Lived Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean World

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Approaching Religious Transformations
from Archaeology, History and Classics

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Renewing the past: Rufinus' appropriation of the sacred site of Panóias (Vila Real, Portugal)

Abstract: The topic of "lived places" is here approached through the analysis of the rock sanctuary of Panóias (Assento de Valnogueiras, Vila Real de Trás-os-Montes), one of the most popular archaeological sites in Portugal. When the Roman senator Gaius C(?) Calpurnius Rufinus, between the late 2nd and the mid-3rd century CE, had to choose the most appropriate location for his intervention, he decided to build a shrine far away from an urban center, preferring Panóias' remote and numinous set of granite rocks, which had hosted cultic activities already in pre-Roman times. The senator, though promoting new ritual patterns linked with the cult of Isis and Serapis (namely the construction of, at least, a temple equipped with basins where sacrifices were performed), showed a strong interest in evoking the ancestry of the pre-existing religious practices and negotiating continuity with the new ones. The article explores the micro-strategies enacted by Rufinus in order to introduce his innovation, elevate Serapis over all the other gods, paint the new cult with specific Eleusinian mystery traits, regulate the related liturgy, and thus significantly negotiate and renew a salient ancestral activity.

When dealing with the topic of "lived places", the issue raised by part of the subtitle of this section (viz. the individual appropriation of space) is absolutely crucial. This chapter focuses precisely on the topics of appropriation, bricolagist re-sacralization, and prolongation of memory through different media. My interest here lies in discussing micro-strategies for evoking the ancestry of local cultic practices, promoting new ritual patterns, negotiating continuity and change among

them, and manipulating pre-existing sets of religious options. By analyzing the rock sanctuary of Panóias and discussing the personal engagement by the author of a series of five inscriptions carved in its area, I will try to shed some light on specific processes involved in the dismantling and rebuilding of memory.

Panóias (Assento de Valnogueiras, Vila Real de Trás-os-Montes), which has been a Portugese National Monument since 1910 (Freitas et al. 2012–2013, 184 n. 1), is one of the most popular archaeological sites in Portugal. It lies at an altitude of 460 m above sea level in a mountainous region (85 km from the Atlantic coast) the characteristic feature of which are the ancient, smoothly-rounded granite outcrops (locally called "*fragas*") of the early Palaeozoic era.

The area now corresponding to Trás-os-Montes (north-eastern Portugal) has been more or less continuously inhabited since the Palaeolithic age. Prior to the Roman period, it was occupied by a people we know as the Lusitanians. It was nominally conquered by Decimus Iunius Brutus (later nicknamed "Callaicus" or "Gallaecus") in 137 BCE but the Roman occupation was consolidated only after Augustus' Cantabrian Wars (29–19 BCE). The area was incorporated into the *conventus Bracaraugustanus* (prov. *Hispania Tarraconensis*) and placed under the direct control of the *municipium* of *Aquae Flaviae* (Chaves) after the Flavian municipalization in 75 CE.[1] Apart from the hot springs, Rome's interest in the area lay in the extraction of metals: the rich gold mines of Três Minas and Jales lie only 20 km north of Panóias.[2]

During Late Antiquity, Panóias was listed under its Latin name of *Pannonias* in the *Parochiale Suevorum* (569 CE) as the center of a parish belonging to the Suevian diocese of Braga.[3] It is also attested as the site of a mint in the mid-Visigothic period, during the reigns of Witteric (603–610 CE) and Sisebut (612–621 CE).[4]

1 A brief history of exploration at the site

In 1721, the King of Portugal, João V, ordered the Senate of Vila Real to send the Royal Academy of History in Lisbon a detailed report assembling the main

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1 Cf. *CIL* II 2477 = 5616 (with Hübner's commentary) = Rodríguez Colmenero 1997, 418–426, nº 587.

2 Domergue 1990, 201; Tranoy 2004, 88; Martins 2010; Fonseca Sorribas 2012, 525.

3 I 1, 19. The codex "G" already testifies the variant *Panoias*. Cf. Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 24 n. 27.

4 Russell Cortez 1947, 66–73; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 19 n. 1 and 23–25.

information concerning the local remains of historical note. This report survives under the name *Relação da Câmara*. A similar request was sent by the Academy to the local parish priests. Of these, António Rodrigues de Aguiar, priest of the church of S. Pedro de Valnogueiras at Panóias, provided a document entitled *Relação da Fr(e)guesia de S(ao) Pedro de Valnogueiras Con(cell) de Villa Real Arzebispado de Bragas Primaz das Hespanhas*, containing eight drawings and twenty pages of text.[5] Some years later, in 1732, both reports were read by Jerónimo Contador de Argote, a member of the Academy. Although he never visited the site personally, he published excerpts from these documents, describing some of the carved and inscribed rocks and illustrating eleven of them in his plates. Unfortunately, these illustrations were very inaccurate neo-Classicist re-drawings by Gabriel François Louis Debrie of the images already made for the *Relação da Câmara* (Contador de Argote 1732, I, 325–359).

Both Contador de Argote and, more than a century later, William Henry Giles Kingston attest to the former presence of numerous marble columns, capitals, and slabs at the site, most of which had already been moved to Vila Real as construction materials or re-used in the local church of S. Pedro.[6] Apart from Kingston, we know of a few other travellers who visited and documented the ruins of Panóias during the 19th century, notably Alexandre Herculano and Gabriel Pereira (Herculano 1839a; 1839b; Pereira 1895). But by far the most important visitor came towards the end of the century (1888). José Leite de Vasconcellos, the pioneer of Portuguese archaeology and later founder of the National Museum of Archaeology in Lisbon, devoted several pages of his wide-ranging work to Panóias, incorporating material collected in an earlier report *(Apontamentos sobre monumentos antigos existentes em Panóias)* written in 1883 by João Henrique von Hafe, an engineer under contract to the Portuguese railways.[7]

It is only since the cleaning of the site in 1942 and the topographical survey of 1951 that Panóias has once again begun to attract the attention of historians, so that the relevant bibliography is now quite considerable.[8] The land itself has

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5 Bibl. Nac. Lisboa, inv. nº 222. Cf. Russell Cortez 1947, 20 n. 1; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 19, 29–31, 143–195 and 197–219; Alvar 2012, 139–140; Abreu 2016, 14–15.

6 Contador de Argote 1732, I, 326; Kingston 1845, II, 351. Cf. also Lambrino 1954, 117 and Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 221–229. See in particular Kingston 1845, II, 351: "The last tower *(sic)* was a short time ago destroyed to construct a belfry for the church, and the padre had placed a Corinthian capital on one side of the top of it."

7 Vasconcellos 1895a; 1895b; 1897a; 1897b; 1897–1913, II, 187–188; III, 81, 301, 345–347, 465–474 (with indices and commentaries collected in Bárcia 1982 and Garcia 1991).

8 Cardoso 1943; Russell Cortez 1947; Lambrino 1954; Alföldy 1995; 1997; Azevedo 1998; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999; Alföldy 2002; Tranoy 2004; Alvar 2012, 138–146; Freitas et al.

recently been acquired by the state (1993), fenced (1995), freed of some modern buildings, and equipped with a ticket office, a bookshop, and a small auditorium (2004) (Freitas et al. 2012–2013, 184–186; Abreu 2016, 16). Unfortunately, however, no proper archaeological excavation using modern techniques has yet been conducted at the site.

2 The archaeological remains

The Roman occupation of the site is demonstrated beyond doubt by the marble architectural elements mentioned by Contador de Argote and Kingston,[9] as well as by the discovery in the area of several Imperial coins. Kingston says that he was presented by the local priest with a coin showing a gladiator on one face and the head of an Emperor on the other (Kingston 1845, II, 351). What still survives of the Roman presence is a series of basins and cavities of different shapes and dimensions directly hewn out of the granite outcrops (Fig. 1). These features are mainly concentrated on as many as ten rocks of very different size and include 1) small shallow circular hand-excavated cavities, for which I here adopt the French term "cupules"; 2) square or rectangular tanks or small cisterns; 3) various channels; and 4) flights of steps, which are probably part of a zigzag path leading across the rocks (Fig. 2).[10]

The surviving features on Rock III (Fig. 3) have made it clear that no less than three different phases of use must be distinguished. The earliest is characterized by the cutting of "cupules" connected by channels. To this phase belongs an incised frame bearing non-recoverable signs (probably geometric symbols). The second phase saw the cutting of an access-staircase and five tanks with bevelled edges that seem to have been furnished with lids or covers. During the third phase, a rectangular hall (4 x 4.50 m) was built directly onto the rock and held in place by rectangular dowels fitted into the stone (these slots are in fact the only surviving evidence of the existence of the building) and incorporating two of the basins from the first phase (Alföldy 1997, 220–223; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 48–57).

2012–2013; Sousa and Silva 2013; Sousa Santos, Pires and Sousa 2014; Pires et al. 2014; Abreu 2016; Redentor 2016; Schattner 2017, 363–365 and 376–377.

9 Some granite architectural elements are still visible, reused in the walls of the local modern buildings: cf. Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 23 and 24, fig. 5.

10 The following brief description requires the reader to move repeatedly between the text and the related figures.
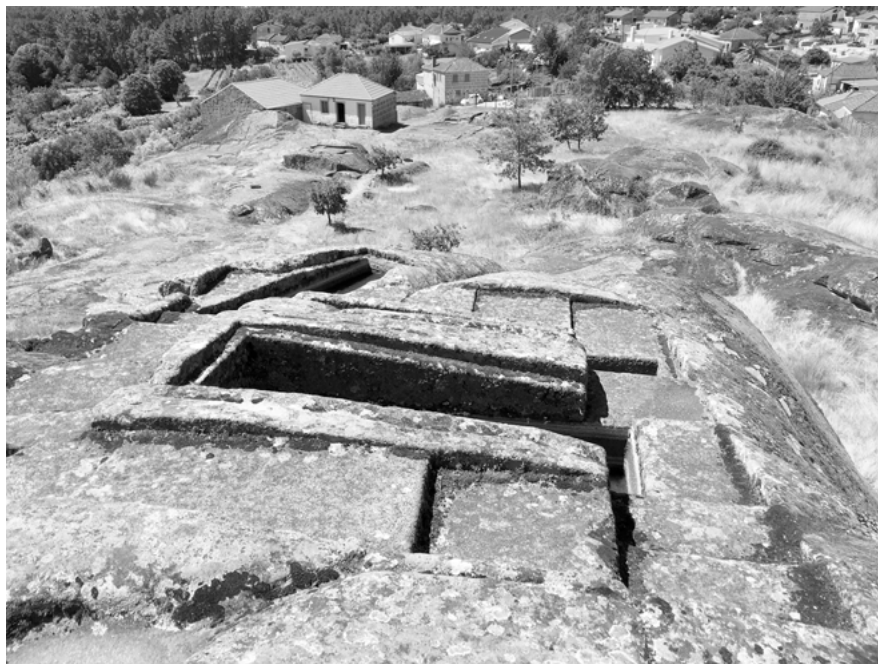
Fig. 1: The site of Panóias (photo V. Gasparini).

Another outcrop (also carved with a series of "cupules" linked by channels, then probably replaced or implemented by a small rectangular basin with bevelled edges, originally covered by a metal grid) led to the second monumental complex of Rock II (Fig. 4). Here again it has proved possible to detect three phases of construction or use: a first phase that is again characterized by small circular cavities (connected by a channel); a second phase with tanks with bevelled edges; and finally a third phase, with a monumental building (4.2 x 3.3 m) served by a staircase, a door, and three apparently anepigraphic frames (although we cannot exclude the possibility that texts were painted on these rather than inscribed). This building again incorporated two deep basins from an earlier phase (Alföldy 1997, 215–219; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 58–65).

Finally, Rock Ia (Fig. 5) presents an irregular horizontal terrace on which a third monumental building (5 x 4.5 m) was built, lying directly on the rock and stabilized by dowels. Inside it were five square or rectangular bevelled basins (0.60–0.68 m deep) with small notches for covers; a sixth tank is circular. Facing the building (at the side of a modern house, the construction of which probably destroyed other ancient remains), at least two altars were built on top
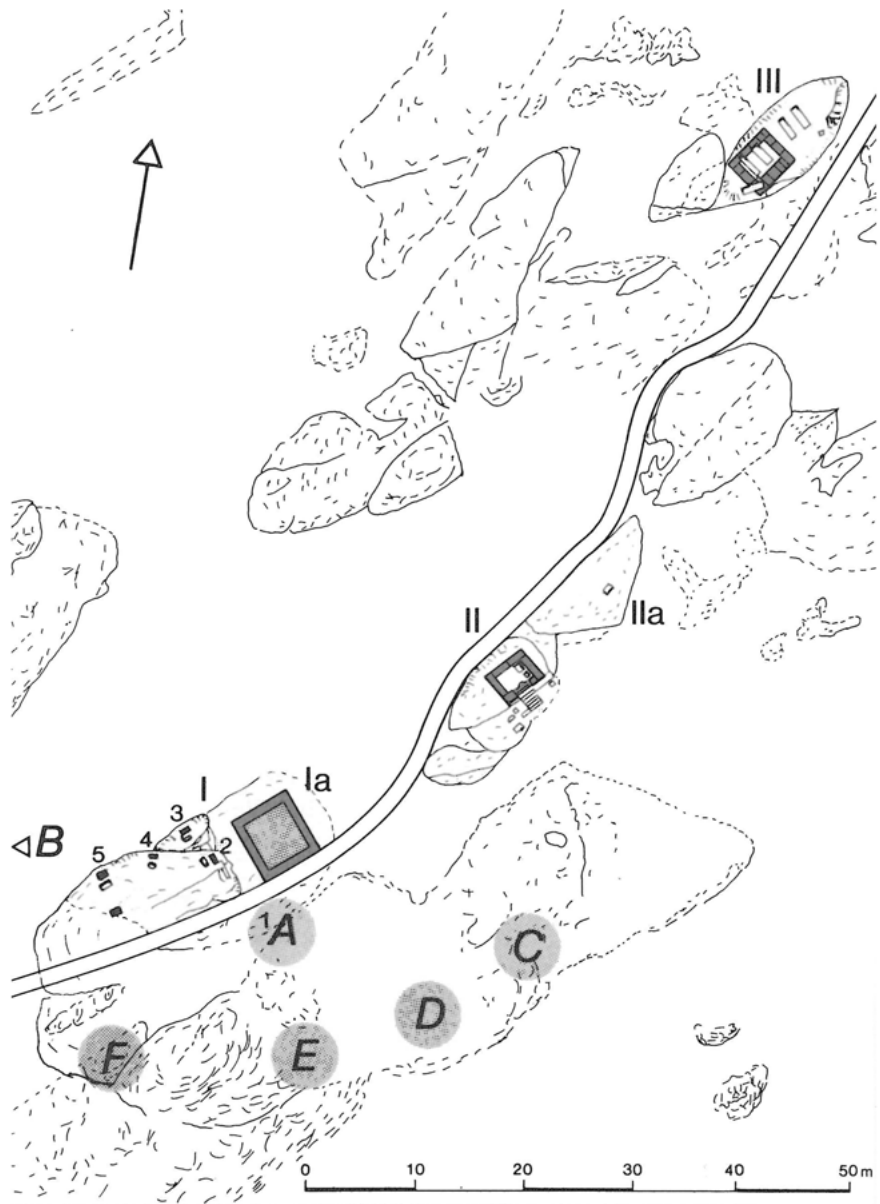
Fig. 2: Plan of the sanctuary of Panóias (after Alföldy 1997, 177, fig. 1).
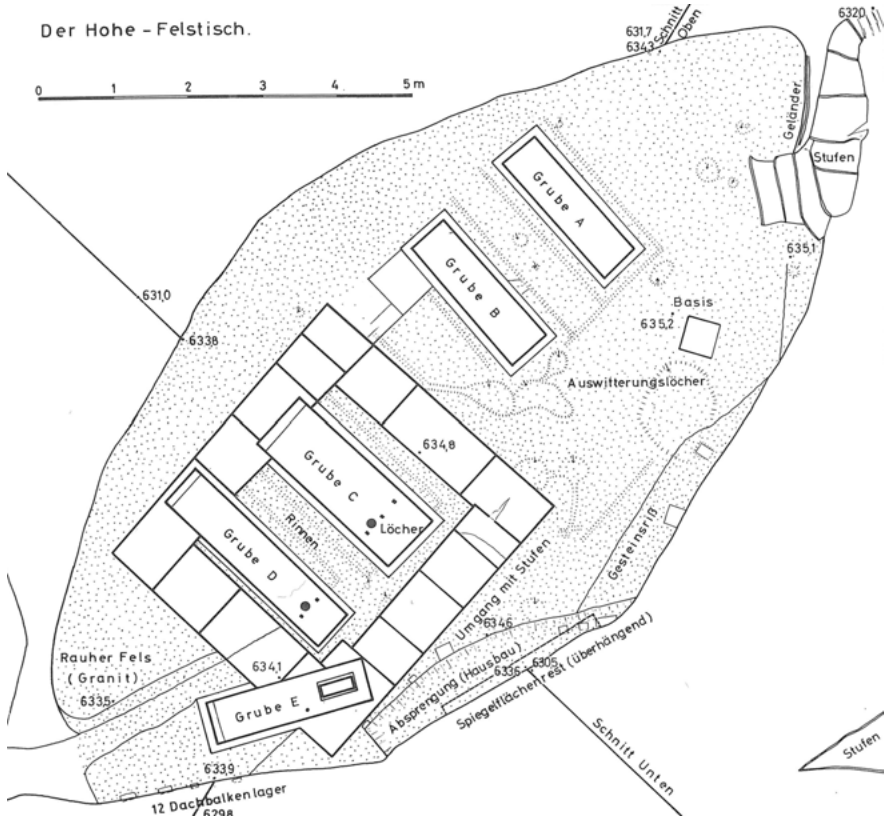
Fig. 3: Plan of the higher temple (III) (after Alföldy 1997, 220, fig. 11).

of rocks, with further traces of two staircases (one of them miniature) and small channels. Along the southern side of the ancient building was a further complex (Rocks I), in this case with three rectangular tanks and a circular one (all measuring 0.34–0.49 m deep). All four have bevelled edges, notches for metal lids or grids, and inscriptions (see below) (Alföldy 1997, 209–213; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 65–71).

These remains have, of course, inspired countless flights of fantasy. Many of these, including Francisco Fernandes Pereira's suggestion that the tanks were meant for storing precious minerals, can be dismissed out of hand. Pereira's hypothesis was clearly influenced by Roman mining activity in the region, which even prompted him to invent a pseudo-etymology of the name Panóias, which he derived from *Penas Auri*, i.e. "Golden Rocks" (Pereira 1836. Cf. Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 19 n. 1, where he is cited under the erroneous name of
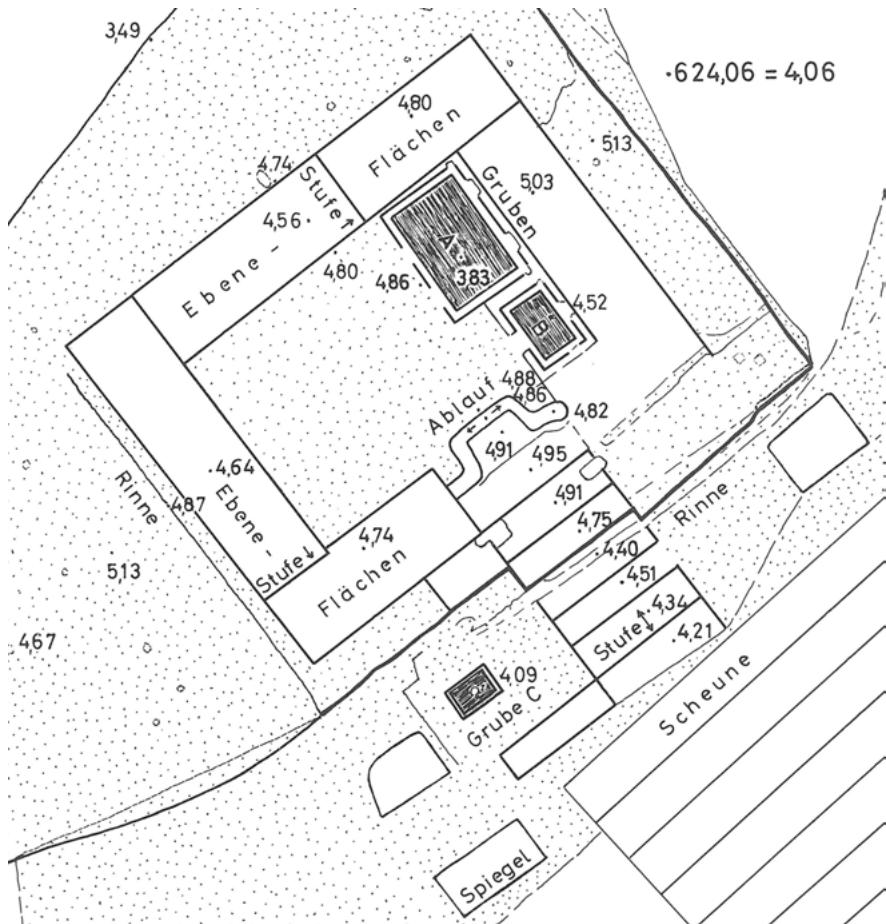
Fig. 4: Plan of the middle temple (II) (after Alföldy 1997, 218, fig. 9).

Ferreira). The priest who guided Kingston during his visit in 1845 referred to the discovery of skeletons in at least some of the basins, which of course suggested that the site was a sort of necropolis.[11] It is, however, certain that there was a Roman necropolis (and consequently a village or, at least, a *villa*) nearby, as is attested both by Rodrigues de Aguiar's *Relação*[12] and by the discovery of as

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11 Kingston 1845, II, 350–351. Cf. Lambrino 1954, 107; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 21.

12 *Apud* Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 19: *achãose tambem sepulturas antigas em pedras com modo de cabeça e hombros como em muitas partes hai.*
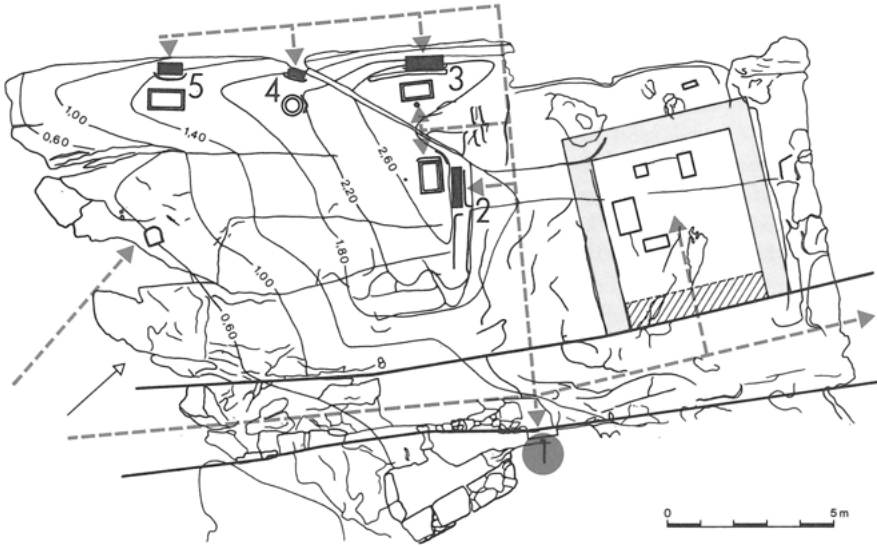
Fig. 5: Plans of the lower temple (Ia) with location of the inscriptions *CIL* II 2395a-d (after Alföldy 1997, 199, fig. 7).

many as six funerary granite steles inscribed in Latin and dating to the 2nd or 3rd century CE.[13] Given this, we cannot, of course, exclude the possibility of late-antique or medieval re-use of the Roman cavities as tombs.[14]

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13 1) [*D(iis)*] *M(anibus) s(acrum)* / [*F*]*lavio* / *Albino* / *Maxu*/*mina* / [*u*]*xor pi*/[*is*]*sima* / [*f(acien-dum)*] *c(uravit)*. Cf. *CIL* II suppl. 5553; Cardoso 1943, 92; Russell Cortez 1947, 25; Rodríguez Colmenero 1997, 261–262, n° 284; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 22. The deceased is probably the same person who had offered a dedication to the *Lares Viales* at *Bracara Augusta*, 70 km north–west of Panóias: *Larib(us) Viali*/*bus <F=I>l(avius) A[l]*/*binus v(otum)* / *s(olvit) l(ibens)* *m(erito)*. Cf. *CIL* II 2417.

   2) *Trites M*/*ebdii (filius) h(ic) s(itus)* / *est. Taur*/*ocutius* / *Apoltae* / *f(ilius) f(aciendum) c(ura-vit)* / *d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)*. / *Aucalus* / *Hospites* / *Arcius et* / *Urtinus* / *p(osuerunt)*. Cf. *CIL* II suppl. 5556; Cardoso 1943, 95; Russell Cortez 1947, 25; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 22–23.

   3) [−]RI / [−]ONI / [−]S[−]. Cf. Rodríguez Colmenero 1997, 294, n° 370; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 22.

   4) *Aureolae*. Cf. *CIL* II 2396a; Russell Cortez 1947, 26; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 21.

   5) *Modestia*. Cf. *CIL* II 2396b; Russell Cortez 1947, 27.

   6) *Millia stipib(us)*. Cf. *CIL* II 2396c; Russell Cortez 1947, 27; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 21.

14 Such reuse may have happened at the similar rock sanctuary of Pias dos Mouros (Argeriz, Valpaços), 40 km north of Panóias. Cf. Santos 2010a, 193–195; 2010b, 149–151.

3 The inscriptions

The crucial information regarding the site of Panóias is provided not by the rock-cut features, but by the epigraphy. As noted above, Rock I has four small basins, each of which carries an inscription. A fifth, which was recorded by Contador de Argote and von Hafe, but destroyed between 1883 and 1888, was located somewhere in the vicinity. The fact that all are seriously eroded has provoked numerous different readings over the last three centuries.[15] Fortunately for my purposes, they have recently been analyzed by means of a new algorithm, the "Morphological Residual Model" (MRM) (Santos, Pires and Sousa 2014; Pires et al. 2014), which has greatly improved their legibility. In addition to showing that there are one or two probable misunderstandings by the authors of this last analysis (which have required further small modifications: see below), it is possible now to offer new, relatively reliable readings of the inscriptions:

1) *Diis* [−] / *huius hostiae quae ca*/*dunt hic immolantur,* | *exta intra quadrata* | *contra cremantur,* | *sanguis laciculis iuxta* | *superfu*[*ndi*]*tur.*[16] Now lost.
    To the gods (− and −), of which the sacrificed victims are immolated here, (their) internal organs are burnt into the square basins in the front, (their) blood is poured over the smaller basins next to them.

2) *Diis Serapidi Isidi,* / *diis deabus omni*/*bus lacum et* [*hanc*?] | *aedem G*(*aius*) [*C*(−) *C*]*alp*(*urnius*) *Ru*/[5]*finus v*(*ir*) *c*(*larissimus*) (Fig. 6).[17] In situ.
    Gaius C. Calpurnius Rufinus, *vir clarissimus*, (dedicated) the basin and (this?) temple to the gods Serapis (and) Isis, (and) to all the gods (and) goddesses.

15 According to Tranoy 2004, 92–93, it is possible that the inscriptions were re-inscribed in modern times (17th–18th century), because of their very poor degree of conservation.
16 *CIL* II 2395e = *Eph.Epigr.* IX 1913, p. 98. Cf. Contador de Argote 1732, I, 343; Vasconcellos 1897b and 1897–1913, III, 469; Russell Cortez 1947, 60–63; Lambrino 1954, 114–115, n° 5; García y Bellido 1956, 49–52; Rodríguez Colmenero 1993, 62–63, n° 29; Rodríguez Colmenero 1995, 174–175, n° 29; Alföldy 1997, 184–189; Búa Carballo 1999, 310; Rodríguez Colmenero 1997, 178–179, n° 162; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 81–84; Alvar 2012, 140–141, n° 193; Santos, Pires and Sousa 2014, 204–205; Redentor 2016, 207.
17 *CIL* II 2395a. Cf. Contador de Argote 1732, I, 341–342; Kingston 1845, II, 350; Russell Cortez 1947, 64; Lambrino 1954, 111–113, n° 4; García y Bellido 1956, 47–48; Rodríguez Colmenero 1993, 69–70, n° 33; Rodríguez Colmenero 1995, 182–186, n° 33; Alföldy 1997, 189–192; Búa Carballo 1999, 310; Rodríguez Colmenero 1997, 116, n° 86; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 84–85; Alvar 2012, 141–142, n° 194; Santos, Pires and Sousa 2014, 205–210; Redentor 2016, 205.

Fig. 6: Photograph, MRM model, and transcription of *CIL* II 2395a (after Santos, Pires and Sousa 2014, 206–208, figs. 3, 5 and 7).

3) *Diis deabusque ae/ternum lacum omni/busque numinibus / et Lapitearum cum / hoc templo sacravit / G(aius) C(—) Calp(urnius) Rufinus v(ir) c(larissi-mus) / in quo hostiae voto / cremantur* (Fig. 7).[18] In situ.

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18 *CIL* II 2395b. Cf. Contador de Argote 1732, I, 345–346; Vasconcellos 1897–1913, III, 468; Russell Cortez 1947, 8 and 59–60; Lambrino 1954, 108–109, n° 1; García y Bellido 1956, 44–46; Gil Fernández 1985, 367–369; Rodríguez Colmenero 1993, 63–65, n° 30, Rodríguez Colmenero 1995, 176–177, n° 30; Alföldy 1997, 192–194; Búa Carballo 1999, 310; Rodríguez

DIIS·DEABVSQVEAE
TERNVMLACVMOMNI
BVS·QVENVMINIBVS·
ET·LAPITEARVMCVM
HOC·TEMPLOSACRAVIT
G·C·CALP·RVFINVS·V·C
IN·QVO·HOSTIAE·VOTO
CREMANTVR

Fig. 7: Photograph, MRM model, and transcription of *CIL* II 2395b (after Santos, Pires and Sousa 2014, 211–212, figs. 9 and 11; Alföldy 1997, 193, Abb. 4).

Colmenero 1997, 179–180, n° 163; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 85–88; Guerra 2002; Alvar 2012, 142–143, n° 195; Santos, Pires and Sousa 2014, 210–212; Redentor 2016, 205.

Gaius C. Calpurnius Rufinus, *vir clarissimus*, consecrated to the gods and the goddesses (this) eternal basin, where the victims are burnt according to a vow, together with this temple (dedicated) to all the deities, including those of the Lapiteae.

4) Ὑψίστῳ Σερά/πιδι σὺν καὶ Κό/ρᾳ καὶ μυστα/ρίοις *G(aius) C(—) Cal(purnius) / Rufinus v(ir) c(larissimus)* (Fig. 8).[19] In situ.
Gaius C. Calpurnius Rufinus, *vir clarissimus*, (dedicated this) to Serapis the Highest, together with Korê and the mysteries (?).

5) *Diis cum aede / et lacum qui / voto misce/tur / G(aius) C(—) Calp(urnius) Rufi/nus v(ir) c(larissimus)* (Fig. 9).[20] In situ.
Gaius C. Calpurnius Rufinus, *vir clarissimus*, (dedicated) to the gods also the basin, which is joined to the temple according to a vow.

These texts call for a brief commentary before I proceed to integrate them into an interpretation of the complex as a whole. I thus discuss in turn the deities, the use of the rock-cut features, and the donor.

3.1 The deities

It is obviously impossible to test the (lost) inscription n° 1 by means of MRM, therefore we cannot tell what followed the allusion to *Diis* read by von Hafe.[21] In the (fully preserved) inscription n° 5, *Diis* is intentionally vague but the

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19 *CIL* II 2395c = *AE* 1897, 86 = *Eph.Epigr.* IX 1913, p. 98 = *SEG* XLVI (1996) 1373 = *SIRIS* 758 = *RICIS* 602/0501. Cf. Contador de Argote 1732, I, 346; Vasconcellos 1897a, 59–60 and 1897–1913, III, 345–347; Russell Cortez 1947, 57–59; Lambrino 1954, 109–110, n° 2; García y Bellido 1956, 42–43; 1967, 133–134; Alföldy 1995, 256; Rodríguez Colmenero 1993, 65–67, n° 31; Rodríguez Colmenero 1995, 177–180, n° 31; Alföldy 1997, 194–196; Búa Carballo 1999, 311; Rodríguez Colmenero 1997, 118–119, n° 89; De Hoz 1997, 85–86; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 88–90; Dias, Gaspar and Mota 2001, 18–19, n° 2; De Hoz 2011, 81–82; Alvar 2012, 143–144, n° 196; De Hoz 2013, 220–222; Santos, Pires and Sousa 2014, 213–218; De Hoz 2014, 465–467, n° 429; Redentor 2016, 206.
20 *CIL* II 2395d. Cf. Contador de Argote 1732, I, 346; Russell Cortez 1947, 63; Lambrino 1954, 110–111, n° 3; García y Bellido 1956, 46–47; Rodríguez Colmenero 1993, 67–69, n° 32, Rodríguez Colmenero 1995, 180–182, n° 32; Alföldy 1997, 196–198; Búa Carballo 1999, 311; Rodríguez Colmenero 1997, 180–181, n° 164; 1999, 90–93; Alvar 2012, 144–145, n° 197; Santos, Pires and Sousa 2014, 219–221; Redentor 2016, 206.
21 *Diis* [*omnipotentibus*] Lambrino 1954, 115; *Diis* [*loci*] Rodríguez Colmenero 1993, 63; 1999, 81; *Diis* [*loci huius*] Rodríguez Colmenero 1995, 175; 1997, 179; *Diis* [*deabusque templi*] Alföldy 1997, 187; Búa Carballo 1999, 310; Alvar 2012, 140; Santos, Pires and Sousa 2014, 204; Redentor 2016, 207.

Fig. 8: Photograph, MRM model, and transcription of *CIL* II 2395c (after Santos, Pires and Sousa 2014, 216–218, figs. 13, 15 and 17).

Fig. 9: Photograph, MRM model, and transcription of *CIL* II 2395d (after Santos, Pires and Sousa 2014, 220–222, figs. 19, 21 and 23).

following presence in no. 1 of the genitive singular pronoun *huius* suggests that a singular theonym had to be placed before it.

Inscription no. 2 is fortunately richer in details. For a long time, the text has been read as a (problematic) mention to the *Dii Severi*,[22] which were identified by Contador de Argote (1732, I, 353) as some infernal gods, namely Serapis and Isis invoked under the prerogatives of Pluto (Dīs) and Proserpina (Korê), Lord and Lady of the Underworld (cf. Lambrino 1954, 122–123; Tranoy 2004, 94). The new MRM reading has provided us with a much more plausible solution *(Diis Serapidi Isidi, diis deabus omnibus)*, which has, moreover, the merit of explicitly reintegrating the goddess Isis at her *paredros*' side.

Inscription no. 3, whose reading is more or less secure, is dedicated *Diis deabusque omnibusque numinibus et Lapitearum*. Whereas the first formula was quite popular during the 3rd century CE (Tranoy 2004, 90), the reading of *numina Lapitearum* (almost universally accepted)[23] has caused much discussion. Despite Amílcar Guerra's attempt at identifying these deities (the name of whom would derive from the Latin *lapis*) with some "oriental" or "mystery" cult (Guerra 2002, 158), it is much more plausible to consider them as local, pre-Roman gods. It has been suggested that they might be water-deities linked to the Cape d'Ortogal (mentioned by Ptolemy as Λαπατία Κώρου ἄκρον)[24] or some local water- or mother-deities called *Lapiteae* (Lambrino 1954, 121; Blázquez Martínez 1962, 184), or as the *numina* of a local population,[25] or again the *numina* of a local toponym (*Lapitea-* < **Lapitia*), hinting at the presence of crags.[26]

The reading Ὑψίστῳ Σεράπιδι in no. 4 has largely remained unquestioned.[27] But MRM analysis has shown that the text does not mention Μοίρα (Moira) or

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22 *Diis Sev(eris) Man(ibus) Diis Ira/tis* Rodríguez Colmenero 1993, 70; *Diis Se(veris) M-a-n(ibus) Diis Ira(tis)* Rodríguez Colmenero 1995, 185; 1997, 116; 1999, 84; *Diis Deabusque [loca]/tis* Rodríguez Colmenero 1997, 116; *Diis [Deabusque hic loca]/tis* Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 84; *Diis Seve(r)is in hoc / templo lo(ca)t(i)s* Alföldy 1997, 191; Búa Carballo 1999, 310; Alvar 2012, 141; *Diis Sev[eris locatis] in hoc / templo [−]* Lambrino 1954, 113.

23 But see for *Lapitearum* L. 4, *amphitheatrum* Mommsen (*CIL*); (*ex*) *lapide aram* Gil Fernández 1985, 368; Tranoy 2004, 93.

24 Ptol. II 6, 4. Cf. Vasconcellos 1897–1913, II, 187–188.

25 Contador de Argote 1732, I, 345; Vasconcellos 1897–1913, III, 468, n. 1; Russel Cortez 1947, 9 and 60; Alvar 2012, 143.

26 **lapa-* / **lapi-*, "rock", > **lapa-to* / **lapi-to*, "rocky", > **Lapat-ia* / *Lapit-eae*, "rocky place". Cf. Búa Carballo 1999, 311–312. And see also Vasconcellos, 1897–1913, III, 468; Russell Cortez 1947, 9.

27 Ὕψιστω (sic) Σέρα/πιδι (sic) Rodríguez Colmenero 1993, 67; 1995, 180; 1999, 90; *Ἥypsisto Sera/pidi* Rodríguez Colmenero 1997, 119; Ὑψύστω (sic) Σερά/πιδι Dias, Gaspar and Mota 2001, 18.

γάστρα (a vessel bulging out like a paunch) but, rather, Κόρα (Korê). Against the editors' σὺν ἄν Κόρα, I suggest that we should read σὺν καὶ Κόρα, "together with Korê".[28] The dedication is completed by the mention of the mysteries,[29] which fits with the Eleusinian allusion inherent in Korê, although I find it difficult to take it as the addressee of a dedication. I am, therefore, tempted to think that μυσταρίοις is here a mistake for μύσταις.[30]

All these texts come from a single outcrop and we have no means now of knowing whether other deities were invoked elsewhere on the site. After all, Kingston claimed that there were inscriptions on the majority of the rocks and it is still possible to detect at least six frames which might originally have carried text, as at the entrance of the sanctuary at Rock II, for example.[31] The original presence of further inscriptions hinting at local pre-Roman deities is suggested by Rodríguez Colmenero's identification of a sixth rock inscription found in the center of the modern local village of Assento (60 m from the sanctuary) and supposedly mentioning the god *Vurebo*.[32]

It is thus misguided to label the complex a *Serapeum* without qualification (as do, for example, García y Bellido 1967, 134). The site clearly reveals the cohabitation of the Isiac deities with a number of other *numina*.[33]

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28 σὺν Μοί/ρα Vasconcellos 1897–1913, III, 345; Russell Cortez 1947, 57; Lambrino 1954, 109; García y Bellido 1956, 42; 1967, 133; *SIRIS*; συνναο<κ>ο/ρω (sic) Rodríguez Colmenero 1993, 67; σὺν κά-νθο/ρω (sic) Rodríguez Colmenero 1995, 180; 1999, 90; *sin ka-nzo/ro* Rodríguez Colmenero 1997, 119; σὺν γάστ/ρα Alföldy 1997, 196; De Hoz 1997, 85; 2011, 81; 2013, 221; 2014, 466; Dias, Gaspar and Mota 2001, 18; Alvar 2012, 143; σὺν ἄν Κόρα Santos, Pires and Sousa 2014, 213.

29 *kai misto/riois* (*templum sacravit*) Rodríguez Colmenero 1997, 119; Ναί Russell Cortez 1947, 57; μυστε/ρίοις De Hoz 2014, 466; μυστη/ρίοις Vasconcellos 1897–1913, III, 345; Russell Cortez 1947, 57; García y Bellido 1956, 42; 1967, 133; *SIRIS*; μιστω/ριοις Rodríguez Colmenero 1993, 67; μιστο/ριοις Rodríguez Colmenero 1995, 180; μυστό/ριοιζ Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 90.

30 I thank Marco Galli for suggesting to me this possibility.

31 Kingston 1845, II, 350; Russell Cortez 1947, fig. 14; Lambrino 1954, 115; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 93.

32 Rodríguez Colmenero 1993, 73–74, nº 37; 1995, 187–190, nº 37; 1999, 94: *Vur/ebo* / *T*(*itus*) *S*(*ulpicius*) *pos*(*uit*). Other presumed inscriptions are recorded by the author in Rodríguez Colmenero 1993, 70–73, nnº 34–36; 1995, 186–187 nnº 34–36. Cf. *RICIS* *602/0502 and Bricault 2008, 99.

33 Vasconcellos 1897–1913, 345 and 474; García y Bellido 1956, 52–53; Wild 1984, 1831–1832; Alföldy 1997, 231; Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 105.

3.2 The sanctuary

The dedications, explicitly offered in accordance with a vow *(voto)*, provide detailed information concerning the presence of at least one *templum/aedes* and (probably several) *lacus* ("basins")[34] where sacrifices were performed.

As suggested by Antonio Rodríguez Colmenero, the *lacus* and *laciculi* of the sanctuary seem to have been used for different purposes: some of them (those incorporated into the temples) could serve as repositories for offerings or paraphernalia; others might have been small pools for ritual baths; others (with a rounded bottom) might have been intended for collecting water or blood; others again might have been for incinerating (parts of) victims (Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 118–124). The texts explicitly refer to animals *(hostiae)* being consecrated *(sacravit)* by immolating them *(immolantur)*,[35] burning *(cremantur)* their internal organs *(exta)* in square basins *(intra quadrata)*, and pouring *(superfunditur)* their blood *(sanguis)*[36] over smaller basins *(laciculis)*.[37]

The technical terms employed in the inscriptions are very specific and sophisticated. The least unusual is of course *immolantur*, i.e. the solemn act of sprinkling the victims' forehead with *mola salsa* (a mixture of toasted spelt and salt) and pouring on it some wine, and of course, by extension, the act of consecrating the animals (Prescendi 2007, 25, 36–37 and 102–110).

Once the victims had been killed and their entrails consulted, the latter were burnt *(cremantur)* not on the altar itself (as was the common practice) but apparently in square cavities cut into the granite *(quadrata)* (Prescendi 2007, 41–48). *Cremare* is a term frequently employed in Latin inscriptions and literary sources but almost always in the context of funerary epigraphy. As for animal sacrifices, apart from a few literary sources,[38] the only epigraphic evidence known to me refers to the burning of a heifer *in ara taurobolica duodena* at Beneventum, in honor of Attis and Minerva Berecintia, *iussu Matris Deum*.[39] This is not enough to

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34 Other readings of the inscription no. 2: L. 1–3 [*ded*(*icavit*) *lacum*] Rodríguez Colmenero 1993, 70; [*hic cum lacu sacravit*] Rodríguez Colmenero 1997, 116; [*cum lacu sacravit*] Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 84; *in hoc / templo* Lambrino 1954, 111; Búa Carballo 1999, 310. L. 4 *DEM* Lambrino 1954, 111.

35 *immantur* Contador de Argote 1732, 344; Hübner (*CIL*); *inmolantur* Rodríguez Colmenero 1997, 179.

36 *santus* Contador de Argote 1732, 344; Hübner (*CIL*).

37 *L AC ICVIIS* Contador de Argote 1732, 344; *LAC KVII* Hübner (*CIL*); *PACIO* Contador de Argote 1732, 344; Hübner (*CIL*).

38 Ovid., *Fast*. IV 639; Serv., *Ad Aen*. XI 197, 6; Tac., *Hist*. II 95.

39 *CIL* IX 1538: *Attini sacrum / et Minervae Berecint*(*iae*) / *Concordia col*(*oniae*) *lib*(*erta*) *Ianuari* [*a*] / *c*[*y*]*mbal*(*istria*) [*l*]*oco secundo ob / criobolium factum M*(*atris*) *de*(*um*) / *Ma*(*gnae*) *tradentib*(*us*)

support the hypothesis of Scarlat Lambrino, who suggested that the subsequent formula *(sanguis superfunditur)* implies a *taurobolium* or *criobolium* and, thus, the involvement of Attis and Mater Deum (Lambrino 1954, 123–125). *Superfundere sanguinem* has no parallel either in Latin epigraphy[40] or literature, although we do occasionally find *fundere* or *profundere sanguinem* used with reference to animal sacrifices or blood-libations.[41] The term *superfundere* is found most often (in relation to water, oil, and other liquids) in the fields of medicine and cooking.[42] A possible explanation is that the blood of the victims was cooked in order to prepare the *sangunculus*, a sort of fricassée to be consumed during the banquet at the end of the ceremony (cf. Prescendi 2007, 46–47). The term *miscetur* (inscription no. 5) is usually understood as the act of mixing something (i.e. libations or victims' blood and entrails linked to the *effusio sanguinis*), presumably in a *lacus*, but I would not exclude the possibility that the verb refers here either to the "joining" of the *lacus* to the temple (as suggested in the translation) or to the "sharing" by the devotees of these facilities,[43] that is "taking part", "joining" the ceremony in honor of the gods *(diis)* who were thought to gravitate around the temple and the basin.

3.3 The donor

Although it is attested in all four surviving texts,[44] the name of the donor, G. C. Calp. Rufinus, is not free of interpreative difficulties. Following Contador de Argote, it has been most frequently been read as G(naeus) C(aius) Calp(urnius)

Septimio / Primitivo augure et sac(erdote) / Servilia Varia et Terentia / Elisviana sacerd(ote) XVvir (ali) / praeeunte Mamio Secundo / haec iussu Matris deum / in ara taurobolica duo/dena cum vitula crem(ata) / sub die V Idus Aprilis / Modesto II et Probo co(n)s(ulibus).

40 A similar formula is mentioned in a Christian inscription (*IHC* 230) from *Coelobriga* (Celanova, 100 km north of Panóias), which reads: *Funditur hic sanguis quo virus pellitur anguis*.

41 See e.g. Cic., *De divin*. I 46; Appendix Vergiliana, *Priapea* 2.12–15; Petron., *Sat*. 97.9.

42 See the several occurrences in, for example, Apicius' *De Re Coquinaria*, Columella's *De Re Rustica*, Philumenus medicus' *De Medicina*, and Scribonius Largus' *Compositiones*.

43 Other readings: L. 1 *cum hoc* Russell Cortez 1947, 63; Lambrino 1954, 110; Alföldy 1997, 197; Alvar 2012, 144; *cum aede(m)* Santos, Pires and Sousa 2014, 219. L. 2 *hic* Contador de Argote 1732, 344; Búa Carballo 1999, 311; *hyc* Hübner (*CIL*); (*h*)*uc* Lambrino 1954, 110; *VO* Russell Cortez 1947, 63; *et lacu, m(eatum) qui* Rodríguez Colmenero 1997, 181; 1999, 90; *et la/cu m(actatio)? ovi* Rodríguez Colmenero 1993, 69. L. 3 *TO O* Russell Cortez 1947, 63; *voto miscetur (sacravit)* Rodríguez Colmenero 1997, 181; 1999, 91–92.

44 Apparently the donor did not sign the lost inscription.

Rufinus but numerous alternatives have been hazarded: G(naeus) C(aecilius) Calp(urnius) Rufinus, G(naeus) C(assius) Calp(urnius) Rufinus, G(naeus) C(ai filius) Calp(urnius) Rufinus, G(aius) C(aristianus) Calp(urnianus) Rufinus, G(aius) C(ai filius) Calp(urnius) Rufinus.[45] Several scholars, following Rodrigues de Aguiar, have preferred (as I do) to leave the name open: G(aius) C(?) Calp(urnius) Rufinus.[46]

At all events, Rufinus was a person of senatorial rank, since he can boast the title of *v(ir) c(larissimus)*,[47] which also allows us (in the absence of more precise palaeographic criteria) to place the dedications somewhere between the late 2nd and the mid-3rd century CE.[48] Géza Alföldy has offered the intriguing suggestion that the donor should be identified as a *legatus iuridicus* (Alföldy 1969, 110) or a provincial government official (Alföldy 1997, 237), while Rodríguez Colmenero prefers the hypothesis of a *censitor* sent by the Emperor or even a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* (Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 127).[49]

Alföldy also suggests that Rufinus may have originated in Pamphylia, the only place (together with Antiochia ad Pisidiam) in which we find fairly extensive evidence both for the Calpurnii Rufini and the Isiac cults (Alföldy 1997, 240). Such an origin (say in Attaleia or Perge) would account for the use of Doric (Κόρα, μυσταρίοις) in the bilingual inscription no. 4 (unless they are citations).

A somewhat different scenario may also be suggested, which takes account of the proximity of the gold-mines. On this view, the senator may have lived in Lusitania and had business with the gold mines of the region (Tranoy 2004, 90). The mention in a funerary inscription from *Ebora* (Evora) of a certain *Calpurni(a) Titi filia Rufiniana* seems to suggest the presence of the family of the Calpurnii Rufini in southern Portugal at least (*IRCPacen* 391).

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45 Búa Carballo 1999; Rodríguez Colmenero 1997; 1999; Redentor 2016, 214–217. The cohabitation, within the same inscription, of *G* and *C* (the difference between which looks substantial only in the inscription n° 5) for the name Gaius has several parallels, which include also the formula *Gaius Cai filius*, but never without the mention of the *F* of the patronymic and never with the patronymic itself placed before the *nomen gentilicium*.

46 Alföldy 1997; Alvar 2012; Santos, Pires and Sousa 2014.

47 The abbreviation is interpreted as *v(oti) c(ompos)* by Vasconcellos 1897–1913, III; Russell Cortez 1947, 57; Lambrino 1954, 109–110; García y Bellido 1956, 42; 1967, 133; as *v(ir) c(onsularis)* by Contador de Argote 1732, I, 345–346; Hübner (*CIL*).

48 End of the 2nd – beginning of the 3rd century CE: *RICIS*, Tranoy 2004, 89; beginning of the 3rd century CE: Lambrino 1954, 123. The chronology is anticipated to 75–200 CE by Russell Cortez 1947, 28.

49 We can certainly do without the recent hypothesis by María Paz De Hoz, who identifies in this senator a sort of missionary traveling with the purpose of proselytizing in favor of his own personal religion (De Hoz 2011, 82).

4 Contextualization

The site of Panóias offers the rare possibility of identifying a sort of archaeological "rock stratigraphy". The analysis of the material clearly shows a sequence of at least three different phases of development: first, the network of "cupules" connected by channels, then the square or rectangular cisterns covered and/or protected by metallic grids, some of which were later incorporated into the three (or more) buildings whose walls were fitted to the rock-surfaces (Lambrino 1954, 127–128). It is not impossible that three incisions in the shape of crosses, identified by Rodríguez Colmenero (1999, 73) not far from a rock, may even attest to a fourth, Christian, phase.

Although it seems reasonable enough to associate the third stage with Rufinus' inscriptions (text 2 explicitly mentions a temple), the chronology of the earlier, presumably pre-Roman, phases remains uncertain. Nearly half a century ago, László Castiglione pointed out that

> the different cuttings on the rock are not of the same age. The earliest grooves, round cavities connected by canals, circular and quadrangular but irregular basins, outlets leading to the sides of the rocks, agree with the grooves of the prehistoric sacrificial rocks well known from France (…). On certain rocks these were effaced, and on others completely removed by the regularly circular and quadrangular basins made with a more developed stone cutting technique, the partial levelling of the surface of the rocks and the paths leading up and the steps. (Castiglione 1970, 101)

"Cupules" are known already from the Palaeolithic period but become very common only during the Neolithic and Bronze Ages (Couderc 2016, 15). In Europe, they are concentrated in three famous megalithic areas: Ireland, Brittany, and north-western Iberia.[50] In the latter area, they begin in the fourth millennium BCE (in the area of Frieiro in Trás-os-Montes, 32 "cupules" of this date are known, associated with Neolithic amulets and scrapers, and probably linked with mortuary incineration: see already Vasconcellos 1897–1913, I, 358–359), but increase in number during the Bronze Age. During this period, the "cupules" are often accompanied by incisions in the shape of crosses (which perhaps raises doubts about a "Christian" fourth phase at Panóias) and by the so-called "*pierres aux pieds*" (Couderc 2016, 224–231), i.e. human or animal footprints carved into the rock. Similar so-called "petrosomatoglyphs" have been identified at Panóias too. Both Contador de Argote and Kingston noted the vestiges of three human footprints carved on the surface of a rock.[51] A pair of footprints (left and right) was

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50 Couderc 2016, 151–157 and 201–204 (201–203 on Panóias).
51 Contador de Argote 1732, I, 347; Kingston 1845, II, 350; Lambrino 1954, 125.

found beside a channel leading from a square basin, facing south, while a third (right) footprint is located crosswise in front of them, facing east (Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 115). Rodríguez Colmenero has found traces of two further footprints, one facing the other (Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 58). But it is likely that many others were originally carved in the area: Kingston records that "[s]hallow steps were carved *all round*".[52]

These footprints have generally been interpreted as Roman. Alföldy thought they marked the base of a bronze statue (Alföldy 1997, 215, n. 99); Lambrino preferred to link them to the so-called "Serapis feet", or similar healing votives, or even with *vestigia* left *pro itu et reditu* by pilgrims under the protection of Caelestis;[53] Jaime Alvar understands the pair of prints as symbols of Serapis standing over the Nile (represented by the channel in-between), while the isolated footprint would indicate the place where the priest or the devotee had to kneel piously in front of the god (Alvar 2012, 145–146, n° 198). Rodríguez Colmenero has even toyed with the suggestion that the (absolutely unproved) existence of a 27 m long tunnel connecting the rock with the footprints and Rock I (with the four surviving inscriptions) may have been a complex for a mystery-cult, with the initiate's passage through the tunnel hinting at his symbolic death (Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 117).

Castiglione, however, demurred, pointing out that there are better parallels in Celtic sacrificial sites all over western and northern Europe from the Neolithic up to the Iron Age (Castiglione 1970, 100–102). There are numerous examples in the Iberian peninsula itself (Vasconcellos 1897–1913, I, 381–383; Couderc 2016, 229), notably in Galicia: the indigenous rock sanctuaries of S. Salvador do Mundo (south of the Douro), Fraga das Pasadas (Soutelo), Bustelo (Chaves), and Peña de Santa Maria (Iruelos del Mesón Nuevo) are all not far from Panóias.[54] There are also close parallels in France: the "pierre Le Mulot" of Bleurville (Vosges), for example, has three very similar footprints; both the Neolithic sites of the "pieds de Sainte-Anne" and "de la Vierge" at Nanteau-sur-Essonne (Seine-et-Marne) contain two similar footprints at right-angles to one another, pointing south and east, exactly as at Panóias (Baudouin 1914).

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52 Kingston 1845, II, 350 (my italics). Cf. Lambrino 1954, 125. For "step" meaning "the mark or impression made by the foot on the ground; a footprint", see *OED* sense 9; the earliest citation is dated c. 1290.

53 Lambrino 1954, 125–126. On the "Serapis feet" see Puccio 2010, 139–143 (esp. 142–143 specifically in relation to the Iberian peninsula). On the dedication of Isiac *vestigia*, see Gasparini (forthcoming), with a discussion including the material found in Spain.

54 Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 106 n. 7; Santos 2010c, 154 and 169, figs. 21–22.

Castiglione's argument is compelling. If, then, the "cupules" and the foot-prints of Panóias belong to a common pre- or proto-historical horizon (whether of Neolithic or Bronze-Age date), and if Rufinus was responsible for the construction of the temple(s) some time between the late Antonine dynasty and the mid-3rd century CE, it is very difficult to date the intermediate phase, mainly characterized by the excavation of staircases and small cisterns. Nearly 150 (both pre-Roman and Roman) sites in the Iberian peninsula have been interpreted as rock sanctuaries (most of them concentrated in northern Portugal, Galicia, and Castile and León: see Rodríguez Colmenero 2000; Salinas de Frías 2001). Rock staircases,[55] Latin inscriptions,[56] and individual or clustered cisterns or tanks, some of which have indications of covers or metallic grids and are sometimes explicitly called *lacus*, *laciculi*, and *quadrata*, are all common features of these sanctuaries, especially in the region of the Douro valley and Trás-os-Montes.[57] Just in the roughly square area between Ourense (to the north), Guarda (south), Braganca (east) and the Atlantic (west), as many as 48 rock inscriptions have been identified, 20 of them with explicitly religious content (Rodríguez Colmenero 1993 and 1995).

The case of Pena Escrita (Vilar de Perdizes, Montalegre) is particularly interesting in this context (Santos 2010a, 184–187; 2010b, 129–136). In this sanctuary, a rock-cut staircase led up to an altar, with a square basin and channels nearby, and dedications to Jupiter and *Laraucus*. See also the inscription signed by Silius Eorinus at *Oia* (Oya), which mentions a *lacu{u}s hostiarum*, i.e. a cistern for use during or after the sacrificial ritual.[58] These architectural facilities attest to a local sacrificial practice, and specifically the *suovetaurilia* (Alföldy 1997, 198–209), details of which are provided by Strabo, who also records the local preference of the Lusitanians for hecatombs,[59] and by several reliefs and

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55 For example, at Vila Real, Castro das Cruvas (Murça), Outeiro dos Mouros (Castelões), São Salvador do Mundo (São João da Pesqueira), Santa Marina das Aguas Santas (Cameixa, Boboras), Pias dos Mouros (Argeriz, Valpaços). Cf. Santos 2010a, 193–195; 2010b, 149–151.

56 For example, at São Martinho de Mouros (Mogueira, Resende, Viseu), Pena Escrita (Vilar de Perdizes), Pias dos Mouros (Argeriz, Valpaços), Mougas (Oia). Cf. Maciel 2007; Santos 2010a, 187–195; 2010b, 137–151.

57 For example, at Santa Marina das Aguas Santas (Cameixa, Boboras), Fundões (Alijó), Penedo Linhares (Alvão), Campa dos Mouros (Monte Fralães). Cf. Rodríguez Colmenero 2000; Tranoy 2004, 88–89.

58 *HEp* 1995, 660: *Sili Eorini hos*(*tiarum*) / *lacuus*. Cf. Rodríguez Colmenero 1993, 74–77, n° 38; Tranoy 2004, 88–89.

59 Strabo, III 3, 6–7: "The Lusitanians are given to offering sacrifices, and they inspect the vitals, without cutting them out. Besides, they also inspect the veins on the side of the victim; and they divine by the tokens of touch, too (…). They eat goat's meat mostly, and to Ares they sacrifice a he-goat and also the prisoners and horses; and they also offer hecatombs of each

inscriptions (Maciel 2007), including the well known example from Cabeço de Fráguas (Pousafoles, Sabuga).[60]

Epigraphic and archaeological evidence confirms the continuity of these sacrificial practices between the pre-Roman and Roman periods, and the involvement in the Imperial period of (both human and divine) agents of different cultural origins. The rock sanctuary of Herdade da Lentisca (Santa Eulália, Elvas) included a tank with bevelled edges (designed for the insertion of a cover and/or of a metallic grid) and an altar dedicated to Bellona (beginning of the 1st century CE) by a local man named Valgius (Maciel 2007, 34 n. 30). The presence of Isis and Serapis at Panóias *(Pannonias)* has been linked with the presence in the region of *Legio VII Gemina* (created by Galba in 68 CE, active mainly in *Pannonia*, and finally moved to Léon, 225 km north-east of Panóias).[61] However, it is probably better to follow Alföldy in linking the toponym *Pannonias* with the Celtic root **pan* or **pen*, i.e. "water", "humidity".[62]

5 Micro-strategies of memorialization

Placing Panóias within the archaeological and epigraphic context of the Iberian peninsula makes it clear that, so far from being something exceptional, Rufinus' integration of Roman deities within a pre-Roman rock sanctuary that was equipped with facilities specifically focusing on the sacrificial act belongs to a standard pattern of Roman (re-)sacralization. What is exceptional at Panóias is the unusually rich archaeological and epigraphic evidence, which provides an insight into the micro-strategies employed to negotiate between an existing cultic site and Rufinus' desire to memorialize his own individual

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kind, after the Greek fashion – as Pindar himself says, 'to sacrifice a hundred of every kind'" (transl. H. L. Jones). Cf. Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 130–135; Santos 2007 and 2008.

60 The text runs: *Oilam Trebopala indi porcom Laebo, comaiam Iccona Loiminna, oilam usseam Trebarune indi taurom ifadem Reue Tre.* See Rodríguez Colmenero 1993, 104–105, nº 47; Maciel 2007, 34–35; Schattner and Santos 2010.

61 Russell Cortez 1947, 9–24, 28, 32–34. Cf. Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 19 n. 1.

62 Alföldy 1997, 176 n. 2. Cf. Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 19 n. 1 (and n. 2 with a third, equally unlikely hypothesis of etymology from *pannus*). On the basis of *RICIS* 603/0801, it has been claimed that the Isiac deities were worshipped in a rock sanctuary at the site of Montroig del Camp (Baix Camp, Tarragona), where basins, altars, staircases, and channels have been found: cf. Rodriguez Colmenero 1999, 136. But Gorostidi Pi 2010, 124, nº 96 convincingly suggests that this is a funerary inscription of the 16th–17th century mentioning the name Isidro.

efforts of appropriation, sacralization, and redefinition. Whatever the donor's origins and period of presence in the area, Rufinus seems to have been aware of the danger of causing local resentment by his re-modelling of the site. The repeated invocation of *dii (deaeque omnes)* and specific local deities such as the *numina Lapitearum* implies a conscious desire to avoid conflict with pre-existing religious traditions even as he introduced new divinities to the site. Rufinus made an effort to evoke and acknowledge local sensibilities and traditions, implying a desire to engage with local actors.

This is not an isolated case. At *Asturica Augusta* (Astorga, 200 km north-east of Panóias), C. Iulius Silvanus Melanio, *procurator Augustorum provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris* during the years 198–209 CE, made a dedication to Serapis, Isis, Korê *invicta*, Apollo Grannus, and Mars Sagatus.[63] This inscription contains the sole explicit mention of Korê together with the Isiac deities other than in Rufinus' text 2. The same official made two further dedications at Astorga, one to the Capitoline triad and *all the other immortal gods*[64] and the other, in Greek, to the two Nemeseis of Smyrna.[65] All three inscriptions illustrate Silvanus' cumulative (and non-exclusive) religious preferences. Especially notable is the choice of Greek as a more effective code when communicating with Greek gods rather than with the local audience.

Rufinus and Silvanus Melanio were not the only members of the administrative elite who dedicated to the Isiac gods in this area at the end of the 2nd to the beginning of the 3rd century CE. Just after Silvanus, another equestrian procurator, Claudius Zenobius (212–222 CE), set up an altar *Invicto Deo Serapidi et Isidi* beside that of Silvanus at Astorga.[66] At *Legio VII* (León, c. 200 CE), two others, L. Cassius Paulinus Augustanius Alpinus Bellicius Sollers, probably the son of P. Cassius Dexter (cos. suff.? 151 CE) and no doubt currently legate of *leg. VII*

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63 *AE* 1968, 230 = *RICIS* 603/1101: *Serapidi / sancto / Isidi mironymo / Core invictae / Apollini / Granno / Marti Sagato / Iul(ius) Melanio / proc(urator) / Augg(ustorum) / v(otum) s(olvit)*. Cf. Mangas 1996, 48, n° b; Alvar 2012, 131–132, n° 184.

64 *AE* 1968, 231: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Custodi / Iunoni Reginae / Minervae Sanctae / ceterisque Dis / Deabusque / immortalibus / Iulius Siluanus / Melanio proc(urator) Aug(ustorum duorum) / provinc(iae) Hisp(aniae) Cit(erioris) / dicavit*. Cf. Mangas 1996, 48, n° a; Alvar 2012, 132 n. 102.

65 *AE* 1968, 233: Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ / θεαῖς Νεμέσεσιν / Σμυρναίαις / σεβασμιώταταις / Ἰούλ(ιος) Σιλουανός / Μελανίων / ἐπίτρ(οπος) σεβ(αστῶν) εὐχήν. Cf. Mangas 1996, 48, n° c; Alvar 2012, 132 n. 103. On the two Nemeseis of Smyrna, whose mother was Night, see Paus. VII 5, 2–3; cf. Karanastassi 1992.

66 *AE* 1968, 232 = *RICIS* 603/1102: *Invicto Deo / Serapidi et / Isidi / Cl(audius) Zenobius / proc(urator) <Au=XX>g(usti)*. Cf. Alvar 2012, 131, n° 183, with bibliography.

Gemina, alongside his equally polyonymous son, honored four healing deities, Aesculapius, Salus, Serapis and Isis.[67]

Whereas in text 3 Rufinus invoked all the local deities, the unique invocation of Serapis as *hypsistos* ("the Highest") in the bilingual text 4[68] seems to have the specific function of representing his religious act as part of a lengthy continuum of practice at this site and yet at the same time establishing a privileged, intimate communication with Serapis.[69] By elevating Serapis *over* all the other gods, Rufinus asserts his justification for intervening into the local religious tradition and defends his substantial economic investment. It is certainly likely to claim that the switch to Greek in text 4 (parallel to Silvanus' use of Greek in his dedication to the Nemeseis of Smyrna) suggests a desire to establish a more intimate channel of communication with a god perceived in that moment as Greek (cf. De Hoz 2011, 81–82). Moreover, the use of Greek, in an area where it was of course virtually unknown (and indecipherable), in a text linking mysteries (μυσταρίοις) with Korê,[70] hints at the Eleusinian traits of the ceremonies performed in Rufinus' re-modelled Panóias (Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 112–113). The thematic parallel perceived between Demeter's search for her daughter Korê and Isis' search for her husband (Osiris/Serapis) at the *Inventio Osiridis* had led, already at the beginning of the 3rd century CE, to the notion that Isis was looking for her son Harpocrates.[71]

Choosing the most telling location for his intervention was also a crucial factor. Unlike his peers in Astorga or León, Rufinus decided to build his shrine far away from an urban center where selective monumentalization would enjoy high visibility. Instead he chose a remote, albeit locally-famous and numinous, spot for his investment, a set of granite rocks with a naturally attractive force which could get, very early, vocation to be sacralized (Tranoy 2004, 87).

Summing up, we have little idea of how the sanctuary might have appeared prior to Rufinus' intervention but there can be no doubt that his new constructions

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67 *AE* 1967, 223 = 1968, 235 = *RICIS* 603/1001: (*A*)*esculapio* / *Saluti* / *Serapi*(*di*) *Isidi* / *L*(*ucius*) *Cassius Paullus* / *Augustanius Alpinus* / *Bellicius Sollers* / *et M*(*arcus*) *Cassius Agrippa* / *Sanct*(*i*)*us Paullinus* / *Augustanius Alp*(*i*)*nu*[*s*]. Cf. Alföldy 1999, 330, nos. 3 and 4; Alvar 2012, 130, n° 182, with bibliography (wrongly claiming that Agrippa was a *procurator*).

68 Heitsch 1961, IL, followed by Bricault and Dionysopoulou 2016, 116, claims that the same epithet is used of Serapis (again in the 3rd century CE) in *P.Schubart* 12, 2, but the epithet ὕψιστος does not appear there.

69 Belayche 2005a (2011), 146 and 2005b, 433 and 439–440.

70 Persephone was locally identified with the Lusitanian goddess Ataecina or Ataegina. See Vasconcellos 1897–1913, II, 146–173; Abascal Palazón 2002.

71 Min. Felix, *Octav.* XXI; Lact., *Inst. Div.* I 17.6 and 21.20; cf. *Epit.* 18.5; Arnob., *Adv. nationes* I 36.6.

and installations radically altered it. The open-air site was "domesticated" and partially converted into an elegant Roman sanctuary. Classical columns rose up from the primordial natural granite.[72] The small temples, profusely adorned with capitals and polished pediments but perched near the top of the rocks, were intentionally isolated and hard to reach (especially the northern temple, which was accessible only by means of a steep, narrow flight of steps and a very narrow ledge). The altars were placed on the granite outcrops nearby. It must have been an extremely arduous process to transport the victims up there alive.

It is impossible on the basis of the available material to decide whether these three small buildings, scattered over the rocks and almost inaccessible, were intended to constitute a topographic and cultic "unity", and whether they might have formed *stationes* in, say, processions. What is likely is that Rufinus' sanctuary provided an arena for negotiating multiple narratives, in particular those represented by his individual efforts at memorialization and the immemorial local religious history. Memorialization is a long-term process and the media (including architecture) that do not pay attention to it risk becoming irrelevant over time. This means that both sequencing and moment must be carefully selected, and the media chosen so as to ensure their intelligibility into the future. This can be done either by explicitly affirming such perpetuity (e.g. *lacus aeternus* in text 3) or by creating a context capable of shaping the behavior of future visitors to the sanctuary. At Panóias, sacrifice had probably always played a central role in local cultic praxis. Rufinus attempted to regulate this tradition by providing explicit and rather detailed instructions about the procedures to be followed (text 1).

The case-study of Panóias witnesses the spontaneity and randomness with which individuals could unsystematically implement the Isiac cults, even far from the preconfigured behaviors and the institutional pressure of what we call "civic religion". Panóias shows how a pre-Roman rock sanctuary could, during the period between the late 2nd and mid-3rd centuries CE, be experienced as a *Serapeum* and adapted to specific mysteric requirements. Moreover, it highlights the strategies used by the senator Rufinus to reckon with a highly-charged past, inserting his religious innovation into a historical continuum in an appropriate and respectful manner, thus prolonging and renewing a salient ancestral activity.

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72 See Rodrigues de Aguiar's *Relação apud* Rodríguez Colmenero 1999, 19: "*basas e capiteis e pedaços de colunas, redondas e pedras de frisos, entabolamentos, caleiros e outras muitas, e muito diversas e algús pedaços de colúnas e pedras de jaspe, e outra muito branca a modo de pedra de sal, e outra de grâ miuda como pedra de açucar*".

In conclusion, this is an excellent example of the possible micro-mechanisms of appropriation through which, in antiquity, religious entrepreneurs could negotiate their innovations, find spaces for creativity and individual distinction, and therefore empower and enlarge their agency.

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