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The Goddess Who Failed? Competitive Networks (or the Lack Thereof), Gender Politics, and the Diffusion of the Roman Cult of Bona Dea

LEONARDO AMBASCIANO*

“Typically the historian proceeds with the assumption that he bases his interpretation on a limited number of documents. The ancient historian in particular ... assumes that he has inadequate documentation at his disposal. Because more hypotheses are constructed in the study of ancient history than in modern history, there is a greater risk of advancing farfetched conjectures.”

*Arnaldo Momigliano*¹

“Geography and history are bound together by the very nature of things: history takes place, and places are created by history.”

*Donald W. Meinig*²

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- 1 Arnaldo Momigliano, “The Rules of the Game in the Study of Ancient History”, trans. Kenneth W. Yu, *History and Theory* 55/1, 2016, 39-45: 42. Originally published as “Le regole del giuoco nello studio della storia antica”, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 3/4, 1974, 1183-1192.
- 2 Donald W. Meinig, “The Continuous Shaping of America: A Prospectus for Geographers and Historians”, *The American Historical Review* 83/5, 1978, 1186-1205: 1205.

The signal and the noise: An introduction *in medias res* to the blooming field of network theory and ancient history and its issues

Social network analysis (SNA) – that is, the set of methods used to examine and map the ties among social agents on the basis of network theory – has recently proved to be a valuable heuristic tool for the analysis of ancient cultures and cults through space and time³ or, at the very least, to be a good collection of instruments “to think with”.⁴ Network theory is “based on the idea that human behavior can be most fully accounted for by an understanding of the structure of social relations within which actors are situated”, and consequently its focus is on “the effects of patterns of social relations on human behaviors”.⁵ In other words, the dynamics of social networks and the degree of connectedness in the web of social relations are favored over cultural and subjective factors, such as, for example, the intentionality and agency of individuals, as the engine for the diffusion of innovations (or the lack thereof).⁶

Obviously, this method implies a deep knowledge of the interpersonal activity of the social actors as a *sine qua non* condition before proceeding further. This is why the application of SNA to ancient religions has focused on relatively well-known cults in terms of a sufficient documentary record. However, even when the documentary record allows a reliable historical database to be compiled, the application of network methodologies to the past seems to suffer from the following limitations:

- 1) The possibility of tracking down the effective relationships and links between the individuals attested in literature and epigraphy is extremely limited. Therefore, most of the concrete examination has to be based on *a priori* assumptions concerning classical prosopographical attribute analysis; that is, the standard qualitative and quantitative analysis of the common “background characteristics” shared in

3 E.g., Irad Malkin – Christy Costantakopoulou – Katerina Panagopoulou (eds.), *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*, Abingdon – New York: Routledge 2009; Irad Malkin, *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press 2011; Anna Collar, *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire: The Spread of New Ideas*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2013.

4 Greg Woolf, “Only Connect? Networks and Religious Change in the Ancient Mediterranean” [online], <http://www.rug.nl/research/centre-for-religious-studies/crasis/activities/annual-meeting/greg_woolf_crisis_lecture.pdf>, 9 February 2012 [30 September 2016]; a CRISIS lecture held at the University of Groningen. A recent paper by Woolf, published in *Hélade 2/2*, 2016, 43-58, with the same title as the CRISIS lecture recalled above, represents a different elaboration on the same topic.

5 Mark S. Mizruchi, “Network Theory”, in: George Ritzer (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Social Theory II*, Thousand Oaks, CA – London: Sage 2005, 534-540: 534, 536.

6 *Ibid.*, 538-540.

- a specific timeframe by specific groups of historical actors.⁷ Traditional historians may remain somewhat unimpressed by the epistemological predominance of circumstantial arguments in SNA.⁸
- 2) Notwithstanding the self-organization and the passive emergence of specific distributive patterns in social networks, the recognition of past, intentional manipulations of social webs (to promote/force religious change) remains heavily affected by the quality and quantity of data. As such, SNA may be incapable of sieving false positive and false negative errors.⁹
 - 3) Noise, i.e., the presence of unfiltered random signals that may afflict the analysis, correlates with the quantity and quality of data: the fewer the data, the higher the noise. Inaccurate coding of incomplete documents might also occur. Therefore, the risk of seeing meaningful patterns in blanks remains non-negligible. This deficiency seems to make some poorly known ancient cults rather unsuitable for the application of mathematical modeling.¹⁰ Techniques normally used to readdress biased outcomes due to poor samples of quantitative data might contribute to reinforcing those very biases.¹¹
 - 4) The identification of the flow of religious information does not coincide with observing religious change. The generalized flow of religious information resulting from percolating networks does not correspond to religious conversion *sic et simpliciter*: “Religious change is not simply contagion.”¹² Furthermore, any generalizing assumption about contagion, stating at the same time the irrelevance of the content of the message (as generally assumed by SNA), conveys the impression of an irreconcilable discrepancy with cognitive inquiries or traditional historiography. The message does matter both in the long run and in the *longue durée*.
 - 5) Contemporary research in SNA and ancient religions very often relies on the implicit definition of “success” as the positive outcome of specific social interactions with regards to their spatial distribution and diffusion (the antonym being “failure”). This point of view is very much taken for granted, to the extent that a formal, explicit definition is mostly lacking. In Anna Collar’s *Religious Networks in*

7 Lawrence Stone, “Prosopography”, *Daedalus* 100/1, 1971, 46-79: 46. See also G. Woolf, “Only Connect? Networks and Religious Change...”.

8 Cf. A. Momigliano, “The Rules of the Game...”, 41-42.

9 A. Collar, *Religious Networks...*, 37.

10 G. Woolf, “Only Connect? Networks and Religious Change...”; cf. Panayotis Pachis – Jacob Sifakis, “Cognitive Networking: The Other Theoretical Choice for the Scientific Study of Religion”, *Culture and Research* 4, 2015, 27-46: 40.

11 G. Woolf, “Only Connect? Networks and Religious Change...”.

12 *Ibid.*

the Roman Empire, for instance, although “success” occurs in thirty-five pages, a formal definition is lacking.¹³ Collar, however, rightly outlines that network theory, thanks to its focus on the “interplay between the inherent qualities of the idea and the structure of the social environment in which the idea is embedded”, has the potential to avoid the “subjective value judgment about the superiority or inferiority of a religious innovation”.¹⁴ And yet, the value-imbued label of “success” is not dispensed with. Defining and quantifying “success” – a label which might sound suspiciously biased, especially in the field of religious studies – can be a tricky and complicated endeavor, and the fact that most analyses usually tackle the diffusion of cults that are known *ex post* as “successful” (e.g., diaspora Judaism, Jupiter Dolichenus, early Christianities,¹⁵ or even “Greek civilization and identity”¹⁶), risks supporting a tautological loop in the epistemology of SNA. Moreover, religions change slowly but considerably through time, and their diffusion affects their physiognomy so much that an *ex post* point of view might concur to create a fallacious perspective of monolithic longevity.¹⁷

- 6) Last, but not least, the failed reception of human geography in the SNA of ancient cults is remarkable since it critically undermines the breadth and scope of such inquiry. Indeed, the importance of geography *per se* should never be underestimated, especially when looking

13 A. Collar, *Religious Networks...*

14 *Ibid.*, 4.

15 *Ibid.*, passim. For a general introduction see Philip Harland, “Connections with Elites in the World of the Early Christians”, in: Anthony J. Blasi – Paul-André Turcotte – Jean Duhaime (eds.), *Handbook of Early Christianity: Social Science Approaches*, Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press 2002, 385-408; Elizabeth Clark, “From Patristic to Early Christian Studies”, in: Susan Ashbrook Harvey – David G. Hunter (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2008, 7-41, in part. 17-18; István Czachesz, “Women, Charity and Mobility in Early Christianity: Weak Links and the Historical Transformation of Religions”, in: István Czachesz – Tamás Bíró (eds.), *Changing Minds: Religion and Cognition Through the Ages*, Leuven: Peeters 2011, 129-154.

16 I. Malkin, *A Small Greek World...*, 16.

17 Living actors change and their mindscape changes as well, so much that not even *ex ante* goals, should they be present, would be suitable for a standard definition. This is a well-known situation in contemporary governance network theory: “If actors have different goals and perceptions (and thus evaluate outcomes differently) or when goals and perceptions change over time, *ex ante* goals cannot be used as a yardstick to assess success and failure” (Joop Koppenjan – Erik-Hans Klijn, “What Can Governance Network Theory Learn from Complexity Theory? Mirroring Two Perspectives on Complexity”, in: Myrna Mandell Keast – Robert Agranoff [eds.], *Network Theory in the Public Sector: Building New Theoretical Frameworks*, New York – London: Routledge 2014, 157-173: 160).

at ancient times: “ancient networks are likely to be more localized and more bound by geography than some modern example”.¹⁸ Torsten Hägerstrand’s (1916-2004) model of innovation diffusion and Donald W. Meinig’s (b. 1924) spatial model of functional culture areas are worth considering here.¹⁹ Hägerstrand, a pioneer in quantitative geography, elaborated and implemented the first geographical application of the Monte Carlo method to simulate and map the spatial diffusion and propagation of innovations at a time when geography was mostly a descriptive enterprise.²⁰ His interest in specifying and analyzing various kinds of constraints that affect the tempo and diffusion of information was also instrumental in the birth of time-space geography.²¹ However, in order to develop a reliable model, a preliminary knowledge of the distribution of the population sample under examination is necessary. Donald W. Meinig’s model, instead, has the potential to bypass this limitation, providing a first evaluation and systemization of more or less complete historical materials. Originally constructed around the concept of “cultural diffusion” to make sense of the distributive patterns and the historical spread of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (or Mormonism), this method entails the qualitative analysis of the diffusion of specific clusters of cultural traits via the identification of historically expanding areas.²²

What to do next? Ancient mobility, a case study, and a possible way out

It goes without saying that, all things considered, we should be very cautious in assuming that the available, and often fragmentary, literary, epigraphic, and archeological evidence is sufficiently reliable when reli-

18 A. Collar, *Religious Networks...*, 25.

19 For a comprehensive introduction to both methodologies see Peter Haggett, *Geography: A Global Synthesis*, Harlow: Pearson 2001, 227-230, 478-505.

20 Torsten Hägerstrand, *The Propagation of Innovation Waves*, Lund: The Royal University of Lund 1952; id., *Innovation Diffusion as a Spatial Process*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1967; id., “The Computer and the Geographer”, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 42/12, 1967, 1-19. For a general introduction see Robin Flowerdew, “Torsten Hägerstrand”, in: Phil Hubbard – Rob Kitchin (eds.), *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, Sage: London – Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage 2011 (1st ed. 2004), 199-204.

21 Torsten Hägerstrand, “What About People in Regional Science?”, *Papers of the Regional Science Association* 24/1, 1970, 7-21.

22 Donald W. Meinig, “The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964”, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55/2, 1965, 191-220.

gious beliefs are concerned. In fact, most of the time this is not the case. The underlying ideological agendas of historical narrations, especially concerning the interconnectedness between religions and politics, as well as the fact that ancient informants might have had partial and/or insufficient access to data, may result in the conscious or unconscious manipulation of information, suggesting apparently meaningful interpretive patterns in a noisy (or even meaningless) documentary environment.²³

And yet, the list of critical issues provided above should not prevent historians from studying the diffusion and resilience of ancient cults in an epistemically warranted framework. Problematic research constraints like these are potential starting points for looking at the data in a fresher and more nuanced way.²⁴ From such a perspective, any serious effort towards a renewed study of the spread of cultural representations in the past has to come to terms with the problem of the differential access of historical agents to short-, medium-, and long-distance mobility according to local socio-cultural restraints. Concerning human mobility in antiquity, Greg Woolf has recently highlighted that three distinctive features should concur in order to globally rethink this topic:²⁵

- 1) a differentiation between different kinds of mobility (variously affected by time constraints and distance) and different kinds of migrants (e.g., the presence of a community, individual movements, sex);
- 2) the identification of “change over time”: “[m]obility – put simply – needs to be given a story”,²⁶
- 3) the need for quantitative analysis, “however approximate the numbers”.²⁷

In what follows, I will use the ancient Roman cult of Bona Dea as a case study to tackle the first two points highlighted by Woolf, to provide a first quantitative assessment of the aforementioned cult, and to suggest that,

23 Luther H. Martin, “The Future of the Past: The History of Religions and Cognitive Historiography”, in: id., *Deep History, Secular Theory: Historical and Scientific Studies of Religion*, Boston – Berlin: De Gruyter 2014, 343-357: 346. Original publication: Luther H. Martin, “The Future of the Past: The History of Religions and Cognitive Historiography”, *Religio: Revue pro religionistiku* 20/2, 2012, 155-171.

24 Researchers in the field of SNA and ancient history have already begun to critically address these issues; see Tom Brughmans – Anna Collar – Fiona Coward (eds.), *The Connected Past: Challenges to Network Studies in Archaeology and History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016.

25 Greg Woolf, “Movers and Stayers”, in: Luuk de Ligt – Laurens E. Tacoma (eds.), *Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire*, Leiden – Boston: Brill 2016, 438-461: 444.

26 *Ibid.*

27 *Ibid.*

when data are unreliable or insufficient,²⁸ cultural and historical geography might successfully supplement SNA, taking advantage of such theories as Hägerstrand's and Meinig's models. For the time being, however, the task required by Hägerstrand's computational model and its more recent re-elaborations exceeds both the scope and intent of the present essay and remains a long-term target. In any case, given its focus on probabilistic outcomes, its apparent neglect of multidimensional agency (e.g., how gender, race, institutional constraints, etc., influence the decisional process), and the necessity to have a sequence of data as complete as possible, the usefulness of this model for SNA and ancient history remains to be determined.²⁹ Therefore, I will focus on Meinig's spatial model of functional culture areas, with its conceptual scheme of the historical diffusion and differentiation of cultural traits. As Peter Haggett has suggested, this methodology "has obvious relevance for other non-Western cultures as well"³⁰ and, as I shall argue shortly, its distinctive diachronic perspective (with appropriate theoretical fine tuning and updating) also offers a heuristic methodology to preliminarily assess and visualize the hypothetical diffusion of past religions.

Lastly, by focusing on a lesser known cult that, as we will see, did not enjoy a "successful" diffusion, I wish to suggest that, just as there is no evolutionary biology without a systematic study of extinctions, there should be no SNA without "failures" properly taken into account: "[H]istory," as Ara Norenzayan has remarked, "is littered with the corpses of moribund religious movements that were cultural failures."³¹ However, "failure", just like "success", is not a neutral term. For the time being, and for the sake of brevity, I assume that defining "success" in the field of SNA and ancient religions is not as straightforward as it might seem; I concur that pending a revision of the disciplinary technical lexicon it is advisable nonetheless to retain the use of the label in order to avoid further confusion, and I endorse and adopt the following explanation: "In complexity theory, there are no clear success criteria. From a complexity and evolutionary perspective, one would probably emphasize the vitality or resilience of systems. Good outcomes may be outcomes that are beneficial for the components of the system (the agents)."³² When dealing with sparse and ancient documents, assessing the "good outcomes" for most agents would inevitably fall outside the reach of the historian, yet in a

28 Cf. A. Collar, *Religious Networks...*, 28, 37-38.

29 Cf. R. Flowerdew, "Torsten Hägerstrand...", 202-203.

30 P. Haggett, *Geography...*, 230.

31 Ara Norenzayan, *Big Gods: How Religion Transformed Cooperation and Conflict*, Princeton – Woodstock, UK: Princeton University Press 2013, 137.

32 J. Koppenjan – E.-H. Klijn, "What Can Governance Network Theory...", 160.

longue durée perspective we can nevertheless grasp the “vitality or resilience” of the system. And the system that we are going to explore in the following paragraphs is the ancient Roman mythical and ritual complex that revolved around the goddess Bona Dea, an exclusively female cult set in the androcentric and patriarchal social context of ancient *Latium*.

Alcohol, sex, and violence: The Good Goddess and Roman “cosmic misogyny”

One of the most emblematic ancient Roman female cults was that devoted to Bona Dea, which in Latin means the “Good Goddess”. Bona Dea stands as the very epitome of ancient Roman androcentric and patriarchal control;³³ it is also one of the best known female cults from Rome (which says a lot about how incomplete our knowledge of other similar cults is).³⁴ As such, her cult provides an interesting case study. Although there is insufficient space here for any in-depth analysis of the various mythographic variants, ritual prescriptions, or literary items concerning this cult, a brief reminder of some of the most important elements from the Bona Dea complex is required.

The two main mythographic variants regarding the life of the Good Goddess, when she was mainly known as Fauna, include violence, homicide, and rape enacted upon her by her husband (and/or father/brother, according to alternative accounts), the mythic Latin king Faunus.³⁵ In the first she was found guilty of being drunk (which was a gendered crime sanctioned by the law), in the second she resisted in vain an attempted rape perpetrated by Faunus, who shapeshifted into a snake after having made her drunk; in both scenarios, she ended up being killed.³⁶ According to a

33 By androcentrism I mean the set of masculine, and potentially sexist or misogynist, schemata which shape beliefs, customs, policies, social institutions, and individual expectations. Patriarchy means that the power roles in family, society, and politics are under the exclusive control of men.

34 For an overview see John Scheid, “The Religious Role of Roman Women”, in: Georges Duby – Michelle Perrot – Pauline Schmitt Pantel (eds.), *A History of Women: From Ancient Goddesses to Christian Saints*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, Cambridge, MA – London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 2002, 377-408. Originally published as John Scheid, “Indispensabili ‘straniere’: I ruoli religiosi delle donne a Roma”, in: Georges Duby – Michelle Perrot – Pauline Schmitt Pantel (eds.), *Storia delle donne in Occidente: L’Antichità*, Rome – Bari: Laterza 1990, 424-464.

35 Hendrik H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea: The Sources and a Description of the Cult*, Leiden – New York: Brill 1989, 224.

36 For these variants see Plutarch, *Aitia Rōmaika* XX; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I.xii.24-25 (H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 196-197, 223, 324-370; Brouwer provides also a comprehensive list of all the other mythographic re-elaborations, to which I refer interested readers). See also Maurizio Bettini, “In vino stuprum”, in: id., *Affari di famiglia*:

later Christian source, the divinization of Fauna and her inclusion in the pantheon were a consequence of the belated remorse shown by King Faunus, who decided to honour her memory by making her the “Good Goddess”.³⁷ A third mythical account relates the primordial violence (possibly culminating in a rape) that the thirsty Hercules enacted upon the priestess of the Bona Dea sanctuary in Rome, guilty of having refused the demigod access to a fountain because of the rigorous prohibition on men accessing the sacred shrine.³⁸

The common theme behind these myths is sexual violence. In order to understand this feature, we should focus on the first variant recalled above, the one that ties the consumption of wine to the violent punishment, and ultimately death, of Fauna. Here is how Maurizio Bettini synthesized this topic: “In Rome, a woman who drinks wine does something wrong and ideologically adjacent to sexual transgression, an act which, like adultery, alters the purity and the integrity of the female body and, consequently, spreads shame on the entire household which she belongs to.”³⁹ Therefore, regimented via the paranoid obsession for feminine *pudicitia* (i.e., chastity) typical of Roman culture, the wine guilt was punished with death.⁴⁰ As Hendrik Brouwer remarked,

in the early days women were forbidden to drink wine except in connection with religious rites on stated days, and this under penalty of death. In view of this rule, Faunus’ conduct as regards his wife would not have differed from the usual one in

La parentela nella letteratura e nella cultura antica, Bologna: il Mulino 2009, 239-258; 247-249. Originally published as Maurizio Bettini, “In vino stuprum”, in: Oswin Murray – Manuela Tecuşan (eds.), *In Vino Veritas*, London: British School at Rome – American Academy at Rome 1995, 224-238.

- 37 Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* I.xxii.9-11 (H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 217-218).
- 38 Propertius, *Elegiae* IV.ix.16-30 (H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 178-181; the story was later acknowledged in Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I.xii.28). Another variant testifies to the existence of a son that Hercules had with Fauna herself as a consequence of an illicit, and possibly violent, union (*stupro conceptus Latinus procreator*, in Marcus Iunian[i]us Iustinus (Justin), *Tragi Pompei Historiarum Philippicarum Epitoma* XLIII.i.9, not listed in H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*). It has also been asserted that this story may constitute the (chronologically tangled) sequel of Propertius’ narration (Attilio Mastrocinque, *Romolo: La fondazione di Roma tra storia e leggenda*, Este: Zielo 1993, 54). On the concept of *stuprum* see Craig A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press² 2010 (1st ed. 1999), 103-136.
- 39 M. Bettini, “In vino stuprum...”, 240-241. On alcohol consumption and gendered prohibitions in ancient Rome see *ibid.*, 243, and Giulia Piccaluga, “Bona Dea: Due contributi all’interpretazione del suo culto”, *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 35, 1964, 195-237: 205. Digitized version available at <<http://cisadu2.let.uniroma1.it/smsr/issues/1964/pages/#page/194/mode/2up>> [30 September 2016].
- 40 Barbara Levick, “Women and Law”, in: Sharon L. James – Sheila Dillon (eds.), *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, Malden, MA – Oxford: Blackwell 2012, 96-106: 101.

such cases. The master of the house was allowed by [the] law to act as a judge where his people were concerned.⁴¹

The Good Goddess was good insofar as her cult was obediently at the service of the socio-political and sexual *status quo*. In the 5th century CE, Macrobius, recalling a passage from Varro, elected Bona Dea as a virtuous, paradigmatic example of a woman “so modest that she never left the women’s quarters, that her name was never heard in public, and that she never saw a man nor was seen by a man, for which reason in fact no man enters her temple”.⁴² From such a perspective, the suspicion of the “wine guilt” was enough to prompt an immediate reaction in order to prevent the irreversible corrosion of the relationship between two families (the husband’s and the father’s).⁴³ The shameful subversion of power relationships in the Roman “culture of honor”, with the subsequent alteration of social capital (that is, the web of established family networks) and the balance between aristocratic families, represented an intolerable risk.⁴⁴ Myth reinforced customs and vice versa – the mythographic link between the consumption of wine and Fauna’s violent death was far from being unique. Something similar happened in the (pseudo)historical *Latium* when Egnatius Mecennius (or Maetennius) beat his wife to death for the same reason, and was acquitted by Rome’s mythical founder Romulus.⁴⁵ The ban and the related punishment were further supported by the prohibition on women dining in a reclined posture in the same way as (affluent) men (as Dionysius of Halicarnassus succinctly explained this androcentric short circuit, “adultery was the beginning of madness, and drunkenness the beginning of adultery”).⁴⁶

41 H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 333.

42 Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I.xii.27 (H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 224).

43 M. Bettini, “In vino stuprum...”.

44 Eva Cantarella, “Honor – Shame Culture”, in: Roger S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* VI, Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell 2012, 3296. A wider scientific account of sexual violence in religious settings is available in Yael Sela – Todd K. Shackelford – James R. Liddle, “When Religion Makes It Worse: Religiously Motivated Violence as a Sexual Selection Weapon”, in: D. Jason Slone – James A. Van Slyke (eds.), *The Attraction of Religion: A New Evolutionary Psychology of Religion*, London – New York: Bloomsbury 2015, 111-131.

45 Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XIV.89; Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* VI.iii.9. For a discussion and contextualization of these sources see John T. Fitzgerald, “Egnatius, the Breathalyzer Kiss, and an Early Instance of Domestic Homicide at Rome”, in: Aliou Cisse Niang – Carolyn Osiek (eds.), *Text, Image, and Christians in the Graeco-Roman World: A Festschrift in Honor of David Lee Balch*, Eugene, OR: Princeton Theological Monograph Series 2012, 119-131.

46 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Rōmaikē archaiologia* II.xxv.6; cf. Varro’s account recalled in Isidore, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri* XX.xi.9, and Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* II.i.2. For discussion and contextualization see Matthew

According to Attilio Mastrocinque, the myths of Bona Dea set rape as the primitive form of sexual union, and as a source of ongoing fertility ritually re-enacted in flamboyant and rather crude ways⁴⁷ – an interpretation which lacks sufficient evidential support.⁴⁸ More simply, and without delving deeper into the labyrinth of antiquarian variants, her polymorphic mythography defined the properly subordinate way of life and the *mores* of any virtuous married Roman woman (or *matrona*). The disrespectful Roman woman who drank wine, instead, transformed her social nature from certainly passive to potentially active, subverting the masculine, normative power dynamics based on sexual relations.⁴⁹ From this perspective, the violent Bona Dea mythography, and especially the first variant recalled above, acted as a coercive, admonishing mate-guarding strategy. According to evolutionary psychologist David Buss, mate-guarding refers to “strategies designed to (a) preserve access to a mate while simultaneously (b) preventing the encroachment of intrasexual rivals, and (c) preventing a mate from defecting from the mateship”.⁵⁰ That is, here we have a violent cautionary tale encoded in a myth which is a social warning about what could become of a woman if she dared challenge the *status quo*, the social normative rules which prescribed her correct behaviors. The other variants build on and expand this gendered warning to relate the mythical sexual

Roller, “Horizontal Women: Posture and Sex in the Roman Convivium”, *The American Journal of Philology* 124/3, 2003, 377-422: 403.

- 47 A. Mastrocinque, *Romolo...*, 54. See also id., *Bona Dea and the Cults of Roman Women*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 2014, 17, 30, 154.
- 48 Leonardo Ambasciano, “Attilio Mastrocinque, *Bona Dea and the Cults of Roman Women*”, *Culture and Religion: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 16/1, 2015, 110-112. Further critical commentaries can be found in Joshua Langseth, “Attilio Mastrocinque, *Bona Dea and the Cults of Roman Women*” [online], *Sehepunkte* 14/11, 2014, <<http://www.sehepunkte.de/2014/11/25185.html>>, [30 September 2016], and Massimiliano Di Fazio, “Attilio Mastrocinque, *Bona Dea and the Cults of Roman Women*” [online], *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2015, <<http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2015/2015-03-51.html>>, [30 September 2016].
- 49 Eva Cantarella, *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*, trans. Cormac Ó Cuilleánáin, London – New Haven: Yale University Press 2002 (1st ed. 1992; originally published as Eva Cantarella, *Secondo natura: La bisessualità nel mondo antico*, Rome: Editori Riuniti 1988); C. A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality...* For an overview on socially active women as monstrosities see Tiziana J. Chiusi, “‘Fama’ and ‘Infamia’ in the Roman Legal System: The Cases of Afrania and Lucretia”, in: Andrew Burrows – David Johnston – Reinhard Zimmermann (eds.), *Judge and Jurist: Essays in Memory of Lord Rodger of Earlsferry*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013, 143-156. Originally published as Tiziana J. Chiusi, “La fama nell’ordinamento romano: I casi di Afrania e di Lucrezia”, *Storia delle donne* 6/7, 2010-2011, 89-105 (available online at <http://www.storiadelledonne.it/wp-content/uploads/2009/04/chiusi2010_2011.pdf>, [30 September 2016]).
- 50 David M. Buss, “Human Mate Guarding”, *NeuroEndocrinology Letters* 23/Suppl. 4, 2002, 23-29: 23.

excesses of the Latin kings (Faunus' rape) and the patriarchal vision of power dynamics (Hercules' violence). Each one of them is linked to the violent maintenance and management of women's subordination. The pervasive mythical presence of similar precepts prompted Howard Bloch to speak of a Roman "cosmic misogyny" deeply ingrained in the socio-political institutions, as we will see in the next paragraph.⁵¹ Sexual violence as a control device to restrain female behavior is so common in Roman mythology that Mary Beard has recently stated that "[i]t's very hard to get positive female role models in the history of the Roman empire. You think you've got one, and then, [s]he's been raped. And killed herself. If you're going to remove the sexual violence, you cannot tell the story of Rome".⁵²

From both ritual and institutional perspectives, the Bona Dea cult was a prestigious local Latin cult, embedded in the institutional socio-political and religious system of the *sacra publica*, inscribed in the most ancient of times and originally tied to the (pseudo)historical royal establishment. Mostly venerated as a healing deity,⁵³ as far as we can say from the extant evidence, she was the recipient of two different and official occasions of devotion in the city of Rome:

- 1) On the Kalends of May in the Aventine temple (*aedes*) of *Bona Dea Subsaxana*.⁵⁴ This location was reputed to be particularly prestigious because it was there that "Remus was supposed to have taken his augural station preliminary to the founding of Rome".⁵⁵ Unfortunately, this ritual is completely unknown.
- 2) On the night between December 3 and 4, a party with wine, music, and dances took place in the house of the magistrate *cum imperio*. On that occasion, the wife of the Roman magistrate, assisted by the

51 Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1991, 15.

52 Mary Beard, "The Role of the Academic Is to Make Everything Less Simple", interview by Zoe Williams, *The Guardian*, Saturday 23 April 2016, 35, 37: 35. Available online at <<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/apr/23/mary-beard-the-role-of-the-academic-is-to-make-everything-less-simple>> [30 September 2016]. Beard probably had the story of Lucretia in mind; see Mary Beard, *SPQR: A History of Ancient Rome*, London: Profile 2015, 122-123.

53 Further observations and bibliography on this topic are in Leonardo Ambasciano, "The Fate of a Healing Goddess: Ocular Pathologies, the Antonine Plague, and the Ancient Roman Cult of Bona Dea" [online], *Open Library of Humanities* 2/1, 2016, <<https://olh.openlibhums.org/articles/10.16995/olh.42/>> [30 September 2016].

54 Laura Chioffi, "Bona Dea Subsaxana", in: Eva M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* I, Roma: Quasar 1993, 200-201.

55 Ovid, *Fasti* V.149-154; Festus 345L (quotation and sources from Lawrence Richardson Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore – London: The Johns Hopkins University Press 1992, 59).

Vestal virgins and in the presence of other participants (aristocratic matrons and female slaves), extraordinarily sacrificed a sow on behalf of the Roman people.⁵⁶ Male participation, as well as any kind of visual representation that could have been more or less symbolically linked to male sexual identity, were rigorously excluded.⁵⁷

Women in Rome were allowed to consume wine only during rigidly fixed festive and/or religious occasions, like the December celebration dedicated to Bona Dea, a festival dedicated to a goddess who drank wine and was killed for that reason. The explanation for this paradoxical situation entails a stress-relieving, top-down concession in the guise of a “ritualised transgression”, which reinforced the dominant norm (i.e., androcentrism and patriarchal control) by underlying the “exceptional character of its occasional violation”.⁵⁸ This particular feature might help in explaining the social importance accorded to the cult by Roman institutions, as we will see in the following section.

A top-down hierarchical organization?

When considered in its entirety, the Bona Dea mythical and ritual complex can be classified as a locative cult – that is, according to the definition advanced by Jonathan Z. Smith, a set of beliefs and practices tied to a specific place, “concerned primarily with the cosmic and social issues of

56 *Pro populo and pro salute populi Romani*: Cicero (*Ad Atticum* I.xii.3 and I.xiv.1-2; *De domo sua* XXIX.77; *De haruspicum responsis* VI.12 and XVII.37-XVIII.38; *De legibus* II.ix.21), Seneca (*Ad Lucilium* XVI.97.2), Juvenal (*Saturarum libri* III.ix.115-117), Dio Cassius (*Rōmaikē historia* XXXVII.35.3-4); cf. respectively, H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 145-146, 147-148, 158, 163-166, 173, 192, 205-206, 213; see also *ibid.*, 247-248.

57 A synthesis is available in H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 369. For gender limitations regarding religious sacrifice, see J. Scheid, “The Religious Role of Roman Women...”, 393. A cognitive interpretation of the two different festivals according to Whitehouse’s modes of religiosity theory and Lawson and McCauley’s ritual frequency hypothesis will be presented in another paper in order to ascertain whether or not this “structural dichotomy” acted as a cognitively “balanced ritual system” (cf. Aleš Chalupa, “What Might Cognitive Science Contribute to Our Understanding of the Roman Cult of Mithras?”, in: Luther H. Martin – Jesper Sørensen (eds.), *Past Minds: Studies in Cognitive Historiography*, London – Oakville, CT: Equinox 2011, 107-124: 115, n. 29). See Robert N. McCauley – E. Thomas Lawson, *Bringing Ritual to Mind: Psychological Foundations of Cultural Forms*, Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press 2002, and Harvey Whitehouse, *Modes of Religiosity: A Cognitive Theory of Religious Transmission*, Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press 2004.

58 Maurice Bloch – Dan Sperber, “Kinship and Evolved Psychological Dispositions: The Mother’s Brother Controversy Reconsidered”, *Current Anthropology* 43/5, 2002, 723-748: 733.

keeping one's place and reinforcing boundaries", and based on the need to maintain the "appropriate order" of things (established once "with efforts"), following a series of purification and repairing acts.⁵⁹ Under the empire, a certain number of locative cults were co-opted by the diasporic webs of migrants and settlers diffused in the Mediterranean.⁶⁰ Later, they were transformed into uprooted and utopian religions (i.e., sharing "the value of being in no place" and, as such, appealing to a wider audience) which, in the process, acquired also a set of beliefs centered on a transcendent salvation.⁶¹ Some of the resulting cults were exploited by Roman institutions to take advantage of their locative symbolic capital in a universalizing process of assimilation. Examples of such diffused once-locative utopian cults that underwent more or less radical transformations and re-invention are the Hellenized cult of the Egyptian goddess Isis, the Phrygian Cybele (or Magna Mater),⁶² and the Roman cult of Mithras.⁶³ Given that "local sanctuaries were always embroiled in the construction of civic ideologies",⁶⁴ and taking into account the considerable importance of the Roman androcentric and patriarchal mindscape, the cult of Bona Dea (or, at least, some parts of it) could have provided significant ideological support to the Augustan moral re-organization of the *sacra publica* in a universalizing, emperor-based, and utopian way.⁶⁵

Interestingly, Mastrocinque has recently proposed that this cult, which was the only one strictly reserved for women as a part of the *sacra publica* (men could have recourse to the goddess as external worshippers and institutional supporters; see fig. 1), had been co-opted by the imperial or-

59 Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1990, 121; see also id., "The Wobbling Pivot", in: id., *Map Is Not Territory*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1978, 88-103.

60 Greg Woolf, "Found in Translation: The Religion of the Roman Diaspora", in: Olivier Hekster – Sebastian Schmidt-Hofner – Christian Witschel (eds.), *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire: Proceedings of the Eighth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Heidelberg, July 5-7, 2007)*, Leiden – Boston: Brill 2009, 239-252.

61 J. Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine...*, 133.

62 Greg Woolf, "Isis and the Evolution of Religion", in: Laurent Bricault – Miguel John Versluys (eds.), *Power, Politics and the Cults of Isis: Proceedings of the Vth International Conference of Isis Studies, Boulogne-sur-Mer, October 13-15, 2011*, Leiden – Boston: Brill 2014, 62-92.

63 For a recent overview on the subject, see Luther H. Martin, *The Mind of Mithraists: Historical and Cognitive Studies in the Roman Cult of Mithras*, London – New York: Bloomsbury 2015.

64 G. Woolf, "Isis and the Evolution of Religion...", 81.

65 Eric Orlin, "Augustan Religion: From Locative to Utopian", in: Jeffrey Brodd – Jonathan L. Reed (eds.), *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult*, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature 2011, 49-60.

ganization *in statu nascendi* and chosen by Livia, Augustus' wife and member of the *gens* Claudia, to implement a prestigious and parallel imperial cult for women, subordinated to the traditional and masculine one, with Livia as the highest priestess of the cult.⁶⁶ This hypothesis is supported by the following data:

- 1) a specific request to the imperial administration to grant the inhabitants of the Bona Dea quarter of the *vicus Forum Clodii* the management of a religious holiday dedicated to the empress Livia, in 18 CE;⁶⁷
- 2) Livia's official restoration of the prestigious Roman Aventine temple dedicated to the goddess;⁶⁸
- 3) a reference to a famous ancestor of the Claudii, a virgin (possibly a Vestal), who originally dedicated the aforementioned temple of *Bona Dea Subsaxana*;⁶⁹
- 4) Publius Clodius Pulcher's 62 BCE sacrilege during the December ritual in honor of Bona Dea;⁷⁰ as a member of the *gens* Claudia, he probably modified his name for political reasons.⁷¹

66 Attilio Mastrocinque, "Religione e politica: Il caso di Bona Dea", in: Giovanni A. Cecconi – Chantal Gabrielli (eds.), *Politiche religiose nel mondo antico e tardoantico: Poteri e indirizzi, forme del controllo, idee e prassi di tolleranza: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Firenze, 24-26 settembre 2009)*, Bari: Edipuglia 2011, 165-172: 171. Mastrocinque also tied the roots of the cult to a speculative Orphic and/or Dionysian devotion as well as to a specific afterlife belief rooted in the salvation of the devotees; see resp. Attilio Mastrocinque, "Orfismo nel culto romano di Bona Dea (OF 584)", in: Miguel Herrero de Jáuregui et al. (eds.), *Tracing Orpheus: Studies of Orphic Fragments in Honour of Alberto Bernabé*, Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2011, 259-268, and id., *Bona Dea...*, 73. Given the complexity of these topics, I will address them in a dedicated paper.

67 *CIL* XI 3303 = *ILS* 154 (H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 104-105).

68 Ovid, *Fasti* V.148-158 (H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 185).

69 H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 185.

70 Cicero (*Ad Atticum* I.xii.3 and I.xiii.3; *Scholia Bobiensia*, fragments I and XXVIII; *De domo sua* XXXIX.104-XL.105; *De haruspicum responsis* XVII.37-XVIII.38 and XXI.44; *Ad familiares* I.ix.5; *Pro Milone* xxvii.72-73); Livy (*Periochae* lib. CIII); Velleius Paterculus (*Historiarum libri duo* II.xlv.1); Asconius (*In Milonianam* 43); Seneca (*Ad Lucilium* XVI.97.2); Plutarch (*Bioi parallēloi: Kikerōn* XXVIII; *Bioi parallēloi: Kaisar* IX-X); Juvenal (*Saturarum libri V*, II.vi.314-345); Suetonius (*Divus Iulius* VI.6 and LXXIV.4); Appian (*Bella Civilia* II.ii.14; *Sikelikē*, fragment 7); Dio Cassius (*Rōmaikē historia* XXXVII.45.1-2). For the complete list of commented sources see H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 144-230. See also W. Jeffrey Tatum, *The Patrician Tribune: Publius Clodius Pulcher*, Chapel Hill – London: The University of North Carolina Press 1999, 62-86; Luca Fezzi, *Il tribuno Clodio*, Roma – Bari: Laterza 2008, 36-37.

71 Andrew M. Riggsby, "Clodius / Claudius", *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 51/1, 2002, 117-123.

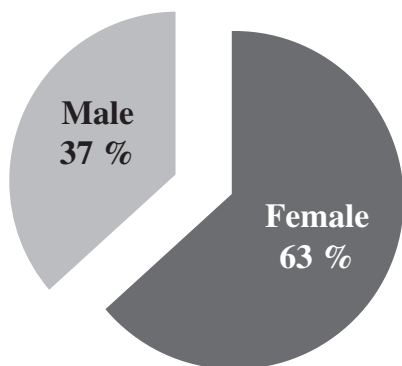


Fig. 1. Gender distribution of the Bona Dea cult, based on literary and epigraphic sources.⁷²

This cult and its monumental location in Rome have undeniably played a considerable role in the conscious manipulation of mythographic storytelling regarding the ancient Latin lore in order to convey a precise socio-political message: following the precepts of the Augustan restoration, “Livia’s attention to the Bona Dea’s cult advertised her status as a *matrona* and a sponsor of *matronae*, the bulwark of female morality in Rome”.⁷³ Yet, as Brouwer has already foretold in his 1989 monograph, “however attractive such a hypothesis, the information we possess does not allow us to presume a relation Bona Dea-Livia”.⁷⁴ In particular, the first two points of the list provided above are too generic, while the other two are undermined by the following issues:

- 1) The available Ovidian manuscripts differ about the spelling of the “inheritor of a famous name (*veteris nominis heres*)” responsible for the original dedication of the temple, recording either the genitive *Clausorum* or *Crassorum*. Only “[i]f the former reading is accepted, [would] the allusion to the Clausi ... provide a pointed connection with Livia, for Clausus, according to legend, was the founder of the

⁷² See text for details and “Appendix I” below for data. Additional source: H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea*..., 15-228. Note: three probably fictitious names of participants and/or organizers of the Bona Dea festival from literary sources have not been counted (i.e., A.14, A.15, and A.16 from “Appendix I”; see Martial, *Epigrammata* X.xli.7; Juvenal, *Saturarum libri* V, II.vi.320-322 and III.ix.117). The anonymous worshippers of whom we have insufficient or vague information have not been counted.

⁷³ Tara S. Welch, “Masculinity and Monuments in Propertius 4.9”, *The American Journal of Philology* 125/1, 2004, 61-90: 71. For the other temples dedicated to female cults and restored by Livia cf. *ibid.*, 71, n. 36.

⁷⁴ H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea*..., 266.

Claudians and was supposed to have helped Aeneas in establishing himself in Italy”.⁷⁵ Conversely, if *Crassorum* is preferred, then the founder could be identified with the Vestal Licinia who dedicated an *ara*, an *aedicula*, and a *pulvinar* to Bona Dea.⁷⁶ However, even this reading is not immune to significant objections.⁷⁷

- 2) Clodius’ sacrilege is imaginatively interpreted by Mastrocinque as the mythological staging of *Hercules musarum* in the guise of a mythological peacemaker bringing “harmony and concord” between two political factions, a reconstruction unattested in the ancient sources’ accounts.⁷⁸

Finally, it would be useful to pinpoint which cult’s variants were known or in vogue during each period, and for how long. It would be logical to assume that, from the same top-down perspective adopted by Mastrocinque, the most unsuitable myths were discarded, while others were re-elaborated and re-invented.⁷⁹ Moreover, given that the formal written record of a myth might be preceded by other unrecorded occurrences, a phylogenetic analysis of the evolution of Bona Dea’s mythographic contents – that is, the descent, spread, and modification of the mythological variants through space and time – would probably contribute to clarifying this issue.⁸⁰

As questionable as the ties between the cult and the *gens* Claudia might be, this does not falsify the main hypothesis, i.e., the top-down promotion and/or diffusion of the cult on the basis of an imperial re-organization. Is

75 Anthony A. Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, New Haven – London: Yale University Press 2002, 203-204. See also Eleanor Winsor Leach, “Claudia Quinta (*Pro Caelio* 34) and an Altar to Magna Mater” [online], *Dictynna: Revue de poésie latine* 4, 2007, <<http://dictynna.revues.org/157>>, [30 September 2016].

76 As attested in Cicero, *De domo sua* LIII.136-137. See A. A. Barrett, *Livia...*, 333-334; cf. also Robin Lorsch Wildfang, *Rome’s Vestal Virgins: A Study of Rome’s Vestal Priestesses in the Late Republic and Early Empire*, Abingdon – New York: Routledge 2006, 93.

77 On the possible layers of Ovidian confusion see Hendrik H. J. Brouwer, “The Great Mother and the Good Goddess: The History of an Identification”, in: Margreet B. de Boer – T. A. Edridge (eds.), *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* I, Leiden: Brill 1978, 142-159.

78 A. Mastrocinque, *Bona Dea...*, 54, 94-98. For the mythical background of this reconstruction see Hercules’ myth in the section “Alcohol, sex, and violence” above. For an overview cf. L. Ambasciano, “Attilio Mastrocinque, *Bona Dea* and the *Cults of Roman Women...*”, 110-112. Ancient sources are available in H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*

79 See, for instance, Propertius’ re-elaboration of Hercules myth recalled in the previous note.

80 E.g., Joseph A. Bulbulia – Simon J. Greenhill – Russell D. Gray, “First Shots Fired for the Phylogenetic Revolution in Religious Studies: A Commentary on David Sloan Wilson”, *Clodynamics: The Journal of Theoretical and Mathematical History* 4/1, 2013, 128-133.

Mastrocinque's reconstruction reliable enough? Are we able to trace the diachronic development and diffusion of the cult? What are the possible alternative explanations?

Behind the map: A diachronic sketch

The first interesting discrepancy to remark upon when we look at the data carefully gathered by Brouwer, and overlooked by Mastrocinque, is that the aristocratic nature of the cult, as attested by the available literary data, is far from being confirmed by the archeological and epigraphic data: "[S]laves and freed[wo/]men make up a greater percentage of the worshippers than the nobility (and more than the *plebs ingenua*)"⁸¹ (see "Appendix I" and fig. 2). This is easily expected due to the exclusion of such social classes from the worship of other more prestigious Roman deities. Moreover, the blending of characteristics between Fortuna (concerned with good fate), Hygieia (Asclepius' daughter, whose area of activity was healing), and Bona Dea made the cult of the last goddess particularly appealing for the class of those lucky *liberti* and *libertae*, who experienced the perilous vagaries of ascending the Roman social ladder.⁸² Interestingly, the same elements of good fortune and healing (especially in relation with ophthalmological health)⁸³ made the devotion to the goddess inviting for soldiers as well, as we will see shortly. Given this discrepancy, the Roman, aristocratic, urban devotion described in ancient literary documents might not be a useful benchmark by which to understand the cult as a whole.

A second issue deriving from the reliance on written documents is the already mentioned ban on male participation, which raises further questions: How are we supposed to evaluate the descriptions included in literary documents written in an androcentrically biased society? How did the authors access those mythical and ritual data? Were their written sources or informants reliable?

81 H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 258.

82 Fortuna and Bona Dea: *CIL* III 10.400, *CIL* XII 656; cf. respectively H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 130-131, 134; Hygieia and Bona Dea: *CIL* VI 72 = *ILS* 3514; H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 33. On *liberti/ae* see briefly Jean Andreau, "Il liberto", in: Andrea Giardina (ed.), *L'uomo romano*, Rome – Bari: Laterza 1994 (1st ed. 1989), 187-214, and H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 281.

83 G. Piccaluga, "Bona Dea...", 200, n. 21; L. Ambasciano, "The Fate of a Healing Goddess...".

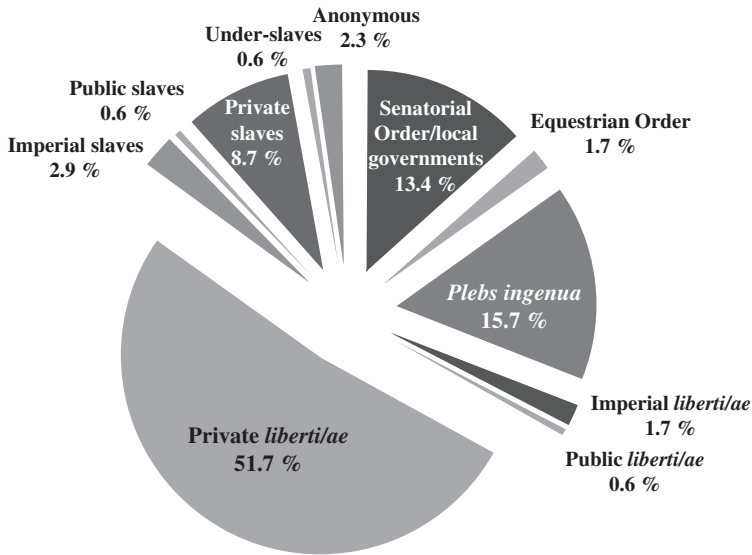


Fig. 2. Sociography of the Bona Dea cult, based on literary and epigraphic sources.⁸⁴

We can assume, perhaps, that at least some of them had a sufficient general notion of the Bona Dea cult (i.e., Cicero, whose wife hosted the rites dedicated to the goddess in 63 BCE under her husband's consulship),⁸⁵ but the problem persists (for instance, Cicero himself does not tell us anything about the myths of Bona Dea). Moreover, given the rigorous androcentric and patriarchal setting, the social and cultural consideration of women resulted in their epistemological condition as "unreliable witnesses".⁸⁶ Consequently, and comparatively speaking, we have very few documents dealing with female voices: the most consistent part of the general historiographical record has been produced by wealthy male writ-

84 See text for details and "Appendix I" for data. Additional source: H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 15-228. N=172, divided as follows: senatorial order/local governments: 23; equestrian order: 3; plebs ingenua: 27; imperial *libertil/ae*: 3; public *libertil/ae*: 1; private *libertil/ae*: 89; imperial slaves: 5; public slaves: 1; private slaves: 15; under-slaves: 1; anonymous: 4.

85 H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 361-363.

86 Ross Shepard Kraemer, *Unreliable Witnesses: Religion, Gender, and History in the Greco-Roman Mediterranean*, Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press 2011.

ers recording and commenting social and historical events for a wealthy masculine readership, potentially exploiting and distorting the socio-political role of women as a means to convey, and reinforce, masculine control.⁸⁷ Even when we have more or less direct access to women's testimony (e.g., in the epigraphic catalogue), the internalization of the dominant androcentric cultural discourse cannot be overruled⁸⁸ while their voices might be stereotypically embedded in and constrained⁸⁹ by social status, patriarchal control, and the artistic and practical conventions of the medium.⁸⁹ Most of the time, all we have at our disposal is just names, some scanty descriptions, and *ex voto* documents. Mastrocinque has rightly highlighted the importance of investigating other cultural media, such as imperial sarcophagi, in order to bypass this issue, yet his hermeneutical explanation of the supposed religious messages encoded in such media remains questionable.⁹⁰

Concerning the chronological development of the cult, less than a dozen secure chronological coordinates from the available inscriptions are known; the remaining epigraphic evidence is dated according to circumstantial features (see "Appendix II"). Here is what we could safely state concerning the literary, archeological, and epigraphic evidence itself:

- 1) The oldest literary citations are attested only for 123 BCE (Rome) and 52 BCE (*Bovillae*).
- 2) Secure and reliable epigraphic evidence testifies to the presence and/or the spread of the cult inside *Latium* within the first century CE (88 and 111 CE; the cult is attested in Ostia at least from 85 BCE), and into the neighboring regions, until the 2nd and possibly 3rd century CE (138 and 222 CE).
- 3) The oldest Italic evidence of the civic embeddedness of the cult comes from *Forum Clodii* (18 CE). In the far north-eastern boundaries of the Italic peninsula (Staranzaro) the cult is attested from the 1st century BCE, as it is for the central Italic *Sulmo*. The year 62 CE

87 Cf. Eva Cantarella, *Pandora's Daughters: The Role and Status of Women in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, trans. Maureen Brown Fant, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press 1987, *passim*. Originally published as Eva Cantarella, *L'ambiguo malanno: Condizione e immagine della donna nell'antichità greca e romana*, Roma: Editori Riuniti 1981.

88 Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 2001, 35. Originally published as Pierre Bourdieu, *La domination masculine*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil 1998.

89 Maria Letizia Caldelli, "Women in the Roman World", in: Christer Bruun – Jonathan Edmonson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press 2015, 582-604: 583.

90 A. Mastrocinque, *Bona Dea...*, 39-50, 70-74.

is the *ad quem* term for the southward, Campanian presence of the cult (as attested by an epigraph found in *Puteoli*).

- 4) The most significant extra-Italic cluster is attested for the *Gallia Narbonensis* during the first two centuries of the imperial age.
- 5) The last recorded epigraphic date is 235 CE, attested in a north-west African army settlement.

From a hegemonic and socio-political point of view, the rationale of this initial spread could be traced back to what Umberto Laffi defined as the “mirage of equality” which dominated the relationship between Rome and its Italic allies – on the one hand, a relationship seen as top-down exploitation, and, on the other, as useful symbiosis to promote local interests.⁹¹ In neurophysiological terms, relevant for the individuals and communities involved in cult devotion, this two-way interaction is characterized by the implementation of a wider web of long-distance relationships⁹² via a set of behavioral and cognitive devices aimed at altering the brain-body chemistry (in this case, religious actions and beliefs) and capable of providing different outcomes for different social actors (e.g., the establishment and maintenance of a fictive in-group, social empowerment, stress-relief).⁹³ If we superimpose these two potentially explanatory mechanisms on the cult map and extend the analysis to the rest of the archeological remains, we obtain a preliminary and rough diachronic sequence of the diffusion of the Bona Dea cult:

- 1) The birth and subsequent introduction of the cult around *Latium* and Central Italy as a “state deity” and an “eminent symbol” of the prestigious link between Rome and the local communities eager to gain Rome’s support and approval.⁹⁴ Possibly, this phase overlapped with the cult being a direct cultural heritage of deducted colonies (*Minturnae*, *Luceria*, etc.).

91 Umberto Laffi, “Il sistema di alleanze italico”, in: Guido Clemente – Filippo Coarelli – Emilio Gabba (eds.), *Storia di Roma II: L'impero mediterraneo I: La repubblica imperiale*, Turin: Einaudi 1990, 285-304: 302.

92 Concerning the devotion to Bona Dea and her healing features, see L. Ambasciano, “The Fate of a Healing Goddess...”, 5, n. 3, for the possible existence of local pilgrimages.

93 Daniel L. Smail, *On Deep History and the Brain*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press 2008, 170-174; Luther H. Martin, “The Deep History of Religious Ritual”, in: id., *Deep History, Secular Theory: Historical and Scientific Studies of Religion*, Boston – Berlin: De Gruyter 2014, 254-271.

94 H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 406. It would be interesting to explore further the possible role of the Samnite confederation as a cultural constraint to the southward diffusion of the Bona Dea cult in a perspective of interstate competition; cf. Arthur M. Eckstein, *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the Rise of Rome*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press 2006, 118-180.

- 2) The formal request to the political and religious Roman institutions to implement an official religious holiday (early Empire, in the case of *Forum Clodii*).
- 3) The introduction of the cult elsewhere via colonies and/or veterans' settlements (i.e., highly Romanized locations such as Aquileia and neighboring areas,⁹⁵ and *Gallia Narbonensis*),⁹⁶ with a concomitant and overlapping penetration of worship via commercial seaways (e.g., Ostia, Pisa, the mouth of the *Rhodanus/Rhône*).⁹⁷
- 4) Constraints placed later on imperial expansion by specific institutional relationships with Rome. The African cluster, for instance, might correlate with the local promotion and expansion of the cult under the Severan dynasty as an institutionally bidirectional social and commercial glue, although the available data does not allow a generalized reconstruction.⁹⁸ On the *limes*, instead, the cult is strictly tied to the presence of the military (*Britannia, Pannonia*), possibly as a commodity to have recourse to in specific cases (e.g., illness and disease).

The diachronic diffusion through Europe and the Mediterranean is very slow, the consistence of the findings quantitatively very low, and the distributive pattern extremely scattered: the cult reaches Pannonia (*Aquincum*), Britain (*Cilurnum*) and Mediterranean Africa (one temple at *Auzia-Aumale, Mauretania Caesarensis*; now Ghorfa des Ouled Slama/Awlād Slāma/Uled Slama) only in the century between Hadrian and the Severan dynasty (roughly between 138 and 235 CE). With the exception of some controversial finds from the 4th century CE,⁹⁹ the post-3rd century evidence of the cult appears to be limited to nostalgic and/or antiquarian

95 E.g., Emilio Gabba, "La conquista della Gallia Cisalpina", in: Guido Clemente – Filippo Coarelli – Emilio Gabba (eds.), *Storia di Roma II: L'impero mediterraneo I: La repubblica imperiale*, Turin: Einaudi 1990, 69-78: 74.

96 Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*, Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press 2003 (1st ed. 1998), 38 and passim.

97 Brian Campbell, *Rivers and the Power of Ancient Rome: Studies in the History of Greece and Rome*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2012.

98 Cf. Clementina Panella, "Merci e scambi nel Mediterraneo tardoantico", in: Andrea Carandini – Lellia Cracco Ruggini – Andrea Giardina (eds.), *Storia di Roma III: L'età tardoantica II: I luoghi e le culture*, Turin: Einaudi 1993, 613-697.

99 Aquileia: H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 423; Rome: *CIL* VI 2236, and *IG* XIV 1449 = Kaibel n. 588 = *IGRRP* I, n. 212 = *CCCA* III, n. 271 (both 3rd century?; see respectively H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 36-37, 40-43).

reminiscences by (favorable) male wealthy writers and (unfavorable) Christian apologists.¹⁰⁰

Finally, the collapse of the cult after the 3rd century CE could have been the result of various factors such as an unfavorable niche construction begun by other competing cults (that is, the social changes brought about by competing cults able to successfully piggyback and/or influence the social mindscape)¹⁰¹ and, most of all, the consequences of the ineffectiveness of the healing devotion following the outbreak of the so-called Antonine plague, its endemic resilience, and its aftermath.¹⁰²

Patterns of gendered mobility in Roman times

Ideas are mobilized inasmuch as their carriers move. Today, the study of physical mobility in ancient societies is enjoying a significant growth thanks to outstanding improvements in various disciplines such as paleogenetics and archeological technologies (e.g., stable isotopes analysis). However, as Woolf has recently cautioned, we need to avoid, first, an “exaggerated reaction that underplays the equally undeniable differences between globalized modernity and the ancient world”,¹⁰³ and, second, an excessive reliance on methodologies constrained by the poor or debatable quality and quantity of data (e.g., isotopes from water consumption could be unreliable in a network of short-range variation and in high-altitude drinking water brought by aqueducts).¹⁰⁴

One, and perhaps the most important, “undeniable differenc[e] between globalized modernity and the ancient world” resides in the ancient and gendered patterns of mobility. Concerning Roman history, Woolf has defined “gendered mobility” as the constraints socially and politically imposed upon female mobility in a “complex human landscape formed by the different interplay of different migratory movements” concerning “inward flows of slaves and provincials”, a consistent internal redistribution of peasants, and the later settlement of more or less Romanized Germanic groups inside the boundaries of the Roman empire.¹⁰⁵ It cannot be denied

100 H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea*..., 215-228; Alan Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2011, 589.

101 G. Woolf, “Isis and the Evolution of Religion...”.

102 L. Ambasciano, “The Fate of a Healing Goddess...”.

103 G. Woolf, “Movers and Stayers...”, 440.

104 *Ibid.*, 455. For water resource management in Roman times see Brian Dermody – Rens van Beek – Elijah Meeks et al., “A Virtual Water Network of the Roman World” [online], *Hydrology and Earth System Sciences* 18, 2014, 5025-5040, <<http://www.hydrology-earth-syst-sci.net/18/5025/2014/>>, [30 September 2016].

105 Greg Woolf, “Female Mobility in the Latin West”, in: Emily Hemelrijk – Greg Woolf (eds.), *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West*, Leiden – Boston: Brill 2013,

that during some historical periods women enjoyed more relaxed parameters of control (e.g., when late Republican civil wars dissipated masculine control due to considerable long-term war engagement and human losses), and that, socially speaking, some categories always enjoyed a relative degree of social freedom (wealthy women *sui iuris*, members of the aristocracy, empresses, etc.). However, the great majority of women were invariably subjected to the typical “social caging” which characterized most ancient (and less ancient) Mediterranean socio-political and religious systems.¹⁰⁶ In the Roman world, the “extent to which particular configurations of social power limit[ed] or permit[ted] social and geographical mobility”¹⁰⁷ included coercive control and male power over daughters and wives, guaranteed and sanctioned by the law in the forms of *tutela* and *patria potestas*. This social cage was strengthened by the implemented market system built around slavery, a poor free labor market, and financial restraints on independent women (even when wealthy), by localized and circumscribed patterns of urbanization, and by insufficient access to education.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, female mobility in the Roman world was mostly dependent on the slave trade and masculine mobility (i.e., depending on their husbands’ or fathers’ mobility).¹⁰⁹

If we add to this desolate landscape the ban imposed on male participation in the cult of Bona Dea recalled in the previous sections, the natural taphonomic bias which affects the archeological record, the traditional biases of epigraphic data attesting mobility (inherently biased in favor of non-local, settled, long-distance migrants),¹¹⁰ and the fact that we will never have access to the vast majority of non-aristocratic, non-affluent social classes,¹¹¹ it seems there is very little hope left for a thorough understanding of the gendered diffusion of religious cults, in particular exclusively female cults.

It also seems to be quite self-evident that, due to the Roman biases in gendered mobility, where men arrived ideas followed. Recalling a previ-

351-368: 352.

106 *Ibid.*, 353. For the concept of social caging see Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power I: A History of Power from the Beginning to A.D. 1760*, Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press 1986.

107 G. Woolf, “Female Mobility...”, 353.

108 *Ibid.*, 355. For a general overview see E. Cantarella, *Pandora’s Daughters...*

109 G. Woolf, “Female Mobility...”, 354; *id.*, “Movers and Stayers...”, 463.

110 G. Woolf, “Movers and Stayers...”, 455.

111 For instance, *servi rustici*; see Christer Bruun, “Slaves and Freed Slaves”, in: Christer Bruun – Jonathan Edmonson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press 2015, 605-626: 611, and Sarah E. Phang, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 BC – AD 235): Law and Family in the Imperial Army*, Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill 2001, 148-152.

ous analysis by Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen, Woolf has recently highlighted the three main points that are usually associated with mobility during Roman times:

- 1) “men had a greater mobility than women”;
- 2) “the elite had a greater mobility than lower social classes”;
- 3) “military personnel had a greater mobility than civilians”.¹¹²

As the most promising form of mobility, and one that could have been the implicit target for the imperial reformation of the Bona Dea cult hypothesized by Mastrocinque, let us examine military mobility and its possible relation to the Bona Dea cult.

The unsuccessful activation of the military network

In *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire*, Collar has shown that the “successful activation of a Roman military network”, building on the soldiers’ “social connectivity” and on the ensuing information cascade (that is, the rapid spread of information)¹¹³ that resulted from their widespread structural organization, was the key factor in the diffusion of such cults as Jupiter Dolichenus.¹¹⁴ The same argument could be made for other ancient cults that piggybacked on the military mindscape and social organization,¹¹⁵ such as the Roman cult of Mithras.¹¹⁶ We have already seen that the Bona Dea cult diffused quite easily in Central Italy, possibly either due to the close socio-political relationship between Rome and its allies or to direct heritage when Latin and Roman colonies were concerned. At the same time we have seen the major limitations on women’s mobility in Roman

112 G. Woolf, “Female Mobility...”, 363. Cf. Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen, “Mobility, Ethnicity and Identity: The Funerary Inscriptions of *Pantikapakion*”, in: Viktor Zinko (ed.), *Fourth Bosporan Readings: Cimmerian Bosporus and Barbarian World in the Period of Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Kerch: Archaeological Institute of Kerch 2003, 299-302.

113 A. Collar, *Religious Networks...*, 15.

114 *Ibid.*, 92-146.

115 Anna H. Walas, “An Integrated Cognitive and Epigraphic Approach to Social Networks within the Community of a Roman Military Base”, in: Tom Brindle – Martyn Allen – Emma Durham – Alex Smith (eds.), *TRAC 2014: Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, University of Reading 27-30 March 2014*, Oxford – Philadelphia: Oxbow Books 2015, 17-30.

116 Cf. A. Chalupa, “What Might Cognitive Science Contribute...”; L. H. Martin, *The Mind of Mithraists...*; Blanka Misić, “Cognitive Theory and Religious Integration: The Case of the Poetovian Mithrea”, in: Tom Brindle – Martyn Allen – Emma Durham – Alex Smith (eds.), *TRAC 2014: Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, University of Reading 27-30 March 2014*, Oxford – Philadelphia: Oxbow Books 2015, 31-40.

times. Therefore, could soldiers have represented an extra-Italic vehicle of diffusion of the Bona Dea cult? As a matter of fact, the cult was known for its healing devotion, which appealed particularly to soldiers.¹¹⁷

Interestingly, a formal marriage ban made Roman soldiers legally incapable of marrying in order to avoid legal issues resulting from inheritance disputes and to “shield active soldiers from legal claims by civilians”.¹¹⁸ The ban was introduced by Augustus and lasted until 197 CE, when Septimius Severus granted soldiers the right to “live with” their wives.¹¹⁹ Yet, informal unions were tolerated, and *de facto* wives common. As Walter Scheidel acknowledges, it was more a dissuasive “non-recognition” of marriage rather than a formal “ban”. Actually, Scheidel notes, nothing prevented soldiers from living with women, except for the harshness of military life.¹²⁰ Also, from time to time, imperial *ad hoc* legislation provided specific guarantees aimed at alleviating this legal handicap,¹²¹ not to mention that enfranchised veterans were substantially granted specific marriage rights (*conubium* in Latin legal terms) with non-Roman women; occasionally (exceptionally? regularly?) their children were also granted citizenship.¹²² Let us delve deeper into this topic, which is way more complicated than it may appear.

Reporting the result of a quantitative meta-analysis of epigraphic data, Scheidel infers that ca. 90% of soldiers’ wives bore Roman or Romanized *duo nomina* (Latin *nomen gentile* plus Latin/Greek *cognomen*), either because their wives assumed a Roman onomastic identity or because interactions with local populations remained limited.¹²³ Depending on which possibility is preferred, the identification of the constraints and the factors that prevented or supported the spread of the Bona Dea cult would vary significantly. The first case would entail a degree of local cultural interaction, on the nature and depth of which we can only speculate. The second explanation, on the other hand, would reinforce the actual transportation of the cult via Roman or Italic carriers. It is likely that both hypothetical situations interacted to some extent. Yet, other explanations might be advanced regarding the presence of female Romanized names, e.g., the mere “usurpation of citizen status”.¹²⁴ It could also be argued that the names of

117 L. Ambasciano, “The Fate of a Healing Goddess...”.

118 Walter Scheidel, “Marriage, Families, and Survival: Demographic Aspects”, in: Paul Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army*, Malden, MA – Oxford: Blackwell 2007, 417-434: 419.

119 S. E. Phang, *The Marriage...*; cf. A. Collar, *Religious Networks...*, 95, n. 23.

120 W. Scheidel, “Marriage, Families, and Survival...”, 418.

121 *Ibid.* for Claudius’ and Hadrian’s legislative actions.

122 *Ibid.*, 418; similarly, auxiliary soldiers up to around 140 CE.

123 *Ibid.*, 423.

124 *Ibid.*, 424.

the devotees might reveal helpful clues to evaluating the diffusion of the cult. Unfortunately, correlating geographical origins with individual names might not be as straightforward as it may appear. For instance, the presence of Greek names in Bona Dea's epigraphic inventory might lead to false positive links with the Eastern area of the Empire being traced and to the identification of a Greek homology or ascendance of the cult (as assumed by Plutarch, a Greek himself).¹²⁵ However, the fact that Greek names were subjected to cultural fashions (especially in the cases of slaves and freed[wo/]men, the social categories apparently most devoted to Bona Dea) should be adequately assessed before any further elaboration.¹²⁶ This uncertainty is a reminder of how hugely biased our documentation is and provides a caveat for any further analysis.

In relative terms, and with the general quantitative and chronological trends of epigraphic production in mind,¹²⁷ it is interesting to note that the presence of Bona Dea epigraphic evidence and the available conjugal and birth family dedications related to soldiers stand in an inversely proportional relationship: the greater the former, the fewer the latter, possibly because in both cases there was a rise in provincial recruitment starting from the 2nd century CE.¹²⁸ More provincial recruits meant "more links with birth family and ... relationships with local women"¹²⁹ and, probably, a less originally Roman cult.

However grave the taphonomic bias might be, an in-depth historiographical study of the top-down process of Roman colonization, along with military recruitment and veteran settlements, is necessary before delving deeper into SNA. The settlement of *veterani* was a massive displacement of human beings and ideas, sometimes taken quite for granted by scholars.¹³⁰ This continuous flux of people – not just soldiers, but all their familiar, social, and commercial entourages, slaves and *liberti/ae*

125 Plutarch, *Bioi parallēloi: Kaisar IX-X* (H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 199-201).

126 Pace H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 281, but cf. also *ibid.*, 259, n. 31. See W. Scheidel, "The Roman Slave Supply", in: Keith Bradley – Paul Cartledge (eds.), *The Cambridge World History of Slavery I: The Ancient Mediterranean World*, Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press 2011, 287-310: 304, and C. Bruun, "Slaves and Freed Slaves...", 606, n. 10.

127 Francisco Beltrán Lloris, "The 'Epigraphic Habit' in the Roman World", in: Christer Bruun – Jonathan Edmonson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press 2015, 131-148.

128 Cf. W. Scheidel, "Marriage, Families, and Survival...", 420-421.

129 *Ibid.*, 421.

130 Will Broadhead, "Colonization, Land Distribution, and Veteran Settlement", in: Paul Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army*, Malden, MA – Oxford: Blackwell 2007, 148-163.

included – played a pivotal role in the shaping and modification of cultural representations, from languages to religious cults.¹³¹

Lastly, I should recall that diffusion does not happen in a historical void. The local recruitment of different categories of soldiers from the various regions of the empire contributed to creating significant differences in the spread of Roman cults. Moreover, even a strong capillary penetration of soldiers and settlers could not erase each and every already existing local religious organization and structure. The successful cult of Mithras was extremely rare in Egypt probably because of the local recruitment of soldiers and because the available religious niche had already been occupied by the cult of Isis and Sarapis.¹³² Likewise, Bona Dea does not seem to have enjoyed significant diffusion in the culturally distinct Etruscan, Cisalpine, and Hellenized Southern regions of the Italic peninsula (although, to be fair, in these cases local assimilation to other divinities might have contributed to obfuscating the recognition of the cult's regional devotion). In the first part of the article I outlined the Roman androcentric and patriarchal setting in which the Bona Dea cult found its place and of which it was a direct product. However, different settings and social answers were possible in the Mediterranean area, and religion might also have been used and exploited by subordinate groups to reclaim social power. Religious beliefs might also have offered those social actors the intellectual tools to question from the inside the social *status quo* and negotiate a relatively better social position from a relatively empowering position. In particular, certain religious configurations concur to change gender expectations via codified prestigious behavioral patterns (prestigious because such patterns relate to the gods themselves and their own behaviors as models of virtue). For instance, starting with the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the cult of Isis, the ancient Egyptian goddess later Hellenized after the conquest of the kingdom of Egypt by Alexander, empowered women's lives. Eva Cantarella remarked that

[m]any women took part in the cults of oriental origin, particularly that of Isis, the goddess who in a papyrus from the second century BCE (*P. Oxy.* 1380.11.214-16) is thanked for having given women strength equal to that of men. Under Isis' influence, according to Diodorus, Egyptian queens had more prestige than the kings and wives

131 For a wider contextualization cf. Walter Scheidel (ed.), *Debating Roman Demography*, Leiden – Boston: Brill 2001.

132 Luther H. Martin, "The (Surprising) Absence of the Mithras Cult in Egypt", in: id., *The Mind of Mithraists: Historical and Cognitive Studies in the Roman Cult of Mithras*, London – New York: Bloomsbury 2015, 119-127. Original publication: Luther H. Martin, "The (Surprising) Absence of the Mithras Cult in Egypt", in: Afe Adogame – Magnus Echter – Oliver Freiberger (eds.), *Alternative Voices: A Plurality Approach for Religious Studies*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht 2013, 100-115.

gave orders to husbands, who at marriage agreed by contract to obey to them (Diod. Sic. I. 27). In other words, the cult of this goddess ... had contributed substantially to raising women's status in Egypt.¹³³

Therefore, it should be no surprise that during the imperial age such foreign cults gained diffusion and attention while other cults, like Bona Dea's, dwindled in popularity.

Towards a topography of the Bona Dea cult

Having explained the many research limitations due to the quality and quantity of data, let us now try to pinpoint the diffusion of the cult according to the most heuristically parsimonious method and given the available data at hand. Meinig's model highlights the fact that, all else being equal, the historical influence of a certain cultural trait is inversely proportional to the distance from the area where the trait originated (or "hearth").¹³⁴ Therefore, a sequential spread of information (in this case, religious) could be correlated with some specific waves of diffusion.¹³⁵ In the case of the Bona Dea cult, the precise location of the Latin hearth is unknown. A mythographic variant links the goddess' origin to Damia, a poorly known Hellenic goddess which the Romans became acquainted with possibly after the conquest of *Tarentum* in 272 BCE.¹³⁶ This interpretation appears to be supported by some scanty archeological evidence from *Poseidonial Paestum*, dating to the 1st century BCE.¹³⁷ However, given the relatively recent date, the high level of uncertainty,¹³⁸ and the analogical principle which could have driven some sort of *post hoc* assimilation between different already existing cults,¹³⁹ we can dispense with this argument here.¹⁴⁰

133 E. Cantarella, *Pandora's Daughters...*, 141-142.

134 D. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region...", 213; P. Haggett, *Geography...*, 227.

135 P. Haggett, *Geography...*, 482.

136 Festus, *De verborum significatu*, s.v. "Damium" (H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 209 and 347, n. 189).

137 Werner Johannowsky – John Griffiths Pedley – Mario Torelli, "Excavations at Paestum 1982", *American Journal of Archaeology* 87/3, 1983, 293-303.

138 See *ibid.*, 302, n. 29, for the unusual, yet not unrealistic, reading "Syria Dea" instead of "Bona Dea" in the most relevant and incomplete inscription.

139 Elizabeth Barber Wayland – Paul T. Barber, *When They Severed Earth from Sky: How the Human Mind Shapes Myth*, Princeton – Oxford: Princeton University Press 2006 (1st ed. 2004), 246.

140 However, if we accept an original assimilation between Damia and Bona Dea, we could possibly add a second, interdependent Campanian hearth.



Fig. 3. Topography of the Bona Dea cult according to Meinig's model of dynamic cultural regions: Italic peninsula.¹⁴¹

141 See text for details and "Appendix II" for data. Source: H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, Tables II, IV; original illustrations by F. Derksen-Janssens, 1987. Note: *Ducenta* has been omitted due to uninformative or questionable geographic data (cf. H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 90-91), while *Bovillae* has been added to the map (cf. *ibid.*, 189). Map reproduced with the kind permission of Davide Bonadonna © 2016.

The “core area”, i.e., the “centralized zone of concentration” and original diffusion, qualified by “all the obvious measures of density, intensity, and nodality”,¹⁴² is tentatively identified with Northern Latium and Southern Etruria (fig. 3). In geographical terms, the cult probably propagated itself by means of local expansion and contagion, being firmly rooted in its core area while spreading through contact into the surrounding region/s.¹⁴³ “Creative tension” with other social, political, and religious subcultures might have led to innovation and adaptation, yet a sufficient “defense of differences” was maintained, meaning that the cult preserved a sufficiently distinctive identity.¹⁴⁴ The “domain”, where less connectedness promoted tenuous ramifications and where incipient differences might have been more relevant, was located in the central Italic region.¹⁴⁵ However, the persistence of the cult was still driven by its proximity to the core area.

Moving northwards, it is worth noting a documentary and geographical gap in the territorial continuity of the cult between Central Italy, Western Cisalpine area, and *Gallia Narbonensis*, especially when we consider the Augustan *Regiones* IX and XI (roughly equivalent to the modern-day Italian regions of Liguria, Piedmont, and Aosta Valley, including additional portions of the Alpine arch, Lombardy, and Emilia-Romagna; see fig. 3). Although we should account for the “great scarcity of the available data (however, not sufficiently examined)”,¹⁴⁶ the local absence of the Bona Dea cult might indicate the existence of a different web of pre-existing and peculiar local devotion/s, which deserves further critical

142 D. Meinig, “The Mormon Culture Region...”, 213.

143 P. Haggett, *Geography...*, 482.

144 D. Meinig, “The Mormon Culture Region...”, 215.

145 *Ibid.*

146 Lellia Cracco Ruggini, “Le trasformazioni della città fra antico e tardo antico”, in: Andrea Giardina (ed.), *I Liguri: Un antico popolo europeo tra Alpi e Mediterraneo: Catalogo della mostra, Genova 23 ottobre 2004-23 gennaio 2005*, Geneva – Milan: Skira 2004, 559-565: 561. For the radically different late antique context and its geopolitical implications for this macro-area cf. Arnold Hugh Martin Jones – John Robert Martindale – John Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I: A.D. 260-395*, Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press 1971, s.v. “Proculus”, 745; John Robert Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire II: A.D. 395-527*, Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press 1980, s.v. “Fl. Claudius Constantinus”, 316-317; s.v. “Fl. Constantius”, 321-325; Silvia Giorcelli – Sergio Roda, *Iuxta fines Alpium: Uomini e dèi nel Piemonte romano*, Turin: Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria 1999; Lellia Cracco Ruggini, “Rapporti tra potere civile ed ecclesiastico nell’Italia Annonaria tra IV e VIII secolo”, in: Mario Marcenario (ed.), *Albenga città episcopale: Tempi e dinamiche della cristianizzazione tra Liguria di Ponente e Provenza I*, Genoa – Albenga: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri 2007, 67-88: 76-77.

attention,¹⁴⁷ while it might also imply a change in the diffusion pattern. Therefore, the *Gallia Narbonensis*, along with the North-Eastern Italic and Dalmatian clusters (see fig. 4), are identified as the “sphere”, i.e., the peripheral landing of the cult in “zones of outer influence”¹⁴⁸ where it formed circumscribed pockets of a Roman cultural legacy.



Fig. 4. Topography of the Bona Dea cult according to Meinig's model of dynamic cultural regions: Euro-Mediterranean region.¹⁴⁹

147 Giovanni Mennella, “Culti ufficiali ed élite in Cisalpina: appunti da un database epigrafico”, in: Mireille Cebeillac-Gervasoni – Laurent Lamoine (eds.), *Les élites et leurs facettes: Les élites locales dans le monde hellénistique et romain*, Clermont-Ferrand – Rome: École Française de Rome – Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal 2003, 481-502; Ralph Häussler, *Becoming Roman? Diverging Identities and Experiences in Ancient Northwest Italy*, Abingdon – New York: Routledge 2016 (1st ed. Berkeley: Left Coast Press 2013).

148 D. Meinig, “The Mormon Culture Region...”, 216.

149 See text for details and “Appendix II” for data. Source: H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, Table V; original illustrations by F. Derksen-Janssens, 1987. Map reproduced with the kind permission of Davide Bonadonna © 2016.

Finally, the long-distance links with the core area which characterized scattered “outliers”, however much more difficult to pinpoint due to the taphonomic bias and the punctuated nature of the available data, can be identified in the extremely isolated North-Western African, Pannonian, and Britannic clusters, these lacking “deep local roots”¹⁵⁰ (with possible exceptions in the African cluster; fig. 4). In these cases, the medium of diffusion was relocation, meaning that information was brought by the movement of human carriers themselves – in our case settlers, veterans, soldiers, and their female associates more or less temporarily deployed *in situ* (e.g., “Appendix I”, A.19; “Appendix II”, I.141).¹⁵¹

However, it is not enough to state that greater distance from the core area implied the diminishing influence of a cult. Greater distance entailed also religious diversification mainly through simplification (e.g., further assimilation into local devotion) and/or the miniaturization of the cult.¹⁵² In order to assess precisely the degree of change in the key features of the cult through space and time we should be able to map those features in the available documents, e.g., classify the varying social and local characteristics according to each regional cluster as well as the theonyms associated with Bona Dea and attested in the epigraphic record. If we want to avoid unwarranted assumptions, we should also take into consideration that such differences might not always be tied to mere geographical expansion and chronological developments. As a consequence of the institutional organization of Roman religion, the bewildering number of erudite interpretations, or intuitive and emic reflections about the characteristics of the goddess, within and without the same pantheon, make generalizations rather problematic.¹⁵³

Therefore, considering that when assessing precisely the differentiation of the cult through space and time we mainly depend upon such data, a simulation *in silico* would probably help to carefully evaluate the impact of specific constraints on the rate of spread as well as to test the overall plausibility of this geographic reconstruction.

150 *Ibid.*, 217.

151 Cf. P. Haggett, *Geography...*, 482. See A. Collar, *Religious Networks...*, 49, 100.

152 G. Woolf, “Found in Translation...”, 250-251.

153 Clifford Ando, “Interpretatio Romana”, *Classical Philology* 100/1, 2005, 41-51. Pace D. Meinig, “The Mormon Culture Region...”, 215.

Conclusions: A failed utopian cult?

We can preliminarily conclude that Mastrocinque's assertion about Livia's implementation of a parallel, institutional, exclusive female cult supervised by the empress as highest priestess of the cult finds only feeble support in the available evidence. Even though "mobility does not need to be high or ubiquitous in order to have major effects", and considering that "a high degree of connectivity does not depend on high levels of mobility",¹⁵⁴ as a consequence of Mastrocinque's hypothesis we would definitely expect more archeological data in the territory of the Augustan empire. A relative peak in the epigraphic record during the 1st century CE (see "Appendix II") might be adduced as valuable proof, yet further evaluation is needed to assess the incidence of taphonomic biases and false positives.

Should we accept active imperial support for the cult, there are some issues that need appropriately critical consideration. The major hindrances to the diffusion of the cult were, first, the constrained gendered and social mobility affecting women and the lower social classes, second, the problematic Augustan marriage ban and, third, the limited appeal of a mythology based on a specific mythological Latin setting dealing with a peculiar, and potentially culturally distant, set of androcentric and patriarchal social norms tied to some violent customs of the (pseudo)historical royal institution. The example of the spread and growing popularity of the Isis cult, recalled above, shows that a change in the overall perception of gendered differences might not have been unconnected to the demise of the Bona Dea cult. Moreover, even if the imperial re-organization and implementation of the cult was really ever consciously attempted, the fact that both traditional Roman religion and early imperial cults lacked a fully-fledged central policy, a uniform theological *corpus*, and a consistent sacerdotal system would explain the cult's failure to spread evenly.¹⁵⁵

Notwithstanding an incipient central Italic diffusion, the cult apparently failed to activate the military network, which was probably the major collective actor in the diffusion of cultural representations, whatever their

154 G. Woolf, "Movers and Stayers...", 463.

155 G. Woolf, "Divinity and Power in Ancient Rome", in: Nicole Brisch (ed.), *Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond*, Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 2008, 235-251; Aleš Chalupa, "Religious Change in Roman Religion from the Perspective of Whitehouse's Theory of the Two Modes of Religiosity", in: Luther H. Martin – Panayotis Pachis (eds.), *Imagistic Traditions in the Graeco-Roman World: A Cognitive Modeling of History of Religious Research: Acts of the Panel Held during the XIX Congress of the International Association of History of Religions (IAHR), Tokyo, Japan, March 2005*, Thessaloniki: Vanijs Editions 2009, 113-135.

nature (linguistic, religious, etc.). As explained in the previous paragraph, the pattern of diffusion shows a lack of sustained territorial continuity between the domain and sphere of the cult, which, if confirmed by further studies, might point to the cult exhibiting a patchy and sub-optimal scheme of relocation. Instead of a quasi-doctrinal center of continual, institutional, and hierarchical control and support, in SNA terminology, Rome was probably the quite passive highest-degree vertex in a broadcast network, i.e., the single source of original information (in this case, the Bona Dea complex) whence religious behaviors and beliefs were relocated and distributed elsewhere in specific settings along with their human carriers.¹⁵⁶ In our case, as far as we know, this process was somehow successful during the relocation of veterans between the last decades of the republic and the early decades of the empire (*Gallia Narbonensis*, North-Eastern Italic cluster, Dalmatian cluster). However, the late antique processes of regionalization and increased provincial recruitment downsized, and ultimately dismantled, that broadcast network, affecting also the socio-political structure previously supported by a remarkable set of infrastructures.¹⁵⁷

Amidst an unstable system of interconnected redistributions of social power among different competing cults, the transformation of the traditional Roman network systems (cultural, commercial, political, etc.) accompanied the contraction and the downfall of the ancient Roman cult of Bona Dea.¹⁵⁸ The scattered religious devotion to the goddess attested on the late Roman *limes* (*Britannia*, *Pannonia*, some sites from Northern Africa) thrived locally insofar as the army and its networks provided a sufficient cultural and social scaffolding for the range of the cult's specificities (e.g., healing beliefs and practices). However, such specificities were not the exclusive domain of Bona Dea; other local or pan-Roman cults (early Christianities included) probably were or became more efficacious in managing the lack of positive reinforcement resulting from repeated

156 Esther Eidinow, "Networks and Narratives: A Model for Ancient Greek Religion", *Kernos: Revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire de religion grecque antique* 24, 2011, 9-38: 25, n. 68.

157 Lukas De Blois, "The Military Factor in the Onset of Crises in the Roman Empire in the Third Century AD", in: Lukas de Blois – Elio Lo Cascio (eds.), *The Impact of the Roman Army (200 BC – AD 476): Economic, Social, Political, Religious and Cultural Aspects: Proceedings of the Sixth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, 200 B.C. – A.D. 476), Capri, March 29 – April 2, 2005*, Leiden – Boston: Brill 2007, 497-507: 498.

158 Cf. Luther H. Martin, "Roman Christianity and Mithraism", in: id., *The Mind of Mithraists: Historical and Cognitive Studies in the Roman Cult of Mithras*, London – New York: Bloomsbury 2015, 9-20: 17. Original publication: Luther H. Martin, "Roman Christianity and Mithraism", *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions* 36/1, 1989, 2-15.

failures to provide the desired healing assistance to the sick.¹⁵⁹ The isolated outliers of the cult lacked deep local roots and, as in evolutionary biology, it is more common for peripheral isolates to leave no trace.¹⁶⁰ Likewise, failure, i.e., the lack of further speciation and diffusion, should be regarded as the default outcome when studying historical patterns in ancient religions. Finally, the late institutional co-option of Christianity as the official and unique state religion demoted and substituted with new narratives and storytelling previous mythological accounts and justifications for the ongoing patriarchal system. Therefore, the cult probably became rapidly redundant and obsolete.

As for its *longue-durée* “vitality or resilience”,¹⁶¹ the Bona Dea cult remained a locative cult whose mythography and devotion were embedded in the Latin region, intimately tied to the urban topography of Rome, and dating back to a (pseudo)historical period whose institutional prestige was potentially meaningless for the citizens of the empire. As such, it failed to appeal to the vast majority of imperial citizens.¹⁶² Certain cults, as Woolf rightly observed,

depended on certain locations ... in the [c]ity of Rome ... There could be no provincial *Lupercalia* for there was only one *Lupercal*, and no triumphs anywhere but in Rome. That even Constantine felt the need to in some senses reproduce the sacred topography of Rome in his new capital shows an acute awareness that for some ritual place was all important.¹⁶³

Even if Mastrocinque’s hypothesis does not supply a compelling epistemic warrant *per se*, it provides a useful starting point and a chance to explore the common ground between various analytical tools, as it heavily implies the existence of a complex social network. Pending new discoveries, a combination of prosopographical analysis, mythographic phylogenetics, archeology, cultural geography, cartographic and quantitative representations of the tempo and mode of colonization, cognitive sciences, and SNA will surely provide substantial aid with respect to formally testing Mastrocinque’s hypothesis and, hopefully, to further supporting the counterevidence presented in this paper.

159 See L. Ambasciano, “The Fate of a Healing Goddess...”.

160 Stephen J. Gould, “Opus 200”, *Natural History* 100/8, 1991, 12-18.

161 J. Koppenjan – E.-H. Klijn, “What Can Governance...”, 160.

162 See I. Czachesz, “Women, Charity and Mobility in Early Christianity...”, for a comparative take on the possible role of women in an incipient religious network characterized by a different set of beliefs.

163 G. Woolf, “Found in Translation...”, 249.

Appendix I: Sociography of the Bona Dea cult

Source: H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 254-296. Legend: A, senatorial order/local governments; B, equestrian order; C, *plebs ingenua*; D.1, imperial *liberti/ae*; D.2, public *liberti/ae*; D.3, private *liberti/ae*; E.1, imperial slaves; E.2, public slaves; E.3, private slaves; F, under-slaves; G, anonymous. Note: D3.33 is originally missing from Brouwer's series.

Social class	Brouwer's series	Name	Sex	Brouwer's catalogue
A	1	<i>Veteris Clausorum (?) / Crassorum (?) nominis heres</i>	F	II.35
A	2	Licina	F	II.13
A	3	Octavia	F	I.63
A	4	Terentia	F	II.47
A	5	Aurelia	F	II.8, 48, 49, 54
A	5	Julia	F	II.8, 54
A	5	Pompeia	F	II.8, 48, 49, 53, 54
A	6	L. Staius Chilo	M	I.89
A	6	L. Pettius Pansa	M	I.89
A	6	C. Pettius Gemellus	M	I.89
A	6	L. Tattius Coxa	M	I.89
A	7	Faustus Barbonius	M	I.112
A	8	Livia (Julia Augusta)	F	I.35
A	9	Sulpicia Severa Maior	F	I.3
A	10	Calpurnia	F	I.127
A	(11)	L. Apisius	M	I.(124)
A	(11)	L. Arruntius	M	I.(124)
A	12	M. Maecilius Furr...	M	I.55, 56, 57, 58, 59
A	13	M. Vettius Bolanus	M	I.10
A	14	Proculeia	F	II.44
A	15	Medullina	F	II.51
A	16	Saufeia	F	II.51, 52
A	17	Hadrian	M	II.60
A	18	Petronius Justus	M	I.138'
A	19	L. Cassius Restutus	M	I.141
A	19	Clodia Luciosa	F	I.141
B	1	Titus Sertius Gallus	M	II.24
B	2	Caius Iulius Valens	M	I.128

Social class	Brouwer's series	Name	Sex	Brouwer's catalogue
B	3	Renatia (?) Maxima (?)	F	I.95
C	1	Fannia	F	I.96
C	2	Antonia	F	(I.(47))
C	3	Caius Valerius Martialis	M	I.76
C	4	Caius Paetinius	M	I.13
C	5	Terentia	M	I.61
C	6	Valgia Silvilla	F	I.39
C	7	Lucius Paquedius Festus	M	I.70
C	8	Sergia Fabia Marcellina	F	I.107
C	9	Annia	F	I.16 A and B
C	10	Marcus Marcius	M	I.50
C	11	Aquillia	F	I.52
C	12	Publius Luscus Bergilianus	M	I.67
C	13	Auruncea Acte	F	I.69
C	14	Atellia	F	I.90
C	15	Decimus Rupilius	M	I.99
C	16	Aninia Magna	F	I.109
C	17	Rufria Festa	F	I.113
C	17	Decidia Paulina	F	I.113
C	18	Cornelia Gratilla	F	I.132
C	19	Caecilius Vincentius	M	I.139
C	19	Valeria Matriona	F	I.139
C	20	Julia Casta Felicitas	F	I.140
C	21	Attia Celerina	F	I.(6)
C	22	Lautia Felicula	F	I.(7)
C	23	Lucius Clovanus Clarus	M	I.83
C	24	Pompeia	F	I.95
C	25	...a Primigenia	F	I.48
D1	1	Philematio	F	I.36
D1	2	Tiberius Claudius Stephanus	M	I.111
D1	3	Claudius Philadespotus	M	I.79
D1	4	Lucius Aurelius Pisinnus	M	I.119
D2	1	Lucerinus Hermes	M	I.85
D3	1	Quintus Mucius Trupho	M	I.15
D3	1'	Peticia Arriana (?)	F	I.124'
D3	1''	Nigelus	M	I.124'
D3	2	Valeria Hetaera	F	I.60
D3	3	Tyche	F	I.112

Social class	Brouwer's series	Name	Sex	Brouwer's catalogue
D3	4	Feronia	F	I.111
D3	5	Caiena Attice	F	I.130
D3	6	Caius Avillius December	M	I.79
D3	6	Vellia Cinnamis	F	I.79
D3	7	Faenia Onesime	F	I.9
D3	8	Sulpicia Saturnina	F	I.98
D3	9	Cannia Fortunata	F	I.44
D3	10	Julia Athenais	F	I.74
D3	11	Sextilia Accepta	F	I.84
D3	12	...lia Procula	F	I.102
D3	12	Annia Veneria	F	I.102
D3	13	Loreia Pia	F	I.133
D3	14	Attia Musa	F	I.134
D3	15	Barbia Stadium	F	I.123
D3	16	Blastus Eutactianus (?)	M	I.51
D3	16	Secundus	M	I.51
D3	16	Italia	F	I.51
D3	17	Odicus Latiaris	M	I.1
D3	18	Theogenea	F	I.14
D3	19	Annia Flora	F	I.16 A and B
D3	19	Isia	F	I.16 A and B
D3	20	Caesia Sabina	F	I.17
D3	21	Secunda	F	I.18
D3	21	Flora	F	I.18
D3	22	Caius Tullius Hesper	M	I.19
D3	22	Tullia Restituta	F	I.19
D3	23	Antonia Hygia	F	I.20
D3	24	Antistia Eur ...	F	I.22
D3	25	Valeria Spendusa	F	I.23
D3	25	Valeria Pia	F	I.23
D3	26	Aelia Nice	F	I.25
D3	26	Claudia Nice	F	I.25
D3	26	Aelia Thalasse	F	I.25
D3	26	Aelia Serapia	F	I.25
D3	26	Claudia Fortunata	F	I.25
D3	26	Luccia Felicitas	F	I.25
D3	26	Valerius Menander	M	I.25
D3	27	Terentia Am...	F	I.26

Social class	Brouwer's series	Name	Sex	Brouwer's catalogue
D3	27	Petronia	F	I.26
D3	27	Terentia Thallusa	F	I.26
D3	28	Voluptas Rutuleia	F	I.28
D3	29	Aurelius Antonius	M	I.31
D3	29	Aurelia Antonia	F	I.31
D3	29	Aurelius Onesimus	M	I.31
D3	30	Veturia Semne	F	I.35
D3	30	Tyndaris	F	I.35
D3	31	Decimus Junius Annianus Hymenaeus	M	I.24
D3	32	Popillia Psacas	F	I.38
D3	34	Servilia	F	I.41
D3	35	Aelia Exusia	F	I.42
D3	36	Poblicia Cale	F	I.43
D3	37	Marcia Nomas	F	I.50
D3	38	Maria M...	F	I.54
D3	39	Flavia Athenais	F	I.72
D3	39	Flavius Paectus	M	I.72
D3	39	Marius Alecshander	M	I.72
D3	39	Marius Felix	M	I.72
D3	39	Marius Arariusis	M	I.72
D3	40	Julius Exuperius	M	I.80
D3	41	Vergilia Prisca	F	I.85
D3	42	Valeria Amaryllis	F	I.86
D3	43	Aponia Clara	F	I.87
D3	44	Octavia Lupilla	F	I.88
D3	45	Picentina	F	I.90
D3	46	Septimia Galla	F	I.94
D3	46	Aleunia Sabina	F	I.94
D3	46	Petronia Tertulla	F	I.94
D3	47	Rufellia Tyche	F	I.97
D3	48	Valeria Victorina	F	I.100
D3	49	Titus Flavius (?) Fortunatus	M	I.(104)
D3	50	Seia Ionis	F	I.109
D3	50	Cornelia Ephyre	F	I.109
D3	51	Petrusia Proba	F	I.110
D3	51	Galgestis Hermeros	M	I.110
D3	52	Caesilia Scylace	F	I.113
D3	52	Pupia Peregrina	F	I.113

Social class	Brouwer's series	Name	Sex	Brouwer's catalogue
D3	53	Decidia Egloge	F	I.115
D3	54	Leuce	F	I.(117)
D3	54	Occusia Venusta	F	I.(117)
D3	55	... Sopily's	F	I.118
D3	55'	Marcus Hostilius Auctus	M	I.119'
D3	56	... Ursa	F	I.125
D3	57	Aelia Theodora	F	I.129
D3	58	Vinicia Eutychia	F	I.135
E1	1	Maenalus	M	I.36
E1	2	Zmaragdus	M	I.9
E1	3	Onesimus Faustinus	M	I.23
E1	4	Astrapton	M	I.5
E1	5	Gemellius	M	I.29
E2	1	Felix Asinianus	M	I.44
E3	1	Habra	F	II.8, 48, 49, 53, 54
E3	2	Anteros	M	I.13
E3	3	Hermes	M	I.28
E3	4	Quieta	F	I.93
E3	5	Aura	F	I.64
E3	6	Celer	M	I.34
E3	7	Cladus	M	I.11, 12
E3	8	Callistus	M	I.73
E3	9	Anteros	M	I.2
E3	10	Tyche (?)	F	I.27
E3	11	Anteros (?)	M	I.37
E3	12	Thaine	M	I.38
E3	13	Martialis	M	I.43
E3	14a	F	I.53
E3	15	Julius	M	I.137
F	1	Venustus	M	I.4
G	1	<i>puellae</i>	F	II.32
G	1	(priestess)	F	II.32
G	2	<i>patres</i>	M	II.35
G	3	Vestal Virgins	F	II.47
G	3	women	F	II.47
G	4	<i>servula, ancillae, Vestal Virgins, matronae honestissimae, mulieres, nobilissimae feminae, gynaikes</i>	F	II.1, 2, 8, 17, 23, 25, 29, 48, 49, 53, 54

Social class	Brouwer's series	Name	Sex	Brouwer's catalogue
G	5	<i>lenonum ancillae</i>	F	II.51, 52
G	5	<i>dominae</i>	F	II.51, 52
G	6	<i>mulieres vicanae ad Bonam Dea</i>	F	I.101
G	6'	<i>Spira Isiaca</i>	-	I.101'
G	(7)	<i>decuriones</i>	-	I.(124)
G	8	..dai	-	I.116
G	9	sodalities <i>Invicta Spira</i> and <i>Haedimiana</i>	-	I.24
G	10	(<i>coniunx casta</i>)	F	I.30
G	11	<i>Collegium Bonae Deae</i>	-	I.35
G	12	<i>Senatus Fidenatium</i>	-	I.51
G	13	<i>Bonadienses</i>	-	I.67
G	14	<i>Collegium Cultorum Bonae Deae Caelestis</i>	-	I.75
G	15	<i>Pagus (Laverneus ?)</i>	-	I.89
G	(16)	(<i>magistra</i>)	F	I.(105)
G	17	(<i>magistra</i>)	F	I.114
G	18	(<i>paterfamilias</i>)	M	I.71

Appendix II: Topography of the Bona Dea cult

Source: H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, 297-322. Legend: Category A, cult centers; category B, individual worship. Additional sources available in H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...* For the abbreviations, please refer to "Appendix III".

Region	Location	Dating	Category	Source	Brouwer's catalogue
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> VI 60	I.2
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	(probably) Augustan	A	Cumont 1932 = <i>AE</i> 1933: 143	I.3
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Claudian	A	<i>CIL</i> VI 64 = <i>ILS</i> 3502	I.4
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	2 nd century CE	A	(A-B-C) de Clarac 1827-1853, IV, pl. 558, No. 1186 A-C = Reinach 1897, I: 294 = Greifenhagen, <i>Bona Dea</i> 1937: 227, Nos. 6-8	I.32 A-B-C

Region	Location	Dating	Category	Source	Brouwer's catalogue
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> VI 56 = <i>ILS</i> 5453	I.5
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	2 nd half of 2 nd century BCE – 5 th century CE	A	Tibullus, <i>Corpus Tibullianum</i> I.vi.21-24; Propertius, <i>Elegiae</i> IV.ix.21-70; Ovid, <i>Ars Amatoria</i> III.243-244, 633-638; Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> V.147-158; Festus, <i>De verborum significatu</i> , s.v. "Religiosus"; Aelius Spartianus, <i>De vita Hadriani</i> XIX.11; Lactantius, <i>Divinae Institutiones</i> III.20.3-4; Macrobius, <i>Saturnalia</i> I.12.20-29	II.30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 56, 60, 64, 67
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	123 BCE	A	Cicero, <i>De domo sua</i> LIII.136-137	II.13
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Late 3 rd century/ Severan	A	<i>NS</i> 1912: 313 = <i>BullCom</i> 1916: 204 = <i>AE</i> 1917-1918: 22, No. 94	I.8
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Augustan or 68 CE	A	<i>EE</i> IV 723° = <i>CIL</i> VI 30.855 = <i>ILS</i> 1621	I.9
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Augustan or 68 CE	A	<i>BullCom</i> LXVIII 1940: 177, No. 5 = <i>AE</i> 1946: 25, No. 93	I.9'
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Neronian	A	<i>CIL</i> VI 65 = <i>ILS</i> 3500	I.10
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Neronian	A	<i>CIL</i> VI 66 = <i>ILS</i> 3501	I.11
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Neronian	A	<i>CIL</i> VI 67 = <i>ILS</i> 3501a	I.12
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Pre-Augustan	A	<i>CIL</i> VI 75 = <i>ILS</i> 3508	I.13
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> VI 36.766	I.14
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	3 rd or 4 th century CE (?)	A	<i>CIL</i> VI 2236	I.25
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> VI 2237	I.26
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> VI 2238	I.27
<i>Latium</i>	Rome (or Naples?)	Empire	A	<i>EE</i> IV 872 = <i>CIL</i> VI 32.461	I.30
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	3 rd or 4 th century CE (?)	A	<i>IG</i> XIV 1449 = Kaibel No. 588 = <i>IGRRP</i> I 212 = <i>CCCA</i> III 271	I.31
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> VI 2239	I.35
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Augustan-Claudian	A	<i>CIL</i> VI 2240	I.36
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> VI 36.765 = <i>ILS</i> 9249 = <i>AE</i> 1908: 55, No. 225	I.38

Region	Location	Dating	Category	Source	Brouwer's catalogue
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	1 st century CE (?)	A	<i>CIL</i> VI 68 = <i>ILS</i> 3513	I.44
<i>Latium</i>	<i>Bovillae</i> (near Fratocchie)	52 BCE	A	Cicero, <i>Pro Milone</i> XXXI.86; Asconius, <i>In Milonianum</i> 27	II.24, 58
<i>Latium</i>	<i>Velitrae</i> (Velletri)	Republic (?)	A	<i>CIL</i> X 6595 = <i>ILS</i> 8069	I.(47)
<i>Latium</i>	<i>Velitrae</i> (Velletri)	Republic (?)	A	<i>CIL</i> VI 61	I.48
<i>Latium</i>	<i>Velitrae</i> (Velletri)	2 nd century CE	A	Clarac 1827-1853, IV: 557, No. 1186 = Reinach 1897, I: 294 = Greifenhagen, <i>Bona Dea</i> 1937: 228, No. 11	I.(49)
<i>Latium</i>	<i>Ficulea</i>	Empire or earlier	A	<i>CIL</i> XIV 4001	I.50
<i>Latium</i>	<i>Fidenae</i> (Villa Spada)	After 105 CE	A	<i>CIL</i> XIV 4057	I.51
<i>Latium</i>	<i>Fidenae</i> (Villa Spada)	Empire	A	<i>NS</i> 1929: 262, No. 9	I.52
<i>Latium</i>	<i>Fidenae</i> (Villa Spada)	Empire	A	<i>NS</i> 1929: 262, No. 10	I.53
<i>Latium</i>	<i>Fidenae</i> (Villa Spada)	Empire	A	<i>NS</i> 1929: 262, No. 11	I.54
<i>Latium</i>	Ostia	Augustan or Tiberian	A	<i>CIL</i> XIV 1857	I.64
<i>Latium</i>	Ostia	Early Julio – Claudian	A	<i>NS</i> 1942: 163 = <i>AE</i> 1946, No. 221 = Zevi 1968: 84, 85, fig. 1 = <i>AE</i> 1968, No. 80; <i>CIL</i> XIV 5411 = Zevi 1968: 84, 85, fig. 2; <i>CIL</i> XIV 4679 = Zevi 1968: 84, 85, fig. 3; Zevi 1968: 84-86, fig. 4; Zevi 1968: 85, 86-87, fig. 5	I.55-59
<i>Latium</i>	Ostia	Early Julio – Claudian	A	<i>NS</i> 1942: 152-153	I.(65)
<i>Latium</i>	Ostia	Augustan	A	<i>AE</i> 1961: 9-10, No. 45	I.60
<i>Latium</i>	Ostia	Augustan	A	Meiggs 1960: 352	I.61
<i>Latium</i>	Ostia	–	A	Floriani Squarciapino 1959-1960: 95	I.62

Region	Location	Dating	Category	Source	Brouwer's catalogue
<i>Latium</i>	Ostia	85 BCE – time of Ceasar	A	Cébeillac 1973: 517-553	I.63
<i>Latium</i>	<i>Portus</i> (Porto)	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> XIV 4328 = Carcopino 1909: 342-350, No. 1 = <i>NS</i> 1925	I.67
<i>Latium</i>	<i>Portus</i> (Porto)	Trajan	A	Morcelli-Fea-Visconti 1869: 61, No. 348 = Greifenhagen, <i>Bona Dea</i> 1937: 228, No. 13	I.68
<i>Latium</i>	<i>Signia</i> (Segni)	Empire	A	<i>EE</i> VIII 624 = <i>ILS</i> 3495	I.69
<i>Latium</i>	Near <i>Tibur</i> (Monte S. Angelo)	3 July 88 CE	A	<i>CIL</i> XIV 3530 = <i>ILS</i> 3512 = <i>II</i> IV 1, 611	I.70
<i>Latium</i>	Near <i>Tibur</i> (Marcellina)	–	A	<i>II</i> IV 1, 13	I.71
<i>Latium</i>	<i>Territorium Tusculanum</i> (Frascati)	Empire	A	<i>NS</i> 1891: 289, No. 3 = <i>EE</i> IX 698	I.72
<i>Latium</i> (?)	Civitella (?)	1 June 111 CE	A	<i>CIL</i> XIV 3437	I.74
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Empire	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 60	I.1
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	3 rd century CE	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 30.948; Guarducci 1946-1948: 18-19, fig. 5 = Pietrangeli 1951: 22, No. 35	I.(6), (7)
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Republic	B	<i>CIL</i> I ² 972 (= 816) = <i>CIL</i> VI 59 = <i>CIL</i> VI 30.688 = <i>ILS</i> 3491	I.15
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Empire	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 54	I.16
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Empire (?)	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 57 = <i>CIL</i> VI-V 3612* [possibly fake]	I.17
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Empire	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 62	I.18
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Empire	B	<i>EE</i> IV 722 = <i>CIL</i> VI 69 = 30.689 = <i>ILS</i> 3511	I.19
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Empire	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 71 = <i>ILS</i> 3505	I.20
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	2 nd century CE	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 72 = <i>ILS</i> 3514 = Greifenhagen, <i>Bona Dea</i> 1937: 227, No. 10	I.21
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Empire	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 73 = <i>ILS</i> 3506	I.22
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Flavian or reign of Hadrian	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 74 = <i>ILS</i> 3507	I.23
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Empire	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 76 = <i>ILS</i> 3515	I.24

Region	Location	Dating	Category	Source	Brouwer's catalogue
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	End Republic – early Empire (?)	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 30.853	I.28
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	Empire	B	<i>EE</i> IV 723 = <i>CIL</i> VI 30.854 = <i>ILS</i> 3504	I.29
<i>Latium</i>	Rome	2 nd century CE	B	Greifenhagen, <i>Bona Dea</i> 1937: 227, No. 9	I.33
<i>Latium</i>	<i>Nomentum</i> (Mentana)	Claudian	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 70	I.34
<i>Latium</i>	Via Aurelia	Empire	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 30.852	I.37
<i>Latium</i>	Via Tuscolana (No. 155)	1 st century CE	B	<i>NS</i> 1957: 334–336, fig. 1 = <i>AE</i> 1960: 253	I.39
<i>Latium</i>	Via Aurelia (Estate of O. Falconeri)	Empire	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 58	I.40
<i>Latium</i>	S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura	Empire	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 63	I.41
<i>Latium</i>	Tor Sapienza	Empire	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 53	I.42
<i>Latium</i>	Via Nomentana	Empire (?)	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 38.755 = <i>ILS</i> 9437	I.43
<i>Latium</i>	–	Reign of Hadrian	B	von Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1937(I): 64, No. 16; 1936 (II): tav. XXIX, No. 116 = Greifenhagen, <i>Bona Dea</i> 1937: 227, No. 4	I.45
<i>Latium</i>	–	Empire	B	Brants 1927: 14, No. 43 = Greifenhagen, <i>Bona Dea</i> II 1954, col. 510	I.46
<i>Latium</i>	–	–	B	<i>CIL</i> VI 825	I.46'
<i>Latium</i>	Ostia	–	B	[unpublished] Ostia, Museo Ostiense, Magazzino, Inv. No. 16.678	I.(66)
<i>Latium</i>	<i>Ager Albanus</i> (Albano)	Antoninian	B	<i>CIL</i> XIV 2251 = <i>ILS</i> 3503 = Greifenhagen, <i>Bona Dea</i> 1937: 227, No. 1	I.73
<i>Latium et Campania</i>	<i>Venafrum</i> (Venafrò)	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> X 4849 (= 4608) = <i>ILS</i> 3517	I.75

Region	Location	Dating	Category	Source	Brouwer's catalogue
<i>Latium et Campania</i>	<i>Minturnae</i> (Minturno)	Republic (?) – Empire (?)	B	<i>CIL X 5998</i> (= 4053) = <i>ILS 3518</i>	I.76
Border of <i>Latium</i> and <i>Campania</i>	<i>Minturnae</i> (Minturno)	–	B	<i>NS 1913: 245-246, No. 2</i>	I.(77)
<i>Campania</i>	<i>Puteoli</i> (Pozzuoli)	27 October 61 CE	A	<i>CIL 1549</i> (= 2588)	I.79
<i>Campania</i>	Pianura near Pozzuoli	–	B	<i>CIL X 1548</i>	I.78
<i>Campania</i>	<i>Neapolis</i> (Naples)	Empire	B	<i>CIL X 4615</i>	I.80
<i>Campania</i>	-	Claudian	B	Greifenhagen, <i>Bona Dea</i> 1937: 228, No. 12	I.81
<i>Campania</i>	<i>Pompeii</i>	–	B	[unpublished] Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Sala LXXXVII, vetrina XI, Inv. No. 110.339	I.(82)
<i>Apulia</i>	<i>Luceria</i> (Lucera)	Empire	A	<i>CIL IV 805</i>	I.85
<i>Apulia</i> (?) (<i>Hirpini</i>)	Ducenta (?) (<i>Saticula</i> ?)	–	B	<i>NS 1887: 161 = EE VIII 106</i>	I.83
<i>Apulia</i>	<i>Furfane</i> (near Ciri-gnola)	Trajan – Antonines	B	<i>CIL IX 684</i> (= 638)	I.84
<i>Samnium</i>	Near <i>Alba Fucens</i> (Massa d'Albe)	Empire	A	<i>NS 1885: 484 = EE VIII 182 = ILS 3510</i>	I.86
<i>Samnium</i>	San Vito	Empire	A	<i>NS 1897: 439</i>	I.88
<i>Samnium</i> (<i>Paeligni</i>)	Near <i>Sulmo</i> (Prezza) / <i>pagus Laverneus</i> ?	2 nd half of 1 st century BCE	A	<i>CIL I² 1793</i> (= 1279) = <i>CIL IX 3138</i>	I.89
<i>Samnium</i> (<i>Marsi</i>)	<i>Marruvium</i> (Pescina/ S. Benedetto)	Empire	B	<i>NS 1887: 42</i>	I.87

Region	Location	Dating	Category	Source	Brouwer's catalogue
<i>Picenum</i>	<i>Urbs Salvia</i> (Urbisaglia near Macerata)	Time of Trajan	A	Greifenhagen, <i>Bona Dea</i> 1937: 227, No. 3	I.91
<i>Picenum</i>	<i>Falerio</i> (Fallerone)	Empire	B	<i>CIL</i> IX 5421	I.90
<i>Umbria</i>	Near <i>Tuder</i> (Ilci)	Empire	A	<i>NS</i> 1881: 22 = <i>CIL</i> XI 4636 = <i>ILS</i> 3493	I.94
<i>Umbria</i>	Near <i>Spolegium</i> (Acquajura)	Empire (?)	A	<i>CIL</i> XI 4767 = <i>ILS</i> 3492	I.95
<i>Umbria</i>	<i>Ostra</i> (Ostra Vetere, formerly Montenovio)	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> XI 6185	I.97
<i>Umbria</i>	<i>Tuder</i> (Todi)	–	B	<i>CIL</i> XI 4634	I.92
<i>Umbria</i>	<i>Pisaurum</i> (Pesaro)	2 nd half of 1 st century BCE	B	<i>CIL</i> I ² 2126 (= 1426) = <i>CIL</i> XI 6304 = <i>ILLRP</i> 58	I.96
<i>Etruria</i>	<i>Forum Clodii</i> (Near Bracciano)	18 CE	A	<i>CIL</i> XI 3303 = <i>ILS</i> 154	I.101
<i>Etruria</i>	<i>Lucus Feroniae</i> (Church of S. Antimo near Nazzano)	138 CE	A	<i>CIL</i> XI 3866	I.102
<i>Etruria</i>	<i>Lucus Feroniae</i> (Church of S. Antimo near Nazzano)	–	A	<i>CIL</i> XI 3867	I.103
<i>Etruria</i>	<i>Lucus Feroniae</i> (Church of S. Antimo near Nazzano)	222 CE	A	<i>CIL</i> XI 3868	I.(104)
<i>Etruria</i>	<i>Lucus Feroniae</i> (Church of S. Antimo near Nazzano)	–	A	<i>CIL</i> XI 3869	I.(105)

Region	Location	Dating	Category	Source	Brouwer's catalogue
<i>Etruria</i>	<i>Lucus Feroniae</i> (Church of S. Antimo near Nazzano)	–	A	<i>CIL</i> XI 3870	I.(106)
<i>Etruria</i>	<i>Pisae</i> (Pisa)	2 nd half of 1 st century CE	B	<i>CIL</i> XI 1413 = <i>II</i> VII 1, 1	I.98
<i>Etruria</i>	<i>Sutrium</i> (Sutri)	Early 1 st century CE	B	<i>CIL</i> XI 3243 = <i>ILS</i> 3509	I.99
<i>Etruria</i>	<i>Vetus Urbs</i> (?) (Viterbo)	Empire	B	<i>CIL</i> XI 2996	I.100
<i>Etruria</i>	<i>Horta (Hortanum?)</i> (Orte)	Empire	B	Nardi 1980, No. 59	I.101'
<i>Aemilia</i>	<i>Forum Cornelii</i> (Imola)	2 nd century CE	B	<i>NS</i> 1926: 40	I.107
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Aquileia</i> (S. Stefano)	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> V 756 = Calderini 1930, No. 1	I.108
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Aquileia</i> (S. Stefano)	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> V 757 = <i>ILS</i> 4894 = Calderini 1930, No. 9	I.109
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Aquileia</i> (S. Stefano)	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> V 759 = <i>ILS</i> 3497 = Calderini 1930, No. 2	I.110
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Aquileia</i> (S. Stefano)	Claudian – Neronian (?)	A	<i>CIL</i> V 760 = Calderini 1930, No. 3	I.111
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Aquileia</i> (S. Stefano)	Augustan – Claudian (?)	A	<i>CIL</i> V 761 = <i>ILS</i> 3499 = Calderini 1930, No. 4	I.112
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Aquileia</i> (S. Stefano)	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> V 762 = <i>ILS</i> 3498 = Calderini 1930, No. 5	I.113
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Aquileia</i> (S. Stefano)	–	A	<i>CIL</i> V 847	I.114
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Aquileia</i> (S. Stefano)	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> V 8242 = <i>ILS</i> 3769 = Calderini 1930, No. 6	I.115
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Aquileia</i> (S. Stefano)	1 st century CE	A	<i>BJÖI</i> I 1898: 137, No. 56 = Calderini 1930, No. 7	I.116

Region	Location	Dating	Category	Source	Brouwer's catalogue
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Aquileia</i> (S. Stefano)	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> V 814 = Calderini 1930, No. 8	I.(117)
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Aquileia</i> (S. Stefano)	Empire	A	Calderini 1930: 100, No. 57 (Under <i>Belenus</i>)	I.118
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Aquileia</i> (S. Stefano)	2 nd century CE	A	Calderini 1930: 98, No. 38 (Under <i>Belenus</i>)	I.119
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Aquileia</i> (S. Stefano)	Empire	A	<i>CIL</i> V 743 = Calderini 1930: 96, No. 11 (Under <i>Belenus</i>)	I.119'
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Aquileia</i> (S. Stefano)	–	A	[unpublished] Trieste, Musei Civici di Storia ed Arte ed Orto Lapidario, in the wall "Aquileia", without Reg. No.	I.(120)
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Aquileia</i> (S. Stefano)	–	A	Sticotti, <i>Bona Dea</i> 1939, coll. 33-34, fig. 2 (col. 30)	I.121
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Tergeste</i> (Trieste)	2 nd century CE – 4 th century CE (?)	A	<i>II</i> X 4, 1; Brouwer 1989: 423	I.123
<i>Venetia et Histria</i>	<i>Tergeste</i> (Trieste)	Early 1 st century CE	A	<i>II</i> X 4, 3	I.(124)
<i>Histria</i>	<i>Nesactium</i> (Vizače)	2 nd century CE	B	<i>II</i> X 1, 657	I.122
<i>Histria</i>	Staranzaro	1 st century BCE – 1 st century CE or end 1 st century CE	B	Scrinari, <i>Staranzaro</i> 1955, coll. 37-40	I.124'
<i>Histria</i>	Campo di Mezzo	Empire	B	<i>II</i> X 4, 306	I.125
<i>Histria</i> (?)	–	Antoninian	B	Greifenhagen, <i>Bona Dea</i> 1937: 227, No. 5	I.126
<i>Gallia Narbonensis</i>	<i>Arelate</i> (Arles)	2 nd quarter of 1 st century CE	A	<i>CIL</i> XII 654 = <i>ILS</i> 3496	I.130
<i>Histria</i> (?)	–	Antoninian	B	Greifenhagen, <i>Bona Dea</i> 1937: 227, No. 5	I.126
<i>Gallia Narbonensis</i>	<i>Arelate</i> (Arles)	2 nd quarter of 1 st century CE	A	<i>CIL</i> XII 654 = <i>ILS</i> 3496	I.130

Region	Location	Dating	Category	Source	Brouwer's catalogue
<i>Gallia Narbo-nensis</i>	<i>Arelate</i> (Arles)	2 nd quarter of 1 st century CE	A	<i>CIL</i> XII 656	I.(131)
<i>Gallia Narbo-nensis</i>	<i>Glanum</i> (St. Rémy-de-Provence)	1 st or 2 nd century CE	A	<i>AE</i> 1946, No. 153 = <i>Inscriptions de Glanum</i> , No. 18	I.133
<i>Gallia Narbo-nensis</i>	<i>Glanum</i> (St. Rémy-de-Provence)	1 st or 2 nd century CE	A	<i>AE</i> 1946, No. 154 = <i>Inscriptions de Glanum</i> , No. 19	I.134
<i>Gallia Narbo-nensis</i>	<i>Glanum</i> (St. Rémy-de-Provence)	3 rd century CE (?)	A	<i>AE</i> 1946, No. 154 = <i>Inscriptions de Glanum</i> , No. 20	I.135
<i>Gallia Narbo-nensis</i>	<i>Nemausus</i> (Nîmes)	–	A	Greifenhagen, <i>Bona Dea</i> 1937: 227, No. 2	I.136
<i>Gallia Narbo-nensis</i>	<i>Apta Julia</i> (Apt)	Empire	B	<i>CIL</i> XII 5830	I.132
<i>Maure-tania Caesa-rensis</i>	<i>Auzia-Aumale</i> (Ghorfa des Ouled Slama/ Awlād Slāma/Uled Slama)	235 CE	A	<i>EE</i> V 1299 = <i>CIL</i> VIII 20.747	I.141
<i>Dalmatia Liburnia</i>	<i>Cissa</i> (Časka)	1 st century CE	B	Šašel 1938/1963, No. 260 = <i>AE</i> 1964: 111, No. 270	I.127
<i>Pannonia Inferior</i>	<i>Aquincum</i> (Budapest)	After Hadrian or after Septimius Severus	B	<i>CIL</i> III 10.394 = <i>ILS</i> 3516	I.128
<i>Pannonia Inferior</i>	–	Empire	B	<i>CIL</i> III 10.400 (= 3507, cf. 1041 and <i>EE</i> II 649)	I.129
<i>Britannia Inferior</i>	<i>Cilurnum</i> (Chesters)	Time of Hadrian (or later)	B	<i>RIB</i> 1448	I.136 [*]
<i>Numidia</i>	<i>Zarai</i> (Zraia)	Empire	B	<i>CIL</i> VIII 4509	I.137
<i>Numidia</i>	<i>Sila</i> (Bordj el Ksar)	Empire	B	<i>AE</i> 1906: 92 = <i>ILA</i> II 2, 6863	I.138
<i>Numidia</i>	<i>Lambaesis</i> (Tazoulte/ Tāzūlt/ Tazult)	After 232-235 CE	B	<i>AE</i> 1960: 34, No. 107	I.138 [*]

Region	Location	Dating	Category	Source	Brouwer's catalogue
<i>Numidia</i>	<i>Lambaesis</i> (Tazoulte/ Tāzūlt/ Tazult)	Empire	B	<i>CIL</i> VIII 10.765	I.139
<i>Provincia Byzacena</i>	<i>Mactaris</i> (Makthar)	Empire	B	<i>EE</i> VII 66 = <i>CIL</i> VIII 11.795	I.140

Appendix III: Abbreviations and acronyms

A list of the abbreviations used in the article and in “Appendix II”.
Source: H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea...*, xi-xx.

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
<i>BJÖI</i> I	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien: Beiblatt</i>
Brants 1927	Joh. P. J Brants, <i>Beschrijving van de klassieke verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden I: Grieksch-Romeinsche Beeldhouwkunst</i> , 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff 1927.
<i>BullCom</i>	<i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i>
Calderini 1930	Artistide Calderini – Gian Domenico Bertoli, <i>Aquileia romana: Ricerche di storia e di epigrafia</i> , Milan: Società editrice “Vita e pensiero” 1930.
Carcopino 1909	Jérôme Carcopino, “Ostiensia I: Glanures épigraphiques”, <i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome</i> 29/1, 1909, 341-364.
<i>CCCA</i> III	Maarten Jozef Vermaseren, <i>Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque III: Italia-Latium</i> , Leiden: Brill 1977.
Cébeillac 1973	Mireille Cébeillac, “Octavia, épouse de Gamala et la Bona Dea”, <i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Antiquité</i> 85/2, 1973, 517-553.
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
Cumont 1932	Franz Cumont, “La Bona Dea et ses serpents”, <i>Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire</i> 49/1, 1932, 1-5.
de Clarac 1827-1853	Frédéric de Clarac, <i>Musée de sculpture antique et moderne continué sur les manuscrits de l'auteur par M. Alfred Maury: Publié sous la direction de Victor Texier I-XII</i> , Paris: Texier 1827-1853.
<i>EE</i>	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica</i>
Floriani Squarciapino 1959-1960	Maria Floriani Squarciapino, “Un nuovo santuario della Bona Dea a Ostia”, <i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia: Rendiconti</i> 32, 1959-1960, 93-95.

Greifenhagen, <i>Bona Dea</i> 1937	Adolf Greifenhagen, “Bona Dea”, <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Romische Abteilung</i> 52, 1937, 227-244.
Greifenhagen, <i>Bona Dea II</i> 1954	Adolf Greifenhagen, “Bona Dea II”, <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum II</i> , Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag 1954, 508-511.
Guarducci 1946-1948	Margherita Guarducci, “Nuovi documenti del culto di Caelestis a Roma”, <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 72, 1946-1948, 11-25.
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IGRRP I</i>	René Cagnat – Jules Toutain – Pierre Jouguet, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes I</i> , Paris: Leroux 1911.
<i>II</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i>
<i>ILA II 2</i>	Stéphane Gsell – Hans-Georg Pflaum, <i>Inscriptions Latines d’Algérie II/2: Inscriptions de la confédération cirtéenne, de Cuicul et de la tribu des Suburbures: Recueillies par Stéphane Gsell et publiées par Hans-Georg Pflaum</i> , Paris: Champion 1976.
<i>ILLRP</i>	Attilio DeGrassi, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae I</i> , Florence: La Nuova Italia ² 1965 (1 st ed. 1957).
<i>ILS</i>	Herman Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae I-III</i> , Berlin: Weidmann 1892-1916.
<i>Inscriptions de Glanum</i>	Henri Rolland, “Inscriptions antiques de Glanum [Saint- Rémy-de-Provence] (Bouches-du-Rhône): Révision et complément du <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> ”, <i>Gallia</i> 2, 1944, 167-223.
Kaibel	Georg Kaibel, <i>Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta</i> , Berlin: Reimer 1878.
Meiggs 1960	Russell Meiggs, <i>Roman Ostia</i> , Oxford: Clarendon Press ² 1973 (1 st ed. 1960).
Morcelli-Fea-Visconti 1869	Stefano Antonio Morcelli – Carlo Fea – Ennio Quirino Visconti, <i>Description de la Villa Albani, aujourd’hui Torlonia</i> , Rome: Salviucci 1869.
Nardi 1980	Giuliana Nardi, <i>Le antichità di Orte: Esame del territorio e dei materiali archeologici I-II</i> , (Ricognizioni archeologiche in Etruria 4), Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Centro di Studio per l’Archeologia Etrusco-Italica 1980.
<i>NS</i>	<i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità</i>
Pietrangeli 1951	Carlo Pietrangeli (ed.), <i>I monumenti dei culti orientali: Cataloghi dei musei comunali di Roma: Musei capitolini I</i> , Rome: Palombi 1951.
Reinach 1897	Salomon Reinach, <i>Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine I-III</i> , Paris: Leroux.
<i>RIB</i>	Robin George Collingwood – Richard Pearson Wright, <i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I: Inscriptions on Stone</i> , Oxford: Clarendon Press 1965.

Šašel 1938/1963	Anna Šašel – Jaroslav Šašel, “Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt: Accedunt corrigenda ad volumen I operis V. Hoffiller et B. Saria (Zagreb: <i>Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien</i> 1938)”, <i>Situla: Rasprave Narodnega Muzeja v Ljubljani / Dissertationes Musei Nationalis Labacensis</i> 5, 1963.
Scrinari, <i>Staranzaro</i> 1955	Valnea Scrinari, “Scavo archeologico a Staranzaro”, <i>Aquileia Nostra</i> 26, 1955, col. 29-40.
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SUMMARY

The Goddess Who Failed? Competitive Networks (or the Lack Thereof), Gender Politics, and the Diffusion of the Roman Cult of Bona Dea

The present article deals with the diffusion of the predominantly female Roman cult of Bona Dea. In order to contextualize and preliminarily assess Attilio Mastrocinque's (2011, 2014) hypothesis of a top-down imperial organization of the cult, supervised by empress Livia herself, both gendered constraints to mobility and the Augustan marriage ban are taken into account and evaluated. Epistemological and methodological limitations of social network analysis in the field of ancient history are carefully appraised before tackling the relationships between hypothetical imperial support and quantitative diffusion of the cult. As an alternative methodological approach, Donald W. Meinig's model of dynamic cultural regions is adopted, and adapted, to suggest a possible spatial and diachronic pattern of diffusion.

Keywords: Bona Dea; cognitive science; human geography; method and theory; network theory; social network analysis; Roman history.

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