

GALLICIZATION IN ROME
A STUDY OF LEXICAL BORROWING AS EVIDENCE FOR GALLO-
ROMAN CULTURAL DIFFUSION

by

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Abstract

Following in the footsteps of Karl Schmidt's 1967 article, *Keltisches Wortgut im Lateinischen*, and J.P. Wild's 1970, *Borrowed Names for Borrowed Things?*, this thesis examines a total of twenty-one Gallic lexical items that were borrowed by the Latin language during the period of Roman hegemony over the whole of Gaul and, from that point, discusses whether the borrowing of these terms is proof of corresponding instances of cultural diffusion. In an effort to examine lexical and cultural integration in tandem, this study has selected terms from three semantic categories of material culture, specifically 'food and drink', 'clothing', and 'wheeled vehicles', and uses contextual evidence from the literary record to gauge the integration levels of the terms within both the Latin language and Roman culture. As a result, this thesis not only reveals much valuable information pertaining to both lexical and cultural integration, but also the effect which factors like perceived social status and the search of prestige had on the entire process. Furthermore, as a form of linguistic archaeology, this study succeeds in reconstructing certain aspects of Celtic culture which may have otherwise been lost to the passage of time.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In 1936, Ralph Linton, a very well respected American anthropologist, archaeologist, and ethnologist,¹ wrote the following satire about a day in the life of an average American man:

When our friend has finished eating, he settles back to smoke. While smoking, he reads the news of the day, imprinted in characters invented by the ancient Semites upon a material invented in China by a process invented in Germany. As he absorbs the accounts of foreign troubles he will, if he is a good conservative citizen, thank a Hebrew deity in an Indo-European language that he is 100 percent American.²

Linton's point is simple. The United States of America, insofar as material culture is concerned, remains a product of centuries of cultural borrowing, despite being often thought of as the primary purveyor of Western – or American – way of life. A few millennia earlier, the city of Rome was also the centre of a large cultural territory which spread some degree of the Roman way of life to every corner of the Empire. To what extent, though, was Roman culture also a product of the contact between the Romans and those who were on the periphery of their ever expanding territory? Is it at all possible that these conquered peoples may yet have a voice, and that we might learn something valuable from the impact they themselves had on the Romans?

It is the primary purpose of this thesis to suggest a possible answer for the above questions. In order to accomplish this, I will be examining the cultural exchanges which occurred between Rome and one of its most long-standing counterparts: Gaul. In doing so, I hope to discover which aspects of Gallic culture were incorporated into the Roman way of life, why these exchanges occurred, and what they can teach us about both the Romans and the Gauls. Unfortunately, such exchanges are rather ubiquitous – occurring, anthropologists believe, any time two cultures come into prolonged contact.³ Just like our

¹ Kluckhohn 1958, 236-241.

² Linton 1936, 327.

³ Kroeber 1948, 411; Linton 1936, 327.

American friend above, it is very possible that most Romans would have been completely unaware of the true origins of their most prized cultural practices and material objects. This, of course, makes such exchanges rather difficult to detect – or it would, if not for another process which is equally ubiquitous: lexical borrowing. These two concepts, the borrowing of culture and the borrowing of words, often go hand-in-hand and may prove to be the key to understanding the interactions of two, long dead, civilizations.

What follows is a study of lexical borrowing with intent toward determining whether this borrowing can serve as sufficient evidence for the adoption of cultural practices. If successful, this form of linguistic archaeology will allow us to reconstruct certain aspects of Gallic and Roman culture, which may be otherwise inaccessible. While the purpose of this section is to lay out a number of vital frameworks, subsequent chapters will focus primarily on the analysis of Latin words of known Gallic origin, in an attempt to determine what, exactly, they can tell us.

The starting point for this study lies with the obvious, though no less complicated, issue of determining the exact identity of the Gauls. Unfortunately, this question falls within the purview of ancient ethnography, a subfield of Classical scholarship which can be problematic. Despite the fact that contemporary ethnography has been the cornerstone of cultural anthropology for the better part of two centuries,⁴ the practice itself is a veritable minefield of ethical concerns and intrinsic biases. The water becomes even more muddied when we apply the study to Classics and ancient history, and attempt to determine the cultural origin and development of groups which have not existed, at least not in the same form, for more than a thousand years. That said, in order to determine which aspects of Roman culture may have once originated with the Gauls, we must first develop some criterion to identify who these people were.

This question can be approached in three different ways. Each approach has its limitations but should prove useful when combined to some degree. The first and most problematic method is to broach

⁴ Winthrop 1991, 98-103.

the subject using the accounts of ancient authors. Many Greek historians, for example, wrote about a people whom Herodotus described as occupying an area of Europe which, he believed, stretched beyond the Pillars of Hercules and was nearly as westward as possible (Hdt.2.33; 4.49). As we will see shortly, these same people would become all too familiar with the people of Rome as well, and would forever impact their perceptions of temperate Europe. As Ramon Jiménez describes, these were “a people [the Romans] called *Celtae* or *Galli*; the Greeks called them *Keltoi* or *Galatae*; they both called them barbarians.”⁵

Jiménez’s descriptions of the Celts are quite colourful, and fit in well among those of his Classical counterparts, all of whom seem to depict the people of Gaul in a similar fashion, one which was often less than flattering. The description given by the Greek historian Polybius (*Hist.*2.17.8-12) is among the most telling, his words emphasizing just how the Mediterranean world viewed the Celts: warlike and uncivilized.

Their villages were unwalled and lacked any other civilized amenities. They lived simple lives, sleeping on straw and eating meat, skilled in nothing apart from warfare and farming, without the slightest inkling of any other science or craft. Their wealth consisted of cattle and gold, because they were easily transportable wherever they went; whatever the circumstances, they could move these possessions from one place to another at whim.⁶

Polybius is certainly not alone in this regard. Plato, for example, describes the Celts as a warlike race which held military success in high regard, (*Leg.*1.637) while Aristotle adds that they were a kind of people able to seize advantages by means of their strength (*Pol.*7.2.10). This trend also persists throughout the works of Diodorus Siculus (14.115), Julius Caesar (*BGall.*1.2), and Livy, who even goes as far as to describe a group of duplicitous Roman envoys – those who, by Livy’s account, had been sent to mediate the conflict between the Etruscan town of Clusium and the invading Celtic Senones – as behaving “more like impetuous Gauls than Romans” (5.36), despite the fact that it was the Gallic tribe

⁵ Jiménez 2001, 26; See also Freeman 2012, 395.

⁶ Translation by Robin Waterfield (2010, 90).

who were the victims of these questionable acts. The most detailed ancient ethnography to describe the Celts, that of Posidonius, fragments of which survive today only in the works of other authors, maintains this same imagery, often depicting a number of the more barbarous Gallic customs such as the displaying of severed heads from defeated enemies (Strab.4.198), and the drinking of beer and unmixed wine (Athen.4.152c).

As mentioned above, these depictions are problematic in the sense that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to gauge the accuracy of Greek and Roman accounts. In a 1999 article, P. S. Wells describes the interactions between Rome and the indigenous peoples of Europe as “classic instances of conquests of smaller-scale, nonliterate peoples by a larger-scale, literate society.”⁷ The result of this relationship is a literary and ethnographic record of a non-Roman people, which is entirely Italo-centric. Compounding this issue further is the fact that most Classical authors, writing about subjects with little or no first-hand experience, relied on either word of mouth or the accounts of earlier writers to shape their own depictions. As Wells points out:

None of the writers whose works are preserved spent time living in an Iron Age village, nor were any of them merchants who traveled among the late prehistoric peoples north of the Alps.⁸

Even the accounts of writers like Posidonius and Caesar, who Wells suggests are slightly more credible for actually interacting with the Gauls first-hand,⁹ must be taken with a grain of salt.¹⁰ These men, like many other ancient ethnographers, were only capable of viewing foreign peoples through the lens of their own cultural *nomos*, an inherent bias we must take into account if we are to find any use for their descriptions of the people of Gaul.

⁷ Wells 2004, 243.

⁸ Wells 2004, 243-244.

⁹ Freeman 2000/01, 24.

¹⁰ Wells 2004, 246; Wells emphasizes this point by describing an interesting episode of Caesar’s Gallic Wars wherein the general describes, among other things, the unicorns who inhabit the German forests (*BGall.*6.26). As Wells puts it (246), “these bits of fanciful natural history should caution us against relying heavily on details in Caesar’s account of the Germans.”

The second method is to consider the Gauls from an archaeological perspective and attempt to single out a donor culture based solely on material from the archaeological record. As it stands, there is an archaeological timeline in place which can be linked to the peoples whom the Romans called *Galli*. This archaeological record, comprised of finds from a number of sites, is widely associated with pre-Roman, Iron Age Europe and has generally been considered to contain material culture associated with the Celtic language group,¹¹ an important classification which will be discussed below. The periods in question, called Hallstatt and La Tène after the richest archaeological sites, correspond respectively to the Early and Late Iron Ages of continental Europe.¹²

According to Raimund Karl, Professor of Archaeology and Heritage at Bangor University in Wales, the Hallstatt cultural area spanned “from eastern France to western Hungary, and from southern Germany to Slovenia,”¹³ and dated from roughly 750 to 475 BC. This is a timeframe based on material imported from the southern areas of the Mediterranean which are, in Karl’s opinion, “more chronologically secure.”¹⁴ Finds from Hallstatt sites have included a vast number of inhumation burials, many of which contained large amounts of grave goods such as weapons, ceramics and, in some cases, four-wheeled carts,¹⁵ an element which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five of this thesis.

La Tène culture, on the other hand, is dated from ca. 475 BC until the Roman period, and is named for a site located on Lake Neuchâtel in north-western Switzerland. Finds from this period show marked differences from their earlier Hallstatt counterparts and seem to suggest the emergence of a warrior class corresponding to the period of Celtic expansion into Northern Italy. Notable differences include the reduction of elite burials and the transition from the above mentioned four-wheeled carts to smaller, two-wheeled chariots in inhumation burials. Late La Tène society also appears to have become

¹¹ Karl 2012c, 497.

¹² Karl 2012a, 413.

¹³ Karl 2012b, 415.

¹⁴ Karl 2012b, 415.

¹⁵ Karl 2012b, 417.

more settled, as indicated by the number and size of corresponding *oppida*, before eventually giving way to the spread of Roman culture.¹⁶

This archaeological approach also has some distinct shortcomings related to defining Gallic culture. The primary issue is that there seems to be some disparity between the archaeological findings and the people whom the Romans considered to be Gallic. This discrepancy is also discussed by Wells, who points out that the earliest definitive statement regarding the territory of the Gauls comes from Julius Caesar (*BGall.1.1*), who marked the Rhine river as the border between them (west), and the Germans (east).¹⁷ This is contrary to the distribution of La Tène archaeological material, which “is well represented on both sides of the Rhine.”¹⁸ The explanation for this would seem to be that the Rhine border marked a political distinction for the Romans, but not necessarily an ethnographic distinction for the Gauls.¹⁹ This position is also taken up by Wells, who argues that “there is no reason...to think that all of the groups whom the Classical writers referred to as Celts [or Gauls] ever felt that they belonged to a common people,”²⁰ at least not one which exactly corresponded to Roman ethnographic categorizations. This archaeological evidence emphasizes yet another instance of the Romano-centric nature of European history, and further convolutes our question about the nature of the Gauls.

The final, and perhaps most useful, method for classifying the Gauls, is to consider the issue from a linguistic perspective – specifically by grouping cultural donors by language, as opposed to political or ethnographic affiliation. The language group in question is a particular branch of the Indo-European family tree known as Continental Celtic,²¹ which once spread across much of Iron Age and Roman Europe. According to Stefan Zimmer,²² Continental Celtic, at the time of Roman conquest, had already split into two distinct languages: Hispano-Celtic, on the Iberian Peninsula; and Gaulish, “varieties of

¹⁶ Karl 2012c, 497.

¹⁷ Wells 2004, 251.

¹⁸ Wells 2004, 251.

¹⁹ OCD, s.v. Germans.

²⁰ Wells 2004, 245.

²¹ Eska 2008, 165; This is as opposed to the Insular Celtic spoken in Britain and Ireland. According to Stefan Zimmer, the exact nature of the relationship between these two branches has yet to be determined (2012, 163).

²² Zimmer 2012, 163.

which were spoken from Asia Minor in the east through central Europe southward into the northern Italian peninsula.”²³ The varieties of Gaulish mentioned above included Lepontic, in northern Italy, and Galatian, in Asia Minor²⁴ (see figure 1 below). Each language in the Continental Celtic family did eventually die out – only to be replaced during the Roman period by languages such as Latin and Greek²⁵ – though perhaps not before leaving a trace of themselves within the very languages that succeeded them.

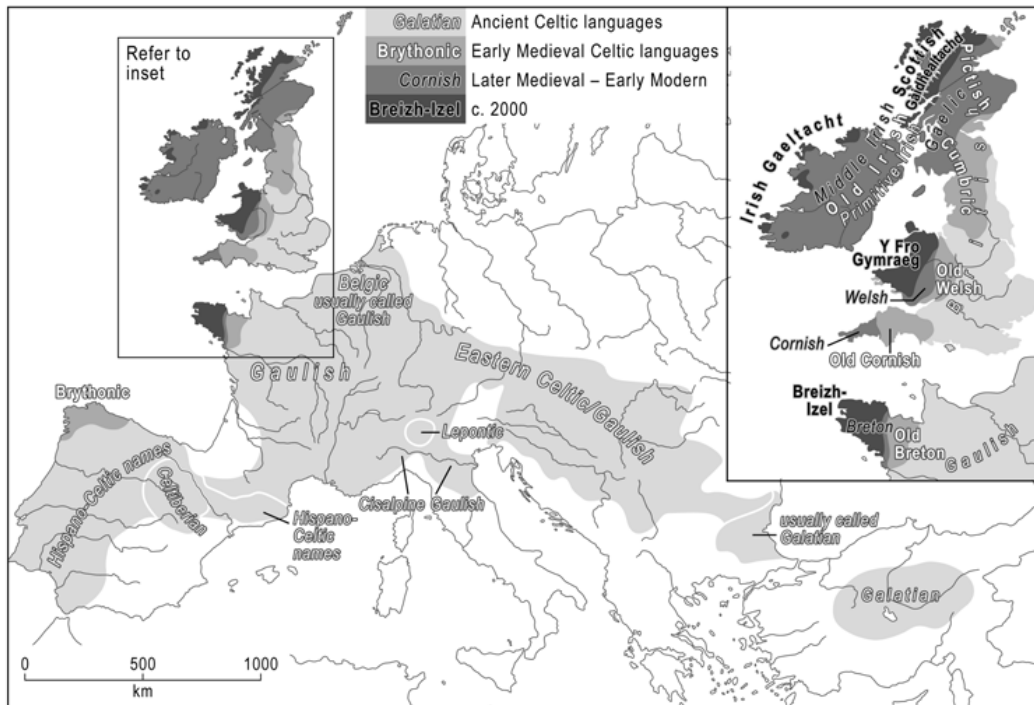


Figure 1: Continental Celtic

Image by Ian Guley and Anthony Smith in *The Celts: History, Life and Culture*, John Koch (ed.), s.v. Celtic Languages.

This particular approach should prove beneficial to the line of inquiry presented in this thesis, for a number of reasons. For example, by expanding our hypothetical donor group to match those who speak languages within the Continental Celtic branch of Indo-European, we are better able to avoid the historical and ethnographic hurdles that arise when considering the issue purely from literary or

²³ Eska 2008, 165.

²⁴ Eska 2008, 165.

²⁵ Zimmer 2012, 163.

archaeological perspectives. Furthermore, since this study is dependent on the connection between cultural and linguistic borrowing, expanding the search parameters to include all Celtic languages allows us to cast a slightly wider net in the hopes of finding any cultural practices which may have originated with the Celts, only to be preserved by Latin-speaking Romans.

With all this in mind, it is vital to define some important terminology before moving on. In keeping with the general tendencies of the field, the term ‘Celt’ shall refer to a member of the specific cultural group discussed above and, more specifically, a native speaker (as far as that can be determined) of a language within the Continental Celtic branch of Indo-European. On the other hand, the term “Gaul” will not only continue to refer to the political entity described in the historical narrative, but will also be considered the primary proponent of cultural transmission between the Celts and the Romans. Putting any other connotations aside, these terms will be defined as such for the duration of this thesis.

Now that we have established a more fitting identity for the Gauls, let us briefly consider their long-standing and often complicated relationship with the people of Rome. In order to do so, we must first look back to the sixth century BC when the Celtic people of Europe had their first recorded encounter with the Mediterranean world.²⁶ This early contact, if Herodotus is to be believed, occurred between the Celtic King Arganthonios and the Phocaeans who first sailed from Ionia to the Iberian Peninsula (Hdt.1.163) and who later founded the city of Massilia on the Mediterranean coast.²⁷ While contact with Rome would not occur for another two centuries, this and other such encounters with the Greeks, Phoenicians, and Etruscans would certainly set the stage. In fact, far prior to any conflict with the Romans, emerging La Tène Celts who, according to Peter Ellis, had crossed into the Po Valley well before the fifth century,²⁸ found themselves at odds with the Etruscans as the two groups struggled for control of the region. With successful engagements reported at the Ticinus River (Liv.5.34) and the city of Melpum (later known as Mediolanum) (Plin.HN.3.17), victory ultimately went to the newcomers and, as Ellis

²⁶ Ellis 1998, 205.

²⁷ Rankin 1996, 34.

²⁸ Ellis 1998, 205.

explains, “by the beginning of the fourth century BC most of the Etruscan territories north of the Appennines were in Celtic hands.”²⁹ As this expansion continued, Celtic tribes began moving deeper and deeper into Italy. Soon enough, this conflict was no longer limited to the Celts and Etruscans, but threatened to engulf Rome as well.

First contact between Celts and Romans occurred in 390 BC³⁰ when, as mentioned, the Celtic Senones came upon the Etruscan town of Clusium. The historian Livy describes what it must have been like for both the people of Clusium and of Rome to witness the approaching hoard.

When the people of Clusium saw the vast hoard, the strange appearances of the men, and their kind of weapons, when they often heard that the legions of Etruria had been routed by these on both the near and far sides of the Po River, they became terrified by this new war (5.35.4).

According to Livy, Rome was brought into the conflict when the people of Clusium petitioned the Senate for aid. The Romans, wishing to avoid an armed confrontation with the interlopers, (Liv.5.36) opted to send three ambassadors to mediate the conflict. Unfortunately, when fighting broke out, the Roman envoys not only participated in the combat, but even went as far as to kill the Gallic chieftain (Liv.5.37). What happened next is very colourfully described by Livy and its lasting effect on the people of Rome cannot be understated.

The Gauls recognized him and word was passed through the entire line that it was the Roman envoy. Thereafter the Gauls’ rage toward Clusium was abandoned; they sounded the retreat, and began threatening Rome. (5.36.7-8)

The Senones, under the command of a man named Brennus, met and defeated a Roman army near the Allia River before promptly marching on the city itself. The depleted Roman forces were insufficient to defend the city and the order was given for all able-bodied men to retreat with the women and children to the Citadel on the Capitoline Hill. (Liv.5.39) Here, they waited for the attack and, when it came, they

²⁹ Ellis 1998, 205.

³⁰ Chiaba 2012, 681.

waited for an additional seven months for the Celts to withdraw and, by some accounts, to take with them a hefty ransom.³¹

With that introduction, the Celts had carved out a special place for themselves in the Roman worldview and, according to Ellis, the interactions between these two civilizations had a lasting impression on the Roman psyche.

The Roman fear of Celtic invasion...remained intense for many years and rumours of Celtic attacks often caused armies to be formed and sent out. The real fear was replaced by a neurotic fear which was doubtless the basis of the Romans' subsequent racial antipathy to the Celts.³²

This state of enmity which existed between the Celts and Romans continued for over a century, as the two sides traded victory and defeat a number of times over.³³ The culminating event for this period took place in 285 BC, when an army of Celts laid siege to the city of Arretium and defeated the Roman force which had been sent to repel the invaders – among the dead, a Roman consul (Poly.2.19). The Roman response was decisive: a pitched battle against the Senones, one which resulted in heavy losses for the Celtic tribe. Polybius tells us that the Romans drove the rest away and founded their first colony in Gallic territory: “a city called Sena after the former Gallic inhabitants of the region” (2.19).³⁴ This incident marked a significant change in the dynamic which existed between Gaul and Rome. Moving forward, Roman foreign policy would become one of expansion as the city grew into a great power in the Mediterranean world.

Perhaps in reaction to such an expansionist attitude, we find, throughout the third century BC, a continual willingness on the part of Celtic tribes to support Rome's enemies. In 300 BC, the Celts and Etruscans created a somewhat successful³⁵ alliance in the face of Roman expansion and, in 295 BC, a similar alliance between the Celts and the Samnites defeated the Romans at Camerium, only to suffer

³¹ Ellis 1998, 206; Chiaba 2012, 109.

³² Ellis 1998, 207; See also: Chiabà 2012, 681; Boatwright 2004, 59; and Rankin 1996, 34.

³³ Our sources record incidents in 377 BC (Plut.*Vit.Cam.*41), 361 BC (Liv.7.23), and 349 BC (Poly.2.18).

³⁴ Translation by Robin Waterfield (2010, 92).

³⁵ Polybius (2.19) describes a very successful raid on Roman territory only to end in a squabble over spoils which nearly destroyed the entire force.

defeat themselves when the Romans countered at Sentium (Poly.2.18-19). According to Plutarch (*Vit.Pyrrh.*26), the retinue of Pyrrhus of Epirus included a number of Gallic warriors and, less than two decades later, the Carthaginians secured the services of a large host of European mercenaries, one which included “many Ligurians and Celts” (Poly.1.17). This practice continued into the Second Punic War, where we find the Celts playing a large role in Hannibal’s victories at Trebia (Poly.3.72; Liv.21.54-55), Trasimene (Poly.3.83), and Cannae (Liv.22.47).

Despite the many difficulties faced by the Romans in the third century BC, they did not abandon their campaigns of expansion into the Celtic lands north of Italy. In 224 BC – in response to a combined invasion of Boii and Insubres which had occurred the previous year – the Romans began making annual excursions into the Po valley (Poly.2.32) and, as Ellis explains, such efforts only increased following Rome’s victory in the Second Punic War.

With the destruction of the Carthaginian empire, nothing stood in Rome’s way to distract them from concentrating all their energies on conquering the Celts of the Po valley...The end finally came in 191 BC and Cisalpine Gaul, the Po valley, became the first Celtic homeland to be conquered by Rome.³⁶

The addition of this new territory gave Rome control over most of the Italian peninsula and afforded them the opportunity to convert much of the devastated countryside of northern Italy into workable farmland.³⁷ In 190 BC, Rome refounded a number of colonies which had been lost in the wake of Hannibal’s invasion and, as a result of the Italic War – a conflict which took place between 91BC and 87 BC – Cisalpine Gaul became a fully enfranchised province whose settlers had been granted either Latin status, or full Roman citizenship.³⁸

While the second century acquisition of Cisalpine Gaul certainly served to create a practical buffer between the Romans and the Celts who still resided north of the Alps, it by no means meant a cessation of hostilities between the two groups. Despite Caesar’s assertion (*BGall.*1.45) that Rome had

³⁶ Ellis 1998, 214.

³⁷ Ellis 1998, 214.

³⁸ OCD *s.v.* Gaul (Cisalpine); Boatwright 2000, 183.

opted against formally establishing a province in Transalpine Gaul following the successful campaign of Quintus Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus against the Arverni and the Ruteni in 121 BC, Rome's attitude toward the area certainly seemed to have been one of colonization as Narbo, modern day Narbonne and the would-be capital of the province, was founded shortly after.³⁹ That said, according to Greg Woolf, in his 1998 book, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*, this was a settlement plan which proceeded slowly for some time, and would not begin again in earnest until 59 BC, when the pacification of Gaul proper had truly begun.⁴⁰

It had been roughly half a century since the foundation of Narbo when Julius Caesar was elected for his first consulship. When his time in office came to an end, the politician used every ounce of his influence to secure the governorship of the Gallic provinces for a nine year term; to govern two provinces at once was uncommon, doing so for such a timeframe was unprecedented (Suet.1.22-24). Personally funding a number of legions in addition to those entrusted to him by the Senate (Suet.1.24), Caesar, over the course of his term, forcibly divided the Gauls into allies and enemies; the former were rewarded, the latter persecuted. By doing so, he not only pacified the province, but also created for himself a considerable base of power and prestige, both of which would serve him well. Crossing the Rubicon River in 49 BC, Caesar declared war on the Senate, marched on the city of Rome, and set in motion the events which would see the fall of the Roman Republic.

The cost of Caesar's ambition had been great and his effect on the landscape of Roman history unimaginable. While he had worked to reshape Rome in his own image, Gaul had continued to shape itself in Rome's – a transformation centuries in the making – and, in 42 BC, two years following Caesar's assassination, the entire cisalpine province was integrated into Italy.⁴¹ Moving forward, contact between Gaul and Rome became largely a matter of internal affairs. Roman governance of the province was certainly not incident free, but those which stand out – the revolt of Sacrovir and Florus in AD 22; the

³⁹ Woolf 1998, 38.

⁴⁰ Woolf 1998, 38.

⁴¹ Ellis 1998, 205.

revolt of Julius Vindex in AD 67; the Gallo-German revolt in AD 69; and the revolt of Postumus in AD 260 – were exactly that: revolts. Gaul had become integrated into Roman society, and successfully so. Rome’s relationship with Gaul had gone from chaotic to productive in a matter of centuries and would remain as such until the fifth century AD, when Roman Gaul would be devastated by repeated Visigoth invasions – the crumbling Roman Empire unable to offer any assistance in its defense.

Over the course of this rather tumultuous relationship, as the people of Gaul slowly accepted Roman rule, so too did they begin to accept – and adopt – Roman culture. This was a slow process, but in time, society in Gaul became, as Pliny the Elder once observed, “*Italia verius quam provincia*” [‘more truly Italy than a province’] (*HN.3.4*). In order to examine this phenomenon, we must look to some aspect of Gallic material culture which was not only effected by the spread of Roman customs, but was also well enough attested in the archaeological record prior to Roman involvement as to make the shift itself visible. The best possible means to accomplish this is to consider the progression of coinage in Gaul as it transitioned from Celtic to Roman. Since the entire nature of this coinage can be seen as a reflection of Gaul’s contact with the Mediterranean world, this is an ideal medium to display the shift in cultural traits.

The entire history of Celtic coinage, which is thoroughly discussed in Daphne Nash’s 1987 book, *Coinage in the Celtic World*, spans from “the late fourth century BC [to] the mid first century AD,”⁴² and can be divided, for our purposes, into two distinct time periods: one before and one after the introduction of dedicated Roman influence in Gaul. At its earliest instance, coinage in Gaul was an important commodity, used to purchase those heavily sought after Mediterranean luxuries such as wine,⁴³ and acquired through the very prominent Celtic tradition of mercenary service in a Mediterranean war, examples of which have been mentioned above. The use of mercenary aid was a must for most Mediterranean powers and, as Nash explains, “European barbarian soldiers were both plentiful and eager

⁴² Nash 1987, 9.

⁴³ Macmullen 2000, 86; Livy also suggests that it was wine which first attracted the Gauls to cross the Alps (5.33).

to serve, and the Celts were the single most important European ethnic group to meet this Mediterranean need.”⁴⁴

This tradition of mercenary service also had a distinct impact on the development of Celtic coinage, most notably by supplying the vast number of Mediterranean models which the people of Gaul would later follow. In Nash’s opinion, this tradition may have produced enough income to affect the archaeological record in a permanent way, citing as evidence the large amounts of Greek and Punic coins which have been found in France and Southern Britain.⁴⁵ As Rome’s expansion, however, began to limit the opportunities for such income – Rome was, after all, uniquely skilled at enlisting foreign aid at no monetary charge to themselves⁴⁶ – the people of Gaul began to mint their own coinage, turning for inspiration to those Mediterranean coins with which they were already familiar. According to Nash, since some of the earliest employers of Celtic mercenaries were the Macedonian armies of Philip II and Alexander the Great,⁴⁷ the coins of these two rulers had gained reputations as “good money”⁴⁸ and were among the earliest to serve as models for replication (compare figures 2 and 3 below).⁴⁹ While these “barbarous issues”⁵⁰ did not follow the same weight standards as the original Mediterranean prototypes,⁵¹ the similarity between the two designs is unmistakable.



B2



Figure 2: Barbarous Issue of Macedonian tetradrachm (British Museum)

Image by: Martin Jessop Price. *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus: A British Museum Catalogue*. Zurich / London: The Swiss Numismatic Society in association with the British Museum Press. 1991. vol. 2, plate CLI, B2.



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Figure 3: AR Philip II tetradrachm (Ashmolean Museum)

Image by: Daphne Nash. *Coinage in the Celtic World*, London: B. A. Seaby. 1987, plate 4, no. 17.

⁴⁴ Nash 1987, 13-14.

⁴⁵ Nash 1987, 15.

⁴⁶ Nash 1987, 19.

⁴⁷ Nash 1987, 17.

⁴⁸ Price 1991, vol. 1, 506; See also: Nash 1987, 17 who suggests that this reputation for reliability may be the cause for continued minting of coinage following the deaths of Philip and Alexander.

⁴⁹ Nash 1987, 17.

⁵⁰ Price 1991, 506.

⁵¹ Price 1991, 506.

As with most other aspects of native culture in Gaul, Celtic coinage was eventually replaced by its Roman counterpart, and while it seems as though most native coin production in the province had ceased altogether by the death of Augustus,⁵² the period which immediately followed the campaign of Julius Caesar (58-51 BC) was very much one of transition. Official Roman coinage seems to have been readily available in the province for matters of state – the payment of soldiers for example⁵³ – but the bulk of these coins were, in Nash’s opinion, likely struck in Rome and subsequently shipped to Gaul.⁵⁴ The more telling numismatic finds, however, are those coins which were minted in the province itself – referred to by Nash as provincial and native coinage respectively – since it is these which are truly indicative of the expected shift toward Roman cultural ideals.

Primarily, the difference between provincial and native coinage in Gaul seems to have been one of official Roman approval: the former had it, the latter did not. As Roman control in the area became more cemented, provincial issues began to take the place of the official Roman coinage mentioned above⁵⁵ and, as such, these coins began to appear unsurprisingly Roman. Apart from simply following Roman designs, however, these provincial issues, like many coins officially minted in other provinces, followed the weight standard of the Roman quinarius.⁵⁶ While this is in itself telling, the most convincing evidence to suggest a cultural shift comes from the authorities behind the minting of such coins. According to Nash, these individuals included Epasnactus of the Arverni, whom Caesar himself referred to as “*amicissimus populi Romani*” [‘a great friend of the Roman people’] (*BGall.8.44*), and Julius Duratius of the Pictones who not only received similar praise (*BGall.8.26*), but also seems to have been awarded citizenship, judging, as Nash does, by his Roman *nomen*.⁵⁷

⁵² MacMullen 2000, 87.

⁵³ Nash 1987, 23-25.

⁵⁴ Nash 1987, 23.

⁵⁵ Nash 1987, 34-35.

⁵⁶ Nash 1987, 34.

⁵⁷ Nash 1987, 34.

Native coinage, on the other hand, minted primarily for local transactions and without official Roman approval,⁵⁸ is perhaps the most indicative of Gaul's transition toward a more Romanized culture. Similar to the barbarous Macedonian issues discussed above, these coins first came into being as a response to the discontinuation of earlier bronze coinage in the province.⁵⁹ Despite not conforming to the weight standards of Roman bronze, native coinage (see figure 4 below) did begin to take a shift toward Roman design conventions, as explained below by Ramsay MacMullen, in his 2000 book *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*.

So [the coins] show Minerva, for example, or a wolf surmounted by ROMA, or proclaim themselves EX S. C. without, of course, the mint workers knowing what those authoritative initials actually stood for.⁶⁰

Whether this change was due to the large amount of Italian coins being transported to Gaul, or the local mints which had already begun to strike Roman coins at Roman standards, the result was the same. The people of Gaul, whether they were the aristocrats, with their Roman names, reaping the benefits of allying with Caesar or the locals following the example set by their leaders, they had begun to emulate the togate culture of Rome and, with that emulation came the acceptance and adoption of Roman cultural practices.



Figure 4: Barbarous Issue of Roman Bronze Coin.

Image by: Daphne Nash. *Coinage in the Celtic World*. London: B.A. Seaby Ltd. 1987. Plate 6, 46.

This process, by which the people of Gaul began to exhibit the cultural traits of their conquerors, has been of interest to many classicists for quite some time. According to Ton Derks – whose 1998 study

⁵⁸ Nash 1987, 36.

⁵⁹ Nash 1987, 36.

⁶⁰ MacMullen 2000, 87.

on the changing religious practices in Gaul included an excellent discussion on the history of Romanization as a studied concept – prior to the turn of the century, the common notion of Romanization was not one of cultural exchange, but rather that Rome and her neighbours inhabited two distinctly separate worlds; the difference between Roman and native was the difference between civilization and barbarian, luxury and squalor.⁶¹ This perception of static existence was challenged by Francis Haverfield who was among the first to describe Rome’s relationship with its own periphery as one of cultural transfer.

As the importance of the city of Rome declined, as the world became Romeless, a large part of the world grew to be Roman. It has been said that Greece taught men to be human and Rome made mankind civilized. That was the work of the Empire; the form it took was Romanization.⁶²

As a concept, Romanization was largely a product of the social climate of the age,⁶³ and while Haverfield’s apparent affinity, in 1912, for “the civilizing ethos of empire”⁶⁴ seems evidence enough to support this, it is important to note that this field has been affected in equal measure by the other episodes of colonialism, imperialism and decolonization which have occurred in the intervening century.⁶⁵

In practice, the study of Romanization has gone hand in hand with the study of archaeology in an attempt to explain instances of material culture in the provinces such as those discussed above. As Derks explains, this new perception provided a promising explanation for the presence of such findings, one which did not rely on the existence of “a massive Roman presence,” the size of which would not have been feasible in some areas.⁶⁶ That is not to say that Rome itself played no part in the process, but the debate has largely come down to a question of extent. While Haverfield does suggest that Rome may have encouraged the transition through the settlement of Romanized veterans in frontier areas as well as

⁶¹ Derks 1998, 3.

⁶² Haverfield 1912, 2.

⁶³ Derks 1998, 2.

⁶⁴ Woolf 2003, 48.

⁶⁵ Derks 1998, 2-5.

⁶⁶ Derks 1998, 4.

the granting of certain benefits to Romanized provincials,⁶⁷ the process likely progressed without a large amount of Roman coercion. This position is supported by MacMullen, who explains Romanization in terms of pull as opposed to push,⁶⁸ and even Haverfield admits that one of the most appealing aspects of Roman culture in provinces such as Gaul may well have been its tolerance to most native ways of life.⁶⁹

We have already seen an example of Rome's post-conquest tolerance in the production of native Gallic coinage, which was neither sanctioned nor discouraged,⁷⁰ and it is interesting to note that this policy seems to have applied equally to the use of native language in the provinces. An intriguing explanation for this apparent trend is suggested by Robert Bonner in his 1930 paper entitled *The Conflict of Languages in the Roman World*.

There is no evidence that Rome made any systematic effort to stamp out, or discourage the use of, the languages and dialects of the conquered peoples...Rome wisely refrained from enhancing the importance of the languages in the eyes of the people who spoke them, by trying to suppress them.⁷¹

In the end, this policy had the same effect linguistically as it did culturally. Aided by the largely non-prejudicial environment maintained by Roman governance in Gaul, the speakers of Continental Celtic languages, whether by functional necessity or the search for prestige – and no less voluntarily in either case – slowly became Latinized. This eventually rendered their native tongues obsolete, setting them on a course toward becoming a province largely indistinguishable from Rome itself.

While it seems undeniable that so much Roman culture flowed to the people of Gaul, it is the purpose of this study to determine whether any Gallic culture may have trickled in the other direction. In order to examine these possible instances of cultural transmission properly, however, it is important that we first consider the concept of cultural borrowing more generally and in an attempt to determine whether any existing model of cultural transmission is suited to the kind of evidence being examined. While

⁶⁷ Haverfield 1912, 3.

⁶⁸ MacMullen 2000, 98.

⁶⁹ Haverfield 1912, 4.

⁷⁰ MacMullen 2000, 87.

⁷¹ Bonner 1930, 580.

Romanization, as it is presented above, follows an anthropological model known as acculturation, one which attempts to explain those cultural transmissions which occur between a dominant society and a submissive one,⁷² our study will require something different.

The anthropological model far more in tune with the line of inquiry presented in this thesis is known as cultural diffusion. This model, of course, still interests itself with the spread of culture, but diffusion does so on a much smaller scale, preferring to focus on individual cultural traits rather than culture as a whole.⁷³

When we follow the fortunes of a particular cultural trait or complex or institution through its wanderings from culture to culture, we call it a study of diffusion. When we consider two cultures bombarding each other with hundreds or thousands of diffusing traits, and appraise the results of such interaction, we more commonly call it acculturation.⁷⁴

Unlike with acculturation, which considers societal change as a whole, the small scale nature of diffusion has limited its usefulness to anthropology, but makes the model ideal for this particular study. Since the past is static and neither Gaul nor Rome remains as a living, breathing society, we are left to examine only a snapshot of their individual cultures, at any particular instance in time. This model will allow us the opportunity to track more easily those individual cultural traits which may have been transmitted – or diffused – throughout the acculturation process of Romanization.

In order to track any potential instances of cultural diffusion between Gaul and Rome, we will be looking to yet another common occurrence which often takes place in situations where two languages have come into contact: lexical borrowing. This surprisingly complex process – defined in broad terms as “the adoption of individual words or even large sets of vocabulary items from another language or dialect.”⁷⁵ – is expertly taken up by Uriel Weinreich in his 1979 book, *Languages in Contact*. Like other “interference phenomena,” as Weinreich explains, lexical borrowing begins in the speech patterns of

⁷² Winthrop 1991, 3.

⁷³ Winthrop 1991, 64.

⁷⁴ Kroeber 1948, 425.

⁷⁵ Daulton (2012, 3308), a contributor to the 2012 edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Applied Linguistics*, provides an equally useful, if slightly less complicated discussion on the subject.

bilinguals – for our purposes, those who may have settled the earliest Roman colonies of the Po Valley for example, and whose “familiarity with more than one language” allows for “instances of deviation from the norms of either.”⁷⁶ While it is a term’s integration into the phonological and grammatical systems of a recipient language which have garnered the most attention from linguists,⁷⁷ a loanword’s “lexical integration”, as Weinreich calls it, is equally important and can have a number of effects on either the word itself or the existing vocabulary.⁷⁸

While there are certainly a number of possible causes for words and phrases to be transferred between languages – many of which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter – only one can be seen as indicative of cultural diffusion. As Weinreich explains:

The need to designate new things, persons, places, and concepts is, obviously, a universal cause of lexical innovation. By determining which innovations of this type are loanwords, the linguist may help to show what one language community has learned from another.⁷⁹

This position is also taken up by Daulton, who explains that “most borrowed words refer to technology and names for new artifacts.”⁸⁰ Such artifacts may, of course, be invented by a society, but they may also emerge through contact with another culture, through cultural diffusion. These instances create lexical gaps within a language, voids which are often addressed by lexical borrowing.⁸¹ The phenomena of cultural diffusion and lexical borrowing go, therefore, hand in hand, the former necessitating the latter. Corresponding instances of the two are incredibly common and one need only look as far as the nearest restaurant – their menus likely offering French Canadian *poutine* or Italian *pizza* – for this to ring true. Similar trends are also observable in exchanges which occurred between the Greeks and Romans. The Latin terms *scaena* and *tragoedia*, for example, are unmistakably borrowed, both conceptually as well as lexically, from their Greek counterparts, σκηνή and τραγωδία respectively.

⁷⁶ Weinreich 1979, 1.

⁷⁷ Weinreich 1979, 53.

⁷⁸ Weinreich 1979, 54, 55.

⁷⁹ Weinreich 1979, 56.

⁸⁰ Daulton 2013, 3308.

⁸¹ Daulton 2013, 3309.

It is to these types of correspondences which we must turn in order to answer the questions posed by this study. In order to trace the diffused remnants of Gallic culture, Rome's Gallicization as it were, we must look to Latin for evidence of corresponding cultural and lexical transmissions. Is it at all possible that some "cultural trait or complex or institution,"⁸² may have originated in the Celtic culture of Gaul and been diffused to Rome where it created a lexical gap in the Latin language, necessitated a lexical borrowing, and was thus preserved down to present day? If any evidence exists for Gallo-Roman cultural diffusion, it is in the Latin language where the search must begin.

⁸² See note 74, above.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Before moving on to our discussion of Celtic loanwords in Latin, it is important first to mention a number of previous studies – namely J.P. Wild’s, *Borrowed Names for Borrowed Things?*, and Karl Schmidt’s, *Keltisches Wortgut im Lateinischen* – which have dealt with similar issues. Wild’s article, published in 1970, begins by pondering an intriguing statement made in Pliny the Elder’s *Naturalis Historia* (8.192).

*quippe [lanae] aenis polientium extracta in tomenti usum veniunt,
Galliarum, ut arbitror, invento; certe Gallicis hodie nominibus
discernitur.*

Oddments of wool from the fullers’ coppers are used for stuffing bolsters – an invention of the Gauls, I think; at any rate, the process is distinguished by Gallic terms today.⁸³

This statement, made rather innocuously by Pliny in a general discussion of fleece and its various origins, suggests an idea central to both Wild’s study and my own, namely, that “ a loan-word denoting a concrete object may be taken to indicate that the object itself has been borrowed, probably from the same source as the loan-word.”⁸⁴

In order to test the merit of such a claim, Wild turns to Roman Britain where, as he puts it, “contact between the Latin and British languages can be viewed against the background of the Roman and native material cultures.”⁸⁵ Considering the wealth of information alluded to by Wild regarding the linguistic and archaeological situations in the province,⁸⁶ combined with its comparative geographical and historical isolation, Roman Britain is perhaps the best possible example of a closed-system, which makes it an ideal context for such a study.

⁸³ Translation by J.P. Wild (1970, 125).

⁸⁴ Wild 1970, 125.

⁸⁵ Wild 1970, 125.

⁸⁶ Wild 1970, 126.

Contrary to the approach taken by this thesis, one which endeavors to study those words and objects borrowed by the Romans, Wild opts to consider those which were transferred to the Celtic languages and peoples of Iron-Age Britain. Citing the work of Henry Lewis and Kenneth Jackson,⁸⁷ Wild references a total of approximately 600 words of Latin origin in the Welsh, Old Cornish, and Old Irish languages.⁸⁸ In order to narrow this dataset to a more manageable number, Wild focuses his discussion on a number of different categories. The most important of these, and that which I will discuss here, are words pertaining to cultivated plants already believed to have been introduced to Britain by the Romans. In his analysis, Wild finds a number of archaeological and linguistic correspondences including cabbage (*brassica* in Latin and *bresych* in Welsh), the sweet chestnut (*castanea* in Latin and *castan* in Welsh), fennel (*feniculum* in Latin and *fenigl* in Welsh), and rye (*secale* in Latin and *sygal* in Cornish).⁸⁹ Considering these, along with a number of other correspondences – 12 from a total of 15 examined cases, to be exact⁹⁰ – Wild concludes that his initial hypothesis, namely that there exists a connection between the words and objects exchanged between languages and cultures, has validity.

The second, and perhaps more important, article we must consider is the 1967, *Keltisches Wortgut im Lateinischen* by Karl Schmidt. Unlike Wild's article above, Schmidt's study of loanwords focuses on the transfer of vocabulary from Celtic to Latin, making it a necessary precursor to the line of inquiry presented in this thesis. Throughout the paper, Schmidt discusses, among other things, the following three issues related to this particular contact situation, namely: 1) possible criteria for determining a Celtic loanword in Latin; 2) differentiating loanwords according to their degrees of integration, and; 3) the "primary areas of meaning for Celtic loanwords in Latin."⁹¹ While the final item on this list will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter, it is important that we take a moment to consider Schmidt's position on the first two items before moving forward.

⁸⁷ Wild is here citing "Jackson, K.H. 1953. *Language and History in Early Britain.*" and "Lewis, H. 1943. *Yr Elfen Ladin yn yr Iaith Gymraeg*" (1970, 126 and 129).

⁸⁸ Wild 1970, 126.

⁸⁹ Wild 1970, 128.

⁹⁰ Wild 1970, 129.

⁹¹ Schmidt 1967, 156.

For any study that endeavors to analyze the lexical items exchanged between two languages, let alone dead languages such as Latin, differentiating loanwords from native vocabulary items is a vital first step. In this particular case, Schmidt outlines a number of criteria for determining Celtic loans in Latin and these criteria, while simple, are central to Schmidt's discussion and have been employed in both my own study as well as that of Wild discussed above. The first of these criteria states that a Latin term can be seen as Celtic or Gallic when Latin authors mark it as such.⁹² As an example of such an occurrence, Schmidt points to the Latin *ambactus* ['servant'] which, he notes, is qualified by Paulus Diaconus with the following statement: "*ambactus apud Ennium lingua Gallica servus appellatur*" ['according to Ennius, a servant is called *ambactus* in the Gallic tongue'] (Paul.Fest.4).⁹³

The second possible identification criterion is whether or not a word's etymology suggests an origin foreign to Latin. Consider, for example, the Latin *gladius* ['sword'] which, according to Schmidt, has cognates in the Welsh *cleddyf*, Breton *klézé*, and Irish *claideb*, all of which likely stem from the Proto-Celtic **kladze*.⁹⁴ While outright statements from Latin authors are certainly convenient, etymological evidence is far more reliable (as J.P. Wild points out, "[these authors] may of course be wrong"⁹⁵) and, with a large number of Celtic languages surviving in the insular branch of the family tree, such evidence can, at times, be abundant.

In addition to having different identifiers as terms of Celtic origin, *ambactus* and *gladius* also seem to represent two separate categories of Celtic loanwords as pertaining to their degrees of integration within the Latin language. According to Schmidt, *ambactus*-type nouns – those whose Celtic origins are identified by Latin authors – are very often the words which fail to integrate into Latin and, due to their distinct foreign natures, are so marked.⁹⁶ *Gladius*-type nouns, however, by virtue of their relatively early admittance to the language, are successfully integrated and, if any Latin authors were ever conscious of

⁹² Schmidt 1967, 157.

⁹³ Schmidt 1967, 157.

⁹⁴ Schmidt 1967, 159.

⁹⁵ Wild 1970, 126.

⁹⁶ Schmidt 1967, 163.

their foreign origins, no such claims survive.⁹⁷ The integration of loanwords is of vital importance to any discussion of lexical borrowing, including the one presented in this thesis. As such, the matter will be revisited in a subsequent chapter where it will be determined whether Schmidt's conclusions can be applied to the data collected throughout this study.

In addition to the studies by J.P. Wild and Karl Schmidt, there are a number of other works, on a variety of topics, which have proved vital to the research presented in this thesis. While this is by no means a comprehensive summary of the sources cited here, I have attempted to include those which have proven to be the most significant.

The list of twenty-one Latin words of supposed Celtic origin, which is the primary vein of research in this study, was based originally on a similar list published in Pierre-Yves Lambert's 2003, *La Langue Gauloise: Description linguistique, commentaire d'inscriptions choisies*.⁹⁸ This list was doctored to better fit the purposes of this thesis with alterations made based on further research and at the suggestions of my thesis supervisor and other faculty members of Classics Department at Queen's University. Data regarding the frequency of words in the Latin literary record comes, primarily, from *PHI Latin*, a database created by the Packard Humanities Institute which boasts the inclusion of "essentially all Latin literary texts written before AD 200, as well as some texts selected from later antiquity."⁹⁹ Any pertinent references which were not included in the *PHI Latin* database were found through the secondary research conducted on each individual term and were likely included in one or more of the various dictionary entries consulted during the research process. Such dictionaries included the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (OLD) and that of Charlton Lewis and Charles Short, as well as etymological dictionaries in the 1938, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* by Alois Walde and Johann Baptist Hofmann and the 1951, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* by Alfred Ernout and Antoine Meillet.

⁹⁷ Schmidt 1967, 163.

⁹⁸ Lambert 2003, 204-206.

⁹⁹ *PHI Latin*, <http://latin.packhum.org/about>.

For linguistic matters, particularly pertaining to lexical borrowing, the Latin language, and the Continental Celtic language family, I have turned to a number of sources. While Frank E. Daulton's entry on lexical borrowing in the 2012 edition of *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics* provides an excellent, if brief, overview of the topic, it is Uriel Weinreich's work on languages in contact, a book originally published in 1953 with that exact title, which is the defining source. Here, Weinreich deals with the various linguistic aspects of contact situations and his discussion of "lexical interference"¹⁰⁰ and, more specifically, its effects on a language's vocabulary, are cited in both the studies of Wild and Schmidt mentioned above. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the process of lexical interference begins with bilingual speakers¹⁰¹ or, for our purposes, those living along the periphery of Roman control who spoke Latin as well as a neighbouring language. For further detail on this Roman perspective we turn to Oxford's James Adams and his 2003 publication, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*. Throughout this work, Adams pairs a Latin-specific discussion of the linguistic effects of bilingualism with a variety of case studies focussing on numerous examples of the phenomenon throughout the empire. Finally, I must mention Xavier Delamarre's 2003 work, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise: Une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental* which, in addition to the works by the above mentioned Pierre-Yves Lambert, Walde-Hofmann and Ernout-Meillet, provides vital information on the Celtic origins of the Latin words examined by this study.

In addition to sources which are specifically linguistic in nature, this study has required a good deal of research on Celtic culture including history and language as well as information on material aspects such as diet, dress, and wheeled transport. For more general information which covers a number of the topics listed above, the 2012 encyclopaedia, *The Celts: History, Life and Culture*, edited by John T. Koch, has been invaluable. With more than 250 different contributors¹⁰², this impressive work includes write-ups on the Hallstatt and La Tène cultures, the Celtic languages, Proto-Celtic industries, and many

¹⁰⁰ Weinreich 1979, 47.

¹⁰¹ Weinreich 1979, 1.

¹⁰² Koch 2012, 821-824.

more. Among these contributors is Oxford University's Barry Cunliffe who was described in the Oxford Times as "one of Europe's most highly respected archaeologists,"¹⁰³ and is the author of yet another valuable source, *The Ancient Celts*, originally published in 1997. This work deals, in Cunliffe's own words, with "the study of the Celts and of our changing visions of them,"¹⁰⁴ and has provided input on Celtic history and culture, as well as their relationships with Greece and Rome. Finally, I must make mention of Peter Ellis' 1998, *The Ancient World of the Celts* which, similar to Cunliffe's work mentioned above, looks at various aspects of Celtic culture and society, including a very detailed summary of Celtic history beginning with their earliest contacts with the Mediterranean world in the sixth century BC¹⁰⁵ and ending, in Ireland, at the dawn of the Christian era.¹⁰⁶

The final group of sources to mention are those pertaining to some specific aspects of Celtic material culture, the importance of which will be discussed in the following chapter. Sources for Celtic diet include two 2006 publications with the title *Food in the Ancient World*, one authored by Joan Alcock and the other by John Wilkins and Shaun Hill. While both sources, as their titles suggest, take a rather widespread approach toward ancient foodstuffs, each contains sizable discussions on both the Celts and Gaul, presenting both archaeological and literary evidence throughout. For Celtic clothing, I have turned to a number of sources including Elizabeth Barber's 1991, *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages*; the 1999, *The Mummies of Ürümchi*, also by Barber; the 2012, *Textiles from Hallstatt: Weaving Culture in Bronze Age and Iron Age Salt Mines* edited by Karina Grömer (et al.); and, the 2007, *Greek and Roman Dress*, by Liza Cleland, Glenys Davies, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones. Finally, while Adams, Cunliffe, and Ellis have all weighed in on the subject of Celtic wheeled vehicles, it is Stuart Piggott's 1983 work, *The Earliest Wheeled Transport: From the Atlantic Coast to the Caspian Sea*, which is the definitive source. Throughout his book, Piggott discusses, in great detail, the evolution

¹⁰³ Oliver, Gill. "Profile: Barry Cunliffe: Oxford University archaeologist is still getting his hands dirty." The Oxford Times. August 16, 2003. <http://www.oxfordtimes.co.uk/> (accessed April 5, 2017).

¹⁰⁴ Cunliffe 1997, vii.

¹⁰⁵ Ellis 1998, 205.

¹⁰⁶ Ellis 1998, 225.

of wheeled transport throughout Europe and astutely covers the archaeological and linguistic issues which inevitably arise in such a discussion.

Finally, it should be mentioned that, unless otherwise cited, all dates used throughout this thesis have been taken from the online edition of the Oxford Classical Dictionary (OCD).¹⁰⁷ In addition, all translations, be they Latin, Greek, French, or German, are my own, unless otherwise noted.

¹⁰⁷ Oxford University Press. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third Edition; Electronic Edition. Edited by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Chapter 3

Food and Drink

3.1 Lexical Profiles: An Introduction

Thus far, this thesis has discussed the nature of Gaul – its Celtic origins, interactions with Rome, and the distinct cultural shift which took place among its people. I have also suggested that Gaul’s Romanization may not have been the only outcome of this long-standing relationship and, however subtly, material culture in Rome may have been affected as well. In instances where incoming cultural items were unlike or better than anything previously known to the Romans, any prevalent cultural diffusion likely created lexical gaps in the Latin language, thus necessitating lexical borrowing. If this is the case, the evidence for Gallo-Roman cultural diffusion would lie in the Latin language itself, in those Latin words which originated in the Celtic languages of Europe. It is to these loanwords which we must now turn, in order to establish what, precisely, the Romans saw fit to borrow.

In 1920, French Celticist Georges Dottin provided an extensive list of the numerous “ideas and objects” from which, he suggested, all Celtic loanwords in the Latin language were comprised.¹⁰⁸ In Karl Schmidt’s *Keltisches Wortgut im Lateinischen*, these are referred to as “areas of meaning”¹⁰⁹ and shall, in this thesis, be designated as semantic categories. While Dottin’s list included more than fifteen different categories, this thesis will focus on Latin terms from only three – food and drink, clothing, and wheeled vehicles – each of which, given their material nature, represents a potential candidate for diffusion. Rather than attempting to verify the Celtic etymologies of these loanwords, something which the various scholars and etymologists cited by this thesis have already done, the following chapters will instead focus on presenting an overall picture of the numerous positions and arguments associated to each of the twenty-one terms. Each ‘Lexical Profiles’ section will begin with a brief summary of the historical and

¹⁰⁸ Dottin 1920, 29-30.

¹⁰⁹ Schmidt 1967, 156.

archaeological contexts for the category in question before moving into a catalogue of each Latin term, their presence in the literary record, and anywhere else they may have appeared.

3.2 Historical Context: Food and Drink

As with many other aspects of Celtic culture, much of what we know about their diet comes from observations made by a number of Greek and Roman ethnographers and historians. As discussed previously, the Greco-Roman approach to ethnography at the time was not, necessarily, to gather accurate and unbiased information about a people, but to analyse foreign culture from a Mediterranean perspective and produce descriptions of all the customs and behaviours which, according to Wendy Davies and Antone Minard, might have seemed “different from ordinary Greek or Roman practice.”¹¹⁰ As a result, such descriptions, in addition to suffering from a lack of accuracy in some areas, often portrayed the Celts in an unflattering and barbaric light.¹¹¹

The portrayals mentioned above are particularly prevalent in a discussion of Celtic diet, perhaps more so than with any of the other semantic categories which will be covered in this thesis. Chief among such negative representations was the apparent Celtic tendency to consume, on a regular basis, milk, butter,¹¹² and copious amounts of meat. Milk is listed by the geographer Strabo (4.6.2) as a necessity of life for the inhabitants of the Ligurian Alps,¹¹³ and Pliny informs us that butter was considered to be “*barbararum gentium lautissimus cibus*” [‘the most elegant food among barbarous races’] (28.35), its popularity perhaps explained by a supposed absence of olive oil which, according to Poseidonius, the Celts found to be unpleasant (Athen.4.152b). Their fondness for meat, on the other hand, was perhaps the most common Celtic stereotype and one of the most telling descriptions of this tendency comes again from the ethnographer Poseidonius, fragments of which are reported in the *Deipnosophistai* by Athenaeus.

¹¹⁰ Davies and Minard 2012, 356.

¹¹¹ Freeman 2012, 395.

¹¹² Alcock 2006, 178.

¹¹³ Wilkins and Hill 2006, 131; John Wilkins and Shaun Hill argue that, in Strabo’s time, the Ligurian Alps would very possibly have been considered a part of Gaul.

Their food consists of a few loaves, and a good deal of meat brought up floating in water, and roasted on the coals or on spits. And they eat their meat in a cleanly manner enough, but like lions, taking up whole joints in both their hand, and gnawing them (Athen.4.151f-125a).¹¹⁴

Additional statements regarding Celtic preferences for certain varieties of meat are made by both Julius Caesar, in his *Bellum Gallicum*, and by Jerome, in his fourth century AD *Adversus Jovinianum*. While the former claims that the Celts “*leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare fas non putant*” [‘do not believe it proper to partake of hare, hen, and goose’] (*BGall.5.12*), the latter reports that members of one particular British tribe “*humanis vesci carnibus*” [‘feed on human flesh’] (2.7).

In the hope of clearing up some of these ethnographic issues, we can consider the matter from an archaeological perspective and consult, if possible, any physical remains which might be indicative of the regular Celtic diet. While, unsurprisingly, much of the information provided by Greek and Roman authors is, to some degree, misrepresented, it is not, however, entirely incorrect. In fact, archaeological evidence does seem to support a particular fondness for meat among the Celtic elite, as evidenced by the large number of pork joints, very similar to those mentioned by Poseidonius above, which were included as grave goods at both Halstatt (early Iron Age) and La Tène (late Iron Age) sites.¹¹⁵ According to John Wilkins and Shaun Hill, in their 2006 book, *Food in the Ancient World*, the connection to barbarousness in this case may have originated in Rome itself, where pork was generally associated with the lower class.¹¹⁶ Similarly, they suggest, the relative shortage of meat in Italy may be to blame for “the contrasting descriptions of the Celts as great meat-eaters in the northern parts of Europe”¹¹⁷ Additionally, while the above mentioned statement by Caesar can be largely disproved by the osteoarchaeological record at a number of habitation sites,¹¹⁸ there is little to no archaeological evidence to prove (or disprove) Jerome’s statement concerning Celtic cannibalism. That said, however, Davies and Minard remain certain that, if cannibalism among the Celts did exist, it only occurred in extreme circumstances – the

¹¹⁴ Translated by C.D. Yonge (1854, 245).

¹¹⁵ Alcock 2006, 173, 174.

¹¹⁶ Wilkins and Hill 2006, 132.

¹¹⁷ Wilkins and Hill 2006, 132.

¹¹⁸ Alcock 2006, 72.

sieges of the Celtiberian cities of Saguntum and Numantia, for example – where survival would have been the defining factor.¹¹⁹

The final source of information we may consult regarding the Celtic diet is the wide array of archaeological remains preserved in the large salt mine which stands as a primary feature of the Halstatt habitation site. According to Alcock, finds from this site include “food remains [such as] barley, millet, beans, and cultivated forms of apples and cherries,”¹²⁰ all of which point to a far more complex Celtic diet than anything represented by Classical ethnographers.

3.3 Lexical Profiles: Food and Drink

Considering the decidedly negative treatment of Celtic dining practices at the hands of Greek and Roman authors, it should not be surprising to find out that the set of loanwords belonging to this semantic category is considerably smaller than those which will be presented in subsequent chapters. It also remains to be seen what effect these negative attitudes will have had on the integration process. It is only through an examination of the following four terms that these questions will be answered.

3.3.1 *cervesia*, -ae, f.

The first word we will be considering from the semantic category of food and drink is the Latin term *cervesia*. While etymologists Alois Walde and Johann Baptist Hofmann (as well as the editors of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*) define *cervesia* in somewhat general terms as “a kind of beer,”¹²¹ their counterparts, Alfred Ernout and Antoine Meillet, choose instead to take a more specific approach and define the term as “*cervoise*,”¹²² a French derivation of *cervesia* which is itself translated as “barley wine”. The Gaulish counterpart to *cervesia* is generally listed as κοῦρμι,¹²³ a drink which appears in Dioscorides’ *De Materia Medica* and is described as “σκευαζόμενον ἐκ τῆς κριθῆς” [‘prepared from

¹¹⁹ Davies and Minard 2012, 355-356.

¹²⁰ Alcock 2006, 173.

¹²¹ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *cervēs(i)a*; OLD *s.v.* *cervēs(i)a*, -ae, f.

¹²² Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *cervēsia*...-ae, f.

¹²³ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *cervēs(i)a*; Delamarre 2003, 133.

barley’] (2.110). The loanword itself is cognate with the Middle Irish *coirm/cuirm* [‘beer’].¹²⁴ According to both Walde-Hofmann and Xavier Delamarre, the noticeable phonetic alteration which has occurred in this case may have been a result of a linguistic process known as lenition or, in other words, a weakening of the original Gallic [m] causing it to be lost in its later Latin counterpart.¹²⁵

Cervesia is used, by this author’s count, four times in the Latin literary record, first appearing in Pliny the Elder’s *Natural History* in the first century AD. In his account, Pliny compares *cervesia* to the Egyptian *zythum* and describes the beverage as one of many which are made in Gaul and other provinces (22.164). Additionally, a Gallic origin for *cervesia* is also indicated by Maurus Servius Honoratus who adds, in his fourth century AD commentary on Vergil’s *Georgics*, that this fermented beverage appears “*ut vinum, per natura calidum, in provincia frigida non possit creari*” [‘in frigid Provence where wine, by its nature warm, is not able to be produced’] (3.380).

This connection between the Latin *cervesia* and the province of Gaul may also be supported by one particular archaeological find, a ring-shaped ceramic flask (see Figure 5 below) which was discovered in June of 1867, at a site in Paris, France.¹²⁶ Appearing on this flask is an inscription of two lines, the first of which reads as follows: [H]OSPITA REPLE LAG[O]NA[M] CERVES[IA] [‘Hostess, fill this flask with *cervesia*’].¹²⁷



Fig. 1134.

Figure 5: Ceramic Flask with Inscription

Image by: Daremberg, Charles et Edmond Saglio. *Dictionnaire des antiquites grecques et romaines: d'apres les textes et les monuments.* Vol. II. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1887. p. 1088.

¹²⁴ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, s.v. cervēs(i)a; Delamarre 2003, 133.

¹²⁵ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, s.v. cervēs(i)a; Delamarre 2003, 133.

¹²⁶ Read 1868, 225.

¹²⁷ Read 1868, 225; Daremberg C. et E. Saglio 1887, 1088; CIL XIII 10018.7a.

3.3.2 omasum, -i, n.

Both Ernout-Meillet and Walde-Hofmann define the Latin term *omasum* as “beef tripe”,¹²⁸ tripe being a foodstuff which is made from the stomach lining of certain animals, most notably cattle.¹²⁹ In this case, the Gallic classification made by our sources is based on an entry in the *Glossae Latino-Graecae*, a glossary of Latin terms based on a collection of manuscripts formerly referred to as the *Philoxenus Glossary*, and now contained in the second volume of the 1888 *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*. The particular entry – βῶειον • κῶπεον • λιπαρῶν • τητῶν • γαλλῶν • ἢ γλωττη¹³⁰ – defines *omasum* as “a fatty cow morsel in the language of the Gauls.”

Unfortunately, apart from the glossary entry mentioned above, there is no additional evidence to support such a classification. There are no linguistic relations suggested by any of our etymologists nor Lambert or Delmarre and, although *omasum* is used eight times in the Latin literary record and as early as the third century BC, none of the contexts in which it appears betray any distinct origin, Gallic or otherwise.

3.3.3 taxea, -ae, f.

Similar to *omasum* described above, the Latin *taxea*, defined as lard or bacon fat¹³¹, suffers from a lack of linguistic evidence able to support the Gallic classification suggested by our sources.¹³² That being said, however, contextual evidence from the two appearances of *taxea* in Latin literary record is sufficient for such a determination. Despite the fragmentary nature of the term’s earliest surviving appearance, in Lucius Afranius’ second century BC *fabulae togatae*, the line “*Gallum sagatum, pingui pastum taxea*” [“the cloaked Gaul, fed by fat *taxea*”] (284) is certainly enough to suggest a Gallic origin.

¹²⁸ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, s.v. omāsum, -ī n.; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, s.v. omāsum, -ī n.

¹²⁹ Sinclair 2005, 589.

¹³⁰ CGL II 138, 29; Walde-Hofmann (1938, s.v. omāsum, -ī n.) interprets the entry as βῶειον κῶπαιον λιπαρῶν τητῶν γαλλῶν γλωττη.

¹³¹ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, s.v. taxea, -ae n.; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, s.v. taxea, -ae n.; OLD s.v. taxea, -ae, f.

¹³² Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, s.v. taxea, -ae n.; Lambert 2003, 204; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, s.v. taxea, -ae n.; OLD s.v. taxea, -ae, f.

The term's second reference, on the other hand, Isidore of Seville's "*taxea lardus est Gallice dictum*" ['lard is called *taxea* in Gallic'] (*Orig.* 20. 2. 24), seems to confirm it.

3.3.4 *tucetum*, -i, n.

The final term to be considered from this semantic category is the Latin *tucetum* (along with, as our etymological dictionaries point out, its feminine counterpart: *tucca*).¹³³ The term is defined, with some variety, as "a conserve of beef or pork, preserved in lard" by Ernout-Meillet,¹³⁴ "a kind of salted beef or pork sausage" by Walde-Hofmann,¹³⁵ and as "some made-up savoury dish" by the OLD,¹³⁶ a dispute which is not altogether surprising considering the subjective nature of food terms within a language. Additionally, while Walde-Hofmann does suggest a number of possible cognates in the Umbrian *toco* ['preserve with salt'], the Lithuanian *táukas* ['shredded fat'], and the Old High German *dioh* ['shank'],¹³⁷ the term's Gallic origin is best attested by Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, a first Century AD grammarian and scholiast on the satires of his former student, Aulus Persius Flaccus.¹³⁸ Cornutus' statement, that "*tucceta apud Gallos Cisalpinos bubula dicitur, condimentis quibusdam crassis oblita ac macerata; et ideo toto anno durat*" ['in Cisalpine Gaul [there is] a beef called *tucceta* which is left in certain thick spices and tenderized; and, for this reason, it lasts the whole year'] (*Schol.Pers.Sat.2.42*), not only confirms the Gallic origin of *tucetum*, but also provides us with a contemporary definition of the term, in the words of a native Latin speaker.

Unfortunately, as was the case with *omasum* above, *tucetum* suffers from a noticeable lack of contextual evidence in the Latin literary record which is able to corroborate the statement made by Cornutus regarding the term's Gallic origin. While the term's earliest surviving appearance in a satire by Aulus Persius Flaccus (*Sat.2.42*) seems to confirm Ernout-Meillet's statement that *tucetum* was "[un]

¹³³ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *tucca*, *tucetum*, -ī n.; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *tucca*, *ae f...*, *tucetum*, -ī n.

¹³⁴ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *tucca*, *tucetum*, -ī n.

¹³⁵ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *tucca*, *ae f...*, *tucetum*, -ī n.

¹³⁶ OLD *s.v.* *tuccētum*, -i, n.

¹³⁷ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *tucca*, *ae f...*, *tucetum*, -ī n.

¹³⁸ Smith 1870, 210; OCD *s.v.* Annaeus Cornutus, Lucius.

mot d'époque impériale" ['a word of the imperial period'],¹³⁹ none of the term's five appearances suggest anything other than a dish of Roman design.

¹³⁹ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *tucca*, *tucetum*, -ī n.

Chapter 4

Clothing

4.1 Historical Context: Clothing

In order to discuss the historical context pertaining to Celtic dress adequately, the best course of action would be, once again, to examine both literary and archaeological sources in the hopes of arriving at a more complete picture. It should be noted prior, however, that such a discussion will be limited by both the scant nature of the ethnographic material, as well as the fact that much, if not all, of what is available from Latin authors will, by necessity, be discussed in the chapter below. That being said, however, the Greek sources which remain available for use in this discussion are among the best suited to give an overall view of this aspect of Celtic culture.

Since, as mentioned previously, it was the main priority for Classical ethnographers to document those customs which would have seemed foreign to Greek and Roman audiences, it should not come as a surprise that the surviving descriptions of Celtic clothing all focus on similar attributes. Consider, for example, the following passage from the first century BC *Bibliotheca Historica* of Diodorus Siculus (5.30.1).

The clothing they wear is striking – shirts which have been dyed and embroidered in varied colours, and breeches, which they call in their tongue *bracae* [see section 4.2.1]; and they wear striped cloaks, fastened by a buckle on the shoulder, heavy for winter wear and light for summer, in which are set checks, close together and of varied hues.¹⁴⁰

Here, the historian has described three of the four primary staples of Celtic attire as it appeared to the Classical audience. These include the Celtic trousers, which will be discussed below; the tunic, which, Strabo adds, had sleeves and stretched to the thigh; and the cloak which, again according to Strabo, was

¹⁴⁰ Translation by C.H. Oldfather (1967, 176).

thick and fashioned from rough wool (Strab.4.3). According to Liz Cleland *et al.* in their 2007 book, *Greek and Roman Dress*, prior to the Roman conquest, this type of attire was worn by most men in the Celtic provinces and, following, primarily by the lower class.¹⁴¹

The final characteristic piece of Celtic attire was the necklace known as a torque, from the Latin *torquere* [‘to twist’].¹⁴² According to Cleland, the torque was “a heavy, metal, circular necklet, usually left open with decorated ends, often gold, and fashioned from twisted wire.”¹⁴³ Often worn into battle, this ornament quickly became a staple prize for victorious Roman armies (Poly.2.31.4) and, as Raimund Karl points out, became, before long, a common feature in “the depiction and description of Gauls, as in the ‘dying Gaul’ marble statue [see Figure 6 below] and Cassius Dio’s description of Queen Boudica. [(62.2)]”¹⁴⁴



Figure 6: Dying Gaul, Roman, 1st or 2nd century AD

Image by: Anabeth Guthrie, Chief of Communications, National Gallery of Art

¹⁴¹ Cleland (*et.al.*) 2007, 77.

¹⁴² OLD 1968 *s.v.* torqueō.

¹⁴³ Cleland (*et.al.*) 2007, 197.

¹⁴⁴ Karl 2012d, 747.

Archaeological evidence for Celtic clothing is, unfortunately, even more elusive than its ethnographic counterpart. This is due to the fact that, as Elizabeth Barber puts it, in her 1999 book, *The Mummies of Ürümchi*, “[the] yearly climate of wet and dry, wet and dry...[destroys] fibers faster than anything other than fire or moths.”¹⁴⁵ What little evidence that does survive comes, primarily, from the salt mine at Hallstatt, where conditions are more favourable for the preservation of fragile materials. Finds over the last few centuries have included “axes, picks, and other tools; cloth rags preserved color and all; pieces of leather backpacks; and ends of thin wooden splints used by the ancient miners as torches to light their work.”¹⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the most interesting finds from the mine were discovered in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, long before such things were officially considered to be of significance,¹⁴⁷ and have now been lost.¹⁴⁸ Finds from 1573 reportedly included “a man’s body with flesh and hair intact, still fully clothed and shod, found together with his wooden pick,” and, in 1734, “a partially clothed skeleton.”¹⁴⁹ According to Karina Grömer, in the 2013 publication, *Textiles from Hallstatt: Weaving Culture in Bronze Age and Iron Age Salt Mines*, this particular figure, who has come to be known as “the man in salt,”¹⁵⁰ was found wearing both a shirt and shoes.¹⁵¹

Unfortunately, for our purposes, such finds reveal little since, as Barber puts it, “very few pieces large enough to be recognized as garments have survived from the mines.”¹⁵² That said, however, enough material has been preserved, and in good enough condition, to verify at least one aspect of many recurring accounts of Celtic clothing: the colourful patterns and designs. While, according to Barber, there are a number of fragments (roughly twenty) which have no decoration whatsoever, “fully seventy-five are woven in twill patterns...and many of these plus some of the plain weave fragments show plaid

¹⁴⁵ Barber 1999, 138.

¹⁴⁶ Barber 1999, 136.

¹⁴⁷ Grömer 2013, 15-16.

¹⁴⁸ Barber 1999, 137.

¹⁴⁹ Barber 1999, 137.

¹⁵⁰ Grömer 2013, 15.

¹⁵¹ Grömer 2013, 15.

¹⁵² Barber 1999, 137.

patterning.”¹⁵³ Not only does this appear to confirm Diodorus Siculus’ above statement, but it also suggests an interesting connection between prehistoric Celtic dress and the more modern tartans which can still be found in Scotland today.¹⁵⁴

4.2 Lexical Profiles: Clothing

4.2.1 *bracae*, -arum, f.

The first loanword from the semantic category of clothing is the Latin *bracae*, which is defined by nearly all our sources as “breeches”¹⁵⁵ or, in other words, trousers. While our sources certainly agree that the term was transferred into Latin from the Celtic language family, most likely, according to Walde-Hofmann and Xavier Delmarre, from the Gaulish *braca* [‘breeches’],¹⁵⁶ both also suggest that the term may not have been originally of Celtic, but rather of Germanic origin. As evidence for such a claim, Walde-Hofmann points to a number of cognates to *bracae* which can be found throughout the Germanic language family including, for example, the Old Norse *brōk* [‘breeches’], the Anglo-Saxon *brōc* [‘breeches’], and, perhaps unsurprisingly, the English *breeches*.¹⁵⁷

In addition to the use of the Greek transliteration of the term (βράκας) used in an aforementioned passage by Diodorus Siculus (5.30.1), the Latin *bracae* appears, by this author’s count, a total of nineteen times in the Latin literary record. Among these nineteen, only five show the term in contexts which are Celtic, a circumstance which may be indicative of a successful integration into Latin. These Celtic appearances include the earliest use of the term by Gaius Lucilius, in the second century BC.

conventus pulcher: bracae, saga fulgere, torques †datis magni (11.438)

¹⁵³ Barber 1999, 138.

¹⁵⁴ Barber 1999, 138.

¹⁵⁵ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *bracae*, -arum, f.; Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *braca*, -ae f.; OLD *s.v.* *bracae* -arum, f. pl.

¹⁵⁶ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *bracae*, -arum, f.; Delmarre 2003, 84.

¹⁵⁷ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *bracae*, -arum, f.

“A comely crowd: there was a gleam of war cloaks, and trousers and big necklaces.”¹⁵⁸

While, unfortunately, the surviving text is fragmentary, enough remains to indicate that *bracae*, accompanied here by additional Gallic articles such as *saga* and *torques*, was used in a context which, at the very least, can be described as pseudo-Gallic.

While similar imagery to that above is also utilized by Sextus Propertius to identify the fierce Belgic Virdomarus, who possessed both a torque and “*virgatas...bracas*” [‘striped breeches’] (4.10.43), Martial uses the “*veteres bracae*” [‘moldy breeches’] of a poor Briton to vividly describe something (or, in this case, someone) who was well-traveled (11.21). Additionally, the connection between this garment and Gaul is most convincingly presented in an anecdote by Suetonius, a contemporary of Martial. According to the biographer, Caesar’s addition of foreigners to the senate was met with much hostility and inspired the people of Rome to recite the following verse (80.2).

*Gallos Caesar in triumphum ducit, idem in curiam;
Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt.*

Caesar led the Gauls in triumph; he led them also to the *curia*;
The Gauls set aside their *bracae*, and took up the laticlave.

Finally, several centuries following any of the aforementioned writers, the *bracae* remained recognizable as a garment associated primarily with Gaul. This can be seen in a particular passage in Flavius Vopiscus’s biography of the emperor Aurelian. In this particular passage, Tetricus, a traitor who declared his son as emperor in Gaul, is paraded in Aurelian’s triumph while “*clamide coccea, tunica galbina, braccis Gallicis ornatus*” [‘adorned in a scarlet cloak, yellow tunic, and Gallic *bracae*’]. (SHA.*Aurel.*34.2)

4.2.2 caracalla, -ae, f.

The Latin, *caracalla*, which is defined as a “hood”/“ankle-length coat with a hood” by Walde-Hofmann¹⁵⁹ and a “kind of garment without sleeves, and with a hood” by Ernout-Meillet,¹⁶⁰ is listed as

¹⁵⁸ Translation by E. H. Warmington (1938, 139).

Gallic by our aforementioned etymologists, as well as Pierre-Yves Lambert,¹⁶¹ and Xavier Delmarre.¹⁶² Without any additional linguistic evidence to be presented on the subject, however, this classification is instead reliant on the term's five appearances in the Latin literary record, three of which revolve around the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, better known by the nickname, Caracalla. The most telling of these comes in the following passage from the epitome of Aurelius Victor's fourth century AD *De Caesaribus*, and demonstrates, not only a distinct Gallic origin for both the emperor Caracalla and the garment for which he was named, but also provides a first-hand description of the *caracalla* which coincides with the definitions mentioned above.

Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus Caracalla, Severi filius, Lugduni genitus, imperavit solus annos sex. Hic Bassianus ex avi materni nomine dictus est. At cum e Gallia vestem plurimam devexisset talaesque caracallas fecisset coegissetque plebem ad se salutandum indutam talibus introire, de nomine huiusce vestis Caracalla cognominatis est. (21.1-2)

Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus Caracalla, son of Severus, was born at Lugdunum and ruled for only six years. He was called by the name Bassianus by his maternal grandfather. But since he had brought many garments from Gaul and had made ankle-length *caracallae* and bid the plebs to wear such garments when appearing before him for salutation, he was given, from the name of this garment, the cognomen Caracalla (21.1-2).

This passage, while providing for us a reason for the term's classification as Gallic, also provides a good deal of information regarding *caracalla*'s integration in Roman society, a topic which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

4.2.3 cucullus, -i, m.

The Latin, *cucullus* is defined by Walde-Hodmann as “a cap [or] hood fastened to a frock,”¹⁶³ and simply as “a hood,” by Ernout-Meillet.¹⁶⁴ Additionally, while the latter of these goes on to describe the

¹⁵⁹ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* caracalla, -ae f.

¹⁶⁰ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* caracalla, -ae f.

¹⁶¹ Lambert 2003, 204.

¹⁶² Delmarre 2003, 105.

¹⁶³ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* cucullus, -i, m.

¹⁶⁴ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* cucullus, -i, m.

term as “without doubt a loanword” most likely from “the Illyrians or Gauls,”¹⁶⁵ the former, along with Lambert and the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, lists its origin as Gallic alone.¹⁶⁶ Even the reconstructed form **cucullos*, suggested by Xavier Delmarre,¹⁶⁷ is difficult to verify since its would-be descendants in the Celtic language family – the Old Irish, *cochull*, Old Cornish, *cugol*, Breton, *kougoul*, and Welsh, *kwcwll* – actually entered their respective languages as Latin loanwords.¹⁶⁸

Unfortunately, a look at the literary history of *cucullus* does little to definitively answer the question of the term’s origin. Appearing a total of fifteen times in the works of five different authors, *cucullus* is first used by Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella in the mid-first century AD (*Rust.* 1.8.9.4; 11.1.21.5); a relatively late borrowing which nevertheless sparked a widespread integration into the Latin language. As a result, all of the references mentioned above describe *cuculli* being used in Roman contexts, with only a small few bearing any indication as to where these Romans acquired the garment in question. In one particular example, Commodus was said to have owned “*cuculli Bardaici*” [‘Bardaeian cloaks’] (*SHA.Pert.* 8.3.1), also known under the term *bardocuculli* and named for the Illyrian Bardaei tribe.¹⁶⁹ This garment also appears in two notable epigrams by the Roman poet Martial. In the first, accusing a man named Fidentinus of plagiarism, Martial claims that his own work is to that of Fidentinus what the “*urbica Tyriantina*” [‘purple vestments of the city’] are to the “*Lingonicus bardocucullus*” [‘Lingonian hooded cloaks’] (1.53). The second example (14.128), which has been given the title *Bardocucullus*, reads as follows:

*Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo.
cercopithecorum paenula nuper erat.*

Gaul clothes you in a Santonian hooded cloak.
Not so long ago, it was the mantle of long-tailed apes.

¹⁶⁵ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *cucullus*, -i, m.

¹⁶⁶ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *cucullus*, -i, m.; OLD *s.v.* *cucullus*, -i, m.; Lambert 2003, 204.

¹⁶⁷ Delmarre 2003, 131.

¹⁶⁸ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *cucullus*, -i, m.; Delmarre 2003, 131.

¹⁶⁹ OLD *s.v.* *Vardaicus*.

In this final poem, Martial seems to suggest that the relationship between the Illyrian Bardaei¹⁷⁰ and the garments which bore their name was that of a customer, while the role of manufacturer belonged instead to the tribes of Gaul.

4.2.4 *linna*, -ae, f.

Cognate to the Old Irish, *lenn* ('cloak'), the Welsh, *llenn* ('curtain'), and the Breton, *lenn* ('cover')¹⁷¹, the Latin, *linna* is defined by Ernout-Meillet as "the name of a Gallic garment,"¹⁷² and by Walde-Hofmann as "a soft, four-cornered cloak."¹⁷³

In this case, the term's classification as Gallic seems to be based on a statement made in the seventh century AD *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville who informs us that "*quibusdam autem nationibus sua cuique propria vestis est*" ["each nationality has its own costume belonging just to it"] and, to the Gauls were the *linnae*, which he described as "*saga quadra et mollia*" ["soft and square mantles"] (19.23.3).¹⁷⁴ Additionally, while the only other appearance of the term in the literary record, the following fragment (176) written by the second century BC playwright Plautus, is, at best, brief, it is sufficient to corroborate this connection to Gaul.

linna cooperta est tetrino Gallia

He was covered by a *linna* of Gaulish weave¹⁷⁵

4.2.5 *sagum*, -i, n.

The next term, the Latin *sagum*, is defined as "a kind of coarse wool coat" by Ernout-Meillet¹⁷⁶ and similarly by both Walde-Hofmann and the OLD.¹⁷⁷ While there do exist a number of cognates in the

¹⁷⁰ Cleland (*et. al.*) 2007, 17.

¹⁷¹ Delmarre 2003, 203.

¹⁷² Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *linna*, -ae (f.?).

¹⁷³ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *linna*, -ae, f.

¹⁷⁴ Translation by Stephen A. Barney et al. (2006, 385).

¹⁷⁵ Translation by Stephen A. Barney et al. (2006, 385).

¹⁷⁶ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *sagum*, -i, n.

other Celtic languages (the Irish *sáí* for example), Walde-Hofmann suggests that these terms are, in fact, descended from the Medieval Latin *saia* (itself from *sagum*) and thereby cannot be used to attest the Celtic origin of this particular loanword.

According to the evidence examined by this study, *sagum* appears forty-seven times in the Latin literary record throughout the works of twenty-one different authors. Among these appearances, however, only three serve as indicative of the loanword's Celtic origin. The most forthcoming of these is an appearance of the term in the first century BC *De Lingua Latina* by Marcus Terentius Varro. In a discussion of Latin words of foreign origin, the scholar states that, “*in his multa peregrina, ut sagum, reno gallica*” [‘among these foreign [words] are the Gallic *sagum* and *reno*’] (*Ling.*5.167). Additionally, both Martial and Trebellius Pollio attribute different varieties of *saga* to two Gallic peoples: the former to the Leuconians (*Mart.*4.159) and the latter to the Atrebates (*SHA.Gal.*6.7). Unfortunately, however, it is unknown exactly what aspects of these individual varieties of *saga* made them unique from the rest.

4.2.6 *viriola*, -ae, f.

The final term from this semantic category, the Latin *viriola*, is defined in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* as “a kind of bracelet”.¹⁷⁸ In this case, the classification of this loan as Gallic¹⁷⁹ is based primarily on an assertion by Pliny the Elder that certain gold bracelets, worn particularly by men, are “*viriolae Celtice dicuntur, viriae Celtiberice*” [‘called *viriolae* by the Celts and *viriae* by the Celtiberians’] (*HN.*33.39). Despite Pliny's assertion, however, etymologists such as Walde-Hofmann and Ernout-Meillet believe the true linguistic nature of the term to be slightly different. It is the opinion of both sources, in fact, that *viriola* is actually a derivation of the Latin *viriae*,¹⁸⁰ a development which does serve to explain the presence of the Latin diminutive suffix [-*ola*] in the very makeup of the term. That is

¹⁷⁷ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *sagum*, -i, n.; OLD *s.v.* *sagum*, -i, n.;

¹⁷⁸ OLD *s.v.* *uiriola* -ae, f.

¹⁷⁹ Lambert (2003, 204) counts *viriolae* among a number of terms for clothing which, he suggests, were borrowed into Latin from Gaulish.

¹⁸⁰ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *viriae*, -arum, f.; Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *viriae*, -arum, f.

not to say, of course, that Pliny's position on the subject should be altogether discounted since, considering his upbringing in Cisalpine Gaul, the author's information on the region is among the most credible. As such, it should not come as a surprise that Pliny's placement of *viriae* (and by extension *viriola*) within the Continental Celtic language family (Celtiberian, in this case (*HN.33.39*)) is supported by Walde-Hoffmann. According to the etymologists, the terms can be traced to the Proto-Celtic root **uei-* ['curve'] and have a number of cognates in Old Irish *fiar* ['crooked'], and the Welsh *gŵyro* ['bend'].¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *viriae*, -arum, f.

Chapter 5

Wheeled Vehicles

5.1 Historical Context: Wheeled Vehicles

In ca. 30 BC,¹⁸² Diodorus Siculus included in his *Bibliotheca Historica* the following note about the Gauls:

In their journeying and when they go into battle the Gauls use chariots drawn by two horses, which carry the charioteer and the warrior; and when they encounter cavalry in the fighting they first hurl their javelins at the enemy and then step down from their chariots and join battle with their swords (5.29.1).¹⁸³

Several years earlier, Caesar himself wrote a very similar description (*BGall*.4.33) of his first encounter with chariot warfare, in this case against the Celtic tribes of Britain, a people who, according to the geographer Strabo, “[made use of] chariots in warfare, just as some of the [Gauls]” (*Strab*.4.5.2). These statements represent an intriguing historiographical dilemma. Despite Strabo and Diodorus asserting that the Gauls engaged in this form of combat, Caesar fails to make any mention of it until his encounter with the Britons. On this basis, a number of scholars have suggested that the use of chariots in battle represented a very early form of Celtic warfare which had continued in Britain long after it had fallen out of general use among the mainland Celts.¹⁸⁴ Alternatively, Stuart Piggott suggests that the whole issue might simply be a case of insufficient information. Pointing to a statement by Tacitus (*Agric.* 12) where the author states that only some British tribes use the chariot in war, Piggott suggests the same might be said for Gaul.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² OCD. *s.v.* Diodorus (3) of Agyrium, Sicily (Hence Diodorus Siculus).

¹⁸³ Translation by C.H. Oldfather (1967, 173).

¹⁸⁴ Cunliffe 1997, 100; Rankin 1996, 10.

¹⁸⁵ Piggott 1983, 232.

Despite these somewhat contradictory reports by the classical ethnographers, wheeled vehicles seem not only to have been items of aristocratic opulence to the Celts, but also an integral part of Celtic identity. In fact, the idea of chariot warfare was so prevalent in Celtic culture that it survived into the Irish heroic tradition.¹⁸⁶ According to Piggott, the descriptions of chariot combat in tales such as *Táin Bó Cuailnge* ('the Cattle-Raid of Cooley') comes very close to Diodorus's description mentioned above.¹⁸⁷ Considering the distinct lack of archaeological evidence to support chariot activity in Ireland, M. L. West, in his 2007 work, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, suggests that "the role they play in battle narrative represents traditional memory of continental Celtic practice in the earlier Iron Age."¹⁸⁸

Turning to archaeological sources, we are able to find a far more comprehensive record of this aspect of Gallic life. As mentioned before, for example, the inclusion of wheeled vehicles was, as Raimund Karl describes, "a characteristic feature of rich tombs from the Hallstatt period in central Europe."¹⁸⁹ The large amount of partially melted bronze fragments which have been discovered in 12th/11th century BC pyre graves would suggest that this tradition stems from the Late Bronze Age, an indication, perhaps, of the use of a processional carriage cremated along with the body of the deceased.¹⁹⁰ As social hierarchy continued to develop in Europe, the tradition evolved and eventually led to the richly decorated 'chieftains' graves' of the Hallstatt period, which included, among other luxuries, elaborate four-wheeled carriages.¹⁹¹ According to Piggott, the possibilities are twofold, indicating either a dedicated processional carriage, like the one mentioned above, or vehicles which were used both in life and death as "a demonstration of the status of their owner."¹⁹² This connection between the possession of wheeled vehicles and the Celtic aristocracy melds nicely with the small amount of information we have on the subject from our classical sources. One anecdote which seems appropriate is that of Luerius of the

¹⁸⁶ Piggott 1983, 235; West 2007, 469.

¹⁸⁷ Piggott 1983, 235-236.

¹⁸⁸ West 2007, 469.

¹⁸⁹ Karl 2012e, 767.

¹⁹⁰ Piggott 1983, 122-123, 138.

¹⁹¹ Piggott 1983, 140.

¹⁹² Piggott 1983, 140.

Arverni who, according to Strabo, rode on a carriage while scattering coin to the Celtic crowds.
(Strab.4.2.3; see also Athen.4.152)

5.2 Lexical Profiles: Wheeled Vehicles

While there are certainly a number of distinct examples demonstrating the Celtic affinity for wheeled vehicles, perhaps the most telling evidence, and that which is also the focus of this study, is linguistic in nature. Specifically speaking, the evidence in question is what Piggott referred to as “the rich vocabulary of Celtic loan-words for [Celtic vehicles] in Latin.”¹⁹³ While Piggott himself cites nineteen terms belonging to a more general semantic category of vehicles and horsemanship,¹⁹⁴ other scholars have provided similar lists of varying detail. In 1954, Palmer listed “riding, driving” as the first in his list of categories from which the Gauls contributed words to the Latin language¹⁹⁵ and, in 2003, Adams described this prevalence as “a reflection of Gaulish expertise in [matters of transport and horsemanship] and of trading contacts between the Gauls and Latin speakers.”¹⁹⁶ Semantically, this study will take a slightly more narrow approach than those mentioned above and focus solely on terms which denote wheeled vehicles. These eleven words are presented below.

5.2.1 *benna*, -ae, f.

Cognate to the Welsh *benn* [‘wagon’], this Latin term may be derived from the Gaulish **bhend-nā* [‘crib’].¹⁹⁷ While authors Alfred Ernout and Antoine Meillet, in their 1951, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, define the term as “a four-wheeled Gallic chariot,”¹⁹⁸ their German counterparts, Alois Walde and Johann Baptist Hofmann, in their 1938, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, describe it

¹⁹³ Piggott 1983, 229; See also: Palmer 1954, 53; Ellis 1998, 129, 134-135; Adams 2003, 184-185, 455-457 and; Lambert 2003, 204.

¹⁹⁴ Piggott 1983, 229-235.

¹⁹⁵ Palmer 1954, 52-53.

¹⁹⁶ Adams 2003, 184.

¹⁹⁷ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, s.v. *benna*, -ae f.

¹⁹⁸ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, s.v. *benna*, -ae f.

as “a type of two-wheeled waggon with a weaved basket.”¹⁹⁹ With such a discrepancy then, we look to the Latin literary record in the hopes of finding some clarification on the matter. *Benna*, in fact, appears only a single time in the record, as a glossary entry in Paulus Diaconus’s eighth century epitome of Sextus Pompeius Festus, an author from the late second century AD who himself epitomized Verrius Flaccus’s *De verborum significatu*.²⁰⁰ Brief and to the point, Diaconus simply states that “*benna lingua Gallica genus vehiculi appellatur*” [‘[there is] a kind of vehicle called a *benna* in the Gallic tongue’] (Paul. Fest. 32).

5.2.2 *carpentum*, -i, n.

The term *carpentum*, defined as “a two-wheeled covered car” by Ernout-Meillet²⁰¹ and “a two-wheeled, two-horsed...town/touring/baggage wagon” by Walde-Hofmann,²⁰² is perhaps the best, and certainly one of the most frequently cited examples of a Celtic loanword in the Latin language. Cognate to the Old Irish *carpat* [‘wagon’], the Middle Welsh *kerbyt* [‘wagon’], and the Old Breton *cerpit* [‘wagon’],²⁰³ this term is derived from the Gaulish root **carbonto-* which Delmarre defines as “[a] chariot of war, [or the] body of a car.”²⁰⁴ This reconstructed root also appears in a number of toponyms, namely *Carbantorate* / *Carpentorate* (modern Carpentras) in Gaul (Plin.*HN*.3.36),²⁰⁵ and *Carbantoritum* in Northern Britain.²⁰⁶ These appearances serve as a form of attestation and provide us with a degree of certainty as to the accuracy of the reconstruction.

Carpentum, by this author’s count, appears fifty-four times in the works of seventeen different authors throughout the Latin literary record, making its earliest appearance in the *Odyssia* by Livius Andronicus (6.296) in the mid-third century BC. While this is certainly indicative of a very early adoption

¹⁹⁹ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *benna*, -ae f.

²⁰⁰ OCD. *s.v.* Pompeius Festus, Sextus; Verrius (*RE* 2) Flaccus, Marcus.

²⁰¹ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *carpentum*, -i, n.

²⁰² Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *carpentum*, -i, n.

²⁰³ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *carpentum*, -i, n.

²⁰⁴ Delmarre 2003, 105; See also: Piggot 1983, 231.

²⁰⁵ See also: Piggot 1983, 231; Delmarre 2003, 105; CIL XII, 26.

²⁰⁶ Piggot 1983, 231.

and integration for this term, the fragmentary nature of the surviving text makes it impossible to identify the context in which *carpentum* was used. The remaining fifty-three entries, however, represent not only a long standing history of integration into Roman society – a perspective which will be analyzed in depth at a later time – but also a connection to the Gallic origins of *carpentum*, which survives throughout the history of the word.

Throughout the Republic and early Principate, whenever *carpentum* was used in contexts which were strictly Gallic in nature, the term was representative of a type of baggage wagon which was often taken by Gallic tribes into battle. One of the more telling examples of this trend occurs in the following passage by Livy (31.21.17), as the historian describes the aftermath of an engagement which took place during the Second Punic War.

*minus sex milia hominum inde effugerunt: caesa aut capta supra
quinque et triginta milia cum signis militaribus septuaginta, carpentis
Gallicis multa praeda oneratis plus ducentis.*

Less than six thousand [Gauls] escaped; more than thirty-five thousand were cut down or captured, along with seventy military standards and more than two hundred Gallic wagons filled with abundant spoils.

Perhaps more than just a trend, such a description became almost formulaic, as Gallic *carpenta* became the quintessential trophy of Roman victories over the tribes of Gaul. In fact, if Livy and his sources are to be believed, this author's tally of the number of *carpenta* supposedly captured by the Romans between 295 and 191 BC results in a number upwards of 2500, well over half of which were taken in the final seven years. As with many of the other spoils of war, these *carpenta* eventually found their way to Rome and soon became a staple of those military triumphs which celebrated victories over Gaul (Liv.36.40.11; 39.7.2). The trend was so pronounced, in fact, that when Annius Florus, in the second century AD, described the triumphs of the Roman Republic he listed the "*carpenta Gallorum*" ['wagons of the Gauls'] among the most common sights (13.18).

By the late first century AD, the integration of *carpentum* into the Latin language had progressed and uses of the word in purely Roman contexts became far more pronounced. That being said, it seems

knowledge of *carpentum*'s Gallic origin persisted as well. Perhaps the most intriguing example of this can be found in the work of the Roman satirist Juvenal (8.145). In this particular satire, about the importance of deeds and character over noble lineage, Juvenal attacks a man named Lateranus who, while holding the consulship, not only drove about in a *carpentum* (8.147) but also, we are told, “*Iovis ante altaria iurat solam Eponam*” [‘swears only to *Epona* before the altar of Jove’] (8.156-7). Similar to *carpentum*, the goddess of horsemanship known as *Epona* was a deity of Gallic origin whose cult had also been introduced to the Romans. While both the exact identity of Lateranus and the nature of his relationship with Gaul remain in question,²⁰⁷ the nature of Juvenal’s attack makes both the provincial origin of *carpentum*, and the Roman awareness of it, quite clear.

5.2.3 *carrus*, -i, m.

This Latin term is defined as a four-wheeled cart or wagon by both Ernout-Meillet and Walde-Hofmann.²⁰⁸ Etymologically, *carrus* is derived from the Gaulish **carros* [‘chariot’],²⁰⁹ and is related to the the Old Irish, Old Breton, and Middle Welsh *carr*, as well as the Breton *karr*, all of which also mean ‘wagon’.²¹⁰

Carrus is used nineteen times in the Latin literary record and first appears in the *Historiae* by Lucius Cornelius Sisenna (61.1), a first century BC historian who wrote extensively on Rome’s Social War and the civil war instigated by Sulla. Unfortunately, while the fragmentary nature of the surviving text makes it impossible to gauge the true context of the term’s use, the reference does suggest that *carrus*

²⁰⁷ Barring some historical error on the part of Juvenal, this reference cannot be to the same Lateranus (Plautius) who was referred in Satire 10 (15-18), as he was implicated in Piso’s conspiracy before holding the office. (OCD *s.v.* *Plautius Lateranus*; Courtney 1980, 406) Another possible option is T. Sextius Magius Lateranus who was consul in AD 94 (PIR₁ 472); however, his connection to Gaul remains unclear.

²⁰⁸ Ellis 1998, 134; Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *carrus*, -ī m. et *carrum*, -ī n.; OLD *s.v.* *carrus*, ~I, m.; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *carrus*; This nearly unanimous trend is oddly interrupted by Lewis and Short (1879; *s.v.* *carrus*, i, m.) who define the term as “a kind of two-wheeled wagon for transporting burdens”.

²⁰⁹ Delmarre 2003, 107-108; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *carrus*.

²¹⁰ Delmarre 2003, 107-108; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *carrus*.

had begun its integration into Latin well before the first century BC.²¹¹ This is supported by Adams who includes *carrus* among other early transfers from the Gaulish branch of Continental Celtic.²¹² In each other instance in the literary record, *carrus* is used in the context of a baggage wagon and its connection to the Gauls seems persistent throughout. Caesar, for example, not only mentions the use of *carri* by both the Helvetii (*B.Gall.*1.3; 6; 24) and the forces of Vercingetorix (*B.Gall.*7.18) but also describes the use of such vehicles as “*Gallica consuetudo*” [‘a Gallic custom’] (*BCiv.*1.51), which would explain similar references in Aulus Hirtius (*B.Gall.*8.14) and in Livy (10.28). In battle, Gallic forces were known to fall back upon their baggage and array their *carri* in a defensive formation which Vegetius compared to a “*castrorum*” [‘fortified camp’] (3.10; *cf. Caes.B.Gall.*1.26).

5.2.4 *cisium*, -i, n.

In the case of *cisium*, most scholars agree that the term represented a two-wheeled carriage of very light design.²¹³ Its etymology from the proposed Gaulish term **cission*,²¹⁴ along with the likely relation to the Old Irish *cess* [‘basket’]²¹⁵ and *cisse* [‘braid’],²¹⁶ suggest that the vehicle may have had a wickerwork body similar to that of the *benna* mentioned above.

Unlike many of the other terms which have been discussed thus far, *cisium*’s Celtic origin is not explicitly indicated by any of the literary evidence. In fact, in each of its nine appearances in the literary record any connection to the people of Gaul seems entirely circumstantial. According to J. Vendryes, however, the origin of the term is made apparent by a scholiast on Cicero’s *Pro Roscio* (19.6) who noted that *cisium* was a “*genus uehiculi gallici*” [‘kind of Gallic vehicle’].²¹⁷ In addition, Vendryes points to the term’s use by Nonius Marcellus (86.M.30), who not only provides a gloss which seems to confirm the

²¹¹ OCD *s.v.* Cornelius Sisenna, Lucius; the latest datable reference in the *Historiae* is Sulla’s first civil war which ended in 84 BC.

²¹² Adams 2003, 184.

²¹³ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *cisium*, -ī n.; OLD *s.v.* *cisium*, ~I, n.; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *cisium*, -ī n.

²¹⁴ Delmarre 2003, 117; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *cisium*, -ī n.

²¹⁵ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *cisium*, -ī n.

²¹⁶ Delmarre 2003, 117.

²¹⁷ Vendryes 1916, 60.

definitions suggested above (“*vehiculi biroti genus*”), but is also the only author to spell the term with two *s*’s: *cissium*. Vendryes argues that such a double sibilant was “a characteristic phenomenon of Gaulish pronunciation,”²¹⁸ and likely indicative of the earlier Gaulish spelling,²¹⁹ an assertion which is supported by the cognates mentioned above.

5.2.5 *colisatum*, -i, n.

Evidence pertaining to the exact nature of the Latin *colisatum* is particularly scant. Ernout-Meillet define the term simply as “a sort of chariot”²²⁰ and Walde-Hofmann as “a kind of Gallic wagon”²²¹, a position supported by Pliny the Elder who describes *colisata* as often being the recipients of counterfeit silver decorations which the Gauls had made out of lead (*HN*.34.163). While, unfortunately, further evidence is unavailable from the Latin literary record, since Pliny’s was the sole use of *colisatum*, etymological evidence from the term’s only apparent cognate, the Old Irish *cul* [‘wagon’], does support a Gallic classification.

5.2.6 *covinnus*, -i, m.

The Latin *covinnus* is defined by Ernout-Meillet as “chariot of war”²²² and is one of two terms which Piggott describes as having entered the Latin language as a result of a number of Roman invasions into Celtic territory in the first century BC.²²³ According to Walde-Hofmann, the term is descended from the reconstructed, Proto-Celtic **ko-uegh-nos* and is cognate with the Old Irish *fēn* [“a kind of wagon”], the Welsh *gwain* [“drive”], and the Latin *vehō* [‘drive’].²²⁴

In all but one instance of the term in the Latin literary record, *covinnus* appears in contexts which suggest a distinctly foreign nature, with two specifically pointing to the Celts. Pomponius Mela, for

²¹⁸ Vendryes 1916, 60.

²¹⁹ Vendryes 1916, 61.

²²⁰ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *colisatum*, -ī n.

²²¹ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *colisatum*, -ī n.

²²² Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *covinnus*, -i m.

²²³ Piggott 1983, 231.

²²⁴ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *covinnus*, -i, m; See also: OLD *s.v.* *covinnus*, -i, m.

example, describes their use by the Britons (3.52.4), Lucan, by the *Belgae* (1.426), and Silius Italicus, by the “*caerulus...incola Thyles*” [‘dark blue inhabitants of Thule’], a people who, according to the late A.L.F. Rivet, “live in the farthest north and include the similarly blue-painted Britons.”²²⁵ Additionally, this literary evidence seems to support the assertion made by Piggott, above, regarding the timeframe for the term’s introduction, as each of the four appearances of *covinnus* in the Latin literary record occur after the mid-first century AD.

The final aspect of the *covinnus* which must be discussed is the possibility of the vehicle possessing, as both Walde-Hofmann and the OLD suggest, “scythes attached to the axles.”²²⁶ Despite an unfortunate lack of archaeological evidence to corroborate such a claim, Rivet’s 1979 article, *A Note on Scythed Chariots*, does a convincing job of vindicating the two dictionaries by indicating that there is, in fact, “a good deal of literary evidence that the Britons used, or at the least were widely believed to use, scythed chariots in the first century.”²²⁷

5.2.7 *essedum*, -i, n.

The Latin *essedum* – defined as “a two-wheeled chariot” by Walde-Hofmann and Ernout-Meillet alike²²⁸ – represents an intriguing addition to this list, one which is marked by a number of controversies in regards to its etymology, origin, and literary history.

From an etymological perspective, general tendency has been to attribute *essedum* to the Gaulish **ensedon*, components of which can be linked to the Latin words *in* and *sedere* [‘to sit’].²²⁹ As Piggott points out, however, this reconstruction is a presupposition based on *essedum* alone²³⁰ and thus, without any additional evidence, must be considered with caution. One possible alternative, the assimilated

²²⁵ Rivet 1979, 131.

²²⁶ OLD *s.v.* *covinnus*, -ī, m.; see also Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *covinnus*, -ī, m.

²²⁷ Rivet 1979, 131.

²²⁸ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *essedum*, -ī n.; OLD *s.v.* *petorritum*, -ī, n.; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *essedum*, -ī n.

²²⁹ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *essedum*, -ī n.; OLD *s.v.* *petorritum*, -ī, n.; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *essedum*, -ī n.; Lambert 2003, 206; Delmarre 2003, 167.

²³⁰ Piggott 1983, 232.

variant **essedon*, is suggested by Xavier Delmarre in his 2003 *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise*.²³¹ This alternative would seem to be supported by the existence of two toponyms, namely *Manduessedum* [‘Pony cart’], modern Mancetter in Warwickshire, England, and *Taruessedum* [‘Bull cart’], near Lake Como in northern Italy. Both of these terms utilize Celtic lexemes in *Mandu-* (cf. Lat. *mannus*) and *Taru-* (cf. Lat. *taurus*) respectively and thereby add credibility to the suggestion that **essed-*, as opposed to **ensed-*, is the correct Gaulish stem.

In the fourth century AD, Marcus Servius Honoratus made the following statement about the *essedum*, in his commentary on Virgil’s *Georgics* (3.204): “‘*essedae*’ *autem* *vehicula vel currus genus, quo soliti sunt pugnare Galli*” [‘*essedae*’ are a kind of vehicle or chariot, with which the Gauls were accustomed to fighting’]. Four centuries prior, Virgil – who himself referred to the vehicles as “*Belgica esseda*” (3.204) – was among the earliest Roman writers to utilize the term, an indication, as in the case of *covinnus* above, of the word’s comparatively late integration into the Latin language.

Along with those just mentioned, many Latin authors have described *essedae* in contexts which suggest a Gallic origin. The most notable of these, the Roman poet Horace, describes *essedae*, along with a number of other vehicles from this list, as being displayed in a triumphal procession. While Horace makes no mention as to whom the Romans were parading in this particular instance, his description, “*mox trahitur manibus regum fortuna retortis...*” [‘soon the fortune of kings drawn with bound hands...’] (*Epist.*2.1.192), when considered along with the vehicles mentioned, does seem to suggest a connection which is, at the very least, pseudo-Gallic in nature. This connection is made somewhat more explicit by Horace’s third century AD commentator, Pomponius Porphyrio, who clarifies the matter, stating that “*essedae sunt Gallorum vehicula, quibus tamquam victi reges vehuntur*” [‘*essedae* are vehicles of the Gauls, on which conquered kings are driven’] (*Porph.Epist.*1.2.192). Additional Gallic *essedae* which do make appearances in the Latin literary record, namely in the works of Cicero and Livy (the former as a speedy travel carriage (*Cic.Fam.*7.7.1.6) and the latter as a chariot of war at the battle of

²³¹ Delmarre 2003, 167.

Sentinum (Liv.10.28)), are, as Piggott suggests, most likely a reflection of the term's integrated status in Latin,²³² but more on that later.

Finally, while the most detailed description of *essedum*-use comes to us in the work of Julius Caesar, it is important to note that, in this case, the vehicle was not being employed by the Gauls at all. In the following passage from Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, the general describes a number of encounters which occurred between his legions and British forces which employed this type of chariot.

Genus hoc est ex essedis pugnae. Primo per omnes partes perequitant et tela coniciunt atque ipso terrore equorum et strepitu rotarum ordines plerumque perturbant, et cum se inter equitum turmas insinuaverunt, ex essedis desiliunt et pedibus proeliantur.

This is the style of fighting employed from *essedae*. First, they ride back and forth through all parts of the field and hurl spears, and by the very terror inspired by horses and the rattle of the wheels, they throw the many ranks into confusion. When they do work themselves between the ranks of cavalry, they leap down from their *essedae* and join the battle on foot (4.33).

Caesar, here, describes a style of combat which had “*mobilitatem equitem, stabilitatem peditum*” [“the speed of cavalry and the stability of infantry”] (4.33) and charioteers (*essedarii*) who were skilled enough to run back and forth on a narrow pole between the chariot and the yoke. While a number of explanations for this historiographical dilemma have already been discussed (see Chapter 5.2 above), it is nonetheless an important issue to keep in mind as we consider the supposed origin of this term and others like it.

5.2.8 *petorritum*, -i, n.

One of the more interesting terms to be included in the discussion of this semantic category, the Latin *petorritum*, is defined by all our etymological sources as a four-wheeled carriage of Gallic design.²³³ While this seems to be based, primarily, on Festus' statement that “*petorritum, et Gallicum vehiculum*

²³² Piggott 1983, 232.

²³³ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *petorritum*, -ī n.; OLD *s.v.* *petorritum*, ~I, n.; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *petorritum*, -ī n.; Lambert 2003, 206.

esse, et nomen eius dictum existimant a numero quattuor rotarum” [‘the *petorritum* is both a Gallic vehicle and goes by this name which they determined from the count of the four wheels’] (226.30), this is not the only source indicative of the vehicle’s Gallic origin.

Petorritum is, in fact, used fourteen times and by seven different writers in the Latin literary record. While the majority of the uses are, like that of Festus above, Gallic or pseudo-Gallic in nature, those that are not, including its earliest appearance in the *Sermones* by Horace (1.6.104), suggest the term was integrated into Latin by the late first century BC. Nevertheless, it seems as though the term’s Gallic origins were well known to at least some segment of the Roman population. Quintilian (*Inst.*1.5.57), for example, tells us that, by his time, “*plurima Gallica evaluerunt ut...petorritum*” [‘many Gallic [words], such as *petorritum*, have come into common use’] and, a century later, Aulus Gellius chastises someone for falsely arguing the term to be Greek (*NA.*15.30.3.1 - 15.30.7.2). Other notable references include Pliny the Elder (34.163), who mentions *petorrita* along with *colisata* and *essedas* as being the recipients of Gallic counterfeiting techniques (See 5.2.5 and 5.2.7 above), and Horace who mentions the vehicle in his description of a pseudo-Gallic triumphal procession (*Epist.*2.1.192) to which Pomponius Porphyrio adds that “*petorrita [sunt Gallorum vehicula], quibus familiae regum [vehuntur]*” [‘*petorrita* are Gallic vehicles, on which the families of the (captured) kings were driven’] (*Porph.Epist.*2.1.192).

Moving on to the etymological side of the discussion, we come to what is perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the scholarship that surrounds *petorritum*. While, as discussed above, scholars do tend to agree that the term represented a four-wheeled cart or wagon,²³⁴ the exact etymological nature of the word, specifically regarding its phonological makeup, is approached far less unanimously. The term itself does seem to be a compound of two Gaulish words, as Festus suggested (226.30), but since the exact forbearer of *petorritum* remains unattested, reconstructions have been somewhat varied. For the first portion of the compound, Lambert has posited the original compositional form **petor-*; Walde-Hofmann,

²³⁴ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *petorritum*, -ī n.; OLD *s.v.* *petorritum*, ~I, n.; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *petorritum*, -ī n.

the similar **petru-*; and Ernout-Meillet, **petora*, each of which represents a variation of the Gaulish **petuares* [‘four’].²³⁵ Walde-Hofmann’s suggestion of **petru-*, which is also supported by Delmarre,²³⁶ is the most tempting option since its use in a similar context, *petrudecametos* [‘fourteenth’], has been attested.²³⁷ However, considering the inherent difficulties involved in tracing phonological change in dead languages, it is impossible to identify the exact morpheme with complete certainty.

The second portion of this compound follows the same trend as the first and, due to a lack of attestation, has been open to a number of reconstructions. What scholars do tend to agree on is that the morpheme in question is some variation of the Gaulish word for *wheel*, a word which finds cognates in the Latin *rota*, Irish *roth*, and Welsh *rhod*.²³⁸ The various morphemic reconstructions include **ret-* or **rit-* by Ernout-Meillet and Lambert,²³⁹ and **rotā-/ *roton* by Walde-Hofmann and Delmarre.²⁴⁰ In any case, however, taken together, we can understand the *petorritum* in English as a ‘four-wheeler’.

5.2.9 *pilentum* –i, n.

Similar to *colisatum* above, the Latin *pilentum* suffers from a distinct lack of evidence as far as its origins are concerned, a situation which has caused a good deal of disagreement among the sources. While scholars generally define *pilentum* in its Roman context, as a litter or carriage of a more luxurious kind,²⁴¹ most agree that the term is of Gallic origin, once again citing as evidence Horace and Porphyrio (*Epist.*2.1.192) who, in this case, describe the vehicle as the litter which carried a captured Queen.

²³⁵ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *petorritum*; Lambert 2003, 206; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *petorritum*, –ī n.

²³⁶ Delmarre 2003, 250.

²³⁷ CIL XII, 2494; Lejeune 1995, 94.

²³⁸ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *petorritum*; Lambert 2003, 206; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *petorritum*, –ī n.

²³⁹ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *petorritum*; Lambert 2003, 206.

²⁴⁰ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *petorritum*, –ī n.; Delmarre 2003, 250.

²⁴¹ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *pilentum*; Lambert 2003, 206; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *pilentum*, –ī n.; The editors of the Oxford Latin Dictionary (*s.v.* *pilentum*, –i, n.) hesitate slightly on this point and classify the term as “apparently Gallic.”

One particular point of contention related to the *pilentum* pertains to the exact nature of the cart itself. While, for example, Walde-Hofmann define the term as “a suspension wagon...supported by poles,”²⁴² and even go as far as to suggest possible etymological connections to the Latin terms *pilum* [‘spear’] or *pila* [‘pillar’],²⁴³ Ernout-Meillet define *pilentum* as “a formal, four-wheeled car,”²⁴⁴ making no indication whatsoever to the contrary. Unfortunately, since there does not seem to be any indication in the literary record as to the means of propulsion for the vehicle, it is difficult to make a definitive case one way or the other. Furthermore, apart from a similarity to the suffix of *carpentum*,²⁴⁵ etymological evidence for *pilentum*’s Gallic classification is also scarce and, while Piggot, Palmer, and Adams are all quiet on the subject, Lambert states definitively that, despite being “given as Gallic,” *pilentum* “is of an unknown etymology.”²⁴⁶

5.2.10 ploxenum, -i, n.

The Latin *ploxenum* is yet another intriguing term, one which is rife with ambiguity. While Ernout-Meillet define it as “a kind of Gallic car,”²⁴⁷ opposing definitions in the Oxford Latin Dictionary and by Walde-Hofmann – as “a carriage body”²⁴⁸ – suggest that the term might not technically qualify as a wheeled vehicle at all.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of *ploxenum* is the reason for its general acceptance as a term of Gallic origin. Looking at the literary record, we find that while *ploxenum* is used only three times and by three different writers, the first and most crucial reference is made by the Roman poet Catullus, to describe a figure named Aemilius (98). The importance of this instance lies not with the content of the statement (the reference itself contains no obvious Gallic contexts nor any other indication as to the exact nature of the vehicle), but simply that it was Catullus himself who used the term. According to Quintilian,

²⁴² Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *pilentum*, -ī n.

²⁴³ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *pilentum*, -ī n.

²⁴⁴ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *pilentum*, -i, n.

²⁴⁵ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *pilentum*, -ī n.

²⁴⁶ Lambert 2003, 206.

²⁴⁷ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *ploxenum*, -i, n.

²⁴⁸ OLD *s.v.* *ploxenum*, -i, n; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *ploxenum*, -ī n.

the first century AD grammarian, Catullus's use of *ploxenum* constituted what is known as a barbarism, a provincial term which slipped into usage accidentally and thus betrayed Catullus's birthplace in the Po Valley (*Inst.Ora.* 1.5.8). This position is also echoed by Festus, who informs us that "*ploxenum appellari ait Catullus capsum in cisio*" ['Catullus says the wagon-body on a *cisium* is called a *ploxenum*'] (230.40).

Finally, it is important to note that while Festus' statement seems to support Walde-Hofmann's position with regards to the definition of *ploxenum*, they, along with the other etymological sources consulted for this study, are unable to provide any linguistic evidence in support of Quintilian and Festus.

5.2.11 *raeda*, -ae, f.

The final term to be considered from this particular semantic category is the Latin *raeda* (or *reda/rheda* as it occasionally appears). Defined as "a four-wheeled touring car" by Walde-Hofmann,²⁴⁹ and "a kind of chariot with seats" by Ernout-Meillet,²⁵⁰ *raeda* found its way into the Latin language via the Gaulish **rēdā*, a nominalization of the verbal stem **redo-* ["go by horse"].²⁵¹ **Redo-* itself is derived from the earlier Proto-Celtic root **red-*²⁵² which continued into the Old Irish *riad-* ["go in a car or by horse"],²⁵³ the Middle Irish *riadaim* ["I do"],²⁵⁴ the Old High German *reita* ['wagon'],²⁵⁵ and the English *ride*.²⁵⁶

Appearing forty-eight times and in the works of nineteen different authors, *raeda* is certainly well represented in the Latin literary record. In this case, the Gallic origin of the term is indicated by a statement from Quintilian, who informs us that, in his day, "*plurima Gallica evaluerunt ut raeda*" ['many Gallic [words], such as *raeda*, have come into common use'] (*Inst.* 1.5.57). That said, however, it is a testament to the successful integration of the term that only a handful of *raeda*'s uses in the literary record

²⁴⁹ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, s.v. *rēda*, *raeda*..., -ae, f.

²⁵⁰ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, s.v. *raeda* (*rēda*), -ae, f.

²⁵¹ Delmarre 2003, 256.

²⁵² Delmarre 2003, 256; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, s.v. *rēda*, *raeda*..., -ae, f.

²⁵³ Delmarre 2003, 256.

²⁵⁴ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, s.v. *rēda*, *raeda*..., -ae, f.

²⁵⁵ Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, s.v. *rēda*, *raeda*..., -ae, f.

²⁵⁶ OED s.v. *ride*, v.

depict it in anything other than a Roman context. As such, certain examples, such as Caesar's descriptions of *raedae* being employed by the Germans (*BGall.* 1.51) and the Belgae (*BGall.* 6.30), must be approached with caution as they are more likely attributable to the term's commonality in the Latin language rather than any indication of its origin.

Chapter 6

Loan Analysis: Integration and Diffusion

Over the course of this thesis, the discussion has focused on the linguistic relationship that existed between Gaul and Rome. Facilitated by the long and often tumultuous interaction between the two societies, this contact situation fostered a good deal of lexical interference for the Latin language and resulted in the transfer of several vocabulary items. The other result that can be logically inferred from this longstanding contact is the exchange – or diffusion – of cultural materials and practices which, as we discussed in the first chapter, is viewed by anthropologists, such as A.L. Kroeber, as a common occurrence any time two cultures come into prolonged contact.²⁵⁷ The ultimate goal which this thesis has endeavored to accomplish is the determination of whether the former of these processes can stand as evidence for the latter; whether Celtic loanwords in the Latin language can be seen as indicative of Roman material culture which originated with the peoples of Gaul. To this end, the previous three chapters have focused on discussing the established Celtic origins of twenty-one Latin lexemes. These loanwords, belonging to either of the semantic categories of food, clothing, or wheeled vehicles, represent the best possible candidates for cultural diffusion. In this chapter, we will consider the loanwords from their Roman perspective in the hopes of discerning what they can tell us about the interactions of two ancient civilizations.

As mentioned in Chapter One, Ralph Linton, in his 1936 study of cultural diffusion and, more specifically, his satire about the average, everyday American,²⁵⁸ draws attention to a very important point. Despite the degree to which the comfortable life of the satire's subject relies on borrowed cultural material, the subject himself remains blissfully ignorant. While the humour in such a situation lies, perhaps, in a common perception of the American melting-pot, it nevertheless represents how cultural

²⁵⁷ Kroeber 1948, 411.

²⁵⁸ Linton 1936, 327.

diffusion, especially from the perspective of the layman, can be invisible. This is especially pertinent when dealing with the cultural transfers which occurred between ancient cultures like Gaul or Rome, the traditional evidence for which often failed to survive. How, then, should we presume to track the phenomenon of diffusion when our sources remain altogether silent on the exact origins of the pertinent cultural material? If we assume that the hypothesis presented in this thesis is correct, namely that lexical borrowing can stand as sufficient evidence for diffusion, then the answer to this question is integration.

The integration mentioned above refers to that of both the Celtic loanwords which entered the Latin language and, by extension, the Celtic material culture which may have entered Roman society. In cases where cultural diffusion initiated lexical borrowing on the basis of what Karl Schmidt referred to as “novelty of content,”²⁵⁹ the accompanying loanwords ought to have followed a similar pattern to that of the diffusion itself. In these cases, the integration of loanwords, barring any drastic semantic change, can have been only as successful as the integration of the products to which they referred. Therefore, determining how well a word was integrated into Latin should allow us to gauge its potential representation of a corresponding instance of cultural diffusion.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the concept of loan integration has been previously discussed in Karl Schmidt’s 1967, *Keltisches Wortgut im Lateinischen*. Reasoning that poorly integrated loans would have been flagged as foreign by Latin speakers, Schmidt suggests that the very presence, or lack, of identifying statements in the Latin literary record can serve to place terms in one of two basic categories: those which were integrated and those which were not. The two groups in question, what Schmidt categorized as *gladius*-type and *ambactus*-type loans respectively, are named for the two Celtic loanwords which best exemplify the two categories.

According to Schmidt’s framework, *ambactus*-type loans represent those Latin words of Celtic origin which, due to a lack of successful integration, are so marked. The Latin *ambactus* [‘servant’], for example, is flagged by Paulus Diaconus who informs us that, “*ambactus apud Ennium lingua Gallica*

²⁵⁹ Schmidt 1967, 160.

servus appellatur” [‘according to Ennius, a servant is called *ambactus* in the Gallic tongue’] (Paul.Fest.4).²⁶⁰ A look at the Latin literary record confirms the integration status of *ambactus*, which appears a total of three times. Along with the aforementioned uses by Diaconus and in the, now fragmentary, *Annales* of Ennius (610), *ambactus* also appears in a distinctly Gallic context in Caesar’s *De Bello Gallico*. According to Caesar, the Gallic *equites*, who frequently found themselves at war, were often surrounded by “*plurimos...ambactos clientesque*” [‘many servants and clients’] (*BGall.* 6.15).

On the opposite end of the spectrum, *gladius*-type loans, those which were integrated completely, are described by Schmidt as “[offering] more interesting and far-reaching, albeit more difficult problems for Latin philology.”²⁶¹ This is due to the fact that, in Schmidt’s view, the foreign origins of such terms may have been rendered invisible by the integration process,²⁶² not unlike the instances of cultural diffusion described by Linton.²⁶³ Therefore, with the Celtic origin of such terms seemingly unknown to Latin authors, identifying statements of the kind discussed above are non-existent and researchers must rely instead on etymological and contextual evidence in order to classify such terms as loanwords. As mentioned in Chapter Two, for *gladius* [‘sword’] this evidence comes from a number of Insular Celtic cognates, namely the Welsh *cleddyf*, Breton *klézé*, and Irish *claideb*, all of which, along with *gladius* itself, likely stemmed from the Proto-Celtic **kladze*.²⁶⁴

Schmidt’s decision to use *gladius* as representative of all successfully integrated loanwords seems to be well founded, as the term appears in an astonishing 988 instances throughout the Latin literary record.²⁶⁵ While this certainly seems to be positive confirmation of the usefulness of contextual evidence for gauging the integration of a loanword, it should also be noted that this effect on the literary record is not the only measurable outcome of *gladius*’s integration into Latin. According to Schmidt, the

²⁶⁰ Schmidt 1967, 157.

²⁶¹ Schmidt 1967, 163.

²⁶² Schmidt 1967, 163.

²⁶³ Linton 1936, 327.

²⁶⁴ Schmidt 1967, 159.

²⁶⁵ This number was provided by the PHI Latin database following a search of *gladius* in all its parsed forms. It should be noted, however, that unlike with the other loanwords examined in this thesis, I have not personally verified each of the aforementioned instances of this term.

integration of a loanword is evidenced further by the very effect the term had on the existing Latin vocabulary²⁶⁶ and, in the case of *gladius* for example, Schmidt notes two distinct outcomes of this integration: 1) the addition of the term *gladiator* to the Latin vocabulary;²⁶⁷ and 2) the supplantation of the native *ensis* [‘sword’].²⁶⁸ While Schmidt advises caution in relation to the first item, as Latin had a tendency to use set formulas when creating derivative terms (*cf. bellator* [‘warrior’] from *bellum* [‘war’])²⁶⁹, Weinreich informs us that the second item, namely the restriction or complete removal of a vocabulary item from the established word field, can be a common consequence of lexical borrowing.²⁷⁰

Now that we have taken a more in-depth look at Schmidt’s analysis of the integration of Celtic loanwords in Latin, a prudent next step would be to apply the framework to the data collected in this thesis. Intriguingly, when the Latin lexemes are separated into categories representative of either *ambactus*-type or *gladius*-type loans, a task which is made easier by the fact that such a classification ignores contextual evidence in favour of direct statements regarding a loanword’s origin, we find a considerable divergence between the two categories, with fifteen of the twenty-one loans qualifying as *ambactus*-type²⁷¹ and only six as *gladius*-type.²⁷² Following Schmidt’s theory about the correlation between these two variables, we should expect, therefore, to find roughly seventy-one percent of our examined loans not to have integrated at all – a result which, as we shall soon see, does not appear to be accurate.

A potential solution for this problem is the creation of a new framework for tracking the integration of Celtic loanwords in Latin, one which relies on contextual evidence in order to make more accurate determinations about the integration of both the loanword and its corresponding cultural item. While, in the previous three chapters, this kind of evidence was used in a discussion of the Celtic origin

²⁶⁶ Schmidt 1967, 163/4.

²⁶⁷ Schmidt 1967, 164.

²⁶⁸ Schmidt 1967, 163.

²⁶⁹ Schmidt 1967, 164.

²⁷⁰ Weinreich 1979, 54/5.

²⁷¹ The fifteen *ambactus*-type loans examined by this study include: *cervesia*, *omasum*, *taxea*, *tucetum*, *caracalla*, *linna*, *sagum*, *viriola*, *benna*, *covinnus*, *essedum*, *petorritum*, *pilentum*, *ploxenum*, and *raeda*.

²⁷² The six *gladius*-type loans examined by this study include: *bracae*, *cucullus*, *carpentum*, *carrus*, *cisium*, and *colisatum*.

for certain loanwords, the remainder of this chapter will instead use it to determine which loans seemed to flourish in contexts which were distinctly Roman. Not only will such a method provide a more accurate representation of the integration patterns of Celtic loanwords but it also stands to reason that those loanwords which are well represented on the Roman side of the literary record are also those which integrated most successfully and represent the best possible candidates for coinciding with a diffused item of Celtic material culture.

The new framework devised for this thesis will endeavor to separate the examined loanwords into three separate categories based on their levels of integration. The words in these categories will be referred to as loans of either ‘low-level integration’, ‘mid-level integration’, or ‘high-level integration’ based on how they are represented by contextual evidence from the Latin literary record. This will be done in the hopes of presenting a more complete picture of the lexical borrowing, and by extension cultural diffusion, which took place between Gaul and Rome.

6.1 Low-Level Integration Loans

While their appearance in the literary record at all suggests that the following loanwords were somewhat integrated into Latin, those which are included in this category are representative of cultural items which appear not to have been integrated into Roman society and, therefore, cannot represent candidates for diffusion. Unsurprisingly, this section does contain a number of *ambactus*-type loans, those terms which Schmidt’s framework also predicted would fail to be integrated. What may come as a surprise, however, is the fact that, out of the fifteen *ambactus*-type loanwords considered by this study,²⁷³ only five lack the contextual evidence to suggest integration of any kind. Each of these five terms – namely *taxea* [‘lard’], *linna* [‘Gallic cloak’], *covinnus* [‘carriage’], *petorritum* [‘four-wheeled cart’], and *ploxenum* [‘a kind of Gallic car’²⁷⁴ / ‘a carriage body’²⁷⁵] – are marked specifically as Gallic by Latin authors and, for the most part, appear in contexts which are strictly Gallic or in texts which are

²⁷³ See notes 271 and 272 above.

²⁷⁴ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* *ploxenum*, -i, n.

²⁷⁵ OLD *s.v.* *ploxenum*, ~i, n; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* *ploxenum*, -ī n.

fragmentary (or both) and, in any case, have already been described in previous chapters. The only exceptions to this seem to be an appearance of *covinnus* in an epigram of Martial, where the poet describes the vehicle as a beloved diversion (12.24), Horace's suggestion that he would require a *petorritum* to travel if he were richer than he was, and Catullus's use of *ploxenum* to describe the gums of a figure named Aemilius (97). With regards to the first, we learn from Martial that his *covinnus* is a small vehicle, operated by himself without the need for an additional driver, a design consideration which offers solitude to the passenger (12.24). Since this is the only appearance of *covinnus* in this context, however, it does not seem likely that such a vehicle occurred commonly in Roman society. As for the second, the fact that there are only two uses for *petorritum* in Roman contexts – the aforementioned use by Horace as well as a statement by his commentator, Porphyrio, that the term is unrecognizable to the “*vulgo*” [‘common folk’] (1.6.104) – suggests that the term was not well known. Finally, with regards to the third, despite the fact that Catullus's reference to *ploxenum* contains no appreciable references to Gaul or to Rome, it is later flagged as a barbarism which likely originated, along with Catullus himself, in Cisalpine Gaul (Quint.*Inst.Ora.* 1.5.8).

Along with the five *ambactus*-type loans discussed above, this category also contains a single *gladius*-type loanword in *colisatum* [‘wagon’]. Despite the fact that *colisatum* receives no direct statements regarding its origin, leaving researchers to rely on the etymological evidence to classify the term as Celtic, its only appearance in the Latin literary record is a reference made by Pliny the Elder during a description of Gallic techniques for counterfeiting silver (34.163). Given that this one and only reference is distinctly Gallic, there is no evidence to indicate the term, despite its status as a *gladius*-type loan, was ever integrated.

6.2 Mid-Level Integration Loans

In this section, we will consider those loanwords whose integrations have been deemed to be of mid-level status. While it is true that none of the terms in this section appear in more than five

contextually Roman instances in the Latin literary record and all have a connection to Gaul which is discernable, not only to us, but to our Latin sources as well, their connections to Rome cannot be so easily dismissed.

Despite the small number of references to it in the Latin literary record, *cervesia* ['beer'] seems to have been a product of known Celtic origin which nevertheless found a place in Roman society. As presented in Chapter Three, statements from both Pliny the Elder (*HN.22.164*) and Maurus Honoratus (*G.3.380*) describe *cervesia* production as taking place in provinces such as Gaul, where colder temperatures may have made viticulture difficult or impossible. While there does not seem to exist much contextual evidence pertaining to the use of *cervesia* outside of Gaul, a single instance of the term found in the sixth century AD *Digesta* of Justinian (33.6.9.pr.), provides an important link to Rome.

si mulsum sit factum, vini appellatione non continebitur proprie...certe zythum, quod in quibusdem provinciis ex tritico vel ex hordeo vel ex pane conficitur, non continebitur: simul modo nec camum nec cervesia continebitur nec hydromeli.

If mead were brewed, it would not properly be included under the designation of wine...and neither, in fact, would *zythum*, which is prepared in certain provinces from wheat or barley or bread, be included. In similar fashion, neither *camum* nor *cervesia* nor *hydromeli* will be included.

Considering the technical nature of this passage – in this case, a statement about the correct terminology for use in bequests – we should, perhaps, view what is said as less important than what the passage represents: namely, that *cervesia*, along with a number of other beverages of foreign origin, had eventually found its way to Rome.

This conclusion can also be supported by similar evidence from outside of the Latin literary record, most notably in the *Edictum Diocletiani Et Collegarum De Pretiis Rerum Venalium*, better known as the Edict of Maximum Prices, disseminated by the emperor Diocletian in AD 301. According to Humphrey Michell's *The Edict of Diocletian: A Study of Price Fixing in the Roman Empire*, this edict,

fragments of which have been found in a number of eastern provinces as well as Italy itself²⁷⁶, “fixed for the whole Roman Empire maximum prices for commodities, freight rates, and wages.”²⁷⁷ Among the more than 900 commodities listed in the edict²⁷⁸ is a reference pertaining to the price of *cervesia* in comparison to many of the other beverages mentioned above (2.11-12).²⁷⁹

[11] *cervesiae <sive> camī Italicum s. unum x quatt<u>or*;

[12] *zythi Italicum s. unum x duobus*;

[11] *cervesia* or *camum* [beer] – one Italian *sextarius* – four *denarii*;

[12] *zythum* [beer] – one Italian *sexarius* – two *denarii*;

While this does not prove definitively that the beverage was available in Rome itself, the appearance of the term in Diocletian’s edict, along with the above mentioned reference in the *Digesta* of Justinian (33.6.9.pr.), suggests that *cervesia* (both the lexical item and the product itself) would have been recognizable in all corners of the Roman Empire.

In similar circumstance to *cervesia*, discussed above, *caracalla* [“a kind of garment without sleeves, and with a hood”]²⁸⁰ seems to have been a product which, though clearly imported, found a degree of success among the Roman people. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the garment is distinctly labeled as Gallic by a number of sources and, due to a lack of known cognates throughout the Celtic language families, it is solely to such contextual evidence which the credit for the Celtic classification of *caracalla* is owed. These same sources, however, are also responsible for providing valuable information regarding the integration of *caracalla* into Roman society and, more specifically, to the person allegedly

²⁷⁶ Michell 1947, 7.

²⁷⁷ Michell 1947, 1.

²⁷⁸ Michell 1947, 1.

²⁷⁹ Lauffer, S. "Diokletians Preisedikt." *The Roman Law Library*. Edited by Y. Lassard and A. Koptev. 1971. http://droitromain.upmf-grenoble.fr/Constitutiones/maximum_lauffer.gr.htm#7 (accessed May 2017).

²⁸⁰ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, s.v. *caracalla*, -ae f.

responsible for its importation: the Roman Emperor, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who has also come to known by the name Caracalla.

The story of this garment's introduction was given, in the fifth century AD, by Aelius Spartianus. (SHA.M.Ant.9.7-8)

[7] *ipse Caracalli nomen accepit a vestimento, quod populo dederat, demisso usque ad talos. [8] quod ante non fuerat. unde hodieque Antoninianae dicuntur caracallae huiusmodi, in usu maxime Romanae plebis frequentatae.*

[7] He himself accepted the name Caracalla from the garment which drops down to the heels and which he had given to the people [8] and had not been common before. Hence today, *caracallae* of this fashion, which are used most frequently by the Roman plebs, are called Antonine.

Similar versions of this story have also been provided by both Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, in the *Epitome De Caesaribus* (21.2) and Cassius Dio (78.3.3). The primary difference between these two accounts and that of Spartianus mentioned above, apart from Dio's use of the Greek counterpart *χαραχάλλος*, is how the authors described the importation process. While Spartianus's account describes a garment which became very popular with the Roman people, Victor and Dio describe it as a matter of command as opposed to one of fashionable choice.

As was the case with *cervesia*, however, the questions pertaining to the popularity of the *caracalla* at Rome can, in part, be answered by looking slightly outside the Latin literary record, specifically to Diocletian's AD 301 Edict of Maximum Prices (8.46-47).

[46] *<bracario> pro caracalla maiori x viginti q[ui]nque;*

[47] *<bracario> pro caracalla minori x viginti;*

[46] To a tailor, for [cutting out and sewing up]²⁸¹ a *caracalla maiori* – 25 denarii;

[47] To a tailor, for [cutting out and sewing up] a *caracalla minori* – 20 denarii;

²⁸¹ Wild 1964, 533.

According to J.P. Wild, in his 1964 paper *The Caracallus*,²⁸² the prices described above are representative not of the price for purchasing “heavy woolen *caracalli*,” but rather “the maximum price to be paid to the tailor for cutting out and sewing up the *caracallus* as it came straight from the loom.”²⁸³ In addition, Wild suggests that the variation between the *caracalla maiori* and the *caracalla minori* may be one of material,²⁸⁴ the former representing the “heavy woolen [*caracalla*]” mentioned above, and the latter representing a linen variant for use in warmer climates.²⁸⁵ Not only does this entry in Diocletian’s edict support Spartianus’s assertion that the garment had gained popularity among the Roman people (for why else would Roman tailors be producing them?), but the distinction between *caracalla maiori* and *minori* also points to an affinity for this garment which spread, in two varieties, throughout the empire.

The next term to qualify as a mid-level integration loan is the Latin *viriole* [‘bracelet’]. Despite Pliny the Elder’s assertion that the gold bands worn on the arms of Roman men are “*viriole Celtice dicuntur*” [‘called *viriole* in the language of the Celts’] (*HN.33.39*), a statement which would have qualified the term as a quintessential *ambactus*-type loan, additional evidence from the Latin literary record suggests that, like the other loanwords of this category, *viriole* may have been integrated far more than such a classification should allow. Unlike *cervesia* and *caracalla*, however, the evidence regarding this loanword’s arrival in Rome is far less transparent.

Contextual evidence for the integration of *viriole* comes from a single source in the literary record, namely the sixth century AD *Digesta* of Justinian, in which the term appears four times. In keeping with the technical nature of such a document, however, the references in question provide little as to the integration of our loanword in Roman society save, perhaps, the most general among them which simply indicates that *viriole* are one of many “*ornamenta muliebria sunt*” [‘ornaments [which] are

²⁸² While, according to Wild (1964, 534), the feminine form ‘*caracalla*’ may be is the more common, the masculine variant ‘*caracallus*’ is “the more correct, and is the original name of the garment.” Wild suggests the confusion between the two may have first arisen “when the name was transferred from the cape to the man.”

²⁸³ Wild 1964, 533.

²⁸⁴ Wild 1964, 533.

²⁸⁵ Wild 1964, 533.

particular to women’] (34.2.25.10). The final three appearances of the term which exemplify cases where: (1) co-heirs attempt to sell an article but are each mistaken about its value (18.1.14.pr); (2) a will had given an heir the choice between a number of articles (33.5.8.1); and (3) a woman wished to be buried with her jewelry (34.2.40.2), opt instead to use *viriolae*, along with countless other terms, to demonstrate the practical application of various legal tenets. While, as mentioned previously, the appearance of *viriolae* in a document such as the *Digesta* does indicate that the term had been successfully integrated into both the Latin language and Roman culture, it provides no indication as to whether the term was borrowed along with a particular variety of bracelet, which would be indicative of diffusion, or simply as a new word used to describe something which was already Roman.

Finally, we have the Latin *carrus* [‘wagon’], the last of our mid-level integration loans and the only among them to qualify as a *gladius*-type loan under Schmidt’s framework. Conceptually, the Roman *carrus* existed as a wagon for transporting baggage or goods, and does not seem to have differed greatly from its Gallic counterpart. According to the author of the first century BC *De Bello Hispaniensi*, for example, Pompey marched to Corduba with “*carra complura*” [‘multiple wagons’] (*BHisp.*6.2), while Vitruvius Pollio notes how Chersiphron, the architect of the temple of Diana at Ephesus, “*non confisus carris*” [‘did not have confidence in these wagons’] (10.2.11) when it came to hauling newly quarried portions of the temple’s columns. This final reference may speak to a common design concern regarding the load capacity of the vehicle, an assertion corroborated by the *Codex Theodosianus*, in which we learn that vehicles used for official matters must be chosen for their suitability to the expected burden and that “*carro [onus librarum] sescentarum nec amplius addito*” [‘a load of not more than six hundred pounds shall be placed on a *carrus*’] (8.5.47).

As was the case with the other terms presented in this category, *carrus* does not seem to represent the most promising candidate for cultural diffusion. In this case, however, the question is not whether the Roman *carri* were products of importation (as was suggested for a number of the terms above) but rather, whether or not the term ever represented a specific type of wagon. The other potential option, one which

can perhaps be inferred from the literary evidence pertaining to *carrus*, is that this loanword acted as a blanket term representative of all wagons, not unlike its modern counterpart, the English *car*, which, even today, is used as shorthand to describe most automobiles regardless of the model. While, unfortunately, the earliest literary evidence we have for *carrus*-use comes in the, now fragmentary, *Historiae* by Lucius Cornelius Sisenna (61.1), the term does appear a number of times throughout the works of Julius Caesar, a young contemporary to Sisenna whose works on the Gallic and Civil Wars are only separated from the *Historiae* by roughly two decades. Not only does Caesar use *carrus* in a number of Gallic contexts, many of which were discussed in Chapter Five, but he also employs the term to describe vehicles used by both the Germans (*BGall.* 1.51.2; 4.14.4) and the Romans (*BCiv.* 1.54.3), something we would not expect to see if the term referred only to a specific variety of vehicle. Finally, the most compelling piece of evidence to support this point of view comes several centuries later, in a statement by Pomponius Porphyrio, in his commentary on the *Sermones* of Horace. According to Porphyrio, “*petorritum genus vehiculi est, quod vulgo carrum dicitur*” [‘the *petorritum* is a kind of vehicle which the common folk call *carrus*’] (1.6.104). While it is certainly possible that such a generalization occurred long after the term’s initial borrowing, or even that this particular use was limited to the general populace (Porphyrio does seem to imply here that the educated know better than to make such an error), when coupled with the varied uses of *carrus* by Caesar, this statement does seem to suggest a far broader conception of the term, throughout its history.

6.3 High-Level Integration Loans

The loanwords which will be presented in this section have all been integrated successfully into the Latin language and are those which represent the best possible candidates for also coinciding with an instance of cultural diffusion. Of these high-level integration loans, the first which we will be discussing, *omasum* [‘beef tripe’],²⁸⁶ appears in a number of contextually non-Gallic instances throughout the Latin literary record and fits the profile of a loanword which transferred early, and was integrated successfully.

²⁸⁶ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, *s.v.* omāsum, -ī n.; Walde, A. und J.B. Hofmann 1938, *s.v.* omāsum, -ī n.

While, unfortunately, the earliest appearance of *omasum* in the Latin literary record – namely, in Gnaeus Naevius’s late third century BC *Palliatae* (65) – is fragmentary, and the two uses by Horace in the first century BC (*Serm.*2.5.40; *Epist.*1.15.34) are, for our purposes, contextually ambiguous, the appearances of the early first century AD suggest a foodstuff which could easily be mistaken for one of Roman origin. While it is conceivable that Pliny’s medical assertions about *omasum* were picked up during the author’s childhood in Cisalpine Gaul – these being that, as a broth, it could be used “*venena...expugnari, privatim vero aconita et cicutas,*” [‘to repel poisons, particularly indeed wolf’s-bane and hemlock’] (*HN.*28.161) and that “*linguae exulcerationi et arteriarum prodest ius omasi gargarizatum*” [‘[when] gargled, the broth of *omasum* is useful for aggravation of the tongue and throat’] (*HN.*28.189) – the following anecdote, however, referring to a man who, in the absence of a cow, harvested *omasum* from an ox, is distinctly Roman (*HN.*8.180).

socium enim laboris agrique culturae habemus hoc animal, tantae apud priores curae, ut sit inter exempla damnatus a populo Romano die dicta, qui concubino procaci rure omassum edisse se negante occiderat bovem, actusque in exilium tamquam colono suo interempto.

We possess in this animal a partner in labour and in husbandry, held in such esteem with our predecessors that among our record of punishments there is a case of a man who was indicted for having killed an ox because a wanton young companion said he had never eaten [*omasum*] and was convicted by the public court and sent into exile just as though he had murdered his farm-labourer.²⁸⁷

This event is also mentioned in the *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* by Valerius Maximus, a contemporary of Pliny the Elder. Valerius’s statement that the culprit may have been considered innocent “*nisi tam prisco saeculo natus esset*” [‘if he had not been born in so ancient an age’] (*8.damn.*8), gives us a clue to the earliness of the borrowing and, perhaps, the extent of *omasum*’s integration.

Unlike *omasum* above, *tuccetum* [“some made-up, savory dish”]²⁸⁸ does not appear prior to the mid-first century AD. Despite a relatively brief literary history (the term only appears five times and in

²⁸⁷ Translation by H. Rackham (1967, 127).

²⁸⁸ OLD *s.v.* tuccētum, -i, n.

the works of only two authors), it is a testament to its integration that there is no indication *tucetum* ever existed as anything other than a Roman dish. Unfortunately, due to the small number of available references, the exact nature of *tucetum* is somewhat difficult to pin down. The contextual evidence which does exist, however, seems to suggest a dish which was somewhat gourmet, if not altogether luxurious.

This idea of *tucetum* as a rich and potentially high-class dish is supported by the following appearance of the term in a satire by Aulus Persius Flaccus (2.41-43), an author who lived in the first century AD.

*poscis opem neruis corpusque fidele senectae
esto age. sed grandes patinae tucetaque crassa
adnuere his superos vetuere Iovemque morantur.*

You ask for muscular strength and a body faithful to old age: Be it so, do it: but your abundant dishes and thick *tuceta* have forbidden the gods to assent to these and hinder Jove.

In concordance with the overarching theme of Persius' satire, which is described by Everard Flintoff in his 1982 paper, *Food for Thought: Some Imagery in Persius Satire 2*, as “[the] disparity between the act of praying and the worthlessness of what is being prayed for,”²⁸⁹ Persius uses the image of food, in this case *tucetum*, to “highlight the discrepancy between a man’s supposed aim in life and the way of life he actually lives.”²⁹⁰ According to Flintoff, Persius here attempts to demonstrate “the grotesqueness of treating spiritual beings, the gods, as though they were interested in physical food,”²⁹¹ something which he viewed as an example of the materialistic and gluttonous nature of the Roman upper class.²⁹²

For an additional view of *tucetum*'s integration into Roman society we can look to the other four instances of the term in the literary record, all of which appear in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius. In this world created by Apuleius, the same in which the protagonist Lucius is forced to endure a number of

²⁸⁹ Flintoff 1982, 344.

²⁹⁰ Flintoff 1982, 346.

²⁹¹ Flintoff 1982, 345.

²⁹² Flintoff 1982, 352.

hardships as man and beast, *tuccetum* seems to exist as a staple of Roman dining, at all levels of society. The dish is served to bandits in their hideout (7.11.9), prepared by the abusive and adulterous wife of a local miller (9.22.11), as well as by Photis, the servant of the wealthy and prominent Milo (2.7.7). The dish even seems to have been served in homes of gods for, no sooner had Psyche's sisters been delivered by Zephyr than the women found themselves enjoying "*beatis edulibus atque tucetis*" ['sumptuous foods and *tucceta*'] (5.15.5).

It is unfortunate that these uses, varied as they are in the social strata of Roman society, come from a single source, as it makes this widespread nature of *tuccetum* difficult to verify. Of course, unlike Pliny the Elder, who we may suspect of favouring Gallic terms as a result of his upbringing, Apuleius, born at Madaurus, "on the shared border of Numidia and Gaetulia," (*Apol.*24) can be accused of no such bias. Nevertheless, we should remain cognizant that his account may not be representative of Roman society as a whole. What it may represent, however, is the same idea as that portrayed in Persius's satire above, namely that *tuccetum* was a luxurious dish more associated with the Roman upper class and one with which Apuleius, himself of wealthy upbringing (*Apol.* 23), may have been familiar.

The Latin term *cucullus* ['hood'], similar to *tuccetum*, is another loan, in this case a *gladius*-type, which only makes an appearance in the literary record in the first century AD. Unlike *tuccetum*, however, the integration of *cucullus* did not associate the term with luxury or the upper class. On the contrary, the three segments of the Roman population which seem to have worn the garment are slaves, the impoverished, and the disreputable. The first of these classes, slaves, has a connection to *cucullus* which is made clear by the term's appearance in the following passage (1.8.9) from the first century AD *De Re Rustica* of L. Iunius Moderatus Columella which, according M. Stephen Spurr of the Oxford Classical Dictionary, is "the most systematic extant Roman agricultural manual."²⁹³

*cultam vestitamque familiam magis utiliter quam delicate habeat
munitamque diligenter a vento, frigore pluuiaque, quae cuncta
prohibentur pellibus manicatis, centonibus confectis vel sagis cucullis.*

²⁹³ OCD s.v. Columella, Lucius Iunius Moderatus.

With regard to the care and clothing of slaves, [the overseer] should look to utility more than fashion and diligently keep them fortified against the wind, cold, and rain, all of which are kept away by long-sleeved leather garments, quilts made of patchwork, or *sagis cucullis* [‘hooded cloaks’].

For slaves, especially those who were put to work in the Roman countryside (1.8.2), being provided with a *cucullus* was a matter of practical necessity and, according to Columella, the onus to do so fell on either the owner or the *vilicus* [‘overseer’] of each individual estate (1.8.9). It is of course plausible that any negative connotations surrounding the loanword may have extended to all rural workers, as opposed to simply slaves as, in an anecdote by Pomponius Porphyrio, in his commentary on the *Sermones* of Horace (1.7.28-30), there is depicted a number of *vindemiatores* [‘grape-gatherers’] being mocked for their use of *cuculli* without any reference to their status as either freemen or slaves.

In addition to rural slaves and labourers, the connection between the *cucullus* and the urban poor of Rome was well documented in the Latin literary record. In the third satire of Juvenal, for example, a “denunciation” of Rome according to the University of Virginia’s Edward Courtney,²⁹⁴ the poet discusses the difficulty of living in a city where ceremonial pomp made political advancement difficult, especially since, he asserts, “[in] a great part of Italy...no one wears a toga unless they are dead” (3.171/2), and the cost of living, let alone of togas, was exceptionally high. Here, Juvenal suggests that if those who, like himself, were disenchanted with the city, were to be “*translatus subito ad Marsus mensamque Sabellam*” [‘suddenly transported to a Sabellan or Marsian table’] (3.169), they would be “*contentusque illic veneto duroque cucullo*” [‘content in a poor man’s coarse, blue *cucullus*’] (3.170). According to Courtney, the Marsian and Sabellan tables were “types of primitive frugality,”²⁹⁵ while the aforementioned *venetus cucullus* [‘blue hood’] is a variety of the garment which was also referenced to in an epigram of Martial, where it is described as a “*cucullus Liburnicus*” [‘Liburnian hood’], and its blue colouring is said to turn white clothes green if worn in the rain (14.139). In yet another epigram, Martial’s lamentation of the fact

²⁹⁴ Courtney 2013, 126.

²⁹⁵ Courtney 2013, 150.

that a poet named Maeuius “*alget in cucullo*” [‘shivers in a *cucullus*’], while Incitatus, a muleteer, is rich, marks another connection between this particular head covering and the urban poor of Rome.

The third and final segment of the Roman population to be often associated with the *cucullus* were those considered to be doing something of disrepute. Not only did these range from minor or commonplace offences, such as wearing a *cucullus* when sitting in an improper seat at the arena (Mart.5.14), or while skulking about to commit adultery (Juv. 8.145), but also included those which verged on deviance. This connection is most obvious in a number of appearances of the term in Juvenal’s sixth satire which is an attempt on the part of the poet to dissuade a man named Postumus from taking a wife. On the subject of faithfulness, Juvenal points out that even Valeria Messallina, wife of the Emperor Claudius, while her husband slept, would don the *cucullus* of a “*meretrix*” [‘prostitute’] (6.118). Similarly, regarding the sexual appetites of women generally, the poet points to the maenads of Priapus (“enough to stir Priam, frigid with age” (6.325/6)), who, if a summoned lover [‘*adulterus*’] happened to be sleeping, would “*iubet sumpto iuvenem properare cucullo*” [‘order his son to don a *cucullus* and hurry to join her’] (6.330).

The next loanword to fit within this category, *sagum* [‘cloak’], is certainly one of the more interesting of our high-level integration loans. This is due to the fact that, despite an early borrowing (ca. 160 BC) and an incredibly successful integration, *sagum*, due to a statement made by Marcus Terentius Varro in 43 BC, technically qualifies as an *ambactus*-type loan under the framework proposed by Karl Schmidt and serves as the perfect example as to why such a method of categorization is slightly too simplistic. Throughout the Latin literary record, *sagum* makes a number of contextually Roman appearances, most of which can be separated into two distinct categories: the first, as a simple garment intended for use outdoors and, the second, as a military cloak.

The conception of *sagum* as a general utility cloak is certainly not the most prominent of the term’s uses, but it is perhaps the earlier of the two. Not only does the earliest appearance of the term, in Marcus Porcius Cato’s *De Agri Cultura* (ca. 160 BC), fit within this usage category, but it is this

particular conception which is contextually the most similar to that of *cucullus* discussed above, another clothing term of Gallic origin which is often linked to *sagum*. This can be seen in the same passage from Columella's *De Re Rustica* mentioned previously (1.8.9), in which, Columella suggests that a *sagis cucullis* ['hooded cloak'], is a necessary piece of equipment to protect a slave against the elements. This is similar advice to that provided in the following passage of Cato's *De Agri Cultura* (59.1).

Vestimenta familiae. Tunicam P. III S, saga alternis annis. Quotiens cuique tunicam aut sagum dabis, prius veterem accipito unde centones fiant.

Clothing allowance for the hands: a tunic 3^{1/2} feet long and a [*sagum*] every other year. When you issue the tunic or the [*sagum*], first take up the old one and have patchwork made of it.²⁹⁶

Cato goes on to add that the *saga* in question, along with a number of other implements, should be purchased at Rome (135.1). This should not come as a surprise, however, since, as M. Stephen Spurr points out, Cato's principal audience was "the owner of a middle-sized estate, based on slave labour, in Latium or Campania"²⁹⁷, which would perhaps make the suggestion simply one of relative convenience and may not have applied if the estate were in another province.

The second and more widely used context in which *sagum* often appears is that of a military cloak. While there are certainly a number of examples of the term being used in this capacity, such as in 49 BC, for example, when Caesar's troops wrapped their *saga* around their left hand to use as makeshift shields while defending their camp (*BCiv.* 1.75), what is perhaps more interesting is that the term became an important part of a distinct Latin expression, where *sagum* was paired with some form of *sumere* ['take up'], or another verb of that effect. While the phrase translates to some variation of 'donning military garb', and is long believed to have originated with the idea that the garment was worn "by the whole male population of the city on the occasion of a *tumultus* or other sudden alarm,"²⁹⁸ the astonishing amount of appearances in the literary record (19 of *sagum*'s 48 total appearances are used in this context) suggest

²⁹⁶ Translation by W.D. Hooper and H.B. Ash (1934, 73).

²⁹⁷ OCD s.v. Porcius Cato (1), Marcus.

²⁹⁸ Anderson 1891, 588.

that the saying was a somewhat idiomatic expression for going to war. While Cicero seems to have used the phrase more than anyone it can also be found in Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* (72.5; 73.13; 118.9), Velleius Paterculus's *Historiae Romanae* (2.16.4), and as late as Trebellius Pollio's addition to the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*: the *Tyranni Triginta* (10.12.2), at the turn of the fifth century AD.

One final hallmark of *sagum*'s integration into Latin is that fact that the term seems to have undergone a semantic shift which is visible throughout the literary record. Linguistically speaking, semantic shifts are subtle changes which occur over time in the meaning of a word²⁹⁹ and, in this case, it appears as though the loanword underwent a semantic generalization or, in other words, a broadening of meaning. Beginning around the mid-first century AD, there began to appear uses of *sagum* which did not conform to either of the above categories, and instead indicate that the term had become acceptable shorthand for cloaks in general. In AD 43/4, for example, Pomponius Mela made statements informing us that *saga* were used by African chieftains (1.41), while both he (3.26) and Tacitus (*Ger.* 17.1) say the same of the Germans. A letter addressed by Seneca to Gaius Lucilius Junior lists the *sagum* as a typical outfit of the poor (18.7), while Julius Capitolinus, in his biographies of Lucius Verus and of Pertinax, refers, in the former, to a *sagum* which adorned a horse (6.4) and, in the latter, to those which were intended for use by gladiators (8.3). Finally, in the sixth century AD, the *Digesta* of Justinian officially listed the *sagum* as an article of clothing peculiar to either men or servants (34.2.23). This generalization, likely the second of two semantic shifts to have occurred in *sagum*'s history as a Latin term, was long ago preceded by the semantic specialization which saw the term move away from its earlier conception as a utility cloak to its more common iteration as military garb.

While the evidence presented above suggests that *sagum* was certainly affected by a number of semantic shifts, our next loanword, *carpentum* ["a two-wheeled covered car"]³⁰⁰, was defined by them. As mentioned in the previous chapter, *carpentum* is perhaps one of the best (and certainly among the most oft-cited) examples of an integrated Celtic loanword in the Latin language and, in order to best explore

²⁹⁹ Trask 2015, 32.

³⁰⁰ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, s.v. *carpentum*, -i, n.

this integration, we will look to the clear semantic evolution which took place throughout *carpentum*'s literary history. If we recall the discussion presented in the previous chapter, *carpentum* originated as a kind of baggage wagon which frequently accompanied Gallic armies into battle and seem to have been captured nearly as frequently as a staple prize of Roman victory. While, early on, the Roman counterpart to this vehicle shared a similar conception, the 'baggage wagon' was only one of a number of iterations in *carpentum*'s ever evolving place in Roman society.

The various appearances of *carpentum* throughout the Latin literary record can be divided into two larger categories which pertain to how the term was used either inside or outside of Rome itself. Outside of the city, the iterations of *carpentum* seem to mirror the Gallic appearances mentioned both above and in Chapter Five, with the vehicle appearing as a kind of high-end baggage/travel wagon. This iteration appears early in the record and remains quite persistent throughout. According to Livy, for example, Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome who, tradition states, ruled from 616 to 579 BC³⁰¹, along with his wife Tanaquil, used a *carpentum* for their immigration to Rome (Liv.1.34.8) while, in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, the wealthy Thiasus traveled to Corinth with "*decoris...carpentis*" ['adorned *carpenta*'] (10.18) and, following his successful transformation into human form, Lucius himself rode to Rome in similar fashion (11.26). These baggage wagons also make a number of appearances in relation to the Roman military and, while they were likely used very similarly to their original Gallic counterparts, two notable examples describe some additional applications. According to Lucan, for instance, the senator Cato chose to lead his troops by example and refused to be carried along in a *carpentum* (Luc.9.587-590), a statement which suggests the vehicle was often used to transport soldiers too ill or injured to march. In Opellius Macrinus's third century AD army, on the other hand, the punishment for a tribune allowing a sentry post to go unmanned was for the guilty party to be "*carpento rotali subteradnexum per totum iter vivum atque exanimum traxit*" ['tied to the bottom of a wheeled *carpentum*

³⁰¹ OCD s.v. Tarquinius Priscus, Lucius.

and dragged through the whole march, living or dead’] (SHA.*Mac.*15.12.7). Unfortunately, it remains unknown whether or not this was a typical punishment for such negligence.

Inside of Rome itself, the term and vehicle both underwent a number of semantic and societal shifts as, over time, it became acceptable for various different groups to operate *carpenta* within the city limits. According to Tacitus, the privilege of “*carpento Capitolium ingredi*” [‘entering the Capitol by *carpentum*’] was, at one time, limited to priests and sacred objects (*Ann.*12.42), but Livy informs us that this changed when the matrons of the city donated their collective jewelry to the Roman treasury in a time of need and, as a reward, were given the right “*carpentis festo profestoque [uti]*” [‘to make use of *carpenta* on both holy days and work days’] (5.25.9). This arrangement seems to have lasted for quite a while, though not without opposition. The Oppian Law, drafted during the Second Punic War, sought to limit this privilege, along with a number of other outright displays of luxury (Liv.34.3.9). We may question the success of such a measure, however, as, according to Aelius Lampridius, a *senaculum* (or, as Lampridius describes it, a “*mulierum senatum*” [‘women’s senate’]) established by the emperor Elagabalus and his mother Julia Bassiana, made a number of decrees in AD 219 which, among other things, attempted to define “*quae carpento [veheretur] mulari, quae boum*” [‘who may be conveyed in a *carpentum* drawn by mules, or who by oxen’] (SHA.*Heliogab.*4.4).

Despite these sanctions, the vehicle’s appearance as a high-class carriage intended for use primarily by women became the most common iteration of the term in the Latin literary record. Some of the many examples of this trend include Claudia, the sister of Claudius Pulcher, whose *carpentum* was slowed so much by the urban traffic that she openly wished “*ut frater suus...revivisceret atque iterum classem amitteret, quo minor turba Romae foret*” [‘that her brother might come to life again and lose another fleet, in order that there be less of a crowd in Rome’] (Suet.*Tib.*2.3.8), as well as Julia Agrippina, sister of the emperor Gaius, and mother to Nero, whose very use of the vehicle within the Capitol, increased her status in the eyes of the Roman people (Tac.*Ann.*12.42). Furthermore, both Agrippina and

Julia Augusta are associated with the *carpentum* on coins which were issued by Gaius (see Figure 7), and Tiberius (see Figure 8) respectively.



Figure 8: Agrippina Senior

Image by: Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.



Figure 7: Julia Augusta (Livia)

Image by: Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.

One of the most intriguing aspects of this iteration of *carpentum* is its many appearances in reference to a single episode of Roman history, one which is frequently repeated throughout the Latin literary record. The incident in question is the murder of Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome, at the hands of both Tarquinius Superbus, and Servius's daughter Tullia.

*foedum inhumanumque inde traditur scelus, monumentoque locus est—
Sceleratum vicum vocant—quo amens agitantibus furiis sororis ac viri,
Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur, partemque sanguinis ac
caedis paternae cruento vehiculo, contaminata ipsa respersaque, tulisse
ad penates suos virique sui, quibus iratis malo regni principio similes
propediem exitus sequerentur.* (Liv.1.48.7)

There followed an act of bestial inhumanity – history preserves the memory of it in the name of the street, the Street of Crime. The story goes that [Tullia], driven to frenzy by the avenging ghosts of her sister and husband, drove the [*carpentum*] over her father's body. Blood from the corpse stained her clothes and spattered the carriage, so that grim relic of the murdered man was brought by those gory wheels to the house where she and her husband lived. The guardian gods of that house did not forget; they were to see to it, in their anger at the bad beginning of the reign, that as bad an end should follow.³⁰²

The mutilation of Servius Tullius by his daughter's *carpentum* is also mentioned by M. Terrentius Varro (*Ling.*5.159.6), Ovid (*Fast.*6.603), Valerius Maximus (9.11.1), Annius Florus (1.1.7), and S. Pompeius Festus (*DeVerbSig.*334.1), making it the most frequently repeated context in which the term appears.

³⁰² Translation by Aubrey De Sélincourt (2002, 89).

While this appearance is, admittedly, somewhat anachronistic, it is important to note that such an episode is more likely the result of social trends which pertained to the *carpentum* at the time of Livy's writing, those which have been discussed above, as opposed to any which existed at the time of Tullia's crime. If, therefore, it could truly be determined whether the vehicle used by Tullia was, in fact, a *carpentum*, it would amount to little more than a coincidence.

The next societal shift to have affected *carpentum* seems to have occurred sometime prior to the early second century AD and is represented in two satires by the poet Juvenal. As mentioned previously, in his eighth satire, Juvenal makes a number of statements pertaining to the inexplicably Gallic habits of a figure named Lateranus, which included his donning of a *cucullus*, the Gallic hood; his reverence to *Epona*, the Gallic goddess; and, most importantly, his riding of a *carpentum* (8.145-157). In addition to establishing that authors such as Juvenal were no doubt aware of the Gallic origins of terms like *carpentum* (see Chapter 5.2.2), this reference, along with the fact that Juvenal's censure here seems only to apply to the fact that Lateranus "*ipse rotam adstringit sufflamine*" ['pressed the brake to the wheel himself'] (8.147), suggests that the vehicle had become acceptable for urban use by wealthy men as well as women, so long as they remained the passenger and not the driver (it was, presumably, always permitted for men of lower standing to operate the vehicles for their female passengers).

Similar evidence for this shift also appears in Juvenal's ninth satire, in which the poet can be found comforting a figure by the name of Naevolus, a bisexual (male) prostitute who has been upset by the treatment he had received from an unnamed patron (9.63).³⁰³ In the end, the satirist suggests Naevolus need not worry, for his services are those which are ever in demand.

*ne trepida, numquam pathicus tibi derit amicus
stantibus et saluis his collibus; undique ad illos
conuenient et carpentis et nauibus omnes
qui digito scalpunt uno caput.* (9.130-133)

³⁰³ Courtney 2013, 373; Courtney suggests that this comfort is less than sincere.

Do not worry, you will never be lacking a passive friend as long as these hills stand tall and unharmed; all those who scratch their head with a single finger will come here in their *carpenta* and in their ships.

In his 1999 book, *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity*, Craig Williams explains that the image of someone scratching their head with a single finger is used frequently throughout Latin literature to refer to someone who is, or is suggested to be, sexually passive.³⁰⁴ In the opinion of Williams, the gesture itself would be performed by people who did not wish to disturb neatly stylized hair and was thereby indicative of either women or, more likely, effeminate men.³⁰⁵ Therefore, while such figures may have had to suffer the scorn of Juvenal, they did so with the apparent ability to utilize *carpenta* within the limits of Rome.

Finally, at some point prior to the fourth century AD, it appears as though the perception of *carpentum* shifted yet again. Perhaps simply a logical progression from the previous step, we now see the vehicle go from a luxury carriage to an imperial coach in the possession of Junius Tiberianus during his tenure as prefect of the city (SHA.*Aurel.*1.1) in AD 303/4.³⁰⁶ It is, unfortunately, unclear when such a transition took place and, while we might suspect the change began with Alexander Severus's third century decree that all senators be permitted to use a carriage within the city limits (SHA.*Alex.Sev.*43.1), it should be noted that the term used by Lampridius here was not *carpentum*, but *carruca*, a derivation of *carrus* which may, or may not, have been representative of a wider category of vehicles. Nevertheless, it is clear that, by this point in its literary history, *carpentum* had undergone a gradual, yet drastic, shift within Roman society; the luxury, imperial coach residing quite far from its humble origin as a Gallic baggage wagon.

The next loan word to consider from this category, the Latin *cisium* ['carriage / gig'], is the final *gladius*-type loan also to qualify as one of high-level integration and one which stands, for a number of reasons, in stark contrast to the previous on this list. Unlike *carpentum* above, *cisium* makes only a

³⁰⁴ Williams 1999, 223.

³⁰⁵ Williams 1999, 223.

³⁰⁶ Magie 1998, 192; According to Magie, Tiberianus also served as consul in both AD 281 and AD 291.

handful of appearances in the Latin literary record (nine to be precise), seven of which occur in contexts which are distinctly Roman in nature. While such a literary history is comparatively slight, it is indicative of a term which not only underwent a successful integration process – enough so that Vitruvius Pollio opted not to discuss the *cisium* since it was “*non <ignotae sed> ad manum cotidiana*” [‘not unfamiliar but at hand daily’] (10.1.5) – but also seems to have maintained its identity as a specific type of vehicle which originated with the Celtic peoples of Gaul.

In its Roman context, the *cisium* was a two-wheeled vehicle (Non.86M.30) which seems to have been used for trips through the Roman countryside for either the purposes of transport or of leisure. With regard to the former, it was a *cisium* which, according to Cicero, Mallius Glaucia used to bring the news of Sextus Roscius’s death to the town of Ameria (*Rosc.Am.* 19.6), and which Antony used “*celeriter ad urbem advectus*” [‘to carry him quickly to the city’] when he made an impromptu journey from Narbo to Rome (*Cic.Phil.*2.77). As for the latter, the following statement made by Seneca in a letter to his friend Lucilius (72.2) shows the leisurely opportunities afforded to those who owned such a vehicle.

Quaedam enim sunt quae possis et in cisio scribere, quaedam lectum et otium et secretum desiderant.

There are, for instance, certain [subjects] about which you can write even while in a *cisium*; others require a chair, and free-time, and seclusion.

One further piece of information that we can infer from this passage is that the *cisium* was operated by a driver which left the passenger, if he so desired, free enough to write. This inference can be corroborated by a number of additional instances of the term in the literary record. Similar to Lateranus and his *carpentum* in Juvenal’s eighth satire (147), the author of the *Catalepton* in the *Appendix Vergiliana*, for example, criticizes Publius Ventidius, a consul, for claiming “*...fuisse mulio celerrimus, neque ullius volantis impetum cisi nequisse praeterire...*” [‘to have been the fastest muleteer and not being unable to surpass the momentum of any flying *cisium*’] (10.3). Additionally, in the event of an accident between two such vehicles, especially one which causes injury or death to a slave, the *Digesta* of Justinian states

that it would be the negligent driver, as opposed to the owner, of the offending *cisium* who received the punishment (19.2.13).

The next term to consider, the Latin *essedum* [‘chariot’], is the first of our final three loanwords in the high-level integration category. Despite the term’s *ambactus*-type status, as well as its relatively late borrowing into Latin,³⁰⁷ *essedum*, with 23 of its 37 analyzed appearances in the literary record coming in non-Gallic contexts, does seem to have enjoyed a fair bit of success as a Latin lexeme. In its Roman contexts, there appear to have been two iterations of *essedas*: a war chariot, not unlike the vehicle’s Gallic forbearer, and a carriage which seems to have been associated primarily with the wealthy; the Roman sports car, as it were.

While it may not come as a surprise that one of *essedum*’s iterations bears some resemblance to its Gallic counterpart, what may be surprising is that this association to Roman warfare is, in fact, the later of the two, and may owe its very existence to the earlier view of the *essedum* as a popular form of wealthy urban and extra-urban transport. The commonality of the *essedum* within Rome itself can be attested by Seneca who, while living above a *balneum* [‘bathhouse’] near the Velia (*Ep.*56.1,4), found himself troubled by the copious amount of noise pollution permeating around his residence. In yet another letter to Lucilius, Seneca described the “*essedas transcurrentes*” [‘passing *essedas*’] as being among the constant sounds of the city (*Ep.*56.4), their wheels perhaps producing the same signature noise which, according to Caesar, was employed by the Celts in an attempt to intimidate enemy ranks (*BGall.*4.33.2). Meanwhile, Ovid’s reminiscence, from exile, of time spent on escapades in an “*essedas...agili...rota*” [a swift-wheeled *essedas*] (*Pont.*2.10.34) throughout Sicily and elsewhere (*Pont.*2.10.22-30) points to the use of this vehicle outside of the city as well.

For evidence pertaining to the *essedum* as a symbol of wealth and luxury, we can look to both the *Epigrammaton Libri* of Martial and the *De Vita XII Caesarum* by Suetonius. According to the former of these, an *essedum* was included among the many possessions of the wealthy Sparsus, whose urban home

³⁰⁷ Piggott 1983, 231; Piggott suggests that *essedum*, along with *covinnus*, were first introduced to the Romans at the time of Caesar’s invasions of Gaul (58 BC) and Britain (55-54 BC).

was so large it may as well be a country villa (Mart.12.57), while, according to the latter, an “*essedum argenteum sumptuose fabricatum ac venale*” [a silver *essedum* made and sold at great cost’] was purchased and subsequently dismantled by Claudius during his time as censor (Suet.*Cl.*16.4). Suetonius also describes a number of occasions where the vehicle was used as a form of recreation. According to the biographer, Augustus, apparently a light eater, once described himself as having lunch “*in essedo*” (Suet.*Aug.*76.2), whereas the Emperor Claudius “*solitus [aleam] etiam in gestatione ludere, ita essedo alveoque adaptatis ne lusus confunderetur*” [‘was accustomed to playing [dice] while being driven so, in order that his game would not be disturbed, he fitted his *essedum* with a game-board’] (Suet.*Cl.*33.2). These final references suggest that Roman *essedum* may have required a driver in addition to the owner or passenger. While this is not specifically indicated in any of the above mentioned references, it is certainly not outside the realm of possibility, especially since, according to Caesar, the vehicle’s Gallic counterpart was operated by both a warrior and a charioteer simultaneously (*BGall.* 4.33).

The connection between the *essedum* and Roman warfare is also touched upon a number of times by Suetonius, who often described Roman emperors as utilizing the chariot while on campaign. The Emperor Gaius, for example, not only used an *essedum* while he was “*trans Rhenum*” (Suet.*Cal.*51.2), but also had a penchant for ordering senators “*ad essedum sibi currere togatos per aliquot passuum milia*” [‘to run in their togas for several miles alongside his *essedum*’] (Suet.*Cal.*26.2). One such senator, Galba, the future emperor, made a distinct impression on Gaius by “*campestrem decursionem scuto moderatus, etiam ad essedum imperatoris per viginti passuum milia cucurrit*” [‘directing a maneuver on the campus while armed with a shield and even running twenty miles alongside the *essedum* of the emperor’] (Suet.*Gal.*6.3), before later using the vehicle himself when marching on Rome (Suet.*Gal.*18.1). Of course, since we only have Suetonius to thank for this conception of the Roman *essedum*, it would be prudent to remain cautious. That being said, however, if the *essedum* did exist as a Roman war chariot, it is a conception which likely stemmed from its earlier association to Roman luxury. Roman emperors may

have brought the vehicle to war, but not before it stood as a symbol of the wealth and status afforded by the imperial office.

Another vehicle which seems to have been exclusively associated with the upper-class of Roman society was the *pilentum* [‘litter’]. Technically an *ambactus*-type loan based on a statement by Pomponius Porphyrio in the third century AD (*Epist.*2.1.92), the fact that *pilentum* makes no additional appearances in Gallic contexts is a surprising testament to the successful integration of this term. According to Maurus Servius Honoratus, the *pilentum* was of similar design to both the *basterna* [‘litter’] (*Serv.A.*8.666.2) and the *oscillum* [‘swing’] (*Serv.G.*2.389.2), and, while the *pilenta* of his time were often coloured red, those of the past “*errant autem tunc veneti coloris*” [‘were then, however, coloured blue’] (*Serv.A.*8.666.2/3).

The *pilentum* was most prominently associated to the upper class women of Roman society. Similar to *carpentum*, above, tradition has it that, as a reward for their generosity, the matrons of Rome were granted the right “*pilento ad sacra ludosque [uti]*” [‘to drive to sacred festivals and games in a *pilentum*’] (*Liv.*5.25.9). This iteration was so common that, according to Vergil, the image of “*castae ducebant sacra per urbem pilentis matres in mollibus*” [‘chaste mothers leading sacred objects through the city on soft *pilenta*’] (*Aen.*8.666) was included on the shield crafted for Aeneas by Vulcan. Additionally, while Zenobia, the queen of Palmyra in the third century AD, is said to have lived out her life as a Roman matron following her defeat at the hands of Aurelian (*SHA.Tyr.Trig.*30.27), her prior preference was “[*uti*] raro pilento, equo saepius” [‘to rarely use a *pilentum*, but often a horse’] (30.17), one of the many peculiarities provided by Trebellius Pollio to suggest Zenobia was unlike most women of similar status.

The final word in the category of high-level integration loans is the Latin *raeda* [‘carriage’]. As mentioned previously, *raeda* was characterized as a term of Gallic origin by Quintilian (1.5.57), the first century AD grammarian and rhetorician, and therefore, despite its successful integration, qualifies as an *ambactus*-type loan. Conceptually, the *raeda* was a kind of travel carriage, used primarily outside of the

city until, according to Aelius Lampridius, a law was enacted by Severus Alexander which allowed urban use by members of the senate (*Hist.Aug.*43.1). The vehicle was apparently quite common (*Vitr.*10.1.6) and could either be owned by individual households (*DigJust.*33.10.4.pr.), or hired out to those who required their services (*Suet.Caes.*57.1; *Sen.Ben.*7.5). The *Codex Theodosianus* also indicates that the *raeda* had a larger load capacity than the vehicles designated as *carri*, and could carry “*mille librarum onus*” [‘a weight of one thousand pounds’] (8.5.47).

As mentioned above, *raedae* were used in Roman contexts primarily as travel carriages and seem to have been the vehicle of choice for Roman citizens who wished to journey with family or excessive baggage. Examples of this trend are numerous within the literary record and include a figure named Bassus who, according to Martial, “*plena...ibat in raeda*” [‘rode in a full *raeda*’] (3.47) to his country estate, as well as Horace himself who travelled some distance in the vehicle following a night at Trivicum, in Apulia (*Serm.*1.5.79).

*quattuor hinc rapimur viginti et milia raedis,
mansuri oppidulo, quod versu dicere non est.*

From here we were carried for twenty four miles in a *raeda*,
to stay in a little town that cannot be named in the verse.

Furthermore, in Cicero’s *Pro Milone*, the rhetorician uses this very trend as an argument in defense of the senator, who had been accused of murder (28.9-29.1). Cicero suggests that the retinue outlined below was more likely assembled for a legitimate trip Lanuvium, Milo’s supposed destination (27.2), than as a contrivance for committing such a crime.

*cum uxore veheretur in raeda, paenulatus, magno et impedito et muliebri
ac delicato ancillarum puerorumque comitatu* (28.9-29.1).

Dressed in traveling clothes, he was being driven in a *raeda* with his wife, a great amount of baggage, and a charming company of women, maidservants, and boys.

Cicero’s argument may not have swayed the Roman jurors, but, with regard to establishing this practice as common use for the *raeda*, it is convincing nonetheless.

Finally, it is worth noting is that, unlike the above mentioned *pilentum* or *essedum*, the use of *raedae* does not appear to have been completely limited to the upper class. In fact, while the vehicles may have been owned and/or leased out by rich figures such as the aforementioned Milo (Cic.*Mil.*28.9-29.1), the *raedae* themselves had interactions with all levels of the Roman social structure. In Cicero's *Philippicae*, for example, Antony may have driven about in an *essedum* (the sports car analogy seems fitting with Cicero's portrayal of the figure), but members of his entourage, particularly the *lenones* ['brothel-keepers'], followed in a *raeda* (2.58). Meanwhile, while the downtrodden or disillusioned, such as Juvenal's friend Umbricius,³⁰⁸ might have "*tota domus raeda componitur una*" ['their whole house loaded on one *raeda*'] as they sought to leave Rome, the poor who remained might have been seen "*ad axes [blanda] ... iactaret basia raedae*" ['[blowing] flattering kisses to the axels of *raedae*'] (Juv.4.117-118) as the vehicles, and their well-to-do passengers, went by.

6.4 Anomalies

The final category of loanwords which we will be covering in this chapter consists of the two remaining terms which do not fit within the defined parameters of the categories discussed above. For reasons which are individual to each term, they cannot be qualified as loans of either low-, mid-, or high-level integration and I have thereby flagged them as anomalies within the system.

The first of these anomalous loanwords, *bracae* ['breeches'], technically qualifies as a *gladius*-type loan despite there being very little doubt as to where the term originated prior to entering the Latin language. Unfortunately, the categorization framework presented in this thesis is, in this case, just as problematic as Schmidt's. This is due to the fact that *bracae*, with its sheer number of appearances in the literary record (19) along with the ratio of non-Gallic (14) to Gallic contexts (5), should have qualified as a high-level integration loan and, therefore, should have had an above average chance of also representing

³⁰⁸ According to Courtney (2013, 126), Umbricius here may serve as a stand-in for Juvenal himself who had expressed a displeasure with the city (Juv.2.1-2).

cultural diffusion. As we will see, however, the evidence present in the literary record tells a very different story.

Unlike most of the terms analyzed in this study whose non-Gallic contexts tend to be predominantly Roman, *bracae*, despite a clearly successful integration, is used most often to describe the dress of peoples who are neither Roman nor Celtic. During his exile, for example, Ovid informs us that the peoples who inhabit the area surrounding the Danube “*pellibus et sutis arcent mala frigora braxis*” [‘hold off the terrible cold with skins and sewn *bracae*’] (*Trist.*3.10.19). While this statement likely refers to the Sarmatians, the Bessi, and the Getae, whom he mentioned by name several lines earlier (3.10.5), the poet also says the same of the people of Tomis, in modern day Romania (*Trist.*5.7.49), before adding that those inhabitants who were of Greek origin “*pro patrio cultu Persica braca tegit*” [‘wear Persian *bracae* in place of their ancestral adornments’] (*Trist.*5.10.34). Similarly, Lucan connects *bracae* use to the German *Vangiones* (1.430), while Gaius Valerius Flaccus says that the Colchians adopted “*Sarmanticis...braxis*” [Sarmatian *bracae*] once they settled along the Phasis river, in modern day Georgia (*Arg.*5.423).

There are two common threads which permeate the aforementioned examples. First, it seems as though *bracae* were worn out of practicality in areas which, unlike Italy, were too cold for tunics and togas; a supposition which is all but confirmed by the poet Hyginus who, in his *Astronomica*, tells that “*qui proxime sunt arcticum finem, uti braxis et eiusmodi vestitu*” [‘those who are nearest to the northern border make use of *bracae* and similar such clothing’] (1.8.3). The second thread here is that *bracae*, as both a word and a product which originated with the peoples of Northern Europe, served as a marker of foreignness throughout the literary record, an important contributing factor for why the majority of the term’s uses are contextually neither Gallic nor Roman. According to Liz Cleland *et al.* in their 2007 book, *Greek and Roman Dress*, this signpost to the foreignness of the garment’s wearer also came with a distinctly negative connotation.

In the first and second centuries AD *bracae* were considered a barbarian garment by the Romans, and regarded with contempt.³⁰⁹

This attitude toward *bracae* can be found a number of times throughout the Latin literary record such as, for example, in Juvenal's second satire. Here, Rome is abhorrent enough to corrupt even her conquered subjects,³¹⁰ including an Armenian hostage who might "*mittentur bracae*" ['abandon his breeches'] and continue to spread these contemptible Roman ways (2.169). This negative connotation also seems to have been extendable to people not necessarily of foreign stock, should ever they become associated to the *bracae*. This includes Aulus Caecina Alienus, a Roman citizen and soldier who, according to Tacitus, offended Roman crowds by wearing *bracae* while addressing them, (*Hist.*2.20) as well as one unnamed subject in the *Priapeia*, whom the poet crudely describes as "*Medis laxior Indicisve bracis*" ['looser than Median or Indian *bracae*'] (46.5).

The literary evidence presented above is indicative of a term which, while certainly being well integrated into the Latin language, should not be representative of a diffused product of Celtic material culture and, therefore, must have been borrowed for another reason. Unfortunately, however, this conclusion only serves to raise an additional question: namely, if diffusion is ruled out in this case, how can we explain the apparent shift in attitude toward the garment which seems to have occurred rather suddenly in the later centuries AD? This shift is represented in two instances of the term in Aelius Lampridius's biography of Severus Alexander, neither of which appear to come with anything other than a neutral connotation. In the first of these anomalous appearances, the emperor is said to have donated *bracae* to members of the soldiery (40.5) and, in the second, actually to have worn "*bracas albas...non coccineas, ut prius solebant*" ['white *bracae*, not scarlet-coloured ones, which were previously accustomed'] (40.11). One possible explanation for such an incongruity is, as Cleland suggests, that the Roman hostility toward *bracae* was limited to the loose, ankle-length variant described above, and did not

³⁰⁹ Cleland (*et al.*) 2007, 22.

³¹⁰ Courtney 2003, 101.

include the “close-fitting below the knee trousers”³¹¹ which, according to the authors, were often sported by Roman cavalrymen and emperors.³¹² As Cleland also points out, however, these short trousers, perhaps due to the above mentioned stigma, were likely referred to by a name other than *bracae*³¹³ and cannot, on their own, explain this anomaly.

The most likely reason for neither of Lampridius’s statements occurring with the expected level of negativity is that, at some point prior to his writing the biography, *bracae* had undergone a semantic generalization similar to that of *sagum*, mentioned previously. If this is the case, *bracae* likely lost its negative connotation in certain contexts while its accepted meaning was extended to include the short, close-fitting garment described by Cleland. While this would certainly be easier to verify concretely had we more appearances of the term in Roman contexts, there are additional sources of evidence to support this position. Consider, for example, the following folk-etymology from the *Etymologia* by Isidore of Seville (19.22.29), translated here by Stephen A. Barney (*et al.*).

Femoralia appellata eo quod femora tegant. Ipsae et bracae, quod sint breves et verecunda corporis his velentur.

“Undergarments (*femoralia*) are so called because they clothe the thighs (*femur*). These are also known as ‘breeches’ (*bracae*), because they are short (cf. βραχύς, “short”), and the ‘shameful parts’ (*verecunda*) of the body are concealed with these.”³¹⁴

Not only does this passage confirm that the two variants of garment existed under different names, but also that *bracae* was, by Isidore’s time, acceptable shorthand for either.

Finally, further evidence for this generalization can be found through an analysis of the loanword’s derivations in the Latin vocabulary. While, as mentioned previously, the very fact such derivations exist is evidence that *bracae* was successfully integrated, one in particular, the term *bracarius* [‘tailor’], seems to indicate, at the very least, that the loanword was familiar to a larger segment of the Roman population. In addition to the fact that *bracarius* is spared the negative connotations often

³¹¹ Cleland et al. 2007, 22.

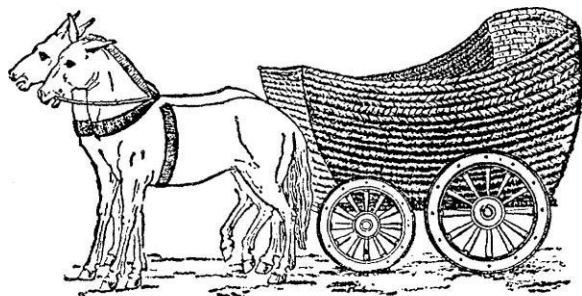
³¹² Cleland et al. 2007, 22.

³¹³ Cleland et al. 2007, 22.

³¹⁴ Barney 2006, 385.

associated with its forbearer, the three uses of the term analyzed by this study, namely as the tailor responsible for altering the various *caracallae* in a previously mentioned section of Diocletian’s Edict of Maximum Prices (8.46-47), as well as two similarly benign appearances in both the *Codex Justinianus* (10.64.1) and Lampridius’s biography of Severus Alexander (24.5), all appear between the third and sixth centuries AD, long after the generalization must have occurred. This is contrary to yet another derivation of *bracae*, the negatively charged adjective *bracatus* [‘*bracae*-wearing’], a stand-in for Gaul itself which appeared as early as the writings of Cicero (*Fam.*9.15.2) in the first century BC but no later than the second century AD, where it was used in the eighth satire of Juvenal to compare L. Sergius Catilina and P. Cornelius Cethegus with the “*bracatorum pueri Senonumque minores*” [‘sons of Gaul and descendants of the Senones’] (8.234) and serves as further evidence that the connotations of the term had shifted sometime soon after.

The final loanword in both this category, and overall, the Latin *benna* [‘basket-work wagon’], is anomalous for reasons which place it in stark contrast to the previous entry. Unlike *bracae*, the strangeness of *benna* lies in a near total lack of literary evidence, apart from a single statement by Paulus Diaconus which both confirms the term as Gallic and, in doing so, qualifies it as an *ambactus*-type loan. In this case, Schmidt’s framework seems to be in complete agreement with the one laid out in this thesis, one which ultimately, and perhaps incorrectly, qualified *benna* as a low-level integration loan which, by definition, should not have been diffused into Roman culture.



Benna. (From the Column of Antoninus.)

Figure 9: Benna. (From the Column of Antoninus)

Image by: J. H. Flather in *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, William Smith, LL.D., William Wayte, M.A., G.E. Marindin, M.A. (eds.), 1890, p.296.

Intriguingly, all evidence pertaining to the potential diffusion of *benna* comes from outside the Latin literary record. According to J.H. Flather, contributor to the 1890 edition of *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, and the then Master of Cavendish College at Cambridge University, for example, the image of a four-wheeled basket-work wagon (Figure 9 above) once appeared on the column of Antoninus and was believed to be a *benna*.³¹⁵ Unfortunately, however, the presence of such a depiction is difficult to verify given the fragmentary nature of the column in its current state³¹⁶ and, even if it had remained in pristine condition, Piggot's warning that "in no instance can a vehicle name be confidently applied to any of the numerous representations of a wide range of vehicle types depicted in Roman art,"³¹⁷ would no doubt apply. Finally, evidence for the diffusion of this loanword can also be found in the field of Romance Linguistics, through the existence of several terms which have ostensibly descended from the Latin *benna*. These include the French terms *camion-benne* ['dump truck']³¹⁸ and *banne* ['awning'] as well as the Italian *benna* ["wicker-work sleigh"]³¹⁹. The existence of these terms in the daughter languages of Latin suggests that members of the Latin speaking communities in these areas were not only familiar with the vehicle, but also utilized the term with enough frequency for it to survive at the vulgar level.

³¹⁵ Flather 1890, 296.

³¹⁶ See Vogel, 1973 for an in-depth study of the surviving remnants of the Column of Antoninus.

³¹⁷ Piggot 1983, 231.

³¹⁸ Corbeil 1986, 668; See also: Maubourguet 1990, 123, 135; and Dauzat 1968, 71.

³¹⁹ OED *s.v.* *bin, n.*

Chapter 7

Conclusions

As mentioned in Chapter One, it is the purpose of this study to determine whether lexical borrowing, the process by which speakers of a language obtain additional vocabulary items by adopting them from languages with which they are in contact, can stand as sufficient evidence for cultural diffusion, a similar process which substitutes languages for societies, and words for items of material culture. To this end, this thesis has turned to the linguistic and cultural contact which took place between the peoples of ancient Gaul and Rome in the hopes of determining which cultural aspects may have transferred from the former to the latter. While, thus far, previous chapters have focused on establishing a cultural background for these two societies, followed by a contextual analysis of twenty-one Latin lexemes believed to have transferred from members of the Celtic language family, it will be the purpose of this final chapter to make a number of observations and conclusions based upon the information gathered. If successful, this form of linguistic archaeology could prove to be a valuable tool for researchers who wish to track ubiquitous cultural processes which are often lost to the passage of time.

In the previous chapter, the twenty-one Latin lexemes mentioned above were analyzed based on their appearances in Roman contexts throughout the Latin literary record and sorted into three primary groups according to their apparent levels of integration. Based on the data presented, we can now make a number of observations pertaining to each individual group. With appearances predominantly in Gallic contexts, the terms flagged as ‘low-level integration loans’ represent the least likely candidates for their borrowing to have corresponded to an instance of cultural diffusion. These terms were most likely adopted by Latin speakers as a means of referring to items which, from the Roman perspective, would have been considered foreign. As such, it is fitting that five of the six terms within this category also qualify as *ambactus*-type loans. According to the framework presented by Karl Schmidt’s *Keltisches*

Wortgut im Lateinischen, these loans are those whose failed integrations meant that their Celtic origins were both known to, and expressly stated by Latin authors.³²⁰ In this case, both frameworks indicate a similar conclusion: if diffusion ever occurred for the six items represented in this category, there is no evidence for it in the literary record.

For the mid-level integration loans, matters do become slightly more complicated. While two of the four terms in this category, *cervesia* [‘beer’] and *caracalla* [‘a kind of garment without sleeves, and with a hood’]³²¹, represent the sort of product fitting for this level of integration, the others, *viriole* [‘bracelet’] and *carrus* [‘wagon’], represent cases which are slightly more anomalous. To begin with, it is important to note that *cervesia* and *caracalla* do appear to have been diffused into Roman culture, though perhaps not to the same level as the various cultural artifacts described in Linton’s American satire, the foreign origins of which, it is implied, are unknown to the subject.³²² While it is, of course, difficult to presume the exact level of awareness of the average Latin speaking person, the literary evidence available does indicate that knowledge of the Celtic origins of these products was certainly available. When added to the literary evidence which places these products at Rome, statements from Pliny (*HN.22.164*) and Maurus Servius Honoratus (*G.3.380*), which describe *cervesia* production as taking place in Gaul, and by Spartianus (*SHA.M.Ant.9.7-8*), which names the Emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus as the agent of introduction for the *caracalla*, suggest that these were products of importation, as opposed to fully diffused items of material culture.

Unlike with *cervesia* and *caracalla*, the mid-level integration status of *carrus* and *viriola* is not the result of importation to Rome, but of other factors. As mentioned in the previous chapter, for example, *carrus* seems to have been borrowed, not to refer to a new make of vehicle, but as a general term representative of all wagons, including those already possessed by the Romans. This is similar to the other cases of semantic generalization which occurred, as mentioned, in the histories of both *sagum* and

³²⁰ Schmidt 1967, 157.

³²¹ Ernout A. et A. Meillet 1951, s.v. *caracalla*, -ae f.

³²² Linton 1936, 327.

bracae. Finally, the odd behavior of *viriola* can be explained by the fact that, as established in Chapter Four, the term is likely a derivation of the Latin *viriae* (also of Celtic progeny), and that Pliny himself was perhaps misguided in his assertion that it was the term utilized by the Celts (*HN*.33.39). While the literary evidence for *viriola* – particularly the assertion in the *Digesta Justinianus* that such items were “*ornamenta muliebria*” [‘ornaments particular to women’] (34.2.25.10) – certainly suggests that this derivation was conceptualized as its own entity within Roman culture, the very fact that it does not truly represent the Celtic loanword may have been enough to skew the data.

The final category of loanwords analyzed by this study is made up of those terms whose literary histories are indicative of high-level integration. The loanwords which qualify for this category appear most frequently in Roman contexts throughout the literary record and, if lexical borrowing can, in fact, serve as evidence for cultural diffusion, it is this group of loans which most likely correspond to such exchanges and can, therefore, yield the most information regarding the cultural relationship which existed between Gaul and Rome.

At first glance, the most noticeable trend among the nine loans which occupy this category, those being *omasum* [‘beef tripe’], *tuccetum* [‘some made-up, savory dish’]³²³, *cucullus* [‘hood’], *sagum* [‘cloak’], *carpentum* [‘two-wheeled wagon’], *cisium* [‘carriage/gig’], *essedum* [‘chariot’], *pilentum* [‘litter’], and *raeda* [‘carriage’], is that the majority belong to a single semantic category: wheeled vehicles. A pattern such as this may be the result of a superiority in the field of vehicle technology on the part of the Gauls which was later borrowed, along with the many associated terms, by the Romans. Not only would such a development be consistent with the four- and two-wheeled vehicle types which Raimund Karl described as being central parts of Hallstatt and La Tène burial sites³²⁴, but, as mentioned in Chapter One, Uriel Weinreich also indicates that such a phenomenon can be seen as a common extension of the relationship between lexical borrowing and cultural diffusion. The numerous examples of this trend cited by Weinreich include “the peoples of the Volga [who], according to linguistic evidence,

³²³ OLD *s.v.* *tuccētum*, -i, n.

³²⁴ Karl 2012b, 415; Karl 2012c, 497.

learned architecture from the Russians,” and the Raetoromans who “have acquired almost all the products of industrial civilization from the German-speaking North.”³²⁵ In light of such modern evidence, it certainly stands to reason that similar circumstances may have also occurred between the peoples of Gaul and Rome.

In addition to indicating the proportionally larger appearance of wheeled vehicles among high-level integration loans (a conclusion which was, perhaps, foregone considering ‘wheeled vehicles’ constituted approximately half of the total loanwords examined by this study), an analysis of this category also reveals the intriguing effect which social status had on the entire integration process. In this case, the trend in question relies on a particular dataset which exists within the high-level integration category. Consisting of all five vehicle terms, as well as both *omasum* and *tucetum*, this dataset is representative of those loans which, following their introduction to Latin, became associated with the Roman upper-class. I would argue that this is the result of a common linguistic trend in which the integration of foreign terms is aided by an apparent connection to the prestigious. According to Larry Trask, for example, a number of French loanwords and phrases (*e.g. cuisine, par excellence, nom de plume*) became commonplace in English due to an eagerness among its speakers “to show off their command of this prestigious language by spattering their speech and writing with words and phrases borrowed from French.”³²⁶ Similar trends are also observable today, as the English language has, in turn, spread across the globe. Therefore, while German columnist Bastian Sick might, in a 2006 article, protest about the growing tendency for German speakers to resort to “*Denglisch*” (a hybrid of the German terms *Deutsch* and *Englisch*),³²⁷ the fact that his chosen platform for doing so is the German website “*SPIEGEL ONLINE*”,³²⁸ indicates, quite effectively, the successful spread of English loanwords which are viewed as fashionable within popular culture.

This is a position which is also supported by Weinreich’s general study on lexical interference, in which the author explains the above phenomenon.

³²⁵ Weinreich 1979, 57.

³²⁶ Trask 2015, 17-18.

³²⁷ Sick, Bastian. "That's Shocking!" *Spiegel Online*. 07 06, 2006. <http://www.spiegel.de> (accessed July 22, 2017).

³²⁸ Sick, Bastian. "That's Shocking!" *Spiegel Online*. 07 06, 2006. <http://www.spiegel.de> (accessed July 22, 2017).

If one language is endowed with prestige, the bilingual is likely to use what are identifiable loanwords from it as a means of displaying the social status which its knowledge symbolizes.³²⁹

Additionally, since it is the very nature of this thesis to consider linguistic and cultural processes in tandem, perhaps it would be reasonable to assume that similar forces are responsible for not only the words, but the objects themselves becoming associated with prestige, status, and the upper-class. Perhaps, then, when Propertius described Maecenas, the agent of Augustus himself, as driving an “*essedā...Britanna*” [‘British *essedum*’] (2.1.76), in one of the earliest instances of the term in a Roman context, the implication is one of wealth and status as only someone of high pedigree could afford to bring such a foreign indulgence to Rome.

Finally, with regards to the two remaining high-level integration loans, *cucullus* and *sagum*, it is their very absence from any association with the upper-class which is the most notable feature of their transfer into Roman culture. The key, in this case, seems to be the very nature of these garments as utility items and their association with manual labour. While these garments were certainly useful to society, and thereby both borrowed and integrated successfully, their very nature may have been viewed as offensive to a Roman sensibility, especially that of the upper-class, which found the very concept of manual labour aversive. According to Zvi Yavetz, author of *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Rome*, the Greeks and Romans “became accustomed to seeing work – manual labour in particular – carried out by slaves who were mostly of barbarian origin,”³³⁰ a situation which eventually developed into “the adoption of a negative attitude toward work.”³³¹ If it is the case that manual labourers were considered to be no better than slaves, it stands to reason that their associated material culture would be of little interest to the upper-class. This might also serve to explain the distinct lack of literary evidence pertaining to *benna* [‘basket work wagon’], one of the two anomalous loanwords which do not seem to fit within the presented framework. Conceptualized, essentially, as large basked fixed to wheels, this vehicle may have naturally

³²⁹ Weinreich 1979, 59-60.

³³⁰ Yavetz 1988, 161.

³³¹ Yavetz 1988, 161.

been better suited for the hauling of material (perhaps refuse or rubble), than of passengers. Considering, therefore, that such a vehicle would be primarily associated with the working-class, it is not at all surprising that it may have found itself omitted from a literary record which is influenced entirely by those affluent enough to write.

This final point represents, unfortunately, an important limitation to effectiveness of this study, namely, the inherent bias which exists within the Latin literary record. While at times the research presented here has turned to sources outside of the record, the conclusions drawn by this thesis remain largely representative of a very small segment of the Latin speaking population. In future, similar studies would benefit from the incorporation of written materials, epigraphy and graffiti for example, which represent a wider demographic. Furthermore, the addition of archaeological evidence, as well as analyses of both the descendants and the derivations of the various loanwords, all of which were touched upon only briefly in this study, would considerably expand the scope of the research.

It has been the goal of this thesis to determine whether the lexical borrowing evident in the Latin language can stand as sufficient evidence for the cultural diffusion which was, in many cases, its undisputed cause. Not only did the contextually-based approach utilized by this study prove to be successful in this regard, but it also revealed valuable information pertaining to both the cultural relationship which existed between Gaul and Rome, as well as the very processes of lexical and cultural integration. While the complete cultural absorption of Rome's Celtic neighbours was, without a doubt, the most prominent result of this Gallo-Roman relationship, it was certainly not the only one. Though it may be incorrect to say Rome was truly Gallicized, the Celtic influence on both Rome's language and her material culture cannot be understated and, in many cases, remains apparent to this day.

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