THE VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS FOR THE ROMAN EMPEROR PHILIPPUS ARABS

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Abstract: The paper deals with the votive inscriptions set up on behalf of Philip the Arab and his family, containing the formula pro salute imperatoris or similar variants or related to other aspects of the imperial cult. The monuments are presented grouped into four categories. In the final part are drawn up few simple statistics regarding the number of divinities attested and the social structure of the dedicators' group.

Keywords: Philip the Arab, Roman imperial family, votive inscriptions, imperial cult, pro salute imperatoris formula

The reign of Philip the Arab (AD 244 – 249) is of particular interest among those of the so-called "barracks emperors" in the third century from at least two points of view: first, it was he who celebrated the *millenium* of Rome[1]; second, during his rule on the Lower Danube area the great invasions of the barbaric populations began[2]. Both events rise to attention the relation between the ruler and his subjects, and the manner in which the latter manifest their support for the state and for its security efforts.

In this paper I will try to build a basic statistics regarding the votive inscriptions set up by various social group or individuals of Roman society on behalf of the emperor. The invocation of gods for the salvation, salvation and health of the emperor was a very common manifestation of subjects' loyalty to their ruler during the Principate[3]. The image of the relation between the emperor and his subjects during Philip the Arab's reign can be completed with the monuments which document the practices related to the imperial cult. The material will be presented grouped in distinct categories: a) inscriptions dedicated to one or more divinities with the formula *pro salute Aug.*, followed by the name of one or more members of the imperial family, sometimes mentioning the whole *domus divina*; b) inscriptions dedicated to the *Genius* or *Numen Aug.*, sometimes along with gods of the roman pantheon; c) inscriptions with the formula *in honorem domus divinae*, dedicated to a god or to the *Genius* or *Numen Aug.*; d) the inscriptions from the Greek speaking areas of the Empire.

a)The inscription with the formula *pro salute Aug*.At the beginning worth to be emphasized that such monuments have not yet been discovered in Dacia, a rather surprising fact considering that monuments *pro salute Augusti* or *imperatoris* are documented in this province for all other emperors from the Trajan - Gallienus period, with the exceptions of Philip and those with very short reigns[4]. Taking into account that, as regard the presence of the imperial portraiture in the public space, Dacia offers the greatest numbers of statue bases

[1]Dietmar Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserkronologie*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft,1996, p. 198.
[2] Christian Körner, *Philippus Arabs. Ein Soldatenkaiser in der Tradition des antoninisch – severischen Prinzipats*, Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002, pp. 134-157.
[3] Duncan Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire. Volume III: Provincial Cult. Part 3: The Provincial Centre; Provincial Cult*, (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 147), Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004, p. 352.
[4] Maria-Adriana Airinei, *Formula pro salute imperatoris şi semnificaţia ei în Dacia romană*, in Buletinul Cercurilor Ştiinţifice Studenţeşti. Arheologie-Istorie-Muzeologie, 20, 2014, with statistic by emperors at p. 81.

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for the three members of Philip's family, this situation have to be regarded as an expression of the actual state of archaeological findings[5].

In the neighboring province, Moesia Inferior, in *regio Histriae*, two votive inscriptions built for the emperor's salvation are known. The first of them was dedicated to Iupiter and Iuno by the community of c*ives Romani et Lai consistentes vico Secundini*, by the care of local magistrates in AD 246[6]. This inscription is part of a series of altars raised for the salvation of the emperors by the local community, as monuments for Septimius Severus and Caracalla, Elagabalus, Maximinus Thrax and Gordianus III are also documented[7]. The second altar, probably dedicated to Iupiter, was set up in *Cius*, being built by the *archontes regionis Histriae*[8]. North of the Black Sea, a territory controlled by the army of Moesia Inferior[9], at Olbia, a soldier with a Thracian name raises, for the salvation of the two Philips, an altar to *Mercurius*, in AD 248 AD. The text is somewhat ambiguous[10], as after *pro salute*, a date by the names of the consuls follows, which, in this case, are the two Philips, but the fact that the dedicator makes no other mention of the person for whose salvation he set the inscription hints that he was referring to the two *Augusti*.

At *Serdica*, in the province of Thrace, a veteran of the *Legio V Macedonica* dedicated a monument to Iupiter for the salvation of Philip and perhaps also that of his son[11]. In Dalmatia, two votive inscriptions erected for the emperor are known: the first of these is a dedication for Iupiter, Liber and Terra Mater, built by the *Iucundus, vilicus ferrariarum* in Ljubija for all three members of the imperial family in 247 or 248[12]; the second, with an unknown finding place, was raised by a *beneficiarius* from the *Legio I Adiutrix* (the name of the divinity is unknown in the current state of the monument)[13].

Only one inscription from this category is known in Rome, and it belongs to a soldier from the praetorian cohorts, who likely dedicated it to Silvanus[14]. Three such dedications are known in the regions of Italy: on July 23rd, 244, the soldiers of the *Legio II Parthica* set an altar to *Victoria redux dd. nn. Imp. Caes. M. Iuli Philippi. Pii Felicis Aug. et Otaciliae Severae Aug*, a monument which is considered to mark the return of the emperor from the eastern military campaign[15]. In Umbria, at *Urvinum Mataurense*, *Aurelius Munatius*, an *evocatus* from a praetorian cohort, who led a group of 20 soldiers who were maintaining order in the region, raises an altar to *Victoria* for the salvation of the three members of the ruling

[5] 15 statue bases for the members of imperial are published at the curent date from Dacia: 9 set up by military units: IDR, II, 10; 500; IDR, III/3, 58; 59; 214; 269; ILD 668; AE 2006, 1127; AE 2012, 1211; 1 by the council of the province IDR III/2, 81 (for Philip) and 5 by municipalities: AE, 2006, 1102 (for Philip); AE, 2005, 1275(for Otacilia); ILD, 669 (Philip I); 670 (Philip II); 671 (Otacilia)

[6]ISM 1, 349. For the organisation of the local rural community see Alexandru Suceveanu, *Contributions à la connaissance du village de la Dobroudja à l'époque Romaine*, in *Opuscula Scythica*, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2009, pp. 220-221.

[7] ISM 1, 343; 344; 345; 346; 347.

[8] ISM 5, 124 For the character of the territory of Histria during the Principate: Florian Matei-Popescu, *Statutul juridic şi teritoriul Histriei în epoca romană*, in Florina Panait-Bîrzescu, Iulian Bîrzescu, Florian Matei-Popescu, Adrian Robu (eds.), *Poleis în Marea Neagră: relaţii interpontice şi producţii locale (Poleis in the Black Sea Area: Inter-Pontic Relations and Local Productions)*, Bucharest: Humanitas Publishing House, 2013, pp. 216-217; Idem, *The Western Pontic Greek Cities and the Roman Army*, in Victor Cojocaru, Christof Schuler (eds.), *Die Außenbeziehungen pontischer und kleinasiatischer Städte in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit. Akten einer deutsch-rumänischen Tagung in Constanţa,20. – 24. September 2010*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2014, pp. 189-190.

[9] Idem, *The Roman Army in Moesia Inferior*, Bucharest: Conphys Publishing House, 2010, pp. 51; 87.

[10]*Pro salute{m} / Imp(peratoribus) d(ominis) nn(ostris) / Philippo Aug(usto) / III et Philip/po Impp(eratoribus) co(n)s(ulibus) / ara(m) Mercurio posu(it) / Py{y}rr(h)us Bi/thus mil(es)*

[11] CIL 3, 14207, 17. For commentary of the language in this inscription: Ernst Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien*, Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1905, p. 125.

[12]CIL, III, 13240.

[13] CIL, III, 3161 = CBI 499.

[14]CIL, VI, 2830 = 32555.

[15]CIL VI, 793 = XIV, 2258; Dennis E. Trout, *Victoria Redux and the First Year of the Reign of Philip the Arab*, in Chiron, 19, 1989, p. 222; Kienast, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

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family. The inscription is dated March (?) 10th 246 (the month is uncertain)[16]. The last dedication from Italy, an altar to *Mithra*, comes from *Parentium* (*Venetia et Histria*) and was raised for the salvation and victory of the three members of the house of Philip by two freed men from the administration[17].

In Pannonia Inferior, the inhabitants of multiple rural communities from the territory of *Aquincum* raised an altar to *Terra Mater* for the salvation of the two emperors[18]. Another altar from *Aquincum* dedicated to *Mars*, *Victoria* and *Fortuna Redux*, erected between AD 244 and 247 for the salvation of the emperor and the young Caesar was set by *Alfius Avitus*, who was either the legate of Pannonia Inferior[19], or legate of the *Legio II Adiutrix*[20], which was garrisoned there. An interesting monument dedicated *Adventui dd. nn.* at Aquincum, is also of note, albeit is not a votive inscription, but it emphasize the persistence of the *Adventus* theme, attested in coinage for AD 245[21] and maybe for 247[22], in the imperial propaganda in AD 248 (even the two categories of sources, the official minting and the provincial epigraphy are not to be compared). It was built probably by soldiers originating from Crete[23].

In Gallia Narbonensis, two *taurobolia* for *Magna deum Mater* (*Cybele*) are documented, both performed for the salvation of the three members of the imperial family, and both of them dated to AD 245. The first was erected by the residents of *Nemausus* and the second by *L. Dagidius Marius, pontifex perpetuus civitatis Valentiae* and by the inhabitants of *Arausus, civitas Albensis* and *Dea Augusta Vocontiorum*. The rituals number among those regularly carried out in honor of Cybele in Gallia Narbonensis for the salvation of the emperors[24].

Four votive inscriptions set for the salvation of the emperor are known in the African provinces. In *Volubilis*, Mauretania Tingitana, a monument belonging to the so-called "autels de la paix", was erected in April 22nd, AD 245 by *M. Maturius Victorinus, procurator pro legato*. The altar was built with the occasion of one of the eleven meetings between Roman governors and leaders of the semi-nomadic *Baquates* population, which were documented between AD 173 and 280. Dedicatory formula is *I. O. M., ceterisque dis deabusque immortalibus pro salute et incolumitate et victoria Imperatoris* (Philip the Young and the empress being mentioned)[25]. At Lambaesis, in Numidia, an *ignotus*, *leg. Augg., v.c.*[26]set an altar to *Mars*, *Minerva* and *Mercurius*. In the same province, at Tazembout, the two *magistri* of a rural community dedicated and altar to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* for the salvation of the

[16]CIL XI, 6107; Michael Peachin, *Which Philip?*, in Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 73, 1988, p. 99-100.
[17]CIMRM,1, 754.
[18]AE 2005, 1265; dated AD 247 – 249.
[19] Jenö Fitz, *Legati Augusti Pro Praetore Pannoniae Inferioris*, in Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae, 11, 1963, p. 295-297.
[20] Michel Christol, Xavier Loriot, *P. Alfius Avitus et P. Plotius Romanus, gouverneurs de Galatie*, in L'antiquité classique, 70, 2001, pp. 102-103.
[21] Samuel K. Eddy, *The Minting of the Antoniniani and the Smyrna Hoard. American Numismatic Society. Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 156*, New York: American Numismatic Society, 1967, p. 97.
[22] Xavier Loriot, *Chronologie du règne de Philippe l'Arabe (244 – 249 après J. C.)*, in Hildegard Temporini, Wolfgang Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* , II/2, Berlin – New-York: Walter de Gruyter, 1975, p. 793, n. 23.
[23]CIL III, 3633, with the lecture of Géza Alföldy, *Epigraphica Pannonica I. Inschriften aus der näheren Umgebung von Aquincum*, in Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 140, 2002, pp. 264-265, no. 1 = AE 2002, 1186. *Cretenses* could refers to soldiers of a *cohors I Cretum*, as argued Lorenzo Cigaina, *Der Kaiserkult bei den Kretern in Bezug auf ihre Teilhabe am Militarwesen des romischen Reiches*, in Anne Kolb, Marco Vitale (eds.), *Kaiserkult in den Provinzen des Römischen Reiches. Organisation, Kommunikation und Repräsentation*, Berlin – Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016, p. 320.
[24] AE 1910, 217 = 1924, 26; CIL XII, 1667. Fishwick 2004, *op. cit.*, p. 355; Robert Duthoy, *The Taurobolium. Its Evolution and Terminology*, (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, 10), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969, p. 68-71.
[25]AE 1954, 110. For the series of meetings with *Baquates*: Bahmi Néjat Bahmi, *Les colloquia romano-baquates: patronage divin et intégration?*, in *Étrangers dans la cité romaine, Actes du colloque «Habiter une autre patrie»: des incolae de la République aux peuples fédérés du Bas-Empire*, Rennes: PUR, 2007, pp. 155-170; Clifford Ando, *Aliens, Ambassadors, and the Integrity of the Empire*, in Law and History Review, 26, 3, 2008, pp. 491-519.
[26]Legate of Numidia and of the *Legio III Augusta*. For Philip the Arab's reign, only *M. Aurelius Cominius Cassianus* is attested: Yann Le Bohec, *La Troisième Légion Auguste* (Études d'antiquités africaines), Paris : Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1989, p. 126.

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*Augusti*with their *domus divina*, but also for the legate *M. Aurelius Cominius Cassianus*[27]. In Africa proconsularis, at *Abitina*, an altar to Iupiter and Pluto was discovered, raised by a *Q. Accius Rogatianus Caecilianus sac(erdos) m(aximus)*, for the salvation of the imperial family[28].

b) The image of the relation between the emperor and his subjects during Philip the Arab's reign can be completed with another category of monuments: those which document the practices related to the imperial cult, i.e. the inscriptions which record dedications to the *Numen* orto the *Genius* of the emperor[29]. In Britannia, *cohors II Gallorum*, garrisoned at Voreda, built an altar dedicated to *Iupiter* and to *Genius dd. nn*[30]. At Caerleon, in the *principia* of the Legion II Augusta's fortress, *M. Valerius Felix*, the *primuspilus* of the legion, dedicated an inscription to *Numina Augg* and to the *Genius* of the legion[31].

In Africa proconsularis, the citizens of the *municipiumIulium Philippianum Abbir Cellense* built, in AD 246, through decree of the *decuriones* and with public funds, a monument dedicated to the *Genio imperii dd. nn.* (both emperors are mentioned), an action prompted by the municipal status the settlement received during the Philip's reign[32].

c) In this category are included the inscriptions related to the imperial cult containing the formula *in honorem domus divinae*[33]. One of these was dedicated to *Numina Augg., in honorem domus divinae* at Beda, in Gallia Belgica and was built by the youth association of the community: *iuniores vici hic consistentes*, in a public place donated to them by the local community[34]. No matter the role (military, political, educational, as sport or religious associations)[35], these youth unions had in the provinces on the western European *limes*, most of their public manifestations consist of inscriptions related to the imperial cult (dedications *in honorem domus divinae*) or altars *pro salute Aug*[36].

At Niederbieber (Germania superior) a group of soldiers (*baioli* and *vexillarii*) built, out of their own revenues, the statue of a Genius for a *collegium signiferorum Victoriensium* with the dedication *in honorem d. d.* dated September 23rd, 246, the anniversary of the birthday of Octavianus Augustus[37]. The troops garrisoned at Niederbieber (*numerus Brittonum* and *numerus exploratorum Germanicianorum Divitiensium*) raised 8 such monuments for different *Genii*, all of them traced to the third century, between the reigns of Caracalla and Philip the Arab[38]. A dedication to Iupiter was raised *in honorem domus divinae* at *Divio*

[27]AE 1989, 895. For *Cassianus*, see the note above. Together with the two *magistri* appear as dedicators the *seniores loci*, probably the more proeminent figures of the community, attested also during the Late Empire: Cam Grey, *Constructing Communities in the Late Roman Countryside*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 93-94.

[28] CIL VIII, 25842 = SIRIS 780 (where Ladislav Vidman restored the name of *Serapis* as the third deity to whom the altar was dedicated to. This restoration was rejected by Laurent Bricault, Yann Le Bohec, Jean-Louis Podvin, *Cultes isiaques en Proconsulaire*, in Laurent Bricault (ed.), *Isis en Occident. Actes du IIème Colloque international sur les études isiaques, Lyon III 16-17 mai 2002* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 151), Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2003, p. 240, n. 142.

[29] Duncan Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire. Volume II, 1*, Leiden-New York-København-Köln: E. J. Brill, 1991, pp. 382-384 (with the discussion regarding the distinction between *Genius* and *Numen Imperatoris*).

[30]CIL VI, 315 = RIB I, 915.

[31] CIL VII, 103 = RIB I, 327.

[32]CIL VIII, 12344. The settlement was documented previously as *civitas*: CIL VIII, 893; Jacques Gascou, *La politique municipale de Rome en Afrique du Nord II. Après la mort de Septime-Sévère*, in Hildegard Temporini, Wolfgang Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II/2, Berlin – New-York: Walter de Gruyter, 1982, pp. 280-281.

[33] Duncan Fishwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 424-435 (the discussion regarding the *domus divina*).

[34] CIL XIII, 4131.

[35] Christian Laes, Johan Strubbe, *Youth in the Roman Empire. The Young and the Restless Years?*, Cambridge: University Press, 2014, pp. 122-123

[36]Alain Bouet, *Campus et Juventus dans les agglomérations secondaires des provinces occidentales*, in Revue des Études Anciennes, 101, 3-4, 1999, pp. 477-481.

[37] CIL XIII, 7754. For commentary: Peter Herz, *Das römische Heer und der Kaiserkult in Germanien*, in Wolfgang Spickermann (ed.), *Religion in den germanischen Provinzen Roms*, Tübingen : Mohr Siebeck, 2001, p. 99. *Baioli* probably a particular form for the word *baiuli*, messengers documented as operating in *numeri*: Yann Le Bohec,*The Imperial Roman Army*, translation by Raphael Bate, London-New York: Routledge, 1994, p. 58, n. 118.

[38]CIL XIII, 7749; 7750; 7751; 7752; 7753; 7754; 11972.

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(Dijon) in Germania superior by a private person, *Pudentianus, Putti f.*, and is dated to Philip the Arab's last year of rule[39].

In the same province, an inscription discovered at Jagsthausen could be of particular interest for the chronology of military events during the reign of Philip. Here, *Valerius Valerianus*, tribune of the *cohors I Germanorum* set a dedication to *Fortuna balinearis redux* in AD 248[40]. The inscription was placed in the "small baths" of the auxiliary camp, a construction that was repaired in the first part of Philip's reign (AD 244-247)[41]. Assuming that this dedication to *Fortuna redux* implies movement of the unit, then the cohort likely participated in a military campaign. Such events could happen on the limes of Germany, but also the date of the inscription (AD 248) allows another conjecture. It is documented that one of the legions stationed in Germania superior, *legio XXII Primigenia*, garrisoned at Mainz, took part, at least with a *vexillatio*, in the campaign against the Carpi, on Lower Danube[42]. The soldiers of the *legio XXII Primigenia* were also involved in the construction of the ramparts surrounding *Romula*, the capital of *Dacia Malvensis*, built probably after the end of military operations. These construction works ended in AD 248[43]. If could be accepted that *cohors I Germanorum* was tactically related to the legion from Mainz, it is possible that a part of the cohort was deployed on the Danubian front, and the invocation to *Fortuna redux* in AD 248 could indicates the year when the units from Philip's campaign army returned to their garrisons.

d) In the epigraphic habit of the Greek speaking provinces, the salutary ideology in relation with the imperial family is expressed by the formula *ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καί σωτηρίας* (corresponding to Latin *pro salute et incolumitate*) in more or less extended variants. For the reign of Philip, two, maybe three inscriptions containing this formula are known in the Near East[44]. On the architectonic elements of a temple of Dmer, two such inscriptions appear. First of them was set by two *hierotamiai* (treasures)of the temple: *Marcus Aurelius Haneos* and *Gauros*. The inscription was carved "*on the eastern wall of the temple, between the two pilasters at the right of the portal*"[45]. The second was inscribed "*on a lintel of the western portal*". The dedicator is *Marcus (?) Annianus*, a strator from *ala Vocontiorum*. This inscription, containing the formula *ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν Κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων*, but without the name of the emperors, was related with the reign of Philip by William Prentice on paleographic arguments[46]. In Philip's birthplace, where he founded a colony named *Philippopolis*, three members of the local council set an inscription *ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν*

[39] CIL XIII, 5473.
[40] CIL XIII, 6552. For the epithet *balinearis*: Jacqueline Champeaux, *Fortuna. Le culte de la Fortune à Rome et dans le monde romain. II. Les transformations de Fortuna sous la République*, (Publications de l'École française de Rome, 64-2), Rome: École Française de Rome, 1987, p. 102. For the links between Fortuna and the waters in military environement: Sabino Perea Yébenes, *Baños para soldados y el culto de Fortuna*, in María Jesús Pérex Agorreta (ed.), *Termalismo antiguo. I Congreso peninsular: Actas: Arnedillo (La Rioja), 3-5 octubre 1996*, Madrid: UNED, 1997, pp. 149-168.
[41] CIL XIII, 6562. Andreas Thiel, *Das Kastellbad von Jagsthausen – ein Beispiel für die archäologische Denkmalpflege in den 90er Jahren*, in Denkmalpflege in Baden-Württemberg. Nachrichtenblatt des Landesdenkmalamtes, 25, 1996, 4, pp. 246-247: Christian Körner, *op. cit.*, p. 235, n. 22.
[42] Ioan Piso, *Războiul lui Philippus cu carpii,* in *In memoriam Constantini Daicoviciu,* Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1974, pp. 305 – 306. The presence of the legion is attested at Romula: IDR II, 325-326.
[43] IDR II, 324.
[44] Jason Moralee, *For Salvation's Sake. Provincial Loyalty, Personal Religion, and Epigraphic Production in the Roman and Late Antique Near East* (Studies in Classics. Outstanding Dissertations. 3), New York – London: Routledge, 2004, p. 36, table 13.
[45]Prentice, p. 284, no. 357.
[46]IGRRP III, 1094 = Prentice, pp. 285-286, no. 358. Jason Moralee, *op. cit.*, p. 110, no. 80 keeps the reserves concerning the attribution of the inscription to the reign of Philip.The divinity or divinities worshipped in the temple of Dmer rest unknown. Recently it was argued that the temple was dedicated to the imperial cult of Philip and Otacilia: Arthur Segal, *Religious architecture in the Roman Near East: temples of the basalt lands (Trachon and Hauran), in* Ted Kaizer,*The Variety of Local Religious Life in the Near East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*(Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 164), Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008, p. 101, n. 10. This hypotesis sustains the datation of Prentice for the dedication of *Annianus*.

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Κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων, without mention of a particular divinity. The monument is dated in AD 244, first year of the *colonia*[47].

In the province of Thrace the habit of dedicating for salvation of the emperor the milestones set in the territories of Greek speaking cities is attested. Such monuments are known in the territories of *Pautalia*, *Serdica*, *Augusta Traiana*, *Traianopolis*, *Philippopolis*, all of them being placed on behalf of Philip I and Marcia Otacilia Severa. In one case, the dedication is made for the salvation of the imperial couple together with the August family, the Senate and the Roman people[48].

None of the Greek inscriptions are addressed to a specific divinity. The 25 Latin inscriptions mentioned above can be distributed as follows: 18 fall into the category with the formula *pro salute Aug*., 3 are dedicated to *Genius* and *Numen Aug*, and 4 contain the formula *in honorem domus divinae* (all of the latter are located in the Western European provinces). Apart from the *Genius* and *Numen* of the emperor, 15 divinities are worshipped. *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* appears in 7 (maybe 8) dedications, alone (in two inscriptions) or, in most of the cases, along with other deities: *Iuno* (1), *Pluto* (1), *Liber* and *Terra Mater* (1), *Mars*, *Minerva* and *Mercurius* (1). In one case *Iupiter* is associated with the *Genius* of the emperors, and in another all immortal gods are venerated along with the supreme deity. In addition to *Iupiter*, 4 of the 12 *dii consentes* are worshipped. *Mars* (appearing once alongside *Victoria* and *Fortuna Redux*) and *Mercurius* appear on two altars each. *Iuno* appears only once, with Iupiter. Only one inscription is dedicated to *Minerva*. Of the agricultural deities, *Silvanus*, *Liber Pater* and *Terra Mater* (two occurrences, one together with *Liber*) are worshipped. Pluto is documented only once, together with *Iupiter* in Africa proconsularis, where his cult was very popular[49]. In the above samples, two personifications are also encountered: *Fortuna* appears in two dedications, in both of them accompanied by the epithet *redux*, at Jagsthausen being worshipped as *Fortunabalinearis redux*; *Victoria* is addressed through three altars, two times alone and once with *Mars* and *Fortuna*. *Cybele* is attested twice, in the two *taurobolia* ceremonies in Gallia Narbonensis. Two *Genii* are attested, both linked with military units. Finally, one altar is dedicated to *Mithra*. Statistics applied to the monuments erected *pro salute Aug*., show that 15 monuments (83,33%) have been erected for gods of the Graeco-Roman pantheon, and two others (11,11%) are related to *Cybele*, an oriental deity officially introduced into the Roman pantheon[50]. Only one monument was dedicated to *Mithra* (5,56%), which is somewhat surprising considering the spread of his cult in the middle of the III[rd] century.

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[47] IGRRP III, 1196 = Prentice, p. 309-310, no. 395. The president of the council was at that time a certain *Marrinos*, identified with Philip's father: Christian Körner, *op. cit*., pp. 51-52. The exact use of this monument, found in a secondary position, built in a wall of a modern construction, rest unclear for me (see the picture in Prentice, p. 309). The use of plural form *Κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων*(the Greek correspondent for *Augg*.) on a text dated in AD 244 confirms the observation of Harold Mattingly and Edward Sydenham in RIC IV/3, p. 57 that the formula *Augustorum* during the reign of Philip refers to the imperial family, and can not be a criterion for dating a numismatic or epigraphic text after AD 247. Also other epigraphic examples can be quoted: CIL III, 10174 (Bihac, Dalmatia): *[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Iul(ius)] / [P]hi[li]pp[us Aug(ustus)] / tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) [co(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriae)] / p[r]oco(n)s(ul) et / [M(arcus) I]ul(ius) Philippus / nob(ilissimus) Caes(ar) co(n)s(ul) / cur(ante) Cl(audio) Heren/niano v(iro) c(larissimo) leg(ato) / Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore)*; CIL XII, 1567 (Augusta Vocontiorum, Gallia Narbonensis): *... pro salute Imp(eratoris) et Caesar(is) / Philipporum Augg(ustorum)* – dated 245 AD: *Imp(eratore) Philippo Aug(usto) et Titi/ano co(n)s(ulibus).*

[48] Pautalia (AE 1913, 0175, Philip and Otacilia), Serdica (SEG, 28, 1978, 589 = AE, 1978, 721; SEG, 28, 1978, 590 = AE, 1978, 722; SEG, 28, 1978, 591 = AE, 1978, 723; IGRRP, 1, 695 = IGBulg 2032; SEG, 15, 1958, 458 = IGBulg 2037), Augusta Traiana (AE 1892, 10 = IGRRP I 757 = 1495 = IGBulg 1700; AE 1965, 346 = IGBulg 1710; IGRRP I, 758 = IGBulg 1591), Traianopolis (SEG 46, 843), Philippopolis (IGRRP I, 1478 = IGBulg, 911: [ὑπὲρ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμ]ονῆς τῶν θειοτάτων Σεβ(αστῶν) / [Μ(άρκου) Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου καὶ Ὠτακιλί]ας Σευήρας καὶ ἱερᾶς / [συγκ]<λ>ήτ<ο>υ κ<αὶ δή>μου τοῦ Ῥωμ<α>ίων καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος / [τῶν Σεβαστῶν οἴκου; IGRRP I, 1479 = IGBulg, 900).

[49] Alain Cadotte, *La romanisation des dieux. L'interprétation romana en Afrique du Nord sous le Haut-Empire*, (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 158), Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007, pp. 325-330.

[50] Mary Beard, John North, Simon Price, *Religions of Rome. Vol 1*, Cambridge: University Press, 1998, p. 83.

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Regarding the total of 25 Latin monuments, in three cases (25%) the dedicators are either governors or legates of the legion: *Alfius Avitus* (the legate of Pannonia Inferior or the legion II Adiutrix); an *ignotus*, legate of the *Legio III Augusta*. Both of them belong to of the senatorial order. A monument is built by a member of the equestrian order, *procurator pro legato* in Mauretania Tingitana. Ten monuments (40%) were erected by soldiers. In two cases, the entire unit contributed to raising the monument (*Leg. II Parthica* and *coh. II Gallorum*); other monuments were erected by commanders of units or detachments: the tribune of the *cohors I Germanorum* and the commander of the peace keeping detachment in Umbria. Four of them are, however, individual acts which have a *beneficiarius*, two *milites* and a veteran as dedicators. The monuments of the soldiers, as well as those of high ranking public officials, are set exclusively for deities of the Graeco-Roman pantheon.

Eight monuments (28%) were built by civil communities or associations: two of them by *civitates* from Gallia Narbonensis, one of them by *municipum* of Abbir Cella (being the only inscriptionset by a community with municipal status), one by several rural communities in Pannonia, another by magistrates of the rural area of *Histria*, one by a community of *cives Romani* and *Lai* in a *vicus* from Dobrogea, one by the youth association in *vicus Beda*, and the last one by the *magistri* of a rural settlement in Numidia. Finally, two monuments (8%) belong to freed men from administration (one of which contains the only mention of *Mithra*), another (4%) was raised by a man occupying a role in the clergy, and the last one was set by a private person (4%).

In some situations we can establish, even if merely hypothetically, the motivation for which the dedicators summoned the gods. In many situations, religious practices as part of older traditions are proved: the two *taurobolia* in Gallia Narbonensis, the altar of peace in Mauretania Tingitana or the dedication of the community of Roman citizens and *Lai* from *vicus Secundini*, who in the first half of the IIIrd century erected such altars for other emperors. The rural communities in Pannonia (a *pagus* and several *vici*) built a dedication to Terra Mater with the occassion of field purification rituals[51]. Tthe dedication of the *municipium* Abbir Cella is related probably with the municipal status received during the reign of Philip.

The dedications of military units or individual soldiers can be linked in some cases with their participation to campaigns or other military operations. The *legio II Parthica* offered thanks to *Victoria Redux* in July 23rd, 244 for their return from the campaign in the East. *Aurelius Munatianus*, the commander of the detachment which fought brigands in Umbria, calls upon Victoria to aid him in the mission.

As regard the motivations of the dedicators, some monuments require special attention. The dedication to *Mars*, *Victoria* and *Fortuna Redux* in Aquincum, which can be linked with a high amount of probability with the beginning or the end of a campaign, was erected by the legate *Alfius Avitus* before Filip II's rise as *Augustus* (AD 244-247. *Aurelius Bithus*, the soldier with a Thracian name who invoked *Mercurius*, the patron of the travellers at Olbia in AD 248, could have been one of the soldiers of the units dispatched in the North of the Black Sea to aid in military events that took place here. The dedication from Jagsthausen, also erected in AD 248, could mark the return of the unit from a mission in the military campaigns maybe in the area of the Lower Danube.

Surely, most dedications are conventional, but the obvious conclusion of this basic statistics is that the sample, despite its limited size, shows a noteworthy adhesion to the cults

[51] Kovács Péter, *Territoria, pagi and vici in Pannonia*, in Werner Eck, Bence Fehér, Péter Kovács (eds.), *Studia Epigraphica in memoriam Géza Alföldy*, (Antiquitas. Reihe 1. Abhandlungen zur Alten Geschichte, 61), Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 2013, p. 137.

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of the traditional Graeco-Roman pantheon when dedications concerned the salvation of the emperor are made[52].

Abbreviations

AE *L'Année épigraphique*, Paris, 1988 –

CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. I (1873) – XVI (1936). Berlin : Georg Reimer

CBI Egon Schallmayer, Kordula Eibl, Joachim Ott, Gerhard Preuss, Esther Wittkof, *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I, Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier – Inschriften des Römischen Reiches*, Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1990.

CIMRM Maarten Jozef Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae. Vol. I*, Haga: Martinus Nijhof, 1956.

IGBulg Georgi Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, I-IV, Sofia: Academia Litterarum Bulgarica, 1958 – 1970.

ILD Constantin C. Petolescu, *Inscripţii latine din Dacia*, Bucharest: Academia Română, 2005.

ISM ISM *Inscripţiile din Scythia Minor.* I - V, Bucharest: Academia Română, 1983-2015.

Prentice William Kelly Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions. Part III of the Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900*. New York: Century Co, 1908.

RIB Robin George Collingwood, Richard PearsonWright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I: Inscriptions on stone*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965 [1995].

RIC *The Roman Imperial Coinage*. I - X, London: Spink and Son, 1923 – 1994.

SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, on-line version [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum]

SIRIS Ladislav Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*, (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, 28), Berlin: Walter de Gruyter &Co., 1969.

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[52]Translated into English by Ştefan Bălteanu.

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