PLACE-NAMES OF THE EBRO VALLEY:
THEIR LINGUISTIC ORIGINS

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The upper and middle reaches of the Ebro river, approximately coterminous with the *conventus Caesaraugustanus* of the Roman period, are well known in earlier times as a sort of frontier for Celtic-speaking peoples, a zone in which the Celtiberians interacted with speakers of non-Celtic languages such as Basque and Iberian, and one or more unidentified Indo-European (hereafter IE) tongues.[1] Place-names constitute an important set of data for studying the linguistic origins of this region. However, the degree to which these toponyms are Celtic or non-Celtic has long been a subject of scholarly disagreement. Thus W. von Humboldt thought that *Alavona*, *Balsione*, *Bortinae*, *Caravis*, *Curnonium*, *Leonica*, *Salduie* and the mountains *Edulium* and *Idubeda* were Basque (Humboldt 1879: 50-65). To this list of supposed Basque names, *Aracelium*, *Bituris*, *Iturissa*, *Muscaria* and *Tarraga* were added by A. Campión (1907: 296; 1908: 271-272, 750-753). A. Schulten (1930: 374) considered that *Cortonum* was Etruscan; J. Pokorny (1938: 151) believed that the lake *Perusiae* and the river *Salo* were Illyrian; while A. Dauzat (1926-27: 221) opined that *Calagurris* was very probably Ligurian.[2]

More recently, García Alonso (1994) has concluded that many of the toponyms of the Autrigones were Celtic, though a few were pre-Celtic IE. On the other hand, in a study of 29 pre-Roman toponyms of Navarra and northern Aragón, Villar determined that 25 were IE and only two Celtic (Villar and Prósper 2005: 504). The confusion generated by such conflicting results calls for a new, global examination of the place-names of the upper and middle Ebro valley.[3] I begin with mountains and rivers, passing on to

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[1] Funding for this project was generously provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. I wish to thank the anonymous referees of this journal for helpful suggestions, as well as Thomas Edward Butcher and Margaret McCarthy for their help in tracking down linguistic roots and ancient references. Abbreviations: *AcS* = Holder 1896-1907; *AE* = *L'Année Epigraphique*; *CIL* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*; *DIL* = *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Dublin, 1913-76); *HEp.* = *Hispania Epigraphica*; *IEW* = Pokorny 1959. *LEIA* = Vendryes, Bachellery and Lambert 1959- .

[2] "Perusia" was Schulten's improbable emendation of Turasia, no doubt inspired by *Perusia* in Etruria.

[3] I exclude the lower reaches of the Ebro, which lie in Cataluña and comprise chiefly Iberian toponyms, which are not germane to the Celtic versus IE debate.

cities. Ancient sources for most of these names can be found listed in Schulten (1955) for mountains and rivers, or Tovar (1989) for cities. Conclusions will be offered as to the proportion of Celtic, IE and other names in the area.

CRITERIA FOR CLASSIFICATION

To establish with reasonable certainty that a toponym belongs to a particular language, it is necessary to show that: (a) there are grounds to believe the language was spoken in the district in question, (b) the component elements of the toponym are represented in that language, (c) they are not represented in other languages. Where such certainty is not attainable, we must rely on the balance of probability.

Thanks to the research of F. Villar (especially Villar 2000), we now know that IE toponyms are found throughout the Peninsula, even in areas previously considered Iberian. Thus, IE toponyms could occur anywhere in our region. Both Iberian and Celtic ("Celtiberian") toponyms are found in the middle Ebro, as shown by the unequivocal examples of *Bilbilis* (Iberian) and *Contrebia* (Celtic).[4] Iberian toponyms are less likely in the upper Ebro, distant from the language's coastal homeland. If a name has analogues in IE but not in Iberian, it is presumably IE. If it is paralleled in Iberian inscriptions but not in IE, it is probably Iberian (though personal names in Iberian inscriptions are not always Iberian).

As for Basque, the "Vasco-Iberian" thesis of the nineteenth century, which claimed to find Basque toponyms throughout the Peninsula, is no longer credible. The Basque language was essentially confined to the territory of the *Vascones* (province of Navarra and adjacent parts of Huesca, Zaragoza and La Rioja). Yet it was not the only language spoken here, as demonstrated by the Celtiberian inscriptions from Viana, Navarra (Untermann 1997: pp. 696-701) and by the apparently Celtic toponyms *Iacca* and *Segia*. In fact, very few of the toponyms of the *Vascones* are clearly Basque. Even the name of the Vascones (**baskunez** or **barskunez** on coins) is possibly non-Basque, from IE **bhask-* "network, bond" (Mann 1984-87: 67).

More difficult is the distinction between Celtic and non-Celtic IE names. Many IE roots have derivatives in Celtic (and in Latin, though our knowledge of Latin is so complete that the Latin toponyms are usually obvious), but this does not prove that a toponym from such a root belongs to Celtic rather than a cognate language. Thus it is not always possible to prove whether a given name is Celtic or non-Celtic IE. My criterion has been to judge whether the toponym is sufficiently close to known Celtic parallels to warrant classifying it as Celtic rather than generic IE. In case of doubt, I have left it as IE.

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[4] Even in the zone north of the Ebro between Osca and Ilerda, traditionally regarded as a non-Celtic area, we find apparently Celtic names such as *Caum* and *Boletum*.

MOUNTAINS

Caius. This name can hardly come from the Latin praenomen *Gaius*. A likelier etymology is Celtic **cagio-* "enclosure, fortification" (Old Breton *caiou*, Welsh *cae* "enclosure", Gaulish *caio-* in toponyms *Caiocum*, *Matucaium* and *Vercaius*) from IE **kagh-* "to enclose" (Delamarre 2003: 97). *Caius* should thus mean "stronghold".

Edulium. A Basque etymology from *edur* "snow" (Bertoldi 1953: 412) is rightly rejected by García Alonso (2003: 184). The Gaulish personal name *Edullius* suggests the possibility of a Celtic origin (*CIL* XIII, 4242, 6058; cf. Weisgerber 1969: 143 note 210).

Idubeda. The initial element *Idu-* has never been satisfactorily explained. It is possible that *-ub-* represents an Indo-European hydronym (Villar and Prósper 2005: 34). The supposed parallel of a mountain-name *Orospeda* suggested to Schulten (1955: 164) that *-beda* might be an Iberian word for "mountain range". However, Celtic personal names such as *Bedarus*, *Bedasius* and *Ricagambeda* (*AcS* I, col. 364-366; *AcS* III, col. 135-137; Collingwood and Wright 1965: nº. 2107) suggest the existence of a Celtic onomastic element *beda*, of unknown meaning.

RIVERS AND WATER FEATURES

Chalybs. Though Schulten (1955: 315) compared toponyms in *Calu-* it is difficult to avoid attributing the river-name *Chalybs* to Greek *chalyps* "hardened iron, steel", in view of the importance of the cold waters of this river in the steel-hardening process. Therefore, "steel river". Compare the *Chalybes*, a Pontic tribe famous for their steel.

Cinga. Like the Gaulish personal names *Cingetis*, *Cingetorix* etc., this river-name probably represents Celtic **cing-* from IE **kenk-* "to bind, gird" (*IEW* 565; *LEIA* C-102). See below on the town *Cinca*.

Dercenna. The root is Celtic **derk-* "to see" (Gaulish *derco-* "eye", Irish *dercaid* "look at"). Parallels include the toponym *Dercinoassedenses* near *Clunia* (*AE* 1953, 267), the oronym *Dercetius* in south-east Burgos (*CIL* II 5809), the river-name *Derceia* near Marseille, and the personal names *Dercinus* (*AcS* I, col. 1267), *Dercinio* (*CIL* II 6338*ee*).

(H)iberus. The spelling with H- appears to be latinized. There is a homonymous river in Andalusia, modern Río Tinto (Avienus *Ora mar.* 248). The name is Iberian, of uncertain meaning but clearly related to that of the Iberians.

Salo. The root is the IE hydronym **sal-* found in numerous European river-names such as Salia (Asturias), Salo (*Dalmatia*) and Sala (Germany) (González 1963: 284).

Sicoris. This river-name comes from the the IE hydronymic root **seik^w-* "to flow", as does the river *Sicanus*, which Schulten (1955: 318) identifies with the Júcar.

Turasia. A lake near *Bilbilis* (Martial IV, 55, 21). The name appears related to other IE hydronyms such as Turia. The suffix **asyo-* occurs also in the personal names **makasia** (on Botorrita Bronze I) and **kamasio** (Villar and Prósper 2005: 340).

CITIES AND TOWNS

Ad Novas. A road station with a Latin name.

Agiria. This name appears to derive from the IE hydronym **agher-* (Mann 1984-87: col. 5). Cognates include the Greek river *Acheron*, the French rivers Ager, Eger, Aire (**Agira*) and Girac (**Agiracus*: *AcS* III, col. 522), and the Achaean town *Agira*.

Alanto. Probably derived from the IE hydronym **alant-* from **al-* "to flow" (Villar and Prósper 2005: 433). Parallels include the toponym *Alantune* in south-west Spain (Rav. 318, 4) and the goddess *Alantedoba* (Villar and Prósper 2005: 134).[5]

Alavona/**alaun**. The likeliest etymology seems to be IE **al-* "beyond" plus **abo-* "river". It is unclear whether there is a relation with the Gaulish and British place-names *Alaunos*/*Alauna*, which some explain as "white, shining" (Guyonvarc'h 1960) and others as "nourisher" (Lambert 1995: 37). There is a river *Alabon* or *Alabos* in Sicily, and a mansion *Alabonte* in southern Gaul.

Albonica. The name of this mansion appears to derive from Celtic **albo-* "white" with the Celtic adjectival suffix *-ico-*. The personal name *Albonius* occurs frequently in *Lusitania* (Grupo Mérida 2003: 79).

Anabis. The root could be Celtic **(p)ana-* "marsh" (Gaulish accusative *anam*, glossed *paludem*) from IE **pen-* "mud, marsh". This has produced the names of such French rivers as Anais and Annet (Nègre 1990: 103), and possibly the ancient Hispanic river *Anas*. There is, however, another Celtic root **anau-* "rich" (Welsh *anaw* "wealth") which underlies the British river-name *Anava* and the toponym *Anauon* in *Germania Magna*.

Andelos. So spelled by Ptolemy; but cf. *Pomp(a)elo*. Villar and Prósper (2005: 437) wonder if this could mean "the city of Andos", a personal name attested on a Celtiberian inscription from *Uxama* (Untermann 1997: K.23.2). However, a more likely root is IE **andho-* "dark" or IE **andh-* "to flourish", with IE suffix *-lo-*.

Antequia/**ontikez**. Villar conjectures a possible derivation from Celtic **pontig-* "one who traces roads" or **Anta-akwa* "the river Anta" (an unknown river) (Villar and Prósper 2005: 438-439). But a likelier root is surely IE **ant-ekwo-* "appearing before", whence Latin *antiquus* "former, old" (*IEW* 49). *Antequia* will therefore mean "old town". The town *Antegia* in *Belgica* (*AcS* III, col. 633) might be related.

aratiz. This appears to come from IE **aro-* "a plough" and to be cognate with Latin *aratio* "ploughed land". There is a town *Aratispi* in *Baetica*.

Arcobriga. There are homonyms in *Lusitania* (Ptol. II, 5, 5) and *Galicia* (*CIL* II, 2419). The name appears to be theophoric, named for a Celtic(?) god *Arco* (Gómez-Pantoja 2004: 255-265).

Articabe. Although there is a pre-Celtic word **art* "stone" (*LEIA* A-91) and a Celtic word **arto-* "bear" (Old Irish *art*, Welsh *arth*, cf. Artobriga and Artona in Gaul), the key to this toponym is the element *cabe*. There is no

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[5] *Alantia*, attested as a medieval village and sometimes evoked as the original name of the river Elz, is not a parallel, as the ancient name (confirmed by *CIL* XIII, 6490 and *AE* 1986, 523) is *Elantia*, probably cognate with Irish *elit* "doe" (Sims-Williams 2006: 184).

such element in Celtic, but in IE we have *kab-* "to hold, catch" (Mann 1984-87: col. 456). This suggests that *arti-* should also be IE, from **er-* "ground", extended form **ert-*. Therefore perhaps a place "holding (occupying?) ground" or a "catching (hunting?) ground".

arzakoz. Villar (Villar and Prósper 2005: 440) assumes the adjectival form of a toponym *Arsa* from IE **ars-* "to flow"; cf. *Arse* (*Saguntum*) and *Arsa* in *Baetica*. However, the first "z" could equally represent Celtiberian "d(h)". It might then be cognate with Old Irish *ard* "high", Old Cornish *arð* "a height" and the Gaulish forest *Arduenna* (Ardennes). A potter *Ardacus* is attested at *Tarraco* (*CIL* II, 4970, 43a-b).

Atanagrum. I would suggest a Celtic derivation from IE **petano-* "thing spread out" (Early Irish *atánach*, glossed *capuciatus* "hooded": *DIL* A-442) plus **agro-* "field", therefore "extensive field".

Atiliana. This clearly comes from the Latin personal name *Atilius* (well attested in Spain) and should refer to a property owned or founded by an Atilius.

Auci. The name may come from IE **aug-/auk-* "to increase, grow" (cf. the personal name *Aucius*, whence toponyms *Aucia* in Germany and *Auciago* in Gaul). A medieval bishopric *Auca* gave its name to the Montes de Oca.

Barbariana. This road station has a homonym in *Baetica* (IA 406, 2; Rav. 344, 4). The name appears to be Latin. Structurally, it should denote the estate of a *Barbarius*, but this *nomen* is not attested in Spain. More likely it means the property of *Barbarus*, a much commoner name (Alarcos Llorach 1950: 475; Abascal Palazón 1994: 298).

Beldalin. Tovar (1989: 382) considers it a corruption of "Belsio". However, it appears to represent IE **bh(e)ld-* "mass" from **bhel-* "to swell" (Mann 1984-87: col. 87), perhaps with meaning "agglomeration". Cf. Old Irish *baile* "place, village".

Belsio/Belsinum. The name should derive from IE **bhel-* "resplendent, white" or **bel-* "strong, great". In Gaul we find another *Belsinum* (IA 463, 1) as well as late toponyms *Belsinnacum* and *Belsonancum* (*AcS* I, col. 396). A "Belsinonensis pagus" is attested on the bronze from Agón, Zaragoza (F. Beltrán Lloris 2006b).

Bergidum. Closely paralleled by *Bergidum Flavium* in Asturias, *Bergida* in Cantabria and *Bergium* in Cataluña. The root is IE **bhergh-* "high" (cf. Celtic **brig-*).

Bergusia. On the root **bhergh-* "high", see *Bergidum*. In Gaul we find a town of the *Allobroges* named *Bergusia* (IA 346, 8; Rav. 239, 7) or *Bergusium* (*Tabula Peutingeriana*), as well as a deity *Bergusia* (*CIL* XIII, 11247).

*Bilbilis/***bilbiliz**. This town appears to have a reduplicated Iberian stem *bil(i)-* (Curchin 1997: 262; Gorrochategui 2000: 146). A dissimilated form "Birbili" appears in some sources (Justin XLIV, 3, 8; *CIL* VI, 2728; *CIL* XII, 735).

Bituris. This toponym resembles that of the river *Biturgia* (for Celtic **Biturigia*: Sims-Williams 2006: 246) in *Etruria* and the tribe *Bituriges* in Gaul. However, while the latter name may connote "kings of the world", such a meaning is inappropriate for a town. Jullian (1908: 789) ineptly suggests *bi-turis* "two towers", while others point to Basque *bide* "road" and

aurre- "rear part" (Jordán Cólera 1999: 474). The ending *-uris* is reminiscent of *Calagurris* and *Gracchuris* (both below), *Laccuris* (*Oretania*) and *Ilarcuris* (*Carpetania*), but these are probably not all from the same root. I would suggest IE **bheid-* "to split" (Latin *findo, fidi*; Germanic *bitan* "to bite, cut": *IEW* 116) plus **uro-* "river", perhaps indicating a town at a river-fork.

Boletum. This name is reconstructed from the adjectival form *Boletanus* in inscriptions (*CIL* II, 5845 and 5843=5846, on which see F. Beltrán Lloris 2004: 38-39), whence the town's medieval name, *Boletania* (Caro Baroja 1981: 7; spelled "Volotania" on Visigothic coins). It appears to represent Celtic **bol-* "swelling, hill" from IE **bhel-* "to swell" (cf. above, Beldalin), attested in the toponyms *Bolvellaunium* (Britain), *Bolentium* (*Pannonia*) and the Gaulish divine surname *Bolvinnus* (Rivet and Smith 1979: 271). The IE suffix *-et-* broadens the theme (Meillet 1964: 268), cf. *Toletum, Lobetum, Oretum*.

bolśken. The name is probably Iberian (Villar and Prósper 2005: 468-469), paralleled by **bolskokate** on an Iberian inscription (Velaza 1991: 63), despite the suggestion of García Alonso (2005: 247) to derive it from IE **bel-* or **bhel-*.

Bortina/Burtina. Analogy with *Burum* (*Galicia*) and *Burdua* (*Lusitania*) suggests IE **bheu-/bhou-* "to grow" (*IEW* 146), probable root of Welsh *bwr* "big, strong", of the Celtic personal name *Burros*, and possibly of some Gaulish names in *Bor-*.[6] It is unclear whether such toponyms as *Burdoga* (*Baetica*), *Burdigala* (*Aquitania*) and *Burticum* (Dacia and Thrace) also come from this root. If the correct form is "Bortina", the stem could be IE **bhar-/bhor-* "projection, point" (*IEW* 108) with the IE adjectival suffix *-to*. Cf. the Celtic personal name *Burdo* on a medical plaque in the Museo de Zaragoza, with parallels in Gaul, Britain and Italy (*HEp.* 12, 2202, 552)

*Bursao/**burzau***. Prósper (in Villar and Prósper 2005: 201) derives this name from Celtic **bhorso-* "inflated", cf. the personal name *Burrus* "stout". The ending *-au* is paralleled in Celtiberian names **korinau**, **mukukaiau** (Untermann 1997: K.9.2, K.13.2).

Caesaraugusta. The Roman name of the former *Salduie* (q.v.) is purely Latin, from the imperial name *Caesar Augustus* with a feminine ending to agree with its title *colonia*.

Calagurris Fibularia. On *Calagurris*, see next entry. *Fibularia* clearly comes from Latin *fibula*. Hübner (1897) suggests that *fibulae* may have been made here.

Calagurris Iulia Nasica. Spelled **kalakorikos** on pre-Latin coinage. Much ink has been spilled over the etymology of *Calagurris*. The element *cala-* (which may also occur in the Galician toponym *Caladunum*, and in such Gaulish ones as *Calabrica* and *Calodurum*) could come from IE **kal-* "hard" or **kal-* "beautiful" (*IEW* 523-524) though some have suggested that *cala* is pre-Celtic, meaning "village" or "shelter" (Dauzat 1926-27: 221; Whatmough 1970: 447), or pre-IE, meaning "stone" or "fortress" (Fouché 1939; Buesa Oliver 1958: 141). The second element of the name has been

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[6] Evans 1967: 154. Pokorny (*IEW* 109) invoked a root **bhors-* which is rejected by Sims-Williams (2000: 10) as the source of *bwr* and *Burros*.

related to Basque *gorri* "red", though Menéndez Pidal (1920: 44; 1968: 17), arguing that the "u" in Calagurris could not come from *gorri*, preferred Basque *uri* "city". But Villar (in Villar and Prósper 2005: 450) argues that this is impossible, since the Paleobasque word for city was *il* and did not suffer rhotacism until the Middle Ages. I would instead propose IE **gher-* "to enclose", therefore "beautiful (or hard) enclosure". The surnames *Iulia* and *Nasica* are Latin, *Nasica* being the name of several members of the *Cornelius Scipio* family. Gabba (1976: 197) suggests that *Scipio Nasica*, praetor 194 B.C., was the town's eponymous patron.

Cara(e). The root **kar(r)-* "stone", found frequently in the toponymy of western Europe, is generally considered pre-IE (*LEIA* C-42; Rivet and Smith 1979: 288; Villar and Prósper 2005: 450-452); but the ultimate root could be IE **kar-* "hard" (Falileyev 2000: 22). Possible parallels include the tribal names *Caristi* or *Carietes* (neighbours of the *Varduli* and *Autrigones*) and *Careni* (in Caledonia: Ptol. II, 3, 8), and the towns *Caraca* (*Carpetani*), *Caronium* (*Galicia*) and *Carasa* (Gaul: IA 455, 9).

*Caravis/***karauez**. This name should come from the same root as *Cara(e)*. It is paralleled by the Illyrian city *Caravantis* (Livy XLIV, 30, 9) and by the *Carvanca* mountains between *Noricum* and *Pannonia*, all from **kar-w-* "stone" (Anreiter 2001: 50).

Carduae. A place named by Martial (IV, 55, 17) in the vicinity of *Bilbilis*. While Tovar (1989: 394) posits a Latin etymology from *carduus* "wild thistle, artichoke", I would prefer IE **kar-* "hard" with suffix *-to-/-do-* (Epic Greek *kartos* "strength", Gothic *hardus* "hard, strong": *IEW* 531-32). The same theme is found in *Cardia* in Thrace (Pliny IV, 48) and *Cardena* in *Belgica* (Rav. 234,7). The ending *-ua* occurs in many toponyms in *Hispania* and elsewhere (Villar and Prósper 2005: 75).

*Cascantum/***kaiskata**. This may come from either IE **kas-* "elevated" or **kas-* "grey", with suffix *-ko-* (Villar 2000: 312; Villar and Prósper 2005: 453). There are Gaulish names *Cascus* and *Cascellus* (Whatmough 1970: 689; Weisgerber 1969: 255 note 54) that might refer to "grey". An island *Cascandrus* was located in the Persian Gulf (Pliny VI, 110), which if Persian could be an IE name.

Caum. The IE root **keu(e)-/kau(e)-* "vault, hole" can indicate something enclosed (Welsh *cau am* "to enclose", Old Breton *cau* "closed", cf. Latin *cavea* "cage") or hollow (Welsh *cau* "hollow", Latin *cavus*). *Caum* may therefore denote either an enclosed site, or one in a depression. The cited parallels suggest a Celtic name.

*Celsa/***kelse**. Tovar (1989: 395) makes the name Iberian. A derivation from IE **kel-* "to tower, lofty" seems excluded by the low topography of the site (Hübner 1899: 1881), unless it was "high" in terms of importance (cf. Latin *excelsus* "distinguished, excellent").

Cemelon. The name is reconstructed from the mention in *Diodorus Siculus* (XXIX, 28) of a city of the "Kemeletes". A possible parallel is afforded by the Ligurian toponym *Cemenelon* (modern Cimiez). Dottin

(1920: 244) evokes an oronymic root *kem-* (Old Welsh *cemn* "back, ridge", Gaulish Cebenna "Cévennes"), not in *IEW* .[7]

Cinca. The name's similarity to the river *Cinga* (above) suggests that it too comes from IE *kenk-* "to gird", implying an enclosed site, though not necessarily from Celtic *cing-*. Cf. the Celtiberian suprafamilial name **kinkiskum** (Villar 1995: 141).

*Contrebia Belaisca/***kontebakom**. The name is paralleled by *Contrebia Carbica* among the *Carpetani*, and *Contrebia Leucada* among the *Pelendones*. *Contrebia* is purely Celtic, from *con-* "together" plus *treb-* "dwelling", cf. Old Irish *contreba* "he dwells" (*LEIA* C-202). On names in *Bel-* see above on *Belsio*. The closest analogy is a suprafamilial name *Belaisocum* in Portugal (González Rodríguez 1986: 124). The suffix *-sca*, traditionally branded "Ligurian", may well be IE, as it is often attached to an IE stem (e.g. *Vipasca* in *Lusitania*, from IE *wepo-* "water"; *Virovesca*, discussed below; and cf. familial names such as **uiriaskum** in Botorrita Bronze III).

*Cortonum/***kortono**. Such parallels as the toponyms *Cortona* (Etruria), *Cortoriacum* (*Belgica*), *Corticata* (an island off *Galicia*) and the Celtiberian adjective **kortikos** suggest a Celtic root *corto-* derived either from IE *kert-* "to wind" (Isaac 2004) or, more likely, from IE *gher-to-* "enclosure" (Beltrán, Hoz and Untermann 1996: 120).[8]

Curnonium. The obvious root is Celtic *cern-* "upper part, tip, horn" (Old Irish *cern* "angle, corner", Middle Breton *quern* "top of head", Welsh *curn* "heap, mound, cone", Gaulish theonym Curnunnos "the antlered one"), cognate with Latin *cornu* "horn". The meaning for our toponym appears to be a site with a pointed summit. The ending *-onium* is paralleled in *Istonium* (*Celtiberia*) and *Tullonium* (*Varduli*).

*Damania/***tamaniu**. Prósper (in Villar and Prósper 2005: 336) suggests an IE etymology *dom-an-yo-* from *dem-/dom-* "household" (*IEW* 198). Old Irish *dám* "band, company" may come from the same root (so *LEIA* D-20), though Lewis and Pedersen (1974: 6) prefer, perhaps rightly, a derivation from IE *da-mo-* "people" (*IEW* 175). But another option is Celtic *damo-* "tamed animal", whence Gaulish *damos* "ox, deer", Old Irish *dam* "ox", Middle Irish *damán* "calf or fawn", also an Irish man's name *Damán* (*DIL* D/1, 62).

Deobriga. This town of the *Autrigones* has a homonym among the *Vettones* (Ptol. II, 5, 7); cf. the diminutive *Deobrigula* among the *Turmogi* (Ptol. II, 6, 51). The derivation is Celtic, *dewo-* "god" plus *-briga* "hill-fort".

Ebelinum. If *Eblana* in Ireland truly represents a Celtic *(p)ipelena* "crowded place" from IE *pel(e)-* "to approach", cognate with Latin *populus*

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[7] A British root *comel-* appears to be the etymon of Old Breton *cemel*, Welsh *cyfyl* "edge, vicinity" (Jackson 1953: 487; Fleuriot 1964: 100) but cannot easily be linked to our toponym.

[8] A divine name *Cordonus*, attested on two panels of the large Celtiberian inscription from Peñalba de Villastar, is possibly related (Beltrán Lloris, Jordán Cólera and Marco Simón 2005: 936-941, who suggest, p. 939, that *Cortonum* might therefore be a theophoric name), though in view of the spelling it might better be derived from IE *kerd-* "craft" (Old Irish *cerd* "art, artist": *IEW* 579), referring to a god of craftsmen.

(De Bernardo Stempel 2000: 102), this could also be the root of *Ebelinum*.[9] A personal name *Ebelinus* occurs in northern Italy (*CIL* V, 7850).

Ebora. A toponym with homonyms in *Lusitania* and *Galicia*. Its etymology is Celtic **eburo-* "yew tree", from IE **ereb(h)-* "dark red or brown". There is an *Eborodunum* in Italy, and various *Eburo-* toponyms in Gaul, Germany and Britain.

Eraga. The root could be IE **er-* "earth" (Old Cornish and Welsh *erw* "field": Padel 1985: 95) with suffix *-aga* as in *Tarraga* (below). However, A. Falileyev (oral communication, 2007) suggests that the Dacian toponym *Eractum* could be Celtic, from **(p)eri-* "around" and **ag-* "to go". If so, *Eraga* might mean a place that a river or road goes around.

Ergavica. The similarity of this toponym to the *Ercavica* in *Celtiberia* (Pliny III, 24; Ptol. II, 6, 57) suggests a Celtic origin. Carnoy (1907: 11) proposed IE **(p)erkʷo-* "oak" plus **weik-* "to fight"; Sims-Williams (2006: 122) considers a derivation from **weik-* "formally admissible". Meanwhile, Villar (in Villar and Prósper 2005: 458-459) thinks *Erca* and *-av-* are hydronyms. I have suggested elsewhere (Curchin 1997: 267) that we have a divine name *Erga* (also attested in Gaul: Whatmough 1970: 254), possibly from IE **erku-* "to shine", plus a cognate of Latin *vicus* "village" from IE **weik-* "to dwell".

Forum Gallorum. The name is Latin, implying a market for Gaulish traders from the north. On Gauls in this region, see F. Beltrán Lloris (2006a, especially 196-197). There is another *Forum Gallorum* in northern Italy.

Gallica Flavia. A Latin name, implying a Gallic settlement that was granted an imperial surname by the Flavians.

Gallicum. This is the neuter form (perhaps agreeing with an understood "oppidum") of the Latin adjective *Gallicus*. Like *Forum Gallorum*, *Gallica Flavia*, and the *Pagus Gallorum* on the bronzes of Gallur and Agón (M. Beltrán Lloris 1977; F. Beltrán Lloris 2006b), it reflects the presence of Gauls in the Subpyrenaic zone.

Gergium. If this is not an error for *Bergidum*, it may be related to *Gergovia* in Gaul, presumably from IE **gher-* "to enclose".

Graccuris. *Festus* (86, 5) informs us that this town was named after *Sempronius Gracchus* (governor of *Citerior* in 179 B.C.) and was previously called *Ilurci*. It combines his Latin name with an indigenous ending. On the problem of whether *uri* can mean "city", see above on *Calagurris*.

Grall(ium). Known from the inscription of a *Gralliensis* (*CIL* II, 4244). Villar (1995: 27) identifies it with the pre-Roman mint **karaluz**, whose nominative form could be **Grallom*. On Botorrita Bronze IV (Villar *et al.* 2001: 112) we seem to have the same toponym in the accusative form **karalom**. A possible etymology is IE **gher-/ghre-* "to project, stand out" with extension *-et-/-ed-* and diminutive suffix *-lo-* ; thus **gratlom* "small projection, knoll".

*Iacca/**iaka**. The root is Celtic **iecco-* "healthy", from IE **iek-* "to heal" (Welsh and Cornish *iach*, Old Breton *iac* "healthy"), found also in the

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[9] However, as Lewis and Pedersen (1974: 26) point out, IE "p" between vowels disappears in Irish (after initially becoming "f"); it should not become "b".

Celtic personal name *Iaccus* (Delamarre 2003: 185). *Vitruvius* (*De archit.* I, 4, 1) tells us that a healthy location was an important factor in siting a town.

*Ilerda/***iltiŕta**. The name may be related to that of the *Ilergetes*, which on coins appears to be **iltiŕkesken** (Tovar 1989: 46). We also have Iberian personal names in *iltir-* or *ildir-* (Albertos Firmat 1966: 123). There was another *Ilerda* on the Iberian coast, according to Avienus (*Ora mar.* 475), and Vibius Sequester (*Flumina* 91) mentions a river *Ilerda*. *Il-* seems to be an Iberian term for "city" (see *Iluberis*), though personal, ethnic and river names containing this element may come from a different root (Hoz 2005: 76).

Iluberis. The name is Iberian, paralleled by *Iliberris* (*Baetica*), *Ilubaria* (*Bastetania*) and *Eliberri* (*Aquitania*). *Ili/ilu* appears, from its frequent occurrence in coastal town-names, to be Iberian for "city". *Berri* means "new" in Basque; if this is a loan-word from Iberian, we would have the meaning "new city" (Menéndez Pidal 1968: 246). Alternatively, Villar (in Villar and Prósper 2005: 461) derives *-uberis* from IE **uba* "water, river", comparing the ethnonyms *Uberi* (Alps), *Uberae* (India).

Ilurcis. The name combines Iberian *il(u)* "city" with an element *urc-/urg-* found in many Hispanic toponyms (*Ilurco*, *Isturgi*, *Lucurgentum*, *Urci*, etc.). Villar (2000: 211-221) derives this element from IE **ur-* "water", yet none of his Hispanic examples is a hydronym. It is therefore quite possible that the *urc-* names in Hispania are Iberian.

Ilurs(a). The name appears Iberian, cf. *Ilurcis* (above), *Ilurci/Ilurco* (Lorca) and *Urso* (*Baetica*).

Iologum. If the name is correctly transmitted, there is no clear etymology. The only parallel is a mount *Iolon* in *Perrhaebia*, Thessaly.

Iturissa. As a city of the *Vascones*, it appears to be connected with Basque *itur*, *iturri* "spring" (Bertoldi 1953: 412; Tovar 1989: 391), which is also seen as the root of the French river Dorres (Nègre 1990: 39). The name should therefore mean "place beside the spring" (Hubschmid 1960: 461). Although the suffix *-issa* occurs in Celtic toponyms (*Vindonissa*, *Abissum*, *Laurissa*) and personal names, it can also be "Mediterranean" pre-IE, e.g. *Cissa* and *Mentissa* in Cataluña, *Larissa* in Thessaly.

Labitolosa/Tolous. The spellings "Labit[o]l[o]sa" and "Labitulosa" appear on two inscriptions of *M. Clodius Flaccus* (*CIL* II, 5837; *HEp.* 6, 1996, 600); "Tolous" in the *Antonine Itinerary*, and "TOLO(---)" on local tiles (Navarro Caballero *et al.* 2004). The element *lab-* occurs in the Celtic(?) personal name *Labio* (*AcS* III, col. 114) and in the toponyms *Labisco* (*Narbonensis*) and *Laberus* (Ireland), though the last of these is probably related to the river-name *Labrona*, from Celtic **(p)labro-* "to babble" (De Bernardo Stempel 2000: 104). Neither IE **lab-* "to lick, smack", **leb-* "to hang loosely; lip", nor **plab-* "to flap" seems appropriate to a town-name. The second element recalls Tolosa in *Narbonensis* and *Toletum* in *Carpetania* (both of questionable Celticity), another *Toletum* in *Galicia* (*AE* 1961, 96) and the Galatian tribe *Tolistobogii* (which contains the Celtic element **bogio-*). However, the correct root might be IE **twel-* "lump, mass" (see below on *Tullica*).

Leonica. Theoretically this could refer to a place founded by a *Leonicus*, a Latin *cognomen* from *leo* "lion" (Kajanto 1965: 327); but the name is not attested in Spain.

Lib(i)a. Like the *Libici* of Italy, the name may be Celtic, from **lub^h^-* "amiable" (De Bernardo Stempel 2000: 90); therefore "friendly place"? Other comparanda include *Libana* (*Celtiberia*), *Libora* (*Carpetania*), *Libisosa* (*Oretania*), *Libunca* (*Galicia*).

Mendiculeia. A homonym in *Lusitania* (Ptol. II, 5, 6) excludes the possibility of an etymology from Basque *mendi* "mountain" (Garvens 1964: 16). Very similar is the village-name *Mendicoleius* in Lucania. The likeliest root is IE **mento-* "projection", cf. Welsh *mynyd*, Cornish *menedh* "hill, mountain" (from Brittonic **monið*: Schrijver 1995: 34). However, the vocalization of *Mendiculeia* seems to reflect the zero grade of the IE root, rather than the result of *-o- > -i-* as in the Insular Celtic examples.

Muscaria. The Latin adjective *muscarius* refers to flies (*muscae*), therefore "fly-town". Canto (1999: 350) suggests that the name comes not from *musca*, but from *muscus* "moss". However, *muscarius* is not attested in that sense.

Nemanturista. This name has been compared with the Alpine tribe *Nematuri* or *Nemeturi*. The root might be Celtic **nemeto-* "sanctuary" (Tovar 1989: 409) or **namanto-* "enemy" (Gorrochategui 2005: 161). The second element has sometimes been seen as incorporating the hydronym *Tur-* which has traditionally been regarded as Iberian but could be IE, either from **ter-* "to rub" (Villar 1993: 329-330) or from **tur-* "to swell" (*IEW* 1083). However, I would propose a totally IE solution: *nemant-* as a present participle from IE **nem-* "to turn, bend" (*IEW* 764) plus IE **ura* "river" and the IE superlative ending *-isto-* (cf. Greek *-istos*).

*Nertobriga/***nertobis**. There is a homonym in *Baetica* (Ptol. II, 4, 10). The name means "strong fortress" in Celtic, from **nerto-* "strength".

Oiarso. The name seems clearly related to Basque *oi(h)ar* "woods" (Ramírez Sádaba 2002: 110; Villar and Prósper 2005: 466).

oilaunu. This appears to derive from Celtic **oui-lo-* "sheep" (Isaac 2002). There is a toponym *Oelunum* in *Baetica* (*CIL* II 5467, cf. 1646) which might be related.

okelakom. A coin legend, traditionally read **okalakom**, but the relevant sign (also found in **bols̲k̲e̲n̲** and **sek̲e̲iza**) now appears to be *ke* rather than *ka* (Rodríguez Ramos 2001-02). The name is therefore Celtic, from **ocelo-* "promontory" with suffix *-aco-*.

olkairun. The initial element of this mint-name is Celtic **(p)olca* "field", also found in the tribal name Olcades and the Galician toponym *Olca*. Tovar (1979: 473) derives the second part from Basque *ir* "city", but this form does not appear until the Middle Ages (Villar and Prósper 2005: 467). However, we could have **olc(a)-air(e)n*, perhaps comparable with Old Irish *airm* "place" (*LEIA* A-47).

Orcia. Its etymology has been variously regarded as Celtic **(p)orc-* "salmon" (Gorrochategui 2005: 163) or the IE hydronym **urc-* from **(a)ur-* "water" (Villar 2000: 212). Also possible is Celtic **(p)orc-* "pig" (Old Irish *orc*), cf. *Succosa*, below. There are homonymous toponyms *Orcia* in Asia, Greece and Dacia (Villar 2000: 218) as well as *Orcelis* in *Bastetania*; also a

personal name *Orcius* (*CIL* XIII, 1452) and divine name *Orcia* (*CIL* III, 8151).

orosiz. A word *or* "edge, boundary" is preserved in Old Irish and Old Welsh, but could be a borrowing from Latin *ora* (*LEIA* O-26). The name is more likely Iberian, cf. the *Orospeda* mountains (from Iberian *-bed-/-ped-* according to Hoz 1993: 658 note 64). The resemblance to Greek *oros* "mountain", from IE **or-* "to raise", is probably coincidental.

Osca. The linguistic transition from **bolśken** to Osca is not easy, despite the attempts of Faria (2005: 276) to conjecture a transitional form **olśken**, and of Luján (2005: 487) to invoke an Iberian prefix "b". It remains unclear whether there is a philological link between the two names. *Osca* appears to come from an IE root **osc-* seen in numerous toponyms such as *Osca* and *Osqua* (Baetican towns), *Osci* (a Campanian tribe) and *Osca* (a river in Umbria) (Villar and Prósper 2005: 113).[10]

Osicerda/**usekerte**. IE **osi-* "ash tree" (*IEW* 782) may explain the first part of the name. For *-cerda* we have a choice between Celtic **cerdh-* "mountain ash" (Cornish *cerden*, Welsh *cerdhin*, Irish *caorthain*), in which case *Osicerda* is a bilingual pleonasm "ash-ash (place)", like "river Avon" or "puente de Alcántara", and Celtic **cerd-* "market" (Old Breton *cerd*, Welsh *cerdd*: Fleuriot 1964: 103).

Otogesa. Celtic **gaes-* "spear" does not seem suitable for a town. The toponym Otobesa in *Edetania* (Ptol.'s *Etobesa*, but coins read **otobesken** and *CIL* II, 3794 has *Otobesanu*) and mention of **oto-iltiŕ** in an Iberian inscription (Velaza 1991: 201), suggest that we have an Iberian name.

Pertusa. Though sometimes taken as an error for *Bergusia*, the name is preserved in the modern toponym Pertusa, at the exact location indicated in the Itinerary (Roldán Hervás 1975: 257-258). Latin *pertusus* "perforated" does not befit a place-name. The etymology could be P-Celtic **pert-* "wood" (Welsh *perth* "bush", Gaulish toponym *Perta*, cognate with Old Irish *ceirt* "apple tree") from IE **perkwo-* "oak" (*IEW* 822). In this case we would have Gaulish influence (cf. above on *Gallicum*), since Celtiberian is Q-Celtic. But the name may simply represent IE **pertus* "crossing place, ford" (*IEW* 817), cf. a road station *Pertusa* in Africa (IA 45, 6).

Pomp(a)elo. Ancient sources tell us the name means "city of Pompey" (Strabo III, 4, 10; Athenaeus XIV, 657), implying that *-elo* may be a variant spelling of Iberian *ilu* "city" (cf. above, Andelos). The spelling "-aelo" is probably a Latin hypercorrection.

Sala. The root of this toponym is probably IE **sal-* (literally "salt") which is frequently an element in river names: cf. above on river *Salo*.

Salduvia/**saltuie**. Apparently Iberian, since several Iberian words in inscriptions begin *saldu-* (Siles 1985: 290).

Salionca. Despite its resemblance to Greek and Latin *saliunca* "Celtic nard", it is likelier to come from IE **sal-* "salt" (García Alonso 1994: 509; Gorrochategui 2005: 159), denoting a place where salt is gathered. There are numerous parallels, such as *Saliobriga* (Germany), *Saliocanus* (a seaport in Brittany) and *Saliacus* (the presumed etymon of 25 places in France and

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[10] But *Oscela* (Graian Alps), cited by Villar and Prósper *loc. cit.*, surely derives from Celtic **oscel-* "ash tree", cf. Old Breton *oscaill*, Gaulish *oskela*, Irish *escal-* (Fleuriot 1964: 279).

Belgium, from a personal name *Salius*: *AcS* II, col. 1306-1307). The ending -*onca* is also IE (*ibid.*, col. 855).

*Segeda/***sekeiza**. Documented in literary sources (Strabo III, 4, 13; Appian, *Iber.* 44; Florus I, 34) and by coins of **sekeiza**. The root is Celtic **sego*- "powerful, strong" from IE **segh*- "to hold". Cf. the *Segardinensis pagus*, mentioned in an inscription from Gallur (*HEp.* 9, 1999, 612).

Segia. Although located among the *Vascones*, this name is formally compatible with Celtic (Sims-Williams 2006: 108), from the same root as *Segeda*.

Segisamunculum. Clearly a diminutive of the toponym *Segisamon*, a town of the *Turmogi*. *Segisamon* is itself a Celtic superlative, from **sego*- (see Segeda) plus -*samo*- (Curchin 1997: 273). There was also a *Segisama Iulia* among the *Vaccaei*.

Segontia. This road station has homonyms in *Segontia* of the *Arevaci*, and *Segontia Paramica* of the *Vaccaei* or *Varduli* (Ptol. II, 6, 49 and II, 6, 65). The name is formed from Celtic **sego*- (see *Segisamunculum*) with ending -*ntia* (cf. *Numantia, Palantia*). The name appears with different vocalization as *Seguntium* in Britain, and is arguably cognate with *Saguntum* (Villar and Prósper 2005: 472).

Sermonae. This name comes from the IE noun **sermo*- "flow" (*IEW* 909), the base of numerous place-names such as *Sermio* near Brescia and *Sirmium* in Pannonia.

Stissum. The root is perhaps IE **stei*- "stone" (*IEW* 1010). However, the -*sso*- ending may be pre-IE, cf. *Iturissa*.

Succosa. Although numerous Gaulish personal names begin with *Suc*- (*Sucarus, Sucinius, Sucomus* etc.) from **su*- "good, well" (Evans 1966: 257-258), the double "c" in *Succosa* suggests we are dealing with Celtic **succo*- "pig" (Old Irish *socc*, Old Welsh *huch*, glossed *sus*); therefore, "Pig-town". The ending -*osa* is paralleled by *Tolosa* (*Narbonensis*), *Metercosa* (*Carpetania*), *Dertosa* and *Egosa* (Cataluña).[11]

Suestatium. The name appears related to that of the *Suessetani* (a people of Cataluña or the Ebro valley: see discussion in Tovar 1989: 41-42) and *Suessiones* (*Belgica*), possibly from IE **swedh*- "one's own" (Sanskrit *svadhá* "custom", Gothic *swe:s* "property", Latin *suescere* "become accustomed": Isaac 2002), rather than from Celtic **suecs*- "six". There is a personal name *Suisetarten* on the Ascoli bronze (*CIL* I², 709) which Caro Baroja (1981: 4) thinks is related to *Suessetani*.

Tarraca/Tarraga. Villar (in Villar and Prósper 2005: 472-473) would derive the name from IE **ter(e)*- "to rub" with suffix -*ko*. An alternative possibility is suggested by Old Icelandic *tarra* "to spread out", perhaps from IE **ster*- "to spread out" (contrary to *IEW* 203). *Tarraca* and *Tarraco* could of course be Iberian; but the parallel of *Tarracina* on the *Latium-Campania* border supports an IE origin.

Telobis/Tolobi. The likeliest root is IE **tel*- "even, flat; ground" (whence Latin *tellus*: *IEW* 1061). Cf. the Gaulish toponyms *Telo Martius*

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[11] *Succosa* in Etruria is not a parallel, as it represents *Sub Cosa* (Schulten 1931). However, a place *Succossia*, attested south of the river Loire in AD 565 (Holder II, 1653), might be related.

(*Narbonensis*) and *Telonnum* (*Lugdunensis*). Villar (2002: 68) would see
-*ob*- as a hydronym.

tirzoz. The signs **ti.r.** may represent *tri*, therefore Prósper (in Villar
and Prósper 2005: 218) proposes an etymology from IE **trityo-* "third". It
may be the same place as *Tritium Autrigonum*, but this is uncertain. Cf. the
personal name *Tritius*, common in Asturias and neighbouring districts
(Abascal Palazón 1994: 532) and cognate with the Gaulish name *Tritos*
(Lambert 1995: 130).

Tritium Autrigonum. From IE **trityo-* "third". The etymology of
Autrigones is conjectured by Gorrochategui (2005: 157) as **au-trig-* "those
who run away?" which seems unlikely. A more fruitful possibility is Celtic
*aud- "rich, fortunate" (Evans 1967: 145), cf. Germanic *auða* "wealth", Old
Irish *audsud* "treasure" (logically from **aud-* plus **sed-* "to deposit", though
construed as preverbs *ad-uss-* by *LEIA* A-103).

Tritium Magallum. On *Tritium*, see *Tritium Autrigonum*. *Magallum*
appears to be Celtic, either from **mago-* "field, plain" (Gaulish *magos*, Old
Irish *mág*) or from **magalo-* "great" (Gaulish personal name *Magalos*, Old
Irish *mál* "prince"). Toponymic parallels include *Magalonium* and *Maglona*
(Britain) and *Magalona* (*Narbonensis*).

Tullica. As with *Tullonium* of the *Varduli* and *Tullium* (variant *Tullum*)
in *Belgica*, the probable root is IE **twel-* "lump, mass", whence Old Irish *tul*
"protuberance, knoll", Middle Irish and Gaelic *tulach* "hill", Welsh *twlch*
"hillock", and numerous Scottish place-names in *Tulli-* or *Tully-* (Johnston
1934: 316).

*Turiaso/***turiazu**. This is one of numerous Hispanic names in *Tur*-
which may derive from an IE hydronymic root **ter-* or **tur-* (see above on
Nemanturista).

umanbaate. Taken as Iberian by Villar (in Villar and Prósper 2005:
504 note 540). However, the presence of an *Umana* river in northern Italy
and a *Batiana* in *Lugdunensis* (both in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*) suggest the
possibility of a Celtic etymology. Old Irish *umae* means "copper, bronze",
from **em-* "red" (*LEIA* U-24). The existence of a Celtic root **bat-* "to
strike", cognate with Latin *battuere* "to strike", *battualia* "fighting exercise"
(English *battle*), is suggested by the Latin word *andabata* "gladiator whose
helmet had no eye openings", obviously from Celtic **ando-* "dark, blind".
There are also Celtic(?) personal names *Battaces*, *Battalus* and *Buttu-batta*
(*AcS* I, col. 360). Our toponym may therefore be Celtic for "bronze-strike", a
place where bronze is struck into coinage.

Uxama Barca. *Uxama* is a Celtic superlative **ouks-sama* "most
elevated" from IE **ups-* "high" (Old Irish *uasal*, Welsh *uchel*, Gaulish
uxello-). *Barca* was equated by early scholars with the Carthaginian surname
Barca (Arbois de Jubainville 1894: 12) or with Basque *ibar* "valley"
(Schuchardt 1907: 557). However, a more attractive etymology is IE **bhar-*
"projection, point" (Old Irish *barr* "summit", Welsh and Cornish *bar*) with
adjectival suffix -*ko-*.

*Vareia/***uarakos**. The name may be descended either from IE **wer-* "to
enclose, defend" (De Bernardo Stempel 2005: 78) or from the hydronym
*uaro- "water", derived from IE **wer-* but variously explained as Celtic
(Rivet and Smith 486; Delamarre 2003: 301; Isaac 2002) or pre-Celtic

(Nègre 1990: 45). Possible parallels include *Varada* (*Celtiberia*), *Varar* (Britain), *Argentovaria* (Upper Germany) and the rivers *Vara, Varia, Varis* and *Varus* (Villar and Prósper 2005: 480).

Veleia. Pre-Latin coins bear the legend **kueliokos**, which suggests that *Veleia* is a Romanized form of an indigenous **Kwelia* or **Gwelia*, cf. the *Quelediani* of Asturias (Diego Santos 1986: nº. 30). The most plausible root is IE **wel-* "to turn, bend", often used of curved enclosures (Bascuas López 1999: 204-06). There is another *Veleia* in Cisalpine Gaul.[12]

Vindeleia. The root is Celtic **uindo-* "white". There are many Celtic parallels for this name (see Sims-Williams 2006: 123-124), the closest being *Vindelicia* in *Raetia.*

*Virovesca/***uirouia**. The first part of the name appears Celtic, but as with the various *Viro-* toponyms in Gaul and Britain it is unclear whether we are dealing with **uiro-* "man" or **uīro-* "true" (Rivet and Smith 1979: 505; García Alonso 2003: 292). The first seems unlikely for a toponym (but cf. Mannheim "man-home" in Germany), while the second is obvious only in certain contexts, e.g. *Virodunum* "true fortress". Another possibility is Celtic **uir-* "to bend, twist" from IE **wer-* "to turn, bend" (*IEW* 1152), attested in Celtic *viriolae*, Celtiberian *viriae* "bracelets" (Pliny XXXIII, 39) and perhaps capable of describing a river. Much therefore depends on the meaning of the second element. If indeed the name was originally *Virovia*, *-via* would be merely a toponymic suffix as in *Sego-via* or *Cano-vium* (Britain). Very similar in structure is the divine name *Vurovius*, which is probably related to **uiro-* "man" (Solana Sáinz 1978: 186). A possible Celtic etymology for *-vesca* is provided by Gaulish *vesu-* "good, valuable" which may lose its "u" when followed by "c" (as suggested by the personal name *Viscarius* and adjective *viscara*, hypothetically from **uesu-caro-*: Delamarre 2003: 318); so *Viro-ves-ca* could mean "good place for men" or "truly precious place". But as an alternative to a Celtic derivation, the name could be composed of the IE roots **gʷer(e)-* "mountain" and **wes-* "to dwell" with ending *-ka*, therefore "mountain dwelling-place".

CONCLUSIONS

This analysis of 111 Ebro toponyms reveals the following definite or probable linguistic ascriptions:

Iberian: 11 (10%): *(H)iberus*; *Bilbilis*, **bolśken**, *Celsa, Ilerda, Iluberis, Ilurcis, Ilurs(a)*, **orosiz**, *Otogesa, Salduvia.*

Basque: 2 (2%): *Iturissa, Oiarso.*

Greek: 1 (1%): *Chalybs.*

Indo-European (not demonstrably Celtic): 41 (37%): *Salo, Sicoris, Turasia*; *Agiria, Alanto, Alavona, Andelos, Antequia*, **aratis**, *Articabe, Auci, Beldalin, Belsio, Bergidum, Bergusia, Bituris, Bortina, Cara(e), Caravis, Carduae, Cascantum, Cemelon, Cinca, Gergium, Grallium, Mendiculeia,*

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[12] The Veliocasses of Narbonensis more likely derived their name from a root **velio-* "well-bred", cf. Irish *féle* "modesty" (Gorrochategui 2005: 160).

Nemanturista, Osca, Pertusa, Sala, Salionca, Sermonae, Stissum, Suestatium, Tarraca, Telobis, **tirzoz**, *Tullica, Turiaso, Vareia, Veleia.*

Celtic: 37 (33%): *Caius, Edulium*; *Cinga, Dercenna*; *Albonica, Anabis, Arcobriga,* **arzakoz**, *Atanagrum, Boletum, Bursao, Caum, Contrebia Belaisca, Cortonum, Curnonium, Damania, Deobriga, Ebelinum, Ebora, Eraga, Ergavica, Iac(c)a, Lib(i)a, Nertobriga,* **oilaun(om)**, **okelakom**, **olkairun**, *Orcia, Segeda, Segisamunculum, Segia, Segontia, Succosa,* umanbaate, *Uxama Barca, Vindeleia, Virovesca.*

Indo-European/Celtic hybrid: 3 (3%): *Osicerda, Tritium Autrigonum, Tritium Magallum.*

Indo-European/Latin hybrid: 2 (2%): *Calagurris Fibularia, Calagurris Iulia Nasica.*

Latin: 9 (8%): *Ad Novas, Atiliana, Barbariana, Caesaraugusta, Forum Gallorum, Gallica Flavia, Gallicum, Leonica, Muscaria.*

Latin-Iberian hybrid: 2 (2%): *Graccuris, Pomp(a)elo.*

uncertain: 3 (3%): *Idubeda*; *Iologum, Labitulosa.*

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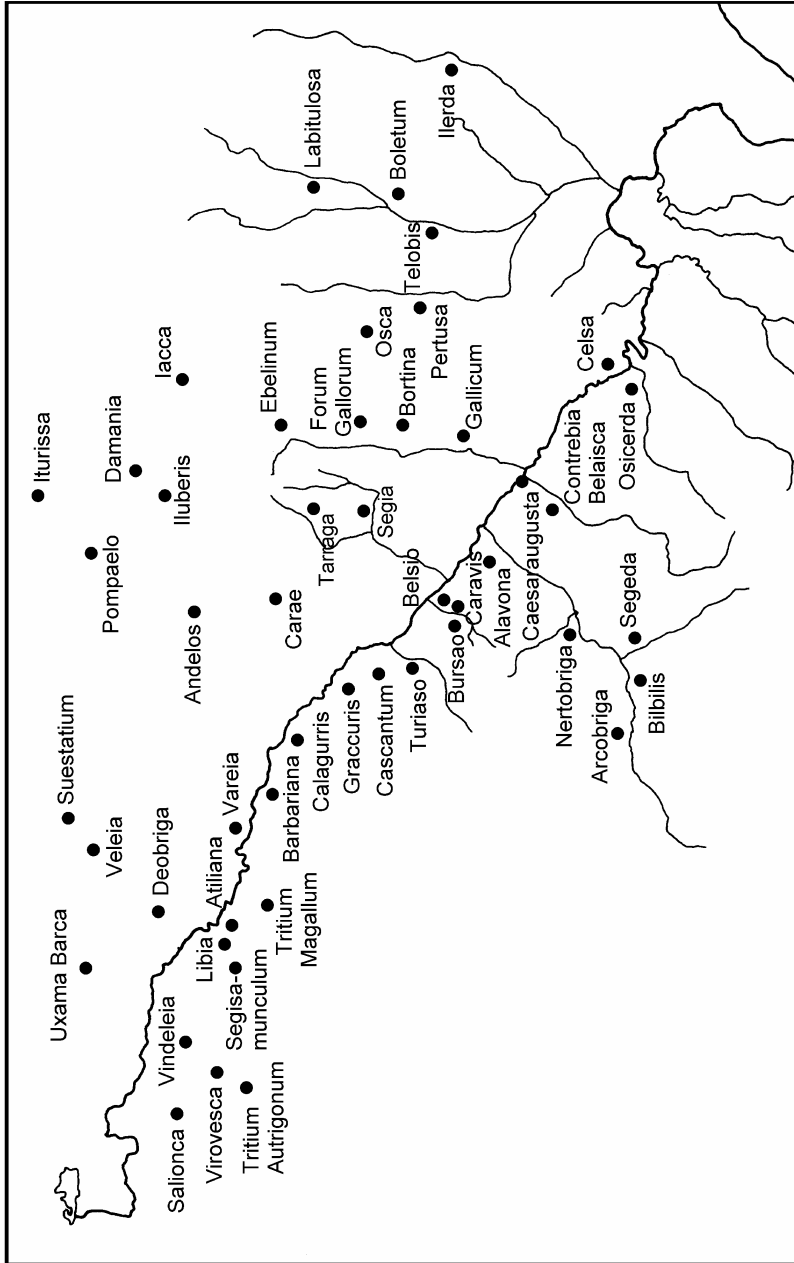*e-mail: lcurchin@watarts.uwaterloo.ca*

Fig. 1: Map of Ebro Valley showing toponyms of known location