Greek and Roman literary sources inform us about the tradition of the transfer of Cybele’s cult from Pergamon to Rome in 204 BC; the protagonist was Claudia Quinta who helped, by miracle, for Cybele’s sacra to arrive in Rome safely. This was the reason for the Romans to worship divinized Claudia Quinta as goddess Navisalvia (The Saviour of the Ship) besides Cybele. Three Roman altars, with dedications to the Great Mother and to Navisalvia, are evidence. One of them is decorated with the relief of Claudia’s miracle. The story about Claudia Quinta was the model for a series of legends about Christian saints, such as the one of the transfer of St Euphemia’s relics to Rovinj. It also inspired numerous artists from the Middle ages to 18th century.

Key words: Great Mother Cybele, Claudia Quinta, Navisalvia, altar, dedication, St Euphemia
Nineteen Greek and Roman writers described or mentioned the arrival of Cybele’s cult to Rome. Almost all of them highlighted the heroine of the legend, Claudia, but they didn’t always refer to the historically same person. Most of them wrote that the ship with Cybele’s sacra, which had stuck in the shallow of the mouth of Tiber, was moved by Claudia Quinta, Roman matron, a married woman of noble origin. She was the granddaughter of Appius Claudius Caecus, censor in 212 BC, who built Via Appia, and the daughter of Publius Claudius Pulcher, consul in 249 BC, who commanded the Roman fleet in the First Punic War. Cicero said that she was considered the purest of all matrons (femina autem quem matronarum castrissima putabatur, De har. resp., XXVII, 6). Livy wrote that among the names of matrons that came to welcome the goddess, Claudia’s name was the only significant one (XXIX, 14). Propertius named Claudia Quinta an exceptional servant of the Goddess with turreted crown (turritae rara ministra deae) (IV, 11), and Pliny said that she was the proof of piety (experimentum religionis, VII, 120). Ovid described her look: her beauty was equal to her sublime origin, but different clothes and hairstyle didn’t go in her favor, because she was considered unchaste and falsely accused for a crime. He pointed out that she was brave: always ready to quarrel with the old men who condemned her and she laughed at the false rumors (Iust., IV, 249-348).

Valerius Maximus, Tacitus, Suetonius, Appian and Minucius Felix also mentioned Claudia Quinta regarding the arrival of Cybele’s cult.

In his speech Pro Caelio Cicero pointed out two Claudias: Claudia Quinta and Claudia the Vestal virgin, daughter of Appius Claudius Pulcher, and granddaughter of Claudia Quinta’s brother, as the examples of integrity (XXXIV). That was probably the reason for Silius Italicus, Statius, Herodian and Julian the Apostate to replace Claudia Quinta with Claudia the Vestal virgin in the legend about Cybele’s arrival. Silius Italicus wrote that Claudia was inlæsi corporis, wanting to suggest her Vestal service (Pun., XVII, 1-47). Statius wrote that she was a virgin (Vestalis, Silv., I, 246), Herodian that she was the priestess of goddess Vesta (f̧̣reia t̄a)̧̣ Est...aj I, 11, 3), and Julian that she was a virgin devoted to the holliest priestly honor, meaning Vestal service (f̧̣reị̧n f̣erṃ̧niş̣ ţ̣n panageş̣ ţ̣n f̣erwş̣ Unhīn, Or., V, 159 B - 161 B). On the other side, in the Diodorus Siculus’s story the main role belongs to the girl Valeria. The story is the same, and the fact that he pointed out the member of Valerii in the time when the legend first appeared in the works of other ancient writers (1st century BC) would testify the influence of that Roman family on its formation.

Due to its dramatic nature the story of Claudia Quinta inspired many theater plays which were played during Cybele’s festival Megalalia (Ovid. Fast., IV, 326) in front of the temples or in the Cybele’s theatres. It is assumed that a theater play about Cybele’s arrival also took place during Ludi Apollinaris and that perhaps the members of Claudian family paid for it to be performed in memory of their glorious ancestress (FLOWER 1995., p. 175). There is an evidence that the Claudians were inclined to the Cybele’s cult, and the main reason would be the legend about Claudia, which further promoted their reputation in the Roman world: a member of their family was meritorious in transferring the cult of the Goddess that was, beside Venus, regarded as the Mother of the Roman people. Therefore the emperor Claudius made Cybele’s cult official and reformed it by introducing the March festival and by founding the collegium of dendrophors.

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Scientists discussed if Claudia Quinta was divinized as goddess Navisalvia and worshipped in Rome beside the Great Mother Cybele. They based their opinions on three Roman inscriptions, dated in 1st century AD, which note the dedication to the Mother of Gods and to Navisalvia.

The word Navisalvia is made of the noun navis, is. f. (the boat) and the feminine of the adjective salvus, s. It derives from noun salus, stis, f. (saviour, rescue) and the adjective salvus, s. (saved, safe, healthy). That adjective is not common in classical Latinity and it is, beside this inscriptions, confirmed so far only in Roman tabellae defixionum, dated 70-50 BC, as part of Proserpinas name (Proserpina Salvia, CIL I 2520).

Mommsen concluded that the boat with Cybele’s sacra was called Salvia (CIL VI 492-494). He denied possibility that Claudia Quinta bore that name, because it is not recorded that the Roman historical person was deified after death under the name of the place (ship, in this case) of deity to which it refers. Graillot (1912., p. 60), Vermaseren (CCCCA III 218), L. E. Roller (1999., p. 214) and Scheid (2001., p. 25) agreed with him. Scheid’s main argument was interposition on inscriptions with dedications to Navisalvia.

However, Coarelli (1982., p. 44) listed a number of arguments for the assumption that Claudia Quinta was divinized as Navisalvia. They are based on the important cult monument: altar with figural representation of Claudia’s miracle and the inscription which notes the dedication to Cybele and Navisalvia (fig. 1).
It was found at the foot of the Aventine Hill, on the bank of Tiber, at the place of ancient *emporium*. On the front side of the altar is the relief of a boat with a statue of Cybele on a throne. Her head is covered with a veil and her hands rest on tympanon. The statue is presented in aedicula. It is turned towards Claudia who stands on a podium on the shore, in front of the boat. E. Simon and J. Scheid (2001, p. 25) believed that she is dressed in Vestal clothes: her head is covered, and she puts the veil (suffibulum) over her hand. She is pulling some kind of rope which bounds the boat. They explained it as a Vestal hair ribbon – insula. Simon also believed that the figure on the altar represents Claudia’s statue from Cybele’s Palatine temple. The poop of the boat is in the shape of feathers and the bow ends with a volute. One paddle of the boat is presented near the poop, and under the boat there are vases. At the sides of the altar Attis’ attributes are presented: on the left side a Phrygian cap, on the right side a pedum and cymbals, and on the back there are two flutes.

Under the relief there is the inscription:

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MATRI · DEVVM · ET NAVISALVIAE
SALVIAE VOTO SVSCEPTO
CLAVDIA SYNTHYCHE
D(ono) D(edit)
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To the Mother of Gods and to the the Saviour of the Ship fulfilling the vow to the Saviour Claudia Synthyche donated as a gift.

In the first row of the inscription there is a dedication to the Great Mother and to Navisalvia. In the second row there is a vow to Salvia. That must be an abbreviation of the name Navisalvia. In the third row there is the name of the dedicant, Claudia Synthyche, and in the last a donation formula.

Coarelli pointed out that Claudia Synthyche had the same name as the heroine of the legend and that’s why she dedicated to Navisalvia twice (1982, 44); the word *Navisalvia* is related to the action of pulling the boat out and refers to the one that performed that action; under the plastic representation of the Mother of God there is her name, and under the representation of Claudia Quinta there is the name Navisalvia – Cybele and Claudia are equated and there is no hierarchy between them. Finally, he concludes that the Great Mother of Gods was first worshipped as Navisalvia, just like Isis, Aphrodite or Athena, which were worshipped by sailors and workers at ports as Euploia, Pontitha or Pelagia – goddess that guaranteed safe navigation. Coarelli also assumed that the tradition about Claudia Quinta was introduced later, when it was mentioned for the first time in literary sources (1st century BC) – Claudia then took the features of Cybele Navisalvia. On the basis of Suetonius (Div. Claud., 19) Winsor Leach (2007, p. 7) believes that the policy of emperor Claudius had its reflection in the worship of Navisalvia: emperor granted special patronage to ship owners in his campaign to support the grain trade based in his new harbor in Ostia.

We agree that Claudia Quinta was divinized in 1st century as Navisalvia. In order to confirm that, we would add the following facts and our opinions: in the first row of the first inscription it is pointed to whom the altar was dedicated (Matri Deum et Navisalviae) and in the second is the vow to the Saviour (Salviae voto suscepto). It is not likely that in such short and representative inscription the word Salvia was carved twice by mistake, as Mommsen assumed. It seems that the attribute Navisalvia (the Saviour of the Ship) was abbreviated in the current use and that Claudia Quinta, as the Saviour, received vows by herself. It should be mentioned again that Proserpine, the goddess whose myth and cult were closely related to those of Cybele and Attis, was worshipped as Salvia, the Saviour. Finally, when we have in mind that it was believed that the statue of Claudia Quinta, which stood at the vestibule of the Palatine Cybele’s temple, remained intact after

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7 Dimensions 0.87 x 0.59 x 0.51 m. Museo Montemartini, Rome. Literature: CIL VI 492, ILS 4096, VERNASEREN 1977, d. 30, CCCA III 218, KOLLER 1990, p. 312.

2 Scene of Claudia Quinta’s miracle is presented also on the bronze medallion of the empress Faustina the Elder (diameter 40,5 mm. Date 141–161 AD, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). It is believed that the medallion was minted in time when the public interest in preparing the celebration of 900th anniversary of Rome’s foundation was stimulated (NÖCK 1930, p. 253).

3 “Altar der Göttermutter und ihres schiffes Salviae” in Helbig. Führer, 24-25, p. 1175 (according to WINSOR LEACH 2007, p. 11).

4 Winsor Leach (2007, p. 7) relates Attis’s attributes with the cult reform of emperor Claudius who promoted worship of Attis. She also compares the style of carving to that of the Tomb of the Haterii (1st century, Musei Vaticani, Rome).

5 A support to this assumption Coarelli states terracotta reliefs of Cybele sitting at the boat. Thirteen of them were found so far in Rome and Ostia. Four of them were found in Rome: one at Via Sacra, between the temple of Antoninus and Faustina and the temple of Romulus (CCCA III 202), one at St. Vitalis hill (CCCA III 203), at the Tiber’s shore, one outside the St. Pauls gate (CCCA III 350). One of them, which place of find is not known, is dated in 3rd century (CCCA III 265) and one was found at Via Ostiensis (CCCA III 411). Eight of them are from Ostia and just one is dated, in the 2nd century (CCCA III 397).

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the two fires which destroyed the whole temple (Val. Max., I, 11. 8 i Tac., Ann., IV, 64; second time at the beginning of the 1st century AD), we can assume that for the Romans at that time it represented divinity – the Saviour of the Ship.

Another dedication to Cybele nad Navisalvia is carved into an altar which was found at the same place as the previously described. Scheid (2001., p. 25) presumes that it was the place of the chapel dedicated to Cybele and Navisalvia. The dedicant is the same:

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NAVI - SALVIAE ET
MTRI :: D(ono) D(edit)
CLAVIDIA SYNT
[che...]
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To the Saviour of the Ship and to the Mother of Gods donated as a gift Claudia Synthyche...

Claudia Synthyche donated an altar to Navisalvia and the Mother of Gods. In this case Navisalvia is mentioned at the first place. The word Salviae here is not repeated, and in the partially preserved cognomen of the dedicant there is no letter H after T. Authors of CIL noted distinguish between words Navi and Salviae, but Coarelli, who saw the altar, has doubts about this (1982., p. 43).

Although there is no abbreviation L for liberta on the inscription, we assume that the dedicant was a freedwoman of Claudii, imperial family. Since Claudia Synthyche dedicated twice to the Mother of Gods and to Navisalvia, divinised Claudia Quinta, we can assume that she was an important member of religious community which worshipped Phrygian Goddess. The main reason was the fact that she was freedwoman of imperial family who, as we have already pointed out, was especially inclined to worship of the Great Mother of Gods. Greek cognomen Synthyche (SuntUCH) means “happy” (literally with good fate”). Claudia Synthyche was probably of Greek origin. She may have been from Asia Minor, if we take into account the dedication to Phrygian goddess.

Finally, the third inscription with the dedication to Cybele and Navisalvia is carved into an altar which was found at an unknown place in Rome. On its left side there is an urceus, and on its right side a patera is carved:

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MTRI :: D(ono) D(edit)
ET :: NAVI - SALVIAE
Q(renshvs) :: NVNNIVS
TELEPHVS :: MAG(ister)
5 COL(legii) :: CVLTO(rvm) :: EIVS
E :: D(ono) D(edit)
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To the Mother of Gods and to the Navisalvia Quintus Nunnius Telephus, the head of 5 collegium of her followers, donated as a gift of his own.

The dedicant donated to the Mother of Gods and to Navisalvia at his own expense. Here Navisalvia’s name is separated by distinguishers (Navi - Salviae). Quintus Nunnius Telephus probably was a libertus of Nunni family. Nunnius is the nomen of Etruscan origin (Schulze 1904., p. 229). It is not commonly recorded name (RE 1937., 1473-1474, EDH, EDR, EDCS) and we found another freedman of Roman Nunni in 1st century, Quintus or Gaius Nunnius Alexander, who dedicated twice to Iuppiter Sabazius (CIL VI 429-430). Telephos (T»lefoj means “far-shining”) is cognomen of Greek origin: that was the name of mythic figure, son of Heracles, king of Mysia. Therefore we assume that Quintus Nunnius Telephus was from Asia Minor. He was the head of the collegium of Cybele’s followers, cultores. Suetonius (Otho, 8) testifies that cultores participated in mourning of Attis’s death during Cybele’s March festival. On the basis of this Garth (1984., p. 1332-1333) believes that cultores were an ordinary community of Cybele’s followers, but at some subsequent stage they assumed the responsibility for some particular role in the cult. It is also testified that they doubled as a funerary society with collegium of dendrophori (CIL IX 3826-3827). Since it is pointed out in this inscription that collegium of cultores worshipped one goddess (eius), and that was surely Cybele, it could be an argument for those who believed that Cybele was worshipped as Navisalvia. However, the conjunction e in the 2nd row of the inscription clearly testifies that the dedication referred to two deities.

We can conclude that dedicants to Cybele and Navisalvia were probably liberti of Eastern origin, perhaps from Asia Minor. It is sure that Telephus was prominent Cybele’s follower, the head of one cult collegium. Claudia Synthyche, who dedicated twice to
these divinities, was loyal freedwoman of imperial family which promoted Great Mother’s cult emphasizing Claudia Quinta’s role in its establishment in Rome.

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A reflection of the legend about Cybele’s arrival to Rome can be seen in the latest known source about her cult. It is in the work of Gregory of Tours (Lib. de glor. confess., 76). He wrote that in the 5. century bishop Simplicius baptized people in Autun. There he met the procession of Cybele’s followers who were dancing and singing. They had the statue of the Goddess on the cart. Simplicius prayed that God would enlighten them and then he threw the Goddess’s statue over the cart. The cattle that was harnessed to the cart nailed to the ground and it couldn’t move, even after whipping and sacrificing. The followers concluded that there is nothing divine in the statue if it doesn’t raise by itself and order that cattle moves. The miracle that the followers expected, similar to the one that happened in Ostia seven centuries earlier, didn’t happen this time: since the cattle couldn’t move, Cybele’s followers recognized the true faith, they rejected the cult of pagan goddess, and they were baptized. This late antique and early Christian legend denied the miracle that happened when Cybele’s cult arrived to Rome.

Also, the popular legend about Claudia Quinta was a model in Christian hagiography. A series of legends about the transmission of Christian relics derived from that pagan story. In these Christian legends there is also a motive of holy object that had an obstacle in its way to the place of resting. The problem is mostly solved by innocent people, virgins or children. One legend refers to the Croatian historical background and the translation of the sarcophagus with the relics of St Euphemia, a Chalcedon martyr, to Rovinj. It has been known from an illuminated codex from the 14th or 15th century (Translatio corporis Beatæ Euphemiae).

St Euphemia died at the time of Emperor Diocletian. According to the legend, her sarcophagus from the Chalcedonia’s shore plunged by itself into the sea and sailed to Rovinj. There it stood at the shore below the fort. People couldn’t draw it back to the sea, wanting to store the martyr’s relics on the Island of prayers (Island of St Catherine). St Euphemia appeared to a widow and told her how to move the sarcophagus to the fort of Rovinj. At her command, the widow harnessed two heifers free of blemish, which helped in transferring the relics, while the people of Rovinj were amazed and delighted.

The parallels between stories about Claudia Quinta and the transfer of St Euphemia’s relics are obvious: the sarcophagus of the Eastern saint, just like the boat with the statue of Eastern pagan goddess, was stuck and only a chaste woman, the widow, like the matron Claudia, succeeded in moving it. According to Ovid, a heifer free of blemish (yoke and bull) was sacrificed after Cybele’s boat moved towards Ostia (Fast., IV, 335) and two such heifers in the legend about St Euphemia moved her sarcophagus. So, the pagan Roman legend about the Claudia Quinta’s miracle preceded the emergence of this and other similar Christian legends about transfers of local martyrs’ cults. It probably happened at the time of pagan conversions to Christianity: Cybele’s followers denounced the pagan cult, but not the fabulous legend about Claudia Quinta, which they adapted to the new religion and passed it in the following centuries.14

Echoes of Claudia Quinta’s legend may also be found in artistic achievements of later historical periods. For example, Boccaccio devoted to her a chapter in his work De mulieribus claris, and she was also the inspiration for a number of painters and sculptors from the Middle ages until 18th century.15 They all read the ancient literary sources trying to vividly express Claudia’s chastity, pride and beauty.

13 National library in Pula, sign. 539561 (Križman 2004., 22-30).
14 Cybele’s cult had many common features with the Christian cult during the late Empire. After the legalization of Christianity and the prohibition of pagan cults a number of Christian churches was built at the holy spaces of pagan temples: the new religion had to replace the old one and to offer to its followers the spiritual support that they needed. Very often the churches dedicated to Blessed Virgin Mary were built at the spaces of former Cybele’s temples.
15 Illuminators of Boccaccio’s medieval manuscripts, Nereocio de Lusli, Andrea Mantegna, Il Garofalo, Lambert Lombard, Ludovico Gagini, Johann Rudolf Byss, Sylvester David Marys (see VILOGORAC BRČIĆ 2009). In their works the pagan Mother of Gods was often represented with iconographical elements of the Christian Mother of God.
ABBREVIATIONS

AE
Lannée épigraphique: revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l’antiquité romaine / fondée en 1888. par Rene Cagnat; Mireille Corbier directeur, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France 1889-.

CCCA

CIL
Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum

EDCS

EDH

EDR

EPRO
Études préliminaires aux religions Orientales dans l’Empire Romain

ILS
Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae

RE

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