

# EMONA

MIT · IN · RESNIČNOST

EMONA: MYTH AND REALITY



MESTNICA  
MUZEJ MUSEUM  
LJUBLJANA OF LJUBLJANA

CIP

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**E**mona je večna enigma, ki spremlja oziranje na tako zanimivo obdobje naše antične zgodovine.

Razstava, ki smo jo pripravili v Mestnem muzeju Ljubljana, osvetljuje naš današnji pogled na tedanje življenje in razlaga marsikatero uganko, s čimer razbremenjuje dojemanje tistega časa in vprašanja, s katerimi se danes soočamo pri branju arheoloških in zgodovinskih odkritij.

V času, ko v Ljubljani potekajo številne arheološke raziskave, ki osvetljujejo življenje v Emoni, je prav naloga pričujoče razstave, da nam ponudi odgovore na vprašanja, s katerimi se različne stroke ukvarjajo pri dešifriranju pomena predmetov oziroma nabranega gradiva iz naše zgodovine.

Razstava naj obiskovalcu vzbudi željo po raziskovanju in radovednost. S tem delo številnih arheologov, zgodovinarjev, kustosov in konservatorjev ne bo zaman.

V letu 2014 bo minilo 2000 let od ustanovitve antične Emona. Razstavo »Mit in resničnost« lahko zato jemljemo kot uvod v širšo, še bolj poglobljeno razstavo in prireditve, ki jih bomo pripravili ob tej obletnici. Številne arheološke raziskave, ki jih opravljamo danes, nam bodo skupaj z znanji preteklosti – tu gre omeniti pionirsko delo naše arheolinje dr. Ljudmile Plesničar Gec –

## FOREWORD

**E**mona – the eternal enigma that colours our view of a fascinating period in Slovenia's ancient history.

*The exhibition we have set up at the City Museum sheds light on our modern view of life and explains many puzzles, and this helps us to grasp that period and the issues we face today when interpreting archaeological and historical discoveries.*

*At a time when extensive archaeological research is being conducted in Ljubljana that is giving us more clues about life in Emona, this exhibition aims to provide answers to questions asked by various professions when deciphering the meaning of objects, interpretations and the totality of collected material from our history.*

*The exhibition seeks to stimulate visitors' curiosity as well as their desire to explore. Achieving that would mean that the work of a large group of archaeologists, historians, curators and conservators has not been in vain.*

*The year 2014 will mark 2000 years since the founding of ancient Emona. The exhibition "Myth and Reality" may therefore be seen as an introduction to*

omogočile povezavo mita z znanjem in kreativnim pristopom, ki bo celovito osvetlil to tako opevano obdobje ljubljanske zgodovine.

Emona ne pomeni samo arheoloških danosti, pomeni vpogled v to, kako dojemamo življenje tistega časa, kako lahko navdih antične zgodovine prevedemo v to, kaj nam zgodovina pomeni danes in kje so nove meje njenih spoznanj. Mit in resničnost vpogleda vsakega izmed nas.

*a broader, more in-depth exhibition and event that we will prepare to mark that anniversary. The wide range of archaeological research being conducted today will serve, together with our knowledge of the past – and mention should be made here of the pioneering work of our archaeologist Dr. Ljudmila Plesničar Gec – to link myth with knowledge and a creative approach so as to comprehensively lay open this storied period of Ljubljana's history.*

*Emona not only signifies archaeological specifics, but it allows us to understand the life of that time and how the inspiring history of Antiquity can be translated into what history means for us today and where the new boundaries of its knowledge lie. The myth and reality as we all see them.*







# EMONA: RIMSKO MESTO IN NJEGOVA DEDIŠČINA

## EMONA: A ROMAN CITY AND ITS LEGACY

### Nastanek Emona

Rimska zasedba širšega ljubljanskega prostora je povezana z Avgustovim osvajanjem Balkana. Arheološke raziskave v Ljubljani v letu 2008 so na območju, kjer se je plovna Ljubljanica najbolj približala Grajskemu griču, pod katerim je tekla najpomembnejša cestna povezava proti Balkanu, odkrile sledove dveh vojaških taborov<sup>1</sup>. V prvem so izkopali dva obrambna jarka, zahodno od njiju pa še obrambni nasip. Vojaki so prebivali v šotorih. V začetku 1. stoletja našega štetja so na levem bregu obzidje tega tabora zravnali z zemljo in jarke zasuli, nato pa na večjem delu območja postavili lesene barake, v katerih so bivali vojaki, ki so gradili Emono.<sup>2</sup>

V prvem desetletju 1. stoletja so Rimljani na prostoru današnjega središča Ljubljane, ob levem bregu reke

<sup>1</sup> <http://tribuna.freehost386.com/najdisce.html>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.arhej.com/si/index.php?mID=galerija&pid=37&pime=Tribuna>

### *The Emergence of Emona*

*The Roman occupation of the wider Ljubljana area is linked to the conquest of the Balkans by Augustus. Archaeological investigation conducted in Ljubljana in 2008 yielded traces of two military camps in the area where the navigable Ljubljanica River came closest to Castle Hill, below which ran the main road link towards the Balkans<sup>1</sup>. Two defensive ditches were excavated behind the first camp, while to the west of the ditches there was a defensive embankment. The soldiers lived in tents. At the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, on the left bank the walls of this camp were levelled with the ground and the ditches filled in, and then a large part of this area was developed with wooden huts to house the soldiers who built Emona<sup>2</sup>.*

*In the first decade of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, in the area of what is now Ljubljana, along the left bank of the Ljubljanica River the Romans established their*

<sup>1</sup> <http://tribuna.freehost386.com/najdisce.html>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.arhej.com/si/index.php?mID=galerija&pid=37&pime=Tribuna>



Slika 1: Bodalo, del  
legionarjeve opreme, iz časa  
cesarja Tiberija.

Odkrito pri arheoloških raziskavah  
za gradnjo Strojne fakultete ob  
Aškerčevi cesti. Hrani MGML. Foto  
Matevž Paternoster, arhiv MGML.

*Figure 1: A dagger, part of a  
legionnaire's equipment, from  
the time of Emperor Tiberius.*

*Discovered in archaeological  
excavations during construction of the  
Mechanical Engineering Faculty on  
Aškerčeva Street. Kept by the MGML.  
Photo by Matevž Paternoster, MGML  
archive.*

Ljubljance, postavili svojo kolonijo Julijo Emono. Glede na pred skoraj stoletjem odkrit napisni kamen vemo, da je Emona v drugi polovici leta 14 ali v začetku leta 15 že stala<sup>3</sup> in da sta v njej cesarja Avgust in Tiberij dala zgraditi neko večjo javno zgradbo, morda – kot predvideva rekonstrukcija napisa J. Šašla<sup>4</sup> – obzidje s stolpi. V mesto so naselili koloniste iz severne Italije. Poznamo imena okoli 30 družin, naseljenih v Emona; od teh je kar 13 severnoitalskih, največ iz Padske nižine.<sup>5</sup>

O predrimski, staroselski poselitvi Ljubljane smo zaradi arheoloških raziskav v središču Ljubljane v zadnjih nekaj letih veliko izvedeli.<sup>6</sup> Začetke Ljubljane lahko iščemo v protourbani naselbini pod

*colony of Julia Emona. From an inscription stone discovered nearly a century ago, we know that Emona already stood in the second half of the year 14 or beginning of the year 15<sup>3</sup>, and that within it the emperors Augustus and Tiberius ordered the construction of a large public building, perhaps as envisaged by the reconstruction in the writings of J. Šašel<sup>4</sup>, a walled fortification with towers. The city was settled by colonists from northern Italy. We know the names of around 30 families who settled in Emona; of these 13 came from northern Italy, mainly from the Po River valley<sup>5</sup>.*

*As a result of archaeological research conducted in the centre of Ljubljana, in recent years we have found out a great deal about the pre-Roman, ancient settlement of Ljubljana<sup>6</sup>. The beginnings of Ljubljana can be traced back to the proto-urban settlement under Castle Hill, in the area of the modern-day district of Prule, which emerged in the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE<sup>7</sup>. The builders carefully planned their settlement.*

<sup>3</sup> Šašel, Weiler 1963/64.

<sup>4</sup> Šašel 1955.

<sup>5</sup> Šašel 1968, 565s.

<sup>6</sup> Vičič 2002, Vičič 1994, <http://tribuna.freehost386.com/najdisce.html>

<sup>3</sup> Šašel, Weiler 1963/64.

<sup>4</sup> Šašel 1955.

<sup>5</sup> Šašel 1968, 565s.

<sup>6</sup> Vičič 2002, Vičič 1994, <http://tribuna.freehost386.com/najdisce.html>

<sup>7</sup> <http://tribuna.freehost386.com/najdisce.html>

grajskim gričem, na območju današnjih Prul, ki je nastala v 10. stoletju pred našim štetjem.<sup>7</sup> Graditelji so gradnjo naselja skrbno načrtovali. Pravilen raster ulic so prilagodili terenu in ulice tlakovali s prodniki. Ob njih so v vrstah nanizali lesene stavbe, ki so imele po enega ali po več prostorov.<sup>8</sup> Stavbe so bile večkrat obnovljene in prezidane, kljub temu pa se zasnova naselja ni bistveno spreminjala. Grobišče prebivalcev tega naselja je ležalo na drugi strani reke Ljubljanice.<sup>9</sup>

Naselje pod grajskim gričem je spet živahno zaživelo v 3. stoletju pred našim štetjem.<sup>10</sup> V 1. stoletju pred našim štetjem so staroselci intenzivno trgovali z Rimljani, pri čemer je imela pomembno vlogo reka Ljubljanica kot prometna pot. Kasneje, ko je kolonija Emona že stala, je poseljeni del pod grajskim gričem živel kot emonsko predmestje.<sup>11</sup>

## Rimsko mesto Emona

**R**imski imperij je bil izreden dosežek. Na svojem vrhuncu, v 2. stoletju našega štetja, je imel 60 milijonov prebivalcev, ki so živeli na 5 milijonih kvadratnih kilometrov: od Hadrijanovega zidu v severni Angliji do Evfrata v Siriji, od vodne poti Ren–Donava, ki je povezovala srednjo Evropo s Črnim morjem, do severnoafriške obale in Egipta. V času življenja Emone je bil prostor današnje Slovenije vključen v rimski imperij in deležen nekaterih ključnih pridobitev rimske kulture:

<sup>7</sup> <http://tribuna.freehost386.com/najdisce.html>

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.arhej.com/si/index.php?mID=galerija&pid=37&pime=Tribuna>

<sup>9</sup> Puš 1982.

<sup>10</sup> Vičič 2002, Vičič 1994.

<sup>11</sup> Vičič 1994, 34–36.

*A proper grid of streets was adapted to the terrain and the streets were laid with gravel. Along them, in a row, were wooden buildings, each with one or more rooms<sup>8</sup>. The buildings were renovated and reconstructed several times, yet the basic plan of the settlement did not change significantly. The cemetery for the inhabitants of this settlement lay on the other side of the Ljubljanica<sup>9</sup>.*

*The settlement below Castle Hill enjoyed renewed vigour from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE on<sup>10</sup>. In the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, the ancient inhabitants traded intensively with the Romans and the Ljubljanica River played an important role as a transport route. Later, when the colony of Emona was already established, the settled area below Castle Hill existed as a suburb of Emona<sup>11</sup>.*

## The Roman city of Emona

**T**he Roman Empire was an extraordinary achievement. At its height, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, it comprised 60 million inhabitants living in an area covering 5 million km<sup>2</sup>: from Hadrian's Wall in northern England to the Euphrates in Syria, from the Rhine–Danube river routes that linked Central Europe with the Black Sea to the North African coast and Egypt. During the Emona period, the area of modern-day Slovenia was incorporated in the Roman Empire and acquired some of the key advances of Roman culture: urbanisation, literacy and the Roman residential culture.

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.arhej.com/si/index.php?mID=galerija&pid=37&pime=Tribuna>

<sup>9</sup> Puš 1982.

<sup>10</sup> Vičič 2002, Vičič 1994.

<sup>11</sup> Vičič 2002.

urbanizacije, pismenosti in rimske bivalne kulture.

Emona je cvetela od 1. do 5. stoletja. Imela je pravokoten tloris z osrednjim trgom, *forumom* in sistemom pravokotno križajočih se cest, med katerimi so bile stavbne površine (slika 2).<sup>12</sup> Pod cestami so v smeri zahod–vzhod tekle kloake, večji kanalizacijski kanali, ki so odvajali odpadno vodo v Ljubljano. Mesto je obdajalo obzidje s stolpi, mestoma pa tudi eden ali dva jarka, napolnjena z vodo (slika 2). Poseljeni so bili tudi nekateri predeli zunaj obzidja,<sup>13</sup> dobro je znana lončarska četrt za severnim obzidjem.<sup>14</sup> Ob severni, zahodni in vzhodni vpadnici v mesto – iz smeri Celeje, Akvileje in Nevioduna – so po rimski navadi zrasla grobišča. Predvsem severno grobišče je bilo v šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja temeljito raziskano.<sup>15</sup>

Kot rimska kolonija je imela Emona obsežno pripadajoče ozemlje, za katero je pomenila upravno-administrativno, politično, ekonomsko in kulturno središče. Emonsko upravno območje, *ager*, se je raztezalo od Atransa (Trojane) po Karavankah proti severu. Na vzhodu je tekla meja nekje okoli Višnje Gore, na jugu pa verjetno po reki Kolpi.<sup>16</sup> Na zahodu je emonsko ozemlje pri vasici Bevke na Ljubljanskem barju mejilo na akvilejsko.<sup>17</sup>

Del emonskega agra so zemljemerci premerili in razdelili v kmetijska posestva. Tako kot v večini rimskih mest je bila osnovna dejavnost prebivalcev Emone kmetovanje, izkoriščanje plodne zemlje v okolici mesta, ki so jo dobili v last. V rimskem času je zemljiška posest pomenila več kot obdelovalno zemljo: lastništvo zemlje je pomenilo individualno bogastvo in družbeni ugled.

*Emona flourished from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> century. It was laid out in a rectangle with a central square or forum and a system of rectangular intersecting streets, between which were sites for buildings (Figure 2)<sup>12</sup>. Under the streets, running west-east flowed the cloaca, a major drainage channel that carried waste water into the Ljubljana. The city was enclosed by walls and towers, and in some places also by one or two ditches filled with water (Figure 2). Some areas beyond the walls were also settled<sup>13</sup>; the potters' quarter behind the northern wall is well known<sup>14</sup>. Along the northern, western and eastern thoroughfares into the city – from the directions of Celeia, Aquileia and Neviodunum – cemeteries became established, according to Roman custom. In the 1960s, the northern cemetery in particular was thoroughly researched<sup>15</sup>.*

*As a Roman colony, Emona had extensive pertaining territory for which it was the administrative, political, economic and cultural centre. Emona's administrative territory or ager stretched from Atrans (Trojane) along the Karavanke mountains towards the north. To the east, the boundary ran somewhere near Višnja Gora, and in the south probably along the Kolpa River<sup>16</sup>. To the west, the territory of Emona bordered that of Aquileia at the village of Bevke in the Ljubljansko barje wetland<sup>17</sup>.*

*Surveyors measured part of the Emona ager and divided it into agricultural holdings. As in the majority of Roman cities, the main activity of Emona's inhabitants was agriculture, working the fertile land they had been granted around the city. In Roman times, a land holding meant more than just land for cultivation; land ownership meant*

<sup>12</sup> Plesničar 1999.

<sup>13</sup> Plesničar Gec 1977, 28s.

<sup>14</sup> Prim. Istenič, Plesničar 2001.

<sup>15</sup> Plesničar Gec 1972. Petru 1972.

<sup>16</sup> Šašel 1968, 567.

<sup>17</sup> Šašel Kos, 2002.

<sup>12</sup> Plesničar 1999.

<sup>13</sup> Plesničar Gec 1977, 28-29.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Istenič, Plesničar 2001.

<sup>15</sup> Plesničar Gec 1972. Petru 1972.

<sup>16</sup> Šašel 1968, 567.

<sup>17</sup> Šašel Kos, 2002.

V širšem emonskem prostoru se je razvilo značilno rimsko podeželje: vasi, manjši zaselki, posestva, opekarne. Manjši kraji so postali lokalna središča in trgi: Karnij na prostoru današnjega Kranja, Navport na prostoru današnje Vrhnike, na prostoru današnjega Iga in Mengša pa kraja, katerih rimskih imen ne poznamo.

Poleg cestnih povezav je bila za Emono zelo pomembna vodna pot, Ljubljanica.<sup>18</sup> Ta je bila od prazgodovine pa do gradnje železnice v 19.

*individual wealth and social standing.*

*The wider area of Emona saw the development of typical Roman countryside: villages, hamlets, estates and brickworks. The small towns became local*



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Slika 2: Emona na maketi iz začetka 20. stoletja. Predmet hrani MGML. Foto Matevž Paternoster, arhiv MGML. / Figure 2: A model of Emona from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Item kept by the MGML. Photo by Matevž Paternoster, MGML archive.

stoletju pomembna trgovska komunikacija, ki je povezovala severni Jadran in Podonavje. Množica najdb z dna Ljubljanice, ki jih lahko datiramo od časa srednje kamene dobe naprej, kaže, da je bila

*centres and markets: Karnij in the area of modern-day Kranj, Navport in the area of Vrhnika, and in the area of modern-day Ig and Mengeš settlements whose Roman names have been lost.*

<sup>18</sup> Prim. Istenič 2009.

*Alongside its road links, the waterway of the Ljubljanica<sup>18</sup> was very important for Emona. From prehistoric times right up to the construction of the railway in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was an important trade route that linked the northern Adriatic and the*

<sup>18</sup> Cp. Istenič 2009.

reka tudi pomemben kulturni prostor. Z Ljubljano sta bili verjetno povezani predrimski božanstvi Laburus in Ekorna.<sup>19</sup> Slednja je bila v Emoni zelo priljubljeno božanstvo – morda je bila božanstvo bližnjega Barja, Laburus pa je bil verjetno lokalni vodni bog.

Emona je bila od svojega nastanka do propada tesno povezana z dogajanjem v rimskem imperiju. Zaradi svoje lege je imela pomembno vlogo v



Slika 3: Odlomek v Emono uvožene čaše z naslikanimi rastlinjem in pticami. Druga polovica 1. stoletja. Predmet hrani MGML. Foto Tomaž Lauko, arhiv MGML. / *Figure 3: Imported glass cup with painted leaves and birds, from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century. Item kept by the MGML. Photo by Tomaž Lauko, MGML archive.*

njegovem vojaškem obrambnem sistemu. Od druge polovice 4. stoletja pa vse do madžarskih vpadov v 10. stoletju je bil ta prostor prehodno ozemlje na poti do Apeninskega polotoka. Raziskovanja Emone so potrdila njeno vlogo v času pozne

<sup>19</sup> Šašel Kos 1992; Šašel Kos 2009.

*Danube region. The mass of finds from the bottom of the Ljubljana that can be dated to the middle Stone Age and later indicate that the Ljubljana was also an important cult area. The Ljubljana probably had associations with the pre-Roman deities of Laburus and Aequorna<sup>19</sup>. Aequorna was a very popular deity in Emona – perhaps she was the deity of the nearby Barje wetland, while Laburus was the local water god.*

*From its creation until its collapse, Emona was closely tied to events in the Roman Empire. Its geographical position meant it played an important part in the Empire's military defence system. From the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century right up to the Hungarian incursions in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, this area was a transit territory on the route to the Apennine peninsula. Research into Emona has confirmed its important role in the period of Late Antiquity<sup>20</sup>, when it was the first major station in support of the newly established defensive line across the Alps, Claustra Alpium Iuliarum. Linked to this are some extensive new constructions at Emona in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, chiefly the public bath house in the area of the planned new university library where numerous finds with a military association indicate the major concentration of reinforcement troops in Emona or nearby<sup>21</sup>.*

*From the late 4<sup>th</sup> to the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, Emona was the seat of a bishopric. The intensive contacts pursued by the early Christian community of Emona with the ecclesiastical circle of Milan are reflected in the architecture of the early Christian complex along Erjavčeva Street (Figure 4) and in two preserved letters from St. Hieronymus to the nuns of Emona and the monk Anthony.*

<sup>19</sup> Šašel Kos 1992; Šašel Kos 2009.

<sup>20</sup> Plesničar 1997; Plesničar unpublished, MGML archive.

<sup>21</sup> Plesničar Gec 1997, 360.

antike,<sup>20</sup> ko je bila prva večja postojanka v zaledju novozgrajene obrambne linije čez Alpe, *Clastra Alpium Iuliarum*. S tem so bile povezane obsežne novogradnje v Emoni v 4. stoletju, predvsem javno kopališče na prostoru današnje načrtovane nove univerzitetne knjižnice, kjer številne z vojaštvom povezane najdbe kažejo na večjo koncentracijo zalednih čet v Emoni ali njeni bližini.<sup>21</sup>

Od poznega 4. pa do poznega 6. stoletja je bila

*In the late Roman period, the image of Emona gradually changed: some entrance ways through the walls were filled in, while the cleaning and maintenance of the cloaca and city ditches were*



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Slika 4: Versko središče emonskih kristjanov s krstilnico in krstilnim bazenčkom, danes arheološki park. Zgodnjekrščansko središče. Foto Matevž Paternoster, arhiv MGML. / *Figure 4: Religious centre of the Emona Christians with a baptistery and baptismal font, today the Early Christian Centre archaeological park. Photo by Matevž Paternoster, MGML archive.*

Emona sedež škofije. Živahni stiki emonske zgodnjekrščanske skupnosti z milanskim cerkvenim krogom odsevajo v dveh ohranjenih pismih sv. Hieronima emonskim redovnicam in menihu Antoniju.

<sup>20</sup> Plesničar 1997; Plesničar, neobjavljeno, arhiv MGML.

<sup>21</sup> Plesničar Gec 1997, 360.

*neglected<sup>22</sup>. In the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, effectively the only new constructions of any architectural quality were ecclesiastical buildings (Figure 4). In view of similar cases elsewhere in the Roman Empire, for instance in Gaul<sup>23</sup>, we can say that this did not indicate the collapse of the city but a change in the urban identity of Emona, reflecting changes in the thinking of the Emonans, in the priorities and role of the city at that time. Secular architecture and infrastructure was clearly no longer important, with major effort and financial input being focused on architecture linked to the early Christian Church,*

<sup>22</sup> Plesničar Gec 1997, 364pp.

<sup>23</sup> Harries 1992.

V poznorimskem obdobju se je podoba Emone polagoma spremenila: nekatere vhode v obzidje so zazidali, zanemarili so čiščenje in vzdrževanje kloak ter mestnih jarkov.<sup>22</sup> V 5. in 6. stoletju so tako rekoč edine nove stavbe s kakovostno arhitekturo cerkvene zgradbe (slika 4). Glede na podobne primere drugod po rimskem imperiju, na primer v Galiji,<sup>23</sup> lahko rečemo, da ne gre za propad mesta, ampak za spremembo urbane identitete Emone, ki pomeni odsev sprememb v razmišljanju Emoncev, v prioritetah in vlogi mesta v tem času. Sekularna arhitektura in infrastruktura očitno nista bili več pomembni, velika skrb in finančni vložek pa sta bila namenjena arhitekturi, povezani z zgodnjekrščansko Cerkvijo, katere moč je v tem času naglo rasla. V mestih po vsem imperiju škofje v tem obdobju niso bili več samo cerkveni dostojanstveniki, ampak so prevzemali upravno-administrativne funkcije. Skratka, sprememba v podobi Emone v pozni antiki odraža spremembo v notranjem svetu Emoncev, spremembo njihove identitete, pa tudi upravno-administrativne spremembe ob razpadu imperija.

V času med 4. in 6. stoletjem je rimski imperij počasi razpadal. Oblast je postajala vedno bolj decentralizirana, komunikacija med posameznimi deli imperija slabša, rimski upravni sistem je popuščal. V tem času se je imperij soočal s številnimi plemeni, ki jih je rimski svet imenoval z enotnim imenom "barbari". Ti so v imperiju iskali boljše življenjske pogoje: denar, rodovitno zemljo, sužnje in stalno delo. Nekatera od teh ljudstev so se ustavila tudi v emonskem prostoru: v zimi 408/9 so pred Emono taborili Zahodni Goti, ob svojem pohodu leta 452 so jo delno razdejali Huni, tod mimo so leta 568 v Italijo potovali Langobardi, sledili so vdori Avarov in Slovanov.<sup>24</sup> Po prvi

<sup>22</sup> Plesničar Gec 1997, 364ss.

<sup>23</sup> Harries 1992.

<sup>24</sup> Sivec 1996.

*whose power was then growing rapidly. In cities throughout the Empire, bishops at this time were no longer just Church dignitaries but were taking on administrative functions. In short, the change in the image of Emona in Late Antiquity reflects the change in the internal world of the Emonans, the change in their identity, and the administrative changes following disintegration of the Empire.*

*In the period from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the Roman Empire gradually fell apart. The governing authority became increasingly decentralised, communication between individual parts of the Empire deteriorated and the Roman system of administration lost its grip. During this period, the Empire encountered numerous tribes referred to by the Romans by the generic name 'barbarian'. These people sought better living conditions in the Empire: money, fertile land, slaves and steady work. Some of these people stopped in the area of Emona. The Visigoths camped by Emona in the winter of 408/9, the Huns inflicted themselves on it during their campaign of 452, the Langobards passed through on their way to Italy in 568, and then came incursions by the Avars and Slavs<sup>24</sup>. After the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, there was no life left in Emona<sup>25</sup>.*

*We know that the archaeologically researched cemetery in the northern part of Ljubljana, in Dravlje, comes from the period at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the wider Ljubljana area was ruled by the Ostrogoths from Italy<sup>26</sup>. Members of the Ostrogoth military station and ancient inhabitants are buried there in more than 50 graves laid out in rows. Despite reports in Roman sources of arson, slaughter and devastation as the barbarians invaded<sup>27</sup>, the cemetery in Dravlje,*

<sup>24</sup> Sivec 1996

<sup>25</sup> Plesničar Gec 1997, 368.

<sup>26</sup> Slabe 1975.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. Hieronymous's letter to Heliodor, in Petru 1976.



polovici 6. stoletja je življenje v Emoni zamrlo.<sup>25</sup>

Iz časa ob koncu 5. in v začetku 6. stoletja, ko so širšemu ljubljanskemu prostoru vladali Vzhodni Goti iz Italije, poznamo arheološko raziskano grobišče v severnem delu Ljubljane, v Dravljah.<sup>26</sup>

V več kot 50 grobovih, postavljenih v vrste, so bili pokopani člani vzhodnogotske vojaške postojanke in staroselsko prebivalstvo. Kljub poročanju rimskih virov o požigih, pokolih in razdejanju ob vpadih barbarov<sup>27</sup> grobišče v Dravljah, poleg še nekaterih drugih arheoloških virov, kaže, da so tujci in staroselci lahko več desetletij živeli v sožitju.

*along with other archaeological sources, indicate that the invaders and original inhabitants were able to live side by side for several decades.*

## *The heritage of Emona and identity of Ljubljana*

## Dediščina Emone in identiteta Ljubljane

**K**daj so Ljubljančani začeli premišljati o rimski predhodnici Ljubljane? Kje in kako so iskali Emono?

Najdbe rimske Emone so prihajale na dan ob skoraj vsakem gradbenem posegu v središču Ljubljane. Arheološka izkopavanja pod strokovnim vodstvom so se začela šele ob koncu 19. stoletja, leta 1898, ko je Alfons Müllner raziskal del severnega emonskega grobišča. Intenzivno arheološko raziskovanje Emone torej sega šele v čas zadnjih sto let, vendar so Ljubljančani Emono iskali, o njej pripovedovali zgodbe, jo upodabljali in njene spomenike postavljali na javne prostore že vsaj od 17. stoletja naprej.<sup>28</sup>

**W**hen did the people of Ljubljana start thinking about the Roman precursor to Ljubljana? Where and how did they search for Emona?

*Finds from Roman Emona came to light in just about every construction project in the centre of Ljubljana. Archaeological excavations under expert leadership only began at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when Alfons Müllner investigated part of the northern Emona cemetery in 1898. Intensive archaeological research of Emona therefore only dates back 100 years, although the people of Ljubljana had searched for Emona, told stories about it, portrayed it and set its monuments up in public places at least from the 17<sup>th</sup> century on<sup>28</sup>. That first period, when investigation of Emona was tied to the story of the Argonauts, is written about comprehensively by Irena Žmuc in this catalogue.*

*After a hiatus, when Ljubljana and its people joined in the search for their identity in the national dimension, major archaeological excavations of Emona started at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the southern part of the Roman city was unearthed<sup>29</sup>. This prompted the then Ljubljana city council to protect the entire complex south of Rimska*

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<sup>25</sup> Plesničar Gec 1997, 368.

<sup>26</sup> Slabe 1975.

<sup>27</sup> Na primer Hieronimovo pismo Heliodorju, v Petru 1976.

<sup>28</sup> Županek 2008a; Županek 2008b.

<sup>28</sup> Županek 2008a; Županek 2008b.

<sup>29</sup> Schmidt 1913.

O tem prvem obdobju, ko so se raziskave Emone navezovale na zgodbo o argonavtih, obširneje piše Irena Žmuc v pričujočem katalogu.

Potem so se po presledku, ko so tudi Ljubljana in Ljubljančani iskali svojo identiteto v nacionalnem, v začetku 20. stoletja začela velika arheološka izkopavanja Emone, ki so razkrila južni del rimskega mesta.<sup>29</sup> Zato je takratni ljubljanski mestni svet zavaroval ves kompleks južno od Rimske ceste za odkop, raziskavo in prezentacijo Emone ter za

*[Roman] Street for the excavation, research and presentation of Emona and for a planned Emona Museum<sup>30</sup>. However, when Ljubljana started expanding rapidly after the First World War, the Ljubljana administrative forum divided the area up*



Slika 5: Rimski zid na Mirju pred Plečnikovim posegom. Razglednica je bila poslana leta 1915. Arhiv MGML. / Figure 5: The Roman wall at Mirje before Plečnik worked on it. This postcard was sent in 1913. F0057838. Archive of the Ljubljana City Museum.

načrtovani Emonski muzej.<sup>30</sup> Ko pa se je po prvi svetovni vojni Ljubljana začela naglo širiti, je ljubljanski upravni forum prostor med Gradaščico in današnjo Aškerčevo cesto razparceliral in

*between Gradaščica and today's Aškerčeva Street into lots, and started selling off those lots to private individuals to build on<sup>31</sup>. The Roman wall stood right in the middle of the land that was intended to support a major round of construction so a proposal was made to simply pull it down. The arguments against the wall were based on its poor condition (Figure 5) and its position, since it supposedly impeded traffic in that part of Ljubljana.*

<sup>29</sup> Schmidt 1913.

<sup>30</sup> Plesničar 1968, 3-4.

<sup>31</sup> Curk 1995, 72.

<sup>30</sup> Plesničar 1968, 3-4.

<sup>31</sup> Curk 1995, 72.

parcele začel odprodajati zasebnikom v pozidavo.<sup>31</sup> Rimski zid je ležal prav na sredi zemljišča, ki naj bi omogočilo živahno zidavo, zato je prišlo do pobud, naj se ga poruši. Argumenta proti zidu sta bila njegovo slabo stanje (slika 5) in njegova lega, češ da ovira promet v tem delu Ljubljane.

Takratni vodja spomeniškega urada France Stele se je odločno zavzel za to, da se pas z rimskim zidom izvzame iz zemljišč za prodajo. Njegova prizadevanja in prizadevanja njegovih somišljenikov so vplivala na javno mnenje, in zaradi pritiskov je mestni svet od načrtovanega rušenja odstopil.<sup>32</sup> Leta 1926 je na predlog Konzervatorskega društva Mestna občina ljubljanska sklenila zid obnoviti po načrtih Jožeta Plečnika<sup>33</sup>. Po številnih polemikah so zid začeli preurejati šele leta 1934; glavna dela so bila dokončana do leta 1936.<sup>34</sup>

Jože Plečnik je ostanke rimskega obzidja temeljito preoblikoval: skozi zid je prebil dva nova prehoda, da je nastala povezava s Snežniško in Murnikovo ulico, za obzidjem je uredil park z razstavljenimi antičnimi arhitekturnimi členi in v emonskih stranskih mestnih vratih zgradil lapidarij. Na cestno stran zidu je dal zasaditi drevored topolov. Ob nekdanji glavni vhod v Emono je postavil šest stebrov, vrata zaprl s starimi kovinskimi vrati, uredil lapidarij. Nad preboj proti Murnikovi je dal postaviti piramido, ki jo je prekril s travnato rušo.<sup>35</sup>

V tem času je Emona Ljubljančanom, tako kot že v baroku, spet pomenila ugledno, civilizirano prednico. V nasprotju z drugo polovico 20. stoletja, ko se emonska dediščina za vsako ceno varuje v dokumentarni obliki, ko naj bo spomenik

*The then head of the monuments office, Francé Stelé, was resolutely in favour of the strip of land including the Roman wall being excluded from the land offered for sale. His efforts and the efforts of like-minded people influenced public opinion, and the city council bowed to pressure, backing off from the planned demolition<sup>32</sup>. In 1926, on the proposal of the Conservation Society the City of Ljubljana decided to restore the wall according to plans designed by Jože Plečnik<sup>33</sup>. After several heated debates, work on restoring the wall only began in 1934; the main works were completed by 1936<sup>34</sup>. Jože Plečnik fundamentally redesigned the remains of the Roman walls: he had two new passages drilled through them to create a link to Snežniška and Murnikova Streets, and behind the walls he arranged a park displaying architectural elements from Antiquity, constructing a lapidarium in the Emona city gate. On the road side of the wall he had an avenue of poplars planted. He erected six columns by the former main entrance to Emona, closed the gate up with an old metal door and arranged the lapidarium. Above the passageway to Murnikova Street he set up a pyramid, which he covered with turf<sup>35</sup>.*

*At this time Emona signified for the people of Ljubljana, as it did during the Baroque, a distinguished, civilised forebear. In contrast to the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the heritage of Emona was protected in documentary form at all costs, and when monuments were supposed to be primarily testaments, the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century featured a different approach to Emona's heritage: the remains of Emona were transformed, taken as an inspiration for reworking, for adding new elements, for a collage of old and new – as illustrated by the story of Plečnik's transformation of the Mirje area.<sup>36</sup>*

<sup>32</sup> Curk 1995, 72.

<sup>33</sup> Hrausky, Koželj, Prelovšek, 1996, 61.

<sup>34</sup> Hrausky, Koželj, Prelovšek, 1996, 61.

<sup>35</sup> Originalna Plečnikova ureditev je v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja doživela nekaj sprememb.

<sup>32</sup> Curk 1995, 72.

<sup>33</sup> Hrausky, Koželj, Prelovšek, 1996, 61.

<sup>34</sup> Hrausky, Koželj, Prelovšek, 1996, 61.

<sup>35</sup> Plečnik's original arrangement went through some changes in the 1950s and 1960s.

<sup>36</sup> And the story of the mosaic of the Bee, cp. Županek in print.

predvsem pričevalen, je bil čas prve polovice 20. stoletja v odnosu do emonske dediščine drugačen: emonske ostanke je preoblikoval, jih jemal kot navdih za predelavo, za dodajanje novih elementov, za kolaž starega in novega – kot to ilustrira zgodba o Plečnikovem preoblikovanju Mirja.<sup>36</sup>

Naslednje obdobje intenzivnega zanimanja Ljubljančanov za emonsko dediščino je čas po 2. svetovni vojni, predvsem šestdeseta in sedemdeseta leta 20. stoletja. V poznem 20. stoletju je v polju ukvarjanja z dediščino nastal ključni preobrat: dediščina ni bila več predmet zanimanja elit, ampak je postala predmet izjemnih naporov širših družbenih skupin, ki so bile trdno odločene reševati in slaviti vse, kar je podedovanega iz preteklosti.

V primeru emonske dediščine je druga polovica 20. stoletja tudi čas velike gradbene prenove Ljubljane in zato tudi obsežnih arheoloških izkopavanj Emone, ki jih je za Mestni muzej Ljubljana vso drugo polovico 20. stoletja vodila Ljudmila Plesničar Gec. Drugačen, v nujnost ohranjanja spomenika – v čim bolj avtentični obliki, z minimalnimi posegi v historično pričevalnost – usmerjen odnos do dediščine je bil v tem času polagoma vgrajen v sistem spomeniškovarstvene zakonodaje. Zato so izkopavanjem praviloma sledili prav tako obsežni, ambiciozni prezentacijski načrti: Mušičev prezentacijski kompleks Mirja,<sup>37</sup> velikopotezni načrti za ureditev Jakopičevega vrta v kompleksu z muzejem v Frtici,<sup>38</sup> ustanovitev dveh arheoloških parkov (arheološki park Emonska hiša<sup>39</sup> v jugovzhodnem vogalu nekdanje

*The next period of intensive interest among the people of Ljubljana in the heritage of Emona came after the Second World War, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. Towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there was a key shift in the field of heritage management: heritage was no longer a subject of interest among the elite but was now a subject of exceptional effort from a wider range of public groups who were fiercely determined to rescue and glorify everything inherited from the past. In the case of Emona's heritage, the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was also a time of major reconstruction in Ljubljana, and this meant extensive archaeological excavations of Emona, led by Ljudmila Plesničar Gec. A different kind of attitude to heritage, oriented towards the urgent need to preserve monuments – in their most authentic form, with minimum encroachment on their historical testament – was at this time gradually built into the system of monument protection legislation. For this reason, excavations generally kept pace with the equally extensive and ambitious presentation plans: Mušič's presentation complex of Mirja<sup>37</sup>, the grandiose plans to arrange the Jakopič Gardens in a complex with a museum in Frtica<sup>38</sup>, the establishing of two archaeological parks (Emona House<sup>39</sup> in the south-eastern corner of the former settlement; the Early Christian Centre archaeological park lies in the north-western part of the former Roman city, close to Cankarjev dom). Other, smaller presentation groups were spread across the entire section of the former Roman city: the cloaca along Aškerčeva Street, the foundations of the basilica in the Jakopič Gallery, part of the western wall at Cankarjev dom, part of the northern wall by the exit from the Maximarket passage, on*

<sup>36</sup> In zgodba o mozaiku Čebelice, prim. Županek, v tisku.

<sup>37</sup> Mušič 1949.

<sup>38</sup> Arhiv MGML.

<sup>39</sup> Park je bil ob nastanku poimenovan Arheološki park Jakopičev vrt, zaradi slikarjevega ateljeja v bližini. Skozi leta uporabe se je izkazalo, da obiskovalce moti neujemanje med imenom parka in njegovo vsebino – da takšno poimenovanje ustvarja nesporazume. Zato smo leta 2006 park v skladu z njegovo vsebino preimenovali v Arheološki park Emonska hiša.

<sup>37</sup> Mušič 1949.

<sup>38</sup> MGML archive.

<sup>39</sup> Upon its creation, the park was named the Jakopič Gardens Archaeological Park owing to the proximity of the painter's studio. Over the years it turned out that visitors were confused by the mismatch between the park's name and its contents – the name caused misunderstandings. Therefore, in 2006, in line with its actual contents, the park was renamed the Emona House Archaeological Park.

naselbine; arheološki park Zgodnjekrščansko središče v severozahodnem delu Emone ). Drugi, manjši prezentacijski sklopi so bili nanizani skozi ves predel nekdanjega rimskega mesta: kloaka ob Aškerčevi cesti, temelji bazilike v Jakopičevi galeriji, del zahodnega obzidja pri Cankarjevem domu, del severnega obzidja ob izhodu iz pasaže Maximarketa, v ulici Josipine Turnograjske, pa severna emonska vrata, kjer danes domujeta Bukvarna in kip Emonca, in tako naprej. V to obdobje sodi tudi vrsta poskusov, da bi reference na Emono vključili v urbano podobo Ljubljane: rimski forum v sklopu t. i. Ferantovih blokov,<sup>40</sup> naznačba emonske rotunde (slika 6), tlakovanje, ki naznačuje raster izkopanih inzul na Trgu republike.

Arheološke raziskave Emone v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja so imele številne in kontinuirane odmeve v časopisih. V tem obdobju se je ime Emona (in druga z antiko povezana imena, na primer Mercator, Merkur, Viator) veliko uporabljalo kot blagovna znamka v trgovini, poslovnem svetu in izobraževanju: trgovsko podjetje Emona, karate klub Emona, folklorna skupina Emona, gostinski objekt Emonska klet in podobno (sliki 7 in 8).

V tem obdobju oblikovanja emonske dediščine je bil čas Emone predstavljen kot čas prve civilizacije, samo mesto pa kot napredna, malone moderna urbana struktura. Različni članki in prispevki, ki govorijo o Emoni, vedno postavljajo v ospredje emonsko komunalno ureditev in »centralno« ogrevanje. Emona je bila predstavljena kot dostojna, omikana predhodnica v tem obdobju v veliki meri na novo zgrajene, moderne Ljubljane – predhodnica, na katero se Ljubljana lahko s ponosom sklicuje.

<sup>40</sup> Plesničar Gec 1987, 47.



Slika 6: Reminiscenca na emonsko rotundo v fasadi stavbe ob Slovenski cesti. Foto Matevž Paternoster, arhiv MGML. / *Figure 6: Reminiscence of the Emona rotunda in the façade of a building along Slovenska Street. Photo by Matevž Paternoster, MGML archive.*

*Josipina Turnograjska Street, and the northern gate of Emona, the current location of the Bukvarna shop and the statue of an Emonan, and so on. This period also saw several attempts to embed references to Emona into the urban image of Ljubljana: the Roman forum as part of what are called the Ferant apartment blocks<sup>40</sup>, the trace of the Emona rotunda (Figure 6), and the paving indicating the grid of excavated city blocks in Trg republike square.*

*Archaeological research into Emona in the 1960s and 1970s produced frequent and persistent reactions in the newspapers. During this period, the name Emona (and others associated with Antiquity, such*

<sup>40</sup> Plesničar Gec 1987, 47.



Slika 7: Emonec kot simbol Ljubljane. Plakat iz zbirke Mestnega muzeja Ljubljana. Foto Damjana Šalehar, arhiv MGML. / **Figure 7: A citizen of Emona as a symbol of Ljubljana.** Poster from the Ljubljana City Museum collection. Photo by Damjana Šalehar, MGML archive.

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as Mercator, Merkur and Viator) was used widely as a trademark in retail, business and education: the retail chain Emona, the Emona karate club, the Emona folklore group, the Emonska klet [Emona Cellar] restaurant and so on (Figures 7 and 8).

During this period of shaping Emona's heritage, the period of Emona was presented as a time of the first civilisation, and the city itself as a progressive and largely modern urban construction. Various articles and papers referring to Emona consistently place at the forefront the municipal order of Emona and its 'central' heating. Emona was presented as a dignified, cultured ancestor during that period of the modern, largely reconstructed, Ljubljana – an ancestor to which Ljubljana may refer with pride.

## Emona today

Slika 8: Emona kot blagovna znamka: ovitek za hlačne nogavice Emona iz leta 1983. Arhiv Mestnega muzeja Ljubljana. / **Figure 8: Emona as a trademark: packaging for Emona tights from 1983.** Ljubljana City Museum archive.



The period from the 1960s to the end of the 1980s was a time of great popularity for Emona and its heritage. At the same time, the 1980s saw the start of a turnaround in how the past was viewed in Slovenia, a turnaround that changed attitudes to the heritage of Emona over the next two decades. During the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the nations within it, including the Slovenians, sought and generated myths about their beginnings and about sui generis<sup>41</sup>. The independence aspirations of Slovenia were lent gravitas by the search and 'discovery' of the autochthonous origin of Slovenians in the pre-Slavic Veneti, despite the extensive and repeated objections of experts. The Veneti myth became broadly popular and the Slovenian state uses symbols associated with

Odbodbe od šestdesetih do konca osemdesetih let 20. stoletja je bilo čas velike priljubljenosti Emona in njene dediščine. Hkrati pa se je v osemdesetih letih začel preobrat v gledanju na preteklost Slovenije, preobrat, ki je v naslednjih dveh desetletjih odnos do emonske dediščine spremenil. V času razpada Jugoslavije so narodi na njenem območju, tudi Slovenci, iskali in ustvarjali mite o svojih začetkih in o *sui generis*.<sup>41</sup> Osamosvojitvenim težnjam Slovenije je – kljub obširnim in ponavljajočim se ugovorom strokovnjakov – dodalo težo iskanje in »odkritje« avtohtonega izvora Slovencev v predсловanskih Venetih. Venetski mit je postal široko priljubljen, in slovenska država uporablja s tem povezane simbole na uradnih dokumentih in uradnih darilih.

Danes je besed o Emoni manj, predvsem pa so drugačne. Ne govori se več o Emoni kot o davni ugledni prednici Ljubljane, pač pa se ob raziskavah Emone preizprašujejo smiselnost posegov v prostor, nujnost novogradenj in vpliv kapitala. Dediščina Emone je v ozadju teh razprav, bodisi kot grešni kozel pri zamudah pri gradnjah bodisi kot argument proti posegom v prostor. Odzivi laične javnosti na arheološka odkritja in vprašanja, kaj se bo zgodilo s to dediščino, so intenzivnejši kot kadarkoli prej. Nekatere civilne pobude emonsko dediščino ocenjujejo kot neprecenljivo in dvomijo o upravičenosti kakršnihkoli posegov vanjo.<sup>42</sup> Prvič se pojavljajo tudi jasno izraženi, odločno povedani

*it on official documents and official gifts.*

*Nowadays there is less talk about Emona and, most importantly, the talk is different. There is no longer any discussion of Emona as a distant and distinguished ancestor of Ljubljana, and the research of Emona raises questions about the purpose of environmental encroachments, the need for new construction, and the influence of capital. The heritage of Emona lies in the background of these debates, either as a scapegoat for construction delays or as an argument against encroachments. More than ever before, there is an intense response from the lay public to archaeological discoveries and questions about what will happen to this heritage. Some civil initiatives assess the Emona heritage as priceless and argue for its absolute protection.<sup>42</sup> For the first time, we are also hearing clearly expressed and resolutely conveyed doubts about the ability of archaeologists to judge which heritage is worth protecting, and doubts about their capacity to protect such heritage adequately<sup>43</sup>.*

*How should this be understood? Tensions between various interests and conflicts between them are a permanent feature of urban areas. It is clear that heritage has varying and frequently opposing values for different groups, and opposing interests, which often lead to disagreement. Part of heritage management is managing and mitigating disputes surrounding archaeological sites and monuments. The city is undoubtedly a space where there will be constant conflict between capital, between investors,*

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<sup>41</sup> Prim. Novakovič 2007.

<sup>42</sup> Na primer: avgusta 2009 je Civilna iniciativa Tržnice ne damo izročila prijavo na inšpektorat za kulturo in medije zoper naročnika arheološkega izkopavanja na Kopitarjevi ulici, torej Mestno občino Ljubljana. Zahtevala je prepoved napovedanih izkopavanj med Kopitarjevo in Vodnikovo ulico. V prijavi je trdila, da je bil izkop, ki je potekal pod nadzorom arheologov, preglobok in je uničil arheološke plasti. Prim. Dejan Vodovnik, MOL prijavljena, Delo, 6. 8. 2009.

<sup>41</sup> Cp. Novakovič 2007.

<sup>42</sup> For example, in August 2009 the civil initiative Save the Market handed over a report to the culture inspectorate and the media against the body ordering the archaeological dig on Kopitarjeva Street, i.e. the City of Ljubljana. They demanded the prohibition of the envisaged excavations between Kopitarjeva and Vodnikova streets. The report asserted that the excavation, conducted under the supervision of archaeologists, was too deep and had destroyed archaeological layers. Cp. Dejan Vodovnik, MOL prijavljena, Delo, 6.8.2009.

<sup>43</sup> Sabina Lokar, Dvomi o arheološki raziskavi Kopitarjeve [Doubts about the archaeological research of Kopitarjeva Street], Dnevnik, 25 July 2009.

dvomi o sposobnosti arheologov, da presodijo, katera dediščina je vredna zaščite, in dvomi o njihovi zmožnosti, da to dediščino ustrezno zaščitijo.<sup>43</sup>

Kako to razumeti? Napetosti med različnimi interesi in konflikti med njimi so stalnica urbanih prostorov. Jasno je, da ima dediščina različne in dostikrat nasprotujoče si vrednosti za različne skupine, nasprotujoče si interese, ki pogosto vodijo v nesoglasja. Del upravljanja dediščine je tudi upravljanje in blaženje sporov ob arheoloških najdiščih in spomenikih. Mesto je gotovo prostor, kjer bo obstajal nenehen konflikt med kapitalom, med investitorji, za katere dediščina pomeni oviro in strošek pri pozidavi dragih stavbnih zemljišč, med stroko in različnimi civilnimi pobudami.

Poleg tega pa se je v poznem 20. stoletju, v času »dediščinske križarske vojne«, spremenil tudi pogled na vlogo dediščine<sup>44</sup> v družbi. Zdaj velja, da je preteklost last vseh ter da jo ustvarjamo in poustvarjamo danes, zato si nobena ustanova ali stroka ne more lastiti ekskluzivne interpretacije dediščine, pač pa je po mnenju nekaterih arheologov ena izmed pomembnih nalog arheologije to, da različnim interesnim skupinam omogoči aktivno sodelovanje v procesu interpretiranja dediščine in odločanja o njej.<sup>45</sup>

Naraščajoče zanimanje širše javnosti za dediščino se torej vedno bolj kaže kot želja po aktivnem sodelovanju v procesu njenega ohranjanja in izkoriščanja. Nedvomno bo doslej privilegirani interes arheologije vedno bolj le eden od številnih interesov različnih skupin in posameznikov v procesu ohranjanja, interpretacije in izkoriščanja dediščine Emone. Aktivna vloga arheologov pri varovanju in zaščiti dediščine pa ostaja etično vodilo tega poklica.

*for whom heritage represents an obstacle and a cost in developing expensive building land, and between archaeologists and various civil initiatives.*

*Moreover, in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, during the 'heritage crusade', how we view the role of heritage in society also changed.<sup>44</sup> It is now the case that the past is the property of everyone, and that we create it and replicate it today so no institution or profession can appropriate an exclusive interpretation of heritage and, in the opinion of certain archaeologists, one of the important roles of archaeology is to enable various interest groups to participate actively in the process of interpreting heritage and deciding about it<sup>45</sup>.*

*The growing interest among the general public in heritage is therefore ever more being seen as a desire for active participation in the process of preserving and making use of it. Undoubtedly the previously privileged interest of archaeology will increasingly be just one of many interests of various groups and individuals in the process of preserving, interpreting and making use of the Emona heritage. Meanwhile, the active role of archaeologists in protecting and safeguarding heritage remains the ethical premise of that profession.*

<sup>43</sup> Sabina Lokar, Dvomi o arheološki raziskavi Kopitarjeve, Dnevnik, 25. 7. 2009.

<sup>44</sup> Pri opisovanju odločnosti prizadevanj za reševanje dediščine so Lowenthal in njegovi somišljeniki uporabljali metafore, vzete iz verskih kontekstov, kot je »križarska vojna«. Menili so namreč, da je dediščina v tem obdobju oblika »sekularne religije«, saj da ne potrebuje razumskih dejstev in dokazov, pač pa vero. Lowenthal 1996.

<sup>45</sup> Shanks, Tilley 1992, 97–99.

<sup>44</sup> In describing the determination inherent in these efforts to save the heritage, Lowenthal and like-minded people use metaphors taken from religious contexts, describing it as a "crusade". Indeed they take the view that in this period heritage has taken the form of "secular religion" since it does not require rational facts and evidence, but faith. Lowenthal 1996.

<sup>45</sup> Shanks, Tilley 1992, 97-99.



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# ZGODBE O ZAČETKU LJUBLJANE: EMONA, ARGONAVTI IN LJUBLJANSKI ZMAJ

## STORIES OF LJUBLJANA'S BEGINNING: EMONA, THE ARGONAUTS AND THE LJUBLJANA DRAGON

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Intenzivno iskanje začetkov Ljubljane v 17. in 18. stoletju

Podoba Emone, oblikovana v poznem 17. stoletju in v 18. stoletju, je nastala v navezavi na poznorimske zapise mita o argonavtih. Na omembe dveh poznoantičnih piscev, Sozomena in Zosima, da je Emono ustanovil Jazon, ko se je z argonavti in zlatim runom vračal s Kolhide proti domu<sup>1</sup>, se je prvi naslonil Janez Ludvik Schönleben v svojem delu *Aemona vindicata, sive Labaco Metropoli Carnioliae vetus Aemonae nomen jure assertum*, ki

*The intensive search for Ljubljana's origins in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries*

*The image of Emona that was shaped in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was generated in connection with the late Roman records of the Argonauts myth. The reference by two late Antiquity writers, Sozomen and Zosim, who mention that Emona was founded by Jason on his way home from Colchis with the Argonauts and the golden fleece<sup>1</sup>, was first relied upon by Janez Ludvik Schönleben in his work *Aemona vindicata, sive Labaco Metropoli Carnioliae vetus Aemonae nomen jure assertum*, which was published in*

<sup>1</sup> Sozomenov zapis je iz petega, Zosimov s konca petega/začetka šestega stoletja; oba sta zapisala starejše, nedatirano izročilo; glej Šašel Kos 2006.

<sup>1</sup> Sozomen's record is from the 5<sup>th</sup> century, and Zosim's from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup>/beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century; both recorded a later, undated tradition; see Šašel Kos 2006.

je izšlo leta 1674. Enaka izhodišča izpričuje njegova zgodovina Kranjske, *Carniola antiqua et nova*, iz leta 1681. Ob letnici izida je zapisano tudi leto od ustanovitve Emone, 2904, kot ga je izračunal Schönleben, ki je postavil ustanovitev Emone v leto



Slika 1: Argonavti gradijo Emono. Preslikava po J. W. Valvasor, *Die Ehre deß Herzogthums Crain*, Laybach, Nürnberg, XIII, 9. Arhiv MGML. /  
**Fig. 1: The Argonauts building Emona.** Copy from J.W.Valvasor, *Die Ehre deß Herzogthums Crain* [Glory of the Duchy of Carniola], Laybach, Nürnberg, XIII, 9. MGML archive.

1222 pr. Kr. Tako v tem kot v drugih svojih delih se je Schönleben naslanjal tudi na svoje pionirske topografske raziskave Emone in na popise rimskih najdb na tem prostoru<sup>2</sup>.

Na teh Schönlebovih izhodiščih so temeljila prizadevanja številnih izobražencev tega časa, da bi povezavo med zgodbo o argonavtih in Ljubljano

1674. The same reference was made in his history of Carniola, *Carniola antiqua et nova* of 1681. Alongside the year of publication, the year since the founding of Emona was given as 2904, as calculated by Schönleben, who put the founding of Emona at 1222 BCE. In this, as in his other works, Schönleben also relied on his pioneering topographical research of Emona and the inventories of Roman finds in this area<sup>2</sup>.

These references used by Schönleben served as the basis for efforts by several intellectuals of that period to anchor the link between the history of the Argonauts and Ljubljana firmly in the consciousness

<sup>2</sup> Kokole 2006, 225.

<sup>2</sup> Kokole 2006, 225.

trdno zasidrati v zavest svojih sodobnikov. Eden izmed njih je bil Janez Vajkard Valvasor, ki je povzel Schönlebnova izvajanja o ustanovitvi Emone in na eni svojih grafik v *Slavi vojvodine Kranjske* upodobil, kako so argonavti gradili Emono (slika 1)<sup>3</sup>.



Slika 2: T. i. Dolničarjev lapidarij: rimski nagrobniki, v prvem desetletju 18. stoletja po Dolničarjevi zamisli vgrajeni v ljubljansko stolnico in semenišče. Foto Matevž Paternoster, arhiv MGML. / **Fig. 2: The so-called Dolničar lapidarium:** Roman gravestones, on Dolničar's prompting built into the Ljubljana cathedral and seminary in the first decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Photo by Matevž Paternoster, MGML archive.

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Tesno povezavo med Jazonovo Emono in sodobno Ljubljano si je intenzivno prizadeval vzpostaviti Janez Gregor Dolničar (1655–1719), član ljubljanske Akademije delavnih in Schönlebnov nečak. Njegov trud za širitev in afirmacijo ustanovitvenega mita Ljubljane poleg številnih besedil zrcalijo tudi prizadevanja, da bi poskrbel za nekaj javnih opomnikov slavne ljubljanske preteklosti. Eden

*of their contemporaries. One of these was Janez Vajkard Valvasor, who drew from Schönleben's version of the founding of Emona and in one of his prints in the book Slava vojvodine Kranjske [Glory of the Duchy of Carniola] he depicted the Argonauts building Emona (Figure 1)<sup>3</sup>.*

*A major effort to establish a close link between Jason's Emona and modern Ljubljana was made by Janez Gregor Dolničar (1655–1719), a member of the Ljubljana Academia Operosorum, and also Schönleben's nephew. His work aimed to spread and affirm the founding myth of Ljubljana is reflected in numerous texts and also in efforts to take care of*

<sup>3</sup> Risarska predloga za to grafiko je delo Janeza Kocha, vrezal jo je Andrej Trost. Barbara Murovec ugotavlja, da je to edina natisnjena zgodnjenovoveška grafična upodobitev, ki se neposredno navezuje na zgodbo o Jazonovi ustanovitvi Emone; glej Murovec 2006.

<sup>3</sup> The sketch for this print is the work of Janez Koch, and was etched by Andrej Trost. Barbara Murovec concludes that this is the only printed graphic depiction of the early new era that directly refers to the story of Jason founding Emona; see Murovec 2006.

teh je bila načrtovana velika stropna slika Jazona in argonavtov v ljubljanski mestni hiši, ki pa ni bila realizirana. Poleg tega je dal, z enakim namenom, v zunanje stene novozgrajene stolnice in semenišča vzdati trinajst rimskih kamnov z napisi. To je t. i. Dolničarjev lapidarij (slika 2)<sup>4</sup>.

Stanko Kokole domneva, da se je široko zanimanje za Emono kot argonavtsko stvaritev v tem času izrazilo tudi v novem, Robbovem vodnjaku pred mestno hišo, kjer naj bi bil eden od bradatih moških likov sprva zasnovan kot Neptun, preostali figuri pa kot rečni božanstvi Savus – Sava in Nauportus – Ljubljanica; torej reki, ki sta ponesli ladjo Argo do Vrhnike, od koder je potovala v Neptunovo domeno, morje<sup>5</sup>. Prej naj bi namreč na tem mestu, ob mestnem vodnjaku, stala soha Neptuna z napisom: »(Neptunu,) krotilcu morij, ker je po ustanovitvi Emone sprejel Jazona. Postavili so po občinskem sklepu ljubljanski stavbni odborniki.«<sup>6</sup>

*several public reminders of Ljubljana's glorious past. One of these was the planned large ceiling painting of Jason and the Argonauts in Ljubljana's City Hall, but this was not carried out. In addition to this, with the same objective he had 13 inscribed Roman stones installed in the exterior wall of the newly built cathedral and seminary. This is what is termed the Dolničar lapidarium (Figure 2)<sup>4</sup>.*

*Stanko Kokole suspects that the broad interest in Emona as a creation of the Argonauts was also expressed at that time in the new fountain sculpted by Robba in front of the City Hall, in which one of the bearded male figures was first conceived as Neptune, and the other figures as the river gods Savus-Sava and Nauportus-Ljubljanica; in other words, the rivers that carried the Argo to Vrhnika, and from there the Argo went into Neptune's domain, the sea<sup>5</sup>. Previously, at this location by the city fountain there was supposedly a statue of Neptune with the inscription: "(To Neptune), tamer of the seas, since he received Jason after the founding of Emona. Erected upon municipal order by the Ljubljana building committee."<sup>6</sup>*

## Emona, argonavti, zmaj in srednjeveška Ljubljana

**S**kratka, čas poznega 17. in 18. stoletja je bil obdobje intenzivnega ustvarjanja identitete Ljubljane kot v osnovi antične – čas ustvarjanja podobe Emone kot mitične, z argonavtsko sago povezane predhodnice Ljubljane.

Zgodba o argonavtski ustanovitvi Emone ima še eno različico: po tej Jazon pred gradnjo Emone

## *Emona, the Argonauts, the dragon and medieval Ljubljana*

**I**n short, the period of the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was a time of the intensive creation of Ljubljana's identity as essentially one of Antiquity – a period of creating the image of Emona as a mythical ancestor of Ljubljana tied to the Argonauts saga.

<sup>4</sup> Sašel Kos 1998.

<sup>5</sup> Kokole 2006, 236ss.

<sup>6</sup> Kokole 2006, 235–236.

<sup>4</sup> Sašel Kos 1998.

<sup>5</sup> Kokole 2006, 236 pp.

<sup>6</sup> Kokole 2006, 235–236.

premaga zmaja, pošast, ki je prebivala v močvirju. Poznamo pa še eno različico zgodbe o ljubljanskem zmaju. Ta pravi, da je Jazon, preden je ustanovil Emono, ubil zmaja – v eni verziji močvirsko pošast, doma na Barju. Takšna zgodba o nastanku Ljubljane ostaja aktualna še danes. Tako jo pripoveduje tudi Mestna občina Ljubljana na svoji spletni strani<sup>7</sup>, tako jo je poleti leta 2007 v Ljubljani uprizoril Zavod Plavajoče gledališče<sup>8</sup>.

Kdaj je nastala ta različica? Zakaj?

Gorazd Makarovič meni, da se je na Slovenskem vedenje o zmajih začelo širiti s cerkvenimi upodobitvami sv. Jurija šele v 14. stoletju<sup>9</sup>. Številne plastike, priljubljenost patrocinijev sv. Jurija in sv. Marjete (na Kranjskem v Valvasorjevem času zelo priljubljena svetnika; leta 1689 je naštel 56 cerkev, posvečenih sv. Juriju, in 39 sv. Marjeti, v katere legendi prav tako nastopa zmaj), pa tudi številne freskantske upodobitve Jurijevega ubijanja zmaja na srednjeveških cerkvah po vsej Sloveniji zrcalijo, kako trdno je bil mit usidran med prebivalstvom.

Videti je, da je bila legenda sv. Jurija za Ljubljano še posebej pomembna: sv. Jurij je zaščitnik Ljubljane, in gotška kapela na ljubljanskem gradu, eden najstarejših ohranjenih delov gradu, je posvečena njemu. Na pečatniku mestnega sodnika Ljubljane iz sredine 15. stoletja (ta pečatnik je bil uporabljan še v 18. stoletju) je zmaju podobna štirinožna žival z dolgim členkastim repom že upodobljena nad grbom mesta<sup>10</sup>. Ročaj pečatnika,

*The story of the Argonauts founding Emona has one more variant: according to this one, before he built Emona Jason vanquished a dragon, a monster that lived in the marshlands. And we know of one other version of the story of the Ljubljana dragon. This tells of Jason, prior to founding Emona, killing the dragon – in one version a swamp monster that dwelt in the Barje marshlands. Such a story about the origins of Ljubljana remains current today in the form related by the City of Ljubljana on its website<sup>7</sup>, and as presented on stage in the summer of 2007 by the Ljubljana theatre institution Plavajoče gledališče<sup>8</sup>.*

*When did this version come into existence? Why?*

*Gorazd Makarovič believes that knowledge of dragons only started to spread in Slovenia with church depictions of St. George in the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>9</sup>. Many sculpted figures, the popularity of the patronage of St. George and St. Margaret (very popular saints in Carniola during Valvasor's time; in 1689 he counted 56 churches consecrated to St. George and 39 to St. Margaret, in whose legend a dragon also appears) and the numerous frescoes of George slaying the dragon in medieval churches throughout Slovenia reflect how firmly this myth was anchored in the population.*

*It appears that the legend of St. George was especially important for Ljubljana: St. George is the protector of Ljubljana, and the Gothic chapel at Ljubljana Castle, one of the oldest preserved parts of the Castle, is consecrated to him. On the seal of the city magistrate of Ljubljana from the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (this*

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<sup>7</sup> *Legenda o nastanku Ljubljane*, <http://www.ljubljana.si/si/turizem/splosno/zgodovina/default.html>; *Zmaj – simbol Ljubljane*, [http://www.ljubljana.si/si/ljubljana/predstavitev/mesto\\_ime\\_grb/ljubljanski\\_grb/](http://www.ljubljana.si/si/ljubljana/predstavitev/mesto_ime_grb/ljubljanski_grb/); obe strani 1. 2. 2008

<sup>8</sup> Glej <http://www.ljubljana.si/si/turizem/mediji/porocila/73963/podrobno.html> in [http://www.napovednik.com/dogodek67332\\_argonavti\\_v\\_ljubljani\\_](http://www.napovednik.com/dogodek67332_argonavti_v_ljubljani_) oboje 1. 2. 2008.

<sup>9</sup> Makarovič 2001, 36. Za drugačna mnenja glej naslednje podpoglavje ter Belaj 1998; Šmitek 2004; Hrzenjak 1999.

<sup>10</sup> Otorepec 1988, 92.

<sup>7</sup> *Legend of the creation of Ljubljana*, <http://www.ljubljana.si/si/turizem/splosno/zgodovina/default.html>; *Dragon – symbol of Ljubljana*, [http://www.ljubljana.si/si/ljubljana/predstavitev/mesto/\\_ime\\_grb/ljubljanski\\_grb/](http://www.ljubljana.si/si/ljubljana/predstavitev/mesto/_ime_grb/ljubljanski_grb/); both sites 1 February 2008.

<sup>8</sup> See <http://www.ljubljana.si/si/turizem/mediji/porocila/73963/podrobno.html> and [http://www.napovednik.com/dogodek67332\\_argonavti\\_v\\_ljubljani\\_](http://www.napovednik.com/dogodek67332_argonavti_v_ljubljani_) both 1 February 2008.

<sup>9</sup> Makarovič 2001, 36. For differing opinions, see the next subchapter and Belaj 1998; Šmitek 2004; Hrzenjak 1999.

ki je verjetno mlajši<sup>11</sup>, ima obliko dvonožnega zmaja z netopirjastimi krili. Od Valvasorjeve *Slave vojvodine Kranjske* (1689) dalje je zmaj vedno del ljubljanskega grba, in vse do danes je ostal simbol mesta Ljubljane. Janez Vajkard Valvasor v *Slavi* ni



Slika 3: Grb Ljubljane v Valvasorjevi *Die Ehre deß Herzogthums Crain* (1689). Po J. W. Valvasor, *Die Ehre deß Herzogthums Crain*, Laybach, Nürnberg, XIII, 9. / Fig. 3: *Crest of Ljubljana in Valvasor's Die Ehre deß Herzogthums Crain* (1689). From J.W.Valvasor, *Die Ehre deß Herzogthums Crain*, Laybach, Nürnberg, XIII, 9.

samo zvesto zapisal zgodbe o Jazonovi ustanovitvi Emone po ukrotitvi zmaja, ampak je tudi postavil zmaja v grb Ljubljane (slika 3) (in ne nad grb, kot je bilo običajno v starejših upodobitvah), kjer je ostal do danes. Zanj je zapisal, da ponazarja zmaja, ki ga je porazil Jazon, ustanovitelj mesta<sup>12</sup>.

*seal was still being used in the 18<sup>th</sup> century), there is a dragon-like four-legged animal with a long, jointed tail depicted above the city crest<sup>10</sup>. The handle of the seal, which is probably from a later date<sup>11</sup>, is in the form of a two-legged dragon with bat-like wings. Since the time of Valvasor's *Glory of the Duchy of Carniola* (1689) the dragon has been a permanent feature of the Ljubljana crest, and has symbolised the city of Ljubljana to the present day. Janez Vajkard Valvasor not only consciously incorporated the story of Jason founding Emona after subduing the dragon into his *Glory*, he also placed the dragon in the Ljubljana crest (Figure 3 – and not above the crest, as was the practice in older depictions), where it remains to this day. He wrote that it represented the dragon defeated by Jason, the founder of the city<sup>12</sup>.*

### *The dragon from the Ljubljana marshlands*

**S**o how did Ljubljana acquire its dragon?

*Dragons, a pronounced mythical and archaic element, feature frequently in creation and cosmogonic myths<sup>13</sup>: in the Babylonian creation myth, Marduk kills Tiamat; the mythical founder of Mycenae, Perseus, kills a dragon-like sea monster; the god Sabazius kills a snake, Apollo kills the Delphic Python and the German hero Siegfried kills the snake Fafnir. From the ongoing debates about whether these cases involved (also) a snake or dragon (i.e. a*

<sup>11</sup> Otorepec 1988, 92.

<sup>12</sup> Otorepec 1988, 93.

<sup>10</sup> Otorepec 1988, 92.

<sup>11</sup> Otorepec 1988, 92.

<sup>12</sup> Otorepec 1988, 93.

<sup>13</sup> Hrženjak 1999, 100.



**K**ako je Ljubljana dobila svojega zmaja?

Zmaj, izrazit mitski in arhaičen element, je pogosta figura v ustanovitvenih in kozmogonskih mitih<sup>13</sup>: v babilonskem ustanovitvenem mitu Marduk ubije Tiamat, mitični začetnik Miken Perzej za Andromedo ubije morsko zmajsko pošast, bog Sabazij ubije kačo, Apolon ubije delfskega Pitona, germanski junak Siegfried zmaja Fafnirja. Iz ponavljajoče se razprave, ali gre v teh primerih za (tudi) kačo ali zmaja (tj. pošast s štirimi tacami in krili) – npr. delfski Piton ali gr. beseda δράκων, drakon, ki pomeni veliko kačo, vodno kačo – dodajamo, da v vsakem primeru zmaj obdrži kačin htonski značaj (živi v votlini, pod zemljo, pogosto je povezan z vodo) in – predvsem pri slovanskih narodih –<sup>14</sup> ambivalentno dispozicijo do ljudi (zmaj je lahko dobronik ali zloben nasprotnik<sup>15</sup>).

Zmajске legende so del imaginarija vseh slovanskih narodov. Kozmogonski miti, ki vključujejo ubijanje zmaja, so pogosti tudi na slovenskem območju, kjer je nastanek naselja (ali opustitev starega naselja) v mitu navadno povezan s spremembami pokrajine zaradi zmajeve smrti<sup>16</sup>. V makrokozmičnem smislu takšne zgodbe pripovedujejo o svetu od njegovega stvarjenja do uničenja<sup>17</sup>. Majda Hrženjak meni, da je prisotnost zmaja v slovanskih mitih del zelo zgodnjega, indoevropskega mitološkega sloja<sup>18</sup>. Poleg tega ugotavlja še dva sloja,

*monster with four feet and wings) – for instance, the Delphic Python or the Greek word δράκων, drakon, meaning a large snake, a water snake – we may add that in any event the dragon retains the snake's chthonic character (lives in a cavern underground, often associated with water) and, chiefly among the Slavonic peoples,<sup>14</sup> has an ambivalent disposition towards humans (the dragon can either be a benefactor or a malevolent opponent<sup>15</sup>).*

*The dragon legends are part of the imaginarium of all Slavonic nations. Cosmogonic myths that include the killing of a dragon are also common in the Slovenian area where the creation of a settlement (or abandoning of an old settlement) in myth is usually linked to changes in the land owing to the death of a dragon<sup>16</sup>. In the macrocosmic sense, such stories speak of the world from its creation to its destruction<sup>17</sup>. Majda Hrženjak believes that the presence of the dragon in Slavonic myths is part of a very early, Indo-European mythological stratum<sup>18</sup>. Moreover, she identifies two other strata, the oldest being pre-Indo-European and the youngest, Christian<sup>19</sup>.*

*In the recorded Slovenian legends, the dragon is very frequently linked to St. George. Vitomir Belaj explains George as a vegetation god, the son of Perun<sup>20</sup>. The name George [in Slovenian Jurij], and the names of similar figures from the legends of other Slavonic peoples (Zeleni Jurij [Green George], Juraj, Jarilo, Jarylo) are etymologically tied to wetlands and water; the vegetation god personified by George/Jurij unlocks Virej (the world of Perun's opponent Veles, who is associated with water, death and also*

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<sup>13</sup> Hrženjak 1999, 100.

<sup>14</sup> Pri slovanskih ljudstvih je zmaj pogosto poimenovan z moško obliko besede za kačo: zmaj, zmej, zmyj, žmij.

<sup>15</sup> V srbsčini je ta– razlika jasna že iz poimenovanja: dobro bitje je zmaj, zlobno aždaja.

<sup>16</sup> Hrovatin 2007.

<sup>17</sup> Šmitek 2004, 112.

<sup>18</sup> Hrženjak 1999, 100ss.

<sup>14</sup> Among Slovenians the dragon is often named using the masculine form of the word for snake: *zmaj, zmej, zmyj, žmij*.

<sup>15</sup> In Serbian this difference is clear from the name: the *zmaj* is a good creature, the *aždaja* is evil.

<sup>16</sup> Hrovatin 2007.

<sup>17</sup> Šmitek 2004, 112.

<sup>18</sup> Hrženjak 1999, 100pp..

<sup>19</sup> Hrženjak 1999, 102.

<sup>20</sup> Belaj 1998, 198pp

najstarejšega, predindoevropskega, in najmlajšega, krščanskega<sup>19</sup>.

V zapisanih slovenskih legendah je zmaj zelo pogosto povezan s sv. Jurijem. Vitomir Belaj Jurija razloži kot vegetacijskega boga, sina Peruna<sup>20</sup>. Ime Jurij in imena podobnih likov iz legend drugih slovanskih narodov (zeleni Jurij, Juraj, Jarilo, Jarylo) so etimološko povezana z močvirjem in vodo; vegetacijski bog, ki ga pooseblja Jurij, odklepa Virej (svet Perunovega nasprotnika Velesa, ki je povezan z vodo, smrtjo, pa tudi blagostanjem in živino) in spušča vodo na zemljo<sup>21</sup>. Gre za odlomke slovanskega mita, ki opisuje vegetacijski cikel, rojstvo in smrt boga vegetacije<sup>22</sup>.

Kakorkoli že, tisto, kar je za nas tu pomembno, je dejstvo, da je v derivatih te velike zgodbe, tega v delčkih ohranjenega skupnega slovanskega mita ubijanje zmaja tisto, kar sprosti vode (in zagotovi rodovitnost zemlje, »odklene« novo vegetacijsko leto)<sup>23</sup>. Domnevamo, da je bil ljubljanski zmaj oziroma star mit o zčaju na tem prostoru povezan z Ljubljanskim barjem, to obsežno, zaradi pogostih, vse do Ljubljane segajočih poplav grozečo, skrivnostno in nepredvidljivo ter šele v 19. stoletju ukročeno pokrajino. Močvirja so z vodo povezani liminalni, mejni prostori in pogosta zmajska bivališča<sup>24</sup>.

Domnevamo, da je ljubljanska zmajska zgodba star mit o zčaju v ljubljanskem močvirju: bodisi del praslovanskega mita o bogu vegetacije bodisi lokalni kozmogonski mit<sup>25</sup>. Ali lahko v našem primeru, v primeru ljubljanskega zmaja, govorimo o mitu

*prosperity and cattle) and releases water onto the land<sup>21</sup>. These are passages from the Slavonic myth describing the vegetation cycle, the birth and death of the god of vegetation<sup>22</sup>.*

*In any event, what is important for us here is that in the derived versions of this great story, the fragmentally preserved common Slavonic myth of slaying the dragon is what releases the waters (and ensures the fertility of the earth, 'unlocking' a new vegetational year)<sup>23</sup>. We may suspect that the Ljubljana dragon, or the old myth of a dragon in this area, is tied to the Ljubljansko barje marshland, the expansive area that remained threatening, mysterious and unpredictable owing to its frequent flooding that reached Ljubljana, and which was only tamed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Marshlands are borderline areas associated with water liminally, and are often the abodes of dragons<sup>24</sup>.*

*We may suspect that the Ljubljana dragon story is the ancient myth of a dragon in the Ljubljana marshlands: either part of an ancient Slavonic myth of the god of vegetation, or a local cosmogonic myth<sup>25</sup>. However, given the lack of evidence, whether in this context, in the case of the Ljubljana dragon, we can talk about a myth of the creation of the Ljubljana settlement and changes to the morphology of this landscape remains an unresolved question. We may suppose that in the period before the 17<sup>th</sup> century, among the people in the area of Ljubljana there was a dragon myth, perhaps a myth linking the creation of the Ljubljana settlement to a dragon. This myth was linked in its Christian guise to the legend of St. George, and probably in the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the then current story of the Argonauts founding Emona.*

<sup>19</sup> Hrženjak 1999, 102.

<sup>20</sup> Belaj 1998, 198ss.

<sup>21</sup> Belaj 1998, 194.

<sup>22</sup> Belaj 1998.

<sup>23</sup> Belaj 1998, 80.

<sup>24</sup> Makarovič 2001, 42; Grafenauer 1956, 325.

<sup>25</sup> Županek– 2008, 49–51.

<sup>21</sup> Belaj 1998, 194

<sup>22</sup> Belaj 1998.

<sup>23</sup> Belaj 1998, 80

<sup>24</sup> Makarovič 2001, 42; Grafenauer 1956, 325.

<sup>25</sup> Županek 2008, 49–51.

o nastanku ljubljanskega naselja in spremembah morfologije te pokrajine, pa ob pomanjkanju dokazov ostaja odprto vprašanje. Domnevamo, da je v času pred 17. stoletjem v ljubljanskem prostoru med prebivalci živel mit o zmaju, morda mit, ki je nastanek ljubljanskega naselja povezoval z zmajem. Ta mit se je v krščanski preobleki povezal z legendo o sv. Juriju, verjetno v 17. stoletju pa še s takrat aktualno zgodbo o argonavtski ustanovitvi Emone.

## Jazon in zmaj: temelji identitete Ljubljane

**K**do in kdaj je združil obe zgodbi: zgodbo o ljubljanskem zmaju in zgodbo o argonavtski ustanovitvi Emone?

Skupina intelektualcev, ki je oblikovala nov, na antične korenine Ljubljane naslonjen mit o argonavtski ustanovitvi Emone – Ljubljane, je bila za svoja prizadevanja zelo motivirana. Temelje te motivacije navaja Schönlebnovo pismo z dne 15. julija 1673, poslano ljubljanskemu županu, mestnemu sodniku in svetu dvanajsterih<sup>26</sup>, v katerem je zapisal, da se je lotil naporne naloge pisanja svoje knjige za čast svoje domovine, da se glede na mitično ustanovitev Ljubljana lahko pohvali, da je daleč najstarejše mesto v dednih habsburških deželah, ter izrazil upanje, da bo sijajna dediščina prejšnjih generacij v še bolj sijajni obliki predana naslednikom<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Takratni najvišji voljeni magistrati Ljubljane.

<sup>27</sup> Kokole 2006, 219.

## *Jason and the dragon: foundations of Ljubljana's identity*

**W**ho linked the two stories, the story of the Ljubljana dragon and the story of the Argonauts founding Emona, and when?

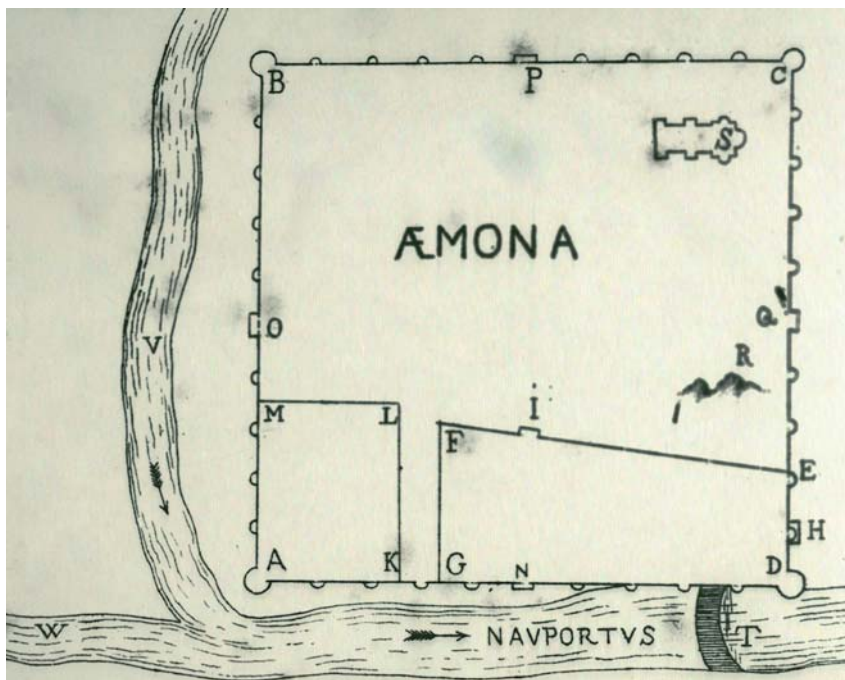
*The group of intellectuals that formulated a new myth, based on the ancient roots of Ljubljana, about the Argonauts founding Emona-Ljubljana, was highly motivated in its endeavours. The foundations for this motivation are referred to in Schönleben's letter of 15 July 1673, sent to the Ljubljana mayor, the city magistrate and the council of twelve<sup>26</sup>, in which he writes that he had set about the arduous task of writing his book in honour of his homeland, that in view of its mythical creation, Ljubljana can boast of being by far the oldest city in the Hapsburg hereditary provinces, and he expresses the hope that the glorious legacy of earlier generations would be handed over in an even more brilliant form to its successors<sup>27</sup>.*

*Did the people who believed that Ljubljana needed distinguished roots, who invested so much effort and toil in writing texts, erecting monuments, planning structures and likenesses that would glorify Ljubljana as a city founded by Jason, wish to base this new story on an older and widespread dragon legend, and thereby ensure for it that the Argonaut version became widespread among simple folk? Why was the Argonaut-Emona past of Ljubljana special and desired?*

*In the period of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the story of the Argonauts was known to all educated people, and regarded as one of the common myths and*

<sup>26</sup> The then highest elected magistrates of Ljubljana.

<sup>27</sup> Kokole 2006, 219.



Slika 4: Valvasorjev tloris Emona. Preslikava po J. W. Valvasor, *Die Ehre deß Herzogthums Crain, Laybach, Nürnberg, XIII, 9.* Arhiv MGML. / Fig. 4: Valvasor's ground plan of Emona. Copy from J.W.Valvasor, *Die Ehre deß Herzogthums Crain, Laybach, Nürnberg, XIII, 9.* MGML archive.

Ali so ljudje, ki so verjeli, da Ljubljana potrebuje ugledne korenine, ki so vložili toliko dela in naporov v pisanje besedil, postavljanje spomenikov, načrtovanje poslopij in upodobitev, ki bi Ljubljano proslavili kot od Jazona ustanovljeno mesto, želeli nasloniti to novo zgodbo na starejšo in močno razširjeno zmajsko legendo ter tako zagotoviti argonavtski različici široko razširjenost tudi med preprostim ljudstvom? Zakaj je bila argonavtsko-emonska preteklost Ljubljane posebna in zaželena?

V času 16. in 17. stoletja je bila zgodba o argonavtih znana vsem izobražencem in videna kot eden od skupnih mitov, korenin grško-rimske civilizacije. Še bolj jasno pa je prepoznana kot skupna in hkrati kot posebna dediščina posebnega mesta Ljubljane, skozi prizadevanja Janeza Ludvika Schönlebna in njegovih naslednikov. V 17. in 18. stoletju je v

*roots of Graeco-Roman civilisation. It is even more clearly recognised as a common, and at the same time special, heritage of the special city of Ljubljana, through the efforts of Janez Ludvik Schönleben and his successors. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, in Ljubljana – like elsewhere in Europe – antiquarian zeal reflected and reinforced the emerging feelings of local patriotism<sup>28</sup>. During this period, seeking out ancient artefacts and monuments (Figure 4) was linked to the efforts to recognise them as the traces of a historically documented people with whom the researchers felt a kinship<sup>29</sup>. The Argonaut myth about the founding of Emona linked Ljubljana to Antiquity, to the world of the ancient Greeks and Romans. The Romans and Greeks always held a unique position within the imaginarium of Western culture, a position at the core of the very idea of historical development and associated topics which we are still being debating today – such as democracy, colonialism or nationality. Greece and Rome are the starting points not just for a range of traditional historical studies, but also of studies that are defined as non-traditional or postmodern<sup>30</sup>. In short, the special power of Antiquity derives from its*

<sup>28</sup> Silberman 1996, 254.

<sup>29</sup> Silberman 1996, 254.

Ljubljani – tako kot drugje v Evropi – antikvarsko navdušenje odražalo in ojačevalo pojavljajoče se občutke lokalnega patriotstva<sup>28</sup>. Iskanje starih artefaktov in spomenikov (slika 4) je bilo v tem času tesno povezano s prizadevanji, da bi le-te prepoznali kot sledi historično dokumentiranega ljudstva, s katerim so se raziskovalci čutili sorodne<sup>29</sup>. Argonavtski mit o ustanovitvi Emone je Ljubljano povezoval z antiko, s svetom starih Grkov in Rimljanov. Rimljani in Grki so imeli znotraj imaginarija zahodne kulture vedno

*importance it holds for the identity of the Western world: the idea of the common ancient past was an important element in shaping what we call today “Europe” and “the West”<sup>31</sup>. As Beard and Henderson<sup>32</sup> summarise, Antiquity is still inextricably woven*



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Slika 5: Zmajski most je ena najpogosteje fotografiranih reminiscenc ljubljanskega zmajskega mita. Razglednica, odposlana leta 1960. Hrani MGML. V0014895 / Fig. 5: The Zmajski most [Dragon Bridge] is one of the most photographed reminders of the Ljubljana dragon myth. Postcard sent in 1960. Kept by MGML. V0014895

edinstven položaj, položaj v jedru same ideje o historičnem razvoju in s povezavami s temami, o katerih razpravljamo tudi še danes – kot so

*into our world of today, it is a model and basis for myths about sui generis. And this applies even more strongly to the Baroque period in Ljubljana.*

<sup>28</sup> Silberman 1996, 254.

<sup>29</sup> Silberman 1996, 254.

*The close link between the newly formulated ‘Argonaut’ myth and the old folk ‘dragon’ story gave the former logic and legitimacy in the eyes of the general public. The Argonaut myth also became known and widespread due to its link to the dragon*

<sup>30</sup> E.g. Said 1995.

<sup>31</sup> Hingley 2005, 18pp.

<sup>32</sup> Beard, Henderson 1995.

demokracija, kolonializem ali nacionalnost. Grčija in Rim sta izhodišči ne samo vrste tradicionalnih zgodovinskih študij, ampak tudi tistih, ki so definirane kot netradicionalne oziroma postmoderne<sup>30</sup>. Skratka, posebna moč antike izhaja iz njenega pomena za identiteto zahodnega sveta: ideja skupne antične preteklosti je bila pomemben element v oblikovanju tistega, čemur danes rečemo »Evropa« in »Zahod«<sup>31</sup>. Kot povzemata Beardova in Henderson<sup>32</sup>, je antika še vedno neločljivo prepletena z današnjim svetom, je vzor in izhodišče za mite o *sui generis*. Povedano še intenzivneje velja za čas baroka v Ljubljani.

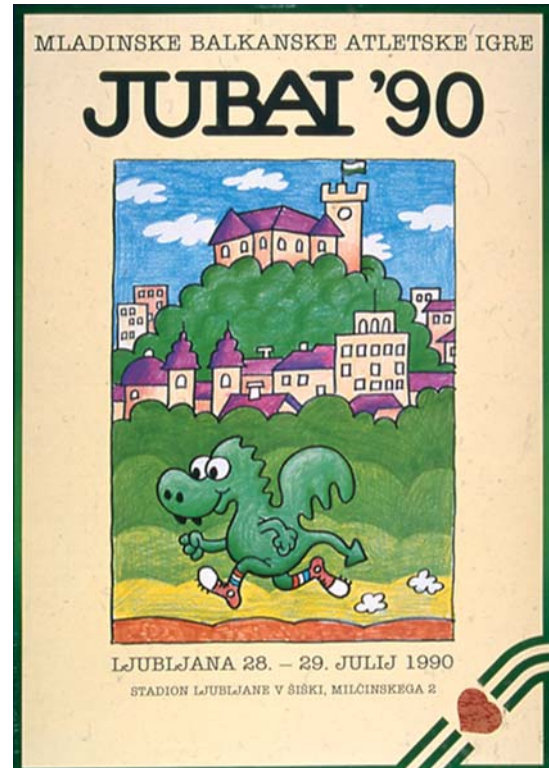
Tesna povezava med na novo oblikovanim, »argonavtskim« mitom in staro ljudsko »zmajsko« zgodbo je dala prvemu logiko in legitimnost v očeh široke javnosti. Argonavtski mit je postal znan in razširjen tudi zaradi svoje povezave z zmajsko zgodbo. Ljubljanski zmajski mit pa je preživel skozi obdobja ukvarjanja z nacionalnim v slovenski zgodovini, se vpletel v nove zgodbe in ostal simbol Ljubljane do danes (sliki 5 in 6).

Bernarda  
Županek

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STORIES OF  
LJUBLJANA'S  
BEGINNING:  
EMONA, THE  
ARGONAUTS  
AND THE  
LJUBLJANA  
DRAGON

*story. The Ljubljana dragon myth survived periods of preoccupation with national issues in Slovenian history, it was woven into new stories and remains a symbol of Ljubljana today (Figures 5 and 6).*



Slika 6: Plakat za Mladinske balkanske atletske igre leta 1990: ljubljanski zmajček teče po Ljubljani. Hrani MGML. Foto Damjana Šalehar, arhiv MGML. F0037558 / Fig. 6: Poster for the Youth Balkan Athletics Games of 1990: the little Ljubljana dragon running around Ljubljana. Kept by the MGML. Photo by Damjana Šalehar, MGML archive. F0037558

<sup>30</sup> Na primer Said 1995.

<sup>31</sup> Hingley 2005, 18ss.

<sup>32</sup> Beard, Henderson 1995.

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Bernarda  
Zupanek

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ZGODBE O  
ZACETKU  
LJUBLJANE:  
EMONA,  
ARGONAVTI  
IN  
LJUBLJANSKI  
ZMAJ



Slika1: Zemljevid argonavtske poti po grofu Carliju / Figure 1: Map of Argonauts path by Count Carli



## ARGONAVTIKA

Pelej je svojemu nečaku Jazonu, tesalskemu princu, prevzel kraljevski prestol. Da bi ga vrnil legitimnemu nasledniku, je zahteval, da mu Jazon prinese ukradeno runo zlatega ovna. Jazon je zbral okoli petdeset junakov, ki so se z njim drznili podati na nevarno pot. Pomagali so jim bogovi, še posebej boginja Atena, ki je izdelala načrte za Argo. Ladja Argo je imela na premcu vgrajeno desko iz govorečega hrasta in je vodila posadko čez nevarne ovire.

Po zlato runo so morali argonavti na Kolhido, v deželo kralja Ajeta. Po številnih pustolovščinah je odprava prispela na cilj. Kralj Ajet je Jazonu za zlato runo, ki ga je v Aresovi votlini čuval zmaj, naložil vrsto nevarnih in nemogočih nalog.

V zadnji, odločilni nalogi je Jazonu s čarovnijo pomagala Ajetova hčerka Medeja, saj se je vanj zaljubila. Ko je Jazon uspešno opravil še zadnjo nalogo in dobil zlato runo, so morali argonavti pobegniti s Kolhide.

*Na begu so z ladjo Argo zapluli iz Črnega morja v Donavo, nato zavili v Savo in po Ljubljani pluli do mesta, kjer so prezimili. Tu so ustanovili Emono, na pomlad pa zapluli do Nauportusa; tam so ladjo razstavili in jo prenesli štiristo stadijev daleč do reke Akylis ter nato zapluli v Jadransko morje.<sup>1</sup>*

## ARGONAUTICA

*Pelias usurped the royal throne in place of his nephew Jason, Prince of Thessaly. As a condition for returning it to the legitimate heir, he demanded that Jason seize and bring him the Golden Fleece. Jason assembled around him 50 heroes who dared to set out with him on this dangerous quest. They had the help of the gods, especially the goddess Athena, who provided plans for construction of their ship, the Argo. Built into the prow of the Argo was a board of talking oak that helped guide the crew past dangerous obstacles.*

*Their quest for the Golden Fleece took the Argonauts to Colchis, the land of King Aetes. After a series of adventures, the expedition arrived at its destination. King Aetes ordered Jason to perform a number of dangerous and impossible tasks in exchange for the Golden Fleece, which was guarded by a dragon in a cavern sacred to Aries.*

*In the final, deciding task, Jason was helped by the magical power of Aetes' daughter Medea, who had fallen in love with him. Once Jason had successfully completed the final task and obtained the Golden Fleece, the Argonauts had to flee Colchis.*

As they fled, the Argo sailed from the Black Sea into the Danube, entering the Sava River at Belgrade and then navigating the Ljubljanica River to the place where they wintered over. It was here that they founded Emona, and in the spring they sailed on to Nauportus where they dismantled the ship and carried it 400 stadia to the Aquilis River, and then sailed on to the Adriatic Sea.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Navajamo različico mita, ki govori o njihovi vrnitvi po območju današnje Slovenije in Ljubljane po grškem avtorju Sozomenu iz 5. stoletja. Zgodba je močno skrajšana.

<sup>1</sup> This is the version of the myth that tells of their return through the area of present-day Slovenia and Ljubljana, according to the 5<sup>th</sup> century Greek author Sozomen. The story is radically shortened.

Mit o argonavtih, so antični zgodovinarji umestili v zibelko evropske duhovne tradicije v 13. st. pr. n. št., nastal je pred 8. st. pr. n. št. med Minijci v Beociji in Tesaliji.<sup>2</sup> Literarna zgodovina ga razlaga dosti širše; na razstavi *Emona: mit in resničnost* in v katalogu ob razstavi ne predstavljamo vseh razsežnosti. Osredotočili smo se zgolj na Sozomena in njegovo različico zgodbe o ustanovitvi Emone.

V grško-rimskem kulturnem krogu je bila simbolika mita o argonavtih arhetipska. Na eni strani močna pesem, ki jo pooseblja Orfej kot član odprave, na drugi strani pa močna simbolika in magija talismanov, ki jih poosebljajo zlato runo in drugi mitični predmeti<sup>3</sup> ter osebe, ki v mitu nastopajo.

V epopeji argonavtske ekspedicije so sodelovali slavni mitski junaki iz grške mitologije.

Prvi med argonavti je bil **Jazon**, tesalski princ. Uspešno je rešil nalogo, a njegov konec ni bil srečen. Čarovnija in izdajstvo, s katerima sta z Medejo pridobila zlato runo, jima nista prinesla srečnega konca – zveza z Medejo se je razdrla. Skupaj z ladjo Argo je na koncu propadel tudi Jazon. Je prisposoba za iskalca večne resnice.

**Argonavti**, mornarji na ladji Argo, so bili grški polbogovi in junaki. Avtorji navajajo različno število Jazonovih spremljevalcev: od 25, 45<sup>4</sup>, okoli 50<sup>5</sup>, 55<sup>6</sup> pa vse do 64<sup>7</sup>. Pojavljajo se tudi različna imena članov argonavtske ekspedicije. Argonavti so prisposoba za junake, ki so za človeka storili nekaj skrajno neverjetnega.

Med njimi so bili: Zevsova sinova (po eni različici) dvojčka Kastor in Polidevk, mogočni Heraklej,

*The myth of the Argonauts emerged some time before the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE among the Minyans in Boeotia and Thessaly, that is, the central area of Greece.<sup>2</sup> Historians of Antiquity have placed the myth in the cradle of the European spiritual tradition in the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Literary history offers substantially wider interpretations, although the exhibition *Emona: Myth and Reality*, and the catalogue accompanying the exhibition, do not present all of the dimensions. We have focused purely on Sozomen and his version of the founding of Emona.*

*Within the Greco-Roman cultural sphere, the myth of the Argonauts possessed an archetypal symbolism. On one hand it was a powerful poem, personified by Orpheus as a member of the expedition and, on the other, it offered powerful symbolism and the magic of talismans embodied by the Golden Fleece and other mythical objects<sup>3</sup> and persons appearing in the myth.*

*The epic poem of the Argonauts' expedition features the participation of glorious heroes from Greek mythology.*

*First among the Argonauts was **Jason**, the Prince of Thessaly. He successfully completed the task, but his end was not a pleasant one. The magic and betrayal through which he and Medea obtained the Golden Fleece did not bring about a happy ending – their marriage was broken. In the end, Jason himself died along with his collapsing Argo. He is an allegory for someone seeking eternal truth.*

*The **Argonauts**, sailors on the Argo, were Greek demigods and heroes. Authors cite a varying number of Jason's comrades: from 25 and 45<sup>4</sup> to around 50<sup>5</sup> or 55<sup>6</sup> and right up to 64<sup>7</sup>. There are also a number of*

<sup>2</sup> Šašel Kos, 2009, 110.

<sup>3</sup> Marinčič, 2006, 100.

<sup>4</sup> Aubelj, 2006, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Šašel Kos, 2006, 14, 20.

<sup>6</sup> Clemenz, III, prvi list.

<sup>7</sup> Grošelj, 2008, 36-39.

<sup>2</sup> Šašel Kos, 2009, 110.

<sup>3</sup> Marinčič, 2006, 100.

<sup>4</sup> Aubelj, 2006, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Šašel Kos, 2006, 14, 20.

<sup>6</sup> Clemenz, III, first sheet.

<sup>7</sup> Grošelj, 2008, 36-39.

slavni zdravnik Eskulap, Argus, graditelj ladje Argo, Odisejev oče Laert, Laokoont, modri in pravični piloški kralj Nestor, videc Mops, Linkej s čudežnim vidom, čarobni pevec in igralec na liro Orfej; Perzej, ki je ubil Gorgono Meduzo, Tezej, atenski kralj in združitelj Atike, Avgij, kralj v Elidi, Ahilov oče Pelej in drugi.

**Zlato runo**, minijski zaklad, so odnesli v nestriženih ovčjih mehovih; pomeni simbol resnice in duhovne čistosti.

**Argo** je okretna grška triera, orodje za dosego cilja, njeno uničenje pa pomeni tudi konec sanj.

**Medeja** je prisposoba za zvijačo, prezir in neznanje.

**Zmaj** ponazarja zlo; Jazon je ubil zmaja, ki je čuval zlato runo; po legendi naj bi Jazon ubil zmaja na Ljubljanskem barju; v 17. stoletju je zmaj prišel v ljubljanski mestni grb<sup>8</sup>.

**Govoreča hrastova deska** ponazarja božjo silo in naklonjenost, navdih; vgrajena je bila na premec ladje Argo, boginja Atena jo je prinesla Argosu iz svetega gaja v Zevsovem preročišču v Dodoni.<sup>9</sup>

*different names given as members of the Argonauts' expedition. The Argonauts are allegorical heroic figures who performed something extremely improbable for humans.*

*They included Zeus' sons, the twins Castor and Pollux, the mighty Heracles, the famed physician Asclepius, Argus, builder of the vessel the Argo, Odysseus' father Laertes, the Trojan priest Laocoon, the wise and just King of Pylos, Nestor, the seer Mopsus, the magically-sighted Lynceus, the magical singer and lyre player Orpheus; Perseus, who slew Medusa the Gorgon, Theseus, King of Athens and unifier of Attica, Augeas, King of Elis, Achilles' father Peleus and others.*

*The Golden Fleece, the Minyan treasure, was carried off in unsheared sheepskins and represents a symbol of truth and spiritual purity.*

*The Argo was a swift Greek triera and represents the tool for achieving the objective, while the destruction of the vessel also signifies the end of dreams.*

*Medea is an allegorical figure for trickery, contempt and ignorance.*

*The Dragon represents evil; Jason killed the dragon guarding the Golden Fleece; according to 17<sup>th</sup> century legend, Jason supposedly killed the dragon in the Ljubljansko Barje wetland; the dragon was then incorporated into the city crest of Ljubljana<sup>8</sup>.*

*The talking oak board represents divine power and favour as well as inspiration; it was built into the prow of the Argo, after Athena brought it to Argus from a sacred grove at Zeus' oracle in Dodona.<sup>9</sup>*

<sup>8</sup> Več o tem mag. Bernarda Županek v tem katalogu.

<sup>9</sup> Šašel Kos, 2009, 110.

<sup>8</sup> On this, also see Bernarda Županek MA in this catalogue.

<sup>9</sup> Šašel Kos, 2009, 110.



»POZDRAVLJENA,  
 ČASTITLJIVA  
 JAZONOVA  
 HČI!«  
 ARGONAVTIKA  
 ALI O  
 MITIČNIH  
 USTANOVITELJIH  
 EMONE/  
 LJUBLJANE

**G**otovo je svojevrsten privilegij, da lahko mesto išče svoje korenine v mitskem izročilu.

Tudi nastanek Ljubljane obdaja obstret vsaj polbožanskosti, a mesto je pri uporabi mita nekoliko sramežljivo, četudi gre za omembo ustanovitve v enem od treh najstarejših grških mitov, mitu o argonavtih, v zapisu iz 5. stoletja. Najbolj dodelan mit o svoji ustanovitvi zagotovo goji mesto Rim. Legendo o ustanoviteljih Rima, Romulu in Remu, ki ju je dojila volkulja, gradijo naprej, v letu 2007 je italijanski minister za kulturo sporočil, da so v bližini Avgustove palače odkrili votlino, kjer je volkulja hranila Romula in Rema, saj naj bi povsem ustrezala opisu svete jame Lupercale.<sup>10</sup> Mit o argonavtih in nastanku Emone, predhodnice

<sup>10</sup> Reuters, 2007, 19.

HAIL TO THE  
 VENERABLE  
 DAUGHTER  
 OF JASON  
 THE ARGONAUTICA,  
 OR THE MYTHICAL  
 FOUNDERS OF  
 EMONA/LJUBLJANA

*It is of course a singular privilege for a city to be able to seek its roots in a mythical tradition.*

*And the creation of Ljubljana sports an aura of at least semi-divinity, although the city is somewhat shy about using the myth – even though its founding is mentioned in one of the three oldest Greek myths, the myth of the Argonauts, found in a record from the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Meanwhile, Rome takes the prize for cultivating the most re-worked myth of how it was founded. The legend of the founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus, who were suckled by a she-wolf, continues to be embellished, with the Italian Minister for Culture reporting in 2007 that close to Augustus'*

Ljubljane, v zavest prebivalcev Ljubljane ni nikoli docela prodrli; mit o grških polbogovih in junakih, ki so prezimili na območju današnjega mesta, je sicer vedno znova vznemirjal in privlačil raziskovalce, a je ostajal »mitična sivina«.

Kdaj se je Emona uvrstila v mit?

V teku stoletij so različni pesniki spisali vrsto različic zgodbe o junaških popotnikih z ladje Argo. Zlasti vrnitev junakov v domovino ima več poti, saj so avtorji v mit postopoma vključevali poznavanje novih delov sveta.

*palace the cave had been found where the she-wolf fed Romulus and Remus, since it entirely matches the description of the sacred cave of Lupercal.<sup>10</sup> The myth of the Argonauts and the creation of Emona, the forerunner of Ljubljana, never fully worked its way into the consciousness of Ljubljana's residents and, while the myth of the Greek demigods and heroes*



Slika 2: Grška lončena posoda / Figure 2: Greek ceramic pot

Apolonij Rodoški iz 3. stoletja pr. n. št. je bil prvi, ki je v mitu opisal t. i. donavsko različico vrnitve argonavtov.<sup>11</sup> Bil je pesnik in bibliotekar v aleksandrinški knjižnici in se je lahko oprl na

*who wintered over in the area of the present-day city has continually excited and attracted researchers, it has nevertheless remained a “mythical grey area”.*

*So when did Emona find its place in the myth?*

*Over the centuries, a number of poets have written a series of variations on the heroic voyagers aboard the Argo. The homeward journey of the heroes is conspicuously given several different routes as the*

<sup>11</sup> Šašel, 1984, 35–37 ; Šašel Kos, 2009, 110–113.

<sup>10</sup> Reuters, 2007, 19.

različne, njemu še dostopne vire.<sup>12</sup> »Ko so pustili za seboj goro Anguros in daleč naprej od nje v ravnino moleči hrib Kauliakos, ob katerem se Istros razcepi v dve veji, izlivajoči se v morja daleč vsaksebi, in ko so potem prešli ravnino Laurion, so Kolhijci končno dospeli na Kronosovo morje.«<sup>13</sup> Grki so imeli tedaj napačno predstavo o geografskih danostih Balkanskega polotoka, pisali so o drugem rokavu Donave (Istros), ki naj bi se izlival v Jadransko (Kronosovo) morje. Natančni tokovi rek so bili znani šele v avgustejski dobi;<sup>14</sup> Plinij starejši je v delu *Naturalis historia* že ovrgel napačno predstavo o dveh rokavih Donave: »Mislim, da je pisce prevaralo sporočilo, da se je ladja Argo po reki spustila v Jadransko morje blizu Tergeste, ne ve se pa več, po kateri reki.«<sup>15</sup>

Najbolj razdelano različico, ki so jo pozneje mnogi prepisovali, je v 5. stoletju zapisal zgodovinar Sozomenos v *Cerkveni zgodovini*: argonavti so pluli po morju nad Skitijo in po rekah prišli v deželo Italikov, kjer so prezimili in ustanovili mesto, poimenovano Emona. Ko je prišlo poletje, so s pomočjo domačinov na stroju vlekli Argo po suhem okoli 400 stadijev in jo peljali po reki Akylis, ki se izliva v Pad.<sup>16</sup> Podobno je vračanje opisal tudi zgodovinpisec Zosimos v drugi polovici 5. stoletja.

Nekateri avtorji menijo, da razlaga prenosa ladje do morja ni nič nenavadnega: bilo je v navadi, da so ob geografskih težavah ladje razstavili in jih prenesli, meni arheolog in strokovnjak za arheologijo ladij Wolfram Mondfeld, ki je hkrati trdno prepričan, da so argonavti »vrgli sidro na sotočju Ljubljance in Gradaščice«.<sup>17</sup> Hubert Clemenz, nasprotno, o

*authors gradually incorporated new parts of the world into the myth as they became known.*

*Apollonius Rhodius of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE was the first to describe in the myth the Danube version of the return of the Argonauts.<sup>11</sup> He was a poet and librarian at the library in Alexandria, and was able to rely on various sources that were still accessible to him.<sup>12</sup> "When they left behind the mountain of Anguros and were far distant from it in the plain of the jutting hill of Kauliakos, at which the Istros divides into two branches, flowing each into distant seas, and when they had crossed the plain of Laurion, the Colchideans finally arrived at the Sea of Chronos."<sup>13</sup> The Greeks had at that time an erroneous idea of the geographical features of the Balkan peninsula, writing about the other branch of the Danube (Istros) which supposedly flowed out into the Adriatic (Chronos) Sea. The precise flows of the rivers were known only in the period of Augustus<sup>14</sup> and in his *Naturalis historia* Pliny the Elder had already rejected the mistaken idea of there being two branches of the Danube: "I think that writers have been deluded by the report that the vessel Argo descended by river into the Adriatic Sea close to Tergeste, although it is no longer known by which river."<sup>15</sup>*

*The most heavily-thumbed version, one later transcribed many times, was recorded in the 5<sup>th</sup> century by the historian Sozomen in his Church History: the Argonauts crossed the sea above Scythia and came by rivers to the land of the Italics, where they wintered over and founded a city named Emona. The following summer, with the assistance of the people of the country, they dragged the Argo, by*

<sup>12</sup> Clemenz, 2008 II, 76. Veliko virov je zgorelo v požaru aleksandrijske knjižnice leta 47 pr. n. št., nekateri so se ohranili v prepisih.

<sup>13</sup> Clemenz, I, 92.

<sup>14</sup> Šašel Kos, 2008, 111–112.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, 111.

<sup>16</sup> Bratož, 1992, 270.

<sup>17</sup> Mondfeld, 1974, 10.

<sup>11</sup> Šašel, 1984, 35–37; Šašel Kos, 2009, 110–113.

<sup>12</sup> Clemenz, 2008 II, 76. Many sources were burned in the fire at the Alexandria library in 47 BCE, while some survived as transcripts.

<sup>13</sup> Clemenz, I, 92.

<sup>14</sup> Šašel Kos, 2008, 111–112.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, 111.



Slika 3: Zemljevid Wolfgang Lazius / Figure 3: Map Wolfgang Lazius

prenosu ladje Argo meni, da o tem ne bi moglo biti govora, saj je triera tehtala 25 ton.<sup>18</sup>

Po 6. stoletju je vedenje o mitu zamrlo in v evropski literaturi ponovno oživelo šele leta 1423, ko so prepis

<sup>18</sup> Clemenz, 2008, II, 176.

*means of machinery, the distance of 400 stadia, and so reached the Aquilis, which flows into the Po.<sup>16</sup> A similar return journey was described by the historian Zosim in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.*

*Some authors believe that the explanation regarding the portage of the ship to the sea was nothing unusual: it was the custom, whenever geographical difficulties were encountered, to dismantle a vessel and carry it, according to the archaeologist and ship archaeology expert Wolfram Mondfeld. He is also firmly*

<sup>16</sup> Bratož, 1992, 270.



mita prinesli iz Bizanca v Firence.<sup>19</sup> Renesančna zazrtost v antično zgodovino in kulturo, ko so izobraženci zahtevali vrnitev k virom, *ad fontes*, ga je ponovno ozavestila. Raziskovanje antike je postalo vseobsegajoče, nekateri pa so mit uporabili za gospodarsko-politični namen, tako so npr. v palači Fava v Bologni izdelali freske po Jazonovi zgodbi in primerjali iskanje zlatega runa v Kolhidi z diplomatsko misijo v Carigradu proti koncu 16. stoletja.<sup>20</sup>

## Oživitev mita

Oživitev mita o argonavtih, ki so storili nekaj veličastnega, človeku skrajno nemogočega, je botrovala tudi ustanovitivi enega najvišjih evropskih odlikovanj.

Burgundski vojvoda Filip Dobri je leta 1430 »v slavo rodbine, v čast devici Mariji in apostolu Andreju, pa tudi za obrambo in širjenje katoliške vere in Cerkve, kreposti in lepih navad ustanovil odlikovanje red zlatega runa. Po izumrtju burgundske hiše je prvenstvo nad redom prešlo na Habsburžane, sprva na špansko vejo, po letu 1700 pa na avstrijsko vejo. Red zlatega runa je postal najuglednejše odlikovanje v habsburški monarhiji.«<sup>21</sup> Med odlikovanci so bili tudi plemiči iz vrst kranjske plemiške družine Auerspergov; med njimi je bilo kar dvanajst nosilcev tega odlikovanja.<sup>22</sup> Prvi med Turjačani je red prejel

<sup>19</sup> Clemenz, 2008, II, 76.

<sup>20</sup> Perini, 2006, 211.

<sup>21</sup> Preinfalk, 2005, 35–36.

<sup>22</sup> Južnič, Red zlatega runa v spomin na argonavte, rokopis.

*convinced that the Argonauts “cast their anchor at the confluence of the Ljubljanica and Gradaščica”.*<sup>17</sup> *A contrasting view of the Argo’s portage is taken by Clemenz, who says this would be out of the question since the triera weighed 25 tons!*<sup>18</sup>

*After the 6<sup>th</sup> century, knowledge of the myth died out until it was revived in European literature in 1423 when a transcript of the myth was brought from Byzantium to Florence.*<sup>19</sup> *The Renaissance focus on the history and culture of Antiquity, with intellectuals demanding a return to the source, ad fontes, brought it back into people’s consciousness. Research of Antiquity became all-embracing and some used the myth for commercial and political purposes. The Fava Palace in Bologna, for instance, bears frescoes drawn from Jason’s story, comparing the quest for the Golden Fleece in Colchis with the diplomatic mission to Istanbul towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.*<sup>20</sup>

## Reviving the myth

*The revival of the myth of the Argonauts, who performed something grand and extremely improbable for mere mortals, paved the way for the creation of one of the highest distinctions.*

*In 1430 Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, “for the glory of our mother country, in honour of the Virgin Mary and Apostle Andrew, as well as for the defence*

<sup>17</sup> Mondfeld, 1974, 10.

<sup>18</sup> Clemenz, 2008, II, 176.

<sup>19</sup> Clemenz, 2008, II, 76.

<sup>20</sup> Perini, 2006, 211.

Janez Vajkard knez Auersperg<sup>23</sup> leta 1650; bil je štiristosedemindvajseti odlikovanec po vrsti.<sup>24</sup>

Območje današnje Slovenije ni sodilo v krog grške civilizacije, malo je tudi ohranjenih materialnih sledi o grški navzočnosti v naših krajih. Toda gotovo je bilo ozemlje vsaj od klasične dobe naprej v zavesti grških izobražencev.

Razlagi in uporabi mita, ki naj bi se odvijal na naših tleh, sledimo od 16. stoletja naprej, ko so se tudi na Kranjskem učenjaki in izobraženci začeli ukvarjati z rimskimi ostalinami.

Prvi med njimi je bil Avguštin Tyfarnus, s pravim imenom Prygl,<sup>25</sup> najverjetneje z Laškega (nemško Tüffer). Študiral je v Padovi, veliko potoval po Italiji, opravljal različne visoke cerkvene službe.<sup>26</sup> Bil je prvi zbiralec rimskih napisov v naših krajih. Tyfarnus je zapisoval napise (pa tudi drugi so mu jih pošiljali) iz Kranjske, Štajerske in Koroške. Po Mommsenu je ohranil redke napise, predvsem pa jih je kakovostno zapisal in izrisal. Če gledamo za nas zanimive kraje na Kranjskem, je Tyfarnus zapisal tri napise iz Ljubljane, tri z Vrhnike, dva iz Bistre ter šestindvajset z Iga.<sup>27</sup>

Leta 1545 je Wolfgang Lanz, bolj znan kot Lazius,<sup>28</sup> kartograf, zgodovinar in zdravnik z Dunaja, izdelal zemljevid *Prikaz Goriškega, Krasa, Kočevskega, Kranjskega, Istre in slovenske marke*<sup>29</sup>. Pod Ljubljano je na zemljevidu natisnjeno: »Tu so se ustavili argonavti, od tu pluli (do Jadrana) pod zemljo.« – »Hic Argonavis stationem habuit et

*and spread of the Catholic faith and the Church, virtue and fine habits, founded the decoration of the Order of the Golden Fleece. After the house of Burgundy died out, primacy over the Order went to the Habsburgs, first to the Spanish line, and after 1700 to the Austrian line. It became the most outstanding decoration in the Habsburg monarchy.*<sup>21</sup> *The Order included nobles from the ranks of the Carniolan house of Auersperg which produced a full 12 members who bore this decoration.*<sup>22</sup> *The first of the Turjaks to be made members of the Order was Janez Vajkard Prince Auersperg<sup>23</sup> in 1650, and he was the 427<sup>th</sup> successive holder of the decoration.*<sup>24</sup>

*The area of present-day Slovenia was beyond the sphere of Greek civilisation and there are few preserved material traces of any Greek presence in this area. Yet there is no doubt that, at least from the Classical period on, educated Greeks were aware of this territory. The myth of the Argonauts is also the only report involving the history of the area of Slovenia/Ljubljana in the period between the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE and 77 CE, when Pliny wrote critically of the geographical features of this area.*

*The interpretation and use of the myth that was supposedly set in Slovenian lands can be traced from the 16<sup>th</sup> century on when scholars and intellectuals in Carniola started looking into Roman remains.*

*First among them was Avguštin Tyfarnus, more properly named Prygl,<sup>25</sup> who was most probably from Laško (German: Tüffer). He studied in Padua, travelled a great deal around Italy and performed*

<sup>23</sup> Janez Vajkard knez Auersperg (1615–1677).

<sup>24</sup> [http://.../Liste\\_der\\_Ritter...](http://.../Liste_der_Ritter...), 24. 2. 2010.

<sup>25</sup> Avguštin Tyfarnus (1470–1535). Simoniti, 1979, 83: variante imena Tyfarnus, Tefarnus, Tiff(fernus oz. Prigl, Prugel, Prugl. Sam se je podpisoval kot Tyfarnus oz. Prygl.

<sup>26</sup> Simoniti, 1979, 87–88.

<sup>27</sup> Simoniti, 1982, 94.

<sup>28</sup> Wolfgang Lanz, bolj znan kot Lazius (1514–1565).

<sup>29</sup> Lazius, 1584. Naslov po Bohinec, 1969, 9.

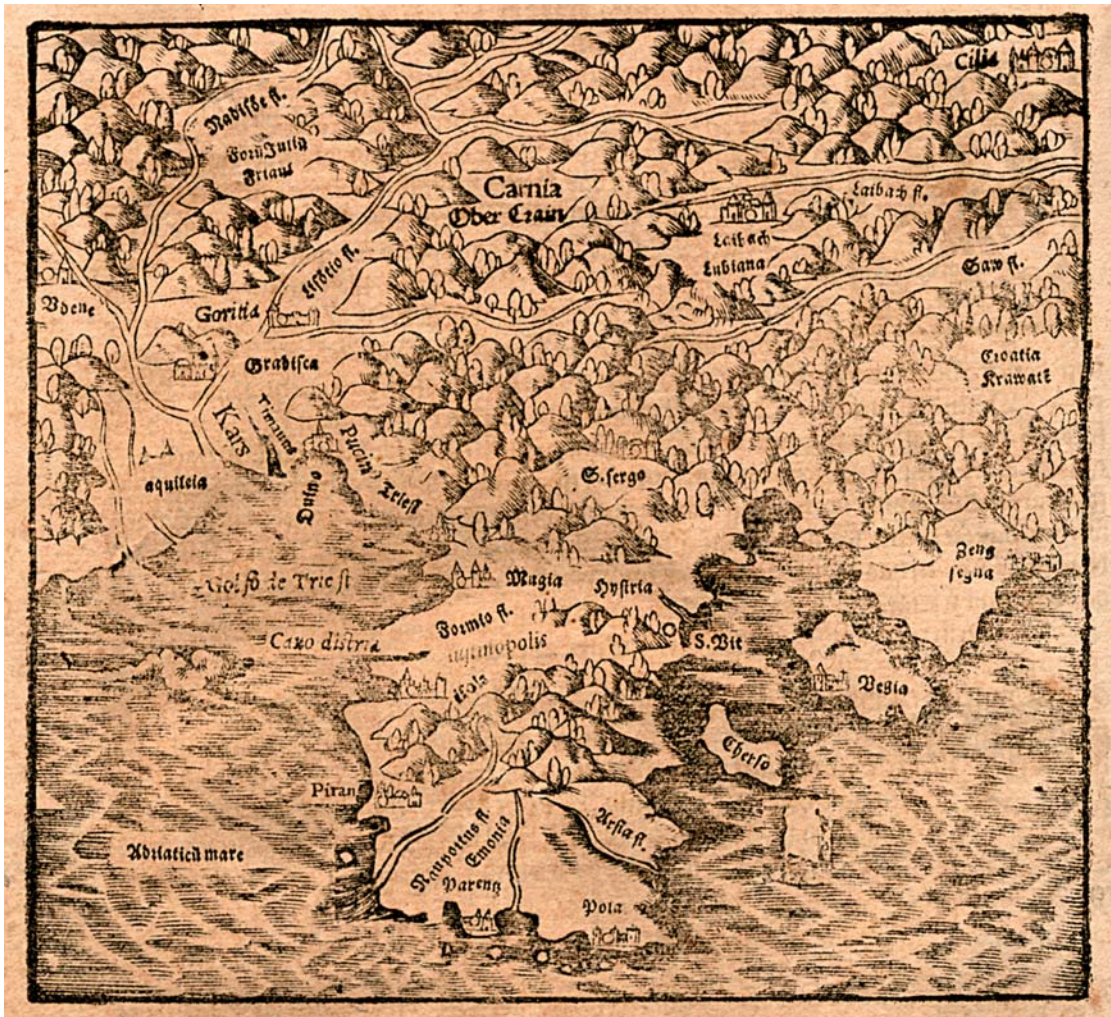
<sup>21</sup> Preinfalk, 2005, 35–36.

<sup>22</sup> Južnič, *Red zlatega runa v spomin na argonavte [Order of the Golden Fleece in Memory of the Argonauts]*, manuscript.

<sup>23</sup> Janez Vajkard Prince Auersperg 1615–1677.

<sup>24</sup> [http://.../Liste\\_der\\_Ritter...](http://.../Liste_der_Ritter...), 24.2.2010.

<sup>25</sup> Avguštin Tyfarnus 1470–1535. Simoniti, 1979, 83: variants of the name Tyfarnus, Tefarnus, Tiff(fernus, or Prigl, Prugel, Prugl. He signed himself Tyfarnus or Prygl.



Slika 4: Zemljevid Sebastian Münster / Figure 4: Map Sebastian Münster

excauato monte, per specum sub terra traducta.«<sup>30</sup> Nemški kartograf in profesor hebrejščine v Heidelbergu Sebastian Münster pa je leta 1550 na Karti Kranjske z Istro, Goriško, Furlanijo in delom Hrvaške Ljubljano s podzemnim intervalom<sup>31</sup> povezal z reko Mirno v Istri in pripisal: »Nauportus fl. Emonia«.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Wolfgang Lazius, Wikipedia, 2. 12. 2009; NUK, Ducatus Carniolae et Histriae una cum Marcha Windorum.

<sup>31</sup> Šašel Kos, 2008, 113.

<sup>32</sup> Naslov po Ilustrirana, 2000, 446. Münster, 1550.

various high offices for the Church.<sup>26</sup> He was the first collector of Roman inscriptions in the area of Slovenia. Tyfenus recorded inscriptions and he was also sent inscriptions by others, from Carniola, Štajerska and Koroška. According to Mommsen, he preserved rare inscriptions and in particular he recorded and drew them to a high standard. If we look at the areas of interest to us in Carniola, Tyfenus recorded three inscriptions from Ljubljana, three from Vrhnika, two from Bistra and 26 from Ig!<sup>27</sup>

In 1545 Wolfgang Lanz, better known as Lazius,<sup>28</sup> a cartographer, historian and physician from Vienna, produced a map entitled Presentation of Goriško,

<sup>26</sup> Simoniti, 1979, 87-88.

<sup>27</sup> Simoniti, 1982, 94.

<sup>28</sup> Wolfgang Lanz, better known as Lazius 1514-1565.

**T**rije izobraženci, Janez Ludvik Schönleben, Janez Vajkard Valvasor in Janez Gregor Dolničar, so v 17. stoletju utrdili mit o argonavtski ustanovitvi Emone kot zgodovinsko dejstvo. Vodila sta jih globoka zavest pripadnosti Ljubljani in ponos na njeno preteklost.<sup>33</sup>

Že Aristotel je opredelil razliko med mitom, v katerem pesnik piše, kaj bi se lahko zgodilo, in zgodovinarjem, ki opisuje dejanja resničnih ljudi.<sup>34</sup> V nasprotju z njegovim mnenjem je v 17. stoletju »temeljni kamen« za poznavanje in razumevanje mita o argonavtih kot zgodovinske resnice na Slovenskem postavil jezuit, teolog, retorik in filozof Janez Ludvik Schönleben.<sup>35</sup> Slavno zgodovino Kranjske in njenega glavnega mesta sta kranjskim knezom in deželnim stanovom želeli predstaviti dve njegovi deli, *Aemona vindicata sive Labaco metropoli Carnioliae (1674) in Carniolia antiqua et nova*. (1681; nedokončano).<sup>36</sup> Naslonil se je na Sozomena in Zosima ter njuno argonavtsko zgodbo o nastanku Emone<sup>37</sup> in jo zanesljivo poistovetil z današnjo Ljubljano.<sup>38</sup> Na naslovnici je natisnjeno, da je bila izdana v Salzburgu leta 1674 krščanske ere oziroma »Qui est Aemonae conditae 2897« – 2897 let po ustanovitvi Emone.<sup>39</sup> Tako je uvedel štetje let *ab urbe condita* od leta 1222 pr. n. št.

Šašel navaja Stareta in njegovo delo *Ilirske najdbe železne dobe*, kjer avtor pravi, da v isto obdobje

Karst, Kočevsko, Carniola, Istria and the Slovenian marches<sup>29</sup>. Printed beneath Ljubljana on the map are the words "Here the Argonauts stopped, and from here they sailed (to the Adriatic) under the Earth" (Hic Argonauis stationem habuit et excauato monte, per specum sub terra traducta).<sup>30</sup> Then in 1550 the German cartographer and Heidelberg professor of Hebrew, Sebastian Münster, on his Map of Carniola and Istria, Goriško, Friuli and part of Croatia, linked the Ljubljana and its underground interval<sup>31</sup> to the Mirna River in Istria with the note: "Nauportus fl. Emonia".<sup>32</sup>

»Post Aemonam conditam«

**I**n the 17<sup>th</sup> century, three men of learning, Janez Ludvik Schönleben, Janez Vajkard Valvasor and Janez Gregor Dolničar, consolidated the myth of the Argonauts having founded Emona as historical fact. They were guided by a deep sense of affiliation to Ljubljana and pride in its past.<sup>33</sup>

Aristotle himself defined the difference between the poet who writes in a myth what might have happened, and the historian who describes the actions of real people.<sup>34</sup> In contrast with his opinion, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the "cornerstone" for knowing and understanding the myth of the Argonauts as historical truth in Slovenia was laid by a Jesuit,

<sup>33</sup> Lavrič, 2003, 37.

<sup>34</sup> Šašel Kos, 2008, 110. Aristotle je živel v 4. st. pr. n. št., misel zapisal v Poetika, 9.

<sup>35</sup> Janez Ludvik Schönleben (1618–1681).

<sup>36</sup> Mihelič, 1998, 247–249.

<sup>37</sup> Schönleben, 1674, I, 2.

<sup>38</sup> Kastelic, 2000, 317.

<sup>39</sup> Schönleben, 1674, naslovnica.

<sup>29</sup> Lazius, 1584. Title after Bohinec, 1969, 9.

<sup>30</sup> Wolfgang Lazius, Wikipedia, 2.12.2009; NUK, Ducatus Carniolae et Histriae una cum Marcha Windorum.

<sup>31</sup> Šašel Kos, 2008, 113.

<sup>32</sup> Title after the Illustrated, 2000, 446. Münster, 1550.

<sup>33</sup> Lavrič, 2003, 37.

<sup>34</sup> Šašel Kos, 2008, 110. Aristotle lived in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, and he wrote this idea in Poetics, 9.



Slika 5: Naslovnica z datacijo »post Aemonam conditam« / Figure 5: Cover page the counting of years »post Aemonam conditam«

spada tudi z arheološko metodo ugotovljen začetek emonskega naselja.<sup>40</sup>

Mit o argonavtski ustanovitvi Emone je še utrdil Janez Vajkard Valvasor<sup>41</sup> v *Slavi vojvodine Kranjske*. Jazonovo naselbino je postavil na sotočje Ljubljance in Gradašnice: »Jazon je zgradil mesto (mestece) /.../ na kraju, kjer je danes predmestje ali kar vas Krakovo. /.../ Emona je nato postala močno in veliko mesto, kar se še danes vidi po Ljubljani.«<sup>42</sup> Arheologi tam – še – niso kopali. Branko Reisp, ki je zavzeto preučeval Valvasorja, je menil, da je Valvasorjevo delo produkt časa, saj so tedaj iskali »starost« za dokazovanje imenitnosti, tudi Ljubljane, zato navedkom ne bi

<sup>40</sup> Šašel, 1984, 36.

<sup>41</sup> Janez Vajkard Valvasor (1641–1693).

<sup>42</sup> Valvasor, 1689, II, 5, 237.

theologian, rhetorician and philosopher named Janez Ludvik Schönleben.<sup>35</sup> Two of his works, *Aemona vindicata sive Labaco metropoli Carnioliae* (1674) and *Carniola antiqua et nova...* (1681), which was unfinished, sought to present the glorious history of Carniola and its chief provincial city to the Carniolan princes and provincial estates.<sup>36</sup> He relied on Sozomen and Zosim and their story of the Argonauts founding Emona<sup>37</sup>, reliably identifying it with present-day Ljubljana.<sup>38</sup> The cover includes printed information that it was published in Salzburg in 1674 of the Christian Era, or rather "Qui est Aemonae conditae 2897" – 2897 years after the founding of Emona.<sup>39</sup> In this way he introduced the counting of years "ab urbe condita", from 1222 BCE.

Šašel cites *Stare* and his work *Ilirske najdbe železne dobe [Illyrian Finds from the Iron Age]*, whereby the beginnings of the Emona settlement have been determined through archaeological methods as falling within the same period.<sup>40</sup>

In his *Glory of the Duchy of Carniola*, Janez Vajkard Valvasor<sup>41</sup> further consolidated the myth of the Argonauts having founded Emona. Jason's settlement was set up at the confluence of the Ljubljana and Gradašica: "Jason built a town (little town) ... in the location where today there is the suburb or village of Krakovo. ... Emona then became a powerful and large city, as can still be seen around Ljubljana...."<sup>42</sup> Archaeologists have not – yet – excavated there. Reisp believed that Valvasor's work was a product of the times since in that period they were seeking out what was "old" as evidence of grandeur, including in Ljubljana, so we should not pay too much attention

<sup>35</sup> Janez Ludvik Schönleben 1618–1681.

<sup>36</sup> Mihelič, 1998, 247–249.

<sup>37</sup> Schönleben, 1674, I, 2.

<sup>38</sup> Kastelic, 2000, 317.

<sup>39</sup> Schönleben, 1674, cover page.

<sup>40</sup> Šašel, 1984, 36.

<sup>41</sup> Janez Vajkard Valvasor 1641–1693.

<sup>42</sup> Valvasor, 1689, II, 5, 237.

smeli posvečati prevelike pozornosti.<sup>43</sup> V *Slavi* je poleg besedila o nastanku Emone objavljena tudi grafična upodobitev, ki bi jo lahko naslovili Argonavti gradijo Emono, a je podoba povezljiva z Emono samo zato, ker je postavljena ob besedilo, ki govori o argonavtski ustanovitvi Ljubljane.<sup>44</sup>

Valvasor je tudi vpeljal zmaja v ljubljanski mestni grb. Kot je Jazon ubil zmaja v Aresovi votlini na Kolhidi, tako naj bi ubil tudi zmaja na Ljubljanskem barju. O tem lahko govori srebrni pečatnik mesta Ljubljana iz sredine 15. stoletja.<sup>45</sup> Ročaj pečatnika ima obliko zmaja, kar je bilo glede na tedanjo modo v navadi, toda stisnjen zmaj, upodobljen na pečatni strani nad mestnim grbom, je bil najverjetneje dodan kasneje. Enako je upodobljen na malem



Slika 6: Pečatnik mesta Ljubljane / Figure 6: Seal of the city of Ljubljana

mestnem sodnem pečatu. Na medeninasti beraški znački iz leta 1667 je upodobljen že »grozeč« zmaj z razprtimi perutmi,<sup>46</sup> enako kot na veliki veduti Ljubljane v Valvasorjevi *Slavi*.<sup>47</sup>

*to these claims.<sup>43</sup> In Glory, alongside the text on the founding there is the sole graphic depiction, which we could title “the Argonauts build Emona” although the depiction relates to Emona purely because it is set next to the text recounting how the Argonauts founded Ljubljana.<sup>44</sup>*

*Valvasor also introduced the dragon to the city crest of Ljubljana. Just as Jason killed the dragon in the cavern of Aries in Colchis, so he supposedly slew the dragon in the Ljubljansko Barje wetlands. Indications of this nature can be found on a silver seal of the city of Ljubljana from the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>45</sup> The handle of the seal is in the form of a dragon, which was the fashionable practice of that time, but the compressed dragon depicted on the seal side above the city crest was no doubt added later. It is also depicted identically on a small seal of a city magistrate. A mendicant badge of 1667 depicts a “terrible” dragon with spread wings,<sup>46</sup> just like in the large veduta of Ljubljana in Valvasor’s Glory.<sup>47</sup>*

*The myth was further cultivated by Janez Gregor Dolničar, Count Thalberg,<sup>48</sup> an erudite personage who also founded the Dismas Fraternity and co-founded the Academia Operosorum. He addressed the following rapturous greeting to Emona: “Hail the venerable daughter of Jason, repose of the Argonauts, seat of bishops, court of princes, protector of faithfulness, throne of justice, shrine of the muses and jewel of joy.”<sup>49</sup> In his Epitome chronologica<sup>50</sup> he published an epitaph for Emona: “Emona, whoever*

<sup>43</sup> Raztresen, 1974, 10.

<sup>44</sup> Murovec, 2006, 276.

<sup>45</sup> MGML, 510:LJU;0025306. Otorepec, Jurečič, 1996, 29, 31.

<sup>46</sup> MGML, 510:LJU;0025328.

<sup>47</sup> Otorepec, Jurečič, 1996, 51.

<sup>43</sup> Raztresen, 1974, 10.

<sup>44</sup> Murovec, 2006, 276.

<sup>45</sup> MGML, 510:LJU;0025306. Otorepec, Jurečič, 1996, 29, 31.

<sup>46</sup> MGML, 510:LJU;0025328.

<sup>47</sup> Otorepec, Jurečič, 1996, 51.

<sup>48</sup> Janez Gregor Dolničar 1655-1719.

<sup>49</sup> Dolničar, 1714, after Blaženka First.

<sup>50</sup> Epitome chronologica, continens res memorabiles, nobilis, & antiquissimae urbis Labacensis, Metropolis iclyti Ducatus carnioliae. Ab urbe condito, usque ad annum Christi, M.DCC.XIV. Dedicata honoribus nobilibus, ac Academiae operosorum Labacensium. Labaci : formis J. G. M(ayr), 1714.

Mit je naprej razvijal Janez Gregor Dolničar, grof Thalberg,<sup>48</sup> erudit, med drugim ustanovitelj Dizmove bratovščine in soustanovitelj Akademije delavnih. Zanosno je nagovoril Emono z voščilom: »Pozdravljena, častitljiva Jazonova hči, počitek argonavtov, sedež škofije, dvor knezov, zaščitnica vernosti, prestol pravice, svetišče muz in dragulj radosti.«<sup>49</sup> V delu *Epitome chronologica*<sup>50</sup> je objavil nagrobni napis Emoni: »Emona, kdor te videl je, / in ni te vzljubil s srcem vsem, / ta brez ljubezni bivajoč / zavrača prav vse milosti.«<sup>51</sup>

V tedaj novozgrajeni ljubljanski stolnici je dal Gregorjev brat Janez Anton Dolničar vgraditi kamen z napisom z datacijo *ab urbe condite*: »Baziliko, posvečeno sv. Miklavžu, nadškofu iz Myre, glavnemu zavetniku ljubljanskemu, od starosti zanemarjeno in dotrajano, je Janez Anton Dolničar, dekan in generalni vikar ljubljanski, s podporo, zbirko in izredno skrbjo iz temeljev obnovil. Leta 1701 od deviškega rojstva ali leta 2904 od ustanovitve.«<sup>52</sup>

Gregorjev sin Aleš Sigismund je avtor personifikacije Emone, nekoliko utrujene žene na prestolu, ki naj bi jo bil izdelal po navodilih očeta in objavil na naslovnem listu *Epitome Chronologica, Labaci 1714*. Prestol »temelj« na ladji Argo. Janezu Gregorju Dolničarju pa ni uspelo pregovoriti mestnih mož, da bi Jazona in argonavte ovekovečili v ljubljanskem magistratu, na stropu osrednje dvorane.<sup>53</sup>

Ugotovitve vseh treh avtorjev so sodobniki z

<sup>48</sup> Janez Gregor Dolničar (1655–1719).

<sup>49</sup> Dolničar, 1714, po Blaženka First.

<sup>50</sup> *Epitome chronologica, continens res memorabiles, nobilis, & antiquissimae urbis Labacensis, Metropolis iclyti Ducatus carnioliae. Ab urbe condito, usque ad annum Christi, M.DCC.XIV. Dedicata honoribus nobilib, ac Academiae operosorum Labacensium. Labaci : formis J. G. M(ayr), 1714.*

<sup>51</sup> Lavrič, 2003, 37.

<sup>52</sup> Kopriva, 1989, 20–21.

<sup>53</sup> Kokole, 2006, 256–257.

*has seen you, / and not fallen fully in love with you, / he existing without love / indeed rejects all grace.»<sup>51</sup>*

*In the then newly constructed Ljubljana Cathedral, Gregor's brother Janez Anton Dolničar had a stone installed with the inscription and date ab urbe condite: "This basilica dedicated to St. Nicholas, Archbishop of Myra, chief protector of Ljubljana, neglected and worn with age, was restored from its foundations by Janez Anton Dolničar, dean and vicar-general of Ljubljana, with support, collections and extraordinary care. In the year 1701 from the Virgin birth or 2904 from the founding.»<sup>52</sup>*

*Gregor's son Aleš Sigismund was the author of a personification of Emona, a rather jaded woman on a throne, whom he supposedly depicted under his father's instructions on the cover page of Epitome Chronologica, Labaci 1714. The throne is "based" on the Argo. However, Janez Gregor Dolničar was unable to persuade the elders of the city to have Jason and the Argonauts immortalised on the ceiling of the main hall in Ljubljana's City Hall.»<sup>53</sup>*

*The findings of all three writers were enthusiastically received by their contemporaries, and within the Academia Operosorum a programme was instituted to revive the Emona tradition, Aemona rediviva. It was at that time that an Operosorum member Jurij Andrej Gladič penned his now newly discovered paean to Emona.»<sup>54</sup>*

*In the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Argonaut myth became part of the "urbane quality of the city". The stories of Ljubljana's fountains are telling in this respect.*

*Ljubljana's city leaders wanted to renovate the*

<sup>51</sup> Lavrič, 2003, 37.

<sup>52</sup> Kopriva, 1989, 20–21.

<sup>53</sup> Kokole, 2006, 256–257.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*

navdušenjem sprejeli, v okviru Akademije delavnih so se programsko lotili oživljanja emonske tradicije, *Aemona rediviva*. Tedaj je nastala danes na novo odkrita hvalnica Emoni operoza Jurija Andreja Gladiča.<sup>54</sup>

Argonavtski mit je v 17. stoletju postal del »mestne urbanosti«. O tem govorijo zgodbe ljubljanskih vodnjakov.

Vodnjak pred mestno hišo so ljubljanski mestni možje želeli prenoviti pred obiskom cesarja Leopolda I. leta 1660. Stari vodnjak so na hitro zamenjali z novo leseno soho Neptuna in jo pozlatili. Leta 1675 je Janez Khumerstainer izklesal podobo Neptuna, zgolj pri Dolničarju pa se je ohranil tudi napis z vodnjaka: »(Neptunu,) krotitelj morij, ker je po ustanovitvi Emone sprejel Jazona. Postavili so po občinskem sklepu ljubljanski stavbni odborniki.«<sup>55</sup>

Ob istem dogodku so na Starem trgu, na križišču starih poti, postavili Herkulov vodnjak. Upodobitev Herkula je ustrezala tedanji modi in priljubljenosti mita o argonavtih. Spet je bil izbran Janez Khumerstainer: na njegovi upodobitvi vidimo Herkula, kako duši leva, kar je bila prisposoba zmage nad Turki. Ko je Gruberjev kanal prekinil vodovod z Golovca, je Herkulov vodnjak presahnul, zato so ga odstranili.<sup>56</sup>

Neptunov vodnjak pred mestno hišo so čez čas zamenjali z novim, ki ga je izdelal Francesco Robba. Kokole razvija misel, da se tudi z Robbovim vodnjakom nadaljuje mit o argonavtih: upodobljen je Neptun z delfinom pri nogah, dve podobi pa poosebljata reki Savo in Ljubljanico, ki sta pripeljali

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem; gl. tudi Zupan, 1991. Kopija Neptunovega vodnjaka stoji danes na trgu pred ZRC SAZU.

<sup>56</sup> Zupan, 1991. Kip Herkula je ohranjen v avli ljubljanske mestne hiše. Kopija Herkulovega vodnjaka pa od leta 1991 stoji na križišču starih poti na Starem trgu.

*fountain in front of the City Hall prior to the visit of Emperor Leopold I in 1660. They quickly replaced the old fountain with a new wooden statue of Neptune, and covered it in gilt. In 1675 Janez Khumerstainer carved out the image of Neptune and only Dolničar retained the inscription on the fountain: (To Neptune), tamer of the seas, since he received Jason after the founding of Emona. Erected upon municipal order by the Ljubljana building committee.<sup>55</sup>*

*For the same event, in Stari Trg, at the crossroads of ancient roads, a fountain of Hercules was erected. The depiction of Hercules corresponded with the then fashion and popularity of the Argonauts myth. This was again the work of Janez Khumerstainer, who carved Hercules strangling a lion, an allegory of the victory over the Turks. When the Gruber canal cut off the aqueduct from Golovec, the Hercules fountain dried up, so it was removed.<sup>56</sup>*

*The Neptune fountain in front of City Hall was replaced with a new one made by Francesco Robba. Kokole has cultivated the idea that the Robba fountain also served to perpetuate the myth of the Argonauts: Neptune is depicted with a dolphin at his feet, while two images embody the Sava and Ljubljanica rivers, which brought the Argonauts to this land. The fact that the Argonauts story was not maintained may perhaps be blamed on the fact that the fountain was completed in 1749 and, right at that time, under Maria Theresa's reforms, Carniola was divided into three prefectures – Gorenjska, Notranjska and Dolenjska. The fountain is therefore dedicated to three rivers, the Sava, Ljubljanica and Krka, or rather it acquired the title Fountain of the Three Carniolan Rivers.<sup>57</sup>*

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem; also see Zupan, 1991. A copy of the Neptune fountain today stands in the square in front of ZRC SAZU.

<sup>56</sup> Zupan, 1991. The statue of Hercules is kept in the lobby of Ljubljana City Hall. Since 1991 a copy of the Hercules fountain has stood at the crossroads of ancient routes in Stari Trg.

<sup>57</sup> Kokole, 2006, 257-258.



argonavte na naša tla. Da se argonavtska zgodba ni ohranila, je morda krivo dejstvo, da je bil vodnjak končan leta 1749, prav v tem obdobju pa je bila Kranjska po terezijanskih reformah razdeljena na tri kresije – gorenjsko, notranjsko in dolensko. Zato je vodnjak posvečen trem rekam: Savi, Ljubljani in Krki, oziroma je dobil ime Vodnjak treh kranjskih rek.<sup>57</sup>

Ne pozabimo na slavne Auerspergove vrtove. Ohranjeni fragment Lede z labodom<sup>58</sup> morda kaže na ureditev vrtov »po mitu«. Leda je Zevsu, ki se ji je približal kot labod, namreč rodila dvojčka Kastorja in Polidevka, oba argonavta. Od propadajočih vrtov so ostali le drobci, skodela se je ohranila na vodnjaku, ki od leta 1870 stoji na Krekovem trgu.<sup>59</sup> Krasijo jo tri levje glave – je morda upodobitev leva kakorkoli povezana z nemejskim levom, ki ga je ubil Heraklej?<sup>60</sup>

Argonavti so še naprej burili domišljijo in željo po odkrivanju novega.

Novo datacijo argonavtskega pohoda je izračunal sir Isaac Newton<sup>61</sup>, angleški fizik, astronom in matematik, pa tudi mistik. V svoji *Kronologiji starodavnega kraljestva* se je ob izračunu naslonil na v mitu zapisane položaje zvezd. Poznal je položaj zvezd *Prima Arietis* in *Ultima caudae arietis* leta 1689 in ga primerjal s položajem, opisanim v mitu. Vedel je, da se ekvinokcij v enem letu premakne nazaj za 50", tako da je dobil dobo argonavtskega pohoda, ko so bile pglavitne točke ekvinokcija in solsticija v ozvezdijh Oвна,

<sup>57</sup> Kokole, 2006, 257–258.

<sup>58</sup> MGML 510:LJU;0027415.

<sup>59</sup> Horvat, 2005, 104–105.

<sup>60</sup> Nemejski lev je v grški mitologiji neranljiva pošast, ki jo je Heraklej ubil in se odel v njeno kožo.

<sup>61</sup> Sir Isaac Newton (1643–1727). Za pomoč se iskreno zahvaljujem dr. Stanislavu Južniču, ki me je opozoril na gradivo in mi ga ljubezno poslal iz ZDA.

*We should also mention the famous gardens of the Auerspergs. The preserved fragment of Leda and the Swan<sup>58</sup> perhaps indicates the arrangement of the gardens "according to myth". Indeed, Leda bore the twins Castor and Pollux, both of them Argonauts, from Zeus, who came to her as a swan. Only fragments remain of the crumbling gardens and a dish was preserved on the fountain which has stood since 1870 in the square of Krekov Trg.<sup>59</sup> It is adorned with three lions' heads – the depiction of a lion perhaps associated in some way with the Nemean lion, which Hercules killed.<sup>60</sup>*

*The Argonauts continued to fire the imagination and desire for new discoveries.*

*A new date for the voyage of the Argonauts was calculated by Sir Isaac Newton<sup>61</sup>, the English physicist, astronomer, mathematician and mystic. In his Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms, he based his calculation on the positions of the stars as recorded in the myth. He knew the positions of the stars Prima Arietis and Ultima caudae arietis in 1689 and compared these with the positions described in the myth. He knew that in one year the equinox undergoes a precession of 50'', and this gave him the period of the Argonauts' voyage, when the primary points of the equinox and solstice were in the constellations Aries, Cancer, Scorpio and Capricorn. He calculated that the voyage was made 43 years after Solomon's death.<sup>62</sup> However, the middle of the constellation Aries was not necessarily right in the middle of the constellations, which changes the date somewhat.<sup>63</sup> The Greek astronomer Hipparchus made*

<sup>58</sup> MGML 510:LJU;0027415.

<sup>59</sup> Horvat, 2005, 104–105.

<sup>60</sup> In Greek mythology the Nemean lion was an invulnerable monster that Hercules killed, dressing himself in its skin.

<sup>61</sup> Sir Isaac Newton 1643–1727. My sincere thanks go to Dr. Stanislav Južnič for his help in advising me of the material, which he kindly sent from the USA.

<sup>62</sup> Newton, 1728, 94; King Solomon, the wise Jewish king, ruled from 970 to 931 BCE.

<sup>63</sup> Newton, 1728, 86–87, also see Južnič, 2009.

Raka, Škorpijona in Kozoroga. Izračunal je, da je potovanje potekalo 43 let po Salomonovi smrti.<sup>62</sup> Vendar sreda ozvezdja Aries ni bila nujno ravno sredi ozvezdij, kar datacijo nekoliko spremeni.<sup>63</sup> Položaje ozvezdij je enako izračunal tudi grški astronom Hiparh.<sup>64</sup> Newtonov izračun je pokazal, da so antični zgodovinarji za 300 let prezgodaj ocenili pot argonavtov, kar pomeni, da naj bi se na pot odpravili v 10. st. pr. n. št.

Če upoštevamo obe dataciji argonavtskega potovanja, tako 13. kot 10. st. pr. n. št., vidimo, da sta na tleh Ljubljane v obeh obdobjih stali prazgodovinski naselbini: na Ljubljanskem gradu je bila naselbina t. i. kulture žarnih grobišč. Po najnovejših arheoloških izkopavanjih v zadnjih letih lahko na arheološkem najdišču Tribuna ob Dolenjski cesti sledimo poselitvi Ljubljane tudi v času okoli leta 1000 pr. n. št. Gre za strnjeno urbano naselje večjega obsega; arheologi so našli ulico s hišami (ognjišča in shrambene jame).<sup>65</sup>

Mit o argonavtski ustanovitvi Ljubljane se je tako zelo »prijel«, da so leta 1706 dijaki najvišjega razreda gramatike jezuitske gimnazije uprizorili igro z naslovom *Prikazana je na odru slava Jazona, ki si jo je pridobil z ustanovitvijo Emone* ali *Kako Jazon s pomočjo hrabrih Emoncev srečno premaga zahrbtno naklepe svojega strica Pelia*.<sup>66</sup> Zgodba je precej prirejena. Plemeni Gorenjcev in Dolenjcev (zapisani sta latinski poimenovanji Gorenicos in Dolenicos, zato raziskovalci menijo, da je avtor besedila Slovenec) se med seboj prepirata, komu naj pripade Emona. Prepir reši Jazon, ki se mu

*exactly the same calculations for the positions of the constellations.*<sup>64</sup> *Newton's calculation showed that the historians of Antiquity had placed the journey of the Argonauts 300 years too early, meaning that they supposedly set out on their expedition in the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE.*

*Taking both dates for the Argonaut expedition, that is the 13<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, we may see that in both periods prehistoric settlements stood on the site of Ljubljana: at Ljubljana Castle there was a settlement of what was called the urn burial culture. And the latest archaeological excavations of recent years have yielded, at the find site of what is called Tribuna along Dolenjska Street, traces of settlement in Ljubljana dating to around 1000 BCE. This was a tightly huddled urban settlement of some size and archaeologists have found a street with houses (fireplaces and store pits).*<sup>65</sup>

*The myth of the Argonauts establishing Ljubljana took hold so much that in 1706 pupils of the highest grade at the Jesuit grammar school performed a play entitled A stage presentation of the glory of Jason, acquired through the founding of Emona or How Jason with the help of the brave Emonans fortunately overcame the perfidious machinations of his Uncle Pelias.*<sup>66</sup> *The story was liberally adapted. The tribes of the Gorenjci and Dolenjci (given in the Latin names of Gorenicos and Dolenicos, so researchers believe that the author of the text was Slovenian) were quarrelling over whom Emona belonged to. The quarrel was resolved by Jason, who was resisted by the Argonauts, and chiefly concerned who would contribute more to the fight against Aetes. After the victory, the dispute continued as*

<sup>62</sup> Newton, 1728, 94; kralj Salomon, modri judovski kralj, je vladal od leta 970 do 931 pr. n. št.

<sup>63</sup> Newton, 1728, 86–87, gl. še Južnič, 2010, 138–139.

<sup>64</sup> Južnič, ibidem.

<sup>65</sup> Novšak, 2009, http.

<sup>66</sup> Latinski naslov: *Proposita theatraliker è Conditæ Aemona/Jasonis Gloria/Seu/Jason de Patru sui peliae insidiis feliciter/Aemoniensis virtute triumphans.*

<sup>64</sup> Južnič, manuscript, 2010.

<sup>65</sup> Novšak, 2009, http.

<sup>66</sup> *Latin title: Proposita theatraliker è Conditæ Aemona/Jasonis Gloria/Seu/Jason de Patru sui peliae insidiis feliciter/Aemoniensis virtute triumphans.*

uprejo argonavti, češ da naj pripade tistim, ki bodo več pripomogli v boju proti Ajetu. Po zmagi se spor nadaljuje z vprašanjem, kdo je več prispeval k zmagi. Spet posreduje Jazon in razsodi, da del Emone zahodno od Nauportusa pripade Gorenji Karniji, vzhodni del pa Dolenji. Nazadnje se Jazon in Ajet pobotata (!), argonavti se vrnejo v Jazonovo službo in zgradijo novo ladjo za Jazonovo vrnitev v domovino po Jadranskem morju. Ob slovesu Jazon v Karniji pusti svojega namestnika.<sup>67</sup> Stoletna tradicija gledaliških predstav gojencev jezuitskega kolegija je prvič izbrala zgodbo o Jazonu, a »antično mitologijo, ob Jazonu, obravnava kakor zgodovino«.<sup>68</sup>

Grof Gian Rinaldo Carli<sup>69</sup> je študiral filozofijo, matematiko in retoriko na plemiškem kolegiju v Kopru, nato pa še v Padovi, je tri leta kasneje poučeval na katedri za teorijo navtike in ladjedelske arhitekture, obenem pa še astronomijo. Leta 1745 je objavil disertacijo o argonavtih na Krasu; zagovarjal jo je na univerzi v Padovi, izdal pa v Benetkah. Ne ukvarja se z ustanovitvijo Emone, pač pa dokazuje, tudi z navedki antičnih avtorjev, da so argonavti v Istri izpluli na morje.<sup>70</sup> Prvi od naših učenjakov se je skliceval na datacijo potovanja argonavtov po Newtonu in na antičnega astronoma Hiparha.<sup>71</sup>

Slovenski razsvetljenec, zgodovinar in komediograf Anton Tomaž Linhart<sup>72</sup> je v *Poskusu zgodovine Kranjske in ostalih dežel južnih Slovanov Avstrije*

*to who had contributed more to the victory. Jason was again the mediator, and he ruled that the part of Emona west of Nauportus belonged to Gorenja Carniola, and the part to the east to Dolenja Carniola. Finally Jason and Aeetes were reconciled (!), the Argonauts returned to Jason's service and built a new ship for Jason's return to his homeland via the Adriatic Sea. On his departure, Jason leaves a deputy in Carniola.*<sup>67</sup> *This was the first time the centuries-old tradition of theatrical performances by wards of the Jesuit college had chosen the story of Jason, but "ancient mythology, alongside Jason, was treated as history."*<sup>68</sup>

*Carli Count Gian Rinaldo*<sup>69</sup> *who studied philosophy, mathematics and rhetoric at the nobility college in Koper, and then in Padua, taught three years later in the department of nautical theory and shipbuilding, as well as astronomy. In 1745 he published a dissertation on the Argonauts in the Karst, which he defended at the University of Padua and published in Venice. He does not deal with the founding of Emona but provides evidence, including citations of ancient writers, that the Argonauts entered the sea in Istria.*<sup>70</sup> *The first of our scholars made reference to Newton's dating of the Argonauts and to the Hipparchus, the astronomer of Antiquity.*<sup>71</sup>

*In his Attempt at a history of Carniola and other lands of the southern Slavs of Austria, the Enlightenment figure, historian and playwright Anton Tomaž Linhart*<sup>72</sup> *mentioned the Argonauts*

<sup>67</sup> Grošelj, 2004, 106–107; jezuiti se v Ljubljani za stalno naselijo leta 1597.

<sup>68</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>69</sup> Grof Gian Rinaldo Carli (1720–1795). V štirih nadaljevanjih se je v zgodovinskem časopisu *Carniolia* leta 1840 Franz Mühleisen odzval na Carlijevo delo o argonavtih. Zanimivo je, da avtor ne zanika argonavtskega potovanja, pač pa zgolj ovzre tezo, da so potovali prek naših krajev.

<sup>70</sup> Carli, 1745, 765s.

<sup>71</sup> Sir Isaac Newton (1643–1727); Edmund Halley (1656–1742); Hiparh (okoli 190–okoli 120 pr. n. št.), starogrški astronom, geograf in matematik.

<sup>72</sup> Anton Tomaž Linhart (1756–1795).

<sup>67</sup> Grošelj, 2004, 106–107; the Jesuits arrived in Ljubljana for good in 1597.

<sup>68</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>69</sup> Gian Rinaldo Count Carli 1720–1795. In four subsequent contributions in the historical newspaper *"Carniolia"* in 1840, Franz Mühleisen responded to Carli's work on the Argonauts. It is interesting to note that the author does not deny the journey of the Argonauts, but merely rejects the notion that they travelled through this area.

<sup>70</sup> Carli, 1745, 76.

<sup>71</sup> Sir Isaac Newton (1643–1727); Edmund Halley (1656–1742); Hipparchus (circa 190 – circa 120 BCE), ancient Greek astronomer, geographer and mathematician.

<sup>72</sup> Anton Tomaž Linhart 1756–1795.

omenil argonavte in njihovo pot kot zgodovinsko dejstvo. Poglavlje zaključil z besedami: »To je bilo približno 1260 let pr. Kr. ... Tisti, ki ga hočejo izločiti iz vrste resničnih dogodkov, bi lahko na isti način zavrgli vso staro zgodovino.«<sup>73</sup>

## Posnemovalci

O dejanski povezavi Črnega morja po Savi in po Donavi je razmišljal Gabrijel Gruber,<sup>74</sup> ki je poleg profesure v Ljubljani opravljal še službo navigacijskega direktorja za vse reke v monarhiji, z izjemo Donave. Izdelal je načrte za dve povezavi: prva naj bi tekla od Devina po reki Timav, druga pa od območja Reke do Kolpe in Save. Sodeloval je s polbratom Tobijo, pa tudi z licejskim profesorjem Balthasarjem Hacquetom,<sup>75</sup> avgusta 1775 so na novi jadrnici skupaj izpluli iz Krškega, pluli mimo Zagreba, Siska, Jasenovca in Slavonskega Broda ter oktobra dosegli cilj v Zemunu.<sup>76</sup> O tej izkušnji je pisal tudi Hacquet in kritiziral uporabo jadrnic za tovorjenje po Savi.<sup>77</sup> Gruber je najverjetneje sam zrisal važnejše točke in tokove; menil je, da bi bilo zamisel o prekopu mogoče uresničiti, saj so bile nadmorske višine rek primerne. »Do Krškega lahko ladje tovorijo po 150–180 centov, od Krškega do Beograda pa 300–400 centov. Vendar je plovba nevarna. Zato bi bilo treba staro rečno korito poravnati.

<sup>73</sup> Linhart, 1981, 16–19.

<sup>74</sup> Gabrijel Gruber (1740–1805).

<sup>75</sup> Balthasar Hacquet (1739–1815).

<sup>76</sup> Avgij, v grški mitologiji kralj v Elidi. Njegov hlev (velik nered) je Heraklej očistil v enem dnevu tako, da je skozenj speljal vodo dveh rek. Brata Gruber sta imenovala Avgijev hlev povezavo Črnega morja z Jadranskim morjem.

<sup>77</sup> Scopoli, 1984, 90–91.

*and their route as historical fact. He concludes a chapter with the words: "This was approximately 1260 years before Christ. ... Those who wish to exclude it from the succession of true events would in the same way be rejecting all of ancient history."<sup>73</sup>*

## Imitators

*An actual link with the Black Sea via the Sava and Danube was pondered by Gabrijel Gruber<sup>74</sup> who, in addition to his professorship in Ljubljana, performed the job of navigational director for all rivers in the Empire, with the exception of the Danube. He made plans for two links: the first would run from Devin along the Timav River, and the second from the area of Rijeka to the Kolpa and Sava. He collaborated with his half-brother Tobias and with the Lyceum professor Balthasar Hacquet,<sup>75</sup> with whom he embarked in a new sailing boat in August 1775 from Krško, sailing through Zagreb, Sisak, Jasenovac and Slavonski Brod, reaching the goal of Zemun in October.<sup>76</sup> Hacquet himself wrote about this trial and he pondered a revival of the Argonaut's route.<sup>77</sup> Gruber most probably charted the major points and flows himself since he believed that a canal would be feasible since the rivers were at appropriate altitudes. "Up to Krško, vessels may carry 150 – 180 cwt. each, and from Krško to Belgrade 300*

<sup>73</sup> Linhart, 1981 16-19.

<sup>74</sup> Gabrijel Gruber 1740-1805.

<sup>75</sup> Balthasar Hacquet 1739-1815.

<sup>76</sup> Augeas, in Greek mythology the King of Elis. His stables (in great disorder) were cleaned by Heracles in one day by running the water of two rivers through them. The Gruber brothers compared the Augean stables with the link between the Black Sea and Adriatic.

<sup>77</sup> Scopoli, 1984, 90-91.

To je gotovo Heraklejevo delo, vendar potrebno in koristno, tako kot njegovo čiščenje Avgijevih hlevov.«<sup>78</sup> Gruberjevi zamisli je bil naklonjen tudi nepodpisan recenzent: »Möchte jetzt der Vorschlag des würdigen Abbé Grubers günstigere Aufnahme finden, als er olim fand.«<sup>79</sup>

Argonavtsko pot, četudi v nasprotni smeri, je opravil častnik, podjetnik in jakobinec Janez Siegfried Heribert baron Taufferer.<sup>80</sup> Baron je imel široko humanistično in matematično-tehnično znanje. Snoval je različne tehnične in gospodarske načrte v okviru avstrijske orientalske politike. V devetdesetih letih 18. stoletja je v gozdovih okoli Jasenovca sekal les za gradnjo ladij in bukve za pridobivanje pepelike. V letu 1782 je začel za Francoze izvažati les z lastno rečno ladjo. Tovoril je po Kolpi, Savi in Donavi ter po Črnem morju v Carigrad – v obratni smeri, z izjemo plovbe po Ljubljani, je opravil argonavtsko pot!<sup>81</sup>

– 400 cwt. Navigation is hazardous, however. For this reason the old river bed would need to be dredged. This is no doubt a Herculean labour, but necessary and beneficial, as was his cleaning of the Augean stables.»<sup>78</sup> The unsigned reviewer was favourably disposed towards Gruber's idea: "Möchte jetzt der Vorschlag des würdigen Abbé Grubers günstigere Aufnahme finden, als er olim fand."<sup>79</sup>

*The route of the Argonauts, albeit in the opposite direction, was completed by the officer, entrepreneur and Jacobin Janez Siegfried Heribert, Baron Taufferer.<sup>80</sup> The Baron had broad humanist, mathematical and technical knowledge. He formulated various technical and commercial plans as part of Austria's oriental policy. In the 1790s he cut wood in the forests around Jasenovac to build ships, and beech to obtain potash. In 1782 he started to export wood for the French in his own river vessel. He hauled his cargo along the Kolpa, Sava, Danube and through the Black Sea to Istanbul – in the opposite direction, and with the exception of the Ljubljana, he completed the route of the Argonauts!<sup>81</sup>*

<sup>78</sup> Južnič, 2006, 39-41.

<sup>79</sup> Annalen, 1802, 218.

<sup>80</sup> Janez Siegfried Heribert Taufferer (1750–1796).

<sup>81</sup> Gspan, 1980, 21–22. Vodopivec, 1989: baron Taufferer se je že kot častnik v Vojni krajini pridružil prostozidarjem ter se povezal z avstrijskimi in madžarskimi jakobinci. Leta 1794 je pobegnil v Italijo, navezal stike s francoskimi diplomati in stopil v francosko službo. Med drugim je pripravil načrt za revolucijo v habsburških deželah. Avstrijci so ga leta 1795 ujeli in ga na Dunaju leto kasneje usmrtili.

<sup>78</sup> Južnič, 2006, 39-41.

<sup>79</sup> Annalen, 1802, 218.

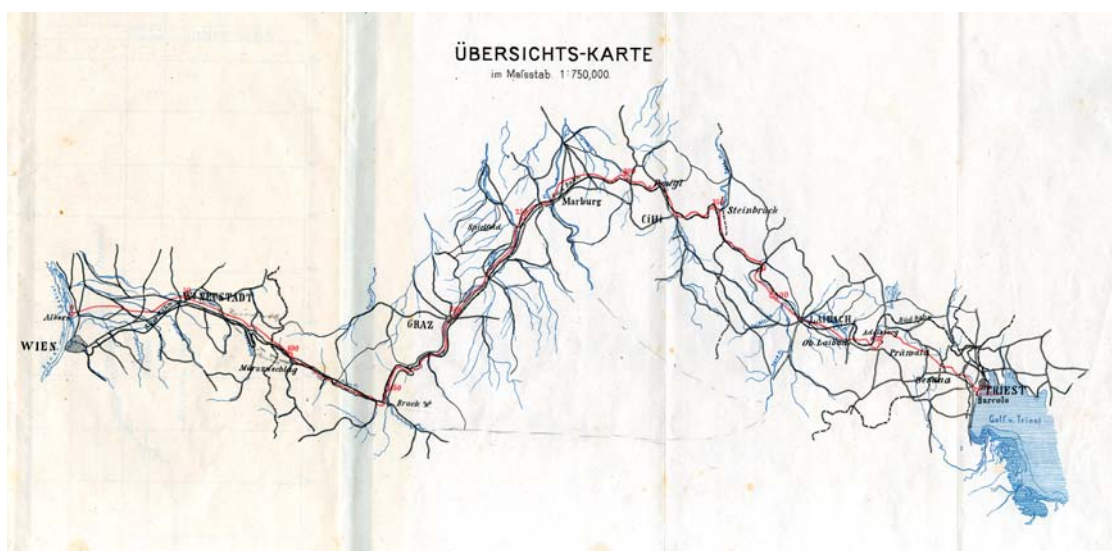
<sup>80</sup> Janez Siegfried Heribert Taufferer 1750-1796.

<sup>81</sup> Gspan, 1980, 21-22. Vodopivec, 1989: as an officer in the Marches, Baron Taufferer joined the Freemasons and forged links with the Austrian and Hungarian Jacobins. In 1794 he fled to Italy and set up contacts with French diplomats, entering the service of the French. He also drew up plans for a revolution in the Habsburg dominions. In 1795 the Austrians captured him and a year later executed him in Vienna.

Na zgodovinarje 17. stoletja se je skliceval tudi France Prešeren,<sup>82</sup> ko je v Elegiji svojim rojakam<sup>83</sup> zapisal: »Kaj da čast očetov glasa / nima v pesmah starih dnov, / kaj da v zgodbah zdanjga časa / brati slave ni sinov? / V sedem gričih je prebival / volk in jastreb tankovid, / ko je že Navport umival / več sto let Emone zid.« (Ljubljana je 471 let starejša od Rima, na sedmerih gričih so se še pasle divje zveri, ko je Emona že stala.)

### Sustained interest

The historians of the 17<sup>th</sup> century were also relied upon by France Prešeren<sup>82</sup> who wrote in his *Elegy to His Countrymen*<sup>83</sup>: “What voice to honour



Slika 7: Načrt prekopa Dunaj-Trst / Figure 7: Plan of canal Vienna-Trieste

Gotovo se je na Schönlebna, Valvasorja in Dolničarja skliceval avtor *Zemljevida deželnega glavnega mesta Ljubljane* iz leta 1853.<sup>84</sup> Zemljevid

*our fathers / as none there are in ancient poems, / what of the tales of today / wherein no gory of its sons? / On the seven hills dwelled / wolf and sharp-sighted hawk, / when Nauportus already lapped / for centuries at the walls of Emona.”* (Ljubljana is 471 years older than Rome, and wild animals grazed on Rome’s seven hills when Emona was already standing).

<sup>82</sup> France Prešeren (1800–1849).

<sup>83</sup> Prešeren, 1971, 119–120. Urednik Anton Slodnjak je v opombi na str. 322 razložil, da je pesnik napisal elegijo v Celovcu, kjer je opravljal odvetniški in sodni izpit. Primerjal je celovško meščansko okolje z domačim in se žalostil »nad narodno nezavednostjo Ljubljčanov, na njihovo malomarnost za domače književno in kulturno prizadevanje in na njihovo pridobivaštvo, ki ni kazalo nobenega smisla za domovinsko narodno čast.«

<sup>84</sup> MGML, 510:LJU;0036915.

*There is no doubt that the author of the 1853 map*

<sup>82</sup> France Prešeren 1800-1849.

<sup>83</sup> Prešeren, 1971, 119-120. The editor Anton Slodnjak notes on page 322 the explanation that the poet wrote the *Elegy* in Klagenfurt, where he was taking his legal and court exam. He compared the Klagenfurt bourgeois environment and lamented “the lack of national consciousness of the Ljubljana people, their negligence of domestic literary and cultural efforts and their acquisitiveness, which has evinced no purpose for the home and national honour.”

je založil Blasnik, izrisal ga je Emil Luterotti, posvečen pa je visokorodnemu gospodu Andreasu von Hohenwartnu, »k.k. wirklicher Hof- und Statthaltereirath zu Laibach«.<sup>85</sup> Zemljevid je opremljen z dvema legendama z različnimi zanimivostmi o Ljubljani. V historični skici je avtor, morda Blasnik sam, uvodoma zapisal, da je mesto eno najstarejših v monarhiji, saj ga je ustanovil Jazon leta 1222 pr. n. št.

Želja po neposredni povezavi habsburške monarhije z Jadranskim morjem pa je botrovala »argonavtskemu projektu« z začetka 20. stoletja. Inženir C. Wagenführer je projektiral študijo plovnega kanala od Dunaja do Jadranskega morja in jo na Dunaju izdal v samozaložbi.<sup>86</sup> V uvodu je avtor zapisal, da ga je do idejne zasnove z že natančnimi tehničnimi rešitvami vodil razvoj hitrejših prometnih poti. Po načrtih drznega avstrijskega inženirja bi se uresničile antične, napačne predstave o bifurkaciji Donave. Plovni kanal bi tekel od Dunaja prek Gradca, Maribora, Pragerskega, Celja, Zidanega Mosta, Ljubljane, Vrhnike, Loža, Planine in Sežane do Občine in Barcola pri Trstu. Vse je ostalo v načrtih.

Valentin Vodnik je v svoji *Zgodovini vojvodine Kranjske, Trsta in Goriške grofije*<sup>87</sup> zgodbo o argonavtih označil za pravljico. Zgodovinarja druge polovice 19. stoletja in konca 19. stoletja August Dimitz<sup>88</sup> in Josip Gruden<sup>89</sup> pa sta prepoznala historično vrednost mitološke

<sup>85</sup> Velika verjetnost je, da gre za Karla Sigmunda grofa von Hohenwartna, ki je bil leta 1848 izvoljen v frankfurtski parlament in bil do leta 1854 na Kranjskem (po ÖBL), kasneje deželni glavar Kranjske in predsednik avstrijske vlade. Ni znano, kako je Karl postal Andreas. – Podatke našel mag. Janez Polajnar.

<sup>86</sup> MGML, 510:LJU;0025146. Načrt obsega gradbeno ekspertizo, oceno finančnih stroškov, sedem slik, pregledno karto, generalni profil plovne poti in dve tabeli.

<sup>87</sup> Vodnik, 1812, 4.

<sup>88</sup> Dimitz, 1874, I, 5.

<sup>89</sup> Josip Gruden (1869–1922).

*Chief Provincial City of Ljubljana referred to Schönleben, Valvasor and Dolničar.*<sup>84</sup> *The map was published by Blasnik, and drawn by Emil Luterotti, while it is dedicated to the noble gentleman Andreas von Hohenwarten, “k.k. wirklicher Hof- und Statthaltereirath zu Laibach”.*<sup>85</sup> *The map is furnished with two keys featuring various points of interest about Ljubljana. In the historical sketch the author, perhaps Blasnik himself, writes by way of introduction that the city is one of the oldest in the monarchy, having been founded by Jason in 1222 BCE.*

*The desire for a direct link between the Habsburg Empire and the Adriatic Sea gave rise to the “Argonaut project” at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, the design project entitled Study of a navigable canal from Vienna to the Adriatic Sea was self-published by the engineer C. Wagenführer.*<sup>86</sup> *In his introduction, the author writes that he was led to the conceptual design and precise technical solutions by the development of more rapid transport routes. The plans of the bold Austrian engineer would have seen the fulfilment of the ancient, erroneous notion of the bifurcation of the Danube. The navigable canal would have run along the route of Vienna, Graz, Maribor, Pragersko, Celje, Zidani most, Ljubljana, Vrhnika, Lož, Planina, Sežana, Občine and Barcola by Trieste. It never got past the drawing board.*

*In his History of the Duchy of Carniola, Trieste and the County of Gorica*<sup>87</sup>, *Valentin Vodnik labelled the story of the Argonauts a fairy tale. The historians*

<sup>84</sup> MGML, 510:LJU;0036915.

<sup>85</sup> This very probably relates to Karl Sigmund Count von Hohenwarten, who was elected to the Frankfurt parliament in 1848 and up until 1854 was in Carniola (according to the ÖBL), later he was viceroy of Carniola and Austrian prime minister. It is not known how Karl became Andreas. – Information found by Janez Polajnar MA.

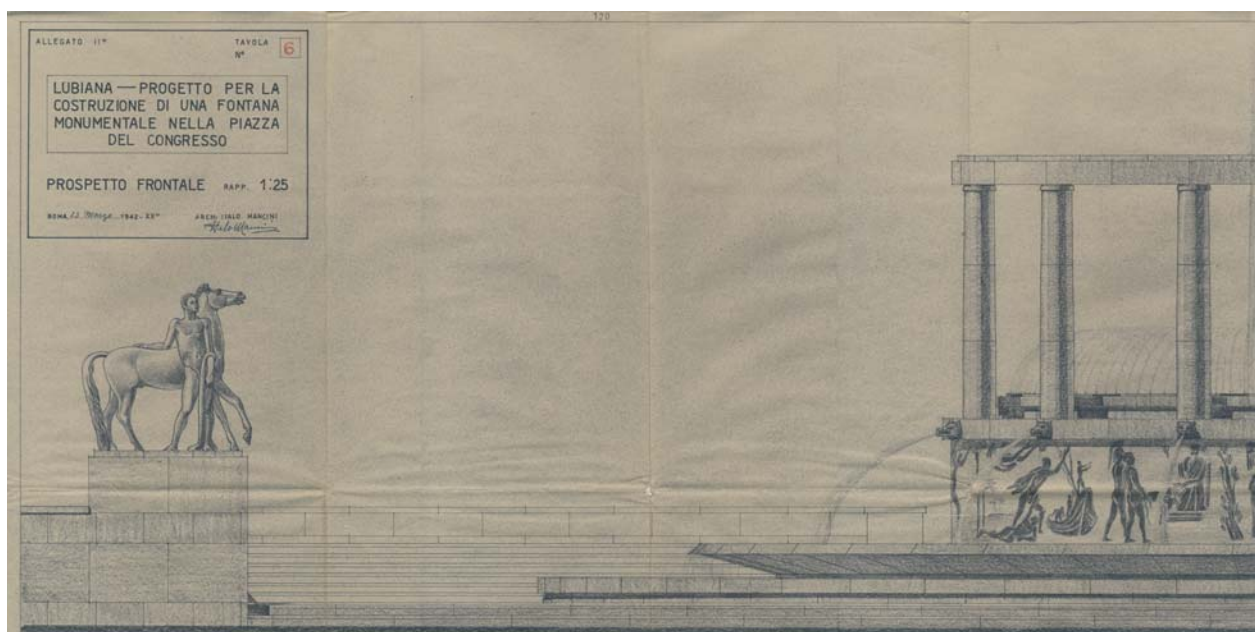
<sup>86</sup> MGML, 510:LJU;0025146. The plan covers building expertise, financial costs, seven pictures, a chart, general profile of the navigable route and two tables.

<sup>87</sup> Vodnik, 1812, 4.

zapuščine. Gruden je v *Zgodovini slovenskega naroda* natančno opisal pot argonavtov in dodal: »V tej pravljici je vsaj toliko zgodovinske resnice, da so bile naše dežele starim Grkom dobro znane, ker so vedeli za lastnosti in tek njihovih vod. Morala je torej biti med njimi trgovinska zveza in naravne proge, po katerih se je gibal promet, so bile naše reke.«<sup>90</sup>

Zanimanje je ob koncu 19. stoletja pojenjalo in se umaknilo v sfero arheološke stroke, pred drugo svetovno vojno pa je spet sledil manjši »izbruh« razlage mitskega izročila.

*of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, August Dimitz<sup>88</sup> and Josip Gruden<sup>89</sup>, however, recognised the historical value of the mythological legacy. In his History of the Slovenian Nation, Gruden precisely described the route of the Argonauts, adding: "In this fairy tale there is at least sufficient historical truth that our lands were well known to the ancient Greeks since they knew about*



Slika 8: Načrt vodnjaka / Figure 8: Plan of fountain

Politično so mit izrabili italijanski okupatorji. Že marca 1942 je rimski arhitekt Italo Mancini poslal v Ljubljano načrt za postavitve monumentalne

*the properties and flow of the waters here. There must, therefore, have been trade links between them, and the natural routes by which trade was conducted was our rivers.*<sup>90</sup>

*From the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century interest waned and withdrew into the domain of the archaeological profession, while up until the Second World War there were again some minor "outbreaks" of interpretation of the mythical tradition.*

<sup>90</sup> Gruden, 1911, 17–18.

<sup>88</sup> Dimitz, 1874, I, 5.

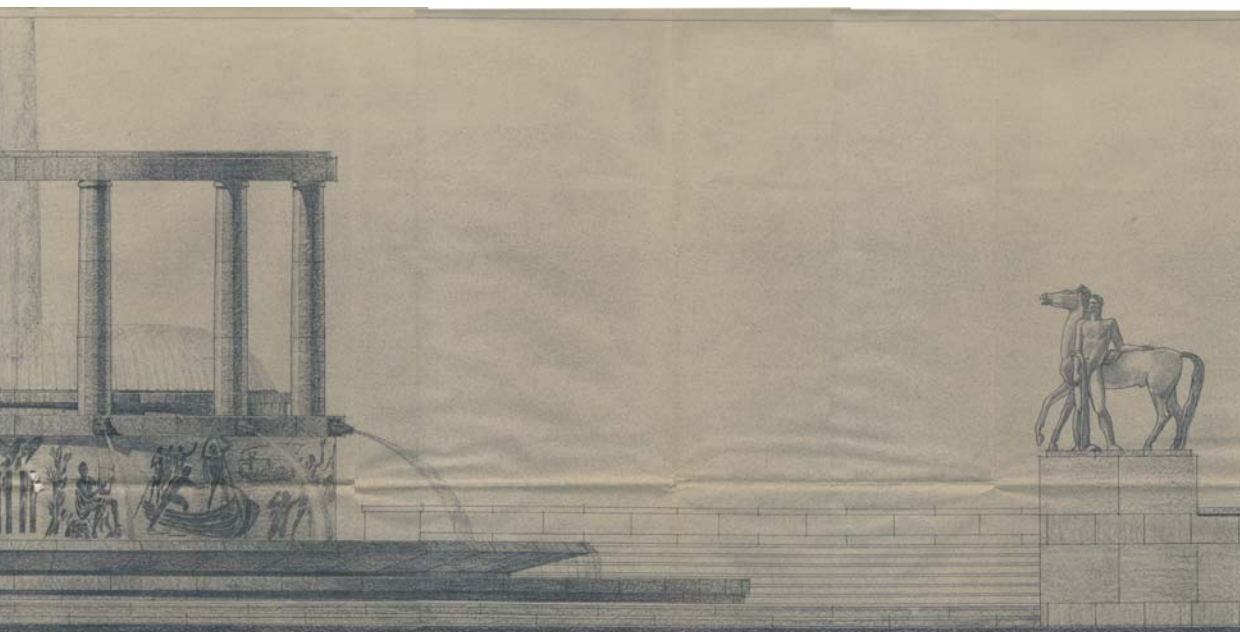
<sup>89</sup> Josip Gruden 1869-1922.

<sup>90</sup> Gruden, 1911, 17-18.



fontane na Kongresnem trgu.<sup>91</sup> Megalomanski vodnjak bi na povsem »golem« trgu slavil zvezo med Kraljevino Italijo in Ljubljansko pokrajino, ki naj bi bila nov biser v italijanski kroni: veličasten vodnjak z upodobitvami legende o argonavtih, s štirimi glavami rimske volkulje, ki bi bruhale vodo, s štirimi različno velikimi krogli in z dvanajstimi stebri, ki bi obkrožali sprednji del. Vodnjak naj bi na dveh stebrih ob straneh »čuvala« Zevsova dvojčka Kastor in Polidevk.<sup>92</sup>

*The Italian occupation force exploited the myth politically. As early as March 1942, Italo Mancini, an architect from Rome, sent to Ljubljana plans for the erection of a monumental fountain in Kongresni Trg.<sup>91</sup> The extravagant fountain would, in the entirely "bare" square, glorify the connection between the Kingdom of Italy and the Ljubljana region, which would supposedly be the new jewel in the Italian*



Irena Žmuc

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»POZDRAVLJENA  
ČASTITLJIVA  
JAZONOVA HČI!«  
ARGONAVTIKA  
ALI O MITIČNIH  
USTANOVITELJIH  
EMONE/  
LJUBLJANE

*crown: a magnificent fountain with depictions of the legend of the Argonauts, with the four heads of the Roman she-wolf spouting water, with four spheres of differing sizes and 12 columns that would encircle the front section. The fountain would have been "guarded" by Zeus' twins Castor and Pollux on two columns at the sides.<sup>92</sup>*

<sup>91</sup> Mancini, ZAL. Gl. še: Kambič, 1980, 139: trdi, da je bilo stališče občine do projekta negativno. Brezkompromisno poročilo ing. Kobeta je bilo, da bi bila fontana predvsem politični projekt, da je projekt tragičnega razkola med rimsko tradicijo in sodobnostjo, da ne upošteva nasada platan in sedanjih poti v Zvezdi, da je treba dati prednost domačim arhitektom itn. Odgovora ing. Kobeta nismo našli.

<sup>92</sup> Mancini, ZAL.

<sup>91</sup> Mancini, ZAL. Also see: Kambiè, 1980, 139: he asserts that the municipality's view of the project was negative. The uncompromising report of engineer Kobe was that the fountain would be primarily a political project, that it was a project of the tragic slaughter between Roman tradition and modernity, that it did not take into account the stand of plane trees and the current paths in the star shape, that priority should be given to local architects and so on. Engineer Kobe's response has not been found.

<sup>92</sup> Mancini, ZAL.

Močnejši pečat sta med Slovenci pustili literatura in publicistika.

Med slovenskimi bralci je močno zasidran Janez Jalen z zgodovinskim romanom *Bobri*, ki ga je izdal v letih 1942/43. Morda se je na svojevrsten način postavil po robu italijanskim okupatorjem. V poglavjih, kjer že opisuje zaton koliščarskega naselja Ostrorogega Jelena, govori o prihodu ladje Argo, ki jo nezaupljivi Ostrorogi Jelen sicer občuduje, in prišleke poimenuje črnolasi vzhodnjaki.<sup>93</sup> Pri tem smo opazili zanimivo razliko: za Jalna so bili tujci črnolasci (Italijani?), pri Apoloniju Rodoškem pa beremo: »Svoje svetlolase glave so ovenčali z lovorjem /.../.«<sup>94</sup>

Leta 1943 je izšel manj znani roman Radislava Rudana<sup>95</sup> z naslovom *Argonavti*. Rudan opisuje celotno epopejo argonavtske poti. Seveda se roman odvija tudi na območju Ljubljane: »Reki, po kateri so pripluli, so dali ime Nevferta, novi naselbini pa po koliščarskem jezeru Eblana.«<sup>96</sup> V istem obdobju je časopis Slovenski narod objavil poročilo o dogodkih o Kavkazu, »o katerem se je spletlo že v starem veku mnogo pravljic«, omenja tudi pot argonavtov, a se ne naveže na Emono.<sup>97</sup>

*A stronger imprint was left on the Slovenians by literature and journalism*

*A firm place in the minds of Slovenian readers is occupied by Janez Jalen and his historical novel Bobri [Beavers], published in 1942/43. Perhaps in his own way he was standing up against the Italian occupation. In the chapters where he describes the decline of the stilt-dwelling settlement of Ostrorogi Jelen (Sharp-horned Deer), the Argo sails in. Jalen called the newcomers dark-haired easterners.<sup>93</sup> The suspicious folk of Ostrorogi Jelen admired the great vessel, but we have also noticed an interesting difference. For Jalen the foreigners were dark-haired (Italians?), while in Apollonius Rhodius we read: "Their fair heads were wreathed in laurels..."<sup>94</sup>*

*In 1943 Radislav Rudan<sup>95</sup> published his lesser-known novel Argonavti. Rudan describes the entire epic of the Argonaut's journey. Of course, the novel also takes place in the Ljubljana area: "The river by which they sailed was named by them Neuferta, and the new settlement by the stilt-dwelling lake, Eblana."<sup>96</sup> In the same period, the newspaper Slovenski narod carried a report on events in the Caucasus, "about which in ancient times many tales were spun", and this mentions the route of the Argonauts, but does not tie it to Emona.<sup>97</sup>*

<sup>93</sup> Jalen, 1982, 521ss.

<sup>94</sup> Clemenz, *Argonavti*, 2008, I, 40.

<sup>95</sup> SBL, 1964, 70. Radislav Rudan, pravo ime Radislav (Franc) Rehar (1894–1969). Književnik in časnikar.

<sup>96</sup> Rudan, II, 115.

<sup>97</sup> Slovenski narod, 1942.dlib

<sup>93</sup> Jalen, 1982, 521ss.

<sup>94</sup> Clemenz, *Argonavti*, 2008, I, 40.

<sup>95</sup> SBL, 1964, 70. Radislav Rudan, real name Radislav (Franc) Rehar 1894–?. Writer and journalist.

<sup>96</sup> Rudan, II, 115.

<sup>97</sup> Slovenski narod, 1942.dlib

## Še nekaj zanimivejših navedkov o mitičnih junakih pri nas

Ivan Pregelj<sup>98</sup> se upre nemškimi zgodovinarjem iz navajanjem »bajne pravljice o Jazonu ali Jeznem. Ta sloviti avanturist, pripoveduje Valvasor, je prišel s svojimi Argonavti v kraj, kjer danes stoji Ljubljana.« Razloži tudi nastanek imena: »Lepa hčerka ribiča, ki jo je srečal na bregu, mu je bila všeč in jo je vprašal za pot: Puella dulcis, dic mihi, amoena, ubi via recta? Ker ga ni razumela, mu je odgovorila le 'Amoena' in tako naj bi kraj dobil ime.«

Jože Olaj v svojem pesniškem prvencu *Argonavti* razume argonavte kot trpko slepilo: »/.../ in vemo tudi, / da je Aresov gaj samo cenena prevara / s papirnatim zmajem, / ko prispeš, / je runo že udomačeno / in tako dolgo so ga namakali / v postani vodi, / da je zgubilo svoj lesk, / potem so ga razmnožili / in ga dobiš v vsaki trafiki.«<sup>99</sup>

Argonavti naj bi bili celo predhodniki tihotapcev ob Jadranskem morju. »Mreža njihovih blodenj se je baje dotaknila tudi našega ozemlja. Martin Krpan in Argonavti? Vezava je resnično narejena in skrajno fantastična. Toda zapisana je mitološka resnica, da gre v bajki in pripovedki za isti povedek, motiv, ki stalno menja osebek.«<sup>100</sup>

Zanimivi sta omembi mita pri Bojanu Štihu in Matjažu Kmeclu.

»V meni se je za štiri leta prebudila zdrava liška kri mojih prednikov, tistega praočeta, ki je z

<sup>98</sup> Pregelj, 1926, 67–77.dlib

<sup>99</sup> Olaj, 2004, 40–41.

<sup>100</sup> Orel, 1931.dlib

*Here are some other fascinating mentions of mythical heroes in this area.*

*Ivan Pregelj<sup>98</sup> sets himself up against the German historians by citing the "fairy tale of Jason or Jesen. That celebrated adventurer, narrates Valvasor, came with his Argonauts to the place where Ljubljana stands today." He also explains the origin of the name: "He was captivated by a beautiful fisherman's daughter, whom he encountered on the bank, and he asked her the way: Puella dulcis, dic mihi, amoena, ubi via recta? Since she did not understand him, she merely replied "Amoena", and this is how the place apparently gained its name."*

*In his poetical debut Argonavti, Jože Olaj regards the Argonauts as a bitter illusion: "... and we also know / that the grove of Aries is just a cheap deception / with a paper dragon, / when you arrive, / the fleece is already domesticated, / and it has been soaked so long / in stagnant water / that it has lost its lustre, / then it was duplicated, / and you can get one at any kiosk."<sup>99</sup>*

*The Argonauts were supposedly even the predecessors of smugglers along the Adriatic coast. "Their web of aimless wandering has also apparently touched our land. Martin Krpan and the Argonauts? The connection is seriously made and extremely fantastical. But what is written is a mythological truth, that the fairy tale and narrative involve the same predicate and motif, with constant changes of subject."<sup>100</sup>*

*There are interesting mentions of the myth by Bojan Štih and Matjaž Kmecl.*

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»POZDRAVLJENA  
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USTANOVITELJIH  
EMONE/  
LJUBLJANE

<sup>98</sup> Pregelj, 1926, 67–77.dlib

<sup>99</sup> Olaj, 2004, 40–41.

<sup>100</sup> Orel, 1931.dlib

dvaindevetdesetimi leti plaval čez Kolpo, in kdo ve še kakšnih hajdukov in Erov! Tudi kri Argonavtov: pred štiri tisoč leti so prešli rosno Barje in zapustili potomca! Argonavti! O, kako čudovito je bilo živeti v klokotanju te zdrave prakrvi, ki jo je začutilo prožno, mlado telo ...»<sup>101</sup>

»Svet tod je bil po svoji substratni civiliziranosti izjemno pisan, saj je bil dolgo dotlej že nekakšno križišče poti med barbarskim vzhodom in Azijo ter kulturnim Mediteranom, med staro Helado in evropskim severozahodom. Tod čez so vodile prastare in pomembne poti v Orient, čezenj so potovali stari Argonavti, jantarski trgovci in rimske kohorte. /.../«<sup>102</sup>

Dane Zajc je prvi napisal skrajšano priredbo *Argonavtov* za otroke, a se nastanka Emone ne dotakne, na naše kraje bi se lahko nanašal le hitri zaključek: »Pluli so po rekah in mnogih morjih. Včasih so morali prenašati Argo na ramenih od ene vode čez kopno do drugega morja.«<sup>103</sup>

Zgodovinsko upodobitev izkrcaja argonavtov na tleh Ljubljane je v letih 1936/37 izdelal slikar meščanskega žanra, portretist, krajinar in vedutist Ivan Vavpotič: v avli nekdanje Trgovske akademije, današnje Ekonomske šole v Ljubljani, je naslikal monumentalno upodobitev dramatičnega trenutka pristanka ladje Argo ob lesenem pomolu na koliščarskem jezeru. Osrednji figuri sta Jazon in Medeja. Zdi se, da so domačini, ki jih je zmotil prihod tujcev, do prišlekov nezaupljivi.<sup>104</sup>

*“Four years ago there awoke in me a healthy dose of the blood of my ancestors, of that great grandfather who, aged 92, swam across the Kolpa, and who knows what bandits and Erov! And the blood of the Argonauts: four thousand years ago they crossed the dewy Barje and left offspring! The Argonauts! Oh, how wonderful it was to live in the gurgling of that healthy ancient blood, felt by the flexible young body...”<sup>101</sup>*

*“In its substrate civilisation the land here was exceptionally variegated since it had long been a kind of crossroads between the Barbarian east and Asia and the cultured Mediterranean, between ancient Hellada and the north-west of Europe. Ancient and important routes ran through here to the Orient, and along them voyaged the ancient Argonauts, amber traders and Roman cohorts. ...”<sup>102</sup>*

*Dane Zajc first wrote a short version of his adaptation Argonavti for children, but he does not touch on the founding of Emona, and only the hasty conclusion might relate to this area: “They sailed through rivers and many seas. At times they had to carry the Argo on their shoulders from one body of water across land to another sea.”<sup>103</sup>*

*A historical depiction of the disembarking of the Argonauts at the site of Ljubljana was painted in 1936/37 by the burgher genre painter, portrait artist and veduta painter Ivan Vavpotič, and this can be seen in the lobby of the former Trade Academy, today the Ljubljana Economics School. He painted a monumental depiction of the dramatic moment when the Argo docked alongside a wooden wharf in the stilt-dwelling lake, surprising the local people. The central figures are Jason and Medea. It seems*

<sup>101</sup> Štih, 1968, 44.

<sup>102</sup> Kmecl, 1988.

<sup>103</sup> Zajc, 1999, 26.

<sup>104</sup> Opis Metka Simončič.

<sup>101</sup> Štih, 1968, 44.

<sup>102</sup> Kmecl, 1988.

<sup>103</sup> Zajc, 1999, 26.

**R**eka pomeni pot in Ljubljanica je bila že od prazgodovine plovna pot težko prehodnega Ljubljanskega barja. Pot vrnitve argonavtov skozi naše kraje odraža vedenje o starih trgovskih poteh, ki so vodile čez Balkanski polotok v Italijo.<sup>105</sup> Današnja Ljubljana je bila že tedaj križišče poti od Črnega morja k Alpam in od Baltika do Jadrana.<sup>106</sup> Danes se raziskovalci<sup>107</sup> ne sprašujejo več o argonavtskem prihodu, pač pa razpravljajo o stvarnih podlagah, ki so pripeljale Grke v naše kraje. Gotovo so prišli trgovci, rudarji, popotniki, raziskovalci ...

Hubert Clemenz je v celoti prevedel *Argonavtiko* po Apoloniju Rodoškem (prva knjiga), v drugi knjigi je zapisal kritične opombe, opisal izvor epa, razmere v Grčiji itn., v tretji knjigi pa je v kartah, risbah in slikah predstavil pot argonavtov po naših krajih. Sam je šel po argonavtski poti in skuša dokazati, da opis geografskih danosti povsem ustreza opisu v mitu.<sup>108</sup>

*that the local people, confused by the arrival of the strangers, are mistrusting of the newcomers.*<sup>104</sup>

### Today – identity, tradition

**A** river is a means of travel and since prehistoric times the Ljubljanica had been a route of navigation through the inaccessible Ljubljansko Barje wetlands. The return route of the Argonauts through these lands reflects knowledge of ancient trade routes that ran through the Balkan peninsula to Italy.<sup>105</sup> Present-day Ljubljana was even then a crossroads of routes from the Black Sea to the Alps and from the Baltic to the Adriatic.<sup>106</sup> Nowadays researchers<sup>107</sup> are no longer wondering about the arrival of the Argonauts, but are discussing the real basis for the Greeks being led to this area. Merchants, miners, travellers and explorers certainly came here.

*Hubert Clemenz translated in its entirety the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius (first book), in his second book he wrote critical notes, the origin of the epic, the circumstances in Greece and so forth, and in his third book he presented the route of the Argonauts through this area in maps, drawings and paintings. He himself went along the route of the Argonauts and he attempts to demonstrate that the described geographical features entirely match the descriptions in the myth.*<sup>108</sup>

Irena Žmuc

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»POZDRAVLJENA  
ČASTITLJIVA  
JAZONOVA HČI!«  
ARGONAVTIKA  
ALI O MITIČNIH  
USTANOVITELJIH  
EMONJE/  
LJUBLJANE

<sup>105</sup> Šašel Kos, 2006, 20.

<sup>106</sup> Šašel, 1984, 35–45.

<sup>107</sup> Šašel, Šašel Kos, Bratož.

<sup>108</sup> Clemenz, 2008, I–III.

<sup>104</sup> Description by Metka Simončič.

<sup>105</sup> Šašel Kos, 2006, 20.

<sup>106</sup> Šašel, 1984, 35–45.

<sup>107</sup> Šašel, Šašel Kos, Bratož.

<sup>108</sup> Clemenz, 2008, I–III.

Za različne grške toponime in oronime, ki so v zahodnobalkanskem in severozahodnoitalskem krogu bolj intenzivni, še ni prave jezikovne razlage. Npr.: Aegida (Koper), Piranon (Piran), Neapolis (Novigrad), Ad Pirum (Hrušica, morda iz grškega korena *pýr*), Okra (Nanos), Nauportus (Ljubljana, Vrhnika).<sup>109</sup> Prav tako so grška poimenovanja Karouánka (Karavanke), Phligádia (območje med Tirolsko in Julijskimi Alpami), Istra naj bi dobila ime po Donavi (Istros), Ákylis (Soča, ni zanesljivo), hélou Louégeon (verjetno Cerknjsko jezero).<sup>110</sup>

Ime Emona je še vedno uganka. Jezikoslovci o njegovem izvoru še niso dali odgovora – je iskati izvor poimenovanja Emone po Haemonii, kot se je v antiki imenovala Jazonova domovina Tesalija, zgolj špekulacija?<sup>111</sup> V *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* najdemo naslednjo razlago imena Haemonia:<sup>112</sup>

Haemon 1. Sin Pelasga in oče Tesala. Antično ime za Tesalijo, iz Haemon izpeljana Haemonia ali Aemonia (po Apollon. Rhod. iii.1090; Plin. H.N. iv.).

Naj omenimo še poskus Davorina Trstenjaka, ki je po svoje izpeljal antično ime. Sam je kritičen do »Jasonovega brodarjenja po Dunaji (Donavi), Savi in Ljublani, saj ni važno, kje je Jazon privezal svojo barko«, zapiše pa svoj etimološki pogled: »/.../ in

### *On the etymology of the name Emona*

*There are as yet no proper linguistic explanations for the various Greek toponyms and oronyms that are fairly prominent in the western Balkan and north-western Italic domain. For example, Aegida (Koper), Piranon (Piran), Neapolis (Novigrad), Ad Pirum (Hrušica, perhaps from the Greek root pýr), Okra (Nanos) and Nauportus (Ljubljana, Vrhnika).<sup>109</sup> Equally there are the Greek names Karouánka (Karavanke), Phligádia (the area between the Tyrolean and Julian Alps), Istria supposedly gained its name from the Danube (Istros), Ákylis (Aquilis, the Soča, uncertain), hélou Louégeon (probably the lake of Cerknjsko Jezero).<sup>110</sup>*

*The name Emona is still an enigma. Linguistic experts have not yet provided an answer for the origin of the name – so is it mere speculation to seek the origin of the name Emona in Haemonia, as Thessaly, Jason's homeland, was called in Antiquity?<sup>111</sup> In the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology there is the following explanation of the name Haemonia:<sup>112</sup>*

*Haemon 1. Son of Pelasgus and father of Thessalus. The ancient name of Thessaly, from Haemon is derived Haemonia or Aemonia (after Apollon. Rhod. iii.1090; Plin. H.N. iv.).*

*Mention should also be made of the attempt by Davorin Trstenjak to find in his own way the derivation of the ancient name. He is himself critical of "Jason's navigation along the Danube, Sava and Ljubljana, since it is not important where Jason tied*

<sup>109</sup> Šašel, 1984, 37.

<sup>110</sup> Bratož, 2003, 252–253.

<sup>111</sup> Dictionary, 2009, 324.

<sup>112</sup> Dictionary, p. 324 (v. 2).

<sup>109</sup> Šašel, 1984, 37.

<sup>110</sup> Bratož, 2003, 252–253.

<sup>111</sup> Dictionary, 2009, 324.

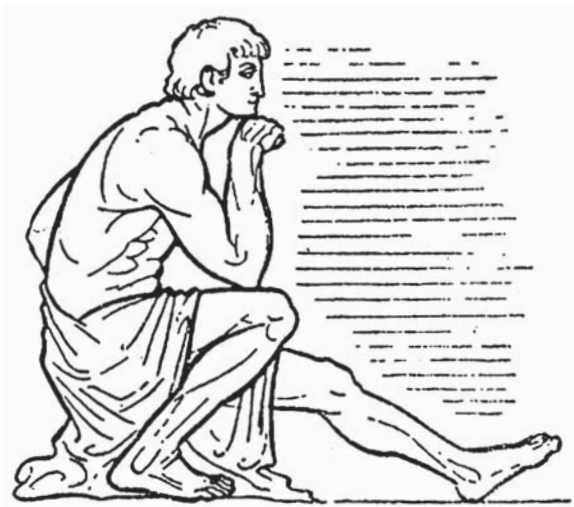
<sup>112</sup> Dictionary, p. 324 (v. 2).

postavljam za tema imena Aemona, indiški glagol am (vindiziran em), latinski amare, ljubiti.«<sup>113</sup>

Zagotovo Jazon kot prispodoba iskalca resnice še vedno živi, on in njegovi »argonavti so še vedno na poti za svojimi sijočimi slepili.«<sup>114</sup>

*up his ship”, but he records thus his etymological view: “...and I submit for this name Aemona, the Indian verb am (Wendish em), Latin amare, to love.”<sup>113</sup>*

*In his allegorical capacity as a seeker of truth, Jason undoubtedly lives on, together with “... the Argonauts, still journeying after their gleaming illusions.”<sup>114</sup>*



Slika 8: Jazon / Figure 8: Jason

Irena Žmuc

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»POZDRAVLJENA  
ČASTITLJIVA  
JAZONOVA HČI!«  
ARGONAVTIKA  
ALI O MITIČNIH  
USTANOVITELJIH  
EMONE/  
LJUBLJANE

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<sup>113</sup> Trstenjak, 1854, 311.

<sup>114</sup> Repar, 2004, zavihek.

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<sup>113</sup> Trstenjak, 1854, 311.

<sup>114</sup> Repar, 2004, cover note.

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# LJUBLJANA IN NJENO MESTO V ANTIKI USTVARJANJE STARE IN SLAVNE ZGODOVINE LJUBLJANE

## LJUBLJANA AND ITS PLACE IN ANTIQUITY THE CREATION OF LJUBLJANA'S OLD AND GLORIOUS HISTORY

Janez Polajnar

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LJUBLJANA IN  
NJENO MESTO  
V ANTIKI.  
USTVARJANJE  
STARE IN  
SLAVNE  
ZGODOVINE  
LJUBLJANE

Območje severnega Jadranskega morja je od 13. stoletja pred našim štetjem predstavljajo pomembno stičišče, ki je trgovsko povezovalo Sredozemlje s severnim delom Apeninskega polotoka in z območji srednje Evrope. Obstaja več mitov in izročil, ki ohranjajo spomin na poti, po katerih je potekala trgovina s sredozemskim bronom in baltskim jantarjem.<sup>1</sup> Med njimi je tudi izročilo o argonavtih, ki je nastalo pred 8. stoletjem pr. n. št.,<sup>2</sup> nanaša pa se na čas 13. stoletja pr. n. št. Predvsem mitološko izročilo nam kaže tudi, da je prostor današnje Slovenije »v zavesti izobraženega grškega človeka obstajal vsaj od klasične dobe dalje«.<sup>3</sup> Sami materialni viri in raziskave materialne kulture pa dokazujejo stike med današnjim slovenskim prostorom in Grki v t. i. temni oziroma prehodni dobi grške zgodovine od

*Since the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE, the area of the northern Adriatic Sea has been an important point of contact, providing a trade link for the Mediterranean with the northern part of the Apennine Peninsula and the area of Central Europe. Several myths and traditions preserve the memory of the route along which trade in Mediterranean bronze and Baltic amber flowed.<sup>1</sup> These include the tradition of the Argonauts, which emerged prior to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE,<sup>2</sup> and relates to the period of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE. In particular, the mythological tradition also indicates that the area of modern-day Slovenia “existed in the consciousness of the educated Greek at least from the classical period on”.<sup>3</sup> Material sources and research of material culture provide evidence of contact between the modern-day territory of*

<sup>1</sup> Zlobec, 1999, str. 11–32.

<sup>2</sup> Šašel Kos, 2009, str. 112.

<sup>3</sup> Bratož, 2003, str. 245.

<sup>1</sup> Zlobec, 1999, pp. 11–32.

<sup>2</sup> Šašel Kos, 2009, p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> Bratož, 2003, p. 245.

leta 1100 do 800 pr. n. št. in v arhaični dobi od leta 800 do 480 pr. n. št., manj pa v klasični in helenistični dobi.<sup>4</sup> Zgodba o povezavi med kraji in ljudmi, ki so živeli na območju današnje Slovenije in starimi Grki se v znanstvenih besedilih zaključí nekako tukaj. V 17. stoletju pa je, kot lahko preberemo v članku Irene Žmuc, mitološko izročilo o argonavtih dobilo dodatno zgodovinsko dimenzijo, postalo je dokazni material o ustanovitvi antične Emone.

Spustopnim prihodom vplivov italijanske renesanse in humanizma ter s tem vzbujenim zanimanjem za antiko so svoje mesto v zapiskih več avtorjev najprej našli antični spomeniki in ostanki, ki jih je bilo moč najti na Slovenskem.<sup>5</sup>

Z v renesansi prebujenim zanimanjem za antiko ter njeno znanstveno in umetniško zapuščino se je v zavesti izobražene ljubljanske elite zasedrala podoba Jazona in argonavtov – mitskih ustanoviteljev Emone. Mit je s Schönlebovim dokončnim lociranjem Emone na mestu današnje Ljubljane, z navajanjem antičnih avtorjev in s potrebnimi razlagami v zavesti ljubljanskih veljakov postal »sodobnega dogajanja«, je s tem dobila starodavno in slavno zgodovino, ki so jo ustvarjalci hoteli ponosno razkazovati pred svetom, pred drugimi deželami, državami in mesti.

Vse od poznega srednjega veka in zgodnje renesanse, ko se je v evropsko zavest intelektualcev

*Slovenia and the Greeks in what was called the Dark or Transitional Age of Greek history, from 1100–800 BCE and in the archaic period from 800–480 BCE, but less so in the Classical and Hellenistic Ages.<sup>4</sup> The story of a link between places and the people who lived in the area of present-day Slovenia and the ancient Greeks ends around about here in reference texts. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, however, as we can already read in Irena Žmuc's article the mythological tradition of the Argonauts took on an added historical dimension, becoming documentary evidence of the founding of ancient Emona.*

*With the gradual arrival of the Italian Renaissance and humanism influences, and thereby an awakened interest in Antiquity, the writings of several authors started incorporating ancient monuments and remains that could be found in Slovenian lands.<sup>5</sup>*

*In the context of the awakened Renaissance interest in Antiquity and its scientific and artistic legacy, the image of Jason and the Argonauts – the mythical founder of Emona – became anchored in the consciousness of the educated Ljubljana elite. With Schönleben's final location of Emona in the place of present-day Ljubljana, by quoting ancient authors and with the necessary explanations, it became a historical fact in the minds of Ljubljana's grandees. It is in this way that Ljubljana, a city on the margin of "modern events", acquired an ancient and glorious history which its creators sought to proudly reveal to the world, to other provinces, countries and cities.*

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem, str. 253.

<sup>5</sup> Prve zapise o vzdanih in najdenih antičnih spomenikih in ostankih nam prinaša že popotni dnevnik Paola Santoninija (Kastelic, 1975, str. 121), ki je skozi slovenske dežele potoval kot spremljevalec oglejskega vizitatorja, na začetku 16. stoletja pa so nastali zapiski Augustina Tyffernusa. Rajko Ložar pa omenja še Petra Apianusa, Bartolomeja Amatija, Wolfganga Lazia in »nekega Antiquusa Austriacus«. (Ložar, 1941, str. 111) Predvsem ohranjeni starejši pisni viri pri Pliniju v 1. stoletju n. št. ter Zosimosu in Sozomenusu iz 4. in 5. stoletja n. št. ter kasnejša povzemanja in prepisi so teologu in polihistorju Janezu Ludviku Schönlebovu omogočili »oživitev« mita, ki je Ljubljani oziroma Emoni dajal častitljivo starost in zgodovino.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem, p. 253.

<sup>5</sup> The first records of built and found ancient monuments and remains are provided by the travelogue of Paolo Santonini (Kastelic, 1975, p. 121), who travelled through Slovenian lands in the entourage of the emissary of the patriarch of Aquileia and at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Augustin Tyffernus also produced notes. In addition, Rajko Ložar mentions Peter Apianus, Bartolomej Amati, Wolfgang Lazio and some "Antiquus Austriacus" (Ložar, 1941, p. 111). Most importantly, the preserved older written sources from Pliny in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE and from Zosim and Sozomen in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, along with later summaries and transcriptions, enabled the theologian and polymath Janez Ludvik Schönleben to "revive" the myth that accorded Ljubljana, or rather Emona, a venerable age and history.

in družbenih elit (ob že obstoječi politični zavesti oziroma prepričanju o nadaljevanju Rimskega cesarstva) naselilo tudi »spoznanje« oziroma odkritje antične duhovne dediščine, sta namreč pojma civilizacije in kulture vse bolj postajala del evropske zavesti in samopodobe. Zavesti, ki je odkrivala izvore in iskala povezave s svojo bitjo v antičnem času. Srednji vek je v zavesti evropskih intelektualnih in umetniških elit vedno bolj postajal diametralno nasprotje antike (navsezadnje to ostaja vse do danes) – doba civilizacijskega in kulturnega zaostanka. Renesansa je predstavljala ponovni dvig civilizacije in kulture, ki sta se izgubili v temi srednjega veka. In kdo si v takšnem vzdušju ne bi želel neposredne povezave z evropskim izvornim središčem kulture in civilizacije – s staro Grčijo. Končno, če pogledamo na sam pojem civilizacije s sodobnejšega stališča in če se, kot pravi Norbert Elias, »vprašamo, katera je pravzaprav splošna funkcija pojma civilizacija in kaj je tisto skupno, na podlagi česar vsa ta človeška vedenja in dejavnosti označujemo za 'civilizirane', ugotovimo najprej nekaj zelo preprostega: ta pojem izraža samozavedanje zahodnega sveta. Lahko bi rekli temu tudi nacionalna zavest. V njem je zajeto vse tisto, v čemer zahodne družbe v zadnjih dveh ali treh stoletjih vidijo svoje prednosti pred prejšnjimi ali pa tistimi 'bolj primitivnimi' današnjimi družbami. Z njim poskuša zahodna družba označiti tisto, kar je njena posebnost in na kar je ponosna: stanje svoje tehnike, načine svojega vedenja, razvoj svojih znanstvenih spoznanj ali svojega svetovnega nazora in še veliko drugega.«<sup>6</sup> Oblikovanje narodne zavesti sicer predstavlja dolgotrajen in postopen proces, in skupna identiteta in pripadnost nekemu narodu v tem prednacionalnem času še ni obstajala oziroma vsaj ni »konstruirala najmočnejše izmed vezi«. <sup>7</sup> A vendar, kot meni Patrick Geary, je

*Right from the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, when the European consciousness of intellectuals and the elite of society (alongside the existing political awareness/conviction regarding the continuation of the Roman Empire) acquired their "awareness" or discovery of the spiritual heritage of Antiquity, the concepts of civilisation and culture increasingly became part of the European consciousness and self-image. This was an awareness that discovered its origins and sought links to its existence in Antiquity. In the consciousness of Europe's intellectual and artistic elite, the Middle Ages became ever more a diametrical opposite (in fact it remains so today) – an age of civilisational and cultural backwardness. Indeed, the Renaissance represented the renewed ascent of civilisation and culture which had become lost in the darkness of the Middle Ages. And who, in such an atmosphere, would not desire a direct link with the original European centre of culture and civilisation – ancient Greece. Ultimately, if we look at the actual term civilisation from the modern viewpoint, and if, as Norbert Elias writes, "we ask what is in fact the general function of the concept of civilisation and what is the common thing on the basis of which all human behaviour and activities are labelled as 'civilised', we can establish firstly something very simple: this concept expresses the self-consciousness of the Western world. We could also call this national consciousness. It encapsulates everything in which over the last two or three centuries Western societies see their advantages over earlier or those 'more primitive' societies of today. In this way Western society seeks to label everything special to it and of which it is proud: the state of its technology, its methods of behaviour, the development of its scientific awareness or its worldview and much more."<sup>6</sup> The forming of a national consciousness is a long and gradual process, and a common identity and affiliation to some nation prior to a national*

<sup>6</sup> Elias, 2000, str. 71–72.

<sup>7</sup> Geary, 2005, str. 23.

»intelektualni kontekst, v katerem se je rodil sodobni nacionalizem, sprva predstavljala fascinacija evropskih znanstvenih elit, še posebej v Franciji in Nemčiji, s starim svetom. Fascinacija s klasično kulturo in civilizacijo /.../ je pripravila prizorišče za radikalni preobrat samopercepcije in identitete in pri tem pometla s stoletji zelo različnih družbenih identitet.«<sup>8</sup>

Mitske podobe v zavesti ljudi narekujejo in oblikujejo predstave o preteklosti in posledično o sedanjosti. Po Hobsbawmu so izumljena tradicija, Benedict Anderson je nove družbene oblike zavedanja poimenoval zamišljene skupnosti itd. V vseh primerih pa gre za oblikovanje oziroma konstrukcijo preteklosti za potrebe sedanjosti. In baročni zgodovinarji so se spraševali, od kod in od kdaj, oziroma: »Zgodovinarji polihistorji baroka so iskali izvor evropskih narodov v nekem vsakokratnem mitskem predniku, začetke pa pomikali nazaj k prazvorom, k Noetu in njegovim sinovom po vesoljnem potopu.«<sup>9</sup> Iskanja izvorov so bila med obdobji različna, antična civilizacija pa predstavljala eno od vezi, s katero so se ali pa so se vsaj hotele identificirati evropske intelektualne in družbene elite od zgodnje renesanse dalje.

Na splošno lahko govorimo, da je pri evropskih mitskih predstavah o izvoru narodov pomembno vlogo imela dihotomija med klasično civilizacijo in »barbarstvom«. Oblikovala je raziskovanja in interpretacije ter proizvedla dva dominantna »evropska mita«. Prvi poudarja pomembnost kulturne transmisije starih antičnih »centrov civilizacije« pri izvoru Evrope. Pri tem pa se osredotoča na barbarsko uničenje klasičnega Rima in kasnejšo oživitev klasične civilizacije od renesanse dalje. Druga mitska predstava

*period did not exist, or at least did not “construct the strongest of bonds”.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, as Patrick Geary writes, the “intellectual context in which modern nationalism was born was initially the fascination with the ancient world on the part of European scholarly elites, particularly in France and Germany. Fascination with classical culture and civilization /.../ set the stage for a radical reversal of self-perception and identity, sweeping away centuries of very different social identities.”<sup>8</sup>*

*Mythical images in people’s consciousness in fact determine and shape notions of the past and consequently of the present. According to Hobsbawm they are an invented tradition, while Benedict Anderson called the new public forms of consciousness imagined communities and so on. In all cases they involve a formulation or construction of the past to suit the needs of the present. And Baroque historians were already asking themselves whence and when, or rather “the polymath historians of the Baroque were still seeking the origin of the European nations in some recurrent mythical ancestor, and were shifting the beginnings back to their proto-origin, to Noah and his sons after the Flood.”<sup>9</sup> The search for these origins differed from period to period, but the civilisation of Antiquity represented one of the bonds with which Europe’s intellectual and social elites identified – or at least wished to identify – from the early Renaissance on. In general, we can say that an important part in European mythical notions of the origin of nations was played by the dichotomy between Classical civilisation and “barbarism”. This shaped research and interpretations and produced two dominant “European myths”. The first emphasises the importance of the cultural transmission of “centres of civilisation” from old Antiquity in the origin of Europe. Here the focus*

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>9</sup> Kastelic, 2000, str. 322.

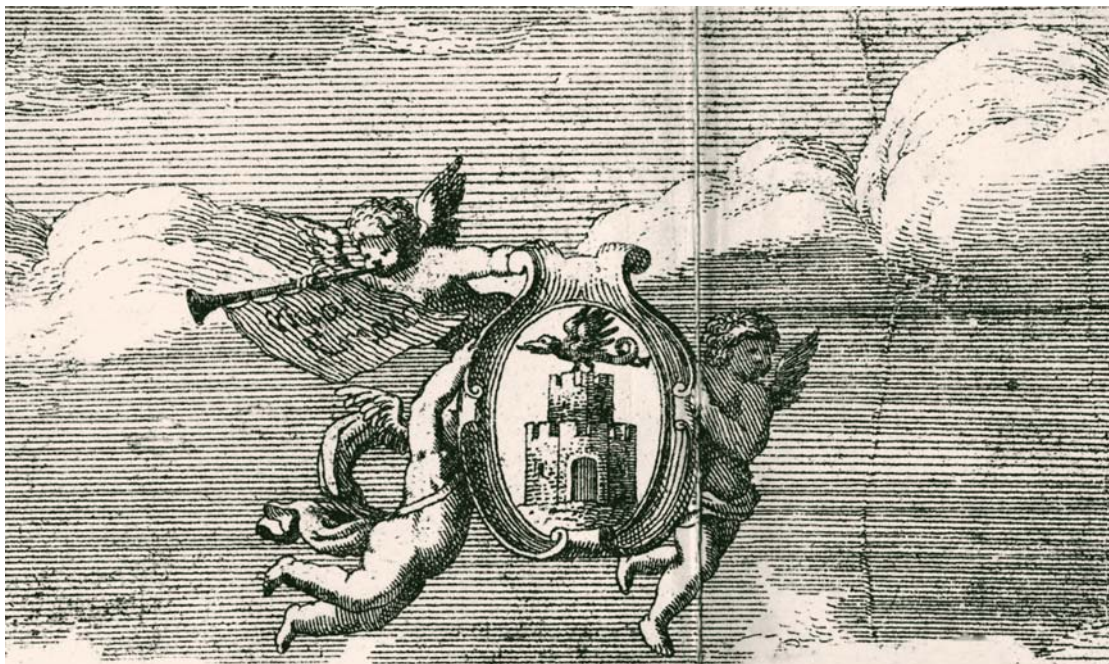
<sup>7</sup> Geary, 2002, pp. 18-19.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, pp. 18-19.

<sup>9</sup> Kastelic, 2000, p. 322.

predstavlja nasprotje prve. Poudarja domorodno naravo izvora Evrope in v ospredje postavlja nepokvarjenost in čistost svobode »barbarov«, v nasprotju z despotsko naravo klasičnih imperijev.<sup>10</sup> Obe sta vidni pri Schönlebnu in tudi pri Janezu Vajkardu Valvasorju. Na eni strani vzpostavitev »nesporne« povezanosti mesta s starimi Grki, na drugi strani pa kasnejše simpatiziranje z Japodi, ki so si jih podredili Rimljani. Oba avtorja namreč preveva »enaka ljubezen in enako navdušenje do domače dežele in ponos na slavne dogodke njene preteklosti. Dramatični opisi dosežejo pri obeh pisateljih vrh v opisu junaške obrambe Metulma

*is on the Barbarian destruction of Classical Rome and the subsequent revival of Classical civilisation starting in the Renaissance. The other mythical notion represents a counter to the first. It emphasises the native nature of the origin of Europe and places at the forefront the untainted and pure freedom of the “Barbarians”, in contrast to the despotic nature*



Slika 1: Ljubljanski grb kakor ga je narisal Valvasor. Angel drži prapor z napisom Vivat Æmona / Figure 1: The coat-of-arms of Ljubljana as drawn by Valvasor. An angel holds a banner with the inscription Vivat Æmona.

pred Oktavijanom Avgustom in pisatelja stojita samoumevno na strani Japodov proti osvajalnemu Rimu.«<sup>11</sup> Pri podobi ni bil pomemben samo ponos na antično dediščino, temveč tudi na domovino.

*of the Classical empires.<sup>10</sup> Both notions are evident in both Schönleben and Janez Vajkard Valvasor. On one hand, there is the “undisputed” connection of the city to the ancient Greeks while, on the other, the later sympathising with the Iapodes, who were subdued by the Romans. Indeed, both authors are imbued with “equal love and equal enthusiasm for their native land and pride in the glorious events of its past. Both writers achieve a high point in their dramatic descriptions in recounting the heroic defence of Metulum against Octavian Augustus, and*

<sup>10</sup> Kristiansen, 1996, str. 138. (Več o tem: Hingley, 2005.)

<sup>11</sup> Kastelic, 2000, str. 318.

<sup>10</sup> Kristiansen, 2005, p. 138. (More on this Hingley, 2005.)

Kot pa ugotavlja Manuela Struck, je bil v Svetem rimskem cesarstvu še v zgodnji fazi humanizma rimski vpliv na nemško kulturo celo zmanjševan, saj so grško kulturo razumeli in predstavljali kot »boljšo«<sup>12</sup>.

## Ljubljana odkrije svojo antično predhodnico

V svoji knjigi *Epitome Chronologica* iz leta 1714 je mestni veljak Janez Gregor Dolničar (Thalnitcher) nagovoril Ljubljano z naslednjimi besedami: »Pozdravljena, častitljiva Jazonova hči.«<sup>13</sup> »Svetloba« odkrite antične civilizacije je v Ljubljani zasijala nekoliko kasneje kot v npr. italijanskih mestih, a navdušenje nad dediščino je bilo izjemno. V 17. stoletju je tako s humanizmom in renesanso zbudeno zanimanje za antičnega duha in filozofijo tudi na Slovenskem prineslo nekaj velikih domoznanskih del, ki so se ukvarjala z zgodovino dežele Kranjske, raziskovanjem njene antične preteklosti in odkrivanjem mitoloških ustanoviteljev predhodnice Ljubljane. »V poznem 17. stoletju in začetku 18. stoletja je nastala prva podoba Emone.«<sup>14</sup> V navezavi na rimske omembe mita pri Pliniju, Zosimu in Sozemu je šlo za prvo »obdobje intenzivnega ustvarjanja identitete Ljubljane kot v osnovi antične: je čas ustvarjanja podobe Emone kot mitične, z argonavtsko sago povezane predhodnice Ljubljane.«<sup>15</sup>

*both writers stand naturally on the side of the Iapodes against all-conquering Rome.<sup>11</sup> In this image, it was not just pride in the heritage of Antiquity that was important, but also pride in one's homeland. Yet, as Manuela Struck concludes regarding events in the Holy Roman Empire, in the early phase of humanism the Roman influence on German culture was even reduced since Greek culture was regarded and represented as "better"<sup>12</sup>.*

## Ljubljana discovers its antique predecessor

*In his book *Epitome Chronologica* from 1714 one of the cities' nobelman Janez Gregor Dolničar (Thalnitscher) addressed Ljubljana with following words: "Welcome the venerable daughter of Jason."<sup>13</sup> The "light" of the discovered ancient civilisation started shining in Ljubljana somewhat later than, for instance, in Italian cities, yet the enthusiasm over this heritage was extraordinary. With its humanism and awakened interest in the spirit and philosophy of Antiquity, the 17<sup>th</sup> century thus produced in Slovenian lands some major works studying the homeland, dealing with the history of the Province of Carniola, researching its Antique past and discovering the mythological founders of Ljubljana's ancestor. "The first image of Emona emerged in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century."<sup>14</sup> This also means that this was the first "period of intensive creation of the identity of Ljubljana as being based in Antiquity: it was a period of creating the image of Emona as the mythical forebear of Ljubljana tied to the saga of*

<sup>12</sup> Struck, 2001, str. 96.

<sup>13</sup> Nagovor Ljubljani. Citirano po First, 1997, str. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Županek, 2008, str. 47.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, str. 49.

<sup>11</sup> Kastelic, 2000, p. 318.

<sup>12</sup> Struck, 2001, p. 96.

<sup>13</sup> Address to Ljubljana. Quoted from: First, 1997, p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Županek, 2008, p. 47.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, p. 49.



Navdušenje poznorenesančne in baročne ljubljanske elite nad antično zapuščino mesta je razumljivo in kaže, da je ljubljanska elita želela ujeti korak z znanstvenimi in umetnostnimi tokovi Evrope. Schönleben in Valvasor sta, ob poudarjanju pripadnosti deželi, to v svojih besedilih vedno izpostavila. Navdušenje nad antično predzgodovino Ljubljane je bilo zato toliko večje. Duhovno in kulturno povezanost z antiko so iskali, se z njo identificirali in enačili po vsej Evropi. Obuditi oziroma ustvariti podobo starodavnega antičnega mesta niti ni bilo težko, material za ustvarjanje slavne preteklosti je dobesedno ležal pred vrati.

Schönleben mitološkega izročila ni razumel kot takega, temveč kot zgodovinsko dejstvo, ki priča o pomembni in slavni zgodovini dežele Kranjske in njenega glavnega mesta Ljubljane. V svojem delu *Aemona vindicata*, izdanem leta 1674, je najprej dokazal, da je antična Emona stala na mestu sodobne Ljubljane, hkrati pa je hotel ustvariti zavest o stari in slavni zgodovini deželne prestolnice. Zavzemal se je za ponovno vrnitev antičnega imena in z njim zgodovinske pravice do ustanovitvenega mita. Z uveljavitvijo slednjega bi se Ljubljana namreč lahko ponašala z nazivom daleč najstarejšega mesta v habsburški monarhiji. Izrazil je tudi upanje, da bo poznavanje starodavnega sijaja in plemenitih prednikov mesta pri mestnih očetih obudilo spomin na vzvišen patricijski red.<sup>16</sup> Schönleben je z »razkritjem« in vzpostavitev povezave med grškimi argonavti, rimsko Emono in Ljubljano tako neposredno meril na identificiranje »novih patricijev« s starimi – tj. z vzvišeno staro civilizacijo, s tem pa spodbudil do tedaj neznano raven zanimanja za antični čas in antično zapuščino Ljubljane.

<sup>16</sup> Kokole, 2006, str. 218–219.

*the Argonauts.*<sup>15</sup>

*The enthusiasm of the late Renaissance and Baroque elites of Ljubljana concerning the Antique city's legacy is understandable and indicates that the Ljubljana elite wanted to catch up with scientific and artistic currents in Europe. While stressing their affiliation to this land, Schönleben and Valvasor always highlighted this in their texts. The enthusiasm regarding Ljubljana's Antique prehistory was for that reason even greater. Indeed, a spiritual and cultural link with Antiquity was sought, identified with and equated across Europe. Awakening/creating the image of the ancient city of Antiquity was not even difficult since the material for creating that glorious past literally lay on the doorstep.*

*Schönleben did not regard it as a mythological tradition as such, but more as a historical fact testifying to the important and glorious history of the land of Carniola and its chief city of Ljubljana. In his work Aemona vindicata, published in 1674, first he demonstrated that the Emona of Antiquity stood on the site of modern Ljubljana, while at the same time he wished to raise awareness of the old and glorious history of the provincial capital. He supported reinstatement of the Antique name and with it the historical right to its creation myth. By establishing the creation myth, Ljubljana would in fact boast the title of by far the oldest city in the Hapsburg dominions. He also expressed the hope that knowledge of and familiarity of the ancient glory and noble forebears of the city would awaken a memory of the exalted patrician order among the city's fathers.<sup>16</sup> Through his "discovery" and by establishing the link between the Greek Argonauts, Roman Emona and Ljubljana, Schönleben directly targeted the identification of the "new patricians"*

<sup>16</sup> Kokole, 2006, pp. 218-219.

Velika pripadnost deželi in spoznanje, da vojvodine Kranjske v tujini praktično ne poznajo, »čeprav je lep biser med cesarskimi dednimi deželami,«<sup>17</sup> je v objavljanje raziskovanj, običajev in zgodovine dežele Kranjske vodilo tudi Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja. Spoznanje, da tuji spisi le skopo pišejo o Kranjski, ga je, ob njegovem lastnem zanimanju za zgodovino in občudovanju tujih topografij, k pisanju dodatno spodbudilo. »Ta misel je mojemu

*with the old ones – i.e. with the old exalted civilisation, and thereby encouraged a hitherto unknown level of interest in Antiquity and its legacy in Ljubljana.*



Slika: 2: Personifikacija Emone v Dolničarjevi Aemoni vindicati / Figure 2: Emona personified in Dolničar's Aemonia Vindicata

*A great affiliation to the country coupled with an awareness that the Duchy of Carniola was practically unknown abroad, "although it is a fine jewel among the imperial hereditary lands,"<sup>17</sup> also led Janez Vajkard Valvasor to research the customs and history of Carniola. An awareness that foreign writing provided scant coverage of Carniola was an additional spur to his work, alongside his own interest in history and his admiration for foreign topographies. "This thought has often mixed into my admiration an ill-will and anger that the ancient Greeks, as well as modern-day travellers, frequently are unable to remark on much smaller things in their writings, on the contrary, they fly past this land worthy of all attention with truly miserly or even mute pens."<sup>18</sup> Valvasor drew from Schönleben in describing the mythical founding of Emona and, just like him, he did not doubt that Jason was the founder. The evidence in his view was far too multifaceted and "not just poetic, but also historical"<sup>19</sup> for it to be rejected. The two authors were also in agreement on the name and date of the founding. Jason gave Emona its name after his native land of Thessaly, then called Emonia. He founded the city 1174 years after the Flood, or rather 472 years before the founding of Rome. In addition to this information, Valvasor himself tried to locate the exact site of Jason's settlement, which supposedly extended over the Krakovo suburb and the estates of the Teutonic Knights, and he even drew up a plan of Emona.<sup>20</sup>*

občudovanju često primešavala zlovoljo in jezo, da se stari Grki, pa tudi današnji popotniki večkrat v svojih spisih mnogo manjšim stvarjem kar načuditi

<sup>17</sup> Valvasor, 1969, str. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Valvasor, 1969, p. 8.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, p. 9.

<sup>19</sup> Valvasor, 1689, p. 5.

<sup>20</sup> Kokole, 2006, p. 228.

ne morejo, nasprotno pa, mimo te vse pozornosti vredne dežele s prav varčnim ali celo nemim peresom poletavajo.<sup>18</sup> Valvasor je Schönlebna pri opisu mitske ustanovitve Emone povzegal in enako kot on ni dvomil o ustanovitelju Jazonu. Dokazi po njegovem mnenju niso samo poetični, temveč tudi historični in so preveč mnogovrstni, da bi jih bilo moč zavriniti.<sup>19</sup> Tudi glede imena in časa ustanovitve sta si bila avtorja edina. Jazon je Emoni dal ime po svoji rojstni deželi Tesaliji, takrat imenovani Emonia. Mesto pa je ustanovil 1174 let po vesoljnem potopu oziroma 472 let pred ustanovitvijo Rima. Poleg teh podatkov je Valvasor sam poskušal locirati natančen kraj Jazonove nasebine, ki naj bi obsegal krakovsko predmestje in posesti križevniškega reda, pripravil pa je tudi načrt Emone.<sup>20</sup>

Duh antike se je med mestnimi očeti sicer zbudil že dobri dve desetletji pred izidom Schönlebnovih del.<sup>21</sup> A verjetno ni odveč, če povemo, da so kranjski deželni stanovi Schönlebnu leta 1668 priznali letno rento 200 fl., da bi končal zastavljene zgodovinske spise.<sup>22</sup>

Kakor ugotavlja Stanko Kokole, je bila za nadaljnje dogajanje v zvezi z mitom ključna prav vloga Schönlebna, saj so prav na njegovih

*In fact, the spirit of Antiquity had already been awakened amongst the city's fathers in the two decades before Schönleben's works were published.<sup>21</sup> Yet it is probably worth stating that in 1668 the Carniolan provincial estates granted Schönleben an annual allowance of 200 florins in order for him to finish the historical texts he intended to write.<sup>22</sup>*

*As Stanko Kokole concludes, Schönleben played a crucial role in further developments surrounding the myth since his text provided the very basis for later efforts to anchor the creation myth of the Argonauts as much as possible in the consciousness of contemporary people. Through various cultural events, the Antique past was evoked with self-confidence and pride primarily by the Academia Operosorum Labacensium (from 1693) and its predecessor Societas Unitormu (from 1688). The most committed and active among all of them was the previously mentioned nephew of Schönleben – the chronicler, historian and lawyer Janez Gregor Dolničar, who held several important posts in the provincial capital.<sup>23</sup> Dolničar himself wrote several texts in which he discovered Antique monuments of Emona, inventoried them and transcribed their inscriptions. His enthusiasm over the monuments from Antiquity is closely documented in the work*

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, str. 9.

<sup>19</sup> Valvasor, XIII. knjiga, 1689, str. 5.

<sup>20</sup> Kokole, 2006, str. 228.

<sup>21</sup> Jeseni leta 1660 so namreč Ljubljanci pričakovali obisk cesarja Leopolda I. in mesto je bilo treba olepšati. Čas je klical po vsebini iz antike. V časovni stiski so pred mestno hišo takrat postavili vodnjak z lesenim in pozlačenim kipom Neptuna. Sam rimski bog vode in morij je bil v tistem času priljubljen kraslini element vodnjakov v italijanskih in evropskih mestih, ljubljanskemu pa je bil po pričevanju Janeza Gregorja Dolničarja dodan tudi danes neohranjen napis: »[Neptunu,] krotilcu morij, ker je po ustanovitvi Emone sprejel Jazona. Postavili so po občinskem sklepu ljubljanski stavbni odborniki.« (Kokole, 2006, str. 257.) Dodatno sporočilo o antičnih graditeljih mesta je prinašal Herkulov vodnjak na Starem trgu, ki ga je prav tako sprva krasil pozlačen lesen junak z ladje Argo. Obe leseni plastiki so mestni veljaki nato leta 1675, eno leto po izidu Schönlebnove *Aemone vindicate*, dali izklesati kamnoseku Janezu Khumersteinerju.

<sup>22</sup> SBL, 1967, str. 237.

<sup>21</sup> *In the autumn of 1660, the people of Ljubljana awaited a visit by the Emperor Leopold I, and the city needed to be spruced up. The times called for some substance from Antiquity. Short of time, the authorities installed a fountain with a wooden and gilt statue of Neptune in front of the City Hall. The Roman god of water and the sea was himself a favourite ornamental element at that time for fountains in Italian and European cities and, according to the record of Janez Gregor Dolničar, the Ljubljana fountain was also given an inscription which is no longer preserved: "[To Neptune], tamer of the seas, since he received Jason after the founding of Emona. Erected upon municipal order by the Ljubljana building committee." (Kokole, 2006, p. 257) Another message concerning the Antique builder of the city was provided by the Hercules fountain in Stari Trg, which was also first ornamented with the wooden and gilt hero from the Argo. The city leaders then had the stonemason Janez Khumersteiner carve the two wooden sculptures in stone in 1675, one year after the publication of Schönleben's *Aemona vindicata*.*

<sup>22</sup> SBL, 1967, p. 237.

<sup>23</sup> *From 1689 he was a secretary at the Carniolan Viceroy's office, and in 1694 he was elected a city notary, then from 1803 he was a sworn court councillor. (SBL, 1980, p. 74)*

besedilih temeljila kasnejša prizadevanja, da bi se ustanovitveni mit o argonavtih čim bolj zasidral v zavesti sodobnikov. Samozavestno in ponosno je z različnimi kulturnimi manifestacijami antično preteklost obujala predvsem Academia operosorum Labacensium (od leta 1693) s predhodnico Societas Unitormu (od leta 1688). Najbolj zavzet in aktiven med vsemi pa je bil že omenjeni Schönlebnov nečak Janez Gregor Dolničar – kronist, zgodovinar in pravnik, ki je zasedal tudi več pomembnih položajev v deželni

*Antiquitates Urbis Labacensis. A lack of evidence regarding the founding of the city also drew him to insert some invented inscriptions. As Stanko Kokole has found, Dolničar almost yielded to the temptation to document an invented “found inscription” to*



Slika 3: Obnavljanje Emone. Upodobitev je iz Valvasorjeve Slave vojvodine Kranjske / Figure 3: The rebuilding of Emona. From Valvasor's *Gloria of the Duchy of Carniola*

*thereby provide more solid support for the foundation myth. In order to sound more convincing, he wrote the inscription as a transcription in capital letters: “IASON ESONIS | FILIVS CVM ARGONAV(tis) | LABACVUM CONDIDIT | ANNO ANTE SERV(atoris) NOS(tri) ADVEN(tum) mcc. Ii [= A.D: 1222]”<sup>24</sup>. However, upon revision he deleted all the sentences asserting that this was an inscription*

<sup>24</sup> Kokole, 2006, p. 226.

prestolnici.<sup>23</sup> Dolničar sam je napisal več besedil, v katerih je odkrival antične spomenike Emone, jih popisoval in prepisoval napise. Navdušenje nad antičnimi spomeniki je lepo dokumentirano v delu *Antiquitates Urbis Labacensis*. Pomanjkanje dokazov o ustanovitvi mesta ga je vleklo tudi k vstavljanju izmišljenih napisov. Kot ugotavlja Stanko Kokole, se je Dolničar skoraj vdal skušnjavi, da bi dokumentiral izmišljeni »najdeni napis« in z njim ustanovitvenemu mitu dal trdnejšo oporo. Da bi bil napis še prepričljivejši, ga je napisal kot transkripcijo z velikimi črkami: »IASON ESONIS | FILIVS CVM ARGONAV(tis) | LABACVUM CONDIDIT | ANNO ANTE SERV(atoris) NOS(tri) ADVEN(tum) mcc. Ii [= A.D: 1222]«. <sup>24</sup> Vendar pa je ob reviziji izbrisal vse stavke, ki so trdili, da gre za napis, vklesan v starodavni kamen. Poskušal je določiti tudi natančen kraj, kjer bi se lahko argonavti izkricali. Dolničar je za kraj postanka določil Breg, kjer je takrat tudi dejansko stalo ljubljansko pristanišče.<sup>25</sup>

*carved into an ancient stone. He did, on the other hand, try to determine the exact location where the Argonauts might have put ashore. Dolničar determined their landing place was Breg, right where the Ljubljana wharfs were actually situated at that time.*<sup>25</sup>

## From Jason's Emona to the Roman city

*Interest in the Argonauts showed no signs of flagging throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, although it seems that, compared with the enthusiasm at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, it had nevertheless slightly weakened. Regarding the founding of Emona by the Argonauts, there was certainly no doubt in the mind of Anton Tomaž Linhart. Nevertheless, it seemed that this needed to be explicitly “underlined” as an incontrovertible fact. It was clear that many people had already questioned the “incontrovertible truth” of Jason founding the city. In his Poskus zgodovine Kranjske (An Attempt at a History of Carniola) he therefore provided evidence in several places of the truth of their journey. “This journey was the famous voyage of the Argonauts, approximately 1260 years BC. Those who wish to exclude it from the succession of true events would in the same way be rejecting all of ancient history.”<sup>26</sup>*

<sup>23</sup> Od leta 1689 je bil tajnik pri kranjskem vicedomskem uradu, leta 1694 je bil izvoljen za mestnega sindika (notarja), od l. 1703 pa je bil zaprišeženi sodni svetnik. (SBL, 1980, str. 74)

<sup>24</sup> Kokole, 2006, op. 39, str. 226.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, str. 227. Navdušenje nad argonavti in prepričanje v zgodovinsko resničnosti Jazona kot osebe in ustanovitelja mesta so poudarjali že na naslovnih izdanih del. Letnice, ki datirajo izide knjižnih del Schönlebnova in Dolničarja, namreč poleg krščanskega štetja po rimskem zgledu navajajo tudi letnico od ustanovitve mesta. Schönlebnova *Aemona vindicata* je bila tako natisnjena Anno Aerae Christianae M. DC. LXXIV oziroma bolj impresivnega leta Qui est Aemona conditae MM. DCCC. XCVII, Dolničarjevo delo *Epitome chronologica* pa: annum Christi M. DCC.IV oziroma Aemona condita 2935.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, p. 227. The enthusiasm over the Argonauts and the certainty in the historical reality of Jason as a person and founder of the city were also emphasised on the covers of published works. Indeed, the years of publication given in the books by Schönleben and Dolničar included, alongside the Christian year, the year since the founding of the city, in the Roman tradition. Schönleben's *Aemona vindicata* was thus printed in Anno Aerae Christianae M. DC. LXXIV, or in the more impressive year Qui est Aemona conditae MM. DCCC. XCVII, and Dolničar's work *Epitome chronologica* was printed in: annum Christi M. DCC. IV or Aemona condita 2935.

<sup>26</sup> Linhart, 1981, p. 17.

Zanimanje za argonavte nato ni pojenjalo še vse 18. stoletje, vendar se v primerjavi z navdušenjem ob koncu 17. in na začetku 18. stoletja vseeno zdi nekoliko manjše. O ustanovitvi Emone s strani argonavtov še vedno ni dvomil Anton Tomaž Linhart. Kljub vsemu se mu je zdelo, da je to potrebno eksplicitno »podčrtati« kot neizpodbitno dejstvo. Očitno pa je, da so mnogi »neizpodbitni resničnosti« Jazonovega ustanoviteljstva mesta že oporekali. V svojem *Poskusu zgodovine Kranjske* je zato Linhart na več mestih dokazoval resničnost potovanja. »To potovanje je bilo približno 1260 let pr. Kr. znamenito argonavtsko popotovanje. Tisti, ki ga hočejo izločiti iz vrste resničnih dogodkov, bi lahko na isti način zavrgli vso staro zgodovino.«<sup>26</sup> Legenda se po Linhartovem mnenju ne skriva v samem Jazonovem potovanju, temveč samo v predstavi, da sta Jadransko in Črno morje povezana z dvema krakoma reke Ister/Donave. Resničnost Jazonovega potovanja je, enako kot Schönleben, utemeljeval s samim imenom Emona, ki je bilo pač preveč podobno staremu imenu za Tesalijo – Haemonia – od koder so argonavti izhajali. »Resnični« Jazon je tako na lastni koži občutil le pomanjkljivost legende, »pravljice«, ki je govorila o jadransko-črnomorski bifurkaciji. »Pred njim je namesto Jadranskega morja vstalo pusto pogorje. Bila je pozna jesen. V tej stiski, ko so pred njim stale Alpe, za njimi razen naporov dolgotrajnega brodarjenja strah pred Kolhijci, bivanje v neznani deželi, poleg tega pa ga je nadlegovalo še nemilo podnebje in letni čas, se je zatekel pred tako različnimi sovražniki v nekakšne kočje in okope. Te kočje, zametek bodočega mesta, ki so bile vso zimo njegova Tesalija, njegova Emonija, je Jazon

*In Linhart's opinion, the legend lay hidden not in the actual voyage of Jason, but only in the notion that the Adriatic and Black seas were connected by two branches of the Ister/Danube. Just like Schönleben, he based the truth of Jason's voyage on the actual name Emona, which was simply too similar to the old name for Thessaly – Haemonia – from which the Argonauts hailed. The "real" Jason thus for his own part suffered only from the deficiencies of the legend, the "fairy tale", which spoke of the Adriatic and Black Sea bifurcation. "Before him, instead of the Adriatic Sea, there rose up an empty mountain range. It was late autumn. In such constraints, when the Alps stood before them, and behind them apart from the arduous and lengthy navigation, the fear of the people of Colchis, their dwelling in an unknown land, and moreover their suffering from an inhospitable climate and season, they sought refuge from such a variety of enemies in some manner of dwellings and fortifications. These houses, the germ of the future city, which for that entire winter was his Thessaly, his Emonia, Jason named Emona."<sup>27</sup> In his description of "Carniolan towns before the arrival of the Romans", Linhart reiterated that, given the evidence, it was impossible to deny the arrival of the Argonauts and their founding of Emona. "I have found no evidence, neither in the natural elements of our land, nor among the historical records, that would in any way question the certainty of the fact that it was founded on the site of Ljubljana by Jason's companions, and that would detract from the convincing power of the evidence in all manner of historical sources."<sup>28</sup>*

*In any event, a number of years after Linhart, Valentin Vodnik wrote in his history of the area: "The view of Zosim and Herodianus that, as Jason passed through in 1222 BCE and during his stay in this area, he built Emona is a fairy tale which Pliny*

<sup>26</sup> Linhart, 1981, str. 17.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, p. 17.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, p. 56.

<sup>29</sup> Vodnik, 1812, p. 4.

imenoval Emona.«<sup>27</sup> Pri opisu »kranjskih mest pred prihodom Rimljanov« je Linhart ponovno zatrdil, da je glede na dokaze nemogoče zanikati prihod argonavtov in njihovo ustanovitev Emone. »Nobenega dokaza nisem našel, niti v naravi naše dežele, niti med zgodovinskimi podatki, ki bi kakorkoli spodbijal prepričljivost dejstva, da so jo na mestu Ljubljane ustanovili Jazonovi sopotniki, in ki bi jemal prepričujočo moč dokazom iz vsakovrstnih zgodovinskih virov.«<sup>28</sup>

Kakorkoli, že nekaj let za Linhartom je Valentin Vodnik v svoji *Zgodovini vojvodine Kranjske, Trsta in Goriške grofije* zapisal: »Stališče Zosima in Herodianusa, da je mimoidoči Jazon leta 1222 pr. Kr. tekom svojega bivanja na tem področju zgradil Emono, je pravljica, ki so jo Plinij in drugi imeli za vredno zapisovanja.«<sup>29</sup> Še prej pa je v *Lublanskih novizah* zgodbo o Emoni obravnaval zgolj kot epizodo znotraj zgodovine ljudstev in narodov, ki so se naseljevali na območju propadlega Rimskega cesarstva. »Emona je bila že razdjana, kader so Slovenci na Kranjsko prišli, inu so ta kraj, kjer sedaj Lublana stoji, Gradiše imenovali; niso namreč vedeli, da to poderto mesto je per Rimcih imelo ime Emona: drugiga pa ni bilo viditi, kakor razvaleno ozidje, to je razdjan grad ali gradiše.«<sup>30</sup>

Zgodba oziroma zgodovinskost mitičnih ustanoviteljev se je umikala iz zavesti ljudi. Vstajale so nove podobe, ki so bile vezane predvsem na izvor slovenskega naroda in na njegovo avtohtonost na tem prostoru. France Prešeren je v Elegiji svojim rojakom še obujal spomin na slavne kranjske praočete, ki so Emono postavili pred Rimom oziroma, ko »v sedem gričih je prebival/ volk jastreb tankovid.«<sup>31</sup> Sredi stoletja je v Novicah zgodba

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, str. 17.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, str. 56.

<sup>29</sup> Vodnik, 1812, str. 4.

<sup>30</sup> Citirano po; Novice, 1858, št. 42.

<sup>31</sup> Prešeren, 1971, str. 119-120.

*and others held to be worth recording.*<sup>229</sup> Even earlier, he described the story of Emona in his publication *Lublanske novize (1797-1800)* as merely an episode within the history of the peoples and nations who settled in the area of the collapsed Roman Empire. "Emona was laid waste when the Slovenians came to Carniola, and the place where Lublana now stands, they named Gradiše; indeed they did not know that the ruined city bore the name of Emona under the Romans: there was nothing else to be seen but collapsed walls, that is, a destroyed castle or fortified settlement."<sup>30</sup>

*The story or historical dimension of the mythical founders slipped out of people's consciousness. New images arose in a new consciousness and were linked primarily to the origin of the Slovenian nation and its autochthonous status in this area. Even France Prešeren in his Elegy to His Countrymen drew attention to the glorious fathers who established the city, when "in seven hills lived / the sharp-sighted wolf vulture."<sup>31</sup> And occasionally, by accident or design, the story of the Argonauts crept into stories that stretched back that far. In the middle of the century, in the publication *Novice* the priest Matevž Poženčan Ravnikar revealed his opinion on the arrival of Slovenians. The theory whereby the Slovenians arrived in these parts even before the Celts was more than acceptable to this man of nationalist leanings. The "collector of national goods", as he is labelled in the *Slovenian Biographical Lexicon*, undoubtedly deserved the label. And he tried to use the myth of the Argonauts to suit the needs of a new reality – now no longer in the search for an old and glorious history of the city, but for an old and glorious history of the nation. The autochthonist theory indeed placed the settlement of the Slavs/Slovenians in pre-Roman times. Like others, he included romantic notions of hard-working and peace-loving ancestors.*

<sup>30</sup> Quoted from *Novice*, 1858, no. 42.

<sup>31</sup> Prešeren, 1971, pp. 119-120.

o argonavtih stopila v povsem nov kontekst. Duhovniku Matevžu Poženčančanu Ravnikarju se je namreč zdela teorija, po kateri so Slovenci v te kraje prišli še pred Kelti, več kot sprejemljiva. »Nabiralec narodnega blaga«, kot je označen v Slovenskem biografskem leksikonu, si je to oznako nedvomno zaslužil. Mit o argonavtih pa je skušal uporabiti za potrebe nove realnosti – tokrat ne več za iskanje stare in slavne zgodovine mesta, temveč stare in slavne zgodovine naroda. Avtohtonistična teorija je namreč naselitev Slovanov/Slovencev postavila v predrimski čas. Podobno kot ostale je vključevala romantične predstave o delovnih in miroljubnih prednikih. »Kdor bi terdil, da se je naš rod sem vrinil, kaciga družiga preganjat, naj pove, kdo je pred teh dežela gospodar bil? Nasproti li pripovedujejo, da je bil naš narod prvi tukaj, in da ni nobeniga družiga preganjal.«<sup>32</sup> Le malokdo pa je tudi v mitu o argonavtih poskušal iskati dokazov za naselitev Slovencev. Poženčanu se je zdela mogoča tudi ta povezava. »De je naš narod prišel od Gerških krajev sem gori, naj bo že po morji ali po Dunavi in Savi, potrjujej tudi povest od Jazona. Jazon (ali morebiti Jezen), če se pravlice od njega prav razlože, je bil kupec, ki je s svojimi tovarši se vozil po Dunavi in Savi, in tudi v ta kraj, kjer je zdaj Ljubljana, prišel. Tukaj je bil eno lopo (morebiti tudi več) postavil in to selišče Emono imenoval, kakor je bila tudi v Tesaliji, kjer je bil Jazon doma, ena Emona. Na Kranjskem so v Emoni dalje hiše stavili, da je bila grozno velika. Če tudi Jazon ni tod nič ljudi najdel, da bi bil ž njimi kupčeval, je pa morde druziga blaga iskal, kateriga bi bil doma ali po poti prodajal.«<sup>33</sup> Poženčan ni bil edini, ki je zgodovino Slovencev poskušal povezati z grško mitologijo. Enako je storil Anton Krempel, prav tako velik zagovornik avtohtonistične teorije, vendar se je pri tem naslonil na izročilo trojanske

*“Whosoever would assert that our nation pushed their way in here, driving out any others, should say who was previously lord of these lands? On the contrary may they relate how our nation was the first here, and that it drove no others away”<sup>32</sup>. Yet few sought evidence for the settlement of the Slovenians in the myth of the Argonauts. Yet this link also seemed possible to Poženčan. “The fact that our nation arrived up here from Greek lands, be it by the sea or the Danube and Sava, is confirmed by the tale of Jason. Jason (or perhaps Jezen [Angry]), if the tales of him relate correctly, was a merchant who voyaged with his comrades along the Danube and Sava, and also came to the place which is now Ljubljana. Here he erected one shack (possibly more) and named this settlement Emona, just as in Thessaly, Jason’s home, there was an Emona. In Carniola more houses were built in Emona, until it was terribly big. Although Jason found no people here to trade with, he perhaps sought more precious goods, which he might sell at home or along the way.”<sup>33</sup> Yet he was not the only one who sought to link the history of the Slovenians with Greek mythology, although he relied on another myth. In his 1845 book Dogodivšine štajerske zemle [Events in the Land of Styria], Anton Krempel, another great advocate of the autochthonist theory, linked the “migration of the Slovenians” to the fall of troy and the surviving Trojan traitor Antenor who, according to one version, supposedly founded the city of Padua. The Pannonian Slovenians encompassed the Heneti (Venedi, Vinidi), whom the Trojan Prince Antenor led in about 1200 BC to the lands of the present-day Venetians, and there built the city named in Slovenian Padava. Those Venedi or Vinidi were also Slovenians.”<sup>34</sup>*

<sup>32</sup> Novice, 1846, št. 27.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>32</sup> Novice, 1846, no. 27.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>34</sup> Krempel, 1845, p. 9.

*Interest in archaeology and with it the “prehistoric” route supposedly taken by the Argonauts was very*



vojne. V svoji knjigi *Dogodivšine štajerske zemle* iz leta 1845 je »preseljevanje Slovencev« povezal s padcem Troje in preživelim trojanskim izdajalcem Antenorjem, ki naj bi po eni od različic ustanovil mesto Padova. »Panonski Slovenci so vkup segali z' Henetmi (Venedmi, Vinidmi), kere je trojanski Princ Antenor okoli 1200 let pred Kr. v kraje zdajnih Benetkov privodil, ino tu slovenskega imena mesto Padova zezidal. Toti Venedi ali Vinidi so ali tudi Slovenci bili.«<sup>34</sup>

Zanimanje za arheologijo in z njo tudi za »prazgodovinsko« pot, ki naj bi jo naredili argonavti, je bilo močno živo vse 19. stoletje. Za ukvarjanje »s pravljico« pa je pisanje o argonavtih označil Davorin Trstenjak, ki si je sam sicer tudi prizadeval, da bi dokazal prisotnost Slovencev na današnjem ozemlju že od antike dalje. Leta 1854 je v Zgodovinskih pomenkih v Kmetijskih in rokodelskih novicah Jazonovo zgodbo hitro odpravil. »Da pravlica od zidanja Hemone po Jasonu druga ni, kakor basen brez vsake temeljitosti, če ravno si je naš vsega poštenja vredni Schoenleben prizadeval resnico dokazati, spozna vsak izurjeni historik, in v nar novejšem času je naš rojak učeni profesor dr. Čižman kritički neresničnost Jasonovega brodarjenja po Dunaji (Donavi), Savi in Ljubljani dokazal.«<sup>35</sup> Zanimanje za Emono in tudi za mit o argonavtih pa je še kar vztrajalo. V prispevkih Historičnega društva za Kranjsko je tako v naslednjih letih izšlo še nekaj razprav na to temo. Trstenjak, tokrat podpisan s psevdonimom Vicko,<sup>36</sup> je zato leta 1859 Historično društvo za Kranjsko okrcal, češ da se v svojem časopisu *Mittheilungen des historischen Vereins für Krain* ukvarja z nepomembnimi rečmi in z že obdelano zgodovino. »Kranjci poleg tega imajo že dosti zbranega gradiva v svojih letopiscih,

*much alive throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Meanwhile, Davorin Terstenjak labelled writings about the Argonauts as dealing with a "fairy tale", but he himself strove to prove the presence of Slovenians in the present territory from Antiquity. In 1854 he quickly expunged the story of Jason from the Historical Discussion section of the publication Kmetijske in rokodelske novice. "The fact that the tale of the building of Emona by Jason is nothing other than a fairy tale without any foundation, even though our esteemed Schoenleben strove to prove its veracity, is recognised by any experienced historian and most recently our compatriot and learned professor Dr. Čižman has critically proven the falsehood of Jason's navigation of the Danube, Sava and Ljubljana."<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, interest in Emona as well as the myth of the Argonauts persisted. In subsequent years, several discourses on this topic were published in papers of the historical society for Carniola. Terstenjak, then signing himself under the pseudonym of Vicko<sup>36</sup>, therefore chided the Historical Society for Carniola in 1859 on the premise that in its newspaper *Mittheilungen des historischen Vereins für Krain* it was involving itself in trivial matters and with history that had already been addressed. "Moreover the people of Carniola already have enough collected material from their chroniclers such as Valvazor, Baucer, Dolničar etc.; there is need only to search there and to make transcriptions into special books. All this would serve domestic history better than seeking out houses in Ljubljana where Jason tied up his vessel. The Historical Society should collect material in its *Mittheilungen* for domestic history, and not seek from its associates history that has already been critically scrutinised. Critical historians are only now sifting through the collected material, and the society and its organ (*Mittheilungen* - Ed.) is merely a 'Zeughaus' (armoury - Ed.), into which various types of weapon are being brought."<sup>37</sup>*

<sup>34</sup> Krempel, 1845, str. 9.

<sup>35</sup> Novice, 1854, št. 78.

<sup>36</sup> SBL, 1980, p. 198.

<sup>35</sup> Novice, 1854, no. 78.

<sup>36</sup> SBL, 1980, p. 198.

<sup>37</sup> Novice, 1859, no. 9.

kakor: v Valvazorjih, Baucerjih, Dolničarjih itd.; trebalo bi se le, tam poiskavati in v posebne bukve prepisovati. Vse to bi bolje koristilo za domačo zgodovino, kakor pa iskanje hiše v Ljubljani, pri kateri je Jason svojo barko privezal. Historično društvo bi moglo v svoje Mittheilungen zbirati gradiva za domačo zgodovino, ne pa iskati od svojih sodelavcev že kritično izdelane zgodovine. Kritični zgodovinopisci šele ustajajo po nabranem gradivu, društvo in njihov organ (Mittheilungen, op. p.) je samo 'Zeughaus' (orožarna, op. p.), v katerega se nosi orožje razne vrste.«<sup>37</sup>

Kljub vsemu pa je Jazonova zgodba še kar globoko v 19. stoletje preganjala marsikaterega raziskovalca. Ko je August Dimitz pisal *Zgodovino Kranjske*, se je zato za krajši čas pomudil tudi pri Jazonu in njegovih argonavtih. V leta 1874 izdani knjigi je zapisal: »Geografija in kulturna zgodovina sta že prinesli pravilno tolmačenje starodavnega izročila. Tako obstaja le malo potrebe po dodatnem utemeljevanju, če v prazgodovini Kranjske svoje mesto dobi tudi Jazonova saga.«<sup>38</sup> Poleg tega, da je sam mit razumel kot mit, je tudi zavrnil tiste, ki so vse skupaj označili za navadno pravljico brez vsake vrednosti. »Zgodba, ki se je tako močno vtisnila v spomin pri številnih ljudstvih, ima pač svojo vrednost in niso nujno prazne marnje. Moderna znanost spoznava njeno vrednost za zgodovinsko vedenje o daljnih epohah in razume mitsko pustolovščino kot zgodovinsko pričevanje o 'prazgodovinski trgovini'.«<sup>39</sup> Kljub vsemu pa je zgodba še v novejšem času tako močno vtisnjena v spominu, da nekateri verjamejo, da je Jazonova saga ovekovečena na dveh rimskih kamnih pri Rogaški. V svoji *Zgodovini vojvodine Štajerske* je namreč zgodovinar Albert Muchar zapisal, da se zdi, da je Jazonova pot ovekovečena na dveh kamnih,

<sup>37</sup> Novice, 1859, št. 9.

<sup>38</sup> Dimitz, I., 1874, str. 5.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem.

*Nevertheless, Jason's story was still occupying many researchers well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. So, when August Dimitz wrote his History of Carniola, he also spent a little time on Jason and his Argonauts. He noted for his book, published in 1874: "Geography and cultural history have now procured the proper interpretation of the ancient tradition. There is thus little need for additional justification as to whether in the prehistory of Carniola Jason's saga also earns a place."<sup>38</sup> Apart from regarding the story itself as a myth, he also rejected those who labelled the whole thing a mere fairy tale without any value. The story, which took such a powerful hold in the memory of numerous peoples, does indeed have a value, and it is not necessarily a load of nonsens. "Modern academic study recognises its value in terms of historical knowledge of distant epochs and interprets the mythical adventures as a historical testament of prehistoric commerce."<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, even in more recent times the story has become so imprinted in our memory that some believe the saga of Jason to have been immortalised on two Roman stones at Rogaška."<sup>40</sup> In his History of the Duchy of Štajerska, the historian Albert Muchar writes that Jason's voyage appears to have been immortalised on two stones kept at the Graz Joanneum. The first depicts a flying dragon and the second a woman, and on her right she is holding a child upside down, whom it appears she is going to throw against the rocks lying on the ground. Muchar linked the image to Medea's killing of her own child and flight from the flying dragon. "We may even be so bold as to suspect that this monument is linked to the ancient tale of Jason, Medea and the Argonauts, and their escape from the Black Sea along the Danube and Sava to this point and against the current to Emona, and that it is a carved immortalisation of the folk saga of events of*

<sup>38</sup> Dimitz, Book I., Ljubljana 1874, p. 5.

<sup>39</sup> The same historical meaning of the »fairy tale« was recognized by the historian Josip Gruden some years later. (Gruden, 1911, p. 18)

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem.

shranjenih v graškem Joanneumu. Na prvem je upodobljen leteči zmaj, na drugem pa ženska, ki na svoji desni za noge drži na glavo obrnjenega otroka, ki ga bo, kot se zdi, vrgla ob skale, ki ležijo na tleh. Muchar je upodobitev povezal z Medejinim ubojem lastnih otrok in begom pred letečim zmajem. »Upamo si celo domnevati, da je ta spomenik povezan s starodavno pripovedjo o Jazonu, Medeji in argonavtih in njihovem begu iz Črnega morja po Donavi in Savi do sem in proti toku do Emone in, da je plastično ovekovečenje ljudske sage o takratnih dogajanjih v tej spodnještajski, toku Save tako bližnji, pokrajini. (?)«<sup>40</sup>

Zgodba o argonavtih je tudi »ponarodela« do te mere, da se je za Jazonovo barko našel tudi ljudski »natančni kraj« pristanka. Ta naj bi bil ob bregu Ljubljance, ki je vzporeden z današnjo Wolfovo ulico. Povsem po »naključju« je na istem mestu tri tisočletja kasneje stala pivovarna in gostilna, imenovana Pri belcu oz. Zum weissen Rössel. Janez Bleiweiss je ob popisovanju »starih hiš naše Ljubljane«, ki ga je povzema po »gradivu pl. Radiča in dr. Lipiča«, popisal tudi to zapuščino. »Našo Ljubljano so Rimljani imenovali Nauportus; ob bregovih Nauporta, tako vsaj pripovedujejo nekateri zgodopisci, je argonaut Jason, pripeljavši se na ladiji s svojimi tovarši iz Ponta v Donavo, iz Donave v Savo, iz Save v Ljubljano Aemoni prvi temelj položil. Neka šaljiva pravljica celo to pripoveduje, da na tistem mestu, kjer danes stoji pivarna 'zum weissen Rössel', je Jason, s svojimi tovariši stopivši na suho, ladijo svojo priklenil. Res, da starinska bajta 'Roselnova' po svojem obrazu še zelo opominja na čase Jasonove.«<sup>41</sup> Ta »pravljica« pa je bila med Ljubljančani prisotna vsaj nekje od srede 19. stoletja, ko jo je v svojem satiričnem potopisu Pot iz Ljubljane v Šiško omenil

<sup>40</sup> Muchar, I, 1844, str. 423.

<sup>41</sup> Novice 1878, št. 18.

*that time in this Lower Styrian region, so close to the flow of the Sava (?)»<sup>41</sup>*

*The story of the Argonauts became part of Ljubljana to such an extent that the folk tradition 'precise location' of the landing of Jason's vessel was found. This was supposedly situated on the banks of the Ljubljana, parallel to today's Wolfova Street. Quite coincidentally, on the same location three millennia later stood a brewery and inn named Pri belcu, or Zum weissen Rössel. In his inventory of the "old houses of our Ljubljana", which he summarised from "the material of pl. [the ennobled] Radič and Dr. Lipič", Janez Bleiweiss also listed this legacy. "The Romans called our Ljubljana River the Nauportus; along the banks of the Nauportus, or so at least some historians relate, the Argonaut Jason, travelling on his ship with his comrades from the Pontus to the Danube, from the Danube to the Sava and from the Sava to the Ljubljana, laid the first foundation of Aemona. Some light-hearted tale even relates that on the spot where now stands the brewery 'zum weissen Rössel', Jason and his comrades tied up their ship and set foot on dry land. It is true that the face of the elderly 'Roselnova' building does strikingly conjure up the times of Jason."<sup>42</sup> This "fairy tale" was present among the people of Ljubljana from at least some time in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when it was already mentioned in the satirical travelogue Pot iz Ljubljane v Šiško (Journey from Ljubljana to Šiška) by the travel writer and storyteller Fran Erjavec. "Some historian even claims that the market women were already selling their wares in old Emona 'by the bridge', that Jason stopped by the bridge and that he was there received 'in corpore' by all the market women."<sup>43</sup>*

<sup>41</sup> Muchar, Book I. 1844, p. 423.

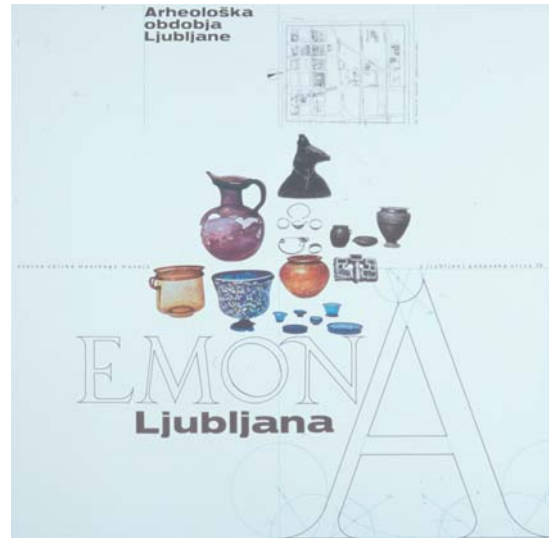
<sup>42</sup> Novice, 1878, no. 18.

<sup>43</sup> Slovenski glasnik, Vol. 3, no. 10, 1859.

tudi potopisec in pripovednik Fran Erjavec. »Nek zgodovinar terdi celo, da so branjovke že v stari Emoni 'pred mostom' prodajale, da se je Jazon pred mostom ustavil in da je bil ondi od vseh branjovk 'in corpore' sprejet.«<sup>42</sup>

Z nadaljevanjem raziskovanj se je vedno bolj odkrivala rimska Emona. Intenzivno arheološko raziskovanje je v zadnjih sto letih prineslo veliko odkritij in spoznanj, mitična podoba pa se je postopoma umaknila zgodovinskim in arheološkim raziskovanjem. Kljub temu so Jazon in argonavti, kot lahko vidimo v članku Irene Žmuc, našli svoje mesto v slovenskem leposlovju in umetnosti.

Po drugi svetovni vojni je sledil čas, ki bi ga lahko označili za drugo veliko odkrivanje in ustvarjanje podobe Emone. Veliki gradbeni projekti, kot je bil npr. Cankarjev dom, so odkrili številne nove izkopanine in hkrati ponovno vzbudili širše zanimanje javnosti. Nove podobe in povezave so trendu hitro sledile. »V to obdobje sodi tudi vrsta poskusov vklopiti reference na Emono v urbano podobo Ljubljane. Motivacija za ponovno ustvarjanje in reinterpetacijo ni bila bistveno drugačna kot v prvem obdobju: pogoste refleksije na to, da ima Ljubljana urbano, kar se tiče komunalne ureditve in infrastrukture malone moderno predhodnico, odsevajo željo v Ljubljani ponovno vzpostaviti zavest o omikanih antičnih koreninah mesta.«<sup>43</sup>



Slika 4: Plakat razstave v Mestnem muzeju Ljubljana leta 1972. Foto Damjana Šalehar, arhiv MGML. / Figure 4: From the Archaeological Eras of Ljubljana exhibition held in 1972 in the City Museum of Ljubljana. Photo by Damjana Šalehar, MGML archive.

*Further research increasingly revealed the Roman Emona. Over the past 100 years intensive archaeological research has produced a large number of finds and discoveries, while the mythical image has gradually withdrawn from historical and archaeological study. Nevertheless, Jason and the Argonauts have, as we can see in Irena Žmuc's article, ultimately found their place in Slovenian literature and art.*

*The period after the Second World War could be labelled as the second great discovering and creation of the image of Emona. Major construction projects such as Cankarjev dom yielded a host of new excavated finds and at the same time reawakened the wider interest of the public. New images and associations rapidly followed this trend. "This period also saw a range of attempts to embed references to Emona into the urban image of Ljubljana. The motivation for re-creation and re-interpretation was not significantly different from that of the first period: frequent reflections on the fact that Ljubljana has an urban, and in terms of municipal order and infrastructure, quite a modern forebear, indicate the desire in Ljubljana re-establish an awareness of the cultivated, Antique roots of the city."<sup>44</sup>*

<sup>42</sup> Slovenski Glasnik, 3. zv., št. 10, 1859.

<sup>43</sup> Županek, 2008, str. 55.

<sup>44</sup> Županek, 2008, p. 55.

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Andreja Knapič  
Irena Žmuc  
Iris Bekljanov Zidanšek  
Jožica Hrustel  
Tadeja Mulh  
Janez Polajnar

KATALOG  
RAZSTAVLJENIH  
PREDMETOV

*CATALOGUE  
OF EXHIBITED  
ITEMS*



- 1 **Kip Emonca (kopija) / Statue of Emonan**  
(copy)  
mavec (original: bron s pozlato) / plaster (original: bronze with gilt)  
150 x 54 x 35 cm  
MGML, G6



Kongresni trg, grob 1007 / Kongresni trg, grave 1007

Andreja Knapič,  
Irena Žmuc,  
Iris Bekljanov  
Zidanšek,  
Jožica Hrustel,  
Tadeja Mulh,  
Janez Polajnar

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CATALOGUE  
OF EXHIBITED  
ITEMS

- 2 **Lonec / Pot**  
keramika / ceramic  
23,4 x 10,3 cm  
konec 1. stoletja pr. n. št.,  
začetek 1. stoletja n. št. /  
end of 1st century BCE,  
beginning of 1st century CE  
Kongresni trg, grob 1007/  
Kongresni trg, grave 1007  
MGML, 47700
- 3 **Pladenj / Platter**  
keramika / ceramic  
26,3 x 3,4 cm  
konec 1. stoletja pr. n. št.,  
prva četrtina 1. stoletja  
n. št. / end of 1st century  
BCE, first quarter of 1st  
century CE  
Kongresni trg, grob 1007/  
Kongresni trg, grave 1007  
MGML, 47709
- 4 **Krožnik / Plate**  
keramika / ceramic  
2,6 x 15,6 cm  
konec 1. stoletja pr. n. št.,  
prva četrtina 1. stoletja  
n. št. / end of 1st century  
BCE, first quarter of 1st  
century CE  
Kongresni trg, grob 1007 /  
Kongresni trg, grave 1007  
MGML, 47706
- 5 **Skodelica / Cup**  
keramika / ceramic  
4,4 x 7,5 cm  
konec 1. stoletja pr. n. št.,  
prva četrtina 1. stoletja  
n. št. / end of 1st century  
BCE, first quarter of 1st  
century CE  
Kongresni trg, grob 1007 /  
Kongresni trg, grave 1007  
MGML, 4770
- 6 **Skodelica / Cup**  
keramika / ceramic  
5,5 x 9,5 cm  
konec 1. stoletja pr. n. št.,  
prva četrtina 1. stoletja  
n. št. / end of 1st century  
BCE, first quarter of 1st  
century CE  
Kongresni trg, grob 1007 /  
Kongresni trg, grave 1007  
MGML, 47707
- 7 **Vrč / Jug**  
keramika / ceramic  
14,7 x 4 cm  
konec 1. stoletja pr. n. št.,  
začetek 1. stoletja n. št. /  
end of 1st century BCE,  
first quarter of 1st century  
CE  
Kongresni trg, grob 1007 /  
Kongresni trg, grave 1007  
MGML, 47701
- 8 **Lonček / Pot**  
keramika / ceramic  
9,1 x 8 cm  
konec 1. stoletja pr. n. št.,  
začetek 1. stoletja n. št. /  
end of 1st century BCE,  
first quarter of 1st century  
CE  
Kongresni trg, grob 1007 /  
Kongresni trg, grave 1007  
MGML, 47708
- 9 **Lonec / Pot**  
keramika / ceramic  
13,9 x 9,3 cm  
konec 1. stoletja pr. n. št.,  
začetek 1. stoletja n. št. /  
end of 1st century BCE, first  
quarter of 1st century CE  
Kongresni trg, grob 1007 /  
Kongresni trg, grave 1007  
MGML, 47702
- 10 **Balzamarij /  
Fragrance bottle**  
steklo / glass  
5,8 x 2,2 cm  
konec 1. stoletja pr. n. št.,  
prva polovica 1. stoletja n. št.  
/ end of 1st century BCE, first  
quarter of 1st century CE  
Kongresni trg, grob 1007 /  
Kongresni trg, grave 1007  
MGML, 47703
- 11 **Ogledalo / Mirror**  
speculum – zlitina bakra  
in kositra / alloy of copper  
and tin  
7,3 x 0,3 cm  
1.–2. stoletje /  
1st – 2nd century  
Kongresni trg, grob 1007 /  
Kongresni trg, grave 1007  
MGML, 47724
- 12 **Izčrepinjska ploščica /  
Potsherd**  
keramika / ceramic  
4,8 x 1,2 cm  
konec 1. stoletja pr. n. št.,  
začetek 1. stoletja n. št. /  
end of 1st century BCE,  
beginning of 1st century CE  
Kongresni trg, grob 1007 /  
Kongresni trg, grave 1007  
MGML, 47704
- 13 **Ostenje amfore /  
Amphora sherd**  
keramika / ceramic  
21 x 18 cm  
1. stoletje n. št. /  
1st century CE  
Kongresni trg, grob 1007 /  
Kongresni trg, grave 1007  
MGML, 563121
- 14 **Odlomki oljenke /  
Fragments of oil lamp**  
keramika / ceramic  
1,7 x 5,4 cm  
konec 1. stoletja pr. n. št.,  
začetek 1. stoletja n. št. /  
end of 1st century BCE,  
beginning of 1st century CE  
Kongresni trg, grob 1007 /  
Kongresni trg, grave 1007  
MGML, 563123
- 15 **Odlomki krožnikov /  
Fragments of plates**  
keramika / ceramic  
3,6 x 1,5 cm  
konec 1. stoletja pr. n. št.,  
prva četrtina 1. stoletja n. št.  
/ end of 1st century BCE, first  
quarter of 1st century CE  
Kongresni trg, grob 1007 /  
Kongresni trg, grave 1007  
MGML, 563124, 563125
- 16 **Odlomki vrča /  
Fragments of jug**  
keramika / ceramic  
6,4 x 1 cm  
1. stoletje n. št. / 1st  
century CE  
Kongresni trg, grob 1007 /  
Kongresni trg, grave 1007  
MGML, 563126





17 **Kamnita plošča z napisom / Stone tablet with inscription**  
marmor / marble  
79 x 82 cm  
jesen 14/pomlad 15 /  
autumn 14/spring 15  
Narodni muzej, L57 /  
National Museum, L57



23 **Vrč / Jug**  
keramika / ceramic  
21 x 14 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 47661



18 **Vrč / Jug**  
keramika / Ceramic  
19,9 x 20,5 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 21408



24 **Vrč / Jug**  
keramika / ceramic  
21,6 x 13,7 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 47662



19 **Vrč / Jug**  
keramika / ceramic  
15,4 x 12 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 30405



25 **Vedro / Pail**  
bron / bronze  
R 19,8 x 16 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 4828



20 **Vrč / Jug**  
keramika / ceramic  
14,5 x 11,6 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 30407



26 **Krožnik / Plate**  
keramika / ceramic  
R 14,4 x 3 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 34069



21 **Vrč / Jug**  
keramika / ceramic  
12,9 x 9,5 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 30410



27 **Krožnik / Plate**  
keramika / ceramic  
R 17 x 4 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 47658



22 **Vrč / Jug**  
keramika / ceramic  
22 x 14 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 47660



28 **Krožnik / Plate**  
keramika / ceramic  
R 17,4 x 4 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 47656



29 **Krožnik / Plate**  
keramika / ceramic  
R 17 x 4 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 47653



34 **Amfora / Amphora**  
keramika / ceramic  
91,0 x 40 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 47665



30 **Krožnik / plate**  
keramika / ceramic  
R 17 x 5,3 cm  
konec 1., začetek  
2. stoletja / end of 1st,  
beginning of 2nd century  
MGML, 47652



35 **Čaša / Goblet**  
keramika / ceramic  
7,8 x 6,5 cm  
prva polovica 2. stoletja /  
first half of 2nd century  
MGML, 4289



31 **Krožnik / Plate**  
keramika / ceramic  
R 17 x 4,5 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 47657



36 **Zajemalka / Ladle**  
bron / bronze  
R 3,9 x 2,5 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 11417

Andreja  
Knapič,  
Irena Žmuc,  
Iris Bekljanov  
Zidanšek,  
Jožica Hrustel,  
Tadeja Mulh,  
Janez Polajnar

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CATALOGUE  
OF EXHIBITED  
ITEMS



32 **Krožnik / Plate**  
keramika / Ceramic  
R 17,1 x 3,6 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 47655



37 **Zajemalka / Ladle**  
bron / bronze  
R 5,4 x 13,1 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 31963



33 **Amfora / Amphora**  
keramika / ceramic  
85 x 30 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 47666



38 **Zajemalka / Ladle**  
bron / bronze  
R 5,2 x 14 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 31965



39 **Zajemalka / Ladle**  
bron / bronze  
R 5,6 x 10,9 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 31961



40 **Zajemalka / Ladle**  
bron / bronze  
R 5,6 x 9,2 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 31964



41 **Zajemalka / Ladle**  
bron / bronze  
R 6,2 x 7,3 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 31952



42 **Strigilis / Strigilis**  
bron / bronze  
20,5 x 8,5 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 32943



43 **Posoda za mazila / Ointment vessel**  
bron / bronze  
R 16 x 13,5 cm  
druga polovica 4. stoletja  
second half of 4th century  
MGML, 31890



44 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
steklo / glass  
R 1,8 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 17274



45 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
steklo / glass  
R 1,5 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 17275



46 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
steklo / glass  
R 1,5 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 33986



47 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
steklo / glass  
R 1,8 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 15987



48 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
steklo / glass  
R 1,7 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 30426



49 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
steklo / glass  
R 1,6 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 15986



50 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
steklo / glass  
R 1,2 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 30433



51 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
steklo / glass  
R 1,6 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 33221



52 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
steklo / glass  
R 1,3 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 15990



58 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
steklo / glass  
R 2,3 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 33561



53 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
steklo / glass  
R 1,2 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 32834



59 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
kost / bone  
R 1,6 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 15593



54 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
steklo / glass  
R 1,5 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 30432



60 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
kamen / stone  
R 1,8 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 33562



55 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
steklo / glass  
R 1,9 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 30448



61 **Igralna kocka / Dice**  
kost / bone  
1,5 x 1,5 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 4761



56 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
steklo / glass  
R 1,3 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 31209



62 **Igralna kocka / Dice**  
kost / bone  
1,0 x 1,0 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 33383



57 **Igralni žeton / Game token**  
steklo / glass  
R 1,8 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 33511



63 **Igralna kocka / Dice**  
kost / bone  
1,1 x 1,3 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 33982



64 **Igralna kocka / Dice**  
kost / bone  
1,2 x 1,5 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 33983



65 **Igralna kocka / Dice**  
kost / bone  
1,1 x 1,5 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 33984



66 **Igralna kocka / Dice**  
kost / bone  
0,9 x 0,9 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 14855



67 **Igralna kocka / Dice**  
kost / bone  
1,1 x 1,1 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 14856



68 **Igralne kroglice / Marbles**  
steklo / glass  
12 kosov / 12 pieces  
R 1,6–1,9 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 33716



69 **Igralne kroglice / Marbles**  
steklo / glass  
3 kosi / 3 pieces  
R 1,6–1,8 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 33764



70 **Sponka / Clasp**  
bron s pozlato, železo,  
granat / bronze with gilt,  
iron, garnet  
8,2 x 3,5 cm  
konec 5., začetek  
6. stoletja / end of 5th,  
beginning of 6th century  
Dravljje, grob 1 / Dravljje,  
grave 1  
MGML, 32541



71 **Sponka / Clasp**  
bron s pozlato, železo,  
granat / bronze with gilt,  
iron, garnet  
8,2 x 3,5 cm  
konec 5., začetek  
6. stoletja / end of 5th,  
beginning of 6th century  
Dravljje, grob 1 / Dravljje,  
grave 1  
MGML, 32542



72 **Pasna spona / Belt buckle**  
bron s pozlato, granat /  
bronze with gilt, garnet  
9 x 4,5 cm  
konec 5., začetek  
6. stoletja / end of 5th,  
beginning of 6th century  
Dravljje, grob 1 / Dravljje,  
grave 1  
MGML, 32535



73 **Prstan (kopija) / Ring (copy)**  
bron s pozlato (original:  
zlato) / bronze with gilt  
(original: gold)  
R 2,2 cm  
MGML, G135



74 **Ogrlica iz jagod / Bead necklace**  
steklo, jantar / glass,  
amber  
10 kosov / 10 pieces  
različne dimenzije /  
various dimensions  
konec 5., začetek  
6. stoletja / end of 5th,  
beginning of 6th century  
Dravljje, grob 1 / Dravljje,  
grave 1  
MGML, 32599



75 **Okrasni trak / Decorative band**  
zlato / gold  
2,5 cm  
konec 5., začetek  
6. stoletja / end of 5th,  
beginning of 6th century  
Dravljje, grob 1 / Dravljje,  
grave 1  
MGML, 32536



76 **Lasnica / Hairpin**  
 železo / iron  
 12 cm  
 konec 5., začetek  
 6. stoletja / end of 5th,  
 beginning of 6th century  
 Dravlje, grob 1 / Dravlje,  
 grave 1  
 MGML, 32537



82 **Novec / Coin**  
 bron / bronze  
 R 2,2 cm  
 sredina 4. stoletja /  
 middle of 4th century  
 MGML, 541440



77 **Jagoda / Bead**  
 jantar / amber  
 R 1,7 x 1,3 cm  
 konec 5., začetek  
 6. stoletja / end of 5th,  
 beginning of 6th century  
 Dravlje, grob 1 / Dravlje,  
 grave 1  
 MGML, 32538



83 **Oljenka / Oil lamp**  
 keramika / ceramic  
 9,7 x 7,2 x 3,7 cm  
 sredina 4.-6. stoletje /  
 mid 4th to 6th century  
 MGML, 4864



78 **Jagoda / Bead**  
 jantar / amber  
 R 1,9 x 1,3 cm  
 konec 5., začetek  
 6. stoletja / end of 5th,  
 beginning of 6th century  
 Dravlje, grob 1 / Dravlje,  
 grave 1  
 MGML, 32540



84 **Stilus / Stylus**  
 bron / bronze  
 7,6 cm  
 rimski čas / Roman  
 period  
 MGML, 33714



79 **Okov / Reinforcer**  
 srebro / silver  
 2,6 x 0,8 cm  
 konec 5., začetek  
 6. stoletja / end of 5th,  
 beginning of 6th century  
 Dravlje, grob 1 / Dravlje,  
 grave 1  
 MGML, 32545



85 **Stilus / Stylus**  
 bron / bronze  
 10,3 cm  
 rimski čas / Roman  
 period  
 MGML, 33331



80 **Okov / Reinforcer**  
 srebro / silver  
 2,5 x 0,8 cm  
 konec 5., začetek  
 6. stoletja / end of 5th,  
 beginning of 6th century  
 Dravlje, grob 1 / Dravlje,  
 grave 1  
 MGML, 32546



86 **Stilus / Stylus**  
 bron / bronze  
 8,4 cm  
 rimski čas / Roman  
 period  
 MGML, 33425



81 **Novec - amulet / Coin - amulet**  
 bron / bronze  
 R 2,7 cm  
 konec 5., začetek  
 6. stoletja / end of 5th,  
 beginning of 6th century  
 Dravlje, grob 1 / Dravlje,  
 grave 1  
 MGML, 32563



87 **Stilus / Stylus**  
 železo / iron  
 12,4 cm  
 rimski čas / Roman  
 period  
 MGML, 33586



88 **Novec / Coin**  
bron / bronze  
R 1,7 cm  
druga polovica  
4. stoletja / *second half of*  
4th century  
MGML, 536998



89 **Ostroga / Spur**  
bron / bronze  
7,6 x 5,5 cm  
4. stoletje / 4th century  
MGML, 33412



90 **Sponka / Fibula**  
bron s pozlato / bronze  
with gilt  
6,7 x 3,1 x 4,4 cm  
4. stoletje / 4th century  
MGML, 33737



91 **Okov pasne garniture / Belt accessory reinforcer**  
bron / bronze  
7,3 x 3,8 cm  
konec 4., začetek  
5. stoletja / *end of 4th, beginning of 5th century*  
MGML, 33498



92 **Jermenski zaključek / Strap end**  
bron / bronze  
5,2 x 2,6 cm  
4., 5. stoletje / 4th or 5th century  
MGML, 33288



93 **Pasna garnitura / Belt accessory**  
bron / bronze  
1,9-2,5 x 1,2-5 cm  
zadnja četrtina 2., sredina  
3. stoletja / *Last quarter of 2nd, middle 3rd century*  
Potniški center Lj. 2007/  
2008, grob 86 / *Potniški center Lj. 2007/2008.*  
grave 86  
ZVKDS, CPA



94 **Pečatna škatlica / Official seal box**  
bron / bronze  
2,1 x 1,6 x 0,5 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 4878



95 **Pečatna škatlica / Official seal box**  
bron / bronze  
R 1,5 x 0,5 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 4880



96 **Pečatna škatlica / Official seal box**  
bron / bronze  
2,2 x 1,7 x 0,8 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 4886



97 **Pečatna škatlica / Official seal box**  
bron / bronze  
2,1 x 1,9 x 0,5 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 4893



98 **Pečatna škatlica / Official seal box**  
bron / bronze  
3,2 x 1,7 x 0,5 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 4896



99 **Pečatna škatlica / Official seal box**  
bron / bronze  
R 1,8 cm x 0,7 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 4908



100 **Pečatna škatlica / Official seal box**  
bron / bronze  
3 x 1,7 x 0,6 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 30596



106 **Oljenka / Oil lamp**  
keramika / ceramic  
23,6 x 13 x 10,2 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 34129



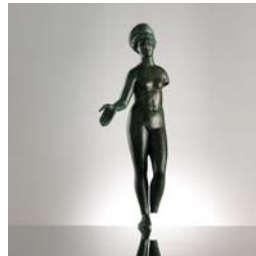
101 **Pečatna škatlica / Official seal box**  
bron / bronze  
3,0 x 1,7 x 0,5 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 33615



107 **Oljenka / Oil lamp**  
keramika / ceramic  
9 x 6,5 x 2,8 cm  
2. stoletje / 2nd century  
Potniški center Lj. 2007/  
2008, grob 176 / Potniški  
center Lj. 2007/2008,  
grave 176  
ZVKDS, CPA



102 **Črnilnik / Inkwell**  
kost / bone  
R 4,3 x 7,2 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 35460



108 **Kipec Venere / Statuette of Venus**  
bron / bronze  
15,8 cm  
2. stoletje / 2nd century  
MGML, 31920



103 **Črnilnik / Inkwell**  
keramika / ceramic  
R 4,3 x 7,2 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 34117



109 **Kipec Bellena / Statuette of Belenus**  
bron / bronze  
7,2 cm  
1. stoletje pr. n. št. / 1st  
century BCE  
MGML, 31913



104 **Posodica s pokrovom / Pyxis**  
kost / bone  
7,8 x R 3,8  
2. stoletje / 2nd century  
Potniški center Lj. 2007/  
2008, grob 266 / Potniški  
center Lj. 2007/2008,  
grave 266  
ZVKDS, CPA



110 **Steklenička / Bottle**  
steklo / glass  
7,6 x 3,2 cm  
sredina 1. stoletja /  
middle of 1st century  
MGML, 34639



105 **Glava kipa / Head of statue**  
marmor / marble  
30,0 x 20,5 x 12,5 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 42247



111 **Kipec levinje / Statuette of she-lion**  
bron / bronze  
4,9 x 3,3 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 11384





112 **Pasna spona / Belt buckle**  
bron / bronze  
2,6 x 2,8 cm  
4., 5. stoletje / 4th or 5th century  
MGML, 33679



118 **Ročaj skalpela / Scalpel handle**  
bron; taviširan okras; srebro / bronze; tarnished decoration: silver  
7,5 x 0,8 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
Tribuna 2008  
Arhej d.o.o., št. PN 1583



113 **Cedilo / Strainer handle**  
bron, srebro / bronze, silver  
R 21,6 x 39,1 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 4829



119 **Oljenka / Oil lamp**  
bron / bronze  
9,8 x 5,5 x 3,5 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
MGML, 14809



114 **Obesek / Pendant**  
bron / bronze  
R 2 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 33291



120 **Zajemalka / Ladle**  
steklo / glass  
R 6,9 x 11 cm  
druga polovica 1. stoletja / second half of 1st century  
MGML, 34907



115 **Moški kateter / Male catheter**  
bron / bronze  
21,4 x R 0,5 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
Kongresni trg 2009  
MGML, 47725



121 **Zajemalka / Ladle**  
steklo / glass  
R 5,9 x 9,5 cm  
druga polovica 1. stoletja / second half of 1st century  
MGML, 34906



116 **Ročaj skalpela / Scalpel handle**  
bron / bronze  
9 cm  
2., 3. stoletje / 2nd or 3rd century  
MGML, 33456



122 **Krožnik / Plate**  
steklo / glass  
R 15 x 2,7 cm  
druga polovica 1. stoletja / second half of 1st century  
MGML, 34914



117 **Ročaj skalpela / Scalpel handle**  
bron / bronze  
3,6 cm x 0,9 cm  
rimski čas / Roman period  
Tribuna 2008  
Arhej d.o.o., št. PN 1207



123 **Krožnik / Plate**  
steklo / glass  
R 10,5 x 1,6 cm  
druga polovica 1. stoletja / second half of 1st century  
MGML, 34915

Andreja Knapič,  
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Zidanšek,  
Jožica Hrustel,  
Tadeja Mulh,  
Janez Polajnar

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KATALOG  
RAZSTAVLJENIH  
PREDMETOV



124 **Žlica / Spoon**  
srebro / silver  
13,9 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 4976



130 **Ostenje čaše / Sides of goblet**  
steklo / glass  
6,5 x 5,1 cm  
druga polovica  
1. stoletja / second half of  
1st century  
MGML, 34917



125 **Skodela / Dish**  
steklo / glass  
R 14,1 x 5,5 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 34896



131 **Skodelica / Cup**  
keramika / ceramic  
R 7 x 3,5 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 34633



126 **Vrč / Jug**  
steklo / glass  
12,1 x 9,8 cm  
prva polovica 2. stoletja /  
first half of 2nd century  
MGML, 34898



132 **Skodela / Dish**  
keramika / ceramic  
R 14,4 x 6,7 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 34090



127 **Čaša / Goblet**  
steklo / glass  
R 9,2 x 8,5 cm  
1., 2. stoletje / 1st or 2nd  
century  
MGML, 34900



133 **Skodelica / Cup**  
keramika / ceramic  
R 11,6 x 5,4 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 47654



128 **Čaša / Goblet**  
steklo / glass  
R 9,1 x 8,9 cm  
1., 2. stoletje / 1st or 2nd  
century  
MGML, 34911



134 **Skodelica / Cup**  
keramika / ceramic  
R 10,1 x 4 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 47651



129 **Čaša / Goblet**  
steklo / glass  
R 9,3 x 7,4 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 34642



135 **Skodelica / Cup**  
keramika / ceramic  
R 9,1 x 5,3 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 34634



136 **Skodelica / Cup**  
keramika / ceramic  
R 8,3 x 3,8 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 47659



142 **Skodela / Dish**  
steklo / glass  
R 12,5 x 4 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 34897



137 **Skodelica / Cup**  
keramika / ceramic  
R 7,1 x 5,1 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 34638



143 **Kozarec / Glass**  
steklo / glass  
R 8,1 x 9,2 cm  
3. stoletje / 3rd century  
MGML, 35046



138 **Čaša / Goblet**  
keramika / ceramic  
R 9 x 9,1 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 47663



144 **Kozarec / Glass**  
steklo / glass  
R 6,2 x 6,7 cm  
druga polovica 1. stoletja  
/ second half of 1st  
century  
MGML, 35193



139 **Skodelica / Cup**  
steklo / glass  
R 6 x 2,3 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 34839



145 **Kozarec / Glass**  
steklo / glass  
R 7,1 x 10 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 35394



140 **Skodelica / Cup**  
steklo / glass  
R 6,2 x 2,3 cm  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 34840



146 **Kozarec / Glass**  
steklo / glass  
R 7,4 x 12 cm  
4. stoletje / 4th century  
MGML, 35396



141 **Skodela / Dish**  
steklo / glass  
R 10,7 x 6,1 cm  
druga polovica 1. stoletja  
/ second half of 1st  
century  
MGML, 34641



147 **Čaša / Goblet**  
steklo / glass  
R 11,3 x 8,2 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 35043

Andreja  
Knapič,  
Irena Žmuc,  
Iris Bekljanov  
Zidanšek,  
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Tadeja Mulh,  
Janez Polajnar

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PREDMETOV



148 **Čaša / Goblet**  
steklo / glass  
R 7 x 9,2 cm  
konec 1., začetek  
2. stoletja / end of 1st,  
beginning of 2nd century  
MGML, 35055



149 **Čaša / Goblet**  
steklo / glass  
R 7,4 x 7,5 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 35398



150 **Čaša / Goblet**  
steklo / glass  
R 7,2 x 8 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 35399



151 **Zajemalka / Ladle**  
steklo / glass  
R 5,4 x 11,5 cm  
druga polovica 1. stoletja  
/ second half of 1st  
century  
MGML, 34908



152 **Zajemalka / Ladle**  
steklo / glass  
R 7,2 x 6,3 cm  
druga polovica 1. stoletja  
/ second half of 1st  
century  
MGML, 34909



153 **Zajemalka / Ladle**  
steklo / glass  
R 7,9 x 8,4 cm  
konec 1., začetek  
2. stoletja / end of 1st,  
beginning of 2nd century  
MGML, 35059



154 **Steklenica / Bottle**  
steklo / glass  
12 x 5,5 x 5,4 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 34640



155 **Steklenica / Bottle**  
steklo / glass  
15 x 8,7 x 8,7 cm  
1., 2. stoletje / 1st or 2nd  
century  
MGML, 34916



156 **Steklenica / Bottle**  
steklo / glass  
19,7 x 7,5 cm  
1., 2. stoletje / 1st or 2nd  
century  
MGML, 35191



157 **Steklenica / Bottle**  
steklo / glass  
17,0 x 9,4 cm  
1., 2. stoletje / 1st or 2nd  
century  
MGML, 35192



158 **Steklenica / Bottle**  
steklo / glass  
19,5 x 7,5 cm  
konec 1., začetek  
2. stoletja / end of 1st,  
beginning of 2nd century  
MGML, 35057



159 **Steklenica / Bottle**  
steklo / glass  
10,5 x 7,8 cm  
prva polovica  
1. stoletja / first half  
of 1st century  
MGML, 35402



160 **Steklenica / Bottle**  
steklo / glass  
14,8 x 8,2 x 8 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 44768



166 **Sponka / Clasp**  
bron, steklo / bronze,  
glass  
2,6 x 2 cm  
1., 2. stoletje / 1st or 2nd  
century  
MGML, 13125



161 **Skleda / Bowl**  
steklo / glass  
R 14 x 5,5 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 47667



167 **Uhani / Earrings**  
zlato, steklena pasta /  
gold, glass  
2,3 x 1,4 cm  
3. stoletje / 3rd century  
Potniški center Lj. 2007/  
2008, grob 105 / Potniški  
center Lj. 2007/2008,  
grave 105  
ZVKDS, CPA



162 **Čaša / Goblet**  
steklo / glass  
R 11 x 6 cm  
rimski čas / Roman  
period  
MGML, 47668



168 **Lasnice / Hairpins**  
kost in zlata folija / bone,  
gilt  
6,3 x R 0,18 cm  
2. stoletje / 2nd century  
Potniški center Lj. 2007/  
2008, grob 31 / Potniški  
center Lj. 2007/2008,  
grave 31  
ZVKDS, CPA



163 **Čaša / Goblett**  
steklo / glass  
14,1 x 12,9  
1. stoletje / 1st century  
MGML, 31889



169 **Utež za statve / Loom weight**  
keramika / ceramic  
5 x 3,5 cm  
prazgodovina /  
prehistoric  
MGML, 2873



164 **Prstan / Ring**  
zlato / gold  
R 2 cm  
2. stoletje / 2nd century  
MGML, 31360



170 **Skifos / Skyphos**  
keramika / ceramic  
7 x 15 cm  
5. stoletje pr.n.š. / 5th  
century BCE  
Most na Soči  
Goriški muzej, P4316 /  
Goriški Museum, P4316



165 **Lasnica / Hair pin**  
kost / bone  
11,5 cm  
konec 1., začetek  
2. stoletja / end of 1st,  
beginning of 2nd century  
MGML, 33580



171 **Wolfgang Lazius  
Carinthiae ducatus,  
et Goritiae, Karstii,  
Chaczeolae,  
Carniolae, Histriae,  
et Windorum  
marchae descrip.**  
papir / paper  
43 x 27 cm  
1584  
NUK, kartografska in  
slikovna zbirka, A IV –  
27 / National and  
University Library, car-  
tographic and pictorial  
collection, A IV – 27

Andreja  
Knapič,  
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Zidanšek,  
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Tadeja Mulh,  
Janez Polajnar

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PREDMETOV



172 **Sebastian Münster  
Cosmographie, oder  
Beschreibung aller  
Länder**

papir / *paper*  
48 x 63 cm  
1550  
NUK, kartografska in  
slikovna zbirka, 2368 /  
*National and University  
Library, cartographic and  
pictorial collection, 2368*



178 **Jurij Tavčar  
Strelnska tarča /**

**Archery target**  
olja, papir na lesu /  
*oil and paper on wood*  
R 58 cm  
1862  
MGML, 14026



173 **Pečatnik mesta  
Ljubljane / Seal of the  
City of Ljubljana**

kovina / *metal*  
6 cm  
okoli 1450 / *around 1450*  
MGML, 25306



179 **Geme / Gems**

les, mavec, usnje / *wood,  
plaster, leather*  
35 x 90 x 4 cm  
konec 20. stoletja / *end  
of 20th century*  
MGML, 43192



174 **Ljubljanski grb z  
zmajem / Ljubljana  
crest with dragon**

les / *wood*  
53 x 53 cm  
druga polovica  
18. stoletja / *second half  
of 18th century*  
MGML, 28134



180 **Plan der Provinzial  
Hauptstadt Laibach**

papir / *paper*  
63 x 76 cm  
1853  
MGML, 36915



175 **Janez Vajkard  
Valvasor/Andrej  
Trost Veliki prospekt  
Ljubljane / Grand  
prospect of Ljubljana**

papir / *paper*  
30 x 93 cm  
1689  
MGML, 30367



181 **Atena / Athena**

keramika / *ceramic*  
18 x 6 x 6 cm  
4.-3. stoletje pr. n. š. /  
*4th - 3rd century BC*  
Pokrajinski muzej Celje /  
*Celje Regional Museum*



176 **C. Wagenführer  
Studie über einen  
Schiffahrts-Canal  
von der Donau zur  
Adria (Wien-Trst)**

papir / *paper*  
35 x 61 cm  
1900  
MGML, 25146



182 **Neznani avtor /**

**Unknown artist  
Cesar Franc I. /**

**Emperor Franz I.**  
olja, platno / *oil on  
canvas*  
94 x 79 cm  
prva četrtina 19. stoletja  
*/ first quarter of 19th  
century*  
MGML, 17408



177 **Italo Mancini  
Prospetto frontale**

papir / *paper*  
80 x 109 cm  
1943  
ZAL, Reg I 2396, II A/6



183 **Odlikovanje zlato  
runo / Golden Fleece  
decoration**

kovina, emajl, dragi  
kamni / *metal, enamel,  
precious stones*  
13 x 16 cm  
1860  
zasebna last / *Privately  
owned*



# EMONA: MIT IN RESNIČNOST

## EMONA: MYTH AND REALITY

### Razstava / Exhibition

Muzej in galerije mesta Ljubljane, Mestni muzej Ljubljana/  
*Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana, City Museum of Ljubljana*

Zanj/Represented by: **Blaž Peršin**

Avtorica razstave/Author of the exhibition: **Bernarda Županek**

Soavtorica razstave/Co-author of the exhibition: **Irena Žmuc**

Koordinatorica razstave/Coordinator of the exhibition:  
**Irena Veselko**

Sodelavci razstave: **Janez Polajnar, Andreja Knapič, Irena Sivec, Božena Dirjec, Metka Simončič**

Zunanji sodelavci/External exhibition workers: **Arhej d.o.o., Jožica Hrustel, Zavod za varstvo dediščine OE Ljubljana, Center za preventivno arheologijo**

Avtorica oblikovanja razstave in koncepta razstavne grafike/  
*Author of exhibition design and exhibition graphics design concept:* **Sanja Jurca Avci**

Oblikovanje celostne grafične podobe razstave in razstavne grafike/  
*Exhibition identity graphic design and exhibition graphics design:* **Dolores Gerbec**

Sodelavka pri oblikovanju razstave in konceptu razstavne grafike/  
*Collaborator of exhibition design and exhibition graphics design concept:* **Nika Grabar**

Jezikovni pregled/*Language editing (Slovenian):* **Katja Paladin**

Prevod v angleščino/*English translation:* **Amidas d.o.o.**

Jezikovni pregled angleškega besedila/*Language editing (English):* **Murray Bales**

Konservatorsko-restavratska priprava gradiva/*Conservation and restoration of the exhibit:* **Konservatorska služba MGML, Matjaž Bizjak** (Arhej d.o.o.)

Dokumentacija/*Documentation:* **Dokumentacijska služba MGML**

Fotografiranje/*Photographs by:* **Matevž Paternoster, Tomaž Lauko** (fototeka Narodnega muzeja Slovenije), **David Badovinac** (Arhej d.o.o.), **Zdravko Primožič** (dokumentacija Dela), **Miha Mlinar** (fototeka Tolminskega muzeja), **Janez Rupnik** (Magelan d.o.o.), **Stanislav Južnič, Srečo Habič, arhiv AML, arhiv ZTL**

Rekonstrukcije/*Reconstructions:* **Katarina Toman, Veljko Toman, Benjamin Štular, Petra Vojakovič, Mate Božinovič, Zoran Arizanovič, Virtualni muzej na ljubljanskem gradu** (Renderspace d.o.o.)

Risba/*Drawing:* **Dragica Knific Lunder**

Tehnična postavitev/*Contractor:* **RPS d.o.o.**

Promocija/*Promotion:* **Urša Karer**

Trženje/*Marketing:* **Tamara Bregar**

Andragoški programi/*Teaching programmes for adults:*  
**Janja Rebolj**

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Avtorji besedil/*Texts by:* **Bernarda Županek, Irena Žmuc, Janez Polajnar**

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