



# RELIGIONS AND CULTS IN PANNONIA



## RELIGIONS AND CULTS IN PANNONIA

**A SZENT ISTVÁN KIRÁLY MÚZEUM KÖZLEMÉNYEI**  
**BULLETIN DU MUSÉE ROI SAINT-ÉTIENNE**

A. sorozat 33. szám / Série A. No. 33.

Series editor: Fülöp Gyula

Editor: Fitz Jenő

HU ISSN 1216 7967  
HU ISBN 963 7390 83 9

Published by the  
FEJÉR MEGYEI MÚZEUMOK IGAZGATÓSÁGA  
H-8002 Székesfehérvár, Fő u. 6.



# RELIGIONS AND CULTS IN PANNONIA

Exhibition at Székesfehérvár, Csók István Gallery  
15 May – 30 September 1996

SZÉKESFEHÉRVÁR  
1998

**This publication is sponsored by the**  
National Cultural Fund  
and the City Council Székesfehérvár

Ancient Rome was, previous to the victory of Christianity, characterized by a diversity of religious beliefs. In the course of their conquests the Romans not only left the conquered in the possession of their gods but they even adopted these themselves or identified them with the deities of their own. In consequence of different religious and spiritual trends blending, interconnections and changes of religions can be followed through centuries.

The ancients sought the help of the gods in their own interests. The general form of a connection was taking a vow, when it was fulfilled, the proof of their gratitude was shown by sacrifices, gifts, or by erecting an altar, building a sanctuary or temple. In the sanctuaries the statue of the god and the offerings took place.

The religious life of Pannonia was coloured by a population of different origin and culture. Besides of the celtic pannonian autochthonic population, Italian settlers, soldiers of the great army transferred, slaves playing a role in the economic life took along their native cults and established them.





# RELIGIONS AND CULTS IN SOUTH PANNONIAN REGIONS

A. Rendić-Miočević – M. Šegvić

For many reasons it is not easy to talk about the problem of cults and religions in the Croatian part of what used to be the Roman Pannonia. One of the most important reason is the fact that Croatian borders do not coincide with the borders of this Roman province. An even greater problem is the recent shifting of borders. Many of monuments from the eastern regions of south Pannonia, which today are no longer part of Croatia, are kept in various museum collections in Croatia, primarily in the Zagreb Archaeological Museum. Some are represented in our choice of monuments for the exhibition and our synthesis would be incomplete had we left them out. Therefore, this introduction, and the choice of monuments at the exhibition, are a compromise between what we could present for this occasion and what perhaps should be presented at an exhibition which aims at an integral representation of ancient Pannonia and works relevant to the topic: Religions and Cults in Pannonia. On the whole, monuments from the Croatian part of Upper Pannonia are analyzed in more detail than those from Lower Pannonia which is also true for finds from *Sirmium*, the most important center in that part of the Province, without which it is impossible to discuss life in ancient Pannonia. Due to various reasons it was impossible to present some important and interesting monuments kept in museums throughout Croatia, among others the inscription dedicated to the *Aquae Iasae* nymphs, the votiv relief of Nemesis with a votiv inscription from the vicinity of Zagreb, the altar dedicated to the river-god *Savus* and others, and a large number of figural monuments: the famous bronze bust of Attis (Mithras?) from Sisak, the bronze Minerva statue from Grbavac, the two Hercules statues from Sisak and Čakovec, the Fortuna statue from Vinkovci, the Apollo and Pan statues from Osijek, as well as some stone altars like the one dedicated to the local god Silvanus from Daruvar. We will, however mention them later on.

The romanization of Pannonia and its southern regions came somewhat later than in other parts of the Empire. It was not until the rule of Flavii that these regions saw intense urbanization.<sup>1</sup> Most of the cult monuments of the time were erected by Roman government officials, who headed the administrative structures and were responsible for order. Most of them were consular beneficiaries (*beneficiarii consulares*) and military officials. Dedications were often made in public. Of the votive monuments most note-worthy are those which were dedicated to gods worshiped in official Roman cults: written monuments and figural representations of protagonists of these cults were placed *sub divo*, in temples and smaller sanctuaries as well as in private homes, in necropolies and elsewhere. They were all erected adhering to all that symbolized the state authorities. The largest number of inscriptions were dedicated to the leading Roman god Jupiter and carried the formula "the best and the greatest" (*Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, IOM*). He was worshipped alone or together with other deities and appears in monumental stone sculptures and bronze reliefs. The god is depicted either seated on a throne or standing with characteristic attributes. Iuppiter also appears on various utensils and his name is mentioned on about forty altars throughout the whole southern Pannonia. More than eighty altars were discovered in the end of the 1980's, all at one place at *Sirmium*<sup>2</sup>, and obviously in one of the official sanctuaries, so important characteristic of this eminent centre in Lower Pannonia. Also registered are twelve figural representations of Iuppiter in bronze and stone. It is obvious that Iuppiter's monuments were distributed throughout the whole south Pannonian region. He is often found in temples where other gods were also worshipped, primarily those of the Capitoline Triad. This is mentioned on the interesting altar dedicated to Iuppiter, Iuno and Minerva from Osijek (*Mursa*) (*Fig. 1*).<sup>3</sup> In the famous spa in Upper Pannonia, *Aquae Iasae*, excavations revealed a temple dedicated to Iuppiter along with those dedicated to the other Triad gods (this being the only excavated and preserved town forum in the Croatian part of Pannonia).<sup>4</sup> It is interesting that along with the usual dedicatory specifications one also finds appellations characterizing him as *Fulgurator*, *Depulsor*, *Conservator*, *Nundinarius*, *Culminalis*, etc. Of the other Triad gods Iuppiter's wife Iuno doesn't appear very frequently; only four inscriptions carrying her name have been registered. She is mentioned as *Regina* or *Augusta*. The third member of the Triad, Minerva, appears more often. Eight of her monuments were registered and she appears more frequently in the form of sculpture in the round than is mentioned on inscriptions. The most significant example of figural plastic art in the Croatian part of southern Pannonian region is the monumental marble statue of Minerva with a pedestal and dedicatory inscription, which was discovered in a temple dedicated to her in the above mentioned temple in Varaždinske Toplice (*Aquae Iasae*) (*Fig. 2*). Among the most beautiful examples of bronze figural plastic art is the

<sup>1</sup> Mócsy 1959, 107-115, 136; Mócsy 1962, 597, 604-610; Mócsy 1974, 112 sqq. Concerning the Croatian part cfr. Pinterović 1978, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Data about eighty founded *arae* dedicated to Iuppiter published in newspaper article in "Vjesnik" from 22. V. 1988. p. 10. also cfr. Jeremić et al. 1992.

<sup>3</sup> Pinterović 1978, 129, T. XVII. 1. The inscription reads: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Iunoni | Minervae sacr(um) C(aius) Iul(ius) | ...nus? | aug(ustalis) [col(oniae)] | Mur(sae) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

<sup>4</sup> Vikić-Gorenc 1967, 102 sqq; Gorenc-Vikić 1968, 119 sqq, T. XLII; Gorenc 1970, 138 sqq, T. XLIII: 1,2; Gorenc-Vikić 1979, 32 sqq; Gorenc-Vikić 1980, 10-18.

statuette of Minerva with an ornamented pedestal from Grbavac near Grubišno Polje. The goddess is depicted in a long robe with characteristic military equipment. The statuette dates from the 1st century and is stored in the Zagreb Archaeological Museum (Fig. 7).

Other high ranking official gods also to appear are Venus, but just as a sculpture in the round. Twelve such sculptures have been found. Mercurius, also just in the form of a sculpture in the round and more often in bronze than in stone – a total of eleven representations. At least five altars are dedicated to Fortuna, but on the basis of insights into museum collections, such as the one in Varaždinske Toplice, we deduce that there are many more. The bronze statuette of Fortuna from Vinkovci, dating from the second half of 1st century and stored in the Zagreb Archaeological Museum, is one of the best examples of bronze plastic art in southern Pannonia. It shows Fortuna dressed in a robe with a cornucopia which has been preserved only partially (Fig. 8). Apart from this bronze statuette, two more have recently been found at Ščitarjevo (*Andautonia*) near Zagreb. Neptunus' name is mentioned in two inscriptions and a stone statue depicting him was found at Vinkovci. Victoria appears once in an inscription and six times in figural plastic art, in bronze and in stone respectively. Six bronze statuettes and appliques confirm the existence of the Apollo cult. Furthermore, five monuments are dedicated to Mars, some of them carrying inscriptions. One of them carries the inscription *Mars Marmogius*.<sup>5</sup> Some monuments are in relief form, others are in bronze full sculpture. It seems that only one inscription dedicated to Diana has been found on the altar from Varaždinske Toplice where she appears in the company of nymphs. Diana appears three times in figural form, often in various syncretistic interpretations.

Of other members of the Roman pantheon, one also comes across figural representations of Amor – sixteen examples, Satyr – four figural representations, Silenus – three figural representations, Menada – four figural representations, the Dioscuri – two representations, Rome – one bronze statuette, Priapus – two figural representations, as well as one representation of Lar, Atlas, Centaur, *Autumnus*, *Vertumnus*, Pan (Fig. 9), Ganymede, Perseus and *Hilaritas*. Heads of the Medusa also appear – four independent bronze representations, the Seasons – one relief, one of the Muses, Erato – one sculpture, the mythical flyer Icarus – three sculptures, and Asclepius and Hygieia – one relief with an inscription. Very popular in Pannonia was Hercules who was worshipped in southern parts of Pannonia since early times and served to promote the emperor's cult in the circles of high-ranking magistrates and the army.<sup>6</sup> His prestigious role is confirmed in the numerous affirmations of his cult – six inscriptions and thirteen figural representations of which two are reliefs and eleven are stone and bronze sculptures in the round. The best and most representative amongst them is the well-known bronze statue of naked Hercules on a rectangular pedestal, decorated with floral ornamentation. Hercules is shown holding the Hesperides' apples and a club of which only a small piece has been preserved. The statuette dates from the 1st century A.D., and originates from Sisak. It is now in the Zagreb Archaeological Museum. Also of good quality is another Hercules bronze statuette found at Muršćak near Goričan, not far from Čakovec, and dates from the second half of 2nd century AD, now in the Museum of Međimurje in Čakovec. Hercules is shown with an animal skin thrown over his shoulder and holding Hesperides' apples in his left hand (Fig. 10-11).<sup>7</sup>

Together with these gods and demigods, many local numina were worshipped. One of them was Genius (*Genius loci*), who appears only twice in a figural representation, but is more frequently mentioned on inscriptions, sometimes with Iuppiter or other gods. The name Genius probably stands for the old indigenous gods, such as various *silvanae* and *nymphae*. On the basis of their names one can discern that the *silvanae* were patrons of woodland areas and nature in general.<sup>8</sup> In this way they were also connected to thermal springs, which are usually found in picturesque landscapes. The *nymphae*, on the other hand, appear with various appellations, depending on the multifarious aspects of their cult. They are at times defined as: *Salutares*, *Augustae*, *Iasae* (Fig. 3). They were especially important figures for both Iasaeian thermal spas, *Aquae Iasae*, and *Aquae Balissae*. The most representative nymph monument is the famous *Nymphaeum* discovered long ago at Varaždinske Toplice.<sup>9</sup> As noted on the inscription, it was erected in honour of the *Nymphae Augustae* by the municipality of Ptuj (*res publica Poetoviensium*) in 2nd century A.D. The *Nymphaeum* was elaborately decorated with various mythological scenes: Amphitrite on a sea griffon, Europa riding a bull, Eros on a hippocampus, etc. As already mentioned, the inscription on one of the Iasaeian altars mentions Diana as well as the nymphs. It is therefore fairly obvious that in such a combination the nymphs are directly connected to the Silvanus' Illyrico-Pannonian cult family.<sup>10</sup> The second inscription is dedicated specifically to the Iasaeian nymphs as specific

<sup>5</sup> CIL III 10844; Brunsnid 1904-19911, 134-135, n. 236; AIJ 542. The inscription reads: *Marti Mar | mogio Aug(usto) sig | num cum stib[adio] | Iun(ius) Philocra[tes] | cum Iul(io) Cripsi [no] | coma [g(istro) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)]*.

<sup>6</sup> Brunsnid 1899-1900, 31; Pinterović 1978, 132-133; J. Fitz assumed that a great number of Hercules' monuments in Mursa resulted from the renovation of his sanctuary during the supposed stay of Septimius Severus in the town in 202. Fitz 1959, 248, note 91.

<sup>7</sup> Tomićić 1982.

<sup>8</sup> Dorcey 1992, 74: the author believes that the occasional presence of the female *numina* presented with Silvanus is the only iconographic difference between Pannonian and Italian Silvanus.

<sup>9</sup> Gorenc 1971, 15 sqq; Gorenc-Vikić 1973, 13-16; Gorenc 1981, 197 sqq, fig. 1-4.

<sup>10</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1980, 109-110.

indigenous patrons of local springs. The inscription reads: *Nymphis | Iasis | Fl(avio) | Herm | adion(i) c(ivi) R(omano) |<sup>5</sup> v(iro) eg(regio) Illyet | Ulp(ius) Iste ei(us) | cum Avito | et Surla C(ai) | ffilio ? -iliis ?) phialam |<sup>10</sup> arg(enteam) p(ecunia) n(ostra ?) d(ono) d(edit ? -ederunt?)*.<sup>11</sup>

Silvanus was the most popular indigenous deity in south Pannonia and in other southern Illyrian regions.<sup>12</sup> Alongside Iuppiter, the majority of epigraphic and figural monuments were dedicated to this deity. In Pannonia and the region belonging to Croatia, as far as stone reliefs and sculptures are concerned, Silvanus was depicted as the Italic deity of forests, fields and flocks, often wearing short clothes, holding a *falx* (a concealed knife), and a pine branch and sometimes with a dog at his side – one of his usual companions. On the other hand, the same deity in southern Illyrian regions was worshipped in the form of the Greek Pan, half man, half goat, depicted with goat's hooves and with horns on his head, holding a shepherd's staff (*pedum*) and a flute (*syrinx*). A highly interesting yet damaged altar from Osijek (*Mursa*) dedicated to *Silvanus Augustus* probably showed the deity in this iconographic scheme. This is also stressed by the goat hooves and the dog paw next to them (Fig. 4). According to registered finds it seems that the only important shrine to the Silvanus' cult was in the Aquae Balissae municipality, i.e., Daruvar, where at least four Silvanus' monuments were found in one place. Three of them bear inscriptions, two are dedicated to Silvanus Domesticus, and there is also a relief of the Pannonian "household" Silvanus in the company of two female companions, probably *silvanae* (Fig. 5). Traces and remains of architecture in the vicinity confirm that there was a shrine at this place. The site where the monuments were found lies near thermal springs. Also nearby is a forum as well as town thermae. Altars for this indigenous deity and patron of hearths were not erected only in temples, but also in courtyards. It held a prominent position in household *lararia*. Most of his temples were, however, in the open air, sub *divo*, near springs and in shady groves. The Silvanus temple in Topusko<sup>13</sup>, another Pannonian thermal centre, was of a similar character. Of the eleven or twelve altars dedicated to Silvanus, eight were found together, – indicating precisely the site of the Silvanus' shrine. It is interesting to note that only one inscription is dedicated to *Silvanus Domesticus*, whilst the others are dedicated to *Silvanus Silvester* or *Silvanus Augustus*. It therefore seems that in this picturesque landscape Silvanus dominated as the specific patron of forests, groves, meadows and shepherds, that is, of nature in general. On the basis of available evidence, there are twenty-four extant monuments dedicated to this deity in the southern regions of Pannonia, only two of which are figural. Three monuments dedicated to Vidasus and Thana have also been discovered at Topusko. These names most probably conceal deities of indigenous origin, probably Diana and Silvanus, who were often worshipped in the regions of the Illyrian *Delmatae*.<sup>14</sup> As the group of monuments was found at the same location and near Silvanus' shrine, it obviously confirms the existence of a shrine dedicated to this autochthonous couple, as was the case of Silvanus'. Of the deities to whom numerous monuments were raised in Pannonia, *Liber (Bacchus)* and his female counterpart, *Libera*, are the two worth mentioning. Numerous monuments were dedicated to Liber. Of the thirteen in existence, six are epigraphic and just as many are figural, either in the form of reliefs or full sculptures in the round. Libera appears on one relief only, but both deities are found together on five monuments, three reliefs and two inscriptions. It should be stressed that monuments dedicated to these deities are more frequent in the eastern part of South Pannonia.

It is interesting to note that in the Pannonian cults river deities were of great prominence, especially those representing the larger rivers navigable during Roman times.<sup>15</sup> Their harbours served both for communication purposes and as borders and outposts throughout the Province. It is, therefore, no wonder that the inscription from Osijek (*Mursa*) is dedicated to Danuvius and Dravus, river-gods of the Danube and the Drava, respectively. There is also a simple rustical ara from the Andautonia municipality, near Zagreb, dedicated to Savus, the personification of the river Sava. The inscription reads: *Savo Aug(usto) | sac(rum) | [M(arcus)] Iuen[t]i[u]s | [Pr]i-m[ig]eni[u]s | [e] t [s] o [c] i (i) v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*. The name of the river-god is undoubtedly of pre-Roman origin. This is also confirmed by the onomastic repertoire of indigenous Pannonian inhabitants.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Vikić-Gorenc 1966, 12, fig. 20; ILJug 1170; Čabrian et al. 1973, 13, fig. 14; Gorenc-Vikić 1975, 47, fig. 14; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 70, č.

<sup>12</sup> Dorsey 1992, 1, 71-72; The author believes that Silvanus is par excellence Roman god in whose cult there are few domestic elements present. The quite different opinion cfr. Rendić-Miočević 1955, *passim*.

<sup>13</sup> Ljubić 1892, 65-68. Unfortunately we do not know its Roman name.

<sup>14</sup> Mayer 1951; Mócsy 1974, 251; Dorsey 1992, 72: the author does not approve of the quotation founded in the Roman interpretation according to which Vidasus and Thana were Silvanus and Diana. According to his opinion, there are neither archaeological nor epigraphic or linguistic proofs that would speak in behalf of the thesis which says that Vidasus was a forest divinity like Silvanus. He claims that Vidasus can only be a local god, or a deity of less importance. We do not agree with the author's opinion. The fact is, however, that in Topusko three altars were found at one place with the engraved names, and that in the whole area of southern Pannonia this divine couple was extremely popular and equally worshipped as Silvanus and Diana.

<sup>15</sup> According to Mócsy they were worshipped by traders and officials. Those river gods were nothing more than the *Genii loci*, cfr. Mócsy 1974, 182.

<sup>16</sup> It is mentioned as an onomasticon in the inscription in the parish church at Hrašćina (Zlatar): *M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Gemin[us] | Savi ffilius) an [ (norum ... et) ] Volus [ia...]*, *AIJ* 456.

There are proofs for the worship of various deities of oriental origin, notably during the 3rd century, due to "soldier" emperors and members of their families. Oriental deities were often worshipped by soldiers and merchants coming from eastern regions and bringing with them oriental cults, furthering thereby their widespread worship. Proof of such cults have been primarily preserved in bronze figures found mostly in bordering regions (limes), that is in southeastern Pannonian regions (*Pannonia Inferior*), in large towns and military camps. Significant urban centres which bare witness to oriental cults are the colonies of *Siscia*, *Mursa* and *Cibalae*; the military points on the limes *Cornacum*, *Rittium*, *Burgenae*, *Taurunum* and others.

The most numerous monuments to deities of Egyptian origin which appear earlier than the 3rd century, are dedicated to Serapis and are primarily found on gravestone crowns, where he appears flanked by two lions. There is evidence of ten monuments celebrating his cult. Isis is represented with four monuments, three of which are inscriptions. Monuments to Harpocrates are rare; only three bronze statuettes have been preserved. Interesting to note is his depiction on a fresco found at *Sirmium*.<sup>17</sup> Only two bronze statuettes of Mercurius-Thot have been preserved and, still rarer are monuments depicting Iuppiter-Ammon, Anubis, Osiris and Nephtys.

The cult of the Iranian deity Mithras, invincible god of light, spread through Pannonia during the 2nd and 3rd centuries and was one of the most popular cults in the southern Pannonian regions.<sup>18</sup> There are eight inscriptions of Mithras, at least seven reliefs from various places – Sisak, Pregrada, Osijek, Surduk, as well as one relief of Cautes and Cautopates, his two companions. As a number of monuments dedicated to Mithras stem from Sisak, in addition to two cult representations, the above mentioned relief and a few inscriptions, one can conclude that his sanctuary, the Mithraeum, was also located in this Upper Pannonian centre.

Also widespread was the cult of the popular couple of Phrygian deities: the cult of Cybele (*Magna Mater*) which spread due to the romanization of this region rather than through a direct influence from the East<sup>19</sup> and the Attis cult, which prevailed in Rome, and which was one of the oldest oriental cults there.<sup>20</sup> A stone sculpture found in Mursa is dedicated to Cybele, six figural reliefs four of which are bronze are dedicated to Attis. They all come from Sisak probably indicating that a temple existed in this town. It is important to note that the worshippers of these two protagonists of mother-goddess cult were well organized which is confirmed by the inscription mentioning the association of dendrophorae dating from the 2nd century A.D. Of the bronze representations should be stressed the well-known head of Attis<sup>21</sup> wearing a characteristic Phrygian cap decorated with stylized flowers with silver and copper inlays (*Fig. 12*).<sup>22</sup> In addition to these two deities also worshipped was the goddess *Terra Mater* which many identify with Cybele due to the similarity in the fertility cult. Her cult is confirmed by an altar with an inscription found at Osijek. Sol also belongs to this circle of deities. He appears once individually in an inscription, and twice as a bronze statue. However, he appears more often on complex cult compositions. Nemesis appears three times-twice in inscriptions and once on a relief slab on which she is shown with attributes pertaining her as a patron of gladiators. The relief comes from the Andautonia area near Zagreb.<sup>23</sup> The inscription on the relief reads: *[D(eae)] Nem(esi) reg(inae) Aug(ustae) sac(rum) | [..?] Iul(ius) Victorinus ve(teranus?) | [dec(urio) ?] mun(icipii) And(autoniensium) cum suis | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* (*Fig. 6*). The Thraco-Phrygian deity Sabasius was worshipped in Lower Pannonia, too. Preserved are two bronze hands, as well as a ceramic cult vessel. The only relief of the so-called Thracian Rider-god was found at Sisak. It depicts the god as a hero, with the characteristics of a horseman. There are also numerous interesting lead tablets of various sizes and shapes showing the Danubian Rider-god with many elements of cult syncretism. Features referring to Cybele and to the Rider-god cult, in this case the Pannonian Rider-god are prevailing. Most of these tablets stem from the southeastern Pannonian regions around *Sirmium*. Mentioned in one inscription are *Dii Maiores*; three are dedicated to *Dis deabusque*. One inscription from Osijek mentions the god *Deus Aeternus* which some people connect to the Mithras cult, while others connect the "eternal" god to Yahweh.<sup>24</sup> Also confirmed is the worship of Iuppiter Dolichenus whose cult was primarily promoted by Roman legions along the limes. He was especially worshipped by the Severi. This god of war and victory, who originated from Commagene in Syria, appears on seven inscriptions, three of which are from Daruvar (*Aquae Balissae*) and were found near the forum which might indicate a sanctuary dedicated to him in this municipality. Two stone bases with inscriptions from Surduk are dedicated to Iuppiter Dolichenus and to the "paternal" god of Commagene – *deus paternus Comagenus*. An altar from Sisak is dedicated to Iuppiter Heliopolitanus. And finally, on an inscription found at Osijek there is evidence of the existence of a Jewish cult which mentions *proseucha* in *Mursa*.

<sup>17</sup> Selem 1980, 275, T. XLIII.

<sup>18</sup> Mócsy 1962, 736-738; Bulat 1960, where the relevant literature is mentioned; Pinterovia 1978, 138-139; Selem 1980, 76-194.

<sup>19</sup> Selem 1980, 195 sqq.

<sup>20</sup> Id., *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Earlier known as Mithras' head, but according to the opinion of many authors it seems to be the head of Attis, cfr. Selem 1980, 90.

<sup>22</sup> Tesori nazionali 1991, 138, n. 132, where the relevant literature is mentioned.

<sup>23</sup> On the opposite side of the marble slab there is a honorary inscription mentioning *Lucius Funisulanus Vettonianus, legatus pro praetore* of the provinces Dalmatia, Pannonia and Upper Moesia, cfr. Ljubić 1883, 9; Zagreb 1994, 117-119, n. 200.

<sup>24</sup> Pinterović 1978, 143; Migotti 1994, 43, n. 13.



There is also enough material to fill a chapter on early Christian monuments in this region. It will however, be discussed in the article dealing with Christianity in Pannonia. This survey of cults and religions in the southern parts of Pannonia could be supplemented with evidence of worship of Roman, indigenous or Oriental deities, which have been preserved on utensils and jewelry. The picture would thus be more complete and express more clearly the situation in this region. We believe, however, that the material presented here is sufficient to offer a solid foundation for a conclusion which will supplement the picture of cults and religions throughout the whole Pannonian region. One cannot speak of the dispersion and significance of individual cults only on the basis of the number of monuments dedicated to a specific deity. Such data are, however, indicative and cannot be ignored. It shows, for instance, that Iuppiter was the most worshipped deity in southern Pannonian regions, especially with his usual formula – *Optimus, Maximus* – but he is also defined more closely by other attributes. Together with his Oriental namesakes, *Dolichenus, Heliopolitanus*, Iuppiter-Ammon and at times alongside indigenous deities, for instance *Comagenus*, the position Iuppiter held in this region becomes even more significant. Apart from the sanctuary in *Sirmium*, fifteen other proofs of his cult from Osijek (*Mursa*) attest to the existence of his sanctuary. The same could be presumed for Sisak (*Siscia*), Daruvar (*Aquae Balissae*) and perhaps for some other centres. Silvanus should also be mentioned as one of the major deities. As stated by Mócsy<sup>25</sup>, he appears in Pannonia as an indigenous, Pannonian deity and should not be identified as the “Illyrian” or “Dalmatian” Silvanus. It seems that the statements of the same author, claiming this cult to be concentrated primarily around the northern Pannonian regions, does not hold good, as there are numerous monuments and sanctuaries in the southern regions as well. We can say with certainty that his sanctuaries existed in Daruvar, Osijek and Sisak, as well as in Topusko, where altars dedicated to *Vidasus* and *Thana* prove the existence of a sanctuary dedicated to these two indigenous deities identified with Silvanus and Diana by *interpretatio Romana*. No traces of architecture were, however, found at Topusko, which would bear witness to a sturdily built sanctuary or a complex similar to the one in Daruvar. Nevertheless, a large number of altars dedicated to Silvanus and to the indigenous god *Vidasus* stress the importance of such “natural” deities and of the existence of their sanctuaries *sub divo*, in a natural environment where these deities were worshipped as they were in earlier times.

On the basis of the number of monuments, a temple dedicated to Hercules in Osijek could be assumed, as well as a Cybele sanctuary, *Metroon*, and perhaps a smaller Apollo sanctuary. There might have been a sanctuary dedicated to Liber and Libera in Zemun (*Taurunum*). Sisak was the centre of many sanctuaries; in addition to those of Iuppiter and Silvanus, already mentioned, one can deduce the existence of Hercules’ sanctuary as well as of sanctuaries dedicated to the Oriental deities: Isis, Mithras and Attis. Due to the urban complexity of present Sisak, which lies on the foundations of former *Siscia*, it is not, however, possible to investigate in detail, let alone reconstruct individual sanctuaries as was the case in *Aquae Iasae* (Varaždinske Toplice). It was there that the remains of the Capitoline Triad temples were found and reconstructed. They were located along the northern side of the municipal forum. They were small, yet rich in architectural ornamentation. It is possibly, on the basis of the colossal statue of Minerva with pedestal and Iuno’s inscription to conclude that, this complex was a representative cult center for this territory. At the same time it is the only reconstructed cult complex with a forum and its cult buildings in the Croatian part of Pannonia. The sanctuary dedicated to the nymphs – *Nymphaeum*, should also be stressed, as well as their numerous altars found in this Iasaeon centre famous for its therapeutic springs as early as the Roman times. In the other Iasaeon thermal centre, *Aquae Balissae* (Daruvar), the cult of these numina are basically an expression of natural conditions which enabled the development of these Pannonian municipal centres. This can also be said of the third thermal centre in this region – the one in present Topusko. In conclusion: besides the usual repertoire of deities to whom temples were dedicated and erected in all important centres, and on the basis of indicators which we have attempted to show here, it can be concluded that alongside the dominant cult of Iuppiter, the worship of deities and numina connected to natural features of the Pannonian landscape – Silvanus and members of his cult family, Diana, nymphs, silvanae and others, was also widespread.

---

<sup>25</sup> Mócsy 1974, 250-251.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

A I J

Antička bronza 1969

Antički teatar 1979

BRUNŠMID 1895

BRUNŠMID 1899-1900a

BRUNŠMID 1899-1900b

BRUNŠMID 1902

BRUNŠMID 1904-1911

BRUNŠMID 1914

BULAT 1960

CUMONT 1869-1899

ČABRIAN et al. 1973

DAUTOVA – RUŠEVLJAN 1983

DORCEY 1992

FITZ 1959

GORENC et al. 1952

GORENC 1969

GORENC 1970

GORENC 1971

GORENC 1975

GORENC 1981

GORENC 1983-1984

GORENC–VIKIĆ 1968

GORENC–VIKIĆ 1973

GORENC–VIKIĆ 1975

GORENC–VIKIĆ 1980

HAJDUK–LUETIĆ 1981

HAMPEL 1903

HOFFILLER 1902

HOFFILLER 1905

HOFFILLER 1935

ILS

ILJug

V. HOFFILLER – B. SARIA, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien, I., Noricum und Pannonia Superior*. Zagreb 1938.

*Antička bronza u Jugoslaviji – exhibition catalogue*. Beograd 1969.

*Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije – exhibition catalogue*. Novi Sad.

J. BRUNŠMID, *Arheološke bilješke iz Dalmacije i Panonije. Pannonia Inferior I*. VHAD, n.s. I, 148-183.

J. BRUNŠMID, *Arheološke bilješke iz Dalmacije i Panonije III*. VHAD, n.s. IV, 181-201.

J. BRUNŠMID, *Colonia Aelia Mursa*. VHAD, n.s. IV, 21-42.

J. BRUNŠMID, *Colonia Aurelia Cibalae, Vinkovci u staro doba*. VHAD, n.s. VI, 117-166.

J. BRUNŠMID, *Kameni spomenici Hrvatskog narodnoga muzeja u Zagrebu, dio I. Antikni spomenici*. Zagreb.

J. BRUNŠMID, *Antikni figuralni bronzani predmeti u Hrvatskom narodnom muzeju u Zagrebu*. VHAD, n.s. XIII, 207-268.

M. BULAT, *Spomenici Mitrinog kulta iz Osijeka*. OZ, VII, 5-11.

F. CUMONT, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*. Bruxelles.

J. ČABRIAN – M. GORENC – B. VIKIĆ, *Pregled povijesti Varaždinskih Toplica*. Zagreb, 2-32. (= drugo, ispravljeno i dopunjeno izdanje časopisa *Vijesti Muzealaca*, XV/5, (1966), 2-32.

V. DAUTOVA – RUŠEVLJAN, *Rimska kamena plastika u jugoslovenskom delu provincije Donje Panonije*. Novi Sad.

P. F. DORCEY, *The Cult of Silvanus: a Study in Roman folk religion*. Columbia Studies in the classical tradition, XX, Leiden, New York, Köln.

J. FITZ, *Der Besuch des Septimius Severus in Pannonien im Jahre 202. u. Z.*, AAHung., XI, 237-263.

M. GORENC – J. TADIJANOVIĆ – G. SZABO, *Antikna skulptura u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb.

M. GORENC, *Varaždinske Toplice-antičko nalazište Aquae Iasae*. AP, XI, 181-183.

M. GORENC, *Aquae Iasae, Varaždinske Toplice – istraživanja i konzervacija kapitolijska*. AP, XII, (1972), 138-140.

M. GORENC, *Antičko kiparstvo jugoistočne štajerske i rimska umjetnost Norika i Panonije*. VAMZ, 3. sr. V sr., 15-46.

M. GORENC, *Minerva iz Varaždinskih Toplica: njezinapreliminarna integracija*. VAMZ 3. ser., sv. IX (s.v. Izložbe), (1976), 171-172.

M. GORENC, *Nimfej iz Varaždinskih Toplica (Aqua Iasae) – Arhitektonsko skulptursko ostvarenje obrednog prikazanja*. Antički teatar, Saopštenja sa naučnog skupa. Novi Sad, 197-204.

M. GORENC, *Minerva iz Varaždinskih Toplica i njezin majstor*. VAMZ, 3. ser., XVI-XVII, 95-108.

M. GORENC – B. VIKIĆ, *Varaždinske Toplice (Aqua Iasae) arheološka istraživanja u 1968. godini*. AP, X, 119-121.

M. GORENC – B. VIKIĆ, *Aqua Iasae – Varaždinske Toplice u antičko doba*. extract from "KAJ", 4-5, 12-27.

M. GORENC – B. VIKIĆ, *Das fünfundzwanzigjährige Jubiläum der Untersuchungen der antiken Lokalität Aquae Iasae (Varaždinske Toplice)*. AI XVI, MCMLXXV, (1979) 32-50.

M. GORENC – B. VIKIĆ, *Varaždinske Toplice-Aqua Iasae u antičko doba*. Varaždinske Toplice.

S. HAJDUK – A. LUETIĆ, *Povijest naselja i razvoj balneološko-medicinske djelatnosti u Varaždinskim Toplicama*. Varaždinske Toplice.

J. HAMPEL, *Emlékek és leletek – Lovas istenségek dunavidéki antik emlékeken*. AÉrt, XXIII, 305-365.

V. HOFFILLER, *Thrački konjanik*. VHAD, n.s., VI, 192-209.

V. HOFFILLER, *Olovna pločica sa reljefom iz Divoša*. VHAD n.s. VIII, 204-207.

V. HOFFILLER, *Novi tračko-mitrički votivni reljefi*. VHAD, n.s., XVI, 61-66.

*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae I-III*, ed. H. Dessau, Berlin 1892-1916.

A. et J. ŠAŠEL, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia repertae et editae sunt*. Situla, V, 1963; XIX, 1978; XXV, 1986.

- ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 1966  
 JEREMIĆ et al. 1992  
 KADI 1983-1984  
 LJUBIĆ 1879  
 LJUBIĆ 1883  
 LJUBIĆ 1892  
 MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1994  
 MAYER 1951  
 MIGOTTI 1994  
 MÓCSY 1959  
 MÓCSY 1962  
 MÓCSY 1974  
 PINTEROVIĆ 1960  
 PINTEROVIĆ 1978  
 REINACH 1924  
 RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1955  
 RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1980  
 RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1992  
 SELEM 1972  
 SELEM 1976  
 SELEM 1980  
 SELEM 1981  
 TADIN 1979  
 TOMIČIĆ 1982  
*Tesori nazionali* 1991  
 VIKIĆ 1981  
 VIKIĆ – GORENC 1966  
 VIKIĆ – GORENC 1967  
 VIKIĆ – GORENC 1969  
 Zagreb 1994
- I. ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ, *Rimske votivne pločice od olova u Jugoslaviji (Prilog tipologiji i rasprostiranju)*. OA VI, 49-68.  
 M. JEREMIĆ – P. MILOŠEVIĆ – M. MIRKOVIĆ – V. POPOVIĆ, *Le sanctuaire des beneficiarii de Sirmium, présenté par N. Duval*, in: *Religio Deorum*, 145-149.  
 M. KADI, *Fotogrametrijska obrada tipa Minerve iz Varaždinskih Toplica*. VAMZ, 3. ser., vol. XVI-XVII, 109-110.  
 Š. LJUBIĆ, *Aquae Jasae (Toplice Varaždinske)*. VHAD I/2, 33-43.  
 Š. LJUBIĆ, *Andautonia (Šćitarjevo), i započetak izkapanja od strannar. zem. muzeja na onom tlu*. VHAD V/1, 13.  
 Š. LJUBIĆ, Topusko, VHAD XIV/3, 1892, 65-68.  
 N. MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ, *Granica na Dunavu u antičko doba – velika seoba naroda*. in: Vukovar, 8.  
 A. MAYER, *Die illyrischen Götter Vidasus und Thana*. Glotta, Bd. XXXI/3-4, 235-243.  
 B. MIGOTTI, *Arheološka građa iz ranokršćanskog razdoblja u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj*. in: *Od nepobjedivog Sunca do Sunca pravde*. Zagreb.  
 A. MÓCSY, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*. Budapest.  
 A. MÓCSY, *Pannonia*. RE Suppl. IX, col. 516-776.  
 A. MÓCSY, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia. A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*. London-Boston.  
 D. PINTEROVIĆ, *Mursa za dinastije Severa*. OZ, VII, 32-34.  
 D. PINTEROVIĆ, *Mursa i njeno područje u antičko doba*, Osijek.  
 S. REINACH, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*. Tome V, Vol. II, Paris.  
 D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, *Ilirske pretstave Silvana na kulturnim slikama sa područja Dalmata*. GZM n.s. X, 5-40.  
 D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, *Neki ikonografski i onomastički aspekti Silvanove "panonsko-iliričke" ultne zajednice*. VAMZ, XII-XIII, 105-123.  
 D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, *O akvejasejskoj epigrafskoj baštini i o posebnostima njenih kulturnih dedikacija*. VAMZ, XXIV-XXV, 67-76.  
 P. SELEM, *Egipatski bogovi u rimskom Iliriku*. Godišnjak, IX/7, 5-104.  
 P. SELEM, *Mithrin kult u Panoniji*. Radovi, VIII, 13-19.  
 P. SELEM, *Les religions orientales dans la Pannonie-romaine Partie en Yougoslavie. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l' Empire romain (EPRO)*, LXXXV. Leiden.  
 P. SELEM, *Aspekti teatralizacije u kultu Kybele i Attis., Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije*. Saopštenja sa naučnog skupa. Novi Sad, 187-195.  
 G. TADIN, *Sitna rimska bronzana plastika u jugoistočnom delu provincije Panonije*. Beograd.  
 Ž. TOMIČIĆ, *Brončana statueta Herkula iz okolice Goričana u Međimurju*. VAMZ, 3/XV, 15-28.  
*Tesori nazionali della Croazia – Capolavori dei musei di Zagabria – Arheoloski muzej*. Arezzo-Firenze 1991. The same: – *Izbor iz fundusa*, Torino – Zagreb – Rim, 1993 i *Arte e Cultura in Croazia – collezioni del museo Archeologico di Zagabria*, 1993.  
 B. VIKIĆ, *Etape urbanog razvitka Andautonije i antičko nasljeđe Zagreba*. Izdanja HAD-a 6, Zagreb.  
 B. VIKIĆ – M. GORENC, *Varaždinske Toplice. Aquae Iasae (Pregled povijesti Varaždinskih Toplica)*. Vijesti Muzealaca, XV/5, 7-15.  
 B. VIKIĆ – M. GORENC, *Varaždinske Toplice, Aquae Iasae – istarživanja u 1967 godin*. AP, IX, 102-105.  
 B. VIKIĆ – M. GORENC, *Prilog istraživanju antiknih naselja i putova u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb.  
 Zagreb prije Zagreba – *exhibition catalogue*. ed. A. Rendić-Miočević, Zagreb.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



*Fig. 7.*



*Fig. 8.*



*Fig. 9.*



*Fig. 10.*



*Fig. 11.*



*Fig. 12.*

## LIST OF PLATES

*Fig. 1.*

Altar dedicated to the Capitoline triad – Iuppiter, Iuno, Minerva – found in Osijek (*Mursa*), The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek

*Fig. 2.*

Reconstruction of Minerva statue in Varaždinske Toplice (*Aquae Iasae*).

*Fig. 3.*

Altar dedicated to the Iasaeon nymphs from Varaždinske Toplice (*Aquae Iasae*), The Local Museum, Varaždinske Toplice

*Fig. 4.*

Altar with inscription dedicated to Silvanus Augustus with remnants of Silvanus' hoofs and dog paws, found in Osijek (*Mursa*), The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek

*Fig. 5.*

Silvanus' altar depicting his cult family found in Daruvar (*Aquae Balissae*).

*Fig. 6.*

Marble slab with votive inscription to Nemesis from the Ščitarjevo (*Andautonia*) region near Zagreb, The Zagreb Archaeological Museum, Zagreb

*Fig. 7.*

Bronze statuette of Minerva found in Grbavac near Grubišno Polje, The Zagreb Archaeological Museum, Zagreb

*Fig. 8.*

Bronze statuette of Fortuna from Vinkovci (*Cibalae*), The Zagreb Archaeological Museum, Zagreb

*Fig. 9.*

Bronze bust of Pan found in Dalj (*Teutoburgium*), The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek

*Fig. 10.*

Bronze statuette of Hercules found in Sisak (*Siscia*), The Zagreb Archaeological Museum, Zagreb

*Fig. 11.*

Bronze statuette of Hercules found in Muršćak near Goričan, The Museum of Međimurje, Čakovec

*Fig. 12.*

Bronze head of Attis found in Sisak (*Siscia*), The Zagreb Archaeological Museum, Zagreb

# AUTOCHTHONOUS CULTS BETWEEN EMONA AND POETOVIO

M. Šašel Kos

The regions extending from the Karst hinterland of Aquileia and Tergeste to the hilly lowlands along the Dravus (Drava) River and the Pannonian Plain, beginning east of Poetovio (Ptuj), were extremely heterogeneous from various aspects, not only geographically. A traveller had to cross the partly mountainous and partly marshy *ager* of Nauportus (present-day Vrhnika, a Roman Republican period *vicus*) (HORVAT 1990), and Emona (modern Ljubljana), gloomily, but to some extent pertinently described by Tacitus' remark in the *Annales* (I.16 ff.)<sup>1</sup>, that soldiers upon their discharge complained about being granted land in rough mountains or in marshes, land impossible to cultivate. Next came the mountains and high hills, divided by deep river valleys, of the *ager* of Celeia (Celje); to reach Pannonian Poetovio it was necessary to pass through Norican Celeia. The regions just described belonged administratively to three different units: Emona with its territory was part of Italy proper, from the reign of Augustus onwards being the extreme northeastern part of the X Italic region (later called Venetia and Histria). At least since Caesar's proconsulate in both Gauls and Illyricum, the Emona basin had been included in Cisalpine Gaul, which was important strategically in order to strengthen the defence of the so-called Illyro-Italian Gate near Postojna, through which Italy was directly and easily accessible from the Balkan peninsula (ŠAŠEL 1976, 71-90 = ŠAŠEL 1992, 408-431; ŠAŠEL KOS 1995, 227-244; FITZ 1993-95, I, 11-12; ROSSI 1981, 71-87). The town of Emona was founded as a *colonia Iulia* (it undoubtedly was partly a veteran colony) as early as the end of Octavian's campaigns in Illyricum after 33 BC, or after Tiberius' Pannonian war, shortly after 9 BC – hardly later (ŠAŠEL KOS 1995, 227-244). Ptolemaeus described Emona's geographic-administrative position ambiguously (*Geogr.* II 14.5): according to him, the town would have been situated between Italy and Noricum, while Pliny the Elder is the only source that mentioned it as belonging to Pannonia (*N.h.* III, 147). His data, however, should not necessarily be explained in an administrative sense, but rather geographically, since it cannot be denied that Emona always had close connections with the neighbouring Pannonia, as well as with Noricum (ŠAŠEL 1968, 540-578 = ŠAŠEL 1992, 559-579; ŠAŠEL 1989b, 169-174 = ŠAŠEL 1992, 707-714). Formerly, as a Tauriscan settlement, it may have belonged to the sphere of influence of the Norican kingdom, although, as is indicated by coin finds, the *Taurisci* may have endeavoured to gain independence (KOS 1977).

To understand better the worship of autochthonous divinities in a given area it is necessary to know at least its basic geographic features and possibilities of communication, as well as its ethnic structure. The Pannonian town of Neviodunum, a Flavian *municipium Latobicorum* (present-day Drnovo near Krško) could have rather easily been reached through the road station of Acervo (in the vicinity of Stari trg near Višnja Gora) – most probably thus named after the huge funerary mounds erected by the Hallstatt period settlers of the famous hill-fort of Stična in its proximity – and Praetorium Latobicorum (Trebneje), the first important Pannonian road station and a station of the *beneficarii consularis*. However, to arrive at Poetovio, a legionary fortress of the *VIII Augusta* and *XIII Gemina*, and after the departure of the legion *colonia Ulpia Traiana*, it was necessary to pass through the province of Noricum by way of the pass at Atrans (Trojane) and the city of Celeia, a Claudian *municipium*. It is thus evident that the main feature of the regions in question was their frontier, as well as transit, character. In terms of broad geographic context, the area was crossed by two major routes: the ancient Amber Road, leading from the Baltic regions through Carnuntum, Savaria, Poetovio, Celeia, Emona and Nauportus to Aquileia; and the route of the Argonauts which connected the Black Sea regions with Italy along the Danube, Sava, and Ljubljanica Rivers, passing by Sirmium, Siscia, Neviodunum, Emona, and Nauportus.

Ethnically, too, the area was far from uniform. The Nauportus and Emona basin were settled by the *Taurisci* (Strabo, VII. 5.2 C 314), Celeia had always been part of the Norican kingdom, and was almost certainly inhabited by the *Taurisci*, while the Neviodunum area was settled by the *Latobici*, and the Poetovio territory perhaps by the *Serretes* and *Sirapilli*, mentioned by Pliny as being settled along the river Dravus (Drava), but not located more precisely (*N.h.* III 147). The La Tène period Mokronog culture is characteristic for all the mentioned regions (BOŽIČ 1987, 855-897), thus it may be assumed that the *Taurisci* might have possibly been a collective term for the populations that inhabited the southern Norican regions, of which the *Latobici*, and perhaps the *Serretes* and *Sirapilli* are known by their individual names. The name of the pre-Celtic inhabitants is not attested in the Greek and Latin literary sources, although later authors, notably Cassius Dio, Appian, and others do indeed use the general name of Illyrians for them. This was due solely to the administrative usage, since Illyricum was the official name of the later provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia until the reign of Vespasian (ŠAŠEL 1989a, 57-73 = 1992, 690-706; TÓTH 1980, 80-88; also FITZ 1993-95, I, 126). Illyrian customs posts (*portorium publici Illyrici*), too, extended from Raetia to the Black Sea coast (DE LAET 1949). Such a

<sup>1</sup> This remark almost certainly refers to the Emona *ager*, see J. ŠAŠEL 1959, 118.



broad use of the Illyrian name has no significance for the ethnic attribution of the pre-Celtic populations of the southeastern Alpine areas. Considering the autochthonous personal names of the Emona basin, especially of the important Roman period village at Ig, these populations must have been strongly influenced by the *Veneti*; Katičić, however, defined a special onomastic group of Ig within the broader northern Adriatic onomastic group (KATIČIĆ, 1968, 61-120; LOCHNER-HÜTTENBACH 1965, 15-45).

Names of the pre-Roman divinities worshipped in the southeastern Alpine regions (CHIRASSI COLOMBO 1976, 173-206; SCHERRER 1984, unpublished) represent evidence no less important than personal and geographic names in terms of better defining the Romanized epichoric populations. Altars and other dedications to locally important deities have been found in towns and villages, as well as at remote cult sites. Often merely the name of a divinity has been preserved on the inscriptions, with no epithets or reliefs that would better define it. Thus it is often difficult to distinguish the true nature and extent of their influence. Each region, particularly if it was enclosed by natural borders such as hills and mountains, major rivers, deep valleys or swamps, was a world unto itself, it was settled by people who spoke their own language or dialect, had their own customs, and worshipped their own gods. Sometimes an epichoric deity could have been more universally venerated, known in several districts and regions within an ethnically uniform area, or worshipped in an even broader context. It also cannot be excluded that a seemingly Roman divinity may have concealed an autochthonous deity, thus notably Silvanus and the Nymphs (RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1989, *passim*).

Aecorna (known on a Republican building inscription from Nauportus in the earlier form of her name, Aequorna) was an important local goddess whose worship in the Emona basin is documented on five inscriptions; she is additionally attested on a dedication found in Savaria (Szombathely), and erected by a community of settlers from Emona who lived at Savaria (RIU I, 135: *Aecornae | Aug(ustae) sac(rum) | Emonienses | qui<sup>s</sup> consistunt | finibus | Savar(iae) | v(otum) s(oluerunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*). Elsewhere she is not documented – it may thus be concluded that her worship was in one way or another related to the phenomenon of the Emona Marshes, a typical geographic feature of the Emona basin which decisively shaped its life, dictated its specific settlement pattern, and determined the construction of the road network. Her cult is attested at Nauportus as early as the period of Caesar: she must have been one of the most important – if not the most important – divinities of the Roman vicus at Nauportus, as may be concluded from the fact that the *magistri vici* supervised the construction of her sanctuary (and probably also a portico belonging to it, see *CIL* III 3777) on behalf of the village community (*CIL* III 3776 = *ILS* 4876: *P. Petronius P. l(ibertus) | Amphio, | C. Fabius C. l(ibertus) | Corbo, | mag(istri) vici aedem | Aequor(nae) de vi(ci) | s(ententia) f(aciendam) coir(averunt)*).

At Emona a dedication was set up to her by an upper class devotee, P. Cassius Secundus, the prefect of the *ala Britannica milliaria* (A., J. ŠAŠEL 1977, 450-458). His high social status confirms the important position the worship of the goddess occupied at Emona, and the Emonan origin of P. Cassius Secundus may be regarded as almost certain. Three small votive inscriptions dedicated to Aecorna were discovered at Castle Hill (*AIJ* 148-150), suggesting that a small sanctuary may have been located on this dominant position commanding an excellent view of the Marshes. Aequorna/Aecorna may be of Etruscan origin, and it seems that she fits well into the Pantheon of local northern Adriatic female deities, such as the Venetic Reitia, Heia/Eia from Pola, Nesactium, and the island of Cissa (present-day Pag), the Liburnian Ika, Iria Venus, Venus Anzotica, and Latra, and others less known (ŠAŠEL KOS 1992, 5-12).

Important local deities were divinities of streams and rivers, since water has always been the most indispensable natural resource on which any human being based his living. An altar to Laburus, elsewhere unattested, was discovered just outside Ljubljana along the Emona/Nauportus River (present-day Ljubljanka), at the section of perilous rapids near the castle of Fužine (Kaltenbrun in *CIL* III 3840 + p.2328, 188). With progressing Romanization, these divinities were often worshipped under the guise of a more universal Neptune and/or the Nymphs, such as a dedication from Emona, erected on behalf of Cassia Clementilla by an unnamed person, probably her relative (*CIL* III 13400 + p. 2328,26: *Neptun(o) | et Nymph(is) | pro | Cassia | Cleme|ntilla | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*). Cassia Clementilla undoubtedly belonged to a merchant family: a member of the same *gens* set up an altar to Savus and Adsalluta in the sanctuary of both gods along the Savus River, at the hamlet of Sava in the territory of Celeia (*CIL* III 11684).

River traffic was very important at Nauportus and Emona, which is further confirmed by the existence of a *collegium naviculariorum* at Emona (*AIJ* 178), as well as by an inscription commemorating the construction of a sanctuary of Neptune at Bistra near Nauportus by L. Servilius Sabinus, a merchant from Aquileia inscribed in the voting-tribe of the Aquileian citizens, *Velina* (*CIL* III 3778: *Neptuno | Aug(usto) sac(rum) | L. Servilius L. f(ilius) | Vel(ina) Sabinus | aedem | et porticum | fecit | pecunia sua*). Bistra is a cool and shady site, a cult site par excellence, with plenty of streams and pools and a touch of a magic atmosphere, where a sacred grove must undoubtedly have existed in antiquity, most probably earlier than the sanctuary of Neptune. The significance of the river traffic on the Emona/Nauportus and Savus Rivers is also reflected in the legend of the Argonauts who would have been returning from Colchis with the golden fleece along the Danubius/Ister, Savus, and Emona/Nauportus Rivers, and thence by way of the Adriatic to Greece.

Neptune was also worshipped near the confluence of the Savus and Corcoras (present-day Krka) Rivers, beneath the village of Čatež in the ager of Neviodunum (*CIL* III 14354, 22: *Medus | C. Totedi | negotiator(is) servus | Neptuno | Oviano | [---]*). An altar, only fragmentarily preserved, was set up to *Neptunus Ovianus* by one Medus, a slave of a



merchant C. Trotedius. Patsch supposed that Neptun had most probably been named after a locality (cf. *CIL* XV 4585: *(Vinum) ex f(undo) Oviano n(ostro), or n(ovo)*); Ovianus is clearly an epichoric epithet of Neptun (PATSCHE 1905, 139-141). The name Medus must have been a name typical of the region, which is confirmed by the fact that this was also the name of the father of a soldier from Municipium Magnum, by origin from the region settled by the *Varciani*, between Neviodunum and Andautonia (cf. DOBÓ 1975, 190: *Vercaius Medi f(ilius) domo Varcianus*, from the *ala nova Claudia*), while *Medu* is a feminine Celtic name attested once in Noricum (LOCHNER von HÜTTENBACH 1989, s.v.). *Medulius* appears three times as a cognomen in Pannonia, and *Medullius* once as a gentilicium (MÓCSY et al. 1983, s.v.). Although *Negotiator* could have been used as a cognomen<sup>2</sup>, it in this case might well have meant the profession of a merchant, especially in view of the dedication having been set up to Neptune. The probable Pannonian origin of the slave, as indicated by his name, confirms the autochthonous origin of the local river deity.

The worship of the god Savus does not seem to have been wholly supplanted by the worship of Neptune, although Neptune was venerated at Klembas near Hrastnik in the territory of Celeia (*CIL* III 5137), directly across from the site of the sanctuary of Savus and Adsalluta. Inscriptions dedicated only to Savus are found at three different sites along the river Savus. Altars are known from Vernek opposite Kresnice, the territory of Emona (*CIL* III 3896 + p. 1736 and 2328, 26: *Savo Aug(usto) | sac(rum) | P. Rufrius | Verus | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*), from Andautonia (present-day Ščitarjevo, *AIJ* 475: *Savo Aug(usto) | sac(rum) | M. Iuentius | Primigeniu[s] | [e]t soci(i) v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*), as well as from Siscia (Sisak), where he was invoked in a curse tablet found in the Kupa River (ancient Colapis, *AIJ* 557; VETTER 1960, 127-132). The text was written in a rather vulgar Latin; the inner side bears the names of the opponents in some legal suit and the imprecation which should prevent them from saying anything against the authors of the tablet: "You will give a command to Savus to see to it that he pulls them downwards, that they become speechless, that they cannot say or do anything against us...". The curse tablet is an indication that Savus must have been a powerful god whose sphere of influence in the conceptual world of the inhabitants along the river was more extensive than could be concluded merely from the texts on the altars dedicated to him. His importance is finally illustrated by the fact that he was represented together with Colapis (the god of the river Kolpa/Kupa: the Kupa joins the Sava in Siscia) as late as the reign of Gallienus. Images of river gods appear on Gallienus' gold coins and silver medallions (ALFÖLDI 1927/28, 47 nos. 14 and 2), and on the *antoniniani* of Probus (WEBB 1972,<sup>3</sup> Probus, nos. 764-766).

At the hamlet of Sava near Podkraj, opposite Klembas not far from Hrastnik (the region of Trbovlje), close to the right bank of the Savus river, in an area of dangerous rapids extending further to Radeče (Radeče is not distant from the confluence of the Sava and Savinja rivers at Zidani most), a cult site was indicated by the discovery of ten altars, nine of which were dedicated to Adsalluta or to Savus and Adsalluta, and one was uninscribed. The site, which was located in the border region between Noricum and Pannonia, has been excavated since 1993 by the Celje Regional Office for the Protection of the Natural and Cultural Heritage. The majority of altars dedicated to Savus and Adsalluta come from this site (*CIL* III 5134=11680, 5135, 5136 + p. 1828 and 2328, 26 in the National Museum of Slovenia, *CIL* III 5138 in the Joanneum in Graz, 11684 in Celje, 11685 once in the Burger house at Hrastnik, now in the Museum Collections of Hrastnik; see additionally for others: *AIJ* 26, 27, 255, and MÜLLNER 1879, no. 238). The altars come from a former sanctuary, where prehistoric pottery fragments and a Roman coin and bricks were also found; the sanctuary had supposedly been excavated in 1917 by W. Schmid (1923/24, 183-184), but it was actually discovered through the excavations in 1994.

Adsalluta is a local Celtic, probably Tauriscan deity, connected with water and river transport along the dangerous rapids between Hrastnik and Zidani most. She may also have been a divinity of some hypothetical thermal or non-thermal, actually existing, springs in the near vicinity, and of a sacred grove within the area of her sanctuary. A narrow towpath led through it to help tow-boats upstream through the rapids.<sup>3</sup> Adsalluta, or Savus and Adsalluta together, were worshipped by several *gentes*, such as the Caecinae (ultimately originating from the Etruscan world, Volaterrae), Antonii, Cassii, Castricii, Servilii, who must have been well-to-do merchant families, most of them well attested in Aquileia (cf. *Inscr. Aquil.*, indexes). The dedication to Adsalluta erected by L. Servilius Eutyches, *cum suis gubernatoribus* (*AIJ* 26) is interesting, both because the dedicant may have been related to the above mentioned L. Servilius Sabinus, who had a sanctuary to Neptune built at his own expense at Bistra near Nauportus, and because this is one of the rare instances that *gubernatores*, the pilots, are mentioned outside military context. The goddess Adsalluta – occasionally in the company of Savus – mainly watched over the safe passage of the frequent travellers, for in prehistory, the Roman period, and up to the building of the southern railway, such water routes were utilized for the transport of the most varied cargoes to a much greater extent than today.

At the late Roman fortified settlement of Ajdovski gradec above Vranje near Sevnica, with two early Christian churches, a large cistern and several excavated houses (PETRU-ULBERT 1975; CIGLENEČKI 1987, 65-67.), several Roman

<sup>2</sup> KAJANTO 1965, 321, who, however, only cited two cases and not the Neviodunum one.

<sup>3</sup> See the commentary in ŠAŠEL KOS 1994, 99-122.

inscriptions came to light, published by J. Šašel (1975, 133-148, Pl. 27-32). They were all reused as building material and must have originally come from an as yet unidentified Roman settlement below the hill.

A few more but poorly legible inscriptions have been discovered during the recent excavations of the National Museum of Slovenia, one of which is a very damaged altar with a barely visible dedicaton to *Vibes (Vib(ebos?) posu(erunt) | Serenu(s) | et Maru | v(otum) s(olverunt)*.<sup>4</sup> The Vibes are Celtic Norican epichoric divinities; their assumed Venetic origin seems to be less likely, although Venetic influences may not be entirely excluded (cf. dative case *Vibebos*) (VETTERS 1950, 140-145.). Their worship is attested in the area of Santicum (Warmbad Villach), but also at Flavia Solva, and at Lauriacum (SCHERRER 1984, 448-450; see also VETTERS 1950; ALFÖLDY 1974, 241; NOLL, 1976, 23-35). Whether their worship should be connected with the thermal springs near Santicum, or whether their cult should be interpreted as that of a typically Celtic *Matres* type, remains uncertain. *Maru*, so far unattested, may either be a masculine name: *Maru(s)*, or a feminine Norican name ending in -u, of the type *Cattu* (FALKNER 1948, 39-54), in any case the worshippers of the Vibes were members of an epichoric family.

The nature of the cult of Sedatus, venerated at Neviodunum, where he had a sanctuary (*CIL* III 3922: *Sedato | Aug(usto) sac(rum) | P. Paconius | edem (!) | et aram d(edit) d(edicat)*), but also at Celeia (*ILJug* 387, where his cultores are mentioned), is not entirely clear, but as dedications were erected to him by the *collegia fabrum* and *centonariorum* (see *CIL* III 8086 and 10335) he may well have been close to the Roman Vulcan. He must have been mainly a Pannonian god, which may be assumed on the basis of a dedication set up to him by the *cohors I Breucorum* (*CIL*, III 5918=11929), as well as by the fact that his cult is also attested in the Pannonian mining area between the rivers Sana and Una at Stari Majdan (PAŠKVALIN 1970, 1928), which would not be in contradiction with postulated interpretation of the cult of Sedatus.

Iuppiter Culminalis was worshipped at Atrans (*CIL* III 11673), in the village of Sava near Litija in the Emona territory (*AIJ* 20) – where the dominant rocky elevation above the site of discovery, with an excellent view of the Sava valley, may have been the venerated culmen – and at Poetovio and its ager. At Poetovio, for example, a dedication to the god was erected by Aurelius Maximinus, a *decurio* of the colony and *sacerdos* of Upper Pannonia who had also been awarded the honour of the *duumvir quinquennalis*, for the welfare of himself, his wife and all his family (*AIJ* 449: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Culm(inali) Aure[l(ius)] | Maximinus de[c(urio)] | col(oniae) Poet(ovionensis) ho[n]ore Ilvir(i) q(uin)[q(uennalis)] | [e]x curat(ore), sace[r] [d]os provinc[i] [a]e Pannoniae Superi(oris) | pro salute sua et | Aurel(iae) Marcell[i]nae coniugis, su[orum]que omnium v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*). The cult of Iuppiter Culminalis was local, limited mainly to the southern Norican and Pannonian regions, and it may thus be considered that a native god is concealed under the Roman name, not unlike the case of Iuppiter Depulsor (LATTE, 1960, 80 n.1; ŠAŠEL KOS 1993, 227; 231-232).

The worship of Iuppiter Depulsor was locally important in Noricum and at Pannonian Poetovio, formerly belonging to the Norican kingdom. Undoubtedly a Roman interpretation of a local Celtic god is in question. The god is depicted on a votive marble plaque from Colatio, Noricum (present-day Stari trg near Slovenj Gradec), now in the *Landesmuseum Joanneum* at Graz (EGGER 1914, Bbl. 65-68; PAHIČ 1965, 24.). However, he was also known in other provinces of the Roman Empire and is documented on some forty dedications. H.-G. Pflaum analyzed all the extant dedications to Iuppiter Depulsor and concluded that his worship was chronologically limited to the second half of the 2nd and first half of the 3rd centuries A.D. He connected the sudden flourishing of this cult to the frequent incursions of barbarians across the Danube in this period (PFLAUM, 1953, 445-460). I. Kolendo saw in the worship of Iuppiter Depulsor a reaction specifically to the Marcomannic Wars and their precursors, and is less inclined to explain him as an epichoric deity (KOLENDO 1989, 1062-1076). It should be noted, however, that the established chronological limits correspond well to the period of the revival of local cults, and should thus be considered as a general phenomenon in any autochthonous worship (ALFÖLDY 1989, 81-82 and n. 88 = 1989, 370-371 and n. 88; ŠAŠEL KOS 1993). As a certain number of the dedications to Iuppiter Depulsor were set up *pro salute*, he should not be regarded as a “military” divinity, rather he should be explained as an averter of evil in general, be it diseases and epidemics, failures of any kind, dangers, as well as hostile attacks, which became a reality at the outbreak of the Marcomannic Wars, and were increasingly threatening from the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. (ŠAŠEL KOS 1996b, forthcoming.).

Booth Iuppiter Culminalis and Iuppiter Depulsor were among important epichoric gods venerated under Latin names at Poetovio, but also elsewhere. However, the most popular autochthonous cult in the city was undoubtedly that of the Nutrices (these goddesses, too, known solely under their Latin name), abundantly documented exclusively at Poetovio, apart from one dedication, now lost, found not far away in Maribor, already within the borders of the province of Noricum (*CIL* III 5314=11713). The Nutrices are also very well represented in reliefs and may have had several sanctuaries in the city. Although goddesses with the same name are also known from northern Africa, they are not related to the Nutrices of Poetovio. There is no doubt that they should be interpreted as some kind of birth goddesses, nourishers and

<sup>4</sup> Identified as such by ALFÖLDY, in: ŠAŠEL KOS 1996, no. 115, in print.

guardians of children – how many of them their dedicants believed them to have been is nowhere specifically stated, but on the inscriptions they are always referred to in plural, although in reliefs only one is usually represented. They may well have been conceived as three goddesses, since clearly they must ultimately be explained in terms of the three Celtic divine *Matres*, worshipped under different names and differing aspects throughout the Celtic world.

Dedications to the Nutrices at Poetovio were mainly erected by men of all social classes, from slaves to members of municipal aristocracy. They fulfilled a vow made for the welfare of their children (in most cases sons), and their wives, or else a dedication was set up by both parents for welfare of their child.

Although three females are often represented on reliefs, the earlier interpretations, according to which these would be three Nutrices, are not valid (GURLITT 1896, 1-25; ABRAMIĆ, 1925, 31-32; 78-79; JEVREMOV 1988, *passim*). The figure on the right is usually Nutrix with a child, who is sometimes represented as a central figure and rarely on the left, while one of the three is a servant and the other a mother, bringing or leading another child to Nutrix (DIEZ 1992, 936-938, and VI 2, 620-622). Since the cult of the Nutrices is isolatedly known only in Poetovio, it must have certainly been brought thither by the epichoric settlers of the Poetovio area, and connected to the specific Celtic, Norican-Tauriscan tribe that must have decisively conditioned its popularity and importance. Both remained unaltered during the Roman period, when the cult actually became documented for the first time.

Some of the deities here listed may be pre-Celtic, like Aecorna, Laburus, Sedatus, probably Savus; others should be regarded as Celtic: Adsalluta, Iuppiter Culminalis and Depulsor, as well as the Nutrices – although the last three mentioned divinities were Romanized to the extent that they were worshipped under their Latin names. It might perhaps be interesting to note that despite the relatively close vicinity of Aquileia and Emona, the divine patron of Aquileia, Belenus, although otherwise documented outside Aquileia, has not been attested on any dedication found between Emona and Poetovio.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| ABRAMIĆ 1925          | M. ABRAMIĆ, <i>Poetovio. Führer durch die Denkmäler der römischen Stadt.</i> Wien, 31-32; 78-79.   |
| ALFÖLDI 1927/28       | A. ALFÖLDI, <i>Siscia. Vorarbeiten zu einem Corpus der in Siscia geprägten Rötermünzen.</i> NK, XXVI-XXVII, 47, nos. 14 and 2.   |
| ALFÖLDY 1974          | G. ALFÖLDY, <i>Noricum.</i> London-Boston, 1974.   |
| ALFÖLDY 1989          | G. ALFÖLDY, <i>Die Krise des Imperium Romanum und die Religion Roms.</i> in: Religion und Gesellschaft in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Kolloquium zu Ehren von F. Vittinghoff, 81-82. = Die Krise des Römischen Reiches, 370-371. |
| ALFÖLDY 1996          | G. ALFÖLDY, in: ŠAŠEL KOS 1996a, no. 115, in print.  |
| BOŽIČ 1987            | D. BOŽIČ, <i>Keltska kultura u Jugoslaviji. Zapadna grupa (The Celtic Culture in Yugoslavia. The Western Group).</i> in: Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja, V, 855-897.   |
| CIGLENEČKI 1987       | S. CIGLENEČKI, <i>Höhenbefestigungen aus der Zeit vom 3. bis 6. Jh. im Ostalpenraum (Višinske utrbe iz časa 3. do 6 st. v vzhod-noalpskem prostoru).</i> 65-67.  |
| CHIRASSI COLOMBO 1976 | I. CHIRASSI COLOMBO, <i>I culti locali nelle regioni alpine.</i> in: Aquileia e l'arco alpino orientale. Antichita Altoadriatiche, IX, 173-206.  |
| DE LAET 1949          | S. J. DE LAET, <i>Portorium. Étude sur l'organisation douanière chez les Romains, surtout à l'époque du Haut-Empire.</i> Bruges.   |
| DIEZ 1992             | E. DIEZ, <i>Nutrices.</i> in: Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae, VI/1, 936-938, and VI/2, 620-622.  |
| DOBÓ 1975             | Á. DOBÓ, <i>Inscriptiones extra fines Pannoniae Daciaeque repertae ad res earundem provinciarum pertinentes.</i> Budapest.   |
| EGGER 1914            | R. EGGER, <i>Colatio.</i> JÖAI, XVII, Bbl. 65-68.  |
| FALKNER 1948          | M. FALKNER, <i>Die norischen Personennamen auf -u und ihre kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung.</i> in: Arbeiten aus dem Institut für allgemeine und vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft. Graz, Heft 1, 39-54.                         |
| FITZ 1993-95          | J. FITZ, <i>Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit.</i> I-IV. Budapest.  |
| GURLITT 1896          | W. GURLITT, <i>Pettauer Antiken.</i> AEM, XIX, 1-25.   |
| HORVAT 1990           | J. HORVAT, <i>Nauportus (Vrhnika).</i> Ljubljana.  |
| JEVREMOV 1988         | B. JEVREMOV, <i>Vodnik po lapidariju.</i> Ptuj.  |
| KAJANTO 1965          | I. KAJANTO, <i>The Latin Cognomina.</i> Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 36, 2 Helsinki.  |

- KATIČIĆ 1968  
KOLENDO 1989  
KOS 1977  
LATTE 1960  
LOCHNER-HÜTTENBACH F. 1965  
LOCHNER v. HÜTTENBACH 1989  
MÓCSY 1983  
MÜLLNER 1879  
NOLL 1976  
PAHIČ 1965  
PAŠKVALIN 1970  
PATSCHE 1905  
PETRU – ULBERT 1975  
PFLAUM 1953  
RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1989  
ROSSI 1981  
ŠAŠEL 1959  
ŠAŠEL 1968  
ŠAŠEL 1975  
ŠAŠEL 1976  
ŠAŠEL 1989a  
ŠAŠEL 1989b  
ŠAŠEL 1992  
ŠAŠEL KOS 1996b  
SCHERRER 1984  
SCHMID 1923/24  
TÓTH 1980  
VETTER 1960  
VETTERS 1950  
WEBB 1972<sup>(2)</sup>
- R. KATIČIĆ, *Die einheimische Namengebung von Ig*. Godišnjak 6, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, IV, 61-120.  
I. KOLENDO, *Le culte de Jupiter Depulsor et les incursions des Barbares*. in: ANRW, II/18,2, 1062-1076.  
P. KOS, *Keltski novci Slovenije/Keltische Münzen Sloweniens*. Situla, XVIII.  
K. LATTE, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*. München.  
LOCHNER-HÜTTENBACH, *Die antiken Personennamen aus Ig bei Ljubljana*. in: Arheološke študije, II/Varia archaeologica II, Situla, VIII, 15-45.  
F. LOCHNER v. HÜTTENBACH, *Die römerzeitlichen Personennamen der Steiermark*. Graz.  
A. MÓCSY, et al., *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae*. DissPann, III/1.  
A. MÜLLNER, *Emona. Archäologische Studien aus Krain*. Laibach.  
R. NOLL, *Vibebos. Zu Sakralinschriften auf Keramik in der Austria Romana*. AAWW, CXIII, 23-35.  
S. PAHIČ, *Najstarejša zgodovina koroške krajine (The Earliest History of the Carinthian Region)*. in: 720 let Ravne na Koroškem, 24.  
V. PAŠKVALIN, *Dolihen i panonsko božanstvo Sedat na području Japre u antičko doba*. Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja BiH, XXV, 19-28.  
C. PATSCHE, *Die Sava-Schiffahrt in der Kaiserzeit*. JÖAI, VIII, 139-141.  
P. PETRU – T. ULBERT (ed.), *Vranje pri Sevnici. Vranje bei Sevnica*. Katalogi in monografije 12.  
H.G. PFLAUM, *Jupiter Depulsor*. in: Mélanges Isidore Lévy. Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves, XIII, 445-460.  
D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, *Iliri i antički svijet. The Illyrian and the Classical World*.  
R.F. ROSSI, *Cesare tra ala Gallia ed Aquileia*. in: Aquileia e l'Occidente. Antichita Altoadriatiche., XIX, 71-87.  
J. ŠAŠEL, *Prispevki za zgodovino rimskega Iga (Contributions to the History of Roman Ig)*. Kronika, VII, 118.  
J. ŠAŠEL, *Emona*. in: RE, Suppl. XI, 540-578.  
J. ŠAŠEL, *Napisi. Inschriften*. in: PETRU – ULBERT 1975, 133-148, Pl. 27-32.  
J. ŠAŠEL, *Lineamenti dell'espansione romana nelle Alpi Orientali e nei Balcani occidentali*. in: Aquileia e l'arco alpino orientale. Antichita Altoadriatiche, IX, 71-90.  
J. ŠAŠEL, *Die regionale Gliederung in Pannonien*, in: Raumordnung im Römischen Reich. Zur regionalen Gliederung in den gallischen Provinzen, in Rätien, Noricum und Pannonien. (Ed. G. Gottlieb, München) 57-73.  
J. ŠAŠEL, *Zur verwaltungstechnischen Zugehörigkeit Emonas*. AArchHung, XLI, 1989, 169-174.  
J. ŠAŠEL, *Opera selecta*. Situla, XXX.  
M. ŠAŠEL KOS, *Iuppiter Depulsor – a Norican Deity?* ŽA, forthcoming.  
P. G. SCHERRER, *Der Kult der namentlich bezeugten Gottheiten im römerzeitlichen Noricum*. Diss.m., Wien (unpublished).  
W. SCHMID, *Römische Forschung in Österreich 1912-1924. Die südlichen Ostalpenländer*. BRGK, XV, 183-184.  
E. TÓTH, *Die Entstehung der gemeinsamen Grenzen zwischen Pannonien und Noricum*. AArchSlov, XXXI, 80-88.  
E. VETTER, *Eine lateinische Fluchtafel mit Anrufung des Wassermannes*. Glotta, XXXIX, 127-132.  
H. VETTERS, *Vibes. Carinthia*, I, CXL, 140-145.  
P. H. WEBB, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, V 2, London, Probus nos. 764-766.

# THE TEMPLE DISTRICT ON PFAFFENBERG

F. Humer – W. Jobst – G. Kremer

The Pfaffenberg, located east of Carnuntum, rises out of The Hainburg Mountain Chain forming its western ridge. The citizens of Carnuntum built and dedicated a temple district to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus and the divine emperors on its plateau.

This mountain closely linked with Carnuntum's political and military history. In the last years, this unique site at the border along the river Danube (*Danube limes*) has been sacrificed and turned into a quarry at Bad Deutsch-Altenburg. In the years from 1970 to 1985 there were emergency excavations under the leadership of W. Jobst and the monuments were dug up and placed in safety. The finds are supposed to be exhibited in a new museum in Bad Deutsch-Altenburg.

The construction of the temple district on Pfaffenberg was begun towards the end of the 1st century A.D. An industrious building was brought into action in the time of the emperor Hadrian who granted the civilian city of Carnuntum municipal status (*municipium*). A lot of inscriptions date back to the times between Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus. The cult reached its height at the time of the first Tetrarchy when the duty to sacrifice had to be strictly observed. The total destruction of the holy site took place at the end of the 4th century. It was then presumably overrun and destroyed by Christians.

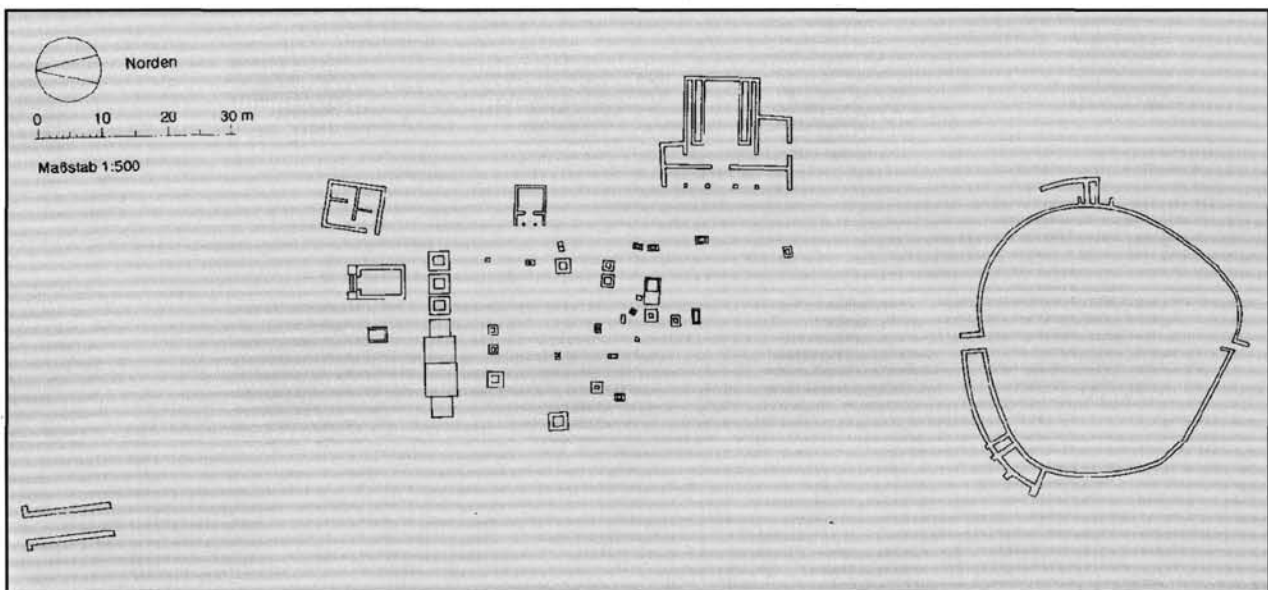
The ritual site, rising above the city of Carnuntum, was composed of two smaller Iuppiter temples (temples I and III) and one building comprising three naves (temple II), which was dedicated to the Capitoline Triad: Iuppiter, Iuno and Minerva. A small amphitheatre with stands for the spectatores served as a ritual theatre for the cult. In the course of four centuries, numerous memorials, both large and small, were built and consecrated.

A group of foundations excavated in the northwestern part of the temple district (E, F, G) played an important role in the worshipping of the emperor (*Ara Augustorum*). During rituals, sacrifices were made and the images (*imagines*) of the emperor were displayed. Tall column memorials probably were raised on numerous square foundations.

Theatre pieces praising the emperor (*ludi*) were performed at the amphitheatre. Sacrifices were especially made to the Roman god Iuppiter, who was also called K(arnuntinus) in the period of the Tetrarchy and the emperors gods. When the inscriptions give a concrete date, it is always the 11th June (*III Idus Junias*). According to parallel findings in Dacia, one can probably associate date with the Jubilee of the first capitol Savaria (today's Szombathely which is also known as Steinamanger).

There is a connection between consecrations to the goddess of victory, Victoria, and her image and military action along the Danube borders. In the course of the Marcomannic Wars, in an offensive against this German tribe, the "lightning flash and rain" miracle took place as described by authors of antiquity and depicted in column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome.

The memorials on Pfaffenberg were donated mostly by veterans and Roman citizens who settled in the *canabae legionis*. They called themselves *cives Romani consistentes Carnunti intra leugam*. The organisation and execution of the cult was directed by a special group of priests called the *magistri montis*.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- GROLLER 1900 M. GROLLER, *Limesstation und Tempelanlage auf dem Pfaffenberg bei Deutsch Altenburg (mit epigraphischen Anhang von E. Bormann)*. RLiÖ, I, 65-.
- JOBST 1968-71 W. JOBST, *Carnuntum-Pfaffenberg: Grabungen 1970 und 1971*. JÖAI, XLIX, Bbl. 251-.
- JOBST 1972 W. JOBST, *Ausgrabung auf dem Pfaffenberg (Carnuntum)*. AKorrBl, I, 41.
- JOBST 1976a W. JOBST, *Kapitolium Coloniae Karnunti?* AW, VII, 19-.
- JOBST 1976b W. JOBST, *Der Pfaffenberg – ein Zentrum römischer Staatsreligion in Carnuntum*. Neue Forschungen in Carnuntum, I, 19-.
- JOBST 1977a W. JOBST, *Der Pfaffenberg als Sacer Mons Karnuntinus*. in: ANRW, II/6, 701-.
- JOBST 1977b W. JOBST, *Jupiter Kapitolinus oder Iupiter Karnuntinus*. Akten des 11. Intern. Limeskongresses Székesfehérvár. 155-.
- JOBST 1978 W. JOBST, *11. Juni 172 n. Chr. Der Tag des Blitz- und Regenwunders im Quadenlande*. SAWW, CCCXXXV.
- JOBST 1979 W. JOBST, *Der Pfaffenberg Jupiters Heiligtum in Niederösterreich*. "morgen", IX, 242-.
- JOBST 1983 W. JOBST, *Iupitertempel, Votivsäulen und andere Denkmäler auf dem Stadtberg von Carnuntum*. in: Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms, III, 328-.
- JOBST 1992 W. JOBST (Hrsg.), *Carnuntum I. Das Erbe Roms an der Donau. Katalog der Ausstellung der Archäologischen Museums-Carnuntinum*, 162-170.
- JOBST – KNIBBE – KREMER – THÜRR 1986 W. JOBST – D. KNIBBE – G. KREMER – H. THÜRR, *Carnuntum-Pfaffenberg 1985*. CarnJb, (1987), 65-.
- JOBST–KREMER1988 W. JOBST – G. KREMER, *Carnuntum-Pfaffenberg 1985*. JÖAI, LVIII, Beibl. 23-.
- JOBST–KREMER 1990 W. JOBST – G. KREMER, *Carnuntum-Pfaffenberg 1986-1989*. CarnJb, (1991), 145-.
- JOBST– THÜRR 1985 W. JOBST – H. THÜRR, *Carnuntum Pfaffenberg 1984. Bilanz nach 15 Jahren*. CarnJb, (1986) 19-.
- KNIBBE 1983 D. KNIBBE, *I(uppiter) O(ptimus) M(aximus) K(arnuntinus), Kaiser Marcus, Faustina, Commodus und der 11. Juni 172 n. Chr.* JÖAI, LIV, 133-.
- KREMER 1996 G. KREMER, *Ein Kaiser im Jupitergewand vom Pfaffenberg*. CarnJb, (1997) 39-.
- PISO 1991 I. PISO, *Die Inschriften vom Pfaffenberg und der Bereich der Canabae legionis*. Tyche, VI, 131-.
- PISO 1993/94 I. PISO, *Zur Tätigkeit des L. Aelius Caesar in Pannonien*. CarnJb (1995), 197-.
- PISO 1995 I. PISO, *Eine Votivinschrift vom Pfaffenberg (Carnuntum) für das Wohl des Tetrarchen Maximianus*. CarnJb, (1996) 95-.
- PISO I. PISO, *Die Inschriften vom Pfaffenberg in Carnuntum*. (in print).
- THÜRR 1979 H. THÜRR, *Die Architektur des Tempelbezirkes auf dem Pfaffenberg bei Carnuntum*. Ungedr. Diss. Wien.

# AREA SACRA IN GORSIUM

J. Fitz

In the past century Theodor Mommsen, the greatest adept of Roman epigraphy, placed on ground of two inscriptions, found in Sárpentele (*CIL*, III, 3342, 3343) the centre of the imperial cult in the province Pannonia Inferior to Sárpentele, on ground of its numerous Roman stone monuments he did not exclude, though, the possibility that the centre of the cult might have been Székesfehérvár. The archaeological excavations, intensified in the 20th century, did not find any traces of a Roman settlement either in Sárpentele, or in Székesfehérvár (MAROSI 1935, 266). The inscriptions were mentioned in sources (KATANCSICH 1798) as existing in the above locality only from the late 18th century on, but the Cattaneo manuscript, publishing data from the mid-century, pointed to the Fövény origin of the stone monuments, the area where in the Roman period Gorsium was situated.

One of the stone monuments was a fragment of a stone slab (*CIL*, III, 3342), according to which the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla made a temple restored. The other inscription was that of an altar dedicated during the reign of two emperors by all priests of the Province to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus* (*CIL* III, 3343). The cult of the god Dolichenus cannot be proven after the reign of the Severi (TÓTH I. 1976, 69-80), so that this monument cannot be bound to any other personage but to Septimius Severus and Caracalla. The extraordinary gathering of the priests could not take place in any other time except in 202, when the two emperors and their retinue, returning to Rome from the Orient, visited Pannonia, where Septimius Severus was proclaimed emperor in 193 (FITZ 1959, 237-). The fragmentary inscription referring to a building activity can be interpreted similarly. We know from Pannonia altogether two inscriptions mentioning an activity of temple building, resp. restoring by emperors, one of them being the Gorsium one<sup>1</sup>.

Septimius Severus was mainly indebted to the Pannonian army for his successes in the civil war – his visit in 202 was the acknowledge of this support. The restoring of the temple – that of the imperial cult – damaged in the Marcomannic Wars – was a gesture of the emperor to the people and army of Pannonia. The interpretation of the temple and its importance for the province give at the same time a possibility for the much discussed completion of the building inscription. On the fragment only the letter D of the name of the deity is visible, which was tried to elucidate as *divi Marci, Dolicheni, Dianae, Deorum Magnorum*, (*CIL* III.3342; ALFÖLDI 1940, 198; ALFÖLDY 1961, 300-302, EGGER 1960, 167-169). The temple of the emperors' cult of the province allows, though, none of the above solutions. The temple could not be dedicated to anybody except for Augustus (*divi Augusti*) or to the deified emperors (*divorum Augustorum*).

The proof for Mommsen's interpretation was given by the excavations started in Gorsium in 1958 (FITZ 1960, 154-164). In the course of the excavations halls and sanctuaries disproportionately large for this town and a rather large temple came to light in the centre of the town, whose building can be dated to the period of the organization of the province of Pannonia Inferior, to the years after 106. In the early period of the temple building a detachment of the *legio X Gemina* took part, i.e. the building *vexillation*, which demolished the military camp and laid down the foundation of the new town. The excavations laid bare up to the present only a part of the sacred area. Its western border is known, separated by a lane from the neighbouring *forum*. Steps led from a spacious square to the great hall placed here (Nr. VII, 60x12 m). The northern side of the square was closed by a wall adorned by columns and two *nymphaea*, and pierced between the two ornamental wells by another flight of steps. This led to a large hall consisting of five parts (Nr. IX), from whose northern side a closed courtyard opened. From here further steps led to the third level, where another columned hall (Nr. XXIV), a well sanctuary (Nr. XXXIV) and a smaller temple (Nr. XVII) encircled a further inner courtyard. In the axis of the steps, on level 3, a square platform stood, beyond the hall closing the square from North (Nr. XXIV) also in the axis mentioned another temple was erected (Nr. LXXIV).

The eastern side of the lowest level was closed near to the second *nymphaeum* by a wide flight of steps. This led to several buildings on the left, appertaining to the sacred area, as a square house of several premises (Nr. X), adorned with rich wall paintings containing a room where a find of coins points to its use as treasury of the sacred district; the building served presumably administrative-representative purposes. The cellar of a larger, only partly uncovered building (Nr. XL) preserved the equipment of the house, devastated in the Marcomannic Wars, which might have been, on ground of the tableware of many pieces, the scene of feasts connected with the cult. North from the two buildings a hall consisting of one room was placed, containing a pedestal in its western end (Nr. XVIII); it can be dated to the reconstruction period after the Marcomannic Wars. It might have been the temple built to the honour of Marcus Aurelius, whose priests are known from their inscription (*CIL*, III, 3345).

---

<sup>1</sup> The other temple renovation took place in 308, when two Augusti and two Caesars made a Mithraeum restored in Carnuntum. (VORBECK 1980, Nr. 293)



The stairs next to the nymphaeum led upwards primarily to the most important building of the sacred area, i. e. the temple (Nr. LXX), renovated in 202 by Septimius Severus and Caracalla. The excavation of the temple is still in progress, so that it is in its bulk still unknown. The stairs on the western side led upwards to four pillars marking the facade. On the northern side six pillars of a colonnade belonging to the temple came to light which possibly was part of the renovation of 202. In the early layer of the temple the brick stamp of the *legio X Gemina* came to light<sup>2</sup>, i.e. the building activity began also in this place about 106.

The excavations found a considerable part of the building in a very dilapidated state. In the case of a part of the great halls only the place of the walls taken out could be stated. In 260 Gorsium fell victim to the destroying attack of Sarmatian Roxolani. The rebuilding activity during the Tetrarchic period created an entirely new town over the ruins, from the walls of the previous buildings the later generations used only a few, so the West-East ala of the hall on the third level (Nr. XXIV), which became the *porticus* of a public building. The sacred area was not renewed at all, on its place buildings with different purposes came into being (a larger pagan temple as early as the Tetrarchic period, a public bath, the public building with the porticus mentioned, dwelling-houses).

The carvings decorating the buildings and halls of the sacred area had a similar destiny. No stone statue, relief, architectural fragment of importance was found, all became victims of later building activities. For this secondary use we have undoubted proofs from the times of the Tetrarchy. The walls and towers encircling the new town, founded in this time, remained in a long section on the eastern side, with numerous stone carvings built in the foundation, but the walls of the earliest buildings, those of the palace, the *tabernae*, the early basilica, yielded in the course of the excavations many stone carvings. The town walls were removed on the northern, eastern and southern side. In the early 11th century at Székesfehérvár, when the royal basilica, the provostal church and the town wall were first erected, the town walls on the northern, eastern and southern side were removed to their foundation and carried away, evidently together with the built-in carvings from the 1st to the 3rd centuries (FITZ 1993, 168-171). Research had many theories for the explanation of Roman stone monuments, coming to light from the town wall and different buildings (ALFÖLDI 1940, 195-200; E. TÓTH 1989, 1992) their provenience from Gorsium, proven also by pieces belonging together, is undiscussible.

The coherences of reliefs, with mythological scenes and animal figures, found in Székesfehérvár, Gorsium and Intercisa, pointed to a further removal of stones: after the catastrophe of the year 260 stone material of a great quantity was transported from the Gorsium ruins to the camp along the Danube (FITZ 1991). This stone material is exceptionally important for the Gorsium *area sacra*: the removing utilized in first place the stones, reliefs and male statues clad in toga originally situated in the town centre. This stone material is not related to the Syrian troupe stationed in Intercisa, the religious material to be connected with this formation belongs to the home cults of the Syrians.

The carvings found in Gorsium, Székesfehérvár and Intercisa as for their theme and proportions, make three groups, whose dating can be defined as well (BARKÓCZI 1981, 170-193). Among the representations of the earliest group the pieces connected with the Trojan cycle are decisive, showing a near relation with the coin minting of Antoninus Pius, struck in 247 for the 900th anniversary of the foundation of Rome. In the series we find Aeneas fleeing from Troja, Athena and the fight between Greek and Trojan warriors, Achilles on the Isle of Skyros, the dragging of Hector, further other well-known scenes from the Greek mythology, as Bellerophon and the Chimaera, Pandora, Orpheus among the animals, Orpheus and Eurydice, Medea, the procession of Dionysos, Polyphemos, the myth of Tereus, Ariadne and the Satyr etc. In the other group the figure of Hercules and his exploits are in prominence: Hercules reclining, the victorious Hercules, his fight with the boar, Hercules and the Hesperida, Hercules and Alcestis, Hercules and Hesione. The series is to be dated to the early 3rd century, Hercules himself was an especially honoured deity of Lepcis Magna, the birth town of Septimius Severus. The reliefs can be brought in connection most likely with the *ludi saeculares* of the year 204. The third series represents animal scenes: horses, lions, leopards chasing a stag. The animal scenes, especially the figure of the stag, are identical with the representations shown on a series of coins of Philippus Arabs from 249, minted on the millennium of Rome's foundation. The reliefs connected with these three anniversaries, are inseparable from the range of ideas of the provincial assembly and the imperial cult. As for the original site of the reliefs we can only make some conjectures: the West-East directed expanding of the colonnade on level 3 (Nr. XXIV) can be dated to the decades after the Marcomannic Wars, its inauguration could be probably dated to 202, the Gorsium visit of Septimius Severus. This can point to the hypothesis that the Hercules series might have belonged to this hall. In this case it is likely that the series made for the festivities held during the reign of Antoninus Pius might have decorated the early ala of the hall (Nr. XXIV). As for the third group, in the present stage of the excavation we have no starting point as yet.

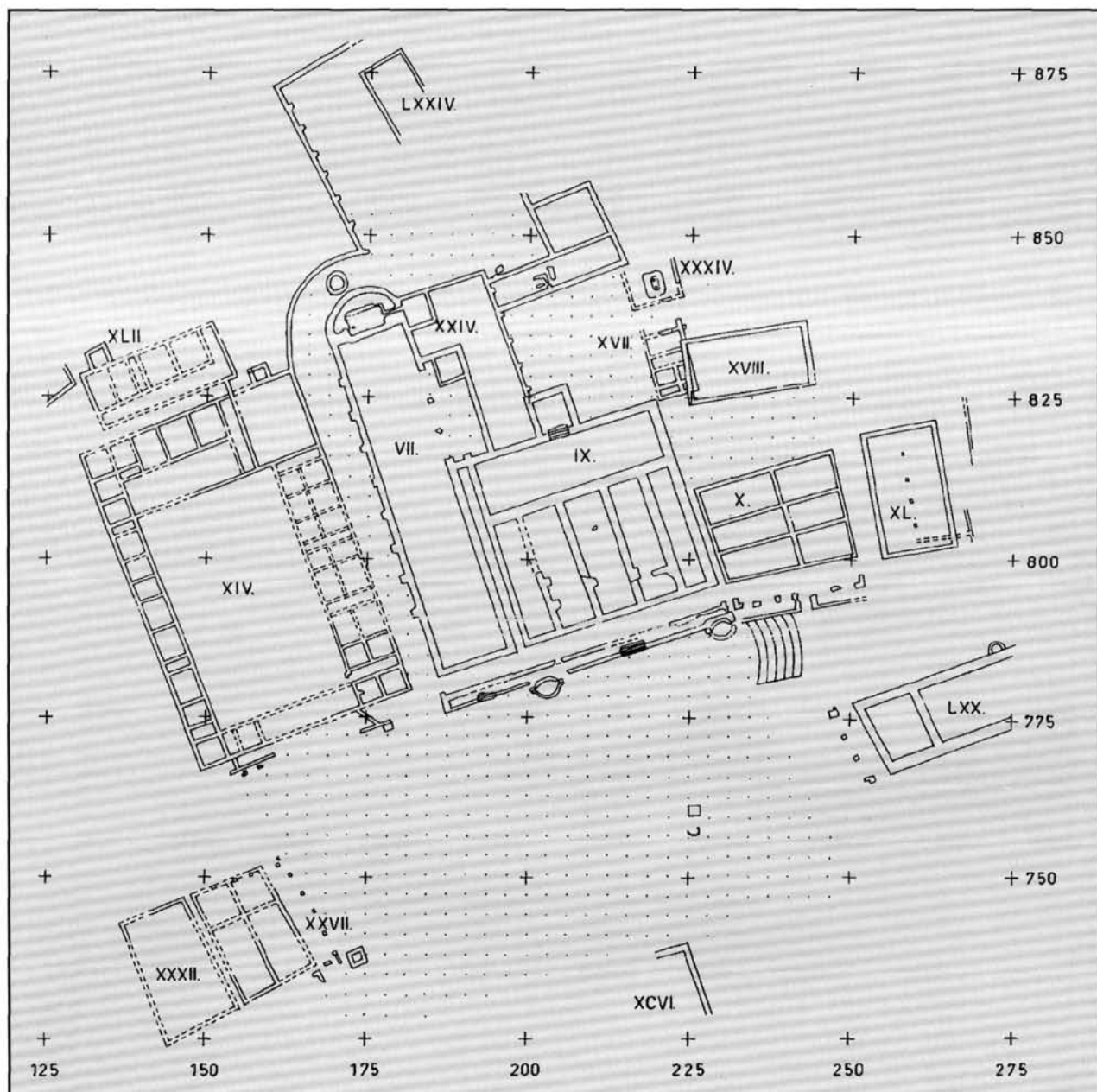
Some further temples are presumable to be connected with the sacred area of the emperors' cult, whose place is, though, not to be identified. To these belongs the temple of Marcus Aurelius (Nr. XVIII?) mentioned on an altar from 210, erected by its two priests (CIL III 3345). The personality of the priests – one of them a soldier of the *cohors III Batavorum*, – does not point to an official cult. The sacred area was connected with a cult of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*

---

<sup>2</sup> Excavation 1995.



*Dolichenus*: for on the occasion of the imperial visit all priests of the province came together in Gorsium for the reception of the emperor. (CIL III, 3343). The building of a temple of another oriental cult was also connected with the visit of the emperor: the temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Elagabalus* was built with the approval of the procurator on the expenses of soldiers stationed in Intercisa (FITZ 1971, 256-258, Nr. 12; AnEp 1973, 347bis). It is not impossible that in the sacred district a sanctuary dedicated to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Teutanus* was erected as well. The official altar (CIL III, 3347), erected by the duumviri of Aquincum on June 11, 178 for the welfare of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus and *pro salute templensium*, for the welfare of the people belonging to the sacred area, was dedicated on ground of the date to the main deity of the Eravisci. One of the Iuppiter heads, found in Intercisa (ERDÉLYI-FÜLEP 1954, 274, Nr. 384) shows a close relationship with Iuppiter Optimus Maximus K(----), venerated in Carnuntum on June 11 (JOBST 1976, 45, Abb. 8). On ground of the altar and the Teutanus-head dragged off from Gorsium we can reckon with a supposed sanctuary, which might have kept the one relief of Celtic origin in Gorsium. (F. PETRES 1975, 356).



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALFÖLDI 1940  
 ALFÖLDY 1961  
 BARKÓCZI 1982/83  
 BARKÓCZI 1983  
 BARKÓCZI 1984  
 BARKÓCZI 1985  
 EGGER 1960  
 ERDÉLYI – FÜLEP 1954  
 FITZ 1959  
 FITZ 1960  
 FITZ 1962  
 FITZ 1971  
 FITZ 1972  
 FITZ 1976  
 FITZ 1979/80  
 FITZ 1985  
 FITZ 1991  
 FITZ 1993  
 FITZ 1994  
 FITZ 1993-95  
 FITZ 1997  
 JOBST 1976  
 KATANCSICH 1798  
 MAROSI 1935  
 F. PETRES 1975  
 TÓTH E. 1989  
 TÓTH E. 1992  
 TÓTH I. 1976  
 VORBECK 1980
- A. ALFÖLDI, *Epigraphica III*. AÉrt, III/1, 195-200.  
 G. ALFÖLDY, *P. Merlat: Jupiter Dolichenus*. AntTan, VIII, 300-302.  
 L. BARKÓCZI, *Die südöstlichen und orientalischen Beziehungen der Darstellungen auf den ostpannonischen Grabstelen*. MittArchInst, XII/XIII, 123-151.  
 L. BARKÓCZI, *Angaben der Steinmetzarbeit der Traianszeit in Gorsium und Intercisa*. AlbaR, XX, 57-66.  
 L. BARKÓCZI, *Az intercisai mitológikus és állatjelenetes domborművek időrendje és felhasználása*. AÉrt, CXI, 170-193.  
 L. BARKÓCZI, *Römerzeitliche Steindenkmäler aus dem dritten Jahrhundert im Komitat Fejér*. AlbaR, XXII, 97-107.  
 R. EGGER, *Pannonica*. in: Omagiu lui Constantin Daicoviciu cu prilejul implinirii a 60 ani. Bucuresti, 167-169.  
 G. ERDÉLYI – F. FÜLEP, *Köemlék-katalógus*. Intercisa. Dunapentele–Sztálinváros története a római korban I. AHung, XXXIII, 233-26.  
 J. FITZ, *Der Besuch des Septimius Severus in Pannonien im Jahre 202 u. Z.* AArchHung, XI, 237-263.  
 J. FITZ, *Gorsium. Első jelentés a táci római település feltárájáról, 1958/59*. AlbaR, I, 154-164.  
 J. FITZ, *Gorsium*. RE, Suppl. IX, 73-75.  
 J. FITZ, *Epigraphica V*. AlbaR, XII, 256-258, Nr. 13.  
 J. FITZ, *The Excavations in Gorsium*. AArchHung, XXIV, 3-52.  
 J. FITZ, *Gorsium–Herculia*. Székesfehérvár, 162 p.  
 J. FITZ, *Gorsium*. Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft der Freunde Carnuntums, IV, 1979, 13-21; 1980/1, 2-11.  
 J. FITZ, *Concilia provinciae in Pannonien*. Römische Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Epigraphik. Wien, 257-265.  
 J. FITZ, *Steindenkmäler von Intercisa und Gorsium*. 2. Internationales Kolloquium über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens. Veszprém, 53-62.  
 J. FITZ, *Templum provinciae in Gorsium?* BpR, XXX, 161-176.  
 J. FITZ, *Gorsium*. Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Suppl. II, 1971-1994., 826-827.  
 J. FITZ, *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit*. Budapest, I-IV.  
 J. FITZ, *Area sacra des niederpannonischen Kaiserkultes in Gorsium I*. AlbaR, XXVI, 61-73.  
 W. JOBST, *Der Pfaffenberg – ein Zentrum römischer Staatsreligion*. Neue Forschungen in Carnuntum, I. 34-52.  
 M. P. KATANCSICH, *De Istro eiusque adcolis commentatio*. Budae.  
 A. MAROSI, *Volt-e Székesfehérvárt római telep?* SzSz, V, 266-.  
 É. F. PETRES, *Angaben zum römerzeitlichen Fortleben der keltischen Plastik in Pannonien*. AlbaR, XIV, 356.  
 E. TÓTH, *Templum provinciae in Tác?* Specimina nova, 43-58.  
 E. TÓTH, *Templum provinciae Tácon?* A Tapolcai Városi Múzeum Közleményei, II, 9-102.  
 I. TÓTH, *Jupiter Dolichenus-tanulmányok*. Budapest, 172 p.  
 E. VORBECK, *Zivilinschriften aus Carnuntum*. Wien.

# IUPPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS TEUTANUS

K. Póczy

In the time of the Roman occupation the Celtic tribe of the Eravisci venerated *Teutates*, “the valiant in battle” as their supreme god. His sanctuary, common with the great goddess of Nature, was built, – according to present research – on the top of the Gellérthegey, in the oppidum encircled by a wall and earthwork (on the place of the present Citadella) (ALFÖLDI 1939, 101, 102).

After the Roman occupation the Eraviscus deity was identified with the main god of the Roman religious belief, bearing features of similar character and having identical powers. He was venerated under the name *Iuppiter Maximus Optimus Teutanus* and represented in the likeness of the highest Roman deity. On the Gellérthegey an altar was erected in his honour bearing his name which was found on its original place in the course of archaeological excavations (CIL III 10418). He appeared as Iuppiter towering above the mortals on the top of a high column, on the Kiscelli height (Óbuda, Szépvölgyi út). The deity holds a *sceptrum* in his hand, with an eagle at his feet, on the large altar serving as the base of the column the name *I.O.M. T(eutanus)* is incised (NAGY, 1965, 376).

In the last years skin divers brought to the surface from the Danube about a dozen further altars with the similar divine name. S. Soproni stated that the stone monuments were used secondarily as building material for erecting a fortress of the late Roman limes. From his study dealing profoundly with the fortress and the stone monuments we quote in the following the details regarding Iuppiter-Teutanus and his cult (SOPRONI 1991-2, 137-141). “The research work executed on the Danube section near Bölske did not clear the ground plan of the underwater ruins as yet. The phenomena observed in the course of the previous research work, the finds brought to the surface as well as the local situation make it probable that the ruins belonged to the 4th century counter-fortress of the Roman camp of Bölske (RADNÓTI-BARKÓCZI 1951, 207, n. 184; TIR L 34 38). Regarding the importance of the site we think it necessary, even before having finished the research work and giving a detailed elaboration of the find material, to render a short display of the monuments which came to light and to give a sort of evaluation.

Up to the present the research work resulted in lifting approx 50 pcs of different stone monuments, spolia, from the ruins. The stone monuments were situated on the surface of the debris around the walls of the fortification. The monuments from the 2nd–3rd centuries were used, in building the fortress, as building material walling them up. The finds of earlier centuries were, as we shall see, conveyed by water from settlements north of the find place to the place of building. In the course of the limes building of the 4th century earlier stone monuments were used in countless cases as building material.

The altar stones can be divided in two groups, in the first group those of generally large measures belong, which are more ornate and sometimes bear on their sides a relief decoration; these were erected in honour of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Teutanus*. The dedications were in honour of the deity and for the salute of the emperor reigning offered by the leading functionaries, mostly the *duumviri*, of the *civitas*, *municipium*, resp. *colonia*. As far as the inscription bears also the exact dating, this is, without exception, *ante diem III idus Iunias*, i.e. June 11. The altar stones dedicated to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Teutanus* are:

1. M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Valentinus and M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Verus, the *duumviri* of the *municipium* of Aquincum erected the altar on June 11, 182, dedicated to *I.O.M. Teutanus*.

2. The altar of the *duumviri* L(ucius) Aurel(ius) Silvanus and P(ublius) Proculeius Proculinus was erected between 222 and 235, dedicated to *I.O.M. Teutanus*. The name of the emperor – Alexander Severus – is erased on the inscription.

3. The altar of the *duumviri* P(ublius) Ael(ius) Praesens and M(arcus) Aur(elius) Proculus from June 11, 226, dedicated to *I.O.M. Teutanus*. The name of the emperor – Alexander Severus – is erased on the inscription.

4. The altar was erected on June 11, 250 by [...] Antoninus Castor *duumvir*, who also bore the charges of a *flamen* and *aedilis*, to [*I.O.M. Teutanus*] as well as to every god and goddess. Name and titles of the emperor – Decius – are erased. The dedication took place on the broken ledge.

5. The *duumviri* Marcus Aurelius Maturus and Marcus Aurelius Valens erected their altar stone on June 11, 251 to *I.O.M. Teutanus* and to every god and goddess. The names of the emperors Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus are erased on the inscription but still legible.

6. The *duumviri* M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Polydeuces and M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Cimes, the latter an *eques*, dedicated their altar on June 11, 284 to [*I.*] *O.M. Teutanus* under the reign of the emperors Carinus and Numerianus.

7. The *duumviri* Ael(ius) Exuperatus, *eques*, and Ael(ius) Ulpianus dedicated their altar on June 11, 286 to [*I.O.M.*] *Teutanus*, as well as to the emperors Diocletianus and Maximianus. The inscription does not mention, as the former ones, a *civitas Eraviscorum* but *fines Eraviscorum*.

8. The *augur* T(itus) Flavius) [...] ius, *eques*, and the *quinquennalis* M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Sabinianus set the altar to *I.O.M. Teutanus* and to every god and goddess on June 11. The names of the emperors – *DDNN* – as well as the names of the consuls are erased. The stone is presumably from the times of Philippus or Gallienus.

9. On ground of the style of the text the altar, dedicated to *I.O.M. Teutanus*, may come from the middle or the second half of the 3rd century. The text is, partly because of the *damnation*, partly because its heavily worn state, not easy to read.

10. On a fragmentary altar stone practically only the dedication is legible: it was dedicated to *I.O.M. Teutanus Conservator* and *Iuno Regina*.

11. The heavily worn inscription of an altar of large dimensions requires further research; in the first line the barely legible name *Teutanus* can be deciphered, which makes it sure that the stone belongs to this group.

To another group of inscriptions belong those altar stones which were dedicated, mostly by soldiers, to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*. To the *Teutanus* stones in most cases also a profiled base of large measures belong. It cannot be decided, naturally, which altar belonged to a certain base. That means that for a secondary building in not only the altar stone but also the bases belonging to them were transported to Bölske which allows the deduction that the monuments were still on their original places when they were collected and transported.

From the text of the inscriptions it becomes clear for the first sight that the stones were transported for the building without exception from the settlements of the limes section north of our site.

As for the original site of the *Teutanus* stones the altar stone of T.Fl. Titianus (*CIL* III 10418); ALFÖLDI 1939, 108-113) furnishes a support; its site is the Gellérthegey in Budapest. The inscription which remained on the altar found in the Rezeda utca shows in its wording a near relation to those found at Bölske. The stone from the Gellérthegey, dedicated in the age of Philippus Arabs (244-248) to the honour of *I.O.M. T(eutanus)* as well as for the salute of the emperor and the welfare of the *civitas Eraviscorum* by T. Fl(avius) Titianus and M. Aur(elius) [...], is regrettably fragmentary, as the end of the inscription is missing. T. Fl. Titianus was, according to the inscription, an *augur*, but on ground of the Bölske analogies we can assume almost with certainty that he, together with his associate, belonged also to the *duumviri* of the *colonia* Aquincum. In the case of T. Fl. Titianus we should not think of an Eraviscan *augur* (ALFÖLDY 1960), but primarily of a *duumvir* of the *colonia* Aquincum, who occupied in the municipal hierarchy also the rank of an *augur*. On ground of the Bölske inscriptions we have, naturally, to reject the completion of the Gellérthegey inscription to *I.O.M. Tavianus* (VISY 1988a, 111-112).

The Gellérthegey in Budapest was the centre of the *civitas Eraviscorum*, (MÓCSY 1959, 59-73; BÓNIS 1969; MÓCSY 1974, 253; NOVÁKI-PETŐ 1988, 83-99), and *Teutanus* is known as the main deity of the Eravisci, identified in the *interpretatio Romana* with *Iuppiter*, the main god of the Romans. (NAGY 1965, 375). As the wording of our inscriptions is almost identical with that of the stone of Titianus, we have no reason for doubting that the original place of the altar stones found at Bölske was also in the cultic centre of the *Eravisci* (NAGY 1942, 40-408). The signs point to the presumption that the main officials of the Aquicum *municipium*, later *colonia*, on June 11 of every year, erected there in honour of the main Eraviscan god, the reigning emperor and the Eraviscan *civitas* their large, generally decorated altar stones of official character. For a yearly dedication we may conclude from the inscriptions of the years 250 and 251.

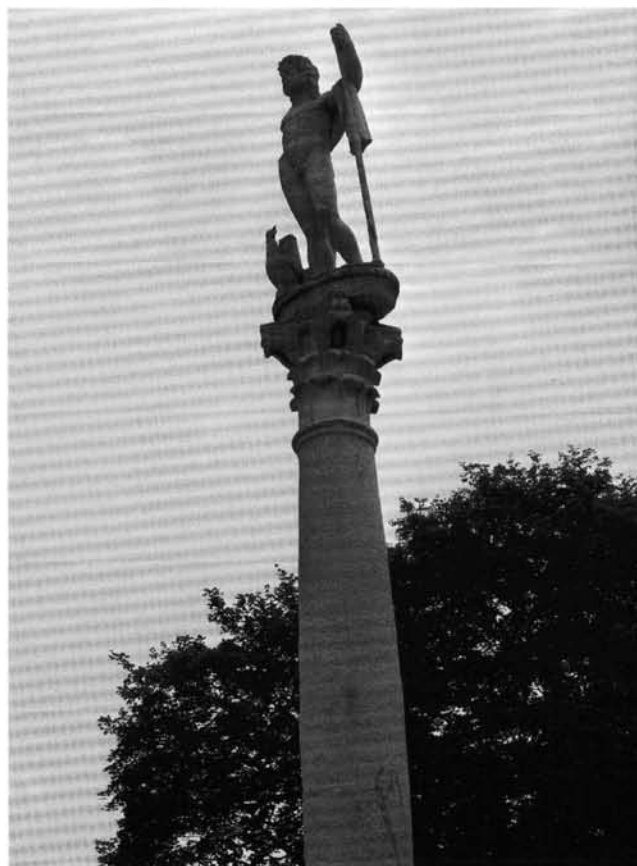
Our hypothesis is supported also by the finds of the Pfaffenberg near Carnuntum. On the height near the legionary camp and *colonia* of Carnuntum – the Pfaffenberg can be regarded as a topographic analogy to the Gellérthegey – in the sacred area “*Sacer Mons Karnuntinus*”, which is now being excavated, (JOBST 1977, 701-720; JOBST 1986, 65-127) till now fragments of several inscribed altars and 36 altar bases came to light (JOBST 1978, 23). From the inscriptions which are in a very fragmentary state it becomes clear that these were also dedicated to a local main god, a certain *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus K(...)*, in different years but also always on the 11th June (JOBST 1978, 26-28; JOBST 1986, 93-127). The latest item is from the age of Constantius II, the 340s (JOBST 1978, 27-28). The completion of the name born by the main god in Carnuntum, the solving of the letter “K”, can be helped only by a further lucky find. The solutions tried till now – e.g. *Karnuntinus* – are not convincing.

The day of the dedication is in Carnuntum as well as in Aquincum June 11. According to the Roman calendar this day is the feast of the *Matralia* (Ovidius *Fasti* 6, 473-648), with which our inscriptions and others from the Empire dated by a day have nothing to do (HERZ 1985, 224). The earlier presumption, according to which the day June 11, figuring on the Carnuntum inscriptions and on a Székesfehérvár stone (*CIL* III 3347; FITZ 1968, 210-211, No. 48), would be in connection with the rain wonder of the campaign of the year 172 led by Marcus Aurelius (JOBST 1978) does not stand the test in the light of recent research (HERZ 1978, 1119, ad n. 317; BIRLEY 1978, 252; WOLFF 1990, 15 and n. 45). On the one hand an inscription from Hispania, dedicated to *IOM* and the salute of the emperors on June 11, 163 (IR Galic IV, 61) refutes the connection of this day with the rain wonder, on the other hand the presumed new dating of the Székesfehérvár inscription, June 11, 172. (JOBST 1978, 28-30), in contrary with the earlier – in our opinion right – dating for 178 (FITZ 1968, 211; ALFÖLDI 1940, 200) also speaks against the connection of this day with the rain wonder. When we namely accept the new dating we had to presume that on the very day of the rain wonder an altar stone

each was raised both in Aquincum and Carnuntum, which is not likely at all (ALFÖLDY 1987, 343). Otherwise we think the circumstance thought-provoking that the Székesfehérvár stone was erected in addition to the salute of the emperors for that of the Aquincum *ordo*, which would probably point in the direction that June 11 was a holiday of the Aquincum *municipium* and probably also a feast day, perhaps the day of foundation of the *municipium* of Carnuntum. In this light it is worth-while to underline the fact that beside of the inscriptions mentioned by us the day June 11 occurs in the whole Empire in an inscription from Hispania and one from Egypt (IGRR I 240) in addition to an inscription from Aquincum. The inscription from 237 (AnÉp 1937, 208 = BpR, XII, 1937, 127) was dedicated to *Silvanus magnus*. We have to mention here also a fragmentary inscription from Kiskunlacháza (CIL III 1081), set by two officials – they might have been *Iiviri* – of the *col(onia) splendidis(sima) Aq(uincensium)* in June 233. If we suppose that the one and last cypher “M” of the first line meant the last cypher of the word *Eraviscorum*, we may range this stone, dragged off evidently in the course of late building activities, with the stones dedicated on June 11 to Teutanus. The inscription reserved only the name of the month, the part containing the day was broken, on ground of the analogues, however, the cyphers *III ID*, designing the 11th day of the month, might have stood there. We think it also possible that the Székesfehérvár stone mentioned was also dedicated to *I.O.M. Teutanus*, and this would be the completion of the lost part as well.

The evaluation of June 11 is the task of a further research work, as for its meaning several explanations exist. It is worth considering that to the main deity of the Celtic Eravisci, *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Teutanus* and *Iuppiter Optimus K(...)*, revered also in the centre of a Celtic tribe, that of the *Boii*, altars were set on June 11, which would probably refer to a feast of the indigenous Celtic population. Because of the fragmentary state of the Carnuntum inscriptions we do not know, regrettably, the persons setting the monuments but we may assume that they were also official persons. As it is known, the two settlements, Aquincum and Carnuntum, received the rank of a town in the times of Hadrianus (MÓCSY 1962, 599), which makes our hypothesis probable. We cannot give, naturally, a final, satisfying answer to this question. In our opinion we can count with a phenomenon similar to the example of Carnuntum and Aquincum in the neighbouring Noricum as well, where in Bedaium (RE, V Hb, 183) exactly dated altars were erected to a certain *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Arubianus* (HOLDER 1896, 229; RE, II, 1486-1487) and to *Bedaius Sanctus* (HOLDER 1896, 365), generally by the *duumviri* of the town (CIL III 5575 May 15, 226 – CIL III 5580 May 15, 219; KLOSE 1911, 219-225; HERZ 1978, 206-207).

We can define the Gellérthegy in Budapest as the original site of the Teutanus stones, where, like on the Pfaffenberg, the stones may have been situated in the open, standing on bases, whence they were carried off together with their bases in the mid-4th century to their present find place, Bölske.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALFÖLDI 1939  
 ALFÖLDY 1960  
 BIRLEY 1987  
 BÓNIS 1969  
 FITZ 1968  
 FITZ 1983  
 HERZ 1985  
 HOLDER 1896  
 JOBST 1977  
 JOBST 1978  
 KLOSE 1911  
 MÓCSY 1959  
 MÓCSY 1974  
 NAGY 1942  
 NAGY 1965  
 NOVÁKI – PETŐ 1988  
 RADNÓTI – BARKÓCZI 1951  
 SOPRONI 1978  
 SOPRONI 1992  
 VISY 1988  
 WOLFF 1990
- A. ALFÖLDI, *Epigraphica II*. AÉrt, LII, 101-113.  
 G. ALFÖLDY, *Pannoniciani augures*. AntTan, VII, 37-52.  
 A. BIRLEY, *Marcus Aurelius*. London<sup>2</sup>.  
 É. BÓNIS, *Die späteltische Siedlung Gellérthege-Tabán in Budapest*. Budapest.  
 J. FITZ, *Römische Inschriften im Komitat Fejér*. AlbaR, VIII/IX, 1967/68, 197-214.  
 J. FITZ, *L'administration des provinces pannoniennes sous le Bas Empire romain*. Bruxelles.  
 P. HERZ, *Untersuchungen zum Festkalender der römischen Kaiserzeit nach datierten Weih- und Ehreninschriften*. Inaug. Diss. Mainz.  
 A. HOLDER, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz I*. Leipzig.  
 W. JOBST, *Carnuntum. Der Pfaffenberg als Sacer Mons Carnuntinus*. ANRW, II/6, Berlin-New York, 701-720.  
 W. JOBST, *11. Juni 172 n. Chr. Der Tag des Blitz- und Regenwunders im Quadenland*. CCCXXXV.  
 O. KLOSE, *Über Bedaium*. JfA, V, 219-225.  
 A. MÓCSY, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*. Budapest.  
 A. MÓCSY, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*. London-Boston  
 T. NAGY, *Vallási élet Aquincumban*.  
     in: Budapest Története. Budapest, I/2, 386-463.  
 T. NAGY, *Quelques aspects de la romanisation dans la Pannonie Orientale*.  
     in: Huitième Congrès International d'Archéologie Classique. Paris, 375-381.  
 GY. NOVÁKI – M. PETŐ, *Neuere Forschungen im späteltischen oppidum auf dem Gellértberg in Budapest*. AArchHung, XL, 83-99.  
 A. RADNÓTI – L. BARKÓCZI, *The distribution of troops in Pannonia Inferior during the 2nd Century A.D.* AArchHung, I, 191-226.  
 S. SOPRONI, *Der spätrömische Limes zwischen Esztergom und Szentendre*. Budapest.  
 S. SOPRONI, *Előzetes jelentés a bölcskei késő római ellenerőd kutatásáról. Vorläufige Bericht über die Erforschung der spätrömischen Gegenfestung in Bölcske*. CommArchHung, XVI, 130-141.  
 ZS. VISY, *Der Kult der kleinasiatischen Götter in Pannonien*. Specimina Nova Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis, 107-129.  
 H. WOLFF, *Welchen Zeitraum stellt der Bildfries der Marcus-Säule dar? Ostbairische Grenzmarken*. Passauer Jb, XXXII, 9-29.

# HEALING DEITIES

K. Póczy

The healing deity of the Greeks, Asklepios, was venerated in Rome under the name of *Aesculapius*. His cult spread from Greece, in Pannonia we find on several inscriptions the name Asklepios in its original form. (KÁDÁR 1981, 78) His *paredros* is *Hygieia*; the divine couple is usually depicted together, facing the onlooker; Aesculapius holding in his hand a long staff, around which the snake applied in the healing is coiling. The deities represented thus on two reliefs of Aquincum, whose style is, though, different but their identical measures and find places in the canabae point to their belonging together (ERDÉLYI 1976, 119-120; Ill. 164-165).

The rites, formed in the famous sacred areas of Thessalonike, the island of Kos and Epidauros did not undergo a change when the borders of the *Imperium Romanum* were widened. The afflicted persons or their relatives appealed to the deity for help and when they were healed, they kept their vow, setting up an altar on which they made their names engraved or – as a general use – they hanged up in the sacred grove at the statue of the god and goddess, on the wall of the chapel or on a branch a so-called votive representing the healed member. These votives were made of wood, pottery etc. In Savaria the stock-room of a pottery workshop preserved, some unfinished, wastage items of such a votive ensemble meant for Aesculapius were found. The stock must have been made to the order of a merchant of devotional objects. (BUÓCZ 1967, 10).

In the cult of the Western Celts a healing goddess *Sirona* figured as well, thought after the Roman conquest the *paredros* of *Apollo*. The Emperor Caracalla promoted their cult from the time on when he was healed from a wound inflicted in his campaign in Germania; he rendered thank to the deities for his survival in 213, in the famous sanctuary of *Apollo* in Phoebeiana, Raetia. His next station was Pannonia, where he offered up in 214 to *Apollo* and *Sirona* in Brigetio and Aquincum. The erroneous coupling of the deities under different names on the inscriptions of the altars proves that there existed really only one cult of Aesculapius and *Hygieia* (PÓCZY 1980, 21).

Physicians also appealed to the deities when curing. We know e.g. eight medical men by name from Aquincum, which belongs even in imperial relations to the rarities. Two among them practised in the civil town, the other ones were military surgeons, one of them calls himself “*castrensis medicus*” (KORBULY 1937, 44, 114). The hospital might have stood in the legionary camp of Aquincum, in the neighbourhood of the military public bath. One of the two Aesculapius-*Hygieia*-reliefs came also from this environment as well as the altar dedicated to the divine couple Aesculapius and *Hygieia* by the surgeon Marcus Marcellus. Another votive slab was dedicated by the supervisor of the hospital, T. Venusius Aper. to the deity. A further inscribed slab was set up by a certain Aurelius to the tutelary genius of the *valetudinarium*, i.e. hospital, which led to the hypothesis that its place was in the chapel of this building (KABA 1991, 52; NEUMANN 1967, 114).

The sacred area of the healing gods was unearthed at the starting point of the aqueduct of Aquincum, on the territory of the Forest Pool of the present Római-fürdő, where well-houses – fourteen in number – were built which were used also as chapels. Two larger temples and an open-air sacrificial place belonged to the complex. Near the stair of one pediment temple an altar stood dedicated to the most august Iuppiter (PÓCZY 1972, 22 and Ill. 9). At the entrance of the sacred grove several steps led to the sacrificial place of Iuppiter, at the same place the sacred water was kept in small stone basins. In the chapels of the well group next the entrance the inscribed altars of the divine couple *Aesculapius* and *Hygieia* stood, i.e. of *Apollo* and *Sirona* identified with them. At the mineral springs sacrifices were brought also to *Silvanus* who was considered almost as a “local” deity of Pannonia and in the new chapel in the middle of the enlarged sacred grove only the altars of this deity took place. In the course of the 3rd century *Sol invictus*, the invincible solar deity, received a separate sacrificial place there. The devotees of this cult came, in an ever increasing number, from the followers of a syncretistic religion streaming in from the Orient (ALFÖLDY 1963, 54 and 65).

In the altar stone found in a chapel of the Aquincum well group the date of the days before May 1 is incised. It is well-known from the Roman calendar that the feast of *Floralia* was held in this time, mentioned by several poets (Ovidius *Fasti* V, 117). *Floralia*, i.e. the feast of flowers, figures on the official list of several Pannonian municipal festivities. Dates on several altar stones remember us to this date, which was sort of a spring feast, beginning on April 28 and ending on May 1, on the anniversary of the municipal *Lars*. After the official sacrifice on the forum the procession, led by two *duumviri*, left the town for some place of worship, sacred area, ancient grove in the neighbourhood. In Aquincum this occasional procession went on a pilgrimage to the well group, springing in the neighbourhood of the town, and here, at the start point of the *aquaeductus*, sacrifices were brought to the deities impersonating the waters which fed and vivified the town. The official part of the festivities was finished by a wide public entertainment. Every *collegium* marched under the flag of its own led by its leadership.



The decurio Claudius Pompeius Faustus might have been an influential magistrate of the town because on one of his two inscriptions, dated to different times, he is designed as the leader of the rite. In Brigetio – similarly to Aquincum – in the sanctuary area of Fons Salutis also the Oriental deities, *Dolichenus* and *Sol invictus*, took place (BARKÓCZI 1946, 42).

The festivities were finished in Aquincum, Brigetio, Savaria and Scarbantia in the amphitheatre. The participants of the procession could watch the games from the tribune which could hold a great number of onlookers; the games were connected in some form with the significance of the day. According to Martialis the procession went on the occasion of evening games in the light of flaming torches to the theatre, where the main organizer of the festivities gave the sign for the beginning of the festivity by offering up a sacrifice (PÓCZY 1980, 24).

The North-South *aquaeductus* of Aquincum was constructed for providing the legionary camp with water supply: its primary purpose was serving the army. The conduit was built by the army, which is indicated by bricks of the *legio II adiutrix*. We know also that the conduit was amplified with the increasing of the demands, in the 3rd century renovations were made also at the water draining places and this activity took place also with the participation of the army. It is therefore conspicuous that on none of the altars, found in the well-houses “*in situ*”, we find any members of the army, not veterans either. The only exception may be the altar of the *cornicularius* Publius Aelius Tertius, but this monument was not found at its original place. The persons devoting altars are civils, who sacrificed in the sacred area in the 2nd century in the name of the residents of the *municipium*, and in the 3rd century in that of the *colonia* (PÓCZY 1972, 28-30).

In Aquincum the archaeological excavations brought to light the ruins of buildings, standing in the sacred grove of the well cult. In Brigetio thanks to a stroke of luck, we can reconstruct with the aid of several inscriptions (altars and building inscriptions) in great lines the outward image of a similar sacred place. The region, named after the deity *Apollo-Grannus*, was built around the Brigetio *Fons Salutis*, i.e. the sanctuary area personifying the mineral well. The place is also here near one well, feeding the aqueduct of the town, resp. the legionary camp, South of the legionary camp, on the border of the way leading to Tata. The Brigetio monuments give a lucky complete the Aquincum results favourably (PÓCZY 1980, 14).

One of the inscriptions (PAULOVICS 1941, 124 = RIU 377) gives the following information: *Apollini et Hygiae Q(uintus) Ulp(ius) Felix Aug(ustalis) m(unicipii) Brig(etionis) porticum a portis (duabus) ad fontem Salutis a solo inpedi(i)s suis fecit et ad epulas privileg(io) colleg(ii) centon(ariorum) haberi iussit praefe(cto) Iul(io) Sabino q(uin)q(uennale) Praesente et Extric(ato) c(on)s(ulibus) noni(s) Nov(embribus?)*. According to the interpretation of L. Barkóczy (RIU II, 377) the date June 5 may be taken also in consideration. The date is the year 217.

The second inscription (CIL III 10971 = RIU 376) is attached to the previous one: [*templum Apollinis*] *Gran[ni cum co]lumn[is et portici]bus sui[ s a Quinto Ulpio] Felice [augustali et cul]tore loci [restitutum]*. According to the interpretation of Paulovics we have to start from the fact that in Brigetio the temple of Apollo Grannus stood in the neighbourhood of the legionary camp. This temple was in 217 restituted and adorned with a porticus by Q. Ulp. Felix, magistrate, on his own expenses, then according to the second inscription he connected the same temple with a roofed promenade hall. According to Paulovics the matter in question is an ornamental gate with a double entrance. In Barkóczy's reading the text mentions the southern gate of the legionary camp.

Altogether the inscriptions would speak of a sacred area with a temple, roofed portico, holy well, where common meals (CIL III, 11042 = RIU 503) and on the occasion of feasts social gatherings were held. It is remarkable that the same buildings are enumerated on the building inscriptions of a well group, feeding the aquaeductus of a *Numidian* town. The stone monument was erected by the emperors of the house of the Severi. The date is some years previous to that of the Brigetio inscriptions. North of the town of Thamugadi-Timgad, at the starting point of the municipal *aquaeductus*, a sanctuary and basin were built and the place was named, according to a fragmentary inscription from 203, on the occasion of a visit of Septimius Severus *Aqua Septimiana Felix*. Another, more detailed building inscription relates that the temple area was enlarged and decorated by Caracalla: at the entrance he made an ornamental gate erected, at the wells a park encircled by a fence with bronze trellis work and a portico was laid in 212 on his order (PÓCZY 1980, 17). From the three sanctuaries the middle one has larger measures than the two others, the three-lobed ornamental gate and the *porticus* – mentioned in the inscription – is still visible in the axe of the central temple.

It is conceivable that in the centre of the building group, outlined after the Brigetio inscriptions, a pediment temple stood encircled by a porticus and probably sacrifice places, hidden among the trees belonged also to the building. According to the evidence of reliefs, wall paintings and mosaics a great number of contemporaneous representations was made from similar sacred groves. Pliny the Younger gives in a letter a more plastic description, if possible, of such a temple area than the representations: “... The augurs admonished me that I had to restore and enlargen the Ceres-temple standing on my estate. It is a very old and very narrow building indeed, although it is visited on a certain day by a great crowd... I think it would be a generous and pious deed if I restored the temple as finely as possible completing it by a portico. The former one would be for the goddess, the latter for the people. That's why I should like to ask you to buy for me four marble columns, their quality is indifferent... And about the portico....we cannot build it round the temple because one side of this is bordered by a river of steep banks, the other by the road. Beyond the road a large field, opposite to the temple, very apt for building.” (Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* IX, 39.)



As we see it on ground of the inscriptions and archaeological finds, the sacred areas in Pannonia were protected by stone walls and inside of this stone wall several buildings must have taken place, according to the analogies. On the first place we can mention the lodgement of the so-called sexton. Actually he was the warden of the place who took part in the rites and was similarly in charge of the property of the religious community (WEISGERBER 1975, 20, 79). According to an inscription (*CIL* XIII, 4149) at the place of pilgrimage at Pelm (Gerolstein) an account rendered in 124 stated a sum collected which was equivalent to ca. 100 000 sesterces. Larger sacred areas had landed properties and pastures but when these were lacking, at every cult place allotments in kind were expected, which meant occasionally large fortunes on the occasion of festivals; beyond these gifts from the congregation were accumulated (PÓCZY 1980, 15), among them raw material for the aims of sacrifices and livestock. Such valuables must have been stored. In temple areas similar to the Pannonian ones the animals were worked up on the premise: in the case of Aquincum and Brigetio we may take it almost for sure that the utilization of fur, skin, meat and bone was sold to the neartown workshops.

The circle of the healing deities becomes complete with the *nymphs*. Their popularity is proven by the plentitude and frequent occurrence of their representations and the offerings made to them. The average man was rather distant from the more official cult of Aesculapius and Hygiea, at the same time he found more easily a connection with the nymphs. These gay, young female figures were hidden in the groves, and healed primarily with the divine power of the thermal and mineral springs. Their monuments came – as understandable – from the neighbourhood of mineral springs. (KÁDÁR 1981, 63 and map). The nymphs were, similarly to the Three Graces, represented keeping tightly together. The young girls stood in draping garments or nude, they hold a shell in their lap, as e.g. on a relief of *Aquae Iasae*. The finest documents of the *Nymph*-cult came to light in Southern Pannonia from the watering place *Aquae Iasae* (Varaždinske Toplice). At the mineral springs of this little town every summer the well-to-do citizens of the province and the leaders of the public administration took the waters, according to the names preserved on the inscriptions (VIKIĆ – BELANČIĆ – GORENC 1961). Several altars of the deities, the "*Nymphae perennes*" symbolizing the inexhaustible wells and the running water, remained in Pannonia. One of these was found in the neighbourhood of Gorsium (FITZ 1976, 42.), set up by a high priest of the *ara* of Pannonia Inferior, i.e. the state religion expressed in the provincial cult.

The forum of Gorsium was (according to the excavator) in the times of the Emperor Trajan decorated with ornamental fountains (FITZ 1976, 42), which were attached to the wall of the forum in terraced shape. The supporting walls are richly proportioned, remembering us, according to the taste of the period, to an architectural solution resembling the upstage of the Roman theatre. Between columns niches were formed which were connected by an architecture closed by vaulting. The ornamental wall was broken by three stairs leading to the Capitoline temple (FITZ 1976, 92).

In the two niches between the stairs an oval basin each was placed, one decorated with the figure of a river deity, the other with the representation of nymphs. On both reliefs the figures rest on a jug turned upside down, pouring water into the basin. The water supply was led through lead-pipes to the fountains. This picture type developed some centuries previously, it is represented similarly e.g. on a wall picture of Pompei. In the representations of the Gorsium *nymphaeum* the orientalizing attire of the water deities is unusual. This gives a local colour to the finest open-air sculpture preserved in Pannonia.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALFÖLDI 1963  
 BARKÓCZI 1946  
 BUÓCZ 1967  
 ERDÉLYI 1974  
 FITZ 1976  
 JOBST–TURNOWSKY 1992  
  
 KABA 1991  
 KÁDÁR 1981  
  
 KORBULY 1934  
 KUZSINSZKY 1937  
  
 NAGY 1942  
  
 NEUMANN 1967  
  
 PAULOVICS 1941  
  
 PÓCZY 1972  
 PÓCZY 1980  
  
 VIKIČ-BELANČIĆ – GORENC 1961  
  
 WEISGERBER 1975
- G. ALFÖLDY, *Aquincum vallási életének története*. BpR, XX, 48-.  
 L. BARKÓCZI, *Brigetio*. DissPann, IV/22.  
 T. BUÓCZ, *Savaria topográfiája*. Szombathely.  
 G. ERDÉLYI, *A római kőfaragás és kőszobrászat Magyarországon*. Budapest  
 J. FITZ, *Gorsium-Herculia*. Székesfehérvár.  
 W. JOBST – P. TURNOWSKY, *Die Schutzgötter der Legionen*.  
     in: *Carnuntum, das Erbe Roms an der Donau*. (ed. Jobst W.) Wien.  
 M. KABA, *Thermae maiores legionis II. adiutricis*. Budapest.  
 Z. KÁDÁR, *Gyógyító istenségek tisztelete Pannoniában a topográfiai adatok tükrében*. CommHistMed.  
 GY. KORBULY, *Aquincum orvosi emlékei*. Budapest.  
 B. KUZSINSZKY, *Az Aquincumi Múzeum emlékeinek 5. sorozata*.  
     BpR, XII, 175-289.  
 L. NAGY, *Családi és társadalmi élet Aquincumban*.  
     Budapest Története 2. Budapest.  
 A. NEUMANN, *Spital und Bad im Legionslager Vindobona*.  
     Jb. RGZM Mainz, 103-116.  
 I. PAULOVICS, *Funde und Forschungen in Brigetio*.  
     Laureae Aquincenses II. Budapest.  
 K. PÓCZY, *Aquincum első aquaeductusa*. AÉrt, XCIX, 15-42.  
 K. PÓCZY, *Szent kerületek Aquincum és Brigetio aquaeductusánál*.  
     AÉrt, CXVII, 3-26.  
 B. VIKIČ-BELANČIĆ – M. GORENC, *Untersuchungen in den*  
     *Thermen von Varaždinske Toplice (Aquae Iasae)*. VAMZ, 181-223.  
 G. WEISGERBER, *Das Pilgerheiligtum des Apollo und der Sirona vom Hochscheid*  
     *im Hunsrück*. Bonn.

# THE CULT OF THE ORIENTAL DEITIES IN CARNUNTUM

H. Jobst

As for the religious life of Carnuntum in the 2nd and 3rd century A.D. the finds yielded by the excavations and the inscription material denote an obvious turning of its population towards the deities imported from the Orient – a tendency which manifests itself at the same time also in the capital of the multinational Empire, though, as in many towns of the Western provinces, this phenomenon is here, because of an absence of temples built in preimperial times for the traditional Italo-Roman gods, even more conspicuous.

This impression is caused in Carnuntum without doubt also by the situation of the excavations, for till now in the civil town neither the Forum with the oblique temple of the Capitoline Triad<sup>1</sup> has been archaeologically disclosed nor a sanctuary of Iuno Karnuntina, revered as the protectress of the town (STIGLITZ 1977, 597) discovered. All the better come the cult buildings in the foreground, dedicated to the deities of the eastern mystery religions<sup>2</sup>, placed first numerically to the Iranian god of light, Mithras. If we count, besides Mithraeum I and Mithraeum III (SACKEN, 1853, 336 sqq; REICHEL, 1895, 169 sqq) identified by a rich inscription material and sculptural decoration, further attributing three cult buildings to Mithras (STIGLITZ 1977, 615 sq. Ill. 2 [Mithraeum II?] and 608 with 619 Ill. 8 [Mithraeum V?]), whose characteristic three-nave ground plans would hardly allow a different explanation, the stock of Mithraeums in Carnuntum could be compared with that of Aquincum, capital of Pannonia Inferior. The recently discovered sanctuary, which we identify, on ground of the side platforms for the couches, the base of a cult sculpture at the end of the middle passage and the finds of snake vessels in the next proximity with a fifth Mithraeum of Carnuntum, is situated in the temple area for Oriental deities (KANDLER 1981, 10 sq. Ill. 5.) excavated in the canabae after 1978. The cult buildings in this temenos surrounded by walls, a large platformed room and smaller temples were, according to the inscriptions, dedicated primarily to Iuppiter Heliopolitanus and his paredros, Venus Victrix, for whom, outside of their native sanctuary and apart of Rome the town of Carnuntum seems to be a major cult centre.

In the next vicinity of another Syrian Baal, i.e. in the temple area of Iuppiter Dolichenus was the invincible solar deity Mithras venerated in the so-called second Mithraeum of Carnuntum (DELL 1893, 184 sq; cf STIGLITZ 1977, 605, Ill. 2) uncovered as early as 1891. This Mithras sanctuary was built, similarly to that in Brigetio, with a longitudinal wall directly to the Dolichenum and because it yielded no finds it was assumed – certainly erroneously – that it served only as a Dolichenus sanctuary. In this later one the whole stone stock seems to be reserved: the votive inscriptions and altars, a statue as well as a votive stele with the relief figure of the god on the bull.

A temple for the Aegyptian deities Isis and Serapis, has been not uncovered as yet in the soil of Carnuntum, but the existence of such a temple is secured by a building inscription (WEBER 1985, 649 sq. Pl. 12,1) found a couple of years ago, so that it can be concluded that a community of believers of the main deities from the Nile existed in Carnuntum.

The cult of the Thraco-Phrygian deity Sabazios, which was accepted in Rome as early as the republican times and in the first four centuries A.D. expanded in a modest measure also in the Western provinces, is proven in Carnuntum only by one evidence in the form of one of the characteristic votive hands (*Carnuntum I*, 50 sq. No. 8; *CSIR Österr.* I/2, No. 122.) (not as usual in bronze but in marble), which holds in the gesture of the benediction latina a pine-cone, to which a snake is climbing up. For the syncretistic figure of Sabazios (whose name points to a connection with the Sabaoth of the Old Testament), who as fertility god resembled Dionysos and because of his competence in the cosmic world assumed also features of Iuppiter, it is not necessary to look for a cult place of his own. Till now his veneration is namely proven mainly in house sanctuaries and only sporadically in a camp sanctuary resp. in connection with the imperial cult (TÓTH 1987, 107).

No more can we hope to discover a sanctuary of their own of the so-called Danubian Riders. The devotees of these rider deities, mostly soldiers, placed the relief figures of small measures of their patron deities in their contubernia without any building activity or they took them along to their military campaigns as amulets. Because the rich symbolics of the rider reliefs, starting with the emblemata of the elements and proceeding to the initiation scenes, the sacrifice of the ram and the meal of the fish finishing with the presence of Sol and Luna show a strong influence of eastern mystery religions, especially that of the Mithras cult, it is possible that the rider deities were later drawn into the cult of an oriental deity, related to them but more famous; this may be proven by the finding of a votive medall of the Danubian Riders in the Mithraeum of London (TOYNBEE 1986, 36 sq. No. 14, Pl. XI).

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the mountain sanctuary of Iuppiter Karnuntinus with its temple buildings, votive altars and traces of Iuppiter-Giganto-columns on the Pfaffenberg, the mons sacer of Carnuntum, to whose feet the canabae were situated, has been wholly excavated before it became a victim of the quarry. Cf.: JOBST 1978, 12sqq.: Display of the total epigraphic material: I. Piso, Die Inschriften vom Pfaffenberg (in preparation for printing).

<sup>2</sup> Zu den Zeugnissen orientalischer Kulte in Carnuntum: SCHÖN, 1988, 15-106; *Carnuntum I*. 1992, 17-81.

Among finds dug up in Carnuntum the Museum Carnuntinum in Bad Deutsch-Altenburg preserves five items of such reliefs (*Carnuntum I*, 1992, 33 sqq. No. 1-4 and 6; TUDOR 1969, 147 and 149-151.) made of marble, silver, bronze and lead, which show, in diverse variations, the two riders, related to the Dioscurs, who ride on horseback over a dead body of a fallen soldier resp. over a fish representing life, towards a goddess standing in the middle who is characterized as presenter of Life, to be identified likely with Luna.

Worth mentioning as the one evidence for the Carnuntum presence of the local deity of Tavium, Middle Anatolia, is an altar consecrated to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus T a v i a n u s (VORBECK 1980a, 31, No. 48; *Carnuntum I*, 1992, 64 sq. No. 47), which was dedicated to the god from Galatia by a centurion of the 14th legion, surely of Celtic origin. In Lower Pannonia (Intercisa) further an epigraphic proofs for the rare cult of this celestial and storm deity from Asia Minor (TÓTH 1987, 111 and 125 sq. No. 10 and 11, Ill. 4.), identified with the supreme god of the Romans.

Remarkably infrequent and so in correspondence with the finds of Western Pannonia are in Carnuntum the proofs for the cult of the great mother of the gods of Asia Minor, Kybele, who, romanized, became the M a g n a M a t e r of Mount Ida (TÓTH 1990, 130 sqq). The Phrygian mother goddess was, nevertheless, the first of all Oriental deities who were accepted in Rome. In a state of emergency during the second Punic War, as Hannibal stood before the gates of Rome and pestilence and raining of stones terrified the population, the cult statue of the goddess in the form of a black meteorite was deducted in 204 B.C. to Rome following the advice of the Sibyllan Books with the aid of the King of Pergamon Attalos I, not least with the aim to have with Kybele a more potent goddess inside of their town walls as helper against the patroness of Hannibal, the Carthagian goddess Tanit.

As for epigraphic monuments of Magna Mater till now only three modest votive altars were found; one of them, a small ara, dedicated by a certain Julia Mansueta, is in the Museum Carnuntinum.<sup>3</sup>

The few figural representations of Magna Mater, mostly of small measures, as e.g. the little head of a bronze statuette with the typical wall crown or a representation of the goddess with her paredros Attis on a fragmentary relief (TÓTH 1989, 82-85, esp. No. 37-38) whose identification is, though, not beyond doubt, are now completed by a sporadic find detected in the late 70s, a small lead tablet, which represents the goddess in relief in a lion chariot, characterized by polos and tympanon (KANDLER 1990, 167-170, Ill.1, 2).

From the small bronze statuettes representing A t t i s, being mostly pieces of decoration functioning e.g. as candlesticks (*Carnuntum I*, 1992, 67, No. 7; FLEISCHER 1967, 82 sq. No. 97, Pl. 54-55), we can conclude only with precaution to the veneration of the paredros of the Great Goddess. Representations of an *Attis tristis or funerarius*<sup>4</sup> do not allow, either, an implication that the defunct was initiated into the mysteries of Kybele and Attis.

Among the sepulchral representations the figure of Attis must be interpreted in an ampler meaning, as has to be regarded as a general symbol of death and resurrection. In the inscription material of Carnuntum we find no sacerdos representing the cult personal of the goddess competent for the temple ceremonies, as the rites of rebirth or revival of the Krio- and Taurubolium and the processions, nor a college of the Dendrophori (as in Emona or Siscia) (SELEM 1980, 196 sq. No. 1, Pl. XXXII.) who had, at the annual spring fests in March, to formate and carry a May Tree-like decorated pinia or pine trunk in remembrance of the burial and rebirth of Attis. It would be therefore not realistic to suppose the existence of another Metroon in the soil of Carnuntum, similar to that which came to light in Poetovio (SELEM 1980, 216 sqq; I. TÓTH 1989, 74 sqq. No. 19 and 20, Ill. 6) with a cult statue of the goddess enthroned, flanked by two lions (*Carnuntum I*, 77 sqq. No. 7-15). All the same we cannot exclude that the cult of the Magna Mater in Carnuntum was ampler as it is presently documented by archaeological finds.

For a few years it was namely thought that the small number of Isis-Fortuna statuettes, Serapis busts, small Ammon heads and Ushebti-figures came from individual devotees of the Egyptian deities, who had to go on a pilgrimage to the Iseum of Savaria (SZENTLÉLEKY 1980) as the nearest Egyptian cult centre if they wanted to partake in the Isis celebrations. Now since the coming to light of a monumental building inscription (WEBER 1985, 649 sq. Pl. 12.1) in 1979, which proves the building (or restoring?) of a sanctuary of S e r a p i s and probably also of I s i s for the welfare of the Emperor Caracalla and his mother by a commander of the 14th legion in A.D. 213, it is proven that in Carnuntum an organized community existed in the service of the Egyptian main deities. For the altars of Serapis Conservator and Iuppiter Serapis (*Carnuntum I*, 75 sq. No. 50 and 51; *CIL* III 11157 and 11141), known for a long time past, and the great altar of Iuppiter A m m o n (*CIL* III 11128 Wien, Kh.Mus.AS III 331; *CSIR* Österr. 14, No. 500) is the erection in the temple area proven with almost absolute certainty. We can similarly presume that the early Ptolemaic Hathor-head as votive gift, the similarly original Egyptian porphyry relief of an Apis bull, finally the male head with the characteristic

<sup>3</sup> VORBECK 1980b, 23 No. 86. –The whereabouts of the other two votive stones is as for the present unknown: *CIL* III 14088 (VORBECK 1980b, 292) and *CIL* III 13460 (VORBECK 1980b, No. 219), in whose case the attribution (through the completing interpretation!) to Magna Mater is to be referred most likely to that of Silvanus Magnus, attested frequently in Pannonia. Cf. TÓTH 1989, 85.

<sup>4</sup> We have to exclude from the authentic pieces the „floating statuette with wing fragments” from the Pfaffenberg (*CSIR* I/2 No. 81; SCHÖN 1988, 103 No. 122; TÓTH 1989, 83 No. 40) which was repeatedly identified with Attis, because it represents most likely Victoria.

head scarf of the kings (*Carnuntum I*, 75 sq, No. 49, 52 and 77, No. 1) in Egyptizing style belonged to the decoration of this Serapeum. Two Serapis busts in terra cotta and bronze (*Carnuntum I*, 79, No. 10 and 11) remind us to the colossal cult statue of the god in the Serapeum of Alexandria. As for the bronze statuettes of Isis we have here a syncretistic form as Isis-Fortuna or Panthea. A bronze figure with elephant headdress can be interpreted as the personification of Alexandria or Aegyptus or the province Africa (*Carnuntum I*, 77 sq, No. 2-5). Representations of Iuppiter Ammon are shown by three relief medallions (*Carnuntum I*, 79 sq, No. 13-15) of the god in the type of the bearded Zeus head with ram horns. From Alexandria come the sporadic objects of the glyptics (*Carnuntum I*, 80 sq, No. 16-20), who represent, besides of Isis carrying the sistrum and Serapis, also idyllic scenes of the Egyptian fauna and flora, further some magic gemmas with the cock-headed Anguipes (*Carnuntum I*, 69 sq, No. 17-19) who occurs twice with the magic formula Abrasax on the reverse.

In Carnuntum the find of a sarcophagus with a mummified corpse (SWOBODA 1964, 199 and 294 n.7) is usually counted among the Aegyptiaca, without being proven that the defunct was of Egyptian origin or belonged to the devotees of Isis. The ushebtis exhibited in the museum came from different findplaces and regrettably not as grave goods of this mummy. So the only Egyptian person we know presently as having dwelt in Carnuntum is the Egyptian priest-magician Arnuphis, whom we know from Cassius Dio (71, 8, 4) as belonging to the retinue of Marcus Aurelius and to whose magical force even the rain wonder in the land of the Quades was attributed; an inscription in Aquileia proves that he was a devotee of Isis (VIDMAN 1970, 119 sq).

For enlivening the reconstructed picture of the Egyptian cult life in Carnuntum it would be desirable if the epigraphic proof of the Serapis-Isis temple were followed in the next future by archaeological evidence.

We have a more complete picture for the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus on ground of the probative force of the epigraphic material from the Dolichenus sanctuary (HÖRIG-SCHWERTHEIM, 1987, 143 sq No. 216. III. 13), which is paralleled on Austrian ground only by the Dolichenum of Virunum in the neighbouring Noricum, while in Pannonia Superior we have cult places of the god in Brigetio and Savaria (?), in Pannonia Inferior in Vetus Salina. From the votive inscriptions of the altars, votive tablets and the relief stele<sup>5</sup> we get the evidence that the cult personal of Dolichenus consisted of *sacerdotes* – priests, curator – finance clerks and *scribae* – clerks, where the names of these functionaries point in a great majority to an oriental origin. Among the founders we find army officers, among them a centurio each of the legions 10 and 14, but also civilians in the same number with Italic names. The devotions are for the welfare of the Emperor (Commodus!) as for the prosperity of the donators and their family.

From the sanctuary come two almost life-size representations of the god. The relief stele shows the tempest god and celestial deity from Doliche, identified with the Roman Iuppiter, according to the original, oriental picture schema standing on the bull, on the bearded head the Phrygian cap, in his hands the double axe and the thunderbolt. In the military attire of the god we can, though, recognize a conscious assimilation to the attire of a commander worn by the Emperor. Dolichenus appears resembling a Roman emperor also on the marble statue on which the bull is not shown as a postament but in reduced size, as an attribute, recumbent by the side of the god.

Outside the sanctuary, on the area of the canabae, another smaller statuette (*CCID*, No. 230 Pl. XLII) was found, showing the god in an oriental civilian attire with an oversized double axe in the right, stepping with his left foot on the bull recumbent at his feet. The fourth representation of Dolichenus found in Carnuntum is a silver relief of the god (*CCID*, No. 233 Pl. XLV) on a bull galloping to the left; it was an applique of one of the characteristic triangular tablets stuck standart-like on poles. In some bronze relief-appliques of Sol and Luna as in the bronze statuettes of Victoria floating over a globe we have to recognize equipments of further similar Dolichenus tablets. On the historical or religious political motives which gave the local heavenly god of the place Doliche in the area of Kommagene, annexed in 72 A.D. to the province Syria, such an over-regional importance widespread in the Imperium, we can only cogitate. The transplantation of the cult to the Danube limes is likely to be attributed to troops of legionaries from Kommagene who participated in the oriental military expedition – e.g. the 10th legion stationed since the times of Trajan in Vindobona.

The earliest proof for a veneration of Dolichenus in Carnuntum (and for that in general in the Western provinces) a building inscription dedicated to the welfare of the Emperor Hadrian, to be dated between 128 and 138 A.D., that was erected by a juvenile association "*iuventus colens Jovem Dolichenum*", which refers to the building of the gate and walls of a sacred area. The inventory of the Dolichenum proves that the dedications increased only under Commodus (180-193). After a flourishing under the Severi it seems that in Carnuntum the activity of the cult place diminished with the dedication to Dolichenus for the Emperor Maximinus Thrax (235-238) (*CCID*, No. 232); the cult in general came to an end over the whole Empire with the demolition of the main sanctuary Doliche by the Sasanids about the middle of the 3rd century.

<sup>5</sup> *CCID*, No. 218-229. Not from the Dolichenum but from the Pfaffenberg comes the Iuventus inscription quoted under No. 217. The alphabet brick No. 227 has to be excluded as not found on the area of the sanctuary.

The veneration of another Syrian Baal, namely that of Baal-Hadad of Heliopolis/Baalbek, whom the Romans equated, similarly to Dolichenus, with their Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, is in Carnuntum through dedications known for a long time (*CIL* III 1137, 1138 and 1139; HAJJAR 1977, No. 274, 275 and 273). In addition the relief on the armour of a statue of an emperor (*CSIR* Österr. I 1 No. 83; HAJJAR, No. 277; *Carnuntum* I, 60 sq No. 40, Ill. p. 58), found in the principia of the Carnuntum camp representing most likely Severus Alexander (222-235 A.D.) is a free variant of the cult picture of the god in the main temple of Baalbek, which was built since the 1st century A.D. by the Roman Emperors to the most monumental temple of the Empire. The relief displays the god standing on a base, flanked by two bulls, his legs and body wrapped in the typical attire, in the right the whip of the solar god, while the attributes now broken in the left must be completed after the model of Heliopolis with the thunderbolt and a bunch of spikes pointing to a tempest deity who brings fertility to the crop.

That Iuppiter Heliopolitanus was venerated in Carnuntum together with his paredros, the Syrian Atargatis, who, romanized, became Venus Victrix, is proven by two votive inscriptions<sup>6</sup> known also for a long time. On one of them even the head of the goddess is represented. In the course of the excavations led since 1978 in the canabae East from the camp, the finding of further Heliopolitanus votives, that of an altar and a bronze-gilt tablet (KANDLER 1983, Vol. 2, 194 sq, Pls. XXVI-XXVII) led to the conclusion that the sacred area excavated there was primarily sacred to the Heliopolitane deities. To which deity we have to attribute the single cult buildings, arranged around a trapeze-shaped courtyard, we have no certain proofs at yet. The excavator presumes that the quadrate temple with an altar base before it standing isolated at the eastern side of the area exactly in the East-West axis, was the temple of Iuppiter Heliopolitanus, and considers the possibility that the edifice attributed to Mithras because of its three-naved construction, situated on the south of the courtyard between a room with platforms and the bath complex, could be the sanctuary of the paredros of the Heliopolitanus, namely Venus Victrix. The laid up platform at the end of the middle passage, thought to be the base of a cult relief of Mithras, would be accordingly the base for the cult picture of the goddess. Whether the smaller than life-size, sandstone female head with a crown of leaves (KANDLER 1981, 11, Frontispiece) and the fragment of a lower arm, belonging to the same statuette, with fractional wings, which probably belonged to one of the sphinges, flanking the statue, might have been the cult statue of Venus Victrix, is till now uncertain.

Among the founders of the eight votive inscriptions for the Heliopolitan deities from the town area of Carnuntum soldiers (of the 14th, and once of the 10th legion) were in predominance, if we consider also the veteran list of the dedication to Venus Victrix. Once an Augustalis appears as founder, twice a pair of priests, presumably of oriental origin, whose names figured in order to give an intern dating – about 240 A.D. – for the inscription.

The beginning of the cult of the Heliopolitanus in Carnuntum is assumed about the mid-2nd century A.D. The earliest inscription which can be dated is from 189 A.D., the times of Commodus, in which in whole Pannonia an increased immigration of Syrians and people from Asia Minor is demonstrable. The Heliopolitanus sanctuary became a prominent cult centre along the Danube limes certainly through the promotion of the Syrian emperors. The founder of this dynasty was Septimius Severus who was saluted emperor in Carnuntum. While the date 240 A.D. seemed till now the latest one for a Heliopolitanus devotion, the cult area with its baths might have been used till the middle of the 4th century.

The most numerous group among the believers of Oriental religions in Carnuntum was formed by the initiated into the mysteries of the Persian Mithras. This is attested not only by the above mentioned Mithraeums – three of them, counting only those attributed with certainty and five together with the two assumed – but also by monuments of the Mithras cult coming to light in great numbers (SCHÖN 1988, 15 sqq No. 1-61). Not considering the small finds, among them many fragments of snake vessels, almost 60 votive inscriptions, sculptures and reliefs exist, among the last ones 6 items with the motif of the *Tauroktonia*. The stone monuments come partly of the inventory of Mithraeum I (13 items: beside the cult sculpture and the Dadophori the representation of the rock-birth and of a lion with a fire cana as well as an altar dedicated to the transitus) and of Mithraeum III (12 items: beside the altar dedicated to the conference of the Emperors and the cult-picture assembled of 4 square plates we have to mention another rock-birth as well as the high reliefs of Cautes and Cautopates from the environment of the entrance, a shell basin and the sculpture of a lion). Monuments of Mithras were found also scattered as spolia over the civil town and canabae as well as the camp.

In the case of the Mithras altar to be dated as the earliest, which cannot be attributed to any of the Mithraeums, the person taking a vow is an Italian, centurion of the legio *XV. Apollinaris* (*CIL* III 4418; Wien, KH Mus. AS III 35: VORBECK 1980a, No. 143.), which was after the Oriental campaign, closed with the occupation of Jerusalem, stationed between 71 and 114 A.D. in Carnuntum, till it was relieved by the 14th legion. With this proof for the possible beginning of the cult of Mithras in the last quarter of the 1st century Carnuntum seems to be in the Western provinces one of the places where the cult could gain a foothold earliest after its widespread in and about Rome (MERKELBACH 1984, 148 sq.).

<sup>6</sup> *CIL* III 11139; HAJJAR, No.273 (+ Votive column) and *CIL* III 11140; *CSIR*, I/2, No. 197 – Votive tablet with relief head.

It is true, though, that in the present state of research we cannot adhere to the theory any longer, according to which the cult of Mithras came directly from the East, transferred through soldiers of the Orient army, as e.g. those of the 15th legion. Not a minor cause of this is the fact that we did not find any buildings from the republican or early imperial period in the East which could have been the predecessors of the characteristic cave sanctuaries with the cult picture of the bull-killing Mithras. Many facts point to the direction that the veneration of Mithras came primarily from the Orient to Rome, where it was adapted to the Roman demands primarily as for the requirement of loyalty to the Imperial house, and here it became the mystery religion known to us (MERKELBACH 1984, 149).

From Rome resp. from Italy was the newly organized cult brought to the provinces along the Danube and the Rhine. In this extension imperial functionaries, government officials, among others customhouse officers and other citizens from Italy (CLAUSS 1992, 254). This proves that we cannot speak of a "religion of soldiers" any longer. An analysis of the followers of Mithras on ground of the inscriptions (CLAUSS 1992, 268) gave the result that the participation of soldiers, except for Britannia, was never above 20 per cent (differing from the devotees of Dolichenus, among whom about 40 per cent were soldiers). This statistic seems to reflect also in the epigraphic material of Carnuntum. If the bestowers of the votives in the third Mithraeum, except for a centurion of the 14th legion who donated an altar, were civil persons, the votives of the first Mithraeum came from soldiers, who must have been, in spite of statistics, the main responsables for the transport of the cult from Italy and for its initiation along the Danube.

Astonishing results can be gained from the recent research, which was since the 70s promoted by international Mithras congresses. This was not only valid for the social structure of the initiated, the expansion of the cult and philosophical background of Mithraism, but is evident also in the representation of the bull-slaying in the cult pictures, in which researchers sought for a long time past the key to the secret of the Mithras mysteries.

The critics of the purely Persian interpretation, according to which the Roman Mithras was the helper of the supreme heavenly deity, Ahura Mazda, and in the bull sacrifice we have to see an act of the Iranian cosmogony, which would make the earth fertile, led to new ways of interpretation. Among those the theory of an astral symbolical concept gives the most plausible explanation. It starts from the fact that for every element of the cult picture (from bull, scorpion, dog through snake, raven and crater to the twins) there is an accordance among the constellations. It was deducted that the cult picture contained the most important constellations of the heavenly equator and the summer zodiacus seen on the sky when the beginning of the spring was in the bull and the beginning of the autumn in the scorpion and so the slaughtering of the bull would mean nothing but the end of the bull asterism as spring constellation. Hidden in the allegory of the bull-slaughtering was the knowledge of the precession of the equinoxes illustrated, that astronomical phenomenon about the shift of the spring and autumn point through the whole zodiac in the course of 25.900 years, detected about 130 B.C. by the Greek astronomer Hipparchos of Nicea.

The discovery of this heavenly movement was a revolution for the belief of many centuries in the immutability of the routes of stars and planets. The precession could become the object of a religion inasmuch as a deity was thought to be the originator of this alteration of the cosmic structure starting from the heavenly axis. This god was identified with Mithras, which was equated with the star constellation Perseus over the constellation Taurus<sup>7</sup>. Mithras-Perseus, who appears in the bull-slaughtering as the executor of the precession and thus as lord of a new age, was thought at the same time the ruler of the heavenly axis. This domination over the rotating pole was expressed symbolically in the pictures of the so-called Mithras legend, namely in the scene where Mithras rotates over Sol kneeling before him the shoulder blade of an ox, which is provably the Egyptian symbol for the constellation of the Great Bear. It can be assumed that with the help of the precession theory we shall find further, till now unintelligible details of the picture cycles and so we tried when building the new exhibition of the Mithras monuments in the Museum Carnuntinum to point to its particular astral symbolical aspect – not least with the aim of displaying the theme for discussion and for solving the till now open questions in the Mithraic iconography.

---

<sup>7</sup> The detailed display of this theory based on literary, astronomical and historical facts can be found with D. ULANSEY, *The origins of the Mithraic mysteries: cosmology and salvation in the ancient world*. (Oxford/New York 1989).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Carnuntum I.* 1992  
 CLAUSS 1992  
 DELL 1893  
 FLEISCHER 1967  
 HAJJAR 1977  
 HÖRIG-SCHWERTHEIM 1987  
 JOBST 1978  
 KANDLER 1981  
 KANDLER 1983  
 KANDLER 1990  
 MERKELBACH 1984  
 REICHEL 1895  
 SACKEN 1853  
 SCHÖN 1988  
 SELEM 1980  
 STIGLITZ 1977  
 SWOBODA 1964  
 SZENTLÉLEKY 1960  
 TÓTH 1987  
 TÓTH 1989  
 TÓTH 1990  
 TOYNBEE 1986  
 TUDOR 1969  
 ULANSEY 1989  
 VIDMAN 1970  
 VORBECK 1980a  
 VORBECK 1980b  
 WEBER 1985
- Carnuntum I. Das Erbe Roms an der Donau. Katalog der Ausstellung des Archäologischen Museums Carnuntinum in Bad Deutsch Altenburg.* Wien, 17-81.  
 M. CLAUSS, *Cultores Mithrae. Die Anhängerschaft des Mithras-Kultes.* Stuttgart.  
 J. DELL, *Ausgrabungen in Carnuntum.* AEM, XVI, 156-204.  
 R. FLEISCHER, *Die römischen Bronzen aus Österreich.*  
 Y. HAJJAR, *Latriade d'Héliopolis-Baalbek.* EPRO, LIX.  
 M. HÖRIG – E. SCHWERTHEIM, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni (CCID).* EPRO CVI.  
 W. JOBST, *11 Juni 172 n.Chr. Der Tag des Blitz- u. Regenwunders im Quadenlande.* Wien.  
 M. KANDLER, *Ein Tempelbezirk in der Lagerstadt von Carnuntum.* Wien.  
 M. KANDLER, *Neues zur Verehrung der Helipolitanischen Götter in Carnuntum.* Concilium Eirene XVI. Proceedings of the 16. Eirene Conference (Prague), Vol. II. 194-.  
 M. KANDLER, *Zeugnisse der Kybeleverehrung aus Carnuntum.* Echo. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, XXVII.  
 R. MERKELBACH, *Mithras.* Hain.  
 W. REICHEL, *Funde von Carnuntum. Das dritte Mithraeum.* AEM, XVIII, 169-.  
 E. SACKEN, *Über die neuesten Funde zu Carnuntum, besonders über die Reste eines Mithraeums.* SAWW, XI, 336-.  
 D. SCHÖN, *Orientalische Kulte im römischen Österreich.* Wien, 15-106.  
 P. SELEM, *Les religions orientales dans la Pannonie Romaine.* EPRO, LXXXV.  
 H. STIGLITZ, *Die Zivilstadt Carnuntum.* ANRW II/6.  
 E. SWOBODA, *Carnuntum. Seine Geschichte und Seine Denkmäler.* Graz.  
 T. SZENTLÉLEKY, *Szombathelyi Isis-szentély.* Budapest.  
 I. TÓTH, *Der Kult der kleinasiatischen Götter in Pannonien.* Specimina Nova, 107-129.  
 I. TÓTH, *The remains of the cult of Magna Mater and Attis in Pannonia.* Specimina Nova, 59-121.  
 I. TÓTH, *The Cult of Cybele and Attis in Pannonia.* Specimina Nova, 119-157.  
 J. M. C. TOYNBEE, *The Roman Art Treasures from the Temple of Mithras.* London.  
 D. TUDOR, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Equitum Danuviorum. I.* EPRO, XIII.  
 D. ULANSEY, *The origins of the Mithraic mysteries: cosmology and salvation in the ancient world.* Oxford–New York.  
 L. VIDMAN, *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern.* Berlin.  
 E. VORBECK, *Militärinschriften aus Carnuntum.* Wien, 2. Aufl.  
 E. VORBECK, *Zivilinschriften aus Carnuntum.* Wien.  
 E. WEBER, *Ein Serapisheiligtum in Carnuntum.* Arch.-epigraph. Studien, I.



# CHRISTIANITY IN PANNONIA

D. Gáspár

The most general statements – and they are perhaps common knowledge – include sometimes errors as well. To such errors belongs the definition of the document issued 313 A.D. in Milan as an *edictum*, though it was no edict but a *constitutio*. Another error is that the establishing of Christianity as state religion is usually attributed to Constantine I, though this was due to Theodosius I, the Great. The third error is the opinion that after the establishing of Christianity as state religion, paganism vanished instantly. This is simply not true. The survival of paganism is proven by its very name, which comes from the labelling *pagani*, meaning persons of the country. After the edict of Theodosius the adherents of the old religion lived mainly in the country accepting thus the above name, which became later, much later, a pejorative epithet.<sup>1</sup> The contemporary Libanios holds the sudden conversion for a pretence. This means that though they seemingly increase the number of Christians, they remain in spirit what they were, i.e. pagans. We have data from the age of Valens and Valentinian referring to pagan customs, sorcery effectuated in the country, e.g. in the person of Iamblichus. Not regarding this late times we can assert that paganism and Christianity – except for some periods – lived in everyday life side by side and we can add that it was a peaceful coexistence. When this balance was disturbed, it was always bound to a concrete place and time. We can list these events historically.

The major part of the works dealing with the history of Early Christianity propagates the doctrine that only a fact can be called proven and is acceptable, which is presumed by many or where we have many data and sources at our disposal. The mentioned earlier errors could survive, though, even in the sign of this "scientific" notion, because they were asserted and promulgated by almost everybody. If we say that the positivistic historical trend propagated errors out of overzeal, we can also state that modern scholarly world may give birth to erroneous results even by its deadly criticism.<sup>2</sup> One approach overestimates the axioms hidden in the nature of things, while the other one negates or at least neglects the existence of such axioms. It neglects, in any case, the metaphysical roots of religion and past, which results in a certain irrationality in life. Something we cannot prove – it is, nevertheless, true.

Observing this by way of introduction I wanted to point out my own method, what means that while collecting the data as completely as possible I should like to avoid the zealous overstatements of the positivists but at the same time to abstain myself from the hard "quantitative" attitude of up-to-date science. I should like to follow the counsel of J. Lortz, who prescribes for the elaboration of every theme of religious history a discipline taking in consideration two points of view (LORTZ 1962, 3-6). I intend to relate the ecclesiastic history of Pannonia in detail according to following respects:

- a. Pannonia, the Roman Empire and the Occidental side.
- b. The works of Christianity are not independent from the ritual – *veritas, usus, pulcher*.  
Their expression in archaeological finds and edifices.
- c. Appearance of Christianity, discussions, the period of settling, evolution of ecclesiastic structures.
- d. History of the Christians in the first five centuries on the territory of Pannonia.

a.) The Christianity of Pannonia is a part of the general ecclesiastic history, as Pannonia is a part of the Roman Empire. According to its geographical position it takes place between the Orient and the Occident, is usually counted to the West. From its belonging to the Roman Empire it follows that beyond local specialities it would have general characteristics. When Christianity entered the soil of Pannonia, its acceptance was not independent from the cultural circle present in our area at the given time. Christians and pagans lived side by side namely pagans in their majority and only in a lesser part Christians (GÁSPÁR 1993, 5-22). This was the situation in the city of Rome<sup>3</sup> and the same is valid for Pannonia. Since what time? This is a question still discussed. In lack of archaeological finds the general opinion is that we cannot count with Christianity in Pannonia and generally in the Danube region previous to the 3rd century.<sup>4</sup> As ground the fact serves that we have no archaeological finds which would prove the presence of Christianity earlier than the 3rd century.

---

<sup>1</sup> I should like to remark that, in contrary with the generally accepted opinion, leaving the towns for the country had begun even before the edict of Theodosius, in his times, though, it became final.

<sup>2</sup> The introduction of a conference as well as its first lecturer, outspokenly and between the lines, point to a deficiency which can be a hindrance in recent research work. This is that our modern ages had lost the sense for metaphysics, which was present in the mind of the ancients. WOLFF 1994, VII-XI, 1-27.

<sup>3</sup> At the end of the 2nd century from one million inhabitants twenty thousand were Christians.

<sup>4</sup> ZEILLER 1918, 31, and after Zeiller everybody till our days. A contrary opinion: GÁSPÁR 1995, 111-120.

No data exist for a bishopric previous to this, as e.g. in Lyons<sup>5</sup>, but other data are lacking as well, resp. the written sources existing are not regarded as authentic ones. We have to consider, nevertheless, that in the city of Rome we have no archaeological finds earlier than the 3rd century, though we speak of a persecution of Christians under Nero. We have Tacitus as witness that Christians were executed under Nero<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand we learnt from Hieronymus that the disciples of the apostles appear in Illyricum for evangelizing as early as the 1st century.<sup>7</sup> Research generally refuses that Christianity would be extant on the Danube region previous to the 3rd century.<sup>8</sup> Against this general opinion I maintain a different view which I have recorded earlier. This can be summarized as follows: we should not refuse reports only because they are unique sources for Early Christianity. Using an adequate criticism we should register them all the same. Since then also others called the attention to a source evaluation and judgment given by the special state of the theme (WOLFF 1994, VII-XI). This implicated also not only the criticism of the use of sources but also the critics of the evaluation of archaeological finds, especially regarding the symbols (UBL 1994, 129-152). The essence of this latter is that it would be uncautious to regard all objects as Christians only because they display symbols which were used also by Christians. These symbols were namely not invented, only adopted by Christians. These and similar considerations incited me too to scrutinize all objects, presumably Christian ones, whether they really have any Christian relations at all.<sup>9</sup> In the sign of fairness I stripped all articles and edifices whose non-Christian character was evident of the epithet Christian and the items whose Christian character was uncertain I classified among the controversial objects resp. immobilia.<sup>10</sup> At the same time I scrutinized whether the items and objects neglected and thought to be "außenstehend"<sup>11</sup> have been really well filed. This work resulted in the following evaluation.

b.) In several cases the use of a house church can be supposed.<sup>12</sup> The case cannot be excluded, either, that existant houses, horrea, villas, or at least a part of them – were transformed in order to make them apt for liturgical use. From this point of view the area divided in two is important, making it possible for the catechumens to leave the church after the sermon. We cannot forget it, though, that the use of a building for a church could not be arbitrary, it had to suffice for the purpose, i.e. the *usus*, in the present case for the form of the liturgy practised. As a matter of course – because of the metaphysical roots – in honouring God a certain decoration could not be renounced, fulfilling the requirements of the *pulcher*. This means that a bipartited area was necessary, a place for gathering to pray, or where the *agape* was held. All these are buildings or part of buildings which must be archaeologically palpable. The presence of such bipartite areas in Pannonia can be proven from the early 2nd century to the early resp. mid-5th century. This means practically that we should not look for buildings with apses when we will identify Early Christian churches but also for such bipartite rooms whose prototypes can be may be found in the megara. In our area buildings with apses functioning as Early Christian basilicas cannot be expected previous to the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries. These buildings with apses can be named already basilicas according to their form which does not mean, though, that they were basilicas *de iure*. We cannot use therefore the denomination "basilica" for churches with different ground plans even in cases when they are functioned as Early Christian churches. The basilica – as an architectural term – did not receive its name from Christianity but after its structure. Which Early Christian churches can be named legally basilicas in Pannonia, we cannot say presently, there were no researches in this direction.

There are no baptisteries in Pannonia, this is true. We cannot exclude, nevertheless, the possibility that baths were used for baptizing. This must be rendered probable so much the more that we find no baptisteries either in Pannonia

<sup>5</sup> In 177 the bishop of Lyons was martyred.

<sup>6</sup> Tac. ann. XV, 44.

<sup>7</sup> Hier. ep. 59. ad Marcellum (PL 22, 589)... erat (sc. Filius) igitur uno eodemque tempore cum Apostolis quadraginta diebus, et cum Angelis, et in Patre, et in extremis maris finibus erat; in omnibus locis versabatur: cum Thoma in India, cum Petro Romae, cum Paulo in Illyrico, cum Tito in Creta, cum Andrea in singulis cunctisque regionibus.

<sup>8</sup> If we compare East and West in the pagan world, the West lags behind as for the use of written records. We have indirect data as for the languages spoken in the Western hemisphere but there is no literature extant in these languages. Why should this situation change after the adoption of Christianity? On the situation of Christian and pagan literature see KRAUSE 1958.

<sup>9</sup> These investigations pertain to the monography written by me in this theme. The monograph is entitled: *The first five centuries of Christian Pannonia*. Finished in 1994.

<sup>10</sup> This uncertainty comes from the circumstance that the area is not fully excavated as yet, or the small find material is not elaborated as yet, or else there was no authenticating excavation on the area. Their effectuation would settle the proper place of the object, whenever it would happen.

<sup>11</sup> Terminology of J. Lortz.

<sup>12</sup> The technical term "house church" is used by Tamás Guzik for expressing *domus Ecclesiae*. GUZSIK 1994, 9, pl. III, 1o, pl. IV: house churches from Dura Europos. It is an often mentioned *topos* used for a long time past that at the very beginnings the scene of the liturgy was laid in dwelling-houses. This solution is named by Guzik house church. The question is rather whether the house served liturgic aims in its whole entity, as we can assume according to different activities or would it be partly inhabited by the owners and only a part of it served as a church. (An example is for this given by the Jerusalem synod). In Pannonia we can perhaps count with the latter solution in the form that the house would be inhabited by one or two persons, resp. that travellers arriving there could be lodged in the rooms not used for the aims of celebrating the liturgy or for baptizing.

from the 3rd century on, though we have several data for the presence of Christians from the 3rd century on.<sup>13</sup> Logically we can declare – when we will not negate the presence of Christianity altogether – that in Pannonia baths must have served for baptizing. It is a task of research to state which these baths could have been.

I have to remark here that we can count with the presence of Jews in several towns.

Summing up the churches and taking into consideration other buildings serving for liturgy we can state the followings:

1. The basilica as style gains ground late.

2. *Horrea* are transformed into Christian churches but they can be rebuilt also as synagogues. We can count with a Jewish community in Aquincum and Intercisa in all certainty. We may speak of Jewish influences even in the case when a community was later christianized, as it can be supposed in Pécs. For the interior equipment of churches we have data in the objects excavated in Sophianae (Pécs), and this is the "Priesterbank" standing free. The situation of Pécs is exceptional. Most Christian relics of the province came to light in this town, they are partly burial vaults, partly churches. These churches are, though, not earlier than the 6th century. I should like to connect their building not as much with the Romanized population surviving as with the Germans emerging here.

3. We have to distinguish between communities *Ecclesia ex gentibus* and *Ecclesia ex circumcisionibus*. We can count in Pannonia with both. The denomination *Ecclesia Sirmiensis* denotes evidently not only the place but also the people who were Christianized – Jews or pagans. In the case of Sirmium they came from the latter ones.

4. Lobular buildings are not used typically by Early Christians, though it is indiscutable that they spread in the early Christian times. In Pannonia we find similar ones in Pécs. The so-called "cella trichora" of Aquincum is no *cella trichora*, at least the trichora cannot be described. This object is one of the problems which, in lack of a confirming excavation and the elaboration of the small find material cannot be solved.

The small find material, as lamps, lamp holders, rings, pottery fragments, tombstones, tomb inscriptions etc. cannot be evaluated only in their own connection. To this connection the find place, its circumstances which can be followed and the chronology belongs. Scrutinizing together the small finds, the building and the written data at our disposal certain historical relations can be stated. We cannot forget, though, the difference in the mentality which characterized the Early Christians or generally the people of Antiquity. They had a way of thinking quite different from ours. They had a different opinion on the Christians as well. Let us sum up this shortly.

c.) The beginnings had problems of their own. Christianity was at its starting point only one of the possible religions of the period, in fact one of the mystery religions as it had a doctrine of salvation of its own. We have to stress the fact, nevertheless, that this does not mean a syncretism, not an identity either. We would sooner say that "several ancient" traditions, inserting in the Christian current of events, obtained "redemption" (ELIADE 1955, 319). The "loan" of linguistic expressions, of ritual acts belong to the sphere of *interpretation Christiana*.<sup>14</sup> Outlining the initial difficulties, the disputes, the settling and the period of evolvement we could progress according to the following aspects: eschatology; expressions of the mysteries; the Gnostics and the evolution of theology; the realizing in the Roman Empire of the fact that Christianity is different from all other mystery religions; Christianity gains ground and heathenism is driven into the background.

Eschatology means the doctrine on final happenings, i.e. the fate of Soul after death. The doctrine of a postexistence, the judging of Soul, its punishment or rewarding were not unknown in pagan world (RUHL 1903). People who became Christians might have known these pagan doctrines as well. Their reflections might have led them astray.<sup>15</sup> The notions of these last things did not originate – similarly to other cases – only in pagan beliefs but they were derived from the Old Testament as well, where but it is written: "whatever to do, think of your death and you will never commit a crime." (Sir. 7, 40). The *memorare novissima* is not as dismal as modern man would suppose. The man of our age wants to be happy on Earth, man of Antiquity and the Christian in the Otherworld.

Terminology. According to Heraclite, Creation is one and finished but World in this finished state undergoes always a rebirth. So World is always the same, though always different. Fire flams to measure and dies to measure. Measure is the canon which is nothing but order. Order is in ancient tradition the order of striving towards the centre. Unity is in the centre of things, where Art<sup>16</sup>, Myth and Science meet. For the men of Antiquity myth is a real story, science on the other hand is not as much a rationality scrutinizing the relation of cause and effect, but much more the knowledge of ultimate

<sup>13</sup> When they remembered earlier persecutions in the times of persecutions under Diocletian they would mean those of Decius, as stated by A. Mócsy. I would make a further step: if Christians were executed under Decius here in Pannonia, Christianity could not begin as late as the 3rd century in this region.

<sup>14</sup> Symbols belong to these as well. On their evaluation the possibility of their interpretability, J. Janssens read a paper recently. XIII. Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Split-Poreč 15.9.-1.10.1994. The paper is entitled: L'arte e l'archeologia cristiana come fonti teologiche.

<sup>15</sup> We should not always search in ancient heresies for a conscious negation. Often it is only the "not seeing" of the difference between Christianity and its antecedents. From a distance of two thousand years this, too, is evaluated from a different angle.

<sup>16</sup> Art was no activity in its present meaning. Real art was creation. The product was sufficient for the purpose aimed, and at the same time it suited the necessity which brought the aim along. If you like it, these criteria give the soul of art, while appearance, the exterior, filled the requirements of the *pulcher*. Nothing can be beautiful, nevertheless, if it is not true. This is *veritas*.

things. Not the declaration of doctrine is important but the transformation of Fate, the *metanoia*. According to Heraclite, Plato and other ancient people the aim is not the increasing of factual knowledge but the raising of the level of personal life, in relation of psychical and spiritual things. If only factual knowledge increases, the level of the Ego decreases. If, on the other hand, the level of Ego increases, factual knowledge does not decrease but is enlightened. "The Knowledge of fact has, beyond some scientific applications, no importance in itself: or we can progress to the cognition of absolute truth even if no "facts" existed for us, or – as present times prove it éclatantly, a total ignorance can occur in spite of a thorough knowledge of facts" (BURCKHARDT 1946, 21).<sup>17</sup> Life is not decided by factual knowledge but by the clearness of sight. Human life is sacral in the meaning of *sacer* devoted (WILLIGER 1922, 63). According to this sanctity – if we would employ a Christian wording – is the aim of life. In consequence lie, cheat, violence against human beings is not permitted for man. These all belong to this world – or better to the Underworld.

Initiation is a descent, because only Death can bring a rebirth. Baptism is descending to water, purification, from whence man reborn emerges. Scrutinizing the existing representations of different mystery religions we can conclude that dress resp. nudity have a symbolic meaning. Nudity is in initiation a ritual nakedness, reflecting Paradise, where there are no clothes because no corruption exists. This is symbolized by the submerging in water unclothed (KITTEL 1931; LEASE 1980).

Maybe we succeeded in demonstrating that in the Roman Empire so colourful as for its religions, Christianity could be easily treated indiscriminately with any other mystery religion. And if I stressed the notion that knowledge is useful, and not factual knowledge for that, now considering the reverse of the medal I have to confess that the Knowledge of knowledges' can be exaggerated as well. Such an exaggeration can be stated in different gnostic heresies and the doctrines of gnostic sects, which profess that for salvation *Knowledge* is sufficient (SARTORI 1855, No. 811; SCHAEDEER 1927, 65-157; HEUSSI 1958, 45-90; GRANT 1959). Orthodoxy was compelled by the incomprehension of the pagan philosophical schools and the anti-gospel doctrines of Gnosticism to formulate and describe its truthful doctrines clearly. The result of this striving is theology developing in the course of the 2nd century and the stating which was held in these times for "according to measure", i.e. *canonic*.

If somebody submitted himself to the mysteries of Mithras, this did not exclude his being an initiate of other mysteries as well. A common and esoteric symbol of the mysteries is the world cross, symbolizing immortal soul, eternal life, rebirth coming from submerging, the Cosmos and together the rotation of the Cosmos. The aim here as there was the victory over sin, the powers of darkness in the service of Light. Christianity did not know, however, other gods and revering this only One it terminated at the same time the Eternal Return (ELIADE 1933, 141-202). Rotation ceased and a wandering in a straight direction begun, with the sole aim of becoming saints. If there is no other way, by suffering martyrdom. Cross means suffering, means death but all the same it means Life. The cross is the Tree of Life. The emperors did not know what was the wrong with these people. Why did they refuse praying to the gods in the times of disaster, as they had the best intentions with the Empire. They did not understand the perseverance, the obstinacy. (BERWIG 1970). They supposed that perhaps the God of the Christians was hostile towards Rome. Christians were condemned as atheists, as they – seemingly – had no faith, no reverence for them.

People who became Christians, as e.g. Cyprian, wanted to "make amends" for their own errors in deprecating pagan cults, reviling the gods. That was why posterity – especially the 20th century – painted a filthy picture of them. This is, though, not so simple at all. Folklore, the traditions guard the non-Christian customs which were "redeemed" and handed down by Christianity the contemporaneous uglification was meant for their own age. For Christianity Mithras, Sol Invictus, Isis or some other mystery would have meant a dangerous competition. We have no reason to be afraid that somebody would become a devotee of Mithras instead of being a Christian. In these times, though, this meant a real menace, that is the reason of the "uglification". Parallely with this – made possible by the authorization of Constantine – the elevation, exaltation of Christianity began. For that time it became clear both for enemy and friend that Christianity was something different from any religions known. Constantine I was who quasi introduced Christianity into politics and it was only the consummation of this when Theodosius the Great made the necessary steps for making it a state religion. The removing of the statue of Victoria from the session-room of the Senate and the demolition of the Serapeion of Alexandria were symbolic expressions of this. All that was, though, only a political victory, we could even say that perhaps a dubious victory. In politics religion, even the Christian religion, used to be many times only means for reaching a mortal aim and not the ultimate aim, i.e. salvation.

We often read as a reason given for the spreading of Christianity that the poor had no solace but the future remuneration. Expressed thus it is the shallowing of the idea which was demonstrated in the early times in good and bad as well. They confessed with a conviction that fear would be a sign of lack of faith and infidelity. A *miles Christi* cannot be diverted

<sup>17</sup> Perhaps this quotation throws a light upon my previous arguing according to which we cannot forget the metaphysical roots of religion, as well as we cannot forget that this was confessed with a conviction by the ancients. Displaying mere data, a rational criticism may mislead our thinking, therefore also our results.

from faith either by torture, or by bribe. Fidelity when one part of a married couple is Christian and the other a pagan, fidelity in nursing a plague-stricken person, fidelity in ransoming of prisoners and in material sacrifice, fidelity in human esteem of the slave and fidelity in transmittance of true *Knowledge*. A temptation for wavering was not lesser in these ages but they learnt from the imperial cult that fidelity had two sides: for fidelity you would receive protection. They, as *milites Christi*, had confidence, but they knew in whom.

His truth shall be thy shield and buckler.  
Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night;  
nor for the arrow that flieth by day;  
nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness;  
nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday.

.....  
Because thou hast made the Lord, which is my refuge,  
even the most High, thy habitation."

(Psalm 90. [91])<sup>18</sup>

d.) The historical survey of Pannonia's Christianity. In the minute when we deal with the history of Christianity, we are confronted with the duality to which J. Lortz called the attention of the specialists dealing with Church history, namely that the Church is the mystic body of Christ (LORTZ 1962, 3). Here are the metaphysical roots which we cannot grasp with a find material. Only written sources could speak of that in the case the population of the area in question thought to jot down their thoughts.

In connection with the written sources of Antiquity one of the questions, not to be neglected, is the temporal difference between the date of the happening and that of the noticing. That means that as more we go back as more we can meet oral tradition.<sup>19</sup> That means that lack of written records would not be equivalent with a lack of thoughts as well. Word can exist also without writing. On our territory there was, as mentioned, no written literature in the pagan world, either. This is for Christianity – as for its existence or non-existence either, – not an *argumentum ex silentio*. The other lesson is, given from the lack of our written sources, that we have no or almost no points of support for reconstructing the intellectual life of the beginnings. To the questions – how Christianity was accepted, what discussions they had – we cannot give an answer according to Pannonian peculiarities, but as unity existed in this respect, we may have some conjectures starting from general experiences. What remains for us, is the knowledge of the structure, which is, however, subject to a change in time and space, which structure is called today ecclesiastic hierarchy.

History. In contrast with the previous opinions I look regard the early i.e. 1st century evangelizations as authentic. It is a necessity that evangelizing should start from the apostles, either personally, or through the persons authorized by them, or their disciples. We have to count also with the 72 disciples, chosen by Jesus from the beginning with the aim to teach. I accept thus the activity of Andronicus and Epaphroditus as authentic who arrived in Sirmium in rapid succession. The area between Drava and Sava in Southern Pannonia is different – as in many other respects – also regarding Christianity from the phenomena observable on different territories of Pannonia. This area shows rather more conformities with Dalmatia. I rise the possibility that the numerous and small episcopates on the area of the present Croatia might be the successors of the onetime "bishoprics". The Church is wellknown from its adhering to traditions and from the fact that it tried to keep the most ancient territorial division possible. In Dalmatia there are many episcopates (MIGOTTI 1990; MIGOTTI 1991; MIGOTTI 1992a; MIGOTTI 1992b). In the light of the above I should rather insist on the question, which role could have played the autochthonous population in the Christianization of Pannonia. The area inhabited by Illyrians was divided from that settled by Celts. If we compare the areas of Pannonia populated by Celts with other Celtic regions, we reach a solution sooner.<sup>20</sup> I suppose that on the areas inhabited by Celts we can count with the phenomenon *interpretation Celtiana et Christiana*, i.e. they accepted Christian doctrine inconspicuously.

For an evangelization started by Greeks on the southern parts speak the surviving Greek names. Persons known as Christians have without exception Greek names (NAGY 1939, 35-51). This phenomenon is another proof for the activity of Andronicus and Epaphroditus.

The role of Aquileia in this early missionary activity is more an intermediate one as a starting and key function. The missionaries might have arrived there through Aquileia, they even might have dwelt there, but they kept, all the same,

<sup>18</sup> In connection with this psalm cf. POST 1982, 147-176.

<sup>19</sup> The different works dealing with the history of writing verify it that writing, especially writing of letters, is not a self-evident thing, see e.g. DIRINGER / REGENSBURGER 1968.

<sup>20</sup> I think here of the works as well as of the entries on Celts in the DACL, which make it obvious that Christianity was not far from the Celts, I would say they recognized in Christianity their old religion sanctified and "redeemed". For adjustment they needed only some alterations on the buildings.

their Greek culture which they transmitted here together with the evangelization. Impact and role of Aquileia became really important in the later period (BRATOŽ 1994, 29-62; JARAK 1994, 174-175).

As for archaeological finds the 2nd century is that of real silence. A period of mutual reflections in the meeting of Christianity and the pagan world. Restraint, sapience and seeking ways and means are characteristic for the Roman Empire as well as for Christians. This period cannot be dealt with in short because this was the period of the real maturing, towards whose end the behaviour to the Christians became a legal question (BERWIG 1970). For Pannonia we can consider the Christian soldiers living among pagan soldiers stationed here as indirect proofs. This period is, on the other hand, characterized within the frame of unity by philosophizing and elucidating the ideas, which could not have meant, however, no active participation for the indigenous population or for the army stationed here, either. This, however, does not justify us to negate the presence of Christianity. This would be impossible for the very cause that we have at our disposal a list of the episcopates for the year 250 (SZALÁGYI 1784), and these sees could not be born in a minute but were the results of a progress. These episcopates were considered in fact only by the 18th century literature. Modern research thought them unreal and rejected the whole of it. If we, on the other hand, do not think in modern terms and would not consider episcopates according to the present structure, this would be, though, not so impossible. As for the personality, office, dignity of the bishop in the pre-Constantine times we can say that he might have been much more an experienced person, the leader of a community than a person positioned administratively (KARP 1954, 400-405).<sup>21</sup>

Summarizing the 150 years beginning with the 50s we might say that though we have but a few direct data for the Christianity of Pannonia, we have, though, many indirect ones.<sup>22</sup> These data make the conclusion possible to speak of a missionary activity in Pannonia which was not extensive but continuous, whose first scene was the area between Drava and Save, later in the section between Poetovio and Savaria Curta and some of the camps along the limes. These Christian episcopates/communities might have been not more than house communities, whose leaders were called bishops.

Certain years of the reign of Diocletian meant also here a persecution of Christians (NAGY 1939, 53-73; JARAK 1994, 158-172). Though we know of martyrs, we cannot assert that the whole province would become Christian, for even in the second half of the 4th century we hear of conversions.<sup>23</sup>

The Constantine turning-point is generally judged in the history of Christianity as very positive. It is indisputable that from the legal point of view Christianity got its state as admitted religion. Its legal progress brought along virtually a dilution and made a way for stubborn polemics, whose object was largely Arianism in this period. The role of Pannonia in religious disputes was even larger than that in the history of the soldier-emperors. As the Synod of Nicea banished Arius here, Arianism took root in the province. The participation of Southern Pannonia in religious polemics<sup>24</sup> cannot be identified, though, with the Arianism which was caused by the presence of the Germans. Germans did not participate in religious polemics, they became Christianized and this happened to be according the heresy of Arius.<sup>25</sup> I would not assert that the whole province became by entirety Arian, on ground of the data it could be expressed so that all such areas became Arianized in the real meaning of the word (and not in the German way) which were Christianized in the 1st and early 2nd century. On other areas of Pannonia we have no right for supposing an Arian transformation. The struggle for restituting the Nicaenum originated a new heretic movement represented by Photinos. This heresy was, however, of a minor significance in view of Arianism and had rather only some importance for Pannonia because it started from our region (NAGY 1939, 110-126).

According to Hieronymus Pannonia became empty, the cause of which were partly the devastations of the barbarians and partly the emigration of its inhabitants (BULIĆ 1994, 152). There were certainly devastations as well as migrations. History proved, though, by recent occurrences that events of such a character may be large-scale and bewildering, they are, nevertheless, never total. Pannonia became thus not unpopulated and heaps of corpses. There were survivors who continued and bequeathed the antique tradition and Christianity. I dare naming this continuity.<sup>26</sup> It is the 6th century when survivors as well as migrators met under more peaceful circumstances. This meeting was perhaps quieter on some parts of the one-time Pannonia for the very reasons that the inhabitants were Christians.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup> To remind I recall that neither metaphysical roots, nor a compulsion to write, or other bureaucratic reasons either did the recording necessary, we must not therefore expect numerous data.

<sup>22</sup> I do not detail these data in the present study but they can be found in the monograph referred.

<sup>23</sup> St. Martin returned for evangelizing

<sup>24</sup> Sirmium formulas of faith, NAGY 1939, 74-139, 74-109, 127-156; JARAK 1994, 178.

<sup>25</sup> With this remark I do not try to justify the Germans, I would rather suggest raising a question in a different direction, namely that this act of the Germans created the first such Christian community which had a "local's" character. We could raise the question so that it was rather all the same to which Christianity they attached themselves, only that it would be a Christian creed, because in their eyes it meant, in opposite with their barbaric way, "Culture", v. the efforts of Theoderic for obtaining Antique culture and for living with it.

<sup>26</sup> A detailing of this and the archaeological proofs can be found also in the mentioned monograph.

<sup>27</sup> I would recommend to everybody the short summarizing which is completed for the territory of Croatia: MIGOTTI 1994, 187-209.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BERWIG 1970  
BRATOŽ 1994
- BULIĆ 1994
- DIRINGER – REGENSBURGER  
1968
- ELIADE 1993  
ELIADE 1995  
GÁSPÁR 1993
- GÁSPÁR 1995
- GRANT 1959  
GUZSIK 1994
- HEUSSI 1949  
JARAK 1994
- KARP 1954  
KITTEL 1931  
KRAUSE 1958  
LEASE 1980
- LORTZ 1962
- MIGOTTI 1990  
MIGOTTI 1991
- MIGOTTI 1992a
- MIGOTTI 1992b
- MIGOTTI 1994
- NAGY 1939
- RUHL 1903  
SARTORI 1855
- SCHAEDEER 1927
- [SZALÁGYI] 1784
- UBL 1994
- WILLIGER 1922
- WOLFF 1994
- ZEILLER 1918
- D. BERWIG, *Mark Aurel und die Christen*. München.
- R. BRATOŽ, *Der Einfluß Aquileias auf den Alpenraum und das Alpenvorland (Von den Anfängen bis um 700)*. in: *Das Christentum im bairischen Raum von den Anfängen bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*. Hrsg. von E. Boshof und H. Wolff. Köln, Weimar, Wien, 29-62.
- F. BULIĆ, *St. Quirinus, bishop and martyr of the city of Siscia [Sisak]*. (repr. 1924). in: *From the Invincible Sun to the Sun of Justice*, Zagreb, 151-154.
- D. DIRINGER – R. REGENSBURGER, *The Alphabet*<sup>3</sup>, 1-2. London.
- M. ELIADE, *Az örök visszatérés mítosza*. Budapest.
- M. ELIADE, *Vallási hiedelmek és eszmék története II*. Budapest.
- D. GÁSPÁR, *Gondolatok a pannoniai ókereszténységről*. Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok 1-2., 5-22.
- D. GÁSPÁR, *Urchristliche Forschung in Pannonien seit der Tätigkeit von István Járdányi Paulovics*. ACD, XXX, 111-120.
- R. M. GRANT, *Gnosticism and early Christianity*. New York
- T. GUZSIK, *Középkori építészettörténeti ábraanyag I*. Róma és a keresztény Kelet szakrális építésze. Budapest.
- K. HEUSSI, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*. Berlin.
- M. JARAK, *The History of Early Christian Communities in Continental Croatia*. in: *From the Invincible Sun to the Sun of Justice*. Zagreb, 155-179.
- H. KARP, *Bischof, christlich*. Rac 2. Stuttgart, 400-407.
- G. KITTEL, *Die Religionsgeschichte und das Urchristentum*. Güterlohe.
- W. KRAUSE, *Die Stellung der frühchristlichen Autoren zur heidnischen Literatur*. Wien.
- G. LEASE, *Mithraism and Christianity: Borrowings and Transformations*. ANRW, II. 23/2. 1306-1332.
- J. LORTZ, *Geschichte der Kirche in ideengeschichtlicher Betrachtung*. Bd. I. Altertum und Mittelalter. Münster.
- B. MIGOTTI, *Ranokršćanska topografija na području između Krke i Cetine*. Zagreb.
- B. MIGOTTI, *Calmacija na razmeđu istoka i zapada u svjetlu međusobnog odnosa jaderske i salonitanske ranokršćanske crkve*. VAMZ 3s, XXIV-XXV, 1991-1992, 163-182.
- B. MIGOTTI, *Antičko-srednjovjekovni sakralni kontinuitet na području Dalmacije*. Opusc. archaeol., XVI, 225-249.
- B. MIGOTTI, *The Early Christian Episcopal See of Scardona (Skradin)*. Prilozi Instituta za Arheologiju u Zagrebu, IX, 101-112.
- B. MIGOTTI, *The Archaeological Material of the Early Christian Period in Continental Croatia*. in: *From the Invincible Sun to the Sun of Justice*. Zagreb, 187-209.
- T. NAGY, *Die Geschichte des Christentums in Pannonien bis zu dem Zusammenbruch des römischen Grenzschatzes*. DissPann, II/12.
- L. RUHL, *De mortuorum iudicio, pars prior, dissertatio*. Gissen (sic).
- A. SARTORI, *Die christlichen und mit der christlichen Kirche zusammenhängenden Secten*. Lübeck.
- H. H. SCHAEDEER, *Urform und Fortbildungen des Manichäischen Systems*. Vorträge 1924-1925, 65-157. Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg. Leipzig, Berlin
- St. SALAGIUS [SZALÁGYI], *De statu ecclesiae Pannoniae. Libri VII> De antiquo ecclesiae Pannoniae patriarcha*. Quinque Ecclesiis 1777-1784.
- Hj. UBL, *Die Christianisierung von Noricum Ripense bis zum 7. Jahrhundert nach den archäologischen Zeugnissen*. in: *Das Christentum im bairischen Raum. Von den Anfängen bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*. Hrsg. von E. Boshof und H. Wolff. Köln, Weimar, Wien 129-152.
- E. WILLIGER, *Hagios. Untersuchungen zur Terminologie des Heiligen in den hellenisch-hellinistischen Religionen*. Giessen
- H. WOLFF, *Vorwort. Die Kontinuität der kirchenorganisation in Raetien und Noricum bis an die Schwelle des 7. Jahrhunderts*. in: *Das Christentum im bairischen Raum. Von den Anfängen bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*. Hrsg. von E. Boshof und H. Wolff. Köln, Weimar, Wien, 1-27.
- J. ZEILLER, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire Romaine*. Paris.



## The exhibiton was organized by

Narodni Muzej, Ljubljana  
Arheološki Muzej, Zagreb  
Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest  
Szent István Király Múzeum, Székesfehérvár

### Participants:

F. Petres Éva  
Farkas Zoltán  
Nádorfi Gabriella  
Irena Lazar  
Gáspár Dorottya  
Póczy Klára

### Reconstructions:

Hajnóczy Gyula  
Christopher Heiss  
Kadi Marijan  
Sedlmayer János  
Szakál Ernő

### Authors of the photos:

Attila Adorján  
Boris Farič  
Dallos László  
Dömötör Mihály  
Janez Dular  
Erdőkürti Zsuzsanna  
Gelencsér Ferenc  
Gottl Egon  
Marko Habič  
Kardos Judit  
Komjáthy Péter  
W. Kobasić  
Bine Kovačič  
Tomaž Lauko  
Molnár Ilona  
Prugberger Krisztina  
Ante Rendić  
Sebő Ferenc  
Székely Anikó  
Mojca Vomer-Gojkovič

### Drawings:

Branczeiz Zsuzsa  
Ida Murgelj  
Roman Hribar

### Translation:

Braila Mária  
M. Budimir  
Phil Mason  
Moskovszky Éva

## The exhibition was kindly sponsored by

Ipari és Kereskedelmi Minisztérium Turizmus Főosztálya  
Székesfehérvár Megyei Jogú Város Önkormányzata  
Fejér Megyei Önkormányzat Turisztikai Bizottsága  
TOURINFORM – Székesfehérvár  
Vidikon Kft. – Székesfehérvár

## We express our thanks to the museums lended the objects and their colleagues

Archäologisches Museum Carnuntinum (Austria)  
Belokranjski Muzej, Metlika (Slovenia)  
Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz (Austria)  
Mestni Muzej, Ljubljana (Slovenia)  
Museo Paleochristiano, Aquileia (Italy)  
Pokrajinski Muzej, Ptuj (Slovenia)  
Zavičajni Muzej, Varaždinske Toplice (Croatia)

Balatoni Múzeum, Keszthely  
Budapesti Történeti Múzeum – Aquincumi Múzeum  
Déri Múzeum, Debrecen  
Dunamelléki Református Egyházkerület  
Ráday Gyűjteménye, Budapest  
Intercisa Múzeum, Dunaújváros  
Janus Pannonius Múzeum, Pécs  
Kosztá József Múzeum, Szentes  
Laczkó Dezső Múzeum, Veszprém  
Matrica Múzeum, Százhalombatta  
Rippl-Rónai Múzeum, Kaposvár  
Savaria Múzeum, Szombathely  
Soproni Múzeum  
Xantus János Múzeum, Győr  
Wosinszky Mór Múzeum, Szekszárd

# CATALOGUE

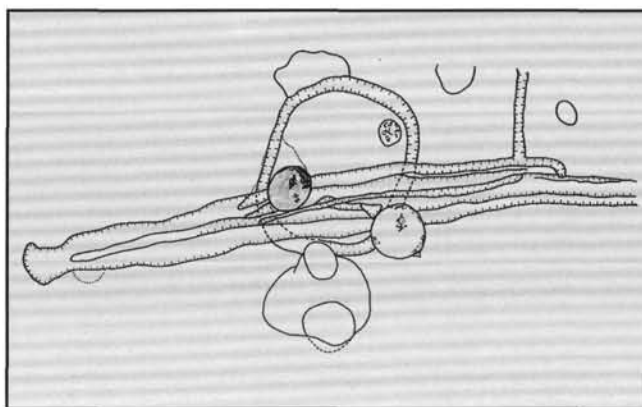


# THE CELTIC TRADITION

## SANCTUARIES

### THE CELTIC SANCTUARY – PÁKOZD, I.

One century and a half after the Roman conquest (40. A.D.) in the province Pannonia the local population consisted partly of the indigenous Celts. The traces of their creed are, though, hard to find in this period. In the Roman Empire the local gods and goddesses were identified with the official Roman deities, so that the figure of an original Celtic god is rather dim. The individual Celtic tribes had deities of their own, who were not always identic with those of the neighbouring tribes.



One form of celtic sanctuaries is the sacred area, encircled by ditches; at such "loci consecrati" sacrifices were offered. In cases of eminent danger or on festive occasions human and animal sacrifices were considered advisable. Such a place might have been the sanctuary unearthed near lake Velence next to a spring. Between the ditches running parallelly 42 m long, sacrificial pits were found with human and animal remains. The sacrifices, placed in several levels, were buried on the occasion of ceremonies performed in different times. In a pit a sacrificed dog was laid on a roman brick which proves that the sanctuary was used as late as the roman period.

PETRES 1972, 365-383, Pls. XXXII-XXXV.

É.F.P.

### AQUINCUM – GELLÉRTHEGY, II.



In the times of the Roman occupation the Celtic Eravisci venerated Teutates- the "valiant in battle" as their supreme god. His sanctuary was in the centre of the present day Budapest, on the top of the Gellérthegey, in the place of the present Citadella. The Celtic oppidum was, encircled by a wall and rampart, the centre of the tribe. After the Roman occupation the local deity was identified with Iuppiter and named Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Teutanus and represented in the shape of Iuppiter. Under such a name he figures on the Gellérthegey altar as late as the 3rd century, further on the altar found in the sanctuary of the governor's villa on the Szemlőhegy. The limestone statue of the god stood on a high pillar before the entrance of the sanctuary. On the altars of the god the date of the dedication which always fell on June 11 was incised. On this day the inhabitants of Aquincum used to go on a pilgrimage to the Gellérthegey celebrating the deity.

K.P.



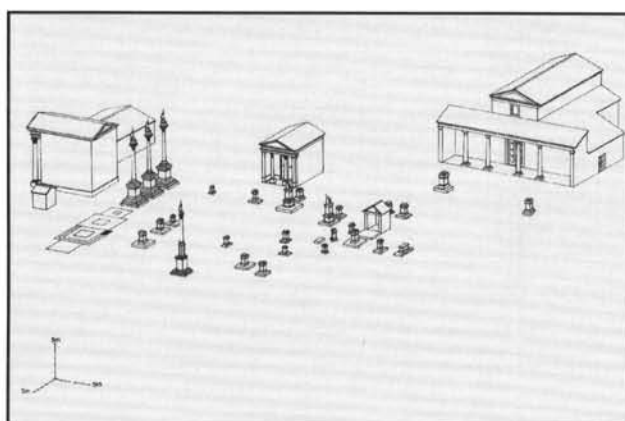
### 1. Iuppiter Teutanus altar

Fragmentary limestone altar, the lower part of the inscription is missing. The part rising above the upper border is decorated with acanthus leaves. The inscription: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) T(eutano) | pro salute adq(ue) incolumitate | [D(omini) N(ostri) M. Iul(ii) Philippi ]]. | P(ii) F(elicis) invict(i) Aug(usti) to | tiusq(ue) domus divi | n(a)e eius et civit(at)is Eravisc(orum). T. Fla(vius) Titianu | s augur et M. Aur(elius) | [...* – 244-249 A.D. – 112x64 cm. – Budapest southern slope of the Gellérthegey – MNM, Inv. no. 870.1888.1.

*CIL* III 10418; FRÖHLICH 1890.146.no.6; HAMPEL 1892, 49; ALFÖLDI 1939, 108-113, no.6; BARKÓCZI 1964, 345, no- 105:184; FITZ 1993-95, II, 419.

M.Na.

## SACRED AREA – CARNUNTUM, PFAFFENBERG, III.



An independent sacred area on a mountain, similar to the Gellérthegey of Aquincum, was built in the neighbourhood of the legionary camp and the military town. In the area of the Capitoline triad and the Iuppiter temple large altars and columns were erected, decorated with the statues of Iuppiter and those of some emperors. A commemorative column was erected to Marcus Aurelius, who, during the Marcomann wars, stayed for a long time at the general headquarters in Carnuntum. The showplace of the ceremonies held in the sacred area were the theatre and the sacred road leading to it. In the centre of the cult the Iuppiter Optimus Maximus of Carnuntum stood. The Pfaffenberg sanctuary was built also in the neighbourhood of the centre of a Celtic tribe, that of the Boii. Like on the Gellérthegey, the feast of the cult was here held also on June 11. The remains can be traced from the early 2nd century on till the first third of the 4th century. The cult place became the victim of a deliberate devastation, the relics were found broken into small pieces.



### 2. Head of Iuppiter

Limestone. The head is broken off at the neck and was probably part of a statue representing the enthroned Iuppiter Optimus Maximus. The tip of the nose is damaged. The head is framed by a full beard and a thick hairline. The locks are wavy or curly and formed by sharp-edged strands. The eyes are large and very round. The mouth is crooked and slightly opened. The right part of the neck shows a small piece of the original plaster coating. The distorted proportions of the head are due to its provincial provenance. – Dated the middle of the second century A.D. – H: 21,1 cm; W: 19,8 cm. – Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, Carnuntum, Pfaffenberg, near temple III – AMC, Inv. no. P 7/78. JOBST 1979, 145.; JOBST 1980, 24-, Abb. 7.; JOBST 1984, 2-, Abb. 5.; JOBST 1986, 331-, Abb.7.

F.H.-W.J.-G.K.

### 3. Fragments of an I.O.M. Karnuntinus altar

Limestone, discovered in 1971 and 1983. The inscription: *I (ovi) O(pimo) M(aximo) K(arnuntino) [ pro sal(ute) ] | dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum)*. – Dated the middle of the second century A.D. – 13,5×33×7,5 cm and 11,5×20×5,5 cm. – Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, Carnuntum, Pfaffenberg – AMC, Inv. no. I 16/71, 4/73.

JOBST 1976, 27, Abb. 11.; JOBST, 335, 30, Abb. 26.; AnnÉp 1982, 785; VORBECK 1980, 287.; PISO in print.

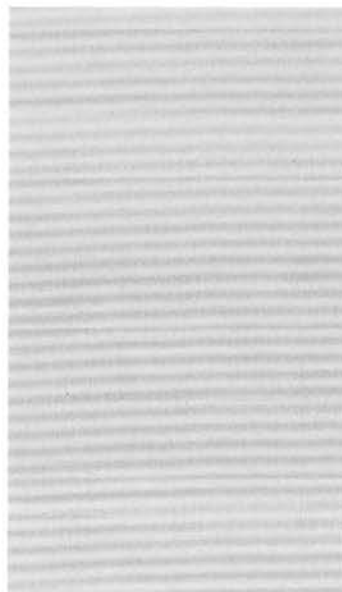
F.H.–W.J.–G.K.

### 4. Magistri montis altar

Limestone, found in 1984. The inscription: *mag(istri) montis | III Idus Iuni(as) D(omino) n(ostro) | Constant(ino) III Aug(usto) con(sule)*. – Dated 313 A.D. – 34×53×42 cm. – Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, Carnuntum, Pfaffenberg – AMC, Inv.no. I 43-44/74, 48-49/74, 67/74.

JOBST 1976, 29, Abb. 13.; JOBST 1977, Taf. IX, Abb. 18.; JOBST, 335, 30, Abb. 27-. Nr. 4., Abb. 21-; VORBECK 1980, 361.; AnnÉp 1982, 785; SAGE 1987, 157-; PISO 1991, 168, Nr. 5, Abb. 23.; PISO in print.

F.H.–W.J. G.K.



## FINDS

### 5. Altar dedicated to the indigenous gods Vidasus and Thana

The altar (*ara*) has a characteristic shape, a solid multi-layered and accented base, a narrow body and accented top with a high additional block on which the *acroterion* have been emphasized with simple engraved lines. The flutes on the base and top were made later. An inscription of six lines is engraved in regular rectangular capitals; the letters get smaller from line to line. The inscription reads: *Vidaso | et Thanae | sacr(um) | Euhelpistus | Hispani s(ervus) | v(otum) s(olvit)*. – Ligature in the second line: êt, Th, âe; and in the fourth line: pî, tû; puncta distinguuntia in the second, fifth and sixth lines. – 1st-3rd century A.D. – 60 x 32 x 25 cm; sandstone. – Topusko, central Croatia – ZAM, Inv. no. KS 788.

AIJ, 517.

M.Š.



### 6. Altar dedicated to Silvanus

A simple altar (*ara*) with multi-layered accented base and top with high additional block on which there are primarily *acroterion* marked by simple flutes. An inscription of four lines is engraved in capital, the letters become smaller from line to line. The inscription reads: *Silvano | Maglae(no?) | Longinia | Ingenua*. – Ligature in line one: vâ; in line two: âe; in line three: nî. – 1st-3rd century A.D. – 62 x 24 x 20 cm; limestone. – Sisak (Siscia) – ZAM, Inv. no. KS 259.

CIL III 3963; BRUNŠMID 1904-1911, 259, fig. 259; AIJ, 548.

M.Š.





### 7. Relief of Diana

Red sandstone trapezoid slab with rounded corners. Diana stands in a short tunic on an oblong base (representation of a statue?) in her left a bow, in her right an arrow, on her back a quiver. On the right side of the goddess a stag turning towards her, over it an incised triangle (representation of a tree?), with three similar ones on the opposite side. On the left side of the triangle *D(ianae)*, at the bottom the roughly incised inscription *Aur(elius) Victorinus*. – 2nd-3rd century. – 52,5x48x4-6 cm. – Balatonfőkajár, Sólápa – LDM.

KERÉNYI 1938, 220, III. 6; THOMAS 1969, 144; PETRES 1975, 229; PALÁGYI 1976, III. 20.

É.F.P.



### 8. Statue of Diana

Sandstone. The goddess stands on a quadratric pedestal in knee-length tunic. Over her right shoulder a quiver, in her left hand bow and arrow, behind her on her left a dog. – Late 1st century – H: 47 cm. – Pusztavám – SzIKM, Inv. no. 530.

ArchÉrt XIV, 1894, 279; KERÉNYI 1938, 220, Fig. 4; PETRES 1975, 229, Pl. V, 1a-b.

É.F.P.



### 9. Bronze statuette of Sucellus

Standing figure with beard and thick curls falling about his shoulders, in along-sleeved gown, with a broad belt around the waist. In his outstretched right hand an olla, from its raised left the attribute is missing. His feet are missing. – 2nd century – H: 10,5 cm. – Gorsium, Building LVIII – SzIKM, Inv. no. 86.77.4.

BÁNKI 1990, 115, No. 138, Pl. XVII.

Z.S.B.



### 10. Statuette of Sucellus

Bronze statuette of Sucellus. The deity, taking a step forwards with his left foot, holds a jar in his right hand. His left hand, holding a hammer, is missing. – 2nd-3rd century – H: 9 cm. – Dunapentele (Intercisa) – MNM, Inv. no. 14. 1897. 14.

FITZ 1957, 168, Fig. 35/6.

L.K.



### 11. Altar of the Dii Itinerarii

Altar dedicated to the gods of travel. On its abacus volute pillows. Right upper corner broken. Inscription: *Dii Itine [raris] | utriusq[ue] viae | L(ucius) Pompeius Long[us] de] suae Marciaeque | coniugis et Rustici | fili nomine | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(eritis).* – 2nd century – 91x48x36 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), Fő tér – SM, Inv. no. 24000.

SOSZTARITS 1994a, 237.; SOSZTARITS 1994b 21, 3.

L.B. – O.S.



### 12. Altar of Itunus and Ituna

The male-female divine couple can be identified with the Dii Itinerarii figuring on altar Nr. 11. Prism-shaped limestone altar standing on a profiled plinth. The abacus is flanked by volute pillows. Inscription: *Ituno e [t] Itunae | Quartus | et Fl(avia) Iulia | v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(eritis).* – 2nd century – 85x42x30 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), Fő tér – SM, Inv. no. 24001.

SOSZTARITS 1994a, 237.; SOSZTARITS 1994b 21, 3.

L.B. – O.S.



### 13. Altar, dedicated to Aequorina

Votive inscription on the rectangular base of a two foot high, white limestone pillar. The edges are battered. The inscription is unframed and reads: *C(aius) Aemilius | Felix Aecur(nae) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).* – First third of the 1st century A.D. – H: 12 cm; W: 15 cm; letter height: 2,3-1,8 cm. – Castle, Ljubljana (Emona) – NML, Acc. no. L 52.

CIL, III, 3831; *AIJ*, 138; ŠAŠEL-KOS 1992, 5.

I.L.



### 14. Altar, dedicated to Aequorina

Small votive altar of light coloured limestone. The base has not survived. The edge of the lower profilation can still be seen on the broken lower part, whilst above it is the profiled surface with the remains of a volute, which is better preserved on the left than on the right. The inscription reads: *Auctus | Aecornae | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens).*

– 1st or 2nd century A.D. – H: 18,5 cm; W: 11,5-9,5 cm; letter height: 1,6-1,3 cm. – Castle, Ljubljana (Emona) – NML, Acc. no. L 51.

CIL III 3832; *AIJ*, 149; ŠAŠEL-KOS 1992, 5.

I.L.





### 15. Altar, dedicated to Aequorna

Miniature votive shrine of light gray limestone. It has a simple rectangular form. The upper part is a triangularly terminated gable above an hemispherically terminated niche, the interior of which is roughly worked. There is an unframed inscription below it. Inscription: *C(aius) Cl(audius) Pri| am(us) Aec(or)nae | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. – 1st century A.D. – H: 43 cm; W: 16 cm; thickness: 12 cm; letter height: 2,4-2 cm; niche height: 25 cm; niche width: 10,5 cm; niche depth: 8 cm. – Castle, Ljubljana (Emona) – NML, Acc. no. L 53.

*CIL* III 3833; *AIJ*, 150; ŠAŠEL-KOS 1992, 5.

I.L.



### 16. Aecorna tablet

White marble votive tablet. In a double moulded field the inscription: *Aecornae | Aug(ustae) sac(rum) | Emonienses | qui | consistunt finibus Savar(iae) | v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*. – Mid-first century – Torony (Ónod), or in a well. – SM, Inv. no.: 67.10.88.

HORVÁTH 1929, 96., Nr. 1.; AnnÉp 1934, 68; SARIA 1935, 175; ALFÖLDI jun. 1943, 79; *Savaria* 1971,; *RIU*, 135; BUÓCZ 1994, Nr.10.

Z.F.



### 17. Relief of the Nutrices

The relief is surrounded by a profiled frame. A Nutrix, holding a naked child in her arms, sits in the centre. Two wet-nurses, which take care of the child, stand on her right and left. The one on the left carries a jug and a small chest, whilst the one on the right carries a two-handed vessel and a towel, which is draped over her shoulders. The inscription below the frame is in a tabula ansata: *Nutricibus Aug(ustis) sacrum | Avrelius Siro pro salute | Avrelii Primiani v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. – 2nd century A.D. – H: 47 cm; W: 69 cm; letter height: 2 cm. – Found close to the 3rd Mithraeum, Ptuj (Poetovio) – PMP, Acc. no. RL 320.

WIGAND 1915, Beibl. 206f.; ABRAMIČ, 1925, 189, fig. 132; *AIJ*, 325.

I.L.



### 18. Relief of the Nutrices

A Nutrix in pleated clothing and a cloak stands on the lefthand side of a simple framed niche. She carries a basket on her head. A Nutrix, holding a naked child before her, is located in the middle. The child rests its left leg on the altar and extends its arm towards the Nutrix, sitting on a throne. This holds a swaddled new-born baby in her arms and nurses it. There is a four line inscription below the niche: *Nutricibus Aug(ustis) sacrum L(ucius) Fusc(inius) | Exsuperatus Aug(ustalis) col(on)iae Poet(ovionensium) et | [f]ilia Honorata pro salute | [F]uscini Honorati fil(ii) v(otum) s(olverunt)*. – End of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century A.D. – H: 62 cm; W: 71 cm; letter height: 2,5-2 cm. – Panorama, Ptuj (Poetovio) – PMP, Acc. no. RL 973.

TUŠEK 1986, 349, t. 9.

I.L.

### 19. Relief of the Nutrices

A Nutrix in girded apparel stands on the left in the sunken part, which is bounded by a profiled frame. She carries a tray of loaves on her head. A Nutrix in short-sleeved apparel with a cloak stands on her right. She holds a larger naked baby before her. The child extends its arm before itself, probably towards the Nutrix, which was depicted on the broken off part of the relief. There is part of a one-line inscription on the upper edge: *Nutricibus Aug(usti) sacr(um) P(ublius) Mii* [...]. – 2nd century A.D. – H: 46 cm; W: 60 cm; letter height: 2,5-3 cm. – Panorama, Ptuj (Poetovio) – PMP, Acc. no. RL 975. TUŠEK 1986, 349, t. 7.



I.L.

### 20. Burial statue of an Eraviscus woman

Full size limestone torso, female figure standing on a pedestal of 15 cm. The back of the statue is polished, originally it stood in a niche. Head, left shoulder and lower arm missing. Dressed in a long gown reaching to the feet, with tight sleeves, over it a shorter, sleeveless garment, fastened on the shoulder by a winged brooch. Under the breasts a string girdle, round the neck a chain with five ornamental medals. The lower and upper garments are fastened on the neck by a small knee-shaped brooch. The attire is completed by a scarf or veil thrown around the elbow. The footwear is indiscernible, due to the strong abrasion. On the left arm she must have held a sitting baby or, on the ground of the foot forms discernible on the fragment, rather a small animal. – Mid-2nd century. – 158x30 cm. – Sárszentmiklós-Örspusztá – SzIKM, Inv. no. 50.99.1. FITZ 1957, 134, Nr. 82, Pl. XXVIII, 1; ERDÉLYI 1974, 99. III. 135; PETRES 1975, 226, Pl. II, 2.

Z.F.



### 21. Scene with waggon

Limestone slab with relief decoration. A waggon, drawn by a pair of yoked horses. In front the driver turned to face, in the middle a woman seated in an armchair, her feet rest on a footstool. Behind her, backwards, a servant girl. The waggon is led by a pedestrian clad in tunic. – 2nd century – 59x127x15 cm. – Herceghalom – SzIKM, Inv. no: 90.10.2

Unpublished



Z.F.

### 22. Ornament of a horsetrapping

A pair of openwork bronze discs. Three stylized boar figures, connected by S-motifs to each other, the outer border and the star in the middle. From the ensemble of 5 pieces, a fragmentary and an intact one are exhibited. – 2nd century – Diam.: 9,2 cm. – Seregélyes, Pálinkaház – SzIKM, Inv. no. 58,35.1.

BÁNKI 1972, 80-81, Nr. 60; PETRES 1975, 226, 231, Pl. II/4.

É.F.P.



### 23. Ornament of a horsetrapping

A pair of openwork bronze discs. In the middle a masque, the hair is straight on the forehead and embraces the face on both sides. It is connected with the outer border by four peltas, turning towards each other. – 2nd century – Diam.: 7,3 cm. – Vajta, Kisvajta dűlő. Grave 2 (waggon burial) – SzIKM.

MAROSI 1939, 24; FÜLEP 1949, 47, Pl. XXVIII, 7; BÁNKI 1972, 82, no. 61.

É.F.P.





#### 24. Painted urn

The light yellow clay vessel in the form of double truncated cones has a thin rim and stands on a small foot, on its upper part black motifs painted on a red ground: between spirals resp. ruled zones a motif row consisting of stags, pine-trees and solar discs. – 1st-2nd century. – H: 25,5 cm; Mouth diam.: 14,3 cm; Foot diam.: 9,9 cm. – Nagy-venyim, urn burial Nr. 4. – IM, Inv. no. 59.42, 4.1.

VÁGÓ 1960, 54-58, Ill. 7-8; BÓNIS 1969, 216-222, Ill. 105,1.

*J.B.H.*



#### 25. Small painted pot

Over the yellowish clay a pale orange-coloured worn slip, the freehand painting in blue-black is faded. In the first row a compact, slanting lattice pattern, below a double dividing line. In a figural field triangles touching by their vertices, next to them double twisted scroll decoration, on the right a two-horned animal running and a simple twisted scroll. Next to it a double "ladder" motif. In the closing field a row of lines consisting of parallel vertical lines. – Turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. – Eraviscan work. – Diam. of mouth: 7,4 cm; H: 12,5 cm; Diam. of bulge: 10,2 cm; Foot diam.: 5,0 cm. – Budapest II, environments of the Zsigmond tér. Aquincum, from the area of the S-cemetery of the canabae, presumably from a grave. – AM, Inv. no. 33776.

PÓCZY 1952, 99; 101, Ill. 2, 44.; MARÓTI-VADAY 1980, 79-94.

*J.T.*



#### 26. Painted vessel

Clay turned on the wheel. Light yellow, polished, painted brick-red, with painted, black patterns: standing stag figures turning to the right, spiral ornaments placed one above the other oppositely, pine-tree motif. Below it a closing motif consisting of vertical lines. – 2nd century – H: 10,2 cm; W: 6,3 cm; Foot diam.: 4,4 cm. – Debrecen, Hortobágy bridge – DM.

MARÓTI-VADAY 1980. 84. Pl. I, 2ab.

*É.F.P.*



#### 27. House urn

Urn in the shape of a house of brown fired clay. There is a dark red slip on the surface. The flat zone in the central part of the body has four narrow openings and one large one of rectangular shape, bordered above and below by strong ribs. There is a plastically formed terminal in the shape of a cockerel on the top of the urn. – 1st century A.D. – H: 41 cm. – Drnovo near Krško, Slovenia – NML, Acc. no. R 738.

PETRU, P. – PETRU, S. 1972, 69, t. 26:8.

*I.L.*



#### 28. House urn

Urn in the shape of an house of light brown fired clay with a red slip. The flat zone on the body is decorated with an ornament of a diagonal cross and dots. There is a conical button on the top of the urn and the base is ring shaped. – 1st century A.D. – H: 33 cm. – Drnovo near Krško, Slovenia – NML, Acc. no. R 749.

PETRU, P. – PETRU, S. 1972, 70, t. 28:3.

*I.L.*

### 29. House urn

Urn in the shape of a house of light brown fired clay with a red slip. The flat zone in the central section is bordered by two ribs and has a trapezoidal opening. It is decorated with a lattice ornament. The opening is square in form. There is a conical button on the top of the urn and the base is ring shaped. – 1st century A.D. – H: 37 cm.

– Drnovo near Krško, Slovenia – NML, Acc. no. R 745.

PETRU, P. – PETRU, S. 1972, 70 t., 26:12.

*I.L.*

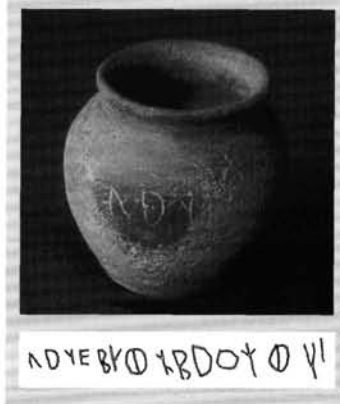


### 30. Small pot

The small pot was made on a potter's wheel. There are visible remains of a brownish red slip on the brown surface, which has brownish gray flecks. An inscription, ARTEBUDZ BROGDUI, is scratched on the body of the small pot. The inscription, which is in a non-Latin script, probably in a Celtic language, was scratched on the surface after firing. – 2nd-3rd century A.D. – H: 8,3 cm; W: 8,1 cm; Rim diam.: 6 cm; Base diam.: 4,7 cm. – Spodnja Hajdina, Ptuj (Poetovio) – SLJ, Acc. no. 8202.

EICHNER, H. – ISTENIČ, J. – LOVENJAK, M. 1994, 131, fig. 1.

*I.L.*





## THE CULT OF THE CLASSICAL GODS

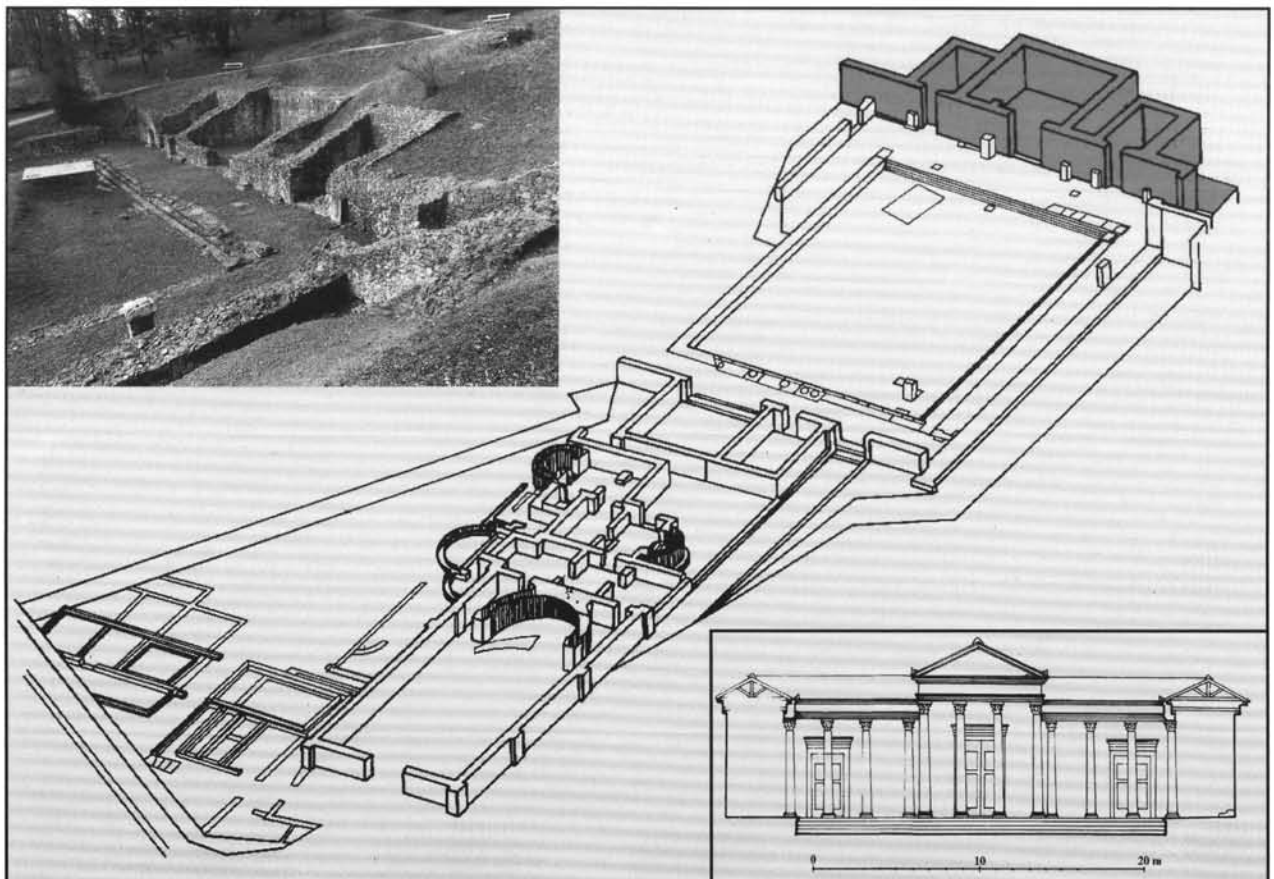
In the centre of the Roman religion twelve gods stood whose veneration was in the imperial period very heterogeneous. The most important among them was Jove (Iuppiter), king of the gods, the celestial embodiment of the roman state, the equivalent of the greek Zeus together with Iuno (Iuno = Hera), the protectress of the matrons and Minerva (Pallas Athene), the goddess of arts, sciences, knowledge of trade – inclusive of the art of war – was the main protector of the state. On official monuments the veneration of Mars (Ares), god of war, in civil life that of Venus (Aphrodite) goddess of love and mythical ancestress of the romans, Mercury (Mercurius = Hermes) the patron of commerce and economic welfare and Diana (Artemis) the goddess of hunt were the most widespread in Pannonia.

Some divinities not belonging to the 12, like Liber (Dionysos), god of wine and inebriation, Hercules (Herakles), the incarnation of valiance, who from a human being was elevated to the celestials, Nemesis, goddess of fate and Victoria (Nike), goddess of victory enjoyed a high respect. Silvanus of italian origin, god of forests and meadows, whose cult was the most widespread in Pannonia, did not belong to the gods who had an official cult.

### TEMPLES, SANCTUARIES

#### AREA SACRA – AQUAE IASAE, IV.

A watering-place between the Drava and the Sava, on the territory of the Pannonian Iasi. From the Capitoline temple of the forum the statues of Iuno and Minerva are extant.



### 31. Minerva

The goddess stands on a narrow base (stone slab). The whole composition once stood on a monumental pedestal which was inscribed with an inscription. Minerva rests on her left leg while her right sandaled leg is bent at the knee and rotated to the right. Her body is covered with numerous layers of drapery: a creased chiton reaches down to her feet. Over it she wears a himation which covers her arms almost up to her elbows and is fastened under her breast. She wears a rich apotigma over the himation which is fastened under her breasts with a ribbon interlaced with two snakes woven into a knot. On her breast she wears an aegis laced with snakes which are partially rolled into a ball. Central to the aegis is a laughing Medusa head with short wide wings and combed hair parted down the middle. The drapery creases on the front of the statue follow the anatomical details, arm and leg posture. On the back they are only marked by vertical grooves. Minerva's face is oval with almond-shaped eyes, accented eyelids and eyebrows. Unfortunately, the nose, the chin and in part her symmetrical mouth are damaged. On her head she wears a Corinthian helmet with crest (*crista*) which is accented by equally distanced flutes. The lower part of the helmet is leant on her back.



Visible from under the helmet are long wavy locks of hair. The parting in the middle is covered by a nosepiece. Behind, under the accented straight helmet ending, one can see a long plait which falls down her thin neck and almost reaches her waist. The right arm is lifted to the side up to the elbow where it is bent, lifted and outstretched. Although the larger portion of the forearm is missing, there is no doubt that Minerva held a spear in this hand. The larger portion of her left hand has not been preserved, but one can discern that it was held next to the body, that it was bent at the elbow and that with it she held the round, convex shield which rests on the curled up snake. The shield has an umbo, but only traces of Medusa's hair have been preserved.

Missing are part of the right forearm and attribute, a larger portion of the left arm, a portion of the thin base and the shield. Other parts are also slightly damaged, notably the face, the helmet, the neck and the lower parts of the drapery.

The monumental base has an highly accented pedestal and crown with flutes down the middle for fitting. The area around the inscription is surrounded by flutes. The inscription is written in regular capitals used for monuments and divided into nine lines. The height of the letters becomes smaller with each new line. – The base is severely damaged; only the central area with a portion of the inscription have been preserved. The numerous other fragments of the inscription have, as yet, not been integrated. The inscription reads: *Minervam | Aug(ustam) | L(ucius) Cl(audius) T(iti) f(ilius) Quirina (tribu) | Moderatus |<sup>5</sup> dec(urio) c(oloniae) C(laudiae) Savaria(e) | dec(urio) municipi(i) | Ae(lii) Sallae sacerdos | arae Aug(ustae) et q(?) decur(io?) | posuit.* – According to the drawing, in the first line ligature: in; in the third line ligature: ti, ir, in; in the fourth line ligature: et; puncta distinguuntia in the third, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth lines. – Beginning of 2nd century A.D. – Statute: H with pedestal: 182,5 cm; H without pedestal: 173 cm; Base: 79x45x9,5 cm; Pedestal: 135x85x45; marble – Varaždinske Toplice (Aquae Iasae) – ZMVT, stored at ZAM, Inv. no. 1130.

VIKIĆ-GORENC 1969/103-, T. XXV; GORENC-VIKIĆ 1968, 119-; GORENC 1969, 182-; VIKIĆ-GORENC 1969, 12, fig. 17; GORENC 1971, 36-37, T.XXX:1-3; ČABRIAN et al. 1973, 13-14, fig. 16; GORENC 1975, 171-172, T. I; GORENC – VIKIĆ 1975, 39, 47, figs. 8, 15, 16; GORENC-VIKIĆ 1980, 12, figs. 9, 20; HAJDUK-LUETIĆ 1981, 14-15; GORENC 1983-1984, 95-108, T.108; KADI 1983-1984, 109-110, T. 1-4; Inscription: *ILJ*, 1169.

A.R-M.

### 32. Altar dedicated to Nymphae Augustae

The altar is small, six-sided and has an accented base consisting of three layers, a narrow body and a top which is also accented and three-layered. It was built into the so-called Constantine thermae. The inscription has eleven lines and is written in simple capital. The inscription reads: *Nym[phis] | Aug(ustis) | sacr(um) |<sup>5</sup> T(itus) Iul(ius) | Ianu(arius) | pro T(ito) Iul(io) | Secundo |<sup>10</sup> fil(io) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).* – In the eighth line: *hederae distinguentes* between *pro* and *T*, between *T* and *Iul*; *puncta distinguuntia* in the eleventh line. – 1st-3rd century A.D. – 60x25x23 cm; marble – Varaždinske Toplice (Aquae Iasae) – ZMVT, Inv. no. 303.

*CIL* III 4119; LJUBIĆ, 40, no. 3; *AIJ*, 465.



M.Š.





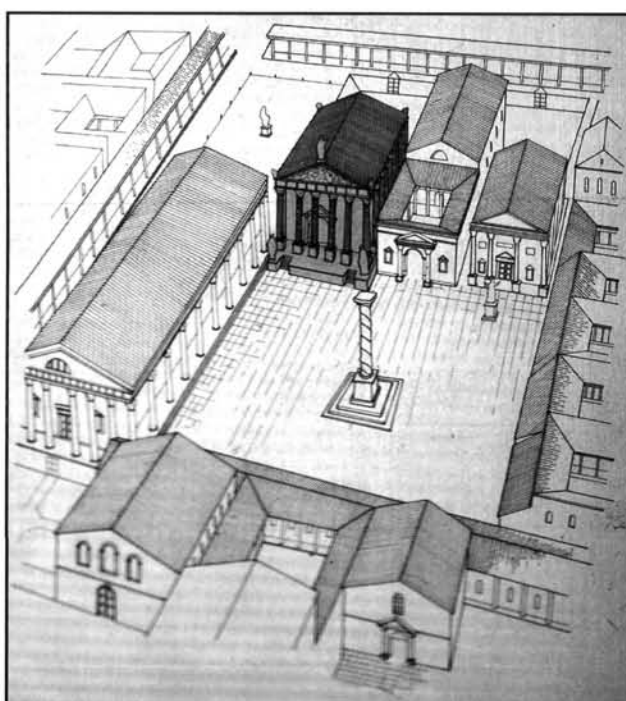
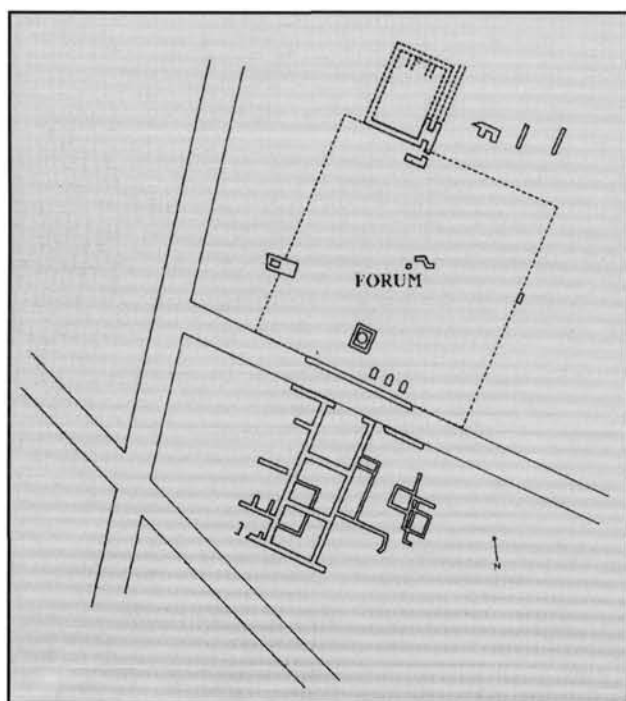
### 33. A relief slab with three Nymphs

Displayed on a votive slab in an aedicule are three half-naked nymphs during a sacrifice ceremony. The middle one is slightly taller. Her hair flows over her face and she has her hands lowered to hold a libation shell. The other two have raised arms and hold the ends of their long combed hair which is parted down the middle. The lower parts of the nymphs' bodies are covered with drapery from under which one can discern toes. The end of the drapery of the nymphs to either side is thrown over their arms and towards the edge of the slab. To either side of the central nymph's knee there are tilted pitchers out of which flows a liquid. The upper part of the aedicule is divided by two wavy lines creating three niches. – The top right hand corner of the slab is considerably damaged. – Second half of 2nd century A.D. – 71x85,3x8,5 cm; marble – Varaždinske Toplice (Aquae Iasae) – ZMVT, Inv. no. 335.

GORENC 1971, 30, t. XX:2.

M.Š.

## CAPITOLINE TEMPLE – SCARBANTIA, V.



Its remains came to light in 1893 during the construction of the new Town Hall. The rescue excavation was executed by Lajos Bella, the authenticating excavation in 1966 by Klára Póczy and Ilona Czeglédy. The sanctuary arose on the north side of Scarbantia's Forum. The walls of the building which measured 35x10 m, stood at the end of the last century still to a height of ca. 1,5 m. Its entrance was decorated by four columns, presumably in Corinthian style. Stairs led to the interior of the sanctuary, at its north wall in three, separate niches gigantic statues of Iuno, Iuppiter and Minerva stood. BELLA 1894, 74-76.; ALFÖLDI, 1920-22, 12-14.; PRASCHNIKER 1936-37, 111-134; PRASCHNIKER 1938, 29-44.; GABLER 1969, 7-9.; ERDÉLYI 1971/72, 223-229.; E. SZAKÁL 1973/74, 47-63.; ERDÉLYI 1974, 159, 223-229.; E. SZAKÁL 1974, 7, 14, 48.; PÓCZY, 1977, 17-20.; FARKAS-GABLER 1994, 29-31, Pl. 2-3.

G.G.

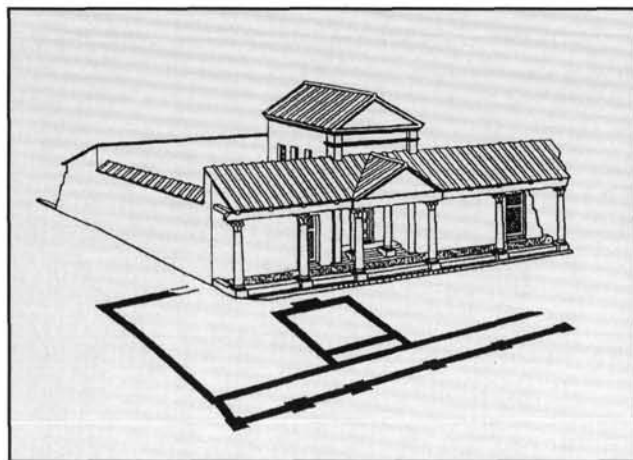
## CAPITOLINE TRIAD – SCARBANTIA, VI.

When Roman towns were founded, *fora* were built as well, becoming the centres of the state cult. Patterned after the city of Rome the sanctuary of the Capitoline divine triad, Iuppiter, Iuno and Minerva, was placed here. In Savaria and Scarbantia, two cities along the Amber Road, monumental marble statues – twice and half times the life-size – of the Capitoline Triad were found. The Capitoline temple of Scarbantia was built in the age of Trajan and restored under Antoninus Pius. The statue groups were made of Grecian marble in the mid-second century, their masters were certainly not local sculptors. The statues became the victims of a violent, deliberate devastation. The first attempt for reconstructing the statues from their fragments was made in 1930 by Kamill Praschniker, who conjectured beyond the three statues of deities a fourth one, that of an emperor seated on a throne. The present reconstruction, exhibited in the lapidary of the Fabricius House in Sopron, is the work of Ernő Szakál, sculptor and restorer. – First half of the 2nd century.

G.G.



## DIANA TEMPLE – CARNUNTUM, VII.



The vestiges of a small temple were found 1986-1987. The two longitudinal walls were pulled forward to the north looking in anteroom with 1.50 m depth. Between the two walls stood columns. On three sides the 0,70 m wide foundations were made of quarystone. The eastern wall was not preserved, but the formerly run could be seen as a ghost wall. So the floorplan results in a cella with a vestibule of total 6x6,45 (= 20x21,5 roman foot). The southern wall is trengthened in its middle by a post made of quarystones. The entrance of the temple was placed on the northern side and was in connection with the offshore street portico. Because the column's bases of the portico feature exactly in flight of the temple entrance a wider space than the others. The origin of the small sanctuary dates back to the beginning of 4th century A.D. The building proves that *Colonia Septimia Aurelia Antoniniana Karnuntum* went through a magnificent architectural evenin this time.

JOBST-RUDOLF 1987, 151-240; JOBST 1988, Cover picture, 110-120; GOLLMANN 1990, 35-43; HUMER-JOBST 1995, 20-, Abb. 15, 17.

F.H.-W.J.-G.K.



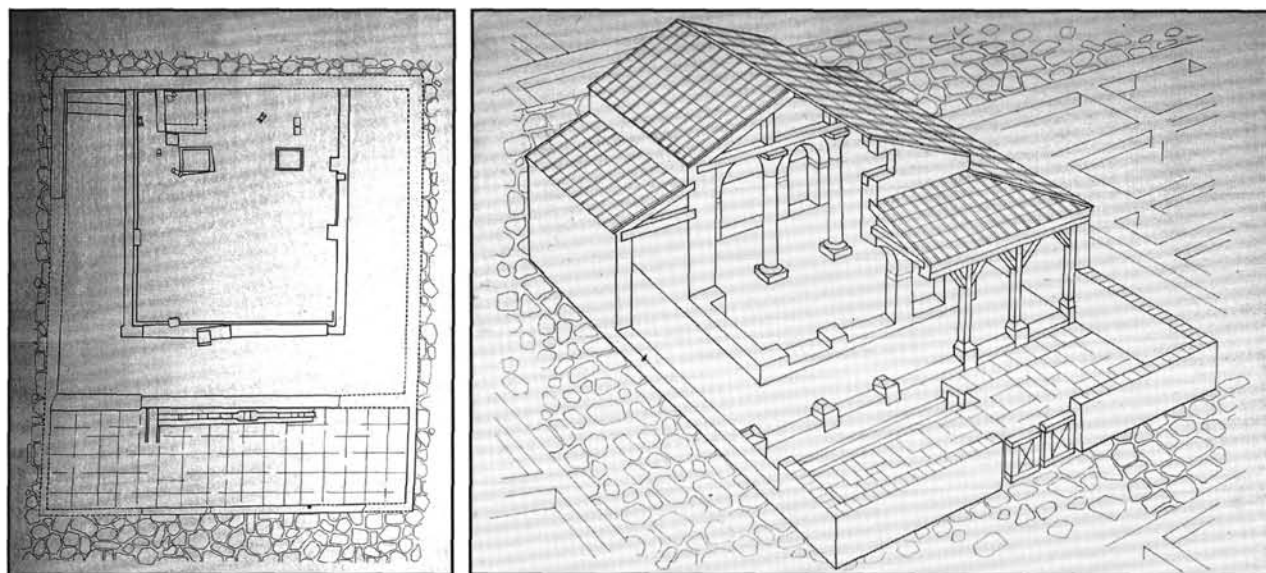
### 34. Head of Diana-Nemesis

The identification of the small marble head discovered in 1956 as that of the huntress-goddess Diana is based on a series of similar sculptures discovered in Carnuntum and other roman sites. The location indicates that the head was part of a marble statuette wich was used as a cult figure in the small, secondary street temple erected along the „Limesstraße“ in the civil town. Her hair is parted in the middle, curled under on the sides and forming a knot at the back on the head. The surface of the hair has fine waves. The ears are largely covered and both cheekbones are decorated with a curl. A crescent shaped diadem, or crown, sits on her forehead. She is looking slightly upwards and her neck is turning to her left shoulder. Her mouth is closed and her lips, turning up at the corners, are strong and full.

WISSOWA 1912, 175-; HELBIG 1963, 41-; EISENHUT 1967, 741-; LATTE 1967, 331-; KUNCKEL 1974; SPEIDEL-DIMITROVA-MILCEVA 1978,1542-; TURNOVSKY 1990, 81-; JOBST-RUDOLF 1987, 180-, Titelbild; JOBST 1988, Cover picture, 110-120; GOLLMANN 1990, 35-43; HUMER-JOBST 1990, 32-, Abb. 22, 44; JOBST 1992, 327; HUMER-JOBST 1995, 20-, 28, Abb. 16.

F.H.- W.J. -G.K.

## MERCURIUS SANCTUARY – SAVARIA, VIII.



The three-apsed sanctuary with a portico was built close to the streets inside the town-wall. Its entrance was from the east. Beside the bases of the pillars in the inside area sacrificial urns covered by flat bricks were put. A coin was put among the burnt animal bones into each urn. In the urn containing a coin of Claudius there was also an egg. The sanctuary was probably founded under the reign of the emperor Vespasianus. It is proved by a Vespasianus coin found in another urn, which was minted in Rome in 73. Later the sanctuary was rebuilt. Some coins of the emperor Traianus from 98 and 105–110 were found in the filling earth under the raised pillars. The altars of the renewed shrine were erected to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Mercurius. Around a small niche in the back south-western part of the shrine tiny bronze sculptures of Venus, Victoria, Fortuna and the Mother Goddess came to the surface. A limestone relief of Mercurius, a clay lucerne and a hydria were fallen into the *lararium*. A great number of wicks, plates, pots and censers abounded all over the sanctuary. Measures: 18,5x16,5 m, 13x11 m inside. It is from the second half of the 1st and the first half of the 3rd centuries.

BUÓCZ-SZENTLÉLEKY 1991; BUÓCZ 1991a, 13-25; BUÓCZ 1991b, 183-198; BUÓCZ 1992, 9-22, III. 16.

T.B.

### 35. Mercurius relief

The background is brick-shaped, standing on its small side, the torso of the youth standing out of it. He is represented *en face*, naked, wearing only a mantle on his shoulders. Head and lower legs are missing. The lost head, which raised over the brick-shaped background, was fastened to the neck on the back by indenting. Over the right of the figure remains of hair. The athletic youth holds in his lowered right a money-bag (*marsupium*), in his left bent in the elbow a magic wand (*caduceus*). His hands are disproportionately elongated. The large measures of his mantle are conspicuous; over the shoulder a round brooch. Before the chest a wide drapery, folded in large, bulging, curved lines, leading to his left arm by an S-shaped line, from this it falls down in wavy folds. On the mantle at several spots remains of red paint can be seen. The representation is a transition between a round sculpture and a relief. It can be led back to a classical Greek prototype, the *Doryphoros* of Polycleitus. The figure, made according to the rules of proportion, reflects the influence of the stone-dresser school of Virunum. – 2nd century. – Reverse: 19,2x13x2,4 cm. Body: 19,5 cm; shoulder W.: 9 cm; waist W.: 4,5 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), Járdányi Paulovics István Romkert-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary. – SM, Inv. no. 87.5.1.

BUÓCZ-SZENTLÉLEKY 1991; BUÓCZ 1991a, 22, Fig.13; BUÓCZ 1991b, 183-198; BUÓCZ 1992, 21, III. 20.



T.B.





### 36. Altar of Mercurius

Prismatic shape. The pedestal consists of a flat brick-shaped member, over it a kyma flanked by two narrow fillets. The capital reflects the pedestal. Strongly damaged. On the narrow side traces of an egg and dart ornament. The verso of the altar is roughly hewn, carved from top to bottom in one facing. Material: limestone. The inscription takes place in the upper 2/3 of the body. The characters of the first row are larger. The underlines can be seen: *Mercu[r(io)] sacr(um) | P(ublius) Titius Op(tatus) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. The characters "T" rise over the row. In the inscription traces of red paint. – 2nd century – Total H: 52,5 cm; H of the trunk: 35,5 cm; W: 26 cm; Th: 18,5-19 cm; Pedestal L: 27 cm; W: 19,2-21 cm; H of the characters: 4,5-3 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary, W half, S nave (Field 80/48.) – SM, Inv. no. R.88.4.1.

BUÓ CZ– SZENTLÉLEKY 1991.; BUÓ CZ 1991, 21, Fig. 11.; BUÓ CZ 1992, 21, III. 19.

T.B.

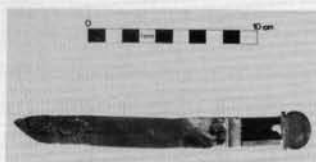


### 37. Altar of Iuppiter

Prism-shaped. The pedestal consists of a higher brick-shaped member and above it two narrow lath members. The trunk of the altar is slightly narrower than its base. Over the trunk the pediment reflects the pedestal. The reverse of the altar is unrelieved, roughly hewn in one plane. Material: limestone. The pediment is damaged, the base part is worn. The inscription covers the whole surface of the trunk: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Caetro | nius Fes | tus | v(otum) s(olvit)*. The characters of the inscription are of a round, antiqua type, with traces of red paint. – 2nd century. – The underlines can be dimly seen. Measures: pedestal H: 26 cm; W: 24 cm; H: 7,6 cm; H of the trunk: 30 cm; W: 24,5 cm; Th: 12,8 cm. H of the characters: 3,2–3,5 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary, W half, middle nave. – SM, Inv. no. R.88.4.2.

BUÓ CZ– SZENTLÉLEKY 1991; BUÓ CZ 1991a. III. 12. BUÓ CZ 1992, 21, III.18.

T. B.



### 38. Bronze knife

The flat haft ends in a solid semicircle. Its oblong pierced part might have been inlaid with a palmetta decoration. The blade is of iron. – 1st to 2nd century. – Haft L: 4,7-7,1x2,2-2 cm; W of blade 1,7 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary. – SM, Inv. no. 87.8.1.

Unpublished

T.B.



### 39. Fragment of a terracotta bust representing Minerva

Hollow moulded bust of burnt clay. The head is missing. Minerva is represented in military attire, wearing a breastplate. The neck is cylinder-shaped, the back is fragmentary and damaged. Over the breastplate a scaly aegis, in its centre a Gorgon head, a young girl with hair parted in the middle and reaching to the shoulders. The hanging folds of a mantle are slung over the left shoulder. The left shoulder is cemented. The colour is of a yellowish-brown terracotta. – 2nd century – 10,7x14,4 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary. – SM, Inv. no. R. 96.1.2.

Unpublished.

T.B.

### 40. Terracotta torso of Minerva

Head, hands and feet of the goddess are lost. In her raised right she holds a spear, in her lowered left hand she probably held her shield. Over her short-sleeved tunic she wears a mantle, slung over the left shoulder. On her breast an aegis with a Gorgon head. It is hollow, of a yellowish terracotta colour. – 2nd century – 4,8x4 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary. – SM, Inv. no. R. 96.1.3.

Unpublished.

T.B.

#### 41. Lead votive statuette of Victoria

The winged goddess wears a high coronet. Her eyes and breasts are indicated by small globules. She wears a full length gown sticking to the waist and hip, the free ends of the folds are of different length, expressing the movement of the flight. In her right a wreath, in her left a palm leaf. Her skirt is hollow and ends in a socket. The verso is unwrought. Damaged. – Early 3rd century – 6,5x4,6 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary, *Lararium*. – SM, Inv. no. R. 87.18.6. BUÓCZ-SZENTLÉLEKY 1991; BUÓCZ 1991a, 22, Fig. 14; BUÓCZ 1992, 21, Ill. 20.

T.B.



#### 42. Lead votive statuette of Venus

The goddess is represented *en face*, standing in a niche flanked by twisted columns, the arched pediment is decorated with leaves. Her head resp. coronet raises over the frame. She is nude, only her legs are covered by a veil. In her raised right she holds an indiscernible object. In her lowered left a piece of her clothing. Her eyes and breasts are indicated by small globules. Her feet touch the bottom of the niche resp. the top of the socket. The verso is unwrought, only the bottom and the vertical folds of the veil are executed. The socket is damaged. – 2nd century, early 3rd century – 5,5x3,5 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary, *Lararium*. – SM, Inv. no. R. 87.18.8.

BUÓCZ-SZENTLÉLEKY 1991; BUÓCZ 1991a, 22, Fig. 14; BUÓCZ 1992, 21, Ill. 23.

T.B.



#### 43. Lead votive statuette of Dea Syria

Niche flanked by twisted columns, the border of the pediment is decorated by a bead row, on the top an akroterion. In the niche the goddess is represented *en face*. Over her long gown she wears a mantle slung over the left shoulder. The border is marked by tiny globules. She wears a helmet or high coronet on the head. Her eyes are indicated by small globules. In her right she holds an object, in her left a long spear. At her feet on both sides a lion each. The verso is unwrought, the socket is damaged. – 2nd century -early 3rd century – 6,4x4 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary, *Lararium*. – SM, Inv. no. R. 87.18.13.

BUÓCZ-SZENTLÉLEKY 1991; BUÓCZ 1991a, 22, Fig. 14; BUÓCZ 1992, Ill. 24.

T.B.



#### 44. Lead votive statuette of a Matrona

Goddess standing *en face*, she has negroid features. Over her pinned up hair a frilled bonnet, in her right a patera, in her left a palm leaf(?). She wears a long, plaited wool garment, the scarf covering the bosom runs on the back in slanting folds. From backwards the thick folds of the skirt are also figured. At the bottom of the skirt two circular rings make the socket. – 2nd century – 6x4 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary, *Lararium*. – SM, Inv. no. R. 87.18.10.

T.B.



#### 45. Lead votive disc representing the Three Graces

On a hollow stem a circular plate, with semicircular suspension hook. On the edge of the disc isosceles triangles. In the field of the recto, surrounded by concentric circles, on a broad base three Graces embracing, the middle one, a nude is standing with her back to the onlooker, the two other ones are *en face*. One of them holds a long-stemmed plant, another flowers with shorter stems. On the verso three concentric circles in the border. – 2nd century-early 3rd century – Diam.: 3 cm; stem L: 1,5 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary, *Lararium*. – SM, Inv. no. R. 87.18.2.

BUÓCZ-SZENTLÉLEKY 1991; BUÓCZ 1991a, 22, Fig. 14; BUÓCZ 1992, Ill. 21, Ill. 28.

T.B.





#### 46. Lead votive disc

On a broad handle a round, flat disc. On the recto nine raised rays start from the centre to the concentric circle. The verso is unwrought. – 2nd century-early 3rd century. – Diam.: 4 cm; handle L: 2,2 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary, *Lararium*. – SM, Inv. no. 87.18.4.

BUÓCZ-SZENTLÉLEKY 1991; BUÓCZ 1991a. 22. Fig. 14.; BUÓCZ 1992, 10,III. 27.

T.B.



#### 47. Lamp

Two-branched, brick-red lamp of egg-shaped form with three holes, decorated with volutes. On its disc knobs in rows between two ribs. On its leaf-shaped handle a pine motif. – 2nd century A.D. – H: 3,1 cm; L: 12,1 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary. – SM, Inv. no. R. 87.18.4

Unpublished

G.N.

#### 48. Lamp

Greyish-brown firm lamp, with a cone decoration on its disc. – 2nd century A.D. – H: 2,4 cm; L: 8,3 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary. – SM, Inv. no: R. 5.1968.

Unpublished.

G.N.



#### 49. Incense burner

Brick-red, on its side a coherent, applied scale-work. – 2nd century A.D. – H: 15,5 cm; Mouth diam.: 25 cm; Pedestal diam.: 9,3 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary. – SM, not inventorized.

Unpublished

G.N.



#### 50. Incense burner

Reddish-brown. The edge of its splayed rim is indented, on its side two ribs with thumb indentations – 2nd century A.D. – H: 11 cm; Mouth diam.: 17,3 cm; Pedestal diam.: 9,7 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary. – SM, not inventorized.

Unpublished.

G.N.



#### 51. Hydria

Brick-red clay. Pear-shaped form, cylindric neck, with ribs running around the lip. The three wide, ribbed ribbon handles rise over the rim. Under the handles a wide, circular stripe painted red. The pedestal is straight. – 2nd century A. D. – H: 31,5 cm; Mouth diam.: 15 cm; Pedestal diam.: 9 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary. – SM, Inv. no. R. 841.14/9.

Unpublished

G.N.

## 52. Clay urn

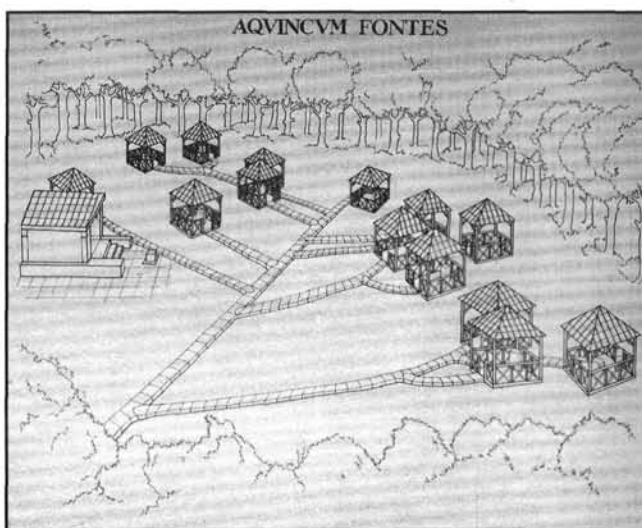
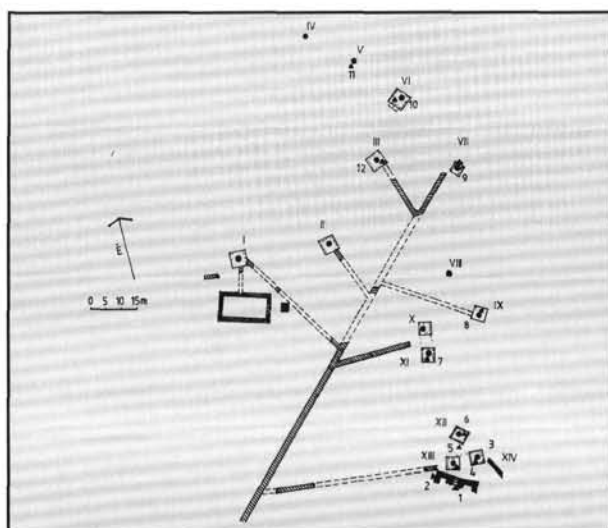
On its distinctly slanting, smooth rim black painting, the body is pear-shaped. Traces of the turning on the wheel are perceivable on its gray, hard-burnt surface. – 1st century – Mouth diam.: 19,5 cm; H: 24,5 cm; Foot diam.: 8,5 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), JPIR-Püspökkert, so-called Mercurius sanctuary at the W ground wall of the great pillar. – SM, Inv. no. R. 87.4.1.

BUÓCZ 1991b, 21, Fig.10; BUÓCZ 1992, 21, Ill. 17.

T.B.



## AESCULAPIUS AND HYGIEIA SPRING SANCTUARY – AQUINCUM, IX.



The cult of the healing medical deities, of Aesculapius and Hygieia, originated in Greece. On several Pannonian inscriptions the name of the god figures in its original form as Asklepios. The attribute of the deity is the *caduceus*, a staff with a snake around it; one of the peculiarities of his cult was that the ailing persons restored to health offered as votive objects small copies of their healed limbs made of wood or ceramics. The votives were laid down in the sacred grove of the deity before the statue of Aesculapius or hung on the branches of the surrounding trees. The temple of the divine couple was situated generally at the spring group of an aqueduct, as in Aquincum, where in the sacred area next to a platform temple 14 chapels, inscribed altars and wall remains of the hospital were unearthed.

K.P.

## 53. Altar of Aesculapius and Hygieia

Abacus and left upper corner of the ledge are broken. Ledge and pediment are manifoldly profiled. It bears the inscription: *Asclepio et | Hygiae | C. Gavillius | Eutychus*. – Early 3rd century A.D. – 44x25x19,5 cm. – Budapest, IIIrd district (Aquincum), Spring covers of the Római Strandfürdő (Well House Nr. 13). – AM, Inv. no. 64.10.170. PÓCZY 1980, 3, Nr. 3. – AnÉp 1982, 805.

M.Né.





## HERCULES SANCTUARY– AJKA



### 54. Hercules statue

Sandstone. The standing, nude figure of Hercules in a three-quarter natural size on a 10 cm high base. Over his left arm a lion's skin, with folds marked by deep lines, with his right resting on its club. His right foot is damaged. The head is modelled portrait-like, with beard and moustache, the hair consists of geometrically formed curls. The pupil is not marked. – End of the 2nd century – H: 107,5 cm. – Ajka, sand mine near the railroad. – LDM, Inv. no. 55.278.3.

THOMAS 1952, 108-112; *MRL* 1957, 232-233; *MRT* 1970, 21-22; PALÁGYI 1976, 21/b; FITZ 1982, 76, no. 49.

Z.F.



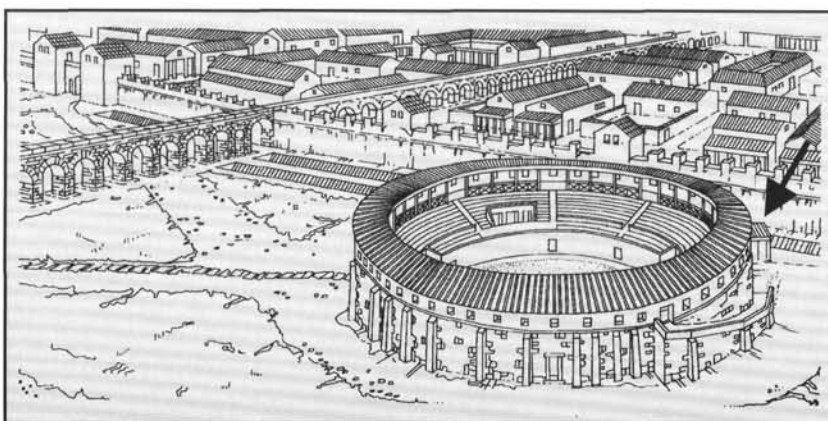
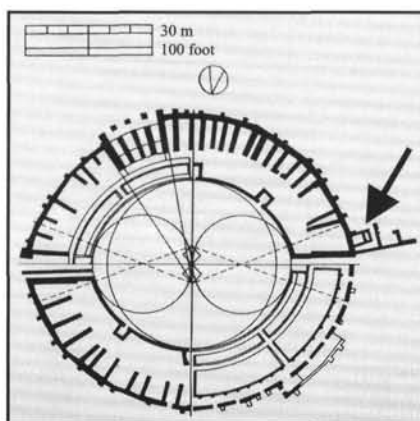
### 55. Hercules altar

Sandstone. On three sides of an oblong abacus flat, triangular acroteria. On the top two Ionic bolsters held together by two flat bands. Between the bolsters a quadractic, flat dent. Inscription in a multiply profiled frame: *Herculi | p(osuit) Sex(tus) | Acurius | Dexter*. – End of the 2nd century – 108x56x38 cm. – Ajka, sand mine near the railroad. – LDM, Inv. no. 55.278.1.

*RIU* 366: *AnnÉp* 1953, 15; THOMAS 1952, III. 109; *MRT* 1970, 21-22, Pl.I, 1-3; SZABÓ 1971a-b, III. 67, 73; PALÁGYI 1976, 21/c.

Z.F.

## NEMESIS SANCTUARY – AQUINCUM, X.



In the civil town of Aquincum a Nemesis sanctuary was built to the exit of the amphitheatre towards the gladiator barracks at a later date. The collapsed sanctuary preserved the inventory of the cult, twelve altar stones, fragments of statues and building inscriptions. The earliest date mentions a festivity on August 20, 162, when the sanctuary was consecrated on the birthday of the goddess. Of two further inscriptions one mentions a restoring of the sanctuary on April 24, 214, the other on April 24, 259; this feast the goddess shared with Fortuna. On the first occasion the festivities took place in the presence of Emperor Caracalla and the dowager empress, on the second one in that of Emperor Regalianus.

K.P.

### 56. Inscription of a Nemesis sanctuary

Inscribed limestone votive slab, sacred to Diana Nemesis, for the benefit of G. Iulius Victorinus of the equestrian order, and T. Flavius Lucianus, who wore several municipal charges. The inscription dated from June 26, 259 A.D. was set up by Pupilius Hyliatianus, priest of the goddess. The text of the inscription reads: *Deae Dianae Nemesi Aug(ustae) | honoribus et fa(v)oribus | G. Iul(io) Victorini (!) e(quo) p(ublico), aedili(cio?) | Ilvirali et T. Fl(avio) Luciani, | q(uaestoricio?) Ilvirali, pontificibus | q(in)q(uennalibus) col(oniae) Aq(uinci) | Pupili(us) Hyliatianus | antesstis (!) numini eius | deae posuit V Kal(endas) Iulias*. On two sides of the frame vertically: *Aemiliano | et Bas(s)o co(n)s(ulibus)*. – 59x58,5x9-13 cm. – Óbuda-Csigadomb (Aquincum), in the entrance-hall of the Nemesis sanctuary of the amphitheatre. – MNM, Inv. no. 190.1880.1.

TORMA 1881, 72.; *CIL* III 10440; DINER 1883, 94, No. 24; KUZSINSZKY 1891, 117-118, No. 2.; BARKÓCZI 1964, 345, No. 105:153.

M.Né.

### 57. Statue of Fortuna Nemesis

The goddess stands on a flat pedestal wearing a full-length chiton bound under the breast. The verso is unworked. – 2nd century – 41,5x27x18 cm. – Budapest-Óbuda (Aquincum) amphitheatre in the civil town. – AM, Inv. no. 64.11.110.

KUZSINSZKY 1891, 121-122, Ill. 6; *Istene* 1995, 40, no. 24.

Z.F.



## LARARIUMS

### LARARIUM – NAGYDÉM





#### 58. Bronze statue of a Lar

A male figure with a laurel wreath, in a wide tunic, a chlamys is thrown over his left shoulder. On a quadratic postament standing on feet is an unrelieved cylindric body decorated with a kyma row, on this the Lar stands. He stretches out his right, in his left a cornucopia. It was made in an Italian workshop. – 1st century A.D. – H: 32 cm (with pedestal) – Nagydém – LDM, Inv. no: 55,187.6.

THOMAS 1965, 9-15, Ill. 2-4.

Zs.B.



#### 59. Bronze statue of Apollo

Nude male figure standing gracefully on a round pedestal. His head turned slightly to the right is surrounded by thick locks falling about his shoulders, clasped on the top of the head in a double lock. A strap supporting the quiver runs arching over the chest and the right shoulder. In his outstretched hand an offering cup, in his left the other attribute is missing. It was made in a Balkanic, Hellenistic or South Italian workshop. – 1st century A.D. – H: 38 cm (with pedestal) – Nagydém – LDM, Inv. no. 55.187.5.

THOMAS 1965, 15-21, Ill. 5-8.

Zs. B.



#### 60. Jug

Bronze, the bulging body is not decorated, the cast bronze handle is figural. From the stylized leaves clinging to the mouth opening birds' heads are forking in two directions, their elongated beaks form the rim. The vertical section of the handle is divided in two by three petals turned downwards: on the top section a nude youth holds a bucket in his right and a beaker in his left: close to him an animal stands. In the quadratic field sticking to the body of the vessel a child sits on a leopard, behind it a thrysos. Made in a Gallian workshop. – Early 2nd century A.D. – H: 20,4 cm; Mouth diam.: 6,9 cm; Pedestal diam.: 9 cm. – Nagydém – LDM, Inv. no. 55.187.3.

THOMAS 1965, 21, Ill. 9.

G.N.



#### 61. Bronze lamp

Suspendible lamp standing on a small pedestal, with reflector of a semilunular form. – End of the 1st century-beginning of the 2nd century. – H: 3,8 cm; L: 9,6 cm; Pedestal diam.: 4 cm. – Nagydém – LDM.

THOMAS 1965, 21-22.

G.N.



#### 62. Bronze lamp

Suspendible, in the form of a Nubian slave, the flame hole is in his protruding, open mouth. Its handle is covered by a foliate decoration: originally there was in the stock of the leaf a small lid covering the oil hole. Workshop of Alexandria or Gallia. – Early 2nd century A.D. – H: 6,4 cm; L: 10,6 cm; Pedestal diam.: 3 cm. – Nagydém – LDM.

THOMAS 1965, 22.

G.N.



### LARARIUM – TAMÁSI

#### 63. Bronze statue of Concordia

The goddess is seated on a throne with back and arms, the rich folds of her gown are bound by a girdle under her bosom. On her head she wears a diadem, fixing the vellum which falls about her shoulders. In her right she holds a patera, in her left a cornucopia. – Last third of the 1st century A.D. – H (statue): 34,5 cm; (throne): 26,8 cm; W: 20 cm. – Tamási – WMM, Inv. no. 1.941.3.

THOMAS 1963, 6-10, Ill. 1-4; THOMAS 1964, 418, 234, Ill. 177; *Szekszárdi Vezető* 33, P.IX-X; *Római kori plasztika*, 20, No.15, Ill. 15.

G.N.

#### 64. Bronze statue of Iuppiter

Nude statue of a god, standing on a round pedestal. His right hand and a part of his forearm are missing. With his left raised high he rested originally on his long staff, to which also his pose points. In his right he might have held a patera or rather a thunderbolt. His pensive face, looking upwards, is framed by a fine crop of hair. Italian workshop. – Early 2nd century A.D. – H: 31 cm. – Tamási – WMM, Inv. no. R. 1941.1.

THOMAS 1963, 10-12, ill. 5-7; THOMAS 1964, Pl.CXXV-CXXVI.; *Szekszárdi Vezető* 33-34, Pl. IX.; *Római kori plasztika*, 20, No. 16. Ill. 16.

G.N.



### LARARIUM – TÉTÉNY

#### 65. Jug (urceus and patera)

Jug in the shape of an elongated pear, with splayed rim. The handle in the form of a human leg bent in the knee is attached to the rim resp. to the bulge of the vessel. The handle ends on the upper part in a foliage, below in a sandalled left foot. – 1st-2nd century – H: 22,7 cm. – Tétény (Campona) – MNM, Inv. no. 86.1882.40.

GAUL 1890, 107. Fig. 2/6.

L.K.



#### 66. Patera

Pan with a handle, its rim is gadrooned. In the middle of the bottom of the vessel a *kyma* row running in a circle variegate the decoration. Inside of the handle the plastic figure of Amor, in the middle a fish-tailed marine creature, at the end a female bust holding an animal make a peculiar impression. – 1st-2nd century – H: 18,2 cm. – Tétény (Campona) – MNM, Inv. no. 86.1882-39.

GAUL 1890, 107. Fig. 2/5.; RADNÓTI 1938, 70-71. Fig. 26/1.

L.K.



### LARARIUM?

#### 67. Relief with a scene of sacrifice to the Lares

The scene of a sacrifice to the Lares is shown in a sunken field with a simple frame, which terminates at the top in three arches. Two figures in togas with covered heads, which stand before an altar, are preserved on the relief. In their left hands, they carry small vessels with grains of incense, which the figure on the right pours beside the altar, whilst the figure on the left pours it on the altar. The upper part and the base of the altar are profiled, there is a garland on the obverse and a small votive vessel on each side. – 2nd-3rd century A.D. – H: 36 cm; W: 36 cm; thickness: 4 cm. – Ptuj (Poetovio) – PMP, Acc. no. RL 132.

JEVREMOV 1988, 44, fig. 12.

I.L.



#### 68. Statuette of a Lar

Small bronze statuette, with his right upheld, looking slightly to the right, with a wreath on the head. On the shoulders a pair of brooches, he wears his richly folded garment reaching to the knees across the left shoulder. His left lower arm and right foot are missing. – 1st-2nd century. – H: 10,2 cm. – Bácsa, Szt. Vid-Hill – XJM, Inv. no. 66.25.1. Unpublished.

E.Sző.



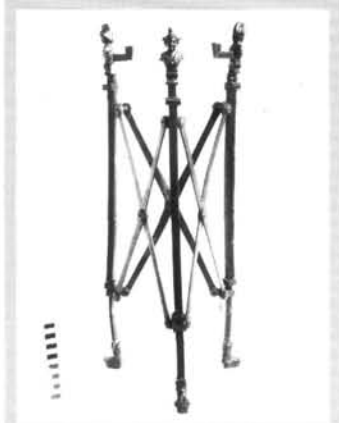


#### 69. Lamp with the head of Iuppiter

Cast bronze lamp, finely chased, Italian work. Over the round oil receptacle the elaborately ornated thumb prop rises. Iuppiter is encircled by a crescent which rises from an acanthus cup. Under the head, on the surface of the crescent, a smaller bust, representing in all probability Helios. – First decades A.D. – 30x20 cm. – Mór – MNM, Inv. no. 78.1913.

SUPKA 1913, 277; M. NAGY 1992, 127, 172, No.41.

*M.Na.*



#### 70. Tripod

Bronze tripod for supporting a bowl. The feet of the stand can be elongated upwards with the aid of a movable slide. It can be raised in two situations. The feet are held together by hinged cross bands, the top of the elongated foot is decorated by an Attis bust inlaid with silver. For holding the bowl hooks grow out from the busts. – 3rd century – H: 69 cm. – Zomba (County Tolna) – MNM, Inv. no. 2.1935.1.

BÓNIS 1983, 94- Fig 2.

*L.K.*

#### 71. Terracotta statuette of mother deities

Two female figures seated in high-backed armchairs, both wearing a headdress. The right side figure has a patera in her right, her left is in her lap. The left-side one has also a patera in her right, with her left arm she embraces a baby. They are stripped to the waist (?), or their clothing is not discernible. Folds from the knees downwards indicate a mantle. On a white stucco grounding paint traces. – Mid-1st century – 13,4x9,6x5,8 cm. – Dunaföldvár, probably from the Nagyhegy vineyard. – WMM, Inv. no. R. 1.933.6.

THOMAS 1970, 19-21, III. 1-2.

*Z.F.*

#### 72. Mother goddess

Terracotta statuette of Mater, a mother goddess. The goddess sits in a decorated armchair, her richly folded gown leaves her left breast bare. Her hand rests in her lap holding a scarf. – 2nd-3rd century – H: 18,3 cm. – Szőny (Brigetio) – MNM, Inv. no. 2.1941.2

*L.K.*

#### 73. Mother goddess

Terracotta statuette of a mother goddess, a Mater. The goddess seated in an armchair with a naked baby on her breast. – 2nd-3rd century – H: 13 cm. – Dunapentele (Intercisa) – MNM, Inv. no. 64.1903.16

*L.K.*



### STATUES, RELIEFS

#### 74. Head of Iuppiter

The head is covered with small curls which blend with the moustache and the short full-beard. Forehead high and lined. Eyes damaged, nose thin. Mouth arched, lips thick. Type of Zeus Otricoli. Limestone. – 2nd century – 18x17 cm. – Budapest, IIIrd district, E of the Kreml mill. (Aquincum northern area of the civil town). – AM, Inv. no. 64.11.179.

KUZSINSZKY 1890, 107. – T. NAGY. 1971, 151-153, Fig.

*K.Sz.*



#### 75. Statuette of Iuppiter

Bronze statuette of Iuppiter. The god is represented with a crown of rays, bound at the back by a ribbon, falling on the shoulders. In his lowered right hand, broken over the wrist, he might have held a thunderbolt. His left arm is bent at the elbow and held high, in the hand might have been a sceptre. From his left shoulder an ample mantle falls down in rich folds, with a wing across the left arm. – 2nd-3rd century – H: 11 cm. – Aquincum – MNM, Inv. no. 127.1882.

ERDÉLYI 1935 107-109, Fig. 89-90.; L. NAGY 1942, 618.; CSERMÉNYI-THOMAS 1982, 9. Nr. 224.; SZIRMAI 1986, 4. no. 1. Fig.

*L.K.*



## 76. Iuppiter on pedestal

The statue depicts a reclining Iuppiter, head turned to the right and face covered in thick beard and moustache. One can discern a garland of laurel in his long combed hair. The muscles of the naked upper body are pronounced. His legs are covered with a cloak which is thrown over his left shoulder. Behind, the cloak falls down his back, in front it reaches as far as his feet on which one can discern the traces of sandals. The right foot is flat on the slanting bench whereas the right foot is lifted and only the toes touch the bench. The right arm is raised and bent at the elbow. The fingers are clenched to hold the top of a sceptre. – Missing are the right forearm, the larger part of the sceptre and the pedestal. – 1st-2nd century A.D. – H: 10,1 cm; bronze – Sisak (Siscia) – ZAM, Inv. no. 4641.

BRUNŠMID 1913/1914, 210, no. 4, fig. 4; TADIN 1979, 9, no.1, T. I:1; *Tesori nazionali*

A.R-M.



## 77. Relief of Iuppiter and Iuno

In a circular-ended niche the traditional representation of the divine couple with their attributes. Iuppiter is nude, with a mantle across the shoulder, in his right the thunderbolt, in his left a sceptre, at his feet an eagle. Iuno holds in her right a patera, with his left she leans on a sceptre, at her right foot is the fragment of the wing of a bird (peacock?). On her head a diadem, her veil thrown back from her shoulder in an arch is fastened on both sides to the hair-do by two ornate pins. In the concave parts of the finely elaborated relief traces of the original painting remained. The monarch of the gods wears a purple mantle, the chiton of Iuno is yellow, her veil as well as her girdle bound on the waist in an intricate knot are red. This recalls the colouring of the Roman bridal dress, the scene represents thus the marriage of the King and Queen of Heaven repeated symbolically in the cult. – Age of the Severi. – 50x72 cm. – Budapest, Timár u. - Fényes Adolf u., Aquincum, canabae. Built in secondarily in a recent cellar wall. – AM, Inv. no. R. 1975/b.

Unpublished.

O.M.



## 78. Iuno

It is a standing bronze woman figure wearing a long, richly pleated chiton. The goddess has a thick fringe of hair. She turns her head slightly to the right. A veil falls down onto her outstretched left arm bent at the elbow. There are two spikes for fastening under her sole. – 2nd century A.D. – It was found in one of the buildings of the forum at Scarbantia (Sopron).

N.G.

## 79. Mars

Young Mars rests on his right foot; his left is slightly bent and extended to the left. The statue rests on a rectangular slab which is decorated with etched slanting lines. Bas-relief is used to emphasize tresses of thick hair which are topped by a high helmet with a large crest showing traces of engraved ornamentation. The face has symmetrically placed eyes, nose and a half-open mouth. Mars is wearing armour which is fastened in front by a belt and ending at the hips in oval-like tresses. Underneath the armour he wears a short knee-length chiton with vertical creases. Thrown over his shoulders and under the armour he wears a short cloak which is accented on his chest. Mars has boots with short bootlegs. With the open palm of his right lowered arm he leans on the rim of a small oval shield which lies on a raised base. The shield rim is decorated with nail-like indentations and on its protruding centre is an engraved *umbo*. The left arm has been broken off and was probably extended and held a spear. On the right shoulder and along the whole of the left side and hip there are flattened protuberances with inset copper nails with which the statuette was applied to an object of unknown purpose. The rear side of the statue is untreated and flat with larger indents along its entire length – 1st-2nd century A.D. – H: 9,5 cm; bronze – Sisak (Siscia) – ZAM, Inv. no. 4643.

BRUNŠMID 1913/1914, 218-219, no. 25, fig. 25; REINACH 1924, 266, fig. 9; TADIN 1979, 15, no. 21, T.XIII, 20.

A.R-M.





#### 80. Venus' torso

Preserved is part of the sculpture from the waist to the knees. Venus is shown standing naked. There is a subtle treatment of details; a tunic is wrapped around the hips and thrown over the left forearm. The left forearm rests on the body and is placed diagonally so that the left hand which holds the ends of the folded tunic is resting on the right thigh. Judging by the position of the legs, one can discern that the goddess rested on her left leg. The Venus depicted is an example of the so-called shy Venus (*Venus pudica*), probably using her right hand to cover her breasts. – 1st-2nd century A.D. – H: 13 cm; marble – Surduk (Rittium) – ZAM, Inv. no. KS 729.

BRUNŠMID 1904-1911, 327, no. 729, fig. 729; GORENC et al. 1952, p. XXI, fig. 49; DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJAN 1983, 30, no. 214, p. 123, T. 37: 1 A, B, C.

A.R-M.

#### 81. Head of Venus

White marble. The head is leaning slightly to the left, her hair is close to the neck on both sides, with a knot on the nape. Her nose and the right side of her face are damaged. The pupils are not worked. – H: 10,3 cm. – Somberek, Szekcső hill – JPM, Inv. no. 73.6.1. I. TÓTH 1990, 11.

Zs.B.



#### 82. Bronze statue of Venus Pudica

Slender female figure standing, weighing on her left foot and stepping forward with the right, with small breasts, her rich locks are falling about neck and shoulders.

– H: 12,5 cm. – Abaliget – JPM, Inv. no. 7130.

*Római kori plasztika* 1976, 20, III.17.



#### 83. Mercurius

Mercurius is standing on his right leg, his right foot is on a square slab. His left leg is raised and rests on its toes. Thrown over the left shoulder and arm is a gathered chlamyd which falls freely below the forearm. On his head he wears a petasus under which one can discern locks of hair. On the oval face one can distinguish eyes, a nose, a mouth, a chin and ears on both sides. The body is prolonged and emphasized by muscles and genitals. In his right outstretched hand Mercurius holds a purse with money and in his left a *caduceus*. The statue and the rectangular base are joined to the hollow pedestal which is accented at the top and bottom and rests on protruding legs. Missing is the tip of the *caduceus*. – Beginning of 2nd century A.D. – H with pedestal: 9,1 cm; without pedestal: 6,6 cm; bronze – Sisak (Siscia) – ZAM, Inv. no. 4645.

BRUNŠMID 1913/1914, 219-220, no. 27, fig. 27; REINACH 1924, 59, fig. 4; TADIN 1979, 16, no. 22, T. XIII, fig. 21a, b, c; *Tesori nazionali* 1991, 137, no. 129.

A.R-M.



#### 84. Mercurius

The naked bust of young Mercurius, cast hollow. Judging by its weight and the lead inlay, it probably served as a scales weight so that it displays a cast hook on the top of the head. His face is rounded and has characteristic details: almond-shaped eyes with hollowed out pupils, wide nose, a closed straight and narrow mouth and rounded chin. His hair is unkempt and in locks. To either side and above the forehead there are two smaller wings with traces of engraved feathers. The right wing sticks out, the right is covered by hair. – Most of the details have been worn down due to the object's function. – 1st-2nd century A.D. – H: 7,3 cm; bronze with lead inlay – Sisak (Siscia) – ZAM, Inv. no. 3239.

BRUNŠMID 1913/1914, 222, no. 33, fig. 33; REINACH 1924, 78, no. 5; TADIN 1979, 37, no. 95, T. XXXVIII, 91.

A.R-M.

### 85. Mercurius

Youthful Mercurius is standing on his right leg whilst his left is placed behind it and rotated to the left. He is dressed in a long *paenula*, clasped on the right shoulder and open at both sides. It covers the right hand and reaches below the elbow and reaches down as far as the ankles. On the front and the rear the cloak is accented by triangular creases and in front, below the chin, it forms a v-neck. His face is emphasized by eye sockets, nose and mouth. Short hair allows the ears to be visible and on his head he wears a *petasus* with engraved wings which follow the shape of the hat. His wings are visible on both sides of his bare feet and on top of the caduceus which he holds in his left hand. In the palm of his right hands he holds a purse (*marsupium*). – 1st-2nd century A.D. – H: 6,3 cm; bronze – Stari Jankovci – ZAM, Inv. no. 4637.

BRUNŠMID 1913/1914, 221, no. 31, fig. 31; REINACH 1924, 75, fig. 5; TADIN 197, 16-17, no. 25, T. XV, 24.



A.R-M.

### 86. Bust of Mercurius

The stylized bust of youthful Mercurius shows him with a triangular flattened head. The face is defined by a small mouth, drooping at the edges, a nose and large, almond-shaped eyes with protruding bags which are emphasized with slanting etched lines under strongly accented eyebrows. The chin is pointed and the ears have been treated plastically. On his head he wears a hat with flaps (*petasus*) which leaves the ears free. The neck is elongated. His attire is shown by shallow concentric circles and a cloak visible on either side of the neck. The bust is part of a hollow and perforated cylindrical attachment which was placed onto the ends of the lever in a scale (steelyard). – 1st-2nd century A.D. – H: 6,4 cm; bronze – Surduk (Rittium) – ZAM, Inv. no. 4613.

BRUNŠMID 1913/1914, 222-223, no. 34, fig. 34; REINACH 1924, 73, no. 3; TADIN 1979, 37, no. 96, T. XXXVIII, 92a.



A.R-M.

### 87. Votive relief of Liber and Libera

White marble relief, between the figures of Liber and Libera stands a leopard. In the hand of the deities a thyrsos each, on the head a corymbos. The inscription is the following: *Leibero (!) | Liber(a)e Mamilia | Firmina v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(eritis)*. – 1st half of the 3rd century – 50x15x8 cm. – Bodrog-Törökdomb – RRM, Inv. no. 50.13.1.

SZ. BURGER 1991, 73, Nr. 10, 7.



P.N.

### 88. Statue head of Hygieia

Marble portrait of the goddess of Health. Roman copy after a Hellenistic original. The loose hair-do is pressed down, diadem-like, by a double ribbon. The eyes look upwards, the lips are open. An extraordinary exquisite, graceful elaboration. – 2nd century A.D. – H: 22 cm. – Budapest; it came to light from the sand of the Danube when the foundation of the Parliament was laid. – MNM, Inv. no. 116.1887.2.

HEKLER 1908a, 231-238; HEKLER 1928, no. 158; M. NAGY 1992, 128, 173, no. 55.



M.Na.





### 89. Relief depicting Asclepius and Hygieia (Aesculapius and Salus)

The two gods of healing – Asclepius and Hygieia, are shown in a bas-relief which is placed in an aedicule which in turn is adapted to the semi-circular form of the marble slab. Engraved between the two figures is a high stele, accented and ending in the shape of three leaves. The figures are shown full face. To the right stands Asclepius. His muscles are stressed, his face is bearded, while all other facial features are barely discernable. His hair falls over his ears to his neck. The lower part of his body is wrapped in a cloak, creased diagonally, which falls almost to his ankles. The other end of the cloak is thrown over his left shoulder, wrapped under his right armpit and then thrown over his chest and left hand. In his lowered right hand he holds a snake which is enveloped around a thick staff which rests on his right leg. – One can barely see Hygieia's nose, mouth and eyes. She is wearing a *chiton* with folds which is fastened above her waist and reaches to her feet. A plaited himation is thrown over the chiton. Her hair is divided down the middle and plaited on top of her head into a double knot (*krobilos*). Hygieia's right hand is bent at the elbow and outstretched. Enveloped around it is a snake which the goddess holds in an open palm. The lower part of the snake and its head lie on a round bowl from which it is probably eating. Between the two god's of healing is small Telesphoros, wrapped in a himation and pointed cap on his head. There is a rustic inscription on the semi-circular rim which reads: *Asclepio et Hygie(ae)*, and on the bottom rim: *Iul(ius) Magnus dvi||?* – 1st-2nd century A.D. – 21x22x0,3 cm; marble – Zemun (Taurunum) – ZAM, Inv. no. KS 103.

BRUNŠMID 1899-1900a, 200-201, fig. 95; BRUNŠMID 1904-1911, 48-49, np. 103, fig. 103; VULIĆ 1939, 68, T. III:1; DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJAN 1983, 29, no. 199, p. 8-88, T. 20:4; Inscription: *CIL* III 15137.

A.R-M.



### 90. Bronze statuette of Hercules

The naked Hercules is modelled standing with the body weight resting on the right leg. The face is encircled by thick hair and a beard. He has a diadem of three rosettes on his head, from which two ribbons fall on to his shoulders. A lionskin is draped over the left arm and the right arm is extended. The attributes, which were held in the hands, are missing. The right leg is broken off above the knee. – Second half of the 1st century A.D. – H: 13 cm. – Unknown site – PMP, Acc. no. 2107.

ABRAMIĆ 1925, 115, fig. 71; *Antička bronca* 1969/93, fig. 101.

I.L.



### 91. Standing statuette of Hercules

White marble, cemented. Nude, bearded male figure, his right on his mace, in his left he holds an apple. His mantle and the lion skin are slinged over his arm. – 2nd century – H: 28,5 cm. – Baracska (Anamatia), County Fejér – DM, Collection Frigyes Déri, Inv. no. DF.R. VIII.10.

DÉRI 1922, 81.; FITZ 1963/64, 225.; SZILÁGYI, J.GY. 1975.; BARKÓCZI et al. 1977, Fig. 8.3, 180.

E.Sza.



### 92. A votive relief depicting Hercules

The slab consists of two parts glued together. Today the left side is curved. The naked figure of Hercules, standing *en face* and draped in a lion skin, is shown in a shallow aedicule whose top rim is arch-like. The lion head is on Hercules' head and its claws are tied below his neck. The skin is thrown over his back and shoulders and is wrapped around his bent left arm revealing claws which fall towards Hercules' feet. Between his feet, one can discern a thin, long lion's tail. Hercules' genitals are accented. Between the fingers of his left hand he holds an apple, his left arm is placed next to his body. In his right hand he holds a club on which he leans. Above his right shoulder, diagonally engraved, is a pouch with arrows. A bow lies next to it. – 2nd century A.D. – 24,5x18x5 cm; marble – Zemun (Taurunum) – ZAM, Inv. no. KS 105.

BRUNŠMID 1895-1896, 170, no. 1, fig. 126; BRUNŠMID 1904-1911, 49-50, no. 105, fig. 105; GORENC et al. 1952, p. XVIII, fig. 10; DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJAN 1983, 29, no. 200, p. 88, T. 20:7.

A.R-M.

### 93. Votive slab of Silvanus Domesticus

Votive gift of Iulius Antius to Silvanus Domesticus. Oblong, upright limestone slab on the top pediment and corner-acroteria. In the recessed, niche-like field Silvanus, with a Phrygian cap on the head, in his raised right a pruning knife, in the left a branch cut. His dog lies at his right foot. On his left three female figures, according to the inscription Silvanae, i.e. forest nymphs. The text of the inscription: *Sil(vano) et Silva(nis) sa(crum). Fla(via) | Secundina | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).* – 2nd-3rd century. – 69x72x40-49 cm. – Óbuda (Aquincum) Grünwald és Társa Szeszgyár. – MNM, Inv. no. 8.1880.

HAMPEL 1881, 170-171; HAMPEL 1890, 70-71; RÉCSEY 1894b Pl. 11; DINER 1883 86, No. 2.

M.Na.

### 94. Silvanus

Silvanus is shown as a naked man with accented genitals standing full weight on his right foot while his left is rotated to the left. On his feet he wears low boots with accented bootleg rims. A creased cloak is draped over his left shoulder and conceals his left hand. It is clasped on his right shoulder. The cloak serves as a bundle for carrying six apples. He holds his right arm close to his body. His right forearm is raised at the elbow, towards his chest. Three more apples are visible in the right hand. Both hand and fingers are overproportionate. The head is large and turned to the left. The large eyes are interestingly stylized. The eyes, as are the nose and small pressed lips, are overtly emphasized. The hair is divided into large strands and reaches from the crown of the head to the forehead and back of the head. The whole figure leans on a bent plate which is connected to the statute from behind by means of a support. It may be concluded that it served as a decoration for some sort of receptacle. Traces of remaining joins indicate that the figure has not been treated fully. – 1st century A.D. – Height with plate for affixation: 10,9 cm; H with base: 9,1 cm; bronze – Novi Banovci (Burginae) – ZAM, Inv. no. 4651.

BRUNŠMID 1913/1914, 231-232, no. 59, fig. 59.; REINACH 1924, 21, fig. 6.; TADIN 1979, 25, no. 48, T. XXIV, 4.

A.R-M.



### 95. Votive tablet dedicated to Silvanus and the Silvanae

Votive tablet of Flavia Secundina dedicated to the deities of forests and fields. In the upper three-quarter of the oblong limestone slab four figures: on the left Silvanus wearing a Phrygian cap, in his raised right a curved pruning knife, in his left a cut branch. At his right foot his dog. On his left three female figures, according to the inscription the Silvanae, i.e. wood nymphs. The inscription reads: *Sil(vano) et Silva(nis) sa(crum). Fla(via) | Secundina | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).* – 2nd to 3rd century – 69x72x40-49 cm. – Óbuda (Aquincum), Grünwald és Társa Szeszgyár – MNM, Inv. no. 8.1881.

HAMPEL 1881, 170-171; HAMPEL 1891, 70-71; RÉCSEY 1894b Pl. 11; DINER 1882, 86, Nr. 2.

M.Na.



### 96. Silvanus tablet

Limestone votive tablet. In a recessed field Silvanus accompanied by three Silvanae. Silvanus is clad in tunic, with a mantle thrown over the shoulder, on his head a pointed cap, he is looking to the right, in his right hand a pruning knife, in his left a branch, at his feet a dog. On his left three female figures clad in a twice-bound long garment, in the left a branch, in the right a round basket (?). Their headdress is hardly discernible. Under the relief in a tabula ansata the inscription: *Sil(vano) | et Silva(nis) sa(crum) (Flavia) | Secundina | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).* – First half of the 3rd century – 72x48x12 cm. – Óbuda (Aquincum), civil town – MNM, Inv. nr. 8.1881.

HAMPEL 1881b, 170-171; HAMPEL 1891, 70-71, Fig. VII; T. NAGY 1942, 390, Pl. LVII, 2.

Z.F.



#### 97. Silenus

The semi-naked figure of Silenus rests on both legs which are placed close together. His feet rest on a round, accented base. The head of the old man is bald and his wide frowning face, marked physiognomy such as eyes, a characteristic flat nose and angry lips covered by a moustache, and a thick goatee beard which reaches from his emphasized chest to an almost fat and bloated stomach marked by a navel. The whole figure leaves a grotesque impression. The lower part of the body is enveloped in a cloak which is tied into a knot below the stomach. The ends of the cloak hang creased and reach his knees. Engraved onto the upper part of his foot are sandal straps. In his left reposing arm Silenus holds the rim of the cloak. The right hand is raised to the side and bent at the elbow. On his outstretched palm Silenus holds a *rhyton* with the wider opening resting on Silenus' palm. The rear side is treated only superficially. – 2nd century A.D. – H with base to top of rhyton: 8,2 cm; H without base: 7,1 cm; bronze – Sisak (Siscia) – ZAM, Inv. no. 4636.

BRUNŠMID 1913/1914, 227, no. 47, fig. 47; REINACH 1924, 59, fig. 5; TADIN 1979, 26, no. 51, T. XXV, 50. A.R.-M.



#### 98. Statuette of a satyr

Bronze statuette of a satyr. The slim figure of the young satyr stepping forward on tiptoes, with light, dancing steps, his head bent on one side, radiates an elastic tension and throbbing vitality. His right arm might have been raised, in his left hand opened sideways he might have grasped an attribute. The brusque, cheerful expression, the pointed ears, the tousled hair and the small tail points to his half-animal origin. – 2nd century – H: 19,7 cm. – Óbuda (Aquincum), Hajógyári sziget, Palace of the governor – MNM, Inv. no. 85.1865.2.

L.K.



#### 99. Bronze statuette of Amor

The naked Amor is represented running. The body and face have a childlike roundedness. The wavy hair reaches to the neck and encircles the face. The right arm is extended to the front and broken at the elbow, the left was extended behind and is missing to the upper arm. There are two wings at the level of the shoulders on the back, the one on the right is somewhat damaged. The right leg is missing below the ankle. – 1st century A.D. – H: 8,4 cm. – Emona, insula XXIX, Ljubljana. – MML, Acc. no. R 2480.

Antička bronca 1969, 97, fig. 118.

I.L.



#### 100. Amor and Psyche

Part of a votive statuette. Marble torso of yellowish hue. Concluding from the somewhat arched carving of the rear side they might have been accessory figures of a Venus statue. Only the part over the ankles and under the breast remained. The naked body of Psyche is adorned with a girdle-like veil falling down. Amor is naked and steps forward with his right foot. – Late 2nd century – H: 10,4 cm; W: 9 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), found before the front of the Iseum of Savaria in a 4th century debris layer. – SM, Inv. Nr. 56.2.267.

Unpublished.

T.Sz.



#### 101. Victoria

Victoria is dressed in a Doric *chiton* full of folds and an *apotigma* reaching her thighs which has been lifted by the wind. Her hands are raised; her right touching her hair. Her hair is made into tresses and tied into a bun at the back. There is also a topknot (*krotilos*). On her back and rising above her head are rib-like wings which have been finely treated to accentuate the feather structure. Under the drapery one discerns that the right leg is extended whilst the left is thrown back and in the air. Missing are the thumb of the left hand and the toes on both feet, as well as the sphere on which the goddess' left leg probably rested. – Beginning of 2nd century A.D. – H with wings: 11,3 cm; H without wings: 8,5 cm; bronze – Sisak (Siscia) – ZAM, Inv. no. 4644.

BRUNŠMID 1913/1914, 212-213, no. 14, fig. 14; REINACH 1924, 201, fig. 7; TADIN 1979, 21, 34, fig. 33; Tesori nazionali 1991, 137, no. 128.

A.R.-M.

### 102. Statuette of Victoria

Damaged statuette of the goddess Victoria. She holds her floating, wind-blown gown with her lowered hands. She descends on the globe with widespread wings, stepping forward with her right foot. – 2nd-3rd century. – H: 10,5 cm. – Szöny-Gerhát cemetery (Brigetio) – MNM, Inv. no. 19.1952.5.

L.K.



### 103. Head of one of the Dioscuri

On the oval face of the young man one can see accented eyes with emphasized eyelids and eyebrows, a nose which is partially damaged, a small closed mouth and beard. On either side of the face there is thick curly hair. On the head he wears a high conical cap (*pilos*). On it are modelled a half-moon and a six-pointed star in bas-relief. The preserved head and part of the neck probably belong to a larger sculpture of one of the two Dioscuri. – 2nd century A.D. – H: 25,2 cm. – Ilok (Cuccium) – ZAM, Inv. no. KS 730. BRUNŠMID 1904-1911, 327-328, n. 730, fig. 730; DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJAN 1983, 30, no. 218, p. 119-120, T. 42;1.

A.R.-M.



### 104. Bronze relief with a sacrificial scene

A wreathed priest and a front-wise represented *victimarius* leading the sacrificial ox are the figures of the small relief. The thick curly haired *victimarius* stands near the animal, looks forward and wears a knee-deep, richly pleated tunic, a gown over his shoulder and sandals. His arm is bent at the elbow. The pole for the leading of the ox is in his right hand. The half-naked, bearded priest facing to the animal stands in front of it and drags the ox by its head. In the middle of the relief there is a hole at the upper part of the animal's right leg. – 1st century A.D. – 12x14,2 cm. – Found in front of the Lutheran church in the Körmend Street at Szombathely (Savaria). – SM, Inv. no. 54.386.2.

G.N.



## TERRACOTTAS

### 105. Terracotta statuette of Venus

On a quadratic pedestal a standing figure, with *stephanae* on her head. She is stripped to the waist; with her left she holds her mantle falling down from her hip. The dark red clay statuette is covered by the remains of a fine, white plaster layer. – Late 1st century – 18,8x5x4,2 cm. – Dunaföldvár, probably from the Nagyhegy vineyard. – WMM, Inv. no. R. 6933.1.

THOMAS 1970, 26-27, Ill. 11-1: *Római kori plasztika* 1976, Nr. 18; *Művészet* 1980, Ill. 10,5; CSERMÉNYI 1980, 5, Nr. 19.

Z.F.



### 106. Terracotta figurine of Venus Pudica

She is weighing on her right foot, stepping forward with the left. Her right is on her breast, her left covers her lap. She wears a knot, her head leans somewhat to the left. The pedestal is hollow. – H: 19,5 cm. – Bicsérd – JPM, Inv. no. 52.1.8.

FÜLEP-BURGER 1979, 286.

Zs.B.



### 107. Crustullum form with a figure of Bacchus

The mould bears a representation of Bacchus, who stands amidst vineleaves. He is dressed in skins, holding a *thyrsus* in his right hand and a *cantharos* in his left hand. A panther with raised head sits beside his left leg. – 2nd century A.D. – Diam.: 12 cm. – Ptuj (Poetovio) – PMP, Acc. no. R 1117.

ABRAMIČ 1925, 103, fig. 49.

I.L.

## LAMPS, POTTERIES

### 108. Bacchic jug

Red-burnt clay jug, unglazed. The two handles are drawn high from the middle of the neck and are attached to the shoulder. On one side of the relief representation the drunken Dionysos leans on Pan crowning himself. On the other side a dancing maenad follows Pan. Both figural compositions are encircled by wine grapes and scrolls. – 2nd-3rd century – H: 25,3 cm; Mouth diam.: 5 cm; Foot diam.: 10 cm. – Győr-Belváros (Arrabona), the present Rákóczi F. u. 22. – XJM, Inv. no. 53.176.4.

BÓNIS, 1952, 23-32.

E.Sző.

### 109. Vessel depicting Silenus

Silenus with a large bloated belly sits cross-legged with hands bent at the elbows and resting on his knees. He is dressed in goatskin which reveals his chest, stomach with large navel and genitals. A goat mask is depicted below the neck on the hairy goatskin on his back. Goat's hoofs are visible on the front along the edge of the goatskin. Emphasized on the wide grotesque face are eyes with strong eyebrows, a wide flat nose, a mouth enveloped by a moustache and thick beard. Silenus' bald head is decorated with a laurel of leaves and fruits. The ends of the ribbon tied on the back of his head fall in wave-like strands to his shoulders, thus, forming the vessel's handles. – Missing are the vessel's bottom and the lower right vessel rim by his foot. – 2nd century A.D. – H: 8,1 cm; bronze – Popinci, Vojvodina – ZAM, Inv. no. 4652.

BRUNŠMID 1913/1914, 227-228, no. 48, fig. 48; REINACH 1924, 58, fig. 8; TADIN 1979, 45, no. 159, T. LII, 152ab; *Antički teatar* 1979, 90, n. 37., fig. 37.; *Tesori nazionali* 1991, 137, no. 129.

A.R-M.

### 110. Askos with a figure of Diana

Bronze askos on a low foot with an highly placed, richly decorated handle. The handle is soldered to the vessel and made up of several separate parts. The upper section is worked in the shape of Diana. The goddess has a diadem on her head. She is turned towards the rim of the vessel and holds a dog in each hand. The central section of the handle is worked in the shape of a long leaf, whilst the lower attaché is worked in the shape of Scylla. Scylla holds an apple in her right hand and her left arm is loose. The rim of the askos has fine channelling. – First half of the 1st century A.D. – H with handles: 23 cm; H without handles: 15,8 cm; Rim diam.: 12 cm. – Polhov Gradec, Slovenia. – NML, Acc. no. R 6978.

LOŽAR 1938, 85, fig. 1-3; BREŠČAK 1982, 53, t. 11:105.

I.L.

### 111. Bronze lamp

Hemispherical bronze lucerna with two nozzles. Besides a plant ornamentation on one side of the lamp Silenus can be seen on the cloth covered back of a donkey with an ornament in the neck and bound with a strap, which steps to the left. The nude, bearded, bald deity lays backwards on the donkey leaning on his right elbow. In his left a tympanum, in his right a bowl. On the other side the young Dionysos sits wreathed on the back of a female leopard, treading slowly, wearing an ivy wreath around her neck. Under the two nozzles, in the middle, the figure of a running child is seen, holding a lamp in one raised hand. – End of the 1st century. – H: 7,7 cm. – Pannonia – MNM, Inv. no. 42.1902.16.

HEKLER 1913, 224, Fig. 14-17.; PAULOVICS 1935, 101-, Fig. 84-85.

L.K.



### 112. Glass beaker with figures of the gods

The beaker of transparent, light greenish glass was hand blown in a mould. The beaker bears representations of equidistant ionic columns, which have capitals connected by hanging garlands. The figures of four deities are located in the spaces between the columns. Dionysus is represented by the figure facing to the right. He is dressed in a girded tunic. In his left hand, he holds a thyrsus and in his right hand, a bunch of grapes, on which a doglike animal leans, sitting at his feet. Mercury is dressed in a short costume, which falls across his left arm, whilst the upper part of his torso is naked. In his left hand, he carries a crooked staff, which rests on his shoulder, whilst his left hand is held at his side and holds a purse. The figure in a long robe with a trident in its left hand and a fish in its right hand represents Poseidon (Neptune). The last figure is covered by a tunic, holds a bird in its left hand and an unrecognisable object in its loose right hand. – Second half of the 1st century A.D. – H: 13 cm; Rim diam.: 6,5 cm; Base diam.: 4 cm. – Črnelo near Stična, Slovenia. – NML, Acc. no. R 7013.

LOŽAR 1936, 97; WEINBERG 1972, 39.



I.L.

### 113. Small pot with the inscription "Nemesis"

Beaker of red fired, well-cleaned clay with a yellow glaze on the surface, thrown on a potter's wheel. The body of the spherical beaker bears the scratched inscription NEMESIS. – 2nd-3rd century A.D. – H: 9,8 cm. – Emona, grave 894, Ljubljana. – NML, Acc. no. R 6491.

PETRU 1972, 83, t. 64: 14.



I.L.

## APPLIED ORNAMENTS

### 114. Bronze flagstaff finial with Minerva head. Signum

The bronze flagstaff finial in the MNM was yielded by an excavation. The helmeted bust of Minerva is situated in a central place at the tapering end of the bronze socket. This is flanked by a crested snake head each, propped from below by an arm. On the backside of the socket a hanger in form of a finger is applied. – 3rd century – H: 18,6 cm. – Szőny (Brigetio) – MNM, Inv. no. 10.1951.1

L.K.



### 115. Chariot-mount in the form of a sitting Mercurius

Bronze ornament of a Roman chariot. The solidly cast figure of Mercurius sits on the throne-like socket, his trunk is slightly bent back. The beardless young head, framed by small curls, wearing a winged *petasos* looks forward. His right arm is bent in the elbow, his hand reaching forward must have held a pouch. The left arm is missing from the shoulder, in the hand he might have held a *caduceus*. On the left shoulder a heavily woven mantle, falling down between the two feet. The eyes were enlivened once with silver inlay. – 2nd century – H: 14,3 cm. – Aquincum, procuratorial palace. – MNM, Inv. no. 85.1865.1

RÉCSEI 1894, 98-, Fig. 3.; ERDÉLYI 1935 109-, Fig. 92.; L. NAGY 1941, 297.; L. NAGY II, 619-620.; CSERMÉNYI-THOMAS 1982, 3. no. 21.; SZIRMAI 1986. 5. no. 4, Fig. 4.



L.K.

## RINGS, GEMS



### 116. Amber ring

Yellowish-brown oval ring. On its widening head the sandal-binding Venus. One hand is broken. Presumably an Aquileian carving. – Early 2nd century. – Diam.: 5,3-4,3 cm. – Sopron, Csengery u. in the Southern cemetery of Scarbantia, from a stone casket – LFM, Inv. no. 55.119.6.

BELLA 1895, 395, no. 12; BUÓCZ-GÖMÖRI 1994, 10.

J.G.



### 117. Silvanus ring

Gold ring, the circle is transformed by bevelling into a polygonal form, on the facets an inscription dedicated to Silvanus: *Silvano votum* – 4th century A.D. – Diam.: 2,5 cm; Weight: 9,77 gr – Szombathely (Savaria) – MNM, Inv. no. 18.1909.

E. TÓTH, 1979, 166, no. 12.

M.Na.

### 118. Gold bull of Silvanus Viator

Pendant, made of a gold lamella in the form of a horizontal, hexagonal prism. On its top surface three soldered ringlets with grooved decoration, originally the chain was threaded through them. One end is open, here the sulphur-like material filling the inside of the pendant can be seen. On the surfaces of the prism an engraved votive inscription: *Si(l)vano | V(iatori?) A(ugusto?) L ILM | s(olv(i)t | votum | l(i)b(ens) m(erito) N(?)* – 4th century A.D. – Weight: 35 g; 4,5x0,7 cm. – findplace unknown – MNM, Inv. no. 117.1885.

E. TÓTH 1979, 168, no. 16; E. TÓTH 1989b, 118, no. 9.

M.Na.



### 119. Gem with the representation of Mercurius

Brown jasper. Standing oval, both sides flat. On the top polished. Mercurius naked in three-quarter view, his head in profile. In his outstretched hand a money bag, in the other a *caduceus* and his mantle hanging down. – 2nd century A.D. – 1,5x1x0,3 cm. – Szöny (Brigetio) – MNM, Inv. no. R. 152. 1885, 486.

Unpublished.

T. G.

### 120. Gem with the representation of Aequitas

Cloudy, dark red carnel. Standing oval form, on both sides slightly convex, surface is polished. Aequitas standing in three quarter view, her head in profil, her body is covered by a long *chiton*, from her shoulders a mantle falls down. In her outstretched hand a pair of scales, in the other a *sceptrum*. – 1st-2nd century A.D. – 1,4x1,1x0,15 cm. – Szöny (Brigetio) – MNM, Inv. no. R. 141.1888.113.

Unpublished.

T.G.



### 121. Gem with the representation of Venus

Cloudy, dark red carnel. Standing oval, on both sides slightly convex, the surface is polished, the recto scratched. Venus standing frontally, she has both arms raised holding out tresses of hair to dry them (*Aphrodite Anadyomene*) her bust is nude, from the waist downwards she is covered by a mantle. From the 4th century B.C. on a favourite motif. – 1st century A.D. – 1,1x0,8x0,2 cm. – Szöny (Brigetio) – MNM, Inv. no. R. 141.1888.115.

Unpublished.

T.G.



### 122. Gem with the representation of Apollon Sauroktonos

Brown jasper. Standing oval form both slightly convex. Free reshaping of the statue of Praxiteles. The divine figure standing in three-quarter view, his bent leg touches on tiptoes the earth, his left arm leans against the branch of a tree, in his raised right an arrow and aims to a lizard climbing on the tree. The foliage of the crooked tree hangs over the god, at his feet another lizard, which does not figure on the Praxiteles statue. – 1st century A.D. – 1,8x1,3x0,4 cm. – Tata – MNM, Inv. no. R. 35.1889.2.

SIMON-BAUCHHENNS, II, 399, no. 212a.

T.G.

**123. Gem with the representation of masks and animals**

Brown jasper. Standing oval, both sides are flat. *Grylloi* (combination of masks and animals). Silen mask standing on cock's feet, from which a bridled horse protome arises. Behind them a cock's tail and ram head, in the mouth of the latter one two spikes. – 1st century B.C. – 1,4x1,1 cm. – Óbuda (Aquincum) – AM, Inv.no. 51241. SZILÁGYI 1956, 82.; *Aquileia-Aquincum* 1995, 91, no. 220.

T.G.



**124. Gem with a Bacchic scene**

Oval, white-black layered cameo with a Bacchic scene: a figure riding a donkey, in his hand or on his shoulder a beribboned staff, the donkey is led by Pan. The bottom of the cameo is damaged. – 3rd century – 2,4x2 cm. – Dunaujváros (Intercisa), Great Cemetery. – IM, Inv. no. 67.2.71.18. Unpublished.

J.B.H.



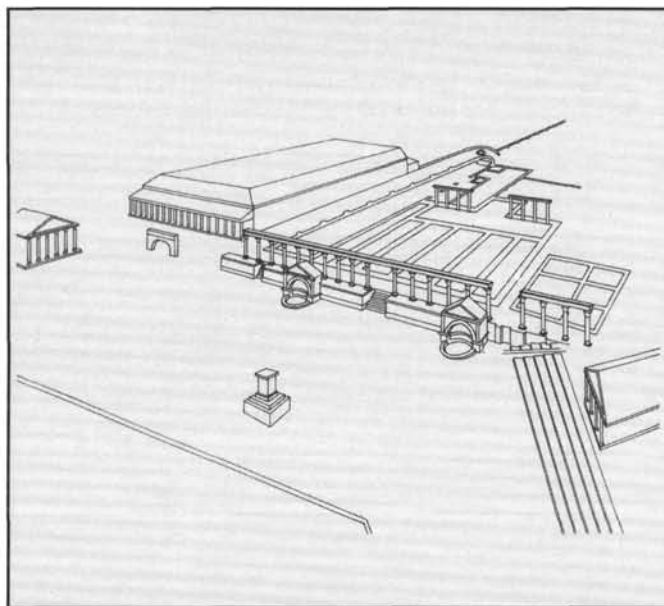
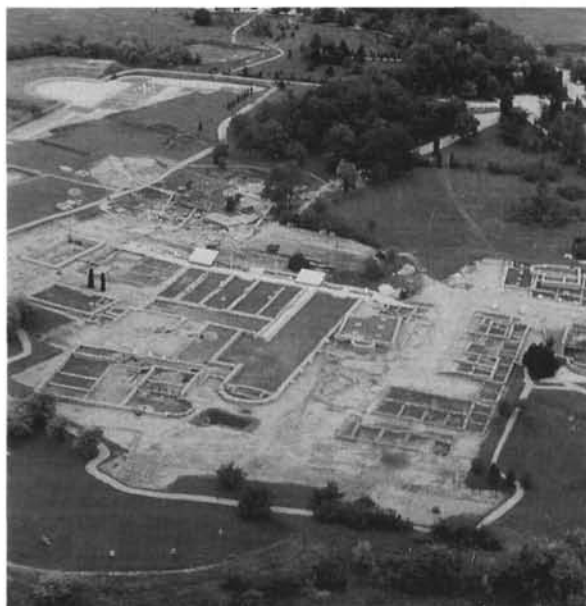


## IMPERIAL CULT

Parallely with the formation of the Empire an official veneration of the monarch, following a practice developed in the hellenistic kingdoms, begun. In every province a central sanctuary area was built, where the collectivity of the province offered a yearly sacrifice in honour of the deified emperors, living or dead. In military camps and towns special sanctuaries or temples were erected for the promotion of the official cult. In towns this was the duty of a group of the local society, the so-called *augustales*. In the sanctuaries the statue of the emperor and the altars dedicated to his welfare took place. On the holidays, the birthday of the emperor or the anniversary of his accession to the throne – *crustullum* decorated with the figure of the emperor, dispensed among the people, belonged to the veneration of the emperor as well. In Upper Pannonia the centre of the imperial cult of the province was in Savaria, in Lower Pannonia the temple dedicated to the deceased emperors and the sanctuary district came to light in Gorsium.

### TEMPLES, SANCTUARIES

#### SACRED AREA OF THE EMPERORS' CULT – GORSIUM, XI.



After the division of Pannonia, from 106 on, Gorsium became in the province Pannonia Inferior the scene of the cult of the emperors. As early as the reign of Emperor Trajan, between 105 and 117, the temple of the emperors, deified after their death, was built. On the place before the building the main altar of the province, further festival halls were erected; on the area additional temples and sanctuaries were built, as a spring sanctuary (the earliest building of the sacred area), a platform temple, to whose equipment two Venus-statuettes, a statuette of the moon goddess Luna and that of the god Sabazios from Asia minor belonged. Towards the end of the 2nd century A.D. the temple of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, who had a special veneration, was built. The temple of Deus Sol Elagabalus, the god of the Syrian corps in Intercisa (Dunaújváros), was erected on the occasion of the visit of Septimius Severus in Pannonia in the year 202. This imperial visit was especially important both from the point of view of Pannonia and Gorsium. In the civil war the Pannonian army played a decisive role in the victory of the Emperor, who, on his part, made the sanctuary of the emperor worship in Gorsium rebuilt on his own expenses, expressing thus his gratitude towards the people of Pannonia. The imperial cult culminated in a province-wide festivity held once in a year, with the representatives of towns and communities partaking; the high priest chosen among the distinguished citizens of the province for the term of a year offered a sacrifice for the welfare of the emperor reigning. After the ceremonies in the great hall of the provincial assembly the partakers dealt with the matters of the province as well. The sacred area is only partly unearthed; beyond the temples and halls the large dining-hall, where the partakers banqueted, came also to light, further the wooden amphitheatre, where gladiatorial games and animal fights, concluded the festivities.

J.F.

### 125. Altar of Iuppiter Dolichenus

Limestone altar, the upper part is damaged. On the top between two corner acroteria a rosette. The altar was set by the priests of the whole province to the honour of Iuppiter Dolichenus, for the welfare of two emperors. Inscribed: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] | Dol(i)c(heno) pro | sal(ute) dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) | Augg(ustorum) tot(ius) pr(ovinciae) | sacerdote(s).* – Between 196 and 202 A.D. – 77x38x28 cm. – Sárpentele – MNM, Inv. no. R-D 30.

CIL III 3343; RÓMER-DESJARDINS 1873, No. 30.; I. TÓTH 1978, 201; I. TÓTH 1989, 43-58; FITZ 1993-95, II, 424.

M.Na.



### 126. Restitution of the temple by Septimius Severus

Fragment of a building plaque. The emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla restituted the temple of the imperial cult, presumably sacred to the deified emperors, on their own expenses.<sup>1</sup> The fragmentary inscription: *[Imperat]ores D[(omini) nn(ostrum) L(ucius) Septim]ius S[everus et M(arcus) [Aurelius Antoninus] Aug]usti templu[m] D[ivorum Augustorum] vetust]ate conlaps[um] impensis suis resti[tuitur] t[ame]n cura [n]te...* – 34x67 cm. – Sárpentele (originally Fövenypusztá) – MNM, Inv. no. R-D 113.

CIL III 3342; RÓMER-DESJARDINS 1873, No. 113; AnnÉp 1944, 86; E. TÓTH 1989a, 43-58; FITZ 1993, 171-172; FITZ 1993-95, II, 424.; FITZ 1997, 63-63.

M.Na.



### 127. Water deities

White sandstone relief, on the bottom a semicircular spout. Two water deities, sitting *en face*, with a full hairdressing, characteristic for the early 2nd century. They hold sedges in their hands, between them a jug turned with its mouth downwards. – Early 2nd century – 110x53x21 cm. – Gorsium, fallen into the basin of the Western ornamental fountain. – SzIKM, Inv. no. 64.504.1.

FITZ 1965/66, 163; FITZ 1976, 42-43; FITZ 1983, 25-26.



Zs.B.

### 128. Water deity

White sandstone relief, on the bottom a semicircular spout. A water deity in lateral view, reclining on a tasselled pillow: he is clad in tunic and breeches, wears sandals and has a dagger in his belt. He holds in his right a blade of sedge, his left on the downwards turned jug. Traces of painting: the background is green, with traces of an indiscernible black letter, the garment gold-coloured, the jug red. – Early 2nd century – 187x57x20 cm. – Gorsium, fallen in the basin of the Eastern ornamental fountain. – SzIKM, Inv. no. 66.595.1.

FITZ 1965/66, 163; FITZ 1976, 42-43; FITZ 1983, 25-26.



Zs.B.

### 129. Diana bathing

The relief, originally part of a sepulchral monument, is one of the finest of the reliefs dealing with the history of Actaeon. Diana dropping on the right knee pours water over herself from the shell held above her head. Behind her two little Amors hold a nicely folded sheet. Actaeon is peeping behind the rocks over the right-side Amor. The stone is damaged at this place but the *pedum* characteristic for shepherds can be seen clearly and the face is distinct as well. The sculptor filled the left upper corner with Diana's bow and quiver. The work stands pre-eminent among the Pannonian pieces of the same theme. The portrait-like face of Diana is perhaps the likeness of the dead, identified with the goddess. – 3rd century A.D. – 100x112x20 cm. – Dunaújváros (Intercisa), South-East cemetery, grave 815. – IM, Inv. no. 67.2.344.5.

ERDÉLYI 1974, no. 208, 200.; LŐRINCZ 1975, no. 53, Fig. 12.; VÁGÓ-BÓNA 1976, 45. Pl. XLVI-XLVII.; G. ERDÉLYI 1976, 241-242.



Zs.P.

<sup>1</sup> Remark of the editor. The author gave from the building table only the text of the inscription in a different interpretation as it can be read in the chapter of the catalogue on the area sacra of Gorsium. For the unity of the volume we give here the reading to be published in Vol. VI of *RIU*. The reading of the author is as follows.

[Imperat] ORES L(ucius) [---]  
[Sept. S]EVERVS ET M(arcus) [Aurelius Antoninus]  
[Aug] VSTI TEMPLV(m) D[ianae?]  
(vetust)ATE CONLAP [sum a solo]  
[restituerun]T CVR[ante---]  
[---]



### 130. Seated statue of Iuno

Fragmentary statue of Iuno. The high-backed throne is placed on a capital-like base, tapering downwards. The goddess wears a long, wide gown (*chiton*), clasped by buttons on the right upper arm, under the breast a wide girdle, on the feet boots. The right forearm is placed lightly on the right thigh, in the hand a round sacrificial bowl (*patera*). On the left of the throne the lower part of the lance on which the goddess originally leaned with her raised left hand. On the right of the throne the peacock, sacred animal of Iuno. – 2nd century A.D. – 71x55 cm. – Dunapentele-Öreghegy (Intercisa) – Inv. no. 113.1908.1.

HEKLER 1908b, 176, Ill. 27a; HEKLER 1910, 28; PAULOVICS 1940, 27, Pl. 9, Ill. 19; ERDÉLYI-FÜLEP 1954, 274, no. 386.

M.Na.



### 131. Bronze statuette of Venus

Semi-nude female figure standing on a pedestal. With her right she gathers her thick hair pulling it forward, a shorter lock is falling on her left shoulder. In her crown of hair a diadem. In her raised left she might have held a mirror of which only the handle remained. Her legs and a part of her torso is covered with a richly folded veil. On her upper arm and forearm a bracelet each. – 1st-2nd century – H: 20,5 cm (with pedestal). – Gorsium, *area sacra* – SzIKM, Inv. no. 69.120.1.

BÁNKI 1972, 13-15.

Zs.B.



### 132. Bronze statuette of Venus Pudica

Standing, nude female figure. Her face is framed by a thick hair, adorned with a diadem, over the nape it is gathered in a bun, one lock each falls on the shoulders. Her right arm is broken, with her left she covers her lap. The eyes are incrustated with silver. – 1st century-early 2nd century. – H: 23,5 cm. – Gorsium, *area sacra* – SzIKM, Inv. no. 72.90.1.

BÁNKI 1988, 37

Zs.B.



### 133. Jugs (10 pieces)

Grege, well-refined pottery, with beaked mouth and a handle. Fixed, completed. – 2nd century, first half of the 3rd century. – H: 19-12,8 cm; Pedestal diam.: 4,7-3,5 cm. – Gorsium, *area sacra* – SzIKM, Inv. no. 81.83.29, 33, 37, 50, 54-59.

BÁNKI 1985, 141, Pl. XXIX., 411.

Zs.B.

### 134. Plates (7 pieces)

Gray resp. reddish-brown, (secondarily fired) pieces, with flat bottom, the rim slightly drawn in. Fixed, completed. 2nd century, first half of the 3rd century. – Mouth diam.: 33-17 cm; Bottom diam.: 26,5-13,5 cm; H: 6-3,1 cm. – Gorsium, *area sacra* – SzIKM, Inv. no. 81.68.8.; 72.18-20; 81.80.5; 81.86.16.

BÁNKI 1985, 141, no. 382-85, 387, 389, Pl. III. 32.

Zs.B.

### 135. Dish

Fired to a reddish colour, the body is granulated, the incised linear decoration runs around the rim and the widening shoulder part. Fixed, completed. – 2nd century – Gorsium, *area sacra* – Mouth diam.: 19,5 cm; Bottom diam.: 9 cm; H: 8,7 cm. – SzIKM, Inv. no. 87.88.9.

BÁNKI 1994, 364, no. 436, Pl. XLVIII., 436.

Zs.B.



### 136. Dish

Fired to a light brown colour, the clay is granular, the shoulder part protrudes. – 2nd century – Mouth diam.: 16,2 cm; Bottom diam.: 5,3 cm; H: 8,9 cm. – Gorsium, *area sacra* – SzIKM, Inv. no. 87.88.10.

BÁNKI 1994, 364, no. 437, Pl. XLVII., 437.

Zs. B.



**137. Terra sigillata**

Form: Drag. 18/31 – 2nd century – Mouth diam.: 18,5 cm.; Bottom diam.: 8 cm. H: 5 cm. – Gorsium – SzIKM, Inv. no. 64.505.1.

Unpublished.

*Zs. B.*

**138. Terra sigillata**

Dish, Drag. 37, on the side with relief decoration a garland with dog, under it the figure of Hercules in a medaillon. S-shaped motifs. Stamped: COMITIALIS. Rheinzabern. Completed. – First quarter of the 3rd century. – Mouth diam.: 25 cm; Bottom diam.: 10 cm; H: 14 cm. – Gorsium – SzIKM, Inv. no. 66.15.2.

Unpublished

*Zs.B.*

**139. Terra sigillata**

Dish, Drag. 37. On the side in a double-lined medaillon frame a rosette of eight petals, a figure standing on a mask, inside of the girland bird and dog. Completed. – Leroux, 2nd century – Mouth diam.: 20,4 cm; Base diam.: 8,2 cm; H: 10,2 cm. – Gorsium – SzIKM, Inv. no. 90.14.0.

Unpublished

*Zs B.*

**140. Terra sigillata plate**

Form: Drag. 18/31. Completed. Stamped MELAVSVS.F. Rheinzabern – 1st half of the 2nd century – Mouth diam.: 18,5 cm; Base diam.: 8,8 cm; H: 5,2 cm. – Gorsium – SzIKM, Inv. no. 64.506.1.

Unpublished

*Zs.B.*

**141. Terra sigillata plate**

Type: Curle 15. Stamped: CATVLLVS. F. Rheinzabern – 1st half of the 2nd century. – Mouth diam.: 25,5 cm; Base diam.: 10,4 cm; H: 6 cm. – Gorsium – SzIKM, Inv. no. 88.75.8.

Unpublished

*Zs.B.*

**142. Terra sigillata**

Bowl, type Drag. 33. Completed. – 2nd century, first half of the 3rd century. – Mouth diam.: 10,2 cm; Base diam.: 4 cm; H: 6,3 cm. – SzIKM, Inv. no. 83.215.2.

BÁNKI 1987 207, no. 346, Pl. XIX., 346.

*Zs.B.*

**143. Terra sigillata**

Dish, Form Drag 27. Completed. South Gallia. – Turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries. – Mouth diam.: 13 cm; Base diam.: 5,2 cm; H: 6,3 cm. – Gorsium – SzIKM, Inv. no. 61.1678.1.

Unpublished

*Zs.B.*

**144. Terra sigillata**

Small, footed globular vessel, Type Drag.54. Cemented. – Mouth diam.: 6,2 cm; Foot diam.: 4,2 cm; H: 9 cm. – Gorsium – SzIKM, Inv. no. 90.14.2.

Unpublished

*Zs.B.*

**145. Incense burner**

Yellow pottery, with burnt spots here and there. The rim and the several rows of ribs are decorated with indentings and incisions. – 2nd century-first half of the 3rd century. – Mouth diam.: 27,5 cm; Base diam.: 11 cm; H: 23 cm. – Gorsium, *area sacra* – SzIKM, Inv. no. 81.71.17.

BÁNKI 1985, 143, no. 448, Pl. XXX.

*Zs.B.*







#### 146. Mortar

Yellow, with an arched, broad rim. Completed – 2nd century first half of the 3rd century. – Mouth diam.: 34 cm; Base diam.: 13,5 cm; H: 9 cm. – Gorsium – SzIKM, Inv. no. 83.168.3. BÁNKI 1987, 213, no.532, Pl. XXX.

Zs.B.

### STATUES

#### 147. Bust of the emperor Hadrian

The head with curly hair is original, decorated with an oakleaf wreath (*corona civica*). The curly beard is cut shorter on the chin, the moustache falls over the pronounced upper lip. The eyes, which are uncompleted, are quiet and wide open. The bust was completed after an original in the Vatican. – Beginning of the 2nd century A.D. – H: 67 cm; W: 65 cm. – Brought to the Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj in 1941. – PMP, Acc. no. RL 440. BRATANIČ 1952, III/2, 301; DIEZ 1961, 49; *Antički portret* 1987, 178, Cat. no. 107.

I.L.

#### 148. Portrait head of Lucius Verus

The obverse of the head is depicted in high relief. The hair falls in curls well over the forehead. The eyes are almond-shaped, the cheeks sunken and the cheekbones pronounced. The nose is somewhat battered, the eyebrows broad and the lower lip is thick and pronounced. – Middle of the 2nd century A.D. – H: 42 cm; W: 29,5 cm; Thickness: 16,5 cm. – Found in 1951 near Borl castle, Slovenia. – PMP, Acc. no. RL 602.

BRATANIČ 1959, 302; *Antički portre* 1987, 191, Cat. no. 134.

I.L.

#### 149. Portrait of Marcus Aurelius

Local work, made of Budakalász limestone. Long head structure, curly hear, Hellenistic philosoph beard. – About 170. – H: 33 cm; Diam.: 26 cm. – Inside of the fortress Contra-Aquincum, found during the building of foundations of the Elizabeth Bridge in 1913. – AM

KUZSINSZKY 1934, 98, no. 27, Fig. 46; NAGY 1946, 26, Fig. 26; J. GY. SZILÁGYI. 1976, 41, Pl. 23, 3-4.

K.P.

#### 150. Male portrait

Marble. Head of a bearded man of late Roman character, hair and beard indicated by incisions. The pupil is engraved. – 3rd century A.D. – H: 25,5 cm. – Dunapentele (Intercisa) – MNM, Inv. no. 22.1927.5.

PAULOVICS 1951; ERDÉLYI-FÜLEP 1954, 276, no. 403.

M.Na.

#### 151. Bust of Valentinian II

Small, bronze-gilt bust, representing presumably the emperor Valentinian II (375-392 A.D.). Bust encircled by a laurel wreath: the emperor is clad in a thick cloak, covering, with exception of the right upper arm, the whole body and a part of the neck. The cloak is clasped over the right shoulder by a huge, quadratic brooch, well-known from late Roman representations, decorated with globules on the corners. The carefully dressed hair reaches on the front almost to the eyebrows, on the back, leaving the ears free, to the neck. On his head a diadem of a double bead row, in the middle a gem in a quadratic mount. – Second half of the 4th century A.D. – H: 11 cm. – Pécs (Sopianae) – MNM, Inv. no. 108.1912.66. FÜLEP 1984, 74; BECK-BOL 1984, 453, no. 61.; M. NAGY 1992, 31, no. 25.

M.Na.

## COINS

### 152. Coins with the portraits of emperors

1) Augustus	denarius	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.51.1
2) Nero	denarius	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.54.1
3) Vespasianus	denarius	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.56.13
4) Titus	dupondius	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.57.3
5) Domitianus	denarius	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.58.2
6) Domitianus	sestertius	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.58.14
7) Traianus	denarius	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.60.7
8) Traianus	sestertius	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.60.23
9) Hadrianus	denarius	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.61.11
10) Hadrianus	sestertius	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.61.30
11) Antoninus Pius	sestertius	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.63.1
12) Marcus Aurelius	denarius	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.65.1
13) Faustina	denarius	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.66.1
14) Commodus	dupondius	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.69.6
15) Septimius Severus	denarius	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.71.1
16) Caracalla	denarius	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.73.1
17) Elagabalus	antoninianus	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.69.5
18) Maximus I	antoninianus	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.82.1
19) Gordianus III	antoninianus	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.83.5
20) Philippus I	antoninianus	SzIKM, Inv. no. 65.84.10



Zs.B.

## POTTERY

### 153. Crustullum form

In the middle female bust surrounded by a wreath of leaves, on a small base, representing Tutela, who wears a corona muralis on her head. Above her in a double-looped frame the inscription: *Salvo Aug(usto) | aurea s(a)eci|la videmus* ("If the emperor is healthy, we shall see a golden age."). Under the wreath in a similar frame: *Honori* ("To Honour"). On both sides a cornucopia each, above them a female and male portrait placed before a shield and a lance. – 3rd century A.D. – Diam.: 18,8 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria) – MNM, Inv. no. 10.1951.21.

ALFÖLDI 1938 336, no. 41, . III. LVI:2.



M.Na.

### 154. Crustullum form with Victoria

Clay crustullum form with Victoria seated on a pile of arms. The goddess writes on the shield placed on her knees: *Victo|ria | Aug(usti)* ("The victory of the Emperor"). Before the goddess an altar, on its top the sphaira representing Universe, before the altar palm branch and wreath. – 3rd century A.D. – Diam.: 17,2 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria) – MNM, Inv. no. 10.1950.22.

ALFÖLDI 1938 337, III.LVII:3.



M.Na.

### 155. Crustullum form in the shape of a triumphal arch

A triumphal arch with three gates is depicted on the mould. The statues of two men and two women stand on decorated pedestals in front of the columns. The well-preserved female statue on the right represents winged Victory. The male statue on the right wears a cuirasse and carries a shield, whilst the one on the left wears a wreath on its head and carries a sceptre or spear in its hand. There are legionary standards above the statues. A four horsed chariot, driven by the emperor in triumphal costume and bearing an olive branch in his right hand, stands on the arch. A figure of Victory, bearing a wreath, stands on both sides of him. The top of the arch bears the inscription *VOTIS X ET XX FEL(iciter)*. An equestrian statue on a pedestal stands on both sides, outside the triumphal arch. – 4th century A.D. – Diam.: 22,5 cm. – Ptuj (Poetovio) – PMP, Acc. no. R 1107.

ABRAMIČ 1925, 103, fig. 50.



I.L.



## RING

### 156. Caracalla ring

Gold ring, its plain oval bezel is decorated with two gold drops each, the circle is grooved. In the bezel an amethyst gem without backplate, an intaglio portrait of the emperor Caracalla, looking to the left, flanked by the letters E and T. – Early 2nd century. – H: 2,1 cm. – Budapest II., Bécsi út 82., Aquincum Grave 9. – AM, Inv. no. 51464. L. NAGY 1942, 627.

*A.F.*

## WEAPON

### 157. Sword scabbard

It is made of bronze sheet. The decoration is composed of three linearly defined fields and two larger fields, defined by ovulae. Each of the three smaller fields contains two gryphons, standing on either side of an amphora. The upper larger field contains two reclining Victories, which bear shields. An eagle with spread wings stands below them. The second field is filled with two Dioscuri with horses. – 1st century A.D. – H: 15,7 cm; W: 5,5 cm. – Castle, Ptuj (Poetovio) – PMP, Acc. no. R 2163. ABRAMIČ 1925, 115, fig. 72.

*I.L.*



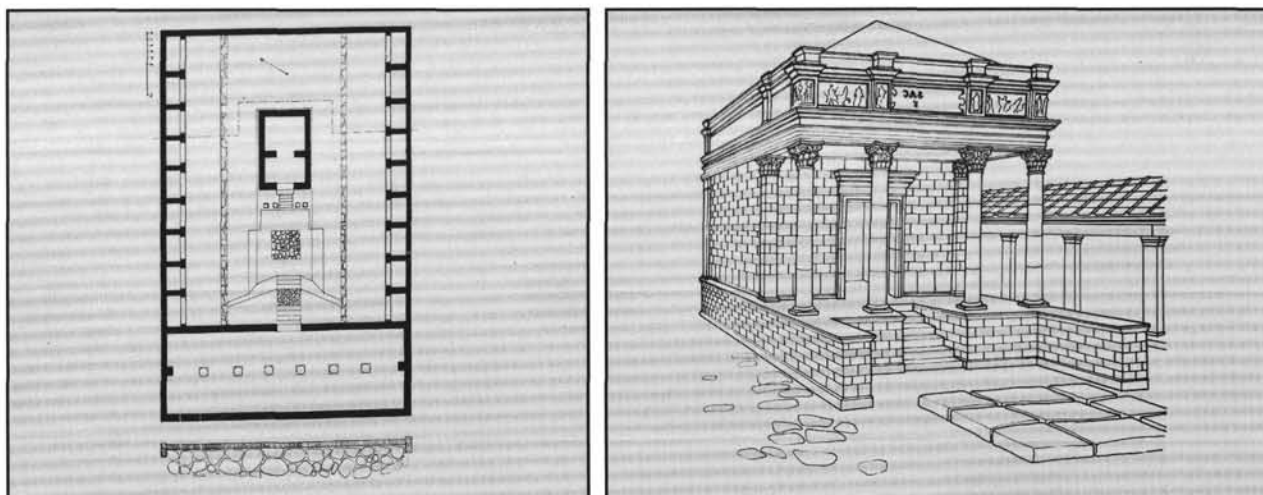
## ORIENTAL CULTS

Soldiers coming from the orient, merchants active in Pannonia and oriental slaves, serving mainly in finance offices, established already from the 1st and 2nd centuries on different oriental cults in the province, so the cults of the egyptian Isis, Magna Mater from Asia Minor and Sabazios. The golden age of the oriental cults was the last third of the 2nd century resp. the 3rd century, when the number of soldiers coming from the orient as well as oriental commerce increased. General religious demands and the oriental connections of the emperors from the house of the Severi promoted the spreading of different oriental mystery religions. Among them the Mithras cult, the religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus and the veneration of the Sun god Sol were widespread. At the end of the 3rd century the most significant rival of christianity, originating also in the orient and gaining ground increasingly, was the Mithras religion.

The followers of the mystery religions came into a close, intimate connection with the deity with the hope of a personal salvation. Initiation ceremony, getting acquainted with mysteries known only to the community, belonged to every mystery religion. On the secret meetings, the ritual meals, the purification ceremonies only the initiated could partake. All mystery religions had rituals of their own, specific only for themselves. Cults gave for the otherworld life, the connection with the deity an explanation to which the traditional graeco-roman religion did not give an answer.

### TEMPLES, SANCTUARIES

#### ISEUM – SAVARIA, XII.



For the alexandrian deities – Isis, Sarapis, Anubis and the Sphinxes – in a large sacred district was built up in the eighties of the 2nd century in Colonia Claudia Savaria, to which a great colonnade was added in the early 3rd century, presumably on the occasion of the visit of the emperor Septimius Severus. The courtyard formed and the building of the sanctuary (42x70 m) reflects alexandrian influence transmitted by Rome. The devotees of the cult were wealthy citizen, mainly merchants. The ceremonies of the Isis cult might have ceased in the early 4th century.

#### 158. Isis altar

Fragment of a streaked white marble altar. A part of the abacus remained in the front and on the left side. The inscription reads: *Isidi Au[g(ustae)] | sacr(um) | Ti(berius) Barbiu[s] | Ti(berii) fil(ius) Ve[l(in) tribu] | Valen[s] | dec(urio) c(oloniae) C(laudiae) S(av)ariensium] | quaes[tor] | [II] vir i(ure) di[c(undo)] | [p]onti[fex] | [ ...* – Flavian-Traianian period – 68x37x18 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), Isis sanctuary. – SM.

*CIL*, III, 4156; *RIU*, 14; MÓCSY 1959, 219, no. 91/8; WESSETZKY 1959b, 270; SZENTLÉLEKY 1960, 6, 25; *Savaria* 1971, 40, III. 30.

Z.F.





#### 159. Sarapis head

Might have been part of a larger votive statuette. The white marble head of a slightly greyish hue is remained upwards from the chin. The bearded face shows syncretistic features. From the crown of hair characteristic traces of tufts extend to the forehead. On the head the modius is elaborately moulded. Traces of red painting on the lips. – Early 3rd century. – H: 7,5 cm; W: 7,2 cm. – Szombathely, from the debris layer over the basalt-coated South-North road running before the Iseum of Savaria. – SM Unpublished.

T.Sz.

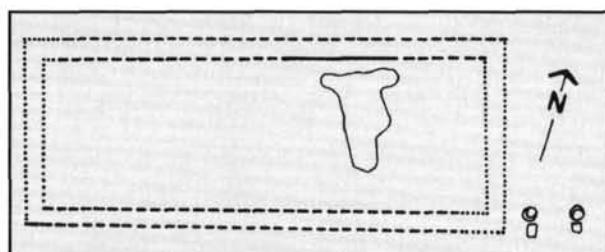
#### 160. Antefixes (2 pieces)

Brick-red clay. Quadratic, with a masque each in the middle – 2nd-3rd century A.D. – 13,6x14; 13,5x14 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria), Isis sanctuary – SM, Inv. no. 57.1.652; 57.1.653.

Unpublished. Mentioned by SZENTLÉLEKY, 1960, 24.

G.N.

### DOLICHENUM – VETUS SALINA, XIII.



The Dolichenus sanctuary of Vetus Salina (Adony) was built in the decades after the Markomann wars, at the end of the 2nd century. Its interior (6x17 m) was, on ground of the fragments of wall paintings and columns unearthed, divided. According to its measures the building had to be classified among the medium-sized sanctuaries on the Danube-Rhine limes. It was destroyed about 238: deliberately demolished, than set on fire.

In its inventory the most characteristic relics of the cult are the *signa*, triangular sheets with relief decoration. On ground of the *signum* holders there were 3 or 4 items, one of them the largest Dolichenus-triangle known. In the material of the dolichena the Sol bust used as a badge and the horse statuette, belonging to the decoration of the carrying-chair, occur for the first time.

Zs.B.



#### 161. Sol bust

Embossed bronze plate, the bust protrudes from the round plate. In the young, smooth face large eyes, arched eyebrows, straight nose, round chin. In the hair a flower chaplet and ray crown (of 7 rays). The cloak is fastened by round brooches on the shoulders. On the back an opening made for the shaft, the diam. of the shaft-hole 4 cm. In the background of the bust foliage scrolls, a little bird. – Last third of the 2nd-first third of the 3rd century. – Diam.: 12 cm. – Adony (Vetus Salina), Dolichenum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 75.37.2.

BÁNKI 1981, 110, Pl. X-XI.

Zs.B.



#### 162. Statuette of a horse

Bronze. On a semicircular base a horse figure bending its hind knees, its weight is on the hind legs. It tightens the right forelegs, the left one it places on a *tabula ansata*, decorated with palm leaves. The head is turned slightly to the left, the mouth is open. The eyes are inlaid with copper. The mane is deeply incised, stylized. The long tail is across the left hind leg. Composed to an *en face* view. On the base rivet-holes, an opening similar to that of a money-box. – 2nd half of the 2nd century-1st third of the 3rd century. – H: 13 cm. – Adony (Vetus Salina), Dolichenum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 75.61.2.

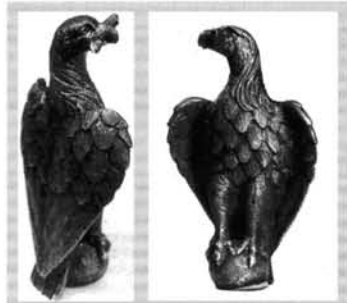
BÁNKI 1981, Pl. XII.

Zs.B.

### 163. Statuette of an eagle

Bronze, massively cast. Bird figure in a majestic poise on a globe. The head is turned to the right, in the beak it held a wreath, whose bigger part is broken. The wings are closed, adhere closely to the back and to the straightly closed quill, somewhat longer than the wing feathers, in a heart shape. – 2nd half of the 2nd century-1st third of the 3rd century. – H: 10 cm. – Adony (Vetus Salina), Dolichenum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 75.16.1. BÁNKI 1981, Pl. IX.

Zs.B.



### 164. Statuette of an eagle

Bronze, massively cast, burnt strongly through, damaged, the pair of the former piece. – 2nd half of the 2nd century-1st third of the 3rd century. – H: 6,6 cm. – Adony (Vetus Salina), Dolichenum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 75.33.1. BÁNKI 1981, Pl. IX/2

Zs.B.

### 165. Signum

Ensemble of a triangular cult object and its support. Bronze. The support consists of a socketed shaft and a horizontal, case-like band, bracing the plate, with rodlets embracing the shaft on both sides snake-like, in an S-form, supporting the case. The strongly damaged, defective triangular board shows, if only fractionally, the characteristics of the relief representations of the Dolichenus cult pictures, a fragment of the Sol-Luna representations, the remains of Iuppiter Dolichenus in armour, etc. The triangle had originally two sides, which were held together on the peak by a solidly cast, bronze statuette of Victoria (H: 8 cm). Strongly damaged, fragmentary, burnt through. – Second half of the 2nd-first third of the 3rd century. – H of the support: 14 cm; L: 33 cm. – Adony (Vetus Salina), Dolichenum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 75.18.1.

BÁNKI 1981, 101, pl. II. 104, Pl. VIII/1 a-b, III. 11

Zs.B.



### 166. Fragment of a signum

Remains of a socketed shaft with the beginning of an S-shaped rodlet. – Second half of the 2nd-first third of the 3rd centuries. – Adony (Vetus Salina), Dolichenum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 75.20.1.

BÁNKI 1981, 101, Pl. III/2.

Zs.B.



### 167. Votive hand

Right hand of chilled cast bronze, 2/3 of the natural size. Strongly damaged by fire, defective. – Second half of the 2nd-1st half of the 3rd centuries. – H: 13,4 cm. – Adony (Vetus Salina), Dolichenum. – SzIKM, Inv. no. 75.34.1.

BÁNKI 1981, Pl. VI-VII.

Zs.B.



### 168. Pottery bowl

Imitation Drag. 33, painted brown – First half of the 3rd century. – Mouth diam.: 10 cm; Base diam.: 3,6 cm; H: 5,5 cm. – Adony (Vetus Salina), Dolichenum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 75.39.3.

BÁNKI 1981, 113, Pl. XIII/5.

Zs.B.

### 169. Character P

Made of a lamina of low quality silver, with three loops serving for riveting. Damaged. – Second half of the 2nd-beginning of the 3rd centuries. – H: 8,5 cm; W: 4,7 cm. – Adony (Vetus Salina), Dolichenum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 75.39.3.

BÁNKI 1981, 113, Pl. XIII/5.

Zs.B.





#### 170. Small bronze vessel

Aryballos with separately cast shoulder- and mouth part. Completed. – Second part of the 2nd century-first half of the 3rd century. – Mouth diam.: 2,7 cm; Base diam.: 3,7 cm; H: 9,8 cm. – Adony (Vetus Salina), Dolichenum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 75.25.1. BÁNKI 1981, 11, Pl. XIII/3.

Zs.B.



#### 171. Iron spear

With socketed shaft, in bad conservation. – 2nd century-first half of 3rd century. – H: 42 cm. – Adony (Vetus Salina), Dolichenum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 75.61.8. BÁNKI 1981, 111., Pl. 14/1.

Zs.B.



#### 172. Iron strigilis

In bad conservation. – 2nd century -first half of the 3rd century. – Adony (Vetus Salina), Dolichenum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 75.61.7. BÁNKI 1981, 111, Pl. 14/2.

Zs.B.



#### 173. Fragment of a votive plaque

Bronze, here and there remains of silvering. The upper end tapering, the bottom broken. Ribbed surface. – Second half of the 2nd-first third of the 3rd century. – H: 22,9 cm. – Adony (Vetus Salina), Dolichenum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 75.61.6. BÁNKI 1981, 111, Pl. XIII/2.

Zs.B.

#### 174. Bronze pendant

Oblong form, diminishing towards the middle, on the upper, broadening end a suspension loop, on the opposite end a fringe-like border. – 2nd-first half of the 3rd centuries. – H: 4,5 cm. – Adony (Vetus Salina), Dolichenum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 75.38.1. BÁNKI 1981, 113, Pl. XIII/4.

Zs.B.

#### 175. Lamp

Pottery painted red, stamped NERI. – 2nd-4th century – L: 6,5 cm; W: 4 cm. – Adony (Vetus Salina), Dolichenum – SzIKM, Inv.no. 75.24.6. BÁNKI 1981, 113, Pl. XIV/9.

Zs.B.



#### 176. Statuette of Victoria

Winged figure stepping out, made of solidly cast bronze. The round face is framed by a hairdo parted in the middle, pinned up on the top of the head and ending on the nape in a small bun. Her raised right is broken above the elbow, from the left the palm branch is missing. She is clad in a chiton reaching below the knees. Only on the outside of the wings incised scales and lines can be seen. The elaboration on the back side is rough. Strongly damaged, fixed. – Second half of the 2nd century-first third of the 3rd century. – H: 13,6 cm. – Adony (Vetus Salina), Dolichenum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 75.32.1. BÁNKI 1981, 106.Pl. IV-V.

Zs.B.

#### 177. Stone fragment with the head of an Oriental deity

White limestone fragment. The carving fills the fields, divided by bead mouldings, by an "8" each, the corner is decorated by a male face with stylized hair and hanging moustache. – 2nd to 3rd century. – 42x18cm. – Adony (Vetus Salina) – SzIKM, Inv. no. 75.99.1. Unpublished.

G.N.

## DOLICHENUM – BRIGETIO

### 178. Bells of a Dolichenum

Cast, hammered bronze bells. – 3rd century A.D. – H: 7 cm. – Szőny (Brigetio), Dolichenum – MNM, Inv. no. 4.1933.116.

MILCH 1901,28; PAULOVSICS 1935,1-3, 23-24, III. 7.; LÁNG 1941,173,179.

*M.Na.*

### 179. Wreath from a Dolichenum

Bronze wreath made of bifurcating leafy branches which meet on the top again. – 3rd century A.D. – Outer diam.: 5,2 cm. – Szőny (Brigetio), Dolichenum – MNM, Inv. no. 4.1933.105.

MILCH 1901,28; PAULOVSICS 1935,1-3, 23-24, III. 7.; LÁNG 1941,173,179.

*M.Na.*

### 180. Votive hand

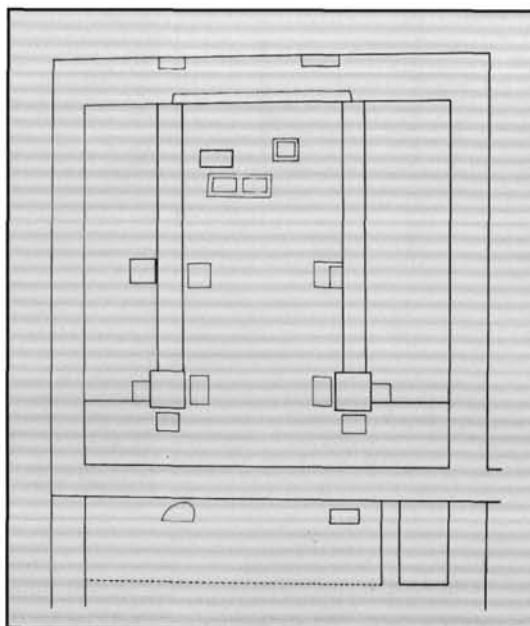
Bronze votive hand with a raised finger. On the wrist the incised inscription: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno)*. – 3rd century – H: 19,6 cm. – Szőny (Brigetio), Dolichenum – MNM, Inv. no. 10.1951.108.

OROSZLÁN 1920-22, 109.; LÁNG 1946-48, 183. Fig. 34/1.

*L.K.*



## MITHRAEUM I – POETOVIO, XIV.



The town Poetovio was the centre of the economical-monetary governance of the province and that of the custom areas in union with the neighbouring provinces. The clerk-slaves active in the custom centre introduced the cult of the god Mithras of persian name at the end of the 1st century. A dalmatian merchant made a new temple built in the mid-second century in the place of the old one devastated by fire. The statue of rock-born Mithras was made on the order of an employee of the custom station.





### 181. Mithraic altar

The white marble plinth with a profiled upper section bears a statue of Mithras. Mithras stands with his left leg forward, dragging the body of a slaughtered bull on its back. The plinth and the statue are worked from a single piece of marble. There is an inscription on the plinth: *Transitu | C(aius) Caecina | Calpurnius | temp(lum) redemi(t) | et restitu [i(t)]*. – Second half of the 2nd century A.D. – H: 159 cm; W: 48 cm; Letter height: 5-3 cm. – 1st Mithraeum, Spodnja Hajdina, Ptuj (Poetovio) – PMP, Acc. no. RL 142. *CIL III 14354; AIJ, 292.*

I.L.

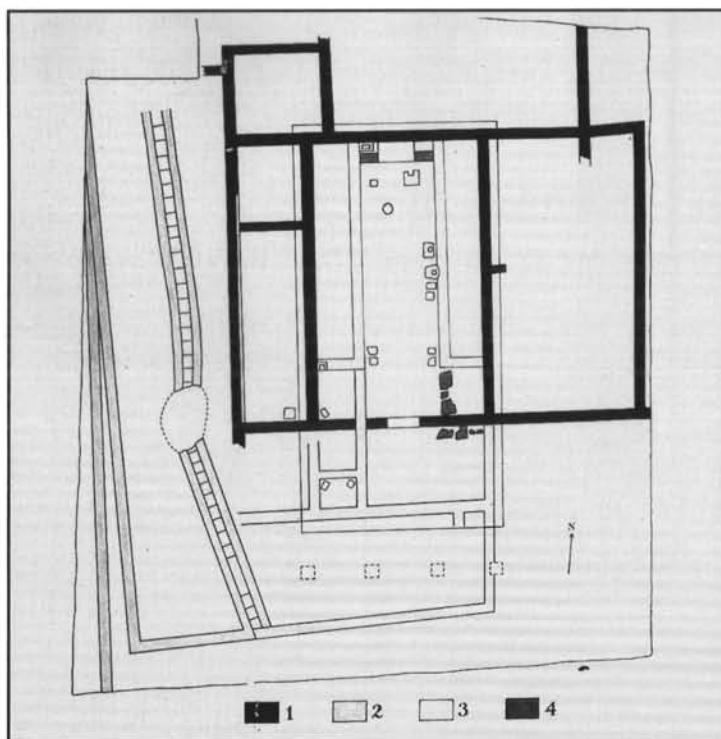


### 182. The birth of Mithras

The marble base is carved as a rock with a snake wrapped around it. The body of the divine Mithras is born from it. The head and the attributes in the hands of the deity are missing. There is an inscription in a tabula ansata on the front of the plinth: *Naturae dei | Prudens Primi | Antoni Rufi p(ublici) p(ortorii) | vil(ici) vic(arius)*. – Second half of the 2nd century A.D. – H: 97 cm; W: 46 cm. – 1st Mithraeum, Spodnja Hajdina, Ptuj (Poetovio) – PMP, Acc. no. RL 143. *CIL III 14354; AIJ, 293.*

I.L.

## MITHRAEUM III – POETOVIO, XV.



The Mithraeum III. at Zgornji Breg is the largest Mithraic temple in Poetovio. It is located amongst the houses of Zgornji Breg above the lower Drava terrace and the Studenčnica stream. Viktor Skrabar found it in 1913 and also excavated it in cooperation with Mihovil Abramič in the same year. The mithraeum was built in the mid 3rd century A.D. Two construction phases were discovered during the excavations. The older temple area measured 11,2x6,85 m and was fronted by a large annex. The mithraeum was later enlarged, the annex was incorporated in the temple area and a new, larger annex was built in front of it. The central part of the temple was floored with slabs, whilst the two side areas had rammed clay floors. There were extensions on the western side of the mithraeum, which probably served as a meeting place and perhaps for the storage of ritual artefacts. The extensions on the eastern side were attributed to the temple of the Magnae Matris. The mithraeum was already protected by a building in 1913 and the monuments were presented at their place of discovery.



Pieces of the altar relief, which show scenes from the Mithras legend, are presented on the back wall of the mithraeum. Altars are arranged in the central section. The richest displays a relief of Mithras and Sol on the front, offering their hands across an altar with offerings. The neighbouring altar bear a full plastic on the top, which represents the the sacrifice of a bull. An high altar, surmounted by two reclining lions, stands on the righthand side of the sunken area. The relief of a male deity stands on one side, whilst the crowned Sol and a four-horsed chariot stand on the other. An altar with a representation of the birth of Mithras from a rock stands on the opposite side. The sunken area also contains a stone bench, which is composed of pieces carved for different purposes. The walls bear fragments of mithraic dedications, which were found in the temple and its vicinity. The damaged relief of the offering of a bull, an high-quality work of Roman art from the middle empire, is also mounted on the lefthand wall. The building also contains reliefs and finds from the immediate vicinity, in addition to the furniture of the former mithraeum. It is worth mentioning the reliefs of the Nutrices amongst these, as a shrine to these maternal deities stood nearby in the 1st century A.D. The cult area of the Great Mother (Magna Mater), whose bust is kept in the mithraeum, was built at the same time as the mithraeum.

I.L.

### 183. Mithraic altar

The altar of Pohorje marble has a relief of Mithras and Sol on the front. Mithras offers his hand to Sol across a burning altar. His hand holds a piece of meat from the slaughtered bull, impaled on a knife. Sol, wearing a crown of rays and a cloak across his shoulders, takes the hand of Mithras with his right hand. There is a raven above them, which pecks meat above the altar. Mithras is depicted as the benefactor of mankind on the righthand side of the altar. He fires an arrow into a rock, from which water flows. A man kneels below, catching the water in his hands, whilst another embraces and kisses Mithras' foot. There are a bow with a quiver full of arrows and a dagger on the lefthand side of the altar. There are four bulls' heads at the corners above the frontal profilation of the altar. There is an inscription in three lines between the front two bulls' heads: Mithraic altar *D(eo) S(oli) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) | pro sal(ute) d(omini) n(ostri) Gallieni p(ii) f(elicis) | invicti Aug(usti) Fl(avius) Aper v(ir) e(gregius) l(ibens) m(erito)*. – 3rd century A.D. – H: 113 cm; W: 63 cm; Letter height: 2,5 cm. – 3rd Mithraeum, Zgornji Breg, Ptuj (Poetovio) – PMP, Acc. no. RL 293.

AIJ, 313.



I.L.

### 184. Mithraic altar

Marble altar carved in the shape of a rock. Mithras springs forth from it with a knife in his right hand and a flame in his left hand. Two youths with Phrygian caps on their heads, Cautes and Cautopates, aid the newly born god and draw him from the rock by his forearms. The mountain god reclines above them and regards the scene below him. Victory floats in the top lefthand corner to crown the newborn god. The wreath is missing from her extended hand. Inscription: *D(eo) s(oli) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) | pro sal(ute) officialium Apri prae | positi legionum V M(acedonicae) et XIII Gem(inae) | Galli(enarum)*. – 3rd century A.D. – H: 74 cm; W: 51 cm; Letter height: 2,5 cm. – 3rd Mithraeum, Zgornji Breg, Ptuj (Poetovio) – PMP, Acc. no. RL 296.

AIJ, 316.



I.L.

### 185. Bust of Magna Mater

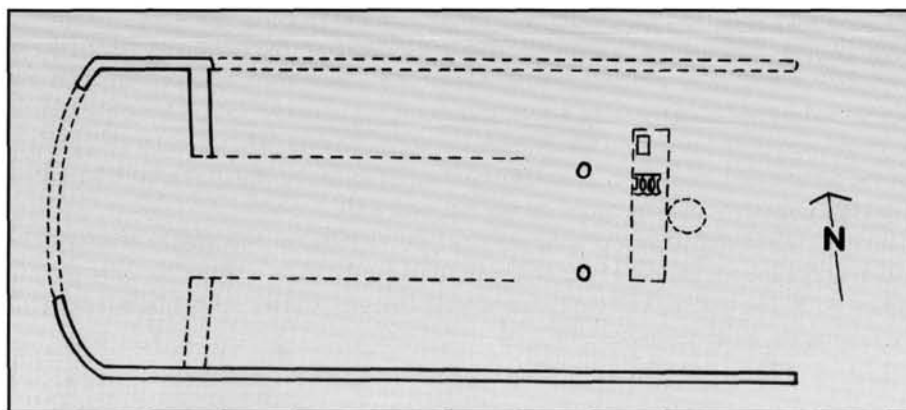
The marble bust of the goddess represents the Magna Mater. She is dressed in simple folded clothing, gathered at the shoulders. She wears a roll-like band with intertwined ribbons and jewels at the forehead in her curly hair, which frames her face. The pupils are not plastically modelled, but were shown with paint. The reverse of the bust is unworked. – 3rd century A.D. – H: 75 cm. – Found in the vicinity of the 3rd Mithraeum in Ptuj (Poetovio) – PMP, Acc. no. RL 301.

ABRAMIČ 1925, 188, fig. 131.



I.L.

## MITHRAEUM – SÁRKESZI, XVI.



To the cave-like sanctuary, built in the last decades of the 2nd century with a semicircular closing rather rare among Mithraeums, the members of the religious community could enter through a porch. The cult room consisted of the hollowed out cell and the platforms rising above it on both sides. The cell was restored and enlarged in the early 3rd century. About this time the characteristic cult representation of Mithras made of marble and the marble disc representing the bull killing next to it might have been placed in the depth of the cell. On both sides of the cell altars dedicated to the god took place. The interior of the sanctuary was decorated with wall paintings. The elevated platform which might have had a separate entrance from the porch was the place of the initiated.

The sanctuary of exceptionally large measures (23x10 m) suggests a numerous cult community. The equipment of the Mithraeum as altars, cult pictures, lamps was deliberately hidden before the devastation of the sanctuary.



### 186. Altar-piece of Mithras

Oblong limestone slab, rounded on the top. In an arched niche the scene of the bull slaughtering. The god is clad in long trousers, long-sleeved tunic, over the tunic a chlamis fastened by a disc-shaped brooch. He wears a Phrygian cap on his head. He looks upwards. He is flanked by Cautes, turned slightly to the right and Cautopates with crossed legs. Both of them are in Oriental attire, with an Amazon shield on their left. In the picture zone over the scene the busts of Sol and Luna, before them two protomes each, that before Sol with a raven. Among the gods four altars and three trees. – End of the 2nd century A.D. – 48,5x56x10,5 cm. – Sárkeszi, Mithraeum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 8640. T. NAGY 1950, 77-88.

G.N.



### 187. Marble disc of Mithras

In the middle, encircled by a narrow laurel wreath, the scene of the bull slaughtering. On the left in his usual oriental attire Cautes, turned slightly to the left, on the right side Cautopates with crossed legs. On the bottom of the medallion, divided in two unequal parts by a narrow moulding a snake. On the border of the disc scenes of a cosmological content, relating the deeds of Mithras. – First half of the 3rd century A.D. – Diam.: 25 cm; Th: 1,5-1,7 cm. – Sárkeszi, Mithraeum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 8641. T. NAGY. 1950, 56-77, Ill. 8.

G.N.



### 188. Altar

Limestone. Simply moulded cornice and plinth. Inscription: *Font[i d(ei)] / Sep(timius) Val[enti]nus | opt(io).* – First third of 3rd century A.D. – 48x15x15 cm. – Sárkeszi, Mithraeum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 8637.

T. NAGY, 1950, 52-53, No.1, Ill. 4.

G.N.

### 189. Altar

Limestone. Over the damaged cornice two acroteria. Cornice and basis are simply moulded. Inscription: *Tra(n)sit [u d(ei?)] | Sep(timius) Va | lenti | nus | opt(io)*. – First third of the 3rd century A.D. – 48x14,5x15,7 cm. – Sárkeszi, Mithraeum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 8636.

T. NAGY 1950, 53, No.2, Ill. 5.

G.N.



### 190. Altar

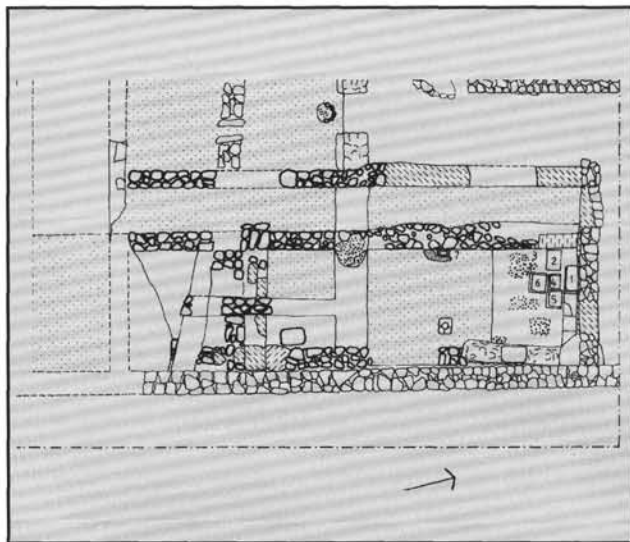
Limestone. Upper cornice and acroterion are heavily damaged, the basement is simply moulded. Inscription: *Cauto (sic!) | Sep(timius) | Vale | ntinus | opt(io)*. – First third of the 3rd century. – 45x17x12 cm. – Sárkeszi, Mithraeum – SzIKM, Inv. no. 8638.

T. NAGY 1950, 53-54, No. 3, Ill. 6.

G.N.



## MITHRAEUM – AQUINCUM, TRIBUNUS LATICLAVIUS-HOUSE, XVII.



The house of the deputy camp commander stood along the North-South main road, the *via principalis* of the legionary camp (on the Flórián tér/square). The deputy commander was in senatorial rank. In the ornate building with an inner courtyard at the end of the 2nd century a Mithras sanctuary was built by altering earlier rooms. To the present it is the sole Mithraeum found inside of a legionary camp. On the northern podium stood the founding stone of the sanctuary, above it, deepened into the wall, the central cult picture, a relief representing the killing of the bull was placed. After the setting of the stones the scenes of the Mithras-legend were painted on the sanctuary wall.



### 191. Painted sanctuary wall of a Mithraeum

The row of scenes on the left side is damaged, several pictures, together with a limestone cult picture, were annihilated in the course of the building of a recent cellar. The row of scenes starts in the left upper corner and proceeds on the left downwards. Our scene was likely preceded by another one.

*Field 2: Saturnus-Oceanus* (ancient sea god before the creation of the world). The male figure reclining on the fragment can be completed on ground of the yellow, slanting folds of the garment.

*Field 3: Mithras petrogenitus* (rock-born Mithras) The nude god emerges from the rock to the waist, with a dagger and a torch in his hands.

*Field 4: Mithras frugifer* (fruit-providing Mithras) The young Mithras is clad in a sleeveless green tunic and a Phrygian cap, stretching out his arm towards the green leaves.

A scene or two are missing, the legend starts in the right side picture row from below continuing upwards.

*Field 7: agon.* (Fight of Mithras with the bull). Mithras rides the bull which takes him away to the Underworld.

*Field 8: adoratio* (devotion) On the stylized mound representing the World Sol bends his knee before Mithras.

*Field 9: investitura* (initiation). Mithras raises a Phrygian cap above the head of the kneeling Sol.

*Field 10: dexiosis* (hand-clasp) Sol and Mithras solemnize their connection by clasping hands over a burning sacrificial altar.

*Field 11: mysterium* (mystical rebirth). The assistants of Mithras, Cautes and Cautopates, raise the stripped off skin of the bull over the head of the kneeling, naked Sol.

*Field 12: ascensio* (ascension). The victorious Mithras (his figure is fragmentary, only his right foot remained) ascends to Heaven on the Sun chariot.

*Field 13: kosmos neos* (the renewed World). Symbolic representation of the world order reestablished after the victory of Mithras. Deities sitting at a festive banquet. (Fragmentary).

The composition is asymmetrical, at the bottom of the West picture row we find a bare white field. This asymmetry can be explained by the altar with snakes standing before the West podium. The wall was painted only after setting in the stones, so there could be no scene behind the altar and this dates the wall painting too: the wall of the sanctuary is contemporaneous with the altar set by Pius Marcellinus. – 165x146 cm. – Budapest (Aquincum), legionary camp at the Flórián tér, house of the *tribunus laticlavus*. – AM, Inv. no. 113.

MADARASSY 1991a, 123-136.; MADARASSY 1991b, 1991, 207-211.

O.M.



### 192. Cult picture of Mithras tauroktonos (reconstruction)

The Tauroktonos-relief belonging to the sanctuary was annihilated when in recent times a cellar was dug in. A secondary use, building-in of the stone is conceivable. Among the sporadic Mithras-reliefs found in Óbuda till now only one fragment can be completed to the measures required; we used this as working hypothesis for our reconstruction sketch. – 54x40 cm. (Completed: 92x85 cm.) – Budapest (Aquincum), Majláth u. 51. – AM, Inv. no. 64.11.78.; Copy. H: 115 cm.

SZILÁGYI 1943, 344, Fig. 13.

O.M.



### 193. Foundation stone of the Mithraeum

Altar, limestone, prism-shaped. The upper part of the stone and the inscription field are broken, the first row of the inscription remained is considerably damaged. The inscription field is in a moulded frame, the rows were lined beforehand. Inscription: *Cass[ius- - ]ns trib(unus) lati(clavius) leg(ionis) II | Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis) Acmazo | locum deo co(n)s(stituit). v.s.l.m.* – A.D. 175. – 50x64x29,5 cm. – AM, Inv. no. M 114 (copy of 81.7.17.)

KOCIS 1989, 81-84. no. 1. – FITZ 1989, 94. – FITZ 1993-95, II, 672, nr 375.

M.Né.



## STATUES, RELIEFS, OTHER REPRESENTATIONS

### 194. Lamp with an image of Iuppiter Amon

High quality firmalampe of Loeschke type IX a. The stamp of the maker COMVNIS is surrounded by concentric circles on the base. There is an image of a bearded male head with two ram's horns on top, which represents Iuppiter Amon, in the centre of the upper surface of the lamp. There are air holes below and to the left and right of the mask. – Second half of the 1st-first half of the 2nd century A.D. – L: 11,1 cm; W: 7,6 cm; H: 3,5 cm. – Western cemetery at Poetovio, Ptuj (Poetovio) – SLJ, Acc. no. 8491. FISCHBACH 1896, 2.



I.L.

### 195. Isis-Bubastis altar

Sandstone altar worked on three sides. On its abacus corner acroteria, on the top a sacrificial collecting box. On the left side surface a cow, near to it a crescent. The inscription of the recto reads: *Isidi Aug(ustae) | et Bubasti G(aius) P(omponius) Philinus | Pomponi | Severi | lib(ertus) v(otum) s(olvit)*. – Mid-2nd century. – 65x26x23 cm. – Sopron (Scarbantia), Kolostor u. 9. – LFM, Inv. no. 55.186.1.

RIU 164; CSIRU II, 35, no. 15; MÓCSY 1956, 344; WESSETZKY 1959, 28; THOMAS 1960, 71; WESSETZKY 1962, 358-351; WESSETZKY 1964, 154-159; GABLER 1969, 12.

G.G.



### 196. Statuette of Isis Fortuna

Bronze statuette of Isis Fortuna. The goddess is represented in a wide, richly folded gown, in her left a cornucopia, on her head a modius. – 2nd-3rd century – H: 13 cm. – Badacsony, Szőlőhegy – MNM, Inv. no. 16.1894.1.

RÉCSEI 1894a, 108-110, fig. 8.

L.K.



### 197. Tabula ansata

Part of a small bronze sheet plate in the form of a tabula ansata. Only half of it survives. The letters of the inscription are punched. Inscription: *Is(idi) | Val(erius) A[...] | P(ublius) M [...]*. – Second half of the 2nd century A.D. – H: 2,6 cm; W: 3 cm; Th: 0,5 cm. – Spodnja Hajdina, Ptuj (Poetovio) – PMP, Acc. no. R 4082.

AIJ, 271; SARIA 1937, 22, fig. 3a, b.

I.L.

### 198. Tabula ansata

Small bronze sheet plate in the form of a tabula ansata. The righthand ansa is broken off. The letters of the inscription are punched: *Apolinar(is) | Isid(i) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. – Second half of the 2nd century A.D. – H: 2,5 cm; W: 5,5 cm; Th: 0,7 cm. – Spodnja Hajdina, Ptuj (Poetovio) – PMP, Acc. no. R 1010.

CIL III 15184; AIJ, 270; SARIA 1937, 22, fig. 2.

I.L.



### 199. Harpocrates

The naked body of young Harpocrates is shown standing. He is leaning on his left leg while his right is behind and is turned slightly to the right. The rounded face shows characteristic features. Curly strands of hair cover part of the shoulders and there are two locks above the forehead. Above that there is Harpocrates' characteristic ornament – a stylized pschent. The right index-finger is lifted and touches the chin while the right hand is extended and missing an attribute (cornucopia?). The genitals are visible and androgenic characteristics are displayed by wide hips, rounded stomach, etc. Missing is part of the left forearm and hand. – 2nd-3rd century A.D. – H: 23,1 cm; bronze – Slavonski Brod (Marsonia) – ZAM, Inv. no. 4689.

BRUNŠMID 1913/1914, 237, no. 72, fig. 72; REINACH 1924, 228, fig. 5; SELEM 1972, 37.; TADIN 1979, 30, 61, T. XXVIII, 59; SELEM 1980, 19-20, T.VII, I, 33.; Tesori nazionali 1991, 139, no. 136.

A.R-M.





#### 200. Votive hand of Sabazius

The right hand of the god Sabazius is in the characteristic position for making the sign of the cross (*benedictio Latina*); the thumb and index-finger are outstretched, the middle finger is slightly bent, while the ring finger and little finger are pressed against the palm. The index and middle fingers make the shape of the letter V. The snake is enveloped around the wrist and then diagonally around the back of the hand up and around the index-finger. Its head with a stylized crest, is slightly stretched to the side and above the index-finger. The two holes at the bottom of the wrist are so that the piece may be secured. – 3rd century A.D. – H: 9,4 cm; bronze – Sotin (Cornacum) – ZAM, Inv. no. 4593.

BRUNŠMID 1913/1914, 244, no. 95, fig. 95; *Antička bronca* 1969, 102, fig. 135; SELEM 1980, 251, no. 3, T. XLI:V, 3; *Tesori nazionali* 1991, 141, no. 142.

A.R-M.



#### 201. Votive hand of Sabazius

Solid cast bronze right hand dedicated to the god Sabazius. It has a raised thumb, index-finger and middle finger, whilst the ring finger and little finger are bent in towards the palm. The figure of a bearded man, 2,6 cm high, stands between the thumb and the latter two fingers on the inner side of the hand. The upper part of the body is naked, whilst the lower part is wrapped in a wide robe, folded at the back below the kidneys. There is a sacrificial knife below the thumb. The figure of a reclining woman nursing a child is moulded on the wrist. A bird is positioned to her left, whilst a ram's head can be distinguished on the two bent fingers. A snake with a turtle below it are depicted on the back of the hand beneath the ring finger. A toad squats beneath the middle finger and below that is a lizard. Immediately below the thumb are the visible outlines of a balance and below that two flutes and a two-handled vessel. The raised fingers are broken off at the top and the attributes are missing. – 3rd century A.D. – H: 5,6 cm. – Drnovo near Krško, Slovenia – NML, Acc. no. R 6912.

MANTUANI 1914, 192, fig. 1-3; PETRU, P. – PETRU, S. 1972, 44, fig. 30.

I.L.



#### 202. Kybele on a bronze disc

In the middle of a cast bronze disc, surrounded by a beading, the bust of Kybele. The goddess wears a wall crown over her thick hair, her chiton is clasped on her shoulder. Near her head on the left a double pipe, on the right a cymbalon. – 3rd century – Diam.: 4,7 cm; Th: 0,5 cm. – Csákvár (Floriana) – SZIKM, Inv. no. 3516.

MAROSI 1939, 32; KÁDÁR 1962, 41, Pl. IV.; BÁNKI 1972, no. 16; I. TÓTH 1984, 146-147, no. 87.

G.N.



#### 203. Votive plaque of Attis

The upper part of the votive plaque closes in a triangle. The figure stands in a relaxed posture, leaning on his right foot, while stepping out with his left. With chin reclined upon his left hand Attis holds his right before the waist grasping a long, curved staff, the *pedum*. On his head a Phrygian cap. Face broad, full. Lids indicated. Nose broad, lips thick. Clad in a knee-length mantle made of a thicker fabric (*sagum*). Under it a short tunic, on the legs trousers. The thinner material of shirt and trousers is indicated by stylized folds. Limestone. – Late 2nd-early 3rd century. – 52x30 cm. – Budapest III, Aranyhegy (Aquincum, civil town) – AM, Inv. no. 64.11.32.

Unpublished.

K.Sz.



#### 204. Attis holding mask

The youthful Attis, dressed in Oriental attire, is depicted standing. The upper body is clad in a shirt with long creased sleeves, open at the front and clasped below the neck. His legs, up to the thighs, are covered with creased trousers which are clasped on the front part of the legging. The upper part of the trousers reaches as far as the waist, but reveals the visibly mutilated genitals. On his thick curly hair he wears a Phrygian cap. In his raised right hand Attis holds the mask of Cybele and in his lowered left hand a shepherd's staff (*pedum*). The rear of the statuette is completely concave so that one can conclude it was applied to an object. – Chipped are both feet and the tip of the staff. – 3rd century A.D. – H: 9,1 cm; bronze. – Sisak (Siscia) – ZAM, Inv. no. 4634. BRUNŠMID 1913/1914, 230, no. 54, fig. 54; REINACH 1924, 220, fig. 6; TADIN 1979, 31, no. 65, T. XXVIII, 63; SELEM 1980, 203-204, T. XXXVI, 11.; SELEM 1981, 188-, fig. 1; *Tesori nazionali* 1991, 138, no. 133.

A.R-M.



#### 205. Attis holding mask above his head

The statue shows Attis standing with his legs spread apart. His body weight is evenly distributed over the thin and worn slab which forms the base. One can discern a Phrygian cap and curly hair surrounding the face. Attis is dressed in Oriental clothes, creased trousers and shirt. The shirt is open at the front and is clasped under the neck with a round clasp. The trousers reveal visibly mutilated genitals. With both hands Attis holds the mask of the goddess Cybele above his head. Cybele is shown wearing a diadem. Behind, the statue is flat and one might conclude that it served as an applique. – 3rd century A.D. – H: 10,5 cm; bronze. – Sisak (Siscia) – ZAM, Inv. no. 4584. BRUNŠMID 1913/1914, 230-231, no. 55, fig. 55.; SELEM 1980, 204, T. XXXVI:III, 12.; SELEM 1981, 188, fig. 2;

A.R-M.



#### 206. Altar of Sol

Limestone votive altar. The abacus is damaged, the acroteria unadorned, between them fragment of a stylized foliage. The inscription was later altered. According to J. Fitz the earlier inscription reads: *Sol(i) | Ael(ius) | Vi[ta?]lia[nus] | v(otum s(olvi) l(ibens) m(erito)*. The second incision: *S[o]li [i]n[vi]c(to) | Aurel(ius) | Arbas | ? Aelia | [.]i[...n]ina*. – 3rd century. – 67x25x20,5 cm. – Dunaújváros (Intercisa) – SzIKM, Inv. no. 3134.

MAROSI 1917, 4; MAROSI 1939, 31, Pl. III.5; ERDÉLYI-FÜLEP 1954, 363, Pl. LXXXIII, 9; VERMASEREN 1960 1834; *RIU* 1098.

Z.F.



#### 207. Tabula ansata of Sol Invictus

Bronze votive inscription in the form of a *tabula ansata*: *Deo Invicto | Ulpius Sabinus | miles legio[n]is primae [A]diutricis*. Set up to the invincible Sun god by Ulpius Sabinus, soldier of the legio I. Adiutrix. – 2nd century – 66 cm. – Pannonia? – MNM, Inv. no. 1.1874.611.

*CIL* III 11008 – PAULOVICS 1941, 139, fig. 21/1.

L.K.



#### 208. Sol-Luna wooden panel

Wooden panel inlay, with bronze, on one side the bust of Sol with ray crown. The right arm of the god is naked, his richly folded chlamys is fastened on his right shoulder by a disc brooch. Left from the roundel between two parallel lines the letters SO. On the reverse of the panel Luna, over her hair the crescent, whose two hornlets reach to her neck. She is clad in a richly folded chiton. On the left from the round frame the letter N. – 3rd century A.D. – 16,5x12,5 cm. – Zámoly, from a 4th century stone grave. – SZIKM, Inv. no. 496.

HAMPEL 1894, 282-2284.; MAROSI 1939, 31.

G.N.





#### 209. Bust of Sol

Bronze bust with radiant crown, springing forth from a foliage frame. His face is framed by a thick crop of hair, which clings on the back to his neck in short locks. He wears a chiton. – 3rd century – H: 4,5 cm. – Gorsium, Southern district. – SzIKM, Inv. no. 69.350.

BÁNKI 1972, no. 7.

G.N.



#### 210. Tabula ansata dedicated to Mithras

A rectangular slab with additional triangular pieces which have a hole in them for affixation located on the shorter sides (*tabula ansata*). The inscription is written in actuarial capital (*scriptura capitalis actuarialis*). In the first line the letters are accented with two lines; in the second one letter runs off the tablet. Missing are the top of the left triangle and the bottom of the right one. The inscription reads: *D(eo) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) | Aurelius Heraclides | et Agathopus fra|tres v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*. *Puncta dinstinguentia* is in the first and fourth lines. – 2nd-3rd century A.D. – 17x8,2x0,2 cm; bronze sheet. – Sisak (Siscia) – ZAM, Inv. no. 16893.

CIL III 3959; CUMONT 1869-1899, 144, no. 351; *AIJ* 544; SELEM 1976, 15, no. 13.

M.Š.

#### 211. Votive slab of Mithras-Sol

Marble votive slab with a semicircular top, widening downwards. Sketch-like carved representations under each other in three fields. On the top and at the bottom religious scenes whose interpretation is uncertain, in the middle the bull-slaughtering Mithras and his followers, Cautes and Cautopates – 3rd century – 21,3x14 cm. – Alcsút – MNM, Inv. no. 120.1862.

CUMONT 1893 291 and III. 4; RÉCSEY 1894b, Pl. 30, III. 2; VERMASEREN 1960, 227-228, no. 1740; NÉMETH 1991, 259, 264, III. 4.

M.Na.

#### 212. Relief of Cautes

Relief tablet of the attendant of Mithras. Standing figure clad in tunic, with a Phrygian cap on the head, in his right he holds a torch. On the basis the inscription: *Non(ius) Bassianus sac(erdos)* with a red paint. – Late 2nd century-3rd century. – 60x34x7-16 cm. – Szőny (Brigetio) – XJM, Inv. no. 57.1.34.

CIL III. 4302 – BARKÓCZI 1951, 34.

E.Sző.

#### 213. Relief of Cautopates

Relief tablet of the attendant of Mithras. Standing figure, clad in a tunic, with a Phrygian cap on his head, in his right a torch turned downwards. On its basis the inscription: *Non(ius) Bassianus sac(erdos)* with a red paint. – Late 2nd century-3rd century. – 62x35x11-20 cm. – Szőny (Brigetio) – XJM, Inv. no. 57.1.35.

CIL III 4302 – L. BARKÓCZI 1951, 34.

E.Sző.



#### 214. Lion

On a narrow pedestal a lion prone, turned to the right. Its head is covered with a thick mane, the right paw is stretched out. Chin, left paw and leg damaged. Limestone. – 3rd century – 53x24x17 cm. – Budapest III, Vöröskereszt utca, Aquincum, canabae – AM, Inv. no. 94.10.

PÓCZY 1976, 34. Fig. 80. – *Das römische Budapest* 1986, no. 776.

K.Sz.

### 215. Marble votive slab of the Thracian Rider God

Marble slab with a semicircular top, on the right a galloping Thracian Rider God. In the left of the rider a round shield, in his raised right a short hunting spear. Under the feet of the horse a hunting dog chases a boar. On the top and bottom rim a Greek inscription. The votive slab was set to the god Kendrisos by a certain Beithynikos, son of Tarsos, who had a Thracian name. The letters of the inscription were originally accentuated by a red paint. The slab was made most likely in Thracia.

Inscribed: **Κυρίῳ Κενδρείῳ Βειθυνικός Τάρσου εὐχὴν.**

– 2nd century A.D. – 33,5x24,5 cm. – Dunapentele-Öreghegy (Intercisa) – MNM, Inv. no. 14.1907.5.

ERDÉLYI-FÜLEP 1954, 275, no. 396; 1954, FÜLEP 1954, 221.

M.Na.

### 216. Lead plate of a Danubian Rider God

Oblong lead votive plate. On both sides of the table a column each, bound together by an *astragalos* arch. Outside of the arch, in the corners, a snake each. Under the arch the quadriga of Sol, the solar deity, under it in the centre a standing female figure surrounded by riders with upwards raised arms. In the picture field under the riders a banquetting society reclining on a semicircular couch, near them a servant carves up an animal hanging from a tree. On the right two human figures, hand in hand, in the bottom picture field in the centre kantharos, left of it a snake and a three-legged table: right from the kantharos a lion reclining, jug and cock. – 2nd/3rd century A.D. – 7,6x7,5 cm. – Mitrovica (Sirmium) – MNM, Inv. no. 56.23.2.

M.Na.



### 217. A votive lead tablet showing the Danubian Rider Gods

The tablet is rectangular. Missing is the top left corner; the bottom rim is very damaged and worn away. There are columns with capitals which rise above the arc ornamented with *astragals*. Curled up snakes and rosettes are depicted to both sides above the aedicule (the left side has not been preserved). The bust of Sol with a crown emitting rays is shown in the aedicule under the arc, his right hand outstretched to the side and bent at the elbow with a disproportionately large open palm. In his lowered left hand Sol holds a sphere above which flutters a cloak. To the left of Sol's head is a star. It is difficult to discern what was depicted to the right as this area is damaged. Below Sol, to the right and left, are a pair of galloping horses pulling a cart. Above the horses heads is an object which could be a torc. Height in the section below and in the middle is a female figure dressed in a long robe holding an object, which cannot be identified. A horseman to either side of her is shown approaching her with open arms. To the left, under the horse's hoof is a fish and to the right an outstretched human body. Behind the horseman to the left is a soldier with a spear and shield, to the one on the right a woman in a long robe with her right hand raised. In the third section, in the middle, around a set table on which a fish on a platter is served, sit three figures. To the left of them is a tree from which hangs an animal being disemboweled by a man. Next to him is a figure, difficult to discern, but, judging by the analogy, he should be wearing the mask of a ram.

On the opposite side there are two figures holding hands and approaching the table. In the last section, on the right, one can easily discern a large kantharos in the middle, a curled up snake with raised head and a cock which is barely discernable. To the left there is an animal figure (probably a lion) next to the vessel and a snake. The area where there should be a three-legged stool is very worn out. – 3rd century A.D. – 9,4x7,5x0,2 cm.; lead. – Vukovar – ZAM, Inv. no. 16890.

Unpublished.

A.R-M.





### 218. A votive lead tablet showing the Danubian Rider Gods

The tablet is rectangular with a wide oval pediment and lateral acroterion. The cult ceremony depicted is encircled by an accented frame. In the pediment one can discern a fish with a star to either side. There is also one star to either side in the acroterion. The tablet is divided into three sections. Under the top rim and in the middle is a kantharos. To either side of it is a snake whose head lies above a vessel. In the left corner is the bust of Luna with a half-moon behind it. In the right corner is a bust of Sol with a crown of rays on his head. In the middle is a female figure in a long robe and standing on a pedestal, arms outstretched pulling two horses towards her. The horsemen on the horses are clad in cloaks which are swept back. Under the horse's hoofs lie outstretched human bodies. Behind the right horseman is a female figure and behind the left one a barely discernable male figure. Both are shown from the waist up. In the lowest section, middle, there is a male figure disemboweling an animal hanging from a tree. To his right there is a kantharos above which there are three spheres – apples? and a cock. To the left there is a smaller blurred object and next to it a tall candlestick and a three-legged stool with bent legs on which there are three objects (vessels?). – The top left corner of the tablet had been glued back on. – 3rd century A.D. – 8,8x7,4x0,2 cm.; lead. – Vinkovci (Cibale) – ZAM, Inv. no. 16891.

BRUNŠMID 1902, 149, fig. 6; HAMPEL 1903, 353, no. 58; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 1966, 55, T. IV: 1

A.R.-M.



### 219. A votive lead tablet showing the Danubian Rider Gods

The tablet is rectangular, the lower right corner is damaged with deeper incisions. The cult ceremony depicted is divided into four sections inside an aedicule which is inscribed by smooth columns and a capital in the shape of a floral calyx above which is an arch ornamented with *astragals*. Above the arch, in the upper right and left corners, is a curled up snake. In the aedicule beneath the arch is the figure of Sol wearing a crown emitting rays. He is on a quadriga and holds a sphere in his left hand. His right is lifted and outstretched. The horses are shown galloping, two on either side. Above the heads of each group is a rosette with eight petals. In the section beneath the lunette, in the middle, is the figure of a woman dressed in a long creased robe. In her lowered hands she holds a scarf in front of her. To either side of her there are horsemen with raised right hands dressed in cloaks which are swept back behind their backs. Under the hoof of the right horse is a fish, under the hoof of the left one an outstretched human body. Next to the column to the left is a soldier wearing a helmet, shield and spear whose tip is lowered to the ground. Next to the right column stands a dressed woman with her right hand raised. In the third section, middle, there are three figures sitting on a bench and at a table which is covered with a tasselled cloth. They are eating fish from a platter. To the left is a tree from which hangs a ram which is being disemboweled by a man. The figure above is wearing a ram's mask. To the right of the table are two naked bodies holding hands and approaching the table. In the lowest section, from left to right: three-legged stool with fish, curled-up snake, a lion seated, a large kantharos, a curled-up snake with head turned towards vessel and a cock. – 3rd century A.D. – 9,4x7,7x0,2 cm.; lead. – Dalj (Teutoburgium) – ZAM, Inv. no. 16892.

HOFFILLER 1935 64, no. 12, fig. 4; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 1966, 51, T. II: 1; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1994, 87.

A.R.-M.



### 220. A votive lead tablet showing the Danubian Rider Gods

The rectangular tablet is crowned by a rounded pediment and acroterion to either side. Stretching to either side vertically are columns with capitals. Sol in a quadriga is depicted in the pediment. In the left acroterion there is the bust of Sol, a torch and, it seems, a star. In the right the bust of Luna, a half-moon, a star and, it seems, a torch. The tablet is divided into three sections. In the top section, middle, there is a female figure clad in a long dress holding a scarf in her lowered hands. To either side of her head there is a star and a lantern. To either side of the woman, placed heraldically, are two horsemen riding towards her their cloaks swept back. Above the heads of the woman and the horsemen is an animal which is too difficult to define. Under the hoof of the left horse is an outstretched human body and next to the horse's tail a soldier with shield and spear in hand. Under the hoof of the right horse is a larger fish and next to the horse's



tail is a female figure with raised right hand. In the middle section, middle, sit three figures at a set table, holding vessels. To the left is a tree from which hangs a headless sheep. A man is disemboweling the dead animal, while under the tree there is a vessel for collecting blood. Next to him, and to the far left, stands another male figure wearing a ram's mask. To the other side of the table stand three naked men. In the bottom section, from left to right, there is an oval table on which there is a fish, a torch and a sitting lion. In the centre there is a large kantharos, a curled-up snake, a tortoise, a cock and a torch. – In the bottom left corner the tablet is slightly damaged. – 3rd century A.D. – 12x9,7x0,3 cm.; lead. – Divoš – ZAM, Inv. no. 13518.

HOFFILLER 1905, 204-207, fig. 29; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 1966, 54, T. V: 1; *Tesori nazionali* 1991, 141, no. 143.

A.R-M.

## POTTERY

### 221. Crustullum form with the figure of Isis-Fortuna

On the clay crustullum form, in a grooved circular frame the figure of Isis-Fortuna. On the head of the goddess a *modius*, in her right a *cornucopia*. In her left hand a *patera*, whose contents she pours on the altar before her. Behind her a bridge spanning a river. – 2nd-3rd century A.D. – Diam.: 17 cm. – Mitrovica (Sirmium) – MNM, Inv. no. 17.1901.1. ALFÖLDI 1938, 339, III. LXVIII: 3.

M.Na.



## GEMS

### 222. Gem with the representation of Sol

Pale blue, translucent glass paste. Standing oval form, on both sides convex. Bust of Sol frontally, his full hair is wavy, on his shoulder a mantle, from his head five rays radiate. Near the head on one side three, on the other two stars. On the bottom a crescent. – 1st century B.C. – 1,6x1,3 cm. – Óbuda (Aquincum) – AM, Inv. no. 51255. *Aquileia-Aquincum* 1995, 94, no. 230.

T.G.



### 223. Medallion of Dea Syria

Dark grey-white layered onyx gem in gilded setting, to which a pierced frame made of three-petalled flowers was soldered. The whole surface of the oval cameo is filled by the representation. Dea Syria sits sideways on the back of the lion, with her left she rests on the head of the animal, in her right she holds a lotos flower. – 3rd century – 2,9x2,3 cm. – Intercisa, Great cemetery – IM, Inv. no. 67.2.302.2. VÁGÓ 1970, 119, Pl. LIII.3.

J.B.H.



## POPULAR RELIGION, MAGIC BELIEFS

The ancient magic beliefs and ceremonies belonged even as late as in the imperial period to the everyday religion. The jewellery worn around the neck, the bullas, amulets, further rings and lead-framed mirrors had apotropaic character.

### POTTERY WORKSHOP – SAVARIA

Among the products of the potter's art we find devotional objects of religious cults, the equipment of sanctuaries as well. The relics of the pottery excavated near the Savaria town gate, are the terracotta statuettes, heads of gods, which are displayed on the moulds as well as in positive forms. With the reliefs vessels of the sanctuaries, sides and lids of funeral urns were decorated. The masters and patterns followed hellenistic traditions and could have arrived in the early 2nd century to Savaria, then at its height, from the eastern or greek areas, presumably from Asia Minor.



#### 224. Mould of a lamp in the form of a goose

Trapezoid mould, burnt to a terracotta colour, glued from several parts. One side is roughly made, solid, on the other the mould of a goose of big body, with the head turned backwards. Head and neck are covered with plumes marked by scratched lines. On the surface of the wing the plumage is marked by small scales, the ends of the wing by parallel lines, the nose of the lamp is formed by the tail. The feet are substituted by a cylindrical body, as sole a wider ring serves decorated with slanting lines. The eyes of the goose are made by an indent under a small line, the end of the beak curves down. – 4th century – 15,5x11,3 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria) – SM, Inv. no. R. 79.1.1245. Unpublished.

T.B.



#### 225. Mould of a lamp in the form of a foot

Terracotta-coloured. The upper part of the lamp represents a left foot ending in the ankle. Oval, upturned on one end. The finely modelled sandal straps, starting from the rim of the sole, intertwine before the ankle, the strap running on the top of the foot is fastened to the sole of the sandal between the big toe and the second toe. The hole on the leg served for pouring the oil in, the wick protrudes from the round hole on the nail of the big toe. A pierced semicircular element each in the centre line between the toes and behind the ankle made the suspension of the lamp possible. – Turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries. – 12,5x14,2x8,3-8,6 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria) – SM, Inv. no: 66.3.2184. Unpublished.

T.B.



#### 226. Fragment of a Venus statuette

Yellow terracotta, hollowed. The statuette of the goddess is broken in the waist, the upper part is missing. A nude body, to the right leg a veil adheres. The thick folds of the drapery are perpendicular on the line of the leg. Of her right arm held before the body only the hand remained. – 2nd century – 16,5x5,4 cm; Pedestal: 6,4 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria) – SM, Inv. no. R. 76.1.1020.

BUÓCZ-SZENTLÉLEKY 1991; BUÓCZ 1991, III. 8.; BUÓCZ 1992, 18-22, III. 7.

T.B.



#### 227. Mould of a Iuppiter mask

Yellowish terracotta colour. One side is convex, the surface smoothed. On the other side the face of the god looking *en face* is hollowed out. High, domed forehead with a slight furrow, bushy eyebrows, in the outlined eye the pupil is marked, straight nose, around the thick lips a hanging, thick moustache. The parted, wavy hair is arranged in curls. The thick beard parted on the chin is curling. – 2nd century – 12,8x9 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria) – SM, Inv. no. 66.4.356. Unpublished.

T.B.



### 228. Positive fragments of a Iuppiter mask

Yellowish terracotta, glued together from several pieces. The hollowed left side is rough. A fragment of the hair, standing on end, parts of the nose and the cheeks – 2nd century – 5,2x8 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria) – SM, Inv. no. 76.1.817.

Unpublished.

T.B.



### 229. Mould of a Silenos mask

Burnt terracotta. An ovoid mould, its lower side is convex, smoothed. On the other side the mould of the face of Silenos looking *en face* is deepened. A domed forehead bound with a ribbon, highly drawn, frowned brows. Squinting eyes marked by outlines, hollowed pupils. Thick, fleshy nose, narrow nostrils expressing breath taking. It can be almost seen how the wine drips on his small, thick lower lip. A tired, ageing face, with a wreath bound of heart-shaped leaves, among them flower rosettes, grapes. On both sides of the face, next to the pointed ears, the ribbons of a wreath. His fine moustache hangs down to his beard, which is combed on both sides. – 2nd century – 9,2x7,3 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria) – SM, Inv. no. R. 76.1.1029.

BUÓCZ-SZENTLÉLEKY 1991; BUÓCZ 1991, III. 8., BUÓCZ 1992, 18-21, III. 8.

T.B.



### 230. Fragment of a positive Satyr mask

Yellowish terracotta with orange red paint. The mask of a narrow shell shows a head *en face*, the upper part from the eye line on is lost. The fleshy nose, the cheeks, the small mouth, the moustache and a fragment of the beard remained. It was poured from the mould R.76.1.1027. – 2nd century – 5,9x4,8 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria) – SM, Inv. no. R. 76.1.1022.

Unpublished.

T.B.



### 231. Apollo mask

Brownish terracotta with a metallic glitter. The young god is represented *en face*. An oval, long face, Greek profil, outlined eyes, pupils marked with a concave dot, fleshy, compressed lips, a dimple in the middle of the chin. His forehead is covered by straight-cut hair, reaching to the neck. Over his forehead a stylized wing made of curls. – 2nd century – 6,5x4,5 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria) – SM, Inv. no. R. 76.1.1024.

BUÓCZ-SZENTLÉLEKY 1991; BUÓCZ 1990, III. 8.; BUÓCZ 1992, 18-10, III. 11.

T.B.



### 232. Cocks' heads

1. Brownish terracotta. A well-proportioned head and neck, under the last one the hollowing is well modelled, its rims are chipped which indicates that it was applied on an urn lid. The erect comb was stuck of clay slices. The eyes are disc-shaped, the beak broken, the beard mutilated. – Turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries. – H: 5 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria) – SM, Inv. no. 66.4.616.

Unpublished.

2. Light terracotta. Cock head, with erected neck. Comb, beak and beard are broken. Under the neck a hole indicating an application. – H: 5,8 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria) – SM, Inv. no. 91.1.4792.

Unpublished.

3. Yellowish terracotta cock's head with a crooked, long neck. The comb is broken, the beard is round, the eyes disc-shaped. Under the neck a hole indicating an application, the edges chipped. – H: 7,5 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria) – SM, Inv. no. 54.18.257.

Unpublished.

4. Yellowish terracotta, cock's head with an unproportionally long neck. Under the neck a hole made for application, its rims chipped, pointed beak, erect comb, round beard. – H: 10,5 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria) – SM, Inv. no. 54.332.1.

Unpublished.

T.B.



## LEAD VOTIV FINDS – MATRICA

The finding consists of two different parts. Flat, two-dimensional figures of goddess in stylized architectural frames belong to one of the groups. Almost all of them broke to pieces, deformed or incomplete. Miniature imitations with short handles like the embossed bronze mirrors are parts of the other group. There are figural and geometrical motives on each side of the pieces. Almost all of the objects are castings embossed on both sides. The objects are most often the sporadic finds of settlements and camps. Only a few pieces are of graves or shrines such as the rare find from the Mercurius sanctuary of Savaria. Examining the objects it becomes clear that beside the broken and deformed pieces there are also unrelated fragments in the find. There are semi-finished and damaged products or ones casted in the same mould among the complete or rejoinable finds. Probably the broken votive pieces were originally damaged during the production. So it is most likely that this finding is the loss or a lead-workshop similar to the Gyulaírást-Pogánytelek (county Veszprém) finds. The site is near the ancient fortress of Sánchegy, about 4 km far to the north from the military camp of Matrica (Százhalombatta) and its vicus. The lead finds came to the surface in search of metal near the dwellings or the former brick-factory (téglagyár) at Százhalombatta in July 1984.

O.S.



### 233. Lead mirror with the Three Graces

A short-stemmed, round votive. In the recto, encircled by cog-wheels and bead rows, the Three Graces embracing each other. On the verso in a dented frame a button in the middle. – 2nd to 3rd century – H: 4,8 cm; Diam.: 3,4 cm. – Százhalombatta (Matrica), Téglagyár – MM, Inv. no. 87.111.5.

*Százhalombatta*, 1994, 10, Pl.VI, 13.

O.S.

### 234. Lead mirror with the Three Graces

A long-stemmed, round votive. On its recto encircled by nine spines the Three Graces embracing each other. On the verso in a round fillet frame a button in the middle. – 2nd to 3rd century – H: 6,6 cm; Diam.: 3,8 cm. – Százhalombatta (Matrica), Téglagyár – MM, Inv. no. 87.111.5.

*Százhalombatta*, 1994, 10, Pl.VI, 13.

O.S.

### 235. Lead mirror with the Three Graces

A short-stemmed, round votive. On its recto framed by a ray-like denting, the Three Graces embracing each other. On the verso in a round fillet frame a button in the middle. – 2nd to 3rd century – H: 5,4 cm; Diam.: 3,8 cm. – Százhalombatta (Matrica), Téglagyár – MM, Inv. no. 87.111.5.

*Százhalombatta*, 1994, 10, Pl.VI, 13.

O.S.

### 236. Lead mirror with geometric ornament

Mirror-shaped lead votive with concentric decoration. On the recto 13 circles, cutting each other in their centres. On the verso in a double fillet frame, parallelly running with the border, in the centre a button. – 2nd to 3rd century – H: 4,9 cm, Diam.: 2,7 cm. – Százhalombatta (Matrica), Téglagyár – MM, Inv. no. 87.111.1.

*Százhalombatta*, 1994, 10, Pl.VI, 13.

O.S.

## FINDS

### 237. Cultic ensign

Silver staff of quadratic cross section, the tapering end is scrolling spiral-like. Both sides are decorated. On the one side in a dented niello frame between two four-petalled, gold-damascened rosettes incised, niello-decorated and gilt scroll. On the other side in a similar dented niello frame three four-petalled, gold-damascened rosettes, placed in equal distances, between the rosettes ivy scrolls and palm leaves. The shaft of the staff has a quadratic cross-section and ends in a hemisphere. The function of the object is discussed: earlier it was held for an augur staff, later for an episcopal ensign. – End of the 3rd century or beginning of the 4th century A.D. – H: 33,1 cm. – Szöny (Brigetio) – MNM, Inv. no. 58.12.33.

BARKÓCZI 1965, 215-257; M. NAGY 1992, 30, 165, no. 23; GÁSPÁR 1989, 103-111.

M.Na.



### 238. Sacrificial knife

Upper part of a dagger tapering downwards. The hilt is made of bronze; between the horns of a plastically formed ox head the figure of a fox in relief. – 2nd-3rd century. – H: 14,5 cm. – Szombathely (Savaria) – MNM, Inv. no. 19.1930-1.

L.K.



### 239. Malediction plate (defixion plate)

Lead plate with inscription in Greek. The inscription consists of six rows, the writing is from margin to margin. The inscription is complete. Translated: Abrasax (sic) I give you Adietos, son of Kupeita, that as long as (the tablet) lays here he would be unable to do anything but as you are dead, he shall live with you all the time. – 3rd century? (from a layer of devastated graves of the 3rd and 4th centuries) – 8,1x3,8 cm. – East-cemetery of Savaria (Szombathely, Szt. Márton u.). – SM, Inv. no. R. 85.3.650.

GÁSPÁR 1990, 13-16. – GÁSPÁR (MS).

M.M.



### 240. Gem with the representation of Osiris

Heliotrope of a horizontal, oval shape, on both sides slightly convex. Recto: Osiris frontally, on his head an atef crown, in both hands a whip each, his body is wrapped in a mummy bandage. Beside him a cock-headed, snake-legged deity (Abraxas), looking towards him, in one hand a shield, in the other a whip. Between the two figures a star, around them the inscription: ΦΙΛΟCΕΡΑΠΙΝΑΓΘΜΝΑ (I love you, Serapis, kind bull.). In the middle of the verso with large letters: ΑΒΡΑΧΑΣ (Abraxas), with smaller characters on the top left: ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΛΒΑ (a palindromic magic formula) below right: ΗΛΑΙΜΒΙΩ (immortal Sun), below left: CEMECLAM (eternal Sun, Hebraic), below right) ΔΑΜΝΑ ΜΕΝΕΥ (subjugator). – 3rd century – 2,35x1,5x0,30 cm. – Ploughland between Veszprémvarsány and Lázi – XJM, Inv. no.64.169.1.

Unpublished.

T.G.



### 241. Gold ring

Ring, the circle is transformed by bevelling polygonal, with the inscription: + Pax portanti dormitio (invidenti). – End of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century. – Weight: 3,5 gr – Tata-Tóváros – MNM, Inv. no. 103.1889.1.

L. NAGY 1930, 243; E. TÓTH 1979, 166, no.14. 243.

M.Na.





#### 242. Ring with gem

Solid silver ring, in its oval, plain bezel a gem of greenish-brown heliotrope, on the recto an incised magic inscription: *Ablan | Athan | Alba*. The verso bears the incision: *Iao*. Both gem and ring are damaged. – 3rd century – Diam.: 2,8 cm. – Dunaújváros (Intercisa) – IM, Inv. no. 65.4.1.

VÁGÓ 1975, 629, Pl. LXXXVI, 5; BILKEI 1979, 31, Nr. 24.

J.B.H.

#### 243. Statuette of Priapos

Terracotta statuette. The deity is bearded, wears a short-sleeved, plaited tunic, holding it up with both hands making thus his oversized phallus visible. – 3rd century – H: 14,3 cm. – Dunapentele-Öreghegy (Intercisa) – MNM, Inv. no. 3.1950.90.

SÁGI 1954, 59. Grave 36, Fig. 21/21.

L.K.

#### 244. Lunula

Cast bronze, on the face the incised inscription LVNEROM. Its bent back suspension loop is decorated with a grove. – 2nd-3rd century. – H: 2,5 cm. – Gorsium, *area sacra* – SzIKM, Inv. no. 66.596.1.

Unpublished.

ZS.B.

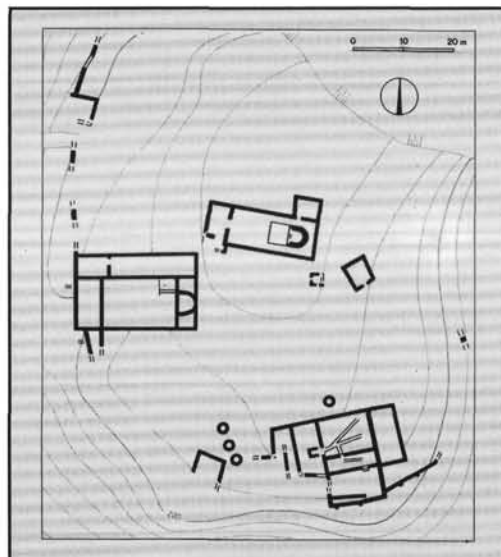
## EARLY CHRISTIANITY

We know from the mid-third century on of an organized Christianity in Pannonia which would not mean, though, that in earlier times there lived no christians in this region, but they were not organized and their number was rather small. A longer time must have elapsed before the ecclesiastical structure of Christianity became provable.

The scene of early evangelizing was the region between the Drava and Save, later the section between Poetovio and Savaria, finally the border region along the limes. Pollio, executed in 303, speaks of the martyrs of the previous persecution, the pursuing activities under Valerian (253-260) took their victims also in our region. After the reign of Valerian quiet decades followed when the number of christians suddenly increased, but the persecutions of Diocletian (303-304) took their victims also in our area. Before the sudden change under Constantine bishoprics meant only house communities under bishophs. Their raise in office, the wearing of episcopal signatures is due to the dispositions of Constantine. Arianism emerged in this time, in the consequence religious disputes appeared in which also Pannonian took its share.

### CHURCHES, CHAPELS

#### ECCLESTICAL COMPLEX – KUČAR NEAR PODZEMELJ, XVIII.

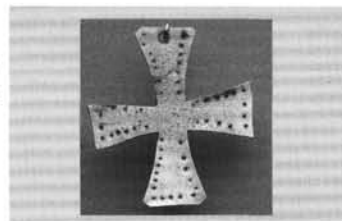


An Early Christian centre which was composed of two churches, a baptistery and episcopal palace was found on the northern summit of the isolated hill, which rises streeply above the lowland around the river Kolpa. A semicircular priest bank stood on a raised square platform in the nave of the Upper church, which is 17,50 m long and 8,00 m wide. Near the platform a silver cruciform pendant was found. There was a 4 m wide porch on the western side of the church. On the north east side there was a small annex. The entire structure served as a consignatory. The lower church with apse, which almost touched the east wall of the nave, was even bigger; the nave was 19,00 x 10,80 m, also with a 5,70 m wide porch on the western side; on the northern side was a narrow area, which was probably used as an access point between the two churches. The mass took place in these churches. A structure was found in a natural hollow near the upper church, which functioned as a baptistery. The living quarters lay in a large, internally partitioned structure with central heating (*hypocaust*) on the southern side, identified as the episcopal palace. – 5th-6th centuries.

#### 245. Cruciform pendant

The pendant is made of thin silver sheet in the form of a cross with widened arms. The edges are decorated with punched dots. There is a silver wire suspension loop on the upper arm. – 6th century A.D. – 4x4,6 cm; Th: 0,1 cm. – Kučar near Podzemelj, Slovenia. – BMM, Acc. no. R 162.

*Pismo brez pisave* 1991, 50, fig. 5.

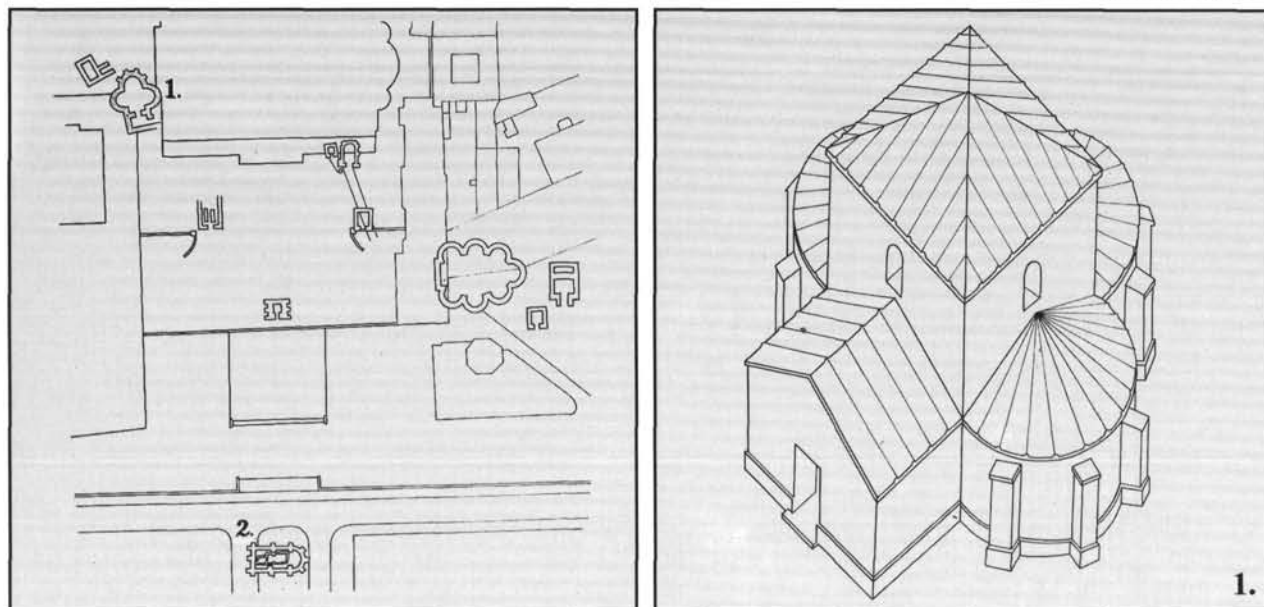


I.L.



## EARLY CHRISTIAN BUILDINGS – SOPIANAE, XIX.

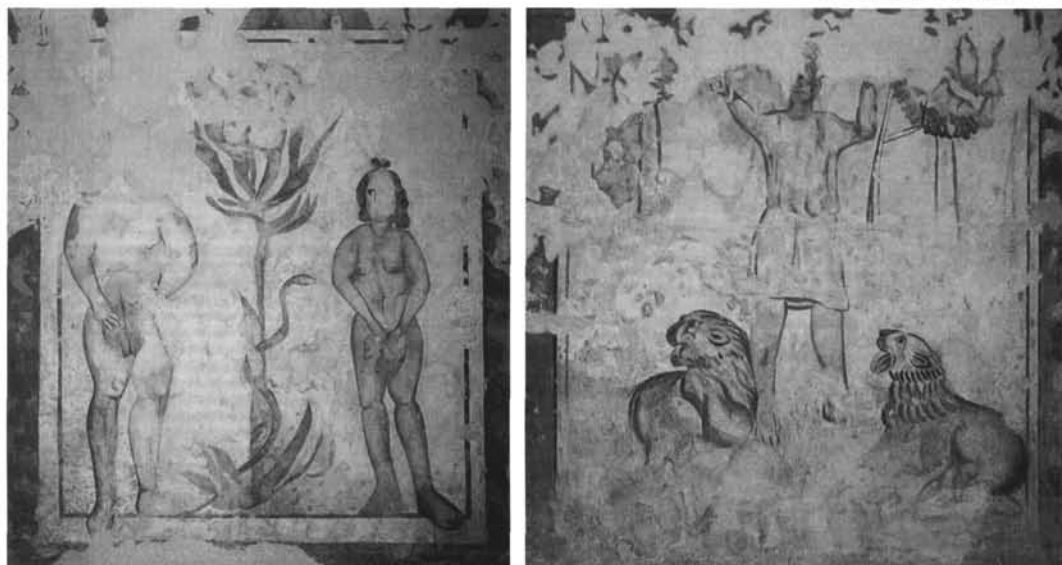
### 1. CELLA TRICHORA



Sopianae was especially rich in early Christian sepulchral buildings. The cemetery chapels erected above the tombs, the mausoleums of the martyrs were places of meeting of the Christian community. A three-lobed chapel of central layout, a martyrium. The central part measures 5,20x4,60 m. The walls were built of stone and brick. The graves were found during the 1922 excavation. The building had several construction phases. In the first one erected from the early Christian period. Fresco fragments of white and black lines remained in the northern apse from this phase. This oldest layer was covered with an even now visible early medieval fresco, which represents a curtain. In chapel was built and decorated with frescos for the first time in the last quarter of the 4th century. Excavations: 1922, 1955.

*D.G.*

### 2. MAUSOLEUM – Frescoes



The largest and most finely painted sepulchral building came into being with the transformation of an earlier burial place at the late 4th century. On its wall-paintings among others the scene of the "Fall" and "Daniel in the lions' den" are represented in its wall-paintings. On the eastern wall, above the small niche there is a Christ-monogram surrounded by garlands. The niche is decorated by ears of wheat. To the left from the niche Noah's Ark can be seen. While the frescos are from the end of the 4th, the upper level of the building is of the 6th century.

*D.G.*



## FINDS

### 246. Lamp

Clay, brick-red with traces of burning. An almost globular body, on the edge between concentric circles a foliage pattern. Without bottom mark. On its disc a damaged Christogram. Two inlets. – Second half of the 5th century. – 14,4x8,1x3,4 cm. – Aquincum, cella trichora – KJM, Inv. no. 71.192.1.

L. NAGY 1931b, 24, fig. 16/a; L. NAGY 1934, 304; IVÁNYI 1935, Ka 1984, XL.; L. NAGY 1938, 66, fig. 31; THOMAS 1977, 42.



D.G.

### 247. Lamp with Christogram

One-nozzled lamp with a drawn-up handle. On the disc a relief, in an oval frame Christogram, on the bottom the mark E. – 4th century – 7,2x6,1x4,3 cm. – Findplace unknown – XJM, Inv. no. 53.273.78.

Unpublished.

E.Sző.

### 248. Early Christian lamp

Pottery lamp with a pierced handle. On the rim in a framed field fish, ivy, jug, on the disc a blurred representation of the "Good Shepherd". On the bottom an indistinct mark. – 4th century – H: 10,5 cm. – Findplace unknown. – MNM, Inv. no. 53.50.185.

L.K.



### 249. Early Christian lamp suspender

Bronze cross in the form of a Christogram. On the upper part of the monogram a ring with a wrought bronze S-hook clasped in. A similar ring is also at the lower part. – 5th-6th century – H: 14,5 cm. – Findplace unknown. – MNM, Inv. no. 1.1874.635. E. TÓTH 1977 148, fig. 5.

L.K.



### 250. Lamp suspender

Cross-shaped bronze lamp suspender. In the middle a plastic disc holding together longer vertical and shorter horizontal arms. From the middle on the arms of a round cross section gradually thicken. On their rounded-off ends a suspension ring each. On the upper arm the iron hanger is attached to the cross by three bronze chain-links. On both ends of the horizontal arm a bronze chain-link and a hook each are fitted. – 450-550 A.D. – H: 22,6 cm. – Szőny (Brigetio) – MNM, Inv. no. 4.1933.27. L. NAGY 1938, 143-144.; E. TÓTH 1977, 143- fig. 1-2.

L.K.



### 251. Brooch with Christogram

Gilt bronze cruciform brooch. The bow and foot are decorated with portraits and the fields between them are filled with geometric decoration, with a cross in the central field on the foot. There is an incised christogram on the semicircular terminal of the foot. – Second half of the 4th century A.D. – Length: 7,8 cm; W: 6,1 cm; H: 4,7 cm. – Drnovo near Krško, Slovenia. – NML, Acc. no. R 89.

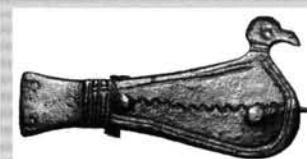
PETRU, P. – PETRU, S. 1978, 56, T. 4:3; *Pismo brez pisave* 1991, 71, Cat. no. 61.

I.L.

### 252. Brooch in the shape of a peacock

Bronze fibula in the shape of a peacock or dove. It is made of bronze sheet with an iron pin. The decoration is incised. – 6th century A.D. – L: 4,5 cm. – Sv. Lambert near Pristava above Stična, Slovenia. – NML, Acc. no. S 2487.

KNIFIC 1995, 29, fig. 8:5.



I.L.



### 253. Ring with a Christogram

Profiled bronze ring with a round, resp. on the top oval diameter. The bezel is round, flat, with a Christogram. – 4th-5th century. – 18 mm. – Sárszentlőrinc – MNM, Inv. no. 47.1906.55.

E. TÓTH undated, 11, Diagr. 5, 57, Fig. 12/d.

L.K.

### 254. Silver spoon

The stem is intact, the bowl broken. Where the bowl is attached to the stem, the spoon bears a Christogram. – 3rd century – 14,5 cm. – Findplace unknown. – BM, Inv. no. 75.1762.1.

THOMAS 1980, 199; THOMAS 1982, 275, fig. 5/27, Kat. 8.67.

D.G.

### 255. Whorl

Grey, with a scratched in Christogram. – 4th century – Diam.: 3,4 cm. – Keszthely-Dobogó, Late Roman cemetery, (Grave 32/2). – BM, Inv. no. 62.22.1.

SÁGI 1981, 17, fig. 5/27; UBL 1982, 591, 8/67.

D.G.

### 256. Casket mount

Fragmentary repoussé bronze lamella. The representations are in metopes framed by bead rows. The representations repeat from left to right: resurrection of Lazarus, Daniel in the lion's den, the Good Shepherd, Moses strikes water out of the rock. (In the exhibition two parts of the lamella with the Daniel scene are present). – 5th century – Reconstruable. – L: 39 cm; largest H: 7,5 cm. – Keszthely-Fenékpuszta, West tower of the North gate. – BM, Inv. no. 72.181.1-6.

GÁSPÁR 1986, Kat. 792.

D.G.

## SANCTUARIES, TEMPLES – FIGURES

- I. Celtic sanctuary – Pákozd (detail: ditch and sacrificial pits)
- II. Aquincum-Gellérthegey governor's villa (Szemlőhegy) Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Teutanus,
- III. Sacred area – Carnuntum, Pfaffenberg (aerial photo, reconstruction)
- IV. Sacred area – Aquae Iasae – (Forum, thermae; ground plan, reconstruction)
- V. Capitoline temple – Scarbantia (Forum: ground-plan, reconstruction)
- VI. Capitoline Triad – Scarbantia
- VII. Diana temple – Carnuntum (ground-plan, reconstruction)
- VIII. Mercurius sanctuary – Savaria (ground-plan, reconstruction)
- IX. Aesculapius and Hygieia spring sanctuary – Aquincum (ground-plan, reconstruction)
- X. Nemesis sanctuary – Aquincum (ground plan, reconstruction)
- XI. Sacred area of the emperor's cult – Gorsium (aerial photo, reconstruction)
- XII. Iseum – Savaria (ground-plan, reconstruction)
- XIII. Dolichenum – Vetus Salina (ground-plan)
- XIV. Mithraeum I. – Poetovio (ground-plan)
- XV. Mithraeum III. – Poetovio (ground-plan, reconstruction, interieur)
- XVI. Mithraeum – Sárkeszi (ground-plan)
- XVII. Mithraeum – Aquincum, tribunus laticlavus-house (ground plan, reconstruction)
- XVIII. Ecclestial complex – Kučar near Podzemelj (ground-plan)
- XIX. Early Christian buildings – Sopiana, (ground-plan)
  1. Cella trichora (reconstruction)
  2. Mausoleum – Frescoes: Fall, Daniel in the lion's den

## ABBREVIATIONS

AMC	Archäologisches Museum Carnuntinum, Austria
BMM	Belokranjski Muzej, Metlika, Slovenia
MML	Mestni Muzej, Ljubljana, Slovenia
MMČ	Muzej Međimurja, Čakovec, Croatia
MSO	Muzej Slavonije, Osijek, Croatia
NML	Narodni Muzej Ljubljana, Slovenia
PMP	Pokrajinski Muzej, Ptuj, Slovenia
SLJ	Steiermarkisches Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz, Austria
ZAM	Arheološki Muzej Zagreb, Croatia
ZMVT	Zavičajni Muzej Varaždinske Toplice, Croatia

AM	Aquincumi Múzeum, Budapest
BM	Balatoni Múzeum, Keszthely
BTM	Budapesti Történeti Múzeum
DM	Déri Múzeum, Debrecen
RGy	Dunamelléki Református Egyházkerület Ráday Gyűjteménye, Budapest
IM	Intercisa Múzeum, Dunaújváros
JPM	Janus Pannonius Múzeum, Pécs
KJM	Kosztai József Múzeum, Szentcsanak
LDM	Laczkó Dezső Múzeum, Veszprém
MM	Matrica Múzeum, Százhalombatta
MNM	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest
RRM	Rippl-Rónai Múzeum, Kaposvár
SM	Savaria Múzeum, Szombathely
LFM	Soproni Múzeum
SzIKM	Szent István Király Múzeum, Székesfehérvár
WMM	Wosinszky Mór Múzeum, Szekszárd
XJM	Xantus János Múzeum, Győr

Zsuzsanna Bánki	<i>Zs.B.</i>	Márta Medgyes	<i>M.M.</i>
László Borhy	<i>L.B.</i>	Gabriella Nádorfi	<i>G.N.</i>
Teréz Buocz	<i>T.B.</i>	Mihály Nagy	<i>M.Na.</i>
Maurizio Buora	<i>M.B.</i>	Margit Németh	<i>M.Né.</i>
Annamária Facsády	<i>A.F.</i>	Péter Németh	<i>P.N.</i>
Zoltán Farkas	<i>Z.F.</i>	Éva F. Petres	<i>É.F.P.</i>
Dénes Gabler	<i>D.G.</i>	Klára Póczy	<i>K.P.</i>
Gabriella Gabrielli	<i>G.G.</i>	Zsuzsanna Pongrácz	<i>Zs.P.</i>
Tamás Gesztelyi	<i>T.G.</i>	A. Rendić-Miočević	<i>A.R.-M.</i>
János Gömöri	<i>J.G.</i>	M. Šegvić	<i>M.Š.</i>
Jolán B. Horváth	<i>J.B.H.</i>	Ottó Sosztarits	<i>O.S.</i>
Franz Humer	<i>F.H.</i>	Emőke Szalai	<i>E.Sza.</i>
Werner Jobst	<i>W.J.</i>	Tihamér Szentlélek	<i>T.Sz.</i>
Irena Lazar	<i>I.L.</i>	Krisztina Szirmai	<i>K.Sz.</i>
László Kocsis	<i>L.K.</i>	Eszter Szőnyi	<i>E.Sző.</i>
Gabrielle Kremer	<i>G.K.</i>	Judit Topál	<i>J.T.</i>
Orsolya Madarassy	<i>O.M.</i>	Paula Zsidi	<i>P.Zs.</i>

## INTERPRETATION

### **Aequorna**

She belongs to the deities of the Northern Adriatic area and was the most important deity of Emona (Ljubljana) and its environment.

As early as in the Republican age the aldermen of the merchant settlement made a sanctuary built for her honour, to which three small votive altars may have belonged. Settlers from Emona in Savaria (Szombathely) dedicated an inscription to Aequorna as well.

### **Aquileia**

In the whole course of Pannonia's history Aquileia, the most important city of north-east Italy, played a special role as for Romanisation, culture, the diffusion of different religions and economical connections. Though the town did not belong to Pannonia, the major part of the religions widespread in Italy and in the Empire was transmitted through Aquileia.

That was the situation also in the 4th century, when the city had a leading role in the diffusion of Christianity in our area. Two years after the Edict of Constantine the Great, in 314, the church of two halls of the town was built, named later Theodoriana. These two halls formed the first and largest cathedral in this area. In the further architectural development of the church Oriental influences predominated.

In 1901 a relief came to light near to the basilica San Felice e Fortunato, which was regarded by the majority of specialists as a representation of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Today the possibility of a profane monument cannot be excluded; perhaps it represented two emperors or, if it was a religious monument, on ground of the site the two martyrs of Aquileia, Felix and Fortunatus. The 6th century text of Venantius Fortunatus relates beyond the historical and archaeological sources of a contemporaneous veneration. Following the dating of S. Tavano the slab could originate in the 4th or 5th decade of the 4th century. Most archaeologists agree that the basilica San Felice e Fortunato was built after 380, so that a different date can be considered as well: in 340 the battle fought among the sons of Constantine the Great took place along the river Alsa only a few kilometres from Aquileia. The two persons represented might be thus the victorious Constantine II and Constans.

### **Artebudz to Brogdos**

According to the incised text a person named Artebudz offered the vessel deposited in the grave to the border god Brogdos. (Poetovio, Western Cemetery, Grave 8, 2nd to 3rd century A.D.)

### **Traces of the religion of the Celts during the Roman period**

One century and a half after the Roman conquest (40 A.D.) in the province Pannonia the local population consisted partly of the indigenous Celts. The traces of their creed are, though, hard to find in this period. In the Roman Empire the local gods and goddesses were identified with the official Roman deities, so that the figure of an original Celtic god is rather dim. The individual Celtic tribes had deities of their own, who were not always identical with those of the neighbouring tribes.

The Celtic animal representations indicate a deity or his/her function. The boar is the symbol of fight, on the other hand it had an important role in the other-world, which is proven by the sepulchral sculpture or by the sacrificed animal, resp. the remnants of animals consumed at the funeral feast laid down in the grave itself. We find the stylized representation of the boar on the horse trappings of the chariot interments of the Roman period. The stag is connected, too, with the other-world, or else it symbolizes strength and wealth. The painted ornamental vessels of the Roman period are decorated with stags, representations of trees and solar motives (wheel), other-world symbols of the Celtic peoples and even of the earlier population.

According to Celtic belief the dead had to go a long way to reach the otherworld. Rich Eraviscans had about the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries burials with coaches and horses, richly equipped. People who could not afford this luxury, made the other-world journey carved on their tombstones. On these we see vehicles of two or four wheels, with horses, on the forage rack a servant girl sits.

### **Diana**

The goddess of hunt and the wild animals of the forest, virginal protector of the expectant mothers. The figure of the classical Diana was completed in Pannonia with features from the Balkans and West Europe as well as with local Celtic characteristics. In Carnuntum her small sanctuary came to light along the paved street of the town.

### **The sanctuary of the procuratorial palace**

In the imperial period the Emperor shared the adoration of the gods, his person symbolized the unity and unviolability of the Imperium Romanum. Sanctuaries of this official cult were unearthed in several places in Aquincum, so in the military town, in the procuratorial palace. At the entrance of the building, which had more levels than only one, a spacious sanctuary courtyard opened with a chapel and *fanum*. Taking up his post every procurator placed here a votive altar as expression of his fidelity to the State.

### **Hercules**

The Greek Herakles, son of Zeus and Alkmene, was born as a human being but with his heroic life, triumphing over all evil, merited immortality. He was the most popular, frequently represented hero of Graeco-Roman mythology. In Pannonia he was especially liked: during the menacing war of the 3rd century he was the symbol of the army, defending in heroic combats Italy and the whole Empire. He often occurs on the funerary sculpture as well, together with Alcestis, whom he led back to her husband from the realm of Death.

One of his Pannonian sanctuaries came to light in Ajka: it was built at the end of the 2nd century. In this time, during the reign of Septimius Severus – the Emperor who venerated in him the patron god of his birthplace, Lepcis Magna – the cult of Hercules arrived to a new flourishing.

### **Deities of the Indigenous inhabitants**

At the southern border station of Pannonia, at Topusko, in a hidden altar ensemble containing several altars dedicated to Silvanus one occurred with the names of Vidasus and Thana. The male-female divine couple named in the language of the illyrian-pannonian aborigines corresponds to Silvanus and Diana. On the Silvanus altar of Siscia the god bears the epitheton *magla*, which is from the language of the pre-roman celtic inhabitants.

### **Isis**

The cult of Isis and Osiris of Egyptian origin was widespread in Pannonia as early as in the 1st century. Isis belongs to the most important deities of the Egyptian religion, is the queen of the gods, a mother goddess, who gives wealth and luck on earth to her devotees promising them a happy other-world life. Her consort, Osiris, is the symbol of eternity, the god of other-world life, murdered by his brother Seth but resurrected by his wife.

### **Iseum**

For the alexandrian deities – Isis, Sarapis, Anubis and the Sphinxes – a large sacred district was built up in the eighties of the 2nd century in Colonia Claudia Savaria, to which a great colonnade was added in the early 3rd century, presumably on the occasion of the visit of the Emperor Septimius Severus. The courtyard formed and the building of the sanctuary (42x70 m) reflects alexandrian influence transmitted by Rome. The devotees of the cult were wealthy citizen, mainly merchants. The ceremonies of the Isis cult might have ceased in the early 4th century.

### **Iuppiter Dolichenus**

The sun god venerated in the Syrian Doliche, identified with Iuppiter. The beginning of his cult can be set on the age of the Emperor Hadrian, the early 2nd century. The cult was promoted in Pannonia by Syrian soldiers and merchants. He is a war-like god, represented in army clothes, standing on the back of a bull, in one hand a two-edged axe, in the other a thunderbolt. His golden age can be set to the period of the Severi, the late 2nd and early 3rd century. His sanctuaries, the dolichenums, so the earliest one in Carnuntum, that of Brigetio (Ószöny) and Vetus Salina (Adony) were situated in the neighbourhood of military camps. His sanctuaries were after 235 demolished.

The Dolichenus sanctuary of Vetus Salina (Adony) was built in the decades after the Markomannic Wars, at the end of the 2nd century. Its interior (6x17 m) was, on ground of the fragments of wall paintings and columns unearthed, divided. According to its measures the building had to be classified among the medium-sized sanctuaries on the Danube-Rhine limes. It was destroyed about 238: deliberately demolished, than set on fire.

In its inventory the most characteristic relics of the cult are the *signa*, triangular sheets with relief decoration. On ground of the signum holders there were 3 or 4 items, one of them the largest Dolichenus-triangle known. In the material of the Dolichena the Sol bust used as a badge and the horse statuette, belonging to the decoration of the carrying-char, occur for the first time.

### **Lararium**

In the domestic sanctuaries the statuettes of the tutelar deities of the family were kept; on certain days sacrifices – cakes, honey, wine – were offered to them, their statuettes were surrounded with wreaths. The place of the larariums was on the interior arcades of the house, in the dining-room or in the small niche on the kitchen wall.

The richest lararium of Pannonia was found at Nagydém – presumably on the territory of a villa, with bronze statuettes of the 1st century, coming from Italy.

### **Liber-Libera**

Liber pater is one of the most ancient Italian deity, the patron of Nature and fertility, represented with grapes. The deity was identified from the 1st century A.D. on with the Greek Dionysos. The companion of Liber is Libera, holding a fruit basket. The Liberalia were held in every spring on March 17. In Illyricum Liber pater was brought in connection with the local, indigenous deities. Their cult became popular in Pannonia in the early 3rd century.

### **Popular religion, magic beliefs**

The ancient magic beliefs and ceremonies belonged even as late as in the imperial period to the everyday religion. The jewellery worn around the neck, the bullas, amulets, further rings and lead-framed mirrors had apotropaic character.

### **Magna Mater (Kybele)**

A fertility and mother goddess of Asia Minor, Phrygia. Her cult appeared in the province soon, together with her young divine pederos and lover, Attis, the dying and resurrecting god, symbol of the rebirth of vegetation. On their feast between April 4 and 10 their myth was revived, on whose course the priests castrated themselves, the initiated devotees washed themselves in the blood of the sacrificed bull, gaining thus the possibility of purification and rebirth. Attis, as the symbol of rebirth, is a frequent figure of the Pannonian funeral sculpture.

### **The malediction tablet**

Malediction and magic tablets were placed in sanctuaries or on graves. The persons who ordered the inscriptions engraved or incised in lead tablets called down curses on their enemies, antagonists, business rivals in the form of petitions directed to the nether world deities. The text of a Greek inscription found in the Eastern Cemetery of Savaria is: *Abrasarx, I hand over to you Adiectos, son of Kupeita, that as long as the (tablet) lays here, he should not do anything, but as you are dead, he should live with you the whole time.* (Translated by Dóra Gáspár).

### **Mercurius**

We met his relics in all civil settlements of the province. He was the protector of itinerants both in their life and after their death, as *psychopompos*. He was represented with a winged cap on his head and the *caduceus*, staff of heralds, entwined with snakes and foliage. We often find a money-bag in his hand: he helped the security, welfare of the Roman citizen.

### **Minerva**

One of the three Capitoline deities defending Rome and the Roman Empire, she represented among the gods the arts, sciences and crafts. She was traditionally represented in helmet, breast-plate and shield, bearing a lance. She was the goddess of ingeniously fought war as well.

### **Mithras**

Mithras, a god of Persian (Iranian) origin, was, from the 2nd century on, among all Oriental deities the most popular in Pannonia. Mithras is the god of Light, a benevolent and omnivident deity who overcomes darkness and malignity. On the cult representations of his sanctuaries we see Mithras kneeling on the back of the bull representing darkness and the evil principle stabbing it to death. This religion with a world concept of its own becomes in the course of the 3rd century more and more popular turning into the most vigorous rival of Christianity. The traces of his cult are demonstrable in the province as late as the 4th century.

The cult of Mithras was flourishing both in military and civil circles, especially in three centres of the province (Poetovio, Carnuntum, Aquincum) and in their environment.



### **Nemesis**

The devotees of Nemesis, the goddess of Fate, came mainly from the soldiers and gladiators. When excavating all Pannonian amphitheatres – those of Carnuntum, Scarbantia, Aquincum – sanctuaries of Nemesis were uncovered. In the civil town of Aquincum a Nemesis sanctuary was built to the exit of the amphitheatre towards the gladiator barracks at a later date. The collapsed sanctuary preserved the inventory of the cult, twelve altar stones, fragments of statues and building inscriptions. The earliest date mentions a festivity on August 20, 162, when the sanctuary was consecrated on the birthday of the goddess. Of two further inscriptions one mentions a restoring of the sanctuary on April 24, 214, the other on April 24, 259; this feast the goddess shared with Fortuna. On the first occasion the festivities took place in the presence of Emperor Caracalla and the dowager empress, on the second one in that of Emperor Regalianus.

### **The cult of the Nutrices**

The Latin word *nutrix* means a wet nurse. The cult of mother- and nurse-goddesses can be found, like in the religious life of the Celts of the West, also in Pannonia. Frequent relics of it are the devotional objects made of pottery and lead, found on several places. The cult of these goddesses had a special form in Poetovio, most of the relics came from here. The cult popular in all strata of the civic society had several sanctuaries here. On the representations of the votive reliefs the nursing goddess occurs accompanied by several female figures. On the inscriptions the parents make vows for their children, they are directed to several goddesses, as in the cult of the Western Celtic mother goddesses, the *Matres*.

### **The Nymphs**

The most beautiful relics of the cult of the Nymphs in Southern Pannonia came from the bathing resort Aquae Iasae (Varaždinske Toplice), which was famous already in Antiquity. The names on the inscriptions give evidence that it were the well-to-do citizens of the province, the leaders of the state government who underwent a treatment at the mineral waters of the small town. The Nymphs were represented, similarly to the Three Graces, usually keeping tightly together. The young girls wear long mantles coming down from the girdle in folds or are represented as nudes, holding shells in their laps. The Nymphs are nature deities, bright, young women bringing blessing and fertility. They dwelt in groves, trees and waters and cured with the divine force of thermal and mineral springs. The forum of Aquincum was decorated with the figures of the *Nymphae perennes*, i.e. the deities of ever bubbling springs and rivers.

### **Deities of the roads**

Along the Amber Road of high importance, connecting the Adria with the Danube, altar stones of different gods and goddesses of the roads came to light.

#### **Altars of the gods of travelling – Savaria (Szombathely, Fő-tér)**

Two big limestone altars next to each other were found during a rescue excavation in the southern part of the inner city of Savaria surrounded with walls in October 1992. The disturbings of the modern times, which cross one another, made the circumstances of discovery unobservable. The stones were surely dug into the bank of the earthwork of the Roman city wall. The altar pieces might get here from a near shrine. This is supported also by the fact that beside the stones a bronze tintinnabulum used for ceremonies was found, too. From the cults related to the roads and travelling the worship of Triviae and Quiriviae were wide-spread in Pannonia. A special type of the Silvanus cult, Silvanus viator defending the travellers being out, was spread in the northern and western parts of the province. Mainly personal belongings as rings and bulls are the relics of viator Silvanus' cult. This religious thinking appears very rarely in stone inscriptions. Among them the inscription erected to Semitatrix, the god of the path is remarkable. It was found also in Savaria but, sorry, got lost (*CIL* III 4147. *RIU* 38). The dedication of the two altar pieces from Fő-tér has been unknown in the literature of history of religion. As the cultic bell and the two inscriptions came to the light together it may be supposed that the two altar pieces not only belonged to the same shrine and connected with each other but the *Dii Itinerarii* in the first inscription can be identified with Itunus and Ituna, the man-woman god-pair in the second inscription. So the two inscriptions are precious relics of the mostly local, native religious thinkings relating to the roads and travelling.

L.B.-O.S.

### **Sabazios**

The cult of the Phrygian-Dacian deity gained ground in the Roman Empire from the 2nd century on. He was the god of fertility and agriculture, originally a healing god. For his cult the hand, covered with magic symbols, represented in the liturgical gesture of benediction and offered as a votive, was characteristic.

In the centre of the everyday ceremonies of the initiated, the members of the community, the showing up of the Nile water stood (happy eternal life after death). On their November festivities their myth was revived. On their processions the close-cropped priests marched in white gowns, playing an instrument – their gods were visualized by animal masks.

### **Silvanus**

The most widespread of the local cults in Pannonia, the cult of this rural deity was introduced by Italian immigrants in the 1st century. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries it spread also along the limes, where its cult was enriched with Celtic and Western elements so that the god became the protector of the smallholders' family ground, the keeper of property and the confines. He was represented with a pruning knife or bill-hook, a foliated branch or fruit in his hand, and was accompanied by a dog.

His relics are: altars, reliefs, statues, lead votive objects, pottery. He appears together with his female counterparts, the *Silvanae*, *Nutrices* or with Diana. His cult was amalgamated with that of the *Lares* and Mercurius, as the helper of travellers, as *psychopompos* i.e. escort for the other-world journey.

### **Sol**

The cult of the Sun god came into the foreground in the 3rd century, when a demand for unifying the different religions and forming an official state religion was raised. After the unsuccessful attempt of Elagabalus (218-222) the Emperor Aurelianus introduced the cult once again. The official, state feast of the religion strongly interwoven with the emperors' cult was set on December 25, the winter solstice, being the birthday of the god. The cult of Sol was especially popular in the army.

### **Sucellus**

The "good hammerman", is a god with a hammer as attribute, whose cult is known, beyond some Pannonian representations, primarily from Gallia, is a Celtic divinity.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABRAMIČ, 1925  
*AIJ*
- ALFÖLDI 1920-22  
 ALFÖLDI 1938
- ALFÖLDI 1939  
 ALFÖLDI jun. 1943  
*Antička bronca* 1969  
*Antički portret* 1987  
*Antički teatar* 1979  
*Aquileia Aquincum* 1995
- BÁNKI 1972
- BÁNKI 1981
- BÁNKI 1985
- BÁNKI 1987
- BÁNKI 1988
- BÁNKI 1990
- BÁNKI 1994
- BARKÓCZI 1951  
 BARKÓCZI 1964
- BARKÓCZI 1965
- BARKÓCZI et al. 1977
- BECK-BOL 1984
- BELLA 1894  
 BILKEI 1979
- BÓNIS 1952
- BÓNIS 1983  
 BRATANIČ 1952  
 BRATANIČ 1959  
 BREŠČAK 1982  
 BRUNŠMID 1895-1896
- BRUNŠMID 1899-1900a
- BRUNŠMID 1899-1900b  
 BRUNŠMID 1902
- BRUNŠMID 1904-1911
- BRUNŠMID 1913/1914
- M. ABRAMIČ, *Poetovio*. Ptuj.
- V. HOFFILLER – B. SARIA, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien, I., Noricum und Pannonia Superior*. Zagreb, 1938.
- A. ALFÖLDI, *Kapitóliumok Pannoniában*. AÉrt, XXXIX, 12-14.
- A. ALFÖLDI, *Tonmodel und Reliefmedaillons aus den Donauländern*.  
 LA, I. = DissPann, II/10, 312-341.
- A. ALFÖLDI, *Epigraphica II*. AÉrt, LI, 101-113, 262-267.
- A. ALFÖLDI jun., *Adatok Szombathely településtörténetéhez*. AÉrt, III/4, 71-86.
- Antička bronca u Jugoslaviji 1844-1969, exhibition catalogue*. Belgrade.
- Antički portret u Jugoslaviji, exhibition catalogue*. Belgrade.
- Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije – katalog izložbe*. Novi Sad.
- Aquileia Aquincum*. Budapest.
- ZS. BÁNKI, *Bronzes romains (La collection du Musée Roi Saint Étienne)*. Székesfehérvár.
- ZS. BÁNKI, *Heiligtum ds Iuppiter Dolichenus in Vetus Salina*.  
 AlbaR, XIX, 95-133.
- ZS. BÁNKI, *Forschungen in Gorsium in den Jahren 1981/82*.  
 AlbaR, XXII, 120-147, 154-158.
- ZS. BÁNKI, *Forschungen in Gorsium in den Jahren 1983/84*.  
 AlbaR, XXIII, 199-216, 224-239.
- ZS. BÁNKI, *Venus Pudica und Jupiter Statuetten aus Gorsium*. Akten der 10.Tagung über antike Bronzen. Freiburg 18-22. Juli 1988, 37-40.
- ZS. BÁNKI, *Forschungen in Gorsium in den Jahren 1985/86*.  
 AlbaR, XXIV, 100-108, 115-135.
- ZS. BÁNKI, *Forschungen in Gorsium in den Jahren 1987-89*.  
 AlbaR, XXV, 343-368, 375-387, 390-398.
- L. BARKÓCZI, *Brigetio*. DissPann. II/22.
- L. BARKÓCZI, *The Population of Pannonia from Marcus Aurelius to Diocletian*.  
 AArchHung. XVI, 257-356.
- L. BARKÓCZI *New data on the history of Late Roman Brigetio*.  
 AAntHung, XIII, 215-257.
- L. BARKÓCZI-L. CASTIGLIONE-M. SZABÓ-T. SZENTLÉLEKI-J. GY. SZILÁGYI,  
*Antik művészet a debreceni Déri Múzeumból és más magyar gyűjteményekből*. Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-arts  
 XLVII-XLVIII, 8. 3., 180.
- H. BECK-P. C. BOL, (ed.) *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*. Ausstellung im Liebighaus Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main, 1984.
- L. BELLA, *Scarbantiai emlékekről*. AÉrt, XIV, 74-76.
- I. BILKEI, *Die griechischen Inschriften des römischen Ungarns*.  
 AlbaR, XVIII, 23-48.
- É. B. BÓNIS, *Későhellénisztikus edénycsoport elterjedése a római tartományokban. Die Verbreitung einer Gruppe von späthellenistischen Reliefgefäßen in der römischen Provinzen*. AÉrt, LXXIX, 23-32.
- É. B. BÓNIS, *Der kaiserzeitliche Bronzefund von Zomba*. FolArch, XXXIV, 93-122.
- R. BRATANIČ, *Rimske najdbe iz Poetovione*. AArchSlov, III/2, 301.
- R. BRATANIČ, *Rimske najdbe iz Poetovione*. AArchSlov, III/2, 302.
- D. BREŠČAK, *Antično bronasto posodje Slovenije*. Situla XXII/1, 53.
- J. BRUNŠMID, *Arheološke bilješke iz Dalmacije i Panonije*.  
*Pannonia Inferior I*. VHAD, n.s., I, 148-183.
- J. BRUNŠMID, *Arheološke bilješke iz Dalmacije i Panonije III*.  
 VHAD, n.s., IV, 181-201.
- J. BRUNŠMID, *Colonia Aelia Mursa*. VHAD, n.s., IV, 1895-1896, 21-42.
- J. BRUNŠMID, *Colonia Aurelia Cibalae, Vinkovci u staro doba*.  
 VHAD, n.s., VI, 117-166
- J. BRUNŠMID, *Kameni spomenici Hrvatskog narodnoga muzeja u Zagrebu, dio I. Antikni spomenici*. Zagreb.
- J. BRUNŠMID, *Antikni figuralni bronzani predmeti u Hrvatskom narodnom muzeju u Zagrebu*. VHAD, n.s.XIII, 207-268.

- BUÓCZ 1991a  
 BUÓCZ 1991b  
 BUÓCZ 1992  
 BUÓCZ – SZENTLÉLEKY 1991  
 BURGER 1991  
 CIL III  
 ČABRIAN et al. 1973  
 CSERMÉNYI – THOMAS 1982  
 CUMONT 1869-1899  
 CUMONT 1893  
 DAUTOVA – RUŠEVLJAN 1983  
 DÉRI 1922  
 DIEZ 1961  
 DINER 1883  
 EICHNER – ISTENIČ –  
 LOVENJAK 1994  
 ERDÉLYI 1935  
 ERDÉLYI 1971/72  
 ERDÉLYI 1974  
 ERDÉLYI 1976  
 ERDÉLYI – FÜLEP 1954  
 FARKAS – GABLER 1994  
 FISCHBACH 1896  
 FITZ 1957  
 FITZ 1963/64  
 FITZ 1965/66  
 FITZ 1976  
 FITZ 1982  
 FITZ 1983  
 FITZ 1989  
 FITZ 1993  
 FITZ 1993-95  
 FITZ 1997  
 FRÖHLICH 1891  
 FÜLEP 1949  
 FÜLEP 1954  
 FÜLEP 1984  
 T. BUÓCZ., *A Járdányi Paulovics István Romkert helyreállítási és feltárási munkái (I-III.sz.)*. Savaria, XX/1, 13-25.  
 T. BUÓCZ., *Das Bruchstück eines Mercurius-Votivreliefs von Savaria*. in: 2. Internationales Kolloquium über Probleme des provincialrömischen Kunstschaffens. Veszprém, 183-198.  
 T. BUÓCZ., *Die Gebäude des Ruinengartens aus dem 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Carnuntum Jahrbuch, 9-22.  
 T. BUÓCZ – SZENTLÉLEKY, *Romkert-Ruinengarten*. Vas Megyei Múzeumok Katalógusai 145. Szombathely.  
 A. SZ. BURGER, *Die Skulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Sopianae und der Limesstrecke Lussonium-Altinum*. CSIR/Ungarn, VII. Budapest.  
 Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. ed. Th. Mommsen, Berlin, 1863  
 J. ČABRIAN – M. GORENC – B. VIKIĆ, *Pregled povijesti Varaždinskih Toplica*. Zagreb, 2-32 (= drugo, ispravljeno i dopunjeno izdanje časopisa Vijesti Muzealaca, XV/5, 1966).  
 V. CSERMÉNYI – E. THOMAS, *Római bronzművesség Pannóniában. Römische Bronzeindustrie in Pannonien*. Székesfehérvár  
 F. CUMONT, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*. Bruxelles.  
 F. CUMONT, *Mithras- emlékek Magyarországon*. AÉrt, XIII, 289-299.  
 V. DAUTOVA – RUŠEVLJAN, *Rimska kamena plastika u jugoslovenskom delu provincije Donje Panonije*. Novi Sad.  
 F. DÉRI, *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum gyűjteményeinek leírása*. Debrecen.  
 E. DIEZ, *Die Hadrianbüste in Ptuj*. Situla, IV, 49.  
 J. DINER, *Epigraphischer Fundbericht*. AEM, VII, 84-106.  
 H. EICHNER, – J. ISTENIČ – M. LOVENJAK, *Ein römerzeitliches Keramikgefäß aus Ptuj (Pettau Poetovio) in Slowenien mit Inschrift in unbekannten Alphabet und epichorischer (vermutlich keltischer) Sprache*. AArchSlov, XLV, 131, fig. 1.  
 G. ERDÉLYI, *Római bronz szobrocskák Óbudáról a MNM-ban*. AÉrt, XLVIII, 103-114.  
 G. ERDÉLYI, *A pannoniai kapitolumi triász-együttesek*. Savaria, V-VI, 223-229.  
 G. ERDÉLYI, *A római kőfaragás és kőszobrászat Magyarországon*. Budapest.  
 G. ERDÉLYI, *Das Relief von Intercisa "Diana im Bad"*, in: VÁGÓ – BÓNA 1976, 241-242.  
 G. ERDÉLYI – F. FÜLEP, *Kömlék-katalógus*. In: Intercisa (Dunapentele-Sztálinváros) története a római korban I. AHung, XXXIII, 233-276.  
 Z. FARKAS – D. GABLER, *Die Skulpturen des Stadtgebiete von Scarbantia und der Limesstrecke Ad Flexum-Arrabona*. CSIR/Ungarn, II, 29-31, 2-3. t..  
 O. FISCHBACH, *Römische Lampen aus Poetovio*. Mittheilungen des Historischen Vereins für Steiermark XLIV.  
 J. FITZ, *Bronzestatuetten*. AHung, XXXVI, 165-171.  
 J. FITZ, *A barackai Hercules szobor. Die Hercules Statue von Baracska*. AlbaR, IV/V, 225.  
 J. FITZ, *Gorsium. Vierter Bericht über die Ausgraben in der römerzeitlichen Siedlung bei Tác 1963-1964*. AlbaR, VI/VII, 153-164.  
 J. FITZ, *Gorsium-Herculia*. Székesfehérvár.  
 J. FITZ, *The Great Age of Pannonia (A.D. 193-284)*. Budapest.  
 J. FITZ, *Vezető Gorsiumban*. Székesfehérvár.  
 J. FITZ, *Prosopographische Bemerkungen zu den Inschriften aus dem Mithras Heiligtum im Legionslager von Aquincum*. AArchHung, XLI, 93-98.  
 J. FITZ, *Templum provinciae in Gorsium?* BpR, XXX, 161-176.  
 J. FITZ, *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit*. Bp., I-IV.  
 J. FITZ, *Area sacra des niederpannonischen Kaiserkultes in Gorsium*. AlbaR, XXVII, 61-73.  
 R. FRÖHLICH, *Aquincumnak római feliratai*. BpR, III, 143-167.  
 F. FÜLEP, *Római kocsitemetkezés Vajtán*. AÉrt, LXXVI, 40-54.  
 F. FÜLEP, *Epigráfia*. In: Intercisa (Dunapentele-Sztálinváros) története a római korban I. AHung, XXXIII, 194-229.  
 F. FÜLEP, *Sopianae. The History of Pécs during the Roman Era and the Problem of Continuity of the Late Roman Population*. AHung, XXX.

- GABLER 1969 D. GABLER, *Scarbantia és környékének római kőplasztikai emlékei. Stone Plastic Finds at Scarbantia and in its Surroundings*. Arrabona, XI, 7-9.
- GÁSPÁR 1986 D. GÁSPÁR, *Römische Kästchen aus Pannonien*. MittArchInst, XV/1-2.
- GÁSPÁR 1989 D. GÁSPÁR, *Lituus vagy baculus vagy...? - Lituus or baculus or...?* FolArch, XL, 40, 103-111.
- GÁSPÁR 1990 D. GÁSPÁR, *Eine griechische Fluchttafel aus Savaria*. Tyche, V, 13-16.
- GÁSPÁR (MS) D. GÁSPÁR, *Átoktábla Savariából*. (manuscript).
- GAUL 1890 K. GAUL, *Ókori kocsi helyreállítása*. AÉrt, X, 97-126.
- GORENC et al. 1952 M. GORENC – J. TADIJANOVIĆ – G. SZABO, *Antikna skulptura u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb.
- GORENC 1969 M. GORENC, *Varaždinske Toplice-antičko nalazište Aquae Iasae*. AP, XI, 181-183.
- GORENC 1971 M. GORENC, *Antičko kiparstvo jugoistočnešt [ tajerske i rimska umjetnost Norika i Panonije*. VAMZ, 3. sr. V sr., 15-.
- GORENC 1975 M. GORENC, *Minerva iz Varaždinskih Toplica:njezinapreli-minarna integracija*. VAMZ, 3. ser., sv. IX (s.v. Izložbe), (1976), 171-172.
- GORENC 1981 M. GORENC, *Nimfej iz Varaždinskih Toplica (Aqua Iasae)-Arhitektonsko skulptursko ostvarenje obrednog prikazanja*. Antički teatar, Saopštenja sa naučnog skupa. Novi Sad, 197-204.
- GORENC 1983-1984 M. GORENC, *Minerva iz Varaždinskih Toplica i njezin majstor*. VAMZ, 3. ser., vol. XVI-XVII, , 95-108.
- GORENC –VIKIĆ 1968 M. GORENC – B. VIKIĆ, *Varaždinske Toplice (Aqua Iasae) arheološka istraživanja u 1968. godini*, AP 10, 119-121.
- GORENC – VIKIĆ 1975 M. GORENC – B. VIKIĆ, *Das fünfundzwanzigjährige Jubiläum der Untersuchungen der antiken Lokalität Aquae Iasae (Varaždinske Toplice)*. AI XVI, MCMLXXV, 32-50.
- GORENC – VIKIĆ 1980 M. GORENC – B. VIKIĆ, *Varaždinske Toplice-Aqua Iasae u antičko doba*. Varaždinske Toplice.
- HAJDUK – LUETIĆ 1981 S. HAJDUK – A. LUETIĆ, *Povijest naselja i razvoj balneološko-medicinske djelatnosti u Varaždinskim Toplicama*. Varaždinske Toplice.
- HAJNÓCZI 1987 GY. HAJNÓCZI, *Pannonia római romjai*. Budapest.
- HAJNÓCZI 1995 GY. HAJNÓCZI, *Pannonia Antiqua*. Budapest.
- HAMPEL 1881 J. HAMPEL, *Intézetek és gyűjtemények*. AÉrt, I,
- HAMPEL 1890 J. HAMPEL, *Sabariai leletek*. AÉrt, IX, 95.
- HAMPEL 1891 J. HAMPEL, *Aquincumi temetők*. BpR, III, 49-139.
- HAMPEL 1892 J. HAMPEL, *Az eraviscus nép és emlékei*. BpR, IV, 33-72.
- HAMPEL 1903 J. HAMPEL, *Emlékek és leletek-Lovas istenségek dunavidéki antik emlékeken*. AÉrt, XXIII, 305-365.
- HEKLER 1908a A. HEKLER, *Márványfej és bronzmaszk a Nemzeti Múzeumban*. AÉrt, XXVIII, 231-238.
- HEKLER 1908b A. HEKLER, *Jelentés a Nemzeti Múzeum 1908. évi állapotáról*. 174-182.
- HEKLER 1910 A. HEKLER, *A Nemzeti Múzeum dunapentelei ásatásai 1908-ban és 1909-ben*. AÉrt, XXX, 28-38.
- HEKLER 1913 A. HEKLER, *Római bronz emlék a Nemzeti Múzeumban*. AÉrt, XXXIII, 210-231, 286-287.
- HEKLER 1928 A. HEKLER, *Budapester Antiken*. AAnz, 251-266.
- HELBIG 1963 W. HELBIG, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen Klassischer Altertümer in Rom*. 4. Ausg.
- HOFFILLER 1902 V. HOFFILLER, *Thraci konjanik*. VHAD, n.s., VI, 192-209.
- HOFFILLER 1905 V. HOFFILLER, *Olovna pločica sa reljefom iz Divoša*. VHAD n.s. VIII, 204-207.
- HOFFILLER 1935 V. HOFFILLER, *Novi tračko-mitrički votivni reljefi*. VHAD, n.s., XVI, 61-66.
- HORVAT 1910 R. HORVAT, *Slike iz hrvatske povijesti*. Zagreb.
- HUMER – JOBST 1990 F. HUMER – W. JOBST, *Das antike Stadtviertel bei Schloß Petronell*.
- HUMER – JOBST 1995 F. HUMER – W. JOBST, *Archäologischer Park Carnuntum. Rundgang durch die Ausgrabungen und das Archäologische Museum Carnuntinum*. Inscriptiones Latinae selectae I-III. ed. H. Dessau, Berlin 1892-1916
- ILS A. et J. ŠAŠEL, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia reperta et editae sunt*. Situla, V, 1963; XIX, 1978; XXV, 1986.
- ILJ I. ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ, *Rimske votivne pločice od olova u Jugoslaviji (Prilog tipologiji i rasprostiranju)*. OA VI, 49-68.
- ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 1966 D. IVÁNYI, *Pannonische Lampen*. DissPann, II/2.
- IVÁNYI 1935 JEVREMOV B., *Vodnik po lapidariju*. Ptuj.
- JEVREMOV 1988 W. JOBST, *Der Pfaffenberg als Sacer Mons Karnuntinus*. in: ANRW, II/6, 701-.
- JOBST 1976 W. JOBST, *11. Juni 172 n. Chr. Der Tag des Blitz- und Regenwunders im Quadenlande*. SAWW, CCCXXXV.
- JOBST 1978

- JOBST 1979 W. JOBST, *Der Pfaffenberg Jupiters Heiligtum in Niederösterreich*. "morgen", IX, 242-.
- JOBST 1992 W. JOBST, *Carnuntum I. Das Erbe Roms an der Donau*. Katalog der Ausstellung der Archäologischen Museums-Carnuntinum, 162-170.
- KÁDÁR 1962 Z. KÁDÁR, *A szombathelyi bacchikus elefántcsont szobor. La statua bacchica d'avorio di Savaria*. *FoArch*, XIV, 41-48, 49-50.
- KADI 1983-1984 M. KADI, *Fotogrametrijska obrada tipa Minerve iz Varaždinskih Toplica*. *VAMZ*, 3. ser., vol. XVI-XVII, 109-110.
- KERÉNYI 1938 K. KERÉNYI, *Die Göttin Diana im nördlichen Pannonien*. *Pannonia*, 203-221.
- KNIFIC 1995 T. KNIFIC, *Vojšćaki iz mesta Karnija*. *Kranjski zbornik*.
- KOCSIS 1989 L. KOCSIS, *Inschriften aus dem Mithras-Heiligtum des Hauses des tribunus laticlavus im Legionslager von Aquincum aus dem 2-3. Jahrhundert*. *AArchHung*, XLI, 41, 81-92.
- KUZSINSZKY 1890 B. KUZSINSZKY, *Az aquincumi ásatások. 1882-1884 és 1889*. *BpR.*, II, 77-160.
- KUZSINSZKY 1891 B. KUZSINSZKY, *Az aquincumi amphitheatrum*. *BpR.*, III, 82-139.
- KUZSINSZKY 1932 B. KUZSINSZKY, *A gázgyári római fazekastelep Aquincumban. Das große römische Töpferviertel in Aquincum*. *BpR*, XI, 5-384.
- KUZSINSZKY 1934 B. KUZSINSZKY, *Aquincum. Ausgrabungen und Funde*. Budapest.
- LÁNG 1941 N. LÁNG, *Das Dolichenum von Brigetio*. *LA II. = DissPann*, II/11, 165-181.
- LÁNG 1946-48 N. LÁNG, *Die Dolichenus Votivhand des Budapester Nationalmuseums*. *AErt*, III/7-9, 183-188.
- LASZOWSKI 1910 E. LASZOWSKI, *Plemenita općina Turopolje*. Zagreb.
- LJUBIČ 1879 Š. LJUBIČ, *Aquae Jasae (Toplice Varaždinske)*. *VHAD I/2*, 33-43
- LJUBIČ 1883 Š. LJUBIČ, *Andautonia (Šćitarjevo), i započetak izkapanja od strannar. zem. muzeja na onom tlu*. *VHAD V/1*, 1-13
- LOŽAR 1936 R. LOŽAR, *Čaša bogov iz Črnelega*. *Glasnik muzejskega društva za Slovenijo*, XVI, 97.
- LOŽAR 1938 R. LOŽAR, *Zakladna najdba iz Polhovega Gradca*. *Glasnik muzejskega društva za Slovenijo*, XIX, 85.
- LÖRINCZ 1975 B. LÖRINCZ, *Vezető a Dunaújvárosi Múzeum kőtárához*. *IKMK*, D.98.
- MADARASSY 1991a O. MADARASSY, *A mithraeum falfestménye*. *BpR*, XXVIII, 123-126.
- MADARASSY 1991b O. MADARASSY, *Die bemalte Kultwand im Mithräum des Legionslagers von Aquincum*. *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, XXIV, 207-211.
- MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1994 N. MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ, *Granica na Dunavu u antičko doba -velika seoba naroda*. in: Vukovar, 8.
- MANTUANI 1914 J. MANTUANI, *O nedavno najdeni votivni roki*. *Carniola*, V, 192.
- MAROSI 1917 A. MAROSI, *A Székesfehérvári Múzeum dunapentelei régiségei*. *AErt*, XXXVII, 1-7, 271.
- MAROSI 1939 A. MAROSI, *Fejér megye népe és vallási viszonyai a római uralom idején*. *SzSz*, IX, 23-27.
- MARÓTI – VADAY 1980 É. T. MARÓTI – A. H. VADAY, *Kora császárkori figurális díszítésű, festett kerámia Pannoniában és a szarmata barbaricumban. (Frühkaiserzeitliche bemalte Keramik mit figuraler Verzierung in Pannonien und im sarmatischen Barbaricum)*. *Studia Comitatus*, IX, 9. 79-94.
- MILCH 1901 A. MILCH, *A bregetiumi Iuppiter-Dolychenus szentély*. *A Komárom vármegyei és városi Múzeumegyesület 1900. évi értesítője*, 28-35.
- MÓCSY 1956 A. MÓCSY, *Két Silvanus oltárkő Sopronhidáról*. *Soproni Szemle*, X, 344-346.
- MÓCSY 1959 A. MÓCSY, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*. Budapest.
- NAGY L. 1930 L. NAGY, *A tatái ókeresztény aranygyűrű*. *AErt*, XLIV, 243-246.
- NAGY 1931a L. NAGY, *Keresztény-római emlékek Magyarország területéről*. *AErt*, XLV, 29-42.
- NAGY L. 1931b L. NAGY, *Az óbuda cella trichora a Raktár utcában*. Budapest.
- NAGY L. 1934 L. NAGY, *I ricordi cristiano trovati recentemente in Ungheria*. *Atti del III. Congresso Internazionale de Archeologia Christiana*. Ravenna, 25-30. settembre 1932. Roma, 293-310.
- NAGY L. 1938 L. NAGY, *Pannonia sacra*. In: Szent István Emlékkönyv. Budapest, 31-148.
- NAGY L. 1941 L. NAGY, *Szépművészet II*, 295.
- NAGY L. 1942 L. NAGY, *Művészetek*. Budapest története, I. Bp. 579-650.
- NAGY M. 1992 M. NAGY, in: *A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum*. (Szerk.: Fodor I.-Lengyel B.) Budapest.
- NAGY T. 1942 T. NAGY, *Vallási élet Aquincumban*. in: Budapest az ókorban, 387-426.
- NAGY T. 1950 T. NAGY, *A sárkeszi mithraeum és az aquincumi Mithra emlékek*. *BpR*, XV, 77-88.
- NAGY T. 1971 T. NAGY, *Kőfaragás és szobrászat Aquincumban*. *BpR*, XXII, 103-160.
- NÉMETH 1991 M. NÉMETH, *Ein Mithras-Sol Relief aus Aquincum*. In: 2. Internationales Kolloquium über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens, Veszprém,



- OROSZLÁN 1920-22 Z. OROSZLÁN, *Kiadatlan pannoniai provinciális kőemlékek a MNM-ban.* AÉrt, XXXIX, 1-11.
- PALÁGYI 1976 S. K. PALÁGYI – S. TÓTH, *Római és középkori kőtár katalógusa. [Katalog des römischen und mittelalterlichen Lapidariums]* Tihanyi Múzeum, Veszprém.
- PAULOVICS 1935a I. PAULOVICS, *Dionysosi menet (Thiasos) Magyarországi római emlékeken.* AÉrt, XLVIII, 54-102, 48-253.
- PAULOVICS 1935b I. PAULOVICS, *Római kispasztikai műhely Pannoniában. – De quadam officina in Pannonia olim florenti, qua artes effectivae minores exercebantur.* Pannonia, 21-27, 398.
- PAULOVICS 1938 I. PAULOVICS, *Vezető a régészeti gyűjteményben (Führer zur archäologischen Sammlung).* Budapest.
- PAULOVICS 1940 I. PAULOVICS, *Savaria capitoliuma. – Il capitolino di Savaria (Szombathely)* AÉrt, III/1, 19-47.
- PAULOVICS 1941 I. PAULOVICS, *Funde und Forschungen in Brigetio (Ószóny).* DissPann II/11. = LA II, 118-164.
- PAULOVICS 1951 I. PAULOVICS, *Tábori szentély felirata Dunapenteléről. – Eine Inschrift des Fahrenheiligtums von Dunapentele.* AÉrt, LXXVIII, 21-23.
- PETRES 1972 É. F. PETRES, *On celtic animal and human sacrifices.* AArchHung, XXIV, 365-383.
- PETRES 1975 É. F. PETRES, *Angaben zum römerzeitlichen Fortleben der keltischen Plastik in Pannonien.* AlbaR, XIV, 225-234.
- PETRU P. – PETRU S. P. PETRU – S. PETRU, *Neviodunum (Drnovo pri Krškem).* Katalogi in 1972 monografije XV, 69, t. 26.
- PETRU P. – PETRU S. P. PETRU – S. PETRU, *Neviodunum (Drnovo pri Krškem).* Katalogi in 1978 monografije, XV. 15.
- PETRU S. 1972 S. PETRU, *Emonske nekropole. Katalogi in monografije.* XIV.
- PINTEROVIĆ 1954 D. PINTEROVIĆ, *Najnoviji nalazi iz Dalja, značajnog arheološkog nalazišta.* OZ, IV, 19-31.
- PINTEROVIĆ 1960 D. PINTEROVIĆ, *Mursa za dinastije Severa.* OZ, VII, 32-34.
- PINTEROVIĆ 1962 D. PINTEROVIĆ, *O rimskoj bronci s terena Osijeka i okolice.* OZ, VIII, 71-152.
- PINTEROVIĆ 1978 D. PINTEROVIĆ, *Mursa i njeno područje u antičko doba.* Osijek.
- Pismo brez pisave* 1991 *Pismo brez pisave, exhibition catalogue.* Ljubljana.
- PISO 1991 I. PISO, *Inschriften vom Pfaffenberg und der Bereich der Canabae legionis* Tyche, VI, 131-.
- I. PISO (in print) I. PISO, *Die Inschriften vom Pfaffenberg in Carnuntum.*
- PÓCZY 1952 K. PÓCZY, *Festett állatalakos edények Aquincumban (Vases peints au musée d'Aquincum).* AÉrt, LXXIX, 99-107.
- PÓCZY, 1965 K. PÓCZY, *Sopron római kori emlékei.* Budapest.
- PÓCZY 1972 K. PÓCZY, *Aquincum első aquaeductusa. (Le premier aqueduc d'Aquincum).* AÉrt, XCIX, 15-32.
- PÓCZY 1976 K. PÓCZY, *Investigation of the Aquincum Legionary Camp and the restoration of its Ruins.* BpR, XXIV, 27-30.
- PÓCZY 1977 K. PÓCZY, *Scarbantia.* Budapest.
- PÓCZY 1980 K. PÓCZY, *Szenterületek Aquincum és Brigetio aquaeductusánál. (Sanctuaires près des aqueducs d'Aquincum et de Brigetio).* AÉrt, CVII, 3, 3. sz.,
- PRASCHNIKER 1936-37 K. PRASCHNIKER, *Die kapitolinische Trias von Ödenburg–Sopron.* JÖAI, XXX, 111-134.
- PRASCHNIKER, 1938 K. PRASCHNIKER, *A soproni kapitoliumi istenségek.* AÉrt, LI, 29-44.
- RADNÓTI 1938 A. RADNÓTI, *Pannoniai római bronz edények.* DissPan, II/6.
- RÉCSEI 1894a V. RÉCSEI, *Néhány antik bronz szobrocška a Nemzeti Múzeumban.* AÉrt, XIV, 97-110.
- RÉCSEY 1894b V. RÉCSEY, *Pannonia ókori mythologiai emlékeinek vázlata.* Esztergom
- REINACH 1924 S. REINACH, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine.* Tome V, Vol. II, Paris.
- RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1992 D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, *O akvejasejskoj epigrafskoj baštini i o posebnostima njenih kulnih dedikacija.* VAMZ, 3/XXIV-XXV, 67-76.
- Római kori plasztika* 1976 *Római kori plasztika Pannoniában. I-III. század. La plastique de l'époque romaine en Pannonie I-III. siècle.* IKMK D. 109. Székesfehérvár.
- RÓMER-DESJARDINS 1873 F. RÓMER – E. DESJARDINS, *A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum római feliratos emlékei.* Acta Nova Musei Nationalis Hungarici, Budapest, 1873.
- Das römische Budapest* 1986 *Das römische Budapest.* (Ed. H. Polenz). Münster.
- SÁGI 1954 K. SÁGI, *Temetők.* AHung, XXXIII, 43-100.
- SÁGI 1981 SÁGI K., *Das römische Gräberfeld Keszhely-Dobogó.* Budapest.
- SARIA 1937 B. SARIA, *Spomeniki egiptovskih božanstev v Poetoviju.* Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, XXXII, 22.
- ŠAŠEL-KOS 1992 M. ŠAŠEL-KOS, *Boginja Ekorna v Emoni.* Zgodovinski časopis XLVI, 5.

- Savaria 1971  
 L. BALLA – T. P. BUOCZ – Z. KÁDÁR – A. MÓCSY – T. SZENTLÉLEKY,  
*Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria*. Amsterdam.
- SELEM 1972  
 P. SELEM, *Egipatski bogovi u rimskom Iliriku*. Godišnjak. IX / 7, 5-104.
- SELEM 1976  
 P. SELEM, *Mithrin kult u Panoniji*. Radovi, VIII, 13-19.
- SELEM 1980  
 P. SELEM, *Les religions orientales dans la Pannonie romaine – Partie en Yougoslavie*.  
 Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l' Empire romain (EPRO),  
 Tome LXXXV. Leiden.
- SELEM 1981  
 P. SELEM, *Aspekti teatralizacije u kultu Kybele i Attisa, Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije*.  
 Saopštenja sa naučnog skupa. Novi Sad, 187-195.
- Severin 1982  
 Severin. *Zwischen Römerzeit und Völkerwanderung*. Linz.
- SOSZTARITS 1994a  
 O. SOSZTARITS, *Topographische Forschungen im südlichen Teil von Savaria*.  
*Die Notgrabung auf dem Hauptplatz von Szombathely (1991-1992)*.  
 in: La Pannonia e l'Imperio Romano. Annuario Dell'Accademia D'Ungheria.  
 Roma, 233-241.
- SOSZTARITS 1994b  
 O. SOSZTARITS, *Topográfiai kutatások Savaria déli városrészében*.  
 Lapok Szombathely történetéből, 21, 3.
- SUPKA 1913  
 G. SUPKA, *Bericht vom Jahre 1913 über die Erwerbungen des Ungarischen  
 Nationalmuseums*. Arch Anz.
- SZABÓ 1971  
 M. SZABÓ, *The Celtic heritage in Hungary*. Budapest.
- SZAKÁL 1973/74  
 E. SZAKÁL, *Jupiter, Juno és Minerva scarbantiai szobrai a Fabricius-ház kőtarában*.  
 Magyar Műemlékvédelem 47-63.
- SZAKÁL 1974  
 E. SZAKÁL, *Scarbantia – a kapitólumi templom istenszobrai*. Művészet, XV, 7, 14, 48.
- Százhalombatta 1994  
*Százhalombatta története*. Red. Ildikó Poroszlai. Százhalombatta.
- Szekszárdi Vezető 1965  
*Vezető a szekszárdi Balogh Ádám Múzeum kiállításában*. Szekszárd.
- SZENTLÉLEKY 1960  
 T. SZENTLÉLEKY, *A szombathelyi Isis-szentély. (Das Iseum von Szombathely)*. Budapest.
- SZILÁGYI 1943  
 J. SZILÁGYI, *Az Aquincumi Múzeum kutatásai és gyarapodása az 1936-1942 évek  
 folyamán*. BpR, XIII, 344. 13.kép.
- SZILÁGYI 1956  
 J. SZILÁGYI, *Aquincum*. Budapest.
- SZILÁGYI J. GY. 1975  
 J. GY. SZILÁGYI, *Antik művészet. Kiállítás a debreceni Déri Múzeum és a Szépművészeti  
 Múzeum anyagából*. Székesfehérvár.
- SZIRMAI 1986  
 K. SZIRMAI, *Bronzestatuetten aus Aquincum*. Budapest, Történeti Múzeum, 4, Nr. 1, Abb. 1.
- TADIN 1979  
 G. TADIN, *Sitna rimska bronzana plastika u jugoistočnom delu provincije Panonije*,  
 Beograd.
- Tesori nazionali 1991  
*Tesori nazionali della Croazia – Capolavori dei musei di Zagabria – Arheoloski muzej*.  
 Arezzo-Firenze 1991. Isto: – Izbor iz fundusa, Torino-Zagreb-Rim 1993 i Arte e  
 Cultura in Croazia – collezioni del museo Archeologico di Zagabria, 1993.
- THOMAS 1952  
 E. B. THOMAS, *Hercules szentély Pannoniában. Ein Heiligtum des Hercules aus  
 Pannonien*. AÉrt, LXXIX, 108-112.
- THOMAS 1960  
 E. B. THOMAS, *Az Isis-kultusz egy emléke Scarbantiából*. AntTan, VII, 69-73.
- THOMAS 1963  
 E. B. THOMAS, *Római kori szentélyleletek Tamásiból. A szekszárdi Balogh Ádám  
 Múzeum Tudományos Füzetek, 4. sz.*
- THOMAS 1964  
 E. B. THOMAS. *Römische Villen in Pannonien*. Budapest.
- THOMAS 1965  
 E. B. THOMAS, *A nagydémi lararium*. Veszprém.
- THOMAS 1970  
 E. B. THOMAS, *Über Pannonien. – Pannoniáról*. Veszprém.
- THOMAS 1977  
 E. B. THOMAS, *Savaria cristiana. A 200 éves szombathelyi egyházmegye emlékkönyve*.  
 Szombathely, 35-93.
- THOMAS 1980  
 E. B. THOMAS, *Religio*. In: PRK, 177-206.
- THOMAS 1982  
 E. B. THOMAS, 275.
- TOMIČIĆ 1982  
 Ž. TOMIČIĆ, *Brončana statueta Herkula iz okolice Goričana u Međimurju*.  
 VAMZ, 3/XV, 15-28.
- TORMA 1881  
 K. TORMA, *Az aquincumi aphitheatrum északi fele*. Értekezések a történelmi  
 tudományok köréből. MTA, II/ 9.
- TÓTH E. 1977  
 E. TÓTH, *Frühbizantinisches Lampenhängeglied aus Brigetio*. FolArch, XXVIII, 143-156.
- TÓTH E. 1979  
 E. TÓTH *Römische Gold- und Silbergegenstände mit Inschriften im Ungarischen  
 Nationalmuseum*. FolArch, XXX, 157-184.
- TÓTH E. 1980  
 E. TÓTH, *Silvanus viator*. AlbaR, XVIII, 91-103.
- TÓTH E. 1989a  
 E. TÓTH, *Templum provinciae in Tác? Specimina Nova Universitatis  
 Quinqueecclesiensis*, 43-58.
- TÓTH E. 1989b  
 E. TÓTH, *Neuere Silvanusringe aus Pannonien. (Zur Silvanusverehrung in Pannonien)*.  
 FolArch, XL, 113-127.
- TÓTH E. év n.  
 E. TÓTH, *Római gyűrűk és fibulák. Évezredek, évszázadok kincsei*. Budapest.
- TÓTH I. 1978  
 I. TÓTH, *The Problem of the Dolichenus Altar from Gorsium*. Oikumene, II, 201-216.

- TÓTH I. 1990  
 TUŠEK 1986  
 UBL 1982  
 VÁGÓ – BÓNA 1976  
 VERMASEREN 1960  
 VIKIĆ 1981  
 VIKIĆ – GORENC 1967  
 VIKIĆ – GORENC 1969  
 VULIĆ 1939  
 WEINBERG 1972  
 WESSETZKY 1959a  
 WESSETZKY 1959b  
 WESSETZKY 1962  
 WESSETZKY 1964  
 WIGAND 1915  
 WISSOWA 1912  
 Zagreb 1994
- I. TÓTH, *A római vallásosság emlékei Sopianaeból*. Baranya, III/1,  
 I. TUŠEK, *Novi rimski reliefni kamni in napisi iz Ptuja*. AArchSlov, XXXVII, 349, t. 9.  
 H. UBL, *Spinnwirtel mit Christogramm*. Severin 1982, 591, 8/67.  
 E. B. VÁGÓ – I. BÓNA, *Die Gräberfelder von Intercisa. Der spätrömische Südostfriedhof*. Budapest.  
 M. J. VERMASEREN, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithraicae*. Hagae.  
 B. VIKIĆ, *Etape urbanog razvitka Andautonije i antičko nasljeđe Zagreba*. Izdanja HAD-a 6, Zagreb.  
 B. VIKIĆ – M. GORENC, *Varaždinske Toplice, Aquae Iasae - istarživanja u 1967 godin*. AP 9, 1967, 102-105.  
 B. VIKIĆ – M. GORENC, *Prilog istraživanju antiknih naselja i putova u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb.  
 N. VULIĆ, *Vojvodina u rimsko doba, Vojvodina I*. Novi Sad. 61-80.  
 G. D. WEINBERG, *Mold-blown beakers with mythological scenes*. Journal of Glass Studies, XIV, 39.  
 V. WESSETZKY, *A felső-pannoniai Isis-kultusz problémái*. AÉrt, LXXXVI, 20-31.  
 V. WESSETZKY, *Die Probleme des Isis-Kultes in Ober-Pannonien*. AArchHung, XI, 265-282.  
 V. WESSETZKY, *A soproni Liszt Ferenc Múzeum Isis-Bubastis oltára*. Soproni Szemle, 358-361.  
 V. WESSETZKY, *Der Isis-Altar von Sopron. Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik der ägyptischen Kulte in den römischen Provinzen zur Kaiserzeit*. Das Altertum, X, 154-159.  
 K. WIGAND, *Die Nutrices Augustae von Poetovio*. JÖAI, XVII, Beibl 206f..  
 G. WISSOWA, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*. HAW, IV/5.  
 Zagreb prije Zagreba-katalog izložbe. ed. A. Rendić-Miočević, Zagreb.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AAntArch	Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica
AAntHung	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AArchSlov	Acta Archaeologica – Arheološki Vestnik
AAWW	Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-Hist.Klasse
ACD	Acta Classica Universitas Scientiarum Debreceniensis
AEM	Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen
AÉ	L'Année Épigraphique
AÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő
AHung	Archaeologia Hungarica
AI	Archaeologia Iugoslavica
AIJ	V. Hoffiler – B. Saria, Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien, I., Noricum und Pannonia Superior, Zagreb 1938
AKorrBl	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt
AlbaR	Alba Regia
AMN	Acta Musei Napocensis
AN	Aquileia Nostra
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
AntTan	Antik Tanulmányok
Antički teatar	Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije, Katalog izložbe, Novi Sad 1979
AP	Arheološki pregled, Beograd
ArchAu	Archaeologia Austriaca
ArchJug	Archaeologia Iugoslavica
AuF	Ausgrabungen und Funde
AUSB	Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestiensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae
BHb	Burgenländische Heimatblätter
BJ	Bonner Jahrbücher
BpR	Budapest Régiségei
BRGK	Bericht der Römisch Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

CarnJb	Carnuntum Jahrbuch
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CommArchHung	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae
CSIR Österr.	Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani / Österreich
ČZN	Časopis za Zgodovino in Narodopisje
DissPann	Dissertationes Pannonicae
DMÉ	Déri Múzeum Évkönyve
EC	Études Celtiques
ÉeT	Élet és Tudomány
EPhK	Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l' Empire romain. Leiden
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica
Godišnjak	Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja ANUBiH, Sarajevo
GZMS	Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Sarajevu. Archaeologija
HAD	Hrvatsko arheološko društvo
HOMÉ	Hermann Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve
IGR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes
IKMK	István Király Múzeum Közleményei
ILJug	A. et J. ŠAŠEL, Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia repertae et editae sunt, SITULA, V, 1963, SITULA XIX, 1978, SITULA, XXV, 1986
ILS	H. DESSAU, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae
JbA	Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JfA	Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde
JÖAI	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts
JPMÉ	Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve
JRGZ	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
MittArchInst	Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
MKÉ	Múzeumi és Könyvtári Értesítő
MM	Magyar Múzeum
MZ	Mainzer Zeitschrift
OA	Opuscula archaeologica, Zagreb
OZ	Osječki zbornik
ORL	Der Obergermanisch-Rätische Limes des Römerreiches
Radovi	Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest, Zagreb
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
RégDolg	Régészeti Dolgozatok
Religio Deorum	Religio Deorum. Actas del Coloquio internacional de epigrafia. Culto y sociedad en occidente (ed. M. Mayer), Sabadell (Barcelona) 1992
RIU	Die Römischen Inschriften Ungarns
RLiÖ	Der Römische Limes in Österreich
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.Hist. Klasse
SzIKMK	Szent István Király Múzeum Közleményei
SzSz	Székesfehérvári Szemle
Tēsori nazionali	Tēsori nazionali della Croazia – Capolavori dei musei di Zagabria – Arheološki muzej, Arezzo – Firenze 1991
TIR	Topographia Imperii Romani
VAMZ	Vjesnik Arheološkog Muzeja u Zagrebu
VHAD	Vjesnik Hrvatskog Arheološkog Društva
Vijesti muzealaca	Vijesti muzealaca i konzervatora Hrvatske, Zagreb
VMMK	Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei
Vukovar	Vukovar-vjekovni hrvatski grad na Dunavu, Zagreb 1994
WMBH	Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und Herzegovina
Zagreb	Zagreb prije Zagreba-Zagreb before Zagreb exhibition catalogue (ed. A. Rendić-Miočević), Zagreb 1994
ŽAnt	Živa Antika
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

# CONTENTS

A. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ – M. ŠEGVIĆ: Religions and Cults in South Pannonian regions	7
M. ŠAŠEL KOS: Autochthonous Cults between Emona and Poetovio	17
F. HUMER – W. JOBST – G. KREMER: The Temple District on Pfaffenberg	23
J. FITZ: Area sacra in Gorsium	25
K. PÓCZY: Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Teutanus	29
K. PÓCZY: Healing Deities	33
H. JOBST: The Cult of the Oriental Deities in Carnuntum	37
D. GÁSPÁR: Christianity in Pannonia	43
 CATALOGUE	 51
THE CELTIC TRADITION	53
<i>SANCTUARIES</i>	53
THE CELTIC SANCTUARY – PÁKOZD, I.	53
AQUINCUM – GELLÉRTHEGY, II.	54
1. Iuppiter Teutanus altar	
SACRED AREA – CARNUNTUM PFAFFENBERG, III.	
2. Head of Iuppiter	
3. Fragments of an I.O.M. Karnuntinus altar	
4. Magistri montis altar	
<i>FINDS</i>	55
5. Altar dedicated to the indigenous gods Vidasus and Thana	
6. Altar dedicated to Silvanus	
7. Relief of Diana	
8. Statue of Diana	
9. Bronze statuette of Sucellus	
10. Statuette of Sucellus	
11. Altar of the Dii Itinerarii	
12. Altar stone of Itunus and Ituna	
13. Altar, dedicated to Aequorna	
14. Altar, dedicated to Aequorna	
15. Altar, dedicated to Aequorna	
16. Aecorna tablet	
17. Relief of the Nutrices	
18. Relief of the Nutrices	
19. Relief of the Nutrices	
20. Burial statue of an Eraviscus woman	
21. Scene with waggon	
22. Ornament of a horsetrapping	
23. Ornament of a horsetrapping	
24. Painted urn	
25. Small painted pot	
26. Painted vessel	
27. House urn	
28. House urn	
29. House urn	
30. Small pot	
THE CULT OF THE CLASSICAL GODS	62
<i>TEMPLES, SANCTUARIES</i>	62
AREA SACRA – AQUAE IASAE, IV.	62
31. Minerva	
32. Altar dedicated to Nymphae Augustae	
33. A relief slab with three Nymphs	

CAPITOLINE TEMPLE – SCARBANTIA, V.	64
CAPITOLINE TRIAD – SCARBANTIA, VI.	65
DIANA TEMPLE – CARNUNTUM, VII.	66
34. Head of Diana-Nemesis	
MERCURIUS SACTUARY – SAVARIA, VIII.	67
35. Mercurius relief	
36. Altar of Mercurius	
37. Altar of Iuppiter	
38. Bronze knife	
39. Fragment of a terracotta bust representing Minerva	
40. Terracotta torso of Minerva	
41. Lead votive statuette of Victoria	
42. Lead votive statuette of Venus	
43. Lead votive statuette of Dea Syria	
44. Lead votive statuette of a Matrona	
45. Lead votive disc representing the Three Graces	
46. Lead votive disc	
47. Lamp	
48. Lamp	
49. Incense burner	
50. Incense burner	
51. Hydria	
52. Clay urn	
AESCULAPIUS AND HYGIEIA SPRING SANCTUARY – AQUINCUM, IX.	71
53. Altar of Aesculapius and Hygieia	
HERCULES SANCTUARY – AJKA	72
54. Hercules statue	
55. Hercules altar	
NEMESIS SANCTUARY – AQUINCUM, X.	72
56. Inscription of a Nemesis sanctuary	
57. Statue of Fortuna Nemesis	
LARARIUMS	73
LARARIUM – NAGYDÉM	73
58. Bronze statue of a Lar	
59. Bronze statue of Apollo	
60. Jug	
61. Bronze lamp	
62. Bronze lamp	
LARARIUM – TAMÁSI	74
63. Bronze statue of Concordia	
64. Bronze statue of Iuppiter	
LARARIUM – TÉTÉNY	75
65. Jug (urceus and patera)	
66. Patera	
LARARIUM?	75
67. Relief with a scene of sacrifice to the Lares	
68. Statuette of a Lar	
69. Lamp with the head of Iuppiter	
70. Tripods	
71. Terracotta statuette of mother deities	
72. Mother goddess	
73. Mother goddess	
STATUES, RELIEFS	76
74. Head of Iuppiter	
75. Statuette of Iuppiter	
76. Jupiter on pedestal	
77. Relief of Iuppiter and Iuno	



78. Iuno	
79. Mars	
80. Venus' torso	
81. Head of Venus	
82. Bronze statue of Venus Pudica	
83. Mercurius	
84. Mercurius	
85. Mercurius	
86. Bust of Mercurius	
87. Votive relief of Liber and Libera	
88. Statue head of Hygieia	
89. Relief depicting Asclepius and Hygieia (Aesculapius and Salus)	
90. Bronze statuette of Hercules	
91. Standing statuette of Hercules	
92. A votive relief depicting Hercules	
93. Votive slab of Silvanus Domesticus	
94. Silvanus	
95. Votive tablet dedicated to Silvanus and the Silvanae	
96. Silvanus tablet	
97. Silenus	
98. Statuette of a satyr	
99. Bronze statuette of Amor	
100. Amor and Psyche	
101. Victoria	
102. Statuette of Victoria	
103. Head of one of the Dioscuri	
104. Bronze relief with a sacrificial scene	
<i>TERRACOTTAS</i>	83
105. Terracotta statuette of Venus	
106. Terracotta figurine of Venus Pudica	
107. Crustulum form with a figure of Bacchus	
<i>LAMPS, POTTERIES</i>	84
108. Bacchic jug	
109. Vessel depicting Silenus	
110. Askos with a figure of Diana	
111. Bronze lamp	
112. Glass beaker with figures of the gods	
113. Small pot with the inscription "Nemesis"	
<i>APPLIED ORNAMENTS</i>	85
114. Bronze flagstaff finial with Minerva head. Signum	
115. Chariot-mount in the form of a sitting Mercurius	
<i>RINGS, GEMS</i>	86
116. Amber ring	
117. Silvanus ring	
118. Gold bull of Silvanus Viator	
119. Gem with the representation of Mercurius	
120. Gem with the representation of Aequitas	
121. Gem with the representation of Venus	
122. Gem with the representation of Apollon Sauroktonos	
123. Gem with the representation of masks and animals	
124. Gem with a Bacchic scene	
<i>IMPERIAL CULT</i>	88
<i>TEMPLES, SANCTUARIES</i>	88
<i>SACRED AREA OF THE EMPERORS' CULT – GORSIUM, XI.</i>	88
125. Altar of Iuppiter Dolichenus	
126. Restitution of a temple by Septimius Severus	

127. Water deities	
128. Water deity	
129. Diana bathing	
130. Seated statue of Iuno	
131. Bronze statuette of Venus	
132. Bronze statuette of Venus Pudica	
133. Jugs (10 pieces)	
134. Plates (7 pieces)	
135. Dish	
136. Dish	
137. Terra sigillata	
138. Terra sigillata	
139. Terra sigillata	
140. Terra sigillata plate	
141. Terra sigillata plate	
142. Terra sigillata	
143. Terra sigillata	
144. Terra sigillata	
145. Incense burner	
146. Mortar	
<i>STATUES</i>	92
147. Bust of the emperor Hadrian	
148. Portrait head of Lucius Verus	
149. Portrait of Marcus Aurelius	
150. Male portrait	
151. Bust of Valentinian II	
<i>COINS</i>	93
152. Coins with the portraits of emperors	
<i>POTTERY</i>	93
153. Crustullum form	
154. Crustullum form with Victoria	
155. Crustullum form in the shape of a triumphal arc	
<i>RING</i>	94
156. Caracalla rings	
<i>WEAPON</i>	94
157. Sword scabbard	
<i>ORIENTAL CULTS</i>	95
<i>TEMPLES, SANCTUARIES</i>	95
ISEUM – SAVARIA, XII.	95
158. Isis altar	
159. Sarapis head	
160. Antefixes (2 pieces)	
DOLICHENUM – VETUS SALINA, XIII.	96
161. Sol bust	
162. Statuette of a horse	
163. Statuette of an eagle	
164. Statuette of an eagle	
165. Signum	
166. Fragment of a signum	
167. Votive hand	
168. Pottery bowl	
169. Character P	
170. Small bronze vessel	
171. Iron spear	
172. Iron strigilis	
173. Fragment of a votive plaque	

174. Bronze pendant	
175. Lamp	
176. Statuette of Victoria	
177. Stone fragment with the head of an Oriental deity	
<b>DOLICHENUM – BRIGETIO</b>	<b>99</b>
178. Bells of a Dolichenum	
179. Wreath from a Dolichenum	
180. Votive hand	
<b>MITHRAEUM I – POETOVIO, XIV.</b>	<b>99</b>
181. Mithraic altar	
182. The birth of Mithras	
<b>MITHRAEUM III – POETOVIO, XV.</b>	<b>100</b>
183. Mithraic altar	
184. Mithraic altar	
185. Bust of Magna Mater	
<b>MITHRAEUM – SÁRKESZI, XVI.</b>	<b>102</b>
186. Altar-piece of Mithras	
187. Marble disc of Mithras	
188. Altar	
189. Altar	
190. Altar	
<b>MITHRAEUM – AQUINCUM, TRIBUNUS LATICLAVIUS-HOUSE, XVII.</b>	<b>103</b>
191. Painted sanctuary wall of a Mithraeum	
192. Cult picture of Mithras tauroktonos (reconstruction)	
193. Foundation stone of the Mithraeum	
<b>STATUES, RELIEFS, OTHER REPRESENTATIONS</b>	<b>105</b>
194. Lamp with an image of Iuppiter Amon	
195. Isis-Bubastis altar	
196. Statuette of Isis Fortuna	
197. Tabula ansata	
198. Tabula ansata	
199. Harpocrates	
200. Votive hand of Sabazius	
201. Votive hand of Sabazius	
202. Kybele on a bronze disc	
203. Votive plaque of Attis	
204. Attis holding mask	
205. Attis holding mask above his head	
206. Altar of Sol	
207. Tabula ansata of Sol Invictus	
208. Sol-Luna wooden panel	
209. Bust of Sol	
210. Tabula ansata dedicated to Mithras	
211. Votive slab of Mithras-Sol	
212. Relief of Cautes	
213. Relief of Cautopates	
214. Lion	
215. Marble votive slab of the Thracian Rider God	
216. Lead plate of a Danubian Rider God	
217. A votive lead tablet showing the Danubian Rider Gods	
218. A votive lead tablet showing the Danubian Rider Gods	
219. A votive lead tablet showing the Danubian Rider Gods	
220. A votive lead tablet showing the Danubian Rider Gods	
<b>POTTERY</b>	<b>111</b>
221. Crustallum form with the figure of Isis-Fortuna	
<b>GEMS</b>	<b>111</b>
222. Gem with the representation of Sol	
223. Medallion of Dea Syria	

POPULAR RELIGION, MAGIC BELIEFS	112
<i>POTTERY WORKSHOP – SAVARIA</i>	112
224. Mould of a lamp in the form of a goose	
225. Mould of a lamp in the form of a foot	
226. Fragment of a Venus statuette	
227. Mould of a Iuppiter mask	
228. Positive fragments of a Iuppiter mask	
229. Mould of a Silenos mask	
230. Fragment of a positive Satyr mask	
231. Apollo mask	
232. Cocks' heads	
<i>LEAD VOTIV FINDS – MATRICA</i>	114
233. Lead mirror with the Three Graces	
234. Lead mirror with the Three Graces	
235. Lead mirror with the Three Graces	
236. Lead mirror with geometric ornament	
<i>FINDS</i>	115
237. Cultic ensign	
238. Sacrificial knife	
239. Malediction plate (defixion plate)	
240. Gem with the representation of Osiris	
241. Gold ring	
242. Ring with gem	
243. Statuette of Priapos	
244. Lunula	
EARLY CHRISTIANITY	117
<i>CHURCHES, CHAPELS</i>	117
ECCLESTICAL COMPLEX – KUČAR NEAR PODZEMELJ, XVIII.	117
245. Cruciform pendant	
EARLY CHRISTIAN BUILDINGS – SOPIANAE, XIX.	118
1. Cella Trichora	
2. Mausoleum – Frescoes	
<i>FINDS</i>	119
246. Lamp	
247. Lamp with Christogram	
248. Early Christian lamp	
249. Early Christian lamp suspender	
250. Lamp suspender	
251. Brooch with Christogram	
252. Brooch in the shape of a peacock	
253. Ring with a Christogram	
254. Silver spoon	
255. Whorl	
256. Casket mount	
SANCTUARIES, TEMPLES – FIGURES	120
ABBREVIATIONS	121
INTERPRETATIONS	122
BIBLIOGRAPHY	127
ABBREVIATIONS	133
CONTENT	135



Published by the  
MUSEUMS OF COUNTY FEJÉR  
(Fejér Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága)  
H – 8000 Székesfehérvár, Fő utca 6.

Responsible editor:  
Dr. FÜLÖP Gyula, director

Technical editor:  
LAKAT Erika

Prepared for printing by  
EXTRA MEDIA CENTER

Printed by  
REGIA REX PRINTING HOUSE  
Printed in 700 copies





