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DIVINITIES, PRIESTS, AND DEDICATORS AT EMONA*

INTRODUCTION

Life in a Roman city, whether in one of the Italian regions or in the provinces, was intrinsically connected with cults, divination, and religion. Proper observance of rituals throughout the year at various festivals and holidays, both public and private, and including various rites of transition, but also during catastrophes or wars, ensured the protection and benevolence of the gods. Votive altars and dedications are in general much less numerous than tombstones, and Emona is no exception to this rule. Although not large, the *corpus* of its votive monuments does present some interesting features, which deserve a commentary. In view of the scarcity of documentation, it should not cause surprise that during the Baroque age, known for having occasionally abused epigraphy for its own purposes, a few inscriptions may have been falsified to produce more evidence for Roman cults in the territory of Emona (see below), where indeed not very many have come to light to date.

The origins of Emona as a settlement extend back to the Late Bronze Age (the Urnfield cultural group); a cemetery dated to this period was unearthed on the left bank of the Ljubljana River. An Early Iron Age period settlement has been discovered on Castle Hill, while some remains of a La Tène period settlement and/or a late Republican *emporium* were excavated on the right bank of the river¹. When exactly the Roman colony was established at Emona is not entirely clear, but there are strong indications that this happened under Octavian after Actium, and after he had - some years previously - successfully brought to an end his Illyrian

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¹ Vičič, *Emona*, 2003.

Wars (35-33 BC). His policy was a continuation of Caesar's extension of Cisalpine Gaul and the Romanization of Histria². Caesar had established colonies at Pola and most probably at Tergeste, as well as *municipia* at Forum Iulii, Aegida, and Parentium; founding a colony at Emona meant an extension of Italy in the direction of Noricum on the one side and Illyricum on the other. It is usually believed that branches of various Aquileian families moved to Emona³; certainly, the influence of Aquileia on Emona was at all times very strong⁴, at least since a Roman village, an important *emporium*, had been firmly established at Nauportus in the first half of the first century BC, in Aquileian territory (see below), and in particular after both towns were well connected by road, which favourably influenced the economic and cultural growth of Emona (fig. 1)⁵. As is indicated by several gentilicia, which are unattested in Aquileia and do not seem to have been typical of northern Italy, colonists must have also come directly from other Italian regions⁶, perhaps - as has been supposed for Altinum - via Aquileia⁷.

Close contacts between Aquileia and Emona are documented from the very beginning of the existence of Emona as a Roman city. Thus an Aquileian, certainly pre-Augustan, *sevir* T. Caesernius Diphilus, a freedman of one T. Caesernius Assupa (*AIJ* 176 = *RINMS* 3), supposedly performed certain official functions at Emona, perhaps before the town acquired the status of a Roman colony, or immediately afterwards⁸. Diphilus, whose freedman Dignus is also commemorated on his tombstone - which indicates the wealth of his family - was active as a *sevir* in Aquileia. *Seviri*, whose municipal and religious functions are not clearly defined, were in general freedmen, rarely free-born, and represented well-to-do members of city's middle class⁹. Diphilus' patron Assupa must have been, judging by his name, of indigenous provenance; his family probably belonged to the local aristocracy somewhere in the broad hinterland of Aquileia and gained prominent social status in the metropolis. Similar cases were those of Q. Pipponicus Tae[- - -] and C. [- - -] Veitor, *seviri* from Iulium Carnicum, known from a dedication to Diana¹⁰; their names indicate local provenance as does perhaps the name of M. Petronius Scaenarius, whose freedman was also a *sevir* (*Inscr. Aquil.* 613). P. Virtius P. l. Mogetius, a *sevir* in Parentium (*ILJug* 1209), as well as two *seviri* from Narona, P. Mucius Dasius and P. Terentius Dardanus (*ILJug* 654), certainly belonged to well-to-do indigenous families.

Pre-Augustan *seviri* may serve as evidence that in many cases, at least in the towns where their existence is confirmed, the later *seviri*, too, were not in charge of the imperial

² ŠAŠEL KOS, *Caesar*, 2000; cf. also BANDELLI - CHIABÀ, *Amministrazioni*, 2005, pp. 439 ff.

³ See, e.g., ŠAŠEL, *Famiglie*, 1987 (= *Opera* 1992); ZACCARIA, *Cantia*, 2004; on the *Caesernii*: footnote 12; on the *Barbii*: footnote 35.

⁴ ZACCARIA, *Aquileia*, 1989.

⁵ PANCIERA, *Vita*, 1957, pp. 58 ff.; pp. 76-80; on *via Gemina* see also ŠAŠEL, *Via*, 1973 (= *Opera*, 1992).

⁶ ŠAŠEL, *Emona*, 1968, cc. 562, 565-566 (= *Opera*, 1992, pp. 571, 573).

⁷ CRESCI MARRONE, *Presenze*, 1999, p. 129.

⁸ ŠAŠEL KOS, *Inscriptions*, 1998, pp. 104-105.

⁹ ABRAMENKO, *Mittelschicht*, 1993.

¹⁰ MAINARDIS, *Notiziario*, 1994, cc. 297-299.

cult and should not necessarily be considered as identical to *sexviri Augustales*, i.e. as an abbreviation of the latter title¹¹. They were often members of important families, as was the case of the Caesernii in Aquileia and Emona. The two branches of the Caesernii family, the Sexti and Titi, were a typical example of such a family, whose Aquileian members even attained senatorial rank, while others were in charge of municipal administration and various institutions in both cities, many among them having been *seviri* and (*seviri*) *Augustales*¹².

The extent of the territory administratively dependent on Emona is not well defined. It is approximately delimited in the direction of Celeia, i.e. Noricum (west of Atrans = Trojane), and Neviodunum, i.e. Pannonia (west of Acervo = Stična), while in the direction of Tergeste and Aquileia the boundary reached as far as Bevke, only some 13 km to the southwest of Ljubljana (i.e. ca. 15 km from Emona), as is known from the recently discovered boundary stone. It is dated to the Augustan period, or at the latest to the first half of the first century AD, and it delimited the territory of Emona in such a way that Nauportus was included in the territory of Aquileia. Nauportus was the first important settlement along the main road after the Odra Pass, and it can by no means be regarded as an enclave of the Aquileians as has recently been proposed¹³, since it was strategically most important to possess, rather than merely supervise, the entire route leading in the direction of Emona and further to Noricum, Pannonia, and the East. However, with time, when Emona gained in importance, the boundary may have changed to its advantage. Boundaries were not static, and it may be assumed that at a later date the broad region of Postojna could have been regarded as the border between the territories of Aquileia and Emona, as has always been assumed. The *ager* of Emona extended towards the north most probably as far as the Norican mountains (present-day Gorenjska/Upper Carniola), but with only one significant settlement, that of Carnium (= Kranj). This is altogether a vast territory but in terms of epigraphic finds it is very poorly represented. With the exceptions of Nauportus and the Ig area, there are hardly any sites that have produced more than five inscriptions. Correspondingly, only a few cults are documented in the *ager* of Emona.

The world of gods worshipped at Emona was an interesting blend of various cults, which did not resemble that of Aquileia, nor that of any major neighbouring town, most of all due to the lack of more evidence. Symptomatic in this respect is the case of Carna, an old Italic divinity of hinges who could repel all harm from doors and protect babies from *striges*, monstrous nocturnal birds who came by night to attack them in the cradle and drink their blood. Carna is known from Ovid's *Fasti* (6. 105-182), and worshipped on the first day of the Kalends of June. According to Ovid and Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1. 12. 31-33), she was a goddess of ancient times when people feasted on pork and ate what was then growing in their fields: broad beans and spelt. These two foods should be eaten on the June Kalends to protect people from any intestinal illness. Nothing would have been known of her in Emona, had her festival, *Carnaria*, not been incidentally mentioned on the tombstone of L. Caesernius

¹¹ ŠAŠEL KOS, *Aspects*, 1999, pp. 174-175.

¹² ŠAŠEL, *Caesernii*, 1960 (= *Opera*, 1992); ZACCARIA, *Caesernii*, 2006.

¹³ TALBERT, *Boundaries*, 2005, pp. 98-99.

Primitivus (*AIJ* 209 = *ILS* 7235a), a member of the municipal board of five and the *decurio* of the *collegium fabrum*, and his wife Ollia Primilla. In their wills they left 200 *denarii* to the four *decuriae* of the *collegium fabrum* so that they would bring roses to their grave on the day of the festival of Carna (fig. 2)¹⁴.

It is also interesting to see - and this, too, may be obscured by the extant evidence - what cults were popular among the inhabitants in the city and which were important for the people living in the countryside. However, because of the scarce evidence the picture should in many ways be regarded as misleading. Thirty-nine monuments have so far been discovered in the town of Emona, as opposed to just eleven in its territory. Jupiter, Aecorna, and Neptune are the only divinities, according to the preserved evidence, who were worshipped both in the town and in the *ager*, although the case of Neptune is not entirely certain.

DIVINITIES DOCUMENTED IN THE TOWN OF EMONA

The following gods and goddesses have so far been documented in Emona: Aecorna, Aesculapius, Ceres, Diana, Hercules, Hygia, Jupiter, Jupiter *Depulsor*, Laburus, Lares, Mater Magna and Oraea, Mercurius, Mithras, Nemesis, Neptune, the Nymphs, Silvanus, and Victoria. The most numerous are dedications to Jupiter (8), followed by those to Aecorna (5), Victoria (4), Aesculapius (3), and Neptune (3), as well as Mater Magna (3), since she is most probably also mentioned on the altar to Oraea, i.e. Oraea would have been her epithet. Hercules, Hygia, Jupiter *Depulsor*, and Lares are honoured in two votive inscriptions each, while the rest have been documented just once. The building inscription referring to the sanctuary of Neptune discovered at Bistra near Vrhnika (Nauportus), and presently kept there in the former Carthusian monastery, had most probably not been transferred to Bistra. According to J.L. Schönleben, it would have been brought to Bistra from the ruins of Emona (*ex ruinis Emonae in aedibus Cartusianorum...*)¹⁵, but it would be strange if almost two hundred years earlier Augustinus Tyfernus, who copied the inscription in 1507, knew nothing about this but regarded Bistra as its provenance. Indeed, two other Roman tombstones were also immured in the monastery¹⁶. The only argument in favour of Schönleben's claim would be the fact that no other Roman finds have so far been discovered at Bistra. Bistra, with its streams and pools, where a sacred grove may have existed earlier, would in every respect represent a proper setting for a sanctuary of Neptune¹⁷.

It is not surprising that dedications to Jupiter are the most numerous, as they are almost everywhere else in the empire, but it is most significant that Aecorna, an indigenous deity who is elsewhere unattested, occupies the second place. Undoubtedly she played a special role in the cult life of Emona and its territory, particularly because at Nauportus a

¹⁴ ŠAŠEL KOS, *Festival*, 2002.

¹⁵ SCHÖNLEBEN, *Carniolia*, 1681, p. 221.

¹⁶ *CIL*, III 3781; ŠAŠEL, *Epigraphica*, 1960-1961, p. 188, no. 4.

¹⁷ ŠAŠEL KOS, *Places*, 2000, p. 35.

sanctuary was built to her by *magistri vici* as early as the second half of the first century BC (perhaps still in Caesar's time). This means that already in the relatively early period of Romanization and urbanization she was officially worshipped at the highest municipal level, and the importance of her cult is also reflected in the fact that she was worshipped at Savaria by the community of Emonians living in that town. They erected a dedication to her in the first half of the first century AD. At a later date, in addition to two small altars and a small shrine dedicated to her by inhabitants of Emona who did not exercise any public function, a base bearing her statue (now lost) was set up to the goddess by an equestrian officer, who distinguished himself in the Dacian War under Trajan, a prefect of *ala Britannica milliaria c(ivium) R(omanorum)*, P. Cassius Secundus (fig. 3). As could be inferred from his worship of the local goddess, his family almost certainly originated from Emona, where other members of the Cassii - otherwise well attested throughout the empire - are also documented¹⁸. Between Emona and Nauportus - and including the Savaria dedication - Aecorna may have altogether been commemorated seven times, if the portico that is mentioned in the building inscription of the other pair of the *magistri vici* at Nauportus refers to her sanctuary, which is not unlikely. Her role is not exactly known but most probably she was a moor goddess, as the Emona Moors, extending between Nauportus, Ig, and Emona, often resembled a lake in the Roman and prehistoric periods. The inhabitants of the Emona Basin, with their various activities - not only commercial - may have placed themselves under her protection, since it seems that she was a goddess of polyvalent nature¹⁹.

Laburus is the only other local epichoric divinity worshipped at Emona (*CIL*, III 3840 + p. 2328,188 = *ILS* 4877), and he was certainly related to water, since he was worshipped at the site of the rapids in the Ljubljana (= Emona/Nauportus) River outside the town in the direction of the Sava (= Savus) River, near present-day Fužine Castle. The altar is unfortunately lost, thus the name of the first dedicator, perhaps - but not necessarily - the father (the son?) of the second individual²⁰, cannot be satisfactorily restored: *Laburo* / *ex vot(o)* / *sacr(um)* / *M. Marcell[us]* / *fil(ius?) et* / *M. Vibius* / *Marcellus* / *f(ieri) f(ecerunt)*. Although the find-spot cannot be precisely reconstructed (near the Church of the Annunciation, whence it was brought to Fužine Castle), it is nonetheless almost certain that it had actually been discovered quite near the dangerous rapids. Although it has been hypothesized that there could be some connection between the name of the god and the name of the Ljubljana River (in German Laibach, in Italian Lubiana)²¹, this does not seem plausible. Indeed, it has recently been refuted²². The god most probably had a very local character; he was supposed to offer his protection to the travellers along this dangerous section of the river.

The worship of Jupiter *Depulsor*, too, should most probably be explained as a Roman interpretation of a local Celtic cult of a supreme god, an averter of evil in general, both in

¹⁸ ŠAŠEL (J., A.), *Préfet*, 1977 (= *Opera* 1992).

¹⁹ ŠAŠEL KOS, *Aecorna*, 1996 (revised in: *Divinities*, 1999).

²⁰ TH. MOMMSEN, *ad loc.*

²¹ SARIA, *Nauportus*, 1935, cc. 2008-2009; BEZLAJ, *Imena*, 1956, pp. 321-323.

²² TORKAR, *Etimologija*, 2008, forthcoming.

military, as well as civic and domestic contexts²³. Evidence of his cult is particularly concentrated in southern Noricum and southwestern Pannonia, especially in the Poetovio region, although dedications to him are also attested elsewhere in the western part of the Roman Empire. However, whenever it is possible to identify the origin of a dedicator with certainty, it proves to be Norican. Altogether, some forty dedications to Iuppiter Depulsor are known to date, all of them chronologically limited to the second half of the second and first half of the third centuries AD, which corresponds to the period of the crisis after the Marcomannic Wars, accompanied by the revival of local cults²⁴. His worship should not be interpreted merely in terms of attacks of external enemies and frequent wars, as has been proposed by H.-G. Pflaum²⁵, and particularly by I. Kolendo, who saw the sudden popularity of the god as a reaction to the Marcomannic Wars, and interpreted him not as an indigenous god, but as a divinity whose cult was intentionally introduced by the Roman state²⁶. Rather, he must be considered a general averter of evil.

The only other sanctuary mentioned in the votive inscriptions of Emona and its territory, besides that of Aecorna, is a temple with portico for Neptune (*CIL*, III 3778, fig. 4: *Neptuno / Augusto sacr(um). / L. Servilius L. fil. / Vel(ina) Sabinus / ^s aedem / et porticum / fecit / pecunia sua*)²⁷. The voting tribe *Velina* of L. Servilius Sabinus indicates that he had come from Aquileia, where the *Lucii Servilii* are well attested. Sabinus was undoubtedly a wealthy merchant who, probably early in the first century AD, had his goods transported on boats along the Ljubljana and Sava Rivers and for that reason worshipped Neptune. At a later date, another member of the family, L. Servilius Eutyches (*AIJ* 26 = Šašel Kos, *Divinities*, p. 98 no. 6), perhaps a freedman, is known to have erected, together with his pilots, an altar to Adsalluta at the site of the dangerous rapids in the Sava River at the hamlet of Sava opposite Hrastnik. The family must have owned several boats for transport. At Emona three altars for Neptune have so far been discovered; one is dedicated to him along with the Nymphs (*CIL*, III 3841; 10765; 13400 = *RINMS* 24). Gentilicia of the dedicators are Hostilius, Asinius, Cassia, probably members of merchant families from Emona. Cassia may have belonged to the same family as the aforementioned P. Cassius Secundus, the worshipper of Aecorna.

It is interesting that four altars dedicated to Victoria came to light at Emona, since this goddess is rarely attested in Aquileia, where over 500 votive monuments have been discovered to date, but Victoria is documented merely on one altar. On the other hand, in the northern Adriatic countryside and (sub-)Alpine regions she was also worshipped as a pre-Roman divinity of vital force and protector against misfortune, sometimes even associated with epichoric epithets²⁸. The relatively large number of the altars to Victoria at Emona may

²³ ŠAŠEL KOS, *Iuppiter*, 1995 (= *Divinities*, 1999).

²⁴ ALFÖLDY, *Religion*, 1989 (= *Krise*, 1989).

²⁵ PFLAUM, *Iuppiter*, 1955.

²⁶ KOLENDO, *Culte*, 1989.

²⁷ ŠAŠEL KOS, *Nauportus*, 1990, p. 150, no. 6, photo Pl. 41.1. See also HORVAT, *Nauportus*, 1990, pp. 190-191.

²⁸ ZACCARIA, *Divinità*, 2001-2002, p. 139 and footnote 110, in which the relevant literature is cited.

be explained by the peculiar circumstances of their discovery. Three of them were found, together with an altar to *Iuppiter D(epulsor)* (more likely than Dolichenus), during the excavations of W. Schmid at Mirje, in house IV, the so-called “goldsmith’s house”, in room 8, leaning against the wall, all of them with damaged upper sections. Obviously they were brought there for some purpose, at the earliest some time in the late Roman period, when the house no longer functioned in a normal way, and when pagan cults were increasingly losing their meaning. The altars may have been stored there as stone material to build defences in times of military danger, which, after the march of Maximinus Thrax to Italy in 238²⁹, often threatened transit areas such as the Emona basin. Chance has thus preserved three altars to Victoria which must have been hastily removed from the same place, perhaps a site of her sanctuary or a shrine or a sanctuary of another divinity where her altars, too, were displayed, perhaps even together with the altar to *Iuppiter D(epulsor)*.

Ever since 294 BC, when Victoria received a temple in Rome³⁰, she became an important divinity in the context of imperial war policies and military victories, therefore she is often termed *Victoria Augusta*. An important monument of this kind is the statuette of Victoria on the globe from Cremona, dedicated by one M. Satrius Maior to the Victoria Augusta of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, perhaps on the occasion of their triumph of 166 AD, after the victory over the Parthians³¹. It is interesting that the dedicators on two Victoria altars at Emona used only the initials of their names, *L(ucius) G(-) M(-)* and *T(itus) P(-) T(-)* (*CIL*, III 10766 = *RINMS* 25; *AIJ* 164 = *RINMS* 26). They may have taken part in some important election or contest and were probably well-known individuals in the public life of Emona. The first gentilicium may be supplemented as Glesonius, the only known gentilicium in Emona starting in *G-*; the other perhaps as Petronius, since several Petronii are attested in the town. In the third dedication, Victoria is called *Augusta sancta*; the altar was vowed to her by one Sex. Vibunnius Avitus (*AIJ* 163 = *RINMS* 27), a descendant of an indigenous family from the Emona area as is indicated by the name Vibunnius/Vibunus, which is characteristic of the Emona region³². His dedication may well refer to an imperial military victory, however, it is not possible to identify the event because the inscription cannot be dated precisely. On the fourth altar the name of the goddess is damaged, with only the first letters visible, *I* partly damaged. *Viae* and *Vires* (not precisely defined deities, seemingly related to the forces of nature, or water)³³ were proposed as alternatives³⁴, but considering the find-spot context Victoria seems to be the best supplement. The altar, in which the name of the divinity is not entirely certain, was erected by one L. Barbius (*AIJ* 165 = *RINMS* 28), who belonged to the economically prosperous *gens Barbia*; the lack of a cognomen may indicate

²⁹ ŠAŠEL KOS, *Outline*, 1986, pp. 404 ff.

³⁰ BEARD - NORTH - PRICE, *Religions*, 1998, p. 69.

³¹ SCUDERI, *Epigrafi*, 2003, p. 345.

³² SOLIN - SALOMIES, *Repertorium*, 1988, s.v.

³³ BASSIGNANO, *Religione*, 1987, p. 322.

³⁴ *RINMS*, 28: the first by G. ALFÖLDY (in a letter of Nov. 27, 1995), the second by CUNTZ, *Inschriften*, 1913, pp. 202-203, no. 8, fig. 9 (cf. TÓTH, *Remains*, 1989, pp. 70-71, no. 8).

an early date. The family came from Aquileia (where its members, who may have come from central Italy, most probably belonged among the first colonists) to other towns in Istria and *regio X*, especially to Tergeste (see e.g. *Ins. It.*, X 4, 94) and Emona, and to the southeastern Alpine and Norican areas, in particular to Virunum/Magdalensberg³⁵.

An interesting case is Aesculapius, whose name appears in the Latin form on an altar erected to him by the physician L. Peticius Technicus (*CIL*, III 3834 = *RINMS* 7). The family of this man, who came to Emona from Aquileia, where the *gens* Peticia, as well as the cult of Aesculapius, are well attested³⁶, may have been in some way related to the family of the well-known Augustan period surgeon T. Peticius from the Lucus at Fucinus Lacus (*CIL*, IX 3895)³⁷. Aquileia was actually the second largest centre of the cult of Aesculapius in Italy, next to Rome. The dedicator's cognomen Technicus is a *hapax*³⁸, perhaps indicating his profession in the sense that he was born in a family of doctors and was predestined to be a physician³⁹. The collected evidence about physicians mentioned in the Pannonian inscriptions indicates that many doctors possessed Roman citizenship; it is also evident that the majority of doctors were not from the Greek speaking East, as is the generally accepted opinion⁴⁰. However, the god's name on the other two dedications from Emona appears in the Greek form, Asclepius, and he is associated on both with Hygia. Both inscriptions are fragmentary, on the first the dedicator's name is entirely missing (*ILJug* 1079), on the other merely *C. Aur[-]* is preserved (*ILJug* 1080; fig. 5); both worshippers perhaps originated from the eastern part of the empire⁴¹.

The inscription on the altar of Ceres is almost certainly not original. The monument is made - like several others from Emona⁴² - of local pale grey dolomite from the Podpeč area, and was used, as is indicated by the remains on its upper panel, as a base for a sculpture. Data concerning its exact provenance differ, but it was discovered outside the Roman town of Emona. The inscribed surface is badly damaged and even the first editors suspected that the inscription was in one way or another "corrected" since several letters have peculiar and irregular shapes (*CIL*, III 3835 = *RINMS* 8): *Cereri sac(rum) / Vibius fru/mentarius / leg(ionis) XV vo/s to suscept/o <f>(aciendum) c(uravit)*. G. Alföldy suggested, after a careful examination of the stone, that the original, poorly visible inscription may have been hewn off - since the inscribed field is unusually deep - and replaced by the present one⁴³. Such as it

³⁵ PANCIERA, *Vita*, 1957, pp. 94 ff.; ŠAŠEL, *Barbii*, 1966 (= *Opera*, 1992).

³⁶ TIUSSI, *Culto*, 1999, p. 125.

³⁷ GUMMERUS, *Ärztestand*, 1932, no. 200; KUDLIEN, *Stellung*, 1986, p. 20.

³⁸ It does not appear in SOLIN - SALOMIES, *Repertorium*, 1988; the name cannot be the Greek name *Technon* because it is abbreviated as *Techni(-)*.

³⁹ SOLIN, *Berufsnamen*, 1995.

⁴⁰ BAADER, *Ärzte*, 1973.

⁴¹ TIUSSI, *Esculapio*, 1999, pp. 157-158 (II.A.6), fig. p. 213, no. 36; 158 (II.A.7), fig. p. 213, no. 37.

⁴² Data from A. Ramovš, unpublished analysis of several Roman stone monuments from the National Museum of Slovenia.

⁴³ Personal communication.

is, it cannot be genuine, because the soldier should not have lacked a *praenomen*. The lack of a cognomen, however, would suggest an early date for the original inscription. The last line, too, is exceptional on votive monuments (<f>*aciendum c(uravit)*), but it could be explained as a reference to the now lost sculpture of the goddess.

Dedications to Ceres are not frequent⁴⁴, in Aquileia Ceres *frugifera* (?) was worshipped (*Ins. Aquil.* 171), as well as Mater Magna Cereria (*ibid.* 291). Elsewhere in northern Italy dedications to the goddess are very rare, her cult is attested, e.g., at Padua and perhaps at Opitergium and Concordia⁴⁵. There is an early dedication to Ceres by one M. Valerius from Scarbantia (*AE*, 1969-1970, 541 = *RIU* 219), and two later dedications to Ceres *Augusta* by two *beneficarii* from Siscia (by a *beneficiarius procuratoris*: *AIJ* 527, and a dedication to I. O. M. and Ceres by a *beneficiarius consularis*, *AIJ* 537). The cult of Ceres became transformed from that of a goddess of the growth of grains in rural areas (*Cerealia* were celebrated in April), to that of a patroness of *annona*⁴⁶. *Vibius* is one of the most frequent gentilicia particularly in northern Italy, while in Noricum and Pannonia it was often used as a single name⁴⁷. If genuine, the inscription would be the earliest epigraphic document for a legion's *frumentarius*⁴⁸. The mentioned doubts would suggest that the inscription may be at least partly a forgery. The authenticity of the supposed original inscription, however, would be supported by the fact that for the period at the end of the seventeenth century it would be difficult to hypothesize that someone in Ljubljana could counterfeit an inscription with such a specific and - from various aspects - problematic text, in which untypical items are mentioned, such as the otherwise unattested rank of *frumentarius* and the goddess Ceres, while merely the mention of *legio XV* - due to the presence of its veterans and perhaps even soldiers - would have been expected in Emona. If it were based on a genuine inscription, the most probable date would be the first half of the first century AD.

In discussing the municipal priests of Emona, an interesting passage from the Panegyricus of Theodosius should by no means be overlooked, pronounced by Latinus Pacatus Drepanius in Rome in 389 AD, after the victory of the emperor over the usurper Maximus in 388 AD, whom he defeated at Siscia and Poetovio and put to death at Aquileia. While the position of Aquileia was ambiguous in the struggle between the legitimate emperor and Maximus⁴⁹, Emona was from the very beginning of the revolt on the side of the former⁵⁰. When Theodosius was travelling towards Aquileia, Emona was directly on his way; the town opened its gates and members of the municipal elite, as well as other inhabitants, went out to meet him. This is described by Pacatus with vivid words in chapter 37, begin-

⁴⁴ See the index in *CIL*, III.

⁴⁵ BUCHI, *Triumviro*, 1986, pp. 472-473.

⁴⁶ See LE BONNIEC, *Cérès*, 1958; CHIRASSI COLOMBO, *Funzioni*, 1981.

⁴⁷ LOCHNER VON HÜTTENBACH, *Personennamen*, 1989, pp. 181-182; ALFÖLDY, *Personennamen*, 1969, pp. 257-258.

⁴⁸ See CLAUSS, *Untersuchungen*, 1973, pp. 126-127, no. 55.

⁴⁹ SOTINEL, *Identité*, 2005, pp. 172-176.

⁵⁰ BRATOŽ, *Christianisierung*, 1996, pp. 334 ff.

ning with the statement that Emona was 'loyal' (*pia Haemona*): "... *Why should I recall the festive approach of the liberated nobility before its own walls, the senators resplendent in their white robes, the flamines venerable in their municipal purple, the priests distinguishable by their mitred hats?*"⁵¹. The priests mentioned were pagan priests, and the historically not insignificant account makes it clear that until almost the end of the fourth century AD municipal institutions, including religious organizations, functioned at Emona in a similar way as they had for almost four hundred years. The passage is a unique testimony to a crucial point of transition from paganism to Christianity, and what is indeed significant - since after all Theodosius was a Christian - is the complete absence of any reference to the contemporary Christian community in Emona under its bishop Maximus. This may partly be due to the fact that Pacatus was a pagan writer (although he converted later)⁵², and partly because pagan festivities accompanying military victories and victorious *adventus* of emperors were only slowly "Christianized" in the western part of the Empire⁵³. *Flamines*, priests of high social standing, responsible for specific cults, including the imperial cult, are expressly mentioned, as well as *sacerdotes*, priests in general, often associated with oriental cults. There is only one *sacerdos* epigraphically documented in Emona, a duovir of the second century AD, L. Metellus Cle(mens?), who must have been a municipal high priest (*RINMS* 45), and not a provincial high priest⁵⁴, since Emona did not belong to Pannonia⁵⁵. Theodosius' legislation against paganism began late in his life, in the nineties and in particular after the usurpation of Eugenius in the western part of the empire in AD 392, while earlier his efforts were directed against heresies within the Christian church.

EMONAN TERRITORY

Within the *ager* of Emona, votive monuments are distributed very unevenly, as all of them come from just three small areas: the Ig area, Nauportus and its immediate surroundings (officially belonging to Aquileia), as well as the Sava Valley around Litija. Gods worshipped both in the city and in the *ager* - which undoubtedly reflects their importance - were Jupiter and Aecorna, and, as has been seen, almost certainly also Neptune. The first two areas were very near Emona and were in many ways closely connected with the town.

The Ig area may have been organized as a large *pagus* with one central and several minor settlements, although epigraphic evidence concerning its administrative organization is entirely lacking and even the name of the main settlement remains unknown. Its impor-

⁵¹ 37.4: *Quid ego referam pro moenibus suis festum liberae nobilitatis occursum, conspicuos veste nivea senatores, reverendos municipali purpura flamines, insignes apicibus sacerdotes?* English translation and commentary: B.S. RODGERS, in: NIXON - SAYLOR RODGERS, *Praise*, 1994, pp. 437 ff.; citation: p. 504.

⁵² TURCAN VERKERK, *Poète*, 2003, pp. 140 ff.

⁵³ BRATOŽ, *Christianisierung*, 1996, p. 336.

⁵⁴ MÓCSY, *Pannonia*, 1962, c. 595, regarded him as a provincial priest, basing his opinion on the assumption that Emona was a Pannonian town; cf. also RAEPSAET CHARLIER, *Institutions*, 2006, p. 353.

⁵⁵ ŠAŠEL KOS, *Emona*, 2003.

tance is reflected in the fact that some hundred tombstones have come to light from the Ig area, although - most unusually - other Roman finds, in particular architectural remains, are largely lacking. Such a large number of tombstones can be explained by the fact that the local inhabitants (a mixture of the northern Adriatic, Venetic influenced, as well as Celtic, probably Carnic, population who, for the most part, retained their non-Roman names) earned part of their living by stone cutting. Several not unimportant Roman period quarries are documented in the area, extending from Podpeč to Staje. In view of such a large number of tombstones it is the more unusual that merely three votive altars have so far been discovered in this area, two dedicated to Jupiter and one to an unknown divinity, whose name is not preserved, as well as perhaps to an epichoric *Acinor*(- - -), if the name is indeed a theonym and not a personal name⁵⁶.

The first altar to Jupiter, more than a metre high, with *patera* depicted on its left panel and an inscription carved on the capital of the altar (*CIL*, III 10737 = *RINMS* 77), was immured in the chapel of Sv. Jurij (St George) near Ig (Sonnegg) Castle. The other was unearthed in a field near the village of Golo (*CIL*, III 3784), but given the lack of any architectural remains or other finds it is not possible to draw any conclusions concerning a possible sanctuary of Jupiter. It is not surprising that two out of three votive altars found in the Ig area are dedicated to Jupiter, not only because dedications to Jupiter were the most numerous throughout the empire, but also because the idea of a supreme god must have corresponded to the religious beliefs of the local population, to whom the idea of one main masculine divinity must have been congenial. The situation may have some similar connotations as at Altinum, where the worship of Jupiter (*Iovis*) perhaps indicates previous worship of a supreme god⁵⁷. Dedications to epichoric divinities would be expected, and possibly *Acinor*(- - -) was one of these. This altar, too, was not discovered *in situ*.

However, the extremely small number of dedications to gods, three as opposed to about a hundred tombstones, needs an explanation. It seems that local, pre-Roman cults must have played an important role in the daily life of the villagers from the Ig area. Rites connected with them must have been carried out in the old traditional ways, unaffected by Romanization and the 'epigraphic habit'. At first glance this may seem to be in contradiction with the many tombstones, but for some reason commemorating the deceased by constructing graveyards in the Roman style along the main roads, with funerary stelae or altars, had become appreciated by the local population and adopted by them as early as the first century AD. As stone-cutters they had immediate access to the stone raw material and no doubt a stone cutting workshop existed in one of the several Ig settlements. On the other hand, obviously they did not embrace the habit of erecting votive altars to their divinities. Their sanctuaries may have been *sub divo*, some were perhaps constructed of wood, while others may have been just small shrines. Perhaps they never constructed well-built stone sanctuaries and thus understandably never adopted the habit of erecting stone altars to the gods, at least not on a large scale. This does not mean that they did not take part in Roman ceremonies

⁵⁶ LOVENJAK, *Inschriften*, 1997, pp. 69-70, fig. 8.

⁵⁷ Cf. CAPUIS, *Aspetti*, 1999, p. 158.

and festivities. Emona was merely some 15 km distant from the Ig area and in the city the Ig inhabitants could participate in various religious activities and attend various sanctuaries. Several members of the municipal elite lived in the Ig area, such as C. Bassidius Secundus, who was twice aedile with the right to dispense justice at Emona, *quaestor pecuniae publicae*, duovir *i(ure) d(icundo)*, patron of the *dendrofori*, as well as a prefect and patron of the association of the *centonarii*, and, finally, duovir *i(ure) d(icundo) q(uin)q(uennalis)* (*CIL*, III 10738 = *RINMS* 79). Further, a *sevir* is attested at Ig, whose name has not been preserved, while remains of the names of other members of his family, such as Bui(- -), suggest that he belonged to an indigenous family (*CIL*, III 10739)⁵⁸.

Two more dedications from the Ig area, from Strahomer, are mentioned merely by Thalnitscher in his manuscript *Inscriptiones locorum Labaci vicinorum*, kept in the Baroque Seminary Library in Ljubljana. One is a dedication to *Silvanus sanctus* (*CIL*, III 396*), the other would have been allegedly erected to *Io(vi) regi* (*CIL*, III 397*), however, both were classified as false by O. Hirschfeld, on the basis of A. v. Premerstein's analysis of Thalnitscher's manuscript⁵⁹.

COMPARISON WITH AQUILEIA AND OTHER TOWNS IN THE VICINITY

The close relationship with Aquileia that had always existed must have very much influenced the life at Emona from the very beginning of its foundation, and must no doubt have contributed a great deal also in terms of cults and religion, whether or not this is adequately reflected in the inscriptions of Emona. This can be seen, for example, in the mentioned case of the Aquileian *sevir* T. Caesernius Diphilus, who died at Emona, most probably on an official mission. The institution of *seviri* and (*seviri*) *Augustales* seems to have been organized at Emona in much the same way as in other northern Italian and, in particular, northern Adriatic cities⁶⁰. Another interesting case is represented by T. Vellius Onesimus, who was *sevir* and *Augustalis* at Emona, *quinquevir* in Aquileia⁶¹, and *Augustalis* at Parentium (*CIL*, III 3836 = *RINMS* 9). It is not certain which of the towns mentioned was Onesimus' residence; probably it was Emona, where he held two posts, and because this town is mentioned first; a few Vellii are also attested at Aquileia⁶². The two freedmen of Onesimus, Eutyclus and Perigenes, may well have also lived in Emona, or they may have attended to their master's interests either in Aquileia or Parentium. The connection between these cities is further confirmed by the hon-

⁵⁸ *CIL*, III 399*, allegedly a tombstone of another *sevir* from the Ig area, notably from Tomišelj, is actually not counterfeit as believed by O. Hirschfeld, apart from the interpolation *VI vir* by I.G. Thalnitscher in one of his late 17th/early 18th century manuscripts (*Inscriptiones locorum Labaci vicinorum* f. 1^r no. 1): *Ennius Servil. / fi. VI vir f. sibi / et Maximae / coniugi / vix an. XXX*. The second line should rather be supplemented as *vix(us) / fecit*, see PREMERSTEIN, *Antiquitates*, 1902, c. 22, no. 12. The name *Servilius* may well also be an interpolation.

⁵⁹ PREMERSTEIN, *Antiquitates*, 1902, c. 19, no. 1; cc. 19-20, no. 2.

⁶⁰ ŠAŠEL KOS, *Aspects*, 1999.

⁶¹ The revised reading of *quinquevir* instead of *sevir* in: ŠAŠEL KOS, *Festival*, 2002, pp. 130-133.

⁶² See the indexes in *Inscr. Aquil.*

orific inscription from Parentium for C. Praecellius Augurinus Vettius Festus Crispinianus Vibius Verus Cassianus, *clarissimus iuuenis*⁶³, who was the patron of Aquileia, Parentium, Opitergium, and Emona⁶⁴. The inscription is dated to the beginning of the third century AD. His family originated either in Bellunum, where several Praecellii are known, inscribed in the voting tribe of Papiria⁶⁵, or in Opitergium, a flourishing, formerly Venetic⁶⁶, market-town of a long proto-urban tradition⁶⁷, for whose citizens the same voting tribe is characteristic. He was *triumvir capitalis*, and the tribune of legion *VII Gemina*, stationed in Hispania Tarraconensis⁶⁸. Connections between the four mentioned cities, although not clear, were most probably based on economic relations the family of the Praecellii must have had in all four cities, but which no doubt also extended into the cultural and religious spheres.

Onesimus' function of a *quinquevir* cannot be explained with certainty, it may be related, in one way or another, to cults and religion, since in his case it seems to be closely connected with the *sevirate* and *Augustalitas*. Or it may have been a municipal post, as may be supposed in the case of L. Caesernius Primitivus, who held one of the leading posts in the *collegium fabrum* and was also a *quinquevir*. In Rome, for example - where, however, the municipal government was considerably different from that in other cities of Italy - they were known as *quinqueviri cis Tiberim* and were also responsible, among other obligations, for the security of the streets in town, especially by night, as well as for fire brigades⁶⁹. Indeed, fear of fires was very justified in Roman towns, where many constructions were made of wood. In a certain sense, ritually buried thunderbolts - a beautiful example is preserved at Emona (*RINMS* 30) - may partly also be regarded as testimonies to the fear of fires.

Due to the random nature of the epigraphic evidence, conspicuous differences could be observed concerning cults in various neighbouring cities. Of the early cults attested in Aquileia⁷⁰, the cult of the Lares is also attested at Emona, notably Lares Augusti, protectors of the Roman state⁷¹. They had a public character with a festival at the end of the agricultural activities. In Emona, a priest's attendant, a *minister*, is attested, probably a freedman (since no filiation is noted) of the Dindii family, L. Dindius Priscus (*AIJ* 158 = *RINMS* 18), and two slaves, who may have occupied themselves with the cult as servants, dedicated a base with statues to Lares (*AIJ* 159 = *RINMS* 19). Another cult important in Republican Aquileia and

⁶³ *Ins. It.*, X 2, 8 (= *CIL*, V 331): C. Praecellio C. fili(o) Pap. Augurino Vettio Festo Crispiniano Vibio Vero Cassiano c(larissimo) i(iuveni) et c. patrono splendidissimae col. Aquil(eiensi)um et Parent(i)norum, Opiterginor(um), Hemonens(ium).

⁶⁴ HARMAND, *Patronat*, 1957, p. 241.

⁶⁵ PANCIERA, *Vita*, 1957, p. 84.

⁶⁶ TIRELLI, *Oderzo*, 1987; EAD., *Opitergium*, 1998a; EAD., *Opitergium*, 1998b.

⁶⁷ RUTA SERAFINI - BALISTA, *Oderzo*, 1999.

⁶⁸ *PIR*² 6 (1998), p. 386 (K.-P. Johné); ALFÖLDY, *Senatoren*, 1982, p. 335; PANCIERA, *Patroni*, 1987, p. 85; p. 91, no. 6; ZACCARIA, *Percorsi*, 2006, p. 64.

⁶⁹ PREMERSTEIN, *Quinqueviri*, 1903.

⁷⁰ FONTANA, *Culti*, 1997, pp. 52 ff.

⁷¹ On the Lares in northern Italy, see BASSIGNANO, *Religione*, 1987, p. 341.

its territory was that of Hercules⁷², who must have also been worshipped in the same period at Altinum or its *ager*, although the dedication to Hercules found at Jesolo is of uncertain provenance⁷³. His cult is twice documented at Emona; in the first case one of the dedicators, the father, L. Clodius Alpinus came from Aquileia - which is indicated by his voting tribe *Velina* - while his son C. Clodius Clemens, of the voting tribe *Claudia*, was already a citizen of Emona. This dedication makes evident the close connections between both cities. The cult of Hercules was most important also in Pola, which is even reflected in the official name of the colony (*colonia Iulia Pollentia Herculanea*, *Ins. It.*, X 1, 85), where the god had his sanctuary (*Inscr. It.*, X 1, 5)⁷⁴. The worship of Hercules was related to the vitally important forest, pastoral, and agricultural economy, stock-breeding and various activities connected with it, as well as with transhumance and quarries. Therefore he often had his sanctuary outside a town⁷⁵, as may also have been the case at Emona, if indeed the second dedication to the god by one L. Appuleius Proculus was actually discovered near the church of sv. Marjeta (St Margaret) at Koseze in Ljubljana, some six km to the northwest of Emona (*RINMS* 10). However, his worship was even more complex, since in sub-Alpine regions and northern Italy - as well as elsewhere - his cult was associated, probably due to its supposed Celtic origin, with thermal springs, and he was occasionally identified with Saxanus, or related to Liber (particularly under the Severan emperors); one of his epithets was *Invictus*⁷⁶. Most interestingly, an altar was erected to Hercules in the broad area of Lacus Timavi by one C. Curius Quintianus from Opitergium (*Opiterginus*), thus relating the cult of the god both to the Timavus area as well as to Opitergium. It was discovered in the ruins of Duino (Devin) Castle (*Ins. It.*, X 4, 322). It is interesting that in the imperial period Hercules seems to have been less popular than expected; possibly at the expense of Silvanus, and - in Aquileia and its territory - of Belenus⁷⁷. Belenus has not been attested to date at Emona, and neither have some other early Aquileian cults, such as Atamens, Bona Mens, Minerva, Diovis, Saturnus, and Dii Parentes⁷⁸, which, however, does not mean that these divinities were not worshipped in Emona.

An interesting case in terms of comparison with Emona is Concordia, one of the minor northern Italian municipal centres and also a *colonia Iulia*, founded most probably in the triumviral period or under Octavian⁷⁹. The cults documented in the town are local, Greco-Roman and oriental⁸⁰, as in most of the cities in Italy and the provinces of the western part of the Roman Empire. Therefore it could be significant to determine - taking into account the extremely incomplete evidence - if any local or other deity would have been of

⁷² Lastly, see MODUGNO, *Considerazioni*, 2000.

⁷³ CRESCI MARRONE, *Dedica*, 2002.

⁷⁴ FISCHER, *Pola*, 1996, pp. 105-106, Pl. 33a, b.; GIRARDI JURKIĆ, *Kultura*, 2004, pp. 160 ff. and *passim*.

⁷⁵ MASTROCINQUE, *Culti*, 1991, pp. 217 ff.

⁷⁶ Buchi, *Triumviro*, 1986, in particular pp. 479-480.

⁷⁷ FONTANA, *Culti*, 1997, p. 282.

⁷⁸ FONTANA, *Culti*, 1997; ZACCARIA, *Documenti*, 1999, pp. 196 ff.

⁷⁹ ZACCARIA, *Concordia*, 1995; DI FILIPPO BALESTRAZZI, *Origini*, 1999.

⁸⁰ MASTROCINQUE, *Aspetti*, 1995.

particular importance. In the area of Emona, the first attested cult is that of Aequorna, whose sanctuary stood at Nauportus; her cult also continued to play a most important role at Emona. At Concordia two of the oldest cults were also indigenous, those of Temavus/Timavus and Belenus; Timavus was worshipped towards the end of the second or the beginning of the first centuries BC far from the Timavus River⁸¹, which means that the god assimilated a less well known water divinity. Otherwise, his particular place of worship was the area of *Lacus Timavi*, where the river flows into the Adriatic Sea, and where his sanctuary was located; the area belonged to the territory of Aquileia, thus it is not surprising that his cult is also well attested in the metropolis⁸². In a similar way, in Iulium Carnicum, closely related to Concordia⁸³, one of the two cults that were important in the settlement at an early date is also pre-Roman, that of Belinus. Two *magistri vici*, P. Erbonius Princeps and Sex. Votticius Argentillus - the gentilicia are well documented at Concordia, Aquileia and Noricum (Magdalensberg) - had a sanctuary built to the god (*ILS* 5443)⁸⁴. The other sanctuary was, significantly, that of Hercules (*CIL*, V 1830; 1831)⁸⁵. In the territory of the town, at Resiutta, Silvanus Silvester is documented, which may or may not be an *interpretatio Romana* of a pre-Roman divinity⁸⁶; Silvanus was also worshipped at Emona (*ILJug* 302).

At Concordia, the cult of Cybele or Magna Mater played an important role, as it did in so many other towns in Italy and the provinces, and notably also at Emona. It was regarded as less “oriental” than others, perhaps due to the fact that it was introduced to Rome from Pessinus in 204 BC, after Hannibal’s invasion of central Italy, and was related, as an old Trojan cult, to the mythical past of the Romans⁸⁷. Interestingly, Magna Mater occasionally superseded an earlier female divinity, as may have been the case with Adsalluta in her sanctuary on the bank of the Sava River (the Celeia territory), shared with Savus⁸⁸. Among the Greco-Roman cults in Concordia those of Minerva, Silvanus and Bona Dea seem to have been important. Of these only the cult of Silvanus is documented at Emona (*ILJug* 302), although this may well be ascribed merely to the poor extant evidence.

Strangely, too, the cult of Neptune, important enough in the area of Emona, does not seem to have been particularly popular in Cisalpine Gaul. In several places - such as also in the Emona region - testimonies of his cult have been discovered in the vicinity of rivers and lakes (Lake Garda, the Po River), where he could be interpreted as a water divinity, perhaps

⁸¹ BANDELLI, *Dedica*, 1990. Cf. ZACCARIA, *Documenti*, 1999, p. 200.

⁸² CUSCITO, *Lacus*, 1989; VEDALDI IASBEZ, *Venetia*, 1994, pp. 160-177, 180-181; VERZÁR BASS, *Culti*, 1991, pp. 255-260; FONTANA, *Culti*, 1997, pp. 30 ff.; cf. also CENERINI, *Scritture*, 1992, p. 106.

⁸³ ZACCARIA, *Iulium Carnicum*, 2001.

⁸⁴ *CIL*, V 1829 + p. 1053: [- - -] / et q(ui) s(upra) s(cripti) s(unt), aedem Belini / [su]a pecunia refecere et / [clu]pea inaurata in fastigio V / et signa duo dedere, / [P.] Erbonio P. l. Principe / [Se]x. [V]otticio Sex. l. Argentillo / mag(istris) vic(i).

⁸⁵ Cf. MAINARDIS, *Iulium Carnicum*, 1994, pp. 86-87, 98-99.

⁸⁶ ZACCARIA, *Iulium Carnicum*, 2001, p. 144.

⁸⁷ MASTROCINQUE, *Aspetti*, 1995, p. 284.

⁸⁸ ŠAŠEL KOS, *Divinities*, 1999, pp. 118-119.

with local pre-Roman traits; in most of the cases, however, he bears no epithet⁸⁹. His cult is further attested at seaports, at Atria⁹⁰, Parentium (*Ins. It.*, X 2, 3)⁹¹ and Aquileia (*Ins. Aquil.* 327; 326)⁹², where the god was officially worshipped. There, Neptune was called Augustus and was more or less identified with the Greek god of the seas, Poseidon, and in this sense cannot be compared to Neptune at Emona.

The world of the gods documented to date in the neighbouring Norican Celeia offers an entirely different picture. First of all, over a hundred dedications came to light in the town and its territory, which is twice as many as in Emona and its *ager*. The cults of several Roman gods are attested in Celeia and its territory, such as Jupiter, Diana, Fortuna, Hercules, Janus, Mars, Mercurius, Neptunus, Saxanus, Termunes, Valetudo, Victoria, Virtus, Volcanus, all the gods and goddesses (*Dii Deaque*), as well as the cults of oriental divinities, Dolichenus, Mater Magna, and Mithras. It has been hypothesized for some of the former, however, that Celtic divinities may be concealed under their Roman names⁹³. The cult of Neptune was most important in the town, where the Savinja River often caused damaging floods. However, for the region of Celeia the pre-Roman, Celtic divinities are particularly typical, such as Vibes, Carvonia, various Jupiters (e.g. Uxlemitanus and Arubianus), Genius Anigemius, while the cults of Epona, Celeia, and Noreia were related to the Roman army and administration, including *beneficiarii consularis*, as well as *beneficiarii* of the procurator. The same is true of Virunum and its territory. Belinus and Belestis were worshipped there, Belestis by the Tapponii, who belonged to the municipal elite in Virunum⁹⁴, and whose members must have been well-to-do Norican merchants and businessmen, supervising the mountain track across Ljubelj (Loiblpaß), which was the shortest connection between Virunum and Emona, although too steep and dangerous to be much in use. Other pre-Roman divinities include Apollo Grannus, Casuontanus, Isis Noreia, Vocretanus, Iovenas, Teurnia, *Genius cucullatus*, and Esus. Poetovio, one of the most important Pannonian cities, in which important provincial bureaucracy was located, was a centre of the worship of Mithras, while local cults were also popular, such as those of Jupiter Culminalis, the river god Dravus, Marmogius, and in particular the cult of Nutrices, local Celtic birth goddesses with a Roman name, the nourishers and guardians of children⁹⁵.

⁸⁹ BUCHI, *Quattuorviri*, 1984, pp. 71 ff.

⁹⁰ BUCHI, *Quattuorviri*, 1984, in particular pp. 69 ff.: *Neptunus Augustus* was honoured by the *quattuorviri i(ure) d(icundo)*; this dedication is one of the very few votive inscriptions known from the town.

⁹¹ The sanctuary of Neptune was built in the first century AD by T. Abudius Verus, an *ex-subpraefectus* of the Ravenna fleet, in an area granted by the municipal councillors.

⁹² The first altar was erected by a sevir L. Titius Felix; the second is the base for the statue of Neptune, restored by the city of Aquileia under the emperor Decius (AD 249-251); perhaps it was damaged by the army of Maximinus Thrax in AD 238.

⁹³ See ŠAŠEL KOS, *Divinities*, 1999, pp. 131-151, on the (local) divinities worshipped in Celeia; methodologically it is most difficult to assess correctly the supposed assimilation of pre-Roman divinities, see ZACCARIA, *Divinità*, 2001-2002, pp. 130 ff., in particular p. 133.

⁹⁴ WEDENIG, *Quellen*, 1997, pp. 265-266, no. V 16.

⁹⁵ ŠAŠEL KOS, *Divinities*, 1999, pp. 153-192.

An interesting comparison may be made with the first Roman colony in Pannonia, *colonia Flavia Siscia*. The city soon became an important administrative and commercial centre, and in the mid-third century AD it was even the seat of the state mint. As has been seen, comparison with other towns is not so significant in terms of the Greco-Roman pantheon and so-called oriental gods since clearly, in a cosmopolitan centre such as Siscia, almost all gods were worshipped in one way or another. This is testified less by dedications on stone monuments (among which those of the *beneficarii consularis* were not unimportant), which are relatively scarce since altogether less than seventy inscribed monuments have been found to date in the town area, and more by numerous bronze statuettes and other small archaeological objects⁹⁶. It would be interesting to see, especially in terms of local or typically provincial deities, which ones seem to have been particularly popular in the town. One such was undoubtedly Silvanus, who was one of the most frequently worshipped gods in Pannonia; his cult is attested by five votive monuments in Siscia. He was invoked as *Domesticus* (*AIJ* 546, 547) and *Silvester* (*AIJ* 549), as well as *Magla* (*AIJ* 548); most probably an epichoric divinity - or even various divinities - is concealed underneath the name of Silvanus. This is further indicated by the worship of the *Silvanae* (*AIJ* 550), identified as some kind of Nymphs, female companions of Silvanus, who were especially popular in Dalmatia⁹⁷. Another divinity whose cult was only important in a local context is Savus, documented at Siscia on a curse-tablet (*AIJ* 557); elsewhere he is only attested at nearby Andautonia and in the area of the sanctuary built at the hamlet of Sava opposite Hrastnik (Celeia district) for Savus and Adsalluta; the latter most probably protected travellers along the Savus River across the dangerous rapids in the near vicinity of the sanctuary⁹⁸. For the inhabitants of towns and settlements along the Sava River, as well as those who merely travelled along it, Savus was a powerful and important god who could be invoked to save, as well as harm, people; the latter is indicated by the curse-tablet from Siscia, in which he was entreated by a cosmopolitan group of people - no doubt merchants - to drown their opponents in a legal process, so that they would not be able to testify against the writers of the curse. Water divinities were also related to the demonic forces of the underworld.

It is evident from the collected evidence that the cult life in Emona resembled much more closely that of other cities in *Regio X* than that of the nearby Norican and Pannonian towns. This is indicated particularly by the specific organization of the *sevirate* and *Augustalitas*⁹⁹, and by the complete absence of the votive altars erected by the *beneficarii consularis*, or - in Noricum, particularly in Celeia - *beneficarii procuratoris*, as well as by the fact that in the Norican towns pre-Roman local divinities were much more numerous. In Aquileia merely the cult of Belenus, identified with Apollo, played a significant role, while at Emona only the cult of Aecorna was important. However, at Aquileia his cult outgrew the cult of a Celtic god, and he became the patron of the city, its symbol, a "civic god"¹⁰⁰. The greatest difference, how-

⁹⁶ BUZOV, *Kultovi*, 2005.

⁹⁷ RENDIĆ MIOČEVIĆ, *Répresentations*, 1955.

⁹⁸ ŠAŠEL KOS, *Savus*, 1994 (revised in *Divinities*, 1999).

⁹⁹ ŠAŠEL KOS, *Aspects*, 1999.

¹⁰⁰ ZACCARIA, *Divinità*, 2001-2002, pp. 130 ff.; the evidence collected on pp. 141-145.

ever, may be noted upon visiting the museum collections of Roman stone monuments. While Celeian monuments are mostly richly decorated marble altars and tombstones, culminating in the imposing Šempeter *aediculae*, and the military and votive monuments of Poetovio are also rich in decorative reliefs, the Emonan ones are simple, austere *stelae* and altars¹⁰¹, a poor variant of the Aquileian monuments. Emona was, in terms of administration, the last Italian town, although it was situated - in geographic terms - beyond "the lowest part of the Alps" at the Ocra Pass (STRABO 4. 6. 9 C 207), within the border area between the Mediterranean, sub-Alpine, and Pannonian worlds.

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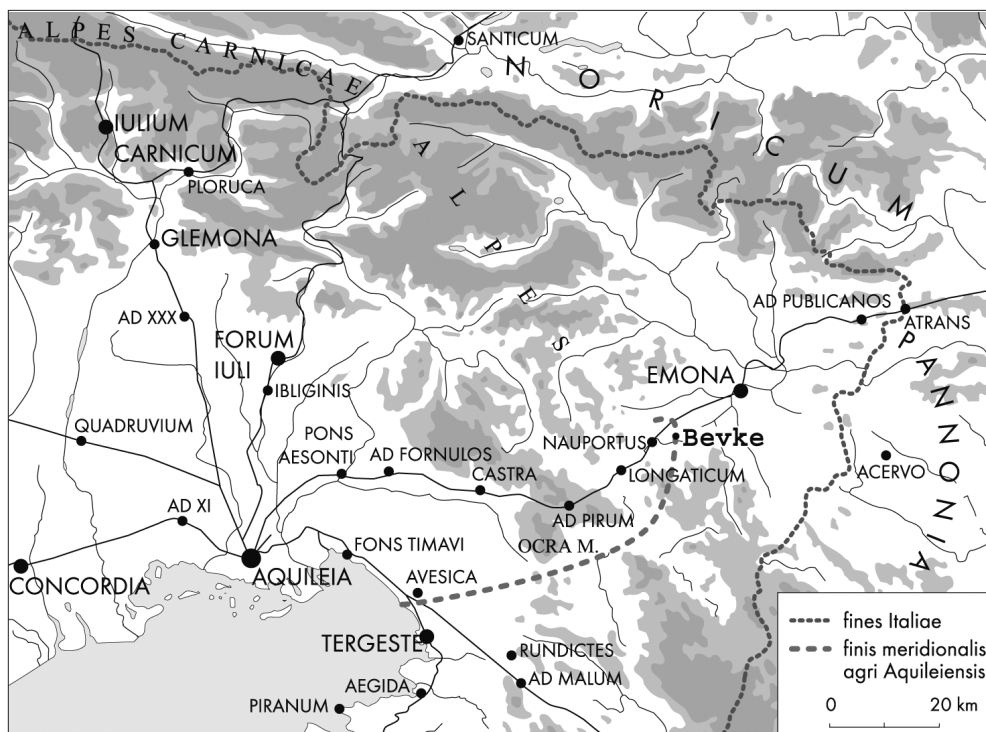
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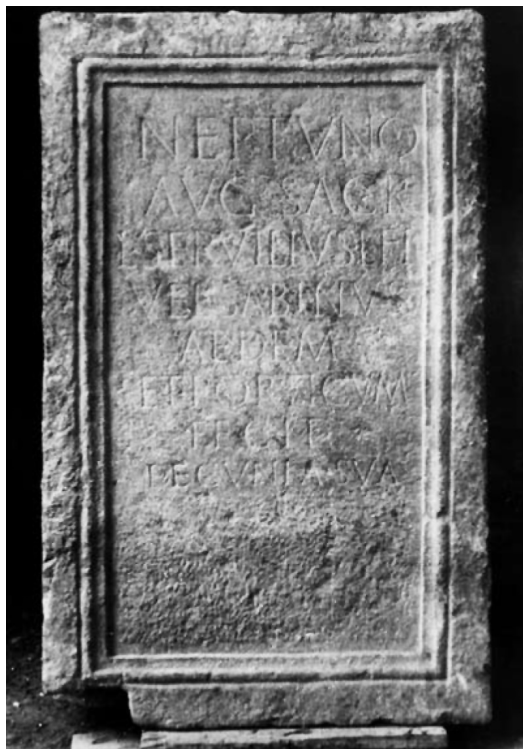
1. The new boundary between Aquileia and Emona (after: ŠAŠEL KOS, *Aquileia Nostra*, 73, 2002, cc. 251-252).



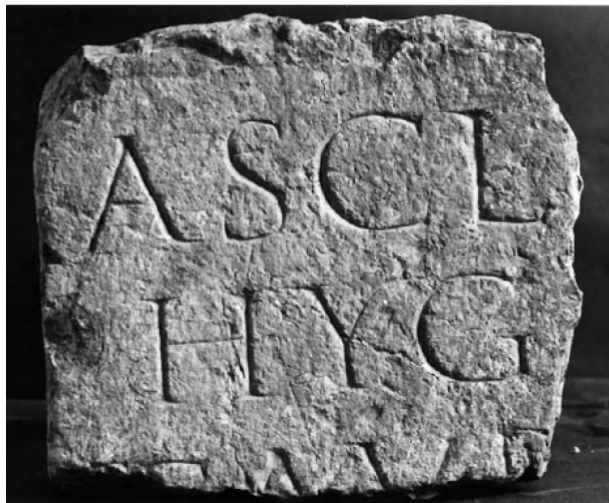
2. The tombstone for L. Caesernius Primitivus and his wife, Ollia Primilla (*AIJ* 209 = *ILS* 7235a).



3. Dedication to Aecorna by P. Cassius Secundus (ŠAŠEL [J., A.], Préfet, 1977).



4. Dedication to Neptune, in which his sanctuary is mentioned (*CIL*, III 3778).



5. Dedication to Asclepius and Hygia (*ILJug* 1080).