



### III

## A note on the dedication *lamiis tribus* (RIB 1331) as represented on the Seal of the Society<sup>1</sup>

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#### SUMMARY

*The altar inscribed 'lamiis tribus', from the Roman fort of Condercum (modern-day Benwell) on Hadrian's Wall, appears to be the only known case of a dedication to lamiae. This note analyses the contexts of this stone in Classical literary demonology, in the religious climate of the fort of Condercum and in vernacular Insular Celtic demonology. On this basis it presents arguments indicating close correspondence between the unique lamiae of Condercum and some battlefield-demons of early Irish sagas, which supports the assumption of a Celtic character of the 'three lamiae'. At the same time, the analysis of the various contexts of the lamiae tres offers new insights into the relationship between the Classical literary tradition about lamia, the triplicity of the lamiae of Condercum, and the immediate context of the stone in the particular religious climate of this fort which previously had been highly problematic.*

THE SEAL OF THE SOCIETY DEPICTS A FEMALE FIGURE, sitting writing in front of an altar inscribed *lamiis tribus*: 'to the three *lamiae*'. This dedication (CIL VII, 507 = RIB 1331), from the Roman fort of *Condercum* (modern-day Benwell) on Hadrian's Wall, was an eighteenth-century discovery, without an exact findspot, within the fort. It was probably derived from the northern part of the complex;<sup>2</sup> this would preclude an association with the civilian settlement possibly associated with the fort and would ascribe the stone to the fort, *sensu stricto*.<sup>3</sup> Lindsay Allason-Jones suggests a dating of the stone to the late second/early third century AD with a slight bias towards the early third, as the other religious inscriptions from the site tend to be late.<sup>4</sup>

This dedication, *lamiis tribus*, constitutes the only known example to the demon *lamia*.<sup>5</sup> It has been given much attention in Celtic Studies, and has on several occasions since the late nineteenth century been associated with a particular type of early Irish battlefield-demons known as the 'Bodbs'.<sup>6</sup> Such associations, however, have in virtually all previous scholarship been restricted to short remarks made in passing and have consequently neither addressed the context of the inscription within the religious life of the fort nor the contemporary meaning of the term *lamia* within Roman demonology; likewise, they lack any detailed attempt to understand the mechanism underlying the suggested *interpretatio* (identification or rendering) of Insular Celtic battlefield-demons as 'three *lamiae*'.<sup>7</sup>

In order to gain a more detailed understanding of the *lamiae tres* of *Condercum* and to assess the proposed association between these *lamiae* and the early Irish Bodbs, this note will discuss the 'three *lamiae*' in three contexts: (1) in the context of Roman demonology; (2) in the context of the religious atmosphere of the fort; and (3) in the possible context of the Insular Celtic demonology of the battlefield (for which far-reaching continuities may be indicated by Gallo-Roman epigraphic evidence). Such a threefold contextualisation of the 'three *lamiae*' will

indicate that the character of *lamia* in contemporary Roman demonology stands in a stark contrast to both the context of the *lamiae tres* in the highly militarised religious environment of the fort and to the triple character of the *lamiae tres*. Within Classical tradition, the dedication to the 'three *lamiae*' and the character of the contemporary *lamia* in literary sources seem entirely irreconcilable. However, the early medieval Irish battlefield-demons of the type of the Bodbs display characteristics closely paralleling both central traits of the Classical literary *lamia* and the militarised context and triple character of the *lamiae tres*. Therefore it will be suggested that the *lamiae tres* could represent a well-informed identification or rendering, translating an early form of these native Insular Celtic figures.

### LAMIA IN CLASSICAL DEMONOLOGY

In Classical demonology, *lamia* is primarily a being connected with the death of children.<sup>8</sup> According to a scholium on Aristophanes (*Peace* 758), she was a mistress of Zeus; after his jealous wife Hera had caused the death of her children, the envious Lamia did the same to other women. Diodorus Siculus XX.41.3 describes Lamia as a queen of surpassing beauty, who, after the death of her own children, ordered the new-born children of other mothers to be slain. The way in which the demonic *lamia* killed children is implied by Horace (*Ars poetica* 340) when he mentions (and disapproves of) the idea that a child could be brought alive out of the belly of a *lamia*: a *lamia* devoured her victims. The notion that *lamia* devoured her victims is also indicated by a folk-etymology of her name, proposed in antiquity in a scholium on Aristophanes (*Wasps* 1035), that derived her name, *λάμια*, from *λαιμός* 'throat', because she had a big throat. The same two passages in Aristophanes (*Peace* 758; *Wasps* 1035) also mention the unwashed testicles of *lamia*. Thus a *lamia* is a being associated with death, with the devouring of her victims, and with sexuality or obscenity. These personal traits appear combined in a tale in the Life of Apollonius of Tyana from the third century AD, roughly contemporary with the dedication to the 'three *lamiae*' from *Condercum*. This story tells how an attractive student of the sage Apollonius was approached by a beautiful woman who confessed her love to him and who convinced him that she wished to marry him. The student is beguiled by her and agrees to the marriage. However, on the wedding night, Apollonius appears at the feast and shows all the worldly trappings of the celebration to be mere illusion; he explains that the bride is an *ἔμπουσα*, whom people consider to be a *λάμια* and a *μορμολυκεῖον*; these beings love the gifts of Aphrodite, but most of all they love human flesh, and they beguile those whom they want to devour with the gifts of Aphrodite. After this, he forces the demon to confess her true nature and that she wanted to devour the young man, for she devoured young and beautiful bodies because of the purity of their blood (*Vit. Apollon.* IV, 25). When the incident is recapitulated later on in the work (*Vit. Apollon.* VIII, 7.9), again the term *λάμια* is used of the demon and the assertion that she devoured handsome young men is repeated.<sup>9</sup>

### THE CONTEXT OF THE *LAMIAE TRES* IN THE RELIGIOUS ENVIRONMENT OF *CONDERCUM*

The *lamia* of Classical literary tradition — including literature contemporary with the altar to the *lamiae tres* — thus appears as a deadly, devouring, vampire-like being with a strongly emphasised sexual aspect. However, this demon lacks one specific character trait: she shows

no connection to warfare whatsoever. This is particularly noteworthy if the immediate context of the dedication from *Condercum* in the religious life of the fort is considered.

The dedications from *Condercum* fall into two groups: those to Classical deities, and those to (perhaps) local divinities whose character generally eludes us. The first group consists of dedications to *I(u)p(ite)r* *O(p)timus* [*M(aximus) Dolic]henus* and the *N(u)mina Aug(ustorum)*, 'the Divine Powers of the Emperors' (RIB 1330); *Mars* (RIB 1332); *Mars Victor* (RIB 1333); the *Matres Campes[tr]es*, 'the Mothers of the Parade-ground' and the *Genius alae pri(mae) Hispanorum Asturum*, 'the Genius of the First Cavalry Regiment of the Asturian Spaniards' (RIB 1334); the *Victoria [Au]g(ustorum)* (RIB 1337); and *Minerva* (RIB 3285).<sup>10</sup> Here it should be noted that all primary recipients of dedications to Classical deities are deities with a direct relationship to military life, war and the army; this indicates that the religious life of the fort had a nature just as deeply military in character as its secular purpose.<sup>11</sup>

Such a conclusion also seems to be in agreement with the impression conveyed by the more elusive (and possibly native) dedications from the site. The most important of these are three altars dedicated to the god *An([t]en)ociticus*. (There are slight variations in the form of the name: *Antenociticus* (RIB 1327); *An([t]en)ociticus* (RIB 1328); and *Anociticus* (RIB 1329). One of these (RIB 1327) is secondarily also dedicated to the *Numina Augustorum*.) Fragments of the cult statue indicate that *An([t]en)ociticus* was a youthful male deity; beyond this, there is no direct evidence for the character of this god, who is attested only at *Condercum*. However, the military roots of the dedicators might perhaps be indicative of a military aspect of their deity as well: the three altars were set up by a centurion, by the cohort of Vangiones and by a prefect of cavalry after his elevation to senatorial rank and designation as a quaestor.<sup>12</sup> Just as obscure as *An([t]en)ociticus* are the deities addressed on two further altars dedicated *Deo Vetri sangto*, 'to the holy God Vetris' (RIB 1335), and *Vitir(i)bus*, 'to the Vitires' (RIB 1336). These stones belong to a large group of over fifty dedications, usually of poor craftsmanship, predominantly stemming from the forts of Hadrian's Wall and addressed to a group of deities with wide orthographic variation of the name and even varying in number (appearing in singular as well as in plural) and gender. The northern British epigraphic data show a general bias towards military sites; this makes it difficult to be sure whether the association of the attestations of the Vitires with the military reflects a martial nature of these deities. However, it might in the present context still be worth noting that the inscribed stones from *Condercum* have been derived from the northern part of the site; thus they cannot easily be associated with the possible traces of a civilian settlement to the west, south and east of the fort. (There is actually no indication, be it direct or circumstantial, of a civilian background to any of the dedications from *Condercum*.) Consequently, the stones to Vitiris and the Vitires were probably also erected by soldiers. It has to remain open to which extent this allows conclusions about the nature of these deities; however, some martial aspect does at least not seem unlikely.<sup>13</sup>

The dedications from *Condercum* to deities of known character indicate a religious practice which was strictly focused on military life, while the remaining dedications to elusive deities of unknown character might be attributed to the same context by the attested or inferred military associations of their dedicators, although no firm conclusions can be drawn about the nature of these latter dedications. In so far as the epigraphic material can be interpreted, it shows a strong martial bias. Such a general bias of the religious life of *Condercum* towards war and warfare might also suggest that the *lamiae tres* could have been worshipped in the fort due to some military aspect of their nature. This becomes even more likely as the find spot of

this stone is thought to be the northern part of the complex, and thus the fort itself. While such a conclusion is not intrinsically surprising, given the military nature of the site, it is still important that it is supported by this evidence: a Classical literary *lamia* has no military aspect whatsoever, which raises the fundamental question why a dedication to such an emphatically non-martial demon is found in a site of a martial nature in both its secular and religious life. Here, then, there is discord between the character of the Classical literary *lamia* and the military context of the *lamiae tres* at Condercum. This discord between the demon of Classical demonology and the provincial dedication stone becomes even more marked if one tries to connect the triplicity of the 'three *lamiae*' from Condercum with the character of the Classical demon, for a Classical *lamia* appears as a single figure. The Classical demon offers as little towards an explanation for the triple character of the *lamiae tres* as it does for their embedment in military religion.<sup>14</sup>

### THE CONTEXT OF THE *LAMIAE TRIBUS* WITHIN VERNACULAR CELTIC DEMONOLOGY

There is a fundamental discord between the little that can be inferred about the character of the *lamiae tres* from the inscription itself and its context (i.e. they appear to be a triad of female beings embedded in a military setting) and the character of the Classical *lamia* (i.e. a female, deadly, devouring, markedly sexual and potentially seductive vampire without any martial aspect and appearing as a single figure). Furthermore, the dedication to the *lamiae tres* from Condercum is the only known dedication to any *lamia*. These two factors suggest that it is probably not a dedication to actual Classical *lamiae*, but rather reflects some kind of identification or rendering which tries to express a dedication to figures of native provincial mythology by translating them using a name borrowed from Classical mythology. Thus any attempt to understand the mechanism of this identification or rendering would have to ask whether there is evidence for a non-Classical figure that would be able to bridge the gap between the Classical *lamia* and the *lamiae tres*, a gap which seems insurmountable within Mediterranean tradition.

The (roughly) contemporary record of the other 'Celtic' provinces does indeed include figures which might lead at least part of the way towards understanding the identification or rendering employed in Condercum. One example is a Gallo-Roman stone from the area of Herbitzheim, which is dedicated to *Victoria Cassi[b]odua* (CIL XIII, 4525).<sup>15</sup> The equation of the native figure of [C]assi[b]odua with *Victoria* indicates a connection between this deity and warfare. The first element of her native compound name ([c]assi-) is open to several possible semantic interpretations; thus no compelling conclusions can be drawn about its meaning, but one possibility — according to Birkhan the most likely one — is to interpret it as meaning 'hatred'.<sup>16</sup> The second element of the compound name (-[b]odua) might furthermore reappear on an inscription from Quincey (CIL XIII, 2853):<sup>17</sup> *pervia bodua*, the 'Bodua who clears a path'. The path cleared by this Bodua might be a path through the lines of battle; this at least seems to be the function of the sword which is described with the same adjective by Silius Italicus (*pervius ensis*: *Punica* X, 248) — even though it should be noted that the *CIL* expresses some doubt about the reliability of the source of this inscription. A third Gallo-Roman appearance of a *Bodua*- figure seems to be found on a dedication stone from Mieussy set up for [C]athubodua (CIL XII, 2571):<sup>18</sup> this name again seems to belong in the realm of war, this time by the semantics of the first element of the (reconstructed) vernacular Celtic compound name, which means 'battle' (Gaulish *catu-*; Old Irish *cath* 'battle').<sup>19</sup>

These three inscriptions seem to suggest the existence of female Celtic supernatural beings related to warfare and possessing a cult. Thus, they show some features that are also found on the dedication stone from *Condercum*, where female supernatural figures receive cultic worship within a military setting. The Gallo-Roman material does not offer sufficient details about the character of the beings addressed on these stones to allow any further conclusions. However, apart from these three Gallo-Roman dedications, supernatural *Bodua*-figures embedded in a martial context also appear in the Celtic world outside the Roman empire. From the very beginning of vernacular literature in Ireland in the early Middle Ages a group of demons called the *Bodbs* belonged to the most prolific supernatural protagonists on Irish literary battlefields. Especially in the context of the Gallo-Roman dedication to [C]athubodua it has repeatedly been pointed out by previous scholarship that there might be some continuity between these Gallo-Roman and early Irish figures: the Gallo-Roman name element *-bodua* is the etymological counterpart to the name of the Irish demon *Bodb*, and the first element of the Gallo-Roman compound name *Cathubodua* 'Battle-Bodua' associates this figure with war, just as the Irish *Bodb* is a battlefield-demon.<sup>20</sup> Similar arguments can likewise be applied to the other two Gallo-Roman inscriptions mentioned above. The possibility of a degree of continuity between the Celtic supernatural beings of Roman antiquity and medieval Irish literature seems to make it worthwhile to include this later but very detailed literary material in the present discussion.

The *Bodbs* are female demons of war and the battlefield, appearing under a certain variety of names and usually taking the shape of a female anthropomorphic being or the shape of a bird; in their bird-appearance, they typically assume the shape of a hooded crow, the native carrion bird of Ireland.<sup>21</sup> The main names under which they appear are Morrígain, Macha, and *Bodb* (which, as a common noun, also denotes a hooded crow); in the earliest period of Irish literature these names were already largely interchangeable. The interchangeability of names and of appearance, both as a woman and as a bird, are illustrated in the tale *Táin Bó Regamna*, where the demon is called *Bodb* in one of the two extant manuscripts and Morrígain in the other, and where she appears first as a red woman in a demonic chariot and later changes her shape to a black bird.<sup>22</sup> While the demon here appears as a single woman or bird, she is elsewhere also presented as a triad — as in the tale of the First Battle of Mag Tuired or in the *Lebor Gabála*.<sup>23</sup> Much more important than these comparatively late sources, however, is an early medieval entry in the native Old Irish glossary of O'Mulconry:<sup>24</sup> *Machæ .i. badb. nō asī an tres morrigan, unde mesrad Machæ .i. cendæ doine iarna n-airlech*. 'Macha, that is *bodb*; or she is one of the three Morrígains, whence [the term] *mesrad Machæ* "Macha's mast" [is derived], that is: the heads of men after they have been slaughtered.' Apart from illustrating the interchangeability of the three names Macha, Morrígain and *Bodb* (or *bodb* 'hooded crow'), this gloss also constitutes an early attestation of the triple character of these figures and of the particular nature of their appetite: the heads of decapitated warriors are their 'mast'; they feed on the slain — just as the carrion crow whose shape they can take and whose name they share. Correspondingly, these demons are frequently called *bélderg* 'red-mouthed' — or (considering their appearances as carrion birds) perhaps rather 'red-beaked'.<sup>25</sup> That the red colour of their beaks is due to the blood of the corpses they devour is also illustrated in a passage of the high medieval tale *Tochmarc Ferbe*, where a group of warriors are told that they have fed the *Bodbs* by means of their weapons.<sup>26</sup>

Thus the *Bodbs* are triadic female demons who devour the slain. Furthermore, they also show a marked sexual strain in their character. In the tale *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, the textual basis



of which may again be early medieval,<sup>27</sup> the Morrígain appears in one passage in the guise of a beautiful princess. In this shape she approaches the hero Cú Chulainn, who is at the time fighting a lone defence of his province against an invading host. The disguised demon tells Cú Chulainn that she has fallen in love with him for his famous deeds and promises him riches and her help in battle in exchange for his love. Yet the hero refuses her, and thus rejected she later on supports the invaders.<sup>28</sup> A comparable scene is also found in the tale of the second battle of Mag Tuired, where the Morrígain has intercourse with the Dagda and in exchange aids him against his enemies.<sup>29</sup> The battlefield-demon opposes the one who refuses to grant her sexual favours, but her lover finds her support in war.<sup>30</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

The dedication to the *lamiae tres* from *Condercum* was embedded in the context of a religious practice that was highly focused on war and warfare; this might suggest that the 'three *lamiae*' were also themselves worshipped because of some military aspect. Furthermore, they are triadic beings. The *lamia* of contemporary Classical literature, on the other hand, does not show any connection to warfare whatsoever, nor is she a triple being. Rather, she appears as a female vampire, sexually seducing and then feeding on her victims. These two sets of character traits seem virtually irreconcilable within Classical tradition: on the one hand the (1) triadic supernatural beings embedded in (2) military religion, and on the other hand a (3) markedly sexual, (4) devouring, (5) deadly vampire. However, the unique character of the altar from *Condercum* suggests that this stone might in any case be not so much a dedication to a Classical *lamia* as to local (Celtic?) supernatural beings. Turning the discussion to Gallo-Roman and medieval Irish figures, corresponding supernatural beings are indeed attested in the Celtic world, especially in the British Isles: the Bodbs of early Irish literature are depicted as (1) a triad of (2) battlefield-demons with a (3) markedly sexual character and (4) feeding on the (5) corpses of the slain warriors. Thus these Irish demons reflect principal aspects both of the *lamiae tres* from *Condercum* and of the contemporary *lamia* of Classical literature. At the same time, Gallo-Roman dedication stones to *[C]athubodua*, *Victoria [C]lassi[b]odua* and *Pervia Bodua* seem to indicate that there might be a certain degree of continuity between the medieval Irish literary figures and ideas current in (formerly) Celtic parts of the Roman Empire. Thus, the triple *lamiae* from *Condercum*, which at first glance appear hardly reconcilable with the Classical evidence for *lamia* as a single figure without any warlike aspect, might find their explanation as an identification with or a rendering of an early form of Celtic battlefield-demons as they are later well attested in Irish heroic literature. The deadly, sexual and corpse-devouring character of these Insular Celtic figures of the mythology of war might have been the *tertium comparationis* that could have prompted the translation of such triadic demons as three (deadly, devouring, sexual) *lamiae*. Of course there can be no absolute certainty — Hadrian's Wall was as well-connected as any part of the Empire and the soldier who set up the dedication to the *lamiae tres* could have come from any province and could have set up a dedication to supernatural figures from his homeland which otherwise elude us. But until another province of the Roman Empire yields evidence for figures which are able to bridge the tension between the *lamia* of Classical literature and the triadic character and military context of the *lamiae tres* from *Condercum*, an interpretation of the *lamiae tres* as figures of the native Insular Celtic mythology of war appears to be the most economical explanation of this unique stone.<sup>31</sup>

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For manifold advice, support and permissions that have contributed to the writing and improvement of this note I owe thanks to Kristján Ahronson, Lindsay Allason-Jones, Richard Bailey, Francesco Benozzo, Jacqueline Borsje, Thomas Charles-Edwards, Kelly Kilpatrick, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, Heather O'Donoghue, Julia Steele, Mark Williams and two anonymous reviewers. The responsibility for any shortcomings rests, of course, with me alone.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The argument presented in this note has — in a format aiming at a specialised Celtic readership — first been published as M. Egeler, 'Condercum: Some Considerations on the Religious Life of a Roman Fort on Hadrian's Wall and the Celtic Character of the "lamiae tres" of the Dedication Stone CIL VII, 507', *Studi Celtici*, 7 (2008–2009), 129–76. For a more detailed discussion of several points related to, but peripheral to the argument for the identification of the *lamiae tres*, the reader is referred to this more specialised, but also more extensive article.

<sup>2</sup> Egeler, 'Condercum', 130, 132; J. Steele, E. Lewis and A. Patterson in D. Gaimster, S. McCarthy and B. Nurse (eds.), *Making History. Antiquaries in Britain, 1707–2007*, London (2007), 113.

<sup>3</sup> Egeler, 'Condercum', 154. Cf. below, note 13.

<sup>4</sup> Pers. comm.; cf. Egeler, 'Condercum', 132–3, note 9.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. R. Peter, 'Lamiae tres', in W. H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, 6 vols., Leipzig (1884–1937), vol. 2, column 1821, without parallels; Steele, Lewis and Patterson in Gaimster *et al.*, *Making History*, 113.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. W. Stokes, 'The second Battle of Moytura', *Revue Celtique*, 12 (1891), 128; M.-L. Sjoestedt, *Dieux et héros des celtes*, Paris (1940), 43; P. Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*, new rev. ed., Feltham (1983, softback ed. 1985), 86; A. Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain. Studies in Iconography and Tradition*, revised ed., London (1992, paperback edition 1993), 285f., 367, 473, cf. *ibidem* 313; M. Green, *Celtic Goddesses. Warriors, Virgins and Mothers*, London (1995), 36; A. Gulermovich Epstein, 'War Goddess: The Morrigan and her Germano-Celtic Counterparts', unpublished PhD thesis (available as microfiche), University of California, Los Angeles (1998), 223f., cf. 45f. For a discussion of an alternative interpretation suggested by H. Birkhan, *Kelten. Versuch einer Gesamtdarstellung ihrer Kultur*, Wien (1997), 657–9 cf. Egeler, 'Condercum', 142–4, 156.

<sup>7</sup> For a detailed discussion of the history of research on the Celtic character of the *lamiae tres* cf. Egeler, 'Condercum', 134–44, where I also address highly problematic suggestions to use medieval glosses to support an identification of the *lamiae tres* with the early Irish Bodbs.

<sup>8</sup> For the Classical *lamia*, cf. D. R. West, *Some Cults of Greek Goddesses and Female Daemons of Oriental Origin, especially in Relation to the Mythology of Goddesses and Daemons in the Semitic World* (=Alter Orient und Altes Testament 233), Neukirchen-Vllyn (1995), 293–7; J. Boardman, 'Lamia', in B. Jaeger, P. Müller, P. Linant de Bellefonds, R. Vollkommer and B. Magri (eds.), *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* VI (2 parts). *Kentauroi et Kentaurides — Oiax, et addenda: Hekate, Hekate (in Thracia), Heros Equitans, Kakasbos, Kekrops*, Zürich — München (1992), part VI.1, 189; part VI.2, 90f.; Schwenn, 'Lamia 1) bis 3)', in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung*, begonnen von G. Wissowa, unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter herausgegeben von W. Kroll. Zwölfter Band. *Kynesioi — Libanon*, Stuttgart (1925), columns 544–6; Stoll, 'Lamia', in: W. H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, 6 vols., Leipzig (1884–1937), vol. 2, columns 1818–21.

<sup>9</sup> Egeler, 'Condercum', 164–7.

<sup>10</sup> *RIB* (vol. 3) 3285.

<sup>11</sup> On military religion in general cf. A. von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres* (Sonder-Abdruck aus der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst (Band XIV (1895))), Trier

(1895); E. Birley, 'The Religion of the Roman Army: 1895–1977', in W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. II. Principat*, volume 16.2, Berlin — New York (1978), 1506–41.

<sup>12</sup> For An([t]en)ociticus, see Egeler, 'Condercum', 145–7, 154; Birkhan, *Kelten*, 260, 428; M. J. T. Lewis, *Temples in Roman Britain*, Cambridge (1966), 72f.; G. Webster, *The British Celts and their Gods under Rome*, London (1986), 73f., plate 16.

<sup>13</sup> For *Vetris* and the *Vitires* cf. Egeler, 'Condercum', 147f., 154; Birkhan, *Kelten*, 260; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*, 468–70 with map IX (p. 465); Webster, *British Celts*, 78f.; F. M. Heichelheim, 'Vitiris', in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung*, begonnen von G. Wissowa, fortgeführt von W. Kroll und K. Mittelhaus, unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgenossen herausgegeben von K. Ziegler und W. John. Zweite Reihe, siebzehnter Halbband. Vindelici bis Vulca, Stuttgart (1961), columns 408–15; Haverfield, 'Early Northumbrian Christianity and the Altars to the "Di Veteres"', *AA*<sup>3</sup>, 15 (1918), 22–43; Keune, 'Vitr(is), Viter(is), Vetir(is), Veter(is)', in W. H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, 6 vols., Leipzig (1884–1937), vol. 2, columns 350–4. On the possible civilian settlement cf. J. A. Petch, 'Excavations at Benwell (Condercum). Second Interim Report (1927 and 1928)', *AA*<sup>4</sup>, 5 (1928), 52–8, 73f., but cf. also P. Salway, 'Civilians in the Roman Frontier Region', *AA*<sup>4</sup>, 36 (1958), 235f.

<sup>14</sup> Egeler, 'Condercum', 144–55.

<sup>15</sup> N. Jufer and T. Luginbühl, *Les dieux gaulois. Répertoire des noms de divinités celtiques connus par l'épigraphie, les textes antiques et la toponymie*, Paris (2001), 33.

<sup>16</sup> For a detailed discussion cf. H. Birkhan, 'Das gallische Namenselement \*cassi- und die germanisch-keltische Kontaktzone', in W. Meid (ed.), *Beiträge zur Indogermanistik und Keltologie. Julius Pokorny zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet* (=Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft 13), Innsbruck (1967), 121f. with the cross-references, *ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Jufer and Luginbühl, *Répertoire*, 30.

<sup>18</sup> Jufer and Luginbühl, *Répertoire*, 33.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. X. Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise. Une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental*, préface de Pierre-Yves Lambert, 2e édition revue et augmentée, Paris (2003), s.v. 'catu-'.  
<sup>20</sup> Cf. A. Pictet, 'Sur une nouvelle déesse gauloise de la guerre', *Revue Archéologique, Nouvelle Série*, 18 (1868), 1–17; W. M. Hennessy, 'The Ancient Irish Goddess of War', *Revue Celtique*, 1 (1870), 32f.; M.-L. Sjøestedt-Jonval, 'Légendes épiques irlandaises et monnaies gauloises. — Recherches sur la constitution de la légende de Cuchulainn', *Études Celtiques*, 1 (1936), 65; J. de Vries, *Keltische Religion* (=Die Religionen der Menschheit 18), Stuttgart (1961), 137; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*, 86; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*, 281f., 285, 313; Green, *Celtic Goddesses*, 43. More sceptical are: Birkhan, *Kelten*, 656f.; A. Hofeneder, *Die Religion der Kelten in den antiken literarischen Zeugnissen. Band I. Von den Anfängen bis Caesar* (=Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission 59), Wien (2005), 170; B. Maier, *Die Religion der Kelten. Götter — Mythen — Weltbild*, München (2001), 81.

<sup>21</sup> Despite its age, an excellent overview is Hennessy, 'The Ancient Irish Goddess of War'; a discussion of the Bodbs aiming at a complete coverage of all the available material is Gulermovich Epstein, 'War Goddess'. For an extensive general bibliography on the Bodbs cf. Egeler, 'Condercum', 157, note 76.

<sup>22</sup> J. Corthals, *Táin Bó Regamna. Eine Vorerzählung zur Táin Bó Cúailnge* (=Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 478. Band; Veröffentlichungen der keltischen Kommission Nr. 5), Wien (1987), §§ 2–5, 7 with p. 33 (line 94).

<sup>23</sup> J. Fraser (ed.), 'The First Battle of Moytura', *Ériu*, 8 (1916), 1–63, there § 29; ed. R. A. Stewart Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Éirenn. The Book of the Taking of Ireland*, part IV (=Irish Texts Society XLI (1939) 1941), Dublin (1941), §§ 314, 316, 338, 346.

<sup>24</sup> W. Stokes, 'O'Mulconry's Glossary', in W. Stokes and K. Meyer (eds.), *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie*, vol. 1, Halle a. S. — London — Paris (1900), 271 No. 813; dating: E. Mac Neill, 'De origine Scotiae linguae', *Ériu*, 11 (1932), esp. 113, 116, 119.



<sup>25</sup> Thus e.g. in *Bruiden Da Choca* Recension A § 33 line 261 (ed. by G. Toner, *Bruiden Da Choca* (=Irish Texts Society LXI), London (2007); Hennessy, 'The Ancient Irish Goddess of War', 38); for a collection of attestations cf. Egeler, 'Condercum', 158f. note 81.

<sup>26</sup> E. Windisch, 'Tochmarc Ferbe', in W. Stokes and E. Windisch (eds.), *Irische Texte mit Übersetzung und Wörterbuch*, dritte Serie, 2. Heft, Leipzig (1897), 508/509.

<sup>27</sup> According to the analysis of R. Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert*, Teil I und II, Halle (Saale) (1921), 101–13, 666, this (first) recension of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* is primarily a mid-11th century compilation based on 9th century texts. However, the linguistic analysis of L. Breatnach, 'The Suffixed Pronouns in Early Irish', *Celtica*, 12 (1977), 101–3, 107 appears to suggest that the date of the texts underlying this first recension of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* should be corrected to the 8th century, probably even before the middle of the century.

<sup>28</sup> C. O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge Recension I*, Dublin (1976), lines 1845–2055.

<sup>29</sup> E. A. Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired. The Second Battle of Mag Tuired* (=Irish Texts Society 52), London (1982), §§ 84f., 106f., 137, cf. § 166.

<sup>30</sup> Egeler, 'Condercum', 156–64.

<sup>31</sup> Egeler, 'Condercum', 167–9.

