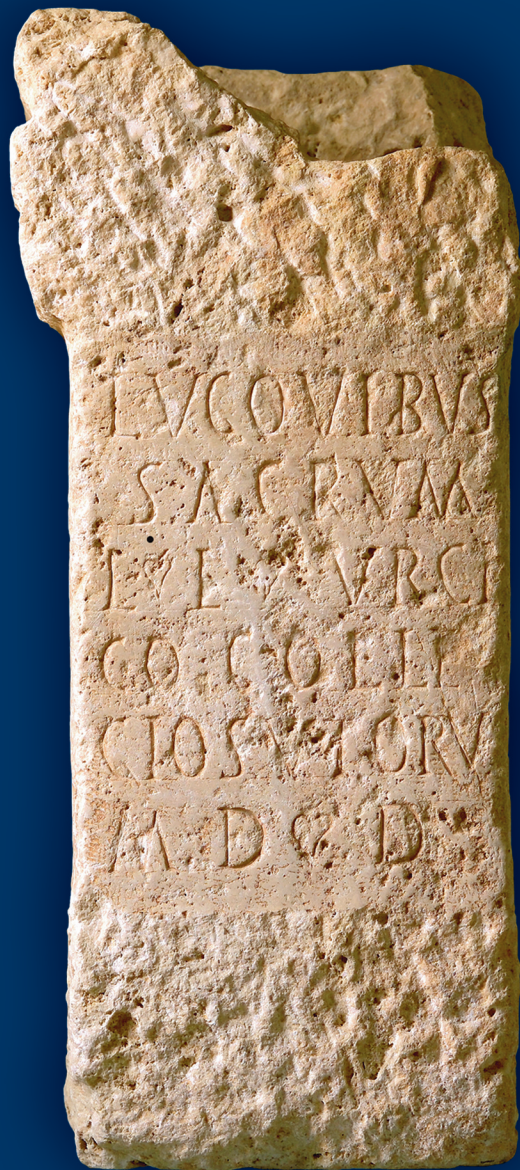


CELTIC RELIGION ACROSS SPACE AND TIME

J. Alberto Arenas-Esteban (ed.)



IX Workshop F.E.R.C.AN
-Fontes Epigraphici Religionvm Celticarvm ANtiqvarvm-

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FONTES EPIGRAPHICI RELIGIONVM CELTICARVM ANTIQVARVM



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RESUMEN

No âmbito do projecto FERCAN levou-se a cabo a tarefa de revisão dos dados de natureza epigráfica relativos às religiões pré-romanas do território actualmente português. Verifica-se que são já consideráveis as novidades em relação à última síntese publicada, que cumpre quase duas décadas (Garcia, 1991). Em primeiro lugar apresenta-se um leque amplo de correcção de leituras envolvendo os teónimos; para além disso enumeram-se os novos achados, alguns dos quais vieram trazer luz sobre algumas inscrições há muito conhecidas. Faz-se igualmente uma sistematização dos dados compilados tendo em conta a nomenclatura teonímica nesta área hispânica.

PALAVRAS CHAVE

Divindades pré-romanas, Teónimos hispânicos, Epigrafia votiva, Lusitania.

ABSTRACT

Under the project FERCAN we have carried out a revision of the epigraphic data regarding the pre-Roman religions of the Portuguese territory. It is clear that the innovations are considerable compared to the last repertoire, published nearly two decades ago (Garcia, 1991). We present a wide range of reading corrections involving theonyms; in addition we list the new findings, some of them shedding light on long known inscriptions. We offer a general analysis and a systematic organization of the data collected, taking into account the specific character of the theonyms in this area of ancient Hispania.

KEYWORDS

Pre-Roman deities, Hispanic theonyms, Votive inscriptions, Lusitania.

The current state of research on local deities in Portugal

José d'Encarnação & Amílcar Guerra

For the FERCA Portuguese working group, this project is, first and foremost, an opportunity to conduct an in-depth review of the entire corpus of epigraphic materials relating to local deities and cults. This task should result in an exhaustive inventory, as well as a list, of theonymic forms that will have a solidly established credibility (v. Encarnação 1975: 20; Encarnação 1987: 8-9; Untermann 1985: 343-346; Búa 2000: 16-18, Prósper, 2002: 11). Only after completing this phase can it be possible to take the next step, i.e. identifying those names ascribable to the Celtic cultural domain.

At this stage we can say that this initial phase has, for the most part, been completed. We can present the global results of a task that consisted in reviewing a wide range of documentation and entailed a variety of difficulties.

The materials under review can mostly be classified as Latin votive epigraphy. There is however a small group of sources, which, although written in Roman characters, represent an indigenous language, thereby leading to special problems: given our limited knowledge of this language, our identification of the theonyms in these texts is not always secure. The fact that some of the same theonyms found in the inscriptions in the native language occur also in Latin inscriptions sometimes provides positive confirmation. In other cases, identification of theonyms may be implied by the context and/or known onomastic patterns. However, in some examples,

neither Latin inscriptions nor criteria of context and form yield unambiguous conclusions. There thus remains a set of names which raise special problems of interpretation. These circumstances have been reflected in the academic discussions on the nature and meaning of a few sequences in the inscriptions.

These circumstances are also obvious in the most recently discovered inscription of the type in which Roman letters were used to write the indigenous language, namely the inscribed stone from Arronches, which has only lately been reported and published (Encarnação et alii 2008; Carneiro et alii 2008).

The first section of this text has been interpreted as a list of gifts and theonyms, from which the following elements can be extracted, e.g. Harase, Broeneiae, Reve Aharacui, Bandi Haracui and Munitie Carla Cantibidone.

Most of these forms are previously known elements. In addition to the very well-attested Reve, Bandi and Munitie (the last is understood as corresponding to the well-attested Latin dative Muni-di), we can also draw attention to several other obvious parallels in epigraphic sources:

1. Arasei occurs in the discussed text of the inscription of Furtado, Fornos de Algodres, in which we find the sequence ARASEI COLLOVESEI CAIELONI COSIGO, so far interpreted as aras ei Collovesi Caieloni Cosigo (RAP 596a).

2. Aharacui and Haracui are related to the well-attested theonym Araco Arantoniceo.

3. Carla matches the well-documented form *Carlae*, recorded on several Lusitanian inscriptions from Arroyo de la Luz.

4. And, of course, *Cantibidone* replicates the epithet of the double dedication *Erbine laedi Cantibidone* from Segura and *Borea Cantibedonesi* from a tessera (CIL II, 4963 = 6246) found in the province of Huelva (Moguer – Niebla).

In this inscription, the organisation of the text allows us finally to identify *Broeneiae* as a theonym which can be assigned to the Lusitanian repertoire. Although this form lacks clear parallels in Hispanic theonymy, the context recommends its classification as a divine name.

As regards Latin epigraphy, our work at the FERCA project faced a number of difficulties. Generally speaking, the sources to be studied were quite scattered, with some objects in the hands of private individuals and others held by various local entities keenly protective of their heritage.

Another recurrent problem is the difficulty in reading inscriptions, in particular the great number of inscriptions on granite, the most common material for inscribed stones in the western Iberian Peninsula and thus the material of a significant portion of the monuments studied in this work. Though durable, granite was frequently used by less-specialised workshops and craftsmen and can be subject to more serious erosion.

Research on divine names within the present-day territory of Portugal, excluding examples that can be ascribed to Greco-Roman deities, has identified a set of approximately 270 inscriptions as its object of study. This is indeed a significant number, considering the small geographical extent of the territory.

It should be noted, however, that approximately one third of this set (roughly 90 monuments) concerns *Endovelicus* (Encarnação 1984: 561-629, n. 482-565; RAP 64-148). For this particular god, the traditional approach has been to include as part of the epigraphic testimony all inscriptions identified at the place of his sanctuary, located in São Miguel da Mota (Terena, Alandroal), even those that do not name him. This exceptional practice has been justified by the belief that all epigraphic sources of this archaeological site are related with *Endovelicus*.

Contrary to what is found with that deity, there is not otherwise an observable tendency to repeat invocations. Considering the corpus of theonymic forms as a whole, they are quite varied, especially when we take into detailed account the large percentage of the primary names of the most common deities that can be considered uniquely differentiated by following epithets. Viewed this way, the theonymic overview covers at least 135 different invocations, not to mention graphic variants (Table II).

On the other hand, if we consider only the first element of the theonym, specifically taken as the “name of the god”, we find our list reduced to only 58 Hispanic appellatives and 11 Roman appellatives. In these we have not included those that usually represent the element meaning ‘god’, sometimes followed by *sanctus* or *dominus*, whose identifying elements are, as a rule, toponymic forms (see Table III).

Because a few “names of gods” are thus formally toponym-based adjectives, it is considered likely that such Latin terms may have been frequently elided. Such elision has possibly occurred in the cases indicated in italics in Table III.

In the framework of FERCA, or other research previously done for other purposes, some members of the team were able to examine more than 90 percent of the extant inscriptions. Only a few monuments were omitted - because more difficult to access or more recently discovered. If, however, we take into account the recent progress of research, a few inscriptions already analysed should be re-examined.

One of the clearest difficulties in our work consists in dating the monuments. With very rare exceptions, we cannot provide a precise chronology based on internal data—e.g. the consular era. As secondary criteria, we usually resort to datable features of palaeography and onomastics. However, on present knowledge, the remaining uncertainties in these approaches are often merely too difficult to overcome.

As regards palaeography, we can state in general that the epigraphic set has been produced in workshops of varying quality—but mainly in rural areas, our folk settings. Considering that the majority have a granite fabric and have suffered

serious erosion, this dating method cannot be decisive in most cases.

As regards onomastics, certain authors have accepted the principle that names of indigenous, pre-Roman origin dated from approximately the period of the first century BC. But it is obvious that some monuments, although dating from a much later period, specifically from the third to fifth centuries AD, refer to individuals who still bore personal names and onomastic structures usually considered of much earlier type.

There is a widespread belief, not based on secure data, that most invocations of indigenous deities date from the reign of Augustus up to the late third century AD. Some monuments however are probably much later, especially in the north-western Iberian Peninsula, where the continuity of ancestral religious traditions is revealed by St Martin of Dume in the sixth century (Nascimento 2002: 324-328).

As a criterion for dating, the surviving archaeological context is not particularly useful. Firstly most monuments are mere stand-alone finds, with no association to any known archaeological site. There are however a few exceptions, in particular the most important cases of rock epigraphy (Cabeço das Fráguas, Fonte do Ídolo, Panóias) or previously investigated Roman shrines (the Carneus Calanticensis sanctuary at Santana do Campo or that of Endovelicus in São Miguel da Mota).

In the mid-twentieth century excavations were made near the most important inscription in Lusitanian language, that of Cabeço das Fráguas. But the results of these works are largely unknown to the scientific community. For this reason, a joint team of the German Archaeological Institute, from the Madrid Delegation (Thomas Schattner and Maria João Santos) and Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa (Carlos Fabião and Amílcar Guerra) began new excavations at this site (Jahresbericht 2006: 150-153; 2007: 215-217). Field research identified a pre-Roman occupation, which yielded typical materials of the Late Bronze and Iron Age, as well as clues of its continuity into the Roman Period, covering at least the early Imperial Period. The above mentioned inscription and the cults which it refers to are dated from this last context. According to the most widely accept-

ed interpretation, the inscription makes reference to a multiple sacrifice to a group of local deities, considered a parallel of the Roman *suovetaurilia*, since it involves at least one lamb, one pig and one bull.

As regards the shrine of Santana do Campo, the remains of the building, studied by Thomas Schattner show a structure with peculiar markedly provincial features, albeit obviously integrated within an early Imperial context. Pre-Roman presence is not certainly reflected on the site.

This lack of previous archaeological context is also the case at the Endovelicus shrine, where there is evidence for the continuous use of the space from at least the first to the fifth century -as well as traces from the Early Middle Ages and much later, including the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries.

It has been emphasized on several occasions that one of the most peculiar aspects of the cult of Endovelicus is the god's association with an oracle, as illustrated by a few typical formulas like *ex responsu* or the highly original formula *ex imperato averno*. We infer from these rituals the practice of *incubatio*, presumed from the formula *ex visu* (Ribeiro 2002: 80; Encarnação 2008: 67-68).

The diversity evidenced by the formulas recorded at São Miguel da Mota sharply contrasts with the other examples, all of which are relatively monotonous. Generally speaking, the epigraphy of western Iberia strongly favours two sequences common in Roman epigraphy. First, there is *a(nimo) l(ibens) v(otum) s(olvit) m(erito)*, with many formal variants and with all these elements or only part of them. On the other hand, we have the formula *ex voto*, which may be added to parts of the first sequence or be presented as an alternative to it. Other abbreviated formulas are rarer, but special reference should be made to one of them—i.e. *a(ram) p(osuit)*, possibly referring to some element of the previous sequences.

The collected data make it possible to continue the process of their compilation and integration into the FERCAN database, thus contributing to fulfil the main objective of this project.

When our work began, the most recent corpus of religious inscriptions was the useful 1991 work done by José Manuel Garcia (RAP), which could

be considered a quite exhaustive updating of the epigraphic sources known at that time. As our work progressed, other works were published, some of which incorporated comments that we made in the meantime.

Special reference should be made to the works by Carlos Búa (2000) and Blanca Prósper (2002), which are particularly focused on the study of epigraphic sources of the western Iberian Peninsula. The former has carried out a review of the epigraphic evidence and the latter a linguistic analysis of the divine names of western Iberia.

The work done so far has made clear that many new things remain to be discovered in this territory that will enrich the existing inventory. The regions of north Portugal, Beira Interior and Alto Alentejo, as well as the Cáceres province of Spain, are particularly rich.

But the new finds contain elements that allow us to reject, correct or understand differently some of the theonymic sequences in previous lists. Having said this, it may come as a surprise that so many changes can be made to a work that is less than 20 years old.

In recent years a critical review has been developed of the abundant epigraphic resources currently known. One of the most serious difficulties that we face is the imposing number of monuments, as our research comprises approximately three hundred inscriptions.

Our adopted principles are those recommended by best scientific practices. Firstly the principle of precaution – i.e. whenever a reading, a theonymic form or an identification raise doubts, we prefer to exclude them, or at least to clearly point out their problematic nature. Ideally in this situation we should only work with highly credible data, otherwise we run the risk of building on weak foundations.

In matters of epigraphy we frequently adopt the principle of trustworthiness – i.e. a previous reading is considered trustworthy until challenged with grounds. Although we should, generally speaking, respect this practice, we must remember that the first readings were not always established under the best conditions, or to what would today be considered an acceptable degree of accuracy.

We therefore thought it advisable to exclude certain (clearly problematic) interpretations which have been proposed and then subsequently repeated in the specialist literature. In such cases, there has usually been no newer, better reading because the monument disappeared and no more recent news of it can be found. In a large proportion of the problematic cases, such early readings of subsequently lost monuments gave rise to hapax legomena. This situation per se is sufficient to recommend precaution.

I. Thus, we propose the exclusion of a wide group of names recorded in Garcia 1991 (pp. 281–354) from the chapter of the so-called “pre-Roman deities”, because the reading is erroneous or too uncertain for us to consider the name viable.

In this group we can identify different situations:

- Names that can hardly be classified as theonyms:
 - Alboco (RAP 6), in the inscription Alboco / [...]P? / Rufus / Apilus / fecit;
 - Aro (RAP 17) in the sequence votu(m) / Aro l(i)bens / a(nimo) s(olvit). We agree with the suggestion according to which it should be considered an anthroponym (Untermann 1985: 344-345);
 - Albocello (RAP 609) – The inscription only records this sequence and it is not therefore possible to determine the nature of this name;
 - Paisicaico (RAP 178) – v. Vaz 2000: 482-486; Encarnação 2005: 221-222;
 - Mirobieo (RAP 168) – in the context: Mirobieo loco v. Búa 2000: 89-90.

2. Names that should be excluded because their reading is not plausible. This situation has already been recognized, for most cases, by José Manuel Garcia. No credible alternative can be found for any of them:

- Alva (RAP 7)
- Aelva (RAP Adenda 9)
- Bande Raeico (RAP 18)
- Callaeciae (RAP 40)
- Caro (RAP 44)
- Duri (RAP 63)
- Frovida (RAP 149)
- Neto (RAP 175)
- Senio (RAP 171)

3. Names for which an alternative can be proposed.

3a) In some cases such a proposal can be considered certain:

Ambieicri (RAP 8)/ Ambiorebri (RAP 9) > Ambidrebi (Búa 2000: 363-364)

Araco Aranto Niceo (RAP 10) > Araco Arantoniceo (Albertos 1983: 477)

Aratribo (RAP 589) > Marati Boro (Ribeiro 2002: 359)

Auge (RAP 608) > Au(gusti) Ge(nio) (Untermann 1985: 346)

Bandi [L]ongobricu (RAP 26) > Bandi Langobricu (Guerra 1998: 176)

Cusei Paeteaico (RAP 49) > Cusei Baeteaco (Encarnação 1993: 137)

Debaroni Meceaelaico (RAP 58) > Deibabo Nemucelaecabo (Búa 1997: 60)

Deo Domeno Cusu Neneoeco (RAP 50) > Deo Domeno Cusu Nemedeco (Búa 1997: 75)

Dom(ino) Deo Neneoeco (RAP 51) > Dom(ino) Deo Nemedeco (Búa 2000: 391-393)

Dipainciae (RAP 60) > Oipainciae (FE 198)

Domaeco Rougiavesuco (RAP 61) > Domin(o) Corougiai Vesugo (Curado 1989: 370)

Laribus Tarmucenbaecis Ceceaicis (RAP 222) > Laribus Inmucenlaecis Ceceaicis (Guerra 1998: 195-196)

Mandiceo (RAP 167) > Mermandiceo (Guerra 2002: 64)

3b) In other cases the alternative is only probable:

Abne (RAP 1) > Nabiae ? (Búa 2000: 391)

A. Brigo (RAP 39) > [Val]abrigo ? (Guerra 1998: 234-235)

Louciri (RAP 162) > lou(i) C(onservatori) I(unoni) R(eginae) ? (Almeida; Ferreira 1966: 31-33)

Bandi Etobrigo > Bandua Horrico ? (PEGL 00166)

Togae Almae (RAP 194) > Togae Alene(n)s(i)? (Búa 2000: 515).

This last example highlights the issue of the linguistic and cultural integration of certain deities. This issue is raised again in connection with the deity Aquia (RAP 9a), included by Garcia in the group of pre-Roman deities, while the same author preferred to include the dedication Aquae (RAP

239) in the group of Roman deities. The same difficulties also affect the Lares Aquites (RAP 588), documented on an altar found in the atrium of a house in the Roman city of Conimbriga.

II. Following a practice widely disseminated in what was then the most recent Portuguese research of the time, Garcia created a second group called “Roman deities bearing indigenous epithets” (RAP 201-230). After discarding certain cases considered doubtful, he includes those theonyms bearing the following entities as first element:

Diis Deabusque (1)

Ermae (1)

Genio (4)

I(oui) (1)

Iunoni (1)

Laribus (13)

Marti (4)

Mercurio (2)

Nymphis (1)

Tutelae (1)

In our view, among these we should adopt the following changes:

1. Exclude, due to serious problems related to reading or interpretation, the following:

RAP 204 Genio Depenori or Defensori ?

RAP 216 Lari Sefio

RAP 219-221 Three lost inscriptions, all from the region of Chaves, referring to three Lares whose names are all hapax legomena: Cusicelensibus, Erredicis, Findeneticis. The theonyms were reconstructed by Hübner based on a reading from eighteenth-century manuscripts. These names can only be added with reservation.

2. Change the reading of the following cases:

RAP 209 Iunoni Linteicae > Iunoni Lineaigae (Búa 2000: 485-486)

RAP 208 I(oui) Assaeco > Kassaeco (Búa; Guerra 1997: 332-334)

RAP 223 Marti Boro > Marati Boro (Ribeiro 2002: 359)

RAP 230 Tutelae Tiriensi > Tutelae Liriensi (Guerra 1998: 185-186; Ribeiro 2002: 366)

III. Information disseminated following the compilation of J. M. Garcia presents a significant number of problematic cases, as often happens in western Iberian epigraphy. In line with the same principle of precaution that should govern the inventory, we recommend the exclusion of the following records:

[---]P Reagui (HEp 12, 648)
 [De]o Somastereico (HEp 5, 966)
 Bandei VIRCAV[---] (FE 335)
 [Ban]de Alabar(aico) Sulen(si) ? (HEp 7, 1297)
 Bane? (HEp 4, 1034)
 Cand. Eberonio? (HEp 6, 1059)
 Deo C(oso) ? (HEp 8, 611)
 Di(iis) Cai(riensibus) (HEp 6, 1029)
 Dii Leia? (FE 271)
 Dumicebo? (HEp 5, 1063)
 Laesu (HEp 12, 616)
 Paisicaicoeo? (HEp 6, 1087)
 Peica? (FE 318)
 NEABO? (HEp 4, 1038)

To these we should probably add Ammae Araceleni (FE 347), as this is possibly a sequence of personal names – Amma and its correlated names are documented on 35 occasions in Hispanic anthroponymy (Vallejo 2005: 127–130).

This group, which represents approximately 40 percent of all new occurrences, clearly illustrates the difficulties of epigraphy in this domain. There is indeed a very high level of uncertainty, associated with the conditions of production and/or conservation of the epigraphic remains.

2. In the last two decades we recorded more examples of previously known theonyms, thus strengthening prior interpretations of epigraphic texts. New graphic variants of theonyms were found, which make these cases particularly interesting.

Aeti(o) (HEp 12, 642)
 Band Vordeaico (FE 315)

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To Bernardo Sá Nogueira for the English version of our text, and to John Koch, for some suggestions about it.

Bandi Vortiaecio (HEp 5, 994)
 Bandu Picio (FE 329)
 Bandu Vordeaeco (FE 179)
 Endoue[]eco (Guerra et alii 2003: 460)
 [Deo En]douellico (Guerra et alii 2003: 458)
 Endouellico (FE 188)
 Endouellico (HEp 3, 447)
 Ennou(olico) (Guerra et alii 2003: 459)
 Ilurbedae (FE 337, 338)

3. Lastly, reference should be made to a list of records which truly constitute new theonyms – or rather unpublished epithets of gods, mostly indigenous:

Albuclainco Efficaci (HEp 4, 1103)
 [A]rantiae et Arantio Eburo[b]ricis (Salvado et alii 2004: 238-239)
 Bandi Saisabro (FE 206)
 Genio Viriocelensi (FE 262)
 Minerva Sangrae (HEp 4, 1049)
 Oipaengiae (FE 198)
 Quangeio Turicaeco (FE 174)
 Reve Marandicui (HEp 6, 1079)
 Vordio Talaconio (FE 276)
 Arase (Curado 2008: 125-127; 147-148)
 Harase (Encarnação et alii 2008; Carneiro et alii 2008)
 Broeneiae (Encarnação et alii 2008; Carneiro et alii 2008)
 Reve Aharacui (Encarnação et alii 2008; Carneiro et alii 2008)
 Bandi Haracui (Encarnação et alii 2008; Carneiro et alii 2008)
 Munitie Carla Cantibidone (Encarnação et alii 2008; Carneiro et alii 2008)
 [Ba]ndi / Bria[le]jaeco (Encarnação; Rodrigues 2009)
 Bande Luguano or Luguno¹ (Ângelo; Encarnação 2008)
 Deibaborico Deibobor Vissaeiaicobor (Carvalho; Fernandes, 2009; Fernandes et alii 2009)
 Asidiae (unpublished)

¹ Considering *Luginis deabus* on the inscription of Atapuerca (HEp 6, 1996 = AE 1995, 181) and re-analysing the text, we should not neglect the rea-

ding LVGUNO (V. Curado 2008, 148).

ABBREVIATIONS

AE	<i>Année Epigraphique</i> , Paris.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, II. Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae</i> , Berlin.
ERRB	Redentor, A. 2002: <i>Epigrafia romana da região de Bragança</i> , Lisboa.
FE	<i>Ficheiro Epigráfico</i> , Coimbra.
HEp	<i>Hispania Epigraphica</i> , Madrid.
IRCP	Encarnação 1984.
PEGL	Dias, M. M. A. (coord.) 2001: <i>Epigrafia do território português, I. Epigrafia latina do Museu Municipal Hipólito Cabaço (Alenquer)</i> .
RAP	Garcia, J. M. 1991: <i>Religiões antigas de Portugal</i> , Lisboa.

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TABLE I – Epigraphical evidence

THEONYME	PLACE	REFERENCE
Aerno, Deo	Castro da Avelãs, Bragança	RAP 2
Aerno, Deo	Castro da Avelãs, Bragança	RAP 3
Aerno, Deo	Malta, Macedo de Cavaleiros	RAP 4
Aeti(o)	Sabugal	FE 309
Aetio	Alcaria, Fundão	RAP 5
Albuclainco Efficaci	Repeses, Viseu	FE 157
Ambidrebi	Braga	ETLG 363
Araco Arantoniceo	Alcabideche, Cascais	RAP 10
Arantia Ocelaeca et Arantio Ocelaeco	Ferro, Covilhã	RAP 11
Arantiae et Arantio Eburo[b]ricis	Castelejo, Fundão	Salvado et alii 2004: 239
Arantio Tanginiciaeco	Rosmaninhal, Idanha-a-Nova	RAP 12
Arasei Collouesei Caeloni Cosigo	Furtado, Fornos de Algodres	RAP 506a
Harase	Arronches	Ined.
Arentiae Equotullaicensi	Sabugal	RAP 14
Arentiae et Arentio	Ninho do Açor, Castelo Branco	RAP 13
Arentio	Monsanto, C. Branco	RAP 15
Arentio Cronisensi?	Zebras, Fundão	RAP 16
Asidiae	Alcains, Castelo Branco	Ined.
Bandue	Espinhosela, Bragança	RAP 34
Bane?	Ninho do Açor, Castelo Branco	FE 176
Bandi Arbariaico	Capinha, Fundão	RAP 23
Bandei Brialeacui	Orjais, Covilhã	RAP 21
Bandei Brialeacui	Covilhã	RAP 22
[Ba]ndi Bria[e]aeco	Castelos Velhos, Guarda	Encarnação; Rodrigues 2009
Bandi Haracui	Arronches	Encarnação et alii 2008
Bandua Horrico	(Alenquer)	(RAP 33) PEGL 166
Ban[n]di Is(i)b[---]	Bemposta, Penamacor	RAP 25, 593
Bandi Isibraiegui	Bemposta, Penamacor	RAP 24
Bandu I[---]GO[---]	Beiriz, Póvoa de Varzim	Búa 2000: 388
Bandi Langobricu	Longroiva, Meda	RAP 26
Bande Luguano / Luguno	Torre dos Namorados, Fundão	Ângelo; Encarnação 2008
Band(---) Oce(laeco?)	Sul, S. Pedro do Sul	RAP 27
Bandi Oilienaico	Esmolfe, Penalva do Castelo	RAP 28
Bandu Picio	S. Vicente da Beira, Castelo Branco	FE 329
Bannei Picio	Belver, Mação	RAP 35
Picio	Lourosa, Oliv. do Hospital	RAP 36
Bandi Saisabro?	Maranhão, Avis	FE 206
Bandi Tatibeaicui	Queiriz, Fornos de Algodres	RAP 29
Bande Velugo Toiraeco	Vila da Feira	RAP 19

(continuation) TABLE I – Epigraphical evidence

THEONYME	PLACE	REFERENCE
Turaeo Volenti, deo	Vila da Feira	RAP 20
Turiaco, [de]o	Santo Tirso	RAP 199
Bandei VIRCAV[?]	Antas, Penalva do Castelo	FE 335
Bandi Vordeaicui	Meda	FE 315
Bandi Vorteaecio	Salgueiro, Fundão	RAP 30
Bandi Vortiaeco	Olival Queimado, Penamacor	Búa 2000: 506
Bandu Vordeaeco	Seixo, Carrazeda de Ansiães	FE 179
Bandi Vordiaigeui Iaceniense	A. St. ^a Margarida, Idanha-a-Nova	Curado 2008: 138-139
Vord[?]o Talagonio	Sortelha, Sabugal	FE 276
Vort[e]aeco	S. Martinho, Castelo Branco	RAP 31
Vorteaeci	Salvador, Penamacor	RAP 32
Besenclae	Canas de Senhorim, Nelas	FE 138
Broeneiae	Arronches	Carneiro et alii 2008
Burrulob[ri]gensi, Dee sancte	Elvas	RAP 56
CALVABONCO (?)	Longroiva, Meda	FE 364
Candeberonio Caeduradio	S. Miguel-O-Anjo, Amares	RAP 41
Carneo Calanticensi	Santana do Campo, Arraiolos	RAP 42
[Carneo?] Ca[?]anti[censi]	Santana do Campo, Arraiolos	RAP 43
Castaecis	Lousada, Vizela	RAP 45
Conimbrig., Dis Deabusq(ue)	Numão, V. N de Foz Côa	RAP 201
Corono	Cerzedelo, Guimarães	RAP 46
Corougia[e] Vesucoi, Domin[o]	Minhotões, Barcelos	RAP 61
Coruae ?	Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo	RAP 47
Cos]uo Vestero	Alvarães, Viana do Castelo	RAP 48
Cosei Vacoaico	Viseu	RAP 47a
Cosuneae	Sanfins, Paços de Ferreira	RAP 468
Crougae Nilaigui	Freixiosa, Mangualde	RAP 52
Crougeae Magareaicoi Petranioi	Lamas de Moledo, Castro Daire	RAP 467
Cusei Baeteaco	Aguada de Cima, Águeda	(RAP 49)
Cusu Nemedeco, deo domeno	Burgães, S. Tirso	(RAP 50)
Deiba	Proença-a-Velha	Curado 2008: 129-130
Denso	Felgar, Moncorvo	RAP 59
Durbedico, deo	Ronfe, Guimarães	RAP 62
Endovellico (deo, domino, sancto)	Terena, Alandroal	RAP 64-148
Erbine laedi Cantibidone	Segura, Idanha-a-Nova	(RAP 150)
Erbine laidi Cantibidone	Segura, Idanha-a-Nova	(RAP 151)
Ermae Eideuori	Outeiro Seco, Chaves	RAP 202
Fl(auia) Conimbriga[e] et Laribus eius	Conimbriga, Condeixa	RAP 211

(continuation) TABLE I – Epigraphical evidence

THEONYME	PLACE	REFERENCE
[G]enio [T]ongobrigensium	Freixo, Marco de Canaveses	RAP 205
Genio Conimbrigae	<i>Conimbriga</i> , Condeixa	RAP 203
Genio Depenori?	Sul, S. Pedro do Sul	RAP 204
Genio Laquinesii	Vizela	RAP 206
Genio Viriocelensi	Vilela, Amares	FE 262
Icona Loiminna?	Pousafoles, Sabugal	RAP 466
Igaedo	Idanha-a-Nova	RAP 152
[Il]urbed[ae]	Alvares, Góis	RAP 154
Ilurbeda[e]	Faião, Sintra	RAP 153
Ilurbedae	Alvares, Góis	RAP 155
Iouei Caielobrigoi	Lamas de Moledo, Castro Daire	RAP 467
Issibaeo	Miranda do Corvo?	RAP 156
Iunoni Lineaigae	Monte de S. Martinho, Castelo Branco	(RAP 209)
Kassaeco	Lisboa	(RAP 208)
Labbo	Pousafoles, Sabugal	(RAP 4
Laepo	Pousafoles, Sabugal	RAP 157
Laepo	Pousafoles, Sabugal	RAP 158
Laepo	Pousafoles, Sabugal	RAP 159
Laesu	Ousilhão, Vinhais	ERRB 8
Lapitearum, Numinibus	Vale Nogueira, Vila Real	RAP 472
Larauco d(eo) max(imo)	Vilar de Perdizes, Montalegre	RAP 160
Larocuo	Monforte, Chaves	RAP 161
Lares Lubanc(os) Douilonicor(um)	<i>Conimbriga</i> , Condeixa	RAP 210
Lari Beiraidico	S. Maria de Arnoso, V. N. Famalicão	RAP 218
Larib(us) Turolis(is)	Freixo de Numão, V. N. Foz Côa	RAP 213
L(aribus?) Aquitibus	<i>Conimbriga</i> , Condeixa	RAP 588
[L]aribus [B]uricis	Carrazedo, Amares	RAP 217
Laribus Anaeci[s]	Lagares, Penafiel	RAP 214
Laribus Cailie(n)sibus	Zebreira, Idanha-a-Nova	RAP 212
Cai[liensibus?], Di(is)	Escalos de Cima, Castelo Branco	FE 296
Laribus Cerenaecis	S. Salvador de Tuías, Marco de Canaveses	RAP 215
Laribus Cusicelensibus	Couto de Argeris, Chaves	RAP 219
Laribus Inmucenlaecis Ceceaecis	Granjinha, Chaves	(RAP 222)
[L]u[r]uni	Vendas de Cavernães, Viseu	RAP 164
Luruni	Vendas de Cavernães, Viseu	RAP 163
Luruni	Vendas de Cavernães, Viseu	RAP 165
Luruni	Vendas de Cavernães, Viseu	RAP 166
Marati Boro	Castelo Branco	(RAP 589)
Marati Boro	Monsanto, Idanha-a-Nova	(RAP 223) HEp 12, 623

(continuation) TABLE I – Epigraphical evidence

THEONYME	PLACE	REFERENCE
Mar(ti) Car(ieco?)	Lisouros, Paredes do Coura	RAP 226
Marti Cari[e]co	Refojos de Lima, Ponte de Lima	RAP 225
Mercurio Augustor(um) [A]guaeco	S. Pedro do Sul	RAP 228
Mercurio Esibraeo	Medelim, Idanha-a-Nova	RAP 227
Merlandiceo	Sintra	(RAP 167)
Minerva Sangrae (!)	<i>Conimbriga</i> , Condeixa	Hep 12, 628
Mirobleo	Tarouquela, Cinfães	(RAP 168)
Mun[i]di Igaed(itanae)	Monsanto, Idanha-a-Nova	RAP 169
Munidi	Celorico da Beira	RAP 169a
Muntie Carla Cantibidone	Arronches	Carneiro et alii 2008
Nab(iae), D(eae) D(ominae) ?	S. Martinho do Campo, S. Tirso	(RAP 1)
Nabia	Marecos, Penafiel	RAP 469
Nabiae	Baltar, Paredes	RAP 171
Nabiae	Braga	RAP 173
Nabiae	Três Minas, V. Pouca de Aguiar	RAP 172
Nabiae	Pedrogão Pequeno, Sertã	RAP 170
Nabiae Coronae	Marecos, Penafiel	RAP 469
Nemedeco, dom(ino) deo	S. Tirso	(RAP 51)
Nemucelaicabo, Deibabo	Avelelas, Chaves	(RAP 58)
Nim(phae) Danigom	Marecos, Penafiel	RAP 469
Nimidi Fiduenarum	Sanfins, Paços de Ferreira	RAP 468
Nynphis Lupianis	Tagilde, Guimarães	RAP 229
Ocaere	S. João do Campo, Terras do Bouro	RAP 176
Ocrimirae	S. Salvador Aramenha, Marvão	RAP 177
Oipaengi(ae)	Ladoeiro, Castelo Branco	FE 198
Oipainciae	Ladoeiro, Castelo Branco	(RAP 60)
Pa[ra]maeco, de[o]	Fóios, Sabugal	FE 122
Peinticis	Viseu	RAP 179
Q[uan]cei[o]	Nisa	FE 106
[Q]uan[gei]o	Bemposta, Penamacor	RAP 181
[Q]uange[i]o	Capinha, Fundão	RAP 592
Qu[an]geo	Nisa	FE 103
[Qu]angei[o]	Sortelha, Sabugal	FE 100.2
Quangeio	Penamacor	RAP 182
Quangeio Turicaeco	Borba (?)	FE 174
Quangeiu	Sortelha, Sabugal	FE 100.1
QuangeioTango	Montalvão, Nisa	RAP 180
Q[uan]cei[o] Tan[go]	Nisa	FE 106
Remetibus Aug(ustis)	<i>Conimbriga</i> , Condeixa	RAP 183

(continuation) TABLE I – Epigraphical evidence

THEONYME	PLACE	REFERENCE
Reo Bormanico	Caldas de Vizela	RAP 38
Bormanico	Caldas de Vizela	RAP 37
Reo SE[---]	Castro do Monte Redondo, Braga	RAP 605
R]eue [---]	Medelim, Idanha-a-Nova	RAP 185
Reue Marandicui	Guiães, Vila Real	HEp 6, 1079
Reue Aharacui	Arronches	Carneiro et alii 2008
Reue Langanid(aego)	Alcains, Castelo Branco	RAP 187
Reue Langanidaegui	Medelim, Idanha-a-Nova	RAP 184
[Re]ue Langanitaego	Proença-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova	RAP 186
Reue TRE[---],	Pousafoles, Sabugal	RAP 466
Reuo Vestero	Alvarães, Viana do Castelo	ETLG 295
S.A.L.Q.I.V.?	Gouveia	RAP 189
Senaico	Braga	RAP 190
Tabudico	Murtede, Cantanhede	RAP 192
Tameobrigo	Várzea do Douro, Marco de Canaveses	RAP 193
Togae Alene(n)s(i)	S. António das Areias, Marvão	RAP 194
Tongoe Nabiagoi	Braga	RAP 174
Trebaronna	Penha Garcia, Idanha-a-Nova	RAP 195
Trebaronne	Lardosa, Castelo Branco	RAP 196
Trebarune	Pousafoles, Sabugal	RAP 466
Trebarune	Fundão?	RAP 197
Trebopala	Pousafoles, Sabugal	RAP 466
Triborunni	S. Domingos de Rana, Cascais	RAP 198
Turubrice, D(eae) S(anctae)	Beja	IRCP 287
Tutelae Liriensi	Seixo, Carrazeda de Ansiães	(RAP 230) HEp 12, 611
[Vala?]brigo	Delães, V. N. Famalicão	(RAP 39)
Vaseco	Quinta da Madalena, Soure	RAP 200

TABLE II – Gods' names and epithets

THEONYME		THEONYME	
Aerno, Deo	3	Igaedo	1
Aetio	2	Ilurbedae	3
Albucelainco Efficaci	1	Iouei Caielobrigoi	1
Ambidrebi	2	Issibaeo	1
Araco Arantoniceo	1	Iunoni Lineaigae	1
Arantia Ocelaeca et Arantio Ocelaeco	1	Kassaeco	1
Arantiae et Arantio Ebuo[b]uricis	1	Labbo	1
Arantio Tanginiciaeco	1	Laepo	3
Arasei Collouesei Caeloni Cosigo	1	Laesu	1
Harase	1	Lapitearum, Numinibus	1
Arentiae Equotullaicensi	1	Larauco d(eo) max(imo) / Larocuo	2
Arentiae et Arentio	1	Lares Lubanc(os) Douilonicor(um)	1
Arentio	1	Lari Beiraidico	1
Arentio Cronisensi	1	Larib(us) Turolic(is)	
Asidiae	2	L(aribus?) Aquitibus	1
Bandi Haracui	1	[L]aribus [B]uricis	1
Band(---) Oce(laeco?)	1	Laribus Anaeci[s]	1
Bande Velugo Toiraeco	1	Laribus Cailie(n)sibus	1
Turaeo Volenti, deo	1	Cai[liensibus?], Di(is)	1
Turiaco, [de]o	1	Laribus Cerenaecis	1
Bandei Brialeacui	3	Laribus Cusicelensibus	1
Bandei Vircau[i]	1	Laribus Inmucenlaecis	1
Bandi Arbariaico	1	Luruni	4
Bandi Isibraiegui	2	Marati Boro	2
Bandi Langobricu	1	Marti Cari[e]co	2
Bandi Oilienaico	1	Mercurio Augustor(um) [A]guaeco	1
Bandi Saisabro	1	Mercurio Esibraeo	1
Bandi Tatibeacui	1	Mermandiceo	1
Bandi Vordeacui	5	Minerva Sangrae (!)	1
Bandu I[---]GO[---]	1	Mirobleo (?)	1
Bandu Picio	1	Mun[i]di Igaed(itanae)	1
Vord[i]o Talagonio	1	Munidi	1
Vort[e]aeceo	2	Munitie Carla Cantibidone	1
Bandua Horrico	1	Nabiae	6
Bande Luguano / Luguno	1	Nabiae Coronae	1
Bandue / Banne	2	Nemedeco, dom(ino) deo	1
Bannei Picio	1	Nemucelaicabo, Deibabo	1
Picio	1	Nim(phae) Danigom	1
Besenclae	1	Nimidi Fiduenarum	1

(continuation) TABLE II – Gods' names and epithets

THEONYME		THEONYME	
Broeneiae	1	Nynphis Lupianis	1
Burrulob[ri]gensis, Dee sancte	1	Ocaere	1
Caluabonco	1	Ocrimirae	1
Candeberonio Caeduradio	1	Oipainciae	2
Carneo Calanticensi	2	Pa[ra]maeco, de[o]	1
Castaecis	1	Peinticis	1
Ceceaecis	1	Quangeio	7
Conimbrig., Dis Deabusq(ue)	1	Quangeio Turicaeco	1
Corono	1	Quangeio Tanngo	2
Corougia[e] Vesucoi, Domin[o]	1	Remetibus Aug(ustis)	1
Coruae	1	Reo Bormanico / Bormanico	2
Cosei Vacoaico	1	Reo SE[---]	1
Cosuneae	1	R]eue [---]	1
Crougae Nilaigui	1	Reue Marandicui	1
Crougeae Magareaicoi Petranioi	1	Reue Aharacui	1
Cusei Baeteaco	1	Reue Langanidaigui	3
Cusu Nemedeco, deo domeno	1	Reue TRE[---],	1
Denso	1	Reuo Vestero	1
Durbedico, deo	1	S.A.L.Q.I.V.?	1
Endovellico (deo, domino, sancto)		Senaico	1
Erbine laedi Cantibidone	2	Tabudico	1
Ermae Eideuori	1	Tameobrigo	1
Fl(auia) Conimbriga[e] et Laribus eius	1	Togae AL[---]	1
[G]enio [T]ongobrigensium	1	Tongoe Nabiagoi	1
Genio Conimbrigae	1	Trebarune / Triborunni	5
Genio Depenori	1	Trebopala	1
Genio Laquiniesi	1	Tutelae Liriensi	1
Genio Viriocelensi	1	[Vala?]brigo	1
Iccona Loiminna	1	Deiba	1

TABLE III – Gods' names

GOD'S NAME		+ EPICLESIS
<i>Aerno, deo</i>	3	
Aetio	2	
<i>Albuclainco</i>	1	
Ambidrebi	2	
Araco		1
Arantiae / Arentiae	1	3
Arantio / Arentio	2	4
Arasei / Harase	1	1
Asidiae	2	
Bandua / Bandue / Bandei / Bannei / Bandi / Bandu	2	17 (24)
Besenclae	1	
Broeneiae	1	
<i>Burrulob[ri]gensis, deae sanctae</i>	1	
<i>Caluabonco (?)</i>	1	
<i>Candeberonio</i>	1	
Carneo		1 (2)
<i>Castaecis</i>	1	
<i>Ceceaecis, diis</i>	1	
<i>Conimbrig., diis deabus</i>	1	
Corono	1	
Coruae ?	1	
Cosei / Cusei / Cusu		3
Cosuneae	1	
Crougeae / Corougiae		3
Denso	1	
<i>Durbedico, deo</i>	1	
<i>Endovellico, deo domino</i>	70 (91)	
Erbine		2
Ermae		1
<i>F(auiae) Conimbriga[e]</i>	1	
Genio		5
Iccona		1
Igaedo	1	
Ilurbedae	3	
Iouei		1
<i>Issibaeo</i>	1	
Iunoni		1
<i>Kassaeco</i>	1	
Labbo	1	

(continuation) TABLE III – Gods' names

GOD'S NAME		+ EPICLESIS
Laepo	3	
Laesu	1	
<i>Larauco / Larocuo</i>	2	
Laribus		11
Luruni	4	
Marati		1 (2)
Marti		1 (2)
Mercurio		2
<i>Mermandiceo</i>	1	
Minerva		1
<i>Mirobleo (?)</i>	1	
Munidi / Munitie	1	2
Nabiae	6	1
<i>Nemedeco, deo</i>	1	
<i>Nemucelaicabo, Delbabo</i>	1	
Nimidi		1
Numinibus		1
Nymphis		2
Ocaere	1	
Ocrimirae	1	
<i>Oipainciae</i>	1	
<i>Pa[ra]maeco, deo</i>	1	
<i>Peinticis</i>	1	
Picio	1	
Quangeio	7	2
Remetibus		1
Reue / Reo	1	7 (10)
Runeso ?		1
S.A.L.Q.I.V.?	1	
<i>Senaico</i>	1	
<i>Tabudico</i>	1	
<i>Tameobrigo</i>	1	
Togae		1
Tongoe		1
Trebarune / Triborunni	5	
Trebopala	1	
<i>Turaeo / Turiaco, deo</i>	2	1
<i>Turubrice, d(eae) s(anctae)</i>	1	
Tutelae		1

(continuation) TABLE III – Gods' names

GOD'S NAME		+ EPICLESIS
Vaseco	1	
Visaeaicobor, Deibaborico Deibobor	1	
Vord[i]o		1
Vort[e]aeceo	2	
Deiba	1	
Fragmentary names		
[Vala?]brigo	1	



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