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THE WORSHIP OF WATER GODS IN SALONA¹

The vibrancy of the religious life in Salona, Dalmatia's most important city in Roman times, is best seen in the large number of epigraphic monuments and sculptures mentioning or depicting a plethora of different gods being worshiped there. The province, especially the Adriatic coast, including Salona, for centuries experienced growing Greek economic and political influence, which was, in turn, supplemented with that of the Romans, mixing with indigenous practices. This, of course, had an obvious impact on local culture and religious life. This paper aims to reflect on only a certain aspect of the local religious life – water deities. Taking all these diverse influences into account, this paper aims to investigate which deities could be considered the preference among the population of the city in Roman times in regard to water. We present this by examining primarily the existing sculptural and epigraphic data and considering other archaeological finds to examine possible places of their worship.

Keywords: Salona, Water deities, Nymphaeum, Roman religion

Introduction

Salona was the most important city of the province of Dalmatia and the seat of its governor. Its importance in the province's life is also reflected in the numerous epigraphic monuments found there, a record larger than any other in the area.² These epigraphic and sculptural monuments also testify to the vibrancy of its citizens' religious life, with many different gods being worshiped there.³ This is important as we will focus on a particular aspect of religious practice during Roman times in Salona and aim to investigate preferences in worship of water deities in Roman Salona. We hope to do this by examining data primarily gathered from sculptural and epigraphic monuments, as well as comparable data from the two most important related cultures – Greek

1 We dedicate this work to the professor Miličević Bradač as a sign of gratitude for everything she taught us.

2 Recent archaeological literature roughly mentions over 6.000 epigraphic monuments originating from Salona (Demicheli 2021: 91). To this day, there is still no published comprehensive corpus of monuments, however, a large number of monuments were published in: CIL III; ILJug 5; ILJug 19; ILJug 25; Salona IV; Matijević 2015a; 2020.

3 Recent research showed that more sacrificial altars have been found in the area of Salona than in any other in the Croatian part of the province of Dalmatia, or any on the territory of modern-day Croatia, that was part of the former Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia, as well as the part of the Roman region Regio X Venetia et Histria (Cvetko 2022). A large number of works have been written about religious picture of Salona in Antiquity, among which we highlight: Maršić 1998a; 1998b; Bekavac 2011; 2013; 2015; Matijević & Kurilić 2011; Matijević 2012; 2015b; Selem & Vilogorac Brčić 2013; Cvetko 2022.

and Roman. Before its integration in the Roman state, the area of the province was inhabited by numerous diverse peoples, most commonly associated with larger Celtic and Illyrian ethnic groups. Part of the area, especially the Adriatic coast and its hinterland, which included the area of Salona, for centuries experienced growing Greek economic and political influence, which was, in turn, supplemented with that of the Romans from the 1st century BC onwards.⁴ This, of course, had an obvious impact on local culture and religious life.

Water In Roman Religion

Many deities whose cult was in some way connected to water were worshiped across the Roman world. Many of them were identified with springs or rivers or were honored as their protectors, and, therefore, able to provide it in times of droughts or in need.⁵ Roman religion paid a lot of attention to water as it seems that locations of springs and lakes often had an important influence on placements of sanctuaries. Water could have been used for many different cult practices, depending on the cult, but also, most importantly, for ritual cleansing, which represented an extremely important part of several cults (Pacciarelli & Sassatelli 1997; Chellini 2002; Edlund-Berry 2006: 163–169, 173). Therefore, many different deities, their shrines or cult practices throughout the ancient world were in some form related to water or depended on it.⁶ Water used for these purposes was considered sacred and was taken from specific springs and, as a rule, could not be water taken from cisterns or public supply systems (Wissowa 1912: 219).

Even though at the moment we still do not have material evidence of a water-related shrine or temple existing in the city itself, a similar attitude towards water should be expected in Salona as well. Therefore, to get an insight into which deities the population of the area worshipped in relation to water, we will have to turn to other evidence. Firstly, we will turn our attention to epigraphic monuments, which constitute one of the rare direct clues we have on specific cults honored by the inhabitants of Salona. Judging by the known inscriptions, the most commonly worshiped water deities in Salona were the nymphs.

Nymphs

Nymphs (Greek Νύμφαι, Latin *Nymphae*) are a legacy of the Greek spiritual world, which later became popular in Roman religion as well.

4 For an overview of Greek colonization in the eastern Adriatic, see: Zaninović 1996: 193–199; Cambi, Čače & Kirigin (eds.) 2002; Poklečki Stošić (ed.) 2010; Budić 2022. For an overview of the Roman conquests and the history of relations with the eastern Adriatic coast, see: Džino & Domić Kunić 2013; Zaninović 2015.

5 On river deities, see: Ostrowski 1991; Rendić-Miočević 2012.

6 For an overview of the role of water in the cults of Roman religion, see: Wissowa 1912: 219–225; Latte 1960: 76–79; Edlund-Berry 2006.

Worship of the nymphs among the Greeks has been present at least since the time of Homer and probably goes back further into history.⁷ In general, nymphs are smaller female deities or mythical beings which are generally friendly to the world around them and can be found in nature, primarily in habitats associated with water (Larson 2001: 8–11). Different nymphs could be in charge of different spheres of life, but it seems that their main responsibilities are related to the lives of women, marriage and family, as well as water.⁸ How nymphs came to be associated with water is not entirely clear. However, judging by preserved literary and epigraphic sources, the Greeks understood that nymphs took care of springs and water and thus had the power to give or take it away (Ballentine 1904: 77–90; Larson 2001: 20–60). Although a strict differentiation between these mythical beings in terms of their sphere of influence is at the moment not possible because most of the inscriptions which mention them usually refer to them only as “nymphs”, it seems that Greeks recognized a specific group of nymphs responsible for taking care of water, called Naiads.⁹

At least since the 3rd century BC, the nymphs were also honored among Romans, which is well attested by a large number of epigraphic monuments and in sculpture. To a certain extent, the Romans developed a similar attitude towards them as the Greeks, regarding them as patrons of a wide range of human activities, among which an important aspect was the supply of water (Ballentine 1904: 90–97).¹⁰ Similar to nymphs, it seems that from around the 1st century BC, beings known as *lymphae* started appearing in connection to water among the Romans. The earliest mention of them (*lymphae*) can be found in Varro (*Rust.* 1,1,6). Apparently, among the Romans, these beings had practically the same area of activity as water nymphs (August. *De civ. D.* 4, 22; 4, 34; 6, 1). For this reason, they have long been closely associated with nymphs, i.e. identified as their Italic variant.¹¹ It can be deduced from epigraphic and literary sources that *lymphae* and *nymphae* were worshiped in parallel in the same period. This is also clearly evidenced by the altar found near Vicenza (Roman

7 Larson 2001: 20–34. It seems that the term “*νόμφη*” is already used in Homeric literature for young women or brides. For example, Homer uses it for Helen in the Iliad or Penelope in the Odyssey (Hom. *Il.* 3, 130; *Od.* 4, 743).

8 For more details on the study of Greek nymphs, see also: Krause 1871: 128–218.; Roscher, *Lex. Nymphen* (Bloch); Larson 2001.

9 It seems that from the time of Homer the name may have also served as a “substitute or qualifier” for *νόμφη*, introducing the idea that all nymphs may have been considered water-related beings or deities (Larson 2001: 8). For additional information on Naiads in particular see also: Krause 1871: 137–140; Roscher, *Lex. Nymphen* (Najaden, columns 507–509) (Bloch).

10 An example of thanking the nymphs for a newly discovered water source can be found on the inscription from Rab (Roman *Arba*), dated to 173 AD. CIL III 3116: *Nymphis Aug(ustis) sacrum / C(aius) Raecius Leo aquam quam nul/lus antiquorum in civitate / fuisse meminerit inven/tam impendio ex volu/<nt=TN>(ate) C(ai) Raeci Rufi c(larissimi) v(iri) patron(i) / [sui de]dicavit / [Severo e]t Pompeiano II co(n)s(ulibus) VI Idus Nov(embres).*

11 Roscher, *Lex. Nymphen* (Bloch) (see column 502) & *Lymphae* (Wissowa) (see column 2205); Wissowa 1912: 223–224.

Vicetia), dedicated to both nymphs and lymphae.¹² In regards to water supply, it seems that both these groups of deities were commonly asked to help with finding a water source or provide water in a drought. In addition to this, it seems that Romans also addressed both when asking for rain.¹³

Nymphs in Salona

Considering the numerous aspects of the cult, it would be an overstatement to conclude that every monument to the nymphs was made in relation to worshipping them as water deities. However, the number of monuments related to the nymphs clearly reveals how popular the cult was. Nymphs appear on at least 18 inscriptions from the city of Salona and sites in the Salona's ager (Solin, Split, Stobreč, Kaštela, Klis, Škrip and Vodna jama at the island of Brač).¹⁴

Table 1. Inscriptions mentioning nymphs from Salona and its surroundings

Find-site	Inscription	Literature
Brač, Škrip	<i>Nymphis s(acrum) / Q(uintus) Siluius Spe(ratus) / cent(urio) coh(ortis) I Belg(arum) / curagens theat(ri) / d(onum) d(edit)</i>	HD061109
Brač, Vodna jama	<i>Ni(m)ffjis et Si[lvano sacr(um)?][-----] [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)?]</i>	Demicheli 2010: 175–185.
Kaštel Gomilica	<i>/ ser(?) / Nymphis / [a]ra(m) pos(u)it</i>	HD062380
Kaštel Novi, Budašić	<i>Nymp(h)is / Cato / [e]t Lupo / so(cii) v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)</i>	HD035199
Kaštel Sućurac, Krtine	<i>Nymphi[s] / sacrum / Q(uintus) Trebonius / Eutactus / fecit</i>	HD052767
Kaštel Sućurac, Zgon	<i>Nymphis / Aug(ustis) // sacrum / pro salu(te) / Liberalis n(ostris) / Coetonicus ser(vus)</i>	HD052019
Klis	<i>C(aius) Sei(us) Nym(---) // v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) / m(erito)</i>	HD062414

12 The altar bears the following inscription: *Nymphis Lymphisq(ue) / Augustis ob reditum / aquarum / P(ublius) Pomponius / Cornelianus c(larissimus) i(uvenis) / ut vovit* (CIL V 3106; EDCS-04202153).

13 This, however, cannot be definitively said for the Greeks (Ballentine 1904: 77–97). One inscription from Salona was dedicated to lymphae, but their cult, it seems, was not as popular locally as that of the nymphs: *P(ublius) Valeriu(s) / P(ubli) f(ilius) Rufus / Lymphis sac(rum)* (CIL III 6373 = CIL III 8654; EDCS-30600574).

14 There are at least 20 more inscriptions that mention nymphs from the province of Dalmatia - Bribir: HD034368; HD034369; HD034370; Brnaze near Sinj: HD053388; Bugojno: HD052233; Danilo: HD062407; Donji Kašić near Benkovac: HD034502; Duklja: HD030171; Gardun: HD028864; HD058837; Kamen, Glamoč: HD033124; Labin: HD061824; Ljubuški: HD034232; Muć: HD060571; Plomin: Matijašić 2020: 347–348, cat. no. 2; Rab: HD057997; Trogir: HD058436; Vid: HD054162; unknown sites: HD061788; EDCS-63400038.

Klis, Klapavice, Crkvine	<i>[Ex i]mperio domini Iovis / [Opt]imi Max(imi) iussit sibi aedem / [fie]ri cum suo consentio deor(um) dearum/[q(ue) si]lvestr(i)um Nymphis fontanis cum Sil/[van]o Nymphis silvestrium cum Silvano Fe/[sce]nia Astice cum suo pare coniuge T(ito) / [---]o Fausto V[iv]ir(o) et Aug(ustali) a solo restituit</i>	HD034323
Solin	<i>Nymphis / M(arcus) Thorius / Valens / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>	HD062379
Solin	<i>[---]aeo[---] / [---] Nymph[is ---] / [--- p]ro salut[e ---] / [---] Dominica [---] // [---?] v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>	HD025123
Solin	<i>Prima / Nimp(h)is(!) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>	HD062377
Solin, Glavica	<i>[---] Aelius [---] / [Vic]tor Nym[phis] / [v(otum)] s(olvit) [l(ibens) m(erito)]</i>	HD032913
Split	<i>Nymphis (Nynfis?) Fontanis</i>	Rendić Miočević 2007: 18.
Split	<i>Magia L(uci) / f(ilia) Maxima / Nymphis(!) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aeta)</i>	HD067656
Split, Diocletian palace	<i>Aedem N[ymp]his / et Silvano / Aug(usto) sac(rum) / L(ucius) Aprofennius / Circitor v(oto) s(oluto) p(osuit)</i>	HD051846
Split, Mejaši	<i>Nymphis(!) E(?)[t? ---] / L(ucius) Baebidius Cassius (centurio) et M(arcus) Fl[avius? ---]</i>	HD056681
Stobreč	<i>Nymphis</i>	HD060965
Stobreč, Žrnovnica	<i>Nymphis / sacrum</i>	CIL III 8519

Apart from inscriptions, this is also confirmed in decorative relief art. Some of the reliefs depicting nymphs in the wider area of Salona show them more directly associated with water. These reliefs usually depict nymphs with reeds or shells as symbols of water (see fig. 1 and 2). They are depicted alone or, more often, together with Silvanus.¹⁵ Although without explicit epigraphic confirmation, primarily due to the mythological background and iconographic elements, it can be rightly assumed that these depict water nymphs (*nymphae fontanae*) (Rendić-Miočević 1989: 467–468; Maršić 1998b: 111–112; Demicheli 2010: 180, 263; Cambi 2013: 18; Perinić 2016: 23).

As already established above, the Greeks considered nymphs to reside in nature, especially around water. Because of this, worship of nymphs was often done in groves, caves and caverns containing a spring. Such a place

15 So far, 16 reliefs depicting Silvanus and nymphs have been found in Dalmatia, of which 8 are from the area of Salona (Perinić 2016: 23–24). For extensive studies on the iconography of nymphs and cult representations of nymphs and Silvanus, see: Rendić-Miočević 1989; Maršić 1998b; Demicheli 2010; Cambi 2013; Perinić 2016: 22–24.



Fig. 1. A relief depicting nymphs from Salona, Archaeological museum in Split, inv. no. AMS D-213 (photograph: T. Seser)

is usually called a *nymphaeum* (Greek *νυμφαίον*, Latin *nymphaeum*). Just like in mythological stories, in these sacred places in nature they were often accompanied by Pan, the shepherd god of nature, who was usually depicted in a half-animal form with horns, legs, and ears of a goat (Larson 2001: 226–231). On the other hand, in Dalmatia, their usual companion was Silvanus. This Silvanus, however, in varying degree combines the characteristics of the Italic god Silvanus, and the already mentioned Greek god Pan (Rendić-Miočević 1989; Bekavac 2011; Džino 2012; Perinić 2016).¹⁶ Depictions combining these deities are most numerous in and around Salona (Rendić-Miočević 1989: 479).

We do know, however, that in Roman times nymphs could have had places of worship built in urban limits, as well as more conventional temples or shrines, but most probably to a lesser degree. A most clear example of an urban temple to a nymph was the temple of the nymph Juturna, which stood on the Campus Martius in Rome. The point that these deities were not worshipped exclusively in groves, caves and caverns, but that also more conventional temples dedicated to them were not unknown in the Roman world of 1st century AD, is further evidenced by Vitruvius (*De arch.* I, 2, 5), who suggested a style of construction most suited for temples of *lymphae*.

At the moment, most of the sites we consider to be sacred spaces dedicated to the nymphs and Silvanus are found in the wilderness or, at best, in the countryside. This applies to the province in general, but most probably also to Salona in particular as there are several proposed sites of worship in

¹⁶ For more information about Silvanus in Dalmatia, see: Rendić-Miočević 1989: 461–506; Džino 2012; Perinić 2016.

Fig. 2. A relief depicting nymphs from Salona, Archaeological museum in Split, inv. no. AMS 55142 (photograph: T. Seser)



the wider rural area of Salona, namely Klis, Kozjak, Kaštel Novi and Vodna Jama on the island of Brač (Rendić-Miočević 1989: 467–468; Demicheli 2010; Bekavac 2011: 157–158; Perinić 2016: 23–24).¹⁷ The most direct confirmation of a rural sacred space in our area dedicated to both nymphs and Silvanus is an inscription found below Klis and Markezine Grede, on the hill slopes above the city.¹⁸ The inscription states that Fescenia Astice, together with her husband Titus [---] Faustus, restored a shrine to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the assembly of forest deities, which specifically included the water nymphs with Silvanus, and, mentioned separately, the forest nymphs, also with Silvanus (ILJug 3, 2003; Rendić-Miočević 1989: 509; Maršić 1998b: no. 14; Bekavac 2011: 161; Cambi 2013: 18–19; Perinić 2016: 23, III.5.6). So, as well as confirming the existence of a rural shrine, the inscription mentions Silvanus accompanying both water nymphs (*nymphae fontanae*) and forest nymphs (*nymphae silvestres*). This important fact proves that, at least in this area, nymphs accompanying Silvanus, as a primarily forest- or wilderness-related deity, can't be exclusively interpreted as solely forest nymphs, as some of the researchers have already noticed (Rendić-Miočević 1989: 509; Cambi 2013: 18–19; Perinić 2016: 23).

¹⁷ Vodna Jama is an interesting example of a potential grotto nymphaeum with a spring inside. The assumption that it is in fact a nymphaeum is made on the basis of a relief depicting and mentioning nymphs. However, considering the fact that the cave was filled with stones from the surrounding fields (Demicheli 2010: 176), it is currently not possible to claim that the original placement of the relief was inside the grotto. However, it is likely that it stood somewhere in its vicinity.

Nymphaea in Salona?

Although we have already established that nymphs in Salona had sacred spaces in rural areas around the city, where water-related nymphs could have been worshipped, it remains to be examined whether similar worship towards water was done in the city. When examining potential urban nymphaea, one falls into a problem in terminology which first must be addressed.

From the 1st century onwards, a trend of embellishing certain city fountains became increasingly popular in Rome and throughout the Empire (Wilson 2008: 306–307). These kinds of structures, sometimes even those more poorly decorated, are today commonly called nymphaea, consciously or unconsciously evoking an idea of a place of worship of nymphs, sometimes even though no evidence of a site of worship, aside from rich decoration, are present.¹⁹ The ornamentation itself, especially when it comes to ornate fountains, might make us consider some of these structures as potential sites of nymph or water worship. It is entirely possible that near some of these fountains or other structures there could have existed smaller areas dedicated to the cult of a certain nymph, nymphs or other water-related deities. Even if those did exist, this was probably not the case for all of these ornate structures, as many of these fountains likely served purely decorative and water-supply purposes. This is, in a way, supported by the account of Sextus Julius Frontinus, who served as the *curator aquarum* of Rome in the 1st century AD, responsible for the city's water supply and its infrastructure. In a section of his report (Frontin. *Aq.* 78) concerning the consumption of water from aqueducts, he distinguished between two types of structures. The first type he called "*lacus*", referring to ordinary public fountains, of which there were 591 in Rome. Under the term we can no doubt identify essentially simple and functional stone basin fountains. These constituted the most widespread means of water supply.²⁰ The second type, clearly distinct from the first, was called "*munera*". There were 39 of these in the city during his time. Since Frontinus doesn't specifically mention richly ornamented fountains or nymphaea, we should probably look for them, if they existed, among the "*munera*". Judging from this, it is most probable that not every decorated fountain should necessarily be referred to as a nymphaeum. This fact significantly complicates the attribution of the term nymphaeum to a fountain, regardless of ornamentation, which could, again, potentially lead to a mistaken identification of an important public water source as a sacred fountain dedicated to the nymphs. As far as we know, no such urban site was confirmed in Dalmatia at the moment. The most

18 [ex i]mperio domini Iovis / [Opt]imi Max(imi) iussit sibi aedem / [fier]i cum suo consentio deor(um) dearum / [q(ue) Si]lvestr(i)um Nymphis fontanis cum Sil/[var]o Nymphis silvestrium cum Silvano Fe/[sce]nia Astice cum suo pare coniuge T(ito) / [---]o Fausto V[ir]o et Aug(ustali) a solo restituit.

19 The modern use of the term gradually changed from the primarily sacred space to describing a decorative structure. For a brief overview of nymphaea see: van Aken 1951.

20 For more general information on fountains as public points of water supply see: Hodge 2002: 304–315.

convincing case for a site of a potential urban nymphaeum in the province can be made for a public fountain which stood on the forum of Iader and had a statue of a sleeping nymph serving as a waterspout (Ilakovac 1982: 211, 220; Suić 2003: 238, Fig. 94, 280; Giunio 2008: 155–156). This, however, remains highly speculative as mythological beings and deities connected to water are a common motif in fountain sculpture (Kaposy 1969: 70; Aristodemou 2011: 154). Therefore, a fountain sculpture depicting a nymph might not necessarily point to an existence of a nymphaeum.

Having that in mind, we must conclude that the evidence for a nymphaeum or a sanctuary dedicated to the worship of water deities in urban Salona is slim. Researchers commonly refer to a public fountain found near Porta Caesarea in Salona as a “nymphaeum” (Katić 1999: 59–60; Suić 2003: 280; Marasović *et al.* 2016: 149; Marasović *et al.* 2017: 937; Margeta & Marasović 2020: 91). This is almost certainly due to using the term broadly to specify a place where water was collected for public use. At the moment, there are no indications that it served a purpose distinct from that of a typical urban public fountain. A possibly relevant clue to better understanding certain religious customs in relation to fountains can potentially be observed on a different inscription found somewhere in the area of Salona, dated between 102 and 116 AD.²¹ The inscription dedicates an unspecified structure and conveyance of water to Silvanus. It can be presumed that this construction was most likely of public interest, as the site was provided by a decree of decurions. The most probable interpretation of the inscription is that it commemorated the construction of a public fountain, which required the conveyance of water from another location, as indicated in the inscription itself. It could be argued that the construction of a presumed fountain has been dedicated to Silvanus. This might be explained by the fact that this deity is loosely connected to water through his common familiarity with the nymphs, which, as we have already observed, constituted the most important local water deities. Judging only by this inscription, however, it is not possible to conclude the site was used as a sacred space.

On the other hand, there is solid evidence of an *aedes* type sanctuary dedicated to Silvanus and the nymphs existing in Salona. It is provided by an inscription found somewhere in the city area.²² Unfortunately, a more precise location of its discovery and further information on this presumed urban sanctuary are not known at the moment.

21 *Silvano Aug(usto) sacr(um) voto suscepto pro salute / Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Nervae Traiani Optimi Aug(usti) Ger(manici) Dac(ici) n(ostri) / Trophimus ser(vus) Amandianus dispens(ator) / a solo fecit et aquam induxit l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* (CIL III 8684; Bulić 1884: 118; Ilakovac 1982: 27; Bužanić 2021: 345–346; EDCS-28701349; HD051847; Lupa 24842).

22 The monument is unfortunately lost today, but the text of the inscription has been preserved: *Aedem N[ymphis?] / et Silvano / Aug(usto) sac(rum) / L(ucius) Aprofennius / Circitor v(oto) s(oluto) p(osuit)* (CIL III 1958; Maršić 1998b: no. 1; Perinić 2016: III.5.2).

Conclusion

To sum up, judging by numerous inscriptions and depictions, it seems that the most important water related deities in Antiquity in Salona were nymphs. In Dalmatia, they were commonly depicted and worshipped alongside Silvanus, who, in his local variant, merged aspects of Italic Silvanus and Greek Pan. As far as it is known at the moment, the deities were worshipped on several sites in the rural territory around Salona, which is consistent with the ideal for nymphaea in the Greek and Roman world. It seems that across the Roman Empire reliefs depicting nymphs or other water related beings were a relatively common addition to urban water sources, such as fountains and wells. Because of this, we can expect to find depictions of them in Salona, but the attribution of the term nymphaeum deserves extra caution and additional evidence. From the city itself there is an epigraphic testament to an *aedes* type sanctuary, but aside from it, we don't have any other clues for potential urban nymphaea in Salona. It is still not clear whether we should expect a nymphaeum in urban Salona or whether here they were reserved exclusively for nature and wilderness.

ABBREVIATIONS

CIL

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.

EDCS

Epigraphische Datenbank Clauss-Slaby (Manfred Clauss; http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi_de.php)

HD

Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg (Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften; <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home>)

ILJug

Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia repertae et editae sunt, Ljubljana.

Lupa

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