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Ancestral Gods and Ethnic Associations: Epigraphic Examples from Upper Moesia*

Abstract: The article aims at exploring the epigraphic evidence for social-religious associations of foreigners in the Roman province of Upper Moesia. The members of these associations were united by a common background and often by professional interests, and gathered around an ancestral cult.

Key Words: Roman epigraphy, votive inscriptions, ethnic cults, Upper Moesia.

The study of ancient demography and population dynamics plays a role in research dedicated to the history of Roman provinces. As regards the Roman province of Upper Moesia, which largely coincides with the territory of modern Serbia, epigraphic evidence on the native population is strikingly scanty, while some other elements are relatively well represented in the source material. The effort to distinguish between different immigrant groups is inasmuch significant as it can yield many conclusions which contribute to our acquaintance with the provincial population in antiquity and with demographic, social, religious and cultural mobility in the province.

In his last published article, Simon Price points out that it is important to distinguish between "ethnic" and "elective" cults; that is, "on the one hand, cults which are part of the actual or imagined ancestral heritage of a *genos* or *ethnos*, and, on the other, cults which a person chooses to join" (PRICE 2012, 2). For example, cults like Mithras, Magna Mater, Attis, Sabazius, etc., that had transcended their initially local and ethnic character, had a wider appeal. Therefore, they fall into the category of

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elective cults.¹ On the other hand, a myriad of local “ancestral” cults could not have interested a wider audience, but only the individuals or groups that share a common geographic and cultural background. The spread of these foreign cults, whose character was obviously local, should be seen as a consequence of the movement of peoples. Since the cult and funerary rites were spheres where changes occurred at a much slower pace than is the case with the language switch or with the choice of personal names,² the study of particular ethnic cults can shed light on more than just the religion of certain groups. Thanks to the evidence of inscriptions, we may grasp various aspects of a complex process which we call “Romanization”. Dedications to foreign local deities, set up out of their original contexts, tend to suggest the existence of private religious associations which were exclusive to the people from the specific city of the region. Foreign migrants sought to preserve their ethnic and cultural identity and to maintain close ties to their homelands while integrating themselves into the new environment.³ These ethnic associations were unofficial groups of compatriots who gathered around the ancestral cult for social, religious and, commonly, for professional purposes.⁴ This can be illustrated through several interesting examples from Upper Moesia.

Firstly, I would like to draw attention to an epigraphic monument that has been long known, but only recently published in two exhibition catalogues: PETROVIĆ, R. 2010, 23, fig. 33 (photo, drawing), and again in 2011, in: “*Archaeological Heritage of Svilajnac*” 5, 21, with excellent photography, without a commentary. It is an altar of marble found between the villages of Kušiljevo and Vezičevo, north of Svilajnac⁵ towards the village of Veliko Laole. This site is positioned near the location of *Iovis Pagus*, a station on the Roman *via militaris*, more precisely, on the road section between

¹ NOY 2000. PRICE 2012. They also began as local cults but came to attract a large body of outsiders.

² DUŠANIĆ 1975.

³ VERBOVEN 2009.

⁴ Cf. ARNAOUTOGLU 2002; ASCOUGH 2002; VERBOVEN 2009; ASCOUGH, HARLAND & KLOPPENBORG 2012.

⁵ To my knowledge, the only epigraphic find from that site is a single fragment of a votive inscription N. VULIĆ, *JÖAI* (Beibl.) 8, 1905, 18, 56; *ILJug* 1374: *[I(ovi)? O(ptimo)? M(aximo)?] et G[enio?] su[---] | [---*

Viminacium and *Naissus*,⁶ whence the road passed from the Mlava valley into the river valleys of Resava and Great Morava. The monument is preserved at the museum of Jagodina. The inscription reads:

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Herc(uli) Conser(vatori) | Comameano(rum ?) (!)
| sac(rum) pr(o) s(alute) Aug(ustrorum) n(ostrorum duorum) | C. Val(erius)
Maximinus v(otum) s(olvit).

Ligatures: 1 ET, HE; 3 MA, ME; 4 AV, NN; 5 VAL, MA Letters: 2 I, 5 I, I.

AVGG NN: possibly refers to Septimius Severus and Caracalla, or Caracalla and Geta, *vel al.*

Date: third century.

It was set up by a certain *Caius Valerius Maximus* to Jupiter the Best and the Greatest and Hercules *Conservator Comameano(rum)*, for the health of the two emperors.

It is important to notice two features of this otherwise ordinary votive inscription: first, the overlap between the official Roman religion, the local (ancestral, ethnic) cult and Emperor worship and, second, the epithet of Hercules. Hercules is here commemorated as *conservator Comameano(rum)* (!). If the expansion of the abbreviation is correct, he is the protector of the citizens of *Comama*, referring possibly to *Colonia Julia Augusta Prima Fida Comama* or *Comamenorum*, a Roman colony in Pisidia, which was presumably the dedicant's hometown.⁷ The ethnic would normally run *Comamenorum* (*Comamenus*: CIL 3.6885; CIL 3.12149; coins: KOMAMEQN, VON AULOCK, KM VI, 1; COL. COMAMEN, VON AULOCK, JNG 20 (1970), 158, 30). If the dedicator's intention was merely to express his origin, he could have attached this information as *origo*. Why express it with an epiclesis? A possible answer could be that it was set up by an individual, but for a group of compatriots outside their homeland, who were united by the ancestral cult, or more precisely, its Roman interpretation.⁸ Such a case has previous attestations in our province.

In discussing the religion of foreigners in Upper Moesia, as well as in attempting to distinguish between different ethnic elements of the prov-

⁶ *Viminacio* – *Municipio* – *Iovis pago* – *Idimo* – *Horreum Margi* – *Presidio Dasmini* – *Praesidio Pomompaei* – *Gramrianis* – *Naisso*.

⁷ RE Suppl. XII, s.v. Komama; MAGIE 1950, I, 462, II 1319; B. LEVICK, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, Oxford 1967; cf. RGDA 28.

⁸ Cf. PEREA YEBENES 1996.

incial population, one must first turn to a relatively large body of inscriptions commemorating *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Paternus* which are numerous in the province and its immediate vicinity,⁹ while elsewhere they are rare. So far, the inscriptions — all written in Latin — have been found in the urban centres of Upper Moesia: *Singidunum* (*IMS* 1.9–13, 21, 90, 102, (106?)), and *Naissus* (*IMS* 4.19, 20, 21, 22, 23); and in mining districts: at *Tricornium* / *castra Tricornia*¹⁰ (*IMS* 1.80), Mt. Kosmaj (*IMS* 1.102), and in *Timacum Minus*, Ravna (*IMS* 3.2, 5; 126). Another document from *Timacum Minus* (*IMS* 3.2. 13), dedicated to *Sabazius Paternus Augustus* and a votive inscription from Prizren (*AE* 1981, 739), in which Jupiter Dolichenus is referred to as “*paternus deus*” may also fall into the this category. It is clear that the dedicants are foreigners. In case of several inscriptions, the origin of the persons can be determined based on the personal names recorded in the text: thus, we can distinguish Thracians, people from Dalmatia, settlers from different regions of Asia Minor, Syrians, etc. Evidently, the dedications are made to different ancestral deities of soldiers and migrants from different parts of the Roman world, but here they are syncretised with Roman Jupiter the Best and the Greatest.¹¹ Most of these could be in some way related back to the presence of the Roman army.

Besides these rather homogenous dedications to “ancestral” incarnations of Jupiter the Best and the Greatest, that are obviously set up by the people of diverse ethnic backgrounds, there are epigraphic records that speak more eloquently of particular ethnic cults in the province, which may suggest the existence of private religious associations that were based on common ethnic and perhaps professional backgrounds. Particularly interesting documents come from Upper Moesian mining regions, where many foreign settlers have been epigraphically attested. Slobodan DUŠANIĆ (1975, 136) has emphasized that these migrants, well attested among mining populations, need not have all been common diggers: this was an unattractive and meagrely paid job which did not require special skills and professional competence. These migrants may

⁹ Cf. attestations from Pannonia: *CIL* 3. 10199; *ILJug* 278 (*scriba classis*); *RIU* 1078; *AE* 2000, 1217, 1218; from Dacia: *ILS* 3035; *IDR* 3.3.321; *IDR* 3.5.187; 700; *ILD* 556.

¹⁰ *IMS* 1.78. Cf. *CIL* 16.67.

¹¹ Cf. GRBIĆ 2013.

have been attracted to Moesia by trade or other commercial opportunities and their presence in provincial mining districts may well be connected with their professions in their homelands. For example, the origin of many settlers attested in mining districts can be traced back to the regions that are well-known for mining or quarrying.¹²

Few epigraphic documents from Dardania reveal a group of immigrants who gathered around their ancestral cults and who had presumably formed an ethnic association in their new place of settlement. There are three inscriptions dedicated to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus Melanus*.

(1) The first to be discovered and published was a fragment of an altar of limestone, 24 × 16.5 × 10 cm. It was discovered during an archaeological campaign in 1962, in the Holy Archangels' Monastery in Prizren. DUŠANIĆ 1971, 254–257, fig. 2; AE 1972, 501; *ILJug* 531A:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Melano | Martinus | [Se]ptimius | [Cae?]sonius | [---]icanus | [ex voto?] pos(uerunt).

Two more dedications to *Melanus* came to light later, during excavations at *Ulpiana*:

(2) An altar of white marble, h. 75 cm. MIRDITA 1980, 186–187, 2; tab. 1, 2; AE 1981, 725; PAROVIĆ-PEŠIKAN 1990, 607–615.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Mel(ano) Cid(iesso) | Ael(ius) Octa|vianus | vet(eranus) cum | suis v(otum) p(osuit).

l. 2: *Melcid()*, Mirdita, AE —« un nom local divin »; *Mel(ano) Cid(iesso)*, PAROVIĆ-PEŠIKAN.

(3) The third monument is an altar of limestone, h. 32 cm, w. 22 cm. Discovered in 1987, during the archaeological excavations in *Ulpiana*. PAROVIĆ-PEŠIKAN 1990, 607–615, fig. 2; AE 1990, 859.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Mel(ano) Asclep|<ia>des ex v(oto) pa(terno) | ara(m) posui(t).

The *interpretatio Romana*, the Latin language of the inscription, as well as (predominantly) Latin personal names recorded in these texts show that all dedicators were exposed to Romanization. The identification of

¹² For example, immigrants from different parts of Asia Minor are considerably well attested in Upper Moesian inscriptions, especially people from Phrygia and Bithynia, but also from Galatia, Cilicia, Pisidia, etc. See e.g. DUŠANIĆ 1971; DUŠANIĆ 2008, 99; LOMA 2010, 28. Cf. FEISSEL 2012; 2014 (for the groups of Anatolian migrant groups in Dalmatia and Italy).

the provenance of the cult and its *cultores* rests upon the understanding of the epithet of the deity. The editor of the inscription from Prizren (S. DUŠANIĆ) has suggested that Jupiter *Melanus* could be equivalent to *Zeus Melenos*, attested on Trajanic coins of *Dorylaeum*,¹³ a town near the confines of Phrygia and Bithynia;¹⁴ the fact that the name is rendered as *Melanus* should be regarded as a Doric form.¹⁵ The reading and interpretation of the second inscription proposed by Maja PAROVIĆ-PEŠIKAN (1981) speaks in favour of this hypothesis. By rejecting the earlier reading *Melcid(iano)*, thought to be an epichoric theonym, she has suggested that the agglomeration of letters *CID* at the end of the second line should be supplied as *Cid(iesso)* (*dat.*). Namely, she has proposed that *Cid(iesso)* should be understood as a toponymic modifier which derives from the place-name *Kidyessos*, a town in Phrygia, in the vicinity of *Dorylaeum*. The author points out that like *Juppiter / Zeus Melenos*, Ζεὺς Κιδυήσσος has also been attested on coins from Asia Minor.¹⁶ The formula *ex v(oto) pa(terno)* reinforces the authors' assumption about the origin and the character of the dedication. In addition, I would like to point to three additional documents that further support this hypothesis. Namely, save for the evidence of coins cited in earlier editions, the Phrygian provenance of this cult and its worshipers is epigraphically attested by three votive inscriptions from Phrygia. Two altars dedicated to Ζεὺς Μελήνως, published in 1992, come from *Dorylaeum*, whence the aforementioned coins also come from, and a third inscription has been discovered in the nearby town of *Nakoleia*.

(1) An altar of marble, 39.5 × 16 × 4 cm. Found at *Dorylaeum* (Kiravdan). Museum in Eskisehir. FREI 1992, 144, 1; SEG 42, 1198.

Πρόσοδος | περὶ τέκνου Διὸς Μεληνῶ ἐν | χήν.

(2) Altar of grey marble, 36 × 20.5 × 6.5 cm. Found at *Dorylaeum*

¹³ FREI 1992, citing: HANS VON AULOCK, *Münzen und Städte Phrygiens* II (Istanbuler Mitteilungen. Beiheft. 27), Tübingen 1987, 64f, 186–191 (Tab. 6). Cf. DUŠANIĆ 1971; HEAD, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Phrygia*, LVII: shows Zeus enthroned, with the reverse legend *Zeus Melenos*.

¹⁴ DUŠANIĆ 1971, 257 with n. 97: perhaps the protector of Mela in Bithynia.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ PAROVIĆ-PEŠIKAN 1990, 607 and n. 3.

(modern Kiravdan). Now in Museum in Eskisehir. FREI 1992, 141–146; SEG 42, 1199.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Στ|ρατόν|ικος Δι|ὶ Μελη|νῶ εὐ|χήν.

(3) Inscription found at Nakoleia in Phrygia. DREW-BEAR 1978; SEG 28, 1194; A. CHANIOTIS, *EBGR*, 1994/1995, 308–309.

Αὐκτος | Δι Μελη|[νῶ --- |---].

Another votive inscription from *Ulpiana* may also be assigned to this group of Phrygian migrants, if the interpretation of the text is correct. It is a Greek inscription dedicated to Ζεὺς Ἐζζαῖος, which is, so far, the only inscription in the Greek language in that Upper Moesian town. DUŠANIĆ 1971, 258–259, fig. 3; *AE* 1972, 502; *ILJug* 524. It runs:

Απολλώνιος | Μενελάου ἀ|νέστησε τὸν β|ιωμὸν θεῶ Δι | Ἐζζαῖω εὐχίην.

In the light of the inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter *Melanus*, it has been proposed that this altar could be dedicated the Zeus of Phrygian town of Αἰζανοί,¹⁷ the site of the famous temple of Zeus.¹⁸ The shift from *AI* to *E* is quite commonplace, and such a rendition of this ethnic has been attested on the coins from Aizanoi: EZEANITΩΝ,¹⁹ and also in the Latin rendition of the name *Aezanensis*, *Aezaniticus*,²⁰ while the occurrence of ζζ is more difficult to explain.²¹ Language and onomastics clearly show that it belongs to an Hellenophone immigrant and the character of the dedication shows that it falls into the category of “ethnic” cults.

Similar is the case of the inscription from Guberevac at Mt. Kosmaj (PETKOVIĆ 1997, 185–187; *AE* 1997, 1304; *BullÉp* 2000, p. 553, n° 607; SEG 48, 800bis) that runs: Δι Συνεν[ῶ] | Ἀντίπατρο[ος] |[T]εμοθέ[ου] | ἐξ ἐυχῆς ἀ[νέ] |θηκεν. It is difficult to determine to which place the epithet refers to, if it is to be regarded as a toponymic modifier at all. Two possibilities were offered in the first edition: Σύνναος (Ptol. 5.2.17) and Συνέων κώμη (< **Syna*) (MAMA 1.439), both in Phrygia. However, the lack of a direct epigraphic parallel left the latter editors, those of *AE*, *BullÉp* and *SEG*, also

¹⁷ DUŠANIĆ 1971, 258–259.

¹⁸ Cf. the inscription from Aizanoi (Çavdarhisar): Δι Αἰζανῶν and Antoninus Pius (MAMA IX 10; 11).

¹⁹ DUŠANIĆ 1971, 259; HEAD, *BMC Phrygia*, 26.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Cf. e.g. *infra*, Δι Ὀκκονηνῶ and Δι Ὀκκονηνῶ.

undecided and divided in opinions. Whatever the exact provenance may be, for the purposes of this paper it is sufficient to place this dedication in the same group of inscriptions testifying of ethnic cults.

The case of another similar votive inscription from the same region (Mt. Kosmaj, Babe) is somewhat clearer, again, thanks to new epigraphic data. It is an altar of limestone with a Greek inscription dedicated to *Zeus Okonenos*. MARIĆ 1957; L. ROBERT, *BullÉp* 1959, 233; *SEG* 18.277; *IMS* 1.114).

Ἀγαθῆ τύχη | Διὸ Ὀκκονην[ῶ] | Σωκράτης Π[α?] | ὕλου ἐξ εὐχῆς | ἀνέθηκεν δ[ῶ] | ρον.

Ζεύς Ὀκκονηνός is attested in *Nicopolis ad Istrum* in Lower Moesia (*IGBulg* 599 and *IGBulg* 718: Διὸ Ὀκκονηνῶ) which led its first editor to infer that it should be regarded as a Thracian theonym. However, Louis ROBERT preferred to see it as a dedication to an Anatolian deity, set up by a migrant from Asia Minor, pointing to the finding of coins from *Nicaea* from the time of Alexander Severus at the same site.²² Robert's interpretation was accepted in the corpus of Upper Moesian inscriptions (*Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, S. DUŠANIĆ). The epithet may be connected to Ὀκαηνῶ[v] κῶμη, a toponym which has been epigraphically attested in an inscription from the place Tarakli, near *Nicaea* in Bithynia.²³ As in the case of *Melanus* / *Melenus*, the identification and the origin is further confirmed by discoveries of a more recent date — two votive inscriptions dedicated Zeus Okkonenos from the environs of *Nicaea* in Bithynia that have been published in 1981, and more recent epigraphic discoveries in the territory of *Nicopolis* that point to a Bithynian immigrant group in Lower Moesia (region of *Novae* and *Nicopolis*).

(1) Altar of marble, 124 × 30 × 30 cm. Found in Narzanlar (Bithynia). *INikaia* 1118.

Διὸ Ὀκκονηνῶ | εὐχὴν | ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν | δεσποτῶν | σωτηρίας | Ζμάραγδος καὶ | Κίνναμος.

Date: second–third century.

(2) Inscription from Nasuflar (Bithynia), near the place of discovery of the first inscription. *INikaia* 1119.

²² N. VULIĆ, *JÖAI* 12, Bbl. 191: Νικατέων.

²³ MENDEL 1900, 415, 212; *SEG* IV 722; L. ROBERT, *BCH* 52 = *Op. Min.* II 883; *BullÉp* 55, 1951, 141; *INikaia* 1201 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 243b); cf. *SEG* 30, 859.

Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· Διὶ Ὀκκονη|νῶ εὐχῆν | Ἀσκληπιόδο|τος καὶ Ἀπολλ|
[λ]ινάριος οἱ | Φοίνικος.

Another relatively recent epigraphic discovery also confirms ROBERT'S hypothesis. It is one of three new votive inscriptions dedicated to Ζεὺς Ὀκκονηνός in Lower Moesia. It was set up by a Nicean (Velkov 1993, n° 4), which removes earlier ambiguities about the provenance of the cult.²⁴

Dedications to the “ancestral” deities point to the existence of ethnic clubs in the province. Foreign migrants gathered in voluntary private associations and such *collegia* are well attested throughout the Empire.²⁵ Ethnic associations were by no means limited to the mining regions in this province, although some of the best examples come from there. Also, private “national” clubs of compatriots were not exclusive to civilians, but are widely attested among Roman soldiers. For example, two epigraphic documents from Belgrade suggest the existence of a Cilician ethnic group within the *legio IV Flavia*, stationed there. In the inscription they are styled as *Cilices contirones* (IMS 1.3) — a group of co-recruits drafted

²⁴ V. VELKOV, *Archeologia*, Sofia, 24, 3–4, 1982, p. 40–43; *SEG*, 32, 1982, 679 (Διὶ Οὐκκονηνῶ or Διὶ Ὀκκονηνῶ); and VELKOV 1993, p. 212, 1435 = *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae* : (Mésie inférieure), Bordeaux (also available online in the PETRAE database, n° 050300800182, Jerzy KOLENDO & Violeta BOŽILOVA, 2015-02-21 03:33:19) and VELKOV 1993, n° 4.

²⁵ Many instructive analogies, whose character and context are very similar to those from Upper Moesia, can be found in epigraphic material of the adjacent province of Dacia, especially in its mining districts. For example, an altar from Alburnus Maior, dedicated to *Zeus Narenus* – Zeus of the city of *Nara* in Galatia (close to the confines of Phrygia), was set up by a *collegium* of compatriots (IDR 3.3.398): Δι[ι] Ναρην|ῶ κολλή|γειον | εὐχῆν. In Napoca, *Galatae consistentes* set up an altar for *Zeus Tavianos*, the deity of Galatian city of *Tavium* / *Jupiter Tavianus* and for the good health of the emperor CIL 3.1934, CIL 3.860 = AE 2004, 1182: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Taviano | pro salu(te) | Imp(eratoris) Anto|nini et M(arci) | Aureli Caes(aris) | Gal[at]ae con|sistentes | municipio | pos<u>erunt* (PETOLESCU 1978). Cf. IDR 3.5.228 (*Apulum*): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Taviano | et dis deabusque | pro salute et victori[a] | domini n(ostri) sanctissi[mi] | [T?]avianus Aug(usti) lib(ertus) | sub pro(curator) auraria[r(um)] | v(otum) s(olvit) a(nimo) [l(ibenter)]*. Another club dedicated an altar to *Sarnendenos* IDR 3.3.400 (AE 1944, 22): Δι[ι] Σαρνε|νδηνῶ | κολλήγ|ειον εὐ|χῆν. An inscription from Gemisara mentions *collegium Galatarum*, CIL 3.1394 = ILS 7152 = IDR 3.3. 234: *Herculi | invicto | pr(o) <sal>(ute) Inper|atoris (!) col(legium) | <G>alatarum | L(ucius) Livius Ma|rcellinus | d(onum) d(edit) d(edicavit)*. In Alburnus Maior there is a *collegium Pontobithynorum* (IDR 3.5.153), etc. For miners' cults see DUŠANIĆ 1999.

in AD 196, and permanently stationed on the Danube.²⁶ This votive inscription is found in the same context as the aforementioned dedications to *Jupiter Paternus*. Their club had a dual character: they were associated as fellow recruits, *contirones*, and as compatriots.²⁷ Also, it will be worthwhile exploring [elsewhere] the case of the *lapidarii* who set up the famous monumental inscription in the Đerdap gorge, dedicated to Hercules.²⁸ There is evidence that suggests that this group, united by profession and by cult, quite possibly may have shared a common ethnic background: they may have been a group of marble workers from Anatolia, probably Bithynia.²⁹

Selective examples presented here should serve to illustrate the basic idea of this paper, limited in scope: that is, to hint that the votive inscriptions dedicated to foreign “ancestral” deities do not speak of a spread of cults (as sometimes misleadingly stated in the literature) but of cults which were honoured by groups of migrants who sought to preserve ties to their homelands.³⁰ The written traces that these people left behind can tell much about the transformations in ethnic and religious identity under the impact of becoming and being Roman. The understanding of the cultural heritage of immigrant groups and the aspects of their integration into a new cultural environment is important not only for the study of population and social history of a particular Roman province or region, but it also contributes to the study of ethnic, cultural and religious dynamics in the Roman Empire in general.

²⁶ The context in which the object was found is rather suggestive. All topographic and archaeological evidence indicate that it was most probably *basilica exercitatoria* / *schola* or the like.

²⁷ GRBIĆ 2008.

²⁸ M. GABRIČEVIĆ, *Arheloški Vestnik*, 23, Ljubljana, 1972, 408–416; *AE* 1973, 473; P. PETROVIĆ, *Starinar*, 37, 1986, 48; *AE* 2003, 1533: *Herculi sacrum* | *lapidari qui exieru* | *nt ancones facien* | *dos legionis IIII Fl(aviae)* | *et legionis VII Cl(audiae)* | *vot(um) so* | *lverunt*.

²⁹ See e.g. *IGBulg* 2.674 = HARLAND ID NUMBER: 14140 (*Nicopolis ad Istrum*): Ἀγαθῆι τύχη[ι] | θεῶ Ἡρακλεῖ | Μάξιμος [...] | σίου κὲ Νεῖ[κων] | Θεοδώρο[υ ὕ]πε[ρ] | τῆς συνόδου Νεῖ | κομηδέων λιθο | ξόων τὸν βωμὸν | χαρι[σ]στηρίον {χαριστήριον}. Cf. a very detailed article of Brian Ward-Perkins (WARD-PERKINS 1980, 33).

³⁰ This especially pertains to the attestations of various cults and *interpretationes* that can be linked with Asia Minor, and generally eastern cults. Cf. PRICE 2012, 1.

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Предачка божанства и етничке удруге. Епиграфски примери из Горње Мезије

Апстракт

У раду се коментарише неколико епиграфских сведочанства о страним предачким кутовима који указују на постојање етничких колегија у римској провинцији Горњој Мезији. Чланове тих удружења миграната повезивало је заједничко порекло и култ, а неретко и иста професија и пословни интереси. *Кључне речи*: Римска епиграфика, вотивни натписи, етнички кутови, Горња Мезија.