

Celtic Divine Names Related to Gaulish and British Population Groups

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Gallo-Roman and Romano-British epigraphy reveals that names of single deities, mostly goddesses or epithets of *Matres* and *Matronae*, are often related to – although not necessarily derived from – the names of population groups. We shall now take a closer look at some of these divine names related to ethno- or toponyms in Gaul and Britain.¹

1. North-east Gaul/Germaniae

1.1 NERVINAE

At Bavay, a small town in the north of Belgica between Valenciennes and Maubeuge, a small, fragmentary votive altar in white marble, first mentioned by Count Anne Claude Philippe de Caylus, reads: *Nervinis C(aius) Iul(ius) Tertius v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, ‘To the Nervinae, Gaius Julius Tertius paid his vow willingly and deservedly’ (fig. 1).² Unfortunately, Caylus, who subsequently donated his collection to the Parisian Musée du Cabinet des Médailles, does not give any details about the finding of the altar, but only an approximate dating between the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd c. AD.

The dedicant is a Roman citizen with *tria nomina*, and the name of the deities, probably in the feminine gender, is clearly derived from the name of the *Nervii* – a powerful Belgic population group inhabiting the area between the rivers Sambre and Escaut³ – by means of the *-no*-suffix. Archaeological evidence, notably at the oppidum of Avesnelles-Flaumont near Bavay, attests to the presence of the *Nervii* in this territory in pre-Roman times, Bavay becoming the chief

town of their *civitas* when the Gallia Comata was reorganised by Augustus.⁴

1.2 MATRES REMAE

In Germania Inferior, at Cologne, a well-preserved limestone altar was excavated in 1982 in the north aisle of the atrium of Sankt Gereon (fig. 2). The inscription, dating from the middle of the 3rd c. AD,⁵ reads: *Matrib(us) Remis Bitorius Bellicus ost(iarius) co(n)s(ularis) posuit*, ‘To the Mother Goddesses Remae, Bitorius Bellicus, janitor/porter to the consuls, set (this monument) up’.⁶

The two names of the dedicant, bearer of a military grade seldom documented in epigraphy (*ostiarius consularis*), may both be Latinized Celtic names: Bitorius, if not just a variant of Victorius, may have been assimilated to it from an original compound or derivative containing the Celtic base *bitu-* (*bito-*, *biti-*) ‘world’; and Bellicus may be derived either from Lat. *bellum* or from Celt. *bel(l)o-* ‘strong, powerful’.⁷

Although the dedication has been found a few hundred kilometres away from the territory of the *Remi*, inhabiting the present-day region of Champagne-Ardenne, in the north-east of Gaul,⁸ the epithet of the *MATRES REMAE* is identical to the name of the population group, meaning ‘The First’: either as ‘The Most Ancient ones’ or as ‘The Princes’. It is again the semantic content, somewhat more appropriate for an ethnonym than for a divine name, which tells us in which direction the derivation took place.

1. Others have been identified *i.a.* in SPICKERMANN & DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2005) 139 ff.; *ead.* (2007a) 71, (2007b) 57 ff. and (2008) 73–74. Cf. also, for Noricum and Italy, *ead.* (2005a) 15 ff. and, respectively, in this volume.

2. CIL XIII 3569 – CAYLUS (1756) 395–396.

3. KRUTA (2000) 752–753.

4. CAG 59, *Le Nord* (1996) 114–115.

5. GALSTERER (1987) 94–95, n°17 – *id.* (2011) 247, n°699.

6. AE 1990, 733.

7. DELAMARRE (2003) 72, 76–77 – *id.* (2007) 39, 42, 212–213.

8. KRUTA (2000) 793 – SPICKERMANN & DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2005) 141 – DELAMARRE (2003) 257.

1.3 MATRES TREVERAE

Also in Germania Inferior, a Drachenfels trachite altar known from the middle of the 18th c. at Birten (near Xanten/D)⁹ reads: *Matribus Treveris T(itus) Paternius Perpetuus cornicular(ius) leg(ati) leg(ionis) XXX U(lpiae) V(ictricis) l(ibens) m(erito)*, ‘To the Matres Treverae, Titus Paternius Perpetuus, adjutant of the commander of the legion XXX Ulpia Victrix, willingly and deservedly’.¹⁰

The epithet of these *Matres* is identical to the name of the *Treveri*, ‘Those who help cross the river’,¹¹ probably referring to the Moselle, given that they were located in what is now Luxembourg and its environs.¹² This time, the distance of a few hundred kilometres between the find spot of the inscription and the location of the involved population group is due to the fact that the legion where the dedicant was serving was stationed at Birten, the ancient *Castra Vetera*.

The dedicant – bearing the *tria nomina* of Roman citizens, but very probably born as Treveran – was in fact *cornicularius legati*, i.e. an adjutant of the commander, of the 30th legion, which was stationed at *Castra Vetera* from 122 AD to the 5th c.¹³ A terminus *ante quem* for dating the inscription is 193 AD, when the legion ‘Ulpia’, called ‘Victrix’ after the Dacian wars, was named ‘Pia Fidelis’ after supporting Septimius Severus in the civil war.

1.4 MATRES/MATRONAE SENONVM

The *MATRES/MATRONAE SENONVM* are known from two inscriptions. A limestone altar discovered at Metz (Belgica) at the end of the 19th c. reads: *Dis M(atribus) Senonu(m) Tris (= Tribus) et domin(o) Mer(curio) Cosumi ex ius(su) Mercur(i)*, ‘To the Three Mother Goddesses of the Senones and to Lord Mercurius Cosumis, according to the divine order of Mercurius’.¹⁴ Above the inscription is a niche where Mercury is represented wearing his traditional costume and with a stag standing at his feet. The top of the relief is missing, and only the stag’s body with its front legs and the god’s naked feet, caduceus and chlamys can be seen. It has there-

fore been suggested that the name of the dedicant and a verb or dedication formula were inscribed above the relief.¹⁵

The hence not necessarily anonymous dedicant or one of his parents must have belonged to the *civitas Senonum*, whose capital *Agedincum* is now known under the name of Sens. The *Senones*, ‘The Old ones’,¹⁶ occupied, in fact, the region now called *Sénonnais*, covering the départements of Yonne, Aube, Seine-et-Marne and Côte-d’Or,¹⁷ again at some distance from where the inscription was found, even if this time both territories were only separated by ca. 200 km.

The *Matres* of the *Senones* are invoked together with *MERCVRIVS COSVMIS*, whose Celtic epithet is known solely from this inscription, in a quite unique votive formula. Its elements, however, can be compared with other instances:¹⁸ the association of the theonymic classifiers *Dii* and *Matres* is unusual, but it is also found as *Dis Matribus* at Beirelle-Châtel (Côte-d’Or)¹⁹ and in Buré-la-Ville (Meurthe-et-Moselle)²⁰, whereas *Deabus Matribus* seems largely specific to northern Britain. Apart from a dedication discovered in the French town of Belley (Ain),²¹ it is confined to British inscriptions from Carlisle,²² Penrith,²³ and Castlesteads²⁴ in Cumbria, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Tyne and Wear),²⁵ Halton Chesters Roman Fort (Northumberland),²⁶ Bin-

15. KEUNE (1896) 67–68.

16. DELAMARRE (2007) 166.

17. KRUTA (2000) 815 – DELAMARRE (2003) 270–271 – *id.* (2007) 231.

18. KEUNE (1896) 70–77.

19. CIL XIII 11577 – LE BOHEC (2003), n°234: *Dis Matribus Vinte(lius?) do(navit) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

20. CIL XIII 4660a: --] *i(n) h(onorem) [d(omus) d(ivinae) --] [--d]is Matr[ibus](?)*.

21. CIL XIII 2498: *in honorem [domus divinae--] deabus [--] Matr<i=A>bus*.

22. RIB 901: *[Dea]bus Ma[tribus] [pro s]alute M(arci) [Aur(eli) [[Alexa]ndri] [P(ii) F(elicis)]] [Aug(usti) et Iul(iae) M[am] [eae matr(is) d(omini) n(ostr) et c(astrorum)] [et senatus et po]pu[li Rom(ani)] [--]*.

23. RIB 919: *Deabus Matribus Tra(ns)marinis et N(umini) Imp(eratoris) Alexandri Aug(usti) et Iul(iae) Mammeae matr(i) Aug(usti) n(ostr) et castrorum to[tique] eorum] domui divin(ae) ae[dem] ruina dilapsam vexil[latio] M[a]r[sacorum?] --]* and RIB 920: *Deabus Matribus Tra(ns)marin(is) vex(illatio) Germa[no]r(um) V[o]r[e]d(ensium) pro salute R(oi) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

24. RIB 1988: *[Deabu]s [Mat]ribu[s] omnium gentium templum olim vetustate conlabsum G(aius) Iul(ius) Cupitianus (centurio) p(rae)p(ositus) restituit*.

25. RIB 1318: *Dea(bus) Matribus Tra(ns)marinis Patri(i)s Aurelius Iuvenalis s(acrum)*.

26. RIB 1424: *Deabus [M]atribu[s] [Camp]e[s] [tribus](?)*.

9. SCHÜTTE Johann Heinrich, *Amusemens des eaux de Cleve, oder Vergnügungen und Ergötzlichkeiten bey denen Wassern zu Cleve*, Lemgo: J. H. Meyer 1748, 157, n° 8.

10. CIL XIII 8634 – GALSTERER (2011) 1103, n°216. It is now in the Museum in Cologne, cf. *Katalog des königlichen Rheinischen Museums vaterländischer Alterthümer bei der Universität Bonn*, Bonn: Max Cohen & Sohn 1876, 18, n° 52.

11. SPICKERMANN & DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2005) 141 – DELAMARRE (2003) 301.

12. KRUTA (2000) 844.

13. LE BOHEC (2000) 71–74.

14. CIL XIII 4304 – KEUNE (1896) 64–91.

chester (Durham),²⁷ Ribchester (Lancashire)²⁸ and Heronbridge (Claverton, Cheshire).²⁹ The cardinal numeral *tris*, which Keune (1896) explains as a metaplasmus of the Latin dative *tribus* but might as well represent a shortened *tri(bu)s*,³⁰ is only found here; however, the specification of the *Matres* as ‘three’ also occurs in Britain, at Binchester (Durham)³¹ and Benwell (Tyne and Wear).³²

Another dedication to the same group of deities was found at Böckingen (Germania Superior), near Stuttgart, also outside the territory of the *Senones*. It reads: *Seno(num) Matro(nis) coh(ors) I Helvet(iorum) [c]ui [p]ra[e]est V[a]-l(erius) Ci[ti]us [(centurio)] leg(ionis) [V]III [Aug(ustae)] P(iae) F(idelis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito)*, ‘To the Matronae of the Senones Cohort I Helvetiorum, commanded by Valerius Citus, centurion in the legion VIII Augusta Pia Fidelis, paid its vow willing, gladly and deservedly’.³³ On account of the inscription from Metz, this restitution seems better than the traditional *Seno(nis)* or *Seno(nibus)*, which would lead to an isolated nominative ***SENONAE* or, respectively, ***SENONES*.

The usage of *Matronae* instead of the theonymic classifier *Matres*, inherited from Indo-European times, seems to have been prompted by the desire of Romanizing more intensively the appearance of the indigenous cults.³⁴

Although the name of the commander is given – with *duo nomina* –, the dedication is offered by the whole cohort, which is quite uncommon, the dedicant being usually an individual, even when holding a military grade. *Cohors I Helvetiorum* was stationed at the auxiliary fort of Heilbronn-Böckingen on the Neckar-Odenwald Limes in the mid-2nd c.³⁵ As its name indicates, it was from Helvetia

(Switzerland) and belonged to the legion VIII Augusta Pia Fidelis, which was garrisoned in Strasbourg from 90 AD to Late Antiquity and was granted the title ‘Pia Fidelis’ by the emperor Commodus in 185 AD.³⁶

1.5 DIANA MATTIACA

The epithet of *DIANA MATTIACA* is attested only once in an inscription from Wiesbaden reading: *Antonia Postuma T(iti) Porci Rufiani leg(ati) [l]eg(ionis) XX[II] P(rimigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) [pro sa]lute Porciae Rufianae filiae suae Dianae Mat[ti]acae [ex] voto signum posu[it]*, ‘Antonia Postuma (the wife of) Titus Porcius Rufianus, the commander of the legion XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis, for the welfare of her daughter Porcia Rufiana, offered a statue to Diana Mattiaca after making a vow’.³⁷

The woman dedicating the statue bears *duo nomina* as appropriate for Roman citizens of her gender and specifies that her husband is the commander of a legion. The formula *pro salute* indicates that the inscription dates from the end of the 2nd c. AD to around 250 AD.³⁸

Word-formation together with the fact that the *Mattiaci* inhabited the area of today Wiesbaden, the southern Taunus mountain range and the tract of Wetterau, on the right side of the Rhine, indicate that *DIANA MATTIACA* was a Diana ‘belonging to the Mattiaci population group’.

Neighbours *i.a.* to the *Cugerni* and *Chatti*, the *Mattiaci* were probably of Germanic origin. Nevertheless, they became known by a Celtic name apparently meaning ‘The (former) Inhabitants of Mattium’, given that a town by the name of *Mattium* (from Celt. **Matti-o-m* ‘The really good place’) is attested by Tacitus, albeit as the capital of the *Chatti*.³⁹ In fact, while the Celtic adjective *mati-* means ‘good, favourable’, the suffix *-aci-* indicates appurtenance, which is why a substantive must have been at the core of the derivation process leading to the name of the population group.

Appurtenance is hence also indicated by the epithet *MATTIACA*, whereas older interpretations of the divine name as representing either ‘The Bear-Shaped’ or ‘The Favourable’ should have led to ***Mat(t)uca* and, respectively, ***Mattica* instead.⁴⁰ It is however possible that Diana’s epithet was first derived from the toponym, if not the old *Mat-*

27. RIB 1031: *Deab(us) Matrib(us) O[l]lot(otus) T[ri]b(erius) Cl(audius) Quintianus b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

28. RIB 586: *[Deab(us) Ma]trib[us] M(arcus) Ingenuius Asiati[cus] dec(urio) al(ae) II As[t(urum)] [v(otum)] s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

29. RIB 574: *Deabus Matribus Ollototis Iul(ius) Secundus et Aelia Augustina*.

30. A residual Celtic form of the numeral would seem rather unlikely.

31. RIB 1034: *Mat[ribus] trib[us] -- inst(ante) [--] IRI [--]*.

32. RIB 1334: *Matr(ibus) Tribus Campestr(ibus) et Genio alae pr(ima)e Hispanorum Asturum [[[---]]] [[[---]]] Gordi[nae] T(o) Agrippa praef(ectus) templum a so(lo) restituit*.

33. CIL XIII 6475.

34. Cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL & HAINZMANN (2009) 81 or (2010) 32.

35. The same cohort is mentioned in another inscription from Böckingen, dedicated to Fortuna and dated 148 AD: *Fortunae Respicientis sacrum) Nasellius Proclianus (centurio) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) praepositus c(o)hor(tis) I Helvetiorum Torquato et Iuliano co(n)s(ulibus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito)* (CIL XIII 6472).

36. REDDÉ (2000) 122–123, 125.

37. CIL XIII 7565.

38. RAEPSAET-CHARLIER (1993) 26–27.

39. Cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2005b) 86. *Mattium* is not taken into account by FALILEYEV *et alii* (2010) 158 and 50–51.

40. Cf. SCHMIDT (1957) 239 – EVANS (1967) 228–232 – OLMSTED (1994) 430 – DELAMARRE (2003) 221 – *id.* (2007) 226.

tium at least Ματτιακόν, the older name of today Wiesbaden. In this case, the association with the ethnonym would have been secondary.

1.6 MATRES NEMETIALES and the Case of NEMETONA

1.6.1. MATRES NEMETIALES (?)

The only inscription, found in 1822 in the cemetery of the ancient church of Saint-Jean at Grenoble (Isère) and probably dating from the 2nd c. AD, reads: *Matris Nemetiali(bus?) Lucretia Q(uinti) lib(erta) CIIVM (?) [...]*, ‘To the Matres Nemetiales, Lucretia, freed by Quintus [...]’ (fig. 3).⁴¹

It must be, however, noted that <MATRIS NEMETIALI> might as well represent ‘to the MATRES and to NEMETIALIS’.

In any case, it is difficult to link either the epithet NEMETIALES or the (secondary) theonym NEMETIALIS to the ethnic Nemetes, given that the latter is a consonantal stem whereas the Latinate attribute in *-ali-* was evidently derived either from an *i-* stem (*Nemeti-*) or from a stem in *-io-* or *-iā*.⁴² An otherwise unattested toponym **Nemetia* or even **Nemetium* seems hence a likely base for the NEMETIALIS or NEMETIALES found at Grenoble. It is, moreover, impossible to tell whether such a toponym was derived from the name of the Nemetes or directly from the Celtic basis *nemeto-* meaning ‘sanctuary’.

The dedicant is a freed woman slave who bears a single Latin name.

1.6.2. The Case of NEMETONA

The goddess NEMETONA – venerated four times together with MARS⁴³ and one also in association with or even as the Roman VICTORIA – is known from five inscriptions found in north-east Gaul and Germania Superior⁴⁴ and one from Britain, where the dedicant – at Bath – specifies his status as a *civis Trever*.⁴⁵ Hence the distribution of the dedications led some scholars to think that NEMETONA might have been the patron goddess of the Nemetes, who lived on the left bank of the Rhine and had their capital in *Noviomagos Nemetum*, today Speyer/D.

Her name, however, is primary and evidently not derived from the ethnic Nemetes, because it is formed by means of the characteristically theonymic suffix *-ona* which has an individualizing function (as in DAMONA, DIVONA, MATRONA,

STRONA) and does not indicate appurtenance. Neither can we assume that the Nemetes, who were a supposedly Germanic population, took their name from that of a Celtic goddess. Both names were hence independent from each other, although both were derived from the same Gaulish basis *nemeton* meaning ‘sacred grove’ and later ‘sanctuary’.⁴⁶

2. South-east Gaul

2.1 MATRONAE/MATRES VEDIANTIAE

Three inscriptions to the MATRES VEDIANTIAE – called MATRONAE in at least one of them – were found at or near Cimiez, now a district of Nice and once the chief town of the *Vediantii*, a small population group inhabiting the coastal region of Liguria between the mouth of the River Var and Monaco Bay to the east of Mont-Agel.⁴⁷

The existence of a relationship between divine name and ethnonym is hence evident, and the structural identity between the two indicates that the divine epithet probably represents – as in the case of the MATRES REMAE and TRERVERAE – just a feminine motion of the ethnonym *Vediantii*,⁴⁸ itself a *yo-* derivative of an older ethnic name **Vediantes*. The denominative word-formation of the latter points to a derivational basis like **wed^b-yā* ‘guidance, leadership’, in which case the name of the original population-group **Vediantes* would have meant ‘The Leaders’ (or else ‘The Sages’ if it had been derived from **weid-yā* ‘knowledge, doctrine’).⁴⁹

The first inscription was found at Tourette-Levens, ca. 10 km to north of Nice, the exact site and date of the discovery not being known.⁵⁰ The stone was still complete when mentioned by Jacob Spon (1679) and Pietro Gioffredo (ca.

46. HOLDER (1904) 713 – KRUTA (2000) 751–752 – DELAMARRE (2003) 233–234 – LAMBERT (1995) 37–38 – *id.* (2006) 53, 55 – ILN V.2, 66.

47. Plin. nat. hist. 3, 47 – Ptol. Geogr. 3, 1, 39 [3, 1, 43] – HOLDER (1913) 135–136 – BARRUOL (1999) 365–367 – Barrington map 16: D-2.

48. If – on the contrary – the people had taken their name from the divine name, they would have normally added to it some sort of additional suffix: thus, the form to be expected for the ethnic should be ***Vediantiates*, ***Vediantici* or the like. Moreover, such an alternative hypothesis (suggested by DELAMARRE [2003] 309) would necessarily imply that the epithet of these *Matres* was derived from an older theonym ***Vediantes* of uncertain meaning (see in the following).

49. Cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (1999/2000) 91, who also quotes a toponym *Vediācum* in Belgium. Should the derivatives contain a true participle instead, as assumed by FALILEYEV *et alii* (2010) 230, the reconstructed ending ought to be **-yo-nt-es*, which might have become ***-iantes* if unstressed (i.e. in Pre-Gaulish times), but which would have rather required the *o*-grade of the preceding verbal root (cf. also *ead.* [2001] 167).

50. SPON Jacob, *Miscellanea eruditae antiquitatis*, Francofurti: J. H. Widerholdt 1679, 104, n° LXXV – GIOFFREDO Pietro, *Storia delle Alpi-Marittime*, Torino: Stamp. Reale, tome 1, 1839, 107.

41. CIL XII 2221 – ILN V.2, 360 – CAG 38.1, *L’Isère* (1994) 168, n° 371.

42. LAMBERT (December 2009): personal communication.

43. Twice bearing the well-known epithet *LEVCIOS* of MARS VELOX, cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2008) 79.

44. CIL XIII 7253.

45. RIB 140 was found in the lower part of Stall Street, Bath.

1680) and read: *Matronis Vedianiabus P(ublius) Enistalius P(ublii) filius Cl(audia tribu) P]aternus Cemenelensis optio ad ordine(m) (centurionis) leg(ionis) XXII Primigeniae Piae Fidelis l(ibens) m(erito)*, ‘To the Matronae Vedianiae, Publius Enistalius Paternus, son of Publius, of the Claudia tribe, from Cemenelum, *optio* promoted to centurion in the legion XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis, willingly and deservedly (offered this monument)’.⁵¹

This inscription, moved in 1847 from the local parish church to the property of the Laurenti family,⁵² is now incomplete. Its first three lines (from *Matronis* up to *Cl(audia)*) were already missing in the 19th c.

The *nomen gentile* of the dedicant, a Roman citizen with *tria nomina*, goes back to *Enistalus*, a Latinized Celtic name that, for being an agentive *-lo-*derivative of the compound verb **eni-sta-*, seems to indicate some position or else profession.⁵³ The fact that the dedicant is a native of *Cemenelum* (today Cimiez) might indicate the persistence of local cults.

The motive for the dedication appears to have been the promotion of a subaltern commander (*optio*) to commander of one of the centuries (*centurio*) of the legion XXII Primigenia, created in 39 or in 41–42 AD. The inscription must date from the end of the 1st c. AD because *Pia fidelis Domitiana* was added to the name of the legion in 89 and the epithet *Domitiana* was taken back in 96.⁵⁴

The second inscription, on a Jurassic limestone altar fragmented in its upper part, was found at Plan de Revel, near Tourette. Its finder kept it and gave a copy to Father Bonifassi who first mentions it in 1855. The first two lines were restored as *in honorem Matronarum* in the CIL, but Alfred Holder specifies it should be rather read *Numini* or *Numinibus Matronarum*, while Laguerre suggests *Numinibus Matrum* because the inscription counts twelve to thirteen letters per line.⁵⁵ At the beginning of the 20th c., the altar was split into two irregular parts: one of them, used for a bench near the house of the Léotardi family, was recovered by a teacher and given to the Musée archéologique de Cimiez in 1969; the left part, employed in a fence on the other side of the road, is now missing.

The inscription, dated by Laguerre (1975) to the second

half of the 1st c. AD (after the legio XIV Gemina had been granted the attributes *Martia Victrix* for defeating the British queen Boudicca in 61), now reads: *[Numini(bus) Matrum Vedia]ntiarum [vot(um) lib(ens)] lau(te?) red[dit L(ucius) Va]l(erius) Velox [mil(es) leg(ionis) XI]III Gem(inae) M[art(iae) Vic]tricis (centuria) [Cla(udii) Epe]tini*, ‘To the divine powers of the Matres Vedianiae, Lucius Valerius Velox, soldier in the legion XIV Gemina Martia Victrix, in the century of Claudius Epetinus, paid his vow willingly and with the greatest pleasure’.⁵⁶

The dedicant, whose *tria nomina* are of Latin stock, is this time a simple soldier who specifies century and legion he belongs to.

The third Cimiez inscription (fig. 4), excavated in 1881 on the property of Count Garin to the east of the ruins of Roman thermal baths, is very fragmented and probably dates from the 1st half of the 2nd c. It calls the deities *Matres*, reading: *--]oru[--] [Matrib]us Vedia[ntiabus] [numini-b(us)que] deorum m[agnorum] [de sua] pe[cunia]*, ‘[--](?) to the Matres Vedianiae and to the greater deities (offered this monument) at his own expense’.⁵⁷

2.2 DEX(S)IVA

The four inscriptions known for *DEX(S)IVA* were almost all found on the hill of the oppidum at Castellar (1,5 km to east of Cadenet/Vaucluse), which is regarded as the chief town of the *Dexivates*, a population group inhabiting the area between the Luberon and the river Durance.⁵⁸ We can therefore probably exclude the possibility that ethnonym and theonym are both independently derived from different meanings of the Celtic adjective *dexivo-* ‘favourable > to the right > to the south’,⁵⁹ the more so since in the ethnic name *Dexivates*, derived by means of an additional dental suffix **-ti-*,⁶⁰ the presuffixal vowel is *-a-*. The name *DEX(S)IVA* seems to have meant, at least originally, ‘The favourable (goddess)’,⁶¹ either as a taboo label⁶² or even as a full theonym for a deity of (good) fortune. From it, for being their

51. CIL V 7872 – LAGUERRE (1975) 16–17, n°6 – BOURQUELOT (1850) 61, n°14 – BLANC (1879) 278–279.

52. Where it was placed near to the stables and used as a trough, cf. DURANTE (1867) 40–41.

53. Cf. DELAMARRE (2007) 95 and 232, *id.* (2003) 163 and also the Celtiberian office of the *are-sta-lo-s*, best translated by German *Vor-steb-er*.

54. LAGUERRE (1975) 16 – FRANKE (2000a) 95–104.

55. HOLDER (1913) 136.v.s. LAGUERRE (1975) 15.

56. CIL V 7873 – LAGUERRE (1975) 14–15, n°6 – AE 1971, 237 – BOURQUELOT (1850) 105–106, n°71 – DURANTE (1867) 42 – BLANC (1879) 276–278, n°327.

57. PAIS (1884) n°1042 – BLANC (1882) 112, n°7 restores *deorum m[inorum]*, ‘of the secondary deities’, but LAGUERRE (1975) 12–13, n°5 prefers *deorum m[agnorum]*, ‘of the greater deities’.

58. Plin. nat. hist. 3, 34 – HOLDER (1896) 1276 – BARRUOL (1961) 3–35 – *id.* (1999) 203–206 – BRETAUDEAU (1986) 41–47 – CAG 84.2, *Le Luberon et Pays d’Apt* (2004) 214–217.

59. An alternative envisaged by FALILEYEV *et alii* (2010) 115.

60. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (1999) 375–378.

61. DELAMARRE (2003) 143.

62. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2010) 109.

tutary goddess, was apparently derived the ethnic *Dexivates* of the ‘Worshippers of *Dex(s)iva*’.

Known from the 17th c., the oppidum of Castellar, which was occupied from the 3rd/2nd c. BC to the 1st/2nd c. AD,⁶³ began to be excavated only in 2007.⁶⁴ It revealed an atypical structure with an agger and internal fortifications.

The most significant dedication was found in 1773, together with a hoard from the 3rd c. AD, “one meter deep [...] very near the vestiges of the small temple [of *Dex(s)iva*] by a peasant who was pulling up an oak” on the hill of Castellar.⁶⁵ Saguier (1884) 18 adds that this small temple or sanctuary in Roman style with its marble paving could still be seen at the end of the 18th c.: “At the other end [of the dungeon], the vestiges of a temple dedicated to a local deity, the goddess *Dex(s)iva*, could still be seen until quite recently. [...] This location was clearly visible, and from a distance, it bore all the hallmarks of a sanctuary.” Unfortunately, however, his description of the geographic position of the cult place remains too vague for archaeologists to localize it, and the temple of *Dex(s)iva* still awaits detailed study.

Together with other objects, the hoard contained: a silver vase, 37 coins from the reigns between Nero (54–68) and Maximinus the First (235–238), a silver votive shield bearing a drawing of a laurel wreath; jewels, including bracelets, a garnet necklace with golden tassels, gold rings, and a gold medal with a woman’s face.⁶⁶ The fact that both inscription and hoard were found together near a small temple indicates that the objects were votive offerings dedicated to the goddess called *DEX(S)IVA*, and the dates of the coins speak of a cult continuity of more than 150 years. Saguier (1884) 32–35 even suggests that the temple might have been erected or restored under Nero and destroyed under Maximinus, when the Castellar oppidum was abandoned and a new village was built on the plain; the treasure would have been buried into the ground in the 3rd c., so that the invaders of the time could not steal it.

The aforesaid inscription (fig. 5), engraved on a marble plaque, reads: *Dexivae et Caudellensibus C(aius) Helvius Primus sedilia v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, ‘Gaius Helvius Primus paid his vow willingly and deservedly to *Dexiva* and to the *Caudellenses* in offering seats or benches’.⁶⁷

63. <http://sites.univ-provence.fr/ccj/>.

64. By Delphine Isoardi, Dominique Garcia and Florence Mocchi of the Centre Camille Julian (CCJ), Archéologie méditerranéenne et africaine (UMR 6573), Université de Provence.

65. SAGUIER (1884) 20.

66. Three descriptions – reproduced by CAG 84.2, *Le Luberon et Pays d’Apt* (2004) 216–217 – are known of the contents of this treasure. One is by CALVET Cl.-E. (1774) manuscript 5617, letter 617.

67. ILN III, 222 – CAG 84.2, *Le Luberon et Pays d’Apt* (2004) 222–223 and fig. 219.

The derivational basis in the dative *Caudellensibus* is evidently a toponym **Caudellum* or **Caudella*, usually identified with today Cadenet.⁶⁸ However, both the object of the inscription (*sedilia*) and the Latinate suffix *-ensis* lead us to assume – with the older scholars – that *Caudellenses* was the name of the inhabitants of Cadenet⁶⁹ and not the name of some epichoric goddesses.⁷⁰ The inhabitants of the place were in fact the actual beneficiaries of the benches when they went up to the public space on the hill in order to pray to their tutelary goddess *Dexiva*.

A second inscription (fig. 6), lost by Saguier’s time, was found – also on the hill – in 1817, “one meter deep in the ground [...] very near the ruins of the temple or sanctuary [of *Dex(s)iva*]”.⁷¹ It was engraved on a plaque of tin or gold with a semicircular top and two holes and read: *d(onum) d(at) Quartus Mar(ti) securem Dexsive Quartus securem v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, ‘Quartus offers an axe to Mars as a gift, Quartus offers an axe to *Dexsiva* paying his vow willingly and deservedly’.⁷²

The association of the two deities led some scholars to the understanding of *DEX(S)IVA* as a partner of *MARS*, which is however quite unlikely, given that the formulation is so very different from the dedications usually made to divine couples. Their association is indirect and will rather have been prompted by the actual needs of the dedicant, a Romanized *peregrinus* with a single Latin name.

Although some *asciae* seem to have been offered as a symbol of protection in the afterlife,⁷³ Saguier (1884) 22 – followed by Häußler (2008) – argues that the gift was of ceremonial axes for making sacrifices to the deities venerated in the local sanctuary. Häußler supports this assumption by referring to the miniature model axes studied by Kiernan (2007) 161–166, some of which (the so-called *Allmendigertypus*) bear dedications to several Roman as well as to indigenous deities; he also points out that the *lamella* from Cadenet has the shape of a sacrificial-axe blade.⁷⁴ A 3rd c. dating has been proposed for the inscription.

The other two dedications seem to have been quite simple offerings by Roman citizens, even if their gender is un-

68. Cf. SAGUIER (1884) 32–35 – HOLDER (1896) 867.

69. Cf. HOLDER (1896) 867 – BARRUOL (1999) 204, n°3.

70. HENCE DE BERNARDO STEMPER (2005a) 71 should rather be corrected.

71. SAGUIER (1884) 21–22. Note that Charles ROLAND (1837) had the stone with him when he transcribed the inscription.

72. ILN III, 221 – CAG 84.2, *Le Luberon et Pays d’Apt* (2004) 214 and fig. 218 – SAGUIER (1884) 21–22.

73. So *i.a.* BENOÏT (1959) 66, 131, note 28. Cf. the studies by ARRIGNI BERTINI (1999) 629–637 and *ead.* (2006).

74. HAEUSSLER (2008) 49–50, 63, fig. 4.

sure. The first of them, now lost, was found already before 1572 either at Cadenet or at Perthuis, some 13 km to the south east, and read: *Dexivae v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) A(ulus?) Com(inius?) Suc(cessus?)*, ‘To Dexsiva, Aulus Cominius Successus paid his vow willingly and deservedly’.⁷⁵ It is dated to the beginning of the 3rd c. AD⁷⁶ and contains the full naming formula with *tria nomina* of the dedicant.

The last one (fig. 7), found at Cadenet in 1991, is engraved on a damaged altar now in the castle of Lourmarin (Vaucluse) and reads: *[D]exivae v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) [C]or(nelius ?) Arp[.], ‘To Dexiva Cornelius (?) Arp[...] (?) paid his vow willingly and deservedly’.*⁷⁷ It contains just the *duo nomina* of the dedicant and is probably earlier than the third one (1st or 2nd c. AD).

3. Britain

3.1 BRIGANTIA

The most illustrious example of a goddess related to a population group seems to be that of *BRIGANTIA*, honoured in seven inscriptions found in or near to the territory inhabited by the powerful *Brigantes* in northern Britain (fig. 8), namely in West Yorkshire (3), Co. Durham (1), Northumberland (1) and in the areas of Hadrian’s Wall in Cumbria (1) and – in Scotland – Dumfries and Galloway (1).

Ptolemy and Tacitus record, in fact, that the *Brigantes*, who were subjected to Roman authority by Petilius Cerialis between 71 and 74 AD,⁷⁸ were settled in northern England, in parts of present-day Cheshire, Greater Manchester and Lancashire to the south of the *Carvetii*, and in Yorkshire, County Durham and Northumberland, between the river Humber (South Yorkshire), to the north of the *Parisii*, and the river Tyne (Northumberland).⁷⁹ Their name is beyond doubt primary. It represents either a true participle **b^hrg^b-nt-es* or perhaps a denominal *-nt-*derivative from the word for ‘hillfort’ belonging to the same root, i.e. the basis *brig-* or *briga*, thus implying that they were ‘Hillfort dwellers’. In either case, the name of the *Brigantes* was apparently due to the mountainous character of their original habitat,

as opposed – in Britain – to those of the ‘Lowland-dwellers’ *Dumnonii* and *Dobunni*.⁸⁰

The seven dedications to the goddess *BRIGANTIA* all date from around the end of the 2nd c. AD to the beginning of the 3rd, when the cult of the goddess was officially encouraged by the Severan dynasty.⁸¹ Therefore the theonym could, theoretically, be derived from the name of the people with the help of the suffix **-yā*. Nevertheless, at least four reasons seem to speak against such an assumption: 1) the evidently primary character of the name of *Brigantia*’s partner *BREGANS* (s. under § 3.2. below); 2) the fact that *Brigantia* seems to have a cognate in the Irish *Brigit* whose name is far more archaic, because it continues the true IE feminine participle in **-ib₂*, namely **b^hrg^b-nt-ib₂* > **Brigānti* > **Brigēnti* as opposed to *Brigāntia* from a possibly redetermined participle **Brigānti-ā*;⁸² 3) the fact that divine names expressing ‘height’ are very often simply substituting the actual theonyms;⁸³ 4) the apparently indigenous character of two of the inscriptions (which we are going to list first in the following).

It is hence safer to assume that the connection to be observed in historical times between the deities *BREGANS* and *BRIGANTIA* and the population group of the *Brigantes* was not an original, i.e. etymological one, but came about in the course of time. It is conceivable that the *Brigantes* adopted *BREGANS* and *BRIGANTIA* as tutelary deities of their group because of the phonetic similarity of the theonyms.

Particularly significant, even if they were found in Roman military camps or sites, are two altars offered to *BRIGANTIA* by Celtic named dedicants. The first of them (fig. 9) comes from Adel, north-west of Leeds in West Yorkshire. It is a sandstone altar with a snake on its left side, dedicated by a woman called Cingetissa, which means ‘Warrior’ or ‘Attacker’ in Old Celtic.⁸⁴ It reads: *deae Brigantiae d(onum) Cingetissa p(osuit)*, ‘To the goddess Brigantia, Cingetissa set up this offering’.⁸⁵

The use of the formula *dea* indicates that the dedication is not prior to the mid-2nd c. AD.⁸⁶

75. ILN III, 220 – CAG 84.2, *Le Luberon et Pays d’Apt* (2004) 222 – SAGUIER (1884) 22.

76. SAGUIER (1884) 33.

77. AE 1992, 1170 – ILN III, 223 – CAG 84.2, *Le Luberon et Pays d’Apt* (2004) 222 and fig. 226 – BARRUOL (1999) 204, n°3 – GASCOU (1994) 210 suggests that the *cognomen* of the dedicant could be *Arpocra*, *Arpocrates*, *Arpocratianus*, etc.

78. KRUTA (2000) 496 – Ó HÓGÁIN (2002) 181–184.

79. Tac. Agr. 17, ann. 12, 32; hist. 3, 45 – Ptol. Geogr. 2, 3, 10 [2, 3, 16].

80. More details in DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2005c) 99–100. Cf. also DELAMARRE (2003) 87–88 – LAMBERT (1995) 96, 190 – *id.* (2006) 55.

81. JOLIFFE (1941) 41, 48 – MILLER (1937) 208–209.

82. It is therefore hardly plausible to assume – as some scholars do – that the branch of the British *Brigantes* that crossed the sea and established itself in the south-east of Ireland (South Wexford) introduced there the name of their goddess.

83. They are accordingly often employed as antonomastic or taboo theonyms, cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2010) 106–109.

84. DELAMARRE (2007) 65.

85. RIB 630.

86. RAEPSAET-CHARLIER (1993) 12.

The second altar (fig. 10), found in 1895 south of the Arbeia Roman Fort at South Shields (Co. Durham), which is situated on Hadrian's Wall at the mouth of the River Tyne, bears the inscription: *deae Brigantiae sacrum Congenn(i)ccus v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, 'Sacred to the goddess Brigantia, Congenniccus willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow'.⁸⁷ A patera is engraved on the right side of the altar and a jug on its left, but it is the bird engraved on its back which may point to a nature goddess.

The name Congenniccus of the dedicant is Celtic and appears also in other inscriptions from southern France.⁸⁸

Of great interest is also a dedication dated 210 AD with a representation of the goddess *BRIGANTIA* (fig. 11 and 12). It was excavated in 1731 at Birrens Roman Fort, about 40 km from Hadrian's Wall, in Dumfries and Galloway (Scotland). It reads: *Brigantiae s(acrum) Amandus arc(h)itectus ex imperio imp(eratum fecit)*, 'Sacred to Brigantia, Amandus, the architect, by command fulfilled the order'.⁸⁹

The dedicant, with a single Latin name – possibly a translation-name of Celt. *Caratos* or the like – is a Romanized *peregrinus* who mentions his legionary grade as 'architect' or 'engineer'.⁹⁰ S. N. Miller identifies the dedicant from Birrens with the Valerius Amandus of the 208 AD-inscription from Iversheim (Bad Münstereifel, Germania Inferior) who is a *discens architectus*, an 'apprentice master-builder'.⁹¹ At this time, he would have been in the legion I Minervia based in Bonn, and a couple of years later (around 210 AD), when he was fully qualified, he would have been transferred to the legion VI Victrix garrisoned at York to work on the reconstruction of the fort of Birrens, but this remains a hypothesis.⁹²

Above the inscription, the goddess is represented standing in a niche, wearing a long tunic, a short cloak and possibly shoes or sandals. Apart from the round object she holds in her left hand, *Brigantia* bears all the attributes of the Roman war-goddess *Minerva*, similar to the Greek *Athena*.⁹³ Like them, *Brigantia* is helmeted, holds a spear in her right hand and wears a small medallion around her neck,

which is reminiscent of the *aegis*, a sort of goatskin breast-plate hemmed with tassels and snakes and adorned with the head of *Medusa* in its centre.⁹⁴ The helmet, if horned, might be of Celtic tradition,⁹⁵ but this is difficult to determine with certainty; in any case, it has a crown on the front and a sort of triple crest on the top which may be compared to the helmet of *Athena* in the monumental chryselephantine statue made by Pheidias for the Parthenon (438 BC), though the latter is much more elaborate. Last but not least, the *BRIGANTIA* at Birrens is winged, thus showing an attribute of the goddess *VICTORIA*,⁹⁶ and in fact *ATHENA/MINERVA* is sometimes represented with a small statue of *NIKE/VICTORIA* in her hand. The figuration at Birrens is therefore similar to Classical representations of war-goddesses and does not seem to possess any specifically Celtic features, apart from the possibly horned helmet.

For this reason, in two inscriptions from West Yorkshire the votive formula *deae Victoriae Brigantiae* has been taken to indicate an *identificatio* between the Roman goddess *VICTORIA* and the indigenous goddess called *BRIGANTIA* rather than to mean simply 'to the eminent goddess *VICTORIA*', which would be etymologically possible. The first of them (fig. 13), discovered in 1597 behind the Bank Top Farm at Greetland, a few kilometres south of Halifax, reads: *d(eae) Vict(oriae) Brig(antiae) et Num(inibus) Aug(ustorum) Titus Aurelianus d(edit) d(edicavit) pro se et suis s(e) mag(istro) s(acrorum) Antonin[o] III et Geta [II] co(n)s(ulibus)*, 'To the goddess Victoria Brigantia and to the Deities of the Emperors, Titus Aurelius Aurelianus gave and dedicated (this altar) for himself and his family, while he himself was master of sacred rites, in the third consulship of Antoninus and the [second] of Geta'.⁹⁷

The dedicant bears true Latin names in a *tria nomina* formula, and the dedication is precisely dated to the year 208 AD.

The other dedication of this subgroup (fig. 14) was found in 1890 in the River Calder, at Woodnook, near Castleford, where a Roman fort called *Lagentium* was located. It reads: *deae Victoriae Brigant(iae) a(ram) d(edicavit) Aur(elius) Senopianus*, 'To the goddess Victoria Brigantia Aurelius Senopianus dedicated this altar'.⁹⁸

The dedicant kept his Celtic idionym Senopianus⁹⁹ even

87. RIB 1053 was found at the junction of Trajan St. & Baring St. in South Fields.

88. DELAMARRE (2007) 72 – JOLIFFE (1941) 42 – CIL XII 4883 (Narbonne) – CIL XII 3529 (Nîmes).

89. RIB 2091.

90. The *architectus* was the most important of the artisan soldiers of the Roman army specializing in the *fabrica*, and his main function beside the planning and building of edifices was the reparation of engines, cf. BARDOUILLE (2010) § 4.

91. CIL XIII 7945 – MILLER (1937) 208–209.

92. JOLIFFE (1941) 49–52 – BIRLEY (1986) 66, note 342.

93. GUIRAND (2006) 766.

94. GUIRAND (2006) 141.

95. JOLIFFE (1941) 50.

96. GUIRAND (2006) 254, 870.

97. RIB 627 – RINALDI TUFI (1985) 20, n°33 and pl. 10.

98. RIB 628.

99. Possibly a compound of Celt. *seno-* 'old' and the **bivonos* > *bianos* 'living creature' contained in various Old Celtic personal names.

after being granted Roman citizenship, using it for a *cognomen* beside his truly Latin *nomen gentile*.

In an inscription (fig. 15) found at the Roman site of Corbridge (Northumberland), which is situated on Hadrian's Wall ca. 18 miles west of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, *Brigantia*'s name is associated with that of the goddess *CAELESTIS*, an elliptical designation for *IVNO CAELESTIS*, the Romanized version of the Punic *TANIT*, originally connected with the cosmos and generally represented with a crescent moon.¹⁰⁰

The text is traditionally edited as: *Iovi aeterno Dolicheni et Caelesti Brigantiae et Saluti G(aius) Iulius Apollinaris (centurio) leg(ionis) VI iuss(u) dei*, 'To the eternal Jupiter of Doliche and to Caelestis Brigantia and to Salus, Gaius Julius Apollinaris, centurion of the legion VI, at the command of the god (set this up)'.¹⁰¹

It is, however, possible to read a comma between the datives *Caelesti* and *Brigantiae*, in which case we would simply have a normal threefold enumeration '...as well as to Caelestis, to Brigantia and to Salus ...' following the dedication to the originally Syrian *Iupiter Dolichenus*. On the other hand, the fact that *CAELESTIS* – once Romanized – was depicted as a warrior goddess protecting the town and associated with *ATHENA/MINERVA* seems to speak in favour of a real *identificatio* with 'the eminent' *BRIGANTIA*.

The dedicant, a Roman citizen with three genuine Latin names, gives his military rank as a commander of one of the centuries of the 6th legion *Victrix*, which was based at York from 122 AD and worked on the construction of Hadrian's Wall between Newcastle and Carlisle.¹⁰²

Finally, a now lost Cumbrian altar – also from Hadrian's Wall (fig. 16) –,¹⁰³ is supposed to contain the name of the 'eminent' *BRIGANTIA* in association with *DEA NYMPHA*. However, due to the shortening of the votive formula, it is also possible that the involved deity was rather called *DEA NYMPHA BRIG(ANTIVM)*, the more so since there are actually no aquatic attributes or symbols in the iconography of *BRIGANTIA* nor is she associated with water sanctuaries, but rather with warrior goddesses. The only argument in favour of the traditional interpretation of the Naworth inscription is that the Woodnook altar was found in the River Calder,¹⁰⁴ whereas it is methodologically rather awkward to infer

from the curative virtues of Saint Brigit in medieval Ireland to an aquatic character of (one of) the deities invoked in Roman Britain as *BRIGANTIA*.

The full text of this last inscription reads: *deae Nymphae Brig(antiae vel -antium) quod [vo]verat pro sal[ute et incolunitate] dom(ini) nostr(i) Invic(ti) imp(eratoris) M(arci) Aurel(i) Severi Antonini Pii Felic[i]s Aug(usti) totiusque domus divinae eius M(arcus) Cocceius Nigrinus [pr]oc(urator) Aug(usti) n(ostr(i) devo[tissim]us num[ini maies]tatique eius v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, 'This offering to the goddess-nymph *Brigantia* (or of the *Brigantes*), which he had vowed for the welfare and safety of our Lord the Invincible Emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus and of his whole Divine House, Marcus Cocceius Nigrinus, procurator of our Emperor and most devoted to his deity and majesty, gladly, willingly, and deservedly fulfilled'.¹⁰⁵

The dedicant, a Roman citizen whose *tria nomina* are probably assimilations and/or translations of indigenous Celtic names, is procurator in the Emperor's service.¹⁰⁶ Since the titles given to the Emperor point to Caracalla and the year 213 AD, this official dedication can be dated to the beginning of the 3rd c.¹⁰⁷

3.2 DEVS BREGANS

It is interesting to note that the regular masculine form of the *-nt*-participle, namely **brigans*, is used as an attribute to *deus* in a votive inscription (fig. 17) on an altar found in 1882 in West Yorkshire, about 2 km to the east of the Cambodunum Roman Fort at Slack,¹⁰⁸ in the same area where three of the dedications to *BRIGANTIA* resurfaced. The Roman fort of Slack is indeed about 10 km from Greetland, 30 km from Leeds and 40 km from Castelford, so that it is plausible that this god was the partner of the better known *BRIGANTIA*. On account of word-formation it might even be the primary form of the theonym.¹⁰⁹

The inscription reads: *deo Breganti et Num(ini) Aug(usti) T(itus) Aur(elius) Quintus d(ono) d(edit) p(ecunia) et s(umptu) s(uo)*, 'To the god Bregans and the Deity of the

100. Her usual partner was Baal Hammon, cf. JOLIFFE (1941) 43–48 – GUIRAND (2006) 113, 846–847.

101. RIB 1131.

102. KEEPIE (2000) 30, 32.

103. From an unknown site near Naworth, a few km to the east of Brampton.

104. See above and JOLIFFE (1941) 59.

105. RIB 2066.

106. I.e. a governor of a minor province appointed by the emperor as his representative most notably in financial matters, cf. BERGER (1953) 654.

107. JOLIFFE (1941) 58.

108. At Lower Gate, Longwood, near Outlane (Huddersfield).

109. This view in DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2006) 35–36. Note that MEID & ANREITER (2005) 57 do not analyze the word *bregan* in an *incantamentum* by Marcellus Burdigalensis (de med. 8, 170) as a vocative relic of our theonym, cf. for this *vox magica* HOFENEDER (2011) 361–362.

Emperor, Titus Aurelius Quintus gave this as a gift by his own funds and expense'.¹¹⁰

The dedicant bears the regular *tria nomina*, unfortunately giving no hint as to the real nature of the deity and his female partner nor to his exact relationship to the *Brigantes*.

We know, nevertheless, of the existence of several male deities whose name was evidently derived from that of the population group they protected. Among those are *ALLOBROX* who, venerated by Pompeia Lucilla in a single inscription from La Bâtie-Montsaléon (Hautes Alpes),¹¹¹ is undoubtedly the god of the *Allobroges*, who occupied a vast territory situated between the Alps and the départements of Isère and Rhône;¹¹² and also *MERCVRIVS ARVERNVS*, who at Miltenberg in Germania Superior is once called *MERCVRIVS ARVERNORIX*,¹¹³ i.e. 'King of the *Arverni*', the population inhabiting what became the Auvergne region.¹¹⁴ With the simple appurtenance epithet *ARVERNVS* Mercury was venerated both in the département of Puy-de-Dôme (at Orcines, near Clermont-Ferrand,¹¹⁵ and Mozac, near Riom¹¹⁶) and in Germania Superior (at Wenau,¹¹⁷ Cologne,¹¹⁸ Gripswald,¹¹⁹ Roermont,¹²⁰ and – again – Miltenberg¹²¹).

Final Remarks

The veneration of 'ethnic deities' was widespread among the Celts, and it is well-known that a significant number of *Matres* (vel *Matronae*) bearing ethnonymic bynames is also attested among the Germanic peoples,¹²² cf. the *Matres* – also

called *Matronae – Cantrusteibae*,¹²³ the *Matres Frisavae*,¹²⁴ the *Matrones Hamabeviae*,¹²⁵ the *Matres Kammanefates*,¹²⁶ the *Matres Suebae*¹²⁷, and the *Matres Vangionae* also called *Matronae Vanginebae*¹²⁸, related to the *Condrusi*, and, respectively, the *Frisiavi*, *Chamavi*, *Cananefates*, *Suebi*, and *Vangiones*.

What we do not know is, however, at what time such deities came to form part of the indigenous belief systems. There might have been a difference between older deities from which ethnonyms were derived and deities whose name was extracted from place or ethnic names.

From what we have seen, the dedicants to this latter type of goddesses in Celtic areas seem to have been mostly related to the Roman army – not seldom staying away from home. This, on the other hand, is not necessarily true for old indigenous deities who became associated to a specific population group only in the course of time.

In any case, such goddesses ought to be regarded in the first place as 'collective deities' – venerated by the whole community for their ability to protect a particular people, a region or even a single town – rather than as deities with whom individual believers entered into a more personal, emotional relationship.

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110. RIB 623 – BIRLEY (1986) 66.

111. CIL XII 1531: *Pompeia Lucilla Allobrog(i) v(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

112. KRUTA (2000) 404 – JOSPIN (2002) 96–98.

113. CIL XIII 6603: *Mercurio Arvernorici Cossillus Donavi e<x=S> visu l(a)etus libe(n)s merito*.

114. KRUTA (2000) 435–436.

115. CIL XIII 1462 – ILLA-A, 3: *Genio Arvern[o] Sext(us) Or[gius] Suavis Aeduis*.

116. CIL XIII 1522 – ILLA-A, 48: *[Mercurio] [Arver]no(?) [–] [–] cives [Romani?] [nego]tiator[es]*.

117. CIL XIII 7845: *Mercurio Arverno vicini v(otum?) v[.]*

118. CIL XIII 8235: *Mercur[io] [A]rvern[o] [s]acr[u]m Iulius Iu[–] [e]x imp(erio) i[ps]us[us]*.

119. CIL XIII 8579: *Mercurio Arverno M(arcus) Iulius Audax pro se et suis l(ibens) m(erito)* – CIL XIII 8580: *Mercurio Arverno Sext(us) Sempronius Super l(ibens) m(erito)*.

120. CIL XIII 8709: *Mercurio Arverno [a]ed(em?) Irmidius Ma[cr]o ex i(ussu?)*.

121. CIL XIII 6603: *Mercurio Arvernorici Cossillus Donavi e<x=S> visu l(a)etus libe(n)s merito*.

122. NEUMANN (1987) 111, 116 – SPICKERMANN (2002) 147.

123. Inscriptions from Rheydt, Tetz and Hoeilaart: AE 1968, 327 – CIL XIII 7880, 3585.

124. CIL XIII 8633.

125. Inscription from Altdorf: CIL XIII 7864.

126. Inscription from Cologne: CIL XIII 8219.

127. Inscriptions from Cologne and Deutz: CIL XIII 8224, 8497, 8225 – AE 1984, 655.

128. Inscriptions from Erfstadt Friesheim and Neidernberg: AE 1984, 669 – AE 1967, 338.

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Dedications to Celtic ethnonymic goddesses

Divine name	Date	Find spot	Support	Partner (1) and/or Syncretistic formula (2)	Dedicator's name and function	Votive formula and offering	Publication
Brigantia	second half of 2 nd c. AD ?	Roman site Adel/West Yorkshire/ BRIT	sandstone altar with snake (left)		Cingetissa	deae (...) d(onum) p(osuit)	RIB 630
Brigantia		Arbeia Roman Fort/South Shields (Hadrian's Wall)/Co. Durham/ BRIT	altar with bird (back), patera (right) and jug (left)		Congenn(i)ccus	deae (...) sacrum (...) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)	RIB 1053
Brigantia	210 AD	Birrens Roman Fort (Hadrian's Wall)/Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland/ BRIT	epigraphic relief: goddess with helmet, spear and wings.		Amandus; arc(h)itectus	s(acrum) (...) ex imperio imp(eratum fecit)	RIB 2091
Brig(antia)	c. 208 AD	Greetland/West Yorkshire/ BRIT	altar	Num(inibus) Aug(ustorum) (1); Vict(oria) (2)	T(itus) Aur(elius) Aurelianus; magister sacrorum	d(eae) (...) d(edit) d(edicavit) pro se et suis	RIB 627
Brigant(ia)	2 nd c. AD (?)	Woodnook, in the River Calder/West Yorkshire/ BRIT	altar	Victoria (2)	Aur(elius) Senopianus	deae (...) a(ram) d(edicavit)	RIB 628
Brigantia	end of 2 nd c. – beg. of 3 rd c. AD	Corbridge Roman site (Hadrian's Wall)/Northumberland/ BRIT	altar	Jupiter Dolichenus & Salus (1); Caelestis (2)	G(aius) Iulius Apollinaris; c(enturio) leg(ionis) VI	iuss(u) dei	RIB 1131
Brig(antia)	213 AD	Naworth/Brampton (Hadrian's Wall)/Cumbria/ BRIT	altar	Nympha (2)	M(arcus) Cocceius Nigrinus; [pr]oc(urator) Aug(usti)	deae (...) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)	RIB 2066
Dexiva	3 rd c. AD	Hill of Castellar/Cadenet, Vaucluse/ NARB	a marble plaque	Caudellenses (2)	C(aius) Helvius Primus	sedilia v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)	ILN III, 222
[D]exiva	1 st or 2 nd c. AD	Cadenet/Vaucluse/ NARB	altar		1. [C]or(nelius) ?) Arp[.]	v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)	AE 1992, 1170 = ILN III, 223
Dexsiva	beg. of 3 rd c. AD	Cadenet or Pertuis, Vaucluse/ NARB	altar (?)		A(ulus) Com(inius) Suc(cessus)	v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)	ILN III, 220
Dexsiva	3 rd c. AD (?)	Hill of Castellar/Cadenet, Vaucluse/ NARB	plaque in tin/gold with semi-circular top and two holes	Mars (1)	Quartus	d(onum) d(at) securem v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)	ILN III, 221
Diana Mattiaca	end of the 2 nd c. AD to ca. 250 AD	Wiesbaden (Aqua Mattiacorum)/ GE ^{SUP}			Antonia Postuma; wife of Titus Porcius Rufianus legatus legionis XXII Primigeniae Piae Fidelis	[pro sa]lute (...) [ex] voto signum posu[it]	CIL XIII 7565
Matres Nemetiales	2 nd c. AD (?)	Grenoble/Isère/ NARB			Lucretia; Q(uinti) l(iberta)		CIL XII 2221 = ILN V-2, 360
Nervinae	end of 1 st c. – beg. of 2 nd c. AD	Bavay (Nord)/ BELG	white marble altar		C(aius) Iul(ius) Tertius	v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)	CIL XIII 3569

Divine name	Date	Find spot	Support	Partner (1) and/or Syncretistic formula (2)	Dedicator's name and function	Votive formula and offering	Publication
Matres Remae	mid-3 rd c. AD	Cologne/GEINF	limestone altar		Bitorius Bellicus; ost(iarius) co(n)s(ularis)	posuit	AE 1990, 733
Matres Senonum		Metz/Mozelle/ BELG	limestone altar	Mercurius Cosumis (1)		dis (..) tris (...) ex ius(su) Mercur(i)	CIL XIII 4304
Matronae Senonum	mid-2 nd c. AD	Böckingen/ GESUP	altar		cohors I Helvet(iorum) c]ui [p]ra[e]est V[a]l(erius) Ci[t]- us; [(centurio)] leg(ionis) [V] III [Aug(ustae)] P(iae) F(idelis)	v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) [m(erito)]	CIL XIII 6475
Matres Treverae	2 nd c. AD	Birten/GEINF	trachyte of Drachenfels altar		T(itus) Pater- nius Perpetuus; cornicula(rius) l(egati) leg(ionis) XXX U(lpiae) V(ictricis)	l(ibens) m(erito)	CIL XIII 8634
Matronae Vediantiae	end of 1 st c. – beg. of 2 nd c. AD	Tourette-Levens/ Alpes-Maritimes/ ALPMAR	altar		P(ublius) Enis- talius Paternus P(ublii) f(ilius); Cl(audia tribu) Cemenelensis op- tio ad ordine(m) 7 (centurionis) leg(ionis) XXII Primigeniae Piae Fidelis	l(ibens) m(erito)	CIL V 7872 = LAGUERRE (1975) n°6
Matres or Matronae Vediantiae	second half of 1 st c. AD	Plan de Revel/ Alpes-Maritimes/ ALPMAR	Jurassic lime- stone altar		L(ucius) Val(erius) Velox; [mil(es) leg(ionis) XI]III Gem(inae) M[art(iae) Vic- trici]s (centuria) [Cla(udii) Epe]tini	numinibus (...) [vot(um) lib(ens)] lau(te?) red[dit]	CIL V 7873 = AE 1971, 237 = LAGUERRE (1975) 14–15, n°6
Matres Vediantiae	1 st half of 2 nd c. AD	Cimiez/Alpes- Maritimes/ ALPMAR		deorum m[agnorum] (1)		[de sua] pe[cunia]	PAIS (1884) n°1042 = LAGUERRE (1975) n°5

Dedications to Nemetona

Divine name	Date	Find spot	Support	Partner (1) and/or Syncretistic formula (2)	Dedicator's name and function	Votive formula and offering	Publication
Nem[etona]		Trier/Altbachtal Sanctuary/BELG	altar	Mars (1)			F 324
Ne]met[ona]		Trier/Altbachtal Sanctuary/BELG	altar				N 12
Nemetona		Klein-Winternheim/GeSUP	altar			v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)	CIL XIII 7253
Nemetona		Altrip/GeSUP	altar	Mars (1)	Silvinus Iustus & Dubitatus	v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) l(aeti) p(osuerunt)	CIL XIII 6131
Nemetona	A ^{post} il 22, 221 AD	Eisenberg/GeSUP	bronze tabula ansata	Mars Loucetius (1); Victoria (2)	M(arcus) A(urelius) Senillus Seve[rus; b(ene) f(iciarius) l]egati	urnam cum [sortib]us et phiala(m) ex [vo]-to posuit l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)	AE 2007, 1044
Nemetona		Bath/Somerset/BRIT	altar	Mars Loucetius (1)	Peregrinus Secundi fil(ius)	v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)	RIB 140



Fig. 1: Altar dedicated to the Nervinae (Caylus [1756] pl. CXVIII, n°1 and 2, Bavay, Nord/Belgica).



Fig. 2: Inscription to the Matres Remae (Galsterer [1987] 95, fig. 18, Cologne/Germania Inferior).



Fig. 3: Altar dedicated to the Matres Nemetiales (ILN V.2 360, Grenoble, Isère/Narbonensis, Musée dauphinois, Grenoble).



Fig. 4: Fragment of inscription to the Matres Vediantiae (Laguette [1975] 12, n°5, Cimiez, Alpes-Maritimes).



Fig. 5: Inscription offered by Gaius Helvius Primus to Dexiva (ILN III 222, Castellar oppidum, Cadenet/Vaucluse, Musée Borely de Marseille).



Fig. 6: Inscription offered by Quartus to Dexsiva (ILN III 221, discovered on the Castellar oppidum, Cadenet (Vaucluse), Musée Borely de Marseille).



Fig. 7: Mutilated altar dedicated to Dexiva (ILN III 223, Cadenet, Musée Borely de Marseille).



Fig. 8: Map showing the distribution of the dedications to the goddess Brigantia and the god Bregans in or near the territory of the Brigantes (© Noémie Beck).



Fig. 9: Inscription dedicated to Brigantia by Cingetissa (RIB 630, Adel/West Yorkshire, Leeds City Museum [Leeds Story section]).



Fig. 10: Inscription dedicated to Brigantia by Congennicus (RIB 1053, Arbeia Roman Fort, South Shields/Co. Durham, South Shields Museum).



Fig. 11: Epigraphic relief of Brigantia (RIB 2091 and pl. XIX, Birrens Roman Fort, Dumfries and Galloway/Scotland).



Fig. 12: Inscription to Brigantia engraved on the relief (RIB 2091, Birrens Roman Fort, National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh).



Fig. 13: Inscription to Victoria Brigantia (RIB 627, Greetland/West Yorkshire, Trinity College, Cambridge).

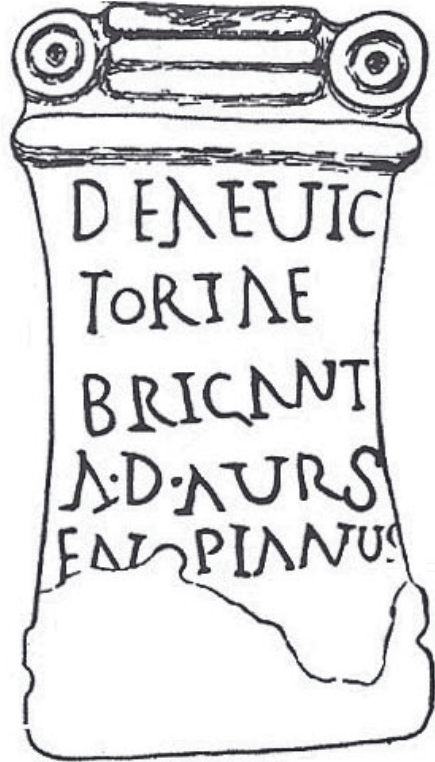


Fig. 14: Inscription to Victoria Brigantia (RIB 628, Castleford/West Yorkshire, Leeds Museum).



Fig. 15: Inscription to Caelestis Brigantia (RIB 1131, Corbridge/Northumberland, Corbridge Museum).

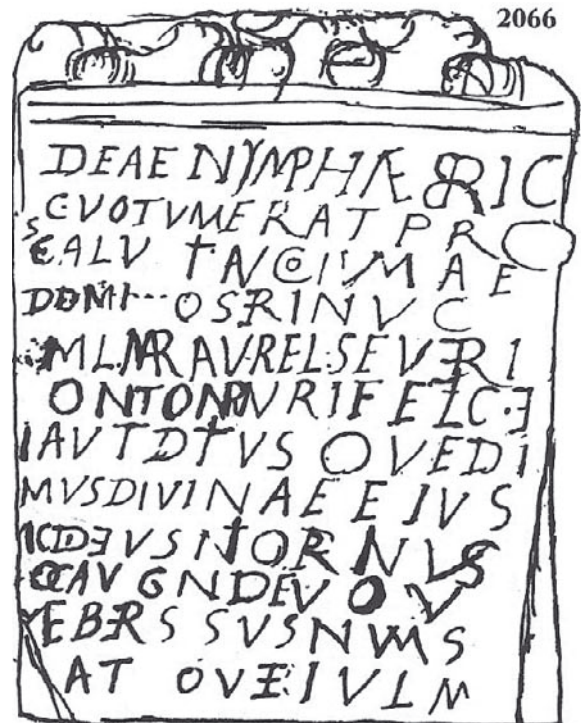


Fig. 16: Inscription to the goddess-nymph Brigantia (RIB 2066, Naworth, near Brampton/Cumbria on Hadrian's Wall).

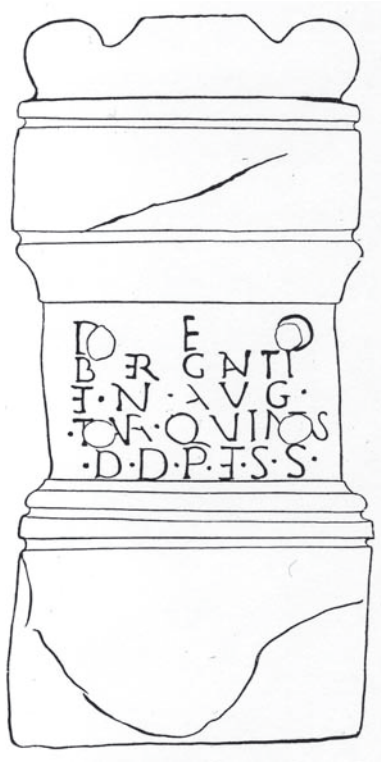


Fig. 17: Altar dedicated to the god Bregans (RIB 623, Longwood/West Yorkshire).

