Celtic Divine Names Related to Gaulish and British Population Groups

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

1. North-east Gaul/Germania

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

The dedicant is a Roman citizen with tria nomina, and the name of the deities, probably in the feminine gender, is clearly derived from the name of the Nervii – a powerful Belgic population group inhabiting the area between the rivers Sambre and Escaut – by means of the -no-suffix. Archaeological evidence, notably at the oppidum of Avesnelles-Flaumont near Bavay, attests to the presence of the Nervii in this territory in pre-Roman times, Bavay becoming the chief town of their civitas when the Gallia Comata was reorganised by Augustus.³

1.2 Matres Remae
In Germania Inferior, at Cologne, a well-preserved limestone altar was excavated in 1982 in the north aisle of the atrium of Sankt Gereon (fig. 2). The inscription, dating from the middle of the 3rd c. AD,⁴ reads: Matrib(us) Remis Bitorius Bellicus ost(arius) co(n)i(ularis) posuit, ‘To the Mother Goddesses Remae, Bitorius Bellicus, janitor/porter to the consuls, set (this monument) up’.⁵

The two names of the dedicant, bearer of a military grade seldom documented in epigraphy (ostiaris consularis), may both be Latinized Celtic names: Bitorius, if not just a variant of Victorius, may have been assimilated to it from an original compound or derivative containing the Celtic base bitu-(bito-, biti-) ‘world’; and Bellicus may be derived either from Lat. bellum or from Celt. bell(o)- ‘strong, powerful’.⁶

Although the dedication has been found a few hundred kilometres away from the territory of the Remi, inhabiting the present-day region of Champagne-Ardennes, in the north-east of Gaul,⁷ the epithet of the Matres Remae is identical to the name of the population group, meaning ‘The First’: either as ‘The Most Ancient ones’ or as ‘The Princes’. It is again the semantic content, somewhat more appropriate for an ethnonym than for a divine name, which tells us in which direction the derivation took place.

1. Others have been identified i.a. in Spickermann & de Bernardo Stempel (2005) 139 ff.; CIL XIII 3569 – Caylus (1756) 395–396. Cf. also, for Noricum and Italy, CIL XIII 3569 – Caylus (1756) 395–396.

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


6. AE 1990, 733.


1.3 Matres Treverae

Also in Germania Inferior, a Drachenfels trachite altar known from the middle of the 18th c. at Birten (near Xanten/D.) reads: *Matribus Treveris Titus Paternius Perpetuus cornicularius leg(atus) leg(ionis) XXX Ulpiae V(ictriciis) liberis* m(erito), "To the Matres Treverae, Titus Paternius Perpetuus, adjutant of the commander of the legion XXX Ulpius Victrix, willingly and deservedly".¹⁹

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

The dedicant – bearing the *triba nomen* of Roman citizens, but very probably born as Treveran – was in fact *cornicularius legati*, i.e. an adjutant of the commander, of the 30th legion, which was stationed at Castra Vitera from 122 AD to the 5th c.²⁰ A terminus ante quem for dating the inscription is 193 AD, when the legion ‘Ulpius’, called ‘Victrix’ after the Dacian wars, was named ‘Pia Fidelis’ after supporting Septimius Severus in the civil war.

1.4 Matres/Matronae Senonum

The Matres/Matronae Senonum are known from two inscriptions. A limestone altar discovered at Metz (Belgica) at the end of the 19th c. reads: *Dis Matribus Senonum(m)* Tr(ibus) et domino Mercurio Cossumis ex iis(su) Mercurii, ‘To the Three Mother Goddesses of the Senones and to Lord Mercurius Cossumis, according to the divine order of Mercurius’.²¹ Above the inscription is a niche where Mercury is represented wearing his traditional costume and with a stag standing at his feet. The top of the relief is missing, and only the stag’s body with its front legs and the god’s naked feet, caduceus and chlamys can be seen. It has there-

fore been suggested that the name of the dedicant and a verb or dedication formula were inscribed above the relief.²²

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

The Matres of the Senones are invoked together with *Mercurius Cossumis*, whose Celtic epithet is known solely from this inscription, in a quite unique votive formula. Its elements, however, can be compared with other instances:²³ the association of the theonymic classifiers *Dis* and *Matres* is unusual, but it is also found as *Dis Matribus* at Beire-le-Châtel (Côte-d’Or)²⁴ and in Buré-la-Ville (Meurthe-et-Moselle)²⁵, whereas *Deabus Matribus* seems largely specific to northern Britain. Apart from a dedication discovered in the French town of Belley (Ain),²⁶ it is confined to British inscriptions from Carlisle,²⁷ Penrith,²⁸ and Castleshead²⁹ in Cumbria, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Tyne and Wear),³⁰ Halton Chesters Roman Fort (Northumberland),³¹ Bin-

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¹⁹ KEUN (1896) 67–68.
²⁰ DELAMARRE (2007) 166.
²² KEUN (1896) 70–77.
²³ CIL XIII 11577 – Le BOHEC (2003), n°234: *Dis Matribus Vintilii* do(navit) c(atatum) s(ibi) m(erito).
²⁴ CIL XIII 4662a: [*] d(nomine) d(ominum) d(ivinae) d(isciplinae) a(dij) Mat(ribus)?.
²⁵ CIL XIII 2498: *in bonorvm do(num domis divinas–) deabus* [*] Matrice: Aedis.
²⁶ RIB 901: [Deabus] Matribus [pro salutate M(arci)] A(urolis) [P(itii) Felicii)] [Aug(usti) et Iul(iae) M(arii) [ae matris] d(ominis) n(ostri) et c(asa) (orum)] [et senatus et pop(u) Rom(ani)] –
²⁷ RIB 919: Deabus Matribus Tra(n)marinis et N(umnivis) Imperatoris Alexandri Aug(usti) et Iul(iae) Mammmae matris Aug(usti) n(ostri) et castrorum to(sque eorum) domui devin(ae ae)[dem ruina dilapsam vexillatio M[a]r[ci] sacrum? –] and RIB 920: Deabus Matribus Tra(n)marinis vexillatio Germa(ni)um V[er]v(c[iiiii)] pro salute R(omani) F(ili) c(atatum) s(ibi) m(erito).
²⁹ RIB 1318: Deabus Matribus Tra(n)marinis Patr(i)s Aurelius Iuvenalis sacrum.
³⁰ RIB 1424: Deabus *M*[atribus]*x* ([Camp]e)r[i] *M*ribus(?).
chester (Durham),32 Ribchester (Lancashire)29 and Heronbridge (Claverton, Cheshire).25 The cardinal numeral tres, which Keune (1896) explains as a metaplasmus of the Latin dative tribus but might as well represent a shortened tribus,30 is only found here, however, the specification of the Matres as ‘three’ also occurs in Brittain, at Binchester (Durham)31 and Benwell (Tyne and Wear).32

Another dedication to the same group of deities was found at Böckingen (Germania Superior), near Stuttgart, also outside the territory of the Senones. It reads: Seno(num) Matro(nis) cobe(ors) I Helvet(iorum) [c(u) [p]ra[et] V[a]-l(erus) C(l)ius ([centurio)] leg(io[nis]) [V]III [Aug(ustae)] P(iae) F(idelis) vot(atum) s(ollicit) l(ibens) l(aetus) [m(erito)].

To the Matronae of the Senones Cohort I Helvetiorum, commanded by Valerius Citus, centurion in the legion VIII Augusta Pia Fidelis, paid its vow willing, gladly and deservedly.19 On account of the inscription from Metz, this restitution seems better than the traditional Seno(nis) or Seno(nibus), which would lead to an isolated nominative *Senonae or, respectively, *Senones.

The usage of Matronae instead of the theonymic classifier Matres, inherited from Indo-European times, seems to have been prompted by the desire of Romanizing more intensively the appearance of the indigenous cults.24

Although the name of the commander is given – with duo nomina –, the dedication is offered by the whole cohort, which is quite uncommon, the dedicant being usually an individual, even when holding a military grade. Cobors I Helvetiorum was stationed at the auxiliary fort of Heilbronn-Böckingen on the Neckar-Odenwald Limes in the mid-2nd c.19 As its name indicates, it was from Helvetia

27 RIB 1031: Deab(us) Matrib(us) O(lf)tot(ios) T[i]b(eriis) C(laudius) Quantianus b(e)ne(iiciarius) co(n)s(ularis) vot(atum) s(ollicit) l(ibens) m(erito).
28 RIB 586: [Deab(us) Ma]t[irib(us)] M(arcius) Ingeniarius Astat[i(is)] dec(urio) al(ae) II A(s) [tot(iosum)] s(ollicit) l(ibens) m(erito).
29 RIB 574: Deab(u) Matrib(u) Ollototis Iul[ius] Secund(u) et Ael(a) Augusta.
30 A residual Celtic form of the numeral would seem rather unlikely.
31 RIB 1034: Mat[ribus] trib[--] in(ante) [---] IR[i] [---].
32 RIB 1334: Matribus Tribus Campestribus et Genio alae pr(ime) Hispanorum Austriae [---] [---] Gورد[a]ue T(i) Agrippa prae(ectu) templum a(sol)o restituit.
33 CIL XIII 6475.
35 The same cohort is mentioned in another inscription from Böckingen, dedicated to Fortuna and dated 148 AD: Fortunae Resipiendi sac(ium) Nasellius Proclanus (centurio) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) prae(positus) s[olit(ios)] I Helvetiorum Torquato et Iuliano co(n)- s(ulibus) vot(atum) s(ollicit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito) (CIL XIII 6472).
37 CIL XIII 7565.

1.5 Diana Mattiaca

The epithet of Diana Mattiaca is attested only once in an inscription from Wiesbaden reading: Antonia Postuma T(iii) Porci Rufani leg(ati) [leg(ionis) XXII] P(rimigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) prosa[s]late Porciae Rufanae filiae sueae Dia- nae Mat[i]iacae [ex] soto signum posu(it), ‘Antonia Postuma (the wife of) Titus Porcius Rufianus, the commander of the legion XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis, for the welfare of her daughter Porcia Rufiana, offered a statue to Diana Mattiaca after making a vow’.37

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

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

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

Appurtenance is hence also indicated by the epithet Mattiaca, whereas older interpretations of the divine name as representing either ‘The Bear-Shaped’ or ‘The Favourable’ should have led to *Mat(i)aca and, respectively, *Mattaica instead.40 It is however possible that Diana’s epithet was first derived from the toponym, if not the old Matt-
tium at least Mætunæv, the older name of today Wiesbaden. In this case, the association with the ethnonym would have been secondary.

1.6 Matres Nemetales and the Case of Nemeton

1.6.1. Matres Nemetales (?)

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

It must be, however, noted that <matris nemetialis> might as well represent ‘to the Matres and to Nemetalis’.

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

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

1.6.2. The Case of Nemeton

The goddess Nemeton – venerated four times together with Mars43 and one also in association with or even as the Roman Victoria – is known from five inscriptions found in north-east Gaul and Germania Superior44 and one from Britain, where the dedicant – at Bath – specifies his status as a civis Trever.45 Hence the distribution of the dedications led some scholars to think that Nemeton might have been the patron goddess of the Nemetes, who lived on the left bank of the Rhine and had their capital in Noviomagus Nemetum, today Speyer/D.

Her name, however, is primary and evidently not derived from the ethnic Nemetes, because it is formed by means of the characteristically theonymic suffix -ona which has an individualizing function (as in Damona, Divona, Matrona, Sirona) and does not indicate appurtenance. Neither can we assume that the Nemetes, who were a supposedly Germanic population, took their name from that of a Celtic goddess. Both names were hence independent from each other, although both were derived from the same Gaulish basis nemetö meaning ‘sacred grove’ and later ‘sanctuary’.46

2. South-east Gaul

2.1 Matronae/Matres Vediantiae

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

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

The first inscription was found at Tourrette-Levens, ca. 10 km to north of Nice, the exact site and date of the discovery not being known.50 The stone was still complete when mentioned by Jacob Spon (1679) and Pietro Gioffredo (ca. 1694).

47. CIL XIII 7253.
48. RIB 140 was found in the lower part of Stall Street, Bath.
that, for being an agentive -

tria nomina were already missing in the 19th c.

The second inscription, on a Jurassic limestone altar fragmented in its upper part, was found at Plan de Revel, near Touloure. Its finder kept it and gave a copy to Father Bonifassi who first mentions it in 1855. The first two lines were restored as in honorem Matronarum in the CIL, but Alfred Holder specifies it should be rather read Numini or Numinibus Matronarum, while Laguerre suggests Numinibus Matrum because the inscription counts twelve to thirteen letters per line. At the beginning of the 20th c., the altar was split into two irregular parts: one of them, used for a bench near the house of the Léotardi family, was recovered by a teacher and given to the Musée archéologique de Cimiez in 1969; the left part, employed in a fence on the property of Count Garin to the east of the ruins of the Roman thermal baths, is very fragmented and probably of one of the centuries (centuria) of the legion XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis, willingly and deserv-
edly (offered this monument).”

This inscription, moved in 1847 from the local parish church to the property of the Laurenti family, is now in-

complete. Its first three lines (from Matronis up to Cl(audia)) were already missing in the 19th c.

The nomen gentile of the dedicant, a Roman citizen with tria nomina, goes back to Enistas, a Latinized Celtic name that, for being an agentive -lo-derivative of the compound verb “eni-sta-”, seems to indicate some position or else pro-

fession. The fact that the dedicant is a native of Cemenelum (today Cimiez) might indicate the persistence of local cults.

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

thet Domitiana was taken back in 96."

The inscription, dated by Laguerre (1975) to the second half of the 1st c. AD (after the legio XIV Gemina had been granted the attributes Martia Victoria for defeating the Brit-

ish queen Boudicca in 61), now reads: [Numini(bus) Matrum Vedia]notarum [vo(os) lib(ens)] lau(te?) red[dit Li(ucius Ver[i]erus Velox [mi[ius] leg(is)onis] XI]III Gem(inae) M(artiae) Vic[toris] (centuria) [Cl(audia)] Epe[rti], “To the divine powers of the Matres Vediantiae, Lucius Valerius Velox, soldier in the legion XIV Gemina Martia Victoria, in the century of Claudius Epetinus, paid his vow willingly and with the greatest pleasure”.

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

The third Cimiez inscription (fig. 4), excavated in 1881 on the property of Count Garin to the east of the ruins of Roman thermal baths, is very fragmented and probably dates from the 1st half of the 2nd c. It calls the deities Matres, reading: --jin[-] [Matri]/bus Vedia[nitibus] [nummib-

us] deorum m[agnorum] [de suo pe/cunia], “[--]? to the Matres Vediantiae and to the greater deities (offered this monument) at his own expense”.

**2.2 Dex(s)iva**

The four inscriptions known for Dex(s)iva were almost all found on the hill of the oppidum at Castellar (1,5 km to east of Cadenet/Vaucluse), which is regarded as the chief town of the Dexivates, a population group inhabiting the area be-

 tween the Luberon and the river Durance. We can there-

fore probably exclude the possibility that ethnonym and theonym are both independently derived from different meanings of the Celtic adjective dext(o)- ‘favourable > to the right > to the south’, the more so since in the ethnic name Dexivates, derived by means of an additional dental suffix -i-, the presuffixed vowel is -a-. The name Dex(s)iva seems to have meant, at least originally, ‘The favourable (goddess)’, either as as a taboo label or even as a full theo-

nyme for a deity of (good) fortune. From it, for being their

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55. P. A. (1884) n°13 – BLANC (1882) 112, n°7 restores deorum m[jorganum], ‘of the secondary deities’, but Laguerre (1975) 12–13, n°5 prefers deorum m[gorganum], ‘of the greater deities’.
60. de Bernardo Stempel (2010) 129.
tutelary goddess, was apparently derived the ethnic Dexti-

catives of the ‘Worshippers of Dex(s)iva’.

Known from the 17th c., the oppidum of Castellar, which

was occupied from the 3rd/2nd c. BC to the 1st/2nd c. AD,63

began to be excavated only in 2007. It revealed an atypical

structure with an agger and internal fortifications.

The most significant dedication was found in 1773, to-

gether with a hoard from the 3rd c. AD, “one meter deep […]

very near the vestiges of the small temple [of Dex(s)iva] by a

peasant who was pulling up an oak” on the hill of Castellar.64

Saguier (1884) 18 adds that this small temple or sanctuary in

Roman style with its marble paving could still be seen at the

end of the 18th c.: “At the other end [of the dungeon], the

vestiges of a temple dedicated to a local deity, the goddess

Dex(s)iva, could still be seen until quite recently. […] This

location was clearly visible, and from a distance, it bore all

the hallmarks of a sanctuary.” Unfortunately, however, his

description of the geographic position of the cult place re-

mains too vague for archaeologists to localize it, and the

temple of Dex(s)iva still awaits detailed study.

Together with other objects, the hoard contained: a silver

vase, 37 coins from the reigns between Nero (54–68) and

Maximinus the First (235–238), a silver votive shield bearing

a drawing of a laurel wreath; jewels, including bracelets, a gar-

net necklace with golden tassels, gold rings, and a gold medal

with a woman’s face.” The fact that both inscription and hoard

were found together near a small temple indicates that the

objects were votive offerings dedicated to the goddess
called Dex(s)iva, and the dates of the coins speak of a cult

continuity of more than 150 years. Saguier (1884) 32–35 even

suggests that the temple might have been erected or restored

under Nero and destroyed under Maximinus, when the Cast-

tellar oppidum was abandoned and a new village was built on

the plain; the treasure would have been buried into the ground

in the 3rd c., so that the invaders of the time could not steal it.

The aforesaid inscription (fig. 5), engraved on a marble

plaque, reads: Dexivae et Caudellensibus C(aius) Helvius

Primus sedilas vot(oem) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito), ‘Ca-

ius Helvius Primus paid his vow willingly and deservedly to

Dexiva and to the Caudellenses in offering seats or benches’.65

The derivational basis in the dative Caudellensibus is

evidently a toponym *Caudellium or *Caudella, usually

identified with today Cadenet.66 However, both the object

of the inscription (sedilas) and the Latein suffix -ensis lead

us to assume – with the older scholars – that Caudellenses

was the name of the inhabitants of Cadenet66 and not the

name of some epichoric goddesses.67 The inhabitants of the

place were in fact the actual beneficiaries of the benches

when they went up to the public space on the hill in order to

pray to their tutelar goddess Dexiva.

A second inscription (fig. 6), lost by Saguier’s time, was

found – also on the hill – in 1817, “one meter deep in the

ground […] very near the ruins of the temple or sanctuary

[of Dex(s)iva]”.68 It was engraved on a plaque of tin or gold

with a semicircular top and two holes and read: d(onum) d(at) Quartus Mar(ti) securem Dexivae Quartus securem

v(oatem) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito), ‘Quartus offers an axe to

Mars as a gift, Quartus offers an axe to Dexiva paying his

vow willingly and deservedly’.69

The association of the two deities led some scholars to the

understanding of Dex(s)iva as a partner of Mars, which

is however quite unlikely, given that the formulation is so

very different from the dedications usually made to divine

couples. Their association is indirect and will rather have

been prompted by the actual needs of the dedicate, a Roman-

ized peregrinus with a single Latin name.

Although some asiae seem to have been offered as a

symbol of protection in the afterlife,70 Saguier (1884) 22 –

followed by Häußler (2008) – argues that the gift was of

ceremonial axes for making sacrifices to the deities vener-

ated in the local sanctuary. Häußler supports this assump-

tion by referring to the miniature model axes studied by

Kierran (2007) 161–166, some of which (the so-called

Allendigertypus) bear dedications to several Roman as well as

to indigenous deities; he also points out that the lamella

from Cadenet has the shape of a sacrificial-axe blade.72 A

3rd c. dating has been proposed for the inscription.

The other two dedications seem to have been quite simple

offerings by Roman citizens, even if their gender is un-


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

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

65. Saguier (1884) 20.

66. Three descriptions – reproduced by CAG 84.2, Le Luberon et Pays d’Apt (2004) 216–217 – are known of the contents of this treasu-

re. One is by Calvet Cl.-E. (1774) manuscript 5617, letter 617.


68. Cf. Saguier (1884) 32–35 – Holder (1896) 867.


70. Hence de Bernardo Stempel (2005a) 71 should rather be corrected.

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


73. Sol. B. Benoît (1959) 66, 131, note 28. Cf. the studies by Arrigo-


sure. The first of them, now lost, was found already before 1572 either at Cadenet or at Perthusi, some 13 km to the south east, and read: Dexcivae vot(atum) s(olui) l(ibens) m(erito) A(ulus?) C(on(iuus?) S uc(cessus?), ‘To Dexciva, Aulus Cominius Successus paid his vow willingly and deservedly’.79 It is dated to the beginning of the 3rd c. AD80 and contains the full naming formula with tria nomina of the dedicant.

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

3. Britain
3.1 BRIGANTIA

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

Ptolemy and Tacitus record, in fact, that the Brigantes, who were subjected to Roman authority by Petilus Cerialis between 71 and 74 AD,81 were settled in northern England, in parts of present-day Cheshire, Greater Manchester and Lancashire to the south of the Carvetii, and in Yorkshire, County Durham and Northumberland, between the river Humber (South Yorkshire), to the north of the Parisii, and the river Tyne (Northumberland).78 Their name is beyond doubt primary. It represents either a true participle *bryg(3)-nt-er or perhaps a denominal -nt-derivative from the word for ‘hillfort’ belonging to the same root, i.e. the basis bryg- or borg-, thus implying that they were ‘Hillfort dwellers’. In either case, the name of the Brigantes was apparently due to the mountainous character of their original habitat, as opposed – in Britain – to those of the ‘Lowland-dwellers’ Dumnonii and Dobunni.82

The seven dedications to the goddess Brigantia all date from around the end of the 2nd c. AD to the beginning of the 3rd, when the cult of the goddess was officially encouraged by the Severan dynasty.83 Therefore the theonym could, theoretically, be derived from the name of the people with the help of the suffix *-ants. Nevertheless, at least four reasons seem to speak against such an assumption: 1) the evidently primary character of the name of Brigantia’s partner Bregans (s. under § 3.2, below); 2) the fact that Brigantia seems to have a cognate in the Irish Brigit whose name is far more archaic, because it continues the true IE feminine participle in *-ins, namely *bryg*-nt-nds, > *Brigantia > *Bregans as opposed to Brigantia from a possibly reetermined participle *Bregans, 2) the fact that divine names expressing ‘height’ are very often simply substituting the actual theonyms;84 4) the apparently indigenous character of two of the inscriptions (which we are going to list first in the following).

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

Particularly significant, even if they were found in Roman military camps or sites, are two altars offered to Brigantia by Celtic named dedicants. The first of them (fig. 9) comes from Adel, north-west of Leeds in West Yorkshire. It is a sandstone altar with a snake on its left side, dedicated by a woman called Cingetissa, which means ‘Warrior’ or ‘Attacker’ in Old Celtic.85 It reads: deae Brigant(ae) d(onum) Cingetissa p(osuit), ‘To the goddess Brigantia, Cingetissa set this offering’.86

The use of the formula dea indicates that the dedication is not prior to the mid-2nd c. AD.87

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79. Saguier (1884) 33.
79. Tac. Agr. 17, ann. 12, 32; hist. 3, 45 – Prol. Geogr. 2, 3, 10 [2, 3, 16].
82. It is therefore hardly plausible to assume – as some scholars do – that the branch of the British Brigantes that crossed the sea and established itself in the south-east of Ireland (South Wexford) introduced there the name of their goddess.
83. They are accordingly often employed as antonomastic or taboo theonyms, cf. de Bernardo Stempel (2010) 126–129.
85. RIB 630.
The second altar (fig. 10), found in 1895 south of the Arbeia Roman Fort at South Shields (Co. Durham), which is situated on Hadrian’s Wall at the mouth of the River Tyne, bears the inscription: deae Brigantiae sacrum Congenni(jus) voc(uit) sol(uit) lab(is) merito, ‘Sacred to the goddess Brigantia, Congennicus willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow’. A patera is engraved on the right side of the altar and a jug on its left, but it is the bird engraved on its back which may point to a nature goddess.

The name Congennicus of the dedicant is Celtic and appears also in other inscriptions from southern France. 93

Of great interest is also a dedication dated 210 AD with a representation of the goddess Brigantia (fig. 11 and 12). It was excavated in 1731 at Birrens Roman Fort, about 40 km from Hadrian’s Wall, in Dumfries and Galloway (Scotland). It reads: Brigantiae s(acrum) Amandus arc(b)itectus ex imperio imperatorem fecit, ‘Sacred to Brigantia, Amandus, the architect, by command fulfilled the order’. 94

The dedication, with a single Latin name – possibly a translation-name of Celt. Caratos or the like – is a Romanized peregrinus who mentions his legionario grade as ‘architect’ or ‘engineer’. 95 S. N. Miller identifies the dedicator from Birrens with the Valerius Amandus of the 208 AD-inscription from Iversheim (Bad Münstereifel, Germania Inferior) who is a discipulus architectus, an ‘apprentice master-builder’. 96 At this time, he would have been in the legion I Minervia based in Bonn, and a couple of years later (around 210 AD), when he was fully qualified, he would have been transferred to the legion VI Victrix garrisoned at York to work on the reconstruction of the fort of Birrens, but this remains a hypothesis. 97

Above the inscription, the goddess is represented standing in a niche, wearing a long tunic, a short cloak and possibly shoes or sandals. Apart from the round object she holds in her left hand, Brigantia bears all the attributes of the Roman war-goddess Minerva, similar to the Greek Athena. 98 Like them, Brigantia is helmeted, holds a spear in her right hand and wears a small medallion around her neck, which is reminiscent of the aegis, a sort of goatskin breast-plate hemmed with tassels and snakes and adorned with the head of Medusa in its centre. The helmet, if horned, might be of Celtic tradition, but this is difficult to determine with certainty; in any case, it has a crown on the front and a sort of triple crest on the top which may be compared to the helmet of Athena in the monumental chryselephantine statue made by Pheidias for the Parthenon (438 BC), though the latter is much more elaborate. Last but not least, the Brigantia at Birrens is winged, thus showing an attribute of the goddess Victoria, and in fact Athena/Minerva is sometimes represented with a small statue of Nike/Victoria in her hand. The figuration at Birrens is therefore similar to Classical representations of war-goddesses and does not seem to possess any specifically Celtic features, apart from the possibly horned helmet.

For this reason, in two inscriptions from West Yorkshire the votive formula deae Victoriae Brigantiae has been taken to indicate an identificatio between the Roman goddess Victoria and the indigenous goddess called Brigantia rather than to mean simply ‘to the eminent goddess Victoria’, which would be etymologically possible. The first of them (fig. 13), discovered in 1597 behind the Bank Top Farm at Greetland, a few kilometres south of Halifax, reads: dea(Vict(oriae) Brig(antiae) et)(Num(inalibus)) Aug(ustorum) T(itus) Aurelius Aurelianus ded(it) pro se et suis inibus deae Victoriae Brigantiae acrorum Antonin[o] III et Geta [II] co(n)s(ulibus), ‘To the goddess Victoria Brigantia and to the Deities of the Emperors, Titus Aurelius Aurelianus gave and dedicated this altar’.

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

The other dedication of this subgroup (fig. 14) was found in 1895 in the River Calder, at Woodnook, near Castleford, where a Roman fort called Lagentium was located. It reads: deae Vict(oriae) Brigantiae aur(um) ed(itavit) Acelius Senopianus, ‘To the goddess Victoria Brigantia Aurelius Senopianus dedicated this altar’. 99

The dedicant kept his Celtic idiomym Senopianus even though the inscription formula is from the Roman period.

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87. RIB 1053 was found at the junction of Trajan St. & Baring St. in South Fields.
89. RIB 2091.
90. The architectus was the most important of the artisan soldiers of the Roman army specializing in the fabrica, and his main function beside the planning and building of edifices was the reparation of engines, cf. Bardouille (2010) § 4.
95. Joliffe (1941) 50.
98. RIB 628.
99. Possibly a compound of Celt. seno ‘old’ and the *briones > bians ‘living creature’ contained in various Old Celtic personal names.
after being granted Roman citizenship, using it for a cognomen beside his truly Latin nomen gentile.

In an inscription (fig. 15) found at the Roman site of Corbridge (Northumberland), which is situated on Hadrian’s Wall ca. 18 miles west of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Briga
tia’s name is associated with that of the goddess Ca
elestis, an elliptical designation for Ino Ca
elestis, the Romanized version of the Punic Taniti, originally connect
ed with the cosmos and generally represented with a cres
cent moon.\footnote{120}

The text is traditionally edited as: Iovi acertno Dolici
ceno et Caelesti Brigantiae et Salati (G(aju)s) Iulius Apol
inaris cent(trio) leg(ionis) VI ius(a) dei, “To the eternal Jupi
ter of Doliche and to Caelstis Brigantia and to Salus, Gaius Julius Apolinarius, centurion of the legion VI, at the com
mand of the god (set this up)”.\footnote{121}

It is, however, possible to read a comma between the datives Caelstis and Brigantiae, in which case we would simply have a normal threefold enumeration ‘...as well as to Caelstis, to Brigantia and to Salus...’ following the dedica
tion to the originally Syrian Iupiter Dolichenus. On the other hand, the fact that Caelestis – once Romanized – was depicted as a warrior goddess protecting the town and associated with Athena/Minerva seems to speak in favour of a real identificatio with the ‘eminent’ Brigantia.

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

Finally, a now lost Cumbrian altar – also from Hadrian’s Wall (fig. 16) --\footnote{123} is supposed to contain the name of the ‘eminent’ Brigantia in association with Dea Nympha. However, due to the shortening of the votive formula, it is also possible that the involved deity was rather called Dea Nympha Briga(antium), the more so since there are actually no aquatic attributes or symbols in the iconography of Brigantia nor is she associated with water sanctuaries, but rather with warrior goddesses. The only argument in favour of the traditional interpretation of the Naworth inscription is that the Woodnook altar was found in the River Calder,\footnote{124} whereas it is methodologically rather awkward to infer from the curative virtues of Saint Brigit in medieval Ireland to an aquatic character of (one of) the deities invoked in Ro
man Britain as Brigantia.

The full text of this last inscription reads: deae Nymphae Brig(antiae) vel -antium) quond [vo]cerat pro sa[ultate et inco
lumitate] dom(ini) nostr(i) Invici(ti) imperator(is) M(arci)
Aureli(i) Severi Antonini Pii Felici[js] Aug(usti) totiusque do
mus divine eius Marcus Cocceius Nigrinus [pr(ocurator)]
Aug(usti) n(ostri) devo[ci(tis)] nos mun[ii]i maies(atique) eius
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito), ‘This offering to the god
dess-nymph Brigantia (or of the Brigantes), which he had vowed for the welfare and safety of our Lord the Invincible Emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus and of his whole Divine House, Marcus Cocceius Nigrinus, procurator of our Emperor and most devoted to his deity and majesty, gladly, willingly, and deservedly fulfilled’.\footnote{125}

The dedicant, a Roman citizen whose tria nomina are probably assimilations and/or translations of indigenous Celtic names, is procurator in the Emperor’s service.\footnote{126} Since the titles given to the Emperor point to Caracalla and the year 213 AD, this official dedication can be dated to the beginnig of the 3rd c.\footnote{127}

### 3.2 deus Bregans

It is interesting to note that the regular masculine form of the -nt-participle, namely “bregans”, is used as an attribute to deus in a votive inscription (fig. 17) on an altar found in 1882 in West Yorkshire, about 2 km to the east of the Cambodumn Roman Fort at Slack,\footnote{105} in the same area where three of the dedications to Brigantia resurfaced. The Roman fort of Slack is indeed about 10 km from Greater Manchester, 30 km from Leeds and 40 km from Castelford, so that it is plausible that this god was the partner of the better known Brigantia. On account of word-formation it might even be the primary form of the theonym.\footnote{129}

The inscription reads: deo Breganti et Num(ini) Aug(usti) Tit(ti)us A(rus) Quintus d(onum) d(edit) p(ecunia) et s(umptum) s(uo), ‘To the god Bregans and the Deity of the

\footnote{108} RIB 2066.
\footnote{109} L.e. a governor of a minor province appointed by the emperor as his representative most notably in financial matters, cf. Berge
r (1953) 654.
\footnote{110} Joliffe (1941) 58.
\footnote{111} At Lower Gate, Longwood, near Outlane (Huddersfield).
\footnote{112} This view in de Bernardo Stempel (2006) 35–36. Note that Meid & Anreitter (2005) 57 do not analyze the word bregan in an incantamentum by Marcellus Burdigalensis (de med. 8, 170) as a vo
cative relic of our theonym, cf. for this vox magica Hof
Emperor, Titus Aurelius Quintus gave this as a gift by his own funds and expense.\textsuperscript{110}

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

We know, nevertheless, of the existence of several male deities whose name was evidently derived from that of the population group they protected. Among those are \textit{Allobroges}, who, venerated by Pompeia Lucilla in a single inscription from La Bâtie-Montsaléon (Hautes Alpes),\textsuperscript{111} is undoubtedly the god of the \textit{Allobroges}, who occupied a vast territory situated between the Alps and the départements of Isère and Rhône;\textsuperscript{112} and also \textit{Mercyris Arvernus}, who at Miltenheim in Germania Superior is once called \textit{Mercyris Arvernorix},\textsuperscript{113} i.e. ‘King of the \textit{Arvernus},’ the population inhabiting what became the Auvergne region.\textsuperscript{114} With the simple appurtenance epithet \textit{Arvernus} Mercury was venerated both in the département of Puy-de-Dôme (at Orcines, near Clermont-Ferrand),\textsuperscript{115} and Mozac, near Riom\textsuperscript{116} and in Germania Superior (at Wenau,\textsuperscript{117} Cologne,\textsuperscript{118} Gripswald,\textsuperscript{119} Roermont,\textsuperscript{120} and – again – Miltenberg.\textsuperscript{121})

\textbf{Final Remarks}

The veneration of ‘ethnic deities’ was widespread among the Celts, and it is well-known that a significant number of \textit{Matres} (vel \textit{Matronae}) bearing ethnonymic bynames is also attested among the Germanic peoples;\textsuperscript{122} cf. the \textit{Matres} – also called \textit{Matronae – Contrusteibae},\textsuperscript{123} the \textit{Matres Frisavae},\textsuperscript{124} the \textit{Matrones Hamabeivae},\textsuperscript{125} the \textit{Matres Kannanefates},\textsuperscript{126} the \textit{Matres Suevae},\textsuperscript{127} and the \textit{Matres Vangionae} also called \textit{Matronae Vangimebae},\textsuperscript{128} related to the \textit{Condrusi}, and, respectively, the \textit{Frisavi}, \textit{Chamavi}, \textit{Cananefates}, \textit{Suebi}, and \textit{Vangiones}.

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

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

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

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\textsuperscript{110} RIB 623 – Birley (1986) 66.

\textsuperscript{111} CIL XIII 1531: Pompeia Lucilla Allobrog(is) vic(atus) s(alcit) libenus m(erito).


\textsuperscript{113} CIL XIII 6603: Mercurio Arvernica Cosullis Donavi e<e=x=S> via(a) etas libes(n) merito.


\textsuperscript{115} CIL XIII 1462 – ILA-A, 3: Genio Arvern(o) Sex(ius) Or(gius) Snacis Aedusus.

\textsuperscript{116} CIL XIII 1522 – ILA-A, 48: [Mercurio][Arverno]t{[-][-]}r{[-][-]}v{[-]}s{[-]}r{[-]}(Romani?) (n)g(no) it(o) r{[-]}.

\textsuperscript{117} CIL XIII 7845: Mercurio Arverno vicini v(atus) t{f}.


\textsuperscript{119} CIL XIII 8579: Mercurio Arverno M(arcus) Iulius Andax pro se et suis libenus m(ero) – CIL XIII 8582: Mercurio Arverno Sex(ius) Sempronius Super libenus m(ero).

\textsuperscript{120} CIL XIII 8729: Mercurio Arverno [a]led(emerit) Irmidius Ma[er]o ex iussu(rerit).

\textsuperscript{121} CIL XIII 6603: Mercurio Arvernica Cosullis Donavi e<e=x=S> via(a) etas libes(n) merito.


\textsuperscript{123} Inscriptions from Rheyt, Tetz and Hoëilaart: AE 1968, 327 – CIL XIII 7880, 3585.

\textsuperscript{124} CIL XIII 8633.

\textsuperscript{125} Inscription from Altdorf: CIL XIII 7864.

\textsuperscript{126} Inscription from Cologne: CIL XIII 8219.

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

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# Dedications to Celtic ethnonymic goddesses

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<td>altar</td>
<td>P(ublius) Enis- talius Paterius; P(ubli) f(ilius); C(audia) tribus Cemenelensis optio ad ordine(m) 7 (centurionis) leg(ionis) XXII Primigeniae Piae Fidelis</td>
<td>l(ibens) m(erito)</td>
<td></td>
<td>CIL V 7872 = Laguerre (1975) n°6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matres or Matronae Vediantiae</td>
<td>second half of 1st c. AD</td>
<td>Plan de Revel/ Alpes-Maritimes/ AlpMar</td>
<td>Jurassic limestone altar</td>
<td>L(ucius) Val(eria) Velox; (mi[l(es)] leg(ionis) XI)III Gem(inae) M(ar[iae]) Vic- tricis (centuría) C(iaudii) Epe(mentinus)</td>
<td>numinis bus (...) vot(um) lib(ens)] tau(ce?) red[dit</td>
<td></td>
<td>CIL V 7873 = AE 1971, 237 = Laguerre (1975) 14–15, n°6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matres Vediantiae</td>
<td>1st half of 2nd c. AD</td>
<td>Cimiez/Alpes-Maritimes/ AlpMar</td>
<td>deorum m[agnorum] (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pais (1884) n°1042 = Laguerre (1975) n°5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Dedications to Nemetona

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Divine name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Find spot</th>
<th>Support</th>
<th>Partner (1) and/or Syncretistic formula (2)</th>
<th>Dedicator’s name and function</th>
<th>Votive formula and offering</th>
<th>Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nem[etona]</td>
<td>Trier/Altbachtal Sanctuary/Bels</td>
<td>altar</td>
<td>Mars (1)</td>
<td>v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</td>
<td></td>
<td>N 12</td>
<td>F 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne[metona]</td>
<td>Trier/Altbachtal Sanctuary/Bels</td>
<td>altar</td>
<td></td>
<td>v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</td>
<td></td>
<td>CIL XIII 7253</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemetona</td>
<td>Klein-Winternheim/GeSup</td>
<td>altar</td>
<td>Mars (1)</td>
<td>Silvinus Iustus &amp; Dubitatus</td>
<td></td>
<td>CIL XIII 6131</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemetona</td>
<td>Altrip/GeSup</td>
<td>altar</td>
<td>Mars (1)</td>
<td>v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) l(ætæ) p(osuerunt)</td>
<td></td>
<td>AE 2007, 1044</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemetona</td>
<td>A.D. 22, 221 AD</td>
<td>Eisenberg/GeSup</td>
<td>Mars Loucetius (1); Victoria (2)</td>
<td>M(arcus) A(urelius) Senillus Sev(rus) b(ene) l(iciarius) l(ægati) urnam cum (sorhila) et phiala(m) ex (vo) to posuit l(aetæ) l(ibens) m(erito)</td>
<td></td>
<td>AE 2007, 1044</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemetona</td>
<td>Bath/Somerset/Brit</td>
<td>altar</td>
<td>Mars Loucetius (1)</td>
<td>Peregrinus Secundi fil(ius) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</td>
<td></td>
<td>RIB 140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 1: Altar dedicated to the Nervines (Caylus [1756] pl. CXVIII, n°1 and 2, Bavay, Nord/Belgica).

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

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

Fig. 4: Fragment of inscription to the Matres Vediantiae (Laguerre [1975] 12, n°5, Cimiez, Alpes-Maritimes).
Fig. 5: Inscription offered by Gaius Helvius Primus to Dexiva (ILN III 222, Castellar oppidum, Cadenet/Vaucluse, Musée Borely de Marseilles).

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

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

Fig. 8: Map showing the distribution of the dedications to the goddess Brigantia and the god Bregans in or near the territory of the Brigantes (© Noémie Beck).
Fig. 9: Inscription dedicated to Brigantia by Cingetissa (RIB 630, Adel/West Yorkshire, Leeds City Museum [Leeds Story section]).

Fig. 10: Inscription dedicated to Brigantia by Congennicus (RIB 1553, Arbeia Roman Fort, South Shields/Co. Durham, South Shields Museum).

Fig. 11: Epigraphic relief of Brigantia (RIB 2291 and pl. XIX, Birrens Roman Fort, Dumfries and Galloway/Scotland).

Fig. 12: Inscription to Brigantia engraved on the relief (RIB 2291, Birrens Roman Fort, National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh).
Fig. 13: Inscription to Victoria Brigantia (RIB 627, Greetland/West Yorkshire, Trinity College, Cambridge).

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

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

Fig. 16: Inscription to the goddess-nymph Brigantia (RIB 2066, Nusworth, near Brampton/Cumbria on Hadrian’s Wall).
Fig. 17: Altar dedicated to the god Bregans (RIB 623, Longwood/ West Yorkshire).