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WOMEN AND ROMAN RELIGION IN DACIA: THE EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

CSABA SZABÓ

ABSTRACT

The role of women in Roman religious communication is a growing research field, with several significant focus points and case studies. Understanding the role of women in religious communication within provincial contexts is one of the most fertile areas of research, yet it has not been thoroughly examined within the Danubian provinces. This study marks the first instance in historiography of Dacia where the focus is placed on exploring the role of women in Roman religious communication within the province, employing the comprehensive analysis of all available epigraphic evidence (112 inscriptions). The study provides methodological insights and underscores key research points for future systematic work that needs to be undertaken in the Danubian provinces.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG: FRAUEN UND RÖMISCHE RELIGION IN DAKIEN:DIE EPIGRAPHISCHEN ZEUGNISSE

Die Rolle der Frauen in der römischen religiösen Kommunikation ist ein wachsendes Forschungsgebiet mit mehreren wichtigen Schwerpunkten und Fallstudien. Das Verständnis der Rolle der Frauen in der religiösen Kommunikation in provinziellen Kontexten ist eines der fruchtbarsten Forschungsgebiete, das jedoch in den Danubischen Provinzen noch nicht gründlich untersucht wurde. In dieser Studie wird erstmals in der Geschichtsschreibung zu Dakien die Rolle der Frauen in der römischen religiösen Kommunikation innerhalb der Provinz untersucht, wobei eine umfassende Analyse aller verfügbaren epigraphischen Zeugnisse (112 Inschriften) zum Einsatz kommt. Die Studie bietet methodische Einblicke und unterstreicht die wichtigsten Forschungspunkte für zukünftige systematische Arbeiten, die in den Danubischen Provinzen durchgeführt werden müssen.

KEYWORDS: gender studies, Roman religion, votive inscriptions, Apulum, Sarmizegetusa

STICHWORTE: Gender studies, römische Religion, Votivinschriften, Apulum, Sarmizegetusa

Women and Roman religion: a historiographic overview

The study of Roman religion spans over nearly two centuries with a large variety of topics, some of them with several renewals, while others with no or not much interest by the academic community.¹ For a very long time, Roman religious studies focused almost exclusively on men and their role in religious communication. Almost without exception, the great events of Roman religious life, the public and private rituals, the urban and provincial examples were exemplified through sources written by men, depicting men and featuring men as the principal human agents in religious communication. The gender aspect of Roman religion has been only briefly analysed in the old scholarship, especially in the case of female priesthoods and female deities, with a particular focus on the reception history of the Vestal Virgins and the Sibylline in the nineteenth century or before.² The emergence of the second major wave of feminist historiography was a particularly important step in the emphasis on the role of women in the study of Roman religion.³ Its influence gradually appeared in the Western literature of Roman studies, especially in the study of the Vestal Virgins, where the work of Mary Beard was essential.⁴ Ross Shepard Kraemer's 1988 collection of texts is the first to bring together more than one hundred and thirty literary, legal and epigraphic sources on Roman religion, with women as the main protagonists.⁵ The 1990s saw an increase in the number of studies analysing the role of women in various aspects of Roman religious communication, but the

¹ On the historiography of Roman religion see: Philips 2007; Rives 2010; Szabó 2023. On women in epigraphic representations in the Danubian provinces see: Szabó 2022a.

² White 1919.

³ Morgan 2009.

⁴ Beard 1980.

⁵ Kraemer 1988.

research rarely went beyond some methodological issues: as recently as 1992, John Scheid argued that the role of women could only be a narrow research topic because of their marginality in society and religious practice.⁶ Important works in this respect are the monographs of Ariadne Staples and Wolfgang Spickermann from the 1990s, which broadened the perspectives of research not only by extending the group of sources (with a special emphasis on the role of provincial inscriptions) but also in geographical-regional terms.⁷ Spickermann's work is of particular importance for us, since it analyses the role of women in religious life in a region of the Roman Empire, primarily documented through archaeological and epigraphic sources related to Roman religious communication.

Studies based on epigraphic and archaeological sources, analysing semi-peripheral or peripheral regions far from the capital, have emphasised the impact of the complex and much debated concept of Romanisation on pre-Roman and post-conquest social groups, with increasing emphasis on the gender aspect of Romanisation, which also changed the role, scope, and forms of gender expression in religious communication.⁸ Particularly important are the studies of Rebecca Flemming on the so-called "*incapacité sacrificielle*" of the women in Roman religion, questioning some of the old historiographic myths and presumptions on the role of women in public religion and sacrifice.⁹ The studies of Emily Hemelrijk on the public role of women and their iconographic and epigraphic representation in urban contexts are paradigmatic, although her case studies are mostly focusing on the Western provinces.¹⁰ In her work, Hemelrijk focus on three major aspects of religion, where women are attested in literary, epigraphic and iconographic sources: priesthood and public religious life, *evergetes* activities related to cult activities and other religious allegiances and their participation in rituals.¹¹ From most of the works focusing on gendering Roman religion and especially, the specific role of women in religious communication the archaeological evidence is painfully missing: there are few cases, where votive small finds and archaeological evidence can contribute with relevant sources (vestment, cloths, materiality of self-representation of priestesses and women of the elite).¹²

In the last decade, many studies have focused on the relationship between women and Roman religion: case studies on the religiosity of the female elite, urban religiosity and the role of women in regional studies from the Western provinces emerged in great number, making the study of women in Roman religion a booming topic with several promising and unresearched questions and sources.¹³ Although funeral goods, habits and afterlife beliefs are often missed from the major companion on Roman Religion¹⁴, studies on women and religion discuss this in detail.¹⁵ The case of women in Roman religion in the Danubian provinces (including the above discussed case study of Roman Dacia) represent one of the less researched issues in Roman Studies, a reason why this article aims to present not only the current state of research, but to focus also on methodological approaches for new research perspectives.

Religion and women in the Danubian provinces

A detailed analysis of the role of women in society in the Danubian provinces, not only in relation to Roman religion, but also in other areas of Roman studies is in its infancy and has only begun to be researched in the last few years.¹⁶ Over the last hundred years, research on religion in the Danubian provinces has covered a wide range of topics, mainly with a provincial and local focus, investigating the diverse aspects of religious communication.¹⁷ Sociological analyses of religion and the group-forming nature of religion have been the subject of few studies, which have focused primarily on the military and urban communities.¹⁸

The macro-region traditionally known as the Danubian provinces (in this case: Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia Superior, Pannonia Inferior, Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior, Dacia - **fig.1.**) has 280 archaeologically attested

⁶ Scheid 1992.

⁷ Spickermann 1994; Staples 1998.

⁸ Versluys 2014; Woolf 2014. On Romanisation and gender studies, see: Revell 2010; Pásztoakai-Szeőke 2020; Revell 2022.

⁹ Flemming 2007.

¹⁰ Hemelrijk 2015; Hemelrijk 2020. In her chapter on Roman religion, there are few case studies from the Danubian provinces, focusing especially on the cult of the Nutrices in Poetovio: Idem, 255.

¹¹ Hemelrijk 2020, 221.

¹² DiLuzio 2017 focusing especially on Republican case studies. See also: Albersmeier 2018; Hughes 2021, 126-127 and most importantly Olson 2021. Recent works on funeral habits highlighted several case studies where gender identities might have a larger possibility of self-representation and materiality of religion too: Geller 2017. On small finds and several other groups of sources (pottery, bronze objects): Ivleva-Collins 2020.

¹³ Allason-Jones 2005, 139-159; Takács 2008; Holland 2012; Hemelrijk-Woolf 2013; Várhelyi 2015; Ferlut 2022.

¹⁴ Rüpke and Woolf 2021 or Rüpke 2018 rarely discuss this topic.

¹⁵ Allason-Jones 2005, 145-159.

¹⁶ Beutler 2005; Facsády 2007; Rothe 2013; Akkad-Joksimović 2015; Bózsza 2017; Pásztoakai-Szeőke 2020; Stemberger 2020 to name a few.

¹⁷ Szabó 2020.

¹⁸ For a selected case studies, see: Szabó 2022a.

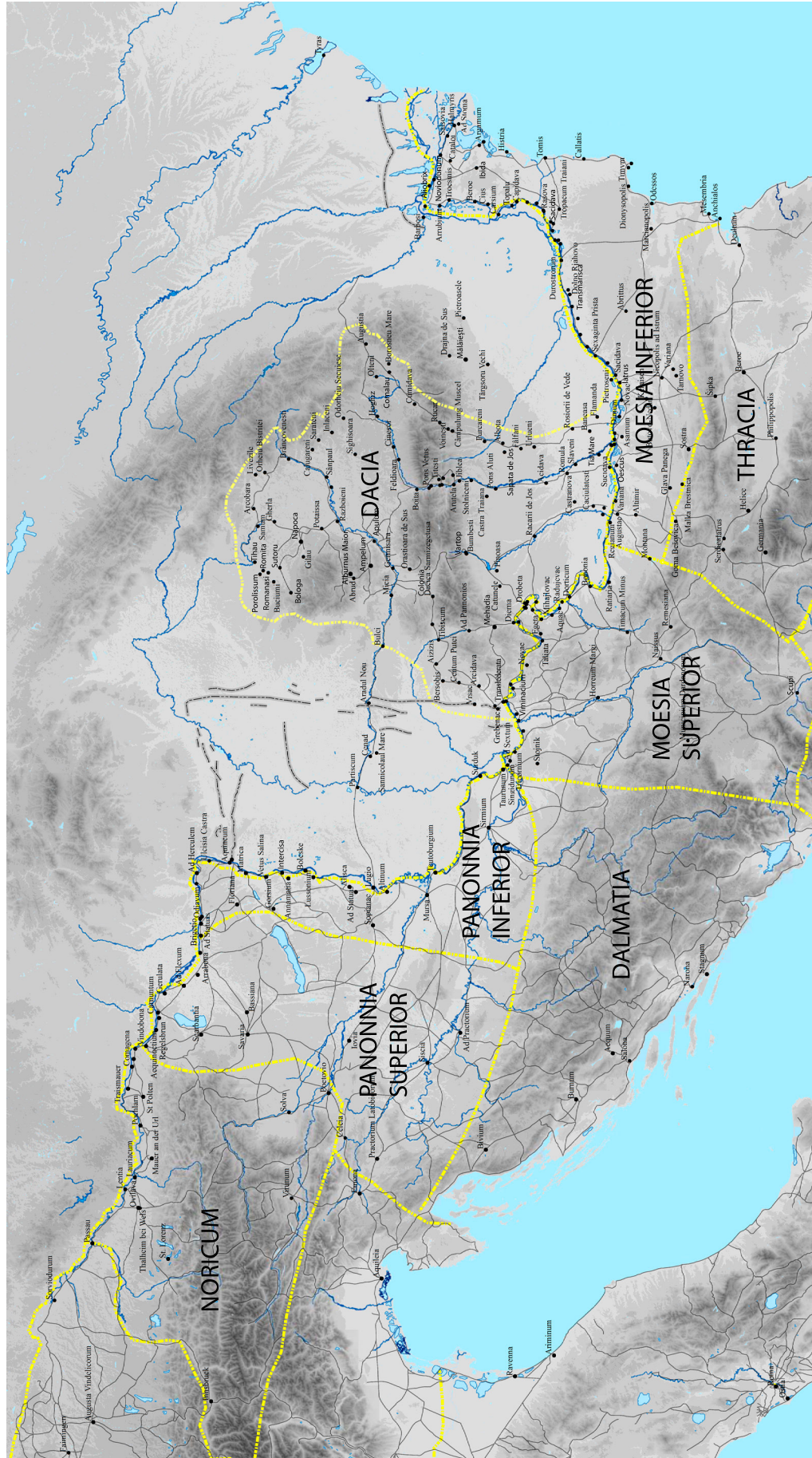


Fig. 1. The Danubian provinces (after Tentea 2012)

sacralised spaces (public temples, meeting places of small religious groups founded by individuals, religious *collegia* buildings) and their rich archaeological and epigraphic material consist of the main sources of religious communication in the region.¹⁹ There are few groups of the surviving sources that reveal the gender aspect of religious practice, and most of the objects are difficult to reveal the biological or social gender of their owners, despite their documented, archaeological context.²⁰ There are no *instrumenta sacra* associated with specific female groups in the Danubian provinces, although some representations of *Isiac* priestesses could indicate the active presence of women in the archaeologically attested Isea of the Danubian provinces.²¹

Among the most gender-obvious group of sources is the epigraphic material: nearly 5700 votive (religious) inscriptions from the seven Danubian provinces mentioned above have survived from the period of the Principate. Most of the epigraphic material is in Latin, but in some of the Danubian provinces (mainly Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia Inferior) Greek and Aramaic epigraphic material has also survived (fig. 2).²²

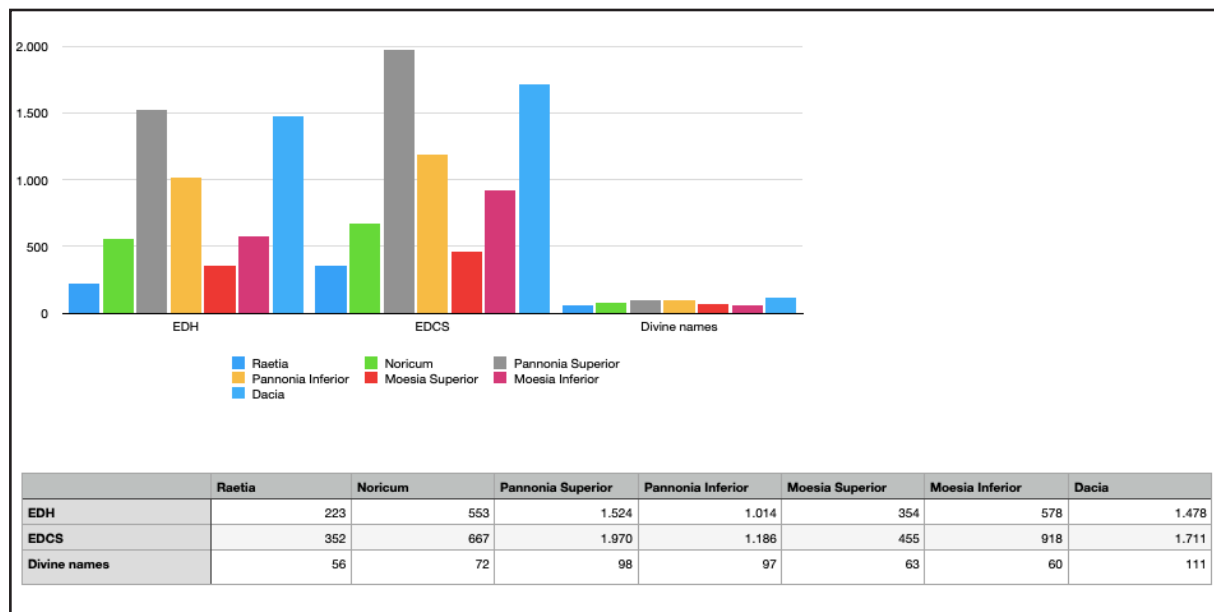


Fig. 2. Votive inscriptions from the Danubian provinces (after the Epigraphic Database of Heidelberg - EDH)

The vast majority of the 5700 votive inscriptions come from the large military (legionary fortresses) and urban environments of the Danubian provinces and mention the names of some 260 deities, which illustrates the religious diversity and the unique character of the Danubian provinces as a large cluster of the Roman Empire. Among these, a particularly large number of inscriptions come from the three largest cities of the macro-region, Carnuntum, Aquincum, Sarmizegetusa and Apulum (more than 30% of the total votive inscriptions). The epigraphic habit of the Danubian provinces, however, largely follow the phenomenon of the so-called epigraphic explosion in the rest of the Roman Empire, which has led to the production of most inscriptions from the period of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century AD, mostly from the Severan period. Of the approximately 5700 inscriptions related to religious communication in the seven provinces, we find that women appear on approx. 583 inscriptions (fig.3).²³ In macro-regional distribution, this is less than 11% of the votive inscriptions, which obviously does not reflect the demographic and gender (social and biological) realities of the provinces. Pannonia Superior and Dacia has by far the richest *corpus* of women attested on epigraphic sources; Apulum, Carnuntum, Aquincum and Sarmizegetusa have more inscriptions dedicated by women than the entire province of Raetia or Moesia Superior.²⁴

¹⁹ See the Digital Atlas of Roman Sanctuaries in the Danubian Provinces: www.danubianreligion.com. Last accessed: 21.02.2024.

²⁰ Tóth 2015, 23 for the tomb of the Nagyberki-Szalacska priestess.

²¹ Tomorad 2018.

²² Based on the data of the Heidelberg Epigraphic Database (EDH) which is not yet complete.

²³ Based on the Clauss-Slaby Database, however this number includes also the dedications mentioning Roman empresses. The statistics given in my previous study are based on the EDH database and are not accurate (the numbers are higher, the percentage on provincial level are slightly different). A comprehensive catalogue of the epigraphic material of female dedicants needs to be done in the future: Szabó 2022a, 66-67. See also the study of N. G. Brancato focusing mostly on statistics: Brancato 2015.

²⁴ Carnuntum has 43 votive inscriptions which mentions female dedicants, Aquincum has 37. See also: Kremer 2012, 391.

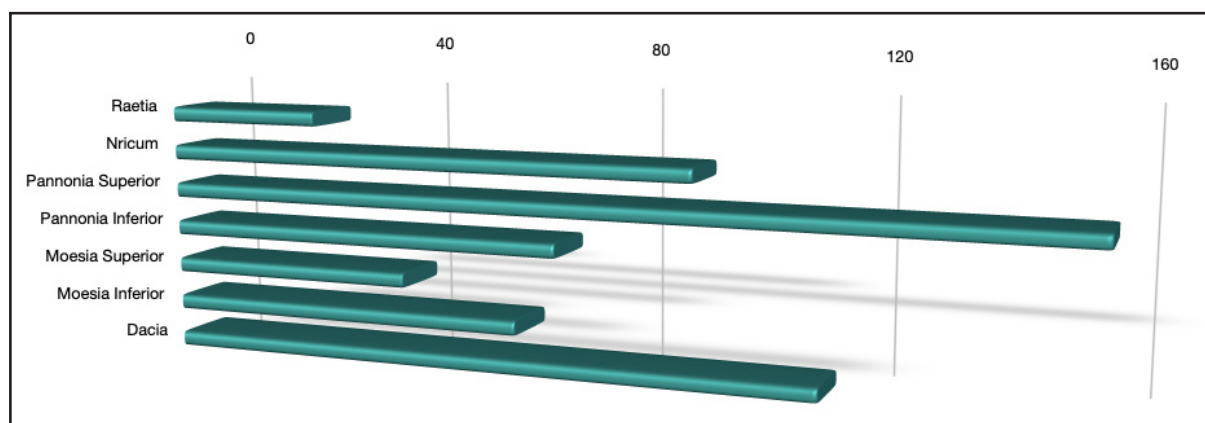


Fig. 3. Votive inscriptions with female dedicants (after the EDH and Clauss Slaby Epigraphic Database)

This already shows that in Roman religious practices in macro- and meso-spaces²⁵ women are indeed marginalised, at least in epigraphic representation. Epigraphic habit is a masculine feature of the Roman world, however the reasons of the gender aspect of this form of public communication is highly debated and should not be reduced to the legal aspects of sacrifice and the old presumption of inaccessibility of military spaces by women.²⁶ Allason-Jones argued once, that “*on day-to-day level a woman’s religious life was centered on the rituals carried out in the home*”.²⁷ This picture is just partially true, as the epigraphic evidence from Roman Dacia shows. In her chapter on women and religious communication in Britannia, Allason-Jones focused especially on burial customs, small finds (terracotta figurines in funerary contexts) and the rare cases of epigraphic dedications. The local materiality of each province defines the methodological questions and approaches, therefore analysing the strategies of religious communication of women in each province can have radically different methodologies.

In the case of macro-regional research on the Germanic and Gallic regions the research on women in epigraphic sources has addressed the following main questions and methodological points²⁸: what are the public, collective and individual roles of women in Roman religious communication? Did they participate in sacrifices and if yes, what is the evidence for this? What are the traces of *evergetes* activities of women in religious spaces? What are the divine agents of women’s dedications and to what extent is the cult of female divinities typical of this context? What are the spaces of religious communication where women appear and what are the less documented spaces? In what form can individual religiosity be attested in the light of epigraphic and material sources? In what ways did women’s religiosity change because of the Roman conquest (the concepts of Romanisation and religious appropriation) and how did it differ from that of men? How is the religiosity of women in rural and urban environments different?

These questions have not been addressed by researchers on the religiosity of the Danubian provinces, especially in relation to the role of women in society in this region of the Roman world. Due to the complexity of the topic and the volume of nearly six hundred epigraphic sources, this study cannot undertake a detailed analysis, therefore it will examine as a case study the 112 inscriptions of Roman Dacia in more detail, considering the methodological issues mentioned above.

Women and their gods in Roman Dacia

Out of about 1500 votive inscriptions attested in the province of Dacia, only 112 inscriptions mention female names.²⁹ This number is also surprisingly low compared to the macro-regional statistics mentioned above (barely 7,5%).³⁰ Women were presumably much more present in the macro-, meso- and micro-spaces of Roman religion, but no epigraphic or archaeological evidence can prove their real impact and activity in the 55 archaeologically

²⁵ On the spatial taxonomy of Roman religious communication see: Szabó 2022b, 1-10.

²⁶ Scheidel 2008; Hemelrijk 2013; Bell 2020. On women in forts see: Vanhoutte and Verbrugge 2017 with all the previous literature.

²⁷ Allason-Jones 2005, 141.

²⁸ Based on the research focus of Spickermann 1994; Hemelrijk 2015.

²⁹ The data is based on the Epigraphic Database of Heidelberg, Clauss Slaby Database and the latest volumes of the *L’Année épigraphique* after 2015. See also: Jucan 2007; Carbó-García 2012; Brancato 2006; Brancato 2015.

³⁰ This gender balance is lower than the general number of women in epigraphic evidence of the province: Varga 2018, 46 and 58, pl. 5.

attested sacralised spaces of the Roman province that existed for less than 165 years.³¹ In the majority of the 112 inscriptions, women appear as wives alongside the *pater familias*, who is typically the first dedicant on the inscriptions. There are 44 inscriptions known from the province of Dacia that mention the name of a female dedicant as sole or first dedicant.³² Priestesses are completely missing from the epigraphic record in the province.³³

This anomaly is unusual even in macro-regional context and it can be explained only by the late emergence of the province in the social landscape of the Danubian area, the almost complete lack of local, pre-Roman elite in public religious communication and the highly militarized nature of the province and its public spaces. Still, the low attestation of public functions of women in the votive and funerary inscriptions shows a social anomaly, which need to be explored in a detailed study focusing on the exhaustive evidence on the social life of Roman women in Dacia.

Titles, functions, specialists

From the 681 Roman inscriptions, where female names appear in the province³⁴, there are few cases which mentions any specific, social, professional or religious role in society.³⁵ The case of Fabia Lucilla, *mater collegiorum fabrum et centonariorum* and member of an equestrian family from Apulum is one of the exceptions which shows, that women participated also in the public and economic life of the urban society in Dacia.³⁶ In most of the cases however, women appear only as wives, daughters, heirs, or other legal dependencies with their male partners (freedwomen, slaves). Most of the funerary inscriptions are laconic, with few cases where the education, economic status and perhaps, some features of their personal worldviews are revealed by the epitaphs, especially the few narrative ones and the *carmina* inscriptions of the province.³⁷

Several women (18 in number) appear as members of an album from colonia Aurelia Napocensis of a *spira Asianorum* probably from Asia Minor or one of the Greek speaking provinces of the Roman Empire (cat. nr. 70.). In this case, the cultic association (previously presumed to be related to Bacchus)³⁸ shows a dominant female presence where one of the members, Similarly to the role of Fabia Lucilla, Epipodia was a *mater* of the *spira*, which suggest a leading role in this religious association, although she might be not the patron of the *spira*.³⁹ The *spira* was interpreted by Jaccottet as a Bacchic one, although there are no direct evidence for this hypothesis.⁴⁰ The 18 women attested as members of the collegium are so unusual, it changed the currently known gender balance of the epigraphic evidence from Napoca (25% of female *nomina*).⁴¹

Flavia Crescentina from colonia Sarmizegetusa appears on a monumental inscription (cat. nr. 101.) as a *mater* of a *collegium pomarensium*, college of the fruit gardeners of the city.⁴² Her husband, Valerius Ianuarius is named as *pater*, as an equal partner of Crescentina, which suggest the important role of women in civic, urban associations. Flavia Lucilla, Epipodia and Crescentina are leaders (*matres*) of economic and religious associations in three

³¹ On the sanctuaries of Roman Dacia, see: Szabó 2015 (2020).

³² Cat. nr. 1, 2, 3, 4, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 24, 27, 35, 36, 37, 41, 43, 44, 55, 56-63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 82, 83, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 97, 98, 100, 106, 109.

³³ On a list of priests from Roman Dacia see: Szabó 2007.

³⁴ The number is generated by the Clauss Slaby Epigraphic Database and the Romans1by1 Project. This number however is often corrupted and does not reflect the real number of individual women mentioned on inscriptions. The database includes also the names of the empresses. See also: Varga 2018, 58, pl. 5.

³⁵ The statuary representations of the *matronae*, elite female members of the society are probably also coming from funerary contexts, however the documentation of these statues are very poor: Diaconescu 2004; Ciongradi 2007.

³⁶ CIL III 1207 = IDR III/5, 483: *P(ublio) Ael(io) P(ubli) f(ilio) Pap(iria) / Silvano / Ilvir(ali) et sa/cerd(otali) [co]l(oniae) A[p(ulensis)] / eq(uiti) R(omano) e(gregiae) m(emoriae) v(iro) / Fabia Lucil(la) e(gregiae) m(emoriae) v(iri) filia / mater coll(egiorum) / fabr(um) et cent(onariorum) / coloniae s(upra) s(cryptae) / socero sui / amantissi/mo*. For analogy, see: Kloppenborg and Wilson 1996, 25, CIL VI 1060 and CIL IX 2687.

³⁷ For example, the splendid funerary dedication of Valeria Gemellina to her husband: IDR II, 357 = AE 2003, 1528: *D(is) M(anibus) // Ael(io) Iul(io) Iuliano dec(urioni) quaestoric(io) / aedilic(io) col(oniae) Romul(ae) Valeria Ge(mellina) marito b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit) / coniugi pro meritis quondam karissimo coniunx / hanc Iuliano domum flendo fabricavi perennem / frigida qua membra possint requiescere morti / quattuor hic denos vixit sine culpa per annos / et sua perfunctus vidit cum gloria honores / ecce Gemellina pietate ducta marito / struxi dolens digno sedem cum liberis una / inter pampinea virgulta et gramina laeta / umbra super rami virides ubi densa ministrat / qui legis hos versus opta leve terra viator*. A recent (however not critically analysed) collection of the *carmina* inscriptions of the province see: Cugusi 2023, 407-418. For a curious case study where female dedicants could be present (however they are not mentioned) see: Cenati et al. 2023, 146-148.

³⁸ Onofrei 2008.

³⁹ Varga 2018, 46.

⁴⁰ Jaccottet 2003, 58 and 88-89; Collins-Clinton 2020, 162. Several monuments were discovered in 1801 and 1846 in the Bob utca (strada Bob) in Cluj-Kolozsvár: lupa 12386, 15351.

⁴¹ Varga 2018, 46.

⁴² Piso 2000; Eckhardt 2021, 75.

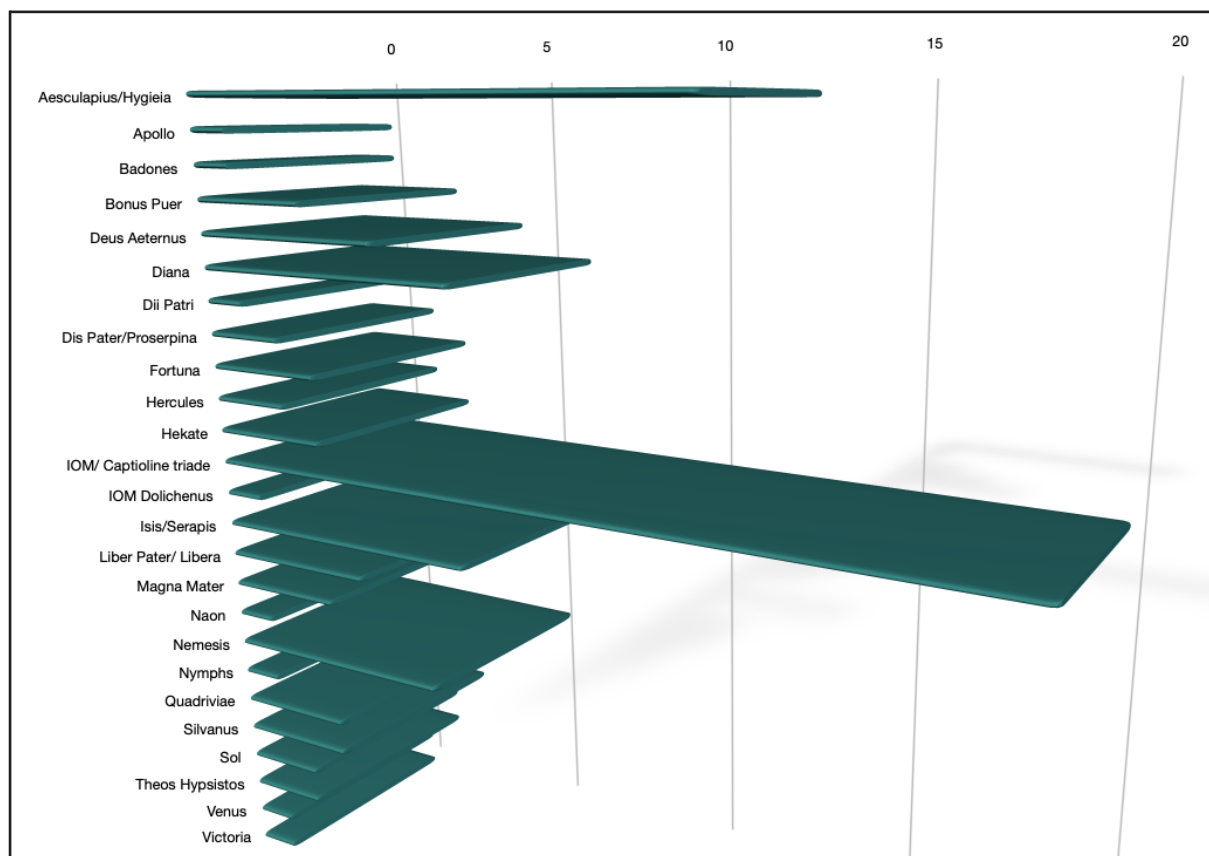


Fig. 4a-b. Divinities of votive inscriptions with female dedicants

different cities of the province, supporting the idea that women were integral part of the economic and religious networks.

The gods evoked: divine agencies

The 112 votive inscriptions featuring women represent a very diverse divine agency (fig.4.). Women appear on inscriptions dedicated to Aesculapius and Hygieia, Apollo, Badones, Bonus Puer, Deus Aeternus and the Angels, Diana, Dii Patri, Dis Pater and Proserpina, Fortuna, Hercules, Hekate, Jupiter and the Capitoline triade, Jupiter Dolichenus, Isis and Serapis, Liber Pater and Libera, Magna Mater, Naon, Nemesis, the Nymphs, Qaudriviae, Silvanus, Sol, Theos Hypsistos, Venus and Victoria.

The most popular divinity – not surprisingly in Roman Dacia⁴³ is Jupiter Optimus Maximus, who is often worshipped in the company of Iuno and Minerva, as the Capitoline triade (20 inscriptions with female dedicants).⁴⁴ Women participating in the cult of this administrative and “bureaucratic” divinity are usually secondary dedicants. Few of these cases are supported by written records and archaeological findings, however the partners of the female dedicants are usually civic or religious magistrates rather than military, which indicates the civilian context of the religious practice too.

⁴³ On the statistics of the so-called provincial pantheon see: Bărbulescu 1984.

⁴⁴ Nicolae 2011.

Divinities	Number of inscriptions
Aesculapius/Hygieia	13
Apollo	1
Badones	1
Bonus Puer	3
Deus Aeternus	5
Diana	7
Dii Patri	1
Dis Pater/Proserpina	2
Fortuna	3
Hercules	2
Hekate	3
IOM/ Capitoline triade	20
IOM Dolichenus	1
Isis/Serapis	7
Liber Pater/ Libera	4
Magna Mater	3
Naon	1
Nemesis	6
Nymphs	1
Quadviviae	3
Silvanus	3
Sol	2
Theos Hypsistos	2
Venus	1
Victoria	1

Healing divinities are particularly important for the women of Dacia: the two large Asklepieia of Apulum and Sarmizegetusa, but also the famous healing springs and thermal baths of Ad Mediam and Germisara are frequented by female visitors.⁴⁵ The motivation of their visit is rarely revealed by the inscriptions (see the case study of cat. nr. 3 below), however we can observe in many cases that women are participating as partners (wife) in *evergetes* activities of the urban elite who are financing the expansion and reconstruction of the Asklepieion of Apulum (cat. nr. 14, 30, 31). A more personal, intimate relationship with the healing spaces and gods are suggested by the dedications of women from Germisara, who are throwing gold leaves into the natural cavity and thermal water (cat. nr. 60, 61, 62). The case of Cornelia Marcellina is particular, as she is the only woman mentioned on two different votive inscriptions dedicated in the same context for two different divinities (Diana and Hygieia).

Women played a particularly important role in Roman Dacia in *evergetes* actions in urban contexts with their husbands (cat. nr. 14, 30, 40, 72) or as direct participants in the reconstruction of a sanctuary (cat. nr. 58, 66). The cult of Isis is the only divinity in Dacia, where the presence of women is attested in all of the epigraphically attested sanctuaries of the goddess, which indicates an intense role of them in these sacralised spaces, although the material evidence of the cultic activity is poorly documented.⁴⁶ Similarly to Isis, the goddess Hekate seems to be favoured by female dedicants in colonia Sarmizegetusa and Sucidava as well (cat. nr. 85, 106, 110). The proximity of the finds associated with Hekate and Dis Pater-Proserpina in Sarmizegetusa suggest an interesting interaction between the women of the city and some of the *extra muros* sanctuaries in the amphitheatre (Nemeseion, Hekateion, Ploutonion).⁴⁷

A particularity of the province is the relatively high number of female dedicants in the cult of Deus Aeternus and Bonus Puer especially in Apulum.⁴⁸ Both divinities are from the Near East, therefore their cult can be interpreted as “ethnic gods” or special, cultural markers in the religious market of the province.⁴⁹ The unique case of Naon (cat. nr. 4) and Badones (cat. nr. 13, see below) are also ethnic and cultural markers of religious individualisation in the most mobile and often, most vulnerable part of the provincial society (mining communities, religious and ethnic diaspora in urban context).⁵⁰ Magical practices are almost monopolised by women, although the small number of case studies does not allow us for relevant statistics in this sense (cat. nr. 27, 56, 57).⁵¹

The archaeological evidence shows no traces of early Christian communities in Dacia in the first three centuries, although some authors argued even recently, that some of the gemstones can be interpreted as “Gnostic” objects and as evidence for the presence of Christian individuals in Dacia.⁵²

Social dimensions and sacralised spaces

Most of the inscriptions with female names (74 inscriptions) come from the two major cities of the province, Apulum (46) and Sarmizegetusa (28), two of the richest settlements of Roman Dacia in votive material (epigraphic and figurative as well).⁵³ The female devotees who appear with their husbands are typically from the urban (magistrates, merchants, priesthood) and rarely from the political and military elite (*ordo senatorius*, *ordo equester*). Individual devotees, on the other hand, were typically from the peregrine and from other specific groups (Celts, Illyrians) which gives us an insight into their personal, individual religiosity. Based on the epigraphic *corpus* it is hard to identify the *origo* of the female dedicants, however in some rare cases, the name of the divinity and the devotee together can suggest this. We can identify in Alburnus Maior the presence of Illyrian women (cat. nr. 4).⁵⁴ Celtic or Germanic individuals, such as Sextia Augustina (see below and cat. nr. 13.) and women from the Greek speaking part of the Empire (perhaps, Asia Minor: cat. nr. 70 and 79). The 135 women attested on the 112 inscriptions mostly represent the partners and family members of local, urban magistrates and members of small group religions, often associated with ethnic or cultural identities, such as the Dii Patri or Theos Hypsistos (cat. nr. 63, 107, 108).

Women of the *ordo senatorius* are almost invisible in religious communication: there are few case studies such as Pullaiena Caeliana, Gavidia Torquata and Fufidia Pollitta (cat. nr. 20-22, 25, 47, 48)⁵⁵, although numerous senators

⁴⁵ On healing shrines of Dacia see: Szabó 2018, 68-78.

⁴⁶ Deac 2013; Deac and Varga 2014; Bricault, Deac and Piso 2021.

⁴⁷ Piso and Szabó 2019.

⁴⁸ On these divinities, see: Nemeti 2019, 190-197 and 302-307.

⁴⁹ Carbó-García 2012.

⁵⁰ On forms of religious individualisations see: Rüpke 2013.

⁵¹ Nemeti 2013; Németh 2015.

⁵² Zugravu 2022, 12-13. For a critical approach, see: Timotin 1999; Szabó 2018, 120-128. Nemeti 2013 rightly argued, that most of the gemstones interpreted as “Gnostic” or early Christian are related to the polytheistic magical practices of the 3rd century AD.

⁵³ For Apulum, see cat. nr. 10-56, for colonia Sarmizegetusa cat. nr. 81-108.

⁵⁴ Several other Illyrian women are attested on funerary inscriptions.

⁵⁵ Várhelyi 2010 mentions few cases of female dedications and the presence of senatorial women in religious rituals in the provincial contexts.

lived 1-2 years in Dacia, their wives were attested on votive inscriptions in other provinces.⁵⁶ Ioan Piso presumed that the altar of Iulia Maximina (cat. nr. 18) could belong to a senatorial family member of C. Iulius Maximinus, who is known from a votive inscription of Apulum (CIL III 1127).⁵⁷ This presumption is highly unlikely, however if it's true, the altar is the only individual dedication of a senatorial woman from Dacia.⁵⁸ An interesting aspect of the epigraphic material is the masculine nature of the Palmyrene communities of Dacia: from the rich epigraphic *corpus* associated with the Syrian communities of the province in Porolissum, Ampelum, Apulum, Sarmizegetusa and Tibiscum, there are no women dedicants attested, although their participation in religious communication should be self-evident based on the few analogies from Palmyra, where their presence is modest, but attested in 20 inscriptions.⁵⁹

The modest presence of women on votive inscriptions shows a surprisingly rich spatial variety in macro-, meso- and micro-spaces of religion, which suggest, that they can be attested in most of the sacralised spaces of the province, probably except for the *aedes signorum* of the military forts and fortresses.⁶⁰ In some spaces, such as the sanctuaries of Isis, Magna Mater or Hekate the percentage of female dedicants are much higher than in other popular spaces of religion in the province (Jupiter Dolichenus, IOM temples). In some rare cases, the presence of women could be indicated only by indirect iconographic sources, such as the representation of the Silvanae, who could be imitated in religious processions by women.⁶¹ Another particular case – although attested mostly in funerary and honorary monuments – is the representation of women *in formam Veneris*.⁶² The complete lack of women from the rich archaeological material of Mithras and the modest presence of women in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus is not unusual, especially in a province dominated by the numerous troops of the Roman army.⁶³

Case studies: from senators to miraculous healings

The comprehensive analysis of the 112 inscriptions and their female dedicants is beyond the scope of this study however, three case studies from the major categories attested in the province (healing sanctuaries and divinities, public or *polis* religion and individual, personal religion) can be illustrated by three inscriptions.

The first case study presents the role of women in macro-spaces of religion and their role in public rituals. Women of the senatorial order (*ordo senatorius*), the social, political, and military elite of the province, are perhaps the rarest category to appear on inscriptions in Roman Dacia. Three inscriptions, excavated in 1861 from the Roman ruins of Alba Iulia / Gyulafehérvár (Apulum), presumably from the governor's palace (*praetorium consularis*), provide an insight into the life and religious communication of Fufidia Pollitta (cat. nr. 20-22.). Pollitta's father was L. Fufidius Pollio, consul ordinarius in 166 (CIL III, 360) and later governor of the province of Galatia. His family is closely linked to the city of Saepinum (Italia), where several inscriptions of the Fufidia gens are known.⁶⁴ The Fufidia gens have been present in Roman political life since the 2nd century BC, so that by the time of the emperor they had centuries of political tradition and authority. Sometime during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Fufidia Pollitta became the wife of C. Caerellius Sabinus (born in Italia, Aquinum), who also had Patrician roots. Sabinus has been assumed by many in the history of research over the last century to be a relative of Caerellius Priscus (governor of Germania Superior and Britannia around 170).⁶⁵ During the short two years that Fufidia Pollitta lived with her husband and his circle in the largest city of Dacia, they were probably active in the religious life of the city, especially in its public macro-spaces (*aedes signorum* of the *Principia legionis*, the Capitolium of the city, the *praetorium consularis*). Their son, C. Caerellius Fufidius Annus Ravus Pollittianus was attested on several inscriptions from Rome by his nurses and teachers, but also in mining context in Macedonia.⁶⁶

At the same time, the senatorial *ordo* also functioned as an “invisible” layer in society, as the governor's palace in Apulum had architectural and geographical features that allowed for the long-term isolation of senators from the

⁵⁶ CIL VIII 2621. Ulpia Aristonica, the wife of Marcus Valerius Maximianus was certainly living in Apulum for a short period, however she remained silent during her stay in Dacia. Similarly to her, Flavia Silva Prisca is attested only in Lambesis: Piso 1993, 166.

⁵⁷ Idem, 168.

⁵⁸ The quality of the altar, the context of the discovery in Sebes and the small, insignificant letters of the inscription does not evoke a senatorial dedication.

⁵⁹ On the military dedications, see: Tentea 2012, 79-87. On religion of women in Palmyra, see: Kubiak-Schneider 2021. See also: Gorea 2010. A particular case study is cat. nr. 14.

⁶⁰ A complete list of sanctuaries of the province see: Szabó 2015 (2020).

⁶¹ IDR III/2, 333 = lupa 15150.

⁶² Antal 2015.

⁶³ On lack of women in the Roman cult of Mithras, see: Chalupa 2005; Griffith 2006. See cat. nr. 103 and 111.

⁶⁴ Piso 1993, 235-237.

⁶⁵ Bradley 1985, 490.

⁶⁶ PIR² C 157.

rest of the urban landscape and society.⁶⁷ Their social presence, accessibility and visibility was limited and their religious action was always determined by a dual feature: personal, individual devotion and cultural identities and their social-political duty, as representatives of imperial and military power.⁶⁸ Fufidia Pollitta's name appears on three votive inscriptions, which were erected by her husband during his years in Dacia, presumably in the sanctuary of the legionary fort, in the *capitolium* of the *canabae* (later *municipium* Septimium) or in other representative, sacralised macro-spaces of Apulum.

The altars, with similar epigraphic markings and decorative motifs, commemorate the Capitoline Triad. Ioan Piso assumed that they were made for a single, non-repetitive event in one place.⁶⁹ Of the three altars, only one survives almost intact (cat. nr. 20, **fig.5.**), which attests to their monumentality and the meticulous and detailed workmanship. The altar, 134 cm high, was dedicated to Iuno Populonia, whose name appears only on this inscription in the province and in the Danube region. Iuno, the protector of the peoples, was a popular goddess mainly in the cities of central Italy; in Pompeii, for example, there are three inscriptions dedicated to her by her priestesses.⁷⁰ The monumental altar and inscription of C. Caerellius Sabinus and Fufidia Pollitta had a double message for the citizens and soldiers of Apulum: on the one hand, they were fulfilling their senatorial and public duties, and on the other, they were also offering sacrifices to their domestic goddess, archaising, and thus ennobling the public, official activity of Roman religious practice. Pollitta followed her husband to Raetia too. Her name has been identified in older literature with that of Pollitta, mentioned in the Ludi Saeculares in 204 AD as *matronae senatoriae*, but more recent interpretations identify her with the renowned Flavia Pollitta of Asia Minor, which is clearly indicated by the



Fig.5a-b. Votive altar of Fufidia Pollitta (photo: Ortolf Harl, lupa 11327)

⁶⁷ Szabó 2018, 51-58.

⁶⁸ Várhelyi 2010.

⁶⁹ Piso 1993, 236.

⁷⁰ Richlin 2014, 208.

inscription (*[m]atronae Fl(avia) Pollitta* - **fig.6.**).⁷¹ There is not yet enough evidence to prove that Fufidia and Flavia Pollitta are related, but it is possible that the two senatorial *matrones* were linked by family ties.

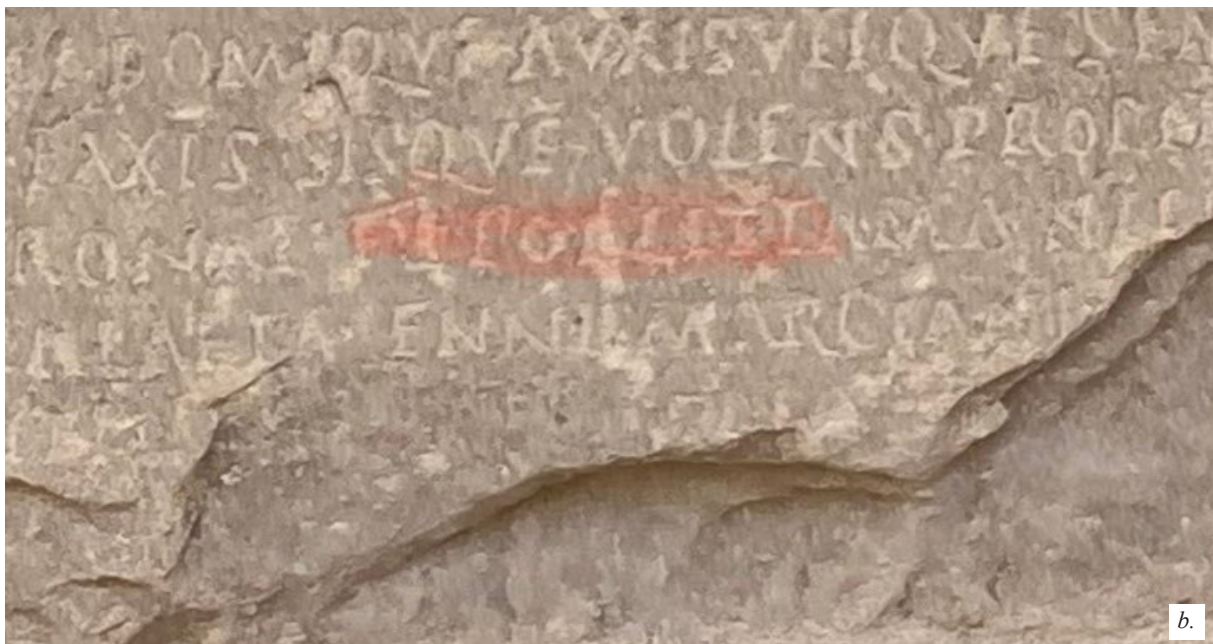
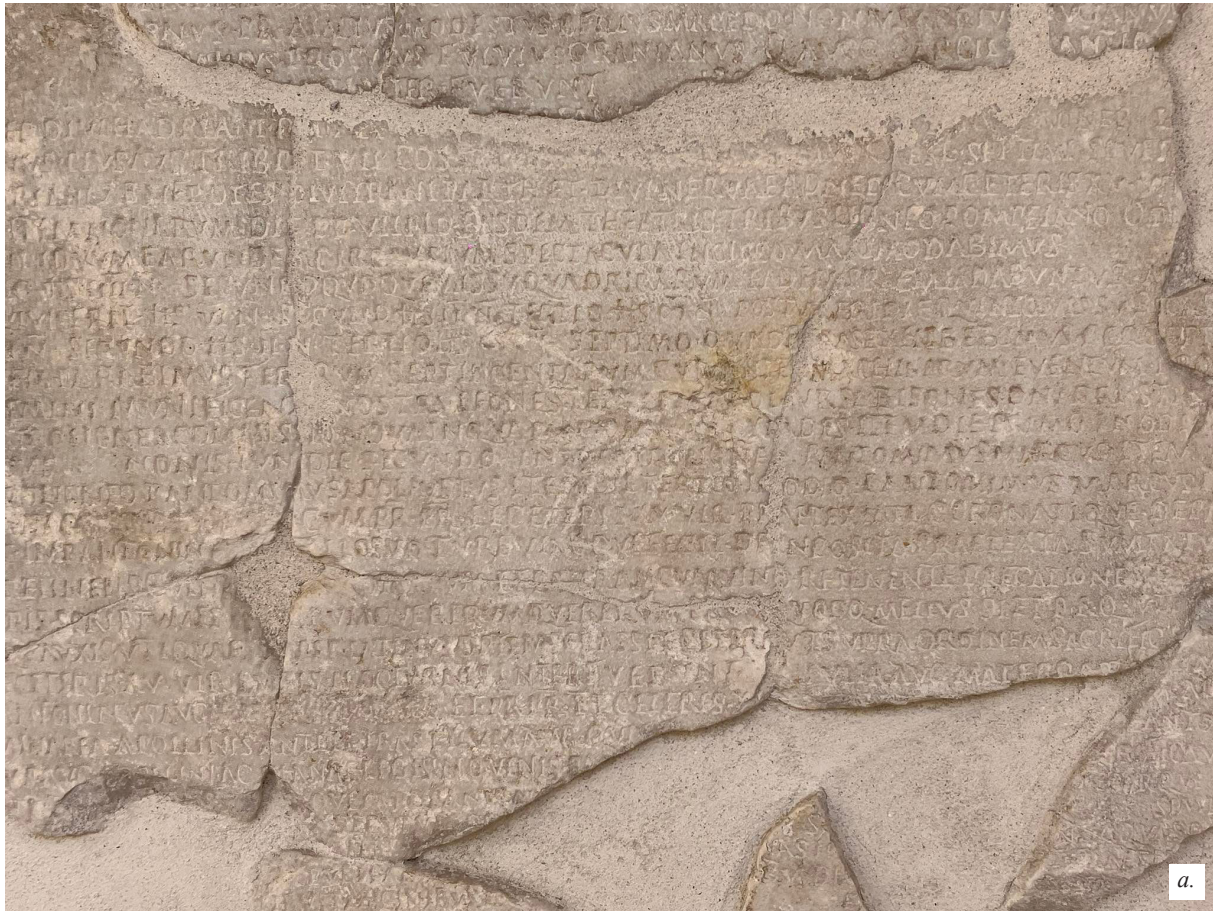


Fig.6a-b. Fragments of the *Ludi Saeculares (Acta Severiana)* from Rome, *Terme di Diocleziano* – Museo Nazionale Romano (photo: the author)

⁷¹ CIL VI 32329. See also: Hermann 2016, 24; Rantala 2017, 176; Schnegg 2020, 314; Chausson 2020, 413. On the life of Flavia Pollitta see: Jones, 1989, 129-136.

The careers and religious practices of the wives of the senators, who were rarely attested in the macro-spaces of the province, cannot be compared to the other case studies of the province, which in most cases only left us only the name of the dedicant and the name of the god, often interpreted as the agents of personal, individual religious identities and cultural markers in religious spaces.

One such special case is the inscription of Sextia Augustina, which was found in an unknown place among the ruins of Apulum and was later incorporated into one of the medieval churches of Gyulafehérvár (the so-called Báthory Church), which was destroyed in 1898 (cat. nr. 13, **fig.7.**). In contrast to the beautifully elaborate senatorial altars erected in large and representative spaces, the small, unpretentious altar of Sextia Augustina is particularly unique not so much by the object's agency role, but more as the divine agency evoked in the text. The plural goddesses - the *Badones* - appear in the Roman Empire only on this modest inscription. Many theories have been put forward on the origin and itinerary of the goddesses, but in the absence of analogies we can only rely on the sources and methodology of comparative linguistics, which rarely succeeds in religious studies, as the contemporary reception of Dumézil's work shows. The *Badones* goddesses were presumably the matron goddesses of the Celtic or Germanic religion, who represented the supreme female principle of motherhood for a small community in a regional context. Silviu Sanie and the philologists and scholars of religions who followed him believed that the *Badones* could be linked to the site of the *Boduhennae lucus* mentioned by Tacitus (Tac. *Ann.* 4, 73), while others associated them with the Mons Badonicus in Britain, known from the early Middle Ages. Wherever the goddesses originated, it is certain that they were local divine agents, but that they spread to the latest conquered corner of the empire, thanks to the extraordinary migration and the mobility of objects and religious traditions of the second and third centuries AD. By putting a modest altar to a less known divine agency, Sextia Augustina assumed her role as "foreigner" even in the context of sacralised spaces of Apulum, where religious, ethnic and cultural pluralism is attested in numerous contexts. Her religious identity communicating with Western *matrones* is not unique in Dacia and even in Apulum: female, Celtic divinities are attested in the city which eased the "foreignness" and uniqueness of Alexandrina's personal, religious choice.⁷² The inscription, as in the case of the 13 individual female dedicants in Dacia, is a testimony to individual religiosity, which, despite its short text and lack of archaeological context, provides an insight into the impact of the Roman Empire on individual religious identities: the empire (its new possibilities of mobilities and the new social-political milieu) shaped the religions of individuals and groups within and outside the borders of provinces and regional spaces. The case of the *Badones* reflects how religious glocalisation functioned in the Roman Empire: the cult might have been a local religious tradition of a Celtic or Germanic tribe (religious localism), but the impact of the Roman Empire on individuals and groups created a new context for these divine agents, as cultural, ethnic markers in a new provincial context (global mobilities of people, religious ideas). Glocalism therefore is a new methodological frame, which unites local and global identities and factors and can help us to understand the religious mobilities and identities of individuals and groups during the Principate.⁷³



Fig.7. The votive altar of Sextia Augustina from Apulum (photo: Ortolof Harl, lupa 11115)

Finally, the case study of Iunia Cyrilla from Ad Mediam (Herkulesfürdő, Băile Herculane) is a good case study for the importance of healing sanctuaries in the everyday life of provincial women, but also for the rarely observed emotional impact and connection of women in society. The beautifully elaborated marble altar (73 x 37 x 30 cm) was discovered in the 18th century, probably *in situ*, in the ruins of the Roman baths of Ad Mediam. The main sources regarding the topography of the ancient settlements comes from the detailed description of F. Grisellini and the military map from 1774.⁷⁴ From this, we know the existence of a sanctuary of Hercules, protector of the thermal baths and cavities, a Roman bath, a possible amphitheatre or mausoleum⁷⁵ and numerous, small buildings attached to the natural caves and springs. A part of the natural cavities (nr. 23 on the map of Grisellini)⁷⁶ were preserved almost intact and the sacralisation of the space here was strictly related to the springs and hot water.

⁷² Sanie 1970; Higham 2020, 29-44.

⁷³ Van Alten 2017; Dessi 2022; Szabó 2022b, 20-22.

⁷⁴ Grisellini 1780. See also: Benea-Lalescu 1998; Szabó 2018, 145-154.

⁷⁵ The large sized (46 m in diameter) round building or structure was interpreted also as a *tholos*, as part of an Asklepieion. Without systematic excavations, the hypothesis can't be proven.

⁷⁶ Benea-Lalescu 1998, 299.

The hot spring and its water represented an eternal source for the maintenance of the sacralised space. Due to the lack of archaeological excavations, the evolution of the settlement is unknown, but the available sources seem to show a great extension of the Roman bath-complex, which became far more, than a regional centre of leisure and health-care. It is represented also on the Tabula Peutingeriana with a special vignette, which reflects the long-term maintenance and success of the site.⁷⁷ From the known sources only a sanctuary and numerous baths were identified, but the presence of bricks from the *legio IIII Flavia Felix*, *legio VII Claudia*, *legio XIII Gemina*, *cohors III Dalmatarum* and the funerary monuments, proves that Ad Mediam had a settlement (*vicus, pagus*) too. The presence of the IIII Flavia Felix and VII Claudia suggests that the transformation of the natural environment already begun in the early years of the province. The pre-Roman use of the site as sacralised space is still uncertain, the attested divinities and religious communication seems to follow only Roman traditions.

Although, the success and long – term maintenance of the healing and leisure centre was ensured by the natural resources⁷⁸, the presence of the healing sanctuary shows a large variety of religious experiences. The sanctuary was identified in the 18th century, due to the seven statues discovered on the site.⁷⁹ Hercules, as a classical protector of Roman baths and springs⁸⁰ appears as Hercules Sanctus, Invictus and Salutiferus. Beside Hercules as protector of springs and baths, the cult of Asclepius, Hygieia, the Genius of the Place (*Genius Loci*) and the spirits and divine entities of waters (*Dii et Numini Aquarum*) were attested. The deposition of statues, as votive offerings seems to be a rare practice in Roman Dacia, more often attested in the south part of Dacia (near the Bucova marble mines) and in healing sanctuaries, as the Asklepieion of Sarmizegetusa.⁸¹ As recently was suggested, statuary votive offerings reflect local habits, following complex ritual contexts and iconographic series to memorialize the religious experience, especially in healing sanctuaries.⁸² In the case study of Ad Mediam, various forms of religious experiences can be attested. The statuary votive offerings are special, more local manifestations of religious acts related to the healing process of the patients and visitors – many of them being part of the political elite of Dacia. Their religious communication however shows their weakness and illness, contrasting the social status they had outside of the healing sanctuary. Similarly to the Asklepieia, the territory of such sacralised spaces transformed also the temporarily social identities, creating an emotional community (or group) between elite and non-elite.⁸³

The miraculous healing of Iunia Cyrilla shows the fame of the baths of Ad Mediam as an important healing centre and salubrious environment (cat. nr. 3.). The dedication of her husband is a classical commemoration of an individual religious experience, which served to maintain the sacralised space, but also played an important role in the economic background of the site, as leisure centre.⁸⁴ The altar was dedicated by the husband, who's name is abbreviated, therefore his modesty to step back as dedicant is obvious: *Titus B(---) A(---)* acts here as a loyal and in love man, who express his gratitude for the healing divinities of Asclepius and Hygieia for the healing of her wife, Iunia Cyrilla, who was miraculously healed by the thermal waters after a long illness. The inscription reflects one of the major categories of health issues faced by women in the provinces: chronic, long-term diseases represented a challenge in antiquity too, the most frequented solution for this were the healing sanctuaries near thermal springs.⁸⁵ The miraculous healing of Iunia Cyrilla and the erection of her altar by his husband reflects not only a personal, individual and very emotional act after a religious experience, but as memorialisation of the experience, it contributes to the successful maintenance of the sanctuary and enhance the collective memory of healing.⁸⁶

Although, it was not the only salubrious environment and healing bath of the province, Ad Mediam could preserve its fame and the sanctuary of Hercules till the abandonment of the province. The actual toponym of the city and the revival of the bathing complex in the 18th century was also based on the Roman ruins and the fame of the seven statues discovered in the cavities – an exceptional, but not unique case of revitalization and continuity of ancient, sacralised spaces in Transylvania.

⁷⁷ Fodorean 2012.

⁷⁸ The site was visited by all social classes of the newly emerged consumer society of Dacia. The presence of the senatorial elite and the army ensured also the extra-provincial fame of the site.

⁷⁹ See lupa 31319, 31320.

⁸⁰ Bărbulescu 1977; Bărbulescu 1978; Fagan 2002, 121, 172. See also: Holst-Warhaft-Steenhuis 2010, 57-62. For the best analogy of the sanctuary see: Moitrieux 1992.

⁸¹ Schäfer 2007.

⁸² McCarty 2015, 366.

⁸³ Szabó 2018, 68-78.

⁸⁴ The case of Iunia Cyrilla is abundantly cited in the literature in the last two hundred years. See: CIL III 1561= IDR III/1, 55, Bărbulescu 1984, 171; Renberg 2007, 129; Jarych 2019, 20; Varga 2020 and several other references.

⁸⁵ Varga 2020, 171-172.

⁸⁶ On the role of altars, as actants in collective and individual memorialisation of religious experience see: Moser 2019.

Conclusions

Based on both literary accounts and archaeological findings, as well as the predominant focus of historical research, it is evident that Roman religious monuments have often been predominantly linked with men. A closer analysis of the sources, however, shows that this is not the case and there was a visible presence of ancient women in both macro-, meso- and micro-spaces of religious communication, as well as in individual religious practices in almost all legal, ethnic and economic groups in the provincial life. This paper has briefly sketched the marginal, but well-sourced, role of women in Roman religious communication by examining epigraphic material from Roman Dacia. A detailed examination of the surviving inscriptional material from the Dacia is beyond the scope of this paper, but the importance of systematic research has been highlighted by studies focusing on epigraphic sources that have so far analysed the Germanic and Gallic provinces in detail. This study has presented, through case studies from the province of Dacia, the various, but discrete roles of Roman women in religious communication: wives who appeared on votive inscription together with their husbands, parents and children, women who actively participated in the organisation of religious associations, individual religious choices which reflect their cultural, ethnic or religious identities and situational moods and rare cases when women appeared in *evergetes*, building activities of sanctuaries in the province. Important to mention however, that in the case of the collective dedications (where women appear with their husband or other family members) it is hard to speak about the agency of women in religion. The relevant case studies are the individual dedications, which are extremely rare in the complete corpus of votive inscriptions of the province.

Further studies on the role and impact of women in Roman religious communication need to focus also on anepigraphic, figurative sources: the representation of women in frescoes, imaginary and religious scenes, the gender role of jewellery, *fibulae*, vestments, *instrumenta sacra*, small finds, miniature religious objects, and other material groups of religion in documented archaeological contexts with and without bioarchaeological evidence.⁸⁷

Addendum: votive and magical inscriptions with female dedicants from Roman Dacia⁸⁸

1. Ad Mediam (Băile Herculane). AE 2011, 1095 = HD071764: [---] An<t=I>onia(?) N[---](?) / [--- vo]to posuer[unt]
2. Ad Mediam (Băile Herculane). ILD II, 863 = AE 2011, 1095:] Antonia N[3] / [ex vo]to posue([unt])
3. Ad Mediam (Băile Herculane). CIL III 1561 = IDR III/1, 55: Aesculap(io) / et Hygiae / pro salute Iunia / Cyrrillae quod a / longa infirmite virtute aqua/rum Numinis sui / revocaverunt / t(utor) b(onis) a(dministrandis) eius v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)
4. Alburnus Maior (Rosia Montana). AE 1990, 839 = ILD 372 = HD024909: Naoni / Iulia Beu/c(i?)
5. Ampelum (Zlatna). AE 1992, 1471 = ILD 347 = HD043773: Fortunae / Domest(icae) / Moschus / Aug(usti) lib(ertus) ta/bular(ius) et / Aurel(ia) Ascle/piodote ex / voto
6. Ampelum (Zlatna). CIL III 1288 = IDR III/3, 294: Dian(ae) / sacru(m) / pro sal(ute) / Ant(oniae) Rufa(e) / Victorinus / ser(vus)
7. Ampelum (Zlatna). CIL III 1303 = IDR III/3, 319: Libero P(atri) et Li[b]/er(a)e Herclia[n]/is et Cervabu[s] / Romanus Aug(usti) n(ostris) / et A<u=Y>r(elia) Creste vo[t(um)] / l(ibenter) posuerun[t]
8. Ampelum (Zlatna). ILD I 344 = AE 1991, 1346: [I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [p]ro salut(e) / Statia(e) Festae / [C(aius)] Restitu/tius Iustus / et C(aius) Iulius / Priscinus / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)
9. Ampelum (Zlatna). CIL III 1286 = IDR III/3, 288 = HD045732: Deo aeter/no Zmar/agdus Aug(usti) / lib(ertus) tab(ularius) et / Aurel(ia) Urb[i]/ca c[on]iux et / Matron(a) / filia / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)
10. Apulum (Alba Iulia). IDR III/5, 215 = AE 1930, 7 = lupa 12272: I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Cust(odi) / Iunon(i) Miner/vae ceteris/que dis deabus/que P(ublius) Ael(ius) Anti/pater Ilvira(lis) / col(oniae) Apul(ensis) et An/tonia Iulia / eius et Aelii An/tipater Iulia/nus Genialis / deccc(uriones) col(oniae) eq(uo) p(ublico) e(t) Iulia / filii eor(um) pro salut(e) / sua suorumque
11. Apulum (Alba Iulia). IDR III/5, 52 = AE 1944, 29 = HD020262: Deanae sacrum / T(itus) Fl(avius) Italicus prim(us) IIIvir / mun(icipii) cum Statilia Lu/cia coniuge et Fl(avio) Sta/tiliano filio ex voto

⁸⁷ Allison 2015.

⁸⁸ Jucan 2007 mentions 93 inscriptions. Carbó Garcia 2012 lists 26 inscriptions dedicated for „Oriental” cults (he included inscriptions dedicated for IOM in the case of the collegium pomarensum).

12. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 14468 = IDR III/5, 14 = AE 1901, 28 = lupa 19366: *[Aes]c[ul]apio et Hygiae L(ucius) Iul(ius) / [B]assinus dec(urio) col(oniae) Apul(ensis) Ilvir / col(oniae) Nap(ocensis) flam(en) col(oniae) Drob(etensis) flam(en) / munic(ipii) Dier(nensis) dec(urio) munic(ipiorum) Apul(ensis) / et Por(olissensis) trib(unus) leg(ionis) III Fl(aviae) pro sa/lute Iuliae Beronices con/iugis / v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)*
13. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 14471 = AE 1901, 29 = IDR III/5, 37 = lupa 11115: *Badonib(us) / Reginis / Sextia Au/gustina / ex voto*
14. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 976 = IDR III/5, 7 = HD037972: *Aesculapio et / Hygiae P(ublius) Ael(ius) Sy/rus Aug(ustalis) m(unicipii) Sep(timii) Apul(ensis) / et Vale(ria) Severa con/iux et Ael(ia) Syra fi/lia ex voto porti/cum per pedes XXX f(ecerunt)*
15. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 12558 = IDR III/5, 17 = lupa 10968: *(A)escula/peo / et (H)y/gi(a)e / Resti/tuta / [-----]*
16. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 7737 = IDR III/5, 26 = lupa 11021: *-----] / Aetern[o] / Clodia / Maxima / [e]t <F=E>la(via) / Valeria / [-----]*
17. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1008 = IDR III/5, 74 = *Fortunae / Aug(ustae) sacr(um) et Gen[i]o canabensium / L(ucius) Silius Maximus / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) I ad(iutricis) / p(iae) f(idelis) magistra(n)s / primus in can(abis) / d(onum) d(edit) / et Silia Ianuaria / et Silius Firminus*
18. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1024 = IDR III/5, 92 = lupa 6742: *Deo // Herculi / Iulia Maxima / voti sui / compos*
19. Apulum (Alba Iulia). IDR III/5, 104 = RICIS 616/0404 = lupa 11324: *Isidi / myr(ionimae) sac(rum) / Ael(ia) Iusta / pro Ver(---) Fir/<m=N>o filio / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
20. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1075 = IDR III/5, 107 = lupa 11327: *Iunoni / Reginae Po/puloniae / deae patriae / C(aius) Caerellius / Sabinus leg(atus) / Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) / et Fufidia / Pollitta eius / voto*
21. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1076 = IDR III/5, 260 = lupa 21813: *Minervae / Iovis consili/orum partici/pi C(aius) Caerellius / Sabinus leg(atus) / Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) / et Fufidia / Pollitta eius / voto*
22. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1074 = IDR III/5, 139 = HD038216 *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [C(aius) Caerellius] / [Sabinus leg(atus)] / [Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae)] / [et Fufidia] / [Pollitta eius] / [voto]*
23. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 7753 = IDR III/5, 108 = HD038168: *Iunoni Semliae / Iul(ius) Alexander / actarius l(egati) l(egionis) XIII g(eminae) / et Aelia Vincentia / lib(entes) pos(uerunt)*
24. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1046 = IDR III/5, 154 = HD038239: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Iustia / Secun[d] in[a] / ex voto / pos[ui]t*
25. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1071 = IDR III/5, 195 = HD038288: *[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] // Iunoni Reginae / Minervae / L(ucius) Annius Italicus / Honoratus leg(atus) / Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII gem(inae) / Antoniniana / praef(ectus) aerarii / militaris sodalis / Hadrianalis cum / Gavidia Torquata / sua et Anniis Italico / et Honorato et / Italica filiis*
26. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1082 = IDR III/5, 203 = lupa 6749: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Aeterno // T(itus) Fl(avius) Flavianus / Aug(ustalis) m(unicipii) S(eptimii) Ap(ulensis) et dec(urio) / coll(egii) fabr(um) un(a? cum?) Aelia / Vindia coniuge sua / quod pro se et Fla/viis Restuto Flavi/no Ianuario Flaviano / fi(li)is suis vovetant v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*
27. Apulum (Alba Iulia). AE 2015, 1180 = HD082815: *Iusta in <c>livo veni / Naiule F(?)ETE[-]I / duravit et M / MV*
28. Apulum (Alba Iulia). AE 1930, 5 = IDR III/5, 61: *Dianae Au(gustae) / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Respec[tus] / vet(eranus) ex str(atore) co(n)s(ularis) / et Ael(ia) Valentina / v(otum) l(ibentes) s(olverunt)*
29. Apulum (Alba Iulia). AE 1972, 456 = IDR III/5, 34: *Apollini / Salutari / pro salute / filiorum / sua co(n)i{i}ugis / suorumq(ue) / C(aius) Iul(ius) Varianus*
30. Apulum (Alba Iulia). AE 1993, 1337 = IDR III/5, 13: *Aesculapio et Hygiae / M(arcus) Gallius Epitectus / Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) Apul(ensis) et Gall[i]a / Severina eius et Galli/us Surus et Gallius Se/verinus et Gallius / Severianus fili(i) pro / salute sua suorumq(ue) / somno monitus / port(icum) fecit per p(edes) XXXVI*
31. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 975 = IDR III/5, 6: *Aesculapio et Hygiae / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Rufinus dec(urio) mun(icipii) et patronus / coll(egii) fabrum colon(iae) Apul(ensis) / pro salute sua et Ulpiae Hel/pidiaei coniugis et Ael(i) / Urbani fili(i) ex iuss<u=O> f(ecit) / port(icum) per p(edes) XXXX*

32. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 987 = IDR III/5, 21: *Aesculapio / et Hygiae ce/terisq(ue) di{i}s dea/busq(ue) huiusq(ue) / loci Salutarib(us) / C(aius) Iul(ius) Fronto/nianus vet(eranus) ex / b(ene)ff(iciario) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) P(iae) / redditis sibi lumi/nibus grat(ias) age(ns) ex / viso pro se et Carteia / Maxima coniug(e) et Iul(ia) / Frontina filia / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
33. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1028 = IDR III/5, 100: *Herculi / Invict(o) / pro salut(e) / C(ai) Iul(i) Matro/biani et / Aeliae Bo/nae con/iug(is) Ada/mas ex vot(o)*
34. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1124 = IDR III/5, 293: *Deae Nemesi / Aurel(ius) Marius / optio signif(eratorum) / leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) / cum Severia / Secundina / coniuge / pro salute sua / et Marianae / Bonosae et / Mariniani liberti*
35. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1136 = IDR III/5, 305: *Bono Puero / P(h)osphoro / Lael{l}ia Cu/rillia pro sa/lute sua suo/rumque v(otum) s(olvit) / l(ibens) m(erito)*
36. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 14473 = IDR III/5, 158: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Octavi/a Digna / pro salu/te suis et / suor(um) v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit) m(erito)*
37. Apulum (Alba Iulia). AE 1947, 24 = IDR III/5, 309: *<Q=O>uadru/vis / aram / Cornelia / Daphnis / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo) m(eritoque?)*
38. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1084 = IDR III/5, 211: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Conservat(ori) / L(ucius) Ant(oni)us Secun(dus?) / Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) Ap(ulensis) / in his aedib(us) / natus cum / Celsina fil(ia) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
39. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1091 = IDR III/5, 233: *Libero Patri / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Fronto / vet(eranus) ex b(ene)ff(iciario) co(n)s(ularis) / et Ael(ia) [Fr]on[t]on[i]a coniu(n)x ei/us pro salute / sua suorum/que omnium / [*
40. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1100 = IDR III/5, 253: *Pro salute Aug(usti) M(atri)s d(eum) M(agnae) / sanctum / T(itus) Fl(avius) Longinus vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) al(ae) II Pann(oniorum) / dec(urio) col(oniae) Dac(icae) dec(urio) mun(icipii) Nap(ocae) dec(urio) kanab(ensium) / leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) et Cl(audia) Candida coniu(n)x et Flavi / Longinus Clementina Marcellina fil(ii) / ex imperio pecunia sua fecer(unt) l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*
41. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1102 = IDR III/5, 255 = HD038375: *M(agnae) D(eum) M(atri) / Umbricia / Maxim[a] pro / se suisque / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
42. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1132 = IDR III/5, 303 = HD38496: *Bono Deo / Puero P(h)os/phoro / T(itus) Fl(avius) Italicus / primus IIII/vir m(unicipii) A(ureli) A(pulensis) / cum Stati/lia Lucia / coniuge et / suis ex voto*
43. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1135 = IDR III/5, 304 = HD038498: *Iulia Secunda / Puero P(h)osphoro / D O M / d(onum) d(edit) d(edicavitque)*
44. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1140 = IDR III/5, 310 = lupa 17298: *Quadrivi(i)s sacr(um) / Fl(avia) Pulchra / pro se et suis / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
45. Apulum (Alba Iulia). IDR III/5, 311 = HD038510: *Quadrivi(i)s / M(arcus)(?) Ga[l]lius / [C]am[i]na[s] / [d]ec(urio) [c]ol(oniae) Sar(mizegetusae) / [cum S]abina / [ei]us? --] v(otum) s(olvit)*
46. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1154 = IDR III/5, 349 = HD038569: *Silvano Silves/tri et Dianae / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Comat(ius) / Super dec(urio) an[t]is/tes pro salute / sua et Comatior(um) / Superiani Supe/res Exsupera(n)/tiani Super/stitis filior(um) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
47. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1118 = IDR III/5, 350 = HD038583: *Soli / Q(uintus) Marcius Vi/ctor Felix Ma/ximillianus leg(atus) / Augg(ustorum) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) et / Pullaiena Cael/iana c(larissima) f(emina) eius / et P(ublius) Marcius Vi/ctor Maximilli/anus c(larissimus) p(uer) filius / voto*
48. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1072 = IDR III/5, 365 = HD038570: *[Victoriae] / [Antonini] / [Aug(usti)] / [L(ucius) Annius Italicus] / [Honora]tus leg(atus) / [Au]g(usti) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) / Antoninianae / pr(a)efectus aerarii / militaris sodalis / Hadrianali cum / Gavidia Torquata / sua et Anniis Italico / et Ho[n]orato et] / [Italica filiis]*
49. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1165 = IDR III/5, 385: *-----] sacr(um) NVTI[---] / Caecilia Sexti filia / [-----]*
50. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1117 = IDR III/5, 388: *C I[---] / LV[---] / [--] p[r]o sal[ute] / [i?]m[perii]? et? s(enatus)? p(opuli)q(ue)? R(omani)? / e[t] or[dinis]? col(oniae)? / A[p]u[l]e[nsis] / C(aius) Iu[l(ius)] Valen[s] / CL[---]VSL / sacerso[s] / D[---]NS[---] / A[---]EI[---]A[---] / Quinta [--] / coniuge [-]I[-]C[-] / [e]t Caiis Iuli/is Val[fente] et / Pasinico / fili(i)s / v(oto) l(ibens) p(osuit)*

51. Apulum (Alba Iulia). IDR III/5, 394: -----] [-]IO(?)[---] / Maxima [Ti(berii)? Cl(audii)?] / Augustia[ni] / augur(is) m(unicipii) Ap(ulensis) eq(uo) p(ublico) [fil(ia)?]
52. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1162 = IDR III/5, 397: -----] / [C(aius)? Valerius?] / [S]alv[i]us(?) Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) / Apul(ensis) pro salute / sua et Flaviae Sy/rae coniugis / et C(ai) Val(erii) Flaviani / fili(i) et omnium / suorum ex vo/to posuit
53. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1085 = IDR III/5, 212 = HD038314: I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Conservator(i) / Callistus Aug(usti) / nostri ver/na dispen/sator et Cor/nelia eius / pro se et suis
54. Apulum (Alba Iulia). CIL III 1164 = IDR III/5, 398: -----] / in honorem [---] / ATA[---]AM / Vib[i]dia Papinia(?) [---] / et TETIA(?) Vibidia et [---] / [---] LI(?) templum [v]et[u]st[ate] / [con]jabsum(!) p(ecunia) s(ua) f[ec]it a / [solo?] et orname[ntis] / [---] revert[---] / l(oco) d(ato) [d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)]
55. Apulum (Alba Iulia). ILD II, 937 = AE 2013, 1308: defigo 3 no]/men Mar(i)a / nomen Clian/nis nomen Iuli/(a)es(!) nomen Va[le]/ri(a)es(!) nomen / Fuscentis nomen / [H]armationi[s(?)] / nomen Filom/ini nomen Ciri/[3]u VIANVI[3] / [3] nomen] Clini / nomen Flavi(a)es(!) / Iuli(a)es(!) nomen Au/rioles nomen Iuli/(a)es(!) nomen Nav/[i]nvi nomen / [3] nomen / [3] nomen Valer[i]/[(a)es(!)] nomen Filon/[is] nomen [3] / [3] nom]en
56. Apulum (Alba Iulia). Németh 2015, nr. 3: Iusta, in <c>l- ivo veni! Naiule fete.i duravit et m(ihi) mu
57. Dierna (Orşova). IDR III/1, 43 = Németh 2015, nr. 5.: Demon im(m)uni dei te agitet Aeli(ae) Firmae / ste(t?) supra caput Iuliae Surillae / hac immine prome. Iacm> iam aput Iuliae Cyrillae (with further Greek letters and magical signs)
58. Drobeta (Drobeta Turnu-Severin). CIL III 1582 = IDR II, 26: M(atri) d(eum) M(agnae) / Iulia Ma[ter]/[na] v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) por/ticum imp[en]d]/[io] suo fecit
59. Drobeta (Drobeta Turnu-Severin). CIL III 8016 = IDR II, 27: M(atri) d(eum) M(agnae) / Abuccia / Claudi/ana / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)
60. Germisara (Geoagiu Băi). ILD I, 321: Dia(nae) / Corne/lia Mar/cellin(a)
61. Germisara (Geoagiu Băi). ILD I, 322: (H)ygia(e) / Corne/l(ia) Mar/cellina
62. Germisara (Geoagiu Băi). ILD I, 324: Nymph/is Lici(nia) / Cale
63. Gilău. AE 2005, 1293 = AE 2006, 1102 = HD052479: [D]is Pa/[t]riis / [Au]r(elia) Se/[v]era / [v(otum) s(olvit)] l(ibens) m(erito)
64. Inlăceni. IDR III/4, 274 = AE 1967, 416 = HD014974: Dianae / Reg(inae) sacrum / pro sal(ute) et / incol(u) m(itate) P(ubli) D(---) / Nepot(iani?) praeffecti / coh(ortis) IIII Hisp(anorum) / d(omo?) R(oma?) et Gest(iae?) / Valent(inae) eius(?)
65. Micia (Veşel). IDR III/3, 140 = ILD 309: Veneri / sacr(um) Ae(lia) / Flavia{e} / aram a(nimo?) / votum / p(osuit)
66. Micia (Veşel). CIL III 1341 = IDR III/3, 48 = HD010969: Isidi ex vo/to temp[lum] / fecit D[o]/mitia [Va]/renii [Pude]/ntis Vettia / [---] et Au[---]
67. Micia (Veşel). CIL III 1366 = IDR III/3, 64 = HD045044: [-----](?) / [D]ianae (a)etern[ae] / [s]ancitissimis (!) / Statilia(?) Bassa / fil(ia) Pergamia/ni praeffecti) eq(uitum) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)
68. Micia (Veşel). IDR III/3, 121 = AE 1914, 104: Silv(ano) / Dom(estico) / Aur(elia) Val(entina) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)
69. Napoca (Cluj). ILD I, 546: [Iunoni Regi]n[ae] votu/m solvit Ae/lia Calpop/e(!) pro se(!) et s/uis [l(ibens)] m(erito)
70. Napoca (Cluj). CIL III 870 = AE 2008, 1164 = HD048958: Severo et Quintiano co(n)s(ulibus) / nomina Asianorum / Germanus sprirar[ch]aes // Tattaro / (H)ermes / Dizo / Gaius / Hyius / Zoilus / Valerius / Zoilian[us] / Crescens / Eptala / Ulpus / Mucianus / Carus / m(agister?) / Suri(us?) / Tzinto / Longinianus / Ulpianus / Iulius / (H)ermescus / Nepos / Agrippinus / Valerianu[s] / Curini[us](?) / Rev[---] / Co[---] / [----] // Epipodia mater / Valentina / Augusta / Asclepiodote / Tiberina / Maximina / Tzinta / Iustina / Cornificia / Longina / Cornelia / Vera / Hilara / Gr(a)eca / Rufina / Victorina / Paula // Zoilianus scripsit
71. Peştişu Mare / probably colonia Sarmizegetusa. CIL III 7857 = IDR III/3, 32: Deae Ne/mesi Aug(ustae) / Aur(elia) Epic/tesis p(ro) {sal} / salute sua et / suor(um) ex v(oto) p(osuit)
72. Pons Augusti (? Marga). CIL III 1547 = IDR III/1, 272 = AE 2007, 1188: Deae Nemesi / Ael(ius) Diogenes / et Silia Valeria / pro salute sua et / filiorum suorum / mater et pater / ex voto a solo / templum ex suo / fecerunt colle/gio utric(u)lari/orum

73. Potaissa (Turda). AE 1993, 1332 = ILD 464: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / et Dis hospiti(bus) / huiusce loci / M(arcus) Pollius M(arci) f(ilius) / Ouf(entina) Hispanus / Medi[ola]no / |(centurio) l[eg(ionis) V] M(acedonicae) p(iae) c(onstantis) / et Caedicia Marci/a eius cum suis*
74. Potaissa (Turda). CIL III 913 = ILD II 950: *Cla[u]d(ius?) Hiero lib(rarius) / [l(eg)ionis] V] M(acedonicae) Anton(iniana) / [3] mun(icipii) S(eptimi) Pot(aissensis) et A[3] / [Sa]bina coniu(n)x ei[us] / [et] fili(i) Claud(ia) Sabina / [et] A[ugusta] et Claud(ius) / [3]us filiorum / [pro sal(ute)] sua vota res/[titueru]nt*
75. Potaissa (Turda). CIL III 881 = RICIS 616/0101: *Isidi / et Serapi / C(aius) Iul(ius) Ant(igonus) |(centurio) / // leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) p(iae) <c=O>(onstantis) / et Fl(avia) Apol(linaria) / eius v(otum) l(ibentes) s(olverunt)*
76. Romula (Reșca, Dobrosloveni). CIL III 8025 = AE 1980, 764 = HD005857: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / ex desi(g(natione) Longus / [e]t Lonquina(!)*
77. Romula (Resca). CIL III 1589 = IDR II, 330 = AE 1980, 764: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / ex desi(g(natione) Ioncut(us) / et Lonquina(!) / [*
78. Romula (Resca). CIL III 1590 = IDR II 329: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Defensori / et Tutori / C(aius) Iul(ius) Sen(nianus) cum / Iul(ia) Rufina / coniuge / v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit)*
79. Romula (Resca). CIL III 14486 = IDR II 332: *Dian(a)e Re(gin(ae) M(arcus) Ulp(ius) / Herculan(us) / ex praef(ecto) et / Iulia Teupib(oea?) eius v(otum) s(olverunt)*
80. Santamaria de Piatră. IDR III/4, 117: *] / Vivia c[oniu]nx] / marito [3] / Aur(elio) BII[*
81. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa). IDR III/2, 163 = AE 1977, 676 = HD020542: *Aescula[p(io)] / et Hygiae / pro salute / Lucilla[e f(iliae)] / P(ublius) Flacc(inius) F[el(ix)] / dec(urio) coll(egii) fab(rum) / ex voto*
82. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). CIL III 1417 = IDR III/2, 154: *Numini Aesculapi / et Hygiae Aelia / Venusta v(otum) s(olvit)*
83. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa). IDR III/2, 166 = AE 1977, 678 = lupa 17597: *Num(ini) Aescul(apii) e[st] Hyg(iae)] / Ulpia Ianu[aria] v(otum)? l(ibens)? p(osuit)?]*
84. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa). IDR III/2, 331 = AE 1930, 134 = RICIS 616/0205: *[I]nvicto / deo Sera(pidi) / Caesidius / Respectus / proc(urator) Aug(usti) n(ostris) / et Apronilla / eius*
85. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa). IDR III/2, 220 = AE 1913, 51 = lupa 15171: *Deae (H)aechatae(!) / pro salute(!) / Aeliae Satur(ninae) coniu(gis) suae (H)aeren(nius(!) Gemelli/nus tribunus / statum con(iugis) redemit / ex visu et / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
86. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). CIL III 7908 = IDR III/2, 309 = RICIS 616/0202: *Deae Regi(nae) / Ael(ia) Primi(tiva) ex vot(o) / pro Ael(io) Me(trodoro) / patrono suo / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
87. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). CIL III 1428 = IDR III/2, 228 = RICIS 616/0203: *De[a]e Isidi / Priscianus Aug(ustalis) / col(oniae) Sarmiz(egetusae) metrop(olis) et / Aurelia Fortunata / liberta eius*
88. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). AE 2006, 1174 = HD058102: *Nemesi / Iunia Abasca(anti) / coniuncx(!) e[x] / visu / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
89. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). CIL III 7901 = IDR III/2, 188 = HD046655: *Deo Aeterno / Herennius Gemellinu[s] / v(ir) e(gregius) pro(curator) Auggg(ustorum) nnn(ostrorum) pro A(?)[el(ia)?] / Saturnina co(n)iuge et [He]/renniis Urso et Gemel[lino] / et Sup(e)ro Saturnino v[ot(um)] lib(ens) sol(vit)]*
90. Colonia Sarmizegetusa. IDR III/2, 230 = HD046813: *Iunoni Re(gini(!) Mar(cia) Cara // v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
91. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). CIL III 12583 = IDR III/2, 200 = HD046659: *Papiria Zoe ex voto / posuit*
92. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). AE 1999, 1291: *Aphr]odisia / [3]v]oto*
93. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). AE 2006, 1174 = ILD II, 884: *Nemesi / Iunia Abasca(anti) / coniunc{x} e[x] / visu / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
94. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). CIL III 1422 = IDR III/2, 206: *Fortunae / Reduci Lari / Viali Romae / Aeternae / Q(uintus) Axius Aelia/nus v(ir) e(gregius) proc(urator) / Augg(ustorum) / et Aelia / Romana eius / Ioni*

95. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). CIL III 1423 = IDR III/2, 244: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iuno/ni Reginae M[i]/nervae omni/bus dis Immor/talibus / Q(uintus) Axius Aelia/nus v(ir) e(gregius) proc(urator) / Aug[us]t(orum) et Aelia / Romana eius / Ioni*
96. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). CIL III 7963 = IDR III/2, 345: *pro sal]ute / [3]tinae / [3] et Procili(or)um / Flores Ingenui / fili(or)um M(arcus) Procil(ius) / [P]rimus lib(ertus) eius / ex voto*
97. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). CIL III 12578 = IDR III/2, 332: *[Silvano] / Dom[es(tico)] / pro sa]lute] / Aeliae A[nto]niae co[niug(is)] / Iul(ius) Vict[oria]/nus de[c(urio) col(oniae)] / vot(um) so[lvit]*
98. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). IDR III/2, 153 = AE 1914, 111: *Aes(culapio) et Hyg(iae) / pro salute / Aeliae Florae / et Mett(iorum) Proteni Cas/siani Florae filiae / C(aius) Met(t)ius Cassian(us) Ilvir / col(oniae) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
99. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). IDR III/2, 190 = AE 1914, 106: *Deo Aeterno et Iuno/ni et Angelis / M(arcus) Procilius Aphrodi/sius Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) metropol(is) / et Seximia Hermione / et Procilia filia / colitoribus d(onum) d(ederunt) p(osuerunt)*
100. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). IDR III/2, 360: *] / Vencona / [S]everina / ex visu*
101. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). AE 2000, 1253 = ILD I, 249: *[I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo) et Genio collegi(i) pomarens(ium) // Val(erius) Ianuarius pater et Flavia / Crescentina mater pro salute / filiorum suorum cultores / Iovis Optimi Maximi ex / promisso fecerunt // Numini aeterno / I(ovis) O(ptimi) M(aximi) cultores / pomarensium / Val(erius) Valerianus I[---] / Octavius Cassianus [---] / Iul(ius) Silvanus Iul(ius) Dig[nus?] / Val(erius) Ianuarius IARSIA[---] / [-----]*
102. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). AE 1983, 840 = ILD I, 263: *Deae Praesen/tissimae Cor(a)e / M(arcus) Lucceius Felix / proc(urator) Aug(usti) n(ostri) et / Hostilia Fausti/na eius*
103. Colonia Sarmizegetusa? (Doştat). CIL III 968 = CIL III 7729 = IDR III/2, 306a: *Io(vi) S(oli) Invi(cto) / Deo Genitori / r(upe) n(ato) // L(ucius) Aeli(us) Hylas XX l(ibertus) pr(o) sa(lute) et Horientis(!) fil(i) sui et Apuleia eius sig(num) numinis cum absidata / ex voto pos(uit)*
104. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). CIL III 1438 = IDR III/2, 314 = HD047219: *Deae Nemesi / Regin(ae) / Cornelius Cornelianus / defens(or) lecticar(iorum) / et Iulia Bessa / co(n)iux eius / ex voto posuer(unt)*
105. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). CIL III 7907 = IDR III/2, 19 = HD045703: *Deae [Re]ginae / M(arcus) Com(inius) Q[ui]ntus eq(uo) p(ublico) / pon(tifex) et q(uin)q(uennalis) col(oniae) et Anto/nia Valentina eius / pro salute Claudi/ae Valentinae // templ(um) a solo fecerunt*
106. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). IDR III/2, 365 = AE 2019, 1281 = Piso-Szabó 2019⁸⁹: *Fl(av)ia Revocata de(ae) p(raesentissimae) placi/d(a)e ex voto posuit*
107. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). AE 1939, 5 = IDR III/2, 222 = HD050040: *Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ / ἐπηκόῳ / Αἰλ(ιος)· Απολινάριος· ἐπίτροπος / καὶ Μαξίμᾳ / εὐχαριστήριον*
108. Colonia Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa village). AIDR III/2, 223 = AE 1930, 136: *Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ ἐπηκόῳ / εὐχαριστοῦ/σα ἀνέθηκα / Αἰλία Κασσία*
109. Sighisoara. CIL III 6258 = IDR III/4, 190 = HD045362: *Aeterno / [s]acr(um) Aur(elia) / [G]alla co(n)i/ux Aur(eli) Deci/mi [---] im/ag(iniferi?) [-]M/[-----]*
110. Sucidava (Corabia). IDR III/2, 198 = AE 1959, 321 = HD019558: *Deae placid[ae] / pro salute / Marcianae e[t] / Quintilian[i] / fil[iorum] / [-----]*
111. Sucidava. CIL III 14490 = IDR II, 201 = CCID 177: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dol(icheno) / Probus / |(centurio) leg(ionis) et A/pollonia / eius v(otum) s(olverunt)*
112. Tibiscum (Potoc, secondary position). CIL III 1548 = IDR III/1, 141 = AE 1983, 799a = HD 000598: *Libero Patri / pro salute Mar(ci) / Turrani Dii et / [F]l(aviae)(?) Aeliae Nices / M(arcus) Turran(ius) / Patroclus ex / voto*

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⁸⁹ Florian Matei-Popescu reads it as Aelia Revocata: AE 2019, 1281 comments.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AAC Suppl - Acta Atiqua et Archaeologica. Supplementum. Szeged.
 AarchLodz - Archaeologica Lodziensia.
 ArchDial - Archaeological Dialogues. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
 AA Szeg - Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica Universitatis Szegediensis. Szeged: Univeristy of Szeged.
 AJA - American Journal of Archaeology. Archaeological Institute of America.
 AMN – Acta Musei Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca: Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei.
 BICS - Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
 CICSJ Journal - Center for Comparative History of Ancient Societies.
 CLE - Carmina Latina Epigraphica. Berlin – New York: De Gruyter.
 CP - Classical Philology. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
 CurrBiblicRes - Currents in Biblical Research. London: Continuum.
 DissArch - Dissertationes Archaeologicae. ELTE Eötvös Loránd University.
 JRG - Jahrbuch der Römisch-Germanisches Museum. Köln.
 JRS – The Journal of Roman Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 MAAR - Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Michigan: University of Cambridge Press.
 Memoria Antiquitatis - Acta Musei Petrodavensis. Muzeul Arheologic Piatra-Neamț.
 ReDIVA - Revista Doctoranzilor de Istoria Veche și Arheologie. Cluj-Napoca: Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai.
 SCIVA – Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie. București: Editura Academiei Române.
 SemitClas - Semitica et Classica. International Journal of Oriental and Mediterranean Studies. Turnhout: Brepols.
 StudAntiqArchaeol - Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica. Iași: Alexandru Ioan Cuza University.

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