

**ANCIENT CELTIC  
AND NON-CELTIC  
PLACE-NAMES OF  
NORTHERN  
CONTINENTAL  
EUROPE  
A SURVEY OF SOURCES  
AND ETYMOLOGIES**

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**Bruxelles  
2006**

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## Synopsis

This dissertation presents the sources and etymologies of ancient Celtic and non-Celtic place-names of northern continental Europe, i.e. the area north of latitude 48° 00'. This includes modern continental countries like Brittany and northern regions of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Germany, southern parts of Denmark, the Czech Republic, northern Austria, southern Poland and Slovakia. The corpus of this thesis is based on maps 7, 10, 11, 12 and 13 of Richard Talbert's (ed.) *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton-Oxford, 2000). The main text of the thesis contains the sources and analyses of the place-names, with on the left of the main text, the number every ancient name comes with, together with the grid references and a reference to the location on the maps of the *Barrington Atlas*. The introduction deals with subjects like the general context of the thesis, the possible overlapping of Celtic and Germanic in these parts of the world, the main sources used for the research, the reasons for using the *Barrington Atlas*, and the methodology of the corpus of the thesis. In the conclusion, three tables are presented and discussed, first showing the amount of place-names for each language ('Celtic', 'Germanic', 'Latin', 'hybrid', 'obscure'), a second table representing the most common Celtic elements (*-dunum*, *-briga*, *-magus*, etc) and place-names with the *-acum*-suffix in the area, and a third table giving an overview of the balance between simple and compound Celtic place-names. There are three indexes, arranged by ancient names, modern names and by longitude and latitude (from west to east). An exhaustive list of abbreviations and bibliography completes the dissertation.

## Abbreviations and Guidelines

### Abbreviations

A = Archaic

AAS = Petit and Mangin, *Atlas des Agglomérations Secondaires*

abl. = ablative

Abltg. = Ableitung

abret. = altbretonisch

abstr. = Abstrakt/abstract

acc. = accusative

adj. = Adjektiv/adjektif/adjektive

aff. = affluent

AE = *L'année épigraphique*

ae. = altenglisch

afrz. = altfranzösisch

Agathias = Agathiae Myrinae Historiarum Libri V

ags. = angelsächsisch

ahd. = althochdeutsch

ai. = altindisch

AI = *Itinerarium Provinciarum Antonini Augusti* or the ‘Antonine Itinerary’

AILR = Isaac, *The Antonine Itinerary Land Routes*

air. (also altir.) = altirisch

alban. = albanisch

Ammianus = Ammianus Marcellinus *Res Gestae*

AN = Hausner and Schuster, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*

an. = altnordisch

aor. = aorist(ic)

apr. = altpreußisch

Ar B = Arnhem Rijksarchief, Bethlehem

Ar G = Arnhem Rijksarchief, graven van Gelderland

Arm. = Armenian

arr. = arrondissement

AS = Gallia, Aquitania Secunda

as. = altsächsisch

aschw. = altschwedisch

aslav. = altslavisch

ASS = Acta Sanctorum coll. Bollandus

Atlas = Barrington Atlas

AtlasRB = Bedon, *Atlas des villes, bourgs, villages de France au passé Romain*

Aurelius Victor *Caes.* = Aurelius Victor *De Caesaribus*

Auson. *CPB* = Ausonius *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium*

Ausonius *Mos.* = Ausonius *Mosella*

Av. = Avestan

avest. = avestisch

Avienus *Orb.* = Avienus *Descriptio Orbis Terrae*

Av SM = Averbode, Abdij, Sint-Michiels Antwerpen

Bar-Dir = Barrington Directory

BBCS = The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies

Beda *Hist. Ecc.* = Beda Venerabilis *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*

B.-Rhin = Bas-Rhin

## **Introduction**

This thesis is written under the aegis of a project on ‘Ancient Celtic Place-Names in Europe and Asia Minor’, i.e. ancient place-names in the complete Celtic-speaking world as it is known to us. The project is a five-year project (2001 – 2006), funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board (AHRB), and which runs under the supervision of Prof. Patrick Sims-Williams, Professor of Celtic Studies at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth. An innovation introduced by the AHRB is the provision of ‘project studentships’ which both contribute to the overall project and result in free-standing dissertations like the present one.

In this introduction, I will first deal with the wider context including a concise outline of the motivation for my research towards this thesis in general. Subsequently, having specified the aims and the areas I am covering, I will briefly emphasise the overlapping of Celtic and Germanic, which sometimes makes an etymological approach more problematic and less straightforward. Further, I will highlight the most important ancient sources and ‘working tools’ or reference works, which have proven to be the basis of this research, and finally, I will go into the methodology of the research done, so as to provide an introduction to the conceptualisation of this thesis and to make it more comprehensible how one has to approach and to read the corpus of this dissertation.

### *i. The general context*

It is widely accepted that the origin of the Celts (in the sense of Celtic-speakers) is probably to be found on the European continent and that they covered a large area in Europe and Asia Minor. Since they lived during the period of Greek and Roman supremacy, many records of the Celts and the places where they dwelled, have been transmitted owing to Greek and Roman authors. Place-names provide a good basis for tracing the ‘Celticity’ of places and

## I. Map 7: Aremorica

- 7 E2      **Alauna** Valognes. LN<sup>1</sup>. Celtic : ‘(place by the) ?bright, shining river’. AI 386.6: Ab -02/49  
 975      Alauna; TP: Alauna [Ho I, 76, TIR M-30, CAG 50.570 and Atlas RB 318]<sup>2</sup>.
- Etymology, according to Isaac: alo- + au- + ná- [AILR], with alo- ‘bright’ < \**h₂el-* ‘shine’; in the feminine extended form, this gives \**h₂el-eu-eh₂-* > Celtic \**Aleua* > \**Alaua*, continued in Welsh RN *Alaw*, and as a common noun *alaw* ‘water lily’ (*Alauna* reflects the further extended \**h₂el-eu-n-eh₂-*); other Celtic derivatives of \**h₂el-eu-*, with different suffixes, are possibly Gallo-Latin *alauda* ‘skylark’ ('bright, shining bird') from the bright mottling of the brownish plumage, or figuratively, from its ‘bright’ song, a common metaphor, cfr. German *hell*, MW *goleu* ‘bright, clear’ also of sounds, song etc), *alausa* ‘shad’ ('shining fish') [AILR]<sup>3</sup>. For a different approach, cfr. DLG s.v. *alaunos*, -a, as Delamarre gives the standard view, i.e. \**al-* + participial *-mno-*, *al-* perhaps being ‘to nourish’<sup>4</sup> or ‘to go’<sup>5</sup>.
- 7 D2      **Andium? Ins.** Jersey (GBJ). LN. Celtic: meaning uncertain<sup>6</sup>. AI 509.3: Andium -03/49  
 976      [TIR M-30, Ho I, 147 and PNRB p. 181]. Etymology: ande- + -io<sup>7</sup>, *ande-* being cognate with Irish *and-*, as in *andglondas* ‘habitual cruelty’, Welsh *an(n)-*, as in

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. also map 9 no. 1497 *Alauna*, Ardoch.

<sup>2</sup> TGF 1123 says: “Peut-être anc. nom d’Alleaume, commune Valognes, Manche, lequel paraît être \**Val-Alaun-ia* ; précult. d’origine (!!) et sens inconnu”. Similarly, AtlasRB 318 gives ancient name *Alavna*: “Agglomération secondaire de la Civitas des Vnelli. L’agglomération antique se situait sous la partie est de l’actuelle Valognes : le nom antique *d’Alauna* a laissé une trace dans celui du quartier d’Alleaume”. The etymology \**Val-Alaun-ia* in TGF seems to involve Romance *Val-*, not Celtic *val-*. With regard to the latter and according to GPN 269-271, *val-* ‘to be strong, powerful’ points to a Celtic root (cognate with lat. *valeo*, Gothic *waldan*, etc), and is well attested in both Continental and Insular Celtic names; however, it is very difficult to tell how many of these names contain Celtic *ual-* meaning ‘to be strong, mighty/a leader, ruler’; in compounded names *ual-* is certainly attested only as a second element. Cfr. also DGHGF 304.

<sup>3</sup> More details on this Celtic element in AILR and Ptol. GI s.v. *alo-* and Isaac, “Scotland”, s.v. *Alaūna*.

<sup>4</sup> Isaac too refers to a RN *Alauna* ‘nourishing river’ in AILR s.v. *alo-*, although he abandons this old view in Isaac, “Scotland”, s.v. *Alaūna*. Compare with Ptol. GI s.v. *alo-*.

<sup>5</sup> Cfr. also map 11 no. 2098 Icauna fl. See further Lambert, “Welsh *Caswallawn*”, 203-215, who argues that Welsh RN *Alun* < \**Aloua* and not < \**Alauna*.

<sup>6</sup> Cfr. also Coates, *Channel Islands*, 117: Andium = Jersey; meaning and origin unknown. On the whole, this Maritime Itinerary name is difficult to interpret. Coates gives a few suggestions. First, he seems to be less in favour of a Celtic approach. If Celtic, though, he thinks of \**And(e)jon* ‘the big one’, which might be appropriate for this island. If non-Celtic, he refers to IEW I, 40-41 s.v. \**andh-* ‘dark’, which he does not really favour either. A less speculative possibility might be to find a link with the island name \**Andros* (~ *Andros* in the Aegean), but the morphology is then unclear and it cannot be Celtic. A final suggestion to see a connection with Basque (*h)aundi* (earlier (*h)andi*) ‘big’ would lead to problems of settlement history, as this area has always been good Celtic territory (Coates, *Channel Islands*, 20).

<sup>7</sup> Cfr. Lambert, “Préverbes gaulois”, 115-121 for parallels, e.g. *ambio-*, *ario-*, *cantio-* : “Les prép. gauloises *ambi-*, *ari-* et *canti-* ont ainsi développé une forme longue, en -io-, identique à ce qui doit être reconstruit pour les préverbes de trois verbes viril. ... Pour le gaulois, ..., c'est plutôt une forme pleine du préverbe développée par réaction contre l’apocope du -i final”(120-121). Compare also with map 25 no. 6274 Andelos and see Gorrochategui, “Ptolemy’s Aquitania”, 151.

peoples, and as archaeology alone fails to divulge the early history and distribution of Celtic speakers, linguistic research is very relevant. Place-names should be considered as the most widespread linguistic legacy of the earliest Celts, since they occur beyond areas of what belongs to the field of typically so-called ‘Celtic’ archaeology. The early Celtic inscriptions (from ca 600 BC onwards) are predominantly attested in the vicinity of the Mediterranean, i.e. where literacy began, while the mediaeval and modern Celtic languages are confined to Britain, Ireland and Brittany. By contrast, however, place-names stretch from Scotland south to Tuscany in Italy and from Portugal as far east as Galatia in present-day Turkey. It was this far-flung attestation of Celtic elements such as *-dunom*, *-briga* and *-magus* that led sixteenth and seventeenth century scholars to recognise the European distribution of ‘Celtic’ or ‘Gallic’ speech, long before Celtic inscriptions were identified on the continent<sup>1</sup>. But owing to the uneven, inaccessible, and state-bound ways in which the onomastic data have been published and examined, it proves to be rather difficult for archaeologists, historians and even linguists to study on a Europe-wide basis. Consequently, the AHRB project aims to coordinate research in the field, as to making the data more accessible and intelligible. My own contribution concentrates on the sources and etymologies of the ancient place-names of northern continental Europe.

The only pan-European collection of Celtic names so far by Alfred Holder in his *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz* ceased publication in 1913. And although Holder’s work is still regarded as an important work of reference or tool *par excellence*, we can call it rather obsolescent and confusing, because on the one hand he includes many names as Celtic without real evidence, and on the other hand, he offers alternative labels for them such as Ligurian, Illyrian, etc. In a way, this has been confirmed recently in an article by Bernard Mees of the University of Melbourne. Mees does not attack or question Holder’s work

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<sup>1</sup> Sims-Williams, “Degrees of Celticity”, 2.

## II. Map 10: Rhenus-Albis

- 10 D2      \***Abalus?** Ins. Helgoland (D). LN. Obscure: ‘apple island’. Pliny *NH* IV.95:  
+07/54  
1690      Balciam ..., eandem Pytheas Basiliam nominat, XXXVII.35: Abalum  
(‘Bernsteininsel’); Solinus XIX.6: Abalcia [RGA I, 5-6, Ho I, 355-356, SPP 8-9 and Rasch 9]<sup>1</sup>. Etymology: *aballo-* ‘apple-tree’ < \**abal-no-*; here we have just *abalo-* ‘apple’ (the fruit itself), cfr. DLG s.v. *abalo-*, *aballo-*. Compare with, according to Isaac, **aballo-** ‘apple-tree’, OW *aball*, OB, *abal*, OI *ubull*, etc, formation: it is a European word of non-Indo-European provenance (i.e. unknown affiliation of source language) [AILR]<sup>2</sup>. However, Helgoland or Scandinavia (confusion existed amongst (ancient) authors whether \**Abalus* refers to Helgoland or Scandinavia ) are not very likely places for an ‘apple island’, even when ‘apple’ refers to fertility; it may have a mythological association, though, cfr. ‘Isle of Avalon’ in Arthurian legends. Another ancient name for Helgoland could be *Alokiai*, as given by Ptol. II.11.16:  
νῆσοι Ἀλοκίαι [SPP 199, GP and Rasch 13]. Etymology: alo- + co- + ia- [Ptol. GI], with **alo-**: cfr. map 7 no. 975 Alauna<sup>3</sup>.
- 10 A4      **Albaniana** Alphen aan de Rijn. LN<sup>4</sup>. Latin: ‘places of Alban(i)us’. AI 369:  
+04/52  
1691      Albanianis/Albinianis; TP: Albanianis; DB edition, p. 338: Alfna (918-948) [TW 45-46, LNT 61, NGL 47 and Rasch 12]. Etymology: Based on **albo/a-** ‘white’ <

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<sup>1</sup> \**Abalus* is being described as an island ‘im nördlichen Ozean’. R. Wenskus links \**Abalus* with Helgoland (RGA I, 5-6) and so does Svennung: “Anderseits muss die von Pytheas (Plin. 37, 35f.) erwähnte Bernsteininsel *Abalus*, nur eine Tagereise von *aestuarium* (Wattengebiet) gelegen, Helgoland sein; ...” (SPP 35). As the list of sources reveal, there are several names known to us, referring to modern name Helgoland: \**Abalus*, *Balcia*, *Baltia*, *Alokia*, *Basilia* (< Greek Βασίλεια) and *Abalcia*. There may be one or more names here of which the others are corruptions: that is definitely the case for *Balcia* and *Baltia* (SPP 34-35). For *Basilia*, the following comment is given: “Die Bezeichnung *Basilia* ist wohl von griech. Seefahrern geprägt worden”. The link between *Balcia* and \**Abalus* is quite vague; probably, there has been corruption between *Balcia* and \**Abalus*. (*A)balcia* could well be an ancient name for Scandinavia, as Scandinavia is known as an island in Antiquity. Solinus speaks of the vastness of the island *Abalcia*, which makes us believe that he was talking about Scandinavia instead of Helgoland; after all, Helgoland is pretty small (RGA XIV, 293). See also SPP 36 for *Baltia*:

“Bemerkenswert ist jedenfalls, dass schon etwa ein Jahrhundert vor unserer Zeitrechnung das Kattegat und die Fahrwasser Ö davon die römische Bezeichnung \**balteum* [= Latin for ‘belt’] und das angrenzende Land *Baltia* erhalten zu haben scheinen”. That “angrenzende Land *Baltia*” is what is called *Basilia* by Pytheas in Pliny *NH* IV.95. *Baltia* = Scandinavia (SPP 35). Mühlenhoff believes *Abalcia* = *Abalus* (Rasch 9; see also Rasch 24).

<sup>2</sup> This is disputed by Delamarre (DLG s.v. *abalo-*, *aballo-*) and by Mees (Mees, “Stratum and Shadow”, 26-27).

<sup>3</sup> Svennung elaborates on the location of the ‘Alokischen Inseln’: “Ptolemaios II 11,16 placierte die ‘Alokischen Inseln’ W von Jütlands Nordspitze; in Wirklichkeit bezeichnet aber der Name die Landschaft *Hálogoland* in Nordnorwegen, die Adam von Bremen IV 38 als eine Insel beschreibt (...); sie entspricht den heutigen Landschaften Nordland Fylke und Troms Fylke, zwischen etwa 65 u. 70 Gr. n. Br., mit sehr tiefen Fjorden, die sich bisweilen fast bis an die Grenze Schwedens im O erstrecken” (SPP 199).

<sup>4</sup> Cousin confirms the location of this LN in EGA 350-351.

### III. Map 11: Sequana-Rhenus

- 11 I4      **Abnob(ai)a Ore** Schwarzwald (D). LN. Celtic: ‘shiny through water’ [DBSt. GS +08/48  
1815 s.v. *Abnoba*]. Pliny *NH* IV.79: Montis Abnovae; Tacitus *Germ.* 1: Montis Abnobae (Arbona, Aniba); Ptol. II.11.5, 11.6 and 11.11: Ἀβνοβα, Ἀβνοβαιῶν (also Aύνοβα); Avienus *Orb.* 437: Abnoba … Abnobae; Martianus *Cap.* VI.662: montis Abnobae (vars. Adnovae, Adnoe, Adnobem, Nouem, Ad Novem); CIL XIII 6326: Deae Abnobae; CIR 1683: Deanae Abnobae (= CIL XIII 6283), 1626: Abnobae (= CIL XIII 6357), 1654: Diana Abnob[ae] (= CIL XIII 5334), 1680: Deae Abnobe (= CIL XIII 6326), 1690: [Ab]nob(a)e (= CIL XIII 6332); etc [Ho I, 8/III.2, 473-474, TIR M-32, TG 77, 105 and 254, LAN I, 8, RGA I, 13, BVf 5, 42, and Rasch 9]<sup>1</sup>. Segmentation, according to Isaac: ab- + noba- [Ptol. GI]. De Bernardo Stempel segments this LN differently, i.e. abn- + -o-+ -ba, and gives the following possible formation: “Compound of \*abn-o-, with the nasal stem of OIr. <sup>1</sup>ab [sic] ‘river’, and the element \*-b<sup>h</sup>θ₂ā from the verbal root IE \*b<sup>h</sup>ā- ‘to shine’ (later developing to a simple suffix, …)” [DBSt. GS s.v. *Abnoba*]<sup>2</sup>.
- 11 G4      **Ad Duodecimum** Delme. LN. Latin : ‘at the twelfth (milestone)’. TP: Ad +06/48  
1816 Duodecimum (on the route from Metz to Strasbourg) [no. 196 in AAS and Rasch 48]<sup>3</sup>. Etymology: Latin *duodecimus* ‘twelfth’ [Da 242].
- 11 D3      **Ad Fines** Fismes. LN. Latin : ‘to the limit’. AI 379.7 : Fines; TP : Ad Fines ; CIL +03/49  
1817 XIII 9158 : ad fines (“milliaire de Tongres, station à 12 lieues de *Durocortorum* [cfr. no. 2004 *Durocortorum*] vers Soissons”) [TIR M-31]. Etymology : Latin *finis*

<sup>1</sup> In BVf 5, 42 and TIR M-32, I also find the name *silva Marciana*, which is supposed to be a later name for *Abnoba Ore*; TIR M-32 mentions TP as one of the sources for *silva Marciana*, Reinecke only refers to Tacitus for this name. Weisgerber refers to TP and Ammianus for *Marciana Silva* (RGC 323; cfr. also Rasch 65-66). Ptol. refers to the complete mountain chain, as stated in RGA I, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. also De Bernardo Stempel, “Sprachliche Analyse keltischer Theonyme”, 47, note 40: “In der Basis des Namens der *Abnoba silva* lässt sich das keltische Wort für ‘Wasser’ erkennen …, während die Art der Ableitung problematisch bleibt … Als Theonym wird es gelegentlich mit DIANA verbunden.” See also KGP 108-109 for different possible explanations for ab-. Villar, referring to A. Schulten, says that the suffix -uba frequently occurs in Spain, and he also refers to 2 examples in Germania: *Gelduba* (cfr. no. 2047 *Gelduba*) and *Abnoba*. The idea is that -uba would mean something like ‘city, town’, according to Schulten (Villar, *Indoeuropeos y no Indoeuropeos*, 63-64 and 68). According to Reichert, this is not a Germanic name (LAN I, 8). In RGA I, 13, there is no etymology, although at the end of the entry, I find: “Zum Namen -> Vorgermanische Ortsnamen”.

<sup>3</sup> For modern name *Delme*, cfr. Da 242: “Cant. Mos. (*ad Duodecimum*, IV<sup>e</sup> s.; *Dodeismes*, 1016 ; *Desmes*, 1182 ; *Delmes*, 1566) : lat. *duodecimus*, douzième, c.-à-d. la 12<sup>e</sup> borne (12 lieues gauloises) en partant de Metz, sur la route de Château-Salins. Explication analogue pour *Diemoz*, Isère (Duodecimum, IX<sup>e</sup> s.) à 12 milles, de Vienne, sur la route d’Italie”. Cfr. also TGF 5732.

## IV. Map 12: Mogontiacum-Reginum-Lauriacum

- 12 E4      **Abusina** Eining<sup>1</sup>. LN. Celtic: ‘(place by the) river’. AI 250.2: Abusina (vars. +11/48  
2455      Avsina, Allvsina); ND XXXV.25: Abusina; TP: Arusena; etc [Ho I, 11/III.2, 476, BVf 4, 20, TIR M-32 and Rasch 10]. Etymology: abo- + us- + íná- [AILR], with abo- ‘river’, of which the formation is uncertain [AILR]<sup>2</sup>. Holder refers to Irish *abh* ‘river’, *aibell i. uisce* ‘water’ [Ho I, 11]<sup>3</sup>.
- 12 H4      **Ad Iuvense?** Wallsee (A). LN. Ad = Latin, Iuvense = obscure: ‘?at or towards the +14/48  
2457      people of the river I(ve)ses’<sup>4</sup>. ND XXXIV.40: Adiuuense; I also refer to CIL III 5765 and 11870: Fig Ives, 11349 and 11848: Figulinas Ivensianas (this possible link is raised in RE); etc [RE X.2, 1359-1360, Ho I, 42, TIR M-33 and Rasch 10]<sup>5</sup>. Assuming the inscription is more likely to be correct, ND’s *Adiuuense* may be an error for *Adiuense*, influenced by words like *iuenis*. For an etymology, cfr. nos. 2460 Ad Ponte(m) Ises and 2613 ‘I(ve)ses’ fl. \**Ivenses* could be a derivative in -enses from \**Ives* or similar, i.e. ‘people of the river Ives’.
- 12 C4      **Ad Lunam** Urspring (a. Lone). LN. Ad = Latin, Lunam = probably Gmc.: ‘?to/near +09/48  
2458      the maple’. TP: Ad Lunam [BVf 4, 35, TIR M-32 and Rasch 64]<sup>6</sup>. For an etymology, cfr. map 13 no. 2905 Louna Hyle<sup>7</sup>.
- 12 H4      **Ad Mauros** Eferding? (A). LN. Ad = Latin, Mauros = possibly Latin: ‘at the

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<sup>1</sup> Reinecke (BVf 4, 20; cfr. also BVf 5, 19), Holder (Ho I, 11) and Rasch (Rasch 198) refer to the modern RN Abens and the modern LN Eining. Cfr. Braun, Fischer and Garbsch, *Der römische Limes in Bayern*, 52-53 for archaeological and historical information.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. AILR (and Ptol. Gl) s.v. *abo*: “Hamp’s argument for connection with Ved. *ap*- ‘water’ (MSS 30, ZCP 37; \**abon*- < \**ap-h<sub>3</sub>on-*), is rejected by Mayrhofer *Idg.Gramm.* I.2, 144 (since forms with \*-b- are found outside of the derivatives in -on-). If PIE, \**ab-* must be for \**h<sub>2</sub>eb-*, while the \*-b- does suggest \**h<sub>2</sub>eph<sub>3</sub>-*, which would after all be paralleled by Ved. *ap*- < \**h<sub>2</sub>ep-* without \**h<sub>3</sub>*. (For the unusual root structure of \**h<sub>2</sub>eph<sub>3</sub>-*, cf. \**h<sub>2</sub>ek'h<sub>3</sub>-* ‘eat up’ LIV 233). But an analogical source for the variation \**h<sub>2</sub>ep-* ~ \**h<sub>2</sub>eb-* is also possible in a paradigm with instr. pl. \**h<sub>2</sub>ep-b<sup>h</sup>i* ‘with waters’ > \**h<sub>2</sub>eb-b<sup>h</sup>i*, where the regular voicing assimilation might spread to other cases, e.g. instr. sg. \**h<sub>2</sub>eb-oh<sub>1</sub>* (suggestion adapted from Maier-Brügger, *Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft*, 2002, 118-19)”. See also DLG s.v. *abona*, *abu*. Rasch says: “Vielleicht ist gerade im Hinblick darauf, daß der Name *Abus-in*a an der Mündung des Flusses haftet, an eine diminutive Bedeutung des Suffixes -ino/-ina zu denken (...). Der kleinere Wasserlauf (die Abens) wurde *Abusina* ‘Flüßchen’ genannt im Gegensatz zu dem großen Fluß, \**Abusus*, der Donau” (Rasch 198).

<sup>3</sup> See also LEIA A-4-5.

<sup>4</sup> The river ‘*I(ve)ses*’ on map 12 is not close to *Ad Iuvense?*, but the LN is at a junction of a road leading to the river. According to Rasch, *ad Iu(va)vense* is connected with LN *Iuvavum* Salzburg (cfr. map 19 no. 4313 *Iuvavum*) (Rasch 214).

<sup>5</sup> TIR mentions the possibility of the ancient name corresponding to the modern name Ybbs (for the latter, cfr. nos. 2460 Ad Ponte(m) Ises and 2613 ‘I(ve)ses’ fl.), but that is far from sure (cfr. also RE X.2, 1359-1360). The following is said in TIR M-33: “Ziegel mit Stempeln dieser Legion, aber keine Reste des anzunehmenden Kastells, Bauinschrift eines Burgus aus 370 u.Z. Relief. Der Name wird auch für Mauer bei Amstetten und Wallsee in Betracht gezogen”.

<sup>6</sup> Cfr. also modern RN Lone in BVf 5, 28. See also Rasch 199.

<sup>7</sup> For Rasch, the etymology is obscure (Rasch 199).

## V. Map 13: Vindobona

- 13 B4      **Aequinoctium** Fischamend? (A). LN. Latin: ‘equinox’. AI 248.1: Aequinoctio; ND  
+16/48  
2830      XXXIV.8 and 19: Aequinoctiae; TP: Aequinoctio [RE I.1, 598 and TIR M-33]<sup>1</sup>.  
Etymology: Latin ntr. substantive *aequinoctium* ‘equinox’<sup>2</sup>.
- 13 B4      **Ala Nova** Schwechat (A). Latin: ‘new wing, division’. AI 248.1: Ala Nova; ND  
+16/48  
2831      XXXIV.7: Alanoua, 18: Ala Noua [RE I.1, 1285 and TIR M-33]<sup>3</sup>. Etymology:  
Latin fem. substantive *āla* ‘wing, division’ + fem. adjective *nōva* < *nōvus* ‘new’<sup>4</sup>.
- 13 B4      **Aquaе** Baden (A). LN<sup>5</sup>. Latin : ‘well, spring, spa’. AI 261.5: Aquis [RE II.1, 294  
+16/48  
2832      and TIR M-33]. Etymology : Pl. of Latin fem. substantive *āqua*<sup>6</sup>.
- 13 D4      **Avares** (H/SK). EN<sup>7</sup>. Obscure: ‘the people who resist, the disobedient people’.  
+18/48  
2833      Greek and Latin sources (from 5<sup>th</sup> onwards): Awaren; Syrian Anonymus (6<sup>th</sup>):  
Abaren; Kül-Tegin-inscription (ca 740): Aparen [RGA I, 527]<sup>8</sup>. Etymology: In  
RGA I, 527, I find the following on the EN: “*Abaris*, vielleicht der Name des  
Apollon-Priesters (Hyperboreus), der in der verlorengegangenen Arimaspeia des  
Aristeias erwähnt ist (7. Jh. v. Chr.), ist wahrscheinlich die früheste, uns bekannte  
Form dieses Namens. Etymologisch kann das Wort aus den türkischen Sprachen  
gedeutet werden: *abar* > *avar* = der “Sich-Widersetzende, der Ungehorsame”.  
Awarische Sprachreste blieben vornehmlich in Namen erhalten;  
Rangbezeichnungen stammen vermutlich aus dem *j*-Türkischen. Die gegenwärtig  
im Kaukasus lebenden Awaren hießen ursprünglich *auhar*, sie sind mit den

<sup>1</sup> RE gives AI p. 247 and ND XXXIII p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> This name could be derived from a Celtic word, according to Cousin: “*Æquinoctium*, château fort sur le Danube, en Haute-Pannonie, est peut-être une transformation de quelque nom celtique. Ce serait une sorte d’explication populaire du nom ; car on se demande ce que veut dire ici le sens de ce mot”. Cousin further gives details about his identification of this LN : “Je n’ose proposer, comme identification, *Sankt-Egid* (...), au sud-ouest de Vienne; car le nom se rencontre assez souvent dans ces contrées, et ferait d’ailleurs penser plutôt à *Ægidius*” (EGA 349). For the modern name *Fischamend*, see AN 362: “ahd. *gimundi* stn. ‘Mündung’, BW s. *Fischa*, GewN” => *Fischa*: “ahd. *aha* stf. ‘fließendes Gewässer’ mit ahd. *fisc* stm. ‘Fisch’”.

<sup>3</sup> RE gives ND XXXIII p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> For the modern name *Schwechat*, see AN 996: “substantiviertes Part. Präs. von ahd. *swēhan* stv. ‘stinken, riechen’”.

<sup>5</sup> Cfr. EGA 357 for the identification.

<sup>6</sup> For the modern name *Baden*, see AN 58-59 : “ahd. *bad* stn. (DPI.) ‘bei den Bädern’; Übersetzung v. lat. *aquaе* bzw. lat. *balneum* (s.a. Hb Hist St 1, 207)”.

<sup>7</sup> Cfr. RE II.2, 2264-2265 and RGA I, 527-534 for archaeological and historical information on this tribe.

<sup>8</sup> Also in RGA I, 527: “*Abaris*, vielleicht der Name des Apollon-Priesters (Hyperboreus), der in der verlorengegangenen Arimaspeia des Aristeias erwähnt ist (7. Jh. v. Chr.), ist wahrscheinlich die früheste, uns bekannte Form dieses Namens”.

## Index

*i. By ancient names*

1690	+07/54	10 D2	<b>*Abalus? Ins.</b>	Helgoland (D)
1815	+08/48	11 I4	<b>Abnob(ai)a Ore</b>	Schwarzwald (D)
1007a	-02/48	7 E3	<b>Abrincas</b>	Avranches
1007d	-02/48	7 E3	<b>Abrincatui</b>	Avranches
2455	+11/48	12 E4	<b>Abusina</b>	Eining
1816	+06/48	11 G4	<b>Ad Duodecimum</b>	Delme
1817	+03/49	11 D3	<b>Ad Fines</b>	Fismes
2457	+14/48	12 H4	<b>Ad Iuvense?</b>	Wallsee (A)
1818	+01/50	11 B2	<b>Ad Lullia?</b>	Douriez
2458	+09/48	12 C4	<b>Ad Lunam</b>	Urspring (a. Lone)
2459	+14/48	12 H4	<b>Ad Mauros</b>	Eferding? (A)
2460	+15/48	12 I4	<b>Ad Ponte(m) Ises</b>	On road between Ar(e)lape and Lauriacum (A)
1819	+04/50	11 E2	<b>Aduatuci</b>	
2484a	+10/48	12 D4	<b>Aelia Augusta</b>	Augsburg
2461	+12/48	12 F4	<b>Aenus fl.</b>	Inn (A/D)
2830	+16/48	13 B4	<b>Aequinoctium</b>	Fischamend? (A)
1820	+03/48	11 D4	<b>Agedincum</b>	Sens
2462	+08/48	12 B4	<b>Agri Decumates</b>	
2831	+16/48	13 B4	<b>Ala Nova</b>	Schwechat (A)
2464	+08/48	12 B4	<b>Alamanni</b>	
975	-02/49	7 E2	<b>Alauna</b>	Valognes
2465	+09/48	12 C4	<b>Alba M.</b>	Schwäbische Alb
1691	+04/52	10 A4	<b>Albaniana</b>	Alphen aan de Rijn
1692	+09/53	10 F3	<b>Albis fl.</b>	Elbe (D)
2467	+10/49	12 D3	<b>*Alemona fl.</b>	Altmühl
1029a	-03/48	7 D3	<b>Aletum</b>	Alet en Saint-Malo
2468	+08/49	12 B3	<b>*Alisina fl.</b>	Elsenz
1821	+06/49	11 G3	<b>Alisontia fl.</b>	Alzette (F/L)
1823	+08/49	11 I3	<b>Alta Ripa</b>	Altrip (D)
1824	+08/49	11 I3	<b>*Altiaia</b>	Alzey (D)
1827	+05/50	11 F2	<b>Amanium</b>	Amay (B)
1828	+01/49	11 B3	<b>Ambiani</b>	
2472	+11/48	12 E4	<b>*Ambra fl.</b>	Amper
2473	+11/48	12 E4	<b>Ambrae</b>	Schöngeising
1693	+07/53	10 D3	<b>Amisia fl.</b>	Ems (D)
1694	+07/53	10 D3	<b>Ampsivarii</b>	
1829	+06/49	11 G3	<b>Andethanna</b>	Niederanven (L)
976	-03/49	7 D2	<b>Andium? Ins.</b>	Jersey (GBJ)
1695	+08/54	10 E2	<b>Angli</b>	
1696	+08/52	10 E4	<b>Angrivarii</b>	
2475	+14/48	12 H4	<b>Anisus fl.</b>	Enns
1832	+07/50	11 H2	<b>Antunnacum</b>	Andernach (D)
1834	+08/48	11 I4	<b>Aquae</b>	Baden-Baden (D)
2832	+16/48	13 B4	<b>Aquae</b>	Baden (A)
1835	+06/50	11 G2	<b>Aquae Granni</b>	Aachen (D)
2059a	+05/48	11 F4	<b>Aquae Granni</b>	Grand
1836	+08/50	11 I2	<b>Aquae Mattiacorum</b>	Wiesbaden (D)
2476	+10/48	12 D4	<b>Aquileia</b>	Heidenheim
2477	+15/48	12 I4	<b>Ar(e)lape fl.</b>	Erlauf (A)
2478	+15/48	12 I4	<b>Ar(e)lape</b>	Pöchlarn (A)
977	-04/48	7 C3	<b>Ar(e)morica</b>	Brittany

1837	+06/50	11 G2	<b>Ara Ubiorum</b>	Köln (D)
2479	+08/48	12 B4	<b>Arae Flaviae</b>	Rottweil
978a	-01/49	7 F2	<b>Araegenue</b>	Vieux
1839	+05/50	11 F2	<b>Arduenna Silva</b>	Ardennes
978	-01/49	7 F2	<b>Aregenoua</b>	Vieux
979	-03/48	7 D3	<b>Aregenoua fl.</b>	Arguenon
1840	+07/48	11 H4	<b>Argentorate</b>	Strasbourg
1841	+07/48	11 H4	<b>Argentovaria?</b>	Biesheim-Kunheim
2480	+09/48	12 C4	* <b>Armisa fl.</b>	Erms
1845	+04/48	11 E4	<b>Artiaca</b>	Arcis-sur-Aube
1847	+06/51	11 G1	<b>Asciburgium</b>	Moers-Asberg (D)
2482	+15/48	12 I4	<b>Asturis?</b>	Zwentendorf (A)
1850	+02/50	11 C2	<b>Atrebates</b>	
1716a	+07/52	10 D4	<b>Attuarii</b>	
1851	+05/50	11 F2	<b>Atuatuca</b>	Tongres/(Tongeren ) (B)
1856	+01/50	11 B2	[ <b>Augusta] Ambianorum</b>	Eu
1857	+03/49	11 D3	<b>Augusta Suessionum</b>	Soissons
2484	+10/48	12 D4	<b>Augusta Vindelicum</b>	Augsburg
1858	+03/49	11 D3	<b>Augusta Viromanduorum</b>	St-Quentin
2485	+15/48	12 I4	<b>Augustiana</b>	Traismauer (A)
1859	+04/48	11 E4	<b>Augustobona</b>	Troyes
981	-01/49	7 F2	<b>Augustodurum</b>	Bayeux
1860	+02/49	11 C3	<b>Augustomagus</b>	Senlis
982	-01/48	7 F3	<b>Aulerici</b>	
1700	+04/52	10 A4	<b>Aurelium Cananefatum</b>	Voorburg
1861	+01/48	11 B4	<b>Autricum</b>	Chartres
2833	+18/48	13 D4	<b>Avares</b>	
1701	+08/55	10 E1	<b>Aviones</b>	
1046a	-06/48	7 A3	<b>Axanthos Ins.</b>	Ushant
1862	+03/49	11 D3	<b>Axona fl.</b>	Aisne
1863	+04/49	11 E3	<b>Axuenna?</b>	Évergnicourt
2486	+12/49	12 F3	<b>Bac fl.</b>	Naab
1869	+05/51	11 F1	<b>Baetasii?</b>	
1870	+03/50	11 D2	<b>Bagacum</b>	Bavai/Bavay
2834	+17/48	13 C4	<b>Baimoi</b>	
981a	-01/49	7 F2	<b>Baiocas</b>	Bayeux
984	-01/49	7 F2	<b>Baiocasses</b>	
1874	+04/49	11 E3	<b>Basilia?</b>	St-Hilaire-le-Grand
1702b	+05/51	10 B5	<b>Batavi</b>	Nijmegen
2492	+13/48	12 G4	<b>Batavi</b>	Passau/Altstadt
1702	+05/51	10 B5	<b>Batavodurum Noviomagus</b>	Nijmegen
1879	+06/49	11 G3	<b>Beda</b>	Bitburg (D)
1881a	+06/50	11 G2	<b>Belgae</b>	Euskirchen-Billig (D)
1881	+06/50	11 G2	<b>Belgica</b>	Euskirchen-Billig (D)
1882	+07/49	11 H3	<b>Belginum</b>	Morbach-Wederath/Hinzerath (D)
1883	+01/49	11 B3	<b>Bellovacis</b>	
1889	+07/49	11 H3	<b>Bingium</b>	Bingen (D)
2499	+10/49	12 D3	<b>Biriciana</b>	Weissenburg
1891	+06/51	11 G1	<b>Blariacum</b>	Blerick (NL)
1893	+07/49	11 H3	<b>Bleza fl.</b>	Blies
984a	-01/49	7 F2	<b>Bodiocasses</b>	
1897	+07/50	11 H2	<b>Bodobrica</b>	Boppard (D)
2502	+13/50	12 G2	<b>Boihaeum</b>	(Böhmen)
2503	+14/50	12 H2	<b>Boii</b>	
2504	+13/48	12 G4	<b>Boiodurum</b>	Passau/Innstadt
2504a	+13/48	12 G4	<b>Boiotro</b>	Passau/Innstadt
1898	+07/50	11 H2	<b>Bonna</b>	Bonn (D)
2052a	+01/50	11 B2	<b>Bononia</b>	Boulogne(-sur-Mer)
1899	+08/49	11 I3	<b>Borbetomagus</b>	Worms (D)
2430a	+07/50	11 H2	<b>Bosolia</b>	Oberwesel (D)