



# The Celtic inscriptions of France and Italy

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France and Italy

By

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## THE CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS OF FRANCE AND ITALY

By JOHN RHYS

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read May 23, 1906

LAST year I devoted the whole of the month of September and a part of October to the examination of the Celtic inscriptions known to exist in France. Last Easter vacation I took the opportunity of doing the same with the few which Italy supplies; and on both rambles I had the assistance of Mrs. Rhys. A few of the inscriptions which we ought to have seen in France are not to be found, and some there are which we have not yet tried to see. Add to this that when the Berlin *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* has been published for the whole of France, the whereabouts of a few more will probably be made known to the public. I foresee, therefore, that to make the list complete we shall have to repeat the pleasure of visiting France; but in the meantime I venture to offer the list as it stands to the Academy without further delay.

On the other hand, certain inscriptions which have sometimes passed for Celtic are here omitted because I do not think that they are such. Two of them belong to Italy: the first is said by Dr. Stokes to be on a metal plate found near Verona. I refer to his work on *Celtic Declension*, where it forms his No. 4, being read by him as follows: *Qaninio Qikoremies hisa quasova khik Vepisones*, while Pauli in his *Inscripfen nordetruskischen Alphabets*, p. 19, gives it, somewhat differently, as *qaniniuφikuremieshiisφasuvakhikvepisines*. I have not seen it, and I am not certain where it is; but so far I have had no success in treating it as Celtic. The same may be said of the Este inscription, Dr. Stokes's No. 5, which he reads *Tarknovosseno*, and Pauli, p. 22, as *tu · r · knavas · seno*. The piece of pottery bearing this is said to be no longer at Catajo where Mommsen found it, and I have not succeeded in finding what has become of it. Thus the Italian inscriptions which Dr. Stokes made into five are reduced to three, and I am not quite sure as to one of those three. Lastly, to come back to France, I have been obliged to omit the so-called 'Gaulish inscription of Poitiers.' It is on a small plate of silver which is now

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at the Château de St.-Germain-en-Laye and as the readings given are frequently inaccurate, I submit the following as the best I could make of it, except the division into words which is mechanically my doing rather than the suggestion of the inscriber:—

bis gontavrion analabis bis gontaurio sv  
 ceanalabis bis gontavrios catalages  
 uim canima uim spaternam asta  
 magi ars sec[? set]uta te iustina quem  
 peperit sarra.

## I.

i. EVREUX. The Museum at Évreux has an inscribed fragment of a table in bronze found in the excavations made at the place known as Vieil Évreux in the neighbourhood: see Stokes's *Celtic Declension*, No. 21, and the Berlin *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. XIII. No. 3204. The inscription now consists of portions of seven lines, all of which are incomplete at the beginning and several also at the end, possibly all. I read the letters remaining, or partially remaining, as follows:—

- (1) S<sup>f</sup> CRISPOS BOVI
- (2) RAMEDON 7
- (3) AXTAC BITI EV<sup>f</sup>
- (4) DO CARABITONV
- (5) N IA SELANI SEBOÐBV<sup>f</sup>
- (6) REMI FILIA 7
- (7) DRVTA GISACI CIVIS SVE

The punctuation here seems to be of two kinds, the one stop being like a long *f* on a small scale and the other, after RAMEDON and FILIA, more like a 7 or the abbreviation in Latin MSS. for *et*; for I do not suppose it is to be treated here as *et*, partly because I should not expect it so early and partly because it seems too insignificant in point of size to be a part of the ordinary reading; but instances of this kind of stop will be found elsewhere as, for example, in *C. I. L.*, XII. 2091, 3693. The first line begins with a portion of a letter which looks like the right-hand side of the lower half of an S; but so far as its form goes it might equally well be the corresponding bit of a B: the latter letter is in other respects far less probable than an S as the final of the word to which it belonged. The line ends with what appears to have been an I, but as the fracture occurs along the perpendicular of the letter a D would fit equally, perhaps P, B, R, or E: the appearance of the bronze is not decisive on the point. Similarly the second line begins with an imperfect letter, the bronze





having broken off along the perpendicular of the R, so it is hard to say whether RAMEDON is part of a word or the whole. After it comes a wide space in which there is nothing but a small stop 7. Line 3 consists of what appears to be three whole and separate words followed by the stop 7. Line 4 begins with an imperfect D followed by O, but there is nothing to suggest that the whole word was DO rather than the end of a longer word. Then comes a space followed by CARADITONV, the V of which comes so close to the fracture that one cannot say whether the word as we have it is complete or not. Line 5 begins with a portion of an N which is followed by a space, after which IA come followed by a lesser space. Then we have what I read SELANI followed by SEBODDV with the 7 stop. From the spaces I should infer that the first word ended with N and that the next may have been IASELANI. Line 6 begins with a wide space followed by REMI FILIA with the 7 stop. Line 7 begins with DRVTA GISACI CIVIS SV. There is nothing to show that the entire first name was DRVTA, since a part of the name may have been cut off preceding the D. After SV there remains a little of the left top corner of another letter which may have been E.

The names in this fragment seem to have been Celtic, and CRISPOS and BOVD . . or BOVI . . have been mentioned in my last paper, *Celtae and Galli*, p. 49<sup>1</sup>. The Celtic portion of the inscription would seem to have ended in line 5: the remaining two lines appear to have been in Latin. The form SEBODDV-looks like a lisp of *Sebossu-*, of the same origin as the attested name *Sebosus* and that of the Ala *Sebosiana* or *Sebussiana* as in *Eq(uites) alae Sebussia(nae)* in an inscription found at Lancaster (*C. I. L.*, VII. 287). As we do not know what followed SEBODDV we cannot treat it as a feminine referring to *Remi filia*, so it remains perhaps to regard it as the dative masculine of a name *Sebođdos* to be identified with *Sebosus* supposing that to stand for *Sebossos*. REMI would be the genitive singular of the name which was so well known in the plural as that of the Belgic people of the Remi. We have in *C. I. L.*, XIII. 3197 *deo Gisaco* (also found at Vieil Évreux), but the editor thinks that here perhaps *Gisac-i* was the name of a place, and Holder in his *Altceltischer Sprachschatz* treats it in the same way and mentions another *Gisacum*, called in French *Gisay-la-Coudre* in the same department (Eure). But if one is to read . . DRVTA GISACI CIVIS SVESSIONIS, as Holder suggests, it seems more natural to treat *Gisac-i* as the genitive here of the name

<sup>1</sup> To the instances of Welsh *sp = squ* add that of Welsh *yspytaden*, 'hawthorn,' Irish *scé*, genitive *sciad*, both of which Dr. Whitley Stokes derives from a stem *shviját*.

of a man, the father in fact of the woman whose name immediately precedes his.

On account of the doubly imperfect state of this inscription the syntax completely eludes me, and also the identity of most of the individual words. A search ought to be made for the rest of the bronze, which must have been a document of unusual pretension for a Celtic inscription.

ii. ALISE-STE.-REINE. The little town of Alise is some three or four kilometres from the station of Les Laumes, about an hour's rail before you come to Dijon from Paris. It is situated on a slope of the hill called Mont Auxois, on the plateau of which stands the bronze statue erected to the memory of Vercingetorix by Napoleon III. Alise has an interesting museum, among the contents of which is a well-known Gaulish inscription which I wanted to examine: see Stokes's *Celtic Declension*, No. 18, and *C. I. L.*, XIII. 2880; also the *Dictionnaire archéologique de la Gaule*, where (under 'Inscriptions gauloises') in the plates, No. 7, the stone is described as a 'Cartouche avec moulures et queues d'aronde trouvé sur le plateau d'Alise':—

- (1) MARTIALIS ∇ DANN $\overline{\Phi}$ <sub>L</sub><sup>A</sup>
- (2) I EVRV ∇ VCVETE ∇ SOSN
- (3) CELICNON ∅ ETIC
- (4) GOBEDBI ∇ DVGIIONTIIO
- (5) ∅ VCVETIN ∇
- (6) IN... ALISIIA ∅

Some of the words are separated by a little triangular mark, and a leaf has been carved in front of ETIC and VCVETIN and after ALISIIA at the end; but it is right to say that according to the *Corpus* this last belongs to the previous line, and follows the point after VCVETIN. The editor suggests also that there was another leaf in the broken space between IN and ALISIIA, but I cannot accept either suggestion. The lettering is good, and it has one or two points deserving of notice: in DANNOTALI the O is bisected by the perpendicular of the T, and the three letters following are of smaller dimensions and grouped thus,  $\overline{\Phi}$ <sub>L</sub><sup>A</sup>, with the two last letters placed beneath the A. In SOSIN the I consists of a prolongation upwards of the first perpendicular of the N. The II have usually been transcribed E, but I should rather represent the words in which they occur as *dugiiōntiio* and *Alisiia*—that is, with the vowel *i* followed by the cognate semi-vowel or consonant *i*. This would, in the case of *Alisiia*, for example, represent a stage of pronunciation corresponding to a term *petuorīa* in the series of modulations from *petuorīa* to the



Welsh *pedwyrēd*, *pedwercē*, or *pedwarecē*, 'quarta.' So with the *iiō* (of *dugiiontiio*) as compared with the *yā* of Welsh *pedwryrā*, 'quartus or quartum,' and with Welsh *trydyā*, 'third,' feminine *trydeā*, which we have possibly in a proper name *Trittia* from Provence (*C. I. L.*, XII. 316). The other uncertainty attaching to the reading is as to what has dropped out in the breakage between IN and ALISIA. The editor of the *Corpus* gives it as his opinion, already mentioned, that it was a leaf, but there is a more natural suggestion to make, namely, that IN was not the whole word, but some such longer form as *indu* or *indo*, 'in, within': see Stokes's *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz* (p. 31), s.v. *endo*, 'in.' As it happens, Holder gives under *In* no instance, except this, which is not such, of a Gaulish preposition *in*. The Welsh preposition is *yn*, 'in,' and there may have been a Gaulish *in*; but the Welsh word when you add to it becomes *yynof*, 'in me,' *yynot*, 'in thee,' *yynom*, 'in us,' &c., where the pronunciation has a double *n* which seems to postulate *nd* as its antecedent. There is another space much smaller than the one last mentioned, but large enough to be noticed: it occurs between the I and the rest of the word IEVRV in the second line. No explanation of this offers itself except carelessness on the part of the inscriber.

A word now as to the names and the interpretation. *Martialis* is evidently the Roman name borrowed, and the father's name *Dannotalos* is well established. It occurs in Etruscan spelling as *Tanotalos* in an inscription from Briona, near Novara, in North Italy: see No. xxxiv below. Holder gives the corresponding feminine as *Danotala*. Compare also *Argiotalus*, *Κασσιταλος*, *Dubnotalus*, and *Vepotalos*. The element *talo-s* is supposed to mean the forehead, but there was also an *Evotalis* (Irish *Eothail*), where *tal-* of a different declension may perhaps be a different vocable. In the compound *Dannotalos* the element *danno* is to me obscure as to meaning and origin in spite of such other compounds as *Dannoria* and *Dannomarus*, given by Holder. Before leaving this point it is to be noticed that the genitive *Dannotali* means *Dannotali filius* in Latin. This is one of the regular Gaulish ways of expressing the relationship of father and son: another way would have been to have called the son *Martialis Dannotalicnos*, 'M. little Dannotal,' as will be found done in No. xxxiv. Unfortunately in either case we are not given the Gaulish word for son, and there is another formula for Gaulish patronymics, but that also eschews the use of a vocable for 'son' or 'daughter.' The next word IEVRV is one of the very few Gaulish verbs which have for certain been identified as such, and it is treated as practically equivalent to the Latin *fecit*, 'made';



but in the *Corpus*, XIII. 1326, the Greek equivalent is given in the imperfect as ΕΠΟΕΙ. Here the Gaulish verb seems to have as its accusative *sosin celicnon*: that is, a noun *celicnon* with a demonstrative *sosin*. The former appears to have meant a tower or some such a structure, for the word seems borrowed as *keliln* into Gothic, where it was used to render the Greek words ἀνώγειον, πύργος. In Gothic the word was a neuter, and most likely the original in Gaulish was also neuter. The word is probably connected with the Welsh *celaf*, 'I hide or conceal,' and *cel*, 'concealment'; in Mod. Irish respectively *ceilim*, 'I conceal,' and *ceal*, which among other things means 'a cover,' and from which a possible diminutive would be *ceilín*, corresponding exactly to our *celicno-n*. So this last might be explained in the widest sense as means of hiding or covering on a relatively small scale; but the Gothic loan-word indicates that it admitted of being narrowed in sense so as to mean a roof or shelter, a tower or turret. Perhaps we may call it a *cell*: at all events the Latin *cella* is usually explained as representing an earlier *cēlula* or else *cēlia*, from the same root *cel* as Anglo-Saxon *helan*, 'to cover,' German *hehlen*, also Latin *cēlare*, and the Celtic vocables already mentioned.

Of the first clause there remains VCVETE, which according to the run of the sentence should be a dative—in fact a dative feminine like BHAHCAMI, the dative of Belisama's name in the Vaison inscription, No. vi; and with this declension the accusative *Ucuetin* harmonizes. The analogy of Belesama, dative Belesami, points to the fact that the nominative was *Ucueta*, but another declension seems to be not impossible: *Ucueti-s*, dative *Ucueti*, accusative *Ucueti-n*, either masculine or feminine. On the whole I prefer the other conjecture, that the nominative was *Ucueta*, a feminine corresponding to such masculines as O. Irish *cing*, 'a warrior,' genitive *cinged*, dative *cingid*, belonging to a declension which Dr. Stokes describes as 'weak forms of *nt*-stems'—that is to say, mostly present participles. The stem in the case of *cing*, for early *cinget-s*<sup>1</sup>, we have, for instance, in *Cingeto-ris*: compare *Orgeto-ris*, and the like, where the syllable *et* is attached to the verbal stems *cing*, 'to go, march,' and *org*, 'to kill.' Similarly, if we cut off the *et-e* of *Ucuete* we may expect to have a verbal stem in *ucu*; and assuming such to be the case, there can be little hesitation as to what it must be, namely, *ud-gu*, from which O. Irish had *uccu*, *uca*, 'a choice or act of choosing.' The prefix *ud*, *od* is the equivalent of

<sup>1</sup> Stokes in his *Urkeltscher Sprachschatz* cites *Cinges* from Hefner, 280, genitive *Cingetos*, s. v. *Kenget-*, p. 77.

the English *out*, German *aus*. Compare Irish *to-gu*, of much the same meaning as *uccu*; but the stem was in full not *gu* but *gus*, the *s* of which is retained before *t* in Latin *gustus*, 'taste,' a noun of the *u* declension, represented in the *gr̄st* of the Welsh proper name *Ungwst*, *Unwst* = Irish Oengus, 'Angus,' and *Gwrgwst* = Irish Fergus, genitive (in Ogam), Vergoso, for an earlier Vergussōs. Accordingly *Ucuet-i* stands for an earlier *Ucuh-et-i*, for *Ucus-et-i*, with the sibilant between vowels changed into an *h*, which eventually ceased to be sounded: compare *sūiorebe* in the Gaulish inscription No. xxxi, from Nér̄is-les-Bains. The derivation of our word is phonologically subject to no serious doubt. It is not quite so easy to fix the meaning of it as name or epithet, which may be either 'the choosing one' or 'the chosen one,' 'the loving' or 'the loved one,' *diligens* or *dilecta*. On the whole I should be inclined to treat it as active rather than passive: *compriato*, 'loved or beloved,' in the second Rom inscription is not parallel: see *Celtae and Galli*, pp. 41, 42, 46. This was probably not the name, the *nomen*, of the divinity intended, but an epithet—the loving one—understood by all the worshippers to whom the cult appealed. Here it may be asked, if *s* became *h* and then zero in the body of the name *Ucueta*, why it is we have *Alisiija* with a single *s* flanked by vowels. The answer is that here *s* represents the sharp sibilant *ss*, derived probably from *cs*, for which we have the evidence of inscription xxxii, probably a Celtican one, from the neighbourhood of Bourges. There for 'indu Alisiija' we have 'in Alixie.' After a certain period of indecision as between *s* and *h*, every single *s* found flanked by vowels in written Gaulish should be read as *ss*—that is, provided one could rely on consistency in the spelling. As one cannot often so rely, one has to decide each case according to the etymological evidence: where there is no such evidence, judgement has to be suspended.

Thus far the first part of the inscription has been discussed and inferred to mean—Martial son of Dannotalos made this turret for *Ucueta* or 'the loving one.' The original covered by this is so exactly one half of the whole as to suggest to me that we have here to do with two verses of text in metre of some kind. Unfortunately the second half consists mostly of words which are obscure. Dr. Stokes translates it 'and the work pleased *Ucuetis* in *Alisea*,' where *etic* is treated as the conjunction and *gobedbi* as the verb having the next word as its nominative. There is nothing to say against rendering *etic* by 'and,' except that other meanings are possible; but, taking it to have meant 'and,' it would seem to contain *eti-* of the same origin as the *et* of *eto* (earlier *etwa* = *eti-hu-*), 'yet, again' and 'still' as in



*grwell eto*, 'still better<sup>1</sup>.' As to the *c* of *etic* one may perhaps equate it with that of the Latin *hic*, *haec*, *hoc* as part of the particle *ce* in *hicce*, *ecce* which is regarded as of the same origin as Latin *cis*, 'on this side.'

GOBEDBI is doubtless the verb of its clause, though it seems highly improbable that it is in the past tense; and instead of saying 'and the work pleased U.' I should rather take the words to mean 'and may the work please U.', that is if *dugiōntiio* is to be treated as the subject, which is doubtful. GOBEDBI is undoubtedly the reading on the stone, but I cannot make much out of it. We seem, however, to have a choice of easy emendations for DB, such as DB, BB and DB, underlying which should be a lipping of S; for I put in BB on the chance of its being *sb* subjected to a process of assimilation. In that case BB may be dismissed as a form of DB: then we have left DB and DB, and the first part of the verb detaches itself as *gobes-*, which I should treat as *goves-* = *goues-* with its semi-vowel written *b* as was usual enough in Late Latin. This points to a word like Latin *gāvīsus*, the past participle of *gaudeo*, 'I rejoice'; but in that case one would perhaps expect a vowel between D and B: so, rejecting DB one falls back on DB in order to treat the whole verb as *gobeddi* = *gouessi*. The error might be regarded as due to the inscriber being unused to the letter D, which is not always easy to distinguish from a badly formed B. In the copy given to the inscriber the DB might have had the bisecting line carelessly made so short as not to have caught his eye in the first consonant at all, and in the second only as a part of a somewhat badly formed B.

The conjecture *gouessi* recalls the participial feminine *gouisa*, occurring in the first Rom inscription (*Celtae and Galli*, p. 37), where should be compared, in other respects, the verbs *denti*, *dentissie*; also *derti*, *atehotisse*, and *dentisse* in the other Rom inscription (*ibid.*, p. 41, and, corrected, at p. 97 below).

A better conjecture has the advantage of requiring no emendation; for Gaulish had no objection to such combinations as *db* and *dg*: witness *Αδγεννοριγι* and . . ΔBO . ., in Nos. x and xiv: see also xxiv<sup>a</sup>. So it would be simpler to treat the *gobed* (= *goued*) of *gobedbi*, as the equivalent of the *gaud* of Latin *gaudeo* and the *γηθ* of the Greek *γηθέω*, 'I rejoice,' compounded with a form of the Gaulish verb 'to be.' The compound might be regarded as somewhat parallel to Latin forms like *ama-bo*, *ama-bam*, *mone-bam*, *rege-bam*, and the like. But the absence of an intervening vowel in *goued-bi* faces us as before:

<sup>1</sup> See Pott's *Etymologische Forschungen*, i. 251-7, 267; also p. 52.



had such a compound been of old standing, it ought to have become *gouēpi* after the analogy of *Ucuete* for *Ud-guhete*. It is probable, however, that the shortening of some such a form as *gouedo-bi* may have taken place relatively late, but early enough to be shared in by Brythonic. Witness forms like Welsh *gwybyd̄* (= *gwyd-byd̄*), 'do thou know,' *chybu* (= *chut-bu-*), 'audivit,' and the older Brythonic *hep amgnaubot*, 'sine mente, without understanding,' in Mod. Welsh *ymnabod* with *ā* for the *au* of *amgnaubot* (= *ambi-gnāt[o]-buti-*) because of the stress being at one time probably on the closing element: compare *pedwryd̄* from *petuor̄t̄io-*, 'fourth.'

Next comes DVG| |ONTI|O in which I cannot see a nominative feminine, or indeed a nominative at all. For had it been neuter, one would expect it to have had a final *n* just as much as the accusatives *sosin cellicnon* and *Ucuetin*. Further, this retention of final *n* does not encourage one to assume the discarding of final *s* in the case of DVG| |ONTI|O; that is, if one were to treat the latter as representing an earlier nominative *dugiōntiōs*. All that remains for us is to regard *dugiōntiō* as a dative or some other oblique case, to be construed in an adverbial sense. What that sense should be is suggested by the congeners of this word, among which Dr. Stokes mentions Greek *τεύχω*, 'I prepare, I bring about,' A.-Sax. *dugan*, 'to be of value, to be strenuous,' with which go *dohtig*, Mod. English *doughty*, German *taugen* and *tüchtig*, also *tugend*, 'virtue,' to which one may add the Lithuanian *daúg*, 'much, many.' Thus it would seem that we might interpret our word as meaning 'for good' or more exactly 'for our good, and to our joy.' The clause would then run, 'And for our good may it rejoice Ucueta in Alesia.'

It has already been suggested that the whole is in metre, and I scan it roughly, thus:—

Martiális | Dannóta|l̄i iéuru U|cuéti | sósin ce|llicnon,  
Étic go|bedbí du|g'íontíō U|cuétin | índu Ali|síja.

Martial, Dannotal's son, made Ucueta this tower;

And for good may it please Ucueta at Alesia.

The metre is accentual hexametre, and the characteristic portion of the lines is the last two feet

sósin ce|llicnon,  
índu Ali|síja.

I need not discuss it here as it has been treated at great length in *The Englyn*, which occupies the 18th volume of the *Cymmrodor*, the magazine of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion (London, 1905). It is needless to say that the discovery, if it should prove such, of this

metre on Gaulish ground is of capital importance, as it substantially establishes the fact that in the majority of its words the Gaulish language accented either of the last two syllables as Welsh does to this day. To such a rule, however, there must have been many exceptions, and the first important kind of exception which has attracted my attention is the case of compounds like *Dannótalos*: for more about them see *The Englyn*, pp. 6-10.

iii. DIJON. The Museum at Dijon has a patera in bronze, found in the neighbourhood in 1853, and on the handle is the following inscription with the leaf ornament at the end: see Stokes, No. 17; *Dict. Arch.*, No. 6 and 6<sup>bis</sup>; *C. I. L.*, XIII. 5468:—

DOIROS · SEGOMARI  
IEVRV · ALISANV &

We did not send for permission to take the vessel out of the glass case where it is kept, as we could read it perfectly well where it was, and see that it has been correctly copied. It may be rendered, 'Doiros, son of Segomarus, made it for Alisanos,' though it would be somewhat more exact to put it thus: 'It is Doiros, son of Segomarus, that made it for Alisanos': at all events it would be so in Welsh, 'D. fab S. a'i gwnaeth i A.' The same applies to most of the Gaulish inscriptions; for the fact of the making is assumed to be evident to anybody who sees the vessel: it does not require to be told him, and the information given begins with the name of him to whom the making is attributed, so Doiros takes the emphatic position in the sentence. Had the question been for whom the vessel was made, *Alisanu* would have taken the lead: that is, the sentence would have begun with it. At the same time one feels that the English rendering with 'it is' rather exaggerates the emphasis intended on Doiros.

Doiros is a rare name, while that of Segomarus will be found to come before us again: with the former may possibly be equated an Irish personal name *Doir*, *Dair*, *Dáir*, both nominative and genitive, which occur in Irish annals at the beginning of the seventh century: see 'the Four Masters,' A.D. 619, and the *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 623; compare also O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, pp. 56, 57, where we have a place called *Druim Meic Dáir*, 'Mac Dáir's Ridge'; compare also O'Donovan's note on the entry by 'the Four Masters,' where he derives *Gweedore*, a well-known place-name in Donegal, from *Gaeth-Doir*. It is to be noticed that the diphthong appears to have been in Irish *ōi* or *āi*. *Alisanu*, the dative of *Alisanos*, was the name of a god: Holder cites the following Côte-d'Or inscription 'Deo Alisanu Paullinus pro Contedoio fil(io) suo v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).' Hence it



appears that the vessel belonged to a temple of Alisanos, and the maker seems to have manufactured him a thoroughly good article.

iv. BEAUNE. An inscribed stone found in the eighteenth century near Auxey, in the department of the Côte-d'Or, is now in the Museum at the Mairie of the town of Beaune: see Stokes, No. 15; *Dic. Arch.*, No. 4; *C. I. L.*, XIII. 2638. It reads as follows:—

ICCAVOS · OP	That is probably—
PIANICNOS · IEV	Iccavos son of Oppianos
RV · BRIGINDONI	made Brigindo a hymn.
CANTALON	

Here instead of the genitive of the father's name we have a diminutive formed from it, *Oppian-icno-s*, that is 'little Oppianos,' where it is impossible to avoid seeing in *icno-* the termination which we have already had in the neuter in *celicno-n*, p. 4 above: there it was suggested that *icno* is reduced in Modern Irish to *ín*. It is, *par excellence*, the diminutive and endearing termination in that language: we have it for instance in *bóthairín*, 'a lane or narrow way,' from *bóthar*, 'a road,' and in other nouns like *uainín*, 'a lambkin,' and *éinin*, 'a little bird,' from *uan*, 'a lamb,' and *éan*, 'a bird.' In Ogam-written Irish we have it as *-ign-*, for instance in the genitive *Cunign-i*, Welsh *Cynin* in *Llangynin*, 'Ecclesia Cunigni.' The derivation of *Iccavos* and of *Oppianicnos* is obscure, but they seem to have their congeners in *Iccius*, *Iccio-durus*, *Iccio-magus*, and in *Oppianos*, which occurs as *Oppianus* in *C. I. L.*, XII. 1029, 4679, not to mention such related forms as *Oppius*, *Opia*, *Opiavus*, *Opiava*, as to which see Holder. *Brigindoni* seems to be the dative of *Brigindō*, the name perhaps of a female divinity, to be compared with *Brigantia* and the Irish *Brigit*. *Cantalón* I have supposed to be the Gaulish word, which in Welsh is *cathl*, 'a song': see my *Celtae and Galli*, p. 31. The second *a* in *cantalón* is inorganic, like the corresponding vowel in the Irish equivalents, *cétol*, *cétul*, *cétal*, and in Gaulish it does not appear to have counted as a syllable. For the inscription is metrical like that of Alise-Ste.-Reine, and scans as follows:—

Iccávos | Oppia|nicios i|éuru Bri|gíndoni | cánt'lon.

Here *Brigíndoni* departs from the general rule of accenting the penultimate: it is probably the accent of the nominative fixed, supposing that was *Brigíndō*.

v. AUTUN. An inscription on a stone found in the last century at Autun is preserved in the Lapidary Museum of that city: see Stokes, No. 16; *Dic. Arch.*, No. 5; *C. I. L.*, XIII. 2733. The stone is slightly



damaged at the top and the right-hand edge, but the reading is certain, and runs as follows:—

LICNOS · CON  
 TEXTOS · IEVRV      Licnos Contextos made for  
 ANVALONNACV.      Anvalonnacos a . . . . seat.  
 CANECOSEDLON.

The lettering is said by the editor of the *Corpus* to be of the beginning of the first century: where O follows C or L it is carved small in the bosom of the consonant; the V ending the second line is also made small on account of want of room for a bigger letter. The name *Licnos* is of obscure origin, and is equated by Holder with an Irish *Lén*; however that may be, it occurs in other inscriptions found in the Celtic countries of the Continent, as a glance at Holder's article on it will show. In the cognomen *Contextos* the *x* probably means the Greek  $\chi$  or *ch*, and Stokes refers the second part of the word to the same origin as the Latin words *tego*, *tectum*, and Irish *tech*, 'a house,' with which go the Welsh *ty*, 'a house,' and *to*, in English *thatch*. So he would ascribe to *Contextos* the meaning of protector. *Anvalonnacu* seems to be the dative of *Anvalonnacos*, the meaning of which is to seek. The compound *canecosedlon* is also obscure, but it has been suggested that it should be rendered 'a golden chair,' that is, with *sedlon* compared with Latin *sella* and English *settle*; but I see no proof that *caneco* meant 'gold or golden,' nor can one be sure of 'chair,' for 'saddle,' in Slavonic *sedlo*, would perhaps be equally admissible, but neither sense seems to derive any corroboration from the vocabulary of the Neoceltic languages. On the other hand, the compound before us appears to supply us with a Gaulish *sēdl-* closely akin with the Welsh feminine *hoedl*, 'lifetime,' whence *byr-hoedlēt*, 'shortness of life,' which in Med. Irish is expressed in the *Book of the Dun Cow* (fo. 60<sup>a</sup>) by *gar-sēle*<sup>1</sup>. Analogy would suggest for *sēle* and *hoedlēt* a Gaulish *sēdlīa*; but neither does this help one exactly to see how the *canecosedlon* of the inscription is to be interpreted. Allowing oneself, however, to be more or less guided by the analogy of the transition of meaning from *seat*, for instance, in the sense of stool to a *seat* in the sense of country seat, where a man spends his life, or by the etymologically suggested relation between a *settle* to sit upon, and that of the length of one's stay or sitting in the world as *settled* or fixed by destiny, one might venture

<sup>1</sup> Later MSS. substitute a form *garsecte* or the like, formed with the help of the Latin *sacculum*: I have not succeeded in finding the passage in the readings given in Windisch's *Tain*.

to think it not improbable that the ancient Gauls may have used *sedlon* in both the senses indicated. In that case it might perhaps be suggested that the key to *caneco* is supplied by the Irish word *cáin*, 'law, canon, rule,' for an early Celtic nominative *cāni-s*, whence possibly an adjective *cānico-* or *cāneco-*. Thus one would be enabled to interpret the compound word as a 'law chair, a judgement seat or tribunal.' Since writing the foregoing my attention has been called by a passage in M. d'Arbois de Jubainville's book entitled *Les Druides*, p. 5, to two Latin inscriptions at Autun mentioning a Gaulish god *Anyalos* or *Anyallos*. Now our *Anyalonnac-u* seems to be directly or indirectly derived from that of the god. This suggests that the *Anvalonnacos* was in some sense or other in the special service of the god *Anvalos*, perhaps his *gutwater* or 'flamen,' and that *Lienos* had made an official seat for him. While giving this conjecture for what it is worth, I may mention that others are possible, though hardly worth mentioning.

Like some of the previous inscriptions this also is in metre, in fact the same metre, for it seems to scan as follows:—

Lienos Con|téxtos i|éuru Anya|lonnácu | cáneco|sédlon.

It has sometimes been supposed that the legend is incomplete at the top, that is, that *Lienos* is the latter part of a longer name; but the metre makes this inadmissible, and at the same time it carries the accentual hexameter back to the beginning of the first century.

vi. AVIGNON (1). The Calvet Museum at Avignon contains among other Gaulish inscriptions one found in 1841 at Vaison in the Department of Vaucluse. It is written in cursive Greek letters: see Stokes, No. 6; *Dict. Arch.*, No. 2; and *C. I. L.*, XII. p. 162, where the editor describes the writing as *litteris malis et leviter incisus*: I can only say that I should have been glad if the rest of the Celtic inscriptions in Greek letters had not often been worse. It will be noticed that the sigma here, as in most of the other Celtic inscriptions in Greek characters, has the form of C, and that the coupling of the A consists not of a single straight line but of two, thus v: the reading is the following:—

ΣΕΓΟΜΑΡΟΣ	
ΟΥΙΛΛΟΝΕΟΣ	
ΤΟΟΥΤΙΟΥΣ	Segomaros son of Uillonos,
ΝΑΜΑΥΚΑΤΙΣ	citizen of Nîmes, made this holy
ΕΙΩΡΟΥΒΗΛΗ	place for Belesama.
ΚΑΜΙΣΟΚΙΝ	
ΝΕΜΗΤΟΝ	

In this inscription *ou* stands for *u* or *w* as in *Ουλλωνεος* and for the



vowel *u* as in *ειωρον*, which has come before us hitherto only in its spelling of *IEVRV*. When the diphthong *ou* or *ow* has to be expressed we have *oou* as in *τουουτιους*; but at the same time *v* alone, preserving the sound originally intended for it in Greek, is used in the diphthong *au* (pronounced as in German) in *Ναμανσατις*. The *ει* of *ειωρον* had probably the same sound as that of *i* in the Latin spelling *icuru* pronounced most likely as a trisyllable *i-cur-u*. Compare Greek *ει* used even for Latin *i* in the name *ΕΙΟΥΒΙΑΝΟΣ ΡΕΤΟΣ* (*C. I. L.*, V. 5408) which Mommsen regarded as meaning Iovianus Raetus: it comes from the neighbourhood of Como in North Italy. As to the history of Greek *ει*, see Blass *Ueber die Aussprache des Griechischen* (Berlin, 1888), pp. 31, 34. If any distinction was made between *ε* and *η* in Celtic names, it must have been one of quality or breadth as it was in Greek itself (Blass, *ibid.*, pp. 24-7). At all events *η* does not indicate a long vowel: it is short in the three instances before us, and in two out of the three *η* seems to have borne the stress accent. Take first *Βηλησαμι*, which was the dative of Belisama, the name of a goddess identified with Minerva in an inscription found at St.-Lizier in the Department of Ariège and beginning with the words *Minervae Belisamae sacrum* (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 8). Ptolemy in his *Geography*, ii. 3. 2, gives the goddess's name to an estuary in Britain, which is supposed to have been the Mersey, and the MSS. seem to be unanimous in reading *Βελίσαμα*. From the latter Holder derives *Belismius* (in a Caerleon inscription, *C. I. L.*, VII. 97), and from this in its turn the place-names *Blismus* in the Department of Nièvre, *Blesmes* in that of Marne, and another in that of Aisne. The interest of these forms is that they prove the name of the goddess to have been like such masculines as *Cintugnatos*, *Dannotalos*, *Segomaros*, and similar quadrisyllables accented on the antepenultimate, *Belisama*: see page 10 above. This is proved by the significant way in which the accented syllable has, in the French place-names, annihilated the two syllables which flanked it in Gaulish. The other word spelt with *η*, namely, *νεμητον*, is to be equated with the O. Irish *nemed*, a gloss on *sacellum*: see the *Gram. Celtica*, pp. 10, 801, and compare Strabo's compound *Δρυνέμετον* or *Δρυναίμετον*, xii. 5 (C 567), and in Ptolemy's *Geography*, ii. 7. 12, *Αύγουστονέμετον*. But this accentuation is doubtless Greek rather than Gaulish, which was probably *neméton*. But our first name was probably *Sēgōmāros* with the stress on the short *o* and not on the long *a*: compare such Greek words as *ἄνθρωπος*, which is, I understand, become *άνθρωπος* in Mod. Greek; but in Gaulish I should rather expect the change, when it took place, to have been towards *Sēgōmāros* and even *Sēgmāros*.

These words may next be reviewed with regard to their etymology and meaning: in his *Ur-keltischer Sprachschatz*, p. 297, Stokes treats *Segomarus* as *Segomāros* with *sego*, meaning 'strength, victory,' of the same origin as German *sieg*, 'triumph'; and *māros* may be taken as the ancient form of Welsh *mawr*, 'great,' O. Irish *már*, *mór*. Thus the whole name should mean 'him of great strength or power.' *Uilloncos* is supposed to be an adjectival formation from the father's name, which may accordingly have been *Uillonos*: the derivative should mean belonging to or related in some way to Villonos, in this instance related to him as his son. The more usual adjectival ending employed in such cases is that in *-io-* as in *Tarbeisonios* (in No. xxvi) and the like; for I do not identify *-eo-*s with the latter, and the question of its origin is a difficult one. But it seems to claim to be equated with the *e* of such Latin formations as *aureus*, 'golden,' from *aurum*, 'gold,' *charteus*, 'of or pertaining to paper,' from *charta*, 'paper,' *terreus*, 'of earth, earthen,' from *terra*, 'earth,' on which see Stolz's *Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache* (Leipsic, 1894, p. 473). Stolz<sup>1</sup>, however, is of opinion that Latin *-eo-* represents a prehistoric *-éio-* which lost its *î* 'im Uritalischen'; but I should prefer to suppose a still earlier, Italo-Celtic combination *-éo-*, and to regard it as surviving in Latin and Celtic. The difference in the application of the termination offers no difficulty: from saying, for instance, that a thing is of earth earthy to the English saying that a man's child is 'a chip of the old block' is but a short step. Another instance to compare with *Ουιλλουεος* is *Λιτουμαρεος*, from *Litumaros*, in No. xvi, and others will be found in Nos. xx and xxxiv.

With *τοουτιους* Stokes (*Celtic Declension*, p. 54) equates *Toutiu* (better *Toutio*) of the Briona inscription (No. xxxiv below), but the retention here of the final sibilant is rather unexpected, if, as he suggests, *τοουτιους* is the same vocable whose Latin genitive *Toutio[nis]* is restored by Mommsen and Hirschfeld in *C. I. L.*, XIII. 5278, and whose etymological equivalent is recognized by Dr. Stokes in the Gothic *thiudans*, 'king.' With this last, however, the name to be equated is rather *Toutu* or *Touto*, Latin genitive *Toutonis*, which occurs in an inscription found at Arles (*C. I. L.*, XII. 852). These and kindred forms are derived in the last resort from *touta*, 'a people or tribe,' in Irish *tuath*, 'a tribe,' Welsh *tud*, 'a people's country,' Breton *tud*, 'people,' A.-Sax. *theod*, 'the race, the people,' Gothic *thiuda*. If Dr. Stokes's suggestion that *ΤΟΥΥΤΙΟΥΣ* represents *toutiuns* of the *n*-declension is to be rejected, one has to regard it as

<sup>1</sup> For calling my attention to Stolz and to Blass I have to thank my friend Professor Joseph Wright.



a nominative of the *u*-declension: in either case it was probably pronounced *toutiūs* or *toutius*, liable to be contracted into *toutūs*. Dr. Stokes renders the word by 'magistrate'; but, in the absence of sources of information as to the exact meaning of the word, it seems safer to treat it as meaning no more than a citizen or native of Nîmes.

*Namausatis*, like *Namausicabo* in No. xvii is derived from *Namausos*, given in Latin more usually the form *Nemausus*, which the French *Nîmes* proves to have been accented *Némausos* or *Némosus*: possibly it reached the Romans through a Celtic channel, while the same vocable in its more Gaulish form has to account for the *Νεμωσσός* of Strabo, iv. 2. 3 (C 191), which was the city afterwards called Augustonemetum, at the present day Clermont-Ferrand, in the Puy-de-Dôme. The Gaulish form also underlies the actual name of Nemours in Seine-et-Marne<sup>1</sup>. One cannot help also seeing that the *nemetum* of *Augustonemetum* was probably related to *Νεμωσσός*, perhaps even synonymous with it, and that phonetically the first *a* of *Namausatis* and the *Namausicabo* of No. xvii had taken the place of an earlier *e* under the influence of the *a* of the ensuing syllable: this would happen all the readier in a syllable, which in an earlier pronunciation of those words, was unaccented. They are to be traced back probably to the same origin as Greek *νέμος*, 'a wooded pasture, a glade,' Latin *nemus*; but a more complete parallel—so complete, in fact, as to suggest a case of borrowing—offers itself in the old German *nimid*, 'heiliger Waldplatz' (Stokes's *Urk. Spr.*, p. 192); and Holder, s. v. *nemeton*, cites from the *Indiculus Superstitionum et Paganiarum* the heading 'De Sacris silvarum quae nimidas [=nemeta] vocant': see Pertz, LL. I. 19, and LL. Cap. I. 223.

As to *εωρον*, the *ω* of the Greek spelling, as contrasted with the *eu* of *ieuru* in Latin letters, seems to prove that there were at least two pronunciations, but we are not helped by the etymology of the word, as its origin is obscure; but it is possibly to be traced to the same source as an Irish verb of which we have the Mediaeval forms *íuras*, 'he or she who does, makes, or causes,' *ní iurfaithe*, 'would not be done or wrought': see Kuno Meyer's opinion in the *Revue Celtique*, vi. 191, 192, and, as inconsistent with it, Stokes's in his *Celtic Declension*, pp. 62, 63, where he is inclined to refer the Irish forms to a compound of the verb *orgim*, of much the same meaning as Latin *caedo*, 'I cut, I kill,' and similar significations. Perhaps in Celtic one may compare the personal name *Andiourus*, which Holder would divide into *And-iourus*. As to the termination *u* of the word here

<sup>1</sup> See M. J. Vendryes's 'Mélanges Italo-Celtiques' in the *Mémoires de la Soc. de Linguistique de Paris*, 1905, pp. 390, 391, and *The Englyn*, pp. 6, 7.

in question, it is to be observed that the Irish forms argue a weak verb on a level with the Latin *amo*, 'I love,' or *canto*, 'I sing,' making in the third person singular of the preterite *amavit*, *cantavit*, which are in Italian *amò*, *cantò*. Similarly the *u* of *ieuru* may be all that was left of *-ouit* or *-avit* in Gaulish: compare *logitoe* in No. xxxi, and *carnitu*, *carnitus* in Nos. xiv, xxxiv, xxxvi. That this kind of formation existed in Celtican we know from *voravi* and *priavi* in the Rom inscriptions: see my last paper, pp. 41, 47, 64. *Sosin* probably meant 'this' as in No. ii above, and as it agrees with *celicon* and *nemeton* it must be regarded as neuter, and contrasted with the Celtican *sosio* used substantivally as a neuter in the Rom inscriptions no less than half a dozen times.

Lastly, the dactylic rhythm of the latter part of the inscription leads me to suppose that the whole was meant to be verse; but I am far from certain that I have hit on the metre intended. On the whole it seems to form a hexametre and a half, somewhat as follows:—

Σεγόμε|ρος Ουίλλο|ρέος τοου|τίλους Ναμα|σάτις ε|ίώρου  
Βη|λίσαμ| |σόσω νε|μήτου.

It is to be noticed that the short line has the stress accent exactly placed as in Horace's *Insignes aut Thèssala Témpe*, or *Iniecto ter pùlvete cùrras* in *Odes*, i. 7 and 28, that is, when read as prose. I should not venture, however, to suggest that the author of the inscription knew anything about the Alemanian couplet, but only that he imitated the (prose) accentuation of the hexameter, and took also the liberty of appending a part hexameter. But as we are now getting southwards, with Massilia not so very far off, a question which I cannot answer presents itself—Was the hexameter, which the Gauls set themselves to imitate and to modify in their own way, taken from Roman poetry or directly from the Greeks?

vii. AVIGNON (2). On the hill overlooking the town of Orgon, in the Bouches-du-Rhône, was discovered in 1866 an inscribed stone, which is now in the Calvet Museum at Avignon: see the *Revue Celtique*, vii. p. 450, viii. p. 397—both inaccurate, and *C. I. L.*, XII. p. 820. It reads as follows:—

ΟΥΗΒΡΟΥΜΑΡΟΣ ΔΕΔΕ ΤΑΡΑΝΟΥΥ ΒΡΑΤΟΥΔΕ ΚΑΝΤΕΜ	Vebrumaros gave firstfruits to Taranus by decree.
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The lettering, which is not good, has the following points deserving of notice. The Y consists of a perpendicular stroke prolonged below the line, and of a short straight line branching from the upper part



of that perpendicular towards the left. The B has its lower part larger than the upper, and the arcs are seldom brought together to touch the perpendicular. The P is long, with its semicircle small and tending to become a triangle. The second O is smaller than the other letters. The sigma (imperfect at the top) and the alpha have the same forms as in the Vaison inscription, No. vi; also *ov* and *oov* are here used as in that one. No intentional ligature occurs, but other inscriptions go to prove that what is here clearly an M should have been a ligature for NA: that is, it lacks the joining line. Most likely the workman who carved the letters misread the copy given him, with the last word correctly spelt KANTENA, but with the two last letters ligatured; unless M be simply a slip, for N.

The name Vebrumaros is remarkable in having the vowel *u*, not *o*, at the end of its first element: whether this means anything more than an obscure sounding of the vowel, it is difficult to say; but compare such datives as *Alisanu* in iii and *Avevo* in xxxi<sup>a</sup>. The meaning of the name is not certain; but the second element is probably to be treated as *māros* and identified with that of *Segomāros* in Nos. iii and vi, and *uebru* is perhaps to be explained by reference to the Welsh word *græfr*, 'amber.' In that case the compound would seem to have meant one who was great or distinguished for his amber, one who made a display of amber in the adornment of his person. *Taranou* is the dative case of *Taranu-s*, 'a divinity identified with thunder': the Welsh word is still *taran*, 'a thunder.' The declension was probably nominative *Taranu-s*, genitive *Taranous* or *Taranouos*, and dative *Taranoūi*, retaining possibly an old Aryan accentuation *Taranómos*, *Taranóūi*. It is a shortening of this latter that we probably have in *Taranou*, written here TAPANOOPY. Compare the doubtful case of *Γρασελου* in No. xiii, and contrast *Μαρσεουι* in x and *Ειουι* in xviii: see also xxii.

To come to the other words, *dede* is probably more or less analogous in formation to the Latin reduplicate verb *dedit*, 'gave.' As to *cantena*, this has been touched upon in my previous paper, p. 34, where the meaning of *primitiae*, or firstfruits, has been suggested in connexion with the entry (on the 13th of August) concerned with the offering of the harvest to the god Rivos. To the remarks<sup>1</sup> made thereon I would add that while Irish *cét-* corresponds to a Welsh *cant-*, the common Celtic combination was probably *cnto-*, whence a strong form *canto-* and a weak one *cinto-* (as in Gaulish names like *Cintúgnatos*), in Irish *cetu-*, *ceta-*, *cita-* (Stokes, *Urk. Spr.*,

<sup>1</sup> So far as they postulate C. RIV they are to be cancelled, for the right reading is G. RIV: see pp. 86, 91 below.

p. 77), represented in Welsh by *cynt*, 'previously, before.' As a related word may perhaps be mentioned Latin *re-cens*, *re-centis*, English *recent*; and the phonetic sequence in Goidelic is illustrated by the *Cantlo-s* of the Calendar being represented in O. Irish by *cétol*, *cétal*, while the Welsh equivalent *cathl* (for \**cantlo-n*) 'song' retains the older vowel throughout.

The word *bratude* offers some difficulty, for it is not quite clear whether it is made up of *brātu-*, 'a judgement, doom' (Welsh *brawd*, as in *Dyā Brawd*, 'the Day of Judgement,' Irish *Lá Brátha*), with *de*, 'from,' as a postposition, O. Welsh *di*, pronounced (as a preposition) probably *di*, Med. Welsh *y*, Irish *de*, or else that *βπαρουδε* is a derivative from *brātu*, not involving any postposition, but carrying with it the sense of 'through or because of a decree,' by virtue of its being in an oblique case, say the ablative or instrumental, *βπαρουδ-ε*. Compare *in Alivie* in xxxii, also the forms *Acmadae*, *Bagaudae*, *bascauda*, *Cassauda*, *Sapaudus*, collected by Holder under *-dos*, *-da*, *-don*, and also such Irish words as *crabud*, Welsh *crefyd*, 'religion,' which Stokes derives (p. 97) from \**crab*, 'piety or religion.' In his *Celtic Declension*, pp. 62-4, he interprets *brātu-de* as 'by decree,' 'by order,' and cites as its Latin equivalent *ex imperio*, from an inscription reading 'Matronis Affliabus M. Marius Marcellus pro se et suis ex imperio ipsarum,' from J. De Wal's *De Moedergodinnen* (Leyden, 1846), No. cxx (p. 88). There it is to be noticed that the originating of the decree is ascribed to the Mother-goddesses themselves. That is probably the way to interpret *βπαρουδε*, but the instance does not settle the question as to the composition of the word.

viii. AVIGNON (3). Among other inscriptions in the Calvet Museum is one from Apt, or more precisely from St.-Saturnin-d'Apt. It is an imperfect one on a small altar reading as follows: see Stokes, p. 64; *C. I. L.*, XII. p. 137:—

OYAAIKIO	'Valicio son of Onerestos to (the
ONEPECT///	goddess) Aiunia.'
AIOYNIAI	

The letter here given as the last of the first line may have been either C, that is s, completing a name Valicis, or else O with its right side broken off—the right edge of the stone is all very rough and imperfect. *Valicio* would probably be a noun of the *n*-declension: there is nothing to suggest *valicios*. The next line may have had an I after the T, hardly any broader letter. An Arles inscription gives a potter's mark (*C. I. L.*, XII. 5686. 747) as RESTI O—that is 'Resti



O(fficina),’ and according to that one might treat *Valicio Oneresti* as meaning Valicio son of Onerestos. *Aiouniai* is more difficult to interpret, except that it is probably a dative of the name of a goddess. Her name in the form we have it admits of being explained in the following ways: (1) The termination *ai* is a way of representing the *e* which Stokes sets down as the ending to be expected—his declension, p. 102, gives ‘nom. *rēda*, gen. *rēdēs*, dative *rēde* (*rēdi*?), accusative *rēdim*,’ ‘a chariot’; and the name as a whole may be of the same origin, presumably Celtic, as the man’s name *Aio* or *Aiio* of the *n*-declension, as to which see the inscriptions cited by Holder. *Aiunia* would be a derivative from *Aiuno-s* (*Aiuna*, *Aiuno-n*) and the termination *-uno-s* may be a variant of *-ono-s* (*-ona*, *-ono-n*) which Holder illustrates by means of a long list of names ending with it. (2) Treat the terminal *ai* in the same way as before, but suppose the name of the goddess to be the Greek word *αἰωνία* borrowed and modified in Gaulish into *Aiunia*. This would require one to suppose that some of the Greeks with whom the Gauls had come in contact had a goddess called the Eternal or the Everlasting One. (3) Treat the whole word ΑΙΟΥΝΙΑΙ as intended, in spite of the spelling with *ou*, for the Greek dative *αἰωνία*, and it would naturally follow that we should regard the inscription as a whole as Greek, and not as any kind of Celtic. Now on comparing other inscriptions, such as the next one here, I am inclined to favour the first of these three interpretations, but I feel by no means certain on the point.

ix. AVIGNON (4). In the court of the Calvet Museum is an inscribed block of considerable weight brought there from Gargas in the Department of Vaucluse. In the *Corpus*, XII. p. 137, it is treated as being still at Gargas, and I failed to learn when its removal took place. Stokes’s reading, p. 64, is inaccurate, which is owing probably to a misprint, as the lettering is good and perfectly plain. It consists of one line close to the top edge of the block, and runs thus:—

ΕΚΚΕΓΓΑΙΒΛΑΝΔΟΟΥΙΚΟΥΝΙΑΙ

It probably means ‘For Escenga daughter of Blandouicunos.’ Here we seem to have the same dative ending *AI* for *e*, for I see no reason to suppose this inscription to be Greek. Both names seem at any rate to be Celtic: the stem *esceng* stands probably for what might otherwise be expected as *excing*. Compare ΕΚΚΙΓΓΟΡΕΙΞ in inscription xx, and names like *Excingomarus*, *Excingillus*, *-a*. But very possibly *x* is here nothing more than another way of writing *s* or *ss*; that is to say, the prefix *ec-s* had in pronunciation been reduced to *ess*, at least when it came immediately before another consonant. The

adjective agreeing with *Escenga* probably involves the father's name, which would be *Blando-yicunos*; and this in its turn looks like a derivative from *Blando-yix*, genitive *Blando-yicos*, to be compared with such forms as *Ordo-yices*, 'hammer-fighters,' *Branno-yices*, *Lemo-yices*, and others: the ending *-uni-ai* reminds one of the *Aiuniai* of the last inscription. What the *blando* portion of the compound meant is not evident: if it be of the same origin as Latin *blandus*, one might perhaps explain the name as meaning a bland fighter, a courteous warrior.

Lastly, I wish to mention that the stone bearing the above writing was dressed for another purpose: it seems to have come out of a great building, and it bears on the face of it, what seems to have escaped the editor of the *Corpus*, traces of a long and elaborate inscription which a stonemason has purposely effaced; but here and there one can identify a letter or two. Thus towards the left edge, not far below the Greek lettering, I thought I detected CII or CV, a little lower I ORDO, but the two last letters were doubtful; also a good deal lower down, and of a larger size, I detected VG or AVG (with AV ligatured) or perhaps NC. I mention these merely in order to call further attention to the stone, as somebody with better eyes than I have may be able to make out enough of the writing to obtain an idea to what it related. The placing of the Gaulish inscription so close to the upper edge of the block is probably to be explained as due to a wish to avoid as much as possible the earlier writing, and even the area where it was known to have been.

x. AVIGNON (5). In the same Museum there is an inscribed column from L'Isle-sur-Sorgue in the Department of Vaucluse. The lettering is bad, and the surface of the stone is so irregular, owing to holes and scratches, that I have not succeeded in reading it so as to make sense of it. In the *Corpus*, XII. p. 822, it is given as ΑΔΓΕΝΝΟΡΙΓ : ΟΥΕΡΕΤΕ//ΜΑΡΕ/ΥΙ; but I was inclined to think that I detected traces of an I after the second Γ of the first line, also that the letter following the tall T may be an O. Then comes a gap where there should be perhaps two letters. Then I jotted down some strokes in which I fancied I found a Λ and an Α, but I concluded that Hirschfeld's MA cover the space and the traces of writing more satisfactorily. After the second ΡΕ I seemed to see a C or the beginning of ΟΟ, which would fill the gap before ΥΙ. The guesses may accordingly be read thus:—

ΑΔΓΕΝΝΟΡΙΓ  
ΟΥΕΡΕΤΟ///ΜΑΡΕΟΟΥΙ



The whole looks as if intended to be in the dative case, and if one take Hirschfeld's ΟΥΕΡΕΤΕ to be the better reading, which it may well be, the readiest way to complete the name would be to suppose it to have been Ουερετεου (= *Verete-u*) dative of Ουερετε-ος, 'son of Ουερετος': compare Ουιλλουεος in No. vi. Lastly, Μαρεουι could only be the dative of a word of the *u*-declension making in the nominative case *Μαρεουs*, which could hardly be anything else than the Latin cognomen *Marius*, borrowed and adapted as a noun of the Gaulish *u*-declension; but why *Μαρεουs* rather than *Μαριουs* is not clear. Instances, however, of Greek ε for Latin ι are by no means wanting: witness such ones as Καπετώλιον, λεγεών, and others cited by Blass, loc. cit., p. 34, and in Latin inscriptions there is no lack of ε for ι, such as *fecet* for *fecit*, *uteles* for *utilis*, *Veatori* for *Viatori*, and many more brought together in the *Corpus*, vol. XII. pp. 953, 954. The Gauls could doubtless readily pronounce *Marius* or *Marūs*, but they may have had a difficulty in hitting off *Máriūs* as a trisyllable, and got used to say *Márēūs*. Be that as it may, the whole, according to the view here advanced, might be translated:—'To Adgennorix Marius, son of Veretos.' The Gaulish, it is seen, comes as near as it was possible without using a word for son, to the ordinary Latin formula in such cases as the following: *Aemili Calvini f. Sabiniani*, 'Of Aemilius Sabinianus, son of Calvinus' (*C. I. L.*, V. 6527) and *Devilliae Catulini fil. Titiolae*, 'Of Devillia Titiola, daughter of Catulinus' (*ib.*, XII. 2271). If these conjectures should prove well-founded, one might regard this inscription as pointing to the second or first century B. C., when the conqueror of the Cimbri, Teutones, and their allies was the greatest name in the Roman world, and especially in the Rhone valley in Southern Gaul.

xi. AVIGNON (6). A piece of a column from the neighbourhood of Apt bears an inscription in mixed Greek and Latin letters, which are now hopelessly illegible in part. Hirschfeld has tried them in the *Corpus*, XII. p. 822, and I agree with him as to the latter part of lines 1 and 2; but he is wrong as to the word forming line 3, which he gives as ΑΔΕ with a suggestion of something to precede the Α. The word is no other than the Latin VALE, with V and A ligatured, and the L a little damaged. This, together with the portions of the other lines fairly legible, will stand thus:—

..... NITΟΥΕ  
 .... ARNOE  
 VALE

The sigma at the end of the first line is imperfect: it tends to be

square, and is decidedly so at the end of the second line. It is the form used throughout the Cassitalos inscription (No. xviii) at Nîmes; and it was probably not arrived at by angulating the rounded sigma C, but by giving Σ a straight back: it is here transcribed C. The NO consists of a badly formed N with a little O in the top angle, which is made wide like some instances of the Etruscan N in Nos. xxxiv, xxxvi below; but the N in the first line is different: one might perhaps read IOV rather than NO. The R is very degenerate, consisting of a badly made P with the stem crossed by a straight line near the bottom of the bulge at the top: a somewhat better instance occurs in the earlier portion of the first line, where I guess NITOV C, to be preceded by NERAI P. The NE would be a ligature, but the N portion is very doubtful: the ER are fairly certain and probably end a word. As to ΛI, this is also Hirschfeld's reading, but it is just possible one should read N. He represents the next letter as a Q, but I do not think it anything but a badly shaped Latin P, and instances of it will be found beginning a potter's name, *Perimos*, in the *Corpus*, XIII. 10010. 1525. Before ARNOS Hirschfeld has an N, but I see there a ligature which might be read either AV or AN, and preceding it I thought I detected an M; but needless to say it is very doubtful. I ought to have said that to the right of the fracture in the first line Hirschfeld has an italic F, which I suppose should be the beginning of the line; but I gave it up. My conjectures, brought together with the utmost diffidence, stand as follows:—

..... NER AI PNITOV C  
 MAVARNOE  
 VALE

In the *Corpus* this has been classed as a Celtic inscription, but one cannot be certain to what language it belongs, with the exception of the word VALE, with which I leave it.

Before quitting the Calvet Museum I may mention that a cast was shown me of an inscription supposed by some to be Celtic: I first heard of it from M. Maruéjol, Conseiller Général at Nîmes, whose letter describes it as an 'inscription rupestre, gravée sur un rocher qui borde la Durance à Cavaillon (Vaucluse),' and he gave the reading

OYEAPOY  
 ΦΗΚΙΚΟC

On looking at the cast I felt inclined to read Δ instead of Λ in the first word; but I missed visiting the original, which, though only about twenty minutes' walk from the railway station at Cavaillon, is



very difficult to find. This I learnt from a letter from another Nîmes archaeologist, Dr. Michel Jouve, Conseiller at the Cour d'Appel; who was spending his vacation at Cavailon, and would have kindly guided me to where the inscription is covered by the mud of the Durance. Since he rediscovered it some years ago he has acted as guide thither, among others, to M. Labaude, head of the Musée Calvet at Avignon, who has, I am told, contributed a note on it to the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse*, 1903, p. 164. Dr. Jouve's letter reached me too late for me to avail myself of his kind offer. In any case, I do not suppose the inscription to be Celtic.

xii. MALAUCENE. An inscribed stone found at Beaumont, near Vaison, was taken to his house by an antiquary named M. de St.-Bonnet, and finally removed to his home at Malaucène, where it and other antiquities collected by M. de St.-Bonnet are preserved by his courteous and hospitable heir, M. Chastel. This inscription is all in Roman letters, and as a whole it is in the Latin language: see Stokes's No. 24, where the initial letter has been read I instead of S, and *C. I. L.*, XII, 1351, where the reading is more correctly given, as follows:—

SVBRON//  
SVMELI  
VORETO  
VIRIVS · F

The right-hand top corner is broken, but after N there is still to be seen the foot of some such a letter as I, possibly E. The whole of the right-hand edge of the stone is rough and broken, but I fancied I detected a stop at the end of the second and third lines: in any case, I do not suppose much is gone. As to the lettering there is nothing much to be said, except that the S is long and sprawling: the tail of the last one passes below the line almost beneath the V preceding. The F has its horizontal lines very near one another, and of about equal length. This is one of the inscriptions which have been painted in red, and as usual incorrectly painted, whence it is perhaps that the long initials was misread I.

The interpretation offers considerable difficulties as it admits of being construed in several ways: (1) F probably stands for the Latin word *fecit*, and the Latin proper name *Virius* may be taken as the nominative. (2) *Voreto-virius* would make a Gaulish patronymic, meaning, according to the analogy of other instances, 'son of Voreto-viros': the latter seems to be exactly represented in Welsh by *gwarded-wr*, 'rescuer or deliverer,' from *voreto-*, Welsh *gwarded*, 'deliver-

ance,' and *viros*, Welsh (*g*)*wr*, 'vir.' That being the meaning of *voretō*, it does not appear how to construe it except as part of a compound *Voretō-virius* rather than attach it to *Sumeli*. (3) This latter word may be taken to stand for a nominative *Sumelis*, and one would then construe *Sumelis Voretovirius* as 'Sumelis, son of Voretoviros' and treat it as the subject of the verb *fecit*. But (4) it seems improbable that Subroni and Sumeli are to be severed, and if they are construed together we have the following three possibilities to take into account: (a) We construe Subroni(s) Sumeli(s) Voretovirius as the designation of a single man: that would give the inscription only a minimum of sense. (b) Say Subroni and Sumeli go together as the names of two members of the family of Voretoviros, and you may construe thus: 'Sumeli(s) son of Voretoviros made this for Subro', but that sounds forced as you ought to have a word for brother, sister, mother, or the like. (c) Take the alliterating names Subroni and Sumeli to have belonged to a single person, and the whole may be rendered thus: Voretovirius made (this) for Subro Sumelis.

Of the possible interpretations—I am not sure that I have exhausted them—I give the preference decidedly to the last mentioned. It is doubtful, however, what it was that Voretovirius made; but it was probably some kind of a building in the wall of which the inscribed stone had been duly placed. So the building may have been either a temple or a tomb: at any rate Hirschfeld thinks the inscription admits of being regarded as a sepulchral one. Unfortunately the names do not help one to decide whether the bearer of the two first was divine or human. *Sumelis*, however, seems to point to a female rather than a male. The prefix *su* or *so*, Irish *so*, Welsh *hy*, is largely used in the Celtic languages to make adjectives implying the qualities or characteristics of what is suggested in the ensuing portion of the *su*-word. Take such examples as the following:—Gaulish *su-carus* (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 10010, 2408), O. Breton *hocar* (in *Eu-hocar*), Welsh *hy-gar*, 'amiable, apt to be loving or friendly,' from *car*-, 'to love'; Irish *so-chruth*, 'good as to shape, fair of form'; Welsh *hy-bryd* (unattested), the contrary of Irish *do-chruth*, Welsh *dy-bryd*, 'deformed, hideous, ugly,' from *cruth* and *pryd*, 'form, shape'; Welsh *Hy-wel*, *Howel*, 'conspicuous, easy to see,' from *gwel-ed*, 'to see'; Welsh *hy-law*, 'distinguished for his hand and its cunning, dexterous, handy, εὐχερῆς,' from *llaw*, 'hand'; *hy-barch*, 'venerable,' from *parch*, 'respect'; and *hy-fford*, 'having knowledge of the way,' whence *hyfforddi*, 'to put one on the way, to direct and instruct.' Having regard to the majority of this category of words one might reduce them into two groups: (a) those in which the prefix has the force of 'good or desirable,' and



(b) those in which the idea of 'good or desirable' does not appear, but only the neutral one of 'capable of being, doing, or suffering in a certain way.' Some, however, of the instances are hard to classify: take for example *hydraul*, which Davies renders 'tritu facilis, consumptu facilis, εὐτριπιτος': that fits well enough into the second group until you come to the passage he had in view when he added the Greek word. It occurs in the *Mabinogion* (Oxford edition, p. 55) and reads 'a hen diflat *hydreul* tla6t ymdana6,' meaning 'clad in old clothes, threadbare and poor.' This signification of *hy-draul* from *traul*, 'wear, waste,' will not fit the first group though it may be Englished as 'well worn,' and not into the second except by force of throwing back the capacity for being worn into the past. Now as *su-* is supposed to have originally meant 'good or well,' an inference drawn from the fact that *su-* and *hu-* occur in the same sense in Sanskrit and Zend, we have to refer Sumeli(s) probably to the first group of words with *su* and guess its meaning as well as we can. What words there were in the Celtic languages with the combination *mel* one cannot tell, but one such for certain was the word for honey, which in Welsh is still *mel*. If one fix on that I should gather that Sumelis meant one who had the leading attribute of honey, namely, sweetness, let us say in his or her speech and disposition; that is, Sumelis would have meant honey-like or sweet-spoken: the derivative *somilse* meant in O. Irish 'sweetness, *dulcedo*.'

So much as to the meaning of the name; the examination of the inflection places one on a surer footing. In early Brythonic and Gaulish the declension was probably not very different from what it was in early Goidelic, and the latter can be constructed as far as one wants from Mediaeval Irish which was nominative *mil*, genitive *mela*, dative *mil*. The Latin was *mel*, genitive *mellis*, and the Greek μέλι, genitive μέλιτος, both neuter, while Welsh *mel* is masculine and the Mod. Irish feminine; but supposing the Irish and Welsh were also originally neuter, the Irish forms were, for early Goidelic, nom. *meli*, gen. *mely-as*, dat. *meli*. If the word was not neuter then the nominative would be *meli-s*, and whether *mel* was neuter or not the personal name would be *Sumelis* with a dative *Sumeli*, the form which we have here standing in the Latin inscription as the epithet or surname, as I take it, of Subroni.

Analysing this latter name into *Su-broni* in the dative case, the question is what we are to make of *bron-i*. One mechanically thinks of the Greek σῶφρων, neuter σῶφρον, genitive σῶφρονος, dative σῶφρονι, 'of sound mind, discreet, prudent.' However, I am not rashly going to identify the Greek *σω-* in this word with our Celtic *su-*, as I am

aware that there are difficulties in the way; but the second element remains attested by such words also as εὐφρων, εὐφρον, 'cheerful, making glad, well-minded, kindly,' πρόφρων, -ον, gen. πρόφρονος, 'well-wishing, gracious, zealous,' ἄφρων, -ον, genitive ἄφρονος, 'senseless, frantic,' φρόνησις, 'purpose, high character, good sense, practical wisdom,' all connected with φρήν, gen. φρενός, 'the midriff, the heart, *praecordia*, the breast, the seat, as it was supposed, of the mental faculties.' So one may regard *Subroni* as of the consonantal declension—nom. *Subrō* for an earlier *Subron-s*, and dative *Subron-i* which appears to be the reading in this inscription. But the cognates are not confined to Greek: we have them also in the Celtic languages, and among them may be mentioned the Welsh *bryd*, 'mind, thought, purpose,' Irish *breath*, 'judgement, verdict'; and Stokes (s.v. *bera*, *brā*) interprets the Gaulish *vergo-bretos* as '*iudicium exsequens*'; from Welsh *bryd* is derived *ded-fryd*, 'a verdict,' and *hy-fryd*, 'to one's mind or liking, pleasant, agreeable,' but explained by Davies as 'hilaris, amoenus, εὐφρων.' Another derivative from the same root is to be found in the *βρατουδε* already noticed in connexion with No. vii, p. 17 above, where the *βρατου* portion of the word has been referred to the same origin as Welsh *brawd*, 'judgement or doom,' Irish *bráth*, the equivalent of which Stokes finds in such Gaulish names as *Bratupantium*, *Mandubratius*, and *Cassibratius*. In connexion with this suggestion his editor Bezzenger suggests the possibility of referring to the same origin the Greek word φρήν and O. Norse *grunr*, 'ahnung,' and *gruna*, 'beargwöhnen'—this, should it prove sound, would go to show that our Celtic words could not have anything to do with the root from which Latin *fero*, Greek φέρω, 'I bear,' and their congeners come, inasmuch as it suggests as stems rather *ghuron*, *ghuren*. However that may be, the Neoceltic languages have also cognates in which the nasal appears, namely Welsh *barn* (fem.), 'judgement,' and Irish *barn* (masc.), 'a judge.' But we have no stem exactly to match the *bron* of *Subroni* as the Greek forms do. The meaning of the name would be 'good at thinking, possessed of sound judgement, prudent and wise.'

xiii. NOTRE-DAME DU GROSEL, formerly *Grasellus* in Latin, near Malauène. A little beyond M. Chastel's house one comes to the church of Notre-Dame du Grosel or Groseau, situated in one of the most picturesque nooks I have ever seen; and there in front of the entrance is a mutilated inscription on a stone which forms part of a structure to hold a cross. According to one of the authorities quoted in the *Corpus*, XII. p. 824, the stone served some time previously as the support of the Roman altar (*l'autel romain*) in the little chapel



of St. John the Baptist, said to be the oldest chapel of the Groseau. Further, a document quoted by Holder, under *Grasellus*, appears to carry that form of the name back to the beginning of the seventh century, and speaks of a 'monasterium in loco nuncupato Grasello': it seems to be the same place, though Holder does not refer to the inscription there. The spring of the Groseau is a little further than Notre-Dame, and for lack of time I had regretfully to leave it unvisited. The reading given in the *Corpus* is as follows:—

////ΛΟΥC  
 ///ΛΛΙΑΚΟC  
 /ΡΑCΕΛΟΥ  
 /ΡΑΤΟΥΔΕ  
 ΚΑΝΤΕΝΑ

I ought, however, to say that for typographical reasons this ascribes a little too much to the *Corpus*, which gives only the first limb of the final A of ΚΑΝΤΕΝΑ, and only the second limb of the first Λ in the second line; but even that was rather more than I can be quite sure of. With regard to the original, I found the bottom of the Υ in the fourth line damaged so that the letter now looks more like a V. I could not be sure of the Β of βρατονδε, though it must have been there formerly; and the same remark applies to the Γ at the beginning of the third line, but I thought I could trace the Ρ following it, also the inner outline of an Ι at the edge where the reading quoted by Stokes, No. 12, gives a Β, and makes the whole line into ΜΑCΕΛΟΥΒ. The reason for that reading is not evident, and Hirschfeld is probably right in making it into Γρασελον, which one may possibly complete into Γρασελονι.

The C given in the *Corpus* at the end of the second line is scarcely to be traced now, and the letter preceding it is given as O. At first I took it to be E, but on examination it appeared to be an O, the circle of which has been squared: in fact most of this inscription has been tampered with and scratched in order, I suppose, to renovate it. I jotted down the whole of the line as yielding traces making ΙΛΛΙΑΚΟC, but that can hardly be the correct reading: it has too many lambdas. Possibly the ΛΛ should be regarded as representing a Μ: we should then have -μιλικος, but I cannot guess what the whole word would be. The same difficulty would meet us if we treated ΙΛ as traces of ΓΑ and the third Λ as Α, for that would yield -γαλιακος: what might be the whole word? A simpler conjecture would be to read -ΙΛΛΙΑΚΟC, which might be completed perhaps as Βριλλιακος; Holder gives *Brilliacus* as the name of more

than one place in Gaul, but none near Malaucène. Better than all these guessings perhaps would it be to regard the beginning of the second line as occupied by the end of the name beginning in the first line: this would allow us to read the second vocable as simply Ιλλιακος related to such names as *Illius*, fem. *Illia*, for which see Holder's *Altcelt. Sprachschatz*, as also for instances of *Illio-marus* and *Illio-marius*: see likewise Ιλλανουιακος in No. xvii. What remains for certain of the first line is ΛΟΥC, but immediately preceding the lambda there are traces of a letter which may be Π, but I feel far from certain. Now if λous ended the name in the nominative, which ought here to be the grammatical case, it would be a noun of the *u*-declension; but the chances are rather against a proper name of that declension—still more against two such in one brief inscription—and in favour of regarding the name as ending in the next line.

The treatment here of *ou* calls for a remark in passing. Before a consonant, as in λous and βρατουδε, it had probably the usual sound of *u*, while in Γρασελουι or Γρασελου it must have been the diphthong *ou* or *ow*, unless we are to suppose that it had been reduced in the pronunciation to *ū*. The whole may be represented as follows—

..... ΛΟΥC  
 ΟC·ΙΛΛΙΑΚΟC  
 ΓΡΑCΕΛΟΥΙ  
 ΒΡΑΤΟΥΔΕ  
 ΚΑΝΤΕΝΑ

And interpreting the last two words as was suggested in the case of No. vii one may render the inscription thus—'////// Iusos Illiacos (gave) firstfruits to Graselus by his decree.' The verb *dede* is here left out, but the construction of the sentence is perfectly clear, thanks to the case endings.

The third line giving the name of the recipient of the *cantena* naturally attracts attention in spite of its fragmentary state; for apart from the question as to the ending, the dative is here the centre of interest, because it seems to identify the name of the divinity with that of the spring, whence that of the 'locus nuncupatus Graselus,' was derived<sup>1</sup>. The nominative would accord-

<sup>1</sup> This relates to Aredius, bishop of Vaison in the seventh century, and the context will be found given in Pertz's 'Monumenta Germaniae Historica, *Diplomata*, i. 65 (= p. 57). In later times the place became a favourite resort of the Popes of Avignon; but now hardly a solitary cyclist finds his way there. Doubtless this will not always be so, as an enterprising society of Frenchmen has lately been organized to acquaint their countrymen with the beauties of French scenery.



ingly have been Γρασελους, *Graschus*, of the *u*-declension, and as the spring is now *le Grosel* or *le Groseau* the divinity of old was probably a god rather than a goddess. With regard to the change of vowel from *Graselus* to *Grosel* it is relevant to mention that I ascertained the fact that the local pronunciation still makes the vowel in question more *a* than *o*: it is decidedly nasal, for the word is sounded *Gra<sup>n</sup>zey*. Possibly the ancient form of the name would have been more correctly written *Granselus* in spite of the *Grasellus* of a later document: compare *cesor*, *Masuetus*, and *mesis* for *ensor*, *Mansuetus*, and *mensis* in Roman inscriptions frequently. Lastly, when one bears in mind the connexion of the stone with the Roman altar in the ancient chapel of St. John the Baptist, it is natural to infer that the early missionaries adroitly converted the rustic water-god *Graselus* into the Baptist of their own faith, though the former may have been a distant relative of *Apollo Granus*.

xiv. SAIGNON. Some four kilometres from the town of Apt, in the Department of Vaucluse, nestles the village of Saignon under the threatening crest of a once fortified cliff, and within the church is a hopelessly mutilated inscription. It is in the wall near the door as you enter, and I found it above the level of my eyes. It appears to have been plastered over for a time, which explains why the editor of the *Corpus* treats it as lost; in fact it is not very long since it was rediscovered by M. Ginestou, the hospitable and learned curé of Saignon. The editor states (*C. I. L.*, XII. p. 822) that the stone was originally found in the gardens of the presbytery about the year 1867, and the reading he gives shows much the same letters and portions of letters that I thought I saw. The following are my guesses:—

///ΔBO///IOO  
OYEIMATIKAN  
ΑΙΟΤΕΙΚΑΡΝΙΤΟΥ

The last letter visible in the first line may be regarded as *C* or an imperfect *O*: the *Corpus* has the latter, and indicates that the line did not end with it. The *l* in this line may have been a *T* with the top imperfect, but I copied it as *l*. The *B* seemed imperfect also at the top, but it has the shape characteristic of that letter in our inscriptions, especially those at Nîmes. The *Corpus* marks the *Δ* as imperfect, which did not attract my attention: there is no doubt, I think, as to its identity. The coming together of *ΔB* is remarkable, and recalls such Gaulish names as *Adbogius*, *Adbucillus*, and *Adbucietus*. Now, *ΑΔΒΟΓΙΟ-* will not fit the lacuna in the middle: probably *ΑΔΒΟΚΕΤΟ-* or *ΑΔΒΟΚΙΕΤΟ-* would do better;

but we should want it longer at the end, some such a form as *Αδβοκετοουξ*, or else *Αδβοκετος*, followed by the beginning of a patronymic genitive ending with the *ΟΥΕΙ*, let us say, of the second line: this last line ends with a ligature which has to be resolved into *ΑΝ*. The *Corpus* makes the last limb of the ligature too nearly perpendicular, as if it were *A* with an *I* accidentally attached to it. This is possibly the case with the beginning of the third line: it is rather imperfect, but it looks almost more like *ΑΙ* than *ΑΝ*, the whole word being as I read it *ΑΙΟΤΕΙ* or *ΑΝΟΤΕΙ*. It is right, however, to say that the *Corpus* reading is *ΑΙΟΥΕΙ*, where we differ as to *T* or *Y*, as to *A* or *Λ*. I was not aware of the reading with *Y*, and I copied the letter as a good *T*, so far as I can gather from my notes.

To these details of the reading must be added some attempts to interpret the whole. The first word to claim one's attention is the verb *καρνιτου* or *carnitu*, which occurs also in Nos. xxxiv and xxxvi, where Dr. Stokes translates it by '*congressit*' and 'heaped together.' The tense in *u* is the same as that of *ieuru*, which has been noticed at pp. 5, 16, and the syllable *it* may be compared with that of Latin *habito*, *vocito*, as compared with *habeo*, 'I have or hold,' and *voco*, 'I call.' We have *carn-* left us, which is doubtless of the same origin as Welsh *carn*, 'a heap or cairn.' Thus it would seem at first sight as if we might render the inscription in some such a way as '*Adbogio-ux* has here buried *Vimatica*'; but that will not do, since in the two instances where the accusative is expressed, namely twice in No. xxxvi, it is not the accusative of the person but of the thing. We must accordingly find an accusative of the latter kind in the second line. This leads to two interpretations, in which the digraph *€Ι* has probably to be treated both times as pronounced *i*, as in the case of *ειωρον*, at p. 14:—(a) Without a genitive, one would have to treat *Vimatica* as a word meaning a grave, or perhaps a pyre, and consider the legend to have run somewhat thus: '*Adbocietoux* piled up a *vimatica* for *Annotis*.' (b) With a genitive, such as *Mogouxi* (nom. *Mogovios*) or *Anovi* (compare Holder's nom. *Annous*, *Annovos*); and a dative *Anoti* (nom. *Anotis*: compare Holder's *Annotius*), the rendering would have to run on this wise: '*Adbocietos* son of *Anovos*, piled up a *matica* for *Annotis*.' The proper names are inserted simply to help to indicate the syntax of the sentence: I cannot make a more definite suggestion, because I do not know whether *vimatican* or *matican* is to be regarded as the accusative, or what either, in case of a decision being made between them, would mean. One might, however, guess that the idea of a funeral pile, if expressed by



a collective feminine *matica* (better in that case *mattica*), would harmonize with the Mod. Irish word *maide*, meaning 'wood, a stick, a staff.' It is supposed to come from an O. Irish *maite*, for an early combination *mazd̄io-s*, of the same origin as English *mast* and its congeners: see Stokes's *Urk. Spr.*, p. 203.

I may mention that the curé called my attention to a remarkable benitier in the church: it is of white marble, and its shape suggests to him that it was originally a druidic altar. One of its margins bears an inscription so far effaced that I could make nothing of it; but I was so tired and so afraid of missing my train for Avignon that I hardly gave the lettering a fair trial; so my failure is no proof that it cannot be read.

XV. ST.-REMY-DE-PROVENCE (1). The little town of St.-Remy (Bouches-du-Rhône) is associated with the ancient Glanum, and has in its immediate neighbourhood some of the most interesting of Roman remains; but the inscriptions which I went to see are in the Museum at the Mairie. One of them is on a stele reading as follows: see Stokes, No. 11; *C. I. L.*, XII. p. 127:—

OYPITTA  
KOCHAO  
YCKONI  
OC

That is *Urittacos Elusconios*, 'Urittacos, son of Eluscō or Elusconos.' *Urittacos* is a name of the same origin as *Ate-uritus*, *Ate-urita*, also *At-urita*, together with related forms duly recorded in the *Corpus*, XIII. 10010. 2096, 2907; and from Ireland may be added the genitive *Ape-vritti*: compare also xxxiii<sup>b</sup> below. Of the patronymic *Elusconios* I have nothing to say.

The lettering is comparatively good and quite certain.

XVI. ST.-REMY (2). Another stele at St.-Remy has its top broken off, but the inscribed portion of the stone is intact, and the lettering, though ruder than the previous one, is clear enough. This, however, does not spare one considerable trouble with the very first name, for it presents a ligature which has not been satisfactorily resolved. As far as concerns the strokes involved, they would be covered by supposing the ligature to have meant NN, but this is unlikely, as the next letter is M, and the whole name would be in that case BINNMOC. The reading adopted by Stokes, No. 10, is BIMMOC, and other authorities have treated it in the same way; but by so doing they omit one limb of the combination. Two other readings are mentioned in the *Corpus*, XII. p. 127, as BIMVMOC and BINVMOC,

both of which introduce a Latin V into a legend which is otherwise all in Greek letters. A less violent conjecture would be to take the M which is there to have had a line joining its two first limbs so as to make it into a ligature for AM, and to assume that this line was overlooked by the inscriber who had not carefully scanned the text given him to carve. The inscription would then stand thus:—

BINNAMOC  
ΛΙΤΟΥΜ  
ΑΡΕΟC

That is, 'Binnamos son of Litumaros,' Litumareos being a patronymic derived from Litumaros: compare Ουιλλορεος in No. vi, pp. 13, 15. Both *Litumarus* and *Litumara* are cited by Holder. *Binnamos* one would possibly have to derive from the same source as Irish *binn* or *bind*, 'sweet of voice, melodious'; and as regards the formation of the word compare such Gaulish personal names as Bladamus, Cavvama, Clutamus, Uxama, as to which see *C. I. L.*, XIII. 1316, and Holder, s.v. *-amo-*, *-amā*.

xvi<sup>a</sup>. The *Corpus* mentions another Celtic inscription which should be at St.-Remy, but the Maire, who is familiar with the antiquities in the local Museum, knows nothing about it: he was very ready to assist in the search, but it was all in vain. In the *Corpus*, XII. p. 127, it is given from a manuscript (Romyeu, f. 95<sup>1</sup>) as follows—ON ΘΟΥΟΠΟ ΔΙΟΥΙ·ΒΡΑΤΟΥ. Here the Θ possibly means an O, for that vowel is now and then ornamented with a point in the centre. The gap before it may be due to careless copying or else ON is the end of some longer word, the rest of which was illegible or broken off. The second and third Y have been copied as a V standing on a short horizontal line, but the peculiarity is probably due to the copyist. The inscription is imperfect not only at the beginning but also at the end, which was probably *βρατουδε καντενα*, as in the case of the Grosel inscription, which with its *Γρασελουι βρατουδε καντενα* helps one to construe the present one. In fact one perceives at once that *διουι* is in the exact position for a dative, and this proves to be so; for we have only to suppose the not uncommon substitution of *ī* for *ē* and we have *dēuī*, the dative of the word *dēuī-s* or *dēuī*, 'goddess.' In the first Rom inscription I have found the vocative as ΔΕΥΙ = *deuui*, which has been read *deci*. In Irish we have the word in a genitive *dea* in *Fir Dea*, 'the Men of the Goddess,' meaning the Tuatha Dé Danann, and *dea Dechtiri*, 'the goddess Dechtire's' (Bk. of Leinster, f. 123<sup>b</sup>); for *dēuī* would yield in early Irish the genitive *dēuī-as*, which according to the prevailing rule in that language had to become *dēa* in the course of time.



Further search should be made for this most interesting inscription, beginning with the examination of the Romyeu manuscript, to which the *Corpus* refers.

The *Corpus*, XII. p. 127, places among the Celtic inscriptions one found 'prope Glanum in cippo quadrato iuxta villam quæ dicitur *le Mas de Durand*,' which I did not visit; but it adds that the language may be Greek, and the reading given is ///YP/AKΛ/HOC/YEA, which suggests the name of Heracles, but nothing Celtic as far as I can see.

xvii. NÎMES (1). One of the most remarkable inscriptions in the Museum at Nîmes is one that was formerly to be seen in the temple of Diana: it is stated to have been originally found in 1742 near the great spring which forms one of the most remarkable features of that ancient city: see *C. I. L.*, XII. p. 383, *Dict. Arch.* No. 1, and Stokes, No. 7. The letters are here and there imperfect, and in two or three places wholly gone; the *Corpus* produces it accurately so far as it goes, but the *Dictionnaire archéologique de la Gaule*, No. 1, has tried to complete it, and has not done it satisfactorily. To the best of my belief the original was as follows:—

ΚΑΡΤΑΡΟΞΙΛΛΑΝΟΥΙΑΚΟΞΔΕΔΕ  
ΜΑΤΡΕΒΟΝΑΜΑΥΞΙΚΑΒΟΒΡΑΤΟΥΔΕ

The work of restoring the inscription is rendered comparatively easy by the MS. notes of Dardalhion, dating about 1745. M. Maruéjol kindly enabled me to find them in the public library. The second line is all legible, and the chief lacuna in the first line nearly covers the letters ΠΟΞΙ which Dardalhion's reading supplies. But even the perpendicular of the P can be traced in its proper place, and the lower end of the Ι is also there: the P has wrongly been guessed to be a Β. The top of several of the letters that come later in this line has been damaged, among others that of the Υ which Dardalhion has accordingly copied as an Ι; but as a matter of fact one can still detect the beginning of the fork of the Υ on the stone. The Κ of ΚΟΞ is also imperfect, but of special interest is the fact that the lower slanting arm of that letter does not reach down to the ground-level of the lettering as a whole: this makes it possible to suppose that the inscription began with a Κ and not with a gamma as has been usually thought. In any case, whatever it was, it had become very uncertain before Dardalhion saw it and copied it as a doubtful Ι. This last, however, could not fill the space, and the more fitting character seems to be one of the following, Γ, Η, Κ, Π, Ρ, Υ. Without any reason

of special force I have selected K, but I should be glad to see a better case made for any one of the other letters. This was the first inscription I found with the sigma written  $\Sigma$ , and I may mention that the E is here formed with its perpendicular protruding in both directions beyond the horizontal bars. Lastly, the sides of the triangle of the delta are produced upwards so as to cross one another and form a forking at the top; the base of the  $\Delta$  is produced also at both ends and twisted a little upwards. Altogether the lettering is more pretentious than in any of the previous instances. I may add that Dardalhion gives me the impression of being an accurate man, and as an instance I would mention his copy of the delta of  $\text{BPATΟΥΔΕ}$  with a short tag which hangs, as it were, from the middle of the base of that letter: I cannot suppose it, though well defined, to have had any meaning, but anyhow there it is, carefully reproduced by Dominus Dardalhion.

Thus far of the lettering: the inscription means 'Cartaros Illanuiacos gave (this) to the Nemausian Mother-goddesses by their decree.' What Cartaros did give was probably the gift of a building in whose wall the inscribed stone was inserted or else some gift which was not intended to be separated from the stone. *Cartaros* I should refer to the same origin as the plural *carti* in the first Rom inscription, where I have conjectured that it means strong or powerful (*Celtae*, p. 38). *Illanuiacos* has been treated by Dr. Stokes as the genitive of *Illanoviax*, but I am not sure of the existence of such genitives in Celtic, and it seems preferable to regard *Ιλλανοιακος* as an adjective agreeing with *Καρταρος*, and so with *Ιλλιακος* in No. xiii. What may have been the precise force of formations in *-akos* when used in this way I am unable to say. Holder supplies related names in *Illanuisa* and *Illanuo*, gen. (Latin) *Illanionis*, which he dates at Cologne in the first half of the first century of our era. *Dede* we have had in No. vii, and as to *matrebo* that corresponds to Latin *matribus*, while the feminine adjective derived from *Nemausus* has its dative plural answering to such Latin forms as *dominabus*, *filiabus*, and the like. *Bratude* we have had before, and both times with the dative coming immediately before it: see also xxii.

xviii. NÎMES (2). A stele found in the city in 1876 has the writing on two contiguous faces of the stone, and so placed that each line is partly on one face and partly continued across the edge on the other face, an arrangement which the *Corpus* seems to suggest in the case of a Latin inscription at Nîmes, namely XII. 3656: I do not recollect having noticed either this or No. 3964. The



reading of the present inscription is as follows: see Stokes, No. 8, and *C. I. L.*, XII. p. 383:—

K	A	C	C	I	T	A	A	O	C	
O	Y	E	P	C	K	N	O	C	A	
E	Δ	E	P	A	T	O	Y	A		
E	K	A	N	T	E	N	A	·	Λ	A
M	I	·	E	I	N	O	Y	I		

The lettering reminds one of that of the one from Apt: see No. xi above. It has the square sigma derived from Σ as is indicated by the protrusion of the two horizontal lines a little behind the perpendicular, which is especially visible as a kind of heel at the bottom. The koppa form of the P in that inscription has here become a simple loop on a stem. On the other hand, one is reminded of the Saint-Remy inscription from Romyeu's copy by the fact that here the upsilon tends to take the form of Latin V, from which it is, however, distinguished by the horizontal finish of the Υ being retained. Dr. Stokes ends his reading with the ΛA of the fourth line, and adds that the rest is 'almost certainly wrong.' It is repeated, however, in the *Corpus*, and is right except that it ends with Υ|| the last of which is not a letter but an accidental scratch. At any rate that is what it seemed to me to be, and I thought I found a point before ΛA and before EINO. It looks as if the author of the inscription treated the familiar sequence *dede bratude cantena* as requiring no punctuation, and as if he reserved it for the part which was special to this case, *Λαμι Ewovι*. Lastly, I ought perhaps to mention that in the *Corpus* the O of OYEP CI and of ATOY is provided with a little tag sticking out of the highest part of the circle of that letter. This should be the apex: it escaped me, and I do not understand what it can have meant, at all events in the former instance.

There is room here for the same doubt as to the pronunciation of the two syllables *ovι* as in No. xiii (p. 29), that is, whether they were sounded *ui* or *oui*. But in either case the word would be an instance of a dative corresponding to which the nominative must have been *Ewovς* or *Einovς* of the *u*-declension, which draws no distinction between masculine and feminine. It is of obscure origin and meaning, but we have possibly a kindred form in *Ino-reixς*, cited by Holder, and especially in Sp(urius) *Inuς*, and in . . . INOV CI . Δ(εδε) which he cites from the same part of France. *Ewovι* should be an adjective qualifying *Λαμι*, unless they are the names of two different persons, between which we should naturally insert a conjunction. So we come

to *Lami*, and that is somewhat more promising. The nominative should have been either *Lama* or *Lami-s*: the latter would be epicene while the other would probably be exclusively feminine. In either case one is reminded of the Latin and Greek *Lamia* 'a witch, a bugbear, a blood-sucking monster.' From Benwell near Newcastle-on-Tyne we have an ancient inscription of a delightfully brief character *LAMIIS & TRIBVS* (*C. I. L.*, VII. 507) which one is tempted to render 'To the Witches Three,' such witches as the weird sisters whom Shakespeare pictures meeting Macbeth. However, the word *Lamia* is less simple than *Lama* or *Lamis*, for either of which it would fit as a derivative. If we are to look for an Aryan etymology for these names, one would be inclined to compare the Goidelic deponent verb *lamiô-r*, 'I dare,' *ru-laimur*, '*audeo*,' *ni con-laimemmar*, '*non audemus*,' and the Welsh *llafasu*, 'to dare': see Stokes's *Urk. Sprachschatz*, p. 240, and Zeuss's *Gram. Celtica*, pp. 7<sup>a</sup>, 438<sup>a</sup>. *Cassi-talos* is analogous to *Danno-talos* and other compounds with *talos*, supposed to mean brow or forehead. Dr. Stokes has treated it as meaning 'fair-brow,' as suggested by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville; but the meaning of *cassi-* is not at all certain. *Uersicnos* is a patronymic signifying 'son of Versos,' but the etymology of the latter is obscure: Dr. Stokes compares Sanskrit *varshīyas*, 'upper,' and other words supposed to be cognate with it. Without going into these details the inscription may be rendered 'Cassitalos son of Versos gave first-fruits to *Lamis Einus* (or *Lamis* and *Einus*) by her (or their) decree.' Taking them to be two, I should not suppose them to be of the class of Mother-goddesses, for in the latter case they should be three rather than two. So one would have to treat them either as a god and his parda or, better, as a goddess and her son. Lastly the Irish man's name *Mug-Lama*, '*Servus Lamiae*,' decides, by means of its genitive *Lama* (= Early *Lamīyas*), for *Lamis* as against *Lama*.

xix. NÎMES (3). On a small piece of brick-like substance in the Nîmes Museum is the following fragment: see Stokes, p. 64; *C. I. L.*, XII. p. 833:—

MBATI  
TOOY  
TIN

The M is mostly gone, so is the T in the second line, and somewhat less so in the last line, which ends with N, and not M as it has sometimes been represented. The second line suggests *TOOYTIOYC*, so the inscription was probably Celtic.



xx. NÎMES (4). Another Nîmes inscription, now in the Museum, reads as follows: see Stokes, No. 9, and *C. I. L.*, XII, p. 383:—

ΕΣΚΙΓΓΟ  
ΡΕΙΞΚΟ  
ΝΔΙΑΛΛΕ  
ΟC

That is, 'Escingorix son of Condillos': it was probably his tombstone. The stone is a narrow one about a yard long with the top rounded. The lettering is clear and well cut. Note that here *ει* was probably pronounced *ī*, and compare No. vi (p. 14): Celtic *peiξ* is probably to be everywhere pronounced *rīa*, genitive *rīgos*.

The man's name should mean king or leader of *escingi*, and the latter word, according to M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, should mean the warriors who sally forth to attack the enemy. Escingos was a fairly common name and it stands for *Ex-cingos*: see p. 20. *Condillos* should be a derivative from some such a name as *Condos* of which Holder gives instances.

xxi. NÎMES (5). A fragment of a vase found at Nîmes is now in the Museum, and shows a nearly illegible inscription which may possibly be Celtic: this is my copy of it:—

MATIAC◊ . . . .  
KONN◊YBP . . . .

But I must explain that of the first letter there is hardly any more left than would cover a lambda. Then the TI are somewhat doubtful, and may perhaps be Π; the A following is also doubtful, and the C is very open, having in its bosom what may be a small ◊ though it looks more of the shape of a D. So the whole line may have been ΛΑΤΙΑC◊ or ΛΑΠΑC◊, but I prefer the former guess. As to the second line, what I have transcribed NN has this appearance, *ŃŃ*, and I know not what to make of the character except a sort of exaggerated Etruscan N: possibly it may be a gamma. The letter following the B has the appearance of the little triangle forming sometimes the top of a P, but I could not trace the stem below and detect there another *βρατονδε*. After KONNO or ΚΟΓΓΟ, I thought I saw a small point, but it was too low in the line to have, I think, been intended. I have not succeeded in finding this fragment in the *Corpus*; but it somewhat reminded me at first of No. 5885 Ad. on a stone found near Collorgues (Gard). The editor gives it as

ΑΑΠΑΟ and suggests that it is a factitious production intended ΚΟΛΛΟΥΡΓ, for the glory of Collorgues.

xxii. NÎMES (6). At St.-Côme or Cosme, near Nîmes, was found, in 1886, a fragmentary inscription, which is now in the Museum there: see *C. I. L.*, XII. p. 833. It reads as follows with the first portion of both lines gone, perhaps one third of the whole:—

..... ΑΔΡΕΣΣΙΚΝΟΣ  
..... ΥΙΒΑΤΟΥΔΕΚΑ

Whether KANTENA was written in full one cannot say, but the formula coincides partly with that of xvii (Nîmes 1), and more closely with that of Le Grosel, No. xiii; for it has *κα(ντενα)* and may have had *δεδε* also. The ΥΙ is doubtless the end of a dative in *ου* or *ουου* of the name of the divinity to whom the gift was made: what that name was one knows of no means of discovering. The lettering is very like that of the former inscription: it has not only the same Β but also the same Κ and Δ: the curl at the ends of the base of the Δ is here to be detected also in the Α.

*Adressicos* means the 'son of Adressos,' a name which seems to claim kinship with such forms as *Reso*, *Ressius*, and *Ressi-māros*, which appears to be the same name that is found written also *Redso-māros*: see Holder's instances.

xxiii. NÎMES (7). A stone similar in shape to that of Escingorix, No. xx, except that the top is hollowed, is to be seen in the Museum, and reads simply ΚΡΕΙΤΕ in clear letters. Holder refers it to Redessan in the Department of Gard, and adds that it dates not before the second half of the second century of our era. It recalls the Irish woman's name *Créd*, from which another female name, *Créide*, seems to be a derivative: see O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, i. 111; ii. 498.

xxiv. NÎMES (8). An inscribed stone was discovered more than twenty years ago in the wall of the hermitage of Notre-Dame-de-Laval, near Collias (Gard), and is now in the Nîmes Museum. See Stokes, No. 13, and *C. I. L.*, XII. 5887, where two readings are given, the better of which runs as given here in the margin, with the initial character represented as a ligature consisting of a reversed Ε and a Κ: the reading is M. Rochetin's. How he and M. Germer, the discoverer of the stone, satisfied themselves that they found ΟΛΙ in the first line I am not quite able to understand, unless they were in some way influenced by the name of *Collias*. This version has been improved by M. Maruéjol, who has coloured the lettering on a cast which is placed near the original in the Museum: it runs as in (2), except that the character be-

(1)  
ΚΟΛΙΟ  
ΚΡΙΟΥ  
ΜΑΝ  
///ΑΝ  
///Ο///  
ΝΑ//ΟΔ  
ΕΔΕ ΒΡΑΤΟ  
ΥΔΕ ΚΑΝ  
ΤΕΝ//



tween the initial ligature and  $\Lambda\text{I}$  is rather a nondescript filling the lacuna which I leave there. I examined the inscription with great care, and found that I was almost in agreement with him, excepting as to the first line which I will leave alone for a moment. I am not convinced

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (2)                                       |   |
| (1) $\Xi\text{//}\Lambda\text{I}\text{O}$ | that the $\epsilon$ at the end of line 3 is there, and in any case you have to look for it over the edge, while at the beginning of the next line I detected an $\text{I}$ . Here |
| (2) $\text{CPIOY}$                        | the inscriber has given us the neuter singular $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\nu$ ,  |
| (3) $\text{MANE}$                         | not the plural $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$ : compare No. xxiv <sup>b</sup> and   |
| (4) $\text{OCAN}$                         | such forms as Latin <i>nomen</i> , plural <i>nomina</i> . Thus  |
| (5) $\Delta\text{OOYN}$                   | far our difference attaches to the patronymic,  |
| (6) $\text{NABO}\Delta$                   | which I regard as being $\text{PIOYMAN I}\text{O}\text{C}$ , while M.   |
| (7) $\epsilon\Delta\epsilon\text{BPATO}$  | Maruėjol reads $\text{PIOYMAN }\epsilon\text{O}\text{S}$ . I prefer $\text{PIOY-}$  |
| (8) $\text{Y}\Delta\epsilon\text{KAN}$    | $\text{MANI}\text{O}\text{C}$ , and render it 'son of $\text{PIOYMANOS}$ ,'   |
| (9) $\text{TEN}$                          | that is <i>Riumanos</i> . To go back now to the first line, I cannot improve on the suggestion that it  |

begins with a ligature of  $\Xi\text{K}$ : it might possibly be  $\Xi\text{K}$  for  $\Sigma\text{K}$ , but that is not probable. Next comes a combination which baffled both M. Maruėjol and me, but since then I have come across it in the thirteenth volume of the *Corpus*, namely, in No. 5465, in the Dijon Museum. The editor suggests the values  $\text{N}$ ,  $\text{NI}$ , or  $\text{IXI}$ , but, it is so situated, that it seems there to mean  $\text{NI}$ . The name in the inscription seems accordingly to read  $\text{DASILLINI}$ , but the whole has unfortunately not been interpreted. The combination consists of an  $\text{N}$  with a long diagonal, and with an  $\text{I}$  bisecting that diagonal at right angles, with the result that the whole looks rather like  $\text{IXI}$ , though it really means  $\text{N}\text{I}$  or  $\text{IN}$ . In the Dijon instance, the value required appears to be  $\text{NI}$ , while in ours that of  $\text{IN}$  seems to fit better. The letter which follows is so faint that I have not made it out with any certainty: it may be another  $\text{N}$  tagged on, or merely an  $\text{I}$ . So the name would be  $\text{EKINNO}\text{C}$  or  $\text{EKINI}\text{O}\text{C}$ ; but if M. Maruėjol should prove to be right in reading  $\Lambda\text{I}$ , the spelling would have to be regarded rather as  $\text{EKNIAI}\text{O}\text{C}$ . From the ingenuity spent on the carving of the name, it is highly probable that the inscription was cut by the bearer of that name with his own hand. The name, if we have it approximately correct, suggests kinship with that of the ancient *Ecen* of East Anglia, called *Iceni* by Tacitus. The inscription will now stand as in the margin on p. 41. That is  $\text{E}\kappa\iota\nu\nu\nu\sigma\ \text{P}\iota\upsilon\mu\alpha\nu\iota\upsilon\sigma\ \text{A}\nu\delta\omicron\upsilon\nu\nu\alpha\beta\omicron\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\nu$  which means— 'Ecinnos son of Riumanos gave firstfruits to the Andounnas by their decree.' Enough has already been said of the uncertainty of the first name, but the patronymic has as its first element *riu*, standing

perhaps for *riuo*, to be identified with the name of the god *Riuos* in the Coligny Calendar: the etymology is obscure, but see *Celtae*, p. 34. *Andounnabo* is a dative plural feminine like *Namausicabo*, and is probably the name of a group of Mother-goddesses. Holder, under *Riومانos*, gives a reading differing from the others—*Εκιλιος Ριουμαν[ο]s Αιτουνακο[s] δεδ[ε] βρατουδε καρτεν[α]*—which, besides other slips, fails to name anybody as recipient of the offering; but under *Andounnācos*, which is more correct than his later *Αιτουνακο[s]*, he explains the former as meaning, ‘aus Andaon, j. Ville-neuve-lès-Avignon.’ This Ville-neuve is the once flourishing town which, from the cliff of Avignon or the Rocher des Doms, as it is called, you see over against you on the other side of the Rhone. It is hard to avoid the inference that it derived its older name of Andaon from the Andounnas, or else that the goddesses derived theirs from Andaon.

(3)  
 ΕΚΙΛΙΟΣ  
 ΡΙΟΥΜΑΝ  
 ΜΑΝ  
 ΙΟCΑΝ  
 ΔΟΟΥΝ  
 ΝΑΒΟΔ  
 ΕΔΕΒΡΑΤΟ  
 ΥΔΕΚΑΝ  
 ΤΕΝ

xxiv<sup>a</sup>. Before leaving Nîmes I may mention one or two inscriptions which I did not succeed in discovering. One of them is represented in the *Corpus*, XII. p. 383, as being ‘in vinea Guirandi notarii,’ and as reading simply  $\begin{matrix} \text{ΚΑΤΟ} \\ \text{V} \\ \text{ΑΛΛΟC} \end{matrix}$ . Here the Latin V looks out of place, but if we suppose it to stand for Y one would at first sight perhaps expect OY, making the whole name into ΚΑΤΟ-ΟΥΑΛΟC, but very possibly we have to pronounce the name as Catuālos, with the accent moved on to harmonize with the Gaulish general rule of accenting the penultimate. That would explain the shortening of *Catū-ualos* into *Cat-ūalos*, as it does in the case of the *Catvallauna* cited by Holder from South Shields, s.v. *Catuvellauni*. Compare such forms as *Atpīlos* from *Atépīlos*, *Adbogios* from *Atebogios*, *Adgennorix* from *Atégennos*, and similar instances which were doubtless comparatively late, as otherwise the assimilation of *tp*, *tb*, *tg* would have been pushed a step further. Contrast *Ucuete* (p. 6 above), with its *c* for etymological *dg*. The whole list of Gaulish names requires to be carefully examined from the point of view of their accentuation: an excellent beginning was made in 1901 by Meyer-Lübke in the transactions of the Vienna Academy: see *The Englyn*, p. 6. In Celtican the tendency was probably in the contrary direction, resulting in *Cātualos*, and the like. The name of which this inscription consists is in Mod. Welsh *Cadwal*, and in Irish *Cathal*.

xxiv<sup>b</sup>. Lastly, the *Corpus*, XII. p. 383, has a facsimile of a copy published of an inscription in the *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des*



*Inscriptions* (Paris, 1743), vol. xiv. p. 106, plate I. The inscription was found *ad fontem* at Nîmes, and it is now unknown; but even when found it seems to have been broken off at both ends, for the copy reads as follows:—

YIIDY Ъ EOYLO  
OYAB DEΔEAL  
OYAEF.ANTEN

Evidently the copyist was not much used to Greek letters, so he dropped off into the Latin equivalents every now and then, as in the D and the L, whereas the lambda after DEΔE probably stands for an A. The first line is rather hopeless: what his inverted C meant is hard to say, or his Ъ, unless it was an O with the apex. One would like to have known whether his OYAB was not followed by a small o ending a dative plural feminine like *Andounnabo* or *Namausicabo*. The point in the third line cannot have been a part of the original inscription, and the F represented preceding it must have been K with the two short arms characteristic of that letter in some of these inscriptions. This was by no means an unnatural error for him to make, that is, to suppose it an F, though the original seems to have been KANTEN as in No. xxiv. From this we know where we are, and how his OYAE has to be corrected into OYΔE as the latter part of BPATOYΔE. If the manuscript facsimile of the inscription still exists, it should be closely scrutinized in case it contains something which the printed version fails to suggest.

What can be made out here seems to supply us with another variant of the formula with the words *dede*, *bratude*, and *cantena*; for here we appear to have the recipients' name placed just before *dede*, while the nominative to that verb seems immediately to follow giving the donor's name beginning with *al*. We have no means of completing the name: we are not much better off in the case of the recipients' name, but if one may venture to regard their name as ending in the dative plural feminine, they may be supposed to have been Mother-goddesses. In any case the length of the description of them would offer no serious difficulty, as they may have had more than one epithet applied to them, not to mention the possibility of their being associated with a god whose name stood as the first word of the dedication.

xxv. GUÉRET. Guéret is the chief town of the Department of La Creuse, and in the Museum there, or rather outside it in a place used by workmen, we found after a long search an inscribed stone said to have been discovered in 1864 at Sazeirat, not far from Marsac in the same Department: see the *Corpus*, XIII. 1452; Stokes, No. 19,

and the *Bulletin Épigraphique*, 1881, p. 38. The inscription reads as follows:—

SACER PEROCO  
IEVRV DVORI  
CO.V.S.L.M

The first part is Gaulish while the latter is Latin, which, written in full, makes *Votum solvit lubens merito*, and suggests that we have here to do with a dedication to a god. The Gaulish portion has been interpreted in more than one way:—(1) Pictet and Stokes have rendered it ‘Sacer Peroco made (these) porticoes,’ which makes an accusative of DVORICO, but if an accusative plural it should have been DVORICA, and if singular it should have been DVORICON. There is also another kind of objection to this rendering, namely, that it fails to name the divinity to whom the dedicator paid his vow. Here *Sacer*, probably borrowed from Latin, is taken with *Peroco* as describing one and the same man, which implies, and, as I think, rightly, that *Peroco*, of obscure origin, is a nominative of the *n*-declension which would have been *Perocon-os* in the genitive. (2) By taking *Peroco*, however, to be the dative of a *Peroco-s*, and treating it as the god’s name, one might translate it ‘Sacer made for Perocos this *porticum*.’ Here there is the same grammatical objection to DVORICO as an accusative, not to mention that the severing of *Sacer* and *Peroco* seems somewhat forced. On the other hand it has the merit of not leaving the god without a name. (3) But it occurred to the French epigraphist, M. F. Vallentin, that DVORICO is the god’s name in the dative case. Assuming that to be right, the sentence construes without a hitch, ‘Sacer Peroco made (this) for DVORICOS.’ It seems impossible, therefore, to accept either of the other translations. The inscribed stone was probably inserted in the wall of the building made for the god, and that building was possibly no other than a portico: witness *C. I. L.*, XIII. 2872, where we have ‘Deo Moritasgo porticum poni iussit.’ Only in the inscription before us there is no word for *porticum*: *Duoricos* was the name of the god himself.

*Duorico* comes from the same origin as Breton *dór*, Welsh *dór*, a feminine meaning a door, that is the means of closing and opening a doorway, as the English word itself, and its congeners German *thür* and *thor*, Latin *foris*, ‘out of doors,’ Greek *θύρα*, ‘a door.’ More interesting still as retaining the *v* are such forms as Old Bulgarian *dvirǎ*, ‘a door,’ and Sanskrit *dvāra*, *dvār*, *dur*, of the same signification. From *duor* we have the Irish *dorus*, Welsh *drws*, which mostly means the opening which is shut by means of a door, sometimes the door itself. These seem to postulate a *duorosto-n*, not *dvorestu*, which will



not explain the Welsh form. The latter part of *dyorosto-n* would seem to consist of a vocable of the same origin as Latin *ostium*, and to have been accented in early Brythonic *dyorósto-n* or *dyorostó-n*; for *dyórosto-n* could hardly yield *drws* in Welsh.

Within an enclosure inside the Museum, and so fenced that it could not be opened, we saw a Latin inscription which seemed to read BODOCENVVS FILI E//BROT . . . . ., but one could not get near enough to be sure whether one should read FILI with a small l in the bosom of the L or FIE only. The letter between E and BROT also eluded my attempts to fix it. I mention this stone as I have not stumbled across it in the *Corpus*. One may add that this little Museum requires to be reorganized: it would be easy to make the inscriptions more accessible and far more safe.

xxvi. VIEUX POITIERS. Leaving Poitiers by a train going to Tours, we got out at a station called Les Barres, and crossed the Clain. Then we walked some two miles, or less, down its right bank until we came in sight of Vieux Poitiers, and found the stone we wanted standing in the middle of a field to our right, and about a quarter of a mile from the river, which was to our left. A short distance further the Clain empties itself, we were told, into the Vienne. The stone is Stokes's No. 14, and in the *Corpus*, vol. XIII, it is No. 1171: it reads as follows:—

RATN BRIVATIOM  
FRONTV TARBEISON<sup>!</sup>S  
IEVRV

Among the peculiarities of the lettering may be mentioned that the l of RATIN consists of a prolongation upwards of the first perpendicular of the N, thus N; the VA of Brivatiom form a ligature; the NT consist of N with its second perpendicular provided with the top stroke of T; the E in both instances is peculiar, being E; and the IO consist of a little O, with a little l standing on the top of it. Let me add that certain of the letters are damaged: thus there is a hollow extending irregularly from the middle of the first T to the N following, and this has been construed into a sort of horizontal l by the readers who have missed the real l as part of the ligature for IN. After RATIN comes another horizontal hollow, where there may have been a mark of punctuation, but I could not detect one, and I imagine the hollow was there before the writing and that it was the excuse for a longer space than usual between *ratin* and the next word. The top of the second l of Brivatiom is slightly damaged. At the right-hand top of the V of Frontu, there is a hollow which can hardly be regarded as

a mark of punctuation, though Hirschfeld gives us one thereabouts, but he appears to have only studied a cast of the stone, and the result is not satisfactory. Where I thought I found ISON, he prefers L with a little S in the bosom of the L and followed by a little O, that is L<sup>so</sup>. The lettering is damaged here, but I thought the SO of the usual size. The previous l is unusually close to the preceding E. What follows *Tarbeiso* looked, at first sight, a ligatured A and V, but on examining it I thought the connecting groove too low to make an A, and it slants in the wrong direction. I came to the conclusion that the letter is only a damaged N.

The whole is in stressed hexameter, and scans as follows:—

Rátin Bri|uátjom | Fróntu | Tarbeis|ónios i|éuru.

It means, 'The ráth for the bridge people Fronto son of Tarbeiso made.' To take the words in their order *ratin* is the accusative of a word *rāti-s* or *rāti* of the masculine or neuter gender, which is proved by the adjective *Briuatjom*, which is in concord with it. The word means a fortification of some kind, as in Irish the word *ráith* or *ráth* meant mostly a place surrounded by an earthen rampart. The Welsh is the *rhawd* in *bedd-rawd*, *bedd-rod*, 'a tomb *ráth* or sepulchre,' and *gaeaf-rawd*, which seems to have meant the place where things were stored for use in *winter*. *Briuatjom* has an unexpected final *m* for the usual *n*: the modification has been explained (see Holder, s. v.) as due to the following *f*, though the inscriber has not been consistent in having carved *ratin*, and not *ratim*, before *Briuatjom*. However, the nasal has not the same sound before *b* and *f*: in the former it is *m* with the lips closed, while in the latter it is neither *m* nor *n* but a dentilabial, formed by bringing the upper teeth in contact with the lower lip. It is possible, however, that *f* was pronounced as a bilabial in Gaulish, so that the nasal before it would also be a bilabial, that is an *m* as in this case. The adjective *Briuat-io-m* is derived from *Briuat-es*, 'people who have to do with a bridge or bridges or live near them, men who have to guard them.' The locality on the peninsula, between the Vienne and the Clain, is suggestive of bridges: we found to our inconvenience that the lack of one at a suitable point forced us to go back the way we had come. There is nothing to suggest that the fortification was immediately connected with any one bridge: it was rather, I imagine, to be of service to those who lived in a locality which depended much on its bridges, probably several bridges on the two rivers. The longer word is derived from Gaulish *briua*, of the same origin and meaning as the English 'bridge': compare Old Bulgarian *brŭvĭ*, 'a brow, a bridge.'



*Frontu* is the Latin name *Fronto*, borrowed: it is not certain either that *f* was a sound which occurred in native Gaulish words: in the few Welsh words of native origin *f* (now written *ff*) seems derived from *sp* or perhaps rather *sp'h*: compare the Welsh feminine *ffer*, 'ankle,' Irish *seiv*, acc. dual *dí pherid*, of the same origin probably as Greek *σφυρόν* of the same meaning, and see Stokes, *Urk. Spr.*, p. 301. *Tarbeisonios* would seem to be derived from *Tarbeisō* or *Tarbeisonos*: compare the place-name *Tarvīsum*, *Tarvīsus*, cited by Holder as being now *Treviso*, in *Venetia*. In any case the *ei* of *Tarbeisonios* was probably pronounced *i*, the way for the digraph having been prepared by such spellings as that of *εωρον*, and *Drutei* and *Druti* side by side in Roman letters: see Nos. vi and xxxvi. Lastly, the value of the *b* in *Tarbeisonius* is not certain. It may have had either the ordinary sound of *b*, in which case one could not compare the name with any derivatives of the Gaulish *taruos*, 'a bull'; but *B* may have been introduced here for *V*, as frequently done in late Latin: compare *gobedbi*, p. 8 above, and *Dibona*, p. 95 below.

xxvii. PARIS. In 1710 there were found beneath the quire of the Cathedral Church of Notre Dame four altars, which are now in the Museum of the Hôtel de Cluny: see Stokes, No. 26, and *C. I. L.*, XIII. 3026. Following the order in the *Corpus*, the inscriptions are as follows, beginning with Altar 1:—

Front.	Back.	Right side of Jove.	Left side of Jove (traces of lettering)
TIB · CAESARE ·	EVRISES	SENANI VSEILO///	
AVG · IOVIOPTVM//			
MAXSVMO · Sϕ			
NAVTAE · PARISIAC///			
//VBLICE · POSIER//			
· N//			

This may be read with the abbreviations expanded: 'Tiberio Caesare Augusto Iovi optumo maxsumo summo nautae Parisiaci publice posierunt'; that is, When Tiberius Caesar was Augustus the mariners of Paris for Jupiter the best, greatest, and highest, set (this altar) up at the public expense. The ends of the lines are imperfect, for instance, the *O* ending *optumo* is gone. The next line seems to end with *SV*, with a little *O* on the second horn of the *V*. This is also the reading in the *Corpus*, where, on the other hand, no indication of the *S* is given: the letters *SVO*, written as above, stand probably as an abbreviation of *SVMMO*—nobody suggests *suo* as 'their own.' The final *I* of *Parisiaci* is gone, and the initial *P* of *publice* in the next

line, which ends with a V, of which only the upper ends remain now visible. The NT followed below, but the T is gone, the stone having been broken off close to the N: the latter is preceded by some hollows, one of which looks like the punctuation mark ∇, but inverted. The other imperfections of the lettering on this face need not be dwelt upon. Next as to the opposite face, the tops of all the letters there are gone, but the reading EVRISES is hardly to be doubted. The side to the right of Jupiter, that is, the side on the reader's left hand, has *senani*, followed by another vocable which is partly illegible, the letters SE and O being almost gone, but the lower part of the E is still visible: the other two letters would fit perfectly, and that such was the reading rests on evidence, which is referred to in the *Corpus*. The reading of the last letter as M requires to establish it more expert evidence than we have, and I am disposed to think that it must have been either NI or intended to be. The whole would then be *Senani Useiloni*, whatever that should prove to mean.

The inscription on the front of the altar occupied no fewer than six lines, while the others consisted of one line each, but the space was filled by a number of figures illustrating the legend, as one may suppose, in each of the three instances. Dr. Hirschfeld describes those under the heading of *Eurises* in the following terms:—‘Homines tres barbati pileati cum peltis et lanceis; unus (ad dextram) praeterea manu dextra circulum gerit.’ This *circulum* is described to me by M. S. Reinach as a hoop representing possibly an offering in process of being presented to the divinity's temple, and the conjecture is borne out by a photograph with which M. Reinach has kindly favoured me. The figures under *Senani Useiloni* Hirschfeld speaks of as ‘Homines tres mutilati, medius cornutus videtur.’ And those under the lost heading as ‘Homines tres imberbes pileati cum scutis et lanceis; unus (ad sinistram) paene deletus.’ Take the word *Eurises* first, which seems to imply a nominative *Euris* or *Eurisi-s*; but the medial *s* here may stand for an earlier *ss* from *x=cs*, as it almost certainly does in *Useiloni*: compare also *Alisiia* in No. ii, and *Esanekoti* for *Exandecotti* in No. xxxiv. We should have in that case to operate with *eurix*, genitive *eurixos*, nom. plural *eurixes*: compare the plural in *-ixes* of the name of certain goddesses cited by Holder from the neighbourhood of Como, and perhaps such forms as *Durotia*, *Calitia*, and the like, which he gives under *-ix*. Now *eurix*, *eurixos* would correspond exactly to the Welsh *ewrych*, ‘a worker in gold, a goldsmith, a worker in any metal, a tinker.’ The word is so come down in respectability that it is oftenest heard now in the colloquial saying *fel dau eurach*, ‘like two tinkers,’ which



is said of two persons quarrelling with great wealth of abusive oratory. For *eurych* sounds in Welsh like a plural, so a singular *eurach* has been made for it, from which in its turn is formed the contemptuous plural *eurachod*. More to the point here, however, is the fact that the first syllable of *eurych* inevitably recalled the Mediaeval Welsh *eur*, 'gold,' borrowed from Latin, as is also Irish *ór*, 'gold,' and that the similarity, though due perhaps to accident, suffices to account for the meaning of goldsmith coming sooner or later to be associated with *eurych*. Discounting the gold accordingly, we get left as the original meaning that of worker in metal. The direction, also, in which to look for the etymology of *eurych* and *euris(s)es* will be found indicated by the verb *i-eur-u*, εἰ-ωρ-ου, meaning 'ἔποίησεν, fecit, made,' already noticed more than once: see pp. 6, 14, 16 above. Here the *i-*, εἰ- has long since been marked off by Stokes as a prefix or preposition. See his *Celtic Declension*, p. 61, also the *Comptes rendues de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Décembre, 1880, where M. Mowat shrewdly cites the Latin *urna*, and compares *fictilia*, 'pottery,' from *fringo*, 'I form, fashion, make.'

If we have sailors and artificers mentioned and figured on this altar, the probability is that the other faces of it also represented some leading groups of the citizens of Paris in the time of Tiberius. But what is one to make of *Senani Useiloni*, supposing that to be the best reading? Dr. Stokes would connect the second of these words as *useilom* with Gaulish *uxellos*, 'high,' in Welsh *uchel*, and in Irish *uasal*, 'high-born or noble.' There is another possibility, and it is that the Parisii had borrowed the Latin word *vexillum*, which under the Gaulish accentuation they may have shortened from *uxillo-n* into *uxelo-n*, and made to serve as the basis of a derivative, *uxelóno-s*, plural *uxelón-i*, with approximately the same meaning as the Latin term *vexillarii*, and having its *ei* pronounced *i* as in *Tarbeisonios* and εἰωρον, pp. 14, 38, 46. In that case possibly *senani*, derived from *seno-s*, 'old,' may be treated as meaning veterans, and the whole, in a quasi military signification, as the veterans who were under the *vexillum*, or flag. In any case one should notice the absence of any trace of horses. If one, however, connect *useiloni* rather with *uxellos* (better *uxelos*), 'high,' the interpretation would, perhaps, be 'aged men or veterans of high birth.' It is needless to say that, as to these Paris groups generally, what has been here suggested is mere conjecture.

It seems, at all events, beyond doubt that *Euris(s)es* is no kind of a verb, and that the three words here in question were not intended to form any kind of sentence, though the contrary has sometimes been

supposed. Taking the three more or less legible faces of the altar into account together, one notices that the first with the longest legend is in Latin, while the two others are Gaulish: in that sense the altar is bilingual, and the author of the inscriptions must have been conscious of the fact.

xxviii. Paris, Hôtel de Cluny, Altar 2:—

Front.	Back.	Right side of Jove.	Left side of Jove.
IOVIS	TARVOS ∇ TRIGARANVS ∇	VOLCANVS	ESVS

There is nothing much to say about the lettering, except that it has been tampered with by some modern idler, who has made IOVIS into LOVIS, that is, I suppose, *Louis*, and also added an oblique line to the back of the E of *Esus*, which makes it look somewhat like *Vesus*: the object is not apparent.

It is not evident whether the author of these headings regarded IOVIS as Latin or Gaulish; for the Gauls may have inferred from the oblique cases (genitive *Iovis*, dative *Iovi*, accusative *Iovem*) a nominative *Iovis* for use in Gaulish. In fact a nominative Jovis was not unknown in Latin itself; and if we treat Jovis here as meant to be Latin rather than Gaulish, we have a sort of parallelism with the previous altar, where the face assigned to Jupiter is inscribed in Latin and two others in Gaulish.

*Tarvos* was the Gaulish for bull, a noun of the *o*-declension, and *trigaranus* appears to be a compound adjective meaning 'with or having three herons' in reference to the three birds standing on the bull. *Garanus* is to be equated doubtless with the Welsh *garan*, 'a heron or crane,' and we learn from the ending in *us* that it was a noun of the *u*-declension as was also the name of the native god *Esus*. Add to this that Volcanus had probably been taken over into Gaulish, and treated simply as another noun of the Gaulish *u*-declension; had the dative occurred, that form would most likely be *Volcanoꝓi*, with which may be compared *Μαρκοῦ*, dative of *Μαρκος* for Latin *Marius*: see p. 22 above.

This altar, like the previous one, has figures beneath the names, under the first of them a half-nude Jupiter holding a sceptre in his left hand, while an eagle is to be seen to his right near his feet. Under the second, one finds a bull adorned with a 'dorsuale' and having three cranes standing on him among the leaves of a willow tree, one on his head, one on his flank, and another near the root of the tail; the first two look forwards and the last one backwards. Volcanus is represented standing helmeted, with a hammer in his right



hand, and a forceps in his left; and Esus is a woodcutter grasping with his right an axe, with which he is hewing away at a tree of the same kind as the one extending over the bull and the cranes. In fact it appears to have been meant as a portion of the same tree, which is rendered probable by an altar discovered in 1895 on the left bank of the Moselle, now in the Museum at Treves. This was first pointed out by M. S. Reinach in a brilliant article on 'Tarvos Trigaranus' in the *Revue Celtique*, xviii. 257, plates. There he describes one side of the Treves altar as showing a willow among whose branches figure a bull's head and three birds with long beaks, while below appears the woodcutter hewing at the trunk of the tree. His name is not there given, and it may not have been Esus, but M. Reinach suggests that the Parisians of the time of Tiberius identified their Esus with the hero of a lost story once widely known about a cosmic tree whose foliage threatened to deprive the world of the light of the sun. The bull, the cranes, and the willow suggest a river divinity; but these also may, without losing their local importance on the banks of the Seine, have been fitted into the wider story familiar to the Parisians who set up the altar.

In the ensuing *Revue Celtique*, xix. 245-50, M. d'Arbois de Jubainville advanced some parallels to prove that the story in question is substantially no other than the Irish epic tale of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, which may now be studied at length in Prof. Windisch's elaborate edition.

xxix. Paris, Hôtel de Cluny, Altar 3:—

Front.	Back.	Right side of Cernunnos.	Left side of Cernunnos.
[C]ERNVNNOS	CASTOR	[Pollux]	SMERT[VLL]O[S]

What remains of the lettering presents nothing which requires explanation, but some of the letters are now illegible, and the tops of many of the others are gone. To begin with CERNVNNOS, the C is now all gone; and the bottom of the E is all I could trace of that letter. The left limb of the V is also hard to trace, and there is very little of the final S still visible. The tops of the ST are imperfect, and where Pollux's name should come there is now nothing legible. The tops of all the letters of the remaining face are damaged. The SM are imperfect, and as to VLL I could make those letters fit exactly, but I could not say that I saw them, and the same may be said of the final S. In spite of the bad condition of these inscriptions, the reading of three of the names rests on evidence which to all intents and purposes makes them certain.

As in the former instance, it is doubtful whether the inscriber was conscious of writing anything but Gaulish, for Castor had probably been borrowed from the Romans, while Cernunnos and Smertullos were in any case non-Latin and retained the Celtic ending in *os*. It would have been interesting to know what form the name of Pollux assumed in Celtic. Underneath CASTOR is the figure of a helmeted youth wearing a *lorica* and carrying a lance in his left hand: to his right is his horse, whose bridle he holds with his right. The other figure is just the same, so there can be no doubt as to its being intended for Castor's twin brother Pollux. The figure underneath CERNUNNOS is bearded, and provided with stags' ears and stags' horns, from the latter of which rings are suspended. The figure suggests that the *cern* of this name is to be interpreted by means of the Welsh word *corn*, 'a horn,' and the Galatian *κάρνον* for 'trumpet,' literally 'a horn.' The relation between the vowels in these words is hard to explain: in fact Welsh has, besides *corn*, 'a horn,' *carn*, 'a hoof,' also a horny substance, and *cern*, 'the back part and outline of the cheek,' the front and fleshy part being called *boch* from the Latin *bucca*, 'mouth.' On the whole *Cernunnos* is probably to be interpreted as the Horned One: as to the horned god of the Celts, see my *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 78 and *passim*, also my *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 552, 553. *Smertullos* is harder to explain: in point of form it looks like the short and fond form of some such a compound as *Smerto-rīx*, *Smerto-māros*, or *Smerto-litanos*. *Smerto-* seems to be derived from *smert-* of the same origin as Mod. Irish *smior*, genitive *smeara*, defined by Dinneen as 'marrow, pith; strength, pluck; the best part of anything'; in Welsh the word, having lost the *s*, is *mēr*, of much the same meaning as in Irish: so *smerto* may have meant 'possessed of marrow, pith, and strength.' Thus it would seem that *Smertorīx* may be interpreted as 'strong king, or king of the strong,' *Smerto-māra* as 'greatly strong, or strong and great,' *Smerto-litanos* as 'strong and broad, or strong and exercising power far and wide.' Similarly the name of the goddess *Ro-smerta*, the paredra of a Celtic Mercury, may have meant 'her of pre-eminent power.'

xxx. Paris, Hôtel de Cluny, Altar 4:—

This was an altar of the same description, having on each of its faces an inscription over the figure of the divinity intended; but the traces of the lettering are very precarious. One has been read FORT, that is probably *Fortuna*, standing above two goddesses; so there were possibly two names. The back face has a name ending in VS standing over the figures of Mars and a female divinity, so here



also there may have been two names. Judging from the other three altars, some of the names on this also were probably Gaulish.

xxxii. PARIS (5). In an obscure place in the Museum of the Hôtel de Cluny is another Celtic inscription found in 1836 near Nérès-les-Bains (Allier): see Stokes, No. 23, and *C. I. L.*, XIII. 1388. I examined it several times, and the last time with a candle in my hand: my reading, which differs from both Dr. Stokes's and the one in the *Corpus*, is to the following effect:—

BRATRONOS  
NANTONICN  
EPADATEXTO  
RIGI · LEVCVΛO  
SVIOREBE · LOGI  
TOE-

The NT in line 2 form the usual ligature: the AD in line 3 are not very clear; the G in line 4 shows a trace of the straight lines characteristic of a square C: the perpendiculars of the LL stand on one continuous base, and the O is a smallish one in the bosom of the second L. We now come to the last word, which presents several difficulties: Dr. Stokes, on the basis of M. Mowat's description, reads it LOCITOK; but, setting out from the same, I was rash enough to suggest LOCITOV (*Celtae and Galli*, p. 38). On seeing the stone itself I had no hesitation whatever that the last letter is an E. That is, I read E instead of the I of M. Mowat's reading cited by Dr. Stokes in the *Revue Celtique*, v. 119, 120. This E has the abnormal feature that its middle bar is prolonged unduly and made altogether more conspicuous than the two other bars of that letter. This is illustrated by the reading in the *Corpus*, which is LOCITOIF, a puzzle not to be wholly disposed of, except on the supposition that the last I had been intended in the editor's notes to be deleted. My difficulties are not there but earlier: they begin with the GI of RIGI, for those look as if they made either a G without I, or a C with a short I; but GI must, I suppose, be the lettering intended, unless the dative *rigi* was sometimes shortened in pronunciation to *rig*, just as we have *Tapavoov* for *Tapavoovi* in No. vii. In LOGI, the G has a horizontal tag joining it to the following I, and the reading GI is pretty certain. But as to the next letter, the first of the TOE, I have to take it a good deal on trust, for I am not quite convinced there is more of its top left than would legitimately go to complete an I. However, LOGITOE is far more probable than LOGITOE.

Completing the second line, which is abbreviated, into *Nantoniconos*,

meaning 'son of Nantonos or Nanto,' and taking the reading to which the preference has been given, the whole would run thus: 'Bratronos Nantonienos Epađatextorigi Leucullo s̄iorebe logitoe'; that is to say, 'Bratronos, son of Nantonos, made this grave (or lying-place) for Epađatextorix and Leucullos, and for his (or their) two sisters.' A word now as to the individual words: Bratronos seems derived from *brater*, which must have been the Celtic word for 'brother.' *Nantonienos* comes in the last resort from the personal name *Nantos*, which occurs as *Nantus* in *C. I. L.*, XIII. 805; we have also *Nantiorix*, 5485, and other related forms. The long name seems to analyse itself into *Epađ-* for *Epasso-*, meaning, possibly, a horseman, from *epo-s*, 'a horse,' and *Atechto-riax*, which seems to mean a king of *Atechti*. The latter in the singular, *Atechtos*, is probably to be analysed into *ad-techto-s*, like the *Con-texto-s* of the Autun inscription in No. v; both names probably mean 'protector.' In that case our *Epađatextorix* would mean 'him who is captain of protecting horsemen.' M. Jullian suggests interpreting it as 'a knight of the *Ala Atechtorigiana*,' as to which see Holder, s. v. *Atectorix*. *Leucullo* is the dative of *Leucullo-s*, either cognate with or borrowed from the Latin *Lūcullus*. In the passage to which I have already referred, I ventured to interpret *s̄iorebe* as a dual standing for an earlier *s̄ihorebe* = *sūiorebe*, meaning 'to or for two sisters.' Whose sisters they were, the inscription does not make clear: they may have been the sisters of the two men with their names in the dative, or of *Leucullos* alone, or else of *Bratronos*, in which case the two men may have been their husbands, and brothers-in-law to Bratronos. *Logitoe* I should take to be a variant of the *logitu* suggested by the analogy of *ieuru* and *carnitu*, with *oe* representing *-auit* or *-ouit* as in Latin *amavit*, as does also probably the *u* of *ieuru* and *carnitu*, as suggested in the notes on Nos. ii and xxxiv. The syllable *it* in *carnitu* has been touched upon at p. 31, and accordingly the form *logitoe* analyses itself into *log-it-oe*. Further, one may say that, just as *carnitu* = *carn-it-u* derives from a nominal base *carna*, 'a heap,' so *logitoe* comes from *loga*, 'a grave, a burial or lying-place,' the accusative of which, *loga-n*, occurs in No. xxxvi, which see. It is a peculiarity of this nominal verb that it governs the dative case, wherefore I have ventured the translation, 'made a grave for.' The element *it* in these verbs has already been compared with the same in Latin verbs like *habito*, *vocito*, and its force in Gaulish may not have been frequentative so much as durative or progressive, referring to an activity which occupied some time. The question, however, suggests itself, What was there in these instances to call for verbs with that connotation? and it may be



answered in part by asking another: Why do Greek inscriptions not infrequently have, not ἐποίησεν, but the imperfect ἐποίησεν corresponding to the *fecit* of Roman ones? I am assured it is the case<sup>1</sup>, but there may be a closer connexion between the Gaulish use of verbs with *it* and the Greek use of the imperfect: the latter may have suggested the former, that is, the Gaulish *-it-* may have been intended as a sort of equivalent for the Greek imperfect. At all events, this will serve as an excuse for my giving here a Bourges inscription, which I have not yet seen, but the *Corpus*, XIII. 1326, gives the reading on the stele in three parts, as below: see also *Rev. Celtique*, xv. 237.

xxxix.  
 ////OS VIRILIOS  
 ////XTOC OYIPILLIO

ANEOYNOC  
 EΠOΕΙ

ELVONTIV  
 IEVRV · ANEVNO  
 OCLICNO . LVGVRI  
 ANEVNICNO

First comes the name and patronymic of the man commemorated in Latin and in Greek letters, that is, Oxtos (?) son of Virilos: the first part of the first name is gone. Then come two lines in Greek, which mean that Aneynos made it. Then lower down comes a continuation of four lines, in Gaulish this time, and in Latin letters, conveying the following sense—‘Elvontiu made this for Aneynos son of Oclo and for Luguris son of Aneunos.’

This trilingual inscription shows that the son of Virilos had a stone set up to his memory by Aneunos, or very possibly Aneunos procured the plot of burial-ground for the son of Virilos, and had his name placed on the stone to show his right to it. At a later date, however, a friend or relative of Aneunos, named Elvontiu or Elvontio, made the stone commemorative also of Aneunos himself, and of a son of Aneunos, named Luguris. Most likely all the men named belonged to one and the same family, and represented two or three generations, perhaps four. The names are all obscure, but the patronymic Virilios or Ουιριλλιο—why not Ουιριλλιος?—may point to the father’s name not as Virilos or Ουιριλλος, but as the Latin cognomen *Virillio* borrowed. Among the points to be noticed in this remarkable inscription is the fact that the name of the man to whom the stone was originally put up is given twice, in Roman letters and in Greek, which is singular among our Celtic inscriptions. Another thing also to notice is that

<sup>1</sup> I have before me some statistics kindly given me by Mr. Tod of Oriol College, Oxford, together with a reference to an interesting passage in point in M. S. Reinach’s *Épigraphie Grecque*, p. 436.

this name is put in the nominative case standing in no immediate syntactical relation with what was added to it and cut at the same time with it. This is by no means peculiar, and we have important parallels in Nos. xxxiv and xxxv, both found in North Italy. Lastly, the second piece of the inscription ends with the Greek imperfect ΕΠΟΕΙ, for the more usual spelling ἐποίει, 'was making.' It is not certain whether any special significance attaches to the fact that the later portion of the inscription is entirely in Gaulish.

xxxii. CHÂTEAU DE SAINT-GERMAIN (1). A vase of Gallo-Roman ware, found at Sérancourt near Bourges in 1849, is now in the National Museum at the Château, and reads as follows round the neck of the vessel: see Stokes, No. 25:—

BVSCILLA SOSIO LEGASIT IN ALIXIE MAGALV

That is to say, 'Buscilla placed this in Alisia for Magalos.' The verb *legasit* is an aorist from the root *leg* of the same origin as English *lie* and *lay*; here it has the causative meaning of 'laid' or 'caused to lie.' It has the vowel *e* in the stem, whereas *logan*, 'a lying-place or grave,' in the Gaulish inscription No. xxxvi, has the vowel *o* like the kindred Greek word λόχος, 'a bed,' as contrasted with λέχεται (explained as κοιμάται). With regard to the place-name, the *x* stands either for the sound of *cs* or *ss*, and as to *Magalu*, that was probably a word of only two syllables, *Maglu*, the dative of *Maglos*, which in Welsh became *Mael*, and in Irish (as a common noun) *mál*, 'a prince.' The word *sosio* would seem to be the neuter demonstrative for 'this,' and as it occurs also in the Celtican inscriptions of Rom, it suggests, as pointed out in *Celtae and Galli*, p. 48, that the language here is not Gaulish but Celtican. The Gaulish demonstrative which we have had was *sosin*, which was also neuter: it is possible that Gaulish had likewise a neuter *sosio*, but it is more probable that it was the Celtican form alone, and that this inscription is in Celtican. Such a view is corroborated by the fact that we have had the same place-name in the ablative case in No. ii (pp. 4-7), and it was ALISIIA, that is *Alisiā*, whereas it is here *Alixie* with a different termination, as to which compare *Celtae*, p. 48. There is also the difference between the prepositions, the reading in the former inscription being probably 'indu Alisiā,' not 'in Alisiā.' The accentuation would also be different, the stress being placed probably on an earlier syllable in Celtican, that is, either *Alivie* or else *Alivie*. If as seems probable it was intended to be in metre, it was scanned somewhat as follows:—

Búscilla | sosio | légas|it in | Álixie | Mág'lu.



xxxiii. CHÂTEAU DE SAINT-GERMAIN (2). Some years ago a stone statue of Mercury was discovered at Lezoux in the Puy-de-Dome, and was acquired in 1901 for the National Museum; it now stands in the court at the Château. It seems to be No. 1514 in the thirteenth volume of the *Corpus*, where it is wrongly described as *statua aenea*, and the only legend there given is the one on the

MERCVRIO	god's chest as in the margin. These letters are closely
ETAVGVSTO	packed together within a moulding with <i>queues</i>
SACRVM	<i>d'aronde</i> . So the two final O's are small, and the

first one has the I standing on it and not by its side as represented in the *Corpus*. This is, however, not all, for the god has on his back and shoulders a Gaulish inscription which the discoverer, M. Plicque, attempted to read, but without great success: see Déchelette's 'Vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine,' pp. 144-6, where M. Plicque's reading is given—I have not seen his own work on the god Lug. Having examined the shoulders with a candle very carefully, I am able to improve a little on his reading, as I find beyond doubt that the second word is *ieuru*; but my reading also is incomplete: the whole should be scrutinized again, and an excellent cast which M. Reinach has had prepared will prove of great help. The following is what I made of it:—

APRONIOS  
IEVRV · SOSI///  
ESV///

The S at the end of the first line is very faint and so, even more so, is the I at the end of the second line. That letter was probably followed by another letter which I have failed to trace at all, though one naturally thinks of *sosin* or some demonstrative approximating that form. The next line ends seemingly with V (possibly with O), but I thought I detected traces of an N or M after the V. Lastly, the statue seems to have been standing erect when this inscription was cut, for the first line slopes downwards as if the workman had a difficulty in reaching the last letters of the name APRONIOS. With great diffidence I guess the original to have read *Apronios ieuru sosin Esun*; that is, 'Apronios made this *Esus*.' In that case this monument identifies *Esus*, not with Mars, but with Mercury, of which evidence is also supplied by one of the ancient comments on Lucan, i, 444-6, cited by Holder (s.v. *Esus*) to the following effect: 'Hesum Mercurium credunt, siquidem a mercatoribus colitur,' &c. There is no reason to suppose *Apronius* a name of Celtic origin, but it is here so far naturalized in the Gaulish language that it assumes the form



THE LEZOUX MERCURY RESTORED:  
COPY OF A PHOTOGRAPH SENT BY M. SALOMON REINACH,  
MEMBER OF THE ACADEMIE.

*To face p. 56.*



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*Apronios* at a time when it would probably be more commonly *Apronius* in Latin itself. The evidence that the god was meant to be a Mercury does not wholly depend on the Latin inscription: his whole get-up favours this view, though most of his accessories have been damaged. The god holds in his right the inevitable money-bag, but the other hand is broken off, now partially restored. Lastly M. Plicque detected on one of the folds of the god's dress traces of a third inscription, which he read APRO TASGI. . . . My attention was directed to this too late to do it justice.

Altogether this is one of the most grotesque and clumsy gods I have ever seen; and a workman who observed me looking at the statue as restored volunteered the remark, 'They are all like that': of course he meant the Auvergnats.

xxxiii<sup>a</sup>. For the sake of comparison it is necessary to mention certain inscriptions which I have not been able to see. One of these is the Nevers inscription which cannot be found. The reading according to Stokes, No. 20, and the *Corpus*, XIII. 2821, was as follows in the margin:—

ANDE

CAMV

LOSTOVTI

SSICNOS

IEVRV

That is to say *Andecamulos Toutissicnos ieuru*, which means 'Andecamulos son of Toutissos made (it).'

xxxiii<sup>b</sup>. The Bavai inscription is on a vessel which is described as a patella, and Stokes, No. 22, gives the legend as  $\frac{\text{VRITVES}}{\text{CINGOS}}$ ; but in the *Corpus*, XIII. 10010. 2097, the second line is read CINCOS, which, however, must have meant CINGOS. A more serious question here arises as to the division of the words: Dr. Stokes treats the whole as *Uritu* or *Vritu Escingos* = 'Excingos made (this)'. Hirschfeld on the other hand compares potters' names *Vrittius* and *Vritves*, which he regards as suggesting a compound. So on the whole a Gaulish preterite *uritu* cannot be regarded as established and ready to be placed by the side of *ieuru*, *carnitu*, and *logitoe*. As to the whereabouts of this vessel the editor of the *Corpus* states that it was at Bavai, and adds: 'Ibi fuit apud de Fourmestraulx, iam in castro Gussignies apud de Moras'; but I have not succeeded in eliciting from the Château any reply to my letters of inquiry.

xxxiii<sup>c</sup>. Dr. Stokes's No. 27 is a gold ring, outwardly octagonal, said to have been found in the neighbourhood of Thiaucourt (Meurthe-et-Moselle), and to be 'in the collection of the Académie des Inscriptions



et Belles-Lettres.' But I have not been able to trace it, and it appears from the *Comptes Rendus* of the Académie that it was presented to that body on behalf of the late M. L. Maxe-Werly ;

ADIA but this, as has been pointed out to me by more than one  
 NTVN member of the Académie, only meant presented in the sense  
 NENI probably of being submitted to that body, which was done  
 EXVE by M. P. Charles Robert, who began his account of the  
 RTIN ring with the words 'Je présente à l'Académie, de la part  
 INAP de M. L. Maxe-Werly, une bague d'or,' &c. : see the *Comptes*  
 PISET *Rendus* for 1885, p. 33. At all events it never belonged to  
 V the collection of the Académie: in fact I am assured that  
 the Académie has never possessed a collection. It has been suggested to me that at M. Maxe-Werly's death his collection went to the Museum at Bar-le-Duc, that the ring is probably included, and that it will be found when the things come some day to be unpacked.

The inscription reads continuously and Stokes translates it: 'Nappisetu (gave this) to Adiantunnena (daughter) of Exvertinios.' Thus he treats Adiantunneni as the dative of a woman's name *Adiantunnena*. There are two ways of explaining the patronymic: it may simply be the genitive of the father's name, after the analogy of *Doiros Segomari* in iii; his name in that case would be *Exuertinos* or *Exuertiniōs* with *Exuertini* standing as the genitive of either form of the name. Or else one may treat it as an adjective in concord with *Adiantunneni* and standing for a dative feminine *Exuertin[ī]i*, nominative *Exuertiniā*: this would imply that the father's name was *Exuertinos*: compare *Tarbeison-ios*, xxvi, and *Viril-ios*, xxxi<sup>a</sup>. Related to the woman's name may be mentioned as cited by Holder, *Adianto*, dative *Adiantoni*, from Bâle in Switzerland, and also a number of names without the first nasal, especially *Adiatunnius*, which is given by *Caesar*, iii. 22, as the name of a chief of the Sontiates or Sotiates, a people of Aquitania. The *Adiantunn-* of the present name seems to equate with the *Adianton-* of the name from Bâle and to derive from a stem *ad-ianto-*, which is represented in Welsh by *ād-iant*, 'a longing, a wish or desire,' just as the *ad-iat-* of *Adiatunnius*, is probably represented in Welsh by *ād-iad*, of much the same meaning as *ādiant*; in fact *ādiant* and *ādīad*<sup>1</sup> are probably derived from the

<sup>1</sup> Why these words have not become *eidiant* and *eidīad*, I do not quite see, especially as we have Welsh *aīd*, 'zeal, fervency, enthusiasm,' whence *eidig*, 'jealous, a jealous person,' from *ad-īes-*, involving the same root *ies* as the Greek ζέω, 'I boil,' ζήλος, 'ardour,' ζεστός, 'boiled, sodden,' Eng. *yeast*, and Welsh *īās* (fem. = *īesta*), 'a thrill, whether hot or cold'; but the association with boiling is not forgotten in the language. Witness such words as *rhoi ias o feru*

strong and weak cases of one and the same stem represented by the Gaulish *ad-iant-* and *ad-iat-*. Without the prefix we should have *iant-* and *iat-*, and the former occurs in the Gaulish *Iantu-māros*, with which Dr. Stokes has equated Irish *étmar*, 'zelotypus': see his *Urk. Spr.*, p. 222, where he refers the Celtic forms to the same origin as Sanskrit *yatná*, 'effort,' and Greek *ζητέω*, 'I seek.' The derivative syllable *en*, in *Adiantunn-en-a*, better perhaps *Adiantunn-eni-a*, reminds one very much of Goidelic proper names like Adamnan's *Ernen-e* and the Ogmic genitive *Doman-en-i*. Compare also *Dáirene*, the name which 'the Four Masters' (A.D. 619) give to Dáir's offspring: see p. 10 above. The *in* of *Exuertini* is common in proper names, both Welsh and Irish, and the first part of *Exuert-in-i* seems to warrant its being referred to the same origin as Welsh *ch-orth*, *ëorth*, 'assiduous, strenuous, energetic.' It is remarkable that both *Adiantunnen-i* and *Exuertin-i* are not of the mere compound kind which Gaulish inscriptions usually illustrate. The next name, *Nappisetu*, baffles me, but it is perhaps a nominative of the *n*-declension, derived in part from what appears as SETV on a silver coin of the Volcae Tectosagi: compare *Setonius* and *Setu-bogios*, also the place-name *Setunia*, *Setuna* now *Stonne* in the Department of Ardennes. The other element occurs in the woman's name *Nape*, cited also by Holder, from an inscription found at Tiermes in Soria, Spain; *C. I. L.*, II. 5795. The symmetry of the legend on the ring would seem to suggest that *Nappisetu* has a *p* too many. Lastly, *Nappisetu* may be a neuter of the *u*-declension, and not a proper name at all, but a word of some such meaning as that of a gift or present. In that case one would have to construe thus: 'The gift of Exuertinos to Adiantunnenja.' In any case it looks more Celtican than Gaulish.

xxxiv. NOVARA, North Italy. In a cloistered court of the Cathedral of Novara is a Celtic inscription found in the neighbourhood: it is placed in the wall, and surmounted by a label inscribed 'Brionae in territorio vici S. Bernardini dum vetusta ibi silva excidebatur a. 1859.' It is Stokes's No. 2, and No. 10 in the *Dict. archéologique de la Gaule*, where a photograph of it is given: see also *C. I. L.*, V. p. 719, and Pauli's *Inschriften nordetruskischen Alphabets*, pp. 12, 78. The letters are Etruscan, with K, T, P for both those letters and for G, D, B: so the transliterator has to distinguish between them, also to insert nasal consonants when coming before those other

*ēr llefrith*, 'to give the sweet milk a thrill of boiling,' that is to say, to bring it just to the boiling-point and then stop; the derivative adjective *jesin*, from meaning 'productive of thrills' of delight, has been weakened into 'delightful, beautiful, fair, nice.'



consonants, and to supply one other kind of omission. Thus Stokes's reading runs as follows:—

	K(VI)TESASOIOIKEN	(1)
	TANOTALIKNOI	(2)
TEKOS TOVTIV	KVITOS	(3)
	LEKATOS	(4)
	ANOKOPOKIOS	(5)
	SETVPOKIOS	(6)
	ESANEKOTI	(7)
	ANAREVIMEOS	(8)
	TANOTALOS	(9)
	KAPNITVS	(10)

He interprets it as follows: *Kvi(n)tes asoiōi ken Dannotaliknoi, Kvi(n)tos Legatos, Andoko(m)bogios, Setubogios, Esandekotti, Andarevisseos, Dannotalos karnitus. Tekos toutiu.* He has added the following translation:—‘(This sepulchre) the grandsons (?) of Quinta, to wit the Sons of Dannotalos, (namely) Quintos the legate, Andocombogios, Setubogios, (and the sons) of Exandecottios, (namely) Andarevisseos, Dannotalos, heaped together. Tecos the magistrate (lies here).’ I need not mention that I have nothing to say by way of criticizing the Celtic forms of the names suggested by Dr. Stokes: they seem to be well established. But the reading especially of the first horizontal line and that of the cross line to the left offer difficulties, which inevitably make the interpretation a matter of considerable uncertainty. A more correct notion of the whole monument may be got by representing it as standing with the cross line as the head line, and the other ten lines as reading downwards in the direction of the length of the stone: that must have been its original position and not lying down as in the wall at Novara.

The letters do not exhaust the points of this monument, for in front of the ten vertical lines, and between them and the top line, there is a row of four closely packed circles with eight *radii* or spokes to each. Are we to regard them as representing chariot wheels or even entire chariots? I cannot answer, but they remind me of the earlier stage when the owners of war chariots were interred in them as in the well-known instances found in the neighbourhood of Market Weighton, Driffield, and other places in Yorkshire. If that is so, it is but natural to regard the four circles or wheels as representing two chariots, and two warriors as the number of men buried. In that case the wheels might be regarded as an instance of early heraldry.

Mommsen in the *Corpus* gave up the first portion of line 1, while

Pauli has tried to begin earlier and has fared worse. Dr. Stokes gives K(vi)tesasoioiken, with *vi* in brackets as supplied by him; but as a matter of fact the V is still just traceable, and the same would doubtless have been the case with the I but for a slight breakage which has made that letter impossible to trace. I agree further with him in reading *Kvitesasoioik*, for though the last *k* is damaged it is not doubtful. Dr. Stokes has read the next letter as E, but it may be A, though I am on the whole inclined to E. We are agreed also as to the next letter which is N; but it is, I think, followed by an I ending the line. However this is not yet the whole of the line, for there are traces of writing before *Kvites*. The K of this name stands opposite the first A of TANOTALIKNOI, and before it I seemed to trace the equivalents of INA, but I would not be sure of them. What is certain, I think, is the presence there of traces of writing. The whole line is near the right edge and the lettering gets worse towards the top, that is treating the stone as standing upright.

Without going into the question of the origin and descent of the Etruscan alphabet, it will suffice so far as regards this inscription to treat the letters as if they were merely clumsy forms of the Latin ones, with the exception of two or three, such as X which stands for T (with the top as it were fallen half-way down), as D which stands for R (derived probably from P with the Greek value), and as  $\text{X}$  which seems to be a sort of double  $\Sigma$ , and to represent probably the sharp sound of *ss*: otherwise there is here no doubling of consonants. The other S in the inscription varies considerably: it is like Latin S in lines 4, 5, and 7. In most of the other instances it is more open, except that at the beginning of 6 it is a sort of a wriggle resembling a corkscrew, and that at the end of 3 it is reversed. It is reversed also at the end of 10, where it is rather imperfect and faint.

The difficulties offered by the top line are greater as both of the corners are gone, and especially that opposite the reader's left hand. The reading given by Dr. Stokes is TEKOS TOVTIV. But the first letter X, that is T, stands close to the broken edge, so that one cannot say whether it was not preceded by one or more characters. The next difficulty is the identity of the next letter: it looks like our F upside down or our E without the top line, but that line was never there, as no damage can be traced there, and the top end of the perpendicular is complete and of the proper depth. On the whole I am more inclined to treat it as an Etruscan A upside down. The latter I ought to have said looks like an F with its arms drooping a little: it fulfils the conditions better than any other character I can think of,



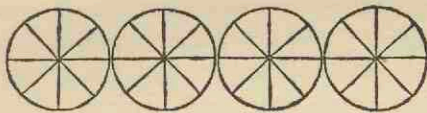
According to this guess the first word reads XFKOS, which seems to be followed by a shallow stop . , after which come the letters XO VXI. The next letter seems to me to be an O rather than a V : then come some cracks covering probably another stop, and rendering the next letter partly imperfect, as to which, however, there is no doubt that it is S. It is followed by a V, after which one detects the two left ends of X. To me the rest of the line is illegible, though Mommsen has suggested several letters more, and a lacuna which he could not fill; for in his transcript he represents this part of the line as 'osit . . .', where the letters, except perhaps the t, are at variance with the drawing accompanying them. So he fails to help us, except in testifying to the presence of more writing than is suggested by Stokes or Pauli. My own guesses would stand thus: XFKOS · XO VXIO · SVX . . . , which may be transliterated as follows:— $\overset{\tau}{\text{X}}\overset{\kappa}{\text{F}}\overset{\omicron}{\text{K}}\text{OS} \cdot \overset{\tau}{\text{X}}\overset{\omicron}{\text{O}}\overset{\nu}{\text{V}}\overset{\iota}{\text{I}}\text{O} \cdot \text{SV}\overset{\chi}{\text{X}} \cdot \dots$

In selecting the alternative equivalents one cannot be wrong in treating the middle word as a nominative *Toutio*, corresponding to which the Gaulish genitive would be *Toutionos*, which, as already mentioned (p. 15 above), Mommsen restored as (Latin) *Toutionis*, equated since by Stokes with the Gothic *thiudans*, 'king.' The first word is more difficult to fix: at any rate two possible treatments of it are possible. (a) Either take it to be *tagos*, which recalls the latter part of the name of the Ecenian king *Prasu-tagus*, alongside of which Holder places a genitive *Ito-tagī* (*C. I. L.*, IV. 2451), which may, however, be for *Ito-tagī-i*: compare *Tagius*, fem. *Tagia*, assumed by Holder on the strength of *C. I. L.*, XIII. 3456. (b) Another valuation of the Etruscan characters is quite possible, yielding *Dagos*, as in Gaulish names like *Dago-rix*, 'good or brave king,' *Dago-uassus*, 'good or brave youth,' and others, including *Bitu-daga*, cited by Holder. In Welsh the word has been reduced to *da*, 'good,' Med. Irish *dag-*, as in *dag-duine*, 'bonus homo,' *dag-fer*, 'bonus vir' = Welsh *dewr*, 'brave man,' and adjectivally 'brave.' If I am right in supposing the last word to begin with SVX, it would probably mean some name, Su-t . . . or Su-d . . . , beginning with the prefix *su*, with which we have already had to do: see p. 25 above.

I do not believe a photograph would be of much use, and I have not yet succeeded in getting a squeeze of this remarkable monument; but Signor Tarelo, the most learned archaeologist connected with the museums of Novara, has kindly promised to do his best, in addition, that is to say, to the valuable help which he most readily gave me, both when I was there and before I arrived. The foregoing guesses of mine will be found put together in the arrangement on the next page.

The heading or the important portion of the monument seems to have been the separate line over the four wheels. The names of which it consisted are in the nominative, as was the case with No. xxxi<sup>a</sup>, where they stand conspicuous in no syntactical relation to the rest of the inscription. I should take the words to mean:— ‘Tagos, the public official or magistrate, (and) Sut . . . .’ The latter was perhaps somebody of lesser importance, but seemingly the personages were two and no more, which agrees with the conjecture that the wheels represent the two war-chariots of the deceased.

XEKOS · XOVXIO · SVX . . . . .



INPKVIXESFSOIOIKENI  
XENOXFLIKNOI  
KVIXOS  
LEKEXOS  
FNOKOKOKIOS  
SEXVIOKIOS  
ESFNEKOXI  
ENFDEVIMEIOS  
XFNOXFLOS  
KFDNIXV?

In the first of the vertical lines KVIXES seems to be the Gaulish genitive of the borrowed name KVIXF, that is *Quinta*, just as KVIXOS stands for *Quintos* in the third line. Dr. Stokes has treated *asoioi* as the noun on which the genitive depends, and suggests as the translation ‘grandsons of *Quinta*.’ The singular should be *asoios*, which is probably to be analysed into *a-so-io-s*, where the root would be *sō* or *sū*, which has already been noticed in connexion with *atehotisse*, with *hot* for *sot* of the same origin as Irish *suth*, ‘birth, offspring,’ *Celtae*, p. 43: the English word *son* and its congeners are of the same origin, and the *soios* portion of our word recalls above all the Greek *viós*, ‘son.’ The prefix in *asoios* may have been *ad*, or else the *a* which we have in such Welsh words as *a-dygs*, ‘instruction,’ and *a-āef*, ‘to confess’: so the whole word may well have been expressive of relationship, and may have specially meant a grandson; if not that, at any rate a descendant. Dr. Stokes was inclined to treat *asoios* as standing for an earlier *asovios*, which, should it be found phonologically preferable, would fit this interpretation just as well or better. The termination *oi* of the plural is matched by that



of XFNOXFLIKNOI, that is *Dannotalicnoi*, a patronymic meaning 'the sons of *Dannotalos*.' The intervening word I am inclined to read KENI: it admits of being transliterated either *cenī* or *genī*, and it has been taken to mean 'to wit, namely, even.' The fourth line gives us another borrowed Latin word to place by the side of Quintos and Quinta, as it is *legatus* borrowed: it is not certain whether it is used in its Latin sense or simply employed as a personal name. Apparently the descendants of Quinta are here divided into two groups, the sons of Dannotalos and the sons of Exandecottios. *Dannotalicnoi* as a patronymic meaning the sons of *Dannotalos* offers no difficulty, but it seems somewhat harsh to suppose that alongside of it we have in ΕΣΦΝΕΚΟΧΙ, that is, *Exandecotti*, simply the genitive of *Exandecottios* (if not that of the simpler form *Exandecottos*, like the *Cottos* from which it is derived) without any noun on which that genitive might be said to depend: I should prefer to treat it like *Dannotalicnoi*, as standing for a nominative plural *Exandecottii*, resembling such patronymics in *-ios* as Πουμπανίος and Ταρβεισώνιος. The objection to this has doubtless been that the other two plurals end in *-oi* not in *-i*; but leaving that for the present, let us proceed to the verb which is KFDNIXVS, that is, *carnitus*, the plural of the form KAPNITOIY of the Saignon inscription, as to which see p. 31 above and No. xxxvi below, also *Celtae*, p. 47. If the final *u* of *ieuru*, 'fecit, ἐποίησεν,' represents what was in Latin *-avit* in forms like *amavit*, then the *-us* of *carnitus* should correspond to the *-avis-* underlying *-auēre*, *-auērent* in the forms *amavere*, *amaverunt* of the plural in the same verb and the like.<sup>1</sup> The plural nominative to the verb *carnitus* consists of the nouns in the vertical lines. It is more difficult to find an accusative to represent the object of the verb: on the whole I am inclined to think that there is no accusative expressed in the sentence. At any rate the doubtful beginning of the first line, where I have guessed INF, is more likely to be an adverb than the object of the verb, that is a word meaning 'here, below, hard by,' or the like. At the end the uncertain element is *cenī* or *genī*, which, whatever it exactly meant, is not very much like an accusative of any kind. Accordingly my attempt to translate the whole will stand thus, and with it should be compared No. xiv, p. 30 above, and No. xxxvi below:—

‘TAGOS THE MAGISTRATE (AND) SUT[ONIOS].

Here Quinta's grandsons, to wit the Sons of *Dannotalos*, (namely)

<sup>1</sup> It is right to say that Brugmann expresses himself as not quite certain as to *-erunt = isont(i)*: see his *Grundriss*, II. §§ 841, 1023, 1079.

Quintus the Legate, Andocombogios, Setubogios, (and) the Sons of Exandecottos, (namely) Andarevisseos, Dannotalos, piled up a cairn for them.'

Lastly, a word as to Exandecotti as a plural: there is a *prima facie* objection to this, arising out of the fact that we have by its side two plurals in *-oi* of the same declension *asoioi* and *Dannotalicnoi*. Of the two endings *oi* and *ī* of the nominative plural, the latter is the one that won the day in Latin and Celtic, while in Greek *oi* held its ground as in *ἀδελφοί, χρόνοι*; and just as in Latin one finds cited only *pilumnœ poplœ* (for the usual *populi*), so in Celtic these two instances *asoioi* and *Dannotalicnoi* seem to stand alone: no other certain example appears to be on record. There must, however, have been a period of transition when both *-oi* and *-ī* were in use side by side, and to that period the Briona inscription would seem to belong. I cannot help adding that this pair of instances of the plural in *-oi* marks this inscription as an early one: it is possibly the earliest Celtic on record.

XXXV. BRESCIA. There is here a bilingual stone of possible interest to Celtists: it was found built into the wall of the belfry of one of the small churches in the neighbourhood of Limone near Lake Garda, and is now inserted into an inside wall of the Brescia Civic Museum of objects of the Roman period. It is conveniently placed for inspection, but the letters have been painted dark red, and here and there mispainted as usually happens in such cases. This forms a great difficulty when one wishes to make use of photographs. The inscription is Dr. Stokes's No. 3: see also *C. I. L.*, V. No. 4883, and Pauli, *loc. cit.*, p. 15. The reading is as follows:—

TETVMVS  
 SEXTI  
 DVGIAVA  
 SAMADIS  
 ::OWE↑↑ECAF↑  
 OBFΛ↑FHF:: I↑F

Dr. Stokes has rendered it continuously as one sentence: 'Tetumus (filius) Sexti, Curator Sassarensis, me addixit Obuldino Tino.' Besides other differences between his interpretation and mine, I treat the first four lines as Latin in spite of the character for *ss*, and as giving the names of the owners of the ground or the tomb. Those names are put in the nominative case as in the Briona inscription, and we may treat them as probably those of husband and wife, Tetumus son of Sextus, and Dugiava daughter of Sassadis. Of these names



Dugiava is undoubtedly Celtic, and on looking up the word in Holder's *Altcelt. Sprachschatz*, it will be found that most of the instances and kindred names come from the same district and from Piedmont. *Tetumus* will come under notice later, and *Sassadis* has a number of seemingly related forms cited by Holder, such as *Sassus*, *Sassa*, and *Sassius*, *Sassia*<sup>1</sup>; but Holder's own account of the name is that in *SAMADIS* the D has to be treated as Etruscan R so as to read *Sassar*, but in spite of the occurrence of *Saserus* and *Sasirus*, this does not appear obligatory or very easy to accept, seeing that the previous line has in *Dugiava* a D which has practically to be given its ordinary value in the Latin alphabet. At the same time there is no denying that the inscriber was very mixed in his alphabets, perhaps even more so than appears at first sight; but more of this presently.

I come now to what I regard as possibly Celtic, in which some of the symbols require special notice: among other things the *t* which should have been X is indicated by five points. In the first instance it serves to mark where the non-Latin portion begins, and in the second one it occurs at the division between two words; but, in the latter position, it is right to say that the five points are placed nearer to the preceding letter than to the one next following, so that even there we are not obliged to treat them as a stop. The spacing helps to mark off the letters *ina* as making perhaps a separate word, with which the first of the vertical lines on the Briona stone, p. 64, seems to begin. It is to be noticed that if the five points formed a mere punctuation mark (as in *C. I. L.*, XII. 1416), they should have been placed immediately after *Sassadis* and not at the beginning of the next line. Next must be mentioned a sort of an arrow-head which appears in both lines, for it is the same symbol in both, though at first sight there seems to be considerable difference between them. That difference, it should be pointed out, is due to the fact that the first † is damaged, and then misrepresented by him who put on the paint. I may add that the damage reaches upwards to the D above, and that

<sup>1</sup> With the forms with *ss* Pliny's supposed *sasia*, 'rye,' with vowel-flanked *s* can hardly have anything to do. Holder makes it Ligurian, and the Welsh for barley is *haid* for an earlier *heid*, which suggests a Gaulish *sasiō-n*: the Welsh would be successively *sasiō-n*, *hehido-n*, *heid*, *heid*, *haid*, Breton *heiz*, *hei*, all masculine now. The MSS. of Pliny's *Nat. Historia*, xviii. 141 read, however, not *sasia* but *asia* after an *s* (*sub Alpibus asian*), and this latter or rather *asiō-n* would also fit the Celtic words: compare Welsh *haearn*, 'iron,' from *eisarno-n*, *eiharno-n*, *heirn*, *haearn*. In favour, however, of the emendation of Pliny's word into *sasia*, one could not help pressing the Sanskrit *sasyá*, 'feldfrucht,' Zend *hahya*, 'getreide.'

there our painter has given that letter the look of a very modern D. Dr. Stokes reads the arrow symbol in the lines of Etruscan letters as meaning *d*, and Pauli makes it into a *z*. In my opinion it is not a letter but a stop, and whether it should be called an arrow-head or an inverted twig I can hardly say; but for comparison I need only refer to some of the varieties of instances given in De Rossi's first volume, such as Nos. 317, 339, and 661, also 352, 360, 395, 477, 494, 542, 585, 586, 588, 612; compare 689 and especially 722, where the twig has no less than four pairs of little branches: the number of them is just double that in the present case, but the shape and direction are the same. This does not sum up the difficulties of these two lines, for the first of them has good Latin CA followed by the Etruscan form of the letter A. Lastly, we have probably to suppose the W to mean an M upside down; the N is inverted in both the instances into *И*, which may be said to mean also that it is more Roman than Etruscan. The L has the form of the Greek Λ, which according to Pauli is its form also in the Este alphabet of Etruscan.

Let us now separate the words, and they will stand thus:—

TOME · ECAA I  
OBAL · ANAT INA

On the hypothesis that this is Celtic—and it is only a hypothesis—I string together alternative conjectures, showing how one might essay the interpretation. (i) In the first place let us assume that OBAL, which, by the way, might perhaps be transliterated *oval* or *ombal*, meant ‘and, also, likewise.’ The whole might then be rendered thus: ‘Tome (daughter) of Ecaaios also waits here.’ *Tome* might be regarded as based on the name *Te-tumus* and as borne by a member of the family of Tetumus. *Tome*’s name is followed by her patronymic, in which one seems to detect a form of *Eccaios*, which Holder cites from various Celtic coins, including among them some which are ascribed to the Transpadan Boii. But the two *a*’s offer a difficulty: What is one to make of them? Various conjectures occur to me:—  
1. Take the two *a*’s to mean *ā*: to say the least of it, that was hardly to be expected. 2. Suppose that the inscriber made the mistake of cutting an A instead of a Greek Λ, then we should have to correct his spelling into *Eclai*, a name which would derive little confirmation from Holder. *Eccai* would have been more to the point if the inscriber had not been averse to doubling consonants. 3. One might assume that the two *a*’s were not intended to be there, that the inscriber, hesitating between the forms of Latin A and Etruscan A, inadvertently cut both on the stone. He had just cut a Latin



C where a K was to be expected, and he went on cutting a Latin A: then he discovered his mistake and proceeded to make it worse by placing an Etruscan A by its side. At any rate, if one of the two is to be cancelled, it is doubtless the first, as his vowel is otherwise the Etruscan one, which occurs four times in the next line. 4. Lastly, suppose he cut not an A but a Λ, and on discovering his mistake drew a line through the middle of his Λ—a short line, as he did not wish to disfigure his work—the result would look an A, while in reality he regarded it as a deleted Λ. Whether this is what Pauli meant by copying it as an italic *l* with a point underneath, *l̇*, I do not know. These two last conjectures come practically to the same thing, namely, that the reading intended was *Ecai*, the genitive of *Ecaios*, or as the coins give it *Eccaios*. For the present I pass by the word OBAL, in order to mention that *anat* would make a good Celtic verb of the same conjugation and position in the paradigm as Latin *amat*. *Anaim*, 'I remain, I wait,' is one of the most common verbs in Irish, and *anat* would here have to be taken as proof of the inscription being probably Christian, expressing the idea of waiting for the resurrection or the coming of Christ: compare De Rossi, I. No. 317, 'expectatque Deum superas quo surgat ad auras'; Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule*, No. 478 'diem futuri iudicii . . . letus spectit'; and Le Blant's *Nouveau Recueil*, No. 17, 'expectantque diem nunc Domini properam.' Lastly, the adverb *ina* has its *in-* probably represented by the *yn* of Welsh *yn-a*, 'there (near you), then (of time),' and *yn-o*, 'there, then.' These words are pronounced *y-na* and *y-no*, which separates them from the preposition *yn*, 'in,' as in *yn-nof*, 'in me,' *yn-nom*, 'in us,' *yn-noch*, 'in you,' in which the *y* is blocked by the consonant and not left open: see p. 5 above.

(ii) As one might search the Celtic languages, probably in vain, for a word like OBAL with such a meaning as that of 'also,' let us try it with that of offspring, say 'son,' 'daughter,' or 'grandchild': the interpretation would then at first sight be 'Tome, daughter of Eccaios, waits here.' We are, however, not bound to treat *Tome* as nominative, and if we try the genitive we have: 'The (grave) of Toma: (she the) daughter of Eccaios waits here.' This improves the syntax from the Celtic point of view, but it leads to another conjecture which claims a mention, namely, that *Toma*, genitive *Tome*, is not so likely to be a feminine as a Celtic way of treating *Thomas*, genitive (Latin) *Thomae* or *Thome*. In fact, putting this and *Tetumus* together, one may expect the key to the whole puzzle to prove to have been '*Thomas* who is called *Didymus*,' in the New

Testament. That is, *Tetumus* was *Didymus*, or  $\Delta\acute{\iota}\delta\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , borrowed with the *d* changed into *t* in the pronunciation, unless, indeed, one should treat the *t* as an Etruscan *X* to be given here the value of *d*. Of course, in the latter case, it ought to have been written with Latin *d*; but it has been seen already how little one can calculate on the inscriber's sense of consistency. According to this guess the interpretation might be: '(The grave or urn) of Thomas: (he the) offspring of Eccaios waits here.' The possibility of admitting the idea of an urn is warranted by the next inscription to be mentioned.

(iii) One would probably have to regard *OBAL* as a neuter borrowed from another language, but to borrow a word for son or daughter, or even grandchild, would seem less likely than for a particular kind of tomb or urn. The interpretation would be much the same as before, except that here the word for tomb or urn is to be treated as given, namely, as *obal*. In other terms, though the ground or the tomb belonged to *Tetumus* and *Dugiava*, the first person actually buried there was *Thomas*, son of *Eccaios*, the deceased being a member of their family, possibly a grandson. The fact of the relationship may be regarded as sufficiently indicated by the association of the names *Thomas* and *Didymus*, that is, supposing they went together in the Christian family concerned.

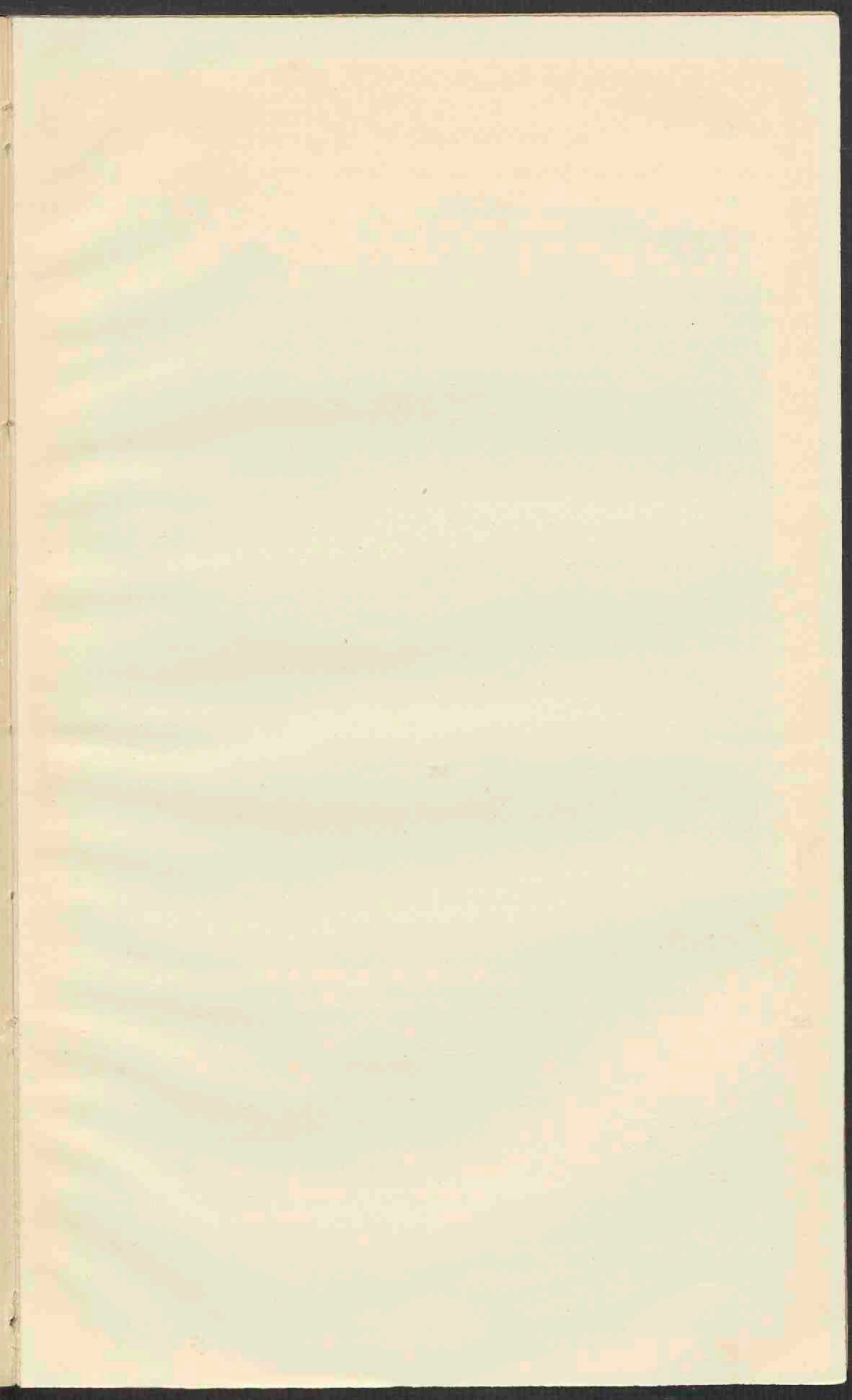
I have sufficiently indicated how I should treat this inscription if I felt sure that the latter portion is Celtic. Having misgivings on that point, and thinking it might possibly be Etruscan, I wrote to Professor Danielsson, of Upsala, the well-known Etruscan scholar, and I asked him to tell me if he thought the two last lines could be claimed as Etruscan. He kindly replied at once, expressing his view that it does not seem to him to be Etruscan. So far as this goes one is encouraged to think the words in question may be treated as Celtic. But Celtic and Etruscan do not exhaust the list of languages spoken formerly in North Italy.

xxxvi. ROME. In the Gregorian Museum of Etruscan antiquities in the Vatican is to be seen a bilingual inscription, brought thither from Todi, in Umbria. The stone, with nearly the same double inscription on its two sides, forms No. 1 in Dr. Stokes's *Celtic Declension*; *C. I. L.*, I. p. 262, No. 1408, and Pauli's No. 26, pp. 23, 84. A good deal of the top of the stone is gone, with the whole of what probably constituted the first line on the side which I call *A*, and the whole of the first two lines on side *B*: there are other lacunae, but those to which I have alluded are both in the Latin. The whole may be given provisionally thus:—

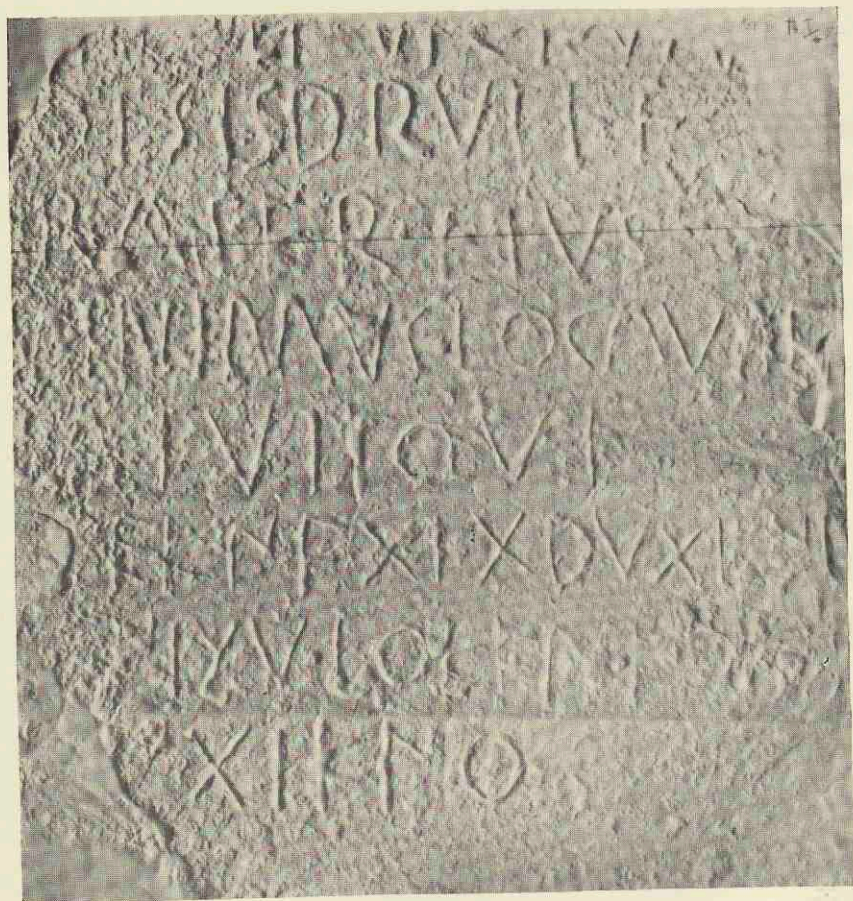


<i>A</i>		<i>B</i>
[ATEGNATO	(1)	[ATEGNATO
DRVTEI · VRNVM	(2)	DRVTEI · F. VRNAM
[C]OISIS DRVTEI · F	(3)	COI]SIS
RATER · EIVS	(4)	DRVTEI · F. FRATER
MINIMVS · LOCAV E///	(5)	EIVS ·
STATVITQVI	(6)	MINIMVS · LOCAV
[FX]EKNFXI · XDYXIKNI	(7)	IT · ET · STATVIT
[KFD]NIXV · LOKFN · KO[ISIS]	(8)	FXEICNFXI · XDYX
[XD]VXIKNOS	(9)	IICNI · ICFDNIXV
	(10)	FDXVFMKOISIS · X
	(11)	DVXIKNOS

The first question which all this suggests is, why one should have practically the same thing four times over on the same stone; but that may be left to be answered, so far perhaps as it can be answered, by the details on which one must now enter. Version *A* of the Latin begins with what seems to be the lower half of EI ending DRVTEI, which occurs in full in line 4 of version *B*: the point after DRVTEI in version *A* is a guess of mine. Following this, in line 2, we have the lower portions of letters which have been read VRDVM, and guessed to have signified *sepulcrum*, if indeed that very word was not the one intended. But it needs very little attention to see that the D is impossible, and my first guess was that the letter was R, helping to make another unknown vocable VRRVM; but on scanning closely an excellent squeeze made for me by Dr. Nogara, the head of the Museum, who assisted me in every way, I see clearly that the letter was N, with its first limb longer than the second, as regularly occurs in the Etruscan lettering. This being so, it becomes clear that the correct reading is *urnum*, a faulty rendering of the Latin accusative *urnam*, governed by the verbs in lines 5 and 6: on the other side they are 'locavit et statuit.' *Ategnato Drutei*, if that is to be the restored commencement of the inscription, stands, as we learn from the Celtic version, for *Ategnato Drutei filio*, and it may probably be regarded as an imitation of Gaulish, as in *Doiros Segomari*—'D. (son) of Segomarus' on the Dijon saucepan: see No. iii above, and others. The edge where the first letter of Coisis or Goisis should stand is gone, but not so in the case of the F of FRATER: very close to the first R of RATER there have apparently been attempts to scratch an F; but I do not feel at all sure that it was there originally, the F at the end of line 3 being intended as the beginning of FRATER, leaving *filius* unrepresented even by F, just as with *filio* after *Drutei* in line 2. However, worse was to come; for, when the inscriber reached



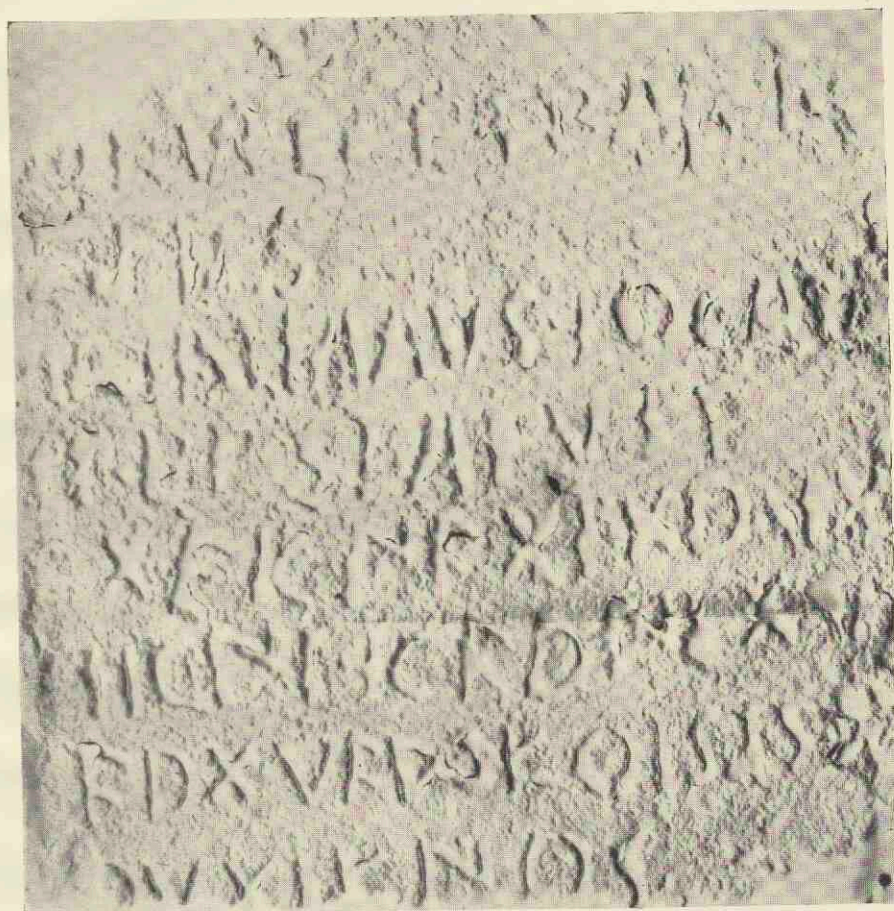




PHOTOGRAPH OF DR. NOGARA'S SQUEEZE OF THE TODI BILINGUAL IN THE  
GREGORIAN MUSEUM OF ETRUSCAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE VATICAN.

Side A.

*Between pp. 70, 71.*



THE SAME STONE.

Side B.



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LOCAV, he cut after the V a letter which he seems to have erased, thereby producing a hollow where it is impossible to read anything. Then follows an E, the bottom of which is partly gone owing to the edge having been damaged. Whether that E was followed by a T to make ET one cannot tell, or whether, in case the T was there, the inscriber regarded it with the E as making the conjunction it is impossible to say, for his nearest approach to *locavit* may have been *locavet*. In any case he did not leave room for the IT required to complete LOCAV into LOCAVIT before he cut the E, which is now the last letter to be read in the line as it stands. The next line begins with faint ST, and the whole of it reads STATVITQVI, with a decided I at the end, where one ought to have had E as part of *-que*, 'and.' After these departures from ordinary Latin one is not surprised to find that the author of the *A* version gives us in Latin the two spellings of the genitive *Drutei* and *Druti*: the variation is, however, of importance as suggesting that *Drutei* was probably an archaism; it will therefore not materially help to prove that the inscription was a very early one. One may now enumerate the eccentricities of the Latin in version *A* as follows:—1. *Drutei* for *Drutei* f. 2. *Urnum* for *urnam*. 3. The inconsistency of writing *Druti* for what had been written *Drutei* in the previous line. 4. A blunder either in the spelling of *locavit* or in the use of *et* when a *-que* was to follow. 5. The spelling of the latter vocable as *-qui* instead of *-que*.

These peculiarities of version *A* seem to supply a reason why it was thought necessary to have the same legend put into more correct Latin. As a matter of fact no solecisms of the kind noticed are to be found in what is left of version *B*, which may be assumed provisionally to have read when it was perfect ATEGNATO | DRVTEI · F. VRNAM | COISIS | DRVTEI · F. FRATER | EIVS | MINIMVS · LOCAV | IT · ET · STATVIT. The letters intact begin with the SIS of Coisis. The top corner of the D of the next line is gone, and similarly a portion of the top of the R at the end of that line is damaged. But as to the lettering generally it is very different from that of version *A* where the letters are of the ordinary shallow kind. Here they are cut comparatively deep into the stone, and the sides of the cutting are perpendicular, so that in the squeeze the paper becomes more or less detached at the edges of such letters, and the letters themselves are incompletely jointed. Thus a V is represented by V, and even O tends to be O. Moreover the K in lines 8 and 9 is not quite such but IC, consisting as it were of I and C placed very closely together, but not actually joined. But here, as in the other version, some of the T's tend to be very like Γ, and the whole



appearance of the letters is more thick and stumpy than in version *A*. Everything goes to show that the inscriptions on the two sides were carved by different hands.

Before proceeding further it is convenient to discuss very briefly the proper names found on this stone: first comes *Ategnātos*, of which Holder gives other instances, together with the feminine *Ategnāta*. The name begins with the prefix *ate*, followed by *gnātos*, which Dr. Stokes equates with the latter part of the Greek *κατόγνητος*, *Διόγνητος*, and the like compounds, and with the *gnātus* of the Latin *agnatus* and *cognatus*. *Druticnos* practically means 'son of Drutos,' literally, 'little Drutos,' and the latter, if it was pronounced *Drūtos*, as is probable, equates with the Welsh word *drud*, in Med. Welsh *drut*, 'a hardy man, a hero.' Stokes and Holder cite also the feminine *Druta*, as to which see p. 2 above, and as to the formative *-icno-* compare pp. 6, 11, 64 above. The name of the youngest *Druticnos* only occurs complete in the Etruscan letters as *KOISIS*, which Dr. Stokes has transcribed *Coisis*: Holder corroborates him by citing a single doubtful genitive *Coesi* from the Berlin *Corpus*, V. No. 5621; but I am inclined to transcribe our instance as *Goisis*, and to equate *goisi* with the *gōi* of *Gōidel*, *Gáidel*, *Gaoidheal*, 'a Gael,' Welsh *Gwydel*, 'an Irishman.' But the meaning of *goisi-* is obscure, unless we may assume that we have here to do with a form from the same origin as Gaulish *gaiso-n*, *gaiso-s*, 'Vergil's *gaesum*, a spear,' Irish *gáe*, 'spear,' *gáide*, 'armed with the spear, *pilatus*,' a regularly reduced form of *Gāisid-īo-s* or *Gōisid-īo-s*: as regards the diphthongs *āi* and *ōi* compare the Irish equivalents of *Doiros*, p. 10 above. With a different affix we should have *Gāisid-elo-s* or *Gōisid-elo-s*: compare the names which Holder cites under *-ēlo-*, feminine *-ēla*, such as *Antelus*, *Bittelus*, *Cemenelum* and others. He remarks that M. d'Arbois de Jubainville considers the termination to have been also Ligurian. The meaning of *Gōidel* or *Gáidel* would probably be parallel to that of *gáide*—'one who is armed with the spear, a spearman, a *gaesatus*.'

Let us now take the Celtic portions of the inscription in detail, beginning with version *A*, which, unlike the Latin above it, does not appear to contain blunders: the author of the inscription knew Celtic, but he was shaky in his Latin. In the first place let me remark that the first two or three letters of the three lines are gone at the left edge, also the *ISIS* of *Koisis* of line 8; while the second *KN* of line 7 are barely legible. There is, however, no doubt that the original reading was the one which has been suggested: this is established by the other Celtic version in which every letter is certain,

though the bottom of all the letters of line 11 at the end is gone owing to breakage. The two inscriptions placed side by side in Roman letters stand provisionally as follows:—

Ategnati · Druticeni	Ategnati · Drut iceni·
carnitu · logan · Goisis	carnitu   artuass Goisis·
Druticenos	D ruticenos

The two versions differ only in the accusative, one having *logan*, a feminine singular, and the other *artuass*, which probably is a feminine plural derived from an earlier *artuans*: I take *logan* and *artuass* to be alternatives, neither of them being necessarily a blunder. As to the former see Dr. Stokes's comparisons in his *Celtic Declension*, p. 53, where he cites the *lo* occurring in two Ogam inscriptions in South Wales. We have *lo*, also for *log-*, in the Med. Welsh *golo*, 'bury, burial, interment,' for an early *uo-log-*, and *gwely*, 'a bed' (for early *uo-log-ïon*), plural *gwélau* (for *gwlag-cu=uo-lag-*) with change of vowel as in *troed*, 'foot,' plural *traed*, while Irish has *laige*, 'concubitus,' also *luighi*, pointing to the same double stem *logio*, *lagio*. The other accusative *artuass*, meaning perhaps stone chambers, seems related to the Irish word *art*, 'a stone, a gravestone': see Stokes, loc. cit., and Holder, s.v. *artos*. The two versions have been rendered by Dr. Stokes respectively as follows:—

'Ategnati Druti filii tumulum conguessit Coisis Druti filius':  
 'Ategnati Druti filii lapides sepulchrales conguessit Coisis Druti filius.'

Here it will be seen that Dr. Stokes has not ventured to follow the original order which would have given us 'Ategnati Druti filii conguessit tumulum Coisis Druti filius,' and, for my own part, my habit of Celtic syntax makes my difficulty as to the sequence of the words in the original very considerable. In fact I cannot readily believe that the accusative *logan* was meant to be separated from the genitives dependent on it by the verb *carnitu*, and I am forced to think that a construction which would require one to take that view cannot be the right one. The two last inscriptions, both found in Italy, seem to point the way to construe this: they begin with nominatives standing alone without verbs. Here also a noun comes at the head and stands alone, but in the genitive case, which makes this instance more closely articulate than the others: it reminds one of the almost exclusive use of the genitive in the Ogam inscriptions of these Islands. In other words I would construe thus:—

Ategnati Druti filii (locus).  
 Congessit tumulum Goisis Druti filius.



The other version with *artuass* would, of course, run parallel, and whatever may be said of the Latin, 'Congessit tumulum Goisis Druti filius,' the sequence of the words in 'Carnitu logan Goisis Druticnos' is idiomatically Celtic, with the verb at the head of its sentence, at the same time that it evidences a preference for less complicate syntax than Latin, as might naturally be expected in the case of a people like those of Gaul, who were much less given to writing than the Romans were. The two versions are possibly in metre, and the division which has just been suggested derives confirmation from the probable division of the legend as follows, with the same word ending both parts: take version *A* :—

Ategnati Druticni.  
Carnitu logan Goisis Druticni.

Finally there remains one or two comparisons to make between the Celtic and Latin versions: among other things the fact that the Celtic commences with the genitive *Ategnati*, not with the dative *Ategnato* hitherto accepted for the Latin, renders it probable that the Latin began so likewise, and that version *B* ran thus:—'Ategnati Drutei f. urnam Goisis Drutei f. frater eius minimus locavit et statuit.' Next, there is the question, what the words 'locavit et statuit' precisely meant: did *locavit* refer to providing the *locus*, the plot of burial ground, or else to the *loculus*, the special compartment or shelf in the tomb, which was to receive the urn? I am inclined to the former view, and it is for that reason I have proposed the equivalent of the Latin *locus* as the noun on which the genitive *Ategnati Druticni* is to be understood to depend at the beginning of the Celtic versions. In other terms, the Latin gives one to understand that Goisis both purchased or otherwise provided the plot of ground and set up his brother's urn in the tomb erected there. The Celtic, on the other hand, seems merely to say that the ground was appropriated for Ategnatos, and that Goisis built up some kind of an erection there. The two statements are consistent, but the Latin seems to make no direct reference to the erection made there, and the Celtic no reference to the urn mentioned in the Latin.

To return to the question put at the outset, it is hardly necessary now to suggest that the spectator did not read the same thing four times: doubtless the trial side *A* was wholly concealed by the stone being inserted in a wall. This carries with it the probability, that the verb *carn-it-* meant not the mere heaping together of stones or timber but orderly work, the construction of a regular building.

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Now that the more important Celtic inscriptions have been rapidly reviewed, it may be found convenient to have the declensional forms which they supply tabulated as follows, without attempting for the present to distinguish between Gaulish and Celtican:—

O-DECLENSION

SINGULAR:—

(a) *Nom. Masc.* Andecamulos, xxxiii<sup>a</sup>.

Ανεουνος, xxxi<sup>a</sup>.

Βιναμος, xvi.

Bratronos, xxxi.

Καρταρος, xvii.

Κασσιταλος, xviii.

Κατουαλος, xxiv<sup>a</sup>.

Cernunnos, xxix.

Cingos, xxxiii<sup>b</sup>.

Contextos, v.

Crispos, i.

Dannotalos, xxxiv.

Doiros, iii.

Εκινος, xxiv.

Iccavos, iv.

Legatos, xxxiv.

Lienos, v.

Quintos, xxxiv.

Σεγομαρος, vi.

Smertullos, xxix.

Tagos, xxxiv.

Tarvos, xxviii.

Ουηβρουμαρος, vii.

*Gen. Masc.* Ategnati, xxxvi.

Dannotali, ii.

Segomari, iii.

Exuertini (?), xxxiii<sup>c</sup>.

*Dative.* Alisanu, iii.

Ανεουνο, xxxi<sup>a</sup>.

Duorico, xxv.

Leucullo, xxxi.

Magalu, xxxi.

Sebođdu (?), i.

*Abl.* Dugiñontio, ii.

*Acc. Neuter.* canecosedlon, v.

cantalon, iv.

νεμητον, vi.

... ramedon (? mas.), i.

PLURAL:—

*Nom. Masc.* Senani, xxvii.

Usciloni, xxvii.

(β) SINGULAR:—

*Nom. Masc. in -io-s.*

Andocombogios, xxxiv.

Apronios, xxxiii.

Εκινιος (?), xxiv.

Ηλουσκοιος, xv.

Ριουμανιος, xxiv.

Setubogios, xxxiv.

Tarbeisonios, xxvi.

Uirilios = Ουιριλλιο,

xxxia.

*Nom. Masc.* Voretovirius (Latinized), xii.

*Gen. Masc.* Ecaai, xxxv.

*Acc. Masc. in io-n.*

Brivatiom, xxvi (for Brivation).

PLURAL:—

*Nom. Masc.* asoioi, xxxiv.

Exandecotti (?), xxxiv.

(γ) SINGULAR:—

*Nom. Masc. in -eo-s.*

Andarevisseos, xxxiv.

Κονδλληος, xx.

Λιτουμαρεος, xvi.

Ουλλογεος, vi.

*Dat.* Ουερετεου (?), x.

(δ) SINGULAR:—

*Nom. Masc. in -icno-s.*

Αδρεσσικνος, xxii.

Druticnos, xxxvi.

Oppianicnos, iv.

Ουερεσικνος, xviii.

Τουστισικνος, xxxiii<sup>a</sup>.

*Gen. Masc.* Druticni, xxxvi.

*Dat. Masc.* Anequicno, xxxi<sup>a</sup>.

Oclieno, xxxi<sup>a</sup>.

*Acc. Neuter in -icno-n.*

celicnon, ii.

PLURAL:—

*Nom. Masc.* Dannotalicnoi, xxxiv.

(ε) SINGULAR:—

*Nom. Masc. in -aco-s.*

Ιλλανουιακος, xvii.

Ιλλακος, xiii.

Ουριπτακος, xv.

*Dat. Masc.* Anjalonnacu, v.



## I-DECLENSION

## SINGULAR :—

<i>Nom.</i> Goisis or Coisis, xxxvi.	<i>Acc.</i> ratin, xxvi.	<i>Dat.</i> Διουι, xvi <sup>a</sup> .
Iovis, xxviii.	Ucuetin (?), ii.	Δαμι, xviii.
Martialis, ii.		Luguri, xxxi <sup>b</sup> .
Ναμάνσaris, vi.		Sumeli, xii.

## U-DECLENSION

<i>Nom.</i> Esus, xxviii.	<i>Dat.</i> Εινουι, xviii.
Αιριντους, xi.	Γρασελουι (?), xiii.
ροουτιους, vi.	Μαρεουι, x.
trigaranus, xxviii.	Ταραουου, vii.
Uolcanus, xxviii.	. . . ουι, xxii.
<i>Acc.</i> Esun, xxxiii.	<i>Abl.</i> βρατουι(?) -δε), vii, xiii, xvii, xviii, xxii, xxiv, xxiv <sup>b</sup> .

A- AND E-DECLENSION <sup>1</sup>

## SINGULAR FEM. :—

<i>Nom.</i> Buscilla, xxxii.	<i>Sing. Masc. in -as.</i>
Κρειτε, xxiii.	<i>Gen.</i> Tome (?), xxxv.
<i>Gen.</i> Quintes, xxxiv.	<i>Sing. Fem. in -ia.</i>
<i>Acc.</i> logan, xxxvi.	<i>Dat.</i> Adiantunneni, xxxiii <sup>c</sup> .
ματικαν, xiv.	Αιουνιαι, viii.
Ucuetin, ii.	Βλανδοουικουνιαι, ix.
<i>Dat.</i> (a) Adiantunneni (?), xxxiii <sup>c</sup> .	<i>Abl.</i> (a) Alisija, ii.
Βηλησαμι, vi.	(β) Alixie, xxxii.
(β) Ucuete, ii.	
Εσκεγγαι, ix.	

## PLURAL :—

<i>Acc.</i> artuass, xxxv.
<i>Dat.</i> Ανδουναβο, xxiv.
Ναμανσικαβου, xvii.
. . . οναβ(ο ?), xxiv <sup>b</sup> .

## THE CONSONANTAL DECLENSIONS

## SINGULAR :—

<i>Nom.</i> Elvontin, xxxi <sup>a</sup> .	<i>Dat.</i> Brigindoni, iv.
Frontu (Latin), xxvi.	Subroni, xii.
Nappisetu, xxxiii <sup>c</sup> .	Αδγεννοριγι, x.
Peroco, xxv.	Επαδαtextorigi, xxxi.
Ουαλικιο, viii.	<i>Acc. Neut.</i> καντεν, vii (?), xxiv, xxiv <sup>a</sup> .
toutio, xxxiv.	obal, xxxv.
Εσκιγορειξ, xx.	<i>DUAL :—</i>
Castor (Latin), xxix.	<i>Dat.</i> σπιορεβε, xxxi.
Uritues, xxxiii <sup>b</sup> .	<i>PLURAL :—</i>
	<i>Nom.</i> eprises, xxvii.
	<i>Dat.</i> matrebo, xvii.
	<i>Acc. Neut.</i> καντενα, vii, xiii, xviii, xxii, xxiv <sup>b</sup> .

## PRONOUNS, NEUTER SINGULAR

<i>Acc.</i> (Adjectival) sosin, ii, vi, xxxii.
<i>Acc.</i> (Substantival) sosio, xxxi.

<sup>1</sup> It should probably be sorted into two declensions at least, but I do not know how: more data are wanted. The spread of the case vowels *e* and *i* took place from the genitive and dative, and in some nouns it reached the nominative and accusative but not in all; see *The Englyn*, p. 13.

Out of the number of the inscriptions which have here been discussed a group of eight is suspected by the learned Celtist M. d'Arbois de Jubainville of not being Celtic at all, but of belonging rather to some dialect of Italy; they are all written in Greek letters, and most of them are in the museums of Avignon and Nîmes. But as a preliminary to discussing this question it will be convenient to have them and the other inscriptions grouped in two lists for comparison. Let us begin with those which are not contested in the same way:—

- i. . . . . S. Crispus Bovi . . . . . Ramedon &c. (Vieil Évreux, Eure).
- ii. Martialis Dannotali ieuru Ucuete sosin celicnon.  
Etic gobedbi dugijontijo Ucuetin in(du) Alisija (Alise-Ste.-Reine, Côte-d'Or).
- iii. Doiros Segomari ieuru Alisanu (Dijon).
- iv. Iccavos Oppianicnos ieuru Brigindoni cantalon (Auxey, Côte-d'Or).
- v. Licnos Contextos ieuru Anjalonnacu canecosedlon (Autun).
- vi. Σεγομαρος Ουιλλογεος τουουτιους Ναμαυσατις ειωρου Βηλησαμισσισιν νεμητου (Vaison, Vaucluse).
- viii. Ουαλικιο Ουερεστ . . . Αιουνιαι (St.-Saturnin-d'Apt, Vaucluse).
- ix. Εσκεγγαι Βλανδοουικουνιαι (Gargas, Vaucluse).
- x. Αδγεννοριγι Ουερετ . . . . Μαρεσουι (L'Isle-sur-Sorgue, Vaucluse).
- xi. . . . νερ Αερνιτους Μαναρνος. Vale. (Neighbourhood of Apt, Vaucluse).
- xii. Subroni Sumeli Uoretouirius f. (Beaumont, near Vaison, Vaucluse).
- xiv. (Α)δβο(κε)ροο(υιξ) . . . . ουει ματικαν Ανοτει καρμιτου (Saignon, near Apt, Vaucluse).
- xv. Ουριττακος Ηλουσκομιος (Neighbourhood of St.-Remy, Bouches-du-Rhône).
- xvi. Βινναμος Αιτουμαρεος (St.-Remy).
- xix. . . . μβατι . . . . τουου . . . . τιυ . . . (Nîmes, Gard).
- xx. Εσκιγγορειξ Κουδιλλεος " "
- xxi. Ματιασο . . . . Κουνουβρ . . . . " "
- xxiii. Κρειτε " "
- xxiv<sup>a</sup>. Κατουαλος " "
- xxv. Sacer Peroco ieuru Duorico. V. S. L. M. (Sazeirat, near Marsac, La Creuse).



- xxvi. Ratin Briqatiom Frontu Tarbeisonios ieuru (Vieux Poitiers, Vienne).
- xxvii. (1) Tib. Caesare Aug. Iovi optum[o] maxsumo su(mm)o Nautae Parisiaci publice posierunt. (2) Eurises. (3) Senani Useilo[ni]. (4) . . . . . (Notre Dame, Paris).
- xxviii. (1) Iouis. (2) Tarqos Trigaranus. (3) Uolcanus. (4) Esus. (Notre Dame).
- xxix. (1) Cernunnos. (2) Castor. (3) . . . . . (4) Smertullos. (Notre Dame).
- xxx. (1) Fort . . . . (2) . . . . us. (3) . . . . . (4) . . . . . (Notre Dame).
- xxxi. Bratronos Nantonien(os) Epađatextorigi Leucullo suiorebe logitoe (Néris-les-Bains, Allier).
- xxxia. (1) Oxt]os Uirilios. O]χτος Ουριλλιο. (2) Ανευνος εποει. (3) Eluontju ieuru Aneuno Oclieno Luguri Aneunico.
- xxxii. Buscilla sosio legasit in Alixie Magalu (Sérancourt, near Bourges).
- xxxiii. Apronios ieuru sosi[n] Esu[n] (Lezoux, Puy-de-Dome).
- xxxiii<sup>a</sup>. Andecamulos Toutissicnos ieuru (Nevers, Nièvre).
- xxxiii<sup>b</sup>. Uritqes Cingos (? Château de Gussignies, Nord).
- xxxiii<sup>c</sup>. Adjantunneni Exuertini Nappisetu (Neighbourhood of Thiaucourt, Meurthe-et Moselle).
- xxxiv. Tagos toutio. Sut . . . . &c. (Briona, near Novara, N. Italy).
- xxxv. Tetumus Sexti Dugiava Sassadis.  
Tome Ecaai obal anat ina (Neighbourhood of Lake Garda).
- xxxvi. (Ategnati Drutei f. urnam Goi)sis Drutei f. frater eius minimus locavit et statuit.  
Ategnati Druticni carnitu artuass (or logan) Goisis Druticnos (Todi, in Umbria).

These thirty-five inscriptions make up the longer list, concerning which there has been no serious controversy as to their celticity; there are a few of them, however, which are partly in Latin, namely, Nos. xi, xii, xxv, xxvii-xxx, and xxxia which is also partly Greek. The contested inscriptions are the following:—

- vii. Ουηβρουμαρος δεδε Ταραουου βρατουδε κατευα (Orgon, Bouches-du-Rhône).
- xiii. . . . . λουσος Ιλλιακος Γρασελουι βρατουδε κατευα (Malau-cène, Vaucluse).

- xvi<sup>a</sup>. . . . . Ονοουσο Διου βρατου . . . . . (St.-Remy, Bouches-du-Rhône).  
 xvii. Καρταρος Ιλλανουιακος δεδε Ματρεβο Ναμανσικαβο βρατουδε (Nîmes, Gard).  
 xviii. Κασσιταλος Ονερσικνος δεδε βρατουδε καντενα Λαμι Ειωου (Nîmes).  
 xxii. . . . . Αδρεσσικνος . . . . . ο]υι βρατουδε κα[υτενα] (St. Côme, near Nîmes).  
 xxiv. Εκιννος Ριουμανιος Ανδουγγαβο δεδε βρατουδε καντεν (Collias, Gard).  
 xxiv<sup>b</sup>. . . . . εουλο . . . . . οαβ(ο) δεδε ΑΙ . . . . . βρατ)ουδε καντεν. (Found near the great Source at Nîmes).

To these should perhaps be added a fragment of an inscription found at Substantion near Montpellier and partly restored by Holder as . . . . . ΙΝΟΥCΙ . Δ(ΕΔΕ). The other localities in question are Nîmes, St. Cosme or Côme, Collias not far from the Pont du Gard, Malaucène on the left side of the Rhone, St.-Remy, and Orgon near the Durance: the area implied as belonging to the tribe or tribes that set up the inscriptions of this group does not appear to have been a very large one.

An article by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville in the *Revue Celtique*, xviii, 318-24, may be taken as embodying his reasons for thinking that this group of inscriptions is not Celtic. He enters first into questions of chronology and arrives at the conclusion that the Gaulish occupation of the district in question may be compared in length with that of the French domination in Alsace, and adds the following words: 'Deux siècles ne suffisent pas pour imposer définitivement dans un pays l'emploi exclusif de la langue du peuple conquérant.' In answer to this we have, however, to say that one is not clear as to the date of the inscriptions in question, and that no chronological argument can be of much avail here until that date is more narrowly defined than has as yet been done.

M. d'Arbois's next argument is intended to prove that the forms of the individual words in these inscriptions fit into the pronunciation of spoken Latin from Ennius to Cicero or later. This he does with comparative ease, but when he tries to go further and show that they fit better into Latin than into Gaulish, he is less successful; for besides a number of minor points on which he is perhaps open to criticism, his argument is inconclusive because nobody knows enough about early Celtic to be able to say what forms were inadmissible.



The data for one side of the comparison are too slender: in other words no safe comparison at all is possible as to the details.

The same remark applies to his discussion of  $\beta\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\text{-}\delta\epsilon$ , where he treats  $\delta\epsilon$  as a postposition as in the Latin combination *vobis-cum* and *quo-ad*, to which he adds from Cicero 'Quibus *de* scriptum est,' and from Horace 'puellis *de* popularibus,' which, by the way, I cannot admit as a parallel to  $\beta\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\text{-}\delta\epsilon$ ; and from Lucretius 'tempore *de* mortis,' together with others of the same kind in Latin. He cites authority for the frequent occurrence also of postpositions in Oscan and Umbrian; but who is to say that they were not as frequent in Celtic or more so? He settles this with the rash negative: *Il n'y en a pas d'exemple celtique*. According to some scholars the Celtic language most exactly in point would be Welsh and Breton, and here are a couple of Welsh instances at once, *pa-h-am* (for *pa-am*), and *py-rag* or *pa-rag*, as in *paham y deuthoch?* 'why (literally 'what for') have you come?' and *Gwn paham y deuthoch* 'I know why you have come.' This *paham* is one of the commonest combinations in the language, but the other *py-* or *pa-rag* is now obsolete in Welsh, whereas it is in common use in Breton as *pê-râk* 'pourquoi.' For similar locutions in Modern Irish see Dinneen's *Dictionary*, s.v. *cá* and *as*, 'out of, from.' Comparing roughly the Romance languages with Latin from which they derive, one finds that they make their prepositions into postpositions less often than Latin did; so perhaps one would not be wrong in guessing that such cases were more usual in early Celtic than in the Celtic languages of the present day, namely Welsh or Breton, and Irish Gaelic. Lastly, the possibility is not to be wholly forgotten, that  $\beta\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\delta\epsilon$  is not to be explained at all with the help of *de* 'from': see No. vii, p. 19 above.

The learned Celtist sums up his case in the following terms: 'Ma conclusion est que les inscriptions précitées nous mettent en présence d'un dialecte italique, usité dans la Narbonnaise sous la domination romaine, concurremment avec le latin et avec le gaulois, sans parler du grec chez les Marseillais.' But what a peculiar people they were, who, though speaking an Italian dialect like Latin, preferred to have it written in Greek characters. It is stranger still that they chose all to be known, not by Italic or Greek names, but by Celtic ones. For M. d'Arbois admits this when he says: 'Les inscriptions précitées paraissent être des dédicaces. Tous les noms des personnages qui font ces dédicaces semblent gaulois; quant au reste du texte de ces dédicaces il appartient, suivant moi, à une langue italique.' The celticity of the nomenclature is a fact which is, it seems to me, well nigh impossible to get over; but the significance of it is not fully

expressed in M. d'Arbois's admission. For the names not only seem Celtic, but the patronymics also are Celtic in their formulae, which is still more convincing. Take for instance, *Κασσιταλος Ουερσικνος*, 'C. son of *Uersos*,' and *Αδρεσσικνος*, 'son of *Αδρεσσος*,' in xviii and xxii, and compare the case of *Iccavos Oppianicnos*, 'I. son of *Oppianos*,' in iv, found in the Côte-d'Or, or *Andecamulos Toutissicnos*, 'A. son of *Toutissos*,' in xxxiii<sup>a</sup>, belonging to Nevers: both have the verb *ieuru* and are supposed to be Gaulish. Next may be mentioned the *Collias* inscription, No. xxiv, beginning with *Εκιννος Ριουμανιος*, 'E. son of *Riومانος*,' where the formula is the same as that of *Frontu Tarbeisonios*, 'F. son of *Tarbeiso*,' in xxvi. One might here also take into account the forms in *-akos*, such as *Καρταρος Ιλλαβονιακος* and *Ιλλιακος* in xvii and xiii respectively, which claim comparison with such a name as *Anqalonnacos* in No. v, which is an *ieuru* inscription: see p. 12 above. The points of identity to which I refer mean vastly more for the view here advanced than the mere use of Gaulish names. To them must be added the weight of evidence supplied by the occurrence of the peculiarly Celtic word *διουι*, that is *diūi* = *dēūi*, 'to the goddess': see the remarks made at p. 33 on inscription xvi<sup>a</sup>, lost at St.-Remy.

M. d'Arbois de Jubainville has done a service to Celtic epigraphy in challenging the celticity of the group of inscriptions in question: to me at any rate they now appear more certainly Celtic than they did before his verdict led me to examine them more closely. Instead, however, of making them into an Italic group, as M. d'Arbois de Jubainville is desirous of doing, I am greatly inclined to regard them as Celtican. They unfortunately supply us with no obvious test words, but that leaves it possible for us to regard them as being in the language of the Coligny Calendar and of the *Rom Desfixiones*. The geographical area, be it noticed, which the challenged inscriptions cover may be said to take in the neighbourhood of Apt, where we have, at Saignon, an inscription with *carnitu*. It is but natural accordingly to suppose that verb to belong to the same language; but that identical form has been found in the *Todi* inscription, while its plural occurs on the *Briona* stone now at Novara. This would mean that Celtican once extended across the Alps far down into North Italy. In another direction we have the fragment at *Évreux* and the *Buscilla* legend on a vessel dedicated to a divinity at *Alesia*: that they are both in Celtican was suggested in my previous paper. Their interest for the moment, however, is eclipsed by the fact that the language which I have been obliged to call Celtican seems to have covered the area which, *par excellence*, belonged to the ancient *Ligurians*.



## II

Besides the foregoing inscriptions, the Coligny Calendar in the Lyons Museum claimed a large share of my attention. Soon after it was discovered, I had a passing look at it without being much the wiser, and most of my paper read to the Academy last year was devoted to it. So last September I was determined to examine it from beginning to end. With the kind permission of M. Dissard, the learned head of the Museum, I spent a week collating the fragments, with the 'Reconstitution' of them into months by M. le Commandant Émile Espérandieu, and with the coloured plate or chart of the whole published in 1898 as a supplement to the *Revue Épigraphique*, No. 90. It may here be mentioned that another edition of that chart was issued in the *Revue Celtique* for 1900; but it lacks final revision by M. Espérandieu.

I may begin my corrections by mentioning the fact that in my former paper I forgot to say that the statue of the god, whom we may now call Rivos, had figured in more than one publication: for instance, in M. Salomon Reinach's *Répertoire de la Statuaire grecque et romaine*, vol. iii (1904), p. 234, where he has placed it among the Apollos. It appears also in the Piot *Monuments et Mémoires* of the Académie des Inscriptions, vol. x. pp. 61-90, where it has a plate (No. ix) devoted to it, and an elaborate article, written by M. Joseph Buche, to prove the god a Mars. I may add that I have asked the opinion of several of my colleagues, and they also are inclined to call him a Mars; but M. Reinach sticks to Apollo, and suggests to me a luminous parallel between Augustus (in the rôle of Apollo) giving his name to the month of August, and Rivos (the god of the Coligny Calendar) giving his to Rivros, approximately the same month. For references to Augustus as Apollo, see Mr. A. B. Cook's 'European Sky-God' in *Folk-Lore* for 1905, p. 310.

**Column 1**, with an INTERCALARY MONTH beginning with the second line (Espérandieu's 'Reconstitution,' p. 3<sup>1</sup>).

The big letters MID are followed by a bit of the top of the next letter, which cannot, I think, as formerly suggested to me, be an A: it looks rather as if it had been X.

- Day i. The second line begins with GIA, that is, with G not C. To discriminate, if possible, between G and C was one of my chief objects in collating the Calendar.
- Day ii. The second line has nothing in sight after SONNA, and I conclude it was treated as a complete word.

Day vii. The beginning of the entry seems to be M, not N.

Day ix. The letter following EDVTI seems to have been C, C, or O, possibly the upper portion of an S.

Atenoux. vii. This reads NSDS SAM[O]NI ANAGAN

INNIS . . . . . TIT

The letter beginning the word following INNIS cannot, I think, have been R, P, or D, but rather I, V, M, or N.

Atenoux. viii. This incomplete entry stands more correctly thus:—

NSDS . . . . . TO

INN . . . . .

In fact the TO of At. viii seem so close to the TIT of the previous line that there appears to be no room for a line between. That is, Messrs. Dissard and Espérandieu's arrangement proves correct as far as I could judge; for some difficulty was occasioned by the right-hand fragment with the ends of these entries, having fallen about two lines out of its place, as the result, I should suppose, of shifting the glass case some time or other since the placing of the pieces by M. Dissard. My guessings in my *Celtae*, p. 19, have to be corrected accordingly. The note ending the intercalary month has POG, with a distinct G. The C of COB is not decisive in its form. The X of OXT is imperfect, and the T is gone; imperfect also is the first limb of the first A of ANTIA.

SAMONIOS<sup>1</sup> (Espér., p. 4<sup>1</sup>).

iii. Here also we have a decided G in EX|NGIDVM.

v. There runs a fracture right through the supposed X of RIXRI, and it is continued through the second I of INIS in vii: the shadow cast prevents one from seeing clearly either letter through the glass, but I have no doubt about the I and not much about the V, instead of what appears through the glass as X. I should have mentioned that the line of

vii. the fracture is not given correctly in the Chart. I have a note that the whole entry \* for vii is NDVMANN INIS . R.

\* M. Dissard was kind enough to promise, that, in case of my notes proving incomplete, I might write to him to be reassured on various minor points which might appear doubtful. Such have an asterisk in these remarks. Here my query is whether the entry begins with N or with ND as in the 'Reconstitution.'



viii. There is something which looks not very unlike an angular S just before MO; but it may be no part of the writing.

N.B. The detached bit provisionally placed near the bottom of Dumannios in the first edition of the Chart has been since removed to the Atenoux. of Dumannios in Col. 11 of the 1900 Chart and in the 'Reconstitution,' which would be here indicated as 'Esp., p. 5<sup>4</sup>,' or fourth year on the page representing the month Dumannios: it contains the word RIVRI three times.

**Col. 2, beginning with RIVROS<sup>1</sup> (Esp., p. 6<sup>1</sup>).**

xiii. This numeral is not there, and the reason for its absence was not lack of space: was it objection to the number 13? The whole line is DEVO RIVO RIVRO(S): parts of the RO are still visible, though the S is gone: there was room for it. The first arm of the lower V of DEVO is doubled, the outer line being thinner than the other: the engraver seems to have hesitated and to have thought of a way of doubling the V, thus Ψ, which, however, was not what he finally adopted.

At. ii. Of this entry there remains a D; but it may have belonged to the previous day, for the numerals are gone.

**ANAGANTIOS<sup>1</sup> (Esp., p. 7<sup>1</sup>).**

vii, viii, ix have a decided G in OGRONI in the three instances.

At. xii. Where there should have been a D there is a patch of verdigris which makes it impossible to trace the letter.

**Col. 3, beginning with GIAMONIOS<sup>1</sup> (Esp., p. 10<sup>1</sup>).**

N.B. Near the top of this column is now placed a piece which in both Charts is to be found in Col. 14 (Anagantios): we shall return to it when the latter is reached.

At. vii. The B of AMB has had its top punched off in making the peg-hole there.

ix. Here the B of AMB is actually situated beyond the peg-hole. Both go to prove that the peg-holes were made after the lettering, contrary to what I rashly suggested in my former paper, p. 18.

**SIMIVISONNIOS<sup>1</sup> (Esp., p. 11<sup>1</sup>).**

xv. Before IS EQVI, there are traces of V, belonging no doubt to SEMIVIS.

At. xiii. The entry has an AMB, thus: D AMB IVOS.

EQUOS<sup>1</sup> (Esp., p. 12<sup>1</sup>).

- ii. The reading is PRINI LAG IVOS, with the second vocable ending with G.
- xiv. M D SEMIVIS. The D is preceded by an M not in the Chart.
- xv. M D SEMICANO, with C rather than G.

ELEMBIVIOS<sup>1</sup> (Esp., p. 13<sup>1</sup>).

- ii. The whole entry is gone except the final S of IVOS, which stands beyond the peg-hole; that is in Dumannios, day iii, in the column to the right, as shown in the 1895 Chart: it is accidentally omitted in the later Chart.
- At. ix. EDRINI not EDRIN.

COL. 4, beginning with EDRINIOS<sup>1</sup> (Esp., p. 14<sup>1</sup>).

- viii. This seems to end with NT: doubtful only is the N.
- At. iii. The I before AMB is still partly there.

CANTLOS<sup>1</sup> (Esp., p. 15<sup>1</sup>).

- i. The name of the previous month is this time AEDRIN.
- At. ix. This seems to have begun with I†I and ended with R, which is to be found beyond the peg-hole in the contiguous month of Anagantios. What can the whole entry have been? Hardly I†I N INNIS R, since I†I and the two other arrangements probably refer to certain hours of the day as indicated by the sundial, and do not occur before N or NS, which seem to stand for a word for night. It is more likely to have been like the entry in Simivisonnios<sup>2</sup>, which is also At. ix, namely, I†I D AMB R; but as we want a longer entry, it had possibly a month's name inserted somewhat thus, I†I D EDRINI AMB R: compare Simivis.<sup>3</sup>, At. iii, with D EQVI AMB.
- At. x. This begins with a D, which is still there, alone.
- At. xiii. The IV of IVOS are still there, only the OS are gone.

SAMONIOS<sup>2</sup> (Esp., p. 4<sup>2</sup>).

- ii. I thought I could identify the MD of this entry, though they have been omitted in the Chart and almost wholly in the 'Reconstitution.'
- iv. Here I can find only D, without M or N preceding it.
- At. ii. The entry is I†I D TRIN VX SAMO,



DUMANNIOS<sup>2</sup> (Esp., p. 5<sup>2</sup>).

- i. The entry seems perfect and complete, SAMON PRIOVDIX IVOS, without anything to suggest a division or abbreviation in PRIOVDIX.
- v. The entry is . . RINN LAGIT with a G, but query \*RINNI.
- viii. The I of SAMONI is, I think, there.

Col. 5, beginning with RIVROS<sup>2</sup> (Esp., p. 6<sup>2</sup>).

- i. . . NAGANT with a very decided G.
- iv. . . . G RIVROS, with the G of BRIG; but see cols. 8 and 11.
- v. There is . . . NIS R there: the latter has been accidentally omitted in the Charts and the 'Reconstitution.'
- viii. I have a note querying\* the L of LOVD in favour of I.
- xiii. What is left begins with the latter part of some such a letter as M, and after a space comes |VG RIV: the G seems here certain. Unfortunately the corresponding entry in Col. 11 is not in a state to help us on this point. This entry looks as if originally DM |VG RIV.
- At. viii. The entry is . . . IVX ANAG with traces of the bottom of some more letters of PETIVX: compare PETIVX two lines lower, and PETI RIVRI ANAG in Col. 8.
- At. xiii. Not M D but II† D.

ANAGANTIOS<sup>2</sup> (Esp., p. 7<sup>2</sup>).

The headline has a very decided G in ANAGAN like that of OGRON at the head of the ensuing month. The name of the former is doubtless to be everywhere corrected into *Anagantios*, and the etymology suggested in my *Celtae*, p. 36, cancelled.

At. iii begins with †II, and the usual sequence suggests in At. iv the combination I†I, but the engraver blundered into II†, and then he made a lower horizontal line through the second and third perpendiculars: At. v is normal, III†.

At. ix. For INIS read IN.

N.B. In the 1898 Chart both Ogronios and Cutios were here left empty, but in the 1900 Chart the portion of Cutios placed in Col. 12 in the former Chart (and in the Reconst.) is found transferred here in the latter Chart, but it has been shifted again, namely, to Elem-bivios in Col. 13 where I found it.

Col. 6, beginning with GIAMONIOS<sup>2</sup> (Esp., p. 10<sup>2</sup>).

The head line is (Giam)ONI: the I is there.

Equos<sup>2</sup> (Esp., p. 12<sup>2</sup>).

N.B. The fragment with what remains of days xiii-At. iii has been shifted by M. Dissard to the corresponding place in Equos in Col. 16.

ELEMBIVIOS<sup>3</sup> (Esp., p. 13<sup>2</sup>).

- i, ii, iii, iv, v. The S of IVOS in these lines is not certain.  
 vi. This has not the letters AMB: they are in the previous line\*.  
 ix. In this as well as iii the reading is LAG, not LAC.

Col. 7, beginning with EDRINIOS<sup>2</sup> (Esp., p. 14<sup>2</sup>).

It is difficult to make out what letter ends the name of the month in the head line: I do not think it can be S. It is more like a tall O; so one should suppose the original letters to have made EDRINIO. xiii. The reading seems to be I†I, inexact for I†I, and then, I think, an M comes, not a D.

- xiv. Between this entry and the next there is a blank space which would suffice for about two lines of writing: it is the measure of the extent to which the engraver had got out of his reckoning. The ATENOVX following proves to be on a level with that heading in other months.

CANTLOS<sup>2</sup> (Esp., p. 15<sup>2</sup>).

- iv. The entry is PRINNI LAGE with a decided G.  
 xv. TIOCOBREXTIO has its C all right, the E may be I.  
 At. xiv seems to begin with I†I D.

DUMANNIOS<sup>3</sup> (Esp., p. 5<sup>3</sup>).

At the end is DIVORTOMV, but the final V is difficult to trace on account of the verdigris.

Col. 8, beginning with RIVROS<sup>3</sup> (Esp., p. 6<sup>3</sup>).

- iv. The entry is MD BRIG RIV, with room for one or two more letters, but there is verdigris where the other letters of RIVROS should come. The last letter of BRIG looks somewhat dubious, G or C.  
 viii. I can only read PRINI LO. The LO are at a distance from PRINI, and close to the edge of the column; they are by no means certain. As to the wide space intervening compare PRINNI LAG in Anagantios, a little lower in the same column.  
 At. viii. The entry is D PETI RIVRI ANAG, but the I of PETI is not quite certain, as it is in a break badly jointed.



At. x. This reads as follows: N RIVRI D RIVRI IIT M. The top of the N is there; the D has a dab of verdigris, which makes it look at first sight like a C reversed. A part of the M is gone with the punching of a peg-hole.

ANAGANTIOS<sup>3</sup> (Esp., p. 7<sup>3</sup>).

The name of the month as abbreviated in the head line was ANAGTIO: the G is certain, and so may the AN be said to be, though they are no longer intact. ANAGTIO stood for *Anagantio-s*: had it been a complete word (*Celtae*, p. 5) it ought to have been written ANAXTIO, and not ANAGTIO.

- i. What is left of this entry is M [D] RIVRI EXOIVO. There is a narrow piece lost between M and RIVRI, where there was probably a D. A peg-hole of the second intercalary month encroaches on the O of IVO, but it only covers a part of it.
- vi. PRINNI LAG has the wide space to which attention has already been directed: it would seem to indicate that the things represented by PRINNI and LAG respectively were not essentially connected with one another.

OGRONIOS<sup>3</sup> (Esp., p. 8<sup>3</sup>).

At. xii. The entry is N INIS R, as in Col. 15.

Col. 9, beginning with a four-line introduction to the SECOND INTERCALARY MONTH (Esp., p. 3<sup>2</sup>).

Line 1. As far as I could judge through the glass, this line would be rendered complete by inserting a V, so as to make it CIALLOS BVIS.

Line 2. This is spaced SONNO CINGOS.

Line 3. The corner of a letter at the beginning of this seems to be the top of an A: so the reading would be AMMAN·M·M XIII. I have no note of my finding a point between the last M and the numeral.

Line 4. The reading is . . . . LAT·CCCLXXXV. There is a space between LAT and the numeral, but the presence of the point is somewhat doubtful. There is room for some equivalent of 'id est' before LAT.

Line 5. What is left of the line is ANTARAN·M, but close before it one observes the top corner of a preceding letter, which I have failed to identify; so I guess the writing to have consisted of an abbreviation of the name of the month, followed by *Cantaran·M.*, for *canta-rannin*

*matus*, signifying that it was lucky as to its first part. The compound would make in O. Irish *cétrann*, later *céadrann*, 'first part,' and here it seems applied to the first fifteen days of the month as distinguished from the *ate-nouation*, 'the subsequent series of nights' in the month. Let us call the month *Ingendios*, and the syntax of the line will be this: *Ingendios canta-rannin matus*, 'I. (as to) its first part lucky,' which implies that the other part was not always lucky: possibly this means that the month varied in length, contrary to my suggestion (*Celtae*, p. 7), from one lustrum to another. The Calendar now proceeds at once to the days in their order; but here occurs a most serious lacuna, which I suggest filling in outline somewhat as follows:—

- (i) ..... SIMIVIS
- (ii) .... Du]MANNI IVOS
- (iii) .... Du]MAN IVOS
- (iv) .... Riv]RI IVO
- (v) .... Pet]IV RIVRI AN
- (vi) ..... ANAG  
..... ROG (? ROC)
- (vii) N .....
- viii. D .....
- ix. N O .....
- INIS .....

The supplying of PET in the fifth day is suggested by Rivros At. viii. PETI RIVRI ANAG (p. 86).

Before ANAG in the sixth day there are traces of a letter which I have not identified. The entry for this day seems to have occupied in all no less than eight lines, though we have got only the fag ends of the first two of them. Then comes a certain amount of writing again from vii on.

- xv. This entry consists of DS MA·NS RIVR, with the MA forming a ligature, MA.
- At. ii. Read †† MD QVTI IN OGRO. This last O is not quite certain, but I thought I could trace it. Whether the initial symbol was meant to differ from †† I cannot tell.
- At. iv. D GIAMONI, with G as in OGRO.
- At. vii. N GIAMONI  
ELEMBI Here one finds considerable space between Giamoni and Elembi and the next Giamoni, the engraver having to make this intercalary month fill the room of two ordinary months as in the case of the other intercalation.
- At. viii. N GIAMONI  
AEDRINI



At. xii. This seems to have I†I preceding M D RIVRI.

At. xiv. In this entry the reading is I†I D OGRONV, ending with V.

GIAMONIOS<sup>3</sup> (Esp., p. 10<sup>3</sup>).

This name, abbreviated GIAMON, begins with a decided G, and CIA in the next line is to be corrected into GIA; so also in other instances of the name.

vii. The entry is I†I M D SIMIVI TIOCBR.

SIMIVISSONIOS<sup>3</sup> (Esp., p. 11<sup>3</sup>).

viii. EQVI PRINNI LAG: the G is there, but has been encroached upon by a peg-hole.

Col. 10, beginning with Equos<sup>3</sup> (Esp., p. 12<sup>3</sup>).

ii. PRIN LAG IVOS.

ELEMBIVIOS<sup>3</sup> (Esp., p. 13<sup>3</sup>).

viii. The top of the two first letters of TIOCOB is gone.

EDRINIOS<sup>3</sup> (Esp., p. 14<sup>3</sup>).

viii. . . . . CANTL.

ix. . . . . CANTL.

These are all on a twisted piece of the bronze, and for that reason I could not see the foot of the second L through the glass: I have little doubt that it was not I—the inclination was wrong for T or I.

xi. D ANB.

The N for M in ANB is there, and is to be put down as a slip on the part of the original engraver.

CANTLOS<sup>3</sup> (Esp., p. 15<sup>3</sup>).

i. M\* D AEDRINI IVOS.

iv. PRINNI LAG. The G is certain.

vii. SAMON PRINI LOVD. The last might possibly be read IOVD, but the base of the first letter looks large for I, and falls too far below the horizontal direction.

Col. 11, beginning with SAMONIOS<sup>4</sup> (Esp., p. 4<sup>4</sup>).

ix. D DVMAN . . . . .

DUMANNIOS<sup>4</sup> (Esp., p. 5<sup>4</sup>).

v. PRIN . . . . .

N.B. In the Atenoux. of this month M. Dissard suggests that there should be placed three detached fragments, the last of which has an entry beginning with D Tl.

RIVROS<sup>4</sup> (Esp., p. 6<sup>4</sup>).

iv. . . . . IG RIVRI.

vii. . . . . ANAGTIOS, which is to be extended into Anagantios, the next two days show NAG as what is left of ANAG.

xiii. . . . . IV·G·RIVRI. The verdigris makes it impossible to say for certain whether we have a G or a C here; but compare Col. 5 and note the abbreviation stops here. I propose to read in full *iyogotuatro*, and to translate 'To the *ivos*-priest the crops.' This agrees absolutely with the first-year entry, except that it is there more piously put with the god Rivos as the direct recipient. The *ivos*-priest was presumably the one who had to do with the many feasts or functions held probably in the god Rivos's honour, and marked in the calendar IVOS, IVO, IV. As to *gotuatros*, 'priest, a divinity's mouthpiece,' see Holder, s. v. *gutuatros*, and M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Druides* (Paris, 1906), pp. 1-7. The IVG of Col. 5 (p. 86) suggests a shortening of the compound into *iy-gotuatro* to be compared with *Riymanios* from *Riyomanios* in Inscription xxiv.

xv. . . . . D\* S.

ANAGANTIOS<sup>4</sup> (Esp., p. 7<sup>4</sup>).

iv. M D OCIOMV RIVRI. I cannot trace the first O completely: a dab of verdigris nearly covers it.

v. N INIS: I could not trace the R to complete the formula.

vi, vii, viii, ix. D . . . . INNI: The original in vi may perhaps have been OGRONI as in the three next days, the first two of which are still legible, while only NI of the third is so.

At. iv. Here AMB, which M. Espérandieu rightly found inadmissible, turns out to have been cancelled by means of a horizontal line across each of the three letters: I am not sure that the B had ever been completed. The engraver made another slip below, namely, at the end, where he placed an X in front of the word DIVIRTOMV.

Col. 12, beginning with OGRONIOS<sup>4</sup> (Esp., p. 8<sup>4</sup>).

The name of the month in the heading is mostly gone, and what is left is puzzling, being ROM, which would seem to mean that the engraver had made NI into M.

At. i. † III M\* D QVTIO.



CUTIOS<sup>4</sup> (Esp., p. 9<sup>4</sup>).

N.B. As arranged when I saw it in September the Calendar has nothing left in this month except a fragment which, in the 1900 Chart and in the 'Reconstitution,' will be found placed in Dumannios<sup>4</sup> in the Atenoux. from iii to x. in Col. 11; it is also the detached piece near the bottom of Dumannios in Col. 1 in the 1898 Chart. As it has three consecutive days with the word RIVRI, it fits into one of the Dumannios columns in point of season, and not at all into Cutios. But I understood M. Dissard to say that he had been trying to adjust the fragments with due regard to the thickness of the bronze which varies considerably. Furthermore the contents of Cutios<sup>4</sup>, as given in the 1898 Chart and in the 'Reconstitution,' appear in the 1900 Chart in Cutios in Col. 5; but unless I have blundered in my notes they have been since moved to make up Elembivios in Col. 13. It is needless to say that this latter move also would not suit the almanac view of the case.

GIAMONIOS<sup>4</sup> (Esp., p. 10<sup>4</sup>).

At. viii. (n ini)S R.

At. xi. (n) INI R.

SIMIVISONNIOS<sup>4</sup> (Esp., p. 12<sup>4</sup>).

- i. GIAMO PRINI LAG. The last G is encroached upon by a peg-hole, which has caused a slight curling of the bronze where that letter ends, and makes it hard to distinguish G from C.
- vii (? viii). M D TIOCOBREXTIO. The T is made in both instances taller than the other letters; the C is certain, the two ends being given the same form, whereas in a G the bottom differs from the top.

Col. 13, beginning with Eavos<sup>4</sup> (Esp., p. 12<sup>4</sup>).

- ii. PRINI LAG, but the last letter being imperfect one has no ocular proof that it is G.
- viii. PRINI LAG with a decided G.

ELEMIVIOS<sup>4</sup> (Esp., p. 13<sup>4</sup>).

N.B. This month is empty in M. Espérandieu's 'Reconstitution,' but in the Charts it has a piece with incomplete entries covering the days from vi to xii. When I saw the Calendar this had been pushed down the column to the corresponding place in the next month, Edrinios, and there it has prefixed to it a fragment with numerals from i to v; but the compound fragment contains no month name: I have identified neither piece in M. Espérandieu's 'Reconstitution.'

Col. 14, beginning with SAMONIOS<sup>5</sup> (Esp., p. 4<sup>5</sup>).

At. iii. D AMB.

DUMANNIOS<sup>5</sup> (Esp., p. 5<sup>5</sup>).

At. xi. D AMB.

At. xii. N INIS R.

At. xiv. M D. This is doubtful, and may have been NSDS.

RIVROS<sup>5</sup> (Esp., p. 6<sup>5</sup>).

(iv) . . . . . TIO RIVRO. Before RIVRO the IO are certain and the top of the T is visible; so the reading is TIO.

ANAGANTIOS<sup>5</sup> (Esp., p. 7<sup>5</sup>).

(ii) D . . . . . CORIVRI. After the D there are scratches and the bottoms of CO or GO. Then we seem to have the bottoms of the letters RIVRI without much doubt. So I would read GO · RIVRI, perhaps OC GO (? OCO) · RIVRI, meaning that the *gotuatros* or priest has his crops safely at home by him on that day, that is, two days earlier than his fellow tribesmen would have theirs.

(iii) D	IVO	N.B. All this piece with its
(iv) M D	OCIOMV RIVRI	lines ii-xi M. Dissard has moved
(v) N	INI R	to the top of Col. 3, that is, into
(vi) PRIN	LAG	the winter month of Giamonios,
(vii) D		where from the almanac point
(viii) D		of view it makes no sense, as it
(ix) D		seems to belong to the summer
(x) (D)		half of the year. Unless the
(xi) (D)	AMB	thickness of the bronze makes it

impossible it would seem to fit exactly into Anagantios in Col. 5, that is, into that month in the second year. The remaining piece given in the Chart to Anagantios At. iii-xiv. has now been shifted to the right to the earlier half of the contiguous month of Simivisonnios, but as it contains no month name the difficulty is not of the same acute nature.

Col. 15, beginning with OGRONIOS<sup>5</sup> (Esp., p. 8<sup>5</sup>).

At. i. M D QVTIO.

CUTIOS<sup>5</sup> (Esp., p. 9<sup>5</sup>).

ix. N INI R.

GIAMONIOS<sup>5</sup> (Esp., p. 10<sup>5</sup>).

Of the month's name in the head line only MOM is left, seemingly supplying another instance of M for NI.



Col. 16, beginning with Equos<sup>5</sup> (Esp., p. 12<sup>5</sup>).

- ii. PRIN LA . . . I did not find the G of LAG.
- vii. D SIM . I think SIM is there, though faint.
- viii. PRINO LAG.

N.B. Here comes the bit removed from Equos in Col. 6, and extending to At. iii; see p. 87.

At. iv. . . . . S1. This is not quite certain. In any case the abbreviations to SIM and S1 of the month name Simivios occur, it seems, nowhere else in the Calendar.

In the course of the same ramble I made an excursion from Poitiers to Rom, in the Department of Deux-Sèvres, in order to examine the two inscriptions on the lead published in the *Revue Celtique*, xix. 168-176, by M. Camille Jullian: in my paper they come at p. 37 and occupy the subsequent ten pages. I put these references forward because I wish to confine my remarks as nearly as possible to the corrections which I have to make. First of all let me say how to find the locality. You take the train for Angoulême and Bordeaux and descend at a station called Couhé Verac some twenty miles from Poitiers. The village of Rom is thirteen kilometres from the station, and the little town of Couhé itself is six kilometres, and runs an omnibus to meet the trains. At Couhé I found one of the sons of M. Blumerau awaiting me with a carriage: M. Blumerau is a public notary living at Rom, and he owns the land on which he has found the inscriptions and numerous other ancient remains, which are to be seen at his house. M. Blumerau is greatly interested in them, and he and his family entertained me most hospitably during the day and a half which I devoted to the study of the inscriptions. The country around is flat or undulating, but I did not see it to advantage as the weather was bad. I was especially disappointed to find the bed of the Dive green and nearly dry; but M. Blumerau assured me that the width and depth of the channel of the Dive prove that it must once have been a much more considerable stream than it is now—it is a stream still in winter. He thinks its reduction has been caused by the clearing of the country around of its woods. To this should perhaps be added that its course is in a limestone district, which may leak, and does so here and there. Our Dibona is called la Dive du Midi, as there is another Dive somewhere between Tours and Nantes.

On carefully collating **Inscription A** with M. Jullian's reading, I found exceedingly little to call in question: my own reading, which was only rendered possible by his, is as follows:—

1. APE CIALLI CARTI
2. ETIHEION CATICNO
3. NA DEMTIFHE CLOTU
4. LILA KE ΔEMTITION
5. ΔI CARTAON d'IDO
6. NA FOPIO ΔEUI PIA
7. FOPIO PVRA FOPIO
8. ZOUIFA FVEIOTIET
9. FOPIO POURA . . . . .
10. FUA DEMTI A . . . . .
11. ΔUNT NAUOUPEIA

The A in these inscriptions never has the cross bar; the E in this one is always rounded, and the R is left open, being altogether of a decidedly cursive form. The T when not in combination with another letter tends to have its stem twisted forward at the bottom. The V varies from that form to a fully developed U, and affords ample room for the marking off of a small V inside it thus, U, so as to represent VV, *uu* or *w*, as in *deuii*, for that and not *deei* is the reading in line 6. The D in line 3 approaches that shape, but the others come nearer our d: they come still nearer to Le Blant's instances, dated 568 (Narbonne) and 582 (Truilhas). The B is a peculiar character, forming a modification of that form reversed and resembling Le Blant's second of the two first instances (from Rome), under the heading '*Inscriptions non datées*,' p. 12, only that ours is better formed. Line 2 begins with a somewhat broken E, and it contains two instances of a ligature which is the same for NT and ANT, an ambiguity readily understood when it is remembered that the A has here no cross bar. In *etiheiont* it is *nt*, but in *Caticanto* we require a vowel before the *nt*: the character is N, with the top stroke of a T on the upper end of the last limb of the N. Unfortunately it could also be treated as an A with a T joined to it, but that seems to be ruled out by the fact that in the first part of the name the A and the T are written separately: it remains that one should regard the word as *Caticanto* rather than *Caticato*. In line 3 the F are somewhat imperfect, and the L is disfigured by accidental scratches. In line 4 it is hard to say whether LILA or LILLA is the right reading: here we have the ligature for NT, as also in line 5, where the first B and the C show some accidental scratchings: the



final O is imperfect. Line 6 begins with  $\Omega$  for N, and the P of PIA has the lower end of its stem twisted forwards like that of the  $\tau$ : Le Blant gives no less than four undated instances of this form of P. In line 7 O P are damaged, and the second SI are partly gone. Line 8 is rather worse: both  $\rho$ 's are gone except the characteristic top twig: the I before the first  $\rho$  is also very slight. Line 9: the P resembles the one already mentioned: the  $\Lambda$  of POURA is imperfect, and I have failed to read what follows it. Line 10 is also bad, and I could scarcely say that I could trace the MTI. I could read nothing for certain after the A, but I could see nothing inconsistent here with M. Jullian's reading. Line 11: here the second U is rather indistinct, and the last three letters are very much so. Another great difficulty attaches here to the third character between the U and the N, for it is not an N as read by M. Jullian: it is more than N for it ends with the top stroke of a T. Are we to read *dunt* or *duant*? The former might be part of a longer verb ending in *-unt = ont*, while the latter might be the whole of a verb—in either case we have a plural; but there is a third possibility, namely, that we are to read A and T joined together, which would give us a singular form *duat* or *-duat*. Against this must be placed the fact that we have AT written separately in line 2, as already pointed out. I am not prepared with an interpretation, but I am inclined to prefer *duant*, and in any case to suppose that in what follows we have a dependent negative clause.

N.B. The extreme corner of the lead with the greater part of the initial *d* of this line is ready to drop off: there is no writing on the other side of it, so it is possible to mend the lead on that side without any damage being done to these invaluable documents.

**Inscription B** on the other face of the piece of lead is much more irregular in its lettering than that already described. As a rule the letters of side *B* slope more and show more minuscule forms; but the stem of the T is mostly straight. One of the most troublesome letters here is G: one of its cursive forms is  $\zeta$  which we had in *govisa* in Inscription *A*, and the other is  $\xi$  which tends in some of the instances to become sprawling and untidy. It occurs here in the case of the spirant which I represented by a Greek  $\Gamma$  in the former paper, p. 41; but its being so used is perhaps only an accident, for we have  $\zeta$  also in  $\text{HEZ}\xi\text{O}$ , and  $\xi$  alone in  $\text{POZ}\xi\text{EA}$ . My reading of the inscription is the following:—

1. TE VORVIMO
2. EH $\xi$ A ATNTO TE H $\xi$
3.  $\xi$ O ATANT $\tau$ A TE COM

4. PRIATO KOKIO DERTI
5. NOI POMMIO ATEHO
6. TIKYE POZEA TE PRI
7. AULMO ATANA TE
8. ONEZATIM EZO
9. ZIA TE VORVIMO
10. APE KOKIO DERTI
11. IMO NADENTIKYE
12. VPE . . . A . . . . .

In line 1 the ligature for AU is badly joined, but its last limb bulges slightly outwards and is altogether unlike the tall sloping I of *Imo*. In line 2 M. Jullian gives a ligature which he reads as ANT; but I found that the T is all there, so the ligature is confined to the AN preceding it. In fact there is in this inscription no instance which one is obliged to read as ANT, and we have trouble enough without it. For we have N to be read AN: the only time an *n* occurs here out of combination with another letter it is found written O, namely, in line 5; and we have an N with the top stroke of a T, a ligature to be read sometimes as NT and sometimes as A and T merely joined together. We have the joined AT in the first syllable of *Atanto* and the ligature for AN in the second. The last three letters of this line are very puzzling: the middle one seems to be an  $\epsilon$  preceded by what seems to be the first half of an H, but I cannot trace the horizontal line produced quite to join the  $\epsilon$ , though that seems to have been intended. The last letter seems to be a G of the kind already mentioned as Z, and I think we have a somewhat simpler instance of it in line 6, where M. Jullian has taken it to be either a T or a G: I regard it as more probably the latter, with the horizontal line not joining the top of the stem but intersecting it—a form of Z. Line 5 ends with an uncertain O, which M. Jullian thinks possibly an  $\epsilon$ . In line 8 the letter Z is a very straggling specimen in the first instance, while as the last letter but one it is very much simpler: I agree with M. Jullian in thinking that the same letter was meant. In line 9 the ligature for AU comes somewhat nearer AV, but the second joint is damaged so that it is not easy to judge of the exact shape, except that it is still different from N. In line 11 I cannot read NA because the first of those two characters, the N, finishes with the top stroke of a T; and it seems to me now that this is also the probable reading of M. Jullian's copy, though he has preferred NA. At the end of the same line I looked in vain for traces of I to make SSE into SSIE, but I found none, and the verb seems to be *demtisse*, on a level here with *atehotisse*. Of line 12 I could make nothing but



VP€, followed by traces of which I could only read an A at a distance; but M. Jullian suggests, subject to a triple query, the following reading: UZIETIA O . . . PA . . . A.

So far of the reading of Inscription *B*: other questions, however, present themselves, and among the first that of the symbols for the spirant sound of *gh*, which we have here represented by HΞ in ΕΗΞΑ, by ΖΞ in ΗΕΖΞΟ, and by a sprawling variant in ONTEΞΑΤΙΜ and ΕΞΟΞΙΑ: the reading of ΠΟΖΕΑ in line 6 is too uncertain and the origin of the word too obscure to be of any help. One seems safe in drawing the inference that the author of this inscription felt it to be desirable to distinguish the soft spirant sound of *gh* from the stopped sound of *g*; but he hesitated at first between HΞ and ΖΞ, and at last made up his mind for the modified form of G which is here represented by Ξ, and to use that alone without the aid of H or Ζ. If we may treat this as the case, we see at once the extent of the error which I ascribed to him in my previous paper. There was no pause, or hardly any, between ΤΕ and ΕΖΞΟ, so *h* was admitted in the hiatus, making the words in pronunciation into ΤΕ ΗΕΖΞΟ, whereas ΙΜΟ was not so closely taken with ΕΗΞΑ, and therefore there was no occasion for a hiatus aspirate. He only made one slip—he wrote ΕΗΞΑ ΑΤΑΝΤΟ for what should have been ΕΗΞΟ ΑΤΑΝΤΟ. In the next place *demtisse*, while parallel to *atehotisse*, differs from the *demtissie* of Inscription *A*. It was a difference of spelling which had perhaps to do with a sound like that of English *sh*—possibly there were two pronunciations, one with *ss* and one with *sh*. This completes the certainty that the same man did not write the two inscriptions.

It is not improbable that *ata demtisse* is to be treated as a subordinate clause in the affirmative and corresponding to *na demtissie* in the negative. In that case *ata* may have had the force of Latin *ut*, and be in some way related to the *ate* of *ate-hotisse*. At all events we should have to distinguish both *ate* and *ata* from the prefix *eti* in *eti-heiont* in Inscription *A*.

Both in the Calendar and in the Defixiones I have kept as closely to the text as it was found convenient. A revision of the conjectures in my last paper concerning these documents would take up too much of the space at my disposal, not to mention that it would most likely prove premature; for it is only now that those conjectures are beginning to be discussed. When Celtic scholars have given their opinions, I expect to find some positions to defend, and some, doubtless, to relinquish.

POSTSCRIPT.

'Reste a savoir si nous dirons CELTE OU LIGURE: c'est l'éternelle question.' So ends one of M. Camille Jullian's 'Notes gallo-romaines' in the July number of the *Revue des Études Anciennes*, and the interest which he feels in that question makes him return to it every now and then. That is not all, for since the foregoing paper was written and presented to the Academy, I have read his contribution to the volume of *Mélanges* recently dedicated to M. d'Arbois de Jubainville on his seventy-eighth birthday. It is entitled 'Les Salyens Celto-ligures,' and it goes, I think, some way to solve the Celto-ligurian question. He lays it down that in the century following the foundation of Marseilles the native peoples of Provence were Ligurians, and that the Ligurian tribe of the Salyes or Saluvii possessed the town of Arles, and had the command of both banks of the Rhone. Now the territory held by the Salyes on both sides of the Rhone, together with that of kindred Ligurian tribes up to the latitude of Orange, let us say, would include easily the localities already mentioned as signalized by the *βρατονδε-καρινα* group of inscriptions (pp. 77-81). The conclusion is, therefore, hard to avoid that it was the Ligurians of a later age, but still pagan, who set up those inscriptions. Add to this that the *carnitu* inscriptions, which by their provenance seem to be inseparably connected, indicate, as has been suggested at p. 81 above, that the same language extended across the Alps far into North Italy. In other words this means that what I have called Celtican was practically one and the same language as that which M. d'Arbois de Jubainville calls Ligurian. In fact, I may say that ever since that distinguished scholar wrote to show that Ligurian must have been an Aryan tongue, I have had the idea present to my mind that this was the Continental idiom akin to Goidelic, as Gaulish was to Brythonic. So to me it becomes more and more a question of names, whether it is to be called Celtic or Ligurian. I received a month or two ago a letter from one of the most brilliant of living Frenchmen suggesting that the proper name for the Celtic family is Ligurian; and he based his opinion on a passage of Lucan's, which he quoted. That is, however, not the usual attitude of those who are attached to the term Ligurian: they seem inclined to treat it as a terminus or as a symbol standing for an unknown quantity, but most of them are little concerned to try to work out the equation which should give us approximately the philological value of their X. There is, however,



one other great exception, and that is, again, Camille Jullian, who writes to me as follows: 'Que d'ailleurs cette langue ligure ne fût point trop différente de celle des Celtes, je le crois,' and then he proceeds to indicate his reasons for that conclusion by referring to Varro, Strabo, and Livy. In other words, his careful reading of ancient authorities lead him to a conclusion practically identical with that which I draw from studying the Coligny Calendar and the Rom Defixiones. It is this: whatever you call the language of those documents, the key to it has proved to be Goidelic. Some of my critics would say not Goidelic but Brythonic: even so the key remains Celtic. The same conclusion follows from M. Jullian's examination of such a name as that of the Ligurian tribe of the Segobrigii. He is probably right in treating it as Ligurian, but no glottologist whose attention had not been drawn to Ligurian would have dreamt of its being anything but Celtic. It is a compound that reminds one of the personal name Netta-Segamonos, which occurs no less than three times in the Ogam inscriptions of the Goidelic tribe of the Déssi of Co. Waterford. It seems to have meant the 'Champion of Segamo,' that is of the Mars Segomo, whose cult, as shown by Holder, extended from Lyons to the Côte-d'Or and from Nice to the Jura.

#### ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 7. To the kindness of Com. Espérandieu, who is conducting the excavations proceeding at Alise, I owe what seems another instance of *etic*. The reading of the first letter is not quite so certain in this instance as that the word in it means 'and.' It comes between two datives closing a recently discovered inscription there, which ends thus:—

BIPAKOTΩ ETIK OBPITOYΑΩ.

P. 12. Instead of treating *hoedl* as related to *-sēdlon*, I should probably have equated them; for the former was at one time *hoedl*, as stated by Dr. Davies, s. v., and as proved by such an inscription as that of Gwnnws ending with '*Hiroidil* filius Carotinn,' Hübner, 122, and by such names in 'The Book of Llan Dâv' as *Guorhoidil*, p. 189, and *Rihedl*, *Rihoithil*, or *Rioidyl*, pp. 149, 152, 155, 156. Add to this that Casnodyn, a poet who lived early in the fourteenth century, makes *hoedyl* alliterate with *hedwch*, that is *hedwch*: see J. Morris Jones's Welsh Grammar, § 189, vi. He suggests that the fact of *hoedl* being feminine is owing mainly to the influence of its feminine synonym *oes*, 'a lifetime, or generation.'

P. 41. I forgot to point out that the Collias inscription (No. xxiv) appears to be in metre: compare the one at Alise, p. 9 above. The former seems to scan as follows:—

Έκιννος | Ρίουμανχος | Άνδουνα | βο δ'εδε | βράτουδε | κ'αντεν.

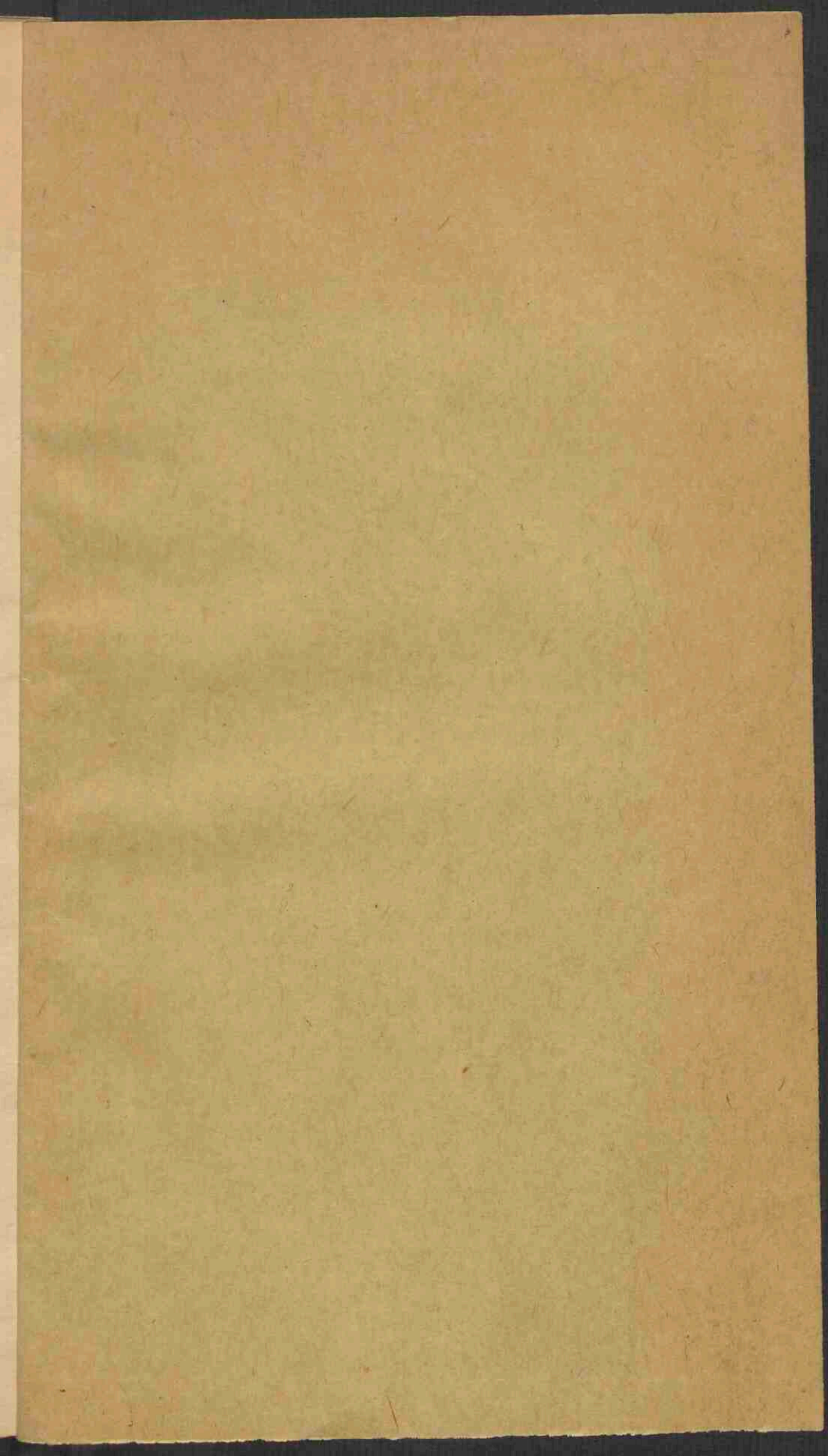
The same treatment may have applied to Nos. xvi<sup>a</sup>, xxii, and xxiv<sup>b</sup>, but they are too imperfect to be pronounced upon. With No. vii it is different, for there one would only have to correct ΚΑΝΤΕΜ into ΚΑΝΤΕΝ, rather than ΚΑΝΤΕΝΑ, and treat ΤΑΡΑΝΟΟΥ as Τάρανοου. In any case the remark on p. 18 as to the accentuation of that vocable is to be cancelled as probably inapplicable to Celtican forms.

P. 69. Since the conjectures on pp. 67-9 were printed, it has occurred to me that *obal* equates with the Irish *ubhall*, 'an apple,' in medieval spelling *uball* or *ubull*, formerly neuter; but this yields no satisfactory meaning unless we assume, that, besides the sense of 'apple,' the word had that of 'offspring or child, καρπὸς τῆς ὀσφύος (Acts ii. 30).' That we may do so becomes a certainty when the fact is recalled, that POMMIO, a word of the same origin, doubtless, as the Latin *pomum*, 'apple,' occurs in the sense of 'offspring or son' in one of the Rom Defixiones: see *Celtae*, pp. 41, 42. In the light of this comparison *obal* may be treated as a neuter singular: compare *καντεν*, plural *καντενα* (p. 40 above), and as to Irish *ll*, the names *Conall*, in Welsh *Cynwal*, from CVNOVALOS, and *Domnall*, in Welsh *Dyfnwal*. The O. Welsh for 'apple' was *abal*, now *afal*, while *aball*, later *afall*, was 'an apple tree,' whence *aballenn*, now *afallen*, the actual word for that tree. The O. Irish for the same appears to have also been written *aball*, 'haec malus' (*Gram. Celtica*, p. 769<sup>a</sup>), which survives in *abhall-ghort*, 'an orchard,' Sc. Gaelic *abhallghart*; but *abhall-* seems to be ousted by *ubhall-*, 'apple,' except perhaps in Munster where the word for orchard is pronounced *abhlórd*: see Dinneen's Irish Dictionary. The Irish *aball* looks like a loan from Welsh, where *aball* admits of an easy explanation as a feminine formation derived from *abal-ia*. Needless to say, this leaves unreduced the difference between Welsh *abal* and *obal* or *uball*, 'apple.'



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