Celtic and Other Indigenous Divine Names Found in the Italian Peninsula

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

Like the other provinces investigated up to now, 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):

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.

From the corpus under investigation we shall select the following examples for illustrating the different groups: APONYS (1); SYLVEIAE (2); CUSLANOS (3); MAINIALIS or ACINORIS (4); I. O. M. REINIMOS (5); AEQVORNA or REVINOS (6); IHAMNA GALLA (7); ATACINA for ATACICNA or AEREVRA for HERCVRA (8); PADOS PATER (10); VICTORIA MASVINNIORVM (11); FONS B(ELENOS) OF 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 – 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), while some of the eponymous deities related to mountains and rivers may even have been of pre-Roman date. In the present study, several new etymologies together with the revision of the old ones reveal the structure of the

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1. Also presented in Vitoria in March 2011.
2. The term is used here consequently as hyperonym covering both theonymns and epithets and/or epicleses.
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), ibid. (forthc.).
4. (2006/08b) with more details.
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.
7. As in the case of the ARESQVANA from St. Germain-Source-Seine discussed below in § 1.3.1.
local panthea, 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 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)2, 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

1.1. Three theonyms are detoponymic, such as the imported Aránsio from the French town of Aransio13 and Noreia from the Norican town of Noreia14. To a slightly older layer appears to belong – albeit imported – TVLNNOS: 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 Túllosum in France (in the territory of the Leuci) by means of the typically theonymic suffix -no- (NWÀI: 452–453). The divine name TULLINOS may be derived as TVLLI-nos from the -yo-augmented – i.e. adjectival or determined15 – toponymical form TÔLLUN, or rather represent the weakening of an original *Tälllo-no-s, derived from the basic form of the ancient toponym Tulum > Tällum. We shall not overlook the remarkable parallelism to the Hispanic detoponymic divine name TVLNNOS, derived by gender switching from the Spanish locality of Tullón16.

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 ononym17, whereas in other cases the divine name itself is of deoronymic origin, like the imported theonym Aróvina, hypostasized from the ononym Aróusín(a), later Ardona (the Ardennes)14. Apart from the archaic preservation of -w- after VrC and the late and probably regional spread of CC in posttonic position18, we observe a tendency for -enn- to develop into -inn- which matches the development -enC- > -inC- observed in all Celtic dialects19.

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.
12. The archaic suffix -ei 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 Novi ‘the many’ by means of suffix replacement, namely of -ei for -sio-, while the etonym is best accounted for as the plural of *nor-sio-s, a Celtic derivative of the IE adjective *noro- ‘manly, strong’ (JEW: 765 ff.). For a discussion of earlier suggestions cf. my analysis of NOREIA in Corpus F.E.R.C.A.N. U1 (forthc.).
15. The relationship of both local names with OIr. töl, taul ‘protuberance; boss of a shield; forehead’ and its cognates (Sonanten: 146; NWÀI: 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).
18. Where it is not, however, inherited from Proto- or Common Celtic, cf. de Bernardo Stempel (1994) 25 ff.
A deonomonic origin is also to be appreciated in the epithet of appurtenance\textsuperscript{20} of Mars\textsuperscript{Leucemellus,} an -ikos-derivative from the onym\textsuperscript{Leucimellon – aumbingeva-}\ compound meaning ‘Whitehill’\textsuperscript{22} – via the regular intermediate \textsuperscript{Leucimallon\textsuperscript{11}.}\ Note that in the divine name of the ‘Whitehill’ Mars there is no trace of the velarized compound meaning \textsuperscript{Dea Sáve} – the unstressed penultimate vowel – the divine name \textsuperscript{Dionysus} derived – as \textsuperscript{Dionysus} of the unstressed penultimate vowel – the divine name \textsuperscript{Sáve}.

1.3. We find at least six deities whose names are of dehydronymic origin, two of them indigenous like the gods \textsuperscript{Pados Pater} and \textsuperscript{Sarvis Flumen,} exactly corresponding to the river Names \textsuperscript{Sáve} and \textsuperscript{Sarios}.

From a river name related to the Eastern European hydronym \textsuperscript{Sávo} > \textsuperscript{Savus}, also deified as \textsuperscript{Savus}, seems to be derived – as \textsuperscript{Savé-\textsuperscript{r}-yá} is obviously continued – again with \textsuperscript{Sáve} on account of the unstressed penultimate position – the divine name \textsuperscript{Sáverna}. A derivative from the same hydronymic base \textsuperscript{Sáve-\textsuperscript{r}-yá} is obviously continued – again with \textsuperscript{Sáve} > \textsuperscript{Sáva} due to the originally unstressed position – in the name of the \textsuperscript{Sávari} river and of the ancient river of \textsuperscript{Savaria} (today Szombathely/H).  

1.3.1. There is also an instance of the themon \textsuperscript{Séquana} – known outside Italy from the themonic formula \textsuperscript{Dea Séquana} –, which corresponds to the name of the French river \textsuperscript{Séquan} and whose older form seems to have been the \textsuperscript{Aresequvana} involved in the votive dedication RIG ‘G-271’ from the same area\textsuperscript{22}. It appears in Italy in an undivided sequence of (themon + epithet) where the themon \textsuperscript{Séquana}, together with the epithet of appurtenance \textsuperscript{Galla}, is contained in what we recognize as the juxtaposition \textsuperscript{Séquannagalla\textsuperscript{23}.}

Juxtapositions seem to have been not too rare among the Roman inscriptions containing indigenous themonic 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 \textsuperscript{Séquannagalle}, shortened as \textsuperscript{S̄pina galle}, i.e. \textsuperscript{S̄pina-galle} with \textsuperscript{galle} for the dative \textsuperscript{gallae} in the inscription under scrutiny – where also the juxtaposition of \textsuperscript{Icamina} and \textsuperscript{Galla} is attested (§ 3.3.6 below) –, has several typological parallels outside Italy. Most emblematic is the case of the Rhenanian votive formula \textsuperscript{dea Apedaeve} where the old, pre-Celtic themon \textsuperscript{Ap} and the Celtic themonic determinative \textsuperscript{Dêva} together give the impression of a single divine name \textsuperscript{Apadëva}, which could hence be used with the Latin determinative \textsuperscript{Dea}\textsuperscript{24}. Other cases are related to the deonomonic deity \textsuperscript{La Berobricos} venerated in NW Spain; in these, the epithet of appurtenance \textsuperscript{Berobric-(Y)S} is split,
its first part coalescing with the theonymic determinative lar as in the dedications (deo) Laribo Breon\textsuperscript{32}.

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 deva after it became opaque for having coalesced with a presumably dehydronic theonym \textit{'Alantia}. The basis \textit{Alantia} has, in fact, the structure of an ancient river name meaning ‘The meandering (water)’ with various cognates all over Europe\textsuperscript{33}.

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 Roboe, i.e. *Robio. The lake, officially called Lagode Robuns, lies under a mountain called Becco Alto d’Ischiatar, not far from the watershed with the Val Stura where the votive dedication was found (at Demonte/Cuneo, in the locality called Rialpo)\textsuperscript{34}.

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 formulae\textsuperscript{35}. The oldest type is obviously represented by the Genii Asvsca translate, whose genitival epithet of appurtenance is related to a population group. In the younger type, the Genius 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: Genius pagi Arvusca translate. Finally, the genius is determined by the genitive singular of the oiconym corresponding to a Roman colony: Genus Coloniae Brixiae.

Interestingly, the veneration of deities classified as Genius/Genius is by far less frequent in northern Italy than in the Iberian Peninsula\textsuperscript{36}.

1.5. To the deonomastic group also belong the epithets of appurtenance of at least four kinds of \textit{Matronae} (\textit{= Celt. Matres}, cf. section 7 below) and perhaps also the divine name Mediavimus found once at Lago di Ledro near Brescia and of which, unfortunately, not much is known\textsuperscript{37}.

Finally, there are four more divine names, namely Bergimos and Lavyros, Pokenins, and the alleged Rybacascus, 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 3.3 below.

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

1) \textit{Significatio onomastica} does not imply phenomena of interpretatio\textsuperscript{38}. Even when a linguistically Celtic adjective is appended as epithet of appurtenance – e.g. lecimalecas – to a Classical Mediterranean theonym – e.g. Mars –, it only means that the worshippers of Mars involved in the specific dedication had some interest vested in the locality of Lecimelle; accordingly, the deity itself has much the same value as a Mars Cemenielys 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 Quirivs\textsuperscript{39}.

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 stock\textsuperscript{40}. With the exception of few dehydronic theonyms such as the aforesaid (Are)Sequana, they are also not attested in truly Celtic inscriptions\textsuperscript{41}. Furthermore, the settlements corresponding to detoonymic 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-
nificantly not assume that every so-called ‘indigenous’ divinename 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 Celtica41. In the areas of ancient Italy which were mostly Celticspeaking, only four theonyms of this type are found42: one of them is pre-Celtic of unspecified Indo-European origin and the other three are ofItalic 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 Abano Terme still preserves the name of the god Apónos, also contained in several other inscriptions, though with shortened votive formula Ap(ono) A(ggus)to43, and in the derived theophoric personal name Apónios: 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 Deva 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 in the Iberian Peninsula, the Indian Apas with their descendant Ápam Napat and their respective Avestan equivalents, the Baltic godly river Úpinis44.

The also pre-Celtic Revinnis, presumably derived from an IE basis *revi- ‘the flow; a stream’ of Italic stock, is particularly interesting on account of its probably Lusitanian pendant Revius45.

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 Aeqvrena as derived from aequor ‘plain; water extension’46 and that of the group of male Nixis, called by Festus Nixi di, as a deity of human life referring to ‘the efforts of childbirth’ like the verbal noun nixus, -nus 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 antono-mastic type48.

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 Brasenños ‘the Great God’, a derivative with theonic suffix -no- from Celt. *brasos-‘great’ (< IE *gh2ston- ‘heavy’) whose later variant Brasénnos shows pretonic simplification of the first, etymological gminata: we can, accordingly, reconstruct the following subsequent stages: *Brásto-no-s > *Brássenos50 > Brasénnos51.

The same can be said for the gender-switching couple ABVRNOS/ABVRNA52. 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, pp. 206 and 194).

42. A very reduced number if compared with the fourteen of Narbo-nensis or the more than twelve of Hispania, for which cf. de Bernardo Stempel (2003/07a) 70–71 and, respectively, Arenas Esteban & López Romero (2008/12) 155, 160–162 and 164–165.

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


45. On the latter Villak (1993/96): further inscriptions with the same classifier Revius (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.


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 Olsodvov, the ‘Entirely god’ with his Germanized female counterpart Alatevia and, respectively, Verbis, i.e. *Upura-ik-s the ‘Superior king’, the ‘prayer’s god’ Are(lac); the ‘very holy’ Angus (Gaul. dedov saxant); the ‘famous’ Cludioiia Germanized as Hulo-dana, the ‘favourable’ Deoksvia and the ‘peaceful’ Arawu/Abraros.

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

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


found many times in Spain as a theophoric personal name, while the derivative *Aburnius is known from Dacia and Pannonia. It is a theonymic derivative from the Common-Celtic lexeme *abro- ‘strong’ (IE. <*abhro>*38 showing two well-known archaic and partly dialectal features. The first one is the ephenthesis which led from *abro-, found i.a. as (a)divine?*Apsañ on a capital at Uzès near Nîmes (RIG G-219), to the *aburo-*36 that appears also in the Iberian Peninsula. There, the Celtiberian genitive/ablative *aburo* of its feminine form is enclosed before the firing/drying on a dolium found at Botorrita (K.1.22); it reads A.bur.r.a.x, showing the regular sonorization of the final sibilant after a syllable beginning with voiced consonant37, and might refer either to the town of procedence or to a woman merchant38. The second feature is the syncope – of the unstressed penultimate vowel – intervening in the archaic derivative *Abyro-no-si-na, obtained by appending the theonymic suffix to the aforesaid proparoxytone *aburo*39.

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 signification onomastica and gender switch from the name of the town of B settlers40.

3.1.1. A further instance of a suppressed theonym – either as a case of taboo or of ellipsis (brevisoquentia) – is found in the votive formula Toutatis Medurini: the first element, Toutatis (<*Teutatenses*), is originally an epithet of appurtenance to the testa that, i.a. because it is derived using the agitative dental-suffix -iti-, 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 (*Teutatenses*) and those with monophthongization, resulting in -o- and/or -u-41.

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

As to the epithet Medurini, 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’42. The intoxicating deity involved, however, need not have been an indigenous one43.

3.2. Also ambiguous is the case of Labros, i.e. <*Lábraba 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 signification onomastica of dehydronymic origin, and as such obtained from a river name *Labro*44?

3.3. Of the thirteen indigenous Celtic divine names left, one more (Belenus) is related to water45, two each to light (Attacina and Sirona) and trees (Cyslans and the comparatively well attested Aercvira), three to other types of landscape (*Mainaliis, Cavanius, Acinoris*), probably three to human life and health (*Bistoi, perhaps Paronné*), and

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54. For the actual forms cf. i.a. OPEL s.vv. and Vallejo Ruiz (2005) 99 ff.
56. The colour of the marabka ti vowel being determined by the preceding labial stop, cf. §1.2 with n. 23 above.
57. DE BERNARDO STEMPPEL (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 might 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: 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 Kelitké and Celtiberia: data and bibliography in de Bernardo Stempel & Burillo & Saiz & Wedeniw (2012); the present author has now added more details in (2012).
60. On Bergimos and his likeness to Apollo cf. now Valassori (2007/08): “il dio celtico Bergimus era venerato nell’area di Como, Bergamo e Brescia, ma, dopo la conquista romana, soltanto i Bresciani ne difsero la sopravvenza” (op. cit.: 372). – In either case, we observe here one more instance of a posttonic vowel weakened to -i-.
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 *ǵʰe₁H-e-n-)⁶⁶ and that – if we organize its attestations from in- and outside the Italian Peninsula⁶⁷ on a diachronic axis – we can recognize no less than nine different linguistic stages⁶⁸.

The beginning seems to have been a *Belenis, i.e. *ǵʰe₁H-e-n-i-s, where the i-stem indicated the deity’s relation to the springs (*ǵʰe₁H-e-n-y-)*⁶⁹. This is implied by the variant *Belenes – with subsequent posttonic gemination – which is attested in the dative Belenei of a theophoric personal name at Padua and also by the female personal name Belenna.

The later thematized form of the name had more success: Belenos from *ǵʰe₁H-e-n-o-s as e.g. in the Gaulish coin-legend <belinoc>. From this, three further variants developed: on the one hand, Belanos – 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-köm), meaning ‘of the Belainoci (formerly Belanyocis),’ either priests or cultores of Belanos, and even used as a theophoric attribute in Thracia⁷²; on the other hand, the posttonic vowel reduction to -i- favoured in other areas led to Belinos, which is also written belinoc on coins and Belinoc on 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 *Belenos with posttonic gemination was also created, as implied by the Latinate theophoric personal name Bellinus.

With the spread of the Gaulish language, the place of the stress moved to the penultimate syllable⁷³, so that the thematic Belenos (stage 2) gave way to a modernized paroxytone Belenos. 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 as opposed to Biel/CH⁷⁴. 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 qualifiers⁷⁵; 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 pantheon⁷⁶.

Still later, the ending -nos was probably substituted by the Latin suffix -nos, thus leading to the form Belinos that seems to underlie the Italian mixed (indigenous–Roman) votive formulae Belino Aug(usto) and again with identificatio Romana vel indigena – Apollonis (!) Belino⁷⁷.

An even more modern variant, Balinos, 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 Balinicus and the female Balinis, carried by the daughter of a Belinus and thus nicely confirming the relative chronology established above. On the spindle whorl, a phrase reading Balinominis is employed as apposition to the vocative Matta, dagomota in order to strengthen – by mentioning the deity – the sexual allusion contained in Gaulish -mota.

67. For which cf. the bibliography in Corpus F.R.C.A. N./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.R.C.A.N. 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 KGPN: 95–96. Less probable is that the i-stem was a strategy for deriding theonyms from the theonym, since there are almost no parallels for such a pattern: cf. my (2007/08) systematic study of theophoric personal names and Balinis here in the following.
70. Dimitrov (2009) 47.
73. The term qualifier is consequently used to indicate unspecific Latin adjectives (e.g. sanctissimus! -ai/-ei/-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/l.p.); (2003/07a) 69.
75. Note that the alleged personal name **Beleno- at Colchester is edited as *Aesurilino- in RIB 193.
It is unfortunately unclear which of Bele nos’ variants was involved in the votive formula Fonti B from Aquileia, with explicatio vel translatio Latina by means of the divine name Fons ²⁶.

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 Ataecina and, respectively, Dirona, which are known from outside Italy, they are likely to be import-

3.3.3. The hitherto isolated Cy losan s and the comparatively well attested Aercvra, 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 *Coslo-no-s, a theonymic derivative from the ‘hazel(-tree)’, called *kosl- in Celtic ²⁷, with suffix -no-. The second stage must have been *Coslos an s, again with weakening to -so- of the – postonic – thematic vowel of the derivational basis. Afterwards, the Gallo-British stress-shift produced *Coslos an s, which finally led to the Italian Cy losan s.

The second theonym, albeit derived from the IE name of the oak (*perk-ua) – with the delabilization of the labio-

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.A.N. 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 NWAİ: 80 and 581 n. 97 (to be added to Rothenhoeffer (2009) and to Marco Simon (2011) 53–54). Cf. also Arascal Palazón (1995) and the map by Arenas Esteban & López Romero (2009/10) 162.

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


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

82. From which several other pre-Gaulish indigenous divine names are derived, like nympheae Per cognae in Narbonensis and *Perkun(ey)- at Botorrita (see § 7.3.3 with n. 150 below). A few are known from Aquitania: devi Exa(sc)ennos and Perkokos with etymology at Sazeirat (RIG 1-L-7); possibly, the votive formuale Eros deo, Erge deo – on account i.a. of the theophoric PN Erguena < *Ergu-enā – and Erciano deo; more details in Corpus F.E.R.C.A.N. I/1 (forthc.) s.v. ‘Ercusa’.

83. It is even possible that Celtic *Pjerkurg 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 Diś Pater, Ceresanvs 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 *'[k]eH-ro-‘ from IE *k’ewero- ‘Nord, Nordwind’ (IEW: 597) – as proposed by Delamarre (i.a. NPC: 13–14), who translates it as ‘Vent-d’Oeu’. 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- can be accounted for much better if the vowel itself is epenthetic.
them – such as *HEREQURA – still show the inherited *H- and *-q- together with the early dialectal epenthesis, while others show all sorts of paronymological analogies. In this context, the Italian variant is – once more – comparatively modern, since *AEREQURA 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-jal-i-s, derived from Celt. *magino- *‘stone, place’²⁵.

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 *AGAYNOS and *CARNOS in other territories, given that we must allow for synonymic variation among the divine names employed across the Keltikë²⁶.

The second landscape-related divine name is the epithet *CAVAVIOS which follows in the votive formula both the Latin determinative *DEVS and the qualifier *DOMINS and implies a theonym *‘CAVAVIOS < *Kávo- ‘caves’ ‘Related to caverns’ or ‘to the cavern’, a derivative of Celt. *gavo- ‘cavern’²⁷, 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 god²⁸.

The third and last theonym in this group would be *ACINORIX, provided that his Slovene find spot is to be adscribed 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 ‘expans of ground; pasture, field’²⁹.

3.3.5. Of *EPONA, the original nature-deity who became a Celtic-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 *ORGENOS³⁰, a theonym derived by addition of the suffix *-no- from the Celtic verbal stem found *i.a. in the Gaulish imperative *orge · *occide³¹. The god’s name is also contained in the ethnonym *Orgenomescosi documented in Spain, which must hence be translated more precisely ‘Inebriated by the slayer god’³². It is, on the other hand, not clear whether the god *ORGENOS might have been related to *DEA ORCIA, officially venerated in the proximity of Singidumun, in Moesia superior, during the 3rd c. AD³³.

3.3.6. Another obviously imported deity is the health goddess invoked as *IHANNAGALLA in the dative singular *Ihamnagalla(a) of the same votive inscription where we restituted the *S(e)q(ua)nomagalla(a) discussed above in § 1.3.1. The juxtaposition we assumed in the case of <Sqnna Gallae> is, in fact, also supported by its very nearness to another juxtaposition of the same type, involving the theonym *IHAMNA – a variant of *ICAMA – and the appurtenance epithet *GALLA.

The protoform *ICAMA ‘the Healing’ is regularly continued as *ICANNA at Auxerre and has a semantic equivalent in the compound theonym *ICOVellaUNA known from a healing sanctuary at Metz and apparently describing a ‘health-ruling’ goddess³⁴.

It is, on the other hand, difficult to say whether the Celtic theonym *ICONNA 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

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²⁸ 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.
²⁹ 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 *Saški Kos [2006/08] 697). For the determinans cf. also Fallileiev et alii (2010) 5 and 38.
³² 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.
The -b- in our variant *Hanna attested in the territory surrounding Verona indicates foreign predication 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 superstrate 95. On the other hand, the ap- puteration epithet Galla may rather suggest an Aquitanian origin, given that Celtic words in those territories often show the transformation of stops into velar spirants 96.

3.3.7. A further and perhaps quite old group is constituted – among the indigenous non-deonomatic deities with Celtic names – by the deities presiding over human life.

One of them is attested with a masculine plural name, Bitto. Its basic form *Bitto- points to a derivative *Bitw-o- from the Celtic lexeme bitu- ‘life’ < IE *gH-tue- 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 *Mātres bovdunëas and *Gesaćenas as Matronae bovdunëae and Gesacenas 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 Syvrigios < Svitrigios, originally *Svituk- yos, a functional epithet of the agricultural Mars derived from Celtic *(s)atu- ‘fruit, produce’; idiomisms like the genitive Saberossis from *(s)akro-ist-i-s, with the same epithesis shown by the Saceronia, Sacer- ria and Sacerilla found in other Celtic-speaking provinces. The same epithesis accounts for *Ulobo-ist-o-s < *Ulebo-ist-o-s, continued by the dative Uloboxx and later by the i-stem (genitive) Uloboxxi and by the -yo-stem (genitive) Uloboxxii. The etymology is obviously the same as that of the Lepontic personal name Ules, later continued in Uleîus, Uleidius, a perfect match with the German personal name Wolf, Wolf. The epithetic vowel shows a different colour in the archaic name Uleireis of Uloboxxi’s father (still with preserved velar and with an i-stem going back to an original *Uleîro- and also in the name Ullícos attested in the genitive on a Senonian coin. The latter can, in fact, be traced back to *Ullícos < *Ullícos < *Ullícos and further to *Uléos. Further instances of the Aquitanian spirantization of stops are Biboxxus/kuusxxus, all continuing an original *Bito-ist-o-s, and Duno-obo- < Dubnoco- in the genitives Dunooborgis and Dunooboxis. For the epigraphic data cf. Gorzechataegi (1984) and in this volume; OPPEL, NPC and RDG s.v.v. Cf. also Matasović (2009) 359-362 and 420; Sonantenc: 134–135.


To the same functional category shall be ascribed the theonym Paron(ı) of uncertain gender and number 98 if it contains the same base par- seen in the Welsh verb paraf ‘I create’ 99.

Explicatio vel translatio Latina

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 Matres Magiae (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 *TVGS with a parhedros might account for the theonymic couple (Man?)SVETA and DORMINVS.

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

99. From the IE verbal root *k dever- ‘(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.


Celtic and Other Indigenous Divine Names Found in the Italian Peninsula

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

It seems rather less probable that the theonymic formula should have consisted, not unlike the case of the Norican Sedaty\textsuperscript{120}, 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 epiclesis.

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 ones\textsuperscript{105}, mostly *Iupiter, Mars, Mercuvris, Apollo, Herculest, and Minervat*.

5.1. In our Italian corpus, we encounter at most one *Mercurius* named with the help of the Celtic language\textsuperscript{104}. The fact that there are practically no Celtic explications of him in inscriptions on stone and *instrumentum* might, however, imply that he was an already familiar deity.

5.1.1. *Mercuvris* might be alluded to, however, in a Latin rock inscription at Crevaldossola, which reads *Tinco/ Mocco* (eo)\textsuperscript{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 *dyroincticos*, which in its turn – for its meaning ‘door (duro-)’ protector (tink-yo-s)’ – could easily be a replica of *Hermes’* epithet *μυριάς\textsuperscript{104}. The second divine name, *mocco*, is also known from France in association with *Mercuvris\textsuperscript{105*, but – on account of its meaning ‘(wild) pig’\textsuperscript{112} – was in origin probably an alias of the boar-god *Eburos* himself\textsuperscript{110}.

Accordingly, the Celtic votive formula *Tinco Mocco* (o) of the Crevaldossola 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 *Mercuvris* 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

\textsuperscript{103} Kaufmann-Heinimann (1991) 95 [spaced by me], who concludes that the Classical Roman Somnus 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.

\textsuperscript{104} Cf. de Bernardo Stempel (2002/05a) 22 and the lemma ‘Sedatus’ in *Corpus F.E.R.C.A.N.* I/1 (forthc.).

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{106} In fact, the Italian divine name *Rybacuus*, albeit resembling a functional epithet suggesting the existence of a *Michristos* (MERCUVRI) *Rybacuus*, is presumably a deonomastic theonym related to the saltus *Rubacauitos* and the fundus Rubacuittum attested in Ligury (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 (*Romeo*, cf. § 1.1 above).

\textsuperscript{107} CIL V 6650, cf. Mennella (1992), even if his restitution of the shortening as *dicitum* 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.A.N. materials.

\textsuperscript{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 *Tincumaros* ‘Great at protecting’, is obviously not aware of the existing theonymic materials, nor of Celtiberian *ambt-tinkounei* in the 1st Botorrita bronze (discussed by de Bernardo Stempel [2008/10b] 8, with more references).

\textsuperscript{109} RDG: 53; Sterckx (1998) 44.

\textsuperscript{110} It is related i.a. to Old Irish *muc* (‘pig, sow’ and Welsh *moeb* -id est porci (DLG, DLH and GPC s.v.).

\textsuperscript{111} Cf. the discovery by Sanz Aragonés et alii (2011) and note that *Lygis* had a mythological relation to boars (Sterckx [1998–2005] 1, 107–108).
'protector' simply referring to the indigenous animal-god **MOCCOS**.

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-ô-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 Spain*[113] 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 **REINMOS IPPTIPER OPTIMVS MAXIMVS**, where the Classical I. O. M. is preceded by the polyvalent epithet REINMOS ‘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 **MAVNIALIS** 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 **IPPTIPER OPTIMVS MAXIMVS ADGENEICOS**, which is also attested in Italy as **IUPPTIPER 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 Ζεὺς Γενέτωρ/Γεννήσαρ or else Γεννάρχης or Γεννητός.

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

From the protoform *"ADGENEICOS* can be explained both the pre-Gaulish form **ADGÉNEICOS** and its Gaulish variant **AGGANÁICOS**. In the first, **ADGENEICOS**, 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 *"ADGÉNEICOS*. 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 *"-ii-"*[115].

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

The **AMRISAGROS** used in this context represents an augmentative form of Celt. *"sakro- ‘holy’* achieved by prefixing ambi- (IE *mbh* ‘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.

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[112] From the same root *"b_pl- 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 Rotenhöfer (2009).


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

5.3. We then find – in the Roman inscriptions – three types of theonymic formulae involving the divine name Po-eninvs: 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. Iuppiter – as in Iuppiter optimus maximus poeninvs. One might hence think of poeninvs as an epithet of appurtenance indicating the cult place of this particular Iuppiter, especially if we compare the French theonymic formula Arpeninvs deus, with a compound divine name showing the same structure as the old Arsēqvana as opposed to the more recent sequana.

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 ienarai ‘I dedicated to Poeninos’ and the name of the god invoked strongly resembles the name showing the same structure as the old Aresqvana as opposed to the more recent Sequana.

It is impossible to say whether the deus poeninvs of Roman times, and even more so the J. O. M. poeninvs quoted at the beginning of this paragraph, were still referring to the original god – hence linked to Iuppiter in a process of identificatio –, or were meanwhile simply felt to be deoronymic attributes.

5.4. Mars is alluded to in Rome with the votive formula Camulo or Camulo(rigis), i.e. simply by his frequent and apparently shortened Celtic functional epithet Camvlvr(bik): ‘Rich in prisoners/slaves’.

On the other hand, it is debatable whether the personal name Belatuekadrilek-, documented in the Venetic corpus already in the 4th c. BC, was derived from Belatvckadros ‘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-god.

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 decamnoctiacae/-a Granni, indicates that Grannos was originally the name for an independent Celtic sun-god who later became identified and associated with Apollo.

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

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

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118. The first has been studied by Rubat Boxel (2011), while the latter two inscriptions were published by casini et ali (2008).
122. Ptol. geogr. 3, 1, 44, codd. VAC, while R has Antvna with pretonic degemination (pace the edition of Stückenberger & Grasshoff).

6. In the Italian dedications to Minerva, different kinds of explicatio vel translatio can be observed.

6.1. The functional epithet Medica that accompanies the name of the Classical goddess in the votive formula Minervae Medicæ Cabardiacensis is a Latin replica of her Greek functional attribute Τήνες, 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 *Cabardiacum which is continued by the modern toponym Caverzâo.

6.2. Also at Caverzâo, we find – apart from dedications breviloquentes to Minerva Cabardiacensis or to Minerva sanctissima dea and the like – dedications to Minerva Memor, a formula that surfaces in Rome as dea Memnania.

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 Memnania is merely a dialectal variant of *Memnantia, which is a derivative of IE (and Celtic) *men-mn(t) ‘mind, memory’. Variants of the same functional epithet are contained in the names of the pluralized Minmantiae and Memandvitätiae, with inC < enC in pretonic position and, respectively, sonorization nt > nd and resuffixation in -ut-iae; also, with variatio generis, in the name of the male deity Memandvicius, where dissimilation of the first -n- took place.

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, n(ŋ)b’, the b remaining when immediately before the Middle/Modern Welsh stress, but being lost otherwise. This accounts i.a. for an Old Welsh spelling like banther from Brittonic *sánteros ‘half’ and for Middle Welsh breñen with plural breñhineid from Brittonic *brygantivos, corresponding to Modern Welsh breñin and breñhineid. 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; Genill + Lat. Gentilius), 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 transmission.

Divine families

7.2. 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 name.

7.1. It is, therefore, not strange to find in Italy the goddesses adganae side by side with Iupiter adganaicus whose functional epithet, corresponding to Greek Ιερύτω/ Ιερύτω/Ἰερύτις/Ἰερύτας, has been discussed above in § 5.2.2: they appear – in roughly the same area where the votive formula I. O. M. Adcaneico was found – in a combined dedication Matronis et Adganais. It is possible that their name – instead of representing a back-formation from adganaicus – continued an archaic [‘adyanae] from an original *adganae.

7.2. There are also various pluralized theonyms representing adaptationes of Classical deities, 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 idiomyn Cabarvs can be traced: de Bernardo Stempel (2003) 51 n. 67 with further bibliography. Falileev and 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 theonomic determinant.
130. Cf. de Bernardo Stempel (2003/07b) 60 and (2003/07a) 73.
131. LHER: 496 (and §§ 103–110).
134. These are (1) the Brittonic-type lenition of voiceless stops into voiced, (2) the loss of an initial sibilant, (3) the diphongation of *ä under the stress, (4) the fricativization of consonantal geminates and (5) the transformation of an intervocalic approximant into a voiced dental fricative (*-ŋV > -nV), cf. i.a. de Bernardo Stempel (1999/2000) 90, (2003) 60 with n. 125, (2004/07) 157 ff. and (2011/6p.).
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.
and behind them. The value, without paying attention to the whole system in
translatio Latina
alludes to some indigenous deity disguised by
translatio Latina a lingua Celtica
Primitive-Celtic *
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 masculi,
while the formula Fati Salvares 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 *Matres – 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 Suleviae, 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 Matres, 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 ‘familiar’. The attribute Vcellasicae may, in fact, represent a Celtic epithet derived from the IE root *euk-* (<h.euk-), 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 *euk-e-lo-/á ‘familiar’ > Common Celtic *eukelo-/á ‘id.’; 

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

iii) a theophoric epithet meaning ‘belonging to the *Vkellasiai’ 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 *Concanantia, 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 Adcananuos < *Adciananos < *ad+kaino-mno-s on the Arvernian coin RIG IV 12142.

7.3.2. Syntactically different is the formula Matronae Braecorivm Gallianativm, where the appurtenance epithets following the translatio Latina of Matres appear in the genitive plural. While the latter refers to the inhabitants of Gallian near Cantus – the Gallanates – the first epithet, probably representing *Breconii, is difficult to account for,

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137. Basi (2007/08) 53: “Tuttavia la Juno 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 Silvanus, Grimal (2005) 422.
139. E.g. Mennella & Lattrico (2005/08).
140. Cf. de Bernardo Stempel & Hainzmann (2009) 80–81, who also discuss a parallel dedication Matribus Arsicus paternis sive mater
nibus from Xanten.
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 Celtsiberian family name written <U.ku.li.ku.m> in the 3rd bronze from Botorrita (II, 54) if it represents a genitive plural Ukelikum from a former *Ukelokum, 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 idonym Odelico(s) at Genouilly (RIG 1 L-4), it now rather seems a theophoric derivative from the divine name Ocloos, ead. (2003) 63–64 with n. 55. Note that, in the light of the Celtic adjective *iakeloi- ‘familiar’, it might be worth reconsidering the old etymology – with *h.uek- as a Schwebebautz of the original root – proposed by Pokorney (IEW 347) for Greek *iakloq ‘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.).
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 *mtrak- ‘malt’144. In that case, the name would imply that those Mät(e)res were particularly worshipped by Galliano’s malt producers (*mtraciori?145).

The epithet of the Matronae Mavonvnm is very probably deonomastic. It seems to refer to the lineage of the descendents of a Masuo and has a close parallel in the epithet of a Victoria Malvinorum in the Transpadana144.

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

Very well known are the Matres Svelvae, already mentioned in § 7.3. Outside Italy they also appear simply as Svelvae, i.e. without theonymic determinative; or even in explicatio vel translatio Latina – as Gubernatrices. In fact, the functional epithet Svelvae is a cognate of Welsh hylyw ‘leading (well)’ and of Breton beleuze ‘good behaviour’ and, as such – as already Fleuriot (1982) 126 remarked –, has nothing to do with the Minerva ‘of the eye’ (Svils)145.

The theonymic formulae Fatae Dervonnae and Matronae Dervonnæ – both evidently indicating the same deity of the oaks by means of the synonymic non-deonomastic epithets of appurtenance Dervonnae and Dervonnæ – are known, by contrast, only from Italy. The first is more archaic – even if not necessarily older –, being the plural of the epicene noun *dervôn(n); it was obviously modernized into Dervonnae, which is the plural of the female derivative *dervor-ā underlying the theophoric personal name Der- vonia145. 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 Mät(e)res, namely Matronae146. It is, moreover, just possible that the underlying “Mätère Dérvonne” might have been a modernized regional name – a theonymic ‘geosinonimo’, so to speak – for the ancient deity called Pervviolent or Pervviolni and worshipped in one of the so-called trikanta-spaces at Contrebia Belaisca150.

The older period

8.2. 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 < *Dewô(n), the Lepontic executor of Belgos’ brwia and pala at Vergiate, the ‘pious’ wife Dugiauva at Voltoni, and perhaps Aesia on a Samarate (Varesi) 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 Bellinen (discussed above in § 3.3.1) and the weather god Taraniis, mentioned twice on the same object in the form Tarani151, 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 Ezúi on a small sandstone slab at Cividate Camuno from the first half of the 4th c. BC151. Probably the queenly Rigana, resurfacing in epicoric alphabet as the genitive Rikanas on a 2nd c. BC patera from a warrior tomb at Oleggio151. Thirdly, the ‘majestic’ Airones Vultìavi in the 7th c. BC Lepontic


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

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).


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


151. Cf. de Bernardo Stempel (2011c) (2011d), (2008/11) and, respectively, CIT: no. 128.


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 Müller et alii (forthc.) has to be added; cf. also the lemma «Aisos» in Corpus F.E.R.C.A.N. 1/1 (forthc.).

154. Cf. CIT: 84, where it is thought to represent an – obviously theophoric – idonym, 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-4’s lord.” It is possible that the underlying *Voltaivi referred to a specific lineage.

8.2.1. To those we might have to add[156] the Mucetii found in the Etruscan corpus if really is an early attestation of the antonomastic epithet or polyvalent epithet MOGETOS ‘The mighty’ as implied by Rix (1994) 100–101. And probably also AKLVAMOS, 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 peninsulars, namely between APONOS and the Hispanic APONIANICOS, ORGENOS and the ethnonym ORGENOMESCU[157], and also between REVINOS and the Hispanic votive formulae with RES(v)JE. Different seem to be the cases of ATAYCINA and TYLLINOS vs. TVLLINOS: 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 j (ácina, BÉLINOS, BERGINOS, POININOS, TVLLINOS);
- weakening of unstressed vowels to a (BELANOS, CAVAVI-Os, CONCANAeva, CVYANOS, ÉPANA, IHAMNA, (ABE)-SEQUANA, SERANA, *VCELINASIAE; ADGANAE, *ADGENAI-COS, *LUNICIMOLOn, SATARIA; BALINUS, AGGANACIcos);
- weakening of unstressed ja to e (ALANTEDORA);
- syncope of unstressed vowels (ABYRNAS, ABYRNAS; MÁ-RES, SAVERCNA);
- epenthesis (ABHRO-, HEREQVRA, PEROCOS);
- vowel assimilation to a labial environment (LABYRNS);
- vowel assimilation to a palatal environment (ADGENAI-COS, ATACINA);
- narrowing of enC to inC (ARDVINNA);
- voicing of a stop before y (AMBISAGROS);
- deletion of a voiced velar before y (BEROBEOS, MANNAILIS; REVINOS, ROBOE);
- delabialization of labiovelars before o (AECORNA, AE-CVRNA).

- τθV > δV in posttonic position (BITTO, *BISOS > BI-BOXOS);
- simplification of ks to s (ACINORD, *MEDVRES);
- velarization and sprantization of stops (BIBOXOS, DUNRO-BO-, IHAMNA; SABERO; SIVHVGUIOS; ULOBO-);
- aspiration *h > nh (MIMANHIA).

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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