ON THE INDO-EUROPEAN ORIGIN OF TWO LUSITANIAN THEONYMS (LAEO AND REVE)¹

KRZYSZTOF TOMASZ WITCZAK
Łódź

Lusitanian, the Pre-Celtic Indo-European language of the Hispanic Peninsula, demonstrates numerous similarities in theonymy to the Celtic areas, e.g. Lusit. Iccona (dat. sg.) = Gaul. Epona ‘the horse-goddess’, Lusit. Lucubo (dat. pl.) = Gaul. Lugoves (nom. pl.) and Celtiber. Luguei (dat. sg.). Other religious comparisons relate to an even larger Italo-Celtic geographical area, e.g. OLat. Pales (f.) and Lusit. Trebo-pala, Tenco-pala, Old Roman suouetaurilia and the analogical triple animal offerings of Lusitania (i.e. porcom - oilm - taurom). The author suggests two new Italo-Lusitanian equations in theonymy (namely: 1. Lusit. Laeo = Lat. Laribus, 2. Reve = Lat. Ioui, Osk. diuvei). Both comparisons are firmly documented by the Latin-Lusitanian texts, and additionally the latter bears a close resemblance of the formations (the same innovational declension stem *dyeq-, not *dig-) and an interesting exclusiveness of the epithets (e.g. Lusit. Reve Laraucu = Lat. Ioui Ladico [both dedications from Orense]). The phonological development of IE. *d to Lusit. r, documented by 4 different instances (2 indubitable ones), occurs in some Italic languages, but it is absent from the Celtic language world.

Lusitanian is a scarcely attested Indo-European language from the Iberian Peninsula (see Beekes 1995, p. 27), which – in opposition to all the Celtic languages – preserved IE. *p both initially and medially, e.g.

1) Lusitanian porcom (acc. sg.) ‘pig’ < IE. *pórkos ‘piglet, young pig’ (cf. Lat. porcus, OHG. far(a)h, Pol. prosie) vs. MIr. orc ‘piglet, young animal’.

¹ This article is an abridged and somewhat modified version of my lecture presented (in Polish) at a meeting of the Indo-European Section of the Polish Philological Society (Łódź, 27-4-1987). I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Prof. Ignacy Ryszard Danka for useful comments and to Dr. Piotr Stulmaszczyk for help and encouragement.

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2) Lusitanian Trebo-pala (name of a deity) < IE. *trebo-pala 'protector of the dwelling', cf. Vedic Viš-pala (f.), a horse-like goddess or heroine connected with the twin gods Aśvins (see Maggi 1983), Latin Pales (dat. pl. Palibus), a divine pair of Old Roman deities, the patrons of flocks and herds. Also the Indo-European name of the divine twins *Pal-ikoi (du. Palikos), preserved in the name of the Sicilian twin-gods Palici and Celtic Alci (cf. Witczak 1995, 1997), contains the same Indo-European root *pal- 'to protect'.

Both above items (porcom and Trebopala) are attested in the Lusitanian inscription from Cabeço das Fráguas². Apart from porcom, two other animal names are mentioned in the same document. Their equivalents are found in Celtic as well, but they differ in form from the Lusitanian words:

3) Lusit. taurom (acc. sg.) < IE. *tauros 'bull' (cf. Lat. taurus, Gk. taurôs 'bull', Lith. tauras 'bison', Pol. tur 'Aurochs') vs. Gaul. tarus, Mfr. tarb, W. tarv, Corn. tarov, Bret. tavo 'bull'. All the Celtic languages show the common metathesis -u¾-r > -r-u¾-, but Lusitanian does not follow the same development.

4) Lusit. oilam acc. sg. (from *ovi-lā-m) < IE. *ṓgǐs 'sheep' (cf. Lat. ovis, Skt. āviḥ, Gk. ὀίς) vs. OIr. oí 'ewe', Gaulish PN Ovio-rix (from CC. *ovis) and W. ewig 'doe', OCorn. euchig gl. cerva (from Brittonic *oükā). Although the reconstructed archetype *ōgilā-m, proposed by Tovar (1966-67, p. 244; 1985, p. 234) is convincing from the phonological point of view, there are no attested parallels for such a derivation from IE. *ṓgǐs 'sheep' in Celtic or any other Indo-European languages. Therefore I agree with K. H. Schmidt’s opinion (1985, p. 336) that «the Celtic character of Lusitanian oilam cannot be regarded as proven».

The Lusitanian inscription from Cabeço das Fráguas contains not only a list of sacrificial animals (porcom - oilam - taurom = Old Latin su-oue-taurilia) in the accusative (sg.), but also a number of theonyms in the dative, among which two names, namely Trebopala and Iccona, are noteworthy. The former seems to be a semantical equivalent of Viš-pala (literally ‘a protector of the dwelling’), a Vedic semigoddess of mare shape, thus the element -pala (attested also in another Lusitanian deity’s name Tencopala) is a perfect example for the p- retention. The latter form, Iccona, may represent a Lusitanian equivalent of the Gaulish horse-goddess Epona (cf. Best 1982, pp. 64-65; Maggi 1983, pp. 58-59). If so, then we are able to add a further item to the list of the Lusitanian animal names of Indo-European origin:

² The most important studies on this inscription have been written by the prominent Spanish linguist Antonio Tovar (1966-1967 = 1973, pp. 181-205; 1985; cf. also 1968).
This argument is, in my opinion, of no value. I do not agree with the traditional view of Celtic character of Lusitanian on the basis of name-correspondences. However, these attempts appear to be unproductive. I agree with Karl Horst Schmidt (1985, p. 325) that «name-correspondences are not sufficient proof for genetic relationship, as they can result from language contacts».

The retention of *p is a phonological feature that excludes completely a Celtic origin of Lusitanian. A different opinion is expressed by Untermann (1987, p. 74): «Ich fürchte, eines Tages werden die Keltisten lernen müssen, mit dem p zu leben». Schmidt rejects completely these words. He points out that: «As long as Celtic is defined among other things by the loss of IE *p in anlaut, the Lusitanian inscriptions, containing porcom ‘pig’ (with a p-!) do not meet this definition. To incorporate them into the Celtic languages family, as Untermann (1987) does, violates the elementary principles of linguistic reconstruction» (Schmidt 1992, pp. 55-56).

As the discussion held at the third and fourth Colloquia on Languages and Peoples of the Hispanic Peninsula clearly demonstrated, most Celtologists and Indo-Europeanists agreed that the retention of IE. *p is one of the principal arguments for the non-Celtic character of Lusitanian. Karl Horst Schmidt lists two further premises of syntactical nature, which separate Lusitanian from Common Celtic, namely: (1) the basic word order is of the type ODS (= direct object + indirect object + subject), (2) «the position of accusative object preceding dative object» (Schmidt 1985, p. 329). Stipulating that «syntactic criteria are not sufficient in themselves to prove a linguistic relationship», Schmidt discusses a number of additional (phonological, morphological and lexical) features and concludes that the non-Celtic character of Lusitanian may be demonstrated by the following additional facts: (3) preservation of the Indo-European phoneme *p, which disappeared in Celtic in most contexts; (4) use of the conjunction indi ‘and’, not attested in Celtic at all; (5) development of a present inflection of the root *do- ‘to give’, doenti3, unparalleled in Celtic; (6) lexical differences. As

3 This argument is, in my opinion, of no value. I do not agree with the traditional view
a result, Karl Horst Schmidt (1985, p. 338) “tentatively” defines Lusitanian as «a language that belongs to the southern group of western IE languages and borders on eastern IE».

Additional evidence for the non-Celtic character of Lusitanian may be adduced from the indigenous divine names of the Lusitanian-Galician regions. The inscription from Cabeço das Fráguas, which is the most valuable text in Lusitanian, contains names of five different deities (I underline them below, treating the word loiminna as a special epithet of Iccona, as well as incomplete form tre occurring after Reve). It reads the following:

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OILAM . TREBOPALA .
INDI . PORCOM . LAEO .
COMAIAM . ICCONA . LOIM .
INNA . OILAM . USSEAM .
TREBARUNE . INDI . TAUROM .
IFADEM [REUE TRE]
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Following Danielle Maggi (1983), who convincingly indicated a few related Indo-European equivalents for Trebopala and Iccona, I intend to discuss here two other Lusitanian theonyms: Laeo and Reve, which also demonstrate some similarities to the Italic, especially Latin, theonymy.

1. **Lusitanian** Laeo = Latin Laribus.

Most linguists believe that the above-mentioned Lusitanian text attests «the name of the god Laeo in the dative singular» (Anderson 1985, p. 322). Such an interpretation is not theoretically impossible, but I prefer to consider Laeo as a theonym in the dative plural⁴. My interpretation is confirmed by a number of observations:

that the Lusitanian verb *doenti* derives from the Indo-European root *ṣd- ‘to give’. According to my opinion, the usual analysis the Lusitanian form as non-reduplicated equivalent of Greek ἄδων (Dor. ἄδοντι) ‘he gives’ is impossible from both the phonological point of view (IE. *ṣd* yields regularly Lus. *r*) and the morphological one.

⁴ This theonym appears also in the Latin inscriptions of Lusitania as *Laeo* or *Laepo* (Blázquez. 1991, pp. 140-141).
a) from the declensional point of view Laebô, as well as Lucubo ‘for all the gods named Lugus’, may contain the dative plural ending -bo;

b) Lusitanian Laebô can be hardly dissociated from the Gaulish formations such as matrebo (dat. pl. = Lat. matribus ‘for the mothers’) or atrebo (= Lat. patribus dat. pl. ‘for the fathers’);

c) The dative plural Laebô compares favourably with the Lusitanian god Laho Paraliomego (dat. sg.)5 and also with the Gaulish goddess, whose name Lahe (dative form) is attested twice in the department of the Haute Garonna6. This equation suggests that Laebô derives from *Lahebo.

d) The dedications for the Roman Lares (in dat. pl. Laribus, rarely in dat. sg. Lari) are frequent in the Latin votive inscriptions of the ancient Lusitania7. It is acceptable to propose a double equation: Lusit. Laho = Lat. Lari and Lusit. Laebô = Lat. Laribus. By analogy, the Gaulish goddess Laha may be reminiscent of Roman Lara, the mother of Lares, and Etruscan Lasa.

e) this triple Gaulo-Latin-Lusitanian equivalence appears to be well justified from the etymological point of view. The Latin theonym Lares (OLat. Lases m. pl.) demonstrates a rhotacism in the root. If so, then the original Indo-European phoneme *-s-* is lenited to -h- (and zero) in both Gaulish and Lusitanian.

Summing up, the Lusitanian name Laebô appears to have an exact counterpart in Laribus of the Latin inscriptions from the north-western part of the Iberian Peninsula. The bundle of theonyms, derived from the same

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5 Untermann (1985, p. 358, no. 5): Laho Paraliomego (Lugo); Bermejo Barrera, 1986, p. 148.

6 Cf. CIL XIII 142: Lahe nu[m]ni (near Martres-Tolosanes) and CIL XIII 147: Lahe deae (near Le Fousseret), Bermejo Barrera, 1986, p. 148.

7 Untermann, 1985, p. 361, quotes six attestations of the name of Lares in the inscriptions of Lusitania and Galicia, namely: Laribus Cairiesibus (near Idanha-a-Nova, Beira Baixa), Laribus Cerenaiacis (S. Salvador de truyas, Marco de Canaveses, Douro Litoral), Lari Circeiebaeco Proeineitaeco (S. Marta de Moreiras, Orense), Lares Lubanc. Dovilonico-r(um) (Conimbriga), Lari Femanieco (S. Pedro de Bealos, Villamarín, Orense), Laribus Immucenbaecis Cceceaeis (Grainha, Chaves, Tras-os-Montes). We may supplement this evidence, e.g. Laribus Ormonufis (Pitoes das Junias, Montalegre), Laribus Gegeiqis (freguesia Arcosó, Chaves), Laribus Varigis (Oimbra, Orense), see Rodríguez Colmenero, 1987, p. 330-331, 333-334, 338-341. Also Blázquez, 1991, p. 113; 1992, p. 197, cites a number of new attestations.

8 The Lusitanian (and Roman) cult of Lares is thoroughly discussed by Bermejo Barrera, 1986, pp. 193-230, who quotes 18 votive inscriptions, dedicated to Lares Viales (pp. 199-200). All these texts derive from the Ancient Galicia or Lusitania (Lugo, Pontevedra, La Coruña, Braga, Orense).
root *Las-, is well attested in all west dialects of Indo-European, i.e. Celtic,Italic and Lusitanian.

2. Lusitanian Reve (Laraucu) = Latin Ioui (Ladico).

In his article on the principal god of the Lusitanians, whose name is attested nine times as Reve (in dat. sg. only), Francisco Villar 1996 discusses different opinions as to the origin of this god, trying to explain the etymological association not only of the divine name, but also numerous epithets of the deity. Unfortunately, his suggestions and results are highly subjective. He does not take into account two essential aspects:

a) the god in question was both the principal (deus maximus) and most popular in the Lusitanian pantheon.

b) the dative singular Reve indicates the declensional stem Rev-, which is worth mentioning by reason of its exceptionality and rarity.

These two premises induce us to compare the Lusitanian god with the Indo-European principal god *Dyeus (dat. sg. *dyeus, also *dyet-ei), attested in the mythological imagination of most Indo-European nations (for lexical evidence, see Witczak-Kaczor 1995, pp. 269-270). The formal aspects of the suggested comparison are perfect, but the phonological
remains partially obscure. The question is: may Lusitanian r- reflect Indo-European *d(y)-?

I am inclined to give a positive answer, and the reason is that such a development is not only phono-technically possible, but also it may be detected in Lusitanian vocabulary and onomastics. It is necessary to indicate the following three arguments:

c) The process of IE. *d > r is not phonologically unfounded, as it occurs in some Italic languages (e.g. in Umbrian), but not in Latin. The Celtic languages do not attest such development.

d) Untermann 1985, p. 355, lists two epithets Laraucu and Ladico (both found in the inscriptions from Orense) to exemplify a -r/d- alternation in Lusitanian. He does not inform that the equivalence is in fact twofold (Lusit. Reve Laraucu = Lat. Ioui Ladico) or even fourfold (Laraucu d<eo> max<imo> = Ioui Optimo Maximo). Thus two pairs of cognate epithets document firmly the equation of Reve = Ioui.

e) Apart from Lusit. Reve = Lat. Ioui, Osc. diuei (all from IE. *dyey-ei) and Lusit. Laraucu = Lat. Ladico, two supplementary Lusitanian-Latin pairs Reo = deo (dat. sg. ‘for the god’) and Reae = deae (dat. sg. ‘for the goddess’) are noteworthy. In my opinion, this onomastical material is the most convincing evidence for the development of IE. *d in Lusitanian.

The Lusitanian documentation is not plentiful, but informative. The verb doenti (3 pers. pl. active), attested in the Lusitanian inscription of Lamas de Moledo, seems to be the unique counterexample. However, the usual analysis of doenti as a non-reduplicated form with the meaning ‘(they) give’ (cf. Greek διδοῦσι, Dor. διδοῦτι) is far from being certain. I prefer to see in it a compound verb containing IE. *H₁senti (> Gr. Myc. e-e-si, Att. εἰσί, Skt. sānti, G. sind vs. *H₁sönti > Lat. sunt, PSl. *sqrb).

We may conclude with certainty that the principal god of the Lusitanians was *Revs (attested only in dat. sg as Reve), a formal and etymological cousin of the Roman Iupiter and the Greek Zeus.

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12 Bermejo Barrera, reviewing «los exvotos dedicados a Júpiter Lad[co] y a Júpiter Laraouco» (1986, p.138), also interprets Reve as Jupiter, the Roman chief of the gods (ibid. pp. 126-127). His equation is based on a combination of formal similarities.

13 Cf. Reo Paramaeo (Lugo), according to Untermann, 1985, p. 359, no. 16.4. It is a simple possibility, not a firm evidence. The same refers to the next suggestion.

14 Reae (Lugo), see Untermann, 1985, p. 359, no. 16.7. Does it derive from REAE (a scribal error in place of REVE)?
Conclusions

The Lusitanian (inscriptional) documentation, much of it in the form of votive offerings, refers in large degree to the names of indigenous deities. This theonymic evidence is sometimes highly useful not only in researching the native religions of the Iberian Peninsula, but also in reconstructing the historical development of Lusitanian phonology.

Lusitanian belongs, in my opinion, to the western subgroup of the Indo-European languages, but it differs from the Celtic speech by some phonological phenomena (e.g. in Lusitanian IE. *p is preserved, but IE *d is changed into r; Common Celtic, in contrary, retains IE. *d and loses *p).

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