

# MATER DEUM IDAEAE AND THE IMPERIAL CULT IN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

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## Abstract

*Since Flavian times a connection between the cult of Mater Deum with the imperial cult is detectable. The rule of Antoninus Pius then implied a further development with the implementation of the ritual of the taurobolium all over the Roman empire – very often devoted to the welfare of the emperor. Also, the priesthood of an archigallus appears to have been newly created. The Severan dynasty in particular seems to have taken up this tradition. Especially in the provinces of the western Roman empire the connection of Mater Deum with the imperial house seems to be a public act of loyalty in the provinces until the time of the Tetrarchy. So, Mater Deum Magna, at the latest with the Antonines, was part of the Roman “Imperial religion” and must be counted among the system-stabilizing deities.*

**Keywords:** *Mater Deum Magna – Kybele - Imperial cult – Antoninus Pius – Taurobolium – Archigallus*

## 1. Introduction

The centre of the cult of Mater Deum Magna Idaeae in the Roman Empire was undoubtedly Rome itself. In 204 BCE her cult was officially introduced into the city.<sup>1</sup> She was first worshipped in the temple of Victoria until her own sanctuary was dedicated on the Palatine on April 10, 191 BCE. Augustus later restored this temple in the neighbourhood of his own house.<sup>2</sup> The cult is unlikely to have reached the provinces before

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1 Ovid, *fasti* 4.258; Liv. 29.14.5–14. Cf. Sanders 1981, 282 sq.

2 Cf. Boppert 2008, 29 n. 100.

the establishing of the Roman Empire, a time in which the Roman Mater Deum Magna worship was supplemented by the Phrygian cult of Kubaba/Kybele and Attis, as is shown by the growing veneration of Attis which was not part of Roman tradition. The March rites of the cult, taking place from March 15<sup>th</sup> to 27<sup>th</sup>, the memorial of Attis' eviration and death, the highest priestly office of the *archigallus*, and the *taurobolium* did not reach the Western part of the Empire until the reign of Antoninus Pius (at the latest around the time of his *Vicennalia* 158/59 CE), although the *archigalli*, unlike the *galli*, usually had Roman citizenship. The emperor's measures were most likely directed at connecting the cult with public institutions, re-ordering and correcting it in this respect.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest evidence of a connection between the imperial cult and that of Magna Mater or Isis Regina are the inscriptions from the sanctuary in the "Römerpassage" in Mainz from the Domitian period mentioned below (no. 38).<sup>4</sup> This connection between the imperial cult and that of the Mater Deum, which has been documented since Flavian times, is also attested by statues of Roman emperors in the metroon of Olympia, which are also mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>5</sup> After that, it took 70 years until the time of Antoninus Pius, for whom this connection is again more frequently attested epigraphically.

The purpose of this article is to examine the epigraphic evidence of a connection between the Imperial cult and that of the Mater Deum Magna. A larger study would be necessary to do the same for iconographic and numismatic evidence.

## 2. Antoninus Pius and the cult of Mater Deum Magna

During his 20-year reign, the emperor encouraged many different cults in the provinces, but especially that of Mater Deum Magna/Kybele. After her 300-year presence in Rome, she can therefore hardly be called an oriental deity at the time of the peak of her spread in the Roman Empire under Antoninus Pius. In a different vein, the Galli performed ecstatic dances on the Blood Day of the Goddess in March and castrated themselves in orgiastically heightened frenzy, which was forbidden to a Roman citizen. During a first phase in the Antonine era, many of the older taurobolia were performed *pro salute imperatoris*. One concludes that the emperor (i.e., Antoninus Pius) was responsible for the introduction of the new rite into the cult of the Mater Deum Magna.<sup>6</sup> It is even probable that this was only spread in the provinces in connection with the imperial cult.<sup>7</sup>

The measures taken by the emperor Antoninus Pius were probably aimed at tying the cult to public institutions and the imperial cult, thus transforming and correcting it.<sup>8</sup> This, for example, is evidenced by the dedication of a *collegium salutare dendrophorum* from *Castrimoenium*/Marino for Magna Mater for the salvation of Antoninus Pius and

3 Schillinger 1979, 360–363; cf. Sanders 1981, 282 sq. and Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 85–122.

4 Cf. Spickermann 2016; Spickermann 2017, 30–34.

5 Paus. 5, 20, 9; cf. Hitzl 1991.

6 Duthoy 1969, 116–117; cf. Schillinger 1979, 352–361; Sanders 1981, 279–289; Spickermann 2017, 24–25; detailed: Van Haepelen and Belayche 2021, 99–148.

7 Turcan 1978, 1057; cf. Turcan 1986, 490–49; Spickermann 2017a, 329–331.

8 Schillinger 1979, 360–362; cf. Sanders 1981, 282–283.

Marcus Aurelius on 5.4.147.<sup>9</sup> A decision of the *ordo decurionum* according to a letter of the emperor himself allowed the installation of the holy spruce of the goddess in an assigned public place. Furthermore, in the Antonine period, an important sanctuary of the Great Mother and Attis was also built in Sarsina in Umbria.<sup>10</sup> Antoninus Pius knew how to use the cult of Mater Deum Magna, which was popular throughout the empire, for his own purposes; votive inscriptions to Magna Mater from the provinces were also donated for his veneration,<sup>11</sup> furthermore, coins and medallions show him and Faustina together with Mater Deum and Attis.<sup>12</sup>

### 3. Epigraphically mentioned emperors

Apart from the emperors Domitian and Antoninus Pius mentioned above, the Augusti Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (no. 43)<sup>13</sup>, Commodus (nos. 17, 19, 32), Septimius Severus (no. 35), Septimius Severus and Clodius Albinus (no. 33), Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Julia Domna (no. 34), Septimius Severus, Caracalla (and Geta) (nos. 8, 23, 26) Alexander Severus (nos. 1, 10, 11, 46), Gordian III (no. 29), Philippus Arabs, his son and Otacilia Severa, his wife (nos. 20, 24), Trebonianus Gallus (no. 47), Probus (no. 13) and the Tetrarchy (nos. 4, 6, 14) are documented by name in inscriptions for Mater Deum Magna. One emperor cannot be identified (no. 9), eight dedications were generally placed for Mater Deum Magna or Attis *pro salute imperii/imperatoris*, *Augusti/Augustorum* or *domus divinae* (nos. 2, 3, 18, 21, 22, 25, 37, 38), two *in honorem domus divinae* (no. 39, 40). Three others apply to the Numina Augustorum in connection with the Magna Mater (nos. 27, 28, 36), in one case Mater Deum bears the imperial epithet Augusta (no. 32). Also, we know an honorary inscription to a *flaminica divae Iuliae Piae Augustae* (no. 16).<sup>14</sup> The majority of the examined votive inscriptions to Magna Mater (no. 40) were thus donated expressly for the salvation of one or more specific or unnamed emperors.

Most of the testimonies can be dated to the Severan period (no. 28), followed by the Antonine period (no. 14). The great importance of this connection in Severan times is particularly attested by a *taurobolium* from *Narbo/Narbonne*, which is expressly designated as *taurobolium provinciae Narbonensis* for the salvation of Septimius Severus and Caracalla and was consecrated by the flamen Augustorum himself (no. 26). It becomes clear that the Severans adopted the combination of imperial cult and Mater Deum Magna, especially since they defined themselves in any case by the fictitious descendants of Marcus Aurelius. Gordian III, Philippus Arabs and also Trebonianus Gallus are also still entirely in the tradition of the Severans. The Tetrarchy

9 Appendix no. 42; cf. Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 268.

10 Mansuelli 1966–67; Latte 1992, 342.

11 Appendix nos. 15, 30, 40, 41.

12 Here, the medallions should be mentioned in particular, which – often also in connection with Faustina – document a special closeness of the emperor to Magna Mater/Kybele, on this Mittag 2017, 141–146 with several examples. Cf. also *RIC* III p. 165 no. 1143: *DIVA AUGUSTA FAUSTINA // MATRI DEUM SALUTARI S. C.*

13 The numbers in brackets refer to the appendix.

14 Cf. Van Haepelen 2014, 305.

finally incorporated the cult of Mater Deum Magna into its new theology of rule by the Iovians and Herculians, to whom the existing cults were related. An eloquent example for this new style is a Mithras altar from Carnuntum consecrated by the emperors themselves in 308.<sup>15</sup>

#### 4. The distribution of the inscriptions

The distribution of the epigraphic attestations of Mater Deum Magna in combination with imperial cult shows a clear focus on the African provinces (no. 10) and Gallia Narbonensis/Alpes Graiae (no. 11). Italy has a total of seven attestations, Gallia Lugdunensis and both Germania six each, Dacia and Moesia three, Hispania Baetica and Gallia Aquitania two. The scarce connection between the imperial cult and Mater Deum Magna in the Aquitanian city Lactora, from which numerous taurobolia, especially of women, are attested, is conspicuous with only one document from the municipality itself.<sup>16</sup> No evidence is known from Gallia Belgica, nor from Lusitania and Hispania Tarraconensis. Nevertheless, from the perspective of the findings, it can be said that the connection between Mater Deum Magna and imperial cult spread throughout the entire empire at least from the reign of Antoninus Pius onwards. The distribution of epigraphic evidence of this cult in connection with the imperial cult thus corresponds to the distribution of the total evidence of this cult.<sup>17</sup>

A special situation is to be found in *Lugdunum*/Lyon.<sup>18</sup> Here, six *taurobolium* altars and the relics of a Metroon were found, each with a reference to imperial cult.<sup>19</sup> On one of the altars, which was dedicated on December 9, 160 CE, the oldest *taurobolium* is recorded, that of L. Aemilius Carpus. According to the inscription, the actual ceremony, the *mesonyctium* (i.e. the midnight ceremony), must have taken place in the night of December 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup>, 160.<sup>20</sup> It is conceivable that December 8<sup>th</sup> of the year 160 marked the official introduction of the *taurobolium* to Gaul, but the dendrophorial college goes back to Flavian times and can be traced into the third century CE.<sup>21</sup> L. Aemilius Carpus was both *dendrophorus* and *sevir Augustalis*, which suggests a close connection between the imperial cult and that of Mater Deum Magna.<sup>22</sup> His *taurobolium* seems to have taken place at the time of his consecration as prime *archigallus*.<sup>23</sup>

There must have been some connections to cult communities in other cities along the Rhône, since the *tibicen* mentioned in *Lugdunum*/Lyon seems to be the same as

15 *CIL* III, 4413.

16 Cf. Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 479–489 nos. 57–78.

17 For the distribution of the cult of Magna Mater in the Roman Empire see the map Borgeaud 2013, 92 sq.

18 For the following remarks see Spickermann 2013, 150–153.

19 See appendix nos. 30–35.

20 No. 30: On the formula *cuius mesonyctium factum est*: Turcan 1972, 124–127.

21 *CIL* XIII, 1723, 1752, 2026; cf. Turcan 1972, 81 sq. and Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 216–272.

22 Turcan 1972, 83 sq.

23 Turcan 1972, 94; cf. Wuilleumier 1953, 62; also Audin 1976, 107 sq. For the *archigalli* cf. Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 182–185.

one named in an inscription in *Valentia*/Valence.<sup>24</sup> Women, too, had a prominent place in the cult community. They dedicated three *taurobolia*, compared to only two set up by men, and are found in a number of cult offices. The highest offices were, however, reserved for men. The taurobolic ceremony in *Lugdunum*/Lyon, which lasted for several days, seems to have been particular to the local congregation. The beginning of the ceremony was marked by an *inchoatum*, its end by a *consummatum*. It is unknown why this period of time was marked out in such a way also on other inscriptions, and it is also possible that the ceremony lasted longer in cases in which this is not explicitly mentioned (nos. 33, 34).

The female dedicants of altar (no. 33) expressed by means of their *taurobolia* their loyalty towards the new emperor Septimius Severus and the newly appointed Caesar Clodius Albinus.<sup>25</sup> Septimius Severus had not yet crushed the resistance of Pescennius Niger. Such an open declaration of loyalty is therefore probably best explained by Severus' governorship of *Lugdunum* in 187–188 CE. In the consequent struggle for power, the city declared for Clodius Albinus and was duly punished by the victorious Septimius Severus in 197, who plundered and partly destroyed the city.<sup>26</sup> Both Caesars are named in the inscription as consuls. The name of Albinus has later been erased. A priest (*sacerdos*) with the name of Aelius Castrensis presided over the *taurobolium* ceremony, assisted by the flute player (*tibicen*) Fl(avius) Restitutus. Both are also named on another *taurobolium* altar put up in June 16, 190, by the *dendrophori* residing in *Lugdunum* (*dendrophori Lugduni consistentes*) under the instruction (*ex vaticinatione*) of the *archigallus* Pusonius Iulianus.<sup>27</sup> The dedicatory formula *fecerunt ex voto* can also be found on the altar put up by the women of 197 CE, not, however, on the altar put up by the *dendrophori* (no. 2).<sup>28</sup>

The *taurobolium* of 197 CE (no. 34) was celebrated for the well-being of Septimius Severus, his son Caracalla, his wife Julia Domna and the entire imperial house, as well as for the well-being of the city itself. Reliefs on both sides of the stones are very similar to those on the altar of 194 CE (no. 3).<sup>29</sup> The dedication obviously took place after the victory of Septimius Severus, to underline the loyalty of the congregation to the new emperor and his house.<sup>30</sup> It is therefore to be taken as a proclamation of fealty for the victor over Clodius Albinus, celebrating the newly emerging dynasty, and integrating the dedication into the new, expanded imperial cult.<sup>31</sup>

Apart from the presiding priest and the flute player, a priestess is mentioned.<sup>32</sup> Also a novelty is the mention of the function of *apparatores*, most likely some kind of grand

24 Appendix no. 19 with *archigallus* Pusonius Iulianus was, according to Schillinger 1979, 201 no. 1, probably brought from Lyon; cf. Audin 1976, 60.

25 For the female dedicants in Lyon see Spickermann 1994, 199–206 and Spickermann 2013, 150–153.

26 Turcan 1972, 91–98; cf. Spickermann 2023, 414–418.

27 *CIL* XIII, 1752 = Duthoy 1969, 50 sq. no. 127; description in Audin 1976, 57. For the phrase *ex vaticinatione* see Duthoy 1969, 66 and Turcan 1986, 492 sq.

28 See Turcan 1972, 91.

29 Audin 1976, 58 sq.

30 For this interpretation cf. Walser 1993, 88 sq. no. 32.

31 Cf. Fishwick 1987–1992, 1. 2, 348 n. 195.

32 Cf. Van Haepere 2014, 321.

marshals of ceremony.<sup>33</sup> Since all four functionaries have been listed, one must assume a rather complex and elaborate liturgy. It is even more surprising that two further functions are mentioned only three years later. Either these roles had been created in the meantime, or they had not played such a prominent part in the ceremony before. The reason for their reference at this point may be found either in the growing complexity of the ritual or in the upgrading of functions within the cult congregation.

The altars set up by the women (nos. 33, 34) do not mention the name of the goddess, but begin with a dedicatory formula to the emperors.<sup>34</sup> They were put up with the official consent of the *ordo decurionum*. They are therefore to be taken as dedications, the official character of which was formally underlined by the celebration *pro salute imperatoris* and the formula *l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*. The missing name of the deity underlines the emphasis put on the imperial formula. Dedications of this kind are more than unusual for women.<sup>35</sup> We do, however, have an earlier dedication – probably of buildings – for Isis Panthea and Mater Magna *pro salute Augustorum*, by an imperial freedwoman and a slave (?) of a Caesar in Mainz.<sup>36</sup> It is remarkable that both plaques (*tabulae ansatae*) were put up in years of special significance to the city. Since the cult community of Mater Magna in Lugdunum was in 194 CE presided over by a mostly male clergy and a college of *dendrophori*, it is more than significant that women appear as dedicants when it comes to these significant historical markers. The close connection between Mater Deum Magna and the imperial cult in Lugdunum can already be found in the *taurobolium* of Aemilius Carpus which was celebrated in honour of Antoninus Pius, as well as by the *taurobolia* of the dendrophorial college of 190 CE in honour of Commodus. The two *taurobolia* of the women should be seen in this tradition.<sup>37</sup> In contrast to the altar put up by the dendrophorial college, these two altars do not make use of the phrase *ex vaticinatione archigalli* (with the authorization of the *archigallus*) which was one of three conditions for tax exemption for having paid for public *taurobolia*.<sup>38</sup> It seems to be probable that the initiative to put up the two *taurobolia* did not come from Pusonius Iulianus, who may still have been *archigallus* at the time,<sup>39</sup> but was an independent decision of the women, a fact which was underlined

33 An *adparator* is known from Massilia/Marseille: *CIL* XII, 405. See Turcan 1972, 92; cf. Turcan 1986, 485 and for the frequent phrase *cum suis hostis et apparamentis*.

34 This is common on *taurobolia* performed on behalf of institutions, see Schillinger 1979, 374 sq.

35 The celebration of a *taurobolium pro salute imperatoris* by women is not otherwise attested in the Western Roman Empire. In *Narbonensis* where this kind of inscription was quite frequent (from 32 examples mentioned by R. Duthoy 16 come from Gaul), women are mentioned only on four altars together with other devotees: Appendix nos. 17, 18, 21 and 24. Furthermore, I know of only one dedication by a woman to IOM from Narbonne: *CIL* XII, 4334 *pro salute imperatoris*, cf. Spickermann 1994, 34–38. From Hispania we know of two *taurobolia* of couples for the salvation of the emperor: Appendix nos. 1 and 2.

36 Appendix no. 37 and Witteyer 2004, no. 3 = *AE* 2004, 1016 = *AE* 2007, 148 = *AE* 2013, 108 = *AE* 2017, 1071: *Pro salute Augustorum et / s(enatus) p(opuli) q(ue) R(omani) et exercitus / Isidi Pantheae Claudia Aug(usti) l(iberta) Icmas / et Vitulus Caes(aris servus) sacer(dote) Claud(io) Attico lib(erto)*. Cf. Spickermann 2016, 203.

37 A third (only fragmentarily preserved) *taurobolium*, probably from the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. CE, (appendix no. 35), is considered to have been donated for the salvation of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta.

38 Schillinger 1979, 367 sq.

39 For this person: Schillinger 1979, 201 no. 493.

by the inscription.<sup>40</sup> Considering that the *taurobolium* of 194 CE is a public declaration for one party in a civil war, and the dedication of 197 CE an ovation for the victor – and considering that the imperial cult was newly organized after this victory, with the victor staying in Lugdunum in May 197 – one can only read the stone as a political statement to which the city council must have consented. This is borne out by the fact that both *taurobolia* were, like the earlier ones, celebrated for the welfare of the town (*pro statu coloniae*).<sup>41</sup> Moreover, we are dealing with elaborate ceremonies which were surely witnessed by the larger part of the local population. The connection between the cult congregation and the city council is already established by the decurions' electing the cult's priests, their offices then having to be sanctioned by the *XVviri* in Rome who presided over the cult.<sup>42</sup>

A dedication of *taurobolium* altars under the circumstances just described, especially if this dedication was undertaken by women belonging to the municipal elite, is hardly possible without the authority of cult functionaries.<sup>43</sup> Maybe there were no longer any male members left who had the means to pay for the ceremonies, or perhaps these men did not want to expose themselves in quite such a public way: men might have connections both social and political with the followers of Clodius Albinus who were now persecuted by the victor's party. Such an approach was certainly less risky for women – private persons *par excellence* – than for men, so that we may speculate that this was the reason for their public performance as dedicants. The participation of women in official ceremonies seems moreover to have advanced their standing within the cult community. Advancement within the priestly ranks is clearly noted on the altar of 197 (no. 34), namely with a *sacerdotia*. The priestess explicitly calls herself *sacerdotia*, while the term *sacerdos* was more common for both men and women.<sup>44</sup> It is thus possible to show that the public *taurobolia* ceremonies in Lyon, which lasted for some days, were not only visited by the cult community, but were highly political actions which almost suppressed any individual component of the action in public. Individual action occurred in the service of the community. The case seems to be very different, however, for the Aquitanian city of Lectoure, from where we have only one example of a connection between Mater Deum and imperial cult (no 29).

40 Also, the dedication formula *fecerunt ex voto* is unusual for *taurobolia*.

41 Spickermann 2023, 417.

42 Cf. appendix no. 30, where the priest Sammius Severus gets his insignia from the *XVviri*: *ab XVviris occubo et corona exornato* and his dignity as *sacerdos perpetuus* from the council of the city, something he clearly points out was an extraordinary honor: *cui sanctissimus ordo Lugdunensis perpetuitatem sacerdoti decrevit*. See Ladage 1971, 81; cf. Turcan 1972, 87 sq.; Schillinger 1979, 358 and Audin 1976, 56 who points out the connection between the clergy of Cybele and the city council.

43 This is particularly evident in the person of Optatia Siora who, given her certainly simple origin, had no reason for such a dedication, especially considering that her husband and son were non Roman citizens with the name Modestius, and for whom we know of no profession or a political function; *CIL* XII, 1986 and Schillinger 1979, 220 no. 548.

44 Cf. for example *CIL* XII, 185 and 5724 (Antibes): *flaminica et sacerdos*; 3224 (Nîmes): *Isidis sacerdos* and *CIL* IX, 1540 *consacerdos*!. Cf. Van Haepren 2014, 310, 321.

## 5. The *taurobolium*

The vast majority of the testimonies are *taurobolia* dedicated to the emperors and/or the imperial house (no. 31).<sup>45</sup> This ritual is often referred to in connection with the cult of Cybele since Prudentius has been connected with so-called “blood baptism”. J. B. Rutter (1968) and R. Duthoy (1969) have shown that such a connection is quite wrong, since there is no evidence that the *taurobolium* was an initiation rite or that it was always connected to blood baptism. A number of *taurobolic* altars in the Roman West have been dedicated by women.

The celebration of the *taurobolium* was, by all accounts, repeatable. It was therefore a repeatable sacrifice of a bull and the burial of its testicles, accompanied by exotic ceremonies. The *taurobolium* apparently always included the endowment of an altar with the name of the *tauroboliatus/tauroboliata* and the date of the *taurobolium*. According to the *carmen contra paganos* of 394 CE, its effect lasted for only twenty years.<sup>46</sup>

## 6. The dedicants

The dedicants belonged to almost all sections of the population but each of them must have been wealthy. First of all, there are groups of consecrators, including the representatives of entire municipalities, such as the *res publica coloniae Thuggensis* (no. 6), the *res publica Vocontiorum* (no. 23) and the *ordo Lactoratium* (no. 29), which publicly dedicated their altars from public funds. In addition, cult communities of Mater Deum Magna appear as dedicators, such as the dendrophors (no. 32: *dendrophori Luguduni consistentes*, no. 42: *collegium salutare dendrophorum*) and *consacrani* (no. 37). Furthermore, individual dendrophors (nos. 7, 30) and an *archigallus* (no. 43) are also attested as benefactors. One person is also *sevir Augustalis* (no. 30), whereby this imperial cult community is also mentioned on another inscription (no. 20).

Two dedicators from the late period were members of the equestrian order (nos. 4, 13), including a *dux limitis provinciae Scythiae* (no. 4). Two *du(u)mviri fratres* (no. 15) and a *decurio coloniae Dacicae*, *decurio municipii Napocae*, *decurio kanabensium* (no. 3) come from the decurion order. Municipal priests are also attested as dedicants, including pontifices (nos. 10, 19, 24), a *flamen Augustorum primus* (no. 26) and *sacerdotes* (nos. 8, 9 [wife], 12–14 [*sacerdos perfectis*], 25, 28 [son of a *sacerdos*]). A centurion is also mentioned (no. 41), once the wife of such (no. 36), as well as a *veteranus ex decurione* (no. 3). The relatively large number of women among the dedicants is striking: five dedicated their monuments alone (nos. 9, 31, 33, 34, 36) and eight others together with their partners and families (nos. 1–3, 17, 18, 21, 24, 38). In addition, there is the already mentioned honorary inscription for a *flaminica* (no. 16). Two dedicants from Corduba refer to themselves as *thalamas* “oarsmen”. Whether this actually refers to an occupational title or even a cult function cannot be definitively clarified (nos. 1,

45 See appendix nos. 1, 2, 7, 9–14, 17–26, 28–35, 44–47.

46 *Vivere num speras viginti mundus in annos?* Duthoy 1969, 54 no. 2. For the *carmen contra paganos* cf. Coskun 2004. For the state of recent research see Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 299–307.



2).<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, there is a *nautarum quinquennalis* (no. 5). Two dedicants were freedmen (nos. 38 [*Augusti liberta*], 39), one was an imperial slave (no. 38).

## 7. Divine connections

Most of the dedications are devoted to the Mater Deum Magna herself, twice also to Attis (nos. 39, 40). Three times she is worshipped together with the Numen/-ina Augusti/-orum (nos. 17, 27, 28). Otherwise, the Matronae (no. 27), Nemesis (no. 43) and Isis together with Mater Deum are mentioned only once (no. 36). However, the combination with Isis and the imperial cult seems to have been more common. In addition to the building inscription from the Römerpassage in Mainz (no. 38), there exists an identical inscription from the same dedicants for Isis Panthea mentioned above,<sup>48</sup> and the *flaminica* from *Aeclanum*/Mirabella Eclano, to whom was devoted an honorary inscription, was acting at the same time as *sacerdos* of Mater deum Magna and Isis Regina (no. 16)<sup>49</sup>. Most of the endowments consisted of (*taurobolium*) altars, but there are also donations of buildings such as a *templum* (nos. 6 [with *porticus*], 15) or unspecified *aedes* (nos. 36, 41). Furthermore, a silver statue of the Mater Deum Magna of one pound together with an image of Nemesis (no. 43) and the already mentioned spruce of the Mater Deum (no. 42) were donated.

## 8. Conclusion

The connection of the Mater Deum with the imperial cult can be traced back to late Flavian times, but it was not until Antoninus Pius, especially through the ritual of the *taurobolium*, that it was substantially promoted and spread throughout the Roman empire. The Severan dynasty in particular seems to have taken up this tradition. In the Latin-speaking provinces, the close connection between the originally Phrygian goddess and the imperial house can be traced epigraphically almost everywhere. The most widespread evidence is documented with the *taurobolium* altars, whose inscriptions often contain information not only about differentiated local priesthoods, including female priests, but also about ceremonies that sometimes lasted several days. These were public acts that were also performed by representatives of the local urban communities. It seems striking, if it is not due to the circumstances of the tradition, that we have no inscriptional evidence for Mater deum and the imperial cult from Rome itself. So, the connection with the imperial house seems to be a public act of loyalty in the provinces; this is especially true for the time of the Tetrarchy. The donators, including the women, were all wealthy, since on the one hand they donated the expensive monuments and on the other hand they had to pay for the performance of the ceremonies. In conclusion, it can be said that Mater Deum Magna, at the latest with the Antonines, is part of the Roman "Imperial religion" and must be counted among the system-stabilizing deities.

47 Cf. AE 2010, 313 = CCCA 4, 1 *Literno/Liternum Campania: --] sacerdos / [M]atris deum / [tha]lamas condidit*

48 See n. 35.

49 For the evolution of the Egyptian cult of Isis in the Roman Empire see Bricault and Versluys 2010.

## Appendix

### Hispania Baetica

1) *CIL* II 7, 233 = Duthoy 1969, no. 75 = Schillinger 1979, no. 7–9 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 467 no. 24 (Cordoba/Corduba)

*Pro salute / Imp(eratoris) domini n(ostri) [[M(arci) Aureli]] / [[Severi Alexandri]] Pii Felicis / Aug(usti) / tauribolium fecit Publicius / Fortunatus t(h)alamas suscepit / chrionis Coelia Ianuaria / a{d}stante Ulpio Heliade sacerdo[te] / aram sacris suis d(ederunt) d(edicaverunt) / Maximo et Urbano co(n)s(ulibus)*

234 CE

2) *CIL* II 7, 234 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 466 no. 23 (Cordoba/Corduba)

*Ex iussu Matris deum / pro salute imperii / tauribolium fecit Publicius / Valerius Fortunatus thalamas / suscepit crionis Porcia Bassemia / sacerdote Aurelio Stephano / dedicata VIII Kal(endas) April(es) / Pio Proculo co(n)s(ulibus)*

25.3.238 CE

### Dacia

3) *CIL* III, 1100 = *ILS* 7141 = *CCCA* 6, 485 = Schillinger 1979, no. 32–36 (Alba Iulia/Apulum)

*Pro salute Aug(usti) M(atris) d(eum) M(agnae) / sanctum / T(itus) Fl(avius) Longinus vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) al(ae) Il Pann(oniorum) / dec(urio) col(oniae) Dac(icae) dec(urio) mun(icipii) Nap(ocae) dec(urio) kanab(ensium) / leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) et Cl(audia) Candida coniunx et Flavi / Longinus Clementina Marcellina fil(ii) / ex imperio pecunia sua fecer(unt) l(ocus) d(atatus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*

117–180 CE

### Moesia Inferior

4) *CIL* III, 764 = *ILS* 4103 = *CCCA* 6, 435 = Schillinger 1979, no. 31 (Constanta/Tomi)

*Matri deum / Magnae / pro salute adq(ue) / incolumitate / dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Augg(ustorum) et Caess(arum) / Aur(elius) Firminianus / v(ir) p(erfectissimus) dux / limit(is) prov(inciae) Scyt(hiae) / bonis auspiciis / consecravit*

293–305 CE

### Moesia Superior

5) *IMS* 2, 61 = *CCCA* 6, 380 = *AE* 1905, 153 = *AE* 1907, 40 = *AE* 2012, 1249 = Schillinger 1979, no. 30 (Kostolac/Viminacium)

*[Pro salu]te Aug(usti) / C(aius) Val(erius) Vi/bianus / nautar(um) / q(uin)q(uennalis) sig(num) Ma/tris deum et / ad restitu/tionem tem/pli Neptuni / s(estertium) Il(milia) n(ummum) d(onum) d(edit)*

2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. CE

### Africa Proconsularis

6) CIL VIII, 1489 = CIL VIII, 26562 = CCCA 5, 87 = AE 1941, 158 = Schillinger 1979, no. 692 (Dougga/Thugga)

*Pro salute [dddd(ominorum) nnnn(ostrorum)] / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) C(ai) Aur[eli] Valer[i] Diocletiani Pii Fel(icis) Aug(usti) p(ontificis) m(aximi) [trib(unicia) pot(estate) XV co(n)s(ulis) VI des(ignati) VII et] / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur[eli] Valer[i] Maximiani Pii Fel(icis) Au[g(usti) p(ontificis) m(aximi) trib(unicia) pot(estate) XIII] co(n)s(ulis) V d[es(ignati) VI et] / Flavi Vale[ri] Const]anti nob[iliss]imi Caes(aris) [trib(unicia) pot(estate) VI] co(n)s(ulis) I[II et] / Galeri Valeri Maximiani [n]obilissimi Caes(aris) [trib(unicia) pot(estate) VII] co(n)s(ulis) II] / porticu{u}s templi deum Matris res p(ublica) col(oniae) Thugg(ensis) s[ua pecunia] / perfecit et dedicavit [[pro[co]nsulatu Ael[i] Helvi Dionysi]]*

298 CE

7) CCCA 5, 114 = AE 1961, 201 = Duthoy 1969, no. 68 = Schillinger 1979, nos. 185 + 186 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 464 no. 17 (Utique/Utica)

*Matri Magnae Id(a)eae sacr(um) / [[pro salute imperatoris]] / [[6]] / [[6]] / [[6]] / [[3]] Q(uintus) Latinius Victor et Q(uintus) Latini/us Egregius fil(ius) eius dendrofori / cerno et criobolio de suo acceptis / aram pecunia sua fecerunt et consa/craverunt tradente C(aio) Raecio Aprile et / Pompeia Satria Fortunata eius sacer/dotibus M(atris) d(eum) M(agna)e I(daeae) col(oniae) Utik(ae) astantibus / dendroforis et sacratis ministrante / C(aio) Rombio Felice dendroforo apparatore / dedicata X Kal(endas) Iulias*

22. 6. 235–238 CE

### Numidia

8) CIL VIII, 2230 (p. 950) = CIL VIII, 17668 = CCCA 5, 117 = Schillinger 1979, no. 190 (Khenchela/Mascula)

*[Matr]i deum Aug(ustae) sac(rum) / [pro] salute Imp(eratorum) / L(uci) Septimi Seve[ri] Pii Pertinac(is) / et M(arci) Aureli Anto[nini] Augg(ustorum) [[et P(ubli) / Septimi Getae Caes(aris)]] / et Iuliae Aug(ustae) / totiusque dom(us) / divinae C(aius) Sit/tius Ianuarius / sacer(dos) dono / dedit*

209–211 CE

9) CCCA 5, 122 = AE 1931, 63 = Duthoy 1969, no. 72 = Schillinger 1979, no. 191 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 461 no. 9 (Ain Zana/Diana Veteranorum)

*M(atri) d(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) A(ugustae) s(acrum) / pro salute [3] / [[3]] Hor-te[n]/sia Fortunata sacerdos / taurobolium et criobol[ium] motum sancit manda/nte M(arco) Tullio Pudente p[a]/tre*

211–282 CE

**10)** *CIL VIII, 4846 = CCCA 5, 144 = Duthoy 1969, no. 73 = Schillinger 1979, no. 193 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 459 sq. no. 5 (Ksar Tifech/Tipasa)*

*M(atri) d(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) / sanctissimae / pro salute et / incolumitate d(omni) n(ostri) / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) [[M(arci) Aureli]] / [[Severi / Alexandri]] Pii Fel(icis) / Aug(usti) et [[Luliae Mamaeae]] / Aug(ustae) t(otius)q(ue) d(omus) d(ivinae) eorum / P(ublius) Caecilius Felix / [sa]c(erdos) ex ordine pont(ificum) crio/[bol]ium et tauribo/[lium] --- didit*

222–235 CE

**11)** *CIL VIII, 8203 = CIL VIII, 19981 = ILS 4136 = CCCA 5, 131 = Duthoy 1969, no. 71 = Schillinger 1979, no. 206/207 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 460 no. 8 (Milev/Mila)*

*M(atri) d(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) Sanctae / sacrum factum / pro salute / [[Imp(era-toris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli] Se/[[veri Alexandri]] Pii Fel(icis) Aug(usti) / [[et Luliae Ma-maeae / Aug(ustae)]] / et domus eor(um) divinae / Qu[inti] Claudii Basilicus / NAP (?) et Mnesius criobol[ium] fecerunt et ipsi susc[e]/perunt per C(aium) Aemilium Satur/ninum sacerdotem ex va/ticinatione archigall[i] / I(ocus) d(atu) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*

222–235 CE

## Byzacena

**12)** *AE 1955, 49 = CCCA 5, 81 = Duthoy 1969, no. 62 = Schillinger 1979, no. 214 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 462 no. 13 (Maktar/Mactaris)*

*matris to[tius]que divi/nae domus [eorum] / P(ublius) Valeri[us 3]/tianus [sacerdos] / perfectis rit[is] sacris cer/norum] et criobol[i] et tau/roboli ---*

222–235 CE

**13)** *CIL VIII, 23400 = CCCA 5, 79 = AE 1892, 18 = AE 1955, 49 = Duthoy 1969, no. 60 = Schillinger 1979, no. 209–211 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 463 no. 14 (Maktar/Mactaris)*

*M(atri) d(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) Aug(ustae) sac(rum) / pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli [[Probi]] Pii Felicis Aug(usti) / totiusque divinae domus / Q(uin-tus) Arellius Optatianus / eq(ues) R(omanus) sacerdos perfec/tis ritae sacris cer/norum crioboli et tau/roboli suffragio ordi/nis col(oniae) suae Mactaritan(ae) / comprobatus antistes sum(p)/tibus suis tradentibus / Rannio Salvio eq(uite) R(omano) pon/tifice et Claudio Fausto / sacerdotibus una cum / universis dendroforis / et sacratis utriusq(ue) sexus / v(otum) s(olvit) I(ibens) a(nimo)*

276–282 CE

**14)** *CIL VIII, 23401 = ILS 4142 = CCCA 5, 80 = AE 1892, 18 = AE 1897, 121 = AE 1898, 46 = AE 1955, 49 = Duthoy 1969, no. 61 = Schillinger 1979, no. 212 + 213 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 463 sq. no. 15 (Maktar/Mactaris)*

*M(atri) d(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) Aug(ustae) sac(rum) / pro salute Imp(eratorum) Caess(arum) / C(ai) Valeri [[Diocle[tia]ni]] Pii Fel(icis) / Aug(usti) et M(arci) Aureli Valeri [[Maxi/miani]] Pii {Pii} Fel(icis) Aug(usti) totiusq(ue) / divinae domus eorum / Q(uintus) Minthonius Fortuna/tus sacerdos perfectis / rit{a}e sacris cernorum / crioboli et tauroboli / suffragio ordinis col(oniae) / suae Mact(aritanae) comprobatus / antistes sum(p)tibus su/is tradente Claudio Bo/no sacerdote una cum / universis dendro/fori{s} et sacratis / utriusque sexus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo)*

286–292 CE

### Mauretania Tingitana

**15)** *CCCA 5, 151 = AE 1957,63 = Schillinger 1979, no. 689 (Sidi Ali Bou Jenoun/Banasa)*

*Pro salute / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Titi Aeli Hadrian[i Antonini] / Aug(usti) Pii p(atri) p(atriciae) templum Matri deum [---] / ex decreto ordinis Tib(eri) Claudi Iulianus et Saturninus du(u)mviri / fratres a solo faciendum / curaverunt*

138–161 CE

### Italia Apulia et Calabria Regio II

**16)** *CIL IX, 1153 p. 695 = ILS 6487 = SIRIS 469 = CCCA 4, 108 = RICIS 2, 505/901 = AE 2000, 352 = Schillinger 1979, no. 231 (Mirabella Eclano/Aeclanum)*

*Cantriae / P(ubli) fil(iae) / Longinae / sacerdoti flam(inicae) // div[ae] Iuliae Piae / [A]u[g(ustae) e]t Matr(is) deum / M(agnae) [I]d(aeae) et Isidis Regin(ae). / Haec ob honorem / sacerdotii ((sestertium)) L(milia) n(ummos) r(ei) p(ublicae) d(edit). // P(ublice) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*

After 217 CE (more Iulia Domna than Iulia Titi filia)

### Gallia Narbonensis

**17)** *CIL XII, 1222 = CCCA 5, 352 = Duthoy 1969, no. 87 = Schillinger 1979, no. 475 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 469 no. 31 (Bollene/Arausio)*

*Num(ini) Aug(usti) / Matri deum / pro salut(e) Imp(eratoris) / M(arci) Aur(eli) [[Commodo/di]] Antonini Pii / Felicis / tauro<b>P</b>olium / fecerunt / Sex(tus) Publicius / [---]anus / [---]iana*

185–191 CE

**18)** *CIL XII, 1311 = CCCA 5, 355 = Duthoy 1969, no. 86 = Spickermann 1994, 111–112 = Schillinger 1979, no. 476–478 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 469 sq. no. 32 (Vaison-la-Romaine/Vasio)*

*Matri deum / Magna[e] I[d]aeae / [pro sal(ute)?] / domu[s divi]na[e] tauro/<b=P>o[ ] ium [et c]rio<b=P>oli/um fecerunt Aul(us) / Pompeius Avitian(us) / et Claudia Firmin(a) / praeunte Aul(o) [Ti?]/tio Phronimo sacerd(ote)*

197–235 CE

**19)** *CIL XII, 1782 (p. 827) = ILS 4130 = CCCA 5, 369 = Duthoy 1969, no. 93 = Schillinger 1979, no. 492 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 474 no. 42 (Tain-l’Hermitage/Tegna/ Vienna)*

*M[a]/tr(i) M(agnae) / [I]d(a)e[ae] // [pro sal(ute) Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur(elii) Commodi / Antonini Aug(usti) Pij]i domu<u>sq(ue) divi/nae colon(iae) Copiae Claud(iae) Aug(ustae) Lug(udunensis) / [t]aurobolium fecit Q(uintus) Aquius Antonianus pontif(ex) perpetuus // [e]x vaticinatione Pusoni Iuliani archi/galli. Inchoatum XII Kal(endas) Mai(as) consum/maturn VIII Kal(endas) Mai(as) L(ucio) Eggio Marullo / Cn(aeo) Papirio Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus) praeunte Aelio / Castrense sacerdote tibicine Albio / Verino*

20.–30.4.184 CE

**20)** *CIL XII, 1782 p. 827 = ILS 4130 = CCCA 5, 369 = Duthoy 1969, no. 90 = Schillinger 1979, no. 714 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 478 no. 53 (Caveirac)*

*Matri deum Mag[nae] / [I]daeae Phryg]iae Palatinae / [taurobolia] et criobolia / [pro salute dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Imp(eratorum)] Caes(arum) [M(arci) Iulij] / [Philippi Pij] Fel(icis) Aug(usti) [et M(arci) Iulij] / [Philippi nob(ilissimi) Caes(aris)] Aug(usti) [f(ilius?) e]t Ota/[ciliae Severae Aug(ustae)] XVvir / [---] Nemaus/[ens(es) 3] omni/[---] IIIIIvir(is) Aug(ustalibus) / [---] III kal(endas) / [---] prae/[e]untib(us) sacerdotib(us) Au]relio / [--- et --- Imp(eratore)] / [Philippo Aug(usto) et T]itiano co(n)s(ulibus)*

245 CE

**21)** *CIL XII, 1569 = CCCA 5, 359 = AE 1982, 695 = Duthoy 1969, no. 85 = Spickermann 1994, 113–114 = Schillinger 1979, no. 486–488 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 471 no. 35 (Ponet-et-Saint-Auban/Dea Augusta Vocontiorum)*

*D(eum) M(atri) / pro sal(ute) Imper(ii vel -atoris) taur(obolium) fec(erunt) T(itus) Hel(vius) Mar/cellin(us) et Val(eria) Decumilla ex voto / sacerd(ote) Attio Attiani fil(io)*

190–230 CE

**22)** *CIL XII, 1568 = CCCA 5, 365 = AE 1982, 695 = Duthoy 1969, no. 84 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 471 no. 34 (Ponet-et-Saint-Auban/Dea Augusta Vocontiorum)*

*[P]ro salut(e) Imp(erii vel -eratoris) taurobol(ium) / [f]ec(it) Attius Attia[ni f(ilius)] / de suo*

190–230 CE

**23)** *ILGN 231 = CCCA 5, 361 = AE 1889, 81 = Duthoy 1969, no. 86 = Schillinger 1979, no. 489 + 490 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 471 sq. no. 36 (Die/Dea Augusta Vocontiorum)*

*[M(atri) d(eum) M(agnae)?] / pro salute L(uci) Sept(imi) Severi Pii P[ert(inacis) Aug(usti)] et M(arci) Au[rel(i)] / Antonini Aug(usti) et [[P(ubli) Sept(imi) Getae Caes(aris) ]] et lu[li]/ae Aug(ustae) taurobol(ium) fec(it) r(es) p(ublica) Voc(ontiorum) Fl(avio?) Talusio [--- / ---] Appiano p(ublice?)*

198–209 CE

**24)** *CIL XII, 1567 = ILS 4140 = CCCA 5, 363 = AE 1982, 695 = ILGN 231 = CCCA 5, 61 = AE 1889, 81 = Duthoy 1969, no. 83 = Schillinger 1979, no. 479–490 = Spickermann 1994, 112–113 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 470 no. 33 (Die/Dea Augusta Vocontiorum)*

*M(atri) d(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) / sac(rum) trib(us) taur(is) fecer(unt) / cum suis hostis et apparam(entis) / omnib(us) L(ucius) Dagid(ius) Marius pont/if(ex) perpet(uus) civit(at)is Valent(iae) / et Verullia Martina et / Verullia Maria fil(ia) eorum / pro salute Imp(eratorum) et Caesar(um) / Philipporum Augg(ustorum) et Otaci/liae Severae Aug(ustae) matris / Caes(aris) et castror(um) praeun/tibus sacerdotibus Iuni[o] / Tito XV-vir(al)i Arausens(i) et / Castricio Zosimione ci/vitat(is) Albens(is) et Blattio / Paterno civitatis Voc(ontiorum) / et Fabricio Orfito Liber(i) / Patris et ceteris a<s=D>sis/tentibus sacerdotibus / v(otum) s(olverunt) I(ibentes) m(erito). Loco vires con/ditae die prid(ie) kal(endas) Oct(obres) / Imp(eratore) Philippo Aug(usto) et Titi/ano co(n)s(ulibus)*

30.9.245 CE

**25)** *CIL XII, 1745 = CCCA 5, 367 = Duthoy 1969, no. 92 = Schillinger 1979, no. 491 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 273 sq. no. 41 (Valence/Valentia)*

*Pro salute Augg(ustorum) / proque d(omo) d(ivina) / taurobolium et c[ri]/obolium M(atri) d(eum) M(agnae) Id(aeae) fe[cer(unt)] / C(aius) Valerius Ur[ba]/[n]us(?) sacerdos C(aius) [Fl(avius) Re/stit]utus [tibicen?--]*

Ca. 207 CE

**26)** *CIL XII, 4323 = ILS 4120 = CCCA 5, 270 = Duthoy 1969, no. 96 = Schillinger 1979, no. 700 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 475 sq. no. 45 (Narbonne/Narbo)*

*[Ex] Imperio d(eum) M(atri) tauro/<b=P>olium provinciae / Narbonensis / factum per C(aius) Batonium / Primum flaminem Augg(ustorum) / pro salute dominorum / Imp(eratorum) L(uci) Septimi Severi / Pii Pertinacis Aug(usti) Ara/bici Adiabenici Parthi/ci maximi et M(arci) Aureli / Ant(onini) Aug(usti) [---]*

198–209 CE

## Alpes Graiae

**27)** *ILGN 17 = ILS 9333 = CCCA 5, 404 = AE 1904, 140 = AE 1905, 217 = AE 1978, 453 = Schillinger 1979, no. 504 (Moutiers/Darantasia)*

*Numinibus / Augg(ustorum) / Matri deum / et Matronis // Salvennis / T(itus) Romanus / Mercator / ex voto // [3]quadus // Trid[3] // [3]bis*

161–180 CE

### Gallia Aquitania

**28)** *CIL XIII, 11042 = ILS 9278 = CCCA 5, 420 = Duthoy 1969, no. 125 = Schillinger 1979, no. 540 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 490 no. 81 (Perigueux/Vesunna)*

*Numinib(us) Aug(ustorum) / et Magnae Matri deum / Aug(ustae) L(ucius) Pompon(ius) Sext(i) / Pompon(i) Paterni / sacerdotis Arens(is) fil(ius) Quir(in)a tribu / Paternus aram taurob(olicam) / posuit dedicavit/que*

180–250 CE

**29)** *CIL XIII, 511 = ILS 4126 = CCCA 5, 229 = Duthoy 1969, no. 109 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 482 sq. no. 64 (Lectore/Lactora)*

*[S(acrum) M(atri) d(eum)] / pro salute Imp(eratoris) M(arci) / Antoni Gordiani / Pii Fel(icis) Aug(usti) et Sa(bin)iae Tranquil(linae) Aug(ustae) totius(us) domus divi(nae) proq(ue) statu / civitat(is) Lactor(atium) / tauro<b=P>olium fe/cit ordo Lact(oratum) / d(omino) n(ostro) Gordiano / Aug(usto) II et Pompeiano co(n)s(ulibus) / VI Idus Dec(embres) curantib(us) / M(arco) Erotio Festo et M(arco) / Carinio Caro sacerdot(e) / Traiano Nundinio*

8.11.241 CE

### Gallia Lugdunensis

**30)** *CIL XIII, 1751 = ILS 4131 = CCCA 5, 386 = Duthoy 1969, no. 126 = Schillinger 1979, no. 541 + 542 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 490 sq. no. 82 (Lyon/Lugdunum)*

*Taurobolio Matris d(eum) M(agnae) Id(eae) | quod factum est ex imperio matris {D} | deum | pro salute Imperatoris Caes(aris) T(it)i Aeli | Hadriani Antonini Aug(usti) Pii p(atris) p(atris) | liberorumque eius | et status coloniae Lugudun(ensium) | L(ucius) Aemilius Carpus IIIIIvir Aug(ustalis) item | dendrophor(us) | vires excepit et a Vaticano trans/tulit ara(m) et bucranium | suo inpendio consecravit | sacerdote | Q(uinto) Sammio Secundo ab XVviris | occubo et corona exornato | cui sanctissimus ordo Lugudunens(ium) | perpetuitatem sacerdoti decrevit | App(io) Annio Atilio Bradua T(it)o Clod(io) Vibio | Varo co(n)s(ulibus) | I(ocus) d(at)us d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) || cuius Mesonyctium | factum est V Id(us) Dec(embres)*

9.12.160 CE

**31)** *CIL XIII, 1756 = CCCA 5, 393 = Duthoy 1969, no. 131 = Schillinger 1979, no. 552 = Spickermann 1994, 201 sq. = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 494 no. 88 (Lyon/Lugdunum)*



*Taurobolium | matris deum Aug(ustae) | Billia T(iti) fil(ia) Veneria | I(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*

ca. 160–199 CE

**32)** *CIL XIII, 1752 = ILS 4132 = CCCA 5, 385 = AE 2007, 948 = Duthoy 1969, no. 127 = Schillinger 1979, no. 543 + 544 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 491 sq. no. 84 (Lyon/Lugdunum)*

*[[Pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli Commodi Antonini Aug(usti)]] | numinibus Aug(usti) totiusque | domus divinae et statu c(oloniae) C(opiae) C(laudiae) | Aug(ustae) Lugud(unum) | taurobolium fecerunt dendrophori | Luguduni consistentes | XVI Kal(endas) Iulias | Imp(eratore) [[Caes(are) M(arco) Aurelio Commodo VI]] | Marco Sura Septimiano | co(n)s(ulibus) ex vaticinatione | Pusoni Iuliani | archilgalli sacerdote | Aelio Castrense | tibicine Fl(avio) Restituto | honori omnium | Cl(audius) Silvanus Perpetuus | quinquennalis inpen(dium huius arae remisit) | I(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*

17.6.190 CE

**33)** *CIL XIII, 1753 = ILS 4133 = CCCA 5, 392 = Duthoy 1969, no. 128 = Schillinger 1979, no. 545 + 546 = Spickermann 1994, 199 sq. = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 492 sq. no. 85 (Lyon/Lugdunum)*

*Pro salute Imp(eratoris) L(uci) Septimi Severi Pertina|cis Aug(usti) et D(ecimi) Clodi | [[Septimi Albini Caes(aris)]] | domusq(ue) divinae et statu c(oloniae) C(opiae) C(laudiae) Aug(ustae) Lug(udunum) | taurobolium fecerunt Aufustia | Alexandria et Sergia | Parthenope ex voto | praeunte Aelio Castren|se sacerdote tibicine Fl(avio) | Restituto inchoatum est | sacrum VII Idus Mai(as) con|summatum V Id(us) easdem | [[Imp(eratore) L(ucio) Septimio Severo Pertinac(e) Aug(usto) | [[D(ecimo) Clod(io) Sept(imio) Albino Caes(are)]] | II co(n)s(ulibus) | I(ocus)] d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)]*

9.–11.5.194 CE

**34)** *CIL XIII, 1754 = ILS 4134 = CCCA 5, 395 = Duthoy 1969, no. 129 = Schillinger 1979, nos. 547–551 = Spickermann 1994, 200 sq. = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 493 no. 86 (Lyon/Lugdunum)*

*[Pro] salute Imp(eratoris) L(uci) Septimi | [Seve]ri Pii Pertinacis Aug(usti) | [et] M(arci) Aureli Antonini Caes(aris) | Imp(eratoris) destinati et | Iuliae Aug(ustae) matris castror(um) | totiusque domus divinae | eorum et statu c(oloniae) C(opiae) C(laudiae) Aug(ustae) Lug(udunum) | taurobolium fecerunt | Septicia Valeriana et | Optatia Siora ex voto | praeunte Aelio Antho sacerdotia Aemillia Secundilla tibicine Fl(avio) Restituto apparatore Virelio Hermetione | inchoatum est sacrum IIII | Nonas Maias consummatum Nonis eisdem | T(ito) Sex(tio) Laterano L(ucio) Cuspio | Ru[f]ino co(n)s(ulibus) | I(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*

4.–7.5.197 CE

**35)** *CIL* XIII, 1755 = *CCCA* 5, 394 = Duthoy 1969, no. 130 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 493 sq. no. 87 (Lyon/Lugdunum)

[--] | Per[*tinacis* 3] | Part[*hici* 3] | [[6]] | [[6]] | [I]mp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L(uci) [3] | Per-  
ta[3] | Caes(aris) M(arci) Au[r(eli) 3] | Pii Feli[cis 3] | [Par]t(hici) m(aximi) Ara[bici m(axi-  
mi) 3] | [3 taurob]oli[um--]

Ca. 211–217 CE

### Germania Inferior

**36)** *AE* 2006, 864 = *AE* 2007, 1018 = *AE* 2009, 914 = *AE* 2013, 108 = *AE* 2013, 1115 = Wiegels 2017 = *AE* 2017, 990 (Aachen/Aquae Granni)

Numinibus / divor(um) Aug(ustorum) in / honorem domus / [d]ivinae Iul(ia) Tiberina  
Q. Iul(ii) /<sup>s</sup> [FL?]avi ux(r) o (centurionis) I[e]g(ionis) XX Val(eriae) Vic(tricis) ae/des Matri  
d[eum] et Isidi ex voto / de [suo ?] s(olvit) I(ibens) m(erito)

160–200 CE

**37)** *CIL* XIII, 7865 = *CCCA* 6, 35 = *AE* 2001, 1435 = Schillinger 1979, no. 708 (Inden-Pier)  
Pro salut[e] / Imperator[is] / Augusti M[a]/t<ri=ER> Magnae / consacrani // I(ibentes)  
m(erito)

200–250 CE

### Germania Superior

**38)** *AE* 2004, 1015 = *AE* 2007, 148 = *AE* 2017, 1071 (Mainz/Mogontiacum)

Pro salute Augustorum / s(enatus) p(opuli)q(ue) R(omani) et exercitus / Matri Mag-  
nae Claudia Aug(usti) I(iberta) Icmas / et Vitulus Caes(aris) sacer(dote) Cla(udio) Attico  
li(berto)

81–96 CE

**39)** *CIL* XIII, 6664 = *CCCA* 6, 45 = Schillinger 1979, no. 564 (Mainz/Mogontiacum)

In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) / De[o A]ttini [Vi]cto/rius Salu//taris / libert[us]

150–180 CE

**40)** *CIL* XIII, 11606 = *CIMRM* 2, 1349 = Schillinger 1979, no. 567 (Strasbourg-Königs-  
hofen/Argentorate)

In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) / D(eo) Atti / Cantin(ius) / Capell(a) / v(otum) s(olvit)  
I(ibens) I(aetus)

200–250 CE

**41)** *CIL* XIII, 7458 = *CCCA* 6, 51 = Schillinger 1979, no. 565 (Saalburg)

*[Matri De]um in h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) / pr[o in]c(olumitate) Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) T(iti) Aeli / H[adr(iani)] Antonini Aug(usti) Pii p(atris) p(atriciae) / [A]nton(inus) Aemilianus c[on]t(centurio) leg(ionis) / [XXII] Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis) pro se et suis / [aede]m subst(ravit?) et v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo)*

138–161 CE

### Latium et Campania / Regio I

**42)** *AE* 1927, 51 = *AE* 1927, 115 = *AE* 1927, 144 = *CCCA* 3, 464 = Dubosson-Sbrigliione 2018, 268 (Marino/Castrimoenium)

*Pro salute Im[p(eratoris) Caes(aris) T(iti) Aeli Ha]driani Antonin[i Aug(usti) Pii et M(arci) Ae]li Aureli Caes(aris) totius[q(ue) domus divinae] / collegium salutare den[drophorum] // sanctum Matri deum [Magnae Idaeae] / faciend(um) curaverunt. Locus adsign[atus est ad] / pinus ponendas / ab(!) C(aio) Dissenio Fusco curatore municipi[p(i) Bovillens(ium)] / secus epistula(m) Imp(eratoris) Antonini Aug(usti) ad [latam decurio]nibus decreto eor(um) C(aio) Tatinio Gemellino [et] / Soteriano aed(ilibus) cur(am) agent(e) C(aio) Albio Cep[halo sacerdot(e)] / act(um) Nonis Aprilib(us) // L(ucio) Annio Largo / [et Pacato co(n)s(ulibus)]*

5.4.147 CE

**43)** *CIL* XIV, 34 p. 612 = *ILS* 4111 = *CCCA* 3, 401 = Schillinger 1979, no. 576 (Ostia Antica)

*P[ro salute imp(eratoris) ---] // --- F]elicis(?) Q(uintus) Caecilius / Fuscus archigal/lus coloniae Ost(i)en/sis imaginem / Matris deum ar/genteam p(ondo) l cum / signo Nemesem / <c=K>annoph<o>ris // Ostiensibus d(onum) d(edit)*

169–171 CE

**44)** *CIL* XIV, 40 p. 612 + *CIL* XIV, 41 = *CIL* XIV, 4301 = *CIL* XIV, 4302 = *ILS* 4135 = *CCCA* 3, 405 = Duthoy 1969, 35 + 36 = Schillinger 1979, no. 650 = Dubosson-Sbrigliione 2018, 512 sq. no. 118 (Ostia Antica)

*Tauro[bolium factum Matri deum Magn(ae) Idaeae pro salute] / Im[p(eratoris) Caesaris] / M(arci) Aureli[i Antonini Aug(usti) et] / L(uci) A[[ureli] [Commodi Caes(aris)]] et] // Faustina[e Aug(ustae) et cetero]rum libe[rorum eorum senatui, XVvir(is) s(acris) f(aciundis), equestri] / ordin(i), ex[ercitui p(opuli) R(omani)] / navigan[tibus---] ]RO[3] / decurio[nibu]s coloni[ae Ostiensium] / canno[phoris] dendroph[oris] / nata[---]atis taurob[oliatis] / in [campo Matr]is deum col(oniae) [Ostiensium] / [3]q(ue) eorum ea[rum]que(?) // Cri[n]obolium factum [Matri] / deum Mag(nae) Id(a)eae pr[o salute] / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) [[L(uci) A]ureli]] / [[C]ommodi Augusti]] // [to]tiusq(ue) dom[us divinae] // ]rniam [---] / [---]ux Ul[---] / C[ombari]sio Hes[perione] / [decurionum(?) decret]o publ[ice(?)]*

169–175 CE

**45)** *CIL* XIV, 43 = *CCCA* 3, 407 = Duthoy 1969, no. 39 = Schillinger 1979, no. 712 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 413 no. 120 (Ostia Antica)

*Taurobolium factum / Matr(i) deum Magn(ae) Idaeae pro / salut(e) et redit(u) et victor(ia) Imp(eratoris)*

200–250 CE

**46)** *CIL* XIV, 4303 = *CCCA* 3, 417 = *AE* 1917/18, 116 = *AE* 1919, 60 = Duthoy 1969, no. 40 = Schillinger 1979, no. 713 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 513 sq. no. 121 (Ostia Antica)

*[Taur- sive Cri]oboliu[m(?) factum / M(atri) d(eum)] M(agnae) I(daeae) pro salu[te et] / [r]edit(u) et victo[ria] / [[.--]] / Pii Felic(is) Aug(usti) et [[.--]] / [[.--]] Aug(usti) nostri tot[usque] / domus divinae s<e=l>natui XV[viris] / sac(ris) fac(iundis) equestri [ordini] / e<x=R>e(r)citui p(opuli) R(omani) matri[b(us) sive -ronis(?)*

222–235 CE

**47)** *CIL* XIV, 42 (p. 612) = *ILS* 526 = *ILS* 4141 = *CCCA* 3, 406 = Duthoy 1969, no. 38 = Schillinger 1979, no. 711 = Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 513 no. 119 (Ostia Antica)

*Taur[obolium factum Matri deum] / Mag[nae Idaeae pro salute et victoria] / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) C(ai) V[ibi Treboniani Galli Pii] / Fel(icis) Aug(usti) et [Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) C(ai) Vibi Afini Galli] // Veldum[niani Vol]usiani P[(ii) Fel(icis) / Aug(usti) totiu] sq(ue) domus divin(ae) eor(um) [et] / sen[atus XV]vir(or)um] s(acris) f(aciundis) equestr(is) ordin(is) / ex[ercituum navali]um navigantium / S[---*

251–253 CE

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