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IUPPITER DEPULSOR – A NORICAN DEITY?

Profesorju Gantarju, ki nas je
uvedel v antični svet bogov ...

A fragmentary altar, dedicated to Iuppiter Depulsor, has been preserved since the thirties of this century in the lapidarium of the National Museum of Slovenia (inv. no. L 159). Revision of the epigraphic monuments has shown that it should at present be considered as lost. It was first published by B. Saria in *Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo* 14, 1933, 7 no. 2, drawing fig. 1. (cf. R. Ložar, *ib.* 11, 1930, 33, published erroneously), and later included by the same author in *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien* (= *AIJ*) no. 156. See lastly M. Šašel Kos, *The Roman Inscriptions in the National Museum of Slovenia* (Situla 35), Ljubljana, forthcoming, no. 16 (Fig. 1):

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo)]
Depul(sori)
Surian[us]
[--]*

The altar was discovered in Ljubljana, Tržaška St. 10, during construction of the house for Dr. E. Jemec, just outside the western walls of Emona, but not *in situ*, as was indicated by the remains of mortar on its surface. Thus no conclusions can be drawn concerning a possible existence of a shrine or a temple of the god. It was dedicated by one Surianus and although the inscription is broken off, it is certain that he did not have *tria nomina* and was consequently probably not a Roman citizen. Surianus is a relatively rare name but characteristic of Noricum and Pannonia; in Noricum and adjacent Pannonian regions Surus seems to have been a rather popular name among the native Celtic population¹, thus it may be suggested that he would have

¹ G. Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Noricum, in: *L'onomastique latine* (Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S., N° 564), Paris 1977, 258. I would like to thank Professor G. Alföldy very much for having kindly read the text and offered valuable comments.

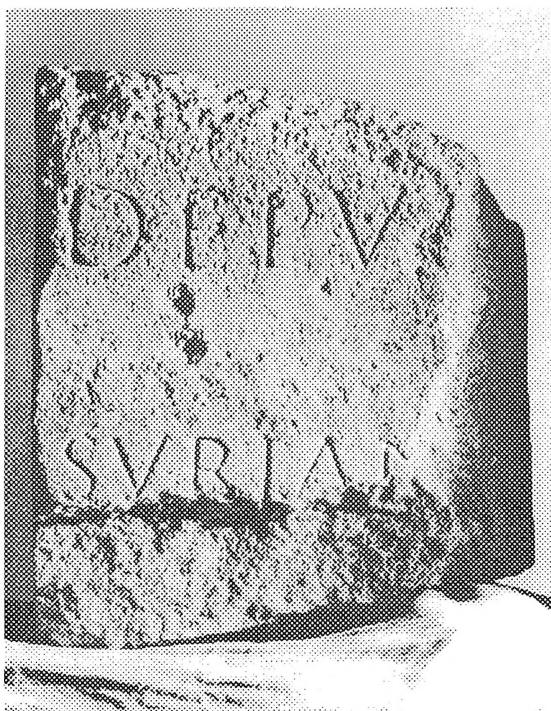


Fig. 1. A Dedication to Depulsor by Surianus

belonged to the autochthonous peregrine inhabitants of the Emonan region. The inscription does not contain any element that would allow it to be dated.

There is another fragmentary altar in the lapidarium of the National Museum (inv. no. L 71), which may also be dedicated to Iuppiter Depulsor, although his epithet is abbreviated as *D.*, and could theoretically be expanded also as *D(olichenus)*. Since P. Merlat, the altar has always also been included – at least conditionally – among the monuments of the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus². It was discovered during the excavations of W. Schmid at Mirje (a toponym derived from the word *murus*), in the heart of Roman Emona, in the so-called Goldsmith's House (House IV), together with three altars erected to Victoria (*AIJ* 163–165), most probably not *in situ*. The fact itself that the name of Iuppiter was abbreviated would indicate that the altar must

² P. Merlat, *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Iuppiter Dolichenus*, Paris 1951, 111 no. 122; P. Selem, *Les religions orientales dans la Pannonie romaine: partie en Yougoslavie* (EPRO 85), Leiden 1980, 233 no. 12; M. Hörig, E. Schwertheim, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni (CCID)* (EPRO 116), Leiden 1987, 175–176 no. 273.

have been placed in a sanctuary where understanding the abbreviated epithet became unequivocal. It was first published by O. Cuntz in *Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde* 7, 1913, 203–204 no. 9, phot. fig. 10 (cf. W. Schmid, *ib.*, p. 103), and by B. Saria in *AIJ* 157; see lastly M. Šašel Kos, *op. cit.* above, no. 17 (Fig. 2):

[*I(ovi)*] *O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(epulsori*; or: *Dolicheni?*)
 [.J] *Valerius*
Aelianus
sign(ifer) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae)
ex voto.

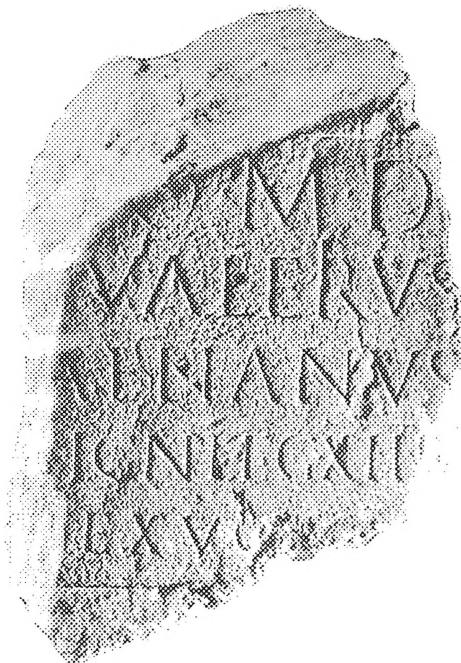


Fig. 2. A Dedication to D(epulsor) by Valerius Aelianus

In Saria's opinion Iuppiter Depulsor was a much more probable choice between the two deities, mainly on the grounds that the worship of Iuppiter Dolichenus is as yet unattested at Emona, while the cult of Depulsor has already been documented. The dedication was erected by a standard-bearer of the 13th legion *Gemina*, Valerius Aelianus, whose praenomen is not preserved on the stone. There are no conclusive dating criteria, but three possibilities may be offered. During the year of four emperors the legion fought in Italy against Vitel-

lius, was defeated near Cremona and sent back to Pannonia: its soldiers must have twice marched along the Augustan Aquileia – Emona – Poetovio route and could have stopped at Emona. When Dacia was conquered under Trajan, the legion left its fortress at Poetovio to join the expedition army; the first proposed date for the dedication would thus be the period before the reign of Trajan. The second date to be considered, equally plausible to account for the presence of a *signifer* of the legion at Emona, would be the period at the outbreak of the Marcomannic Wars, when *praetentura Italiae et Alpium* was newly organized in the broad area of the Italo-Illyrian Gates³; one of its secondary centres – with Aquileia as a headquarters – must certainly have been Emona. The third, and the least likely, suggestion (also on account of paleographic criteria) would be the reign of Gallienus, when detachments of the legion are believed to have been stationed in Pannonia and also at Emona⁴.

The worship of Iuppiter Depulsor has attracted the attention of two scholars⁵: H.-G. Pflaum analyzed the extant epigraphic evidence for the cult throughout the entire Roman Empire, 32 inscriptions dedicated to Iuppiter Depulsor alone, or in company with other gods, as well as four dedications to Iuppiter Depulsorius from Gallia Narbonensis and two to Iuppiter Repulsor from Iberian peninsula. In his catalogue he included both dedications from Emona (under nos. 9 and 10 respectively), accepting Saria's opinion that the altar dedicated by Aelianus was erected most probably to Iuppiter Depulsor. As an additional argument in favour of Depulsor the circumstances of its discovery may be cited: it was dug up during the excavations in the southern area of Emona, together with several other altars (three to Victoria, two to Lares, one to Iuppiter), none of which, however, was dedicated to any eastern deity, except for the enigmatic altar erected to Orea, who may possibly be identified with Mater magna (AIJ 162).

17 out of 32 dedications to Iuppiter Depulsor were discovered in Noricum and Pannonia, and of these 17, 8 at Poetovio, which

³ W. Kerr, *A Chronological Study of the Marcomannic Wars of Marcus Aurelius*, diss. Princeton 1995, to be published in: *Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien*.

⁴ B. Saria, Doneski k vojaški zgodovini naših krajev v rimski dobi (Beiträge zu einer Militärgeschichte unseres Gebietes in römischer Zeit), *Glas. Muz. dr. Slov.* 20, 1939, 141–142, especially ns. 154–155; J. Šašel, Emona, in: *RE Suppl.* XI (1968), 565 (= *Opera selecta*, 573).

⁵ H. G. Pflaum, Iuppiter Depulsor, in: *Mélanges Isidore Lévy* (Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves 13, 1953), Bruxelles 1955, 445–460; J. Kolendo, Le culte de Iuppiter Depulsor et les incursions des Barbares, in: *ANRW* II 18,2 (1989), 1062–1076; see also, for less plausible conclusions, L. Zotović, Kult Iuppitera Depulsora. Opredeljivanje i rasprostranjenost njegovih spomenika u Jugoslaviji (Le culte de Iuppiter Depulsor. Détermination et diffusion de ses monuments en Yougoslavie), *Starinar* 17, 1966, 37–43.

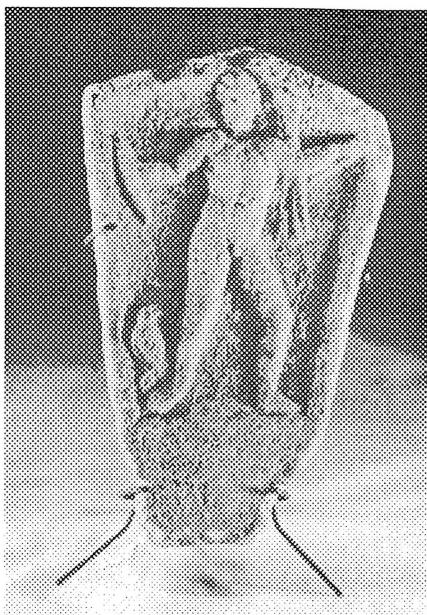


Fig. 3. Iuppiter Depulsor. Photograph by courtesy of the Landesmuseum Joanneum

should be regarded as a centre of worship of the god. Some of the others (listed in Pflaum) with proveniences in the 10th region, Dalmatia, Pannonia Inferior, Dacia, Gallia Lugdunensis, and Africa, could well be connected to the original area of the worship of Iuppiter Depulsor, while for others this may be assumed but cannot be proved. Either the dedicants themselves originated from Noricum or southeastern Pannonia, or their acquaintance with the cult may be explained in terms of their careers. Pflaum argued, despite the advanced Romanization of the Poetovio region, and lack of autochthonous names of its inhabitants, for the epichoric origin of the deity, as well as for relatively narrow chronological limits of the cult: the earliest dated dedication is from 154 AD, the latest from 233 AD⁶. R. Egger published the only figural representation of the god in the form of a small stone sculpture of Iuppiter with an eagle, holding a bundle of thunderbolts, carved within a small *aedicula* bearing the inscription *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(epulsori)*, discovered at Colatio in Noricum (present-day Stari trg near Slovenj Gradec), within the Celeia territory (*AIJ* 6, see Fig. 3)⁷. He hypothesized that Iuppiter Depulsor was mainly a divin-

⁶ Pflaum (n. 5), nos. 23 (= *AE* 1944. 28); 16 (= *CIL* III 5460).

⁷ R. Egger, *Ausgrabungen in Noricum 1912/13. Jh. Österr. Arch. Inst.* 17, 1914, Bbl. 5–86 (IV. Colatio, 59–86 [Depulsor. 65–67]).

ity with healing powers, protecting against illnesses and epidemics, basing his opinion partly on formulas such as *pro salute sua, suorum omnium, uxoris*, and partly on a dedication from Virunum (*CIL* III 4786), in which Iuppiter Depulsor was invoked together with the Nymphs⁸. Pflaum, however, concluded that the protective character of the god must be understood in broader and more general terms: he should be viewed as the defender of the frontiers of the Roman Empire, as was already noted by Egger as well. His qualities of a warrior and defender against hostile attacks are indicated by his association with Iuppiter Victor and Iuppiter Stator on two dedications from Dacia (*AE* 1944, 28 [Pflaum, no. 23]; *CIL* III 895 = *ILS* 3023 [Pflaum, no. 22]). They were erected by two officers who may well have come from Noricum or the Poetovio region (a likely hypothesis in the case of *AE* 1944, 28, of M. Domestius Restitutus, *centurio* of the 13th *Gemina*!), and who, by way of introducing an unknown god into Dacia, associated it with a well-known Roman god. At Lugdunum T. Flavius Secundus Philippianus, *legatus Augusti pro praetore* in the province of Gallia Lugdunensis, erected an altar to Iuppiter Depulsor, Bona Mens and Redux Fortuna (*CIL* XIII 1673 = *ILS* 1152 [Pflaum, no. 28]). He must have been engaged in the struggle against Clodius Albinus on behalf of the emperor Septimius Severus, and may have come to be acquainted with Iuppiter Depulsor during his legateship of 14th *Gemina* at Carnuntum. In Africa, at Lambaesis, the god was worshipped by M. Valerius Maximianus, the legate of the 3rd legion *Augusta*, the only known senator originating from Poetovio (*CIL* VIII 2621 = *ILS* 3024 [Pflaum, no. 32])⁹. Pflaum concluded that the discreet diffusion of the cult of Iuppiter Depulsor was due to the officers and soldiers of the Danubian armies mainly during the reigns of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. Despite his popularity, however, the god was never part of the official propaganda, such as Iuppiter Propugnator, Sospitator, and Victor, who were commemorated on the coins of Septimius Severus. This was most probably due to the fact that his name evoked a too defensive attitude of the divinity.

Attention to the cult of Iuppiter Depulsor was last drawn by J. Kolendo¹⁰. He was able to add ten new epigraphic documents published since Pflaum's article which, in terms of geographic and chronological repartition of the already known monuments, confirm the results gained from them by Pflaum very well. The new dedications include three from Poetovio, one from the Norican Flavia Solva, one

⁸ Idem, Ausgrabungen in Feistritz a. d. Drau, Oberkärnten, *Jh. Österr. Arch. Inst.* 25, 1929, Bbl. 201–203.

⁹ G. Alföldy, P. Helvius Pertinax und M. Valerius Maximianus, in: *Opuscula I. Kastelic sexagenario dicata* (Situla 14/15), Ljubljana 1974, 199–215 (= *Römische Heeresgeschichte. Beiträge 1962–1985* [Mavors III], Amsterdam 1987, 326–348).

¹⁰ Kolendo (n. 5).

from Novae in Moesia Inferior (but erected by G. Baienius Ianuarius from Celeia, *primus pilus* of the 1st *Italica*), while the rest are from Hispania; Italy, Moesia Superior, Dacia, some of which could theoretically be related to Noricum and Poetovio. The dedication from Poetovio, set up by one Apollinaris, *servus tabularius* of Q. Sabinus Veranus, one of the three *conductores* of the Illyrian customs under Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius (*Arh. vest.* 37, 1986, 356 [Kolendo, no. 10]), should be considered among the earliest dedications to Iuppiter Depulsor¹¹. Kolendo agreed with Pflaum that the cult of Iuppiter Depulsor must be regarded as a local Norico-Pannonian cult which spread to other parts of the empire through individuals serving in the Roman army. Kolendo drew several new conclusions from the assembled material; on the one hand he acknowledged that the cult should be regarded as local, on the other, however, he maintained that Iuppiter Depulsor was not an epichoric divinity who would have been venerated in the area as early as the pre-Roman period. Basing his study on additional evidence, he argued in favour of Pflaum's hypothesis that Depulsor was a god who protected people by repulsing enemy attacks. His main conclusion was, however, that the cult of Iuppiter Depulsor, a military cult, had been a Roman creation; it found particular favour precisely in Noricum and Pannonia because these were the regions which, after a hundred years of peace, were the first that were directly attacked by the German peoples and overrun by plundering hordes. In his opinion the popularity of the cult in Noricum and Pannonia, which may have appealed to the inhabitants due to the supposed traditional associations with some other of their divinities with attributes of thunderbolts, such as Iuppiter Fulgorator or Culminalis, must have been connected with the German incursions culminating in the Marcomannic Wars, and may have even been encouraged by the Roman state and provincial government.

In order to modify Kolendo's conclusions to some extent, and mainly to supplement them, I would like to draw attention to some elements which have perhaps not been sufficiently reflected upon, and which may suggest a slightly different interpretation of the cult of Iuppiter Depulsor. By reassessing the geographic aspect of the evidence for the cult, it becomes clear that the altars were mostly erected in Noricum and in the adjacent towns that once belonged to the Norican kingdom, or – as Tauriscan regions – lay within its sphere of influence, notably Poetovio, the main centre of the worship, and also Emona, where two dedications were discovered. Thus it is actually no

¹¹ According to P. Ørsted, *Roman Imperial Economy and Romanization. A study in Roman imperial administration and the public lease system in the Danubian provinces from the first to the third century A.D.*, Copenhagen 1985, 327–328, however, Q. Sabinus Veranus leased the *stationes* of the *publicum portorii Illyrici* in AD 166–171.

longer justified to speak about a Norico-Pannonian cult, rather the cult of Iuppiter Depulsor must be considered as one of the already known local Norican/Tauriscan cults. Some of these are well documented, and are attested in several places, such as (Mars) Latobius and Noreia (Isis)¹², while some are hardly known, as, for example, Anigemius, Carvonia and Vibes¹³, or are geographically very limited, such as the cult of Adsalluta at the hamlet of Sava opposite Hrastnik in the territory of Celeia¹⁴. I would further argue that the worship of Iuppiter Depulsor undoubtedly reached back to the pre-Roman period, and it may even be suggested that under his name one of the most important Norican – almost certainly Celtic – divinities must have been concealed, since he was made equal to the supreme Roman god. Nutrices may be regarded as a local Norican/Tauriscan cult *par excellence*: they were worshiped exclusively at Poetovio, where – as protectresses of children, mothers in childbirth and families in general – they were extremely popular among inhabitants belonging to all social classes, from *ordo decurionum* to townsfolk of peregrine status. They, too, bear a Latin name, although it is hardly likely to imagine that they would not have been invoked by their Celtic name in the heyday of the Norican kingdom. Documents illustrating their cult, relief sculptures and inscriptions, are also dated mainly in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. As has been pointed out by G. Alföldy and others, there was a sudden increase in votive monuments for local and other divinities in different provinces of the Roman Empire in the middle of the 2nd century AD – perhaps to be connected to a renaissance of local cults as a kind of cultural and spiritual resistance against Rome under the Antonine and Severan dynasties – which lasted to ca. 250 AD, i.e. until the general decline of setting up epigraphic monuments¹⁵. That the chronological limits of the cult of Iuppiter Depulsor could be regarded as purely coincidental, has also been noted by Kolendo himself¹⁶. Thus any dates coinciding with the mentioned span of time should not be considered as particularly significant. Some divinities retained their epichoric names because they were for various reasons untranslatable: perhaps they were derived from geographic names, thus possibly Noreia and Latobius, while other divinities may have borne proper names the original meaning of which would already have

¹² H. Kenner, Die Götterwelt der Austria Romana, in: *ANRW* II 18.2 (1989), 876–894; 905–922.

¹³ G. Alföldy, *Noricum*, London, Boston 1974, 239–241.

¹⁴ M. Šašel Kos, Savus and Adsalluta (Savus in Adsalluta), *Arh. vest.* 45, 1994, 99–122.

¹⁵ G. Alföldy, Die Krise des Imperium Romanum und die Religion Roms, in: *Religion und Gesellschaft in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Kolloquium zu Ehren von F. Vittinghoff*, Köln, Wien 1989, 82 and n. 88 (= *Die Krise des Römischen Reiches* [Heidelberg. Althist. Beitr. u. Epigr. Stud. 5], Stuttgart 1989, 370–372 and n. 88).

¹⁶ Kolendo (n. 5), 1068–1069.

been obscured, such as perhaps that of Aecorna, the guardian of the Emona region, whose worship can be epigraphically traced back to the late Republican period, but whose origin may even have been Etruscan¹⁷. When names of divinities were formed out of appellatives describing their miraculous activities or sphere of power, these could very easily be translated and thus made more familiar and appealing to colonists and those residents who had come from abroad to settle in the towns of the former Norican kingdom. As regards translating native names into Latin, this practice must also have not been unknown in the sphere of personal onomastics in the mentioned regions. Latin translations may be hypothesized for names such as Avitus, Calendinus, Cupitus, Ianuarius, Ingenuus, Sabinus, Secund(in)us, Tertius, Ursus and others¹⁸. So much in terms of commenting upon the name of Iuppiter Depulsor and the chronology of his dedications.

It remains to examine who were the dedicants and what was their social status, in order to attempt delimiting approximately the nature and characteristics of the god. His local importance and high esteem are certainly reflected in dedications erected by the senator M. Valerius Maximianus who originated from Poetovio (Pflaum, no. 32)¹⁹, further by members of *ordo decurionum* and other town dignitaries, as well as in those altars which were set up at a place awarded by the decree of the town council, *l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* (*AJ* 285 [Pflaum, no. 1]; *CIL* III 4033 [Pflaum, no. 2]; *CIL* III 4111 [Pflaum, no. 8]; *AJ* 280, cf. G. Alföldy, in *Situla* 8, 1965, 101–104 [Kolendo, no. 5]). All these altars are either from Poetovio or contain a reference to the town, such as the mentioned altar erected by Maximianus at Lambaesis (*ILS* 3024 [Pflaum, no. 32]).

That the cult of Iuppiter Depulsor was undoubtedly of local origin is proved by dedications erected by dedicants who, more likely than not, belonged to the native population and who, moreover, did not serve in the Roman army (*CIL* III 4034 [Pflaum, no. 3], *AJ* 156 [Pflaum, no. 9]; *CIL* III 4786 [Pflaum, no. 11]; *CIL* III 4760 [Pflaum, no. 12]; *AE* 1930, 83 [Pflaum, no. 13]; *AE* 1982, 760 [Kolendo, no. 6]). Depulsor was further worshipped by employees in the provincial financial service (*CIL* III 4035 [Pflaum, no. 4]). A number of dedications was erected *pro salute sua et suorum* by dedicants whose names are merely known, but who cannot be ranged in any special category

¹⁷ M. Šašel Kos, *Boginja Ekorna v Emoni* (The Goddess Aecorna in Emona), *Zgodovinski časopis* 46, 1992, 5–12.

¹⁸ Cf. I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 36. 2), Helsinki 1965, 16–19; Alföldy (n. 1), 258.

¹⁹ On his career see Alföldy (n. 9); cf. J. Šašel, *Senatori ed appartenenti all'ordine senatorio provenienti dalle province romane di Dacia, Tracia, Mesia, Dalmazia e Pannonia*, in: *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* II (Tituli 5), Roma 1982, 567–568 (= *Opera selecta*, 176–177).

(*CIL* III 4036 [Pflaum, no. 5]; *CIL* III 5494 [Pflaum, no. 17]). These four groups of dedications indicate that far from considering Iuppiter Depulsor a predominantly “military” divinity, it should be admitted that the role he played in the daily life of southern Noricum and south-eastern Pannonia (formerly within the sphere of the Norican kingdom), must have been far more complex and influential. It may be suggested that in the creed of his *cultores* he most probably possessed traits of a supreme deity, whose special aspect was to avert evils of various kinds, which is well illustrated by his only relief representation from Colatio, mentioned above. In the *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* (II 224, 47; III 289, 63; 445, 43; 480, 10; 507, 58), Depulsor is rendered by a Greek word *alexikakos*, which would well correspond to his postulated role. Evils against which Depulsor was evoked to protect his worshippers, should be understood in broad terms, ranging from epidemics and various illnesses to various personal misfortunes, financial disasters, professional failures, and last, but not least, to military attacks. Since the outbreak of the Marcomannic Wars, hostile attacks, combined with plundering, killing, and driving local population into captivity, became part of the profoundly changed reality of the life in Noricum and Pannonia for almost 15 years, causing a deep *caesura* in the population structure and organization of Danubian provinces, which was never entirely overcome. However, it would nonetheless be erroneous to connect the cult of Iuppiter Depulsor with the Marcomannic and other wars and/or minor hostile attacks across the Danube before and after these wars. If this were the case, dedications would be expected to be concentrated in the fortresses along the Danube, at Vindobona, Carnuntum (both formerly in the sphere of the Norican kingdom), Brigetio, Aquincum, as well as minor towns close to the frontier and more exposed to hostile attacks, rather than far in the hinterland of the Danubian *limes* area, in sheltered places such as Virunum, Flavia Solva, Celeia, Emona and also Poetovio. The geographic concentration alone of the dedications to Depulsor speaks against the cult having had a predominantly military character.

Most of the inscriptions are not dated and may well be chronologically placed earlier than the earliest dated dedication from the reign of Antoninus Pius. There is nothing indicative either in the fact that several altars to Iuppiter Depulsor were erected by soldiers and officers of the Roman army. These are precisely individuals that figure among frequent dedicants of altars to other gods (official as well as local, eastern divinities and *Genii loci*), and could well be expected also to be *cultores* of Depulsor. Only 5 out of 23 dedications discovered in the regions of the former Norican kingdom, or erected by persons for whom it is expressly stated that they originated from towns of these regions, were set up to the god by military personnel: M. Secundinius Vitalis, *decurio alae I Thracum* from Poetovio, on

behalf of himself, his wife and his daughter (*ILJug* 339 [Kolendo, no. 4]), a *signifer* of the 13th *Gemina* at Emona (*AJ* 157 [Pflaum, no. 10]), Aurelius Paterclus, *beneficiarius* from Celeia (*CIL* III 5460 [Pflaum, no. 15]), G. Baienius Ianuarius from Celeia, *primus pilus* of the 1st *Italica*, who erected a base at Novae, Moesia Inferior (*AE* 1972, 526 [Kolendo, no. 1]), C. Iulius Probus, a *miles* of the 10th *Gemina* from Pisckh near Bruck (*CIL* III 5460 [Pflaum, no. 16]). This represents an absolutely normal percentage of the proportion of soldiers and officers in dedications to a divinity, especially if it is considered that its character may have also been military. In terms of comparison it may be mentioned that out of six known dedications to Aecorna — a goddess without any military connotations — one was erected by P. Cassius Secundus, the prefect of the *ala Britannica millaria*²⁰. The Roman army played an important part in spreading cults throughout the Roman Empire, thus also in the case of Iuppiter Depulsor.

Depulsor, however, was also brought to other parts of Illyricum by the staff employed in the imperial and provincial financial administration (*CIL* III 3269 from Slavonski Brod [Pflaum, no. 21]; *AE* 1938, 91, cf. J. Šašel, *Ratiariensis* 2, 1984, 77–80 from Ratiaria [Kolendo, no. 8]). Since Poetovio was the seat of the procurator for Pannonia Superior, the seat of a central office of the Illyrian customs, as well as of other *tabularia*, the link between these dedicants and Poetovio may plausibly be postulated on the basis of the worship of Depulsor. As regards the rest of dedications discovered elsewhere than in the Norican and southern Pannonian areas, for some a Norican origin of the dedicants may be suggested with some degree of probability (see the analysis of Pflaum), while for some no obvious connections can be established.

It has been shown beyond doubt by the analyses of Pflaum and Kolendo, as well as by my contribution, that the cult of Iuppiter Depulsor was of a local origin, in my opinion specifically of Norican/Tauriscan origin, and was most probably as old as the Celtic population in the southeastern Alpine regions. It is hard to believe that any cult which appealed to all strata of the population, could have been introduced — or even only recommended — by some kind of a decree of a central provincial government or provincial assembly (*concilium*). On the other hand, however, there is nothing specifically "local" in the god's name Depulsor (= *alexikakos*), thus it is not surprising to see a divinity with presumably similar traits having been venerated in Gallia Narbonensis under the name *Depulsorius*, and in Hispania under the name *Repulsor*, both epithets again a reflection of dif-

²⁰ A., J. Šašel, Le préfet de la 1^{re} alie Britannique milliaire sous Trajan à Emona, *Arheološki vestnik* 28, 1977, 334–345 (= *Opera selecta* 450–458).

ferent local divinities²¹. As has been noted by Kolendo, the emperor Claudius ordered a sanctuary to Zeus Alexikakos built on the Capitol in 45 AD (Phlegon, *Mirab.* 6, F. Jacoby, *FGrHist* No. 257 F 36 [VI], p. 1179)²². He may well have been called *Depulsor* in Latin and would not in this case have been the same god as the Norican *Depulsor*. It is thus possible that some of the dedications to *Iuppiter Depulsor* elsewhere than in the former Norican kingdom may have sprung from traditions different from those of Noricum.

²¹ Pflaum (n. 5), 449–451.

²² Kolendo (n. 5), 1075 n. 51.