

THE  
UNIVERSITY  
OF CHICAGO  
LIBRARY





**The University of Chicago**

---

**The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul as Seen  
in the Inscriptions**

**A DISSERTATION**

**SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY  
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
DEPARTMENT OF LATIN**

---

**BY**

**JOSEPH CLYDE MURLEY**

---

**The Collegiate Press  
GEORGE BANTA PUBLISHING COMPANY  
MENASHA, WISCONSIN  
1922**

To  
Professor John Strayer McIntosh, Ph.D.,  
My Teacher, Colleague, and  
Benefactor

## PREFACE

The general purpose of this dissertation is to present in an orderly manner the inscriptional evidence bearing on the pagan cults of Cisalpine Gaul with some interpretation, where desirable, of that evidence. In addition to the classification of gods in terms of their local origin, wherever the prevalence of a given cult made it feasible I have distinguished between early and late, or authentic and modified or contaminated, forms of that cult. The preservation of such distinctions has sometimes involved the discussion of distinct cults of the same deities under two or more chapter headings, and in every case inscriptions have been presented where they seemed essentially to belong without regard to the fact that the form of appellation might include the names of gods treated under other headings. For example, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Jupiter Dolichenus, and Jupiter Poeninus appear respectively under the Roman, Oriental, and Celtic groupings.

Somewhat greater latitude of discussion has been allowed in the case of some cults which are, wholly or in the main, restricted to Cisalpine Gaul; where the evidence for this region seems merely to square with the evidence elsewhere the treatment has been more summary and statistical. Certain generalizations which might have been offered in an introduction have been included, for convenience, in the chapter on *Dedicants and their Social Groups*. Part of the conclusions there set down may be summarized in these statements: that the largest number of dedications are inscribed to the Roman gods; that the numbers range downward in order as given through Greek, Celtic and Italic (of equal prominence), and Oriental gods to deified abstractions, syncretistic conceptions, and Divi; that women make a larger proportion of their offerings to the Italic gods (among which are included several important female deities) than do men, and Roman gods are in especially high favor with slaves; and that Jupiter, Mercury, Hercules, the Matrons, Silvanus, Minerva, and Mithras are, in descending order, the gods most often worshipped.

The statement of the provenance of inscriptions follows the running titles of the *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions*, which localize them sufficiently for our purpose. Except where ambiguity would arise thereby, references to the fifth volume of that work have been made

by number only, to other volumes by volume and number, in both cases without the abbreviation *CIL*. Reproduction of the epigraphical form of inscriptions is, of course, only approximate; where, however, significant features are not reproduced they are described.

The classification of gods, with few exceptions, and, to some extent, the order of treatment follow the plan of Wissowa's *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, which admirable and indispensable work, needless to say, has been consulted constantly. Begun under the direction of Professor Gordon Laing, the dissertation has benefited throughout by his criticisms and suggestions. Where matters of etymology are involved, assistance has been given in some instances by Professor Carl Darling Buck.

J. C. M.

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
Bibliography of Citations . . . . .	vi
<b>CHAPTER</b>	
I. <b>ROMAN GODS</b> . . . . .	1
Jupiter, Mars, Virtus and Bellona, Vesta, Penates, Lares, Genius, Tutela, Juno, Saturn, Bona Dea, Marica, Florentes, Terra Mater, Silvanus, Vires, Fontes, Nymphae and Lymphae, Mefitis, Neptune, Vulcan, Di Manes, Di Inferi, Di Parentes, Di Paterni.	
II. <b>ITALIC GODS</b> . . . . .	39
Diana, Minerva, Fortuna, Aquae Aponi, Timavus, Feronia, Venus, Libitina, Priapus.	
III. <b>GREEK GODS</b> . . . . .	50
The Fates, Castor and Pollux, Hercules, Apollo, Ceres, Liber and Libera, Mercury, Aesculapius and Hygia, Dis, Proserpina, Aerecura, Hera, Luna, Zeus.	
IV. <b>DEIFIED ABSTRACTIONS</b> . . . . .	65
Concordia, Victoria, Spes, Virtus, Juventus, Bonus Eventus, Aequitas, Aeternitas, Providentia, Nemesis.	
V. <b>DIVI</b> . . . . .	70
VI. <b>ORIENTAL GODS</b> . . . . .	72
Mater Deum, Jupiter Dolichenus etc., Isis, Serapis, Anubis, Mithras, Cautopates and Cautes, Venus Caelestis.	
VII. <b>CELTIC GODS</b> . . . . .	81
Jupiter Poeninus etc., Mars Cemenelus etc., Segomo, Hercules Saxanus etc., Matronae, Junones, Dominae, Fruges and Feminae, Belenus, Deus Abinius, Deus Orevaius, Alantedoba, Alus, Bergimus, Boria, Brassenus, Centondis, Cuslanus, Dorminus and Sueta, Deus Ducavavius, Eia, Fonio, Histria, Ihamnagalla Sqnnagalla, Louciannus, Ludrianus, Numen Melesocus, Nati or Natae, Nebres, Paronnius, Revinus, Seixomnia Leucitica, Surgasteus, Tullinus, Veica Noriceia.	
VIII. <b>SYNCRETISTIC TENDENCIES</b> . . . . .	94
Di Deae, Pantheus, composite cult-titles.	
IX. <b>DEDICANTS AND THEIR SOCIAL GROUPS</b> . . . . .	96
Index of Passages . . . . .	107
General Index . . . . .	108

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CITATIONS

### EPIGRAPHICAL

- Branbach, *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum*. Elberfeldoe, 1867.  
Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*. 2d ed., Paris, 1890.  
Christiansen, *De Apicibus et I Longis Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Kiel, 1889.  
*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Vol. XIV, Berlin 1890.  
*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, especially vol. I (*Editio altera, Pars prior*, 1893) and vol. V (*Pars prior*, 1872; *Pars posterior*, 1877). Berlin.  
Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berlin, 1892–1916.  
Diehl, *Allateinische Inschriften*. Bonn, 1911.  
Egbert, *Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions*. Revised ed., New York, 1896.  
*Ephemeris Epigraphica*. Vols. I–IX, Berlin, 1892–1913.  
Fabretti, *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum*. Turin, 1867–1872.  
*L'année Épigraphique*. Paris, 1888–  
Lindsay, *Handbook of Latin Inscriptions*. London and Boston, 1897.  
Maionica, *Epigraphisches aus Aquileia*. Vienna, 1885.  
*Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità Communicate alla Reale Accademia dei Lincei*. Rome, 1890.  
Olcott, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae Epigraphicae*. Rome, 1904–  
Orelli-Henzen, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Selectarum Amplissima Collectio*. Zürich, vols. I–II, 1828; vol. III, 1856.  
Pais, *Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum Supplementum Italicum*. Rome, 1884.  
Rhys, *The Celtic Inscriptions of Gaul*. London, 1911.  
Zilken, *De Inscriptionibus Latinis Graecis Bilinguibus*. Bonn, 1909.

### LINGUISTIC

- Ahrens, *De Graecae Linguae Dialectis*. Göttingen, 1839–1843.  
Allen, *Remnants of Early Latin*. Boston, 1880.  
Bennett, *The Latin Language*. Boston, 1907.  
Brugmann, *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen*. 2d ed., Strassburg, 1897–1916.  
Corrsen, *Beiträge zur Italischen Sprachkunde*. Leipzig, 1876.  
Corrsen, *Über Aussprache Vokalismus und Betonung der Lateinischen Sprache*. Leipzig, 1868.  
*Harpers' Latin Dictionary*. Oxford, 1884.  
Holder, *Alt-Celtische Sprachschatz*. Leipzig, vol. I, 1896; vol. II, 1904.  
Lindsay, *The Latin Language*. Oxford, 1894.  
Neue-Wagner, *Formenlehre der Lateinischen Sprache*. Leipzig, 1902–1905.  
Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*. Chicago, 1920.  
*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Leipzig, 1900–  
Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 2d ed. Heidelberg, 1910.  
Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*. Berlin, 1871.

### RELIGIOUS

- Aust, *Die Religion der Römer*. Munster i.w., 1899.  
Axtell, *Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature and Inscriptions*. Chicago, 1907.

- Braun, *Jupiter Dolichenus*. Bonn, 1852.
- Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum quae apud Poetas Graecas leguntur*. Teubner, 1893.
- Bruzza, *Bassorilievo con Epigrafe Greca proveniente da Filippopoli*; *Ann. d. Inst.* XXXIII 387 f.
- Burchett, *Janus in Roman Life and Cult*. Menasha, 1918.
- Carter, *The Cognomina of the Goddess "Fortuna"*; *Trans. A.P.A.* XXI 60-68.
- Cook, *Zeus*. Cambridge, 1914.
- Cook, *Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak*; *Cl. Rev.* XVIII, 368.
- Cumont, *Les Mystères de Mithra*. 2d ed. Paris, 1902.
- Cumont, *Textes et Monuments Figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*. Brussels, 1896-1899.
- De-Marchi, *Il Culto privato di Roma antica*. Milan, 1896.
- Detlefson, *Iscrizioni di Trastevere*; *Bull. d. Inst.*, 1861, 177 ff.
- Domaszewski, *Magna Mater in Latin Inscriptions*; *Journ. Rom. Stud.* I 53.
- Dottin, *La Religion des Celtes*. Paris, 1908.
- Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*. Oxford, 1896-1909.
- Fiedler, *Die Gripswalder Matronen und Mercuriussteine*. Bonn, 1863.
- Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People from the Earliest Times to the Age of Augustus*. London, 1911.
- Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*. London, 1916.
- Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity in the Last Century before the Christian Era*. London, 1914.
- Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*. London, 1905.
- Frazer, *The Golden Bough*. London, 1894-1915.
- Freudenberg, *Das Denkmal des Hercules Saxanus in Brohlthal*. Bonn, 1862.
- Gaidoz, *Dis Pater et Aere-cura*; *Rev. Arch.*, 3d series, XX, 198-207.
- Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Edinburgh, 1908.
- Henzen, *Iscrizione della Bona dea*; *Bull. d. Inst.*, 1864, 63 f. (cf. p. 33).
- Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult*. Gieszen, 1903.
- Hermann, *Ein Bürgereid des griechischen Alterthums*; *Philol.* IX 699.
- Hettner, *De Iove Dolicheno*. Bonn, 1877.
- Ihm, *Der Mütter- oder Matronenkultus und seine Denkmäler*; *Bonn. Jahrb.* LXXXIII (1887) 1 ff.
- Jordan, *Ausdrücke des Bauernlateins*; *Hermes* VII 197.
- Kan, *De Iovis Dolicheni Cultu*. Groningen, 1901.
- Koehler, *Personifikationen Abstrakter Begriffe auf Römischen Münzen*. Königsberg, 1910.
- Linde, *De Iano Summo Romanorum Deo*. Lund, 1891.
- Maas, *Orpheus*. Munich, 1895.
- Marini, *Gli Atti e Monumenti de' Fratelli Arvali*. Rome, 1795.
- Mommsen in *Arch. Anz. zur Arch. Zeitung* XXIII 88 ff.
- Mommsen, *Römische Urkunden*; *Zeitschr. für Gesch. Rechtswissenschaft* XV 330.
- Mowat, *Decouverte d'une Inscription Gauloise a Paris*; *Rev. Arch. (n. s.)* XXXV 105.
- Mowat, *Le Dieu Allobrox et les Matrae Allobrogicae*; *ibid.* XL 48 f.
- Münsterberg and Patsch, *Reise nach Istrien und den Inseln des Quarnero*; *Arch. Epig. Mith.* XV 50.
- Orti, *Iscrizioni di Aquileja*; *Bull. d. Inst.*, 1839, 130.
- Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*. Berlin, 1894-1919.

- Preller-Jordan, *Römische Mythologie*. 3d ed., Berlin, 1881–1883.
- Richter, *De Deorum Barbarorum Interpretatione Romana*. Halle, 1906.
- Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* (articles by Birt, Ihm, Peter, Roscher, Schultz, Steuding). Leipzig, 1884–
- Roscher, Rev. of Linde's *De Iano summo Romanorum deo*; *Berlin. Philol. Wochenschr.* XI (1891) 931–934.
- Showerman, *The Great Mother of the Gods*. Madison, 1901.
- Thulin, *Die Etruskische Disciplin*. Göteborg, 1906.
- Tomaschek, *Miscellen*; *B. B.* IX 98.
- Toutain, *Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain*. Paris 1907 and 1911.
- Usener, *Götternamen*. Bonn, 1896.
- Villefosse, *A propos de l'inscription de Gordien conservée au Musée de Bordeaux*; *Bull. Epigr. de la Gaule* I 163.
- Wissowa, *De Feriis Anni Romanorum Vetustissimi Quaestiones Selectae*. Marburg, 1891—*Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* (Munich, 1904), ch. VII.
- Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*. 2d ed., Munich, 1912.
- Zumpt, *De Lavinio et Laurentibus Lavinatibus*. Berlin, 1845.

## MISCELLANEOUS

- Abbott, *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome*. New York, 1912.
- Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*. Paris, 1873–1919.
- Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*. 8th ed., Leipzig, 1910.
- Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*. London, 1905.
- Lanciani, *Wanderings in the Roman Campagna*. Boston, 1909.
- Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart, 1894–

## CHAPTER I

### ROMAN GODS

---

#### JUPITER

##### EARLY CONCEPTIONS

##### DIOVIS

Of all the inscriptions to Jupiter in Cisalpine Gaul, the two which offer the clearest evidence of an early date bear a surprising resemblance. They appear in Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Select.* II 1, as (a) 2992

(a)	(b)
TAMPILA.L.F	TAMPIAI
DIOVEI	DIOVEI

and (b) 2993; only the latter is given in the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions, where it is said to have been inscribed on an ornate stone found near Patavium, commemorating a gift to the god by *feminae gentis Tampiae*<sup>1</sup> or, less definitely, *Tampiae mulieres*.<sup>2</sup> Like (b), on the top of a column, but at Aquileia in this instance, is inscription (a).<sup>3</sup> Dessau comments on (b) thus: *Fortasse hic quoque fuit "Tampia L. f,"* and cites Pais.<sup>3</sup> The initial *D* and the termination *-ei* in the name of the god, in the case of (b) the termination *-ai* in the designation of the dedicants (if it be correct), and the antique form of the letters,<sup>4</sup> taken together, place the inscriptions well back in the republican period.<sup>5</sup>

##### JUPITER DIANUS

In the study of Roman religion, special interest attaches to the persistence in later times of original and indigenous ideas. Accordingly, in our analysis of the cult of Jupiter in this district, we are concerned to know what traces are left of the primitive Roman conception of him as a god of the sky and its phenomena, in spite of the growing sophistication of thought and the successive layers of superimposed foreign strata that tended to obscure it. The cult-title

<sup>1</sup> I 1435.

<sup>2</sup> V 2799.

<sup>3</sup> Pais, *CIL suppl. Ital.*, n. 593.

<sup>4</sup> Mommsen *ad loc.*

<sup>5</sup> The nom. in *-ai* occurs in the *S. C. de Bacch.* of 186 B. C. (I<sup>2</sup> 58), where however it is probably archaistic. For gen. and dat. sg. in *-ai* in inscr. see Diehl, *Allat. Inscr.*, index, p. 77. While the evidence from this spelling as to the date of our inscr. is not

IOVI  
 DIANO  
 C.HERRE  
 N.NIVS. (sic)  
 CANDIDVS  
 V.S.L.M

conveying the most general expression of this conception is contained in an inscription of Aquileia (783). The apex over the O of DIANO, having the later simplified form, dates the inscription at some time in the Early Empire, the first century preferably.<sup>6</sup> The word *Dianus*, whether as epithet or otherwise, is not found elsewhere; but, as regards etymology,<sup>7</sup> probably belongs with Varro's Group<sup>8</sup> (*Diovis, Diespiter, dei, dius, divum, sub dio*),<sup>9</sup> to which may be added: *dies, Dialis, Diana, Zeus*, Skr. *dyâus* ("sky") etc.,—all from a root meaning "to shine."<sup>10</sup> Jupiter Dianus becomes, on this hypothesis, Jupiter in his capacity as god of the light of day or of the bright sky.

But there is no unanimity as to the significance of *Dianus* here. Orti<sup>11</sup> thought it either a local title (fantastically connecting it with Dianium, a maritime "castle in Spain," or with an island in the Tyrrhenian Sea—despite the discovery of the inscription in Cisalpine Gaul), or a title reflecting a wild tale of an amour of Jupiter, in which the god is represented as having assumed the form of the maiden goddess for a purpose quite inconsistent with his disguise. Henzen<sup>12</sup> presumably considered the inscription to be in honor of Jupiter and

final, since there are revivals of it even in late Imperial times, taken with other details of orthography here it is convincing: cf. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, 242. 29. The dat. *-ei* is found as late as the first c. B. C. (I 202 & 34 of 61 B. C.; I 295 of 49 B. C.; I 206 of 45 B. C.): cf. *id. ibid.* 244f. 34. The initial *D* is, by itself, the most conclusive of the three details and greatly enhances the significance of the other two. Cf. I 638 (but note VI 438) and, for other case-forms of *Diovis*, I<sup>2</sup> 39, 60, 360-1, 558 and *Bull. communale di Roma* 1906, p. 226, table 9. 1; cf. Lindsay, *ibid.* 263.

<sup>6</sup> Christiansen, *De Apicibus et I Longis Inscr. Lat.*, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Rosch. Lex. I<sup>1</sup> 1002 s. v. *Diana*, but cf. Dar.-Sagl. III 610 for a concise statement of conflicting theories.

<sup>8</sup> *L. L.* v 66. Cf. Paul., p. 71. 87, Gell. v 12. 5, cited *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *sub Iove*, Hor. *Carm.* i 1. 25; *madidum Iovem*, Mart. vii 36. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Walde, *Etym. Wrtbuch.*, s. v. *deus*.

<sup>11</sup> *Bull. dell'Inst.*, 1839. 130.

<sup>12</sup> Orelli-H. 5622.

Janus.<sup>13</sup> Corssen<sup>14</sup> definitely advanced the theory of the identification of Dianus and Janus and has been followed by several scholars with varying interpretations of the relations between *Iovi* and *Diano* in the inscription under discussion.

In his monograph, *De Iano Summo Romanorum Deo*, Linde<sup>15</sup> indulges in a rather naïve *petitio quaestionis*:

Ut vero utramque formam et *Ianam* et *Dianam* Latinis in litteris invenimus, ita etiam praeter *Ianum Dianus* scribitur, nam (!) in inscriptione Aquiliensi . . . . . legimus: *Iovi Diano* etc.

The mere occurrence of the word *Dianus* once is given as the proof that it was regularly used in place of *Ianus*. Linde proceeds to say that *Iovi* is here used, not as the name of the god, but to stand for the sky as an epithet of Janus:<sup>16</sup> it is as if he were to reconstruct the first two lines as *caelo Iano*. Now, in the time of this inscription the epithets of gods took the form of adjectives, or of verbal nouns like *Conservator*, *Stator*, *Custos*. In other words, it was only in very early, ingenuous times that men used the name of some object or physical phenomenon in apposition with that of a deity, making deity and that which the epithet indicated identical,—said *Iuppiter Fulgur* and conceived the god actually to *be* the lightning. Such instances of this latter practice as are found in imperial times are mere survivals and, even so, need to be well established by evidence. In order, then, to support his interpretation, Linde would have to prove that *Iuppiter* (= *caelum*) had been an ancient cult-title of Janus, and was a sporadic survival later; which would be very difficult to prove. There is left the improbability that the “epithet” would in that case precede the name of the god. Aust<sup>17</sup> comments:

Gegenüber der Behauptung Linde's . . . . die Inschrift zeuge für einen Himmels-gott Janus, hat Roscher<sup>18</sup> mit Recht geltend gemacht, dass die Voranstellung des Beinamens *I o v i* allen Regeln lateinischer Wortstellung widerstreiten würde.

<sup>13</sup> Though admitting that “many other inscr. can be found in which the names of divinities are combined without punctuation or conjunction,” Miss Burchett (*Janus in Roman Life and Cult*, p. 64) represents H. as assigning this inscr. “to a single deity, Jupiter-Janus.” I cannot see how she infers this from his note, “*Dianus idem qui Ianus, ut Diovis pro Iovis sermone antiquiore dicebant.*”

<sup>14</sup> *Beiträge zur Italisch. Sprachk.*, 359ff; *Ausspr.*<sup>2</sup> I 212.

<sup>15</sup> p. 10.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* and note. But in the note on p. 20 it seems to be Janus who is identified with the sky. Frazer, *Lect. on the Early Hist. of the Kingship*, p. 286, likewise regards Janus as a sky-god.

<sup>17</sup> In Rosch. *Lex II*<sup>1</sup> 751 s. v. *Iuppiter*.

<sup>18</sup> *Berlin. Philol. Wochenschr.* (1891) nos. 29, 39. 933n.

Passing rapidly through much detail and ingenious suggestion in the process of establishing Jupiter as a tri-form god of the oak, in which capacity he is supposed to have been preceded originally by Janus, A. B. Cook<sup>19</sup> follows Linde<sup>20</sup> in a curt assumption: "Next note that Jupiter was actually surnamed *Ianus*; for an inscription from Aquileia records a dedication *Iovi Diano*." Although some evidence is cited for the connection of Janus with Jupiter and his prime importance in Roman worship, the interpretation of Dianus as equivalent to Janus is implied and not argued. Frazer<sup>21</sup> identifies the two. Miss Burchett<sup>22</sup> inclines to the opinion that IOVI/DIANO means *Iovi et Iano*: but, reasoning that "there was little in common between Jupiter Optimus Maximus . . . and Janus," she takes refuge in the summary solution of proclaiming the inscription "useless as evidence about the name of the god, when even the name of the man who set it up is incorrectly written." To this may be said: first, that the name appears in Orelli-Henzen<sup>23</sup> and *Bull. dell' Inst.*<sup>23</sup> as HERRE/NONIVS,<sup>24</sup> without the interpunction to which Miss Burchett objects; more conclusively,—that the names of gods (in the case of which we can check errors of orthography as we cannot in the case of men's names) are often misspelled;<sup>25</sup> that the pointing within a word (even more than once) is common,<sup>26</sup> apparently a spacing device of the stone-cutter's art; and that neither of these faults has invalidated such inscriptions (and they are many) in the opinion of the editors. Birt,<sup>27</sup> while conceding that *Ianus* may have come from a form\**Dianus*, denies on logical<sup>28</sup> and etymological<sup>29</sup> grounds

<sup>19</sup> *Cl. Rev.* XVIII 368. For an informal summary of theories about the nature of Janus, see Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 125.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 367. n.

<sup>21</sup> *Lect. on the Early Hist. of the Kingship*, p. 285; *Golden Bough* II 190 & 381.

<sup>22</sup> *Janus in Roman Life and Cult*, p. 64.

<sup>23</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> The name *Herennius* is seen in no. 5904.

<sup>25</sup> *Poeninus*, e. g., is spelled in five different ways in inscr. of Cisalpine Gaul; see p. 104.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Not. d. Scav.* 1892. 7 ([F]OR. TV. NA. I/TEC. TO. RI/ME. AE/VN. DI. NE), 1880. 212; *CIL* V 790, 3256, 5534, 5536, 7871. On p. 70 (*op. cit.*) Miss Burchett refers to this inscr. as "the poorly cut Narbonensian inscr." Aquileia, where it was found, is of course in Venetia and almost on the Adriatic.

<sup>27</sup> *Rosch. Lex.* I<sup>1</sup> 1003.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* line 51ff.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* line 4ff.

the connection of this \**Dianus* with *Diana*. Roscher<sup>30</sup> considers the linguistic relationship with *ianus* and *ianua* far more probable;<sup>31</sup> denies, as does Birt, the connection with *Diana*; and misses the thunder and lightning that are attributes of all Indo-European sky-gods except Linde's.<sup>32</sup> Preller,<sup>33</sup> who inclines toward Linde's theories, is thus corrected by Jordan:<sup>34</sup>

Die besonders von Corsssen<sup>35</sup> a. O. vertheidigte Annahme *Ianus*=*Dianus* (vgl. *Iovis*=*Diouis*, *Iuturna*=*Diuturna*) sei das Masculinum zu *Diana*, ist sprachlich nicht unbedenklich und wird nicht durch die Inschrift von Aquileia *CIL. V 783* erwiesen, da hier *Dianus* wohl Epitheton und sein Zusammenhang mit *Ianus* sehr unwahrscheinlich ist.

Steuding<sup>36</sup> calls *Dianus* an epithet of Jupiter and Wissowa<sup>37</sup> so lists it.

It is not, I think, a negligible consideration that, whereas *Diouis* and its inflectional forms, and even *Diuturna*, occur a number of times in extant sources,<sup>38</sup> this supposedly original form of so important a god as Janus does not appear at all, unless in the instance under dispute.<sup>39</sup> In any case, it is unsafe in view of the uncertainties and definite objections reviewed above, to base upon this one inscription the assertion that *Dianus* is Janus and a companion god to *Diana*. On the other hand, the fact that this is the sole occurrence of the word is not nearly so serious an objection to accepting it as an epithet of Jupiter. For the actual name of Janus was necessarily

<sup>30</sup> *Id.* I<sup>1</sup> 933.

<sup>31</sup> With a curious insensibility to the ways of primitive religious thought, Linde (*op. cit.* p. 5) denominates as "incredible" the derivation of the name of so important a god from a thing "so cheap and vulgar" as a door, considers the naming of the door from the god equally strange, and brands the whole conception as "ridiculous."

<sup>32</sup> For a systematic presentation and refutation of the various arguments which Linde uses in the support of his thesis (matter which does not come within the province of this dissertation), see Roscher in *Berlin. Philol. Wochenschr.* (1891) nos. 29, 30. 931-4.

<sup>33</sup> *Röm. Myth.* I 167.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 2. Cf. Birt in Rosch. *Lex.* I<sup>1</sup> 1003. 4ff.

<sup>35</sup> See p. 3, n. 14.

<sup>36</sup> Rosch. *Lex.*, s. v. *Dianus*.

<sup>37</sup> *R. K.*, p. 604.

<sup>38</sup> See p. 1, n. 5 and VI 30957.

<sup>39</sup> This inscription is of the time of the Empire; the Hymn to Janus (Varro, *L. L.* vii 26, Lindsay, *Handbook of Latin Inscr.*, p. 27.) of early Republican times. On the evidence for the date of the latter in *duonus*, see Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, pp. 265 & 268. Cf. also the old prayers to Janus in Cato, *Agr.*, as quoted on p. 72 of Allen's *Remnants of Early Latin*.

used frequently; but that one of the eighty or more epithets of Jove should appear only once, is not at all surprising.<sup>40</sup> Further, the epithet, in general, represents a far more prevalent type of indication than the juxtaposition without connective, or even the compounding, of the names of two gods. In the absence, then, of any other tenable interpretation of the inscription, and relying upon the evidence from etymology, general religious usage of the time, and the nature of the worship of Jupiter, we accept this as an epithet, another expression of the great god of the shining heaven.

JUPITER FULMINARIS

The most dramatic phenomenon of the sky, and the one most suggestive of a directing personality, is the lightning with its accompaniments. One of a group of epithets<sup>41</sup> which credit this phenomenon to Jupiter appears in an inscription at Ateste (2474). Pointing

IOVI . SACR  
F V L M I N A R I  
T . T R E B I V S  
T . F

in the same direction is the phrase *ex premissa fulguris potestate* in an inscription to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Conservator, together with the thunderbolt represented in the decoration of the stone on which that inscription appears.<sup>42</sup> Of that interesting practice of burying and inclosing as *religiosum* an object or a spot struck by lightning, the institution of the *puteal* to which the Germans give the picturesque name *Blitzgrab*, there are three instances preserved in the inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul: one at Opitergium (1965<sup>add</sup>),

D E . C A E L O  
T A C T V M  
E T  
C O N D I T V M

the wording of which would suggest that an object, rather than the ground itself, had been struck,<sup>43</sup> another at Eporedia (6778), where

<sup>40</sup> Cf., e. g., Jupiter O. M. Divus *Fulguralis* in III 1086, Jupiter *Fulminans* in XI 3773, Zeus *Tholes* in CIG XIV 2337.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Fulgur, VIII 2626; Fulgurator, VI 377, III 821.1596.1677.6342; Fulminator, III 3593-4, *L'année Épigr.* 1898.103; Fulguralis, III 1086; Fulgur Fulmen, XII 1807.

<sup>42</sup> 5670; see p. 10.

<sup>43</sup> The general form of expression found in this inscr. is found also in II 2421 and XIV 245; in the latter instance, a tree had been struck and "the lightning buried."

D I V O M . F V L G U R	DIVOM
C O N D I T V M	F V L G V R
	. . C O N D I T V M

perhaps only the earth had been disturbed and thereupon formally turned over and inclosed. In the second case the lettering was duplicated on two sides of the monument, but with a difference of line division as here shown. *Divom* is a provincial variant<sup>44</sup> of the *dium* which occurs elsewhere in this phrase.<sup>45</sup> Finally, the word FVLGVR alone constitutes an inscription of Aquileia (*Suppl. Ital.* 158).

JUPITER SUMMANUS

Similar in function to Jupiter Fulminaris is Jupiter Summanus. Although the name *Summanus* is found elsewhere alone,<sup>46</sup> as a cult-title of Jupiter it seems to occur only in Cisalpine Gaul, in the two inscriptions below. The first of these, from Verona (3256),

.IOVI.  
S V M M A N  
T . CAECILI  
.VS.  
SEXTIO

was found on a small altar. The other (5660), to Jupiter Altus

V . S . L . M . I O V I A L  

---

T O . S V M M  

---

A N O . F E L I C I  
A N V S P R I  
M I V S C V  
M S V I S

D D D

Summanus from the Ager Mediolaniensis, is expanded by Mommsen: *V(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Iovi Alto Summano Felicianus Primi v(otum) s(olvit) [aut Priamus] cum suis d(onum) d(at) d(edicat)*.

<sup>44</sup> Thulin, *Die Etruskische Disciplin* I 104, pp. 99–107, gives a general discussion of *puteal* and *bidental*.

<sup>45</sup> VI 205, 30878, X 40.

<sup>46</sup> The Calendar for June 20:SVMMAN[O] AD CIRC[VM] MAXIM[VM]; *Ov. Fast.* vi 731; *Festus* 284 Th. de P. s. v. *Provorsum*; *Pliny N. H.* ii 52; *Epit.* Livy xiv; *Cic. De Div.* i 10.

The *L* at the end of vs. 1 resembles a ligature *LT*, *M* and *I* in vs. 5 are only faintly visible, and the *S* at the end of vs. 6 is, in the original, so displaced as to be as near the end of vs. 5 as of 6. There is nothing in these two inscriptions to indicate the nature of this god. *Putealia* found elsewhere, however, dedicated (to speak more exactly, treated as sacred, *religiosum*) to him,<sup>47</sup> give part of the explanation and literary sources complete it. Pliny<sup>48</sup> says that the Etruscans had nine gods who hurled thunder, but the Romans had retained only two, "*diurna attribuentes Iovi, nocturna Summano.*" Similarly, Festus:<sup>49</sup> "*quod diurna Iovis, nocturna Summani fulgura habentur.*" The independent god Summanus first had a cult in the third century before Christ,<sup>50</sup> but thus appears in Imperial times reduced to a cult-title of Jove as the great god of thunder. The etymology commonly accepted for the name is *sub-manus*, "before the dawn";<sup>51</sup> hence the meaning, the god of the nightly thunder.<sup>52</sup> It would seem natural, then, that the inscription to Jupiter Altus Summanus was in connection with the paying of a vow for property or life preserved from lightning, and that the other had some similar occasion.

Wissowa<sup>53</sup> thinks that with Summanus, the god of the thunder by night, may originally have been identified Nocturnus, an inscription to whom<sup>54</sup> records the payment of a vow by a Brixian who had, apparently, won some victory over his fellow townsmen.

Jupiter S a n c t u s is the recipient of a solitary votive offering at Verona (3255). Sanctus<sup>55</sup> is not included in the lists of the god's epithets usually published; Jordan<sup>56</sup> sees some connection between Sanctus and Semo Sancus = Dius Fidius, but the latter is too obscure itself to throw much light elsewhere. An inscription of

<sup>47</sup> VI 206 (FULGVR/SVM.CONDIT), 30879, 30889.

<sup>48</sup> *N. H.* ii 52.

<sup>49</sup> 284 Th. de P.

<sup>50</sup> See Wissowa, *R. K.*, p. 53.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Fowler, *Rom. Fest.*, 161; Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, I 244; Rosch. *Lex.*, s. v.

<sup>52</sup> For a general discussion of this god, see Preller, *op. cit.*, I 243ff; Fowler, *op. cit.*, 160f; Rosch. *Lex.* s. v. For an account of the founding of his temple near the Circus Maximus, see the foregoing, *Epit.* Livy xiv and Cic. *De Div.* i 10.

<sup>53</sup> *R. K.* 135.

<sup>54</sup> 4287.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Diana Sancta, p. 41.

<sup>56</sup> In Preller, *op. cit.*, II 271, n. 1.

Brixia to Jupiter O.M. J u r a r i u s may be cited here for comparison.<sup>57</sup>

Jupiter L a p i s is essentially represented by the *fetialis* of 4329. Though the office of *augur* was originally connected with the worship of Jupiter, no effort is made here to duplicate the *Corpus* index by listing occurrences of this office in the inscriptions. As belonging to an early priesthood, the sodalis Titius of no. 24 may be mentioned here for convenience.

#### LATER CONCEPTIONS

##### JUPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS

As regards the universal cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, it will be anticipated that Cisalpine Gaul can show little which is distinctive as contrasted with other districts. In so far as there are distinctive features in this connection they will naturally be not of the main cult but of certain Celtic or other foreign adaptations of it, more or less closely associated with the Roman worship. Such adaptations will be treated in later chapters and are not included in the statistics of foot-note 64; they are distinguished by these additional titles: Aeternus,<sup>58</sup> Dolichenus,<sup>59</sup> Ambisagrus,<sup>60</sup> Agganaicus or Adceneicus,<sup>61</sup> Coliocinus et Parmarus,<sup>62</sup> and Poeninus.<sup>63</sup> The mere bulk of inscriptions to J.O.M. without additional titles, 117 (142, counting additional titles)<sup>64</sup> out of 200 to Jupiter all told, is the notable fact rather than any peculiarity of these inscriptions. An

<sup>57</sup> See p. 11.

<sup>58</sup> See p. 73f.

<sup>59</sup> See p. 74ff.

<sup>60</sup> See p. 81f.

<sup>61</sup> See p. 82.

<sup>62</sup> Milan. 5782, indexed simply as J. O. M. in *CIL* V; see p. 83.

<sup>63</sup> See p. 83f.

<sup>64</sup> 13-15, 427, 784-8, 1963, 2037-8, 2381, 3244-53, 3905, 4023-4, 4136, 4141, 4158, 4189, 4234-40, 4898, 4984, 5213, 5222, 5225, 5250-1, 5456, 5458, 5463, 5470-4, 5493, 5499, 5530, 5536-7, 5565, 5569, 5576, 5580-3, 5597, 5604, 5607, 5647, 5699, 5702, 5725, 5740, 5744, 5772-81, 6408, 6502a, 6503a (see p. 41 under Diana), 6566, 6569, 6571-2<sup>add</sup>, 6606-7, 6630, 6637, 6652, 6755, 6774, 6948, 7209, 7239, 7461, 7632, 7860, 8131, 8204, 8231, 8842, 8890, 8917; *Notizie* 1877. 74, 1890. 273, 1909. 4, 1912.421; *L'ann. Épig.* 1909.204, 1913.199; *Suppl. Ital.* 843, 162 (= *Notizie* 1883.158). In combinations with other gods, or with additional epithets, are the following: 790, 1863, 2475, 3254, 4014, 4241, 5500-1, 5509, 5543, 5546, 5608-9, 5633, 5661, 5670, 5726, 5784-5, 6594, 6767, 7809, 7870, *Suppl. Ital.* 896, 1272 (= *Notizie* 1886.3).

ethnic group, *Aneuniates*,<sup>65</sup> are the dedicants in one case, a *collegium veteranorum* in another.<sup>66</sup>

J.O.M. A u g u s t u s is represented by a votive offering of Arilica.<sup>67</sup> An inscription of Verona<sup>68</sup> honors J.O.M. C o n s e r v a t o r, being set up by *P. Pomponius Cornelianus consularis curator rerum publicarum*. Another<sup>69</sup> runs: *Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) Conservatori possessionum Rosciorum, Paculi Aeliani n(ostri) cons(ulis) et Bassae filiorumque eorum, ex voto L(ucius) Roscius Eubulus nutrit(or) et procurat(or) cum P(ublio) Roscio lib(erto) proc(uratore) eor(um)*. On the side of the monument is the date: *D(atum ante diem) quartum Non(as) Mart(ias) Iuliano iterum et Crispino cons(ulibus)*. The following inscription was found in the Ager Mediolaniensis (5670).

(thunderbolt)

I . O . M . C O

---

EX . PREMISSA  
F V L G V R I S  
P O T E S T A T E  
FLAVIVS . VALENS  
V.C.EX.D.V.S.L.M

---

D

P

Mommsen appended a question-mark to his expansion of CO as *Conservatori* and I find only one (and that a doubtful) parallel in the indices of the *Corpus*.<sup>70</sup> If this is the correct expansion, the phrase *ex premissa*<sup>71</sup> *fulguris potestate* would seem to name the occasion of the dedication. But the lightning may have been merely a favorable omen. The V.C of vs. 6 shows that the inscription is not earlier

<sup>65</sup> *Notizie* 1909.4 = *L'onn. Épigr.* 1909.204. *Aneuniates* is taken to mean *Anaunenses*, but the inhabitants of Anauni were some distance from home when they set up this inscr. at Gera.

<sup>66</sup> 784: *collegium veteranorum posuit sub patre Titiano, scripsit (sic) Ulpius Aman-tius s.*

<sup>67</sup> 4014. An inscr. to *I. Augustus* (6955) was set up according to instructions given in the will of an ex-decurion of Taurini and Eporedia.

<sup>68</sup> 3254. Mommsen *ad. loc.* dates this conjecturally A. D. 237.

<sup>69</sup> Brixia. 4241. Paculius Aelianus was consul in A. D. 223, Julianus and Crispinus in 224.

<sup>70</sup> V 790; see p. 81.

<sup>71</sup> One of the copies in Orelli-H. (1219) reads PRAEMISSA, and that would be understood in any case.

than the end of the first century A.D.<sup>72</sup> In spite of the redundancy with V.S.L.M, Mommsen suggested as the meaning of EX.D in the same line *ex devotione*. For inscriptions to J.O.M. C(onservator), Liber Pater *viniarum conservator* and to J.O.M. Co(nservator?) et Ambisagrus, see no. 5543 (p. 56) and no. 790 (p. 81f) respectively. See below also, Jupiter Conservator.<sup>73</sup> J.O.M. Jurarius (*ἄρκιος*) is once addressed.<sup>74</sup>

#### JUPITER AS VICTOR AND PROTECTOR

Of like antiquity with the main cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus is that of Jupiter Victor.<sup>75</sup> To him is addressed a votive inscription from Anauni (5063). From Verona comes a sepulchral inscription (3413), the first six and a half lines of which are quite usual: *Naeviae L(ucii) f(iliae) Naeviolae quae vixit ann(os) duos et viginti menses quattuor dies quinque, M(arcus) Clodius M(arci) f(ilius) Candidus quattuorvir i(ure) d(icundo) et q(uaestor) aerari Veronae*. Then follow *sacerdos* and *Lavin(as)* separated by a half-line best described in Mommsen's own words: "What is concealed, I do not make out; certainly what I expected LAVRENT does not suit the traces remaining, which are these. The first letter is I rather than L; the second seems to have been O or C; the third is V; the fourth I; the fifth seems to have been V; the sixth which is lacking was narrow; the seventh seems to have been X or V; the eighth is T. It was perhaps IOVI VICT(ori)." Surely he is right in expecting LAVRENT.<sup>76</sup> But, though his suggested IOVI VICT resembles the portions of letters remaining more closely than would any words that I might suggest, that such a phrase stood (originally, at least) in such a context is quite unthinkable.

To be classed with inscriptions to Jupiter Victor is one addressed (Albintimilium. 7809) *Victoriae Aeterni Invicti (sic) Iovis Optimi Maximi*, by the restorer of a fortress. The cult of Jupiter Victor is closely associated with, and finally more or less superseded by, that of Victory,<sup>77</sup> numerous inscriptions to whom appear in this

<sup>72</sup> See Egbert, *Lat. Inscr.*, pp. 168 & 472.

<sup>73</sup> Nos. 11, 12, 3243 on p. 12.

<sup>74</sup> *Suppl. Ital.* 1272 = *Notizie* 1886. 3; cf. I 1105 = VI 379.

<sup>75</sup> Wissowa, *R. K.*, 123; Rosch. *Lex.* II<sup>1</sup> 679.

<sup>76</sup> The Sacerdos Laurens Lavinias is mentioned rarely by writers but often in *inscr.* Cf. Zumpt, *De Lavinio et Laurentibus Lavinatibus*, 1.

<sup>77</sup> Wissowa, *R. K.*, 139f.

district and are cited later in this dissertation.<sup>78</sup> Since this is commonly given as one of the frequent instances of the development of a cult-title into an independent divinity, the dedications to Victory should not be disregarded in this connection.<sup>79</sup>

To Jupiter C O N S E R V A T O R an altar has been set up by a freedman of Pola (12); and another inscription to him, on broken marble, belongs to the same locality(11). Still another at Verona (3243) is in consideration of the health of P. Pomponius Cornelianus, Julia Magia, his wife, and their sons, Julianus and Magianus. By including the inscriptions to J.O.M. Conservator, we find the god regarded as protector of possessions,<sup>80</sup> crops,<sup>81</sup> and health.<sup>82</sup> One may compare also inscriptions to *di conservatores*<sup>83</sup> and *Iuppiter et di conservatores*.<sup>84</sup>

Similar in significance is the epithet C U S T O S from Ceneta (8795), which appears twice elsewhere<sup>85</sup> in inscriptions. A votive offering of Ateste (2473) honors Jupiter D E P U L S O R, a cult apparently popular with the army.<sup>86</sup> An inscription in the Ager Saluzzensis (7634) consists simply of the word DEFENSORI; since there is elsewhere an inscription to Jupiter Defensor,<sup>87</sup> this word may conceivably refer to that god. Here may be cited also a votive offering by C. Hostilius Aemilianus of Brixia (4243), inscribed IOVIS. TVTELAE.<sup>88</sup> Conservator,<sup>89</sup> Custos,<sup>90</sup> Depulsor and similar titles

<sup>78</sup> See p. 65f.

<sup>79</sup> But cf. Axtell, *Deification of Abstract Ideas*, 16ff.

<sup>80</sup> 4241; see p. 10.

<sup>81</sup> 5543; see p. 11.

<sup>82</sup> 3243 above.

<sup>83</sup> See p. 94.

<sup>84</sup> See pp. 13 and 94, n. 7.

<sup>85</sup> VI 376, XIV 3557.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. II 2414; III 895, 3269, 4018, 4033-4, 4111, 4786, 5160, 5460, 5494: note that all these, except the first, are in border provinces—Dacia, Pannonia, Noricum—where soldiers were quartered.

<sup>87</sup> III 1590 = *Eph. Epigr.* II 446. *CIL* V 8372, having the name in the nominative and being on a stone of sepulchral form, is probably not to be included here. Cf. Pauly-W. IV 2365 on *Defensor Civitatis* and *CIL* V 4459. Similarly, *Liberato(r) Patriae De(fensor?)* in 5509 to J. O. M. is to be taken with the name of the dedicant; no. 6963 is probably of the same character.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. 3304, 4982, XII 1837 and see pp. 13, 21 and 67.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Rosch. *Lex.* II<sup>1</sup> 745. 60, 748. 32, 749. 16.

<sup>90</sup> Significantly frequent on coins after the time of Nero. Cf. Rosch. *Lex.* II 750. 61.

finally came to indicate especially the activity of the god as protector of the emperors.<sup>91</sup>

## IDEA IOVIS

A peculiar inscription, consisting simply of the phrase IDEA. IOVIS, has been found in the Ager Comensis (5462). 'Iðéa occurs in Cic. *Or.* iii 10; *Ac.* i 8.30; *Tusc.* i 24.58; transliterated to *idea*, in Sen. *Ep.* 58 *med.* The Platonic theory of ideas had passed through an extensive philosophical tradition and might have become, in a crude form, more or less known even to people without much education: in that case, the phrase *Idea Iovis* may have been used as a periphrasis practically equivalent to *Iuppiter*, a periphrasis like those so frequent in Lucretius<sup>92</sup> *Iovis Tutela* of no. 4243 affords a parallel to such an expression as this.<sup>93</sup> Similarly, one finds dedications to the Numen or Genius of a deity.<sup>94</sup>

## COMBINATIONS

The largest group of those inscriptions in which the name of Jupiter is coupled with designations of other gods is made up of dedications to Jupiter with all the gods. The forms of dedication employed are as follows: *Iovi et dibus deabus* (5669), *diis deabus cum Iove* (5245), . . . *et dis cum Iove* (5738), *I.O.M. D.D.* (2475), *I. (O)M. dis [de] abu [s]* (5609), *I.O.M. diis deabus* (5784), *I.O.M. dis deabus* (5608), *Iovi Opt. Max. et dis deab.* (6767), *Iovi O.M. qum dis deabusque* (5661), *I.O.M. una cum dibus dia.* (5509), *I.O.M. et diis deab. omnibus* (5500, 5633, 5785), *Iovi O.M. ceterisq. immort.* (7870). All but two of these are stated to be in connection with the payment of vows: one for the health of the emperors (2475); another for that of a patron's daughter and for the crops (5609); a third for that of a master (5500); two others for that of the dedicant and his family (5661, 5784). Number 5661 involves the erection of a rather elaborate altar; number 5738, of an altar and a small temple. A dedication to *Iuppiter et di conservatores* celebrates the escape of a soldier from the dangers of battle (5062).

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *R. K.*, 128 and 129 with note; Preller, *Röm. Myth.* I 208f.

<sup>92</sup> Cf., e. g., iii 43, *animi naturam = animum*. Cf. also "His Highness" "His Excellency" etc.

<sup>93</sup> See p. 12.

<sup>94</sup> See pp. 22 and 68.

Six inscriptions represent the connection of the god with the other members of the triad of the Capitol. Three of these (3242,<sup>96</sup> 3902, 5771) are votive inscriptions; the second runs [*Iovi Iunoni Min. ceterisque dis deabusque*, being set up by a freedman on behalf of the health of his patron and others. Number 5546 is indecipherable except for the address, *I.O.M. Iunoni M.*; no. 5588 is inscribed on a square pedestal to the same three gods. The remaining inscription (Augusta Praetoria. 6829) is here reproduced from a small altar.

IOVI . IVNON . MINER  
ANTONIA . M . LIB  
APHRODISIA.SCYPHOS.II.  
VENEREM SPECVLVM  
DONVM DEDIT

An altar as a votive offering is accorded to J.O.M. along with Mercury (*Suppl. Ital.* 896). There is an inscription to Isis Regina, Jupiter, Sol and Serapis (3232); another to Jupiter and Sol (8233). The latter was found in the ruins of a temple of Isis at Aquileia; it may be in honor of Jupiter-Sol, as III 3020 seems to be. Number 5501 connects the god with the Matrons in a votive offering consisting of a large altar terminating at the top in the shape of a shell. Likewise, a very large altar in the field about Novaria bears a votive inscription (6594) to *I.O.M. Matronae indulgentes Mercurius lucrorum potens*. A very dubious inscription (5726) associates Jupiter with *dei penates*. As indicated on p. 11, J.O.M. Conservator appears with Liber Pater *viniarum conservator* (5543)<sup>96</sup> and Ambisagrus (790)<sup>97</sup> Finally, no. 1863, from Iulium Carnicum, is reconstructed as follows from very crude letters cut on the face of a cliff on the Italian slope of Monte della Croce, a hundred feet below its crest and about the same distance from an ancient road:<sup>98</sup> [*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) [Triviis quadri] viis ceterisque dib(us) aram o[b solutum merit] o sollemne votum d[ed (it)] Hermias susceptor operis aeterni; titulum immanem, montem Alpinum ingentem litteris inscripsit, quot saepe invium, comm[e] antium periclitante popu[l]o ad pontem transitum non p[raeb]uit, curante Attio Braetiano q(uaestore) eorum viro ornato, viam nov(am) demonstrante Hermia. Multanimis fides operisque paratus—unanimes omnes—hanc viam explicuit.*

<sup>96</sup> Wrongly indexed as 3292 in the *Corpus*.

<sup>96</sup> See p. 56.

<sup>97</sup> See p. 81f.

<sup>98</sup> Mommsen *ad loc.*

These dedications to two or more divinities in conjunction are often, of course, very useful in determining the provinces and functions of obscure and less important deities. In the case of the supreme god, however, they can offer little suggestion. Once a deity has reached such preeminence, he is apt to be invoked on occasion in almost any matter and in company with almost any god.

SUMMARY

The following summary of the Jupiter cults of Cisalpine Gaul leaves out of account the Oriental cults of chap. VI and the Celtic cults of chap. VII.

Without epithet: 1759, 2472, 2799=I 1435, 3241, 3903, 4022, 4047, 4093, 4148, 4188, 4229-32, 4855, 4895, 5006, 5054, 5093, 5441, 5449, 5594, 6503, 7449, 7459, <i>Notizie</i> 1883. 194 (= <i>Suppl. Ital.</i> 512), 1900.80, Dessau 2992, <i>Suppl. Ital.</i> 161. . . . .	29
Early cult-titles: Dianus 783; Fulminaris 2474, ( <i>putealia</i> ) 1965 <sup>add</sup> , 6778, <i>Suppl. Ital.</i> 168; Summanus 3256, 5660; Nocturnus 4287; Sanctus 3255. . . . .	9
Optimus Maximus (See list on p. 9, n. 64). . . . .	117
O. M. combined with other gods: <i>di deae</i> 2475, 5500, 5509, 5608-9, 5633, 5661, 5784-5, 6767, 7870; Trivia <i>Quadrivia ceterique dii</i> 1863; <i>Matronae</i> 5501, <i>Matronae, Mercurius</i> 6594; Juno, Minerva 5546; Mercury <i>Suppl. Ital.</i> 896; <i>Penates</i> 5726. . . . .	17
O. M. with additional titles: Augustus 4041; Conservator 4254, 4241, 5670, 5533, 790; <i>Iurarius Suppl. Ital.</i> 1272(= <i>Notizie</i> 1886.3); <i>Victoria aeterni invicti I.O.M.</i> 7809. . . . .	142
Other epithets: Augustus 6955; Victor 5063; Conservator 11, 12, 3243; Custos 8795; Depulsor 2473; <i>Iovis Tutela</i> 4243, <i>Idea Iovis</i> 5462. . . . .	9
Combined with other gods (not including combinations with J.O.M.): Isis, Sol, Serapis 3232; Sol 8233; Juno, Minerva 3242, 5588, 5771, 6829; Juno, Minerva <i>ceterique di deaeque</i> 3902; <i>di conservatores</i> 5062; <i>di deae</i> 5245, 5669, 5738 (Cf. p. 13. . . . .	11
TOTAL. . . . .	200

## MARS

Rather striking, especially when one considers the large number of inscriptions to certain little known deities, like Belenus, is the small representation of the god Mars, whom we might naturally expect to be prominent anywhere in an empire that ruled the world by arms. There are but nineteen references to him all told, and of that number all but nine are involved in some combination with other gods and special local cults or are for other reasons not fully representative. Of the five addressed simply to Mars,<sup>99</sup> the last two listed in the note are votive inscriptions. One (6478) is set up by two freedmen in honor of a military officer.

The old epithet *G r a d i v u s*<sup>100</sup> appears in an inscription found lying on the floor of an ancient shrine; the restoration of this shrine by the dedicant is the occasion of the inscription (Aquileia. 8236). *Mars Augustus* is the recipient of a votive offering (Verona. 3263) and of a figurine with the following inscription (Sub-

M A R T I . A V G  
C O N S E R V A T O R I  
C O R P O R I S . S V I  
M E R C V R I A L I S . A V G  
N . V I I . E X . I V S S V . N V M i  
N I S . I P S I V S . S I G I L L V M  
M A R M O R E V M . P O S V I T

lazio. 5081). On one side of a square pedestal (Vercellae. 6653) is an inscription to the emperor Vespasian, on another side in crude letters (perhaps a later addition) the words *Deo Marti Conservatori*. Jupiter bears the same epithet in this district.<sup>101</sup>

There are two Celtic titles, *C e m e n e l u s* (7871) and *L e u c i m a l a c u s* (7862a), attached to Mars' name in inscriptions in Cisalpine Gaul; they will be considered in the chapter on Celtic Gods.<sup>102</sup>

The other occurrences of the word *Mars* are in combinations. Mars is named (Anauni. 5052) along with the other planets in one instance.<sup>103</sup> He appears once each with Appollo (*sic*) (Ager Novar-

<sup>99</sup> 3261, 5064, 6478, 4900, *Notizie* 1894. 188.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. III 6279, VIII 2581. 14635. 17625, XIV 2580-1.

<sup>101</sup> See p. 12.

<sup>102</sup> See p. 84f.

<sup>103</sup> See p. 64.

iensis. 6603), Luna (Aquileia. 794), and Mercury (Aquileia. 795), the inscription in the last case being carved in rude, crooked letters on an altar. Twice<sup>104</sup> Mars and Minerva are coupled; once<sup>105</sup> the association is *cum dis deabus*. A temple-servant of the god, *aeditimus Martis per annos XLV*, is found in no. 5306 of Comum, a *flamen Martialis* in nos. 4921-2 of Trumplini; *Salii* are mentioned frequently.<sup>106</sup>

There is a cryptic inscription to the *Martes*, apparently, found on the walls of an ancient castle (Verona. 3262). Search

P.FIRMINVS.MARTIBVS.L.P.A.

C.N.Q.A.ONESIMIANO.V.S.L.M.

through the indices of the *Corpus* and elsewhere fails to discover a parallel to such a conception; in the absence of that support, accordingly, I suggest that an unintentional metathesis might have substituted this form for *MATRIBVS*. An expansion of the unknown abbreviations would perhaps throw light on the identity of the deities.

Bidden by a vision, L. Petronius Callistratus set up a small altar to *Virtus* and *Bellona* (Novaria. 6507).

#### DOMESTIC DEITIES

Of the domestic group, *Vesta* is honored in but three inscriptions.<sup>107</sup> In one of them only can her name be made out with certainty (Arusnates. 3920). Another, carved in uneven lines on a large, square pedestal, registers the payment of a vow to her by Q. Cassius Verus (Arusnates. 3919). *Laelius T(iti) lib(ertus) sevir et . . . . Euhodus augustalis* set up a monument of some kind at Concordia (8655) and provide 2000 sesterces for its maintenance.

An altar at Patavium is inscribed simply *DIS.PENATIBVS* in letters rude rather than ancient (2802). The Penates are also addressed in combination with *dei deae* (Tergeste. 514).

<sup>104</sup> Sabini. 4901, Bergomum. 5114. Cf. p. 59, n. 76.

<sup>105</sup> Ad Lacum Larium. 5240.

<sup>106</sup> 1812, 1978, 2851, 3117, 4347, 4492 (cf. Catull. xvii and notes thereon in the Merrill and Friedrich editions), 6431.

<sup>107</sup> For the infrequency of inscr. to the domestic deities as an unfair indication of their relative importance, see Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, 15.

## LARES

Two freedmen of Aquileia (791) make a contribution from their means to the Lares; freemen of Brixia (4245) and Ceneta (8796), respectively, offer to them, the one a bronze tablet, the other a rather large brazen bowl with the inscription traced on the inside with dots made by a pointed tool. Some dedication is made at Aquileia (792) by *magistri*,<sup>108</sup> what would appear to be the names, now in a mutilated condition, of five of these *magistri* are listed in the inscription, two of the men being referred to as *socii portorii* and bearing names which suggest servitude. On a round altar at Ora Genuas (7739) it is indicated that the steward of Petinia Posilla, in payment of his vow, set up this altar at the cross-roads in honor of the Lares.<sup>109</sup> *D(eis) Laribus* is roughly cut on an altar of Anauni (*Suppl. Ital.* 714). Two men of Augusta Bagiennorum (7689) address the Lares *A u g u s t i* on what had been an architrave of shining marble; another architrave (Benacenses. 4865) bears, in large letters, the words *Augustis Laribus*. A traveler through Aquileia, in accordance with a decree of the local senate,<sup>110</sup> adds his tribute to the Lares Augusti (8234); to them also is a dedication (4087) made by nineteen slaves at Betriacum in 58 B. C., the year of the consulship of Caesar and Calpurnius. A small temple is erected to them at Verona (3258) in consideration of the health of the emperor Hadrian. We find at the same place an inscription (3259), *Laribus Agustorum (sic) Dominorum nostrorum et Casarum (sic)*, to which we may compare inscriptions to the Genius of the emperor.<sup>111</sup>

On a pedestal of Dalmatian marble bearing traces of two statues, runs this legend (Patavium. 2795): *Genio Domnorum*<sup>112</sup> *Cereri. T. Publicius Crescens Laribus Publicis*<sup>113</sup> *dedit imagines argent (eas) duas testamento ex binis sestertiis*. Genius and Ceres are plainly the Lares whose statues were once above these lines; though one expects *Penates* to be used as a general term to stand for various guardian gods at different times, the exceptional character of such a use of

<sup>108</sup> Cf. 3257 on p. 19 and IX 3424 with De-Marchi, *Il Culto Privato* I 114, n. 2.

<sup>109</sup> Following the amended form, 7739<sup>add</sup>. This inscr. is to L. Compitales (see p. 19); it is cited by Wissowa, *R. K.*, 168, n. 4.

<sup>110</sup> Expanding *S(enatus) c(onsulto) p(osuit)*.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. 3104 on p. 20.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. 3259 above to the Lares of the emperors.

<sup>113</sup> See Wissowa, *R. K.*, 170 and n. 6.

*Lares* is apparent, for instance, from the last clause on p. 162 of Wissowa's *Religion und Kultus der Römer*. An interesting, though fragmentary, inscription of Brixia (4440) reads: [M]arcellin(us) colleg(io) Larum dedit sestertia duo et dimidium, ut no[bis Rosalibus] et Parentalib(us) [sepulcrum decoraretur or something similar].<sup>114</sup> The *collegium Larum* appears also in another inscription (Brixia. 4432), in which *cultores collegi Larum* join with others in a tribute to their well-deserving patron. In one instance (Brixia. 4340), the *cultores Larum* of a certain *XVvir sacris faciundis* set up an honorary inscription to him. Three free men, *magistri*, and three slaves, *ministri*, record in an inscription at Verona (3257) that they have restored a shrine of the *Lares Compitales*,<sup>115</sup> putting into position its roof, walls, folding-doors and threshold at their own expense. The date is *A.V.C.* 753.

## GENIUS

Dedications to the Genius of a private person are sometimes without indication of the dedicant.<sup>116</sup> Number 7596 is apparently to the Genius of the Petronius of no. 7532, by his parents; 7514 to that of an intimate friend; *Suppl. Ital.* 1286 to Genius P a t r i u s; 7142 *h(onoris c(ausa))*.<sup>117</sup> Slaves<sup>118</sup> address the Genii of their masters; freedmen<sup>119</sup> thus honor those who are presumably their patrons. Number 6951 is to a patron's Genius; 7469–70 are dedications to the Genii of their patrons by the guilds of smiths and rag-dealers, respectively. Likewise, the college of *pastophoroi* of Industria honors its patron, addressing the G e n i u s and H o n o r of a Roman knight, *curator kalendariorum rei publicae*. This inscription (7486) is on a large bronze tablet in crude letters, one line still showing traces of the silver with which the hollows of the letters were filled. The inscriptions to Genius and Honor are uniformly long as compared with most religious inscriptions. One (Brixia. 4449) includes the information that to the Genius and Honor of three *seviri Augustales* a memorial has been erected by five *magistri collegiorum*. The portion

<sup>114</sup> Cf. 4016 and 4871 (*Rosalia et Parentalia omnibus annis in perpetuum procuranda*), 2090, 2176, 2315, 4015, 4017, 4410, 7357, and *passim*.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. 7739 on p. 18.

<sup>116</sup> 7236 (to the Genius of a local senator and duovir), 7532, 2212.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. 2947, 7007, 7481.

<sup>118</sup> 1868 (with a small altar in payment of a vow), 7143, 7471.

<sup>119</sup> 6502, 7238, 7505, *Notizie* 1904. 40 (in good letters of the first c.).

of the inscription of most concern to us is as follows: *Gen(io) et hon(ori)* (of the three *seviri*), *d(at)is in tutel(am<sup>120</sup> sestertiis) n(um)mis mille*, *ut d(ie) K. Febr. sacrif(icetur), et in profusione(m<sup>121</sup> sestertiis) n(um)mis mille* (names of the donors). *Magistri s(upra) s(cripti) titulo honoris usi, datis in tutelam (sestertiis) n(um)mis mille, ut ex usur(is) eorum quod ann(is) die III id(us) Apriles per officiales<sup>122</sup> sacrificetur, et oleo et prop(inatione) dedicaver(unt).*<sup>123</sup> That is, the five officials provided the inscription and the first two thousand sesterces at their own expense, then added a thousand sesterces in their official capacity for another sacrifice.<sup>124</sup> In 5869 (Milan) the guilds of smiths and rag-dealers of the place invoke the Genius and Honor of *Magus German(us) Statori(us) Marcian(us)*, Roman Knight *equo publico*, and the Juno of his wife, *Cissonia Aphrodite*, patrons of the guilds. Number 5892 (Milan) is of the same type. Four times in all<sup>125</sup> there occur inscriptions addressed to the Genius of a man in combination with the Juno of a woman.

The common practice of supplicating the Genius of the emperor is represented by the line *GENIO PRINCIPIS* (Vicetia. 3104) and no. 2795 on p. 18. For *Genius Lib(eri) Aug(usti)* see no. 326 on p. 56 under *Liber*.

We come next to evidence of the worship of the Genii of various groups: of guilds, a town, colonies, counties. The Genius of the guild of rag-dealers of Alba Pompeia is honored in a tribute to the memory of a Roman knight paid by his mother and sister (7595). The Genius of the guild of dray-men appears in a Brixian inscription (4211). A monument which seems to have been transported from Greece<sup>126</sup> is inscribed: *Veneri sacrum et Genio collegi aug(usti) Corinth(i)* (Altinum. 8818). A fragmentary inscription in *Notizie* 1915, p. 145 may be classed here, and perhaps the *G.C.D.* of 2794 is to be expanded *G(enio) C(ollegi) D(endrophorum)*; no. 7363 from Segusio, *Maric(ae) Miner(vae) et Gen(io) aer(. ..)sacr(um)*, probably had to do

<sup>120</sup> Cf., for parallels to this phrase, 4294 (p. 35), 4416, 4418, 4488, 5005 (p. 51.).

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Marini, *Frat. Arv.*, p. 562; Fabr. pp. 147, 182.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. 4488-9, 5272; De-Marchi, *Il Culto Privato*, II 147.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. 5272. l. 25.

<sup>124</sup> Mommsen *ad loc.*

<sup>125</sup> 5869 above (to the Genius and Honor of a man and the Juno of his wife), 6950 (on a base supporting a Hermes), 7237 (by a slave), 7593 (by a slave or freedman). See p. 23f. for inscriptions to the Juno of a woman.

<sup>126</sup> Mommsen *ad loc.*

with a guild of coppersmiths. At the same town, the Genius of the *Municipium Segusinum* is the recipient of a marble tablet, put up in accordance with the terms of a woman's will from the funds left after the construction of some monument in honor of Vertumnus (7235): no. 7234 is addressed to the same spirit, and *Suppl. Ital.* 958 to *Genius Municipii Industriensis* by a *sevir augustalis*. A decurio of Brixia pays his tribute to the *Genius Coloniae Civicae Augustae Brixiae* (4212); no. 4202 is probably in honor of the same spirit and Bergimus.<sup>127</sup> We find also *Genius pagi Livi* (Trumplini. 4909), *Genius populi pagi Iu[li]* (*Ibid.* 4911), and *Genius pagi Arusnatium* in combination with the nymphs.<sup>128</sup> With the Matrons are associated the *Genii Ausuciatium*,<sup>129</sup> and no. 5216 of the same place, which begins *Genio Asc.*, may be an address to the same spirit, though a man's name is an alternative explanation.

Besides the combinations of Genius with Venus (8818), Bergimus (4202), *Nymphae Augustae* (3915), *Matronae* (5227), and *Marica*<sup>130</sup> and *Minerva* (7363) already cited, there are to be added those with the *Manes* (Pola. 246) and *Numen* (Fines Cotti. 7212). *Genii* are occasionally represented in carvings on sepulchral and other monuments, e. g., 2044, 4085.

Comparable in conception with the protecting Genius of a man or group is the *T u t e l a* who sometimes appears. An inscription at Verona (3304) runs: *Tute[lae] dom[us] Rupil[ianae] etc.*<sup>131</sup> A decurio of Brixia pays a vow (Riva. 4982) to *Tutela A u g u s t a*.<sup>132</sup> Number 4243, mentioned before in connection with certain ideas in the Jupiter cult,<sup>133</sup> and involving the payment of a vow to *Iovis Tutela*,<sup>134</sup> suggests the sort of use out of which arose the conception of *Tutela* as an independent spirit. As the Roman about to enter some contest, in praying to Jupiter Victor had his mind mainly on the epithet rather than the god, as one may say, and thus that epithet presently was furnished forth with a personality of its own as *Victoria*;

<sup>127</sup> See p. 90.

<sup>128</sup> Arusnates. 3915; see p. 90.

<sup>129</sup> Ad Lacum Larium. 5227.

<sup>130</sup> See p. 27.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. De-Marchi, *Il Culto Privato* II 44 and I 80, also p. viii, n. 2.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. *Bull. Épig. de la Gaule* I 163.

<sup>133</sup> See p. 13.

<sup>134</sup> See pp. 12 and 57, n. 55. Cf. XII 1837, though there are two possibilities of interpretation there.

so, from praying for the protection of Jove there was no very far cry to praying to it: the *Iovis Genio* of I 603.17 affords a close parallel. Preller<sup>136</sup> regards Tutela as a female counterpart of Genius; which makes her a Juno<sup>136</sup> or, as he prefers to identify her, Fortuna. Wissowa<sup>137</sup> attempts no such identification, but refers to Tutela as a goddess who ultimately attained some independence from Genius and appealed especially to women worshipers. After reviewing several interpretations, De-Marchi<sup>138</sup> inclines to the view that Tutela is Genius; favoring that understanding of the identity of the spirit, as against those which make it a female counterpart of Genius, is the invocation, *Genio urbis Romae sive mas sive femina*,<sup>139</sup> which goes back to the period in the history of Roman religion when deities were conceived of as daemonic and sexless or of uncertain sex.<sup>140</sup>

## JUNO

Three votive offerings are made to Juno without cult-titles: no. 4224a on a tiny *cippus* at Brixia, no. 2087 at Asolo, and no. 2798 on a bronze tablet of Patavium. With regard to the last, the editor of the *Corpus* quotes an interesting statement from Livy (x 2.14): *rostra navium spoliisque Laconum in aede Iunonis veteri fixa multi supersunt qui viderunt Patavii*. Livy may well have talked with some of his fellow townsmen who had seen these ex-votos. Gran San Bernardo furnishes a brief inscription to Juno Augusta (*Notizie* 1887.469). Tib(erius) Cl(audius) Hilarinus of Camunni and Val(eria) Prima, his wife, pay a vow (4939) to Juno Regina, as does Luculena Tatias of Riva (4938). The remaining inscription of this last-named cult (Albintimilium. 7811) illustrates the often compli-

IVNONI REGINAE SACR

OB HONOREM . MEMORIAMQVE VERGINIAE . P . F  
PATERNAE . P . VERGINIVS RHODION LIB . NOMINE  
SVO ET METILIAE TERTVLLINAE FLAMINIC VXORIS  
SVAE ET LIBERORVM SVORVM VERGINIORVM QUIETI

<sup>136</sup> *Röm. Myth.* II 185, 202; I 87.

<sup>136</sup> See p. 23f for this conception of Juno.

<sup>137</sup> *R. K.*, 179; see n. 2 there for a list of occurrences.

<sup>138</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. viii, n. 2.

<sup>139</sup> *Serv. Aen.* ii 251.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Fowler, *Rom. Fest.* 67, 73.

## PATERNAE RESTITVTAE ET.QVIETAE

S

P

P

cated motivation of inscriptions. It is inscribed to Juno, but also in memory of the dead daughter and further dedicated to what one could almost call a deified abstraction, the Quies of the dead.<sup>141</sup> For an inscription to Juno Luna Regina (Verona. 3233) see p. 62 under Luna.

The rest of the inscriptions to Juno involve that conception which associates her with Genius in the private cult; they are to the several guardian spirits of individual women. Number 6954 (Taurini), from the pedestal of a bust, is dedicated to the Juno of Tullia Flaminica Julia Augusta.<sup>142</sup> A *libertus* and *liberta* in no. 7472 (Industria) appeal to "the Juno of our Julia;" similarly, Albanus, *dispensator* and probably slave,<sup>143</sup> addresses "the Juno of our Cornelia" (Ticinum. 6407): *nostri* is used in the same way with the names of patrons and masters elsewhere.<sup>144</sup> In the following inscription on an altar (Pola.

C.FANNIVS.PSALMVS

SIBI.ET.

FANNIAE. C.LIB.NOE

IVNONI.EIVS.

FANNIAE . PRISCAE

V.F

160), a difficulty presents itself. While the names *Psalmus* and *Noe* strike one as Oriental and incongruous, the real trouble lies in the phrase *Iunoni eius* in the fourth line. Mommsen's comment is: "*Iunoni eius* seems to have been added on this account, in order that it might be known that she was dead by the time this inscription was set up." This requires the understanding of another connective before the name of the second woman. Mommsen's reasoning as to the phrase in question is to be accepted only in lieu of a better, for an inscription to a woman's Juno would ordinarily prove that she was alive, not dead. A more normal expression is the *sibi et dis*

<sup>141</sup> As a matter of Latinity and of the Roman attitude toward death, the word *restitutae* is surprising here, being more appropriate to one who has recovered than to one who has died. "Restored to the earth from whence she came" is, I think, a modern rather than an ancient commonplace.

<sup>142</sup> She appears also in 7629.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. VI 64, *servus dispensator*.

<sup>144</sup> No. 7143, 7471, 7505, 7593; cf. 3259 on p. 18.

*manibus Iuliae Fortunatae uxoris* of no. 3494, used with the V.F. as here.

For comparison with what precedes, and for inscriptions to the Juno of a woman in combination with the Genius of a man, see nos. 5869, 6950, 7237, 7593 on p. 20. To be compared, likewise, with dedications in honor of the Genius of a canton<sup>145</sup> is an inscription of Bergomum (5112): IVNONI (*in antica*), PAGI/FORTVNENSIS (*in postica*).

The numerous inscriptions invoking J u n o n e s do not have to do with these guardian spirits with which we have been dealing; nor do they so vitally relate themselves to the Juno cult in general as to the Celtic-German cult of the Matronae or Matres,<sup>146</sup> since *Iunones* became practically a variant for the latter names in Cisalpine Gaul and elsewhere. The correctness of this statement is attested not only by a consideration of the different conception of the Junos of the private cult from that of these Matrons collectively worshiped, but also by the occurrence of inscriptions to Matronae Junones<sup>147</sup> and Junones Matronae.<sup>148</sup> I have accordingly thought best to postpone discussion of these divinities to the section on Matronae in the Celtic group.

The several instances of the Jupiter-Juno-Minerva combination may be found listed under Jupiter.<sup>149</sup> The only other combination in which Juno appears is that with Feronia.<sup>150</sup>

## SATURN

To Saturn there are four votive offerings with no epithet in the accompanying inscriptions,<sup>151</sup> besides an inscription from Arusnates (3916) and the reference to the *planet* Saturn in connection with other planets in 5056 (p. 64). There are also four votive inscriptions to Saturnus A u g u s t u s.<sup>152</sup> Part of a pillar of red marble is distinguished with an inscription to Saturnus C o n s e r v a t o r

<sup>145</sup> See p. 21.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *R. K.*, 191.

<sup>147</sup> No. 5450; see p. 88.

<sup>148</sup> Nos. 3237, 5249; see *ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> See p. 14.

<sup>150</sup> See no. 412 on p. 47.

<sup>151</sup> 2382, 5022, 5068a-9.

<sup>152</sup> 3291-2, 5024, 8844.

(Verona. 3293). The next inscription—to D o m i n u s Saturnus<sup>153</sup>—appears on a bronze plate from which a balance was afterward made in such a way that part of the inscription was cut off, part concealed by the cheeks of the balance<sup>154</sup> which were added. There is an altar also to D(ominus?) Saturnus (Tridentum. 5023) in payment of a vow. Ten dedicants join in a well-cut inscription to D(ominus?) Saturnus Augustus (Anauni. 5068). D(ominus?) S(a n c t u s?) Saturnus is given a small altar (Riva. 5000) and a statue resting on the square pedestal on which a dedicant of Tridentum has recorded the preservation of his own and his family's health (5021). An inscription to D e u s A l u s Saturnus (Brixia. 4198) will be met later (p. 90) among the Celtic deities. *Curatores Saturni* are to be noted (5067).

#### BONA DEA

Aquileia provides all the inscriptions to Bona Dea. The only one without epithet is no. 847: M.B.D.D.D: the initial only (M) of the dedicant represents a practice not uncommon;<sup>155</sup> the D.D, standing as it does at the end, is almost certainly for *donum dedit* or some similar phrase, and *Bona Dea* is the most obvious expansion of the rest. Number 756 addresses Bona Dea A u g u s t a. The following (760) may be a dedication to Augusta Bona Dea C a s t r e n s i s,

A V G V S T A E. B o n a e D e a e ?

CASTRENSI . EX

FERONIA.LIBANI.LIB

TI.CLAVDIVS.STEPHAN *i lib.*

though it has been referred to Julia Domna *mater castrorum*.<sup>156</sup> The right edge is missing and there is a crack roughly parallel to the fracture at the right, without, however, making the portion affected illegible. The phrase *mater castrorum* appearing after the names of certain of the empresses, being a set formula of honor, would not be apt to be altered into *castrensis* or any equivalent phrase; it is unlikely, then, that Julia Domna is meant here rather than Bona Dea. Whether we should understand *castrensis* to indicate "goddess of the camp" or, more specifically, "goddess of Castrum—" is not so

<sup>153</sup> E. bank of L. Benacus. 4013.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Vit. x 8.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. nos. 3252, 4158, 4215, 4218, 5562.

<sup>156</sup> Mommsen *ad loc.* Cf. VI 30854.

certain in the light of VI 70, beginning *Bonae Diae Castr. Font.*, where one is to expand *Castr(i) Font(anorum)* or some such unknown place-name.<sup>157</sup> *Bona Dea P a g a n a* (762) is the recipient of an offering from two of her *magistrae* and of a temple from two of her *ministrae*. Orelli compares his no. 1521, to *Bona Dea Agrestis*.

BONAE. DEAE. PAGANAE RVFRIA. C.F. FESTA CAESILIA.Q.L.SCYLACE MAGISTRAE D . P . S	DECIDIA. L. F. PAVLI <sup>a</sup> ET.PVPIA.L.L.PEREGRIN <sup>a</sup> MINISTRAE BONAE . DEAE AEDEM . FECERVNT D . P . S
--	---

In no. 757, likewise, three *magistrae*, and in no. 759 one, are mentioned.<sup>158</sup> The *Augusta Bona Dea Cereria* of no. 761 in the same locality is also essentially *Bona Dea*.<sup>159</sup> The juxtaposition with other inscriptions to the goddess and the adjectival form of *Cereria* are in favor of this; cf. also VI 72 (*Bona Dea Hygia*)<sup>160</sup>. On the other hand, in VI 76 (*Bona Dea Venus*) and *Eph. Epigr.* II 649 (*Bona Dea Juno*) *Bona Dea* is plainly the epithet. The discovery of the

AVRIBVS  
 B.D.D  
 PETRVSIA  
 PROBA  
 MAGISTRA  
 .....  
 .....

inscription above (Aquileia. 759) with others to *Bona Dea*, and the fact that a priestess is mentioned, are against expanding B(eleno) D(eo). The *auribus* is the real difficulty. Though ear-rings are occasionally dedicated to deities (*vita Alexandri* 52 is cited), yet this form of dedication is extraordinary.<sup>161</sup> The best explanation is given by R. Peter:<sup>162</sup>

<sup>157</sup> Editors *ad loc.*

<sup>158</sup> See Rosch. *Lex.* I<sup>1</sup> 790. 45-52.

<sup>159</sup> See Mommsen *ad loc.*

<sup>160</sup> Mommsen would identify also (see his note on 761) with *Bona Dea the Mater Deum Magna Cereria* of 796, found at Aquileia like the others above; but there is no adequate evidence for such complicated syncretism here. See p. 95.

<sup>161</sup> See Mommsen *ad loc.*

<sup>162</sup> Rosch. *Lex.* I<sup>1</sup> 791. 65 to 792. 25.

In ihrem Temple zu Rom befand sich eine Apotheke, aus der die Priesterinnen Heilmittel verabreichten; man verglich sie mit Medea (Macrob. i 12. 26) und identificierte sie mit Hygia (Henzen, *Bullet. d. Inst.* 1864, p. 33 u. 63f.); sie erhält das Symbol der Schlange (so auf dem Altar *CIL VI 55*; Plut. *Caes.* erwähnt ein Tempelbild der Bona Dea mit einer Schlange); in ihrem Tempel hielten sich Schlangen auf (Macrob. a. a. O.); *CIL VI 68* wird ihr die Heilung von Augenleiden zugeschrieben; aus gleicher Veranlassung erhält sie den Beinamen Oclata d. i. oculata (*CIL VI 75*) vgl. Preller, *Ausgew. Aufs.* 309f, Detlefsen im *Bull. d. Inst.* 1861, p. 177ff, Bruzza in *Ann. d. Inst.* 33, 1861, 387f.)<sup>163</sup> Vielleicht gehört hierher die Bona Dea Lucifera (*CIL VI 73*), falls das Beiwort sie nicht etwa als Geburtsgöttin bezeichnet. Auf Kräftigung einer Kranken muss die Widmung Bonae Deae Conpoti (*CIL VI 71*) bezogen werden, auf Befreiung von einem Ohrenübel Dedikation *Auribus Bonae Deae = Bonae Deae Auritae*, wie *Oclata* (*CIL V 759*) u. Mommsen das., Jordan bei Preller a. a. O. 404, A.2; vgl. *Auribus Aesculapi et Hygiae CIL III 986* u. Friedländer, *Sittengesch.* 3,<sup>5</sup> 539.

The goddess is addressed (Aquilaia. 8242) along with the Parcae in an inscription carved in very small, beautiful letters on an altar. Decidia Egloge gives the altar to the Parcae and a silver phial to Bona Dea.<sup>164</sup>

*M a r i c a*, adopted from Minturnae in Campania, sometimes loosely identified with Bona Dea<sup>165</sup> or the consort of Faunus under other names, appears in an inscription which Mommsen

M A R I C . M I N E R . E T . G E N . A E R . S A C R

warns us may be interpolated, if not a forgery entire (Segusio. 7363). Worth noting also in this connection is the inscription (3303) to *S i l v a n a e* on p. 31 and the discussion there, though I cannot point to any instance of the singular *Silvana = Fauna = Bona Dea* as *Silvanus = Faunus*. In the same general group of deities concerned in the fructification of animal and vegetable life are the *F l o r e n t e s*, "göttliche Personifikationen der Blüte (vgl. *Flora*) oder der Jugendkraft,"<sup>166</sup> an inscription to whom was found near Montona (408).

*L'année Épigraphique* (1913.14) publishes an inscription from Istria which accompanies a votive offering to *T e r r a M a t e r*,

<sup>163</sup> Mommsen on VI 75: *Deae cognomen quod est oclatae videtur explicari collato titulo a Felice publico Bonae Deae agresti posito ob luminibus restitutis n. 68.*

<sup>164</sup> See p. 52.

<sup>165</sup> See Peter in Rosch. *Lex.* II<sup>3</sup> 2375 for this identification of Preller's among others. Cf. Preller, *Röm. Myth.* I 412f.

<sup>166</sup> Steuding in Rosch. *Lex.*, s. v., I<sup>3</sup> 1487.

and *Suppl. Ital.* (169) another in which a knight and *sevir* of Aquileia is the donor.

### SILVANUS

Bona Dea appeared variously in the Roman Pantheon as the daughter or wife of Faunus;<sup>167</sup> but before that the phrase *Bona Dea* had existed as an epithet of Fauna, wife, sister or daughter of Faunus.<sup>168</sup> To Faunus or Fauna, as such, no inscriptions are found in Cisalpine Gaul.<sup>169</sup> When one looks beneath the surface, however, he finds the former represented in the person of the later Silvanus, so popular with the common people and in the outlying districts of the West. So Wissowa<sup>170</sup> speaks of a relationship "zwischen Silvanus und Faunus. . . von denen letzterer als der altursprüngliche Gott in Staatskulte alleinige Verehrung genießt, dagegen in der privaten Religionsübung durch Silvanus völlig zurückgedrängt worden ist."

The inscription below (Aquileia. 815) introduces Silvanus with a

S I L V A N O  
S A C R V M  
S E C T O R E S  
M A T E R I A R V M  
A Q V I L E I E N S E S  
E T . I N C O L A E  
P O S V E R V N T  
E T . M E N S A M

typical background. The habitat of the god is properly the wood,<sup>171</sup> though he appears frequently in a somewhat more civilized setting.<sup>172</sup> In Serv. *Aen.* viii 601 Silvanus is said to be ἰλικὸς θεός, *hoc est deus τῆς ἕλης* or, as Servius later points out, *deus materiae*. The ambiguity there of the last word does not invalidate the citation. The lines below (Ateste. 2477), probably to Silvanus, seem to have the same

L.MINVCIVS.L.L.OPTATVS  
S.V.S.L.M.IDEM.STRAVIT

<sup>167</sup> But see under Fonio, p. 91.

<sup>168</sup> See Rosch, *Lex.* I<sup>1</sup> 789.

<sup>169</sup> See Wissowa, *R. K.* 216.

<sup>170</sup> *R. K.* 53; cf. 213 and Preller, *Röm. Myth.* I 392.

<sup>171</sup> See Preller, *ibid.*

<sup>172</sup> See Wissowa, *R. K.* 214. There are many inscr. to the god even in the city of Rome; he was worshiped in parks and gardens there (Preller, *op. cit.* I 396).

back-ground. One may assume, with some probability at least, that the offering consisted of some piece of rustic construction<sup>173</sup> and that the man who dedicated it also laid a floor or pavement for the building or precinct. Four inscriptions are on altars, rudely constructed in all probability,<sup>174</sup> as comported with the sphere of the god's activities. The altar of no. 8243 (Aquileia) was in a rustic hut, no. 5800 (Mediolanium) was very roughly cut, and no. 7704 (Augusta Bagiennorum) is found on a small altar with carvings: at the left of the lettering, an animal lying on a rock,—at the right, trees,—and below, Silvanus holding a branch with a dog beside him.<sup>175</sup> There is something artistically appealing in the constant effort of the ancients to suit the offerings to the various gods; and the presentation of natural, often crude, objects to this god of the out-of-doors is comparable to the worship of God by the Druids in God-made forests only, and to the altars of the Hebrews wrought of earth or un-hewn stone.<sup>176</sup> In no. 3297-8 (Verona) a stag balancing on two feet forms a part of the ornamentation of the large, square pedestal on which is preserved a hopelessly corrupt inscription. Number 5119 (Bergomum) records a votive gift of a statue and a temple to [S]il [vanus] "*pro bene adorato numine.*" Slaves are three times<sup>177</sup> the dedicants of votive offerings, in no. 5557 in consideration of the health of one who is probably the master. Three or more dancers pay a vow in one instance.<sup>178</sup> Again, in no. 3295 (Verona), for example, it is a *sevir* who makes the dedication and six fasces are graven on the reverse side of the stone.<sup>179</sup>

D e u s Silvanus is the form of dedication in no. 5544 (Infra Lacum Verbanum) and no. 7876 (Cemenelum), votive inscriptions; D a e u s S a n t u s Silvanus in a third (Pola. 8136). The epithet

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *R. K.* 214, n. 5; Preller, *Röm. Myth.* I 393.

<sup>174</sup> This inscr. is cited with 815 above in Preller, *op. cit.* I 394, n. 1; see Wissowa, *R. K.* 214.

<sup>175</sup> No. 5538 is the fourth inscr.; cf. the altar to S. Aug. in *Suppl. Ital.* 168.

<sup>176</sup> Exodus xx 24-5.

<sup>177</sup> Nos. 3296, 5457, 5557.

<sup>178</sup> Infra Lacum Verbanum. 5548; cf. 2383 under S. Aug., p. 30.

<sup>179</sup> The remaining inscr. contain nothing distinctive excepting such evidence as is offered, by a study of the names of the dedicants, as to their social status,—a study which, for this and the other gods, will be found in chap. IX on p. 96ff. The other inscr. are: 816, 2478, 4288-9, 4947, 5118, 5481, 5524, 5526, 5564, 5707, 5717, 5799, 7364, 7875, 8900-1, *Notizie* 1897. 234 = *Suppl. Ital.* 626, *Suppl. Ital.* 742.

Sanctus here intended is interpreted<sup>180</sup> as marking the oversight of property and boundaries exercised by the god. D(eus) S(anctus) S(ilvanus) Aug(ustus) is seen in *Suppl. Ital.* 715. Silvanus A u g u s t u s is worshiped on every hand.<sup>181</sup> Above the lettering of no. 2383 (Ferrara), in which a dancer,<sup>182</sup> C. Ingenuvius Helius, announces the payment of a vow, there is represented on the stone a youth with long hair, having the ends of his girdle thrown over his left shoulder and holding a sickle in his right hand, a pine branch in his left. The dog, which appears so frequently in these portrayals of Silvanus,<sup>183</sup> and is appropriate to his function as a guardian of property, is sitting at the left. In contradistinction to the crude lettering of the rustic inscriptions to this divinity are the elegant letters of nos. 824 and 833 from Aquileia; in the case of the latter on a square urn with fine carvings on three sides. Six other dedications,<sup>184</sup> in addition to these two, are by those denominated as freedmen; with them belong, doubtless, inscriptions set up by the *seviri*<sup>185</sup> or in honor of them.<sup>186</sup> An inscription (820) is set up by a *vilicus*, one (5007) by a knight, another (825) in honor of a soldier. The remainder are more noncommittal. Number 7146 (Pedemontanae Incertae) shows, below the lettering, a half-naked man standing and holding in his right hand a shepherd's crook, sharp below and terminating in some sort of ornament above, in his left a branch. Near him is a dog sitting and a tree. A picturesque touch is given in the following inscription [Verona. 3302: *Silvano fel(ici)*,<sup>188</sup> *P. Falerius Trophimus, venator, ornamentis decurional(ibus)*], by the presence of the word *venator*.<sup>189</sup> Perhaps we may couple the god's epithet, Felix, not elsewhere found in this district, with the man's

<sup>180</sup> See Preller, *Röm. Myth.* I 396; Wissowa, *R. K.* 213.

<sup>181</sup> It is quite customary (cf. Preller, *op. cit.* I 394, n. 1) for S. Aug. to be regarded as the protecting spirit of the emperor and his house. In none of the numerous inscriptions to that god in Cisalpine Gaul, however, is there any reference to a member of the imperial house.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. no. 5548 on p. 29.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. no. 7704 on p. 29 and 7146 below, for example, and Wissowa, *R. K.* 214.

<sup>184</sup> Nos. 821, 826, 829, 832, 3300, 8244.

<sup>185</sup> Nos. 819, 827, 3299.

<sup>186</sup> Nos. 827-8, 830.

<sup>187</sup> Nos. 818, 822-3, 831, 3301, 4290, 7146, *Suppl. Ital.* 168.

<sup>188</sup> Or *fel(icissimo)*, as the *Corpus* index has it.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *R. K.* 215, line 12 and *CIL* VII 451.

epithet, Venator, and guess that Trophimus had had a lucky day's sport and was making acknowledgment to the appropriate god.

Out of sixty-one inscriptions to Silvanus, only one (Aquileia. 8245, to Silvanus Augustus and Mercury) involves any combination with another god. This fact, taken with the large number of inscriptions (second only to the number of those to Jupiter among the Roman gods), proclaims the strong hold which the cult had in Cisalpine Gaul, as elsewhere.<sup>190</sup> In other parts of the Empire Silvanus appears more frequently in combinations.<sup>191</sup> Two inscriptions, not counted above, reflect a later adaptation of the cult, or, more correctly speaking, a later transference of terms. Calybe pays a vow (Aquileia. 817) to the *Silvani*, Flavia Donata (Verona. 3303) to the *Silvanae*. These plurals have to do with the taking over of the names *Silvani* and *Fauni* as synonyms for *Satyri*—owing to Greek influence, of course—just as *Silvanus* was made equal to *Pan*<sup>192</sup> or *Silenus*. Similarly, *Silvanae* became a variant for *Nymphae*. All this confusion was helped on by the poets and even by prose writers, who used the terms indiscriminately for the sake of variety or other literary effect.<sup>193</sup>

#### VIRES

The attendants on this rustic god Silvanus were represented in later time as *Nymphae* and *Dryades*, but originally as *Vires* or *Virae*.<sup>194</sup> The word *Vires* has such widely different associations as those with *Virbius*,<sup>195</sup> with *Mater*<sup>196</sup> and with *Mithras*,<sup>197</sup> but in most of the occurrences in Cisalpine Gaul it is to be applied to the associates of Silvanus.<sup>198</sup> To the *Vires* there are three votive offerings;<sup>199</sup> in the description of all three there is mention made of crude carving, quite in harmony with the interpretation of the divinities as wood-nymphs.

<sup>190</sup> It was prevalent in the Gauls and Germanies generally; e. g., Gallia Narbonensis reveals 45 inscr. In the city of Rome there are 124.

<sup>191</sup> For a list of such combinations see Preller, *Röm. Myth.* I 396, n. 1.

<sup>192</sup> See *id.* I 397; Wissowa, *R. K.* 215.

<sup>193</sup> See Wissowa, *ibid.*, n. 10-13.

<sup>194</sup> See Preller, *op. cit.* I. 397.

<sup>195</sup> See Wissowa, *R. K.* 249.

<sup>196</sup> See p. 73.

<sup>197</sup> See p. 32.

<sup>198</sup> Cf. Preller, *op. cit.* I 100f.

<sup>199</sup> Nos. 1964, 2479 (?), 8247.

L . ANTONIVS  
 HERMA  
 V I R I B V S  
 V.S.L.m

VIRIBVS . FES  
 TVS . VRSIONI  
 S.AVG.LIR.SIR  
 ARA VOT.REST

Number 8247 (Aquileia) is here reproduced. The more rudely cut inscription on the side of the altar, says Mommsen, *corrupta a quadrataro sic emendanda est: Viribus Festus Ursionis Aug(usti) li[b(erti)] s[e] r(vus) ara(m) vot(o) rest(ituit)*. Number 1964 is also on an altar. L. Terentius Hermes, *sevir*, had an inscription (Aquileia. 8248) set up to the Vires A u g u s t a e. Another inscription (Ager Mediolaniensis. 5648) addresses these goddesses along with the water-nymphs called *Lymphae* (here spelled *Lymfae*).<sup>200</sup> In no. 4285 (Brixia) the inscriptions, on the one side *Neptuno V.S.L.M.*, on the other *Viribus V.S.L.M.*, favor the interpretation of Vires as water-nymphs in that case.<sup>201</sup> The payment of vows to the Vires and Deus Magnus Pantheus is recorded in no. 5798 (Mediolanium). One might perhaps regard the latter as Silvanus Pantheus, and so connect both Pantheus and Vires here with the cult of Mithras.<sup>202</sup> An inscription to Vis Divina (Aquileia. 837)—for which I find no parallel elsewhere—by reason of the singular number and the modifying adjective, I should consider the deification of an abstract idea<sup>204</sup> rather than one of the Nymphs.

#### FONTES, NYMPHAE, LYMPHAE

In other districts<sup>205</sup> Fons is invoked without epithet, in which case there is more probability of a reference to an original god Fons.<sup>206</sup> A small altar here (Aquileia. 8250) bears the following doubtful inscription, which may be more plausibly assigned to Fontes A u g-

<sup>200</sup> Cf. *Nymphae et Vires Augustae* of XI 1162.

<sup>201</sup> Cf. *Neptunus et di Aquatiles* of 5258 on p. 35.

<sup>202</sup> Cf. VI 695, VII 1038.

<sup>203</sup> See p. 31 and Cumont, *Textes et Monuments Figurés Relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* I 147f.

<sup>204</sup> See p. 68.

<sup>205</sup> E. g., see VI 152-3.

<sup>206</sup> Cf. Fowler, *R. F.* 240.

u s t i than to other deities, though Fonio<sup>207</sup> is a possibility: *Fonib(us) Aug(ustis), Heracla pos(uit)*. To Fontes Divini is the votive inscription no. 4938 (Camunni); and a certain Agrycius (Mediolanium. 5766) has set up a gift to Fons P e r e n n i s.<sup>208</sup> Two inscriptions of Aquileia stand in honor of Fons B e l e n u s;<sup>209</sup> and no. 8250 may likewise have been intended as *Fon[t]i Be(leno) Aug(usto)* etc.

Closely associated with Fontes<sup>210</sup> and often identical were the N y m p h a e and L y m p h a e, representing a Hellenized form of the early worship of springs in Italy. An ex-soldier in no. 2476 of Ateste pays his vow to the Nymphs. Number 5224, near Lacus Larius, is a mere scrawl,<sup>211</sup> but Mommsen thought he could recognize: *[Ny] nfab(us) e viso Naice donu(m)*; below the characters are two footprints: the dedicant in no. 4918 also is a woman. In an inscription of Arusnates (3915), C. Papirius Threptus honors *Nymphae Augustae et Genius Pagi Arusnatium*: the lettering is well-done and clear, and the appearance of a knife, other instruments of sacrifice, and a victim in the decorations suggests that it is cut on the surface of an altar. The victim is a brood-sow: such is the offering made by Martial<sup>212</sup> to one of the Nymphs and Horace<sup>213</sup> mentions the placating of a Genius with a *porcus bimestris*; indeed, swine are the preferred animals of sacrifice for gods of the private cult in general<sup>214</sup> and to the whole group of deities of the earth, who commonly, however, accept a bloodless offering.<sup>215</sup> The inscription below (Vicetia. 3106) associates two group-names which became practically synonymous. The *Lymphae*

NYMPHIS LYMPHISQ  
AVGVSTIS.OB REDITVM  
AQVARVM  
P.P O M P O N I V S  
CORNELIANVS . C . I  
VT . VOVIT

<sup>207</sup> Cf. nos. 757-8 on p. 91.

<sup>208</sup> Cf. III 3382, 10462.

<sup>209</sup> Nos. 754-5.

<sup>210</sup> Cf. *Fontibus et Nymphis* in VI 166.

<sup>211</sup> Cf. p. 98 for the incorrect spelling in this cult as an indication of the type of dedicants.

<sup>212</sup> vi 47. 5.

<sup>213</sup> *Carm.* iii 17. 15.

<sup>214</sup> Cf. De-Marchi, *Il Culto Privato* I 92f.

<sup>215</sup> Cf. Fowler, *R. F.* 295.

appear also with the Vires (5648), as noticed on p. 32, and with Belenus.<sup>216</sup>

There is one inscription of Laus (6353) to *M e f i t i s*,<sup>217</sup> the god of subterranean vapors, which reads in good letters: *Mefiti L. Caesius Asiaticus, Sevir Flavialis, aram et mensas quattuor dedit, l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*.

#### NEPTUNE

Number 7457 (Vardagate) represents, below the brief inscription to Neptune: a half-nude figure at the left; at the right, a man clad in a toga, raising a bough, and walking with face averted from a bull; behind him, a man holding a bowl in his hand and restraining the bull. The decorations of this monument seem to indicate a more nearly Italic conception of Neptune than does the following inscription, for instance. The bull, while a favorite beast of sacrifice in several cults, belonged peculiarly to the *suovetaurilia* of the agricultural rite; and Neptune must have been connected with inland activities of this sort, presumably in relation to water-courses. In no. 7850 (Pedo) he is portrayed, in his Hellenized form, in the center, standing in a skiff and holding a horn in his right hand, in his left a trident driven into the ground. On each side of this figure and below it, are the names of a number of fishermen. As the god came to be worshipped by all who had any connection with the sea, so in this inscription he is the god of fishermen. It is interesting to note that, whereas so frequently there are found a pitcher on one side of an inscription and a bowl on the other, here the place of the pitcher is taken by a shell. The inscription, as will have been observed, was found a relatively short distance from the sea. For whatever significance the facts may have, it may be stated that the inscriptions to this god are found at approximately these distances from a body of water: no. 5098 between the Ollius and Sarius rivers, no. 6565 near the Ticinus and twenty miles from Lacus Verbanus, no. 4874 on Lacus Benacus, nos. 4285-6 fifteen miles from Lacus Benacus, nos. 5258 and 5279 on Lacus Larius, no. 328 at Parentium on the Adriatic, and no. 7457 at Vardagate near the Po.

<sup>216</sup> Dessau 4867; see p. 89.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. X 130-3 and see R. Peter in Rosch. *Lex.* II<sup>2</sup> 2519-21 (esp. 2520. 53-60), Wissowa, *R. K.* 246, Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II 144 & n. 4, Friedländer, *Sittengesch.* IV 201, n. 5, Tacitus, *Hist.* iii 34.

Of three inscriptions to Neptune<sup>218</sup> other than those discussed above, no. 4874 is set up by the Benacenses as a group. A large altar of Brixia (4286) has a votive inscription to Neptunus A u g u s t u s. Number 5258 (Comum) connects the god with D i A q u a t i l e s. Like the votive inscription to Neptune and Vires,<sup>219</sup> it appears to be unparalleled: *Neptuno et Dis Aquatilib(us) pro salute et incolomit(ate) V.S.L.M. C. Quart(us) Secundin(us)*. To *Neptunus Deique Augusti* is an inscription (Parentium. 328) as reproduced below.

NEPTVNO.DEISQ.AVG  
T. ABVDIVS.VERVS.  
POST.SVB.PRAEFECT  
CLASSIS . RAVENN  
TEMPLO . RESTITVTO  
MOLIBVS . EXTRVCT  
DOMO . EXCVLTA  
IN.AREA D . D  
CONCESSA . SIBI .  
DICAVIT

Mommsen does not approve of Furlanetti's expansion *post subpraefect(uram)* in line 3, is dissatisfied with *Post-* as the beginning of a cognomen, but offers nothing else. A certain L. Caecilius Cilo [for himself and others, including a P. Caecilius Secundus whom Mommsen (*Hermes* III 60) identifies with the younger Pliny]<sup>220</sup> bequeathed the sum of 40,000 sesterces to his fellow-townsmen of Comum, from the interest of which oil was to be furnished them throughout the *Neptunalia* on the *Campus* and in the public baths (5279).

#### VULCAN

A collective dedication to Vulcan was made (4293) by the people of Brixia. At the same place, three men dedicated some small monument to Volkanus A u g u s t u s, and the guild of dray-men provided 400 sesterces for its maintenance (4294). Before the principal gate of Aquileia is a votive inscription by a man and a

<sup>218</sup> Nos. 4874, 5098, 6565.

<sup>219</sup> No. 4285.

<sup>220</sup> To Pliny also are to be credited nos. 5262-4.

woman to Volcanus Augustus (838). Wissowa<sup>221</sup> bases his interpretation of the cult of Vulcan, to a considerable extent, upon a Brixian inscription which begins:

V O L K M I T I  
S I V E . M V L C I B E R O

The word *Mulciber*<sup>222</sup> is taken by him as referring, not to the softening effect of heat upon metals, as has been held by some,<sup>223</sup> but to the checking of conflagration by the god. He compares *Aen.* i 66, where Aeolus is said *fluctus mulcere*, and Volcanus Quietus, invoked with Stata Mater (= *quae sistit incendia*) by the *magistri vicorum* at Rome (VI 802). The epithet Mitis surely comports better with this interpretation than with any idea of smelting; and, like it, *mulcere* is a delicate word to be applied to a seething furnace. Vulcan becomes, on this interpretation, the god of the fire-element, considered especially as inimical to property;<sup>224</sup> and not the patron deity of metal workers. Only one combination with another god is found, in a votive inscription (5510): VOLKANO/ET ERQVLI.

#### DEI MANES

Nothing distinctive is to be expected in the realm of Dei Manes, who were perforce honored everywhere. Nor do sepulchral inscriptions, as such, come within the limits of this dissertation. There are many representatives of the types beginning with D.M and DIS.MANIBVS; two<sup>225</sup> are inscribed DIS DEABVS MANIBVS. One tomb of Ora Genuas (7741) is decorated with a winged woman, with her knee resting on a bull, striking him with a knife, a decoration which suggests that the deceased was a devotee of an Oriental cult. Number 7747 of the same place, reading: *Intra consaeptum maceria locus Deis Manibus consecratus*, represents the idea that a certain place with its monument is set apart for the dead under the protec-

<sup>221</sup> *De feriis anni Romanorum vetustissimi quaestiones selectae*, p. xiv (= *Römische Religions Geschichte*, p. 172ff); *R. K.* 230f; *Rosch. Lex.* II 3224f.

<sup>222</sup> Cf. XI 5741.

<sup>223</sup> The following are cited as stating this explanation: *Paul.* p. 144; *Macr.* vi 5.2; *Serv. Aen.* viii 724 (as one of three explanations).

<sup>224</sup> The Romans, having poor fire protection and suffering much from fire (*Friedländer, Sittengesch.* I 25f), would not be indisposed to such a conception of the god.

<sup>225</sup> 6053, *L'ann. Épig.* 1915. 130.



the phrase *pro salute cuius*, is probably so (3283); the latter parts of three are lost, so that they may well have been so;<sup>231</sup> and only one is demonstrably otherwise (3285). Finally, a large rock bears this inscription (3290) on each side: *Dii Parentibus Augustis porticum dedit L. Iunius M.f. Pauper*. For an inscription to *D i P a t e r n i* see p. 92; cf. also no. 6568.

<sup>231</sup> Nos. 3284, 3286, 3288.

## CHAPTER II ITALIC GODS

### DIANA

The name of the goddess Diana is in three inscriptions spelled *Deana*.<sup>1</sup> A dative *Diane* occurs in no. 6613, a genitive *Diane* in no. 6503a. These orthographical peculiarities are common in Imperial and late Latin.<sup>2</sup> Of the forty inscriptions to Diana unassociated with other deities, fifteen are with votive offerings.<sup>3</sup> The dedicants are men in twenty-six instances,<sup>4</sup> women in five cases;<sup>5</sup> the other nine inscriptions are set up by both men and women,<sup>6</sup> or do not furnish the names of the dedicants.<sup>7</sup> In four instances the men are officials;<sup>8</sup> but a *vilicus* officer no. 8668, a freeman and his wife no. 5630. The setting up of the latter is motivated by the phrase, *pro SALVTE . C / /// / NI . SECVNDI*. Though Labus thus indicated an apparent absence of four letters instead of three, the rest of the name, considered with the occurrence in the vicinity<sup>9</sup> of five other inscriptions containing the name of C. Plinius Secundus, inclines one to the assumption that Pliny the Younger is meant here also.

#### DIANA AUGUSTA

Diana Augusta is invoked in four inscriptions of Aquileia. A small altar represents the payment of a vow to her by a freedman, in honor of an indulgent patron (772). A second inscription (8216)

<sup>1</sup> 2086, 5763, *L'ann. Épig.* 1900. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lindsay, *Lat. Inscr.* 115.

<sup>3</sup> 3102, 3223, 5011, 5048, 5092, 5573, 5668, 6613-4, 6828, 7353, 7592, 8942; (Augusta) 772, 8216; (Lucifera) 7355.

<sup>4</sup> 513, 3102, 5048, 5092, 5209, 5573, 5668, 6613-4, 6828, 7353, 7592, 8942, *Suppl. Ital.* 664, 832; (Augusta) 771-2, 8216; (Conservatrix) 3223; (Lucifera) 7355, *Notizie* 1906. 391; (Lucifera Luna) 3224; (Sancta) 5011, 5090; (Virgo) 6503a; (*aedes Dianae*) 5763.

<sup>5</sup> 2086, 5764, *L'ann. Épig.* 1900. 93; (*signum Dianae*) 3222; (*Numen D. Augustae*) 7633.

<sup>6</sup> 5630, *Notizie* 1885. 58 = *Suppl. Ital.* 1238; (Augusta) *L'ann. Épig.* 1900. 94; (*Caelestis D. Augusta*) 5765.

<sup>7</sup> 6493, 7750, *Suppl. Ital.* 665; (Augusta) 7645, *Suppl. Ital.* 157.

<sup>8</sup> 513, 3102, 5092, 6828.

<sup>9</sup> 5667, also in the Ager Mediolaniensis, and 5262-4, 5279, *Notizie* 1880. 336 = *Suppl. Ital.* 745, near the neighboring Comum.

is somewhat naïvely phrased thus: *Dianae Aug(ustae) sacrum, Q. Claudius Severinus, sevir Aquil(iensis), voto suscept(o) remonente dea, solvi*. A third (771) is reproduced below.<sup>10</sup> LAB of line 5 is not for *labrum*, as Muratori suggested, but possibly for *laborantibus*, a term

D I A N  
AVG . SAC  
FLAVIVS  
SEVERVS  
CVM.SVIS.LAB  
RESTITVIT

applied to students. So Mommsen: but I should prefer to either of these rather unusual expansions *labentem*, which would go naturally with *restituit* as other inscriptions<sup>11</sup> show. The location of the inscription would easily supply the noun with which the participle would agree. An inscription of Savigliano (*L'ann. Épig.* 1900.94) is set up by a *magistra pagi*.<sup>12</sup> The Ager Saluzzensis furnishes two interpolated copies, as Mommsen thought, of the same inscription (7645). The prevalence of the last phrase of (b) would favor the

(a) *on a chapel*

(b) *within the chapel*

DIANAE.AVG.SACRVM.ASCIA DIANAE.SACRVM.SVB.ASCIA acceptance of (b) if either version is to be discarded. Some object is dedicated at Milan by a man and his wife *usu imperiove C a e l e s t i s Dianae Augustae*. (5765); and there is an inscription of the Ager Saluzzensis (7633) in which a *magistra* addresses *N u m e n Dianae Aug(ustae)*.

DIANA CONSERVATRIX, LUCIFERA, SANCTA, VIRGO

To *Diana Conservatrix* a freedman pays his vow for the preservation of the health of a *consularis* (Verona. 3223). *Diana Lucifera* receives the payment of a vow from another freedman (Clastidium. 7355). Her name is likewise inscribed on one side of a coin of IMP.CLAVDIVS.P.F.AVG, and the goddess appears thereon holding a torch as she walks (Pavia. *Notizie* 1906. 391). A pedestal at Tridentum attests the payment of a vow to *Diana*

<sup>10</sup> The fourth is *Suppl. Ital.* 157.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Suppl. Ital.* 1095; *CIL* V 7228, 5795, 309.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. 762, 814, 847, 5026; see p. 18, n. 108.

S a n c t a (5011); still another, in the upper valley of the Athesis and inscribed in 217 or 246 A.D.,<sup>13</sup> bears this legend (5090): *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) sanct(isimae) Dianae aram cum signo Aetetus Aug(ustorum) n(ostorum) lib(ertus) p(rae) p(ositus) stat(ionis) Maiens(is) quadragesimae) Gall(iarum) dedic(avit) id. Aug. Praesent(e) cos.* A dedication was made at Novaria to Jupiter O. M. *ex preceptu v i r g i n i s*<sup>14</sup> *Diane.* (6503a).

COMBINATIONS

Diana appears once with Apollo (Brixia. 4199). She is associated with Luna in the following inscription transcribed from a square pedestal from Verona inscribed and carved on three sides (3224):

<i>(in front)</i>	
DIANAE LVCIF	
<i>(Diana with a dog)</i>	
<i>(on one side)</i>	<i>(on the other side)</i>
SEX . IVENT . SVAVIS	LVNAE
<i>(man holding a bowl)</i>	<i>(Luna standing with a veil over her head)</i>

Two copies of an inscription from Chieri (7493-4), the second much mutilated, include Fortuna and Victoria with the goddess in a votive offering set up in the name of a certain family on their own estate. Again, the Matrons are so included (Ager Novariensis. 6497a). Trivia Quadrivia is worshiped with Jupiter in no. 1863 of Iulium Carnicum.<sup>15</sup>

The following inscription, cut in duplicate on the front and back of a large stone found in an amphitheatre near Verona, presumably

NOMINE  
Q.DOMITII ALPINI  
LICINIA.MATER  
SIGNVM.DIANAE.ET.VENATIONEM  
ET . SALIENTES T.F.I

<sup>13</sup> See Mommsen *ad loc.* for the date, expansion of the inscr. as above, and other notes.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. VI 124 and Latin poets *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> See p. 14 and for an inscr. to Dom(inae?) Triviae, p. 84. Cf. Seixomnia Leucitica on p. 92.

announces the gift to Diana of a statue of herself, together with other gifts, according to the terms of a will (3222). The erection or restoration of a temple to the goddess may be understood from two lines of rude characters remaining from an inscription of Milan (5763).

#### MINERVA

The name appears with the spelling *Menerva* in two inscriptions of the republican period.<sup>16</sup> In one of them<sup>17</sup> the old dative<sup>18</sup> *Menervai* is used: this inscription is carved on the architrave of a temple and announces the gift of columns and something additional to the goddess by a *portitor*, *mag(isterio) fi[li sui et s]uo*.<sup>19</sup> To republican times belongs also no. 704,<sup>20</sup> in which Abennaeus records a donation at his own expense of a wall, turrets and doors. The will of a certain official of Concordia (1892) arranges for the paving of the streets about a temple of Minerva. In an inscription of Brixia<sup>21</sup> the payment of a vow takes the form of the decoration of an altar and a temple with stucco or something similar; a marble altar is given the goddess near Lacus Verbanus (*Suppl. Ital.* 897). Gallus, a slave and steward, paid his vow (Industria. 7473) *pro salute Destici Iubae C. V. et Destici Sallusti Iubae Cl. Iuvenis et I(ubae) fil(iae) Sallustiae Plotinae Clarissimae*. In the débris of an ancient temple of the Arusnates a number of votive offerings have been discovered;<sup>22</sup> there are numerous other votive inscriptions<sup>23</sup> to Minerva, as well as some which cannot be so classified.<sup>24</sup>

#### MINERVA AUGUSTA

Minerva Augusta is addressed in several votive<sup>25</sup> and other<sup>26</sup> inscriptions. Number 801 of Aquileia is of special interest. The

<sup>16</sup> 799=I 1457 (*litteris aetatis liberae rei publicae—Ed.*) and 703=I 1462.

<sup>17</sup> Ager Tergestinus. 703.

<sup>18</sup> See p. 1, n. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Mommsen I 1462.

<sup>20</sup> (Ager Tergestinus)=I 1463.

<sup>21</sup> *Suppl. Ital.* 1275=*Notizie* 1885. 231.

<sup>22</sup> 3908 (rudely in the form of the sole of a foot and perforated for hanging on the wall), 3909-10, 3912, 3914; cf. 3911, 3913 to M. Aug. from the same ruin; 3907, also discovered there, preserves nothing to link it with Minerva's name.

<sup>23</sup> 3270-1, 3273, 3275, 4126, 4162, 4274-8, 4281, 4856, 4913, 4945-6, 5016, 5096-7, 5665-6, 5674, 5794, 6479, 6608, 6659, 7220.

<sup>24</sup> 3272, 3274, 4273, 4279-80, 6489.

<sup>25</sup> 800, 3276, 3906, 3911, 3914, 5065, 6412; cf. above inscr. to Min., found in the débris of the same temple as were 3911, 3913.

<sup>26</sup> 801-2, 3277 (small altar), 4282, 8238, *Suppl. Ital.* 164.

M I N E R V A E  
 AVG . SACR  
 M . V A L E R I V S  
 VENVSTVS  
 ET . MVICEDATIA . TAIS  
 GENTILIBVS  
 ARTORIAIS . LOTORIBVS  
 ARAM.D.D

*lotores* are fullers, and fullers are under Minerva's patronage.<sup>27</sup> The *Gentiles Artoria[n]i* were probably barbarian captives entrusted to Artorius and by him organized into a guild for operating a fuller's shop.<sup>28</sup>

Petilia Sabina, a priestess of Minerva, is mentioned as paying a vow along with M. Claudius Firmus (Ticinum. 6412); and a sepulchral inscription of Pola (170) has been set up by one who is perhaps a temple-servant of the goddess,<sup>29</sup> for that there was a temple to her at Pola may be gathered from no. 244 on one interpretation,<sup>30</sup> and no. 8139, also of Pola, mentions an *insula Minervia*, possibly, as Mommsen thinks, an actual island on which was a temple. Another sepulchral inscription (E. bank of L. Verbanus. 5503) designates an individual as *curator salt(us) Firronani item templi Minervae*. For the worship of Minerva in conjunction with other gods, see p. 14 under Jupiter,<sup>31</sup> p. 17 under Mars (4901, 5114) and p. 21 under Genius (7363). There are four other incidental references to Minerva in Cisalpine Gaul.<sup>32</sup>

#### FORTUNE

The old dative<sup>33</sup> *Fortunai* is seen in *Notizie* 1892.7, and in no. 3103 inscribed on a square base. As might be expected from the province

<sup>27</sup> See Mommsen, *Zeitschrift für Gesch. Rechtswissenschaft* XV 330; cf. I 1406.

<sup>28</sup> Mommsen *ad loc.*

<sup>29</sup> But see Mommsen *ad loc.*

<sup>30</sup> See *Id.* on no. 8139.

<sup>31</sup> 3242, 3902, 5546, 5588, 5771, 6829.

<sup>32</sup> At the end of four imperial military diplomata (4056, 4091, *Suppl. Ital.* 941, 957 (= *Ephem. Epigr.* IV 185, 513) granting citizenship or *ius conubii* or both to certain soldiers who had served their terms acceptably, occurs the phrase *Descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea quae fixa est Romae in muro post templum Divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam*. The *ad Minervam* refers to the temple of Minerva in immediate juxtaposition to that of Castor and Pollux (Rosch. *Lex.* II<sup>2</sup> 2990. 22 ff.). Cf. p. 59, n. 76.

<sup>33</sup> See p. 1, n. 5.

of the goddess, most of the inscriptions are ex-votos.<sup>34</sup> *D e a* Fortuna is once<sup>35</sup> the form of address; while a broken altar of Aquileia adorned on one side of the letters with a representation of a woman standing on a globe, which is divided into zones, and holding a helm in her hand, on the other with a bowl and a wreath decorated with pendant ribbons, is inscribed (8219) to *F o r s* Fortuna.<sup>36</sup> The letters F.M. of no. 2793 and of *Notizie* 1883.221 = 1906.169 are perhaps to be expanded *F(ortunae) M(u l i e b r i)*, in which case these inscriptions represent one of the oldest of the cults of Fortune known.<sup>37</sup> The former was found at Patavium, as was no. 2792 to Fortune; and under the caption *Sortes* in *CIL* I, p. 267, Mommsen refers to the presence of a temple to the goddess near that town, quoting from Suetonius (*Tiber* 14): *Cum Illyricum petens iuxta Patavium adisset Geryonis oraculum, sorte tracta, qua monebatur, ut de consultationibus in Aponi fontem talos aureos iaceret, evenit ut summum numerum iacti ab eo tali ostenderent; hodieque sub aqua visuntur hi tali.* That there was a connection between the worship of Fortuna and that of Aponus here is, he thinks, suggested by the discovery, beside the inscriptions concluding A.A.V.S.L.M,<sup>38</sup> of one of similar form concluding F.V.S.L.M; the fact that only *F* was cut indicated the prominence of the cult of Fortune which made the carving of the whole name unnecessary. The seventeen lots commonly but erroneously called *Sortes Praenestinae*, Mommsen identifies as belonging rather to Patavium, and accordingly prints them on pp. 268-70 (I 1438-54) after the discussion which I am summarizing. He does so because the MSS containing them include numerous inscriptions of this locality, and because of the presence of the temple of Fortuna, taken with the alternation of A.A and F in the inscriptions mentioned above.<sup>39</sup> From such connections as this of Fortuna with the waters the cult of Fortuna Balnearis<sup>40</sup> may have

<sup>34</sup> 779, 2792, 3103, 3226, (on a large round base), 3899, 4210, 7233, *Notizie* 1899. 120 (by a slave); cf. 1758, 1810, 1869, 5009, 5246-7, *Notizie* 1883. 221 = 1906. 169: not such, however, are: 2471, 2791, *Notizie* 1892. 7 (see p. 4, n. 26).

<sup>35</sup> *L'ann. Épig.* 1914. 257.

<sup>36</sup> For the decoration of the stone, cf. 1867, p. 45 and note thereon.

<sup>37</sup> Carter, *Cognomina of the Goddess "Fortuna,"* *Trans. A. P. A.*, XXXI 67.

<sup>38</sup> See p. 46.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *R. K.* 260, n. 4.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. II 2701, 2763; the former addressing her as a goddess of healing by reason of the curative properties of the waters.

arisen. Since the latter was worshiped as a goddess of healing (cf. II 2701, cited above) and the Aquae Aponi were medicinal springs,<sup>41</sup> the connection of Fortuna with the springs here is not surprising.

Considered as propitious, the deity is called *O b s e q u e n s*<sup>42</sup> in two votive inscriptions, nos. 5246<sup>43</sup> and 5247 from Comum, of which the former reads: *Fortunae Obsequenti ord(o) Comens(is) voto pro salute civium suscepto*. The Dea Obsequens honored by a *mag(istra)*<sup>44</sup> of Aquileia (814) may very well be Fortuna.<sup>45</sup> Fortuna *R e d u x*, whose cult signalized the return of Augustus from the East,<sup>46</sup> is represented by an ex-voto from Riva (5009) and a coin of Gignod.<sup>47</sup> Three vows are paid to Fortuna *A u g u s t a* (1758, 1810, 1867); in the last-named, as decorations of the stone are: a pine or other tree, a helm resting on a globe beneath, and a cornucopia holding apples, grapes and other fruit.<sup>48</sup> Like that of Fortuna Redux, this was a cult of the emperors.<sup>49</sup> Aquileia provides an inscription to Fortuna *V i r u n i e n s i s* (778), for which Kandler proposed Virunensis; for there was at Virunum in Noricum a cult of the goddess.<sup>50</sup>

Near some small sacred edifice in the Ager Mediolaniensis, was found the following inscription (5598), with its reference to a temple and temple-servant of Fortuna: *Q. Quintieni Quintiani haruspicis et aeditui templi Fortunae, filii patri piissimo*. Inscriptions no. 7493-4

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Martial vi 42.4; Lucan vii 193; Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxi 6.61; Claudian, *Carm. Min.*, 26; Cassiodorus, *Var.*, ii 39. According to Ker's note (ad loc.) in the Loeb Cl. Libr., Martial's phrase *rudes puellis* is a tribute to the chastity of the Patavian women; but some religious tabu may lurk behind it. The custom involved is curious indeed if no. 2793 of Patavium is really in honor of Fortuna Muliebris (see p. 44).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. I 1153 (very old), VI 191, Plaut. *Asin.* 716, Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 16. Obsequens as a title of Jupiter in XI 658 is a translation from Ζεὺς Μειλιχίος (Plut. l. c.). Μειλιχία was a little of Tyche (see Carter, *op. cit.* 62). There was a temple of Venus Obsequens at the Circus Maximus.

<sup>43</sup> Not indexed in the *Corpus*.

<sup>44</sup> See p. 18. n. 108.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *R. K.* 263.

<sup>46</sup> *Notizie* 1914. 409. This title was common on coins (Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II 187). Redux is applied to Jupiter in X 57.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Rosch. *Lex.* I<sup>2</sup> 1506; Wissowa, *R. K.* 264.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *R. K.* 263; Axtell, *Deification of Abstract Ideas*, 10.

<sup>49</sup> Mommsen *ad loc.*

<sup>50</sup> Cf. III 4778.

of Chieri connect the goddess with Diana and Victoria, the latter being naturally a frequent associate of Fortuna. Besides the singular, there are found instances of the plural, FORTUNA E; thus, an inscription of the Ager Novariensis (8929) consists of the word FORTVNAB and a fragment of the name of the dedicant below.<sup>51</sup> The corresponding Greek deity, Tyche,<sup>52</sup> is the one honored in an inscription of some length (3408 = CIG XIV 2309) on one side of a stone at Verona, which, after giving the name and distinctions of the dedicant, concludes: *Idem in porticu quae ducit ad (sic) ludum publicum) columnas quattuor cum superficie et stratura pictura volente populo dedit.* On the back of the stone are the words: ΩΠΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΤΧΗ.

#### AQUAE APONI

The warm springs near the village of Abano southwest of Patavium, famous in ancient<sup>53</sup> as in modern times and once sacred to Aponus, were the occasion of several, mostly votive, inscriptions<sup>54</sup> of the form A.A, an abbreviation which is to be expanded *A(quae) A(poni)* or possibly *A(pono) A(ugusto)*, but not *A(pollini) A(ugusto)*, despite Schol. Veron. on Verg. *Aen.* i 249.<sup>55</sup> A sepulchral inscription to a musically inclined husband and father, *calamaulae Aponensi*, reproduced with the rather elaborate carvings in *Notizie* 1896.317, suggests that something of a community had grown up about Aquae Aponi.<sup>56</sup>

The fact, often mentioned by classical authors,<sup>57</sup> that the stream or fountain of Timavus near Aquileia was an object of veneration, is supported by the discovery of a solitary dedicatory offering to it.<sup>58</sup> The following lines are carved on one side and an end of an altar.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. VI 182 and Fronto, *De Orat.* 157 Nab.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *R. K.* 261.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Sil. It. xii 218; Mart. vi 42. 4; Lucan vii 193ff.

<sup>54</sup> 2783-90, 8990 from Patavium. Number 3101 from Vicetia presents some difficulty in the word *ministros*; but, since it contains the usual form of address, A. A, and the distance from Abano to Vicetia (some 17 miles) as against the 6 from Abano to Padua is not fatal to such assignment, this inscription may plausibly be grouped with the others. As to such inscr. as these, cf. Claudian, *Idyll* vi 5-6.

<sup>55</sup> On the oracle here, see p. 44f.

<sup>56</sup> *Suppl. Ital.* 951 (Vardagate) may be to Aponus (A. V. S. L. L.), but the location is unfavorable to that opinion; Apollo is a safer conjecture.

<sup>57</sup> See *CIL* V p. 75, preface to chap. XII, col. 2.

<sup>58</sup> Ad Tricesimum. *Suppl. Ital.* 380 = *Notizie* 1884. 56 = Dessau 3900.

TI . POPPAI TI . F  
 TEMAVO  
 D . D . L . M

The letters are of ancient form, hardly later than the time of Sulla, the location somewhat removed from the waters themselves, so that it has been suggested that the inscription may have been set up by an Aquileian trader on one of his journeys.<sup>59</sup>

Knowledge of the fundamental nature of *Feronia* in Italy as a whole is derived most certainly from a series of inscriptions in Cisalpine Gaul;<sup>60</sup> for here certain *Feronenses aquatores* are seen in inscriptions of Aquileia (8307-8), and the inference is that *Feronia* was a goddess of springs. A certain T. Kanius Ianuarius<sup>61</sup> is prominent in no. 8307 above and in nos. 776 and 8218, also of Aquileia and dedicated to *Feronia*. A temple, a statue and a portico were given by a woman of Montona at her own expense to *Juno and Feronia* (412); unless, since there is no connective between the names (a fact in itself by no means conclusive) and because *Feronia* was regarded as the consort of *Jupiter Anxurus* or as the equivalent of *Juno Virgo*, we are to understand her name here as rather an epithet of *Juno*.<sup>62</sup> It was from means left over from an *opus Vertumni* that a woman's heir, according to the terms of her will, made an offering to the *Genius Municipi Segusini* (7235).

#### VENUS

Only two inscriptions<sup>63</sup> address *Venus* without a title; two of Aquileia hail her as *Venus Augusta* (835, reproduced below, and

V E N E R I  
 A V G  
 P O P I L L I A . L . F  
 M A R C E L L I N A

<sup>59</sup> See Mommsen, *Suppl. Ital. l. c.* and Dessau *l. c.* For some general comment on the worship of hot springs in ancient and modern times, cf. Pliny, *N. H.* ii 103, 227; *id.* xxxi 6, 61; Wissowa, *R. K.* 224, n. 6; Frazer, *Golden Bough* V 206-216. See also pp. 32ff and 91 of this dissertation.

<sup>60</sup> See Wissowa, *R. K.* 286f. Outside Middle Italy, she is found only at Aquileia (Pauly-W. VI 2218).

<sup>61</sup> Named also in 755.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Preller, *Röm. Myth.* I 429 and n. 3; Pauly-W. VI 2218f; Serv. *Aen.* vii 799.

<sup>63</sup> 3107 on a square pedestal, *Notizie* 1893. 13.

A T T I A . M A T E R  
ORNAMENT.EIVS.EXORNAVIT

836). Mommsen states what is certainly the correct understanding of this inscription, that the daughter had the statue made and the mother provided its ornamentation. Number 836 is set up by a mother in memory of her daughter.<sup>64</sup> Venus C a e l e s t i s is the form of address in two inscriptions of Pola (8137-8); but we have here in reality the Syrian Astarte re-named.<sup>65</sup> Venus V i c t r i x is honored in two inscriptions, one (2805) set up by a woman of Patavium *visu iussa*, the other (8249) by a man of Aquileia. An inscription found at Altinum (8818) but certainly transported thither from Greece<sup>66</sup> begins: *Veneri sacrum et Genio Collegi Aug(usti) Corinth(i)*. What was perhaps a statue of Venus was among the gifts to the triad of the Capitol in no. 6829,<sup>67</sup> and a statue of the goddess was doubtless above her name in the group of nine planets represented in no. 5055.<sup>68</sup> The only dedications by men are one (8138) to the Syrian Venus Caelestis and one (8249) to the militarized Venus Victrix.

The goddess of burial, L i b i t i n a, who later under the name *Lubentia* (formed by contamination of the original word with *lubido* etc.)<sup>69</sup> became identified with Venus,<sup>70</sup> in the inscription reproduced in part below (Bergomum. 5128) preserves her original character. Preceded by the name and honors of the patron and followed by an announcement of what is to be a perpetual veneration of his effigy, are these lines.

CVIVS.EXIMIA.LIBERALITAS. POST  
MVLTAS.LARGITIONES . HVCVSQVE  
ENITVIT . VT . LVCAR.LIBITINAE  
REDEMPTVM.A.RE P SVA VNIVERSIS  
CIVIBVS . SVIS . INPERPETVVM  
REMITTERET.....

<sup>64</sup> No. 1872=8654, indexed in *CIL* V under *Venus Augusta*, belongs to *Ceres Augusta* (see 8654).

<sup>65</sup> See Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II 395, 406 and p. 80 of this dissertation.

<sup>66</sup> See Mommsen *ad loc.*

<sup>67</sup> See p. 14.

<sup>68</sup> See p. 64.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Varro *L. L.* vi 47.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *R. K.* 245.

Mommsen's interpretation is that *lucar*<sup>71</sup> *Libitinae* is a fee paid the goddess or the state in connection with interment, and that Luper-  
cianus had set aside a sum of money the interest from which was to  
pay this fee for his fellow-citizens for all time to come.<sup>72</sup>

There are two votive offerings to *Priapus*.<sup>73</sup> A dedication  
to *Di Manes* states that in the place assigned for the monument is a  
small temple of *Priapus* (Verona. 3634). Considerable literary inter-  
est attaches to the following elegiacs (Patavium. 2803), in that they  
have been assigned by some to *Tibullus*.<sup>74</sup>

VILLICVS.AERARI.QVONDAM.NVNC.CVLTOR.AGELLI  
HAEC.TIBI.PERSPECTVS.TEMPLA.PRIAPE.DICO  
PRO.QVIBVS.OFFICEIS.SI.FAS.EST.SANCTE.PACISCOR  
ADSIDVVS.CVSTOS.RVRIS.VT.ESSE.VELIS  
IMPROBVS.VT.SI.QVIS.NOSTRVM.VIOLABIT.AGELLVM  
HVNC.TV.SED.TENTO.SCIS.PVTO.QVOD.SEQVITVR

<sup>71</sup> For the usual meaning of *lucar* see *Wissowa, R. K.* 451, n. 6.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. *Wissowa in Rosch. Lex.* II<sup>2</sup> 2034f.

<sup>73</sup> 5117, *Notizie* 1912. 11 = *L'ann Épig.* 1912. 247, the latter on a block of marble.

<sup>74</sup> See *CIL ad loc.*; *Tibullus* p. 85 *Bährens*.

## CHAPTER III

### GREEK GODS

#### THE FATES

The spelling *Fatabus* is seen in no. 4209, on a very small altar of Brixia given as a votive offering, as also in 5005. Since there is an inscription to *Matronae Dervonnae* (5791), the spirits addressed *Fatis Dervonibus* may reasonably be regarded as female:<sup>1</sup> feminine forms occur elsewhere, of course.<sup>2</sup> The *Fatis*[ *jixibus* of *Suppl. Ital.* 739 shows similar modification of the name and the same ambiguity of gender. The pathetic *addendum* to no. 6710<sup>3</sup> contains a masculine form and 4296 another; similarly, an *ex-voto* (5002) addresses *Fati Masculi*: there are numerous parallels in this instance also.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the address takes the form *FATIS.FATABus* in no. 5005 below (as perhaps in 5012), the form *DIS.DEAB / FATALIBVS* in 8802. The dative form of address obscures the gender in other instances;<sup>5</sup> but even in these it is to be presumed that one or the other is intended: dedicants were no longer inclined to leave the gender, much less the personality, of the spirits indeterminate, as had been the case with so many Roman deities of the early time. In Gaul and Germany the *Fata*, the sum-total of the "dooms" adjudged an individual, were confused,—not only with the Greek *Moirae*, the Three Fates,—but also with local spirits.<sup>6</sup> The distinction between the Roman and Gallic conceptions is sharply drawn in a votive inscription of Aquileia (775), beginning: *FATIS.DIVIN / ET. BARBARIC*, where only the Roman spirits, apparently, received the epithet *Divini*.<sup>7</sup> Number 5005 from Riva deserves closer scru-

<sup>1</sup> 4208. Cf. Rosch. *Lex.*, s.v. *Dervones*.

<sup>2</sup> *E. g.*, II 89. 3727, III 4157, XII 1281. 3045.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> III 1854, VI 4379. 6932. 10127. 11592, X 5753. Cf. also other inscriptional and literary references in Neue-W, *Formenlehre* I 797. Other inscr. than those cited as masculine are so listed in the index of *CIL* V, but I do not see on what evidence.

<sup>5</sup> 5012 and the vot. inscr. 705, 8217, the last on a small altar. *Fatorum* follows some indecipherable word in 4296. Possibly 6568 addresses the Fates with other deities.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Peter in Rosch. *Lex.* I<sup>2</sup> 1452; Jordan in *Hermes* VII 197.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Mommsen *ad loc.*; Wissowa, *R. K.* 265; VI 145.

tiny. The Fati and Fatae of this inscription are not altogether

F A T I S.F A T A bus  
 DRVINVS . M . NO*ni*  
 ARRI . M*VC*IANI . C . v  
 ACTOR<sup>8</sup> . PRAEDIORV*m*  
 TVBLINAT . TEGVRIVM  
 A.SOLO.INPENDIO.SVO.FE  
 CIT.ET.IN. TVTELA.EIVS  
 -H-S.N.CC . CONLVSTRIO  
 FVNDI.VETTIANI . DEDIT

orthodox, for they seem to be conceived as special spirits associated with Mucianus<sup>9</sup> after the manner of the Lares.<sup>10</sup> A very primitive form of sacred structure is indicated by the *tegurium* of line 5,<sup>11</sup> which was erected by the *vilicus* in his master's honor. The difficulty of interpretation inheres in the last three lines, and Mommsen did not wholly dispose of it in the following note: "It seems to have been dedicated with a provision that annually there the *praedia Tublinatia* should be lustrated, the further condition being appended that at the same time the *fundus Vettianus* should be lustrated. But, as the *Tublinatia praedia* still bear that name, so perhaps the *fundus Vettianus* properly suggests the *pagus Vezzano*." Jordan<sup>12</sup> rightly objects that, in the phrase *in tutela(m) eius*, *eius* could refer only to *tegurium*, that the whole phrase here must mean "for the upkeep of the shrine"<sup>13</sup>—not being "the formulaic expression *in tutela dei*"—and that *conlustrio* in the sense of a lustration with, or at the same time as, another is dubious. The definition of *conlustrium* in Harper's *Latin Dictionary* as "a corporation that procured the lustration of the fields of a district" is based, apparently, only upon this inscription,<sup>14</sup> and has no merit except that of providing easy syntax for the Latin of it. The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* gives the safest translation of the word, *viz.*, *lustratio*, though we should expect it to indicate a somewhat more thorough or elaborate form of *lustratio*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. 90, 1035, 1049, 5048, 5318, 7473.

<sup>9</sup> Consul 201 A. D.

<sup>10</sup> See Jordan in *Hermes* VII 197 for the Fates in the rôle of Lares or Genius.

<sup>11</sup> *Id. ibid.* 193-7.

<sup>12</sup> *Id. ibid.* 197-8.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. 4294, 4416, 4418, 4449, 4488.

<sup>14</sup> There cited as Orelli 1773.

But, whether we translate the word so, or as a kind of ablative of attendant circumstance or conditionality as Mommsen took it, the latter part of the inscription should mean that the endowment was for the maintenance of the shrine and the lustration of the *Fundus Vettianus*: the lustration of the *Praedia Tublinatia* is only implied at most.

Three inscriptions of Verona,<sup>15</sup> set up, one by a woman, the others by men of some local distinction, address *Parcae Augusta e. Liber and Libera* (?) are associated with the Parcae in a joint offering,<sup>16</sup> as is *Bona Dea* in the following inscription of Aquileia (8242)

DECIDIA . EGLOGE  
 ARAM . PARCABVS  
 ET . BONAE . DEAE  
 PHIALAM.ARG.P.IS.<sup>17</sup>  
 DONO DEDIT

carved in minute and beautiful letters on an altar. The Parcae in this district have the pure Greek background,<sup>18</sup> with no relation to the Italian birth-goddess who was the true antecedent to the Roman Parcae.

### HERCULES

Against two isolated inscriptions to Castor or the Castors,<sup>19</sup> stand a host of inscriptions to Hercules. The name is twice spelled *Hercli*,<sup>20</sup> twice represented by the initial only.<sup>21</sup> Of those in which the god bears no title, the large majority are votive inscriptions.<sup>22</sup> Upon opposite edges of the upper surface of a large stone, cut in

<sup>15</sup> 3281, 3282 (vot. inscr.), 3283.

<sup>16</sup> 8235; see p. 56.

<sup>17</sup> Expanded *ad loc.*: *Arg(enti) p(ondo) I (unciarum) s(e)ptem*.

<sup>18</sup> See Wissowa, *R. K.* 264, n. 4 *ad fin.*

<sup>19</sup> 4154 to Castor and Pollux, *Notizie* 1885. 337 = *Suppl. Ital.* 1266 to Castor *Deus ex visu*.

<sup>20</sup> 4213, 5498; cf. XII 5733.

<sup>21</sup> 6344, 8220.

<sup>22</sup> Forty-five are ex-votos: 515-6, 3228, 4147, 4155-6, 4213, 4215-6, 4318, 5462<sup>add</sup>, 5467, 5498, 5507, 5521, 5528, 5533, 5559, 5561, 5632, 5686-7, 5694, 5718, 5721, 5723, 5743, 5767, 6344-52, 6484, 6622, 7144, 7240, 8220, 8931, *Suppl. Ital.* 376 (which, though it has only the initial of the hero's name, is on an altar found with the altar on which stands *Suppl. Ital.* 375 to *Deus Hercules*), *id.* 893 = *Notizie*, 1883. 150. Seventeen are not indicated as such: 4127, 4214, 4248, 5466, 5520, 5558, 5688, 5703a<sup>add</sup>, 6570<sup>add</sup>, 6581<sup>add</sup>, 6947, 6952, 7869, 8221, 8930, *Suppl. Ital.* 724 = *Notizie* 1884. 56.

duplicate but with the copies so placed relatively to one another that one would be read by those passing on one side, the other by those passing on the other, was the following legend (Tergeste. 515): L.MVTILIVS.MAGNI.L.BASSVS.H.B.M.V.S.L.M. Mommsen explains the three letters before the final formula as H(erculi) b(ene) m(erito).<sup>23</sup> A somewhat unusual redundancy marks the combination *ex voto v.s.l.m* of no. 5632 and *Suppl. Ital.* 893 = *Notizie* 1883. 150. In no. 4156 the human touch is felt in the phrase *de suo parcimonio*.<sup>24</sup>

The form of address is D e o Herculi or Herculi Deo in two instances,<sup>25</sup> Herculi A u g(u s t o) in two others.<sup>26</sup> The most famous cult of the god bears in this district the epithet I n v i c t u s<sup>27</sup> rather than Victor, though the latter is shown in one copy of no. 5508. A corrupt inscription (Ausugum. 5049) of the first century gives the record of a woman who had played for public favor, lost, won by Hercules' help,<sup>28</sup> and been threatened with loss again, but could still conclude with a dedication to Hercules Invictus.<sup>29</sup> To the title *Invicto* there is added, in a partially preserved inscription of the Ager Mediolaniensis,<sup>30</sup> the additional epithet *Conservatori Iuveniarum*; with this latter phrase no. 5693 to Hercules J u v e n i s may be compared. The deity is addressed by certain *cultores* as Hercules Invictus D e u s (5593); again, to Invictus *inpe-trabilis* is added in no. 5769, that epithet occurring separately in the votive inscription (5768) on an altar at Milan. Mertronnus Anteportanus, Ovanus and Saxanus as epithets of the god will be considered among the Celtic cults.<sup>31</sup> Hercules appears in two combinations, dedications to *D(i) S(ancti) Hercules et Iunones* (Benacenses. 4854) and *Volkanus et Erqules* (Lacus Verbanus. 5510).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. I 1175, 1220.

<sup>24</sup> *Pauper* in 3290 on p. 38 is probably a cognomen.

<sup>25</sup> *Suppl. Ital.* 375 and *CIL* V 4004.

<sup>26</sup> No. 9 and *Notizie* 1877. 233 = *Suppl. Ital.* 669; in the latter case the gift is made by three men from 2200 sesterces collected as initiation fees from the members of the guilds of sailors.

<sup>27</sup> 5049, 5645, 5724, 5759.

<sup>28</sup> *Sed sanctus deus hic felicius i[llud] transtulit in melius*. For the epithet *Sanctus* cf. 4854 and Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II 286.

<sup>29</sup> This is the only instance in Cisalpine Gaul in which a woman is concerned in the worship of Hercules; for the exclusion of women therefrom cf. Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II 293; Fowler, *R. F.* 194.

<sup>30</sup> 5606; the cult of H. is prominent in and about Milan.

<sup>31</sup> See p. 85f in chap. VII.

Nine of the inscriptions to him are known to have been carved on altars,<sup>32</sup> one on a small column (8220). A temple is mentioned in nos. 1830–1 of Iulium Carnicum, in the former as having been built, restored or embellished in some way at the expense of certain men, a list of whose names constitutes the bulk of the rather long inscription. A vilicus restores a statue and sees to the repairing of a temple (5558). Number 3312 from Verona should, perhaps, be understood as

C . AMVRII . TACIIVS  
ET . HERMES . LIB . VI . VIR . AVG  
SIGN . ABACVM . CVM . SIGNIS.II  
HERCVLE . ET.  
AMPHALE . COLLEG (*sic*)  
DENDROFOR.D.D. (*sic*)

announcing the gift, by these two men as representatives of the *collegium dendrophorum*,<sup>33</sup> of statues or busts of Hercules and Omphale respectively and of an ornamental piece of furniture designed to support a display of such objects. Goblets are given in one case.<sup>34</sup> *Magistri* of the god cooperate with *magistri vici*<sup>35</sup> in the service to the god cited above as recorded in no. 1830; the name of one, perhaps the principal one, of the former group recurs in nos. 1831–3: the four inscriptions are of the same locality. The word *cultores* of no. 5593, ambiguous as commonly, may mean merely worshippers or, somewhat more probably here, I think, members of a college of some kind having oversight of matters pertaining to the cult. The brief fragment (5742): HERCVLI / MODICIA / TES. IOVENII presents two uncertainties: “The *Iovenii* who are named here and in no. 5664,” says Mommsen, “are perhaps to be compared with *iuvenis* and *iuvenatibus* of inscriptions no. 5134, 5907.”<sup>36</sup> As to *Modiciates*, he comments: “The ancient name of Monza seems to have been preserved in inscription no. 5472 which the *Modiciates* consecrate to Hercules; and it is still retained by Paulus Diaconus, who in iv. 22.49 refers to *Modiciam*; hence modern *Monza*.”<sup>37</sup> The villagers as a group address Hercules in no. 5528. As we pass to the

<sup>32</sup> 3228, 5703a<sup>add</sup>(?), 5768, 6570<sup>add</sup>, 6581<sup>add</sup>, 6952, 7804, 8221, *Suppl. Ital.* 375.

<sup>33</sup> See Wissowa, *R. K.* 322, n. 5 *init.*

<sup>34</sup> 6952; cf. 6829 on p. 14.

<sup>35</sup> See Wissowa, *ibid.* 171ff.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. p. 53.

<sup>37</sup> *CIL V* p. 613, preface to chap. LXVI.

consideration of the lay dedicants, the most striking fact, though normal enough in the cult, is that with one exception<sup>38</sup> they are men,<sup>39</sup> in so far as the names are legible, though such a phrase as *cum suis*<sup>40</sup> is sometimes added. A pontifex (6345), an *equus Romanus equo publico* (6349), several *seviri*<sup>41</sup> are among the dedicants. On the other hand, slaves,<sup>42</sup> a *mercator* (6350), a *messor* (7804), a *faber tignuarius* (4216), and *lapidarii* (7869) represent the lower orders.

### APOLLO

Apollo received several votive offerings,<sup>43</sup> two of them small altars.<sup>44</sup> Of the three remaining inscriptions,<sup>45</sup> one (3217) is set up by two linen-weavers. The numerous inscriptions to Apollo B e l e n u s will be considered under the god Belenus,<sup>46</sup> since the latter seems dominant in the Celtic conception of Apollo Belenus. L. Naeuius Secundinus pays a vow for the preservation of his health and that of his family to the N u m e n of Apollo.<sup>47</sup> Apollo and Diana are once (4199) addressed together, Mars and Appollo (*sic*) once (6603). The mis-spelling of the god's name in the second instance, the use of a vulgar form of the letter L,<sup>48</sup> and the dedicant's name, *December*, indicate that the devotee is of low extraction. The names *Admetus* and *Alcestis* in the nominative<sup>49</sup> are cut on a chest from Aquileia, illustrated by representations of a veiled woman and a bearded shepherd leaning upon his crook.

### CERES

Two officials of Concordia made some gift to Ceres A u g u s t a and added a sum for its maintenance.<sup>50</sup> On the reverse of a bronze

<sup>38</sup> 5049; see p. 53.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. p. 53, n. 29.

<sup>40</sup> 5561, 5606, 5686, 5703a<sup>add</sup>, 5718, 5769, 7144.

<sup>41</sup> 5688, 5768, 6347-9, 6351, *Notizie* 1877. 233.

<sup>42</sup> 5521, 5558.

<sup>43</sup> 2782, 4127, 4198a, 7232, 7910. *Suppl. Ital.* 951, ending A. V. S. L. L., may perhaps be most plausibly placed here.

<sup>44</sup> 2782, 7810.

<sup>45</sup> 2463, 3217, 5762.

<sup>46</sup> See p. 89.

<sup>47</sup> Lacus Verbanus. 5514.

<sup>48</sup> See p. 98, n. 6.

<sup>49</sup> 8265; cf. VI 142. Cf. Silvanus in nom. (5717), the gen. *Matronarum* (3264), and acc. *Bonum Eventum* (4203).

<sup>50</sup> This inscr. (1872 = 8654) is indexed by mistake under *Venus Augusta* in *CIL*.

medal of Vespasian are the name of Ceres Augusta and her figure as she stands holding a head of grain and a sceptre.<sup>51</sup> The following inscription of Patavium (2795) is carved on a pedestal of Dalmatian

GENIO . DOMNOR CERERI  
T.PUBLICVS CRESCENS LARIBVS  
PVBLICIS.DEDIT IMAGINES ARGENT DVAS  
TESTAMENTO EX (2 *sestertia*)

marble bearing traces of two statues. Ceres is plainly selected here as one of the two Lares Publici; for the exceptional nature of such a conception see p. 18f. In no. 796 *Cereria* becomes an epithet of Mater Deum Magna (see p. 72), but see p. 26, n. 160 for Mommsen's view that this deity is Bona Dea., as is, probably, Augusta Bona Dea Cereria of 761 (p. 26).

#### LIBER

One vow is paid to Liber at Verona (3260); Maionica<sup>52</sup> cites an inscription of Aquileia to him. Liber P a t e r appears several times;<sup>53</sup> a *sevir* of Aquileia made some dedication to *Liber et Libera* at their command (793). To Liber (perhaps in company with Libera and the Parcae)<sup>54</sup> a woman of the same city gave a pool and a statue or statues (8235). Jupiter is joined with Liber P a t e r in the following rudely cut inscription near Lacus Verbanus (5543): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) C(onservatori) et Libero Patri v i n i a r u m (sic) c o n s e r v a t o r i, Verus et Valerius Valeri Maximini v.s.l.m.* Liber A u g u s t u s is recognized in *Suppl. Ital.* 1095 of Pola, the surviving fragment of which reads: *L(ibero) A(ugusto) s(acrum), Octavianu(s) Aug(ustus) n(oster) aedem vetustat(e) conlasp(am) (sic). . . .*, and in no. 326 of Parentium to G e n i u s Lib(eri) Aug(usti). Though an address to the protecting spirit of a god seems to us an extreme refinement of theistic conception, there are parallels to support Mommsen's expansion of the abbreviations in the second inscription.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>51</sup> From Pavia, *Notizie* 1906. 391.

<sup>52</sup> *Epigraphisches aus Aquileia*, p. 10. See *Suppl. Ital.* 1113.

<sup>53</sup> 2110, 6956 (vot. insc.), *Notizie* 1894. 397; the first is of Tarvisium, the last two are of Taurini.

<sup>54</sup> See Mommsen *ad loc.*

<sup>55</sup> I 603. 17, *Iovis Genio*; VI 151, *Genio Numinis Fontis*; XI 357, *Genio Larum*

## MERCURY

Of the one hundred and two inscriptions to Mercury with no epithet added, all but nineteen<sup>66</sup> are obviously votive inscriptions; eighty-six<sup>67</sup> are set up by men and three<sup>68</sup> by women, thirteen<sup>69</sup> being without the names of the dedicants or set up by both men and women.<sup>60</sup> The dedicants include *seviri*,<sup>61</sup> *quattuorviri iure dicundo*,<sup>62</sup> soldiers,<sup>63</sup> a clothes dealer (6777), a merchant,<sup>64</sup> a freedman paying a vow *libertatis caussa (sic)* (6574). A number of altars were given;<sup>65</sup> large letters cut on a large architrave record the erection, by a dedicant on his own ground, of a temple to the god, with a statue (4266). The gift of another takes the form of *dracones aureos librarum* *quinque, adiectis ornament(is) et cortina*.<sup>66</sup> Other inscriptions were carved on a tile (6760), a chest (5495), a concave rock made to resemble a tortoise shell (presumably by way of reminiscence of the god's reputed invention of the lyre) (4942), a square pedestal (6505), and a table so inscribed on the four margins that the lines on opposite

---

*horrei Pupiani*. Considering the close connection, even occasional identity, of Genius and Tutela, *Genius Tutelae* (II 2991) is especially striking. See Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity* p. 20f.

<sup>66</sup> 797, 3265, 4248, 4252, 4257, 4941, 4943, 5053, 5094, 5254, 5452, 5495, 5562, 5673, 6411, 6505, 6777, *Notizie* 1896. 446 = *L'ann. Épigr.* 1897. 25, *Suppl. Ital.* 163.

<sup>67</sup> 521, 3267-8, 4036, 4249-52, 4254-61, 4264-72, 4912, 4941-3, 5014-5, 5094-5, 5355-7, 5442, 5451-2, 5478-80, 5491, 5495, 5522, 5547, 5590, 5599, 5601<sup>add</sup>, 5631, 5672, 5700, 5711, 5745-6, 5760, 5792-3, 6410, 6471, 6505-6, 6573-4, 6576-78<sup>add</sup>, 6620, 6760, 6777, 6830, 6957, 7145, 7463, 7553, 7597, 7874, 8843; *Suppl. Ital.* 959; *Notizie* 1888. 271, 1896. 446 = *L'ann. Épigr.* 1897. 25; *L'ann. Épigr.* 1907. 118.

<sup>68</sup> 4944, 5563, 5650.

<sup>69</sup> 797, 3265, 3269, 4248, 4253, 5053, 5115, 5254, 5464, 5562, 6411, 6610, *Suppl. Ital.* 163.

<sup>60</sup> In compiling these statistics, some inscr. have been included from a group bearing only the initial *M* by way of indicating the god. By means of the provenance of these inscr., the discovery with them of others in which the names of the gods were given in full, and by other indications, this group has been conjecturally assigned thus: *Minerva* 3908, 3910; *Matronae* 7224-5, 7241-2; *Mercury* 521, 5495, 6471, 6482, 6573-4, 6760, 7463, 7553, 7597, *Suppl. Ital.* 959, *Notizie* 1888. 271, *L'ann. Épigr.* 1907. 118.

<sup>61</sup> 5257, 6482, 6505, 6576, 6777, *Suppl. Ital.* 959; see p. 58, n. 67.

<sup>62</sup> 5478, *Notizie* 1896. 446 = *L'ann. Épigr.* 1897. 25.

<sup>63</sup> 5451, 7553; cf. 522.

<sup>64</sup> 7145, unless *Mercator* be a cognomen.

<sup>65</sup> 4270, 5451 (with a roof), 5700, 6577-8<sup>add</sup>, 7553, *Suppl. Ital.* 740.

<sup>66</sup> *Notizie* 1896. 446 = *L'ann. Épigr.* 1897. 25. Cf. 6965.

margins were identical (4941). The purpose of the vow is indicated

OPTATVS . CASSIVS  
 OPTIONIS.F  
 SVSCEPTVM.MERITO  
 VOTVM.TIBI  
 mERCVRI . SOLVI  
 VT.FACIAS.HILARES  
 SEMPER.TVA  
 TEMPLA . COLAMVS

in no. 6506 (Novaria). For the remains of a representation of the planet Mercury, see no. 5053, p. 64.

MERCURIUS DEUS, AUGUSTUS, REDUX, ARPAX

A certain dedicant of Brixia paid two vows to *D e u s M e r c u r i u s* (4262-3). *M e r c u r i u s A u g u s t u s* is addressed by a soldier (522), and by a mother in memory of her son (2801). Two inscriptions record respectively the enlarging (4161) and the restoration (8237) of some edifice, presumably, sacred to *M e r c u r i u s A u g u s t u s*; and an altar bears his name, followed by the names of numerous dedicants (788).<sup>67</sup> *M e r c u r i u s l u c r o r u m p o t e n s e t c o n s e r v a t o r* receives a votive offering from an official in the vicinity of Novaria (6596). There is one inscription to *M e r c u r i u s R e d u [c e n s (?)]*.<sup>68</sup> Another, indexed in the *Corpus* with those which bear no epithet, reads *M E R C V R I O A R P A G I* (5706). *Arpax* in the sense of "grabber" or "cheat" at games of chance is found on bone *tesserae*,<sup>69</sup> and *Arpagius* was "apparently used at Lugudunum as a term of affection applied to children and young persons carried off by premature death."<sup>70</sup> Although I do not find *Arpax* or *Harpax*

<sup>67</sup> Steuding in Rosch. *Lex.* II<sup>2</sup> 2818 f.: "Dass freilich sonst überall, wo *M.* den Beinamen *Aug.* führt, an Kaiserkult zu denken sei, dürfte kaum zu erweisen sei, da bekanntlich dieser Beiname den Göttern an erster Stelle zukommt . . . ; wahrscheinlich ist dies aber der Fall, wenn *Augustales*, *seviri et Augustales* oder *seviri Augustales* als Dedikanten erscheinen, obwohl dieselben überhaupt in einem engen Zusammenhang mit den Mercurdienstleistungen stehen mochten, da sie häufig auch auf Inschriften auftreten, wo *Mercur* den Beinamen *Aug.* nicht führt (z.B., *CIL* V 5257, 6505, 6777)."

<sup>68</sup> 4025. So the *Corpus* expansion, but I should prefer *Redu(x)*; cf. *Fortuna Redux*, p. 45.

<sup>69</sup> IX 6089<sup>1</sup>, 8070<sup>8</sup>; see Olcott, *Thesaur. L. L. Epig. s. v.*

<sup>70</sup> XIII 2065, 2073 (Olcott, *op. cit. s. v.*)

in any list of the epithets of Mercury or Hermes, it seems to me that one of the two ideas here suggested, theft in general or the snatching away of souls (cf. Ἑρμῆς Ψυχαγωγός), may be present in the word *Arpax* as an epithet of Mercury in this inscription. See in this connection, if the expansion of Pais may stand, the reference to Dis Rapax on p. 60. Cf. Kaibel, *Epigr.* 272 and ἀρπακτῆρ Ἄιδης in Callimachus ii 6.

Mercury is associated with M a i a (6354), Deus Mars,<sup>71</sup> J.O.M.,<sup>72</sup> and—here compare no. 6596 above—with J.O.M. and *Matronae Indulgentes*,<sup>73</sup> bearing in the last instance the epithet *lucrorum potens*, as mentioned above.

### AESCULAPIUS

The name is spelled *Aesculapius* seven times,<sup>74</sup> *Aesclapius* three,<sup>75</sup> *Asclepius* three.<sup>76</sup> There are four inscriptions to the god without title,<sup>77</sup> five to Aesculapius A u g u s t u s,<sup>78</sup> two to Aesculapius and H y g i a,<sup>79</sup> and two to *Aesculapius et Hygia Augusti*.<sup>80</sup> Definite references to health occur in nos. 8207 and 6970, the former reading: *Aescul(apio) et Hygiai*<sup>81</sup> *pro sal(ute) liber(or)um suor(um) et Anton(iae) Callistes coniug(is), C. Turran(ius) Onesimus v(otum) s(olvit)*, the latter—inscribed on a stone at Taurini supporting a Hermes—

DIVO  
T R A I A N  
—————  
C.QVINTVS  
ABASCANTVS  
TEST . LEG  
MEDICIS.TAVR  
CVLTOR

<sup>71</sup> 795; see p. 17.

<sup>72</sup> *Suppl. Ital.* 896; see p. 14.

<sup>73</sup> 6954; see pp. 14 and 88.

<sup>74</sup> 726, 729-31, 2036, 8206-7.

<sup>75</sup> 727-8, *Suppl. Ital.* 155.

<sup>76</sup> 6, 2034, 6970. Certain fragments of physicians' prescriptions (6414-5) from Milan, which begin with a claim of efficacy to relieve "*obscura fati quaerella (sic) deum praesidio*," direct the patient to placate Jupiter, Minerva, (Bona) Valetudo, Esculapius, and Mars. Then follow the prescriptions proper.

<sup>77</sup> 727, 2034, 8206, *Suppl. Ital.* 155.

<sup>78</sup> 6, 726, 728-9, 2036.

<sup>79</sup> 6970, 8207.

<sup>80</sup> 730-1.

<sup>81</sup> For the ending see p. 1, n. 5.

## ASCLEPI.ET

## HYGIAE

as here reproduced. The expansion is: *Divo Traian(o). C. Quintius Abascantus test(amento) leg(avit) medicis Taur(inis), cultor(ibus) Asclepi et Hygiae*. The dedicants range from *sevir* (731) to slave (727); are men in six cases, women in three, with three inscriptions indeterminate on this point. Four are votive inscriptions, one of them (8207 above) containing the phrase *pro salute*; in another instance (2034), the words *monitus posuit* give the occasion.

## DIS, PROSERPINA, AERECURA

Pais in *Suppl. Ital.* 732 publishes a metrical inscription found at Comum, vs. 53 of which contains a passing reference to Dis: . . . *Dit[em] non vestra [superabilis] arte rapacem. . . Dis Pater* is carved on a column of Aquileia (773), and so runs the form of address in a votive inscription of Verona (3225). *Proserpina* appears once (Patavium. 2804): *Iussu Proserpina(e) L. Calventius L(ucii) l(ibertus) Festus aram posit (sic) sacrum*.

In no. 725 of Aquileia, a veteran pays a vow to *Dis Pater et Aerecura*. The first name was readily restored on the strength of the association of the two deities in other inscriptions,<sup>82</sup> but that of this goddess-consort has evoked no small discussion. Mommsen<sup>83</sup> denied the former reading *Abra Cura* (ἀβρα κόβρα) and explained *Aerecura*, his reading, as of Latin origin, with the meaning *Geldschäferin*. Jordan<sup>84</sup> considers it a non-Latin word and is followed in this by Roscher.<sup>85</sup> H. Gaidoz,<sup>86</sup> however, followed by Wissowa,<sup>87</sup> accepts Mommsen's view; but carries it to something more conclusive. He sets before the reader, in addition to certain inscriptions from outside Cisalpine Gaul,<sup>88</sup> no. 8126, HERAE / SACR (on a small altar at

<sup>82</sup> III 4395, VI 142, Brambach, *Corp. Inscr. Rhenan.* 1867, no. 1638.

<sup>83</sup> *Arch. Anz. zur Arch. Zeit.* XXIII (1865), pp. 88\*-90\*.

<sup>84</sup> Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II 65, n. 2.

<sup>85</sup> Rosch. *Lex.* I<sup>1</sup> 86-87.

<sup>86</sup> *Rev. Arch.* 3d ser. XX (1892), pp. 198-207. This is the fullest and best discussion of all the occurrences of Aerecura and related forms.

<sup>87</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 313.

<sup>88</sup> III 4395, VI 142 (for discussions and reproductions of the interesting frescoes which this inscr. accompanies, see Orelli-H. III p. 198; Dar.-Sagl. II 280, fig. 2468; Gaidoz. *loc. cit.*, p. 200f; Maas, *Orpheus* pp. 207ff; VIII 5524, 6962.

Nesactium in Histria), no. 8200, inscribed on both sides of a bronze tablet, thus: *Haerae Dominae Sextilia Propontis pro salute et reditu filiorum suorum v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)*, and more especially no. 8970a of Aquileia,<sup>89</sup> here transcribed. His explanation is that

LVCVM  
 DITI           MACERIEM.ARAS       ERAE  
 PATRI        MOLEM.sEDILIA        SACR  
 SACR         Q . CERFONIVS  
               CHRγSeros  
 ACC.COS.III III VIR  
 FLORENTIA  
 FECIT

*Aerecura* is a phonetic imitation of “*Ἡρα κυρία*”; while this latter combination has not been discovered in any ancient record, yet as *κυρία* was used with the names Artemis, Isis, Nemesis and others, and *βασιλις*, *βασιλεια* and *ἄνασσα* were used with Hera’s, it is a safe assumption, if we compare *domina* in no. 8200, that *κυρία* was applied to Hera to whose power it was specially suitable. Once the name, *Aerecura* was formed by the modification of the Greek words, popular etymology grasped at elements *aes* and *cura* which it seemed to recognize and established the Roman conception of a goddess of economy associated with Dis (from *dives*), god of wealth. The variant *Aeracura*, found in the catacombs, is taken as a corruption. This reasoning is not only ingenious, but plausible.

### LUNA

Luna appears independently only once (16) in dedications; identified with the moon (5051), she is a member of the group of heavenly bodies described on p. 64. On one side of a square pedestal at Verona<sup>90</sup> the name of a dedicant is cut, on the front *DIANA*E LVCIF, and on the other side *LVNAE* with the figure of a goddess standing, a veil above her head. A fragmentary stone of Tergeste (*CIG XIV 2383*) preserves the word *ΛΟΥΚΙΦΕΡΑ* and, below, the phrase *ΟΣΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΩ*, with a representation of two uplifted hands in the center of the stone. The inscription relates itself

<sup>89</sup> = 32\*, but see ed. note on 8970a.

<sup>90</sup> 3224; see p. 41.

naturally to one of these two deities of similar function.<sup>91</sup> Syncretism is seen in the following from Verona (3233): *Iun(oni) Lun(ae) Reg(inae) sacr(um)*, *P. Vitullius Philologus (!) sevir Aug(ustalis) imperio*. The next inscription (Aquileia. 794) suggests comparison

LVNAE.MARTI  
FRVTICIAE . THYmeles  
ROGATV  
M.STATINIVS.DORus

with the group of heavenly bodies above referred to; for on what other basis these two divinities could naturally associate is somewhat dubious. And yet, to be sure, there was nothing to prevent Fruticia Thymele from being, for different reasons, interested in two very different gods—interested in the second, one might surmise, out of anxiety for some soldier friend or relative, Dorus for example. Sol and Luna are honored together in nos. 3917–8 of Arusnates; the latter is all but indecipherable, but the former, in large and beautiful letters, is dedicated by a certain *Q. Sertorius Q.f. Festus, flamen*.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

Διὶ Θαλῆ Τι(βέριος) Ἰούλιος Μαμερτίνος ἀνέθηκεν,—such was an inscription cut in uneven characters on an altar at Aquileia.<sup>92</sup> *Thales* is not mentioned among cult titles of Zeus in the handbooks or included in the lists of his epithets which are available;<sup>93</sup> but Usener cites it in his *Götternamen*,<sup>94</sup> referring to this inscription. He compares Zeus Taletitas<sup>95</sup> and Zeus Tallaios<sup>96</sup> of other inscriptions with Zeus Thales,<sup>97</sup> gaining an idea of the significance of all three through a further comparison with the female deity Thallo<sup>98</sup> who caused plants to sprout. Zeus Thales would, then, represent a natural

<sup>91</sup> In general, see Mordtmann, *Mith. des Athen. Instit.* X 11ff.

<sup>92</sup> *CIG* XIV 2337.

<sup>93</sup> E. g., Pauly-W. *s. v.*; Rosch *Lex. s. v.*; Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum quae apud Poetas Graecos Leguntur*; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*; Preller, *Gr. Myth.*; Cook, *Zeus*, I 730, n. 8 cites Usener's discussion.

<sup>94</sup> P. 131.

<sup>95</sup> Le Bas-Foucart n. 162k, p. 143.

<sup>96</sup> *CIG* XIII 2554. 95. 178.

<sup>97</sup> For the interchange of smooth and aspirate mutes, Usener refers to Ahrens, *Dial. Dor.* p. 82f and Hermann in *Philol.* IX 699.

<sup>98</sup> See Usener, *op. cit.* 134.

transference of functions from those of the sky to those of the earth as affected by the phenomena of the sky.

An inscription found at Verona<sup>99</sup> is cut on the four sides of a square pedestal. In front, not preceded by the D.M of Roman sepulchral usage but construed substantially as if it were,<sup>100</sup> is: *Aveniae Bassaridis filiae optim(ae)*; then follows the name of Avenianus (the father, presumably) in the nominative. On one side is a statement of the age and character of some one not there named; but the age, twenty-five, and the phrase *omni sensu vita pietate perfectissim(a)*, taken with the context and position on the stone, make it plain that Bassaris was meant. On the back is: ΘΕΑ / ΧΑΡΙΣ / ΒΑΣΣΑΡΙΣ. Only these Greek words and the name *Bassaris* directly concern us. Since the three words are in the nominative rather than in the dative and goddess-Charis-Bassaris(= *Bacchante*)<sup>101</sup> would be an incongruous, impossible combination considered as the object of a dedication, I prefer to think that the father is calling his daughter<sup>102</sup> a goddess, one of the graces, that the Greek characters of her name are for concinnity with the immediate context, and that its position is determined by its length as compared with that of the two other words, by regard, that is, for epigraphical appearance.

The letters IRID constitute what remains of an inscription from Gran San Bernardo (*Notizie* 1892.73). The one line, at any rate, is complete; and, while the name of a person may lurk in it, the probability is that the goddess was invoked.

Number 523 from Tergeste is reproduced below. The *prima facie*

E X R E S P O N S O  
A N T I S T I T U M  
P R O S P O L O I S  
C . L V C A N V S . S E V E R V S  
P R O  
L . L V C A N O . F I L I O

interpretation of *prospoloi* as temple-servants is rendered inadmissible by the context. Severus would not dedicate any object to temple-

<sup>99</sup> 3382 = *CIG* XIV 2307.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Orelli-H. II 4586.

<sup>101</sup> See Liddell and Scott, *Lex. s. v. βασσάρα*, Schultz in Rosch. *Lex.* I<sup>1</sup> 751 and lit. cited there, Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 698, n. 3 and 699, n. 2.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Orelli-H. *ibid.* Ed. of *CIG ad loc.* comments: "θεὰ χάρις βασσάρις: *praedicata ad nominis similitudinem inventa.*"

servants, nor would the priests (*antistites*) direct him to do so. These *prospoloi* are best understood as *δαίμονες*, spirits attendant upon the greater deities.<sup>103</sup>

Pedestals on which once rested representations of the moon and five planets have been found at Anauni;<sup>104</sup> LVNAE (5051), MARTI (5052), MERCVR (5053), IOVI (5054), VENERI (5055), SATVRNO (5056). The bases so inscribed were in the form of small altars. Mommsen believed that there must have been a seventh image also, dedicated to Sol.

On a marble tablet at Aquileia, superimposed horizontally on two small pillars, two concentric circles are described, the one but a little smaller than the other, whose perimeters are so cut by lines drawn from the one to the other that they are divided into eight arcs, each containing the name of that wind the direction of which corresponds to the position of the given arc. There are inscribed in order the names: Auster, Africus, Favonius, Aquilo, Septentrio, Boreas, Desolinus, Eurus.<sup>105</sup> The tablet bears also the name of the maker and certain further designs. A fragment of a calendar from Guidizzola was published in *Notizie* 1892. 9. See *Suppl. Ital.* 1273 for a law of dedication from Brixia.

<sup>103</sup> See Rosch. *Lex.* III<sup>2</sup> 3129-32; Note 3130. 33 for the spelling.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. 3466, *Planetam suam procurare vos moneo*; this planetary group is paralleled by XIII 2869, 4206, 4467.

<sup>105</sup> *Suppl. Ital.* 204, which see for discussion of the relation between the form and position of this tablet and the plan of construction of the city. Cf. *Vitr.* i 6ff, cited by Mommsen there.

CHAPTER IV  
DEIFIED ABSTRACTIONS

---

STATE CULTS OF THE REPUBLIC<sup>1</sup>

**F o r t u n a**, who attained such importance and a real personality, has been discussed on pp. 43-46. There is one inscription (*Suppl. Ital.* 156) to **C o n c o r d i a** without title or other additions. Two brothers of Anauni gave an altar and a statue in payment of a vow (5058) to **Concordia Augusta**. A dedicant of **Hasta**, in memory of his sister, addresses the *Concordia collegii fabrum Hastensium* (7555); the *Concordia curatorum arcae collegii fabrum et centonum Mediolaniensium* receives a dedicatory offering in no. 5612, and the *Concordia collegii dendrophorum Pollentini* is referred to in no. 7617.<sup>2</sup> On the reverse of a coin of Aurelian occurs the phrase *Concordia militum* (*Notizie* 1914.410).

VICTORY

Most of the inscriptions to **Victory** accompany votive offerings,<sup>3</sup> one dedicant adds the phrase *pro salute* followed by a name in the genitive as an explanation of his vow (4292), and such perhaps is the explanation of an abbreviation in No. 4915. The following inscription (*Laus.* 6355) concludes with a puzzling phrase. Of

L . H O S T I L I V S  
V R S I A N V S  
V I C T O R I A E  
V . S . L . M  
I T E M Q V E . L A  
V I T

**Mommsen's** two explanations, the one which attempts to connect the word *lavare* with the same word in the *Lex Cornelia* against fraudulent processes used on gold and silver coins is, as he admits,

<sup>1</sup> Following here and later the classification in Axtell, *Deif. Abst. Ideas*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *R. K.* 329, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> 4291-2, 4915, 4949, 5703, 6355, (6535 in the *Corpus* index is an error), 6579<sup>add</sup>, 6819b, 7147, 7695, 7721, 8832. Cf. 6959, 7833.

as obscure as the phrase itself. That some sort of coating of the statue to prevent rust was resorted to is his other, and less improbable, suggestion.<sup>4</sup> Without more evidence than is available, I should rather understand a simple cleansing process, or, better, a ceremonial *lavatio*. Several non-votive inscriptions also are found,<sup>5</sup> including one (7861) set up according to the terms of a will. There are, further, ten inscriptions to Victoria A u g u s t a;<sup>6</sup> one of these (5025) substitutes the word *cultor* for the name of the dedicant. In no. 4089 the full form of address is: VICTORIAE.AVG / ANTONINI.ET. VERI; in *Notizie* 1906.391 the reverse of a coin reads: VICTORIAE DD.NN.AVG.ET CAE. Similarly, no. 6970 adds *pro imperio Nervae*, and no. 7643 is to the *Numen Victoriae imp(eratoris) Caesaris) M(arci) Aure[li] Antonini Aug(usti) Invicti Principis*. A restorer of a fortress honors *Victoria Aeterni Invicti (sic) Iovis O. M.* (7809). Fortuna, Diana and Victoria are worshiped together in nos. 7493-4.<sup>7</sup> Altars are given the goddess in nos. 5025, 6579<sup>add</sup>, 7844, —the restoration (presumably) of her temple and a marble pediment of a portico reported in no. 7614. Globes,<sup>8</sup> wreaths,<sup>9</sup> a palm (7147), a wheel (7861), a sheep (7147), and the form of a Victory<sup>10</sup> (usually winged) appear with a number of inscriptions.

S p e s A u g u s t a, one of the several deities drawn into the imperial circle, has five inscriptions here,<sup>11</sup> two with the phrase *pro salute*.<sup>12</sup> V i r t u s, always a military conception, appears with Bellona in no. 6507;<sup>13</sup> *Saltuarius Virtutis*,<sup>14</sup> as applied to the dedicant in no. 2385 to Silvanus Augustus, is translated by Harper's *Latin Dictionary s.v. saltuarius* "keeper of the grove of Virtue." Virtue

<sup>4</sup> He cites Pliny, *N. H.* xv 8. 34.

<sup>5</sup> 7644, 7844 (not containing the name of the goddess and not indexed under her name, but beside her figure on the stone), 7861.

<sup>6</sup> 4986, 5025, 5070, 6959-60, 7831, 7833, 7843(?), *Notizie* 1881. 149 = *Suppl. Ital.* 1011.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 41. under Diana.

<sup>8</sup> 4089, 7861.

<sup>9</sup> 6960, 7147, 7843-4, 7861, *Notizie* 149 = *Suppl. Ital.* 1011, *Notizie* 1906. 391.

<sup>10</sup> 4089, 6960, 7147, 7844, 7861, *Notizie* 1881. 149 = *Suppl. Ital.* 1011. Cf. 7833.

<sup>11</sup> 706-8, 834, *Notizie* 1878. 288 = *Suppl. Ital.* 410, all votive inscr. but the last. Cf. Axtell, *Deif. Abst. Ideas*, 20; Wissowa, *R. K.* 330.

<sup>12</sup> 706, 708.

<sup>13</sup> The two may be conceived as one here; cf. Axtell, *op. cit.* 25f; Wissowa, *R. K.* 350, n. 10 with context.

<sup>14</sup> Not indexed in the *Corpus*. Cf. Lanciani, *Wanderings in Rom. Camp.* 311 f.

certainly had temples<sup>15</sup> and may well have had a grove. *J u v e n t u s* (the name a variant of earlier *Iuventas*) had a statue, apparently, dedicated by a *collegium Artanorum* (4088), and there is one inscription (4244) to the *Juventus* of an individual. *B o n u s E v e n t u s* appears in nos. 3218 and 4203, but as dative and accusative of a form *Bonum Eventum*. In the latter, two *seviri Augustales, Curatores Ordinis Sevirum Sociorum*, have set aside a sum, from the interest on which a celebration with the sacrificial portions is to be carried out on the 15th of May.

#### STATE CULTS OF THE EMPIRE

AEQVITAS AVGVST S.C and a representation of that goddess with a balance and a sceptre appear on the reverse of a coin of Vespasian.<sup>16</sup> It may have been the younger Pliny, completing what was begun by his adoptive father,<sup>17</sup> who dedicated certain porticos and their appurtenances to *A e t e r n i t a s*, Roma and Augustus. A coin of Augustus bears the word *P r o v i d e n t i a*, which came to have the religious significance, in connection with the imperial office, of its English derivative.<sup>18</sup> The cognomen *Augusta*, so characteristic of these imperially sanctioned cults,<sup>19</sup> is added in no. 1871. In the phrase *Iovis T u t e l a*, the second word is possibly a common noun,—at most, a force thought of somewhat distinctively (as is *Numen* at times) but intimately connected with the great god.<sup>20</sup>

There are three inscriptions to *N e m e s i s*,<sup>21</sup> five to *Nemesis Augusta*.<sup>22</sup> As a very late addition to the Roman worship,<sup>23</sup> she belongs, from another point of view, with the Oriental cults. In *Suppl. Ital.* 167, *NEMESI / EX / VISO*,<sup>24</sup> the decorations of helm

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II 249; Wissowa, *R. K.* 149f.

<sup>16</sup> *Notizie* 1906. 391. Cf. Wissowa, *R. K.* 332 as to the classification as a state cult, and, *per contra*, Axtell, *op. cit.*, 32f. For abstracts on coins in general see Koehler, *Personifikationen Abstrakter Begriffe auf Römischen Münzen*.

<sup>17</sup> *Notizie* 1880. 336 = *Suppl. Ital.* 745. See Mommsen's note in the latter and p. 39. n. 9. herein.

<sup>18</sup> *Notizie* 1906. 392. Cf. Wissowa, *R. K.* 336; Axtell, *op. cit.* 38.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *R. K.* 85.

<sup>20</sup> 4243; see pp. 12f, 21f and cf. Axtell, *op. cit.* 40f. I 1456 may have been dedicated to *Tutela*, but see p. 21f.

<sup>21</sup> 812, 3105, *Suppl. Ital.* 167.

<sup>22</sup> 813, 8134-5, 8241 *Suppl. Ital.* 166.

<sup>23</sup> See Axtell, *op. cit.* 44; Wissowa, *R. K.* 378.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *ex visu* in 813 to N. Aug.

and winged wheel suggest the frequent confusion of this deity with Fortuna;<sup>25</sup> the dogs holding a hare and deer in no. 813 suggest the still commoner confusion with Diana.<sup>26</sup> This cult, so popular elsewhere with soldiers,<sup>27</sup> shows one soldier-dedicant here (3105). It is probably too much to infer from the fact that three out of nine inscriptions are irregularly cut<sup>28</sup> that the cult made a special appeal to the lower classes, especially as a *sevir* is among the dedicants (813). Four are votive inscriptions.<sup>29</sup> On the tomb at Verona of Glaucus of Mutina, boxer, killed in his eighth match at the age of thirty-three, are these words *ad fin.* (3466): *Aurelia marito b(ene) m(erenti) et amatores huius. Planetam<sup>30</sup> suum procurare vos moneo; in Nemese ne fidem habeatis; sic sum deceptus.*<sup>31</sup> *Ave. Vale.*

*F a t a* became so thoroughly invested with personality that they scarcely belong in this discussion; but see p. 49 and n. 6 there. *N u m e n M a i e s t a s q u e i m p e r a t o r i s* of *Notizie* 1881.336<sup>32</sup> is paralleled in VIII 12062-3; such an expression is very close to the periphrastic form of addressing kings and dignitaries of modern times. An altar at Aquileia is inscribed on three sides with VI.DIVINAE SACRVM (837). While this may refer to the *taurobolium* in the worship of the Great Mother,<sup>33</sup> *Viribus Aug(ustis)* of 8248 and *Lymfis Virib(us)* of 5648 probably involve more independent abstractions. A coin of Gignod and a medallion of Pavia show the word *C o n s e c r a t i o* (*Notizie* 1914.409 and 1906.392) and on a bronze sheath is the word *U b e r t a s* (*Id.* 1880.435 = *Suppl. Ital.* 1087.7).<sup>34</sup> Several of the inscriptions to *N u m i n a* have been, or will be, treated under other deities: *Numen et Genius* (7212) on p. 21, *Numen Dianae Augustae* (7633) on p. 40, the Numen of Apollo on p. 55, *Numen Victoriae Imperatoris Caesaris* (7643) on p. 66, *Numina*

<sup>25</sup> See Axtell, *ibid.*; Wissowa, *R. K.* 377.

<sup>26</sup> See Axtell, *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> See Wissowa, *ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> 812, 8241, *Suppl. Ital.* 167.

<sup>29</sup> 3105, 8134-5, 8241.

<sup>30</sup> This reference to astral influence, with the phrase *studiosus astrologiae* of 5893, and certain amulets (*Notizie* 1904. 432 & *L'ann. Épig.* 1905. 200) are the only relics of magic preserved.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. 4612, *utrisque numinibus deceptus*, on p. 69.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Arch. Epig. Mitth.* XV 50.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. 6961-2, *Viribus aeterni taurobolio*, and Axtell, *op. cit.* 56.

<sup>34</sup> Axtell, *ibid.*, does not cite *Consecratio, Ubertas, Numen*; the problem is to distinguish between deification and mere personification.

*Augustorum, Iuppiter Poeninus* (6885) on p. 84, and *Numen Melesocus Augustus* (8127) on p. 92; *Numen Maiestasque imperatoris* has been cited above.<sup>35</sup> In no. 6876 to Poeninus, quoted on p. 84, is the phrase *Numen adoro tuum*. There is a dedication to the *Numen* of Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus on a huge stone of Patavium (2817). Finally, in the following instance (Brixia. 4612) *Numina* is used without

H E L V I A E  
L A E O N I D E  
DOMNE . ET . CONIV  
GI . KARISSIMAE  
C.P E T R A N I V S  
A S C L E P I A D E S  
AB . VTRISQVAE (sic)  
NVMINIBVS.DECEPTVS

dependence on the name of god or emperor. The errors in orthography, especially that in *karissimae*,<sup>36</sup> taken in connection with the Greek proper names, might incline one to discount this inscription as evidence of the orthodox Italian conception of *Numen*. In any case, the plural form removes us in this instance from the realm of the abstract, since it is equivalent to *deis*. The absence of indication as to any two individual deities to whom the phrase *utrisquae numinibus* could naturally be referred leads me to think the dedicant meant "both groups of gods," as, for example, the gods of the living and the gods of the dead (this being, I think, a sepulchral inscription).<sup>37</sup> In general, *numen* is not an independent abstract concept.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> The index of *CIL V* would add *Numen (?) Falorum* (4296), but Mommsen has a different reading *ad loc.*

<sup>36</sup> But cf. 6483, 6487, *e. g.*

<sup>37</sup> Cf. sepulchral inscr. 3466 on p. 68. See 6535 for another such expression of strong feeling.

<sup>38</sup> For Pantheus as approaching an abstraction, see p. 94 and n. 12 there; for Valetudo, p. 59, n. 76.

## CHAPTER V

### DIVI

Priesthoods included among the distinctions of individuals, whose memory is preserved in inscriptions of various kinds, constitute almost the only evidence of the worship of the deified emperors and the members of their families found in this district; the treatment of the Divi here will be, accordingly, very summary. Two *flamines Iuliani* (1812, 2536), two *flamines Divi Iuli* (4348, 4459), and a *sacerdos Caesaris* (4966) represent the first of the group. Augustus, of course, is most conspicuous: *Sodalis Augustalis* (24, 531, 865, 4954, 5909), *Sodalis Augustalis Claudialis* (6977-81); *Flamines Augustales* (3223<sup>add</sup>, 2524, 3341, 7259, 7425, 7428); *Flamines Divi Augusti* (4386, 5266-7, 6797, 7007, [perpetuus] 7605); *Sacerdotes Augustales* (4950, 4960, 4965); *Sacerdos [Divi] Augusti* (4442). There is one dedication to Divus Augustus (2812); the obverse of two coins bears the words DIVUS AVGVSTVS PATER (*Notizie* 1906.391-2); and in certain military diplomata<sup>1</sup> there is a passing reference to a temple of Divus Augustus at Rome as near to one of Minerva, by way of indicating the location of a certain bronze tablet inscribed with a law. There are to be included here *Flamines Romae et Augusti* (3376, 3420, 3427, 3936, 5036, *Notizie* 1880. 208 = *Suppl. Ital.* 624), and a *sacerdos Romae et Augusti* (5511): cf. *Sacerdotes Urbis Romae Aeternae* (4484, 6991) and a *Flamen Romae et Divi Claudii* (6431). On the architrave of a temple at Pola is the following inscription: ROMAE. ET. AVGVSTO. CAESARI. DIVI. F. PATRI. PATRIAE. For a dedication to *Aeternitas Roma et Augustus*, see p. 67. In addition to the *Sodalis Augustalis Claudialis* (6977-81) and the *Flamen Romae et Divi Claudii* (6431) cited above, there are *Flamines Divi Claudii* (534-5, 875, 5126). For other emperors there are the following priesthoods here represented: *Flamines Divi Vespasiani* (6360, 6513-4, 6797, 7021); a *Flamen Divi Titi Augusti Vespasiani* (5239), a *Flamen Divi T. Augusti* (5667), a *Flamen Divi Titi* (6995); a *Flamen Perpetuus Divi Nervae* (7458); a *Flamen Perpetuus [Imp. Caesaris] Traiani [Augusti]* (7458), *Flamines Divi Traiani* (4368, 5126, 5312, 5908, 6513, 6520, 6797, 7375); a *Sodalis Hadrianalis* (1969,

<sup>1</sup> 4056, 4091, *Suppl. Ital.* 941 = *Ephem. Epig.* IV pp. 185, 513; see p. 43, n. 32.

2112, 7783), *Flamines Divi Hadriani* (6513, 8880), a *Flamen Hadrianalis* (543); a *Flamen Divi Severi* (7783); a *Sodalis Aurelianus Antoninianus* (3223). Several inscriptions preserve only the phrase *Flamen Divi . . .* (6514, 6517(?), 7002) or *Sacerdos Divi . . .* (8808) with the name of the emperor missing; in the case of the first inscription only is there any suggestion of *damnatio memoriae*. A *Sacerdos Divarum* (520) will be noted on p. 72. The following priesthoods of the Divae are mentioned: *Flaminica Divae Augustae* (7788 twice), *Sacerdos Divae Augustae* (4458), *Flaminica Divae Drusillae* (7345), *Sacerdos Divae Domitillae* (2829), *Sacerdos Divae Plotinae* (4387, 4485, 7617), *Sacerdos Divae Faustinae Maioris* and [*Minoris*] (7617), *Flaminica Divae Sabinae* (6514), *Sacerdos Divae Matidiae* (5647). The dedications to Augustus (*Suppl. Ital.* 170), Augustus or Augusta (*id.* 2, 697), Augusti or Augustae (3305-6), and Augusta (2840, of temple and altar) very probably belong to the group of Divi and Divae, together with the *Flamen Augustorum* of no. 47.

## CHAPTER VI ORIENTAL GODS

### THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

The goddess is addressed as *Mater Deum* twice (4940, 4985), the dedicant in the second instance, a man of freedman birth, having enlarged her fane. A woman addresses her (6956a) as *M(ater) M(a g n a)*. There are three inscriptions to *M(ater) D(eum) M(agna)*: in no. 519, cut on a hexagonal pedestal, the dedicants are a *sacerdos*, an *aedituus*, and a *cymbalistris* of the goddess; in no. 529 a son honors the memory of his mother, a *sacerdos divarum*; in no. 795a a soldier is acting *pro salute coniugis*. *Mater Deum Magna Cereria* is seen in no. 796 on a square pedestal of Aquileia;<sup>1</sup> a vow to *Mater Deum et Isis* takes the form of the restoration of a fane and a portico (4007). References to *sacerdotes Matris Deum* occur in nos. 3438, 3419(?), 5881; a *sacerdos* of *Mater Magna* is perhaps the explanation of no. 518; and a *sacerdos* of *Mater Magna Deum Ideia* appears in no. 5862, of *Mater Deorum Magna Idaea* in no. 81.<sup>2</sup> To the *sacerdos*, *aedituus* and *cymbalistris* of no. 519 above may be added an *archigallus* of no. 488. The fact that a certain priest of the Great Mother makes a gift (81) of a plot of ground for burial purposes<sup>3</sup> to the *Dendrophori Polensium*, taken with the activity of the *collegia dendrophorum* generally in connection with the bringing in of the sacred tree on March 22nd,<sup>4</sup> leads Mommsen<sup>5</sup> to the conclusion that these *collegia*, while not wholly religious bodies, were closely connected with the worship of the Great Mother. Showerman<sup>6</sup> explains that, while there were *collegia dendrophorum* connected with other divinities, or having no religious significance, many *collegia* were

<sup>1</sup> See p. 26, n. 160; cf. Aug. *De Civ. Dei* vii 16.

<sup>2</sup> The commonest form of address (Showerman, *Great Mother of the Gods* 296).

<sup>3</sup> Domaszewski (*Journ. Rom. Stud.* I 53) denies that the *dendrophori* were originally *fabri tignarii* who chose M. M. as patron goddess and avers that they were rather a funeral guild for the disposal of corpses, the necessarily low-caste priests being suited for the office by the rites in which they mourned Attis.

<sup>4</sup> See Mommsen, *CIL* I p. 389 under March 22nd; cf. Wissowa, *R. K.* 321 and the literature cited in n. 7 there, and Showerman, *op. cit.* 277.

<sup>5</sup> Note on no. 81.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* 275-6.

definitely and exclusively devoted to the Great Mother of the Gods.<sup>7</sup> There is to be included here also the reference in a woman's epitaph (4400) to her having been *sacerdos XVvivalis*, since a *sacerdos* of the Magna Mater "directly appointed and equipped with insignia by" the *quindecimviri* was so designated.<sup>8</sup> Says Wissowa:<sup>9</sup>

Wenn sich in den Inschriften Priester und Priesterinnen der Göttermutter in italischen und gallischen Städten als *sacerdotales XVvirates* bezeichnen<sup>10</sup> und wir erfahren, dass ihre Wahl der Bestätigung durch die Quindecimviri bedarf, so ist diese ganz vereinzelt dastehende Unterstellung municipaler Kulte unter die römischen Quindecimviri offenbar eine Massregel der Sakralpolizei, die zu der Zeit eingeführt wurde, als man den Zutritt zum Priestertume der Grossen Mutter den römischen Bürgern freigab.

The *sacerdotes* are men in nos. 81, 519, 5814, 5862, 5881; women in nos. 520 (*divarum*), 3438, 4400: no. 518 is too fragmentary to classify. A pair of inscriptions from Taurini (6961-2) are dedicated *Viribus aeterni (sic) taurobolio*, the one on an altar, the other on a marble column, and an altar at Aquileia is inscribed (837) with *Vi Divinae Sacrum* on three sides.<sup>11</sup> Number 766, which Mommsen inclines to classify with inscriptions to *Cautopates*, Roscher<sup>12</sup> and Cumont<sup>13</sup> identify with *Attis Papas*.

## JUPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS

### AETERNUS

The cognomen *Aeternus* is used of Sol, Mithras and Caelus,<sup>14</sup> all Oriental deities, and its use with the name of Jupiter in nos. 789 and 8232 marks this conception of the god as Oriental.<sup>15</sup> This cognomen, however, often stands alone; in such cases Jupiter is probably to be thought of none the less.<sup>16</sup> *D e u s Aeternus* appears twice at

<sup>7</sup> For inscr. relating to them, see *CIL V* index under Aquileia, Bergomum, Brixia, Cemenelum, Comum, Feltria, Mediolanium, Pola, Pollentia, Verona; *Notizie* 1880. 335, 1888. 408; p. M.

<sup>8</sup> Showerman, *op. cit.* 272.

<sup>9</sup> 320f. Cf. Domaszewski, *l. c. supra*, p. 70, n. 3.

<sup>10</sup> For other cases of this use of terms, see Wissowa, *ibid.* n. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. p. 68.

<sup>12</sup> Rosch. *Lex.* I<sup>1</sup> 715.

<sup>13</sup> *Textes*, II 123.

<sup>14</sup> Steuding in Rosch. *Lex.* I<sup>1</sup> 88.

<sup>15</sup> See Wissowa, *R. K.* 364f. Cf. Fowler, *Rom. Ideas of Deity* 44f.

<sup>16</sup> Rosch *Lex. ibid.*

Aquileia;<sup>17</sup> an altar of Verona is inscribed (3221), *Deo Magno Aetern(o) L(ucius) Staius Diodorus quot se precibus compotem fecisset v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*; and a *cippus* of Aquileia reads (8208), *Deo Aet(erno) Exaudit(ori) Antonius Valens somnio monitus pro sal(ute) sua suorumq(ue) omnium et vicinia*.

## DOLICHENUS

Dolichenus [here spelled *Dolichinus* (1870) and *Dolicenus* (2313)]<sup>18</sup> is a local cult-title from Doliche in Commagene,<sup>19</sup> whence it was spread by Syrian soldiers. The god is represented in art as a bearded, mail-clad figure, with lightning in his left hand, a double-bitted axe in his right, and standing upon a bull's back;<sup>20</sup> his cult belongs mainly to the later Empire, and was associated with the emperors, as two of the three inscriptions of this region suggest, and with the aristocracy.<sup>21</sup> The first inscription reproduced here is from a bronze

I O . P . M  
DOLICHINO  
PRO SALVTE . IMP  
COMMODI.AVG  
PII.FEL.VAL.MAXI  
MVS CENVIRIO LEG (sic)  
IIII FLAV ET PRO SVIS  
EX VISO FHCID

tablet of Concordia (1870). The point between the O and P of line 1 is an error;<sup>22</sup> FHCID is for *fecit* with  $\eta$  for *e* and the common confusion of *d* and *t*.<sup>23</sup> The agnomen *Felix* dates the inscription as 185–192 A.D.<sup>24</sup> Another bronze tablet, from Atria, preserves the following faultily spelled inscription of 222–235 A.D. (2313): *Pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caesaris M(arci) Aureli Severi Alexandri Pii Felicis Aug(usti) Iovi*

<sup>17</sup> 769 *pro salute alicuius*, 770 on a small altar.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the spelling in III 1201a, b; VIII 2623ff; IX 948; *Ephem. Epig.* II 422, 529; *id.* III 3462. See other variants in Dar.-Sagl. II 330, where they are accounted for by the ignorance of the worshippers.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Braun, *Jupiter Dolichenus* p. 6f; Hettner, *De Iove Dolicheno* p. 2; Kan, *De Iovis Dolicheni Cultu* p. 1; Cook, *Zeus* I 606.

<sup>20</sup> Hettner, *op. cit.* p. 2; Wissowa, *R. K.* 362.

<sup>21</sup> See Wissowa, *op. cit.* 366; Cumont in Pauly-W. V 1278.

<sup>22</sup> See Hettner, *op. cit.* 45 and cf. II 2386; V 4235, 5500, 6869; VII 378, 380.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Notizie* 1895. 351.

<sup>24</sup> Hettner, *ibid.*

*Optimo Maximo Dolicheno*. With these two inscriptions in mind, Hettner observes<sup>25</sup> that it is in maritime districts that most inscriptions to this god are found, and suggests that merchants may have been important disseminators of the cult.

According to one interpretation, a side-light on Roman politics is furnished by the following interesting inscription from an altar

I . O . M . D  
EX . IVSSV.EIVS  
M . PVB . CLODIAN  
CANDID  
NEQ . IN HAC.ARA  
SETATVSACRITVLI/

at Brixia (4242). Commenting upon Mommsen's expansion of the inscription [*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) ex iussu eius M. Pub(licius?) Clodian(us). Candid(atus) ne q(uis) in hac ara s(cribat) et . . . extrema non intellego.*], Hettner says<sup>26</sup> that he does not know, if *candidatus* is to be read, whether the meaning is *candidatus legionis* or *candidatus collegii Dolicheni cultorum*. Apparently he understands Mommsen as referring the word to Clodianus. But Mommsen puts a period after this name, and what he means is, plainly, "Let no candidate write on this altar," using it for campaign purposes.<sup>27</sup> I think, however, that, while the order *candidatus ne* is good usage in literature, it is not probable in epigraphy where the simplest and most obvious words, word-arrangements and constructions necessarily obtain. Hettner offers what I consider a better interpretation of the whole inscription, borrowing a suggestion from Buecheler. He compares *CIL* III 3955, addressed to Heliopolitanus, another god of the Syrian group, and bearing the legend *Nequis in hac ara porcos agi facere velit*. This Brixian inscription is then read: *Ne quis in hac ara s(a) etatu(m) sacri[f(icare)] v[e] li [t]. Saetatum*, "with bristles," may seem absurdly periphrastic, but it may be that the dedicant thought it well to avoid even the name *porcum* as offensive to the god; this would not be more extreme than many odd taboos. This interpretation, at any rate, has the virtue of accounting for the last line with something like completeness.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 15.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 45.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 23-4.

Hettner calls attention<sup>28</sup> to seven cult-titles of Jupiter beginning with *D*; but, by reason of the prevalence of the cult in the localities concerned, does not hesitate to assign to Dolichenus a certain group including this inscription, though they have only that initial letter.

### ISIS

Isis, Isis Augusta,<sup>29</sup> Isis Regina,<sup>30</sup> Isis Myrionyma (5080), and Domna Isis<sup>31</sup> are comprised among the forms of address to this divinity; Isis Regina, Sol, Jupiter and Serapis are collectively honored in no. 3232, Isis and Serapis in no. 8211,<sup>32</sup> Serapis Augustus and Isis Regina in no. 3294, Mater Deum and Isis in no. 4007.<sup>33</sup> *Iside* stands as a dative form in no. 4220. There is some doubt as to the true interpretation of no. 8211 of Aquileia. Mommsen reads tentatively:

(on one side)

AB  
ISE.ET  
SERAP  
DEO

(on the other)

M  
IVVEN  
MAG.VI  
I

*Ab Ise et Serap(ide) deo m(agistri) iuven(um) mag(istri) vi(ci) primi*, considering the phrase at the left as a local designation. But if one could account for the AB, since ISE is already an incorrect form there would be no difficulty in accepting it as a dative like the *Iside* of no. 4220 and other such forms. The natural presumption surely is that the two gods are addressed. Only seven out of thirty-two inscriptions announce votive offerings.<sup>34</sup> Women are dedicants but twice;<sup>35</sup> there are included among the dedicants: *seviri*,<sup>36</sup> an aedile and *flamen Romae et Augusti*,<sup>37</sup> a soldier (4041), a clothing-dealer,<sup>38</sup> a freedman (2009), a slave.<sup>39</sup> *Isidis inperio (sic) (10), ex monitu eius*

<sup>28</sup> See Abbott, *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome* p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> 571, 3229, 5079, 8223, 8227.

<sup>30</sup> 2109, 2797, 3231, 8228.

<sup>31</sup> 160, *Notizie* 1880. 208 = *Suppl. Ital.* 624.

<sup>32</sup> But see below.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. p. 72.

<sup>34</sup> 3230, 4007, 4219-20, 5079, 5770, 6953.

<sup>35</sup> 4219, 6406; eight are indeterminate on this point.

<sup>36</sup> 484, 779, 3229, *Suppl. Ital.* 159.

<sup>37</sup> *Notizie* 1880. 208 = *Suppl. Ital.* 624.

<sup>38</sup> *Suppl. Ital.* 159; cf. 6777, p. 101, 774, p. 103.

<sup>39</sup> The same *servus arkarius* in 5079-80.

(484), *pro salute alicuius* (8229), and *beneficio ordinis*<sup>40</sup> are the motives assigned for dedication. One stone is ornamented with graver's tools, a bowl, a wand with serpents, a *sistrum*, a small chest, and a winged Genius leading a panther, and with various paraphernalia of the worship of Isis (10). Number 2797 was cut on a column, no. 6953 on a large, square pedestal worn by the feet of visitors, no. 8228 found in the ruins of a temple of Isis at Aquileia. The gifts consist of temples (4041, 5469), the restoration of a temple and addition of a portico,<sup>41</sup> altars,<sup>42</sup> and a statue of Harpocrates (2796), the only conception of the Egyptian Horus known to the Greeks.<sup>43</sup> A perpetual *sacerdos* of Isis Augusta, likewise *pastophorus*, of Vicetia seems to have made some offering, according to a stone of Patavium (2806); and mention is made of a *collegium pastophorum*<sup>44</sup> *Industriensium* in no. 7468, dedicated to Genius and Honor.<sup>45</sup> Serapis has already appeared above in connection with Isis<sup>46</sup> and other gods, while a separate dedication to *Sarapis (sic) O(ptimus) M(aximus)* is found at Verona, an obvious case of contamination.<sup>47</sup> A woman of Aquileia paid a vow to *A n u b i s A u g u s t u s* (8210).

## MITHRAS

The titles and combinations of titles by which Mithras and his associate or *alter ego*, Sol, were invoked were multiform: on the one hand, *Deus Mithras*,<sup>48</sup> augmented to *Deus Invictus Mithras*,<sup>49</sup> that in turn abbreviated to *Invictus Mithras* (6831) or *Deus Invictus*,<sup>50</sup> finally to *Invictus* (5204), this last expanded to *Invictus Patrius* (5797); on the other hand, *Sol*,<sup>51</sup> *Deus Sol*,<sup>52</sup> *Sol Deus Invictus*,<sup>53</sup>—

<sup>40</sup> *Suppl. Ital.* 159; *vestiarius tenuarius, sevir, beneficio ordinis.*

<sup>41</sup> 4007 to *Mater Deum* and Isis.

<sup>42</sup> 10, 3294, 4220, 8223, *Suppl. Ital.* 159.

<sup>43</sup> See Rosch. *Lex.* I<sup>2</sup> 2747.

<sup>44</sup> See Wissowa, *R. K.* 357.

<sup>45</sup> See p. 19.

<sup>46</sup> 3232, 3294, 8211; see p. 76.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *Jupiter Sarapis*, III 3, 4560-1, 6164.

<sup>48</sup> 5704, 8132, 8239.

<sup>49</sup> 805, [*D(eo) I(nvicto) I(nvicto?) M(ithrae)*]; cf. Mommsen, *ad. loc.*, 808-9, 5019, 5066, 5659, 5796, 7474, 8240, *Suppl. Ital.* 165.

<sup>50</sup> 804, 2800 (I. D.), 5116, 8939.

<sup>51</sup> 764, 3278, *L'ann. Épig.* 1914. 256.

<sup>52</sup> 803, 4284, 6958 (*Soli Deo*), *Notizie* 1897. 272.

<sup>53</sup> 807, 4283.

varied by Sol Divinus (4948) and Dominus Sol (8970); again, by blending of the two, Sol Invictus Mithras<sup>54</sup> and Deus Sol Invictus Mithras,<sup>55</sup> with an occurrence once each of Deus Invictus Mithras with Sol Socius (5082) and Sol Mithras Numen Invictus Deus.<sup>56</sup> There are to be added also the combinations with other gods: Jupiter Sol (8233), Sol and Luna (3917-8), Isis Regina, Jupiter, Sol, Serapis.<sup>57</sup>

Only once is a woman the dedicant,<sup>58</sup> as against men in thirty inscriptions. The dedicants include Diocletian and Maximian,<sup>59</sup> the city of Brixia,<sup>60</sup> *seviri*,<sup>61</sup> a *flamen* (3917), a *sacerdos Dei Mithrae* (?) (5704) or *D(ei) S(olis) I(nvicti) M(ithrae)* (5893), soldiers,<sup>62</sup> freedmen,<sup>63</sup> and a slave (810). One dedicant bears the title *Pater Nomimus* (764); “*un πατήρ νόμιμος*,” says Cumont,<sup>64</sup> “est mentionné sur une des inscriptions inédites de Sidon”; he refers to his monument no. 4. But fourteen out of thirty-nine are avowedly votive inscriptions.<sup>65</sup> One inscription is on a fragment of an architrave (8240); others are on pedestals<sup>66</sup> or altars,<sup>67</sup> for the relief work in no. 5066, depicting a scene of Mithraic worship, see Cumont, *Textes* II, mon. 114. Number 807 may indicate a gift of statues; no. 810 announces the preparation, by a *vilicus*, of a *speleum*<sup>68</sup> *cum omni apparatu*, and no. 5795 of Milan here reproduced, tells of the restoration of such a

D . S I . M

P . ACIL . PISO  
NIANVS . PATER

<sup>54</sup> 806, Cumont, *Textes* 184 (see mon. 115).

<sup>55</sup> 5477, 5795, 5893, 7362 (D. S. M. I.), Cumont, *Textes*, 178 = *Arch. Epig. Mitth.* XV 50 of 244-7 A. D.

<sup>56</sup> *Suppl. Ital.* 392; cf. *CIL* V 8997. Cumont (*Textes* II inscr. no. 188a) referring to his mon. 114b, regards V 5471 to J. O. M., with decorations of a god striking a giant, as dedicated to Mithras, on what basis I do not see.

<sup>57</sup> 3232; cf. p. 76.

<sup>58</sup> 5659; eight are indeterminate on this point.

<sup>59</sup> 803; in *Notizie* 1917. 272 a temple is erected at their command.

<sup>60</sup> 4284; *Res Publ(ica)* is the form; cf. 5795, p. 79.

<sup>61</sup> 806, 4283, 5466, 7362.

<sup>62</sup> 808, 811, *Suppl. Ital.* 165.

<sup>63</sup> 804, Cumont, *Textes* 178.

<sup>64</sup> *Textes* II 166, p. 123.

<sup>65</sup> 805-8, 2800, 3278, 4283, 5082, 5204, 5659, 5796, 6831, 8939, *Suppl. Ital.* 165.

<sup>66</sup> 5019-20, 8939.

<sup>67</sup> 8239, on an altar in the form of a mystic chest, 5659, 6831.

<sup>68</sup> See Wissowa, *R. K.* 369f.

PATRATVS . QVI  
 HOC . SPELEVMS  
 VI IGNIS . AB  
 SVMTVM . COM  
 PARATA.AREA.A RE  
 PVBL . MEDIOL  
 PECVNIA . SVA  
 RESTITVIT

*speleum*. Of religious officials, there are mentioned the *sacerdotes*<sup>69</sup> and *pater nomimus* (764) cited above, *patres* in no. 805, and a *pater patratus* in no. 5795, reproduced above.<sup>70</sup> Some form of lustration on behalf of one another is reported of certain soldiers in no. 808 of 244 A.D., and *Suppl. Ital.* 165 names a soldier as engaging, similarly, in a lustration in honor of Mithras. The cult flourished especially at Aquileia.<sup>71</sup>

## CAUTOPATES AND CAUTES

Two aspects of Mithras, Cautopates and Cautes, developed a certain amount of separate individuality as attendants upon Mithras.<sup>72</sup> Three inscriptions here are dedicated to Cautopates,<sup>73</sup> no. 1809, on a rude pedestal, to Deus Cautopates; *L'ann. Épig.* 1894. 161 provides an instance of Cautes. Number 763, according to Mommsen, shows a form CAVTO; but Cumont<sup>74</sup> believes that Labus was right in reading CAVTOP. Number 5465 is set up by two men holding the Mithraic office of *leones leg(ati)*;<sup>75</sup> for the appearance of this stone cf. Cumont, *Textes*, mon. 113. The first line of a votive inscription of Aquileia (811) preserves only the letters PTI, which Cumont<sup>76</sup> conjectures to have been originally *Cautopati*.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>69</sup> 5704, 5893.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. 763 under Cautopates.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Mystères de Mithra* 55; for its importance as a religious center generally, see *id.*, *op. cit.*, 60 and the statistics in Maionica, *Epigraphisches aus Aquileia*, 5f.

<sup>72</sup> See Wissowa, *R. K.* 371, n. 5 & context.

<sup>73</sup> 765, 4935, 5465. No. 766, hesitatingly classed here by Mommsen, is assigned to Attis by Roscher and Cumont; see p. 73. Cumont, *Textes* II 123, no. 171 may well be a dedication to Cautopates.

<sup>74</sup> *Textes* II 122.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *R. K.* 370; Dessau 4259 suggests *leg(itimi)*.

<sup>76</sup> *Textes* II 123, no. 171. He interprets no. 766 (*ibid.*) as being to Attis Papas, not Cautopates. See Hepding, *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult*, p. 208.

<sup>77</sup> For an additional reference to the Mithras cult, see p. 32 with n. 203.

A square pedestal of Tridentum bears the legend: *Gen(etrici)*<sup>78</sup> *pro ge(nitura) dei, Q. Muiel(ius) cum s(uis)*. The reference is, of course, to the periodic rebirth of Mithras.<sup>79</sup>

Two dedications of Pola (8137-8) are to *V e n u s C a e l e s t i s*, under which guise lurks the Syrian Astarte.<sup>80</sup> In crooked letters on a small altar of Aquileia is an inscription (*Suppl. Ital.* 288) to *H e c a t e*.

<sup>78</sup> Such is the expansion of the *Corpus* index and in Dessau 4249; the expansion *Gen(io)* in the body of the *Corpus* must be a slip on the part of the editor.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. III 4424.

<sup>80</sup> See p. 48 and n. 65.

## CHAPTER VII

### CELTIC GODS

#### JUPITER

##### AMBISAGRUS (?)

On a small altar at Aquileia Jupiter is addressed as in the accompanying inscription (790).<sup>1</sup> The *Corpus* index interprets: *I.O.M.*

I . O . M . CO  
TE AMBI . S A  
G R V S  
P R I M V S  
O P E R I . P O /  
L . L

*Co(nservator) et Ambisagrus.*<sup>2</sup> The names of the gods are, then, in the nominative; but, though very unusual, this is not unprecedented.<sup>3</sup> The meaning of *Ambisagrus* is thus explained by Steuding:<sup>4</sup>

Der Name ist wohl aus *ambhi*=um, zu beiden Seiten und einer Ableitung von *saghura*=haltend, gewaltig, gebildet, so dass er der Bedeutung nach mit *conservator* oder der Beinamen *tutor, tutelator, custos* zusammenfallen würde.

The question would still remain as to whether *Ambisagrus* is the name of a Celtic god of similar function associated with Jupiter Conservator or an additional epithet reduplicating the first.<sup>5</sup> But Holder, although he follows this word-division in his first volume,<sup>6</sup> substitutes in the second:<sup>7</sup> *I.O.M Coteambi Sagraus Primus* and regards *Sagraus* as part of the dedicant's name. This reading allows the second ligature<sup>1</sup> to stand, as it ought,<sup>8</sup> for TE instead of ET, suits the pointing of line 2 better,<sup>9</sup> and provides the normal case for

<sup>1</sup> There are three ligatures in the first two lines, CO, TE (or ET?) and MB.

<sup>2</sup> Spelled *Ambisager* by error.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 4934, 5717, 8265.

<sup>4</sup> In Rosch. *Lex. s. v.*

<sup>5</sup> See Ihm in Pauly-W. *s. v.*

<sup>6</sup> *Alt-Celt. Sprachschatz* I 122 (pub. 1896).

<sup>7</sup> II 1295 (pub. 1904). See Rhys, *The Celtic Inscr. of Gaul* 74f for a discussion of *Sagraus* as a separate linguistic element.

<sup>8</sup> See Egbert, *Lat. Inscr.* 67. But there is no consistency of usage; *et* is indicated by the ligature with bars of the E to the right in 4023, 4400, 5069,—to the left in 5002, 5068, 5082.

<sup>9</sup> This is not in itself conclusive; see n. 26 on p. 4 with its context.

the god's name. Further, *Conservator* as an epithet of J.O.M. is usually given in full, and I find only one instance (V 5670) in the indices of the *Corpus* where CO is used as an abbreviation for it. *Opera posuit* may well be the intention of line 5. A little weight of evidence may be added to the second spelling of the god's name by the fact that the crowding of letters and use of ligatures give place at the point in the second line to generous spacing; the graver would perhaps be more likely to change at the end than in the middle of a word.

There are preserved two inscriptions to J.O.M. with the added titles *Agganaiicus* and *Adceneicus* respectively. Only the former spelling finds a place in Roscher's *Lexicon* and Pauly-Wissowa under *Adceneicus* refers to the other. It is suggested<sup>10</sup> that the title *Agganaiicus* indicates elevation and has some resemblance to *Capitolinus*. Commentators<sup>11</sup> compare an inscription to *Matronae et Adganai*,<sup>12</sup> the latter being regarded as Celtic goddesses.<sup>13</sup> That inscription is in turn compared to another (5716) to *Matronae et vicani*; but this is going from the unknown to the unknown. There is here a Celtic conception of Jupiter; farther than this we cannot certainly go. Both of the inscriptions we are here concerned with accompany votive gifts, the one to *Adceneicus* on a part of an old altar at Milan (5783), the other at Ticinum (6409). It is worth noting that the two towns, Milan and Ticinum, are only about twenty miles apart, and that the inscription to *Matronae et vicani* was found in the country around Milan.

A unique dedication is that to Jupiter *Felvennis* (Arusnates. 3904), made at expense of 800 sesterces according to the last will and testament of P. Calpurnius Mandatus. This epithet also is regarded as Celtic; for the presence of Celtic Cenomani in this vicinity, there are cited:<sup>14</sup> Plin. *N. H.* iii 19.130, Livy v 35, Justin xx 5.8, Ptol. iii 1. 27, Catull. lxvii 34.

I O V I . B R . A R  
P . A P I D I V S . P . L  
O M V N C I O  
V . S . L . M

<sup>10</sup> Steuding in Rosch. *Lex. s. v.*

<sup>11</sup> Mommsen on 6409; Pauly-W., Rosch. *Lex.* and Holder *op. cit.*, s. v.

<sup>12</sup> 5671; see p. M.

<sup>13</sup> See Rosch. *Lex.*, s. v.

<sup>14</sup> *Lex. s. v.*, after Mommsen.

For the Jupiter who is the recipient of this offering no one offers any explanation. If one is inclined to consider the abbreviations as standing for local designations,<sup>16</sup> BR.AR may be expanded *Br[ixiano et] Ar[usnatiensi]*. Brixia and Arusnates are the most important names in the Tenth Region which begin with these letters respectively, the localities are but twenty-five or thirty miles apart, and the inscription was found near Brixia.

Number 4128 seems to be in honor of Jupiter *P a g a n i c u s*,<sup>16</sup> no. 5782 of *I.O.M. Colioccinus et Parmarus*.<sup>17</sup> *Coliacini* occurs in II 2697 as the designation of a group of dedicants, and *Parmarus* might suggest Parma, some seventy miles, however, from Milan where this inscription was found.

#### POENINUS

By far the most important of all cults of Jove which bear Celtic titles is that of Jupiter Poeninus or J.O.M. Poeninus, a temple to whom, with many votive tablets, has been discovered at Gran San Bernardo in the Poenine Alps.<sup>18</sup> From the point of view of the worship of Jupiter, *Poeninus* is a local cult-title, the foreign god having been adopted by the Romans;<sup>19</sup> but, as regards the original, independent Poeninus, the situation seems to have been the reverse, for the mountains were named after the god.<sup>20</sup> The local character of no god could be more plainly proclaimed; the inscriptions are uniformly found in the Poenine Alps. The forms of address are: Jupiter Poeninus,<sup>21</sup> J.O.M. Poeninus<sup>22</sup> and Poeninus;<sup>23</sup> but there can be but little doubt that the Celtic element is dominant and original, with the name of Jupiter sometimes gracing that of the local

<sup>16</sup> Cf. J. Poeninus (*infra*), J. Dolichenus (p. 72f), J. Vesuvius (X3806), J. Appenninus (VIII 7961).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. 2482?, 4148, X 3772, XI 5375.

<sup>17</sup> Titles not indexed in *CIL*.

<sup>18</sup> For plans of the temple see *Notizie* 1890. 294ff, 1892. 68ff & 440ff, 1894. 33ff. Cf. Lanciani, *Wand. in the Rom. Camp.* 32 ff.

<sup>19</sup> See Rosch. *Lex.* III<sup>2</sup> 2593. 60ff. *Poeninus* occurs alone in more than half the inscr.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Livy xxi 38.

<sup>21</sup> 6867, 6873, 6878, 6881, 6887, *L'ann. Épig.* 1894. 151 (= *Notizie* 1894. 36) & 1904. 170.

<sup>22</sup> 6865, 6868-9, 6880, 6888, *Notizie* 1889. 234, *L'ann. Épig.* 1892. 68, 135.

<sup>23</sup> 6866, 6871-2, 6874-5, 6877, 6879, 6883-4, *Notizie* 1887. 468 (4 inscr.), 1892. 68, 445 & 1893. 73, *L'ann. Épig.* 1892. 134.

god by way of embellishment. *Pro salute alicuius* is the motive in no. 6865 and *Notizie* 1887.468, and the travel through the pass is reflected in the *pro itu (et) reditu* of 6873 and 6875. The rough and ready character of the frequently illiterate dedicants is set forth on p. 103f. The object dedicated in the great majority of instances is a bronze tablet;<sup>24</sup> once (*L'ann. Épig.* 1904.170) it is a little, curiously shaped silver wheel. All but two<sup>25</sup> of the inscriptions are in connection with the payment of vows.<sup>26</sup> Number 6876, being naively worded and cast in the form of a prayer, is transcribed below. Though some of the more obvious errors here might perhaps be accounted for

C IVL RVFVS.POENINO.V.S.L.M.  
AT TVA.TEMPLA LVBENS VOTA SVSCEPTA.PEREGI  
ACCEPTA.VT TIBI SINT.NVMEN ADORO TVVM  
INPENSIS.NON.MACNA QVIDEM.TE SANCTe PRECAMVr  
MAIoREM SACVLO NOSTRVM ANINVM ACCIPIAS

by the fact that the inscription was pricked on bronze with a sharp instrument, the *number* of errors (*at* for *ad* in line 2, *macna* for *magna*—with the less usual *inpensis*—in line 4, *saculo* for *sacculo* and *aninum* for *animum* in line 5), taken with the faulty syntax of the last two lines, accords with the prevalent misspelling of the god's name<sup>27</sup> in revealing the personnel of the dedicants. Only one combination of this god with others is extant, no. 6885 inscribed to *Numina Aug(ustorum)*,<sup>28</sup> *Iuppiter Poeninus*.

### MARS

Mars C e m e n e l u s is the recipient of a vow at Cemenelum in the Alpes Maritimae (7871). The title is of course local.<sup>29</sup> Mommsen compares a dedication by an inhabitant of the same town to Mars Vintius at the neighboring town of Vintium (Orelli 2066 = XII 3).

A decurion of the same general region paid a vow to D e u s Mars L e u c i m a l a c u s (7862a); another votive offering to Leucimalacus was found with this at Pedo (7862), given at the

<sup>24</sup> 6865-9, 6871-8, 6880-1, 6883-5, 6887-8, *Notizie* 1889. 28 = *L'ann. Épig.* 1889. 82.

<sup>25</sup> 6866, *Notizie* 1893. 73.

<sup>26</sup> Add to nos. in n. 24: *L'ann. Épig.* 1892. 68, 134, 445; 1894. 151 & 1904. 170.

<sup>27</sup> See p. 104.

<sup>28</sup> Cf., e. g., XIII 389, 944-7, 1774-7.

<sup>29</sup> See Holder, *op. cit.* s. v.

*Plostralia*, which Mommsen regarded as a festival of mule-drivers;<sup>30</sup> supporting this conjecture is an inscription of Crayon to Martimulio.<sup>31</sup> Holder<sup>32</sup> quotes Ernault as interpreting *Leucimalacus* to mean "digne de louange par son éclat." Similarly, Mowat<sup>33</sup> compares other epithets of the god—*Leucetius*,<sup>34</sup> *Loucetius*,<sup>35</sup> *Louc(ius?)*, *Candidus* and *Albiorix*—all signifying brightness.

*Segomo*,<sup>36</sup> commonly so spelled and used as an epithet of Mars, appears as *Egomo Cuntinus* in no. 7868 from Cemenelum. Steuding<sup>37</sup> suggests that *Cuntinus* is a place-epithet, if the third line, *Vic(us) Cun(tinus)*, should be thus expanded. Holder<sup>38</sup> interprets the same Segomo as from *sego-*, "Kraft, Macht, Sieg," and translates it "siegreichen, mächtigen." Segomo is most prominent in Lugdunensis.

#### HERCULES

Hercules Saxanus, most of the inscriptions to whom are from the Brohl valley near Andernach<sup>39</sup> and who was certainly German rather than Celtic in origin,<sup>40</sup> has one votive inscription in Cisalpine Gaul, no. 5013 of Tridentum. One might be inclined to compare no. 7869 in which certain *lapidarii* honor Hercules; and there are, as a matter of fact, three inscriptions in the Moselle valley to Hercules Saxanus set up by soldiers engaged apparently in working quarries.<sup>41</sup> But, though the popular interpretation of the epithet may not have continued to follow its etymology and early history, it is

<sup>30</sup> Cf. R. Mowat, *Rev. Arch. n. s.* XXXV (1878) 105; Sturtevant, *Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, p. 59.

<sup>31</sup> See Mowat, *ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, s. v.

<sup>33</sup> See n. 30.

<sup>34</sup> XIII 7242, 7412, 7608; cf. Jupiter Lucetius. See Hastings, *Encyc. Rel. and Ethics* III 280.

<sup>35</sup> XIII 3087, 6221, 7241, 7661; VII 36; see Wissowa, *R. K.* 114, n. 3; cf. G. Dottin, *Rel. des Celtes*, p. 14.

<sup>36</sup> See Ihm in Rosch. *Lex.* III<sup>2</sup> 600.

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.* I<sup>1</sup> 931.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.* II 1448; cf. *Rev. Arch.* XXXV 161 and *Grdr.*<sup>1</sup> II 1. 351. Dottin (*l. c.*) takes it as from a personal name *Segomarus* or from a place-name *Segodunum*.

<sup>39</sup> XIII 4623-5, 7697, 7720; Orelli-H. 2007, 2009-10, 3479, 5657; Brambach, *Corp. Inscr. Rhen.* 651f; cf. Freudenberg, *Das Denkmal des H. Sax. in Brohlthal* p. 4ff; Richter, *De Deorum Barbarorum Interpretatione Romana*, 31f; Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II 297 and note.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Dessau, *CIL* XIV 3543, note.

<sup>41</sup> XIII 4625, note.

denied<sup>43</sup> that the word *saxanus* is connected with Latin *saxum*, R. Peter regarding Hercules Saxanus as a war-god.<sup>43</sup>

Below Lake Verbanus was found a dedication to Hercules *Mertronnus Anteportanus* (5534), which runs: *Herculi Mertrunno Anteportano pro inpe(trata) sa(lute)*—or, *pro inpe(n)sa—Rusticio v.s.l.m.*

Pais<sup>44</sup> prints a votive inscription to Hercules *Ovanius*. The etymology given by Holder<sup>45</sup> for *Ovan* suggests a possible connection of this cult with that of Hercules Iuvenis.<sup>46</sup>

### THE MATRONS

Especially prominent in the Gauls are the *Matronae*;<sup>47</sup> there are some sixty inscriptions to them in this region alone, in addition to half as many to the practically identical *Iunones*. The dative is spelled *Matronabus* in three instances,<sup>48</sup> and one inscription (3264) begins with a genitive *Matronar(um)*.

In inscriptions beginning with the name *Matronae* or its equivalent standing alone, where the sex can be distinguished a third as many dedicants are women as are men, a very fair representation for the former as inscriptions go. Numbers 4134 and 4137 are set up by one woman in each case for another; the phrases *cum suis* (5788), *cum filis* (5789) and *pro natis* (5790) occur. On a monument ornamented with figures of women dancing, of a man sacrificing and making libation *capite velato*, of another playing a flute *etc.*, Narcissus, slave of Gaius Caesar, honors the Matrons *pro salute C. Caesaris Augusti Germanici* (Lacus Verbanus. 6641). Altars are given in nos. 5252, 5789 and 6615.<sup>49</sup> Decorations on the monuments include, besides those described above, five stola-clad matrons with hands joined (7210) and three women one of whom holds a chest (7703). The letters of no. 6488 were once gilded. All but five inscriptions<sup>50</sup>

<sup>43</sup> By Peter in Rosch. *Lex.* I<sup>2</sup> 3015. 29f; cf. Dottin, *Rel. des Celtes*, p. 13.

<sup>44</sup> *L. c.*, 11. 17f.

<sup>45</sup> *Suppl. Ital.* 844 (Sestocalende).

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.* II 891.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. 5693 on p. 53.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Haverfield, *Romanization of Rom. Brit.* p. 71; Dottin, *Rel. des Celtes* p. 20.

<sup>49</sup> 4137, 4159, *Notizie* 1897. 6.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *Suppl. Ital.* 847 = *Notizie* 1882. 407 to Sanctae M.

<sup>50</sup> 5502, 5587, 7210-1, *Suppl. Ital.* 847.



The Matrons appear in various combinations. The *Matronis et Adganais* of no. 5761<sup>57</sup> has been compared to the *Matronis et vicanis* of no. 5716,<sup>58</sup> and the word *Adganais* to *Adceneicus* (5783) and *Agganaicus* (6409), epithets of J.O.M.<sup>59</sup> For J.O.M. and *Matronae* (5501) and *I.O.M. Matronae indulgentes, Mercurius lucrorum potens* (6954), see under Jupiter, p. 14; for Diana and the Matrons (6497a) under Diana, p. 41; for *Matronae di deaeque* or *et di deae* (6491, 6575<sup>add</sup>) under the latter, p. 94; and for *Matronae et Genii Ausuciatium* (5227) under Genius, p. 21.

#### JUNONES

Beside the general similarity of conception and correspondence of the provenance of the two, there are to support the virtual identity of Junones and *Matronae* certain inscriptions to the Junones *Matronae* (3237, 5249) or *Matronae Junones* (5450). Especially significant is no. 5249, having as it does *Iunonibus Matron(is)* on the front face and on the sides *Iun(onibus)* alone. All but six<sup>60</sup> of the dedications to these divinities are votive offerings.<sup>61</sup> A little altar is the gift in *Suppl. Ital.* 625 = *Notizie* 1883.320. The payment of a vow in no. 781 includes a temple, three statues, a portico with a wall, a kitchen, and the site, a piece of private ground. There are three inscriptions to Junones *A u g u s t a e* (3238-40). Junones are once associated with Hercules as *D i S a n c t i* (4854).

To be identified with the Matrons probably are also the *D o m n a e* (774, 8246) or *D o m i n a e* (*Notizie* 1887.469).<sup>62</sup> Number 8246 is in honor of *Domnae T r e s* or perhaps *Domnae T r i v i a e*.<sup>63</sup> Somewhat similar to the Matrons may be the *F e m i n a e* in an inscription to *Fruges et Feminae*.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Of Cantù, as *Suppl. Ital.* 847 above.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Ihm, *Ann. Rhenan.* LXXXIII (1887) p. 36.

<sup>59</sup> See p. 82.

<sup>60</sup> 780, 3234-5, 4246, 8230, *Notizie* 1912. 11 = *L'ann. Épigr.* 1912. 248.

<sup>61</sup> 781-2, 2380, 3236, 3901, 4157, 4221-5, 4227-8, 5248, 5535, *Suppl. Ital.* 625 = *Notizie* 1883.3201.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Ihm, *Der Mütter- oder Matronenkultus und seine Denkmäler*, p. 98.

<sup>63</sup> The fragments of no. 3307, containing the phrase *ad dominam* in an unintelligible context, can hardly be classed here.

<sup>64</sup> 3227; see Steuding in Rosch. *Lex.* I<sup>2</sup> 1558.

## BELENUS

The thirty-four inscriptions to this god give him a considerable prominence in Cisalpine Gaul, where all but four of the inscriptions in his honor are found.<sup>65</sup> The name is spelled *Belenus* seventeen times, *Belinus* ten times, and in other cases abbreviated. The epithet *Augustus* is frequently added;<sup>66</sup> but no. 1866, which runs: *M. Porc. Tertius Bel. Augus. Concord.*, Mommsen thought might be expanded in the second line *Bel(eno) Augus(talis) Concord(iae)*. *Belenus Defensor Augustus* appears in *L'ann. Épig.* 1895.39, *Apollō Belenus*<sup>67</sup> or *Apollo Belenus Augustus*<sup>68</sup> occasionally: the sphere of *Belenus* is in part the same as that of *Apollo*, if one accepts the etymology which makes his name mean *brilliant*.<sup>66</sup> There is considerable diversity among the dedicants.<sup>69</sup> Number 744, besides being dedicated to the god, is in memory of certain persons and in honor of certain others; no. 749 is in honor of an official. The dedications take these forms: small altars,<sup>70</sup> a seal (1866), a statue of *Cupid* (741), a square pedestal with what it once supported (743), and the restoration of a temple and gift of five gilded shields and two statues (1829). One inscription (735<sup>add</sup>) is in Roman letters up to the last two lines; these are in Greek and consist of the god's name in the dative, *BEAENI*,<sup>71</sup> and the word *XAIPE* respectively. For *Fons Belenus* see under *Fontes*, p. 33: 754<sup>add</sup>, 755 and 8250. A votive offering of an altar is made to *Belinus* and the *Nymphs*.<sup>72</sup>

## MISCELLANEOUS

A pair of inscriptions of *Cemenelum*, otherwise identical and set up by the same centurion, dedicate the altars on which they are inscribed to *Deus Abinius* and *Deus Orevaius* respectively (7865-6). An *Abianus (deus)* appears in *L'ann. Épig.* 1888.22.

<sup>65</sup> For the etymology of the name and a list of such inscr. and literary references to the god, see Holder, *op. cit.*, s. v.

<sup>66</sup> 733-4, 738, 742, 744-5, 752, 1866(?), 2144, 2146, *L'ann. Épig.* 1898. 85.

<sup>67</sup> 732<sup>add</sup>, 737, 8212.

<sup>68</sup> 741, 748-9, 753.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. 732<sup>add</sup>, 740, 746, 751, 1829, 2143, 8212, *L'ann. Épig.* 1895. 36-8.

<sup>70</sup> 733-4 (by the same dedicant), 8212.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. XII 5693. 12. See in general Zilken, *De Inscr. Lat. Graec. Bilinguibus*.

<sup>72</sup> Dessau 4867 from *Maonica* in *Arch. Triestino* 1895, p. 191.

The goddess *Alantēdōba*, to whom a certain man pays a vow in no. 4934 of Camunni, may be compared, says Steuding,<sup>78</sup> as regards the first part of her name, with the god *Alus*, to whom two inscriptions (4197–8) are found in near-by Brixia. In no. 4198 the full form of address<sup>74</sup> is *Deus Alus Saturnus*.<sup>75</sup> This creates a presumption that *Alus*, like *Saturn*, was an agricultural deity.<sup>76</sup>

A certain *Q. Samicius Successus*, both before and after his manumission, paid a vow to *Lacus Benacus* in conjunction with some divinity whose name is missing in part.<sup>77</sup>

In the vicinity of Brixia are a number of inscriptions to *Bergimus*.<sup>78</sup> While the name is probably to be connected with the neighboring *Bergomum*, there is in the words a Celtic root meaning "high," and *Bergimus* is doubtless a mountain spirit.<sup>79</sup> Number 4200 was cut on a little altar, and the restoration of an altar by an aedile of Brixia *ex postulation(e) pleb(is)* is recorded in no. 4981. Mommsen would so expand no. 4202 as to have it addressed to *Genius coloniae Brixiae et Bergimus*.

There is found one poorly cut inscription to *Borīa* (7), understood to be the North Wind, still called *Bora* in these regions as *Boreas* among the Greeks.<sup>80</sup> *Evancelus (sic) colonorum Polensium Borīae v.s.l.m.*

On a fragment of a column from the house of a certain *vilicus* of Trumplini is an inscription (4932) to a Celtic god *Braśennus*.

An altar of Cemenelum bears a votive inscription to *Centōndīs* (7867). Steuding<sup>81</sup> compares the stem of the Celtic city-name *Centobriga* in Celtiberia.

A Celtic god *Cuslanus* appears in an inscription of Arusnates (3898). Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica* p. 766, compares *Cosli* and

<sup>78</sup> Rosch. *Lex.*, s. v.

<sup>74</sup> *D D* in the first. of 4197 may be for *D(omino) D(eo)*.

<sup>76</sup> For the prevalence of *Saturnus* as a cognomen of outlandish gods, see Wissowa, *op. cit.* 207, n. 12.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Steuding in Rosch, *Lex.*, s. v.

<sup>77</sup> East bank of Lake Benacus. 3998; cf. Verg. *Aen.* x 205.

<sup>78</sup> 4200-2, 4981.

<sup>79</sup> See Rosch. *Lex.* and Holder, *op. cit.*, s. v.

<sup>80</sup> See Rosch. *Lex.* I<sup>1</sup> 814, Mommsen *ad. loc.*, Holder, *op. cit.*, s. v. and Tomaszek in *B. B.* IX 98.

<sup>81</sup> Rosch. *Lex.* I<sup>1</sup> 859.

*Cuses* (Orelli 484); *Cosli* he connects (p. 1077) with Old G. *cosl* = *corylus*, "hazel-shrub."<sup>82</sup>

Number 7504 of *Aquae Statiellae* announces the payment of a vow to *Dorminus* and *Suetia*; Ihm suggests<sup>83</sup> they may be a god and goddess of springs, since the warm springs of the place were once frequented.

Number 5057 to a *Deus Ducavavius* has the *L*'s made in a vulgar form.<sup>84</sup>

Some goddess named *Eia* is represented by three inscriptions: *Notizie* 1888.556 of Verona and, as far away as Istria, no. 8 of Pola and *Suppl. Ital.* 1 on a small altar of Nesactium, the last two being votive inscriptions to *Eia Augusta*.

ANINIA . M . F . MAGNA . ET  
SEIA.IONIS.ET.CORNELIA.EPHYRE  
MAGISTRAE.B.D  
PORTICVM . RESTITVERVNT . E T  
AEDICVLVM . FONIONIS

The inscription above (757) and no. 758 in which *Seia Ionis Mag(istra)* alone makes an offering to *Fonio*, both inscriptions being of *Aquileia*, by their association of the attendants of the *Bona Dea* with this god suggest to Steuding<sup>85</sup> that his name is only a by-form of *Faunus*. See p. 33 for a possible third inscription to *Fonio*.

Number 309 from *Rovigno* records the completion and dedication, by a son, of a fane to *Histria* which had been begun by his father; and a small altar found in the debris before a temple of *Neptune* shows a votive inscription (327) to *Histria Terra* by a woman of *Parentium*. The location of *Rovigno* and *Parentium* in *Istria* establish the inference from the name.<sup>86</sup>

Number 3900 of *Arusnates* is in honor of a god graced by the name *Ihamnagalla Sqnnagalla*.<sup>87</sup> The dative of the inscription is in *-e* for *-ae*.

<sup>82</sup> See *id.*, s. v. *Cuslanus* and *Felvennis*.

<sup>83</sup> *Id.* III<sup>2</sup> 1590. See the article *Dorminus* in Pauly-W. V 1568. *CIL* V index has *Dominus* by mistake.

<sup>84</sup> See p. 98, n. 6.

<sup>85</sup> Rosch. *Lex.* I<sup>2</sup> 1496.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Mowat, *Rev. Arch.* 1880, pt. 2 (XL), p. 48 *init.*

<sup>87</sup> The dedicant recurs in 3926-8.

At Bellunum is a votive inscription to L o u c c i a n u s (*Suppl. Ital.* 442 ad *CIL* V 8804). Cf. the comment on *Leucimalacus*, p. 85.

A deity L u d r i a n u s seems to be addressed on an altar (2066) by a woman of Feltria.<sup>88</sup>

A vow is paid to Numen M e l e s o c u s Augustus (8127). *Melesocus* is related by Mommsen to an Istrian tribe-name; but Tomaschek<sup>89</sup> "by way of indication of the relationship between the Illyrian and Greek languages, offers the name of this Istrian deity in connection with the stem *μελες*, 'song'; in that case Melesocus would be, like Apollo or Orpheus, 'the melodious, the one who soothes.' "

Number 6642 accompanies a votive offering to N a t i o r N a t a e, deities unknown.

The N e b r e s of no. 8133 from Pola are regarded by the editor of the *Corpus* (cf. *νεβρις*) as Istrian deities worshipped by Bacchantes.

An altar forms the votive offering to a god P a r o n n u s at Brixia.<sup>90</sup> Pais<sup>91</sup> reminds us that the field where the altar was found is still called by the rustics Campo Paronno.

There is one votive inscription to a divinity called R e v i n u s (4875).

An inscription in ancient characters and grammatical form, which Mommsen regarded as the oldest so far found in Istria, is no. 8184 of Rovigno: *S e i x o m n i a i L e u c i t i c a i P o l a t e s*. Holder<sup>92</sup> accepts the name as Celtic and the deity seems to be local. Tomaschek defines the deity as "die sieghafte Diana."<sup>93</sup>

DIS PATERNIS  
SVRGASTEO  
MAGNO  
PATRO  
Q.M.TRYPHON  
V.S.L.M

To *Surgasteus* in this inscription (Brixia. 4206) Eckhel<sup>94</sup> has

<sup>88</sup> But the word appears as a man's name in DeVit's *Onomasticon* (Ihm in Rosch. *Lex.* II<sup>2</sup> 2147).

<sup>89</sup> In *B. B.* IX (1885) p. 98, as reported by Peter in Rosch. *Lex.* II<sup>2</sup> 2628.

<sup>90</sup> *Notizie* 1882. 289 = *Suppl. Ital.* 741; cf. Holder, *op. cit.*, s. v.

<sup>91</sup> *Suppl. Ital.* 741.

<sup>92</sup> *Op. cil.* II 1460.

<sup>93</sup> *B. B.* IX 99; cf. *Louccianus* above and cross reference there.

<sup>94</sup> *Doctr. Num. Vet.* II 438.

compared certain coins of Tios in Bithynia, inscribed ΖΕΤΣ ΣΤΡΓΑΣΤΗΣ. *Συργάστης* is then derived from *συνεργάστης* = *συνεργάτης*, "cooperator."<sup>95</sup> *Surgastēus* is also connected by some with *Suregethes*.<sup>96</sup> Mommsen (ad loc.) and Dessäü (II<sup>1</sup>135) after Labus refer *Patro* to a certain *Patarus*, reputed founder of Tios.

In the midst of an altar at Trumplini is an inscription consisting of the one word TVLLINO (4914), the *L*'s being of a familiar vulgar type.<sup>97</sup>

There is one Istrian dedication to *V e i c a N o r i c e i a* (717).<sup>98</sup> The spelling *coir(averunt)* attests its antiquity.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Mordtmann, *Rev. Arch. n. s.* XXXVI (1878) 292; Kämmel, *Herakleotica* 47, n. 2.

<sup>96</sup> See Höfer in Rosch. *Lex.* IV 1607; cf. Weinreich, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXVII (1912) 40f.

<sup>97</sup> See n. 6 on p. 98; cf. VII 1337. 59-60.

<sup>98</sup> = I 1465.

CHAPTER VIII  
SYNCRETISTIC TENDENCIES

DI DEAE

A considerable number of inscriptions are without the name of any specific god. These take the following forms: *dea*,<sup>1</sup> *deae* (8213), *deus* (4204), *dei deaeque* or the like,<sup>2</sup> *di omnes*,<sup>3</sup> *di deae omnes*,<sup>4</sup> *di deae immortales*,<sup>5</sup> *deus augustus*,<sup>6</sup> (*Neptunus*) *deique augusti* (328), *di conservatores*,<sup>7</sup> *dei patrii*,<sup>8</sup> *di omnes et Caesares* (5736), (*I.O.M.*) *dei deae* or the like,<sup>9</sup> (*Mars cum*) *diis deabus* (5240), (*Matronae et*) *di deae* or the like,<sup>10</sup> *dei deae (et dei Penates)*, 514). A curious inscription is no. 5634 of the Ager Mediolaniensis:  *votis omnibus caelestibus consentientibus benevertentibusq(ue) L. Parius Hermes*.

PANTHEUS

*Pantheus* is used as a cognomen of Jupiter, Liber, Priapus, Serapis and Silvanus in various localities;<sup>11</sup> but occasionally in Cisalpine Gaul, as elsewhere, an independent god of this name is in evidence, conceived, apparently, as some sort of epitome of the qualities or personalities of all the gods.<sup>12</sup> In an inscription of the first or second century<sup>13</sup> he appears, and again as *D i v u s Panteus*.<sup>14</sup> A dedicant who honored the Vires on the same stone at Milan (5798) paid some vow to *D e u s M a g n u s Pantheus*<sup>15</sup>, adding a statue as well; and *Pantheus A u g u s t u s* is found once (3279).

<sup>1</sup> 6965, with the gift of a gilded serpent; cf. n. 66 on p. 57 with context.

<sup>2</sup> 767, 3219, 4936 (gift of table), 5061, 5560 (gift of temple), 5640.

<sup>3</sup> 4937, 6949.

<sup>4</sup> 768, 4205, 5059-60, 5497, 8215.

<sup>5</sup> 8214 (?); cf. 7870 on p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> 3220; cf. 328, 2480, 3305-6.

<sup>7</sup> 4864, with the phrase *pro salute*; cf. 5062 to *Iuppiter et di conservatores* on p. 13.

For *di con.*, see Toutain, *Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain*, p. 441.

<sup>8</sup> 4207; cf. *di paterni* of 4206.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> 6491, 6575<sup>add</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *op. cit.* 91, n. 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.* 92. As such, the god might be classed with deified abstractions.

<sup>13</sup> 5099; see Peter in Rosch. *Lex.* III<sup>1</sup> 1157. 23-5.

<sup>14</sup> 5523; for such epigraphical evidence of the pronunciation of Lat. *th*, see Bennett, *Lat. Lang.* 31. 4.

<sup>15</sup> See p. 32.

Both the *di deae* and the *Pantheus* conceptions look somewhat away from literal and unqualified polytheism toward something synthetic. The former may at times have arisen from motives of economy or fear of offending some deities by showing preference to others, but the germ of syncretism is present. And when votaries of *Pantheus* arise there is a still longer step taken in the direction of monotheism.

The really typical instances, however, of syncretism proper are the following cults, whose varying forms and degrees of internal relationship, as between the respective members of the several pairs of deities involved, have been discussed in previous pages: *Genius Liberi Augusti*,<sup>16</sup> *Deus Alus Saturnus*,<sup>17</sup> *Augusta Bona Dea Cereria*,<sup>18</sup> *Mater Deum Magna Cereria*,<sup>19</sup> *Venus Caelestis*,<sup>20</sup> *Apollo Belenus*,<sup>21</sup> *Juno Luna Regina*,<sup>22</sup> *Nemesis Fortuna Diana*,<sup>23</sup> *Jupiter Dolichenus*,<sup>24</sup> *Sarapis Optimus Maximus*,<sup>25</sup> *Mithras Sol*,<sup>26</sup> the Celtic cults of *Jupiter* (p. 81 ff), *Mars* (p. 84f) and *Hercules* (p. 85f), *Matronae Junones* (p. 88), *Seixomnia Leucitica = Diana*.<sup>27</sup>

There are a number of dedications, nearly all votive offerings, in which the name of the deity is either wanting or indecipherable.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>16</sup> 326; see pp. 20 and 56.

<sup>17</sup> 3198; see pp. 25 and 90.

<sup>18</sup> 761; see pp. 26 and 56.

<sup>19</sup> 796; see pp. 26, n. 160, 56, and 72.

<sup>20</sup> 8137-8; see pp. 48 and 80.

<sup>21</sup> See pp. 55 and 89.

<sup>22</sup> 3233; see pp. 23 and 62.

<sup>23</sup> See p. 67 f.

<sup>24</sup> See pp. 9 and 74 ff.

<sup>25</sup> See p. 77.

<sup>26</sup> See p. 77 f.

<sup>27</sup> 8184 on one interpretation; see pp. 41 (n. 15), 92.

<sup>28</sup> 1835, 6413, 8201, 8364, I 1456 (to be reconstructed after this fashion: [CAELICO]LIS . SACR(VM) / [FACIVNDV]M. COIR (AVERVNT) / D D / [V . LVCR]ETIVS . V. F / [L . HOR]ATIVS . L. F), *Suppl. Ital.* 695, *Notizie* 1882. 94 & 287, 1885. 331, *L'ann. Épig.* 1894. 149-50, *Inscr. Gr. ad Res Rom. pertinentes* I 483: Κλαυδία, Καλλικράτεια και Κορηήλιος Διαδοιμενός ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς θεοῦ τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθηκαν.

CHAPTER IX  
DEDICANTS AND THEIR SOCIAL GROUPS

THE CLASSIFICATION

Any study of the personnel of dedicants involves difficulties and limitations. Many inscriptions are wholly or in part without name or indication of the dedicant. Further, in an attempt to determine the social status of those worshipping each of the several individual gods or groups of gods, after account has been taken of such information as is expressly given in the inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> the main dependence must be placed on a study of the dedicants' names for information not expressly furnished. In this instance, care has been taken to utilize known Roman usage as to names in every available way, in the effort to arrive at a right classification; that usage, however, varied as time passed while few inscriptions are datable, and was not always adhered to by the dedicants, owing to personal or local vagaries or epigraphical exigency. And yet, since approved criteria are consistently used throughout, though individual figures in the tables upon which the following generalizations are based may be occasionally inexact, these errors will be so far negligible as not to impair the validity of the generalizations, the more as none of the latter are derived from minute differences in the statistics.

The dedicants will be considered mainly in two sets of groups, the sets not, as will be obvious, mutually exclusive: 1. (a) men and (b) women; 2. (a) free persons, (b) *libertini* or *libertinae*, and (c) slaves of either sex. For convenience, the words "freemen" and "freedmen," like the word "slaves," will be used to include both sexes. Occasional mention will be made of officials, priests, soldiers *etc.*; but there are not sufficient numbers of these groups so that one can with assurance make deductions from the figures, nor are the officials widely representative, being usually *seviri*. The comparisons of the prevalence of a god or class of gods as between groups (a) and (b) respectively of 1 or (a), (b) and (c) respectively of 2 are on the basis of the ratio of the number of dedications in honor of that god or class of gods to the total number of dedications to all gods by members

<sup>1</sup> Only such thoroughly dependable information has been utilized previously in the dissertation; hence some apparent discrepancies in statistics between this more intensive study and some earlier statements.

of the group in question. For example, 3% of the men dedicants worship Diana and 8% of the women dedicants; these two ratios are accordingly compared. Since there are six and a half times as many men dedicants all told as women dedicants, there are only three deities in the case of which there are numerically as many women dedicants as men; but it would be misleading to proceed on a literal numerical basis to the assertion that all but three of the numerous deities made their appeal chiefly to men, and no distinctions could be made on such a basis. Similarly, the actual numbers of free persons, freedmen and slaves are roughly as 3:2:1. The predominance claimed in what follows for various gods will often be numerical as well as proportional; but where the choice of terms does not distinguish the two the proportional is to be understood.

#### ROMAN GODS

With all five groups the Roman gods, largely by reason of the inclusion of Jupiter, are the most popular, very markedly so with the slaves, somewhat more so with men than with women. About a third of all dedications in Cisalpine Gaul are to them. J u p i t e r leads in every group of worshipers, but most noticeably among the slaves, who set up a fifth of their inscriptions to him, as opposed to a tenth, for instance, among the freedmen. In an inscription (4984) reading: *I.O.M. / Tib. Claud[iu]s / prim.lucr. / v.s.l.m.*, the next to the last line brings a verdict of *non liquet* from Mommsen. It may be that a slave had vowed his first earnings as a freedman to Jupiter and here records payment of the vow. Sometimes the dedicants are *vicani* or other groups.<sup>2</sup> Seven soldiers, thirteen officials and two priests honor the god. The few dedications to M a r s are usually by men, more often proportionally by slaves than by the other two groups: only one soldier is distinguishable. V e s t a and the L a r e s and P e n a t e s, oddly enough, are addressed by men only; there are fifteen inscriptions altogether. Those to the Lares partake of an official character; they are by *magistri* and *ministri* (3257; cf. 792), *cultores collegii Larum* (4432), or the steward of the estate (7739); nineteen slaves collectively address the Lares Augusti (4087), and there are dedications to the Lares of the imperial house (3259; cf. 2795, 3258). To the Lares, as to the Genius, of a patron inscriptions are addressed (4340, 4432). Naturally, men preponderate among

<sup>2</sup> 5471, 5604, 784, *Notizie* 1909. 4 = *L'ann. Épigra.* 1909. 204.

dedicants to *Genius*, with freemen in a decided minority, because doubtless of the custom of honoring a master's or patron's *Genius*; guilds make collective offerings several times.<sup>3</sup> Parents honor a son's *Genius* (7596), men their friend's (7514). *Juno* is relatively slighted by the free-born and is, like *Bona Dea*, more popular with women than with men, whereas *Satur-nus* is favored by men. What has been said of *Genius* will apply to *Juno* in so far as the latter is regarded as the female principle corresponding to the former; freedmen and slaves honoring the *Juno* of patroness or mistress are prominent. Her *magistrae* are notable among the worshipers of *Bona Dea*.<sup>4</sup> *Silvanus*, who enjoys great prominence wherever men are in the majority, while seventh\* in the list among free-born dedicants, is third\* among slaves and freedmen, only *Mercury* and *Hercules* crowding him from rank next *Jupiter* among all dedicants. His cult is next to *Jupiter's* in prevalence among the Roman gods. The spelling *Daeus Santus Silvanus* in no. 8136 is suggestive of the popularity of this god with the lower classes, as is the poor carving mentioned by the editors<sup>5</sup> and the use of the rustic form of *L*.<sup>6</sup> One notices in the same connection the *vilicus* (820), the foresters,<sup>7</sup> the wood-cutters of *Aquileia* (815) and the hunter (3302) as dedicants, and the little altar in a rustic hut (8243). Numbers 2383 and 5548 are inscribed by dancers. Women and slaves predominate in inscriptions to the *Nymphs*, *Fontes* and the like. Here again we meet, with the same significance as in the case of *Silvanus*, uncertain spelling: *Nimphae* (3184), *Numphae* (4918), *Nynfae*;<sup>8</sup> number 5224 is in form as much a scrawl as the *graffiti* of Pompeian walls; the one soldier dedicant is not thus illiterate (2476). There is a hint of *Neptunus's* original character, practical and of inland and riparian waters rather than of the high seas, at variance with the lordly *Poseidon*, in a dedication by fishermen in the Maritime Alps

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 19ff.

<sup>4</sup> 757, 759, 762.

<sup>5</sup> 5800, *Suppl. Ital.* 742.

<sup>6</sup> 2799, 3297-8; cf. 4914, 5057, 5213, 5217, 5533, 5604, 5661, 6603, 6642, 7494. See Egbert, *Lat. Inscr.* 32; Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigr. Lat.* 18, the last form in each case.

<sup>7</sup> 2383, 5548.

<sup>8</sup> 5224; cf. *Lymphae* of 5468 and *Lumpae* of IV 815. See Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, 28.

\* An asterisk signifies that a rank is shared by two or more gods.

country.<sup>9</sup> The *Benacenses* as a group consecrate some offering to the god (4874). In the case of *D i M a n e s* no elaborate study of epigraphical material is required to inform us that all classes from emperor to slave were fully represented among the dedicants. Freemen are in the majority in the occasional worship of *D e i P a r e n t e s*.

### ITALIC GODS

The Italic gods are the one class in which the women have a larger ratio of representation than the men—more than twice as large; for comprised here are the female deities: Diana, Minerva, Feronia, Venus. Whereas this class stands fourth with men, with free-born, freedmen and slaves, it stands second with women, above the Greek and Celtic cults which precede in the other groups. Besides being much stronger proportionally with women than with men, *D i a n a* seems to have appealed especially to *libertini*; perhaps the occasional misspelling of the name as *Deana* may contribute a little additional evidence that the goddess was a favorite with the lower orders.<sup>10</sup> A number of minor officials, however, and a *clarissimus vir* are to be credited to her;<sup>11</sup> a *magistra* appears twice.<sup>12</sup> *M i n e r v a*, *F o r t u n a* and *V e n u s* have much the larger ratio of representation among women, and the first two are worshipped by freemen, freedmen and slaves in order of frequency as named. Minerva, Diana and Fortuna are third, fourth and fifth among all gods with women, Venus being sixth:\* all four are relatively low among other groups except that Minerva shares with Hercules the fourth place in the freemen's group. A *decurio* (1892), *seviri*<sup>13</sup> and one of her priestesses (6412) are among Minerva's worshippers. We see direct contact in no. 801 between the occupation, not of the dedicants, but of certain persons in whom they are interested and the natural domain of the goddess; for the dedicants, in setting up an altar to Minerva Augusta, are acting on behalf of certain slaves, fullers owned by a certain Artorius, if we accept Mommsen's interpretation of the

<sup>9</sup> 7850; but see p. 34 for the carvings of the monument, which point in the other direction.

<sup>10</sup> 2086, 5763, *L'ann. Épig.* 1900. 93; but this may indicate the date of the inscriptions rather; see p. M. Perhaps the worship of *Diana in Aventino* by freedmen may have sent out some influence to Cisalpine Gaul.

<sup>11</sup> 513, 3102, 6828, 8216, 5092.

<sup>12</sup> 7633, *L'ann. Épig.* 1900. 94.

<sup>13</sup> 3272, 4282.

lines.<sup>14</sup> The dozen inscriptions to *Aponus* and the three to *Priapus* are all by men, most of the former by freemen. A soldier (2784), an official (2785) and an actor (2787) bring not a little diversity into the small group of devotees of *Aponus*.

### GREEK GODS

The Greek gods are second in order of frequency of appearance in every group but that of women, where they stand fourth, having little more than half the ratio for the Italic. The men make a decidedly better showing than the women, and slaves appear somewhat more partial to these Greek deities than do freemen and freedmen. Between a fifth and a fourth of all dedications are to them. The *Fates* have a larger ratio of women worshippers; but *Hercules* and *Mercury*, the gods most prominent in this class, have big majorities of men dedicants. What few inscriptions there are to *Ceres*, *Aesculapius*, *Dis*, and *Luna* are set up by men. *Hercules*, who is eighth with women dedicants, is third with men, next after *Mercury*. With the free-born he is fourth,\* third\* with the slaves, and second with freedmen. The predominance of the lower classes is rather striking. While a man's references to his own poverty are often to be taken *cum grano salis*, the phrase *de suo parcimonio* in no. 4156 adds a bit of evidence here. There may be listed also the *vilicus* of 5558, the carpenter of 4216, the stone-masons of 7869, the reaper of 7804, and the *mercator* of 6350. Several, usually minor, officials appear also;<sup>15</sup> there are dedications by *magistri vici* (1830), certain *cultores* (5593), a *collegium dendrophorum* (3312), and other group offerings.<sup>16</sup> The chequered career of a certain woman who provided the plebs with *panem et circenses*, suffered reverses, gained prestige by *Hercules'* favor and was made a patroness, being honored with a gilded statue, faced jealousy and violence, but could still conclude with a tribute to *Hercules Invictus*, may be deciphered from a corrupt inscription of some length (5049), carved in letters whose form suggests the first century. *Mercury* varies from second place with men, the free-born, and slaves to fifth with freedmen and sixth\* with women. Among his dedicants are

<sup>14</sup> See p. 43.

<sup>15</sup> See p. 54.

<sup>16</sup> 5528, 5742.

three soldiers, eleven officials,<sup>17</sup> a traveler (4249), a trader (7145), a clothier (6777), and a freedman paying a vow for liberty secured (6574). Number 6506 closes with the prayer, "*ut (sc. nos) facias hilares, semper tua templa colamus.*" The significant thing to note in the case of this god is the tremendous vogue he had rather than any special distinctiveness of his devotees. It may be noted in passing that, according to no. 6970, a bequest was left "to the medical profession in Taurini, worshippers of Asclepius and Hygia": less appropriate is a dedication to A p o l l o by linen-weavers (3217).

### DEIFIED ABSTRACTIONS

The Deified Abstractions are sixth in point of prominence in every group but that of the women, where they are entirely wanting. Freedmen, freemen, slaves is the order in the other set of groups. The presence here of soldiers among the dedicants is rather marked. V i c t o r y (7861), S p e s (701), and N e m e s i s (3105) are chosen by them. It is plain that the boxer's wife who in no. 3466 laments her husband's early death in the outburst, "Put no faith in Nemesis, so deceived have I been!" had been a votary of that deity. The editor's comment, "pessimis litteris," in the case of inscriptions to Nemesis,<sup>18</sup> though varied by "litteris elegantibus" in one instance (*Suppl. Ital.* 166), inclines one to the thought of a humble clientele for the divinity. An anonymous *cultor* addresses Victory (5025); a knight and official, *Spes* (708); a *sevir*, Nemesis (813). There are often group offerings to the Abstractions: by the *collegium* (*Artanorum*) to *I u v e n t u s Artanorum* (4088), by the Curators of the Order of Associated Sevirs to the B o n u m E v e n t u m of the Order (4203); similarly, when one meets an invocation to the C o n c o r d of the curators of the guilds of smiths and rag-dealers (5612), of the guild of smiths alone (7555), or of the guild of *dendrophori* (7617), he assumes that the dedicants are members of these guilds or otherwise closely associated with them. The people of Comum hail the N u m e n and M a j e s t y of the reigning emperor (*Notizie* 1881.336). It is a *vir clarissimus, corrector Italiae*, who addresses the Numen of Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus Pius *etc.* (2817). It

<sup>17</sup> See p. 57.

<sup>18</sup> 812, 8241.

is probably Pliny the Younger who assists in a dedication to A e t e r n i t a s Roma and Augustus.<sup>19</sup>

#### DIVI

Few dedications to the Divi have been found in Cisalpine Gaul; those who include priesthoods of the Divi among their various distinctions have been reported on p. 70f.

#### ORIENTAL GODS

The Oriental gods are fifth in all the groups. Men and women show about the same interest in them, slaves about half the interest shown by freemen and freedmen. M a g n a M a t e r has among women three times the ratio of representation among men; the ratios of freemen, slaves and freedmen are in the descending order of the group-names as given. To be cited among her dedicants are: *sacerdos*, *aedituus* and *cymbalistris* of the goddess (519), a soldier (795a), and a son honoring his mother's memory (520). The freeman who sets up no. 3221 to A e t e r n u s gives as his reason "*quot se precibus compotem fecisset.*" One of the three inscriptions to J.O.M. D o l i c h e n u s is by a soldier (1870). I s i s is tenth of all the gods in popularity; men and women are about equally her devotees and freedmen lead in the other three groups. Only Mithras Sol excels her among the Oriental gods. *Seviri*,<sup>20</sup> a *flamen Romae et Augusti* and official,<sup>21</sup> a *sacerdos Isidis Augustae* (2806), a soldier (4041), *magistri* (8211), a clothier (*Suppl. Ital.* 159) and a *cellarius* (3294) are of interest among the dedicants. M i t h r a s S o l,<sup>22</sup> who was most prominent in this class, is sixth among all gods with the freeborn and seventh with men, but tenth\* with freedmen, thirteenth\* with women and fourteenth\* with slaves. He is more than two and a half times as popular with men as with women, twice as popular with freemen and freedmen as with slaves. Of individual dedicants there are: four sevirs<sup>23</sup>, another under-official (4935), the emperors Diocletian and Maximian,<sup>24</sup> three soldiers,<sup>25</sup> a *haruspex* and *Dei*

<sup>19</sup> *Suppl. Ital.* 745 = *Notizie* 1880.336; see p. 67.

<sup>20</sup> See p. 76, n. 36.

<sup>21</sup> *Suppl. Ital.* 624 = *Notizie* 1880. 208.

<sup>22</sup> Cautus is included, as a phase of Mithras.

<sup>23</sup> See p. 78, n. 61.

<sup>24</sup> 803; cf. *Notizie* 1917. 272.

<sup>25</sup> See p. 78. n. 62.

*Mithrae sacerdos* (5704), a *pater patratus*,<sup>26</sup> a *pater nomimus* (764), a *flamen* (3917), a *negotiator* (8939), a *vilicus* (810), and *res publica*, that is, the city of Brixia (4284).

### CELTIC GODS

The Celtic gods are third in each of the five groups, preceded by the Roman and Greek cults, except that the Italic are substituted for the Greek in the women's group. In fact, they claim almost exactly a sixth of the dedicants in every group but that of the slaves, where they have only a tenth. *Belenus* stands ninth among all gods with men and freedmen and seventh\* with freemen, but is practically unrecognized by women and slaves. In the Celtic class he is second to the Matrons in importance, standing virtually the same with men, freeborn and freedmen. The following appear as dedicants: *seviri*,<sup>27</sup> *magistri vici* (1829), the emperors Diocletianus and Maximianus (732<sup>add</sup>), soldiers,<sup>28</sup> a trader,<sup>29</sup> a steward (737), a *sacerdos Laurens Lavinas* (746), a knight, *vir egregius*,<sup>30</sup> and a member, presumably, of a guild of smiths and rag-dealers (749). The *Matronae Junones* are second to Jupiter alone among women dedicants, fourth with men, third with the freeborn and *libertini*,\* and fifth with slaves. In the Celtic class they come first with every group. Soldiers,<sup>31</sup> *seviri*,<sup>32</sup> a steward (7211), a *mercator* and *viator*,<sup>33</sup> a smith (4225), a clothier (774), and two groups, the *Cornelii* (6491), and the *masvomes* who pay their vow by proxy,<sup>34</sup> constitute the persons of interest here. The personnel of the dedicants to *Poeninus* seems to correspond to the rugged and not easily accessible *locale* of the cult: all are men, except that a woman's name is once included by one who is presumably her husband (6872), soldiers are prominent,<sup>35</sup> slaves appear,<sup>36</sup> and the frequent uncer-

<sup>26</sup> 5795; cf. 763.

<sup>27</sup> 740, 743-4, 751-2, 2143-4, 8212.

<sup>28</sup> 748, *L'ann. Épig.* 1895. 36 & 38.

<sup>29</sup> *L'ann. Épig.* 1898. 85.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 1895. 38.

<sup>31</sup> 774, 7872-3, *Notizie* 1887. 469.

<sup>32</sup> 781, 3239, 5348 = *Notizie* 1917. 272.

<sup>33</sup> 5788, 6654,—unless these are cognomina.

<sup>34</sup> See p. 87.

<sup>35</sup> 6868-9, 6872, 6874, 6879, 6881, 6883.

<sup>36</sup> 6878, 6884 etc.

tainties of orthography suggest the lower classes. Besides the correct spelling, *Poeninus*, we see *Poininus*,<sup>37</sup> *Poninus*,<sup>38</sup> *Peoninus*,<sup>39</sup> *Pyninus*,<sup>40</sup> *Peoeninus* (6879) and *Puoeninus* (6871). One may compare the numerous errors in no. 6876, quoted on p. 84. A *tabellarius coloniae Sequanorum* is seen in no. 6887.

The inscriptions which involve a syncretistic tendency, such notably as those to Dei Deae and Pantheus,<sup>41</sup> are almost evenly distributed, about  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$  of the inscriptions in each of the five groups. There is an occasional instance among those to Dei Deae of the types met repeatedly before: officials,<sup>42</sup> a *mercator* (5640), a soldier (328), a group (6491).

#### SUMMARY

The most general statement which can be made as to the distribution of inscriptions is that the Roman cults, and the Italic and Greek combined, receive each approximately 35% and the other classes combined 30%: this is true whether or not we include some 320 inscriptions without name or indication of dedicant. Including these, the order and the percentages run thus: (1) Roman gods 35.8%, (2) Greek gods 21.5%, (3) Italic and Celtic gods each 13.4%, (5) Oriental gods 8.8%, (6) Deified abstractions 5%, (7) Syncretistic dedications 2%. The exclusion of these nameless inscriptions would merely change certain ratios by not more than 1%, except that the Celtic cults would be thereby increased relatively 2% and put definitely into third place, where they stand in all five groups cited above. It must be added also that there are at most, including several dubious lines, seven dedications to the Divi and Dea Roma; the more than a hundred references to the holding of priesthods of the Divi, merely incidental to the enumeration of various honors, though they have a slight religious bearing, are not dedications and do not belong here. The following table gives the standing of the seven classes of gods (the Divi being, as stated, negligible) in each of the five groups of dedicants in descending order of percentages,

<sup>37</sup> *Notizie* 1887. 468.

<sup>38</sup> *Id.* 1892. 445.

<sup>39</sup> *L'ann. Épig.* 1894. 151 = *Notizie* 1894. 36.

<sup>40</sup> *Id.* 1904. 170.

<sup>41</sup> See Wissowa, *R. K.* 92.

<sup>42</sup> 4204, 6965.

	Rom.	Grk.	Celt.	Ital.	Orient.	Abstr.	Syncr.
<b>MEN</b>	34.7	23.	16.1	11.1	7.7	4.9	2.5
<b>WOMEN</b>	30.7	15.4	16.8	27.1	7.3	0.	2.7
<b>FREE</b>	32.5	21.6	16.	14.4	8.1	4.9	2.5
<b>FREED</b>	33.3	21.4	16.2	13.2	7.9	5.6	2.4
<b>SLAVE</b>	44.	27.3	10.6	8.3	3.8	3.	3.
<b>TOTAL</b> (nameless included)	35.8	21.5	13.4	13.4	8.8	5.1	2.

except where italics call attention to a variation. The significant facts apparent in the table have, in the main, been noticed above: the variation on the part of the women in favor of the Italic class (including the prominent female deities) as against the Greek, and their ignoring the Abstractions; and the thorough-going orthodoxy of the slaves, who slight Celtic and Oriental cults (both highly regular in the other groups of dedicants) and Abstractions and favor the Roman deities with over 2/5 of their total, and the Roman and the well-established Greek deities combined with nearly 3/4 of their total.

Eliminating the similarities of the groups in the two sets and selecting what is distinctive, we discover that the following gods, in order of their popularity,<sup>48</sup> are markedly more popular with men than with women; Mercury (2), Hercules (3), Silvanus(5), Genius (6), Mithras (7), Belenus (9), Poeninus (11), Mars (14); and these more popular with women: Matronae (2), Minerva (3), Diana (4), Fortuna (5), Venus (6), Juno (9), Nymphs and Mater (10). The distinction is one that would tend to obtain anywhere: the men worship the male gods, the women the female. Men predominate in the Roman and Greek classes and Abstractions; women in the Italic. As to the other set of groups, the greatest popularity of Minerva (4) and Fortuna (12) is among the freeborn; of Hercules (2), Matronae (3), Diana (6), and Isis (10) among the freed; of Jupiter (1), Mercury (2), Silvanus (3), Genius (6), Apollo (7), Mars and the Nymphs (10) among slaves. Slaves claim precedence among the Roman and Greek classes, in which are all the gods just assigned them; freemen and freedmen share the lead in the Mithras and Belenus cults and in Celtic, Italic and Oriental classes as wholes, standing together also,

<sup>48</sup> The numbers in parentheses after the names show the order of each in a complete list of the gods as worshiped by the group (men, women; free, freed, slave) under consideration in the phrase or clause; gaps in the sequence stand for such gods as are of about the same importance in both or the three groups as the case may be.

though not in the lead, as to the Greek gods; and slaves and freedmen are predominant in the Silvanus (and incidentally the Juno) cult, standing together as to Fortuna lower in the scale. For purposes of comparison it may be added in conclusion that, counting also the nameless dedications, "The Twelve Great Gods" of Cisalpine Gaul were, in order of importance (reading down):

IVPPITER	MATRONAE*	DIANA
MERCVRIVS	MINERVA	ISIS
HERCVLES	MITHRAS	BELENVS
SILVANVS*	GENIVS	POENINVS

## INDEX OF PASSAGES

Augustine, <i>De Civ. Dei</i> vii 16. . . . .	72 n. 1	Macrobius i 12. 26. . . . .	27
Callimachus ii 6. . . . .	59	vi 5. 2. . . . .	36 n. 223
Cassiodorus, <i>Var.</i> , ii 39. . . . .	45 n. 41	Ovid, <i>Fast.</i> vi 731. . . . .	7 n. 46
Cato, <i>De Agr.</i> 134. . . . .	5 n. 39	Paulus, <i>Historia Langobardorum</i> iv	
Catullus xvii. . . . .	17 n. 106	22. 49. . . . .	54
lxvii 34. . . . .	82	Plautus, <i>Asin.</i> 716. . . . .	45 n. 42
Cicero, <i>Ac.</i> i 8.30. . . . .	13	Pliny, <i>N. H.</i> ii 52. . . . .	7 n. 46, 8
<i>De Div.</i> i 10. . . . .	7 n. 46, 8 n. 52	ii 103. 227. . . . .	47 n. 59
<i>Or.</i> iii 10. . . . .	13	iii 19. 130. . . . .	82
<i>Tusc.</i> i 24.58. . . . .	13	xv 8. 34. . . . .	66 n. 4
Claudian, <i>Idyll</i> vi 5-6. . . . .	45 n. 41, 46 n. 54	xxxii 6. 61. . . . .	47 n. 59
<i>Epigr. Gr.</i> 272 (Kaibel). . . . .	59	Plutarch, <i>Caes.</i> 9. . . . .	27
<i>Exodus</i> xx 24-5. . . . .	29 n. 176	<i>De Fort. Rom.</i> 16. . . . .	45 n. 42
Festus 50, 62 Th. de P. (71, 87 M). . . . .	2 n. 8	Ptolemy iii 1. 27. . . . .	82
284Th. deP. (75M). . . . .	7 n. 46, 8	Schol. Veron. on Verg., <i>Aen.</i> i 249. . . . .	46
125Th. deP. (144M). . . . .	36 n. 223	Seneca, <i>Ep.</i> 58 <i>med.</i> . . . . .	13
Fronto, <i>De Orat.</i> 157 Nab. . . . .	46 n. 51	Servius, <i>Aen.</i> ii 251. . . . .	22 n. 139
Gellius v 12. 5. . . . .	2 n. 8	vii 799. . . . .	47 n. 62
Horace, <i>Carm.</i> i 1. 25. . . . .	2 n. 9	viii 601. . . . .	28
iii 17. 15. . . . .	33	viii 724. . . . .	36 n. 223
Justin xx 5. 8. . . . .	82	Silius Ital. xii 218. . . . .	46 n. 53
Livy v 35. . . . .	82	Suetonius, <i>Tiber.</i> 14. . . . .	44
x 2. 14. . . . .	22	Tacitus, <i>Hist.</i> iii 34. . . . .	34 n. 217
xxi 38. . . . .	83 n. 20	Tibullus 58 Bährens. . . . .	49
<i>Epil.</i> xiv. . . . .	7 n. 46, 8 n. 42	Varro, <i>L. L.</i> v 66. . . . .	2 n. 8
Lucan vii 193 ff. . . . .	46 n. 53	vi 47. . . . .	48 n. 69
Lucretius iii 43. . . . .	13	vii 26. . . . .	5 n. 39
Martial vi 42. 4. . . . .	46 n. 53	Vergil, <i>Aen.</i> i 66. . . . .	36
vi 47. 5. . . . .	33	x 205. . . . .	90 n. 77
vii 36. 1. . . . .	2 n. 9	Vitruvius i 6 ff. . . . .	64 n. 105
		x 8. . . . .	25 n. 154

## GENERAL INDEX

- Abianus (Deus) 89  
 Abinius, Deus 89  
 Adganai, Matronae and 82, 88  
 Admetus and Alcestis 55  
 Astarte 80  
 Aequitas Augusta 67  
 Aerecura 60 f.  
 Aesculapius 59 f., 100 f.  
     Augustus 59  
     and Hygia 59 f.  
 Aeternitas, Roma and Augustus 67, 102  
 Aeturnus 73 f., 102  
 Alantedoba 90  
 Alcestis, Admetus and 55  
 Alus 25, 90  
     Deus A. Saturnus 25, 90, 95  
 Ambisagrus, J.O.M. Conservator and  
     81 f.  
 Amphale 54  
 Anubis Augustus 77  
 Apollo 55, 101, 105  
     Belenus 55, 89, 95  
     Numen of 55  
     and Diana 41, 55  
 Aponi, Aquae 44 ff., 100  
 Aquatiles, Neptune and dei 35  
*astrologiae studiosus* 68, n. 30  
 Attis Papas 73  
 Augusti; Neptune and dei 35  
 Augustus, Roma and 67, 102  
 Belenus 89, 103, 105 f.  
     Apollo 55, 89, 95  
     Augustus 89  
     Defensor Augustus 89  
     Fons Belenus 33, 89  
 Bellona 17, 66  
 Benacus, Lacus 90  
 Bergimus 90  
 Bona Dea 25 ff., 98  
     Augusta 25 f.  
     Cereria 26, 95  
     Pagana 26  
     *magistrae, ministræ* 26  
 Bonus Eventus 67, 101  
 Boria 90  
 Brasennus 90  
 calendar 64  
 Castor Deus 52  
     and Pollux 52  
 Cautes and Cautopates 73, 79  
     Deus Cautopates 79  
     *leones* 79  
 Centondis 90  
 Ceres 55 f., 100  
     Augusta 55 f.  
     See *Cereria* 26, 72, 95  
 charms 68 n. 30  
 Concordia 65, 101  
     Augusta 65  
     *collegiorum* 65  
     *militum* 65  
     *dendrophoroi* 65, 101  
 Consecratio 68  
 Cuslanus 90  
 Defensor 12; see J. Def.  
 di deae 94, 104  
     *augusti* 94  
     *fatales* 50  
     *immortales* 94  
     *omnes* 94  
 dedication, law of 64  
 Diana 39 ff., 68, 92, 95, 97, 99, 105 f.  
     Augusta 39 f.  
     Caelestis 40  
     Conservatrix 40  
     Lucifera 40 f.  
     Numen of 40  
     Sancta 41  
     Trivia Quadrivia 41  
     Virgo 41  
     *magistrae* 40  
     *signum* 41  
 Dis 60 f., 100  
     Pater and Aerecura 60 f.  
 Divi and Divae 70 f.  
 Dominae 88  
     Triviae 88  
 Dorminus and Sueta 91

- Ducavavius Deus 91  
 Eia 91  
   Augusta 91  
 Fatae or Fati 50 ff., 68, 100  
   Dervones 50  
   Di Deae Fatales 50  
   Divini and Barbarici 50  
   Masculi 50  
 Feminae, Fruges and 88.  
 Feronia and Juno 24, 47  
 Florentes 27 f.  
 Fonio 33, 91  
 Fontes 32 f.  
   Augusti 32  
   Belenus, Fons 33, 89  
   Divini 33  
   Perennis, Fons 33  
 Fortuna 43 ff., 65, 95  
   Augusta 45  
   Balnearis 44  
   Dea 44  
   Fors 44  
   Muliebris 44  
   Obsequens 45  
   Redux 45  
   Virilis 45  
   Viruniensis 45  
   *aedituus templi* 45  
   and Nemesis 68, 95  
 Fortuna 46  
 Fruges and Feminae 88  
 Genetrix 80  
 Genius 19 ff., 47, 77, 80 n. 78, 98, 105 f.  
   Patrius 19  
   of groups 20 f., 27  
   *Principis* 20  
   *Liberi Augusti* 56, 95  
   *collegii dendrophororum* 20  
   *pastophoroi* 19  
   and Honor 19 f.  
   and Manes 21  
*Harpocratis signum* 77  
 Hecate 80  
 Hera 60 f.  
 Hercules 52 ff., 85 f., 99 f., 105 f.  
   Augustus 53  
   *Conservator Inventiarum* 53  
   Deus 53  
   Impetrabilis 53  
   Invictus (Deus) 53  
   Juvenis 53  
   Mertronnus Anteportanus 86  
   Ovanus 86  
   Sanctus and Junones 53  
   Saxanus 85 f.  
   Victor 53  
   *cultores* 53 f.  
   *dendrophoroi* 54  
   *magistri* 54  
   See Amphale 54  
 Histria (Terra) 91  
 Hygia, Aesculapius and 59 f., 101  
 Ithamnagalla Scqnagalla 91  
 Inferi, Dei 37  
 Iris 63  
 Isis 76 f., 102, 105 f.  
   Augusta 76 f.  
   Domna 76  
   Myrionyma 76  
   Regina 76  
   *pastophoroi, sacerdos* 77  
   and Mater 76  
   Sol, Jupiter, and Serapis 76  
 Juno 22 ff., 98, 105 f.  
   Augusta 22  
   Luna Regina 23, 62, 95  
   Regina 22 f.  
   of individual woman 23 f.  
   with Jupiter and Minerva 14  
 Junones 24, 88, 95, 103  
   Augustae 88  
   Di Sancti and Hercules 88  
 Jupiter 1 ff., 41, 59 n. 76, 64, 73 ff., 81 ff.,  
   97 f., 105 f.  
   Adceneicus 82  
   Aeternus, Deus or D. Magnus 73 f.  
   Aeternus Exauditor, Deus 74  
   Agganaicus 82  
   Ambisagrus 81 f.  
   Augustus 10  
   Brixianus and Arusnatiensis 82 f.  
   Coliocinus and Parmarus 83  
   Conservator 10 ff., 56, 81 f.  
   Coteambis 81 f.  
   Custos 12  
   Defensor 12

- Depulsor 12  
 Dianus 1 ff.  
 Diovis 1  
 Dolichenus 74 ff., 95, 102  
 Felvennis 82  
 Fulminaris 6 f.  
*Idea Iovis* 13  
 Jurarius 9  
 Lapis 9  
 Nocturnus 8  
 Optimus Maximus 9 ff., 73 ff., 81 ff.  
 Paganicus 83  
 Poeninus 83 f.  
 Sanctus 8  
 Summanus 7 f.  
*Tutela Iovis* 12 f., 21 f., 57 n. 55, 67  
 Victor 11, 21  
*augur, fetialis* 9  
 with Juno and Minerva 14  
 Juventus 67, 101  
 Lares 18 f., 97  
 Augusti 18  
 Compitales 19  
 Dei 18  
 Publici 18  
*cultores, ministri* 19  
*magistri* 18 f.  
*lavatio* 65 f.  
 Liber 56  
 Augustus 56  
*Genius Liberi Augusti* 56  
 Pater 56  
*viniarum conservator* 56  
 with Libera and Parcae 56  
*Libitinae lucar* 48 f.  
 Louccianus 92  
 Ludrianus 92  
 Luna 61 f., 64, 100  
 Juno Luna Regina 62, 95  
*flamen* 62  
 and Diana 41  
 and Sol 62  
*lustrationes* 79  
 Lymphae 33f, 68  
 Maia and Mercury 59  
 Majestas and Numen 68 f., 101  
 Manes, Dei 36 f., 99  
 and Genius 21  
 Marica with Minerva and Genius 20 f.,  
 27  
 Mars 16 f., 59 n. 76, 64, 84 f., 97, 105  
 Augustus 16  
 Cemenelus 84 f.  
 Conservator, Deus 16  
 Gradivus 16  
 Leucimalacus, (Deus) 84 f.  
 (S)egomo 85  
*aeditimus, flamen, Salii* 17  
 Martes (?) 17  
 Mater Deum 72 f., 102, 105  
 Cereria 72, 95  
 Idaea 72  
 Magna 72  
*aedituus, archigallus, collegia dendro-  
 phorum, cymbalistris, sacerdotes*  
 72 f.  
*taurobolium* 68, 73  
 and Isis 72  
 Matronae 21, 82, 86 f., 103, 105 f.  
*Braecorium Gallianatium* 87  
 Dervonnae 87  
 Divae 87  
 Indulgentes 59, 88  
 Junones 24, 88, 95, 103  
 Ucellasicae Concanaunae, Sanctae 87  
 Vediantiae 87  
 Mefitis 34  
 Melesocus Augustus, Numen 69, 92  
 Mercury 57 ff., 64, 100, 105 f.  
 Arpax 58 f.  
 Augustus 58  
 Deus 58  
*lucrorum potens et conservator* 58  
 Redux 58  
 and Maia 59  
 Minerva 42 f., 59 n. 76, 99, 105 f.  
 Augusta 42 f.  
*curator templi, sacerdos, temple-serv-  
 ant* 43  
*insula Minervia* 43  
 temple at Rome 43 n. 32  
 with Jupiter and Juno 14  
 Mithras 77 ff., 95, 102 f., 105 f.  
 Deus (Invictus) 77  
 Patrius 77  
*genitura dei* 80

- pater nominus, pater patratus, sacerdos*  
 78 f.  
 and Vires 31  
 See Sol  
 Mulciber 36, 54  
 Natae, Nati 92  
 Nebres 92  
 Nemesis 67 f., 95, 101  
   Augusta 67  
 Neptune 34 f., 98 f.  
   Augustus 35  
 Nocturnus 8  
 Numen 68, 78  
   of Apollo 55, 68  
   *Augustorum* and Poeninus 68 f., 84  
   of Diana 40, 68  
   *Fatorum* 69 n. 35  
   Melesocus Augustus 69, 92  
   of Victory 66, 68  
   *numinibus deceptus utrisque* 69  
   and Genius 21, 68  
   and Majestas 68 f., 101  
 Nymphae 31, 33, 89, 98, 105  
 Obsequens, Dea 45  
   *magistra* 45  
 Orevaius, Deus 89  
 Pantheus 94, 104  
   Augustus 94  
   Deus Magnus 94  
   Divus 94  
 Parcae 27, 52, 56  
   Augustae 52  
 Parentes, Dei 37 f., 99  
 Paronnus 92  
 Paterni, Dei 38, 92  
 Penates, Dei 17, 97  
 planets 64; *cf.* 68  
 Pliny the Younger 35, 39, 67, 102  
*Plostralia* 85  
 Poeninus 83 f., 103 f., 105 f.  
   Jupiter 83 f.  
 Pollux, Castor and 52  
 Priapus 49, 100  
 Proserpina 60  
*prospoloi* 63 f.  
   *antistites* 63 f.  
 Providentia 67  
   Augusta 67  
*puteal* 6 ff.  
 Revinus 92  
 Roma and Augustus 70, 102  
 Saturn 24, 64, 90, 98  
   Augustus 24 f.  
   Conservator 24  
   Deus Alus 25, 90, 95  
   Dominus (Sanctus) 25  
   *curator* 25  
 (S)egomo Cuntinus 85  
 Seixomnina Leucitica 92, 95  
 Serapis 76 f., 95  
   with Sol, Jupiter, and Isis 76  
 Silvanus 28 f., 98, 105 f.  
   Augustus 30, 66  
   Deus 29  
   Deus Sanctus (Aug.) 29 f.  
   Felix 30 f.  
   Silvanae and Silvani 27, 31  
 Sol 77 f., 95, 102  
   Deus (Invictus) 77  
   Divinus 78  
   Dominus 78  
   Jupiter 78  
   Mithras 78, 95  
   Socius 78  
   *speleum* 78 f.  
   with Isis, Jupiter and Serapis 78  
   with Luna 78  
   See Mithras  
 “*Sortes Praenestinae*” 44  
 Spes Augusta 66  
 Sueta, Dorminus and 91  
 Surgasteus 92 f.  
 syncretism 26 n. 160, 60 f., 94 f.  
 Terra Mater 27f.  
 Timavus 46 f.  
 Titius, sodalis 9  
 Tullinus 93  
 Tutela 12 f., 21 f., 57 n. 55, 67  
   *in tutelam* 20 n. 120, 51  
 TTXH 46  
 Ubertas 68  
 Valetudo 59 n. 76  
 Veica Noriceia 93  
 Venus 47 f., 64, 99, 105  
   Augusta 47 f.  
   Caelestis 48, 80, 95

- Victrix 48  
   statues 48, 64  
   and Genius 48  
*Vertumni, opus* 21, 47  
 Vesta 17, 97  
 Victory 41, 46, 65 f.  
   Augusta 66  
   of emperors 66  
   of Jupiter 66  
   *cultor* 66, 101  
   with Fortuna and Diana 41, 66  
 Vires 31 f., 68  
   and Pantheus 94  
   See Vis Divina  
 Virtus, 17, 66 f.  
   *salinarius* 66 f.  
 Vis Divina 32, 68, 73  
   See Vires  
 Vulcan 35 f.  
   Augustus 35f  
   Mitis or Mulciber 36  
 Winds, table of 64  
 XAPIΣ 63  
 ΖΕΤΣ ΘΑΛΗΣ 62