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TOPONYMS OF LUSITANIA: A RE-ASSESSMENT OF THEIR ORIGINS
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ABSTRACT: Recent advances in linguistic theory and methodology have given greater scientific validity to the study of ancient toponyms. This article re-examines the origin of the various place-names of the Roman province of Lusitania, rejecting some proposed etymologies while offering several new or modified ones. The paper concludes with a tabulation of the proportion of Indo-European, Celtic, Latin, and other roots in the toponyms of the province.

RESUMEN: Avances recientes en teoría lingüística y en metodología han dado más validez científica al estudio de la toponimia antigua. En este artículo se examina de nuevo el origen de los topónimos de la provincia romana de Lusitania, tanto rechazando unas etimologías anteriores como ofreciendo algunas nuevas o modificadas. Para terminar, se comparan las proporciones de radicales indo-europeos, célticos, latinos, y otros en la toponimia de la provincia.

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TOPONYMS OF LUSITANIA: A RE-ASSESSMENT OF THEIR ORIGINS

I. Introduction

Ancient Lusitania not only experienced several successive influxes of inhabitants and languages – Pre-Indo European, Indo-European, Celtic, Iberian, Greek and Roman – but preserved them for posterity in its repertory of place-names. These toponyms may be formed from personal, ethnic or divine names, from hydronyms, or from common nouns. They serve as a valuable fossil record of the various linguistic layers associated with the region's cultural history¹.

While the presence of different languages in Lusitania has long been recognized, early attempts to identify the etymology of specific toponyms were plagued by false assumptions or flights of fancy (CURCHIN forthcoming). For instance, W. VON HUMBOLDT (1821; 1879) proposed that several town-names – *Aritium Vetus*, *Burdua*, *Lavara*, *Montobrica*, *Moron*, *Serpa*, *Talabara* and *Talori* – were related to Basque words. Subsequent investigators (SCHULTEN 1931: 784; BERTOLDI 1953; GARVENS 1964) claimed a Basque connection for *Arandis*, *Balsa*, *Mendiculeia*, *Obila* and *Verurium*. Meanwhile, SCHULTEN (1930; 1955) asserted an Etruscan origin for *Achale*, *Agonis*, *Mons Herminius* and *Moron*, based on a supposed similarity to Etruscan words. Names of possibly Indo-European yet non-Celtic etymology were supposed to represent a Ligurian or Illyrian layer. Thus *Aravi*, *Langobriga* and *Vipasca* were identified as Ligurian (SCHMOLL 1959: 109; ALBUQUERQUE 1962: 207; MENÉNDEZ PIDAL 1968: 162-63), while *Baedorus*, *Bletisama*, *Conistorgis*, *Eburobritium*, *Lama* and *Salmantica* were considered Illyrian (TOVAR 1957; LOMAS 1980: 59-60). Nowadays scholars

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tend to avoid these misleading “Ligurian” and “Illyrian” labels, preferring to follow KRAHE (1962) in designating the early linguistic substratum with Indo-European (but non-Celtic) characteristics as “Old European” (*Alteuropäisch*). However, some of the toponyms identified by Krahe as *Alteuropäisch* are of debatable Indo-European origin, or are shared by a range of non-Indo-European languages extending from the Atlantic to Anatolia (MORALEJO ÁLVAREZ 2001: 503).

More recently, GUERRA (1998) has studied the toponyms of Lusitania and Galicia, while GARCÍA ALONSO (2003) has revisited the Hispanic place-names in Ptolemy’s *Geographia*². For the most part they summarize the opinions of previous scholars, though sometimes offering suggestions of their own. A very different contribution has been made by VILLAR (1995a; 2002) who proposes that several toponymic roots previously considered Iberian, are in fact remnants of the Old European language: for instance, *uba* would come from Indo-European **ab/ap-*, *ur* from Indo-European **a^uer-*, and so on. However, some of Villar’s proposals are less convincing than others, and his views have not met with universal acceptance.

The present article consists of a discussion of Lusitanian toponyms, arranged alphabetically, followed by conclusions. Location of these names, where known, is indicated on the map (Est. I). Note the following abbreviations: PN = personal name. DN = divine name. EN = ethnic or tribal name. GN = geographical name. IE = Indo-European.

II. Catalogue of Toponyms

Abelterion/Apeilokarion – The itineraries read Abel-; the Apeil-spelling is probably a hellenized rendering. Although **ab-/ap-* exists as an IE hydronym, a likelier root is Celtic *abel-* from IE **apelo* “strength”, seen in the PNs Abelio/Abellius (HOLDER 1896-1907, vol. I: 6) and the Celtiberian gentile *abilikum*. The element *-ter-* forms IE nouns of agent (MEILLET 1969: 272).

Abila/Obila – According to VILLAR (2000: 370), the sound of indigenous “a” was interpreted by the Romans as either “o” or “a”, hence the variant spellings. There is no reason not to associate Ptolemy’s

² My sincere thanks to Dr. Guerra for providing me with a copy of his dissertation.

Obila with modern Avila, birthplace of Priscillian, attested as *Abila* by Hieronymus (*De viris illus.*, 121) and as **Avila* in the epitaph of an *Avile(nsis)* at Nava de Ricomalillo, Toledo (*HEp.*, 4, 890). There is an Obilonna among the Allobroges of Narbonensis. The likeliest root is the IE hydronym **ab-*, cf. Old Gaelic *abh*, Welsh *aw* “water, river”.

Achale insula – Since Avienus specifies that this is an indigenous name (“vocata ab incolis”: *Ora maritima*, 184), claims for a Phoenician or Greek origin are misguided (HÜBNER 1893: 222; BANDEIRA FERREIRA 1959). Cf. the Old Irish GN Achall (HOGAN 1910: 4).

Ad Lippos – Although VILLAR (1999: 704) considers this the northernmost example of a GN in *-ippo*, the preposition *ad* suggests a Latin phrase. This road station may be named for an inn “Ad lippos”, meaning “at (the place of) the bleary-eyed ones”, perhaps a reference to tipsy customers.

Ad Septem Aras – A Latin name, paralleled by GNs Ad Aras in Baetica and in south-eastern Tarraconensis. This *mansio* stood next to seven altars, perhaps prehistoric dolmens as VASCONCELLOS (1938: 42ff.) suggested.

Ad Sorores – This station could be named for an inn operated by sisters, or an inn sign depicting mythological sisters, or a rock formation known as the Sisters.

Adrum flumen – The name comes from the IE hydronym **ad-ro-* “watercourse” (POKORNY 1959: 4). Parallels include the river Adrus in Lugdunensis, and the town Adrobrica in Galicia.

Aebosocula – A diminutive form of an EN *Aebosoci*, not otherwise recorded in Lusitania but attested twice in Galicia (*CIL*, II, 2477, 2527).

Aeminium – Possibly founded in the Early Empire (ALARCÃO 1988: 25) and thus perhaps from a rare Latin PN Aeminus (Eminius: *CIL*, V, 7943; Aeminia: *CIL*, VI, 11174). However, since the first of these examples comes from the Maritime Alps, it may be Celtic rather than Latin. Pliny (*NH*, 4.115) lists Aeminus as another name for the river Limia in Galicia; GUERRA (1996: 151) thinks it may be a doublet of Minius. The existence of a harbour Aemines in Narbonensis (*Itin. marit.*, 506) further supports the possibility of a Celtic root **aimin-*, possibly from IE **ai-* “to allot”.

Agonis insula – Though of Greek appearance, this name could be Celtic, cf. the GN Agodano in the Alps.

Alantune – This name is paralleled by the town Alantone in the Ebro valley. Both come from IE **alant-* from **al-* “to flow” (VILLAR & PRÓSPER 2005: 433).

Ammaia – IE **amma* “mother” might suggest that this is a tribal “metropolis”. But it could equally be derived from the PN Ammaia, attested (only in the feminine) in Lusitania (GRUPO MÉRIDA 2003: 85). A GN Amaia is recorded in Cantabria.

Ana flumen – That the correct name is Ana rather than Anas is argued by SÁEZ FERNÁNDEZ (1994: 106-7). Though regarded as Iberian by early scholars, an IE origin is suggested by numerous Ana- GNs in western Europe (VILLAR 2000: 329-30).

Apiobica – see *Iapiobica*.

Aquabona – see *Equabona*.

Arabriga – The Celtic ending *-briga* (from **brig-* “high, strong”) regularly designates hill-forts in Iberia. However, Celtic *are-* “near, in front of” (from IE **p^ori-*) does not fit here, as the town would be a hill-fort, not “near” it (though GARCÍA ALONSO 2006 ingeniously suggests “the fort at the front”). Alternatively, Celtic **ara* “field” (from IE **ar(e)-*, whence Old Irish *ár* “cultivated field”, Welsh *âr* “ploughed land”, would yield a meaning “the fort of the fields” (GARCÍA ALONSO 2006). IE **ar-* “outside, open”, whence Latin *area*, would also be appropriate to an open-air site.

Araducta – Closely paralleled by Araducca in Galicia. For *ar(e)-* see *Arabriga*; but *-duct-* has never been adequately explained.

Arandis – The etymology **are-randa* “next to the border” (COROMINAS 1972: 83) is conceivable, as is the IE hydronym **ar-*, but Welsh *aran* “peaked hill” (JOHNSTON 1934: 89) suggests a more satisfying meaning. Celtic parallels include Arandatum, Arandisni and Arandunici (HOLDER 1896-1907, vol. I: 172). An alternative origin is the PN Aranta or DN Arantius, both attested in Lusitania.

Araocel(um) – Possibly from an Old European hydronym **ar-av-* (BASCUAS 2002: 34, cf. Arausio in Gaul) plus *ocelo-* (see *Ocelum*). But it could equally be Celtic **are-ocelo-* “near the promontory”.

Aravi – From the Old European hydronym **ar-av-* (see *Arao-celum*).

Arbua – Attested by mention of an Arbuensis (*HEp.*, 1, 698), this name recalls Arbocala of the Vaccaeii (Polybius 3, 14,1; Livy 21, 5,6). Cf. Lat. *arbor*, from IE **er(e)dh-* “high”.

Arcobriga – Paralleled by a homonym in Celtiberia, this name most likely comes from the DN Arco (CURCHIN 1997: 260), perhaps ultimately from a Celtic root **arc-* “to defend” (MORALEJO ÁLVAREZ 2005: 224) plus *-briga* “fortress”. However, the frequent GNs Arco in modern Portugal may be named for memorial arches (MARQUES 1984: 108).

Arcuce – GUERRA (1998: 294) reasonably suggests that the name of this *castellum* comes from the same root as Arcobriga. On the interchange of *o/u*, see below on *Monda/Munda*. But *ar-* could equally represent Celtic **are-* (see *Arabriga*). On *-cuc-* perhaps cf. the Vaccaean GN Cugion. Possible parallels are provided by the GNs Arcunia/Hercynia in Germany (HOLDER 1896-1907, vol. I: 184) and Arcunes in Thrace (Procopius, *De aedificiis*, 4,4,3).

Areva flumen – From the IE hydronym **ar-* (HOZ 1963: 233).

Aritium – Probably Celtic, as suggested by Gaulish **aritisia* “slate” (LAMBERT 1995: 187) and the Gaulish PN Aritus.

Augustobriga – An obvious hybrid of Latin *Augustus* and Celtic *-briga*.

Baedorus – Although TOVAR (1957: 279) would relate this name to the Illyrian PN Baedarus, VILLAR (2000: 239-46) points to numerous Hispanic GNs in *bai-*, which he derives from IE **g^whei-*. Close parallels include Baedro (Baetica) and Bedunia (Asturias).

Baesuri – The name, attested on coins as well as the itineraries, is one of numerous names in **bait-/bais-* in the south of the Peninsula (VILLAR 1999: 689). Compare also a GN *Baeserta* in the Pyrenees (HOLDER 1896-1907, vol. I: 327).

Balatu celum – Numerous Hispano-Celtic names in *bal-*, as well as *ocelo-* (see *Ocelum*) provide the etymology of this toponym. Cf. particularly the gentilic name Balatuscun (*AE*, 1987, 616f).

Balsa – Though TOVAR (1970: 7-9) considers Balsa a Basque loan-word into Indo-European, found as far east as Lithuania, *Bal-* names are frequent in both Iberian and Celtic. The GN Balsio is attested in the Ebro valley. According to VILLAR (1999: 690-91), the spelling Balsilipa for Basilipo (*Rav.*, 316, 13) could preserve an indigenous form **bals-il-ipo* from the same root as Balsa.

Baniensis civitas – Paralleled by Baniana in Baetica. Plausibly Celtic, since Baniacus is conjectured as the origin of five French GNs Bagnac/Bagny (HOLDER 1896-1907, vol. III: 799). A likely root is suggested by Old Irish *bán* “white”, Sanskrit *bhânù* “idem” from IE **bha-*, Celtic **bane-* “to shine”.

Barbarium promontorium – Compare the Baetican GNs Barbariana, Barbesula and Singili Barba, possibly from IE **barb-* “water” (HOZ 1963: 234).

Bletisa(ma) – This is a Celtic superlative, cf. Segisama, Uxama, Belisama (Britain). The probable root is IE **plet-* “flat”.

Braetolaenum – Despite the existence of a PN Braetius (not attested in Lusitania), the root may be IE **brito-lag-yo*, with lenition of /g/ (VILLAR & PRÓSPER 2005: 267).

Burdua – Perhaps related to the Celtic PN Burdo (AcS I col. 638-39). Other possible parallels include Burdoga in Baetica, Burdigala in Gaul (though WHATMOUGH 1970: 400 would relate this to Aquitanian *burdus* “mule”), Burdomina and Burdopes on the Danube (Procopius, *De aedif.*, 284,21 and 53) and the Celtiberian mint *burzau*, where *z* represents /dh/. The probable root is IE **bhō-* “to grow”, whence Welsh *bwr* “big, strong”, Aquitanian **bur* “height” (DAUZAT & ROSTAING 1963: 125).

Burrulobriga – On *briga*, see *Arabriga*. Burrulo-, variant Burrilo- is a diminutive of PN Burrus, from Celtic **burro-* “stout, big”, ultimately from IE **bhō-* (see *Burdua*). Both Burrus and Burrilus are attested in Lusitania (GRUPO MÉRIDA 2003: 120)

Caeciliana – Named for a Caecilius family. Possibly refers to a camp of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius (ALARCÃO 2004: 320), cf. Castra Caecilia.

Caecilobrigoi – The ending *-brigoi* clearly denotes “the inhabitants of the hill-fort”. *Caecilō-* appears to derive from IE **kailō-* “well-ome-

ned, safe”, with reference to the protectiveness of the site. Comparable are the gentilics Caelaon and Caelicum (VILLAR & PEDRERO 2001: 691), also the Caelis river (Britain). An alternative possibility is suggested by Old Irish *cael* “a stream flowing through a marsh; a narrow neck of a lake” (HOGAN 1910: 135).

Caelioni(c)oi – From the same root as Caeilobrigoi.

Caepiana – Although GARCÍA ALONSO (2003: 96) suggests that this GN is named after a *possessor* named Caepius, Ptolemy lists it as a city, not a villa. Since it lies too far west to be associated with Servilius Caepio who campaigned against Viriathus (ALARCÃO 2004: 322), it is probably named after his homonymous son, who conquered the Lusitani in 109-107 B.C. (GUERRA 2004: 222-224).

Caesarobriga – A Latin-Celtic hybrid.

Caetobriga – Like the Gaulish GN Caetobrix, this name is clearly derived from Celtic **caito-* “woods, meadow”.

Cairieses – Although RIVET & SMITH (1979: 286) derive British Caerini from Celtic **caero-* “sheep”, Cairieses may rather refer to a foundation by Caerius, a PN attested in Lusitania (GRUPO MÉRIDA 2003: 126)

Caliabriga – Rather than IE **kel-* “dark” (VILLAR 2000: 314-17), this GN probably comes from the root **kal-* “stone”, considered pre-IE by ROSTAING (1958: 27) but possibly derived from IE **kal-* “hard”. Therefore, “rocky fortress”. Cf. Calubriga (Asturias: *CIL*, II, 2610) and Caledonia in Britain.

Callipous flumen – It is unclear whether Ptolemy has translated an indigenous name into Greek (“beautiful foot”?) or simply transliterated it. It could consist of *kal-* (see *Caliabriga*) plus *-ipo* (SCHULTEN 1955: 341), though *-ipo* normally designates a city.

Calontenses – The infix *-nt-* indicates an IE name (TOVAR 1958). *Cal-* could mean “stone” (see *Caliabriga*), though IE **kal-* “dry” and **kel-/kal-* “dark” are also possible. A Celtiberian PN Kalos (“black”?) is attested in Botorrita Bronze III (1,44).

Caluri – Another *cal-* name, for which several possibilities are given under *Caliabriga* and *Calontenses*. There might be a connection

with the PN Calus, attested four times in Lusitania (GRUPO MÉRIDA 2003: 129).

Camalocenses – Clearly associated with the common PN Camalus, cognate with the name of the Gaulish war-god Camulus, from IE *kem(e)- “to struggle”.

Capara/Capera A derivation from Celtic *capro- “goat” (CERRILLO 1993: 151) seems more likely than IE *kapo- “place inundated by water” (GARCÍA ALONSO 2003: 123), in view of Capara’s location in Extremadura, dry sheep-ranching country. Cf. Capraria, one of the six Balearic islands according to Pliny (*NH*, 3, 5, 76).

Capsiana – Apart from a resemblance to Capsa in Africa (modern Gafsa), this GN remains unexplained.

Castra Caecilia – On the site of a camp of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, proconsul in Hispania Ulterior in 79 BC (SCHULTEN 1937: 173-74). From the ablative *Castris* comes the modern GN Cáceres (TOVAR 1976: 236).

Castra Servilia – Named for a camp of Q. Servilius Caepio, who fought Sertorius (SCHULTEN 1937: 173-74).

Castrum Colubri – “castle of the serpent” (ALBAIGÈS 1998: 37), from Latin *coluber* “snake”. Its modern name, Alange, is the Arabic translation (*al-hanash*) of the Latin *coluber*. Cf. Colubraria, the Latin translation of Ophiusa (referring to snakes) in the Balears.

Cauliniana – Probably from the Latin gentilic name Caulius. In Gaul, **Cauliacum* is the presumed etymon of the GNs Chaulhac (Lozère), Choilley (Haute-Marne) and Chouilly (Marne) (HOLDER 1896-1907, vol. I: 867).

Caurium – Attempts to derive this from IE *koryos “troop, army” (RUBÉN JIMÉNEZ 2004: 156) or *-uro- “river” (VILLAR & PRÓSPER 2005: 34) are unconvincing. A more satisfactory root is pre-IE *kar(r)- “stone”, whence Gaelic *càrr* “rock”, Welsh *caer* “fortress”. The PN Caurus, attested in eastern Lusitania (*HEp.*, 3, 23) is possibly related, as are the GNs Caura/Cauria/Cauro, found in Baetica, northern Italy and Corsica.

Celticoflavi(um) – Attested in two inscriptions mentioning “Celticoflavienses” (*CIL*, II, 880; *AE*, 1996, 890). The name appears to sug-

gest a Celtic town granted municipal privilege by the Flavians, cf. Flaviobriga (Varduli), Flavia Lambris (Galicía).

Centum Cellae – Purely Latin, with possible reference to a village of one-room huts.

Cenum – The name is Celtic, either from **c^uenno-* “head” whence Old Irish *cenn*, Welsh *pen*; or from **ceno-* “remote”, from the IE demonstrative **ko-*, *ke-*, seen in Gaulish ENs Cenomani, Cenimagni (HOLDER 1896-1907, vol. I: 982)

Chretina – Ptolemy’s toponym appears corrupt. If it should be read *Cretina*, we might compare the PN Cretius (*CIL*, II, 1942).

Cilibe – Mention of a city *Kilibe* in the new Artemidorus papyrus (KRAMER 2005: 27) confirms the reading *Cilibitani* (rather than *Cibilitani*) in Pliny. It should be equated with the mint *Cilpes* in the Algarve.

Cinginnia – Gaulish PNs Cingetorix and Cingenius, and Old Irish *cing* “champion, hero” come, via Celtic **cingo-* “to step”, from IE **ghengh-* “to stride” (EVANS 1967: 177-79). *Cinginnia* might therefore mean “champion city” or “city of heroes”. However, a likelier solution is to see *cing-* as a Lusitanian cognate of Latin *cingo* from IE **kenk-* “to gird”, referring to an enclosed area.

Cobelcorum civitas – Perhaps contracted from *co(m)b-*, cf. *kombalkores* on Botorrita Bronze I. On *belc-*, cf. the Celtiberian GNs Belgida, Belcilesis (*Ephemeris Epigraphica*, VIII, 183, Segobriga). This name could therefore be Celtic.

Coerenses – Like the *Coerob(rigenses)* attested in Toledo province, this name is probably derived from IE **koiro-* “dark, brown” (PRÓSPER 2004: 183-85).

Colarni – Also spelled Cularni (ALARCÃO 2004: 337). The nearest parallels are the Coelerni in Galicía (perhaps from IE **koilo-* “thin”) and the GN Colania in Britain. Colarni and Colania probably both come from IE **kel-* “to tower; high”, whence Latin *collis* “hill”.

Collippo – The suffix *-ippo* “city”, traditionally regarded as Iberian, though related by VILLAR (2000: 114-118) to Tartessos and thus possibly to Asia Minor, is here preceded by Celtic *coll* “hazel tree”. The use of tree names is paralleled at *Ebora* and *Fraxinum*, below.

Concordia – Clearly Latin, meaning “union, harmony”.

Conimbriga/Coniumbriga – Spelled *Coniumbriga* by Pliny (*NH*, 4.113) and in inscriptions (*CIL*, II, 432, 5866), though the first of these, found at Freixo do Numão and dedicated to the gods of the Coniumbricenses, may be evidence for another Coniumbriga on the Douro. If *Conimbriga* is an abridged form of **Coniombriga*, it should mean “hill-fort of the Conii” (BLONDIN 1977). However, the Conii were a people of the Algarve, and there are no grounds (other than the toponym itself) for postulating that their territory once extended into northern Lusitania. But the element **conio-* also appears in British GNs (Ariconium, Voroconium), perhaps from IE **konio-* “common” (Greek *koinos*). *Conimbriga* could therefore mean “hill-fort of the common people”. BÚA (1999: 322) and MORALEJO ÁLVAREZ (2003: 192) take a different approach, parsing the name as **konio-mbrig-*, from **mbrig-* “field” (Gaulish *brogae* “idem”, Old Irish *mruig* “country”, *brí* “plain”), ultimately from IE *mereg-* “edge, border”. However, the well-established meaning of *-briga* makes this explanation unnecessary.

Conistorgis – Traditionally located in southern Portugal, location of the Conii. For an alternative root **koni(o)-*, see *Conimbriga*. Although the ending *-torgis*, also seen in Amtorgis (Livy 25, 32, 5), was previously explained as Illyrian *-dorgis* “city” (TOVAR 1957: 278-80), VILLAR (1995a: 211) relates it to **turk-/turg-* in Ilturgi and Turgalium. Another possibility is to divide the name as *Coni-storgis*, from IE **(s)terg-* “rigid, firm” (MORALEJO ÁLVAREZ 2003: 191), though this gives a less than satisfactory meaning. The correct etymology remains elusive.

Contobris – This name, recorded by Diodorus Siculus (33, 24) and of uncertain location, could come from IE **konto-* “point”, plus *bris* (variant of Celtic *briga*), perhaps referring to a conical hill-fort (PRÓSPER 2002: 381). However, it might also be a corruption of *Centobriga*, a town of Celtiberia (TOVAR 1976: 270).

Contosolia – On **konto-* “point” see *Contobris*. The element *-soli-*, of unclear meaning occurs in Gaulish PNs (Solibis, Solico, Solimarus, Solirigus, Solirix etc.: Whatmough 227-8; from IE **sawel-* “sun”, MÍR *sól*) as well as the GN Curiosolimagus and EN Coriosolites (RIVET & SMITH 1979: 320).

Cottaobriga – Like Gaulish PNs in Cott- (EVANS 1967: 186-7), this name comes from Celtic **cotto-* “old”. The same element is seen in the Hispanic PN Corocotta, the Gaulish EN Atecotti, and the Alpes Cottiae. On *briga*, see *Arabriga*.

Cynegeticum promontorium – “Kynetes” is the hellenized form of the Conii or Cunei, a people of the Algarve (TOVAR 1976: 193).

Deobriga – Clearly Celtic, from **deivo-* “god” plus *briga* “hill-fort”. Another *Deobriga* is attested among the Autrigones, and a *Deobrigula* among the Turmogi.

Deva – Stephanus of Byzantium (p. 229 Meineke) lists a Lusitanian city “Dia” near the ocean. This would be the Greek equivalent of Celtic *Deva*, both names deriving from IE **deiwo-* “divine”. There is a town *Deva* (Chester) in Britain, and a river *Deva* in Cantabria.

Dipo – While VILLAR (2000: 87) would explain this as *-ipo* (as in *Olisipo*) with a prefix *d-*, there is no independent evidence for such a prefix. However, it might be a contraction of **di-ipo*, from IE **d^uo*, *d^ui* “two”.

Durius flumen – Explained by early scholars as Ligurian or Illyrian, this hydronym and its variants (*Duria* in the Alps, *Duria* on the Danube, *Duris* in Ireland, French rivers *Dore* and *Doron*) occur frequently in Celtic lands and appear to represent a Celtic **duro-* (LOEWENTHAL 1927-28) from IE **dheu-* “to flow”. The same IE root may be represented by the river *Turia* on the east coast.

Eberobriga – From the same root as *Ebora* and *Eburobrittium*, due to variable vocalization of the medial syllable.

Ebora – Though HOLDER considered it Iberian (1896-1907, vol. I: 1394), the root is surely Celtic **eburo-* “yew tree”, from IE **ereb(h)-* “dark red or brown”. Parallels include *Ebora* in Galicia and *Sedetania*, *Eborodunum* in Italy, *Eburodunum* in Germany, *Eburobriga* and *Eburo-magus* in Gaul, *Eburacum* in Britain, and the PNs *Eburus* (Lusitania) and *Eburius* (Gaul).

Eburobrittium – Like *Ebora*, this comes from Celtic **eburo-*. *-britt-* is also Celtic, from IE **ber-* (RIVET & SMITH 1979: 313); compare *Brittia*, *Brittones*, etc. (TOVAR 1976: 263).

Elbocoris – **elbho-* appears to be a colour term (IE **el-* “red”, **el^ho-* “yellow”, POKORNY 1959: 302), cf. the Celtic PN Elvorix. The element *coris* is possibly from IE **keu-* “to swell”, indicating a hill.

Elet(us) flumen – Known from a dedication to the *Aquae Eleteses* (*HAep.*, 1315); from the last word comes the river’s modern name, Yeltes. **El-* is an IE colour term (see *Elbocoris*). The ending *-eto-* is seen in the GNs Toletum, Oretum, Boletum, etc. In southern Gaul is a river Heledus (Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, 592).

Emerita Augusta – Latin name, referring to a colony of army veterans (*emeriti*) founded by Octavian in 25 B.C. The fact that he did not become Augustus until 23 B.C., together with the abbreviation *C(olonia) I(ulia) A(ugusta) E(merita)* on tiles, pottery and lead pipes, has raised speculation that the colony was originally named *Emerita Iulia*, though this remains controversial (FARIA 2006: 212-17).

Equabona/Aquabona – The spelling *Aqua-* appears to be a latinization of an indigenous *Equo/a-*, seen in PN *Equaesus*, GN *Equosera*, EN *Equaesii*. The root seems to be Celtic **ec^ho-* “horse”, cf. Irish *ech*, Gaulish *epo-* (EVANS 1967: 197-99). The ending *bona*, seen in various Gaulish GNs (*Augustobona*, *Colobona*, *Iuliobona*, *Vindobona*), means “foundation”, cognate with German *Bau* “building”, Irish *both* “hut”, from IE **bheue-* “to exist, grow”.

Etobri(s) – Attested, in the form “*Etobrico*”, as an epithet of the god *Bandua*. If this is to be understood as **Aetobris* it might come from IE **aidh-* “to burn”, but this would imply hot springs which cannot be verified because of the uncertain provenance (PEDRERO 2001: 544). A philological connection with *Etobesa* on the *Ebro* is excluded, as the alternate spelling *Otobesa* for the latter site is vindicated by the form *otobesken* on coins.

Euandriana – Neither a Greek etymology (*eu-andria* “good place for men”) nor a foundation by an Evander seems convincing. The Gaulish PN *Euenus* and Aquitanian GN *Euaun...* (WHATMOUGH 1970: 212, 363) suggest a possible Celtic derivation.

Fraxinum – Another *Fraxinum* is located in the south-east, between *Tugia* and *Acci* (IA 404,4). Both probably come from Latin *fraxinus* “ash tree”.

Geraea – Probably from IE *gher- “to enclose”, indicating a walled settlement.

Gerticos – same root as *Geraea*.

Herminius mons – Possibly from IE *erm- “huge” plus *men- “to tower” (whence Latin *mons*, Welsh *mynydd* “mountain”). Probably cognate are the Germanic ENs *Hermiones* and *Hermunduri* and the Belgic GN *Hermoniacum*.

(*H*)*instinium* – Epigraphically attested by the epithets *Histiniensis* (*HAEp.*, 212) and *Instiniensis* (*AE*, 1971, 146 = *HEp.*, 7, 168a). Despite uncertainty over the prefix, the central root may be IE *sten- “narrow”, whence Greek *ste(i)nos*. If the correct spelling is *Histinium*, it may be related to Ptolemy’s GN *Istonium* (de-aspirated from **Histonium*?) in Celtiberia.

Iapiobis/Iapiobica – Possibly contracted from *-bris/briga* (on which see PRÓSPER 2002: 358-60), but *-bis* does occur in Celtic GNs, e.g. *Toesobis* (Britain), *Triobis* (Aquitanian river), *Cantioebis* (Upper Germany). VILLAR (2002: 278) would see *-obica* as comprising **ub/ob-*, characteristic of southern Iberian and Pyrenean toponymy, plus *-iko*. *Iapio-* finds possible parallels in the Illyrian EN *Iapodes* (HOLDER 1896-1907, vol. II: 10) and the Gaulish PN *Iapis* (WHATMOUGH 1970: 214), though the latter might be Greek.

Ierabriga – see *Lerabriga*.

Igaeditani – Probably named after the DN *Igaedus*, attested on an altar from *Idanha-a-Nova* (*ILER*, 5995). The first element may be paralleled by the Baetican GN *Igabrum*. *-itani* is a west Mediterranean suffix (FAUST 1966), though here found well inland.

Interamnienses – Presumably Latin, referring to a town between two streams. Cf. *Interamnium Flavium* in Asturias.

Ipse – Attested by coins of *Ipses* as well as in the new *Artemidorus papyrus* (KRAMER 2005: 28).

Katraleukos – Although this name has been explained as **Castra Leuka* (TOVAR 1976: 214) or as a Greek translation of *Ad Lucentum* (ALARCÃO 2004: 324), the most likely etymology is Celtic **catro-* (Old Irish *cathir* “city”, Welsh *cader* “fortress”, from IE **kat-* “twist toge-

ther”) plus **leuco-* “light”. Cf. the PN Catro, attested at Abrantes (*AE*, 1982, 472).

Laccobriga – Paralleled by Lacobriga of the Vaccaeii and Lacca in Baetica. The likeliest root is IE **lakuo-* “lake”, therefore “lake-town” (PRÓSPER 1997).

Lacimurgii – Another derivative of **lakuo-* “lake”, paralleled by Lacimurgii in Baetica, if indeed they are not the same place (see RAMÍREZ SÁDABA 2002: 105-6; SÁEZ FERNÁNDEZ 1994: 100-05). The element *murgii* comes from IE **mH₃rg-* “marsh” (SCHMOLL 1959: 84).

Lacipaea – Paralleled by the GN Lacipo in Baetica and the Lusitanian DNs Lacipaea (*ILER*, 859, Mérida), Lacibaea (*HEp.*, 6, 187, Albalá del Caudilla, Cáceres). The town is presumably named for the deity, whose name may be derived from IE **lakuo-* “lake”.

Lama – Less likely from Celtic **(p)lama* “hand” (so GARCÍA ALONSO 2001: 394) than from IE **lama* “marsh, bog” (POKORNY 1959: 653). It is paralleled by Lambris in Galicia and numerous modern Lama- toponyms in the Iberian Peninsula.

Lancia – Probably from **lonka/lanka* “river valley”, from IE **lenk-* “to bend” (GARCÍA ALONSO 2001: 390). A homonymous town is located in Asturias, and a PN Lancius is attested at Mérida (*CIL*, II, 573).

Lancienses Transcudani – See Lancia. *Trans-* is Latin; *Cuda* is possibly the ancient name of the river Coa (SCHULTEN 1955: 352).

Langobriga – Though some (PRÓSPER 1997; SEVILLA RODRÍGUEZ 1980) would derive this from **lonka/lanka* “river bed” (see *Lancia*), a likelier root is Celtic **longo-* “long” (CARNOY 1907: 13; GARCÍA ALONSO 2001: 390), whence also the PN Lango (GRUPO MÉRIDA 2003: 210). The meaning is thus “elongated hill-fort”.

Lanobris – see *Londobris*

Lavara – If not an error for Talabara (TOVAR 1976: 252), this name may be paralleled by the DN Lavaratus in the Maritime Alps (*CIL*, XII, 5702) and GN Lavatris in Britain, from IE **lav-* “to wash”, referring to a local river.

Lennium – Possibly paralleled by the DN Lenus in Belgica and Britain, and the Merovingian mint Lenna (HOLDER 1896-1907, vol. II:

183). The *-nn-* combination is presumably assimilated from *-nd-* (ALARCÃO 2004: 336). The name is Celtic, cognate with Old Irish *leni* “meadow”, Scots Gaelic *lèana* “boggy meadow, marsh”, Breton *lenn* “pool”, Gaulish GN *Lindo-magus*, from IE **lendh-* “wet, spring”.

Lerabriga/Ierabriga – Most easily explained as *Lerabriga*, either from IE *lei-* “flow” (Old Irish *ler*, Welsh *llyr* “sea”) or as cognate with Early Irish *lerg* “a plain”. There is a GN *Lera* in Ireland (HOGAN 1910: 483).

Leuciana – If not an error for *Liciniana*, it is paralleled by *Katra-leukos*, *Pyrgoi Leukoi* (see below, *Turres Albae*), *Contrebia Leucade*, *Leuca* and *Leucomagus* (Britain), *Leuconum* (Pannonia) and the EN *Leuci* (Belgica), from Celtic **leuco-* “bright, shining”.

Liciniana – Possibly named for a camp of P. Licinius Crassus, praetor in Hispania Ulterior in 97 BC (SCHULTEN 1926: 213). However, there are numerous other *Licinii* in Lusitania (GRUPO MÉRIDA 2003: 212-13).

Lisangl(um) – Celtic, not from **lisan-* “linen” (HOLDER 1896-1907, vol. II: 239) but from **pliss-* “enclosure” (Early Irish *liss*, Old Breton *lis*) from IE **plet-* “broad” (MACBAIN 1911: 230). The element *angl-* comes from IE **ank-/ang-* “to bend” with *-ul* extension, as in Greek *ankylos* “crooked, bent”, French and English *angle*. The name should therefore mean “crooked enclosure”.

Lomondo/Lomundo – From IE **lomos* “broken, part” (MANN 1984-87: 708). Possibly paralleled by the *Lomacensis pagus* in medieval Belgica (HOLDER 1896-1907, vol. II: 281).

Londobris/Lanobris insula – Though *Lanobris* is the easier name to explain (from Celtic **lano-* “flat, plain”; cf. the dedication to *Bandue Lanobrigae* at Eiras, Orense – *HEp.*, 1, 492 – which some scholars would however read *Lansbricae* or *Alanobrigae*), this form is attested only in the *Periplus* of Marcianus, which is dependent on Ptolemy. Since Ptolemy gives *Londobris*, Marcianus is apparently mistaken. The obvious parallel is *Londinium* in Britain. Though GARCÍA ALONSO (2006) interprets *Londobris* as “Londo’s fortress”, the toponym comes less likely from a PN than from IE **lH₃ndh-* “land” (PRÓSPER 2002: 381). On *-bris* see *Contobris*.

Lubancum – GN assumed from a dedication to *Lares Lubanc(i) Douilonicorum* (TOVAR 1976: 262). It seems paralleled by the Lubaeni, a people of Galicia (Ptol., 2, 6, 47) and the PN Lubana (*ILER*, 4309, Idanha a Velha). It may be related to Old Irish *lúb* “bend, loop”, perhaps referring to those who live at a river bend.

Lusitania – Fancifully derived by Varro from *lusus* or *lyssa* (Pliny, *NH*, 3, 8) and by GOUVEIA (1970) from Anatolian *luth* “light-stone” + *ythania* “land of the river of heaven”, the name is more sensibly connected with the Celtiberian EN Lusones and the Celtic PNs Luso, Lusia. The ultimate root is undetermined.

Malateca – The root **mal-/mel-* which occurs frequently in European GNs, comes from IE **mel-* “to stand out, be elevated” (VILLAR & PRÓSPER 2005: 70). There are several places named Mala in Ireland (HOGAN 1910: 536), where *mala* means “brow, hillside”. The ending *teca* should mean “dwelling”, cf. Old Irish *tec* “house” from IE **tego-* “roof, covering”. *Malateca* therefore denotes an elevated settlement.

Manliana – Clearly named for a Manlius. However, this is not a villa named for a *possessor* Manlius (ALARCOS 1950: 475; GARCÍA ALONSO 2003: 213), since Ptolemy lists it as a city. The eponym may therefore be the praetor P. Manlius (Vulso?), who campaigned in Ulterior in 182 BC.

Matusarum – Celtic **mati-*, variant **matu-* “good” (EVANS 1967: 229) is seen in the common PN Matugenus as well as in Celtiberian inscriptions (*matus*, *matulokum*). Paralleled by Irish *maith*, Welsh *mad* “good” and Latin *maturus*, it comes from IE **ma-* “good, opportune” (POKORNY 1959: 693). *Sar-* is possibly a hydronym, cf. the river *Sarus* (modern Saar) in Belgica and the possible river *Sarnikio* at Botorrita. Alternatively it could come from **sagro-* “strong”, from IE **seg-*, with the “g” lost through lenition: “the good, strong place”.

Me(i)dubriga – Paralleled by *Meidunium castellum* in Galicia (*CIL*, II, 2520) and the PNs *Meducenus/Meiduenus* (GRUPO MÉRIDA 2003: 237). A derivation from *medhu* “mead” (ALBERTOS 1966: 153) seems unlikely for a GN. One possibility is Celtic **meido-* “fame, glory”, whence Old Irish *míad* “honour”, glossed *fastus* “pride” (STOKES 1894: 205; CARNOY 1907: 20), therefore “glory town”. On the alternation of *o/u*, see *Monda/Munda*. An alternative is **medu-* “woods,

border”, proceeding from IE **medyo-*, *medhu-* “middle” since woods often formed the boundary between territories. This root is reflected in words for “wood” in some Balkan languages, though its existence in western Europe remains hypothetical. ANREITER, HASLINGER & ROIDER (2000: 124-25) see it as the base for the river-name Medoacus/Meduaacus (note again the *o/u* alternation) in northern Italy, as well as for the GNs Medullum (western Tyrol) and Mons Medullius (Asturias). However, the etymology of Meidubriga remains in question.

Mendiculeia – Paralleled by a homonymous GN among the Ilergetes. TOVAR (1976: 272) thought both were Italian foundations, citing a *Mendicoleius vicus* in Lucania. But all these could come from IE **mento-* “projection”, cf. Cornish *menedh* “hill”, Welsh *mynyddig* “hilly”. A less likely possibility is Celtic **mendo-* “kid, young ram” (HOLDER 1896-1907, vol. II: 547) from IE **mend-* “small animal”.

Metellinum – Evidently named for Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, governor in 79 BC.

Mirietanorum civitas – Probably from the same root as Mirobriga, q.v.

Mirobriga – Located west of Salamanca, according to the boundary stones, and paralleled by another Mirobriga in western Baetica near Capilla. Miro- is amply attested as a hydronym, possibly from IE **meir-* “to wander” (PEDRERO 1996: 362), and may be seen in modern GNs Miranda (**miro-randa*: COROMINAS 1972: 91-95). However, the Lusitanian DN Mirobieus (*ILER*, 881) and the PN Miro (*CIL*, II, 3384, and a Miro Conimbrensis episcopus in AD 683) suggest that there is also a non-hydronymic root, perhaps cognate with Latin *mirus* “wonderful”.

Monda/Munda flumen – This name for the river Mondego (the modern name comes from the adjectival form **Mondaecus*) is paralleled by a GN Munda in Baetica and the PNs Monda (Aquitania, WHATMOUGH 1970: 416) and Mundicius (Lusitania). The interchange of *o/u* is frequent in Hispanic toponymy (VILLAR 2000: 369-76). The root is IE **mH₃ndo-* “bright, clear”.

Montobrica – Possibly a Roman hybrid, from Latin *mons*, *montis* plus Celtic *-briga*.

Moron – Seemingly paralleled by the GN Morodon (Galicia), Moroica (Cantabria) and the EN Morogi (Varduli). However, while these may come from **mor-* “sea”, Moron is located inland. The root may therefore be IE **moro-* “large, great”, Irish *mór*, Breton *moer* (MANN 1984-87: 798).

Myrtilis – The ending *-ili(s)* is seen in several other GNs, e.g. Bardili, Bilbilis, Ocilis, Sacili (VILLAR 2000: 266). Myrt- is unlikely to come from Latin *myrtus* “myrtle” and should be of indigenous origin, though parallels are lacking.

Norba – Named for C. Norbanus Flaccus, consul in 38 BC (TOVAR 1976: 236). There are dozens of Norbani in Lusitanian epigraphy (GRUPO MÉRIDA 2003: 248-50).

Obila – see *Abila*.

Ocelum – Paralleled by Ocellum (Galicia), Ocelodurum (Vaccaeii), Ocilis (Celtiberia), Ocelo (Alps). The root is Celtic **ocelo-* “promontory” (CURCHIN 1996: 46).

Olisipo/Olysipo – The ending *-ipo* has many attestations in southern Iberia, and the prefix *O-* is possibly paralleled by Obulco in Baetica. The element *lis-/lys-* may be the same as in *Lusitania*.

Ossonoba – The ending *-oba/-uba*, labelled IE by VILLAR (2000) but non-IE by UNTERMANN (2001: 201), is paralleled in Baetica by Onoba, Maenuba etc. *Oss-* may come from IE **os* “river mouth” (Latin *ostium*).

Otobesa – Paralleled by homonyms in Edetania and on the Ebro (see *Etobris*). Probably from IE **okto-* “eight”.

Oxthracae – The largest town of the Lusitani, according to Appian (*Iberica*, 58). The ending *-aca* is paralleled by Atraca, Arriaca, Pisoraca etc. Possibly from IE **oks-* “sharp” and **dragh-* “rough, rugged”, therefore “sharp rugged place”? An alternative possibility is suggested by Old Irish *uachtar*, *ochtár* “surface, summit” from Celtic **ouctero-* from IE **eug-/ueg-* “rise, be vigorous”.

Paesures oppidani – Pliny (*NH*, 4,113) lists the Paesuri as a people of Lusitania, cf. the Paesici in Galicia and the Lusitanian DN Paesicaicus (ENCARNAÇÃO 1975: 256). The meaning of *paes-* remains obscure.

Palantenses – Paralleled by Palantia of the Vaccaei. The *-nt-* infix is IE. *Pal-* may come from **pal-* “marsh” or **pala-* “plain” (BÚA 1999: 324).

Patulus Portus – Latin, meaning “open harbour”.

Pax Iulia – Latin, meaning “Julian peace”.

Pelagia insula – From Latin *pelagus* “sea”, referring to an oceanic island.

Plagiaria – “Robbers’ roost”, from Latin *plagiarius* “thief”. The Lusitanians were notorious for banditry.

Poetanium insula – While SCHMOLL (1959: 15) considers this name Punic, HOLDER (1896-1907, vol. II: 1026) lists the Pannonian GN Poetovio as Celtic. There is also a Roman PN Poetelius. It is unclear whether all these Poet- names come from a common root.

...*polibeda* – Possibly [*I*]polibeda, though located further north than any other *Ipo-* name. The suffix *-beda* is seen in the Iberian oronyms Idubeda and Orospeđa.

Portus Hannibalis – Since the Carthaginian general Hannibal did not campaign in Lusitania, this GN may refer to a Phoenician settler of the same name. Cf. (*insula*) *parva Hannibalis* (Pliny, *NH* 3, 5, 76) in the Balearic islands, which were also not visited by the famous Hannibal.

Reuvean – Though listed by TOVAR 1976: 233, this is a misunderstanding of a dedication to the god Reve Anabaraecus (*CIL*, II, 685).

Rodacis – Probably from the same root as *Rouda/Rauda*, see below. Cf. the EN Ambirodacus, applied to a native of Uxama (*CIL*, II, 4306).

Rouda – Attested by an inscription naming the *vicani Roud(enses)* (CURCHIN 1985: 330)

Given the confusion between “a” and “o” sounds (see *Abila/Obila*), this name may come from the same root as *Rauda* of the Vaccaei, namely IE **reudh-/roudh-* “red” (cf. Old Cornish *rud*, Welsh *rhudd*), presumably referring to the colour of the soil (CURCHIN 1997: 271-72). The DN *Bandue Roudaecus*, with adjectival ending *-aikos* (*AE*, 1977, 430 and 432, cf. PEDRERO 2001: 551) is clearly related.

Rusticiana – Latin, derived from the PN Rusticus, Rusticius, or Rusticianus. There are numerous attestations of the name Rusticus in Lusitania (GRUPO MÉRIDA 2003: 288).

Sacrum promontorium(*Hieron akroterion*) – The Latin and Greek names for Cape St. Vincent.

Salacia – Its location near the mouth of the river Sado warrants its derivation from IE *sal- “salt”.

Sallaecus – Located inland by Ptolemy, its root should be IE *sal- “water current” with adjectival ending *-aecus*.

Salmantica – Composed of IE *sal- (see *Sallaecus*) plus the IE suffix *-mant-*.

Scallabis – The root is probably IE *skal- “point”, Cornish *ascal* “thistle”, Norse *skali* “headland”. The element *-ab-* is well known as an IE hydronym (ALARCÃO 2002: 38).

Seanoc(i) – Apparently from Celtic *seano- (possibly from IE *se- “to bind”) which refers to an undefined type of plant (CARNOY 1907: 36) that presumably grew on this site. A lost inscription from Numantia (*CIL*, II, 2838) records the name NONIVS QUINTILIANVS SFANIOCVM, which ALBERTOS (1979: 159) interpreted as “S(exti) f(ilius) Aniocum”. However, the *deditio* of Seanoci (LÓPEZ MELERO ET AL. 1984) makes the reading “S[e]aniocum” more likely.

Sellium/Seilium – Despite the existence of PNs *Sellius/Seilius*, the likeliest root is IE *sed- “sit”, *sedl- “settlement” (POKORNY 1959: 886). There is a GN *Selia* in Baetica, and an oronym *Sellus* on the Mediterranean coast of Hispania (Avienus, *Ora maritima*, 507).

Sentica – Located south of Salmantica, it has a homonym among the Vaccaeii. The root is Celtic *sento- “path” with suffix *-ica* (CURCHIN 1997: 274).

Serpa – Either from IE 1*ser- “to flow” or 2*ser “to protect” (POKORNY 1959: 909-910). The ending *-pa* is claimed as a variant of *-ipo* by VILLAR (2000: 98), though this is debatable.

Statio Sacra – Latin.

Tabucci/Tacubis – Ptolemy’s *Tacubis*, if correct, might be related to the river *Tagus* and the Bastetanian city *Tagili*. However, the form

Tabucci (Antonine Itinerary) offers more fruitful possibilities, such as the GNs Tabaniu (Iberian mint) and Taburnus (Narbonensis), the Lusitanian DN Tabudicus (*HAEp.*, 1928 = *ILER*, 930), and the PNs Tabius, Tabaesius and Tabola (WHATMOUGH 1970: 228; GRUPO MÉRIDA 2003: 312). The ending *-ucci* is well attested in Baetica (Tucci, Arucci, etc.)

Tagus flumen – Not credibly from Phoenician *dag* “fish” or Celtic **dago-* “good”. MACAODHA (1981: 75) derives it from Latin *tagus* “ravine” – but there is no such Latin word. Hispanic PNs in *Tac-/Tag-* are probably unrelated, being variants of *Tanc-/Tang-*, ultimately from IE **tenk-* (PALOMAR LAPESA 1957: 100-02), though a few may be Celtic, e.g. *Taganus* (GRUPO MÉRIDA 2003: 311), cf. Gaulish *Daganus* (EVANS 1967: 188). But the likeliest etymology for *Tagus* is IE *(*s*)*tag-* “to drip”, whence Latin *stagnum* “pool”.

Talabara – Although *tala-* has been explained as an Old European hydronym from IE *(*s*)*tel-* “pour, pool” (VILLAR 1993: 289), a likelier root is IE **tel(o)-* “flat”, whence Old Irish *talam* “earth”, Welsh *tal* “brow”, Sanskrit *talas* “level ground”, Latin *tellus* “earth” (POKORNY 1959: 1061). The element *-bar-* possibly recurs in the divine epithet *Anabaraecus* (*CIL*, II, 685).

Talabriga/Talabrica – Though both spellings are attested, the second element is clearly *-briga* (see *Arabriga*). On *tala-*, see *Talabara*. The significance is evidently “flat hilltop”.

Tamusia – Spelled *tamuçiensis* on an Iberian tessera from Villasviejas de Tamuja (*HEp.*, 6, 221). It belongs to a large series of Old European names formed from the hydronym **tam-*, from IE **tem-* “cut”, including the river Tamesis in Britain, and the Fontes Tamarici in Cantabria (VILLAR 1995b).

Tapori/Talori – Despite the (erroneous?) form *Talori* in *CIL*, II, 760, *Tapori* is vindicated by Pliny and numerous epitaphs (ALARCÃO 1988: 19). It is probably the genitive of the PN *Taporus*, attested eleven times in Lusitania (GRUPO MÉRIDA 2003: 316). The root *Tap-*, of uncertain meaning, occurs also in PNs from Noricum, Dacia and Gaul (ALBERTOS 1966: 221). Cf. the GNs *Tapae* (Dacia) and *Taparum* (Africa Byzacena).

Turgalium – Despite a large number of *Tor-/Tur-* toponyms in the Iberian Peninsula, their origin remains a problem (see *Conistorgis*).

VILLAR (1993) takes *tur-* as the outcome of the zero grade of IE **ter-* “wipe, pierce”, but this remains conjectural. A Celtiberian coin (UNTERMANN 1975: n.º A.87) reading *roturkom*, with *ro-* for **(p)ro-*, brings us no nearer to a meaning. Celtic **turco-* “boar” is a possible root, but *gal-* could equally be related to *Burdigala* in Aquitania. RUBÉN JIMÉNEZ (2005: 520) ingeniously translates “torre o altura de los galos (celtos)”, but there is no evidence either for *tur* as “tower” (notwithstanding Latin *turris*) or for *galium* as genitive.

Turibri(ga) – Paralleled by *Turobriga* in Baetica. On *tur-*, see *Turgalium*.

Turmulum/Turmogum – Though connected by SCHULTEN (1948: 1393) with the Turmogi of north-central Spain, Ptolemy’s *Turmogon* is more likely a manuscript error for *Turmolon*, due to the easy confusion of majuscule gamma and labda. *Turmo-* names are very common (cf. VILLAR 1995a, index).

Turol(i) – Probably related to the PN Turol(i)us, attested in Lusitania (GRUPO MÉRIDA 2003: 328) and the DN *Turolici* (VILLAR 1995a: 147). On *tur-*, see *Turgalium*.

Turres Albae – Latin name presumed from Ptolemy’s *Pyrgoi Leukoi*. “Turres” may refer to a hillfort, cf. *Turris Lascutana*, *Turris Regina*, *Ad Turres*, etc.

Vacua flumen – From the Celtic hydronym **uek-/uak-* “curved” (cf. Latin *vacillare*, Welsh *gwaeth* “worse”). Paralleled by the river *Vacalus* (Lower Germany), the GN *Vacontium* (Pannonia) and the ENs *Arevaci*, *Vaccaei*, *Bellovaci* (Gaul), *Vacomagi* (Britain).

Velladis – Listed only in secondary manuscripts of Ptolemy. If a real place, it may be related to the Gaulish and British DN *Vellaunus*, GNs *Vellica* (Cantabria), *Vellaunodunum* (Gaul) and *Vellanis* (Moesia Superior), and ENs *Vellavi* (Gaul), *Vellates* (Aquitania), *Catuvellauni* (Britain), *Segovellauni* (Narbonensis) and *Vellabori* (Ireland). The root may be IE **uel-* “to turn” (BASCUAS 1999) whence possibly Latin *val-lis* “valley”.

Venia – Known from an inscription naming the *Venienses vicani* (AE, 1979, 330). The root is Celtic **ueni-* “kin, family” (Old Irish *fine*), seen in the ENs *Veneti* (Lugdunensis), *Venami* (Aquitania) and *Venic-*

nii (Ireland). Another town Venia is implied by the word *veniakum* on a Celtiberian tessera from Viana, Navarra (LABEAGA & UNTERMANN 1993-94: 49). There is also a road station Veniatia in Asturias.

Verurium – This name probably contains the IE hydronym **ur-* “water”. The proposal of SCHMOLL (1959: 92) to construe *Verurium* as Celtic **uper-urium* was accepted by TOVAR (1976: 259) and VILLAR (2000: 199). But it may be better to understand the name as *Veru-urium*, from Celtic **ueru-* “wide, ample”, from IE **uer-* “broad”. This would give a meaning “wide water”. Cf. British *Verulamium* (“wide marsh”?)

Vipasca – The Celtic stem **uipo-*, variant of IE **uepo-* “water” (POKORNY 1959: 1149; HOLDER 1896-1907, vol. III:357), is attested in northern Italy and the Danube. The suffix *-asco*, traditionally labelled Ligurian, is at any rate Old European.

Visa – Paralleled by the GNs *Visentium* (Etruria) and *Visense oppidum* (Numidia), and the GN *Visaeclensis* (*CIL*, II, 2981, Egea de los Caballeros, Huesca) and gentilic *Visancorum* (*Ficheiro Epigráfico*, 72, Penela da Beira). The likely root is IE **uis-* “wet, pasture”, cf. Welsh *gwaen*, Old High German *wisa* “meadow”.

III. Conclusions

The foregoing discussion of individual names is a necessary prelude to conclusions about the linguistic origins of Lusitanian toponyms. From this discussion, the names may be classified as follows. Toponyms whose attribution to a language category is considered probable but not absolutely certain, are followed by “(?)”. In cases where probability was not apparent, I have listed the names as “Uncertain”, rather than making a subjective judgment that might skew the results. Names ending in *-briga* are not counted as Celtic unless the preceding element is also Celtic.

Pre-Indo-European (3 names = 2% of total)³: *Araocelum*, *Aravi*, *Caurium*.

Indo-European, undifferentiated (56 = 33.5%): *Abila*, *Adrum*, *Alantune*, *Ammaia*, *Ana*, *Arbua*, *Areva*, *Baedorus*, *Baesuri*(?), *Barba-*

³ The total number of toponyms is 167.

rium, Braetolaenum, Caelobrigoi, Caelionicoi, Caliabriga, Calontenses, Caluri, Coerenses, Colarni, Elbocoris, Eletus, Geraea, Gerticos, Herminius, Hinstinium, Laccobriga, Lacinimurgi, Lacipaea, Lama, Lancia, Lancienses Transcudani, Lavara, Lerabriga, Lomondo, Malateca, Mendiculeia, Miretanorum civitas, Mirobriga, Monda, Moron, Ossonoba(?), Otobesa, Oxthraeae, Palantenses, Rodacis, Rouda, Salacia, Sallaeus, Salmantica, Scallabis, Sellium, Serpa, Tagus, Talabara, Talabriga, Tamusia, Visa.

Celtic (50 = 30%): Abelterion, Aeminium(?), Agonis(?), Arabriga, Arandis, Arcobriga, Arcuce, Aritium, Balatucelum, Baniensis civitas(?), Bletisama, Burdua, Burrulobriga, Caetobriga, Cairieses, Camalocenses, Capara, Celticoflavium, Cenum, Cinginnia, Cobelcorum civitas(?), Collippo, Conimbriga, Contobris(?), Contosolia, Cottaeobriga, Deobriga, Deva, Durius, Eberobriga, Eborra, Eburobrittium, Equabona, Euandriana(?), Katraleukos, Langobriga, Lennium, Leuciana, Lisanglum, Londobris, Lubancum(?), Matusarum, Ocelum, Seanoci, Sentica, Vacua, Velladis, Venia, Verurium, Vipasca.

Iberian (2 = 1%): ...polibeda, Tabucci(?).

Latin (30 = 18%): Ad Lippos, Ad Septem Aras, Ad Sorores, Augustobriga, Caeciliana, Caepiana, Caesarobriga, Castra Caecilia, Castra Servilia, Castrum Colubri, Cauliniana, Centum Cellae, Concordia, Emerita Augusta, Fraxinum, Interamnienses, Liciniana, Manliana, Metellinum, Montobrica(?), Norba, Patulus Portus, Pax Iulia, Pelagia, Plagiaria, Portus Hannibalis, Rusticiana, Sacrum Promontorium, Statio Sacra, Turres Albae.

Uncertain (26 = 15.5%): Achale, Aebosocula, Araducta, Balsa, Callipous, Capsiana, Chretina, Cilibe, Conistorgis, Cynegeticum, Dipo, Etobris, Iapiobis, Igaeditani, Ipse, Lusitania, Meidubriga, Myrtilis, Olisipo, Paesures, Poetanium, Taponi, Turgalium, Turibriga, Turmulum, Turoli.

Although the origins of some 15% of Lusitanian toponyms cannot be plausibly identified, several conclusions of a linguistic nature may be drawn. First, it is noteworthy that 30% of the names appear to be Celtic, while a similar quantity (33.5%) appear to be non-Celtic Indo-European. These close figures provide equal weight of support to arguments on both sides of the continuing debate as to whether Lusitanian is, or is not, a Celtic language (cf. GORROCHATAGUI 1994: 14-15, with further

bibliography). If Lusitanian is not Celtic, scholars must somehow account for 30% of the toponyms being loanwords from Celtic; if Lusitanian is Celtic, they must account for a large, underlying and presumably anterior Indo-European stratum. It may be helpful to compare the case of the Arevaci, one of the subgroups of the Celtiberians, among whom one would expect a high proportion of the names to be Celtic. However, only 36% of its toponyms are Celtic, while another 36% appear to be non-Celtic Indo-European (CURCHIN 1997: 277). It may perhaps be wisest to classify Lusitanian as “para-Celtic”, a language of peoples bordering on, and strongly influenced, by Celtic speakers, but having strong roots in Old European.

For those interested in the impact of Romanization, it may be noted that nearly one-fifth of the toponyms are Latin. However, many of these refer to *mansiones* on the Roman highways, and are thus road stations rather than towns. Others are Roman colonies or municipalities whose names include the imperial elements “Caesar”, “Iulia”, or “August-”.

In sum, these toponyms provide valuable source material for studying the interaction and overlap of several different languages in the region of ancient Lusitania. While the present article cannot claim to have definitively identified the language of every name, it is hoped that this survey of the *status quaestionis* will provide a starting point for further investigation.

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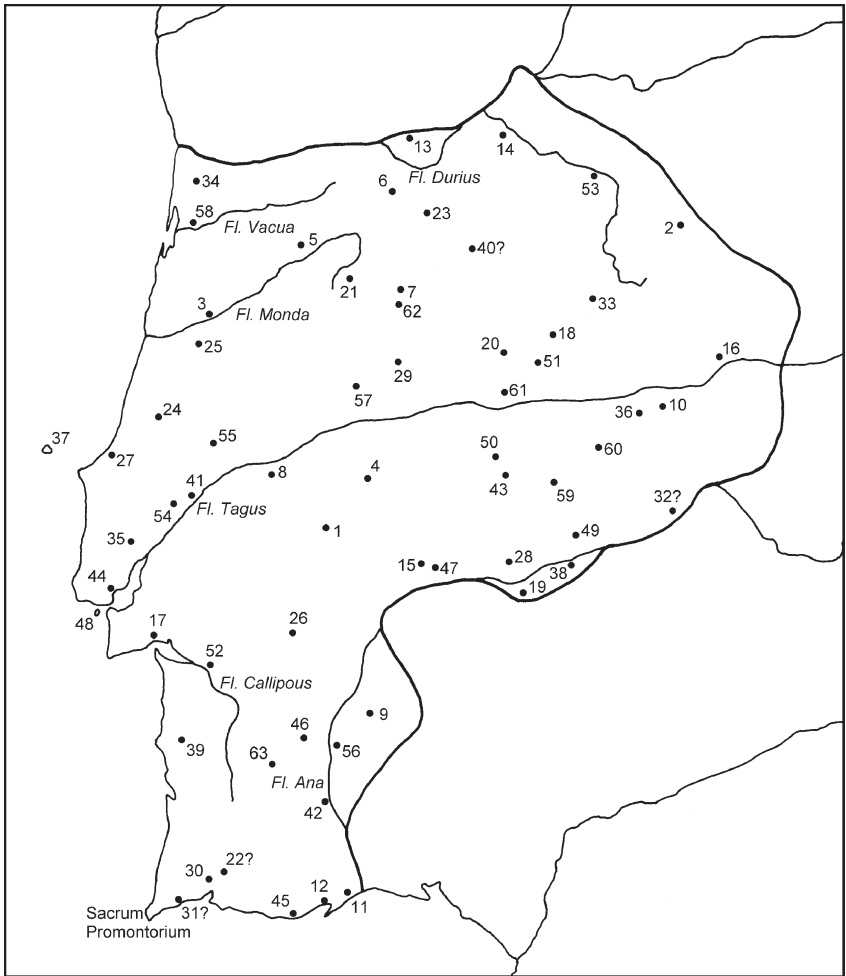
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V. EPIGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

- AE* – *Année Épigraphique*
CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
HAEp. – *Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica*
HEp. – *Hispania Epigraphica*
ILER – *Inscripciones latinas de la España romana*, ed. J. Vives (Barcelona, 1971)



Map of Lusitania locating ancient toponyms

Legend: 1 Abelterion; 2 Abila; 3 Aeminium; 4 Ammaia; 5 Araocelum; 6 Aravi; 7 Arcuce; 8 Aritium; 9 Arucci; 10 Augustobriga; 11 Baesuri; 12 Balsa; 13 Baniensis civitas; 14 Bletisama; 15 Burdua; 16 Caesarobriga; 17 Caetobriga; 18 Capara; 19 Castrum Colubri; 20 Caurium; 21 Centum Cellae; 22 Cilibe; 23 Cobelcorum civitas; 24 Collippo; 25 Conimbriga; 26 Ebara; 27 Eburobrittium; 28 Emerita Augusta; 29 Igaeditani; 30 Ipse; 31 Laccobriga; 32 Lacinimurgi; 33 Lama; 34 Langobriga; 35 Lerabriga; 36 Lomondo; 37 Londobris insula; 38 Metellinum; 39 Mirobriga Celtica; 40 Mirobriga Vettonum; 41 Moron; 42 Myrtilis; 43 Norba; 44 Olisipo; 45 Ossonoba; 46 Pax Iulia; 47 Plagiaria; 48 Poetanium insula; 49 Rodacis; 50 Rouda; 51 Rusticiana; 52 Salacia; 53 Salmantica; 54 Scallabis; 55 Sellium; 56 Serpa; 57 Talabara; 58 Talabriga; 59 Tamusia; 60 Turgalium; 61 Turmulum; 62 Venia; 63 Vipasca.

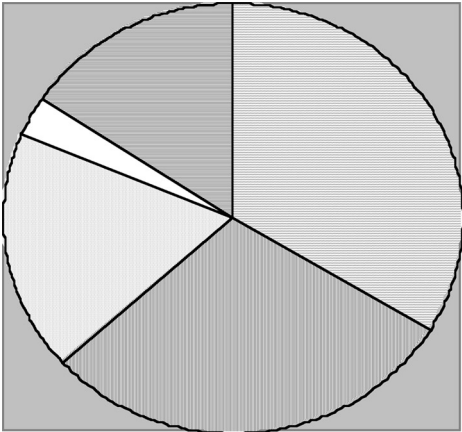


Chart showing the proportions of Indo-European, Celtic, Latin, and other toponyms in Lusitania