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## The Celtiberian S A New Sign in (Paleo)Hispanic Epigraphy

### 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

A bronze fragment with an inscription written in Celtiberian language and Latin alphabet has recently been found in Novallas (province of Zaragoza).<sup>2</sup> Its discovery has revealed the existence of a new letter, which we propose designating Celtiberian S.

Celtiberian inscriptions (second to first centuries BCE) are mainly written in the semi-syllabary that the populations from the interior of the Peninsula adapted from their Iberian neighbours. A smaller, but significant number of inscriptions written in Latin alphabet are also known.<sup>3</sup> Included in this group is the new example from Novallas, which contains, as well as the usual S of the Latin alphabet, another marked variant: on the base of the Latin S, a small horizontal stroke has been added.<sup>4</sup> It will be transcribed here as *Ŝ* in Celtiberian language inscriptions, and *ś* in Latin language inscriptions.

The editors of the Novallas Bronze, in a preliminary study, drew attention to the new *Ŝ*, which appears not only in this new text, but also in a pair of inscriptions from Peñalba de Villastar: the inscription known as the Great Inscription (K.3.3), and one of the short ones (K.3.14, Fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> In both cases it seems that the mark in question had

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Abbreviations: *MLH* = J. Untermann, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum IV. Die tartessischen, keltiberischen und lusitanischen Inschriften*, Wiesbaden 1997; *HEp* = *Hispania Epigraphica*; *ELeón* = M. A. Rabanal, *Epigrafía romana de la provincia de León*, León 2001; *IRC II* = G. Fabre, M. Mayer, I. Rodà, *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne II. Lérida*, Paris 1985, *HAE* = *Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica*.

<sup>2</sup> F. Beltrán, J. J. Bienes, J. A. Hernández, C. Jordán, *El bronce celtibérico en alfabeto latino de Novallas (Zaragoza)*. *Avance*, PalHisp 13 (2013) 615–635.

<sup>3</sup> On Celtiberian epigraphy and language, see *MLH*; C. Jordán, *Celtibérico*, Zaragoza 2004; and recently F. Beltrán, C. Jordán, *Celtibérico: Lengua. Escritura. Epigrafía*, Zaragoza 2016.

<sup>4</sup> F. Beltrán et al., *El bronce celtibérico* (note 2); C. Jordán, *La valeur du s diacrité dans les inscriptions celtibères en alphabet Latin*, *Études Celtiques* 41 (2015) 75–94.

<sup>5</sup> Celtiberian inscriptions are cited according to *MLH*; if they have been published subsequently, references are to the Hesperia databank (<http://hesperia.ucm.es/>).

already been identified, judging by the drawings made of them by Gómez Moreno<sup>6</sup> and Tovar,<sup>7</sup> but it was not considered graphematically relevant. The most recent examinations of these rock inscriptions<sup>8</sup> confirmed its existence, but only the discovery of the Novallas Bronze has allowed unequivocal confirmation that this is a new grapheme, created by the Celtiberians to write their own language with the Latin alphabet.

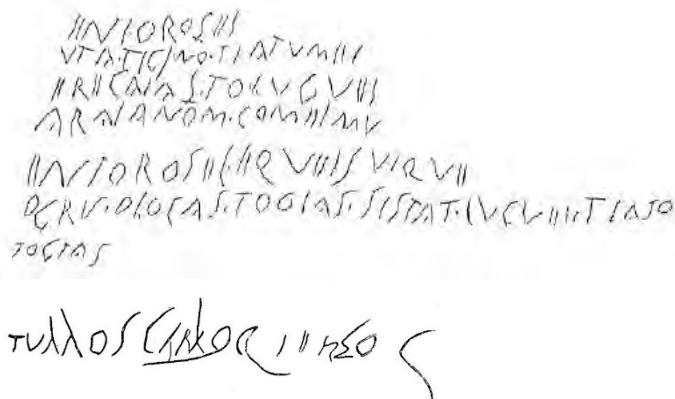


Fig. 1. Drawings of (K.3.3) and (K.3.14) according to M. Gómez Moreno 1949 (note 6). It can be observed that there are some Ss with a horizontal mark at their bases (lines 1 and 3), proof that the author noticed them but did not consider them relevant, since he does not describe them either in his comments or his readings.

This article informs the scientific community about the identification of the aforementioned letter in Latin inscriptions from Celtiberia. The letter was first recognised on the bronze from Peralejos de los Escuderos, which suggests that the use of this marked S continued in Latin texts of the Imperial period. After confirming its use on that bronze, we examined the collection of Latin inscriptions from Celtiberia and neighbouring areas, to try to trace new evidence. This review was constrained by limitations to the graphic resources of the region's epigraphic *corpora*, since photographs are not available for all the inscriptions and in some cases the quality of the reproduction is insufficient to be able to identify a small detail like the diacritic used in this kind of S. It is thus possible that the gradual revision of the epigraphy of the region may increase the number of attestations of this kind of S.

The creation of a new sign presupposes that the Celtiberians who used the Latin alphabet to write their language felt that that system of writing was limited for their purposes. They ascertained that the Latin alphabet lacked a specific sign for representing one or several of the sounds in their language, presumably those represented as *sigma* in Palaeohispanic writing. They tried to resolve this absence with the creation of a new sign: they added a stroke below the S.

<sup>6</sup> M. Gómez Moreno, *Misceláneas. Historia, arte, arqueología. Primera serie: la antigüedad*, Madrid 1949, 326 and 328.

<sup>7</sup> A. Tovar, *Las inscripciones celtibéricas de Peñalba de Villastar*, Emerita 27 (1959) 349–365, specifically 353 and pl. XIV.

<sup>8</sup> Undertaken by F. Beltrán and C. Jordán in the Museo de Arqueología de Barcelona.

The Celtiberians had adopted and adapted the north-eastern Iberian script to write their language. This produced some adjustments, including to the signs *sigma* and *san*. It is still unknown exactly what distinction they were marking in Iberian, but there is general agreement that the question involves fricative consonants (including sibilants) and, perhaps, affricate ones (in fact they are transcribed traditionally as <s> and <ś>, respectively). What, however, did they indicate in Celtiberian?

Initially, it was thought that *sigma* indicated, from a phonetic perspective, something akin to a voiced dental fricative [d̪] or an unvoiced one [θ], while *san* was used for a sibilant. From the middle of the twentieth century, A. Tovar's idea prevailed that it was a graphically arbitrary means of indicating the only Celtiberian sibilant, heir of the Indo-European one. Villar 1993 and 1995 demonstrated that such arbitrariness did not exist: the use corresponded to a phonetic and phonological difference, in which not only the proto-Celtiberian \*s was historically implicated, but also the series of dental stops. This difference has been accepted, but the exact nature of these sounds, these phonemes, and their oppositions remains under discussion.<sup>9</sup>

Today, there is general agreement that Celtiberian possessed a sibilant in the strict sense, which was marked in Palaeohispanic writing with *san* (transcribed as s). Along with this sign, Celtiberian used *sigma* (transcribed here as z), which is considered a polyvalent grapheme which would conceal different phonetic realities: fricatives [ð] and [θ], perhaps affricates [dz] and [tʃ], and (less likely, in our opinion) some other type of sibilant, either voiced, or with other points of articulation.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See the different interpretations in Jordán, *La valeur du s diacrité* (note 4) 75–77.

<sup>10</sup> A summary of the nature of the sounds and phonemes, the contexts in which they appear, and their proposed sources can be found in Jordán, *La valeur du s diacrité* (note 4), which lists previous key bibliography. Essential material, in chronological order, is: F. Villar, *Las silbantes en Celtibérico*, in: J. Untermann, F. Villar (eds.), *Lengua y cultura en la Hispania prerromana. Actas del V Coloquio sobre Lenguas y Culturas Prerromanas de la Península Ibérica*, Salamanca 1993, 773–811; X. Ballester, *Sobre el valor fonético de s en celtibérico*, *Kalathos* 13–14 (1993–1995) 319–323; *MLH*; C. Jordán, *Introducción al celtibérico*, Zaragoza 1998; J. Untermann, *La aportación lingüística de los antropónimos del Bronce de Botorríta III*, in: F. Villar, F. Beltrán, (eds.), *Pueblos, Lenguas y Escrituras en la Hispania Prerromana. Actas del VII Coloquio sobre Lenguas y Culturas Paleohispánicas*, Salamanca 1999, 635–649; W. Meid, *Forschungsbericht. Alt-keltische Sprachen (Fortsetzung und Schluß). 3 Keltiberisch*, *Kratylos* 45 (2000) 1–28; P. de Bernardo, *Grafemica e fonologia del celtiberico: 1. Nuovi dati sulle vocali mute; 2. Una nuova legge fonetica che genera dittonghi; 3. Fonti e fasi di sviluppo della sibilante sonora*, in: F. Villar, M. P. Fernández (eds.), *Religión, Lengua y Cultura Prerromanas de Hispania. Actas del VIII Coloquio sobre Lenguas y Culturas Prerromanas de la Península Ibérica*, Salamanca 2001, 319–334; X. Ballester, *Celtibérico SECoNZOS = ¿Secundus o SECoNTiOS?*, *Veleia* 20 (2003) 351–354; K. McCone, *Celtibérico, celta continental y celta común*, in: F. Villar, M. P. Fernández (eds.), *Religión, Lengua y Cultura Prerromanas de Hispania. Actas del VIII Coloquio sobre Lenguas y Culturas Prerromanas de la Península Ibérica*, Salamanca 2001, 483–494; W. Meid, *The Grammatical and Semantic Interpretation of Celtiberian Texts. Methodological Considerations*, in: F. Villar, M. P. Fernández (eds.), *Religión, Lengua y Cultura Prerromanas de Hispania. Actas del VIII Coloquio sobre Lenguas y Culturas Prerromanas de la Península Ibérica*, Salamanca 2001, 495–500; C. Jordán, *Celtibérico* (note 3); B. M<sup>a</sup> Prósper, *Estudios sobre la fonética y la morfología de la lengua celtibérica*, in: F. Villar, B. M<sup>a</sup> Prósper, *Vascos, celtas e indoeuropeos*.

From Celtiberian onomastics in Latin epigraphy it has been clearly established that the Celtiberian sibilant written with *san* was transcribed with S in more or less contemporary texts. It has been believed that the different sounds written with *sigma* could be represented by S, SS, D, and T, always depending on its nature and position (sometimes assisted by an antevocalic I following it). It must be emphasised that the appearance of *ŚŚ* has been completely overlooked.

The same was basically believed<sup>11</sup> about the material written in Celtiberian language and Latin alphabet known before the discovery of the Novallas Bronze. After its discovery and the revision of Peñalba, *Ś* must be added to the repertoire. SS appears only once, in DESSVAEONA (K.14.2, Sasamón *tessera*), the etymology of which remains unknown.<sup>12</sup> Of course, this could be an expressive gemination of [s], but the use of the spelling SS in indigenous onomastic material in Latin inscriptions does not seem to encourage this possibility and suggests that it was something different to that marked by the simple sibilant.

| Celtiberian Language                     |                                       |   | Celtiberian Onomastics<br>in Latin Epigraphy   |
|--|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| Sound                                    | Letter in<br>Paleohispanic<br>Writing | Letter(s) in Latin<br>Alphabet  | Letter(s) in Latin Alphabet  |
| [s]                                      | 𐌱 (San)                               | S   | S  |
| [d̥]<br>[θ]<br>[dz]?<br>[ts]?<br>Others? | 𐌱 (Sigma)                             | -S-? (Intervocalic)<br>-Ś- (Intervocalic)<br>-Ś (Postvocalic)<br>-SS-? (Intervocalic)<br>-D- (Intervocalic) | -S- (Intervocalic)<br>-SS- (Intervocalic)<br>-ŚŚ- (Intervocalic)<br>-D- (Intervocalic)<br>-ID- , -DI- (I Represents [Yod])<br>-T-? (Intervocalic)<br>-TI- (I Represents [Yod]) |

Table 1 comparing the sounds and letters involved in this study. The question marks indicate that the data are not definitive, either because of disagreements among etymology researchers, or because of doubts about the authenticity of some inscriptions. The definition of the sounds are [s] unvoiced dento-alveolar fricative, [d̥] unvoiced interdental fricative, [θ] unvoiced interdental fricative, [dz] voiced dental affricate, [ts] unvoiced dental affricate.

*Genes y lenguas*, Salamanca 2005, 153–364; P. de Bernardo, *Sull'origine delle sibilanti in celtiberico: Una modifica alla teoria di Francisco Villar*, in: P.-Y. Lambert, G.-J. Pinault (eds.), *Gaulois et celtique continental*, Genève 2007, 182–188; B. M<sup>a</sup> Prósper, *Time for Celtiberian dialectology: Celtiberian syllabic structure and the interpretation of the bronze tablet from Torrijo del Campo, Teruel (Spain)*, KF 6 (2013–2014) 115–155.

<sup>11</sup> Excluding T, however, since there was and still is no material which can support anything clearly.

<sup>12</sup> Vid. D. S. Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum V.I. Wörterbuch der keltiberischen Inschriften*, Wiesbaden 2000, s.u.; subsequently, B. M<sup>a</sup> Prósper, *Estudios sobre la fonética* (note 10) 243–245.

2. The *Ś* in Latin inscriptions

## The bronze from Peralejo de los Escuderos (Soria)

The first Latin inscription in which this type of S was discovered is the bronze from Peralejo de los Escuderos, edited by A. D'Ors (Fig. 2).<sup>13</sup> It is incomplete, and records the concession of Terrestina citizenship to the *Dercinoassedenses*, inhabitants of a *uicus* of the nearby city of Clunia (*receptio in ciuitatem*). The first part of the text, which has not been preserved, records a donation by the said *uicani* to the city of Termes. According to D'Ors, it reads: [... / ... *co(n)s(ulibus)* / ... / *Dercinoassedenses / uicani Cluniensium* / ...] *adit* [... /...] *uis ornament[.] / populo Terrestino d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) / f(aciendum) c(urauerunt)*. *Dercinoásśedensibus / uicanis Cluniensium lib/eris posterisque eorum se/natus populusque Terrestin/us concessit ut eodem iure es/sent Termis quo ciues Term/estini. Illuiris L(ucio) Licinio Pilo, / M(arco) Terentio Celso, L(ucio) Pompeio / Vitulo, T(ito) Pompeio / Raro*.<sup>14</sup>

The marked S appears in the gentilic *Dercinoásśedensibus*, which is only documented in this inscription. The S, as indicated, is geminated, and each one is marked with a horizontal stroke at the base. Both strokes are clear and precise, and unambiguously differentiate these two Ss from those that appear in the rest of the document.



Fig. 2. Bronze from Peralejo de los Escuderos (Museo Arqueológico Nacional [exp. 1950/18], photograph B. Díaz Ariño). On the right are detailed photographs of the Ss: top left are the marked Ss that appear in *Dercinoásśedensibus*, and the other three are examples of the ordinary Ss that are used in the rest of the text.

<sup>13</sup> A. D'Ors, *Un nuevo dato para la historia de la llamada Termancia*, in: *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal II*, Madrid 1951, 567–581. On this inscription, see also: A. Jimeno, *Epigrafía romana de la provincia de Soria*, Soria 1980, n° 133, F. Beltrán, *Hospitium municipal y ciuitas honoraria. Una relectura de la tésera de Herrera de Pisuerga*, ZPE 181 (2012) 245–259, specifically 256.

<sup>14</sup> A. D'Ors, *Epigrafía jurídica de la España romana*, Madrid 1953, n° 25.

## Inscription from Buenafuente del Sistol (Guadalajara)

This is a fragment of a stele with the text framed by a *tabula ansata* (CIL II 5790). It was discovered in 1882 in a Roman necropolis and is currently preserved in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional: *Letondo / Segosóoq(um) / Melmandi · f(i)lius / (h)ic(s) s(itus) e(st) H / [-----]*, according to the reading by Abascal and Gimeno.<sup>15</sup> It is an epitaph that records the name of the deceased and the formula *hic situs est*. The deceased has a typically Celtiberian onomastic formula: personal name, family name in genitive plural, and father's name. *Letondo* is a personal name characteristic of Celtiberia, which is documented both in Latin inscriptions — *Letondonis f.* appears in the *tabula Contrebiensis* (CIL I 2951a) — as well as vernacular ones; among the latter, the Great Botorrita Bronze stands out: **letontu/letontunos** (K.1.3).<sup>16</sup> The name *Melmandi* can be compared with **melmanzos** and **melmanzo**, which also appear in the Third Botorrita Bronze (K.1.3).

The marked Ss appear in *Segosóoq(um)*, a Celtiberian family name (Fig. 3). Celtiberian family names derive from a personal name, to which is added the suffix *-ko-*, and appear in genitive plural (*-kum*).<sup>17</sup>



Fig. 3. Stele from Buenafuente (Museo Arqueológico Nacional [exp. 1907/32/72], photograph Archivo digital MAN); on the right is a detail showing the marked Ss and the ordinary S, which appear in the family name *Segosóoq(um)*.

<sup>15</sup> J. M. Abascal, H. Gimeno, *Epigrafía hispánica*, Madrid 2000, n° 187. See also J. M. Abascal, *Epigrafía romana de la provincia de Guadalajara*, *Wal-Al-Hayara* 10 (1983) 49–115, specifically n° 4, and E. Gamo, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Guadalajara*, Guadalajara 2012, specifically n° 97.

<sup>16</sup> See J. Untermann, *La onomástica de Botorrita 3 en el contexto de la hispanica indoeuropea*, in: F. Beltrán, J. De Hoz, J. Untermann (eds.), *El tercer bronce de Botorrita (Contrebia Belaisca)*, Zaragoza 1996, 167–180, specifically 145–146.

<sup>17</sup> The reference catalogue is by M<sup>a</sup> C. González, *Las unidades organizativas indígenas del área indoeuropea de Hispania*, Vitoria 1986; on these family names, ultimately see E. Luján, *Sobre los nombres de las unidades familiares indígenas en la Hispania antigua (1.ª parte)*, *Veleia* 33 (2016) 227–258, including the bibliography.

## Stele from Almadrones (Guadalajara)

Limestone stele which is no longer preserved (*CIL* II 6294). It was reused to build the Ermita de los Santos in Almadrones (Fig. 4). It was later taken to the seminary in Sigüenza, where it was seen by F. Naval,<sup>18</sup> who published an article on this monument with the only photograph that was known of the piece until another reproduction was recently recovered in the photographic archive of Pedro Archilla.<sup>19</sup> It contains a double epitaph: *Atta · Abb·oiocum / Rectuge·ni · f(ilia) · L(ucii) · ux(or) / h(ic) · s(ita) · e(st) · s(it) · t(ibi) · t(erra) · l(euis)* and *Luciu[s] / Niśśic[um] / Accut[i] / f(ilius) · h(ic) · s(itus) · e(st) · s(it) [t(ibi)] / t(erra) · l(euis) ·*.<sup>20</sup>

The onomastics of both individuals confirm their local origin. *Atta* belongs to a series of short names, *Atta*, *Atto* and *Attus*, which are well represented in Celtiberia.<sup>21</sup> The name of the deceased's father is a compound anthroponym (\**Rectugenus*) characteristic of Celtiberia. It is documented in vernacular texts, such as the Third Botorríta Bronze (K.1.3: **retukeno/retukenos**), and in Latin inscriptions.<sup>22</sup> The personal name of the deceased is a Latin *praenomen* (*Lucius*), and it is possible that his patronymic may also be Latin;<sup>23</sup> like his spouse, however, he has a Celtiberian family name in genitive plural. The woman's family name is *Abboiocum*.<sup>24</sup> The editors of the Third Botorríta Bronze (K.1.3) have used it to propose the restoration of one of the family names — partly obliterated — which appear in that inscription: **abo[io]kum** (I.41).

By contrast, *Niśśic[um]* lacks parallels, but the fact that it functions as a genitive plural in an epitaph for individuals of local origin points to its classification as Celtiberian, although the name from which it is derived remains unknown. The geminated, marked S is another indication to support this classification.

<sup>18</sup> F. Naval, *La estela romana de Almadrones*, BRAH 79 (1921) 281–289.

<sup>19</sup> <http://iris.cnice.mec.es/coleccion/Pedroarchilla/pagina1.php?tB=2&v=39>.

<sup>20</sup> J. M. Abascal, *Epigrafía romana* (note 15) n° 3; see also the most recent edition of E. Gamó, *Corpus de inscripciones* (note 15) n° 17.

<sup>21</sup> J. Untermann, *La onomástica de Botorríta 3* (note 16) 127; J. M<sup>a</sup> Vallejo, *Antroponimia indígena de la Lusitania romana*, Vitoria 2005, 189–191.

<sup>22</sup> J. Untermann, *La onomástica de Botorríta 3* (note 16) 151.

<sup>23</sup> J. M. Abascal, *Los nombres personales en las inscripciones latinas de Hispania*, Murcia 1994, 258.

<sup>24</sup> M<sup>a</sup> C. González, *Las unidades organizativas* (note 17) n° 1.



Fig. 4. Almadrones stele (photograph: photographic archive of Pedro Archilla); on the right are details of the marked Ss in *Niśśic(um)* and a third, ordinary type of S, of the kind used in the rest of the inscription.

#### Funerary inscription from Lara de los Infantes (Burgos)

Fragment of what appears to be the upper section of a stele or *cippus*. According to Abásolo,<sup>25</sup> the reading is *Visado Presso / Elaesi Pulliani / f(ilio) an(norum) XL*.<sup>26</sup> The deceased bears two names, the first of which only has a parallel in an epitaph from the same locality, *Coemeae Dessicae Visadi Aquini f.* (*CIL* II 2866), and shares the root *uis-* with other vernacular anthroponyms, so it can be classed as indigenous.<sup>27</sup> The marked and geminated S appears in the second idionym, *Presso* (Fig. 5). The identification of the additional strokes is not as clear as in the previous inscriptions. Its identification is made more difficult by the deterioration of the stone's surface, which particularly affects the second S, but we believe, having examined it, that they are marked. This also fits both with the fact that they are duplicated — as in all the previous instances — and also because the onomastics suggests that they are individuals of local origin. The rest of the Ss in the inscription, furthermore, do not present any similar sort of addition. It should be pointed out that, unlike the rest of the examples, the additional strokes here are slanted rather than straight: they begin in the inside bend of the S and end at the lower end of the baseline.

<sup>25</sup> J. A. Abásolo, *Epigrafía romana de la región de Lara de los Infantes*, Burgos 1974, n° 72.

<sup>26</sup> See also A. Alonso, S. Crespo, *Corpus de inscripciones romanas de la provincia de Burgos*, Valladolid 2000, n° 464.

<sup>27</sup> J. M<sup>a</sup> Vallejo, *Antroponimia indígena* (note 21) 457–458.



The onomastic formula of father and son is composed of two idionyms, characteristic of *peregrini*, especially women, from the region of Lara de los Infantes.<sup>28</sup> The parent's name is composed of a vernacular anthroponym (*Elaesus*), well documented in Hispania and in the epigraphy from Lara de los Infantes itself,<sup>29</sup> and *Pullianus* which is a *unicum*.<sup>30</sup>



Fig. 5. Inscription from Lara de los Infantes (Museo Provincial de Burgos [inv. n° MBU-138], photograph Ignacio Simón); on the right, photograph of a detail of the marked Ss used to write *Pressó* and details of the other two ordinary Ss which are used in the text.

#### Votive inscription from Salas de los Infantes (Burgos)

The inscription is incised on a limestone *arula*. According to Abásolo the text is: *Valerius Pr/issus Valer/iani f(iilius) Matribus Monitucinis uot/um soluit l(ibens)*

<sup>28</sup> J. Gorrochategui, M. Navarro, J. M<sup>a</sup> Vallejo, *Reflexiones sobre la historia social del Valle del Duero: las denominaciones personales*, in: M. Navarro, J. J. Palao (eds.), *Villes et territoires dans le basin du Douro à l'époque romaine*, Bordeaux 2009, 287–339, specifically 293.

<sup>29</sup> M<sup>a</sup> L. Albertos, *El conjunto epigráfico del Museo de Burgos y los antropónimos hispánicos de Lara de los Infantes y sus proximidades*, in: *Homenaje a Antonio Tovar*, Madrid 1972, 47–58, specifically 53; J. M<sup>a</sup> Vallejo, *Antroponimia indígena* (note 21) 315–316, J. Gorrochategui et al., *Reflexiones sobre la historia* (note 28) 293.

<sup>30</sup> J. M. Abascal, *Los nombres personales* (note 23) 474. M<sup>a</sup> L. Albertos, *Nuevos antropónimos hispánicos*, *Emerita* 40 (1972) 287–318, specifically 307, and *La onomástica de la Celtiberia*, in: A. Tovar et al. (eds.), *Actas del II Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas de la Península Ibérica*, Salamanca 1979, 131–167, specifically 145, who compares its root with that of *Pulinna*, *Pulli* (gen.) and *Pullinus*, classifies it as indigenous. I. Kajanto, *The Latin cognomina*, Roma 1982, 78, 162, 299–300, proposes relating *Pullinus* (CIL II 2132) with *Pullus*, which he catalogues among names related to infancy. M. Navarro, J. Gorrochategui, J. M<sup>a</sup> Vallejo, *L'onomastique des Celtibères: de la dénomination indigène à la dénomination romaine*, in: M. Dondin-Payre (ed.), *Les noms de personnes dans l'Empire romain. Transformations, adaptation, évolution*, Bordeaux 2011, 89–175, specifically 189, are also inclined to classify it as Latin.

*m(erito)*.<sup>31</sup> Abásolo himself later corrected the reading of the *cognomen* of the devotee as *Pressus*.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, although a flake on the surface has meant the loss of part of the first letter on the second line, that letter could only be E, since the ends of the horizontal strokes survive. The marked Ss appear geminated in the idionym *Preśsus*, the same name as in the previous inscription, above. In this case, however, the additional stroke originates from the lower end of the letter and then curves upwards, in the shape of a hook (Fig. 6).

The altar is dedicated to the *Matres*, who are accompanied by a vernacular epithet: *Monitucinis*.<sup>33</sup> The worshipper bears a Roman *nomen*, *Valerius*, with *Pressus* as his *cognomen*; the name of his father is also indicated — *Valerianus*, which is a Latin *cognomen*.<sup>34</sup> *Pressus* must be related to the *Presso* (dat.) of the previous inscription, whose linguistic classification is inconclusive. Solin and Salomies<sup>35</sup> include it in their catalogue and refer to the work by Kajanto,<sup>36</sup> who in fact includes it in his *corpus* of Latin *cognomina* from two Hispanian attestations (*CIL* II 5812 and *CIL* 5853). J. M. Abascal also considers it Latin, associating it with *Pressa* and *Pressilla*.<sup>37</sup> Albertos, however, has raised doubts about its correct affiliation: “*acaso se trata de nombres latinos, pero como en general aparecen entre nombres indígenas, los incluimos como posibles hispánicos*” (“Perhaps these are Latin names, but as they usually appear among indigenous names, we are including them as possibly Hispanian”).<sup>38</sup> Almost all the attestations actually derive from the Peninsula: *OPEL* III (157), compiles six (Table 2), four Hispanian and two that occur on the same inscription from *Belgica*: *D. M. Pressus [P]ressi f(i)lius*.<sup>39</sup> Its analysis will be discussed shortly below.

<sup>31</sup> J. A. Abásolo, *Epigrafía romana* (note 25) n° 206.

<sup>32</sup> J. A. Abásolo, *Las estelas decoradas de la región de Lara de los Infantes. Estudio iconográfico*, BSAA 43 (1973) 61–90, note 2, also advocated by J. M. Abascal, *Notas de epigrafía Hispánica*, AEspA 67 (1994) 281–287, n° 7 = AE 1994, 818 n° 7. The inscription is also catalogued in Alonso, Crespo, *Corpus de inscripciones* (note 26) n° 553; S. Crespo, A. Alonso, *Las manifestaciones religiosas del mundo antiguo en Castilla-León*, Valladolid 1999, n° 65; F. Beltrán, B. Díaz, *Altares con teónimos hispano-célticos de la Meseta Norte (Museos de Palencia, Burgos y Valladolid)*, in: M. Hainzmann (ed.), *Auf den Spuren keltischer Götterverehrung. Akten des 5. F.E.R.C.AN Workshop, Graz 9.–12. Oktober 2003*, Vienna 2007, 29–56, n° 2.1.

<sup>33</sup> On *Matres* cult, see J. Gómez-Pantoja, *Las Madres de Clunia*, in: F. Villar, F. Beltrán (eds.), *Pueblos, lenguas y escrituras en la Hispania romana*, Salamanca 1999, 421–432; J. C. Olivares Pedreño, *Los dioses de la Hispania Céltica*, Madrid 2002, 121.

<sup>34</sup> *Valerius* is the second best-attested *nomen* in Hispania (J. M. Abascal, *Los nombres personales* [note 23], 232–244), *Valerianus* is also common (J. M. Abascal, *Los nombres personales* [note 23] 538).

<sup>35</sup> H. Solin, O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim, Zürich, New York 1994, 383.

<sup>36</sup> I. Kajanto, *The Latin cognomina* (note 30) 354.

<sup>37</sup> J. M. Abascal, *Los nombres personales* (note 23) 465; M. Navarro et al., *L'onomastique des Celtibères* (note 30) 189, also consider it Latin.

<sup>38</sup> M<sup>a</sup> L. Albertos, *Nuevos antropónimos* (note 30) 287–318, specifically 306.

<sup>39</sup> J. Le Bohec, *Inscriptions de la cité des Lingons. Inscriptions sur pierre. Inscriptions latinae Galliae Belgicae I*, Paris 2003, n° 134.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>CIL</i> II 4469 = <i>IRC</i> II, 39<br>Isona (Lérida)   | [ <i>C. Aemilio C. f.</i> ] <i>Q[uir. ---] Fabia C[---] mater Aemilia Press[a] soror L. Aemilius C. f. Crescentius patruus her. ex. test.</i>  |
| <i>CIL</i> II 5838 = Navarro, Magallón 2013, nº 10<br>La Puebla de Castro (Huesca) <sup>40</sup>   | <i>Mummio Valenti Mummius Pressus patri optimo</i>   |
| <i>HEp</i> 19, 425<br>Sofuentes (Zaragoza)   | [---] <i>ocia [---] Socen[---] + Pressu[s--] Flacill[a ---]</i>  |
| <i>AE</i> 1984, 570<br>Villafranca Montes de Oca (Burgos)  | [ <i>Se</i> ] <i>uer(us) Pres(sus) [a]n. LX</i>  |
| <i>CIL</i> II 5812<br>Sasamón (Burgos)   | In what is known as the Sasamón tessera, an individual is recorded by the name of <i>C. Seuerio Presso</i>   |
| <i>CIL</i> II 2676 = <i>ELeón</i> nº 102<br>León   | <i>Aemiliae Ammiae M. f. an. XVII [A]emilius [P]ressus</i>   |
| <i>ELeón</i> , nº 178<br>León  | <i>D. M. Iul(iae) [---] Pressill(a)e an. LXXXV</i>   |
| <i>CIL</i> II 5690 = <i>ELeón</i> nº 301<br>León   | <i>l(oco) p(ublico) f(acto) Dom(itia) Pressil[la cur(antibus)] lib(ertis) D(omitio) A[ttico et] Ael(io) [---] fec[it opus pontis]    l(oco) [p(ublico)] f(acto) Dom(itia) Pressilla effecit opus p(ontis) cu(rauerunt) [lib(erti)] Dom(itius) A[ttic]us et [---]XX</i> |
| [of unknown provenance, perhaps NW Hispanian (Eck 1997); <sup>41</sup> of dubious authenticity, cf. <i>AE</i> 1997, 766, <i>HEp</i> 15, 421] | <i>Ti. Claudio Aemilli f. Quir. Presso quaestori Araugustanoru(m) sacerdoti Romae et Aug(ustorum) dilectatori Imp(eratori) Galbae Aug(usti) Aemilia Alla et Aemilla Auga patri</i>   |

Table 2. *Pressus*, *Pressa*, *Pressilla* in the Iberian Peninsula.

In this case, as in the previous inscription, the additional strokes on the S are not as clear as in the first three examples. Examination has, however, allowed us to prove that there is indeed a supplementary stroke, which in this instance is in the shape of a hook. It appears again in the name *Pressus*, with the geminated S, as is the norm in all the examples collected, although on the first S the additional stroke is partially obscured by whitish concretions.

<sup>40</sup> M. Navarro, M. A. Magallón, *Epigrafía y sociedad de Labitolosa*, in: M. A. Magallón, P. Sillières (eds.), *Labitolosa (La Puebla de Castro, province de Huesca, Espagne). Une cité romaine de l'Hispanie Citèrieure*, Bordeaux 2013, 333–418.

<sup>41</sup> W. Eck, *Fünf 'Ehreninschriften' auf Bronze aus Spanien*, *Chiron* 27 (1997) 195–207.



Fig. 6. *Arula* from Salas de los Infantes (Museo Provincial de Valladolid [inv. n° 9787], photograph Ignacio Simón). On the right are detailed photographs of the Ss: top, the two marked Ss in the name *Pressus*; bottom, two ordinary Ss of the type used in the rest of the text.

In summary, in our review of the Latin epigraphy from Celtiberia, we have found three inscriptions in which the marked S appears, always geminated, and used to denote a gentilic (*Dercinoasśedensibus*) and two family names, *Segośsoq(um)* and *Niśśic[um]*; all three are proper nouns of local origin. There are also two inscriptions from Burgos, one from Lara and the other from Salas de los Infantes. The marked Ss can be detected in these, too — although not as obviously, because of the state of preservation in both cases — again geminated and used to denote the same personal name: *Pressus* (nom.) and *Presso* (dat.). Its linguistic classification is inconclusive: it is an anthroponym that is either Latin or indigenous (perhaps Celtiberian, perhaps not). The use of that letter to denote it nevertheless points to its classification as a vernacular idionym, perhaps a homophone of another, Latin one.

| Celtiberian inscriptions in Latin alphabet                    | Latin inscriptions                                     |
|---|--|
| [---]TICAŚ (Novallas Bronze, line 2)                          | <i>Dercinoasśedensibus</i> (Peralejo de los Escuderos) |
| TERGAŚ (Novallas Bronze, line 2)                              | <i>Segośsoq(um)</i> (BuenaFuente)                      |
| VAMVŚ (Novallas Bronze, line 4)                               | <i>Niśśic[um]</i> (Almadrones)                         |
| ENIOROŚEI (Peñalba de Villastar, K.3.3., lines 1 and 5)       | <i>Preśśo</i> (Lara de los Infantes)                   |
| TRECAIAŚ <sup>42</sup> (Peñalba de Villastar, K.3.3., line 3) | <i>Preśśus</i> (Salas de los Infantes)                 |
| +++ŚO (Peñalba de Villastar, K.3.14)                          |  |

Table 3. Ś in Celtiberian and Latin Inscriptions.

<sup>42</sup> According to Untermann's reading, MLH K.3.3., as well as to a new autopsy (Museo de Barcelona, 23. 11. 2005).

### 3.1. The Š in Celtiberian inscriptions

The Š has been detected in three Celtiberian inscriptions written in Latin alphabet: the Novallas Bronze, K.3.3 and K.3.14 (Peñalba de Villastar). It is not geminated in any of those instances.

In the Novallas Bronze, it appears in final position after a vowel: [---]TICASŠ and TERGAŠ (l. 2, Fig. 7). [---]TICASŠ does not permit lexematic analysis, although we may venture a morphology one as ablative singular of an adjective in the feminine form. TERGAŠ is a toponym in ablative of an *-a* stem, cf. the coin legend **terkakom** [A.70]. In the fourth line, VAMVŠ can be read, with the S in final position after a vowel, which can be analysed as the ablative of an *-o* stem, this time of an adjective in superlative grade.<sup>43</sup>

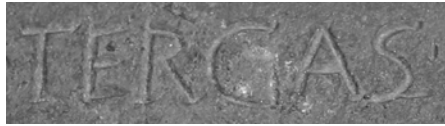


Fig. 7. The marked S on the Novallas Bronze (photograph: F. Beltrán).

In the Great Inscription from Peñalba de Villastar (K.3.3), ENIOROŠEI occurs in lines 1 and 5 (Fig. 1 and 8), possibly a dative of an *-i* stem; its etymological analysis is as yet unresolved. It may be a theonym. Š is intervocalic. In line 3, it appears in final position after a vowel, TRECAIASŠ, possibly an ablative of an *-a* stem.

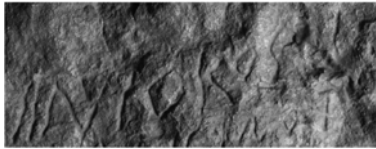


Fig. 8. Marked S in Peñalba de Villastar (photograph: F. Beltrán).

In the case of +++ŠO (K.3.14, Fig. 1), the ending has the appearance of a genitive singular of an *-o* stem and all that can be said is that it is antevocalic. Given the structure of what is written, it seems to be the ending of an anthroponym, which would be the father's name.

### 3.2. Linguistic proposals for Š in Latin inscriptions

We have detected the marked Ss in five Latin inscriptions (three certainly and two in all likelihood). They are always geminated and always appear in Celtiberian proper nouns. Analysis of the parallels and etymologies of these nouns allow us to determine what phonemes are represented by the new sign, the marked S.

<sup>43</sup> F. Beltrán et alii, *El bronce celtibérico* (note 2) and C. Jordán, *La valeur du s diacrité* (note 4).

The first example is the *Dercinoasédensibus* on the bronze from Peralejo de los Escuderos. It clearly seems to be an indigenous compound name: *Dercino-asédensibus*.<sup>44</sup> In essence, *Dercinoasédensibus* refers to a toponym, \**Dercinoaséda* o \**Dercinoasédom*. D'Ors<sup>45</sup> related the first part with the Celtic personal name *Dercinus* (in Gaul)<sup>46</sup> and with the spring *Dercenna*, cited by Martial (I 49, 17). It seems to be a base \**derk-* 'see', which has been detected in Celtic anthroponymy and toponymy within the Iberian Peninsula and beyond it.<sup>47</sup> On the Iberian Peninsula *Aemilia Dercinio* is documented on an inscription from Saelices (Cuenca, *CIL* II 6338ee), as well as a series of anthroponyms that seem to be compound forms with preverbs of the type *Andercus*, *Anderca*, *Andercius* and *Andercia*, located above all in the Galician-Lusitanian area.<sup>48</sup> **terkinos**, furthermore, is a personal name attested on five occasions on the Celtiberian Great Bronze of Botorrita (K.1.3), which could perfectly well be [derkinos]. On the second line of the Torrijo Bronze (TE.03.01), **terkininei** can be read, which may perhaps be related to **terkinos** and in turn to the *Dercinio* of Cuenca.<sup>49</sup> It is more difficult to find in toponymy, although perhaps it is found in the spring *Dercenna* (Martial 1, 49), already indicated by D'Ors, and in the mountain *Dircetius*, modern day Mount San Lorenzo (La Rioja), which appears in the *Vida de San Millán* (11 "peruenit ad remotiora Dircetii montis secreta"), written by S. Braulio (seventh century). The latter toponym, *Dircetius*, could be the evolution from a previous \**Dercetius*, which is backed up by the theonym *Dercetio* (*CIL* II 5809), its corresponding dative. *Dercetio* can be read on the altar discovered in Monte Castillo, near Estollo (La Rioja), and therefore also near Mount San Lorenzo.<sup>50</sup> Untermann points out the existence of an

<sup>44</sup> For its formation and etymology: X. Delamarre, *Quatre toponymes celtique d'Espagne: Albocrarum, Dercinoasseda, Ercoriobriga, Iera Briga*, Nouvelle revue d'onomastique 51 (2009) 75–87, specifically 79–81; B. M<sup>a</sup> Prósper, *Time for Celtiberian dialectology* (note 10) 144–145.

<sup>45</sup> A. D'Ors, *Un nuevo dato para la historia* (note 13) 578.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. J. Whatmough, *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul*, Harvard 1970, § 204.

<sup>47</sup> For \**derk-* in anthroponymy, as well as the references already cited, vid. K. H. Schmidt, *Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen*, Tübingen 1957, 179 and 192; D. E. Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names, A Study of some Continental Celtic Formations*, Oxford 1967, 344; X. Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise*, Paris 2003, s.u. **derco-**, 'oeil'; *Noms de personnes celtiques dans l'épigraphie classique*, Paris 2007, 219; *Quatre toponymes* (note 44) 79–81; J. M<sup>a</sup> Vallejo, *Antroponimia indígena* (note 21) 154–155.

<sup>48</sup> Vid. J. M<sup>a</sup> Vallejo, *Antroponimia indígena* (note 21).

<sup>49</sup> C. Jordán, *Acerca de los patronos flexivos de los temas en -n en la onomástica celtibérica*, in: F. Villar, M<sup>a</sup> P. Fernández (eds.), *Religión, Lengua y Cultura Prerromanas de Hispania. Actas del VIII Coloquio sobre Lenguas y Culturas Prerromanas de la Península Ibérica*, Salamanca 2001, 451–458; and *Celtibérico* (note 3) 114–115 and 321.

<sup>50</sup> A. Tovar, *Iberische Landeskunde, Tomo 3. Tarraconensis*, Baden-Baden, C-548; Unión Académica Internacional, *Tabula Imperii Romani. (Comité Español). Hoja K-30: Madrid. Caesaraugusta – Clunia*, Madrid 1993, s. uu.; L. A. Curchin, *Place-names of the Ebro Valley: Their linguistic origins*, *PalHisp* 8 (2008) 13–33, specifically 15, for the possible etymological relationship between *Dercenna*, *Dercetius* and *Dercinoassensibus* and \**derko-*; on *Dercetius*, U. Espinosa, *El enclave Parpalines de la Vita Sancti Aemiliani; espacio rural y aristocracia en época visigoda*, *Iberia* 6 (2003) 79–109, specifically 82–83, and also A. Falileyev, *Dictionary of Continental Celtic Place-Names*, Aberystwyth 2010, s.u. *Dercetius*.

onomastic base \**Terka* or \**Terga-*, attested by the coin legend **terkakom** (A.70).<sup>51</sup> It is difficult, in principle, to associate it with this base, since it starts with an unvoiced stop, compared to the voiced stop of Dercino-.

The second part is the one which interests us. What appears to be involved here is an original form \**ad-sed(o/a)-*. This base is also known and recognised within continental Celtic anthroponymy. Within the Iberian Peninsula, in the Lusitanian province, it could be represented in *Asedus* (Santo Estêvão de Alenquer, Alenquer: *Sucin(us) Asedi f.*, *CIL* II 6249, 3) and *Assantius* (Abertura, Cáceres: *Assantius*).<sup>52</sup> In the Gaulish language, it appears in Chamalières **addedilli** [L-100]; and in Gaulish onomastics in Latin epigraphy in: *Adsedus*, *Adsedia*, *Adsedo*, *Adsedilus*, *Addedomarus*, *Assedus*, *Asseda*, *Assedomarus* and perhaps *Agedacus*.<sup>53</sup> The *glossa*, *asseda sella quadriugis* (*CGL* IV, 476, 44), is also preserved. In these examples, it can be seen how the meeting of the voiced dental and the sibilant gives rise to a phonic group, leading to different attempts to render the result graphically. The general meaning “to settle, to be settled” is well suited as a name of a population.

The theonym *Nimmedo Aseddiago* (Mieres, Asturias) could also belong to this series, if this reading is accurate, as it seems to be.<sup>54</sup> Búa proposed analysing it from \**ad-sedio-* ‘nearby settlement’.<sup>55</sup> As will be seen, if this interpretation is correct, the formation would be very similar to that contained in *Dercinoassedensibus*, except that it would be a formation with a double suffixation -*y(o)-* and -*āko-*.<sup>56</sup>

The second example of *Š* is the family name *Segośsoq(um)* from the stele from Buenafuente. In Celtiberian epigraphy, family names normally appear in genitive plural (**alizokum**, for example, in K.0.2), with an ending (-*kum*) which is even retained in Latin inscriptions: for example, in a Roman inscription such as the one from Barcebalejo (Soria), three members of the same family appear, whose name in two cases is adapted to the Latin genitive plural — which is rare — while in the third case the vernacular flexion is retained: *C. Iulius Barbarus Medutticorum C. f. h. s. e.*, *Aemilia Acca Medutticorum Barbari mater h. s. e.*, *C. Iulius Labeo Castrunonis f. Medutticum h. s. e.*<sup>57</sup> It is also common that those family names appear written with C or Q, the latter most commonly when the desinence is abbreviated.<sup>58</sup> This is what

<sup>51</sup> J. Untermann, *La onomástica de Botorrita* 3 (note 16) 157.

<sup>52</sup> *HAE* 763, R. Hurtado, *Corpus provincial de inscripciones latinas (Cáceres)*, Cáceres 1977, 786; *HAE* 769, R. Hurtado, *Ibid.* 792; J. M<sup>a</sup>. Vallejo, *Antroponimia indígena* (note 21) 187–188.

<sup>53</sup> Vid. X. Delamarre, *Dictionnaire* (note 47) s.u. **adsedo-**, **addedo-**, **assedo-**; and *Noms de personnes celtiques* (note 47), in the corresponding entries.

<sup>54</sup> The photograph provided on *HEp* online 14486 allows this confirmation.

<sup>55</sup> Búa apud J. M<sup>a</sup> Vallejo, *Antroponimia indígena* (note 21) 188.

<sup>56</sup> Another etymological explanation from \**segidy-āko-*, or alternatively \**ad-segidy-āko-* in B. M<sup>a</sup> Prósper, *Lenguas y religiones prerromanas del occidente de la Península Ibérica*, Salamanca 2002, 220–221.

<sup>57</sup> A. Jimeno, *Epigrafía romana* (note 13) n<sup>o</sup> 47.

<sup>58</sup> See I. Simón, *La letra Q y los genitivos de plural de las llamadas ‘unidades organizativas’*, *Gerión* 30 (2012) 133–147.

happens in the stele from Buenafuente: *Segośsoq(um)*,<sup>59</sup> which can be related to the long list of personal names from Indoeuropean Hispania that share the root \**Seg-*.<sup>60</sup>

Ballester, without noticing the particular epigraphic feature of -śś-, proposed that *Segossoq(um)* could be a family name, derived from a theoretical \**Segossos*.<sup>61</sup> This in turn would be the phonetic result of an original \**segontyos*, in which a process of palatisation of the group -*ty-* would have occurred, resulting in an affricate, [segonts]. This anthroponym appears in K.1.3, I-22, II-58, IV-18 as **sekonzos** in Palaeohispanic writing. It would be a dialectal form of **sekontios**, which also appears in K.1.3, I-14, II-48, III-16, III-35, in which this -*ty-* group would have been retained. The assimilation of the nasal would subsequently also have operated.

The recent discovery of an inscription in Medellín attests, finally, the name *Segossos*.<sup>62</sup> The authors restore *Segossus*, the *cognomen* in the onomastic formula *Q(uintus) Caecilius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Segoss(us)*, one of the two aediles who built the *mur(um) et a[ream?]*.<sup>63</sup> They date the inscription to the final quarter of the first century BCE for palaeographic reasons and because of the presence of the *cognomina*. According to the editors, *Segossus* and the other aedile, *[Q(uintus)?] Caecilius Sex(ti) f(ilius) Teirus?*, would be indigenous men who had obtained Roman citizenship.

The third example is another family name: *Niśśic[um]*, in the stele from Almadrones. Prósper, without mentioning the graphic sequence -śś-, proposes an idionym \**Nissus*, which would come from \**nityo-* ‘own, of oneself’, attested in Gaulish *nitio-*, Gothic *nibjjs*, Old Indian *nitya-*.<sup>64</sup> In Gaulish, it appears in onomastics in the ethnonym *Nitiobroges*, and, certainly, in the anthroponyms *Nitius* (Trier), *Nitiogenna* (Alpes Poeninae) and *Nitiana* (Aquileia). To these attestations offered by the author may be added *Nitiocenu(s)* (Lugdunensis) and *Nitiouca* (Noricum).<sup>65</sup>

The fourth and fifth examples are the dative (*Preśśo*) and nominative (*Preśśus*) of the same anthroponym. As discussed above, Albertos pointed out the possibility that it may have an indigenous character.<sup>66</sup>

In their commentary about the inscription from Labitolosa, discussing *Mummius Pressus*, M. Navarro and M. A. Magallón note: “curiosamente, sólo se atestigua en la provincia de *Belgica* y en *Hispania*, en concreto en el cuadrante noroeste peninsular

<sup>59</sup> M<sup>a</sup> C. González, *Unidades organizativas* (note 17) n<sup>o</sup> 173.

<sup>60</sup> J. M<sup>a</sup> Vallejo, *Antroponimia indígena* (note 21) 395–397.

<sup>61</sup> X. Ballester, *Celtibérico SECoNZOS* (note 10) 351–354.

<sup>62</sup> S. J. C. Saquete, S. Guerra, *Una inscripción constructiva procedente de Metellinum (provincia Lusitania)*, ZPE 196 (2015) 303–306.

<sup>63</sup> The reading proposed by the authors, S. J. C. Saquete, S. Guerra, *Una inscripción constructiva* (note 61) 305, is: -----? / [-6-7-]o mur(um) et a[ream?] / [Q(uintus)?] Caecilius Sex(ti) f(ilius) Teirus? / Q(uintus) Caecilius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Segoss(us) / aedil(es) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).

<sup>64</sup> B. M<sup>a</sup> Prósper, *The Indo-European Names of Central Hispania. A Study in Continental Celtic and Latin Word Formation*, Innsbruck 2016, 144.

<sup>65</sup> X. Delamarre, *Dictionnaire* (note 47) s.u. nitio-; *Noms de personnes celtiques* (note 47) 228. This author suggests this provenance for other anthroponyms, which we do not think is as clear.

<sup>66</sup> M<sup>a</sup> L. Albertos, *Nuevos antropónimos hispánicos* (note 30) 306.



(...) las características generales de sus atestiguaciones hispanas y galas permiten proponer una práctica local homófona en su elección: se trataría de un nombre existente tanto en latín como en ámbitos precélticos, lo que provocaría su atribución en zonas bien específicas” (“Curiously, it is only attested in the province of *Belgica* and in *Hispania*, specifically in the north west quadrant of the peninsula (...) the general characteristics of its Hispanian and Gaulish attestations suggest a local form which is practically homophonic in its selection: it would be a name that was extant both in Latin and in pre-Celtic areas, which would bring about its attribution in very specific regions”).<sup>67</sup> They also add the record of a magistrate who appears in coinage from Clunia, whose *cognomen* they reconstruct to be L CAEL PRES(SVS).<sup>68</sup>

The authors cited above find linguistic support for their words in the proposal by Pokorny about the name of the Breton king *Prasutagus*.<sup>69</sup> The linguist segmented the anthroponym as *\*pra-su-tagus* and considered it an Indo-European pre-Celtic name. Delamarre, however, produces another segmentation and etymological proposal, exclusively from Celtic: *k<sup>w</sup>ʃ-stu-tāgos*, with the root *\*k<sup>w</sup>er-* ‘make, do’ in zero grade, a suffix *\*-stu-* that appears in Celtic and a second part, *\*tagos*, from a lexical base *tāg-* ‘an den rechten Platz, ordentlich hinstellen’.<sup>70</sup> To arrive at *Prasutagus*, a *p* treatment would be given to the labiovelar, the interconsonantic and pre-sibilant *r* would evolve to *-ra-*, and the group *-st-* would resolve into a fricative element that can receive different graphic resolutions in the Gaulish world. The French author offers different onomastic parallels: *Pressu* (DAG 652), *Pressus* (DAG 1139), which he compares with the abovementioned *Pressus* from Dijon and with the Huescan *Mummius Pressus*. He proposes that they could be an apophonic variant of *Prassu-* or even the Latin participle *pressus*.

Note that if the etymological relationship with *Prassu-* is accepted, this would mean there is a series of Celtic anthroponyms in Hispania with the evolution *\*k<sup>w</sup>-vocal-* > *\*p-*, in areas where in principle it is unexpected, such as Celtiberia, although we are not in a position to deny this possibility.<sup>71</sup> Delamarre indicates in a footnote that it could come from *\*k<sup>w</sup>re-stu*, demonstrating the same alternation as in Old Irish *crann* ‘tree, wood’ < *\*k<sup>w</sup>ʃsno-* and Gaulish **pre**no-, Welsh, Cornish and Breton *prenn* < *\*k<sup>w</sup>resno-*. The latter forms would come from a variant in full grade *\*k<sup>w</sup>resno-*, from a root *\*k<sup>w</sup>ʃs-*, different, in principle, from *\*k<sup>w</sup>er-*. We cannot see this alternation clearly in the root *\*k<sup>w</sup>er-*, *\*k<sup>w</sup>re-*?, nor in *\*k<sup>w</sup>ʃs-* (if we think in terms of a root and primary suffix, we

<sup>67</sup> M. Navarro, M. A. Magallón, *Epigrafía y sociedad* (note 40) 372.

<sup>68</sup> P. P. Ripollés, *Las acuñaciones provinciales romanas de Hispania*, Madrid 2010, n° 454.

<sup>69</sup> J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern, München 1959, 1055.

<sup>70</sup> X. Delamarre, *Prasutagus*, *Studia Celtica Fennica* III (2006) 5–9.

<sup>71</sup> On the understanding that they are elements belonging to a Celtic dialect traditionally called P. Another, separate question is to accept the isogloss *\*k<sup>w</sup>-* (and *\*k<sup>w</sup>-*) > *p-* proposed by B. M<sup>a</sup> Prósper, *The Indo-European names* (note 64) 123–198, which would affect the western Celtiberia that the author delimits. It should be borne in mind that the etymologies that she suggests for the proposed anthroponyms, among which those we are studying here do not figure, are not the only possibilities.

could arrive at an original root *\*k<sup>w</sup>er-*). It also disregards the small detail that the *Pressus* forms have the appearance of a stem in *-o* (undeniable in *Pressus [P]ressi fil(ius)*) and not in *-u*, although we could consider the variant *-sto-* of the suffix.<sup>72</sup> In our belief, the problem of the vowel *-e-* would persist; the group *-st-* seems to be retained in Celtiberian, furthermore.<sup>73</sup>

The problem of the fricative could be overcome if we draw upon Gaulish parallels such as *Prittius*, ‘poet, creator’, if it comes from *\*k<sup>w</sup>r-tyo-*.<sup>74</sup> Here, the group [dental + yod] could have evolved in Celtiberian into a fricative element. The persistent *-e-* would still have to be explained, however, in all the Hispanian instances and even in the two Belgian ones (it is difficult to envisage a general opening of *-i-* after the vibrant *-r-*, for example).

Etymologisation from Celtic therefore seems difficult. The solution is to turn to a language that is not Celtic and which has preserved the *\*p-* or, if it is Celtic, has retained it as an archaism. The possibilities are many and it is unnecessary to draw out the matter by proposing a panoply of options.

#### 4. Reflections on the marked Ss

For the first time, the marked S is reported on inscriptions in Celtiberian language and Latin alphabet. The exact dating of this group of inscriptions cannot be specified with certainty, but the available evidence points to the first century BCE.<sup>75</sup> The inscriptions from Peñalba are dated to the reign of Augustus.<sup>76</sup> The editors of the Novallas Bronze indicate that, although lacking stratigraphic context, this inscription cannot be later than Augustus’ period, either.<sup>77</sup>

The Latin inscriptions in which *Ś* appears are, without doubt, chronologically later. In the case of the epitaphs, the simplicity of the texts, with the name of the deceased in nominative, as well as the use of formulae such as *hic situs est* and not *dis manibus*, for example, point to a chronology in the first century CE. Although D’Ors proposed dating the bronze from Peralejo in the second century CE, due to its palaeography,<sup>78</sup> it is probably earlier. F. Beltrán has proposed bringing the chronology forward because it records the concession of local citizenship, as also occurs in various pacts of *hospitium*

<sup>72</sup> For which, vid. P. de Bernardo, *Nominale Wortbildung des älteren Irischen*, Tübingen 1999, 271.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. C. Jordán, *La valeur du s diacrité* (note 4) 86–87.

<sup>74</sup> For this etymology, X. Delamarre, *Dictionnaire* (note 47) s.u. *prittios* ‘poète’, to which he refers in *Prasutagus* (note 70) 7, and also in *Noms de personnes celtiques* (note 47).

<sup>75</sup> On this group of inscriptions and their chronology, see I. Simón, *Inscripciones celtibéricas en alfabeto latino*, in: F. Burillo (ed.), *VII Simposio sobre los celtíberos. Nuevos hallazgos. Nuevas interpretaciones*, Teruel 2014, 493–500.

<sup>76</sup> F. Beltrán, C. Jordán, F. Marco, *Novedades epigráficas en Peñalba de Villastar (Teruel)*, *PalHispania* 5 (2005) 911–956, specifically 933.

<sup>77</sup> F. Beltrán et al., *El bronce celtibérico* (note 2).

<sup>78</sup> A. D’Ors, *Un nuevo dato para la historia* (note 13) 575.

dated to the start of the Principate.<sup>79</sup> In any case, it would be after the establishment of Termes as a Roman *municipium*, since the *quattuorviri* appear in the text, which, judging by the enrolment of the *Termestini* in the *Galeria tribus*, must have been produced in the Julio-Claudian period. For all those reasons, F. Beltrán therefore believes that it could be dated to the first half of the first century CE. Indeed, the use of the marked Ss is another indication of an early dating within the Principate.<sup>80</sup>

In terms of geographic distribution, it is highly significant, as the editors of the Novallas Bronze have pointed out,<sup>81</sup> that the sign is documented at two such distant sites as Peñalba and Novallas, which suggests that it was a significant innovation, although for the moment it is only documented in two places. The two areas of discovery are located, furthermore, within the territory in which eastern Celtiberian Palaeohispanic writing was used (Map 1).

The Latin texts with marked Ss appear more to the west. They are concentrated in a small region that spans from the north of the modern day province of Guadalajara to the south of Soria: Buenafuente, Almadrones, and Peralejo de los Escuderos, although the possibility cannot be excluded that the latter inscription was incised in the *uicus* of Clunia which received the citizenship of Termes. The three settlements fall within the area in which western Celtiberian Palaeohispanic writing was used.

The instances of *Preśsus* are peculiar, since the presence of the additional strokes on the S is not as clear as in the other texts, although after conducting an examination of both inscriptions we believe that they do exist. As occurs in the first three texts, the Ss appear geminated, however the classification of the name as indigenous is uncertain. It could be Latin, although its attestations, except in an inscription from Dijon, are confined to *Hispania Citerior* and in all of them it is spelled with a double S (see Table 2). It can be established that the individuals who bore that name in the inscriptions from Lara and Salas de los Infantes are of local origin, judging by their onomastic formulae and the deities to which one of them renders cult. The existence of marked Ss in those two texts widens the distribution map towards the north, encompassing the localities of the province of Burgos from which they come, which is also situated in the western part of Celtiberia. They are also significant in chronological terms. Although their chronology is not easy to specify, their editors are inclined to date them later than other

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<sup>79</sup> F. Beltrán, *Una variante provincial del hospitium: pactos de hospitalidad y concesión de la ciudadanía local en la Hispania tarraconense*, in: S. Armani, A. U. Stylow, B. Hurlet-Martineau (eds.), *Epigrafía y Sociedad en Hispania durante el Alto Imperio: estructura y relaciones sociales*, Alcalá 2003, 33–56, specifically 44; id., *Lengua e identidad en la Hispania romana*, PalHisp 11 (2011) 19–59, specifically 21; id., *Hospitium municipal y ciuitas honoraria* (note 13) 256. Tessera from Herrera de Pisuerga (F. Beltrán, *Hospitium municipal y ciuitas honoraria* [note 13]), with consular date of 14 CE.; tessera from Paredes de Nava edited by A. Castellano, H. Gimeno, *Tres documentos de Hospitium inéditos*, in: F. Villar, F. Beltrán (eds.), *Pueblos, Lenguas y Escrituras en la Hispania Prerromana. Actas del VII Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas paleohispánicas*, Salamanca 1999, 359–374, probably from the Augustan Age; and bronze from O Caurel (Lugo), dated by consular date to 28 CE (AE 1961, 96).

<sup>80</sup> F. Beltrán, *Hospitium municipal y ciuitas honoraria* (note 13) 256.

<sup>81</sup> F. Beltrán et al., *El bronce celtibérico* (note 2).

inscriptions, which we have seen could place them in the first century BCE. It has thus been proposed that the *arula* from Salas de los Infantes dates from the first century CE, but also later, from the second or even third centuries CE.<sup>82</sup> In turn, the epitaph from Lara de los Infantes in *CIRB* n° 464 is dated to the second to third centuries CE. Indeed, that fact that the deceased appears in dative and not nominative, as in Buena Fuente and Almadrones, is an indication of later chronology, although, on the other hand, it does not include an invocation to the Manes. Accepting that there is no solid evidence for specifying the date of these two texts from Burgos, the presence of the marked Ss is, in our opinion, an argument to discard the possibility that they could be later than the second century CE.

The detection of the *śś* in this Latin epigraphy with indigenous onomastics leads us to consider the following reflections:

1. – If the etymologies proposed are accurate, in *Dercinoasśsedensibus* the double S would be marking the result of the meeting of *\*-d+s-*; in *Segośsoq(um)* of *\*-nty-*; and in *Niśśic[um]* of *\*-ty-*. In Palaeohispanic writing, this would be indicated, in principle, by sigma (in Celtiberian Palaeohispanic script, the gemination does not appear to have been used). The first case is interesting because, it should be emphasised, to be correct, it may be necessary to reconsider some etymology that is considered almost certain in Celtiberian, such as *asekati* in K.1.1, A-6. Either that, or the etymology of *Dercinoasśsedensibus* needs to be reconsidered, or the use of the sequence *-śś-* is inappropriate in this instance.

2. – The Celtiberian S, an S with a horizontal stroke at the base, has no parallel in Latin epigraphy. The closest, formally and geographically speaking, is the barred S in the Latin epigraphy from the north of Gaul, between the Treviri and Mediomatrici: *PRVŚCIAE* (*CIL* XIII 4008), which appears as *PRVSCIA* (*CIL* XIII 3992) and *PRVĐCA* in two inscriptions of the Mediomatrici (*CIL* XIII 4418 and 4422); *VRİSSILVS* (*CIL* XIII 3649); and *MESSIO'NI'O*, *MESSI[ONIO]*, *MESSION[IA]*.<sup>83</sup> This sign also appears in Gaulish material in Latin alphabet. Specifically, it is found once on the tile from Châteaubeau [L-90] and up to seven times in [L-93], always intervocalic and geminated. An inscription from Gonesse should also be added, in which it appears simply before i.<sup>84</sup> As far as we have been able to establish, nobody has discussed the origin of this sign, but it is easy to think that it was a development in the use of the Latin alphabet by the Gauls from the well-known barred *Ϸ*, fruit of the

<sup>82</sup> A. Alonso, S. Crespo, *Corpus de inscripciones* (note 26) 553 and S. Crespo, A. Alonso, *Las manifestaciones religiosas* (note 32) n° 65, date it to the first century CE, however F. Beltrán, B. Díaz, *Altars con teónimos* (note 32) n° 2.1, believe that it would be from the late second or early third century CE.

<sup>83</sup> H. Finke, *Neue Inschriften*, BRGK 17 (1927) 1–107 and 198–231 (suppl. n° 1/4 a *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIII), (specifically, 15, n° 45).

<sup>84</sup> C. Mauduit, P.-Y. Lambert, *Une découverte d'exception: le pot à Fascinum de la patte d'oie à Gonesse (Val-d'Oise)*, in: SFECAG, *Actes du congrès de Pézenas, 25–28 mai 2006. Productions, approvisionnements et usages de la vaisselle en Languedoc du 1<sup>er</sup> au 4<sup>e</sup> siècle apr. J.-C. Actualité des recherches céramiques*, Marseille 2006, 617–625.

transformation of the Greek Θ which was used to indicate a [tʃ]-type affricate.<sup>85</sup> The barred s was used to denote a fricative, as in *Pruscia*, or an affricate, in *Vrissulius*, *Messio*.<sup>86</sup>

The use of a barred S is also known in Latino-Punic epigraphy, specifically in a series of words of Semitic origin and in various Libyan anthroponyms (on this question and the possible phonic reality that it involves, including references).<sup>87</sup> Reynolds proposed that the sign in question could be a ligature of S and T, a suggestion accepted from then onwards.<sup>88</sup>

We do not currently have evidence to determine the possible origin of the recourse to the horizontal stroke at the base of the S in Latin alphabet used to write in Celtiberian. An obvious solution could be the influence of the mechanism for marking duality in syllabograms in Palaeohispanic script, in which an additional stroke is added to indicate the unvoiced variant of the syllable (thus, *ta* as opposed to *da*, *te* as opposed to *de*, etc.). Using the S, essentially a sigma, to mark the sibilant would create a vacancy for the sounds that the Palaeohispanic sigma marked. The option of using san was dismissed (perhaps because of its formal similarity to the Latin M? Or was it precisely this that directly led to the use of S and, as a knock-on effect, to the loss of san?), and instead, S was recharacterised by the addition of a stroke. There is, however, a chronological problem: currently, the only texts with Š in Celtiberian language and Latin alphabet are in the eastern zone (Novallas and Peñalba de Villastar), where, although it may be accepted that a dual system originally existed,<sup>89</sup> it does not seem to have been operational at the time that these documents appear. In any case, the fact that Š appears in Latin epigraphy from the (south) western zone of Celtiberian Palaeohispanic writing leaves open the possibility that there, too, the Celtiberian language could have been written in Latin alphabet with this sign.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Cf. P.-Y. Lambert, *Recueil des Inscriptions Gauloises, Vol. II-2. Textes gallo-latins sur l'instrumentum*, Paris 2002, 374–375.

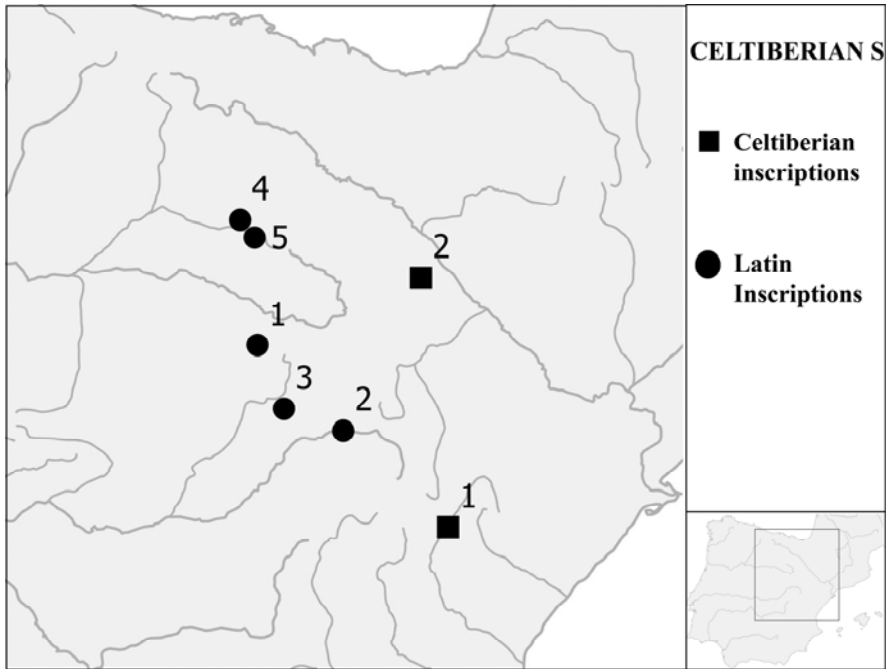
<sup>86</sup> Cf. Lambert, *Recueil* (note 85) 239–240. A S with an oblique stroke in the upper left quadrant of the sign space is used in the *Tabulae Iguvinae* written in Latin alphabet, A. L. Prosdocimi, *Le Tavole Iguvine. Preliminari all'interpretazione. La testualità: fatti e metodi II.1*, Firenze 2015, 75–81.

<sup>87</sup> R. M. Kerr, *Latino-Punic Epigraphy*, Tübingen 2010, 126–137, specifically 126–130.

<sup>88</sup> J. Reynolds, *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania: A Supplement*, PBR 23 (1955) 124–147, specifically 128, n. 2 to S.8.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. C. Jordán, *Sistema dual y redundante en celtibérico*, *PalHisp* 17 (2017) 315–327.

<sup>90</sup> It is nevertheless very striking that the bronze from Luzaga [K.6.1], a settlement that came to be almost equidistant (c. 35 km) between Almadrones and Buena Fuente del Sistol, features a type of sigma with five strokes ξ (there is even one of almost seven), (d5 according to *MLH*, p. 446), instead of the more usual type in Celtiberian documents of three ζ or, even, of four ξ (less numerous than the previous one). This coincides with the fact that Luzaga, in our opinion (C. Jordán, *¿Sistema dual de escritura en celtibérico?*, *PalHisp* 5 [2005] 1013–1030; *Estudios sobre el sistema dual de escritura en epigrafía no monetaria celtibérica*, *PalHisp* 7 [2007] 101–142), used the dual system to write syllables that start with an stop. For the moment, we think that there is no kind of duality with the sigmas.



Map 1. showing the distribution of inscriptions with the marked S. Celtiberian inscriptions (squares): 1. Peñalba de Villastar, 2. Novallas; Latin inscriptions (circles): 1. Peralejo de los Escuderos, 2. Buenafuente del Sistol, 3. Almadrones, 4. Lara de los Infantes, 5. Salas de los Infantes.

3. – The use of the marked S to denote vernacular personal names in Latin inscriptions recalls the use of Q, also in Latin texts, to denote family names that retain the vernacular genitive plural in *-kum*. In semi-syllabary, this desinence is denoted with the syllabogram *ku*, but in Latin alphabet C and Q, and even occasionally G, are used interchangeably.

The use of Q to denote the desinence in family names is already documented in Celtiberian inscriptions in Latin alphabet, appearing either abbreviated or not: COTIRIQVM (K.3.17),<sup>91</sup> GVANDOS COTIRIQVM (K.3.19), TVLLOS CALOQ TVRRO G (K.3.14), ++LLOS CALOQ (K.3.21), CAISAROS CECCIQ (K.15.1) and LIGORIQ.<sup>92</sup> This use moves away from the orthographic norms of Latin, according to which C should be used, as occurs with the family names of the magistrates that appear in the *tabula Contrebiensis* (CIL I 2951a, for example *Siriscum*). This fact lacks explanation, but it is certain that this unusual orthographic use survives in Roman epigraphy from the Imperial period, where it seems to live on as an orthographic

<sup>91</sup> According to C. Jordán, *Celtibérico* (note 3) 392, “en realidad dice TVRROS CAROQVM en la primera línea. En la segunda hay que eliminar de momento COTIRIQVM” (“In fact it says TVRROS CAROQVM on the first line. On the second line, COTIRIQVM should be eliminated for the time being”).

<sup>92</sup> M. Almagro-Gorbea, *Epigrafía prerromana*, Madrid 2003, CT-2A.

archaism to write family names that retain the vernacular declension (-um), especially when they occur abbreviated, as with *Segośsoq(um)*.<sup>93</sup>

4. – The Celtiberian inscriptions written in Latin alphabet allow us to document the use of almost all the graphemes in the alphabet, with the exception of H. F is only documented in one inscription, in which it is not impossible to interpret it as the abbreviation of *filius*: MARCOS · MASMI F (K.3.20). P appears in two graffiti from Peñalba, although the reading of both poses problems (K.3.12 and 20). The adaptation of the Latin alphabet therefore involves the exclusion of graphemes that represent sounds that did not exist in Celtiberian: H and probably also F. It stands out that they did use the three signs used by the Latin alphabet to represent unvoiced velar stops (C, Q, and K) — unlike records from Lusitanian inscriptions (also written in Latin alphabet, in which only C is used) — and that it entails a peculiar use of Q in the orthography of family names, as previously indicated. Finally, as well as not utilising particular signs, a new grapheme was created: the marked S, which is only attested in three Celtiberian documents, but which survives in some Latin inscriptions from the Imperial period to denote vernacular proper nouns, and which we propose calling Celtiberian S.

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<sup>93</sup> On the use of Q, see I. Simón, *La letra Q y los genitivos de plural* (note 58). Another good candidate for having marked Ss, although fully written out, would be *Cossouqum* (CIL II 2847), from Bujarrabal (GU), in the same region as the other two inscriptions from Guadalajara, and very close to the border with the modern province of Soria. Unfortunately, it is lost, and nowhere in the bibliography is there reference to the execution of those signs (on the inscription, see ultimately E. Gamo, *Corpus de inscripciones* [note 15] 222–225, n° 113).