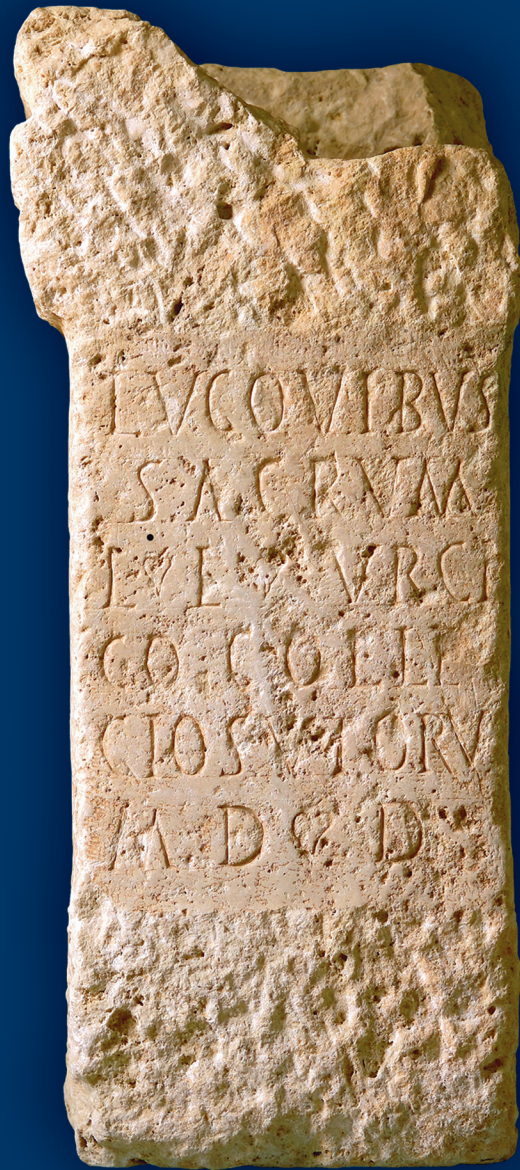


CELTIC RELIGION ACROSS SPACE AND TIME

J. Alberto Arenas-Esteban (ed.)



IX Workshop F.E.R.C.AN
-Fontes Epigraphici Religionvm Celticarvm ANtiqvarvm-

Celtic Religion across Space and Time

J. Alberto Arenas-Esteban (ed.)

IX Workshop F.E.R.C.AN
FONTES EPIGRAPHICI RELIGIONVM CELTICARVM ANTIQVARVM



JUNTA DE COMUNIDADES DE CASTILLA-LA MANCHA - 2010

FICHA CATALOGRÁFICA

Workshop F.E.R.C.A.N. (9^a.2010. Molina de Aragón)

Celtic Religion across space and time : fontes epigraphici religionvm celticarvm antiqvarvm / J. Alberto Arenas-Esteban (ed) . – Molina de Aragón : CEMAT (Centro de Estudios de Molina y Alto Tajo) ; Toledo : Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha, Servicio del Libro, Exposiciones y Audiovisuales, 2010.

298 p. : il. ; 29 cm. – (Actas)

ISBN: 978-84-7788-589-4

Depósito Legal: AB-328-2010

1. Antropología social 2. Historia Antigua 3. Arqueología

39 (364) : 94

902 (364)



Con la colaboración de C.E.M.A.T.

Queda rigurosamente prohibida la reproducción parcial o total de esta obra sin la autorización escrita de los titulares del copyright.

© de los autores

I.S.B.N.: 978-84-7788-589-4

Depósito Legal: AB-328-2010

FOTOGRAFÍA DE PORTADA: Altar de los Lugoves. (Cortesía del Museo Numantino, Soria)

MAQUETACIÓN: M. Marco Blasco

IMPRIME: Sonora Comunicación Integral, S.L.

EDICIÓN: CONSEJERÍA DE EDUCACIÓN, CIENCIA Y CULTURA DE CASTILLA-LA MANCHA

Impreso en España - Printed in Spain

Contents

PRESENTACIÓN INSTITUCIONAL.

PRESENTATION.

Jesús Alberto Arenas-Esteban.

1. EPIGRAPHY AND PHILOLOGY: METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS AND REGIONAL STUDIES.

Patrizia de Bernardo Stempel <i>Method in the analysis of Romano-Celtic theonymic materials: improved readings and etymological interpretations.</i>	18
Patrizia de Bernardo Stempel & Manfred Hainzmann <i>Sive in theonymic formulae as a means for introducing explications and identifications.</i>	28
Bernard Rémy <i>Corpus Fercan: les provinces romaines des Alpes occidentales (Alpes graies, cottiennes, maritimes, pœnines).</i>	40
Isabelle Fauduet <i>Divinités et théonymes celtes dans l'est de la Lyonnaise.</i>	50
Joaquín Gorrochategui <i>Los altares votivos del santuario aquitano de Montsérié, Hautes-Pyrénées.</i>	62
José d'Encarnação & Amílcar Guerra <i>The current state of research on local deities in Portugal.</i>	94
M. Luz Barberarena Núñez & J. Luís Ramírez Sádaba <i>El sincretismo entre divinidades romanas y divinidades indígenas en el Conventus Emeritensis.</i>	114
M. Cruz González Rodríguez <i>Problemas de división y restitución de nombres de divinidades indígenas en la epigrafía votiva del noroeste español: el ejemplo de Couxil (Cartelle, Orense –Hispania Citerior–).</i>	130
Patrizia de Bernardo Stempel <i>Dea Obela, Matres Obele(n)ses and Ubelnae, Obbellegin[os].</i>	138

2. ARCHAEOLOGY AND MATERIALITY: TERRITORY AND CELTIC PROJECTIONS.

J. Alberto Arenas & Raúl López <i>Celtic divine names in the Iberian Peninsula: towards a territorial analysis.</i>	148
M. Joao Correia Santos <i>Inscripciones rupestres y espacios sagrados del norte de Portugal: nuevos datos y contextualización. Los casos de Pena Escrita, Mogueira y Pias dos Mouros.</i>	180
Ralph Häussler <i>From tomb to temple. On the rôle of hero cults in local religions in Gaul and Britain in the Iron Age and the Roman period.</i>	200
Gerhard Bauchhenß <i>Abnoba und Vosegus.</i>	228
Marjeta Šašel Kos <i>Adsalluta and Magna Mater – Is there a link?</i>	242
Vladimir P. Petrović <i>La presence des celtes dans les Balkans centraux a l'époque preromaine.</i>	258
Nadja Gavrilović <i>The cult of Mars in the Central Balkans: a Roman or Romano-Celtic deity.</i>	266

3. LITERARY SOURCES: CELTIC RELIGION FROM A DISTANCE.

Andreas Hofeneder <i>Späte Zeugnisse zum keltischen Eichenkult.</i>	282
--	-----

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS	301
-----------------------------	-----

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to, based on epigraphic and archaeological material, present so far known aspects of Roman god Mars in the territory of Central Balkans, with the emphasis on province Moesia Superior. After cataloguing epigraphic and archaeological monuments and after examining epithets and iconography of the deity, we will try to tackle the problem of *interpretatio romana* of unknown Celtic god, who was maybe assimilated with Mars. Finally, we will try to ask several questions about the character of the deity within the boundaries of Moesia Superior and compare it with his manifestations in other Roman provinces.

KEYWORDS

Cult, Mars, Moesia Superior, Votive monuments, Bronze figurines, Celts, Roman army.

RESUMEN

El objetivo de este trabajo es presentar, a partir de material epigráfico y arqueológico, los aspectos conocidos hasta el momento sobre el dios romano Marte en el territorio de los Balcanes centrales, prestando especial atención a la provincia de Moesia Superior. Tras catalogar los monumentos epigráficos y arqueológicos, y después de examinar los epítetos y la iconografía de la deidad, intentaremos abordar el problema de la *interpretatio romana* de un dios celta desconocido, que quizá fuese asimilado a Marte. Finalmente, intentaremos plantear varias cuestiones a cerca del carácter de la deidad dentro de las fronteras de Moesia Superior y compararla con sus manifestaciones en otras provincias romanas.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Culto, Marte, Moesia Superior, Monumentos votivos, Figurillas de bronce, Celtas, Ejército romano.

The cult of Mars in Central Balkans: A Roman or Romano-Celtic deity?¹

Nadja Gavrilović

The aim of this paper is to try to represent a research based on so far known epigraphic and archaeological data, about the cult of god Mars in Central Balkans with the emphasis on province Moesia Superior and its possible connections with unknown Celtic deity with similar characteristics.

In the period of Roman domination the region of Central Balkans included the territories of provinces such as Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior and northern Macedonia that is, a large part of the territories of present Serbia, Kosovo, northern Bulgaria and northern Macedonia (Fig. 1). Without any wish to enter really complex problem of disposition of central Balkan's tribes in pre-roman times, I will just make a brief digression about the ethnic picture in general that Romans found upon their arrival in first century A.D.

Northern parts of Central Balkans were inhabited by numerous Celtic tribes, eastern parts were populated by Thracian tribes, in western parts of Central Balkans were various Illyric tribes and in the south lived Dardanians who were probably of Illyric origin with great Thracian influence. Because of their inevitable interaction, it is important to emphasize huge differences in the cultural and social level of development of mentioned tribes, because some of them like Celtic tribe Scordisci and probably Illyric Dardanians were near forming state organization, while others, like Thracian tribe Moesi were a far more primitive.

During first century AD., the Romans divided the Scordisci community into small tribal units and although weakened, Celts managed to preserve the independence of their material and spiritual culture to a considerable extent up to third century AD. Already mainly settled in the regions near rivers as Danube, Sava, Tisa and Morava, under Roman reign they continued to live there. Their *oppidums* located on strategically important sites as Acuminum, Rittium, Singidunum and Viminacium, were converted into *castrums* of the Roman Limes. Unlike them, the settlements located further from the strategically significant roads and rivers were deserted. Archaeological material such as ceramics, arms and jewellery show that Celtic tradition of production continues during the Roman domination, while findings such as glass artefacts result directly from the Romanisation process and Scordisci coins disappear before Roman monetary system. As for the burial customs, archaeological sites as Taurunum, Singidunum, Sirmium and Burgenae confirm the continuity in funerary ritual of cremating the deceased. From third century AD., however, in larger centers as Viminacium, inhumed Celtic graves were found and can be explained as obvious result of Romanisation which was more successful in larger centres, such as *municipii* or *coloniae*. One more confirmation of Celtic presence can be viewed in well-shaped graves found so far mainly in larger

¹ I owe deep thankfulness to Prof. Dr. Gerhard Bauchhens for kindly reading earlier draft of this paper. His valuable comments have been

most useful, for which I would like to thank him.

centres as Sirmium, Singidunum, Viminacium etc. and which have their analogies in numerous well-shaped tombs in Galia, Brittain and Germany. Although it is certain that their origin is Celtic, well-shaped tombs don't represent traditional burial custom of autochthonous Celtic tribes, but of Gallic soldiers who came to Moesia Superior in first century AD. within cohorts third, fourth, fifth, seventh and eight Gallorum.²

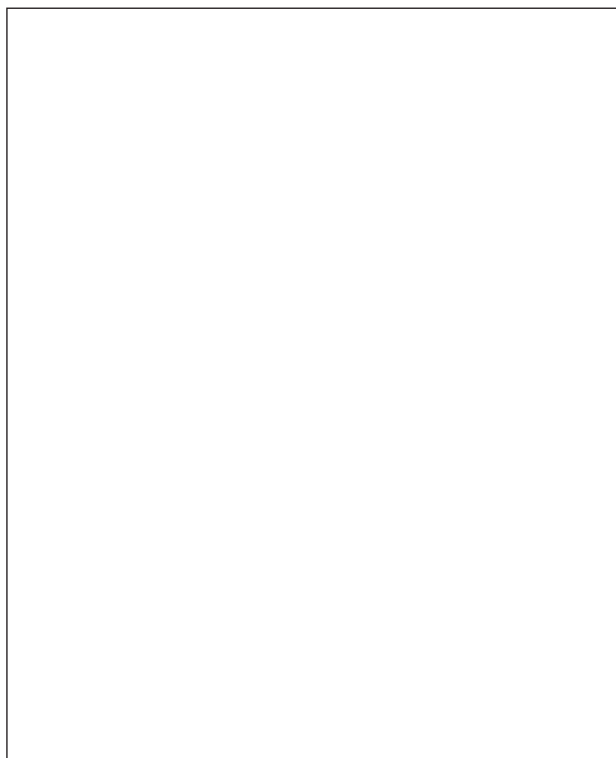


Figure 1: Roman Province Moesia Superior.

Although we have considerable knowledge about material culture of Celts, their spiritual culture is almost unknown. We can only rely on ancient writers such as Florus who, putting erroneously Scordisci among Thracian tribes, writes that “they are most cruel and wild among Thracians” and that they “sacrificed human blood to

gods and drank it from human skulls”.³Not only that they sacrificed human blood to certain gods, but thankfully to Ammianus Marcellinus we are aware that “Scordisci also sacrificed their captives to Mars and Bellona”. It is obvious that under the names of “Mars” and “Bellona” two unknown Celtic deities were hiding. This is, unfortunately, the only, so far known confirmation of *interpretation romana* of Celtic god identified with Mars in Moesia Superior, by ancient writers.⁴

The corpus of archaeological and epigraphic materials related to the cult of Mars in Central Balkans is very modest and includes five votive monuments and several bronze statues.

In the epigraphic monuments, a difference can be perceived between vows mentioning a god without an epithet and those mentioning a god with an epithet.

First votive stela was found in locality Kalište, where traces of *castellum* have been confirmed.⁵ It reads:

Mart(i) | sac(rum) | T. F(lavius) Sapi() | ex viso (!)

The nearest geographical analogies where Mars is mentioned as *Sacrum*, are found in votive monuments from localities Varvaria⁶ and Scardona⁷ in Dalmatia and locality Mursa in Pannonia Inferior.⁸ Since the monument from Kalište was found in strategically important locality, which was probably *castellum*, we can presume that dedicant was of military profession and that the monument was erected in second or third century AD.

All four remaining monuments were found in the same locality - Timacum Minus, locality of significant importance, where a great number of funeral and votive monuments was found and where existence of several temples dedicated to Jupiter, Diana and Mars was confirmed.⁹ On one votive monument, Mars is mentioned without epithet, while on other three he bears the epithets *Campester* and *Equitum*.

² It is presumed that Gauls came to Moesia Superior with Roman army and that they brought their own funeral customs. But, question arises why graves typical for Gallic population do not appear on other localities which Gauls also inhabited, beside Viminacium, Golubović S. 2004: *Sahranjivanje u Viminacijumu od I do IV veka n. e.*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Belgrade, 16-17.

³ F. Papazoglu, *Ljudske žrtve i tragovi kanibalizma kod nekih srednjobalkanskih antičkih plemena*, *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta*, X-1, Beograd 1968, 50.

⁴ *Ibid*, 54.

⁵ Mirković M 1986: *Inscriptions de la Mesie Superieure: Viminacium et*

Margum, Vol. II, Belgrade, 197, n. 299.

⁶ *Marti sac(rum) | Turus Longini f(i)lius | dec(urio) et sacerdotali(s) | pro suis et cognation(e) | Nantania | de suo v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*, Šašel A. et J.: *Inscriptiones Latinae, Situla* 19, Ljubljana, 142, n. 944A.

⁷ *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | M(arti) sa[c(rum)]*, Pedišić I. 1994: *O Jupiterovom kultu u Skardoni*, *VAHD* 86, Split, 192-194, Nr. 3; sl. 3.

⁸ *Marti | Augg(ustorum) sa[c(rum)] | Apolaust[us] | [Augg(ustorum)](?) lib(ertus)? [---] |*. AE 1980: 0718.

⁹ Petrović P. 1995: *Inscriptions de la Mesie Superieure: Timacum Minus et la Vallee du Timok*, Vol. III/2, Belgrade, 42-43.

First votive stela is dedicated just to “Marti”.¹⁰ Since there is no epithet of god or any other data like the name of dedicant, the reason of dedication, date of dedication etc., we can only conclude that this stela is very similar to two others found in locality Sirmium. Two other analogies were found in a votive stela from Salonae, which also bears just the name “Marti”¹¹ and votive stela from Municipium Montanensium (Montana) in Moesia Inferior.¹²

Second votive monument was found in Timacum Minus, it is dedicated to *Mars Campester* and it reads:

[Marti] Campestr[i coh(ors) II Aur(elia)] | [Dard(anorum)] equit(ata) pro [salute] | [- - -]

This is isolated example of inscription dedicated to *Mars Campester* in Moesia Superior, but not only there. The rare analogy with our inscription is found in inscription from Tarragona (Roman *Colonia Iulia Urbs Triumphalis Tarraco*) which is dedicated to *Marti Campestri Sacrum*.¹³ Since there are numerous votive monuments dedicated to *Campestres* by Roman equestrian units, we can presume that here, with the name of god Mars, epithet *Campester* or *Campestris* meant protector of *campus*, place where cavalry parades were held. Existence of such place in Timacum Minus hasn't yet been confirmed, but it is presumed not only by previously mentioned inscription, but also by long presence of cavalry in Timacum Minus.

On two remaining votive monuments dedicated to Mars, god has the epithet *Equitum*.

First inscription reads:

Mart(i) eq(uitum) | pro salute dolminor(um) NN[[N]] Selveri et Antonini | IMPP G. Atrius Decolrat(us) trib(unus) coh(ortis) II Aurel(iae) | Dard(anorum) Antoninilanae (milliariae) eq(uitatae) l(ibens) p(osuit) (Fig. 2).

In its original form, the monument was dedicated to Septimius Severus, Caracala and Geta, but

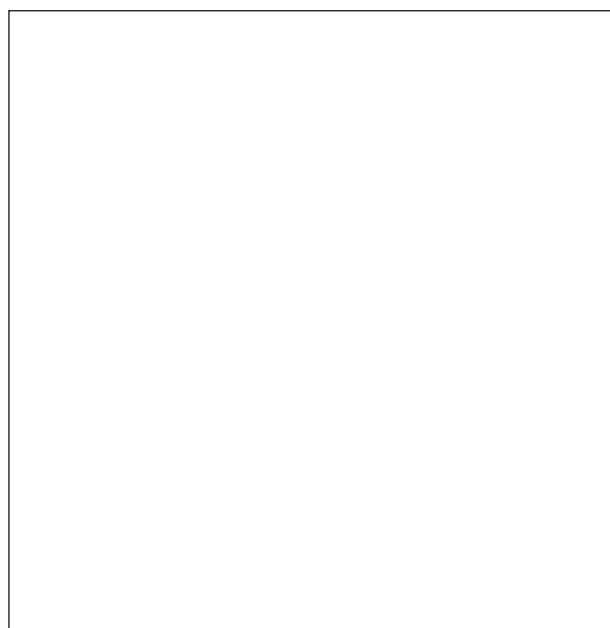


Figure 2: Votive monument dedicated to Mars Equitum from Timacum Minus.

after *damnatio memoriae* of Geta, the third **N** was erased (Petrović 1995: 66-67). Cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum stayed for a long time in Timacum Minus and we know that not only, under its commander G. Atrius Decoratus, it built a temple dedicated to Mars, but also it restored a temple dedicated to goddess Diana.¹⁴ Original text of the inscription can be dated between AD 208-211, and the latter text after the year AD 212.

Second votive monument represents a marble, fragmented stela. It reads:

[Mart]i equitum te[implum] | [pro s]alut(e) domino[rum n(ostrorum duorum)] | [Seve]ri et Antonin[i imp(eratorum duorum)] | [---] Atrium Deco[rat(um) trib(unum)] | [coh(ortis) II Aurel(iae) Dard(anorum) An[toni] | [nia]nae (milliariae) eq(uitatae) AE[---]

This monument was, as previous one, erected *pro salute* emperors Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta. It was also, after *damnatio memoriae* of Geta, redone. But unlike the first inscription dedi-

¹⁰ Ibid, 66.

¹¹ Ibid, 66.

¹² *Marti* | v(o)t(o) s(uscepto), Aleksandrov G. 1980: Antični nadpisi i drugi nahodki ot Montana, *Archaeologia*, 22 / 1, Sofia, 39-40, Nr. 9; obr. 9.

¹³ Petrović 1995 : 66; *Marti Campestri sac(rum) | pro sal(ute) | imp. M. Aur. Commodi | Aug. et equit(um) sing(ularium) | T. Aurel(ius) Decimus | c. leg VII G(eminiae) Fel(icis) praep(ositus) simul et cam(idoctor) | dedic(atum) k. Mart. | Mamert(ino) et Rufo cos.*, Irby-Massie 1996 : 300.
¹⁴ Ibid, 44-45.

cated to *Mars Equitum*, this one confirms the existence of temple of Mars in Timacum Minus. Unfortunately, so far archaeological excavations, couldn't point exactly where the temple of Mars was situated. The inscription can be dated in the same way as the first one – original text from AD 208-212 and the text known to us was made after AD 212.

As for the archaeological material, so far no marble statues of Mars were found.

Only six bronze statuettes were identified as representations of this deity.

Four of them present Mars as mature, bearded man in full war equipment – type which derivation from the cult statue of the Temple of Mars Ultor has been well established (Webster 1990: 296). First figurine, although quite damaged, very meticulously presents the features in Mars' face and *lorica* on his chest with Medusa's head (Veličković 1972: n. 8) (Fig 3). He has paludamentum over his shoulders, and it is presumed that in his right hand he held spear, while in his left hand he was holding a shield. Unfortunately, both attributes are missing. It is not known where the figurine was found, but its quality allows us to believe that it is a Roman import from second century AD. In the light of that presumption, we can narrow the number of localities from which the figurine might have come from and presume that it came from some of the important military centres in Limes such as Novae, Diana or Pontes. It has strong analogy in Mars figurine from Butovo and somewhat weaker resemblance in figurine from Preselna (Oggenova-Marinova 1975: fig. 73, fig. 74). The same iconography is repeated on second figurine, also of unknown background, but it is of much worse quality and it represents a typical, provincial work which can be dated, judging by its schematic way of modelling, in the third century AD (Fig. 4). However, it is very interesting that we have the strong analogy in few almost identical Mars statuettes from Austrian locality Berg Isel (Veličković 1972: 19). Third figurine was found on locality First Kutina near Naissus and it represents the same type as the previous one: mature, bearded man in full war equipment, wearing *lorica* with Medusa's head on his chest and short *paludamentum* over his shoulders (Fig. 5). Both attributes in statuette's hands, spear and shield, are missing. Unlike the

first figurine of Mars, this one is a local product dated in second or third century AD (Drča 1991: 20-21). Since existence of *villa rustica* was confirmed in the locality of First Kutina near Naissus, we can presume that the owner of villa was probably veteran, who in Mars may have been venerating the old ideal of Roman Golden age – the idea of unity of farmer and warrior. Nearest analogies are found in figurines from localities Carnuntum in Noricum and Butovo in Moesia Inferior. Fourth figurine was found near Negotin and it represents mature bearded man with *crista* on his head, dressed in short *tunica*, in full armour (Fig. 6). Both attributes, presumably spear and shield, are missing from his hands. This is a good provincial work, from probably second century AD.

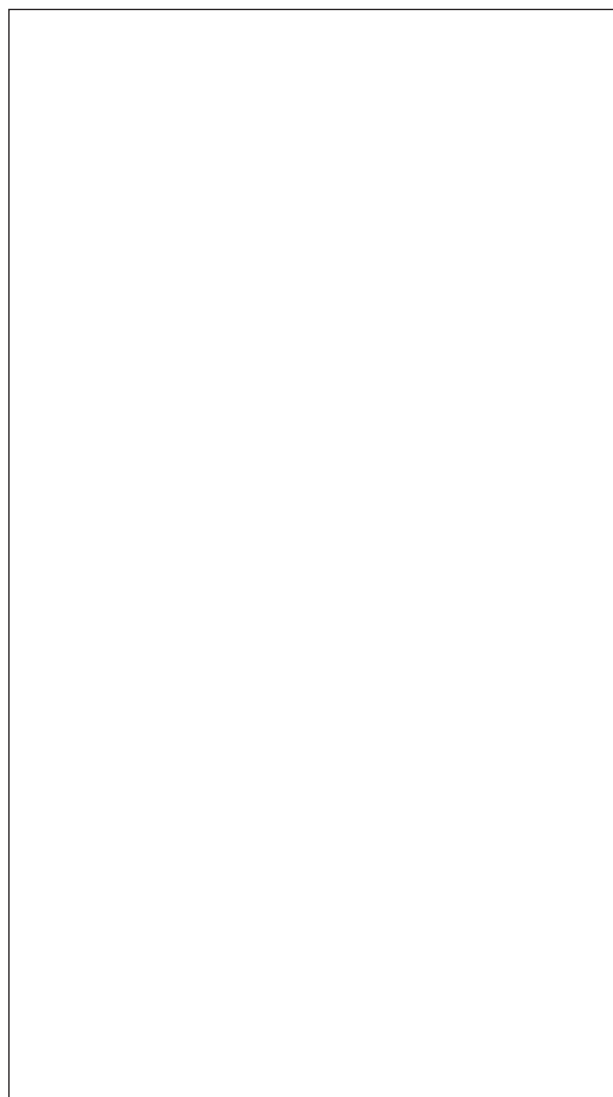


Figure 3: Bronze Figurine from unknown locality in Danube Limes.



Figure 4: Second Bronze Figurine from unknown locality in Danube Limes.



Figure 5: Bronze Figurine from First Kutina near Naissus.



Figure 6: Bronze Figurine from Negotin.

As we previously mentioned, all four statuettes belong to a very popular type of *Mars Ultor* (Jovanovi 2007: 207-209). We can presume that this type of figurines became popular in Moesia Superior by the end of second century AD., shortly after Marcus Aurelius finally succeeded in defeating tribes like Quadi, Marcomani, Sarmatians etc.¹⁵ All of these tribes were present in Moesia and Thracia – they conquered many cities, among which they tried to conquer Naissus too, but didn't succeed. The successful resistance to previously mentioned tribes could also be the reason for the owner of Mars figurine found near Naissus, to be faithful dedicant to this deity. Fifth

tians etc.¹⁵ All of these tribes were present in Moesia and Thracia – they conquered many cities, among which they tried to conquer Naissus too, but didn't succeed. The successful resistance to previously mentioned tribes could also be the reason for the owner of Mars figurine found near Naissus, to be faithful dedicant to this deity. Fifth

¹⁵ Earlier, at the beginning of the first century AD., the cult of Mars Ultor was already accepted in Dacia – inscription from locality Dobrudja is dedicated to Mars Ultor: *Marti Ultori | Imp(erator) Caesar divi | Nervae f(ilius) Nerva | Trajanus Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) | Dacicus pont(fifex)*

max(imus) | trib(unicia) potest(ate) XIII | imp(erator) VI, co(n)s(ul) V, p(ater) p(atriciae), I ? per exerc(itu)m. . . The inscription is dated around AD 108-109, Croon J. H. 1981: Die Ideologie des Marskultes unter dem Principat und ihre Vorgeschichte, ANRW II, 17.1, Berlin – New York, 246-275, 273.

figurine was found in Viminacium and it represents a deity as a young man who is wearing a helmet with a long crest (Fig. 7). In his left hand he holds small, round shield (so called “Thracian”), and in his right hand was probably a spear. We thought about the possibility that this may be the type of *Mars equitum*, who was epigraphically confirmed in Moesia Superior, because of the small, round shield which was worn by cavalry. We can conclude that Viminacium figurine is a solid, provincial work dated from the second half of second centu-

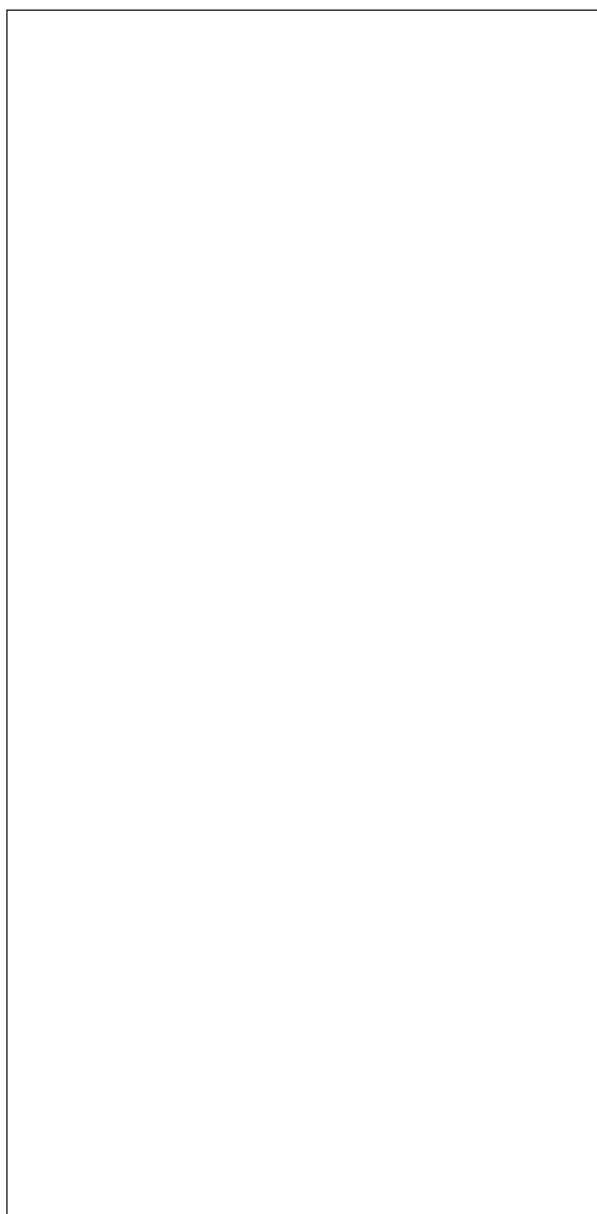


Figure 7: Bronze Figurine from Viminacium.

ry to the beginning of third century AD. Analogy can be made with the figurine from locality Kupe (near Sisak) (Tadin 1979: 20) and the warrior statuette from Corinth (Mattusch 1992: 79-94).

Sixth figurine is probably, the most artistic one. It was found in Pontes (today Kostol) and although in fragmentary state, it shows nude young man who has only a piece of cloth around his waist (Fig. 8). He is presented in the state of movement and the position of his left hand, as the vertical whole in it, suggests that he was probably holding long spear in left hand. In right hand he could be holding bay or olive leaf or maybe *tropaea*. Representations of Mars with *tropaea* and spear are known from the coins of emperors from second, third and even fourth century AD (Jovanović 2007: 213-214). It is interesting that the figurine is wearing a short piece of cloth called *campestre* which as Polybius and Ovid observe was worn by young men who exercised in Campus, but was also ascribed to Luperci who consisted of young cavalymen (Wiseman 1995: 11-12). Judging by the way it was modelled, figurine from Pontes was made, maybe during the reign of Trajan. Emperor Trajan was connected in many ways to Pontes (the wars, the Trajan's bridge etc.), so the assumption of dating this statuette between AD 106. and 130., seems possible.

There is only one more object connected to the cult of Mars – a bronze appliqué found in Singidunum (Antička bronza Singidunuma 1997: fig. 48). It represents a bust of a young man, wearing a helmet with a long crest on his head, clothed (Fig. 9). We can date it in third century AD. and the nearest analogy for it can be found in bronze weight from Heraclea Lyncestis (Bitola) in Macedonia, but also in appliqués from localities Obrenovac and Surduk in Pannonia Inferior.

After presenting all so far known epigraphic and archaeological materials connected to the cult of Mars in Moesia Superior, we can observe several things:

1) The frequency of his epithets *Campester* and *Equitum* as of epithets of an official character. Also, the analysis of the dedicants names point to

¹⁶ As we know not only Roman army, but also Roman emperors gave more than vivid statements of victory, but also thanks offerings to Mars such is the example of Germanicus who piled up heap of arms and ded-

icated it to Mars after his second victory over German tribes, Hope V. M. 2003: Trophies and Tombstones commemorating the Roman Soldier, *World Archaeology*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 79-97, 81.



Figure 8: Bronze Figurine from Pontes.

Mars as being a primarily military deity.¹⁶ This is quite logical, considering the strategic importance of the Central Balkans for Roman Empire, the permanent presence of numerous legions along the *limes*, constant turbulence on the Danube frontier etc. But should all previously discussed votive inscriptions be interpreted in terms of the official Roman provincial cult? Some of them were dedicated for the welfare of a person, which may point to the role of the god as a former tribal god who protected dedicant's family (Šašel-Kos 1999: 149). Why not what prof. Šašel-Kos said for the cult of

Mars in the Celeia area, can be applied for Moesia Superior also – we can not claim that under every dedication to Mars an epichoric god hid, but we can have doubts about dedications which originate from the localities inhabited by Celtic population (such as Singidunum, Viminacium etc.). Under different epithets not known in Moesia Superior, such as *Augustus*, *Conservator*, *Custos*, *Pater* and *Victor*, Mars was venerated in Noricum (Colatio, Celeia, Črešnjevce) (Šašel-Kos 1999: 149), Pannonia Inferior (Sirmium)¹⁷, Dalmatia (Stolac, Zenica, Srebrenica)¹⁸, Dacia (as *Augustus* in Tibiscum

¹⁷ *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) | et Marti | custodi | P. Helvius | Pertinax | praef(ectus)*, Mirković M. 1971: Sirmium – its history from the 1st century A.D. to 582. A.D., *Sirmium*, I, Beograd 5-94, 66, num. 20.

¹⁸ *Marti Aug(usto) T(itus) Ael(ius) Firmi[n]us b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) [I]leg(ionis) XIII Gemminae*, locality Stolac; *[Mart]i*

[August]o duumvir V(...) sacerd(o)ti dei (Mart)is T(...) *v(ir) p(efectissimus) p(raeses) p(rovinciae) V(...)* *g(...)*, locality Zenica; *Marti Aug(usto) lul(ius) Longin(us) b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis) ex le(gione) V Macedon(ica) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, locality Liješće-Skelani (Srebrenica), E. Imamović, *Antički kulturni i votivni spomenici na području BiH*, Sarajevo 1977, 388.

and Cristesti, as *Pater* in Apulum)¹⁹ and Moesia Inferior (as *Victor* in Novae).²⁰

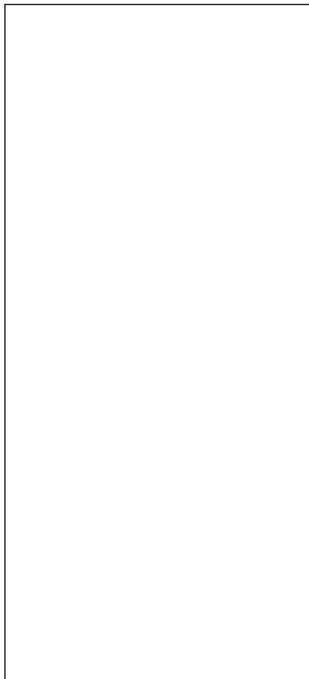


Figure 9: Bronze applique from Singidunum.

Those votive dedications appear mostly in the second century AD. and the dedicants are usually soldiers, senior officers or retired veterans.²¹ Also, in the same capacity, Mars was respected as *Gradivus* – two altars from Dacian locality Micia and locality Drobeta in Moesia Inferior, are dedicated to *Marti Gradivo* by auxiliary cohorts.²² We can presume that under

previously mentioned epithets, Mars was revered as a protector from every danger or evil, god of strength and triumph and divine assurance of victory.

2) We can also perceive the complete absence of *interpretatio romana* in Moesia Superior in connection with Mars, while in other Roman provinces we have completely opposite situation: in Noricum we know of Mars Latobius (most likely by tribal god Latobius) (Šašel-Kos 1999: 148), in Britain and southern Gallia we have numerous examples which point that Mars had different aspects – apart from being military deity such was Mars Cocidius (worshipped by the local military garrisons on Hadrian's Wall) (Hausler 2001-2002: 100), he was also protector of the civitas for ex.

Mars Vesontius, he was connected with local gods as in the case of Mars Belado and for Gauls from Tarentaise he was their king under the epithet *Caturix* (Thevenot 1968: 54, 65).

There are opinions that in Trier, Lenus Mars was respected as iatric deity (Merten 1985: 7-113), but Prof. Scheid thinks that dedications made to Lenus Mars were generally addressing the god for «stopping diseases and guarding dedicant and his family from it (Scheid 1992: 25-40).

Unlike in other Roman provinces, in Moesia Superior Mars is not appearing with other deities – in Moesia Inferior he was venerated with Jupiter and with Genius armamentarius, while in Dalmatia dedications were made to Jupiter and Mars and Victoria and Mars.²³ In Dacia, votive monuments were addressed to Mars and Minerva, Mars and Mithra, Mars and Victoria (Ciobanu 2006: 199-212).

3) Several important questions remain to be asked: Was Mars maybe revered in Moesia Superior under some other aspect beside military? Are there any indications of making such a presumption? We can only offer our thoughts supported by connections which can be made between epigraphic or archaeological materials and locations where they were found or persons who were in some way connected to the cult of Mars. In favour of previously said, we should first mention a toponym which is probably linked with Mars – *pagus Martis* (Mirković 1971: 18-19). *Pagus Martis* comprised several communities which were situated some eight miles from Sirmium. The nearest community to Sirmium was *Budalia* (today Martinci), a Celtic village in the proximity of which a post on the Roman road developed. *Budalia* is considered to be a Celtic word which root appears in Gaul as an attribute

¹⁹ *Marti Aug(usto) | Q(uintus) Caeci[li] | us Cae[ci] | lian[us] | praef(ectus) [al(ae)] | pos[ui]t | m(erito)*. Russu I. I. 1964: Materiale epigrafice din estul Daciei, *ActaMN*, I, Cluj – Napoca, 184.

²⁰ Kolendo J. in: A. Mastino, *L'Africa romana*. Atti del V Convegno di Studio su "L'Africa romana", Sassari 1987 (Sassari 1988) 375-381.

²¹ In connection with Mars' epithets, we would just like to add that on numismatic finds he was also mentioned as *Adsertor* (under Galba), *Conservator* (under Vespasianus), *Victor* (under Galba, Vitellius and Vespasianus) and *Ultor* (under Galba and Vespasianus), Croon 1981: 270, footnote 88.

²² Inscription from locality Micia reads: *Mar(ti) Gra(d)ivo, coh. II Fl. Co(m) (magenorum) cui pr(a)eest C. Vettius Sabinianus prae l. Second inscription from Drobeta reads: Mar(ti) Gra(d)ivo sacrum coh. I sagitt(ariorum)*

(*milliaria*) *Gordiana*. Birley E. 1978: The religion of the Roman Army, *ANRW*, II. 16.1, Berlin – New York, 1506-1541.

²³ *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | et Marti Con(servatori) pro | salute dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) | Imper(atorum) Augg(ustorum) | [Cons]tant[ini](?) | [et Lic]i[ni]?*, Popescu E. 1976: *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România*, București, 148; *Marti [et] | Genio a[r] | mamen[t(arii)] | Val(erius) Cresc(ens) // c(ustos) a(rmorum)*, A. Dimitrova-Milčeva, Speidel M. P. 1978: The Cult of the Genii in the Roman Army and a New Military Deity, *ANRW*, 16.2, Berlin - New York, 1542-1555 - for dedication to Jupiter and Mars look footnote 6; *Mar(ti) Aug(usto et) | Victo(ri)ae sac(rum) | pro sal(ute) imp(eratoris) | Aug(usti) ... (.....) | n.....(.....)*, Šašel A. et J. 1978: 170, n. 1071.

of god Mars.²⁴ Archaeological finds point that up to the third century AD., inhabitants of *Budalia* were of Celtic origin, but their names from votive inscriptions show that they were largely romanised.²⁵ The example of Viminacium is also indicative - upon Roman arrival, Viminacium was inhabited by Daco-Mesian tribes and tribe of Tricornians, who belonged to Celtic tribe of Scordisci (Golubović 2004: 11). Besides being an important colony and legionary camp, Viminacium was also a place where Celtic necropolis and several well-shaped graves, with grave goods in form of Celtic arms were found. We can follow continuity of Celtic culture from the period of Domitian until the half of third century AD. Celtic population was also confirmed by epigraphic monuments with Celtic names of Cutia, Cutius and Stambus, originating from Viminacium or its vicinity.²⁶ The preservice of Celtic tradition can be seen in funeral stela of Titus Baebius (augustal of Municipium Viminacium) and his wife Baebia Marcela, where we can observe golden torque around woman's neck and a bracelet of "Omega" type on her hand (Spasić 1996: 159, fig. 13). The similar situation is repeated in Singidunum, Roman colony which was founded by Celts. Still, we would expect much clearer evidences of Celtic presence in Singidunum until the third century AD., because only then a Celtic name Nunnus Priscianus appears as name of city decurion (Mirković 1968: 44-45). Celtic *ritus* of burial was also confirmed in Singidunum, as well in Taurunum and Sirmium,

with sporadic appearance of graves where beside deceased (usually a soldier) a horse or a dog, or horse and dog together (like in locality Bare in Srem) were buried.²⁷ Further implications of Celtic beliefs should be looked for in other forms of archaeological materials.

At the end, we can not escape one more question - was Mars in Moesia Superior maybe respected also because of his agricultural aspect. It is known that the population of Moesia Superior was primarily agricultural, so it's not impossible that Mars could have been regarded as the deity who would protect the crops and the cattle from evil beasts and evil spirits. Also, can iatric dimension of Mars be completely excluded? One of the bronze figurines of Mars was found in the vicinity of Naissus spa, where the existence and veneration of different healing deities including *Herculi Naisati* as *interpretatio romana* of unknown Celtic deity was confirmed.

After all these examples, we can't help to wonder what can be the reason for so rare and vague implications of Celtic beliefs and cults during the process of romanisation in Moesia Superior. One of the main reasons is that Celtic population belonged to lower strata of the society. Further reasons should be looked for in a very slow Celtic acceptance of Roman cults and very strong degree of conservatism and resistance of epichoric population to Roman religion.²⁸ We can only hope that future excavations and further researches will contribute to better knowledge and understanding of Celtic cults in Moesia Superior.

²⁴ Budenicus, Mirković 1971: 18; As it is known, in inscription from Collias, Budenicus is an epithet of Mars, A. Grenier, *Aspects de la religion romaine en Provence, Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Vol. 98, Paris 1954, 330-331.

²⁵ All the known names are Latin, only the gentile names from second and third century point to their Celtic origin. This fact indicates high degree of romanization of the settlement, *ibid*, 18; It is also well known that *Budalia* is the birthplace of Emperor Decius, Aur. Victor, *Epitome de Caesaribus*, translated by Thomas M. Banchich, New York 2000, XXIX 1. (Bubalia). In the light of previously said, maybe *Budalia* should be also recognized under the name of *vicus Doecis* (village of Decius), in one of the inscriptions found in Martinci.

²⁶ Mirković M. 1968: *Rimski gradovi u Gornjoj Meziji*, Beograd, 130; Stambus is from the tribe of Tricornians.

²⁷ In horseman grave from locality Gardoš, in Taurunum following artefacts were found: urn, iron shield, sword and knife, horses' rein. Beside interesting detail of horseman equipment which was found in the grave,

it is also interesting that this is one of the earliest Celtic graves in Central Balkans. It is dated in early first century, Ercegović S. 1961: *Keltski konjanički grob s Gardoša u Zemunu, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, ser. III, sv. II, Zagreb, 125-137; locality Karaburma in Singidunum, Todorović J. 1956: *Praistorijska nekropola na Rospi Ćupriji kod Beograda, Godišnjak muzeja grada Beograda*, III, Beograd, 59; In locality Bare in Srem, in upper layer of cult pit remains of a dog were found and in the lower layer bones of a horse were deposited, Brukner O. 1987: *Voganj-Bare - Late La Tene Settlement, Arheološki pregled, Ljubljana*, 100-101.

²⁸ In various aspects of material and spiritual culture of autochthonous population of Moesia Superior, the strong degree of resistance can be perceived (especially in cult beliefs and funeral customs). It is interesting, though, that settlers from different regions (particularly from Asia Minor) introduced new customs, while those customs which were caused by process of romanisation were quite vague and rarely displayed, Golubović 2004: 27.

REFERENCES

- ALEKSANDROV G.
-1980: Antični nadpisi i drugi nahodki ot Montana, *Archaeologia*, 22 / 1, Sofia, 34-41.
- AUR. VICTOR,
-2000: *Epitome de Caesaribus*, translated by Thomas M. Banchich, New York.
- GR. AUTORA,
1997: *Antička bronza Singidunuma*, Beograd.
- BIRLEY E.
-1978: The religion of the Roman Army", *ANRW*, II. 16.1, Berlin – New York, 1506-1541.
- BRUKNER O.
-1987: Voganj-Bare – Late La Tene Settlement", *Arheološki pregled*, Ljubljana, 100-101.
- CIOBANU R.
-2006: Marte Celtic in Dacia Romana: Elemente de epigrafie, istorie comparata a religiiilor si iconografie, *Apulum*, XLIII/1, Alba Iulia, 199-212.
- CROON J. H.
-1981: Die Ideologie des Marskultes unter dem Principat und ihre Vorgeschichte, *ANRW II*, 17.1, Berlin – New York, 246-275.
- DIMITROVA-MILČEVA A. & SPEIDEL, M.P.
-1978: The Cult of the Genii in the Roman Army and a New Military Deity, *ANRW*, 16.2, Berlin - New York, 1542-1555.
- DRČA S.
-1991: Sitna Rimska bronzana plastika u Narodnom muzeju u Nišu", *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja u Nišu*, 6-7, Niš. 19-30.
- ERCEGOVIĆ S.
1961: Keltski konjanički grob s Gardoša u Zemunu, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, ser. III, sv. II, Zagreb.
- GOLUBOVIĆ S.
-2004: *Sahranjivanje u Viminacijumu od I do IV veka n. e.*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Belgrade.
- GREEN M. J.
-1986: Iconography of Romano-British Religion, *ANRW*, II. 18.1, Berlin-New York, 113-162.
- GRENIER A.
-1954: Aspects de la religion romaine en Provence, *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Vol. 98, Paris, 328-335.
- HAUSSLER R.
-2002: Native Religion in Gallia Narbonensis and Britain, *Veleia*, Vitoria Gastaiz, 80-116.
- HOPE V. M.
-2003: Trophies and Tombstones commemorating the Roman Soldier, *World Archaeology*, Vol. 35, No. 1, London, 79-97.
- IMAMOVIĆ E.
-1977: *Antički kulturni i votivni spomenici na području BiH*, Sarajevo.
- IRBY-MASSIE G. L.
-1996: The Roman Army and the Cult of the Campestres, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, B. 113, Bonn, 293-300.
- JOVANOVIĆ A.
-2007: *Ogledi iz antičkog kulta i ikonografije*, Beograd.
- KOLENDO J.
-1987. in: A. Mastino, *L'Africa romana*. Atti del V Convegno di Studio su "L'Africa romana", Sassari (Sassari 1988) 375-381.
- MATTUSCH C.C.
-1992: A Bronze Warrior from Corinth, *Hesperia*, Vol. 61, No. 1, Athens, 79-94.
- MERTEN H.
-1985: Der Kult des Mars im Trevererraum, *TZ*, 48, Trier, 7-113.
- MIRKOVIĆ M.
-1968: *Rimski gradovi u Gornjoj Meziji*, Beograd.
-1971: Sirmium – its history from the I century AD. to 582. AD., *Sirmium*, I, Beograd.
-1986: *Inscriptions de la Mesie Superieure: Viminacium et Margum*, Vol. II, Belgrade.
- OGNEKOVA-MARINOVA L.J.
-1975: *Statuettes en bronze de Musee national archeologique a Sofia*, Sofia.
- PAPAZOGLU F.
-1968: Ljudske žrtve i tragovi kanibalizma kod nekih srednjobalkanskih antičkih plemena, *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta*, X-1, Beograd.
- PEDIŠIĆ I.
-1994: O Jupiterovom kultu u Skardoni, *VAHD* 86, Split, 183-200.
- PETROVIĆ P.
-1995: *Inscriptions de la Mesie Superieure: Timacum Minus et la Vallee du Timok*, Vol. III/2, Belgrade.

POPESCU E.

-1976: *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România*, București.

RUSSU I. I.

-1964: Materiale epigrafice din estul Daciei, *ActaMN*, I, Cluj – Napoca, 181-195.

SCHEID J.

-1992: Epigraphie et sanctuaires guerisseurs en Gaule, *MEFRA*, 104.1, Rome, 25-40.

SPASIĆ D.

-1996: Zbirka arheološkog materijala sa zaštitnih istraživanja Viminacijuma (1977-1992), in: *Narodni muzej Požarevac 1896-1996*, Požarevac.

ŠAŠEL-KOS M.

-1999: *Pre-Roman divinities of the Eastern Alps and Adriatic*, Ljubljana.

ŠAŠEL A. & J.

-1978: *Inscriptiones Latinae, Situla* 19, Ljubljana.

TADIN LJ.

-1979: *Sitna Rimska bronzana plastika u jugoistočnom delu provincije Panonije*, Beograd.

THEVENOT E.

-1968: *Divinites et sanctuaires de la Gaule*, Paris.

TODOROVIĆ J.

-1956: Praistorijska nekropola na Rospi Ćupriji kod Beograda, *Godišnjak muzeja grada Beograda*, III, Beograd.

VELIČKOVIĆ M.

-1972: *Rimska sitna bronzana plastika u Narodnom muzeju*, Beograd.

WEBSTER J.

-1998: A Bronze Head of Mars from Shirenewton, *Britannia*, Vol. 21, London, 295-297.

WISEMAN T. P.

-1995: The God of the Lupercal, *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 85, London, 1-22.