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Spaces of Reinvented Religious Traditions in the Danubian Provinces

The Danube represents one of the main hydrographic corridors of Europe: it unites the major macro-units of the continent, creating a living bond between the Western regions, the Central-European area and South-East Europe.¹ This living connectivity has existed since the Neolithic ages and it shows a historical continuity, intensified especially in classical antiquity when this entire region became part of a single, administrative-political, and cultural macro-entity, the Roman Empire. Before the conquest of this macro-region, the Danubian area was inhabited by various Celtic, Illyrian, Thracian, Greek and numerous other communities with a heterogeneous political and cultural identity in late Iron Age Europe.² This region became part of the Roman Empire in several phases; however, the age of Augustus and Trajan represents the major steps of the reorganisation of the Danubian area. While the Upper Danube region (Raetia, Noricum) is the result of Augustus' policy, the Lower Danubian area – especially the conquest of Dacia and the reorganisation of the two Pannoniae – is the heritage of emperor Trajan. The provinces formed along the Danube (Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia Superior, Pannonia Inferior, Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior and the three Daciae)³ never gained a common, united “identity” in antiquity, however their economic, political and military connectivities were reflected in numerous, extra-provincial institutions, human and material networks, such as the *publicum Portorii Illyrici* or the intense military dislocations.⁴ The Danubian provinces were also in the middle of numerous major commercial routes, uniting macro-regions beyond the administrative limits of the Empire, such as the Alpine route in Raetia, the Amber road between Aquileia-Poetovio and the edges of Noricum and Pannonia, the commercial routes between Pannonia and Dacia or the maritime routes starting from Moesia Inferior (Dobrudja) and ending in Egypt or the former Hellenistic world.

In this context, religious communication between divine and human agency was constantly shaped by these major, macro-spaces and large, cultural or economic clusters. While Roman provincial archaeology has focussed until recently on micro-spaces and local case studies of sanctuaries, divinities or rarely, on urban

¹ This study was supported by the Postdoctoral Research Grant PD NKFI-8 nr. 127948 by the National Research, Development, and Innovation Office of Hungary (2018–2021). See also: Szabó 2022. Miklós 2010, 20, fig. 1.12.

² Rustoiu 2018.

³ For a definition of the Danubian provinces, see: Alföldy 2004, Szabó 2020a.

⁴ Beskow 1980, Farkas 2015.

religion or provincial units,⁵ religious studies, since the material turn, have opened new spatial perspectives too, where macro-, meso- and micro-spaces are active agents in religious communication, interacting with each other. In this paper, I will focus on reinvented religious traditions of the Danubian provinces through the lance of these spatial categories and the notion of religious glocalisation.

Religious Glocalisation and the Spaces of Reinvented Religious Traditions

Spatial theory only entered Roman religious studies in the 1980s, focusing especially on the interaction of objects (material agency) and humans in micro-spaces or imaginary spaces.⁶ For a long time, spaces of religious communication were marginally analysed in the paradigmatic works of the discipline. Introducing new, space theories in Roman religious studies, however, is essential to understand how Romans in various historical contexts created, maintained, controlled, and abandoned spaces of religious communication. This process is described as space sacralisation, which is a transformative and creative act of human intervention, creating special spaces with high religious intensity and material-density where human and divine actors are in dialogue.⁷ In space sacralisation, micro-spaces (the human body, domestic constructions, houses, house-shrines) play a crucial role, however the interaction between human and divine becomes more complex when we talk about sacralised spaces of small-group religions (meso-spaces), where religious communication goes beyond the individual and creates a network or hub of personal, economic, social, and religious bonds.⁸ Religious appropriation and individuation are much higher in these two categories. Communicating with the gods in public spaces represents not only a well-defined legal frame, but also creates several controlled actors, such as priests, public performances and festivals, complex, architectural environments, and a great variety of religious investments. All these sacralised spaces, however, need to be interpreted in a much more complex spatial taxonomy, where external factors, such as urbanity, Roman administrative units, customs systems, natural environment, climate, or commercial roads play a significant role. These macro-spaces represent the global agents of religious communication; however, their interpretation always needs an in-depth, focus-based analysis. This approach, which unites the global, overarching factors with the local religious

⁵ For case studies, see: Zerbini 2015.

⁶ Cancik 1986 as an important reference.

⁷ Rüpke 2016. See also: Szabó 2018, 1–10, Szabó 2020b, 255–260.

⁸ On this category, see: Nielsen 2014. On small group religions, see also: Lichterman *et al.* 2017.

appropriations can be analysed through the innovative method of glocalisation in religious communication.⁹

Local religious appropriations in the Danubian provinces carried not only the regional aspects and local traditions from pre-Roman times, but due to the intense mobility and connectivity, religious knowledge, visual narratives, and material agency of religion, was shaped by global, universal aspects too.¹⁰ Not only the materiality of religion, but also divinities were glocalised: local, religious divine agents were universalised and reshaped with global features.¹¹ In this transformative process, pre-Roman religious traditions not only “became Roman”, but they also used the method of reinventing traditions, creating the façade and strategies of archaizing, and translating global religious tools and agents in the dynamic process of religious communication, which often also served as social and political language, especially for the local elite or the growing groups of urban society.

Case Studies: Reinventing Jupiters

Jupiter, the supreme god of the Roman Empire – long associated with the imperial power too¹² – was the ideal case study for local religious appropriation. The universal and global aspects of the divinity were translatable for most of the pre-Roman societies and could be easily associated with local divine agency. This local religious appropriation – named by the older literature as *interpretatio Romana*, *interpretatio barbarica* or religious syncretism¹³ – didn’t happen as a simple adoption or association between pre-Roman and Roman gods. The recently invented “*interpretatio indigena*” seems to be a much better methodological framework for reinvented religious traditions and glocalisation.¹⁴ Reinventing pre-Roman divinities and appropriating religious knowledge in the newly established provincial context is one of the most complex processes in Roman religion during the Principate. The following paper will focus on a few specific examples of religious glocalisation and reinvented traditions from the Danubian provinces, focusing on the glocality of Jupiters in Pannonia and Moesia Superior.

Pannonia had a very dynamic history in the late La Tène period, producing not only military conflicts between pre-Celtic (Pannonian), Celtic (*Boii*, *Eravisci*) and Roman powers, but also an intense cultural interaction which can be observed in the

⁹ On religious glocalisation, see: Van Alten 2017, Roudometof 2018.

¹⁰ On the problem of creating glocal visualities, see also: Gordon 1979, Dalgligh/Adrych 2020.

¹¹ On the notion of global divinities, see also: Woolf 2018.

¹² Fears 1981. See also: Szabó 2018, 35–36.

¹³ On the problematic notions, see: Ando 2006, Nemeti 2019, 31–73.

¹⁴ Häussler 2012. See also: Gasparini 2015, 480–484.

glocality of religion in this area.¹⁵ István Tóth identified three major regions with different religious specificities in the later territory of Pannonia: the Western part (concentrated around the Amber road – *Via succinea*¹⁶), a smaller, predominantly Eraviscan area in the North-Eastern part of the Danube and a large, South and South-Western part with numerous pre-Roman populations (*Scordisci, Pannonii*).¹⁷ The three regions had different cultural and religious backgrounds and traditions.

The first region (Western Pannonia, a large part of the later Pannonia Superior) was dominated by the Amber road, which served not only as an economic route and connection between Northern Europe and the Mediterranean world, but also as the major route for military campaigns of the Scordisci, Dacians and later the Pannonians in the region.¹⁸ These features marked the religious landscape of the later Pannonia Superior in the late La Tène period. Archaeological evidence of sacralised spaces before the Roman conquest is scarce. In Szalacska, a large Celtic oppidum in what is today Hungary, an important coin-mint was identified with glocal religious features: the coins imitate the Macedonian tetradrachmae, but their iconography is interpreted as a local appropriation of religious visual language, with several astro-nomic symbols and a possible connection with a local cult of Hermes.¹⁹ István Tóth presumed that the famous funerary inventory of a Sol-Luna priestess from Nagyberki-Szalacska also reflects a pre-Roman religious heritage and proves the presence of a Solar cult in this region.²⁰ The first part of the rich material was found in 1899 in the private garden of Sándor Vigyázó without further archaeological investigation.²¹ The find was already associated by Melhard with the pre-Roman oppidum nearby, although the datation of the objects (especially the Norican-type fibulae and the bronze vessels) is clearly from the Roman period.²² The importance of the oppidum in Szalacska was especially documented in the second half of the 20th century and although there were no traces of sacralised spaces discovered, the relationship between the Sol-Luna priestess and the pre-Roman settlement seems to be plausible.²³ Traces of the cult of the “Celtic Ianus”, a two-faced male divinity attested in numerous statuary representations in Celtic Europe,²⁴ was also identified in pre-Roman Pannonia at the site of Badacsonylábdihely.²⁵ The statuary representation

15 On these major political changes in the region between 268 BC and 15 AD, see: Szabó 1990.

16 On the importance of long-distance economic mobilities, see: Woolf 2013.

17 Tóth 2015, 21, fig. 1.

18 Mócsy 1974a, 14–19.

19 Tóth 2015, 22–23. See also Holzer 2008, 405.

20 Melhard 1900, Thomas 1963, Tóth 2015, 23.

21 Melhard 1900, 386–388.

22 Thomas 1963, 75.

23 Burns 2003, 195–200.

24 For analogies, see: Sireix *et al.* 2002.

25 Szabó 1963. For analogy, see: Tóth 2015, 34.

was unfortunately discovered without an archaeological context; therefore, sacralised spaces cannot be associated with the find.

The second region – with a much more complex and dynamic ethnic and cultural interconnectivity between the Celtic and pre-Celtic populations, is the southern part of contemporary Hungary and the large area between the Drava and Sava rivers. Archaeological evidence is also very laconic in this area when it comes to pre-Roman sacralised spaces, but the epigraphic sources indicate a rich divine agency worshiped between the Drava and Sava rivers.²⁶ River cults (Sava, Drava, Danube) and spring cults (Aquae Iasae) are well documented in Roman times, however their pre-Roman presence in archaeological evidence is missing. The same problem is present in the Taurisci area between Emona and Poetovio: the rich epigraphic material suggests that numerous indigenous divinities were worshiped in pre-Roman times, however their sacralised spaces and pre-Roman archaeological sources are not yet clarified.²⁷ István Tóth presumed numerous “sacralised mountains”, hilltops worshiped by Celtic populations and the cult of various animals (boars, pigs) in the Southern region.²⁸ Based exclusively on a few figurative monuments and especially on later, Roman iconographic representations and epigraphic sources, his thesis remains a romantic hypothesis which is often criticised now.²⁹

The third region with specific, mostly Celtic (*Eravisci*) settlements and environment offers several important case studies of space sacralisation before the Roman conquest. The region is also an example for Celtic and Illyrian (*Boii*, *Eravisci*, *Azalii*) interconnectivity. The region is the only one where statuary representations of pre-Roman, Celtic divinities are attested (for example, a statuette of Artio from Szentendre).³⁰ An important sanctuary from the pre-Roman period was identified in 1969–1971 at Pákozd.³¹ The small-sized sacralised space had several sacrificial pits (often called *favis-sae*, although the notion was even contested for the Roman contexts³²) with animal and human osteological material too. The sanctuary was interpreted as a site of human sacrifice and a place for the head cult of Esus.³³ Based on a single Roman brick found in one of the sacrificial pits with the remains of a sacrificed dog,³⁴ Éva Petres argued that the Pákozd sanctuary was also used in the Roman period.³⁵ Even if the continuity of the sacralised space is uncertain, the large number of sacrificial pits

26 Rendić-Miočević/Segvić 1998.

27 Šašel-Kos 1998.

28 Tóth 2015, 22–26.

29 Nagy 2016.

30 Tóth 2015, 33, fig. 11.

31 Fitz 1998, 53, Szabó 2005, 100–101.

32 Haynes 2014, Szabó 2018, 85.

33 Szabó 2005, 100. See also: Ardagna *et al.* 2004. Literary sources: Diod. Sic., xxxiv. 13; Strabo, iv. 4; Orosius, v. 16; Schol. on Lucan, Usener's ed. 32.

34 For analogies from pre-Roman Dacian case studies, see: Sîrbu/Dăvîncă 2020.

35 Petres 1972.

reflects a successful religious communication maintained and performed by multiple generations. Similar archaeological contexts were identified in the large cemetery from the Late Copper Age used also in the Iron Age at Pilismarót-Basaharc.³⁶ The pre-Roman cult of Cernunnos was associated with the large amount of osteological material of stags in Keszthely-Fenékpuszta, Szakály, Sé and Balatonőszöd-Temetői dűlő.³⁷ In the case of Balatonőszöd, the well documented archaeological context also helped the publisher to identify the period of the year when the unique, non-repetitive sacrificial act happened.³⁸ Horváth presumed that some of the sacrificial pits correlate with the Celtic *Lughnasadh* festival from early August. Such important archaeological finds need to be centralised and contextualised as global sources of Celtic religious communication following the well-known Celtic calendar and religious traditions also represented on the Gundestrup cauldron.³⁹

The osteological material discovered in the domestic environment in Sé in a house indicated the same forms of religious communication in private, micro-spaces and public, mezzo-spaces too.⁴⁰ Similarly, with the so-called *pseudokernos* vases from the late Bronze Age and the Hallstatt period in the later territory of Pannonia, these domestic sacrifices and osteological evidence can be both “profane” or “religious” too: without clear evidence and arguments, the functionality and agency role of these objects in religious communication can only be presumed.⁴¹ These examples in many senses put in context the literary sources and help us to deconstruct both the Roman ethnographic layers and the contemporary historiographic interpretations on pre-Roman, Celtic religion in provincial contexts.⁴²

For a long time, the Gellérthegey near Aquincum (today the hills of Buda) and the Pfaffenberg (near Carnuntum) were considered the main Celtic sanctuaries of pre-Roman Pannonia dedicated to the local supreme gods, Teutanus and the sky god of the mountain Karnuntinus.⁴³ Careful archaeological excavations and re-analysis of the old historiographic data, however, questions the pre-Roman cultic activity on the Gellérthegey which remains only a hypothesis.⁴⁴ The 17 Roman altars dedicated to Teutanus and discovered at Bölcske in the 1980s were also associated with this “central” sanctuary, however there are no direct links between the two discoveries.⁴⁵ The case study of the *civitas Eraviscorum* shows that the indigenous

³⁶ Szabó 2005, 100–101.

³⁷ Horváth 2019.

³⁸ Horváth 2019, 121.

³⁹ Maumené 2016.

⁴⁰ Ilon *et al.* 2001.

⁴¹ Fischl 1999, 133.

⁴² Webster 2015.

⁴³ Fitz 1998, 53, Tóth 2015, 38–39.

⁴⁴ Maráz 2007, 36.

⁴⁵ Szabó 2005, 94–95. The altar discovered at the Tabán (Rezeda street 14.) is the only link between the cult of Teutanus and the metahistorical “sanctuary” on the Gellérthegey (*CIL* III 10418).

settlement – or the memory of it – existed long after the Roman military settlement was transformed into a *municipium* and the *civitas* became part of its territorium.⁴⁶ The invention of Jupiter Teutanus as an appropriated divine agent of the indigenous population represents an important step in the emergence of a local elite, which would consciously transform its principal god to integrate into the social and political network of the new administration and the Roman world.⁴⁷ In this process of reinventing and maintaining a new divine agency, the local urban elite seems to have a predominant role: many of the inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter Teutanus are dedicated collectively by the *civitas Eraviscorum*⁴⁸ or by the *duumviri* and augurs of the city.⁴⁹

The inscriptions which attest the cult in Aquincum are from the late 2nd and 3rd centuries AD which indicates the successful “Romanness” of the re-invented god of the Eravisci. István Tóth suggested that the celestial gods and major divine agencies of the pre-Roman communities were worshipped at the same time, following a common religious calendar, as a collective Celtic heritage of the *civitas Boiorum* at the Pfaffenberg (Jupiter Karnuntinus) and the *civitas Eraviscorum* (Jupiter Teutanus) at the Gellérthegey.⁵⁰ Identified by him as a “national holiday” of the pre-Roman communities, celebrated on both Mons Sacer, the sacred hills of the Boii and Eravisci, the 11th of June appears on a late inscription from 237 AD in Gellérthegey dedicated to Jupiter Teutanus. The same date was associated with an inscription from the Pfaffenberg sanctuary from 159 AD and 297 AD.⁵¹ This theory of Tóth seems to be anachronistic and lacking any solid proof, especially of a common religious heritage between the Pfaffenberg community and the Gellérthegey.⁵² The existence of a pre-Roman, common religious calendar is not impossible however, as in many Celtic traditions religious calendars and iconographic representations survived the Roman administration, being re-invented and appropriated as a new tool and

46 Kovács 1999.

47 On the cult of Teutanus, see: Póczy 1999.

48 AE 2003, 1411: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Teut(ano) pro / sal(ute) Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur(elii) A(ntonini) P(ii) F(elicis) Aug(usti) et in/columitate civita/tis Eraviscorum / [3]NIVIIIO / [6] / [6] / [3] col(oniae) Aqu(incensium) / [3] dedicav(erunt) 3 / [6] / [3]o co(n)s(ulibus).*

49 AE 2003, 1408. See also: AE 2006, 01097.

50 Tóth 2015, 97–99.

51 AE 2000, 1186: *[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [pro salute] / Im(p(eratoris) Caes(aris) T(iti) Aeli] / An(ton)ini Aug(usti) [P(ii)] / et M(arci) [A]urel(i) Ca[es(aris)] / c(ives) R(omani) cons(istentes) Ca[er]n(unti)] / intra leug(am) / C(aius) Pompon(ius) Saturn[i]n[us] / C(aius) S[at]urnin(ius) Candi[dus?] / P(ublius) [—]I Vale[—] / [—] An(n)ius? Pl[acidus] / [mag]istri mont[i]s / [Qui]ntillo et [Prisco] c(o)n(s)ulibus). AE 1982, 783: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) K(arnuntino) / [p]ro salute dd(ominorum) nn(ostorum) / [Di]ocle[tiani] et / M[axim]iani Aug(ustorum)] et / C[on]stanti et Max[i]m[i]ani — / [—] // Dederunt [d(edicaverunt)] III [Idus] / I[u]nias d[d(ominis)] nn(ostris)] / [Ma]xim[i]/[ano] Au[g(usto)] V e[ti]a[ma]xi]/[mi]ano n[ob]ilissimo) / [Ca]es(are) II c(o)n(s)ulibus).**

52 For the critique of Tóth, see: Nagy 2016.

temporal agent in religious communication.⁵³ Controlling the indigenous population and their religious dialogue with the old gods in new shapes needs successful strategies, religious power elite and central sacralised spaces: the Pfaffenberg sanctuary was such a place, for example.

The sacred area was established on a hill, North-East of the legionary fortress in the territory *extra leugam*, which means that the sacralised places on the hill were not under the legal authority of the *legatus legionis*.⁵⁴ During the Roman period, the sacred area was under the control of the so-called *magistri montis*, the priestly officials of the *c(ives) R(omani) cons(istentes) Ca[m(unti)] intra leug(am)*.⁵⁵ All of the epigraphic⁵⁶ and statuary material suggests⁵⁷ that the sanctuary was only used after the Roman conquest and that the legionary fort was established in the second half of the 1st century AD. The earliest inscription is dedicated to Victoria by the legio XV Apollinaris, which suggests a military foundation of the site.⁵⁸ The foundation of this hill-sanctuary might suggest an analogy with the early, probably Trajanic, inscriptions from Sarmizegetusa Regia and the Hațeg Mountains dedicated to Apollo and Victoria in Roman Dacia right after the conquest.⁵⁹ Although numerous, earlier literature tried to identify a pre-Roman, Celtic sacralised space on the hill, the archaeological evidence shows no traces of continuous religious communication as we can observe in some cases from Raetia or Noricum. The monumentalisation of the landscape – which was also a strong, visual message for the Barbaricum and the indigenous settlements in the *territorium* of the fortress – begun probably by Lucius Aelius Caesar who often stationed in Carnuntum as a governor of the two Pannoniae and in 137 AD too.⁶⁰ The heir of the emperor played a crucial role in the spread of the hero-cult of Antinoos (Antinous), lover and divinised favourite of emperor Hadrian in the Danubian provinces.⁶¹ This is attested in the Pfaffenberg and Sočanica (Moesia Superior) too.⁶² If the construction of the small amphitheatre and the first buildings (temple 1) of the sacralised space on Pfaffenberg is related,⁶³ it could indicate the official cult of the new,

53 On the Coligny calendar, see: Rankin 1987, 282, Swift 2002.

54 Piso 1991, 140.

55 Piso 1991, 137, Dészpa 2017, 138.

56 Piso 2003.

57 Kremer 2004.

58 The earliest inscription is from the Iulio-Claudian period. *AE* 2003, 1381: *Victoriae / [s]a[c]rum / [- Val]erius / [-] Fabia / [-] leg(ionis) XV / [Apol(linaris) —]*.

59 Opreanu 2000.

60 Vita Hadr. 23, 11; Vita Ael. 3, 2. See also: Šašel Kos 2009, 182.

61 Šašel Kos 2009. On the cult of Antinoos, see: Vout 2005, Jones 2010, 74–84. On the military history of the region in 135–140 AD: Mócsy 1974b, Juhász 2019, 45–46. A representation of an Egyptianized emperor or Antinoos, see: Lupa 13687.

62 Piso 2003, 19–20, cat. nr. 4.

63 The inscriptions show the same chronological period: Jobst 2003, 11–12.

Roman hero celebrated also with occasional games.⁶⁴ The Pfaffenberg temples and complex sacralised space reflect a society in transformation, where the political elite used monumentalisation to establish their own position in a macro-political, imperial connectivity (the fidelity of Lucius Aelius Caesar) and the local elite – where, in the early period, we can also probably find local, indigenous individuals too – embraced the new sacralised spaces as new strategies in religious communication and political *cursus honorum*. The emergence of an Oriental type of imperial cult is reflected not only by the possible presence of the cult of Antinoos and a significant number of Egyptianized materials, but also by an inscription from the amphitheatre area dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus from the same period, one of the earliest attestations of the cult in the Danubian provinces.⁶⁵ Although it is debated whether the local, indigenous population was involved or not in this sacralised space, the materiality of religious communication of the three temples and the entire hill reflects an Oriental (Roman) provincial visuality of religion⁶⁶ and also some Germanic influences, especially with the famous Jupiter-columns present on the hill.⁶⁷ István Tóth rightly recognised that the iconographic representation of Jupiter Teutanus and Jupiter Karnuntinus is similar, which suggests an interesting association with the celestial and aquatic aspect of the gods: the trident on the head of the divinity is a unique representation from the two former Celtic settlements which might indicate a visual appropriation between the water (Danube) and the celestial (hills, mountains) aspects of the supreme god.⁶⁸ In this case, the two divinities attested on the Pfaffenberg and the Gellérthegy indicate a pre-Roman divinity re-invented and re-appropriated in the new context of Roman public religion and imperial cult. After the hypothesis of Michael Sage however, the cult of the Jupiter on the Pfaffenberg is related to one of the divinations of emperor Hadrian from June 129 AD which he experienced in Anatolia on Mount Casius⁶⁹ and he associated the divinity with Jupiter (Zeus) Kasios.⁷⁰ This event – together with the Egyptianized cults and the activity of Lucius Aelius Caesar in Carnuntum – gives a much more interesting context of the sacralised space on the Pfaffenberg, where memorialisation of imperial divination and religious individualisation, Oriental and Germanic religious traditions seems to be united in a very interesting local form.

⁶⁴ Hérvás 2019.

⁶⁵ Dészpa 2017, 137. AE 1936, 132: *Pro sal(ute) Imp(eratoris) C/aes(aris) Tra(iani) Hadr(iani) Aug(usti) / p(atris) p(atriciae) porta(m) et muru(m) per / pedes lon(gum) C altu(m) p(edes) VII / iuvent(us) colen(s) Iove(m) Doli/chen(um) inpe(n)sa sua fec(it).*

⁶⁶ Jobst/Piras 2018.

⁶⁷ Kremer 2004. See also: Woolf 2001.

⁶⁸ Tóth 2015, 104–105. See also: Cook 1925, 786.

⁶⁹ HA *Vita Had.* 14.3. See also: Sage 1987, 161, Collar 2020.

⁷⁰ See also: Jobst 1977.

A particular case study is represented by the large number of votive inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter Paternus in Moesia Superior.⁷¹ This epithet is associated with numerous divinities (Sabazios, Asclepius, Dolichenus),⁷² however the large number of inscriptions in Moesia Superior (17 votive dedications in contrast with 1 in Moesia Inferior and 2 in Pannonia Inferior) suggests that this divinity might be a local appropriation and reinvention. The dedications of Jupiter Paternus predominantly come from Singidunum and Naissus from military context.⁷³ The identity of a possibly pre-Roman divinity remains hidden in this newly invented and re-appropriated divinity, Jupiter Paternus: religious communication changed its materiality (votive, stone monuments, epigraphic habit), visuality (Hellenistic and Roman visual narratives and architectures) and knowledge too (epithets, names of the gods, Roman sacrifices and performances), however this paternal, local figure of the supreme god reflects a very strong bond with a pre-Roman religious tradition. Moesia Superior is very rich in such subtle and well-constructed glocal reinventions. While the divinity of Jupiter Paternus – a presumably important, celestial male figure from the pre-Roman religious pantheon – is strongly related to the fidelity of the Roman army and the newly-established Roman power, the cult of the so-called Danubian Rider (or lately, associated by some with the cult of Domnus et Domna)⁷⁴ was a much more complex case of religious appropriation. In the case of this cult, the material evidence shows a well-established and complex visual narrative (“a story” or a “myth”) in Hellenistic-Roman tradition, with several well-known figurative elements used in classical Greek and Roman iconography too.⁷⁵ The central problem of this cult, however, is the identity of the divine agents: the central figure seems to be a celestial, divine being (Dominus?), associated often with solar attributes. This could also be Jupiter Paternus, a celestial being popular in Pannonia and Moesia too. The female divine figure – usually represented in the secondary register with the Dioscuri – seems to play a secondary role in the narrative.⁷⁶ The lack of narrative and religious knowledge from the materiality of religion makes it impossible to understand exactly how these new divinities emerged and what their purpose and longevity was in the new, Roman society of Moesia Superior after the 1st century AD.

⁷¹ *CIL* III, 6303 (p 1454); *CIL* III, 8148 = *IMS* I, 9; *IMS* I, 10; *IMS* I, 11; *IMS* I, 13; *IMS* I, 21; *IMS* I, 102; *AE* 1913, 176; *CIL* III, 14565; *AE* 1979, 521; *IMS* IV, 20 = *AE* 1934, 207; *IMS* IV, 22 = *AE* 1979, 522; *IMS* IV, 23 = *AE* 1979, 523; *AE* 2013, 1324; *AE* 1995, 1311; *ILJug* II, 572 = *AE* 1971, 427; *EDCS*-11201467. See also: Gavrilović-Vitas 2020, 82 and 121.

⁷² See also the paternal gods of the Maurii: Nemeti 2019, 123–129.

⁷³ Gavrilović-Vitas 2020, 82, footnote nr. 744.

⁷⁴ After the theory of Ádám Szabó: Szabó 2017.

⁷⁵ Hijmans 2016, 96–98.

⁷⁶ Szabó 2017, 57 and 67.

Conclusions

The reinvention of pre-Roman divinities was essential both for the newly emerging Roman elite, the administrative staff and the local population. Shaping, creating, and re-appropriating religion was one of the central forces of a changing society, which created a natural and long-lasting bond between the new political and administrative power and the indigenous, local society. Reinventing new divine agents and building their new sacralised spaces created a glocal religious landscape, radically different from the previous, pre-Roman religious communication. The case studies presented in this paper show how local groups built their religious traditions in the new materiality and visibility of Roman religion. The case of Jupiter Karnuntinus, Teutanus and Paternus are productions of reinvented glocal traditions, where the central celestial divinity is reimagined with pre-Roman features. In contrast with the exotic nature, otherness, and attractiveness of Persianism in the cult of Mithras or the Egyptianism of the Isiac cults,⁷⁷ these reinvented traditions served as a cultural commodity and communicational concordance in the religious market after the Roman conquest.

Abbreviations

AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> , Paris, 1888–.
ANRW	Haase, Wolfgang / Temporini, Hildegard (eds) (1972–), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt/Rise and Decline of the Roman World. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> , Walter De Gruyter et Co., Berlin-New York.
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae editum.</i>
Clauss-Slaby	<i>Epigraphik Databank Clauss-Slaby</i> , https://db.edcs.eu/epigr/hinweise/hinweis-fr.html (seen 29.05.2022).
EDH	<i>Epigraphic Database Heidelberg</i> , https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/ (seen 29.05.2022).
IDR	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae I–III</i> , București/Paris.
ILJug	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia . . . repertae et editae sunt</i> , Ljubljana, 1963–1986.
IMS	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> , Beograd, 1976–1982.
lupa.at	<i>Ubi Erat Lupa Bilddatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern</i> by Ortolf Harl.
RIU	Barkóczy, László / Mócsy, András (1972–1991), <i>Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns</i> , Amsterdam.

⁷⁷ Gordon 2017, Gasparini/Gordon 2018.

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