil, da je Gregorij iz Toursa prišel do zaključka, da je bil rojen l. 316 (glej Bratož 2006, 264)? Sam predlagam, da bi rešitev utegnili biti skrita v pripovedi Sulpicija Severa o Martinovih pogostih pogovorih z Magnusom Maximusom in njegovo ženo in v svetopisemskem simbolizmu. V tem poglavju Sulpicij Sever predstavlja Martina kot prevdnega in uglednega cerkvenega moža, katerega mnenja glede verskih zadev imajo močan vpliv na Magnusa Maximusa in še posebej na njegovo ženo. To je podoba moža z močno voljo, napolnjenega z globoko modrostjo, ki izvira iz dolgega življenja v službi Boga. Ta mož vzbuja občudovanje in nam seže v dno duše. Tej podobi najbolj ustreza mož častitljive starosti, ki je videl že veliko in ki se ne boji izraziti svojih močnih prepričanj, saj se je približal koncu svojega življenja. Tudi Biblija ponuja okvir za tak pogled. Psalm 90:10 pravi; Dni



naših let je sedemdeset let, če smo krepki, osemdeset let (Vulgata Ps. 89:10: dies annorum nostrorum in ipsis septuaginta anni si autem in potentatibus octoginta anni), kar se očitno sklada z Martinovo starostjo, ki jo navajata Sulpicij Sever in Gregorij iz Toursa.

Številka sedemdeset bi lahko v biblijskem smislu pomenila tudi nek duhovni red, vzpostavljen z duhovno močjo, saj je produkt številke sedem, ki predstavlja duhovno dopolnjenost in popolnost, ter številke deset, ki simbolizira avtoriteto in moč (za simbolizem števil v Bibliji glej Roth 1965, Davis 1968, Hutmacher 1993). Tako lahko Martinova starost kaže na njegovo duhovno avtoriteto škofa, ki se s svojimi pogledi sooči s predstavnikom svetne oblasti (Magnus Maximus). Vera, da duhovna moč prevlada nad svetno, je jasno izražena v Sulp. Sev. Mart. 20.4-7. Ko Martinu, ki je povabljen, da nazdravi na cesarskem banketu kot častni gost, podajo v skladu z navado čašo, da jo spije prvi, je Martin ne poda Cesarju Magnusu Maximusu, ki je bil gostitelj in najvišji po rangi med prisotnimi, ampak njegovemu prezbiterju (duhovniku). Na ta način pokaže na nadvlado duhovne moči nad posvetno (glej Bratož 2006, 263, opomba 13)

Če kot datum Martinovega rojstva vzamemo l. 336, bi bil star okrog 15 let, ko je v Južni Panoniji potekal spor med Konstancijem II. in Magnentiusom. Takrat je bil Martin kot mlad rekrut (tiro) nameščen v severnih delih prefektore Galije v Amiensu (Ambianum) - omenjenem kot Ambianensium civitas v Sulp. Sev. Mart. 3.1 - v varni razdalji od južnopanonskega bojišča. Morda lahko to pripišemo vplivu njegovega očeta, ki je najbrž želel, da je sin kar se da oddaljen od kraja trenutnih bojev. Martinov oče je služil v Ticinumu kot višji častnik, vojaški tribun (tribunus militum), in imel pod svojim poveljstvom lokalno manufakturo orožja, ki je omenjena v Notitia dignitatum (Not. Dign. Occ., 9.28 pri Bratožu 2006, 267). Mlademu Martinu je bilo samo bojevanje v državljanski vojni prihranjeno, vendar je bil gotovo pod globokim vtisom nestalnosti vojaškega življenja, še posebej v notranjih sporih. Domnevamo lahko, da je tudi to vplivalo na njegovo odločitev za duhovniški poklic. Morda je imel pred očmi zgled svojega očeta, ki je bil po vsej verjetnosti vpleten v bojih, v katerih je Magnentius premagal Konstancijevo izvidnico v bližini Ticinuma v zgodnji jeseni l. 352 in se je domnevno moral boriti na strani povzpetnika, saj je ta nadzoroval Italijo od začetka 50. let četrtega stol. Vendar pa glede na dejstvo, da je Konstancij II. razglasil splošno pamilostitev, lahko prav tako sklepamo, da je Martinov oče ob prvi priložnosti zamenjal strani. Tako je morda sodeloval v bitki v južni Galiji avgusta l. 353, tokrat na strani Konstancija.

Po Sulpiciju Severu (Sulp. Sev. Mart. 4.1-2) je Martin zaprosil Julijana za honesta missio v času, ko je bil cesar v kraju Vangionae / Vormatia. Gáspár (2002, 119-120) navaja kot datum Martinovega odpusta iz vojske december l. 355, medtem ko Bratož (2006, 263) verjame, da je Martin zapustil vojsko jeseni l. 357 po uspešnem rimskemu pohodu proti Alemanom. Če bi bil Martin odpuščen iz vojske šele ob koncu l. 357, bi bilo nemogoče, da bi se srečal s Hilarijem iz Poitiersa (Pictavium), kot navaja Sulpicij Sever (Mart. 5.1-3), saj je bil Hilarij izgnan v Frigijo l. 356. Tako nekateri znanstveniki menijo, da si je Sulpicij Sever izmislil zgodbo o Martinovem obisku pri Hilariju (Brennecke 1984, 244-247; Bratož 2006, 271, predvideva, da bi Martin lahko srečal Hilarija l. 356, ko je bil na Dunaju kot vojak Julijanove garde, saj je bil cesar tam od decembra l. 355 do pomladi l. 356 (glej Barnes 2001, 226-227)), vendar zavrača možnost, da bi Martin postal duhovnik, ko je bil Hilarij še vedno škof (glej enako 272, opomba 58). Vendar ni nujno, da je bilo tako. Prvič, nimamo nikakršnega razloga, da bi dvomili v poročilo Sulpicija Severa, čeprav so nekateri elementi v zgodbi pretiravanje. Drugič, kot je že bilo izpostavljeno, je Martin zaprosil za častni odpust, ko je bil Julijan v mestu Vangionae / Vormatia (Sulp. Sev. Mart. 4.1-3), in po zaslugi Ammianusa Marcellina lahko cesarjevo potovanje po Galiji rekonstruiramo precej natančno. Julijan je prispel v Augustodunum (Autun) 24. junija (Amm. Marc. 16.2.2) in nato potoval skozi Autessiodurum (Auxerre), Tricassae (Troyes), Remi (Rems), Decem Pagi (Dieuze) in Brotomagus (Brumath) (Amm. Marc. 16.2.5-9, 12), potem pa pot nadaljeval proti severu do Colonie



Agrippine (Koln) (Amm. Marc. 16.3.1). To pomeni, da je moral potovati skozi kraj Vangionae / Vormatia, ki je ležal ob glavni cesti vzdolž Rena, julija in tako prispel v Köln avgusta (cf. Barnes 2001, 227). Tretjič, obstaja neosnovana domneva, da je bil Martin odpuščen po rimski zmagi nad Alemeni l. 357. Sulpicij Sever dejansko opiše manjšo bitko, ki se je odvijala blizu kraja Vangionae / Vormatia, a je, zahvaljujoč Martinovem pogumu in veri, bila dobljena brez prelivanja krvi (Sev. Sulp. Mart. 4.5-8). Ammianus Marcellinus nam poda še en argument v prid temu zaključku. Namreč, mesto Vangione / Vormatia šteje med mesta, katerih okolica je bila pod nadzorom Alemanov in nam tudi pove, da je cesar zavzel Brotomagus, vendar je moral premagati trop Germanov, ki so mu prišli nasproti (Amm. Marc. 16.2.12). Julijanova vojska je morda zasedla kraj Vangionae / Vormatia na precej podoben način kot Brotomagus in po Sulp. Sev. Mart. 4.1. je bilo mesto zbirna točka za čete, ki naj bi vkorakale v Colonio Agrippino (Bratož 2006, 267; piše o »velikem uspehu Rimljanov pri Wormsu«, vendar v virih ni nikakršnega dokaza, da je šlo za kaj več kot manjši spopad med Alemeni in Rimljani). Vredno je omeniti, da je imelo mesto Remi prej popolnoma enako nalogo zbirnega mesta (glej Amm. Marc. 16.2.8).

Tako je Martin pridobil častni odpust iz vojske najverjetneje proti koncu julija l. 356, ko je bil star okrog dvajset let. Morda je tudi na to vplival njegov oče, ki bi (če predpostavljamo, da je bil takrat še živ in je še aktivno služil v vojski in da je sploh živel v Ticinumu) lahko srečal Cesarja Julijana decembra l. 355 (njegova prošnja bi se morda še bolj upoštevala, če se spomnimo, da je bil pogan; glej Sulp. Sev. Mart. 6.3). Ko je bil namreč Julijan 6. novembra v Mediolanumu (Milan) (Amm. Marc. 15.8.17) proglašen za cesarja, je moral potovati skozi Ticinum na poti do kraja Taurinum (Turin) (Amm. Marc. 15.8.18; Gáspár 2002, 119 zmotno piše, da je Konstancij II. spremljal Julijana do Ticinuma, saj Ammianus Marcellinus piše, da je stari cesar spremil novega cesarja do točke med krajema Laumellun in Ticinum). Vendar pa julij kot mesec Martinovega odpusta postavlja pod vprašaj njegovo srečanje s Hilarijem iz Poitiersa, saj velja splošno prepričanje, da je bil Hilarij izgnan kmalu po koncilu v Beziersu (lat. Biterrae) spomladi l. 356 (glej Bratož 2006, 263). Vendar ni nikakršnega razloga za domnevo, da je bil Hilarij izgnan takoj po omenjenem koncilu. Ko se je škof januarja l. 360 pritožil Konstanciju II, da je bil krivično odstavljen, je prav tako trdil, da je cesar utrpel večje ponižanje v izgonu Hilarija kot Hilarij sam. To bi utegnilo pomeniti, da je Julijan odlašal z odlokom o Hilarijevem izgonu nekaj mesecev. Tako lahko zaključimo, da je Julijan izdal uradni odlok pozno l. 356, potem ko je prispel v svojo zimsko rezidenco v kraju Senonia (Sens) (Amm. Marc. 16.3.3). Ta različica dopušča dovolj časa za Martinov obisk in njegovo bivanje pri Hilariju (glej. Sulp. Sev. Mart. 5.1: [Martinus] relicta militia sanctum Hilarium Pictavae episcopum civitatis ... expetiit et aliquamdiu apud eum commoratus est), in tako je možno uskladiti njuno srečanje z zgodovinskimi dejstvi. Poleg tega je, glede na to, da je bil Hilarij posvečen med vlado Konstancija II., nemogoče, da bi Martin zapustil vojsko l. 336, saj Hilarij takrat ni bil škof, kar pomeni, da se Martin nikakor ni rodil l. 316 (glej Gáspár 2002, 119).

Martin je postal duhovnik pod okriljem Hilarija, malo preden so tega škofa izgnali v Malo Azijo. Kmalu se je napotil v Italijo in Panonijo, verjetno na cerkveno misijo, ki mu jo je zapal Hilarij (glej Cedilnik 2004, 167, Bratož 2006, 272). Precej gotovo je, da je Martinova misija bila povezana z glavnim političnim in cerkvenim sporom v tem času, arijanstvom. Verjetno je prispel v Mediolanum (Sulp. Sev. Mart. 6.1) jeseni l. 356, v času, ko je bil tam tudi Konstancij II. (od novembra l. 356 do marca l. 357, glej Barnes 2001, 222). Martin naj bi se posvetoval s proti- arijanskimi oz. ortodoksnimi pripadniki v Mediolanumu, nato pa naj bi se odpravil v Panonijo, kjer bi nadaljeval s svojo misijo. Njegov panonski izvor je pri tem gotovo igral veliko vlogo in njegova mladost je pomenila, da je bil bolj odločen in agil. Med svojim bivanjem v Italiji je Martin gotovo slišal za vdore Sarmatov in Kvadov spomladi l. 357 in tako je moral biti še bolj odločen, da bo prišel v Panonijo, če so tam živeli njegovi starši (splošno sprejeto je, da so živeli v Savarii, vendar bi se morda lahko naselili tudi v



kraju Ticinum, glej Gáspár 2002, 121). Martin je najbrž prispel v Panonijo, ko je bila najhujša nevarnost mimo, tj. pozno pomladi ali zgodaj poleti l. 357. Preden se je podal v svojo protijansko bitko, je verjetno nekaj časa preživel pri svojih starših. Arijski spor je bil v prvi vrsti povezan z zvestobo vladarju in njegovi verski usmeritvi in se je odvijal v glavnem v Južni Panoniji (glej Gáspár 2002, 121).

Tako lahko upravičeno sklepamo, da se je Martinova proti-arijska aktivnost dogajala predvsem v južnih provincah Panonije in ne na severu, kamor je spadala Savaria. Možno je, da je Martin celo prišel v Sirmium. Konstatin II. je bil tam od oktobra l. 357 (Barnes 2001, 222). Sklical je konferenco škofov, na kateri so sestavili teološko izjavo, ki jo je Hilarij označil za bogokletno (Barnes 2001, 138-139, 231-232). Zaradi svojega odprtega nestrinjanja in vztrajnega nasprotovanja je Martin prišel v resen spor z arijskim duhovništvom (sacerdotes v Sulp. Sev. Mar. 6.4. bi lahko bili arijski škofje, ki so bili takrat v Sirmiumu). Po drugi strani Bratož (2006, 274) meni, da gre pri sacerdotes za pretiravanje. Zato je bil tudi strogo kaznovan (bil je javno bičan) in na koncu prisiljen, da zapusti mesto (po mojem mnenju Sirmium; glej tudi Thomas 1981, 13: Siscia ali Sirmium, Bratož 1996a, 323, opomba 97: Sirmium ali Mursa). To trpinčenje je preživel, saj lahko sklepamo, da si moški v zgodnjih dvajsetih letih lažje opomore kot moški pri štiridesetih. Zatem mu je uspelo pobegniti v Italijo.

Očitno je, da Martinova misija ni bila uspešna, in Panonija, oz. njeni južni deli, so v tem času ostali trdnjava Arijanstva. Martin se ni nikoli več vrnil v svojo domovino, vendar lahko sklepamo, da je obdržal stike s svojimi starši - če so se ti naselili v Savarii - in s svojimi sorodniki in je bil torej obveščen o krizah v Panoniji, ko so se dogajale. Morda je celo skušal kaj storiti, da bi ublažil trpljenje svojih dragih. Lahko si na primer zamislimo, da jih je vzel pod streho, če so bili prisiljeni zapustiti svoje domove. Kakorkoli že, Martin ni živel dovolj dolgo, da bi videl uspeh Flavija Stilicha in prehoden mir, ki ga je ta vzpostavil v Panoniji l. 399.

Opombe

- 1 Glede administrativnih sprememb v Panoniji glej Šišić 1925, 106, Mócsy 1962, 588, Barkóczy 1980, 109, Fitz 1983, 11-19, 1994, 1175-1183, Kuntić-Makvić 1997, 81-82 z opombo 28, 2003, 19-21, Andrić 2002, 124-126.
- 2 Historiografija še ni dokončno razrešila vprašanja, kje naj bi bilo upravno središče Valerie, čeprav vlada splošno prepričanje, da je bil to kraj Sopianae (glej Mócsy 1962, 611, 1974, 273). Tako Aquincum (Óbuda) in Gorsium-Herculia (Tác) sta možni kot upravni središči (glej Fitz 1983, 16-17, 1994, 1180-1181).
- 3 Glej Jones 1954, 22.
- 4 *Laterculus Veronensis*, 6.2-3, 5-6.
- 5 Glej Fitz 1983, 19, 1994, 1183.
- 6 Glede rimskih cest v Panoniji glej Mócsy 1962, 658-667 (also Mócsy 1974, *passim*), Soproni 1980, 207-217. Do sedaj je najbolj podrobno raziskavo podal Graf 1936, 42-128. Za rimske ceste v Južni Panoniji glej tudi Andrić 2002, 120-122. Literarni viri so *Itinerarium Antonini* (*Itin. Ant.*), *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* (*Itin. Hieros.*), *Tabula Peutingeriana* (*Tab. Peut.*), in *Cosmographia*, avtor neznan pisec iz Ravenna (*Anon. Raven.*).
- 7 Soproni 1980, 211, Andrić 2002, 121.
- 8 Pirkovič 1968, 58-62.
- 9 Graf 1936, 47, Knez - Petru - Škaler 1961, Petru - Petru 1978, Gregl 1984, 9, Andrić 2002, 121, Lovenjak 2003, 93-105.
- 10 Škrivanić 1974a, 42.
- 11 Durman 1992, 126, 127, Šegvić 2006, 270.
- 12 *Itin. Ant.* 272, 8-274, 7 pravi, da se je cesta Akvileja - Siscia pridružila cesti Emona - Siscia pri kraju Romula, kar povzemajo Miller 1916, 458-459, Graf 1936, 47-48 in Mócsy 1962, 662. Vendar je kilometrina med Senio in Siscio, kot jo navaja *Itin. Ant.*, premajhna za to razdaljo, tako da je očitno neverodostojna. Rimski mejnik, ki označuje razdaljo do Akvileje in je bil odkrit v Topuskem, kaže na to, da se je tam nahajal pomemben razcep prometnih poti. (Glej Durman 1992, 126). Tako se zdi primerno sklepati, da se je cesta iz Akvileje preko Senie povezala z glavno prometno žilo, ki je tekla vzdolž Save pri kraju Quadrata (podobno rešitev je že predlagal Bojanovski 1984, 230). To ne izključuje možnosti, da je lokalna cesta vodila tudi iz Romule in da je nato postajala vedno bolj pomembna v srednjem veku z vzponom Zagreba. Glede severnega odseka ceste Siscia - Senia glej Durman 1992, 124-126.



- 13 Durman 1992, 125-126, 127.
- 14 Miller 1916, 461, Škrivanić 1974a, 42, 48, Bojanovski 1984, 165, 1993, 63.
- 15 Pašalić 1960, 27, Škrivanić 1974a, 42, Bojanovski 1984, 173, 1993, 63, Andrić 2002, 121.
- 16 Bojanovski 1984, 181.
- 17 Miller 1916, 462, Graf 1936, 51, Škrivanić 1974a, 42, Bojanovski 1984, 184-185, 1993, 63.
- 18 Bojanovski 1984, 187-188, 195-199. Glej tudi Škrivanić 1974a, 43.
- 19 Bojanovski 1984, 211, 1993, 63.
- 20 Glej Bojanovski 1984, 212, 216.
- 21 Bojanovski 1984, 217-218.
- 22 Bojanovski 1984, 218, 221-222.
- 23 Bojanovski 1984, 222-225.
- 24 Glej Miller 1916, 460, Pinterović 1975, 124, Džaić 1989, *sine pagina/ brez strani*, Bobovec 2001, 170, 2002, 73-74, Andrić 2002, 122, Pisk 2005, 30-31.
- 25 Glej Pinterović 1970, 94, 1975, 124, Vučetić 1975, 16, Sokač-Štimac 1978, 37, Bobovec 2001, 170, Buzov 2005, 135.
- 26 Thus Džaić 1989, *sine pagina*. Ta postaja se je verjetno nahajala pri južnem obronku Psunja (glej Andrić 2002, 122).
- 27 Sokač-Štimac - Bulat 1974, 136, Sokač-Štimac 1975, 25, Potrebica 2006, 45.
- 28 Pinterović 1970, 94, 1978, 35, Bulat 1983, 269, note 16.
- 29 Miller 1916, 461, Andrić 2002, 122.
- 30 Pinterović 1970, 92, 1975, 124, Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1974, 17, Minichreiter 1989, 183, Migotti 1998, 77-78, 2001, 77-95, 2006, 268, Andrić 2002, 122, Buzov 2005, 129.
- 31 Miller 1916, 462, Graf 1936, Mócsy 1962, 663, Škrivanić 1974a, 42, Bojanovski 1993, 63.
- 32 Glej Graf 1936, 59, Löwe 1961, 7, Mócsy 1962, 661.
- 33 Pahič 1965, 315, Fulir 1969, 369, 371, 1970, 7, Škrivanić 1974a, 40.
- 34 Miller 1916, 444, Pahič 1965, 315, Vikić - Gorenc 1968, 4, 6, Fulir 1969, 371, 1970, 8, Škrivanić 1974a, 40, Gorenc - Vikić 1984, 60, Andrić 2002, 123.
- 35 Klemenc 1953, 84, Fulir 1969, 388, 1970, 10-11, Gorenc - Nemeth-Ehrlich 1983, 103, 1984, 299-301, Andrić 2002, 123.
- 36 Drugače neznana Dautonia, ki je omenjena v *Itin. Ant.* 266, 2 bi lahko bila postaja na levem bregu Save, nasproti postaje Andautonia (glej Graf 1936, 62-63, Andrić 2002, 123).
- 37 Glede ceste Aqua Viva - Siscia glej Vikić - Gorenc 1968, 4, 7, Fulir 1969, 384-389, 1970, 10-11.
- 38 Fulir 1969, 408-409, 1970, 11-12, Škrivanić 1974a, 40.
- 39 Tomičić 1966, 119, Vikić - Gorenc 1968b, 129, Fulir 1970, 13-14.
- 40 Fulir 1967, 183, 1969, 419, 1970, 14, Škrivanić 1974a, 40, Demo 1982, 73.
- 41 Demo 1982, 73-75, Begović 1986, 147.
- 42 Lovrenčević 1979, 234, Begović 1985, 18, 1986, 147.
- 43 Tako Begović 1985, 18-19, 1986, 148, 150.
- 44 Glej Lovrenčević 1979, 234, 236, Jakovljević 1990, 118.
- 45 Lovrenčević 1979, 234, 237, Begović 1985, 16, bilj. 10, 20, 1986, 148. Glej Cvetković 1971, 6-7 ki locira Cucconae v Bukovički Gradini - hrib Zidine pri Špišić-Bukovici.
- 46 Schejbal 2003, 106. Glej Begović 1985, 16, bilj. 10, 20, 1986, 147.
- 47 Pinterović 1970, 92, 93, Minichreiter 1986, 87, Schejbal 2003, 106, Salajić 2003, 87, 2006, 120. Glej Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 106.
- 48 Graf 1936, 65, Škrivanić 1974a, 40, Soproni 1980, 58, Andrić 2002, 124.
- 49 Graf 1936, 66, Andrić 2002, 124.
- 50 Miller 1916, 445, Graf 1936, 66, Pinterović 1978, 34, Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1974, 17, Škrivanić 1974a, 40, Buzov 2005, 129, 133.
- 51 Miller 1916, 445, Graf 1936, 66, Škrivanić 1974a, 40, Pinterović 1978, 34, Buzov 2005, 129, 133.
- 52 Miller 1916, 445-446, Graf 1936, 66, Pinterović 1970, 93, 1978, 34-35, Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1974, 17, Škrivanić 1974a, 40, Bulat 1969, 47-48, Buzov 2005, 129.
- 53 Fulir 1969, 427, 1970, 15, Soproni 1979, 94, Tomičić 1986a, 6, 8, 1986b, 186-187, 205-209, 1999a, 30.
- 54 Miller 1916, 456, Redó 1998, 5, 13.



- 55 *Itin. Ant.* omenja dve poti: Poetovio - Curta - Halicanum - Flumen Arrabo - Savaria (261, 7-262, 2), in Poetovio - Halicanum - Salla - Savaria (262, 3-6).
- 56 Graf 1936, 67, Škrivanić 1974a, 40, Pinterović 1978, 35, Bojanovski 1993, 64, Buzov 2005, 133.
- 57 Miller 1916, 446, Graf 1936, 54, Šaranović-Svetek 1967, 111 (hrib Rajterovo), Pinterović 1970, 95, Škrivanić 1974a, 40, Minichreiter 1989, 188.
- 58 Škrivanić 1974a, 41, Popović - Vasiljević 1970, 193-194, Popović 1980, 101. Glej tudi Minichreiter 1989, 188.
- 59 Graf 1936, 54, Mirković 1971, 19, Škrivanić 1974a, 41.
- 60 Graf 1936, 54, Mirković 1971, 18, Popović 1980, 102 (najdišče Kamarište). Po Graf 1936, 54, se je postaja Prista, ki je omenjena v *Amm. Marc.* 29.6.6 kot villa publica, nahajala pri Šidu. Glej tudi Mócsy 1962, 662, Mirković 1971, 19.
- 61 Glede te poti glej Škrivanić 1977, 126-129. Pomemben odcep te ceste je bil pri kraju Viminacium (Stari Kostolac), ki se je nato nadaljeval proti jugu in končal v Konstantinoplu via Serdica (Sofija) (glej Škrivanić 1977, 120-122). Glede ceste iz Singidunuma do Konstantinopla glej tudi podrobno raziskavo avtorja Konstantina Jirečeka (1959, 71-190).
- 62 Popović 1980, 103, Milošević 1988, 117-119.
- 63 Miller 1916, 447-448, Graf 1936, 57, Mirković 1971, 17, Škrivanić 1974a, 41.
- 64 Glej Graf 1936, 58, Mócsy 1962, 662, Škrivanić 1974a, 41. Ovrženo: Milin 2004, 257. Zdi se da *Itin. Ant.* in *Tab. Peut.* omenjata neko pot od kraja Bassianae do Singidunuma preko kraja Taurunum, medtem ko *Tab. Peut.* omenja postajo Idiminium, te ne najdemo v *Itin. Ant.* (131, 5 - 132, 1). *Itin. Hieros.* poda drugačno traso ceste Bassianae – Singidunum, ki naj bi obšla Taurunum, saj to mesto ni omenjeno; na drugi strani pa sta navedeni postaji Novicianae in Altina (563, 11-14).
- 65 Miller 1916, 448 in Škrivanić 1974a, 41 postavljata Idiminium v Ugrinovce. Možno je, da najdišče »Brestovo Međe« pri Ugrinovcih in v bližini Krnješevcev, ustreza kraju Idiminium. Ostanke rimske ceste so izpričani blizu današnje vasi Batajnica (glej Dimitrijević 1961, 97, 1969, 98), kjer naj bi tekla cesta, ki je vodila ob meji ob Donavi, preko kraja Burgenae do Taurunuma. Domnevamo lahko, da je odsek ceste, ki je vodil iz kraja Bassianae v Taurunum preko Idiminuma, bil usmerjen v bližino Batajnice in da se je tam združil z glavno cesto, ki je sledila meji ob Donavi. To bi pomenilo da je na območju Batajnice bilo križišče teh poti (*bivium*).
- 66 Postaja, tj. manjša trdnjava, ki je ščitila pristan v Taurunumu, je služila kot mostiče med krajema Taurunum in Singidunum (glej Dimitrijević 1961, 96, Škrivanić 1974a, 41).
- 67 Graf 1936, 58.
- 68 Dimitrijević 1965, 155, 1969, 87.
- 69 Graf 1936, 116, Dimitrijević 1961, 93-95, Klemenc 1961, 22, 1963, 66-67, Škrivanić 1974a, 44, Soproni 1985, 83, 84, Piletić 1986, 137, 139-140, Visy 1988, 130, Andrić 2002, 128.
- 70 Miller 1916, 436, Graf 1936, 116, Dimitrijević 1961, 95, Klemenc 1961, 21-22, 1963, 65-66, Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1974, 17, Škrivanić 1974a, 43, Piletić 1986, 137, Andrić 2002, 128, Buzov 2005, 128.
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- 114 Ambros. Expos. 10.10, Pacat. Paneg. Theod. 11.4, Hieron. Comm. in Soph. 1.2.3. Glej Lotter 2003, 158-159, Bratož 2007, 256-257.
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- 117 Glede tega historiografskega problema glej Gáspár 2002, 50, Migotti 2002, 55-56, Bratož 2003, 481, Gračanin 2006, 36, opomba 27.
- 118 Ambros. Epist. 18.21. Glej Mócsy 1974, 342, Lotter 2003, 80, 82, Gračanin 2006, 36-37, opomba 28.
- 119 Gračanin 2006, 37-38.
- 120 Gračanin 2006, 38. Za premik Teodozijeve vojske iz Siscie v Poetovio glej Klemenc 1953, 78-88.
- 121 Sokol 1998, 15.
- 122 Gorenc - Vikić 1980, 22, Vikić-Belančić 1996, 30.
- 123 Lotter 2003, 85, Gračanin 2006, 38. Bratož 2003, 487 verjame, da so panonski zavezniki sodelovali pri napadu na Akvilejo, kamor se je zatekel Magnus Maximus, vendar dokazi za to (Zosim. 4.46.2) niso dovolj dokončni, če jih primerjamo z jasnim pričevanjem v Ambros. Epist. 74.22 (Maur. 40).
- 124 Glej Alföldi 1926, 63, Mócsy 1960, 578, 1974, 344. Ta domneva je osnovana na Ambros De obitu 2.4.22, ki govori o barbarskem sovražniku (*hostis barbarus*), ki naj bi ogrožal italijanske Alpe (*Alpes Italiae*) malo pred smrtjo Valentinijana II., a bi se naj umaknili, ko je cesar korakal proti njim in jim predal ujetnike. Veliko bolj verjetno je, da je manjša skupina barbarov, morda Alemanov, vdrla preko zgornje Donave v Raetio ali Norik in nato nadaljevala proti Italiji.
- 125 Lotter 2003, 85-86, Gračanin 2006, 38-39.
- 126 Lotter 2003, 87, 100, Gračanin 2006, 39-41.
- 127 Hieron. Epist. 66. Glej Mócsy 1974, 344, Gračanin 2006, 41, opomba 49.
- 128 Claudian. De cons. Stilich. 2.191, Hieron. Epist. 123.17.
- 129 Claudian. De cons. Stilich. 2.197-207. Glej Lotter 2003, 87, Gračanin 2006, 41, Bratož 2007, 253-254.
- 130 Glede Flavija Lupus in njegove kariere glej Chastagnol 1967, 105-130, Várady 1972, 262-264, Mócsy 1974, 348, Eadie 1982, 29, Eadie - Petrović 1982, 15.

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- AAntH: *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budimpešta
- AArchH: *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budimpešta
- AP: *Arheološki pregled*, Beograd
- ARR: *Arheološki radovi i rasprave HAZU*, Zagreb
- AV: *Arheološki vestnik*, Ljubljana
- AZZRO: *Anali Zavoda za znanstveni rad u Osijeku*, Osijek
- BH: *Burgenländische Heimblätter*, Eisenstadt
- BjZ: *Bjelovarski zbornik*, Bjelovar
- BS: *Byzantinoslavica*, Praga
- CSEL: *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Dunaj
- CSHB: *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*, eds. B. G. Niebuhr et altera, Bonn 1828-1897
- GCBI: *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja*, Sarajevo
- GGM: *Godišnjak Gradskog muzeja*, Varaždin
- GSM: *Glasnik slavonskih muzeja*, varia loca
- GZMBiH: *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo



- HZ: *Historijski zbornik*, Zagreb
 ILS: *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* I-III, ed. H. Dessau, Berlin 1882-1916
 JRS: *The Journal of Roman Studies*, London
 KŽZ: *Križevački zbornik*, Križevci
 MGH AA: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi*, Berlin
 MGH SSRM: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, Berlin
 OA: *Opuscula archaeologica*, Zagreb
 ObHAD: *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, Zagreb
 OsZ: *Osječki zbornik*, Osijek
 PdZ: *Podravski zbornik*, Koprivnica
 PIAZ: *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, Zagreb
 PoZ: *Požeški zbornik*, Slavonska Požega
 RE: *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, A. F. Pauly - G. Wissowa - W. Kroll - K. Witte - K. Mittelhaus - K. Ziegler - H. Gärtner (ur.), Stuttgart; München
 RSAUZgod: *Razprave Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, Razred za zgodovinske in družbene vede*, Ljubljana
 RVM: *Rad vojvodanskih muzeja*, Novi Sad
 RZZRVž: *Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU Varaždin*, Varaždin
 SC: *Sources Chrétiennes*, Pariz
 SSLav: *Scrinia Slavonica*, Slavonski Brod
 VAMZ: *Vjesnik arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3rd series, Zagreb
 VHAD n. s.: *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva*, new series, Zagreb
 ZČ: *Zgodovinski časopis*, Ljubljana
 ZMĐ: *Zbornik Muzeja Đakovštine*, Đakovo

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Roman South Pannonia in the Time of St. Martin of Tours

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The paper is intended to outline the principal historical processes in the territory of Roman South Pannonia, i.e. the provinces of Pannonia Savia and Pannonia Secunda in the time of St. Martin of Tours (second half of the 4th century AD). The study deals with the overall political, military and economic situation in Southpannonian region, and it endeavours to illuminate certain points about St. Martin's early life and activity (Appendix).

Administrative Setting and Main Traffic Routes in Late Roman South Pannonia

Extensive administrative changes introduced by Emperors Diocletian (284-305) and Constantine I (306-337) established a final disposition of Late Roman Pannonian provinces and drew conclusive inner provincial borderlines.¹ The territory of South Pannonia was encompassed by two provinces, Pannonia Savia with its center in Siscia (Sisak), and Pannonia Secunda with its center in Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), while North Pannonia was divided in Pannonia Prima with its center in Savaria (Szombathely), and Pannonia Valeria with its center in Sopianae (Pécs).² The names of the newly formed provinces were not immediately instituted since the *Laterculus Veronensis*, written between 314 and 324 AD,³ mentions the provinces Savensis and Valeria, but also Pannonia Inferior instead of Pannonia Secunda, and Pannonia Superior instead of Pannonia Prima.⁴ It seems that these two provinces finally received their new names before mid-4th century AD.⁵ On a higher administrative level, all four Pannonian provinces were grouped into the Pannonian diocese (*diocesis Pannoniarum*), later also known as West Illyricum (*Illyricum occidentale*), which was part of the prefecture of Illyricum, Italy and Africa (*praefectura praetorio Illyrici Italiae et Africae*).

Regarding the Southpannonian communications system, there were two traffic axes, one northern running along the Drava and then the Danube, and the other southern running along the Sava up to its mouth into the Danube. The western starting point for all roads passing through South Pannonia was Aquileia (Acquileia), while Sirmium served as a center for Pannonian traffic routes leading to eastern provinces. There were also important traffic junctions in Mursa (Osijek), Cibalae (Vinkovci), and Siscia.⁶ The fastest traffic connection between Italy and the lower Danube provinces ran along the Sava. Starting at Aquileia the road branched out from Emona, and continued eastward along the right bank of the Sava, more at a distance from the river at first.⁷ It descended in southerly direction to Crucium (Gorenja Gomila northeast of Novo Mesto and south of Škocjan).⁸ It approached again the Sava in Neviodunum (Drnovo southwest of Krško),⁹ the first larger settlement on the road after Emona, and situated, during the late antiquity, in border area between Italy, Noricum Mediterraneum and Pannonia Savia. From Neviodunum the road actually took roundabout direction toward south, as it is shown by preserved ancient itineraries, and it reached the boundary between Kordun and Banovina. The first known station on that route was Romula (Dubovac kod Karlovca),¹⁰ which was followed by Quadrata (probably Topusko),¹¹ from where one road presumably led to Senia (Senj),¹² while the other



ended in Siscia passing through the station Ad Fines (probably Mali Gradac).¹³ From Siscia there were two roads leading to the east. One of them continued along the right bank of the Sava stopping in the stations Ad Praetorium (Gornji Baćin on the left bank of the Una, west of Hrvatska Dubica),¹⁴ Servitium (Bosanska Gradiška),¹⁵ and Urbas (Srbac east of the mouth of the Vrbas into the Sava).¹⁶ Then it crossed to the left bank of the Sava probably near Pričac,¹⁷ and passed along the southern slopes of Dilj arriving to Marsonia (Slavonski Brod).¹⁸ From there the road continued to the stations Ad Basantem (probably Vragorilo near the river Bosut in the vicinity of Županja)¹⁹ and Saldae (probably Posavski Podgajci),²⁰ then it crossed the Sava again, possibly somewhere between Gradac in Trnjaci east of Brčko and Račinovci,²¹ and arrived to the station Drinum Flumen (perhaps Prekaje in Donji Brodac).²² The road had to make two more river crossings, first over the Drina, probably near the village of Balatun close to the river itself,²³ entering into the late antique province of Moesia Prima, and then over the Sava again, at Mačvanska (Mala) Mitrovica,²⁴ entering the capital of Pannonia Secunda, Sirmium, as its final destination.

The other eastbound road from Siscia continuously passed through the places north of the Sava. The first station was Varianae (perhaps Kutina),²⁵ where the road branched out in two directions. The northern route led through Lonjsko Polje to Aquae Balissae (probably Daruvar)²⁶, while the southern route seems to have passed along the southern slopes of Psunj to Menneianae (perhaps Baćindol northeast of Nova Gradiška).²⁷ Both routes joined again in Incerum (perhaps in the vicinity of Tekić north of Slavenska Požega).²⁸ From there the road went in one direction over Požeška Kotlina and across the Krndija pass to Stravianae (perhaps Gradac near Našice)²⁹ and then to Mursa, while the other direction followed the northern slopes of Dilj, passed through Picentinum (perhaps Ruševo east of Slavenska Požega)³⁰ and Leuconum (perhaps Levanjska Varoš),³¹ and arrived by way of Certiss(i)a (probably Štrbinci in Budrovci near Đakovo)³² to Cibalae. From Mursa and Cibalae as important traffic junctions led further roads. From Certiss(i)a a branching-off road continued to Marsonia,³³ thus connecting Cibalae with the southern route that ran along the Sava.

In late antiquity, the road along the Drava surpassed by importance the traffic route along the Sava.³⁴ Its starting point was Poetovio, and the first station was Ramista (probably Formin between Ptuj and Ormož),³⁵ situated at an important crossing over the Drava, close to the mouth of the river Pesnica. After crossing the Drava the road arrived to Aqua Viva (Petrijanec near Varaždin),³⁶ from where one route continued southward. This side road connecting the routes along both Drava and Sava rivers passed through the station Pyrri (probably Komin west of Križevci),³⁷ and Andautonia (Ščitarjevo),³⁸ ending in Siscia.³⁹ After leaving Aqua Viva the road along the Drava led to the station Populi (probably near Bartolovci on the right bank of the Plitvica),⁴⁰ and then it passed through Iovia Botivum (Ludbreg),⁴¹ Sunista (probably Kunovec Breg northwest of Koprivnica),⁴² Piretae (probably Draganovec south of Koprivnica),⁴³ Lentoli (perhaps Virje northwest of Đurđevac),⁴⁴ Cardonum (perhaps near Prugovac south of Kloštar Podravski),⁴⁵ probably another station under the name of Iovia (perhaps Turnašica south of Pitomača),⁴⁶ Cucconae (perhaps near Špišić Bukovica northwest of Virovitica),⁴⁷ Serota (perhaps south of the toponym Taborište near Virovitica),⁴⁸ Bolentium (perhaps Orešac east of Suhopolje),⁴⁹ Marinianae (probably Donji Miholjac),⁵⁰ Serena (possibly Sveti Đurađ northeast of Valpovo),⁵¹ Berebae (probably Podgajci Podravski southeast of Donji Miholjac),⁵² Iovalia (perhaps Valpovo northwest of Osijek)⁵³ and Mursella (probably Petrijevci northwest of Osijek),⁵⁴ reaching finally Mursa.

A northeastbound road leading from Poetovio was a branch-off road of the famous Amber Trail. From the station Curta (Ormož)⁵⁵ this road crossed the brook Trnava onto the territory of modern Croatia, and then it passed through western Međimurje reaching the station Halicanum (probably Sv. Martin Na Muri).⁵⁶ After that, it crossed the river Mura in the vicinity of Muršćak and entered modern Prekomurje. From there it re-joined the Amber Trail, at



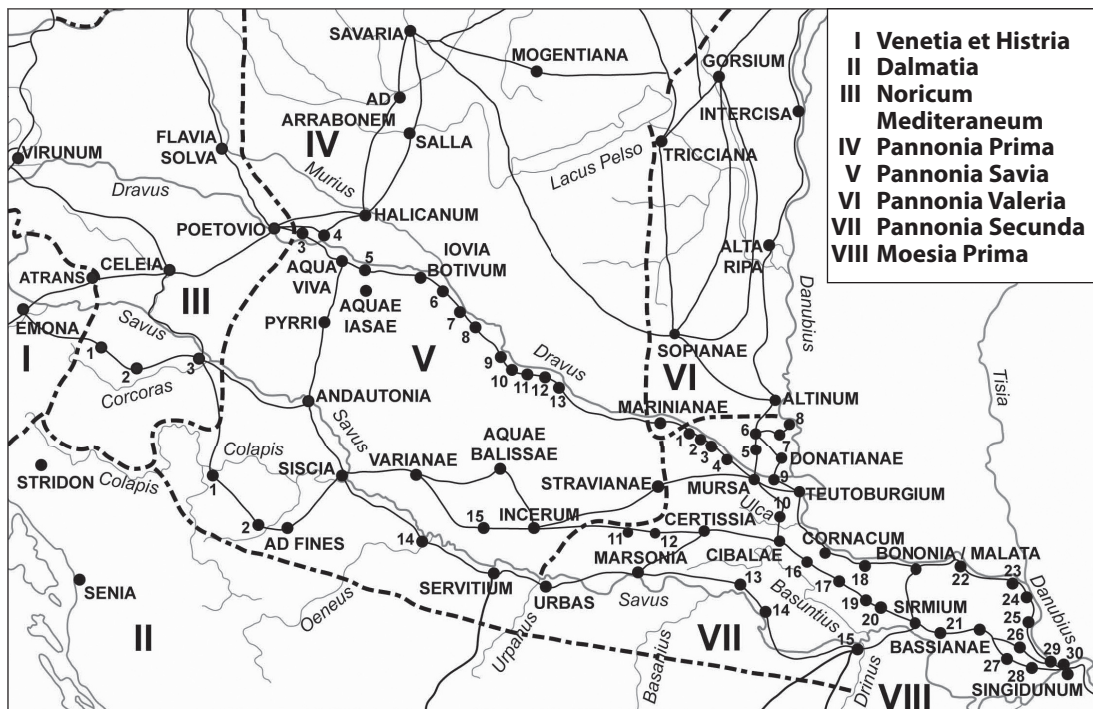
the station Arrabo Flumen / Ad Arrabonem (Katafa southeast of Körmend),⁵⁷ and continued toward north to the important traffic junction Savaria. It seems that there was another section of this road leading from Halicanum to Salla (Zalalövő) and then to Savaria.⁵⁸

After reaching Mursa which was a traffic junction of the highest rank, the road along the Drava continued toward south and Sirmium. First station on that route was Ad Labores Pontis Ulcae (Bobota).⁵⁹ After leaving this station the road arrived to Cibalae, from where a branch-off road led to Certiss(i)a. The main route proceeded from Cibalae toward southeast stopping at the stations Cansilena (probably Orolik south of Vukovar),⁶⁰ Ulmus (probably Orašje between Tovarnik and Šid),⁶¹ Spaneta (probably Kukujevci southeast of Šid)⁶² and Budalia (probably Martinci southeast of Kukujevci),⁶³ until it reached Sirmium. From Sirmium the road continued in easterly direction toward Singidunum (Belgrade), where it connected to the main traffic route along the lower Danube.⁶⁴ The nearest station to Sirmium was Fossae (at the village of Šašinovci east of Sremska Mitrovica),⁶⁵ and from there the road arrived to Bassianae (Donji Petrovci east of Sremska Mitrovica).⁶⁶ After leaving Bassianae the road branched out in two directions,⁶⁷ the northern ran through Idiminium (perhaps near Ugrinovci northwest of Zemun),⁶⁸ Taurunum (Zemun) and Confluentes (at the mouth of the Sava into the Danube near Belgrade),⁶⁹ while the southern passed through Novicianae (perhaps near Karlovčić)⁷⁰ and Altina (perhaps Zemun Polje west of Zemun).⁷¹ Both routes joined at Singidunum.

Third important traffic route in South Pannonia was the limes road that ran along the Danube. From Taurunum as its most southern point, the road passed through several fortified places with garrisons: Burgenae (Novi Banovci),⁷² Rittium (Surduk),⁷³ Acumincum (Stari Slankamen),⁷⁴ Cusum (Petrovaradin),⁷⁵ Bononia-Malata (Banoštor)⁷⁶ which directly communicated with Sirmium across the elevation of Fruška Gora and along the valley of the brook Almaš,⁷⁷ Cuccium (Ilok),⁷⁸ Cornacum (Sotin)⁷⁹ and Teutoburgium (Dalj).⁸⁰ After leaving Teutoburgium the road temporarily stopped following the course of the Danube and headed northeast as to bypass the vast marshy area of modern Kopački Rit. Continuing along the Drava the road arrived to the station Ad Labores (Nemetin)⁸¹ in one direction, and to Mursa in another.⁸² After crossing the Drava at modern Nemetin, it proceeded toward northwest, and approached gradually the Danube again. The first station on this section was Donatiana (perhaps Lug northeast of Osijek).⁸³ Then the road continued to Antianae (probably Popovac),⁸⁴ where it united with the route from Mursa that passed through the station Mons Aureus (perhaps Kamenac).⁸⁵ A branch-off road proceeded toward east to the fort Ad Novas (probably Zmajevac / Vörösmart),⁸⁶ and from there to another fort Ad Militare (Batina Skela-Batina / Kiskőszeg)⁸⁷ situated near the Danube. From Antianae the road continued to Altinum (Kölked)⁸⁸ in Pannonia Valeria, and then further toward north.

South Pannonia during civil war between Magnentius and Constantius II

Early 350's in South Pannonia were marked by a struggle between a Gallic usurper of British descent named Flavius Magnus Magnentius and the legitimate emperor of the Constantinian dynasty Constantius II. In late February 350, Magnentius got hold of Italy and his next move was to try and gain control of Illyricum. However, he was thwarted by two further usurpations aimed to support the Constantinian dynasty, one in South Pannonia and the other in Italy. Namely, the *magister peditum* Vetranio was proclaimed emperor in Mursa and Sirmium on 1 March 350 at the instigation of Constantius' sister Constantina, while Iulius Nepotianus, the son of Constantine I's half sister Eutropia and Constantius' cousin, assumed the purple robe in Rome on 3 June 350. Whereas Nepotianus' attempt was suppressed by Magnentius' forces before the end of June, the position of Vetranio was much firmer and Magnentius even entered negotiations with him. As Constantius II got his hands



Map 1 South Pannonia in the second half of the 4th century AD: main roads and settlements

NORICUM MEDITERRANEUM

1. Praetorium Latobiorum
2. Crucium
3. Neviodunum

PANNONIA SAVIA

1. Romula
2. Quadrata
3. Ramista
4. Curta
5. Populi
6. Sunista
7. Piretae
8. Lentoli
9. Cardonum
10. Iovia
11. Cucconae
12. Serota

13. Bolentium

14. Ad Praetorium
15. Menneianae

PANNONIA SECUNDA

1. Serena
2. Berebae
3. Iovalia
4. Mursella
5. Mons Aureus
6. Antianae
7. Ad Novas
8. Ad Militare
9. Ad Labores
10. Ad Labores Pontis Ulcae
11. Picentinum
12. Leuconum
13. Ad Basantem

14. Saldae
15. Drinum Flumen
16. Cansilena
17. Ulmus
18. Cuccium
19. Spaneta
20. Budalia
21. Fossae
22. Cusum
23. Acumincum
24. Rittium
25. Burgenae
26. Idiminium
27. Novicianae
28. Altina
29. Taurunum
30. Confluentes

free on the eastern front in the autumn of 350, he was now able to deal with Magnentius' usurpation. The emperor advanced into Europe and entered Serdica (Sofia) with his army on 25 December. At the same time, Vetranio resigned the imperial purple at Naissus (Niš), the capital of Dardania, which enabled Constantius to increase his forces by including Vetranio's troops. Constantius spent the winter in Sirmium preparing for his march westward, while Magnentius used this pause to gather additional forces and strengthen the *Clastra Alpium Iuliarum* defence system that guarded the access to Italy.⁸⁹

As a prelude to the planned offensive action against Magnentius, Constantius II promoted his cousin Claudius Gallus, the son of Constantine I's half brother Iulius Constantius, to the rank of Caesar in Sirmium on 1 March 351, and entrusted him with the administration of the East.⁹⁰ Subsequently, in late spring or early summer of 351, Constantius ordered his generals in Sirmium to start the offensive. Their intention was to force their way from Poetovio via Emona into northern Italy but their advance was checked on the eastern edge of the *Clastra Alpium Iuliarum*, near Atrans (Trojane). Magnentius successfully ambushed Constantius' van-



guards in narrow valleys of the mountain pass and inflicted severe losses on them. Constantius' army was compelled to retreat while Magnentius now seized the initiative. He advanced into South Pannonia by way of Celeia (Celje) and Poetovio, and turned south from Aqua Viva toward Siscia, proceeding through Pyrri and Andautonia. Magnentius was aware that Siscia, as an important strategic place, had to be occupied before he could engage the bulk of Constantius' forces. After an initial setback, the usurper succeeded in storming Siscia in August 351, plundered the town and carried his troops across the Sava.⁹¹

In the meantime, Constantius II, alarmed by Magnentius' success, left hastily his position at Sirmium and camped at Cibalae. Probably in an attempt to drive Constantius out from the South Pannonia, Magnentius rushed toward Sirmium using the main traffic route along the river Sava but failed to capture the town. Subsequently he decided to turn against Mursa. He advanced probably on the limes road along the river Danube, from Sirmium to Bononia and then by way of Cuccium, Cornacum and Teutoburgium toward Mursa. By laying siege to Mursa, Magnentius hoped that he would entice Constantius to leave his position at Cibalae and force him in the process out of South Pannonia. He did spur Constantius into action but the battle fought near Mursa on 28 September 351, one of the bloodiest in the history of the Roman Empire with numerous casualties on both sides, was decided in Constantius' favour.⁹²

After suffering a crushing defeat, Magnentius retreated probably along the river Drava to Poetovio and then through Celeia and Emona to Aquileia. While withdrawing, he destroyed the communication lines and storage facilities as to hamper the enemy's advance, and blocked the crossings of the Julian Alps by strengthening the fortresses in the border zone.⁹³ Constantius, preparing for the next stage of the campaign, had to restore the damage, especially the one inflicted to Mursa-Poetovio and Poetovio-Atrans sections of the road, and to replenish his forces.⁹⁴ The repairing of the entire road from Atrans to Taurunum as well as the bridges was finalized in 354 as it is attested by an inscription from a milestone discovered in Sremska Mitrovica in 1867.⁹⁵

After working out the campaign plans at his headquarters in Sirmium where he probably stayed until the summer of 352,⁹⁶ Constantius II finally moved his troops on the Sirmium-Cibalae-Mursa-Poetovio road, penetrated successfully the Claustra Alpium Iuliarum defense system in August 352, and captured the important fortress of Ad Pirum (Hrušica) which opened the gate into Italy. Magnentius, unable to defend his position, escaped from Aquileia that fell to Constantius in early September. The usurper effectively lost Italy but managed to overcome Constantius' advance elements at Ticinum (Pavia).⁹⁷ The situation deteriorated rapidly for Magnentius, and Constantius was already at Mediolanum (Milan) on 3 November 352, where he remained until the summer of the next year.⁹⁸ The final battle of the war was fought in southern Gaul in August 353, and after yet another defeat Magnentius committed suicide.

South Pannonia was especially exposed to devastating effects of the war since it was the area of the most intense fightings. Of the Southpannonian towns Siscia suffered the most as it was taken in a direct assault and pillaged whereas Sirmium and Mursa were besieged. We can imagine the extent of hardships the war brought to the whole region once it became a battleground, and both rural and municipal communities must have experienced all uncertainties of a war time. In such a situation the civil population would seek refuge behind thick walls of fortified towns or in inaccessible places. The fate of Siscia surely made inhabitants of other Southpannonian towns more determined in opposing Magnentius as they knew what they could expect from the conquerer. Moreover both armies undoubtedly relied on requisitions to improve their supplies but while Constantius acted as a legitimate ruler, Magnentius' actions must have been seen as an unlawful coercion. The usurper caused more destruction while retreating from South Pannonia. Once Constantius firmly controlled both Southpan-



nonian provinces, he immediately made provisions to alleviate the consequences of the war. The emperor did not forget to commemorate his success at Mursa by erecting a triumphal arch which met with criticism from a contemporary historian who resented Constantius that the victory was actually won at the expense of the provinces.⁹⁹

South Pannonia under attack

Constantius' triumph over Magnentius brought back political stability in the region but the inner peace was soon to be spoiled from the outside as a new peril came from across the border. In the spring of 357 the Sarmatians broke through the Danubian limes and attacked Pannonia Secunda and Moesia Prima, and the Quadi overran Pannonia Valeria. Constantius, who was staying in Rome at the time,¹⁰⁰ made for Pannonia where he arrived in the summer of 357, set up his headquarters at Sirmium as usual, and entered negotiations with the Quadi and Sarmatians. The unresolved situation on the limes and the threat the Quadi and Sarmatians posed for the safety of Pannonia made the emperor prolong his stay at Sirmium, from where he led his spring expeditions against Sarmatians in 358 and 359 respectively. When he left for the eastern front in late spring of 359, the middle-Danube frontier was secured and peace lasted until 365.¹⁰¹

In 365, the Sarmatians and Quadi again attacked and raided Pannonia, but this incursions were soon dealt with.¹⁰² More destructive attacks happened in the summer of 374. The Sarmatians and Quadi crossed the Danube again and devastated the eastern and northern Pannonian regions. They attacked at the time when rural population was busy with the harvest, they killed people or led them into captivity, they pillaged, took away the cattle and burnt down farmhouses.¹⁰³ Initially, even the Illyrian capital Sirmium was imperiled, and its citizens were prepared to flee in the face of the danger which would left the city at the mercy of the attackers. Such a disastrous development was however avoided, and the invaders turned they rage against Pannonia Valeria.¹⁰⁴

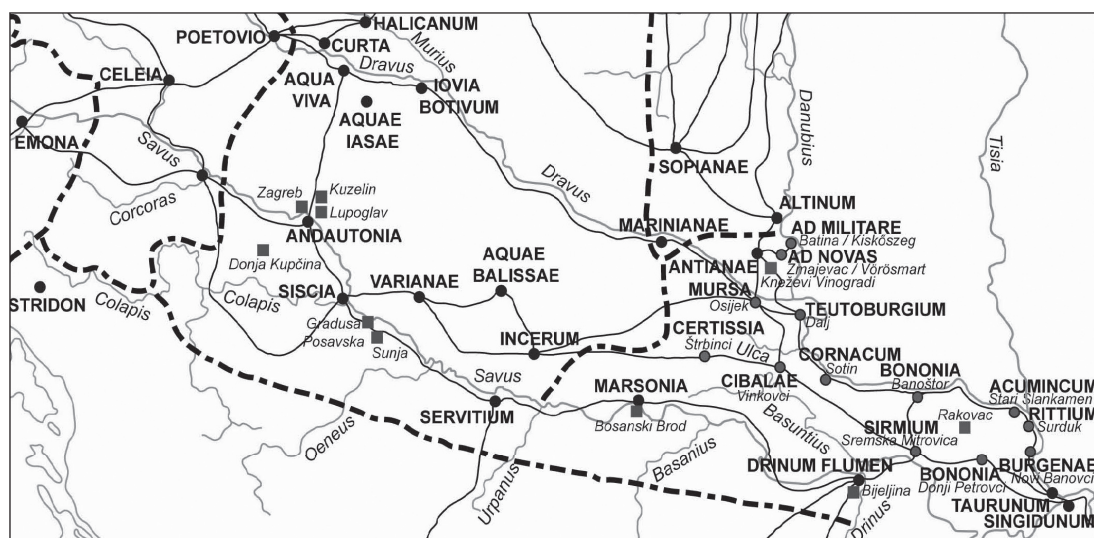
This disruption heralded the era of new dangers for Pannonia. The gravest crisis befell the region after the Roman defeat at Hadrianopole in the summer of 378. The newly appointed Emperor Theodosius I, who was nominated for the East and proclaimed at Sirmium on 19 January 379 with a single purpose of curbing the Gothic revolt, had a limited success in Thrace and Eastern Illyricum, but from late 378 and early 379, the barbarian invaders would spread throughout the provinces of the Balkan Peninsula, looting and ravaging all the way to the Julian Alps, i.e. in Pannonian regions also. For their subsequent raids which reached the threshold of Italy, the invaders used the main Roman traffic routes in the Sava-Drava-Danube region. It is for that reason that this whole area came under particular pressure.¹⁰⁵ The initial attacks on Pannonia were temporarily checked by general Maiorianus who, at the time, was in command of both, East and West Illyrici. Maiorianus led the operations from Aquincum in Valeria, but his command over the entire Illyricum was only of short duration.¹⁰⁶

After Theodosius I was taken rather ill in late 379, the situation became critical again. The Goths launched new attacks in Illyricum in early 380, probably in the spring, and they were also joined by Alatheus and Safrax attacking Pannonia with their Ostrogothic-Alanic-Hunnic bands. It was at that time that the military commander of West Illyricum Vitalianus suffered what must have been a crushing defeat in an attempt to drive them out from Pannonian provinces.¹⁰⁷ The magnitude of the disaster became obvious very soon because nothing stood in the way of Alatheus' and Saphrax' forces anymore. All Pannonian regions as well as the bordering territories of the neighbouring provinces were now open for ravaging. The sources mention explicitly the heavy damage inflicted on Southpannonian town of Mursa, and Stridon (presumably in the vicinity of Rijeka) in Dalmatia, and it appears that



Poetovio was also taken and pillaged.¹⁰⁸ In Croatian historiography, it is usually believed that Cibalæ, where a coin hoard was discovered (the bronze coins of Emperors Valentinian I, Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian II dated to 376),¹⁰⁹ was also devastated. The same may be assumed for many other settlements which stood in the way of the attackers, primarily on the Roman road along the Drava but also on the one along the Sava as indicated by the hoard finds in Bijeljina, probably in the vicinity of Bosanski Brod, in Lupoglav near Dugo Selo east of Zagreb, Sisak, Gradusa Posavska and Sunja south of Sisak, Zagreb, and Donja Kupčina northeast of Karlovac.¹¹⁰ It may be that the last hoard was simultaneous with the Gothic attack on Stridon, and that the attackers used a vicinal road leading from the vicinity of Karlovac to Senia-Senj. The threat was so great that the Emperor Gratian came down to Pannonia in person, after he had previously sent an army led by generals Bauto and Arbogastes to assist Theodosius who had been previously defeated in Macedonia, and the joint western and eastern forces managed to check Goths in Eastern Illyricum.¹¹¹ Gratian's stay in Pannonia is attested for August and September of 380.¹¹²

It seems that the situation in Pannonia could not be resolved on a battlefield for the sources, as traditionally interpreted in modern historiography, inform us of Gratian concluding a treaty with the invaders. Thus Alatheus' and Safrax' Ostrogoths, Alans und Huns would be granted a permission to settle in the Roman territory, and obliged to accept the duties of the federates, i.e. to protect the Roman frontier in return for a yearly pay and regular food supply, and, if required, to place their troops at Roman disposal for a limited duration.¹¹³ The new federates were settled primarily in the Northpannonian provinces, in Valeria and Pannonia Prima, but possibly also in the frontier Danubian section of Pannonia Secunda, notably in northern part of the province.¹¹⁴ This is ostensibly confirmed by several archeological finds that can be attributed to the federates discovered in Batina, Kneževi Vinogradi, and Zmajevac in Croatian Baranya.¹¹⁵ It is quite reasonable to assume that the imperial government would not allow the federates who were bitter enemies of the Empire until just recently to settle in a territory vital for traffic communication between the western and eastern Roman provinces, i.e. in Pannonia Savia and Pannonia Secunda.¹¹⁶ The attacks of Alatheus' and Safrax' Ostrogoths, Alans und Huns also spurred a massive flight of local population which is attested by Ambrose of Mediolanum, the panegyrist Pacatus, and Jerome.¹¹⁷ However, many towns, villas, and forts also continued to be used in the next decades as it is shown by archaeological material, especially numismatic finds, discovered, for example, in Banoštor, Dalj, Donji Petrovci, Novi Banovci, Osijek, in a nameless fort on the hill of Stručica near Rakovac, Sotin, Sremska Mitrovica, Stari Slankamen, Surduk, Štrbinci, and Vinkovci.¹¹⁸



Map 2 Archaeological sites



It would seem that immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, or in 381 at the latest, the imperial government ordered a Christian mission to be sent among the barbarian newcomers to effect their conversion, under direct supervision of Amantius, the bishop of Iovia which is to be identified with today's Alsóhétenypuszta, and under the auspices of the Aquileian metropolitan.¹¹⁹ There is no doubt that the Roman authorities sought to assimilate the federates into the Roman society by Christianization, but this did not have a permanent success. The identification of Amantius' Iovia with the fortified settlement complex discovered in modern Alsóhétenypuszta does not necessarily exclude the possibility that Iovia Botivum in Pannonia Savia, designated as *civitas* in late antique literary sources, was also a bishopric.¹²⁰

Transient economic recovery and new civil wars

After the settlement of the Pannonian federates, their cavalry units readily responded to the calls of the imperial government and its representatives for several times, but the presence of the federates was constantly a potential threat to the peace of Pannonian regions. However, they did afford a brief respite from external danger to Pannonia as some source material would indicate. Thus bishop Ambrose of Mediolanum reported in his epistle dated to 383 about a rich harvest in Pannonia, and the former praeses of Lugdunensis Tertia Valerius Dalmatius could return to his estates in south Valeria after the term of his office expired in late 380's.¹²¹ While in late 384 the Sarmatians who crossed the Danube and invaded Pannonia could most probably still be beaten off with an active help on the part of the Pannonian federates, too, the relationship of sensitive balance between the imperial authorities and the Pannonian federates was soon to be spoiled for we discover that, in 387, the inhabitants of Pannonia found themselves threatened by the unnamed barbarians, which created a situation the usurper Magnus Maximus used for gaining an access to Italy. This could mean that the federates did not fulfill their duty as frontier soldiers, or even that they were themselves a source of disturbance, which is in any case an obvious indication of increased tensions between them and the imperial court at Mediolanum.¹²²

The Pannonian federates did not support Magnus Maximus as the new ruler of Italy, but showed open hostility toward him, and joined Theodosius I when he moved against the usurper in early summer of 388, marching through the Sava-Drava-Danube region. In the battle at Siscia which was probably fought in July of 388, the Hunnic and Alanic horsemen had a decisive role in the defeat of usurper's forces, whereas their part in a victory Theodosius won in subsequent battle at Poetovio was apparently smaller.¹²³ During this campaign there had been some heavy fightings for a castrum on today's hill of Kuzelin north of the village of Donja Glavnica east of Zagreb, where it seems that Magnus Maximus tried to slow Theodosius' advance.¹²⁴ Aquae Iasae-Varaždinske Toplice were also devastated at that time which indicates that Theodosius wanted to secure his rear before engaging Magnus Maximus at Poetovio.¹²⁵ It seems that Theodosius I sent all federates back to their settlements soon after his victory over Magnus Maximus - of course, the Pannonian federates were among them - because he did not want to enter Italy with an army made of barbarians but only with the Roman troops.¹²⁶ An isolated source entry led researchers to suppose that there was another barbarian inroad in Pannonia in 392 or even that the Pannonian federates rebelled and attacked Italy but this is not likely because there are no evidence that could bring these attackers into connection either with Pannonia or the Pannonian federates.¹²⁷ Although the Pannonian federates are not specifically mentioned by extant sources, they probably took part in Theodosius' campaign against the new western Roman usurper Eugenius, who was decisively defeated in a battle fought in early September of 394 at the river Frigidus (Vipava), because the Emperor Theodosius moved through the Sava-Drava-Danube region once again.¹²⁸



South Pannonia at the turn of the century

Soon after Theodosius had died on 17 January 395, the federates rose to rebellion since they were displeased with how they were treated by the Roman authorities during and after the campaign against Eugenius. The insurrection involved primarily the Visigoths settled in the diocese of Thrace, more precisely in Dacia Ripensis and Moesia Secunda, but it is quite reasonable to assume that the Pannonian federates also rebelled since no one opposed or tried to stem the Marcomanni, Quadi, Vandals and Sarmatians who, probably in 395, crossed the middle Danube and raided Pannonia.¹²⁹ This would mean that the Ostrogothic-Alanic-Hunnic federates, to say the least, neglected their principal duty. South Pannonia was spared from devastations on this occasion. Generally more stable situation in Southpannonian provinces is illustrated by the fact that Jerome managed to find a purchaser for his father's estate at Stridon in 397.¹³⁰

Stilicho succeeded in pacifying the middle Danube area in 399 after a period of time which is referred to by Claudianus and Jerome as *obsidio*,¹³¹ and made it liable for tax collection once again, as it is indicated by a passage from Claudianus' second panegyric on the occasion of Stilicho's consulate.¹³² It seems only appropriate to date the mission of senator Flavius Lupus who was sent by Stilicho to Pannonia as a tax expert to this time. Lupus' task was to assess the tax burden of the local landowners, and to make sure that part of the money was spent on rebuilding of the protective walls of provincial towns.¹³³ But this peace was not to last, and the last remnants of prosperity and, which is even more important, capability for internal recovery in Pannonia were erased in the decades that followed.

Appendix

Several points about St. Martin's early life and activity

It is an established fact that St. Martin was born in Savaria in Pannonia Prima, and that he spent his early youth in Italy and almost all of his active years in Gaul that became his other homeland. However, there are several details from his early life and career that are still a matter of debate among the scholars. First of all, the year of his birth. R. Bratož (2006, 263-265) has most recently tried to offer new arguments in support of the so-called long chronology according to which Martin was born in about 316 AD as opposed to the so-called short chronology which dates Martin's birth in about 336 AD. The main problems with regard to the acceptance of the long chronology have been summarized by D. Gáspár (2002, 119). In a word, if one adopts the stance of the "long-chronologists", it is difficult to reconcile much of the information about Martin's early life and career provided by Sulpicius Severus. Martin's biographer plainly states that the future saint pursued, as he was obliged by law since his father was a professional soldier, the military career *sub rege Constantio, deinde sub Iuliano Caesare* (Sulp. Sev. Mart. 2.2), from his fifteenth to twentieth year (Sulp. Sev. Mart. 2.5: *cum esset annorum quindecim ... sacramentis militaribus implicatus est, 2.6; triennium fere ante baptismum in armis fuit, 2.6; cum esset annorum duodeviginti, ad baptismum convolvavit ... per biennium fere posteaquam est baptismum consecutus ... militavit, 3.5*), and that he asked Julian for a *honesta missio* at the time when the new Caesar was at Vangionae / Vormatia (Worms) (Sulp. Sev. Mart. 4.1). On the other hand, if we go along with the long chronology, Martin's service in the Roman army had to take place under the reign of the Emperor Constantine I.

The researchers advocating this view rely on the testimonies by Sulpicius Severus who states in his *Dialogues* (Sulp. Sev. Dialog. 2.7.4) that Martin was 70 years old when he conversed with Magnus Maximus and his wife about religious matters in 385/6, and by Gregory of Tours who writes in the *History* (Greg. Tur. Hist. 1.48, 10.31.3) that Martin died in his



alere egentef, vestire nudof, nihil sibi ex militiae stipendiis praeter cotidianum

eighty-first year during the consulship of (Nonius) Atticus and (Flavius) Caesarius (i.e. 397), and that he was born in the eleventh year of Constantine I's rule (Greg. Tur. Hist. 1.36). To that effect, Bratož (2006, 263-264) says that Sulpicius Severus could not make such a mistake as to declare a man of fifty years of age to be twenty years older than he really was. This would indeed mean that Martin was born in around 316, and joined the army in about 331. Furthermore, Bratož (2006, 264-265) believes that Martin spent 25 and not mere five years in the army, and goes on to explain that Sulpicius Severus "omitted" 20 years of Martin's military service because he wanted to shape an image of Martin that corresponded with true ascetic ideals of that time, and this image would have been compromised if Martin had only joined the clergy after a full military career. However, these are all speculations that contradict the chronological frame in Sulpicius Severus' *Vita sancti Martini* as the earliest source on Martin's life, and their acceptance demands too much readjustment of the well-known facts. In other words, we have to assume that Sulpicius Severus' account is fundamentally correct vis-à-vis chronology and basic information.

Then how are we to account for Sulpicius Severus' comment that Martin was a *septuagenarius* in 385/6 which led Gregory of Tours to the conclusion that Martin had been born in 316 (cf. Bratož 2006, 264)? We propose here that the solution might lay both in Sulpicius Severus' narrative about Martin's frequent talks with Magnus Maximus and his wife, and Biblical symbolism. In this episode, Sulpicius Severus portrays Martin as a prudent and distinguished cleric whose opinion on religious matters had a strong impact on Magnus Maximus and especially on his wife. It is an image of a strong-willed man filled with profound wisdom that has come from a long life experience in the service of God, a man who inspires admiration and captivates one's soul. It is also an image that best suits a man of advanced age who had seen a lot in his time, and who is not afraid to express his firm beliefs because he had drawn close to the end of his life. As it happens, the Bible offers a frame for such a view. Namely, in the Psalm 90:10 it is stated *The years of our life are seventy, or even by reason of strength eighty* (Vulgata Psa 89:10: *dies annorum nostrorum in ipsis septuaginta anni si autem in potentatibus octoginta anni*) which is obviously in conformity with Martin's age as given by Sulpicius Severus and Gregory of Tours. The number seventy could also signify in Biblical terms spiritual order carried out with spiritual power as it is a product of number seven which stands for spiritual completion and perfection, and number ten which symbolizes authority and rulership (for number symbolism in the Bible cf. Roth 1965, Davis 1968, Hutmacher 1993). Thus Martin's seventy years of age could allude to his authoritative spiritual status as a bishop who confronts his views with a representative of temporal power (Magnus Maximus). The belief that spiritual power prevails over temporal power is clearly expressed in Sulp. Sev. Mart. 20.4-7. When Martin, invited to an imperial banquet as a honorable guest, was given a customary cup of wine to be the first to drink a toast, he did not handed over the cup to the Emperor Magnus Maximus who was the host and highest in rank among present dignitaries, but to his presbyter, signifying in this way the preponderance of spiritual authority over the worldly one (cf. Bratož 2006, 263, note 13).

If we accept that Martin was born in 336, he would have been about 15 years old when South Pannonia witnessed the struggle between Constantius II and Magnentius. At that time Martin was stationed as a young recruit (*tiro*) in northern parts of the prefecture of Gaul, in Ambianum (Amiens) - the *Ambianensium civitas* in Sulp. Sev. Mart. 3.1 - at a safe distance from the Southpannonian battleground. This might have been through his father's influence who probably wanted to see his son as far away from the present scene of action as possible. Martin's father served at Ticinum as a senior officer, a military tribune (*tribunus militum*) in charge of a local armament factory mentioned in the *Notitia dignitatum* (Not. Dign. Occ. 9.28 with Bratož 2006, 267). The young Martin was spared the immediate fightings during the civil war but he must have been gravely influenced by uncertainties of soldier's life, especially in internal strifes. We may assume that not the least this fact swayed



him to choose the ecclesiastic career. Martin might have even had his father's example before his eyes. Martin's father was very likely involved in the fighting when Magnentius inflicted a defeat on Constantius' vanguard near Ticinum in the early autumn of 352, and presumably had to fight on Magnentius' side as the usurper controlled Italy since early 350. However, considering the fact that Constantius II proclaimed a general amnesty, it is also reasonable to assume that he used the first opportunity to change sides. Accordingly, Martin's father might have participated in the battle in southern Gaul in August 353, this time on Constantius' side.

According to Sulp. Sev. Mart. 4.1-2, Martin asked Julian for a *honesta missio* at the time when the Caesar was at Vangionae / Vormatia. Gáspár 2002, 119-120 opts for December of 355 as the date of Martin's discharge whereas Bratož 2006, 263 believes that Martin left the army in the autumn of 357, after the successful Roman campaign against the Alamanni. If Martin had only been discharged from the military in late 357, it would make impossible for him to meet the Bishop Hilary of Pictavium (Poitiers) as Sulp. Sev. Mart. 5.1-3 has it since Hilary was exiled to Phrygia in 356. Thus some scholars think that Sulpicius Severus invented the story about Martin's visit to Hilary (Brennecke 1984, 244-247; Bratož 2006, 271 supposes that Martin could have met Hilary in 356 while staying at Vienna as Julian's guardist since the Caesar was in that town from December of 355 to the spring of 356, cf. Barnes 2001, 226-227, but rejects the notion that Martin joined the clergy while Hilary was still in his see, idem, 272, note 58). However, this need not be so. First, there is no good reason to reject Sulpicius Severus' testimony although certain elements of the story are surely exaggerated. Second, as it has already been pointed out, Martin asked for exemption when Julian was at Vangionae / Vormatia (Sulp. Sev. Mart. 4.1-3), and thanks to Ammianus Marcellinus the Caesar's itinerary in Gaul can be reconstructed fairly accurately: Julian reached Augustodunum (Autun) on 24 June (Amm. Marc. 16.2.2), and subsequently passed through Autesiodurum (Auxerre), Tricassae (Troyes), Remi (Rems), Decem Pagi (Dieuze), and Brotomagus (Brumath) (Amm. Marc. 16.2.5-9, 12), and then headed north toward Colonia Agrippina (Köln) (Amm. Marc. 16.3.1). This means that he must have passed, probably in July, through Vangionae / Vormatia that laid on the main Roman road along the Rhine, reaching Colonia Agrippina in August (cf. Barnes 2001, 227). And third, the assumption that Martin was discharged after the Roman victory against the Alamanni in 357 is unfounded. Sulpicius Severus actually describes a minor battle that was fought near Vangionae / Vormatia but thanks to Martin's fearlessness and faith it was won without shedding of blood (Sev. Sulp. Mart. 4.5-8). Ammianus Marcellinus provides further argument to this conclusion. Namely, he enumerates Vangione / Vormatia among the towns whose surrounding areas were held by the Alamanni, and he also goes on to tell that the Caesar seized Brotomagus but had to defeat a band of Germans who came to meet him when he was approaching, and offered battle (Amm. Marc. 16.2.12). Julian's army might have recaptured Vangionae / Vormatia more or less the same way as Brotomagus, and according to Sulp. Sev. Mart. 4.1 the town served as an assembly area for the troops that were intended to march on Colonia Agrippina (Bratož 2006, 267 writes about "great success of the Roman army at Worms" but there is no indication in the sources that this encounter between the Romans and Alamanni was anything more than a skirmish). It is worth pointing out that the town of Remi had previously had the exact same role of an assembly area (cf. Amm. Marc. 16.2.8).

So Martin obtained honorable discharge from the military most likely in late July of 356, being then about 20 years of age. Perhaps this was also due to the intercession of his father who, if we suppose that he was still in active service or even lived in Ticinum, could have met the Caesar Julian in December of 355 (his plea might have carried additional weight if we remember that he was a pagan; cf. Sulp. Sev. Mart. 6.3). Namely, after Julian was proclaimed Caesar on 6 November at Mediolanum (Milan) (Amm. Marc. 15.8.17), he must have passed through Ticinum on the way to Taurinum (Turin) (Amm. Marc. 15.8.18; Gáspár 2002,



119 erroneously says that Constantius II escorted Julian to Ticinum for Ammianus Marcellinus writes that the new Caesar was escorted by the emperor only to a place between Laumellum and Ticinum). However, Martin's discharge in July raises a question about how he managed to meet Hilary of Pictavium as it is generally believed that the bishop was sent into exile shortly after the Council of Biterrae (Béziers) in the spring of 356 (cf. Bratož 2006, 263). But there is no need to suppose that Hilary was exiled immediately after the Council of Biterrae. When in January 360 the bishop protested to Constantius II that he had been unjustly deposed, he also claimed that the Caesar suffered more insult in matter of Hilary's exile than Hilary himself. This might mean that Julian did not act on the decision of the Council of Biterrae as promptly as Hilary's ecclesiastical adversaries would want (cf. Barnes 2001, 153), and could in turn be interpreted as to signify that Julian delayed issuing a decree about Hilary's banishment for several months. Therefore it may be concluded that Julian issued the official order in late 356, after he arrived to his winter quarters at Senonia (Sens) (Amm. Marc. 16.3.3). This allows enough time for Martin to visit Hilary and stay with him for a while (cf. Sulp. Sev. Mart. 5.1: [*Martinus*] *relicta militia sanctum Hilarium Pictavae episcopum civitatis ... expetiit et aliquamdiu apud eum commoratus est*), and thus the historicity of their meeting is preserved. Furthermore, as Hilary was ordained bishop under the reign of Constantius II, Martin could not have left the army in 336 since Hilary was not in office at that time, which means that he could not have been born in 316 either (cf. Gáspár 2002, 119).

Martin joined the clergy under the auspices of Hilary and shortly before the bishop's exile to Asia Minor. Martin soon left for Italy and Pannonia, possibly on an ecclesiastic mission entrusted to him by Hilary (cf. Cedilnik 2004, 167, Bratož 2006, 272). It is fairly certain that Martin's journey had something to do with the main political and theological controversy of the day, Arianism. He probably arrived in Mediolanum (Sulp. Sev. Mart. 6.1) in the autumn of 356, at the time when Constantius II was staying there (from November of 356 to March of 357; cf. Barnes 2001, 222). Martin presumably was to confer with anti-Arian i.e. orthodox supporters in Mediolanum, and set out for Pannonia, where he was to continue his mission. His Pannonian origin surely played a significant role in this, and his youth would have make him more resolute and agile. While in Italy Martin undoubtedly heard the news about the Sarmatian and Quidian attacks on the Pannonian provinces in the spring of 357, and thus he must have been all the more interested in reaching Pannonia if his parents lived there (it is usually taken that they were in Savaria but they might have actually settled at Ticinum, cf. Gáspár 2002, 121). Martin would have come to Pannonia after the immediate danger from the barbarians had ceased i.e. in the late spring or early summer of 357. He probably would have spent some time at his parent's place, and then taken up his anti-Arian struggle. The Arian dispute was primarily a matter of loyalty to the ruler and his religious course, and it took place mainly in South Pannonia (cf. Gáspár 2002, 121). So it is a fair assumption that Martin activity against Arianism played out in southern provinces of Pannonia rather than in its northern regions to which Savaria belonged. It may be that Martin even came to Sirmium where Constantius II was staying from October of 357 (cf. Barnes 2001, 222), summoning a conference of several bishops who drew up a theological statement which Hilary characterized as a blasphemy (Barnes 2001, 138-139, 231-232). By his open criticism and obstinate opposition Martin was brought into sharp conflict with Arian clergy (*sacerdotes* in Sulp. Sev. Mar. 6.4 may have actually been the pro-Arian bishops who were in Sirmium at the time; on the other hand, Bratož 2006, 274 thinks that the *sacerdotes* is an exaggeration), and exposed to a severe punishment (he was publicly lashed), and finally forced to leave the town (Sirmium in our opinion; cf. also Thomas 1981, 13: Siscia or Sirmium, Bratož 1996a, 323, note 97: Sirmium or Mursa). After surviving the maltreatment - one would expect that a man in his early 20's would more easily recover from such injuries than a man in his 40's - he subsequently escaped to Italy.



It is obvious that Martin's mission was not a success, and Pannonia, i.e. its southern parts remained a bastion of Arianism for the time being. Martin was never to return to his homeland of origin. However, we may assume that he stayed in contact with his parents - providing that they had settled in Savaria - and relatives, and was informed of the crises in Pannonia as they occurred. He might have even do something to alleviate hardships of his loved ones. One can even imagine that he took them in if they had to flee from their homes. Be that as it may, he did not live long enough to witness Stilicho's success in bringing transient order to Pannonia in 399.

Notes

- 1 About this administrative changes in Pannonia cf. Šišić 1925, 106, Mócsy 1962, 588, Barkóczy 1980, 109, Fitz 1983, 11-19, 1994, 1175-1183, Kuntić-Makvić 1997, 81-82 with note 28, 2003, 19-21, Andrić 2002, 124-126.
- 2 The historiography has not yet decisively solved the question about the administrative center of Valeria, although it is usually taken that it was situated in Sopianae (cf. Mócsy 1962, 611, 1974, 273). Both Aquincum (Óbuda) and Gorsium-Herculia (Tác) also come into consideration for this (cf. Fitz 1983, 16-17, 1994, 1180-1181).
- 3 Cf. Jones 1954, 22.
- 4 *Laterculus Veronensis*, 6.2-3, 5-6.
- 5 Cf. Fitz 1983, 19, 1994, 1183.
- 6 About the Roman roads in Pannonia cf. Mócsy 1962, 658-667 (also Mócsy 1974, *passim*), Soproni 1980, 207-217. The most detailed survey so far is provided by Graf 1936, 42-128. For the Roman roads in South Pannonia see also Andrić 2002, 120-122. Literary sources are the *Itinerarium Antonini* (*Itin. Ant.*), *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* (*Itin. Hieros.*), *Tabula Peutingeriana* (*Tab. Peut.*), and the *Cosmographia* by Anonymous of Ravenna (*Anon. Raven.*).
- 7 Soproni 1980, 211, Andrić 2002, 121.
- 8 Pirkovič 1968, 58-62.
- 9 Graf 1936, 47, Knez - Petru - Škaler 1961, Petru - Petru 1978, Gregl 1984, 9, Andrić 2002, 121, Lovenjak 2003, 93-105.
- 10 Škrivanić 1974a, 42.
- 11 Durman 1992, 126, 127, Šegvić 2006, 270.
- 12 *Itin. Ant.* 272, 8 - 274, 7 has the Aquileia - Siscia road joining the Emona - Siscia road at Romula, which is followed by Miller 1916, 458-459, Graf 1936, 47-48 and Mócsy 1962, 662. However, the mileage between Senia and Siscia provided by *Itin. Ant.* is too small for a real distance so it is obviously corrupted. A Roman milestone signifying the distance from Aquileia that was discovered in Topusko indicates that there was an important traffic junction there (cf. Durman 1992, 126). Thus it seems appropriate to suppose that the road from Aquileia via Senia connected to the traffic artery running along the Sava at Quadrata (similar solution has been already proposed by Bojanovski 1984, 230). This does not exclude the possibility that a vicinal road also led from Romula, and this road grew on importance in the middle ages with the rise of Zagreb. About the northern section of the Siscia - Senia road cf. Durman 1992, 124-126.
- 13 Durman 1992, 125-126, 127.
- 14 Miller 1916, 461, Škrivanić 1974a, 42, 48, Bojanovski 1984, 165, 1993, 63.
- 15 Pašalić 1960, 27, Škrivanić 1974a, 42, Bojanovski 1984, 173, 1993, 63, Andrić 2002, 121.
- 16 Graf 1936, 51, Škrivanić 1974a, 42, Bojanovski 1977, 152-153, 1984, 174, 1993, 63.
- 17 Bojanovski 1984, 181.
- 18 Miller 1916, 462, Graf 1936, 51, Škrivanić 1974a, 42, Bojanovski 1984, 184-185, 1993, 63.
- 19 Bojanovski 1984, 187-188, 195-199. Also cf. Škrivanić 1974a, 43.
- 20 Bojanovski 1984, 211, 1993, 63.
- 21 Cf. Bojanovski 1984, 212, 216.
- 22 Bojanovski 1984, 217-218.
- 23 Bojanovski 1984, 218, 221-222.
- 24 Bojanovski 1984, 222-225.
- 25 Cf. Miller 1916, 460, Pinterović 1975, 124, Džaić 1989, *sine pagina*, Bobovec 2001, 170, 2002, 73-74, Andrić 2002, 122, Pisk 2005, 30-31.
- 26 Cf. Pinterović 1970, 94, 1975, 124, Vučetić 1975, 16, Sokač-Štimac 1978, 37, Bobovec 2001, 170, Buzov 2005, 135.



- 27 Thus Džaić 1989, *sine pagina*. The station is likely to be located at the southern foot of Psunj (cf. Andrić 2002, 122).
- 28 Sokač-Štimac - Bulat 1974, 136, Sokač-Štimac 1975, 25, Potrebica 2006, 45.
- 29 Pinterović 1970, 94, 1978, 35, Bulat 1983, 269, note 16.
- 30 Andrić 2002, 122.
- 31 Miller 1916, 461, Andrić 2002, 122.
- 32 Pinterović 1970, 92, 1975, 124, Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1974, 17, Minichreiter 1989, 183, Migotti 1998, 77-78, 2001, 77-95, 2006, 268, Andrić 2002, 122, Buzov 2005, 129.
- 33 Miller 1916, 462, Graf 1936, Mócsy 1962, 663, Škrivanić 1974a, 42, Bojanovski 1993, 63.
- 34 Cf. Graf 1936, 59, Löwe 1961, 7, Mócsy 1962, 661.
- 35 Pahić 1965, 315, Fulir 1969, 369, 371, 1970, 7, Škrivanić 1974a, 40.
- 36 Miller 1916, 444, Pahić 1965, 315, Vikić - Gorenc 1968, 4, 6, Fulir 1969, 371, 1970, 8, Škrivanić 1974a, 40, Gorenc - Vikić 1984, 60, Andrić 2002, 123.
- 37 Klemenc 1953, 84, Fulir 1969, 388, 1970, 10-11, Gorenc - Nemeth-Ehrlich 1983, 103, 1984, 299-301, Andrić 2002, 123.
- 38 Otherwise unknown Dautonia mentioned in *Itin. Ant.* 266, 2 might have been a station on the left bank of the Sava, facing Andautonia (cf. Graf 1936, 62-63, Andrić 2002, 123).
- 39 About the Aqua Viva - Siscia road cf. Vikić - Gorenc 1968, 4, 7, Fulir 1969, 384-389, 1970, 10-11.
- 40 Fulir 1969, 408-409, 1970, 11-12, Škrivanić 1974a, 40.
- 41 Tomičić 1966, 119, Vikić - Gorenc 1968b, 129, Fulir 1970, 13-14.
- 42 Fulir 1967, 183, 1969, 419, 1970, 14, Škrivanić 1974a, 40, Demo 1982, 73.
- 43 Demo 1982, 73-75, Begović 1986, 147.
- 44 Lovrenčević 1979, 234, Begović 1985, 18, 1986, 147.
- 45 Thus Begović 1985, 18-19, 1986, 148, 150.
- 46 Cf. Lovrenčević 1979, 234, 236, Jakovljević 1990, 118.
- 47 Lovrenčević 1979, 234, 237, Begović 1985, 16, bilj. 10, 20, 1986, 148. Cf. Cvetković 1971, 6-7 who locates Cucconae in Bukovička Gradina - the Zidine Hill near Špišić-Bukovica.
- 48 Schejbal 2003, 106. Cf. Begović 1985, 16, bilj. 10, 20, 1986, 147.
- 49 Pinterović 1970, 92, 93, Minichreiter 1986, 87, Schejbal 2003, 106, Salajić 2003, 87, 2006, 120. Cf. Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 106.
- 50 Graf 1936, 65, Škrivanić 1974a, 40, Soproni 1980, 58, Andrić 2002, 124.
- 51 Graf 1936, 66, Andrić 2002, 124.
- 52 Miller 1916, 445, Graf 1936, 66, Pinterović 1978, 34, Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1974, 17, Škrivanić 1974a, 40, Buzov 2005, 129, 133.
- 53 Miller 1916, 445, Graf 1936, 66, Škrivanić 1974a, 40, Pinterović 1978, 34, Buzov 2005, 129, 133.
- 54 Miller 1916, 445-446, Graf 1936, 66, Pinterović 1970, 93, 1978, 34-35, Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1974, 17, Škrivanić 1974a, 40, Bulat 1969, 47-48, Buzov 2005, 129.
- 55 Klemenc - Saria 1936, 88, Pahić 1961, 113, 1965, 294, 314, Fulir 1969, 427, 1970, 17, Redó 1998, 13.
- 56 Fulir 1969, 427, 1970, 15, Soproni 1979, 94, Tomičić 1986a, 6, 8, 1986b, 186-187, 205-209, 1999a, 30.
- 57 Miller 1916, 456, Redó 1998, 5, 13.
- 58 *Itin. Ant.* mentions two routes: Poetovio - Curta - Halicanum - Flumen Arrabo - Savaria (261, 7 - 262, 2), and Poetovio - Halicanum - Salla - Savaria (262, 3-6).
- 59 Graf 1936, 67, Škrivanić 1974a, 40, Pinterović 1978, 35, Bojanovski 1993, 64, Buzov 2005, 133.
- 60 Miller 1916, 446, Graf 1936, 54, Šaranović-Svetek 1967, 111 (the Rajterovo Hill), Pinterović 1970, 95, Škrivanić 1974a, 40, Minichreiter 1989, 188.
- 61 Škrivanić 1974a, 41, Popović - Vasiljević 1970, 193-194, Popović 1980, 101. Also cf. Minichreiter 1989, 188.
- 62 Graf 1936, 54, Mirković 1971, 19, Škrivanić 1974a, 41.
- 63 Graf 1936, 54, Mirković 1971, 18, Popović 1980, 102 (the site Kamarište). According to Graf 1936, 54, the station Prista, which is mentioned in *Amm. Marc.* 29.6.6 as a villa publica, was situated at Šid. Also cf. Mócsy 1962, 662, Mirković 1971, 19.
- 64 About that route cf. Škrivanić 1977, 126-129. Very important branch-off road of that route branched at Viminacium (Stari Kostolac), continued southward and ended in Constantinople by way of Serdica (Sofija) (cf. Škrivanić 1977, 120-122). About the road from Singidunum to Constantinople also cf. a detailed study by Konstantin Jireček (1959, 71-190).



- 65 Popović 1980, 103, Milošević 1988, 117-119.
- 66 Miller 1916, 447-448, Graf 1936, 57, Mirković 1971, 17, Škrivanić 1974a, 41.
- 67 Cf. Graf 1936, 58, Mócsy 1962, 662, Škrivanić 1974a, 41. Rejected by Milin 2004, 257. It seems that the *Itin. Ant.* and *Tab. Peut.* mention one route from Bassianae to Singidunum by way of Taurunum, whereas the *Tab. Peut.* has the station Idiminium which is lacking in *Itin. Ant.* (131, 5 - 132, 1). The *Itin. Hieros.* gives another route from Bassianae to Singidunum which apparently bypassed Taurunum as this town is not mentioned; on the other hand, the stations Novicianae and Altina are noted (563, 11-14).
- 68 Miller 1916, 448 and Škrivanić 1974a, 41 locate Idiminium in Ugrinovci. It is not unlikely that the site "Brestovo Međe" near Ugrinovci and in the vicinity of Krnješevci matches Idiminium. The remains of a Roman road are attested near modern village of Batajnica (cf. Dimitrijević 1961, 97, 1969, 98), where a traffic route passed which ran along the Danube limes by way of Burgenae to Taurunum. It may be supposed that a section of the road leading from Bassianae to Taurunum by way of Idiminium was directed to the vicinity of Batajnica, and there it linked with the main road which followed the Danube limes. This would mean that there was a junction (*bivium*) in the territory of Batajnica.
- 69 The station i.e. a minor fort protecting a harbour at Taurunum served as a bridge-head between Taurunum and Singidunum (cf. Dimitrijević 1961, 96, Škrivanić 1974a, 41).
- 70 Graf 1936, 58.
- 71 Dimitrijević 1965, 155, 1969, 87.
- 72 Graf 1936, 116, Dimitrijević 1961, 93-95, Klemenc 1961, 22, 1963, 66-67, Škrivanić 1974a, 44, Soproni 1985, 83, 84, Piletić 1986, 137, 139-140, Visy 1988, 130, Andrić 2002, 128.
- 73 Miller 1916, 436, Graf 1936, 116, Dimitrijević 1961, 95, Klemenc 1961, 21-22, 1963, 65-66, Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1974, 17, Škrivanić 1974a, 43, Piletić 1986, 137, Andrić 2002, 128, Buzov 2005, 128.
- 74 Miller 1916, 435-436, Graf 1936, 115, Klemenc 1961, 21, 1963, 65, Piletić - Rašić 1961, 88-92, Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1974, 17, Škrivanić 1974a, 43, Soproni 1985, 83, Piletić 1986, 137-138, Visy 1988, 129, Andrić 2002, 128, Buzov 2005, 128.
- 75 Miller 1916, 435, Graf 1936, 114-115, Klemenc 1961, 21, 1963, 65, Škrivanić 1974a, 43, Piletić 1986, 137, Andrić 2002, 128.
- 76 Miller 1916, 435, Graf 1936, 114, Klemenc 1961, 20-21, 1963, 64-65, Škrivanić 1974a, 43, Visy 1988, 128, Andrić 2002, 127, 128.
- 77 Cf. Milošević 1988, 119-123 with Amm. Marc. 21.9.6.
- 78 Klemenc 1961, 20, 1963, 63, Pinterović 1978, 110, Mirković 1971, 20, Škrivanić 1974a, 43, Visy 1988, 128, Andrić 2002, 128.
- 79 Klemenc 1961, 20, 1963, 63, Pinterović 1978, 110, Mirković 1971, 20-21, Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1974, 17, Škrivanić 1974a, 43, Andrić 2002, 128, Buzov 2005, 128.
- 80 Miller 1916, 434, Graf 1936, 113, Klemenc 1961, 19-20, 1963, 62, Pinterović 1978, 110, Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1974, 17, Škrivanić 1974a, 43, Soproni 1985, 84, Visy 1988, 127, Andrić 2002, 128, Buzov 2005, 128, 133.
- 81 Pinterović 1978, 34, 110, Bulat 1969, 42, Minichreiter 1989, 184-185, Bojanovski 1993, 64, Andrić 2002, 128.
- 82 Cf. Graf 1936, 112-113. The *Itin. Ant.* 243, 4-5 mentions the Teutoburgium - Mursa route, while the *Tab. Peut.* notes the Teutoburgium - Ad Laborem - Donatiana road.
- 83 Minichreiter 1989, 182 (the site Gradina).
- 84 Pinterović 1978, 35, Buzov 2005, 133.
- 85 Jankulov 1952, 14, 15, Bulat 1977, 79, Kosanović 1979, 157, Minichreiter 1987, 91.
- 86 Miller 1916, 434, Klemenc 1961, 17, Pinterović 1978, 34, 110, Bulat 1977, 83, Soproni 1985, 83, Visy 1988, 126, Andrić 2002, 128, Buzov 2005, 133.
- 87 Klemenc 1961, 17, Bulat 1969, 40-41, 1977, 76-77, Pinterović 1978, 34, 110, Minichreiter 1989, 182 (the site Gradac), Andrić 2002, 125, 128, Buzov 2005, 133.
- 88 Fitz 1962, 7, Pinterović 1969, 56, 67, Soproni 1980, 59, 1985, 76, Visy 1988, 125-126, Andrić 2002, 125.
- 89 Jeločnik 1968, 202-203, Šašel 1992a, 717-719, Barnes 2001, 101-102, 105, Gračanin 2003, 10-11, Demandt 2007, 106-107.
- 90 Kienast 1996, 318, Barnes 2001, 105, Gračanin 2003, 12, Demandt 2007, 107.
- 91 Jeločnik 1968, 215, Šašel 1992a, 721-724, Gračanin 2003, 12-13.
- 92 Details about the battle in Gračanin 2003, 13-17. It is worth pointing out that the Emperor Constantius ordered the killed to be buried and the wounded to be taken care of regardless of which side they fought on (cf. Zonar. 13.8.18 [42, 4-7] with Seeck 1900, 1068-1069, Gračanin 2003, 16). However, the site of the necropolis has not yet been discovered (cf. Bulat 1997, 77).
- 93 Šašel 1992a, 724, Barnes 2001, 105, Gračanin 2003, 24.



- 94 Jeločnik 1968, 215-216, Šašel 1992a, 724-725, Gračanin 2003, 24.
- 95 CIL III 10617 + 3705 = ILS 732.
- 96 The emperor is attested there in May of 352 (*CTh* 3.5.1 with Barnes 2001, 221).
- 97 Jeločnik 1968, 216, Šašel 1992a, 725-726, Barnes 2001, 106, Gračanin 2003, 24.
- 98 Šašel 1992a, 727, Barnes 2001, 221, Gračanin 2003, 24.
- 99 Cf. Amm. Marc. 21.16.15: *triumphalis arces ex clade provinciarum sumptibus magnis erexit in Galliis et Pannoniis titulis gestorum affixis se, quoad stare poterunt monumenta, lectoris*. The arch at Mursa is also referred to by Julian, the cousin of Constantius II and the future emperor (Or. I, 37B [46, 10-11]).
- 100 Constantius stayed in Rome from 28 April to 29 May 357 (Barnes 2001, 222).
- 101 Amm. Marc. 16.10.20-21, 17.12.1-21, 17.13.1-33, Zosim. 3.1.1, 3.2.2. Cf. Mócsy 1962, 573-574, 1974, 286-290, Mirković 1971, 39, Barkóczi 1980, 112-113.
- 102 Amm. Marc. 26.4.5. Cf. Mócsy 1962, 576, 1974, 291, Barkóczi 1980, 117.
- 103 Amm. Marc. 29.6.6-16. Cf. Mócsy 1960, 576, 1974, 294-295, Barkóczi 1980, 115-116, Andrić 2002, 130, Lotter 2003, 157.
- 104 Amm. Marc. 29.6.8-12 with Mirković 1971, 45-46.
- 105 Nagy 1971, 316-318, Gračanin 2006, 30-31 with notes 9-10.
- 106 Mócsy 1974, 340, Fitz 1994, 1251-1252, Gračanin 2006, 31.
- 107 Nagy 1971, 318-319, Mócsy 1974, 341, Fitz 1994, 1252, Gračanin 2006, 32.
- 108 Gračanin 2006, 33.
- 109 Virc 1988, 11, Bulat 1994, 35, Dizdar 1999, 65, Iskra-Janošić 2005, 39. For the coin hoard cf. Alföldi 1924, 30-31, Mirnik 1981, 83, no. 313.
- 110 **Bijeljina**: Sergejevski 1932, 23, Klemenc 1936, 130, no. 29, Mirnik 1981, 76, no. 261; the vicinity of **Bosanski Brod**: Patsch 1902, 418; **Lupoglav**: Brunšmid 1912a, 284-286, Klemenc - Saria 1939, 28, Mirnik 1981, 80, no. 289; **Gradusa Posavska**: Mirnik 1981, 79, no. 283; **Sunja**: Mirnik 1981, 82, no. 206; **Zagreb**: Brunšmid 1912b, 272, Klemenc - Saria 1939, 28-29, Mirnik 1981, 84, no. 321; **Donja Kupčina**: Mirnik 1981, 78, no. 274.
- 111 Gračanin 2006, 33.
- 112 Cf. Seeck 1919, 252.
- 113 Lotter 2003, 73, Gračanin 2006, 34.
- 114 Soproni 1985, 86-93, Lotter 2003, 72-74, Gračanin 2006, 34.
- 115 **Batina**: Dimitrijević - Kovačević - Vinski 1962, 67, no. 64/1, Bojčić 1984, 214, Minichreiter 1987, 97, 103; **Kneževi Vinogradi**: Dimitrijević - Kovačević - Vinski 1962, 68, no. 67/1, Bojčić 1984, 214; **Zmajevac**: Dimitrijević - Kovačević - Vinski 1962, 70, no. 70/3, Minichreiter 1987, 98, Németh 1987, 226, no. 13c, Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 135.
- 116 Soproni 1985, 88, Gračanin 2006, 35.
- 117 Ambros. Expos. 10.10, Pacat. Paneg. Theod. 11.4, Hieron. Comm. in Soph. 1.2.3. Cf. Lotter 2003, 158-159, Bratož 2007, 256-257.
- 118 **Banoštor**: Alföldi 1924, 25-26, Eadie 1982, 34, Eadie - Petrović 1982, 3, Mirnik 1996, 185, note 167; **Dalj**: Göricke-Lukić 1995, 48, 68, no. 62; **Donji Petrovci**: Alföldi 1924, 27, Dautova-Ruševljan 1980, 80, nos. 128-129, Mirnik 1996, 178, no. 98, 200, no. 302; **Novi Banovci**: Alföldi 1924, 21-23, Mirnik 1996, 169, no. 11, 170, nos. 18, 21, 22, 27, 171, nos. 32, 36, 172, no. 41, 174, nos. 62, 65, 175, no. 69, 176, no. 78, 177, nos. 89, 93, 96, 179, nos. 112, 113, 180, no. 119, 185, no. 163, 186, no. 172, 187, nos. 181, 184, 200, nos. 298, 300, 202, nos. 318, 322, 203, no. 326, 208, no. 377, 211, no. 395; **Osijek**: Alföldi 1924, 29, Göricke-Lukić 1995, 48, 67, no. 57, Mirnik 1996, 182, no. 135, 193, no. 238, 198, no. 279, 201, no. 306; **Rakovac**: Alföldi 1924, 25, Eadie 1982, 34, Eadie - Petrović 1982, 3, Mirnik 1981, 87, no. 332, 1996, 170, nos. 19, 24, 171, no. 29, 177, no. 88, 180, no. 117, 181, nos. 124-125, 185, no. 165, 186, no. 174, 187, no. 187, 188, nos. 191, 193, 189, no. 198, 190, nos. 207-208, 210, 214, 191, nos. 215, 222, 196, nos. 260, 265, 197, nos. 272-273, 276, 198, nos. 280, 282, 199, nos. 294-295, 200, nos. 297, 301, 201, no. 312, 203, no. 323, 204, no. 339, 205, nos. 341, 344-346, 348, 206, nos. 351, 355, 359, 207, nos. 360-361, 364-365, 369, 208, no. 371, 209, nos. 382, 384, 386, 210, no. 389, 211, nos. 403, 406; **Sotin**: Alföldi 1924, 26-27, Mirnik 1996, 175, no. 77, 181, nos. 128, 130, Ilkić 2003, 128; **Sremska Mitrovica**: Alföldi 1924, 27-29, Brukner 1961, 80, Mirnik 1996, 171, no. 33, 174, no. 64, 181, no. 129, 182, no. 138, 185, no. 164, 201, no. 310, Popović 1977, 120, 121, note 31, 1982, 553, Mirnik 1996, 191, br. 221, 198, br. 28; **Stari Slankamen**: Mirnik 1996, 171, no. 35, 180, note 121; **Surduk**: Alföldi 1924, 24; **Štrbinci**: Dukat 1998, 119; **Vinkovci**: Brunšmid 1912b, 272-284, Alföldi 1924, 30-31, Mirnik 1981, 83, no. 313.
- 119 Lotter 2003, 73-74, Gračanin 2006, 36. The identification of Iovia in Pannonia Valeria with Alsóheténypuszta was established by Nagy 1971, 320 and Soproni 1974, 181-186.
- 120 About this historiographic problem cf. Gáspár 2002, 50, Migotti 2002, 55-56, Bratož 2003, 481, Gračanin 2006, 36, note 27.



- 121 Ambros. Epist. 18.21. Cf. Mócsy 1974, 342, Lotter 2003, 80, 82, Gračanin 2006, 36-37, note 28.
- 122 Gračanin 2006, 37-38.
- 123 Gračanin 2006, 38. For the movement of Theodosius' army from Siscia to Poetovio cf. Klemenc 1953, 78-88.
- 124 Sokol 1998, 15.
- 125 Gorenc - Vikić 1980, 22, Vikić-Belančić 1996, 30.
- 126 Lotter 2003, 85, Gračanin 2006, 38. Bratož 2003, 487 believes that the Pannonian federates took part in the attack on Aquileia where Magnus Maximus took refuge but possible evidence (Zosim. 4.46.2) is not conclusive enough when compared to explicit testimony in Ambros. Epist. 74.22 (Maur. 40).
- 127 Cf. Alföldi 1926, 63, Mócsy 1960, 578, 1974, 344. The assumption is based on Ambros. De obitu 2.4.22 who speaks of a barbarian enemy (*hostis barbarus*) who threatened the Italian Alps (*Alpes Italiae*) just before the death of Valentinian II but they retreated when the emperor went against them and handed over the prisoners. It is much more likely that a minor barbarian group, possibly Alamannic, made an incursion across the Upper Danube into Raetia or Noricum, and then advanced toward Italy.
- 128 Lotter 2003, 85-86, Gračanin 2006, 38-39.
- 129 Lotter 2003, 87, 100, Gračanin 2006, 39-41.
- 130 Hieron. Epist. 66. Cf. Mócsy 1974, 344, Gračanin 2006, 41, note 49.
- 131 Claudian. De cons. Stilich. 2.191, Hieron. Epist. 123.17.
- 132 Claudian. De cons. Stilich. 2.197-207. Cf. Lotter 2003, 87, Gračanin 2006, 41, Bratož 2007, 253-254.
- 133 About Flavius Lupus and his career cf. Chastagnol 1967, 105-130, Várady 1972, 262-264, Mócsy 1974, 348, Eadie 1982, 29, Eadie - Petrović 1982, 15.

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Abbreviations

- AAAd: *Antichità altoadriatiche*, Trieste
- AAntH: *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest
- AArchH: *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest
- AP: *Arheološki pregled*, Beograd
- ARR: *Arheološki radovi i rasprave HAZU*, Zagreb
- AV: *Arheološki vestnik*, Ljubljana
- AZZRO: *Anali Zavoda za znanstveni rad u Osijeku*, Osijek
- BH: *Burgenländische Heimblätter*, Eisenstadt
- BjZ: *Bjelovarski zbornik*, Bjelovar
- BS: *Byzantinoslavica*, Prague
- CSEL: *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna
- CSHB: *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*, eds. B. G. Niebuhr et altera, Bonn 1828-1897
- GCBI: *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja*, Sarajevo
- GGM: *Godišnjak Gradskog muzeja*, Varaždin
- GSM: *Glasnik slavonskih muzeja*, varia loca
- GZMBiH: *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo
- HZ: *Historijski zbornik*, Zagreb
- ILS: *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae I-III*, ed. H. Dessau, Berlin 1882-1916
- JRS: *The Journal of Roman Studies*, London
- KŽZ: *Križevački zbornik*, Križevci
- MGH AA: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi*, Berlin
- MGH SSRM: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, Berlin
- OA: *Opuscula archaeologica*, Zagreb
- ObHAD: *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, Zagreb
- OsZ: *Osječki zbornik*, Osijek
- PdZ: *Podravski zbornik*, Koprivnica
- PIAZ: *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, Zagreb
- PoZ: *Požeški zbornik*, Slavenska Požega
- RE: *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, A. F. Pauly - G. Wissowa - W. Kroll - K. Witte - K. Mittelhaus - K. Ziegler - H. Gärtner (ur.), Stuttgart; München

RSAUZgod: *Razprave Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, Razred za zgodovinske in družbene vede*, Ljubljana
 RVM: *Rad vojvođanskih muzeja*, Novi Sad
 RZZRVž: *Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU Varađdin*, Varađdin
 SC: *Sources Chrétiennes*, Paris
 SSlav: *Scrinia Slavonica*, Slavonski Brod
 VAMZ: *Vjesnik arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3rd series, Zagreb
 VHAD n. s.: *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva*, new series, Zagreb
 ZČ: *Zgodovinski časopis*, Ljubljana
 ZMĐ: *Zbornik Muzeja Đakovštine*, Đakovo

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Résumé

La Pannonie Romaine du Sud au temps de saint Martin de Tours

Cette communication souhaite retracer les procès historiques essentiels sur le territoire de la Basse Pannonie romaine, c'est-à-dire sur le territoire des provinces de Pannonie Savia et Pannonie Secunda au temps de saint Martin de Tours (deuxième moitié du IV^e siècle).

L'étude traite de la situation politique et sociale dans la province.

On accentuera particulièrement les discussions ecclésiastiques sur l'arianisme, car la Basse Pannonie romaine du IV^e siècle a passé pour être à la base d'une doctrine hérétique. Ce travail tend à démontrer dans quelle mesure les actions de saint Martin ont peut-être influencé le combat efficace contre les Ariens de Pannonie.

