GAULISH. LANGUAGE, WRITING, EPIGRAPHY

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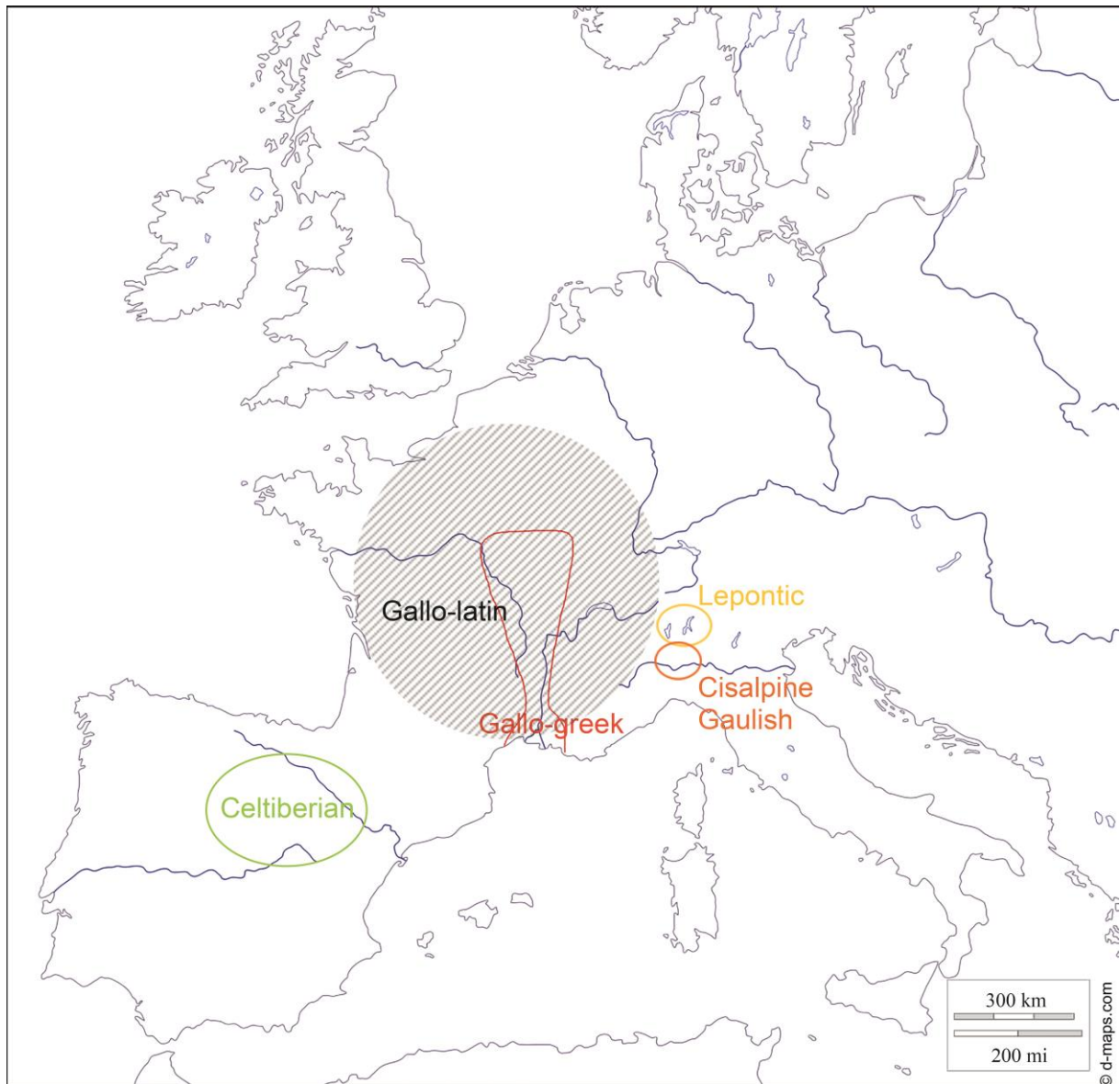
Cover image: Fig. 1. Stater of Vercingetorix. (*RIG* IV, 302), Wikimedia Commons

Image of text for the cover design: drawing of the praitor inscription from Vitrolles

Map 1. The Celtic epigraphic zones.

This map indicates the key zones of the Continental Celtic epigraphies: Celtiberian, Cisalpine Gaulish, Gallo-Greek, Gallo-Latin, Lepontic, which are all related languages, but which are attested in different geographical areas and using different scripts.

Introduction[*]

Language is important in both individual and group identities. In understanding the Iron Age and Roman worlds and their developments, we must strive to incorporate an appreciation of the local languages and their communities. Unfortunately a key ancient language such as Gaulish is generally only studied by specialist linguists, and many classical scholars, for example, have little knowledge of it. We have written a text which is designed to reveal the complexity and importance of the Gaulish language to a wider audience.

Linguists classify Gaulish as a Continental Celtic language and a member of the Celtic branch of the vast Indo-European family tree. It was spoken and written principally in Gaul, an area which covers, at its greatest extent, modern day France, Belgium, Luxembourg, most of Switzerland, Northern Italy, and parts of the Netherlands and Germany. One of the most famous quotations from Antiquity, from the opening of Caesar's *De bello Gallico*, tells us that Gaul was 'divided into three parts', the *Tres Galliae*, but naturally Caesar was focusing on his area of interest: Gaul on the eve of the Gallic Wars which included *Gallia Belgica, Gallia Celtica/Lugdunensis* and *Gallia Aquitania*. We could also add *Gallia Cisalpina*, Gaul-on-the-Roman-side-of-the-Alps, i.e. northern Italy, the earliest of the *Galliae* to be brought under Roman control, though this was incorporated into *Italia* in the first century BC, and we must include *Gallia Narbonensis*, which had earlier been called Transalpine Gaul, Gaul-on-the-other-side-of-the-Alps. Gaulish is commonly used to refer to Celtic spoken in Gaul on the non-Italian side of the Alps, in the *Tres Galliae* and *Gallia Narbonensis*. Cisalpine Gaul also contains Celtic inscriptions, which are sometimes grouped together and called 'Italo-Celtic'. These include early evidence of an apparently Celtic language called 'Lepontic' written in an Etruscan script around the great lakes in Northern Italy and a number of later inscriptions also in a form of the Etruscan script attested to the south of this area. Many linguists consider the latter group to be Gaulish, and they are often called 'Cisalpine Gaulish' or Gallo-Etruscan (note that sadly the census in *RIG* is now out-dated). This survey will focus on the Celtic of Gaul beyond the Alps which is written largely in Latin and Greek script. Another AELAW booklet will treat Italo-Celtic.

Figs. 1–3. Bronze vessel and Gaulish inscription from Couchey (II.2 L-133).

This beautiful Gaulish inscription in Latin capitals is neatly inscribed into the handle of the bronze vessel. It was found by agricultural workers in the mid-19th century not far from Alesia (Côte d'Or) in the commune of Couchey. It reads: DOIROS SEGOMARI / IEVRV ALISANV 'Doiros son of Segomaros made this for the god of Alesia'. The object can be compared to a very similar one with a Latin dedication to the same deity *deo Alisano* from the nearby commune of Viévy (*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* XIII 2843).

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[*] References in this text to Gaulish inscriptions are to the main corpus for Gaulish, *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises (RIG),* unless stated otherwise. The references are in the format: for *RIG* I – I G-X, for *RIG* II.1 – II.1 L-X, for *RIG* II.2 – II.2 L-X.

This Gaulish world should not be seen as a homogeneous 'nation', rather it was composed of dozens of complex, fractious and migrant 'tribes', whose names have largely been transmitted to us by the Roman elite, for example in the first-century BC accounts of Caesar. These Roman texts may well have misrepresented (deliberately or not), and fixed in time, some of the tribal groupings; their precise composition and interaction are still not fully understood and require interpretation of archaeological remains in combination with epigraphic and literary testimonies. Probably the concept 'Gaul' did not mean much to its inhabitants. The archaeological remains indicate a high degree of regional variation in the so-called 'La Tène' material culture (named after the famous site in Switzerland, a label which links it to material culture found in many other parts of the ancient world from the Iberian peninsula to eastern Europe and which has sometimes unquestioningly been linked to the language family and named 'Celtic'). The question whether language unified this area must be approached with caution: the fact that linguists call Gaulish 'Celtic' should not lead us blindly down the anachronistic view of 'one language, one nation'. Speakers of Celtic languages might have understood one another more easily than they did speakers of non-Celtic languages such as Iberian, but we should not automatically assume any deeper links. Many dialectal variants across Gaul may have mapped onto local identities which we cannot capture. Indeed, groups in northern Gaul may have been closer linguistically and culturally to those of southern Britain than to those of southern Gaul and we know of historically attested migrations across the Channel.

Fig. 3. A Gaulish name written in north-eastern Iberian script found in Ensérune (Hérault, France).

Ensérune is a site in south-western Gaul, close to Béziers, which was occupied from the sixth century BC. It has produced several hundred inscriptions in a north-eastern variant of the Iberian script which indicate close contacts between the Celtic and Iberian-speaking worlds. This inscription on an Attic vase from the necropolis (IV c. BC) can be transcribed: **o̯ṣ̣i̯obaŕenḿi**. It shows the adaptation of a probable Oxiomaros followed by two Iberian suffixes (-**en** and-**ḿi**) probably indicating possession.

The popularity of certain historical figures, for example Vercingetorix, or fictional ones, such as Asterix, illustrates the importance of the construction of the character of the Gaul in both ancient and modern culture. Obsession with the Gaulish world in France was rife during the Second Empire and Third Republic, with the famous 'Nos ancêtres les Gaulois' which began

History lessons, and facilitated growth in Celtic studies. For some time, notably as a result of a famous passage in Caesar's *Gallic Wars* (6.14), in which he explains that Druids do not commit their learning to writing, it was generally assumed that Gauls did not write (though the passage also states that they use 'Greek letters' for public and private matters). Archaeological finds soon demonstrated that Gaulish-speaking communities used several scripts, principally Latin and Greek, for their own language within Gaul, as well as a variant of the Etruscan script in Cisalpine Gaul, and Iberian in south-western Gaul if only, it seems, to write their names. We now have several hundred inscriptions in Gaulish, a total which is growing all the time, and these are an essential guide to understanding the language and communities since they are not, this time, the product of external sources.
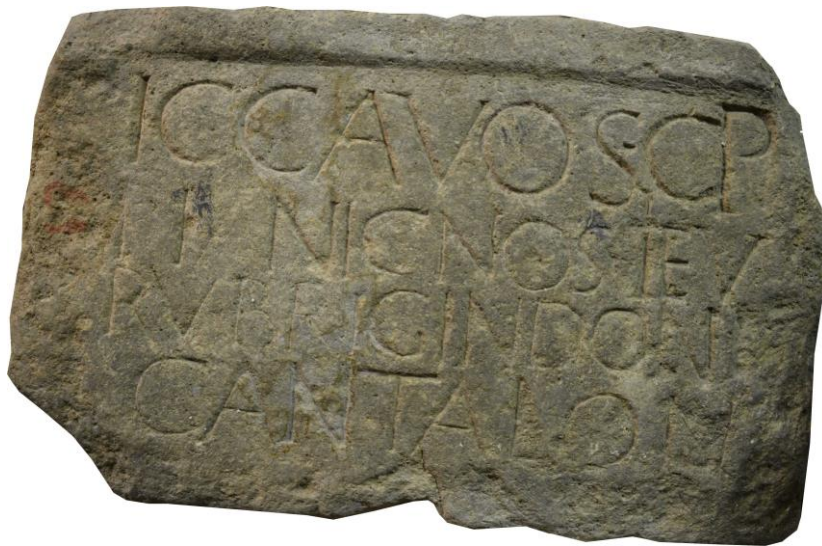

Fig. 4. Gallo-Latin inscription from Auxey (II.1 L-9).

This inscribed stone was found during agricultural work at the end of the eighteenth century at Auxey (Côte-d'Or) and according to an unverifiable tradition was found serving as a lid to a burial. Given that the text is a dedication to a deity, if the tradition is correct, it must have been reused in antiquity. It probably dates to the first or early second century AD.

Before our epichoric epigraphic sources built up substantially, studies of Gaulish relied heavily on names of persons and places, transmitted through a range of sources, including medieval documents, classical texts and epigraphy. This output includes the nineteenth-century work of Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville and Holder and later volumes by Evans (1967) and Schmidt (1957), updated by Delamarre (2007). Delamarre's *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* offers a comprehensive compendium of Gaulish words from all sources, including those found in the Latin and French languages, examples transmitted by medieval glossaries, and from the epigraphic record. The first descriptive volume on the Gaulish language based on epigraphy was that of Dottin (1918), now replaced by Lambert (2003). From the 1980s the *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises (RIG)* has been presenting the inscriptions for the academic community: Gallo-Greek in *RIG* I, 1985; Gallo-Latin on stone *RIG* II.1, 1988; Gallo-Latin on other materials *RIG* II.2, 2002; Gallo-Latin calendars *RIG* III, 1986; coin legends *RIG* IV, 1998.

Language

Gaulish belongs to the Celtic branch of the Indo-European family tree, in a group, for geographical reasons, called Continental Celtic, along with Celtiberian in Spain and Italo-Celtic (Lepontic and Cisalpine Gaulish) in northern Italy. Celtic languages show distinctive developments from their Indo-European roots, for example loss of Indo-European */p/ and the development of Indo-European */gʷ/ into /b/. We do not have enough continuous written Gaulish to be able to reconstruct the language completely, but we can use our knowledge of Indo-European linguistics, and especially our understanding of the Insular Celtic languages, some of which are still spoken today, to help interpret the remains. Insular Celtic is split into two groups: Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Manx in the Goidelic group and Welsh, Cornish and Breton in the Brittonic group. The ancient Celtic language of *Britannia*, British Celtic, and Gaulish fit most closely with the Brittonic group. The key modern terminology is summarized below. The dates refer to written attestations and are approximate.
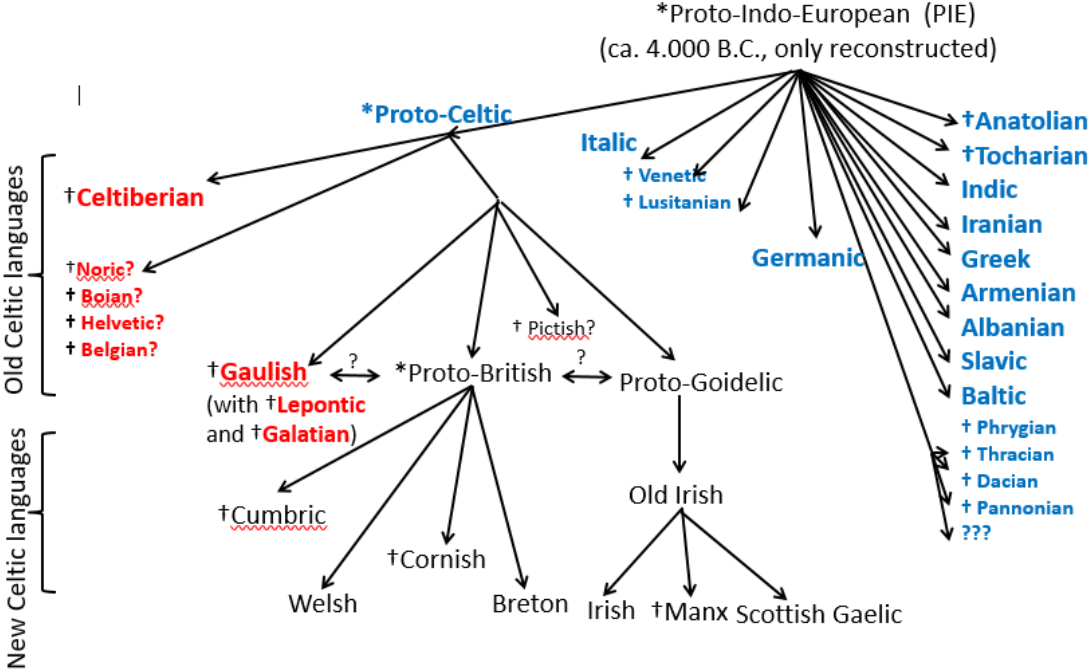

Table 1. David Stifter's simplified depiction of the relationships between languages within the Indo-European family tree.
Family trees of languages long dead and sometimes only attested in very fragmentary or indirect form are very hard to reconstruct. Every Indo-Europeanist will have a different view on how exactly they might draw them and which languages they see as showing particularly close relationships (indicated here with horizontal arrows). Indeed several 'languages' here are speculative, e.g. 'Noric', 'Helvetic'.

Table 2 not available – see publication

Table 2 David Stifter's representation of the periods of attestation of the Celtic languages.

The dark grey shows attestation in a now-fragmentary, local epigraphic tradition; paler grey indicates attestation essentially through Latin, i.e. British Celtic is attested only through Latin inscriptions and early forms

of the Welsh, Cornish and Breton are attested through glossing on Latin manuscripts; dark rectangles indicate languages with full literacy.

- *British Celtic*: refers to the Celtic language(s) spoken in Britain in the period before the written attestation of the Brittonic languages (sometimes also referred to as Proto-British, Old British, (Common/Old) Brittonic, (Common/Old) Brythonic). This is attested only though onomastics and possibly two curse tablets from Aquae Sulis (Bath, UK), though these may be the work of Gaulish visitors to the shrine (Mullen 2007).

- *Brittonic languages*: a sub-group of Insular Celtic languages, including Welsh (c. 9th century AD–), Cornish (c. 9th century–18th century AD), Breton (c. 9th century AD–).

- *Celtiberian*: a Celtic language written using Iberian script (and, less commonly, Latin script) and attested in north-central Spain (c. second–first centuries BC).

- *Continental Celtic*: a purely geographical designation, the Celtic languages spoken on the Continent.

- *Italo-Celtic:* a term used to refer to the Celtic languages of Italy, namely Lepontic and Cisalpine Gaulish.

- *Gallo-Brittonic*: a proposed linguistic grouping of Gaulish and Brittonic, including British Celtic.

- *Gallo-Etruscan/Cisalpine Gaulish*: the term often used for Gaulish inscriptions in Italy attested in Etruscan script and to the south of the Lepontic examples.

- *Gallo-Greek*: the term used for the Gaulish inscriptions of southern and central-eastern Gaul, which are attested in Greek script (c. second century BC–first century AD).

- *Gallo-Latin*: the term for the Gaulish inscriptions which are found written in Latin script in non-Mediterranean Gaul (c. first century BC–third century AD).

- *Gaulish*: the Celtic language attested in Transalpine Gaul and also found in a number of inscriptions from Cisalpine Gaul ('Gallo-Etruscan'/Cisalpine Gaulish).

- *Goidelic languages*: Irish (Archaic Irish in Ogam script from the late fourth or fifth century AD, Old Irish c. 700–900 AD), Manx (c. 1610–1974), Scottish Gaelic (16th century–).

- *Insular Celtic*: a purely geographical designation, Celtic languages not spoken on the Continent. Includes both the Brittonic and Goidelic branches (Breton is an Insular Celtic language introduced later to the Continent).

- *Lepontic*: a term used to describe the Celtic inscriptions in the Lugano alphabet (north-Etruscan variety) around the lakes of northern Italy (?700 BC to ?Augustan period).

Given the large area over which Gaulish was spoken there would have been dialectal variation across social, geographical and chronological dimensions. Unfortunately the fragmentary nature of the corpus and our incomplete understanding of the remains mean that we cannot reconstruct the dialects in any detail, though work is currently underway to advance our knowledge. Scholars are generally in agreement that the Châteaubleau (Seine-et-Marne) tablet, which is one of our latest examples of Gaulish, perhaps dating to as late as the fourth century AD, shows an accumulation of features, e.g. loss of final consonants, which can be attributed to later phases of the language.
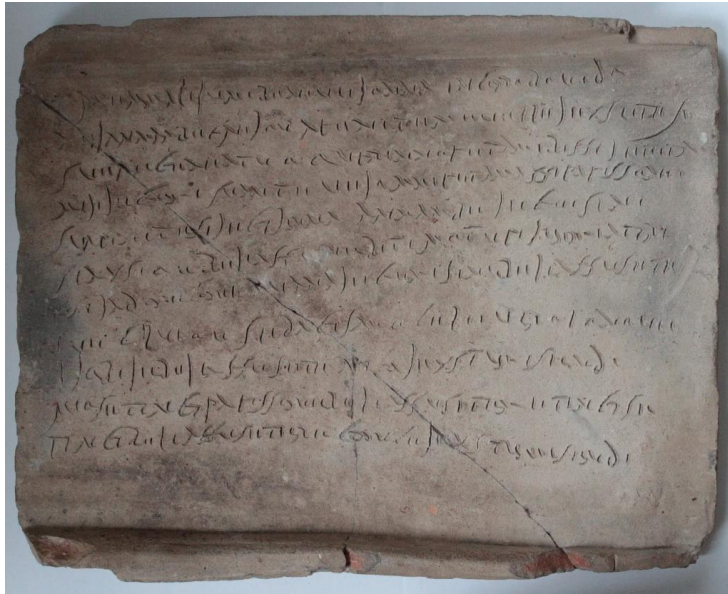
Fig. 5. Gallo-Latin inscription from Châteaubleau (II.2 L-93).

This inscription, found in 1997, is written on a tile and comprises 11 lines of cursive Latin. It was deposited in a public well sometime in the third or fourth century AD. It has been interpreted by the initial editors as containing the details of a marriage or divorce, but this has been called into question by other scholars, such as David Stifter, who argue that the opening word, *nemnaliíumi*, does not mean 'I celebrate'. The text contains features of the language which have been classified as belonging to 'Late Gaulish'.

Key points of Gaulish phonology

We can reconstruct Gaulish phonology pretty well using epigraphic evidence and also our knowledge of Indo-European linguistics. Asterisks indicate reconstructed earlier forms usually of the Proto-Indo-European period which are not directly attested, slanted brackets represent phonemes, square brackets contain phones. Generally speaking, the more precise detail we go into, the less secure our knowledge becomes, for example, we are often much less confident about the reconstruction of phones and of accentual patterns than phonemes. We also struggle to reconstruct regional differences and the precise nature of linguistic change over time, as a result of our partial and poorly dated corpus.

- 5 separate short vowels preserved: /a e i o u/.

- Retains only long ā, ī, ū. Indo-European */ē/ > /ī/ e.g. */rēks/ > /rīks/ 'king' and */ō/ > /ū/ in final syllables or > ā elsewhere e.g. */mōros/ > *maros* 'great'.

- Has diphthongs /au, ou, ai, oi/, Indo-European */ei/ > /ē/, e.g. *Rēdones* < *reid- 'ride' and */eu/ > /ou/, e.g. *touta* < *teuta 'people'.

- Consonants are /p t k χ b d g m n ŋ l r s tˢ u̯ i̯/.

- Indo-European */p/ disappeared, but only after */pt/ > /χt/, */ps/ > / χs/ e.g. *sextan* < *sept- 'seven'.

- Indo-European */kʷ/ > /p/ after loss of original Indo-European */p/ e.g. */kʷetwor/, */kʷetru-/ > *petuar[ios]*, *petru-* 'four(th)'.

- Indo-European */gʷ/ > /b/ e.g. *bnanom* genitive plural 'of the women' from *gʷena, gen. *gʷnās 'woman'.

- Indo-European */ r̥ l̥ / > /ri li/ e.g. *litanos* 'broad' < *litano- < *pl̥tano-.

-Indo-European * / m̥ n̥ / > /am an/ e.g. *dekm̥ > *dekam-* 'ten, tenth'.

- Some reduction of articulation in intervocalic stops is present in Gaulish, for example, instances of loss of intervocalic /w g s/ e.g. *Regoalos* < Regowalos. This phenomenon may be related to 'lenition' which is essential in later Celtic languages where it becomes part of a grammaticalized mutation system. In the late text from Châteaubleau we may detect very early traces of developments in that direction with the loss of final consonants e.g. *beni* < *benin 'woman'; a peni < * ak beni 'and a woman'.

- Apart from where abbreviations have been used, generally Gaulish inscriptions demonstrate maintenance of final syllables, which allows us to reconstruct declensional paradigms.

Gaulish morphology

Nominal morphology is relatively well-known for Gaulish, but there are still some uncertainties. Three nominal declensions, the o-stem, the ā-stem and the consonant-stem, have been chosen to illustrate some of our more confident reconstructions (Tables 1–3). Question marks indicate uncertainty on our part over the reconstruction of the forms. For simplicity, these forms do not show linguists' reconstructions of vowel length, which are not always uncontroversial. The lengthy Larzac (Aveyron) lead tablets, concerning magic and women, have helped our reconstruction of the ā-stem forms, which, in the course of its development in the Roman period, seem to have been influenced by ī/iā-stem nouns thus explaining the alternative forms in the ā-stem singular.

o-stem	Singular	Plural
Nominative	-os	-oi, -i
Accusative	-on, -om	-us, -os
Genitive	-i	-on
Dative	-ui, -u	-obo
Locative	-e?	?
Instrumental	-u?	-uis, -us

Table 3. Reconstructed declension of o-stem Gaulish nouns.

ā-stem	Singular	Plural
Nominative	-a	-as
Accusative	-an, -im	-as
Genitive	-as, -ias	-anom

Dative	-ai, -i	-abo
Locative	-ia	?
Instrumental	-ia	-abi

Table 4. Reconstructed declension of ā-stem Gaulish nouns.

consonant-stem	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*Various*	-es
Accusative	-em, -en	-as
Genitive	-os	-on
Dative	-i	-bo
Locative	?	?
Instrumental	?	-bi, -be

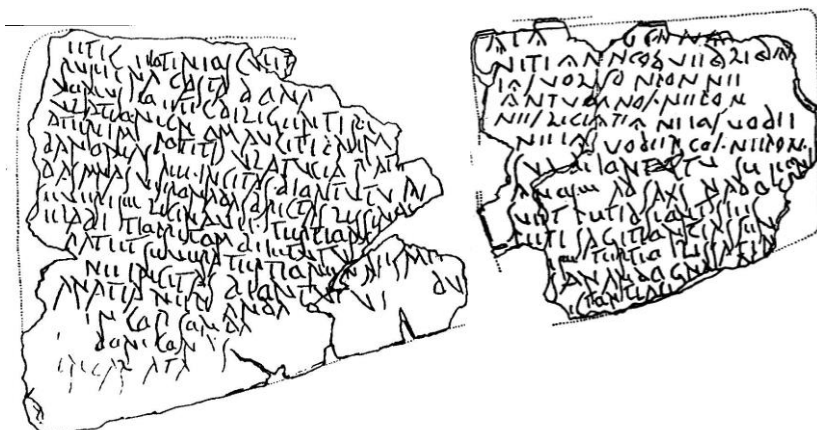Table 5. Reconstructed declension of consonant-stem Gaulish nouns.

Fig. 9. The Gallo-Latin Larzac lead tablet, side B (II.2 L-98).

This famous Gaulish inscription is written in cursive Latin script in two different hands on both sides of a sheet of lead, now in two parts. The text is not fully understood but seems to relate to the magical sphere and refers

repeatedly to women. This tablet, dating to c. AD 100, gives a better understanding of nominal declensional developments.
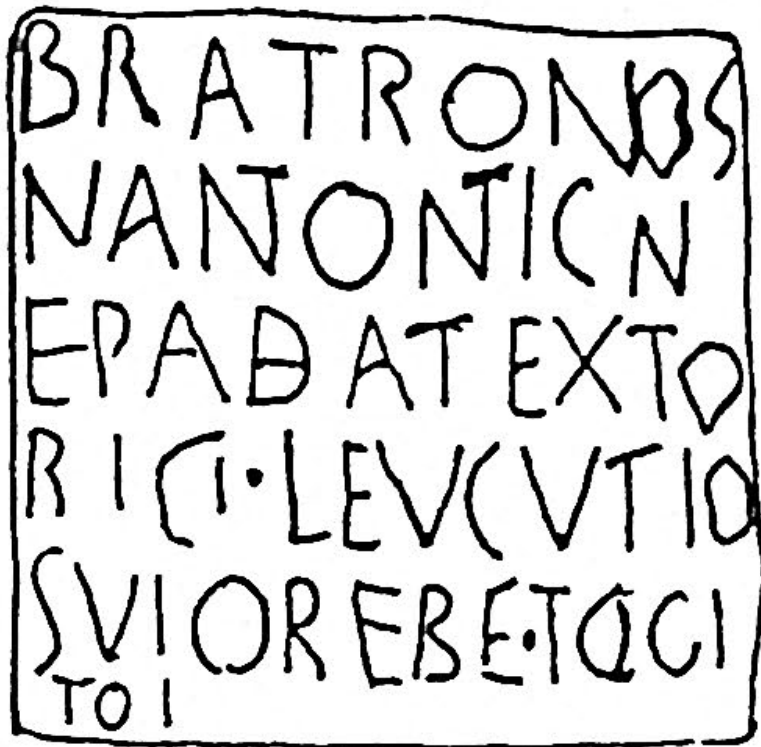

Fig. 10. Drawing of a Gallo-Latin inscription from Néris-les-Bains, Allier (II.1 L-6).

The inscribed stone was found in the nineteenth century at a place known as the 'Camp romain' and lacks secure archaeological context. It probably dates to the first century AD, perhaps slightly later. The text opens with a nominative name *Bratronos* (derived from the word 'brother') and patronymic *Nantonicn(os),* followed by a dative 'to Epadatextorix', the name of the thing established in the accusative *leucutio(n)* (meaning unclear), an instrumental plural *suiorebe* 'with his sisters', and a third-person preterite verb *logitoi* 'set up, established': 'Bratronos, son of Nantonios, set up a leucution with his sisters for Epadatextorix'.

Verbal morphology is more poorly understood for Gaulish than nominal. However, as more long texts are coming to light on, for example, sheets of metal and ceramic, and we analyse older ones better, we are constantly refining our knowledge. We understand Gaulish much better than other non-Indo-European fragmentary languages such as Etruscan and Iberian through our knowledge of Indo-European linguistics and later Celtic languages, but, even when we have complete inscriptions, we may have problems with where to separate the words (often no word dividers or spaces are used) and, even when we can segment the texts properly, we cannot always be certain whether we have correctly identified the parts of speech (imperatives, for example, could be confused with certain cases of nouns). For example, the *dede bratou dekanten* 'gave a tithe in gratitude' formula, discussed in the final section below, was not understood for some time until it was correctly segmented.
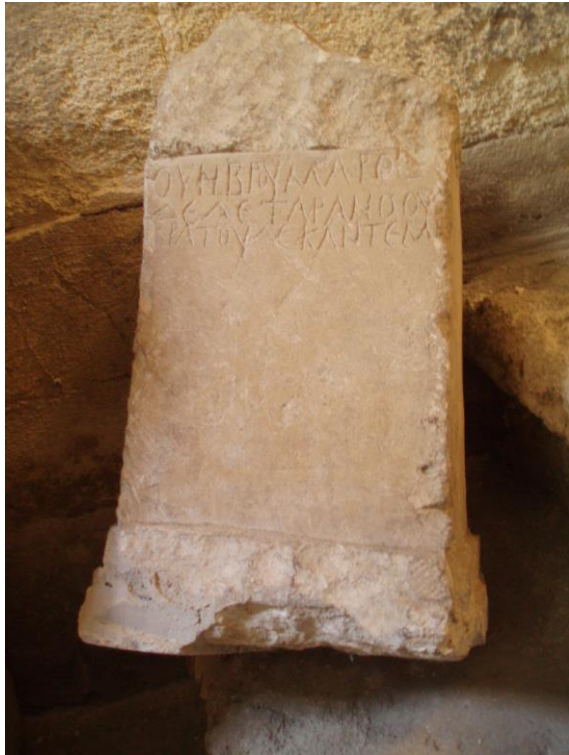
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Fig. 9. The Gallo-Greek inscription from Orgon (I G-27).

This is one of several Gaulish inscriptions in Greek script from the Bouches-du-Rhône. The object is only 35 cm high and has been made from local stone. This is one of a group of inscriptions from the south of France which contain the formula *dede bratou dekanten* 'gave a tithe in gratitude', a formula which is likely to be a result of contacts with Mediterranean communities, especially from the Italian peninsula.

dede 'he gave' (probably closely related to Latin *dedit* and Oscan *deded*, both Italic languages) only occurs within this formula which is restricted to Gallo-Greek and is one of three verbs which commonly recur in Gaulish. The other two are *ieuru* 'he dedicated' and *avot* 'he made'. All three are preterites. We also have evidence of present indicatives (e.g. *immi* 'I am' on a bowl from Les Pennes-Mirabeau (Bouches-du-Rhône), I G-13) and subjunctives (e.g. *buet* 'may he be' from Chamalières, Puy-de-Dôme, II.2 L-100), future or desiderative forms (*marcosior* 'I will be ridden/ride like a horse'?, on a racy spindle whorl from Autun, Saône-et-Loire, II.2 L-117), imperatives (*gabi* 'take' on another risqué spindle whorl from Saint-Révérien, Nièvre, II.2 L-119) and possibly an optative (*nitinxsintor* on the lead tablets from Larzac, a preverb plus third person deponent optative, related to Latin *defigo* 'I fix', II.2 L-98).

Figs. 10-11. Gallo-Greek inscription from Les Pennes-Mirabeau (I G-13).

This inscription on Campanian ware was found in the 1970s at the *oppidum* La Cloche. There seems to have been a correction by the author to the text on this bowl, which Lejeune presents as ΕCΚΕΓΓΟΛΑΤΙ ΑΝΙΑΤΕΙΟC IMMI 'I am the property of Eskengolatios which must not be borrowed'. This translation takes *aniateios* as a verbal adjective expressing obligation. The object dates to the second or first century BC.

Gaulish syntax

The syntax of Gaulish is not understood in detail: we can often work out how sentences fit together, but could not write an in-depth description of the syntax of the language. The word order seems to indicate some tendencies but is, like other inflectional languages such as Latin, more flexible in the positioning of words than English. Our longer texts offer coordinating particles (e.g. *etic* 'and'), pronouns (e.g. *sosin* 'this') and even possible subordinating clauses for us to explore. An interesting form is *dugiiontiio* 'who worship' which appears to be a third person plural present verbal form with the addition of *-yo*, matching the relative construction found in Old Irish: *bheronti-yo > *bertae* 'who carry'. The linguistic content of two similar short texts will illustrate several features which have been discussed.

Fig. 12-13. Gallo-Greek inscription from Vaison-la-Romaine (I G-153).

This lapidary dedicatory inscription takes up an area only 25 x 31 cm and seems to have been cut from a larger original piece, about which we know nothing. The stone was found in Vaison-la-Romaine in the nineteenth century and the archaeological context is, as with many of these inscriptions found before modern developments in archaeology, sadly lost.

Gallo-Greek lapidary inscription, I G-153, found in nineteenth century at Vaison-la-Romaine (Vaucluse), second or first century BC. Text:

ϹΕΓΟΜΑΡΟϹ / ΟΥΙΛΛΟΝΕΟϹ / ΤΟΟΥΤΙΟΥϹ / ΝΑΜΑΥϹΑΤΙϹ / ΕΙωΡΟΥ ΒΗΛΗ/ϹΑΜΙ ϹΟϹΙΝ / ΝΕΜΗΤΟΝ

Transcription and parsing: *Segomaros* (nominative singular noun) *Villoneos* (nominative singular patronymic adjective) *toutios* (nominative singular noun) *Namausatis* (nominative singular ethnic adjective) *ieuru* (third person singular preterite) *Belesami* (dative singular noun) *sosin* (accusative singular demonstrative) *nemeton* (accusative singular noun).

Translation: *Segomaros, son of Villu, citizen of Namausus (Nîmes), dedicated this grove to Belesama.*

Fig. 14. Gallo-Latin inscription from Alise-Sainte-Reine, (II.1 L-13).

This lapidary dedicatory inscription from Alise-Sainte-Reine, Côte-d'Or, was found in nineteenth century on Mont-Auxois, close to the later discovered so-called 'monument of Ucuetis'. It probably dates to the first century AD. It shows features of 'classical' epigraphy which are not so typical in Gallo-Greek examples: *hederae*, interpuncts, ligatures, ansate frame.

Details: Gallo-Latin lapidary inscription (II.1 L-13) found in nineteenth century on Mont-Auxois (Alise-Sainte-Reine, Côte-d'Or), first century AD. Text:

MARTIALIS DANNOTALI / IEVRV VCVETE SOSIN / CELICNON ETIC / GOBEDBI DVGIIONTIIO / VCVETIN / IN ALISIIA

Transcription and parsing: *Martialis* (nominative singular noun) *Dannotali* (genitive singular noun) *ieuru* (third person singular preterite) *Ucuete* (dative singular noun) *sosin* (accusative singular demonstrative) *celicnon* (accusative singular noun) *etic* (coordinating particle) *gobedbi* (instrumental plural noun) *dugiiontiio* (third person plural present) *Ucuetin* (accusative singular noun) *in* (preposition) *Alisiia* (locative singular noun).

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Translation: *Martialis, son of Danotalos, dedicated this building to Ucuetis and with the blacksmiths who worship Ucuetis in Alisia.*

These two texts are very similar from a linguistic point of view and similar in terms of content: both are dedications by Gauls who dedicate something to a local deity, probably in both cases somewhere for the deity to reside. The Gallo-Greek inscription adds information about the dedicator, whilst the Gallo-Latin adds details about a local group involved and their location. The texts are quite different materially, however, with the Vaison-la-Romaine example, like the vast majority of Gaulish texts in Greek script, much more 'rustic' and simple in style, whereas the Alise-Sainte-Reine text follows more explicitly 'classical' norms.
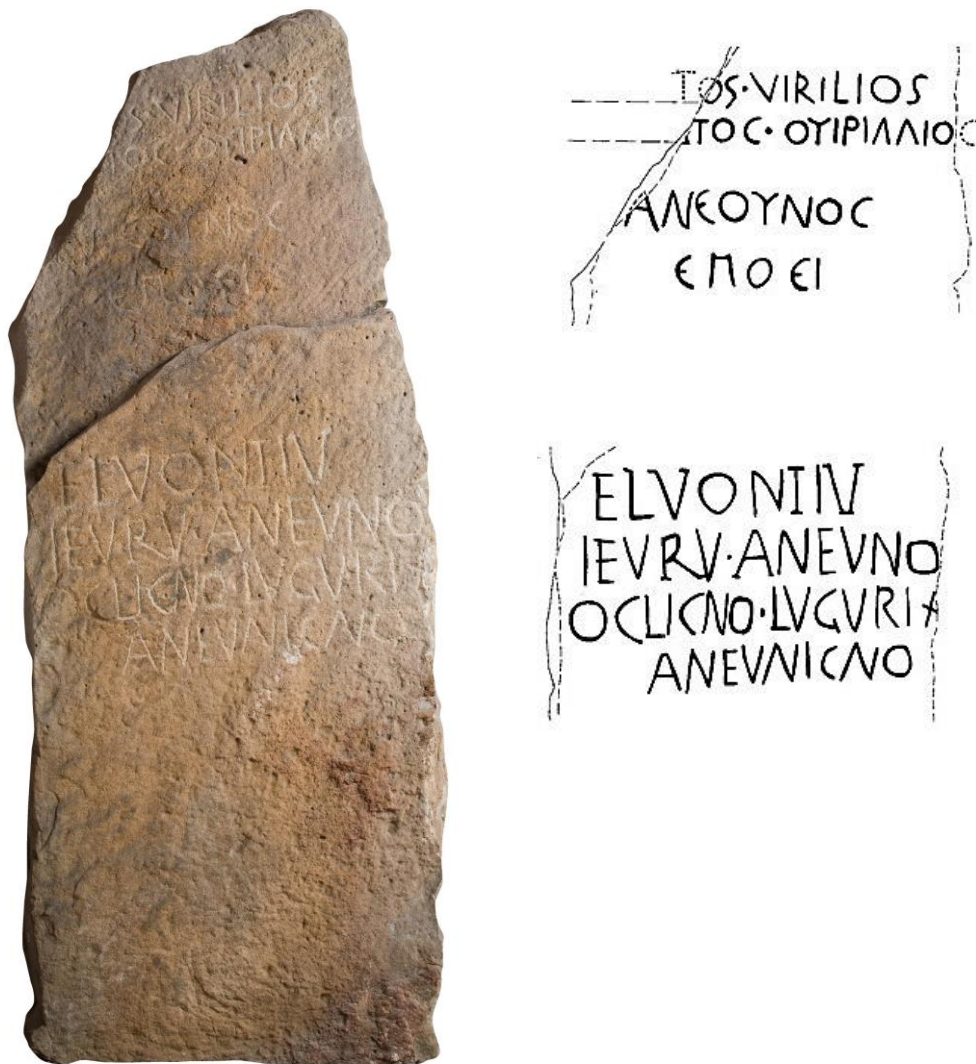
Figs. 15-16. Gallo-Latin, Gallo-Greek and Greek inscription of Genouilly (II.1 L-4, I G-225).

Two roughly-hewn inscribed stones were found in 1894 in Genouilly (Cher). The smaller of the two, measuring around a metre, reads simply [ ]RVONDV. The larger example (illustrated here), reaching nearly one and a half metres, contains several elements. At the top of the stone we read in Gallo-Latin […T]OS VIRILIOS, likely a Celtic idionym plus adjectival patronymic in *-ios*. Immediately below we find, in Greek letters […]TOC OYIPIΛΛIO[C], which seems to be a representation of the same name in Gallo-Greek. After a small gap we find another name, in Greek letters, and significantly, a Greek verb, ANEOYNOC / EΠOEI 'Aneunos made this'. This is the only

example of a Greek verb found within the same frame as our Gaulish inscriptions. Then after another short gap we find a 4-line Gallo-Latin inscription: ELVONTIV / IEVRV ANEVNO / OCLICNO LVGVRIX / ANEVNICNO, which has been interpreted as a dedication 'Aneunos, son of Oclos, and Lugurix, son of Aneunos, dedicated this to Eluontios'. It is difficult to establish the relationship between this use of Gallo-Latin, Gallo-Greek and Greek within one object, and it may be that the 4-line inscription may have been added later than the others or by another person (it shows loss of final -s, unlike the others). The combination is certainly unique within our published corpus.

Writing

Two main scripts were employed for Gaulish in Gaul: Greek, whose use starts earlier in the second century BC and has a more southerly epicentre and Latin, whose use starts and ends later and whose distribution does not seem to include Southern Gaul (Etruscan script is also used in Cisalpine Gaul, south of the area in which Lepontic is attested, to write what is generally also regarded as Gaulish, probably the result of migrants from Gaul).

Table 6 not available – see publication

Table 6. This table shows indicative types of letter forms used for Gallo-Greek.

Table 7 not available – see publication

Table 7. This table shows indicative types of letter forms used for Gallo-Latin, both capitals and cursive. The cursive forms are based on Marichal's detailed work on the graffiti from La Graufesenque.

The script for Gallo-Greek is relatively homogeneous and contains no letters which do not come directly from the Greek alphabet. The adoption of Greek script for the representation of Gaulish requires some degree of phonological analysis, both of the donor and recipient languages. In general terms, the graphemes used in Greek are employed to represent similar phonemes in Gaulish. In some cases graphemes are redundant and therefore not adopted into Gallo-Greek (e.g. Z, Φ, Ψ). The length of vowels in Gaulish is not systematically represented graphically. In fact, omega appears just ten times in *RIG* I, and only three times in Southern Gaul. The use of *eta* is marginally more common and more evenly spread, but it is employed to notate both long and short vowels so may just be a stylistic feature. Gallo-Greek, however, appears to mark a difference between vowel qualities, with close and open *i* represented by I, but open *i* showing a preference for the notation EI. Similarly, two qualities of *u* can be identified: close *u* is represented by the digraph OY, whereas open *u* is represented with O / ω / OY. The semi-vowel /w/ generally receives the notation OY. In terms of the consonantal inventory, we sometimes find Greek X for /x/ in the consonantal group /xt/ < /kt/ e.g. ΑΝΕΧΤΛΟ (I G-268). ΝΓ is occasionally used in Gallo-Greek e.g. ΚΟΝΓΕΝΝΟΜΑΡΟΣ (Lejeune 1994 G-526) to replace ΓΓ in Greek for the velar nasal plus /g/, though ΓΓ is also found in Gallo-Greek e.g. ΕΣΚΕΓΓΟ (I G-13, 146, 154). The use of ΓΓ indicates an understanding of Greek orthographic practices beyond simply learning the alphabet. The main adaptation required for Gallo-Greek was the representation of a phoneme in Gaulish, absent from Greek, whose exact phonological content has elicited much debate ([ts], [dz], [θ], [θθ], [tθ], [ð], [tʰ], [θs], [s] have all been suggested), mostly concerning its phonetic value in the Roman period, when it is referred to as '*tau gallicum*' (Vergil *Catalepton* 2). This sound is represented in Gallo-Greek by Θ(Θ), but also by Τ(Τ), C(C) and CΘ, and probably had no

direct equivalent in Greek or Latin. Since a range of representations are employed in Gallo-Greek, it is possible that the sound was undergoing a process of change within Gaulish, as perhaps also indicated by the Gallo-Latin and Latin evidence.

A complex debate has arisen on the origins of the Gallo-Greek script, which does not contain any diagnostic features as it is the script standardly used to write Koine Greek throughout the Greek world in this period. Linguists and epigraphers have traditionally made the assumption that the script was borrowed from the major Greek colony in the area, Massalia (modern Marseille), founded in 600 BC. Interesting issues must be considered however. Why was there such a long time-lag before Gallo-Greek appears in the very late third century or second century BC, when Greek colonists set up in 600 BC? Why are there no Gallo-Greek inscriptions in Greek settlements? Why are there no Greek names or much evidence for linguistic interaction between the Greek and Gaulish groups within the Gallo-Greek record? A combination of the following factors: a) the Phokaian Greek colonists were to a large extent anepigraphic (i.e. did not produce much epigraphy in their settlements in the west, or in the metropolis, Phokaia, in Asia Minor), b) the diffusion of Gallo-Greek does not centre on the Greek settlements peppered along the coast but rather on the lower Rhone basin, and c) the timing of the adoption and spread of Gallo-Greek from the second century BC, has encouraged some scholars to view the adoption as linked to the steady rise of Roman influence across the western Mediterranean and interactions between a diverse Mediterranean community. The Phokaian Greek colonists undoubtedly played a part in this community, but we should not assume that interaction with them at Marseille signalled the creation of Gallo-Greek. Recent analysis has raised the possibility that Greek handwritten documents, using cursive C, Є, ω rather than Σ, Ε, Ω, may have been the model for the script and that the origins may have been, at least in part, through wide-ranging economic activities with Mediterranean communities. Material from Martigues (Bouches-du-Rhône), an indigenous settlement on the south coast, may provide evidence on ceramic from a transitional period where writers were experimenting with how to produce written Gaulish. Some of the inconsistencies throughout the Gallo-Greek record, and, in particular, the different options for notating the '*tau Gallicum*', may even encourage us to consider the possibility of more than one point of origin for Gallo-Greek.
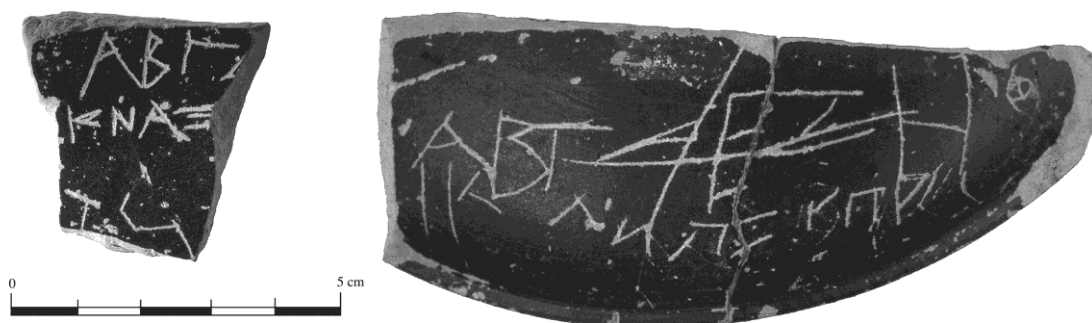
Figs. 17-18. Two alphabets from Lattes, Hérault (Bats 2011).

These two *abecedaria* can be dated to just before and just after 200 BC. It is likely that these are Greek alphabets and not Gallo-Greek, as the more complete one includes the letter *zeta* and the other the rare Greek word κνάξ, found in writing exercises and magical texts from Egypt. Nevertheless, these alphabets could have

been used by Gaulish speakers, either for writing Greek or Gallo-Greek, as, once alphabets are adopted, often original 'theoretical' alphabets continue to be used for teaching purposes. Alphabets like this turn up all over the ancient world and we should be cautious not to jump to the conclusion that this indicates systematic, formal education. Lattes was a multicultural trading centre and learning to write could have happened in ad hoc fashion as the need arose.

The script forms of Gallo-Latin are more complicated, as Gaulish employs both Latin capitals, for use on lapidary output but also for stamps, rings, spindle whorls etc., and cursive Latin, the script Romans used for handwritten documents, for example in the firing lists from the huge pottery at La Graufesenque (Aveyron). Cursive Latin is, for us at least, much harder to read and contains a great deal of chronological, scribal and regional variation. Again, as with Gallo-Greek, the so-called '*tau gallicum*' presents issues of notation since the sound it represents does not directly match anything in Latin or Greek. Early texts use a *theta*, sometimes doubled, though this is replaced by a range of options (e.g. barred d, double barred d, double unbarred d, barred d + s, double s, double barred s) and actually occurs more often to represent the '*tau gallicum*', for example in Gaulish names, in Latin inscriptions. The lack of consistency with the notation of this sound may again possibly reflect separate adoptions of the Roman script to write Gaulish, or at least a lack of strong standardization and schooling. Since Gallo-Latin uses two letter forms from Gallo-Greek: χ and θ, it is likely that knowledge of that epigraphy may have circulated at the time when Gallo-Latin was being created.

The Gallo-Latin remains are generally dated from the Caesarian period onwards and, though there are some famous late examples, for example the Châteaubleau tile (II.2 L-93), the majority may date to the first and second centuries AD. The place of the origin(s) of Gallo-Latin is uncertain. There are arguably no Gallo-Latin stone inscriptions from Southern Gaul. The two which normally are counted as Gallo-Latin are both from the Bouches-du-Rhône: VECTIT[… BIRACI[… (L-1, Ventabren) and BOVDILATIS LEMISVNIA (L-2, Coudoux). The second inscription might be more securely assigned to Gaulish as it contains the Gaulish patronymic suffix -*ia.* However, the Ventabren stele does not provide any diagnostic features, and may well be Latin (containing Gaulish names). In fact both may have been intended to be Latin, but written by Celtic-speaking groups not conversant with Latin epigraphic conventions. There are similarly very few clear examples of non-lapidary Gallo-Latin from the south.
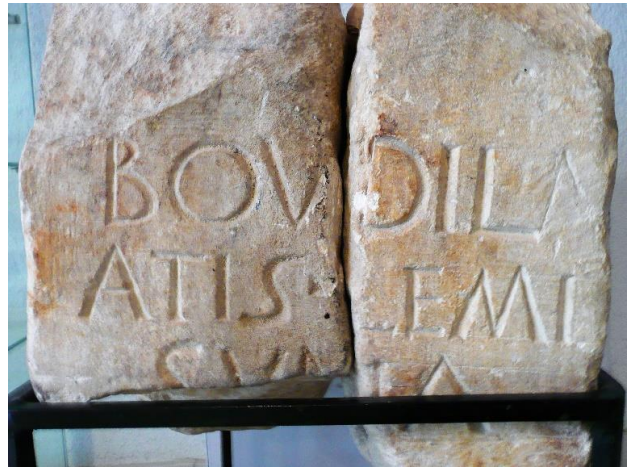
Fig. 19. Gallo-Latin/Latin inscription from Ventabren, (II.1 L-1).

This inscription was found with the OYENITOOYTA KOYAΔPOYNIA inscription I G-106 (fig. 27). The text reads VECTIT[… BIRACI[… Early editors restored Vectit[us] Biraci [f.]. Lejeune rightly points out that several other options are possible, with the second name either a simple patronymic genitive without filiation marker or patronymic adjective. A patronymic adjective in an area producing Gallo-Greek inscriptions is not unlikely, though this inscription shows a break in practice in using Latin script, and the Latin filiation system may have had an impact. It might be significant that the patronymic KOYAΔPOYNIA in the associated Gallo-Greek inscription is almost certainly based on a Latin name. If the patronymic there is Latin, and this inscription in Gallo-Latin or Latin is that of the husband, the woman's name, OYENITOOYTA, perhaps stands out as more 'traditional'. The inscription can be dated to the first century BC.

Fig. 20. Gallo-Latin or, possibly, Latin inscription from Coudoux (II.1 L-2).

This text reads BOVDILATIS LEMISVNIA 'Boudilatis, daughter of Lemisu'. It was found in two pieces in the 1970s, reused in a wall. Unlike L-1 from Ventabren, which contains no diagnostic linguistic features, this inscription might be more securely assigned to Gaulish as it contains the Gaulish patronymic suffix -ia.

Fig. 21. An alphabet from Châteaubleau (II.2 fig. 131).

This tile from Châteaubleau contains an alphabet from A to X, and then the start of a second, A to D, in less neat handwriting, though the alphabet may have continued in the section of the tile that has broken off. A dozen or so Latin inscriptions on tile have been found at the site, as well as a small number of Gaulish examples (including the famous II.1 L-93), so it is unclear whether this was intended to be a Latin alphabet or Gallo-Latin, or both.

Naming practices

For some Celtic-speaking areas of the ancient world, such as Britain, the only contemporary evidence that remains is onomastic. Names have also been key evidence in the scholarship on Gaulish. The Continental Celtic system of marking filiation is by an individual name with patronymic genitive, e.g. *Asiatícon Ađđedillí* (Chamalières, II.2 L-100), or adjectival suffix, e.g. *Aneunos Oclicnos* (Genouilly (Cher), II.1 L-4b). There may be regional variation: Gallo-Latin uses both the simple genitive and the suffixation method and Gallo-Greek relies only on patronymic adjectives. There are several possible patronymic adjectival suffixes including: ϹΕΚΕΙΟϹ ΔΟΥΓΙΛ**ΙΟϹ** (I G-4); ΚΑΒΙΡΟϹ ΟΥΙΝΔΙ**ΑΚΟϹ** (I G-118); ΜΙϹϹΟΥΚΟϹ ϹΙΛΟΥ**ΚΝΟϹ** (I G-119); ϹΕΓΟΜΑΡΟϹ ΟΥΙΛΛΟΝ**ΕΟϹ** (I G-153).

Fig. 22. Drawing of two Gallo-Greek inscriptions from Glanum.

This drawing of I G-68 and G-69 dates to the nineteenth century and was made by Héron de Villefosse. None of the inscribed stele from Glanum was found *in situ*. They date to the first or second century BC. Both of these inscriptions contain masculine names: personal name followed by patronymic adjectives.

Fig. 23-24. Gallo-Greek inscription from Cavaillon (I G-120).

This text is similar to several other Gallo-Greek lapidary inscriptions from the lower-Rhône basin. It simply gives a name in the form idionym plus patronymic adjective: ΜΙϹϹΟΥΚΟϹ ϹΙΛΟΥΚΝΟϹ 'Missukos, son of Silu'. It was found, reused with several other steles, in 1909 and dates to the first or second century BC.

Fig. 25-26. Gallo-Greek inscription from Ventabren (I G-107).

This is an unusual text within our corpus. Two sets of names are found on the same cippus, either side of an incised dividing line separating the male (Ekkaios, son of Eskingomaros) and female (Vim(pi?)lla, daughter of Adiatussos): EKKAIOC / ECKIN[Г]OMAPIOC // OYIM[ ]ΛΛA A/ΔIATOYC/CIA. It was found during private building works in 1977 and has no archaeological context but probably dates to first or second century BC.

In Roman Gaul *peregrini* (free-born provincials without Roman citizenship) in Latin texts tended to use the formula of idionym followed by patronymic genitive, with or without Latin filiation marker, and Celtic names can be found extensively in these naming practices e.g. *Secundus* [Latin] *Dannomari* [Celtic] *f(ilius)* from Nîmes (*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* XII 3884). Roman *duo nomina* and *tria nomina* naming formulae are also found containing Celtic names alongside Latin ones. Indeed we find a mixture of naming practices, both nomenclature and formulae in Gaulish inscriptions of the Roman period. The Gallo-Latin Chamalières lead tablet, for example, includes onomastic material indicative of a transitional period: *C. Lucion Floron Nigrínon adgarion, Aemilíon Paterin(on), Claudíon Legitumon, Caelion Pelign(on), Claudío Pelign(on), Marcion Victorin(on), Asiatícon Aððedillí.* The Latin names in the *tria nomina* and *duo nomina* formulae are mixed with Gaulish morphology (accusative singular in -*on*), names and epithets. The final character, *Asiatícon Aððedillí,* is

identified in Gaulish manner with a personal name and a Gaulish patronymic. We return to look at this text in the final section below.

The largely earlier Gallo-Greek inscriptional record offers much less evidence of the results of language contact, with the names almost entirely Gaulish and displayed in the form single name or single name plus patronymic adjective. One interesting set of Gaulish names which do show language contact phenomena can be found in the second to first-century BC Greek graffiti on ceramic from the sanctuary of Aristaios, close to the Greek colony of Olbia on the south coast of France near modern-day Hyères (Var). Here the Gaulish names are found, not in Gallo-Greek format, but following the Greek pattern of idionym plus patronymic genitive e.g. Ρεγοαλος Ουελαυνου (*Inscriptions Grecques de la France* 68-35).

None of the non-Gaulish names in the Gallo-Greek inscriptions published to date, however, is certainly Greek. The possible instances of non-Gaulish names can all be linked to the Italian peninsula: ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑ (Glanum (Bouches-du-Rhône), I G-65, Latin name *Cornelia*); ΓΑΙΟΣ (Gaujac (Gard), I G-198, Latin name *Gaius*); ΓΑΙΙΑ (Bibracte, I G-243, Latin name *Gaia*); CΚΟΥΡΡΑ (Cavaillon (Vaucluse), I G-141, Latin name *Scurra*); ΕΚΙΛΙΟC Ρ[?]ΟΥΜΑΝ[Ι/Ε?]ΟC (Collias (Gard), I G-183, Latin name *Romanus*); ΟΥΕΝΙΤΟΟΥΤΑ ΚΟΥΑΔΡΟΥΝΙΑ (Ventabren (Bouches-du-Rhône), I G-106, Latin name *Quadron(i)us*), ΚΑΕΙΟC ΙΝΔΟΥΤΙΛΟ (Velleron (Vaucluse), Bats 2011, Latin name *Gaius*). As we shall see below Gaulish inscriptions are influenced by interactions with a highly-connected and interactive mixed Mediterranean community.

Fig. 27. Gallo-Greek stele from Ventabren (I G-106).

This Gallo-Greek stele was found on top of the tomb with the Gallo-Latin/Latin inscribed stele II.1 L-1 (fig. 19). The Gallo-Greek example reads ΟΥΕΝΙΤΟΟΥΤΑ / ΚΟΥΑΔΡΟΥΝΙΑ 'Venitouta, daughter of Quadron(i)us(?)'. The patronymic seems to be based on a Latin name. The inscription can be dated to the first century BC. The tomb was found during road works, though no further investigations in the surrounding area were undertaken so we do not know if it was part of a wider burial landscape. Finds of epigraphic and anepigraphic stele in the surrounding area suggest the presence of one, or more, necropoleis.

Epigraphy

Gallo-Greek is largely attested in the lower Rhone basin, stretching nearly to Marseille to the east and as far as Montagnac to the west. There are a few Gallo-Greek producing sites in the central-eastern part of France, largely along river routes, with Bibracte (Mont-Beuvray) and Alesia (Alise-Sainte-Reine) offering significant outputs. The southern corpus contains a greater proportion of lapidary inscriptions than the septentrional. It is generally thought that the practice of writing Gaulish spread from south to north. Traditionally the stone inscriptions were taken as an aspect of Hellenization of the Celtic-speaking 'barbarians'. Increasingly scholars have interpreted the inscriptions as expressions of local identity which do not necessarily entail any straightforward adoption of Greek culture. Intense contacts with the Mediterranean environment, especially the Italian peninsula, and not just Greek cultures, have recently been shown to have had an impact in the adoption and use of Gallo-Greek, as has increased settlement fixity and the increasing economic power of the indigenous communities.

Fig. 28–29. Gallo-Greek inscription from Velleron (Bats 2011).

The text reads: ΚΑΕΙΟϹ / ΙΝΔΟΥΤΙΛΟ / ΣΑΜΟΛΑ/ΤΙΣ ΑΝΕ/ΚΤΙΑ / ΟΥΑΛΗΤΕ. The stele was found with several other anepigraphic examples in Velleron. It contains a bi-nominal male name, beginning with a version of the Latin name *Gaius*, followed by a female name comprised of idionym plus patronymic adjective. It ends with the verb ΟΥΑΛΗΤΕ, a transliteration of *ualete*, Latin 'farewell'. The text indicates clearly the close interaction of Gaulish communities with those from the Italian peninsula. The text has been dated to the first century BC.

Map 2 – not available, see publication.

Map 2. Distribution of Gallo-Greek and Gallo-Latin inscriptions.

Gallo-Greek comprises largely short lapidary inscriptions or simple graffiti, usually just containing names, on pottery. Gallo-Latin has been probably less systematically published than Gallo-Greek. One problem is that a few Latin letters on pottery, even if they contain a Gaulish name, will often not be assigned to Gallo-Latin but rather to Latin (and often not

published), whereas more of the inscriptions with Greek letters are published as Gallo-Greek if they contain Celtic elements. Even though our grasp of the full extent of Gallo-Latin is quite uncertain, both the lapidary and the other inscriptions seem to find an epicentre around the Bibracte area. It is also clear that the epigraphic practice in Latin script appears with a wider range of functions and on a greater range of materials than in Greek script, including spindle whorls, fire-dogs and tiles. Gallo-Latin contains some lengthy texts, to which nothing currently compares in Gallo-Greek, for example the magical texts from Larzac and Chamalières, the calendars from Coligny (Ain) and Villards-d'Héria (Jura), the tile from Châteaubleau and a large number of detailed firing accounts from the pottery at La Graufesenque, some of which are entirely in Gaulish, others in Latin and some a mixture. There are proportionally also fewer lapidary inscriptions in the Gallo-Latin than in the Gallo-Greek corpus. It is possible that many of these around a dozen lapidary Gallo-Latin inscriptions can be assigned to the religious domain (in which indigenous languages can be particularly tenacious).

Figs 30-31. Gallo-Latin inscription from Autun (II.2 L-117).

This text is inscribed in Latin capitals on a spindle whorl found at Autun in 1885. It reads MARCOSIOR MATERNIA and dates to the imperial period. The first word is a verb and the second a name. Like the inscriptions on several other Gaulish spindle whorls, the text seems to be amatory/erotic: *marko-* means horse (Welsh *march,* Breton *marc'h*).

Census of published inscriptions

It is difficult to be sure of the exact number of known extant Gaulish inscriptions. Many examples, especially on non-lapidary materials and in cursive script, are not necessarily identified, and, even if recognized, may not make it to the appropriate experts for publication, some remaining in private collections or in the 'grey literature', that is the unpublished written materials generated by archaeological activity and stored normally in the *Services régionaux de l'Archéologie* (SRA). Many of the graffiti from sites of Celtic-speaking communities were not published by Lejeune if they only contained a couple of letters as it is difficult to be sure of their linguisitic affiliation, but many of these may be Gaulish. This census therefore ennumerates the published inscriptions (largely in *RIG* and the updates in *Etudes celtiques*).

I. Gallo-Greek

I.a. Coins: c. 70

The numismatic dossier is complex (*RIG* IV). We know of c. 70 coin legends in Greek script which have been found in the geographical area in which Gallo-Greek is most densely attested (the lower Rhone basin). The earliest examples are imitations of Greek staters and it is difficult to be sure whether their legends are definitely Gallo-Greek (rather than Greek) in the absence of diagnostic features. Several Celtic-named elites also seem to have struck coinage in the region of Béziers (Hérault), where otherwise written Gaulish seems not to have been taken up. There are also some coins which display two alphabets, Latin and Greek, sometimes with the same word in two scripts or even a switch of script within a single word.

I.b. Inscriptions on metal: c. 11

Lead: 8

Lead is a metal of choice for magical inscriptions in the ancient world, however magical inscriptions are mainly known in Gallo-Latin rather than Gallo-Greek. The Gallo-Greek examples identified to date are obscure and in the case of the Eyguières (Bouches-du-Rhône) inscription (I G-9) it is not even clear that we are dealing with a real text at all and not a 'pseudo-inscription' which may or may not have been used for magical purposes. Letters on lead have also been found in Greek and Etruscan languages in coastal southern Gaul and we need to consider the possibility that Gaulish may also have been used for this purpose.

Iron: 1

The only instance of Gaulish written on iron published in *RIG* is on a sword of La Tène-type (I G-280), found at Port in Switzerland. It offers a stamp with a mountain goat which identifies the blacksmith and the inscription of the name of the person who may have dedicated the weapon and placed it in the votive deposit.

Silver: 1

Just like gold, inscribed silver objects are rare as the metal is often recycled given its value. The only inscription on silver in *RIG* is a dedication on a goblet (I G-279) found at Vallauris

(Alpes-Maritimes), whose form resembles that from El Alcornocal in Spain (Untermann, J. *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum III*. Wiesbaden, 1990, H.9.1).

Gold: 1

Inscriptions on gold are rare because of the value of the metal. The torc of Mailly-le-Camp (Aube) contains many names on its inside (I G-275–278). According to Michel Lejeune these are the notes of a *registre comptable* of the hoard, to which this torc belongs, including the names of the administrators of the hoard (owners or people who contributed to its creation) which may be related to the tribe of the Nitiobroges.

I.c. Inscriptions on ceramic: c. 321

Graffiti on ceramic account for the majority of published Gallo-Greek epigraphy and, even so, are probably under-published compared with inscriptions on other materials. The examples are often indications of ownership and a key source of Gaulish personal names.

I.d. Stone inscriptions: c. 76

Lapidary inscriptions are for the most part epitaphs (40 examples); we also find dedications (15) and votive inscriptions (9). 'Official' public inscriptions are rare. The ΠΡΑΙΤωΡ inscription from Vitrolles (Bouches-du-Rhône) (I G-108) is the most likely candidate, with possible examples from Cavaillon (Lejeune and Lambert 1996 G-556), a mosaic made from little pebbles, and two possible boundary markers from Martigues (Lejeune 1988 G-501) and Istres (Bouches-du-Rhône) (G-519). A dozen stone inscriptions cannot be categorized with certainty.
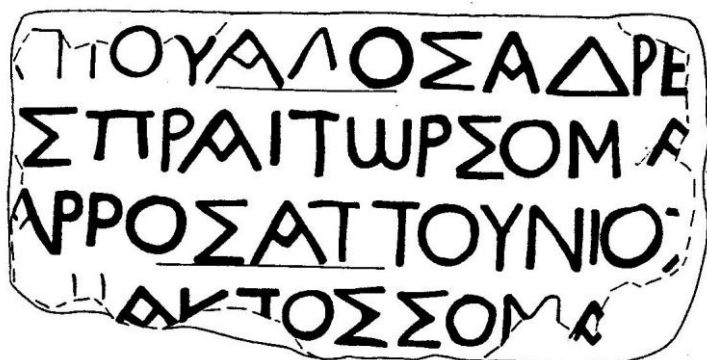

Fig. 32. Gallo-Greek inscription from Vitrolles (I G-108).

This inscription was last known to have been built into the wall of the parish church at Vitrolles, but at the time of writing its location could not be determined. Although the text is clearly incomplete, on line 2 we find an important word, ΠΡΑΙΤωΡ, which must be a borrowing of Latin *praetor*, a Roman magistrate. It probably dates to the first century BC.

Fig. 33-34. Gallo-Greek inscription from Nîmes (I G-203).

Several lapidary Gallo-Greek inscriptions come from Nîmes. This example stands out in the Gallo-Greek corpus as unusually well produced with beautifully carved letters. It is almost identical in form to another inscription found at Saint-Côme (I G-214). Both inscriptions contain the *dede bratou dekanten* formula.

II. Gallo-Latin

II.a. Coins: c. 270

RIG IV contains over 250 entries attributed to Gallo-Latin. The earliest Gaulish coins are imitations of the staters of Philip of Macedon from the very end of the fourth century BC. The latest date to the end of the first century BC and the submission of Gaulish-speaking communities to Rome. The coin legends provide us with names of Gaulish population groups and sometimes their leaders.

II.b. Inscriptions on metal: c. 33

Lead: 14

The majority of Gallo-Latin metal inscriptions are on lead and have a magical or ritual function. Sometimes the texts seek to curse an individual and, once the text has been written, the lead may be folded and/or pierced.

Others: gold (1); silver (2); bronze (15)

Other metals such as silver and gold are less well-known as carriers of inscriptions, but this may be a result of the recycling of precious materials. We do, however, find 15 examples of inscriptions on bronze. This metal was widely used by Gaulish-speaking communities and inscriptions occur on bodily ornamentation (rings, fibulae, bracelets etc.), fire-dogs (also found in ceramic in the Loire valley) and handles of saucepans. The most famous Gaulish inscriptions on bronze are the two fragmentary calendars from Coligny and the Gallo-Roman sanctuary of Villards-d'Héria, both of which may have been ritually broken up.

Fig. 35. Coligny calendar, detail (*RIG* III).

This is the most lengthy text in Gaulish known to date and was found in 1897 at Coligny (Ain). It measures 148 x 90 cm and is inscribed on a bronze sheet. The calendar is incomplete. It is clear, however, that it covers five consecutive years and is in origin a lunar calendar. It qualifies months with the abbreviations 'MAT' 'good' or ANM 'bad'. The calendar is not an isolated find: fragments of another one have been found at Villards-d'Héria in the Jura. It probably dates to the second century AD based on letter forms and associated finds.

II. c. Inscriptions on ceramic: c. 254

Ceramic is the most commonly inscribed material that has been preserved. The inscriptions are largely on tableware.

Pottery: *c.* 227

As with Gallo-Greek we find graffiti on pottery used to indicate ownership but also for a range of other purposes, including lists of names, dedications, advice and 'talking objects'. Potters' accounts, often written on tableware, represent a large proportion of our Gallo-Latin corpus thanks for the most part to the large numbers retrieved from the pottery at La Graufesenque (Aveyron). We also find stamped and incised signatures of potters on a range of objects, including fire-dogs, sometimes with the Gaulish term AVOT 'made' which corresponds to Latin *fecit*.
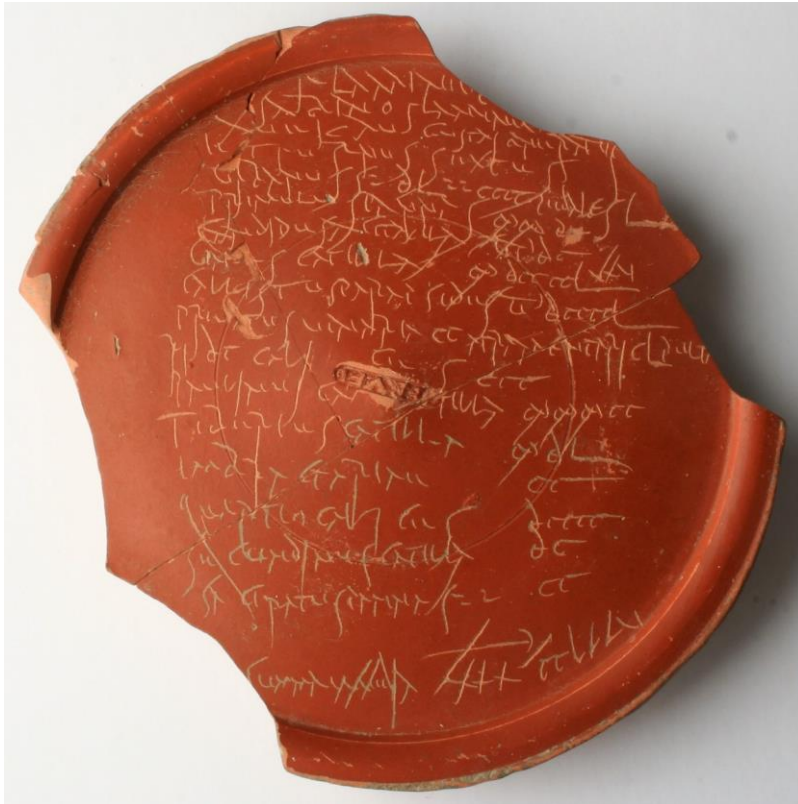
Fig. 36. Gallo-Latin potters' account from La Graufesenque (Marichal 1988 no. 1).

The c. 250 graffiti from La Graufesenque, a huge Roman pottery production centre, are in Latin, Gaulish or mixture and date mostly to the Neronian to late Flavian periods. They are mainly firing lists for internal administration. The text here lists the information about the tenth load of the kiln or the loading of the tenth kiln and lists a series of potters' names, alongside which the scribe has noted the types of vessels they have put in the kiln and the number. In the centre of the dish is a potter's stamp.

Tiles: 11

A dozen inscriptions on tiles have been found which sometimes, for example in the case of Châteaubleau, offer relatively long texts, and, as we saw above, can help us to understand more of the language.

II.d. Stone inscriptions: 34

Substantial Gallo-Latin inscriptions on stone are not numerous. Most dedicate a place or a building to the gods (11). Only around 5 are funerary. In addtion there are five rock-hewn inscriptions. A dozen inscriptions have also been found on spindle whorls, small objects used in the weaving process and, in these cases, made of bituminous schist. They seem to be short dedications for women, sometimes risqué, which may encourage us to consider the possibility of relatively widespread diffusion of writing in certain parts of Gaul and within specific groups.

II.e. Other

Other media are occasionally used for writing Gaulish, including wall plaster and glass.

Figs. 37-38. Gallo-Latin inscription on a spindle whorl, Sens (II.2 L-120).

This inscribed spindle whorl was found at the foot of the hill of Saint-Martin-du-Tertre, Sens (Yonne), in 1913, apparently in the tomb of a female, which also contained four ceramic vases. The inscription reads GENETTA IMI / DAGA VIMPI and can be translated either as 'I am a girl, good and pretty', if we take IMI as 'I am', as in the Gallo-Greek inscription from Les Pennes-Mirabeau (IMMI, I G-13), or 'my good, pretty girl', if we take IMI as a possessive adjective, as in the spindle whorl from Saint-Révérien (Nièvre) (IMON, II.2 L-119).

Two Gaulish inscriptions
Stone altar from Glanum, Bouches-du-Rhône.

This small (33 cm high) stone altar was found at Glanum, an indigenous sanctuary-settlement, at the base of the steps near the spring, beneath a niche with fragments of female statues and near to the Latin inscription to the *Glanicabus.* It probably dates to the first half of the first century BC. It is one of fourteen inscriptions to contain the Gaulish *dede bratou dekanten* formula, a phrase which has excited much scholarship because it contains three elements which are not names (the vast majority of our Gallo-Greek material contains only personal names) and it may indicate contact with other cultures. All examples of this formula to date have been found in Gallo-Greek inscriptions from the lower Rhône basin.

ΜΑΤΡΕ-
ΒΟ ΓΛΑ-
ΝΕΙΚΑ-
ΒΟ ΒΡΑ-
5   ΤΟΥ ΔΕ-
ΚΑΝΤΕΝ

'To the mother-goddesses of Glanum, a tithe in gratitude!'

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Rémy-de-Provence, Paris 1960. A. Roth-Congès, *Glanum: de l'oppidum salyen à la cité latine*, Paris 2000; O. Szemerényi, "A Gaulish dedicatory formula", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 88.2, 1974, 246-286.

The inscription is dedicated to the mother-goddesses of Glanum (*matrebo Glaneikabo* is dative plural) and contains two of the three elements of the Gaulish formula, *bratou* 'in gratitude' and *dekanten* 'a tithe', omitting the verb *dede* 'gave'. Glanum in fact offers two instances of this formula: the other example also omits the verb and is dedicated to the *Rokloisiabo* 'the far-hearing goddesses' (I G-65). Szemerényi cracked the code in the 1970s by segmenting the phrase correctly (it is written without word division which resulted in differences of opinion on how to interpret it). He also stated that the formula was 'not indigenous but transplanted from the Classical world, down to the smallest detail' (1974 p. 283). Scholars have recently argued that the view of strong influence from the Greek colony of Massalia (Marseille) has to be tempered: in fact the formula is entirely Gaulish, but was almost certainly created through contacts with a diverse Mediterranean community, a mixture of speakers of, for example, Latin, Oscan and Greek, not just contact with the local Greek colonists (Mullen 2013). How precisely the Gaulish-speaking communities created this formula is probably irrecoverable, but central-southern Italy provides all the elements and appropriate circumstances for contact-induced change. It is not clear what the tithe was in the Gaulish context: could it be the altar itself or were there originally additional offerings?

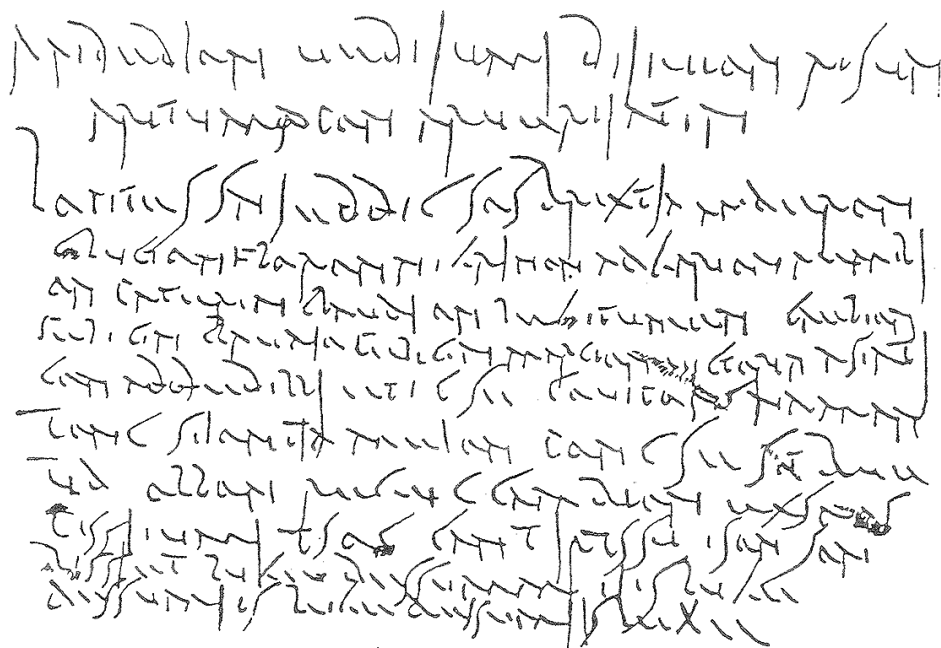Fig. 42. Gallo-Greek inscription from Glanum (I G-64).

Fig. 43. Gallo-Latin inscription from Chamalières, drawing of the text (II.2 L-100).

Lead tablet from Chamalières, Puy-de-Dôme.

The 12-line cursive-Latin Chamalières lead tablet (6 x 4cm) is one of the most important texts in Gaulish. Until this text was found in 1971 other texts had been short, or indecipherable, and those longer examples which could be read seemed to be mixed and/or full of magical language (e.g. Le Mas-Marcou (Aveyron), Rom (Deux-Sèvres)). Here, finally, was a text completely in Gaulish and providing complex syntax and a range of grammatical elements in context. The context was a Gallo-Roman sanctuary dating to the first half of the first century AD which had offered up thousands of wooden votive offerings of bodies, body-parts and horses placed around the spring and preserved in peat.

```
       andedíon uediíumí diíiuion risun
       artiu Mapon Arueriíatin
       lopites sníeđđic sos brixtía anderon
       C. Lucion Floron Nigrínon adgarion Aemilí-
5      on Paterin Claudíon Legitumon Caelion Pelign
       Claudío Pelign Marcion Victorin Asiatí-
       con Ađđedillí etic se coui tonc naman
       tonc siíontío meíon poncse sit bue-
       tid ollon reguccambion exsops
10     pissíiumí tsoc cantírtssu ison son
       bissíet luge dessummiíis luge dessumíis luge
       dessumíís luxe
```

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The text is a magical document addressed to the deity of the spring (*Mapon Arueriíatin* is perhaps Maponos of the Arverni) and to the underworld gods (*andedíon diíiuion*). The opening invocation and initial demand is followed by a string of names probably representing seven people, the first of which is designated with the term *adgarion* 'accuser'. All the names are Latin except the final one, which has the Celtic patronymic *Ađđedillí*. After the names the text returns to the details of the curse, not fully understood, but including the phrase *exsops pissíiumí* 'blind, I see', and ends with a thrice repeated formula, whose interpretation is uncertain.

Further Reading

There are several general introductions to the **Celtic languages**, good places to start are M. J. Ball and J. Fife, J. (eds), *The Celtic languages,* London/New York 1993; P. Russell, *An introduction to the Celtic languages,* London 1995. For wide-ranging works on Gaulish, indispensable modern tomes include X. Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise : une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental*, Paris 2001, 2003; P.-Y. Lambert, *La langue gauloise*, Paris 2003. For an English introduction, see W. Meid, *Gaulish inscriptions: their interpretation in the light of archaeological evidence and their value as a source of linguistic and sociological information,* Budapest 2014. Out-dated, but important for understanding the development of scholarly work on Gaulish, are G. Dottin, *La langue gauloise. Grammaire, Textes et glossaire*, Paris 1918; J. Whatmough, *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul*, Cambridge MA 1970.

Gaulish and Celtic **names** have attracted a great deal of scholarship since they are wide-spread and numerous, unlike the inscriptions. Some of the key works are: X. Delamarre, *Les noms de personnes celtiques dans l'épigraphie classique*, Paris 2007; X. Delamarre, *Noms de lieux celtiques de l'Europe ancienne*, Paris 2012; D. E. Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names. A study of some Continental Celtic formations*, Oxford 1967; K. H. Schmidt, "Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen", *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 26.1, 1957, 161-301; P. Sims-Williams, *Ancient Celtic place-names in Europe and Asia Minor*, Oxford-Boston 2006. There is an annually updated *Celtic Personal Names of Roman Britain* (CPNRB) at http://www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/personalnames/, which is important given the lack of Celtic language inscriptions from Britain. For the possibility of Gaulish in Britain, see A. Mullen, "Evidence for written Celtic from Roman Britain: a linguistic analysis of *Tabellae Sulis* 14 and 18", *Studia Celtica* 41, 2007, 31-45.

For **Gallo-Greek epigraphy**: M. Lejeune, *Recueil des Inscriptions gauloises: volume 1 textes gallo-grecs*, Paris 1985, which must be updated with supplements such as P.-Y. Lambert, "Les inscriptions gallo-grecques parues depuis les Textes gallo-grecs de Lejeune, M. (1985)", *Études celtiques* 35, 2003, 169-179; M. Lejeune, "Compléments gallo-grecs", series of articles in *Études Celtiques* in 1988, 1990, 1994, 1995, (with P.-Y. Lambert) 1996. Otherwise there are few book-length treatments of Gallo-Greek which is instead well-endowed with articles on individual inscriptions, groups of inscriptions or specific linguistic features (e.g. in the academic journals *Études celtiques*, *Keltische Forschungen, Studia Celtica*). Michel Bats has written several times on the epigraphies of southern Gaul, for example: M. Bats, "Emmêlements de langues et de systèmes graphiques en Gaule méridionale (VIe–Ier siecle av. J.-C.)", in C. R. Darasse and E. R. Luján, *Contacts linguistiques dans l'Occident méditerranéen antique*, Madrid 2011, 197-226. Alex Mullen has written a monograph which treats Gallo-Greek epigraphy in its cultural context: A. Mullen, *Southern Gaul and the Mediterranean: multilingualism and multiple identities in the Iron Age and Roman periods*, Cambridge 2013.

For **Gallo-Latin epigraphy**: P.-Y. Lambert, *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises: volume II, fascicle 2, Textes gallo-latins sur instrumentum*, Paris 2002; M. Lejeune, *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises: volume II, fascicle 1, Textes gallo-étrusques, textes gallo-latins sur pierre*, Paris 1988, which must be supplemented with P.-Y. Lambert, "*Recueil des inscriptions gauloises. II, 2*: notes de complements", *Études Celtiques* 36, 2008, 103-113. Again, apart from these corpora there are otherwise few book-length treatments of Gallo-Latin which is instead well-endowed with articles on individual inscriptions, groups of inscriptions or specific linguistic features. The site of La Graufesenque, which offers many texts containing Gaulish is well served by R. Marichal, *Les graffites de la Graufesenque*, Paris 1988. For treatments of the bilingualism at this site, see J. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language,* Cambridge 2003, chapter 7; A. Mullen, "The language of the potteries: communication in the production and trade of Gallo-Roman *terra sigillata*", in M. Fulford and E. Durham (eds), *Seeing Red: new economic and social perspectives on* terra sigillata, London 2013, 97-110.

The Gaulish coin legends are collected in J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu and B. Fischer, *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises IV. Les légendes monétaires*, Paris 1998. For early coinage from southern France, see M. Feugère, and M. Py, *Dictionnaire des monnaies découvertes en Gaule méditerranéenne (530-27 avant notre ère)*, Montagnac-Paris 2011. For examples in the *Bibliothèque nationale*, see E. Muret and A. Chabouillet, *Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris 1983. Work is currently ongoing by E. Hiriart to update our resources (E. Hiriart *Catalogue des Monnaies Celtiques, 2, Les monnaies à la croix*, Paris 2017).

SOURCES OF FIGURES
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