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CELTICIZATION AND ROMANIZATION OF TOPONYMY IN CENTRAL SPAIN

The toponyms of Central Spain tell us a great deal about the linguistic influence of the Celts and Romans in the interior of the Peninsula. Philological and statistical analysis of the origin of ancient town names in this region reveals a strong predominance of Celtic toponyms among the Celtiberi and Turmogi, while the Arevaci, Pelendones and Vaccaei have equal proportions of Celtic and pre-Celtic names. The highest proportion of Romanized toponyms (about 25 per cent) occurs among the Carpetani and Arevaci.

Toponyms are notoriously resistant to change¹, and many pre-Roman toponyms in the provinces survived into (and sometimes beyond) the Roman period. The study of provincial toponymy can pay impressive dividends in terms of understanding the acculturation process. On one hand, the number of Latin or Romanized toponyms in a region is a useful index of the impact of the Roman presence, in terms of both the renaming of indigenous settlements and the founding of new ones. On the other, it is instructive to observe that the pre-Roman toponyms of a region rarely belong to a single language, but include remnants of earlier ones as well as borrowings from neighbouring cultures.

One region whose toponymy has not been systematically studied is Central Spain, the territories of the ancient Arevaci, Carpetani, Celtiberi, Pelendones, Turmogi and Vaccaei. Each of these six chiefdoms was either Celtic itself, or strongly influenced by its Celtic neighbours. At the same time, we can also find non-Celtic onomastic elements in all these territories. In this presentation we shall, first, examine the linguistic origin of the individual town-names, and second, analyze the extent to which the toponyms of each chiefdom became successively Celticized and Romanized. While it is not possible in every instance to provide a secure etymology, most toponyms can be classified with some confidence as Celtic, Latin, or neither. Those

¹ Cf. L.A. Curchin, *Roman Spain. Conquest and Assimilation*, London, 1991, p. 188.

names which are neither Celtic nor Latin may belong to a pre-Celtic Indo-European language, or to a para-Celtic language such as Iberian.

Toponymic study has rightly been criticized in the past for its resort to fantastic etymologies and for the prejudice of its practitioners; for instance, Holder listed many names as Celtic that were not, and Pokorny claimed to find «Illyrian» names in unlikely places. Ancient toponyms rarely convey fancy meanings; Celtic place-names, for example, usually describe the site in terms of its appearance or its outstanding feature. Investigators should therefore remember that the simplest meaning is most likely to be the correct one.²

Each town listed below is followed by the bracketed abbreviation A, Ca, Ce, P, T, or V, corresponding to the six chiefdoms named above. Other abbreviations include DN (divine name), GN (geographic name), PN (personal name), IE (Indo-European)³.

Acontia (V). Attested by Strabo (III 3.2) and Stephanus Byzantinus (p. 61M); the latter spells it *Acoutia*, confusing it with the Aquitani. The toponym appears to be Celtic: the initial element *Aco(n)-* is found in several Celtic personal and gentilic names (*AcS* I, pp. 31-32), while the suffix *-ntia* recurs in GNs such as *Segontia*.

Alaba (Ce). The spelling *Alaba* in Ptolemy (II 6.57) is confirmed by the adjectival form *Alabensis* in inscriptions (*CIL* II 4200; *AE* 1987, p. 656); Pliny's *Alabanenses* (III 25) should therefore be emended to *Alabenses*. British *Alabum* and Narbonese *Alabon* are presumably cognate, possibly from an IE root **alebh-*, **alobh-* 'hill, crest' (*PRB* 242), as are the *Alabi*, a people

² As already pointed out by J.B. Johnston, *Place-names of Scotland*, 3rd ed., London, 1934, p.21.

³ Also note the following bibliographical abbreviations: *AcS* = A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* Leipzig, 1896-1907; *DAG* = J. Whatmough, *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul* Cambridge, Mass., 1970; *ELH* = *Enciclopedia lingüística hispánica*, I, Madrid, 1960; *GPN* = D.E. Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names*, Oxford, 1967; *Land.* = A. Tovar, *Iberische Landeskunde*, II,3, Baden-Baden, 1989; *OPP* = M.L. Albertos Firmat, *La onomástica personal primitiva de Hispania Tarraconense y Bética*, Salamanca, 1966; *PRB* = A.L.F. Rivet and C. Smith, *The Place-names of Roman Britain*, London, 1979; *TLL* = *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*; *ZCP* = *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*. Epigraphical publications are cited by their usual abbreviations (*CIL*, *Eph. Epig.*, *AE*, *HAep*); add now *HE* = *Hispania Epigraphica*, Madrid, 1989-. *IA* = *Itinerarium Antonini*; *Rav.* = *Cosmographia anonymi Ravennatis*.

of the Ebro Valley settled at Cortona and named on a Celtiberian tessera.⁴

Albocela (V). Ptolemy (II 6.49) and IA (434.7) both give this spelling, garbled by Rav. (312.20) into *Albeceia*; the variant Arbocala appears in Polybius (III 14.1, followed by Livy XXI 5.6). The adjectival form *Albocolensis* found near Salamanca (*CIL* II 880) may refer to the same place, or possibly to an *Albocola* in Galicia, as suggested by mention of the *metalla Alboc(olensia?)* (*CIL* II 2598, but cf. *metallum Albucrarensis* in Pliny XXX 80). The name seems to contain IE **albh-* 'white', seen in numerous PNs⁵ and in the Galician DN *Alboceus* (*CIL* II 2394b; cf. DN *Alboco[lus?]*, *HE* 4, p. 1078), plus a feminine noun **cela* 'wood' (cf. Welsh *celli*, Middle Irish *caill*, Latin *callis*), from IE **kel-* 'strike, cut'. The name is therefore IE, though not necessarily Celtic.

Albonica (Ce). Mentioned by IA (447.6) as a road station. The name comes from IE **albh-* (see preceding entry). The *-ica* suffix occurs in Celtic GNs in Gaul and Britain (e.g. *Robrica*, *Aesica*) as well as in Spain.

Alces (Ca). Mentioned by Livy (XXXX 48, with accusative ending *-en*) and IA (445.5). Though Livy ascribes this place to the Celtiberians (a term often used loosely to refer to the Spaniards of the interior), the Itinerary distances suggest a location in southeast Toledo or northeast Ciudad Real province, in the territory of the Carpetani. Albertos (*OPP*, p. 16) assumes a meaning 'deer', citing Greek *alke*, Latin *alces* 'elk'. However, these are Germanic loanwords which are unlikely to have penetrated pre-Roman Spain.⁶ *Alces* therefore remains unexplained, but is in any event non-Latin.

Alternia (Ca). The name occurs only in Ptolemy (II 6.56) and appears to be Latin. An inscription from Orense province, naming *Antistius Placidus Cili filius Alterniaicinus* (*CIL* II 2523), seems to provide an adjectival form of the toponym, though of irregular formation; one would expect *Alterniensis*. Possibly, however, *Alternia* might be the Latinized spelling of a Celtic

⁴ For references and discussion, see L.A. Curchin, «Two *Alabanenses?*», *Philologus* 139, 1995, pp. 337-338.

⁵ J. Untermann, *Elementos de un atlas antroponímico de la Hispania antigua*, Madrid, 1965, maps 4-5.

⁶ Cf. *DAG* 1081. The Celtic word for «deer» is **carvo-* (cognate with Latin *ceruus*), seen in the British ethnic name Carvetii and in Old Cornish *caruu*.

toponym: cf. Scottish *Altyre* (*allt tir* 'river land')⁷.

Amallobriga (V). The name is spelled *Amallobriga* in IA (435.1) and on a *tessera hospitalis* from Montealegre, Valladolid (*AE* 1985, p. 581); Rav. (313.2) gives a corrupt form *Abulobrica*. Although the suffix *-briga* is of Celtic origin (see below on *Augustobriga*), the element *Amallo-* is otherwise unattested; Montenegro suggests that it is pre-Celtic⁸. Cf. however the Old Irish proclitic *amal* 'like', and the Irish island *Amalga*⁹.

Ambisna (T). The toponym is thus spelled in Ptolemy (II 6.51); Rav. (318.14) corrupts it to *Ambinon*. The name comes clearly from Celtic *ambi-* 'about' (= Greek *amphi-*, Latin *amb-*); the ending *-sna* is presumably a contraction of *sena*, the feminine form of Celtic **seno-* 'old' (cf. the British river name *Sena*: *PRB* 455). As Evans notes (*GPN*, p. 134), *ambi-* may sometimes have an intensive meaning; therefore *Ambis(e)na* should mean 'very old (place)'. On «old» toponyms, cf. *Vetera* (sc. *castra*) in Germania Inferior, Oldham in England, and various towns in Spain named Villavieja.

Aquae Bilbilitanorum (Ce). This toponym, attested twice in IA (437.2, 438.14) is clearly Latin, meaning 'the baths of the people of Bilbilis'.

Arcobriga (Ce). The name, given by several sources (Ptol. II 6.57; IA 437.1, 438.13; Rav. 309.17; cf. *Arcobrigenses*, Pliny III 24), incorporates the widespread ending *-briga* 'hill-fort'. The initial element is more problematic. Neither Holder's derivation from PN *Arquius* (*AcS* I, p. 184) nor Albertos' from **arcto-* (*OPP*, p. 32) is convincing. Schulten thought it was formed from PN *Arco*, which occurs frequently in the epigraphy of Lusitania and Galicia.¹⁰ However, *Arco* also appears, in the dative form *Arconi*, on two inscribed altars from Riba de Saelices (Guadalajara) in the territory of the Celtiberi. This suggests that *Arcobriga* is probably a theophoric toponym, 'fortress of Arco', as recently proposed by Francisco Marco.¹¹ Another *Arco*

⁷ Johnston, *Place-names of Scotland*, p. 82.

⁸ A. Montenegro, «La *tessera hospitalis* del año 134 d.C. hallada en Montealegre», *Hispania Antiqua* 11-12, 1981-85, p. 113.

⁹ E. Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum locorum et tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae*, Dublin-London, 1910, p. 30.

¹⁰ A. Schulten, *Numantia*, II, Munich, 1914, p. 141.

¹¹ *AE* 1987, 653 = *HE* 2 (1990) 425; J. Gómez-Pantoja, «Arco», *Actas del II coloquio*

briga is known in Lusitania (Ptol. II 5.5; *CIL* II 765).

Arecorada (P). The name occurs as *a.r.e.co.ra.ta*, and in the adjectival ethnic form *a.r.e.co.r.a.ti.co.s*, on pre-Roman coins; the ethnic reappears in dative or ablative *a.r.e.co.r.a.ti.cu.bo.s* on a Celtiberian inscription from Luzaga. If correctly identified with Agreda (Soria) near Augustobriga, it should lie among the Pelendones. *Are-* is a Celtic prefix equivalent to Latin *ad-* 'near', while the suffix *-ada* is found in others toponyms in our region (e.g. *Caesada*, *Varada*). The middle element may come from the Celtic root **kor-* 'to place, throw', possibly contained in Gaulish PNs such as *Coradus* (*GPN*, pp. 338-39). *Arecorada* might therefore mean '(the town) placed near' or 'the adjacent (town)', though whether 'near' to a river or to another town is unknown.

Arriaca (Ca). This road station, listed by IA (436.3; 438.19) and, in the corrupt form *Arentia*, by Rav. (310.2), lies slightly nearer to Complutum of the Carpetani than to Caesada of the Celtiberi. The *-aca* suffix is reminiscent of several indigenous GNs in Central Spain (*Autraca*, *Caraca*, *Pisoraca*) and elsewhere (*Belcinaca* in Gaul: *DAG*, p. 597). Since Spain lacks the **ario-* compounds found in Gaul, such as PN *Arius* (*GPN*, p. 141) and GN *Ariolica* (*DAG*, pp. 48, 360), the name probably comes from Latin *Arrius*, a gentilic name amply attested in the epigraphy of our region.

Attacum (Ce). This is attested by Ptol. (II 6.57) as *Attacon*; cf. the adjectival form *Attacc(ensis)* in *CIL* II 4189. I have argued elsewhere that it is formed from the Celtic PN *Atto/Atta* plus the toponymic ending *-acom*.¹²

Augustobriga (P). The town is named by Ptolemy (II 6.53), IA (442,3) and Rav. (311,2) as well as on several milestones. The *-briga* suffix, a Romanized form of Celtiberian *-brik(s)* 'hill-fort' (cf. Irish *brig* 'strength'), is preceded by the Roman imperial name *Augustus*. Such hybrids are often found, e.g. *Caesarobriga* and a second *Augustobriga* in Lusitania; *Caesardunum* and *Augustodunum* in Gaul. Contrary to the old assumption that *-briga* is a remnant of the Hallstatt age, many *-briga* toponyms are Roman or postclassical.¹³

sobre epigrafía, religiones peninsulares, ed. J. Cardim Ribeiro, Sintra (forthcoming). Cf. F. Marco Simón in *Los Celtas en el valle medio del Ebro*, Zaragoza, 1989, p. 119.

¹² L.A. Curchin, «Five Celtic town-names in Central Spain», *Habis* 27, 1996, pp. 45-46.

¹³ The old view is expressed by, e.g., E. Sangmeister, «Die Kelten in Spanien», *Madr.*

Autraca (V). Our sole authority is Ptolemy (II 6.49), whose coordinates place it near the confluence of the Odra and Pisuerga. It was recognized more than a century ago that the town must be named after the former river (*Odra* < **Autra*); cf. GNs *Autura*, *Autricum* in Gaul, and the *Autrigones* in Spain.¹⁴ On the *-aca* ending, see under *Arriaca*.

Avia (V). Again our only source is Ptolemy (II 6.49). Müller, based on Ptolemy's coordinates, placed it on the modern river Valdavia, perhaps earlier *Vallis Aviae*?¹⁵ The IE root **ap-* (Celtic, *ab-*, *av-*) 'flow' occurs in numerous Celtic hydronyms and names of towns located on rivers (cf. *PRB* 239, 261). A town *Avia* in northern Spain is mentioned by the monk Grimald in the 11th century, but may be a different site.¹⁶

Barnacis (Ca). Mentioned only by Ptolemy (II 6.56), it is clearly non-Latin, though of obscure origin. By analogy with Celtic, *barn-* might mean 'hill' (cf. Old Cornish and Breton *bern*, Scottish *barr*, from IE **bhergh-*). The suffix *-acis*, seen in British GNs like *Sulloniacis* and *Vagniacis*, could represent Celtic *-ac-* (cf. *Arriaca*, *Attacum*) with Latin locative plural ending *-is* (*PRB* 485), but in Spain it tends to occur in para-Celtic contexts (*Fornacis* in Turdetania, *Rodacis* in Lusitania). *Barnacis* may therefore be IE but non-Celtic. Somewhat similar in form is Ptolemy's *Bargiacis* (II 6.49), which he lists among the *Vaccaei* – apparently in error, since his coordinates make it coincident with *Brigaecium* of the Astures.

Belgeda (Ce). The name is so spelled by Appian (*Iber.*, p. 100). Diodorus gives *Begeda* (XXXI 39), Orosius has *Belgida* (V 23.11). A mosaic inscription from Segobriga mentions a *Belcide[nsis a]rtifex*.¹⁷ The root *Belg-* occurs sporadically in Celtic nomenclature, e.g. *Belgica* in Gaul, the town *Belgites* in Pannonia (Pliny III 148), and the Gallic leader *Belgios* (Justin 24.5-6; ca-

Mitt. 1, 1960, p. 95. See now M.L. Albertos, «Los topónimos en *-briga* en Hispania», *Veleia* 7, 1990, p. 131; S. Piggott in *Los Celtas en el valle medio del Ebro*, p. 105 (distribution map).

¹⁴ H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, «Les Celtes en Espagne», *Revue Celtique* 15, 1894, p. 33.

¹⁵ *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, ed. K. Müller, Paris 1883, p. 166; cf. E. Hübner, *RE* II,2, 1896, col. 2372.

¹⁶ see M. Férotin, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Silos*, Paris 1897, p. 77 note, who thinks it may be Ribadavia.

¹⁷ *Eph. Epig.* VIII, n° 183 = M. Almagro, *Segóbriga II*, Madrid 1984, n° 42. The photograph in Almagro disproves the traditional reading *Belcile...*: the letter preceding the second E is spaced too far away to be L, and must be D.

lled *Bolgios* by Pausanias X 19.7).

Belsinum (Ce). Ptolemy gives the name as *Belsinon* (II 6.57), IA variously as *Balsione* (443.4) and *Bellisone* (451.1), Rav. as *Belsionem* (310.18) and *Belisarium* (313.7). From these sources it is unclear whether the correct form is *Belsinum*, *Belsio*, or *Beliso*. Comparative light is, however, shed by the Aquitanian GN *Belsinum*, variant *Belsino* (*AcS* I, p. 396; *DAG*, p. 246) which is probably homonymous with ours. A possible, though by no means secure, solution is to accept *Belsinum* and to suppose that its ablative form *Belsino* misled the copyists of the itineraries into construing it as third declension. The root of the first syllable may be Celtic **bel-* 'bright, shining', seen in the Gaulish DN *Belenos* (identified with the sun-god Apollo) and presumably in the Celtiberian GN *Contrebia Belaisca*. The *-sin-* ending remains unexplained, though cf. *Abusina* in Central Europe (*DAG*, p. 1206).

Bilbilis (Ce). The name, attested in a large number of sources (see *RE* or *TLL ad loc.*), is clearly an Iberian formation with reduplicated stem.

Brauum (T). The name is found only in Ptolemy (II 6.51), in the form *Braunon*. I have suggested elsewhere, using the comparative evidence of British *Brauoniacum*, that the name is Celtic and may mean 'quern hill'¹⁸.

Bursao (Ce). Though Ptolemy gives the form *Bursada* (II 6.57), other sources suggest that the correct spelling is *Bursao* (*Bursaones*, Livy fr. 91; «Bursaonenses», Pliny III 24; *bu.r.s.a.u.*, coins). The etymology is probably not Celtic (despite some *bur-* compounds in Gaulish, *DAG*, pp. 445-46) but Iberian: cf. *Burado* near Bilbilis (Martial IV 55.23) and *Burtina* of the Ilergetes (Ptol. II 6.67).

Caesada (Ce). This appears as *ca.i.s.e.s.a* on pre-Roman coins, but as *Kaisada* in Ptolemy (II 6.57) and *Caesada* in IA (436.4; 438.11, cf. *Caesarum*, Rav. 310.1). The consonant shift from *s* in the Iberian script to *d* in classical authors, which is also seen with *Sekaisa/Segeda* (q.u.), appears to reflect a Celtiberian sound midway between /s/ and /d/, such as /dh/ or /z/.¹⁹ A similar confusion exists in Gaulish (*GPN*, pp. 414-18), and there is some

¹⁸ Curchin, «Five Celtic Town-names», p. 46.

¹⁹ See most recently F. Villar, *Estudios de celtibérico y de toponimia prerromanas*, Salamanca, 1995, pp. 72-73.

interchange of /s/ and /d/ in the classical languages (Greek μέσος = Latin *medius*; Greek *rhodon* = Latin *rosa*, cf. in Cataluña GN *Rhode* > *Roses*). The element **caiso-* may equate to Gallic *gaesum* 'javelin' (*OPP.* 70; *DAG*, p. 35), though the suitability of this meaning to a toponym is not readily apparent. On the *-ada* ending, cf. *Arecorada*.

Camala (V). This road station, mentioned only by IA (395.2), is clearly a feminine form of the PN *Camalus*, widely attested in western Iberia and apparently equivalent to Gaulish *Camulus*²⁰. Its meaning is disputed, though Evans makes it cognate with Irish *cam* 'fight' (*GPN*, p. 161).

Caraca (Ca). Ptolemy presents the name as *Karakka* (II 6.56), Rav. as *Caraca* (313.10); Plutarch (*Sert.* 17) refers to its inhabitants as *Charakitanoi*. The name comprises the element **car-* plus the toponymic ending *-aca* (see *Arriaca*). As Evans notes (*GPN*, pp. 162-63) it is difficult to determine whether *Car-* names come from Celtic *caro-* 'dear, friend' or *carro-* 'wagon'; to the latter root may belong a GN *Carraca* in Cisalpine Gaul (Ptol. III 1.22). However, Evans also cites a pre(?)-IE root *karr-* 'rock, crag', which would better suit a toponym, especially since Plutarch tells us that the Characitani lived in the side of a cliff.

Cauca (V). The name is so spelled by a large number of sources (see *AcS* I, pp. 365-366). It is clearly related to such Hispanic PNs as *Caucaenus* and *Corocaucus*, which appear to be IE (*OPP.* p. 83) but pre-Celtic. *Cauc-* names are infrequent in the Celtic world, e.g. the *Cauci* in Ireland (Ptol. II 2.9) and *Cauca* in Narbonensis (*CIL* XII 5686.208).

Centobriga (Ce). The place is mentioned only by Valerius Maximus (V 1.5). I have proposed elsewhere that the likeliest root is Celtic **cento*, **cinto* 'first', yielding the meaning 'foremost hill-fort'²¹.

Certima (Ce). Livy (XXXX 47.2) calls this a town of the Celtiberi. It seems philologically connected to *Certis*, a river name found in Spain (the Guadalquivir: Livy XXVIII 22.1) and possibly Britain (Rav. 108.33, assuming *Certisnassa* represents a conflation of two toponyms); also related may

²⁰ Untermann, *Atlas antroponímico*, p. 85; D.E. Evans, «On the Celticity of some Hispanic Personal Names», *II coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas paleohispánicas*, Salamanca, 1979, p. 122.

²¹ Curchin, «Five Celtic Town-names», p. 46.

be *Certisa* in Pannonia (Ptol. II 15.4; IA 260.9) and *Certhaine* in Ireland²². Several scholars have traced the river name to Celtic **qert-* 'to turn, twist' (see PRB 307), and this might also be the root of *Certima*, perhaps describing a site located at a river bend.

Clunia (A). Numerous literary and epigraphic sources agree on the spelling of this name, but its etymology is obscure: «vielleicht iberisch» according to Holder (*AcS* I, p. 1048), «keltisch oder ligurisch» according to Schulten²³. Carnoy evoked a root **klu-* 'clean water', citing such unlikely parallels as *Clyde* in Scotland and the river *Lauer* < **(k)lu-ro*. Montenegro, pointing to Clunian coins depicting a boar, claims a root **clun-* 'boar' for which he cites supposed Greek and Latin cognates²⁴. But Greek *χλούνης*, though it came to signify 'wild boar', was originally an adjective, variously interpreted as 'castrated', 'solitary', 'foaming' or 'crouching', and Latin *clunis* 'ham' is not a porcine reference but means 'buttock' and is cognate with Breton *klun*, Welsh *clun* 'thigh'. In any event, the boar is well known as a sacred animal among the Celts, and its appearance on Clunia's coinage need not imply an etymological connection. Tovar (*Land.*, p. 352) proposes a derivation from IE **kel-* ('to rise'), but this does not account for the vocalism of *Clu-*. A Celtic root **clu-* is suggested by Welsh *clyw*, Irish *clú* 'fame, glory', but this would not explain the *n* in our toponym. The name may therefore be pre-Celtic, paralleled by *Clunia* in Raetia (Tab. Peut. 3.5) and *Cluny* < **Cluniacum* in Savoy²⁵.

Colenda (A). With this toponym, mentioned by Appian (*Iber.* 99-100), may be compared the Latin *cognomen Colendus*²⁶. The gerundive of the verb *colo -ere*, it may designate a town founded or renamed by the Romans prior to 93 B.C. Alternatively, Appian's *Kolenda* might be a garbled form of a *cal-* toponym, or even of Clunia. Another possibility is to relate it to Irish *coll* 'hazel', Scottish *coille* 'wood' (cf. above on *Albocela*), but this does not

²² Hogan, *Onomasticon goedelicum*, p. 230.

²³ Schulten, *Numantia*, I, p. 131.

²⁴ A.J. Carnoy, *Dictionnaire étymologique du Proto-indo-européen*, Louvain 1955, p. 119; A. Montenegro in *Historia de Burgos, I. Edad antigua*, Burgos 1985, p. 246.

²⁵ J. Pokorny, «Zur Urgeschichte der Kelten und Illyrier», *ZCP* 21, 1938, p. 153, who makes *Clunia* an Illyrian name.

²⁶ I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, p. 360.

explain the ending.

Complutum (Ca). The name is spelled *co.n.bo.u.to* on pre-Roman coins (using the Iberian script which lacks the letter «p»), *Konplouton* in Ptolemy (II 6.56), and *Complutum* in a wide range of Latin sources (see *TLL ad loc.*). The un-Celtic combination *pl* has generated much etymological speculation. Flórez thought the name was Greek, from *kômê* + *ploutos*²⁷; Holder considered it «wahrscheinlich iberisch» (*AcS* I, p. 1087); others have classed it as IE but pre-Celtic, derived from **pleu-* 'to flow' and thus meaning 'confluence'²⁸. Although Corominas and Hamp have suggested that *Complutum* might be Celtic after all²⁹, the matter remains in doubt. An undoubtedly related *Complutica* is attested in Galicia (Ptol. 2.6.38).

Confluenta (A). Ptolemy lists this in the Hellenized form *Komphloenta* (II 6.55). It is clearly Latin, from the verb *confluo*, and indicates a town situated at a river junction. Several places of the same name are known in other Roman provinces (see *TLL*, Suppl II, 562).

Consabura (Ce). Ptolemy (II 6.57) lists *Kondabora* among the Celtiberi, but its traditional location at Consuegra (Toledo) places it among the Carpetani. Pliny (III 25) and several inscriptions give the name of the inhabitants as *Consaburenses*. Frontinus (*strat.* IV 5.19) provides a contracted form *Consabra*, while the itineraries alter its gender to *Consabro* (IA 446.6) or *Consabron* (Rav. 313.15). Ptolemy's *-d-* may be either a manuscript error, or the confusion of *s* and *d* in Celtiberian (see above on *Caesada*). A tessera from Herrera del Pisuegra (*HAEP* 2452) mentions the *Cusaburenses*, apparently a homonymous people of the north. The name comprises the Celtic or Latin prefix *co(n)-* plus an unidentified verbal root *sabur-*. Cf. below on *Sabaris*.

Contrebia Carbica (Ca). The name appears on coins as *ca.r.bi.ca* (variant

²⁷ E. Flórez, *España sagrada*, VII, Madrid 1751, p. 161.

²⁸ Hubschmid, *ELH*, p. 484; A. Tovar in *Geschichte und Kultur der Kelten*, ed. K.H. Schmidt, Heidelberg, 1986, p. 90. G. Alföldy, *Römisches Städtewesen auf der neukastilischen Hochebene*, Heidelberg 1987, p. 101 implausibly takes *Complutum* as a Latin translation of the pre-Roman GN *Complega*.

²⁹ J. Corominas, «New Information on Hispano-Celtic from the Spanish Etymological Dictionary», *ZCP* 25, 1956, p. 38; E.P. Hamp, «Hispanic *Complutum*, *Compleutica*», *ZCP* 39, 1982, p. 204.

ca.r.bi.co.m) *co.n.te.ba.co.m*. Livy (XL 33) refers to a Contrebia among the Carpetani, which (since it cannot be Contrebia Leukade or Contrebia Belaisca) is presumably Carbica. Possibly *Carbica* is the Celtic form of the Latin adjective *Carpetana*: a similar confusion can be seen in a town of Narbonensis which the sources variously spell *Carbantorate* or *Carpentorate* (DAG, p. 178). A stone from Guadalajara province, inscribed *ca.r.bi.s.ca*, could mark the territorial boundary of the Carpetani, though this is a subject of controversy³⁰. For the *-ica* suffix, cf. below on *Sentica*. *Contrebia* is Celtic, formed from **con-* 'together' plus **treb-* 'dwelling' (Irish *treb*, Welsh *athref*); cf. the *Arotrebae* in Galicia, *Atrebatas* in Belgica, and the British GN *Locatrebe*. A deity *Contrebis* is mentioned in two inscriptions from Britain³¹.

Contrebia Leucada (P). Livy (fr. 91) refers to *Contrebia quae Leucada appellatur* as a Roman grain depot among the *Arevacos et Cerindones* (= *Pelendones*, by confusion of Celtic *q-* and *p-*) and on the escape route from the land of the hostile Berones.³² Since the Berones border on the Pelendones, Leucada should belong to the latter. On the name Contrebia, see the preceding entry. *Leucada* contains Celtic **leuc-* 'shining, white' (cognate with Greek *leuk-* 'white', Latin *lucere* 'to shine'), perhaps referring to the white rock outcrop which forms the presumed site of this town, near Inestrillas in Logroño. Cf. *Leuciana*, a station on the road from Mérida to Toledo (IA 438.5). On the ending *-ada*, cf. *Arecorada*.

Cougion (V). Both Ptolemy (II 6.49) and Rav. (313.6) give the spelling *Cougion*, which appears to be the neuter of the indigenous PN *Cougios*, attested at Termes in the genitive form *Cougio* (*Eph. Epig.* VIII, 148). Its etymology is unknown.

Deobrigula (T). Attested by Ptolemy (II 6.51) and IA (449.6; 454.3), this is a diminutive of *Deobriga* (Celtic **devo-briga*) 'the god's hill-fort'.

³⁰ J. Untermann, «Comentarios sobre inscripciones celtibéricas 'menores'», *Studia Indogermanica et Paleohispanica in honorem A. Tovar et L. Michelena*, ed. F. Villar, Salamanca, 1990, pp. 353-354.

³¹ R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I, Oxford, 1965, núms. 600, 610.

³² There is no reason to suppose, as scholars often have, that Leucada was a town of the Berones – it would make no sense for Rome to entrust her grain to an enemy town – nor (from the initial element *Leu-*) that it belonged to the Lusones.

Dessobriga (T). This road station is known only from IA (449.4). Though Montenegro argues that the double *s* makes the name non-IE³³, Holder (*AcS* I, p. 1272) points to the Celtic root **desso-* (< **dexso-*; cf. Old Irish *dess*) 'right', cognate with Greek *dexios*, Latin *dexter*. The name might denote a town on the right bank of a river.

Egelasta. Ptolemy alone (II 6.56) locates this town among the Carpetani; it should rather be among the Bastetani (Strabo III 4.9; Pliny III 25, cf. XXXI 80).

Eldana: see *Saldania*

Ercauica (Ce). The name appears on pre-Roman coins as *e.r.ca.u.i.ca*. It is rendered *Ergauica* by Livy (XXI 50.1) and *Ergaouika* by Ptolemy (II 6.57). Pliny (III 24) refers to the *Ercauicenses*; cf. dative *Ercavic(ensi)* (*CIL* II 4203). The name is Celtiberian, according to Holder (*AcS* I, p. 1458); Tovar, citing the authority of G. Bähr, gives the meaning «bunte Siedlung»³⁴. This interpretation presumes that *-vica* is a feminine cognate of Greek οἶκος, Latin *uicus*, but the likelihood of such a gender change has already been challenged (*PRB* 332). The alternative recourse is to IE **weik-* 'fight, conquer', whence Latin *uinco*, *uictum* (*GPN*, pp. 281-83); the Romans indeed had a goddess *Vica Pota* 'victress-protector'. This root presumably underlies the numerous Gaulish local and ethnic names in *-vices*, as well as the British GNs *Delgovicia*, *Longovicium* and *Vercovicium*. With the first element, cf. *Erc*, a king of Dál Riata in northern Ireland mentioned in the *Annals of Tigernach*. *Erc* in our example could be a DN: a deity *Erga* is attested in Gaul (*DAG*, p. 254). Evans (*GPN*, p. 284) cites an Insular Celtic PN *Ercavicca* which surely contains the same elements. There is another *Ergauica* among the Vascones (Pliny III 24; Ptol. II 6.66), and an inscription from León mentions *Ergauici*³⁵.

Gela or *Tela* (V). Ptolemy gives the form *Gella* (II 6.49), Rav. *Gela* (318.17), IA *Tela* (440.3, perhaps misreading the gamma in a Greek source). The name might be Celtic, cf. *Gelovium* in Britain (possibly from **gel-* 'leech': *PRB* 367), *Gelduba* in Germany, and *Gelidaua* in eastern Europe

³³ A. Montenegro in *Historia de Palencia*, I, ed. J. González, Palencia, 1984, p. 55.

³⁴ A. Tovar, «Léxico de las inscripciones ibéricas (celtibérico e ibérico)», *Estudios Menéndez Pidal*, II, Madrid 1951, p. 281.

³⁵ F. Diego Santos, *Inscripciones romanas de la provincia de León*, León, 1986, n° 183.

(*DAG*, pp. 925, 1217); cf. also the suffix *-cela* in *Albocela*, above. Holder claims Celtic GNs **Gelli* and **Gelle* as the roots of modern French *Jaux*, *Gilles* (*AcS* I, p. 1994). If *Tela* is the correct name, cf. GNs *Telo*, *Telonnum* in Gaul (*DAG*, pp. 186, 611) and perhaps Old Irish *telach* 'hill'.

Histonium (Ce). Ptolemy's form *Istonion* (II 6.57) has apparently lost its aspiration; an inscription from Cáceres province mentions a *Histiniensis* (*HAEp* 212). The etymology is uncertain: Tovar (*Land.*, p. 221) points to another *Histonium* on the Adriatic, while Pokorny invokes as «Illyrian» parallels *Istonion* in Samnium and *Istone* on Corcyra³⁶.

Ilurcuris (Ca). Mentioned only by Ptolemy (II 6.56), its first element has numerous parallels in Iberian, where *ilu-*, *ili-* means 'city' (*Ilurco*, *Iluro*, *Iliberris*, etc.). The suffix is paralleled in the GN *Gracchuris*.

Ilurbida (Ca). Again Ptolemy (II 6.56) is our only source, and again the initial element is Iberian. Comparable names include the *Iluberitani* of the Ebro valley (Pliny III 24) and *Idubeda*, a mountain of Celtiberia (Strabo III 4.12).

Intercatia (V). This town is mentioned in numerous literary sources (Livy, *Epit.* 48; Strabo III 4.13; Val. Max. III 2.6; Pliny, III 26; Ptol. II 6.49; App. Iber. 53-54) and inscriptions (*CIL* II 2786, 4233, 5763, 6093). Another *Intercatia* is attested as *castellum* in Asturias (Ptol. II 6.31; *CIL* XIII 8098). *Inter-* has variously been seen as a Celtic or Latin element³⁷; its cognates include Irish *eter*, Breton *entre*, Cornish *ynter* (*AcS* II, p. 56). However, since *Intercatia* is first mentioned as a Vaccaean town besieged by the Romans in 151 BC, its name can hardly be Latin. The ending *-catia* recalls Gaulish PNs *Catius* / *Catia*, ethnic names *Abrincatui*, *Caeracates* and *Volocates*, and the gloss «cateia: telum Gallicum» (*GPN*, pp. 171-75), probably all from **catu-* 'battle'. The name perhaps means '(town) in the midst of battle'.

Ispinum (Ca). The form attested in Ptolemy (II 6.56) may – like *Eldana* and *Istonium* – have suffered loss of aspiration. It could therefore be Iberian, from the same root as *Hispalis*.

³⁶ Pokorny, «Urgeschichte», p. 153.

³⁷ F. Wattenberg, *La región vaccea*, Madrid, 1959, p. 66 (Celtic); L. Calvo Lozano, *Historia de Villalpando*, Zamora, 1981, p. 21 (Latin); Montenegro, *Historia de Palencia*, I, pp. 55-56 (Latinization of indigenous element).

Lacobriga (V). The town is mentioned by Pliny (III 26), Ptolemy (II 6.49) and the IA (395.1; 449.3; 454.1); also in lexical glosses, in the forms *Laccobriga* and *Lactobriga*³⁸. In Lusitania, a *Laccobriga* is attested by Ptolemy (II 5.5), and *Langobriga* by Plutarch (*Sert.* 13) and the itineraries (IA 421.7; Rav. 307.3). The GN *Laccoburgo* or *Laciburgion* is recorded in Central Europe (*DAG*, p. 1219). A gloss derives the first element of *Lacobriga* from Latin *lacus*, but this sounds like folk etymology. Possibly *Lac(c)obriga* is for *Lactobriga*, from **lacto-* 'milk' like *Lactodurum* in Britain (*PRB* 382) and perhaps *Lactora* in Aquitania (*DAG*, p. 248); but this too seems fanciful and gives poor semantic sense. Alternatively, *Laco-* might designate a PN or DN for whom the town was named, though no such name is attested. If *Lac(c)-* and *Lang-* represent *Lag-*, the name might be related to GNs *Lagina*, *Lagania* and *Lagecio* (or *Lagentium?*: *PRB* 383); cf. Sanskrit *laghu*, Greek *elachys* 'small', cognate with Old Irish *laigiú*; also Scottish and Irish *lag* 'hollow, cave'. On balance, *Laco-* seems most likely to be IE but non-Celtic. On *-briga*, see Augustobriga.

Laminium (Ca). The name appears as *Laminion* in Ptolemy (II 6.56), as ablative *Laminio* in IA (446.8; cf. Rav. 313.17), and in the adjective *Laminitanus* (Pliny III 1.6; *CIL* II 3228, 3251-52). Though Fita ineptly connected it with Greek λιμήν 'harbour'³⁹, it is probably related to the indigenous PN *Laminus*, attested in Toledo province (*CIL* II 934). Evans cites possible parallels *Lamia*, *Lamenus*, *Lamis*, etc. (*GPN*, p. 456), perhaps cognate with Old Irish *lam* 'hand'. However, a non-Celtic origin is equally likely. A GN *Lama* is recorded among the Vettones (Ptol. II 5.7).

Laxta (Ce). This name is known from Ptolemy (II 6.57), an inscription of two *Laxt[e?]nses* at Segobriga (*CIL* II 6338ff), and a possible *Laxste[nsis]* at Vildes (Jaén)⁴⁰. Holder assumes a feminine name from root **lax-* (*AcS* II, p. 166), which he does not explain (perhaps IE **laks-* 'salmon', referring to the local catch).

³⁸ W. M. Lindsay, *Glossaria Latina*, IV, Paris, 1930, p. 243.

³⁹ F. Fita, «Excursión arqueológica por Villar del Rey, Alhambra ... y Orense», *BRAH* 42, 1903, p. 283 and note 2.

⁴⁰ C. González Román and J. Mangas Manjarrés, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía, III: Jaén*, Sevilla, 1991, n° 57, revising the reading of F. Fita, *BRAH* 61, 1912, p. 520.

Libana (Ce). The name appears only in Ptolemy (II 6.57). Its etymology is unknown. Other *lib-* toponyms, not necessarily all Celtic, include *Libarna* in Liguria, *Libica* in Gaul, *Libia* of the Berones, and *Libora* of the Carpetani. A duplicate of *Libora* (below) is not to be excluded.

Libora (Ca). This spelling is given by Ptol. (II 6.56); Rav. has *Lebura* (312.11). Livy's *Aebura* (XL 30-33) could have resulted from a misreading of the name in Polybius (confusion of alpha and labda), though Tovar rejects its identity with *Libora* (*Land.*, p. 235). The name might be Celtic: Holder cites a Gaulish PN *Liborius* (*AcS* II, p. 205).

Lutia (Ce). *Lutia*, mentioned by Appian (*Iber.*, p. 94), appears in the adjectival form *l.u.ti.a.co.s* on pre-Roman coins, and *l.u.ti.a.ce.i* on the bronze tablet from Luzaga; *Luzaga* itself is presumably descended from (*civitas*) *Lutiaca*. Arbois de Jubainville assigned it to the same stem as *Lutetia* in Gaul⁴¹, which comes, however, from *Lucotecia* (*DAG*, p. 605). A likelier root may be Celtic **luta* 'mud, marsh', cognate with Latin *lutum* (*PRB* 403).

Mantua (Ca). The name is given by Ptolemy (II 6.56). It is homonymous with *Mantua* in Cisalpine Gaul; a PN *Mantua* is also known (*CIL* II 5321). A possible root is Celtic **mandu-* 'small horse, pony' (*PRB* 411).

Mediolum (Ce). Only Ptolemy (II 6.57) names this town. The Celtic root **medhio-* meaning 'middle' (like Latin *medius*) is seen in such toponyms as *Mediolanum* in Cisalpine Gaul, *Medionemeton* in Britain, and possibly *Medioga* in Galicia (Rav. 308.4).

Meoriga (V). The town is named by Sallust (*hist.* II 92), and in some manuscripts of Ptolemy (II 6.49) in place of *Lacobriga*. The element *meo-* is unexplained; the ending may represent Celtic **rig-* 'king', cognate with Latin *rex*. Alternatively, the name could be a corrupt form of **Mediobriga* 'on the middle of the hill'.

Metercosa (Ca). Our sole authority is Ptolemy (II 6.56). Its etymology is unclear: Hübner makes it Iberian, while Holder cites possibly Celtic PNs *Meteriola* and *Meterius* (*AcS* II, p. 578).

Miacum (Ca). The name is known only from IA (435.6). There is no known Celtic stem **mio-*, though the fragmentary British toponym *Mio[.]jedum(?)* (*PRB* 418) might be related. The zero-grade form **mi-* of IE

⁴¹ Arbois de Jubainville, «Les Celtes en Espagne», p. 22.

**mei-* 'small' is a conceivable root. The suffix *-acum* is found in numerous Gaulish toponyms, though Holder (*AcS* II, p. 581) thought the name might be Iberian.

Murum (Ca). IA gives *Murum* (446.5), Rav. *Moroin* (313.16). Schulten suggests that the name is a Latin accusative, «(ad) *Murum*»⁴², perhaps rightly.

Nertobriga (Ce). The name appears in literary sources (App. Iber. 48; Florus I 33; Ptol. II 6.57), itineraries (IA 437.4, 439.2; Rav. 309.15) and coins (*n.e.r.to.bi.s*, sc. *Nertobi(rice)s*). Another Nertobriga is known in Baetica (Ptol. 2.4.10; *Eph. Epig.* VIII, 82). The name is Celtic for 'strong fortress', cf. Gaulish *nerto-* 'strength' (*GPN*, p. 237), Irish *nert*, Welsh *nerth*.

Nivaria (V). This is named in IA (435.4); Rav. (313.1) gives *Nibaria*. Holder lists several «Celtic» GNs and PNs in *niv-*, though some may be loan words from Latin (like Breton *niver*, Cornish *nyver* 'number', derived from *numerus*);⁴³ also cf. *Novaria* in Cisalpine Gaul.

Noua Augusta (A). Attested by Pliny (III 27), Ptolemy (II 6.55) and an inscription (*AE* 1972, p. 282), the name is clearly Latin. On Augustan toponyms, see above on *Augustobriga*. On «*nouus*» names, cf. *Oppidum Nouum* in Aquitania.

Numantia (P). Though mentioned by a long list of sources, this toponym is difficult to explain. The *-nt-* suffix is «P»-Celtic (*PRB* 456; *Land.*, p. 361), but *Numa-* remains a puzzle. Hubschmidt derived it from the same pre-Roman root as *Numana* in Picenum⁴⁴, though the connection is tenuous. Possibly related is the brickmaker's name *Numacianus*, attested in Zamora province⁴⁵.

Ocelodurum (V). I have argued elsewhere that this toponym (attested in Ptol. II 6.49 and in the itineraries) is Celtic, from **ocelo-* 'promontory' plus

⁴² A. Schulten, «*Murum*», *RE* XVI,1, 1933, col. 679.

⁴³ H. Lewis and H. Pedersen, *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar*, 3rd ed., Göttingen, 1974, p. 63.

⁴⁴ Hubschmidt, *ELH* 471. In the same vein, cf. A. Schulten, *Numantia*, II, Munich, 1931, p. 84.

⁴⁵ *O(fficina) Numacian(i)*: R. Martín Valls and G. Delibes de Castro, «Hallazgos arqueológicos en la provincia de Zamora (VI)», *BSEAA* 45, 1979, p. 145.

**duro-* 'fort'⁴⁶.

Ocilis (Ce). Recorded only by Appian (*Iber.*, pp. 47-48), this name probably contains the stem **ocelo-* 'spur' seen in *Ocelodurum* (above), the Alpine GN *Ocelo* (*DAG*, p. 45), and *Ocelum*, a toponym found in Britain and Spain (Ptol. II 3.4; II 5.7; II 6.22). The name may have been *Ocelis*, as suggested by its presumed modern site, Medinaceli < Arabic *medina* + **Oceli* (*Land.*, p. 407).

Palantia (A). Palantia of the Arevaci (modern Palenzuela) is homonymous with Palantia of the Vaccaeii (modern Palencia): see next entry.

Palantia (V). The name is attested in a wide range of literary and epigraphic sources (*AcS* II, pp. 923-25), usually with a single *l*; the *ll* spelling in some Greek writers may be due to confusion with the Greek goddess Pallas and the Arcadian GN *Pallantion*. Attempts have been made (none decisively) to trace the name to IE **pel-* 'to flow', **pal-* 'marsh', or **pa-* 'to defend'⁴⁷; the *-ntia* ending confirms that the name is IE (see above, *Numantia*). Possibly related are *Palanticus* (DN?) and the *Palantenses*, both in Lusitania⁴⁸.

Paterniana (Ca). The name, mentioned only by Ptolemy (II 6.56) is definitely a Latin formation, though perhaps translating an indigenous concept; the names *Paternus* and *Maternus* are especially common in Celtic lands.

Pintia (V). Ptolemy (II 6.49) and IA (440.4) record this toponym. The element *pint-* is a variant of *pent-*, both of which are found in PNs in Lusitania and western Tarraconensis (*OPP*, pp. 180-83). Though from the IE root **penkwto-* 'fifth', and cognate with Latin *Quin(c)tius*, *Pintia* does not seem to be Celtic⁴⁹. Another *Pintia* is known among the Lucenses of Galicia (Ptol.

⁴⁶ Curchin, «Five Celtic Town-names», pp. 46-47.

⁴⁷ Hubschmid, *ELH* 485; U. Schmoll, *Die Sprachen der vorkeltischen Indogermanen Hispaniens und das Keltiberische*, Wiesbaden 1959, p. 72; H. Krahe, *Unsere ältesten Flussnamen*, Wiesbaden 1964, p. 49; J. Untermann, «Lusitanisch, keltiberisch, keltisch», *Veleia* 2-3, 1985-86, p. 64.

⁴⁸ R. Hurtado de San Antonio, *Corpus provincial de inscripciones latinas (Cáceres)*, Cáceres, 1977, n° 773, cf. J.M. Blázquez, *Diccionario de las religiones prerromanas de Hispania*, Madrid, 1975, p. 137; *HAEP* 1417.

⁴⁹ F. Villar, «Los antropónimos en *Pent-*, *Pint-* y las lenguas indoeuropeas prerromanas de la Península Ibérica», *Indogermanica et Caucasica. Festschrift für K.H. Schmidt*, ed. R.

II 6.22).

Pisoraca (T). *Sisaraka* according to Ptolemy (II 6.51); *Pistoraca*, variant *Pisoraca* in Rav. (318.13); *Pisoraca* on milestones (*CIL* II 4883-84, 4888). Though Pokorny tried to make the name Illyrian, comparing *Pisaurum* in Umbria⁵⁰, the toponymic suffix *-aca* appears Celtic (see above, *Arriaca*). Cf. the *Pisauae* in Narbonensis (*DAG*, p. 184).

Porta Augusta (V). Mentioned only by Ptolemy (II 6.47), this GN is patently Roman.

Rauda (V). Ptolemy (II 6.49) and IA (440.5) agree on this spelling. Holder (*AcS* II, p. 1083) connects it to the IE adjective **reudh-*, **roudh-* 'red' (seen in Irish *riúad*, Lithuanian *raudas*, Latin *rufus*). Onomastic parallels include the PN *Rauda* (*CIL* VI, 3345b), the *Campi Raudii* in Piedmont (Vell. Pat. II 12.5; Florus I 38.14), *Roudium* in Belgica (*DAG*, p. 772), and the *Vicus Roudensis* in Lusitania⁵¹; possibly also *Rodacis* in Lusitania (Rav. 312.15) and *Rodomagus* in Narbonensis (*DAG*, p. 609).

Rigusa (Ca). Our only witness is Ptolemy (II 6.56). Although the name might come from Celtic **rig-* 'king' (cf. *Rigomagus* in Gaul, *Rigodunum* in Britain), the *-usa* suffix lacks Celtic parallels. Another possibility is the pre-IE root **ric-*, **reg-* 'height', found in various European names (*PRB* 514) including perhaps the Celtiberian GN *Rigae* (Martial IV 55.19) and the *Riguscae* of southern Raetia (Ptol. II 12.2; *Rugusci* in Pliny III 137). Possibly *-usa* is a mutation of Iberian *-osa*, cf. *Lezuza* < *Libisosa*, *Toulouse* < *Tolosa*.

Sabaris or *Sabaria* (V). Spellings include *Sarabis* (Ptol. II 6.49, with transposed consonants), *Sebarium* (Rav. 319.6), *Sabaria* (Isid., *Hist. Goth.* 49; Johan. Biclar., *Chron.* 27); the manuscripts of IA (434.5) variously give *Sabaris*, *Sabaria*, *Sibarim*, *Sibariam* (cf. *AcS* II, p. 1364). Its etymology is unclear, but perhaps related to a pre(?) -IE hydronymic root **sab-*. Other possible *sab(a)r-* compounds include *Sabaria* or *Savaria* in Pannonia, the river *Sabrina* (Severn) in Britain, French *Sèvres* < **Savara*, and Irish *Sabrann* < **Sabrona* (cf. *PRB* 450-51). Another option is to view *Sabaria* as **Samba-*

Bielmeier and R. Stempel, Berlin-New York 1994, pp. 234-64.

⁵⁰ Pokorny, «Urgeschichte», p. 51.

⁵¹ L.A. Curchin, «*Vici* and *pagi* in Roman Spain», *Revue des Études Anciennes* 87, 1995, p. 330.

ria, comparing the river *Sambra* in Belgica (*DAG*, p. 773).

Saldania (V). Elsewhere I have argued that Ptolemy's *Eldana* (for *Heldana*: II 6.49) is to be identified with the *Saldania* mentioned on Roman inscriptions and Visigothic coins.⁵² A similar confusion of spelling occurs with *Helmantica-Salmantica*. The name appears to be non-Celtic; cf. *Saldis* in Central Europe (*DAG*, p. 1228).

Savia (P). The name, cited only in Ptolemy (II 6.53), is of uncertain origin. With it may be compared *Savia* in Sarmatia (*Peripl. Pont. Eux.* 8), the river *Sabis* in northern Gaul, and the Diocletianic province *Sabia* in Upper Pannonia. Late sources suggest the existence of a GN *Saviae* near Paris⁵³. If Celtic, the name might be connected with Welsh *sefyll* 'to stand', Breton *sevel* 'to erect'; but a non-Celtic origin seems likelier.

Segeda or *Segida* (Ce). Both spellings are amply attested in literary sources (see *AcS* II, p. 1437-38). The town's pre-Roman coinage bears the legend *s.e.ca.i.s.a*, the second *s* apparently representing *ds* or *z* (see above, *Caesada*). The name is Celtic, from **sego-* 'strength, victory'. For the form *Sege-*, cf. British *Segedunum* and *Segelocum*. For *Segi-*, cf. *Segida Restituta* in Baetica. For *Secais-*, cf. the 'well of Segais' in Irish legend⁵⁴.

Segisama Iulia (V). Though Pliny (III 26) ascribes this town to the Turmogi, the combined evidence of Polybius (XXXIV 9.13) and Ptolemy (II 6.49) places it among the Vaccae; Pliny may have been misled by the similarity of this name to *Segisamo*. As with *Segisamo* (see next entry), the name is a Celtic superlative; the feminine form can be seen in the Gaulish DN *Belisama* and the Spanish mint *l.e.ta.i.s.a.m.a*. Since Florus (II 33.48) mentions that Augustus came to Segisama and set up his camp there, it was obviously a pre-Roman town that subsequently received an imperial surname, rather than a new Roman foundation. Segisama Iulia is to be distinguished from Segisama Brasaca (*CIL* II, 4157), of unknown location.

Segisamo (T). It is clear from Pliny («*Segisamonenses et Segisamaiulien-ses*»: III 26) that Segisamo is distinct from Segisama Iulia. Ptolemy, moreo-

⁵² L.A. Curchin, «Ptolemy and the Lost City of Eldana», *Hermes* 124, 1996, pp. 123-128.

⁵³ C. Jullian, «Chronique gallo-romaine», *Revue des Études Anciennes* 24, 1922, p. 261.

⁵⁴ N. Chadwick, *The Celts*, Harmondsworth, 1970, p. 173.

ver, assigns *Segisamon* (variant *Setisakon*) to the Turmogi (II 6.51) but *Segisama* to the Vaccaeii (q.v.). The name appears as *s.e.k.i.s.a.n.o.s* on coins, *Segesamone* in IA (449.5, cf. 454.2), *Segisamone* in Rav. (318.12), and *Segisamo* in epigraphy (*CIL* II 5741, cf. 2915). The name is a superlative of Celtic **sego-* 'strong'; for the *-samo-* suffix, cf. the divine epithet *Rigisamus*. The PN *Segisamus* occurs on an inscription (*CIL* II 5713).

Segobriga (Ce). The name is given in numerous literary and epigraphic sources (cf. *AcS* II, pp. 1445-46) and is composed of Celtic **sego-* (see *Segeda*) and *-briga* 'hill-fort'. Cf. the *Segobrigii* of Gaul, in whose territory the Phocaeans founded Massilia (*DAG*, p. 185).

Segontia (A). The name is attested in a large number of literary and epigraphic sources (see *AcS* II, p. 1448); its Arevacan affiliation is assured by Pliny (III 27). Whether this is the same as Segontia Lanka, also of the Arevaci (Ptol. 2.6.55; cf. coins of *l.a.ka.s*), is uncertain; Gómez-Pantoja claims to identify nine different Segontias in Spain⁵⁵. The name comes from Celtic **sego-* (see above, *Segeda*) plus the Celtic toponymic ending *-ntia*. Onomastic parallels include the PN *Segontius* in Gaul and Spain, the British chiefdom *Segontiaci*, and the British GN Segontium.

Segontia Paramica (V). This town is named only by Ptolemy (II 6.49), who confusingly locates another(?) Segontia Paramica among the Varduli (II 6.65). On the name *Segontia*, see preceding entry. *Paramica* is an adjective, presumably related to Spanish *páramo* 'lofty plain', describing the location of the site.

Segovia (A). This name is provided in numerous sources (see *AcS* II, pp. 1452-53). Pliny (III 27) and Ptolemy (II 6.55) agree that it belonged to the Arevaci. Livy's statement (fr. 91) that the Romans raised infantry among the Arevaci, and cavalry at Segovia and among the Vaccaeii, need not mean (as some have assumed) that Segovia was Vaccaean; indeed, the Arevacan town of Colenda, if scholars correctly locate it at modern Cuéllar, effectively severs Segovia from the Vaccaeii. The name comes from **sego-* (cf. above, *Segeda*), plus the Celtic toponymic ending *-ovia*, seen in *Gergovia*⁵⁶. A

⁵⁵ J. Gómez-Pantoja, «Notas históricas sobre la zona del Alto Henares en época romana», *La celtización del Tajo superior*, ed. J. Valiente Malle, Alcalá de Henares, 1992, pp. 118-119. Pliny (III 27) rightly notes that the name *Segontia* is common in other regions.

⁵⁶ J. Corominas, «Suggestions on the Origins of some old Place Names in Castilian

ciuitas Segouiorum is recorded in the Cottian Alps (*CIL* V 7231), and there is another Segovia in Baetica (Caes., *Bell. Alex.* 57).

Sentica (V). The name is attested, in the form *Sentice*, in Ptolemy (II 6.49), *IA* (434.3) and *Rav.* (319.8). I have suggested elsewhere that the nominative is *Sentica* and that it comes from Celtic **sento-* 'path' plus the toponymic suffix *-ica*⁵⁷.

Septimanca (V). The name is recorded only by *IA* (435.2). Although Jungfer derived it from the Roman name *Septimius*⁵⁸, it may come from IE **septm* 'seven' (cf. *Septemiacum* in Lower Pannonia, *DAG*, p. 1229), or from an indigenous name **seppo-mantica* (*Land.*, p. 350).

Tela: see *Gela*

Termes (A). The name appears in Appian (*Iber.*, pp. 76-77, 99) as *Termentia* (variant *Termantia*) and *Termesos*. Its inhabitants are called *Termesioi* by Diodorus Siculus (XXXIII 16) and *Termestini* by Livy (*Epit.* 54) and Tacitus (*ann.* 4.450). Despite the various endings, the name (at least under the Early Empire) must have been *Termes*, as shown by Pliny (III 27), Florus (III 22.9) and Ptolemy (II 6.55). Villar has recently argued that the root is the IE hydronym **ter-* with suffix *-ma* or *-mis*⁵⁹; cf. GN *Termidum* in Gaul (*AcS* II, p. 1797).

Thermida (Ca). This toponym, attested only in Ptolemy (II 6.56) seems to be neither Celtic nor Iberian, but a Hellenized form of a name in *term-*. Tovar (*Land.*, p. 236) may be right in seeing it as a duplicate of *Termes* (Areva-ci).

Titulcia (Ca). The name appears in Ptolemy (II 6.56) and the itineraries (*IA* 436.1; *Rav.* 312.9). The etymology is unclear, but the gentilic name *a.-*

Spain», *Romanica. Festschrift für Gerhard Rohlfs*, ed. H. Lausberg and H. Weinrich, Halle, 1958, p. 99.

⁵⁷ Curchin, «Five Celtic Town-names», p. 47.

⁵⁸ J. Jungfer, «Noms de lieux hispaniques d'origine romaine», *Bulletin Hispanique* 6, 1904, p. 271. On the *-anco-* ending, cf. Schmoll, *Sprachen der vorkeltischen Indogermanen Hispaniens*, p. 59.

⁵⁹ F. Villar, «Termes, Tarraco, Turiasu: Los dobles con *r*, *rr* en la toponimia prerromana hispana», *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 28, 1993, pp. 329-330.

tu.l.i.cu.m on a pre-Roman tessera from Cuenca province⁶⁰ suggests at least the possibility of a parallel form **titulic-* which could have been contracted into *titulc-*. This might come from the Celtiberian stem **tit-*, seen in the ethnic name Titti (*AcS* II, p. 1858) and the coin legend *ti.ti.a.co.s* which implies a town **Titia*.

Toletum (Ca). The name appears in Livy (XXXV 7), Pliny (III 25), Ptolemy (II 6.56), IA (438.7; 446.4 and 7) and Rav. (312.10). Scholars have argued for the past century whether the name is Iberian, Ligurian or Celtic. Possible Celtic parallels for **tol-* include *Tolosa* in Gaul, *Tolbiacum* in Lower Germany, and the *Tolenses* in Pannonia (cf. *Land.*, p. 229); this does not really account for *tolet-*, though an *-et-* infix is found in British ethnic names such as *Carvetii* and *Caletes* (*PRB* 301). The existence of another *Toletum* in Galicia is suggested by an inscription mentioning *Toletenses* (*HAEp* 1965 = *AE* 1961, p. 96).

Tucris (A). This occurs for certain only in Ptolemy (II 6.55). Tovar (*Land.*, p. 366) suggests it might correspond to the *ti.ce.r.s.e.bo.s* of the Luzaga tablet, though Gil thinks this may rather be the Celtiberian equivalent of Latin *posteris*⁶¹. Possible IE roots for *Tucris* include **teu-* 'to swell' and **tewa-*, **tu-* 'power(ful)' (*PRB* 480). No Celtic analogues in *Tuc-* are known; but if Tovar rightly equates it with *Tic-*, one might compare the river *Ticinus* in Narbonensis (*DAG*, p. 186).

Turiaso (Ce). Attested forms include *tu.r.i.a.s.u* (pre-Roman coins), *Turriasso* (Pliny III 24; Ptol. II 6.57; *CIL* XIII 586; IA 442.4, cf. 443.3) and *Turriason* (Rav. 311.1); but Hispano-Latin coins and a milestone (*Eph. Epig.* VIII, 295) give *Turiaso*. The name might come from an IE hydronymic root **ter-*, cf. above on *Termes*⁶². Possible comparanda, not necessarily from the same root, include the DN *Turiacus* in Lusitania (*CIL* II 5551), numerous *Tur-* or *Turi-* PNs in Spain⁶³, the *Turones* of Lugdunensis, the Gaulish GNs *Turicum* (modern Zürich) and *Turedonnum* (*DAG*, pp. 186, 611, 1234), and

⁶⁰ Untermann, «Comentarios sobre inscripciones celtibéricas 'menores'», pp. 357-358.

⁶¹ J. Gil, «Notas a los bronce de Botorrita y Luzaga», *Habis* 8, 1977, p. 172. The meaning and even the form of the word are uncertain: Villar, *Estudios de celtibérico*, 34-35.

⁶² Villar, «Termes, Tarraco, Turiasu», pp. 319-321.

⁶³ Untermann, *Atlas antroponímico*, pp. 177-178. The Celticity of the name *Turos* is suggested by its appearance in both the Botorrita and Peñalba de Villastar inscriptions.

the Old Irish hero Turenn.

Urbiaca (Ce). Livy calls the town *Urbicua* (XL 16.7), which sounds Iberian (cf. *Ategua* in Baetica), but says the town is in Celtiberia. IA (447.5) gives the form *Urbiaca*, which contains the authentic Celtiberian ending *-aca* (see above on *Arriaca*). The itinerary locates it about four-sevenths of the distance from Lezuza to Zaragoza, which should place it near the boundary between Guadalajara and Teruel provinces, on the eastern edge of the territory of the Celtiberi. Although the meaning of the name is unclear, the river *Urbia* in Lugdunensis (*DAG*, p. 613) seems to contain the same root. Schulten compares the river *Urbicus* (modern Orbigo) in Galicia, also Mount Urbion in the Iberian Cordillera⁶⁴.

Urcesa (Ce). Ptolemy (II 6.57) alone mentions the name *Urcesa*, with variant *Urcaisa*. Schulten takes it as Iberian, comparing the Bastetanian GNs *Urci* and *Mentesa*⁶⁵. However, the existence of a Celtiberian root *urc-* is suggested by the gentilic names *Urcicon* and *Urcaloco(n)* among the Arevaci (*CIL* II 2818, 2800), and the *-esa*, *-aisa* ending recalls the forms *Caisesa*, *Secaisa* found on Celtiberian coins of Caesada and Segeda (qq.v.).

Uxama Argaelorum (A). The name *Uxama* (variants *Uxsama*, *Auxuma*) is mentioned by numerous literary and epigraphic sources (see *AcS* III, pp. 59-60). It consists of Celtic **ukhs-* (from IE **ups-* 'high') plus the superlative ending *-sama* (see above, *Segisama*), and thus means 'very high (place)'. Numerous Ux- toponyms are known in Gaul and Britain, as well as *Uxama Barca* among the Autrigones. The *Argaeli* (cf. *AE* 1928, p. 175) may derive their name from IE **arg-* 'white, shining', cf. Old Irish *arget* 'silver'.

Valebonga (Ce). The name is known only from IA (447.4). It probably comes from Celtic **val-* 'to be strong' (*GPN*, p. 269), cf. Latin *ualere*. A similar toponym, *Vallebana*, is recorded in Aquitania (*DAG*, p. 403). *-bonga*, *-bana* are perhaps variants of Gaulish **-bona*, seen in GNs *Iuliobona*, *Vindobona* (*DAG*, pp. 604, 1236). If so, this etymology may support Saavedra's identification of Valebonga with modern Valbona⁶⁶.

⁶⁴ A. Schulten, *Iberische Landeskunde*, I, Strasbourg-Kehl, 1955, p. 351.

⁶⁵ A. Schulten, «Urcesa», *RE* IX A,1, 1961, col. 999.

⁶⁶ E. Saavedra, *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de la Historia*, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1914, p. 108.

Valeria (Ce). For the spelling, see Pliny (III 25), Ptolemy (II 6.57) and inscriptions (*CIL* II 3123-24). The name is Latin, from the nomen *Valerius*, whence scholars usually attribute its foundation to C. Valerius Flaccus, governor of Hispania Citerior from 93 BC. The original name of the pre-Roman settlement nearby (Los Galindos) is unknown.

Veluca (A). This is the spelling in Ptolemy (II 6.55); the later IA (442.1) gives *Voluce*, presumably in the locative case. On the transition from *vel-* to *vol-*, cf. Latin *uolo* < **uelo*. The otherwise inexplicable *u* perhaps replaces an earlier medial *i*, cf. Vulgar Latin *maxumus* etc. Evans (*GPN*, pp. 276-77) cites numerous names in *Vel(l)-*, from a variety of roots, not all suitable for toponyms. The most convincing etymology for our name would be Celtic **vel-* 'grass, wood' (*GPN*, p. 275) plus the toponymic suffix *-ica* (see above, *Albonica*), yielding 'grassy (or woody) place'.

Varada (Ca). The name, recorded only by Ptolemy (II 6.56), recalls numerous *Var-* names in Gaul and Britain. These are believed to derive from a pre-Celtic hydronymic root **vara-*, possibly cognate with Sanskrit *var* 'water' (see lengthy discussion in *PRB* 486). On the *-ada* ending, cf. above, *Are-corada*.

Vicus Cuminarius (Ca). Only IA furnishes this name (445.6), which clearly derives from Latin *cuminum* 'cumin'. Cumin was grown in Carpetania (Pliny XIX 161) and was used as a spice by both the Celts and Romans (Athenaeus IV 152; Pliny XX 159). On *uicus* names in Spain, cf. my earlier study⁶⁷.

Viminacium (V). This name is attested by Ptolemy (II 6.49), the itineraries (IA 449.2; 453.9; *Biminatium* in Rav. 318.16) and inscriptions (*CIL* II 2671, 6115). It is homonymous with the capital of Moesia Superior. The name is more likely derived from a Celtic adjective **viminac-* (cf. the Gaulish river *Vimina*: *AcS* III, p. 320) than from Latin *Viminus*, but its meaning is unknown.

Visontium (P). Our sole source is Ptolemy (II 6.53). The name is paralleled by *Vesontio* in Gaul and *Visontium* in Pannonia Superior. Earlier scholars suggested that the name might be Ligurian or Illyrian⁶⁸; at any rate, it seems

⁶⁷ Curchin, «*Vici and pagi*», pp. 328-338.

⁶⁸ Arbois de Jubainville, «Les Celtes en Espagne», p. 23. Cf. *AcS* III, 404; Pokorny, «Ur-

non-Celtic.

Name Origins (Certain or Probable)

Arevaci:

Pre- or Para-Celtic: *Clunia, Palantia, Termes, Tucris(?)* = 4 (36%)

Celtic: *Segontia, Segovia, Uxama, Veluca* = 4 (36%)

Latin or Romanized: *Colenda(?), Confluenta, Nova Augusta* = 3 (27%)

Carpetani:

Pre- or Para-Celtic: *Alces(?), Barnacis, Caraca(?), Complutum(?), Ilarcuris, Ilurbi-da, Ispinum, Laminium, Rigusa(?), Thermida(?), Varada* = 11 (48%)

Celtic: *Contrebia Carbica, Libora(?), Mantua, Metercosa(?), Miacum(?), Titulcia(?), Toletum(?)* = 7 (30%)

Latin or Romanized: *Alternia, Arriaca, Murum, Paterniana, Vicus Cuminarius* = 5 (22%)

Celtiberi:

Pre- or Para-Celtic: *Bilbilis, Bursao, Histonium, Laxta, Libana(?), Turiaso, Urbica(?)* = 7 (25%)

Celtic: *Alaba, Albonica(?), Arcobriga, Attacum, Belgeda, Belsinum(?), Caesada, Centobriga, Certima, Consabura(?), Ercavica(?), Lutia(?), Mediolum, Nertobriga, Ocilis, Segeda, Segobriga, Urcesa(?), Valebonga* = 19 (68%)

Latin or Romanized: *Aquae Bilbilitanorum, Valeria* = 2 (7%)

Pelendones:

Pre- or Para-Celtic: *Numantia(?), Savia(?), Visontium* = 3 (50%)

Celtic: *Arecorada, Contrebia Leucada* = 2 (33%)

Latin or Romanized: *Augustobriga* = 1 (17%)

Turmogi:

Pre- or Para-Celtic: *Pisoraca(?)* = 1 (17%)

geschichte», p. 154.

Celtic: *Ambisna*, *Brauun*, *Deobrigula*, *Dessobriga*, *Segisamo* = 5 (83%)

Latin or Romanized: 0 (0%)

Vaccaeii:

Pre- or Para-Celtic: *Albocela*(?), *Amallobriga*(?), *Autraca*(?), *Avia*(?), *Cougion*(?), *Lacobriga*(?), *Palantia*, *Pintia*, *Rauda*, *Sabaris*, *Saldania*, *Septimanca* = 12 (48%)

Celtic: *Acontia*, *Camala*, *Cauca*(?), *Gela*(?), *Intercatia*, *Meoriga*(?), *Nivaria*(?), *Ocelodurum*, *Segontia Paramica*, *Sentica*, *Viminacium* = 11 (44%)

Latin or Romanized: *Porta Augusta*, *Segisama Iulia* = 2 (8%)

Conclusions

It will be clear from these lists that many toponyms cannot be securely classified as Celtic or non-Celtic. In some cases the name has no decisive parallels in any language; in others, the name appears to combine Celtic and non-Celtic elements. The fact that a name-element may be paralleled in a Celtic region such as Gaul does not guarantee that it is Celtic, for Gaul too embraced a multitude of ancient peoples. Thus the figures presented above for Celtic, pre-Celtic and para-Celtic toponyms must be taken as approximations only.

Nonetheless, even these approximate figures yield some interesting conclusions about pre-Roman toponymy. Among the Arevaci, Pelendones and Vaccaeii, the proportions of Celtic and pre- or para- Celtic names are roughly equal. The Carpetani (the southernmost of the chiefdoms) show a high proportion of non-Celtic, largely Iberian toponyms. The Celtiberi, on the other hand – and contrary to the outmoded view that they were a racial mixture of Celts and Iberians – have a relatively low proportion of Iberian (and other non-Celtic) names. The Turmogi, despite having very few towns, show a very high proportion of Celtic to non-Celtic place-names; indeed, the only arguably non-Celtic toponym in this zone appears to have a Celtic ending.

Though it is often difficult to distinguish between Celtic, pre-Celtic and para-Celtic names, there can be little doubt as to which names are Romanized. From the figures above, we see that the Arevaci and Carpetani are high

in Romanized names, which represent 27% and 22% respectively of the toponyms in those chiefdoms. These data accord with recent quantitative studies of the epigraphy of Central Spain, which show that the Arevaci and Carpetani have a high rate of Roman (as compared with indigenous) deities, a high rate of *tria nomina* in personal nomenclature, and a low rate of illiteracy (as indicated by spelling irregularities and age-rounding).⁶⁹ Similarly it is predictable that the Turmogi and Vaccaeii, who have a very low rate of Roman deities and *tria nomina*, and a relatively high rate of illiteracy, are at the bottom of the scale, with 0% and 8% of their toponyms Romanized. The Pelendones, who fall between these high and low groups in terms of deities and *tria nomina* (though having the highest illiteracy rate in the region) likewise fall between the Arevaci/Carpetani and Turmogi/Vaccaeii, with 17% Romanized toponyms. The real surprise in this study is the Celtiberi, who rank just below the Arevaci/Carpetani in terms of Roman deities and *tria nomina*, and have the lowest rate of spelling abnormalities, but can only claim 7% of their toponyms as Romanized.

One coincidence may be significant: the Celtiberi and Turmogi, the only chiefdoms where Celtic toponyms hold a decisive lead over pre- or para-Celtic ones, are also the two chiefdoms with the lowest incidence (less than 10%) of Romanized place-names. This seems to suggest that strongly Celtic areas may have been more resistant to Romanization of toponymy than those whose pre-Roman nomenclature was more heterogeneous; conversely, in chiefdoms where toponymy was already multilingual before the Romans arrived, there may have been fewer obstacles to the introduction of new geographic names. The validity of this hypothesis must await testing in other Celtic regions.

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⁶⁹ L.A. Curchin, «From *limes* to *Latinitas*. Roman Impact on the Spanish Meseta», *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms*, III, Stuttgart, 1986, pp. 692-695; idem, «Literacy in the Roman Provinces. Qualitative and Quantitative Data from Central Spain», *American Journal of Philology* 116, 1995, pp. 461-476.