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## IVNONES: AN APPROACH TO THEIR PERSONALITY AND GEOGRAPHY OF CULT

**Summary:** The epigraphic expression of plural female divinities, represented sometimes in triads, is a feature of Romano-Celtic realms. This is the case of the *Matres* and *Matronae*, as well as the *Fortunae*, with epithets expressing the local identity of the divine personality – or of their cult group – in an increasingly globalized world such as the Roman Empire.

In this context, my aim is to focus on the *Iunones*. We have about 70 inscriptions dedicated to these deities, sometimes appearing with the epithet *Augustae*, others as *Matronae*, *Montanae*, *Domesticae*, *Suleviae*, associated with other deities such as *IOM*, *Hercules*, *Genius Loci* or the *Augustorum Numina*, or assimilated to the *Gabiae*. The sacred geography of the *Iunones* includes Italy (with a higher density in *Venetia* and *Histria*, but with manifestations in *Transpadana*, *Umbria*, *Aemilia*, *Latium* and *Campania*), but they are also testamentary in diverse provinces of Celtic tradition, such as *Germania Inferior*, *Noricum*, *Belgium*, *Aquitania*, *Lugdunensis* or *Narbonensis*. The analysis of individual or collective dedicants, the activities commemorated in the altars, and the processes that make visible – at a regional or local level – these goddesses in theonyms related to the Roman *Iuno*, are the aims of this paper.

**Key words:** *Iunones*, *interpretatio*, *Matres*, *Matronae*, Roman religion

The Landesmuseum Württemberg in Stuttgart houses the busts of the so-called “Three holy women”. These three busts, from Anhausen (Schwäbisch Hall), are dated to 1506, and portray the Virgin Mary, Saint Barbara and Saint Dorothea (fig. 1). Without going into the meaning of these sculptures and the context they emerge from, which is clearly beyond the subject of this paper, I believe they somehow reflect the topic I am about to deal with: the *interpretatio* mechanisms in the world of holy female triads. The busts in the Museum of Stuttgart point, in my opinion, to the Christianization of ancient female



Fig. 1. “The Three Holy Women” (Anhausen, Schwäbisch Hall). Landesmuseum Württemberg in Stuttgart (photo: F. Marco Simón)

characters which are typical of Celtic areas, known to us mainly through the theonyms of *Matres* or *Matronae*.<sup>1</sup>

But these ancient female divine personalities can equally be mentioned as *Iunones*, the matter of our discussion here. And I think that this conference, *Symposium Classicum Peregrinum*, particularly befits the topic I am about to expound, since I am dealing with the adaptation of a classical goddess, the Roman *Iuno*, within a Celtic peregrine environment, through a process of multiplying a singular deity in triads, a process described by Pierre Lambrechts as “répétition d’intensité”,<sup>2</sup> which seems typical in Celtic realms as it can be seen also in iconography (for example, in the Gaulish god with the threefold head). In *Gallia Narbonensis* for example it is possible to document two different variants of expressing the same or similar deity related to waters and fertility: while in the more romanized context this deity is testified through a masculine and singular theonym (*Glanis*, or *Nemausus* for example), in more “traditional” realms within the same location this divine personality is expressed through the pluralized feminine as we can read in the dedications to *the matrebo glaneikabo* and *the matrebo namausikabo*.<sup>3</sup> The case of the *Iunones* seems to show a similar process of pluralisation of a singular Classical Roman deity known to us as *Juno*.

<sup>1</sup> In the same sense, PASCAL 1941, 372, observed that “the three Maries are a Christianized form of the Celtic-Germanic deities, the mothers (*matres, matrones*) to whose cult hundreds of Rhenish inscriptions testify”, on the base of STUMPPFL 1936, 215ff.

<sup>2</sup> LAMBRECHTS 1942.

<sup>3</sup> JUFER–LUGINBÜHL 2001, 43 and 56, with references.

A first observation is that the cult of these female deities of various appellatives (*Matres*, *Matrae*, *Matronae*, *Iunones*) is totally ignored in ancient literary sources: no reference is made, for instance, in Caesar's Gallic excursus, or in Tacitus' *Germania*, or in Seneca's – *Epist.* 110. 1–2, and Pliny's *NH* 2. 16 –, who report on less official aspects of the cult of *Iuno* as the female form of the *Genius*. This lack of reference to *Iunones* in ancient literary sources could be attributable to the private nature of the cult of these goddesses, as Landucci Gattinoni has pointed out.<sup>4</sup> The purpose of this contribution is an approach to the geographical area where the cult of the *Iunones* took place, trying at the same time to explain the context of their epigraphical emergence and difussion.

## 1. GEOGRAPHY OF THE *IUNONES* CULT

So far, almost 70 inscriptions dedicated to *Iunones* have appeared, either on their own or associated with other deities. Over half of them, 38 epigraphs to be precise, have been found in *Regio X (Venetia et Histria)*, where three central points concentrate the most significant elements of the geography of the cult: Brescia/*Brixia* (10 instances within the city and 18 in the surrounding territory: fig. 2 map), Verona (10 including the



Fig. 2. Cultic geography of the *Iunones* (cartography: Peña Lanzarote)

<sup>4</sup> LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, 79.

surrounding territory) and *Aquileia* (6 epigraphs). Out of the 6 inscriptions originate in neighbouring *Transpadana*, 4 of them appeared in Como and the surrounding territory, and the theonym has a weaker prevalence in *Regio VII* of Emilia (2 instances), in Umbria (1 instance) and in *Latium* (1 instance: Pratica di Mare/*Lavinium*, a case we shall review later).

The province of *Germania Inferior* is, after *Venetia* and *Istria*, the second zone in terms of number of epigraphs yielded, totalling 8, with Cologne and Xanten producing two epigraphs each. As regards the Gallias, a total of 10 inscriptions have been found, three of them in *Gallia Narbonensis* (in Nîmes/*Nemausus*, St. Gill and St. Rémy de Provence/*Glanum*), four in *Aquitania* (2 of them in Nerins-les-Bains/*Aquae Neri*) and four in Belgium (two of them in Trier/*Augusta Treverorum*). The cultic map is completed with the finds in *Noricum*, 3 in total, from Sankt Georgen/*Tarnasicum*, Micheldorf/*Noreia* and Radelsdorf (see Appendix).

Consequently, the geography of holy *Iunones* seems particularly visible in Veneto, with the key spots of Brescia, Verona and *Aquileia*, and to a lesser extent in *Germania Inferior*, with a presence in three Gallic provinces (but not in *Gallia Lugdunensis*, at least at the time of writing), and in the *Noricum*, plus scattered finds in *Emilia*, Umbria and *Latium*. No other documents of these deities have been attested to until now in provinces like *Germania Superior*, *Raetia*, the Alpine provinces, *Britannia*, *Hispania*, *Dalmatia* or *Pannonia*.

The *Iunones* are guardian deities of health and fertility and have been explained as a Romanized form of a local pre-Roman cult highly prevalent in the Cisalpine, in relation to the *Matronae*.<sup>5</sup> The Brescia territory, where 18 of our shrines originate in and where *Matronae* are equally attested to, appears to be particularly relevant in this area and acts as a hinge between *Regio X*, where the cult to *Iunones* is prevalent, and *Regio XI*, where *Matronae* are predominant.<sup>6</sup>

Reference has been made to the propensity towards female cults in this zone, where deities such as *Minerva*, *Venus* or *Isis-Fortuna* prevail, and where male divinities are in the minority. In this context, the *Iunones* possibly represent cults of strong Cenomanian, that is Celtic, inspiration, also conceivably related to the dedications to the *Fatae* in the same zone<sup>7</sup> which give 13 inscriptions in total.<sup>8</sup> Likewise, an anonymous inscription from Vicenza is dedicated to the *Dianae*,<sup>9</sup> whose plural expression could probably be due to – perhaps through Etruscan intervention – the fact that the Latin world already knew Diana's triple epiclesis derived from the Greek triad *Artemis-Selene-Hecate* (as is well known, a coin from Aricia depicts triple Diana).<sup>10</sup>

According to Claudio Zaccaria, besides *Belenus*, the great city deity worshiped in *Aquileia* with about 70 inscriptions, amongst the large amount of local deities doc-

<sup>5</sup> PASCAL 1964, 70, 116–123; LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986; BASSI 2008, 52.

<sup>6</sup> GREGORI 2000, 273.

<sup>7</sup> BASSI 2008, 53–54.

<sup>8</sup> ZACCARIA 2001–2002, 147–148.

<sup>9</sup> *AE* 1959, 260. Two more inscriptions are dedicated to the *Dianae* in Saint-Dié-des-Vosges/*Leuci* (*AE* 1967, 321) and in Bure-la-Ville/*Leuci* (*AE* 1967, 427), in the Roman province of Belgica.

<sup>10</sup> LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, 51.

umented in the *Gallia Cisalpina* only the *Matres* (*Matronae*, *Iunones*) seem more certainly to be Celtic. But they are themselves somehow probably the *interpretatio* of some unknown pre-Roman deities, and not only Celtic but also Raetic, Venetic, Etruscan or even “Istrian” substrata ought to be taken into consideration.<sup>11</sup>

As is well known, the *Matres* are worshipped in the transalpine world of *Gallia*, *Germania*, *Britannia* or *Hispania*,<sup>12</sup> whereas the *Matronae* appear in epigraphs of the Cisalpine areas (some 59 altars are dedicated to the *Matronae*). Conversely, the *Matres* only appear on one occasion in Monte S. Martino, Brescia.<sup>13</sup>

Some scholars, such as Pascal or Landucci Gattinoni<sup>14</sup> claim that the inscriptions dedicated to *Matronae-Iunones* could document in the Cisalpine the substantial identity of both deities. Nevertheless, of the total of 97 entries on *Matronae* and *Iunones* analysed by Landucci Gattinoni, only those from Macerata Feltria/*Pitinum Pisaurense* (No. 45), Verona (No. 10), Como (No. 39) and Arcisate (No. 40) are jointly dedicated to both plural designations. In other words: only 4 of the total 97, which in my opinion makes the tout court identification of both theonyms rather problematic. As previously stated, *Matronae* are clearly predominant in the west, in *Regio XI*, whereas *Iunones* are more prevalent in *Regio X* (save for the territory of Brescia, bordering *Regio XI*).

## 2. THE ORIGIN OF THE EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

When interpreting the epigraphic emergence of the pluralized theonym *Iunones*, some scholars pointed out Roman Juno's value as the female correlation of the *Genius*, the protecting numen of individual households.<sup>15</sup> The existence of an individual guardian Juno is demonstrated not only by the existence of shrines dedicated to Juno as a specific individual female character<sup>16</sup> or by inscriptions dedicated to *Genius/Iuno* as a pair,<sup>17</sup> but also by literary sources. Tibullus relates explicitly woman with Iuno (3. 12. 1–20; 3. 6. 48; 3. 19. 15), indicating that on a woman's birthday offerings were made to her *iuno* (3. 12. 1–2: *Natalis Iuno, sanctos cape turis acervos, quos tibi dat tenera docta puella manu*), while Seneca (*Epist.* 110. 1–2) states that *ita tamen hoc seponas volo, ut memineris maiores nostros, qui crediderunt Stoicos fuisse, singulis enim et genium et Iunonem dederunt*. And Pliny (*NH* 2. 16) writes: *quam ob rem maior caelitem populus*

<sup>11</sup> ZACCARIA 2001–2002, 129–130.

<sup>12</sup> Except for the inscriptions of the Germanic *équites singulares* found in Rome and dated to the first half of the second century (*CIL* VI 31140–31149; 31161; 31171; 31174–31175). Cf. HEICHELHEIM 1930; BAUCHHENS–NEUMANN 1987; GÓMEZ PANTOJA 1999.

<sup>13</sup> ZACCARIA 2001–2002, 151.

<sup>14</sup> PASCAL 1964, 187 or LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, 19.

<sup>15</sup> IHM 1887 and 1894; LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, 20.

<sup>16</sup> *CIL* VI 2128: *Iunoni Iuniae C. Silani f. / Torquatae sacerdoti Vestani annis LXIII caelesti patronage Actius I*; *CIL* VI 15502: *Iunoni Claudiae Liviae I. Melpomene*; *CIL* VI 15675: *Iunoni Cleopatrae L. ser. Alexander b.m.f.*; *CIL* VI 25554: *Iunoni Rubriae Victorinae*.

<sup>17</sup> *CIL* XI 3076=ILS 116; cf. *CIL* V 5869, 5892 (=ILS 6730–6731), 6950, 7237; VIII 3695 (=ILS 3644); XIII 1735.

*etiam quam hominem intellegi potest cum singuliquoque ex semetipsis totidem deos faciant Iunones Geniosque adoptando sibi.*

Wissowa saw in the pair *genius/iuno* the divinized essence of male and female creative power, and characterized the belief as a survival from the most primitive period of Italic religious thought. At an early period, however, the two concepts began to diverge, the *genius* remaining an individualistic concept while the mass of *iunones* produced a great goddess of women, Iuno.<sup>18</sup> This theory remained dominant for many years in German scholarship, but has been dismissed by English and French scholars who have argued that the *iuno feminae* is a late development,<sup>19</sup> indicating that there is little reason to think of the *iuno* and the *genius* as primitive survivals, but some reason to think that they developed in the two last centuries BC, the *iuno* on the model of the *genius*, the earliest evidence for the *iuno* appearing in the Augustan period.<sup>20</sup>

Whatmough<sup>21</sup> was the first to suggest that the use of *iuno feminae* derived from the description of the Celtic *Matronae* as *iunones*. Dumézil<sup>22</sup> dismissed the notion of an archaic Latin concept or even a *Frauengottheit* and argued that *Iuno* was a goddess of Indo-European origin, a proper tripartite deity embodying warlike power, fecundity and sacred royalty.

Ihm<sup>23</sup> proposed the hypothesis that, just as the *Genius* became with time the protector of human communities in a broad sense (cities, colonies or even provinces), Roman Juno's protecting role could well have been transferred onto social communities, bringing her closer to the features of Celtic-Germanic *Matres-Matronae*. Ihm's hypothesis could be supported by the inscription in Bergamo (*CIL* V 5112) dedicated to *Iunoni Pagi Fortunensis*, which could document the transformation of *Iuno* as a private *numen* into the guardian divinity of a small community.

Be that as it may, one of the aspects I would like to point out here in order to highlight the probable Celticity of *Iunones* is the scarcity of testimonies regarding Roman *Iuno*.<sup>24</sup> The distinctive plurality in the expression of the female guardian divinity in Celtic and Germanic environments could also have favoured plurality as a feature attached to Roman Juno resulting from a typical *interpretatio* process.<sup>25</sup> *Iunones* could therefore be the Romanized form of a pre-existing cult in Cisalpine, a hypothesis liable to be modified in the light of fresh epigraphic elements.<sup>26</sup>

I believe available documentation seems to endorse Ihm's hypothesis to explain the key of the cult of *Iunones* as documented in epigraphy. An altar in Trier is dedicated to the *Iunones* and to the *Genius* (*CIL* XIII 3642) association possibly repeated

<sup>18</sup> WISSOWA 1912, 182.

<sup>19</sup> ROSE 1948, 45ff.; BAYET 1957, 66; SCHILLING 1979, 419; RIVES 1992, 48–49.

<sup>20</sup> *CIL* XI 3076=ILS 116: *Genio Augusti et Ti. Caesaris, iunoni Liviae, Mystes l/(ibertus)*, after AD 14 (RIVES 1992, 37 n. 15).

<sup>21</sup> WHATMOUGH 1937, 159ff.

<sup>22</sup> DUMÉZIL 1954, 105–119; 1974, 303–310.

<sup>23</sup> IHM 1894.

<sup>24</sup> SARTORI 1995, 236.

<sup>25</sup> On the *interpretatio* processes in general and their variants, see now the proceedings of the Osnabrück conference: CHIAI-HÄUSSLER-KUNST 2012.

<sup>26</sup> LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, 21.

in the shrine of Carpi (Emilia), which I shall mention later (No. 43). I equally believe that a reference should be made to the Krefeld inscription (Germania Inferior), where the *Numen Augusti* and the *Genius Loci* are cited along with our goddesses by the dedicator, Silvinus Nocturnus (No. 65).

### 3. EPITHETS AND ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER DEITIES

Two of the testimonies from Transpadane are addressed to the *Iunones Matronae* as a result of a vision the dedicator had – of threefold name in Como (No. 39) –, while in the case of Arcisate the dedication is made by Valerius, son of Baro (No. 40). A similar association with the *Matronae* is attested to in another inscription from *Pitinum Pisaurense*, Umbria, dedicated by Cinnamis (No. 45), as well as on another gravestone from Verona where these *Iunones* are perhaps described as *Augustae* (No. 10).

The *Domnae (Dominae) Iunones* are attested to in an altar in Verona dedicated by Exspectata (No. 14), and 4 inscriptions in the zone of Aquileia are dedicated to deities called *Dominae*, which could possibly refer to the *Iunones*<sup>27</sup> as they do not appear to be linked to any other theonym besides these.

An epigraph in Toscolano Maderno, also in Veneto, jointly invokes Hercules and the *Iunones* (No. 37), described as *Dii Sancti* by a couple of Roman citizens with a threefold name, to favour another person who must be their son, L. Valerius Cornelianus. This is a highly interesting altar in terms of the relationship between Juno and the *Iunones*, since in the ancient Roman religion Juno and Hercules appear as the main female and male *numen*, as a pair of *dei coniugales*.<sup>28</sup>

*Iunones* are accompanied by the Augustal epithet in an inscription from Calvisano, in the *ciuitas* of Brescia, made by Euelpistus (No. 30), as well as in two altars in Verona (Nos. 12–13) and one in Mezzane di Sotto (No. 29). The Augustal epithet describes also the *Iunones* in an inscription from the *Narbonensis* originating in St. Gilles, inside the *ciuitas* of Nîmes (No. 48), while in neighbouring *Aquitania* an altar was found in Agen (No. 51) dedicated to the *Iunones Augustales* and registering the erection of a portico and a wall (*maceria*) by two dedicators, Capito and Julia.

The association of *Iunones* with *Numina Augustorum*<sup>29</sup> and the *Genius Loci* documented in Krefeld-Gellep/*Gelduba* (No. 65), which may be dated to between the late second century and the middle third century (fig. 3), is not attested to in any other place, while the association of the *Iunones* with the *Numen* is documented in Treveris.<sup>30</sup> In Gouecourt/*Leuci*, in the same Belgian province, a dedicator named Padula links the *Iunones* with the imperial house following the well known formula *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae)* (No. 57), very typical in these zones.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> LANDUCCI 1986, 40–41, with references.

<sup>28</sup> PETER 1978, col. 2258; LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, 50.

<sup>29</sup> See LIERTZ 1998.

<sup>30</sup> LIERTZ 1998, n. 4.

<sup>31</sup> RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 1975, 1992.



Altar aus Krefeld-Gellep (Gelduba) in Privatbesitz. Aufnahme J. E. Bogaers

Fig. 3. Altar to the *Iunones* and the *Genius loci* from Krefeld-Gellep (photo: J. E. Bogaers)

The *Vicani Neriomagenses* from Neri-les-Bains/*Aquae Neri* (in the province of Aquitania) dedicate two altars to the *Iunones* along with the *Numina Augustorum* (52), and the epithet *Domesticae* accompanies the goddesses in an inscription in Zulpich/*Tolbiacum*, in *Germania Inferior* (No. 59). The dedicators are the *vicani Tolbiacenses*, who seemingly act upon the orders of the deities themselves, which is also the case in another inscription in Wesseling, in the same province (No. 60).

Another particularly interesting adjective is *Montanae*, found in an inscription dedicated by Cinnmais in Nîmes (No. 47). The association with the mountains seems to suggest an *interpretatio* of local ancestral female deities. Ammianus Marcellinus (16. 10. 3) states that the *Mons Matronae* (Monginevro) owed its name to a matron who had died there, a clearly wrong explanation. Chilver<sup>32</sup> already proposed the hypothesis that *Mons Matronae* was related with the deity who inhabited it, and 9 inscriptions to the *Matronae* have actually appeared in the Cottian Alps.<sup>33</sup>

The association to the *Suleviae* documented in an altar in Rinxent/*Morini*, in the province of Belgium, erected by a L. Cassius Nigrinianus, seems particularly significant (No. 54). The theonym seems unequivocally Celtic, with the same root as the well known *Sulis Minerva* in *Britannia*.<sup>34</sup>

Another highly interesting epithet is *Gabiae*, used for *Iunones* in two different altars in *Germania Inferior*. One of them, from Cologne (No. 61), is dedicated by a Masius. The other, from Xanten (No. 62), appears in a *monumentum* dedicated to *Iunonibus sive Gabiabus* by an individual called M. Hilarinius Romanus. Also in this city an altar was found dedicated to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* and all the *Iunones*

<sup>32</sup> CHILVER 1941, 188.

<sup>33</sup> LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, 79.

<sup>34</sup> CUNLIFFE et al. 1985.



(*Iunoni(bus) omnib(us)*) by a veteran of Leg. XXX called Iulius Vitalis in his and his family's favour (No. 63).

#### 4. CULTORES

Dedicators of the epigraphs where *Iunones* are mentioned are very varied and of diverse social status. The most remarkable instance is perhaps the inscription of Pratica di Mare/*Lavinium* (No. 46). It is dated to Tiberius' 38<sup>th</sup> *tribunicia potestas* (that is, the year 36) and the dedicator is none other than Spurius Turranius Proculus Gellianus, who is *flamen Dialis*, *flamen Martialis* and the holder of a prefecture. Fortunately, this character is known to us through another inscription in Pompeii (*CIL X 797= ILS 5004*) dating from the Claudius period, whereby we know he did hold military, civilian and religious offices, including *flamen Dialis*, *flamen Martialis*, *salius praesul*, *augur*, *pontifex* and also *pater patratus populi Laurentis*. Should this person, as Landucci proposes, have had a Laviniate background, this inscription, the oldest inscription mentioning the *Iunones* by a Roman citizen of the equestrian order,<sup>35</sup> would not only attest to the precocious religious Romanization inherent to *Iunones*, but would pose highly remarkable questions regarding mutual influences between Italic and Celtic cultures in the development of cults in the south of the Alps. This dedication, striking as it may be, can be added to other dedications made to the *Matronae* by persons in senatorial and equestrian positions outside Italy.<sup>36</sup>

On other occasions, the threefold name of the dedicator denotes their privileged legal status: this is the case of Sextus Licinius Verecundus (mentioned as dedicator in Aquileia: No. 1), M. Mogetius Hospes (No. 3, Aquileia) or C. Naevius Proculus (from Manerbio: No. 36), L. Caecilius Placidus (from Brescia: No. 18), L. Sart(ius?) Secundus (from Brescia: No. 23), C. Vocianus Surg[ ] (from Brescia: No. 25), L. Valerius Severus and Clodia Corneliania (from Toscolano-Maderno: No. 37), or L. Cassius Nigrinianus (from Rinxent, Belgium: No. 54), as well as the L. Licinius Firmus, documented on the gravestone from Riva di Garda (No. 28) (fig. 4).

However, the names in other inscriptions point to peregrine dedicators (this is the case of Barbara Oldra in Saint-Gilles [*ciuitas* of Nemausus: No. 48], the Maemilii in Putzdorf [No. 58], Gabianus Masius [Cologne: No. 61]), or even to the world of freedmen. This could be precisely the background of L. Vitruvius Euthetus (Ferrara: No. 34), as well as of T. Flavius Hermes and his wife Metella Ide, from Verona (No. 13). And this is certainly the background of L. Cassius Trophimus, of Valgarata (No. 35), Annia Iuda or L. Clodius Auctus (from Brescia: No. 17 and 19), Aninia (from Carpi, in Emilia: No. 43), a Catia who dedicates an altar to the *Iunonibus ancillarum* in Radelsdorf, Noricum (No. 68), or Acutia Egloge from Bagnolo Mella (Brixia: No. 31). And possibly freedmen are also Cn. Cornelius Nikanor, from Brescia (No. 20) or

<sup>35</sup> LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, 26.

<sup>36</sup> LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, 61–62.



Fig. 4. Inscriptions to the *Iunones* by Licinius Firmus, Riva di Garda (Trentino) (after BASSI 2008, fig. 3)

L. Tarius Philero, from Parma (No. 44). A Mestrius *Faber* dedicates an altar in Brescia too (No. 22).

*Seviri Augustales* appear as dedicators of altars in Verona (No. 12. L. Licinius Hymnus), Como (No. 39, C. Vir[ ] Max[ ], to the *Iunones Matronae*). Their *servus* nature is mentioned in inscriptions in Brescia (No. 24, Nicetius, who dedicates an altar to the health of Valeria Iusta).

At times, one inscription may document very different names. This is the case of the inscription in Gouecourt (Belgium: No. 57), where Padula dedicates an altar to the *Deae Iunones* in favour of S. Sufus Agricola, Regalis, Petturo and Grannica, the latter names being of Celtic origin. The name Brocchilus Brocchi f. of Arsago Serpio, Transpadana (No. 41) also seems clearly Celtic, as well as the name Baro mentioned as the father of already Romanized Valerius who dedicates an altar to the *Iunones* in Arcisate (Como: No. 40). A similar instance could be that of Rufus Acutius Comincilonis f., from Mezzane (No. 29), whose father had a Celtic name but he already had two Latin *nomina*.

In short, inscriptions dedicated to *Iunones* comprise the entire social range, from lavinate *Dialis* Spurius Turranius Proculus Gellianus (No. 46), to numerous *cultores*, freedmen of Greek names, including also dedicators whose names are clearly Celtic.

## 5. MONUMENTALIZATION AND ICONOGRAPHY OF THE CULT

Epigraphy dedicated to *Iunones* generally documents the fulfilling of a pledge and does not report the construction of monuments in their honour, save for some exceptions. One such exception is the gravestone found in Sankt Georgen/*Tarnasicum* in Noricum (No. 66), where the *cultor* had a temple rebuilt, which had become derelict over time, in honour of these deities. Lack of data precludes more detailed information regarding the name of the dedicator.

Another noteworthy instance is an epigraph from Aquileia, where *sevir augustalis* M. Magius Amaranthus and his wife Magia Vera Ilias had a temple built in a private estate with three statues, a portico, an enclosing wall and a kitchen (No. 2). The name Magius is well documented in Aquileia in the Imperial period amongst families of probable *seviral* background who enjoy a prosperous economic status, as demonstrated by this epigraph, which could be dated to the second century.<sup>37</sup> Also in Aquileia another epigraph whose dedicator's name has not been preserved, reports the construction of a portico, a school and perhaps a silver image to *Iunones*. (No. 4).

The inscription in Carpi (Emilia) dedicated by a freedwoman, Aninia, is quite remarkable. The text (No. 43) explains that the altar is dedicated to the *Iunones*, along with the place where it stands and the regulations (*leges*) it contains. According to these, it is legal to carry out repair and refurbishment works, as well as ornamentation and delimitation actions as well as to perform crime-free or fraudulent-free sacrifices. It is not clear in the inscription whether the *locus* mentioned was simply a piece of land with an altar or a covered temple, though the aforementioned operations seem to point rather to an *aedicula*.

Triplicity usually defines the iconography of *Matres* or *Matronae*,<sup>38</sup> who are portrayed enthroned, with baskets of flowers or fruit on their laps in Celtic-Germanic backgrounds, as has traditionally been admitted from Ihm<sup>39</sup> to Pascal.<sup>40</sup> This is how they were depicted in the lost altar of Morozzo (Bene Vagienna).<sup>41</sup> However, in the western Cisalpine, several reliefs depict a higher number of dancing female figures which have been interpreted as figurations of young females devoted to the goddesses. This is the case of the monuments from Angera, Pallanza, Avigliana (fig. 5) and Sommariva Bosco,<sup>42</sup> with three or five female figures dancing and holding hands amid trees and garlands, denoting woodlands and wilderness. Likewise, the ceramic vase from Capignano Sesia depicts similar female figures, as also seems to be the case in the vase from Biandrate.<sup>43</sup>

The iconography of these *Matronae* from the Cisalpine region is redolent of the female dancers (Tomba delle danzatrici) on the renowned Peucetian funerary painting

<sup>37</sup> LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, 34; GIRARDI 2017, 390.

<sup>38</sup> BAUCHHENS-NEUMANN 1987; WOOLF 2003; GARMAN 2008.

<sup>39</sup> IHM 1887, 49.

<sup>40</sup> PASCAL 1964, p. 116.

<sup>41</sup> LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, 29–30.

<sup>42</sup> SPAGNOLO GARZOLI 1996, 102, tav. XXXVI.

<sup>43</sup> [http://www.sitbiella.it/novara/libro/pagine/studi\\_di\\_sintesi/cultiRomani/page135.html](http://www.sitbiella.it/novara/libro/pagine/studi_di_sintesi/cultiRomani/page135.html).



Fig. 5. Ara from Avigliana (photo: Museo Civico di Torino)

of Ruvo di Puglia, dating from the end of the fifth century to the second half of the fourth century BC,<sup>44</sup> and therefore with a chronology much earlier than the Cisalpine monuments. The altar from Angera, housed at the Museo Civico of Varese, depicts on the left side four female figures<sup>45</sup> under what appears to be an oak tree with an amphora at its base, which are similar to the three dancers on the back side of the altar of Pallanza, dating from Caligula's period, where the slave Narcissus, who addresses the *Matronae* to protect the emperor's health, appears on the relief under the epigraph sacrificing an animal, probably a sheep, with an assistant and a flautist on either side.<sup>46</sup> Finally, in the altar of Avigliana at Museo Civico di Torino,<sup>47</sup> five female figures representing the *Matronae* are depicted (fig. 5). The four figures on the left are holding hands, like those in the altar in Pallanza. The one on the right, however, is isolated from the rest, as seems also to be the case of the first of the figures portrayed in the

<sup>44</sup> DE JULIIS 2004, 267; PASCALE 2009, 297.

<sup>45</sup> SENA CHIESA 1982, 116–124; LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, fig. 1.

<sup>46</sup> MANINI CALDERINI 1972, figs. 1–2; LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, appendix n° 75, fig. 3.

<sup>47</sup> GUZO–MOSCAT–SUSINI 1995, 177, 263 n. 757; LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, fig. 2.

altar of Angera, who presides over the parade moving towards the right and which could be dated to somewhere between the years 41 and 6, according to Brusin.<sup>48</sup>

Landucci Gattinoni<sup>49</sup> believes that the female figures of the altars in Pallanza, Angera and Avigliana could represent the goddesses themselves, not as austere Mothers but as nature's Nymphs. These reliefs would develop a new type of iconography of the goddesses differing from northern models of the *Matres* or *Matronae* with similarities to figures in central-southern Italy.<sup>50</sup> It could be assumed a similar figuration for our *Iunones*, at least in the case of those from the Cisalpine region, but an iconography of this kind has not appeared associated to these goddesses.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

According to the hypothesis put forward by Landucci Gattinoni,<sup>51</sup> the fact that in *Regio X* only 7 altars to the *Matronae* have been documented, while 29 monuments have been attested to the *Iunones*, might suggest that the cult to these goddesses could have been introduced by Italic people who, from the second century BC onwards, settled in the eastern part of northern Italy. It might not be casual that the oldest inscription to the *Iunones* comes from *Lavinium* (No. 46), and moreover, in Tor Tignosa, in the environs of *Lavinium*, three ancient cippi from the late fourth or early third century BC were found with the dedications *Neuna Fata*, *Neuna dono* and *Parca Maurtia dono*.<sup>52</sup> The number of *Fata* or *Parcae* (Gell. 3. 16. 9–11, quoting Varro), goddesses of human fate, could amount to three possibly through the influence of the three Greek *Moirai*, and we know that ancient statues of the *tria Fata* existed in the Roman Forum (Plin. *NH* 29. 19). In the Cisalpine several inscriptions to the *Fatae* and to the *Parcae* are attested to,<sup>53</sup> and their assimilation to Celtic *Matronae* could illustrate a similar *interpretatio* of traditional female through the *Iunones*.

The cult to *Iunones*, as is known through epigraphs in the Cisalpine, contributes therefore a testimony of the existence of a genuine and vigorous indigenous tradition and of a permanent process of acculturation between Celtic populations dominated by Rome and the Italic and Latin populations settled in northern Italy. But contrary to what Pascal<sup>54</sup> or Landucci Gattinoni<sup>55</sup> claim, epigraphy does not validate the substantial identity of the *Matronae* and *Iunones* in the Cisalpine. Only 4 of the total 97 entries on *Matronae* and *Iunones* (those from Macerata Feltria [No. 45], Verona [No. 10], Como [No. 39] and Arcisate [No. 40]) are jointly dedicated to both plural designations, and that in my opinion makes the *tout court* identification of both theonyms

<sup>48</sup> LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, 32.

<sup>49</sup> LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, 32.

<sup>50</sup> SENA CHIESA 116–117, 124.

<sup>51</sup> LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, 75.

<sup>52</sup> DEGRASSI 1972, Nos. 10–12.

<sup>53</sup> See ZACCARIA 2001–2002, 151.

<sup>54</sup> PASCAL 1964, 187.

<sup>55</sup> LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1986, 19.

rather problematic. Moreover, as previously stated, *Matronae* are clearly predominant in the west, in *Regio XI*, whereas *Iunones* are more prevalent in *Regio X* (save for the territory of Brescia, bordering *Regio XI*).

The *Iunones*, as the *Dianae* testamentated only in three inscriptions found in Romano-Celtic areas,<sup>56</sup> seem to be the result of an *interpretatio* process between local goddesses and the Roman Juno. This process could be facilitated by several elements. On one hand, Dumézil's proposal<sup>57</sup> arguing that *Iuno* was a goddess of Indo-European origin, a proper tripartite deity embodying warlike power, fecundity and sacred royalty (a threefold function that might have been perpetuated until much later, as the busts of the "Three holy women" of the Landesmuseum Württemberg in Stuttgart seem to imply: see fig. 1 on p. 216), should not be dismissed. On the other, Ihm's hypothesis<sup>58</sup> that Roman Juno's protecting role could have been transferred onto social communities seems validated by inscriptions such as those from Bergamo (*CIL V: Iunoni Pagi Fortunensis*) or Treveris (*CIL XIII 3642*) dedicated to the *Iunones* and the *Genius*. The distinctive plurality of the female protective deities in Celto-Germanic environments would have no doubt favoured the plurality of the Roman Juno as well, given the paucity of epigraphical testimonies of the Roman Juno in the Cisalpine area, while on the contrary the *Iunones*, *Matronae* or *Matres* are totally ignored in ancient literary sources. Juno, due to her great prestige and popularity as a member of the Capitoline triad, is pluralized as (another) form to make visible ancestral goddesses. Later on, from the Cisalpine areas – and specially the *Regio X* – where most of the dedications to the *Iunones* appear, their *cultores*, belonging to the entire social range, would expand their cult – associated or not to other deities – specially to provinces such as *Germania Inferior*, and to a lesser extent to *Gallia* and *Noricum*, with only very few manifestations in the rest of Italy, in a typical process of the migrations and globalization inherent to the Roman Empire.

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<sup>56</sup> Cf. n. 2.

<sup>57</sup> DUMÉZIL 1954, 105–119; 1974, 303–310.

<sup>58</sup> IHM's hypothesis 1894.

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#### ANNEXE: VOTIVE ALTARS TO THE *IUNONES*

##### VENETIA ET HISTRIA / REGIO X

1. Aquileia (CIL V 00780=InscrAqu-01, 00235; EDCS-01600057): *Iunonibus / sacrum / Sex(tus) Licinius / Verecundus*
2. Aquileia (CIL V 00781=InscrAqu-01, 00236=D 03119=IEAquil 00221=RSH 00056; EDCS-01600058): *Iunonibus sacrum / M(arcus) Magius M(arci) l(iber-tus) Amaranthus / IIIIIvir et / Magia M(arci) f(ilia) Vera Magia M(arci) l(ib-erta) Ilias / aedem signa III portic(um) cum marceri(i)s et / culina et locum(!) in quo ea sunt / votum solverunt / loco privato.*



3. Aquileia (CIL V 00782 (p. 1024)=*InscrAqu*-01, 00237; EDCS-01600059): *Iunonibus / sacrum / M(arcus) Mogetius / Hospes v(otum) s(olvit)*.
4. Aquileia (CIL V 00842=*InscrAqu*-01, 00238; EDCS-01600120): *[Iunia portic[um(?) 3] / [3]dia scholam [3] / [3]simo ex argento [3] / [3]P[3] / [3 Iu]noni[bus(?) 3] / v(otum) s(olvit) [*
5. Aquileia (*InscrAqu*-01, 00240; EDCS-01300108): *Iun(onibus?) s(acrum)*
6. Aquileia (CIL V 08230=*InscrAqu*-01, 00239=*IEAquil* 00221; EDCS-59200189): *Iunonibu[s]*
7. Verona (CIL V 03234=*Maffeano* 00020; EDCS-04202282): *[I]unoni[b(us)] / sacr(um)*
8. Verona (CIL V 03235; EDCS-04202283): *Iunonib(us) / sacrum / Ameryllus*.
9. Verona (CIL V 03236; EDCS-04202284): *Iunonibus / M(arcus) Caesius / M(arci) f(ilius) C(aius) Caesius / fratres / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
10. Verona (CIL V 03237; EDCS-04202285) *Iunonib(us) A[u]g(ustis?) / Matron[is 3]*
11. Verona (CIL V 03238; EDCS-04202286): *Iunonib(us) / Aug(ustis) / sacrum*.
12. Verona (CIL V 03239=D 03116=*RSH* 00191; EDCS-04202287): *Iunonibus / Aug(ustis) / L(ucius) Licinius Hymnus / V(ir) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
13. Verona (CIL V 03240=D 03117=*Maffeano* 00021; EDCS-04202288): *Iunonibus / Aug(ustis) sac(rum) / Metella Ide nomine / suo et / T(iti) Flavi Hermetis / viri sui d(onum) d(edit)*.
14. Verona (AE 1946, 00134; EDCS-15300602): *Exspectata / Domnabus(!) / Iunonibus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
15. Verona (AE 1946, 00133; EDCS-15300601): *[I]unonibu[s] / C(aius) Vibius / [3] ippu[s]*
16. Verona (Pais 00625; EDCS-08000399): *Iunonibus / sacrum / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
17. Brescia/Brixia (CIL V 04221=*InscrIt*-10-05, 00028; EDCS-04203276): *Iunonibus / Annia L(uci) l(iberta) Iuda / pro suis / v(otum) s(olvit)*.
18. Brescia/Brixia (CIL V 04222=*InscrIt*-10-05, 00029; EDCS-04203277): *Iunonibus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) L(ucius) Caecil(ius) / Placidu/s*.
19. Brescia/Brixia (CIL V 04223=*InscrIt*-10-05, 00030=D 03115; EDCS-04203278): *Iunonibus / L(ucius) Clodius / Arbusculae l(ibertus) / Auctus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
20. Brescia/Brixia (CIL V 04224=*InscrIt*-10-05, 00031; EDCS-04203279): *Cn(aeus) Cornel(ius) / Nikanor / Iunonibus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
21. Brescia/Brixia (CIL V 04224a=*InscrIt*-10-05, 00032; EDCS-04203280): *Iunonibus / Iusta / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
22. Brescia/Brixia (CIL V 04225=*InscrIt*-10-05, 00033; EDCS-04203281): *Iunonibus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / Mestrius / faber*.
23. Brescia/Brixia (CIL V 04226=*InscrIt*-10-05, 00034; EDCS-04203282): *Iunonib(us) / L(ucius) Sart(ius?) / Secundus*.
24. Brescia/Brixia (CIL V 04227=*CIL* V \*01105,03=*InscrIt*-10-05, 00035; EDCS-04203283): *Iunonibus / pro sal(ute) / Val(eriae) Iustae / Nicetius / serv(us) v(otum) s(olvit)*.

25. Brescia/Brixia (CIL V 04228=InscrIt-10-05, 00810; EDCS-04203284): *Iunonibus* / *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / C(aius) Vocianu(s) Surg()* / *sacrum*.
26. Brescia/Brixia (InscrIt-10-05, 00027=AE 1912, 00248; EDCS-04700007: *VEDI(?) / Iunonib(us)*.
27. Brescia/Brixia (SupIt-25-B, 00082=AE 2010, 00581; EDCS-48700143): *Iunonib(us) / [*.
28. Riva del Garda/Brixia (SupIt-25-B, 00103=AE 2008, 00588; EDCS-48700156): *Iunonibus* / *L(ucius) Licinius Firmu(s) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
29. Mezzane/Brixia (InscrIt-10-05, 00837=AE 1975, 00434; EDCS-04700245): *Rufus Acutius / Comincilonis [f(ilius)?] / Iunonibu[s] / iussus fecit l(ibens) m(erito) [s(olvit)?]*
30. Calvisano/Brixia (InscrIt-10-05, 00838=AE 1975, 00432; EDCS-04700246): *Iunonibus* / *Aug(ustis) / Euelpistus / M(arci) I() F() v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
31. Bagnolo Mella/Brixia (InscrIt-10-05, 00863=AE 1952, 00132; EDCS-04700254): *Iunonibus* / *Acutia C(ai) l(iberta) / [Eg]loge v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
32. Carzago Riviera/Brixia (InscrIt-10-05, 01279; EDCS-04700382): *[Iu]nonib[us] / [*
33. Lazise (SupIt-11-A, 00004=AE 1993, 00778; EDCS-10800096): *Iunonib(us) / M(arcus) Minici(us) / Minicia/nus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
34. Ferrara (CIL V 02380; EDCS-04201433): *Iunonibus* / *sacr(um) / L(ucius) Vitruvius / Euthetus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
35. Valgataro/Arusnates (CIL V 03901 (p. 1077); EDCS-04202953): *L(ucius) Cassius / Fulvi lib(ertus) / Trophimus / Iunonibus* / *v(otum) s(olvit)*.
36. Manerbio (CIL V 04157=InscrIt-10-05, 00914; EDCS-04203211): *Iunonib(us) / C(aius) Naevius / Proculus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
37. Toscolano-Maderno (CIL V 04854 (p. 1080)=CIL V \*00429,241=InscrIt-10-05, 01016=Maffeiiano 00056; EDCS-05100003): *D(is) S(anctis) / Herculi et // Iunonibus // L(ucius) Valerius Se/verus et Clodi/a Corneliانا / pro L(ucio) Valerio / Corneliانو / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*.

#### TRANSPADANA / REGIO XI

38. Como/Comum (CIL V 05248=IRComo-Su, 00006=NSA-1917-272=AE 1917/18, 00123=AE 1922, +00035; EDCS-05100401): *Iunonibus* / *L(ucius) Minicius / Severus / VVir et Aug(ustalis) / ex voto*.
39. Como/Comum (CIL V 05249=IRComo-Si, 00001=D 03122; EDCS-05100402): *Iunonib(us) / Matron(is) / ex visu / C(aius) Vir() Max() // Iun(onibus) / C(aius) V() M()*.
40. Arcisate (CIL V 05450=D 04826; EDCS-05100604). *Matronis* / *Iunonibus* / *Valerius / Baronis f(ilius) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
41. Arsago Seprio/Sibrium (CIL V 05535=ArsagoSeprio 00012; EDCS-05100688): *Iunoni/bus Bro/cchilo / Brocc/hi f(ilius) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

42. Liscate (*Epigraphica*-1995-236=AE 1995, 00643):  
*Iunonib(us) / sacrum / L(ucius?) Avianius / et(?) Peli[3].*

## AEMILIA / REGIO VIII

43. Carpi (*CIL* XI 00944=D 04909=*Epigraphica*-1984-219=AE 1983, 00417;  
*EDCS*-20402387) *Aninia Sex(ti) l(iberta) Ge(niis?) Iunonibus hanc / aram  
locumque iis legibus dedicavit / si quis sarcire reficere ornar(e) coronar(e)  
volet licet / et si quit sacrifici quo volet ferre et ibi ubi volet uti sine / scelere  
sine fraude lic[et]*
44. Parma (*CIL* XI 01048; *EDCS*-20402492): *Iunonibus / L(ucius) [T]arius / Phi-  
lero / s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

## VMBRIA / REGIO VI

45. *Pitinum Pisarense* (*CIL* XI 08082; *EDCS*-21300654): *Matronis / Iunonibus /  
[6] / sacrum / [*

## LATIVM ET CAMPANIA / REGIO I

46. *Pratica di Mare/Lavinium* (*CIL* XIV 04176; *EDCS*-05802145): *[Honor]i Ti(beri)  
C[a]e[s]aris divi / [3] Augus[ti] f(ilii) [3] / [Augusti pontif]ficis maximi / [trib(u-  
nicia) pot(estate)] XXXVIII / [Sp(urius) Turranius L(uci) f(iliius)] Fab(ia) Procu-  
lus / [Gellianus fla]men Dialis / [flamen Marti]alis praefect(us) / [3 ex vo]to(?)  
Iunonibus / [d(onum)] d(edit)*

## GALLIA NARBONENSIS

47. *Nîmes/Nemausus* (*CIL* XII 03067=D 03121=*INimes* 00001; *EDCS*-09201534):  
*Iunonib(us) / Montan(is) / Cinnamis / v(otum) s(olvit)*
48. *Saint-Gilles/Nemausus* (*CIL* XII 04101=*CIL* XII \*00120 (p 34\*)=*CAG*-13-05,  
00812=*CAG*-30-02, p. 115=AE 2004, +00875; *EDCS*-09202580): *Iunonibus /  
Aug(ustis) / V[3]olt() Barbara / Oldra v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
49. *Saint-Remy-de-Provence/Glanum* (*CAG*-13-02, p. 342=AE 1958, 00305; *EDCS*-  
13500316): *Pjeregri[na] / Iunonibus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

## AQUVITANIA

50. *Bordeaux/Burdigala* (*CIL* XIII 00567=*ILA*-Bordeaux 00024; *EDCS*-10400737):  
*Iunonibus / Iuliae et Sextiliae / [.*
51. *Agen/Nitiobroges/Aginum* (*CIL* XIII 00914=*ILA*-Niti 00001=D 03118=*CAG*-  
47, p 132=AE 1891, 00112=AE 1892, 00066; *EDCS*-10401086): *Iunonibus /  
Augustalib(us) / porticum et / maceriam / Capito Luci f(iliius) / et Iulia ux{s}or  
/ v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).*

52. Neris-les-Bains/*Aquae Neri* (CIL XIII 01373; EDCS-10500263): *N(umini)b(u)s A(u)g(ustorum)m // I(unoni)b(u)s v(ica)ni N(erioma)g(iense)s(?)*
53. Neris-les-Bains/*Aquae Neri* (CIL XIII 01374 = CAG-03, p 180; EDCS-10500264): *Numinibus / Augustorum / et Iunonibus / vicani / Neriomagienses*

## BELGICA

54. Rinxent/*Morini* (CIL XIII 03561 = D 04775 = CAG-62-02, p 427; EDCS-10600329): *Sulevis Iuno/nibus sacr(um) / L(ucius) Cas(sius) Nigri/n[ianus](?) pro] / se [3]*
55. Trier/*Augusta Treverorum* (CIL XIII 03642; EDCS-10600410): *Genio e[ t 3] / Iunonib[us]*
56. Trier/*Augusta Treverorum* (Nesselhauf 00008 = CSIR-D-04-03, 00099 = AE 1931, 00070; EDCS-11202088): *Numinibus / Aug(ustorum) et Iunonib(us) / L(ucius) Martius / Gasculus v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
57. Gouecourt/*Leuci* (CIL XIII 04704 = CAG-88, p 229; EDCS-10601668 *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) / deabus Iu/nonibus Pa/dula pro sa/lute S(exti) Rufi / Agricol(a)e et / Regalis et / Petturonis / et Grannicae / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

## GERMANIA INFERIOR

58. Putzdorf (CIL XIII 07860; EDCS-11100084): *Iunonibus / Maemilius / Genialis / pro se et Maemiliis / Avito et Lupula(e) / liberis suis.*
59. Zulpich/*Tolbiacum* (CIL XIII 07920 = Lehner 00545 = Matronen p. 108; EDCS-11100145): *Iunoni/bus Dom(esticis) / NI[3] / vican[ i T] / olbia[ ce] n( ses) / ex [ imp(erio) ips(arum?) ]*
60. Wesseling (CIL XIII 08158 = Lehner 00546; EDCS-11100376): *[ I ] unonibus / C(aius) Domiti/ us Quietus / imp(erio) ip(sarum) l(ibens).*
61. Köln/*Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium* (CIL XIII 08192 = RSK 00045 = IKöln 00068; EDCS-01200030): *Iunoni/ { i } bus Ga/ biabus / Masius / votum retulit*
62. Xanten/*Colonia Ulpia Traiana* (CIL XIII 08612 = AE 1905, 0024; EDCS-11100706): *Iunonibus / sive Gabliabus m(onumentum) / M(arcus) Hilarinius / Romanus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
63. Xanten/*Colonia Ulpia Traiana* (CIL XIII 08622 = Legio-XXX, 00122 = AE 1905, 00230; EDCS-11100716): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / et Iunonib(us) / omnib(us) Iul(ius) / Vitalis vet(eranus) / leg(ionis) XXX pro / se et suis ex[ s ] / [ iu ] sso*
64. Köln/*Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium* (IKöln 00067 = AE 1990, 00731; EDCS-01100063): *Iunonibus / pro / Domitia / Avita / patres / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*
65. Krefeld/*Gelduba* (ZPE-141-298 = AE 2002, 01038; EDCS-28900027): *In ho(norem) // d(omus) d(ivinae) / et num(ini) Aug(usti) / Iunon(i)bus / et Gen(io) loci / Silvinius No[ c]turnus p[ r ] / o se et suis / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

## NORICVM

66. Sankt Georgen/*Tarnasicum* (*CIL* III 04766=*ILLPRON* 00427=*AEA* 2005, +00007; *EDCS*-14500055): [3 I]unonibus / [templum] vetustate / [conlapsum] restituit A[3] / [3]nus Castruc(i) / [3] l(ibens) v(otum) s(olvit)
67. Micheldorf/*Noreia* (*CIL* III 05030=*CIL* III 11621=*ILLPRON* 00309=*AEA* 2008, +00029; *EDCS*-14500336): *Gracc()* Civ[3] / Iunonibu[s] / [
68. Radelsdorf (*ILLPRON* 00383=*Leber* 00167=*Gerstl* 00059; *EDCS*-14400145): *Catia* / *Quarti* / lib(erta) Iunoni/bus ancilla/rum v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

