

VLPIA CASSA

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Article

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Three Dardanian names are discussed here: *cassa* in relation with masc. *Cassus* in Panonia and therefore supposed as probably Celtic; *Lipenium* and its modern survival *Lipjan*, and finally *Vlpianum*, evolved to *Laplje Selo* and not to *Lipljan*.

Zef Mirdita has published¹ an important inscription from *Vlpianum* which raises some interesting points of local names. 1. He notes that the cognomen *Cassa* is unique, but compares the masculine *cassus* which occurs in Pannonia and Noricum, and which Holder has credited to Celtic. It is reasonable to find a Celtic name in Pannonia or Noricum, but it is less than likely to find any trace of substantial, Celtic population in *Vlpianum*. Therefore the source of *Vlpianus* cognomen *Cassa* is more likely to be traced to an isolated immigrant from the north.

Cassa (*Cassus* could of course be from some other language since its form is not decisively distinctive; but it is a perfectly good Celtic form. It would be a hypocoristically abbreviated name, typical of Celtic, showing the first element seen in such names as Gaulish *Cassivellaunus*, Welsh *Caswallawn*²

¹ *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 29, 1978, 161-166.

² On *cassi* -see D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal names* (Oxford, 1967) 167-171, the very detailed study by Helmut Birkhan, *Festschrift Pokorny* (Innsbruck, 1967; of which I am most grateful to Ellis Evans for having reminded me) 155-44, and E. P. Hamp, (*Studia Celtica* XII/XIII, 1977/78, p. 3. Ellis Evans compactly reports the disagreements and doubts which have clouded the exact interpretation of instances of *cassi*-, and he is surely right that more than one Celtic lexeme is involved, as Birkhan also implies by his suggested sources and explicitly states at δ 5.3. However, an important set of morphological facts requires emphasizing: We may divide the names assembled by Ellis Evans into three great groups. The compounds *Cassi-br|atius*, — *gnatus*, (*Casso-gnati*, probably a mere [inexact?] variant), *-gnetus* (also a variant?), *-maru*, *-Talos*, *suratus*, *-uellaunus* are all personal names. I deal in detail with the analysis of *Cassiuellaunus* elsewhere. The PNN *Cassa/us*, *-atus*, *-auus*, *-ia/us*, *-ianus*, *-ic-us*, (which may however, as Birkhan suggests, be related to Welsh *caseg* 'mare)-*ia/us*, *il-lus* — *ius*, *-iola/us* are all ultimately shortenings of the foregoing compound type, which then receive either fixed or productively modifying suffixes. The local names *Cassiate* (*Cassic*) — and *Cassiliacum* Kisslegg (*Cassilius*) are derived from personal names; Though *Cassiate* could be 'the place of mares'. The local names *Cassangita* Gansingen and *Cassauda* are unclear to me. Now it should be noted, as Birkhan 142.δ. f. 1. sees, that in all the PNN the element *cassi* (or its transformed shortening) stands as initial member.

The compounds *Bodio-casses*, *Bago-*, *Baio-*, *Su-*, *Tri-*, *Velio-*, *Vidu-* are all LENN. Now note that here *-casses* stands regularly as final member. This morphological and onomastically functional correlation is important. It is not clear that all the local or ethnic names need carry

2. Mirdita refers (162) to the recent correction in identification of ancient *Lipenion* with today's *Lipljan*, and of *Vlpianum* with a site near Laplje Selo. It should be noted explicitly that these identifications now remove a grave phonetic difficulty: It was scarcely possible to derive the first syllable of *Lipljan* in a principled way from *vlp*.

It seems then that we must see *Lipenion* as containing what was perceived by the Slavs, at least, as a long *i*. Then to explain the last syllable, it seems likely that *Lipenion* was conflated with *Vlpianum*, perhaps because of the local importance of the latter, to give **Līpianon*. Then **Līpiano* — would yield *Lipljan* regularly.

The only other possibility is that what is spelt *e* in *Līpenion* was diphthongized to *iae*, as it would have been in proto-Albanian³, so that it was heard by Slavic speakers as [jɛ]. We may now turn to the fate of *Vulpianum*. Surely this name must live on in that of *Laplje Selo*. The incoming Slavs must have adopted what we may write as **ъlpio*; this became **лъplje*, with liquid metathesis, giving *Laplje*, just as Roman *Sirm* — became *Srem*. Note that **slъzá* must already have become *slzá*, which then yielded scr. *Sûza* (a tear, lacrima).⁴

Finally we must consider what happened to the final syllable of *Vlpianum*. I propose that in the trilingual situation (Lat. Slavic, and autochthonous) and in the presence of names such as the attested *Vlpia*, either *Vlpianum* was taken later as a genitive plural or else a local *Vlpium* lived alongside the longer form. Either the implied *n*-stem or the short neuter would have given **Lъplje*.

the same lexeme- *cass*; though Birkhan 144 § 5.2. has VN — *casses* 'mit wirem kraushaar' for example if *Bodio-casses* (= Ir. *budichass*, following Thurneysen) meant 'blond curls', it might equally be that *Sucasses* was 'very agreeable twisted' and *Tricasses* 'threespiraled/looped' and *Viducasses* 'as crossed-grained (tough?) as wood' vel sim. Note also that Ir. *caise* f. 'stream, torrent' exists. I am not at all sure of, and not qualified to speak on, Birkhan's consideration (§.5.6.) of *Cassius* in the Rhein Valley as *hajaz* 'Hesse'. In any event this is not likely for Panonia or Kosova.

On the other hand the personal names, but not ethnica unless metaphorically likened to persons, would be semantically plausible with an element *cassi-* 'hatred, aggression, surliness' or 'love, esteem'. Thus we may establish at least one *cassi-* for PINN, and one or more *-casses* for LENN. It will be seen that here I depart from Birkhan.

Among the DNN it is possible that *Cassi-bodua* (:Ir. *Bodub*) contains *cassi-* 'hatred'. The DN *Casses* *-i* remains ambiguous, but the element *caddes* 'sanctus', following Whatmough, is of course possible. However the stem class of *bonis Cassibus*, introduces another element—perhaps a verbal noun in *-tu-*. Finally, the PN *Cassutus* looks like a derivative of this *cassu*. In ablaut this should have been **cassu x* < **KeH_ad-tu-*; cf. *Studia Celtica*, XII/XIII p. 3 for the base, if these were 'avenging' deities.

³ See E. P. Hamp, *BSL* 66, 1971, 221-222.

⁴ See my remarks on this etymon, *Glotta*, 50, 1972, 299.