

WOMEN AND «ORIENTAL» CULTS IN ROMAN DACIA

JUAN RAMÓN CARBÓ GARCÍA<sup>1</sup>

**Keywords:** Women, Dacia, society, religion, oriental cults, Cybele, Isis, Azizos, Deus Aeternus

**Abstract:** *An analysis of female religious preferences in the context of the cults of eastern origin is performed on these pages because of the need for specific studies on cults preferred by each social group in the provincial life of Roman Dacia. It should be a contribution to the objective of achieving a better perspective and understanding of the followers of each cult and the general structure of the religious life in the Dacian provinces.*

**Rezumat:** *Autorul prezintă o analiză a preferințelor religioase ale femeilor din Dacia romană în contextul cultelor de origine orientală. Articolul se poate dovedi util în perspectiva unei mai bune înțelegeri a practicanților fiecărui cult în parte și a structurii generale a vieții religioase din provinciile dacice.*

When researching the spread of different cults, scholars of religion in Roman Dacia have been concentrated especially in making lists of people belonging to each social group that worshipped the same divinity, but with few exceptions it has not been considered which were the gods preferred by each of these social groups. As already noted Schäfer a few years ago, the comparison between the gods preferred by these groups should lead us to check if the members of the provincial and municipal administration, army officers and soldiers, traders and artisans, women or slaves, worshiped or not the same deities. In this way we can achieve a

---

<sup>1</sup> Universidad Católica San Antonio de Murcia, jrcarbo@ucam.edu.

This study has been carried out in the framework of the project with key HAR2009-13597, funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation, and it is also part of the partial objectives of two recognized research groups, of which the author is a Member: the recipient of the above-mentioned project, group EPIRUS (Estudios sobre el Poder en el Imperio Romano, de la Universidad de Salamanca) and the group HHR (Historiografía e Historia de las Religiones, de la Universidad Carlos III de Madrid).

better perspective and a greater understanding of the worshipers and the provincial religious structure<sup>2</sup>.

An example of these exceptions in relation to one of these groups was a small paper published by C. Jucan only five years ago: this group was that of women<sup>3</sup>. It was obviously only an approach to the subject, which should later be developed as a much deeper study, and which was then presented in a paper of just 10 pages. But this does not detract the merit of constituting a perfect sample of the type of studies demanded by Schäfer, and therefore, in the case of the study of the religious preferences of women in Roman Dacia, it is significant.

In our vast study on "Oriental" cults we had in mind the criticisms and proposals of Schäfer in relation to the previous scholarship which had been dedicated to the study of the religious phenomenon in Roman Dacia, so we paid attention to the favourite gods of every social group in the specific context of the Roman cults of Eastern origin<sup>4</sup>. In this paper we intend to carry out a more precise analysis of religious preferences of women in Roman Dacia and in that same context.

However, as a prelude to the development of this study, we believe that it is necessary to deep on the definition of the "Oriental" epithet that we use to characterize these cults to which we refer; and we do this because the greater or lesser presence of women among the dedicants of the monuments will be conditioned by the general characteristics of these cults.

The concept of the Orient refers to a direction applied to a defined area in the representation of the world. Among the Romans, the term "Oriental" was never applied to the religious context of the peoples or cultures located in Asia or in Egypt, since both *oriens* and *orientalis* only appear in a geopolitical or astronomical context<sup>5</sup>. When otherness was rejected in times of crisis, or when certain forms of foreign religious manifestations were seen as scandalous regardless of the geographical

---

<sup>2</sup> SCHÄFER 2004, 180.

<sup>3</sup> JUCAN 2007, 198-207.

<sup>4</sup> CARBÓ GARCÍA 2010a.

<sup>5</sup> BELAYCHE 2000, 567.

location characterizing them, some classical authors such as Livy, Suetonius, Pliny the Younger and Cicero used either the term *externae religiones*<sup>6</sup> or *peregrinae superstitiones*<sup>7</sup>. In Rome, the concept of *religio*, which implied that it was national and authentic, contrasted with *superstitio*, which was characterized as being suspicious or exotic. Anything that did not follow the standard ritual marked out for this purpose by the *mos maiorum*, that is, the teachings of the ancestors and the legitimization that comes from tradition, was branded as *superstitio*<sup>8</sup>.

As Beard, North and Price put it so well, "several of the cults did certainly proclaim an eastern «origin» for their wisdom, but it is often clear that a Roman version of the cult differed substantially from its (notional) eastern ancestor. Above all, the «Orient» itself was hardly the homogeneous category that we (like the Romans, no doubt) often try to make it"<sup>9</sup>. The key, then, seems to be that these religious manifestations centered around divinities coming from the different areas of the Orient would have spread to the Greco-Roman world after having been the object of a process of reinterpretation; they may have characteristics in common but are different in each particular case, just as their geographical and temporal origins could be different within the general and not at all homogeneous conception of the Orient.

As its use was conceived, the term "Oriental," when applied to certain religious manifestations, entailed ambiguity, since it gave the idea that they had come to the Greco-Roman world just as they were before and that they had maintained a purely Oriental character in an Occidental context. Furthermore, it tended to situate them in a rather homogeneous category and consider them to be of the same type: that of religions with mysteries that offered salvation after death to initiates<sup>10</sup>. To circumvent this problem, some authors, such as Robert Turcan, have opted for explaining that "rather than «Oriental religions» one should speak of

---

<sup>6</sup> LIVY, 4.30.9; 25.1.6; 39.15.3; 39.16.6 y 8–9. SUET, *Tib.* 36.1.

<sup>7</sup> PLINY, *Pan.* 49.8. CIC. *Leg.* 2.10; *Nat. D.* 2.28.72.

<sup>8</sup> TURCAN 1996, 10.

<sup>9</sup> BEARD, NORTH & PRICE 1998, 246.

<sup>10</sup> TURCAN 1996, 7.

religions of eastern origin, or of Graeco-Oriental religions”<sup>11</sup>. Others, like myself, have preferred to characterize this option and its meaning with some simple quotation marks at the beginning and end of the epithet in question<sup>12</sup>. All of them seem to accept the conclusion –reached in the period between the world wars– that they were only oriental to a certain degree, since they had undergone essential changes during the process of dissemination in the Hellenistic period and later in the Roman Empire.

Precisely so that they could be adapted to the new social milieu, the deities of eastern origin were acclimatized to the expectations of their new followers, such that “in this sense, they were no longer purely oriental and became a cultural recreation that justified the use of quotation marks... .”<sup>13</sup> For Jaime Alvar, the use of quotation marks could also be justified by the scant usefulness of the information deriving from the study of the religious manifestations of those cults before they had spread –considering the above– for the analysis and understanding of their religious significance in the Roman era<sup>14</sup>. Richard Gordon shows us how individual private cults to some of these gods of eastern origin, such as Isis or Magna Mater, were absorbed by the cities and how their priesthoods were put on the list of civic priesthoods. Some of the important ceremonies of these religious manifestations, such as the processions in the two mentioned cults, or in those of several Syrian divinities, could be easily absorbed into the norms of municipal religious life. And as the era of the Principate advanced, these cults were gradually institutionalized in the local contexts, such that they offered a compromise between the oriental model of religious services (an expression that Gordon considers is better than “priesthood”) and the Greco-Roman model of public sacrificial evergetism<sup>15</sup>.

So, taking into account the above mentioned, the meaning that I understand for the "Oriental" term in the title of this paper is the same as

---

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>12</sup> See as examples: GORDON 1990, 235-255; in the title: BELAYCHE 2000; ALVAR 2001.

<sup>13</sup> ALVAR 2001, 20.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>15</sup> GORDON 1990, 246.

that understood by those authors: religious manifestations around gods of Eastern origin, that spread in the Greco-Roman world following a process of adaptation or reinterpretation in order to cover the expectations of their new receivers<sup>16</sup>.

Thus, among these "Oriental" cults or cults of Eastern origin would be Mithraism, the Syrian and Palmyrene cults, the cults of Asia Minor and the Egyptian cults. Those of Asia Minor included the Phrygian cults of Cybele and Attis, and the vast majority of the testimonies of the Egyptian cults corresponded to the Isiac cult. However, both the Cibeles and Atis as the Isis and Serapis cults had been incorporated into the established forms of the imperial religious system a long time ago. On which it comes to Mithraism, women were excluded of participation<sup>17</sup> and the epigraphic record of Dacia does not show exceptions between their dedicants. Nevertheless, it does appear a woman, Apuleia, as a beneficiary, along with his son, of the dedication that makes his father-in-law<sup>18</sup>. Let's see what happens in the rest of the cases.

---

<sup>16</sup> The issue of studies on this type of cults in the Roman Empire in relation to the particular case of Dacia has already been treated in CARBÓ GARCÍA 2010b.

<sup>17</sup> The mysteries of the Egyptians and Phrygian cults defended the family structure as a support of the social order, while Mithraism defended the military structure, in which women were also excluded. Cfr. GORDON 1972, 98. See also ALVAR 2001, 131. Some dubious testimonials have been put forward as evidence of a possible initiation of women, for example PORPH., *De Abst.*, IV, 16; TERT., *De praescr. haeret.*, XL, 1-5 (He mentions some virgins which could be interpreted with the symbolism of the mithraic degree of *nymphus*); *CIMRM* 115 (not necessarily a mithraic inscription). In front of them, as noted by Alvar, "it is the payroll of thousand exclusively male mithraists and the total absence of women in the iconography". Obviously, any new finding in this regard would make it necessary to re-examine the issue, but before all the appalling data already existing in the mithraic register pointing to the male exclusivity of the cult, we cannot but reaffirm us totally in the exclusion of women in the participation of the mithraic cult. That is why Alvar asks "where are the women? Perhaps part of the historical failure of Mithraism lies in this segregation of half of the social body". For the contrary position, arising from inconsistent way the unsustainability of male exclusivity in Mithraism in the light of the commented testimonies, see DAVID 2000, 121-141.

<sup>18</sup> *CIL* III, 968 = 7729; *ILS* 4241; *CIMRM* II, p. 293, n° 2006 y n° 2007; *IDR* III/2, 306a; *CODR*, 57, pp. 765-766.

a) *Women in the Syrian and Palmyrene cults.*

As it is often the case in the majority of the religious manifestations in the Roman Empire, women are represented in much lesser extent than men; this does not mean they did not participate in the different cults, and in fact the religion was one of the areas in which they could join better, but it is true that they consecrated less inscriptions, both for economic reasons and Roman education itself. In the case of the Syrian and Palmyrene cults in Dacia, this general perception of the situation in the Empire can be clearly perceived, especially because many of the women who appear as dedicants do this indeed as wives or daughters of the main dedicant, who is a man.

Between the dedicants in the cult of Azizos we detect three women. Of them, only *Statilia Lucia* appears as a wife accompanying her husband in the dedication of the inscription that they erected in Apulum<sup>19</sup>. Instead, in other two inscriptions of the same locality, two women as unique dedicants of the monuments erected to the divinity of Edessa under the name of *Bonus Puer Phosphorus* can be observed. The first of these is *Laelia Curilla* and the second, *Iulia Secunda*<sup>20</sup>, who reflects in her dedication a syncretism between Azizos and Jupiter Optimus Maximus, when directing it to *Puer Phosphorus Deus Optimus Maximus*. That these two women appear as individual dedicants of Azizos could be explained by the very nature of divinity, which used to be depicted as a teenager – *puer*– carrying a cake, a symbol of the God of the morning star, which preceded the Sun and announced the coming of light and life, and can be related with fertility and childbirth<sup>21</sup>.

In the cult of Deus Aeternus, between the dedicants we note a significant presence of women that we must also try to explain. Five of the seven testimonies are women accompanying men appearing as major dedicants of the inscriptions: *Aurelia Urbica* and *Matrona* in an inscription

---

<sup>19</sup> Rep. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Respectivamente, rep. 2 y 3.

<sup>21</sup> TURCAN 1996, 184 ; SANIE 1981, 117-122.

from Ampelum, respectively the wife and daughter of the imperial freedman *Zmaragdus*<sup>22</sup>; *Aelia Vindia* in an inscription from Apulum, appearing as the wife of *Titus Flavius Flavianus*, augustal of the *municipium*<sup>23</sup>; and finally, in a monument from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, *Seximia Hermione* and *Procilia*, respectively wife and daughter of *Marcus Procilius Aphrodisius*, augustal of the colony and freedman, the three of them part of a community of *cultores* of *Deus Aeternus*<sup>24</sup>. The sixth case is that of *Flavia Crescentina*, who appears in an inscription from Ulpia Traiana as *mater* of the college of growers of apples, accompanying the *pater*, *Valerius Ianuarius*, and other members of the college, probably also forming part of the cultural community around *Deus Aeternus* in the city<sup>25</sup>. And finally, the seventh case corresponds to *Aurelia Galla*, in an inscription found in Sighișoara, where this time it is the husband, an *imaginifer* of any military unit, who accompanies his wife in the dedication to *Aeternus*<sup>26</sup>. Even so, and unlike what we could see for the cult of *Azizos*, between *Deus Aeternus* dedicants it does not appear a single woman which performed her dedication to the deity individually<sup>27</sup>.

Between the dedicants of the cult of *Jupiter Dolichenus*, dominated by the military and the priests of the God, we only find a woman, *Apollonia*, who accompanies her husband, the centurion *Probus*, on the inscription erected in Sucidava, in *Dacia Malvensis*<sup>28</sup>.

We find again female dedicants in inscriptions erected to  $1 \text{ g} \hat{\text{H}} \sim \text{KR4FJ} \text{ @}$  all of them from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. In the first of them appears  $\square \text{ // // // // //}$  accompanying her husband, the *procurator*

<sup>22</sup> Rep. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Rep. 5.



<sup>24</sup> Rep. 6.

<sup>25</sup> Rep. 7.

<sup>26</sup> Rep. 8.

<sup>27</sup> We have not taken into account the inscription *CIL* III, 7737 = *IDR* III5, 26, (Apulum) because the proposed reading in these and other publications, which attributed it to *Aeternus*, is wrong, as I could see in situ during my visit to the Brukenthal Museum in May 2007, guided by doctor Sonoc, noting that the more approximate reading would be rather *Ael(ius) Elm[---] / Clodi(us) / Maxim(us) / et Ela / Valeria*.

<sup>28</sup> Rep. 9.

of the Dacia Apulensis, <sup>29</sup>, while in the second,  devoted the monument individually<sup>30</sup>. With the inscription in Greek and the divinity whom she erects the inscription, she might be of eastern origin, perhaps from Syria, if we take into account that the majority of the *Aelii* of which there is testimony on Sarmizegetusa were of eastern origin coming from Syria, and more precisely from Palmyra. In the absence of more data and taking into account the small number of inscriptions dedicated to this deity in Dacia, we can not venture to launch a hypothesis that could explain the attraction he could have for this woman.

Finally, only one woman appears between all the dedicantes of monuments directed to the Palmyrene gods, although it's an individual dedication and in addition it was erected to the Palmyrene *dii patrii*<sup>31</sup>. This dedication to the native Palmyrene gods in Gilău is an almost unequivocal proof of the eastern origin of the woman, probably from Palmyra, and we are dealing probably with the wife or a relative of one of the soldiers in the camp of Gilău, who lived in the nearby military *vicus*. Seeing the importance that the cults of their native divinities had for the Palmyrenes, it is not surprising that among these dedicants appears also a woman with this same origin.

Thus, with the only exceptions of the cults of Azizos and Deus Aeternus, women are not well represented in the epigraphic record of Syrian and Palmyrene cults in Dacia. But most prominent is still their total absence among the dedicants of female Syrian deities as Dea Syria or Baltis, which should be tried to explain eventually because of the small number of inscriptions dedicated to these divinities and found in Roman Dacia until now.

A special case would be that of the cult of *Sol Invictus Elagabalus*, a controversial one because in Dacia a single registration with this identifying name of Syrian origin has not been found<sup>32</sup>. A Senator and

---

<sup>29</sup> Rep. 10.

<sup>30</sup> Rep. 11.

<sup>31</sup> Rep. 12.

<sup>32</sup> CARBÓ GARCÍA 2010c, 1-30.



Legionary legate, *Quintus Marcius Victor Felix Maximillianus*, dedicated an inscription to *Sol*, accompanied by his wife, the *clarissima Pullaiena Caeliana*, and by his son, the *clarissimus Publius Marcius Victor Maximillianus*<sup>33</sup>. Both Halsberghe and Sanie believed that we have here a dedication to the Syrian *Sol Invictus* and not to Mithras<sup>34</sup>. Indeed, it could not be even a demonstration of any of these two cults, but a dedication to the Roman *Sol Invictus*, but if we take into account the era in which the inscription dates, in the reign of *Septimius Severus*, it seems likely that it could be the Syrian deity, although we should remember that *Septimius Severus* and *Caracalla* took advantage of the cult of the Roman Sun through a syncretism between both divinities<sup>35</sup>.

In fact, this would be a situation very similar to that seen for Rome, with the evolution of the solar cult from the recent Antonines –and especially *Commodus*– until the Severan dynasty. On the dedications of three Senators and successive commanders of the Legion XIII Gemina from Apulum, seat of Government of the three provinces of Dacia, the process of evolution of this Roman *Sol Invictus* can be observed, from creation by imperial ideology, which sought a symbol to represent the characteristics of the institution of the Principality –government of a single person, with a victorious and beneficial nature–, towards the Syrian *Sol Invictus Elagabalus*, introduced since the reign of *Septimius Severus*. So at the time of the Severan dynasty, it is very possible that it were the Syrian god which was worshipped, but undoubtedly assuming the ideological characteristics that had led to the formation of the Roman *Sol Invictus*. Thus, the dedication of this Senator who was accompanied by his wife, is an example of religious and political loyalty to the emperor and his ideology, by the high Roman aristocracy present in the province<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Rep. 13.

<sup>34</sup> HALSBERGHE 1972, 115; SANIE 1981, 267.

<sup>35</sup> CARBÓ GARCÍA 2010c, 24 y 29, nº 3.

<sup>36</sup> About the designation of Roman or Latin-speaking governors for the Latin-speaking provinces, and of Greek-speaking ones for the Greek-speaking provinces, expressed as one of the characteristics of the good *ἀγαθὸς* on the work of Philostratus, see MAZZA 1982, 109.

*b) Women in the cults from Asia Minor.*

It should be noted that the most part of attested cases of women among the dedicants of the cults from Asia Minor are concentrated in the cult of Magna Mater Cybele, being *Aelia Vicentia* the only exception. She appears as co-dedicant of an inscription to Juno Semlia with her likely husband, which is the main dedicant<sup>37</sup>.

Three are the monuments erected by individual women, without being accompanied in their dedications by men. Of them, two come from Drobeta. The dedicant of the first, *Iulia Maximilla*, of italic origin, also took the cost of construction of a porch, possibly of a temple of Cybele in this city, so we must assume that she was a rich woman, possibly of high class<sup>38</sup>. The second inscription was dedicated by *Abuccia Claudiana*<sup>39</sup>. On the other hand, in Apulum, *Umbricia Maxima* dedicated another votive altar or a base of statue to Magna Mater<sup>40</sup>. Their names are Latin in character and resonance, which can make us presuppose that they were women of italic origin. On the other hand, we should not exclude the possibility that they came from other parts of the Roman Empire, although we must remember that, unlike what happens with other cults of Asia Minor, the early introduction of the cult of Cybele in Rome made its spread not depending of people whose ethnic origin were from Asia Minor.

With these cases, others appear of women accompanying men in their dedications. In one of these, from Apulum, *Claudia Candida* is the wife of *Titus Flavius Longinus*, a veteran and member of the local aristocracy of several cities of Dacia, and mother of *Flavia Clementina*, *Flavia Marcellina* and *Flavius Longinus*, their three sons, who also participated as dedicants of the inscription<sup>41</sup>. The dedication of the

---

<sup>37</sup> Rep. 14.

<sup>38</sup> Rep. 15.

<sup>39</sup> Rep. 16.

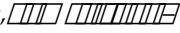
<sup>40</sup> Rep. 17.

<sup>41</sup> Rep. 18.

monument was conducted by the health of the Emperor and because an order of the deity *-ex imperio-*<sup>42</sup>. The name of the father and husband is Latin, very common at the time, and he could have been of italic origin, although there is not an indication on his ethnicity and that of his family.

Finally, if we accept that the *pater* of the college of the *dedrophori* of Apulum, the equestrian *Caius Nummius Certus*, and his mother, daughter of a equestrian, *Verzovia Saturnina*, were followers of the Phrygian cults<sup>43</sup> – it is a possibility, but it is doubtful –, we would be talking about a equestrian and his mother; she, a Roman citizen and daughter of a equestrian, although she has a name of illyrian origin<sup>44</sup>. This is really a funerary inscription that mentions a *collegium dendrophorum*<sup>45</sup>. We have

---

<sup>42</sup> This formula, as well as others in the same style *-iusso dei, iussus fecit,*  showed a predisposition –between the faithful– to submissively accept the divine orders in response to their requests, either through oracles or through dreams, so that the faithful were doomed to a position of subservience to the divinity, internalizing so much their dependence to the absolute power of the gods that they could practically feel in some way their slaves. LOZANO 2007, 355: the conception of an absolute power of the gods on the faithful would have had its origin in the East, being a prominent and characteristic trait of its people when assuming and expressing their religiosity. In inscriptions from Asia Minor, the followers of these gods could appear defined as slaves without actually and legally belonging to that social group. We have dedicated a forthcoming paper to these issues: CARBÓ GARCÍA (forthcoming).

<sup>43</sup> Rep. 19.

<sup>44</sup> MAYER 1957, 358 ss. (quoted by Piso in *IDR* III/5, 599).

<sup>45</sup> This school was a kind of brotherhood that was put under the tutelage of Cybele and Attis probably as a result of the reform of the worship attributed to Claudius. It covered all activities related to the wood, from loggers to the carpenters and cabinet makers. In the holyday of the *arbor intrat*, on 22 March, the members of the college wore the pine that remembered that other which grew in the place where Attis fell dead, according to myth. As Alvar and Rubio have well said, it is true that the mention of a *collegium dendrophorum* in an inscription should not be the only reason to think that we are faced with Phrygian cults followers. But in the case that concerns us, where an equestrian appears as a dedicant –as patron of the college–, and where we can relate the funerary nature of the inscription with the enormous importance that Attis has in this area, we believe that the presence in a community of followers of Cybele and Attis in Apulum can be accepted, when we are also taking into account other inscriptions dedicated to the great mother of the gods. If the dedicant and his deceased mother were members of that community is another issue. See ALVAR 2001, 211; RUBIO 1993, 175-183.

obviously considered this inscription between those of the Phrygian cults because of the possibility that the mention of the college at Apulum meant the existence of a community of faithful of the cult of Cybele. The existence of this community of Apulum is proven by the other inscriptions dedicated to the Magna Mater, but that does not mean that the mother of the *pater* of the college was a follower of the cult of Cybele, although it is a possibility that must be taken into account, too. She was the daughter of an equestrian and so was his son, and we know that the Phrygian cults were to some extent widespread between the members of the *ordo*, but the patronage of the colleges of *dendrophori* by members of the local aristocracy could answer to an issue of honorary kind<sup>46</sup>.

In general, we can see that, even within the limited dissemination of the Phrygian cults of Cybele and Attis in Dacia –much lesser than that on the other provinces of the Roman Empire–, women played an important role. Several among them should enjoy a good social and/or economic situation, personally or through their husbands, and there is a high percentage on which there could be material testimonies of their devotion in their personal capacity. In this way –and not counting with the funerary inscription that mentions the *dendrophori*– more than half of the epigraphic monuments mentioning women in the Phrygian cults in Dacia are consecrated in a direct and individual way by them. Only in one a woman appears as a subsidiary, as it is the husband which funds the costs of the inscription. However, the limited numbers of monuments that we handle for the cult of Cybele and Attis in Dacia relativize the importance of these findings in comparison with the cases of other provinces of the Empire where the Phrygian cults were most widespread<sup>47</sup>.

---

<sup>46</sup> CARBÓ GARCÍA 2010a, 569-570.

<sup>47</sup> In general, the predominance of males against women among the dedicants of the epigraphic monuments is normal, something in which the economic and cultural difficulties for women in Roman society influenced, when it comes to publicly express their religious feelings. On women in the cults with mysteries, see ALVAR 1994, 73-84: “And if the woman does not have so many possibilities it may be due to different accessibility that they have, within the family, to domestic finance structure. But it is also due, without doubt, to a collective behaviour that facilitates male participation in religious

In what refers to the attraction that the Phrygian cults could have for women, it should be pointed out that, at first, they would have two forms of participation: a more passive type, in which women, without being initiated in the mysteries, participate in public events, such as worship processions or the erection of epigraphic monuments; a more active involvement would include the initiation into the mysteries and the membership to the cybelic community, properly said. Given that women could hold any office within those communities, regardless of their social status, they could act in a more active way than in the official religion and achieve a social responsibility that many of them could not even dreaming in civic life. On the other hand, the majority of the initiated would seek ways to alleviate their religious concerns in the religious environment within communities formed by men and women. In this way, personal promotion and social integration seem to have been the main attractions for women when looking for their participation in the Phrygian mysteries of Cybele and Attis<sup>48</sup>.

For the rest of cults originated in Asia Minor, we have already seen that the importance of women in its spread in Dacia is almost zero, according to the data offered by the inscriptions, featuring a single woman accompanying to her husband, who was the main dedicator.

c) *Women in the Isiac cults.*

Practically in all the Danubian space, devotees had especially in its ranks Roman and italic people, members of the *ordo senatorium* and *ordo equester* in the imperial provincial government, municipal aristocracy and military, being the god Serapis object of the majority of their dedications, testimonies of loyalty to the Emperor and the Empire. Other monuments

---

acts and, collaterally, in social relations that are not as accessible to women. This reality not only affects the well-integrated society and the civic world, but also the expressions of alternative religiosity; when adopted by the Roman society they are altered by its customs" (p. 78).

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

are testimony of a devotion of more personal kind, many of them dedicated by women and especially directed to Isis, without involving that this divinity did not also have many followers who were men<sup>49</sup>. In fact, the involvement of women in the Isiac worship was less frequent than we could imagine or what has been noted by some authors<sup>50</sup>.

When approaching more and more to power during the 1st century AD, the Egyptian cults were losing gradually its otherness and the alternative possibility of expression of religiosity which had both attracted individuals from marginalized or oppressed sectors which had adopted them at first, as slaves or women<sup>51</sup>. Thus, the deep introduction became more difficult, as in fact we can see in Dacia.

Three are the monuments of Egyptian cults erected by women either individually or in group, but without being accompanied in his dedications by men. Of them, the most important is a foundation votive inscription from Micia and dedicated by *Domitia, Vettia*, and *Aux...?*, who jointly sponsored the construction of an *iseum* in this town<sup>52</sup>. The first of these appears to have been the wife of *Titus Varenius Pudens*, a known character in the epigraphy of the province, probably prefect of the *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum*, stationed there<sup>53</sup>; he was a Roman of equestrian rank with State horse, from *Papiria* tribe, decurion and *flamen* of the colony of Sarmizegetusa, decurion of the municipality of Apulum, patron of the

---

<sup>49</sup> DUNAND 1983, 85. Dunand presented a brief comparison of the sociology of the Egyptian cults in the Western provinces of the Roman Empire, of which the main conclusions are a higher implementing among the indigenous population for the two provinces of Germania or Hispania, and the spread by the military in Britannia and Pannonia. He didn't enter to assess the case of Dacia since he felt that the general inventory of the monuments of the Egyptian cults found in its territory still had not been done, not missing him some justification, since the work of Alexandru Popa, only 4 years old at the time, had not been published then and has not been until now, being also a difficult reference work that I, however, was lucky to access to in the library of Ancient History, Archaeology and History of the Art of the Babeş-Bolyai University, in Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, in Cluj-Napoca: POPA 1979.

<sup>50</sup> HEYOB 1975, 81 and next.

<sup>51</sup> ALVAR 1991, 83.

<sup>52</sup> Rep. 20.

<sup>53</sup> On this military unit, see PETOLESCU 2002, 97-99, n° 31.

municipality of Porolissum and colleges, and a jurist<sup>54</sup>. As dedicants, *Vettia* and *Aux...*? accompany him; their status is not specified but in any case they could not be slaves, taking into account the magnitude of the cost of the construction of a temple<sup>55</sup>. This inscription is a very important testimony of the importance of women among the dedicants of the cult of Isis, this time three of them jointly building a temple.

In Apulum, *Aelia Iusta* dedicated an inscription to Isis, that bears the epithet *myrionima*, by her child's health<sup>56</sup>. Stands out in it the popularity which this cult enjoyed in the female sex being Isis precisely "the goddess of women", which protected and granted her aid to specific problems in childbirth and later, in maternity<sup>57</sup>. However, as noted by Heyob, this does not mean that among her followers there were not also large numbers of men, who in fact held most of the times the highest positions of the Isiac hierarchy<sup>58</sup>. And another monument erected on an individual basis is that of the freedwoman *Aelia Primitiva*, an altar dedicated in Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa to the Dea Regina for the sake of her former master, *Aelius Metrodorus*, so here the healing aspect of the goddess especially seems to manifest itself<sup>59</sup>.

The four remaining cases are of women accompanying men on their dedications, generally their husbands, although not always, as we can see in an altar of Ulpia Traiana, erected by *Aurelia Fortunata*, freedwoman of an augustal, whom she accompanies in the dedication<sup>60</sup>.

---

<sup>54</sup> His family was actively involved in local and provincial politics since the second half of the 2nd century until the beginning of the third century A.D. See *IDR* III/2, 128, 129 and possibly 130, from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa; on the *Varenii* family in Dacia, see also *IDR* III/5, 596, from Apulum.

<sup>55</sup> MORA 1990, 480, n° 100; 467, n° 17.

<sup>56</sup> Rep. 21.

<sup>57</sup> HEYOB 1975, 45 and next; 66 and next: Isis designates itself in the aretalogies as the patron of women, protecting them and giving them their aid to specific problems, but above all in childbirth, where she intervened in her invocation of Isis-Bubastis. Later, such protection extended in motherhood, which she posed in a special way with her son Harpocrates.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>59</sup> Rep. 22.

<sup>60</sup> Rep. 23.

Also from this city come other epigraphic monuments, such as the one dedicated to the *Dea Regina* by *Antonia Valentina* and her husband, both of them building also the temple of Isis, everything for the health of their daughter, *Claudia Valentina*, what brings us back again to the healing and protective of the women aspects who had the Egyptian goddess<sup>61</sup>. Or the votive altar dedicated to Serapis by *Apronilla* and by her husband, an equestrian, imperial procurator, so unlike the previous cases, the motivation of this dedication appears to be political and not of a personal kind<sup>62</sup>. And a last testimony comes from Potaissa, where *Flavia Apollinaria* and her husband, the centurion *Caius Julius Antigonus*, dedicated a new votive altar to Isis and Serapis<sup>63</sup>.

We can see that women played a fairly important role in the dissemination of the Isiac cults in Dacia, only surpassed by the members of the *ordo senatorium* and *ordo equester*, which occupied positions in the provincial imperial government or serving as army high officers. Some among them should enjoy a good social and economic situation, and again there is a high percentage on which there could be material testimonies of their devotion in their personal capacity: of the nine women attested, five devoted its monuments without intervention of any man. As for the buildings of temples, three of them erected the *iseum* of Micia and another one accompanied her husband on the construction of the *iseum* of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. The Isiac cults also had other attractions for females in their forms of participation, as we have seen for the cult of Cybele too. Thus, together with the known attributes of Isis as protective of women and healing, the pursuit of promotion staff and social integration also should be taken into account as attractive to women when looking for their participation in the Isiac mysteries<sup>64</sup>. Thus, they were participants in the cult and also broadcasters, at least among other women of the Dacian provinces.

---

<sup>61</sup> Rep. 24.

<sup>62</sup> Rep. 25.

<sup>63</sup> Rep. 26.

<sup>64</sup> ALVAR 1994, 77-78.



Given that we have discussed the women on a collective basis, it should not surprise us too much that their dedications achieve a 15.7% of the total between "oriental" cults, since to this figure should be opposing the 84.3% represented by men, a habitual situation in epigraphic records, because as already noted, women erected less inscriptions both for economic reasons and for the characteristics of Roman education and its patriarchal model. And in Dacia we can also see clearly this perception of the situation in the Empire, especially because in addition, many of the women who appear as dedicants actually do it either as wives or daughters of the main dedicant, which is generally a man. Nevertheless, those who appear between the dedicants of "oriental" cults in Dacia mostly concentrated preferences in the Syrian cults with a 45%. On the other hand, a 29% of their dedications are concentrated in the Isiac cults, and above all on Isis. Finally, the cults of Asia Minor and among them especially the Phrygian cults, receive almost the remaining 26% of their dedications, so women played an important role in the spread of the cult of Cybele in Dacia. Leaving aside Mithraism, given that women could not participate in their mysteries, personal promotion and social integration seem to have been the main attractions for women when looking for their participation in the Phrygian and Isiac mysteries, with the known attributes of Isis as protective of women and healing, too<sup>65</sup>.

The contradictions between integration and marginality help us to understand that the official support did not imply a problem to detect other social elements of the provincial population among his followers, given that in the provinces the same conflict observed in Rome is reproduced. In Dacia, women, for example, occupy a very important position between the Isiac cults and Phrygian cults dedicants –while we reiterate the limited spread and implementation of the latter. However, on many occasions women followers of those and other cults did not demonstrate their religious preferences in the form of epigraphic dedications because of the already mentioned reasons, and therefore they

---

<sup>65</sup>*Ibidem*.

do not appear as dedicants<sup>66</sup>. This general perception of the situation in the Empire has its reproduction in Roman Dacia, where we have already mentioned that in addition it is observed that many of women appearing as dedicants in the epigraphic record are wives or daughters of the main dedicant, a man, and as such are identified<sup>67</sup>.

We have also seen that women would have two forms of participation: a more passive type, in which women, without being initiated in the mysteries, participate in public events, such as worship processions or the erection of inscriptions; and a more active participation which would include the initiation into the mysteries and the membership to the Isiac or Cybelic community. And given that women could hold any office within those communities, regardless of their social status, they could act in a more active way than on the official religion, achieving greater social responsibility than that they could aspire to in civic life. On the other hand, the majority of the initiated would seek ways to alleviate their religious concerns in the religious environment within communities formed by members of the two sexes<sup>68</sup>.

On which it refers to the social extraction of women followers of these cults, the economic upturn through the worship service –often participating as priestesses and therefore controlling the financial resources of the sanctuaries– only could be a stimulus for those women of humble origin, while the others having a more vented socio-economical position would be more attracted by the possibility of participating in a heterosexual community.

The different option between Isis and Cybele for women has great interest for us, because it displays the different attraction that both cults exercised over them, which could be explained perhaps by the difference between the proposed conduct models. The ideological content of the cult of Isis, which best reproduced the family structure, had a greater capacity

---

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>67</sup> JUCAN 2007, 198-207.

<sup>68</sup> ALVAR 1994, 77-78; ALVAR 1991, 79-80. As a general reference work, the already quoted HEYOB 1975.

of integration than the Cybele cult<sup>69</sup>. And in the inscriptions of Dacia we can also check the great popularity of the Isiac cult on women, being Isis precisely "the goddess of women".

However, the preference of the majority of women appearing in inscriptions were the Syrian and Palmyrene cults, which have not got mysteries and where usually women accompany their husbands in the dedications and just a few are individual ones. Among the latter we can mention those to Azizos, which could be related to fertility and to the childbirth and, therefore, had attributes similar to those already seen for Isis, which would explain its attraction to the female gender.

Finally, we include a few percentage graphs that allow us to establish the desired comparison between the cults of eastern origin preferred by women and those preferred by other groups in the provincial society; thus this which will serve us to check the different religious preferences of the members of the provincial and municipal administration, army officers and soldiers, merchants and artisans, slaves and, of course, women<sup>70</sup>. In this way we can approach to best fulfil the objective of achieving a better perspective and a greater understanding of the followers of each cult and the provincial religious structure, where women –though they are not detected in a majority way in epigraphy for the reasons already explained– also played an important role, as it could not be otherwise.

#### REPERTOIRE OF INSCRIPTIONS

1-(*Apulum*) Votive inscription, probably an altar or base of statue, if one takes into account the height of the epigraphic field. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 1132; *ILS* 7142; *IDR* III/5, 303; *CODR*, 108.

---

<sup>69</sup> ALVAR 1991, 81.

<sup>70</sup> Graphs obtained from the previous survey conducted in CARBÓ GARCÍA 2010a, 488-489.

*Bono Deo / Puero p(h)os- / phoro / T(itus) Fl(avius) Italicus / primus IIII / vir m(unicipii) A(urelii) A(pulensis) / cum Stati- / lia Lucia / coniuge et / suis ex voto*

2-(*Apulum*) Fragment of votive altar or base of statue without crowning or base. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 1136; *IDR* III/5, 305; *CODR*, 105.

*Bono Puero / p(h)osphoro / Lael(l)ia Cu- / rill(i)a pro sa- / lute sua suo- / rumque v(otum) s(olvit) / l(ibens) m(erito)*

3-(*Apulum*) Votive inscription. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 1135; *IDR* III/5, 304; *CODR*, 109.

*Iulia Secunda / Puero p(h)osphoro / D(eo) O(ptimo) M(aximo)? / d(ono) d(edit) d(edicavitque)*

4-(*Ampelum*) Votive altar. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 1286; *IDR* III/3, 288; *CODR*, 126.

*[D]eo Aeter- / no Zmar- / agdus aug(usti) / lib(ertus) tab(ularius) et / Aurel(ia) Urb(i)- / ca c(oniux) et / Matron(a) / filia / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibenter) m(erito)*

5-(*Apulum*) Votive altar or base of statue in limestone. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 1082; *IDR* III/5, 203; *CODR*, 138.

*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) [c]l[u]m Aelia / Vindia coniuge sua / quod pro se et Fla- / viis Restuto Flavi- / no Ianuario Flaviano / fi(l)is suis voverant v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*

6-(*Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*) Votive marble table. Bibliography: *AnnÉp*, 1914, 106; *IDR* III/2, 190; *CODR*, 154.

*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(ono) d(ederunt) p(osuerunt)*



13-(*Apulum*) Votive inscription, probably an altar or base of statue, if one takes into account the height of the epigraphic field. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 1118; *CIMRM* II, n° 1952; *IDR* III/5, 350; *CODR*, 318.

*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*

14-(*Apulum*) Votive altar or base of statue with inscription. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 7753; *IDR* III/5, 108; *CODR*, 244.

*Iunoni Semliae / Iul(ius) Alexander / actarius l(egati) l(egionis) XIII G(eminae) / et Aelia Vincentia / lib(ent)es pos(uerunt)*

15-(*Drobeta*) Votive inscription, probably a plate or a votive altar. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 1582; *IDR* II, 26; *CODR*, 265.

*M(agnae) d(eum) M(atri) / Iulia Maximil- / la v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) por- / ticum [de] suo fecit*

16-(*Drobeta*) Block of limestone with votive inscription. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 8016; *IDR* II, 27; *CODR*, 266.

*M(agnae) d(eum) M(atri) / Abuccia / Claudi- / ana / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

17-(*Apulum*) Votive inscription, probably an altar or base of statue, if one takes into account the height of the epigraphic field. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 1102; *IDR* III/5, 255; *CODR*, 262.

*M(agnae) d(eum) M(atri) / Umbricia / Maxim[a] pro / se suisque / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

18-(*Apulum*) Votive plate. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 1100; *ILS* 7141; *IDR* III/5, 253; *CODR*, 260.

*Pro salute Aug(usti) M(agnae) d(eum) M(atri) / 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(ocensis) dec(urio) kanab(arum) /*

*leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) et Cl(audia) Candida coniux et Flavi(i) / Longinus Clementina Marcellina fil(ii) / ex imperio pecunia sua fecer(unt) l(oco) d(ato) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*

19-(Apulum) Funerary inscription. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 1217; *IDR* III/5, 599; *CODR*, 263.

*Ver[z]oviae Sa- / turninae [e]q(uitis) r(omani) f(iliae) / C(aius) Numm(ius) Certus / eq(ues) r(omanus) augur col(oniae) / Apul(ensis) patr(onus) coll(egiorum) / fab(rum) et dendr(ophororum) col(oniae) / s(upra) s(criptae) suadente ad- / fectione ma- / tri posuit*

20-(Micia) Marble votive inscription of construction. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 1341; *AnnÉp* 1975, 727; *IDR* III/3, 48; *CODR*, 289.

*Isidi ex vo- / to temp[lum] / fecit D[o-] / mitia [Va-] / renii [Pude-] / ntis Vettia / [---] et aux [---(?)]*

21-(Apulum) Votive altar of limestone. Bibliography: *IDR* III/5, 104; *CODR*, 286.

*Isidi / myr(ionimae) sac(rum) / Ael(ia) Iusta / pro Ver(---) Fir- / no filio / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

22-(Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa) Marble votive altar. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 7908; *IDR* III/2, 309; *CODR*, 298.

*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)*

23-(Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa) Altar or votive statue, probably of marble base. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 1428; *IDR* III/2, 228; *CODR*, 299.

*De[a]e Isidi / Priscianus aug(ustalis) / col(oniae) Sarmiz(egetusae) metrop(oleos) et / Aurelia Fortunata / liberta eius*

24-(Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa) Construction marble plate, recomposed from six fragments. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 7907; *IDR* III/2, 19; *CODR*, 297.

*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*

25-(Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa) White marble votive altar. Bibliography: *AnnÉp* 1930, 134 = *AnnÉp* 1933, 12; *IDR* III/2, 331; *CODR*, 310.

*[I]nvoicto / deo Sera- / pidi / Caesidius / Respectus / proc(urator) Aug(usti) n(ostri) / et Apronilla / eius*

26-(Potaissa) Votive altar of limestone. Bibliography: *CIL* III, 881; *CODR*, 292.

*Isidi / et Serapi(di) / C(aius) Iul(ius) Ant- / igonus 7(centurio) / leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) p(iae) [c(onstantis)] / et Fl(avia) Apol- / linaria / eius v(otum) l(ibentes) s(olverunt)*

#### REFERENCES

ALVAR, J. 1991. "Marginalidad e integración en los cultos místéricos", in GASCÓ, F. y ALVAR, J. (eds.), *Heterodoxos, reformadores y marginados en la Antigüedad Clásica*, Sevilla-La Rábida, 71-90.

ALVAR, J. 1994. *La mujer y los cultos místéricos: marginación e integración*, Jornadas sobre roles sexuales: La mujer en la historia y la cultura, Madrid, 16-22 de mayo de 1990, ARYS series, nº 5, 73-84.

ALVAR, J. 2001. *Los misterios. Religiones «orientales» en el Imperio Romano*, Barcelona (English Edition in ALVAR, J. 2008, *Romanising Oriental Gods. Myth, Salvation and Ethics in the Cults of Cybele, Isis and Mithras*, in *RGRW*, 165, (Translation and edition by Richard Gordon), Leyden.

BEARD, M., NORTH, J., PRICE, S. 1998. *Religions of Rome I- A History*, Cambridge.

BELAYCHE, N. 2000. "Deae Suriae sacrum": la romanité des cultes "orientaux", *RH* 302 (3), 565-592.

CARBÓ GARCÍA, J. R. 2010a. *Los cultos orientales en la Dacia romana. Formas de difusión, integración y control social e ideológico*, Salamanca.



- CARBÓ GARCÍA, J. R. 2010b. *Studying Roman cults of eastern origin in Dacia*, EphNap. 20, 61-100.
- CARBÓ GARCÍA, J.R. 2010c. *La problématique de Sol Invictus. Le cas de la Dacie Romaine*, Numen 57, 1-30.
- CARBÓ GARCÍA, J.R. (forthcoming), *I sogni orientali in Dacia. Sottomissione e dipendenza personale dalla divinità*, Ephemeris Daco-romana.
- DAVID, J. 2000. *The exclusion of women in the Mithraic mysteries: ancient or modern?*, Numen, 47 (2), 121-141.
- DUNAND, F. 1983. *Cultes égyptiens hors d'Égypte. Nouvelles voies d'approche et d'interprétation*, in PEREMANS, W. (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Colloquium: Egypt and the Hellenistic World, Lovaina 24-26 Mayo 1982*, Louvain, 75-98.
- GORDON, R. 1972. *Mithraism and Roman Society: Social Factors in the Explanation of Religious Change in the Roman Empire*, Religion 2, 92-121.
- GORDON, R. 1990. *Religion in the Roman Empire: the civic compromise and its limits*, in BEARD, M. y NORTH, J. (eds.), *Pagan Priests*, London, 235-255.
- HALSBERGHE, G.H. 1972). *The Cult of Sol Invictus*, Leyden.
- HEYOB, S.K. 1975. *The Cult of Isis among Women in the Graeco-Roman World*, Leyden.
- JUCAN, C. 2007. *Manifestări religioase ale femeilor din Dacia romană*, in NEMETI, S., FODOREAN, F., NÉMETH, E., COCIȘ, S., NEMETI, I., PÂSLARU, M. (eds.), *Dacia Felix. Studia Michaeli Bărbulescu oblata*, Cluj-Napoca, 198-207.
- LOZANO, A. 2007. *Devoción religiosa y sumisión personal a la divinidad en las aldeas minorasiáticas lidio-frigias*, SHHA 25, 341-355.
- MAYER, A. 1957. *Die Sprache der alten Illyrien I*, Wien.
- MAZZA, M. 1982. *L'intellettuale come ideologo: Flavio Filostrato ed uno "Speculum principis" del III secolo d.C.*, in BROWN, P., CRACCO RUGGINI, L. y MAZZA, M. (eds.), *Governanti e intellettuali. Popolo di Roma e popolo di Dio (I-VI secolo d.C.)*, Turin, 93-121.
- MORA, F. 1990. *Prosopografia Isiaca: Prosopografia Storica e Statistica del culto Isiaco*, (2 vols.), Leyden.
- PETOLESCU, C.C. 2002. *Auxilia Daciae. Contribuție la istoria militară a Daciei romane*, Bucharest.

POPA, A. 1979. *Culte egipțene și microasiatice în Dacia romană*, (Diss. Univ. Babeș-Bolyai), Cluj-Napoca.

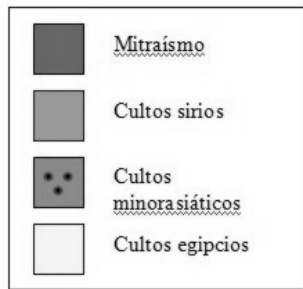
RUBIO, R. 1993. *Collegium dendrophorum: corporación profesional y cofradía metróaca*, *Gerión* 11, 175-183.

SANIE, S. 1981. *Culte orientale în Dacia romană. 1. Culte siriene și palmiriene*, Bucharest.

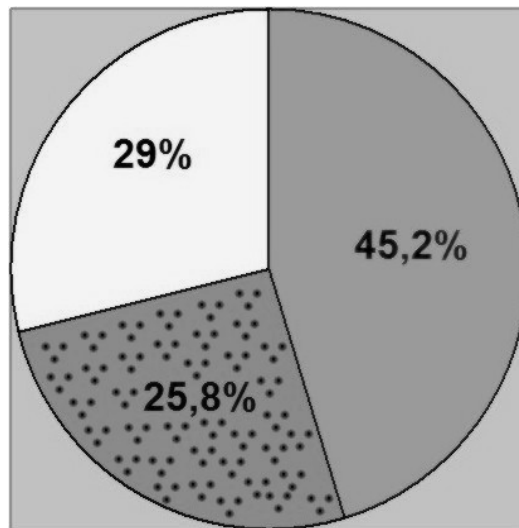
SCHÄFER, A. 2004. *The diffusion of religious belief in Roman Dacia: a case-study of the gods of Asia Minor*, in HANSON, W.S., HAYNES, I.P. (eds.), *Roman Dacia. The making of a provincial society*, Portsmouth-Rhode Island, 179-190.

TURCAN, R. 1996. *The cults of the Roman Empire*, Oxford.

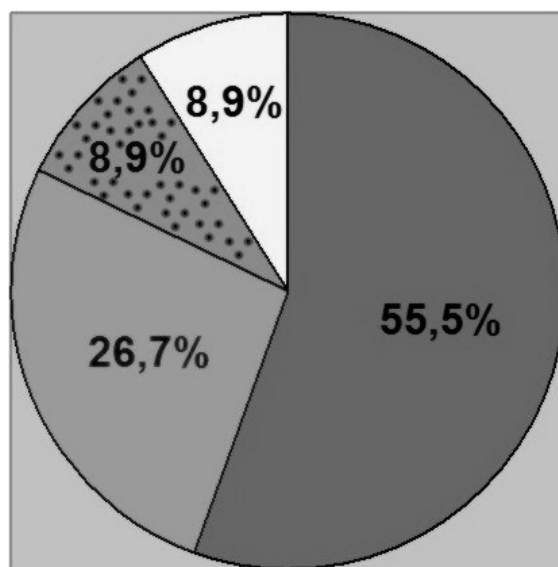
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS



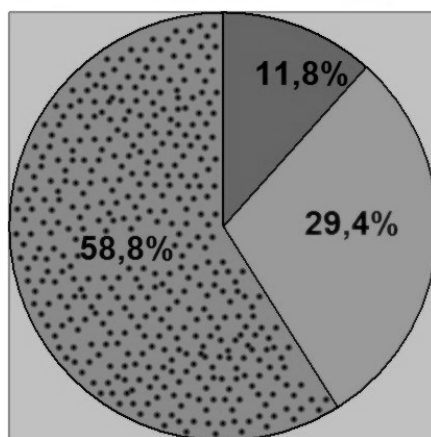
*Fig. 1: Religious preferences of each social group on the "oriental" cults.*



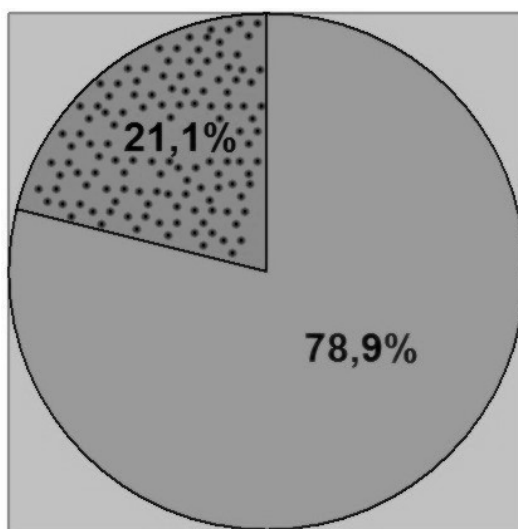
*Fig. 1a: Women*



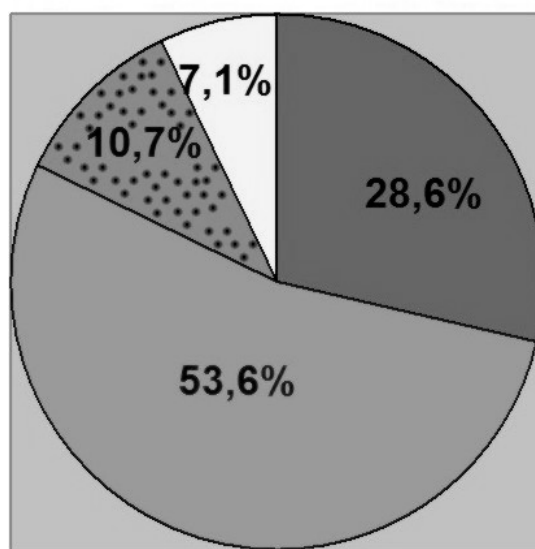
*Fig. 1b: Slaves and Freedmen*



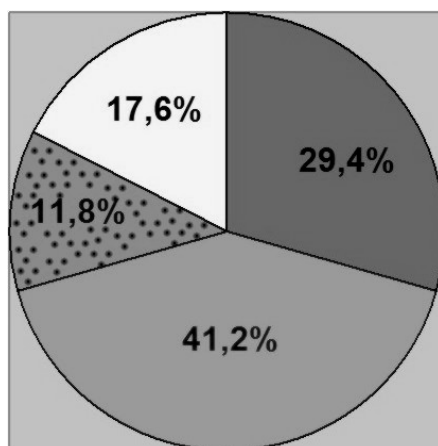
*Fig. 1c: Peregrini*



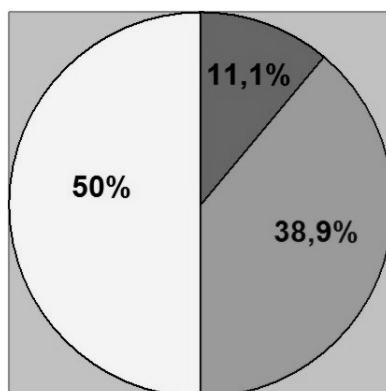
*Fig. 1d: Merchants, artisans.*



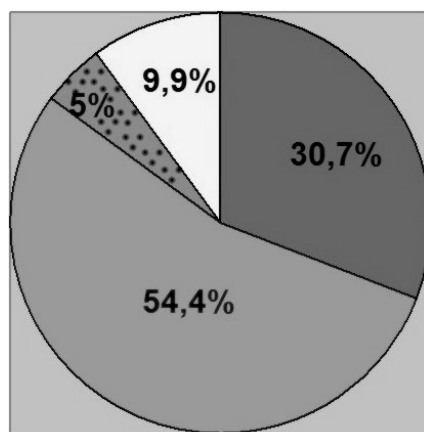
*Fig. 1e: Municipal aristocracy*



*Fig. 1f: Augustales and priests of Imperial Cult*



*Fig. 1g: Senators and equestrians of Imperial provincial government*



*Fig. 1h: Military*



Fig. 2. Rep 9 (National Mueum of History, Bucharest)



Fig. 3: Rep 10 (Sarmizegetusa Museum)





Fig. 4: Rep 11 (Sarmizegetusa Museum)



Fig. 5: Rep 16 (Departmental Museum of Iron Gates, Turnu Severin)



Fig. 6: Rep 21 (Unirii Museum, Alba Iulia)



Fig. 7: Rep 22 (Museum for History of Dacian and Roman Civilization, Deva)



Fig. 8: Rep 24 (Museum for History of Dacian and Roman Civilization, Deva)



Fig. 9: Rep 25 (Sarmizegetusa Museum)



