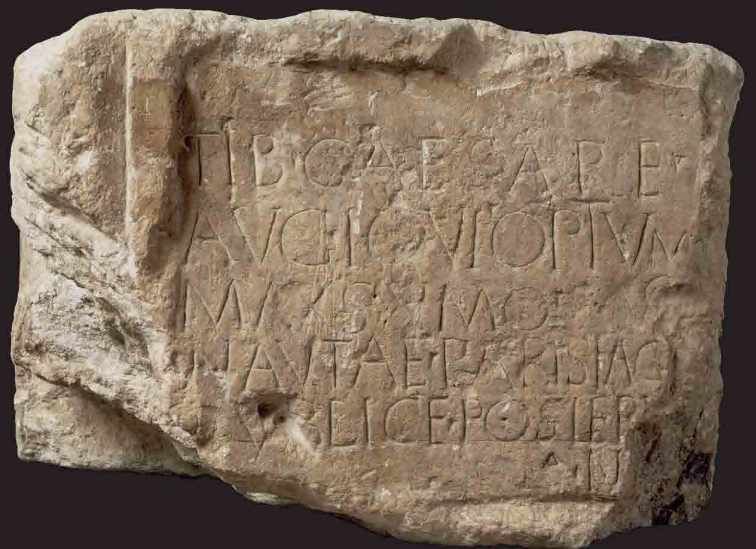


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ANDREAS HOFENER,
PATRIZIA DE BERNARDO STEMPEL
(HGG.)

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CULTES, *INTERPRETATIO* /
KELTISCHE THEONYMIE,
KULTE, *INTERPRETATIO*



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Andreas Hofeneder, Patrizia de Bernardo Stempel
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unter Mitwirkung von
Manfred Hainzmann, Nicolas Mathieu

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Keltische Theonymie, Kulte, *interpretatio*

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Table des matières/Inhaltsverzeichnis

Préface/Vorwort – 7

Corpora

María Cruz GONZÁLEZ RODRÍGUEZ

Revisión epigráfica del *corpus* de *Gallaecia*: nuevos hallazgos y viejos problemas – 11

Joaquín GORROCHATEGUI

Revisión epigráfica del *corpus* de dedicatorias votivas de la provincia d'*Aquitania* – 25

Patrice LAJOYE

L'épigraphie religieuse mentionnant des théonymes ou des épithètes indigènes en Lyonnaise seconde. Un état des lieux – 45

L'analyse des noms divins/Die Deutung der Götternamen

Noémie BECK

Celtic Divine Names Related to Gaulish and British Population Groups – 51

Patrizia DE BERNARDO STEMPEL

Celtic and Other Indigenous Divine Names Found in the Italian Peninsula – 73

Xavier DELAMARRE

La structuration verticale de l'espace chez les Anciens Celtes et les déesses rhénanes *Matronae Andrusteihae* – 97

Andreas HOFENEDER

Apollon Grannos – Überlegungen zu Cassius Dio 77, 15,5–7 – 101

Pierre-Yves LAMBERT

Le statut du théonyme gaulois – 113

Bernard RÉMY

Épiclèses et épithètes de Mars chez les Voconces de Die – 125

Wolfgang SPICKERMANN

Les noms des divinités celtes en Germanie et leur interprétation dans le cadre de l'histoire des religions – 131

Iconographie et cultes/Ikonographie und Kulte**Gerhard BAUCHHENS**

Füllhörner und andere Nebenseitenmotive – 145

Francisco BURILLO MOZOTA, J. Alberto ARENAS ESTEBAN, María Pilar BURILLO CUADRADO

El santuario astronómico de Segeda y la iconografía solar en Celtiberia – 157

Nadežda GAVRILOVIĆ

Traces of Celtic Population and Beliefs in the Roman Provinces of the Central Balkans – 175

Peter SCHERRERDas Ehrenmonument von der Île de la Cité für Kaiser Tiberius – Überlegungen zu den *nautae Parisiaci* und der historischen Einbettung des Pfeilerdenkmals – 183**Interpretatio****Manfred HAINZMANN, Patrizia DE BERNARDO STEMPEL***Interpretatio Romana vel indigena* im Spiegel der Götterformulare – 193**Francisco MARCO SIMÓN**Local Cult in Global Context: *Interpretatio* and the Emergence of New Divine Identities in the *provincia Tarraconensis* – 221

Résumés/Abstracts – 233

Adresses/Adressen – 241

Index locorum – 243

Index nominum et rerum – 251

N.B.: Dans les textes, on utilise l'écriture italique pour chaque citation textuelle non modifiée, c'est-à-dire pour toute attestation épigraphique littérale. Cependant, on utilise les petites capitales italiques pour toute forme nominative restituée d'un nom de divinité. Dans ces nominatifs on a restitué, pourtant, les terminaisons véritablement celtiques *-os*, *-u* et *-tis*, propres au nominatif singulier des thèmes en *-o-* et, respectivement, en nasale et en *-i-*, au lieu des terminaisons latinisées en *-us*, *-o* et *-tes*, plus usuelles à l'époque celtoromaine.

N.B.: In den Texten ist die einfache Kursivschrift für die aktuellen, d.h. unveränderten Belege verwendet worden. In kursiven Kapitälchen ist dagegen die jeweils restituierte Nominativform eines Götternamens gesetzt worden. Deswegen sind bei solchen Formen, sofern angebracht, auch die echtkeltischen Endungen *-os*, *-u* und *-tis* für den Nominativ Singular der *o-* bzw. der *n-* und der *i-* Stämme eingesetzt worden, d.h. anstelle der latinisierten Ausgänge *-us*, *-o* und *-tes*, die zur keltorömischen Zeit meist üblich waren.

Préface / Vorwort

Le programme de recherche international pluridisciplinaire *Fontes epigraphici religionum Celticarum antiquarum* (F.E.R.C.AN.) est piloté par l'Académie Autrichienne des Sciences (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*) dans le cadre de sa commission préhistorique (URL: www.oeaw.ac.at/praehist/fercan) avec à l'époque le professeur émérite Herwig Friesinger et le professeur émérite Gerhard Dobesch. Son coordonnateur, depuis les origines, en 1998, est M. Manfred Hainzmann, assistant-professeur. Son but est de recueillir et d'étudier toutes les inscriptions religieuses des divinités antiques celtiques en vue de l'édition d'un corpus systématique (*Corpus-F.E.R.C.AN.*) des sources épigraphiques (inscriptions monumentales, « petite épigraphie » – *instrumentum*) relatives aux religions celtiques antiques.

Depuis 1998, les chercheurs qui participent à ce programme se réunissent pour des ateliers (Workshops) qui sont l'occasion d'échanges fructueux sur plusieurs thèmes en relation plus ou moins étroite avec le but éditorial collectif du corpus F.E.R.C.AN. Les organisateurs de ces rencontres se sont à chaque fois efforcés de publier les exposés dans un recueil d'actes particulier. Sept volumes ont paru jusqu'ici:

- VITORIA 2000: *Die Kelten und ihre Religion im Spiegel der epigraphischen Quellen*. Akten des 3. F.E.R.C.AN.-Workshops (Vitoria-Gasteiz, September 2000) / *Los Celtas y su religión a través de la epigrafía*. Actas del III Workshop F.E.R.C.AN. (Vitoria-Gasteiz, septiembre de 2000), edd. Joaquín GORROCHATEGUI & Patrizia DE BERNARDO STEMPEL. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Universidad del País Vasco 2004 (Anejos de Veleia, Series maior n° 11). ISSN: 84-0213-2095.
- OSNABRÜCK 2002: *Keltische Götter im Römischen Reich*. Akten des 4. internationalen F.E.R.C.AN.-Workshops (Osnabrück, Oktober 2002), edd. Wolfgang SPICKERMANN & Rainer WIEGELS. Mönchsee: Bibliopolis 2005 (Osnabrücker Forschungen zu Altertum und Antike-Rezeption 9). ISBN: 3-933925-69-X.
- GRAZ 2003: *Auf den Spuren keltischer Götterverehrung*. Akten des 5. F.E.R.C.AN.-Workshop (Graz, Oktober 2003), ed. Manfred HAINZMANN. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2007 (Philosophisch-historische Klasse: Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission, vol. 64). ISBN: 978-3-7001-3785-6; ISSN: 0065-5376.
- LONDON 2005/I: *Continuity and Innovation in Religion in the Roman West. Volume 1*. Proceedings of the 6th international F.E.R.C.AN. Workshop (London, April 2005), edd. Ralph HÄUSSLER & Anthony C. KING. Portsmouth 2007 (Supplement vol. n° 67 to the Journal of Roman Archaeology). ISBN: 978-1-887829-96-0.

Das internationale, transdisziplinäre Forschungsprojekt *Fontes epigraphici religionum Celticarum antiquarum* (F.E.R.C.AN.) ist ein an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften angesiedeltes Projekt (s. URL: www.oeaw.ac.at/praehist/fercan). Es steht unter der Leitung der Prähistorischen Kommission und deren Obmännern (zur Zeit emer. o. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Herwig Friesinger und emer. o. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Gerhard Dobesch). Als Koordinator fungiert seit Projektbeginn im Jahre 1998 Herr Ass.-Prof. Dr. Manfred Hainzmann. Ziel des Unternehmens ist die globale Erfassung, Auswertung und Neuedition (*Corpus-F.E.R.C.AN.*) der epigraphischen Quellen (Monumental- und Kleininschriften) zu den antik-keltischen Religionen.

Seit 1998 versammeln sich die Projektmitarbeiter alljährlich zu einem Workshop. Nebst editionstechnischen Fragen dienen diese dem fruchtbaren Austausch über bestimmte Schwerpunktthemen, die mit dem Problemkreis des Projektes in Verbindung stehen. Die Veranstalter dieser Werkstattgespräche haben sich um die Veröffentlichung der Vorträge in eigenen Tagungsakten bemüht. Bisher sind folgende sieben Tagungsbände erschienen:

- LONDON 2005/II: *Continuity and Innovation in Religion in the Roman West. Volume 2*. Proceedings of the 6th international F.E.R.C.AN. Workshop (London, April 2005), edd. Ralph HAEUSSLER & Anthony C. KING. Portsmouth 2008 (Supplement vol. n° 67 to the Journal of Roman Archaeology). ISBN: 978-1-887829-96-0; ISSN: 1063-4304.
- CASCAIS 2006: *Divindades indígenas em análise / Divinidades pré-romaines – bilan et perspectives d'une recherche*. Actas do VII workshop FERCAN (Cascais, Mayo de 2006), ed. José d'ENCARNAÇÃO. Coimbra & Porto: Centro de Estudos Arqueológicos das Universidades de Coimbra e Porto 2008. ISBN: 978-989-95954-0-8.
- GARGNANO 2007: *Dedicanti e cultores nelle religioni celtiche*. Atti dell'VIII workshop internazionale F.E.R.C.AN. (Gargnano, Maggio 2007), ed. Antonio SARTORI. Milano: Cisalpino Istituto Editoriale Universitario 2008 (Quaderni di Acme 104). ISBN: 978-88-323-6203-9.
- MOLINA 2008: *Celtic Religion across Time and Space*. IX Workshop F.E.R.C.AN. (Molina de Aragón, September 2008), ed. J Alberto ARENAS ESTEBAN. Toledo: Diputación 2010. ISBN: 978-84-7788-589-4.
- ERFURT 2011: *Keltische Götternamen als individuelle Option? Celtic Theonyms as an Individual Option?* Akten des 11. internationalen Workshops F.E.R.C.AN. (Erfurt, Mai 2011), ed. Wolfgang SPICKERMANN (& Leif SCHEUERMANN). Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH 2013 (Osnabrücker Forschungen zu Altertum und Antike-Rezeption 19). ISBN: 978-3-89646-740-9.

La X^e rencontre F.E.R.C.AN. a été organisée par l'Unité de service et de recherche 710 « L'Année épigraphique » du CNRS, dirigée par le professeur Michel-Yves Perrin, et s'est déroulée à Paris du 24 au 26 mai 2010 dans les locaux de la maison des Sciences de l'Homme, boulevard Raspail.

La partie scientifique proprement dite de la rencontre, qui s'inscrit dans la longue tradition scientifique des études épigraphiques dont *L'Année épigraphique* rend compte depuis plus d'un siècle, a été précédée par une visite du *frigidarium* des thermes de Cluny et la présentation du célèbre pilier des *nautae Parisiaci*, le soir du 24 mai. À cette occasion, les participants présents ont pu être informés grâce à un résumé par Peter Scherrer – *in absentia* – de son article qui se trouve reproduit dans la section « Iconographie et cultes » de ce livre.

La rencontre, qui s'articulait principalement sur la question de l'*interpretatio Romana vel indigena* ou des transferts culturels, a permis de présenter dix-huit dossiers d'ampleur variée dans les trois premières demi-journées. Les communications ont abordé les sujets sous les angles culturels, épigraphiques, onomastiques ou linguistiques selon plusieurs approches: *interpretatio*, formation, place et valeur des noms de dieux dans les inscriptions, épithètes et épicleses, aspects archéologiques et iconographiques, nouveautés ou révisions épigraphiques. Une quatrième et dernière session était réservée, comme à l'ordinaire, aux questions méthodologiques et pratiques pour l'établissement du Corpus.

À cette X^e rencontre F.E.R.C.AN. à Paris ont participé non seulement les quatre éditeurs scientifiques et des membres du projet international F.E.R.C.AN. comme

Dieser 10. F.E.R.C.AN.-Workshop wurde von der Forschungsstelle „L'Année épigraphique“ des CNRS (*Unité de service et de recherche 710*, geleitet von Prof. Dr. Michel-Yves Perrin) organisiert und fand zwischen dem 24. und 26. Mai 2010 in Paris statt. Ort der Veranstaltung war die *Maison des Sciences de l'Homme* am Boulevard Raspail.

Dem eigentlichen wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium, das sich in die lange Tradition epigraphischer Untersuchungen einreicht, von denen *L'Année épigraphique* seit über einem Jahrhundert Bericht erstattet, ging am Abend des 24. Mai ein Besuch des *Frigidariums* in den römischen Thermen von Cluny voraus, im Zuge dessen die angereisten Teilnehmer die Überreste des berühmten Nautenpfeilers zu sehen bekamen. Den Anwesenden wurde bei dieser Gelegenheit *in absentia* die Zusammenfassung von Peter Scherrers Artikel zur Kenntnis gebracht, der sich hier in der Sektion „Iconographie und Kulte“ abgedruckt findet.

Das bislang 10. Treffen stand unter dem Motto *Interpretatio Romana vel indigena*. Während dreier Halbtage fanden 18 Referenten Gelegenheit, ihre Ansichten zu diversen Aspekten der antik-keltischen Religion darzulegen. Die Referate gingen aus kulturgeschichtlichen, epigraphischen, namenkundlichen oder linguistischen Blickwinkeln auf die Thematik ein, wobei das Phänomen der *interpretatio*, das den griechisch-römischen Kulturkreis wie die religiöse Welt der Randvölker gleichermaßen betrifft, eine zentrale Rolle spielte. Wie schon in den vorangegangenen F.E.R.C.AN.-Treffen widmete sich abschließend eine eigene Session ausschließlich methodologischen und editorischen Fragen des Corpus-Werkes.

Jesús Alberto Arenas Esteban, Gerhard Bauchhenß, Isabelle Fauduet (sans exposé), María Cruz González Rodríguez, Joaquín Gorrochategui, Ralph Häußler, Anthony King (s. ex.), Patrice Lajoye, Bernard Rémy, Antonio Sartori, Francisco Marco Simón et Wolfgang Spickermann, mais aussi d'autres chercheurs: Noémie Beck, Francisco et María Pilar Burillo, Bernard Clemençon, Xavier Delamarre, Nadežda Gavrilović, Pierre-Yves Lambert, Paul Russell (s. ex.) et Bernard Sergent, qui ont enrichi la discussion avec leurs contributions, ainsi que les organisateurs français de la rencontre.

Trois communications n'ont pas été adressées pour une publication dans ces actes. Bernard Cléménçon a présenté un nouveau document, provenant du centre monumental public de Clermont-Ferrand et contenant une dédicace *Num(ini) Aug(usti) Deo Maro Moconti Victori*, qui a été, depuis, publié, avec Guy Alfonso et Bernard Rémy, dans le *Bulletin historique et scientifique de L'Awvergne*, tome 111, n° 786–787, juillet–décembre 2010, p. 59–73. Ralph Häußler a examiné le phénomène d'*interpretatio* en essayant de montrer comment il a pu permettre un rajeunissement de cultes ou de pratiques indigènes. Antonio Sartori a abordé la question de l'*interpretatio* dans la *Gallia Transpadana* sous un angle plus qualitatif de degrés de rapprochement, d'assimilation, de superpositions ou de confusion des divinités romaines, indigènes ou locales, en essayant de tenir compte aussi d'éventuelles typologies monumentales et du contexte économique.

Au terme de cette présentation, il convient de remercier, outre les orateurs qui ont fourni leurs textes, les organisateurs de cette rencontre: Michel-Yves Perrin, Directeur de l'USR 710 « L'Année épigraphique », qui a consacré une part importante de son budget à cette rencontre internationale, Mireille Corbier, directrice de *L'Année épigraphique*, qui a assisté à l'ensemble de la rencontre, et Isabelle Fauduet, ingénieur de recherche à l'USR 710 et membre de projet F.E.R.C.AN., qui a assuré les contacts et la coordination de son organisation.

À notre collègue Jonathan West (Newcastle) nous adressons tous nos remerciements pour son aide.

Enfin, comme pour le 5^e Workshop, à Graz, il convient de remercier l'Académie autrichienne des Sciences pour la prise en charge de la publication de ces actes.

Les éditeurs. Juin 2012

An diesem 10. Workshop nahmen außer den vier Herausgebern und weiteren Mitgliedern des internationalen Projektteams wie Jesús Alberto Arenas Esteban, Gerhard Bauchhenß, Isabelle Fauduet (ohne Vortrag), María Cruz González Rodríguez, Joaquín Gorrochategui, Ralph Häußler, Anthony King (o. V.), Patrice Lajoye, Bernard Rémy, Antonio Sartori, Francisco Marco Simón und Wolfgang Spickermann auch andere Forscher teil: Noémie Beck, Francisco und María Pilar Burillo, Bernard Clemençon, Xavier Delamarre, Nadežda Gavrilović, Pierre-Yves Lambert, Paul Russell (o. V.) und Bernard Sergent bereicherten mit ihren Beiträgen zusammen mit den französischen Organisatoren die Diskussion.

Drei der in Paris gehaltenen Vorträge waren nicht für die Publikation in diesen Tagungsakten gedacht: Derjenige von Bernard Clemençon über einen epigraphischen Neufund mit der Weiheformel *Num(ini) Aug(usti) Deo Maro Moconti Victori*, der mittlerweile im *Bulletin historique et scientifique de L'Awvergne*, herausgegeben von der Académie des Sciences, Belles lettres et Arts de Clermont Ferrand (Band 111, Nr. 786–787, Juli–Dezember 2010, S. 59–73), zusammen mit Guy Alfonso und Bernard Rémy publiziert worden ist. Weiters der Vortrag von Ralph Häußler, der zu zeigen versuchte, wie das Phänomen der *interpretatio* zu einer Erneuerung indigener Kulte oder Kultpraktiken führen konnte. Schließlich der Vortrag von Antonio Sartori über die *interpretatio* in der *Gallia Transpadana* unter einem eher qualitativen Blickwinkel, der, die Typologie der Denkmäler und den ökonomischen Kontext berücksichtigend, auf die verschiedenen Grade von Annäherung, Angleichung, Überlagerung oder Vermischung der römischen, indigenen oder lokalen Gottheiten hinwies.

Es ist uns eine angenehme Pflicht, nicht nur den Referenten für die Präsentation ihrer Beiträge zu danken, sondern vor allem auch den Organisatoren dieser Tagung: Michel-Yves Perrin, Direktor der USR 710, der für diesen Workshop eine bedeutende finanzielle Unterstützung bereitgestellt hat. Desgleichen Mireille Corbier, Direktorin der Forschungsstelle „L'Année épigraphique“, die das gesamte Treffen begleitet hat, und Isabelle Fauduet, Forschungstechnikerin der USR 710 und Beiratsmitglied des F.E.R.C.AN.-Projektes, die maßgebend als Koordinatorin mitgewirkt hat.

Unserem Kollegen Jonathan West (Newcastle) danken wir für vielerlei Hilfe.

Wie schon beim 5. Workshop in Graz 2003, gebührt unser Dank nicht zuletzt auch der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften für die Übernahme der Publikation dieser Tagungsakten.

Die Herausgeber im Juni 2012

Traces of Celtic Population and Beliefs in the Roman Provinces of the Central Balkans

Nadežda Gavrilović

1. In my previous papers about Celtic religion in the Central Balkans during the Roman domination, I already discussed the appearance of Celtic tribes in the 4th c. BC and their gradual occupation of the territory until the 1st c. BC. The 3rd-century historian Justin reports that “after an unfortunate war against Delphi, part of the Gauls returned to the old homeland and some of them settled down at the confluence of Danube and Sava and took the name of Scordisci”.¹ More detailed information is given by Strabo: “the Scordisci lived along the Ister (today Danube) and were divided into two population groups called the Great Scordisci and the Little Scordisci.”² Strabo also mentions two important cities of *Scordisci*: *Heorta*, the late Roman *Herta*, and *Capedunum*, neighbouring towns of the *civitas Scordischorum* (today territory of Srem).³

Since most historians, on account of the concentration of Celtic finds in today’s Srem, assume that the *Scordisci* mostly inhabited the northern regions of *Moesia superior*, it is perhaps useful to state the boundaries in which material remains of Celtic type belonging to the La Tène and Roman periods are found. It is a territory whose core area is the Srem area situated between the rivers Sava and Danube; the Drava and the village of Sredno Nerezi near Skopje are its northern and, respectively, southern border; the western border extends through eastern Slavonia up to the Slavonian

mountains Dilj and Papuk,⁴ and the eastern border is in the area of the Danubian *limes*.

Epigraphic traces of Celticity are nevertheless rare in the territory outlined. This is to be attributed primarily to the fact that for a long time the Celtic inhabitants of the Central Balkans did not belong to the upper classes nor did they take part in the administration. In some parts of the Roman provinces of the Central Balkans the Celtic population was scarce and continued to live outside the Roman communities until 212 AD, i.e. until Caracalla’s *constitutio Antoniniana*.

2. There is almost no mention of ancient Celtic gods nor evidence of the *interpretatio* of Celtic deities. Celtic cults were, however, honoured by immigrants of Celtic origin who came to this part of the Empire.

A silver plate with a gilt inscription *Epone* – already commented in Gavrilović (2007) – was found at Branetić in a hoard with 26 silver dishes including a *patera* whose handle bears the image of a woman crowned with a *corona muralis* and holding a small animal, perhaps a colt, in her lap. The *patera* belongs to the type with relief-decorated handle whose nearest parallels are found in Gaul. Therefore, and because the *patera* was found together with a plate dedicated to *EPONA*, several authors assumed that the woman represented on the handle was the very same Romano-Gaulish cavalry goddess.⁵ It seems, however, more likely that the woman in question was a deity in whom *EPONA*’s attributes

1. ПОРОВИЋ (1992–1993) 13.

2. Strabo states that the Great *Scordisci* lived between two rivers joining up into the Ister – the Noarus, which flows past *Segestica*, and the Margus, by some called the Bargus, – while the Little *Scordisci* lived on the far side of this river and their territory bordered on that of the *Triballi* and *Mysi*, ПОРОВИЋ (1992–1993) 13.

3. ЈОВАНОВИЋ (1992) 32–33.

4. These Slavonian mountains are identified with the *mons Claudius*, which is mentioned by Plin. nat. hist. 3, 148: *mons Claudius, cuius in fronte Scordisci, in tergo Taurisci*, ПАРАЗОГЛУ (1969) 287.

5. MAGNEN & THEVENOT (1953) 45; ПОПОВИЋ (1994) cat. 203.

combined with those of *TERRA MATER* and *ORCIA* (see below). The presence of the cult of the goddess *EPONA* in the mining area of Rudnik in *Moesia superior* is easy to explain, since epigraphic monuments document the presence of immigrants from Gaul who worked there in the silver and lead mines or in nearby centres of metal-working.⁶ The plate with the gilt inscription on the undecorated surface around the medallion was dedicated to the goddess by her worshippers, who could be miners, blacksmiths or private lease-holders of mine-shafts. Its closest parallel is to be seen in another silver plate found in a hoard at Petrijanec,⁷ whose standard central circular medallion bears the image of a woman on horseback. The woman's pose, sitting on the horse and turned towards the tail end, makes it apparent that the horse has the function of a throne, which is a frequent motif in depictions of *EPONA*. While the Petrijanec plate is imported from some Gaulish workshop, the Branetić exemplar is most likely a local product from the end of the 2nd or the first half of the 3rd c. AD.⁸ Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the location of the workshop, given that no archaeological research was carried out in the Rudnik area. Instead, we ought to mention an imported silver *patera* found in a hoard at Nova Božurna,⁹ in eastern Serbia, and probably produced in central Gaul, at Reignier or Chatuzange, where two similar *paterae* came from.¹⁰ Its decorated handle is completely covered with relief motifs organized in three zones: the first is occupied by a goddess – with a *marsupium* on her left side – holding a horn of plenty and a herald's staff; the second by a small temple between two trees; the third by a sacrifice which is taking place beside *Priapus*. In the segments connecting the handle to the rim, a ram eats from fruit baskets and a shepherd's crook lies on the ground. It has been suggested that the goddess represented with horns of plenty is probably *Maia* viz. *Rosmerta*, whose cult was very popular in eastern Gaul.¹¹

6. ПОПОВИЋ (1995) 153.

7. Near Varaždin in northern Croatia. The hoard from Petrijanec consists of three silver plates and 27735 coins, for more details see ŠIŠA-VIVEK & LELEKOVIĆ & KALAFATIĆ (2005) 231–247.

8. ПОПОВИЋ (1995) 155.

9. Together with spoons and a fragment of a male bust of silver foil.

10. Their layout is, however, different: the handle of the *patera* found in Reignier is also divided in three zones: in the first zone there is a female deity with a *corona muralis* on her head, in the second zone there is a goddess who holds horns of plenty and a herald's staff and in the third zone there is a sacrifice beside *Priapus*. The handle of the *patera* found in Chatuzange has a goddess represented with horns of plenty and a herald's staff in the first zone, in second zone there is a temple between two trees and in the third zone there is a woman who is holding a torch over an altar. In the segments connecting the handle and the rim are representations of a ram and fruit baskets, ПОПОВИЋ (1999) 76–78.

11. ПОПОВИЋ (1999) 78.

Hence the question arises whether also in the vicinity of Nova Božurna there were immigrants from Gaul connected with the mining activity; the more so since recent research has shown that in Roman times intensive metal-working activity was taking place at nearby Kopaonik.

From a mining region in the vicinity of *Singidunum* comes the dedication to *DEA ORCIA* found on Mount Avala: Mirković & Dušanić (1976) 54–55, no. 20: *deae Orciae sacrum | pro salute d(ominorum) n(ostorum duorum) Diocletiani et | Maximiani Aug(ustorum duorum) | ordo am(plissimus?) s(plendidissimae) col(oniae) Sing(iduni) per | M(arcos) Aur(elios) Cutiam et Sosonem | I(viros) curante Sim(plicio) v(iro) e(gregio) d(ominis) n(ostri)s(ulibus)*. As discussed in detail in 2007, this goddess may be a female version of the Roman *ORCVS* or else – on account of the Celtic *cognomen* of at least her first dedicant, i.e. *Cutia* – a Celtic deity, in which case her name might even have been an original **Orgia*. Her chthonic dimension is implied by unusual zoomorphic elements in the shape of a blind bat which were found on the mosaic of a building, possibly a temple, built in the second half of the 3rd c. AD where the goddess *ORCIA* was venerated.¹²

As for the *MERCVRIVS NAISSATIS* discussed in 2010 and a possible *LIBER* and/or *I(V)PPITER CAP(EDVNENSIS)/C(APE-DVNENSIS)*, they cannot obviously be construed as evidence for an *interpretatio Romana vel indigena* of indigenous deities, but only point to the importance of the involved Classical deities at *Naissus* and perhaps *Capedunum*.

3. Two dedicants to *I(V)PPITER OPTIMVS MAXIMVS* may perhaps have had a remote Celtic background. The first, apparently a *confrater* of some religious association at *Singidunum* in the 3rd c. AD, bears as *nomen unicum* *Ediuna*.¹³ However, although it is true that personal names compounded or derived from a base *Edo-* – of rather unclear meaning – are attested in Celtic-speaking countries,¹⁴ the name would have referred to a woman if it had been thoroughly Celtic. The dedicant of the second inscription, found at Kosovska Mitrovica,¹⁵ is a decurion of *municipium Ulpianorum* bearing a regular three-glides Roman naming formula. His *cognomen* *Avitus*, however, is a well-known assonance or

12. ДУШАНИЋ (1989–1990) 219.

13. МИРКОВИЋ & ДУШАНИЋ (1976) 91, n. 87: *I(ovi) op(timo) m(aximo) Ediuna | [rat]er confratr[us]*.

14. DELAMARRE (2007) 93–94.

15. BOŠKOVIĆ ROBERT (2006) 93–94, n. 107: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) C(apitolino) | T(itus) Ael(ius) Avitus | dec(urio) m(unicipii) Ulp(ianorum) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

translation name, very frequent in Hispania and other territories inhabited by Celtic speakers.¹⁶

4.1. Further evidence of a possibly or at times even probably Celtic presence is found in non-votive inscriptions, in particular when their very text points to the procedence of the involved person(s) from a Celtic country. This is the case with T. Cominius Severus, buried at *Sirmium* at the end of the 1st c. AD,¹⁷ whose birthplace was the Gaulish town of *Vienna*.¹⁸ And with a now anonymous youth of eighteen years buried at Zlokućani, in the vicinity of the colony of Scupi,¹⁹ who is said to have been born in *Forum Iulium*, i.e. in *Gallia Narbonensis*. Therefore, also the M. Licinius documented in the vicinity of Scupi²⁰ and born in one of the two towns of *Lucus* belonging to the Voltinian *tribus* is likely to have come from *Lucus Augusti* in the same province. Finally, the *cognomen* Gallicus on a sarcophagus at *Viminacium*, one of the main centres of the Little *Scordisci*, also seems to indicate the Celtic origin of the deceased's husband.²¹ The same might be true for a certain Strambus if it is to him that the epithet *Tricorni[ensis]* on his gravestone refers.²²

4.2. Whenever the origin of the involved persons is not specified in the inscription itself, the case for Celticity is even more tenuous, given that names alone cannot be used as indicators of ethnicity. Nevertheless, since they are not always comprised in the usual repertories, it may be of some interest to list here the names of probably or possibly Celtic stock found in the region under investigation.

16. Cf. KAJANTO (1982) 18, 80 and DELAMARRE (2007) 34.

17. MIRKOVIĆ (1971) 70, n. 33: *T. Cominius | T. f(i)lius Volt(in)ia Seve[ri]us Vienna (centurio) | leg(ionis) II Adiutric(is) | donis donat(us) | ab imp(erator) Caesare | Aug(usto) bello Dacico | torquibus armillis | phaleris corona vallari vixit ann(is) XXXXV | T. Caesernius Macedo | procurator Aug(usti) her(es) ex test(amento) p(osuit)*.

18. He came to *Sirmium* as a soldier of the 2nd legion *Adiutrix* during the Domitian wars on the Pannonian frontiers.

19. DRAGOJEVIĆ JOSIFOVSKA (1982) 70–71, n. 36: --- | *Aniensis Fo[ro] Iulio mil(es) | leg(ionis) I Italic(ae) | b(ic) s(itus) e(st) | annor(um) XVIII | L. Octavius | Pulcher (centurio) | leg(ionis) I Italic(ae) cognato | suo fecit*.

20. DRAGOJEVIĆ JOSIFOVSKA (1982) 71, n. 37: *M. Licinius M. f(i)lius | Volt(in)ia Luco Optat[us] | [v]et(eranus) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) m[il]itavit ?] [---]*.

21. MIRKOVIĆ (1986) 158–159, n. 163: *D(is) M(anibus) | Aureliae Theodote (!) rarissimae femine (!) | quae vixit annis XXXI m(ensibus) IIII | dies (!) XVII Aur(elius) Gallicus | coniugi bene de se merita*.

22. MIRKOVIĆ (1986) 216, n. 324: ... | *vix[it] an(nis)..... | et Strambu[s].... f(i)lius ?] | Tricorni[ensis].... Ma[cer] m[il]it[er] | [a]-t[er]. The funerary monument was probably brought from *Viminacium* to the Smederevo fortress where it was found. Cf. MIRKOVIĆ & DUŠANIĆ (1976) 37–38.*

The Celtic names *Cuti* and *Cutia*, probably derived from the name of the month *Qutios* on the Coligny calendar, are found at Smederevo on a funerary monument brought from *Viminacium*.²³

The name *Bella*, found at Čačak in the western part of the Central Balkans, can also be considered to be Celtic:²⁴ the onomastic type, traceable to the inherited Celtic adjective *belo-* 'strong', is very frequent in *Noricum*, *Pannonia* and Gaul, and its bearer may be part of the Celtic component of the Celegeri population group.²⁵

Also *Totia* is a name well attested in Celtic-speaking provinces, where it moreover has several cognates;²⁶ however, the young girl bearing it in the vicinity of Čačak came from a Romanised family.²⁷

A different kind of mixed milieu is that of Aia at Sopot, not far from *Sigidunum*, the daughter of a Celtic named Attius, son of Victor:²⁸ with the exception of her brother **Propinquus*, all other members of her family – namely her grandmother and her mother – bear non-Latin names of indigenous albeit non-Celtic stock. Related both to the name *Aia* and to the Galatian Αἰοῖα²⁹ seems to be the *Aioia* found at Gorobilje, in the western part of the Central Balkans.³⁰

23. MIRKOVIĆ (1986) 133–134, n. 115: *D(is) M(anibus) | Aur(elius) Marcia[us] (!) sta(tor) leg(ati) leg(ionis) | VII Cl(audia) st(ipendiorum) XXVI | Cutius an(norum) XIII | Aprilis an(norum) XII IV ? [.] | LISRISCRIANI? | APRIA? st(ipendiorum) X | Aurelia Cutia | coniug(i) et filis et | nepot(i) et Hel(vius?) Octavianus nepos | her[es] auncul(o) (!) | et con[trib]ub(ernalibus) pos(uerunt) | Antiochano (!) et Orfito co(n)s(ulibus)*.

24. ВУЛИЋ & ПРЕМЕРШТАЈН (1900) 50, n. 70; ВУЛИЋ (1941–1948) 50, n. 103, ПЈуг 77; ФЕРЈАНЧИЋ & ЈЕРЕМИЋ & ГОЈИЋ (2008) 62, n. 15: *D(is) M(anibus) | Aurel(ius) Augustianus dec(urio) duumv[ir]alicius m(unicipi) Cel(egerorum) vixit ann(is) XXXV Bella | con(iugi) rar(issimo) pientissim(o) et filii patri | benemerito m(e)m(ori)am*.

25. ФЕРЈАНЧИЋ & ЈЕРЕМИЋ & ГОЈИЋ (2008) 21.

26. DELAMARRE (2007) 183.

27. CIL III 8337, ФЕРЈАНЧИЋ & ЈЕРЕМИЋ & ГОЈИЋ (2008) 67, n. 17: *D(is) M(anibus) | Totia Proculi fil(ia) an(norum) | XVIII Proculus et Marcella fil(iae) | p(ientissimae) p(osuerunt)*.

28. MIRKOVIĆ & DUŠANIĆ (1976) 137–138, n. 122: *D(is) M(anibus) | Attius Victoris vixit annis LXX Aia Atti filia | vixit an(nis) XXX Pro[pi]ngus (!) Atti filius | vixit an(nis) XXV Gresa | Dasantis vixit an(nis) | LXXX titulum posuit | Zaca Vaenti coniugi | filis et matri et sibi vive (!) b(ene) m(erentibus)*.

29. FREEMAN (2001) 26.

30. CIL III 6315: *D(is) M(anibus) | [Au]r(eliae) Baetae def(unctae) | [an(norum)] LXX Aur(eliae) Aioia | [e]t Pinenta matri | p(ro) p(arte) | [e]t M(arc) Aur(elii) Memor | [e]t Baeta Aur(elio) Vin(dici) filio huius | [B]aetae def(uncto) an(norum) XXXV | [p]atri p(ro) p(arte) procuran[te] i-cn=M> parte huius tituli et praebente | sum(p)tus Aur(elia) Supe[r]a matre sua. Another instance of the name comes from *Tilirium* in Dalmatia (ПЈуг 735).*

From the Roman town known as *municipium S* on the very east of the province *Dalmatia*, the female names *Amaca*,³¹ *Amba* and *Duso*³² are known, together with the male idionym *Vipius*.³³ The first two – possibly related – can be interpreted as Celtic: *Amba* is frequent in *Noricum*, Gaul and Britain, while variants of *Amaca* are found in *Germania inferior* (dat. *Iuliae Superi fil. Ammacae*) and *Belgica* (dat. *Ammacae sive Gamaledae*), with the masculine *Amacus* appearing in *Pannonia* (dat. *Amaco mil. Cob. I Alpin. eq.*) as well as on silver coins of the *Allobroges* (nom. *Amagus*), and the plural *Amaci* being used as ethnonym in *Hispania Tarraconensis*.³⁴ Its – if not their – motivation seems to reside in the Celtic theonym *AMMA*, attested in *Hispania* and indicating a woman acting as wet-nurse.

The Latinised *Duso* for Celtic **Dusu* represents a nasal stem still used as a female name³⁵ and has its cognates not only in Gaulish *Dousónnus* and *Dousónna* together with the more conservative *Dousonus*,³⁶ but also in the archaic, i.e. pre-Gaulish type *Deusus* ‘The raging one’, *Deusa*, *Deuso*.³⁷

As for *Vipius*, whose cognates *Vipus*, *Vippus* and *Vippius* are attested in Gaul and northern Italy, it is not clear if it represents an assimilated form of *Vimpius*, *Vimpus* ‘Beautiful’ or rather a hypercorrect form of *Vibius*, in which case it might – if indigenous – be related with the goddesses called *VIBES* in *Noricum*.³⁸

The cognomen of Titus Flavius Severus Gogaenus, an important citizen of *Sirmium* in the 2nd c. AD,³⁹ has been considered Celtic on account of the location of his grave, near to the territory of the *Cornacates*.⁴⁰ Were it so, it probably ought to be traced to an old **Co-caenos*, i.e. an equative

compound of the frequently attested type *Caenus/Cainus*.⁴¹

The cognomen *Surus* is attested in no fewer than seven inscriptions from *Moesia superior*,⁴² its cognates *Surio*, *Surentus*, *Surianus* and *Surilla* being so frequent in the *limes* region of *Moesia superior* that they were mostly considered to be Illyrian or Thracian.⁴³ It is however true that *Surus*, beside being the *Deckname* of *Syrius*,⁴⁴ is very popular in the provinces of *Noricum* and *Pannonia*⁴⁵ as also in northern Italy and Gaul. Its etymology is not all too clear, but the existence of an archaic *Seurus* in Bonn makes it possible to trace it back to an agentive **seu-ro-s* ‘He who stimulates’ from the IE root ³*seu-* ‘biegen, drehen, antreiben’.⁴⁶

The gentile name of Nunnius Priscianus, a decurion of *colonia Singiduni*,⁴⁷ might be related to a *cognomen* like *Nonnus*, which has been interpreted as Celtic for indicating a family relationship.⁴⁸

Nothing certain can be said for L(ucius) Paternius Ianuarius⁴⁹ and Aurelius Senecianus,⁵⁰ both attested at *Viminacium*, since their *cognomina* belong to the group of the so-called translation and, respectively, assonance names. The first, however, may have come to *Viminacium* from Gaul, given that his gentile name *Paternius* – also a translation

31. ЛОМА (2004) 39–40, n. 2: *D(is) M(anibus) | Narens | v(ixit) a(nnis) XXXVIII. | Amace (!) Ael(iae) P(antoni) (!) ser(va) | v(iva) s(ibi) aet (!) comp(ari) | p(osuit)*.

32. ЛОМА (2004) 38, n. 1: *Iaetto | viva m(a)tr(i) | D(uso) | d(efunctae) a(nnorum) LXX et Ambe (!) | d(efunctae) a(nnorum) XII p(osuit)*.

33. ЛОМА (2004) 45–46, n. 6: *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) | Maxitto | v(ixit) an(nis) XXX | Vip[ri] | con(iux) c(oniugi) c(arissimae) v(ivus) | p(ro) p(ietate)*.

34. CIL XIII 7929; CIL XIII 3615; CIL XIII 8779; AE 1995, 1271; RIG IV-18; DE BERNARDO & HAINZMANN (2009) 77–78.

35. Cf. WEDENIG & DE BERNARDO (2005–07) 622–623.

36. *Dousonna*: CIL XIII 5561, *Dousonnus*: CIL XIII 5532 and *Natali Dousoni filio*: AE 1985, 669.

37. Cf. MEID (2005) 269 and DELAMARRE (2007) 85.

38. Cf. DELAMARRE (2007) 199–201, with a still different proposal.

39. CIL III 10249: *D(is) M(anibus) | T. Fl(avio) T. fil(io) Quir(i)n(a) Sel(vero) Gogaeno annorum | LVIII dec(urioni) colon(iae) Sirm(ensium) quaesto(ri) Iivoiro | praefecto fabrum | b(ic) s(itus) e(st) | Fl(avia) Severina filia patri | pientissimo posuit*.

40. MIRKOVIĆ (1971) 16 and 84, n. 89.

41. Cf. DELAMARRE (2007) 52–53 and also WODTKO (2000) 147–148 on the Celtiberian name *Kainu*.

42. And in particular from *Viminacium* (MIRKOVIĆ [1986] 98, n. 53, 157, n. 161), *Timacum Minus* (PETROVIĆ [1995] 80, n. 27, 112–113, n. 71), Aračinovo and Pobužie (in the east and north of Scupi: DRAGOJEVIĆ JOSIFOVSKA [1982] 95–96, n. 74).

43. In *Ratiaria* (Arčar): *Aurelius Surianus*: CIL III 8084, *Aurelia Surilla*: MIRKOVIĆ (1968) 131. – In *Timacum Minus* (Ravna): *Aelius Surus*: CIL III 14584, *Aurelius Surus* and *Petillia Surilla*: MIRKOVIĆ (1968) 131. The name *Surilla* is also found at *municipium S*, in the western part of the Central Balkans: ЛОМА (2004) 44–45, n. 5.

44. DELAMARRE (2007) 175.

45. For which reason M. ŠAŠEL KOS (1995) 371 assumes it to be Celtic. On *Surianus* see EAD. (1999) 121.

46. IEW 914. Cf. also DELAMARRE (2007) 167 and the Old Indian theonym *SAVIT(A)R*, ‘The (divine) Stimulator’.

47. MIRKOVIĆ & DUŠANIĆ (1976) 71, n. 45: *Dibus Manibus | Infernis Nun[nio] Prisciano | dec(urioni) col(oniae) Sing(iduni) qui | vixit ann(is) XXXVI | non dignus | cilerius (!) inf|<r>a decessit | Aur(elius) Priscillianus | et Sept(imia) Lupercilla*.

48. KAJANTO (1982) 366; cf. also DELAMARRE (2007) 142.

49. MIRKOVIĆ (1986) 122–123, n. 95; ФЕРЈАНЧИЋ (2002) 163, 288, n. 356: *[D(is)] M(anibus) | L. Paternio | T. filio Ianuar[ri]o vet(erano) leg(ionis) IIII | [Fl(aviae)] et Iuniae | [Ianu]a[r]ia[e] | [Pa]ternia | [Ian]uaria | [fil(ia) e]t here[s---] II V ? [---]*.

50. MIRKOVIĆ (1986) 129, n. 107: *D(is) M(anibus) | Aurel(ius) Senecianus b(eneficiarius) col(n)s(ularis) | vix(it) ann(is) XLV | Ulp(ia) Faustina | coiux (!) et Aur[el(ia)] | Firmina [fil(ia)] | posu(erunt)*.

name – is very frequent in the Roman provinces *Gallia Belgica* and *Gallia Lugdunensis*.

Finally, the Celtic individual personal name *Bonio*, ‘Long-living’, has been found not on a gravestone, but on a brick from *oppidum Tricornium*.⁵¹

5. For the reasons outlined at the end of § 1, the appearance of Celtic personal names in epigraphy is quite late, going back only to the end of the 1st c. AD.

As to their provenance, we can see from the inscriptions mentioned that they appear only in the territory inhabited in pre-Roman times by the Celtic population groups of the Great and Little *Scordisci*. One should nevertheless not assume – as certain scholars did – that during the period of Roman domination almost every Celtic name belonged to the *Scordisci*: in some even if rare cases the persons involved did not belong to the indigenous population, but were soldiers or veterans of Celtic origin who came with the Roman army.

Sometimes only the children bear Celtic names, being named after their mothers as in the case of the twelve year old Cutius from *Viminacium*,⁵² while their fathers take Romanised or downright Roman names, mostly because they served in the Roman army. On the other hand, Romanised indigenous inhabitants of the Central Balkans, like e.g. Marcus Aurelius Cutia at *Singidunum* in the 3rd c. AD,⁵³ show that they still identified themselves as Celts by keeping their old names as *cognomina*.

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53. See § 2 above.

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Fig. 5: Silver patera from Petrijanec with the representation of Epona and the inscription EPONE (after Šiša-Vivek & Leleković & Kalafatić [2005] 236, fig. 7).

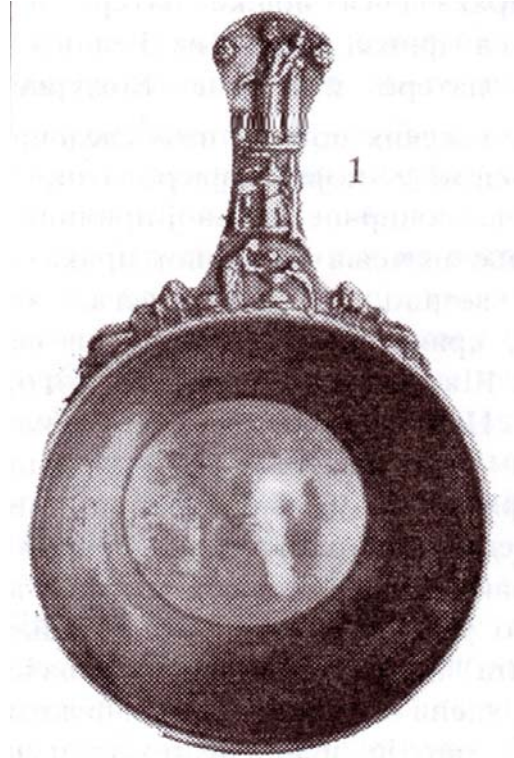


Fig. 6: Silver patera from Nova Božurna (after Поповић [1999] 77, fig. 1).



Fig. 7: Handle of a patera from Nova Božurna (after Поповић [1999] 77, fig. 1).

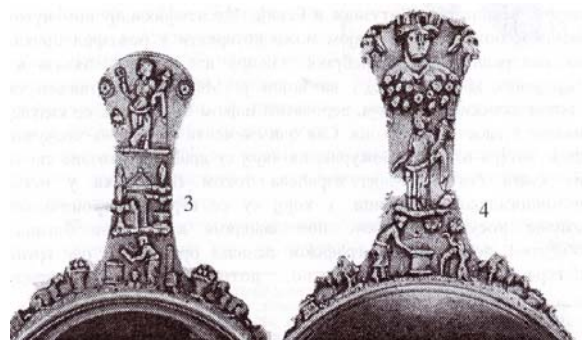


Fig. 8: Handles of paterae from Chatuzange and Reignier (after Поповић [1999] 77, fig. 3 and 4).