

Fact-checked by Grok 3 weeks ago

Matronae Aufaniae

The **Matronae Aufaniae**, also known as the Deae Aufaniae or Matres Aufaniae, were a specific triad of Germanic mother goddesses worshiped primarily by the Ubii tribe in the Roman province of Germania Inferior during the imperial period, from the mid-2nd to the 3rd century CE. They are attested through approximately 70 dedicatory altars and inscriptions, mainly originating from the region around Bonn (ancient Bonna), where they formed one of the most prominent subgroups within the broader cult of the Matronae.^[1] These deities were typically depicted as three seated young women in Ubian-style attire, including large hoods and bonnet-like headdresses, holding attributes symbolizing fertility and abundance, such as cornucopiae, fruits, plants, or vessels, reflecting their roles in protection, prosperity, and communal blessings rather than explicit maternity.^[2]

The cult of the Matronae Aufaniae emerged in a culturally hybrid context along the lower Rhine, where Roman military presence, urbanization, and interpretatio Romana blended with indigenous Germanic and Celtic traditions following the Ubii's resettlement by Agrippa in the 30s BCE.^[2] Dedications were made predominantly by Romanized locals, high-ranking military personnel from legions like I Minervia and XXX Ulpia Victrix, and civil officials, often in organized sanctuaries such as those at Bonn, indicating a structured worship involving votive offerings and possibly communal rituals tied to family, healing, and agricultural cycles.^[2] Unlike more generalized Matronae depictions elsewhere, the Aufaniae altars emphasize ethnic Ubian elements, with no direct equation to Roman goddesses like Minerva or Ceres, and their epithet "Aufaniae" remains etymologically obscure but likely Germanic in origin, possibly denoting abundance or a local feature.^[2] The cult's peak coincided with the 2nd-century Romanization of the Rhineland, waning by the 4th century amid broader shifts in provincial religion, though it highlights the integration of native deities into the imperial framework.^[1]

Etymology and Naming

Etymology of "Aufaniae"

deities were venerated. Unlike many Matronae names that may draw from Celtic roots, "Aufaniae" features an 'f' between vowels—a phonetic trait uncommon in Celtic nomenclature, where intervocalic /f/ is rare due to historical sound changes from Proto-Indo-European *p to *φ or *h, but not typically preserved medially in that manner. This points to a Germanic substrate, consistent with the Ubian and other Germanic tribes' influence in the Rhineland. ^[3]

Several etymological proposals have been advanced for "Aufaniae," all rooted in Proto-Germanic reconstructions. One theory derives it from *ahufanējōz, interpreted as "of the rivers," linking the name to the Rhine's watery landscape where many dedications were found. Another connects it to *abnjan- or *afnjan-, meaning "accomplishers" or "fulfillers of tasks," suggesting the Matronae Aufaniae as deities who bring goals to fruition, perhaps in fertility or prosperity rites. Noémie Beck proposes *au-fanja-, translating to "of the isolated muddy land" or "remote marsh," or alternatively "ladies of the region/river," associating it with Germanic *fanja meaning "swamp" or "fen," evoking marshy terrains near Bonn and Nettersheim. Additionally, Rudolf Simek links it to Gothic *ūfjō, denoting "abundance" or "plentitude," implying the goddesses as bringers of plenty. These interpretations remain debated, with no consensus, but underscore the epithet's Germanic character. ^[4] ^[3]

In inscriptions, "Aufaniae" appears primarily in dative forms, adapted to Roman epigraphic conventions. The most common is *Aufaniabus*, found in approximately 40 dedications, often as *Matronis Aufaniabus* or similar. Variants include *Aufaniis* and *Aufanis*, reflecting minor orthographic fluctuations but consistent plural feminine dative endings. These forms highlight the collective nature of the cult, addressed as a group of mother-goddesses. ^[5]

Variations and Forms of the Name

The Matronae Aufaniae are most commonly invoked in inscriptions as *Matronae Aufaniae*, appearing in approximately 49 dedications primarily from the Roman Rhineland. ^[6] This form emphasizes their status as matrons or mother-goddesses, a standard nomenclature for similar triads in the region. Less frequently, the epithet stands alone as *Aufaniae* in about 19 inscriptions, omitting the generic *Matronae* while retaining the core identifier. ^[7] The designation *Deae Aufaniae* occurs in five known cases, framing them explicitly as goddesses (*deae*) rather than matrons, which underscores a flexible overlap in divine categorization. ^[8] A rarer variant is *Matres Aufaniae*, substituting *Matres* (mothers) for *Matronae*, reflecting minor

Inscriptions also attest hybrid forms combining the Aufaniae with additional epithets, often highlighting domestic, sacred, or regional aspects. For instance, *Aufaniabus Domesticis* links them to household protection, invoking a familial or protective role.^[8] Similarly, *Aufanis et Matribus Domesticis* pairs the dative *Aufanis* with domestic mothers (*Matribus Domesticis*), reinforcing themes of home and fertility.^[8] More elaborate combinations distinguish the Aufaniae from other matron groups, such as *Aufanis Matronis et Matribus Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum*, which contrasts them with Pannonian and Dalmatian matrons, possibly to affirm local identity amid broader cultic networks.^[8] Sanctity is evoked in forms like *Aufanis Sanctis* and *Sanctis Aufanis*, prioritizing the adjective *sanctis* (holy) before or after the name, while a fragmentary inscription restores to *[deabus Sanctis]simis Ma[tronis Aufanis]*, denoting the "most holy goddesses [or] matrons of the Aufanis."^[8]

Associations with other deities appear in at least one dedication as *Deab Aufan et Tutelae loci*, merging the Aufaniae (in singular or abbreviated *Aufan*) with a local tutelary guardian (*Tutelae loci*), suggesting syncretic worship tying them to place-specific protection.^[8] These variations in nomenclature, drawn from epigraphic evidence, illustrate the adaptability of the cult without altering the core Aufaniae epithet, whose etymological roots remain a subject of linguistic analysis. Over 80 such inscriptions are known in total.^[3]

Historical and Cultural Context

Relation to the Broader Matronae Cult

The Matronae, also known as Matres, were a group of mother goddesses venerated primarily by Celtic and Germanic peoples during the Roman period, with worship spanning regions including Gaul, Britain, Germania, and northern Italy.^[2] Their cult is attested through over a thousand inscriptions and votive altars, dating mainly from the 2nd to 3rd centuries CE, coinciding with Roman expansion and cultural interactions.^[2] These deities often bore geographic or thematic epithets, such as the Matres of Nîmes (indicating local ties in southern Gaul), *Afliae* ("powerful ones"), or *Gavadiae* ("pledge-keepers"), reflecting diverse functions tied to specific communities or attributes.^[7] Scholars generally view the Matronae as originating from indigenous Celtic traditions, influenced by Roman interpretatio through syncretism with goddesses like Terra Mater, though no direct literary accounts survive.^[2]

roles in fertility, prosperity, and protection, often portrayed as seated women holding symbols like cornucopiae, fruits, or baskets to invoke abundance and safeguarding of families or communities.^[2] Votive practices involved dedications on stone altars using standardized formulas, such as *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* ("vow paid willingly and deservedly"), made by a diverse array of devotees including Roman soldiers, civilians, officials, and occasionally women, often for health or success (*pro salute*).^[7] This inclusivity highlights the cult's appeal across ethnic boundaries in Roman provinces, blending local Germanic and Celtic elements with imperial mobility.^[2]

The Matronae Aufaniae represent one of the prominent subgroups within this cult, particularly among the Germanic Ubii settled along the lower Rhine, with approximately 80 known inscriptions attesting to their worship, primarily from the 2nd to 3rd centuries CE.^[7] Concentrated in Ubian territory from Bonn to Cologne, they are among the most widely attested Matronae in the region, emphasizing themes of abundance and accomplishment—evident in their iconographic motifs of fruits and victory symbols—suggesting broader aspirations for prosperity and achievement.^[7] Their epithet, likely Germanic in origin, may relate to concepts of fulfillment or marshy abundance, distinguishing them from more explicitly Celtic or reproductive-focused Matres variants in Gaul.^[2]

Worship in the Roman Rhineland

The worship of the Matronae Aufaniae in the Roman Rhineland flourished primarily during the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, coinciding with the height of Roman military presence and administrative control along the Rhine frontier. This period marked a peak in dedications, as the cult integrated into the religious landscape of *Germania Inferior* and *Germania Superior*, facilitated by the mobility of Roman legions and officials who propagated local deities through their postings. The Aufaniae, like other Matronae groups, exemplified the syncretic religious practices of the region, blending indigenous Ubian traditions with Roman imperial cult elements.^{[7] [2]}

Socially, the cult attracted a diverse following among the romanized Ubian tribe, whose territory formed the core of the Rhineland settlements, as well as Roman soldiers, particularly from Legio I Minervia, with approximately 26 dedications linked to military personnel. High-status citizens, including civil officials and administrators, also participated actively, reflecting

transferred soldiers and merchants, further disseminated the worship beyond the Rhineland to distant locales like Lyon in Gaul and Carmo in Baetica (Hispania), adapting it to new contexts via legionary mobility.^[7]

Imperial connections strengthened the cult's legitimacy, with several dedications invoking formulas such as *pro salute* for the well-being of the emperor, emphasizing loyalty to Rome's rulers. Others employed *in honorem domus divinae* to honor the imperial family, directly tying the Aufaniae to the state cult and illustrating their role in expressions of political devotion. These ties highlight how local worship supported broader Roman imperial ideology in the frontier provinces.^[7]

Evidence suggests a possible annual festival on the Ides of July (July 15), based on two altars from Mainz dated to 197 CE and 211 CE, both dedicated on this date, indicating its ritual significance for the Aufaniae over at least a decade.^[7]

Sites and Geography of Worship

Core Locations in the Rhineland

The primary center of worship for the Matronae Aufaniae was Bonn (ancient *Bonna*), a key Ubian garrison town situated on the left bank of the Rhine in the Roman province of *Germania Inferior*. This site yielded the highest concentration of dedications, with approximately 70 known inscriptions to the Aufaniae across the Rhineland, the majority originating from Bonn itself. Archaeological evidence includes several three-figure reliefs depicting the goddesses seated with fruit baskets or cornucopias, alongside numerous altars, many of which are preserved in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn. These artifacts, dating primarily to the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, reflect the cult's prominence in this urban and military context.^[2]

Additional core locations extend across the Ubian *civitas* and adjacent areas in the Rhineland. In Cologne (*Colonia Agrippinensis*), the former Ubian capital, inscriptions and altars to the Aufaniae have been uncovered, underscoring the cult's integration into provincial administration and daily life. Further inland, Zülpich and especially Nettersheim hosted significant sanctuaries; the latter, about 60 km southeast of Bonn, features a dedicated temple complex with imperial dedications, including altars invoking the *domus divina* alongside the goddesses. Along the lower Rhine, sites at Xanten (*Colonia Ulpia Traiana*) and Nijmegen

(*Mogontiacum*), dated examples from 197 and 211 CE indicate ritual observances on the Ides of July.^{[7] [9]}

The geographical distribution of these sites aligns closely with Ubian territory, which spanned from the Rhine's west bank near modern-day Cologne to inland areas like the Eifel hills, where the tribe settled after their alliance with Rome in 38 BCE. Worship was intertwined with the Roman military presence, as evidenced by dedications from soldiers of the *Legio I Minervia* stationed at Bonn and other forts, as well as provincial officials, highlighting the cult's role in fostering cohesion among local populations and imperial forces along this frontier.^{[2] [10]}

Extension to Other Regions

The cult of the Matronae Aufaniae, while centered in the Rhineland, extended to other regions of the Roman Empire through the mobility of military personnel, administrators, and migrants, reflecting the portability of personal religious practices among transient populations rather than the establishment of robust local cults outside Ubian territories.^[7] In Gaul, a notable attestation occurs at Lugdunum (modern Lyon), where an inscription dedicates offerings to the Matronae Aufaniae alongside the Matres Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum, distinguishing the Aufaniae as a Germanic group from Pannonian and Dalmatian mother goddesses, likely introduced by soldiers or officials from the Rhineland legions.^{[11] [12]}

Further evidence of diffusion appears in southern Hispania, particularly at Carmo (near modern Seville in Baetica), where at least one inscription invokes the Matronae Aufaniae, probably transported via administrative or military networks connecting the provinces. This southern outlier is one of three altars in the region bearing Central European epithets (Aufaniae, Augustae, and Veterae), suggesting cultural exchange through Roman infrastructure.^{[7] [13]}

Overall, approximately 70 inscriptions to the Aufaniae are known, with the vast majority concentrated in the Rhineland, while these sparse extensions to Gaul and Hispania—totaling fewer than five—underscore the cult's reliance on individual devotees from areas like Noricum, who exported worship without fostering widespread indigenous adoption elsewhere.^{[7] [1]}

Inscriptions and Votive Practices

Types of Dedications and Formulas

The inscriptions dedicated to the Matronae Aufaniae predominantly utilize the standard Roman votive formula *V·S·L·M* (*votum soluit libens merito*), signifying the grateful fulfillment of a vow, which appears in approximately 37 of the more than 80 known examples. These dedications typically commemorate the resolution of personal or communal petitions, encompassing themes of fertility, abundance, protection against peril, and success in endeavors such as military campaigns.^[3]

A subset of inscriptions specifies the purpose as safeguarding health or prosperity, employing phrases like *pro salute sua* for the dedicant's own well-being or *pro se et suis* for themselves and their family members; the latter formula occurs in at least five documented cases. Dedications motivated by direct divine intervention are rarer but notable, featuring *ex imperio ipsarum* ("by their [the goddesses'] command," often implying a dream or oracle) in one instance and the more general *ex imperio* in another, highlighting the perceived agency of the Matronae in prompting offerings.

Imperial loyalty occasionally informs the formulas, with two inscriptions from Nettersheim incorporating *IN·H·D·D* (*in honorem domūs divinae*) to honor the divine imperial household, while a few others invoke *pro salute* explicitly for the reigning emperor's safety. Less common elements include qualifiers like *sanctis* ("holy" or "sacred"), as in *Aufanis Sanctis*, appearing in two cases to emphasize sanctity, or brief associations with complementary deities, such as the local tutelary spirit in *Deab Aufan et Tutelae loci*. These variations underscore the adaptability of votive language while adhering to core Roman epigraphic conventions.

Dedications by Individuals and Groups

The dedicants to the Matronae Aufaniae represent a diverse cross-section of Roman provincial society, primarily high-status Roman citizens, military personnel, and women, as evidenced by approximately 82 known inscriptions from the Rhineland and beyond.^[7] These offerings highlight the cult's appeal across social strata, with many dedicants possessing the resources to commission stone altars, suggesting a bias toward those of means. Notable among high-status individuals is Lucius Calpurnius Proclus, *legatus legionis* of Legio I Minervia around 194–197 CE, who, along with his wife Domitia Regina and possibly other household members, sponsored at least three (and up to four) dedications, underscoring elite engagement with local deities for familial protection.^{[14][7]}

legion's adoption of the Aufaniae as protective figures during campaigns and crises like the Antonine Plague and Parthian Wars in the mid-second century CE.^[7] Examples include Aulus Albanus Super, whose dedication features a personalized battle relief tied to the legion's eastern exploits.^[15] Beneficarii and auxiliaries also participated, often invoking the goddesses for safe travels along frontier routes, which facilitated the cult's spread.^[15]

Women appear in nearly 10 of the inscriptions, either as primary dedicants or co-sponsors, indicating the cult's resonance with female concerns such as health and household welfare, though specific motivations remain tied to votive contexts.^[7] Civilians, less common but present, included transient figures like a Roman citizen from Noricum—who dedicated without evidence of a local Aufaniae cult there—highlighting the role of mobile non-military individuals in disseminating the worship.^[7] (EDCS-11202295)

Most dedications were individual or familial, phrased as vows for oneself and kin (*pro se et suis*), though some involved households or military groups, contrasting with rarer collective efforts by civic bodies.^[7] This pattern reveals a mix of transient dedicants—soldiers and administrators drawn to the cult upon arrival in the Rhineland—and local Ubian devotees, whose Germanic roots may have sustained the worship amid Roman influences, with the former driving its extension to distant sites like Lyon and Spain.^[7]

Iconography and Artistic Representations

Primary Iconographic Types

The primary iconographic types of the Matronae Aufaniae are attested primarily through votive altars discovered in the Rhineland region, particularly around Bonn and Nettersheim. These depictions blend Roman artistic conventions with local Germanic elements, featuring triadic female figures or symbolic motifs emphasizing abundance and nature. Approximately 38 such altars have been identified, categorized into four main types based on their sculptural reliefs.^[7]

The most common type consists of three seated female figures, documented in about 16 cases and characteristic of Ubian artistic style. The side figures typically wear large round bonnets resembling exaggerated halos, while the central figure has long, uncovered hair drawn back; each holds bowls, baskets, or fruit platters on their laps. Lateral panels often feature tree motifs or paired elements like a tree on one side and a pine cone on the other, with variations

additional background figures such as winged Victories or a fourth floating woman (one case). A notable example is the altar from Nettersheim, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, which includes extra female figures seated behind the main triad.^[7]

A second prevalent type, found in roughly 15 instances, emphasizes tree motifs flanking a frontal inscription panel. These altars display trees—often laurels, though species vary—on the side panels, sometimes with birds perched in branches, entwined vines, or serpents coiled around limbs (one case each). Three examples of this aniconic style originate from the Görresburg site near Nettersheim.^[7]

The fruit and pine cone motif appears in about six cases, featuring a frontal inscription with vegetal elements on one side panel (such as flowers or leaves) and fruit bowls or cornucopias topped by pine cones on the other; in one variation, cornucopias adorn both sides, and another includes a willow tree with a goat beneath it. This type underscores themes of fertility through produce and natural bounty.^[7]

A unique variant, attested only once, depicts a standing soldier positioned over a captive woman raising her hands in supplication, with the soldier raising his shield but holding no visible weapon, possibly evoking themes of protection or triumph.^[7]

Symbolic Motifs and Their Meanings

The iconography of the Matronae Aufaniae frequently incorporates motifs of fertility and abundance, most prominently through depictions of fruits, bowls, horns of plenty, and pine cones. These goddesses are often shown seated in triads, with the central figure holding a bowl or basket filled with fruits such as apples or grapes on her lap, while lateral panels feature cornucopias overflowing with produce and topped with pine cones.^[7] (citing EDCS-11202300) Such elements symbolize agricultural prosperity, the nurturing of the land, and human fecundity, aligning with the broader Matronae cult's emphasis on communal sustenance in the Rhineland's fertile river valleys.^[16] (citing Garman 2008, pp. 73–94) Pine cones, in particular, evoke eternal life and renewal, drawing from Greco-Roman associations with deities like Dionysus, but adapted here to underscore perpetual abundance in a local Germanic-Celtic context.^[7] (citing Neumann 1987) Additional pastoral symbols, such as a goat positioned beneath a willow tree in one lateral relief, further reinforce themes of livestock fertility and natural bounty.^[7] (citing EDCS-11202276)

Motifs related to protection and sanctuary appear in arboreal and guardian imagery, highlighting the Matronae's role as protective presences. Trees, especially in side panels of votive altars, frame the goddesses or oppose symbolic elements like pine cones, representing sacred groves and communal refuges tied to tribal landscapes.^[7] (citing EDCS-11202295) A unique relief depicts a soldier standing over a captive woman raising her hands in supplication, interpreted as a scene of rescue or safeguarding a loved one, fulfilling a vow for divine intervention.^[7] (citing EDCS-11202285) Serpents, coiled around tree branches or vines in select panels, serve as chthonic guardians symbolizing vigilance and regeneration, common in indigenous cults but integrated into Roman-style dedications.^[7] (citing EDCS-11202271; Neumann 1987)

Symbols of victory and success are evoked through laurels and winged figures, reflecting the fulfillment of vows in military and personal spheres. Laurel trees dominate lateral motifs, connoting triumph and foresight, with roots in Apollonian and Augustan iconography adapted to local veneration.^[7] (citing EDCS-36000035) Winged Victories appear in two documented cases, flanking the triad or in background positions, signifying divine favor in achieving desires, particularly among Roman soldiers stationed in the region.^[7] (citing EDCS-11202288)

Other recurring elements include shell motifs and variations in coiffure, adding layers to the cult's symbolic depth. At Nettersheim, a sculpted shell in the pediment of a triple relief suggests Venusian or aquatic protection, linking to nearby riverine worship sites.^[7] (citing EDCS-12800004) Coiffure differences—exaggerated bonnet-like headdresses on lateral figures resembling halos, contrasted with the central figure's uncovered long hair—may denote generational statuses, such as mothers and grandmothers, emphasizing familial continuity.^[7] (citing Garman 2008, pp. 103-108) Birds perched in tree branches or accompanying the triad act as divine messengers, bridging earthly and celestial realms in the dedications.^[7] (citing EDCS-12800009)

Interpretations and Significance

Ancient Roles and Functions

The Matronae Aufaniae, a triad of mother goddesses revered primarily in the lower Rhine region during the Roman period, served multifaceted roles centered on familial protection,

and one's own), underscoring a protective function over family health and welfare. This emphasis on domestic security aligned with broader Matronae cults, where the goddesses were petitioned to avert misfortune and ensure well-being.

Evidence from inscriptions and reliefs indicates the Aufaniae facilitated fertility and abundance, symbolized through motifs of fruits and trees that represented agricultural bounty and life's generative cycles. Dedications frequently sought their aid in fulfilling vows made under divine compulsion (*ex imperio somnique iussu*), suggesting an oracular dimension where dreams or visions prompted votive acts, blending indigenous Germanic traditions with Roman interpretive practices. This reciprocal exchange, epitomized by the formula *votum solvit libens merito* (V·S·L·M; the vow is fulfilled willingly and deservedly), highlighted their role in honoring pacts with the divine for personal or communal prosperity.

The triadic form of the Aufaniae—depicted as three figures—implied roles spanning generational stages, from youthful vitality to maternal nurturing and elder wisdom, tying their functions to human life cycles and rites of passage. Worshippers, including soldiers and civilians, also invoked them for the well-being of the imperial family and the divine house (*pro salute imperatoris et domus divinae*), integrating the goddesses into Roman imperial cult syncretism and promoting loyalty to the state through localized piety. This adaptation allowed the Aufaniae to function as intermediaries between personal devotion and broader socio-political stability in the frontier provinces. ^[2]

Modern Scholarly Theories

Modern scholarship on the Matronae Aufaniae centers on etymological interpretations and the nature of their cult, with ongoing debates reflecting the complex interplay between indigenous Germanic traditions and Roman influences. The name "Aufaniae" is generally considered non-Celtic and proto-Germanic in origin, distinguishing it from broader Matronae epithets. ^[3]

Etymological theories diverge on the root meaning. Some scholars link it to a geographic feature, proposing derivations from *au-fanja- or *au-fani-, interpreted as "isolated boggy land" or "remote swamp," tying the goddesses to local Rhineland landscapes. Noémie Beck supports this view, emphasizing a connection to watery or marshy terrains while also suggesting possible associations with nymphs or valkyrie-like figures through the Germanic term fani, meaning "Valkyrie, fairy, or nymph." ^[11] ^[3] In contrast, Rudolf Simek proposes a link to

include river associations or connotations of achievement and success, as in "achievers of goals," but consensus leans toward proto-Germanic roots over Celtic ones.^[3]

Regarding the cult's character, scholars view the Aufaniae as primarily Ubian in origin, a local Germanic group along the Rhine, whose worship was exported and Romanized through military and civilian dedications, with over 80 inscriptions concentrated at sites like Bonn and the inland sanctuary at Nettersheim, and scattered examples at Xanten, Nijmegen, Mainz, Lyon, and even Carmo in southern Spain. This interpretation posits the cult as emphasizing achievement, well-being, and communal prosperity over pure fertility, distinguishing it from more maternally focused Matronae groups. Beck further explores potential links to Germanic supernatural beings like valkyries, suggesting a martial or protective dimension. Scholarship on Celtic-Germanic syncretism highlights how such cults blended indigenous triadic mother figures with Roman interpretatio, adapting local deities to imperial contexts.^{[2] [3] [17]}

Critiques and gaps persist, notably the scarcity of evidence beyond the Rhineland, limiting broader generalizations about the cult's extent despite exports to distant sites. Iconographic depictions vary, not always conforming to the maiden-mother-crone triad, which challenges uniform interpretations of their roles. Ties to wider Germanic mother cults remain speculative, with calls for more interdisciplinary analysis to address these ambiguities.^{[2] [6]}

References

1. <https://referenceworks.brill.com/display/entries/NPOE/e726680.xml?language=en>
2. <https://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2009/2009.10.37/>
3. <https://www.deomercurio.be/en/matronis-aufaniabus.html>
4. <https://www.brepolonline.net/doi/pdf/10.1484/M.PCRN-EB.5.116984>
5. <https://brill.com/display/book/9789004508873/BP000004.xml>
6. https://www.academia.edu/3784180/Local_Cult_in_Imperial_Context_the_Matronae_revisited
7. <http://www.deomercurio.be/en/matronis-aufaniabus.html>
8. https://rodnovery.ru/images/knigi/Pagan_goddesses.pdf



10. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331471680_MEMORY_OF_SACRIFICE_AND_CULT_TO_CELTIC_DEITIES_IN_THE_GERMANIAE_DURING_THE_ROMAN_PERIOD_MEMORY_OF_SACRIFICE_IN_CONTEXT_CONSTRUCTED_COLLECTIVE_CULTURAL_MEMORIES
11. <https://brewminate.com/goddesses-in-celtic-religion-the-matres-and-matronae/>
12. <https://ppg.revistas.uema.br/index.php/brathair/article/download/1788/1308>
13. https://minds.wisconsin.edu/bitstream/handle/1793/94476/olivares_6_12.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
14. <https://rep.adw-goe.de/bitstream/handle/11858/2886/Kultur%20Transfer%20und%20religi%C3%B6se%20Landschaften%20-%20Gesamter%20Band.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
15. <https://asset.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/6ISFJMN3ESVXW9E/R/file-d45d0.pdf>
16. <https://womenandmyth.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/Work-MaKinne-Dissertation-1.pdf>
17. https://www.academia.edu/62696865/Survivals_of_the_Cult_of_the_Matronae_into_the_Early_Middle_Ages_and_Beyond