

Celtic and Other Indigenous Divine Names Found in the Italian Peninsula

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The contribution¹ constitutes the first systematic attempt at interpreting the *corpus* of Celtic and other indigenous *divine names*² found in both Celtic and Latin inscriptions from ancient Italy in a philological perspective.

Like the other provinces investigated up to now³, Romano-Celtic Italy also shows a multi-layered pantheon, both from a linguistic and from a functional point of view. Although not all of them resurface in every province, in previous studies I was able to identify at least twelve different linguistic layers of divine names (DNN in the following)⁴:

- 1) DNN belonging to substrate languages;
- 2) widespread Celtic DNN;
- 3) Celtic DNN documented only in one province;
- 4) Celtic DNN showing dialectal features;
- 5) ‘Mediterranean’ DNN accompanied by some Celtic epithet;
- 6) DNN belonging to adstrate languages;
- 7) Celtic DNN imported from other provinces;
- 8) Celtic DNN adapted to adstrate languages;
- 9) ‘Mediterranean’ DNN adapted to the language(s) of the particular province;
- 10) deonomastic DNN;
- 11) unmodified ‘Mediterranean’ DNN;
- 12) Celtic DNN with/in Latin translation.

1. Also presented in Vitoria in March 2011.

2. The term is used here consequently as hyperonym covering both *theonyms* and *epithets* and/or *epiclyseis*.

3. Aquitania: DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2003/07b) and (2006/08b); Britain: *ead.* (2005/08); Germania Inferior: *ead.* (2002/05b); Narbonensis: *ead.* (2003/07a); Noricum: *ead.* (2002/05a), HAINZMANN & *ead.* (2003/07), *iid.* (forthc.).

4. (2006/08b) with more details.

From the *corpus* under investigation we shall select the following examples for illustrating the different groups: *APONVS* (1); *SVLEVIAE* (2); *CVSLANOS* (3); *MAINIALIS* or *ACINORIS* (4); *I. O. M. REINIMOS* (5); *AEQVORNA* or *REVINOS* (6); *IHAMNA GALLA* (7); *ATAECINA* for *ATAICINA* or *AERECVRA* for *HERCVRA* (8); *PADOS PATER* (10); *VICTORIA MASVINNIORVM* (11); *FONS B(ELENOS)* or *FATAE CAMPESTRES* (12). The lack of Mediterranean divine names adapted to the language(s) of this particular region (type 9) is certainly due to the fact that, at the relevant time, most of the languages spoken in Italy belonged to the Italic language-family and were hence rather similar to Latin.

With respect to the original function of the involved *deities*⁵ – but, of course, without trying to equate the semantic content of their names with the actual functions of their divine entities –, it seems that the older layer was in general constituted by nature-deities (a) and deities related to human life (b), to which, in the course of time, deities presiding over human activities (c) and institutional deities (d) were successively added, last of all the eponymous deities presiding over towns and provinces (e)⁶, while some of the eponymous deities related to mountains and rivers may even have been of pre-Roman date⁷.

In the present study, several new etymologies together with the revision of the old ones reveal the structure of the

5. The term *deity* will be reserved for such cases when (1) the essence and not the name of a divine entity is at issue and (2) the gender of the deity (*god* vs. *goddess*) is irrelevant.

6. Cf. *i.a.* DE BERNARDO STEMPEL & HAINZMANN (2006) 23–24 and *ead.* (2007/08) 95.

7. As in the case of the *ARESEQVANA* from St. Germain-Source-Seine discussed below in § 1.3.1.

local panthea⁸, allowing us to glimpse how the local deities were adapted to the new Latin-speaking milieu after the main Classical deities had been adapted to the Mediterranean Celtic world. Therefore, the divine names are here arranged according to the procedures responsible for their coming into being, namely *significatio onomastica* for all kinds of detoponymic formations (§ 1); *significatio indigena non Celtica* and *significatio indigena Celtica* for all non-Mediterranean and independent denominations (§§ 2 and 3); *explicatio vel translatio Latina* for those indigenous names which were Latinized (§§ 4 and 6); *explicatio vel translatio Celtica* whenever qualities of Classical Mediterranean deities are being paraphrased (§§ 5–6). The phenomena of *identificatio Romana vel indigena* of indigenous, Classical or other deities and of *adaptatio* of Classical divine names (or even deities) shall be addressed *i.a.* in the special paragraph reserved to the history of *BELENOS* and its many variants (§ 3.3.1) and, respectively, in the section dedicated to mother-goddesses and what appears to have been ‘divine families’ as a result of the characteristically Celtic gender and number variation (§ 7). The earlier and partly pre-Roman evidence out of truly Celtic inscriptions is discussed in the last section (§ 8).

For the Roman inscriptions, my warmest thanks are due to Claudio Zaccaria for having provided me with a comprehensive list, updated to 2010 and – in part – previously published as ZACCARIA (2001–02) = (2004)⁹, of the epigraphic materials collected by the Italian F.E.R.C.A.N. team he coordinates. Therefore, in order not to usurp the work of colleagues, the reader is kindly referred to the publications of the Italian team both for photographs and for a general discussion of the inscriptions involved. I am also deeply indebted to Francesco Rubat Borel, Tomas Markey and Giovanni Mennella for sending me relevant bibliography on the old Celtic inscriptions.

Significatio onomastica

1.0. Much as in the other provinces, behind the indigenous divine names found in the Italian Peninsula those deities are easiest to identify which were named by way of a *significatio onomastica*¹⁰, given that the divine names involved, for being deonomastic, have (mostly evident) cognates in other onomastic corpora.

8. Cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL & GARCÍA QUINTELA (2008) 269 ff. on the existence of circumscribed panthea merging into those of wider territorial subdivisions.

9. Cf. also his synthesis (2006/08) and, on *BELENOS*, *id.* (2007/08).

10. Term according to HAINZMANN & DE BERNARDO STEMPEL in this volume, pp. 207 and 194.

1.1. Three theonyms are *detoponymic*, such as the imported *ARAVSIO* from the French town of *Arausio*¹¹ and *NOREIA* from the Norican town of *Noreia*¹².

To a slightly older layer appears to belong – albeit imported – *TVLLINOS*: his name is, in fact, not a mere hypostasis of the place name as in the aforesaid cases, but a ‘proper’ derivative of the original place-name *Túll(l)um* in France (in the territory of the Leuci) by means of the typically theonymic suffix *-no-* (NWÄI: 452–453). The divine name *TVLLINOS* may be derived as *TVLLI-NO-S* from the *-yo-*augmented – i.e. adjectival or determined¹³ – toponymical form *Τούλλιον*, or rather represent the weakening of an original **Túllono-s*, derived from the basic form of the ancient toponym *Tulum* > *Túllum*. We shall not overlook the remarkable parallelism to the Hispanic detoponymic divine name *TVLLONIOS*, derived by gender switching from the Spanish locality of *Túllonium*¹⁴.

1.2. The etymology of the names of both the French and the Spanish locality tells us that they were in their turn derived from an original oronym¹⁵, whereas in other cases the divine name itself is of deonymic origin, like the imported theonym *ARDVİNNA*, hypostasized from the oronym *Arduén(n)a*, later *Ardena* (the Ardennes)¹⁶. Apart from the archaic preservation of *-w-* after *VrC* and the late and probably regional spread of *CC* in posttonic position¹⁷, we observe a tendency for *-en-* to develop into *-inn-* which matches the development *-enC-* > *-inC-* observed in all Celtic dialects¹⁸.

11. Today Orange, *DLG*: 51; on the etymon cf. also FALILEYEV *et alii* (2010) 8.

12. The archaic suffix *-eiā* is, in fact, mostly found in connection with settlement names at the periphery of the Keltiké. The toponym itself seems to have been derived from the ethnic name *Noricī* ‘The manly’ by means of suffix replacement, namely of *-eiā* for *-ico-*, while the ethnonym is best accounted for as the plural of **nor-iko-s*, a Celtic derivative of the IE adjective **noro-* ‘manly, strong’ (*IEW*: 765 ff.). For a discussion of earlier suggestions cf. my analysis of *NOREIA* in *Corpus F.E.R.C.A.N.* I/1 (forthc.).

13. According to a suggestion I expressed in (1999/2000) 106.

14. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2003) 62–63 with bibl.; FALILEYEV *et alii* (2010) 223. — On the close relationship between geminates and accent in Continental Celtic cf. my comprehensive study of (2009/10).

15. The relationship of both local names with OIr. *tul*, *taul* ‘protuberance; boss of a shield; forehead’ and its cognates (*Sonanten*: 146; NWÄI: 94; MATASOVIĆ [2009] 367), proposed *i.a.* by DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2003) 62, is missed in FALILEYEV *et alii* (2010), whose authors favour a phonetically and semantically implausible reconstruction **tukslo-* ‘?the holed place’ (p. 223).

16. FALILEYEV *et alii* (2010) 54.

17. Cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (1990) 30 ff., NWÄI: 218–219 and, respectively *ead.* (2009/10) 71 ff.

18. Where it is not, however, inherited from Proto- or Common Celtic, cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (1994) 25 ff.

A deoronymic origin is also to be appreciated in the *epithet of appurtenance*¹⁹ of *MARS LEVICMALICOS*, an *-ikos*-derivative from the oronym **Leucimellon* – a *mahādeva*-compound meaning **‘Whitehill’*²⁰ – via the regular intermediate **Leucimallon*²¹. Note that in the divine name of the ‘Whitehill’ Mars there is no trace of the velarized composition-vowel before the labial sonorant *-m-* which can be observed – regularly surfacing in Ligurian territory – in the *saltus Leucimellus* of the *Tabula alimentaria* from Veleia²².

1.3. We find at least six deities whose names are of *dehydronymic* origin, two of them indigenous like the gods *PADOS PATER* and *SARIVS FLVMEN*, exactly corresponding to the river Names Πάδος/*Padus*²³ and *Sarius*²⁴.

From a river name related to the Eastern European hydronym *Savos* > *Savus*, also deified as *SAVVS*²⁵, seems to be derived – as **Savéri-ken-ā* and with subsequent syncope of the unstressed penultimate vowel – the divine name *SAVERCNA*. A derivative from the same hydronymic base **Sáve-r-yā* is obviously continued – again with *e* > *a* due to the originally unstressed position – in the name of the *Savarias* river and of the ancient town of *Savaria* (today Szombathely/H).

1.3.1. There is also an instance of the theonym *SEQVANA* – known outside Italy from the theonymic formula *DEA SE-*

*QVANA*²⁶ –, which corresponds to the name of the French river *Séquana* and whose older form seems to have been the *ARESEQVANA* involved in the votive dedication RIG *L-12 & G-271 from the same area²⁷.

It appears in Italy in an undivided sequence of {theonym + epithet} where the theonym *SEQVANA*, together with the epithet of appurtenance *GALLA*²⁸, is contained in what we recognize as the juxtaposition *SEQVANNAGALLA*²⁹.

Juxtapositions seem to have been not too rare among the Roman inscriptions containing indigenous theonymic material, the obvious implication being that the dedicants were often not any longer aware of the exact linguistic content of the names involved in their dedications: in fact, the dative singular *Sequannagalle*, shortened as <sqnna galle>, i.e. as *S(e)q^{(u)a}mma-galle* with *-galle* for the dative **gallae* in the inscription under scrutiny – where also the juxtaposition of *ICAMNA* and *GALLA* is attested (§ 3.3.6 below) –, has several typological parallels outside Italy. Most emblematic is the case of the Rhenanian votive formula *deae Apadevae* where the old, pre-Celtic theonym *APA* and the Celtic theonymic determinative *DĒVA* together give the impression of a single divine name *APADEVA*, which could hence be used with the Latin determinative *DEA*³⁰. Other cases are related to the detonymic deity *LAR BEROBREOS* venerated in NW Spain: in these, the epithet of appurtenance **BEROBRIG-(Y)O-S* is split,

19. According to the F.E.R.C.AN. classification (cf. in particular my previous studies of [2003/07a] 67–68 and [2006/08 a] 66–67), we distinguish consequently between *epithets of appurtenance*, *functional epithets* and *polyvalent epithets*, whereas we can very seldom be sure about which of them represented real epicleses such as the functional epithet *SVLIS*, i.e. ὀφθαλμίτις, in the case of the Britannic *MINERVA SVLIS* (on it *ead.* [2005/08] 80).

20. On Celt. **mello-* for something protruding (OIr. *mell*) and hence an elevation or hill cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2002/09) 155 and *NWÄI*: 253. It is a toponymic element unfortunately left out by most, even recent etymological repertoires.

21. With posttonic degemination and lowering of the unstressed *-e-* to *-a-*, cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2009/10) 79 and, respectively, (2011/i.p.).

22. Cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2002/09) 162 and *passim*. — On the linguistic reasons for ‘rehabilitating’ the term Celto-Ligurian cf. also *ead.* (2005/06) and (2006), while RUBAT BOREL (2006/08) elucidates the modern currents of thought that prevented its acceptance.

23. On the Gaulish name *Pados* (going back either to **k^wod-ó-s* ‘The quick, sweeping river’ or to **k^wā-do-s* ‘The bulging, swelling river’) as opposed to the Celto-Ligurian *Bodincus* and the Early Celtic *Eridanos* cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (1999/2000) 96, (2002/05d) 105, (2002/09) 157; on the oldest equivalent *Eridanos* cf. now DELAMARRE (2008).

24. Today Serio, *BAGRW*: 39, F2.

25. Cf. the corresponding chapter in *Corpus F.E.R.C.ANI/1* (forthc.), where the underlying hydronym is translated as ‘The winding (river)’.

26. The theonym also appears, albeit without the theonymic determinative *DEA*, on a votive ring (too small for a person) found at Sources de la Seine, cf. FAUDET (2005/07) 181 with bibliography. — The term *theonymic determinative* was chosen in analogy to the determinatives used in Hittite texts where (1) they accompanied all sorts of names in order to identify the categories of their referents and (2) they also belonged to a different language than the names they preceded (exx. in HAINZMANN & DE BERNARDO STEMPEL, this volume, p. 201, 194).

27. In fact, the part written in Latin alphabet reads *Areséquani árius ióuru-s Lúcio Nertecoma*[], which is best translated as ‘To the goddess at the (river) Sequana; the *arios* [probably the 1st citizen or priest] offered it for the benefit of Lucius son of Nertecomaros’: cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (1992) 292, modified in (1999/i.p.) § 7.4 and – further on – in *LKA s.v.* «Gallolateinische Inschriften».

28. A full theonym *GALLIA* is attested in Britain in the formula *DEA GALLIA* with theonymic determinative (RIB III 3332).

29. Note that the archaic *SÉQVANA* < hydronym *Séquana* < IE **Sék^w-on-ā*, probably meaning ‘The talking river’, had – on account of the (posttonic) gemination – already yielded to the modernized form **SEQVANA* from which resulted the imported theonym *SEQVANA* found in the *ager Veronensis*: cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2002/05c) 75; (1995–96) 135 n. 236 and (2002/09) 160; (2011a) 15 and 19. FALILEYEV *et alii* (2010) 203.

30. For a detailed analysis cf. MOTTA (1985) and ARENAS ESTEBAN & DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2005).

its first part coalescing with the theonymic determinative *LAR* as in the dedications (*deo Laribero Breo*)³¹.

One more parallel from Italy is, possibly, to be found in the formula *Alantedoba* attested in the territory of Brixia: i.e., if it represents *ALANTEDOVA* with *-dova* having developed – by a later wave of *ew > ow* – from the aforesaid determinative *DĒVA* after it became opaque for having coalesced with a presumably dehydronymic theonym **ALANTIA*. The basis *Alantia* has, in fact, the structure of an ancient river name meaning ‘The meandering (water)’ with various cognates all over Europe³².

1.3.2. Derived from – or in any case related to – the name of the nearby lake *Robion* at Isola/F (Alpes Maritimes) is the theonym *ROBEO*, i.e. **ROBIO*. The lake, officially called *Lago Rabuons*, lies under a mountain called Becco Alto d’Ischiator, not far from the watershed with the Val Stura where the votive dedication was found (at Demonte/Cuneo, in the locality called Rialpo)³³.

1.4. The last subgroup of deonomastic divine names is constituted by epithets associated to the theonymic determinative *GENII*.

We can gain their relative chronology from the relative chronology of their respective theonymic formulae³⁴. The oldest type is obviously represented by the *GENII AVSVCIATIVM*, whose genitival epithet of appurtenance is related to a population group. In the younger type, the *GENIVS* is determined by the genitive of appurtenance of a toponym, at first with the name of a *pagus* expressed by way of the name of its inhabitants in the genitive plural: *GENIVS PAGI ARVSNATIVM*. Finally, the *GENIVS* is determined by the genitive singular of the oiconym corresponding to a Roman colony: *GENIVS COLONIAE BRIXIAE*.

Interestingly, the veneration of deities classified as *GENIVS/GENII* is by far less frequent in northern Italy than in the Iberian Peninsula³⁵.

31. Still another variant has the votive formula *deo Laribero Breoroni*; cf. RICHERT (2005) 24–25 and, on the Monte do Facho sanctuary, KOCH (2004/05). The reconstruction of the different variants now in DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2011e) 186–187.

32. *I.a.* the oiconym *Alantone* in Spain (FALILEYEV *et alii* [2010] 40); cf. also VILLAR & PRÓSPER (2005) 134–135. MORALEJO (2004/05): 841 ff. For a Continental Celtic change *ya > e* in unstressed position cf. my studies of (2006) and (2012).

33. According to RIBERI (1929) 11, personal communication of Francesco Rubat Borel on the 10th november 2011.

34. Obviously, nothing can be said of incomplete votive formulae like *Genio Asc()*.

35. While no more than 7 inscriptions have been hitherto collected from ‘Celtic’ Italy by the F.E.R.C.AN. team, at least seventeen different theonymic formulae have been recorded for the Iberian Peninsula according to OLIVARES PEDREÑO (2002) 284. For their distribution, cf. ARENAS ESTEBAN & LÓPEZ ROMERO (2008/10) 168–169 with fig. 11.

1.5. To the deonomastic group also belong the epithets of appurtenance of at least four kinds of *MATRONAE* (= Celt. *MAT^rRES*, cf. section 7 below) and perhaps also the divine name *MEDILAVINVS* found once at Lago di Ledro near Brescia and of which, unfortunately, not much is known³⁶.

Finally, there are four more divine names, namely *BERGIMOS* and *LABVROS*, *POENINVS*, and the alleged *RVBACASCVS*, for which a deonomastic origin is certainly plausible albeit not the only possible one, and which are therefore going to be discussed in §§ 3.1 and, respectively, 3.2 and 5.3 below.

1.6. When evaluating the deonomastic divine names of ancient Italy on the whole, three points should be stressed:

1) *significatio onomastica* does not imply phenomena of *interpretatio*³⁷. Even when a linguistically Celtic adjective is appended as epithet of appurtenance – e.g. *LEVCIMALICOS* – to a Classical Mediterranean theonym – e.g. *MARS* –, it only means that the worshipper of *MARS* involved in the specific dedication had some interest vested in the locality of **Leuciméllon*; accordingly, the deity itself has much the same value as a *MARS CEMENELVS* or *VINTIVS* and does not tell us anything about the ethnicity, religion or language of the dedicant. In fact, it does not tell us anything more than a *MARS CYPRIVS* or a *MARS QVIRINVS*³⁸.

2) Deonomastic theonyms are tendentially quite late and very probably more Roman than Celtic, since they are not reflected in the theophoric personal names of Celtic stock³⁹. With the exception of few dehydronymic theonyms such as the aforesaid (*ARE*)*SEQVANA*, they are also not attested in truly Celtic inscriptions⁴⁰. Furthermore, the settlements corresponding to detoponymic theonyms gained importance only comparatively late, thus leaving only some hydronyms and perhaps oronyms as candidates for an early divinization.

3) Given that more than 50 % of the deonomastic divine names discussed in this section were – as we have seen – evidently imported into the Italian Peninsula, we should defi-

36. Although its first element seems to refer to ‘the middle’, and the second probably contains the IE root **lewb₃-* ‘waschen’ (*LIV*: 418; *IEW*: 692), it is not even clear to which linguistic milieu it belongs. On Late Gaulish *lautro· balneo* in Endlicher’s Glossary and other Celtic words formed from the aforesaid root cf. TOORIANS (2006/08) 172; *DLG*: 198; FALILEYEV *et alii* (2010) 143–144 with bibliography; BLOM (2011) 174.

37. Unfortunately, the opposite assumption is made – almost automatically – by most authors, *i.a.* OLIVARES PEDREÑO (2008) 228.

38. See also HAINZMANN & DE BERNARDO STEMPEL in this volume, p. 194.

39. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2007/08) 95. Further bibliography in n. 6 above.

40. Cf. n. 28 above. — On *ALISANOS* as a probable taboo label for the smith-god *GOBAN(N)OS* cf. my discussion in (2010) 118–119.

nately not assume that every so-called ‘indigenous’ divine-name listed in the following sections really originated in the regions under study, a much too frequent type of automatic erroneous assumption.

Significatio indigena non Celtica

2.0. The second group which can and must be identified is that of divine names formed by means of non-Celtic lexemes and presumably originated by *significatio indigena non Celtica*⁴¹.

In the areas of ancient Italy which were mostly Celtic-speaking, only four theonyms of this type are found⁴²: one of them is pre-Celtic of unspecific Indo-European origin and the other three are of Italic stock.

2.1. It is thus possible to establish a *relative chronology*, and we shall see that the older divine names were, again, coined in order to name water-deities.

The name of the Italian *Ábano Terme* still preserves the name of the god *ÁPONOS*, also contained in several inscriptions, though with shortened votive formula *A(pono) A(ugusto)*⁴³, and in the derived theophoric personal name *Ápponios*: the theonym is formed by means of the specifically theonymic suffix *-ono-* (NWÄI: 452–453) from the old IE basis *apa* ‘water’ (*NIL*: 311 ff.) which – as already commented in § 1.3.1 – came to be worshipped later by the Celts as *APA DĒVA* and in the Roman period as *DEA APA-DEVA*. Other divine entities named after the same IE basis are, first of all, the derivative *APONIANICOS* on the Iberian Peninsula, the Indian *ĀPAS* with their descendant *ĀPĀM NĀPĀT* and their respective Avestan equivalents, the Baltic godly river *ŪPINIS*⁴⁴.

The also pre-Celtic *REVINVS*, presumably derived from an IE basis **rewi-* ‘the flow; a stream’ of Italic stock, is particularly interesting on account of its probably Lusitanian pendant *REVIS*⁴⁵.

2.2. The names of the last – and apparently youngest – two deities in this group can be understood from the Latin language: that of the landscape-related goddess *AEQVORNA* with its delabialized variants *AECORNA* and *AECVRNA* as derived from *aequor* ‘plain; water extension’⁴⁶ and that of the group of male *NIXVS*, called by Festus *NIXI DI*, as a deity of human life referring to ‘the efforts of childbirth’ like the verbal noun *nixus*, *-us* from which it is derived⁴⁷.

Significatio indigena Celtica

3.0. We can then individuate about seventeen divine names based on Celtic appellatives and presumably coined by *significatio indigena Celtica*.

We cannot, however, quantify the deities involved, given that at least three of them are of *antonomastic type*⁴⁸.

3.1. Since such theonyms par excellence, prompted either by taboo or by *breviloquentia*, do not offer any clues about the actual function of the involved deity, but only stress general divine qualities like magnitude, strength or height⁴⁹, there is no way to tell which might have been the real name of the deity invoked – whether pre-Celtic, Celtic, Classical or even oriental –, nor even if they referred to different deities or to the same one.

This is evidently the case of *BRASSĒNNOS* ‘the Great God’, a derivative with theonymic suffix *-no-* from Celt. **brasso-* ‘great’ (< IE **g^wrǝ-sto-* ‘heavy’) whose later variant *BRASĒNNOS* shows pretonic simplification of the first, etymological geminata: we can, accordingly, reconstruct the following subsequent stages: **Brásto-no-s* > **Brásenos*⁵⁰ > *Brassénnos*⁵¹ > *Brasénmos*⁵².

The same can be said for the gender-switching couple *ABVRNOS/ABVRNA*⁵³. Its masculine form *Aburnos* is also

41. The term *significatio indigena* was introduced in order to account for non-deonomastic divine names of indigenous, non-Classical languages that were coined in order to designate indigenous if not necessarily autochthonous deities (HAINZMANN & DE BERNARDO STEMPEL in this volume, p. 206 and 194).

42. A very reduced number if compared with the fourteen of Narbonensis or the more than twelve of Hispania, for which cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2003/07a) 70–71 and, respectively, ARENAS ESTEBAN & LÓPEZ ROMERO (2008/10) 155, 160–162 and 164–165.

43. The alternative interpretation proposed, *A(quis) A(poni)*, is somewhat less plausible, since it is improbable that a seldom theonymic determinative like *AQVAE* should be reduced to its mere and ambiguous initial vowel.

44. From Lith. *ùpė* ‘river’. More details and bibliography in ARENAS ESTEBAN & DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2005) 49–50.

45. On the latter VILLAR (1993/96); further inscriptions with the same classifier *REVIS* (which was obviously added – in order to clarify them – to older and meanwhile opaque Celtic hydronyms that had been deified) were published by *id.* (1994–95), *id.* & PRÓSPER (2003), *ead.* (2009).

46. Cf. ŠAŠEL KOS (1999) 47 ff., where other hypotheses are also taken into account, and *ead.* (2006/08) 690–691.

47. RIGATO (2007/08) 239–240.

48. The category, first defined in DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2003/07a) 72–73, has now been extensively studied in *eadem* (2010).

49. Or else divinity, sovereignty, veneration, holiness, fame, goodness and peacefulness as in examples known from outside Italy such as *OLLODEVOS*, the ‘Entirely god’ with his Germanicized female counterpart *ALATEIVIA* and, respectively, *VERORIS*, i.e. **Upero-rik-s* the ‘Superior king’, the ‘prayer’s god’ *ARC(IAC)V*, the ‘very holy’ *ANCASTA* (: Gaul. *cađdos* ‘sanctus’), the ‘famous’ *CLVTOIDA* Germanicized as *HLŪDANA*, the ‘favourable’ *DEX(S)IVA* and the ‘peaceful’ *ARAMV/ARABOS*.

50. With consonantal assimilation and posttonic *o > e* narrowing.

51. With posttonic gemination after the ‘Gaulish’ accent-shift.

52. On the various types of gemination and degemination in Continental Celtic cf. now DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2009/10). For the derivational basis, *Sonanten*: 85 ff.

53. According to a type very frequent in and probably characteristic of the Celtic world: DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2004/06). Cf. also *ead.* (2008/10b) 139 ff.

found many times in Spain as a theophoric personal name, while the derivative *Aburnius* is known from Dacia and Pannonia⁵⁴. It is a theonymic derivative from the Common-Celtic lexeme *ábro-* ‘strong’ (IE **ábro-*)⁵⁵ showing two well-known archaic and partly dialectal features. The first one is the epenthesis which led from *ábro-*, found *i.a.* as (a dative?) Αβρω on a capital at Uzès near Nîmes (RIG G-219), to the *áburo*⁵⁶ that appears also in the Iberian Peninsula. There, the Celtiberian genitive/ablative **áburās* of its feminine form is engraved before the firing/drying on a *dolium* found at Botorrta (K.1.22): it reads *A.bu.r.a.z.*, showing the regular sonorization of the final sibilant after a syllable beginning with voiced consonant⁵⁷, and might refer either to the town of procedence or to a woman merchant⁵⁸. The second feature is the syncope – of the unstressed penultimate vowel – intervening in the archaic derivative **ABÚRO-NO-S/-NĀ*, obtained by appending the theonymical suffix to the aforesaid proparoxytone *áburo*⁵⁹.

The last in this subgroup is, possibly, the divine name *BERGIMOS*, which – on account of its suffix *-mo-* – might be simply a superlative label meaning ‘the Highest’. Nevertheless, it could also represent a full theonym coined by *significatio onomastica* and gender switch from the name of the town of Βέρρομον⁶⁰.

3.1.1. A further instance of a suppressed theonym – either as a case of taboo or of ellipsis (*breviloquentia*) – is

54. For the actual forms cf. *i.a.* *OPEL s.vv.* and VALLEJO RUIZ (2005) 99 ff.

55. DEGAVRE (1998–2004) I 22. Strangely, the lemma is neither contained in *DLG* nor in MATASOVIĆ (2009).

56. The colour of the *svarabhakti* vowel being determined by the preceding labial stop, cf. § 1.2 with n. 23 above.

57. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2004/05), here 550.

58. The content of the graffito had not yet been identified. The authors of *MLH IV* and *V/1* only suggest that it may represent the name of a town. However, the only toponomastic evidence that might have been obtained from the same derivational base is that of a Turdetan *Abra* not far from Obulco (*BAGR W*: 27, A4). On the other hand, personal names of this type are very well attested, even in their female variants (*Abra, Aburea*), and there is also some evidence for working women in the Keltiké and Celtiberia: data and bibliography in DE BERNARDO STEMPEL & BURILLO & SAIZ & WEDENIG (2012); the present author has now added more details in (2012).

59. On the archaic Celtic antepenultimate stress and its consequences cf. in particular my studies of (2005/07) 156–159, (2002/09) and (2011a).

60. On *BERGIMOS* and his likeness to *APOLLO* cf. now VAVASSORI (2007/08); “il dio celtico *Bergimus* era venerato nell’area di Como, Bergamo e Brescia, ma, dopo la conquista romana, soltanto i Bresciani ne difesero la sopravvivenza” (*op. cit.*: 372). — In either case, we observe here one more instance of a posttonic vowel weakened to *-i-*.

found in the votive formula *Toutati Medurini*: the first element, *TOVTATIS* (< *TEVTATIS*), is originally an epithet of appurtenance to the *teuta* that, *i.a.* because it is derived using the agentive dental-suffix *-ti-*, has come to express the function of any deity protecting the tribe or town; note that the variant attested in Italy takes a diachronically intermediate position between the form with archaic diphthong *-eu-* and Latinate nominative-ending of the indirect transmission (*TEVTATES*) and those with monophthongization, resulting in *-o-* and/or *-u-*⁶¹.

In the inscription under investigation, the epithet *TOVTATIS*, instead of appearing at the end of a string composed by {theonym ± functional epithet (here *MEDVRINIS*) + epithet of appurtenance (here *TOVTATIS*)} has replaced – as often – the actual theonym. In particular, in the instances we know of, the epithet *TOVTATIS* tends to replace indigenous theonyms while it is normally appended to Mediterranean ones.

As to the epithet *MEDVRINIS*, it seems to suggest an intoxicating deity, given that it represents – either as functional epithet or as a deonomastic epithet of appurtenance – an adjectival derivative of a Western-Celtic **Meduris* < **Meduriks*, apparently meaning ‘rich in honey or mead’⁶². The intoxicating deity involved, however, need not have been an indigenous one⁶³.

3.2. Also ambiguous is the case of *LABVROS*, *i.e.* < **LÁBAROS* from Celt. *lab(a)ro-* ‘talkative’, again with *-u-* instead of *-o-* in the proximity of a labial stop: does it represent an oracular indigenous deity or is it just another case of *significatio onomastica* of dehydronymic origin, and as such obtained from a river name **Lábaros*⁶⁴?

3.3. Of the thirteen indigenous Celtic divine names left, one more (*BELENOS*) is related to water⁶⁵, two each to light (*ATAECINA* and *SIRONA*) and trees (*CVSLÁNOS* and the comparatively well attested *AERECVRA*), three to other types of landscape (*MAINIALIS*, *CAVAVIOS*, *ACINORIS*), probably three to human life and health (*BÍTTOI*, perhaps *PARÓNN()*), and

61. More details in GROH *et alii* (2011), Chapter 13, and in *Corpus F.E.R.C.A.N. I/1* (forthc.) *s.v.* «*Toutatis*».

62. Cf. *KGPN*: 240–241.

63. An *explicatio vel translatio Celtica* of the Mediterranean *FAVNVS* as *MEDIGENOS* ‘mead-begotten’, thus matching the Classical Διόνυσος μελιχίος, was discussed by me in (2005/08) 78–79. For the phenomenon in general see sections 5 and 6 below.

64. In this sense ŠAŠEL KOS (2006/08) 691. For hydronymic parallels cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (1999/2000) 103–104; FALILEYEV *et alii* (2010) 21.

65. As always, the etymology of the divine names involved can only give us hints of what was just the main one among the original functions or properties of the involved deity.

ICAMNA, worshipped here as IHAMNA GALLA) and two to warfare (EP(H)ONA and ORGENOS).

3.3.1. The water deity is BELENOS, also known from various other Roman provinces and hence already variously commented on.

We maintain that his name is actually related to the word for ‘spring’ (IE *g^wélH-e-n-) ⁶⁶ and that – if we organize its attestations from in- and outside the Italian Peninsula ⁶⁷ on a diachronic axis – we can recognize no less than nine different linguistic stages ⁶⁸.

The beginning seems to have been a *BÉLENIS, i.e. *g^wélH-e-n-i-s, where the *i*-stem indicated the deity’s relation to the springs (*g^wélH-e-n-) ⁶⁹. This is implied by the variant *BÉLLENIS – with subsequent posttonic gemination – which is attested in the dative *Béllenei* of a theophoric personal name at Padua and also by the female personal name *Béllenia*.

The later thematized form of the name had more success: BÉLENOS from *g^wélH-e-n-o-s as e.g. in the Gaulish coin-legend <belenoc>. From this, three further variants developed: on the one hand, BÉLANOS – with reduction to *-a-* of the original posttonic vowel –, as implied by *Belanio* on a firing-list at La Graufesenque and by the Hispano-Celtic family-name *Belainocum* (<*Belan-*yo-kōm*), meaning ‘of the Belainoci (formerly Belanyocōs), either priests or *cultores* of BÉLANOS, and even used as a theophoric attribute in Thracia ⁷⁰; on the other hand, the posttonic vowel reduction to *-i-* favoured in other areas led to BÉLINOS, which is also written <belinoc> on coins and <Βηλεινος> in the so-called Gallo-Greek inscriptions and is attested in Italy both in the

dative *Belino* and in the genitive (*aedem*) *Belini*. From the latter, a third variant *BÉLLINOS with posttonic gemination was also created, as implied by the Latinate theophoric personal name *Béllinus*.

With the spread of the Gaulish language, the place of the stress moved to the penultimate syllable ⁷¹, so that the thematic BÉLENOS (stage 2) gave way to a modernized paroxytone BELÉNO. This is the form underlying both the name of the Aquitanian ethnos *Belenni* (still to be seen in the *varia lectio* of a Swiss codex, but otherwise falsely restituted as *Belendi* with an unetymological nexus *-nd-* substituting the almost regular posttonic geminata) and toponyms like *Blénio*/I as opposed to *Biel*/CH ⁷². We have reasons for thinking that the paroxytone form also underlied the Italian votive formulae of mixed indigenous~Roman type such as: i) *deo Beleno*, where the Celtic theonym – in its dative form – is preceded by a Latin theonymic determinative; ii) *Beleno sancto/defensori/Aug(usto)*, where the Celtic theonym, again in the dative form, is followed by one of three alternative Latin qualifiers ⁷³; iii) *Apollini Beleno ± Aug(usto)*, where the Celtic deity, addressed in the dative with or without Latin qualifier, is related by *identificatio Romana vel indigena* to a deity of the Classical pantheon ⁷⁴.

Still later, the ending *-énos* was probably substituted by the Latin suffix *-īnos*, thus leading to the form BELÍNOS that seems to underly the Italian mixed (indigenous~Roman) votive formulae *Belino Aug(usto)* and – again with *identificatio Romana vel indigena* – *Apolloni (!) Belino* ⁷⁵.

An even more modern variant, BALÍNOS, with weakening of the pretonic vowel, appears to have been developed on account both of an Autun spindle whorl (RIG L-115) and some theophoric names (NPC: 37). These are the male *Baliniccus* and the female *Balínis*, carried by the daughter of a *Béllinus* and thus nicely confirming the relative chronology established above. On the spindle whorl, a phrase reading *Balineenata* is employed as apposition to the vocative *Matta, dagomota* in order to strengthen – by mentioning the deity – the sexual allusion contained in Gaulish *-mota*.

66. Cf. now also ŠAŠEL KOS (2001) 13 and ZACCARIA (2007/08) 376–377, in the wake of DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2003) 56–57, (2005/08) 68, and (2008/10a) 23.

67. For which cf. the bibliography in *Corpus F.E.R.C.AN. I/1* (forthc.) s.v. «Belinos».

68. It is important that at least a distinction between (1) the instances of <Belenos>, (2) the instances of <Belinos> and (3) the cases where the theonym appears shortened or damaged be made in the maps in the F.E.R.C.AN. volumes. Furthermore, here as well as in the maps concerning all other divine names a distinction should also be made between (a) formulae with bare indigenous theonym, (b) formulae where the theonym is accompanied by a Latin determinative or qualifier, (c) formulae with *explicatio vel translatio Latina* of the indigenous theonym, (d) formulae in which the indigenous deity is identified with a non-indigenous one.

69. On ancient *i*-stem theonyms cf. also KGP: 95–96. Less probable is that the *i*-stem was a strategy for deriving idionyms from the theonym, since there are almost no parallels for such a pattern: cf. my (2007/08) systematic study of theophoric personal names and *Balánis* here in the following.

70. DIMITROV (2009) 47.

71. Cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2002) 118–119, (2005/07) 156–159 and (2011a), partly modifying *ead.* (1994) and (1995).

72. Cf. AC: I, col. 370; *ThLG*: 24; DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2006/08c) 102 and, resp., *ead.* (2011a) 18.

73. The term *qualifier* is consequently used to indicate unspecific Latin adjectives (e.g. *sanct(issim)us/ -a/ -i/ -ae*) or substantives (e.g. *rex/ regina*) accompanying indigenous divine names, cf. also HAINZMANN & DE BERNARDO STEMPEL in this volume, p. 201.

74. The latter phenomenon has been defined by the present author, cf. in particular (2005/08) 72–73, (2006/08a) 69, (2007/i.p.); (2003/07a) 69.

75. Note that the alleged personal name **Aesubilino*- at Colchester is edited as *Aesurilino*- in RIB 193.

It is unfortunately unclear which of *BELENOS*' variants was involved in the votive formula *Fonti B()* from Aquileia, with *explicatio vel translatio Latina* by means of the divine name *FONS*⁷⁶.

3.3.2. To the semantic sphere of *light* belong the theonyms *ATAECINA* 'The one of the night' and *SIRONA* 'The deity of the (morning) star or stars'. For being later variants of the *basic form* *ATAICINA* and, respectively, *DIRONA*, which are known from outside Italy, they are likely to be imported. This is quite obvious in the case of the first, which is found at Cagliari⁷⁷.

The etymology of both was recognized already long ago. *ATAICINA* is a Western derivative of Celtic **atakī* 'night' with Continental Celtic palatalization (hence *ATAICINA* from **ATACINA*)⁷⁸. The original **at-ak-ī*, however, meant 'interval, pause' and was related to Latin *annus* and W. *adeg* 'suitable time; season; wane of the moon' (< **at-ik-ā*). The new meaning 'night', also shared by Old Irish *adaig*, results from ellipsis in the compound *nocht-adaig* 'the night's interval' (cf. also *dub-adaig* 'the dark interval/night'). This implies a lexical modernization with respect to the inherited word for 'night', preserved in the Brittonic varieties, in Old Irish *innocht* 'tonight' and, last not least, in Gaulish *decam-noctiacis* (a Latinate ablative plural).

The Italian variant *ATAECINA* simply reflects a Latinate orthography, as opposed to the variants with voicing of the voiceless stops and monophthongized diphthong (*i.a.* *ADEGINA*) found in Spain⁷⁹.

As to *DIRONA*, it was formed by appending the female theonymic suffix *-onā* to the regular Celtic outcome of **h₂stēr-*, the IE word for 'star'. Since this lexeme has no connection with the Goidelic and/or Brittonic words for 'moon', it is possible to think that it originally referred to a goddess of the stars rather than to the moon as it is usually assumed⁸⁰.

The Italian variant *SIRONA* – be it **SIRONA* or **SIRÓNA* – represents an intermediate form between the original *DIRONA*

and the modernized *SERANA*, which reflects both accentual stages at the same time. *SERANA* can, in fact, only be accounted for by pretonic vowel assimilation in a former **SIRANA*, whose internal *-a-* presupposes in its turn the weakening of the presuffixal vowel *-o-* in the original derivative **SIRONA*.

3.3.3. The hitherto isolated *CVSLANOS* and the comparatively well attested *AERECVRA*, a variant of *HERCVRA*, can be assumed to belong to the many Celtic theonyms related to *trees and woods*.

The first can be traced back to an original **CÓSLO-NO-S*, a theonymic derivative from the 'hazel(-tree)', called **koslo-* in Celtic⁸¹, with suffix *-no-*. The second stage must have been **CÓSLANOS*, again with weakening to *-a-* of the – post-tonic – thematic vowel of the derivational basis. Afterwards, the Gallo-British stress-shift produced **COSLÁNOS*, which finally led to the Italian *CVSLÁNOS*.

The second theonym, albeit derived from the IE name of the oak (**perk^wu-*)⁸² – with the delabialization of the labio-velar before the labial vowel *-u-* found in the pre-Gaulish period –, more likely alluded to the deity of the life-tree. In fact, (1) the **pérk^(w)ura* to which we can trace it back seems to be related to the Baltic god *PERKÚNAS* of IE heritage⁸³; (2) the involved goddess is sometimes associated to the underworld, e.g. in the *identificatio Romana vel indigena* with *IVNO INFERNA* which takes place in a Norican defixio⁸⁴. Although the basic form of this theonym can be seen in *HERCVRA*, it is also attested in a full range of variants. Some of

76. More details about this phenomenon in section 4 below.

77. At this juncture, a warning should be uttered for the F.E.R.C.AN. teams not to confine themselves just to the better-known Celtic-speaking areas of each province.

78. For the actual reconstruction cf. now DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2011e) 179 with n. 20, while all data and a discussion of the earlier bibliography are to be found in NWÄI: 80 and 581 n. 97 (to be added to ROTHENHOEFER [2009] and to MARCO SIMÓN [2011] 53–54). Cf. also ABASCAL PALAZÓN (1995) and the map by ARENAS ESTEBAN & LÓPEZ ROMERO (2008/10) 162.

79. Where doubling of the dental stop is also not unknown (*Att(a)e-*, *Addae-*).

80. Cf. *Corpus F.E.R.C.AN. I/1* (forthc.) s.v. «Sirona nisi Dirona vel Oirona».

81. MATASOVIĆ (2009) 218. The same etymology has been meanwhile also proposed by TOORIANI (2011) 153 in the course of a discussion of French, Belgian and Dutch toponyms going back to **coslo-dūmon*.

82. From which several other pre-Gaulish indigenous divine names are derived, like *NYMPHAE PERCERNAE* in Narbonensis and **PERKVN(ET-)* at Botorrita (see § 7.3.3 with n. 150 below). A few are known from Aquitany: *DEVS EXP(E)RCENNIOS* and *PEROCOS* with epenthesis at Sazeirat (RIG *L-7); possibly, the votive formulae *Ercu deo*, *Erge deo* – on account *i.a.* of the theophoric PN *Erguena* < **Erku-genā* – and *Erciano deo*; more details in *Corpus F.E.R.C.AN. I/1* (forthc.) s.v. «Ercura».

83. It is even possible that Celtic **(P)erkuyā* represented the assimilated form of an original **Perkunā*, i.e. of the female manifestation of the IE god **Perkunos*.

84. She is also venerated together with *DIS PATER*, *CERBERVS* and *MERCVRIVS*. The association of the deity *HERCVRA* with the underworld is one of the reasons for rejecting to segment her name into *eri-* plus an alleged **[s]k'euH-ro-* from IE **k'ewero-* "Nord, Nordwind" (*IEW*: 597) – as proposed by DELAMARRE (*i.a.* *NPC*: 13–14), who translates it as "Vent-d'Ouest". His phonetically and semantically problematic proposal leaves, moreover, unexplained the presence of *H-* and *-q-* in some of the more conservative variants. Finally, even the shifting quality of the vowel between *-r-* and *-q/c-* can be accounted for much better if the vowel itself is epenthetic.

them – such as *HEREQVRA* – still show the inherited *H-* and *-q-* together with the early dialectal epenthesis, while others show all sorts of paretymological analogies. In this context, the Italian variant is – once more – comparatively modern, since *AERECVRA* shows no initial *H-*, at the same time introducing epenthesis and a Latinate diphthong *Ae-*.

3.3.4. We then observe a group of *landscape*-related divine names such as *MAINIALIS*, probably a comparatively recent variant of the original theonym **MAGIN-IAL-I-S*, derived from Celt. *magino-* ‘stone, place’⁸⁵.

It is also probable that the name *MAINIALIS*, only known from the Italian Peninsula and hitherto unexplained, refers to the same ‘stony’ god who was called *AGAVNOS* and *CARNIOS* in other territories, given that we must allow for *synonymic variation* among the divine names employed across the Keltiké⁸⁶.

The second landscape-related divine name is the epithet *CAVAVIOS* which follows in the votive formula both the Latin determinative *DEVS* and the qualifier *DOMINVS* and implies a theonym **CAVAVOS* < **Káwo-wo-s* ‘Related to caverns’ or ‘to the cavern’, a derivative of Celt. *cavo-* ‘cavern’⁸⁷, again with weakening of the unstressed *-o-* to *-a-*. Found in the Val di Non, it might have perhaps come to refer to a mining god⁸⁸.

The third and last theonym in this group would be *ACINORIS*, provided that his Slovene find spot is to be ascribed to Italy and not to the Norican territories. Its sound shape is certainly in accordance with the ending *-is* typical of the western Italian Celticity, given that the name goes back to **ACINORIX* ‘the king of the fields’. The compound must have referred to a deity of agriculture and vegetation, on account *i.a.* of the Old Celtic land measure *acina* and of Old Irish *ached* ‘expanse of ground; pasture, field’⁸⁹.

3.3.5. Of *EPONA*, the original nature-deity who became a

Celto-Roman warfare deity, we find in our corpus also the Hellenized variant *EPHONA*, meaning that at least this instance was very probably imported into Italy from outside. Its cult seems, however, to have continued in Piedmont till the 5th c., given that herds *stabulabantur* [...] *sub tutamine* [...] *Eponae* as late as the Abbey of San Dalmazzo, the ancient Pedona, was founded (so the 1st homily of Valerianus of Cimiez, *pace* Riberi [1929] 327, personal communication of Francesco Rubat Borel).

The epicoric warfare deity seems rather to have been the god called *ORGENOS*⁹⁰, a theonym derived by addition of the suffix *-no-* from the Celtic verbal stem found *i.a.* in the Gaulish imperative *orge · occide*⁹¹. The god’s name is also contained in the ethnonym *Orgenomescui* documented in Spain, which must hence be translated more precisely ‘Inebriated by the slayer god’⁹². It is, on the other hand, not clear whether the god *ORGENOS* might have been related to a *DEA ORCIA*, officially venerated in the proximity of Singidunum, in Moesia superior, during the 3rd c. AD⁹³.

3.3.6. Another obviously imported deity is the *health* goddess invoked as *IHAMNAGALLA* in the dative singular *Ihamnagall(a)e* of the same votive inscription where we situated the *S(e)q(ua)nnagall(a)e* discussed above in § 1.3.1.

The juxtaposition we assumed in the case of <Sqnnagalle> is, in fact, also supported by its very nearness to another juxtaposition of the same type, involving the theonym *IHAMNA* – a variant of **ICAMNA* – and the appurtenance epithet *GALLA*.

The protoform **ICAMNA* ‘the Healing’ is regularly continued as *ICAVNA* at Auxerre and has a semantic equivalent in the compound theonym *ICOVELLAVNA* known from a healing sanctuary at Metz and apparently describing a ‘health-ruling’ goddess⁹⁴.

It is, on the other hand, difficult to say whether the Celtic theonym *ÍCCONA* embedded in the rock inscription of Cabeço das Frágoas, written in Lusitanian language (L.3.1), is simply another cognate and as such an independent de-

85. MATASOVIĆ (2009) 252.

86. On *AGAVNOS*, venerated in Pannonia superior, cf. in particular my previous studies of (1994) 286 and (2003) 46. On synonymic variation in general cf. *ead.* (2003) 57 ff., (2004/06) 38 ff., (2005/08) 69–70, as well as *ead.* & HAINZMANN (2006) 22.

87. Found *i.a.* in the ethnic name of ‘The cave dwellers’ *Andecavi* in France: DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2006/08c) 107 with n. 67. FALILEYEV *et alii* (2010) 48.

88. If this were the case, it might as well represent a secondary development, given that – as we saw in the introduction to this study – divine names related to human activities seem to belong to a comparatively younger period.

89. Cf. HAINZMANN & DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2003/07) 142 ff., where the inscription has been republished and the theonym translated as “König der Felder”, “der an Landmaßen Reiche” (p. 144, to be added to ŠAŠEL KOS [2006/08] 697). For the *determinans* cf. also FALILEYEV *et alii* (2010) 5 and 38.

90. Cf. RIGATO (2007/08) 234–235 in the wake of G. SUSINI.

91. MATASOVIĆ (2009) 300.

92. And not ***Ivres de meurtres* or ‘The drunks that kill’ with *DLG*: 244 and MARCO SIMÓN (2010) 152. The new translation should also be added to GARCÍA ALONSO (2006) 91 and to my own discussion of (2006/08c) 112. The presence of the divine name in both Italy and Spain is just one among several correspondences between both countries in ancient times, cf. ARENAS ESTEBAN & *ead.* (2003/11) 133–134 with table no. 10.

93. Cf. GAVRILOVIĆ (2005/07).

94. Cf. FAUDET (2005/07) 183–184 and DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2003) 60, with discussion of the related forms quoted in the following and further bibliography.

relative **Icco-nā* (as I thought in 2003, *l.c.*), or if it continues the same basic form **ĪCAMNA*, thus representing a later phonetic development of the intermediate stage *ĪCAVNA* with monophthongization of the diphthong and posttonic gemination.

The *-b-* in our variant *IHAMNA* attested in the territory surrounding Verona indicates foreign precedence of dedicants and/or deity, given that the sound change *k > b* is often found in the Germanic provinces, where it is part of the first Germanic consonant-shift and as such due to the widespread Germanic superstrate⁹⁵. On the other hand, the appurtenance epithet *GALLA* may rather suggest an Aquitanian origin, given that Celtic words in those territories often show the transformation of stops into velar spirants⁹⁶.

3.3.7. A further and probably quite old subgroup is constituted – among the indigenous non-deonomastic deities with Celtic names – by the deities presiding over *human life*.

One of them is attested with a masculine plural name, *BITTOI*. Its basic form **BITO-* points to a derivative **BITW-O-* from the Celtic lexeme *bitu-* ‘life’ < IE **g^wiH-tu-*⁹⁷. It seems to have referred to gods literally ‘related to life’, i.e. creating/ruling our world.

95. Cf. *i.a.* the Germanicized Latinate realization of the Celtic **MAT^rRES BOVDVNECIAS* and **GESACENAS* as *MATRONAE BOVDVNEIHAE* and *GESAHENAE* in SPICKERMANN & DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2002/05) 142–144.

96. A possible consequence of the spirantization of the new geminate clusters (see in § 6.2 below and the bibliography in n. 52 above), the isogloss still needs systematic investigation. Examples are the Aquitanian divine name variants *SVHVGIOS* < *SVTVGIOS*, originally **Sutuk-yos*, a functional epithet of the agricultural *MARS* derived from Celtic **sutu-* ‘fruit, produce’; idionyms like the genitive *Saberossis* from **Sakro-st-i-s*, with the same epenthesis shown by the *Saceronia*, *Sacerius* and *Sacerilla* found in other Celtic-speaking provinces. The same epenthesis accounts for **Ulobo-st-o-s* < **Ulco-st-o-s*, continued by the dative *Uloboxo* and later by the *i*-stem (genitive) *Uloboxis* and by the *-yo*-stem (genitive) *Uloboxisii*. The etymology is obviously the same as that of the Lepontic personal name *Ulcus*, later continued in *Ulcus*, *Ulcudius*, a perfect match with the German personal name *Wulf*, *Wolf*. The epenthetic vowel shows a different colour in the archaic name *Ulcirris* of *Uloboxos*’ father (still with preserved velar and with an *i*-stem going back to an original **Ulciro-*) and also in the name *Ulluccos* attested in the genitive on a Senonian coin. The latter can, in fact, be traced back to **Ullucos* < **Úllucos* < **Úlucos* and further to **Úlcos*. Further instances of the Aquitanian spirantization of stops are *Bihossus/xus/tus*, all continuing an original **Bito-st-o-s*, and *Dunoho-* < **Dubnoco-* in the genitives *Dunohorigis* and *Dunohoxsis*. For the epigraphic data cf. GORROCHATEGUI (1984) and in this volume; *OPEL*, *NPC* and *RDG s.vv.* Cf. also MATASOVIĆ (2009) 359–360 and 400; *Sonanten*: 134–135.

97. MATASOVIĆ (2009) 67. For **CwV > CV* in unstressed position in Continental Celtic cf. *i.a.* DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (1994) 23.

To the same functional category shall be ascribed the theonym *PARÓN*() of uncertain gender and number⁹⁸ if it contains the same base *par-* seen in the Welsh verb *paraf* ‘I create’⁹⁹.

Explicatio vel translatio Latina

4.0. We shall now turn to those divine names which imply various grades, i.e. subtypes of the traditionally called, poly-facetic “*interpretatio Romana*”¹⁰⁰.

First of all, we shall inquire into the Italian diffusion of the phenomenon which – already recognized in some cases by Léon Fleuriot – has been defined by the present author as *explicatio vel translatio Latina*¹⁰¹. It refers both (1) to the employment of already existing Roman theonyms for addressing an indigenous or otherwise foreign deity of semantically similar name and – in some other cases – even (2) to the specific creation of an adequate loan-translation of the Celtic or otherwise foreign name into Latin in order to integrate the involved deity into the Roman world (and pantheon).

For all we know, this phenomenon may be involved in all divine names which are linguistically Latin and semantically transparent, as in the case of the theonyms *VIRE*, *FRVGS* et *FEMINAE* or of the functional epithet in the formula *DII AQVATILES*. Even if we are not yet able to identify the language of the underlying indigenous theonyms, they seem to have been made more acceptable to the new Roman society by being converted into Latin – much as Latin “Deck-” and “Übersetzungsnamen” have done with indigenous personal names. One should not forget that “the adoption of Latin language was part of the ‘ideological package’ of the *Romanitas*”¹⁰².

4.1. A clear case of *explicatio vel translatio Latina a lingua Celtica* is that of the *FATAE CAMPESTRES*, in Italy also worshipped simply as *CAMPESTRES*. They correspond semantically to the Celtic theonymic formula *MAT^rRES MAGEIAE* (plural of Celt. **mages-ya-* ‘belonging or related to a field’) found in France.

4.2. An *explicatio vel translatio Latina a lingua Graeca* of the theonym *Ἔρως* with a parhedros might account for the theonymic couple (*MAN?*)*SVETA* et *DORMINVS*.

98. The divine name is not fully written in the only inscription.

99. From the IE verbal root **k^wer-* “(ab)schneiden, schnitzen” (*LIV*: 391; *IEW*: 641–642).

100. For a comprehensive graphic representation cf. now HAINZMANN & DE BERNARDO STEMPEL in this volume, esp. pp. 207–211.

101. Cf. my previous studies of (2003/05a) 68, (2004/06) 33, (2005/08), (2006/08a) 68–69, (2007/i.p.).

102. Here in the words of MARCO SIMÓN (2010) 155.

One must, however, not forget the existence of a Roman god *SOMNVS*: “Nun sind aus der römischen Kaiserzeit rund zehn Bronzestatuetten des Somnus aus Ostgallien bekannt – während sie in Italien fehlen –, dazu eine Inschrift aus Riez in Südfrankreich, die besagt, daß zwei Ärzten dem Heilgott Aesculapius eine Bronzefigur des Somnus, einen goldenen Torques sowie zwei medizinische Instrumente zum Dank für sein Wirken geweiht haben”¹⁰³.

It seems rather less probable that the theonymic formula should have consisted, not unlike the case of the Norican *SEDATVS*¹⁰⁴, of Latinate taboo-theonyms representing an indigenous deity or deities.

Explicatio vel translatio Celtica

5.0. An almost inverse phenomenon – identified in 2005 by the present author – is that of *explicatio vel translatio Celtica*, by which classical deities are explained to their new Celtic-speaking worshippers with the help of Gaulish or otherwise Celtic appellatives addressing one among their multiple theological aspects. The structure of the new Celtic appellatives appears, at times, even to coincide with that of existing Classical epithets attributed to the involved deities or even of some of their epic/seis.

The obvious implication is that such ‘replica’ Celtic divine-names – mostly functional epithets – do not refer to Celtic deities at all, but to the traditional Classical/Mediterranean ones¹⁰⁵, mostly *IVPPITER*, *MARS*, *MERCVRIVS*, *APOLLO*, *HERCVLES* and *MINERVA*.

5.1. In our Italian corpus, we encounter at most one *Mercury* named with the help of the Celtic

language¹⁰⁶. The fact that there are practically no Celtic explanations of him in inscriptions on stone and *instrumentum* might, however, imply that he was an already familiar deity.

5.1.1. *MERCVRIVS* might be alluded to, however, in a Latin rock inscription at Crevoladossola, which reads *Tinco/Mocco) d(eo)*¹⁰⁷.

The actual theonym seems to have been substituted here by two epithets. The first, *TINCOS*, means ‘protector’ and is hence either a polyvalent epithet or a shortening of Mercury’s functional epithet *DVROTINCIOS*, which in its turn – for its meaning ‘door (*duro-*) protector (*tink-yo-s*)’ – could easily be a replica of *HERMES*’ epithet *πυληδόκος*¹⁰⁸. The second divine name, *MOCCOS*, is also known from France in association with *MERCVRIVS*¹⁰⁹, but – on account of its meaning ‘(wild) pig’¹¹⁰ – was in origin probably an alias of the boar-god *EBVROS* himself¹¹¹.

Accordingly, the Celtic votive formula *Tinco Mocco)* of the Crevoladossola rock inscription might stand for a ‘hidden’ formula {Mercurio Mocco/Eburo} or the like, i.e. for an *identificatio Romana vel indigena* between the Classical *MERCVRIVS* and an indigenous deity which, instead of naming the Mediterranean god by his actual name, represented him by means of an *explicatio vel translatio Celtica*. On the other hand, if *TINCOS* was here a simple polyvalent epithet and not back-derived from a compound, there may not have been any reference to Mercury whatsoever, the apposition

103. KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN (1991) 95 [spaced by me], who concludes that the Classical Roman *SOMNVS* was being worshipped as a healing god in Gaul. She also points out a small bronze statue from Besançon (no. 245 of the catalogue) where the ‘Roman’ god wears a silver torques, possibly as a token of gratitude for an accomplished healing.

104. Cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2002/05a) 22 and the lemma «Sedatus» in *Corpus F.E.R.C.AN.* I/1 (forthc.).

105. “we see once more that the huge number of linguistically Celtic divine names, most of them used very rarely or just once, actually represented a much smaller number of Celtic deities, together with some members of the Classical pantheon: indeed, most of the allegedly Celtic deities are simply local and more or less precise cognomina for Classical Mediterranean deities which in some cases appear to have been adopted even before the Roman conquest”: DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2006/08a) 70. Note that some colleagues, after antagonizing the concept of *explicatio vel translatio Celtica* (progressively refined by the present author since 2005, cf. the bibliography listed above in n. 101) are now proposing the same idea under different labels.

106. In fact, the Italian divine name *RVBASCVS*, albeit resembling a functional epithet suggesting the existence of a *** (MERCVRIVS) RVBASCVS*, is presumably a deonomastic theonym related to the *saltus Rubacaustus* and the *fundus Rubacotium* attested in Liguria (for the toponomastic data cf. PETRACCO & CAPRINI [1981] 22 and 69–70). The divine name would hence represent a case of –paretymologically corrupted – *significatio onomastica*, thus matching the other deity mentioned in the same inscription (*ROBEO*, cf. § 1.1 above).

107. CIL V 6650, cf. MENNELLA (1992), even if his restitution of the shortening as *d(icatum)* seems rather less probable. In any case, the reading is apparently supported by a <Moc> on a 1st c. BC patera from Oleggio (*CIT*: no. 85). Curiously, the rock inscription has not yet been included into the F.E.R.C.AN. materials.

108. Cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2008/10a) 23–24 with references. COATES (2011) 186–189, in his attempt at providing an etymology for the PN *Tincomaros* ‘Great at protecting’, is obviously not aware of the existing theonymic materials, nor of Celtiberian *ambi-tinkounei* in the 1st Botorrita bronze (discussed by DE BERNARDO STEMPEL [2008/10b] 8, with more references).

109. *RDG*: 53; STERCKX (1998) 44.

110. It is related *i.a.* to Old Irish *muc(c)* ‘pig, sow’ and Welsh *moch · id est porci* (*DLG*, *DIL* and *GPC s.vv.*).

111. Cf. the discovery by SANZ ARAGONÉS *et alii* (2011) and note that *LVGVS* had a mythological relation to boars (STERCKX [1998–2005] I, 107–108).

‘protector’ simply referring to the indigenous animal-god *MOCOS*.

5.1.2. Almost making up for *MERCURY*, we find instead a remarkable *Saturn*. He appears paraphrased by *explicatio vel translatio Celtica* as *DEVS ALOS SATVRNVS*, meaning ‘The nourisher god Saturn’.

The theonymic formula employed is formed by the real name (primary theonym) of the Mediterranean god *SATVRNVS* preceded by the Latin theonymic determinative *DEVS* plus the Celtic functional epithet *ALOS* that continues an IE *nomen agentis* **al-ó-s*¹¹².

In particular, the aforesaid theonymic formula teaches us that one should never divide any theonym from all the divine names and theonymic elements which accompany it. Although its epithet *ALOS* had been hitherto arbitrarily isolated as if it represented a supposedly independent “indigenous god **ALOS*”, there is no evidence for that at all. On the contrary, the fact that *SATVRNVS* is called *FRVGIFERVS* in Spain¹¹³ strongly supports the *explicatio vel translatio Celtica* envisaged here.

The adequate method for obtaining reliable results is hence always to start our analysis from the longest possible theonymic string attested.

5.2. The ways of referring to *Zeus* for the benefit of the Celtic-speaking worshippers were at least four in the territory at study.

5.2.1. In one of the relevant formulae, the Celtic epithet again precedes the Classical theonym — as it is actually required by the oldest IE and Celtic order of constituents, where the *determinans* precedes the *determinatum*.

This is the case of *REINIMOS IVPPI TER OPTIMVS MAXIMVS*, where the Classical *I. O. M.* is preceded by the polyvalent epithet *REINIMOS* ‘toughest, hardest’. The attribute can, in fact, be explained as an ancient superlative formation from the Celtic basis **regini-* ‘hard, stiff’ continued by Old Irish *rigin* ‘tough, hard’ and by Middle Welsh *rein* ‘stiff, rigid’¹¹⁴.

We have here another instance of the loss of intervocalic -*g*- in the proximity of the vowel -*i*-, already assumed for *MAINIALIS* and, possibly, *ROBEO* (§ 3.3.4 and 1.1 above). This sound change seems, therefore, to have been a dialectal isogloss in some of the territories under study.

5.2.2. The *IVPPI TER OPTIMVS MAXIMVS ADCÉNEICOS*, which

is also attested in Italy as *IVPPI TER OPTIMVS MAXIMVS AGGANÁICOS*, is a possible case of *explicatio vel translatio Celtica a lingua Graeca*. It is a replica of the Classical ‘Generating, i.e. Creating Zeus’ known in the Greek world as Ζεύς Γενέτωρ/Γεννήτωρ or else Γεναρχής or Γενηταίος.

The original *explicatio* or loan-translation must have been a Celtic compound **Ad+gêne-k-yo-s*, becoming **ADGÉNEICOS* by (pre)palatalization in the western Italian territory (bibliography in n. 78 above).

From the protoform **ADGÉNEICOS* can be explained both the pre-Gaulish form *ADCÉNEICOS* and its Gaulish variant *AGGANÁICOS*. In the first, *ADCÉNEICOS* < **ADGÉNEICOS*, we observe a hypercorrect writing of the velar in the original cluster *-*dg-*.

The second variant, *AGGANÁICOS*, presupposes – first of all – a weakening of the posttonic, unstressed -*ei-* to -*ai-*, namely **ADGÉNAICOS*. Later on, in the **ADGENÁICOS* resulting from the Gallo-British accent-shift, the original nexus *-*dg-* was assimilated into -*gg-*, and the original *-*e-* was assimilated to -*a-* in pretonic position before the now stressed -*ái-*¹¹⁵.

5.2.3. Remarkable is also the case of *IVPPI TER OPTIMVS MAXIMVS CONSERVATOR et AMBISAGROS*, where two divine names, a Latin functional epithet (*CONSERVATOR*) and a polyvalent Celtic epithet (*AMBISAGROS* ‘completely/very holy’) are linked by *et* and appended to the mention of the Classical *IVPPI TER OPTIMVS MAXIMVS*.

The *AMBISAGROS* used in this context represents an augmentative form of Celt. **sakro-* ‘holy’ achieved by prefixing *ambi-* (IE **mb^hi* ‘um (etwas) herum’, *IEW*: 34) in a fashion similar to the German phrase {*rundum* + adjective}, thus in the present case *rundum heilig*¹¹⁶. The sonorization of the voiceless stop preceding the -*r-* is parallel to that which took place in *Gabro-* < **kapro-*, but not yet to be found in *Sacrobena*¹¹⁷.

Interesting is the use of the copulative conjunction *et* for connecting the last, indigenous epithet to the three preceding Latin ones, given that the alternative possibility of a real and independent indigenous god being addressed just by means of a Celtic taboo-theonym after the Roman *I. O. M. CONSERVATOR* is quite remote. A structural parallel might then be the dedication *Matronis et Adganis* discussed below in § 7.1.

112. From the same root **b₂el-* which forms the Celtic verb **al-o-* ‘feed, raise’, cf. *LIV*: 262 and, respectively, MATASOVIĆ (2009) 30 and 31.

113. In an inscription found at Lugo whose dedicant bears the theophoric name *Saturninus*, no. 25 in ROTHENHOFER (2009).

114. Cf. MATASOVIĆ (2009) 307 and, on the *mo-*derivatives, *NWÄI*: 427 ff.

115. For the various isoglosses cf. in particular my studies of (1994), (2002/09), (2009/10), (2011a).

116. Structural parallels can be found in *KGPN*: 122–123, where the heightening effect of Gk. *περί* is also mentioned.

117. Cf. MATASOVIĆ (2009) 9 and 319, where MAIER (1987) should be added.

5.3. We then find – in the Roman inscriptions – three types of theonymic formulae involving the divine name *POENINVS*: it is either used syntactically as a (full) theonym or it is preceded by a Latin determinative – as in *DEVS POENINVS* –, or else it follows Lat. *IVPPIETER* – as in *IVPPIETER OPTIMVS MAXIMVS POENINVS*. One might hence think of *POENINVS* as an epithet of appurtenance indicating the cult place of this particular *IVPPIETER*, especially if we compare the French theonymic formula *ARPENINVS DEVS*, with a compound divine name showing the same structure as the old *ARESQVANA* as opposed to the more recent *SEQVANA*.

However, some recently published inscriptions introduce now an element of doubt in the former explanation: an old-Celtic votive inscription from the Entremont valley reads, if authentic, *Poenino ieurai* ‘I dedicated to *POENINVS*’ and the name of the god invoked strongly resembles the *POININVS* found in two rock inscriptions dated between the 3rd or 2nd c. BC at Camisana, in the upper Brembo valley¹¹⁸. It is now evident that the oronym originated from the theonym – as in fact reported by Livy on account of an important cult-place of the involved deity on the Great St. Bernard – and not the other way round¹¹⁹. In particular, the theonym *POININVS* – later *POENINVS*, as also in the oronym *summus Poeninus* in the Tabula Peutingeriana¹²⁰ – may have indicated an archaic ‘God of vengeance’, if from a Celtic **k^woinā* parallel to Gk. *πινή* ‘“châtiment, paiement pour un crime, vengeance” [...] parfois personnifié ‘déesse(s) de la vengeance’¹²¹; the latter, borrowed into Lat. as *poena*, corresponds to Avestan *kaenā* ‘vengeance, reparation’ as well as to Lithuanian *kaina*: Old Church Slavonic *čěná* ‘price’, being last not least related to Old Irish *cim* ‘crime, mistake, guilt’ (< **k^wi-nu-t-s*). Both nouns, i.e. the *ā-* and the dental stem, are traced back to the IE verbal root **k^wey-* for regarding with reproach and thus ‘make pay, punish’. This would account not only for the early presence of the diphthong, but also for those forms of the oronym which, like the variant *Ἀππένιννα* appearing in Ptolemy¹²², add the preposition *ad-* to the original *Poeninus*. On the other hand, the establishment of a paretymological connection with the Gaulish form of the Celtic lexeme for ‘point’, implied by the later type *mons Ap(p)enninus* and mistaken by Livy for the real

origin of the name, would have been possible only after the monophthongization of pretonic diphthongs.

It is impossible to say whether the *DEVS POENINVS* of Roman times, and even more so the *I. O. M. POENINVS* quoted at the beginning of this paragraph, were still referring to the original god – hence linked to *IVPPIETER* in a process of *identificatio* –, or were meanwhile simply felt to be deonymic attributes.

5.4. *Mars* is alluded to in Rome with the votive formula *Camulo* or *Camulo(rigi)*, i.e. simply by his frequent and apparently shortened Celtic functional epithet *CAMVLO(RIK)S* ‘Rich in prisoners/slaves’¹²³.

On the other hand, it is debatable whether the personal name [*Belatu*] *kadriako-*, documented in the Venetic corpus already in the 4th c. BC, was derived from *BELATVCADROS* ‘Strong in the battle’ as a functional, explicative attribute of *MARS* (as it is once explicitly attested in Britain) or as an indigenous deity which became only later identified with the Classical war-god¹²⁴.

5.5. The theonymic formulae employed for *Apollo* and *Hercules*, being known from other provinces as well, also point towards a possible import.

5.5.1. The first god is invoked as *APOLLO GRANNOS*, a theonymic formula that looks like an equivalent or a replica of the formula *Ἀπόλλων Φοῖβος*, as it is suggested also by the joint dedications to the moon or morning-star *SIRONA* with *APOLLO* and/or *GRANNOS*. Nevertheless, the existence of the indigenous festival called *decannoctiacael/-a Granni*¹²⁵, indicates that *GRANNOS* was originally the name for an independent Celtic sun-god who only later became identified and associated with *APOLLO*¹²⁶.

5.5.2. As for *MAGVSĀNOS* in the votive formula *Herculi Magusano*, it has already been accounted for as a partially Germanicized Celtic description of *HERCVLES* as ‘The mighty old’.

Accordingly, it would go back to an earlier Celtic com-

118. The first has been studied by RUBAT BOREL (2011), while the latter two inscriptions were published by CASINI *et alii* (2008).

119. The old view is still favoured in HOFENEDER (2005–2011) II 171.

120. Cf. FOSSATI in CASINI *et alii* (2008) 81.

121. *DÉLG*: 925; cf. also MATASOVIĆ (2009) 180 – to which *LEIA*: 158 should be added –, *LIV*: 379–380 and *IEW*: 636–637.

122. Ptol. geogr. 3, 1, 44, codd. VAC, while R has *Ἀππένιννα* with pretonic degemination (*pace* the edition of STÜCKELBERGER & GRASSHOFF).

123. Cf. the discussion of the name(s) in DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2007/08) 75–76 with n. 20.

124. Cf. PROSDOCIMI (1978) 376–377, DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2003) 56, and note that the divine name has resurfaced three more times in Britain, cf. RIB III 3228–3230.

125. LEJEUNE (1995): plural, fem. or ntr.

126. Cf. the lemma «Grannos» in *Corpus F.E.R.C.AN. I/1* (forthc.) and note that ZEIDLER’s (2003) translation of the divine name *GRANNOS*, challenged by HOFENEDER in this volume (p. 106–108), is still very satisfying from both the formal and the semantic point of view. Unfortunately, both ZEIDLER (*op. cit.*) and DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2003 and ff.) escaped the attention of MATASOVIĆ (2006) 126 and (2009) 147, 166. Increased archaeological evidence pointing to a Celtic cult of the sun is illustrated by BURILLO *et alii* in this volume, p. 157–174.

pound **MOGV-SĒNOS* whose first **o* was regularly replaced by a Germanic short *a* (**mogu-* > *magu-*) and whose etymological *e* was replaced by a long Germ. *ā* after having been lengthened in open syllable under the Gaulish penultimate stress (**-sēnos* > **-sēnos* > *-sānos*)¹²⁷.

6. In the Italian dedications to *Minerva*, different kinds of *explicationes vel translationes* can be observed.

6.1. The functional epithet *MEDICA* that accompanies the name of the Classical goddess in the votive formula *Minervae Medicae Cabardiac(ensi)* is a Latin replica of her Greek functional attribute *Ἐπιεία*, thus suggesting that we are in the presence of an *explicatio vel translatio Latina a lingua Graeca*.

Also here, as in most cases, the epithet following a functional epithet is an epithet of appurtenance. It is the Latin adjective *CABARDIACENSIS*, derived by means of the suffix *-ensis* from the indigenous place-name **Cabardiácum* which is continued by the modern toponym *Caverzàgo*¹²⁸.

6.2. Also at Caverzàgo, we find – apart from *dedicationes brevilloquentes* to *MINERVA CABARDIACENSIS* or to *MINERVA SANCTISSIMA DEA* and the like¹²⁹ – dedications to *MINERVA MEMOR*, a formula that surfaces in Rome as *DEA MENMANHIA*.

In fact, the latter is nothing else than a Celtic replica of *MINERVA MEMOR*, i.e. a case of *explicatio vel translatio Celtica a lingua Latina*, given that the functional epithet *MENMANHIA* is merely a dialectal variant of **MENMANTIA*, which is a derivative of IE (and Celt.) **men-mn(t)* ‘mind, memory’. Variants of the same functional epithet are contained in the names of the pluralized *MINMANTIAE* and *MENMANDVTIAE*, with *inC* < *enC* in pretonic position and, respectively, sonorization *nt* > *nd* and resuffixation in *-nt-iae*; also, with *variatio generis*, in the name of the male deity *MERMANDICIOS*, where dissimilation of the first *-n-* took place¹³⁰.

Note that the sound change *nt* > *nb* found in Rome, albeit rare in Continental Celtic, becomes later normal in Welsh. There, in all kinds of Brittonic groups of nasal plus stop, “the stops were assimilated to the nasals in medial position, giving *m(m)b*, *n(n)b*, *ɲ(ɲ)b*”, the *b* remaining when

immediately before the Middle/Modern Welsh stress, but being lost otherwise¹³¹. This accounts *i.a.* for an Old Welsh spelling like *hanther* from Brittonic **samteros* ‘half’ and for Middle Welsh *breenhîn* with plural *breenhîned* from Brittonic **brigantînos*, corresponding to Modern Welsh *brénin* and *brenhînoedd*¹³². It is true that, for the moment, the first British traces of this isogloss have been identified only in inscriptions of the 6th c. AD and later (cf. *Potenina* < Lat. *Potentina*; *Genillin* < Lat. *Gentilius*)¹³³, but we know of at least five more constitutional isoglosses of Brittonic or even Welsh which start showing, albeit sporadically, already in the Old Celtic/Gaulish corpora, notwithstanding the fact that huge gaps intervene later in the written transmission¹³⁴.

Divine families

7.0. The Celtic tendency to multiply the main divine beings by changing the gender and/or the number of their divine names has been recognized by the present author, who has been speaking since 2004 of *variatio generis* and *variatio numeri*. She has even drawn the conclusion that some kinds of ‘divine families’ may have existed, given that beside a female deity we often find a group of goddesses and one male divine being, all of them sharing basically the same name¹³⁵.

7.1. It is, therefore, not strange to find in Italy the goddesses *ADGANAE* side by side with *IVPPITER ADGANAIOS* whose functional epithet, corresponding to Greek *Γενέτωρ/Γεννήτωρ/Γεναρχής/Γενηταίος*, has been discussed above in § 5.2.2: they appear – in roughly the same area where the votive formula *I. O. M. Adceneico* was found – in a combined dedication *Matronis et Adganais*. It is possible that their name – instead of representing a back-formation from *ADGANAIOS* – continued an archaic [*ʰadʰənae*] from an original **ĀDGENAE*.

7.2. There are also various pluralized theonyms representing *adaptationes* of Classical deities¹³⁶, such as the

127. According to a proposal by Lauraan TOORIANS slightly modified by the present author, most recently in (2008/10a) 23.

128. Its derivational basis seems to have been the same **Cabardius* to which the Cisalpine idionym *Cabarsus* can be traced: DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2003) 51 n. 67 with further bibliography. FALILEYEV *et alii* (2010) 162.

129. As for *breviloquentia*, it goes without saying that less complex/official/refined dedications or even the reduced means of the dedicant(s) would normally lead to the deity being addressed by the most characteristic epithet, used at times without even adding a theonymic determinative.

130. Cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2003/07b) 60 and (2003/07a) 73.

131. *LHEB*: 496 (and §§ 103–110).

132. Cf. FALILEYEV (2000) 81. Note that an Early British form *briantine* for [brian'tina], a ‘man with a privilege’, has resurfaced at Ratcliffe-on-Soar: DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2011b).

133. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2003) 214–217 (§ 68) and 288.

134. These are (1) the Brittonic-type lenition of voiceless stops into voiced, (2) the loss of an initial sibilant, (3) the diphthongation of **ō* under the stress, (4) the fricativization of consonantal geminates and (5) the transformation of an intervocalic approximant into a voiced dental fricative (**-iyV* > *-iðV*), cf. *i.a.* DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (1999/2000) 90, (2003) 60 with n. 125, (2004/07) 157 ff. and (2011/i.p.).

135. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2004/06); cf. also *ead.* (2008/10b).

136. For exx. of Latin phonetic or morphological *adaptationes* of Greek or Etruscan divine names cf. HAINZMANN & DE BERNARDO STEMPEL in this volume, p. 209 and 212–213.

FORTVNAE, the *IVNONES*¹³⁷, the *LVCINAE* and – with additional gender switch – the *SILVANAЕ*, also known from Britain (RIB III 3504). For them, an *explicatio vel translatio Celtica* as *VACALLINE(H)AE*, ‘The (goddesses) under the wood’, is found in Germania inferior¹³⁸.

It is important to stress that the *IVNONES* need not be – at least in origin – a subtype of the Celtic *MAT^eRES*, even if they are at times classified by means of the theonymic determinative *MATRONAE*, which merely translates the latter into Latin. One of the main problems with the traditional scholarship provided by epigraphists¹³⁹ is that it takes every formula at face value, without paying attention to the whole system in and behind them.

Simple gender-switching accounts for the *FATI MASCVLII*, while the formula *FATI SALVTARES et BARBARICI* apparently alludes to some indigenous deity disguised by *explicatio vel translatio Latina*.

7.3. Regarding the *mother-goddesses* or *MATRES* – from Primitive-Celtic **MĀTERES* – one might suppose, also on account of their various visual representations, that they were originally just one and the same kind of plural deity. They might have been diversified only later, on account of the multiple epithets accompanying them – thus showing a development similar to that of the Virgin Mary in the Catholic Christian religion.

However, a Celto-Roman votive dedication *Matribus paternis et maternis meisque Sulevis* from Rome is very interesting from a theological point of view: in fact, its theonymic formula *MATRES PATERNAE et MATERNAE & MEAE SVLEVIAE*, best translated as ‘the Mother-goddesses of my father and of my mother, and my Suleviae’, seems to imply that specific sets of *MATRES* were traditionally attached to each lineage/family¹⁴⁰.

7.3.1. Such information might be of help when analysing the formula *SANCTAE MATRONAE VCELLASICAE CONCANAVNAE*: in fact, the epithet *VCELLASICAE* following the Latin qualifier *SANCTAE* and the theonymic determinative of the *MAT(E)RES*, that here – as a consequence of *explicatio vel translatio Latina a lingua Celtica* – appears disguised as *MATRONAE* (see § 7.2 above) may have to be interpreted as ‘fa-

miliar’. The attribute *VCELLASICAE* may, in fact, represent a Celtic epithet derived from the IE root **euk-* (**h₁euk-*), meaning ‘to get used to’ and ‘to become familiar’¹⁴¹, with the help of the suffix *-lo-* and the addition of the morphemes *-syo-* and *-ko-*. Accordingly, the name would have gone through the following stages, which are not *ad hoc*, but well documented:

i) Primitive Celtic **éuk-e-lo-/-ā* ‘familiar’ > Common Celtic **óukelo-/-ā* ‘id.’¹⁴²;

ii) **oukélo-sy-ai* ‘The familiar ones’ becomes the theonym **VKÉLLASIAI* ‘The familiar goddesses’, showing pretonic monophthongization, posttonic gemination and weakening of unstressed, posttonic *o* to *a*;

iii) a theophoric epithet meaning ‘belonging to the **VKÉLLASIAI*’ is derived from the theonym by adding a velar suffix: **Ukellási-kai*.

The second attributive epithet, *CONCANAVNAE* has been traditionally supposed to be of appurtenance, referring to a local ethnic. Nevertheless, since there is no independent evidence for an Italian ethnic ***Concanauni*, possibly related to the North-Hispanic *Concani* ‘Those who agree’, the divine name *CONCANAVNAE* is rather likely to be an epithet of the functional type, meaning ‘Harmonious’ or perhaps ‘Famous’, i.e. like the personal name *Adcanaunos* < **Adcánamnos* < **ad+káno-mno-s* on the Arvernian coin RIG IV 12¹⁴³.

7.3.2. Syntactically different is the formula *MATRONAE BRAECORIVM GALLIANATIVM*, where the appurtenance epithets following the *translatio Latina* of *MAT(E)RES* appear in the genitive plural. While the latter refers to the inhabitants of Galliano near Cantù – the *Gallianates* – the first epithet, probably representing **Brecorii*, is difficult to account for,

141. Corresponding to German “sich gewöhnen (an)” (*LIV*: 244–245) and “durch Gewöhnung vertraut sein” (*IEW*: 347).

142. A likely Celtic *comparandum* would be the Celtiberian family name written <U.ku.li.ku.m> in the 3rd bronze from Botorrita (II, 54) if it represents a genitive plural *Ukúlikum* from a former **Ukélókōm*, i.e. with labialisation *e > u* before *l* and narrowing of unstressed *o* to *i*; a slightly different reconstruction from the same root had been proposed by me in (1999/2001) 320–321. As to the idiomym *Oclino(s)* at Genouilly (RIG *L-4), it now rather seems a theophoric derivative from the divine name *OCELOS*, cf. *ead.* (2003) 63–64 with n. 55. Note that, in the light of the Celtic adjective **éuke-lo-* ‘familiar’, it might be worth reconsidering the old etymology – with **h₂mek-* as a *Schwebeablaut* of the original root – proposed by Pokorny (*IEW*: 347) for Greek ἔκρηλος ‘at one’s ease’ and its variants.

143. Cf. my analysis of (2006/08c) 109 with n. 93 vs. *ead.* (2002/09) 172, where the ethnic name “Concauni” should be read *recte* “Concani”. On the lowering of unstressed **o* to *a* cf. now *ead.* (2011/i.p.).

137. BASSI (2007/08) 53: “Tuttavia la *Iuno* romana non sembra avere nulla in comune con le *Iunones*, che invece affondano le loro radici in culti di tradizione locale”.

138. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2002/05b) 144; cf. also *ead.* (2004/06) 40 and, on *SILVANVS*, GRIMAL (2005) 422.

139. E.g. MENNELLA & LASTRICO (2005/08).

140. Cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL & HAINZMANN (2009) 80–81, who also discuss a parallel dedication *Matribus Arsacis paternis sive maternis* from Xanten.

even if it vaguely resembles the ethnonym *Breuci*. On the other hand, if it were a non-deonomastic epithet of appurtenance, one might think of the genitive plural of a derivative based on the Celtic lexeme **mraki-* ‘malt’¹⁴⁴. In that case, the name would imply that those *MÁT(E)RES* were particularly worshipped by Galliano’s malt producers (**mraciori*?¹⁴⁵).

The epithet of the *MATRONAE MASVONNVVM* is very probably deonomastic. It seems to refer to the lineage of the descendants of a *Masuo* and has a close parallel in the epithet of a *VICTORIA MASVINNIORVM* in the Transpadana¹⁴⁶.

7.3.3. The last three Italian formulae involving mother-goddesses do not refer to their *cultores*, but only to their function and/or sphere of influence.

Very well known are the *MATRES SVLEVIAE*, already mentioned in § 7.3. Outside Italy they also appear simply as *SVLEVIAE*, i.e. without theonymic determinative; or even – in *explicatio vel translatio Latina* – as *GVBERNATRICES*. In fact, the functional epithet *SVLEVIAE* is a cognate of Welsh *hlyryw* ‘leading (well)’ and of Breton *belevez* ‘good behaviour’ and, as such – as already Fleuriot (1982) 126 remarked –, has nothing to do with the *MINERVA* ‘of the eye’ (*SVLIS*)¹⁴⁷.

The theonymic formulae *FATAE DERVONES* and *MATRONAE DERVONNAE* – both evidently indicating the same deity of the oaks by means of the synonymic non-deonomastic epithets of appurtenance *DERVONES* and *DERVONNAE* – are known, by contrast, only from Italy. The first is more archaic – even if not necessarily older –, being the plural of the epicene noun **derwō(n)*; it was obviously modernized into *DERVONNAE*, which is the plural of the female derivative **derwon-ā* underlying the theophoric personal name *Deruonia*¹⁴⁸. It is also interesting that the older epithet is used together with the theonymic determinative *FATAE*, a Latin *explicatio* of the Celtic mother-goddesses, while the younger is accompanied by the *translatio* into Latin of the Celtic determinative *MÁT(E)RES*, namely *MATRONAE*¹⁴⁹. It is, more-

over, just possible that the underlying **MÁTERES DÉRUVONES* might have been a modernized regional name – a theonymic ‘*geosinonimo*’, so to speak – for the ancient deity called *PERKVNET-ES* or *PERKVNET-AI* and worshipped in one of the so-called *trikanta*-spaces at Contrebia Belaisca¹⁵⁰.

The older period

8.0. Finally, we are going to have a look at the divine names contained in the pre-Roman or at least truly Celtic inscriptions from Italy, i.e. besides theophoric personal names such as *Deu* < **Dewu* < **Deiwō(n)*, the Lepontic executor of Belgos’ *bruia* and *pala* at Vergiate, the ‘pious’ wife *Dugiava* at Voltino, and perhaps *Aesia* on a Samarate (/Varese) patera from the end of the 2nd c. BC¹⁵¹; and besides the probable ‘God of vengeance’ discussed in § 5.3 above.

8.1. Among the original nature-deities worshipped in non-Roman Italy, just the water god *BÉLLENIS* (discussed above in § 3.3.1) and the weather god *TARANIS*, mentioned twice on the same object in the form *Taraniū*¹⁵², have been discovered up to now. Notably, they are documented in NE Italy – in the Venetic and, respectively, Rhaetic corpus – well before we find them in the Narbonensis.

8.2. Documented in pre-Roman northern Italy are also three divine names that can be classified as antonomastic: *AISOS*, ‘the veneration’, appearing in the dative *Ezuii* on a small sandstone slab at Cividate Camuno from the first half of the 4th c. BC¹⁵³. Probably the queenly *RIGANA*, resurfacing in epicoric alphabet as the genitive *Rikanas* on a 2nd c. BC patera from a warrior tomb at Oleggio¹⁵⁴. Thirdly, the ‘majestic’ *ARIVONES VVLTIAVI* in the 7th c. BC Lepontic

144. Cf. *i.a.* Pliny’s gloss *genus farris quod Galli bracem vocant* (nat. hist. 18, 62) Middle Irish *braich*, Middle Welsh *brag* etc.; *Sonantem*: 89; *NWÁI*: 65–66; *MATASOVIĆ* (2009) 279.

145. The Continental Celtic palatalization has now been dealt with in my comprehensive study of (2011e).

146. There is quite a long series of personal names containing a base *Masu-*, all attested in provinces with a high percentage of Celtic speakers (*NPC*: 127–128 and *OPEL*: 64).

147. Cf. also *FLEURIOT* (1984 = 1997) 162–163. The same view is maintained by *DELAMARRE* (*DLG*: 287). On the relationship between *SVLIS* and *MINERVA* cf. the bibliography in n. 20 above.

148. Attested in Pannonia, *MEID* (2005) 193; *DE BERNARDO STEMPEL* (2007/08) 84 and 97.

149. The commentary by *MIGLIORATI* (2007/08) is unfortunately not up-to-date and quite superficial.

150. Cf. my new systematic analysis of the 1st bronze (2008/10c) – unless of course Celtiberian *Pe.r.ku.n.e.ta.ka* refers to the area (adjective in *-aka* referring to *trikanta*) of the wood (*-eto-*) of the deity *PERKVNOS/PERKVNA*. Further theonymic cognates of the latter are discussed above in § 3.3.3 with n. 82. – That there were more triangular sacred spaces than the two mentioned in the first Botorrita bronze results *i.a.* from the fourth bronze as well as from toponyms like the South-French town *Trigance* (A.D. 1035: *de Trigantia*), traced back by *DELAMARRE* (2012) 254 to “*tri-cantiā*”.

151. Cf. *DE BERNARDO STEMPEL* (2011c) (2011d), (2008/11) and, respectively, *CIT*: no. 128.

152. A deer-bone cylinder with Rhaetic inscription from the Val di Fiemme, cf. *SCHUMACHER* (1992) 204–206.

153. *CIT*: no. 270 in the wake of *PROSDOCIMI* (1971) 24. A full discussion of the theonym together with a then complete list of the epigraphic attestations of this divine name can be found in *DE BERNARDO STEMPEL* (2010) 122, to which now *MULLER et alii* (forthc.) has to be added; cf. also the lemma «*Aisos*» in *Corpus F.E.R.C.AN.* I/1 (forthc.).

154. Cf. *CIT*: 84, where it is thought to represent an – obviously theophoric – idionym, and my study of (2010) 107 with bibliography.

inscription of Prestino, belonging – together with *AIRV* and the *ARIOVNI* in Spain – to “a whole subgroup of divine names [...] based on IE and Celt. **aryo-s* ‘lord’¹⁵⁵. It is possible that the underlying **Voltiavi* referred to a specific lineage.

8.2.1. To those we might have to add¹⁵⁶ the *Mucetiś* found in the Etruscan corpus if it really is an early attestation of the antonomastic epithet or polyvalent epithet *MOGETIOS* ‘The mighty’ as implied by Rix (1994) 100–101. And probably also *AKLVŠAMOS*, which seems to be the object of a dedication at Dormelletto and may mean ‘The very famous’.

Some conclusions

9.1. If we compare the albeit scanty pre-Roman divine names with the Romano-Celtic theonymic material discussed in the sections 1 to 7 of this contribution, we see that the pre-Roman or at least truly Celtic group of divine names appears to be mostly composed by antonomastic divine names and nature-deities, a circumstance that seems to confirm, with regard to the various theonymic layers, the general relative chronology illustrated in the introduction above.

9.2. There are at least three theonymic correspondences between the Italian and Iberian peninsulae, namely between *APONOS* and the Hispanic *APONIANICOS*, *ORGENOS* and the ethnonym *Orgenomescu*¹⁵⁷, and also between *REVINOS* and the Hispanic votive formulae with *REV(V)E*. Different seem to be the cases of *ATAECINA* and *TVLLINOS* vs. *TVLLONIOS*: the first, having appeared in Sardinia, is more likely to represent a sporadic import from the Iberian Peninsula; the latter seem to have been extracted from two different albeit linguistically similar toponyms.

9.3. From a purely linguistic point of view, we have seen in the materials discussed (not all of them of Italian provenance!) further evidence for the following sound changes, already observed/observable in the Keltiké:

- narrowing of unstressed vowels to *i* (*ácina*, *BÉLINOS*, *BÉRGIMOS*, *PÓININOS*, *TVLLINOS*);
- weakening of unstressed vowels to *a* (*BELANOS*, *CAVAVIVOS*, *CONCANAVNAE*, *CVSLANOS*, *EPANA*, *IHAMNA*, (*ARE*)-*SEQVANA*, *SERANA*, **VCELLASIAE*; *ADGANAE*, **ADGENAICOS*, **Leucimalon*, *Savaria*; *Balinis*, *AGGANAIICOS*);
- weakening of unstressed *ya* to *e* (*ALANTEDOBA*);

- syncope of unstressed vowels (*ABVRNOS*, *ABVRNA*; *MATRES*; *SAVERCNA*);
- epenthesis (*Aburo-*, *HEREQVRA*, *PEROCOS*);
- vowel assimilation to a labial environment (*LABVROS*);
- vowel assimilation to a palatal environment (*ADCENEICOS*, *ATAICINA*);
- narrowing of *enC* to *inC* (*ARDVINNA*);
- voicing of a stop before *r* (*AMBISAGROS*);
- deletion of a voiced velar before *y* (*BEROBREOS*, *MAINIALIS*; *REINIMOS*; *ROBEO*);
- delabialization of labiovelars before *o* (*AECORNA*, *AECVRNA*).
- *twV* > *ttV* in posttonic position (*BITTOI*, **Bitostos* > *Biboxos*);
- simplification of *ks* to *s* (*ACINORIS*; **MEDVRIS*);
- velarization and spirantization of stops (*Biboxos*, *Dumoho-*, *IHAMNA*; *Sabero-*; *SVHVGIOS*; *Uloho-*).
- aspiration *nt* > *nh* (*MINMANHIA*).

The latter isogloss belongs to a group of six phonetic phenomena which, albeit beginning to show sporadically in the Old Celtic/Gaulish documents, resurface only much later in the Brittonic corpus previous to becoming regular in the or some varieties of this branch.

9.4. On the whole, the divine names found in Italy are neither particularly archaic nor – apart from some interesting and mostly imported juxtapositions – particularly modern.

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156. More details in GROH *et alii* (2011) 226 and, respectively, my contribution to the XXXVI Coll. Int. A.F.E.A.F., “I Celti e l’Italia del Nord” (Verona 2012, coord. by D. VITALI).

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