

COLLECTION LATOMUS

Fondée en 1939 par M. RENARD

Dirigée par C. DEROUX et J. DUMORTIER-BIBAUW

VOLUME 226

L'Afrique, la Gaule, la Religion à l'époque romaine

**Mélanges à la mémoire de
Marcel Le Glay**

rassemblés

avec la collaboration d'anciens élèves

par **Yann Le Bohec**



LATOMUS
REVUE D'ÉTUDES LATINES
BRUXELLES
1994

Cybele in Salonae : a Note

A study of private municipal munificence, no less than any other aspect of public benefaction in provincial cities and in the countryside, throws interesting light on the life in a province under Roman dominion. Sometimes the data can lead to surprising conclusions and this seems to be the case of Salonae. In addition to having been the capital of Dalmatia it was also the biggest and most important city of the province, a cosmopolitan centre which has yielded by far the greatest number of Roman inscriptions, most of them Latin, but including some Greek ones, predominantly from the Christian period. Almost 8000 inscriptions have by now been published from Dalmatia and out of these almost half derive from Salonae (1). The inscriptions on which private benefactors are mentioned number almost a hundred and account for 1.25% of the total of Dalmatian inscriptions. In Salonae, 30 inscriptions testifying to private munificence have been found which account for 0.83% of the total of the Salonitan inscriptions. In terms of the first three centuries A.D. this percentage should actually be much higher if one considers that in the city a very large number of late Roman, mostly Christian, tombstones have been discovered, whereas only two late Roman inscriptions reveal private benefactors (2). Such percentages, which were reckoned for several regions, provinces or cities in the western provinces of the Roman Empire (3), differ considerably from town to town and from province to province and reflect to some extent the degree of municipalization of a province and the general development of romanization in a given region. A great variance can

(1) The inscriptions taken into account are those published in *CIL*, III and in the three volumes of *ILJug*, as well as the inscriptions published in the volumes of *AnnEpigr* subsequent to 1970. I would like to thank Professor G. Sanders (†) who kindly read my text.

(2) *ILJug*, 2074A and 2258A.

(3) See, for example, G. WESCH-KLEIN, *Liberalitas in rem publicam. Private Aufwendungen zugunsten von Gemeinden im römischen Afrika bis 284 n. Chr.*, Bonn, 1990 (*Antiquitas* 1, Bd. 40); H. JOUFFROY, *La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine*, Strasbourg, 1986; E. FRÉZOULS, *Évergétisme et construction publique en Italie du Nord (X^e et XI^e Régions augustéennes)*, in *La città nell'Italia settentrionale in età romana*, 1990 (Coll. Éc. Fr. Rome 130), p. 179-209; ID., *Évergétisme et construction urbaine dans les Trois Gaules et les Germanies*, in *RdN*, 260/66, 1984, p. 27-54; T. F. C. BLAGG, *Architectural Munificence in Britain: The Evidence of Inscriptions*, in *Britannia*, 21, 1990, p. 13-31. The situation in the eastern provinces is in many ways different, not least because the benefaction had a long tradition since the classical and Hellenistic periods.

already be observed within the same province, thus in case of Dalmatia a considerable difference can be noticed between Liburnia and the rest of the province. Out of the total of ca. 1200 Liburnian inscriptions those mentioning private munificence are 28 and account for 2.33%, which is almost twice as high as the percentage of the benefactors' inscriptions for the whole of Dalmatia (4). They thus confirm the early romanization and urbanization of Liburnia as compared to the rest of Dalmatia, and they illuminate, along with the other evidence, its somewhat special status within the province (5).

More interesting still is the difference in content of the inscriptions on which the acts of private munificence are recorded. The relevant inscriptions from Salonae and the Salonitan region which can be dated to the first three centuries A.D. amount to 29. It is most significant that 11 of them (nearly one in three) record persons who had a sanctuary of Mater Magna built or restored or were in some other way benefactors of the cult of the goddess. If one considers that several of the remaining 18 benefactors' inscriptions are fragmentary and the object of donation cannot be identified — and, moreover, that on two of them an unidentifiable sanctuary is mentioned (6) which, in view of the preponderance of the inscriptions referring to the temple of Magna Mater, may well have belonged to this group — it can be claimed that the percentage of these inscriptions may possibly be even greater. This is especially eloquent when compared to the remaining inscriptions on which acts of public construction by private citizens are recorded. Of the remaining 15 inscriptions (the two cited above, on which an unidentifiable sanctuary is mentioned, are not taken into account, nor is the dedication to Matres Magnae discussed below) only on five of them a sanctuary or a munificence connected with a cult are recorded. The gods involved are *Sol Deus* (*CIL*, III, 8686), the Nymphs (?) and *Silvanus* (*CIL*, III, 1958), *Silvanus* alone (*CIL*, III, 8684), Jupiter to whose cult the worship of the Nymphs and *Siluanus Silvester* was added (*ILJug*, 2003), and Jupiter with whom *Diuus Claudius Caesar Augustus* was associated (*CIL*, III, 1947).

The worship of Cybele in Salonae has long been justly recognized as very important (7). Some of its aspects were recently studied by J. Medini (8), and

(4) See J. MEDINI, *Epigrafički podaci o munificencijama i ostalim javnim gradnjama iz antičke Liburnije*, in *Radovi Fil. fak. Zadar (Razd. hist.)*, 6/3, 1964/65-1966/67, p. 45-74.

(5) M. SUIĆ, *Granice Liburnije kroz stoljeća*, in *Radovi Inst. JAZU Zadar*, 2, 1955, p. 273-293; ID., *Liburnia Tarsaticensis*, in *Adriatica praehistorica et antiqua. Miscellanea G. Novak dicata*, Zagreb, 1970, p. 705-714; J. J. WILKES, *Dalmatia*, London, 1969, p. 159ff., 192ff. and *passim*; J. MEDINI, *Provincia Liburnia*, in *Diadora*, 9, 1980, p. 363-444.

(6) *CIL*, III, 14243, 4 (= 8795 + 2105) and 8818, both ascribed to Mater Magna by G. KUBITSCHKE, *Il culto della Mater Magna in Salona*, in *Bull. dalm.*, 19, 1896, p. 88-89 and p. 89.

(7) KUBITSCHKE, *Culto* [n. 6], p. 87-89; J. ZEILLER, *Sur les cultes de Cybèle et de Mithra, à propos de quelques inscriptions de Dalmatie*, in *RA*, 28, 1928, p. 209-219;

an ultimate proof that the city of Salonae was the centre of the cult of Magna Mater in the whole of Dalmatia and possibly even outside the provincial boundaries is the tombstone of an *archigallus Salonitanus* found in the Liburnian lader, L. Barbunteius Demetrius⁽⁹⁾. However, not all of the aspects of the Salonitan cult of Magna Mater have as yet been elucidated, and one of these is the exceptionally high share of the benefactors' inscriptions referring to Magna Mater. Before attempting to explain this phenomenon it would be useful to present the epigraphic evidence in full :

1. *CIL*, III, 14663, 2 = *AE*, 1902, 7 (Fr. Bulić, *Bull. dalm.*, 24, 1901, p. 99-100) :
[-]iūs P. l. Phileros / [-] se?iur / [-]C. l. Imeros / [-] seu?iir / [-] deae barbaricae / [-] ffac(iendum) coer(auerunt) idemq(ue) / [-] dedicaerun?i(q(ue)).
2. *CIL*, III, 8675 = *ILS*, 4105 (G. Kubitschek, *Bull. dalm.*, 19, 1896, p. 88), a white limestone plaque found on the right bank of the river Jadro at Salonae :
Matri Magnae / cognationis / L. Turranius Cronius / IIIIII uir August(alis) / uoto suscepto aedem et / aram d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) fecit et expoli(ui)t / idemque dedicauit.
3. *CIL*, III, 1953 (Kubitschek, *Bull. dalm.*, 19, 1896, p. 87, now in Trogir) :
P. Iulius Rufus / aedem Matr(i) / Mag(nae) d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(urauit) / idemq(ue) dedic(auit).
4. *CIL*, III, 1954 (Kubitschek, *Bull. dalm.*, 19, 1896, p. 88, now in Padova) :
L. Staius L. f. / Facula quinq(uenalis) / Matri deum / aedem d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua) f(ecit) / ex uoto.
5. *CIL*, III, 14243 (*Bull. dalm.*, 19, 1896, p. 41-42 [Bulić], and p. 87 [Kubitschek]), a limestone plaque :
Iunia Rhodine / cum coniuge et fil() / d(eum) M(atri) M(agnae) aedem refecit / et ampliavit u(otum) s(usceptum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito).
6. *CIL*, III, 1952 = 8567 = *ILS*, 4106 (Kubitschek, *Bull. dalm.*, 19, 1896, p. 87), a small altar found at Klis near Salonae :

H. GRAILLLOT, *Le culte de Cybèle mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1912, p. 490-495.

(8) J. MEDINI, *Cognationes salonitanae*, in *Godišnjak Cen. balk. ispit.*, 23, 1985, p. 5-43.

(9) *CIL*, III, 2920a ; J. MEDINI, *Salonitanski arhigalat*, in *Radovi Fil. fak. Zadar (Razd. društ. zn.)*, 20/9, 1980/81, p. 15-28.

*Curia Pris/ca Matri Magnae / fanum r<e>fecit / signa posuit la-
ro/⁵phorum cymbala / tynpana catillum / forfices ...*

7 *aram dai* *lf.*, proposed as a possible reading by Mommsen and Hirschfeld.

7. *CIL*, III, 13903 (Bulić, *Bull. dalm.*, 18, 1895, p. 3; Kubitschek, *ibid.*, 19, 1896, p. 87-88), a limestone plaque decorated on both sides, found at Klis near Salonae:

*Seruilia M. f. / Copiesilla / aediculam M(atrix) Mag(nae) / faciendam
curauit / ipsa inpe<n>sa sua quam / uouerat pro ea M. Cot(tius)
Certus / uir eius.*

8. *ILJug*, 674 (D. Rendić-Miočević, *Vjesnik za arh. i hist. dalm.*, 55, 1953, p. 261, No. 11), a votive inscription on a block of white limestone:

*M(atrix) [d(eum) M(agnae)] / C. Agri[us] -] / et Agria [-] / templu[m]
Matris Magnae -] /⁵ uetustate corruptum restituerunt -] / item Mat[ris]
statuas -] / duas cognatas? -] / p(ondo?) l(ibras?) (duas) easde[m]
arg(enteas)?] / sumptu suo posuerunt -].*

(Reading by Šašel; supplements by Rendić-Miočević, lines 6 ff.: *item Mat[ris] imagines] / duas. Cognatio ...] / P. L. = easde[m] / sumptu suo restituit]* were accepted by J. Medini, *Cognitiones salonitanae*, see *op. cit.* in my n. 8, p. 7, No. 4).

9. *CIL*, III, 14675 (Bulić, *Bull. dalm.*, 22, 1899, p. 9), a fragment of an architrave:

-templ(um) M(atrix) Magnae? -] / [-]ullinu[s] -

10. *ILJug*, 1997 (Bulić, *Bull. dalm.*, 46, 1923, p. 82 = *AE*, 1925, 61; J. Zeiller, *Rev. arch.*, 28, 1928, p. 209), found in a fountain at Trišćenica in the village Sv. Lovre u Pasdigradu near Stobreč together with a statue of a sitting Cybele, a relief of Diana, and of a fragmentary female figure:

M(atrix) M(agnae) / cognatio / fanum d(e) su(o) ampliauit.

2 *Cognatio(nis)*, Bulić and *AE*. 3 *DSV* interpreted as *tria nomina* by Bulić.

11. *CIL*, III, 9707 (= 2676 + p. 1034), found in Trogir:

*L. Stallius / Secundus VI uir / aug(ustalis) et Stallia Callirhoe /
uxor cum liberis aedem / Matri Magnae ex uoto / suscepto fecerunt
s(ua) p(ecunia).*

Seven of these inscriptions were known to G. Kubitschek⁽¹⁰⁾ who, however, did not comment on them and did not realize that they represent an unusually high percentage within the context of the epigraphic monuments documenting public munificence in Salonae. Apart from the first inscription

(10) *Culto* [n. 6], p. 87-89.

whose attribution to Cybele is of course questionable and which is doubtless the earliest of all, no indications can be found in the remaining ten texts which might be helpful in classifying the inscriptions chronologically. The only chronological item is the onomastic formula of the male dedicants (who all bear *tria nomina*) which was in use predominantly during the first two centuries A.D. There may be other indications which cannot as yet be correctly interpreted.

On the first and the earliest inscription, which is unfortunately fragmentary, two freedmen are mentioned, possibly *seuiri*. How the *sevirate* should be explained (had the remaining letters of the word been correctly supplemented) remains uncertain. The inscription is certainly one of the earliest documents of the *sevirate*. The gentilicia of the dedicators are not known but their cognomens are Greek (the ending in *-os* is not unusual), though among the *liberti* this usually does not indicate Greek origin ⁽¹¹⁾. They had taken care of building some edifice — the word is not preserved, but it must have been most probably a sanctuary — for a goddess whose name is not preserved entirely, although an epithet of hers is known: she was named *dea barbarica*. According to O. Hirschfeld (ad *CIL*, III, 14663, 2), this epithet may possibly refer to Mater Magna as the word *barbaricus* is sometimes used for *Phrygius*. Because of the archaic form *coer(auerunt)* the latest possible date for the inscription is the early Augustan period, but it may well be Republican ⁽¹²⁾.

There is no absolutely conclusive argument to prove the identity of Mater Magna as *dea barbarica*; if, however, the supposition is correct, as it seems to be, this could be the earliest evidence for the worship of Cybele in Salona. Proximity and close connections with Italy could have contributed to an early introduction of the cult of Mater Magna to this cosmopolitan Dalmatian city where a *conuentus ciuium Romanorum* had been established well before Caesar. As is well known, the holy black meteorite symbolising Cybele was solemnly brought to Rome from Pessinus in 204 B.C. — in times of peril caused by Hannibal's invasion of central Italy — by distinguished Roman senators. The background and motives of this political and religious action are not entirely clear but it should most likely be explained in terms of Rome's increasing connections with the Greek East and confirmation of its Troianic origin ⁽¹³⁾. The sanctuary of the goddess was built on the Palatine and ever since this date she was worshipped in Rome, enjoying greater or lesser favour

(11) H. SOLIN, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom*, I, Helsinki, 1971 (Comment. Humanar. Litt. 48), p. 146-159; A. M. DUFF, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1958, p. 3-8.

(12) R. EGGER, *Römische Antike und frühes Christentum*, 2, Klagenfurt, 1963, p. 232.

(13) E. S. GRUEN, *The Advent of the Magna Mater*, in *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy*, 1990 (Cincinnati Class. Stud. 7), p. 5-33.

from the ruling class; and despite the barbaric rites performed in her honour she retained her place among the official cults in Rome (14).

Three expressions for a sanctuary of Mater Magna are used on the Salonitan inscriptions, *aedes* (5 or 6 times), *fanum* (twice), and *templum* (twice). On the basis of the epigraphic evidence it would seem scarcely possible to establish the difference in the meaning of the three words. Considering their various semantic possibilities, however, it may be postulated that of the three a *templum* could theoretically be regarded as a more important structure since *aedes* could often denote the inner part of a temple, or a shrine, the latter being also one of the meanings of *fanum* (15). Livy prefers to use the word *aedes* but employs *templum* for the same sanctuary (for ex. 29, 14, 3 [*aedes*] and 30, 12, 6 [*templum*] for the sanctuary of Juno Sospita). The epigraphic evidence in Italy and Africa shows that *aedes* is the term most often used on the inscriptions (16), and the same can be concluded for Dalmatia.

Aedes is used four times in Salonae and once in Tragurium (No. 11); three times it was newly built in Salonae (Nos. 2-4), and in one case it was rebuilt and enlarged (No. 5). It may perhaps be assumed on the basis of the last-mentioned inscription that the sanctuary referred to as having been rebuilt was identical with at least one of the other *aedes* mentioned on the remaining inscriptions. It can probably not be excluded either that the *fanum* documented on inscription No. 6 as having been restored by Curia Prisca, adorned with statues and furnished with several cult-instruments, might refer to one of the *aedes* mentioned on the previously cited inscriptions. The same may be true of the *templum* (No. 8) which was restored by C. Agrius [-] and Agria [-] after it had "fallen into decay through old age". However, it may safely be assumed that several sanctuaries of Mater Magna existed contemporaneously in Salonae as well as in minor settlements near Salonae such as Trišćenica near Epetium and in the small town of Tragurium just north of Salonae. *Ara* as the object of munificence is specifically mentioned beside the *aedes* on the inscription No. 2; it must doubtless be interpreted as the main altar in the sanctuary, and not as one of the many small votive altars dedicated to the goddess and located in her sanctuary.

If the names of the dedicants and their social status are analyzed we get the following results. Inscription No. 1 has been discussed above. The gentilicium of the dedicant on inscription No. 2 is Turranius, a name derived from the Venetic Turus (17). Although it is attested everywhere it is characteristic

(14) G. SANDERS, *Kybele und Attis*, in *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, Leiden, 1981 (EPRO 93), p. 264-297. See also G. THOMAS, *Magna Mater and Attis*, in *ANRW*, II, 17.3, 1984, p. 1500-1535.

(15) See *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v.

(16) Cf. JOUFFROY, *Construction* [n. 3], p. 26.

(17) J. UNTERMANN, *Die venetischen Personennamen*, Wiesbaden, 1961, p. 124 and 179-180.

of the north-Adriatic area, specifically also of Liburnia, where it was borne by the native Liburnians⁽¹⁸⁾. Although *augustales* were usually of freedman origin, Turranius' onomastic formula does not betray an immediate libertine status; however, he was of freedman descent. This would actually be confirmed by his Greek cognomen, Cronius, unless it would be explained as a Latinized native name. C. Turranius Cronius is one of the two *sexuiri augustales*⁽¹⁹⁾, besides L. Stallius Secundus from Tragurium (No. 11), who had a sanctuary of Mater Magna built; the two men performed an official religious function which *eo ipso* confirms the official character of the goddess — at least at the social level of the *liberti* — and places her among the important cults of the city.

Nothing specific can be said of P. Iulius Rufus (No. 3) and Curia Prisca (No. 6): both could have been of Italian descent or natives in Dalmatia. L. Statius Facula (No. 4) may have come from Italy⁽²⁰⁾; his cognomen is an hapax⁽²¹⁾. Having been *quinquennalis* he belonged to the municipal elite, although it is not certain in what terms his *quinquennalitas* should be explained. Iunia Rhodine (No. 5) bears a Greek cognomen which is attested everywhere⁽²²⁾; she may have been a freedwoman of some Iunii who had come to Salonae from Italy, or else of an immigrant family from the Greek-speaking East. Servilia Copiesilla (No. 7) may well have been of Dalmatian origin. The cognomen she bears is attested only twice, both times in Dalmatia⁽²³⁾. The gentilicium of her husband, M. Cottius Certus, is especially characteristic of Campania⁽²⁴⁾. The Agrii (No. 8) in Dalmatia were of Italian descent. Their relationship is actually not known; on the assumption that they were husband and wife bearing the same gentilicium it was postulated that they were of servile origin⁽²⁵⁾ but they could have been blood relatives. As their cognomens are not preserved nothing can be said about their provenance. Stallii in Tragurium, *liberti* (No. 11), were members of an Italic *gens* which is documented only in Iuvanum near Venusia, Pompeii, Puteoli, Rome, and Africa⁽²⁶⁾.

The entire *corpus* of monuments documenting the cult of Cybele and Attis in Salonae has not yet been compiled. In addition to sculptures and reliefs,

(18) G. ALFÖLDY, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg, 1969, p. 130.

(19) R. DUTHOY, *Les Augustales*, in *ANRW*, II, 16.2, 1978, p. 1260-1265.

(20) ALFÖLDY, *Personennamen* [n. 18], p. 122.

(21) Cf. A. MÖCSY et al., *Nomenclator*, Budapest, 1983, s.v.

(22) H. SOLIN, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom*, II, 1982 (*CIL Auctarium*), p. 1104-1106.

(23) *CIL*, III, 2049; *Nomenclator*, s.v.; ALFÖLDY, *Personennamen* [n. 18], p. 180.

(24) ALFÖLDY, *Personennamen* [n. 18], p. 79.

(25) MEDINI, *Cognitiones* [n. 8], p. 22.

(26) ALFÖLDY, *Personennamen* [n. 18], p. 122.

votive altars with dedications to Mater Magna may be added to the evidence collected above, thus also a dedication, possibly, to Mater Magna by one Tarcunius Secundus (*ILJug*, 2609). This evidence could be interpreted as testimony of the cult of Cybele which had been flourishing for centuries in Salonae; yet underneath the appearance, the reality may have been more complex. By examining the inscriptions more closely, however, it is possible to arrive at a somewhat modified explanation which seems to me better to fit the evidence. On inscription No. 2 the word *cognatio* is attributively added to the name of Mater Magna; elsewhere *Mater Magna cognationis* is not attested, unless the interpretation of No. 10 as proposed by Bulić is accepted. As was explained by Kubitschek it either means the Great Mother venerated by the *cognatio*, or else the Great Mother who protected the *cognatio* (27). He also cited, beside the analogies for other divinities, a case of Mater Magna worshipped in Ostia as *Mater deum Magna portus Augusti et Traiani Felicis* (*CIL*, XIV, 408bis). The meaning of *cognatio* on Dalmatian inscriptions is not entirely clear. The word occurs eight times in the province of Dalmatia, once in Liburnia — the inscription is most probably from Varvaria or Burnum (28) —, once in Siculi (*CIL*, III, 9708), and five or six times (see below) in Salonae; in any case it seems to be an institution rather typical of Dalmatia, so much so that it was even documented in the Latin epigraphy of the province.

The inscription mentioning the Liburnian *cognatio Nantania* in the name of which one Turus Longini (filius) erected an altar to Mars, has been analyzed by D. Rendić-Miočević (29) and G. Alföldy (30). Both concluded that *cognatio* must have been a kind of a clan, a family in a very broad sense, which assembled blood relatives. Alföldy, however, supposed that these were the relatives through the mother's side and explained *cognatio* as a specifically Liburnian institution since it is known that in Liburnian society the role of women was more important than elsewhere. I would agree with Rendić-Miočević who regarded *cognatio* as almost an equivalent of *gens* and supposed that Turus should actually have been called Turus Nantanius Longini (filius) had the onomastic formula of his name reached a more developed level. Alföldy cited as comparative material for *cognatio Nantania* the Salonitan *cognitiones* explaining them as some kind of spiritual communities deriving their origin from the female divinity which they honoured. Salonitan *cognitiones* were studied in detail by J. Medini (31). They appear two times on dedications to Mater Magna (Nos. 2, 10) and, according to Medini's restoration of the text,

(27) KUBITSCHKE, *Culto* [n. 6], p. 88 n. 1.

(28) D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ in *ZAnt*, 10, 1960, p. 165-168.

(29) *Ibid.*

(30) G. ALFÖLDY, *Cognatio Nantania* (*Zur Struktur der Sippen-gesellschaft der Liburner*), in *AAntHung*, 11, 1963, p. 81-87.

(31) MEDINI, *Cognitiones* [n. 8].

also on inscription No. 8, once on a dedication to Venus (*CIL*, III, 8687), or possibly twice, if the abbreviation *VVBS* could be explained as referring to Venus Victrix Bona (*CIL*, III, 8676) and not to *V(ires) u(alentes) b(onae)* as was proposed by O. Hirschfeld, the editor of the inscription, but for which there are no parallels. In the last case *cognatio* is mentioned on a dedication to Matres Magnae (*ILJug*, 2052). Medini came to the conclusion that whereas the word at an earlier stage of development of its meaning designated blood relatives, and relatives in general — as confirmed by the existence of *cognatio [Cl]odiorum* on the dedication to Venus (*CIL*, III, 8687) from the first half of the 1st century A.D. —, it later denoted (as was assumed by Zeiller, too) ⁽³²⁾ the spiritual community which was united under the protection of the venerated divinity. As a turning point of this development he regarded the unusual epithet *Mater Magna cognationis* which would have emphasized the goddess' special character as a protectress of families. His conclusions seem plausible despite the poor evidence at our disposal.

If we examine inscription No. 2 on which *Mater Magna cognationis* is mentioned, honoured with the sanctuary and the altar by C. Turranius Cronius, it can be observed that two native Dalmatian elements are contained in the text: *cognatio* and the north-Adriatic gentilicium of the *sexuir augustalis*, Turranius. It may be assumed that the Turranii came from Liburnia to settle in Salona⁽³³⁾, where they were living for several generations. Their *cognatio* was obviously called Turrania or Turraniorum, and one of its members of freedman origin rose to become one of the Salonitan *augustales*. He had the sanctuary and the altar built with his own money for the goddess in her special role of protectress of his *gens*. We are probably not far from truth if we suppose that in honouring this goddess he had less in mind Cybele herself, but rather an archetype of a divine mother such as is known to have been venerated in Venetia, Histria, Liburnia and elsewhere. This is additionally confirmed by the fact that two of the dedications (Nos. 5, 6) were erected by women and three by the whole family (Nos. 7, 8, 11), on one of the latter the woman having precedence over her husband ⁽³⁴⁾.

Often these female divinities played a significant role even when the process of Romanization had been completed, thus for example Aecorna who was, next to Jupiter, the most important goddess worshipped in Emona, on the periphery of the Venetic world. The dedications were set up to her by members of the lower and upper classes as well as by the whole community ⁽³⁵⁾. In

(32) ZEILLER, *Cultes* [n. 7].

(33) J. MEDINI, *Le culte de Cybèle dans la Liburnie antique*, in *Hommages à M. J. Vermaseren*, II, Leiden, 1978 (*EPRO* 68), p. 755, n. 55.

(34) In Professor Sander's opinion the special role of women on these dedications should be emphasized. I gratefully thank him for his kind suggestion.

(35) M. ŠAŠEL KOS, *The Goddess Aecorna in Emona*, in *Festschrift J. Fitz*, forthcoming.

Histria sculptures from the Iron Age testify to the cult of fertility in Nesactium, the capital of the Histri; Eia, Ika, Sentona, and Seixomnina Leucitica were worshipped well into the Roman period⁽³⁶⁾, in Liburnia the cults of Sentona and Latra are attested on several dedications⁽³⁷⁾. The characteristics and nature of these goddesses can only rarely be defined, mostly in cases when through *interpretatio Romana* they became equated with one of the Roman goddesses. Thus in Venetia, Reitia became Minerva⁽³⁸⁾, and in Pola, too, Minerva Polensis was worshipped (*Inscr. It.*, X.1, 158), as well as Minerva Flanatica in the *ager* of Parentium (*Inscr. It.*, X.2, 194). Histrian Iria Venus (*CIL*, III, 3033 = *Inscr. It.*, X.3, 197) and Liburnian Venus Anzotica (*AE*, 1938, 31; 1940, 6)⁽³⁹⁾, prove that the cult of a divinity similar to that of Venus had been important in Histria and Liburnia before the Roman occupation. On the island of Cissa (present-day Pag) Heia, probably Eia, was named Bona Dea on a dedication erected to the goddess by Calpurnia, the daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso augur⁽⁴⁰⁾. Perhaps Bona Dea honoured in Nesactium also conceals Istrian Heia, or Eia (*Inscr. It.*, X.1, 657). It is interesting to note in this context that H. H. J. Brouwer pointed to some affinities between Bona Dea and Mater Magna⁽⁴¹⁾. It is no less interesting that on an inscription from the 1st century A.D. a priest in Superaequum simultaneously performed the duties of a priest of Ceres, Venus, and Mater Deum (*Supp. It.*, N.S., 5, p. 120-121, No. 17). It would be most illuminating to know just how much a divinity called Terra Mater and worshipped in Pola (*Inscr. It.*, X.1, 23) and at Modrušani near Kanfanar in Histria (*ibid.*, 653) differed from *Mater Magna Deorum* known from a dedication from Jesenovik (*Inscr. It.*, X.3, 198)⁽⁴²⁾.

A clue to a better understanding of the cult of Mater Magna in Salonae is an inscription found in the eastern part of the city near the northern city walls,

(36) A. DEGRASSI, *Culti dell'Istria preromana e romana*, in *Adriatica praehist. et ant.* [n. 5], p. 615-632 = *Scritti vari di Antichità*, Trieste, 1971, p. 159-162; *Inscr. It.*, X.1, Nos. 3, 659, 660; V. GIRARDI JURKIC, *La continuità dei culti illirici in Istria durante il periodo romano*, in *Atti del Centro di ricerche storiche di Rovigno*, 14, 1983-84, p. 7-24; EAD., *Autochtone Kulte im Verhältnis zur hellenistischen und griechischen Religion im antiken Istrien* (in Croat., with summary), in *Jadranski zbornik*, 12, 1982-85, p. 273-286. See also her article on Cybele in Istria in *ZAnt*, 25, 1975, p. 283-298 and M.-C. BUDISCHOVSKY, *Les cultes orientaux à Aquilée et leur diffusion en Istrie et en Vénétie*, in *AAA*, 12, 1977, p. 119-120 and *passim*.

(37) J. MEDINI, *Latra — dea Neditarum*, in *Simpozijum Duhovna kultura Ilira*, Sarajevo, 1984 (Pos. izd. ANUBiH 67), p. 223-243.

(38) A. MASTROCIQUE, *Santuari e divinità dei Paleoveneti*, Padova, 1987, *passim*; C. B. PASCAL, *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul*, Brussels, 1964 (Collection Latomus 75), p. 112-113.

(39) *Nin, povijesni i umjetnički spomenici*, Zadar, 1979, p. 73-77; N. CAMBI, *Venus Anzotica d'Aenona* (in Croat. and French), in *Diadora*, 9, 1980, p. 273-288.

(40) J. ŠASEL, *Calpurnia L. Pisonis auguris filia*, in *ZAnt*, 12, 1963, p. 387-390.

(41) H. H. J. BROUWER, *The Great Mother and the Good Goddess. The History of an Identification*, in *Hommages à M. J. Vermaseren* [n. 33], 1, p. 142-159.

(42) See also MEDINI, *Culte* [n. 33], p. 755-756.

dedicated to Matres Magnae (*ILJug*, 2052 = F. Bulić, *Bull. dalm.*, 32, 1909, p. 67-68 = *AE*, 1912, 42):

Matrib(us) Mag(nis) / sacrum P. Safinius Filuci/nus Terentiae sacerdotis f(filius) / aram supstituit idem ampl(iauit) /⁵ sibi et cognatio[ni suae] / permissu C. Clodi Grac[il]is.

1 *Mag()*: perhaps an epithet formed from a toponym, as was suggested by G. Sanders, but Nos. 3 and 7 on which the abbreviation *Mag.* is employed for Mater Magna make in my opinion the supplement virtually certain.

There is no doubt that the Matres Magnae are native Dalmatian deities; this is confirmed by a dedication found at Lugdunum, erected to Aufanes Matronae and to *Matres Pannoniorum* and *Delmatarum* (*ILS*, 4794). The Great Mother, venerated under different names, was known to all peoples and it was known also to the Celts although among them the cult of — usually three — Deae Matres is attested. Matres Magnae are thus a Celtic influence in Dalmatia⁽⁴³⁾. These divinities may not have been as old in Dalmatia as the ancient autochthonic Histrian and Liburnian cults but they had most probably been worshipped for many generations before the Roman conquest of the country. The text is puzzling from several points of view. It is not quite clear what exactly should be understood by *cognatio* in this context, but most probably it was a larger community including members of *gentes* bound by blood kinship, thus Safinii (the gentilicium is especially characteristic of Campania)⁽⁴⁴⁾, and Terentii, and very likely some others as well. The name Filucinus occurs only in this instance⁽⁴⁵⁾. In a most unusual manner a Roman citizen — such as P. Safinius Filucinus doubtless was — stated his filiation from his mother's side. This anomaly could be explained by the fact that within the religious context it was obviously of some significance for Filucinus to state his close kinship with the priestess. The role of C. Clodius Gracilis is not clear; it may only be stated that in some capacity or other, either religious, or non-religious, or simply by having been the owner, he had to be asked permission for changes in the sanctuary. It is not possible to say whether he had any connections with *cognatio Clodiorum* from the inscription mentioned earlier in the text (*CIL*, III, 8687), as was proposed by Medini⁽⁴⁶⁾.

The Matres Magnae were Dalmatian divinities, yet it is remarkable that the epithet, commonly in use for Mater Magna, was given to Dalmatian

(43) See as one of the latest monographs F. LANDUCCI GATTINONI, *Un culto celtico nella Gallia Cisalpina. Le Matronae-Iunones a sud delle Alpi*, Milano, 1986.

(44) ALFÖLDY, *Personennamen* [n. 18], p. 117.

(45) *Ibid.*, p. 264; *Nomenclator* [n. 21], s.v.

(46) MEDINI, *Cognitiones* [n. 8], p. 23.

Matres ⁽⁴⁷⁾. Salonitan *cognationes* appear on the dedications to Venus, Mater Magna, and Matres Magnae, divinities closely connected to fertility and family life. Through fusion of certain elements proper to the worship of goddesses of different names but of similar nature, and by leaving out some others, a cult developed which appealed to large strata of the Salonitan society. In part, Mater Magna worshipped in Salonae was doubtless the Asiatic Cybele adored by the immigrants from Asia Minor and by other devotees of Cybele's cult, but to a great extent the popularity of Mater Magna in Salonae could be explained, so it seems, by a kind of syncretism of different cults which found special favour among the Salonitan population.

Inštitut za arheologijo, Ljubljana.

Marjeta ŠAŠEL KOS.

(47) MEDINI, too, drew attention to this fact, *Cognationes* [n. 8], p. 33-37.