

**Cib. *auzu* ‘haurio’, *auzeti* ‘haurit’, *auzanto* ‘hauriant’:
WATER IN THE BOTORRITA BRONZES
AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS (K. 0.8, 1.1, 1.3, 2.1, 5.1)¹**

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1. STATE OF THE QUESTION. Following up the studies on Gaulish formulaic expressions by Lejeune and Meid, I pointed out (2000) the probability that the Celtiberian forms in *auz-* used in the inscriptions 0.8, 1.1, 1.3, 2.1 and 5.1 and hitherto translated in very different ways shared a common semantic core. However, given that at the time the only inscription with a semantically more or less understandable context was K.1.1, the First Botorrita-Bronze, I tried to adopt Meid’s analysis of Cib. *ios ... auzeti* (“wer ...nutzen möchte” : 1993, p. 65f.) for translating the other four inscriptions. The results, though, were not all too satisfying: what had all the men, women and children on the 3rd Bronze from Botorrita been using? And why was it so important? And how did a pitcher come to state that it or something else had been used? Luckily, all problems vanish if and when we trace back all the above-mentioned verbal forms to the IE root **h₂ews-* ‘to scoop up’.

2. THE VERBAL ROOT **h₂ews-* ‘schöpfen; to scoop up’ IN INDO-EUROPEAN AND CELTIC.

An IE root **h₂ews-* for ‘to scoop up’ and ‘to draw water’ has been hitherto reconstructed on the evidence of Anatolian, Greek, Latin and Germanic verbs (*LIV* 246). It forms either a zero-grade *ye/yo-*present as in Palaic, where *hussīnta* ‘they draw water for themselves’ documents a 3rd person plural present indicative of the middle, or a *ye/yo-*present with analogical full-grade of the root, as in Lat. *hauriō*, *haurīre*,² or else a full-grade thematic present as in Old Norse *ausa* and Middle High German *ōsen*. Such a formation may also have to be seen in Greek (-)αῦω and (-)αῦομαι, which went through a peculiar semantic development from ‘to scoop up’ to ‘to fetch (water)’ and afterwards to ‘to fetch fire’,³ whereas the zero grade is

¹ It is my pleasure to thank Bettina Bosold-DasGupta, Manfred Hainzmann, Estíbaliz Ortiz de Urbina for information on Classical matters, and Francisco Beltrán for various helpful comments.

² The initial *h-* being an innovation.

³ Note that while Chantraine, p. 145, considers that “Il est possible de tirer αῦω de *αῦσγω ou *αῦσω”, the authors of *LIV* favour the reconstruction of a Greek zero-grade **awh-* < **h₂ws-* (p. 246).

in any case preserved in related forms like ἀφύω and ἀφύσσω ‘to scoop up, to draw water’.⁴ The IE aorist was usually sigmatic, as in Lat. *hausī*.

Further evidence is preserved in nouns like Gk. Γουναῦτις ‘oinochoe’, ἀφύστα ‘stamnos’ or ἔξαστήρ ‘flesh-fork’, Lat. *haustus*, *haustūs* ‘the drawing (of water); a drawn quantity of water’ and ON *austr* ‘scooping up; wake’.⁵

In Celtic, this verbal root has recently been identified by C. Watkins (2005) in OIr. *aél* ‘flesh-fork’, from a “Celtic preform **aus-ialo-*, less likely **aus-ilo-* or **aus-elo-*, either masculine as agent or neuter as instrument”.⁶

From an Indo-European and Celtic morphological point of view, it is now perfectly plausible to add to the IE evidence for the root **h₂ews-* ‘to scoop up’ a Celtiberian verb⁷ with full grade thematic present indicative *auz-u*, *auz-e-ti* and a present *ā*-subjunctive *auz-a-nto* with secondary ending in the 3rd person plural of the middle voice. All the Cib. documents involved show regular voicing of the original IE **s* in intervocalic position.⁸

3. WATER IN CELTIBERIA AND THE TESTIMONY OF THE SECOND BRONZE FROM BOTORRITA.

Object of the legal quarrel documented in the Second Botorrita-Bronze or *Tabula Contrebiensis* on the 15th of May of 87 BC through the medium of the Latin language, is the lawful possession of a field which the population of S₁ had bought from the population of S₂ (ll. 1-2: ... *agrū quem Salluienses ab Sosinestaneis emerunt*) in order to draw a canalization through it or to build a water supply:⁹ *rivi faciendi aquaive ducendae causa*.

This implies two things that will prove important when interpreting the Third Bronze from Botorrita:

1) the habitants of the surroundings of Botorrita in the 1st century BC had the necessary know-how for channelling irrigation water. This is also archaeologically proved for the Pre-Roman period, cf. Blanco García (1997/99), who states that “La recogida de agua de lluvia por medio de canalizaciones fue común en época prerromana y está atestiguada en diversos yacimientos” and quotes the example of a Celtiberian irrigation-channel excavated in Los Azafranales/Cauca together with a series of urban settlements of the Second Iron Age in the Iberian Peninsula where wells, tanks and cisterns had been built in addition to natural springs.¹⁰ Also Appianus speaks of so big a cistern in Cauca, that many Romans could drown in it (6: *Iberiké*, 54).

⁴ Chantraine, p. 145 and 148f.

⁵ *IEW* 90.

⁶ C. Watkins (2005), p. 378.

⁷ Already Watkins, *l.c.*, suggested that “one might entertain the possibility of seeing it in the enigmatic Celtiberian verb forms *auzeti* (Botorrta I), *auzanto* (Botorrta III), as noted *en passant* for the first time by J. Eska in his 1989 dissertation.”

⁸ Cf. now the comprehensive study by De Bernardo Stempel (2004/05).

⁹ Cf. the Spanish translation “para construir una canalización o hacer una traída de aguas” given by Fatás (1980), p. 13.

¹⁰ In addition to the bibliography quoted by Blanco García (1997/99), pp. 85 and 87, cf. also Burillo/ Ortega & Polo (1997/99) on the Celtiberian farming exploitation of the Gallocanta Lagoon.

Cib. auzu 'haurio', auzeti 'haurit', auzanto 'hauriant': *Water in the Botorrita Bronzes ...*

2) In the surroundings of Botorrita, it was at that time so important to know who was by right entitled to draw water (the S₁ as it turned out to be the case,¹¹ and without having to pay additional money for it) as to consign such knowledge to a bronze table, not unlike those used in the Roman world for civil law.¹²

4. CIB. *auzeti* 'draws water' (: *haurit*) AND ITS CONTEXT IN THE FIRST BRONZE FROM BOTORRITA.

4.1. **The new interpretation of K.1.A, line 10:** If we now substitute a present indicative *auzeti* 'he draws water' in the interpretation of the First Bronze as given by Meid (1993),¹³ there will be no need for altering the analysis of any other constituent of the sentence contained in line 10. We can thus easily assume

: To.Ko.i.Te.i : i.o.s : u.r.a.n.Ti.o.m.u.e : a.u.z.e.Ti :
a.r.a.Ti.m.u.e : Te.Ka.m.e.Ta.m : Ta.Tu.s :

representing

Togoitei, ios urantiom-ve auzeti aratim-ve, dekametam datu-z.

to mean

'In the (corner dedicated to) Togotis, he who draws water either for the green or for the farmland, the tithe (of their yield) he shall give.'

4.2. <ToKoiTei>: as in the other sections of this '*lex trifinii*', a local complement containing the name of one of the three gods introduces the specific dispositions concerning his part of the sacred oak-grove. In this particular case, the *i*-stem *Togotis* seems to appear in the dative singular **Togot-yei* > Cib. *Togoitei* vs. the Latinate dative singular *Togoti* in CIL II 893.¹⁴

4.3. <ios><auzeTi>: the nominative singular masculine of the relative pronoun expresses the subject of the 3rd singular present indicative active *auzeti* < **aus-e-ti*, showing full grade of the IE root **h₂ews-*, stem-vowel *-e-* and primary ending. It is worth mentioning that the same tense and mood is found in other relative sentences within the same inscription.¹⁵

4.4. <uranTiom-ue> ... <araTim-ue>: according to our analysis, the two accusatives singular connected by the disjunctive enclitics *-ve...-ve* '*aut...aut*' do not represent the direct object(s) of the verb *auzeti*, but are accusatives of direction/relation, i.e. akin to the usage of *trikantam perkunetakam* 'with regard to the oak-wooded triangular space' as "den Gültigkeitsbereich bezeichnender Akkusativ der Beziehung"¹⁶ in line A1 of

¹¹ Cf. l. 15: *secundum Salluenses iudicamus*.

¹² On the typology of both Latin and Celtiberian bronze inscriptions in the Iberian Peninsula cf. F. Beltrán (1997/99).

¹³ A fresh balance of the investigation on the First Bronze can be found in De Bernardo Stempel & Meid (i.p.).

¹⁴ For details and an alternative explanation cf. De Bernardo Stempel (1999/2001), p. 326, with some additions in (2002), p. 99 fn. 52.

¹⁵ Cf. *iomui ... zizonti* in IA, l. 7 and *oskuez ... verzoniti* in IA, l. 3.

¹⁶ In the words of Meid (1993), p. 35.

the same inscription. They can, therefore, be translated ‘with regard to the pasture’ and, respectively, ‘with regard to the farmland’.

4.5. <TeKameTam TaTuz>: no modification is needed with respect to the analysis of the head sentence. We may just recall that the Celtiberian expression for the tithe,¹⁷ here appearing as the direct object of the imperative, is not as archaic as the **dekantjom > dekantem* recurring in Narbonensic inscriptions and possibly surviving in Hispano-Celtic.¹⁸ The imperative “future” with enclitic subject pronoun,¹⁹ **{dHtōd + -s} > datuz* “gebe er”, continues the IE telic root **deh₃-* ‘give’ as opposed to the atelic **g^heb^h-* ‘id.’ preserved in the *gabizet(i)* “soll geben” of line A3 in the same inscription.²⁰

4.6. Classical parallels: The various Latin *leges luci* have been repeatedly identified as parallels for the First Bronze: in this context, we can quote an inscription on a *lucus* in Fundi where “*aqua promiscue licebit uti ex hoc fundo villaque iis qui in eo loco morabuntur*”.²¹ Geographically near is the *comparandum* of the Second Bronze with its mention of an irrigating channel drawn through a particular or private field (cf. supra in § 3).

5. CIB. *auzanto* ‘they may scoop up for themselves’ (: *hauriant*) IN THE THIRD BRONZE FROM BOTORRITA.

5.1. The new interpretation of the heading: the analysis of *auzanto* as a present *ā*-subjunctive from the root **h₂ews-* ‘to scoop, to draw water’ fits in with a context where the Celtic word **lestrom* ‘vessel, container’ had already been identified (s. infra for details) and enables us to give a comprehensive interpretation where several elements seem to fall into place, last not least the prepositional phrase *tar akuai* ‘across the water’ or, more probably, ‘besides the river’. I take here the first two lines of K.1.3,

r.i.s.a.Ti.o.Ka : l.e.s.Te.r.a (:) i.a : Ta.r.a.Ku.a.i : n.o.u.i.z.a : a.u.z.a.n.To |
e.s.Ke.n.i.n.u.m : Ta.n.i.o.Ka.Ku.e : s.o.i.s.u.m : a.l.Pa.n.a

to represent

*risantioka lest^εera,²² ia tar-akuai nouiza auzanto,
eskeninum dannioka-kue soisum albana:*

and to mean

‘the irrigating reservoirs, from which, new, they may scoop up for themselves in addition to the river, and the official distributing lists of these people.’

¹⁷ In this case of the yield of the different types of land involved.

¹⁸ Details in De Bernardo Stempel (2006).

¹⁹ The analysis by de Hoz (1983) and Eska (1989a) can now be supported by further arguments, cf. both the inner-Celtic discussion in De Bernardo Stempel (1999/2007) and the new data in Arenas et alii (2001). On the various sources for the emergence of voiced sibilants cf. now De Bernardo Stempel (2004/05) and Jordán Cólera & Díaz Ariño (2006).

²⁰ More details in De Bernardo Stempel (2005).

²¹ AE 1914, 00219 *pace* the Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/ Slaby.

²² As explained in the following, the semantics of the proposed translation does not need to be altered even if the original reading l.e.s.Te.r.a.i.a, i.e. *lest^εraia* as given in Beltrán (1996), should prove to be the right one.

CIb. auzu 'haurio', auzeti 'haurit', auzanto 'hauriant': *Water in the Botorrita Bronzes ...*

(or else, if reading *lest^lraia*, 'from the irrigating reservoirs, new, they may scoop up for themselves in addition to the river, and [here are] the official distributing lists of these people).

A tentative Latin translation might be:

stagna irrigua, ex quibus praeter rivum, novis, ii hauriant et ipsorum civium alba iudicialia:, to which the list of the involved people followed, or, in the latter case, *ex stagnis irriguis praeter rivum, novis, ii hauriant, et ipsorum civium alba iudicialia (haec sunt)*.

5.2 . <risatioka>: nominative plural neuter of an adjective referring to <l.e.s.Te.r.a> or <l.e.s.Te.r.a.i.a>. Its phonetic and morphological shape suggests it to represent an original **rigsantioka* which may be connected to the IE root **reg* '“fließen, tropfen” contained in the Lat. verb (*in*)*rigāre* 'to water, to irrigate'.²³

5.3. <lesterā> (or <lesterāia>): as originally suggested by P.-Y. Lambert *apud* de Hoz (1996),²⁴ this is either the nominative plural of the Old Celtic neuter **lestrom* 'vessel, container for liquids' or of a derivative in *-ayom* connected with it (note that a collective *yā*-derivative is attested in OIr. *lestrae*²⁵). In either case, it appears to be employed here for an artificial lake and/or channel network used for collecting and storing water for community use.²⁶ Note that the meaning 'lacus' is recorded in the 17th century for W. *llestr*²⁷ and that the Old Irish compound *gelestar* is used for 'a permanent cattle-pond'.²⁸ As for the underlying form, it was evidently [lestra] or [lestraia], i.e. with a dead vowel mirroring the vowel of the preceding first-syllable inserted between dental stop and [r]: this corresponds to one of two coexisting orthographic conventions, and in particular to the same found, e.g., in *sak^arokas*, which is known also from other syllabic writing-systems.²⁹

5.4. <ia>: according to Untermann's segmentation (1997), pp. 578, 583, 585, this is the relative pronoun, to be analysed here as neuter plural (in

²³ LIV 450; IEW 857; Orel (1998), p. 387; Untermann (2000), p. 631; Ernout & Meillet, p. 573f.

²⁴ P. 201, where the *comparandum* W. *llestar* has to be corrected in *llestr*.

²⁵ *NWAI*, p. 371.

²⁶ On *lacus* or reservoirs made out of natural hollows cf. Rodríguez Neila (1988), p. 241f. fn. 79. As F. Beltrán (1996), p. 194, stresses with regard to the Bronze of Agón (s. infra), "the question we should be asking ourselves now is [...] to what extent irrigation in the Roman era integrated local native traditions, since their relevance was acknowledged in the shaping of certain Roman legal regulations".

²⁷ *GPC*, p. 2159f.

²⁸ Kelly (1998), pp. 397 and 401; *DIL*-G-60. On OIr. *lestar*, which is itself a Brythonic loanword, cf. *NWAI*, pp. 305 and 371.

²⁹ As the Hittite and Cypriotic, cf. De Bernardo Stempel (1993/96). More CIb. examples in eadem (1999/2001), p. 320f., and (2002), p. 101. If we add (1) that there are also cases of epenthesis with replicas of the vowel of the first syllable (eadem [2005/07], p. 158) and (2) that the nexus of sibilant + stop seems to function like a single stop (e.g. in *Belaiska* <**b^hel-ask-yā*>), the objections by Jordán Cólera (2004), p. 349f. should be completely dispelled.

agreement to *risaⁿtioka lest^era*) in the accusative (because it is governed by the verb *auzanto*).

5.5. <tar-akuai>: this seems to be an instance of the Celtic preposition *tar* as preserved in OIr. *tar*, *dar* ‘across, through; in addition, besides; on behalf of’³⁰ governing the dative singular of *akua* < IE **ak^wa* ‘water, river’.³¹ We can thus appreciate that in the archaic Celtic of the Iberian Peninsula the old IE lexeme had not yet been superseded by the various Celtic nouns for ‘water’. Another preposition used in the same inscription is *entra*.³²

5.6. <nouiza>: accusative plural neuter of an adjective agreeing with the direct object *ia* and referring back to *risaⁿtioka lest^era*, the first subject of the nominal main sentence (or else agreeing with and referring to it as the direct object). The original form may have been either **nowesa* ‘the new ones’ with the typical Celtic palatalization of *e* before *s* or **novidya*.³³

5.7. <auzanto>: the verb of the embedded relative sentence appears now to be a present *ā*-subjunctive³⁴ of the middle voice with secondary ending of the 3rd person plural, hence IE **aus-ā-nto* > Clb. *auzanto* ‘they may draw water for themselves’, i.e. ‘they are allowed to draw water for themselves’. Note that the explicit writing of the nasal was essential for distinguishing the 3rd person plural from the 3rd person singular.

5.8. <eskeninum>: genitiv plural of an *o*-stem masculine governed by *albana*. It seems to be a derivative in *-ino-* from the substantive *genis* ‘tribe, lineage; people’ attested in the tessera of Luzaga; because of the prefix *es-* it has been taken as meaning ‘los de fuera del grupo de descendencia’, i.e. ‘the foreigners’,³⁵ but one may wonder whether it might have simply meant ‘those who stem from the *genis*’, i.e. ‘the members of the people’.

5.9. <tanioka-kue>: the copulative conjunction *-kue* is preceded by the nominative of an adjective determining *albana*, hence probably in the neuter plural. The underlying form seems to be *dannioka*, an adjective derived from the name of the Old Celtic magistrate *dannos*, who —albeit glossed by Lat. *iudex*— is known to have been in charge of dispensing/ distributing specific goods.³⁶ accordingly, we might translate it as ‘official’ or even as ‘assigning/ distributing’, while comparing it with Lat. *iudicialis* as in *iudicialis tabella* on account of its word-formation.³⁷ The proposed etymology not only fits in with our context, but also accounts for the lack of prepalatalization.³⁸

³⁰ *DIL*-T-72ff.; cf. also *GOI* § 854 and *LEIA*-T-28f. The Goidelic variant is usually reconstructed as **rHes*.

³¹ *IEW* 23. On this family of words cf. Arenas & De Bernardo (2005), pp. 18ff.

³² In line A6: e.n.Ta.r.a : Ti.r.i.s : m.a.Tu.s ‘within three propitious days’.

³³ Cf. Lambert (2005), pp. 67 and 65 (this after De Bernardo Stempel 1998/2007, 1999/2001 and 2002).

³⁴ Note that Untermann coincides in the morphological, if not in the semantic analysis (*MLH* V, p.50); this is true also for Jordán Cólera (2004), p. 348.

³⁵ de Hoz (1996), p. 201.

³⁶ On this cf. Delamarre², p. 135f., and De Bernardo Stempel (1998), p. 605f.

³⁷ I.e. OCelt. *dannos* : Lat. *iudex* = Clb. *dan(n)ioka* : Lat. *iudicialis*.

³⁸ So already De Bernardo Stempel (1999/2001), p. 326 fn. 51, and (2002), p. 100 with fn. 61.

Cib. auzu 'haurio', auzeti 'haurit', auzanto 'hauriant': *Water in the Botorrita Bronzes ...*

5.10. <soisum>: genitive plural of a masculine demonstrative pronoun. The intervocalic voiceless sibilant preserved in a document with consequent sonorization like this,³⁹ confirms de Hoz's reconstruction of a **soissōm* going back to "una forma compuesta de dos temas, ambos también demostrativos", i.e. "en que una base **is*⁴⁰ se combina con un segundo elemento [...] como **istos* con metátesis, es decir **itsos*".⁴¹

5.11. <albana>: the (second) subject of the nominal main sentence within the title of the bronze seems to be a loanword from Lat. *album*⁴² with the addition of the Cib. neuter nominativ-plural ending, or in any case "una adaptación celtibérica del latín *album* en su sentido secundario de 'lista'".⁴³

5.12. The syntax is regular, with marked OV order in the (relative) sentence (*ia ...noviza + auzanto*), adjectives preceding substantives (*risaⁿtioka + les^rra* or *les^rraia*, *danⁿioka + albana*) and the genitives preceding their governing substantive (*eskeninum ...soisum + albana*).

5.13. The people allowed to draw water: the meaning we have recovered here for the Third Bronze allows us to understand at last how not only men, but also many women, together with unnamed children (*kentis-kue* 'and his/her child') and unnamed servants (*launi-kue* 'and his slave')⁴⁴ came to be listed equally in the document. Also the possible mention of potters (*kontuzos*) and brewers (*kurmilikum*) would find a suitable explanation.⁴⁵

5.14. Classical parallels: it is not strange to find water regulations consigned to a bronze table if we take into account the Latin Bronze from Agón with the *Lex rivi Hiberiensis* from Hadrian's time;⁴⁶ in it are laid out the channel and other regulations concerning an irrigation community situated on the right bank of the middle Ebro and built up by the rural districts of Cascantum and Caesaraugusta, i.e. not far from Contrebia Belaisca itself, given that "la irrigación desempeñaba un papel esencial en la agricultura de época romana, como, por otra parte, era de esperar en una región tan árida y en la que existe una larga tradición de riego".⁴⁷

³⁹ Cf. De Bernardo Stempel (2004/05).

⁴⁰ "con fosilización del nominativo como en latín *iste*": de Hoz (1996), p. 183.

⁴¹ de Hoz (1996), p. 182f.

⁴² On its function cf. i.a. de Hoz (1997/99), p. 449.

⁴³ de Hoz (1996), p. 201.

⁴⁴ 'Slave' represents a semantic development of the original 'booty', since it continues, together with Gothic *laun* 'reward', a West-IE **law-no-*: De Bernardo Stempel & Meid (i.p.) and eadem (2005/07), p. 132.

⁴⁵ More professions are identified in De Bernardo Stempel & Meid (i.p.). De Bernardo's interpretation of *kontuzos* as 'cooperativa figulina' (i.a. [1999/2001], p. 330 with details) is quoted by Jordán Cólera (2004), pp.172 and 72.

⁴⁶ Cf. the *editio princeps* by F. Beltrán (2006).

⁴⁷ F. Beltrán (2006a), p. 233. Cf. also idem (2006), p. 193: "there is a large number of [irrigation] infrastructures in the mid-Ebro valley, [...], which helped to alleviate the low, irregular rainfall (usually below 400 mm a year). Thus it is not surprising that in the riverside areas, [...], there is evidence of dams and irrigation channels on all the major water courses, and that the only two large-scale Latin bronzes found in the area, the *Tabula Contrebiensis* and the *lex rivi Hiberiensis*, address irrigation issues". — An older, but nevertheless

We can also recall that the water from some aqueducts was not free, as it was in Rome: cf. the edict of Augustus on the aqueduct at Venafrum, in Samnium, where it says “... *eam aquam distribuere, describere vendendi causa aut ei rei vectigal imponere constituere* ...”.⁴⁸ Which people had a right to drawing water was established by Roman public law (cf. “*ex iis fontibus rivis specibus fornicibus aquam sumere haurire iis, quibuscumque curatores aquarum permiserunt permiserint, [...] liceat*”⁴⁹), and in some cases, even quantity and time are specified: e.g. “... *C. Iuli Hymeti Aufidiano aquae duae ab hora secunda ad horam sextam*...”⁵⁰

6. Clb. *auzu* ‘I scoop up’ (: *hauriō*) ON THE OINOCHOE K. 5.1 FROM CAMINREAL (TERUEL).

6.1. The new interpretation: I now propose to segment the text

Pe.s.Ku.a.u.z.u.e.Ti.Ku.Po.s

engraved in *scriptio continua* on the very brim of an oinochoe showing i.a. some painted fish⁵¹ as

PesKu auzu eTiKuPos.

The meaning would be either ‘I fish, I scoop up for the X’ or ‘From Y I scoop up for the X’. The new interpretation not only dispels the archaeological difficulty pointed out by Burillo (1997), p. 234, and connected with the assumption of a votive object, but also links the text in a very easy way to the use of the Clb. verb *auzu*, *auzeti* observed in K.1.1 and K.1.3.⁵²

6.2. <PesKu>: On the evidence of its final *-u#*, the form may represent either (a) another present indicative active in the 1st person singular; possibly a Latin loanword *pesku* ‘I fish’? Or (b) a *u*-stem neuter (*besku* or, again as a loanword, *pesku*) as the direct object of the following verb *auzu* ‘I scoop up’; or else (c) the ablative of an *o*-stem (*beskom* or *peskom*?) expressing a local modifier of the following verb.

6.3. <auzu>: 1st person singular of the thematic present indicative active corresponding to Lat. *hauriō* with full grade of the IE root **h₂ews-* (cf. supra in § 2).

6.4. <eTiKuPos>: its final morph representing the ending *-bos* of a dative plural, the lexeme itself may either refer to the family group to which the oinochoe was destined (the Etikoi?) or to a common noun in the plural

informative panorama of the *ius aquarum* in Spain and the rest of the Roman world is offered by Rodríguez Neila (1988).

⁴⁸ CIL 10, 04842. — This is why an inscription from Iliturgicola (Baetica) especially stresses the repristinated “*gratuitum aquae usum, quem saepe amisimus*” (CIL 02-05, 00267).

⁴⁹ *Lex Quinctia de aquaeductibus*, Bruns/ Mommsen/ Gradenwitz (¹1909), p. 115.

⁵⁰ Rome, CIL 06, 01261. Another instance of this kind is found in Numidia (CIL 08, 04440 from Lamasba). A search in the Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby provides also the graffito Palatino-02, 00268 (“*v[]s ha[u]r[r]ir[e] colonos nomine Apic[] Patras Paul[]*”), albeit in a rather unclear context.

⁵¹ Cf. the drawing by Burillo (1997), p. 228, also in Jordán Cólera (2004), p. 220.

⁵² This had been already attempted, albeit without satisfying semantics, by De Bernardo Stempel (2000), p. 185.

Cib. *auzu* ‘*haurio*’, *auzeti* ‘*haurit*’, *auzanto* ‘*hauriant*’: *Water in the Botorrita Bronzes ...*

or even to a *nomen actionis* in the plural (e.g. ‘for the meals/dinners’ [edikubos]?) expressing the aim of the scooping up.⁵³

6.5. Classical parallels: Accordingly, the Celtiberian vase would belong to the well-represented category of ancient “speaking vessels”,⁵⁴ and for a Celtic parallel one could compare *RIG-L-35.1* and *RIG-L-50*, both with a 1st-person singular verb (*delgu, ri-s-tecu*).⁵⁵

Furthermore, the use of the Cib. verb *auzu, auzeti* : Lat. *hauriō, haurīre* on an oinochoe results particularly appropriate if we take into account the Hesychian gloss Γουινάυτις · οἰνοχόη, with -άυτις as a derivative of αὔω,⁵⁶ the Greek equivalent of Lat. *hauriō* (cf. supra in § 2.1).

7. Cib. *auza*[*to/t*] ‘**may scoop up (for himself)**’ (: *hauriat*) ON THE VASE K. 2.1 FROM ALBALATE (TERUEL).

7.1. The new interpretation: In the case of this short engraving between two decorative mouldings on a fragmentary unpainted vase, the interpretation proposed here does not separate any longer the final -a# (thus dispelling the syntactical difficulty pointed out by Burillo [1997], p. 232) and assumes a different integration and meaning for the verbal form.⁵⁷ I take

]e.Tu.Ke.n.o.s.a.u.z.a[

to represent

[*r*]etugenos *auza*[*to/ti*]

meaning ‘Rectugenos may scoop up (for himself)’. As in the case of the oinochoe K.0.8, a meaning in accordance with the support of the inscription permits at the same time to disclose a link to K.1.1 and K. 1.3.

7.2. <[r]eTuKenos>: *Rectugenos* in its Celtiberian variant *Retugenos*⁵⁸ is obviously the subject of this well-wishing phrase with regular SV syntax.

7.3. <auza[To]> or <auza[Ti]> represents a 3rd person singular present subjunctive of the Cib. verb corresponding to Lat. *haurīre*, either in the middle or in the active voice (i.e. *auzato* ‘may he scoop up for himself’ or *auzat* ‘may he scoop up’). The well-wishing sense of the inscription seems to favour the middle voice. The ending should belong in either case to the IE secondary set, on account of the secondary ending found in the 3rd plural *auzanto* of the present \bar{a} -subjunctive (cf. supra in § 5); if we also take into

⁵³ The beginning of this form might suggest the presence of a conjunction akin to Gaul. *eti(c)*, thus leading to an analysis of the type ‘From Y I scoop up, and also from the X’, but the remaining (*k*)ubos or (*g*)ubos seems even more obscure. In any case, the syntax of the sentence appears to be marked.

⁵⁴ One of the main sub-groups in Agostiniani (1982).

⁵⁵ Some new aspects have been discussed by De Bernardo Stempel (1998/2007), § I.10.2, and, respectively, (1997), chapt. 5.

⁵⁶ “le γ étant une graphie pour F” : Chantraine, p. 145.

⁵⁷ I.a. with respect to De Bernardo Stempel (2000), p. 185f.

⁵⁸ On the involved isogloss and the name cf. De Bernardo Stempel (2002), p. 102, eadem (2004), p. 140 with fn. 46, and Arenas et alii (2001).

account the \bar{a} -subjunctive written as <a.s.e.Ka.Ti> in K.1.1, line A6, we may reckon with a dead vowel <-i#> if the original verbal form was active.⁵⁹

7.4. Classical parallels: Accordingly, the text would represent a different subtype of speaking-vessel inscription: the vase is no longer speaking in the first singular, but utters a well-wishing expression that at the same time identifies the possessor. For a Celtic comparandum we may quote *RIG-L-50*, where the subject governs a modal verbal form in the 3rd singular.⁶⁰

8. Clb. *auz*(at ⁱ/ato) ‘may scoop up’ (: *hauriat*) ON THE BRONZE SQUARE LEAF K. 0.8.

8.1. The new interpretation: In the case of this evidently abbreviated text, the interpretation suggested here does not differ formally, but only semantically from the previous ones.⁶¹

As for the reading, I favour Ballester’s proposal (1999), p. 262 fn. 21, of identifying, apart from the shortened verbal form, a longer name completed by changing the writing direction. We try to give an idea of the actual text by representing it approximately as

l.e.To.n.Tu.
a.u.z | s.o. u.

and transcribing it as

Letondunos auz.

which must have meant ‘Letondunos is allowed to draw water’, either as (a) ‘Letondunos may draw water (for himself)’ or, if formulated in nominal style, either as (b) ‘Letondunos *aquarius*’ or as (c) ‘the drawing of water is Letondo’s’.

8.2. <leTonTu/nos>: in the first two cases, this would be a nominative *Letondunos* expressing the subject of the following verb (a) or preceding the apposition represented by a *nomen actionis* meaning ‘*aquarius*’ (b); in the last and less probable case (c), it would be the genitive singular of *Letondu*, governed by the following substantive.

8.3. <auz.>: whereas in the last two cases the shortened form should be expanded as the nominative singular of a Clb. substantive equivalent either to Lat. *aquarius* (b) or to Lat. *haustus*, *haustūs* (c), the first alternative (a) would lead again to a 3rd person singular of the present subjunctive, either active (*auzat* ‘may he draw water’) or middle (*auzato* ‘may he draw water for himself’).⁶²

8.4. Semantic plausibility: the small square bronze-leaf has a peculiar circular depression in the middle and has been tentatively described as an

⁵⁹ Cf. De Bernardo Stempel (1993/96), pp. 240ff.

⁶⁰ *Jus gabas Senaucos* “die [...], möge sie Senaucos geben!”, cf. De Bernardo Stempel (2005), p. 195f.

⁶¹ To be found in *MLH* 4, p. 550; De Bernardo Stempel (2000), p. 185; Jordán Cólera (2004), pp. 295ff.

⁶² In any case, the voiced sibilant speaks in favour of an intervocalic position and against expanding the shortened form so as to represent an athematic sigmatic preterite of the verb.

Cib. *auzu* 'haurio', *auzeti* 'haurit', *auzanto* 'hauriant': *Water in the Botorrita Bronzes ...*

atypical tessera (*MLH* 4, p. 376 and 350). It is conceivable that it was a distinctive label or badge for somebody authorized to draw water, either like the persons officially listed in K.1.3 or being in charge of the devices as those mentioned in the Latin edict on the Roman aqueduct at Venafrum (cf. *supra* in § 5.14). Even if we might have expected the name of the family or/and the father to appear on such an object, it is also true that such specifications have been known to be left out at times whenever the involved person was familiar to his immediate environment.

9. SUMMING UP. It has proved possible, at last, to find a common semantic core for all the individual forms containing the Cib. verbal stem *auz-* which have been identified up to now⁶³: by tracing it back to the widespread IE verbal root **h₂eus-* 'to scoop up, to draw (water)', the resulting interpretations are, moreover, appropriate to the kind of support on which the inscriptions are found.

As expected, the three documents on bronze have a public significance:⁶⁴ the First Bronze tells us that the land inside the *trifinium* was of a special kind, which is why drawing water was charged with a payment proportional to the yield of the various types of land involved; the Third Bronze is an official list of people of all kinds who were entitled to draw water from some new-built reservoirs, which is also why there was some space left for the names of future users; the bronze badge of uncertain procedure seems to be an authorization *ad personam* to draw water.

On the other hand, the significance of the two ceramic vases is, as usual, entirely private: both speak in conformity with a well-known albeit different formulaic pattern, the vessel from Caminreal describing its own task, and the vessel from Albalate⁶⁵ wishing its usual task to be always accomplished by its owner.

⁶³A further instance might have to be seen in the *a.u.z.i.m.e.i* of line A4 of the new Lead Leaf of Cuenca (Lorrio & Velaza [2004/05], p. 1038): the meaning of the context being still completely unclear, we can just suppose it to be the usual case of a verbal noun formation in *-m-* associated to the Cib. verb *auzu*, *auzeti* and meaning 'scooping up, drawing water' or else the dative of a *nomen agentis* derived from the same verbal stem and agreeing with the preceding *r.o.u.z.u.n.e.i* (i.e. if this is the dative of a nasal-stem idionym **Roud^hyō*). — As for the *res*-Bronze with its form *a.u.z.a.r.e.s*, a *caveat* was expressed by De Bernardo Stempel (2004/05), p. 559f.

⁶⁴Cf. i.a. Poccetti (1997/99), p. 558.

⁶⁵Note that both places belong to the province of Teruel.

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Clb. auzu 'haurio', auzeti 'haurit', auzanto 'hauriant': *Water in the Botorrita Bronzes ...*

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