THE CELTIC NATURE
OF THE SOUTHWEST IBERIAN INSCRIPTIONS*
(Supplementum Epigraphicium Mediterraneum 24)

Fred C. Woudhuizen

It is a strange thing about the indigenous Iberian script that long since its decipherment by the Spanish scholar Manuel Gómez Moreno in 1925 not much progress has been made in determining the nature of the language. Only in the case of one of the latest manifestations of the script it has been possible to positively identify the language as Celtiberian.¹ In all other cases, the language is usually assumed to be of non-Indo-European type.² With respect to the southwest Iberian inscriptions, however, José Correa has recently suggested on the basis of his reading of some personal names that these may actually bear testimony of an Indo-European tongue as well, in casu Celtic (Fig. 1).³

In the following I will present some further readings of southwest Iberian texts which, if I am right, may lend support to José Correa’s view that this class of writing is indeed conducted in the Celtic language. To this aim I will concentrate on two well preserved stelae - one from Abóbada (Almodôvar) in Alemtejo and the other from Fonte Velha (Bensafrim) in the Algarve, southern Portugal - of which photographs have recently become available thanks to their inclusion in Richard Harrison’s Spain at the Dawn of History.⁴

---

² Faust 1975, 196, Abb. 1; Tovar 1961, 36 (= indigenous rest group pressed into the extreme south by the invading Celts).
³ Correa 1989; in my opinion his most convincing examples are turadia (p. 244), corresponding to Celtiberian Turaios or Turos (cf. Faust 1975, 197; Anderson 1985, 320), maru- (p. 248), corresponding to Celtiberian -maro- (see Faust 1975, 202-204, esp. Abb. 3-4; cf. de Hoz 1992, 231), potia- (p. 250), corresponding to Celtiberian Boutius (see Anderson 1985, 323), and koreli-, corresponding to Corali [G] (p. 250, esp. note 53).
⁴ Harrison 1988, 143, fig. 97; 142, fig. 95; cf. the map on p. 93 for the location of these sites.
Before turning to these texts, however, first a word about the script itself. In a recent contribution on the origin of Iberian writing, Javier de Hoz (1991) has cogently demonstrated that this ultimately derives from the Phoenician alphabet. Crown witness for his case is an exercise in writing on a stone table discovered in the spring of 1987 among the stones of a farmyard wall in Espanca, a rural district in the province of Alemtejo, southern Portugal. This writing exercise displays the signary of the southwest script in its conventional order, first being inscribed by the teacher and subsequently copied by his pupil (Fig. 2).\footnote{de Hoz 1991, 673-674; 682, fig. 5.} It thus occurs that the first 13 signs, all of Phoenician inspiration, are enumerated in the order of their Phoenician counterparts.\footnote{de Hoz 1991, 674; accordingly, \emph{mem} is more likely to render its original value [m] instead of its secondary value [p] as attested for Iberian inscriptions of later date.} Most of the remaining 14 signs also appear to be of Phoenician inspiration, but here the Phoenician order is no longer respected; on the analogy of similar processes in for example the Greek alphabet,\footnote{Note in this connection that \emph{upsilon} and "west-Greek" \emph{chi} (later \textit{psī}) continue obsolete writing variants of wāw and \textit{kapp}, respectively.} these signs are obviously applied for secondary purposes and therefore placed at the end of the primary series (Fig. 3).\footnote{de Hoz 1991, 674-677; 680-681, figs. 2-3. The signs nos. 22 and 23 need not be new inventions inspired by \emph{qoppa}, as de Hoz wants to have it, but may well originate from Ionian \emph{sampi} and the Lydian-Carian arrow-shaped [t], respectively (see also note 10 below). In regard to the signs nos. 19 and 25 one may perhaps suggest a relationship in form with Phoenician \textit{pē} (or \textit{bēt}) and \textit{yōd}, respectively, but this is of course highly speculative.}
Javier de Hoz (1991, 672, 678) has further plausibly suggested that this derivation of the Phoenician alphabet by the indigenous Iberians may well have taken place in the region of Huelva in southwest Spain. Although the dating of the monuments is still a matter of dispute, southwest Iberian inscriptions are generally assumed to represent the oldest stage in the development of indigenous Hispanic writing and are assigned to at least the 6th or 5th centuries B.C. For Huelva itself there even has been reported some graffiti of the 7th century B.C., but unfor-
Fig. 3. Comparative table
(after de Hoz 1991, 681).

Unfortunately it is as yet not clear to which type of script these marks should be classified (de Hoz 1991, 670, 673, note 9). At any rate, there is sufficient archaeological evidence to sustain the view that the inhabitants of
Huelva have maintained contacts with the Phoenicians from the late 8th century B.C. onwards, in the course of which they may, of course, well have adopted the alphabet.\(^9\)

The salient point for our present purposes is that the Phoenician origin of the Iberian script actually implies that the latter system of writing started off as an alphabet and only developed its typical syllabic qualities in the course of secondary adaptations (cf. Tovar 1961, 37-38).

Now, it has been duly observed that in the southwest Iberian inscriptions vowels are written in positions where in texts of later date a syllabic sign suffices. Judged according to the standards of “classical” Iberian, this writing of seemingly superfluous vowels seems peculiar (cf. de Hoz 1991, 671). Against the background of an alphabetic origin, however, the southwest Iberian inscriptions simply bear the testimony of an intermediate stage in the development of progressive syllabification. According to this process, then, different consonants from the velar-, labial- and dental-series are, on the analogy of Latin cei, ka, qu, preferably used in combination with different vowels.\(^10\) In other words: the southwest Iberian inscriptions are not syllabic in a peculiar way, but alphabetic in a peculiar way!\(^11\)

Having briefly discussed the origin and nature of the script, we may now turn our attention to the two southwest Iberian texts selected for a closer examination.

**The decorated and inscribed stela from Abóbada (Almodóvar)**

The first inscription to be investigated here is the one from Abóbada in Alemtejo, southern Portugal. It is inscribed on a rectangular stone stela decorated with a warrior holding weapons in both his hands and stand-
Decoration in form of a warrior is reported to be characteristic of un-inscribed stelae from the period before the introduction of writing. In line with this observation, the Abóbada stela is considered to be of intermediate nature and is consequently assigned to about the middle of the 7th century B.C. (Harrison 1988, 143) - i.e. before the main body of southwest Iberian texts. Close inspection of the photograph, however, points out that the platform-like structure below the warrior is intersected by one of the lines which form the frame for the inscription. Accordingly, the dating of the decoration need not have any repercussions on that of the inscription because the stone has evidently been reused. Hence, the inscription may just as well stem from the period to which the main body of southwest Iberian texts belong (Fig. 4).

The inscription consists of two sections. The first section, which runs in retrograde direction of writing, is carefully placed within the frame bordering the depicted warrior on its right, upper and left side. The second section, written in left-to-right direction of writing, is added in the free space along the left margin of the stone. Note that the text ends with what appears to be a cross at about the middle of the topside.

The transcription of the text offers little difficulties. Thus, the fifth sign, which is seriously damaged at its topside, certainly consists of lambda. Next, the sign occurring in twentieth position appears to have an extra stroke at its left side, but cannot possibly render anything else than nu because a Greek type of mu is altogether lacking in Iberian script. Only one sign cannot be properly transliterated. This concerns the sign occurring in fourteenth position in the form of a semicircle with two oblique strokes on top of it. However, since the latter form goes unrepresented in the Espanca model signary, we may well be dealing here with some kind of punctuation mark. Considering its application in the southwest inscriptions more in general, the sign turns out to be consistently used in front of the recurrent element kenti, keni, kenai, etc. and/or after combinations ending in -na. Now, within the frame of José Correa’s identification of Celtic personal names, it seems highly attractive to interpret the element kenti, keni, kenai, etc. as a kinship term based on the Proto-Indo-European (= PIE) root *gen- “to procreate” (cf. archaic Latin gnātos, Gallic gnatha, German Kind, etc.) and the combinations ending in -na as family- or clan-names (cf. Etruscan family- or clan-names ending in -na; Heurgon 1977, 29-31). Accordingly, then, our enigmatic sign may plausibly be assumed to render services as a marker for the distinction of family- or clan-names from ordinary personal names.

---

12 See Fig. 3 and cf. my remarks in note 9 above.
The division of the words, finally, is assured by the fact that - apart from kenti - also the sequences iru and eromare reoccur as distinct entities in other southwest Iberian inscriptions.\textsuperscript{14}

All in all, we thus arrive at the following transliteration of the text in its entirety:\textsuperscript{15}

\textit{iru altusielna \textasciitilde kenti numat eromarei atanerte}

In connection with the contents of the text we have already seen reason to believe that \textit{kenti} is a kinship term based on the PIE root \textit{*gen-} “to

\textsuperscript{14} Schmoll 1961, 14, no. 3 Ourique (kenti); Correa 1989, 248, B 30 Azinhal (iru); below Fonte Velha (eromare).

\textsuperscript{15} For the simplified transcription of the velar-, labial- and dental-series by their voiceless representatives [k], [p] and [t], respectively, see note 10 above.
procreate" and altusielna a family- or clan-name marked as such by the morpheme -na. Along this line of approach, the following numat may reasonably be explained as an endingless personal name derived from the same root as the Celtiberian place name Numantia and Italic proper names like Numa, Numerius, etc.\(^{16}\) Next, the second element of the composite form atanerte bears a striking resemblance to the Germanic divine name Nerthus (\(<\text{PIE} \ast h_{\text{n}}\text{êr}-\) "strong").\(^{17}\)

The root of this divine name is also attested for the Celtiberian place name Nertobriga and the Gallic patronymic nertecomari.\(^{18}\) On the analogy of Gallic kreite "for Kreitis", ucvete "for Ucvetis", etc. (Lejeune 1985, G-123; G-257), the present atanerte probably shows the dative singular ending in -e of the i-stems.\(^{19}\) If so, it obviously follows that the contents of the text is dedicatory in nature. The latter suggestion is further emphasized by the fact that iru strikingly recalls the central verb of Gallic dedicatory inscriptions, eivrou or ieuru "(s)he has dedicated".\(^{20}\) Finally, the residual eromare may safely be considered an adjective qualifying the recipient deity Atanertis.\(^{21}\)

The inscribed stela from Fonte Velha

The second inscription to be investigated here originates from Fonte Velha in the Algarve, southern Portugal. It is inscribed on a roughly hewn rectangular stone stela, which lacks any figurative scenes. The text runs in retrograde direction of writing from the lower right side of the stone along all its four edges and continues spiral-wise towards its centre. Like in the case of the first section of the previously discussed inscription, the letters are carefully placed within a frame delineating their upper and lower limits. Unfortunately, no dating for the monument has been indi-
cated, but since its type of lettering is not radically different from that of the Abóbada stela it may safely be assigned to about the same chronological horizon (Fig. 5).

Owing to the well-preserved nature of the stone the transliteration of the text is reasonably straightforward. Some damaged spots hamper the reading of the signs occurring in twentieth, twentyfirst and thirtyeighth position, but there is general agreement that these consist of, respectively, rho, iota and once again rho. Only in connection with the sign occurring in fortysecond position I cannot follow the established reading of qoppa since consultation of the photograph definitely shows that this is open at the top and therefore constitutes a rounded variant of sampi.  

---

The division of the words cannot be assured in every respect, but, as the structure of the text appears to be reasonably transparent, there seems to be little room for alternative suggestions. All in all, we thus arrive at the following transliteration of the text in its entirety:

lokoponii rapofoa \( \rightarrow \) airikalte lokonanena \( \rightarrow \) rekatis
iinkolo poiit eromare petasiioonii

The text starts with the names of two persons in direct association with rekatis which, for its apparent correspondence to Latin *regentis*, seems to determine the entire sequence as a dating formula. Next comes a short phrase of dedicatory nature, showing iinkolo as subject (cf. Latin *incola* "inhabitant"), poiit as verb (cf. Greek ποιέω "to make, do"), and eromare petasiioonii as indirect object.23 In general outlines, therefore, the contents of the text is reasonably clear. This is not to say that there are no difficulties when it comes to explaining all grammatical features. Thus the subject iinkolo lacks proper indication of the nominative plural ending -i of the o-stems,24 whereas the verb poiit shows the third person singular of the past tense in -i instead of its plural counterpart in *-nt.25 Furthermore, the personal names from the dating formula probably render the dative singular, whereas the associated participle rekatis if the suggested correspondence to Latin *regentis* applies, stands in the genitive singular.26 However, similar deficiencies in grammar, or, perhaps preferably, our understanding of it, are not uncommon for comparable texts in the related Celtiberian and Gallic tongues. Notwithstanding remaining uncertainties of interpretation or errors of judgement, I believe that on the basis of the foregoing discussion it may safely be concluded that the southwest Iberian inscriptions are indeed conducted in the Celtic tongue. The latter conclusion coincides with

23 On the adjective eromare(f), see note 21 above; the divine name petasiioonii strikingly recalls Celtiberian Bandi or Bandu (which, no doubt, just like Thracian Bendis derives from PIE *bendh*- "to bind", cf. Beekes 1990, 194), see Anderson 1985, 321.
24 Note that this ending is to be expected in the light of comparative data from Gallic, see Lejeune 1985, G-163 (τεμορφιον); G-279 (ουκεπνοι); and Lejeune 1971, 39-41. (ταναταληκοι).
25 Note that forms of Greek ποιέω are also attested for Gallic inscriptions, see Lejeune 1985, G-225 (εξεσι).
26 The first personal name, lokoponii, appears to be characterized by the same ending as the divine name petasiioonii, which definitely renders the dative singular in -ii of the e-stems (cf. Gallic -i for the same function, see Lejeune 1985, 449); the second personal name, airikalte, evidently shows the dative singular in -e of the i-stems as already attested for the divine name atanerte from the previously discussed Abóbada text. Note that the second element *kalitis* of the latter personal name is of particular interest to our purposes for its obvious relationship to the ethnonym Keɪtɔɪ, Galatae, etc.
evidence from allied disciplines. In the first place, namely, the distribution of typical Celtic place names in *briga* includes the region of Huelva and southern Portugal (Fig. 6; Faust 1975, 204-205). Secondly, ancient literary sources locate a tribe called the *Celtitani* in the valley of the Guadalquivir river (Tovar 1961, 56). Finally, provided that it does not originate from a Greek pun, the name of the Tartessian king *Arganthanios* (< PIE *h₂(e)r̥g-*nte- “silver”), indicates Indo-European presence in the region already for the 6th century B.C. Accordingly, then, there seems no reason to doubt that the southwest corner of the Iberian peninsula has indeed been occupied by Celtic speaking tribes.

**Stela from Abóbada (Almodóvar)**

*iru altusielna kenti numat eromarei atanerte*  
“Numatos, of the gens Altusielna, has dedicated to the (..?..) Atanertis.”

---

27 Herodotos, *Historiae* 1, 163; Beekes 1990, 61.
Fig. 7. Stone stela from unknown findspot in the Algarve, southern Portugal (after Schmoll 1961, 56).

Stela from Fonte Velha (Bensafrim)

lokoponii rapoia / airikalte
lokona nena / rekatiš iinkolo
poiit eromare petasiioonii

“During the reign of Lokobonos, of the gens Rapoia, (descendant) of Airikeltis, of the gens Lokona, the inhabitants have made for the (..?..) Bendasion.”

Table 1. Proposed transcription and interpretation of the texts from Abóbada and Fonte Velha, southern Portugal

APPENDIX

In this appendix, I will present the transcription and interpretation of three more southwest Iberian inscriptions of which the reading could not be verified with the help of photographs and hence solely rests on drawings presented by Schmoll 1961 and Harrison 1988.

The first inscription to be discussed here is inscribed on a stone stela from the Algarve of which both the exact findspot and dating elude us. It consists of two lines of text running in retrograde direction of writing and reads as follows (Fig. 7):28

aštapolirna / kenai aštanapolon

---

28 Schmoll 1961, 56, no. 24; Harrison 1988, 143, fig. 96 (no. 308).
The contents of the text comprise three distinct elements: the family- or clan-name *astapolirna*, the kinship term *kenai* and the endingless or abbreviated personal name *astanapolon*. The sequence of these three elements corresponds exactly to the one attested for the name formula of the previously discussed Abóbada text. As duly observed by Correa (1989, 247), the initial *asta-* of the personal name is repeated for the family- or clan-name.

The second text is inscribed on a stone stela from Panóias (Belem) in the Algarve. It runs in retrograde direction of writing along the edges of the stone, covering three of its four sides, and reads as follows (Fig. 8; Schmoll 1961, 54, no. 17):

\[\text{uartzoi ilsarune eromarena }_n \text{ kenii}\]

Being composed of four elements instead of three, this name formula is obviously more complex than the one in the previously discussed text. Next to personal name *vartoi*, family- or clan-name *eromarena* (a derivation in *-na* of the divine adjective *eromare* attested for the Abóbada and Fonte Velha texts!) and kinship term *kenii*, we appear to have here a patronymic, *ilsarune*. As far as endings are concerned, the personal name *vartoi* clearly shows the dative singular in *-i* of the *o*-stems. In line with this observation, the patronymic *ilsarune* seems to be characterized by the dative singular in *-e* of the *i*-stems. Accordingly, it may

---

29 Cf. Celtiberian *-i* for the same function as attested for the legend on a silver cup from the region of Cástulo reading *ercinoi ecuanoasoi* “for Erginos, son of Equanoasos” (see Untermann 1961, 11, note 9). For the personal name *vartos*, cf. the first element of Celtiberian *Vorteaco* (Anderson 1985, 322).

30 Cf. our analysis of the divine name *atanerte* (Abóbada) and personal name *airikalte* (Fonte Velha) above.
safely be concluded that the monument is of funerary nature. The third and final text to be discussed here is inscribed on another stone stela from Fonte Velha (Bensafrim). Like the two previous texts, it runs in retrograde direction of writing. Unfortunately, its reading is hampered by the fact that the various drawings disagree on the rendering of some 7 signs.\textsuperscript{31} However, only the sign occurring in seventh position appears to be damaged beyond repair, whereas, on account of the fact that it is followed by \textit{iota}, the one occurring in twelfth position consists of \textit{theta} with superfluous hasta rather than \textit{qoppa}. All in all, we thus arrive at the following transcription (Fig. 9):

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{stone_stela}
\caption{Stone stela from Fonte Velha, Bensafrim (after Schmoll 1961, 52 and Harrison 1988, 143, Fig. 96)}
\end{figure}

\textit{korelii\-loi atikuoi ravarmar tirtosiemana \textit{r\-}keni}

\textsuperscript{31} Schmoll 1961, 52, no. 13; Harrison 1988, 143, fig. 96 (no. 301). Note that I follow the reading of Schmoll 1961 with respect to the signs occurring in 11th, 25th and 34th position, but that of Maluquer de Motes 1968 in connection with those occurring in 27th, 30th, 31st and 38th position.
The text evidently starts with two names characterized by the dative singular in -i of the o-stems, koreliiloil and atikuoi. This is followed by the familiar sequence of endingless or abbreviated personal name ravarmar, family- or clan-name tirtosiema and kinship term keni. Apparently, therefore, we are dealing here with a monument of funerary nature set up by Ravarmaros of the gens Tirtosiemana in honour of the deceased Koreliilos, son of Atiquos.

Stela of uncertain origin
aștapolian ʁ  kenai aștapolon  “Astanapolon, of the gens Astapolirna.”

Stela from Panóias, Belem
uartoi ilsarune eromarena  “For Vartos, son of Ilsarunis, of the gens Eromarena.”
ʁ kenii

Stela from Fonte Velha (Bensafrim)
koreliiloil atikuoi ravarmar  “For Atikuos, son of Korelinos; Ravarmaros, of the gens Tirdosiemanai.”
tirtosiemanai ʁ keni

Table 2. Proposed transcription and transliteration of three more texts from the Algarve, southern Portugal

BIBLIOGRAPHY


32 Cf. our analysis of the personal name varloi (Panóias) above. Note that the patronymic atikuoi strikingly recalls Lepontic Atekuia and Gallic Atepos, of which the second element is composed of a reflex of PIE *h₁ekuo- “horse”, see Lejeune 1971, 68-69.

33 For the first element of the family- or clan-name tirtosiemanai, cf. Celtiberian tiriŭanos, Tirdatos, Tridonicu<m>, etc. showing a reflex of PIE *tri- “3” (Tovar 1961, 8).


Solier, Y./H. Barbouteau 1988, Découverte de nouveaux plombs, inscrits en ibère, dans la région de Narbonne, Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise 21, 61-94.


