

THE SACRED AREA AT GORSIUM (PANNONIA INFERIOR)

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UNTIL ONLY TEN YEARS AGO prolonged discussion reaching back into the nineteenth century seemed finally to have agreed that the centre of the provincial cult of Pannonia Inferior was located at Gorsium, not Aquincum.¹ Lower Pannonia consequently resembled Pannonia Superior, where the seat of the provincial council looks to have been at Savaria rather than Carnuntum, the administrative centre and residence of the provincial governor.² As developed by J. Fitz in particular, this conclusion was based primarily on archaeological evidence, an important cultic complex uncovered on a slight rise at Tác, where Fitz identified the Roman settlement with Gorsium.³ Construction in the enclave appeared to have begun in the second century, according to Fitz's interpretation already in the reign of Trajan,⁴ but in the aftermath of its destruction by the Sarmatians, who broke into Pannonia in A.D. 178, the centre was re-built on a much grander scale.⁵ The sanctuary was finally destroyed in A.D. 260 when the Roxolani overran all Pannonia.

On the standard view of the site three symmetrically placed stairways gave access from the *decumanus maximus* to an *area sacra* containing a complex of ceremonial buildings that Fitz took to be largely associated with the imperial cult (Plates 1–3).⁶ Along with other holy places these were thought to include the base of an altar on an elevated podium, which Fitz originally identified as the *ara Aug(usti) n(ostri) P(annoniae) infer(ioris)* mentioned in the titulature of a provincial priest at Aquincum (*CIL* III 10496 = *ILS* 7124). To the rear (Plate 1), supposedly

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¹ For an overview of the debate, see Alföldy 1997: 229–230.

² Fishwick 1987: 1.2.302–307. On the *concilia* composed of representatives sent by the different communities of the province, see Deininger 1965: 143–144.

³ Fishwick 1987: 1.2.303, n. 18 with references. For a full roster of Fitz's papers *ad hoc*, see Alföldy 1997: 225, n. 1; Fitz 1998: 28.

⁴ *Contra* E. Tóth 1989: 49–50, arguing that nothing archaeological confirms the complex was already in existence under Trajan. But see now Fitz's counter argument based on stratigraphic soundings: Alföldy 1997: 240, Nachtrag 1.

⁵ Fitz 1971: 148, 150–151; 1972: 19–24; Stillwell 1976: 361–362.

⁶ For a summary of the original archaeological picture, see Fitz 1985: 258–259; E. Tóth 1989: 48–49; Fitz and Fedak 1993: 265–267; Alföldy 1997: 230–231. The *area sacra* is bounded to the west by a lane that divides it from the civic forum with its surrounding buildings including a modest Capitolium (Fitz and Fedak 1993: 265; see Fig. 1: XIV). On the east, as interpreted by Fitz (1998: 26), it swings south across the *decumanus maximus* to face westwards a large open area now thought to be the newly designed forum. For a large scale plan of Gorsium-Herculia, see Fitz and Fedak 1993: 263, fig. 2; Fedak 1993: 284, fig. 1.

rose the temple mentioned in a controversial building inscription (*CIL* III 3342; see further below, 314, 316), while before the altar lay to the west a large, narrow hall (Fig. 1: VII), within which was found a sacrificial pit, apparently a relic of the rite of dedication; in the apse at the north-west end an altar still bore traces of sacrificial grain. The building could have served as the *curia* of the provincial council since immediately east a flight of stairs approached a large hall with five aisles, its north side opening onto a closed court perhaps open to the sky (Fig. 1: IX); conceivably this structure was designed for the delegates who participated in cult ceremonies. On the east side of the precinct stood a large square house consisting of several premises decorated with wall paintings and including a room beneath the floor of which a hoard of 3,134 coins had come to light in 1968⁷—to all appearances a treasury and administrative headquarters (Fig. 1: X). Further east again the cellar of a building only partially uncovered preserved remains of tableware that pointed to its use as a dining hall no doubt associated with cultic rites (Fig. 1: XL), while to the north a hall containing a pedestal (Fig. 1: XVIII) might be the temple of Marcus Aurelius known from an inscription (*CIL* III 3345: see further, below, 317).

Exploration over the last ten years or so has now modified this preliminary picture at least in regard to the supposed provincial altar and temple. On the latest view these structures must have served some other purpose since a *nymphaeum* south of the treasury and banqueting hall is now known to have led up to a large, tetrastyle temple set on a raised podium facing west (Fig. 1: LXX).⁸ Dated to the period between ca A.D. 106 and 160–180, the period of the Marcomannic wars, the building looks to have been constructed in the early part of the second century.⁹ Its full characteristics have yet to be revealed but excavations currently in progress have already disclosed that the edifice was approached by a flight of steps from the west and that behind the façade a doorway opened from the

⁷ Fitz 1978: 2.685–686 with Abb. 84.

⁸ First published by Fedak 1995: 147–151, 155–156; see further Fedak 1997: 111–122, 125; Fitz 1998: 26.

⁹ A coin of Trajan found on the floor level must have been dropped during the reign of this emperor or later. A *terminus post quem* is likewise provided by a stamped brick of the *legio X Gemina* recovered from “the undisturbed pre-Hadrianic fill” in front of the smaller northern pedestal of the western façade; the fragment accords with the existing view of Fitz and Bánki (1982: 210, no. 10) that a *vexillatio* of the legion demolished the military camp at Gorsium ca A.D. 106 and began construction of a new settlement in connection with Trajan’s contemporary division of Pannonia into two administrative zones. At the opposite end of the scale the circumstance that pottery fragments from the fill above the floor level date from the later second century points to destruction during the Marcomannic wars. For detailed discussion, see Fedak 1995: 151 with n. 29, 155; 1997: 125, cf. 111–113, 123; Fitz and Fedak 1993: 264; Fitz 1998: 26. On the assumption that construction can be securely dated to the early decades of the second century, Fedak (1995: 151 with n. 29; 1997: 125, cf. 123) proposes that the temple along with two nearby *nymphaeae* were designed by Hadrian during his term as governor, A.D. 106–108, and dedicated following completion, perhaps when Hadrian visited the province in either A.D. 118 or 124. The elevation of Gorsium to the rank of *municipium* may have coincided with the latter occasion.

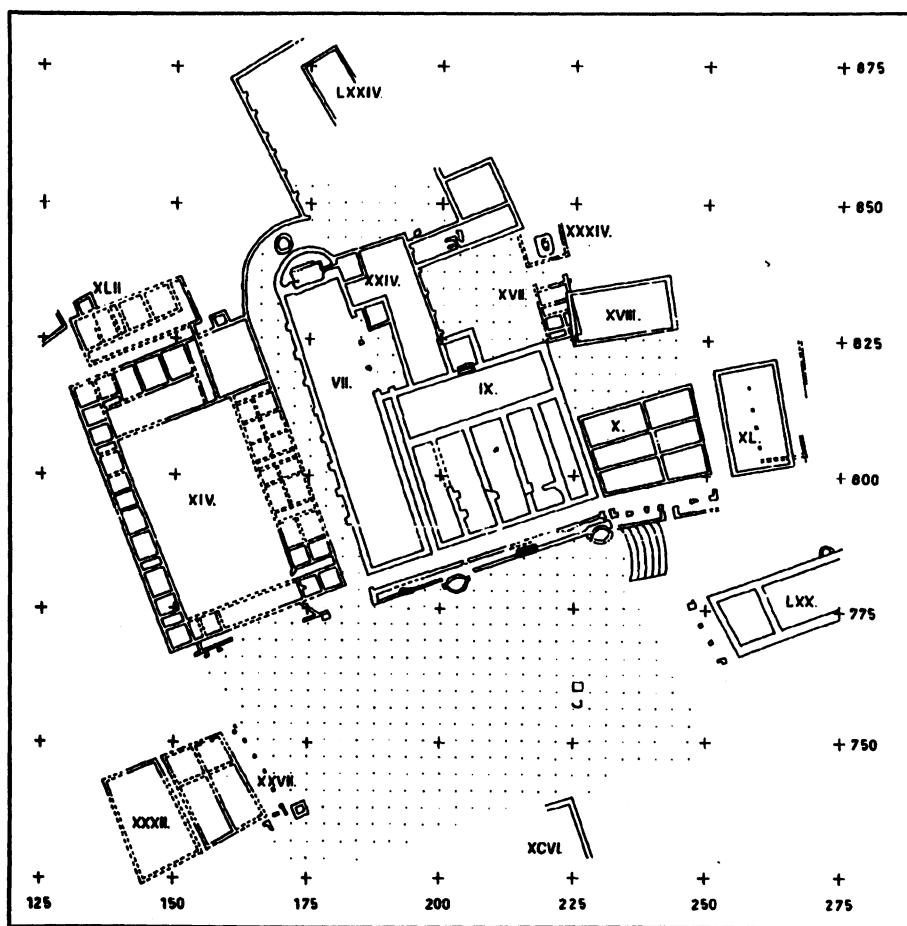


Fig. 1: Plan of the sacred area of Gorsium showing the tetrastyle temple.
 Reproduced from Fitz 1998: 27.

pronaos into the *cella*, within which was found the partially preserved base of a cult statue. The fronting columns or combined columns and piers were of expensive imported granite,¹⁰ fragments of which appear to be preserved at various sites in Székesfehérvár.¹¹ In addition Fitz (1998: 26) reports that six columns of a colonnade have been brought to light, possibly part of the renovations undertaken in A.D. 202 (see below, 314). Since this is clearly the most elaborate building of the sacred area, it has been proposed by J. Fedak and his colleagues, notably supported by Fitz, that this newly exposed structure should rather be identified with the provincial temple of Pannonia Inferior.¹² If this revised interpretation is correct, the *ara Augusti* attested by *CIL* III 10496 must have stood immediately before it as on the scheme at Lugdunum and elsewhere.

I

In support of his original interpretation of the site Fitz drew attention to a series of epigraphical documents that had come to light in the course of his exploration of TÁC. Particularly intriguing were a number of building bricks stamped TE.PR (*AE* 1972, 433), which Fitz completed *te(mplum) pr(ovincia)*,¹³ but most importance attached to an altar stone that he encountered re-used as the base of a door post in the fourth-century *tabernae*. As Fitz subsequently reiterated, this was discovered not in the sacred enclave itself but close by, on the south side of the *decumanus maximus* of the late-Roman settlement, where it still stands today apparently *in situ*.¹⁴ While it was impossible to make out the damaged first line, the rest could be read without difficulty:

[-----] | *pro salute | templensium | L(ucius) Virius L(ucii) fil(ius) Mer(cator sacerdos) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
(*AE* 1972, 432)

Fitz took the *templenses* to be the personnel who served at the temple in the nearby enclosure¹⁵ and assumed that the dedicator, L. Virius L. fil. Mercator, was a

¹⁰ For the possible origin of the granite in the Troad, see Fedak 1995: 151, n. 28, citing the opinion of Professor D. P. S. Peacock, University of Southampton.

¹¹ Fedak 1995: 149–150 with nn. 25–26, noting that the two smaller inner columns may have been of white marble.

¹² Fedak 1995: 151: “The excavations of the past three decades and more have not located this temple, although its existence was known to Hungarian scholars”; cf. Fitz 1998: 25–26.

¹³ Fishwick 1987: 1.2.303, n. 21; E. Tóth 1989: 46; Alföldy 1997: 232.

¹⁴ Alföldy 1997: 225–226, cf. 240, Nachtrag 4.

¹⁵ The precise meaning of *templenses* is unclear. E. Tóth (1989: 47–48) follows Fitz in understanding that it refers to the personnel who maintained the temple and lived in its proximity. In that case the community of *templenses* were in practice identical with the *sacerdotes* of the centre, who had other duties as well as the performance of rites. Similarly at the Altar of the Three Gauls the priest can have the title *sacerdos arensis*, though in the sanctuary by Lugdunum there is no trace of the collective term *arenses* as the federal priesthood was held annually by a single incumbent; cf. *CIL* XIII 939 (bis) with p. 229, 11042 (Périgueux); for *conventus* (?) *arensis*, see *CIL* XIII 1671. Alternatively, Alföldy (1997: 232 with n. 37) proposes the company of believers at the sanctuary on the model of the *temenitai* at

provincial priest—an interpretation later withdrawn since, as Fitz himself noted, the proper title of the provincial priest of Lower Pannonia was *sacerdos provinciae Pannoniae Inferioris* or variant, not just *sacerdos*.¹⁶

Of more immediate significance were several inscriptions among the relatively numerous stones found at Székesfehérvár and nearby Sárpentele.¹⁷ On the basis of these Mommsen had originally located the provincial centre at Sárpentele, whereas A. Alföldy preferred the claims of Aquincum some 70 km away in the belief that the stones had been moved from here en masse either to build a royal basilica at Székesfehérvár in the eleventh century or to renovate a mill at Sárpentele in the eighteenth. Fitz in contrast was able to show from later archaeological exploration that no Roman settlement had existed at either Sárpentele or Székesfehérvár, and so argued that all these epigraphical texts must have originated from TÁC, a mere 10 km distant from Székesfehérvár. In a balanced assessment G. Alföldy now confirms (1997: 234–235) that, while some of the inscriptions in the region originate certainly from Aquincum and many of the stones at Székesfehérvár have no demonstrable connection with TÁC, the key epigraphical documents from Sárpentele do come from Gorsium—though none of them look to have any direct connection with the provincial cult. In any event Fitz took the proximity of TÁC to support his contention that the inscriptions relate to the supposed provincial centre at Gorsium. The view has been challenged by E. Tóth, who further doubts the identification of the Roman settlement at TÁC with Gorsium.¹⁸

The first of these texts can quickly be eliminated from discussion.¹⁹ An altar found at Sárpentele, to which on Fitz's very probable argument it had been removed from a sanctuary at TÁC, records a dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus for the *salus* of the two Augusti, probably Septimius Severus and Caracalla, the dedication having made by the priests of the whole province:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] | Dolc(eno) pro | sal(ute) dd(ominorum) nn(ostorum) | Augg(ustorum) tot(ius) pr(ovinciae) | sacerdot[is].
(CIL III 3343)

Miletus. Presumably these would then be a changing group of visitors rather than permanent residents and *templensis* would be related to the original sense of *templum* as *temenos*. It might be added that this point also applies to *templenses* in the sense of priestly personnel, who may well include representatives from a variety of sanctuaries and shrines within the sacred area.

¹⁶ Fitz 1985: 259; E. Tóth 1989: 48 with n. 42; Alföldy 1997: 231, n. 33; 232, n. 38 with references. In addition to C. Tit(ius) Antonius Peculiaris, *sacerdos arae Aug. n. p. P. infer.* (CIL III 10496), see further M. Ulp(ius) [— — — —], *sacerd(os) [pr(ovinciae) Pannoniae inferioris]* (CIL III 10305); Aurel(ius) Audentius, *sacer(dotalis) provinci(ae)* (CIL III 3485); and the *[sacerdos] p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) inf(erioris)* whose name is lost (RIU 979). For analysis of the provincial priesthood of Lower Pannonia, see Fishwick forthcoming a: vol. 3.2.

¹⁷ Fishwick 1987: 1.2.303, n. 19; Fitz 1985: 258; 1998: 25; E. Tóth 1989: 43–44; Alföldy 1997: 229–230 with nn. 28–30, 233–235, with nn. 44–49.

¹⁸ E. Tóth 1989: 45. See further Alföldy 1997: 225, n. 2, 230, n. 32 with references. As the problem is marginal to the present discussion, it will be convenient to follow Alföldy in continuing to use the name Gorsium in line with common usage.

¹⁹ Fishwick 1987: 1.2.304; Alföldy 1997: 236 with nn. 53–54.

As these undesignated *sacerdotes* can hardly have served the imperial cult²⁰—such a gathering of municipal imperial priests would be unprecedented—they must rather be priests of Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus, as A. Alföldi first suggested.²¹ The fact that they had assembled from the whole province was clearly connected with a special occasion, very likely the visit that Septimius Severus and Caracalla seem to have paid to Gorsium in A.D. 202.²² What is at all events clear is that this text can have no bearing on the provincial cult but is directly associated with the worship of Dolichenus, here a by-form of Jupiter.²³ Alföldy notes that four large iron bells of various sizes that came to light at TÁC in 1959, though not in the sacred enclosure, are characteristic of the cult.²⁴ To these can be added a smaller set of four completely preserved bronze bells again of various sizes that were found by the Canadian excavation team in 1995–1996, also five single bells recovered at various locations of the work area in previous campaigns.²⁵

A second document, which seems to belong chronologically with the first, is a building inscription recording the repairs undertaken by Septimius Severus and Caracalla, plainly within the cultic complex.²⁶ As restored in *CIL* III, the text runs:

[Imperat]ores d[d(omini) nn(ostr) L(ucius) Sept(imus) | S]everus et M(arcus) [Aur(elius)
Antoninus | Aug]usti templu(m) D[. . . ve|tusta]te conlap[sum restitu]erun[t] cur[ante ---].
(*CIL* III 3342)

²⁰ Very occasionally the single priest of the province is recorded to have made a dedication locally to Magna Mater (*CIL* XIII 11042; cf. *AE* 1973, 343). According to an inscription at Narbo Martius, he even performed a *taurobolium* on the orders of Magna Mater for the *salus* of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (*CIL* XII 4323).

²¹ Alföldi 1940: 218–220.

²² Fitz 1959: 241–242; 1970: 152.

²³ On the conversion of Jupiter Dolichenus from a Romanized “oriental” god to the principal Roman deity who had taken on “oriental” characteristics, see Hörig 1984: 2142–43.

²⁴ Alföldy (1997: 233, n. 41 and references; cf. 236 with n. 54) notes Fitz’s confirmation that the bells originate from a building south of the west-east *decumanus maximus* and east of the *cardo maximus*; cf. Fedak 1988: 177; 1991: 224; 1997: 121, n. 25.

²⁵ Fedak (1993: 294, 296; 1995: 153; 1997: 119–121 with Pl. 8 and nn. 25–28 with references) observes that *tintinnabula* were characteristic of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in particular. The author reasonably supposes an apotropaic function for all these bells and suggests that sets of four served a specific cultic purpose. The circumstance that the four small bells along with an iron axe head were probably secreted in time of danger points to the period around A.D. 235 when sanctuaries of eastern religions were systematically destroyed. Attention may also be called to a variety of other accessories and paraphernalia from the site, some or all of which may have served a cultic function at one of the sanctuaries located in the *area sacra*: bronze medical spoons, iron axes, a glass plate, the handle of a bronze oil lamp with mask-like face, a bronze statuette of a bull, a jug handle decorated with two symmetrically arranged snakes; see further Hörig 1984: 2170. For the possible relation of these to the cults of eastern deities, particularly Dolichenus, see Fedak 1993: 296–298 with references, citing *inter alia* I. Tóth 1976: 117–124.

²⁶ Fishwick 1987: 1.2.305–306.

Proposed completions of the break after the D in line 3 begin with *D[ivi Marci]*, suggested by Mommsen on the model of the *temp(lum) Divi Marci* apparently attested in *CIL* III 3345 (see below, 317). Yet this is clearly excluded by the fact that not only is the restitution too short but a supposed temple built to Divus Marcus after his consecration in A.D. 180 could hardly have been described as *vetustate conlapsum* or have needed repair by the reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. Alternative suggestions include *D[ianae]* or *D[olicheni]*, both of which would likewise be too short; the dedication for the *salus* of the two Augusti (above, 313) points in any case to the formula I(upiter) O(ptimus) M(aximus) Dolichenus. On the other hand *D[ei Invicti Solis]*, which would theoretically be long enough, hardly comes into serious consideration given the complete absence of comparative evidence.²⁷ Fitz himself took the temple in question to be that in the *area sacra* of the supposed provincial centre, in which case it could be dedicated to either Divus Augustus or the Divi Augusti. On the assumption that this inference was largely correct, the writer earlier suggested that the text might be completed *templum D[ivor(um) Aug(ustorum)?]*, much as Fitz had proposed,²⁸ and so refer to the provincial cult of Lower Pannonia. The hypothetical nature of this reconstruction was nevertheless emphasized, as was the need for new evidence that might confirm or invalidate the inferred development, especially since evidence for the provincial worship of the *divi*, whether at Gorsium or elsewhere in Lower Pannonia, is totally lacking.

II

In a recently published paper G. Alföldy has now put this whole discussion on a new basis by his decipherment of the damaged first line of *AE* 1972, 432 (above, 312).²⁹ Only the lower part of the lettering is preserved, but on Alföldy's reading the letters are clearly discernible apart from two at the end which have disappeared. What looks to be the first line of the text, since the lettering is larger, plainly read *Dis Magn[is]*. On palaeographic grounds and in light of the filiation given in the name of the dedicator Alföldy dates the text to the second century, no later than the Severan period. More importantly, in a survey of the term in Greek and Latin texts, he convincingly demonstrates that the *Di Magni* cannot be deities of the Roman pantheon but must rather denote Semitic, Greek, or "oriental gods" such as the Punic Saturn or, above all, gods of the mystery religions: *Magna Mater*, *Serapis*, *Isis*, *Liber*, *Hermes Trismegistos*, *et al.*³⁰ In Latin epigraphy in particular

²⁷ Alföldy 1997: 235 with n. 51.

²⁸ Fitz 1972: 41; cf. Fishwick 1987: 1.2.306–307 with n. 45, noting that Fitz's alternative suggestion *templum D[ivi Aug(usti)]* is excluded by the date of the text.

²⁹ Alföldy 1997: 225–229. In a recent letter Alföldy stresses that his reappraisal of the epigraphical evidence was inspired by the fundamental work of E. Tóth, the first to recognize that "Gorsium" could not be the centre of the provincial cult of Pannonia Inferior.

³⁰ The term "oriental gods" is open to numerous objections but can be conveniently used as an established, heuristic category. For discussion, see Turcan 1992: 9–13, suggesting "religions of oriental

parallels for the Di Magni of Gorsium include instances of the term in Pannonia Inferior and Dacia, at Lambaesis, and at Rome.³¹ It follows that the Di Magni at TÁC cannot be traditional Roman deities but must be primarily “oriental gods” of universal character, even though some local gods such as Silvanus Magnus could also be intended.

Alföldy’s conclusions are by far the most significant contribution to the problem in recent years and have revolutionary consequences for our understanding of the Gorsium enclave in general. Plainly, the circumstance that some priest of the enclave—though not necessarily of these divinities themselves³²—has paid his vow to the Di Magni on behalf of the *salus* of the *templenses* establishes beyond question the predominantly oriental character of the gods to which the enclave gave lodging. The point is confirmed by one of the key inscriptions considered above (CIL III 3343), from which it can be legitimately inferred that the centre at which the priests of the whole province assembled on the occasion of the inferred imperial visit in A.D. 202 must be associated at least in part with Dolichenus. More importantly, the vow paid to the Di Magni suggests an attractive new restoration of the building inscription, the third line of which Alföldy would complete *D[eorum Magnorum]*.³³ The text would in that event read:

[Imperat]ores d[d(omini) nn(ostr) L(ucius) Septi|mius S]everus et M(arcus) [Aur(elius) Antoninus | P(rius) F(elix) Aug]usti templu(m) D[eorum Magnorum | vetust]ate conlap[sum a solo resti|tuerun]t cura[n]te ---].

From a purely epigraphical standpoint this restitution works very well, though it may be noted that Alföldy reads *Septi|mius* in full, whereas Mommsen had proposed *Sept(imus)* (CIL III 3342); with the end of the first line of the text missing, either version could be correct of course.³⁴ On the other hand, which structure the text might refer to remains entirely uncertain in the present state of our knowledge. The newly uncovered tetrastyle temple can hardly come into consideration. The inscription of L. Virius Mercator was found at a spot outside the sanctuary, too far away to support a direct connection between the two, and the single base of the cult statue it housed is scarcely in keeping with a temple of the Di Magni (see further below, 327–328).

The oriental character of the *area sacra* looks also to be reflected in a dedication of A.D. 211 again found at Székesfehérvár and nowadays in the museum at TÁC.

origin” or “Greco-Oriental religions”; see further MacMullen 1981: 126–127; Beard, North, and Price 1998: 246–247; Rives 1998: 349–350, 357, n. 16.

³¹ CIL III 3292 (= ILS 4011); CIL III 1560 (= ILS 3845); AE 1968, 645; CIL VI 510 (= ILS 4152); CIL VI 504, cf. 30779 (= ILS 4153).

³² Contra Alföldy 1997: 232.

³³ Alföldy 1997: 235–236 with proposed facsimile (Abb. 3) and nn. 50–52.

³⁴ The text breaks off after *curante*. For two contemporary dedications to Septimius Severus and Julia Domna *curante* Q. Anicio Fausto leg. Augustorum *pr. pr.*, see CIL III 1685–86 (Mustapha Pascha Palanka, Moesia Superior).

As read by G. Alföldy on the basis of a photograph (1997: 239, no. 6), the text now runs:

[*Genio?*] *templ(ensium)* | [*Do*]mitius Niger | [*mi*](*es*)? *coh(ortis)* III *B(ata)uorum* et | [*A*]ur(*elius*) Victor | [*sa*]cerd(*otes*) *templ(i)* | *Divi Marci* | *Kal(endis)* *Mais Gen(tiano)* | et *Basso co(n)s(ulibus)* *d(ederunt)*. (CIL III 3345)

It was argued on an earlier occasion that this temple of Divus Marcus cannot be provincial but must rather be municipal.³⁵ Alföldy adds that the relatively low status of the dedicators tells strongly against their possible connection with the provincial cult, while the participation of a soldier of the *cohors III Batavorum* in the dedication suggests the stone might originate from the base of these troops at Vetus Salina (modern Adony). In a reply to Alföldy's proposal, however, Fitz argues that stones were certainly moved from Tác to Székesfehérvár, so it remains perfectly possible that this particular stone originated in Tác rather than Adony.³⁶ If the expansion *templ(ensium)* is in fact correct, this would seem to tie the stone to Gorsium.³⁷ It is difficult to think that Domitius Niger and Aurelius Victor will have made a dedication at Vetus Salina to the *templenses* of Gorsium and we have no evidence for a second group of *templenses* elsewhere in Lower Pannonia.³⁸ Presumably the pair had made a "pilgrimage" to the centre at Gorsium.

As presently restored, the text presents various difficulties. The first word had earlier been completed [*Tutelae?*] in CIL III; Fitz suggested at one stage *antistes*, *curator*, or *praefectus*;³⁹ Alföldy more plausibly proposes [*Genio?*], which fits the break. The difficulty here is that *genius* would be more appropriate of an association, place, or office, hence Alföldy's completion *templ(ensium)* rather than, say, *templ(i)*. Then there is the formulation *sacerd(otes) templ(i)*, which again would be most unusual. Why should there be two *sacerdotes* if this was a temple of the imperial cult? As one priest, not a college, was the rule, *sacerd(os)* looks by far the likelier completion, especially as the soldier Domitius Niger can hardly have been attached to a temple while serving with the *cohors III Batavorum* stationed at Vetus Salina. More to the point in the present context, the genitive *templi* after *sacerdos* / *flamen* is foreign to Roman practice; in fact this particular instance may be the only example in the imperial worship of the Latin West.⁴⁰ In non-Roman cults in contrast a priest performed various duties about the temple, tasks that

³⁵ Fishwick 1987: 1.2.305.

³⁶ Alföldy 1997: 240, Nachtrag 3, cf. 230.

³⁷ On the completion [*Genio*] *templ(ensium)*, it is easier to believe that the *templenses* (above, n. 15) were an association of permanent temple personnel (priests and others) at Gorsium rather than a continually changing congregation of worshippers, for whom a *genius* is scarcely appropriate.

³⁸ A sanctuary of Dolichenus nevertheless existed at Adony; cf. Hönig 1984: 2150–51. For the mixed civilian-military clientele of Dolichenus, see Hönig 1984: 2163–65. G. Alföldy kindly writes that in his opinion a second group of *templenses* could well have existed at Adony.

³⁹ Fitz 1972: 39.

⁴⁰ The form *sacerdos arae* occurs at Lugdunum (CIL XIII 1719) as well as in Dacia and the two provinces of Pannonia (nn. 16, 84); cf. Deininger 1965: 118.

would have fallen, say, to an *aedituus* in a cult of the Roman people. Thus at Chisiduo, for example, one finds the formula *flamen templi domini Aesculapi* (*CIL* VIII 1267); evidently a priest acted here as one of the temple personnel.⁴¹ Perhaps the simplest explanation in this case, then, is that the genitive *templ(i)* has been conditioned by the impact of “oriental cults” in Lower Pannonia, notably at the important centre of Gorsium. In any event, *Divi Marci*, which is secure, must echo the fact that Aurelius served the cult of the deified Marcus. Precisely where is unclear, but if Domitius Niger travelled from his base at Adony to Gorsium, it is possible that Aurelius Victor, who joined in making a dedication [*Genio?*] *templ(ensium)*, was in fact a local priest at Vetus Salina rather than Gorsium, where so far there seems to be no other epigraphical trace of the ruler cult.⁴²

As for several remaining epigraphical texts, Fitz himself (1998: 27) has proposed a further temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Elagabalus at Gorsium, built by order of the provincial governor and funded by soldiers stationed at Intercisa (*AE* 1973, 437bis). The building inscription, which was found at Székesfehérvár, attests in fact a temple of Deus Sol Elagabalus that Alföldy (1997: 238, no. 5) shows to have been more likely constructed at the fort of the *cohortes I miliaria Hemesenorum* at Intercisa (cf. *RIU* 1104). Alföldy (1997: 238, no. 3) also excludes from the sanctuary at TÁC an altar dedicated by the *duumviri* of Aquincum (*CIL* III 3347) and groups it with a series of altars from a Celtic sanctuary on the Gellértberg (Budapest) that were dedicated for the *salus* of the reigning emperors to I. O. M. Conservator Teutanus and other deities on June 11, A.D. 178, the festival of the main deity of the Eravisci; the stone moved from one place to another in the Middle Ages before arriving at Székesfehérvár like so many other inscribed stones from different parts of the province.⁴³ On the other hand, if Fitz is right (1998: 27) that a head of Teutanus at Intercisa has been removed from TÁC, it is just possible that the *area sacra* at Gorsium may also have housed a sanctuary of the Celtic deity Teutanus, though the cult is not otherwise attested outside Aquincum.

Quite apart from the evidence of epigraphical texts the physical layout of the precinct also points to the presence of “oriental deities.” As Alföldy stresses, most of the preserved traces look entirely inconsistent with what one finds at centres of the provincial cult in the Latin West. Sundry architectonic remains point to non-Roman divinities as also do two carefully worked reliefs of reclining “river gods” from the *nymphaea* flanking the central stairway to the *area sacra* (Plate 3).⁴⁴ More particularly, the cylindrical “meeting hall” (60 x 12 m) with its adjoining structure

⁴¹ Fishwick 1987: 1.2.246.

⁴² *Contra* Fitz 1972: 46–48, cf. 49.

⁴³ Fitz (1998: 27) erroneously states that the altar was erected *pro salute templensium* as well as for the welfare of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.

⁴⁴ For a detailed picture, see Fitz 1980: figs. III–IV, Pls. 4–8; Fitz and Fedak 1993: 265–266 with figs. 3–4; Alföldy 1997: 233 with nn. 41–42. One of the anonymous *Phoenix* referees observes that “the two relief slabs of reclining aquatic deities from the *nymphaea* ... are the most unusual

divided into multiple rooms (Plate 1; Fig. 1: VII, IX)⁴⁵ bears no resemblance to the minimal traces of provincial *curiae* one finds at centres elsewhere in the west,⁴⁶ but suggests a reception hall for crowds of worshippers rather than the select number of delegates who composed the provincial council.⁴⁷ In fact the

representations of this otherwise well known motif. They surely could not have appeared fully dressed with side arms in a purely western depiction of the theme."

⁴⁵ For doubts that a room shaped like a corridor could have served as a *curia*, see in the first place E. Tóth 1989: 50–51.

⁴⁶ In the eastern sector of the colony of Camulodunum a massive masonry building composed of three parallel walls and two cross-walls ca 2 m thick occurs in the south-west zone of a divided complex. The structure lies in direct line with the podium of the temple situated in the upper court north of the intersecting *decumanus maximus*. Much larger than any basilica on a municipal forum, this edifice conceivably served as the hall at which the provincial council of Britannia held its meetings. A comparable building occurs at Augusta Emerita (modern Mérida) in the supposed provincial zone in the north-west of the city, the area now occupied by the Plaza del Parador Nacional de Turismo and the Cerro del Calvario. An old ground plan sketched in 1813 shows vestiges of a basilica-like structure 18 x 21 m divided into three naves by two sets of columns ending in the centre with a semicircular apse. Once thought to be a temple, this may have been the assembly hall of the provincial council. Whether the remains of the podium that supported the assembly hall of the Gallic delegates to the federal assembly have now been identified in the sanctuary near Lugdunum remains very uncertain. If so, fragments of a restored dedication suggest this *curia* was under the protection of Bonus Eventus and Fortuna Favens (*AE* 1980, 634). No trace of structures seems to occur on the middle terrace of the Tarraco enclave with its system of multiple porticoes, but inscriptions suggest this was the site of administrative buildings including perhaps the *curia* of delegates to the council of Hither Spain. Two inscriptions found on the upper level of the complex (removed from the middle plateau like other stones?) apparently refer to the seats of delegates (*RIT* 250a–b, 251). A recent study suggests that the council may sometimes have met in the provincial temple on the upper level of the precinct, just as the Roman senate sometimes met in the temple of Mars Ultor (on which the Tarraco temple was evidently modelled). No other possible traces of a provincial *curia* are known elsewhere at present. For discussion, see Drury 1984: 25, 29; Fishwick 1997: 46; Barrera Antón 2000: 179–180; Audin and Reynaud 1977–81: 457–479; TED'A 1989: 167–182, 187–191; Arbulo Bayona 1998: 56. See in general Fishwick 1994–95: 171–186; 2000a: 101–103; forthcoming a: vol. 3.2.

⁴⁷ In the Greek East 150 representatives are known to have participated in a session of the *koinon* of Asia, so individual cities must clearly have sent more than one deputy—Smyrna is so recorded specifically: see Deininger 1965: 143, cf. 40, 51. The number of *legati* who made up the council of any province in the Latin West is unknown, but the inscription of T. Sennius Sollemnus at Vieux records that the Viducasses sent more than one delegate to the *concilium* of the Three Gauls (*CIL* XIII 3162: col. iii, lines 22–23); *contra* Hirschfeld, *CIL* XIII, p. 228. The point is equally clear from the special seats reserved for delegates at the amphitheatre of the Three Gauls, where inscriptions preserve the names of various tribes including the Bituriges Cubi and Tricasses, who appear several times: Deininger 1965: 101 with n. 6; Fishwick 1991: 581 with n. 649 and references. The number of Gallic tribes represented at the Confluence is given as sixty by Strabo (4.3.2) and sixty-four by Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.44: A.D. 21), a discrepancy probably to be explained by the different geographical areas included in the calculation: see Maurin 1978: 187, 199–202; Fishwick forthcoming a: vol. 3.2. Whether every *civitas* contributed more than one delegate and, if so, how many is unknown: some system of proportional representation has been suggested but lacks supporting evidence. At all events a total figure of between, say, 100 and 300 looks a reasonable estimate. Other large provinces such as Hispania Citerior, Baetica, Narbonensis, or Africa Proconsularis must have assembled somewhat fewer *legati* than Lugdunensis, Aquitania, and Belgica combined, smaller provinces considerably less.

complex as a whole suggests a sanctuary of Dolichenus,⁴⁸ which not only housed the god but accommodated votaries—the initiates who participated in devotions along with one or more permanent priests⁴⁹—and included an administrative headquarters concerned with management of the sanctuary and a hall for the banquets that crowned celebrations.⁵⁰ While there seems to be no plan that can be considered typical of such *Dolichena*, some correlations can be seen with the temple at Carnuntum, which was in existence by the reign of Commodus and may have included a dependent meeting hall, or the more elaborate ensemble at Virunum with four rooms, two of which may correspond to a *sacrarium* and *triclinium*.⁵¹

Above all it should be stressed that the site of the enclave is out of keeping with the usual location of provincial sanctuaries elsewhere in the West. More often than not these lie on the periphery of the settlement and are not in the vicinity of the municipal Capitolium, here located north-west of the small civic forum which is situated at the intersection of the *decumanus maximus* and *cardo maximus*⁵² (Fig. 1: XIV); the scheme at Tarraco, Narbo, or Camulodunum illustrates this point beyond question.⁵³ At Gorsium, in contrast, the sacred enclosure and its buildings, placed immediately east of the forum, would be eminently suited to a sanctuary of “oriental deities.” From this point of view, then, the very site of the cultic complex is consistent rather with a sanctuary largely given over to gods unrelated to the Roman pantheon.

As for Lower Pannonia, it is difficult to think that its provincial *concilium* counted more than a hundred or so members, if that. The figure is significant since the premises within the *area sacra* at Gorsium could clearly have accommodated many hundreds of visitors, a figure far too large for the delegates of the *concilium*, even including their possible retinue, but plainly appropriate to throngs of zealots.

⁴⁸ Already suggested by E. Tóth (1989: 52–53) on condition that construction is not earlier than the reign of Hadrian. But see below, nn. 89–90.

⁴⁹ On the priests, officials, and ritual of Dolichenus with its banquets, processions, lustrations, and possible use of dreams and oracles, see Merlat 1960: 198–207; Hörig 1984: 2170–73. For the adherents of Jupiter Dolichenus, see the outline of Beard, North, and Price 1998: 275.

⁵⁰ See in general Hörig 1984: 2169; Turcan 1992: 156–165, esp. 161–162; MacMullen 1981: 38 with n. 21.

⁵¹ For an overview of known *Dolichena*, see Merlat 1960: 129–167, esp. 138–142 with figs. 17–19; Hörig 1984: 2145–63, especially 2150–53 (Pannonia). On the sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine, see Coarelli 1983: 344–345; Beard, North, and Price 1998: 275 with n. 87 and references, 281.

⁵² Fitz 1972: 29–30; *id.* in Stillwell 1976: 361–362, noting that stairs interspersed with *nymphaea* connected the forum with the buildings of the Capitolium; Fitz and Fedak 1993: 265.

⁵³ For discussion, see Fishwick 1996: 165–182; 1999a: 123–133; Arbulo Bayona 1998: 48–57; Gayraud 1981: 384–393; Fishwick 1997: 32–34; forthcoming a: vol. 3.3. At Lugdunum the site of the federal sanctuary lies a kilometre or so upstream from the colony. With their status presently uncertain the putative provincial centres at Emerita and Corduba are best left out of consideration, though in both of these cases an existing area nearer the centre of the city may have been used for provincial purposes. Nowhere, it should be stressed, does one find a complex of buildings comparable to that at Gorsium.

III

What is one to make, then, of the new proposal that the tetrastyle temple is the provincial temple of Lower Pannonia and Fitz's continued insistence on completing the third line of the building inscription either *D[ivi Augusti]* or *D[ivorum Augustorum]*? No restitution along these lines would make sense, of course, without some trace of provincial imperial cult at Gorsium, evidence that Alföldy rightly insists does not exist in epigraphical form. The brick stamps in particular need not necessarily be completed *te(mplum) pr(ovinciae)*. As a rule, such stamps give the name of the manufacturer or the company in whose workshop the bricks were made. Bricks with a similar stamp have appeared not only at TÁC but also at Tés near the border between the two provinces, so the name of some manufacturer *TE(. . .) PR(. . .)* might well be intended or, as E. Tóth has suggested, *te(gularia) pr(ovinciae)*—not to exclude other possibilities.⁵⁴

Fitz's answer (1998: 26) is to adduce evidence of a different kind. After the centre was destroyed in A.D. 260, stone monuments, reliefs, and statues were removed in large quantities to Intercisa, the camp on the Danube. At Gorsium itself the rebuilding of the Tetrarchic period superimposed an entirely new town on the ruins of the old, the *area sacra* in particular being obliterated. Numerous iconographic fragments from this sacred region found a secondary use, partly within the foundations of the walls and towers constructed round the new town, partly incorporated into its earliest buildings such as the palace, the basilica, or the *tabernae*. Then in the early eleventh century large sections of the town walls, complete with inbuilt stone carvings, were removed to Székesfehérvár with the result that clusters of reliefs, animal figures, and scenes from mythology, originally from the *area sacra* of Roman Gorsium, occur today at TÁC, Intercisa, and Székesfehérvár in a scatter of iconographic vestiges. Among these Fitz distinguishes three coherent groups:⁵⁵ a Trojan cycle that seems closely related to coin issues of Antoninus Pius struck A.D. 140–144 in anticipation of the ninth centenary of Rome in A.D. 148⁵⁶—these show among other familiar themes Aeneas fleeing from Troy and the dragging of Hector; representations of Hercules and his exploits, possibly to be connected with the *ludi saeculares* celebrated in A.D. 204 by Septimius Severus, whose *patria* of Lepcis Magna held Hercules in particular honour;⁵⁷ animal scenes with the figure of the stag, a motif typical of coins struck in A.D. 248 by of Philippus Arabs, who in this year celebrated the one-thousandth year of Rome with secular games including an immense wild-beast hunt in the Circus Maximus.⁵⁸ Fitz argues that these three anniversaries, celebrated by the

⁵⁴ Alföldy 1997: 231–232 with nn. 33, 36; E. Tóth 1989: 53, cf. 45–46.

⁵⁵ Fitz and Fedak 1993: 267; Fitz 1998: 26, citing Barkóczi 1984 throughout.

⁵⁶ See in particular *RIC* 3.37, no. 91; 109, no. 615; 111, no. 627.

⁵⁷ Fishwick 1987: 1.2.337–339.

⁵⁸ *RIC* 4.3, 58–59, 70–71, nos. 12–25. The reverses show animals with the legend *SAEVLARES* AVGG.

central régime and plainly reflected in elaborate, carved fragments that originated from Gorsium, are inseparable from the ideology of the imperial cult and suggest a provincial rather than local municipal context. Where exactly the reliefs may originally have been placed remains very conjectural,⁵⁹ but taken as a whole this body of iconographic material strongly supports the claims of Gorsium to have been the provincial centre of Lower Pannonia.

Two points call for comment in this connection. The first is that, while these groups of iconographic remains patently reflect imperial themes, it is difficult to see how they could in any way relate to the imperial cult. Certainly nothing comparable occurs at any provincial centre elsewhere in the Latin West. In particular they bear no resemblance, say, to the relief panels that decked the porticoes leading to the temple of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias,⁶⁰ not that this complex is paralleled at any provincial centre in the Latin West. More probably the significance of the Gorsium fragments is to be sought in a different connection. It so happens that reliefs with similar themes taken from mythology—not only the tales of Troy but other myths also: Admetus and Alcestis, Hercules and Hesione—are common enough in Pannonia, particularly at Aquincum and Intercisa.⁶¹ With these traces also belong instances of plastic art in tondo as in one example at TÁC (Aeneas). Since the common denominator of all these is a reference to death or rescue from it and since similar scenes appear on grave stones and sarcophagi, the *communis opinio* is that they derive from funerary monuments.⁶² That such was the original context of the reliefs at TÁC seems far likelier, then, than to associate them with a supposed centre of the provincial imperial cult.

As for the temple itself, the full details of this have not yet been revealed but it seems already clear that, at ca 15 x 40 m on a podium, it is one of the largest temples in the province of Pannonia.⁶³ Comparison with similar buildings in other provinces is instructive. Clearly it is longer, for example, than the hexastyle temple (of uncertain attribution) in the calle Claudio Marcelo at Corduba; as all commentators have emphasized, the proportions of the podium of this structure

⁵⁹ See Fitz 1998: 26: "As for the original site of the reliefs we can only make some conjectures: the West-East directed expanding of the colonnade on level 3 (Nr. XXIV) can be dated to the decades after the Marcommanic Wars, its inauguration could be probably dated to 202, the Gorsium visit of Septimius Severus. This can point to the hypothesis that the Hercules series might have belonged to this hall. In this case it is likely that the series made for the festivities held during the reign of Antoninus Pius might have decorated the early ala of the hall (Nr. XXIV). As for the third group, in the present stage of the excavation we have no starting point as yet." Cf. Fitz and Fedak 1993: 267: "The mythological reliefs which adorned the *curia*, temples and halls of the imperial cult come from three different periods"

⁶⁰ For detailed analysis, see Smith 1987.

⁶¹ Mócsy 1962: 759; Erdélyi 1974: 131–152. I am much indebted to G. Alföldy for information and references.

⁶² See the synopsis of Erdélyi 1974: *passim*.

⁶³ Fedak 1995: 150–151. I am indebted to the anonymous referee for the approximate dimensions of the temple.

(32 x 16 x 3.5 m) closely resemble those of the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, the very model of a dynastic temple.⁶⁴ By comparison the enormous (32 x 41 m) octostyle temple recently identified in the grounds of the convent of the Verbe Incarné at Lugdunum is twice as wide; once thought to be a municipal imperial temple, this turns out to be more probably a Capitolium.⁶⁵ On the other hand the Gorsium temple is narrower but longer than the octostyle "Temple of Claudius" at Camulodunum, the large podium of which (31.5 x 24 m) is preserved beneath the Norman Castle.⁶⁶ Nothing is known of the size of the provincial temple of the Three Gauls, which evidently stood to the rear of the federal altar,⁶⁷ but at Tarraco both the projected edifice on the coins, which plainly illustrates a structure modelled on the octostyle temple of Mars Ultor in Rome, and the surviving *disiecta membra* point to an enormous edifice on the uppermost level of the triple-tiered, provincial enclosure north-west of the city forum.⁶⁸ The building excavated to the south-east of the *area sacra* at Gorsium (Fig. 1: LXX) looks smaller by comparison and with four columns rather than eight⁶⁹ is out of line with other provincial temples we presently know.⁷⁰ By and large its proportions seem not to fit the general pattern of a provincial temple.

With nothing archaeological, epigraphic, iconographic, or architectonic to draw on in support, the argument for a provincial centre at Gorsium with a

⁶⁴ See most recently Jiménez Salvador 1998: 18 with references.

⁶⁵ See now Di Vita-Évrard forthcoming. I am indebted to the author for information prior to publication.

⁶⁶ On the temple itself, see Hull 1958: 162–168 with fig. 82; Crummy 1980: 243–248; Drury 1984: 27–28, 34–35. For earlier treatment, see Lewis 1966: 61–62.

⁶⁷ Cf. the formula *ad aram . . . apud templum* or variant attested by three Severan texts: *CIL* XIII 1702, 1712, 11174. On the temple of the Three Gauls, see Audin 1956: 154; Fishwick 1987: 1.2.308–316; forthcoming: vol. 3.3. Tranoy and Ayala (1994: 184) simply note its existence.

⁶⁸ For the evidence and detailed discussion, see Fishwick 1999a; 1999c: 102–112; 2000a: 101–103; forthcoming a: vol. 3.3. For inconsistencies in the relevant discussion of Beard, North, and Price 1998: 1.356–357, see Fishwick forthcoming b.

⁶⁹ For the point that a provincial temple would more probably be octostyle as at Nicomedia, Ancyra, Camulodunum, and Tarraco (on the evidence of coins) or hexastyle as at Pergamum, see Fishwick 1999a: 129–132.

⁷⁰ The status of the temple in calle Holguín at Mérida is presently uncertain, but this may yet prove to be the (provincial?) tetrastyle temple shown on local coins: Fishwick 1999c: 112–115; forthcoming a: vol. 3.3. While its full size is still to be determined—a good part of the podium and the rear of the temple are still obscured by modern structures—the podium, as presently known, is 3.10 m high, 7.95 m wide, and 15.20 m long. The *pronaos* is at the maximum 3.10 m high, 4.65 m wide, and 9.70 m long. So while it is too early to tell the precise classification of the temple, the proportions suggest a pseudoperipteral plan with a transverse *cella* like that of the Temple of Concordia at Rome. A tetrastyle front façade, should such prove to be the case, would follow the tradition of the south and south-east Iberian peninsula, where similar temples occur in the Republican period and under Augustus: see Fishwick forthcoming a: vol. 3.3. For discussion, see Álvarez Martínez 1983: 42; Barrera Antón 2000: 148, 171–173, 175, noting that the architectonic decoration of the temple points to a late Augustan/Tiberian date. This particular structure looks to have been smaller, then, than the Gorsium temple.

temple and altar as its focal point begins to look a lost cause. It remains to bring out a point missed in all previous discussion of the *area sacra*. Enough is now known of the development of the imperial cult in the Latin West to confirm that in every instance a provincial temple is associated with the cult of the *divi*. At Tarraco this is attested by the literary record (Tac. *Ann.* 1.78: A.D. 15), according to which the Spanish embassy sought permission to erect a temple to Augustus (therefore Divus Augustus), and also by inscriptions, which begin early under Vespasian and confirm the inclusion of the deified *Augusti* in the provincial cult.⁷¹ At Emerita the situation is less clear, but the building illustrated on coins, evidently a temple of the province not of the city,⁷² is concerned with the deified emperor as at Tarraco; whether or not this was the monumental edifice in the calle Holguín may be clarified by the current round of excavations, which have already revealed a portico. For the moment it is certain that in this province too the provincial worship was directed to deified emperors from the start.⁷³ In both Hispania Citerior and Lusitania, it should be added, the term for the provincial priest is *flamen*.⁷⁴ As for the other provincial temples so far known, archaeological exploration has produced no certain vestige of the structure at Lugdunum, but inscriptions confirm that its construction coincided with the extension of the provincial cult under Hadrian to include deified emperors.⁷⁵ In this instance the existing term *sacerdos*, originally appropriate to the cult of Roma and the living Augustus at the altar by the Confluence, continued in use despite the expansion of the worship. At Camulodunum in contrast a temple to the deified Claudius *ab initio* is surely implied by Tacitus' reference *templum Divo Claudio constitutum* (*Ann.* 14.31).⁷⁶ No direct evidence survives on the cult the temple served then or later, but all analogy with other provincial temples plainly requires that it catered to one or more *divi*, certainly not just the living emperor.⁷⁷

In contrast, regional or provincial cult of the living emperor, initially in company with Roma so far as one can tell, is associated with an altar. This plainly is the case with a whole range of altars established under Augustus, notably

⁷¹ Alföldy 1973: 4–19; 1978: 603, 618; 1979: 186–187, 213–216.

⁷² Fishwick 1999c: 113; forthcoming a: vol. 3.3.

⁷³ Fishwick 1999b: 81–93.

⁷⁴ Alföldy 1973: 46–49 and *passim*; Étienne 1958: 122–126; 1990: 219–221. Full discussion in Fishwick forthcoming a: vol. 3.2.

⁷⁵ Fishwick 1987: 1.2.308–316; forthcoming a: vol. 3.2.

⁷⁶ Fishwick 1987: 1.2.202–215; 1995: 18–20.

⁷⁷ *Contra* Beard, North, and Price 1998: 353, n. 113. The essential connection of provincial temples with the cult of the *divi* surely confirms that the temple at Camulodunum served the deified Claudius. At the municipal level, in contrast, a temple could certainly be built to the living emperor, in which event it was located on or by the town forum. This is plainly not the case with the Camulodunum temple, which was built on the site of a military annexe to the Claudian fortress before this was converted by veterans into a colony—strictly speaking, therefore, outside the city, which was not defined by defensive walls. See Fishwick 1997: 32, 34, n. 9.

at Lugdunum, but also at several regional centres elsewhere: Arae Sestianae in north-west Spain, Ara Ubiorum near modern Cologne, on the east bank of the Elbe, perhaps also among the Lingones.⁷⁸ The same combination is very possibly to be inferred at Camulodunum under Claudius,⁷⁹ where Tacitus' use of the term *sacerdotes* (*Ann.* 14.31), if strict, would support the possibility that the cult was originally addressed to the living Claudius (with Roma?) at an altar, precisely as in Gallia Comata.⁸⁰ By analogy the same must be true of the Flavian Arae Flaviae in the Agri Decumates: comparison with previous practice surely requires that these will have been erected to the *living* Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.⁸¹ Significantly the term for the priest in such a context is *sacerdos*, wherever his title is attested.⁸² The point likewise holds for later foundations in the Danube region. More particularly, the provincial priest in Dacia, Upper and Lower Pannonia, Lower Moesia (no trace has surfaced in Upper Moesia), and Dalmatia is uniformly styled *sacerdos* throughout the period for which evidence has survived,⁸³ while in Dacia and the two provinces of Pannonia we have explicit evidence that the provincial priest served the living emperor, now alone, at an altar.⁸⁴ The key text for present purposes is the inscription of C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris, who is attested at Aquincum as *sacerdos arae Aug(usti) n(ostri) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) infer(ioris)* (*CIL* III 10496).⁸⁵

⁷⁸ Fishwick 1987: 1.1.137–146; forthcoming a: vol. 3.1. For the Ara Ubiorum, see Liertz 1998: 50–51, 55, 64–65, 105. A single exception to this general principle occurs at Lugdunum, where an inscription attests a *sacerdos ad aram Romae et Augustor(um)* (*CIL* XIII 1718). Presumably the federal altar temporarily accommodated the cult of the *divi* before the temple of Tres Galliae was in cultic service.

⁷⁹ Fishwick 1995: 20–25.

⁸⁰ Before Tres Galliae became the standard term under Vespasian and later, Gallia Comata appears to have been the formula used under the early empire: for example, by Claudius in his discourse recorded on the bronze table now in the Musée de la Civilisation gallo-romaine at Lyon (*CIL* XIII 1668: col. ii, line 32 = *ILS* 212). See Maurin 1986: 110–111, citing Pliny *NH* 4.105. For the term Gallia Comata, see *ThLL* 3.1756.

⁸¹ Fishwick 1987: 1.2.298. *Contra* Pailler 1989: 182, arguing that the Arae Flaviae were founded under Domitian, in which case both Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus would have been paid cult at an altar. See now the pertinent remarks of Liertz 1998: 53–55 with n. 189, cf. 106.

⁸² On the priesthood of Tres Galliae, see Fishwick forthcoming a: vol. 3.2 with table of priests.

⁸³ For analysis of the provincial priesthood in the Danube provinces with tables of incumbents, see Fishwick forthcoming a: vol. 3.2; cf. Deininger 1965: 113–120; Fitz 1985: 257–265; cf. Fitz 1993: 2.423–424, 427, 760, 822; Nawotka 1987.

⁸⁴ Priests of Lower Pannonia are documented above, n. 16. In Upper Pannonia cf. *CIL* III 4170 = *RIU* 71 (Savaria): [*sac. ar*]ae Augg. [*provinc*]iae P. s.; *AE* 1979, 468 = *ILJug* 1169 = *AE* 1983, 774 (Aquae Iasae): *sacerdot. arae Aug.* For provincial priests of Dacia, see Ardevan 1998: 328–341 with Table LVII. Cf. in particular *IDR* III/2, 108, cf. 19, 107 (Sarmizegetusa): *sacerdos arae Aug.*; *CIL* III 1209 (Apulum): *sacerd. arae Aug.*; *IDR* III/2, 217 (Sarmizegetusa): [*sac.*] *arae A[ugusti n.]*; *AE* 1930, 8 (Apulum): *sac. arae Aug.*; Ardevan, *Repertoriul Material. Epigrafic* no. 463 (Napoca): [*sacerdos ar*]ae Aug. n. [*coronat. Dac. I*]II; *IDR* III/2, 266 (Sarmizegetusa): *sacerdos arae Aug. n. coronatus Dac. III*; *IDR* III/2, 132 (findspot unknown): [*sac. arae Aug.?*] n.

⁸⁵ See now Fishwick 2000b: 257–260.

The significance of the foregoing survey for present purposes is self-evident. With no testimony whatsoever for the provincial cult of deified, deceased emperors in Pannonia Inferior, a provincial temple anywhere in the province looks an impossibility. The situation would naturally change should evidence to the contrary appear, but the circumstance that the provincial priest was uniformly termed *sacerdos* makes that eventuality remote. At all events there is nothing to suggest a comparable development to what one finds in Tres Galliae or perhaps Britannia, where *sacerdos* continued in use even after the inclusion of the *divi* within the provincial worship. It might be added that precisely the same argument holds for all provinces of the Danube region. As the inscription of C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris shows, the provincial cult of Lower Pannonia centred on an altar served by a *sacerdos*. While there is no direct evidence, the fact that his inscription was found at Aquincum, the capital city of the province, strongly suggests that the altar was located here (cf. *CIL* III 10495). This would be in contrast to the apparent situation in Upper Pannonia and the two provinces of Moesia, where provincial centres occur elsewhere than at the provincial capital,⁸⁶ but in conformity with the location of the provincial centre at Sarmizegetusa, the capital of Dacia,⁸⁷ and at provincial capitals generally in the West. Any possibility that Gorsium might have served as such a centre in Lower Pannonia is, therefore, excluded and the hypothesis of a provincial temple in the *area sacra* of the city collapses on the premise of this argument alone—quite apart from the overwhelming difficulties brought out above.⁸⁸

IV

To conclude on a more positive note, there is every reason to believe that the splendid excavations carried out on the site at Tác over the past thirty years or so have revealed one of the most important centres of “oriental deities” to have so far been identified anywhere in the Roman Empire. The remarkable complexity of its lay-out (Fig. 1) with a cluster of possible temples (XVII, XVIII?, LXXIV), well sanctuary (XXXIV), and hall (XXIV) located beyond the central *Dolichenum* (?) amply explains its role as the nodal point at which the priests of all the province assembled to receive the imperial visit of A.D. 202 (*CIL* III 3343). Or at least this picture is true of the enclave by the end of the second century A.D. The sanctuary itself appears to date from the reign of Trajan, more precisely from the years after A.D. 106,⁸⁹ in which case its construction would coincide with the earlier spread of the cult of Dolichenus in the first three decades of the second century

⁸⁶ Fitz 1985: 262.

⁸⁷ Ardevan 1998: 334–335 with Tables III–VIII, XXII, LV.

⁸⁸ Cf. E. Tóth 1989: 54, summarizing earlier objections.

⁸⁹ Fitz and Fedak 1993: 264 with references, noting that the structures originally associated with the supposed provincial centre were completed by the *legio II Adiutrix*, whose stamped bricks survive; cf. Fitz 1998: 25.

when soldiers returning from the east brought back the worship of this among other “oriental deities.”⁹⁰ The convention of A.D. 202, in contrast, would on I. Tóth’s analysis coincide with a second phase about the turn of the second century when numerous civilians, mostly businessmen, migrated to Pannonia from Syria and elsewhere in the East. Against this background the status of the centre at Gorsium as the religious hub of Pannonia looks very plausible.

A key question that arises in the same connection is to which particular structure the building inscription relates in recording the restorations of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (*CIL* III 3343). We have seen that the likeliest completion of the break in line 3 is *templu(m) D[eorum Magnorum ...]*. As the *Dolichenum* itself can hardly be described as a temple of the Di Magni, some other structure in the sacred area must presumably be meant; yet there seems to be no obvious parallel to which one can turn for comparative purposes. None of the testimonia cited by Alföldy in his useful summary does in fact refer to a temple of the Di Magni, and what particular deities might have been represented in such a temple remains a matter for conjecture. This line of argument presumes of course that the text refers to a single building that had collapsed with age. An alternative possibility, not to be excluded from consideration perhaps, is that *templum* is used here in its original spatial sense of “sanctuary” or “sacred enclosure” and so refers to the whole *area sacra*,⁹¹ the site of shrines and temples of various deities who, as *AE* 1972, 432 confirms, could be collectively termed Di Magni. Certainly the entire enclave will have been caught up in the rebuilding and renovations that eventually followed the devastation of the town during the Marcomannic wars (A.D. 160–180) and were pressed ahead under Septimius Severus and Caracalla.⁹² One point that tells in favour of this hypothesis is the term *templenses* (*AE* 1972, 432), which—whatever its precise significance—surely refers to those who ministered or were accommodated in the *area sacra*, the *temenos* or *templum* as a whole (see above, 312–313 with n. 15). Some new epigraphical text unearthed by current or future excavations may yet provide a final answer.

A connected problem still outstanding concerns the affiliation of the recently identified tetrastyle temple. In the absence of any epigraphic clue discussion is necessarily tentative, but the classic design combined with its considerable dimensions and costly stone columns suggests a link with some Roman rather than purely oriental deity. Given the position of the temple on a rise overlooking

⁹⁰ Fedak 1993: 297–298, citing I. Tóth 1971: 83. On the cult of Dolichenus in Pannonia, see Fitz 1959: 258–262; Kádár 1962: 2, 15–17, 31–39, 42–54, 63–67, 75–80, 85, observing that the bulk of the evidence belongs to the period from the later second century to the first part of the third. For a Hadrianic text from Carnuntum, see Fitz 1959: 258, nn. 205–206 with references; cf. Kádár 1962: 75, n. 2; cf. Popa and Berciu 1978: 48–49, noting a similar evolution of the cult in Dacia, where the earliest evidence dates from the reign of Antoninus Pius.

⁹¹ *OLD* s.v. *templum* 2; Weinstock 1934.

⁹² Fitz and Fedak 1993: 270; Fedak 1995: 138. On any interpretation of the inscription the formula *vetustate conlapsum* glosses over the damage caused by the successful incursion of the Sarmatians.

the forum (?), a primary candidate might be Jupiter Optimus Maximus, especially if construction took place under Trajan, whose Jovian theology of imperial power is reflected in the epithet Optimus granted him by the Senate in A.D. 114 but used unofficially as early as 100.⁹³ The point would be reinforced if the Gorsium temple was in fact begun under the governorship of P. Aelius Hadrianus (see above, 310 with n. 9), who as emperor Hellenized and reinforced in official ideology the role of Jupiter, who had granted the purple to his delegate.⁹⁴ In that case Jupiter may well have been worshipped in some local idiom, quite possibly as Dolichenus (cf. *CIL* III 3343: see above, 313).⁹⁵ It might also be noted in this connection that vestiges of a rectangular structure, possibly the remains of another temple, are beginning to take shape immediately to the south on the east side of the forum, where there would also be room for a third temple.⁹⁶

A final consideration to be factored into any general assessment of the *area sacra* is its possible relation to the extensive complex at Szabadbattyán some 6 km from Gorsium. The first details of this, the results of three campaigns, have yet to be published, but the widespread architectural remains include numerous column bases, a large *tumulus* (?), and rooms with well-preserved frescoes. To determine the precise character of these structures will require more fieldwork.⁹⁷ Similarly at Gorsium the answers to so many pertinent questions depend upon the continued success of the Hungarian and Canadian teams currently excavating the site; only their explorations can bring to light the further archaeological, epigraphical, numismatic, or iconographic data that are badly needed to widen our understanding of this important centre. For the moment it is worth stressing that, whatever identifications of particular structures may eventually emerge, the existence at Gorsium of a temple of Pannonia Inferior, supposedly located at the presumed provincial centre, looks out of the question. Conversely the *area sacra* has all the appearance of a prominent sanctuary of oriental deities, a Mecca for followers of Dolichenus and the like throughout Pannonia and no doubt beyond.

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⁹³ Fears 1981: 80–85.

⁹⁴ Fears 1981: 85–89; Fishwick 1992b: 397 with nn. 57–58.

⁹⁵ On the popularity of Jupiter Optimus Maximus as opposed to the Capitoline Triad in Pannonia, see Mócsy 1962: 728–730. In commenting on my proposed identification of the tetrastyle temple, Alföldy kindly writes that Hungarian colleagues have recently come independently to the same conclusion following the (not yet published) discovery of several large bells on the temple floor. For the circumstance that an extremely wide range of gods is represented alongside Jupiter in the sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine, see Beard, North, and Price 1998: 281. Even so, it is difficult to think that a temple of Jupiter Dolichenus at Gorsium would have been termed a *templum Deorum Magnorum*: see above, 315–316.

⁹⁶ Fedak 1997: 125.

⁹⁷ Information kindly supplied by the anonymous referee, who reports that excavations at the site are conducted by the St Stephen Museum at Székesfehérvár under the direction of G. Nádorfi.

PLATES

- 1 Ground plan of the sacred area at Gorsium. Reproduced from Fishwick 1987: vol. 1.2, Plate LXII.
- 2 The sacred area of Gorsium viewed from the south. Reproduced from Fishwick 1987: vol. 1.2, Plate LXI.
- 3 View of the sacred area at Gorsium with the eastern *nymphaeum*. Reproduced from Fishwick 1987: vol. 1.2, Plate LXI.

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THE SACRED AREA AT GORSIUM

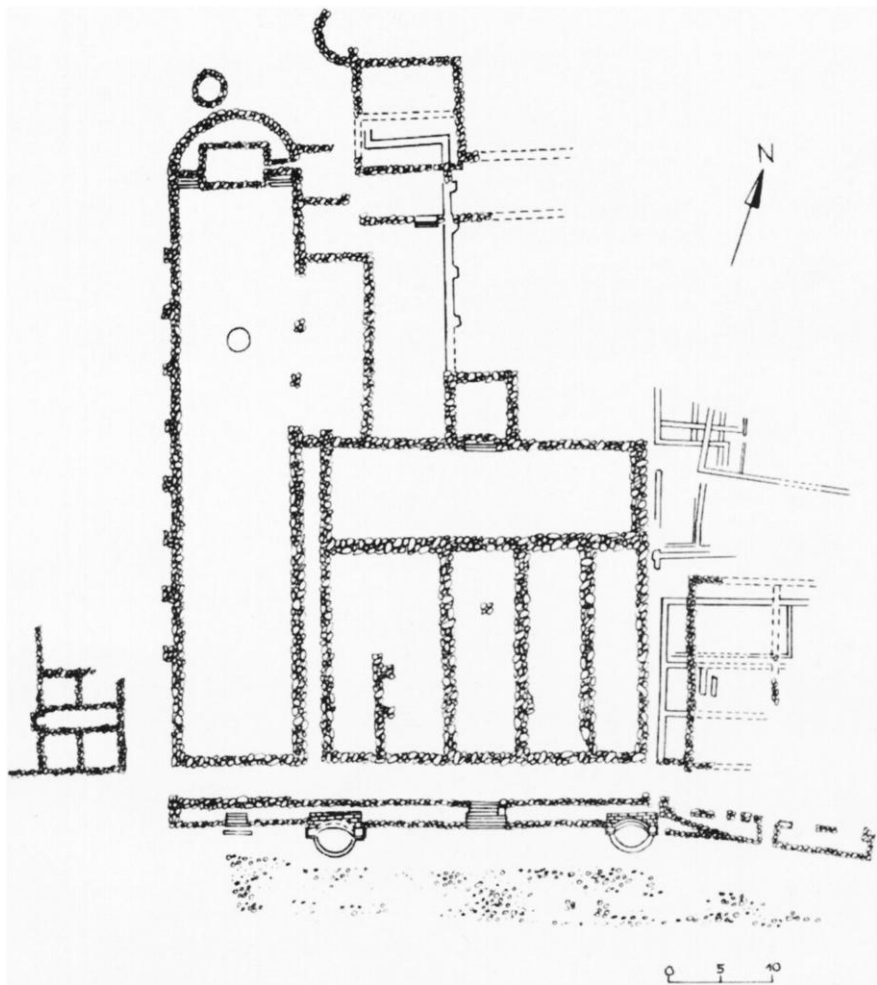


Plate 1. Ground plan of the sacred area of Gorsium

PHOENIX



Plate 2. The sacred area of Gorsium from the south

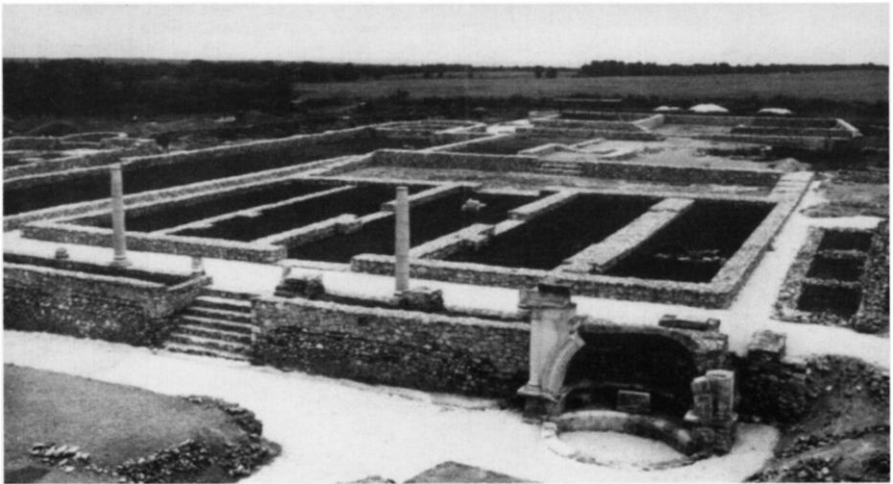


Plate 3. View of the sacred area of Gorsium with the eastern *nymphaeum*