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THE CULT OF THE *SVLEVIAE* IN THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE

■ Abstract

The Author proposes an in-depth analysis of the inscriptions dedicated to the goddesses *Suleviae* in the Western Roman Empire. The cult probably originated in the *Germaniae* in the 1st century CE and was widespread in the Western Empire by the army. Men were the most frequent *cultores*, mainly members of the army, but also civilians. The goddesses, proved to be Celtic by the linguists, were imagined as sisters and had a protective function, as the texts of two inscriptions clearly demonstrate.

Keywords: *Suleviae*, plural deities, Pre-Roman and Roman religion, theonymic formulas.

1. Introduction¹

In the Western provinces of the Roman Empire, during the Imperial age, the indigenous peoples fully embraced the Roman habit to express their devotion towards the deities by erecting a monument made of stone, thus contributing to the globalization of this form of devotion. At the same time, glocalized² forms of devotion were introduced: the original version of the epichoric theonyms was re-shaped contributing to the creation of multiple hybrid versions of pre-Roman theonyms³.

Some geographic areas, as the *Gallia Narbonensis*, provide cases with both the original epichoric theonymic formula (e.g. **ματρεβο γλανεικαβο**)⁴ and with the Roman hybridized versions: (e.g. the plural feminine *Glanicabus* and the singular masculine

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² For the concept of religious glocalization see D.C.D. VAN ALTEN, *Glocalization and Religious Communication in the Roman Empire: Two Case Studies to Reconsider the Local and the Global in Religious Material Culture*, «Religions», 8 (2017), pp. 1-20.

³ For the concept of hybrid theonyms see R. HÄUSSLER, *Interpretatio indigena. Re-inventing local cults in a global world*, «Mediterraneo antico. Economie, società, culture», 15 (2012), pp. 143–174.

⁴ RIG I, G-64: **ματρεβο γλανεικαβο βρατουδεκαντε**(v vel μ).

*Glanis*⁵). Whereas, other geographic areas, such as the *Germaniae* or the Danubian provinces, are epigraphically silent in terms of pre-Roman attestations. This last circumstance applies to the *Suleviae*, the goddesses analyzed in this study.

This article proposes an in-depth analysis of the textual, religious and material aspects of the inscriptions dedicated to the goddesses *Suleviae* in the Western part of the Roman Empire.

2. The Geography of the Cult

So far, 48 religious dedications attest to the cult of the *Suleviae* in the Western part of the Roman Empire. The bulk of the inscriptions is mainly gathered in two geographic areas: the *Germaniae* (*Superior* 11 and *Inferior* 5) and Rome (13)⁶.

In the *Germaniae* the inscriptions are distributed, with one attestation each, mostly in towns along the Rhein river *Colonia Ulpia Traiana* (Xanten), *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium* (Köln), *Bonna* (Bonn), *Brohl*, *Bingium* (Bingen), *Argentorate* (Strasbourg), *Salodurum* (Solothurn), *Bern*, *Aventicum* (Avenches), *Augusta Raurica* (Vallon), with the exception of *Lousonna* (Lausanne) where 5 inscriptions were discovered.

The inscriptions found in Rome belong to a specific military group mostly recruited in the provinces, the *equites singulares*, who dedicated several inscriptions to a long list of both indigenous and Roman deities on each altar (cfr. *infra* 4).

Testimonies of the worship are to be found, although in lower concentration, in several other provinces such as *Gallia Narbonensis*, and *Britannia* with 5 attestations; *Gallia Lugdunensis* and *Dacia* with 2 attestations; and finally *Gallia Belgica*, *Hispania Tarraconensis*, *Noricum*, *Raetia*, *Pannonia Inferior* with 1 attestation each.

The following map (Fig. 1) provides a clear overview of the distribution of the epigraphic evidence of the cult hinting to the *Germaniae* as a possible area for the development of the cult, and the Rhein and Rhône rivers as the main cult mobility routes, along with the role played by the army in its spread.

The religious mobility of the cult of the *Suleviae* seems to be consequent to the mobility of people (army included) taking their gods with them (as the scattered and small in number attestations in the provinces, other than the *Germaniae*, seem to suggest), but the cult was not further widespread in those areas⁷.

⁵ AE 1954, 103: *Glani et Glanica/bus et Fortunae / Reduci. M(arcus) Licinius / Claud(ia) Verecundu[s] / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XXI Rapacis / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

⁶ In 1909 Max Ihm reported 31 inscriptions (M. IHM, *Suleviae*, in *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, IV, Leipzig 1909), 20 plus years later the number increased by 4 (F.M. HEICHELHEIM, *Suleviae*, in *RE* IV (1931), 725-727).

⁷ Only a few of the thousands of deities worshipped in antiquity ever became true global deities. Cfr. G. WOOLF, *Global Deities, Gods on the move in Ancient Mediterranean World*, in *Dioses, sacerdotes y magos en el mundo antiguo. Homenaje a Francisco Marco Simón*, a cura di S. Alfayé Villa, F. Pina Polo [Bandue XI, 2018-2019], p. 123.



Fig. 1. Map of the distribution of the inscriptions (drawn by the Author using Q-GIS).

3. *Analysis of the Theonymic Formulas*

The quantification of number and the disambiguation of the gender of the plural deities is quite difficult unless the inscriptions provide specific detail about the number or the gender of these deities. Regarding gender, the problem lies in the fact that the majority of dative plural endings do not disambiguate the feminine from the masculine. Only in some fortunate cases, the theonym is preceded by the terms *dis* or *deabus* or it is marked by an ending in *-abus*, which are gender defined, thereby providing valuable information concerning the gender of the deity.

Nonetheless, the epigraphic scene is not so straightforward: anomalous cases in which the masculine version *dis* is associated with a certain feminine theonym, characterized for instance by the ending *-abus*, are also quite frequent. How should we interpret these cases? Are they simply mistakes? Or are they, instead, evidence of the fact that the devotees were not aware which exactly was the gender of the deity they were worshipping?

The mistakes of *genera permutata* are indeed well attested in the inscriptions of the Western Roman Empire, and they were mostly due to the difficulties that the devotee experienced in dealing with the cases system⁸. An expedient used to avoid invoking the deity's name in a wrong way was the usage of formulas as *dis deabusque*, *sive deus sive dea*, etc.

⁸ S. TANTIMONACO, "Singolari e plurali", "maschili e femminili". Alcune osservazioni sui Manes a partire dalle fonti epigrafiche, «Erga Logoi», 3, 1 (2015), p. 123.

Concerning the gender of the *Suleviae*, essentially there are no doubts in regards to their feminine nature. In fact, in addition to the attested form with the ending *-abus*, more substantial evidence of their feminine nature is found in two inscriptions: one from *Germania Superior* (Cat. n. 2) in which the theonym *Sulevis* is placed aside to the term *deabus*, and one in an inscription, from the same province, where the deities are described as *sorores* (Cat. n. 6). To my knowledge, the only other plural deities epigraphically labelled as sisters are the *Parcae*, as shown by a votive inscription found in *Glanum* in *Gallia Narbonensis*⁹. The theonym *Suleviae* is epigraphically attested both with the usual ending *-is*, *Sulevis* (16) and with the ending *-abus*, *Suleviabus* (3). A syncopated version, characterized by the absence of the inter-vowel *-w*¹⁰, *Suleis* (7) is also attested.

Concerning the quantification of the plurality of the *Suleviae*, unfortunately the texts provide no further indications. Only a few are the dedications to plural deities which provide information on the quantification of their plurality; a plurality which seems to be mostly related to triplism and duality as shown by the following exempla: *Parcis tribus* (*Gallia Narbonensis*), *Lamiis tribus*, *Matribus tribus Campestribus* and *Duabus Alaisiagis* (*Britannia*).

3.1. Epithets and Association with other Deities

Generally, the religious dedications to the *Suleviae* are characterized by a mono-member theonymic formula, namely devoid of the epithet; however, there are cases in which the theonym is placed beside to a second element which can have the function of epithet or it can simply be a second theonym that follows the first one without the use of any kind of conjunction. Disambiguating an epithet from a theonym is sometimes not easy: in linguistic terms, the problem is related to the linguistic phenomenon of ellipsis, namely the intentional or unintentional omission of an element in a text¹¹. These omissions could occur essentially for two reasons: the context made the mention of a certain element redundant, or the element had already been expressed in another portion of the text¹². Regarding votive inscriptions it has been observed that the theonymic formulas composed by a theonym followed by an epithet – an element which had the function to define with precision aspects of the deity – in some cases could lose the actual theonym and remain only with the epithet to evoke the deity's name¹³.

⁹ CAG 13, 2, p. 356 = AE 1946, 158: *Parcis / trebus (!) / sororibus*.

¹⁰ In linguistic studies “inter-vowel *-w-*” corresponds to the grapheme “*v*”.

¹¹ For a definition of the phenomenon with some examples related to the fragmentary languages of Ancient Italy see S. MARCHESINI, *Ellipsis and Ancient Languages. Few Cases from the Pre-Roman Languages of Italy*, in *Miscellanea philologica et epigraphica Marco Mayer oblata*, edited by A. Guzmán Almagro, J. Velaza 2018 (*Anuari de filologia antiqua et mediaevalia* 8), pp. 487-500).

¹² MARCHESINI, *Ellipsis and Ancient* cit., pp. 487-488.

¹³ MARCHESINI, *Ellipsis and Ancient* cit., p. 491.

The inscriptions to the *Suleviae* are characterized by a small number of epithets: *Montanae*, *Nantugaicae*, and (maybe) *Domesticae*.

The epithet *Montanae* is attested in abbreviated form in one inscription from *Dacia* (Cat. n. 27) and possibly in an inscription from *Gallia Narbonensis* (Cat. n. 29). This epithet is also associated with the *Iunones*¹⁴.

Instead, the epithet *Nantugaicae* appears only in a dedication found in *Hispania Tarraconensis* (Cat. n. 25) and it would hint at the toponym *Nantu-ka* or **Nantu-ko* derived probably from the indo-european form **nm-tu* with the meaning of “curving, valley”¹⁵.

Difficulties presents instead *Domesticae*. The term appears in association to several plural deities as shown in the following theonymic formulas: *Matri(bus) Dom(est)icis*; *Matronis Domestici*; *Matribus sive Matronis Aufaniabus Domestici*; *Sule[v]is Domest[i]cis*; *Iunonibus Dom(est)icis*; *Laribus Domest(ici)s*, but also alone in five inscriptions found in the *Germaniae*¹⁶.

In my opinion, the group of votive inscriptions in which *Domestici* appears alone is to be interpreted as an example of the linguistic phenomenon of the ellipsis mentioned above.

Nonetheless, a big problem remains to be solved: which was the actual theonym that was dropped? Since the dedications were found in the *Germaniae*, and considering that the plural deities most venerated in these provinces were the *Matronae* and *Matres*, it might be quite likely that the theonym dropped was indeed that. Therefore, the *Domesticae* might have originally been the *Matres* or *Matronae Domesticae*.

In light of this hypothesis, how should we interpret the bi-member theonymic formulas *Sulevis Domestici*, *Iunonibus Domestici*, etc.? In these cases, *Domesticae* would have had the value of a simple epithet, or of an epithet which was affected by the phenomenon of ellipsis of the actual theonym that became itself a theonym?

Both hypotheses have their validity, and indeed the epithet *Domesticus* is frequently used also in association with a series of singular deities as *Silvanus*, *Mercurius*, *Genius*, and *Fortuna*.

Probably the most plausible hypothesis is to consider *Domestici*, not as a common epithet related to the *Suleviae*, but the remaining part of a theonymic bi-member formula which was affected by the linguistic phenomenon of the ellipsis. The complete theonymic formula should have therefore been *Sulevis*, (*Matronis* / *Matris*) *Domestici*.

The juxtaposition of theonyms in sequence, without the use of conjunctions of any kind, was a common practice, which raises a fundamental question: how to define with certainty which terms need to be considered epithets and which theonyms?

¹⁴ CIL XII, 3067 = ILS 3121: *Iunonib(us) / Montan(is) / Cinnamis / v(otum) s(olvit)*.

¹⁵ B.M. PRÓSPER, *Lenguas y religiones prerromanas del occidente de la península Ibérica*, Salamanca 2002, p. 311.

¹⁶ 1) CIL XIII, 6047 (4, p. 86): *Dom/[estici(?)] - - - / - - - - -*; 2) CIL XIII, 8024; ILS 4766 (p. 183): *Iulia Tera/tia Domis/ticis (! Domestici) v(otum) s(olvit) m(erito) l(ibens)*; 3) CIL XIII, 8025: *Domist/[icis(?)] - - - / (! Domestici) / - - - - -*; 4) CIL XIII, 11800; ILS 9320; Frenz 1992, n. 102: *- - - - - / [- - -]s m(iles) / leg(ionis) XXI Rapa(cis) / Domestici / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito)*; 5) H. Galsterer, A. Schäfer, *Ein neuer Weihealtar für die Domesticae aus Köln-Deuty*. «Kölner Jahrbücher» 46 (2013), pp. 83-91: *Domestici/s s[acr]um Ma/eilius Ve/getus / miles leg(ionis) / XXI Rapa(cis) [(centuria)] / Silani*.

In this regard is now appropriate to deal with another set of problematic theonymic formulas: *Matribus Sulevis*, attested in *Britannia* (Cat. n. 24) and the theonymic formulas in the dedications of the *equites singulares* in Rome (Cat. nn. 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47). These theonymic formulas have led some scholars¹⁷ to interpret *Suleviae* as an epithet of *Matres*.

If the theonymic formulas just mentioned might raise concerns regarding the interpretation of *Suleviae* either as theonym or as an epithet, I believe that the existence of two theonymic formulas found in *Germania Inferior* which adopt the conjunction *et* between the two theonyms, *Sulevis et Matribus* (Cat. n. 16), *Matr(ibus) et Sul(evis)* (Cat. n. 12) and a theonymic formula found in Rome, which uses the enclitic conjunction *que*, *Matribus paternis et maternis meisque Sulevis* (Cat. n. 45)¹⁸, might contribute to solving the debate in favour of the interpretation of *Suleviae* as an independent theonym.

As shown in the following chart (Table 1), which displays the association of the *Suleviae* with other plural deities, such as *Campestres*, *Iunones*, and *Matres*, not all theonymic formulas use conjunction between the names of the deities.

Tab. 1. Association of plural deities in theonymic formulas.

<i>Campestres</i>	<i>Sulevis et Campestribus</i> (Cat. n. 35)
<i>Iunones</i>	<i>Sulevis Iunonibus</i> (Cat. n. 33)
<i>Matres</i>	<i>Sulevis et Matribus</i> (Cat. n. 16) <i>Matr(ibus) et Sul(evis)</i> (Cat. n. 12) <i>Matribus Sulevis</i> (Cat. n. 24) <i>Matribus paternis / et maternis meisque / Sulevis</i> (Cat. n. 45)
<i>(Matres) Domesticae</i>	<i>Sulevis Domesticis</i> (Cat. n. 15)

In recent years, also other scholars have been dwelling with similar problematic formulas and came to an outcome akin to mine by using the term “*séquence ou formule onomastique*”. Corinne Bonnet and colleagues write: “*La notion de séquence permet d’appréhender un ensemble d’éléments onomastiques sans présumer de leur nombre, ordre d’apparition, etc; la notion de formule, empruntée au domaine des mathématiques ou de la chimie, souligne le fait que chaque élément possède des propriétés particulières et que leur association ou liaison, selon des modalités variées, donne naissance à un “produit” qui n’est pas simplement la somme de ses composés. En chimie comme en mathématiques, les formules constituent une écriture, une formalisation symbolique.*”¹⁹

¹⁷ N. BECK, *Goddesses in Celtic Religion Cult and Mythology: A Comparative Study of Ancient Ireland, Britain and Gaul*. (Thèse de doctorat d’Études Anglophones Sous la direction de Neil DAVIE et Daithí O HOGAIN Présentée et soutenue publiquement le 4 décembre 2009), Lyon 2009, p. 56: “the *Matres Suleviae*... are also mentioned without the term *Matres*”.

¹⁸ Other inscriptions to the *Matres Paternae* or *Maternae* are the following: *Matribus Arsacis Paternis sive Maternis* (CIL XIII, 8630); *Matribus Frisavis Paternis* (CIL XIII, 8633); *Matribus Paternis Hiannanef(is?)* (CIL XIII, 8219); *Matribus Paternis* (ILD 555).

¹⁹ C. BONNET et al., *Les dénominations des dieux nous offrent comme autant d’images dessinées* (Julien,

In light of the adoption of this new definition, one might wonder if it is still useful to disambiguate theonyms from epithets, since it raises more questions than answers. Probably, in future studies, the practice to consider the theonymic formula as a whole will be more beneficial.

3.2. Etymology and Function

The majority of linguists seem to agree with a Celtic origin for the theonym *Suleviae*. According to Léon Fleuriot, later followed by Xavier Delamarre and Patrizia de Bernardo Stempel, the prefix *su-* would have the meaning of good / well, whereas the panceltic root *-leu-* would have the meaning of leading / ruling²⁰. The *Sulevie* might therefore be the deities who rule well, who lead well²¹.

The function of the *Suleviae* is expressed in a British religious dedication from *Corinium Dobunorum* (Cirencester) (Cat. n. 1 – Fig. 2) which reads:

Banira et Doninda e[t] / Daedalus et Tato Icari fil/i Suleis suis qui (! quae) curam / vestra(m) agunt iden (!) / Cippo Icari l(ibertus).

The *Suleviae* had therefore the function of taking care of the members of the family as also hinted by the frequent use of *suis* in relation to the goddesses, through which the devotees wanted to stress the fact that those deities had the function to protect their family (Cat. nn. 1, 5, 9, 15)²².

Lettres 89, b, 291, b). *Repenser le binôme théonyme-épithète*, «Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni», 84/2 (2018), p. 568, nota 3.

²⁰ L. FLEURIOT, *Notes sur le celtique antique: I. Traductions latines d'épithètes divines gauloises*, «Études celtiques», 19 (1982), p. 126. Cf. X. DELAMARRE, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise. Une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental*, Paris 2003, p. 287; P. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL, *Continuity, translatio and identificatio in Romano-Celtic religion: the case of Britain*, in *Continuity and innovation in religion in the roman west II* [Journal of Roman Archeology n. 67, v. 2], edited by R. Häussler, P. Andrews, Portsmouth 2008, p. 76; BECK, *Goddesses in Celtic cit.*, p. 54.

²¹ Other scholars, such as Garrett Olmsted e Miranda Green, assert instead that *Suleviae* would be the plural form of *Sulis*, the goddess worshipped at *Aquae Sulis* (Bath), therefore they would have had healing and solar characteristics. (G.S. OLMSTED, *The Gods of the Celts and the Indo-Europeans*, Budapest 1994, pp. 362-363; M.J. GREEN, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend*, New York 1997, p. 200). Miranda Green also states that the goddesses *Xulsigiae* known from one inscription found in Trier (AE 1924, 16: *Leno Marti / et Xulsigiis / L(ucius) Virius Dis(e)to v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*) might be etymologically connected to the *Suleviae* (Green, *Dictionary of Celtic cit.*, p. 228; M.J. GREEN, *The gods of the Celts*, Gloucester 1986, p. 84). I believe it is important to clarify here a sentence of Léon Fleuriot, which has been taken for truthful by other linguists, probably without checking the original inscription, and that it has caused the creation of a ghost theonymic formula, reiterated, inadvertently, in several epigraphic publications. Léon Fleuriot affirms that “une traduction exacte de *Suleviabus* se trouve d'ailleurs CIL VII 238 “*Matribus Af(ricanis), Ita(licis), Ga(llicis), M. Minu(cius), Mude(nus?) mil(es) leg(ionis) VI vic(tricis) guber(natricibus) leg(ionis) VI*”. (Fleuriot, *Notes sur le celtique cit.*, p. 126.) But, considering the position of the abbreviated term *guber(- -)* I do not think that there are any doubts that this term is related to the *legio VI* rather than to the theonym *Matres* located at the beginning of the inscription and should be expanded as *guber(nator)*. To my knowledge testimonies of the *Matres Gubernatrices* are unknown and this theonymic formula is unfortunately just an invention caused by a wrong expansion of the abbreviation.

²² See also W. SPICKERMANN, *Mulieres ex voto. Untersuchungen zur Götterverehrung von Frauen im römischen Gallien, Germanien und Rätien (1.-3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.)*, Bochum 1994, p. 95.



Fig 2. Dedication to the *Suleviae* expressing the function of the deities (Photo EDCS-10800430).

3.3. Theonymic Formulas inflected in Singular

The theonym is attested also in a version inflected in singular, *Sulevia*, in four votive inscriptions found in the following provinces: *Germania Superior* (cat. n. III), *Gallia Narbonensis* (cat. n. I), *Lugdunensis* (cat. n. II), and *Belgica* (cat. n. IV).

The theonymic formulas can be characterized by: a) a mono-member structure (*Suleviae*), b) a bi-member structure (theonym plus the addition of the term *Deae*), and c) a pluri-member structure as shown by the following case: *Suleviae* [I?] *edennicae Minervae*. This last theonymic formula is characterized by the juxtaposition of three elements, two of them, the first and the last, certainly theonyms, while the central element, lacking the first letter, [I?] *edennicae* could be either an epithet of *Sulevia*, or an epichoric theonym. Blanca Prósper²³ identified a correspondence (an *interpretatio*) between *Sulevia* and *Minerva* in this theonymic formula, conversely, I believe that this is just a theonymic formula formed with a series of deities mentioned one after the other without a conjunction, as discussed above, and therefore there are no signs of *interpretatio Romana*²⁴.

The presence of theonymic formulas inflected in singular might be interpreted as an attempt to adapt the epichoric plural theonym *Suleviae* to a religious system, the Roman one, which was based on singular deities. It might be an example of an “inverted pluralisation phenomenon” integrated into the macro-phenomenon of the

²³ PRÓSPER, *Lenguas y religiones* cit., p. 311: “se identifica con Minerva en CIL XII 2974 SVLEVIAE IDENNICA MINERVAE”.

²⁴ The same opinion is shared by S. GUTENBRUNNER, *Die germanischen Götternamen der antiken Inschriften*, Halle (Saale) 1936, p. 197: “wo wohl keine Interpretatio Romana, sondern eine Verbindung im Kult vorliegt”.

interpretatio indigena. The direction of the phenomenon of pluralisation goes, in the majority of cases, from a singular Roman deity to a plural epichoric-hybrid deity such as in the following *exempla*: *Iuno* – *Iunones*, *Diana* – *Dianae*, *Fortuna* – *Fortunae* etc. But there might be cases, as this one, where the phenomenon appears to be inverted.

4. *The cultores of the Suleviae*

The devotees are mainly men, whereas the women are a limited number. They both express their devotion to the *Suleviae* generally alone; few are the cases where more than one worshipper appears in a dedication: a) in the votive inscriptions dedicated by the *equites singulares* in Rome; b) in a votive inscription, found in Rome, and dedicated by three brothers, two of them were *duplicarii* (**Cat. n. 34**); c) in a dedication from *Germania Superior* (**Cat. n. 2**) dedicated by two brothers (a man and a woman) and d) in another dedication from *Germania Superior* dedicated by 4 brothers (**Cat. n. 1**). The majority of worshippers were civilians, one of them was a *sculptor* (**Cat. n. 20**), and the rest belonged to the army.

As I have hinted in the previous paragraphs, the votive inscriptions dedicated by the *equites singulares*, within their barrack in Rome, represent a remarkable case of association of several different deities without the use of any conjunction. The barrack was located in correspondence with the current via Tasso and the inscriptions were placed inside niches excavated within a wall²⁵.

The *equites singulares augusti* had the task to protect the emperor and were recruited mostly in the Danubian and Renanian provinces. By joining the special forces, the soldier acquired the Roman tri-member onomastics and often used the imperial family's gentile name²⁶.

As shown in the following table (Table 2), some of the votive inscriptions dedicated by them contain soldiers' names and names of their hometowns or *civitas* of belonging²⁷. In the group of votive inscriptions dedicated to plural deities are mentioned four cities related to four different provinces: *Colonia Ulpia Traiana* (*Germania Inferior*); *Noviomagus Nemetum* (*Germania Superior*), *Flavia Sirmium* (*Pannonia Inferior*), and *Ulpia Oescus* (*Moesia Inferior*). Moreover, the *cognomina* of some dedicators bear

²⁵ The archaeologist Rodolfo Lanciani describes in this way the findings: “è stato scoperto un lungo e robusto muraglione, ornato di nicchie, contro del quale è addossata una fila di piedistalli e di are votive in marmo”. R. LANCIANI, *Gli alloggiamenti degli equites singulares*, «Buletino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma» (1885), p. 137. Cf. R. BARTOCCINI, *Equites singulares*, in *DizEp*, Roma 1961, p. 2151.

²⁶ BARTOCCINI, *Equites singulares* cit., p. 2147. The establishment of the unit of the *equites singulares* is attributed to Nerva or the Flavii.

²⁷ As Michael A. Speidel suggests, the practice of recording the name of their origin country on religious dedications has nothing to deal with a display of their identity, rather it suggests “that most soldiers simply copied or reproduced onto their own inscribed monuments formulaic designations of their homes that had been designed by the military administration and used in the offices of their units”. M.A. SPEIDEL, *Recruitment and Identity. Exploring the Meanings of Romans Soldiers' Homes*, «Revue internationale d'histoire militaire ancienne», 6 (2017), p. 50. About the religion of the army see O. STOLL, *The religions of the Armies*, in *A Companion to the Roman Army*, edited by P. Erdkamp, Malden 2007, pp. 451-476.

the traces of Germanic populations or places such as the *civitas Vangionum*²⁸ (*Germania Superior*) or *Augusta Treverorum* (*Gallia Belgica*).

The votive inscriptions dedicated by the *equites singulares* are almost all characterized by the presence of the consular date (2nd and the 3rd century CE).

The worshippers expressed their devotion towards a series of Roman deities, masculine and feminine such as *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*, *Iuno*, *Minerva*, *Mars*, *Victoria*, *Hercules*, *Mercurius*, *Felicitas*, *Salus*, *Genius* together with deities of indigenous origin like the *Fatae*, the *Campestres*, the *Matronae* and the *Suleviae*²⁹.

Tab. 2. Provenance of the *equites singulares*.

Province	City	<i>Equites singulares</i>	N. Cat.
Mentions of cities			
<i>Germ. Inf.</i>	<i>Colonia Ulpia Traiana</i> (Xanten)	<i>M. Arrad(ius) Priscus Traianensis Baetasius</i> <i>M. Ulp(ius) Optatus Traianensis Baetasius</i> <i>C. Iul(ius) Crescens, Trainanesis Baetasius</i>	Cat. n. 36
<i>Germ. Sup.</i>	<i>Noviomagus Nemetum</i> (Spira)	<i>M. Ulpius Nonius, veteranus Aug(usti), cives Nemens</i>	Cat. n. 46
<i>Pann. Inf.</i>	<i>Flavia Sirmium</i> (Sremska Mitrovica)	<i>M. Ulp(ius) Crescens, Fl(avia) Sirmi</i>	Cat. n. 36
		<i>M. Decimius Proculus, Fl(avia) Sirmi</i>	Cat. n. 42
		<i>P. Aelius Candidus, Fl(avia) Sirmi</i>	Cat. n. 42
		<i>M. Ulpius Pudens, Fl(avia) Sirmi</i>	Cat. n. 42
		<i>M. Ulpius Quintus, Fl(avia) Sirmi</i>	Cat. n. 42
<i>Moes. Inf.</i>	<i>Ulpia Oescus</i> (Pleven)	<i>T. Flavius Martialis, Ul(pia) Oesci</i>	Cat. n. 42
		<i>P. Aelius Naso, Ul(pia) Oesci</i>	Cat. n. 42
<i>Cognomina</i> which allude to Germanic populations or places			
<i>Germ. Sup.</i>	<i>civitas Vangionum</i>	<i>P. Ael(ius) Vangio</i>	Cat. n. 44
<i>Gal. Belg.</i>	<i>Augusta Treverorum</i>	<i>M. Ulp(ius) Trever</i>	Cat. n. 37

²⁸ About the *Vangiones* see R. HÄUSSLER, *Worms und die Vangionen. Fakten und Fiktionen*, «Wormser Heimatjahrbuch», 2 (2006), pp. 146-154.

²⁹ Other deities less frequently mentioned are: *Sol*, *Sol divinus*, *Luna*, *Terra*, *Caelum*, *Mare*, *Neptunus*, *Dii Omnes*, *Deae Omnes*.

In addition to the *equites singulares* discussed above, the devotion to the *Suleviae* is expressed also by other members of the army: a veteran of the *legio XXII Primigenia* (Cat. n. 3), a *decurio* of the *ala I Cannanefatium* (Cat. n. 17), and a *beneficiarius* of the *legio VI Victrix* (Cat. n. 12).

5. Chronology, Religious Formulas, Epigraphic Supports and Iconography

The majority of inscriptions can be dated between the 1st and the 2nd century CE, although some inscriptions might have a slightly later chronology (beginning of the 3rd century CE).

The most ancient inscription dates between 89 and 96 CE and was found in Brohl (*Germania Superior*), thus contributing to the theory of the formation of the cult in the *Germaniae*. The inscription can be dated quite precisely thanks to the indication of the *legio XXII P(rimigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) D(omitianae)* to which the *veteranus C(aius) Paccius / Pastor* belonged³⁰.

All the inscriptions dedicated to the *Suleviae* by the *equites singulares* in Rome can be dated to the year within a specific timespan: from the year 132 CE to the year 207 CE.

The religious formulas used in the dedications are quite standard: *v.s.l.m.* (14); *l.l.m.v.s.* (6); *v.l.p.* (3); *v.s.l.l.m.* (4); *v.l.s.* (2); *l.m.p.* (1); *l.l.m.* (1); *l.m.* (1) e *v.s.a.l.* (1). Almost no worshipper expresses any particular reason for the dedication to the goddesses, other than the fact that the inscriptions were made for themselves or for their family (*pro se et suis*) (Cat. n. 18). The term *sacrum*, which sometimes is placed aside the theonymic formulas, is attested only in five inscriptions (Cat. nn. 17, 18, 33, 34, 35).

The *ara* is the preferred support for the dedications to the *Suleviae* (31), whereas the epigraphic monuments *tabula* and base of statue are attested only one time each. The testimonies of graffiti are limited in number and they appear both on ceramic (1) and bronze (1) containers³¹.

Unfortunately, the epigraphic monuments dedicated to the *Suleviae* are lacking any depiction of the deities. We know from an ancient drawing that one inscription from Rome, now lost, had the depiction of three feminine figures sitting (Fig. 3). The inscription bears the theonymic formula *Sulevis et Campestribus sacrum* (Cat. n. 35) therefore, since the plural deities mentioned are two, it is not possible to attribute with certainty the depiction either to the *Suleviae*, nor to the *Campestres*, also because no depictions of the *Campestres* are known.

³⁰ See K. MATIJEVIĆ, *Römische und frühchristliche Zeugnisse im Norden Obergermaniens*, Rahden 2010, n. 35 for the full description.

³¹ For an overview of the graffiti found in Austria containing theonyms see R. WEDENIG, *Instrumenta inscripta der Austria Romana mit kultischen Charakter*, in *Instrumenta inscripta III. Manufatti iscritti e vita dei santuari in età romana*, edited by G. Baratta, S.M. Marengo, Macerata 2012, pp. 289-307.



Fig. 3. Drawing of the relief on the altar dedicated to the *Suleviae* and *Campestrae* in Rome (drawing IHM, *Suleviae* cit., p. 79).

The upper part of the relief depicts three feminine figures sitting in the same frontal position with the right arm protracted forward whilst keeping an attribute (a *patera* for the two lateral figures and an unidentified object for the central figure). They wear long dresses and their heads are covered. In their lap, they bear flowers or fruit and with their left arm they sustain spikes. The lower part depicts an offering scene with three men standing near a circular altar and a sow moving towards it. The iconography clearly hints at the *Matres* / *Matronae* known by a conspicuous number of depictions.

6. Conclusions

The cult of the *Suleviae*, neglected by the literary sources and known only through epigraphic testimonies, originated most probably in the *Germaniae*, as the most ancient inscription (89-96 CE) and the quantity of dedications found in those lands seems to indicate.

Indubitably the military played a role in the spread of the cult across the Empire, as testimonies of the cult are found in almost all the Western provinces. The cult of the *Suleviae* was particularly dear to the *equites singulares*, who dedicated quite a large

number of inscriptions (13) to the goddesses, mostly in association with other epichoric and Roman deities, in their barrack in Rome.

The goddesses were mainly worshipped by men (both civilians and military) and were imagined as sisters. They had a protective role as the usage of the possessive pronoun *suis* in association with the theonym, and a sentence found in one inscription *qui (!) curam vestra(m) agunt*, clearly indicates. Studies on the etymology of the theonym have quite unanimously proved that the *Suleviae* were Celtic deities who rule well, who lead well.

So far, unfortunately, no certain depiction of the goddesses is known. One lost inscription bore a relief very similar to the iconography of the *Matres*, but the theonymic formula contained two plural theonyms, the *Campestres* and the *Suleviae*, precluding thus the possibility of a precise attribution.

The analysis of the theonymic formulas proved that the theonym *Suleviae* is not an epithet of the *Matres*, as it has been suggested by some scholars, but a completely independent theonym, as proved by the theonymic formulas containing the conjunctions *et* or the enclitic *-que* between the two theonyms.

The theonym is known also in the version inflected in singular and it might represent an example of an “inverted pluralisation phenomenon” integrated into the macro-phenomenon of the *interpretatio indigena*. Probably it was an attempt to adapt the epichoric plural theonym *Suleviae* to the Roman religious system.

The study of these theonymic formulas represented also the proper circumstance to address a major problem in the analysis of the theonymic formulas, namely the difficulties in the disambiguation of an epithet from a theonym, leading to the conclusion that it is essential to consider the theonymic formulas as a whole.

7. Catalogue of the inscriptions to the *Suleviae*

The inscriptions are ordered by province and progressive number of the main epigraphic *corpora*. Each inscription is provided with the modern and ancient place name, the type of monument, the chronology, if available, immediately followed by the indication (in brackets) of the bibliographic reference that attributed it, and finally the bibliography of the inscription.

An appendix is dedicated to the inscriptions mentioning the theonym inflected in singular.

GERMANIA SVPERIOR

1) Lousonna (Vidy) - *tabula*

CIL XIII, 5027; ILS 4774; WALSER, *Römische Inschriften in der Schweiz*, Bern 1979-1980, I, 55; AE 1946, 257

Banira et Doninda e[t] / Daedalus et Tato Icari fil/i Suleis suis qui (!) curam / vestra(m) agunt idem (!) / Cippo Icari l(ibertus).

2) Bingium (Bingen) - *ara* - end 1st century - begin 2nd century CE (Boppert)

CIL XIII, 7504; ILS 4773; W. BOPPERT, *Römische Steindenkmäler aus dem Landkreis Mainz-Bingen*, (CSIR, D, II, 14), Mainz 2005, n. 22.

Sulevis / dea[bus] / C(aius) H[o]sti/lius Sat/urnin(us) / et H[o]sti/lia Alpi/na fra/tres.

3) *Germ. Sup.*, (Brohl) - *perit* - *ara?* - 89-96 d.C. (Matijević)

CIL XIII, 7725; ILS 4772; MATIJEVIĆ, *Römische und cit.*, n. 35.

Suleviabus / C(aius) Paccius / Pastor / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XXII P(rimigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) D(omitianae) / v(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito).

4) *Germ. Sup.*, *Aventicum* (Avenches).

CIL XIII, 11477 = Walser, *Römische Inschriften cit.*, I, 103.

Suleis At/umarae D[- - -] / [- - -] Aposule[- - -] / [- - -]tia AL[- - -] / [- - -]tia[- - -] / - - - - -

5) *Germ. Sup.*, *Salodurum* (Solothurn) - *ara*.

CIL XIII, 11499; ILS 9322; Walser, *Römische Inschriften cit.*, II, 140.

T(itus) Cr(assicius) Pattusi/us et Cr(assicius) Magi/us / Suleis suis / v(otum) s(oluit) l(ibentes) m(erito).

6) *Germ. Sup.*, *Lopodunum* (Ladenburg) - *ara* - 1st century CE (Castritius, Clauss)

CIL XIII, 11740; ILS 9323; R. WIEGELS, *Lopodunum II. Inschriften und Kulturdenkmäler aus dem römischen Ladenburg am Neckar*, Stuttgart 2000, pp. 55-57, Nr. 13; Abb. 15; H. CASTRITIUS, M. CLAUSS, *Die römischen Steininschriften des Odenwaldes und seiner Randlandschaften* (RSOR), «Beiträge zur Erforschung des Odenwaldes und seiner Randlandschaften» 3, Breuberg - Neustadt 1980, pp. 193-222.

Sulevis so/ororibus L(ucius) / Gallionius Ianuar(ius) / dec(urio) al(ae) I Cannanef(a-tium) / v(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

7) *Germ. Sup.*, *Augusta Raurica* (Vallon) - frg. of bronze crater.

AE 2002, 1058.

Paterna Sule[vis - - -]

8) *Germ. Sup.*, *Argentorate* (Strasbourg) - *ara*.

CAG 67/2, p. 447; AE 1978, 564.

Sule(v)is / Vëttius / Aveñtini / fil(ius) / v(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

9) *Germ. Sup.*, *Lousonna* (Lausanne) - *cippus?*.

H. NESSELHAUF, H. LIEB, *Dritter Nachtrag zu CIL XIII: Inschriften aus den germanischen Provinzen und dem Treverergebiet*, «BRGK» (40) 1959, n. 31 = *AnalEpig* 192 =; AE 1939, 211; AE 1946, 254.

Nonio Sul(eis) / suis voto / l(ibens) m(erito) p(osuit?).

10) *Germ. Sup.*, *Lousonna* (Lausanne) - *ara*.

NESSELHAUF, LIEB, *Dritter Nachtrag cit.*, n. 32; AE 2006, 919.

[- - - - -] / II Suleii/eis [- - -]NAI / v(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito).

11) *Germ. Sup.*, (Bern) - graffito on pottery.

NESSELHAUF, LIEB, *Dritter Nachtrag cit.*, n. 51.

Cantexta Suleis Mode[- - -].

GERMANIA INFERIOR

12) *Germ. Inf., Colonia Ulpia Traiana (Xanten).*

*CIL XIII, *1328; AE 1928, 89; AE 1939, 281; AE 2007, 1024.*

Matr(ibus) et Sul(evis) / C(aius) Mettius / Martialis / b(ene)f(iciarius) leg(ionis) / VI Victr(icis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

13) *Germ. Inf., Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (Köln) - ara - 2nd - 3rd century CE (IKöln²).*

CIL XIII, 8247; RSK 139; IKöln² 199.

----- / Sulevi/s l(ibens) · m(erito) p(osuit).

14) *Germ. Inf., Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (Köln) - ara - 2nd - 3rd century CE (IKöln²).*

CIL XIII, 12055; RSK 138; IKöln² 198.

Sulevi/abus / C(aius) · Iul(ius) / Severus.

15) *Germ. Inf., Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (Köln) - ara - 2nd century CE (IKöln²).*

CIL XIII, 12056; RSK 140; IKöln² 200; ILS 9321; AE 1907, 107.

Sule[v]is Do/mest[i]cis su/is Fab[i] Ianua/rius [et] Bella/tor [et] Iullus / l(ibentes) [l(aeti)] m(erito).

16) *Germ. Inf., Bonna (Bonn) - tabula.*

AE 2010, 1003; AE 2014, 896.

C(aius) Iulius / Victor / Sulevis / et Matr(lbu/s (!) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

PANNONIA INFERIOR

17) *Pan. Inf., Aquincum (Óbuda), ara - 2nd century CE (TitAq).*

AE 1937, 212; TitAq I, 358.

Sulevis / sacrum / Ulp(ia) Iluri/ca v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

RAETIA

18) *Raet., Vicus Scuttariensium (Nassenfels) - periit*

CIL III, 5900 (p. 1855); IBR 245.

Sulevis / sac(rum) / Iul(ia) Pater/na Pater(ni) / p(ro) s(e) et s(uis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

NORICVM

19) *Nor., Flavia Solva (Wagna) - frg. ceramics graffito - 2nd half of 1st century - III century CE (Heymans, Wedenig)*

*AEA 2007, 197 = AE 2005, 1170 = H. HEYMANS, R. WEDENIG, Neue Sakralritzung-
gen aus Flavia Solva, «Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse», 140 (2005),
pp. 127-43.*

Sulevis.

BRITANNIA

20) *Brit., Aquae Sulis (Bath) - basis statua.*

CIL VII, 37; RIB I, 151.

Sulevis / Sulinus / scul(p)tor / Bruceti f(i)lius / sacrum f(ecit) l(ibens) m(erito).

21) *Brit., Vinovia* (Binchester).

CIL VII, 1344b; RIB I, 1035.

Sul[e(?)vi[s(?)] / [ala] Vett[on(um)] / CANN / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

22) *Brit., Corinium Dobunnorum* (Cirencester) - ara.

RIB I, 105.

Sule(v)is / Sulinus / Bruceti / · v(otum) · s(olvit) · l(ibens) · m(erito) ·.

23) *Brit., Corinium Dobunnorum* (Cirencester) - ara.

RIB I, 106.

Sulevis / [P]rimus / [- - -]EAS/ - - - - -

24) *Brit., Camulodunum* (Colchester) - ara.

RIB I, 192; ILS 4777.

Matribus / Sulevis / Similis · Atti f(i)lius · ci(vis) · Cañt(iacus) · v(otum) · l(ibens) · s(olvit).

HISPANIA CITERIOR

25) *Hisp. Cit., (Padrenda, Orense)* - ara.

AE 1951, 108; HEp 7, 1997, 532 = IRG IV, 98; F. BOUZA-BREY, *Ara romana de Santa Maria do Condado Ourense*, «Revista de Guimarães», 58 (1948), pp. 225-230

Suleis / Nantu/gaicis / Flavin/us Flav(u)s / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

DACIA

26) *Dac., Apulum* (Alba Iulia).

CIL III, 1156 (p. 1015); IDR III, 5, 1, 359.

Sule(vis) / Fl(avius) Atta/lus votum / l(ibens) s(olvit).

27) *Dac., (Magyar-Peterd)*

CIL III, 1601.

Sul(evis) Mont(anis) T(itus) / Iulius Lapid(- - -) / v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit).

GALLIA NARBONENSIS

28) *Gal. Narb., Carpentorate* (Carpentras) - ara.

CIL XII, 1180 (p. 823); CAG 84/4, p. 409.

Sulevis / Tertius / [- - -]monis / [v(otum)] s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

29) *Gal. Narb., Carpentorate* (Carpentras) - cippus.

CIL XII, 1181.

Sul(evis) M(ontanis?) / Colia / Maxum/a.

30) *Gal. Narb., Aquae Sextiae* (Lambesc) - ara.

ILN III, 256 = CAG 13/4, p. 571.

[S]extus / S[u]leviabus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

31) Gal.Narb.

CAG 84/2, n° 50, 13.

*Sulev[iae (?) - - -] / - - - - - ?***GALLIA LVGDVNENSIS****32) Gal. Lug., Lugudunum (Lyon).**

CIL XIII, 1787; CAG 69/2, p. 528.

*Ara Su(levi?) / Q V E M(?)***GALLIA BELGICA****33) Gal. Belg., Morini (Rinxent).**

CIL XIII, 3561; ILS 4775; CAG 62/2, p. 427.

*Sulevis Iuno/nibus sacr(um) / L(ucius) Cas(sius) Nigri/n[ianus(?) pro] / se [- - -]
/ - - - - -***ROMA****34) Roma - ara - 138 / 200 CE (EDR).**CIL VI, 767, cfr. p. 3006; M.P.SPEIDEL, *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter = Equites singulares Augusti*, Köln 1994, n. 46; EDR158748 (S. Orlandi).*Sulevis sacr(um) / T(iti) Aureli Pri/mus et Mar/cellus, dupl(icarii), / et Fl(avius) Festus / fratres / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) l(aeti) m(erito).***35) Roma - ara with Suleviae or Campestris iconography - 160 CE (Speidel).**CIL VI, 768 (p. 3757); SPEIDEL, *Die Denkmäler cit.*, n. 33; ILS 4776.*Sulevis et Campestribus sacrum. / L(ucius) Aurelius Quintus, l(centurio) leg(ionis) VII Geminae / votum solvit laetus libens. / Dedicavit VIII K(alendas) Septembre(s) Bradua et Varo co(n)s(ulibus).***36) Roma - ara - 132 CE (Speidel).**CIL VI, 31140 (p. 3758); SPEIDEL, *Die Denkmäler cit.*, n. 3; ILS 2181; EDR126841 (S. Orlandi).*Iovi Optumo (!) Maximo, / Iunoni, Minervae, / Marti, Victoriae, Herculi, / Fortunae, Mercurio, / Felicitati, Saluti, Fatis, / Campestribus, Silvano, / Apollini, Dianae, Eponae, / Matribus, Sulevis, et / Genio sing(ularium) Aug(usti) / veterani missi / honesta missione / ex eodem numero ab / imp(eratore) Traiano Hadriano Aug(usto) p(a)tre p(atriciae) / C(aio) Serio Augurino C(aio) Trebio / Sergiano co(n)s(ulibus) l(ibentes) l(aeti) / m(erito) v(otum) s(olverunt). // Divo Traiano V c[o(n)s(ule)] / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Iulius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Dolucius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Clemens / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Marinus / Q(uintus) Oct(avius) Marcianus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Ianuarius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Isauricus / M(arcus) Cocc(eius) Victor / M(arcus) Coc(ceius) Flavos (!) / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Proculus / C(aius) Iul(ius) Ingenus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Calventius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Massa / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Iustus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Cassius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Ursulus // Suburano et Marcello co(n)s(ulibus) / M(arcus) Arrad(ius) Priscus Traianenses Baetadius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Frequens / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Lupus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Tertius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Sanctus / C(aius) Iul(ius) Aufidianus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Firminus / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Flavinus / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Mercator*

/ M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Primus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Optatus Traianensis Baetasius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Verecundus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Dasmenus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Dasius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Singularis / C(aius) Iul(ius) Crescens Traianensis Baetasius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Crescens Fl(avia) Sirmi / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Amabilis / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Crescens / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Clarus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Velox / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Optatus / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Pastus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Antonius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Fidelis / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Martialis / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Mercator / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Agrippa / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Gallio / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Agilis / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Ripanus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Arruntius.

37) Roma - ara - 133 CE (Speidel).

CIL VI, 31141; SPEIDEL, *Die Denkmäler cit.*, n. 4 = MNR I, 7, 1, p 69

Iovi Optimo / Maximo, Iunoni, Minervae, Marti, / Victoriae, Mercurio, / Felicitati, Saluti, / Fatis, Campestribus, / Silvano, Apollini, / Dianae, Eponae, Matribus, / Sulevis et Genio / singularium Aug(usti) / veterani missi honesta / missione ex eodem / numero ab / Imp(eratore) Traiano Hadriano / Aug(usto) p(atre) p(atriciae) l(ibentes) l(aeti) m(erito) v(otum) s(olverunt) / Hiberno et Sisenna co(n)s(ulibus). // Candido et Quadrato / co(n)s(ulibus): / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Licinius / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Valentinus / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Octavius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Gaius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Victor / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Primus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Secundus / Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Gaianus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Priscus / M(arcus) Antonius Cocceianus / Commodus et Cerialis co(n)s(ulibus) / M(arcus) Cocceius Iustus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Trever / L(ucius) Licinius Salutaris / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Tertius / T(itus) Fl(avius) Dativos / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Vitalis / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Genialis / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Domitius / P(ublius) Aelius Bassus // M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Similis duplicar(ius) / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Gemellus / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Germanus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Primus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Silvanus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Ingenus / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Iustus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Secundus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Dasius / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Titus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Firmus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Mansuetus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Gratus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Nonius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Campanus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Candidus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Maximus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Marcus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Valerius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Tullius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Germanus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Octavius / M(arcus) Sulpicius Crescens.

38) Roma - ara - 134 CE (Speidel).

CIL VI, 31142; SPEIDEL, *Die Denkmäler cit.*, n. 6.

Iovi Optimo Maximo / Iunoni, Minervae, Marti, / Victoriae, Mercurio, / Felicitati, Saluti, Fatis, / Campestribus, Silvano, / Apollini, Dianae, / Epon(a)e, Matribus, / Sulevis et Genio / singular(i)um Aug(usti) / veterani missi honesta / missione ex eodem numero / ab imp(eratore) Traiano Hadrian(o) / Aug(usto) p(atre) p(atriciae) l(aeti) l(ibentes) / m(erito) v(otum) s(olverunt) / L(ucio) Iulio Urso Serviano III / T(ito) Vibio Varo co(n)s(ulibus). // M(arcus) Ulpius Candidus ex signif(ero) / M(arcus) Ulpius Valens ex arm(or)um cust(ode) / T(itus) Flavius Florentinus / P(ublius) Aelius Marius / M(arcus) Ulpius Domitius / M(arcus) Ulpius Ianuarius / M(arcus) Ulpius Respectus / M(arcus) Ulpius Verbicus / M(arcus) Ulpius Priscus / M(arcus) Ulpius Tertius / M(arcus) Ulpius Restitutus / M(arcus) Ulpius Bellicus / M(arcus) Ulpius Viator / Licinius Sura III co(n)s(ulibus) / et Sossio Senecione // M(arcus) Ulpius Caristianus ex sig(nifero) / P(ublius)

Aelius Bellicus / *P(ublius) Aelius Bassus* / *M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Primus* / *M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Longinus* / *M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Sextus* / *M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Octavius* / *M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Rufus* / *M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Crescens* / *M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Paternus* / *M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Paternus* / *M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Montanus*.

39) Roma - ara - 135 CE (Speidel).

CIL VI, 31143; SPEIDEL, *Die Denkmäler cit.*, n. 7.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), Iunoni, / Minervae, Marti, / Victoriae, Mercurio, / Felicitati, Saluti, Fatis, / Campestribus, Silvano, Apolli(ni), / Dianae, Eponae et Genio / singularium Aug(usti) veter(ani) / missi honesta missione / ex eodem numero ab imp(eratore) / Hadriano Aug(usto) / p(atre) p(atriciae), l(ibentes) l(aeti) m(erito) / v(otum) s(olverunt). / *Pontiano et Atiliano co(n)s(ulibus) / qui militare / coeperunt / Gallo et Bradua co(n)s(ulibus) // M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Aprilis ex (h)astil(iario) / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Victor ex libra(rio) / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Restitutus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Niger ex (h)astil(iario) / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Firmus ex signif(ero) / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Antoninus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Emeritus ex sign(i)ff(ero) / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Annius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Ingenus ex signif(ero) // M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Valerius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Dexter / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Victor / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Alpicus ex tabli(fero) / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Saturninus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Titus ex (h)astil(iario) / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Dexter ex arm(orum) / item ex causa / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Valens / T(itus) Flavius Bizens.*

40) Roma - ara - 136 CE (Speidel).

CIL VI, 31144; SPEIDEL, *Die Denkmäler cit.*, n. 8.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), Iunoni, / Miner(vae), Marti, Victori(ae), / Mercur(io), Felicit(ati), Saluti, / Fatis, Campestri(bus), Silvano, / Apollini, Dianae, Eponae et / Genio singularium Aug(usti) vete(rani) / missi honesta missione / ex eodem numero ab imp(eratore) / Traiano Hadriano Aug(usto), p(atre) p(atriciae), / l(ibentes) l(aeti) m(erito) v(otum) s(olverunt). / *L(ucio) Caeionio Commodo / co(n)s(ulibus) / Sex(to) Civica Pompeiano / qui mil(itare) coeperunt / Palma et Tullo co(n)s(ulibus) // ex armor(um) / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Saturnin(us) Raetus / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Tutor / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Annius / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Marcus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Valens ex tabli(fero) / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Bassus / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Romanus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Macedo ex (h)astil(iario) / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Pius // M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Secundus ex arm(orum) / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Suc(c)essus / T(itus) Flav(ius) Cresce(n)s / T(itus) Flav(ius) Apuleius ex sign(ifero) / P(ublius) Aeli(us) Maximus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Pudens ex sign(ifero) / C(aius) Vale(rius) Longus / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Ma(n)suetus ex sign(ifero) / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Claudius*

41) Roma - ara - 137 CE (Speidel).

CIL VI, 31145; SPEIDEL, *Die Denkmäler cit.*, n. 9.

Iovi Op[t]imo / Maximo, Iunoni, / Minervae, Marti, / Victoriae, Herculi, / Fortunae, Mercurio, / Felicitati, Saluti, Fatis, / Campestribus, Silvano, / Apollini, Dianae, Eponae, / Matribus, Sulevis et / Genio singularium Aug(usti) / ceterisq(ue) dis immortalib(us) / veterani missi / honesta missione ex eodem / numero ab Imp(eratore) Traiano / Hadriano Aug(usto) p(atre) p(atriciae) / L(ucio) Aelio Caesare II et Coelio Balbino co(n)s(ulibus) / l(ibentes) l(aeti) m(erito) v(otum) s(olverunt) // qui coeperunt milit(are) Or-

fito et Priscino co(n)s(ulibus) / missi honesta missione VIII / Idus / Ian(uarias) // P(ublius) Aelius Tacitus / M(arcus) Ulpius Equester / M(arcus) Ulpius Marcus / M(arcus) Ulpius Viator / M(arcus) Ulpius Priscus / M(arcus) Ulpius Provincialis / M(arcus) Ulpius Sacer sig(nifer) / C(aius) Iulius Victor / M(arcus) Ulpius Ingenus arm(orum) / Ti(berius) Claudius Canio / T(itus) Flavius Lucianus (h)ast(iliarius) / M(arcus) Ulpius Dasius sig(nifer) / M(arcus) Ulpius Quintus / M(arcus) Ulpius Victor arm(orum) / C(aius) Iulius Equester sig(nifer) / M(arcus) Ulpius Marcus / M(arcus) Ulpius Similis sig(nifer) / M(arcus) Ulpius Licinius / M(arcus) Ulpius Saturninus / M(arcus) Ulpius <P=B>acorus // missi honesta missione / Ti(berius) Claudius Lupio / L(ucius) Valerius Festus / P(ublius) Aelius Surio sig(nifer) / T(itus) Claudius Proculus / T(itus) Claudius Quartus / M(arcus) Ulpius Titullus tab(lifer) / M(arcus) Ulpius Domitius op(tio) v(aletudinarii) / C(aius) Iulius Tutor / M(arcus) Ulpius Flav<u=O>s arc(hitectus?) / M(arcus) Ulpius Valentinus sig(nifer) / M(arcus) Ulpius Capito sig(nifer) / C(aius) Iulius Firmus / M(arcus) Ulpius Verus sig(nifer) / L(ucius) Attius Ingenus / C(aius) Barbius Romulus / M(arcus) Ulpius Dasius / M(arcus) Ulpius Mucapor / T(itus) Flavius Praesens arm(orum custos) / M(arcus) Ulpius Secundus / M(arcus) Ulpius Martialis

42) Roma - ara - 138 CE (Speidel).

CIL VI, 31146; SPEIDEL, *Die Denkmäler cit.*, n. 10.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), Iunoni, Minervae, / Marti, Victoriae, Herculi, / Fortunae, Mercurio, Felicitati, / Fatis, Saluti, Campestribus, / Silvano, Apollini, Dianae, / Ephronae(!), Matribus, Sulevis / et Genio singularium Augusti / ceterisque dis immortalibus / veterani missi honesta missione / ex eodem numero ab Imp(eratore) / Traiano Hadriano Aug(usto) p(atre) p(atriciae) / Camerino et Nigro co(n)s(ulibus) VIII Idus Ianuarias qui mili/tare / coeperunt Pisoni et Bolano co(n)s(ulibus) / l(ibentes) l(aeti) m(erito) v(otum) s(olverunt). // M(arcus) Decimius Proculus ex dupl(icario) Fl(avia) Sirmi / T(itus) Flavius Martialis ex dupl(icario) Ul(pia) Oesci / P(ublius) Aelius Candidus ex signif(ero) Fl(avia) Sirmi / M(arcus) Ulpius Pudens ex armor(um) cust(ode) Fl(avia) Sirmi / M(arcus) Ulpius Quintus Fl(avia) Sirmi / P(ublius) Aelius Naso Ul(pia) Oesci.

43) Roma - ara - 140 CE (Speidel).

CIL VI, 31148; SPEIDEL, *Die Denkmäler cit.*, n. 12.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), Iunoni, Minervae, / Marti, Victoriae, Herculi, / Fortunae, Mercurio, Felicitati, Fatis, / Saluti, Campestribus, Silvano, Apollini, / Dianae, Eponae, Matribus, Sulevis et / Genio singularium Aug(usti) ceterisq(ue) dis / immortalibus vet(e)rani missi honesta / missione ex eodem numero ab / imp(eratore) Tito Aelio Antonino Aug(usto) Pio p(atre) p(atriciae) / Tito Aelio Antonino et Aurelio / Caesare co(n)s(ulibus) / qui militare coeperunt Vergiliano / et Messalla co(n)s(ulibus) Celsinius Inge/nus sing[- -] / Ulpius Repentinus hastil(iarius) Iulius Clemen(s) / voto solverunt animo libenti.

44) Roma - ara - 141 CE (Speidel).

CIL VI, 31149 (p. 3758); SPEIDEL, *Die Denkmäler cit.*, n. 13; ILS 4833.

Iovi Optimo / Maximo, Iunoni, / Minervae, Marti, / Victoriae, Herculi, / Fortunae, Mercurio, / Felicitati, Saluti, Fatis, / Campestribus, Silvano, / Apollini, Dianae, Eponae, / Matribus, Sulevis et / Genio sing(ularium) Aug(usti) / ceterisq(ue) dis immortalib(us)

/ *veterani missi* / *honesta missione ex eodem* / *numero ab imp(eratore) Hadriano* / *Antonino Aug(usto) p(io) p(atre) p(atriae)* / *Priscino et Stloga co(n)s(ulibus)* / *l(iben-tes) l(aeti) m(erito) v(otum) s(oluerunt)* // *Qui coeperunt mil(itare) L(ucio) Lamia Aeli(ano)* / *Sex(to) Carmi(nio) Vetere co(n)s(ulibus)* / *missi honesta mission(e) No(nis) Ian(uariis)* / *P(ublius) Aelius Augurinus* / *M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Brutus sig(nifer)* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Respectus* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Lucius arm(orum)* / *L(ucius) Petron(ius) Gratus* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Sextus* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Servandus tub(icen)* / *T(itus) Fl(avius) Verax sig(nifer)* / *M(arcus) Ant(oni)us Niceru[s]* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Nigrinus* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Firminus* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Messor* / *M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Valerius (h)ast(iliarius)* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Celsus arm(orum)* / *M(arcus) Ul(pius) Marcus sig(nifer)* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Vivenus* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Lucanus* / *M(arcus) Ul(pius) Campanus sig(nifer)* // *Missi honesta missione* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Placidus* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Munatius sig(nifer)* / *C(aius) Iulius Ianuarius* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Vangio sig(nifer)* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Felix sig(nifer)* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Brigo arm(orum)* / *T(itus) Fl(avius) Crescens* / *C(aius) Iul(ius) Bassus* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Valentinus* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Latinus sig(nifer)* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Nigrinus arm(orum)* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Ingenus vic(timarius)* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Iunius* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Praesens eq(ues)* / *M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Equester* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Servatus arm(orum)* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Calventius* / *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Super*

45) Roma - ara - 207 CE (Speidel).

CIL VI, 31161 (p. 3758); SPEIDEL, *Die Denkmäler cit.*, n. 61; ILS 4778.

Dedi(catum) XIII K[al(endas)] - -]as / *Apro et Maximo co(n)s(ulibus)* / *pro sal(ute) Imp(eratorum) nn(ostorum) Augg(ustorum)*. / *Matribus paternis* / *et maternis meisque* / *Sulevis Candidini/us Saturninus dec(urio)* / *eq(uitum) s(ingularium) Imp(eratorum) nn(ostorum)* / *voto libens posui*.

46) Roma - ara.

CIL VI, 31171 (p. 3758); SPEIDEL, *Die Denkmäler cit.*, n. 25; ILS 4832.

Iovi, Iunoni, / Soli, Lunae, / Herculi, Minervae, / Marti, Mercurio, / Campestribus, / Terrae, Caelo, / Mari, Neptuno, / Matribus, Suleis, / Genio Imp(eratoris) / M(arcus) Ulpius Nonius / *veteranus Aug(usti)* / *cives Neme(n)s* / *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

47) Roma - ara - post 130 CE (Speidel).

CIL VI, 31174; SPEIDEL, *Die Denkmäler cit.*, n. 23.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), Iunoni, Minervae, / Marti, Victoriae, Herculi, / Mercurio, Felicitati, / Saluti, Fatis, Campestribus, / Silvano, Apollini, Deanae (!), / Eponae, Matribus, Suleis / et Genio sing(ularium) Aug(usti) / M(arcus) Ulpius Festus{s} dec(urio) prin(ceps) / eq(uitum) sing(ularium) Aug(usti) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

48) Roma - ara - 1st half of the 2nd century CE (Speidel)

CIL VI, 31175; SPEIDEL, *Die Denkmäler cit.*, n. 29.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), / Iunoni, Minervae, / Marti, Victoriae, Herculi, / Fortu-nae, Mercurio, / Felicitati, Saluti{s}, Fatis, / Campestribus, Silvano, / Apollini, Dianae, Eponae, / Matribus, Sulevis ceterisque / dis immortalibus, / Genio numeri eq(uitum) sing(ularium) Aug(usti) / P(ublius) Aelius Lucius l(centurio) leg(ionis) VII Geminae / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

Appendix:
inscriptions to Sulevia (singular form)

I. *Gal. Narb.*, (Collias) - ara -

CIL XII, 2974 (p. 832).

----- / *Suleviae* / [I?]edennicae / *Minervae* / *votum*.

II. *Gal. Lug.*, (Vienne-en-Val)

CAG 45, p. 71; *AE* 1969/70, 402

-----? / [---ar]am(?) *Suleviae* / [---]scae / *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

III. *Germ. Sup.*, *Altiaria* (Alzey)

CIL XIII, 6266.

Dea(e) Sul(eviae) / *Attonius* / *Lucanu[s]*.

IV. *Gal. Belg.*, *Augusta Treverorum* (Trier)

CIL XIII, 3664.

D(e)ae Sulev[iae] / *Dimmia* [---]/*talius*(?) [-----].