

# FUSION AND RESISTANCE IN NATIVE RELIGION IN GALLIA NARBONENSIS AND BRITAIN<sup>1</sup>

*Resumen:* A la hora de estudiar la tradición epigráfica de la época imperial romana para recuperar información acerca de la religión céltica se nos presenta el problema del valor informativo de las inscripciones votivas y en particular la cantidad de transformaciones ocurridas en la liturgia, los usos y costumbres y las tradiciones de las religiones indígenas en las provincias occidentales se convierte en el problema básico y principal. Si bien por un lado en la época romana se hicieron más patentes las ideas y las prácticas religiosas indígenas, también las transformaciones sociales influyeron en el papel y significado de los cultos existentes. Con la integración en el mundo romano de las elites políticas y económicas, que mantenían los lugares de culto indígenas, las ideologías anteriores tuvieron que perder sentido.

El material epigráfico de la Gallia Narbonensis nos muestra una división radical entre República e Imperio, como se aprecia en el santuario termal de Glanum. En el siglo II a. C. la fusión entre ideología clásica e indígena muestra que los asuntos suprarregionales (p. ej. ambiciones políticas, ideología estatal) revisten solo una importancia limitada para los grupos de población regionales. Todo esto es muy diferente de lo que se aprecia en la época del principado: los templos y santuarios se llenan de nuevos significados, el panorama ciudadano se reorganiza, las instituciones helenísticas (como el culto a los héroes y guerreros, las «cabezas cortadas» o las abluciones rituales) parecen ya no ajustarse más al espíritu de la época imperial. Glanum refleja perfectamente estos cambios sociales en continuo desarrollo en el hecho de que no se aprecia la fusión entre el helenismo de la república tardía y la representación ideológica céltica, sino más bien la integración en la ideología de la elite municipal del principado romano.

Las inscripciones votivas latinas son particularmente significativas con respecto a las ideas religiosas locales y a la constelación sociopolítica del Imperio y no tanto con respecto a una ficticia religión «pan-céltica». En el sudeste de Britania los *Umgangstempel* encontrados no tienen inscripciones, mientras que los epígrafes votivos no clásicos, aislados de toda arquitectura religiosa, dominan el panorama en el norte de Inglaterra. No se pueden infravalorar en Britania el contexto colonial ni la cercanía de ciudades romanas y campamentos militares, y por la presencia de devotos procedentes del contexto colonial y por el mantenimiento de los santuarios por parte de las elites ciudadanas romanas apenas se puede hablar casi de cultos «británicos indígenas».

*Abstract:* The epigraphic evidence from Roman Britain and the Gallia Narbonensis is at the focus of this paper which aims for a critical reassessment of the value of Latin inscriptions for our knowledge of Celtic religion. It is apparent that the material culture of the Principate

<sup>1</sup> This paper was presented at the 3<sup>rd</sup> FERCAN workshop in Vitoria-Gasteiz in September 2000. The research was undertaken while holding a post-doc scholarship of the DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst). I have to thank the participants of the

FERCAN workshop for their constructive comments, Anne Roth-Congès and Jacques Gasco (CNRS) for their help and assistance, as well as Prof. Martin Millett (Cambridge) and Prof. Greg Woolf (St. Andrews), who have read the whole manuscript and commented on it.

made religious activities more visible, but the dramatically changing societal structures have a direct result on the ideology, meaning and function of religion. Indigenous cults were adapted to suit the new social environment. Even more, existing religious practices of the Late Iron Age have become meaningless with the integration of the political and economic élites in Roman-style municipal structures and urban culture. Epigraphic and archaeological evidence from Gallia Narbonensis reveals an important rupture at the end of the first century BC due to the increasing importance of imperial hierarchy, ideology, ambitions and aspirations during the Principate. The fusion of «Celtic» and «Hellenistic» concepts at the sanctuary-town of Glanum is dramatically replaced by Roman concepts during the «cultural revolution» of the Principate. In Britain the inconsistency between archaeological and epigraphic record is most obvious: temples without inscriptions in the southeast and clusters of dedications to non-Roman deities from the North, but generally lacking associated cult places. And with devotees largely consisting of army personnel, colonists, immigrants and their descendants —many from continental Gaul and the Germanic provinces— it seems implausible to recognise «indigenous», «Britannic» or «Celtic» cults. Above all Latin inscriptions seem to provide information about local beliefs and cults, revealing the daily process of negotiation between regional (pre-Celtic and pre-Roman) traditions and the socio-political structures of the Empire.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to study the effect of the Roman conquest on the native religions in Britain and Narbonaise Gaul. Native religious practices, rituals, expressions, deities and cult architecture are characterised by an enormous diversity and regional variability during the pre-Roman period and even more so under Roman domination. The «cultural revolution» of the early Principate and the process of integrating the conquered populations into an imperial society had enormous repercussions for local religions.<sup>2</sup> In contrast to the Greek East, religions in the Roman West reflect the enormous capacity to adapt and to absorb foreign ideas, ideologies and mythologies, because of the ideology and *raison-d'être* of an unwritten, non-dogmatic, pagan religion, closely intertwined with societal structures, with religious and sacrificial knowledge largely limited to a small élite, which is often considered to be a specialised élite.<sup>3</sup> This lack of dogmas and scriptures may have facilitated the transformation and re-invention of religious knowledge; a process which is clearly recognisable in the archaeological record during the Late pre-Roman Iron Age and which accelerated after the Roman conquest with the adoption of much more visible religious practices. Among them, epigraphy, sculpture and iconography reveal a complex and often contradictory pantheon in the Western provinces of the empire, which, as we shall see, cannot easily be equated with a pre-Roman (Celtic) pantheon.

Evidence for native religion in the Roman West is of diverse character. Usage, nature and quantity of inscriptions, art, cult places and votive deposits are not equally distributed and thus create an uneven record which does not constitute a representative sample for cult activities, but a source of isolated insights in cult activity which is open to wide interpretation and speculation. It is therefore no surprise to find rather contradicting interpretations of the evidence. For example

<sup>2</sup> On the effect of the «Roman cultural revolution» (for which cf. Zanker 1988) on the Western provinces, cf. Woolf 2001.

<sup>3</sup> A specialised élite of druids, for which cf. Green 1986; Brunaux 2000.

there is the common assumption —an axiom for some— that Roman epigraphic and iconographic traditions only made native religion more visible, while Rome's *laissez-faire* policy left meaning and substance of cults hardly untouched (e.g., Green and Raybould 1999).<sup>4</sup> Duval, for example, even goes beyond this degree of generalisation and relates archaeological and epigraphic evidence from antiquity with the medieval literature of Welsh and Irish tradition, assuming a general continuity in meaning of a «pan-Celtic» religion (Duval 1976).

This approach contrasts heavily with that of Brunaux (2000), who convincingly argues that «Gaulish» or «Celtic» religions were based on very distinct regional traditions, rituals and cult centres. This has implications for a study on native religions in the West. If we follow Brunaux, it is a fruitless task to search for any kind of «pan-Celtic» religion by making cross-references and generalisations across provincial boundaries on the basis of isolated pieces of evidence that derive from very different regional contexts, since such generalisation to a hypothetical Celtic religion must remain inconclusive. And unlike Green or Duval, we should not ignore the enormous transformations that took place to insert local religions in the process of social and political integration as a result of Rome's imperialism. Henig (1984), for example, emphasises Roman religious impositions in Britain. This is not too dissimilar to Alcock's recent study on Roman Greece which illustrates the perpetration of the imperial cult at many important Greek cult centres and who also emphasises cases of resistance in rural sanctuaries (Alcock 1993, 172ff); Rome appropriates existing cults, especially cults of significant supra-regional importance, as a means for sociopolitical integration and to legitimise its rule.

Consequently, if we aim for a better understanding of the native religions in the Roman West, we need to re-evaluate the existing evidence with particular consideration on regional contradictions, chronological developments, together with a dialectic approach that looks both at a macro-regional level and at empire-wide developments. This allows to recognise the individual choices and the social actors involved in the process. Character, meaning and distribution of religious dedications, *numina*, vows, *ex-votos* and iconography are the result of a particular local environment as they originate from a combination of traditional behaviour models and of rather personal and impulsive decisions of certain social groups and individuals. Facilitated by the character of a pagan society, doctrine and belief are inconsistent due to the lack of overall control of cult activity, leaving aside the rather limited impact of the *pontifex maximus* and the *senatus sanctus* in Rome and Italy, or of the *druids* in the case of pre-Roman Gaul.<sup>5</sup> Consequently there is bound to develop many syncretisms between native and Graeco-Roman religious practices, whereby some choices would reflect religious or political considerations within wider regional structures that may be categorised as Celtic, Hellenistic or Roman. In this context the continued worship of native deities or deities of non-Classical character does not contradict with the *Romanitas* of the devotees or of local society, but it reflects the enormous capacity to combine religious traditions and to fuse different cultural schemata. This is not too dissimilar with the existence of local or toponymic deities and cults in Italy and throughout the Mediterranean, where such local particularities were inserted into a common language, namely a Graeco-Roman mythological landscape (cf. David 1994, 56-57). *Interpretatio Romana* therefore is no particular Roman or imperialist principle, rather the attempt to

<sup>4</sup> Also Grenier 1954, 335 considered the Roman influence on religion in the Narbonensis to be «superficial», since Roman gods were assimilated into the native pantheon.

<sup>5</sup> For the role of the Senate and the *pontifex maximus*, cf. Scheid 1998; Beard *et al* 1998; for druids, cf. Brunaux 2000.

convey character and meaning of local cults in the wider religious landscape of the Mediterranean, comparable with the many cultural identities based on mythical *origines* of peoples and towns that characterise the association to a Hellenistic *koiné*.

The dramatically changing sociocultural patterns during the formative period of the early Principate imply that native religions are bound to undergo significant changes as a result of the social and political integration of the governing élites in municipal, provincial and imperial structures. But simply to talk about the «*Romanisation*» of Celtic religion is to underestimate the gravity of the situation, considering the appearance of many new cults, of organised places of worship, the emergence of a new religious and cultural identities and the abandonment of an array of previous cultural and cult expressions, including the anthropomorphisation of Celtic deities.<sup>6</sup> The Celto-Ligurian agglomeration of Glanon/Glanum will serve to illustrate to what extent changes in society and politics significantly affected the character of a sanctuary between Celticity, Hellenism and *Romanitas*. The profound changes between Hellenism and Romanness mark the beginning of a new religious culture, initiated, as we shall see, not by the conquest, but by the social and political collaboration of local élites in Roman affairs and their education in Greek and Latin rhetoric and mythology, as well as their knowledge of Graeco-Roman culture. Different sociopolitical developments in different regions of the empire had diverse repercussions for religious patterns which creates the enormous regional discrepancies in cult activity, religious devotion and the distinctive character of religiosity in one region compared with another.

In order to explore the nature of native religions and the possibilities and limitations in interpreting our evidence, I want to look at two distinct regions of the Roman empire at either spectrum of the «Celtic» world. Both provide a wealth of data relating to non-Classical religious practices that have served as backbone for our understanding of Celtic religion. The Gallia Narbonensis allows us a deeper insight into the religious changes between Republic and Principate due to the «Hellenistic» (or «Republican») period (3rd-1st century BC), during which native religion, cult practices and worship had already become much more «apparent» in the archaeological and epigraphic record.<sup>7</sup> The province of Britannia provides an abundance of data on «non-Classical» religion, but largely limited to the 1<sup>st</sup> to 3rd centuries AD, and, as we shall see, from the perspective of a very different sociopolitical background compared with the Narbonensis.<sup>8</sup>

This study can only be an overview which aims to revisit some of the epigraphic testimonies for «Celtic» religion and to explore the transformation of religion, deities and cult practices. A variety of issues need to be re-examined. Having explored the attestation for pan-Celtic deities, I want to focus our attention on the social actors involved, since it was the choices of individuals and groups that redefined and recreated local cults and religions. This is more obviously the case in Britain, where the complexity of religious devotion seems largely due to the diversity of people's origin. The élite of the Gallia Narbonensis, active in empire-wide politics and economics, radically modified religious understandings, with the re-interpretation of Classical deities and their absorption into the local pantheon. Having explored the role of the social actors and the

<sup>6</sup> Anthropomorphisation is said to contradict pre-Roman perceptions of deities, cf. Brennus' comments at Delphi in Diod. XII 9, 4.

<sup>7</sup> The most important summary on religion in Narbonaise Gaul remains Lavagne 1979; also cf. Grenier 1954; 1960; feminine deities are discussed by Hatt 1985;

for an overview on deities in Gaul, Duval 1976 still remains the standard work.

<sup>8</sup> For a synopsis on «Britanno-Roman» religion, cf. Henig 1984a-b; Green 1986; Green and Raybould 1999; Millett 1995.

emergence of a «Gallo-Roman» pantheon associated with Graeco-Roman *numina*, we can then concentrate on interpreting the myriad of local, non-Classical deities attested in the epigraphic record. For this we have to consider the extent to which cult activity was transformed and «pan-Celtic» deities survived into the Principate. The case of Glanum allows us to explore the radical transformation from Hellenistic, Gallo-Greek sanctuary-town to Roman sanctuary with forum and imperial cult.

## 2. PAN-CELTIC PANTHEON

One obstacle in the study of native religion in the Roman West is the conjectural concept of a pre-Roman «Celtic» religion, which serves as guide-line (or rather «constraint») for many works on local cults. Despite some common cultural traits, archaeological evidence shows a strong diversity of cult practices in the Western provinces both before and during Roman domination.

Our knowledge of the pre-Roman Celtic pantheon is based on one major text: Lucan. While Caesar identified Gaulish deities by their Roman counterpart, Lucan in his *Pharsalia* mentions the Celtic name of three of them: TARANIS, TOUTATIS and ESUS (Lucan I 444-462; III 399-452), to which one might want to add LUGUS and BELENOS. But such «truly» pan-Celtic deities are extremely rare despite the large extent of site continuity. For example LUGUS is primarily attested in toponyms, like Lugdunum, not in cult activity. For TARANIS there is only a handful of attestations in the entire Roman West. In the Narbonensis he is mentioned in one single Gallo-Greek dedication from Orgon<sup>9</sup> and there are only very few and very isolated cases in Latin epigraphy which derive from other parts of Roman Gaul and Britain, and none from the Narbonensis.<sup>10</sup> Dedications to BELENOS are by far most common in Gallia Cisalpina and in particular in Aquileia. There are a number of inscriptions mentioning BELENOS in the Narbonensis, for example an inscribed stone bowl from a cult place at Calissane (ΒΕΛΕΙΝΟΣ; RIG G-28) and from Glanum (*v. infra*), also on a gem at Nîmes (CIL XII 5693, 1.12) and on Latin inscriptions from the colony of Narbo (CIL XII 5958) and from Gréasque.<sup>11</sup> This does not necessarily make him a pan-Celtic deity, since knowledge of BELENOS' cult might have spread from Aquileia throughout the Roman West. The occasional mentioning of TOUTATIS merely refers to a «tribal deity», a deity of the *touta* (OIr. *túath*; cf. *takos toutas* at Briona), i.e. MERCURIUS TOUTATIS need not suggest the equation of MERCURIUS and TOUTATIS, but simply the MERCURIUS of the tribe or *civitas* (cf. Meid forthcoming).

Instead of «pan-Celtic» deity, much of local cult activity was devoted to more localised deities, such as patron deities or toponymic deities. Already during the Hellenistic and Late Republican period, local deities become increasingly important, such as Nîmes' patron deity —*Nemausus*— ΝΑΜΑΙΣΙΚΑ in Gallo-Greek; *Nemausus* in Latin), together with a certain ΕΣΚΙΓΓΟΡΕΙΧ from Nîmes, ΟΥΡΝΙΑ (Latin *Urnîa*) from nearby Uzès (Lejeune 1985), and the goddess ΒΕΛΙΣΑΜΑ from Vasio, which was mentioned in a dedication of a *nemeton* by Segomarus, a magistrate from Nîmes (RIG G-153).

<sup>9</sup> ΤΑΡΑΝΟΥ; RIG G-27.

<sup>10</sup> Outside the Narbonensis there is possible evidence for Taranis or rather —judging from the *-knos* ending— the son of Taranis: *Ioui Taranuco* from Scardonne (ILS 4623), *Ioui Taranucno* from Böckinggen (ILS 4624) and *Iuppiter Taranucnus* (ILS 4625). Considering the different

etymology the *I.O.M. Tanarus* from Chester does not seem to refer to the Celtic Taranis (ILS 4622; RIB 452)

<sup>11</sup> For BELENOS in the Provence, cf. Lejeune 1968/69, 49ff. The study of Gourvest 1954, 257ff is controversial. Cf. example from Gréasque ILN-3, 191.

In addition, the use of Latin epigraphy during the Principate reveals to us a myriad of naturalist and zoomorphic deities, especially in a rural context, which included animals as demons and deities to represent supernatural phenomena. This is conventionally thought to represent the inherent animalistic and zoomorph character of Celtic religion (Duval 1976, 15-18). It was Brunaux (2000) who strongly argued that this form of naturalistic religion was not at all «Celtic», and that its appearance and institutionalisation during the Roman period reflects forms of religiosity that contradict with the large public cult centres of more or less omnipotent deities that dominated public religion during the Late Iron Age. The presence of mother goddesses in a myriad of varieties and names is generally considered to indicate the re-appearance of «pre-Celtic» cults that did not see any form of monumentalisation during the Hellenistic period.<sup>12</sup>

Considering the general absence of «pan-Celtic» deities and the presence of over 100 different local deities, nymphs and mother goddesses attested in the Roman province, it is difficult to argue for a surviving religion of a Celtic koiné. This is even more surprising when we contrast the rarity of pan-Celtic deities with the apparent popularity of some local deities of non-Classical nature, which are attested in geographically very limited areas (such as COCIDIVS on Hadrians Wall). This raises the question, why so many local, toponymic, naturalistic deities could survive in the epigraphic record, while pan-Celtic deities did not to any similar extent. One line of explanation will have to focus on the role of local aristocracies in cult activity and in creating focus points of reconnaissance and «tribal» identity. The search for identity and the preservation of traditions might be reflected in the emergence of large sanctuaries, for example in Northwest Gaul (e.g., Gournay-sur-Aronde) and Southern Gaul (e.g., Glanum). The active role of local élites, who participated in Roman politics and society, probably stimulated the change over to powerful Graeco-Roman concepts, where meaning and function of the more important (pan-Celtic) deities have (acquired) Roman names and are «disguised» in Graeco-Roman terminology (in particular, MERCURIUS and SILVANUS), in addition to the omnipresent MATRES.<sup>13</sup> But there also certain deities of Greek origin, in particular HERCULES and APOLLO, which can be considered to be just as «Celtic» as they were «Roman». In the case of HERCULES, we might allude to Herakles' journey through Gaul (Benoît 1949) and his adoption during the Etruscan and Greek colonising periods (cf. Mastrocinque 1991 for the case of Cisalpine Gaul), which might explain his relatively strong presence in Gallia Cisalpina and the Narbonensis. APOLLO, being renowned for his healing and therapeutical qualities, was well inserted into the local pantheon and is often associated with other healing deities of native origin, such as the Celtic GRANNUS and BELENOS, as well as BORVO and BORMANUS; he has even been represented with Celtic torques (Hatt 1985, 205; cf. Lavagne 1979, 183f).

Despite such omnipotent deities, there probably existed more personal forms of religiosity in the Late Iron Age outside the large civic sanctuaries. A large variety of local deities and cult centres, as well as forms of private and everyday worship, would largely escape our knowledge from archaeological and epigraphic evidence and only become visible to us during the Principate, but inserted into Roman provincial structures and in response to socioeconomic changes.

<sup>12</sup> Fertility cults: in Narbonensis include the following deities: BORVO, BELENOS, CRARUS, AVICANTUS, SALSOCRANUS, LETINNO, ARAMO, URA, CANDUA, RITONIA, DIIONA (cf. Duval 1976 for overview). For the MATRES (e.g., *Nemausicae*, *Glanicae*, *Gerudatiae*, *Almahae*) as an «earth-mother» cult of pre-Celtic origin, cf. Grenier 1954, 330ff; Lavagne 1979, 192ff; Deyts 1992, 59ff. For

example the MATRES ALMAHAЕ, exclusively attested at Plan-d'Aups (ILN-3, 167), were toponymic deities reflected in Aups' medieval name, namely *Almis* or *Almes*. (Almahae linguistically not Celtic). On mother goddesses, cf. papers in Bauchhenß (ed.) 1987.

<sup>13</sup> Though Matres were already present on Gallo-Greek inscriptions (e.g., the MATRES GLANICAE).

### 3. DEMOGRAPHY OF THE SOCIAL ACTOR

With the integration of the local population into the Roman legal, military and political machinery, new foreign perceptions and ideals affect local cult activity. A complex patchwork of social strata and «ethnic» origins is involved in the worship of non-Classical deities. The degree of integration created a combination of often contradictory religious activities in some provincial areas, further stimulated by the «liberation» of cult activity due to the lack of druidic control (as argued by Brunaux 2000), due to the preservation and promotion of old ethnic identities and new civic identities, as well as the endorsement of many new private cults. This «liberation» is exemplified by the reappearance of many «pre-Celtic» cults (such as that of the mothergoddesses; cf. Brunaux 2000; Duval 1976) and by the many private and individual initiatives, whereby deities and form of ex-voto were chosen in accordance with personal preferences and do not necessarily reflect the choice of a particular social group or community.

The importance of the social composition of the devotees for our interpretation of local religious practices is most apparent in the case of Britain. The large military presence in Britain resulted in a relatively large number of official «Roman» state cults, mainly in London and significant army bases. Native deities were often mentioned side by side with Roman state gods (e.g., IUPPITER) and the NUMEN AUGUSTI. This may suggest not only a more «public» context of such cults or the higher social status of the devotee, but it also reflects aspects of fusion by inserting popular local cults into the religious engagements of the army culture.

The divergent evidence between Britain and Gaul does not only reflect different epigraphic traditions, but also the social context of the devotees. As has already been shown by Millett (1995), most non-Classical deities in Britain derive virtually exclusively from a military context. Dedications can be found in forts and associated agglomerations (*canabae*). Some non-Classical deities were «adopted» at official level as local «patron deity», sometimes as patron of the local army unit, like COCIDIUS who received dedication by *tribuni, praefecti* of the legionaries at Birdoswald, Housesteads and Vindolanda,<sup>14</sup> while others mainly received private dedications. Many local deities were related to the worship of the *genius loci* and the «*ceteris deis deabusque*» — a formula which is largely missing from Narbonensis — and might reflect uncertainties of immigrant army units in a foreign country.<sup>15</sup>

The presence of army personnel, merchants, traders and administrators created an unprecedented ethnic hodgepodge in Britain. Legionary and auxiliary soldiers made private dedications to (1) local indigenous cults, (2) to imported cults of Gaulish or Germanic origin and (3) to bellicose cults of non-Classical origin with non-Latin names. A deity like BELATUCADROS,<sup>16</sup> well attested along Hadrian's Wall, may fit any three of these categories, since hypotheses on his origin remain inconclusive. BELATUCADROS could be a native «British» deity or a deity imported by soldiers from

<sup>14</sup> Numerous dedications by prefects come from the fortress at Housesteads (RIB 1683 and 1578; the latter for DEUS SILVANUS COCIDIUS). Tribunes at Bewcastle (RIB 989) at Birdoswald (RIB 1872) and at Netherby (RIB 966). Centurions at Bewcastle (RIB 988, 989), and one *beneficarius consularis* from Lancaster (RIB 602). Besides numerous legionaries, there is also one Batavian unit worshipping DEUS MARS COCIDIUS, stationed at milecastle 59 (RIB 2015).

<sup>15</sup> In Britain there are about 20 cases of GENIUS LOCI (RIB 139, 450, 647, etc.) and numerous examples of DI

ET DEAEQUE OMNES (e.g., RIB 752, 810, 811, 1579, 1686, 2109). By contrast, in the Narbonensis, there is no GENIUS LOCI attested, and only a very small number of inscriptions honour the «immortal» deities, e.g., CIL XII 2182 *Iupiter optimus maximus et caeteri di deaeque immortales*; CIL XII 1685 *di imm[ortales]*; CIL XII 4725 for *dei [supe]ri et inferi*.

<sup>16</sup> For BELATUCADROS, cf. for example RIB 772-777 at Brougham and RIB 914ff at Old Penrith, 1775ff at Carvoran.

Gauls; also this could be the Gaulish name given by soldiers from continental Gaul to a local deity. Some examples demonstrate more clearly to what extent dedications in Roman Britain reflect a «colonial culture» due to migration and army movement. For example, the British dedication to the «Gallo-Roman» *Mars Leucetius* was set up by a *civis Treuer* (RIB 140) and LOUCETIUS is of course best known as a deity of the *Treueri*.<sup>17</sup> HERCULES MAGUSANUS, whose worship is well attested in Germania Inferior (e.g., CIL XIII 8010, 8610, 8777), was fittingly worshipped in Britain by a Tungrian cavalryman (RIB 2140). And the British example of MARS OLL(O)UDIUS could also reflect an immigrant, perhaps a veteran soldier; one possible place of origin of MARS OLLAUDIUS could be Antibes with two known examples (CIL XII 166-167).

Many military units from Britain were raised in the Gaulish and Germanic provinces, with a large contingent of auxiliary units coming from the Rhine provinces, which explains the close links to the Continent and the presence of Germanic deities in the local context. The Germanic (Batavian, Tungrian) presence might also change our interpretation of some deities. For example the dedication to *Tanarus* (RIB 452) had equally been interpreted as the Germanic DONAR (or THOR) and Lucan's Celtic TARANIS (cf. Duval 1976).

Personal names can be an important means to recognise people's ethnic origin. But in Britain, not all non-Roman names do necessarily imply «native» or «Britanno-Roman» origin, as argued by Green and Raybould (1999), since we should not ignore that the epigraphic evidence from Britain reflects substantial immigration of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gauls who came as merchants, mercenaries, refugees, and of course as legionary and auxiliary soldiers. Instead one has to assert rather firmly that large parts of Britain's «indigenous» inhabitants were deprived of epigraphy and that many important temple sites of «indigenous» origin, such as Hayling Island or Wood Eaton, whose architecture implies substantial financial support by wealthy local élites, were largely free from any monumental inscriptions throughout their long period of occupation. On the numerous curse tablets (*defixiones*) found at Bath and Uley, names might reflect peregrine or «Celtic» origin (for which, cf. Tomlin 1987; 1993), but by the time we reach the third and fourth centuries AD we have to question to what extent the categorisation into Latin and Celtic onomastics provides any valuable information on people's origin, ethnicity or self-identity.

This scenario contrasts with the social composition of the devotees in the *Narbonensis*. The *Provincia*, closely connected to the Mediterranean World, had been a cultural melting pot for centuries, where emporia, maritime transport, commerce and the presence of Etruscan, Greek, Italo-Roman merchants and mercenaries, conquerors and colonisers, had been having a significant impact on local art, architecture, life-style and religion throughout the Second Iron Age, during which religious expressions and cults (which we can label as Celtic, Celto-Ligurian or *simply* Native) were in a constant process of transformation, profiting from intense political and economic interaction. The most obvious examples of this openness of the local population to Greek and Italic influences is the development of Gallo-Greek art and epigraphy.<sup>18</sup>

But despite the cosmopolitan environment, with social actors used to act in a multicultural environment and to make cultural decisions that created new forms of art and architecture —the Gallo-Greek syncretisms— here too, with the Principate Latin epigraphy replaced pre-existing

<sup>17</sup> But also cf. LUCETIUS as epithet for the Roman IUPPITER: Macr. Sat. 1, 15, 14; Paul.-Fest. 114 M.

<sup>18</sup> On «Gallo-Greek» architecture, cf. Arcelin *et al.* 1992; Roth-Congès 1992 for Glanum. On Gallo-Greek

epigraphy, cf. Lejeune 1985. On the strong Italic (Etruscan) influence in the *Narbonensis*, cf. Grenier 1954; Lavagne 1979.



Gallo-Greek traditions. Language (e.g., Gaulish), format (e.g., stelae, capitals, etc.) and epigraphic formulae gave way to Roman schemata, similar to the dedications in the rest of Gaul and in Britain. This conscious élite choice did not emerge out of a rather inconsistent process of interaction («acculturation») of Greek, Italo-Roman and native cultural ideas, but it reflects the new *Selbstverständnis* and self-representation of the devotees within the Roman province. This «Romanised» élite is recognisable in the many rural residences, whose life-style reflects their *Romanitas*, such as the cult of LIBER PATER, while evidence for the worship of non-Classical deities derives especially in the many rural shrines outside the residential villa areas. A rather interesting case for the active involvement of both local elites and the rural population in non-Classical cults is provided by the territory of the colonia Iulia Apta (modern Apt) situated on the via Domitia, east of Avignon, where the extent of cult places and inscribed altars in the rural area is surprising (cf. *infra*: Lioux, Villars), while theonyms and the onomastics of devotees reflect a strong Celtic origin. Some of these rural centres seem closely associated with the functioning of the *civitas*, other rural shrines present focus points for the rural populus (cf. Häussler 2001).

This «pre-Roman» religion was not merely worshipped by the rural population or by lower strata of society. Wealthy élites actively supported and controlled cult activities and sacrifices. Many cult places acquired Roman characteristics, with temples and shrines, where the deities were enclosed in *cellae* in Graeco-Roman manner, and where Roman-style euérgetism adorned native sanctuaries with statues and *sedilia*.<sup>19</sup> Far from being a marginal phenomenon, the large number of important local and imperial magistrates involved in these (rural) non-Classical cults, such as *flamen* (CIL XII 1899, Vienna, CIL XII 2236, Cularo), local *duumviri iure dicundo* (CIL XII 2350) or *aediles* (CIL XII 1821, Vienna), reflect their continued importance within the municipal structures of the *civitates* of the Narbonensis. An inscription to the *col(onia) A(quae Sextiae)* from the temple to IUPPITER CORNIGER at Montjustin<sup>20</sup> highlights some official character of the cult, although most of the onomastics is of Celtic origin.<sup>21</sup> Similarly the presence of *municipes* (ILN-3, 268) and a *flamen Romae et Augusti* (ILN-3, 261) suggests a more «official» rôle of the water sanctuary of Vernègues within the Roman *colonia* of Aquae Sextiae — a type site of how to combine old with new, how to «Romanise» and «assimilate» native cults.<sup>22</sup>

There is also a large number of «Celto-Ligurian» hilltop sites which hosted / housed a cult place during the Principate. For example at the former hilltop site «Le Castellar» near Cadenet,<sup>23</sup> situated between Durance and Luberon, four inscriptions and architectural fragments suggest an important cult place. The deity, DEXIVA, is a toponymic deity which relates to the ethnic group of Dexivates, which is known to us by Pliny (*nat. hist.* 3, 34). This sanctuary was supported by an élite, whose *tria nomina* suggests devotees who were well integrated into Roman society, for example

<sup>19</sup> E.g., *sedilia* at the sanctuary of DEXIVA at the former hilltop site «Le Castellar» (Cadenet; ILN-3, 222) or statue and temple at Montjustin (ILN-3, 181).

<sup>20</sup> For Montjustin, cf. now CAG 04, 129; ILN-3, 181 suggests the presence of a temple *a solo consecrauit* (ILN-3, 181); ILN 3, 180 for the *Iupiter Corn(iger)* (cf. discussion in Leveau 1988, 185f)

<sup>21</sup> Only the euerges of the temple has a more «Roman» cognomen, namely *Regil[l]us* (Kajanto 1965, p. 316), while otherwise Celtic names dominate, such as the cognomen in *Sextius Coinn(ag(i)us?)* (Holder I 1073; also cf. examples of CIL XIII 2449. 4468), as

well as *Dagovir* (epitaph, ILN-3, 182; Holder I 1215), *Fermus*, son of *Magullo* (CAG 04, 129), *Comianus*, and *Vinucius* (ILN-3, 183).

<sup>22</sup> On Vernègues, cf. Gazebeek 1999, *Bilan Scientifique*, Provence Alpes Côte Azur 1999, 122-124. Latin inscriptions: ILN 3, 260-268. The twin temple of Vernègues was a complex Graeco-indigenous temple that had acquired podium, platform and Corinthian capitals in the 20's BC. Inscriptions record dedications to local nymphs, to Rome and Augustus, and IUPPITER TONANS (once again, not the Classical Iuppiter) (ILN 3, 261-8).

<sup>23</sup> CAGR-7, no. 8; ILN-3, 220-223.

*Aulus Cominius Successus* and *Gaius Helvius Primus*.<sup>24</sup> Their Romanness is further confirmed by Helvius' act of euergetism, recorded on an expensive and precious marble inscription, donating *sedilia* (i.e. benches) to *Dexsiva et Caudellenses*.<sup>25</sup>

Another interesting case is Courre Frac, a cult place c. five miles north of the *caput ciuitatis*, Apt. The onomastics of the devotees are of surprising official character. In addition, two financial *societates* are attested at Courre Frac. There are three dedications to MERCURIUS (ILN-4, 82, 83, 84) and one to MERCURIUS and the VOGIENTAE (ILN-4, 87);<sup>26</sup> the VOGIENTAE are already known from Apt, where they are worshipped, also together with MERCURIUS, by *socii* responsible for the collection of the *c(entisimae rerum uenaliu(m))* and the *rotarium* (ILN-4, 18). This is a direct parallel with Courre Frac as attested by the inscription of the *soci propolae* (ILN-4, 88) and the *soci mensur(atores)* (ILN-4, 90).<sup>27</sup> MERCURIUS as god of commerce comes to mind (cf. Duval 1976, 24, 66), and the whole set of inscriptions suggests an important rôle of the sanctuary within the socioeconomics of the *ciuitas*. How else to explain the involvement of the *socii*, if not by assuming that financial deeds were undertaken at Courre Frac. Certainly, Courre Frac is not a rural village shrine in honour of fertility deities, but a sanctuary dedicated to «omnipotent» Gallo-Roman deities: MERCURIUS and perhaps IUPPITER and SILUANUS from nearby Fumeirasse (cf. Häußler 2001 for discussion of the evidence).

But «native» gods are also worshipped in communities and towns of colonial status, i.e. in Roman citizen communities, such as BELENOS at the colony of Narbo (CIL XII 5958), MARS DIVANNO at the colonia *Victrix Iulia Beaeterrae* (CIL XII 4218) or the healing deities BORMANUS and MARS BELADONI at the colonia *Aquae Sextiae* (ILN-3, 2, 190). Does this document to what extent Roman colonisation and native religion need not have been contradicting propositions, considering that a pagan society can be much more flexible in accepting local variations and ethnic deities due to the lack of dogmatism, whereby the common worship of *ceteris diis deabusque* reflects this all-inclusive attitude of Roman provincial religions? It seems that the «native» religions of the Principate were no longer a focus of resistance to Rome, but merely downgraded to «local» particularities within larger imperial socio-religious structures, like in the case of the APOLLOS (*plural*) of the Aedui whose characteristics were described by the panegyrist from Autun as local peculiarity. The presence of native deities in *coloniae* and *municipia* might be an attempt to integrate the local *populus* into the fabric of the new municipality. At Nîmes, for example, god NEMAUSUS —associated with IUPPITER— might have acted to foster the new municipal structure of the colonial territory of Nîmes and to undermine previous «ethnic» or «tribal» concepts, such as the many toponymic deities which can be found throughout the chora of Aix-en-Provence located at the many protohistoric hilltop sites. The integration of non-Classical cults into the fabric of the *civitas* is apparent in the active promotion of extra-urban sanctuaries, such as the monumentalisation of Vernègues, Montjustin or Cadenet in the context of the colonia *Aquae Sextiae* (Häußler 2001). It becomes obvious that in the Gallia *Narbonensis* there was

<sup>24</sup> Voir aussi *Helviva* from Aix-en-Provence (ILN-3, 70).

<sup>25</sup> The continuity of the onomastic repertoire from the Gallo-Greek inscriptions of Cadenet and the surrounding region is of interest, for example RIG G-113 Ουεβ[---] *Vebru-* can be compared with *Verbronara*, *Apetemari filia* from Gargas (Apta Iulia, ILN-4, 122) or RIG G-114 Κομα can probably be recognised in the *Comia(nus?)* from Montjustin (ILN-3, 183). Also the *Diui[---]* from nearby Lourmarin (ILN-3, 230) reminds us of the *Diucius* from Saint-Saturnin-d'Apt (ILN-4, 107).

<sup>26</sup> ILN-4, 82-83 from Courre Frac in the parish of Villars. We also need to consider a number of inscriptions found at Fumeirasse and the Chapel of Saint-Pierre close to Courre Frac: ILN-4, 81, 85, 86 to IUPPITER.

<sup>27</sup> It appears that ILN-4, 90 was found at Courre Frac, while the other dedications to MERCURIUS derive from the same context as the IUPPITER inscription (ILN-4, 80). On the nature of the *soci propoli*, cf. Gascou *et al* 1997, 131 and Gascou 1998.

no apparent contradiction between displaying one's *Romanitas* in an appropriate urban or villa context, and supporting and participating in local cults, rituals and traditions.

Yet there is also the enigma of the sanctuary at Lioux in the *ager* of Apt. The earliest dedication seems to have been a rather elaborate inscription to RONEA, an otherwise unknown deity, set up by wealthy aristocrat of peregrine status.<sup>28</sup> Like many rural cult places, Lioux only seems to have started life in the Augustan period. Probably during the Flavian period four small shrines were constructed, surrounded by an enclosure — a fifth shrine was only built subsequently (cf. fig. 1). These shrines are not Gallo-Roman *Umgangstempel*, but simple square *cellae*. In addition there is substantial evidence that a significant part of the ritual libations and deposits had taken place inside the shrines, including animal sacrifices (among them horses and perhaps even 2% of human bones; Borgard and Rimbart 1994). Is it possible to imagine that the sanctuary of Lioux, far away from major Roman lines of communication, was a focus point of the local population, as well as a fortress of «cultural resistance» and insubordination? The «conservative» nature of cult activity at Lioux might be supported by its continued use down to the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, despite Christianisation.

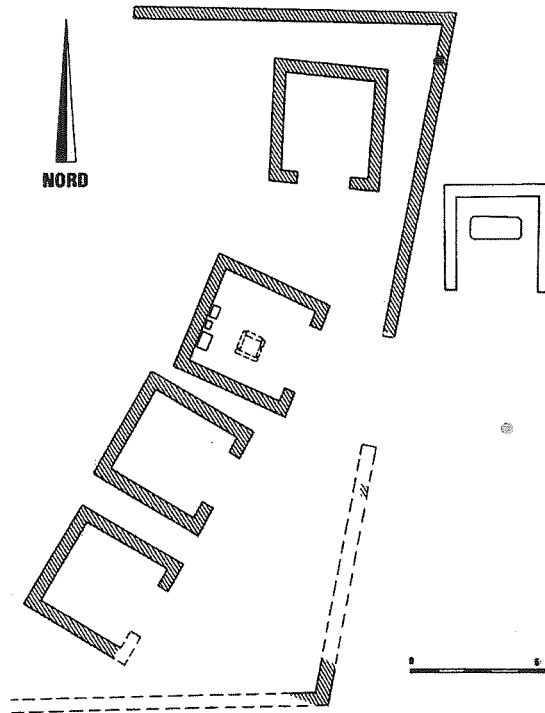


FIGURE 1. The «Gallo-Roman» sanctuary at Lioux (after Borgard - Rimbart 1994). It consisted of four shrines of modest dimensions surrounded by an enclosure, with evidence of cult activity taking place inside the shrines

<sup>28</sup> The name of the dedicant, *Ammo Sol*[-], suggests peregrine onomastics (Holder I 131-132; III 598; Holder III 1599-1614): *Solimarius* and *Solico* are two possible names which are already attested from the territory of the

*colonia Iulia Apta* (ILN-4, 98. 115). With the exception of RONEA, MARS dominates the epigraphic record (ILN-4, 134-140).

The epigraphic evidence from Britain and the Narbonensis thus illustrates two different case scenarios. In Britain the best documentation for local (native?) cults derives from military zones and there is evidence of literate strata of society actively participating in non-Classical cult activity in the hinterland of the colony of Glevum. By contrast, in the Narbonensis the social actors largely consist of the élites of *coloniae* and *civitates* and their household, who promoted cults and monumentalised cult places. Rural shrines might be considered the playground for local élites, yet only the Narbonensis provides substantial epigraphic evidence for cult places of non-Roman character.

#### 4. CLASSICAL DEITIES REINTERPRETED

The active involvement of wealthy and powerful local élites in native cult activities is an important factor for the re-interpretation of religious and mythological conceptions. The involvement of certain social classes, educated in Latin and Greek mythology, has to have repercussions for the nature, functioning and meaning of cults. If pagan religion is meant to be a meaningful element of sociocultural patterns, we are bound to experience significant changes, such as the omnipresence of Graeco-Roman deities throughout the Roman West, energetically supported by a «Romanised» élite, and as we shall see, cultural changes are more an issue of *interpretatio Gallica* than of *interpretatio Romana*.

The different social actors involved in Roman Britain and Gaul create two different types of «approaches» regarding the choice and nature of Roman deities. Britain was very much dominated by imperial officials, governors and army personnel. In this context religious activities were framed by the Roman military calendar, as exemplified by the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD document from Dura-Europos (Welles *et alii* 1959, no. 54). It is therefore no surprise to find numerous allusions to the *numen Augusti* in a military context and the insertion of local (but not necessarily «native») cults into the Roman pantheon may have been a way to legitimise local deities and integrate them into the Roman army culture.

The situation is quite different in the Narbonensis, where Roman state gods are hardly present. Instead, native, pre-Roman religious images are frequently inserted into the Graeco-Roman pantheon and «Classical» deities are endowed with new meaning. As the following examples will show the issues of *interpretatio Romana* or so-called *interpretatio Gallica* are far more complex than the simple equation of Roman and Celtic deities or the addition of a Roman epithet to a native deity.<sup>29</sup> Non-Classical deities can have different and often contradictory associations and epithets with the Graeco-Roman pantheon, while the iconographic and epigraphic evidence of Classical deities raises important questions on the nature of Classical deities. Certainly in the case of Gallia Narbonensis, the question arises whether there are ever any «proper» Classical deities. This in turn would question the division between «Classical» and «native» deities as «artificial» and «misguided» in the pagan society of the Roman Empire.

The omnipresence of major Roman state gods may be expected in the context of a senatorial province like Narbonaise Gaul, whose population seems to have had very close economic and political ties with Italy and whose élite had accepted the Graeco-Roman lifestyle. But a closer

<sup>29</sup> «Interpretatio Romana» is a term employed by Tacitus *Germ.* 43, 3. Cf. Grenier 1958 on a discussion of *interpretatio Romana* vs. *interpretatio Gallica*.

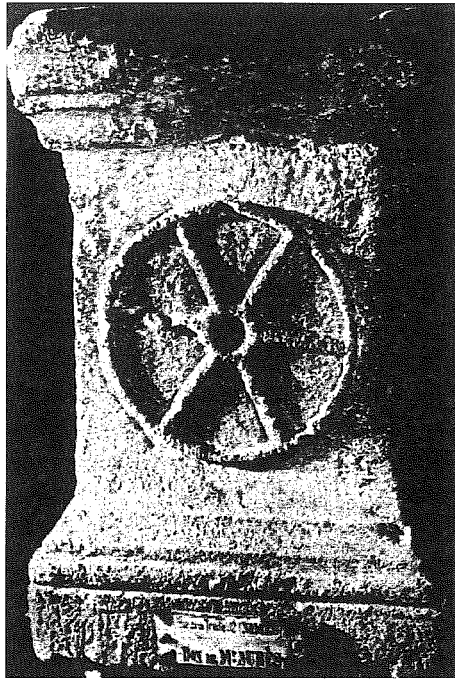


FIGURE 2. *Wheel of Taranis-Iuppiter which is widely attested between Hérault and Rhône and around the Mont Ventoux (Esp. 430/1; Musée archéologique de Nîmes)*

investigation of Classical deities reflects their surprisingly non-Roman nature and the extent of reinterpretation of Roman state gods seems beyond any doubt, including the imperial cult and the Capitoline Triad (for which cf. Grenier 1958, 139ff).

For the imperial cult to be a powerful medium of integration and coercion in the empire, it was actively associated with important native sanctuaries, which were suitable for large gatherings and often of political importance at political assembly places, such as the water sanctuary of Glanum and the *caput ciuitatis* of the newly created colony of Nîmes.<sup>30</sup> The different character of the imperial cult in the various regions and provinces is in line with the results of Price (1984), who demonstrated that there was no uniform, dogmatic cult for the emperor (cf. Beard *et al* 1998 for discussion). Instead local sanctuaries became focus points in a sacred and historical landscape focussed on the achievements of Caesar, Augustus and their successors, thus creating points of unity and reconnaissance, while at the same time the promotion of imperial ideology profited from the popularity of existing native cult centres (e.g., Alcock 1993).

Among the Capitoline deities JUNO and MINERVA were associated with native *matres* and appear, for example, as *Iunones* at Glanum, *Iunones Montanae* in Nîmes and *Iunones Augustae* in Aigues Mortes, also as *Suleviae Iunones* as pendant to the *Matres Suleviae*.<sup>31</sup> MINERVA also is,

<sup>30</sup> Roth-Congès 2000 for Glanum; Gros 1984 for his over-interpretation of the native spring sanctuary of Nîmes as «Augusteum»; also cf. Greek cases as summarised by Alcock 1993.

<sup>31</sup> For example: *Iunones Montanae* at Nîmes (CIL XII 3067); *Sul[e]viae Idennica Minerua* at Collias (CIL XII 2974); *Suleuis Iunonibus* at Marquise (CIL XIII 3561); *Iunones* at Glanum (AE 1958, 305).

together with the NYMPHAE, the deity of the water cult, for example in Bath and Nîmes.<sup>32</sup> Such substantial changes to the nature of IUNO and MINERVA should not surprise us, since even in Italy the Capitoline Triad was not necessarily «Roman» in character: for example, it is possible to identify an Etruscan and a Celtic MINERVA in Cisalpine Gaul and the capitolium at Brixia had four *cellae* instead of the conventional three, while an altar from Aosta is dedicated to VENUS in addition to IUPPITER, JUNO and MINERVA (CIL V 6829; cf. Mastrocinque 1991).

The most important Roman state god, IUPPITER, acquired a new iconography and symbolism in the Narbonensis. Unlike contemporary Roman perceptions, he appears as omnipotent deity and acquired characteristics conventionally associated with the Celtic TARANIS (Duval 1976). His omnipotent character is reflected in his title *Iuppiter conservator omnium rerum* (CIL XII 1060; also *I.O.M. conseruator* from Villars, Apt ILN-4, 80), a title which seems closely related to the *Silvanus conservator* from Apt (ILN-4, 16). In iconography IUPPITER is frequently depicted as the deity with wheel, sometimes with thunderbolt, again attributes conventionally associated with TARANIS.<sup>33</sup> With his thunderbolt he fertilises the land and hence becomes *Iuppiter frugifer* (CIL XII 336). An inscription from Clarensac links him to Mother Earth,<sup>34</sup> which can be interpreted as an allusion of the cosmic combat of TARANIS (Duval 1976; Grenier 1954).

The distribution pattern for IUPPITER with wheel and thunderbolt can be compared with the almost overlapping distribution of inscriptions to the *fulgur conditum*, which mark the spot where lightning has struck.<sup>35</sup> Both phenomena seem particular to the Gallia Narbonensis, compared with other Celtic regions, and they are most common in Nîmes and the whole *civitas* of the Volcae Arecomici (cf. Esp. IX, 6816. 6843; I. 428. 430). Even if the inscriptions to *fulgur conditum* mark an event, not a cult place, they clearly reflect the native concept of a deity of lightning that survived well into the 1<sup>st</sup> and even the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, whereby some Roman rites and customs were adopted, such as the *puteal* or *bidental* that consecrated the site.

A number of dedications from the Narbonensis associates IUPPITER with SILVANUS.<sup>36</sup> SILVANUS is undoubtedly one of the most ubiquitous Roman deities in the Roman West whose importance has often been underestimated. His omnipresence cannot simply be explained by the «rustic deity» of Roman origin (*rusticorum deus* Isid. *orig.* 8, 11, 81). Although SILVANUS can often be found near stone quarries, for example in the Luberon, and a hammer represents SILVANUS in iconography, this does not make him the deity for quarry-men, but it refers to his chthonic character. We probably have to equate him with the «Celtic» SUCELLUS —a deity about whose functions we are still quite ignorant, but probably equivalent to the deity interpreted by Caesar as DIS PATER (*Gall.* VI 18; Duval 1976; Deyts 1992). This is in line with the hammer in iconography, which, together with other attributes, also alludes to an Etruscan-style CHARON-CHARUN.<sup>37</sup> But SILVANUS also had

<sup>32</sup> Nîmes CIL XII 3092 = Esp. 443; also cf. CIL XII 3077: MINERVA together with the LARES AUGUSTES, NEMAUSUS, URNIA.

<sup>33</sup> The wheel in iconography, cf. Esp. I 428-430. 513 (Laudun); Esp. I 832 = CIL XII 3023 (from Sommières); CIL IX 6843 (from Castellans de Vauvert). Other examples in Esp. I 299, 303, 428-30, 513, 832; Esp. X 7460; Esp. XIII 11-13.; Hatt 1989, 185.

<sup>34</sup> CIL XII 4140; Esp. VIII 6825; also cf. CIL XII 3071; also cf. inscription CIL XII p. 34 from Glanum considered as falsum, but reinstated as original by Rolland 1944, p. 179, no. 27.

<sup>35</sup> (*diuum*) *fulgur conditum*; and one case of *Iouium fulgur* from Sévrier in Savoy. Cf. study and collection of 21 inscriptions to *fulgur conditum* by Rémy and Buisson 1992.

<sup>36</sup> For example the inscription to IUPPITER and SILVANUS from Aigues Mortes: Esp. IX 6849; ILGN 516; also at Nîmes, the characteristics of IUPPITER and SILVANUS seem interchangeable to associate them both to NEMAUSUS.

<sup>37</sup> For the extent of Italic and Etruscan influences in the Basse-Provence, cf. Grenier 1954, 334.

healing qualities, most clearly in the case of Glanum.<sup>38</sup> There emerges the picture of an omnipotent deity - the *Silvanus conseruator* from Apt, sometimes close in meaning to *Iupiter conseruator*. The importance of SILVANUS for the local pantheon is most obvious if we look at important sanctuaries, for example the concentration of inscriptions and altars to SILVANUS from Glanum's Julio-Claudian forum-basilica complex, from where his cult seems to have spread along the Durance and the via Domitia into the Luberon region.

Many other Graeco-Roman deities also display non-Roman characteristics and attributes, above all of course MARS and MERCURIUS. Following Caesar's account MERCURIUS is generally considered one of the main Celtic deities, equated with TEUTATES.<sup>39</sup> Behind the (superficial) Graeco-Roman iconographic facade one can recognise many attributes. He «functions» as deity of commerce, as deity of fertility and appears in some sanctuaries as healing deity.<sup>40</sup> And although Caesar thought that *deorum maxime Mercurium colunt* (Caes. Gall. 6, 17),<sup>41</sup> in the Narbonensis, and similarly in Britain, MARS dominates the epigraphic record.<sup>42</sup> He is the protector of the *ciuitas*, similarly to TOUTATIS, most obvious in the case of MARS VESONTIUS in Vesontio (Besançon), MARS CEMENELUS in Cemelenium (Cimiez), MARS VINTIUS in Vintium (Vence). In the Narbonensis MARS is associated with local deities, such as MARS RUDIANUS, MARS BUDENICUS, MARS BELADO and MARS NABELCUS. In the *ciuitas* of Iulia Apt and in the Alpes Cottiae, MARS is ALBIORIX, «the king of the world».<sup>43</sup> Despite his many native, local, regional associations, the iconography of the Narbonnaise MARS is clearly Classical in character (Lavagne 1979). He was the god of the cosmos, of fertility and of perpetuate life,<sup>44</sup> but this is not too dissimilar to the Roman MARS (cf. Cato *de agricultura* 141, 2).

## 5. BRITANNO-ROMAN RELIGION: INDIGENOUS, IMPORT, TRANSFORMATION

The extent of transformation of cult activity, the rupture of cult objects, the general absence of «pan-Celtic» deities from the epigraphic record of the Principate and the insertion of Classical deities into local cognition seems to contradict with the apparent popularity and social significance of the many local, toponymic deities of non-Classical character during the Principate. Their

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Lavagne 1979 and Deyts 1992. Aupert 1992 suggests that SILVANUS - and perhaps SUCELLUS - were healing deities in Gallia Narbonensis, while also stressing their chthonic character.

<sup>39</sup> *Scolies Bernoises, adnotationes ad versu* I, 445 equates TEUTATES with MERCURIUS.

<sup>40</sup> E.g., at Glanum he seems closely related to the cult of DEIA BONA or CYBELE (cf. Roth-Congès 1997, 182-184).

<sup>41</sup> Caes. Gall. 6, 17: *Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt. huius sunt plurima simulacra, hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur.* (cf. Ziegler 1979 for Celtic MERCURIUS; Lavagne 1979, 175-178 for attestations in the Narbonensis).

<sup>42</sup> On MARS and MERCURIUS as local «Gaulish» divinities, cf. Benoît 1959.

<sup>43</sup> ILN-4, 55; CIL XII 1300. 1060; perhaps ILN 4, 95; Barruol, *Ogam* 1963. ALBIORIX seems to be a patron deity which goes beyond the civitas boundaries, as ALBIORIX is also attested in the civitas of the Voconces, for example at Sablet (Vaucluse, CIL XII 1300: *Marti Albiorigi*), and in particular in the Alpes Cottiae. Already Holder I 85 proposed «king of the world» as translation of ALBIORIX, while Gascou (1997) and Barruol (1963) have advanced the hypothesis of «king of the mountains of Albion» as patron of the people of Albici (also cf. Lavagne 1979, 171-173). However, Holder's interpretation as «king of the world» is supported by the attestation of ΑΒΙΟΡΙΞ in Galatia (CIG 4039= OGIS 533, 23. 32. 63) and is also backed up by Meid 1991.

<sup>44</sup> On MARS, cf. Lambrechts 1942, 126-145; overview in Heichelheim 1930; Duval 1993, 71-73.

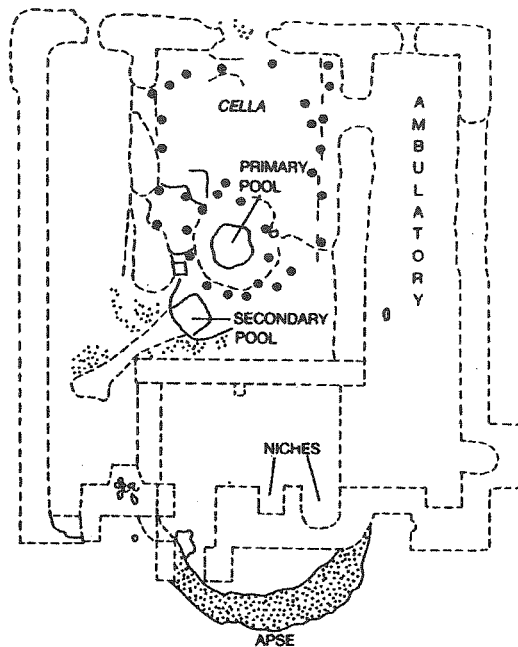


FIGURE 3. *The three phases of the Dean Hall temple starting with the post hole structure around the «primary pool»*

survival, emergence and promotion seems surprising considering the extent to which previous native religious practices had been abandoned. In the Gallia Narbonensis there are more than one hundred known non-Roman deities, many of which are toponymic deities and/or associated with specific *civitates*, tribes, towns or geographical features. The high level of religious dedications in both provinces does not necessarily reflect Romanness, considering the comparatively limited number of dedications in some parts of Italy, for example in the *regio XI*, Transpadana, which may reflect different Republican traditions and different choices of individuals in investing in this type of monuments and ex-voto; also, we should not underestimate the role of the *senatus sanctus* and the *pontifex maximus* in controlling religious worship in Italy (cf. Beard *et al* 1998, 321), which might explain the rarity of Celtic theonyms in Cisalpine Gaul.

In the following I want to focus on the situation of Britain, which provides a staggering amount of information on local deities, whose distribution is generally concentrated in small geographical areas and dominates the military zone along Hadrian's Wall, for example in the case of the HVETERES, of BELATUCADROS and COCIDIVS. Unlike the circumstances in the Narbonensis, it is often difficult to identify any local community, *ethnos* or toponym behind the cult. This difficulty will have repercussions on our understanding of «native» deities in Britain.

The problem in the interpretation consists in the fact that *numina* of «Celtic» origin are widely attested along Hadrian's Wall and not in Southeast England, since it was there that some aristocratic leaders had already adopted writing in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age, for example on coins. There are some influential aristocrats, like Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, *rex magnus*, who displayed their *Romanitas* by using a Roman name and Latin epigraphy. Their worship of Roman deities, not Celtic (NEPTUNUS and MINERVA in Cogidubnus' case, RIB 91), seems in line with other cultural choices in Southeast Britain, such as the villa landscape. Despite the general lack of



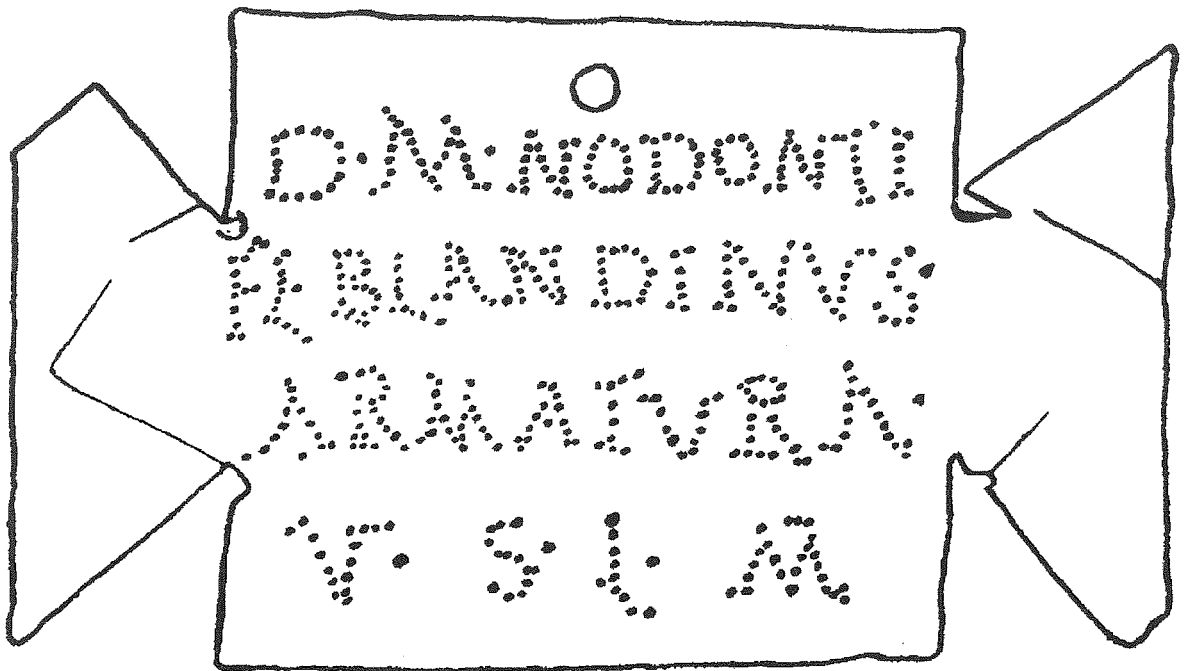


FIGURE 4. *Dedication to D(eo) M(arti) Nodonti. RIB 305. Lydney Park*

epigraphic evidence for «native» *numina* in the Southeast, archaeological remains document the continuity of «pre/non-Roman» cult activities throughout Southeast Britain, based on the presence of votive deposits and the elaboration of some «native» sanctuaries as *Umgangstempel* during the Empire. Hayling Island and Dean Hall reflect a continuity from the post-Caesarian, pre-conquest period up to 3rd-4th centuries AD. In view of the wealth of evidence, in a society, whose élite had already begun to acquire a certain degree of literacy before the conquest and where epigraphy was used for non-religious purposes (though in very limited quantity), the widespread lack of epigraphic dedications to native, Celtic or local deities in the Southeast demands an explanation.

The only area in Britain where the distribution of native cult places and epigraphic testimonies overlap is the Cotswold —Severn Estuary area. This region clearly stands out as an exceptionally «sacred» landscape within the British province with a significantly large number of dedications, curse tablets, as well as sanctuaries. Four places are particularly significant, Bath, Uley, Nettleton and Lydney, though there are many other cult places in the area, such as Colerne Park near Bath with three reliefs of mother goddesses (*JRS* 1962, no. 2; *CSIR* I.2, nos. 99 and 117) or Nettleham with a dedication to *deus Mars Rigonemetus* (*JRS* 1962, no. 8).

At the basis of the current evidence, divine functions might appear to be spatially partitioned with APOLLO at Nettleton, MERCURIUS at Uley, MINERVA (SULIS) at Bath and probably MARS (NODONS) at Lydney. At Nettleton, there was a temple to Apollo with inscribed altars to *Deus Apollo Cunomaglos* (*JRS* 1962, no. 4), and to *Silvanus et Numen Augusti*<sup>45</sup>. At Bath the Roman-style

<sup>45</sup> *JRS* 1969, no.1; for Nettleton, cf. Wedlake 1982.

architecture of the temple correlates with a dozen inscriptions in stone to SULIS and SULIS MINERVA, often by Roman officials —military and civilian— in addition to the myriad of curse tablets which record a more private and more localised background of the devotees (Tomlin 1987). The written evidence at Uley mainly consists of curse tablets similar to Bath (but their contents reflect a more rural context). There is also one votive bronze plaque to *Deus Mercurius* (*Britannia* 17, 1986, 429-430, no. 4) and a relief of Mercurius made by *Searigillus* (*Britannia* 1981, no. 5) —a personal name more common for the continental *Mediomatrici* (CIL XIII 4433). The phenomenon of *defixiones* cannot be interpreted as a continuity of «Celtic» religion —even if associated with cult sites of pre-Roman origin, like Bath and Uley, since curse tablets are well known from other Western provinces (for Spain, cf. Corell 1993), from the Greek East (cf. Jordan 1985; cf. Gager 1992 for overview), and seem to have been Syrian in origin (Preisendanz 1979).

At Lydney —on the northern side of the Severn estuary— inscriptions in stone have not been found so far. Instead there is a bronze plate to *d(eo) M(arti) Nodonti* set up by an *armatura* («drill-instructor») (RIB 305), another inscribed bronze of c. 12 cm height with the figure of a dog and the inscription *Pectillus | uotum quod | promissit | deo Nudente | M(arti) dedit* «Pectillus gave to the god Nudens Mars the votive offering which he had promised» (RIB 307), and furthermore a lead curse tablet to *deuo Nodenti*, mentioning a *templum [No]ldenti* (RIB 306). There are also 47 bronze letters with nail-holes (RIB 308), similar to Wood Eaton in Oxfordshire, where a large number of copper-alloy votive letters have been discovered, perhaps originating in some kind of monumental inscription, together with two small votive plaques.<sup>46</sup>

Writing was not unknown at Lydney or Uley, but inscribed altars perhaps had no place at an indigenous sanctuary. The relatively high degree of literacy (as attested by curse and lead tablets) and the demography of the devotees in the Severn-Cotswold region has to be understood in its colonial context. Besides the nearby *colonia Glevum* (modern Gloucester) and other agglomerations of Roman type, such as *Corinium-Korinion* (Cirencester) and *Venta* (Caerwent), there is extensive evidence for mining in the Roman period (North of Lydney and West of Bath) and there are a number of Roman forts, such as *Caerleon* and *Usk*, west of Lydney. This creates a much more interactive environment between locals and immigrants, between merchants, colonists and soldiers, which seemed to have been inspiring for the local culture and vice versa, creating a more integrated society, quite unlike the military frontier zone along Hadrian's Wall and more like the pattern in the *Narbonensis*. Yet despite literacy and aspects of cultural «fusion», the widespread lack of monumental inscriptions (which contrasts with nearby Gloucester and Cirencester) raises numerous questions on the nature of cult activity, such as the appropriateness of epigraphy in a native cult context. Cult activity was appropriated by a rather literate, educated («Romanised») local élite, who supported the monumentalisation of rural cult sites, but the lack of epigraphy and «Romanisation» stands in a stark contrast with the evidence from *Glevum* and *Corinium*.

As has already been pointed out by Millett (1995) it is an enigma for the study of Celtic religion in Britain that the majority of «Celtic» deities are best attested in Roman army context, in an area with an evident conflict with the local population (for which, cf. Clarke 1999, 42), while important native sanctuaries continued, even flourished, in Southern Britain during the Roman

<sup>46</sup> *Britannia* 1998, no. 6 (28\*12 mm) and RIB 236 (*edo* for *do(num?)*); also cf. RIB 236-240. 70.1 = RIB II, 2430.2; 983.3-6.

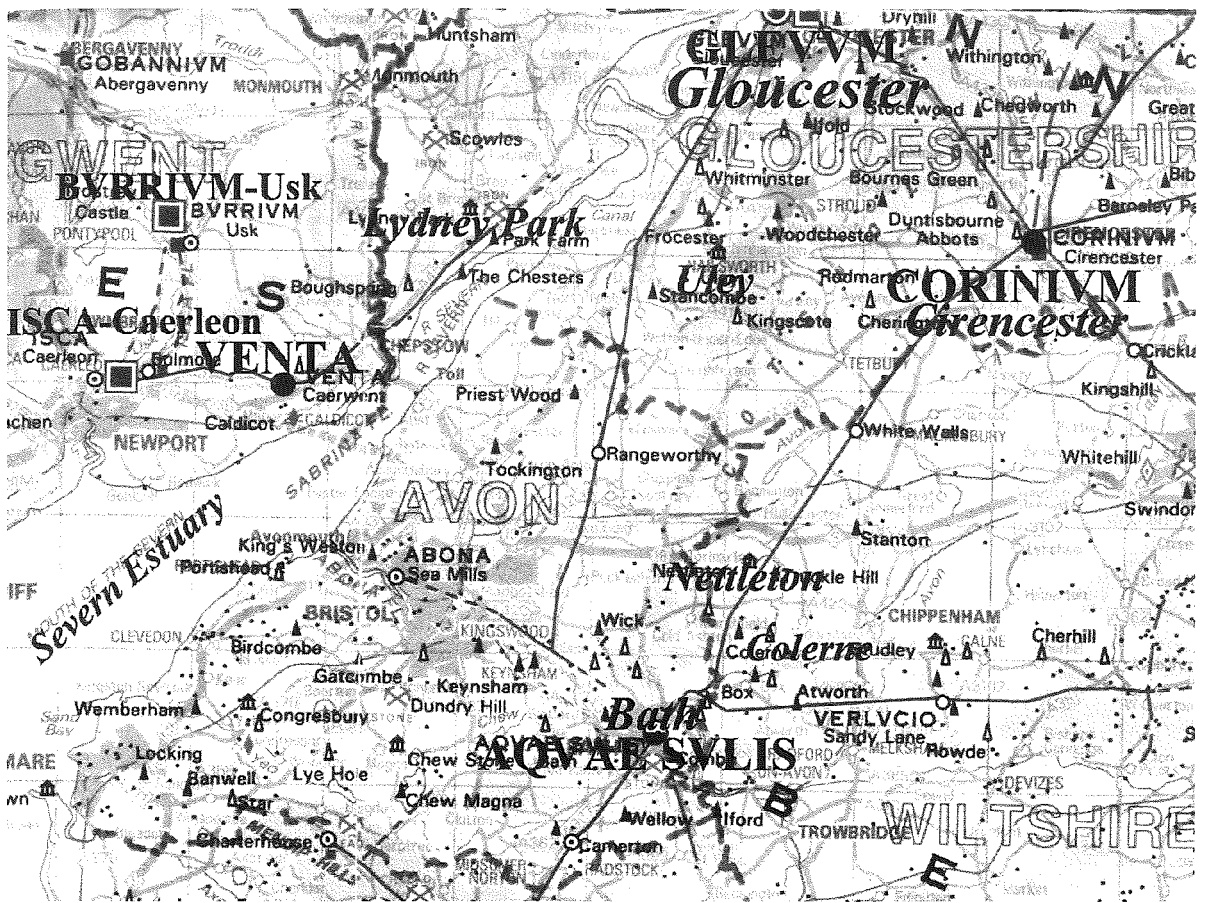


FIGURE 5. The Severn-Cotswold area, showing the location of Bath, Lydney, Nettleton and Uley within the urban and military landscape of Gloucester, Cirencester and Caerleon (base map by Ordnance Survey)

period, but generally lacking any epigraphic testimony which would allow us to identify the deity worshipped; even the much more literate devotees of the Cotswold-Severn region prefer to use Roman instead of Celtic theonyms (with the obvious exception of SULIS and NODONS). How else to explain this, if not as a conscious rejection of inscriptions and Roman-style altars in these extra-urban sanctuaries? As a result the Celtic character of the *numina* attested on Hadrian's Wall seems highly doubtful, since the form of worship, iconographic representation, altars, vows and the variation in naming (in particular the attempted Latinisation of *Hueteris* into *Veteres* (cf. RIB 1602 and 1729-1730)) reflect a «colonial» culture. Data on native types of cult activity, attributes, characteristics, and even names of deities therefore has to be taken with extreme caution; certainly their indigenous origin, firmly assumed by Green and Raybould 1999, is more than doubtful.

Also, while in Britain, at the margin of the empire, clusters of inscriptions to COCIDIVS, BELATOCADROS, HVETERES, but also SULIS, have been discovered, in a much more literate, urban society like Southern Gaul, although native deities dominate the sacred landscape, they are only attested in locally isolated cases, often attested by no more than a couple of epigraphic attestations,



MAP 1. *Left: distribution of Gallo-Roman Umgangstempel; Right, distribution of dedications. From Millett 1995: 94-95*

Gallia Narbonensis	Britannia
55 Mercurius	57 H)veteres
43 Silvanus	33 Silvanus
36 Proxsumae	32 Mercurius
10 Nemausus	29 Belatucadros
7 Andarta, dea Augusta	24 Cocidius
5 Maia	21 Hercules
3-4 Bormo, Bormanus	18 Sulis
3-4 Belenos	15 Coventina (2 of which: <i>Conventina</i> )
3 Vasio	8 Brigantia
3 Dexasiva, Dexiva	7 Nodons
3 Iboita	7 Maponus
3 Accorus / Adcorus	

TABLE 1. *List of the some of the more common «native» deities in Gallia Narbonensis and Britain during the Principate*

despite the large extent of site continuity and continuity of an epigraphic culture from the Hellenistic to the Roman period. The Narbonensis is even renowned for the much stronger epigraphic tradition compared with Northern Gaulish provinces (as argued for by Deyts 1992, 200) where simple or poorly carved figurative representations of native deities dominate.

This makes the case of Britain even more noticeable. Is the large number of dedications to some deities the result of a literate army culture in Britain? Or, rather than a question of literacy, are we perhaps dealing with differences in religious practices, i.e. it may have been a cultural phenomenon of putting up an altar or a dedication in fulfilment of a vow? This habit might have been more common in the context of the Roman army, rather than with native societies in both Britain and Gaul, i.e. the practice of putting up inscribed altars and dedications—in particular by private individuals—might be a rather alien concept to some native cults; and some exceptional cases, such as the isolated altars at an otherwise non-epigraphic cult site which may rather reflect the intrusion of foreign rituals by devotees who stood in a different tradition: the only monumental inscription from the sanctuary at Hayling Island was set up by a legionary soldier,<sup>47</sup> while it was an *armatura* at Lydney (RIB 305). Most extra-urban cult places are void of inscriptions, such as the sanctuary at Godmanchester, with one isolated inscription to ABANDINUS (cf. Green - Raybould 1999) and a number of uninscribed votive feathers found in the shrine (also cf. Rodwell and Rowley 1975, 201 for Godmanchester).

Locally attested deities therefore pose a number of problems in interpretation. In the Narbonensis local deities are almost exclusively geographically limited as they function as patron deities for tribes, peoples and cities. This might reflect a Hellenistic concept, rather than a Celtic

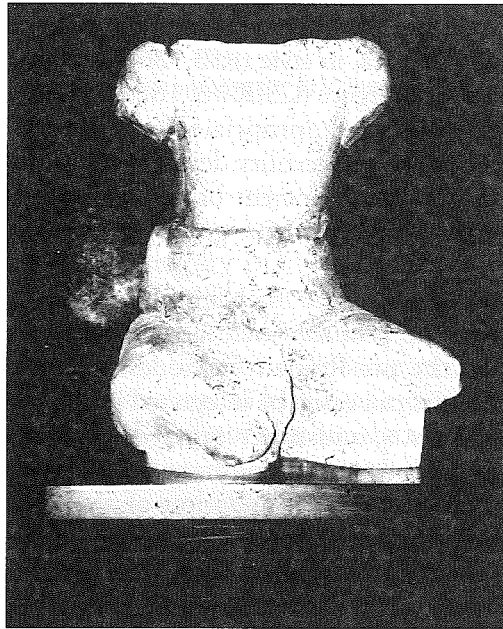


FIGURE 6. *Warrior dignity from Entremont (2nd century BC; Museum of Aix-en-Provence)*

<sup>47</sup> *Britannia* 12 (1981), p. 369, no.3: —]evian[—l—]eg VII[—l—]. For Hayling Island, cf. King & Soffe 1979.

one, that was assumed during the period of state formation and proto-urbanisation in the 3rd-1st century BC. Many of these deities are focussed at specific sanctuaries, especially water sanctuaries and former «oppida» (Glanum, Nîmes, Le Castellar). This type of patron deity, mirroring an «ethnic» identity, is quite different from most of the local deities that had been worshipped at Hadrian's Wall during the Roman period, where many deities seem to have been chosen for their bellicose character.

## 6. SOCIAL APPROPRIATENESS

Many differences between Britain and the Narbonensis (and other regions of the Romano-Celtic world) may be explained by the extent of social and political participation and integration, i.e. Britain remained a frontier zone with strong military presence, while the Narbonensis was politically and economically well integrated in the Mediterranean society. In the context of the *pax Romana* warrior deities had to be pacified in the Narbonensis. The disappearance of the cross-legged warrior statues and *têtes coupées* need not indicate the suppression of the cult, rather it being rendered meaningless, like at Glanum, where statues and artefacts relating to the «warrior cult» (cf. fig. 10) were buried underneath new Roman-style buildings.

It was therefore mainly in the military context —i.e. in Britain, but also along the Rhine and Danube limes— that deities of bellicose nature were adopted, such as BELATUCADROS, VERNOSTONUS or COCIDIUS. MARS COCIDIUS was worshipped by the local military garrisons on Hadrian's Wall. At Bewcastle one might have to locate the *fanum Cocidi*.<sup>48</sup> There crude representations on the two silver plaques might, if we follow Green and Raybould's observation, represent a warrior figure with body armour, shield and spear, but not Classical in style (RIB 986-7); similarly, an uninscribed stone from Birdoswald may also represent a warrior figure (CSIR i/6, 162, pl. 46).

Consequently, bellicose deities seem appropriate for Britain's military zone, while in the Narbonensis of the Principate, healing and fertility deities were more meaningful than the warrior cult, despite it having been an important element of Gaulish society during the Hellenistic and Republican period. The popularity of the warrior god MARS reflects his rôle as protector of the tribe or people.<sup>49</sup>

In the context of a senatorial province like the Narbonensis, the choice of deity is a question of appropriateness. TARANIS and LUGUS probably were no longer appropriate during the Principate, either because they epitomised the pre-Roman Celtic koiné and/or because of their bellicose attributes. By contrast, healing deities can easily be integrated in the understanding of a «Romanised» élite. BORMANUS, GLANIS, NEMAUSUS, and many other deities, especially those associated with water cults, prevail in the religious landscape of Southern Gaul. Agrippa's promotion of the Roman goddess VALETUDO reflects a process of re-foundation of therapeutical towns throughout the empire, such as Aquae Sextiae, Aquae Sulis or Aquae Statiellae. Unlike the situation on the Italian peninsula, where many extra-urban sanctuaries had been abandoned by the end of the Republic, in Transalpine Gaul and Britain there was no apparent contradiction between the urbanisation of the landscape and the intensive monumentalisation of extra-urban spring and water sanctuaries, such as

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Austen 1991. The legions involved in building activity at Bewcastle consist of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> legions (RIB 995) and, later in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, the 6<sup>th</sup> legion

*victrix pia fidelis* (RIB III 78.9) (cf. Ritterling 1906 for origin).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Lavagne 1979; Grenier 1954.

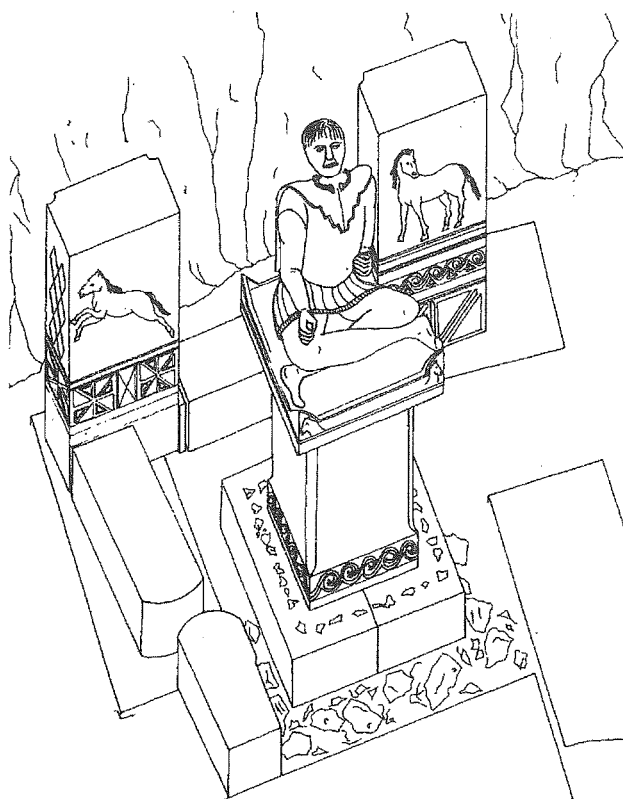


FIGURE 7. *Reconstruction of the warrior/hero monument at Glanum. End 3rd - early 2nd century BC (after Barbet 1991)*

Vernègues (Bouche-du-Rhône) or Colombières-sur-Orb (Hérault); at the latter there seems to have been some precocious evidence for 1<sup>st</sup> century BC cult activity, but the monumentalisation only took place during the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. In the absence of any inscribed dedication, its identification as a healing cult is based on the ex-votos, which consist of anatomic and animalistic terracottas.<sup>50</sup> Considering the omnipotent character of some native deities, like SILVANUS, it does not surprise that many important deities can also have healing and therapeutical qualities<sup>51</sup>.

Since worship is a question of social appropriateness, the insertion of many social groups into wider social bonds of the empire during the Principate affects cult activity, as it implied a reorientation away from Central European sociopolitical and cultural structures to those of the Mediterranean and the subsequent abandonment of La Tène art and material culture. This process of integration not only included the top élite, whose duty involved the administration of the civic cults, and the *flamen* of equestrian or senatorial status (in Apt the so-called *flamen Romae et divi Augusti*, a representative of the *pontifex maximus*), but it also involved the local *plebs* for whom the princeps —due to his tribunician power— had become the ultimate patron. Therefore many

<sup>50</sup> Guiraud 1992; cf. papers in Landes (ed.) 1992 on Gaulish healing deities.

<sup>51</sup> For the omnipresent healing character of Glanum's deities, cf. Roth-Congès 1997.

cultural developments at Rome and throughout the Mediterranean are mirrored in the Western provinces, not as an imposition, but as a result of the wider social bonds that emerged during the empire.

Religious preferences by the emperor, the *pontifex maximus*, seem to have had certain repercussions throughout the empire. Under Augustus, for example, it was the cult of the deified Caesar and the honour of his two sons (Zanker 1988), under Septimus Severus the cult for CAELESTIS spread throughout the provinces—in Britain she was even associated with the local «tribal» deity BRIGANTIA (RIB 1131 from Corbridge)—since previously the cult of this North African goddess, the Carthaginian TANIT, was limited to Africa (cf. Wissowa, *Rel.* 3, 373-374 for CAELESTIS). Other developments include of course the popularity of Oriental cults, like ISIS, SERAPIS and MITHRAS, which seems to spread very rapidly in the provinces, especially in the military zones, like Britain. The case of the Serapeion of Industria in Gallia Cisalpina demonstrates the importance of private initiative in introducing and promoting foreign cults. But the example from Industria also shows that layout and design resemble contemporary examples from Rome (Mercando and Zanda 1998). As we approach the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD the distinction between «Roman» and «native» is clearly misguided. In a local context «native» deities stand side-by-side with Oriental gods and Roman state gods, mirroring local choices, by individuals and communities alike—conscious choices, no doubt, since the imperial society and the historiography of the Roman empire had rendered «Graeco-Roman» and «Oriental» cults (to use rather anachronistic categories) meaningful for the local communities in the provinces. There is no «real» separation of a «Celtic» pantheon from a «Graeco-Roman» or «civic» pantheon during the imperial period and we should avoid to make an artificial division between dedications to «flaw» and «superficial» civic cults and people's «true» beliefs.

## 7. CULT TRANSFORMATION

More important than Roman provincial or municipal structures were the aims and ambitions of the local population, which would significantly modify the appearance of local cult centres, as happened in Britain, for example at Wood Eaton or Hayling Island, as well as in Northern Gaul, best illustrated by the monumentalisation of Ribemont and its transformation from trophy to sanctuary (Brunaux 2000).

Throughout the Late Iron Age, the societal patterns of Western Europe reflect an increasing process of state formation and social hierarchisation (Brunaux 2000). Also religion acquires a new dimension with the creation of sanctuaries of regional importance for tribes, states or confederations. To some extent this can be recognised in the British pre-Roman Iron Age. Pre-Roman cult activities largely consist of various types of ditches and votive deposits in rivers and streams,<sup>52</sup> but during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC one can recognise the architectural monumentalisation of some cults and the gradual appearance of the Gallo-Roman type of *Umgangstempel* (for evidence of pre-Claudian temples, cf. Woodward 1992). This may suggest the development of more stratified, state-like societies, with certain powerful social groups controlling cult, worship and ritual, stimulated by the increasing contact between Britain and the continent since Caesar's invasion in 55-54BC.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. e.g., Wait 1985; for continuity into Roman period, cf. Scott and Poulton 1993; Millett 1994.



This process is much more apparent in Gallia Narbonensis, which provides a very detailed array of evidence on the evolving role of religion in society, on processes of state formation and the monumentalisation of cult centres in the La Tène, Hellenistic, Republican period (3rd-1st century BC).

During the First Iron Age such sites might have functioned as rather localised cult places, probably controlled by local clans or families, which subsequently became politicised and developed into focus points for regional polities during the Second Iron Age.<sup>53</sup> During the third and second centuries BC one can recognise a major phase in the social and religious re-organisation in the Narbonensis with regard to the size of agglomerations, the emergence of monumental cult places and the construction of monumental architecture, such as the porticoes or *herôa* of Entremont, Glanum and Nîmes,<sup>54</sup> or the *temenos*(?), surrounded by a wall (*peribolos*), at the «oppidum» of Saint-Blaise. The presence of «public» architecture parallels state formation processes that were probably initiated in response to economic and military imperialism from Marseille and Rome. Many important agglomerations seem to have started off as sanctuaries around which agglomerations developed, as must have been the case for Nîmes, the *caput ciuitatis* of the *Volcae Arecomici*, whose toponym —*Nemausus*— might have derived from *nemeton*, i.e. «bois sacrée» or «espace sacrée».

It is important to recognise the nature of the Gallo-Greek syncretism in the Narbonensis. For example in Basse-Provence a very consistent, complex cultural repertoire of iconography, epigraphy, art was employed —an appropriation of Graeco-Roman art and its adaptation to suit indigenous cognition and local traditions. There is a wealth of data on artefact types, sites and ritual deposits which might be considered to reflect cult places of native religion in and around major «Celto-Ligurian» agglomerations since the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, due to the increasing interaction with the Mediterranean culture and the openness of local élites to foreign traits. Art, architecture and material culture of the Late Iron Age reflect the significant economic and political interaction with Greek communities on the Mediterranean coast (Marseilles, Arles, Lattes, Antibes, etc.). In addition there is evidence for contact with Italy and Magna Graecia in particular, as documented by the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC Tuscan temple from Glanum (*v. infra*). In the aftermath of the Second Punic War the presence of Italo-Roman merchants and of Roman army contingents on their way to Spain must have significantly increased, eventually leading to the Roman conquest, the establishment of colonies (Narbo) and the final submission of the local population (125-117BC, 90BC).

Gallo-Greek religion was embedded in a complex cultural context, whereby meaning and function were of native origin, i.e. accroupis and têtes coupées seem an integral part of «civic» cults. The accroupis are statues of a cross-legged person in armour which presumably had a religious function, though they are more likely to represent a heroised warrior dignitary (ancestor cult?) than a deity (cf. Roth-Conges 1992b for chronology at Glanum). Other cult representations included the ritual of displaying skulls, the têtes coupées, which were represented in stone (e.g., at Entremont), as well as displayed in small alcoves on Gallo-Greek stelae (cf. study on têtes coupées by Guthertz 1982, 41f). Closely related are particular forms of stelae, which appear at numerous agglomerations from the c. 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, some of which bear Gallo-Greek inscriptions during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53</sup> As in the case of Glanum, but also the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC Entremont, as central places for the «Salluvian confederation»; for Entremont, cf. Benoît 1957; for Glanum, cf. Roth-Congès 1992.

<sup>54</sup> For overview and discussion of protohistoric public architecture, cf. Arcelin 1992, 13-23; Arcelin *et al* 1992, 181-230/at 226-230.

<sup>55</sup> Fig. 3 for inscribed stelae at Glanum and Beaucaire; Bessac & Bouloumié 1985 and Arcelin *et al* 1992 for overview and further bibliography.

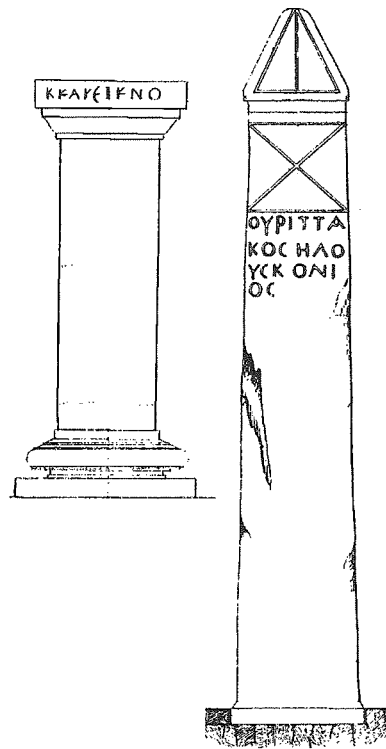


FIGURE 8. Gallo-Greek stelae from Beaucaire (left) and Glanum (right). (Lejeune 1985)

Despite the existence of a rather elaborate epigraphic culture in Gallia Narbonensis, with some common conventions and formulae adopted throughout Southern Gaul (such as the common formula δεδε βρατου δεκαυτεμ on dedications instead of the Roman equivalent *v(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, cf. Szemerényi 1974), the transition to Roman epigraphy was not merely the adoption of a different alphabet or the Latin language, but it marks a significant cultural break. Down to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, we are dealing with an ensemble of cultural traits which make up the visible elements of a religion in the Narbonensis which was intelligible and consistent. Their apparent «non-Roman» character is even more striking considering that we are nominally dealing with a post-conquest scenario, with important Roman intervention having taken place regarding colonisation, urbanisation, exploitation, road-building and expropriation. Was pre-Augustan religion in Gaul a focus of cultural resistance and/or a rejection of Roman concepts?

The discrepancy between the processes of «Hellenisation» and «Romanisation» is important for our general understanding of native religion in the Narbonensis. It is important to explore in the following why the Romanisation of the Principate differs substantially from the emergence of Hellenistic syncretisms in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Contradiction and cultural fusion are the two terms that can describe the striking contrast between the Greek appearance and the intensity of native cults with accroupis and têtes coupées ritual — a ritual attested at Roquepertuse, Entremont and Glanum. We witness not only the marriage of native beliefs and Hellenistic art, but also their insertion in a Greek mythical superstructure, as suggested by the presence of HERCULES, MERCURIUS, APOLLO or an allegorical AFRICA next to non-Greek allegories and deities

(e.g., BELENOS) in Glanum's artistic representation since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. But most importantly for our study, the Gallo-Greek syncretism contrasts sharply with the profound transformation in the Principate, a process by which «native» cognition largely disappears from the material record.

The sanctuary of Glanum (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence) allows us to recapitulate the extent of transformation in cult activity, cult architecture and theonyms, though it has to be far beyond the scope of this paper to provide an in-depth insight into its complex religious installations, their function and evolution.<sup>56</sup> In the land of the «Celto-Ligurian» Salluvii, situated on the Northern ridge of the Alpilles, between Arles and Aix-en-Provence, north of the stone-desert of the Crau, south of the marshes of the river Durance, Glanum's rock sanctuary and water sanctuary, located in a narrow gorge, were frequented since prehistoric times.<sup>57</sup> During the Second Iron Age an agglomeration developed around the sanctuary and the site considerably gained in size and importance during the Hellenistic period. The wealth of evidence —architecture, art, archaeology and epigraphy from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC down to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD— makes it a type site for the study of the transformation and adaptation of native cult activity, the evolution of local religion in Basse-Provence, and the emergence of Gallo-Greek and Gallo-Roman syncretisms (nearby Entremont and Roquepertuse lack the transition to the Principate, while Nîmes, Laudun or Gaujac lack any substantial evidence for the pre-Roman period).

There is no doubt about the healing character of the sanctuary, as suggested by the underground spring (monumentalised in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC) and further water installations, together with dedications to HERCULES, VALETUDO and other common healing deities. It certainly was not a transhumance site, as suggested by Gros (1995), since the transhumance of sheep from the Crau was an innovation of the Principate.<sup>58</sup> However, despite a myriad of inscriptions, it is difficult to identify a particular «Gaulish» or «Gallo-Greek» or «Gallo-Roman» pantheon at Glanum and even the main deity or deities to which the sanctuary was dedicated cannot be identified with certainty, since even the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC iconography consists of «Greek» (APOLLO), «Roman» (MERCURIUS) and «Celtic» (BELENOS) deities.<sup>59</sup>

As toponymic deities GLANIS and the Glanican mothergoddesses (the GLANICAE) are assumed to be the main deities of Glanum (cf. Roth-Congès 1997). Yet GLANIS is only attested on one Latin inscription, together with the GLANICAE and FORTUNA, and set up by an enfranchised legionary veteran,<sup>60</sup> while the GLANICAE are also attested by a 1<sup>st</sup> century BC Gallo-Greek inscription (ΜΑΤΡΕΒΟ ΓΛΑΝΕΙΚΑΒΟ, RIG I, G-64); they can also be identified by the IUNONES worshipped by a certain *P]eregri[na* (AE 1958, 305). Another possible female companion for GLANIS was FORTUNA (AE 1954, 103). Her characteristics may be described as *salutaris* and

<sup>56</sup> On Glanum, cf. recent overview by Roth-Congès 2000; for a study of Glanum's deities, cf. Roth-Congès 1997; on Glanum's importance for the Salluvian confederation, cf. Roth-Congès 1992a; on the recent excavations in the 1980's, Roth-Congès 1992b; on the mausoleum of the Julii, cf. Gros 1995. On the important excavations of the 1940's and 1950's, cf. Rolland 1946 and 1958. Also cf. now Gateau 1999 for the *Carte Archéologique de la Gaule*.

<sup>57</sup> The term «sanctuaire rupestre» was coined by the excavator Rolland, *op. cit.*, but the layout of the Hellenistic sanctuary suggests one single cult place that consisted of different focus points of cult activity.

<sup>58</sup> For the beginning of transhumance during the Principate, cf. Roth-Congès 1997; for the recent excavations in the Crau, cf. Badan *et al* 1995; Brun 1996.

<sup>59</sup> Roth-Congès 1997 provides an up-to-date discussion of all the deities mentioned, though with the explicit aim to demonstrate the «healing» character of the sanctuary.

<sup>60</sup> *Glani et Glanica/bus et Fortunae / Reduci M(arcus) Licinius / Claud(ia tribu) Verecundu(s) / vet(era)n(us) leg(ionis) XXVI rapacis / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* (AE 1954, 103).

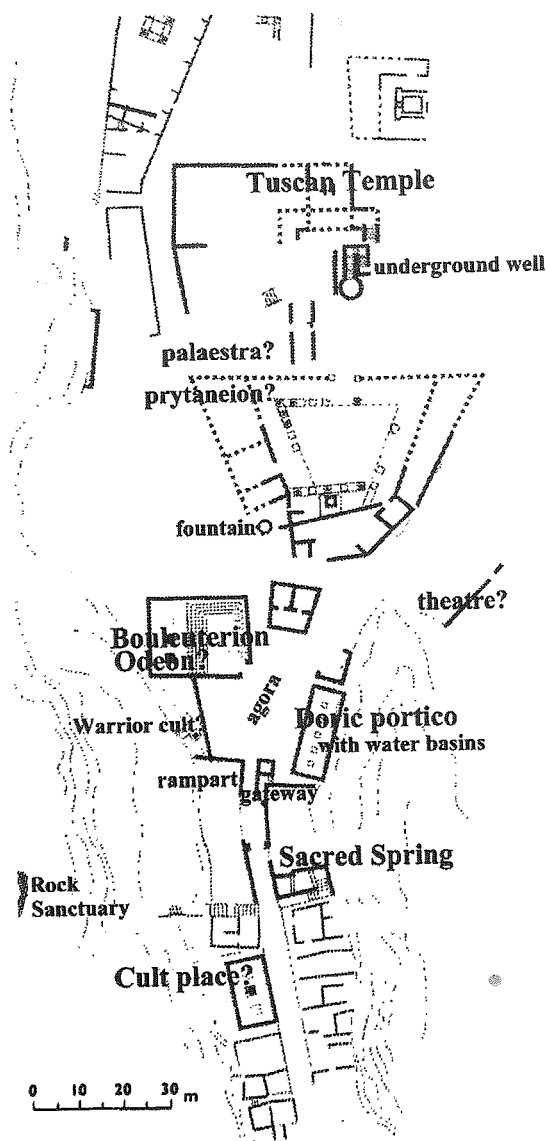


FIGURE 9. *Glanum's monumental centre around 100BC with the Tuscan temple, the trapezoid building (so-called prytaneion), the agora with bouleuterion and the valley of the sacred spring; on the west side of the gorge, the «rock sanctuary» (after Roth-Congès 2000)*

*balnearis* (cf. Toutain I 428-430) as she is frequently associated with thermal baths (including *Aquae Sulis*), and conventionally equated with MAIA or Celtic ROSMERTA; at the important sanctuary of Hochscheid she was associated with APOLLO and SIRONA. At Glanum FORTUNA is also represented on a bas-relief together with MERCURIUS, another common healing deity who appears already on one of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC figured capitals from Glanum's trapezoid building. Was MERCURIUS perhaps considered equivalent to GLANIS? Yet MERCURIUS is only once attested epigraphically at Glanum (*Merc[—] v s l m*, AE 1925, 35).

The Augustan twin temple suggests a divine pair of deities, such as GLANIS and the GLANICAE, MERCURIUS and FORTUNA.<sup>61</sup> And the association of the temples with the water cult is not be denied, since the twin temple, like the Tuscan temple before, may have had some association with the water cult, taking into account the presence of a fountain next to an unidentified platform (which could have been a monument or an altar that spatially intercepts the two axis of forum and twin temple), though the change of orientation from the Hellenistic Tuscan temple (entrance to the South) to the twin temple (entrance to the East) may reflect a not insignificant change of the character of deity (chthonic, healing, etc.). In addition there is also the dedication to MARS by *Sextus Tiberius Ver(ecundus?)*, which mentions an altar and temple,<sup>62</sup> which one might also want to associate to one of the twin temples?

Unlike many other toponymic deities in the Narbonensis, such as DEXIVA, VINTUR or NEMAUSUS, GLANIS and his female «companions» seem to have lost much of their importance during the Principate, while Graeco-Roman deities dominate Glanum's pantheon. Besides MARS and MERCURIUS, APOLLO is of course the traditional Greek healing deity. He can be recognised on a figured capital in the trapezoid peristyle (c. 100BC) and anatomic representations on altars identify him as therapist. He was well inserted into the Celtic pantheon and can often be found together with the Celtic BELENOS, who is also attested at Glanum on a Gallo-Greek inscription (BE]AEN[O] RIG I, R-63) who was already represented among the Gallo-Greek pantheon from the iconography in the trapezoid peristyle building.

At the heart of the prehistoric cult place, in the valley of the sacred spring, there are two small «shrines» dating to the Principate, one for HERCULES and the other one to VALETUDO. HERCULES/HERAKLES was a god well inserted into the Celtic pantheon, as he was already adopted as early as the Classical and Hellenistic period. The presence of HERCULES at Glanum seems evident in the context of the Heraklean Way, while one of Hercules' tasks is meant to have taken place in the Crau (Pomponius Mela, *De Chorographia* II 5, 78). At Glanum he was worshipped in a simple rectangular shrine of modest dimensions, located next to the sacred source. Seven inscribed altars were found in this «chapel» (AE 1954, 101-102), together with a statue in stone of 1.3m height of the Roman period, which shows HERCULES holding a vessel which must refer to the healing water of the sacred spring, similar to a 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC Greek statuette from Glanum. The type of shrine and the presence of ex-votos and ritual activity in the *cella* is similar to the rural sanctuary of Lioux (*v. supra*; Borgard and Rimbart 1994).

By contrast very Roman in character was the cult of VALETUDO.<sup>63</sup> Her temple was situated next to the sacred spring and the HERCULES shrine. Surprisingly there are only two short inscriptions: *Val]etudini M(arcus) Agrippa* (AE 1955, 111b; AE 1956, 162) and *Valetudini* (AE 1958, 307b). The involvement of one of the most important protagonists of the Augustan regime provides ground for speculation. The conventional date of Agrippa's dedication is 39BC, when the Roman general was campaigning in Gaul. This was a period when Glanum was largely void of monumental architecture after the destruction of its Hellenistic monuments (in 90BC) and his dedication may mark Glanum's insertion into the new religious landscape of the Roman province. It may also have served to promote the healing character of the sanctuary vis-à-vis other (more

<sup>61</sup> The presence of statues of the imperial household in the temple of such an important sanctuary seems natural; considering the amount of inscriptions found at Glanum, a dedication to *divi Iulius* would certainly have survived.

<sup>62</sup> *Sex(tus) Tib(erius) Ver(---) missic[us] aureum / Marti pos(uit) / [i]n ara ad pri[m]las huius tempuli (!)* (AE 1946, 152)

<sup>63</sup> On VALETUDO, also in contrast to the Roman SALUS and the Greek HYGIEIA, cf. Gross 1979.

bellicose) attributes, namely those which had previously been associated by accroupis and têtes coupées. With Agrippa's promotion of VALETUDO it becomes noticeable to what extent Roman cult activities at Glanum diverged from the dominant pre-Roman cults. But with only two very short inscriptions and no ex-votos, the evidence for VALETUDO is rather mediocre. This could perhaps hint to the more formal aspect of the cult, which might have associated the therapeutical character of the sanctuary with the health of the *res publica* and the Augustan regime, perhaps a forerunner of the sacrifices *pro valetudine Caesaris (Augusti)* of the imperial cult.

The importance of SILVANUS at Glanum has often been underestimated. Numerous dedications can be associated with their find spot, namely the building interpreted as *curia* of the Julio-Claudian forum-basilica complex. The fact that SILVANUS was worshipped in a Roman *curia* might be surprising, but we should not forget that the remains of the Hellenistic Tuscan temple were buried underneath *curia* and *basilica*, which could imply site continuity, despite the (perhaps superficial) change in architecture and function, i.e. the Tuscan temple was dedicated to a deity which had both chthonic and healing characteristics, which one might want to identify as DIS PATER, SILVANUS or SUCELLUS.

In addition, from Glanum the cult of SILVANUS seems to spread along the river Durance and the *via Domitia* into the Luberon region, to Apt and north of Aix-en-Provence, where SILVANUS' cult is omnipresent. But it was not only the cult of SILVANUS that was promoted by Glanum. For example, the god ABIANUS, known from one single inscription from Glanum (AE 1937, 143; 1946, p. 45, n. 159), can also be found at Roussillon (*deus Abianus*, ILN-4, 128), a site which is also renowned for its dedication to SILVANUS and SILVANA (ILN-4, 130).<sup>64</sup> Another rare cult in the Narbonensis is that of BONA DEA, which is attested at Vaugines (Luberon), while at Glanum the goddess had its own cult place just west of the forum-basilica complex. The Latin inscription to the *Auribus*, referring to a «listening deity», is falsely considered by some to be equivalent to the Gallo-Greek ΠΟΚΛΟΙΣΙΑ (RIG G-65).<sup>65</sup> The functions of the cult of BONA DEA could well have been one of the functions of the original sanctuary, which had become increasingly «specialised» already during the Late Republican period, yet the omnipotent character might result in dedications to all deities (at Glanum: AE 1946, 151 *Ex m(onitu) (. . . ) (a)ed(ituus) dis omn[i]l[ib]us*).

For a water sanctuary it seems surprising that a number of conventional «Gallo-Roman» healing deities are not attested in Glanum's rich epigraphic record. The NYMPHAE frequently identify local water cults in the Narbonensis. DIANA and IUPPITER were associated with the local god NEMAUSUS at Nîmes and IUPPITER TONANS and the NYMPHAE were worshipped at the sanctuary of Vernègues. Does this reflect Glanum's position in the historical geography of the Narbonensis? The apparent popularity of Glanum's HERCULES cult may be a reminder of Hercules' mythical passage through Gaul and the age of the cult, while VALETUDO, Agrippa's *interpretatio Romana*, may have lead the way to the imperial cult. The rarity of Celtic theonyms at Glanum is striking; besides ABIANUS and GLANIS, one could also mention the isolated inscription to MELDIO (AE 1958, 160). SILVANUS rôle should not be underestimated for the overall meaning of the cult. And it is apparent that gods and goddesses must be understood as a unity, since the categorisation of deities into Roman, Greek and Celtic gods does not help the study of cult activity at Glanum and its spiritual meaning.

<sup>64</sup> Also attested at Castelnau-du-Lez (ILGN 666) and as *deo Abinio* at Cimiez (CIL V 7865).

<sup>65</sup> *Vinicia Eutylichia Bon(a)e Dea(e)* (AE 1946, 155). Roth-Congès 1997 and Blétry 1998 provide the most

recent discussion, but ignoring the study of Campanile 1983 who clearly demonstrates that the equation between *Auribus* and ΠΟΚΛΟΙΣΙΑ is wrong.

Subsequently in the monarchical system of the Principate, the twin temple naturally had strong associations with the imperial household and numerous statues of the imperial family have been found. With deities from a wide range of Greek, Roman, Gallo-Roman origin, cult activity and the whole layout of Glanum's monumental centre also underwent radical changes. Only the sacred spring retained its 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC shape!

During the Hellenistic period Glanum clearly stands out considering the energy put in to monumentalise the sanctuary, compared with contemporary sites like Entremont or Saint-Blaise. This makes it even more apparent that Glanum was above all a sacred town, an enormous sanctuary, whose complex architectural layout is not too dissimilar in conception from the Gallo-Roman sanctuary of Ribemont (for which cf. Brunaux 2000), but it is also in line with important Greek healing sanctuaries, such as the Asklepiion of Epidaurus, where there seems to be an inherent need for various types of ambulatories and palaestrae, for a theatre, odeon and gymnasium. Glanum's Hellenistic «agora» is indeed surrounded by such cult buildings, like the later Doric portico with its water basins for ritual purification. The geography of the sanctuary seems to reflect different levels of «initiation», considering the limitations in access to some places, such as the rock sanctuary, the valley of the sacred spring or the trapezoid building with Tuscan temple.

At the centre of cult activity must have been the elaborate trapezoid peristyle house (the so-called prytaneion) which replaced an earlier, smaller structure from around 120BC and which incorporated an existing well into the entrance portico; from other archaeological contexts, we know of the potential importance of wells for ritual deposits (cf. Brunaux 2000). The trapezoid building was a place to assemble people and to receive and accommodate guests and pilgrims, which also highlights Glanum's position on the Heraklean way.<sup>66</sup> Another focus point for religious gatherings must have been the Tuscan temple, built in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, and associated with the water cult as implied by the *dromos* that leads to an underground well, on top of which might have been a *tholos*. Another *stoa* or *palaestra* might have surrounded the open space between the trapezoid house and the temple. We are dealing here with a complex construct, since the trapezoid peristyle house, the Tuscan temple and the underground well are clearly aligned.

«Prytaneion», «boule», theatre, the various fountains and wells and the Tuscan temple, together with the cross-legged warrior cult monument with *têtes coupées* stele at the entrance to the «rock sanctuary», create a special type of social space. Worship was probably related to aspects of socio-political allegiance, since architecture, layout and iconography of the Hellenistic monumental centre seem to reflect on its importance within the «Salluvian confederation» (Roth-Congès 1992). The cultural «Gallo-Greek» syncretisms were not a mere imitation of Hellenistic concepts: the function of the buildings had particular meaning in Glanum's religious and political life of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, but this meaning might have been lost during the subsequent period due to the prolonged abandonment of cult activity after Glanum's destruction in 90BC and by the subsequent participation of the local inhabitants in Roman warfare and politics.

After the destruction of most monuments, probably to be associated with the events in 90BC, Glanum's monumental centre radically changed shape in the 30's and 20's BC. «Prytaneion», Tuscan temple and «Bouleuterion» made way for a twin temple associated with the imperial cult and an Augustan forum with basilica of Classical type (which was rebuilt more elaborately in the

<sup>66</sup> For accommodating pilgrims, one might consider other Roman provincial examples, like the sanctuary of IUPITER POENINUS at the Grand St. Bernard pass north

of Aosta (Mollo Mezzena 1985), the numerous buildings at the «Gallo-Roman» sanctuary of Ribemont.

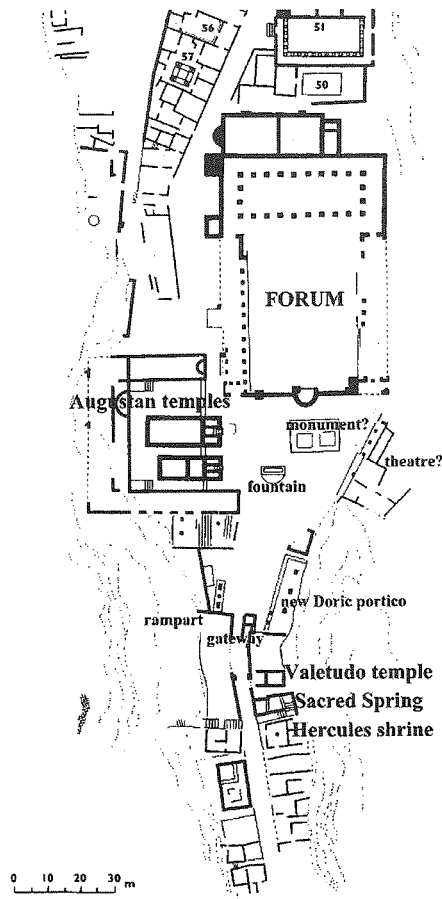


FIGURE 10. *Roman Glanum (1st-2nd c. AD). The forum, the Augustan twin temples and the sacred spring with cult places for Hercules and Valetudo (after Roth-Congès 2000)*

Julio-Claudian period, cf. fig 10). Sociocultural change encompasses various cultural aspects. The twin temple, associated with the imperial household (though not necessarily exclusively dedicated to the same), and the Augustan forum go hand in hand with contemporary developments, such as the mausoleum of the Julii, dating to the 30's BC, which illustrates the history of one of Glanum's élite families inserted into Greek mythology, but with clear Roman association.<sup>67</sup> Since civic cults, i.e. cults actively supported by the local government, were inserted into the social fabric, it is obvious that the imperial cult would gain importance with the extension of the social network in the context of imperial patronage and imperial hierarchy.

Since the Hellenistic-Republican monuments all had strong religious associations with the spring sanctuary, this profound transformation of the urban landscape raises numerous questions.

<sup>67</sup> E.g., Caesar's battle at Pharnakia (47 BC); cf. Roth-Congès 2000, 21-25; Gros 1981 and 1986 for discussion.



Some cult practices do not seem to have been reinstated; the water basins for ritual washing, the monument of Salluvian warrior dignitaries, the «rock sanctuary», the *têtes coupées*, and the possible accommodation for dignitaries and pilgrims in the trapezoid building were missing from Glanum's new installations. If they had been important for the functioning of the sanctuary at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, their apparent lack at the end of the century suggests a profound change of religious activity and the continuity of Glanum as therapeutical sanctuary may mask more profound changes in meaning and substance of the cult. Compared with the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC the healing sanctuary seemed to have been downgraded to a local cult, whereby the lack of installations to accommodate a large number of worshippers must also imply Glanum's end as a centre for supra-regional gatherings within the «Salluvian» confederation, perhaps associated with military rebellion and served for the purification of «Salluvian» warriors and aristocracies. Agrippa's dedication to VALETUDO could have marked the official reinstatement of the healing cult, followed by renewed building activity (forum, twin temple), but meaning, ritual and worship of the cult had evolved.

## 8. SOCIETY & RELIGION

By way of conclusion, I want to focus on the relationship between society and religion. We can affirm that societal patterns reproduce religious activities (and vice versa) if we consider the increasing effect of empire-wide religious movements on local religion, which is most prominent during the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD with the appearance of oriental cults, monotheist religions and finally Christianity. We need to remember that Roman society created social bondings and social relations which took place on a much larger scale (cf. Elias 1974 for the extension of social networks) and that Roman culture was not a hollow term, but it shaped the ambitions and hopes of many social groups and many people throughout the Western Empire (cf. Häußler 1997-1998). With the advent of the Principate, some powerful and influential members of the local élite actively promoted Roman culture and Roman civic culture; the case of Cogidubnus highlights to what extent religious choice could be both a political choice, as well as a display of *Romanitas* and *humanitas* (education).

Because they had been of social importance it is therefore no surprise that «pan-Celtic» deities virtually disappear from the epigraphic record. The creation of the civic landscape of the Principate by a «Romanised» elite, which was active in Roman economics, politics, army and Roman culture, makes the choice for «Classical» deities seem natural, which does not deny that Classical deities had strong associations with native/local cognitive patterns (or belief).

The extent of societal change, accelerated by the cultural choices of social actors, raises the question how to explain the persistence and continuity of pre-Roman Iron Age religions, rituals and deities within the patterns provided by Roman culture and society in the Late Republic and the Principate. The survival of local deities and cults necessitated a process of significant adaptation. This affects the nature of the cult and their insertion and/or association with municipal administrations. The association of local cult centres with the imperial cult might be aimed at emphasising the importance of a native sanctuary.

During the Principate, what we label «Celtic» or «native», «Roman», «Classical» or even «Oriental» did not provide a contradictory religious landscape, divided between native resistance and Roman assimilation, but a fusion of ideas and concepts, which was meaningful to the contemporary population — a process of cultural interaction that had already started in Gallia Narbonensis with Greek Massaliote presence since the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and the subsequent adoption and adaptation of, for example, HERCULES and APOLLO. Can it be argued that the evidence from Gallia Narbonensis

provides the best possible case scenario of fusion of religious and cultural ideas in the Roman West, where the native (Ligurian?, Celtic?) population had already been used to adopt, absorb and adapt Etruscan, Greek and Italic ideas and thoughts with which to enrich and to express local beliefs and local identities? The Principate stimulated the active sociopolitical integration and participation of the population into wider social structures with important repercussions on religious worship, on a religion which, looking at the evidence from Roquepertuse, Entremont or Glanum, was already undergoing a profound transformation during the Late Iron Age.

Throughout the Roman West, the Principate initiated a new religious movement considering the number of cult places and the diverse amalgamations of meanings and beliefs in local deities. Only with the Principate can we recognise the monumentalisation of cult places, such as Lioux, Vernègues or Colombières-sur-Orb in the Narbonensis, or Bath, Uley or Hayling Island in Britain.

In Britain, one might want to postulate a certain notion of «cultural resistance» —whether conscious or not— since British elites seem much less integrated into provincial and imperial society and their ambitions and experience were limited within their *civitas* or at most province. Leaving aside the area around the colony of Glevum (Gloucester) and the Severn Estuary, traditions could be preserved against the daily menace of Roman imperialism. With the majority of local elites consciously rejecting the use of epigraphy in a religious context in Southeast Britain, the epigraphic evidence from Hadrian's Wall appears like a rather colourful mixture of public and private cults of Roman, local, continental Gaulish and Germanic origin, disjoint from the local «native» setting, whereby the construction of some epithets and *numina* reflects on the presence of Celtic speakers. It is consequently difficult to identify really «autochthonous» British cults.

What is the role of religion in the Principate? Rather than «cultural resistance» we witness the creation of «Otherness» by the promotion of local cult centres with toponymic cults within *coloniae* and *civitates* (e.g., Vintur, Dexiva, Almahaë). The meaning of the cult places was changed profoundly, as in the «Romanisation» of Glanum or in the utilization of abandoned «oppida» as extra-urban sanctuaries. The social integration of the major protagonists (local magistrates and priests) creates new aspirations so that pre-Roman elements, like «accroupis» or «têtes coupées» lose their meaning. In the first century AD one can occasionally recognise a certain notion of *Romanitas* in religious dedications (e.g., Cogidubnus), but in the second and third centuries AD, local particularities of cults and divinities, and their particular powers were stressed. Epigraphy and archaeology reflect the daily process of negotiation between local beliefs and the socio-political structures of the Empire with its strong ideological command. This dynamic process is the result of the Principate. In a polytheist society, in which religion, state and society were not separated, the social and political integration has direct consequences on religion that go far beyond the Gallo-Greek interaction at Glanum or Entremont in the Hellenistic period. As a result, the local religions of the Principate are not a relict of pre-Roman Celtic religions, but meaning and ritual of local cults, which can hardly be described as autochthonous, were drastically transformed. Indeed, the question arises, how many deities with apparently Celtic names were a creation of the society of the Principate.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- CAG 04 = G. Bérard, *Carte archéologique de la Gaule 04. Les Alpes-de-Haute-Provence*. Paris, 1997.  
 CAGR 7 = J. Sautel, *Carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine, VII. Vaucluse*, Paris, 1939.  
 CIL XII = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, volume XII, Berlin 1888.  
 Holder = A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1896-1907.  
 ILGN = É. Espérandieu, *Inscriptions Latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise)*, Paris, 1929.  
 ILN-3 = J. Gascou, *Inscriptions Latines de Narbonnaise (I.L.N.) III. Aix-en-Provence*. Paris, CNRS (44e supplément à *Gallia*).  
 ILN-4 = J. Gascou, P. Leveau, J. Rimbert 1997. *Inscriptions Latines de Narbonnaise (I.L.N.) IV. Apt*. Paris, CNRS (44e supplément à *Gallia*).  
 RIB = R. G. Collingwood; R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, Oxford 1965.  
 RIG I = M. Lejeune, *Recueil des Inscriptions Gauloises (R.I.G.)*, vol. I, *Textes gallo-grecs* (45e supplément à *Gallia*), Paris, 1985.

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