

<b>Dictionary of Continental Celtic Place-Names</b> ed. Alexander Falileyev, Aberystwyth University © 2007								
Identification, ancient sources, and Comments								
-	no.	Barr ref	long & lat squares (by SW corner)	Lat. °N	Long. - = W + = E	Name (to aid alphabeticization an * before name is replaced by underline and some brackets are deleted and shown after name)	EN HN IN LN MN Prom RN SN TN	
	4084	18 A2	+03/47	<b>47 30</b>	<b>+03 53</b>	<b>Aballo</b>	LN	LN: Avallon (FRA). <i>Aballo</i> TP 1,5; <i>Aballone</i> (var. <i>abollone</i> ) IA 360, 4; ABALLONE, AVALLONE Meroving. coins. Celtic, to <i>aballo-</i> on-.
	1690	10 D2	+07/54	<b>54 11</b>	<b>+07 47</b>	<b><u>Abalus?</u> Ins.</b>	IN	IN: Helgoland (GER). <i>Balciam ...</i> , <i>eandem Pytheas Basiliam nominat</i> Pliny 4,95, <i>Abalum</i> 37, 35; <i>Abalcia</i> Solinus 19,6. Obscure: if Celtic, ‘?apple island’, cf. <i>aballo-</i> , which is rather unlikely. Another ancient name for Helgoland could be <i>Alokiai</i> (νησοὶ Ἀλοκίαι Ptol. 2,11,16).
-	4094a	18 D3	+06/46	<b>46 54</b>	<b>+06 22</b>	<b>Abiolica</b>	LN	LN: Pontarlier (FRA). <i>Abiolica</i> TP 2,1. See <i>Ariorica</i> 4094.
	1815	11 I4	+08/48	<b>48 30</b>	<b>+08 20</b>	<b>Abnob(ai)a Ore</b>	MN	MN: Schwarzwald (GER). <i>Montis Abnouae</i> (var. <i>-obae</i> ) Pliny 4,79; <i>Montis Abnobae</i> ( <i>Arbona</i> , <i>Anriba</i> ) Tacitus <i>Germ.</i> 1; Ἄβνοβα, Ἀβνοβαίων (also Αύνοβα) Ptol. 2,11,5; 11,6 and 11.11; <i>Abnoba</i> Avienus <i>Orb.</i> 437; <i>montis Abnobae</i> (vars. <i>Adnovae</i> , <i>Adnoe</i> , <i>Adnobem</i> , <i>Nouem</i> , <i>Ad Novem</i> ) Martianus <i>Cap.</i> VI.662: <i>Deae Abnobae</i> CIL 13, 6326; <i>Deanae Abnobae</i> CIR 1683 (= CIL 13, 6283); <i>Abnobae</i> 1626 (= CIL 13, 6357), <i>Dianae Abnob[ae]</i> 1654 (= CIL 13, 5334); <i>Deae Abnobe</i> 1680 (= CIL 13, 6326), etc. Obscure; according to P. De Bernardo Stempel, Ptolemy’s evidence for Germania Superior, 87 it is Celtic, “compound of * <i>abn-o-</i> , with the nasal stem of OIr. <sup>l</sup> <i>ab</i> ‘river’, and the element * <i>-b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>ā</i> from the verbal root IE * <i>b<sup>h</sup>ā-</i> ‘to shine’ (later developing to a simple suffix, ...)”, therefore ‘shiny through water’.
	4186	19 C2	+10/47	<b>47 54</b>	<b>+10 52</b>	<b>Abodiacum</b>	LN	LN: Epfach (GER). ᾿Αβουδιακόν (var. ᾿Αβοίδικον) Ptol. 2,12,5. Celtic, * <i>ad-boudi-</i> <i>io-āko</i> .
-	1007a	7 E3	-02/48	<b>48 43</b>	<b>-01 23</b>	<b>Abrincas</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Ambiliatos</i> (var. <i>ambianos</i> ) Caesar BG 3,9,10; <i>Abrincatuos</i> Pliny

								4,107; Ἀβρινκάτουοι (var. Ἀβριγγατοῦοι, Ἀβριγκατοῦοι) Ptol. 2,8,8; <i>Abrincateni</i> ND oc 5,116 and 266, 7,92; <i>Abrincatis</i> 37,11 and 22; <i>civitas Abrincatum</i> NG 2, 4; <i>Abrincatas</i> Greg. Tur. <i>HF</i> 9,20. ‘The unreachable, the untouchables’, <i>an-rinco-</i> . See <i>Abrincatui</i> 1007d and <i>Osismii</i> 1007.
-	1007d	7 E3	-02/48	48 43	-01 23	<b>Abrincatui</b>	EN	EN : (FRA). See 1007a <i>Abrincas</i> .
-	5908a	24 F3	-06/41	41 39	-05 17	<b>Abulobrica</b>	LN	LN: Desploblado de la Ermita (Tiedra)? (ESP). <i>Abulobrica</i> Rav. 4,44. A variant spelling of <i>Amallobriga</i> 5908; for possible explanations see Falileyev, Salamanca volume.
	2455	12 E4	+11/48	48 51	+11 43	<b>Abusina</b>	LN	LN: Eining (GER). <i>Abusina</i> (var. <i>ausina</i> ) IA 250,2: <i>Abusina</i> ND oc 35,25; <i>Arusena</i> TP 3,3, etc. If Celtic, perhaps ‘(Place by the) river’, with <i>abo-</i> .
	4085	18 D3	+06/46	46 13	+06 56	<b>Acaunum</b>	LN	LN: St-Maurice (SWI). <i>Acaunensim</i> (var. <i>Acc-</i> , <i>Ag-</i> ) GdeT HF I3,5; <i>Agaunensibus</i> Ven Fort carm.2, 14, <i>Agaunensis</i> (var. <i>acaunensis</i> , <i>acauninsis</i> ) 8, 3, 172; <i>Acaun(ensis)</i> AE 1945 123. Celtic, to <i>acauno-</i> ; see also <i>Acunum</i> 3798a.
	3785	17 H2	+06/45	46 30	+06 50	<b>Acitavones?</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Acitavones</i> (var. <i>agitabo-</i> ) Pliny 3,137; <i>Acitavones</i> CIL 5, 7817. Celtic, to <i>acito-</i> .
	2996	14 H2	+02/46	46 05	+02 03	<b>Acitodunum</b>	LN	LN: Ahun (FRA). <i>Acitodunum</i> TP I,3; later sources: (997) <i>vico Agiduno</i> , (1200) <i>Ahun</i> TGF: 2724. Celtic, the second component is <i>dūno-</i> . For the first cf. <i>acito-</i> ‘plain, field’; another possibility is to consider <i>agedo-</i> , which may be a PN, therefore “ <i>Agedo-</i> ’s fortress”.
	4187	19 A2	+08/47	47 42	+08 51	<b>Acronus L.</b>	HN	SN: Untersee (GER/SWI). <i>Acronus</i> Mela 3,2,24. Holder I, 33 is doubtful; Cousin 1906, 348 notes that Holder considers this instance; and points that the other copies of Mela have <i>Acronius</i> , which is not, however, indicated in the recent edition. Celticity is not evident, but if Celtic, cf. Gaulish <i>acros</i> ‘high’ (Ir. <i>ér</i> id.).
-	3798a	17 D4	+04/44	44 33	+04 45	<b>Acunum</b>	LN	LN: Montélimar (FRA). <i>Acunum</i> TP 2,1; <i>Acuno</i> IB 553,10; <i>Acunon</i> Rav. 4,26. Celtic, to <i>acauno-</i> .
	4457	20 F4	+18/45	45 26	+18 46	<b>Ad Labores Pontis Ulcae</b>	LN	LN: Bobota (CRO). <i>Ad labores pontis Ulcae</i> TP 5,2. Unlikely to be Celtic, but cf. <i>labero-</i> .
	4456	20 F4	+18/45	45 33	+18 43	<b>Ad Labores?</b>	LN	LN: Nemetin near Osijek (CRO). <i>Ad Labores</i> TP 5,2; <i>Lavares</i> Rav. 4,19. Unlikely to be Celtic, but cf. <i>labero-</i> .

3787	17 D5	+04/44	44 17	+04 47	<b>Ad Letoce</b>	LN	LN: Near Bollène (FRA). <i>ad Letoce</i> IB 553,1. Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 263 gives an inscription <i>Iter primum a.l.m.</i> , proposing <i>a(d) L(etocem) m(utationem)</i> . A Latin formation from Celtic <i>lēto-</i> ; or perhaps a contracted form of Celtic <i>Letocetum</i> ‘grey wood’.	
4463	20 E5	+17/44	44 01	+17 18	<b>Ad Matricem</b>	LN	LN: Otinovci near Kupres (BOS). <i>Ad Matricem</i> TP 5,5. Possibly but not necessarily Celtic; cf. Celtic <i>matr-</i> .	
4464	20 C3	+15/46	46 13	+15 03	<b>Ad Medias</b>	LN	LN: Ločica pri Šempetru (SVN). <i>Mutatio Ad Medias</i> IB 560,11. Located in a Celtic area, and if indeed Celtic, to <i>medio-</i> .	
9276	39 F3	+09/45	45 06	+09 35	<b>Ad Padum</b>	LN	LN: Near Calendasco? (IT). <i>Ad Padum</i> TP 3,2; 4,1. Celtic insofar the RN <i>Padus</i> is Celtic, see s.v.	
4190	19 B2	+09/47	47 26	+09 41	<b>Ad Rhenum</b>	LN	LN Rheineck (?) (SWI). <i>Ad R(h)enum</i> TP 2,5; 3,1. Celto-Latin, see s.v. <i>Rhenus</i> .	
-	4125a	18 B3	+04/46	46 40	+04 15	<b>Aedui</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). Ἄρδουες Polyb. 3,47,3; <i>Aedui</i> Pliny 4,107; Αἰδύων (var. Αἰδόων) Ptol. 2,8,12; <i>Aeduorum</i> NG 1.4; Αἰδοῦοι Dio Cass. 38,32; Αἰδοῦοισι St Byz.; <i>Aedvvs</i> CIL 3, 4498, <i>Aedvs</i> 123325. See 3125 ( <i>H</i> ) <i>Aedui</i> .
2461	12 F4	+12/48	48 02	+12 15	<b>Aenus fl.</b>	RN	RN : Inn (AUS/GER). <i>Aeni fluminis</i> Tacitus Hist. 3,5; Αἶνος Ptol. 2,11,3; Αἴνου 12,1; Αἴνω (var. Αἴνου) 13,1; <i>Ponte Aeni</i> IA 236,2; 257,2; 258.8; 259,3 and 259,7; <i>Pontinenses</i> ND oc 5, 113 (= 263), <i>Pontennenses</i> 7,39; <i>Ponte Aoni</i> 35,15; <i>Ad Enum</i> TP 3,3; <i>stat(io) Enensis</i> CIL 3, 15184. Possibly Celtic. To quote G. R. Isaac (PNPG, possible Celtic element <i>eno-</i> ): “Cf. Anreiter <i>et al.</i> in <i>Ptolemy</i> 129, where it is shown that the original form of the RN was <i>*Enos</i> (= mod. <i>Inn</i> ). There, too, the possibility that this is Celtic is mentioned as one of a number: <i>*enos</i> < <i>*penos</i> , cf. OI <i>en</i> ‘water’, Gaul. <i>anam</i> ‘paludem’ (Endlicher), Go. <i>fani</i> ‘mud’ (E <i>fen</i> ), PIE <i>*pen-</i> IEW 807-8. But there is no diagnostic certainty, and it remains plausible that the RN is of completely different, and in principle, unidentifiable, provenance”.	
1820	11 D4	+03/48	48 12	+03 17	<b>Agedincum</b>	LN	LN: Sens (FRA). <i>Agedinci</i> Caesar <i>BG</i> 6, 44; <i>Agedinci</i> 7,10; <i>Agedincum</i> (var. <i>egedincum</i> ) 7, 59; 7, 62; Ἀγήδικον (var. ἀγηνδικόν) Ptol. 2,8,9; <i>Agedincum</i> IA 383,4; <i>Agedincum</i> NT LXXXVII.14; <i>Agetincvm</i> TP 6,1; <i>aedil(i) uikan(orum)</i> <i>Agied(incensium)</i> CIL 13, 2949, etc. Possibly Celtic, <i>agedo-</i> <i>i(n)co-</i> (PNPG). As an	

							alternative, it may contain <i>ag-</i> , but the formation still remains unclear. See also 2338 <i>Senones</i> .
9511	40 D4	+12/44	44 05	+12 32	<b>Ager Gallicus</b>	TN	Territory name: (IT). <i>Ager Gallicus</i> Livy 23,14, 2; 39,44,10. Latin descriptive term based on <i>galli-</i> .
6262	25 G2	+01/43	43 47	+01 18	<b>Agessinates</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Agessinates</i> Pliny 4,108. Obscure; Celtic approach is possible, to <i>agedo-</i> .
2998	14 F4	+00/44	44 12	+00 37	<b>Aginum</b>	LN	LN: Agen (FRA). Ἄγιννον Ptol. 2, 7, 11; <i>Agi/ennum</i> TP I,2; <i>Aginum</i> IA 461,7, <i>Aginno</i> 462,4; <i>civitas Agennensium</i> (var. <i>aginnensium</i> ) NG 13, 3; <i>Aginnis</i> Rav. IV, 40; <i>Agin/num</i> , CIL 5, 7615. Possibly Celtic, to <i>ag-</i> ; Celticity of <i>Aginum</i> is not certain.
6263	25 D5	-02/40	40 56	-01 17	<b>Agiria</b>	LN	LN: either Calamocha (Magallón) or Salvacañete (Palomero) (ESP). <i>Agiria</i> IA 447,7. May contain Celtic <i>ag-</i> ; the formation (iro-iá-?) makes the Celticity of the LN unlikely.
2462	12 B4	+08/48	48 30	+08 30	<b>Agri Decumates</b>	TN	Name of a region: (GER ). <i>Decumates agros</i> Tacitus Germ. 29.3; <i>agror(um) decumanor(um)</i> CIL 2, 1438, etc. Possibly a hybrid formation, with Gaul. <i>decametos</i> ‘tenth’ (see <i>decanto-</i> ), therefore ‘?the Ten-Canton Lands’.
4196	19 E3	+12/46	46 51	+12 47	<b>Aguntum</b>	LN	LN: Dölsach/Nussdorf-Debant (Bar., p. 279); ‘ancient settlement near Lienz’ (Anreiter et alii, p. 115 (AUS). <i>Aguntum</i> (var. <i>Agunthum</i> ) Pliny 3,146; Ἄγουντρον (var. Ἄγούητρον, Ptol. 2, 13,3); <i>Agunto</i> IA 279, 7; <i>civitatis Aguont(i)</i> CIL 3, 5583. No exact parallels to the LN are known and a straightforward interpretation of the toponym is impossible; for its Celticity cf. <i>ag-</i> .
6762	26 D5	-07/36	36 48	-06 16	<b>Aipora</b>	LN	LN: Cortijo de Evora (Sanlúcar de Barrameda) (ESP). <i>AIPORA</i> CNH: 400 (coin legend). Very probably not Celtic. See 6762a <i>Ebora</i> .
3798	17 D4	+04/44	44 33	+04 45	<b>Akousion</b>	LN	LN: Montélimar (FRA). Ἀκουσιών (var. Ἀκουσιών, Ἀκουσιών) Ptol. 2,10,8. Possibly but not necessarily Celtic. G. R. Isaac (PNPG) segments the LN as <i>aco- us-io-</i> , discussing <i>aco-</i> as a possibly Celtic element but warning that it is widespread in Indo-European languages. De Hoz, ‘Narbonensis’ 178-9, considers this to be IE but not Celtic. It is possible that Ptolemy’s form is an error for <i>Acunum</i> (q.v.).
3799	17 F5	+05/44	44 12	+05 57	<b>Alabonte</b>	LN	LN: Le Monétier-Allemont (FRA). <i>Alabontem</i> Vicar. I, <i>Alabonte</i> II, III, IV;

								<i>Alarante</i> TP 2,1; <i>Alabonte</i> IA 342,4; <i>Alamonte</i> 388,1. Celtic, according to Isaac, AILR, <i>alo- abon-? ti-?</i> , see <i>abo-</i> ; for <i>alo</i> see <i>alauna</i> . The modern name with <i>-m-</i> , supported by AI, may be due to influence of Latin <i>mons, montis</i> .
6264	25 D3	-02/42	42 53	-01 51	<b>Alantone</b>	LN	LN: possibly Atondo (ESP). <i>Alantone</i> IA 455,4; <i>Alantune</i> Rav. 4,45. At face value possibly Celtic, <i>al(o)- (a)nt- on</i> ; but it could belong to another Indo-European language. Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 134-5 have maps showing the distribution of <i>alant-</i> places; they are widespread. They describe the name (p. 433) as Indo-European, a Latinized ablative from a native <i>Alantō</i> , <i>Alantōnos</i> or <i>Alantū</i> , <i>Alantūnos</i> .	
975	7 E2	-02/49	49 32	-01 27	<b>Alauna</b>	LN	LN: Valognes (FRA). <i>Alauna</i> TP 1,1; <i>Ab Alauna</i> IA 386,1. Celtic; see <i>alauna-</i> .	
3667	16 A2	+05/43	43 57	+05 53	<b>Alaunium</b>	LN	LN: Pied d'Aulun, near Notre-Dame des Anges (FRA). <i>Alaunium</i> Vicar. I, IV, <i>Alaunio</i> II, III; <i>Alaunio</i> IA 343,1; 388.3; <i>Alaunio</i> TP 2,1; <i>Alauni</i> CIL 13, 6425; <i>VS TACITVS / ... ALAVNIO / ... SPVSL...</i> CIL 12, 1517; Celtic, to <i>alauna-</i> .	
4197	19 E2	+12/47	47 47	+12 25	<b>Alaunoi</b>	EN	EN: N. Chiemsee (GER). Ἰαλαυνοί Ptol. 2, 13, 2; <i>Alaunorum</i> ND oc 42, 68. Consistent with Celtic (cf. <i>alauna</i> ); but likely to be non-Celtic, see Anreiter <i>et alii</i> , The Names of the Eastern Alpine region, 133 who render the EN as 'the others, the strangers, the inhabitants of * <i>alavā</i> ' (opposed to <i>Genauni</i> 'the natives').	
- 6270a	25 D4	-02/41	41 46	-01 07	<b>Alauna</b>	LN	LN: Alagón (ESP). Ἰαλαυῶνα Ptol. 2,6,66; <i>Alaun</i> (coin legend, Villaronga 221, MLH A.16); <i>alaunliltirte</i> (inscription, MLH D.8.1). Celtic, see <i>alauna-</i> . Cf. <i>Allobo</i> 6270.	
6265	25 C3	-03/42	42 52	-02 17	<b>Alba</b>	LN	LN: Albeïurmendi (San Roman de San Millán)? (ESP). <i>Alabanenses</i> (var. <i>-laban-</i> , <i>iaban-</i> ) Pliny 3,26; Ἰαλβα Ptol. 2,6,65; <i>Alba</i> IA 455,2; <i>Alba</i> Rav. 4,45. Consistent with Celtic, cf. <i>albo/ā-</i> ; it could be Latin (or other IE), or non-IE.	
6266	25 H3	+02/42	42 03	+02 55	<b>Alba fl.</b>	RN	RN: Ter (ESP). <i>flumen Alba</i> Pliny 3,22. Consistent with Celtic, cf. <i>albo/ā-</i> ; it could be Latin (or other IE), or or non-IE.	
3800	17 D4	+04/44	44 33	+04 37	<b>Alba Helviorum</b>	LN	LN: Alba-la-Romaine (FRA). <i>Alba Helviorum</i> Pliny 3,36; <i>Civitas Albensium</i> NG 11,6. Hybrid: a Latin formation with <i>Helvii</i> 3800a q.v.	
2465	12 C4	+09/48	48 20	+09 30	<b>Alba M.</b>	MN	MN: Schwäbische Alb (GER). <i>Ultra Nigrum fluvium et Albam</i> Vopisc. Prob. XIII.7; Ἰαλπείους (var. Ἰαλπείους) Ptol. 2, 11,5; Ἰαλπείων ὀρέων (var. Ἰαλπείων) 11,6, etc.	

							Possibly but not diagnostically Celtic, ‘the shiny, white mountain’, to <i>albo/ā</i> .
4198	19 E2	+12/47	47 38	+12 14	<b>Albianum</b>	LN	LN Ebbs (?) (AUS). <i>Albiano</i> (IA 259,8; MS <i>Albiancon</i> ). Possibly but not diagnostically Celtic; cf. <i>albo/ā</i> - and relevant PNN.
3452	15 E2	+05/43	43 57	+05 15	<b>Albici</b>	EN	EN: Near Notre-Dame des Anges (FRA). <i>Albicos</i> (var. <i>-biccōs</i> ) Caes. BC 1,34; <i>Albicorum</i> 1,56,2; <i>Albici</i> (var <i>-bicci</i> ) 1.57.3. If Celtic, to <i>albo/ā</i> -.
6267	25 H2	+02/43	43 56	+02 08	<b>Albiga</b>	LN	LN: Albi (FRA). <i>civitas Albigensium</i> NG 12,5; <i>Albigae</i> GdeT HF 2,13, <i>Albige</i> 9,20; <i>apud Albigensem</i> (var. <i>Albige</i> ) Vita Desiderii 1,1; <i>Albigi</i> Rav. 4,40. Obscure. A Celtic analysis, which is not very likely, may consider <i>albo/ā</i> , or a corresponding PN.
3801	17 F2	+05/45	45 47	+05 57	<b>Albinnum</b>	LN	LN: Albens (FRA). <i>Albinno</i> Coin Belfort 83; ( <i>Vicanis Albin</i> ) <i>inensibus</i> CIL 12, 2494. Possibly Celtic; if so, to <i>albo/ā</i> -.
5902	24 E1	-07/43	43 20	-06 55	<b>Albiones</b>	EN	EN: left bank of R. Navia (ESP). <i>Albiones</i> Pliny 4,111; <i>Al</i> CIL 2, 2711; <i>Al/bionu/m</i> ERAsturi 14; <i>al/bionu/m</i> AE 1946 121. Potentially Celtic, <i>albo/ā</i> -; may be assigned to another IE language.
-	5918a	24 F3	-06/41	41 30	<b>Albocola</b>	LN	LN: El Alba de Villalazán? (ESP). Ἀλβόκελα (var. Ἀλβόκελλα, Ἀλβούκελα) Ptol. 2,6,49; <i>Albocela</i> IA 434,7; <i>Albeceia</i> Rav. 4,44, <i>Albocolensis</i> CIL 2, 880. If Celtic, to <i>albo-</i> & <i>cela-</i> (Isaac, PNPG) or <i>alb-</i> + <i>-ocela</i> (García Alonso, Ptol.).
3669	16 F1	+08/44	44 03	+08 13	<b>Album Ingaunum</b>	LN	LN: Albegna (ITL). <i>Albingaunum</i> Tac. hist. 2,15; <i>Album Ingaunum</i> Pliny 3,48; <i>Albingaunum</i> Mela 2,4,72; <i>Albingauno</i> TP 2,4; <i>Albingauno</i> IA 503,1. Obscure. PNPG lists this as Latin, but AILR segments <i>albo- ingo- au- no-</i> ; cf. Celtic <i>albo/ā</i> -. See <i>Ingauni</i> , below no. 3719.
3670	16 B3	+06/43	43 19	+06 26	<b>Alconis</b>	LN	LN: Between Cavalière and Le Lavandou (FRA). <i>Ab Alconis</i> IA 505,6 and 7. Perhaps Celtic, cf. <i>alco-</i> ‘élan?’ (Lep. <i>Alko-uinos</i> = G. <i>Alco-vindus</i> ), for various etymologies see DLG: 38.
3671	16 B2	+06/43	43 49	+06 05	<b>Alebaeae Reiorum Apollinarium</b>	LN	LN: Riez (FRA). Ἀλβίοικοι Strabo 4,6,4; <i>Alebaeae Reiorum Apollinarium</i> (var. <i>alaebaece</i> , <i>alebecae</i> , <i>alebece</i> ) Pliny 3.36; <i>Reis Apollinaris</i> TP 2,1; <i>civitas Reiensium</i> NG 16,4; <i>Reios</i> Sid. App. ep. 9, 9; <i>Reii Apollinares</i> , CIL 3, 7397; <i>Col. Reior. Apoll.</i> CIL 12, 411; <i>Col. Reior. Apollinar.</i> 983; <i>Col. Apollinare Reiorvm</i> 3200, etc. Obscure. Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 219 derives <i>Alebaeae</i> from * <i>Alba</i> , with

								epenthetic <i>-e-</i> inserted. Lambert, 'Gaulish Place-Names in Ptolemy' 163-4 cites a Gallo-Greek inscription which confirms <i>Aleb-</i> . Cf. Celtic <i>albo/ā-</i> ; word formation is obscure. <i>Reiorum</i> is a Latin formation based on the indigenous EN <i>Reii</i> (3671b; cf. <i>Apollinaris Reiorum</i> 3671a, see s.v.); <i>Apollinarium</i> is Latin.
2999	14 G2	+01/46	46 45	+01 48	<b>Alerta</b>	LN	LN: Ardentes (FRA). <i>Alerta</i> TP I,3. Obscure. CAG 36.10 suggests reading <i>Alerta</i> or <i>Alerca</i> . If CAG's reading <i>Alerca</i> is correct, cf <i>Aulerici</i> (14F1), <i>Aulercorum</i> (11B3); both readings could go back to <i>*Ad Lerc/ta</i> .	
4086	18 B2	+04/47	47 34	+04 26	<b>Alesia</b>	LN	LN: Alise-Ste.-Reine (FRA). <i>Alesiam</i> Caes BG 7,68,1; <i>Alesiae</i> 8,14,1; Ἀλησίαν Diod. 4.19.1; <i>ad Alesiam</i> Livy Perioch. 108; Ἀλησίαν Strabo 4,2,3; <i>Alesia</i> Pliny 34,162; <i>apud Alesiam</i> Tac. ann. 11,23; coin Belfort 94 <i>Alisia</i> , <i>Alisiia</i> CIL 13, 2880, <i>Alisiens(es)</i> 10029.216. Celtic, to <i>aliso-</i> .	
-	1029a	7 D3	-03/48	48 40	-02 03	<b>Aletum</b>	LN	LN: Alet en Saint-Malo (FRA). <i>Praefectus militum Martensium</i> , <i>Aleto</i> ND oc 37, 8 and 19. 'The shiny one or the rocky one', with <i>alo-</i> for which see <i>alauna</i> . See <i>Reginca</i> 1029.
3000	14 F1	+00/47	47 20	+00 23	<b><u>Alingavia</u></b>	LN	LN: Langeais? (FRA). <i>Alingaviensi</i> (var. <i>alingavigensi</i> , <i>alingaveensi</i> ) GdeT HF 10, 31,3; <i>apud vicum Alangaviensim</i> GdeT GM 15; Merovingian coins <i>Alingavias</i> Belfort 91, 92. Probably Celtic, though a Germanic explanation has been suggested by TGF: 15246 (to a Germanic personal name <i>Adalingus</i> ). <i>*Adalingavia</i> may go back to <i>ad-ling-</i> , cf. further <i>Lingones</i> (Da); Vincent: 203 discusses the suffix and notes that placenames in <i>-avus</i> tend to have a Celtic or Latin common noun for a first element, though they can also have Celtic, Latin or Germanic personal names.	
3001	14 E4	-01/44	44 33	-00 16	<b>Alingo</b>	LN	LN: Langon (FRA). <i>Alingonensibus</i> Paulin. Nolan. epist 12,12; <i>Alingonensi ecclesiae</i> epist. 20,3; <i>portum Alingonis</i> Sid App.8, 12, 3. Possibly Celtic. Da. suggests the same etymology as he does for <i>Alingavia</i> (q.v.), this time with a suffix <i>-onem</i> , and TGF: 15227 suggests, as for <i>Alingavia</i> , a Germanic personal name <i>Adalingus</i> (though Paulinus seems rather early to have a Germanic name here). It seems likely that the two placenames have the same etymology, whichever version is correct.	
5421	22 F3	+28/45	45 19	+28 30	<b>Aliobrix</b>	LN	LN: (MOL). In fact (UKR). Ἀλιόβριξ (Ptol. 3,10,5; only in the X manuscript).	

							Normally identified with Orlovka / Cartal. Definitely Celtic, <b>allo-</b> (variant <i>alio</i> < * <i>h<sub>2</sub>el-io-</i> , cf. OIr <i>aile</i> ‘other’, MW <i>eil</i> ‘second’)- <b>brig-s</b> .	
6269	25 C3	-03/42	42 26	-02 51	<b>Alisanco</b>	LN	LN: Alesanco (ESP). (11/12 c.?) <i>Alisanco</i> ; see A. Fernández Guerra in <i>Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia</i> 3 (1883), 30 and Holder s.v. If Celtic, to <b>aliso-</b> ; the suffix <i>-anco-</i> is widespread, cf. <i>Septimanca</i> (map 24G3 no. 6191). Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 435-6 list a number of linguistic groups where this component occur; and state that *- <i>anko-</i> does not occur in Celtic. For the suffix see David Pharies, <i>The Origin and Development of the Ibero-Romance -nc-/-ng-Suffixes</i> , Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990.	
4492	20 F3	+18/46	46 21	+18 40	<b>Alisca</b>	LN	LN: near Szekszárd (HUN). <i>Alisca</i> IA 244,4; <i>Aliscae</i> ND oc 33,52; 33,63. Anreiter 2001, 205 considers it possibly Pannonian, noting, however, the earlier attempts to treat it as Celtic due to a characteristically Celtic suffix. If Celtic, may possibly contain <b>aliso-</b> .	
2468	12 B3	+08/49	49 17	+08 49	<b>Alisina fl.</b>	RN	RN: Elsenz (GER). <i>C(ivitatis) Alisin(ensis)</i> CIL 13, 6482. Possibly Celtic, to <b>aliso-</b> .	
1821	11 G3	+06/49	49 43	+06 11	<b>Alisontia fl.</b>	RN	RN: Alzette (FRA/L). <i>Alisontia/Alisentia</i> Ausonius <i>Mos.</i> 370, 371, etc. Celtic, ‘?the rocky river’ or ‘?the river near alders’; see <b>aliso-</b> .	
6270	25 D4	-02/41	41 46	-01 07	<b>Allobo</b>	LN	LN: Alagón (ESP). <i>Allobone</i> IA 444,1. At face value, Celtic <b>allo-</b> & <b>bona-</b> ; Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 101 lists a series of names with <i>ub-/ob-</i> , including this one. It is very likely, however, that the instance is a misreading of <i>Alauona</i> 6270a q.v.	
3804	17 E3	+05/45	45 15	+05 15	<b>Allobroges</b>	EN	EN: (FRA / SWI). <i>Allobroges</i> Livy hist. 21,31,5; Ἀλλόβριγες (var. Ἀλλόβρυγες, Ἀλλόβρογες) Ptol. 2,10,7; <i>Allobrogas</i> Oros. 5,13,2; Ἀλλόβρυγες StByz; <i>alobroges</i> (var. <i>briges</i> ) Rav. 4, 26, <i>Allobrog</i> CIL 12, 1531. Celtic, <b>allo-</b> & <b>brog-</b> .	
-	6319a	25 C2	-03/43	43 02	-02 40	<b>Allotriges</b>	EN	EN: Vizcaya, Alava and NE Burgos region (ESP). Ἀλλότριγας Strabo 3,3,7. At face value, Celtic: <b>allo-</b> & <b>trigo-</b> ; probably, a variant of <i>Autrigones</i> 6319; cf. Gorrochategui ‘Establishment and Analysis’ 157.
-	3808a	17 H2	+06/45	45 41	+06 52	<b>Alpes Atrectinae</b>	MN	MN: (FRA). <i>proc. Alpium Atractianar(um)</i> CIL 9, 5439, <i>procur. Alpium Atrec/tinarum</i> 8, 17900; <i>proc. Alpi(um) Atractianar(um)</i> 9, 5357. Latin, from a Celtic PN. Bérard ‘Un nouveau procureur à Aime en Tarentaise’ discusses an



							inscription <i>Alpium Atrectiana/rum</i> , confirming the spelling <i>Atrectianae</i> . <i>-inae</i> is known from an inscription, AE 1969/70 704 <i>Atrectin(arum)</i> , too. Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 183 derives <i>Atrectianus</i> from a PN <i>Atrectius</i> , known from CIL 5, 7313. <i>Atrectus</i> and <i>Atrectius</i> are common Celtic PNN.
4199	19 F3	+13/46	46 25	+13 30	<b>Alpes Carnicae</b>	MN	Part of Julian Alps (ITL/ SVN). For the Celticity of the second component and attestations see s.v. <i>Carnii</i> . Cf. also <i>alboā-</i> .
3806	17 H4	+06/44	44 45	+06 50	<b>Alpes Cottiae</b>	MN	MN: (FRA / ITL). <i>Cottianis Alpibus</i> Tac. Hist. 1,61; Κουτίαις Ἄλπεσιν Ptol. 3,1,34; <i>Alpium Cottiarum</i> Amm. Marc. 15,10,2; <i>in Alpe Cottia</i> TP 2,3; <i>Alp. Cott</i> CIL 5, 7250, <i>Alpium Cottiar</i> 7251, <i>Alpium Cot/tiarum</i> 7253, <i>Alpium Cottian</i> CIL 12, 408. A Latin formation; although the Ligurian origins of the PN <i>Cottius</i> is normally accepted, it is consistent with Celt. <i>cotto-</i> ‘old’, and corresponding PN; cf. here its original meaning ‘curved, bent’.
3807	17 H3	+06/45	45 27	+06 50	<b>Alpes Graiae</b>	MN	MN: (FRA). <i>Graias</i> Pliny 3,123, <i>Graiarum Alpium</i> 134; <i>Grais Alpibus</i> Tac. Hist. 2,66, <i>monte Graio</i> 4,68; Γραΐας Ἄλπεσι Ptol. 3,1,33; <i>Graiarum</i> Amm. Marc. 15,10,8. A Latin formation, from an obscure, possibly Celtic, root. See <i>*Alpis Graia</i> 3808.
- 3902a	17 H4	+06/44	44 56	+06 43	<b><u>Alpis Cottia</u></b>	LN	LN: Settlement and pass at Montgenèvre (FRA). <i>in Alpe Cottia</i> TP 2,3. See 3806 <i>Alpes Cottiae</i> . Also known as <i>Summae Alpes</i> .
3808	17 H2	+06/45	45 41	+06 52	<b><u>Alpis Graia</u></b>	LN	LN: Settlement and pass at Col du Petit-St-Bernard (FRA). <i>per Poeninum Graiumve montem</i> Seneca, epist. morales 4,2,9; <i>geminas Alpium, Graias atque Poeninas</i> Pliny 3,123; <i>Alpibus aeriis, ubi Graio numine pulsae descendunt rupes et se patiuntur adiri</i> Petron. Satir. 122 v. 144; <i>Alpes Graias</i> IA 346,10, <i>in Alpe Graia</i> TP 2,3; <i>Graia</i> Rav. 4, 30. See <i>Alpes Graiae</i> 3807.
- 4051a	17 I2	+07/45	45 53	+07 10	<b>Alpis Poenina</b>	MN	LN: Col du Grand-St-Bernard (ITL). See 4051 <i>Summus P(o)eninus</i> .
1824	11 I3	+08/49	49 44	+08 09	<b><u>Altiaia</u></b>	LN	LN: Alzey (GER). Actually attested as <i>Altiaium</i> ; <i>Alteio</i> Codex Theo. 10,4,3, <i>Altino</i> 11,31,5; <i>vicani Altiaiensis</i> CIR 877 = CIL 13, 6265. Obscure; if Celtic, then ‘?hill’, cf. OI <i>alt</i> ‘height, bank’, MW <i>allt</i> ‘hill’, Welsh <i>allt/gallt</i> ‘hill’ / ‘forest’ see LEIA A-63-64.
4892	21 C5	+20/44	44 45	+20 18	<b>Altina</b>	LN	LN: Surčin (SCG). <i>Mutatio Altina</i> IB 563,13; <i>Altino</i> IA 244,1. Although the PN is at

							least consistent with Celtic (cf. W. <i>allt</i> , Ir. <i>alt</i> ), and the settlement is found in Scordiscan territory, it may be not Celtic: Pannonian (Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 26) or Latin (Isaac, PNPg, comm. ad loc.).
3809	17 E5	+05/44	44 26	+05 03	<b>Altonum</b> []	LN	LN: Le Pègue (FRA). <i>pagi Aletani</i> CIL 12, 1711; <i>castrum vocabulo Altonum</i> Cartulaire de Cluny, III, no. 2779, p. 802 (cited by Barraol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 267). Possibly but not necessarily Celtic. Barraol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 267 compares this LN to <i>Altina</i> (4892 above) in Pannonia and <i>Altana</i> . <i>Altonum</i> could perhaps be derived from CIL's <i>Aletanus</i> by syncope. Cf W. <i>allt</i> , and LN <i>Alet</i> in Brittany.
5906	24 E2	-07/42	42 33	-06 05	<b>Amaci</b>	EN	EN: around Astorga (ESP). Ἀμακῶν (var. Ἀμάκων, Δαμακῶν) Ptol. 2,6,35. The ethnic name may contain a Celtic suffix <i>-āko-</i> ; interpretation of the stem is difficult. According to J. L. García Alonso ( <i>Ptolomeo</i> 228-9) it is <i>*amma</i> “una voz infantil para designar a la madre”. Holder and RE suggest a comparison to the <i>Amocenses</i> (known from CIL II 764 <i>Amo(censis)</i> and 4233 <i>Amocensi</i> ).
5908	24 F3	-06/41	41 39	-05 17	<b>Amallobriga</b>	LN	LN: Desploblado de la Ermita (Tiedra)? <i>Amallobriga</i> IA 435, 1; <i>Amallobrigenses</i> AE 1985, 581. Possibly for <i>*Aballobriga</i> , to <i>abalo-</i> / <i>aballo-</i> & <i>brig-</i> . See also <i>Abulobrica</i> 5908a.
3002	14 G3	+01/45	45 57	+01 23	<b>Ambaciacum</b>	LN	LN: Ambazac (FRA). <i>in vico Ambatiensi</i> (var. <i>ambaciensi</i> , <i>ambaciacensi</i> , <i>ambiacensi</i> ) Sulp. Sev. dial. 2,8,4; <i>de monasterio Ambiacini</i> Vita II Aredii 6,59; <i>vicum Ambaciensim</i> GdeT HF 2,26, <i>vicum Ambaciensim</i> (var. <i>Ambaciacensem</i> ) 2,35, <i>Ambaciensi</i> 10, 31,3; <i>Ambacia vico</i> (coins Belfort 104, 105, 106, 108). An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a PN. Da., TGF: 6931 and Vincent 178 refer to a Gaulish or Latin personal name <i>Ambatius</i> or <i>Ambasius</i> , and Ho. suggests a PN <i>Ambactius</i> . OPEL lists <i>Ambat(i)us</i> but not <i>Ambas(i)us</i> ; GPN 134-5 <i>Ambi-</i> lists PNN <i>Ambacius</i> and <i>Ambactus</i> . If <i>Ambatius</i> is correct, <i>*Ambatiacum</i> could become <i>Ambaciacum</i> through assimilation <i>t-c &gt; c-c</i> , or through <i>t / c</i> confusion.
3810	17 D2	+04/45	45 56	+04 55	<b>Ambarri</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Ambarri</i> Caes BG 1,11,4, <i>Ambarros</i> 1,14,3; <i>Ambarros</i> Livy hist. 5,34,5; <i>Ambarriae</i> CIL 12, 2416. An <i>ambi(o)-</i> derivative from the RN <i>Arar</i> ; ‘the people on both sides of the river <i>Arar</i> ’. According to Delamarre, DLG: 67-6 (cf. J. Lacroix,

								<i>Les noms d'origine gauloise. La Gaule des combats</i> (Paris 2003), 177), it goes back, however, to <i>*bar(i)o-</i> as in OIr <i>barae</i> ; and <i>*ambi-</i> (intensive) cf. W. <i>amfar</i> (not registered in GPC); and is therefore 'Très-furieux'. The model in <i>ambi</i> + RN is well attested in G. ENN, and therefore is more likely to be reflected in this particular EN.
3003	14 F1	+00/47	47 24	+00 58	<b>Ambiacum</b>	LN	LN: Amboise (FRA). <i>Ambaciae</i> Paulin. Petric. V. Mart. 5,533; <i>Ambaciensi</i> Fortun. vita Mart. 4,210; <i>Ambacia</i> , <i>Ambacea</i> , <i>Anbace</i> , <i>Ambasia</i> (Merovingian coins). Possibly Celtic; to a personal name similar to the ones suggested for <i>Ambaciacum</i> (q.v.). Da. suggests <i>Ambatius</i> , TGF: 10117 <i>Ambasius</i> , and Ho. <i>Ambactius</i> . If attestations are corrupt, an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of <i>ambi(o)-</i> .	
1828	11 B3	+01/49	49 48	+01 50	<b>Ambiani</b>	EN	EN. <i>Ambianos</i> Caesar BG 2, 4, <i>Ambianis</i> 7, 75; Ἀμβιανοὶ Strabo 4,3,5; <i>Ambiani</i> Pliny 4,17; Ἀμβιανοί Ptol. 2,9,4; <i>Ambianis</i> IA 362,4; <i>Ambianenses</i> ND or 6,36; oc 9,39; <i>Tambianos</i> 42,67; <i>Ciuitas Ambianensium</i> (var. <i>ambiantium</i> , <i>ambiennensium</i> , <i>abinensium</i> ) NG 7,11; <i>Ambianvs</i> CIL 5,6885; <i>Civi Ambian[o]</i> 13, 607; <i>c(ivitas) Amb(ianorum)</i> 9032 (= CIL 17, 508), <i>Ambianorum</i> 14, 4468-4470; <i>Trivm Civitativm ambianorum</i> AE 1946.95; etc. Celtic, to <i>ambi(o)-</i> ; possibly 'the people who belong to the world' or 'the people of the world'; cf. Lambert, Préverbes gaulois suffixes en <i>-io-</i> , 116.	
4205	19 F3	+13/46	46 45	+13 20	<b>Ambidraoui</b>	EN	EN: around Teurnia (SWI). Ἀμβίδραυοι Ptol. 2,13,2; <i>Ambidr(avi)</i> , [A] <i>mbidr(avi)</i> AE 1954, 241 and 100. '(Those living) on both sides (of the river) Dravas' < <i>*ambi(o)-Dravas</i> ; <i>Dravas</i> is safely identified with the modern Drau in Carinthia and is considered by several authors to be an ancient European river-name; the Gaulish prefix makes the EN Celtic.	
3004	14 D1	-02/47	47 03	-01 50	<b>Ambilatri?</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Ambilatri</i> Pliny 4, 108. Duval 'Les peuples de l'Aquitaine' 214 suggests an identification with Caes. BG 3.9.10 <i>Ambiliatos</i> . Celtic, to <i>ambi(o)-</i> ; perhaps the EN is formed from a river-name (which may be well non-Celtic); or from <i>lat-</i> , therefore 'the people on either side of the river / marshy area'.	
4206	19 E3	+12/46	46 43	+12 55	<b>Ambilikoi</b>	EN	EN: valley of R. Gail (SWI). Ἀμβίλικοι (var. Ἀμβλικοί) Ptol. 2, 13, 2. '(Those living) on both sides (of the river) Licos', <i>ambi(o)-licos</i> . The river-name may be well Celtic, see s.v. <i>Licus</i> .	

-	5909a	24 G2	-05/42	42 28	-04 30	<b>Ambinon</b>	LN	LN: Castrillo de Villavega (ESP). <i>Ambinon</i> Rav. 4, 45. Presumably a corrupt form of 5909 <i>Ambisna</i> or <i>Ambiona</i> , whichever is correct.
	5909	24 G2	-05/42	42 28	-04 30	<b>Ambisna</b>	LN	LN: Castrillo de Villavega (ESP). Ἀμβίσωνα Ptol. 2.6.51. The form as attested in Ptol. is problematic; since scribal confusion between σ and ο is plausible it could be a corrupt form of <i>Ambiona</i> , then to <b>ambi(o)-</b> . Isaac (PNPG) segments this name into <i>ambi- sná-</i> , but does not discuss <i>sná</i> ; cf. here OIr <i>snáid</i> ‘swims’. Cf. 5909a <i>Ambinon</i> .
	4207	19 E2	+12/47	47 20	+12 30	<b>Ambisontes</b>	EN	EN: upper R. Salzach (SWI). <i>Ambisontes</i> Pliny 3,137; Ἀμβισόντιοι (var. Ἀμβησόντιοι) Ptol. 2,13,2. ‘(Those living) on both sides (of the river) Isonta’, <b>ambi(o)-</b> & <i>Isonta</i> ; The river in question is modern Salzach; for reading * <i>Igonta</i> see P. Ernst in <i>BNF NF Beiheft</i> 40 (1992), p. 352. The hydronym is not necessarily Celtic; and is derived from *[ <i>h<sub>1</sub></i> ]ish <sub>1</sub> -ont- ‘she who moves quickly’ (Anreiter <i>et alii</i> , The Names of the Eastern Alpine region, 134); the Gaulish prefix makes the EN Celtic.
	2472	12 E4	+11/48	48 22	+11 33	<b><u>Ambra fl.</u></b>	RN	RN: Amper (GER). See s.v. <i>Ambrae</i> 2473. ‘River’, DLG s.v. <i>ambe</i> : <i>ambe</i> < * <i>ab-</i> ‘(running) water’.
	2473	12 E4	+11/48	48 08	+11 14	<b>Ambrae</b>	LN	LN: Schöngesing (GER). <i>Ambre</i> (var. <i>ambrae</i> ) IA 236, 4; <i>Ambrae</i> (var. <i>Ambrahae</i> ) 257, 4; <i>Ambrae</i> (var. <i>ambreae</i> , <i>ambr.</i> ) 258,10. ‘Place near the river’, to <i>ambrā-</i> ‘river’, cf. 2472 * <i>Ambra fl.</i>
	3673	16 D2	+07/43	43 42	+07 19	<b>Anao</b>	LN	LN: Port St-Jean? (FRA). <i>Anaone</i> IA 504,1 and 504,2. Possibly Celtic; to <b>anauo-</b> .
	6775	26 C3	-08/38	38 40	-07 16	<b>Anas fl.</b>	RN	RN: Guadiana (POR/SPN). Ἄνας Strabo 3,2,3; <i>amne Ana</i> Pliny 3,6; <i>Anas</i> Mela 2,6,87; 3,1,3; Ἄνα (gen) Ptol. 2,4,2; <i>amnis Ana</i> Prud. 3,188; <i>Ana amnis illic per Cynetas effluit</i> Avien. 205; <i>ab ostio fluminis Anae</i> IA 431,8; <i>caput fluminis Anae</i> 446,10, etc. Probably Latin, but consistent with Celtic (to <b>ana-</b> ). Also known as <i>Samus fl.</i> 6777a.
	3456	15 D2	+04/43	43 40	+04 55	<b>Anatili</b>	EN	EN (FRA) <i>regio Anatiliorum</i> Pliny 3,34; <i>Anatilia</i> 3,36. Possibly Celtic, <b>anati-</b> <i>liorum</i> .
-	4210a	19 D3	+11/46	46 19	+11 04	<b>Anauni</b>	EN	EN: around Nanno (IT). In <i>Anauniae partibus</i> (Paulinius, Vita Ambrosi 52); <i>Anaunorum</i> CIL V 5050. According to P. De Bernardo Stempel, in Ptol., p. 91 ‘the

								staying ones' (< * <i>anh-mn-oi</i> , cf. Ir. <i>anaid</i> ); Isaac (PNPG, s.v. <i>anauo</i> ) considers here Gaulish names in <b><i>anauo-</i></b> (DLG 38-8), MW <i>anaw</i> 'wealth, riches', OI <i>anae</i> ; therefore possibly 'rich (tribe)'; but see also his comments s.v. <i>ano</i> .
4210	19 D3	+11/46	46 19	+11 04	<b>Anaunion</b>	LN	LN: Nanno (IT). Ἐναούνιον (var. Ἐναυνίον, Ἐνώνιον) Ptol. 3,1,28; <i>Castrum Anagnis</i> (var. <i>anamnis, adagnis, magnis, anaginis, inagnis</i> ) Paul. Diac. 3, 9. 'the oppidum of the Anauni' see s.v. 4210a <i>Anauni</i> .	
4501	20 D4	+16/45	45 47	+16 08	<b>Andautonia</b>	LN	LN: Ščiterjevo (CRO). Ἐνδαυτόνιον Ptol. 2,14,4; <i>Dautonia</i> (var. <i>dautona</i> ) IA 266,2; <i>Andautonia</i> CIL 3, 3679. According to P. Anreiter 2001, 30 'Pannonian', *( <i>an</i> )- <i>daut-</i> < PIE * <i>d<sup>h</sup>euti-</i> , root * <i>d<sup>h</sup>eu-</i> 'run, rush', IEW 259-60, 262, LIV 128-9. Isaac, PNPG, s.v. <i>dau-</i> , mentions a possibility to derive this 'possible' Celtic LN from PIE * <i>n-deh<sub>2</sub>u-t-on-i-eh<sub>2</sub></i> 'place of unburnt character, incombustible place'.	
3007	14 G2	+01/46	46 07	+01 12	<b>Andecamulum</b>	LN	LN: Rancon (FRA). <i>Andecamulen/ses</i> CIL 13, 1449. Celtic, <b><i>Ande-camulum</i></b> .	
3008	14 E1	-01/47	47 25	-00 40	<b>Andecavi</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Andecavi</i> (var. <i>andic-, andeg-, andig-</i> ) Pliny 4,107; <i>Andecavi, Andecavos</i> Tac. Ann. 3,41; Ἐνδίκαιοι (var. Ὀνδικαοῦαι, Ὠνδικαοῦαι) Ptol. 2, 8, 8; <i>civitas Andecavorum</i> NG 3, 5; <i>apud Andicavos</i> (var. <i>andegauus, andecauos, andigabos, andigabus, andicabos</i> ) Oros. 6,8,7. Celtic; contains <b><i>ande-</i></b> . Interpretation of the second component is difficult. G. R. Isaac, PNPG segments the LN as <i>andeco- auo-</i> , and refers to <b><i>ico-</i></b> . Another possibility is to see here <i>cauo-</i> , which is also attested in PNN; see DLG: 112. Lambert 'Lugdunensis' 222 suggests comparison with a Welsh PN <i>Caw</i> , perhaps a shortened form of * <i>kauaro-</i> 'giant'.	
6274	25 D3	-02/42	42 38	-01 50	<b>Andelos</b>	LN	LN: Muruzabal de Andi6n (Mendigorrria) (ESP). <i>Andelonenses</i> (var. <i>-delogenses, -dologenses</i> ) Pliny 3,24; Ἐνδηλος Ptol. 2,6,66; <i>Andelo/nensis</i> CIL 2, 2963. If Celtic, <b><i>ande-lo-</i></b> ; Gorrochategui 'Establishment and Analysis' 161 and 'Ptolemy's Aquitania' 151 suggests that the name could be a derivative from base <i>ande-</i> 'under' plus the well-documented suffix <i>-lo-</i> ; it would complete a series of toponyms based on adverbs of place: <i>Ande-lo, Medio-lo, Uxe-lo</i> . Alternatively, he suggests a relationship with <i>Pompaelo</i> . In the latter case, for the base he suggests the Basque adjective ( <i>h</i> ) <i>andi</i> 'big' (see Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 437 for a rejection of this), a base related to Aquitanian anthroponyms such as <i>Andossus</i> and its	

							derivatives.
4087	18 C2	+05/47	47 52	+05 19	<b>Andematunnum</b>	LN	LN: Langres (FRA). Ἀνδομάτουνον (var. Ἀνδομάτουνον, Ἀνδομάντουνον, Ἀνδοματοῦνον) Ptol. 2,9,9; <i>Andemantunno</i> (var. <i>andemantunum</i> ) IA 385,6; <i>Antemantunno</i> 386.1; <i>Andemantunno</i> TP 1,5; <i>And(e)m(antunno)</i> CIL 13, 9041; <i>And(emantunno)</i> 9044, 9046, 16554. Possibly Celtic. If so, probably contains <i>mantu</i> (less likely <i>mat(t)u/i-</i> ), therefore <i>ande-</i> <i>mantu-</i> ( <i>unno?</i> ).
3813	17 A4	+03/44	44 42	+03 20	<b>Anderitum</b>	LN	LN: Javols (FRA). Ἀνέδριδον (var. Ἀνδερηδόν) Ptol. 2,7,11; <i>Anderitum</i> TP 1,3; <i>Andereton</i> Rav. 4,26. Celtic, <i>ande-</i> , <i>ando-</i> & <i>ritu-</i> . See also <i>Civitas Gabalum</i> 3813a.
9289	39 H3	+10/45	45 07	+10 48	<b>Andes</b>	LN	LN: Near Pietole (IT). <i>Andes</i> Vita Vergili de comm. Probi sublata p. 52; Donati vita Vergili 54; Cod. Bamberg. P II 33 fol 11 <sup>r</sup> col. 2; Hieron. chron. a. ab. 1948. Not necessarily Celtic; but cf. <i>ande-</i> , <i>ando-</i> .
4503	20 D6	+16/43	43 41	+16 27	<b>Andetrium</b>	LN	LN: Gornij Muč (CRO). Ἀνδήτριον Strabo 7,5,5; <i>Andetrium</i> Pliny 3,142; Ἀνδέκτριον (var. ἀνδέκρινον) Ptol. 2,16,7; Ἀνδήτριον (var. Ἀνδήτριον) Dio 56, 12,3; <i>Andretio</i> TP 5,2; <i>Endetrio</i> (var. <i>Endedria</i> ) Rav. 4, 16. Very unlikely to be Celtic, if it is not a metathesis for <i>Ande-ritium</i> (possibility noted by P. Sims-Williams, ACPN 256); see Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 30 and Falileyev, <i>In search of Celtic Tylis</i> , 131-2.
976	7 D2	-03/49	49 13	-02 25	<b>Andium? Ins.</b>	IN	IN: Jersey (GBJ). <i>Andium</i> IA 509,3. Other possible attestations of the LN in distorted form: <i>Angia</i> Vita s. Samsonis 1,6,59; <i>Agna</i> Vita Marculphi 2.13; Vita alia 3.15. Celtic, derived from * <i>ande-</i> (+ <i>io</i> ), which allows several interpretations: a cognate of Irish <i>and-</i> , as in <i>andglondas</i> ‘habitual cruelty’, Welsh <i>an(n)-</i> , as in <i>annerch</i> ‘greeting’ or <i>anrheg</i> ‘gift’, etc. (GPN 136-141); or see <i>ande-</i> , <i>ando-</i> .
6275	25 G3	+01/42	42 32	+01 30	<b>Andosinoi</b>	EN	EN: central Pyrenees (ESP). Ἀνδοσίνοιο Polyb. 3,35,2. Celticity is unlikely; but cf <i>ando-</i> . See also García Alonso ‘ <i>Vettones y Layetanos</i> ’.
3457	15 B1	+03/44	44 03	+03 59	<b>Andusia</b>	LN	LN: Anduze (FRA). <i>Andusia</i> CIL 12, 3362. If Celtic, to <i>ande-</i> , <i>ando-</i> . However, this name might not be Celtic; <i>Andos-</i> is also common in Aquitanian, cf <i>Andosinoi</i> (6275) and see Gorrochategui, Ptolemy’s Aquitania, 151.
4211	19 B3	+09/46	46 13	+09 25	<b>Aneuniates</b>	EN	EN: N Lago di Como (IT). <i>Aneuniates</i> AE 1909, 204. Cf. Gaulish <i>aneunis</i> ‘inspiré’ (DLG, s.v). Etymology is disputable, therefore the semantics remains vague.

4505	20 F3	+18/46	46 54	+18 53	<b>Annamatia</b>	LN	LN: Baracpuszta (HUN). <i>Annamatia</i> TP 4,5; <i>Annamatia</i> (var. <i>Anamatia</i> ) IA 245,2; <i>Adnamantia</i> ND oc 33,18;39; <i>Annama</i> Rav. 4,20. Possibly Celtic. Etymology and the meaning ascribed to the LN depends on the interpretation of the form. Anreiter 2001, 149, analyses this as *{ <i>Ad-n:amant-ia</i> } with *{ <i>na:mant-</i> } as in OIr <i>námae</i> , g.sg. <i>námat</i> , ‘enemy’ < PIE * <i>ne-h<sub>2</sub>emH-nt-</i> ‘not loving’; cf. Villar, Prósper 2005: 464. Isaac, IA comm. ad. loc. starts with <i>Anamantia</i> and offers plethora of suggestions: * <i>ad-namo-ato-jā</i> , * <i>ad-nemo-ato-jā</i> , * <i>an-namo-ato-jā</i> , * <i>an-nemo-ato-jā</i> .	
9291	39 F5	+09/44	44 13	+09 33	<b>Antion</b>	LN	LN: Anzo di Framura? (IT). <i>Antion</i> Ps.-Scyl. 4.). If Celtic, to <b>anto-</b> .	
3012	14 D3	-02/45	45 35	-01 15	<b>Antros? Ins.</b>	IN	LN: Phare-de-Courdouan (FRA). <i>insula Antros</i> Mela 3, 22. Possibly Celtic, cf. <i>Benn Étair</i> < * <i>Antrī</i> (Ireland); see P. Sims-Williams, Old Irish <i>fedo</i> (gen. <i>fedot</i> ): a “puzzling” form in the <i>Cambrai Homily</i> and its implications for the apocope of /i/, in <i>Studia Indogermanica et Celtica, Festschrift für Wolfgang Meid</i> (edd. P. Anreiter, E. Jerem), Budapest 1999, p. 473; R. Coates, Rev. PNRB, in <i>Journal of the English Place-Name Society</i> 13 (1980-1), 63. Cf. also G. R. Isaac, PNPG, commentary ad Édrou ére:mos.	
1832	11 H2	+07/50	50 27	+07 23	<b>Antunnacum</b>	LN	LN: Andernach (GER). <i>Antonaco</i> ND oc 41,13 and 25; <i>Antunnaco</i> (var. <i>autunnaco</i> , <i>antunnago</i> , <i>anturnaco</i> , <i>autunnaco</i> ) IA 254,1, <i>Antunnaco</i> (var. <i>autunnaco</i> ) 371,1; <i>Antunnaco</i> TP 2,1; ( <i>Civitas</i> ) <i>Antennacum</i> Ammianus 18,2,4; <i>Anternacha</i> var. <i>anthernacha</i> ) Rav. 4,24; <i>Antvnnaco</i> , <i>Antonaco</i> Merovingian coins; [ <i>Antu</i> ]nnacum CIL 13, 9158; etc. Celtic with <b>-āko-</b> . Meaning, word division are uncertain: <i>an- tunno- áco-</i> according to Isaac (AILR), or according to Zimmer, <i>Die Kelten</i> , 205 with <i>anto-</i> ‘limit, border’.	
-	3671a	16 B2	+06/43	43 49	+06 05	<b>Apollinaris Reiorum</b>	LN	LN: Riez (FRA). See s.v. <i>Alebaece Reiorum Apollinarium</i> 3671; see also <i>Reii</i> 3671b.
6778	26 A3	-10/38	38 35	-09 03	<b>Aquabona</b> <b>A(qu)a<b>bona</b></b>	LN	LN: possibly Barreiro (POR). <i>Aquabona</i> (var. <i>equabona</i> ) IA 416,5; <i>Abona</i> (var. <i>albona</i> ) Rav. 4, 43. Probably Latin, but Celtic approach is possible (cf. <b>abo-</b> , <b>bona</b> ). See 6778a <i>Equabona</i> .	
4513	20 E4	+17/45	45 36	+17 14	<b>Aquae Balissae</b>	LN	LN: Daruvar (CRO). <i>Aquis Balissis</i> (var. <i>Valissis</i> ) IA 265,7; <i>ad aquas Balizas</i> CIL 4, 3297. Although it contains a suffix <i>-issā</i> known in Celtic, and may be based on an	

								untested PN <i>Bal(l)os</i> (cf. <i>Balina</i> , <i>Balinis</i> , TLG: 22-3; GPN: 147f), therefore ‘Balos’s place’, it is likely to be non-Celtic. See Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 208-9.
6278	25 D4	-02/41	41 17	-01 55	<b>Aquae Bilbitanorum</b>	LN	LN: Alhama de Aragón (ESP). <i>Aquae Bilbitanorum</i> IA 437,2; <i>Aquensis</i> CIL 2, 3022. See <i>Bilbilis</i> .	
4215	19 C3	+10/46	46 29	+10 22	<b>Aquae Bormiae</b>	LN	LN: Bormio (IT); <i>Aquae Bormiae</i> Cassiodor. Var. 10, 29. The second part is possibly (see <i>bormo-</i> , <i>boruo-</i> ) but not necessarily Celtic.	
4089	18 A3	+03/46	46 39	+03 41	<b>Aquae Bormonis?</b>	LN	LN: Bourbon-Lancy (FRA). <i>Aquis B</i> TP 1,4. Latin <i>aquae</i> ‘waters’ combined with an indigenous component, which may be Celtic (see <i>bormo-</i> , <i>boruo-</i> ); see <i>Borma</i> .	
5911	24 C2	-09/42	42 37	-08 40	<b>Aquae Celenae</b>	LN	LN: Caldas de Reis (ESP). <i>Aquis Celenis</i> AI 423,8, 430,3; <i>Queceledenis</i> Rav. 4,43, <i>Aquis Celenis</i> 4,45. Latin, with <i>aquae</i> and a possibly (but not necessarily) Celtic <i>celo-</i> .	
1835	11 G2	+06/50	50 46	+06 08	<b>Aquae Granni</b>	LN	LN: Aachen (GER). <i>Aquisgrani</i> Vita s. Deodati 4,23; <i>locum quondam Aquis grani sed uulgari uocabulo Ahha nuncupatum</i> (972) Mwb LQ 324, 12v <sup>o</sup> ; <i>Aquisgranensis</i> D MA 3 (1059); <i>Aquensis</i> D MA 5 (1099); <i>Aquisgranum</i> D MA 13 (1166), etc. The second part <i>granni</i> (gen.) is a DN <i>Grannus</i> , also an epithet of Gaulish Apollo; cfr. nos. 2059 <i>Grannum</i> and 2059a <i>Aquae Granni</i> .	
- 2059a	11 F4	+05/48	48 24	+05 29	<b>Aquae Granni</b>	LN	LN: Grand (FRA). See 2059 <i>Grannum</i> and cf. 1835 <i>Aquae Granni</i> .	
4091	18 F2	+08/47	47 28	+08 18	<b>Aquae Helveticae</b>	LN	LN: Baden (SWI). <i>Aquis He]]gem</i> . CIL 3, 6017.2; <i>Aquis He</i> AE 1893 59; 1909 247; <i>Aquis Helveticus</i> AE 1962 193. Latin, from <i>aquae</i> ‘waters’ and the indigenous EN <i>Helvetii</i> (below no. 4126).	
1836	11 I2	+08/50	50 05	+08 17	<b>Aquae Mattiacorum</b>	LN	LN: Wiesbaden (GER). <i>Mattiaci</i> Plin.31, 20; <i>Mattiacorum</i> Tacitus <i>Germ.</i> 29.2; <i>Mattiaco</i> Ann. 11,20; <i>Mattiacis</i> Hist. 4,37; Ματτιακόν (var. Μοττιακόν) Ptol. 2,11,14; <i>Mattiaci</i> ND oc 2, 20; <i>Matoiaci seniores</i> ND or 5,12; <i>Matiaci</i> (var. <i>matoiaci</i> ) 53; <i>ab Aqvis Mattiacorum</i> CIL 13, 9124; <i>Mattiacorum</i> 7281 and 7250; <i>Vicani Aqvenses</i> 13, 7566a; <i>Matiacorum</i> 9126, 8744; <i>Mattiacor(um)</i> 8751; <i>Mattiacor(um)</i> AE 1968.422, etc. <i>Mattiacorum</i> is Celtic: ‘the good people’ or ‘the bear people’, whence ‘the spa of the <i>Mattiaci</i> ’ or ‘people of <i>Mattiacum</i> , place belonging to <i>Mattius</i> ’. See <i>matu/i-</i> .	



3013	14 H2	+02/46	46 17	+02 38	<b>Aquae Neri</b>	LN	LN: Nérís-les-Bains (FRA). <i>Aquis Neri</i> TP I,3; <i>vicum Nereensim</i> (var. <i>Nerehensim</i> ) GdeT VP 9, 2-3; <i>fontes neri</i> , <i>Nerio deo</i> CIL 13, 1376, <i>neri</i> 1377, <i>nerio</i> 1371, <i>nennerio</i> 1372, [ <i>Ner</i> ]io d[ <i>eo</i> ] 1379. A Latin formation based on a Celtic name: Da. and TGF: 2575 derive this from a Gaulish theonym <i>Nerius</i> , hence ‘the waters of <i>Nerius</i> ’. This hybrid LN is likely to be, however, based on an entirely Celtic name which it replaced (CAG 03.311 suggests <i>Neriomagus</i> 3013a was replaced by <i>Aquae Nerii</i> (sic) from the 3 <sup>rd</sup> century), * <i>Neriomagus</i> q.v.
5914	24 D3	-08/41	41 59	-07 59	<b>Aquae Quarquernae</b>	LN	LN: Baños de Bande (ESP). “Υδατα Κουακερνών Ptol. 2,6,46; <i>Aquis Querquennis</i> IA 428,2, <i>Aquis Cercenis</i> (var. <i>occrensis</i> ) Rav. 4,45; <i>Civitates ... Quarquerni</i> CIL II 2477 = 5616. Isaac (AILR) comments “The EN would seem to have been * <i>querquerni</i> < * <i>perk</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>o-</i> + <i>-erno-</i> , and Ptolemy’s form reflects the genitive of this. The syntax of AI and Rav. suggests an adjectival attribute rather than genitive one, and this is perhaps not linguistically impossible: if the * <i>Querquerni</i> were the ‘Oaken People’ in whatever sense, then the LN could have been the ‘Oaken Waters’, rather than, or in variation with, ‘the waters of the Oaken People’. It is also open to question whether the suffix of AI <i>-enno-</i> is a late assimilation of <i>-erno-</i> (which would admittedly be unusual), a scribal corruption of it, or a valid derivational suffix in its own right.” For the suffix <i>-erni</i> see Luján, Ptolemy’s Callaecia, 61.
3817	17 C2	+04/45	45 35	+04 05	<b>Aquae Segetae</b>	LN	LN: Moingt (FRA). <i>Aquis Segete</i> TP 1,5; <i>Aquis</i> Rav. 4,26. Latin, from <i>aquae</i> and a Celtic personal or divine name <i>Segeta</i> (listed as a PN by DLG under <i>sego-</i> ‘victoire, force’ and as a DN by GPN 256 note 10).
6285	25 H4	+02/41	41 51	+02 45	<b>Aquae Voconiae</b>	LN	LN: 2 miles W Caldes de Malavella (ESP). [ <i>Aquis</i> ] <i>Voconae</i> TP 1,1; <i>Aquis Voconis</i> IA 398,1; <i>Aquis Vocontis</i> Vicar. I, <i>Aquis Voconi</i> II, <i>Aquis Voconis</i> III, <i>Aquas Voconias</i> IV; <i>Aquis Vuconis</i> Rav. 4,42; <i>Aquis Bocconis</i> 5,3. Most probably to contain Latin PN <i>Voconius</i> ; a Celtic approach also possible, <i>uo- cono- iá-</i> .
4519	20 D2	+16/47	47 05	+16 30	<b>Arabiates</b>	EN	EN: area of Arrabo fl. (HUN). <i>Aruiates</i> (var. <i>Arabiates</i> ) Pliny 3,148. Anreiter 2001, 207 offers several possible interpretations, both Celtic and Pannonian. In view of the unclear form and absence of ethnic attribution these are mere guesses. It is likely, however, that in view of the variant reading it may be connected with the hydronym

							<i>Arrabo</i> , q.v.
5916	24 D3	-08/41	41 05	-07 30	<b>Arabrigenses</b>	EN	EN: left bank of R. Douro from R. Tedo to R. Coa (POR). <i>Axabrigenses</i> Pliny 4,118; Ἀράβριγα (var. Ἀραβρίγα) Ptol. 2,5,6; <i>Ierabrica</i> (var. <i>lerabrica</i> , <i>gerabrica</i> ) IA 419,9; <i>Ierabriga</i> (var. <i>ierabrica</i> ) 421,1; <i>Terebrica</i> (var. <i>teribrica</i> ) Rav. 4,43; <i>Perbrigam</i> 4,44; <i>Arabrigenses</i> CIL 2, 760.14, <i>Arabrigensis</i> 967. The inhabitants of <i>Arabriga</i> (listed by Barrington as an unlocated town). <i>Ara-</i> & <i>brig-</i> , then ‘the raised fortified settlement’. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 110, following Corominas <i>Tópica Hespérica</i> II, 224-25, suggests <i>*ara</i> ‘cultivated land’.
6287	25 D3	-02/42	42 56	-01 57	<b>Aracaeli</b>	LN	LN: Huarte-Araquil (ESP). <i>Aracelitanos</i> (var. <i>aracelli-</i> , <i>aroceli-</i> , <i>arocaeli-</i> ) Pliny 3,24; <i>Aracaeli</i> AI 455,3; <i>Aracellitanorum</i> Hyd. chron. 2.128. Obscure. For a Celtic approach cf. <i>Aracelum</i> (map 24 H1 5917). Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 439 compare this to <i>Antequia</i> (above no. 6276), and suggest <i>Araceli</i> is a Latin interpretation ‘altar del cielo’ for an indigenous name <i>*Araquelis</i> or <i>*Araquilis</i> , from <i>*Arā ak<sup>w</sup>ā</i> ‘river Ara’.
5917	24 H1	-04/43	43 11	-03 59	<b>Aracelum</b>	LN	LN: Espina del Gallego (ESP). <i>Aracelum</i> (var. <i>aracellum</i> , <i>arracilum</i> ) Flor. 2,33,50, <i>Racilium</i> Oros. 6,21,5. See also <i>Aracillum</i> 5917a. According to B. M. Prósper (2002: 203), the place-name should be analysed as <i>*ara-killo-</i> , with the second component going back to PCelt. <i>*kīlno</i> from PIE <i>*kēl-no-</i> ; the PIE root is identified as a lengthened grade of <i>*kel-</i> ‘cubrir’ (apparently a misprint of <i>*k’el-</i> ‘verbergen’ IEW: 553-4, LIV: 322-3). See <i>Aracillum</i> 5917a. For a set of different explanations see Falileyev, Salamanca.
- 5917a	24 H1	-04/43	43 11	-03 59	<b>Aracillum</b>	LN	LN: Espina del Gallego (ESP). <i>Aracillum</i> . Itin. Astorga 1.10. See <i>Aracelum</i> 5917.
- 978a	7 F2	-01/49	49 06	-00 26	<b>Araegenue</b>	LN	LN: Vieux (FRA). See no. 978 <i>Aregenoua</i> .
3459	15 D2	+04/43	43 54	+04 41	<b><u>Aramo?</u></b>	LN	LN: Aramon (FRA). <i>Aramoni</i> CIL 12, 2971. Ho. cites another inscription, CIR 120 <i>Aramo</i> , and Da. gives an attestation from 1022, <i>Aramonum</i> . Possibly Celtic, cf. DLG <i>aramo-</i> ‘doux, calme’ (cf. W. <i>araf</i> ‘slow’, etc.; cf. PN <i>Aramo</i> and EN <i>Aramici</i> . If analysis is correct, ‘the calm place’ or even ‘the place of the Calm god’ (cf. DG: 22).
6779	26B4	-09/37	37 37	-08 15	<b>Arandis</b>	LN	LN: near Ourique? (POR). <i>Aranditani</i> Pliny 4,118; Ἀρανδίς Ptol. 2,5,5. Possibly

								Celtic, although etymology is doubtful: to <i>are-randa</i> (García Alonso Ptol., 101-2; but see ACPN: 225 fn.5); <i>arandi</i> (PNPG, Poss. Celt.). See also <i>Aranni</i> .
3460	15 C2	+04/43	43 47	+04 12	<b>Arandunum</b>	LN		LN: Calvisson? (FRA) <i>Arandunici</i> CIL 12, 4155. The LN is deduced from an EN; possibly Celtic. At face value, <i>Aran-</i> & <i>-dūno-</i> ; <i>aran(o)-</i> (with the lack of composition vowel) does not find direct parallels elsewhere. Another possibility is to consider the LN as <i>arando- unum</i> .
- 6779a	26 B4	-09/37	37 37	-08 15	<b>Aranni</b>	LN		LN: near Ourique? (POR). <i>Aranni</i> IA 426,3; <i>Arani</i> (var. <i>aram</i> ) Rav. 4,43. See <i>Arandis</i> .
3819	17 D2	+04/45	45 53	+04 48	<b>Arar fl.</b>	RN		RN: Saône (FRA). <i>Flumen est Arar</i> Caes BG 1,12,1, <i>ab Arari</i> (var. <i>arare</i> ) 8,4,3; <i>confluentem Araris</i> Livy perioch. 139; Ἄραρ Strabo 4,1,11; <i>Arar</i> Lucan. 6,476; Ἄραρ Ptol. 2,10,3. Obscure. PNPg segments ar- ar-, listing <i>ar-</i> as a Celtic element meaning ‘moving, rising, raised’. TGF: 1021 gives <i>*ar</i> as a ‘pre-Celtic’ hydronym, meaning ‘cours d’eau’. The element is so small and frequently-occurring that it seems impossible definitely to attribute this instance to any one language.
6289	25 D4	-02/41	41 31	-01 30	<b>Aratikos</b>	LN		LN: Arándiga (Zaragoza)? (ESP). Coin legend <i>aratikos</i> (Villaronga 279). See <i>Aratis</i> 6289a.
- 6289a	25 D4	-02/41	41 31	-01 30	<b>Aratis</b>	LN		LN: Arándiga (Zaragoza)? (ESP). Coin legend <i>aratis</i> (MLH A.61, Villaronga 279). PNPg, discussing a possibly Celtic element <i>arandi-</i> in the name <i>Arandis</i> ( 6779), mentions “the occurrence of the name in Celtiberian script on coins as <i>aratis</i> (MLH A.61)”. See <i>Aratikos</i> 6289.
- 6294a	25 B4	-04/41	41 55	-03 10	<b>Arauakoi</b>	EN		EN: between R. Duero and R. Ebro (ESP). Ἀραβάκαι Polyb. 35,2,13; Ἀρουακοί Diodorus 31,42 (reported by Photius). See <i>Areuaci</i> 6924 and cf. <i>Arouakoi</i> 6924b.
19497	86 B3	+31/40	40 01	+31 51	<b>Araunia</b>	LN		LN: SE Sykeon (TUR). Ἀρα<υ>νίας χωρίον Vita Theod. Syk. I, 59,99. Compared (e.g., K. H. Schmidt, cit. ACPN 282) with W PN <i>Arawn</i> , which may be a coincidence.
3461	15 A3	+03/43	43 24	+03 25	<b>Aaura</b>	LN		LN: St-Thibéry (FRA). <i>Aaura</i> IA 389,4. The LN is derived from the RN <i>Aauris</i> (q.v. below no. 3462). Also known as <i>Cessero</i> 3461a.
3462	15 A2	+03/43	43 33	+03 29	<b>Aauris fl.</b>	RN		RN: Hérault (FRA). Ἀαύριος (var. Ἀαύριου) Ptol. 2,10,2; Ἀαυρις (var. Παύραρις) Strabo 4,1,6; <i>Araris</i> Pliny 3, 32; <i>Aauris</i> Mela 2.5.80, <i>Aauri fluminis</i>

							Vita Severi 1.7; later sources: <i>Araur</i> (807), <i>Eraur</i> (990) TGF: 1021. Although sometimes considered pre-Celtic (cf. ONLF: 85), Celtic etymology possible, cf <i>ar-</i> , <i>ara-</i> , <i>aro-</i> ; <i>au</i> . Cf. also G. APΩP (Bern).
4520	20 C6	+15/43	43 49	+15 46	<b>Arausa</b>	LN	LN: Velika Mrdakovica (CRO). Ἀραύζωνα (var. ἀραυζωνα; ἀραυζῶνα; ἀραυζῶνα Ptol. 2,16,6; <i>Arausion</i> (var. <i>aurasion</i> , <i>arausionum</i> ) Rav. 5,14; <i>Erausina</i> (var. <i>erausiana</i> ) Rav. 4,16; <i>Arausiona</i> Guid. 115; <i>Arausa</i> IA 272,4. Possibly but not necessarily Celtic; see <i>araus(i)o-</i> .
3017	14 D2	-02/46	46 56	-01 02	<b>Arbatilicum</b>	LN	LN: Herbage (FRA). in <i>Arbatilico</i> GdeT GM 89. Obscure due to this late and sole attestation. May be Celtic (cf. <i>ar-</i> , <i>bato-</i> (for which see PNPG possible Celtic element, and suffix <i>-ico-</i> which could be Celtic), but its Celticity is questionable.
5918	24 F3	-06/41	41 30	-05 36	<b>Arboukale</b>	LN	LN: El Alba de Villalazán? (ESP). Ἀρβουκάλην Polyb. 3,14,1; <i>Arbocala</i> Livy 21,5,6. A variant, or older, form of <i>Albocela</i> 5918a.
6290	25 C4	-03/41	41 16	-02 06	<b>Arcobriga</b>	LN	LN: Cerro Vilar (Monreal de Ariza) (ESP). <i>Arcobrigenses</i> (var. <i>argo-</i> , <i>-obrienses</i> , <i>arcocorrigenses</i> ) Pliny 3,24; Ἀρκόβριγα Ptol. 2,6,57; <i>Arcobriga</i> IA 437,1; 438,13; <i>Arcobrica</i> Rav. 4,43. A Celtic LN in <i>brig-</i> ; G. R. Isaac (PNPG) discusses <i>arci-</i> , <i>arco-</i> as a possibly Celtic element, since it is often associated with Celtic elements, but adds “There is no both formally and semantically obvious etymon.” Gorrochategui, Establishment and Analysis, 165 cites de Bernardo Stempel, ‘who relates this name to the Celtic verb for “ask” [OI <i>arcu</i> , W <i>archaf</i> ], cognate with Lat. <i>posco</i> ’. Certain scholars (e.g., Schulten, <i>Numantia</i> II 141; García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 99; Curchin ‘Celticization’) refer to the PN <i>Arcus</i> (common in pre-Roman Hispania); derivations by Holder (to PN <i>Arquius</i> ) and Albertos Firmat’s (OPP 32, to <i>*arcto-</i> ) are untenable.
1839	11 F2	+05/50	50 23	+05 50	<b>Arduenna Silva</b>	TN	TN: Ardennes (FRA). <i>Arduennam</i> ( <i>siluam</i> ) Caesar <i>BG</i> 5, 3; 6, 29; Ἀρδουέννα Strabo 4,3,5; <i>Arduenna</i> Tacitus <i>Ann.</i> 3, 42; <i>Arduenna</i> Orosius 6,10,19; <i>Ardenna</i> Fortunat. <i>Carm.</i> 7,4; in <i>medio Ardoennensis silvae</i> Greg. Tur. <i>HF</i> VIII.21; <i>Cyria Ardvenn[ensis]</i> CIL 13, 3631, etc. ‘Elevated land/forest’, to <i>ardū</i> ‘high’.
3821	17 I2	+07/45	45 46	+07 00	<b>Arebrigium</b>	LN	LN: Near Le Pré-St-Didier (ITL). <i>Arebrigium</i> TP 2,4; <i>Arebrigium</i> IA 345,4, 347,7; <i>Arebribium</i> Rav. 4, 30. Celtic, <i>are- brig- io-</i> . DLG translates this LN as ‘Fort-de-

								l'Est', and compares with <i>Desso-briga</i> 'Fort-du-Sud' s.v. <i>dexsiuo</i> .
978	7 F2	-01/49	49 06	-00 26	<b>Aregenoua</b>	LN		LN: Vieux (FRA). Ἀρηγενοῦα (var. ἀργένουος) Ptol. 2,8,2; <i>Araegenue</i> TP 1,2. 'Facing the estuary', to <i>are-</i> & <i>genuā-</i> . See also <i>Araegenue</i> 978a.
979	7 D3	-03/48	48 27	-02 22	<b>Aregenoua fl.</b>	RN		RN: Arguenon (FRA). See 978 <i>Aregenoua</i> . Cfr. Ptol. 2,8,2.
- 9294a	39 H3	+10/45	45 26	+10 42	<b>Arelica</b>	LN		LN: Peschiera? (IT). <i>Coll(egio) n(autarum) v(eronensium) a(relicae) constist(entium)</i> CIL 5, 4017; <i>In collegio naviculariorum Arelicensium</i> CIL 5, 4015; <i>Coll(egio) naut(arum) Arilic(ensium)</i> CIL 5, 4016. Celtic, <i>are-</i> & <i>lica</i> ; cf. <i>Ari(o)lica</i> 9294.
977	7 C3	-04/48	48 18	-03 15	<b>Aremorica</b> <b>Ar(e)morica</b>	TN		TN: Brittany (FRA). <i>Ar[e]morica</i> Caesar BG 5,53,6; 7,75,4; <i>Aremorica</i> Pliny 4, 31; <i>gentis Aremoricae</i> Auson. 11, 10.28 (Profess.); <i>Aremoricus</i> 25, 10.14 (Techn.); 27, 3.35 (Epist.); Rutil. Namat. 1, 213; <i>Armorici</i> Eutrop. 9, 21; Ἀρμόριχος Zosim. 6,5,3; etc. 'Land (situated) facing the sea', <i>are-</i> <i>mori-</i> <i>-ica</i> .
- 6299a	25 B5	-04/40	40 40	-03 11	<b>Arentia</b>	LN		LN: near Marchamalo (ESP). <i>Arentia</i> (var. <i>Arencia</i> ) Rav. 4,43. Since this is attested only in the late Ravenna, this may be a corrupt form for <i>Arriaca</i> 6299.
6293	25 C4	-03/41	41 40	-02 07	<b>Areva fl.</b>	RN		RN: Araviana (ESP). <i>Areuacis nomen dedit fluiuis Areua</i> Pliny 3,27. Cf. other Ar-river-names <i>Arabis fl.</i> (map 6 B4), <i>Aravis fl.</i> (map 15A2 no. 3462) and <i>Arar fl.</i> (map 17 D2 no. 3819), and <i>Arevaci</i> (6294). Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 73 report a theory that Pliny invented the river to explain the name of the <i>Arevaci</i> .
6294	25 B4	-04/41	41 55	-03 10	<b>Arevaci</b>	EN		EN: between R. Duero and R. Ebro (ESP). <i>Arvacos</i> Livy frag. 91, <i>Celtiberi Areuaci</i> Pliny 3,19; <i>Areuacis</i> 3,27; <i>Arevacos</i> 4,112; Ἀρεουάκαι Ptol. 2,6,55. Celtic, at face value <i>are-</i> & <i>uac(c)o-</i> . This name seems to be closely related either to the RN <i>Areva</i> (q.v.), as Pliny says, or perhaps to the EN <i>Vaccaei</i> 6227). The EN could be partially Celtic, derived from the RN with Celtic suffix <i>-āko-</i> , hence 'the people of/who live near the river <i>Areva</i> '. Corominas, <i>Tópica Hespérica</i> II 274, following Kuno Meyer, theorises that <i>Are-uaci</i> means 'eastern <i>Vaccaei</i> '. For more on this see Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 73-4. García Alonso 'Vettones y Layetanos' discusses the difficulties in choosing which name <i>Arevaci</i> derives from. Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 78 draws attention to a town <i>Aravaca</i> , near Madrid, which might have a related name, and García Alonso notes that this, the forms of the EN in <i>Arav-</i> (see below),

							and the modern RN <i>Araviana</i> all point to an EN in <i>Ara-</i> , not <i>Are-</i> , unless this <i>Ara</i> arose from <i>Are-</i> by assimilation. He tentatively suggests that the RN <i>*Arava</i> derives from this, that the <i>*Aravaci</i> are named after the river, and that the <i>Vaccae</i> have a related name, perhaps due to reanalysis of <i>*Arav-aci</i> as <i>*Are-vaci</i> and assumption that the <i>Vaccae</i> must be the people concerned. See also <i>Araukoi</i> 6294a, <i>Arouakoi</i> 6924b.
3677	16 B3	+06/43	43 29	+06 05	<b>Argenteus fl.</b>	RN	RN: Argens (FRA). <i>ad flumen Argenteum</i> Lepid. to Cic. epist. 10,34,1; <i>Argenteus</i> Pliny 3,35; Ἀργεντίου Ptol. 2,10,5. Latin or Celtic, from the word for ‘silver’; see <i>arganto-</i> .
5919	24 F2	-06/42	42 18	-05 57	<b>Argentiolum</b>	LN	LN: Pago de S. Miguel, Miñambres? (ESP). Ἀργεντέολα Ptol. 2,6,28; <i>Argentiolum</i> Itin. Astorga 4; <i>Argentiolum</i> IA 423,4. A probable Latin name. Celtic (see <i>arganto-</i> ) for García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 212-13.
3020	14 G2	+01/46	46 36	+01 30	<b><u>Argentomagus</u></b>	LN	LN: Argenton-St-Marcel (FRA). <i>Argentomago</i> TP 1,3; <i>Agrantomago</i> IA 460,2, <i>Argentomago</i> 461,2-3, 462,3; <i>Argentomagensis</i> ND oc 9, 31. Celtic, <i>arganto- &amp; magos</i> .
1840	11 H4	+07/48	48 36	+07 44	<b>Argentorate</b>	LN	LN: Strasbourg (FRA). Ἀργεντόρατον (var. Ἀργεντόραγον) Ptol. 2,9,9; <i>Argentorato</i> (var. <i>argentorata</i> ) IA 239, 2; 241,5; (var. <i>argentoarato</i> ) 252, 5; 350, 3; 354, 5; 372, 2; 374,8; <i>Argentoratensis</i> ND oc 1, 34; 5,130; 27,3,4,5; <i>Ciuitas Argentoratensium</i> (var. <i>argentoratentium</i> , <i>ariotoracensium</i> , <i>ariotoratensium</i> , etc.) NG 7, 3; <i>Argentorate</i> TP 2,4; <i>Argentoratus</i> (var. <i>Argentoratum</i> ) Ammianus 15,11; 16,2, etc.; [Arge]ntorate CIL 13, 9082; <i>Argent(oratensium)</i> , 5966; <i>Ar[gentorate]</i> 9077, etc. ‘Silver-rampant’, <i>arganto- &amp; rāto/ā-</i> .
1841	11 H4	+07/48	48 02	+07 32	<b>Argentovaria?</b>	LN	LN: Biesheim-Kunheim. (TIR M-32 gives <i>Horburg/Horbourg</i> as modern name for <i>Argentovaria</i> . Cf. also EGA 360 for comments on the localisation of this LN.). Ἀργεντουαρία (var. Ἀργεντουαρία, Ἀργεντουαρία) Ptol. 2,9,9; <i>Argentovaria</i> IA 354,3; <i>Castrum Argentariense</i> (var. <i>argenturiense</i> , <i>argentanense</i> , <i>argentoratense</i> , <i>argentiaticense</i> ) NG 9, 8; <i>Argentariam</i> Orosius 7,33,8; <i>Argentovaria</i> TP 2,4, etc. Celtic; the first component is <i>arganto-</i> ; interpretations of the second vary. According to Isaac, PNPG, it contains <i>uaro-</i> ‘water, river’ and

								therefore means ‘silver-water’ vel. sim. Differently P. De Bernardo Stempel, Ptolemy’s evidence for Germania Superior, 78: “Gaul. (-)varia < *wɣ̥-yā ‘enclosure; defense’ may be related to substantives such as OIr. <i>ferenn</i> ‘belt’ < *wer-eno-s ‘der Schließende’ ...; <i>fertae</i> gl. tumulum, < *wer-t-yā, also meaning ‘A mound or dyke used as boundary-mark’ and frequent in place-names ...; <i>feronn</i> , <i>ferann</i> < *wer-onom ‘land, domain’, “(wohl ‘*umhegt’)” therefore ‘silver-enclosure’, cf. for semantics 1840 <i>Argentorate</i> .
3822	17 H2	+06/45	45 43	+06 57	<b>Ariolica</b>	LN	LN: Near La Thuile (IT). <i>Ariolica</i> TP 2,4. <b>Ario- &amp; lica.</b>	
9294	39 H3	+10/45	45 26	+10 42	<b>Ariolica</b> <b>Ari(o)lica</b>	LN	LN: Peschiera? (IT). <i>Ariolica</i> TP 1,4; 2,4; <i>Ariolita</i> Rav. 4, 30. <b>Ario- &amp; lica.</b> Cf. <i>Arelica</i> 9294a.	
4093	18 A3	+03/46	46 11	+03 47	<b>Ariolica?</b>	LN	LN: La Pacaudière (FRA). There is some confusion about places <i>Ariolica</i> and about which sources refer to which place. Ho. lists several other places <i>Ariolica</i> : he lists Pontarlier as one of them, known from AI and TP as listed for <i>Ariorica</i> below. TIR Milan gives AI and TP s.v. <i>Ariolica</i> = Pontarlier. CAG 42.163 also discusses the location of TP’s <i>Ariolica</i> . Possibly identical with <i>Ariorica</i> 4094a..	
4094	18 D3	+06/46	46 54	+06 22	<b>Ariorica</b>	LN	LN: Pontarlier (FRA). <i>Ariorica</i> IA 348,4. Cf. (medieval, s.a.) 862 <i>Arlia</i> , 1050 <i>Pons Arlie</i> (TGF 5976). Celtic, at face value: <b>ario- rico-</b> . It may be the case that <i>*Ariorica</i> is a mistake in AI for <i>Ariolica</i> 4094 a: the <i>-l-</i> is supported by the modern name, if it is from <i>*Pont Ar(io)li(c)a</i> . Then <b>ario- lica.</b>	
6781	26 C2	-08/39	39 28	-07 60	<b>Aritium</b>	LN	LN: Casal da Várzea: 9 miles E Abrantes (POR). Ἀρίτιον (var. Ἀρύτιον, Ἀρήτιον) Ptol. 2,5,6. Possibly Celtic, <b>*are- &amp; ito-io</b> (less likely: <b>*are-ritu-io-</b> ‘place facing the ford’). Cf. its other attestations: <i>Aritium oppidum vetus</i> 6781a and <i>Aritium Praetorium</i> .	
- 6781a	26 C2	-08/39	39 28	-07 60	<b>Aritium oppidum vetus</b>	LN	LN: Casal da Várzea: 9 miles E Abrantes (POR). <i>Aritium oppidum vetus</i> CIL 2, 172. See <i>Aritium</i> 6781.	
6782	26 B2	-09/39	39 20	-08 09	<b>Aritium Praetorium</b>	LN	LN: possibly Tamazim, near Bemposta (POR). <i>Aritio Praetorio</i> IA 418,8; <i>Aretio Pretorion</i> Rav. 4, 44. For a possible Celtic Etymology see s.v. <i>Aritium</i> .	
- 6294b	25 B4	-04/41	41 55	-03 10	<b>Arouakoi</b>	EN	EN: between R. Duero and R. Ebro (ESP). Ἀρουάκοι Strabo 3,4,13; Ἀρουακῶν App. 6,16,99. See <i>Areuaci</i> 6924 and cf. <i>Arauakoi</i> 6924a.	

3022	14 E1	-01/47	47 59	-00 35	<b>Arouioi?</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). Ἀρούβιοι (var. ἀρούϊοι) Ptol. 2, 8, 7. Celtic, to <i>*arw-yo-</i> < PIE <i>*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-u-io-</i> ; so “those of the cultivated lands”. See also Lambert, Ludgunensis 222; Falileyev, Celtic Presence in Dobrudja.
4526	20 D2	+16/47	47 02	+16 40	<b>Arrabo fl.</b>	RN	RN: Rába (AUS/HUN). Ναραβῶνα (var. Νάρβωνα, ἄραβῶνα) Ptol. 2,14, 1; cf. also 2,15,1; 2,11,3; Ἀραβῶν (var. Ἀράβων) Marc. Heracl., Peripl. 36; <i>Arrabo</i> TP 4,3; <i>Arrabonis</i> Einh. Ann. 177,27. Possibly Celtic. According to Anreiter 2001, 221f., who takes <i>*Arabōn</i> as the ultimate form, it may be segmented into <i>*ar(e)-</i> ‘eastern’ and <i>*abōn</i> ‘river’; see there also a reference to p.c. by W. Meid, who suggests it to be <i>Are-</i> (prep.) & <i>*abōn</i> , therefore ‘(a place) by the river’ (RN < LN), which is not very likely. W. P. Schmid (in <i>IF</i> 74, 1970, 136) considers this RN alongside the others with suffix <i>-āuon-</i> .
4527	20 E2	+17/47	47 42	+17 37	<b>Arrabona</b>	LN	LN: Győr (HUN). <i>Arrabone</i> TP 4,2; <i>Arrabona</i> IA 263,1; 267,10; <i>Arabona</i> IA 246,6; <i>Arrabone</i> IA 261,8; <i>Arrabonae</i> ND oc. 34,15,16,27. See s.v. <i>Arrabo fl.</i>
6298	25 H4	+02/41	41 33	+02 06	<b>Arrago(na)</b>	LN	LN: Sabadell (ESP). <i>Arragonem</i> Vicar. I; <i>Arragone</i> II, III; <i>Abragone</i> IV; <i>Arragona</i> Rav. 4, 42; <i>Aragona</i> 5,3. Obscure; cf. <i>ara-</i> or <i>ago-</i> .
6299	25 B5	-04/40	40 40	-03 11	<b>Arriaca</b>	LN	LN: near Marchamalo (ESP). <i>Arriaca</i> IA 436,3. Obscure; a Celtic approach is possible (cf. <i>-āka-</i> ). Holder considers the name to be from a Latin personal name <i>Arrius</i> , <i>Arius</i> . Curchin ‘Celticization’ adds that Spain lacks the <i>*ario-</i> compounds found in Gaul, such as GN <i>Ariolica</i> , and suggests that this name probably comes from the Latin name <i>Arrius</i> which is amply attested in this region. Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 239 accepts that the name might be Latin, but offers Basque <i>(h)arri</i> as an alternative. Luján, at the Innsbruck conference, considered this name to be from the Old European hydronymy root <i>*ar-</i> . But see <i>Arentia</i> 6299a.
5920	24 D1	-08/43	43 33	-07 37	<b>Arroni</b>	EN	EN: Viveiro or Ortigueira region (ESP). <i>Arroni</i> Pliny 4,111. Holder suggests that this is a form of <i>Iarroni</i> , formed by syncope in the same way as <i>Artabrii</i> from <i>Arotrebae</i> (below no. 5921a), but this seems unnecessary. For <i>Ar(r)(o)-</i> compare <i>Arrotrebae</i> , <i>Arrago(na)</i> (25H4 no. 6298) and <i>Arouioi</i> (14E1 no. 3022). Could this name be from <i>ar-</i> ‘moving, rising, raised’, i.e. ‘the moving people’ or ‘the people who live in a raised area’?



-	5921a	24 C1	-09/43	43 10	-08 40	<b>Arrotrebae</b>	EN	EN: from Cape S. Adrián to Cape Ortegal (ESP). See <i>Artabri</i> 5921; one name is an adaptation of the other. This form is known only from Pliny. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 141-2 suggests that it is from Celtic <i>*are-</i> ‘ante, pro’ and <i>-treb-</i> ‘habitation’, a possibility which according to Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 140 is denied by Hernando Balmori ‘los confines de occidente’ 259, and he discusses Palomar Lapesa’s suggestion ( <i>Emerita</i> 22 (1954) 323) that the original form was <i>*Adro-trebai</i> , which was contaminated by the name <i>Cantabri</i> (below no. 5972). It seems plausible that <i>*Aretrebae</i> could become <i>*Arrotrebae</i> under influence of the nearby name <i>Arroni</i> (5920); cf. <i>Atrebatas</i> . <i>Are-trebae</i> could be ‘the nearby inhabitants’ or ‘the inhabitants to the east’.
	5921	24 C1	-09/43	43 10	-08 40	<b>Artabri</b>	EN	EN: from Cape S. Adrián to Cape Ortegal (ESP). Ἄρταβροι Strabo 3,3,5, Ἀρτάβροις 3,2,9; <i>Artabri</i> Mela 3,13; <i>gentem Artabrum, quae numquam fuit, manifesto errore: Arrotrebae enim</i> Pliny 4,114, <i>promuntorium ... Artabrum</i> 113, <i>e regione Arrotrebarum promuntori</i> 119; Ἄρταβροι (var. Ἀρτάβροι) Ptol. 2,6,21. Isaac (PNPG) analyses this as Celtic, from <i>*arto-</i> ‘bear’ and a complex suffix <i>-abro-</i> (cf <i>Cantabri</i> below no. 5972). See also <i>Arrotrebae</i> 5921a.
	5922	24 C1	-09/43	43 25	-08 30	<b>Artabris Sinus</b>	SN	Gulf: gulf between Cape S. Adrián and Cape Prior (ESP). Ἀρτάβροις ἄκρας Strabo 3,1,3, <i>in Artabris</i> (var. <i>-res</i> ) <i>sinus</i> Mela 3,13. ‘The bay of / near the <i>Artabri</i> ’. An adjective derived from <i>Artabri</i> (5921) and Latin <i>sinus</i> .
	5923	24 B2	-10/42	42 55	-09 15	<b>Artabron Limen</b>	LN	LN: Duyo (Fisterra)? (ESP). Ἀρτάβρων λιμὴν Ptol. 2,6,2. See <i>Artabri</i> above no. 5921; this hybrid form is ‘the port of or near the <i>Artabri</i> ’.
-	6107a	24 B1	-10/43	43 03	-09 20	<b>Artabrum Pr.</b>	Prom	Prom: Cape Touriñán (ESP). <i>Artabrum</i> Pliny 4,113, Ἀρτάβροις ἄκρας Strabo 3,1,3. See 5921 <i>Artabri</i> .
	4219	19 F3	+13/46	46 14	+13 11	<b>Artenia []</b>	LN	LN: Arterna (IT). <i>Artenia</i> (var. <i>arcenia</i> , <i>artema</i> , <i>artemia</i> , <i>arteunia</i> ) Paul. Diac. 4, 37; probably not Celtic (cf. <i>Artenia</i> in Asia Minor), but cf. Celtic names in <i>arto-</i>
	3023	14 I2	+03/46	46 00	+03 08	<b>Arthona</b>	LN	LN: Artonne (FRA). <i>Arthonam</i> (var. <i>Artonam</i> , <i>Arcthonensim vicum</i> ) GdeT GC 5; <i>Arthonensis</i> (var. <i>Arton-</i> ) VP 5.2. Probably Celtic, to <i>arto-</i> , with <i>-th-</i> a Latinate spelling for <i>-t-</i> .
	1845	11 E4	+04/48	48 33	+04 09	<b>Artiaca</b>	LN	LN: Arcis-sur-Aube (FRA). <i>Artiaca</i> IA 361,4; <i>Artiacum</i> Vita Genovefae VII.35; <i>Ab</i>

								<i>Archiaca oppido ... In urbe Archiaca</i> 39; <i>Arciaca</i> Fredegarius <i>Chron.</i> III.71; <i>Arciaca</i> Merovingian coins. 'Place of (she)-bears' or 'place of Art(i)us', an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of <i>arto-</i> 'bear', or PN / DN * <i>Artios</i> , * <i>Artia</i> (cfr. PN <i>Comartiorix</i> , DN <i>Deae Artioni</i> ); cf. <i>Art(i)us</i> OPEL I, 178-179.
19499	86 C3	+32/40	40 07	+32 17	<b>Artiknos</b>	LN	LN: Yağmurdede (TUR). Deduced from χωρίου Ἀρτικνιακοῦ (RECAM 172). If Celtic, to <i>arto-</i> ? On indigenous PNN in <i>art-</i> see Robert <i>Noms indigènes</i> , 344-5.	
4220	19 E2	+12/47	47 52	+12 36	<b>Artobriga</b>	LN	LN: on road from * <i>Bedaium</i> to Iuvavum; Traunstein? (GER); on the ancient road between Salzburg and Chiemsee, near modern Oberteisendorf (for this identification see A. Adam in <i>BNF NF</i> 11 (1976), p. 17). Ἀρτοβρίγα (var. Ἀρτόβριγα) Ptol. 2,12,5; <i>Artobriga</i> TP 3,3; on location of the two place-names see the comment in PNPG. Transparently Celtic * <i>arto-</i> & <i>brig-</i> 'Artos's (< G. <i>artos</i> 'bear') fortified (hill) settlement', cf. (with a different second component) * <i>Arto-dunum</i> (mod. Arthun) in France or W. <i>Dineirth</i> / <i>Dinarth</i> .	
5432	22 F3	+28/45	45 15	+28 08	<b>Arubium</b>	LN	LN: Mačin (ROM; the country is not identified in Bar.). <i>Arubio</i> TP 7, 4; <i>Arrubio</i> IA 225,4; <i>Arubio</i> ND or. 39,7,16; <i>Arubion</i> Rav. 4,5; cf. also I.O.M. ARVB(IANO) CIL 3, 5443, 5575, 5580; IOM CONSER(VATORI) ARVIANO CIL 3, 5185. Identification with Ἀρούβιοι (I. Duridanov, <i>Keltische Sprachspuren</i> ,137) is not valid. 'A ploughed (or raised) swathe', <i>aru-</i> & <i>bio-</i> ; see Falileyev, <i>Celtic Presence in Dobrudja</i> .	
6789	26 C4	-08/37	37 58	-07 07	<b>Arucci</b>	LN	LN: Cortijo de Fuente Seca (Aroche) (ESP). <i>Arunci</i> (var. <i>-ngi-</i> , <i>-nti-</i> ) Pliny 3, 14; Ἀρουκκί (var. Ἀρούκη, Ἀρούκι) Ptol. 2,4,11; <i>Arucci</i> (var. <i>aracci</i> ) IA 427,2; <i>Aruci</i> Rav. 4,45. Cf. <i>aru-</i> ; the LN, however, is very likely to be non-Celtic, see De Hoz, <i>From Ptolemy, 20 and García Alonso, Ptol., 76-7</i> .	
6790	26 E5	-06/36	36 45	-05 09	<b>Arunda</b>	LN	LN: Ronda (ESP). <i>Arunda</i> Pliny 3,14; Ἀροῦνδα Ptol. 2,4,11; <i>ordine Arundens</i> CIL 2, 1360. Obscure. García Alonso Ptol. 78 compares the LN with that in <i>-randi-</i> , which is not very likely; see De Hoz, <i>From Ptolemy</i> , p. 20 where Celticity of the LN is rejected.	
-	9414a	39 H2	+10/45	45 34	+10 55	<b>Arusnates</b>	EN	EN: Around Fumane (IT). See 9414 <i>Pagus Arusnatium</i> .
6791	26 E4	-06/37	37 37	-05 36	<b>Arva</b>	LN	LN: El Castillejo (Alcolea del Río) (ESP). <i>Arua</i> (var. <i>araua</i> ) Pliny 3,11; <i>ordo</i>	

								<i>Municipi Flavi Aruensis</i> CIL 2, 1064. Not necessarily Celtic but cf. Celtic LN component <i>aru-</i> , ACPN: 205.
3823	17 B2	+03/45	45 50	+03 35	<b>Arverni</b>	EN		EN: (FRA). <i>Arvernos</i> Caes BG 1,31,3, 7,8,2; <i>Arvernorum</i> Livy perioch. 61; Ἀρούερνοι Strabo 4,2,3; Ἀρουερνῶν Ptol. 2,7,12, Ἀρόερνοι St.Byz, etc. Celtic, <i>are- uerno-</i> . TGF 2435 cites Endlicher's Glossary in translating the name 'ante obsta, résiste en face!'. Lambert LG 203 suggests rather <i>*ar(e)-uer-no-</i> , meaning 'ce qui est supérieur?', cf. Lat. <i>supernus</i> .
- 3823a	17 B2	+03/45	45 50	+03 35	<b>Arvernia</b>	TN		TN: (FRA). See 3823 <i>Arverni</i> ; a LN derived from the EN.
5924	24 C2	-09/42	42 54	-08 33	<b>Assegonia</b>	LN		LN: Santiago de Compostela (ESP). <i>Aseconia</i> Itin. Astorga 2; <i>Assegonia</i> (var. <i>asseconia</i> ) IA 430,5; <i>Assegonion</i> Rav. 4,45. Celtic, <i>ad- sego- on- iá-</i> .
6303	25 H3	+02/42	42 54	+02 30	<b>Atacini</b>	EN		EN: (FRA). <i>Atacinus</i> Varro Quintil. inst. or. 10,1,87. <i>Atacinatorum</i> Mela 2,5,75. Obscure. It seems clear that the name of the people is related to the river <i>Atax</i> below, probably derived from it; they are the 'people of the Atax river'. However, see Prósper <i>Lenguas y religiones</i> 287-307 for the DN <i>Ataecina</i> : Prósper reports a theory relating the DN to OIr <i>adaig</i> 'night', though the <i>d</i> in <i>adaig</i> is thought to be from <i>*d</i> , not <i>*t</i> . The EN could be related to the DN.
6305	25 H2	+02/43	43 15	+02 59	<b>Atax fl.</b>	RN		RN: Aude (FRA). Ἄταξ, Ἄτακος (gen.) Strabo 4,1,6; <i>Atax</i> Lucan. 1,403; <i>Atax</i> Mela 2,5,81; <i>flumen Atax</i> Pliny 3,32; Ἄταγος Ptol. 2,10,2; <i>Atagus</i> Avien. 589; <i>Atax</i> Sid. App. Carm. 5, 209; Ἄταξ St. Byz. Gayraud, <i>Narbonne antique</i> 41-2, summarises various theories about the origin of this name; it has been attributed to Celtic, Basque and Greek. Obscure.
1850	11 C2	+02/50	50 24	+02 30	<b>Atrebates</b>	EN		EN (FRA). <i>Atrebates</i> Caesar BG 2, 4; Ἀτρεβάτιοι, τῶν Ἀτρεβατίων Strabo 4,3,5; <i>Atrebates</i> (var. <i>atreuates</i> ) Pliny 4, 106; Ἀτριβάτιοι Ptol. 2,9,4; ὁ Ἀτρέβας Cassius Dio 40,43; <i>Atrabatis</i> ND oc 42,40; ( <i>Ciuitas</i> ) <i>Atrabatum</i> (var. <i>atrauatum</i> , <i>atruatum</i> , <i>atraitium</i> , <i>atraitum</i> ) NG 6, 6; <i>Atrebates</i> (var. <i>atrabatis</i> , <i>atrabites</i> , <i>atrebatis</i> , <i>atrabates</i> ) Orosius 6,7,14; <i>Fines Atrebativ[m]</i> CIL 13, 9158; <i>Atreba[tivm]</i> 14, 4468; etc. '(Property) owners', <i>ad- trebo-ati-io-</i> . See also Zimmer, <i>Germani</i> , 7, for whom <i>A(d)trebates</i> is more likely to be derived from a LN (like e.g. <i>Tolosates</i> and <i>Tolosa</i> ).
3025	14 G3	+01/45	45 31	+01 13	<b>Attanum</b>	LN		LN: St-Yrieux-la-Perche (FRA). <i>Attanenses</i> Test. Ared. p. 413, <i>Attano</i> p. 416.

								Possibly but not necessarily Celtic; Delamarre DLG: 52 collects a number of G. PNN s.v. <i>atta-</i> and glosses this component as ‘père nourricier’. If it is G. (with a Latin suffix <i>-ānum</i> ?) this is more likely to contain a PN. See also DAG: 176, GPN: 309 for a PN <i>At(t)eanus</i> and DAG: 132 & 136 for PN <i>Attianus</i> .
5930	24 C3	-09/41	41 25	-08 47	<b>Auaron Pr.</b>	Pro m	Prom: Carreiro (Póvoa de Varzim) (POR). Αύραρον ἄκρον Ptol. 2,6,1. If Celtic, to <i>auo-</i> & <i>aro-</i> .	
6312	25 B3	-04/42	42 23	-03 17	<b>Auca</b>	LN	LN: Somorro (Villafranca de los Montes de Oca) (ESP). See CIL II, p. 395. Obscure; for a Celtic approach cf. <i>au-</i> , <i>auo-</i> and <i>-āko-</i> .	
3027	14 G4	+01/44	44 46	+01 29	<b>Auciago</b>	LN	LN: Auzac, Cm. St-Projet? (FRA). <i>Auciago</i> (var. <i>Auxiago</i> , <i>Ausiaco</i> ) VDesiderii 9(17). An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Lat. PN. TGF: 6962 suggests <i>Avitius</i> , but cf. <i>Aucius</i> (OPEL).	
1856	11 B2	+01/50	50 03	+01 26	<b>Augusta Ambianorum [Augusta] Ambianorum</b>	LN	LN: E (FRA). See 1828 <i>Ambiani</i> and cf. 2322 <i>Samarobriva Ambianorum</i> .	
-	3028b	14 I3	+03/45	45 47	+03 05	<b>Augusta Arvernorum</b>	LN	LN: Clermont-Ferrand (FRA). See <i>Civitas Arvernorum</i> 3028a.
9295	39 B4	+07/44	44 35	+07 50	<b>Augusta Bagiennorum</b>	LN	LN: Near Roncaglia, Bene Vagienna (IT). <i>Augusta Bagennorum</i> (var. <i>baci-</i> , <i>bati-</i> , <i>paci-</i> , <i>uagi-</i> ) Pliny 3, 49; Αὐγούστα Βαγιεννῶν (var. βαγιεννῶν) Ptolemy 3,1,31; <i>Aug(ustae) Bagiennorum</i> CIL 5, 7153; <i>Augusta Ba[g]ie[n(norum)]</i> CIL 3, 2718; <i>Aug(usta) Bagi(e)nnorum</i> AE 1921, 32, etc. A hybrid LN based on EN Bagienni, which is mentioned among other Ligurian tribes by Pliny 3, 47 (see also Varro, r.r. 1, 51,2; Vell. Pat. 1,15, etc.). Latin for Isaac, PNPG, comm. ad loc. For a Celtic approach (to Celt. <i>*badios</i> ‘brown’, cf. OIr <i>buide</i> ‘yellow’) see De Bernardo Stempel ‘Italy and Ireland’, 90. Cf. also 9295a <i>Bagienni</i> .	
1857	11 D3	+03/49	49 23	+03 20	<b>Augusta Suessionum</b>	LN	LN: Soissons (FRA). Αὐγούστα Οὐεσσόνων (var. Οὐεσσόνων) Ptol. 2,9,6; <i>Augusta Suesonum</i> IA 379, 6; <i>Suessionensis</i> ND oc 9,35; <i>Ciuitas Suessionum</i> (var. <i>sessionum</i> ) NG 6, 3; <i>Aug. Suessorum</i> TP 1,4; <i>Avg(vsta) Svess(ionvm)</i> CIL 13, 9031; <i>Avg(vsta) Svessionvm</i> 9158, etc. For the segmentation and etymology see 2356	

							<i>Suessiones.</i>
9297	39 B3	+07/45	45 04	+07 42	<b>Augusta Taurinorum</b>	LN	LN: Turin (IT). Αὐγούστα Ταυρικῶν (var. ῥαυρικῶν, ταυρίνων) Ptol. 3,1,31; <i>Taurinis</i> IA 341,1; 356,12; <i>Augusta Taurinorum</i> TP 2,5; <i>civitas Taurinis</i> (var. <i>taurines</i> ) IB 556,9; <i>Iulia Augusta Taurinorum</i> CIL 5, 7047. See <i>Taurini</i> .
2484	12 D4	+10/48	48 22	+10 51	<b>Augusta Vindelicum</b>	LN	LN: Augsburg (GER). Αὐγούστα Οὐινδελικῶν Ptol. 2,12,5(4); <i>Augusta Vindelicum</i> IA 232,1; 236.5; 241,4; 250,5; 258.2-3; <i>Augustae Uindelicensis</i> ND oc. 11,30; <i>Augusta Uindelicum</i> TP 3,1; <i>Agusta Vindalica</i> Vita Lucii conf. Curiensis 7; <i>Ael Avg</i> CIL 3, 5800; <i>Aug(usta) Vindelicum</i> 6, 3353, etc. Latin-Celtic hybrid, see s.v. <i>Vindelici</i> and cf. 2484a <i>Aelia Augusta</i> .
1858	11 D3	+03/49	49 52	+03 18	<b>Augusta Viromanduorum</b>	LN	LN: St-Quentin (FRA). Αὐγούστα <Οὐι>ρομανδύων Ptol. 2,9,6; <i>Augusta Veromandorum</i> (var. <i>ueromundorum</i> ) IA 379,4; <i>Ciuitas Ueromandorum</i> (var. <i>uiromandorum</i> , <i>ueremandorum</i> ) NG 6, 5; <i>Aug. Viro Muduorum</i> TP 1,3; <i>civit(at)i Vi[romand(uorum)]</i> CIL 13, 3528; <i>civi Viromanduo</i> 8341, <i>civI Viromanduo</i> 8342; <i>Aug(usta) Viromanduoru(m)</i> CIL 6, 2821, etc. For the analysis see 2424 <i>Viromandui</i> .
1859	11 E4	+04/48	48 18	+04 05	<b>Augustobona</b>	LN	LN: Troyes (FRA). Αὐγουστόβονα (var. Αὐγουστόμανα, Αὐγουστόβανα) Ptol. 2,8,10; <i>Augustobonam</i> IA 381,7, <i>Augustobona</i> (var. <i>augustoboua</i> ) 383, 6; <i>Aug(usto)bona</i> TP 1,4. Hybrid, ‘solid land/ground of Augustus’, with Celt. <i>bono-</i> . See also 2388 <i>Tricasses</i> .
-	6314a	25 D4	-02/41	41 52	<b>Augustobrica</b>	LN	LN: Muro de Ágreda (ESP). <i>Augustabrica</i> Rav. 4,43. A variant spelling for <i>Augustobriga</i> 6314 q.v.
	6314	25 D4	-02/41	41 52	<b>Augustobriga</b>	LN	LN: Muro de Ágreda (ESP). Αὐγουστόβριγα Ptol. 2,6.53; <i>Augustobriga</i> IA 442,3; <i>Au/gustobriga</i> CIL 2, 4892. Hybrid, <i>Augusto- &amp; brig-</i> . See also <i>Augustobrica</i> 6314a.
	6794	26 E2	-06/39	39 50	<b>Augustobriga</b>	LN	LN: Talavera la Vieja? (ESP). <i>Augustobrigenses</i> (var. <i>-bricenses</i> ) Plin. 4,118; Αὐγουστόβριγα (var. <i>-ίγα</i> ) Ptol. 2,5,7; <i>Augustobriga</i> (var. <i>augustobrica</i> ) IA 438,6; <i>Augustabria</i> Rav. 4,44. Hybrid, <i>Augusto- &amp; brig-</i> .
	4096	18 B3	+04/46	46 57	<b>Augustodunum</b>	LN	LN Autun (FRA). <i>Augustodunum</i> Mela 3,2,20; <i>Augustodunum</i> Tac. ann. 3.43; Αὐγουστόδουνον Ptol. 2,8,12; <i>Augustoduni</i> Amm. Marc. 15.11.11; <i>Aug(usto)dunum</i> TP 1,5; <i>Augustoduno</i> ND occ. 9,59; <i>Augustodunum</i> Oros. 7,29,8;

							<i>Augustodunum</i> IA 360,2, 458,5-6; <i>Augustoduno</i> 366,5; 460,8. Hybrid, <i>Augusto &amp; dūnu-</i> .
981	7 F2	-01/49	49 17	-00 41	<b>Augustodurum</b>	LN	LN : Bayeux (FRA). <i>Augustoduro</i> TP 1,2; <i>Avgvstodvr</i> CIL 13, 8979; [ <i>ab</i> ] <i>AvgDvr</i> CIL 13, 8980 (= CIL 17, 446); [ <i>ab</i> ] <i>Aug(ustoduro)</i> CIL 13, 8983 (= CIL 17, 447); [ <i>ab A</i> ] <i>ug[ustoduro]</i> CIL 13, 8987 (= CIL 17, 456); etc. Hybrid, <i>Augusto- &amp; duro-</i> . See 984 <i>Baiocasses</i> and 981a <i>Baiocas</i> .
1860	11 C3	+02/49	49 13	+02 35	<b>Augustomagus</b>	LN	LN: Senlis (FRA). <i>Aug(usto)magus</i> TP 1,4; <i>Augustomago</i> (var. <i>augustamago</i> ) IA 380,5. Hybrid, <i>Augusto- &amp; -magus</i> . Also known as <i>Castrum de Silvanectis</i> 1860a.
3028	14 I3	+03/45	45 47	+03 05	<b>Augustonemetum</b>	LN	LN: Clermont-Ferrand (FRA). Αὐγουστονέμετον Ptol. 2,7,12; <i>Aug[usto]nemeto</i> TP I, 3/4; ( <i>A</i> ) <i>ugusto(ne)meto</i> CIL 13, 5209. Hybrid, <i>Augusto &amp; nemeto-</i> . See also <i>Civitas Arvernorum</i> 3028a.
3029	14 G3	+01/45	45 51	+01 15	<b>Augustoritum</b>	LN	LN: Limoges (FRA). Αὐγουστόριτον Ptol. 2,7,9; <i>Au(gu)s(to)rito</i> TP I,2; <i>Augustoritum</i> IA 462,2. Hybrid, <i>Augusto- &amp; ritu-</i> .
982	7 F3	-01/48	48 20	-00 30	<b>Aulerci</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Aulercos</i> Caesar BG 2, 34; in <i>Aulercis</i> 7, 74,3; 3,29,3; <i>Aulercos</i> (var. <i>auleurcos</i> , <i>auleurcus</i> , <i>aulurcus</i> ) 7,4,6; <i>Aulercos</i> Livy 5,34,5; <i>Aulercos</i> (var. <i>aulercus</i> , <i>aluercos</i> , <i>aulerchos</i> ) Orosius 6,11,12; <i>cives Aulercu[s]</i> CIL 13, 610. Possibly ‘Those far from the track’, <i>au-lerco</i> ; see s.v. 3030 <i>Aulerci Cenomani</i> . See 1019 <i>Noiodounon Diablintum</i> , 2008 <i>Ebuovices</i> and 2249b <i>Cenomani</i> .
3030	14 F1	+00/47	47 55	+00 30	<b>Aulerci Cenomani</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Aulercos</i> Caes BG 2, 34, <i>Aulercis</i> , <i>Cenomani totidem</i> 7, 75. 3; <i>Aulerci qui cognominantur .... Cenomani</i> Pliny 4, 107; Αὐλέρκιοι οἱ Κενομάννιοι Ptol. 2,8,8; <i>Aulercorum</i> IA 384,4. Celtic; various different Celtic etymologies have been suggested. For <i>Aulerci</i> , AILR segments au-lerco-, with <i>au-</i> , <i>auo-</i> ‘(moving) away’ and <i>lerco-</i> ‘path’. Lambert ‘Remarks on Gaulish Place-Names’ 164 suggests the <i>-c-</i> was originally a <i>-g-</i> : ‘prefix <i>au</i> + * <i>lergo-</i> “track”, Bret. <i>lerc’h</i> (* <i>lergā</i> > * <i>lerkā</i> as opposed to W. <i>llwrw</i> and OIr. <i>lorg</i> (* <i>lorgo-</i> )); they were the people without track, or far from their track’; cf. Lambert LG 36. Lambert ‘Lugdunensis’ 223 also compares OIr <i>lerg</i> ‘slope, brink’ and W Bret. <i>alarch</i> ‘cygnus’. <i>Cenomani</i> is also Celtic, probably from <i>cēno-</i> ‘long, far’. DLG lists <i>Cenomani</i> under <i>manos</i> ‘bon’, but under <i>ceno-</i> ‘long, loin?’ suggests for <i>Cenomanni</i> ‘qui va loin’, from * <i>menH-</i> ‘aller’. De

								Bernardo Stempel 'Italy and Ireland' 91 also translates <i>Cenomani</i> 'the far-going ones', arguing 'the ... connection with <i>-manos</i> "good" is semantically inadequate in the case at hand'. Lambert 'Lugdunensis' 225 derives <i>Cenomani</i> from 'a verbal stem <i>*cene/o-</i> , as in W <i>cednl</i> "family", OIr <i>cinid</i> "to spring from, to descend from", and some participial suffix. The general meaning would be: "The Begotten ones".'
3026	14 E2	-01/46	46 04	-00 20	<b>Aunedonnacum</b> <b>Au(n)edonnacum</b>	LN	LN: Aulnay. <i>Avedonnaco</i> TP 1,2; <i>Aunedonnacum</i> IA 459,4. Probably Celtic; exact analysis is impossible. Isaac, AILR segments <i>au-ned-onno-áco</i> , <i>au-edo-onno-áco</i> , <i>auno-eto-onno-áco</i> or <i>auo-eto-onno-áco</i> , and comments 'Between AI's form and TP <i>Auedonnacum</i> there is nothing to choose. Both forms are consistent with a number of Celtic etymologies.' See <b>au-</b> , <b>auo-</b> '(moving) away', DLG s.v. <i>onno-</i> 'fleuve' and 'frêne' and DLG s.v. <i>auni-</i> , <i>auno-</i> . TGF: 3136 prefers a Celtic PN <i>Aunedo(n)</i> : this is plausible if such a PN existed, but no similar names are listed by GPN or OPEL.	
5931	24 C2	-09/42	42 23	-08 55	<b>Aunios Ins.</b>	IN	IN: Ons (ESP). <i>Aunios</i> Pliny 4,111.If Celtic, to <b>au-</b> , <b>auo-</b> .	
5932	24 D2	-08/42	42 20	-07 40	<b>Auregenses</b>	EN	EN: Orense region (ESP). <i>Auregensium loca</i> Hyd. Chron. 202. At face value, <b>au-</b> & <b>reg-</b> . But this could be a variant spelling (hypercorrect or archaising form) of <i>Aurenses</i> (below no. 5933a).	
1700	10 A4	+04/52	52 04	+04 22	<b>Aurelium</b> <b>Cananefatium</b>	LN	LN: Voorburg (NL). See 1700b <i>Cananefates</i> .	
-	6318a	25 H4	+02/41	41 56	<b>Ausa</b>	LN	LN: Vic (ESP). Αὔσα Ptol. 2,6,69. Possibly Celtic. PNPG discusses <i>auso-</i> as a possibly Celtic element, perhaps from <i>*h<sub>2</sub>eus-</i> 'draw off, drain, fetch (water)'. Holder suggests the name is Iberian, but García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 406 draws attention to similar names in Holder which may be Celtic, e.g. <i>Ausa</i> , <i>Ausava</i> , <i>Ausoba</i> in Ireland, <i>Ausona</i> in Spain, and personal names <i>Ausanius</i> , <i>Ausio</i> , <i>Auso</i> . García Alonso cites Albertos Firmat OPP 45-46, who suggests for similar names the base <i>*ous</i> 'oído' or <i>*aues</i> 'brillar', <i>*ausos</i> 'oro', and he thinks that the name could also be Old European, from <i>*au-</i> . García Alonso 'Indoeuropeos en el nordeste' suggests a relationship with <i>Ausci</i> (6316). See also <i>Auso</i> 6318, <i>Ausona</i> 6318b.	
6316	25 F2	+00/43	43 38	+00 30	<b>Auscii</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Ausci</i> Caes. BG 3,27,1; Αὐσκίοις Strabo 4,2,2; <i>Ausci</i> Pliny 4,108; <i>Ausci</i> Mela 3,2.20. Holder considers this name Iberian, but a Celtic approach is not	

							impossible, <i>au-skii</i> .
6317	25 H4	+02/41	41 57	+02 25	<b>Ausetani</b>	EN	EN: Vic, Girona and Ripollès region (ESP). <i>Ausetani</i> Caes. BC 1,60,2; <i>Ausetanos</i> Livy hist. 21,61,8; <i>Ausetani</i> Pliny 3,22-23; Αύσηταινοὶ (var. Αύθηταινοὶ) Ptol. 2,6,69. The EN is derived from the town-name <i>Auso</i> below, as Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 42 points out.
6318	25 H4	+02/41	41 56	+02 15	<b>Auso</b>	LN	LN: Vic (ESP). See <i>Ausa</i> 6318a.
- 6318b	25 H4	+02/41	41 56	+02 15	<b>Ausona</b>	LN	LN: Vic (ESP). <i>Ausone</i> CIL 2, 6110, <i>Ausetanor(um)</i> 4537, <i>Au[soni]</i> 13, 6858. See <i>Auso</i> 6318.
9298	39 E2	+09/45	45 59	+09 10	<b>Ausuciates</b>	EN	EN: Around Ossucio (IT). <i>Matronis et Geniis Ausuciatium</i> CIL 5, 5227. Perhaps, ‘those having (big?) ears, cf. <i>aus(i)</i> ‘oreille’; Ir. <i>óach</i> ‘aux grandes oreilles’ < * <i>ausākos</i> .
4222	19 D3	+11/46	46 04	+11 27	<b>Ausucum</b>	LN	LN: Borgo di Valsugna (IT); <i>Ausuca</i> IA 280, 8; <i>Alsuca</i> (var. <i>alsuca</i> , <i>alsulca</i> ) Paul. Diac. 3, 31. If Celtic, then * <i>auso-</i> (in <i>Ausaua</i> , according to Isaac PNPG, s.v., “possibly < * <i>h<sub>2</sub>eus-</i> ‘draw off, drain, fetch (water)’”, therefore ‘(settlement on the drain(ing river))’ & * <i>-uko-</i> . Even if the etymological analysis is correct, it is conceivable that the name is assignable to another language group; in Raetia, without clear diagnostic criteria, Celticity cannot be assumed”.
3032	14 I1	+03/47	47 49	+03 34	<b>Autessiodurum</b>	LN	LN: Auxerre (FRA). <i>Autessioduro</i> TP 1,4; <i>Autesiodor</i> (var. <i>Autesiodorum</i> ) IA 361,1; <i>Autessiodurum</i> (var. <i>Autosiodorum</i> ) Amm. Marc. 16, 2, 5; <i>civitas Autisioderum</i> (var. <i>autisiodorum</i> ) NG 4,4; <i>Audisiodorensis urbis</i> (var. <i>Audissio-</i> , <i>Autisio-</i> , <i>Autissio-</i> ) GdeT HF 4,42; <i>Audisiodorensim territorium</i> (var. <i>Autisio-</i> ) 4,14; <i>Avtessiodvro</i> CIL 17, 2, 490. A Celtic LN in <i>-duro-</i> . G. R. Isaac, AILR segments <i>autessio-duro-</i> , and under <i>tessio</i> ‘heat’ suggests the name ‘probably has the hierarchical structure [[ <i>au-</i> [ <i>tessio-</i> ]] <i>durum</i> ], ie 1 <sup>st</sup> element <i>autessio-</i> , itself derived by <i>au-</i> ‘away, from’ + <i>tessio-</i> . This combination of prefix and base can perhaps be understood with reference to Gk { <i>apóthermos</i> } “without heat, cool” (< “away from heat”) so <i>Autessiodurum</i> “gated settlement away from heat, cool gated settlement”?? See also DLG s.v. <i>tess(i)</i> ‘chaleur’. Da. and TGF: 2774 both suggest a Gaulish PN * <i>Autes(s)ios</i> for the first element. See also <i>Civitas Autissiodorensis</i> 3032a.



5934	24 G2	-05/42	42 18	-04 09	<b>Autraka</b>	LN	LN Castrojeriz? (ESP). Αὐτρακα (var. Ἐντρακα) Ptol. 2,6,49. Isaac (PNPG) segments the LN into <i>autro- acá-</i> or <i>antro- acá-</i> , depending on which of Ptolemy's forms is correct. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 258-9 considers <i>Autraka</i> to be the correct form, derived ultimately from a root related to an Old European hydronymy root <i>*au-</i> , with an Indo-European, possibly Celtic, suffix <i>-ka</i> or the Celtic suffix <i>-āka-</i> . Holder considers the city <i>Autricum</i> (1861) to have a name derived from that of a river <i>Autura</i> , “Autr-īco-n abgeleitet von fl. <i>Autura</i> ( <i>*Aut-āra</i> Zeus)”, and García Alonso suggests that the river <i>Odra</i> , which he says is near the town, could once have been <i>*Aut-ura</i> > <i>*Autra</i> , with the placename based on this. Isaac, on the other hand, points out that “confusion of nu and upsilon can go both ways of course” and that “there is there is neither linguistic nor palaeographical reason to favour { <i>Au-</i> } over { <i>An-</i> }. The base can be considered an extension in <i>*-tr-</i> of either <i>*n-</i> (> <i>*ntr-</i> ) or <i>*h<sub>2</sub>eu-</i> (> <i>*h<sub>2</sub>eutr-</i> ).” The local rivernames <i>Odra</i> and <i>Odrilla</i> , if connected to the placename, do suggest <i>Au-</i> . Compare the <i>Autrigones</i> 6319 and <i>Volautrum</i> 3952.
1861	11 B4	+01/48	48 27	+01 28	<b>Autricum</b>	LN	LN: Chartres (FRA). Αὐτρικον (var. ἀντρικὸν) Ptol. 2,8,10; <i>civitas Autricum</i> (var. <i>auericum</i> , <i>audricum</i> ) NG 4,5; <i>Autricum</i> TP 1,3; <i>Autr(ico)</i> CIL 8,1876 and 27852, etc. Probably Celtic, ‘?Harbour on the river Eure’. According to P.Y. Lambert <i>Lugdunensis</i> , the Celticity of the stem <i>*aut(u)r-</i> is questionable; the LN is accepted as a derivative from RN <i>Autura</i> ‘Eure’. ‘?Twisting away place’ according to Isaac (PNPG), who analyses it as <i>au-</i> & <i>trico-</i> , with possible Celtic element <i>trico-</i> , explained as “perhaps zero-grade <i>*trik-</i> < <i>*terk-</i> (cf. Celtib. <i>terkakom</i> , coin MLH A.70?), <i>*tork-</i> (cf. MW <i>torri</i> ‘break’ < <i>*tork-s-</i> , Lat. <i>torqueo</i> ‘twist’, etc. IEW 1077, LIV 577). <i>Au-trikon</i> ‘twisting away place’? Why? All uncertain, but preferable to the incredible chain of syncopations suggested by Dauzat, <i>Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de rivières</i> (Paris, 1982), 44: { <i>Aútrikon</i> } < <i>*Autur-iko-</i> < RN <i>*Autura</i> < <i>*Au-tit-ura</i> ”. See also 1931 <i>Carnutes</i> .
6319	25 C2	-03/43	43 02	-02 40	<b>Autrigones</b>	EN	EN: Vizcaya, Alava and NE Burgos region (ESP). <i>Autricones</i> Livy frag. 91; <i>Autrigones</i> Mela 3,15; Αὐτριγόνων Ptol. 2,6,7; Αὐτρίγονες Ptol. 2,6,52; <i>Autrigonas</i> Oros. 6,21,3; <i>Autrigoniam</i> (var. <i>autronia</i> , <i>austrogoniam</i> ) Iord. Get. 230;

								<i>Autricones</i> Lib. gener. 31; <i>Austrigonia</i> Rav. 4,42. At face value Celtic, <i>au- trigo-</i> <i>on-</i> . Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 61 suggests a relationship with <i>Autraca</i> , <i>Autricum</i> and the river <i>Autra</i> . Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 441-3 discuss the relationship with <i>Autraca</i> and the river <i>Autra</i> (modern Odra), noting that <i>Autricones</i> seems to be the older form. García Alonso ‘Vettones y Layetanos’ derives the EN from RN <i>*Autra</i> (the Odra), from Celtic or alt-europäisch <i>*au-</i> as above. If <i>Autricones</i> is the older form, then derivation from <i>*trig-</i> cannot be right, and <i>*Autr-ik-ones</i> ‘the people who live by the river Autra’ is to be preferred. See also <i>Allotriges</i> 6319a.
3828	17 G4	+06/44	44 30	+06 03	<b>Avantici</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Avanticos</i> (var. <i>acanticos</i> , <i>aganticos</i> ) Pliny 3, 37. Possibly Celtic, <i>au-</i> , <i>auo-</i> ‘(moving) away’.	
3033	14 H1	+02/47	47 05	+02 25	<b>Avaricum</b>	LN	LN: Bourges (FRA). <i>Avaricum</i> Caes. BG 7,13.3; Ἀβαρικόν (var. οὐαρικόν) Ptol. 2,7,10; <i>Avaricum</i> TP I,4; <i>Avaricum</i> IA 460,4; Ἀουαρικόν (var. εὐάκον) Cass. Dio. 40,34. Possibly Celtic. Isaac segments <i>au-uaro-ico-</i> (AILR) or <i>au- ar- ico-</i> (PNPG); see Celtic elements <i>au-</i> , <i>auo-</i> ; <i>ar-</i> , <i>ara-</i> , <i>aro-</i> and <i>uaro-</i> . Hence perhaps ‘the raised (place)’ or ‘(the place) away from / above the river’ as the city is located near the confluence of several rivers. Da., followed by Bedon <i>Trois Gaules</i> 242, derives the LN from a RN <i>Avara</i> (the Yèvre, which flows near the city (Gorochategui, ‘Establishment and Analysis’ 168-9)). Bedon compares the formation of LN <i>Autricum</i> from RN <i>Autura</i> (the Eure). See also <i>Biturigae</i> 3033a.	
5935	24 G1	-05/43	43 15	-04 20	<b>Avarigini</b>	EN	EN: between R. Saja and R. Nansa valleys (ESP). <i>per Avariginos</i> Mela 3,15. Possibly Celtic, at face value <i>auo-</i> & <i>rīgo-</i> ; the second component may be a misspelling, cf. <i>Auregenses</i> 5932.	
3034	14 G4	+01/44	44 15	+01 57	<b>Avario fl.</b>	RN	RN: Aveyron (FRA). <i>Avarionis</i> Venantius Fortunatus, <i>Vita Amantii</i> 3(19). Possibly Celtic, at face value to <i>a(d)-/ au- uar- io-</i> , from <i>uaro-</i> .	
3465	15 E3	+05/43	43 27	+05 05	<b>Avatici</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>oppidum Maritima Avaticorum</i> Pliny 3, 34; <i>Maritima Avaticorum</i> Mela 2, 78; Ἀβατικῶν (var. Ἀβατικῶν) Ptol. 2,10,5. Possibly Celtic, ? ‘the people who move away’, if to <i>au-</i> , <i>auo-</i> ‘(moving) away’.	
3466	15 D2	+04/43	43 57	+04 48	<b>Avennio</b>	LN	LN: Avignon (FRA). Ἀβενίων Strabo 4,1,11; <i>Avennio Cauarum</i> Pliny 3,36; <i>Avennio Cavarum</i> Mela 2,5,75; Ἀουεννίων (var. λουενίων) Ptol. 2,10,8; <i>Avennione</i>	

							TP 1,5; <i>Civitas Avennicorum</i> NG 11, 4; <i>Avenione</i> (var. <i>Avinione</i> ) IB 553,5; <i>Ἀβενιώων</i> StByz.; <i>col(onia) Iul(ia) Aug(usta) Avennion(e)</i> Christol & Heijmans, Gallia 49. Linguistic attribution is disputable. If Celtic, cf. <i>auo-</i> . De Hoz 'Narbonensis' 179 note 54 tentatively suggests <i>*ad-weni-o(n)-</i> 'place of many kinds', but concludes 'the name must be considered without etymology.' If Latin, cf. Latin PN <i>Avenn(i)us</i> (Da., Ho. and TGF: 11375). Gagnière 1970: 9 notes that the name has also been considered Ligurian.	
5936	24 F4	-06/40	40 50	-05 30	<b>Avia</b>	LN	LN: Avia de las Torres? (ESP). <i>Ἀουία</i> (var. <i>ᾠούια</i> ) Ptol. 2,6,49. Many scholars derive the LN from a (pre-Celtic) hydronym (Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 326, García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 260-61). However, <i>*au-</i> need not be Old European; cf. Celtic <i>*au-</i> .	
3679	16 D2	+07/43	43 44	+07 23	<b>Avisio</b>	LN	LN: Cale St-Laurent? (FRA). <i>Avisone</i> IA 503,5; <i>Avisone</i> (var. <i>avisione</i> ) 504,1. Obscure. If Celtic, cf. <i>*au-</i> .	
3036	14 H3	+02/45	45 39	+02 56	<b>Avitacum</b>	LN	LN: Aydat (FRA). <i>Avitaci</i> Sid. App. epist. 2,2,3, <i>Avitacum</i> carm. 18.1. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Avitus</i> (cf. Latin <i>avitus</i> 'ancestral').	
5938	24 C3	-09/41	41 23	-08 37	<b>Avus fl.</b>	RN	RN: Ave (POR). <i>Auo</i> Mela 3,1,10; <i>Ἀῶου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί</i> Ptol. 2,6,1, If Celtic, to <i>auo-</i> ; see further García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 129-30.	
-	1046a	7 A3	-06/48	48 26	-05 15	<b>Axanthos Ins.</b>	IN	IN: Ushant (FRA). See 1046 <i>Uxantis</i> Ins.
3829	17 H2	+06/45	45 33	+06 38	<b>Axima</b>	LN	LN: Aime (FRA). <i>Ἀξιμα</i> Ptol. 3,1,33; <i>Aximam</i> TP 2,3; <i>Amiman</i> Rav. 4,26. Obscure. The LN seems to be taken from, or to have been the origin of, a local DN <i>Aximus</i> (CIL 12, 100) but the etymology of the DN is unknown. PNPG segments <i>aco-</i> ? <i>simo-</i> ?, listing <i>aco-</i> as a possibly Celtic element but noting that the element is widespread and cannot be diagnostically Celtic. Also known as <i>Forum Claudii Ceutronum</i> 3829a.	
1862	11 D3	+03/49	49 22	+03 43	<b>Axona fl.</b>	RN	RN: Aisne (FRA). <i>Axonam</i> (acc.) Caesar <i>BG</i> 2,5 and 9; <i>πρὸς τῷ Ἀῶξούνην</i> Cassius Dio 39,1; <i>Axona (Auxona)</i> Ausonius <i>Mos.</i> 461; <i>Axona</i> Fortunat. <i>Carm.</i> 7,4; <i>Axonam</i> Greg. Tur. <i>HF</i> VI, etc. Celticity and therefore etymology is questionable. According to d'Arbois de Jubainville, this RN is Ligurian .	
1863	11 E3	+04/49	49 27	+04 04	<b>Axuenna?</b>	LN	LN Évergnicourt (FRA). <i>Auxenna</i> TP 1,4. Obscure; meaning uncertain. See 1862 <i>Axona</i> fl. and cf. <i>Muenna</i> 1863a.	

4539	20 F2	+18/47	47 44	+18 17	<b>Azao</b> <sup>69</sup>	LN	LN: Almásfüzitő (HUN). Ἄζαον (var. Ἄζαβον) Ptol. 2,11,15; <i>Azao in medio</i> IA 246,3. If Ptolomaic attestation is correct, then Celtic to <i>anau-</i> .
5939	24 F2	-06/42	42 16	-05 50	<b>Baedunia</b> <b>B(a)edunia</b>	LN	LN: El Castro (S. Martín de Torres) (ESP). <i>Bedunia</i> Itin. Astorga 3,2; Βαιδουνία (var. βεδούννηα, βεδούνκκα, βεδοῦνκκα) Ptol. 2,6,30; <i>Bedunia</i> (var. <i>betunia</i> ) IA 439,7; <i>Bedun/o</i> CIL 2, 2507, <i>B[]/etunia</i> 2861, etc. A possible Celtic LN, although a straightforward analysis is impossible. This may reflect <i>bedo- uno- iá-</i> (Isaac AILR and PNG); or (less likely) <i>B(a)e-dūn(u)-ia</i> ; for <i>Bae-</i> cf <i>Baidyoi</i> below no. 5941, and see Villar ‘Celtic Language’ 254, who considers the series of names in <i>Bae-</i> to be non-Celtic. Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 328 suggests comparison with <i>Bedoya</i> , “derivado posible de Baedunia con una evolución fonética como la de <i>Aunigainum</i> > <i>Ongayo</i> ”.
1869	11 F1	+05/51	51 08	+05 50	<b>Baetasii?</b>	EN	EN: (GER/NL). <i>Baetasi</i> Pliny 4,106; <i>Baetasiorum</i> Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> IV.56 and 66; <i>Uetasiorum</i> (var. <i>uethasiorum</i> ) ND oc 18,18; <i>Baetesivs</i> CIL 6, 8808, <i>Baetasiorm</i> 16, 48 and 7, 390,394,395; <i>Baetasivs</i> 6, 31140, <i>Betasiorm(m)</i> 16, 69 and 70, <i>Bet(asiorm)</i> 16, 82; <i>Cives Betasiv[s]</i> 13, 7025, etc. If Celtic, ‘?the moody/foolish people’; according to Thurneysen, perhaps linked to OIr <i>baíth</i> ‘foolish, moody’ (see LEIA B-10). According to Schulten, <i>Baet-</i> has to be considered Ligurian; but cf. Villar <i>Indoeuropeos y no Indoeuropeos</i> , 64-65, referring to Schulten: “Otros componentes de la onomástica meridional son tratados por Schulten con menos detenimiento. A propósito del río <i>Baetis</i> dice que el tema <i>Baet-</i> se da fuera del sur de Hispania, tanto en el norte de la Península como fuera de ella”. Villar further refers to the <i>Baetasii</i> amongst other names. Gysseling, on the other hand, relates this EN to Gmc. <i>baita</i> , cfr. Gothic <i>baitrs</i> , ‘bitter’, whence ‘the bitter people’.
6803	26 D3	-07/38	38 10	-06 50	<b>Baeturia</b> <b>Celtica</b>	LN	LN: between R. Guadalquivir and R. Guadiana (ESP). Βαιτουρία Strabo 3,2,3; <i>Baeturia</i> Pliny 3,13-14, Βαιτικῶν Κελτικῶν Ptol. 2,4,11, etc. Descriptive, to <i>celt-</i> .
1870	11 D2	+03/50	50 18	+03 46	<b>Bagacum</b>	LN	LN: Bavai/Bavay (FRA). Βάγακον (var. Βάσακον, Βάγανον) Ptol. 2,9,6; <i>Bagacum</i> IA 376,1-2; 377, 1; 378,1; <i>Bagaco</i> 380, 7; <i>Bagiacum</i> (var. <i>Baiacum</i> ) NT LXXXVII.48; <i>Baca conervio</i> TP 1,4; <i>Ba[gaco?]</i> CIL 13, 9158, etc. Possibly Celtic, ‘?place/ forest of beeches’, an <i>*-āko-</i> derivative of <i>bago-</i> ‘beech’; cf. also PN in <i>Bag-</i> . Cfr. 2219 <i>Nervii</i> .

-	9295a	39 B4	+07/44	44 35	+07 50	<b>Bagienni</b>	EN	EN: Near Roncaglia, Bene Vagienna (IT). See 9295 <i>Augusta Bagiennorum</i> .
	5941	24 C1	-09/43	43 16	-08 07	<b>Baidyoi?</b>	EN	EN: Ambroa region (Irixoa) (ESP). Βαιδύων, Φλαουία Λαμβρίς (var. βαιδίων, βαιοτιων, αιδύων) Ptol. 2,6,26. If Celtic, to <i>baedu-</i> or <i>bedu-</i> .
	4224	19 D2	+11/47	47 59	+11 56	<b>Baio(u)arii</b>	EN	EN: (GER). <i>Baiouaros</i> (var. <i>baiobaros</i> , <i>baiba-</i> , <i>baioa-</i> ) Iord. Get. 280. May be connected historically with <i>Boii</i> , q.v.; or cf. <i>bodio-</i> (with the loss of <i>-d-</i> , see DLG: 63, cf. <i>Baio-casses</i> ). For the second component see forms in <i>uar-</i> .
-	981a	7 F2	-01/49	49 17	-00 41	<b>Baiocas</b>	LN	LN: Bayeux (FRA). Also known as 981 <i>Augustodurum</i> (q.v.); see 984 <i>Baiocasses</i> .
	984	7 F2	-01/49	49 16	-00 50	<b>Baiocasses</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Bodiocasses</i> Pliny 4, 107 ; Ουαδικάσσιοι (var. Ουαδικάσιοι) Ptol. 2,8,11; <i>Baiocassi</i> (var. <i>bagocassi</i> ) Auson. 11, 4.7 (Profes.); <i>Baiocas</i> ND oc. 42, 34; <i>civitas Baiocassium</i> NG II.3; <i>Baiocas</i> NT XV, p. 142; Merovingian coin-legend; etc. ‘?The people with blond curly hair’, <i>bodio-</i> & <i>cassi-</i> ; note the phonological evolution <i>-dy-</i> > <i>-i-</i> in later forms. Cf. 984a <i>Bodiocasses</i> 981 <i>Augustodurum</i> and 981a <i>Baiocas</i> .
	3038	14 F1	+00/47	47 18	+00 36	<b>Balatedinis?</b>	LN	LN: Ballan-Miré (FRA). <i>In vicis ... Balatedine</i> GdeT HF 10,31,6; late attestation (1078) <i>Balanum</i> Da. Obscure. Da. compares a Gaulish DN <i>Belatos</i> ; TGF: 2629 suggests a Gaulish PN * <i>Balati</i> , related to <i>Balatonus</i> (GPN: 148), from <i>Bal(l)-</i> . GPN cautions that the names he lists for this element are not all Celtic and that there may not be one single Celtic element <i>bal(l)-</i> .
	19503	86 B3	+31/40	40 06	+31 43	<b>Balgatia</b>	LN	LN: between Iuliopolis / Sykeon (TUR). Βαλγατία (Vita Theod. Syk. I, 4); <i>Valcaton</i> TP 8,3. If Celtic, cf. W. <i>balch</i> , G PN <i>Balgiacus</i> .
-	6335a	25 D4	-02/41	41 54	-01 25	<b>Balsio</b>	LN	LN: Cerro del Convento (Mallén) (ESP). <i>Balsione</i> IA 443,4. See <i>Belsinon</i> 6335.
	3040	14 I1	+03/47	47 56	+03 30	<b>Bandritum</b> “	LN	LN: Bassou (FRA). <i>Bandritum</i> TP I,4. If indeed <i>band-ritu-</i> , the first component is obscure, and a composition vowel is lost. If emendation is allowed, * <i>ban(n)oritum</i> , from Celtic <i>bannā-</i> .
	4920	21 D5	+21/44	44 18	+21 26	<b>Bao</b> “	LN	LN: Veliko Laole ? (SCG). <i>Mutatio Bao</i> IB 565, 3; cf. CIL 3, 13810. If Celtic, to <i>bago-</i> .
	7273	27 D4	-02/37	37 16	-01 46	<b>Baria</b>	LN	LN: Villaricos (ESP). πόλιν Βαρτηειαν Polyb 196B; <i>Baria</i> (var. <i>barea</i> ) Pliny 3,19; oppidum Badiam Val. Max. 3.7.1; Βάρεια πόλις (var. βαραλία, βαρεία, βαρεία) Ptol. 2,4,8; <i>Barria</i> Rav. 4,42; <i>Baria</i> 5,3; <i>oppidum Baream</i> CIC 16,4,2; <i>Res Publica</i>

								<i>Bariensium</i> 2, 5947. A Celtic etymology is possible (to <i>bar-</i> ), but Celticity of this item cannot be proved.
6329	25 G1	+01/44	44 03	+01 38	<b>Bassiacum</b>	LN	LN: Bayssac? (FRA). <i>Bassiaco</i> Desiderius, Epist. from bishop Palladius. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Bassius</i> .	
1702	10 B5	+05/51	51 51	+05 47	<b>Batavodurum Noviomagus</b>	LN	LN: Nijmegen (NL). <i>Oppidum Batavorum</i> Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> 5,19; <i>Batauoduri</i> (loc.) 5,20; Βοταυόδουρον (var. Βοταβόδουρον) Ptol. 2,9,8. Hybrid formation, ‘walled fort of the Batavi’, with <i>duro-</i> . <i>Nouiomagi</i> TP 1,4; <i>Niumaga</i> (DB edition, p. 314: 777); <i>Neomaga</i> Tr 1709, 20r° (856); <i>Nimagna</i> DB edition, p. 334: (949); <i>Noita</i> Rav. 4, 24; <i>Ulpia Noviomagi</i> CIL III 5918 <sup>b</sup> , <i>Vlpia Noviomagi</i> 11936; <i>Ulp. Noviomag</i> VI 3237, etc, <i>novio-</i> & <i>-magos</i> . Cf. 1702a ( <i>Ulpia</i> ) <i>Noviomagus</i> .	
3833	17 D4	+04/44	44 42	+04 48	<b>Batiana</b>	LN	LN: Near Etoile-sur-Rhône (FRA). <i>Batiana</i> TP 2,1; <i>Bantianis</i> (var. <i>uac-</i> , <i>uanc-</i> ) IB 554,1; <i>Untiana</i> Rav. 4,26. Obscure. Possibly Latin, perhaps from <i>batia</i> ‘an unknown kind of fish’? Or related to PNPG’s possibly Celtic element <i>bato-</i> (cf OI <i>bath</i> ‘death’, Gaul. <i>batoron</i> ‘combatants’, etc.)? Note that the spelling is uncertain.	
3042	14 D2	-02/46	46 25	-01 30	<b>Becciacum</b>	LN	LN: Bessay? (FRA). <i>Becciaco</i> GdeT GM 89. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a PN, which was identified (Ho. and Da.) with Latin PNN <i>Bessius</i> , <i>Bettius</i> or <i>*Beccius</i> . PNN <i>Beccus</i> and <i>Becius</i> are listed in OPEL, and could be derived from DLG’s <i>beccos</i> ‘bec’, a Gaulish word borrowed into Latin as <i>beccus</i> ‘beak, bill’. See also Sims-Williams <i>Inscriptions</i> 137.	
1879	11 G3	+06/49	49 58	+06 28	<b>Beda</b>	LN	LN: Bitburg (GER). <i>Beda vicus</i> (var. <i>leda</i> ) IA 372,4; <i>Beda</i> TP 2,1; <i>Bidana</i> Rav. 4,26; <i>A vikan[is B]edensibvs</i> CIL 13, 4131, etc. Possibly Celtic, to <i>bedo/ā-</i> .	
4229	19 E2	+12/47	47 57	+12 28	<b><u>Bedaium</u></b>	LN	LN: near Seebruck (GER). Βέδακον (var. Βάδακον ) Ptol. 2,13,3; <i>Bedaio</i> TP 3,3; <i>Bidaio</i> IA 236,1; 257,1; 258,7. Anreiter <i>et alii</i> , The Names of the Eastern Alpine region p. 117, reject the possibility of starting with the form <i>*Bedākon</i> ‘place of a man called <i>Bedos</i> ’, as it would have been reflected as <i>*B<sup>e</sup><sub>i</sub>dago</i> in IA and TP. They start, therefore, with the later attested forms, noting that their Celtic origins cannot be proved, and comparing them with a local deity in Noricum <i>Bedaius</i> (CIL 5572); for the latter see P. de Bernardo Stempel in <i>ZCP</i> 53 (2003), 47, to <i>bedo/ā-</i> . It seems possible, however, that the form attested in Ptol. is authentic: an intervocal -g- is	

								known to be a subject of changes (cf. Dressler on “lenition” of -g- in Gaulish), and one may envisage – at least hypothetically - a development -k- > -g- > -j-. There is also a possibility of variation of synonymous suffixes, -io- and -āko-, as Isaac (in PNPg) maintains.
9524	40 C4	+12/44	44 15	+12 07	<b>Bedesis fl.</b>	RN	RN: Ronco (IT). <i>cum amne Bedese</i> Pliny 3, 115. Celtic, to <i>bedo/ā-</i> .	
9299	39 G3	+10/45	45 08	+10 26	<b>Bedriacum</b>	LN	LN: Calvatone (IT). <i>Bedriacensis</i> Pliny 10,135; Tac. Hist. 2, 66; 70; 86; 3, 27; <i>Bedriacum</i> Tac. Hist., 2,23; 39; 44; 49; 50; 57; 3,15; 20; 31; Oros. 7,8,6; <i>Beloriaco</i> TP 3,3; <i>Bridiaco</i> Guido 459,1; Βηδριακόν Ioseph. Iud. 4,9,9; <i>Bēbriācum</i> Iuvenal. 2,106; <i>Bebriacum</i> Schol. Iuven. 2,99; <i>Brediaco</i> Rav. 4,30. See s.v. <i>Betriacum</i> 9299a below.	
5940	24 F2	-06/42	42 15	-05 40	<b>Bedunienses</b>	EN	EN: around S. Martín de Torres (ESP). Βαιδουνηνσίων (var. βαιδουνησιών, βεδ, etc.) Ptol. 2,6,30; <i>Bedoniesi</i> CIL 2, 4963.1, etc. The inhabitants of <i>Ba(e)dunia</i> 5939 q.v.	
-	6660a	25 D4	-02/41	41 20	<b>Begeda</b>	LN	LN: Poyo de Mara / Durón (Belmonte y Mara) (ESP). Βεγέδα Diodorus 31,39. Misreading of 6660 <i>Segeda</i> .	
3837	17 H3	+06/45	45 05	+06 45	<b>Belaci?</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Belacorum</i> CIL 5, 7231. Possibly Celtic. If the EN’s initial <i>B</i> is genuine, not a hypercorrection, then it could go to <i>belo-</i> , <i>bello-</i> , ‘the strong people’ <i>vel. sim.</i> If the form with <i>V</i> is correct, cf. various <i>Vela-</i> PNN in GPN 276. Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 334 notes various PNN known from inscriptions in the Alps, which could be names showing membership of the <i>Belaci</i> (cf. CIL 5, 7888 <i>Vellaconis</i> , 7897 <i>Velaci</i> , 7845 <i>Velaco</i> , 7850 <i>Velagenius</i> , 7635 <i>Vilagenio</i> , 7700 <i>Vilagenia</i> , 6903 <i>Velagenus</i> , 7050 <i>Velacena</i> ).	
3043	14 H1	+02/47	47 44	+02 29	<b>Belca</b>	LN	LN: Biauche, Cm. Dampierre-en-Burly (FRA). <i>Belca</i> TP I,4; <i>Belca</i> IA 367,5. Probably Celtic. According to G. R. Isaac, AILR Celtic elements s.v. <i>belca</i> :- ‘proud, fierce’, this is a cognate of OIr <i>balc</i> ‘strong, powerful’; MC <i>balgh</i> , MW <i>balch</i> , MB <i>balc’h</i> ‘proud, splendid, brave’; cf. CI <i>kompalces</i> , <i>kompalkores</i> Bot. I.A, MLH IV K.1.1 (LEIA B-12), to PIE <i>*b<sup>h</sup>el-</i> ‘swell’ IEW: 120-2.	
6332	25 C3	-03/42	42 50	-02 47	<b>Bele(g)ia</b>	LN	LN: Iruña (ESP). Βέλεια (var. Βελλία) Ptol. 2.6.62; <i>Beleia</i> IA 454,8; <i>Belegia</i> Rav. 4,45. See <i>Veleia</i> 6332a. Possibly but not necessarily Celtic; cf. <i>bell-</i> , etc.; and	

								<p><b>uello-, uela-</b>. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 370 tentatively relates the name to the EN <i>Belli</i> (see <i>Belloi</i> 6334) to <i>*bhel-</i> ‘to shine’; or alternatively to the Iberian PN element <i>-bilos</i> or <i>-beles</i>, related to Basque <i>-beltz</i> ‘black’. Gorrochategui ‘Establishment and Analysis’ 160 suggests that Ptolemy’s form <i>Velia</i> may be more probable, going back to <i>*uelio-</i>, found in Gaulish onomastics. Villar &amp; Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 481 take <i>Velia</i> to be the form, and suggest it is Celtiberian, from <i>ghwel-</i> ‘doblarse, ser curvo’ or <i>*g<sup>w</sup>hel-</i> ‘querer’, or non-Celtic Indo-European from <i>*g<sup>w</sup>el-</i>. There is some confusion over the identity and location of <i>Bele(g)ia</i> and <i>Veleia</i>; Atlas follows TIR in equating them, but PNPg gives Ptol. 2,6,62 or 63 <i>Béleia</i>, var. <i>Bellia</i> X, segmented <i>belo- eia-</i>, as located at 25E4; Atlas does not list this, or include it in the unlocated toponyms. Holder gives Ptol. 2,6,62, AI and Rav. as the same place, a town of the <i>Edetani</i>, which would fit 25E4; for <i>Veleia</i> = Iruña, he gives Ptol. 2.6.64 and repeats the AI ref. Given that Ptolemy has two separate references, it seems that there are at least two places. Tovar Tarr. 377 draws attention to another <i>Veleia</i> (Gaul), and the <i>Beleia</i> of the <i>Editani</i>, as comparanda for this name.</p>
-	1881a	11 G2	+06/50	50 38	+06 45	<b>Belgae</b>	EN	EN. Celtic: ‘the proud/wrathful people’. <i>Belgae</i> Caesar <i>BG</i> 1,1. etc.; Βέλγας (acc.) Strabo 4,1,1; <i>Belgae</i> Pliny 15,51; <i>Belgae</i> Mela. 3,2,20; <i>Belgarum</i> Tacitus Ann. I,34; <i>Belg(arvm)</i> CIL 13, 11758, etc. ‘Proud/wrathful people’, to <b>belgo-</b> , cf. 1881 <i>Belgica</i> .
	1881	11 G2	+06/50	50 38	+06 45	<b>Belgica</b>	TN	TN: Euskirchen-Billig (GER) <i>Belgica</i> (var. <i>uelgiga vicus</i> ) IA 373,3. Celtic: ‘?place of proud/wrathful people’, according to Isaac: belgo- + icá- [AILR], with <b>belgo-</b> . It is more likely to be descriptive and based on the EN <i>Belgae</i> 1881a.
	1882	11 H3	+07/49	49 52	+07 13	<b>Belginum</b>	LN	LN: Morbach-Wederath / Hinzerath (GER). <i>Belginum</i> TP 2,2; <i>Vica[n]i Belg[inenses]</i> CIL 13, 7555a, [ <i>Belg</i> ]ini 13, 4085, etc. Celtic; descriptive and based on the EN <i>Belgae</i> 1881a.
	3838	17 F2	+05/45	45 46	+05 41	<b>Bellicum</b>	LN	LN: Belley (FRA). (2 c.) <i>vicani Bellicenses</i> , (614) <i>Belisio</i> Da.; Coin Belfort 816 <i>Belis...</i> , conc. Lugdunense (567) <i>Belisensis</i> . Obscure. Perhaps Latin, from a PN <i>Bel(l)icius</i> ; cf. also Celtic <b>bell-</b> .
	3478	15 D2	+04/43	43 53	+04 47	<b>Bellintum</b>	LN	LN: Between Graveson and Rognonas (FRA). <i>Mutatio Bellinto</i> IB 553,4. Possibly



							Celtic, to <i>bell-</i> .
-	6335b	25 D4	-02/41	41 54	-01 25	<b>Bellisone</b> <b>Bel(l)isone</b>	LN LN: Cerro del Convento (Mallén) (ESP). <i>Bellisone</i> IA 451,1; <i>Belisarium</i> Rav. 4, 44. See <i>Belsinon</i> 6335.
	6334	25 D4	-02/41	41 16	-01 20	<b>Belloi</b>	EN EN: Jalón valley (ESP). Βελλῶν Polyb. 35,2,3; Βελλῶν App. 6,11,63. Possibly Celtic, to <i>bell-</i> .
	1883	11 B3	+01/49	49 30	+01 45	<b>Bellovaci</b>	EN EN. <i>Bellovacos</i> (var. <i>bellovagos</i> ) Caesar <i>BG</i> 2,4 and 5, 46; <i>Bellovacorum</i> (var. <i>bellobacorum</i> , <i>bellovagorum</i> ) 2, 5; (var. <i>bellovagorum</i> ) 2, 10; <i>Bellovacos</i> (var. <i>bellovagos</i> ) 2, 13-14; <i>Bellovaci</i> (var. <i>bellovagi</i> ) 7, 59; Βελλοάκοι Strabo 4,3,5; <i>Bellovaci</i> (var. <i>beluagi</i> ) Pliny 4, 106; Βελλοῦακοι (var. Βελλουάκοι) Ptol. 2,9,4; <i>Ciuitas Bellouacorum</i> (var. <i>bellocanorum</i> , <i>beluacorum</i> , <i>bellocauorum</i> , <i>bellocouacorum</i> ) NG 6,10; <i>Bellouagui</i> (var. <i>bellobagui</i> , <i>bellouacui</i> , <i>fellobagui</i> , <i>bellouaci</i> ) Orosius 6,7,12; 6,11,12; <i>Bellova[co]</i> CIL 12, 1922; <i>c(ivis) Bel(lovaci)</i> 13, 611, etc. Celtic, with <i>bell-</i> ; if the second component is correctly identified, cf. <i>uac(c)o-</i> ‘bent, curved’. According to Gysseling (TW: 119), there is a link with Celtic <i>bello-</i> , cf. OE <i>bellan</i> ‘to cry, to shout’, whence ‘the crying people’, “probablement par rapport à leur cri de bataille”.
	4231	19 E3	+12/46	46 09	+12 14	<b>Bellunum</b>	LN LN: Belluno (IT); <i>Belunum</i> (var. <i>Velunum</i> ) Pliny 3,130; Βέλουνον (var. Βελοῦνον) Ptol. 3,11,26; <i>Bellunensis</i> (var. <i>delunensis</i> , <i>vellunensis</i> , <i>delunensi</i> , <i>velun.</i> , <i>bullim.</i> ) Paul. Diac. 3, 26. See Isaac, PNPg, Italia, Comment; P. De Bernardo Stempel, Italy and Ireland, 93 (‘shining town’, to <i>*b<sup>h</sup>el-</i> ). Possibly but not necessarily Celtic.
	9300	39 H2	+10/45	45 45	+10 50	<b>Belounoi?</b>	EN EN: E L. Garda (IT). Βελοῦνων (var. Βεκουνων, Βενουχων) Ptol. 3,1,28. If Celtic, to <i>bell-</i> , <i>bello-</i> , <i>belo-</i> .
	6335	25 D4	-02/41	41 54	-01 25	<b>Belsinon</b>	LN LN: Cerro del Convento (Mallén) (ESP). Βέλσινον (var. Βέλσιναν) Ptol. 2,6,57; <i>Belsionem</i> Rav. 4,43. See also <i>*Balsio</i> 6335a and <i>Bel(l)sione</i> 6335b. Possibly Celtic. Curchin ‘Celticization’ suggests that this could be based on Celtic <i>*bel-</i> ‘bright, shining’, and compares <i>Abusina</i> in Central Europe for the ending. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 326-7 compares toponyms <i>Belsa</i> (in the Loire valley), <i>Belsinum</i> (6336), <i>Belsinnacum</i> , <i>Belsonancum</i> , and personal names <i>Belsus</i> and <i>Belsa</i> . Alternatively, if <i>Balsio</i> is the correct form, he notes a parallel <i>Balsa</i> in Lusitania, and he notes that

							there are many Celtic parallels for the form <i>Belli-</i> , perhaps from the Indo-European root <i>*b<sup>h</sup>el-</i> ‘to shine’. See Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 443 (who take <i>Balsio</i> as the correct form) for more parallels.
6336	25 F2	+00/43	43 23	+00 33	<b>Belsinum</b>	LN	LN: Boussens, Cm. Samaran? (FRA). <i>Besino</i> TP 1,1; <i>Belsino</i> (var. <i>bersino</i> ) IA 463,1. For the analysis see <i>Belsinon</i> 6335.
9301	39 H2	+10/45	45 45	+10 40	<b>Benacenses</b>	EN	EN: W shore of L. Garda. <i>Benacens[es]</i> CIL 5, 4313. See s.v. <i>Benacus</i> L.
9302	39 H2	+10/45	45 33	+10 37	<b>Benacus L.</b>	HN	Lake-name: Garda (IT). Βήνακος Polyb. 34,10,19; Strabo 5,6,12; <i>Bēnācos</i> Vergil. Georg. 160; Aen. 10,205; Claudian Epithalam Dictum Palladio et Celer. 107; Carmina minora 13; <i>Benacus</i> Pliny 2,224; 3,131; 9,75; Vopisci vita Probi 24,1; Aurel. Victor. Epit. 34,2; CIL 5, 3998; Βάινακον λίμνην (var. Βέννακον) Ptol. 3,1,20. According to P. De Bernardo Stempel, Italy and Ireland, ‘The Pointed (lake)’, to <i>*benn-āko-m</i> ; the form is likely to have a long <i>e</i> , however. See also G. R. Isaac, PNPg, s.v. <i>bena</i> : -.
- 6736b	25 E2	-01/43	43 22	-00 30	<b>Benarni</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Benearno</i> (var. <i>benearno</i> ) IA 452,6; <i>Benarno</i> Conc. Agathense (506); <i>Benarnae</i> (var. <i>Benarne</i> ) GdeT HF 9,7. See 6736a <i>Venami</i> and 6736 <i>Venarni</i> .
- 3778a	16 D2	+07/43	43 32	+07 02	<b>Berconum</b>	LN	LN: Fort Royal? On Ile Ste-Marguerite (FRA). See 3778 <i>Vergoanum</i> .
5945	24 E2	-07/42	42 38	-06 40	<b>Bergidum Flavium</b>	LN	LN: Cacabelos (ESP). <i>Bergida</i> Flor. 2,33,49; Βέργιδον Φλαούιον (var. βεργίδ(ι)ον, βέρδιγον, βεργίδων) Ptol. 2,6,28; <i>Bergido</i> IA 425,4; <i>Bergidon</i> Rav. 4,45; <i>Bergido f(lauiensis)</i> CIL 2, 4248. <i>Bergida</i> may be Celtic, Isaac (AILR and PNPg) <i>bergo-ido-</i> ; word formation is obscure. <i>Flavium</i> is Latin.
3839	17 H2	+06/45	45 37	+06 46	<b>Bergintrum</b>	LN	LN: Bourg-St-Maurice (FRA). <i>Bergintrum</i> TP 2,3; <i>Bergintrum</i> IA 345,5, 347,8. RE suggests that Rav. 4,26 <i>Breniton</i> also refers to this place. Possibly Celtic, although morphology is not clear, <i>bergu-intro-</i> , DLG s.v.v. <i>bergusia</i> , <i>bergona</i> , <i>bergo-</i> ‘mont’ and <i>enter</i> , <i>entar</i> ‘entre’ segments the LN as <i>*Berg-entro-</i> , translating ‘Entre-monts’, which is hardly possible.
3840	17 D5	+04/44	44 23	+04 38	<b>Bergoiata</b>	LN	LN: Bourg-St-Andéol (FRA). Late attestations: (6 c.) <i>Bergoiata</i> , (9 c.) <i>Bergogiates</i> , <i>Burgogiates</i> , (877) <i>Burguitas</i> , (1368) <i>Burgo sancti Andeoli</i> TGF: 2277. If not Germanic, may be Celtic, from <i>bergu-</i> . TGF: 2277 compares the EN <i>Sotiates</i> (map 25 E2 no. 6681) for the suffix: note the presence of a composition vowel, <i>berg-o-</i>

								<i>iata</i> . See GPN: 211ff for Celtic <i>iat-</i> (cf OIr <i>ét</i> ‘emulation, jealousy’), although participation of this word in the compound does not give much sense.
9304	39 F2	+09/45	45 42	+09 40	<b>Bergomum</b>	LN		LN: Bergamo (IT). <i>Bergomum</i> Pliny 3,124; Iustin, 20, 5; Βέργομον Strabo 5,1,6; Ptol. 3,1,27; Steph. Byz.; <i>Bergame civitas</i> IA 127,10; <i>Bergamo</i> IHier 94; Fasti Vindobonenses priores a. 464); <i>Bergomi</i> (CIL 5, 5126), etc. Celtic, to <i>bergu-</i> (* <i>b<sup>h</sup>erg<sup>h</sup>-o-mo-n</i> ).
3841	17 E2	+05/45	45 35	+05 19	<b>Bergusium</b>	LN		LN: Bourgoin-Jallieu (FRA). <i>Bergusium</i> TP 2,1; <i>Bergusia</i> (var. <i>bregusia</i> ) IA 346,8; <i>Birgusia</i> (var. <i>burg-</i> ) Rav. 4,26 Celtic, <i>bergu-</i> <i>us- iá-</i> ; for the suffix TGF 2279 compares <i>Magusius</i> (LG 109). Gorrochategui ‘Establishment and Analysis’ 163 notes a possible connection with EN <i>Bargusii</i> .
6341	25 C3	-03/42	42 17	-02 40	<b>Berones</b>	EN		EN: area of La Rioja, on bank of R. Ebro (ESP). <i>Berones</i> Caesar BA 53,1; Βήρωνες Strabo 3,4,5; <i>Berones</i> Livy frag. 91; Βήρωνες Ptol. 2,6,54. If Celtic, to <i>bero-</i> .
3045	14 F2	+00/46	46 53	+00 45	<b>Berraum</b>	LN		LN: Barrou (FRA). <i>Berravensis</i> (var. <i>Berravenses</i> ) GdeT HF 4,12, <i>Barrao</i> (var. <i>Berraum</i> ) 10, 31, 6. Possibly but not necessarily Celtic. According to Da., to Latin PN <i>Barus</i> and a suffix <i>-avum</i> Celtic possibilities include <i>*barros</i> , ‘tête, hauteur’ (DLG, s.v.).
-	6658a	25 H3	+02/42	42 13	+02 43	<b>Beseldunum</b>	LN	LN Besalú (ESP). <i>Bisuldunum</i> 822 Corominas Top. Hesp. II 261. The form <i>Beseldunum</i> appears to be a modern emendation of Ptolemy; Gorrochategui ‘Establishment and Analysis’ 163 posits this form as an intermediate stage between <i>*Besendunum</i> and <i>Bisuldunum</i> . See 6658 <i>Sebendounon?</i> .
-	9299a	39 G3	+10/45	45 08	+10 26	<b>Betriacum</b>	LN	LN: Calvatone (IT). Βητριακόν Plut. Otho 8, 11, 13; <i>Betriacum</i> Sueton. Oth. 9; Aurel. Vict. Epit. 7,2; var. <i>betricum</i> , <i>betrioum</i> Eutrop. 7, 17,3; <i>Betriacensis</i> Vitell. 10; 15; Vesp. 5; <i>Vetriacum</i> Hieronym. Chron. a. Abr. 2084. BA considers two forms ( <i>Betriacum</i> 9299), with <i>-t-</i> and <i>-d-</i> , although the set of spellings goes beyond these two. An <i>-āco-</i> derivative of an obscure base.
6344	25 D3	-02/42	42 47	-01 51	<b>Beturri</b>	LN		LN: Vidaurreta? (ESP). <i>Beturri</i> Rav. 4,43. A variant form of <i>Bitouris</i> 6344a.
4101	18 B3	+04/46	46 55	+04 10	<b>Bibracte</b>	LN		LN: Mont Beuvray (FRA). <i>A Bibracte</i> (var. <i>bibracto</i> , <i>baribracte</i> ) Caes BG 1,23,1 <i>oppido Bibracte</i> BG 8,2,1; Βίβρακτα Strabo 4,3,2. Obscure. TGF: 2280 derives the LN from a Celtic <i>*bracte</i> ‘endroit fortifié’ following Vendryes, RIO 1962, 171.

								DLG discusses <i>Bibracte</i> under <i>bebros</i> , <i>bebrus</i> , ‘castor’. See J. Vendryes, MSL 13 (1905), 395, for the analysis of <i>Bibracte</i> as a reduplicated form related to Greek <i>phráktos</i> . P. Sims-Williams suggests (pers.comm.) that the LN may denote ‘beaver-dam’ (as a metaphor for <i>murus gallicus</i> ).
3048	14 F4	+00/44	44 56	+00 55	<b>Bicera? fl.</b>	RN	RN: Vézère (FRA). <i>Bicera</i> Rav. 4,40. An error for <i>Visera fl.</i> 3048a q.v.	
3843	17 A2	+03/45	45 44	+03 22	<b><u>Biliomagus</u></b>	LN	LN: Billom (FRA). Coins Belfort 861 <i>billioma...ago</i> , 862 <i>billiomag vico</i> , 864 <i>billiomvi vico</i> (sic); (964-986) in <i>vicaria Biliomo</i> CAG 63/2.040. Celtic, <b><i>bilio-</i></b> & <b><i>magos</i></b> , ‘Champ-de-l’Arbre’ (DLG); possibly the first component is in fact a Celtic PN <i>Billios</i> (with the same etymology).	
4234	19 B3	+09/46	46 11	+09 02	<b>Bilitio</b>	LN	LN: Bellinzona (SWI); <i>Bellitiona</i> (var. <i>belliciona</i> ) Rav. 4, 30; <i>Bellinciona</i> (var. <i>belliciona</i> ) Guid. 14; <i>Belitionem</i> (GdeT. Hist. Franc, 10, 3); <i>Castrum Bilitionis</i> (var. <i>vilitionis</i> , <i>bilicionis</i> ) Paul. Diac. 3, 31. If Celtic, cf. Gaulish PNN in <i>Bil(l)io-</i> ( <i>Bilisia</i> , <i>Billiacus</i> , etc.), DLG, 64.	
1889	11 H3	+07/49	49 58	+07 51	<b>Bingium</b>	LN	LN: Bingen (GER). <i>Bingium</i> Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> 4,70; <i>Bingio</i> (var. <i>vingio</i> ) IA 253,4; <i>Vinco</i> (var. <i>vingo</i> ) 371, 3; <i>Bingio</i> 374, 4; <i>Uinco</i> (var. <i>Uico</i> ) Ausonius <i>Mos.</i> 2; <i>Bingio</i> ND oc 41,10, (var. <i>bringentium</i> ) 22; <i>Bingum</i> (var. <i>bigum</i> ) Rav. 4,24; <i>Bingium</i> TP 2,2; <i>Uingo</i> (var. <i>Bingio</i> , <i>Iungo</i> ) Ammianus 18,2,4; [ <i>B</i> ]ingivm CIL 13, 9158, etc. Possibly Celtic, ‘?the cutting/breaking place’, <i>bing-</i> + <i>io-</i> (see G. R. Isaac, AILR s.v.); a Germanic approach is also possible.	
6348	25 H2	+02/43	43 03	+02 52	<b>Birra fl.</b>	RN	RN: Berre (FRA). (8 c.) <i>Birra</i> DaRiv. If Celtic, to <i>birros</i> ‘short’ (cf. W. <i>byr(r)</i> , <i>ber(r)</i> ‘short’, OIr <i>berr</i> ).	
-	6344a	25 D3	-02/42	42 47	-01 51	<b>Bitouris</b>	LN	LN: Vidaurreta? (ESP). Βιτουρίς Ptol. 2,6,66. See also 6344 <i>Beturri</i> . If Celtic, to <b><i>bitu-</i></b> . Interpretation of the second component is disputable. G. R. Isaac (PNPG) segments <i>ur(r)i-</i> ; García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 388 <i>ris-</i> ‘king’; Gorrochategui ‘Establishment and Analysis’ 161 also suggests <i>bitu</i> and <i>ris</i> , from <i>*rīgs</i> , but adds that this seems implausible semantically for a placename, and suggests instead Basque <i>iturri</i> ‘spring’, though he does not explain the initial <i>B</i> in this case. If Isaac (PNPG) is right and we have a suffix <i>-ur(r)i-</i> in place of <i>ris-</i> , see Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 32-37, who discuss Indo-European <i>*urā</i> , <i>*uro-</i> ‘river’. Villar &

								Prósper <i>Genes y Linguas</i> 109 compare <i>Veturris / Bituriza</i> in Italy (= <i>Biturgia</i> , map 42 unlocated) and 448-9 derive the name from <i>*bai-</i> , comparing it to <i>Baeturia</i> . However, 488 they give <i>Bituris</i> from an Indo-European root <i>*bait-</i> / <i>*bit-</i> ‘resplandeciente, brillante’.
-	3033a	14 H1	+02/47	47 05	+02 25	<b>Biturigae</b>	LN	LN: Bourges (FRA). Also known as <i>Avaricum</i> 3033 (q.v.). <i>Biturigae</i> Amm. Marc. 15,11,11; <i>Civitas Biturigum</i> NG 12,2; <i>Biturigo</i> Oros. 6,11,2; <i>Bituricas civitatem</i> (var. <i>Biturigas</i> ) GdT HF 1,31, <i>Bituricas urbem</i> HF 3,12, etc. To EN <i>Bituriges</i> : see <i>Bituriges</i> below nos. 3049 and 3050.
	3049	14 G1	+01/47	47 20	+01 30	<b>Bituriges Cubi</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Biturigum</i> Caes BG 7, 5,5, <i>Bituriges</i> 7,4,2; Βιτούριγες οἱ Κοῦβοι καλούμενοι, Κούβοις Βιτούριξι Strabo 4,2,2; <i>Bituriges ... qui Cubi appellantur</i> Pliny 4, 109; Βιτούριγες οἱ Κοῦβοι Ptol. 2, 7, 10; <i>cives Biturix Cubus</i> CIL 7, 248. Celtic, <i>bitu-</i> & <i>rig-</i> with a possibly Celtic second part, <i>cubo-</i> . PNPG lists <i>cubo-</i> as a possibly Celtic element, commenting ‘Given the location and the juxtaposition with <i>Bituriges</i> , it seems that there is a good possibility that this element is Celtic, but there are no obvious inner-Celtic etyma with which it might be aligned, to my knowledge (NB: all the items in <i>cub-</i> in LEIA C263-5 have quite different origins, and cannot be aligned with the Gaulish EN). It can, of course, be aligned with any of the shapes <i>*k<sup>(l)</sup>eu-b<sup>(h)</sup>-</i> in IEW 589-95 (which include OW <i>guocob-</i> (in <i>Tig Guocobauc</i> ‘speluncarum domus’ = Nottingham, Asser), MW <i>gogof</i> f. ‘cave’ < <i>*{wo-kuba:-}</i> ), but I see no way of controlling the analysis along those lines at this time.’ The etymology suggested by J. Lacroix, <i>Les noms d’origine gauloise: la Gaule des combats</i> (Paris 2003), 197 (to G. <i>*cobo-</i> ) does not explain the vocalism.
	3050	14 E3	-01/45	45 10	-00 35	<b>Bituriges Vivisci</b>	EN	EN (FRA). Βιτουρίγων τε τῶν Οὐιουίσκων (var. Ἰοσκῶν, Οὐιβίσκων) Strabo 4, 2,1; <i>Bituriges liberi cognomine Vivisci</i> Pliny 4, 108; Βιτούριγες οἱ Οὐιβίσκοι (var. Βιτούριγες) Ptol. 2, 7, 7. Cf. also <i>Vivisca ducens ab origine gentem</i> Auson. Mos. 438. Celtic <i>Bitu-</i> & <i>rig-</i> ; <i>vivisci</i> is obscure. The suffix <i>-isco-</i> is Indo-European and not necessarily Celtic (or Latin); the instance may be related to Latin <i>vivere</i> ‘to live’: if so, then not Celtic.
	3051	14 E3	-01/45	45 06	-00 39	<b>Blacciacum</b>	LN	LN: Plassac (FRA). Late attestation, (13 c.) <i>Blacciacum</i> TGF: 7507. An <i>-āko-</i>

							derivative of a PN <i>Blacc(i)us</i> ; see also <i>Blassiacum</i> .	
6349	25 G2	+01/43	43 50	+01 43	<b>Blacinaco?</b>	LN	LN: Blaunac/Las Peiras, Rabastens (FRA). <i>Blacinaco</i> (var. <i>Blancinciaco</i> ) Vita Des. 9,17: later attestations: (1240) <i>Blaunaco</i> , (1259) <i>Blaunac</i> TGF. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a PN; late and possibly corrupted attestations do not allow its exact identification.	
4552	20 C6	+15/43	43 59	+15 28	<b>Blandona</b>	LN	LN: Stabanj (CRO). Βλάνωνα (var. βλαλώνα; βλανῶνα) Ptol. 2,16,6; <i>Blandona</i> IA 272,3. Holder I : 448 lists it as Celtic. On the Celticity of PN in <i>blando-</i> and various views expressed see KGP: 151; GPN: 58-9; SLG, s.v. The LN has been considered indigenous by several authors: H. Krahe, <i>Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen</i> (Heidelberg 1925), p. 17; A. Mayer, <i>Die Sprache der alten Illyrier</i> (Wien 1957), p. 89; I. Russu, <i>Illirii</i> (București 1969), p. 180. And Isaac, AILR also mentions its Latin origins.	
1891	11 G1	+06/51	51 22	+06 09	<b>Blariacum</b>	LN	LN: Blerick (NL). <i>Blariaco</i> TP 1,4, etc. ‘Belonging to Blar(i)us’, an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a PN.	
-	3051a	14 E3	-01/45	45 06	-00 39	<b>Blassiacum</b>	LN	LN: Plassac (FRA). A variant of <i>Blacciacum</i> 3051 q.v.; perhaps the form is deduced from the modern name <i>Plassac</i> .
3053	14 G2	+01/46	46 02	+01 04	<b>Blatomagus</b>	LN	LN: La Tourette, Cm. Blond. (FRA). <i>Blatomago</i> Coins Belfort 868, 869. Celtic; at face value, <i>blāto</i> & <i>magos</i> , cf. DLG: 78 translating it as ‘Champ-de-Fleurs’. TGF: 3049 derives this from a Latin PN <i>Blattus</i> (OTL) and Celtic <i>-magos</i> .	
3054	14 E3	-01/45	45 08	-00 40	<b>Blauto</b>	LN	LN: Blaye (FRA). <i>Blauto</i> (var. <i>blauto</i> ) IA 458,7. Obscure; may be a scribal error for <i>Blavia</i> q.v. The variant form <i>blauto</i> suggests a diminutive formed from <i>Blavia</i> , <i>*Blavita</i> .	
-	3054a	14 E3	-01/45	45 08	-00 40	<b>Blavia</b>	LN	LN: Blaye (FRA). <i>Blavia</i> TP I,1; <i>Blavia</i> Ausonius Epist. 4, 16; <i>Blabia</i> ND oc 37, 4; <i>Blaviensi</i> (var. <i>Blavianensi</i> ) GdeT GC 45; <i>Blavia</i> Rav. 4, 40. Obscure. Da. derives this LN from ‘un nom d’homme gaul. <i>Blavus</i> (gaul. <i>blavos</i> , jaune [if this was a genuine word]), latinisé en <i>*Blavius</i> ’, and TGF: 10163 from ‘NP rom. <i>Balabius</i> , traité com <i>*Blabius</i> ’. GPN lists no names <i>Blavus</i> or <i>Blavius</i> , but OPEL has a <i>Blaus</i> , which could be for <i>*Blavus</i> . See <i>Blauto</i> 3054.
5948	24 F3	-06/41	41 06	-05 59	<b>Bletisa(ma)</b>	LN	LN: Ledesma. (ESP). <i>Bletis(am)</i> CIL 2, 858, <i>Bletisam</i> 859. Celtic; as well as <i>letaisamo</i> to <i>*pleth<sub>2-</sub></i> ; see: J. L. García Alonso, <i>Lenguas prerromanas en el territorio</i>	

							de los Vetones a partir de la toponimia, 395; B. M. Prósper, <i>Lenguas y religiones prerromanas</i> , 426-427; F. Villar, <i>The Celtic Language of the Iberian Peninsula</i> , 255ff; F. Villar and B. M. Prósper, <i>Vascos, Celtas e Indoeuropeos</i> , 269 <i>et passim</i> .
19508	86 C3	+32/40	40 10	+32 37	<b>Bloukion</b>	LN	LN: Karalar (TUR). <i>Blucium</i> (var. <i>Lucium</i> Cic. Pro Deiotaro 7,21); Βλούκιον (var. Βλούβιον, Κλούκιον Strabo 12,5,2). If Celtic, cf. W. <i>blwch</i> (ACPN: 274).
9307	39 F5	+09/44	44 20	+09 37	<b>Boakias fl.</b>	RN	RN: Vara (IT). If <i>Boaktou</i> (Βοακίου var. Βοάκτου, Βολκίου Ptol. 3,1,3), see G. R. Isaac PNPg, comm. ad. loc., where a derivation * <i>bou-ax-to-</i> ‘place to which cows are driven’ is suggested. See, however, P. Sims-Williams, ACPN 198.
9309	39 F5	+09/44	44 17	+09 34	<b>Bodetia</b>	LN	LN: Passo della Mola? (IT). <i>Bodetia</i> (var. <i>bodecia</i> ) IA 294,1. <b>Boud-(et-yā)</b> .
- 9371a	39 C3	+08/45	45 10	+08 02	<b>Bodincomagum?</b>	LN	LN: Montheu da Po (IT). Also known as (Lat.) 6371 <i>Industria. Bodincomagus</i> (var. <i>bodingo-</i> ) Pliny 3,122; CIL 6,2613; <i>Boincomagensis</i> CIL 5, 7464. Possibly a <i>vox hybrida</i> ; for the second part see <i>magō-</i> .
- 984a	7 F2	-01/49	49 16	-00 50	<b>Bodiocasses</b>	EN	EN (FRA). See 984 <i>Baiocasses</i> .
3682	16 B1	+06/44	44 05	+06 10	<b>Bodiontici</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Bodionticos</i> Pliny 3,37; <i>Brodionti(i)</i> CIL 5, 7817, <i>Bodionio</i> 7885; <i>Bodi(ontio?)</i> 7902. Possibly Celtic; to <i>ba/odio-ont-ici?</i>
1897	11 H2	+07/50	50 14	+07 34	<b>Bodobrica</b>	LN	LN: Boppard (GER). <i>Boudobrica</i> (var. <i>baudobrica</i> ) IA 254,2; <i>Baudobrica</i> 374, 2; <i>Bodobrica</i> ND oc 41,11 and 23; <i>Bontobrice</i> TP 2,2; <i>Bodorecas</i> Rav. 4, 24; [ <i>Bo</i> ]vdobriga CIL 13, 9158, etc. ‘Top/summit of victory’ ( <i>boudo-</i> + <i>brícá</i> ) or ‘high (fortified) settlement of victory’ ( <i>boudo-</i> + <i>brigá-</i> ).
2502	12 G2	+13/50	50 05	+13 35	<b>Boihaemum</b>	TN	Name of a region: (Böhmen) (? GER). Βοΐαιμον Strabo 7,1,3; <i>Boiohaemum</i> Vell. 2,109,5; <i>Boihaemi</i> (gen., var. <i>boihemi</i> , <i>boihaemi</i> , <i>boiemi</i> ) Tacit. Germ. 28,2; cf. <i>Baias</i> (var. <i>Boyas</i> ) Rav. 4,18. Hybrid: ‘the home of the Boii’, to Celtic <i>boio-</i> and Gmc. <i>-haemum</i> , MHGerm. <i>Bêheim</i> (from <i>Bai</i> ). For <i>boio-</i> , see 2503, 3057 <i>Boii</i> . Cf. map 13 no. 2834 <i>Baimoi</i> .
2503	12 H2	+14/50	50 20	+14 30	<b>Boii</b>	EN	EN : (CZ/GER). <i>Boios</i> Caesar BG 1,5,4 and 28.5, <i>Boi[i]</i> 1,25,6, <i>Boiorum</i> 1, 29,2; 7, 9,6; <i>Bois</i> 7, 75,4; <i>Boios</i> 10,3,4, <i>Boia</i> 14.5, <i>Boios</i> 17.2, <i>Boiorum</i> 3; Βόϊοι (var. Βίοι) Strabo 4,4,1, <i>passim</i> ; <i>Boii</i> Livy 5,35,2, <i>passim</i> ; <i>Boi</i> Pliny 3, (var. <i>bui</i> , <i>bai</i> ) 116 and 124; <i>Bois</i> 125, ( <i>deserta</i> ) <i>Boiorum</i> (var. <i>boiso-</i> ) 146, <i>Boi</i> 4,107; <i>Boiorum</i> (var. <i>Botorum</i> ) Mela 3,5,45; <i>Boiorum</i> Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> II.61, <i>Boii</i> Germ. 28, 2, <i>Bois</i> (var.

								<i>boiis</i> ) 42, 1; Βόιοι Ptol. II.14.2; Βοιῶν Γάλλων III.1.20; <i>Boios</i> (Bosos, <i>Bolas</i> ) IA 456.4; <i>Boi</i> (var. <i>bos</i> , <i>boii</i> ) Oros. 4, 20,4; <i>bois</i> (var. <i>boiis</i> ) 20,11, etc.; <i>Boior(um)</i> CIL 9, 5363; <i>Boius</i> CIL 6, 3308; <i>Boi</i> CIL 3, 4594 (= 11311); CIR 1600 (= CIL 13, 6448), etc. Celtic, to <b>boio-</b> .
4553	20 D2	+16/47	47 30	+16 30	<b>Boii</b>	EN	EN: between Carnutum and Scarbantia (AUS/HUN). Polyb. 2,17,7; 2,21,5, etc.; Caes. BG 1,5,4; Strabo 4,4,1, etc.; <i>Boii</i> Livy 5,35,2, etc. Celtic, to <b>boio-</b> .	
3056	14 E4	-01/44	44 37	-00 56	<b>Boii</b>	LN	LN: Lamothe, Cm. Biganos. (FRA). <i>Boios</i> IA 456,4; <i>Boios</i> Green Paul. Nol. Appendix B.3, 241. Celtic, to <b>boio-</b> ; a less likely possibility is to trace the LN to <i>*bouio-</i> (cf. <b>bo(u)-</b> ‘cow’), then ‘the cow place’	
9525	40 A3	+11/44	44 38	+11 10	<b>Boi(i)</b>	EN	EN (IT). Βοῖοι Polyb. 2,17,7, passim. See 4553, 2503, 3057 <i>Boii</i> .	
3057	14 I2	+03/46	46 45	+03 15	<b>Boii?</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). Βοῖοι Polyb. 2,17,7; <i>Boios</i> Caes BG 1,5,4; <i>Boii</i> Livy hist. 5,35,2; Βόιοι Strabo 4,4,1; <i>Boi</i> Pliny 3,116, etc. Celtic, to <b>boio-</b> .	
2504	12 G4	+13/48	48 34	+13 29	<b>Boiodurum</b>	LN	LN: Passau/Innstadt (GER). Βοῖόδορον Ptol. 2,12,5(4); <i>Bolodoro</i> (var. <i>boiodoro</i> , <i>bolodoro</i> ) IA 249,5; <i>Boiodoro</i> ND oc 34, 44; <i>Castellum Bolodurum</i> TP 3,4; <i>in loco nomine Boiot(h)ro /Biot(h)ro/Baiothro/Boitro</i> Eugippius <i>Vita Severini</i> 12,1, <i>In loco Boiotro / Boitro / Boytro</i> 36,1; <i>stationis Boiod(urensis)</i> CIL 3, 5121; <i>Boioduru(s)</i> 5755 (= IBR 484), etc. ‘Walled fort/town of Boius or the Boii’; from PN <i>Boius</i> , or from the EN <i>Boii</i> (to Celtic, to <b>boio-</b> ) with <b>duro-</b> ; see 2504a <i>Boiotro</i> .	
-	2504a	12 G4	+13/48	48 34	+13 29	<b>Boiotro</b>	LN	LN: Passau/Innstadt (GER). See 2504 <i>Boiodurum</i> .
-	5959a	24 C2	-09/42	42 17	-08 32	<b>Bonisana</b>	LN	LN: Borbén (ESP). <i>Bonisana</i> Rav. 4,43. A possibly Celtic alternative name of 5959 <i>Burbida</i> . If not corrupted, <b>bona</b> , but the ending looks as if it could be an error for the superlative suffix <i>-isama</i> .
1898	11 H2	+07/50	50 45	+07 08	<b>Bonna</b>	LN	LN: Bonn (GER). Bonnam Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> 4,18 and 25; Βόννα (var. βόννα) Ptol. 2,9,8; <i>Bonna</i> (var. <i>bonno</i> , <i>uenno</i> ) IA 254,3; 370,7; <i>Bonnae</i> TP 2,1; <i>Bonna</i> Ammianus 18,2,4; <i>Bonne</i> (var. <i>bonnae</i> ) Rav. 4, 24, etc. Celtic, to <b>bono-</b> .	
4934	21 E5	+22/44	44 01	+22 52	<b>Bononia</b>	LN	LN: Vidin (BUL). <i>Bononia</i> IA 219, 2; ND or. 42, 13; Βονωνία Proc. ae. 4,6, 24; Βονονία Hierocl. 655,3. Celtic, to <b>bono-</b> .	
-	2052a	11 B2	+01/50	50 44	+01 36	<b>Bononia</b>	LN	LN: Boulogne(-sur-Mer) (FRA). <i>Bon&lt;oni&gt;am</i> Florus 4,12,26; <i>Ciuitas Bononiensium</i> (var. <i>bononientium</i> , <i>bonouiensium</i> , <i>bononensium</i> ) NG 6,13; <i>Bononia</i>



								TP 1,2; <i>Bononiam</i> (acc.) Eutropius 9,21; <i>Bononiam</i> Ammianus 20,1,3 and 9,9, <i>Bononiae</i> 27, 8,6; Βονονίαν Sozomen <i>Ecc. Hist.</i> 9,11,3; Βονωνίαν Zosimus 6,2,2; in <i>Bononia civitate</i> Beda <i>Ecc. Hist.</i> 1,33; <i>Bononia</i> Merovingian coins; etc. Celtic, to <b>bono-</b> . Cf. 2052 <i>Gesoriacum</i> .
-	9546a	40 A4	+11/44	44 30	+11 20	<b>Bononia</b>	LN	LN: Bologna (IT). <i>Bononia</i> Cic. Ep. 11,13,2; 12,5,2; 12,5,3; Livy 37,57,7; 39,2,6; Vell. 1,15,2; var. <i>bonia</i> Mela 2, 4, 60; Pliny 3,115; 6, 218; 7, 163; Tac. H., 2, 53, 67, 71; Flor., 2,16; Suet., Aug. 96; Nero 7; TP 3,4; <i>Bononia civitas</i> IA 99,5;127,2; 282,2; 282,3; 282,7; 283,3; 283,6; 287,5; <i>Bononiam</i> IA 281,2; Βονωνία Strabo 5; Plut. Cic. 46; Phlegon macrob, <i>passim</i> ; Βοβωνία Ptol. 3,1,42; Appian, BC 3, 69, 73; Βονωνία Dio 46,36,3; 50, 6,3, etc.; <i>Bōnōnīa</i> Sil. 8, 599; <i>Bōnōnīā</i> Martial 6, 85,5, etc. Celtic, to <b>bono-</b> . Also known as 9546 <i>Felsina</i> .
	1899	11 I3	+08/49	49 38	+08 23	<b>Borbetomagus</b>	LN	LN: Worms (GER). Βορβητόμαχος Ptol. 2,9,9; <i>Bormitomago</i> (var. <i>borbitomago</i> ) AI 355,3; <i>Bormitomago</i> (var. <i>bromitomago</i> , <i>bornitomago</i> ) 374,6; <i>Civitas Uangionum</i> ('id est Warmatia') NG 7,4 ; <i>Borgetomagi</i> TP 2,3; <i>Gormetia</i> Rav. 4,26; [ <i>Borb</i> ]etomag(us) CIL 13, 9158, etc. Celtic: 'plain/field of (thermal) springs', <b>borbeto-</b> & <b>-magos</b> .
	3684	16 B3	+06/43	43 08	+06 20	<b>Borma</b>	LN	LN: Bormes-les-Mimosas (FRA). <i>Bormani</i> Pliny 3, 36; later attestation (1056) <i>Borma</i> TGF: 1138. Probably Celtic, to <b>bormo-</b> .
-	2430a	11 H2	+07/50	50 06	+07 41	<b>Bosolvia</b>	LN	LN: Oberwesel (GER). See 2430 <i>Vosolvia</i> .
	3849	17 G2	+06/45	45 54	+06 08	<b>Boutae</b>	LN	LN: Les Fins d'Annecy (FRA). <i>Bautas</i> IA 347,11; <i>per Boutas</i> , Iord. Get. 12; cf. <i>Bo</i> CIL 12, 2532, which Ho. suggests is for <i>Bo(utas?)</i> . Obscure. AILR segments <i>boutá-</i> , but does not discuss this element. If Celtic, cf. <b>bo(u)</b> 'cow'?
	5951	24 C3	-09/41	41 33	-08 25	<b>Bracara Augusta</b>	LN	LN: Braga (POR). <i>Bracarum</i> (var. <i>bracc-</i> , <i>bac-</i> , <i>bacc-</i> ) Pliny 3,18; <i>Bracarum oppidum Augusta</i> 4, 112; Βρακαραυγούστα (var. Βραϊκαραυγούστα, Βραϊκαρ αυγ., etc.) Ptol. 2,6,38; <i>Bracaram Augustam</i> IA 420, 8-9; <i>Bragara</i> 422,1; <i>Bracara Asturicam</i> 422,2; <i>Bracara Asturica</i> 427,4-5. Possibly Celtic; <b>braco-</b> ará (Isaac AILR and PNPG); to Celtic <i>bracca</i> or <i>braca</i> 'trousers' (García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 233-4). See <i>Bracari</i> 5951a.
-	5951a	24 C3	-09/41	41 33	-08 25	<b>Bracari</b>	EN	Presumably EN, though not listed by Barrington as such. The inhabitants of

							<i>Bracara Augusta</i> . Cf <i>Callaeci Bracari</i> below no. 5967? See <i>Bracara Augusta</i> 5951.	
5952	24 H2	-04/42	42 30	-03 43	<b>Braunon?</b>	LN	LN: Ubierna (ESP). Βραῦνον (var. βραῦνον, βραουδον) Ptol. 2,6,51. If Celtic, to <i>braunon-</i> ‘quern’; see DLG: 86.	
9311	39 H2	+10/45	45 49	+10 57	<b>Bremtonicum</b> 	LN	LN: Brentonico? (IT). <i>Bremtonicum</i> (var. <i>brentonicum</i> , <i>bremtunicum</i> , <i>brettonicum</i> , <i>bretonicum</i> ) Paul. Diac. 3,31. If the form is correct and if Celtic, to <i>bremo-</i> .	
9312	39 H2	+10/45	45 38	+10 52	<b>Bretina</b>	LN	LN: Brentino (IT). Βρέτινα (var. Βρέτινα, Βρετήνα, Βρετένα) Ptol. 3,1,28. If Celtic, to <i>bret-</i> .	
4559	20 D4	+16/45	45 20	+16 30	<b>Breuci</b>	EN	EN: on both sides of R. Sava, W. Sirmium (CRO). Βρεῦκοι Strabo 7,5,3; Ptol. 2,15,2 (also var. Βεῦκτροι); <i>Breucosque</i> (var. <i>braeu-</i> ) Pliny 3,147. The name of a Pannonian tribe, considered to be of “Pannonian” origin; see P. Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 38-39. P. de Bernardo Stempel, ‘Ptolemy’s evidence for Germania Superior’, 79 offers a Celtic etymology, ‘grinders’.	
3060	14 F1	+00/47	47 35	+00 23	<b>Bricca</b>	LN	LN: Brèches? (FRA). <i>Bricca</i> GdeT HF 10, 31, 4; later attestations (931) <i>bricca</i> (932), <i>brica</i> Merov. coins, Belfort. Probably Celtic. Da. and TGF 10174 derive this LN from a Celtic or Latin PN <i>Briccus</i> (in TLL).	
5954	24 F2	-06/42	42 07	-05 40	<b>Brigaecini</b>	EN	EN: Fuentes de Ropel region (ESP). <i>Brigaecini</i> Flor. 2,33,56; Βριγακινῶν (var. βριβεκίνων, Βρισαικινῶν) Ptol. 2,6,29; <i>Brigaecino</i> CIL 2, 6094; <i>Brigaecina</i> HAE 2138 (quoted by TIR K-30). To the town name 5955 <i>Brigaecium</i> , below.	
5955	24 F2	-06/42	42 07	-05 25	<b>Brigaecium</b>	LN	LN: Dehesa de Morales (Fuentes de Ropel) (ESP). Βριγάκιον (var. βριγέκιον) Ptol. 2,6,29; <i>Brigicon</i> Rav. 4,45; <i>Brigiadis</i> CIL 2, 6338 1. To Celtic <i>briga-aik-</i> . See also <i>Brigeco</i> 5955a.	
-	4240a	19 B2	+09/47	47 30	+09 41	<b>Brigantii</b>	EN	EN: (SWI). Βριγάντιοι Strabo 4,6,8. The sole attestation. Strabo writes that the people belong to the <i>Vindelici</i> . See <i>Brigantium</i> 4240a.
4239	19 B2	+09/47	47 35	+09 25	<b>Brigantinus L.</b>	HN	Lake: Bodensee (GER / SWI). Also known as <i>Ven(non)etus</i> L. <i>Brigantinus</i> Pliny. Celtic, to <i>brigantio-</i> .	
3854	17 G2	+06/45	45 32	+06 28	<b>Brigantio</b>	LN	LN: Notre-Dame de Briançon (FRA). <i>Brigantione</i> CIL 12, 118; Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 301 reports Vita Tigris (11 <sup>th</sup> century or earlier) <i>ad Brientinum castrum</i> . Celtic, to <i>brigantio-</i> .	
3855	17 H4	+06/44	44 54	+06 37	<b>Brigantio</b>	LN	LN: Briançon (FRA). Βριγαντίου Strabo 4,179; Βριγάντιον Ptol. 3,1,36; <i>castellum</i>	

								<i>Brigantium</i> (var. <i>uirgan-</i> ) Amm. Marc. 15,10,6; <i>Brigantio</i> < <i>ne</i> > TP 2,3; <i>Brigantione</i> IA 341,5; 357,3; <i>Byrigante</i> IB 555,11; <i>Brigantium</i> Vicar. I, II, <i>Brigantio</i> III, <i>Brigantione</i> IV; <i>Brincatione</i> Rav. 4, 27; <i>munic(ipium) Brigantiens(ium)</i> CIL 12, 95. Celtic, Celtic, to <b><i>brigantio-</i></b> .
4240	19 B2	+09/47	47 30	+09 41	<b>Brigantium</b>	LN	LN: Bregenz (SWI). Βριγόντιον Strabo 4,6,8, Ptol. 2,12,3; <i>Brigantia</i> IA 278,3; <i>Brigantio</i> TP 2,5; <i>Bricantia</i> Rav. 4, 26. ‘(The town of the) Brigantii’; see <i>Brigantii</i> 4240a. Celtic, to <b><i>brigantio-</i></b> .	
- 6025a	24 C1	-09/43	43 22	-08 25	<b>Brigantium</b>	LN	LN: La Coruña (ESP). See 6025 ( <i>Flavium</i> ) <i>Brigantium</i> .	
- 5955a	24 F2	-06/42	42 07	-05 25	<b>Brigeco</b>	LN	LN: Dehesa de Morales (Fuentes de Ropel) (ESP). <i>Brigecio</i> Itin. Astorga 3.3; <i>Briceco</i> (var. <i>bricico</i> ) IA 439,8; <i>Brigeco</i> 440,1. A variant spelling of <i>Brigaecium</i> 5955.	
4560	20 F2	+18/47	47 44	+18 10	<b>Brigetio</b>	LN	LN: Szöny (HUN). Βριγάτιον (var. Βραιγέτιον, Βραιγάτιον, Βρεγάτιον) Ptol. 2,15,3; <i>Bregetione</i> IA 246,2; 262,9; 263,2; 264,7; 265,3; var. <i>Brecetione</i> 262,9; <i>Breiectione</i> 263,2; <i>Bregentione</i> 265,3; <i>Brigitione</i> (var. <i>Bregetione</i> ) ND oc. 33,41. Very possibly Celtic, to <b><i>*brig-(eto-io-on)</i></b> .	
3062	14 F1	+00/47	47 08	+00 33	<b>Briggogalus</b>	LN	LN St-Epain (FRA). Late attestations (cf. Sims-Williams ‘-ialo-’ 58 fn. 4): (774) <i>Brigogalus</i> , (857) <i>Bruigogalus</i> , (852, 987) <i>Burgogalus</i> , (884) <i>Brugolium</i> . Late (and corrupted) attestations do not allow a comprehensive analysis; the LN may go back to <b><i>brig- &amp; -ialo-</i></b> .	
3856	17 H4	+06/44	44 50	+06 35	<b>Brigianii</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Brigianii</i> Pliny 3, 137; <i>Brigiani</i> CIL 5, 7817, <i>Brigantionis</i> CIL 12, 94, <i>Bricianiorum</i> 80. Celtic, to <b><i>brig-</i></b> .	
3483	15 C1	+04/44	44 01	+04 12	<b><u>Briginnum?</u></b>	LN	LN: Serre de Brienne, Brignon (FRA). <i>Briginn</i> CIL 12, 3362; <i>Brig(inno)</i> AE 1992 1219; (later source, s.a. 1108) <i>Brinno</i> TGF: 2404. Celtic, to <b><i>brig-</i></b> .	
3063	14 E2	-01/46	46 08	-00 14	<b>Brigiosum</b>	LN	LN: Brioux (FRA). <i>Brigiosum</i> TP I,2; <i>In vico Briosse</i> Vita Maxentii 3,23; <i>Briosso vico</i> Merov. coins Belfort 956, 957, etc.; later attestations: (7 c.) <i>Briossus</i> , (709) <i>pagus Briosinsis</i> TGF: 2407. Celtic or hybrid, to <b><i>brig-</i></b> ; cf. also 3063a <i>Briossus</i> .	
4241	19 A2	+08/47	47 57	+08 30	<b><u>Brigobannis</u></b>	LN	LN: Hüfingen (GER). <i>Brigobanne</i> TP 2, 5. Celtic, to <b><i>brig- &amp; banno-</i></b> .	
3687	16 C2	+06/43	43 52	+06 46	<b><u>Brigomagus</u></b>	LN	LN: Briançonnet? (FRA). ... <i>rigoma</i> ... CIL 12, 60; <i>ordo Brig</i> 57; <i>ord. Brig</i> 58; <i>Civitas Rigomagensium</i> NG. Celtic. The complete form of the name is not attested.	

								Barrington's reconstruction is plausible but there are other possibilities. Barruol 'Glandève et Briançonnet' 245 notes 'Quatre dédicaces impériales, trouvées sur place, signalent, à la fin du II <sup>ème</sup> et au III <sup>ème</sup> siècle, l'existence de l' <i>ordo Brig(...)</i> , mais, à vrai dire, la restitution de cet ethnique présente quelque difficulté. Trois solutions peuvent, à priori, être envisagées: restituer <i>ordo rig(ianiorum)</i> , <i>ordo Brig(antiensium)</i> ou <i>ordo Brig(omagensium)</i> .' If the form is correct, <b>brīgo</b> (or <b>brig-</b> ) & <b>magos</b> .
	3857	17 E2	+05/45	45 47	+05 28	<b>Brioratis</b>	LN	LN: Briord (FRA). [ <i>vicani br</i> ]ioraten/ses CIL 13, 2464; (ca. 1150) Briort TGF: 3080. Celtic, <b>briva</b> & <b>rate</b> , <b>ratis</b> .
-	3063a	14 E2	-01/46	46 08	-00 14	<b>Briossus</b>	LN	LN: Brioux (FRA). A (probably later) contracted form of 3063 <i>Brigiosum</i> q.v.
	3064	14 F1	+00/47	47 06	+00 25	<b>Briotreidis?</b>	LN	LN: Brizay (FRA). <i>Briotreide</i> (var. <i>Briotireide</i> , <i>Brioteridem</i> , etc.) GdeT HF X 31 4; <i>Briotreit</i> Merov. coins Belfort 988 and 989, later attestation (1050) <i>Brisiacum</i> Da. Celtic, at face value perhaps to <b>*brivo-</b> & <b>traget-</b> , perhaps meaning 'footbridge', though we would expect the elements in reverse order; for the second component cf. G. <i>treide</i> gl. <i>pede</i> . Late attestation may presuppose the first component <b>brigo</b> , with a loss of -g- intervocally.
-	2196a	11 H4	+07/48	48 02	+07 35	<b>Brisiacus</b>	LN	LN: Breisach (GER). See 2196 ( <i>Mons</i> ) <i>Brisiacus</i> .
	1903	11 H4	+07/48	48 06	+07 50	<b>Brisigavi</b>	EN	EN (GER). <i>Brisigavi seniores</i> ND oc 5, 52, <i>Brisigavi iuniores</i> 53, <i>Brisigavi seniores</i> 201, <i>Brisigavi iuniores</i> 202 and 7, 25, <i>Brisigavi seniores</i> 7,128. Obscure hybrid, with a possible Celtic first component. According to Gohil, '?place of the leftovers of pressed grapes', <i>brisi(o)-</i> + <i>-gavi</i> , with possible Celtic element <b>briso-</b> [AILR], but there is no certainty about the (non-)Celticity of the element. For <i>-gavi</i> , see RGA X, 468-469 s.v. <i>Gau</i> : cfr. Gothic <i>gawi</i> (gen. <i>gaujis</i> ) and OHGerm. <i>gewi</i> (< <i>*gaw-i</i> , also <i>gouw-</i> < <i>*gauw-j-</i> ) 'region, land'; <i>gau-</i> < <i>*ga-aw-ja</i> with <i>*aw-jō</i> 'mead, land near water'.
	5956	24 D1	-08/43	43 26	-07 23	<b>Britaniensis</b>	LN	LN: Mondoñedo (ESP). Bishop Ma(h)iloc of this place appears in various councils (conc.78, 224, 258, 288, 379); see Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 311-12. Young 'Bishops of Britonia' discusses the bishops of <i>Britonensis ecclesia</i> and the council lists they appear in. There was an early medieval British settlement in the area, and presumably the

							name derives from this. See <i>Britonensis Ecclesia</i> 5956a.
5451	22 F3	+28/45	45 44	+28 30	<b>Britolagai</b>	EN	EN: MOL/UKR. Βριτολάγαι (var. Βριτόλαγαι, Βριτολάγε, Βριτολάγγαι, Βριττόλαγαι, Βριτογάλλοι) Ptol. 3,10,7. At face value a compound with <i>brito-</i> . Although the second component <i>lagai</i> does not seem to be attested in Gaulish, it may well have a Celtic etymology (see e.g., a note on “possible Celtic” <i>lage</i> in Isaac, AILR); in view of (Βριτο)λάγγαι it may also reflect a G. <i>lango-</i> . If the ethnic name is to be read as <i>Brigo-lati</i> , see J. Vendryes in <i>RC</i> 46 (1929), p. 335 and cf. C.-J. Guyonvarc’h, Βριτολάγαι – <i>Latobriges</i> , une metathese ethnonymique, in <i>Apulum</i> 9 (1971), 165-68. Then, cf. <i>Latobrigi</i> , in which case the first component may be <i>brigo-</i> ‘powerful’. For the second component cf. <i>latis</i> ‘héros’, on which see Delamarre, DLG; but see the doubts expressed by G.R. Isaac, PNPg, s.v. {la:ti-} and see his comments on <i>laeto-</i> , <i>lato-</i> . Therefore the tribal name could mean ‘powerful (or high) heroes’ or the like. According to F. Villar and B. Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> , 249 the EN should be compared with LN Βραιτόλαιον (see s.v., Ptol. 2,5,5), from <i>*brito-lag-yo-</i> ; see a different analysis of the latter in García Alonso, Ptolomeo, 96-98.
- 5956a	24 D1	-08/43	43 26	-07 23	<b>Britonensis Ecclesia</b>	LN	LN: Mondoñedo (ESP). See <i>Britaniensis</i> 5956.
5958	24 H4	-04/40	40 59	-03 38	<b>Brittablo</b>	LN	LN: Buitrago? (ESP). Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 370 cites conc. Toletanum II, FHA IX 123. Possibly Celtic. Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 370 compares the LN with <i>Brittones</i> and <i>Brittae</i> . If it is not a medieval coinage, and if it is Celtic indeed, to <i>bret(t)o-</i> , <i>brito-</i> ; cf. also PNN <i>Brittus</i> , <i>Brittius</i> , <i>Britto</i> , etc. For <i>-ablo</i> , compare <i>Merablum</i> (map 26).
3065	14 G3	+01/45	45 10	+01 31	<b>Briva (Curretia)</b>	LN	LN: Brive-la-Gaillarde (FRA). <i>Brivae</i> Ruricius epist. 2,24; <i>Briva-Curretia vicum</i> GdeT HF 7,10; <i>Briva Vico</i> Merovingian coins Belfort 994, 995. Celtic, to <i>brīuo/ā-</i> . <i>Curretia</i> is obscure; cf. Lat. <i>correntia</i> ‘running’, with an unexpected loss of the nasal; it may be also a Latinization of an earlier indigenous form, perhaps even Celtic, from <i>*com-ret-</i> .
1904	11 C3	+02/49	49 04	+02 08	<b>Briva Isarae</b>	LN	LN: Pontoise (FRA). <i>Brivaisare</i> (var. <i>bribaisare</i> ) IA 384,11; <i>Brivisara</i> TP 1,3; <i>usque ad pontem Yserae</i> Vita Audoēni 3,18. ‘Bridge over Isara’, to <i>brīuo/ā-</i> and cf.

							2104 <i>Isara fl.</i>
3066	14 H1	+02/47	47 04	+02 27	<b>Brivas</b>	LN	LN: Brives, arrondissement d'Issoudun (FRA). <i>Brivas vicum</i> (var. <i>Brias, Privas</i> ) GdeT GC 79. Celtic, to <i>brīuo/ā-</i> .
3858	17 A3	+03/45	45 18	+03 24	<b>Brivas</b>	LN	LN: Brioude (FRA). <i>Brivas</i> Sid. App. Carm. 14, 16; <i>Ad Brivatinsem vicum</i> GdeT HF 2,10; <i>Brivatensim</i> 4,13; <i>A Brivate</i> 10,29; <i>Brivatensis pagi</i> GdeT GM 47; <i>Brivatinsim</i> GdeT Liber de virtutibus s. Iuliani 1, 4; <i>Brivate</i> Pass. S. Juliani (ed. Krusch, MGH SS rer. merov. I.ii pp. 429-31) 4, etc. Celtic, to <i>brīuo/ā-</i> .
3068	14 H1	+02/47	47 39	+02 43	<b>Brivodurum</b>	LN	LN: Briare (FRA). <i>Brivoduro</i> TP I,4; <i>Bribodorum</i> (var. <i>ebrodor</i> ) IA 367,4. Celtic, <i>brīuo/ā-</i> & <i>duro-</i> .
9313	39 H4	+10/44	44 49	+10 31	<b>Brixellum</b>	LN	LN: Brescello (IT). <i>Brixillum</i> (var. <i>brux-</i> ) Pliny 3,115; 7,163; Ambros. Epist. 1,29,3; Sidon. Epist. 1,5; Βρέξελλον (Ioseph. BJud 4,9,9); <i>Brixellum</i> (Tac. H. 2,33; 39; 54; Suet. Oth. 9); Βρίξελλον (Plut. Mar.25; Ptol. 3,1,42); Βρίξιλλον (Plut. Oth. 5;10; 18); <i>Brixello</i> IA 283,4; CIL 6,100; <i>Brixilla</i> (Auctarii Havniensis extrema 16 MG a.a. IX); <i>Becilum</i> Rav 4,33, etc. According to P. De Bernardo Stempel, Italy and Ireland, a derivative of <i>Brixia</i> , therefore 'the small Brixia'. See <i>Brixia</i> 9314.
4242	19 D3	+11/46	46 45	+11 35	<b>Brixenetes?</b>	EN	EN: around Bressanone (IT). Βριζάνται Ptol. 2,12,2; <i>Brixentes</i> (var. <i>-xenetis, -xentes</i> ) Pliny 3,137, cf. CIL V, 7817. '(Those living in the) hights'; <i>*brig-s-ant-</i> , to <i>brig-</i> .
9314	39 G2	+10/45	45 32	+10 14	<b>Brixia</b>	LN	LN: Brescia (IT). <i>Brixia</i> Catull. 67,32; 34; Livy 5,35,1; 32,30,6; Vergil. Catal. 8,5; (var. <i>-xta</i> ) Pliny 3,130; 132; Iustin 20, 5,8; <i>Brixia</i> TP 3,3; <i>Brixia civitas</i> IA 127,11; Βριξία (var. Βρηξία) Strabo 5,1,6; Ptol. 3,1,27; <i>Civitas Brixia</i> IB 558,8; <i>Brissia</i> (Fredeg. Chr. 4, 70), etc. Celtic, 'the Heights', <i>brig-syā</i> .
3069	14 F1	+00/47	47 13	+00 52	<b>Brixis</b>	LN	LN: Braye, Cm. Reignac-sur-Indre? (FRA). <i>Brixis</i> GdeT HF 10,31, 5; merov. coins Belfort 1031, 1032, 1034 <i>Brixis</i> , 1033 <i>Brexis</i> . Possibly Celtic. Final <i>-bris</i> and <i>-brix</i> are known to be from Celtic <i>*-brig-s</i> (see DLG); see also ACPN 53.
1905	11 H4	+07/48	48 45	+07 41	<b>Brocomagus</b>	LN	LN: Brumath. (FRA). Βρευκόμαγος Ptol. 2,9,9; <i>Brocomago</i> (var. <i>brocomagno, broccomaza</i> ) IA 253,1; <i>Brocomacus</i> TP 2,3; <i>Brotomago</i> ( <i>Brotomagum</i> , acc.) Ammianus 16,2,12; <i>Vro(comago)</i> CIL 13, 9097 and CIR 1953, etc. 'Grinderfield' or 'field of the <i>Breuci</i> '; the second component is <i>magos</i> ; interpretation of the first is

							disputable. Isaac (PNPG) thinks of <b>broc(c)o-</b> ‘badger’; P. De Bernardo Stempel, Ptolemy’s evidence for Germania Superior, gives priority to Ptol.’s <i>Breuko-</i> : “Endocentric compound of <i>-magos</i> ‘field’ with <i>*breuk’-ó-s</i> ‘grinder’ ... for a determinans: the latter belongs to a family of words for ‘to whet’ and ‘whetstone’ in Slavonic; its preserved <i>eu</i> – as in the name of the <i>Breuki</i> [Βρευκοί, tribe in Pannonia Inferior: Ptol. II, 15 = 16 §3] – points to an archaic Celtic territory”.
9315	39 E2	+09/45	45 51	+09 30	<b>Bromanenses</b>	EN	EN: Around Brumano (IT). <i>Vicanis Bro[manensibus]</i> CIL 5, 5203. If Celtic and late, to <b>brog-</b> .
3484	15 C1	+04/44	44 10	+04 20	<b>Brugetia?</b>	LN	LN: Bruyès (FRA). <i>Brvgetia</i> CIL 13, 3362. Obscure and possibly corrupt. If Celtic cf. <b>brog-</b> ; or G. <i>*uroica</i> ‘bruyère’ (cf. Ir. <i>froích</i> , see DLG: 329).
6822	26 E3	-06/38	38 59	-05 48	<b>Brutobriga</b>	LN	LN: Villanueva de la Serena (ESP). Βρουτοβρία St.Byz. Hybrid, (PN) <i>Bruto-</i> & <b>briga-</b> .
6355	25 G2	+01/43	43 37	+01 06	<b>Bucconis</b>	TN	TN: Forêt de Bouconne, Isle-Jourdan? (FRA). <i>Bucconis</i> (var. <i>Buccones</i> ) IB 550,11. Obscure. Labrousse, <i>Toulouse antique</i> , 357, gives this name as Celtic, from an anthroponym <i>Bucco</i> . TGF: 10695 maintains that the PN is Latin <i>Bucco(n)</i> (in OTL) and Da. derives similar placenames from a Germanic personal name <i>Bucco</i> and a Gaulish personal name <i>Buccos</i> . If Celtic, perhaps to <b>bou-</b> ‘cow?’
1910	11 I2	+08/50	50 13	+08 20	<b>Bucinobantes</b>	EN	EN (GER). <i>Bucinobantes</i> ND or 6, 17, 58; <i>Bucinobantibus</i> (dat.) Ammianus 29,4. Obscure; if Celtic: ‘?the vigorous cow people’, <b>bou-co-</b> ‘cow’ & <b>novantes</b> (< <i>*novio</i> ‘new’), with further senses like ‘fresh, lively, vigorous’ [AILR and Ptol. GI]. Reichert thinks this EN is a Gmc. name [LAN I, 156]. Schönfeld sees in the second element (of <i>Bucino-bantes</i> ) OS <i>bant</i> , OHGerm. <i>banz</i> ‘region’; for the first element, and with some reservations, he thinks of Gmc. <i>*bōk</i> , cfr. OHGerm. <i>Buochunna</i> [WAPV 55].
1911	11 I3	+08/49	49 51	+08 21	<b>Buconica</b>	LN	LN: Nierstein ? (GER). <i>Bouconica</i> (var. <i>bauconica</i> , <i>bouconia</i> ) IA 355,4: <i>Bonconica</i> TP 2,3; <i>Buconic(a)e</i> CIL 13, 4085, [ <i>Bu</i> ]conica 9158 (= CIL 17, 675), etc. Probably Celtic, either ‘?The cow place’, <b>bouco-</b> + <b>on-</b> + <b>icá-</b> (Isaac, AILR), to <b>bou-</b> ; or an <b>-āko-</b> derivative of PN <i>*Boucon-</i> ; cf. 1910 <i>Bucinobantes</i> .
6823	26 D2	-07/39	39 01	-06 53	<b>Budua</b>	LN	LN: near Ermita de Nuestra Señora de Bótoa, near Badajoz (ESP). Βούρδουα Ptol.

								2,5,6; <i>Budua</i> IA 419,4; <i>Burdoga</i> Rav. 4,45. Probably Celtic; inconsistencies in attestations prevent a sound etymology. For several possibilities see García Alonso, <i>Ptolomeo</i> , 114-15; a derivation from Celt. * <i>bodwo-</i> (cf OIr <i>bodb</i> ) is most likely, but Ptol. and Rav. attestations speak against such an assumption
4243	19 D3	+11/46	46 49	+11 45	<b>Burrus fl.</b>	RN	RN : Rienza (IT). <i>Burrus</i> Ven. Fort., Vita S. Martini 4, 648. Possibly Celtic, cf. W. <i>bwrr</i> , Ir <i>borr</i> . ‘strong, full river?’; see P. Sims-Williams, <i>Degrees of celticity</i> , 10.	
9528	40 C4	+12/44	44 29	+12 09	<b>Butrium</b>	LN	LN: W Casa Rossa (IT). Βούτριον Strabo 5, 1,7; Ptol. 3,1,27; Steph. Byz.; <i>Butrium</i> (var. <i>buut-</i> , <i>brutium</i> ) Pliny 3, 115; <i>Butrio</i> TP 4,1. Pliny refers to LN as an Umbrian town. If Celtic, see G. R. Isaac, PNPg, element <i>boutro-</i> ‘filthy’ (cf. MÍr <i>búaidir</i> ‘agitated, confused’ LEIA B-108; MW <i>budyr</i> , Mo. <i>budr</i> ‘filthy’), to PIE <i>g<sup>w</sup>eu-tr-o-</i> or * <i>g<sup>w</sup>ou-tr-o-</i> < * <i>g<sup>w</sup>eu-</i> ‘dung, faeces’ IEW 483-5.	
3485	15 E2	+05/43	43 51	+05 02	<b>Cabellio</b>	LN	LN: Cavillon (FRA). Καβαλλίωνος Strabo 4,1,3; <i>Cabellio</i> Pliny 3,36; Καβελλίων Ptol. 2,10,8; <i>Cabellione</i> IA 343,5; <i>Cavellione</i> 388,5; <i>Caballine</i> TP 1,5; <i>ciuitas Cabellorum</i> (var. <i>cavell-</i> , <i>cavill-</i> ) NG 11,13; Καβελλίων St.Byz; <i>Cabell(ione)</i> CIL 12, 3242; <i>Cabalione</i> CIL 13, 6945. Possibly Celtic, to <i>cabello-</i> / <i>caballo-</i> ‘horse’. For various degrees of scepticism in regard of this connection see Lambert ‘Lugdunensis’, 242 and De Hoz ‘Narbonensis’, 179.	
4104	18 B3	+04/46	46 47	+04 48	<b>Cabilonnum</b>	LN	LN: Chalon-sur-Saône (FRA). <i>oppido Cavillono</i> (var. <i>cavillonno</i> ) Caes. BG 7,42,5; Καβυλλίνων Strabo 4,3,2; Καβούλλινον (var. Καβάλλινον, Καβύλλινον) Ptol. 2, 8,12; <i>Cabillione</i> TP 1,5; <i>apud Cabillona</i> Amm. Marc. 14.10.3; <i>Caballooduno</i> ND occ. 42.20; <i>Cabillonum</i> Sid. App. epist. 4, 25, 1; <i>Gabilunnum</i> (var. <i>gauilunnum</i> , <i>ciuilunno</i> , <i>gibilunno</i> ) IA 360,1; <i>Cavilunno</i> 363.3. If Celtic, see <i>gabalo-</i> and <i>cabello-</i> / <i>caballo-</i> ‘horse’. For the attestations of the LN see PNPg, Comment, s.v. See also 4104a <i>Gabilunnum</i> .	
3074	14 G3	+01/45	45 15	+01 20	<b>Cabrianecum</b>	LN	LN: Chabrignac (FRA). Only late attestations, <i>Cabrianeco</i> Coins Belfort 1292; (13 c.) <i>Chabrignacum</i> Da. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative from a PN * <i>Caprinus</i> (from <i>Caprius</i> ) or <i>Carpinus</i> (Da. and TGF 7057), or from Latin <i>capra</i> ‘goat’.	
3075	14 G4	+01/44	44 24	+01 20	<b>Cadurci</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Cadurcum</i> Caes. BG 7, 5,1; <i>Cadurcos</i> 7, 4,6; <i>Cadurcus</i> 7,7,1; Καδοῦρκοι Strabo 4,2,2; <i>Cadurci</i> Pliny 4, 109; Καδοῦρκοι Ptol. 2,7,9; <i>Cadurci</i> TP	



							I,3; <i>Cadurcos</i> Sid. App. carm. 9,281; ( <i>civitas Cadurcor(um)</i> ) CIL 7, 1568. Celtic. G. R. Isaac (PNPG, Celtic elements, s. v.), segments <i>cádu-ur-co-</i> , listing <i>cádu-</i> as a Celtic element ‘wrath(ful)’ (cf. MB <i>cuez</i> ‘anger, affliction’; MC <i>cueth</i> ‘id.’; MW <i>cawd</i> ‘id.’; PIE * <i>keh<sub>2</sub>-d-</i> ‘emotional distress, sorrow, hate’ IEW : 517, as in Eng. <i>hate</i> , etc.); therefore ‘the wrathful people’. An alternative etymology traces the EN to * <i>Catu-turci</i> ‘les Sangliers de Bataille’, see LG: 48; DLG: 304, with <i>turcos</i> ‘sanglier’; cf. Lambert, ‘Notes lexicographiques’ 197, who draws attention to an EN <i>Ro-turkoi</i> ‘les grands sangliers’, known from a coin legend.
3076	14 G4	+01/44	44 35	+01 19	<b>Cadurcio</b>	LN	LN: Catus? (FRA). <i>Cadurcis</i> GdeT HF 2,13, <i>Cadurcum urbem</i> 3,12, <i>Cadurcensis urbis</i> 5, 42; <i>in territorio Cadurcino</i> VDesiderii 9 (17); coins, Belfort: 1294 <i>Cadurca</i> , etc. Celtic, see the EN <i>Cadurci</i> 3075. Da. and TGF 10721 insist that the original LN did not come from the EN, but was later attracted to it. They propose a PN * <i>Cattusius</i> (variant of <i>Catusius</i> ) or <i>Caturicius</i> (treated as * <i>Catturcius</i> ).
1917	11 G2	+06/50	50 19	+06 30	<b>Caerosi</b>	EN	EN (FRA? ). <i>Caerosos</i> (var. <i>caeroesos</i> , <i>cerosos</i> ) Caesar BG 2, 4.10; <i>Caerosi</i> Orosius 6,7,14;? cf. <i>pagi Carvevm</i> CIL 13, 4143. ‘The shepherds’, <i>caer-</i> + <i>-ōsī</i> ; cf. OIr <i>caera</i> , Lat. <i>caper</i> , IEW: 519, see DLG: 97.
7286	27 A2	-05/39	39 58	-04 50	<b>Caesarobriga</b>	LN	LN: Talavera de la Reina (ESP). <i>Caesarobrigenses</i> (var. <i>cessarobrigenses</i> , <i>caesarobrienses</i> , <i>sesarro-</i> ) Pliny 4,118; <i>Caesarobrig[ensis]</i> CIL 2, 896. Hybrid, ( <i>Caesaro</i> ) & <i>briga-</i> .
3077	14 F1	+00/47	47 23	+00 41	<b>Caesarodunum</b>	LN	LN: Tours (FRA). <i>Καισαρόδουνον</i> (var. <i>Καισαράδουνον</i> ) Ptol. 2,8,11; <i>Ca(e)saroduno</i> TP I,3. Hybrid, ( <i>Caesar</i> ) & <i>dūno-</i> . Also known as 3077a <i>Civitas Turunorum</i> , q.v.
1918	11 C3	+02/49	49 26	+02 08	<b>Caesaromagus</b>	LN	LN: Beauvais (FRA). <i>Καισαρόμαγος</i> (var. <i>Καισαρόναγος</i> ) Ptol. 2,9,4; <i>Caesaromago</i> (var. <i>caesamago</i> , <i>caesoromago</i> , <i>cesaromago</i> ) IA 380,3; (var. <i>caeraromago</i> , <i>caesoromago</i> ) 384,8; <i>Ca(e)saromago</i> TP 1,3. Hybrid, ( <i>Caesar</i> ) & <i>magos</i> .
6828	26 B3	-09/38	38 32	-08 53	<b>Caetobriga</b>	LN	LN: Setúbal (POR). <i>Καιτόβριξ</i> Ptol. 2,5,2; <i>Catobrica</i> IA 417,1; <i>Cetobricca</i> Rav. 4,43. <i>Caeto-</i> & <i>brig-s</i> .
- 5966a	24 D3	-08/41	41 02	-07 01	<b>Calabria</b>	LN	LN: Castelo Calabre (Vila Nova de Foz Coa) (POR). An alternative, perhaps later,

							spelling for <i>Caliabriga</i> 5966. The source of this spelling (cf. Tovar, <i>Lusitanien</i> , 255) is not clear.	
5964	24 D3	-08/41	41 52	-07 37	<b>Caladunum</b>	LN	LN: Vilar de Perdizes (Montalegre)? (POR). Καλάδουνον (var. Καλλάδουνον) Ptol. 2,6,38; <i>Caladuno</i> IA 422,5. Notwithstanding that Celtic <i>-dunum</i> is rare in the Iberian peninsula, the LN is likely to contain the instance. Interpretation of the first component is problematic; cf. <i>Caladunum</i> in France (today Châlons, dép. Mayenne: not listed in Barrington) which suggests its Celtic origin or a shared substrate. For <i>Cala-</i> cf. <i>Calamina</i> (map 5E4), <i>Calagum</i> (map 11D4), <i>*Calambris</i> (map14F3), <i>Calatonno</i> (map 14G1), <i>Calabria</i> (map 45G3), <i>Calagorris</i> (map 25F2 no. 6371) and <i>Calagurris</i> (map 25D3 no. 6372).	
1920	11 D4	+03/48	48 47	+03 09	<b>Calagum</b>	LN	LN: Chailly-en-Brie (FRA). <i>Calagum</i> TP 1,4; <i>Callaco</i> Merovingian coins, etc. ‘Place of <i>Callius</i> ’, an <i>-āco-</i> derivative from a PN. Cf. 1920a <i>Caliacum</i> .	
3079	14 G1	+01/47	47 18	+01 14	<b>Calatonno</b>	LN	LN: St-Julien-de-Chedon? (FRA). <i>Calatonno</i> (var. <i>Callatonno</i> , <i>Calatonum</i> , <i>Calathonnum</i> ) GdeT HF 10, 31 4. Probably Celtic, possibly to <i>calet-</i> ‘hard’ and <i>dūno-</i> ‘fort’.	
1921	11 A3	+00/49	49 42	+00 40	<b>Caletes</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Caletes</i> (var. <i>caletos</i> ) Caes. <i>BG</i> 2,4; <i>Caletes</i> (var. <i>cadetes</i> ) 7,75; <i>Caletes</i> (var. <i>caletos</i> ) 8,7; <i>Galetos</i> (var. <i>galletos</i> ) Pliny 4,107; Καλέτους (corrected from Ὑαδέτους) Strabo 4,1,14, Κάλετοι 4,3,5; Βαλήτων Ptol. 2,8,2; Καλήται (var. Καλλήται, Καλειται) Ptol. 2,8,4; <i>Caleti</i> Orosius 6,7; <i>c(ivis) K(aletus)</i> CIL 13, 3225; <i>cives Ka(letus?)</i> 3,5932, etc. ‘The hard / tough people’, to <i>calet-</i> ‘hard’.	
5966	24 D3	-08/41	41 02	-07 01	<b>Caliabriga</b>	LN	LN: Castelo Calabre (Vila Nova de Foz Coa) (POR). <i>Galebriensis</i> , <i>Calabriensis</i> , and coins <i>Caliabria</i> (see Tovar, <i>Lusitanien</i> , 225). The second element is <i>briga-</i> . For the first element see <i>Caladunum</i> above. See also 5966a <i>Calabria</i> .	
-	1920a	11 D4	+03/48	48 47	+03 09	<b>Caliacum.</b>	LN	LN: Chailly-en-Brie (FRA). See 1920 <i>Calagum</i> .
5967	24 C2	-09/42	42 10	-08 20	<b>Callaeci Bracari</b>	EN	EN: SW Galicia and NW Portugal (ESP/POR). <i>Callaeci</i> (var. <i>-llecī</i> , <i>calaeti</i> , <i>galleti</i> ) Pliny 3,28; Βρακάρων App. Hisp. 6,12,72; Καλλαϊκῶν Βρακάρων (var. Καλλαϊκῶν, Βραικάρων, Βραικαριῶν) Ptol. 2,6,1; <i>covertis qui(intiae) / Braecaroru[m]</i> Le Roux l’Armée 224, n. 187; <i>coh(ortibus) XI I Brac(arorum)</i> AE 2001 2160. To <i>callo-aic-</i> ; for <i>bracari</i> see <i>Bracara</i> . See also Prósper <i>Lenguas y</i>	

								<i>religiones</i> 179-80; García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 129, and ‘Vettones y Layetanos’ refers to <i>gallo-</i> ‘power(-ful)’, so the <i>Gall-aic-i</i> could be ‘los poderosos, los dominadores’. The form <i>Call-</i> is indisputable.
5968	24 D1	-08/43	43 15	-07 50	<b>Callaeci Lucenses</b>	EN	EN: N Galicia (ESP). Καλλαϊκῶν Λουκησιῶν (var. Λουκινσιῶν, Λουκησιῶν) Ptol. 2,6,2; <i>coh(ors) I Luce(nsium)</i> CIL 3, 9834; <i>Luces(ium)</i> CIL 2, 2584, <i>coh(ors) ... V Lucens(ium) et Callaecor(um)</i> CIL 16, 4. For <i>Callaeci</i> , see above s.v. <i>Callaeci Bracari</i> . For Isaac PNPG, <i>Lucenses</i> is Latin: “Granted the root * <i>leuk-</i> , * <i>louk-</i> , * <i>luk-</i> , is widely represented in the non-Latin and non-Greek toponymy of Europe, nevertheless the form as it stands is transparently a derivative of Latin <i>lucens</i> , <i>lucent-</i> , present participle of <i>luceo</i> ‘shine’.”	
5969	24 C2	-09/42	42 30	-08 15	<b>Callaecia</b>	LN	LN: NW Iberian peninsula (ESP). <i>Gallaecia</i> Pliny 4, 112; <i>in prouincia [Hispaniae] Callaecia</i> ND Occ. 42,25; <i>Gallaeciae</i> (var. <i>callaciae</i> , <i>gallaciae</i> , <i>gallatae</i> , <i>galliciae</i> ) Oros. 5,7,2 <i>Gallaeciae prouinciae</i> (var. <i>galliciae</i> , <i>gelleciae</i> , <i>calleciae</i> ) 6,21,2; <i>Gallaecia</i> Divisio Orb. 5, <i>Callaecia</i> CIL 2, 2422, <i>Matribus Galaicis</i> 2776, etc. See <i>Callaeci Bracari</i> above for discussion.	
1923	11 G1	+06/51	51 35	+06 32	<b>Calo?</b>	LN	LN: Rheinberg-Strommoers (GER); Weisgerber, “Das römische Namengut”, 100: Zu <i>Calo</i> , ..., ist eine Lokalisierung immer noch nicht gelungen”. <i>Calone</i> (abl.) (var. <i>colone</i> ) IA 255,4; (var. <i>coloniae</i> ) 370,4. According to Isaac (PNPG), ‘?calling place’, with <b>calo-</b> “‘call’ < * <i>kleh<sub>1</sub></i> - ‘call’ IEW 548-550, LIV 321-322, cfr. Greek { <i>kaléo</i> :} and Latin <i>calo</i> ”. May well have a different etymology and meaning.	
4245	19 B3	+09/46	46 54	+09 30	<b>Calucones</b>	EN	EN: around Chur (SWI). <i>Calucones</i> (var. <i>Callucones</i> , <i>Allucones</i> ) Pliny 3, 137; Καλούκωνες (var. Καλούκωνες, Κουλούκωνες) Ptol. 2,12,2. Holder I, 705 hesitates between Celtic and Ligurian. See <i>Kaloukones</i> 1759.	
5971	24 G2	-05/42	42 24	-05 00	<b>Camala</b>	LN	LN: El Lagunal (Sahagún)? (ESP) <i>Camala</i> IA 395,2. The sole (and maybe a corrupt) attestation. Celticity is difficult to prove. At face value, cf. LNN in <i>cama-</i> , personal names in <i>camal-</i> (GPN 160-1), and note that PN <i>Camalus</i> is common in Spain according to OPEL.	
1924	11 D2	+03/50	50 11	+03 16	<b>Camaracum</b>	LN	LN: Cambrai (FRA). <i>Camaracum</i> IA 377,9; 379,3; <i>Ciuitas Camaracensium</i> (var. <i>camaracentium</i> , <i>capracensium</i> , <i>camaracentum</i> , <i>cameracentium</i> , etc.) NG 6, 7;	

								<i>Camaraco</i> TP 1,3; <i>ad urbem Camaracum</i> GdeT HF 2,8(9), <i>In Camaracensem urbem</i> 6,27(41); <i>Camaraco</i> , <i>Cameraco</i> Merovingian coins, etc. ‘Belonging to Camarus’, an <b>-āko-</b> derivative from a Graeco-Latin PN <i>Cammarus</i> .
4105	18 E2	+07/47	47 40	+07 30	<b>Cambete</b>	LN	LN: Kembs? (SWI). <i>Cambete</i> TP 2, 3/4; <i>Cambete</i> IA 354,1; <i>Cambatem</i> 386,1; <i>Cambate</i> 386,5. Celtic, <b>cambo-</b> .	
3080	14 G2	+01/46	46 15	+01 45	<b>Cambiovicenses?</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Cambiovicenses</i> TP I,4. A Latin formation in <i>-enses</i> based on <i>*Cambiovica</i> , to <b>cambo-</b> (or <b>cambio-</b> ) and <b>uico-</b> . If the second component is Lat. <i>vicus</i> , the name could be a hybrid meaning ‘ <i>vicus</i> where there is an exchange/market’ or ‘ <i>vicus</i> on a river <i>Camb(i)o</i> ’.	
4246	19 C2	+10/47	47 45	+10 20	<b>Cambodunum</b>	LN	LN: Kempten (GER). Καμβόδοουνον Strabo 4,6,8; Ptol. 2,12,5; <i>Cambidano</i> ND Occ. 35, 8,19; <i>Camboduno</i> TP 3,2; IA 237,2. ‘Crooked fortress’, i.e. ‘fortress on the bend of the river’, <b>cambo-</b> & <b>dūno-</b> .	
6375	25 G2	+01/43	43 53	+01 10	<b>Cambolectri</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Cambolectri</i> Pliny 4,108. If Celtic, cf. <b>cambo-</b> ; <b>-lectri-</b> is obscure. Note that there are other <i>Cambolectri</i> , Pliny 3,36, in Gallia Narbonensis.	
6376	25 H2	+02/43	43 55	+02 12	<b>Cambone</b>	LN	LN: Cambon? (FRA). <i>Cambone</i> VitaDes 9(17). Celtic, to <b>cambo-</b> .	
3081	14 H2	+02/46	46 12	+02 26	<b>Cambonum</b>	LN	LN: Chambon-sur-Voueize (FRA). <i>Cambono</i> IB 555,2. Celtic, to <b>cambo-</b> .	
3860	17 F4	+05/44	44 33	+05 41	<b>Cambonum</b>	LN	LN: Font-Vineuse? (FRA). <i>Cambono</i> IB 555,2. Celtic, to <b>cambo-</b> .	
3082	14 I3	+03/45	45 47	+03 03	<b>Camelaria</b> []	LN	LN: Chamalières (FRA). <i>Camelaria</i> Vita Praeieci 1,3; <i>Camelaria</i> Passio S. Praeieci 15; <i>monasterium Camalariense</i> in Libellus de eclesiis Claromontanis CAG 63/2.075; (10 c.) <i>Camalera</i> Da. Possibly Celtic, to PN <i>Camal-</i> . TGF: 1513 derives it from ‘occ. <i>calm</i> “lande, plateau désert” + suff. dim. <i>-el</i> + suff. coll. <i>-aria</i> “ensembles de petites landes”’. Cf. <i>Camala</i> above.	
-	9332a	39 E3	+09/45	45 03	<b>Cameliomagus</b>	LN	LN: Cassino Po? (IT). <i>Cameli(o)magus</i> TP 3,1. See 9332 ‘ <i>Comeli magus</i> ’.	
3083	14 G4	+01/44	44 30	+01 16	<b>Camino</b>	LN	LN: Camy, Cm. Luzech? (FRA). <i>Camino</i> V Desiderii 9(17). Celtic (‘path’, to G. <i>*cammino</i> (> F. <i>chemin</i> )), cf. CI <i>Kamanom</i> Bottorita, OIr <i>céimm</i> , OW <i>cemmein</i> , W. <i>cam</i> EGOW: 25, GPC: 396; LEIA C-54; see DLG: 100); or Latin ( <i>caminus</i> ‘a furnace, forge’).	
3084	14 F3	+00/45	45 43	+00 53	<b>Campaniacum</b>	LN	LN: Champagnac-la-Rivière (FRA). See Holder I:722. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of Latin	

							PN <i>Campanius</i> .
-	1700b	10 A4	+04/52	52 04	+04 22	<b>Cananefates</b>	EN EN (NL). <i>Cannenefatium</i> (var. <i>cannenefatium</i> , - <i>tum</i> , - <i>enufatum</i> ) Pliny 4,15; <i>Caninefates</i> Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> 4,15; <i>Canninefates</i> IV.16; <i>Canninefatium</i> ( <i>gen.</i> ) IV.19; <i>Cannenefates</i> IV.32, 56, 79, 85; <i>alam Canninefatem</i> Tacitus <i>Ann.</i> IV.73; <i>Caninefas</i> XI.18; <i>Cannenefativm</i> CIL 16, 20, 28, 36; <i>Cannenef[atium]</i> 64; <i>Cananef(ativm)</i> 178, 104, 185; <i>Cannanif(ativm)</i> CIL 13, 11740, etc. Hybrid formation, ‘?garlic/leek masters’, Celtic * <i>kannīnā</i> - ‘leek, garlic’ + Gmc. - <i>fat</i> (< IE * <i>potis</i> ‘master’, Gothic <i>faths</i> ). See P. Schrijver, <i>De etymologie van de naam van de Cannenefaten, Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik</i> , XLI (1995) 13-22; A. Falileyev, G. R. Isaac, <i>Leeks and Garlic: The Germanic Ethnonym cannenefates</i> , Celtic * <i>kasn</i> - and Slavic * <i>kesn</i> -. <i>NOWELE</i> , 42 (2003) 3-12; L. Toorians, <i>Cannanefaten in taalkundig perspectief, Forum Hadriani</i> (Utrecht 2006), 50-56.
	3085	14 G3	+01/45	45 42	+01 04	<b>Canaviacum</b>	LN LN: Chênevières, Cm. Pageas (FRA). <i>Caniaviaco</i> coin Belfort: 6099. Obscure. DLG lists this name as a derivative of <i>cano</i> - (cf. <i>cāno</i> -); but see <i>Cannabiaca</i> , in Pannonia and cf. <i>Canaviacum</i> 3085. Da. and TGF: 5589 derive the modern name from Latin * <i>cannabaria</i> ‘champ de chanvre’ or <i>cannabis</i> + - <i>aria</i> ‘chênevière’; the ancient name might be related, but have the Celtic suffix - <i>āko</i> -.
	1926	11 A3	+00/49	49 10	+00 38	<b>Canetonum</b>	LN LN: Berthouville (FRA). <i>Deo Mercurio Kanetonnessi</i> CIL 13, 3183. If Celtic, perhaps ‘reedy place’, <i>cāno</i> -.
	2849	13 B4	+16/48	48 18	+16 13	<b>Cannabiaca?</b>	LN LN: Zeiselmauer (AUS). <i>Cannabiaca</i> ND oc. 34, 46. Obscure; an - <i>āko</i> - derivative of Latin ( <i>can(n)aba</i> ); or Celtic, ‘?place belonging to Canavus’; for the PN see OPEL II, 30.
	3087	14 G4	+01/44	44 38	+01 38	<b>Canniaco</b>	LN LN: Caniac-de-Causse? (FRA). <i>Canniaco</i> (var. <i>Caruniaco</i> , <i>Caviniaco</i> , <i>Caruiaco</i> , <i>Caruniaco</i> ) VDesiderii 9(17). An - <i>āko</i> - derivative of a (Latin) PN <i>Can(n)ius</i> .
	5972	24 G1	-05/43	43 05	-04 30	<b>Cantabri</b>	EN EN (ESP). Καντάβρους Strabo 3,3,7; <i>in Cantabris</i> Pliny 3, 21, <i>in Cantabricis</i> (var. - <i>brigris</i> , - <i>bris</i> ) 3,27; Καντάβρων (var. Κανταυρών, Κανταβρών) Ptol. 2,6,6, Κανταβροὶ (var. κάνταυροι, κάνταβροι, κάλταβροι) 6,2,50; <i>Cantabri</i> Oros. 6,21,5; etc. Consistent with Celtic. For the first element, see <i>cant</i> -. Palomar Lapesa, review of FHA, suggests * <i>Cantho-trebae</i> ‘habitants del ángulo’. For the suffix

								<i>abro-</i> , Holder compares ‘Art-abri in Hispanien, Vel-abri in Irland (und Cal-abri in Unter-Italien?) nach Windisch iberisch.’; see <i>Artabri</i> 5921. De Bernardo Stempel ‘Centro y áreas laterales’ 107-8 suggests <i>Cantabri</i> and <i>Artabri</i> are from names in <i>*brig-s</i> , and compares Gaulish <i>cantalon</i> ‘viereckiger Freipfeiler’ and Celtiberian <i>tiri-cantam</i> , translating ‘los de la/s ciudad/es cuadrada/s’
-	5950b	24 F1	-06/43	43 47	-05 00	<b>Cantabricus Oceanus</b>	SN	Bay of Biscay (ESP). Καντάβριος Ptol. 2,6,3; Κανταβρίω Ὠκεανῶ 2,6,73; Κανταβρίω Ὠκεανοῦ Marcian. 2,16; Κανταβρίου Ὠκεανοῦ 2,17; <i>Cantabrico oceano</i> Cosmogr. 2,39. Latin, with EN <i>Cantabri</i> (5972) q.v. Also known as <i>Boreios</i> 5950 (Greek, App. 6,1,1) and <i>Gallicus</i> 5950a.
	3088	14 I2	+03/46	46 15	+03 08	<b>Cantilia</b>	LN	LN: Chantelle-la-Vielle? (FRA). <i>Cantilia</i> TP 1,3; <i>Cantillensem ecclesiam</i> SidApp epist 4,13,1; <i>Cantilia</i> Rav. 4, 40; (1327) <i>Cantella</i> TGF: 10198. TGF 10198 attributes this to a Latin PN <i>Cantilius</i> ; though the suffix <i>-ilia</i> appears Latin, the LN may in theory be associated with Celt. <i>canto-</i> .
-	3089a	14 I3	+03/45	45 50	+03 05	<b>Cantobennicus M.</b>	MN	MN: Cm. Chanturgues (FRA). See 3089 <i>Cantobennum, Mon.</i>
	3089	14 I3	+03/45	45 50	+03 05	<b>Cantobennum, Mon.</b>	LN	LN: Cm. Chanturgues (FRA). <i>in cripta Cantabennensi</i> (var. <i>Cata-</i> , <i>canta-</i> ) GdeT HF 1,44, <i>Cantobennici montis monasterium</i> 2,21; <i>Cantoano</i> Merov. coin Belfort 1390. Celtic, from <i>*canto-</i> <sup>2</sup> & <i>ba/ennā-</i> ‘les cent-pointes’; cf. also 3089a <i>Cantobennicus M.</i>
	6390	25 D3	-02/43	43 23	-01 34	<b>Car(t)a</b>	LN	LN: Santacara (ESP). <i>Carenses</i> Pliny 3,24; Rav. <i>Carta</i> 4, 43; <i>Cara</i> CIL 2, 4906, <i>K(a)resis</i> 2962, <i>Karensi</i> 4242. Possibly but not necessarily Celtic. If Ravenna is the only source for <i>Carta</i> , it seems likely that this is an error, especially since the modern name has <i>-cara</i> ; if, however, it is a true form, see GPN 166-7 <i>carta</i> and DLG <i>carti-</i> , <i>carto-</i> , ‘?’. E. Luján (pers. comm.) suggests that <i>Carta</i> is from <i>Car-</i> with an Iberian suffix <i>-ta</i> . If the <i>-t-</i> is a mistake or an alternative suffix, see <i>Carae</i> above no. 6381 for potentially Celtic <i>car-</i> .
	7294	27 B1	-04/40	40 15	-03 14	<b>Carac(c)a</b>	LN	LN: Carabaña (ESP). Κάρρακκα (var. Κάρρακκα) Ptol. 2,6,56; <i>Caraca</i> Rav. 4,44. At face value may be well Celtic, to <i>car-</i> . See García Alonso, <i>Ptol.</i> , 320 and ACPN 235 and 237 n. 86. Cf. Χαράκιτανοί 7294a.

-	6381a	25 D4	-02/41	41 06	-01 19	<b>Caraca</b>	LN	LN: between Sermonae and Agiria (ESP). Χαρακιτανούς Plut. Sert. 17.1; Κάρακκα Ptol. 2.6.56; <i>Caraca</i> Rav. 4, 44. See <i>Carae</i> 6381.
	988	7 G2	+00/49	49 32	+00 15	<b>Caracoticum</b>	LN	LN: Harfleur (FRA). (error in <i>Atlas</i> for <i>Caracotinum</i> ). <i>Caracotino</i> IA 381,7. Possibly Celtic, meaning uncertain; see ACPN: 68, fn. 26 <i>car-</i> , <i>-āko-</i> .
	6381	25 D4	-02/41	41 06	-01 19	<b>Carae</b>	LN	LN: between Sermonae and Agiria (ESP). <i>Carae</i> IA 447,8. Possibly but not necessarily Celtic; see <i>car-</i> . Cf. 6381a <i>Caraca</i> .
	5974	24 D1	-08/43	43 11	-07 54	<b>Caranicum</b>	LN	LN: Guitiríz (ESP). <i>Caranico</i> IA 424,6; <i>Carantium</i> Rav. 4,43. The exact relationship between two attestations (and also <i>Karonion</i> ) is vague. Consistent with Celtic ( <i>car-</i> ), but may belong to another language (cf. Luján ‘Ptolemy’s <i>Callaecia</i> ’ 63). See also 5974a <i>Karonion</i> .
	3090	14 H4	+02/44	44 23	+02 14	<b>Carantomagus</b>	LN	LN: Cranton, Cm. Compolibat? (FRA). <i>Carantomago</i> TP I,3; (1454) <i>Carantom</i> TGF: 3024. Celtic compound with a Celtic PN <i>Carantus</i> (cf. GPN 163) & <i>magos</i> .
	3091	14 E3	-01/45	45 50	-00 43	<b>Carantonus fl.</b>	RN	RN: Charente (FRA). <i>Carantonus</i> Ausonius Mos. 463; <i>Carantonis fluvius</i> Vita Eparchii 1.6; <i>fluminis Carantonis</i> Passio Ausonii 9 Anal. Boll. 5.309; later attestations: (799) <i>Karante</i> , (874) <i>Karantona</i> , (891) <i>Carantum</i> TGF 1036. If Celtic, see <i>*car-</i> . See also 3091a <i>Kanentel(l)os fl.</i>
	6382	25 D2	-02/43	43 20	-01 06	<b>Carasa</b>	LN	LN: Garris (FRA). <i>Carasa</i> IA 455,9. Obscure; but cf. <i>car-</i> . For <i>-asa</i> , cf. <i>Namnasa fl.</i> (map 24 G1 no. 6099).
	6384	25 D4	-02/41	41 50	-01 28	<b>Caravis</b>	LN	LN: near Magallón (ESP). Κάραουιν App. Hisp. 8.43; <i>Caravi</i> IA 443,1. Possibly not Celtic, but may reflect <i>caro-</i> <i>au-</i>
	9320	39 C3	+08/45	45 12	+08 28	<b>Carbantia</b>	LN	LN: N Villanuova Monferrato (IT). <i>Carbantia</i> (var. <i>garbantia</i> , <i>carcantiae</i> ) IA 340,4. Celtic, to <i>carbant-</i> .
-	6386b	25 H2	+02/43	43 13	+02 20	<b>Carcasum Volcarum Tectosagarum</b>	LN	LN: Carcassonne (FRA). <i>Carcasum Volcarum Tectosagum</i> Pliny 3,36. Also known as <i>Carcas(s)o</i> 6386 (obscure) and <i>Col. Iulia</i> 6386a (Latin). ‘Carcasso of the Volcae Tectosages’; see <i>Volcae Tectosagi</i> .
	1930	11 H2	+07/50	50 12	+07 19	<b>Cardena</b>	LN	LN: Treis-Karden (GER). <i>Cardena</i> Rav. 4, 26; <i>Karadone</i> , <i>Kardana</i> , <i>Caradono</i> , <i>Caradonensis</i> , <i>Cardonum</i> , <i>Cardono</i> , <i>Cardonensis</i> , <i>Cardene</i> , <i>Cardone</i> , <i>Karadono</i> , <i>Kardono</i> (mediaeval spellings, Gysseling TW 553). Possibly Celtic, if from <i>car(o)-</i> & <i>-dūno</i> . The attestations make this etymology risky, but cf. ‘ <i>Cardono</i> ’ 4568.

4568	20 E4	+17/45	45 58	+17 15	<b>Cardono</b> “	LN	LN: Gradina (CRO). Κορρόδουνον (with var. Κορρόδουνον Ptol. 2,14,4; with var. Κορόδουνον 2,15,1); <i>mutatio Cardono</i> IB 562,3; <i>Parroduno</i> ND oc. 35,28. Celtic, <i>carro-</i> & <i>-dūno</i> .
3092	14 G1	+01/47	47 19	+01 13	<b>Cares fl.</b>	RN	RN: Cher (FRA). <i>Cares torrens</i> GdeT HF 5, 41, <i>amnis Caris</i> VM 2, 56; (7 c.) <i>Care</i> TGF: 1036. Possibly but not necessarily Celtic; see <i>car-</i> .
6389	25 C3	-03/42	42 58	-02 20	<b>Carietes</b>	EN	EN: between mouth of R. Deva and interior (ESP). <i>Carietes</i> (var. <i>-iaetes</i> ) Pliny 3,26; <i>Carietum</i> CIL 5, 4373. See 6389a <i>Karistoi</i> .
4247	19 F3	+13/46	46 17	+13 30	<b>Carni</b>	EN	EN: between Tergeste and Santicum (AUS). Κάρνοι Strabo 4,6,9; 5,1,8; Κάρνοις 4,6,10; 7,1,5; 7,5,3; <i>Carnorum</i> Livy 43, 5, 3; <i>Carni</i> Mela 2, 4, 59; Pliny 3, 38; Καρνῶν Ptol. 3,1, 22. If Celtic (associated by Strabo with the <i>Norici</i> ), to <i>*kar-no-</i> ‘(the) hard (ones)’ according to Anreiter 2001: 46, fn. 186, who is non-committal; or to <i>carno-</i> . It is conceivable that the name is assignable to another language group.
4569	20 B3	+14/46	46 14	+14 22	<b>Carnium</b>	LN	LN: Kranj (SVN). <i>Carnium</i> (var. <i>carmum</i> ) Rav. 4, 21. Probably Celtic, to <i>carno-</i> .
3093	14 E1	-01/47	47 17	-00 11	<b>Carnona</b>	LN	LN: Chênehutte-les-Tuffeaux (FRA). <i>ad Carnonam castellum</i> Ven Fort vita s Germani 156; <i>ex pago Carnonensi</i> GdeT VM 2, 48; later forms (1044-55) <i>Canauthia</i> , (1055-70) <i>Caneutia</i> Da. Possibly Celtic, to <i>carno-</i> .
2850	13 B4	+16/48	48 07	+16 52	<b>Carnuntum</b>	LN	LN: Bad Deutsch-Altenburg (AUS). <i>Carnunti</i> Pliny 4,25; Καρνούς (var. Καρνούς, Καρμους) Ptol. 2,14,3; <i>Carnunto</i> IA 247, 4; 262, 3; (var. <i>carunto</i> ) 262, 8; 266,14; 267,12; ND oc. 344, 26; TP 4,2; <i>Carnuntum</i> Amm. 30,5,2 and 11; <i>Karn(unti)</i> CIL 3, 4170, <i>Carnunto</i> 6, 3625, <i>Carnunt(i)</i> 8878, <i>Carnunto</i> 8, 2675, <i>Karn(unti)</i> 11, 6358, etc. To <i>carno-</i> ; see comparison with <i>corn-</i> ‘horn’ in DLG s.v. <i>carnitu(s)</i> and <i>carnon</i> . Anreiter, Haslinger and Roider, “The Names of the Eastern Alpine Region”, 122 refer to <i>*(s)kar-n-</i> (< <i>*(s)kar-</i> ‘rough, hard’); but for them the LN may belongs to the easternmost fringe of Eastern Alpine Indo-European. Cf. 2857 <i>Col. Carnuntum</i> and 2857a <i>Col. Septimia Aurelia Antoniniana</i> .
1931	11 B4	+01/48	48 16	+01 25	<b>Carnutes</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Carnutes</i> Caesar BG 2,35, passim; Καρνούντων Strabo 4,2,3; Καρνούτων 4,3,4; Carnutes Livy V.34.5; Carnūti Tibullus I.7.12; <i>Carnutas</i> Florus 1, 45; Καρνούται (var. Καρνούνται, Ἄρνούται) Ptol. 2,8,10; <i>Carnunta</i> (var. <i>carminta</i> ) ND oc 42,33; <i>Ciuitas Carnotum</i> (var. <i>caruotenum</i> , <i>carnotenum</i> ) NG 4,3;



							<i>Carn[uto]</i> CIL 13, 1672, <i>Carnut</i> 1694; <i>Carnotes</i> , <i>Carnotas</i> Merovingian coins, etc. To <i>carno-</i> ut(o)-.
3094	14 G3	+01/45	45 37	+01 21	<b>Carovicus</b>	LN	LN: Château-Chervix (FRA). <i>Carovicus</i> Coin Belfort 1417; (975-85) <i>vicaria Carvicense</i> , (1101) <i>Carvix</i> , (1105-10) <i>Charvix</i> TGF: 1095. Possibly Latin; if Celtic, cf. <i>car-</i> .
3492	15 E1	+05/44	44 03	+05 03	<b>Carpentorate</b>	LN	LN: Carpentras (FRA). <i>Carbantorate Meminorum</i> Pliny 3,36; <i>civitas Carpentoratensium</i> , conc. <i>Carpentoratense</i> (527) <i>Carpintorate</i> , conc. <i>Aurelianense</i> (549) <i>Carpentoratensis</i> NG 11, 10. Celtic, 'Fort of Chariots'; <i>carbanto-</i> & <i>rāto-/ā-</i> .
6846	26 E4	-06/37	37 27	-05 10	<b>Carruca</b>	LN	LN: Cortijo de Los Cosmes? between Ēcija and Estepa (ESP). <i>Carruca</i> App. Bell. hisp. 27.5. Although LNN in <i>carro-</i> are well known in Celtic world, this particular instance may not belong here; see ACPN: 226-7.
6847	26 E5	-06/36	36 12	-05 25	<b>Carteia</b>	LN	LN: El Rocardillo, near S. Roque (ESP). <i>Καρτηία</i> Strabo 3,2,7; <i>Carteia</i> Mela 2,6,6, etc. Consistent with Celtic LNN in <i>cart-</i> ; but this particular instance may not belong here.
1712	10 C5	+06/51	51 53	+06 07	<b>Carvium</b>	LN	LN: Herwen-De Bijland (NL). <i>Carvio ad molem</i> AE 1939.130; <i>Carvio</i> Byvanck ed., <i>Exc</i> III, 379B; <i>Harauua</i> Mwb LQ 324, 9v°; <i>Harewen</i> Ar B 6; <i>Harwen</i> D Em 6. Possibly Celtic, to <i>caruo-</i> ; for a Germanic approach cf. Gmc. <i>harwja-</i> (ntr.), <i>harwōn-</i> (fem.) 'the bitter one' < <i>harwa-</i> 'bitter, sour' [TW 488]. Initial <i>C-</i> , rather than <i>Ch-</i> , favours Celticity.
1713	10 B5	+05/51	51 56	+05 37	<b>Carvo?</b>	LN	LN: Kesteren (NL). <i>Carvone</i> (var. <i>carbone</i> ) IA 369, 4; <i>Carvone</i> TP 1, 3/4. Possibly Celtic, to <i>caruo-</i> . Gysseling gives the same Gmc. approach as for 1712 <i>Carvium</i> (q.v.).
6393	25 F2	+00/43	43 37	+00 57	<b>Casinomagus</b>	LN	LN: near Gimont (FRA). <i>Cas(s)inomago</i> TP 1,1. A compound in <i>-magos</i> ; the first component is a Latin PN <i>Cassinus</i> (less likely: Gaulish appellative <i>cassanos</i> 'oak'; see DLG s.v.).
3097	14 G4	+01/44	44 21	+01 21	<b>Cassiaco</b>	LN	LN: Cézac (FRA). <i>Cassiaco</i> VDesiderii 9(17). An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin (or Celtic) PN <i>Cassius</i> . Alternatively may contain a Celt. LN element <i>cassi-</i> .
3096	14 F3	+00/45	45 52	+00 44	<b>Cassinomagus</b> <b>Cas(s)inomagus</b>	LN	LN: Chassenon (FRA). <i>Cas(s)inomago</i> TP 1,1; (940-952) <i>vicaria Cassenominsis</i> Da. Celtic compound in <i>-magos</i> . A compound in <i>-magos</i> ; the first component is a

							Latin PN <i>Cassinus</i> (less likely: Gaulish appellative <i>cassanos</i> ‘oak’; see DLG s.v.).
5978	24 D4	-08/40	40 37	-07 47	<b>Castellum Araocelum</b>	LN	LN: São Cosmado (Mangualde) (POR). <i>castellanis Araocelensibvs</i> AE 1954, 93. Celtic, <i>ara-</i> & <i>ocel-</i> . Albertos Firmat ‘A propósito de algunas divinidades Lusitanas’, 472 suggests it is from * <i>Araui-ocelum</i> : see also Prósper <i>Lenguas y religiones</i> 267, discussing an inscription <i>Band(i) Araugel(ensi)</i> .
5979	24 C1	-09/43	43 17	-08 53	<b>Castellum Aviliobris</b>	LN	LN: Cores (Pontesco) (ESP). ( <i>castellum</i> ) <i>Aviliobris</i> (inscription). See J. de Hoz, <i>Castellum Aviliobris</i> . Los celtas del extremo occidente continental, <i>Indogermanica et Caucásica</i> (R. Bielmeier, R. Stempel, eds.), Berlin / New York, 348-362: for the second component cf. <i>brig-</i> ; the first is likely to be a PN.
1933	11 I2	+08/50	50 02	+08 19	<b>Castellum Mattiacorum</b>	LN	LN: Kastel (GER). <i>Castelli Mattiacorum</i> CIL 13, 6740a, <i>Kastello Mat[t]iacorum</i> 7317, <i>Castelli Mattiacorum</i> 7250, etc. ‘Fort of the <i>Mattiaci</i> ’. For etymology see 1836 <i>Aquae Mattiacorum</i> , 1836a <i>Mattiaci</i> , 1933a <i>Mattiaci</i> .
5980	24 C2	-09/42	42 28	-08 01	<b>Castellum Meidunium</b>	LN	LN Castro de S. Facundo (Orense)? (ESP). <i>Castel[l]o Meidunio</i> CIL 2, 2520; <i>Meid(uniensis)</i> 5250; <i>Meidunea</i> (cited by Tranoy, <i>Galice romaine</i> , 374). If the second element is not <i>-dūnu-</i> , García Alonso (pers. comm.) suggests a gen. pl. of EN <i>Meidunes</i> , hence ‘the <i>castellum</i> of the <i>Meidunes</i> ’, but the origin of the EN remains obscure. Cf <i>Me(i)dubriga</i> 6084.
1934	11 C2	+02/50	50 48	+02 29	<b>Castellum Menapiorum</b>	LN	LN: Cassel (FRA). Κάστελλον Ptol. 2,9,5; <i>Castello</i> IA 376,5 and 377,2; <i>Castello Menapiorum</i> TP 1,2; <i>a Castello</i> CIL 13, 9158, etc. A hybrid with possibly Celtic second component, ‘fort of the <i>Menapii</i> ’. See <i>Menapii</i> .
- 6217a	24 C2	-09/42	42 03	-08 39	<b>Castellum Tyde</b>	LN	LN: Túy (ESP). <i>castellum Tyde</i> Pliny 4,112. A variant for 6217 <i>Tude</i> .
- 2726a	12 F3	+12/49	49 01	+12 09	<b>Castra Regina</b>	LN	LN: Regensburg. See 2726 <i>Reginum</i> .
- 1860a	11 C3	+02/49	49 13	+02 35	<b>Castrum de Silvanectis</b>	LN	LN: Senlis (FRA). See 1860 <i>Augustomagus</i> ; for discussion see <i>Silvanectes</i> .
- 9453a	39 D2	+08/45	45 44	+08 50	<b>Castrum Insubrorum</b>	LN	LN: Castelseprio (IT). Also known as <i>Sibrium</i> . For the Celticity see 9372 <i>Insubres</i> .
2514	12 F4	+12/48	48 22	+12 20	<b>Cat(t)enates?</b>	EN	EN : (GER). <i>Catenates</i> (var. <i>catte-</i> ) Pliny 3, 137 (= CIL 5, 7817.3). May contain <i>catu-</i> .
3099	14 G3	+01/45	45 56	+01 15	<b>Catalacum</b>	LN	LN: Chaptelat? (FRA). <i>Catalacinse</i> (var. <i>Catalacense</i> , <i>Cattalecinse</i> , <i>Cataletinse</i> ,

							<i>Cathalecinse</i> ) Audoeni vita s. Eligii 1.1 An <i>-āko-</i> derivative from a Latin or Celtic PN <i>Cat(t)ulus</i> . The unstressed <i>-u-</i> would become <i>-a-</i> through the influence of the preceding <i>-a-</i> .
1936	11 E4	+04/48	48 53	+04 20	<b>Catalauni</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Catalaunos</i> Eutropius IX.9.13; < <i>Cat</i> > <i>alaunorum</i> ND oc XLII.68; <i>Ciuitas Catalaunorum</i> (var. <i>cataleunorum</i> , <i>catalaonorum</i> , <i>cadellaunorum</i> , <i>gadellaunorum</i> , <i>catellaunorum</i> , <i>catuellaunorum</i> , <i>catuellorum</i> ) NG 6, 4; Catelauni Ammianus XV.11, Catelaunos XXVII.2; <i>Catalavni</i> , <i>Catalavni[s]</i> Merovingian coins, etc. ‘?The good warriors’, <i>catu-</i> & <i>-vellauno-</i> . According to Holder I, 863 (cf. ACPN: 43), the second element is contracted from <i>-vellauno</i> , but E. Hamp, “ <i>Alauno-</i> , <i>-ā</i> ”, 173 believes <i>Catalauni</i> and <i>Catuvellauni</i> (cf. 1142 <i>Catuvellauni</i> ) should be kept separate. See also 2003 <i>Durocatalaunum</i> .
3862	17 G3	+06/45	45 03	+06 02	<b>Catorissium</b>	LN	LN: Near Le Bourg-d’Oisans (FRA). <i>Catorissium</i> TP 2,1; <i>Cantourisa</i> Rav. 4,27. Celtic, with the first component <i>catu-</i> ; Delamarre, DLG: 432 suggests that <i>-riss-</i> might be from <i>*-ret-s-</i> ‘course’ (or, better, it could be from the weak grade <i>rit-</i> ; see GPN 249); N. Ward suggests <i>*-rīg-s-</i> as another possibility.
1938	11 B3	+01/49	49 57	+01 30	<b>Catoslugi</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Catoslugi</i> (var. <i>catu-</i> , <i>castologi</i> ) Pliny 4, 106; <i>pago Catuslow[go]</i> AE 1978, 501 (= AE 1982, 716). ‘?The war battalion/troop’, <i>catu-</i> & <i>-sloug-</i> .
1939	11 F1	+05/51	51 09	+05 46	<b>Catualium</b>	LN	LN: Heel (B; Toorians correctly locates this modern name in the Netherlands, KGN 96). <i>Catualivm</i> TP 1, 4/5; <i>Pagvs Catval[invs?]</i> Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission XXXVI.102, no. 306. Celtic: ‘?place of the army leader’ (Zimmer, <i>Die Kelten</i> , 207) or ‘?place of (PN) <i>Catualos</i> ’: see <i>catu-</i> & <i>-(v)alium</i> . Gysseling, TW 462 thinks in terms of a Gmc. explanation: Gmc. <i>hapuwalja-</i> (i.e. <i>hapu-</i> , masc., ‘battle’ + <i>walla-</i> , masc. < Latin <i>vallum</i> ‘bank, rampart, wall’), whence ‘?(army) camp’ (celticised in the records of the Gallo-Roman era). Cf. 1972 <i>Coriovallum</i> .
3497	15 F2	+05/43	43 52	+05 34	<b>Catuiacia</b>	LN	LN: St-Sauveur? near Céreste (FRA). <i>Catuiaciam</i> Vicar I, <i>Catulacia</i> II, <i>Catuiacia</i> III, IV; <i>Catuiacia</i> TP 2,1, <i>Catuiaca</i> (var. <i>catuluca</i> , <i>cataluca</i> , <i>catoluca</i> ) IA 343,2. Celtic; to <i>catu-</i> . Identification of the second component is difficult; for <i>*iac(c)-</i> (W. <i>iach</i> ‘healthy’) see ACPN: 238, bibl.
1940	11 F4	+05/48	48 47	+05 12	<b>Caturicis</b>	LN	LN: Bar-le-Duc (FRA). <i>Caturicis</i> (var. <i>caturitis</i> , <i>caturrigis</i> ) IA 365,2; <i>Caturices</i> TP

							1,5. Celtic, <i>catu-</i> & <i>rīgo-</i> (or, less probably, <i>rico-</i> ); probably based on a PN or a title.
3863	17 G4	+06/44	44 33	+06 30	<b>Caturiges</b>	EN	EN : (FRA). <i>Caturiges</i> Caes. BG 1,10,4; <i>Catvriges</i> Pliny 3,137, <i>Caturiges</i> 3,125; Κατουργίδων Ptol. 3,1,35; <i>Caturiges</i> TP 2,2; <i>Caturigum</i> CIL 5, 7231; <i>civit. Catur</i> CIL 12, 78, <i>Caturix</i> CIL 3, 6366. Celtic, <i>catu-</i> & <i>rīgo-</i> .
3864	17 G4	+06/44	44 33	+06 16	<b>Caturigomagus</b>	LN	LN: Chorges (FRA). <i>Catorigomago</i> TP 2,2; <i>Caturrigas</i> IA 342,2, <i>Caturricas</i> 357,6; <i>Catorigas</i> IB 555,7; <i>Caturigomagum</i> Vicar. I, II, <i>Caturigomag</i> III, <i>Caturigomago</i> IV; <i>Canduribagus</i> Rav. 4, 27. EN 3863 <i>Caturiges</i> & <i>magus</i> .
1941	11 D3	+03/49	49 45	+03 55	<b>Catusiacum?</b>	LN	LN: Chaourse/Vigneux-Hocquet (FRA). <i>Catusiacum</i> IA 381,3 . ‘Place belonging to Catusius’, an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a PN (for which see OPEL II, 45).
5985	24 G3	-05/41	41 13	-04 31	<b>Cauca</b>	LN	LN: Coca (ESP). <i>Caucenses</i> (var. <i>-sis</i> , <i>cauanses</i> ) Pliny 3,26; Καῦκα (var. Καύκα) Ptol. 2,6,49; <i>Cauca</i> (var. <i>causa</i> ) IA 435,4; <i>Cauca</i> Hyd. Chron. 2,1; <i>Cauca</i> Rav. 4,44; <i>Caucensi</i> CIL 2, 2729, etc. If Celtic, see PNPG, Possible Celtic Elements s.v. <i>cauca</i> :-, <i>cauco</i> -; may be assigned to another language. See García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 269 for a derivation from <i>*kau-</i> / <i>*kaw-</i> / <i>*keu</i> .
6409	25 E4	-01/41	41 53	-00 01	<b>Caum</b>	LN	LN: Berbegal (ESP). <i>Caum</i> IA 451, 6. Obscure. Isaac (AILR) segments <i>cáo/u</i> or <i>cao/u</i> , but does not discuss either of these. DLG has a <i>cauo-</i> ‘?’, perhaps related to OI <i>cúa</i> , Welsh <i>cau</i> ‘creux’.
3100	14 G3	+01/45	45 02	+01 37	<b>Cavaniaco</b>	LN	LN: Cavagnac? (FRA). <i>Cavaniaco</i> (var. <i>Dunsiaco</i> ) VDesiderii 9(17); (868) <i>Cavaniacus</i> Da. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of PN <i>Cavannus</i> ; but may go back directly to G. <i>*cauannos</i> ‘chouette’ (DLG: 111). Cf <i>Canaviacum</i> 3085.
3498	15 D2	+04/43	43 53	+04 50	<b>Cavares</b>	EN	EN (FRA). See 3499 <i>Cavares</i> .
3499	15 D2	+04/43	43 55	+04 55	<b>Cavares</b>	EN	EN (confederation) (FRA) Καουάρων Strabo 4,1,11; Καύαροι Ptol. 2,10,8; <i>Cauarum</i> Pliny 3.34, <i>Cauarum</i> 3.36; <i>Cavares</i> TP, <i>Cavarae</i> Varro rural 2.4.10; <i>Avennio Cavarum</i> Mela 2,5,75, <i>Cavaras</i> 79. Celtic, to <i>cauaro-</i> .
3865	17 D5	+04/44	44 30	+04 58	<b>Cavares</b>	EN	EN (FRA). See <i>Cavares</i> 3498 and 3499.
3866	17 B4	+03/44	44 35	+03 57	<b>Cebenna M.</b>	MN	MN: Cévennes / Massif Central (FRA). <i>mons Cevenna</i> Caes BG 7,8,2, <i>Cevenna</i> 7,8,3; <i>Cebenna</i> (var. <i>geb-</i> , <i>cebanna</i> ) Pliny 3,31; <i>Cebennam</i> (var. <i>-bannam</i> ) Pliny 4,17; <i>Cebennicis montibus</i> Mela 2, 5, 74, <i>ex Cebennis</i> 2,5,80; <i>Cebennas</i> (var. <i>geb-</i> ) Lucan. 1, 435; <i>Cebennarum</i> (var. <i>caeb-</i> , <i>Geb-</i> ) Auson. ordo urbium nobilium 102,

								<i>Cēbennae</i> 114. Obscure. Ho., TGF 2283 and DaRiv. derive this from Celtic <i>cem-</i> ‘back’, cf W. <i>cefn</i> , from Dottin LG, but the more likely form is <i>*keb-</i> : see Lambert, ‘Lugdunensis’ 220. For the suffix TGF 2283 compares <i>Arduenna</i> (LG 112). See also 3866a <i>Cemmemus</i> M.
4577	20 C3	+15/46	46 14	+15 16	<b>Celeia</b>	LN	LN: Celje (SVN). <i>Celeia</i> (var. <i>Celei</i> , <i>Caeleria</i> ) Pliny 3,146; Κελεία (var. Κέλεια) Ptol. 2,13,3; <i>Celeia civitas</i> IA 129,4; <i>civitas Celeia</i> IB 560,11; <i>Celeia</i> TP 4,2. If Celtic, to <i>celo-</i> . Anreiter <i>et al.</i> in <i>Ptolemy</i> 123, and Anreiter, <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> 51, n. 209, are certain that neither the base of { <i>Kéleia</i> } nor its suffix are Celtic.	
2515	12 E4	+11/48	48 49	+11 39	<b>Celeusum</b>	LN	LN: Pförring (GER). <i>Celeuso</i> TP 3,3. Etymology: Obscure: meaning uncertain, but may contain Celtic <i>celo-</i> .	
6871	26 E4	-06/37	37 42	-05 21	<b>Celti?</b>	LN	LN: Cerro del Calvario (Peñaflor) (ESP). <i>Celti</i> (var. <i>-ci</i> , <i>-tia</i> , <i>-cia</i> ) Pliny 3,11; <i>Celti</i> IA 414,5; <i>Celtum</i> Rav. 4,44. May be a coincidence or descriptive, to <i>celti-</i> . Cf. also the other name, 6871a <i>Leptis?</i> .	
-	6413a	25 B4	-04/41	41 17	-03 03	<b>Celtiberi</b>	EN	EN: (ESP). <i>Celtiberis</i> Livy hist. 21,57,5; <i>Celtiberi Arevaci</i> Pliny 3,19; Κελτιβήρες Ptol. 2,6,57, Κελτιβήρων 6,59; <i>Celtiberorum</i> Oros. 5,7,2; <i>Celtiberi</i> Isid. Etym. 9,2,114. Graeco-Latin name based on <i>celti-</i> . See 6413 <i>Celtiberi</i> .
6413	25 B4	-04/41	41 17	-03 03	<b>Celtiberia</b>	TN	TN: (ESP). Κελτιβηρία Strabo 3,4,12; <i>Celtiberiae</i> Livy frag. 91; <i>Celtiberiae</i> Pliny 3,27; <i>Celtiberia</i> Isid. Etym. 9,2,114. The land of the 6413a <i>Celtiberi</i> q.v.	
6872	26 C2	-08/39	39 00	-07 30	<b>Celtici</b>	EN	EN (POR). Κελτικοὶ Strabo 3,1,6; <i>Celticos</i> Pliny 3,13-14; Mela 3,1,10. Descriptive, based on <i>celt-</i> .	
-	6107b	24 B1	-10/43	43 03	-09 20	<b>Celticum Pr.</b>	Prom	Prom: Cape Touriñán (ESP). <i>Celtico promuntorio</i> Mela 3,12, <i>promuntorium Celticum</i> Pliny 4,111. Latin descriptive LN based on <i>celt-</i> .
-	3866a	17 B4	+03/44	44 35	+03 57	<b>Cemmenus M.</b>	MN	MN: Cévennes / Massif Central (FRA). Κέμμενων Strabo 4,6,11; Κέμμενα Ptol. 2,8,4. See 3866 <i>Cebenna</i> M.
3102	14 G1	+01/47	47 55	+01 52	<b>Cenabum</b>	LN	LN: Orléans (FRA). <i>oppidum Cenabum</i> (var. <i>genabum</i> ) Caes. BG 7,11,6; Κήναβον Strabo 4,2,3; Κήναβον Ptol. 2,8,10; <i>Cenabo</i> TP I,3; <i>Canabum</i> IA 367,6; <i>Cenab(um)</i> CIL 13, 3067. Possibly Celtic, to <i>cen-</i> . If the <i>e</i> is long, see DLG s.v. <i>cēno-</i> ‘long, loin’: <i>Cenabum</i> could be ‘(the place on) the long river’. For the second possible	

							component see <i>abo-</i> . Lambert ‘Lugdunensis’ 243 remarks: ‘no convincing etymology’
	9323	39 F3	+09/45	45 19	+09 55	<b>Cenomani</b>	EN EN (IT). Γενομάνοι Polyb. 2,17,4; Γονομάνοι Polyb. 2.23,2; 24,7; 32,4; Strabo 5,1,9; <i>Cenomani</i> Cic. Pro Balbo 14,32; Livy 5,35,1; 21.55,4; 31,10,2; 32,29,6; 30,1; 4, 6, 11; 33, 22,4; 23,4; 39, 3, 1-3; Κενομάνοι Diod. 29,14; (var. καιν- Ptol. 3,1,27; 29; <i>Cenomanni</i> (var. <i>cennomani</i> , <i>cennemanni</i> ) Iulii Honorii Cosmograph. 13,32; <i>Cenomanni</i> Oros. 4, 20,4. According to P. de Bernardo Stempel (in <i>Ptolemy</i> 91), ‘The Far going ones’; differently Isaac (PNPG), to <i>ceno-</i> & <i>mano-</i> ( <i>meno-? mono-?</i> ).
-	2249b	11 A4	+00/48	48 01	+00 14	<b>Cenomani</b>	EN EN (FRA). <i>Aulercis</i> , <i>Cenomani totidem</i> (var. <i>cenomannis</i> , dat. pl.) Caesar <i>BG</i> 7,75.3; <i>Aulerci ... Cenomani</i> (var. <i>cenomanni</i> ) Pliny 4,107; Αὐλίορκιοι οἱ Κενομαννοί (var. Αὐλίορκιοι, Ἐνομαννοί) Ptol. 2,8,8; <i>Ceromannos Lugdunensis tertiae</i> ND oc 42, 35; <i>Ciuitas Cenomannorum</i> NG 3, 3; <i>Apud Cenomannis civitatem</i> Greg. Tur. <i>HF</i> II.31, <i>Cenomannorum</i> VIII.39; <i>Cinomannis</i> Fortunati Vita s. Paterni 10,33; etc. See 9323 <i>Cenomani</i> , 982 <i>Aulerci</i> , cf. 2249 <i>Quindion</i> and 2249a <i>Subdinnum</i> .
	4972	21 F2	+23/47	47 07	+23 13	<b>Certiae</b>	LN LN: Romița (ROM). <i>Cersiae</i> TP 7,3; <i>Certie</i> (var. <i>cercie</i> ) Rav. 4, 7. Probably Celtic; note <i>*certi-</i> in <i>Certima urbs</i> in Spain. Further etymological analysis is speculative; see DLG s.v. <i>certiognu</i> ; PNRB: 307, s.v. <i>Certis</i> . Cf. <i>Cirtisa</i> (Map 20).
-	3461a	15 A3	+03/43	43 24	+03 25	<b>Cessero</b>	LN LN: St-Thibéry (FRA). Also known as <i>Araura</i> 3461. <i>Cessero</i> Pliny 3,36; Κεσσερώ (var. κεπερώ, κοσσερώ) Ptol. 2,10,6; <i>Cesserone</i> TP 1,4; <i>Cesserone</i> IA 389,4 and (var. <i>tesserone</i> , <i>caeserone</i> , <i>ceserone</i> ) 396,9; <i>mansio Cessarone</i> IB 552,4, <i>Cesserone</i> Vicar. II, <i>Cesseronem</i> III, I, <i>Cessirone</i> IV. Obscure; if Celtic, may be associated with G. <i>*ked-</i> , which may be of multiple origin.
	2516	12 I4	+15/48	48 12	+15 36	<b>Cetium</b>	LN LN: St Pölten (AUS). <i>Cetio</i> (var. <i>caetio</i> ) IA 234, 2; <i>Cetio</i> (var. <i>cecio</i> ) 248.4; <i>Cicium</i> TP 4,1; <i>Cetio</i> CIL 3, 3940, <i>Ael. Cetiensium</i> 5630, <i>A[e]li[a Cet]iensi</i> , <i>A[e]l(iae) Cetiens(ium)</i> 5652 (= 2461), <i>Cetio</i> 6,33036, etc. ‘The place of/by wood(s)’, to <i>cae/ito-</i> , <i>cēto-</i> .
-	3829b	17 H2	+06/45	45 33	+06 38	<b>Ceutrones</b>	EN EN (FRA). <i>Ceutrones</i> Caes. <i>BG</i> 1,10,4; Κεῦτρονες (var. Κέντ-) Strabo 4,6,6;

								<i>Ceutrones</i> Pliny 3,135; Κευτρώνων Ptol. 3,1,33; <i>Centronium</i> (var. <i>ceutr-</i> ) NG 10.1; <i>Ceutro[n]jum</i> CIL 12, 107. Possibly Celtic; PNPg segments <i>ceutro-</i> on-, and discusses <i>ceutro-</i> as a possibly Celtic element, perhaps from PIE <i>*k'eu<sub>h</sub>1</i> (IEW 592-4) or <i>*k'eu</i> (IEW 594-5). Also known as <i>Axima</i> 3829 and <i>Forum Claudii Ceutronum</i> 3829a.
-	7294a	27 B1	-04/40	40 15	-03 14	<b>Charakitanoi?</b>	EN	EN: Carabaña (ESP). Χαρακιτανοί Plut. Sert. 17. See 7294 <i>Carac(c)a</i> .
	1953	11 I2	+08/50	50 40	+08 30	<b>Chatti</b>	EN	EN: (GER). Χάττοι Strabo VII.1.3; <i>Chatti</i> (var. <i>chati</i> , <i>-thi</i> ) Pliny 4,100; <i>Chatti</i> Tacitus Germ. 30, <i>Chattos</i> (acc.) Ann. I.55, <i>Chatti</i> XII.28, <i>Chattorum</i> (gen.) Hist. IV.12; Χάτται (var. Λάτται, Χάται) Ptol. 2,11,11; τοὺς Χάττους Cassius Dio LIV.33, τῶν Χάττων LV.1, etc. Possibly (germanized) Celtic, 'those tied together by strong emotional bonds' [Toorians, <i>Language in (pre)history</i> , 10-11], to <i>*katsi</i> (cf. WBC <i>cas/kas</i> 'hateful, hated' Old Irish <i>cais</i> 'hate; love'). Cf. Celtic ENN in <i>-casses</i> , etc (cf. 984 <i>Baiocasses</i> , etc).
	5994	24 C2	-09/42	42 30	-08 45	<b>Cileni</b>	EN	EN: (the Barrington Directory gives no location) (ESP). <i>Cileni</i> (var. <i>cilaeni</i> ) Pliny 4,11; Κιλινῶν (var. Κιλίνων) Ptol. 2,6,24; <i>Celenis</i> (var. <i>cae-</i> ) Hyd. Chron. 32; [C]ilena CIL 2, 2649; <i>cilenus</i> IRG 1, 20. Potentially Celtic. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 203 suggests that this name could be from the root of <i>*koilos</i> 'thin' in zero grade.
	4580	20 F4	+18/45	45 15	+18 29	<b>Cirtisa</b>	LN	LN: Štrbinci near Đakovo (CRO). Κέρτισσα Ptol. 2,15,4; <i>Certis</i> TP 5,2; <i>Cirtisa</i> (var. <i>Uirtisa</i> ) IA 160,9; <i>Cirtisia</i> (var. <i>Citisia</i> ) IA 268,5; <i>Certisiam</i> Rav. 4,19. Anreiter 2001, 211 is doubtful. Isaac, PNPg does not consider this instance in his Celtic list. If indeed Celtic see DLG s.v. <i>certiognu</i> ; cf. also <i>Certie</i> above.
	3117	14 F1	+00/47	47 03	+00 50	<b>Cisomagus</b>	LN	LN: Ciran-la-Latte? (FRA). <i>in vicis...</i> <i>Cisomagensi</i> GdeT HF 10, 31,3; <i>cisomovi</i> Merov. coin Belfort 1572. Celtic <b>magos</b> compounded with PN <i>Cis(s)us</i> .
-	3561b	15 A2	+03/43	43 44	+03 19	<b>Civ. Lutevensium</b>	LN	LN: Lodève (FRA). <i>civitas Lutevensium</i> NG 15, 8. See 3661 <i>Luteva</i> .
-	6705b	25 G2	+01/43	43 37	+01 26	<b>Civ. Tectosagum</b>	LN	LN: Toulouse (FRA). <i>Tolosani Tectosagum</i> Pliny 3,37; <i>Tolosa Tectosagum</i> Mela 2, 5, 75. Another name of 6705 <i>Tolosa</i> q.v. The city of the ( <i>Volcae</i> ) <i>Tectosages</i> , q.v.
-	1007b	7 E3	-02/48	48 43	-01 23	<b>Civitas Abrincatum</b>	LN	LN: Avranches (FRA). Cf. 1007a <i>Abrincas</i> . See 1007d <i>Abrincatui</i> and 1007 <i>Osismii</i> .

-	3209a	14 E1	-01/47	47 27	-00 33	<b>Civitas Andecavorum</b>	LN	LN: Angers (FRA). <i>civitas Andecavorum</i> (var. <i>Andicavorum</i> , <i>Andegavorum</i> ) NG Occ. 3,5; <i>Andecavo</i> GdeT HF 5, 28, <i>Andecavam urbem</i> (var. <i>Andegavam</i> ) 6,21. A Latin formation based on the indigenous EN 3008 <i>Andecavi</i> , q.v. See also 3209 <i>Iuliomagus</i> .
	5996	24 D4	-08/40	40 55	-07 14	<b>Civitas Aravorum</b>	LN	LN: Marialva (POR). <i>civitas Aravorum</i> CIL 2, 429; <i>Aravi</i> . 760. Potentially Celtic, cf. <i>ara-</i> and <i>aua-</i> ; but exact linguistic attribution is doubtful.
-	3028a	14 I3	+03/45	45 47	+03 05	<b>Civitas Arvernorum</b>	LN	LN: Clermont-Ferrand (FRA). <i>Arverni</i> Amm. Marc. XV 11 13; <i>Aruerni municipioli</i> Sid. App. ep. 3.1.2, <i>urbem ... Aruernam</i> 3.12.2, <i>Aruerni ... oppidi</i> 6.12.8, <i>oppidum Aruernorum</i> 7.5.3; <i>Civitas Arverni</i> CIL 13, 8905; <i>civitas Arvernorum</i> 17, 341. A Latin formation based on the indigenous EN <i>Arverni</i> , the name of the people whose capital this was. See <i>Arverni</i> 3823. Another name of <i>Augustonemetum</i> 3028 q.v; see also <i>Augusta Arvernorum</i> .
-	3032a	14 I1	+03/47	47 49	+03 34	<b>Civitas Autissiodorensis</b>	LN	LN: Auxerre (FRA). See <i>Autessiodurum</i> 3032.
	5997	24 D3	-08/41	41 13	-07 05	<b>Civitas Baniensium</b>	LN	LN: Mesquita (Adeganha)? (POR). <i>civitati Baniens(i)</i> CIL 2,2399, <i>Baniensis</i> CIL 2, 760. If the second component is Celtic, cf. <i>banna</i> , <i>benna</i> .
-	3148a	14 G4	+01/44	44 28	+01 26	<b>Civitas Cadurcorum</b>	LN	LN: Cahors (FRA). <i>civitas Cadurcorum</i> NG 12,6; <i>Cadurcos</i> Sid. App. Carm. 9,281; <i>a Cadurcis</i> Ven. Fort. lib. virt Hil 4,11; <i>Caturtium</i> (var. <i>Caturcium</i> ) Rav. 4,10; [ <i>civitas</i> ] <i>Cadurc[orum]</i> CIL 6, 1568; <i>civitas Cad[urcorum]</i> CIL 13, 1541; <i>civitas Ca[durcorum?]</i> AE 1981, 640. A Latin formation based on the indigenous EN <i>Cadurci</i> , q.v. See also <i>Divona</i> .
-	1002a	7 D3	-03/48	48 29	-02 15	<b>Civitas Coriosolitum</b>	LN	LN: Corseul (FRA). See 1002b <i>Coriosolitae</i> .
-	3813a	17 A4	+03/44	44 42	+03 20	<b>Civitas Gabalum</b>	LN	LN: Javols (FRA). <i>Civitas Gabalum</i> NG 12, 8; <i>Gabalum</i> Sid. App. Carm. 24, 23; a coin legend <i>civit(as) Gab(alorum)</i> is cited by Pierobon-Benoît 'Javols (Lozère); see also <i>Anderitum</i> 3813. A Latin formation on an EN <i>Gabali</i> 3924.
	5998	24 G2	-05/42	42 46	-04 16	<b>Civitas Maggaviensium</b>	LN	LN: Monte Cildá (Olleros de Pisuerga) (ESP). <i>Maggavienses</i> AE 1967, 239; <i>ciuitate / maggav(i)ensium</i> Gonzalez, Unidades, 155 cited in TIR K-30. The spelling -gg- is problematic; if this is a corrupt reading, cf. <i>Magiovinium</i> , 'Maglone', and <i>Magalona</i>



							(3562) and Celt. <i>magio-</i> from <i>magi(o)-</i> ‘grand’ and <i>*magos</i> ‘field’.
	3118	14 D1	-02/47	47 13	-01 34	<b>Civitas Namnetum</b>	LN: Nantes (FRA). <i>Mannatias</i> ND oc 37, 18; <i>Namneticae urbis</i> GdeT HF 5,5, <i>urbem Namneticam</i> 5,31. A Latin formation based on the indigenous EN <i>Namnetes</i> , q.v. See also <i>Kondeouinkon?</i> 3118a and 3118b ‘ <i>Portunamnetu</i> ’.
-	994a	7 E3	-02/48	48 07	-01 40	<b>Civitas Riedonum</b>	LN: Rennes (FRA). See 994 <i>Condate Redonum</i> and 994b <i>R(i)edones</i> .
-	3367b	14 H4	+02/44	44 22	+02 13	<b>Civitas Rutenorum</b>	LN: Rodez (FRA). <i>civitas Rutenorum</i> NG Occ. 12, 4; <i>Rutinam civitatem</i> (var. <i>Rutenam</i> , <i>Rotinam</i> ) GdeT HF 2,37, <i>Rutino</i> (var. <i>Ruteno</i> , <i>Rothino</i> ) 3,2, <i>Rutenae civitatis</i> (var. <i>Ruthenae</i> ) 5,46; later attestations: (6 c.) <i>Ruteni</i> , (9 c.) <i>Rutena</i> , (ca. 1260) <i>Rodeis</i> Da. A Latin formation based on an indigenous EN; see 333 <i>Ruteni</i> and cf. 3367 <i>Segodunum</i> .
-	3077a	14 F1	+00/47	47 23	+00 41	<b>Civitas Turonorum</b>	LN: Tours (FRA). <i>Civitas Turonorum</i> NG oc 3,2; <i>Turonicae civitatis</i> GdeT HF 2,1, <i>civitas Toronica</i> (var. <i>Thoronica</i> , <i>Turonica</i> ) 4,20, etc.; later attestation: (9 c.) <i>Caesaredunum Turonum</i> TGF: 2533. A Latin formation based on the indigenous EN <i>Turoni</i> (3412). The LN is also known as 3077 <i>Caesarodunum</i> (q.v.).
-	3133a	14 E4	-01/44	44 26	-00 14	<b>Civitas Vasatica</b>	LN: Bazas (FRA). <i>Civitas Vasatas</i> IB 550,2; <i>civitas Vasatica</i> NG oc 14, 10; <i>Vasatis civit</i> coin Belfort: 4677. A Latin formation based on the indigenous EN <i>Vasates</i> . Also known as <i>Cossium</i> 3133 (q.v.).
	5999	24 E3	-07/41	41 48	-06 47	<b>Civitas Zoelarum</b>	LN: Castro de Avelãs (Bragança) (POR). See <i>Zoelae</i> 6244.
	2518	12 C4	+09/48	48 30	+09 34	<b>Clarena</b>	LN: Donnstetten (GER). <i>Clarena</i> TP 3,1. Possibly Celtic, ‘?the table-like place’, to <i>clār-</i> , if to OIr <i>clár</i> ‘plank, table’, W. <i>clawr</i> id. Alternatively, cf. Thomas, <i>Enwau Afonydd</i> , 7-8 for the meaning of the modern name Clarach in Ceredigion, Wales: ‘?lle gwastad’ (‘?level land’).
	9327	39 E3	+09/45	45 01	+09 07	<b>Clastidium</b>	LN: Casteggio ? (IT). Κλαστίδιον Polyb. 2,34,5; (var. Κλαστιάδιον) 3,69,1; Strabo 5,1,11; Plut. Marcell. 6; <i>Clastidium</i> Cic. Tusc. 4,22,49; Nep. Hann. 4,1; Livy 21,48,9; 27,25,7; 29,11,13; 32,29,7; 31,4; Val. Max. 1,1,8, etc. If Celtic, to <i>clad-</i> , i.e. <i>*klad-to-(V)dyo-</i> .
	3119	14 G2	+01/46	46 57	+01 15	<b>Claudiomagus</b>	LN: Clion-sur-Indre (FRA). <i>Claudiomagus</i> Sulp. Sev. Dial. I,8,7. Hybrid, Latin

							<i>Claudius and magos.</i>
4254	19 B3	+09/46	46 19	+09 24	<b>Clavenna</b>	LN	LN: Chiavenna (?) (ITL). <i>Clavenna</i> TP 3,1; IA 278,6; Hubschmied, <i>VI International Congress of Onomastic Studies</i> (München 1981), p. 406, takes it for Etruscan.
4255	19 B2	+09/47	47 16	+09 37	<b>Clunia</b>	LN	LN: Altenstadt? (AUS). <i>Clunia</i> TP 2,5. ‘Meadow, pasture’, Celt. <i>clūno-</i> .
4585	20 E4	+17/45	45 53	+17 27	<b>Cocconis</b> ‘’	LN	LN: Sopje? (CRO). <i>Mutatio Cocconis</i> (var. <i>coccones</i> ) IB 562,4; <i>Cucconis</i> Rav. 4,19. According to P. Anreiter, <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 55f, Pannonian. Located not far from Celtic <i>Carrodunum</i> . Consistent with Celtic, therefore perhaps to <i>coc(c)o-</i> .
6426	25 D2	-02/43	43 57	-01 15	<b>Cocosates (Sexsignani)</b>	EN	EN : (FRA). <i>Cocosates</i> Caes. BG 3,27,1; <i>Cocosates Sexsignani</i> Pliny 4,108. Obscure; a Celtic approach is possible, to <i>coc(c)o-</i> .
3121	14 G4	+01/44	44 12	+01 21	<b>Cocurnaco</b>	LN	LN: Congournac, Puycornet? (FRA). <i>Cocurnaco</i> VDesiderii 9(17). Obscure. If Barrington’s form is correct, could it be from <i>co-</i> + <i>corn-</i> ? If the modern name comes directly from the ancient one, perhaps the ancient form was actually <i>*Concurnaco</i> ? Cf. <i>Cocur-o(n)</i> and <i>Cocurus</i> , both from inscriptions, listed by Ho. Possibly contains <i>-āko-</i> .
6001	24 C2	-09/42	42 12	-08 03	<b>Coelerni</b>	EN	EN: Celanova region (ESP). <i>Coelerni</i> (var. <i>-lensi</i> ) Pliny 3,28; Κοιλερινῶν (var. Κοιλερηγῶν) Ptol. 2,6,41, <i>Coelerni</i> CIL 2, 2477. For discussion of <i>*coel</i> , see <i>Cileni</i> above no. 5994. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 243 links the root of this name to that of the toponym Κοιλιόβριγα (below no. 6050), belonging to the tribe.
6002	24 C1	-09/43	43 05	-08 03	<b>Cohors I Celtiberorum</b>	LN	Cidada (Sobrado dos Monxes) (ESP). <i>coh./I Cel.</i> CIL 2, 2552; <i>coh. I / Celtiberor</i> 4141. Latin, based on the name of the <i>Celtiberi</i> or <i>Celtiberia</i> q.v.
6003	24 F2	-06/42	42 13	-05 58	<b>Cohors IV Gallorum</b>	LN	LN Castrocalbón (León) (ESP). <i>coh IIII Ga/ll</i> AE 1935, 13; <i>coh(ortis) IIII Gall(orum)</i> AE 1981, 745. Latin, based on the name of the <i>Galli</i> .
3508	15 D1	+04/44	44 08	+04 48	<b>Col. Arausio</b>	LN	LN: Orange (FRA). <i>apud Arausionem</i> (ms. <i>aprausionem</i> ) Livy Perioch. 67; Ἀραυσίων Strabo 4,1,11; Ἀραυσίων Ptol. 2,10,8; <i>Secundanorum Arausio</i> Mela 2, 75; <i>Civitas Arausicorum</i> NG 11, 11; <i>civitas Arausione</i> IB 553,7; <i>Arusione</i> TP 2,1; <i>Arasione</i> Rav. 4, 26; <i>Araus(ione)</i> CIL 12, 1236; <i>Arausione</i> 3203. Celtic; for interpretations see <i>araus(i)o-</i> . See also <i>Col. Firma Iulia Arausio Secundanorum</i> 3508a.

-	3641a	15 D2	+04/43	43 42	+04 35	<b>Col. Arelate</b>	LN	LN: Arles (FRA), also known as <i>Theline</i> . <i>Arelate</i> Caesar BC 1,36,4; 2,5,1; Ἀρελάτε Strabo 4,1,6; <i>Arelate</i> Pliny 3,36; <i>Arelate</i> Mela 2,5,75; Ἀρέλατον Ptol. 2,10,8; <i>Arelato</i> TP 1,5; <i>Arelate</i> IA 299,4, 344,2, 388,6, 396,1; <i>Arelatum</i> 289,4-5; <i>Arelate</i> IB 553,1, <i>Arelate</i> Ausonius Ordo urbium nobilium, X title and line 73; <i>civitas Arelatensium</i> NG 11,15; <i>Arelatenses</i> Sid. App. letters 1,11,2, <i>Arelatensium portis</i> 7,12,3, <i>Arelatenses</i> 6,12,8; <i>Are&lt;l&gt;aton</i> , Rav. 4,28; <i>Col. Iul. Paterna Arelate</i> CIL 12, 594. Celtic, <i>are-</i> & <i>lat-</i> . See also 3641c <i>Col. Iulia Paterna Sextanorum Arelate</i> .
	4109	18 E2	+07/47	47 33	+07 42	<b>Col. Augusta Raurica</b>	LN	LN: Augst (SWI). Ἀυγούστα Ῥαυρικών Ptol. 2,9,9; <i>Rauracis</i> IA 251,7; <i>Augusta Rauracum</i> 353,3. See 4109b <i>Rauraci</i> ; cf. <i>Rauranum</i> . See 4109a <i>Col. Paterna Pia Apollinaris Augusta Emerita Raurica</i> .
	4109	18 E2	+07/47	47 33	+07 42	<b>Col. Augusta Raurica</b>	LN	LN: Augst (SWI). Ἀυγούστα Ῥαυρικών Ptol. 2,9,9; <i>Rauracis</i> IA 251,7; <i>Augusta Rauracum</i> 353,3. A Latin formation with EN <i>Rauraci</i> ; cf. <i>Rauranum</i> . See 4109a <i>Col. Paterna Pia Apollinaris Augusta Emerita Raurica</i> .
	1960	11 G3	+06/49	49 46	+06 38	<b>Col. Augusta Treverorum</b>	LN	LN: Trier (GER). <i>in Treueris Augusta</i> Mela 3,2,20; Ἀυγούστα Τριβήρων (var. τριβιρῶν) Ptol. II.9.7; <i>ciuitas Treuerorum</i> (var. <i>treuerotium</i> , <i>trefororum</i> , <i>trephorum</i> , <i>treūōrum</i> , <i>treisorum</i> ) NG 5,2; <i>Aug. Tres Virorum</i> TP 2,1; <i>Treuerorum ciuitas</i> Greg. Tur. <i>HF</i> 2, 8 (9); <i>Civitas Treuerorum</i> CIL 13, 6800, <i>Avqvst(a) Trev(erorum)</i> 9129, etc. <i>Treuerorum</i> is Celtic, see 2386 <i>Treveri</i> and cf. 2416 <i>Vicus Voclannionum</i> .
-	3989a	17 D5	+04/44	44 21	+04 46	<b>Col. Augusta Tricastinorum</b>	LN	LN: St-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (FRA). <i>Augusta Tricastinorum</i> Pliny 3,36; <i>Civitas Tricastinorum</i> NG 11,9; (517) <i>episcopus civitatis Treicastininsis</i> Da. Latin, based EN <i>Tricastini</i> (q.v.). Also known as <i>Noiomagus</i> 3989.
	4110	18 E3	+07/46	46 53	+07 04	<b>Col. Aventicum</b>	LN	LN: Avenches (SWI). Ἀβαντίκον (var. ἀβάντικον) Ptol. 2,9,10; <i>Aventicum</i> Tac. hist. 1.68; <i>Auenticum</i> Amm. Marc. 15.11.12; <i>Aventicum Hel(v)etiorum</i> TP 2,2; <i>civitas Elvitiorum Aventicus</i> NG 9, 4; <i>Aventiculum Helvetiorum</i> IA 352,4. A formation based on an indigenous, perhaps Celtic name. Cf. <i>Aventius</i> fl., <i>Vicus Aventia</i> , <i>Aventia fl.</i> See PNRB 260-1 <i>Aventius</i> , and DLG s.v. <i>auantia</i> , <i>auentia</i> ‘rivière, source’. De Bernardo Stempel ‘Ptolemy’s Evidence for Germania Superior’ 82 notes that the LN is from an EN which is from an RN; she translates ‘(town) of the <i>Avantici</i> , i.e. of the <i>river-dwellers</i> ’. Also known as <i>Col. Pia Flavia Constans</i>

							<i>Emerita Helvetiorum Foederata.</i>
2857	13 B4	+16/48	48 06	+16 50	<b>Col. Carnuntum</b>	LN	LN: Petronell (AUS). See 2850 <i>Carnuntum</i> and 2857a Col. <i>Septimia Aurelia Antoniniana</i> .
6430	25 B4	-04/41	41 46	-03 25	<b>Col. Clunia (Sulpicia)</b>	LN	LN: Peñalba de Castro (ESP). <i>Cluniae</i> Livy perioch. 92; <i>Clunia</i> Pliny 3,27; Κλουνία Κολωνία Ptol. 2.6.55; <i>Cluniam</i> IA 441,1; <i>Glunia</i> Rav. IV.43; <i>colon. Cluniensivm</i> CIL 2, 2780, <i>Clunienses</i> 5792, etc. See Celtic <i>clūno</i> ; <i>Sulpicia</i> is Latin, from a personal name <i>Sulpicius</i> .
- 3879a	17 D2	+04/45	45 46	+04 48	<b>Col. Copia Claudia Augusta Lugdunum</b>	LN	LN: Lyon (FRA). See 3879 Col. <i>Lugdunum</i> .
3878	17 E4	+05/44	44 46	+05 23	<b>Col. Dea Vocontiorum</b>	LN	LN: Die (FRA). <i>Ad Deam Bocontior(um)</i> TP 2,1; <i>Dea Bocontiorum</i> IA 357,10; <i>Dea Vocontiorum</i> IB 554,7; <i>Civitas Deensium</i> NG 11,7; <i>Dea Avg. Vocon/tior</i> CIL 12, 3290. Latin, from <i>dea</i> ‘goddess’ and the EN 3878a <i>Vocontii</i> q.v.
- 3508a	15 D1	+04/44	44 08	+04 48	<b>Col. Firma Iulia Arausio Secundanorum</b>	LN	LN: Orange (FRA). <i>colonia Arausio Secundanorum</i> Pliny 3,36; <i>Secundanorum Arausio</i> Mela 2, 75; <i>Col. (...) Fir. Iul. Secund. Arausione</i> CIL 12, 3203. See 3508 Col. <i>Arausio</i> .
- 3641c	15 D2	+04/43	43 42	+04 35	<b>Col. Iulia Paterna Sextanorum Arelate</b>	LN	LN: Arles (FRA), see 3641a Col. <i>Arelate</i> .
- 6705a	25 G2	+01/43	43 37	+01 26	<b>Col. Iulia Tolosa</b>	LN	LN: Toulouse (FRA). Τολῶσα κολωνία Ptol. 2,10,6. A Latin formation based on the indigenous name 6705 <i>Tolosa</i> q.v.
3879	17 D2	+04/45	45 46	+04 48	<b>Col. Lugdunum</b>	LN	LN: Lyon (FRA). Λουγδούνου Strabo 4,1,1; Λούγδουνον Ptol. 2,8,12, Λύγδουνον 2,10,2; <i>Lugduno</i> TP 1,5; <i>Lugdunum</i> (var. <i>lugdono</i> , <i>ludunum</i> ) IA 358,5. Compound, containing Celtic DN <i>Lugus</i> and <i>dūno-</i> . See also 3879a Col. <i>Copia Claudia Augusta Lugdunum</i> .
- 4109a	18 E2	+07/47	47 33	+07 42	<b>Col. Paterna Pia Apollinaris</b>	LN	LN: Augst (SWI). See 4109 Col. <i>Augusta Raurica</i> .

						<b>Augusta Emerita Raurica</b>		
6432	25 H3	+02/42	42 43	+02 55	<b>Col. Ruscino</b>	LN	LN: Château Roussillon (FRA). <i>Ruscinonem</i> Livy hist. 21,24,2; 'Ρουσκίνων Strabo 4,1,6; <i>Ruscino Latinorum</i> Pliny 3,32; <i>Colonia Ruscino</i> Mela 2,5,84; <i>Ruscinonem</i> Vicar. I, <i>Ruscinne</i> II, <i>Ruscinone</i> III, IV; 'Ρουσκίνων Ptol. 2,10,6; <i>Ruscione</i> TP 1,3; <i>Ruscione</i> IA 397.5; cf. ILGN 637 <i>CIR</i> (= <i>Colonia Iulia Ruscino</i> ), etc. The older texts (Strabo, Ptol.) give <i>Ruscino</i> as both hydronym and toponym, and we cannot tell if the river gave the name to the town, or vice versa; cf. <i>Rouskinon fl.</i> 6624. Latin, from a possibly Celtic indigenous name; see PNPG, Celtic Elements s.v. <i>ru:sco-</i> '(tree) bark' and cf. DLG s.v. <i>rusca</i> 'écorce' > 'ruche'. Untermann, 'Le nom de Ruscino', rejects ideas that the name could be Iberian or Celtic. De Hoz 'Narbonensis' 176-7 considers <i>Ruscinon</i> a 'name without explanation' and compares other names nearby with nasal suffixes.	
3881	17 D2	+04/45	45 32	+04 53	<b>Col. Vienna</b>	LN	LN: Vienne (FRA). <i>Viennam</i> Caes BG 7,9,3; Ούένναν Strabo 4,1,11; <i>Vienna</i> Pliny 3,36; <i>Vienna</i> Mela 2,5,75; <i>Viennam</i> Tac. Hist. 2, 66, <i>Viennae</i> Ann. 11,1; Ούέννα Ptol. 2,10,11; <i>Vigenna</i> TP 2,1; <i>Vienna</i> IA 344,4, 346,9, 356,2, 358,4; <i>Vienna</i> Ausonius 'Ordo Urbium Nobilium' X 3 line 75; <i>Vienna</i> Mart. 7,88,2; Ουιέννης Dio Cass. 46,50; <i>Benna</i> Rav. 4,26. Obscure. PNPG segments uio- enná-, listing <i>uio-</i> 'enclosure' as a Celtic element. Pelletier <i>Vienne antique</i> 8 suggests comparison with EN <i>Bagienni</i> or <i>Vagienni</i> and LN <i>Augusta Bagiennorum</i> . De Hoz, 'Narbonensis' 179, lists <i>Vienna</i> among names which 'have no plausible Celtic or IE etymology that I could discover, even if their morphological appearance is without doubt quite IE.' See also <i>Colonia Iulia Augusta Florentia Vienna</i> 3881a.	
6004	24 D3	-08/41	41 05	-07 45	<b>Colarni?</b>	EN	EN: Lamego region (POR). <i>Colarni</i> Pliny 4,118, Κόλαρνον (var. Κολάρνον) Ptol. 2,5,6 (place-name); <i>Colarni</i> CIL 2, 760. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 115 and 'Ptolemy and the Expansion' 136-7 suggests a relationship between Ptolemy's Κόλαρνον and Κοιλερινοι, perhaps with a root related to Celtic <i>*koilos</i> , Indo-European <i>*koilo-</i> 'thin' (though Pliny's form <i>Col-</i> is against this). Alternatively, he suggests	

							comparison with <i>Colius</i> and <i>Colia</i> in Gallia Narbonensis.
-	3881a	17 D2	+04/45	45 32	+04 53	<b>Colonia Iulia Augusta Florentia Vienna</b>	LN LN: Vienne (FRA). See 3881 <i>Col. Vienna</i> .
	2858	13 B4	+16/48	48 20	+16 06	<b>Comagena</b>	LN LN: Tulln (AUS). <i>Comagenis</i> IA 234, 1, 248.3; <i>Comaginenses</i> ND oc. 5, 110; [ <i>Co</i> ]maginenses 260; <i>Comaginenses</i> 7, 59; <i>Comagenis</i> 34, 36; [ <i>Co</i> ]maginensis 34, 42; <i>Comagenis</i> TP 4,1; <i>Commagenis/ Comagenis/Comagēnis</i> Eugippius <i>Vita Severini</i> I.3.; <i>Commagenis/ Comagenis</i> III.1, <i>Com(m)agensibus/Commagenensibus</i> XXXIII.1. Possibly Celtic: meaning uncertain; may contain <i>com-</i> & <i>ago-</i> . A different approach can be found in AN 204: “Entweder nach der im 1. Jh. aus <i>Commāgēnē</i> in Kleinasien hierher verlegten römischen Truppe benannt oder kelt. * <i>Com(m)agion</i> ‘Gefilde’ (kelt. * <i>magos</i> ‘Feld’) als Bezeichnung des <i>Tullnerfeldes</i> (s. P. Wiesinger, Roman. Kontinuitäten im östl. Donaauraum S. 287f.)”. Note also PN <i>Comag(i)us</i> .
	9332	39 E3	+09/45	45 03	+09 12	<b>Comeli magus</b> “	LN LN: Cassino Po? (IT). <i>Comillomago</i> (var. <i>comilomago</i> ) IA 288,4. Hybrid, Lat. & <i>magos</i> . See also 9332a ‘ <i>Cameliomagus</i> ’.
	6005	24 F2	-06/42	42 17	-05 31	<b>Comeniaca</b>	LN LN: Valencia de Don Juan (ESP). <i>Comeniaca</i> Rav. 4, 45. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative from a Latin name <i>Cominius</i> . Also known as 6005a <i>Coviacense Castrum</i> .
	3122	14 G3	+01/45	45 50	+01 41	<b>Comodoliacus</b>	LN LN: St-Junien? (FRA). See Holder II: 1079. Possibly an <i>-āko-</i> derivative from a Lat. PN <i>Commodus</i> (with a diminutive suffix); cf * <i>Meroliacum</i> below no. 3266.
	6006	24 E3	-07/41	41 47	-06 42	<b>Compleutica</b>	LN LN: Gimonde (Bragança)? (POR). Κομπλούτικα (var. Κομπλουτικά, Κομπλουτικά) Ptol. 2,6,38; <i>Compleutica</i> (var. <i>conpleutica</i> ) IA 423,1. See <i>complūt-</i> .
	6435	25 B5	-04/40	40 29	-03 23	<b>Complutum</b>	LN LN: Alcalá de Henares (ESP). <i>Conplutenses</i> (var. <i>comp-</i> ) Pliny 3,24; Κόμπλουτον Ptol. 2,6,56; <i>Complutum</i> IA 436,2; <i>Complutum</i> Prud. Perist. 4.43; <i>Complutum</i> Rav. IV. 44; <i>Compl.</i> CIL II 4913, 4914, etc. See <i>complūt-</i> .
	3123	14 D1	-02/47	47 43	-01 05	<b>Conbaristum?</b>	LN LN: Combrée (FRA). <i>Conbaristum</i> TP 1,2. Possibly Celtic; see OPEL for <i>Combaro-</i> in Gaulish PNN. May contain a prefix <i>co(m)-</i> and a component <i>barros</i> glossed in DLG s.v. as ‘tête’ (cf. PN <i>Combarumarus</i> ).

1963	11 E1	+04/51	51 07	+04 27	<b>Condacum?</b>	LN	LN: Kontich (B). <i>Castrum nomine Condacum, Condacensi castro</i> Vita s. Reineldis, Xr 18018, 151 v°, 152 r°; <i>Contheca</i> Av SM 2. An <i>-āko</i> -derivative of PN <i>Condus</i> (on which see GPN 337).
1964	11 A4	+00/48	48 50	+00 56	<b>Condate</b>	LN	LN: Condé-sur-Iton (FRA). <i>Condate</i> IA 385,4; <i>Condate</i> TP; <i>Condatus</i> Vita Leutfredi 1,5. Celtic, <i>condate</i> .
1965	11 C4	+02/48	48 24	+02 54	<b>Condate</b>	LN	LN: Montereau-Fault-Yonne (FRA; the modern name should be <i>Montereau-Faut-Yonne</i> ). <i>Condate</i> IA 383,3; <i>Condate</i> TP. Celtic, <i>condate</i> .
3124	14 E3	-01/45	45 43	-00 20	<b>Condate</b>	LN	LN: Cognac? <i>Condate</i> TP. Celtic, <i>condate</i> .
3125	14 F1	+00/47	47 12	+00 06	<b>Condate</b>	LN	LN: Candes-St-Martin (FRA). <i>Condacensem</i> (var. <i>Condatensem</i> ) Sulp. Sev. epist 3,6; <i>Condatensi</i> GdeT HF 1,48, <i>Condatensim</i> GdeT VM 1, 22, <i>Condatinsim</i> 2, 19, <i>Condatensim</i> 2, 45. Celtic, <i>condate</i> .
3126	14 H1	+02/47	47 25	+02 64	<b>Condate</b>	LN	LN: Cosne (FRA). Κοῦδάτε Ptol. 2,8,9; <i>Condate</i> IA 367,3, 383,3, 385,4; (4 c.) <i>Condida</i> TGF: 2095. Celtic, <i>condate</i> .
3884	17 B4	+03/44	44 51	+03 44	<b>Condare</b>	LN	LN: Condres (FRA). <i>Condare</i> TP; <i>Condare</i> Rav. 4,26. Celtic, <i>condate</i> .
3885	17 F2	+05/45	45 56	+05 50	<b>Condare</b>	LN	LN: Near Seyssel (FRA). <i>Condare</i> TP; <i>Condare</i> Rav. 4,26. Celtic, <i>condate</i> .
994	7 E3	-02/48	48 07	-01 40	<b>Condare Redonum</b>	LN	LN: Rennes (FRA). Κοῦδάτε Ptol. 2,8,9; <i>Condare</i> TP 1,2; IA 386,6; 387,3; <i>Rhedone, Redone</i> GdeT HF 5,29 and 10,9; [ <i>civ</i> ]itas <i>Ried[onum]</i> CIL 13, 3151; <i>o(rdo) R(iedonum)</i> , CIL 13, 3153; <i>c(ivitate) R(edonum)</i> CIL 13, 8953 and 8954 (= CIL 17, 471 and 472); <i>c(ivitas) R(edonum)</i> CIL 13, 8955 (= CIL 17, 463), 8958 (= 17, 473), 8959 (= 17, 474), 8961 (= 17, 467); <i>ciuitas Riedonum, ciui tas Riedonum</i> (and <i>ciu</i> ]itas <i>Ried[onum]</i> , AE 1969-1970.405 (= CIL 13, 3151). Celtic, <i>condate</i> ; for Redonum, see 994b <i>R(i)edones</i> and 994a <i>Civitas Riedonum</i> .
3127	14 E4	-01/44	44 55	-00 15	<b>Condatis</b>	LN	LN: Condat, cm. Libourne (FRA). <i>Condatem</i> Ausonius epist. 5 line 32; in <i>Condatino</i> Paul. Nol. App. B3, 259. Celtic, to <i>condate</i> .
6436	25 I1	+03/44	44 06	+03 05	<b>Condatomagus?</b>	LN	LN: La Graufesenque, Cm. Millau (FRA). <i>Condatomago</i> TP 1,3. Celtic, <i>condate- &amp; -magos</i> .
1967	11 E2	+04/50	50 22	+04 55	<b>Condruasi</b>	EN	EN (B). <i>Condruos</i> (acc., var. <i>condruosos, condroosos</i> ) Caesar BG 2,4; <i>Condruorum</i> (gen.; var. <i>condruosonum</i> ) 4,6, <i>Condruasi</i> 6,32; <i>Condurses</i> (var. <i>condorses, condursis, condurres, condureses, condurses, condruasi</i> ) Orosius

								6,7,14; <i>Cond[r]vs(o)</i> (abl.) CIL 16, 125; <i>Pagvs Condrvstis</i> 7, 1073; <i>Matronis Cantrvsteihiabvs</i> (dat.) 13, 3585; <i>Mat(ronis) Cantrv[stei]habv[s]</i> 13, 7880; etc. Obscure : ‘?the intelligent people’. According to Gysseling, Celtic <i>Condruso-</i> and Gmc. <i>Hantrusa-</i> , derived from Celtic <i>condo-</i> , Gmc. <i>hanta-</i> (IE <i>kondo-</i> ?), surviving in OIr <i>cond</i> ‘intelligence’ (cfr. LEIA C-196 and see 1963 <i>Condacum?</i> ) and in Old Slavic <i>sqde</i> ‘judgement’, consequently ‘those who are intelligent’ [TW 241]. According to Holder, “Von Partikel <i>con-</i> und <i>drūso</i> , nach d’Arbois de Jubainville identisch mit M. <i>Drausus</i> , <i>Con-drausso-</i> in <i>Condraussius</i> , <i>Drūsus</i> , zu ir. <i>drús drúis</i> ‘libido’, also ‘libidinosi’” [Ho I, 1097]. This <i>drús</i> is a derivative of <i>drúth</i> ‘lascivious’, cfr. <i>Druto-</i> in Celtic (see LEIA D-205-6, GPN 446-47 and DLG s.v. <i>drutos</i> ).
-	16162a	63 B4	+32/38	38 19	+32 55	<b>Congussus</b>	LN	LN: Altinekin? (TUR). Identical with 16162 <i>Kongoustos</i> .
	6007	24 C4	-09/40	40 05	-08 30	<b>Conimbriga</b>	LN	LN: Condeixa-a-Velha (POR). <i>Conūbriga</i> , <i>cinumbriga</i> , <i>coniumbrica</i> Pliny 4,133; <i>Conembriga</i> (var. <i>conembrica</i> ) IA 421; 4; πόλεως Κοιμβριγεσίας Phlegon von Tralles; <i>Conimbricam</i> (var. <i>-brigam</i> ) Hyd. Chron. 229; <i>Conimbrica</i> 241; <i>Coniumbric</i> CIL 2, 432, <i>Conium</i> 5866. A Celtic LN in <i>-briga</i> ; the first component is obscure.
-	7319a	27 D3	-02/38	38 10	-01 05	<b>Contestani</b>	EN	EN: SE coastal area, E Bastetania up to R. Júcar (Xúquer) (ESP). Κοιτεστανῶν (var. κοιτ-) Ptol. 2,6,14. See 7319 <i>Contestania</i> .
	7319	27 D3	-02/38	38 10	-01 05	<b>Contestania</b>	TN	TN: SE coastal area, E Bastetania up to R. Júcar (Xúquer) (ESP). <i>Contestania</i> (var. <i>-tannia</i> ) Pliny 3,19. Iberian according to Tovar, but consistent with Celtic, cf. PN <i>Contessus</i> , W. <i>cynnes</i> ‘warm’ (DLG s.v. <i>contessos</i> ). Cf. ACPN: 231. See 7319a <i>Contestani</i> .
	1969	11 G3	+06/49	49 42	+06 34	<b>Contionacum</b>	LN	LN: Konz (GER). <i>Contionaci</i> Codex Theo. 2,4,3; 4,6,4; 9,3,5 and 11,1,17 (~ Codex Iust. 6,22,7; 9,4,4,1 and 11,59(58),4). An <i>-āko-</i> derivative from PN <i>Contio</i> .
	6895	26 E3	-06/38	38 54	-05 44	<b>Contosolia</b>	LN	LN: Magacela? (ESP). <i>Contosolia</i> IA 444,5. Celticity may be questioned; several Celtic etymologies have been considered, cf. <i>conto- solo- ía-</i> or <i>com- toso- olo- ía-</i> (AILR); a better suggestion is to analyse it as <i>conto- &amp; soli-</i> , ACPN: 230 n. 38.
	1970	11 D3	+03/49	49 38	+03 17	<b>Contra</b>	LN	LN: Condren (FRA). <i>Contra Aginum</i> IA 379,5; <i>Contraginnen[s]ium</i>



						<b>Aginum</b>		( <i>contraginnentium</i> ) ND oc 42,41, etc. According to G.R. Isaac (AILR), who takes <i>contra</i> as Latin, to *agi- (see <i>ag-</i> ): “an important further possibility is that *agi- is a Caland compositional alternant of *agro- < *h <sub>2</sub> eg ‘-ro- ‘pasture, field’”. Dauzat 206-207, taking <i>Contra-</i> as part of the name, refers to a PN: “Aisne ( <i>Contraginum</i> , IV <sup>e</sup> s.; <i>de Condrinio</i> , 1102) : mot vraisembl. gaul., de formation obscure; p.-ê. d’un nom d’homme * <i>Contragus</i> (cf. <i>Contribii</i> , nom d’une peuplade gaul.) et suff. gaul. - <i>ennum</i> ” [Da].
6438	25 D4	-02/41	41 29	-01 03		<b>Contrebia (Belaisca)</b>	LN	LN: Cabezo de las Minas (Botorrita) (ESP). <i>Contrebia, Trebiam</i> Rav. 4,43; Vir. ill. Celtic, <i>con-treb-</i> . <i>Belaisca</i> is known only from inscriptions; see Beltrán, <i>El tercer bronce de Botorrita (Contrebia Belaisca)</i> , 11.
6439	25 D3	-02/42	42 01	-01 56		<b>Contrebia Leucada</b>	LN	LN: Inestrillas (Aguilar del Río Alhama) (ESP). <i>Contrebiam [quae] Leucada appellatur</i> Livy frag. 91; <i>Contrebiam</i> Val. Max. 2,7,10; <i>Contrebiam</i> Flor. 1,33,10, etc. Celtic, <i>con-treb-</i> . Curchin ‘Celticization’ derives <i>Leucada</i> from Celtic * <i>leuc-</i> ‘shining, white’ (see s.v. <i>leuc-</i> ), but the instance is not diagnostically Celtic.
6440	25 F3	+00/42	42 59	+00 10		<b>Convenae</b>	LN	LN: ? (FRA). Κονοθενῶν Strabo 4,2,1; <i>Convenae</i> Pliny 4,108; <i>Aquis Convenarum</i> IA 457,7. The LN is likely to go back to EN; if Celtic, <i>com-</i> & <i>ueno-</i> . Duval ‘Aquitaine’ 216 notes “La précision <i>in oppidum contributi</i> , unique dans toute la liste, est un commentaire, une explication-traduction de <i>Conuenae</i> considéré comme formé de <i>com</i> et <i>venio</i> à la suite de Strabon IV,11, ... ‘ceux qui forment un ramassis’ ou ‘ceux qui se rassemblent (en un oppidum)’.” If the LN is primary, probably to Latin <i>convena</i> ‘meeting, coming together’.
995	7 E2	-02/49	49 40	-01 34		<b>Coriallum</b>	LN	LN: Cherbourg (FRA). <i>Coriallo</i> TP 1,1; <i>pagus Coriovallensis</i> Chron. Fontenelle. ‘Powerful (in respect of its) army’, <i>corio-</i> & <i>ualo-</i> .
-	1002b	7 D3	-03/48	48 29	-02 15	<b>Coriosolitae</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Coriosolitas</i> (var. <i>coriosolitos</i> , <i>curiosolitas</i> ) Caes. BG 2,34; (var. <i>curiosolitas</i> ) 3,7,4, <i>Coriosolites</i> 7,75,4; <i>Coriosvelites</i> (var. <i>coriosultes</i> , <i>coricoriosuelites</i> , <i>cariosu-</i> ) Pliny NH 4,18; <i>civitas Coriosolitus</i> NG III.7: <i>Coriosultas</i> NT XCI.Z; <i>c(ivis) Coriosolis</i> CIL 13, 616; <i>c(ivit.) Cori[osolitus]</i> CIL 13, 8991; <i>c(ivitas) Cor(iosolitus)</i> CIL 13, 8995, etc. There is no doubt that the first component is <i>corio-</i> ; and there are several interpretations of its second part. G. R.

								Isaac (AILR) has a Possible Celtic Element <i>soli-</i> ‘hall?, homestead?, habitation?’ (in <i>Solimaros</i> PN ‘great in halls, habitations/possessing many halls’a), therefore ‘?warband having halls’, which is not semantically attractive. DLG: 287 contains an entry <i>suli-</i> (/soli-) ‘(bonne) vue’; therefore the EN is analysed as ‘troupes-qui-veillent’, J. Lacroix, <i>Les noms d’origine gauloise: La Gaule des combats</i> , 160. P.-Y. Lambert (Salamanca workshop) compared the LN to a PN <i>Solitumaros</i> , from <i>*korio-swelit-es</i> ‘qui font tourner les troupes’, from <i>*swel</i> ‘tourner’ cf W. <i>ymchwelyd</i> ‘return’. Also known as <i>Fanum Martis</i> and 1002a <i>Civitas Coriosolitum</i> . Cf <i>Coriosolites</i> (3130) and <i>Suelteri</i> (3766). See also 3130a <i>Coriosopites</i>
	3130	14 A1	-05/47	48 00	-04 00	<b>Coriosolites</b>	EN	EN (FRA). See 1002b <i>Coriosolitae</i> .
	- 3130a	14 A1	-05/47	48 00	-04 00	<b>Coriosopites</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Coriosolitum</i> , var. <i>coriosopitum</i> NG oc 3,7; <i>in ecclesiam Coriosopitensem</i> Vita Romani 4 (ASS I. iun. I p. 84 E). Variant of 3130 <i>Coriosolites</i> q.v.
	1972	11 F2	+05/50	50 54	+05 54	<b>Coriovallum</b>	LN	LN: Heerlen (NL). <i>Coriovallum</i> AI 375,7; (var. <i>corioualum</i> ) 378,6; <i>Cortovallio</i> TP, etc. ‘Powerful (in respect of its) army’, to <i>corio-</i> & <i>ualo-</i> . Cf. also 1972a <i>Cortovallium</i> .
	4595	20 F4	+18/45	45 17	+18 50	<b>Cornacates</b>	EN	EN: area of Cornacum and Cibalae (CRO). <i>Cornacates</i> (var. <i>Carnacates</i> , <i>Corneates</i> ) Pliny 3,148; [ <i>civitas Cor</i> ]necatium CIL 5, 6986. Probably Celtic, ‘inhabitants of <i>Cornacum</i> ’, q.v.
	4596	20 G4	+19/45	45 18	+19 06	<b>Cornacum</b>	LN	LN: Sotin (CRO). Κόρνακον Ptol. 2,15,1; 2,16,5; <i>Cornaco</i> TP 5,2; IA 243,3; ND oc. 32,12; <i>Cornacu</i> ND oc. 32,2; <i>Cornacii</i> ND oc. 32,22; <i>Cornacum</i> Rav. 4,20. Probably Celtic, <i>corno-</i> & <i>-āko-</i> .
	3131	14 G4	+01/44	44 27	+01 43	<b>Cornucio</b>	LN	LN: Cornus, Cm. Cenevières? (FRA). <i>Cornucio</i> VDesiderii 9(17). Latin or Celtic, from Lat. <i>cornu</i> or Celtic <i>corno-</i> .
	1974	11 E4	+04/48	48 35	+04 27	<b>Corobilium?</b>	LN	LN: Corbeil (FRA). <i>Corobilium</i> TP 1,5, etc. Meaning uncertain. According to Delamarre, DLG: 126 <i>coro-</i> ‘nain’ / ‘ferme’ + <i>-bilio</i> ‘arbre’. To explain the modern form M. Gröhler (see Vendryes, RC 38 (1920), 184) starts with <i>*corboialom</i> ; cf. also Dauzat (p. 209): “Marne ( <i>Corobilium</i> , IVe s.; <i>Corbolium</i> , 1179); ch.-l. arr. S.-et-O. ( <i>de Corbuilo</i> , 1067). Du nom d’homme gaul. <i>Corbus</i> et du gaul. <i>ialo</i> ,

							clairière, champ” ; see <i>ialo-</i> .	
3132	14 E3	-01/45	45 03	-00 08	<b>Corterate</b>	LN	LN: Coutras (FRA). <i>Corterate</i> TP 1,1. Possibly Celtic; the second element could be Celtic <i>rate</i> , or (less likely) a suffix <i>-ate</i> . For the first element TGF: 3085 suggests late Latin <i>cortem</i> ‘ferme, domaine’; a Celtic approach is possible, see <i>corto-</i> .	
6009	24 C2	-09/42	42 37	-08 46	<b>Corticata Ins.</b>	IN	IN: Cortegada Is. in Ría de Arousa (ESP). <i>Corticata</i> Pliny 4,111. If Celtic, cf. CI <i>kortika</i> and Celtic element <i>corto-</i> , as in <i>Durocortorum</i> ; but cf. Latin <i>cortex</i> . See De Hoz, ‘The Case of South-Western Spain and Portugal’, 20. Cf. 6993 <i>Kortikata</i> .	
6442	25 C4	-03/41	41 10	-02 27	<b><u>Cortona</u></b>	LN	LN: near Medinaceli (ESP). <i>Cortonenses</i> Pliny 3,24. RE (reported by Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 410) suggests an alteration to Pliny’s text: “Doch könnte die Namensform auch leicht verschrieben sein (etwa <i>Corionenses</i> von <i>Corio</i> oder <i>Curnonienses</i> ? Vgl. <i>Curnonium</i> )” but this seems unnecessary. If Celtic, to <i>corto-</i> .	
9810	42 B2	+11/43	43 17	+11 59	<b>Cortona</b>	LN	LN: Cortona (IT). Κόρτονα Hdt 1,57; Dion. Hal. 1,29; Diod. 20,35; Κυρτώνιον Polyb. 3, 82,9; <i>Cortonenses</i> (var. <i>cortonien-</i> , <i>cartonien-</i> , <i>cortorien-</i> ) Pliny 3, 52; Κόρτονα Ptol. 3,1,43. If Celtic, to <i>corto-</i> ; contrast P. De Bernardo Stempel ‘Italy and Ireland’, 93 fn. 15. It should be considered that there are no other Celtic LNN in its vicinity; and that Hdt. claims it is Pelasgian.	
1975	11 D2	+03/50	50 50	+03 18	<b>Cortoriacum</b>	LN	LN: Kortrijk/(Courtrai) (B). <i>Cortoriacenses</i> ND oc 5, 96 and 245; 7, 88, etc. At face value, ‘Place belonging to Cortoros/Curtorius’, an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of PN <i>*Cortoros</i> / <i>*Curtorius</i> . In view of the non-attestation of this PN, De Vries’s connection (WNZP 96) of the LN with Vulgar Latin <i>cortarium</i> ‘closed area’ is worthy of attention.	
-	1972a	11 F2	+05/50	50 54	+05 54	<b>Cortovallium</b>	LN	LN: Heerlen (NL). Possibly a misspelling of 1972 <i>Coriovallium</i> ; see also <i>corto-</i> .
996	7 E2	-02/49	49 05	-01 27	<b>Cosedia</b>	LN	LN: Coutances (FRA). <i>Cosedia</i> (var. <i>cosaediae</i> , <i>cosediae</i> ) IA 386; <i>Cosedia</i> TP 1,2; also known as <i>Constantia</i> ND XXXVII.9 and 20, XLII.34; NG II.8. ‘Settlement’, <i>co(m)- sedo-ia-</i> .	
4257	19 D2	+11/47	47 43	+11 30	<b>Cosuanetes</b>	EN	EN: no localization (AUS). Κωνσουάνται Ptol. 2,12,4; Κωτουάντιοι Strabo 4, 6, 8; <i>Cosvanetes</i> (var. <i>Cosuanetes</i> , <i>-naetes</i> , <i>-nates</i> ) Pliny 3, 137. The discrepancies in spelling and Strabo’s (4.6.8) association of the tribe with the <i>Raeti</i> makes Celtic interpretation, though possible ( <i>ko(m)-su-an-et-es</i> or the like) not necessary.	

2859	13 E3	+19/49	49 10	+19 30	<b>Cotini</b>	EN	EN: (SK). <i>Cotini</i> (var. <i>got(h)ini</i> ) Tacitus Germ. 43.1; Κόγνοι (var. Κόρννοι, Κόνου) Ptol. 2,11,10; Κοτινοὶ Dio 71,12,3; <i>Cotini</i> CIL 6, 2831, <i>Cotini</i> 8805, 32542, 32557, <i>Cotinorum</i> 32544, <i>Cotinis</i> AE 1905.14. If Celtic, ‘old ones’, to <i>cotto-</i> (for the meaning cf. 2338 <i>Senones</i> ). May be also Pannonian according to P. Anreiter, <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 212-3 (< pannon. <i>kōtiā</i> ‘Wohnraum, Hütte’ < idg. <i>*kōt-</i> ; vgl. altnord. <i>kot</i> ‘slechte Hütte’, got. <i>heþjo</i> ‘Kammer’), “vielleicht jedoch um einen echt-keltischen Stammesnamen, da die Wurzel <i>Cot-</i> Bestandteil einiger Namen ist, die in alkeltischen Regionen auftraten...”.	
3890	17 H5	+06/44	44 29	+06 48	<b>Cotti Regnum</b>	TN	TN: (FRA). <i>Cotti regno</i> Suetonius Tib. 37, TP <i>Cot(t)ii regnum</i> TP 2,3. Cf. <i>Alpes Cottiae</i> 3806.	
4258	19 D2	+11/47	47 39	+11 12	<b>Coveliacae?</b>	LN	LN: Moosberg (GER). <i>Coveliacas</i> TP 3,2. Holder s.v. hesitates whether it is Celtic or Raetian; and segments it into <i>coveli-acae</i> ; perhaps <i>co(m)-velo-i-āko</i> ?	
-	6005a	24 F2	-06/42	42 17	-05 31	<b>Coviacense Castrum</b>	LN	LN: Valencia de Don Juan (ESP). <i>Coviacense castrum</i> Hyd. Chron. 186. At face value, an <i>-āko-</i> derivative from PN in <i>*Coviu-</i> . Also known as 6005 <i>Comeniaca</i> , therefore one of the readings is wrong; <i>*komen-</i> seems to be earlier.
9334	39 G3	+10/45	45 08	+10 02	<b>Cremona</b>	LN	LN: Cremona (IT). Κρεμώννα Polyb. 3,40,4; Κρεμώνη (var. Κρεμμ-) Strabo 5,1,11; περὶ Κρέμωννα (var. Κρέωννα) 4,8; Ios. B. I. 4,11,3; Plutarch. Otho 7; Appian. Hann.7; Κρεμῶνα Dio 64,10,2; 65,1,3; Κρεμῶνα (var. κρέμοννα, κρέμωννα) Zosim. 5,37,2; <i>Cremona</i> (and <i>Cremonensis</i> ) Caes. BC 11,24,4; Livy 21,25,2; 27,10,8; 28,11,10; 31,10,3; 21,2; 33,23,1; 6; 34,22,3; 37,46,9; 47,2; 44,40,60; Vell. 1,14,8; Probus ad Verg. Ecl.; <i>Cremona</i> Pliny 3,130; 6,2118; 7, 105; Tac. Hist. 2, 17; 22-24; 67; 70; 100; 3,14-15; 18-19; 21-22; 26-27; 30-34; 40-41; 46; 48-49; 53-54; 60; 4,2; 31; 51; 4,72; Hygin. De limit. Constit.; Suet. Vesp. 7; fr.21; fr. 33; fr. 35; Verg. Vita; Porphyron in Horat. Sermon. 1,3,130; IA 283,3; Victor. Caes. 8,5; Servius in Vergil. Aen. Pr.; Ammian 15,5,9; Anon. Valesian. § 53; Auctarii Havniensis extrema 16; Scholia in Iuvenal 2,99, 106; <i>Cremonensis</i> ND occ. 9,27; <i>Cremonae</i> 42,55; <i>Cremona</i> Oros. 4,20,4; Concil. Mansi 6; Sidon. Apollin. Epist. 11,5,5; Symmachi papae epist. 5; Petri grammatici excerpta; Council. Constantinopol III a.	

							680; 774d; with various suspensions / abbreviations: CIL 1, 540; 2, 2631; 3, 6416, 8434, 10878; 11229; 5, 977; 4041; 4098; 4148; 4392; 4399; 4442; 8045; 6, 2375; 2379; 2381; 2382; 3641; 3884; 11, 347, 1298; etc.; <i>Crēmōna</i> Verg. Ecl. 9,28; catal. 8,12; Martial 8,56,7; Phocae Vita Vergilii 9; Κρέμωνα (var. Κρεμώνια, Κρεμώνια, Βρεμώνια) Ptol. 3,1,27. ‘The Onions’ town’. Normally derived from G. *cremo- (Mlr <i>crim</i> , <i>crem</i> , OB (Leiden) <i>cram</i> , W <i>craf</i> ‘garlic’, IEW: 580, DGVB: 121, DLG: 129; GPC: 575, LEIA: C-229); however, according to G. R. Isaac (PNPG, Possibly Celtic Elements, s.v.), “unambiguous formal diagnosticity is lacking, and the location of the LN is not such as to force us to look for Celticity”.
9335	39 C5	+08/44	44 30	+08 18	<b>Crixia</b>	LN	LN: Piana Crixia? (IT). <i>Crixia</i> TP 2,4; IA 295,1. Isaac, AILR, Celtic Elements mentions this LN s.v. <i>crixo-</i> and glosses it as ‘curled, wrinkly’; he equates it with Lat. <i>crispus</i> . A motivation, suitable for a hydronym, is hardly applicable to a LN unless it is derived from a RN. Judging by Map 39 the settlement is not located on a river. A better possibility is to trace it to a PN, therefore Crixus (?)’s settlement. Note PNN <i>Crixus</i> etc. (DLG s.v. <i>crixos</i> ), also <i>Criciro</i> (GPN 343).
997	7 E2	-02/49	49 20	-01 16	<b>Crouciaconnum</b>	LN	LN: Carentan (FRA). Κρουκιάτοννον (var. κροκιατωνῶν, κροτιατωνῶν, κροκιάτοννον) Ptol. 2,8,2; <i>Croucia connum</i> TP 1,2; <i>Vicus Carentonus</i> Orderic Vital. Hist. XX ; etc. ‘Hilly place’, to <i>crouco-</i> .
3139	14 E1	-01/47	47 07	-00 07	<b>Crovio</b>	LN	LN: Crû? (FRA). <i>Croviensim vicum</i> GdeT GC 94; <i>Crovio</i> VM 4, 17, <i>Croviensis</i> 4, 23. Possibly Celtic. See LEIA: C-248-9 <i>crú</i> ‘sang répandu’, <i>crú</i> ‘cru’, and <i>crú</i> ‘corbeau’.
4599	20 C4	+15/45	45 52	+15 10	<b>Crucium</b>	LN	LN: Groblje pri Šentjerneju (SVN). <i>Crucio</i> TP 4,2. Very probably Celtic, to <i>crouco-</i> .
4996	21 B4	+19/45	45 14	+19 24	<b>Cuccium</b>	LN	LN: Ilok (CRO). <i>Cucci(o)</i> TP 5,3; <i>Cucci</i> (var. <i>Cuicoi</i> ) IA 243, 2, <i>Cuccis</i> ND oc. 32,6,13,32. Probably not-Celtic (various suggestions: Duridanov, <i>LB</i> 6 (1963), 110; Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 57-58), although it has parallels in Celtic onomastics; see <i>cocco-</i> . Its location within Scordiscan territory does not make it Celtic by default.
3895	17 F3	+05/45	45 12	+05 44	<b>Cularo</b>	LN	LN: Grenoble (FRA). <i>Cularone</i> (var. <i>cuiar-</i> ) Munatius Plancus to Cicero (Ad Fam.

							X 23) 7; <i>Culabone</i> TP 2,1; <i>Calaronae</i> ND occ 42,17; <i>Curarore</i> Rav. 4,27; <i>Cularon</i> CIL 12, 2227, <i>Cularonensibus</i> 2229, <i>Cylar</i> 2252. Celtic; cognates include OIr. <i>cularán</i> , W. <i>cylor</i> , B. <i>keler</i> LEIA C-284; on the basis of the Insular evidence and this LN Delamarre, DLG: 131 reconstructs G. <i>*cularo(n)-</i> ‘concombre, courge’; and translates the LN as ‘champ de courges’.
3699	16 D2	+07/43	43 48	+07 18	<b>Cuntinus</b>	LN	LN: Contes? (FRA). <i>Cuntino</i> CIL 5, 7868. Celticity is not obvious. X. Delamarre, DLG: 132 notes that ‘le celtique <i>*cuno-</i> “hauteur” est une invention des toponymistes qui n’existe pas’ and associates the LN with G. <i>*cuno-</i> ‘dog, wolf’ (OIr <i>cú</i> , WCB <i>ci</i> ‘dog’, LEIA C-257; PECA: 27; L. Joseph in FS Hamp, 110-3, well attested in Celtic anthroponymy, cf. <i>Cuno-belinus</i> , etc). He reconstructs <i>*cuno-tēn-</i> < <i>*tepe-n-</i> ?; although there are other examples with the compositional vowel lost in inscriptions, the etymology does not look self-evident. The LN may be also associated with G. forms in <i>conto-</i> with various meanings.
3141	14 G3	+01/45	45 38	+01 31	<b>Curisiacum</b>	LN	LN: Curzac, Cm. St-Vitte-sur-Briance? (FRA). <i>Carisiaco</i> Coins Belfort 1677, <i>Curisiaco</i> 1678. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative; cf. a Latin cognomen <i>Curisius</i> (OPEL). Cf OW PN <i>Cuuris</i> (Sims-Williams <i>Inscriptions</i> 110).
1980	11 C3	+02/49	49 38	+02 14	<b>Curmiliaca</b>	LN	LN: Cormeilles (FRA). <i>Curmiliaca</i> IA 380,2. ‘Place belonging to Curmillus’, an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of PN <i>Curmillus</i> (see e.g., CIL 3,12014.239).
9336	39 D3	+08/45	45 12	+08 36	<b>Cuttiae</b>	LN	LN: Cozzo (IT). <i>Cuttias</i> TP 3,1; <i>mutatio ad Cottias</i> IB 557,5; <i>Cottiae</i> (var. <i>guttie</i> , <i>guttiae</i> ) IA 340,3; <i>Cuttias</i> CIL 11, 3281, 3282, 3284; <i>Cuttiae</i> 3283. If Celtic, to <i>cotto-</i> .
4262	19 C2	+10/47	47 44	+10 34	<b>Damasia</b>	LN	LN: Auerberg (GER). Δαμασία Strabo 4, 6, 8. Town of <i>Licatii</i> ; normally considered in conjunction with G. <i>*dam-</i> ‘vache, cerf’ (cf. OIr <i>dam</i> ‘bull’, W. <i>dafad</i> ‘sheep’, IEW: 200); see DLG: 135 s.v. <i>damos</i> , <i>damat-</i> .
3896	17 H3	+06/45	45 29	+06 32	<b>Darantasia</b>	LN	LN: Moûtiers-en-Tarentaise (FRA). <i>Darantasia</i> TP 2,2; <i>Darantasia</i> IA 346,1, 347,9; <i>Darantasia</i> (var. <i>Tarantasia</i> ) NG 10, 1; <i>ciuitatis Darandasiensis</i> Conc. Epaonense (517); <i>Darantasiensis</i> Conc. Matisconense (581-3); <i>Tarantasiensis</i> Conc. Valentinum (583-5); <i>Darantasia</i> Rav. 4, 26; coins: Belfort 1689 <i>darantasia</i> , 1691 <i>darantasia</i> , etc. Possibly Celtic; see <i>deruo-</i> , <i>dar-</i> ; or <i>dari(o)-</i> ‘agitation,

							tumulte, rage’ (DLG: 136) TGF: 1183 gives the name as ‘pre-Celtic’ and suggests that <i>-asia</i> is not a suffix
3897	17 E4	+05/44	44 42	+05 12	<b>Darentiaca</b>	LN	LN: Saillans (FRA). <i>Darentiaca</i> IB 554,6. Possibly Celtic, from <i>deruo-</i> , <i>dar-</i> ; the suffixes seem to be Celtic, <i>-ent-</i> , <i>-āko-</i> .
3142	14 C1	-03/47	47 40	-02 44	<b>Darioritum</b>	LN	LN: Vannes (FRA). Δαριόριτον (var. Δαριόριγον) Ptol. 2,8,6; <i>Dartoritum</i> TP 1,2. The second component is <i>ritu-</i> ; interpretation of the first component is disputable. According to G. R. Isaac, PNPG, this is a Celtic element <i>dario-</i> , <i>daro-</i> ‘oaken’ (see <i>deruo-</i> , <i>dar-</i> ). Delamarre, DLG: 136 illustrates G. <i>*dari(o)-</i> ‘agitation, tumulte, rage’ with this LN which he glosses as ‘Gué Tumultueux’. Bedon <i>Trois Gaules</i> 243 agrees with DLG and also suggests that the first element of the LN could come from a PN. See also <i>Veneti</i> .
3143	14 H4	+02/44	44 39	+02 20	<b>Datioi?</b>	EN	EN (FRA). Δάτιοι Ptol. 2.7.11. Obscure, possibly Celtic. PNPG segments <i>dato- io-</i> , listing <i>dati-</i> (but not <i>dato-</i> ) as a Celtic element, meaning uncertain, as in <i>Con-date</i> . Ho. suggests that the name is corrupt, but does not offer a reconstruction, though he compares the <i>Osci-dates</i> . Could this be, as Gorrochategui ‘Establishment and Analysis’ 170 suggests, a corrupt form for <i>Oscidates</i> ? See Cuntz <i>Ptol.</i> p. 203 for a theory that this is an error for <i>Elusates</i> ; cf Bedon <i>Trois Gaules</i> 241 n. 16.
3898	17 F4	+05/44	44 32	+05 50	<b>Davianum</b>	LN	LN: Veynes. (FRA). <i>Daviano</i> IB 555,4. Celtic; according to X. Delamarre, DLG: 136-7, the LN goes back to G. <i>dauios</i> ‘enflammé’, also attested in PNN <i>Dauius</i> , <i>Dauilus</i> , etc.
3144	14 G4	+01/44	44 42	+01 18	<b>Decaniacum</b>	LN	LN: Dégagnac? (FRA). <i>de Decaniaco</i> Ruricius epist. 2,62,2. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN <i>*Decanius</i> .
3145	14 I2	+03/46	46 52	+03 27	<b>Decetia</b>	LN	LN: Decize (FRA). <i>Decetiam</i> Caes BG 7,33,2; <i>Degetia</i> TP 1,4; <i>Decetia</i> IA 367,1, <i>Deccidae</i> 460,6; <i>Dizezeia</i> Rav. 4,26. Possibly Celtic, to <i>deco- et- iá-</i> . Delamarre, DLG: 137-8 treats the LN s.v. <i>-decantem</i> ‘dîme?’.
6445	25 H3	+02/42	42 25	+02 53	<b>Deciana</b>	LN	LN: La Jonquera (ESP). Δεκιάνα Ptol. 2.6.72; <i>Declana</i> TP, <i>Diciana</i> Rav. IV.42, <i>Deciana</i> (var. <i>Diciana</i> , <i>Detiana</i> ) V.3. Probably Latin. García Alonso, <i>Ptolomeo</i> 420, agrees that the source is probably a personal name <i>Decius</i> , but considers this name indigenous, perhaps Celtic, if related to the Scottish ethnonym <i>Decantae</i> from

								“a root <i>*dec-</i> ‘good, noble’ as in Old Irish <i>dech</i> ‘best, noblest’ (cf. Latin <i>decor</i> , etc)...”, given by PNRB 330. See <i>deco-</i> .
3700	16 C2	+06/43	43 38	+06 55	<b>Deciates</b>	EN	EN (FRA). Δεκιήταις Polyb 33, 8; <i>regio Deciatium</i> Pliny 3,35; <i>oppidum Deciatium</i> (var. <i>-acum</i> ) Mela 2,5,76; Δεκιατίων Ptol. 2,10,5; <i>Diceorum</i> Rav. 5, 3. Possibly Celtic; ‘the best, worthy (tribe)’, to <i>deco-</i> . De Hoz ‘Narbonensis’ 178 describes this as IE, and compares Gaulish PNN with the same etymology (to PIE <i>*dek’-</i> ).	
6447	25 C3	-03/42	42 43	-02 54	<b>Deobriga</b>	LN	LN: Arce Mirapérez? (ESP). Δεόβριγα Ptol. 2.6.52; <i>Deobriga</i> AI 454.7. Celtic, <i>dēuo-</i> & <i>briga</i> . See also <i>Sobobrica</i> 6447a.	
6012	24 H2	-04/42	42 22	-03 49	<b>Deobrigula</b>	LN	LN: Castro de Tardajos (ESP). Δεοβρίγουλα Ptol. 2,6,51; <i>Deobrigula</i> (var. <i>deobricula</i> ) IA 449,6; <i>Teobrigula</i> (var. <i>theobricula</i> ) 454,3. Celtic <i>dēuo-</i> & <i>-briga</i> .	
6448	25 C2	-03/43	43 15	-02 25	<b>Deoua fl.</b>	RN	RN: Deva (ESP). Δηούα (var. Διούα) Ptol. 2.6.8. Celtic, <i>dēuo-</i> .	
6449	25 B3	-04/42	42 13	-03 10	<b>Dercetius M.</b>	MN	MN: SE Burgos (ESP). <i>Dercetio</i> CIL 2, 5909. Obscure; Celtic approach possible. Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 419 cites Schulten, who relates the name to a spring <i>Dercenna</i> and to the Celtic personal name <i>Derco</i> , <i>Dercinius</i> , etc., for which see KGP 179, 192 and GPN: 344. See G. <i>*derco-</i> ‘oeil’ (OIr <i>derc</i> ‘eye’, etc.) in DLG: 139-40 with further references.	
3146	14 H2	+02/46	46 42	+02 33	<b>Derventum</b>	LN	LN: Drevant (FRA). Late attestation: (1217) <i>Derventum</i> Da. Celtic, to <i>deruo-</i> .	
6013	24 G2	-05/42	42 25	-04 20	<b>Dessobriga</b>	LN	LN: Las Cuestas, Osorno (ESP). <i>Dessobriga</i> (var. <i>dessobrica</i> ) IA 449,4; <i>Tonobrica</i> Rav. 4,45. A Celtic LN in <i>-briga</i> . Holder suggests that the first element is from a personal name <i>*Desso-s</i> or from an adjective “ <i>*desso-s</i> aus <i>*dexvo-s</i> recht, südlich, = mons oder collis australis”. Curchin ‘Celticization’ continues Holder’s second idea, suggesting a Celtic root <i>*desso</i> cognate with Greek <i>dexios</i> , Latin <i>dexter</i> , and perhaps denoting a town on the right-hand bank of a river; this would suit its location in Barrington. See <i>dexiuo-</i> . Montenegro Duque ‘La toponimia palentina prerromana’ argues that the name is non-Indo-European because of the double <i>s</i> , but this <i>-ss-</i> comes from <i>*-xs-</i> .	
6014	24 G1	-05/43	43 13	-04 36	<b>Deuales? fl.</b>	RN	RN: Deva (ESP). Δηούα π. ε. (var. Διούα, Δηούα) Ptol. 2,6,8; <i>Deuales</i> Mela 3,15. If Celtic, “Divine river”, to <i>dēuo-</i> ; the passage in Mela is corrupt.	
3517	15 E2	+05/43	43 45	+05 20	<b>Dexivates</b>	EN	EN: (FRA) <i>Dexiuatium</i> (var. <i>dexuia-</i> ) Pliny 3,34. Celtic; may derive from the DN	



								<i>Dexiva / Dexsiva</i> (DG: 37), hence ‘the people of Dexiva’, or may directly go to Celt. adjective <i>dexiuo-</i> ‘to the right, to the south (favourable)’. See <i>dexsiuo-</i> .
-	4106a	18 C2	+05/47	47 18	+05 04	<b>Dibio</b>	LN	LN: Dijon (FRA). See <i>Castrum Divionense</i> 4106.
	3701	16 B1	+06/44	44 06	+06 14	<b>Dinia</b>	LN	LN: Digne-les-Bains (FRA). <i>Dinia</i> Pliny 3,37; Δινία Ptol. 2,10,8; <i>Civitas Diniensium</i> NG; <i>Dinia</i> CIL 12, 6037a. Possibly Celtic, to <i>dino-</i> . Da. and TGF: 10252 prefer a Latin etymology, from a PN <i>Din(n)ius</i> .
	3147	14 F4	+00/44	44 52	+00 44	<b>Diolindum?</b>	LN	LN: Lalinde (FRA). <i>Diolindum</i> TP 1,2. Celtic, <i>dēuo- &amp; lindo-</i> .
	1989	11 G3	+06/49	49 07	+06 13	<b>Divodurum</b>	LN	LN: Metz (FRA). Diuoduri (loc.) Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> I.63.1; Διουόδουρον (var. Διόδουρον) Ptol. 2,9,7; <i>Divodorum</i> (var. <i>diuidoru</i> ) IA 363,4; <i>Divodurum</i> (var. <i>diuodur</i> ) 364,6; <i>Divodorum</i> (var. <i>diuidorum</i> ) 364,7; <i>Divodorum</i> (var. <i>diuodarum</i> ) 365,6; <i>Divodorum</i> (var. <i>uiuodor</i> ) 371, 6; <i>Divodoro</i> 240,3; <i>Divodurensis</i> ND or 12,27; <i>Divo Durimedio Matricorum</i> TP 2,1; <i>Diuodurum</i> CIL 13, 4325 (= AE 1983.705), etc. ‘Divine(ly) walled fort/town’, <i>dēuo- &amp; duro-</i> .
	1990	11 B4	+01/48	48 48	+01 50	<b>Divodurum?</b>	LN	LN: Jouars-Pontchartrain (FRA). <i>Dioduro</i> (var. <i>dioduro</i> ) IA 384, 6. ‘Divine(ly) walled fort/town’, <i>dēuo- &amp; duro-</i> .
	3148	14 G4	+01/44	44 28	+01 26	<b>Divona</b>	LN	LN: Cahors (FRA). Δουήονα Ptol. 2,7,9; <i>Bibona</i> TP 1,2, <i>Divona</i> Notes Tironiennes 87,21 (CAG: 46.17). Celtic, to <i>dēuo-</i> . See also <i>Civitas Cadurcorum</i> .
	3149	14 G2	+01/46	46 50	+01 41	<b>Dolum</b>	LN	LN: Déols (FRA). <i>Dolensim</i> , var. <i>dolensem</i> , <i>Dolorensim</i> GdeT HF 2,18; in <i>Dolense</i> GdeT GC 90; Merov. coins Belfort 1751 <i>Dolusvico</i> , 1752 <i>Dolvs</i> . Possibly Celtic, cf. G. <i>*dola, dula</i> ‘feuille’ (see DLG: 146, s.v.), or Celtic <i>dol, dolen</i> ‘méandre’, linked to Latin <i>dolus</i> ‘ruse’ (NLC 27-35: cf W. <i>dōl</i> ‘meadow, valley’); see ACPN: 271 note 18.
	3150	14 F1	+00/47	47 10	+00 51	<b>Dolus</b>	LN	LN: Dolus-le-Sec? (FRA). <i>Dolus</i> GdeT HF 10.31.5; later attestations (IX <sup>e</sup> c.) <i>vic. Dolensis</i> , (1107) <i>Dolum</i> TGF: 10863. Possibly Celtic; see 3149 <i>*Dolum</i> . TGF 10863 suggests a Latin PN <i>Dolutius</i> (OTL), with <i>Dolus</i> as an abbreviated form.
	6451	25 F1	+00/44	44 06	+00 50	<b>Domeciaco</b>	LN	LN: Donzac? (FRA). <i>Domeciaco</i> (var. <i>Daneciaco</i> ) VitaDes. 9(17). An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of Latin PN <i>Domitius</i> .
	3901	17 D4	+04/44	44 33	+04 47	<b>Dourion</b>	LN	LN: Near Montélimar (FRA). Δουρίονα Strabo 4,1,11. Possibly Celtic, related to a PN (less likely river <i>Durius</i> or <i>Duria</i> ).

3902	17 H4	+06/44	44 56	+06 43	<b>Druantium</b>	LN	LN: Settlement and pass at Montgenèvre (FRA). <i>Druantium</i> Vicar. I, <i>Gruentia</i> II, <i>Druantio</i> IV. Possibly Celtic; possibly from a hydronym; see Celtic element <i>dru-</i> . Also known as * <i>Alpis Cottia</i> and <i>Summas Alpes</i> , q.v.
3519	15 D2	+04/43	43 53	+04 56	<b>Druentia fl.</b>	RN	RN: Durance (FRA). <i>Druentiam flumen</i> Livy Hist. 21,31,9, <i>Druentia</i> 32,6; Δρουεντία Strabo 4,1,11, Δρουεντίας, 4,6,5; <i>Druantiam</i> Pliny 3,33; Δρουέντιος Ptol. 2,10,4; <i>Drūentia</i> Auson. Mos. 479; later attestations (854) <i>Durantia</i> , (1127) <i>Durentia</i> TGF: 1042. Possibly Celtic, see s.v. <i>dru-</i> .
3903	17 D4	+04/44	44 45	+04 57	<b>Druna fl.</b>	RN	RN: Drôme (FRA). <i>te Drūna, te sparsis incerta Druentia</i> Auson. Mos. 479ff.; (928) <i>Droma flumen</i> , (1206) <i>vallis Droma</i> TGF: 1042. Possibly Celtic, see s.v. <i>dru-</i> . Alternatively, a cognate of Ir. <i>dron</i> ‘firm’ LEIA D-201; see ACPN: 189 with further bibl.
2530	12 H4	+14/48	48 11	+14 10	<b>Druna fl. [] fl.</b>	RN	RN: Traun (AUS). <i>Truna</i> (in a charter in 790, TIR M-33). Possibly Celtic, see s. v. <i>dru-</i> . Alternatively, a cognate of Ir. <i>dron</i> ‘firm’ LEIA D-201; see ACPN: 189 with further bibl.
4115	18 C2	+05/47	47 07	+05 37	<b>Dubis fl.</b>	RN	RN: Doubs (FRA). <i>flumen Dubis</i> Caes BG 1,38,4; Δοῦβιν Strabo 4,1,11; Δοῦβις (var. βοῦδις, δούβις), Δοῦβιος Ptol. 2,10,3; Δοῦβις Iulian. Epist. 38,68; <i>fluvium Duba</i> Rav. 4,27; later attestation: (875) <i>Dou</i> . TGF: 2114. Celtic, to <i>dubi-</i> ‘black’.
6016	24 C3	-09/41	41 34	-08 26	<b>Dumium</b>	LN	LN: Dume (Braga) (POR). Only known from late sources; Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 302 notes “no atestiguado antes de la época sueva, FHA IX 182, Conc. 137, Conc. 223, Conc. 288”. DLG (s.v.) derives this name from <i>dumio-</i> ‘colline, monticule, tertre’, so that the town would be ‘La Colline, Le Tertre’.
1998	11 H3	+07/49	49 56	+07 25	<b>Dumnissus</b>	LN	LN: Kirchberg-Denzen (GER). <i>Dumno</i> TP 2,2; <i>Dumnissum</i> ( <i>Dumnisum</i> , <i>Dumnixum</i> , <i>Dumnissam</i> , acc.) Ausonius Mos. 7; ‘?The deep place’, with <i>dumno-</i> ‘deep, world’.
3151	14 E3	-01/45	45 12	-00 45	<b>Dumnotonus</b>	LN	LN ? (FRA). <i>Dumnotoni</i> (var. <i>Dumnotini</i> , <i>Dumnitoni</i> ) Auson. Epist. 13,54, <i>Dumnotoni</i> 15,15, <i>Dumnotoni</i> 31. If Celtic, to <i>dubno-</i> .
1999	11 B4	+01/48	48 04	+01 22	<b>Dunense Castrum</b>	LN	LN: Châteaudun (FRA). <i>Castrum-Dunense</i> , cum castellis <i>Duno</i> Greg. Tur. <i>HF</i> 7,7,29 and 10,20; <i>Castellum-Dunum</i> Anno 587; <i>Dunis</i> , <i>Duno</i> Merovingian <i>triens</i> . Latin, based on Celtic <i>dūno-</i> .
3153	14 C1	-03/47	47 37	-02 09	<b>Duretie? “?”</b>	LN	LN: Rieux, Cm. Fégréac (FRA). <i>Duretie</i> TP 1,2. If Celtic, to <i>duro-</i> . RE’s headword

							is a reconstruction <i>Duretia</i> , which is perhaps a more likely form than <i>Duretie</i> .
2001	11 G1	+06/51	51 06	+06 47	<b>Durnomagus</b>	LN	LN: Dormagen (GER). <i>Durnomago</i> (var. <i>dornomago</i> , <i>burnomago</i> ) IA 254,5; <i>Serima</i> Rav. 4,24: ‘?The fist-shaped plain/field’, <i>duro-</i> & <i>magos</i> ; or ‘Plain/field of * <i>Durnus</i> (de Jubainville, Holder). Cf. Gaulish PN <i>Durnacus</i> (CIL 13, 3253 and 726).
2002	11 B4	+01/48	48 45	+01 23	<b>Durocasses</b>	LN	LN: Dreux (FRA). <i>Durocasis</i> (var. <i>durocacasis</i> ) IA 384,5; 385,1; 385,5; <i>Durocassio</i> TP 1,3; <i>Dorocas</i> Merovingian coins. According to Isaac (AILR), <i>duro-</i> & <i>cassi-</i> , therefore ‘?The handsome people of the walled fort/town’ or ‘?People of fine fortifications’.
2003	11 E4	+04/48	48 58	+04 24	<b>Durocatalaunum</b>	LN	LN: Châlons-sur-Marne (FRA). <i>Durocatelaunos</i> (var. <i>durogatelahunus</i> ) IA 361,5; <i>Ciuitas Catalaunorum</i> (var. <i>cataleunorum</i> , <i>catalaunorum</i> , <i>cadellaunorum</i> , <i>gadellaunorum</i> , <i>catellaunorum</i> , <i>catuellaunorum</i> , <i>catuellorum</i> ) NG 6,4; <i>Catalauni</i> Ammianus XV.11, <i>Cautelaunos</i> (acc.) XXVII.2; <i>Catalaunis</i> Rav. 4,26; <i>Catalavnis</i> Merovingian coins, etc. ‘(The place of) the <i>Catu-(vel)launi</i> of the fort, (of) the good warriors of the fort’; see <i>duro-</i> , <i>catu-</i> , <i>elo-</i> .
2004	11 E3	+04/49	49 16	+04 04	<b>Durocortorum</b>	LN	LN: Reims (FRA). <i>Durocortorum</i> (var. <i>durocorterum</i> ) Caesar BG 6, 44; Δουρικορτόρα; Strabo IV.3.5; Δουροκόπτορον (var. Δουροκόπτονον, Δουροκότορον, Δουροκόπτιον) Ptol. 2,9,6, Δουροκόπτορον VIII.5.6; <i>Durocortoro</i> (var. <i>durocontoro</i> , <i>durocortero</i> ) IA 356,3; 362,1; (var. <i>darotorto*o</i> , <i>durocottoro</i> , <i>durocortoro</i> , <i>diuidoru</i> ) 363,4; (var. <i>durotorcorodorum</i> ) 364,7; (var. <i>durotorcoro</i> ) 365,7; (var. <i>durodurocortoro</i> ) 379,1; 381,6; <i>Durocortoro Remorum</i> 380, 7-8; <i>Durocortoro</i> TP 1,5; <i>Durocorter</i> CIL 13, 9158; <i>Duro(cortoro)</i> AE 1982.709, etc. ‘(Settlement) characterised by wicker gates’ or ‘wicker-gated settlement’, <i>duro-</i> & <i>corto-</i> .
2005	11 C2	+02/50	50 06	+02 06	<b>Duroicoregum</b> <b>Duro(i)coregum</b>	LN	LN: Domqueur (FRA). <i>Duroicoregum</i> TP 1,3,etc. Possibly Celtic. According to Delamarre, DLG: 156, * <i>Duroco-regum</i> > <i>Duroico Regum</i> > <i>Domqueur</i> : “le sens de ‘portique’ est dicté par l’étymologie : c’est un dérivé de <i>duro-</i> ‘porte’ ”. NLP 33 and TW 278 think of the first part as <i>durum-</i> . Gysseling analyses the LN as <i>duro-</i> + <i>Icorigium</i> (cf. 2099 <i>Icorigium</i> ; see also TGF 2413). According to Dauzat, “comp. du

								gaul. <i>durum</i> , forteresse, et peut-être <i>corio</i> , armée” (Da 250). The underlying form may be <i>*Durovicoregum</i> , cf. <i>Ebroicorum</i> from <i>Ebrovicorum</i> ; see <i>Eburovices</i> .
2006	11 D2	+03/50	50 04	+03 51	<b>Duronum</b>	LN	LN : Etroeungt (FRA). <i>Duronum</i> IA 381,1; <i>Duronum</i> TP 1,4, etc. ‘?Walled fort, town’, <i>duro-</i> + <i>ono-</i> .	
3904	17 G3	+06/45	45 02	+06 17	<b>Durotincum</b>	LN	LN: Near La Grave (FRA). <i>Durotinco</i> TP 2,2; <i>Durotingo</i> Rav. 4,27. Cf. 3904a <i>Durotingum</i> . Celtic. See <i>Durotincum</i> on map 14, no. 3154.	
3154	14 G3	+01/45	45 47	+01 34	<b>Durotincum?</b>	LN	LN: Villejoubert, Cm. St-Denis-les-Murs (FRA). <i>Dvrotincio</i> RIG II/2 no. L-75. Celtic, <i>duro-</i> & <i>tinco-</i> .	
- 3904a	17 G3	+06/45	45 02	+06 17	<b>Durotingum</b>	LN	LN: Near La Grave (FRA). See 3904 <i>Durotincum</i> .	
6452	25 E3	-01/42	42 20	-00 43	<b>Ebelinum</b>	LN	LN: Llinas de Marcuello (ESP). <i>Ebelino</i> IA 452,8; <i>Ebelino</i> Rav. 4,43. Obscure; a Celtic approach which is unlikely may refer to <i>eblo-</i> , perhaps ‘crowded place’ (PNPG, Possibly Celtic elements), with an epenthetic vowel in the late attestations.	
- 3293b	14 I1	+03/47	47 01	+03 10	<b>Ebirno</b> “	LN	LN: Nevers (FRA). <i>Ebirno</i> TP 1,4. A corrupt form of 3293a <i>Nevirnum</i> q.v.	
6919	26 C3	-08/38	38 35	-07 55	<b>Ebora</b>	LN	LN: Évora (POR). <i>Ebora</i> 4.117; Ἐβουρα (var. ἐβούρα) Ptol. 2,56; in <i>Magno Ebora</i> Mela 3,1,7; <i>Ebora</i> IA 418,1; <i>Ebora</i> Rav. 4,43. If Celtic, to <i>ebur-</i> , but the vocalism in <i>-o-</i> in such an early attestation is problematic. See also 6919a <i>Municipium Ebora Liberalitas Iulia</i> .	
- 6762a	26 D5	-07/36	36 48	-06 16	<b>Ebora</b>	LN	LN: Cortijo de Evora (Sanlúcar de Barrameda) (ESP). Πόλις Ἐβοῦρα Strabo 3,1,9; Ἐβουρα (var. ἐβόρα) Ptol. 2,4,9; <i>Ebora</i> Mela 3,1,4; Αἴβουρα St. Byz. Consistent with Celt <i>eburo-</i> ; but may be coincidental particularly in view of its attestation as <i>Aipora</i> (6762). See ACPN: 78, fn. 37 with further references.	
3155	14 I2	+03/46	46 07	+03 06	<b><u>Eborolacum</u></b>	LN	LN: Ebreuil? (FRA). <i>Eborolacensis praedii</i> Sid App epist. 3,5,2; later attestations: (1115) <i>monasterii Ebroilensis</i> , (1373) <i>Ebrolium</i> TGF: 2816. Celtic, at face value <i>eburo-</i> & <i>-lacu-</i> , but the town in <i>Atlas</i> is not located on a lake. Ho. suggests <i>*Eburul-aco-s</i> , from <i>*Eburulus</i> , a diminutive of <i>Eburos</i> ; this seems the best way to explain the <i>-l-</i> if <i>*Eborolacum</i> is correct. If so, an <i>-āko-</i> derivative, later substituted by <i>-ialo-</i> ?	
- 3905a	17 G4	+06/44	44 34	+06 29	<b>Ebrudunum</b>	LN	LN: Embrun (FRA). A contracted version of <i>Eburodunum</i> 3905, q.v.	
7322	27B4	-04/37	37 28	-03 55	<b>Ebura</b>	LN	LN: Alcalá la Real (ESP). <i>Ebora quae Cerealis</i> Pliny 3,10. At face value Celtic, to	

							<i>eburo-</i> ; but the form is really <i>Ebora</i> ; see ACPN: 78.	
4116	18 A1	+03/48	48 02	+03 43	<b>Eburobriga</b>	LN	LN Avrolles (FRA). <i>Eburobriga</i> TP 1, 4/5; <i>Eburobrica</i> IA 361,2; medieval attestations: (9 c.) <i>Evrola</i> (Dauzat 1963). Celtic, <i>eburo-</i> & <i>briga</i> .	
6920	26 A2	-10/39	39 20	-09 10	<b>Eburobrittium</b>	LN	LN: Óbidos? (POR). <i>Eburobrittium</i> Plin 4,113. Celtic, <i>eburo-</i> & <i>britt-</i> .	
4117	18 D3	+06/46	46 55	+06 50	<b>Eburodunensis L.</b>	HN	HN: Lac de Neuchâtel (SWI). See Römer Schweiz, 625; derivative of <i>Eburodunum</i> 4118.	
3905	17 G4	+06/44	44 34	+06 29	<b>Eburodunum</b>	LN	LN: Embrun (FRA). Ἐβρόδουνον Strabo 4,1,3; Ἐβουρόδουνον (var. Ἐβορόδουνον) Ptol. 3,1,35; <i>Eburuno</i> TP 2,2; <i>Eburoduno</i> AI 342,1; <i>Ebreduno</i> (var. <i>Ebriduno</i> ) 357,5; <i>Ebreduno</i> (var. <i>hebriduno</i> ) IB 555,8; <i>civitas Ebrodunensium</i> (var. <i>Ebru-</i> , <i>Ebre-</i> ) NG 17,2; <i>Ebredonense</i> (var. <i>Ebrid-</i> , <i>Ebrud-</i> ) GdeT HF 4,42; <i>Ebredunensis urbis</i> HF 5,20; <i>Eburodunum</i> Vicar. I, II, <i>Eburoduno</i> III, <i>Eboroduno</i> IV; <i>Ebruduno</i> Rav. 4, 27; <i>Ebroduniens(is)</i> CIL 5, 7259; <i>civitatis Ebroduniens</i> CIL 5, 7259. Celtic, <i>eburo-</i> & <i>dūno-</i> . See also 3905a <i>Ebrudunum</i> .	
4118	18 D3	+06/46	46 47	+06 37	<b>Eburodunum</b>	LN	LN: Yverdun-les-Bains (SWI). Ἐβόδουρον (var. Ἐβούδουρον) Ptol. 2,12,3; <i>Ebruduni</i> ND oc XLII 15; <i>Eburoduno</i> TP 2,1; <i>castrum Ebrodunense</i> (var. <i>ebru-</i> , <i>ebre-</i> ) NG IX 7; <i>Eburodun</i> CIL 13, 5063, 5064; Celtic, <i>eburo-</i> & <i>dūno-</i> ; <i>duro</i> in Ptol. due to confusion of LNN elements.	
-	6482a	25 H2	+02/43	43 15	+02 06	<b>Eburomagus</b>	LN	LN: Bram (FRA). <i>Eburomagi</i> TP 1,2; <i>Ebromagum</i> Paul. Nol. epist 11.14. See also <i>Hebromagus</i> 6482. Celtic, <i>eburo-</i> & <i>magos</i> .
2007	11 G2	+06/50	50 35	+06 30	<b>Eburones</b>	EN	EN: (GER). <i>Eburones</i> Caesar BG 2,4, passim; Ἐβούρωνες (var. Ἰεβούρωνες) Strabo 4,3,5; Ἐβουρωνοί Cassius Dio XL.5; <i>Eburones</i> Orosius 6, 7, passim; <i>Ebvrio</i> CIL 13, 617, <i>Ebvro</i> (sg.) 6216; etc. ‘(The people of the sacred) yew’, to <i>eburo-</i> .	
2008	11 A4	+00/48	48 53	+00 50	<b>Ebuovices</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Aulerci Ebuovices</i> (var. <i>aulurci</i> ) Caesar BG 3,17, <i>Aulerci Ebuovicibus</i> 7,75; <i>Aulerci qui cognominantur Ebuovices</i> (var. <i>eburones</i> ) Pliny 4,107; Ἀυλίρκειοι οἱ Ἐβουρικοὶ (var. Ἐβουρικοὶ) Ptol. 2,8,9; <i>Ciuitas Ebroicorum</i> (var. <i>ebroticorum</i> ) NG 2,5; <i>Ebroicę</i> NT LXXXVII.62; <i>Ebvrov(ix)</i> , <i>Ebvrovix</i> RIG IV.20, 147; <i>Avlirco/Ebvrovices</i> RIG 4, 64-65; <i>Ebvrovico/Avlirco</i> RIG 4, 151; <i>Avlercorvm [Ebv]r</i> CIL 13, 1390, etc. ‘Fighters of the yew-tree’, <i>eburo-</i>	

							<b>&amp; uic-</b>
-	2177a	11 B3	+01/49	49 02	+01 11	<b>Eburovicum</b>	LN LN: Evreux (FRA). See 2177 <i>Mediolanum Aulercorum</i> and 2008 <i>Eburovices</i> .
	16137	63 D1	+33/39	39 58	+33 48	<b>Eccobriga</b>	LN LN: area of Sorsovus (TUR). <i>Ecobriga</i> (var. <i>etobriga</i> ) Rav. 2,17; <i>Eccobriga</i> TP 8,5. Identical with 16137a <i>Ecobrogis</i> ; the original form is disputable. According to Isaac, “the first elements might be *ek <sup>w</sup> o- ‘horse’, or the *ek <sup>w</sup> o- found in numerous names * <i>Equoranda</i> in Gaul. If the latter note the possibility of connection with * <i>eku-</i> < PIE * <i>pek’u-</i> ‘cattle’ (cf. Isaac, <i>Études Celtiques</i> 29)”. The second component is <i>brig-</i> (or <i>brog-</i> ).
	3702	16 D1	+07/44	44 05	+07 05	<b>Ecdinii</b>	EN EN (FRA). <i>Ecdini</i> Pliny 3,137 (= CIL 5, 7817); <i>Ecdiniorum</i> CIL 5, 7231. Obscure. Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 359 suggests that ‘Les <i>Ecdinii</i> seraient les habitants de la vallée de la <i>Tinée</i> , affluent du Var’, and that CIL 12, 1457 <i>Tinius</i> might be related. If Celtic, cf. <i>dino-</i> ; and AILR’s Celtic element <i>eco-</i> , perhaps ‘cattle’; <i>ec-</i> is known as a preposition: see GPN 202 for the prefix <i>ex-</i> , <i>exs-</i> , <i>es-</i> , <i>ec-</i> ‘out of, without’. The latter possibility is advocated by X. Delamarre, <i>Gallo-Brittonica</i> (suite), <i>ZCP</i> , forthcoming, ‘Sans-Abri’.
-	16137a	63 D1	+33/39	39 58	+33 48	<b>Ecobrogis</b>	LN LN: area of Sorsovus (TUR). <i>Ecobrogis</i> (var. <i>Eubrogis</i> IA 203,6). Identical with 16137 <i>Eccobriga</i> ; see s.v.
	3906	17 G5	+06/44	44 23	+06 15	<b>Edenates</b>	EN EN: (FRA). <i>Edenates</i> (var. <i>Edemn-</i> ) Pliny 3,137; <i>Adanatium</i> CIL 5, 7231. Possibly Celtic. Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 357-8 compares <i>Adenatius</i> or <i>Adenatis</i> (CIL 11, 1998) and LN <i>Adana</i> (map 4 B3). He postulates the original *( <i>S</i> ) <i>edenates</i> with the loss of <i>s-</i> , which is retained in LN <i>Sedena</i> (4038); for the variation cf. <i>Sedetani</i> / <i>Edetani</i> below. If the original form was indeed * <i>Sed-</i> , the name could be Celtic, from <i>sedo-</i> ‘seat, location’; but in view of the form recorded in inscriptions, it is unlikely. If <i>Eden-</i> is the original form, the name does not appear Celtic.
-	6659a	25 E4	-01/41	41 33	-00 45	<b>Edetani</b>	EN EN: inland S R. Ebro and N R. Júcar (ESP). Ἐδητανούς Strabo 3.4.1; Ἡδητανὸν (var. Ἡδητανοὶ, Οἰδητάνοι, etc.) Ptol. 2.6.62. According to Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 33-4 the <i>Sedetani</i> (q.v.) and <i>Edetani</i> may be the same people, if so to <i>sed-</i> . At face value, cf. <i>Edenates</i> 3906 and <i>Edeba</i> 7325; the name does not seem Celtic. See also <i>Edetania</i> 6659b.
-	6659b	25 E4	-01/41	41 33	-00 45	<b>Edetania</b>	EN EN: inland S R. Ebro and N R. Júcar (ESP). <i>regio Editania</i> (var. <i>edet-</i> ) Pliny 3.20,

								<i>regionis Edetaniae</i> (var. <i>sede-</i> , <i>sedie-</i> , <i>rede-</i> ) 3.24; Σηδητανίαν App. Hisp. 13.77. The region of the 6659a <i>Editani</i> q.v.
6018	24 D1	-08/43	43 25	-07 20	<b>Egivarri Namarini</b>	EN		EN: W Asturias (ESP). <i>Egiuarri cognomine Namarini</i> , var. <i>Ecivarri</i> Pliny 4,111. Obscure. Mayhoff considers <i>Egi</i> and <i>Varri</i> to be two separate names; Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 138 suggests emending to <i>Egobarri</i> , cf <i>-barrus</i> in Celtic personal names <i>Cunobarrus</i> , <i>Vendubarr-</i> , etc. cf also Basque <i>barri</i> . For Celtic <i>bar(i)o-</i> ‘colère, fureur, passion’ and <i>barros</i> ‘tête’ see DLG, who mentions <i>Cuno-barrus</i> under both headings. <i>Atlas</i> lists several ENN in <i>-varii</i> , e.g. <i>Ampsivarii</i> (map 10D3) and <i>*Raetovarii</i> (map 12D4). Tovar posits a relationship to the river <i>Eo</i> which could have been <i>*Ego</i> . DLG has an element <i>egi(no)-</i> , <i>-dio-</i> ‘hérisson?’, as in PNN <i>Egeius</i> , <i>Egenus</i> , etc, which may be relevant here. Cf <i>Egir(i)cus fl.</i> (6455) and <i>Egitania</i> (map 26C2). <i>Namarini</i> Tovar considers Indo-European. Schulten RE XVI 1610 corrects to <i>Nauarini</i> , related to the river <i>Navia</i> 6101.
2539	12 C3	+09/49	49 30	+09 16	<b>Elantia fl.</b>	RN		RN: Elsenz (GER). Cf. <i>Brit(tonum) Elant(iensium)</i> CIL 13, 6490; <i>Brittones Elantienses</i> AE 1986, 523. ‘?The hind or moving river’, see DLG: 161 and 434 s.v. <i>elantia</i> ‘biche’, and cf. OIr <i>elit</i> ‘id.’. For proper identification (the Elz) and a complete linguistic analysis see ACPN: 184.
-	3156a	14 I2	+03/46	46 43	+03 13	<b>Elaris fl.</b>	RN	RN: Allier (FRA). <i>Elaris</i> SidApp. Carm 5 209. See 3156 <i>Elaver fl.</i>
	3156	14 I2	+03/46	46 43	+03 13	<b>Elaver fl.</b>	RN	RN: Allier (FRA). <i>flumen Elaver</i> Caes. BG 7,34,2; <i>Flavaris quem Elacrem vocitant</i> (lege <i>Elavaris</i> ) GdeT HF 5,33; <i>Alere</i> Rav. 4,40. Obscure. TGF 1044 has a pre-Celtic hydronymic root <i>*el</i> ‘mettre en mouvement, être en mouvement’, which may be considered Celtic; Hubschmid ‘Ortsnamenkunde Belgiens’ 357 gives this <i>*el-</i> as Indo-Germanic. DaRiv. suggests this <i>*el-</i> is a variant of <i>Al-</i> , frequent in RNN. A Celtic reflex of IE <i>*pel<sub>h</sub>2-</i> ‘sich nähern’ (LIV: 470f) or to IE colour name <i>*el-</i> (IEW 302-4; but see comments by Isaac, PNPG, Celtic Elements, s.v.) may be relevant here; but the morphology of the RN is not transparent. Cf. <i>Elaris</i> 3156a.
6019	24 D4	-08/40	40 22	-07 55	<b>Elbocoris</b>	LN		LN: Bobadela (Oliveira do Hospital)? (POR). <i>Et bocori</i> Pliny 4,118; Ἐλβοκορίς Ptol. 2,5,6. Its Celticity is unlikely, unless <i>-b-</i> is for <i>-u-</i> ; then cf. a Celtic PN element <i>eluo-</i> . For an element <i>-cor(r)i-</i> , <i>-gor(r)i-</i> , possibly related to Basque <i>gorri</i> ‘red,

								hairless' see Gorrochategui, EOIA 360. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 106-7 suggests a relationship to names in <i>Elv-</i> or <i>Elu-</i> , some of which, e.g. <i>Elvorix</i> , seem Celtic, since there are apparently few other <i>Elb-</i> names ( <i>Atlas</i> lists <i>Elbessos</i> , map 65C4, and <i>Elbo Ins.</i> , map 74 unlocated). See GPN 347-9 and IEW 302 for possibilities.
-	6458a	25 G2	+01/43	43 22	+01 47	<b>Elesiodulis</b>	LN	LN: Montferrand (FRA). See <i>Elusio</i> 6458.
	6021	24 E4	-07/40	40 54	-06 27	<b>Eletus fl.</b>	RN	RN: Yeltes (ESP). <i>Aquis El / ete(n)sibus</i> AE 1924, 9. Obscure. García Alonso 'Lenguas prerromanas en el territorio de los Vetones' 395 suggests that this is from * <i>el-</i> (IEW 302-4) 'rojo, rubio, del color de los ciervos', used in various animal and tree names: a river name * <i>El-et-is</i> would be possibly Celtic, perhaps 'the river with many alder/poplar/elm trees'; see, however, G. R. Isaac, PNPg, s.v.; and cf. <i>Elaver fl.</i> 3156.
	3157	14 F4	+00/44	44 45	+00 30	<b>Eleuteti?</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Eleutetis</i> Caes BG 7.75.2. Obscure, possibly Celtic. AILR has a Celtic element <i>eluo-</i> , meaning uncertain, DLG <i>elu(o)-</i> 'nombreux'. See <i>Elaver fl.</i> above for possibly Celtic * <i>el-</i> ; note <i>-eu-</i> in the form.
	7329	27 D4	-02/37	37 41	-01 42	<b>Eliocroca?</b>	LN	LN: Lorca (ESP). <i>Eliocroca</i> IA 401,6. If Celtic, <i>elio-</i> 'abundance' & <i>crouco-</i> (ACPN: 231). Celticity in this area may be disputed (cf. ACPN: 266, map).
-	2080a	11 H4	+07/48	48 22	+07 36	<b>Ellelum</b>	LN	LN: Benfeld-Ehl (FRA). See 2080 <i>Helvetum</i> .
	6457	25 F2	+00/43	43 53	+00 06	<b>Elusa</b>	LN	LN: Eauze (FRA). <i>Elusa</i> TP; <i>civitate Elosasium</i> conc. Arelatense (314); <i>Civitas Elusa</i> IB550.6; <i>ciuitas Elosatium</i> (var. <i>elu-</i> , <i>aelu-</i> ) NG XIV.13; <i>Muros Elusae</i> Claudianus 'In Rufinum' 1.137; <i>Helusani</i> Sid. App. epist. 7.6.7; <i>Elusa</i> Amm. Marc. XV.11.14; <i>Helosinsis episcopus</i> GdeT HF 8.22; [... <i>co</i> ]loniae <i>Elusati[um]</i> CIL 13, 546, <i>ordo elvsat</i> 548, <i>civi Elusensi</i> 3361. Holder suggests that the name could be Iberian, but without giving any evidence. TGF 1156 says it is "Précelt * <i>elusa</i> , de sens inc., qu'on peut supposer aquitain." [is there a similar Basque word?] Bedon <i>les villes des trois Gaules</i> 241 reports that the name is thought to come from that of a local god; that would make the name probably indigenous. For a Celtic possibility, see DLG's <i>elu(o)-</i> 'nombreux?' used in personal names, also discussed in PNPg Celtic elements. See <i>Elusates</i> .
-	6457a	25 F2	+00/43	43 53	+00 06	<b>Elusates</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Elusates</i> Caes. BG 3,27,1; <i>Elusates</i> Pliny 4,108. The people of 6457



							<i>Elusa</i> q.v; see also 6457b <i>Tasta</i> .
6458	25 G2	+01/43	43 22	+01 47	<b>Elusio</b>	LN	LN: Montferrand (FRA). <i>Elesioduni</i> (var. see below) Cicero Pro M. Fonteio IX; <i>Mansio Elusione</i> IB 551, 5. Labrousse, <i>Toulouse antique</i> , 339-40 compares this name with the form in Cicero: “Le nom, dont la forme correcte est peut-être <i>Eluso</i> , correspond à celui d’ <i>Elesiodunum</i> [sic] mentionné dans le <i>Pro Fonteio</i> de Ciceron (IX, 19).” However, the oldest Cicero manuscripts actually give <i>Elesioduluscantum</i> / <i>-tantum</i> . <i>Atlas</i> ’ and Labrousse’s forms are reconstructions. With only Cicero and IB to go on, it seems impossible to arrive at a definitive form of this name. Holder considers it to be from personal name <i>Elusius</i> . Alternatively, perhaps it is related to <i>Elusa</i> above no. 6457. See also <i>Elesiodulis</i> 6458a.
4119	18 D2	+06/47	47 26	+06 46	<b>Epamanduodurum</b>	LN	LN Mandeure (FRA). <i>Epomanduo</i> TP 2,2; <i>Epamanduoduro</i> IA 386,4; <i>Epamantuduro</i> 349,2; <i>Mandroda</i> Rav. 4,26; medieval attestations: <i>Mandorum</i> , <i>Mandodro</i> , <i>Manduoro</i> , <i>Mandura</i> , <i>Mandorra</i> (ADAS 91). Possibly Celtic. AILR segments <i>epamandu(o)-</i> / <i>epamantu &amp; duro-</i> , commenting: “other sources, and other readings in AI, support <i>-mandu-</i> (widely attested, GPN 222-3, Holder II 409-10), but <i>-mantu-</i> is linguistically defensible.” Note that no other sources have <i>mantu-</i> ; this is likely therefore to be a scribal error. Da. and TGF 2770 support <i>mandu-</i> ‘horse’; see s.v. <i>mandu-</i> . Frézouls 1988 460 discusses the difficulty of the name: “malgré ces variations, deux des composantes du nom de la ville sont évidentes. <i>Epo-</i> désigne le cheval et <i>-durum</i> , comme dans beaucoup d’autres noms de villes gauloises, l’habitat urbain. Mais l’élément médian, qu’on le rapproche ou non des <i>Mandubii</i> (qv. below no. 4140), fait difficulté. Jeandot le relie, on l’a vu, à une racine associée à l’exploitation du sel. L’idée qu’ <i>Epomanduodurum</i> est le lieu ou la ville où se rassemblent ou qu’habitent les cavaliers mandubiens est la plus simple et serait la plus satisfaisante si elle ne soulevait pas les difficultés évoquées plus haut.” See also <i>epo-</i> .
3908	17 D3	+04/45	45 14	+04 50	<b>Epaone</b>	LN	LN: St-Romain-d’Albon (FRA). Late attestations: Conc. Epaonense (517) <i>Eponensi</i> , <i>Epaunensem</i> , <i>Epaone</i> , <i>Epaoninsis</i> , MGH epist. III p. 49.19 <i>de sinodo Epauninse</i> , var. <i>epaonensi</i> , Conc. Aurelianense (541), <i>statuta Epaunensium</i> , Conc. Turonense

							(567) <i>Epaunenses</i> . Possibly Celtic; if the original form is <i>*Epaone</i> , cf. <i>epo-</i> as in PNN <i>Epacus</i> (< <i>*epo-acus</i> ), <i>Epasius</i> , etc. Alternatively, original <i>epo- &amp; agon</i> > <i>*Epagon</i> with intervocalic <i>-g-</i> lost, would give the attested name.	
4623	20 D6	+16/43	43 30	+16 33	<b>Epetium</b>	LN	LN : Stobreč (CRO). Ἐπέτιον Polyb. 32,18,2; Ἐπέτιον (var. ἐπίτιον Ptol. 2,16,3); <i>Epitio</i> Rav. 4,16; <i>Epetio</i> TP 5,3. Although LNN in <i>epo-</i> are known, and A. Holder (I: 1444) lists this attestation as Celtic, it is probably indigenous: see the list of “Illyrian” PNN in <i>epi-</i> in A. Mayer, <i>Die Sprache der alten Illyrier</i> (Wien 1957), 138-40.	
2015	11 F3	+05/49	49 39	+05 13	<b>Epoissum</b>	LN	LN: Carignan (FRA). <i>Epoisso vicus</i> IA 366,1; <i>Epuso</i> ND oc 42,38; <i>Ad Eposium castrum</i> GdeT HF 8,15; <i>Eposio</i> , <i>Epocio</i> Merovingian coins; etc. According to Isaac (AILR), ‘Horse-burnt’ or ‘famed (= known) for horses’, with <i>epo-</i> ‘horse’. He explains the possible second components as follows: (1) <i>-isso-</i> < <i>*id-to-</i> < <i>*h<sub>2</sub>id<sup>h</sup>-tó-</i> < <i>*h<sub>2</sub>eid<sup>h</sup>-</i> ‘burn, ignite’ IEW 11-12, therefore lit. ‘horse-burnt’ which “might indicate a cult of horse sacrifice”; (2) <i>*uisso-</i> ‘known, obvious’ from <i>*wid-tó-</i> < <i>*weid-</i> ‘catch sight of’ IEW 1125f; thus ‘famed (= known) for horses’.	
9346	39 B3	+07/45	45 28	+07 53	<b>Eporedia</b>	LN	LN: Ivrea (IT). <i>Eporedia</i> (Brut. Ad Cic. Epist. 11,204; 23,2; Vell. 1,15,5; (var. <i>opo-</i> ) Pliny 3,123 ; 21,43; Tac., Hist. 1,70; TP 2,5; IA 345,1; 347,4; 351,1; Ἐπορεδία (var. -ραιδ-) Strabo 4,6,7; Ἐλορεδία (var. ἐλωρεδία, ἐλόρεδία) Ptol. 3,1,30; <i>EpORIZIO</i> ND oc 42,62; <i>Iporiensis</i> Eusebii Mediol. Epist. a 451; <i>Eporedienensis</i> (Concil. Constantinopol. III a. 680, Gk. Ἰππορικης); <i>E[p]or[e]d(ia)</i> CIL 3, 2711; <i>Eporediensis</i> CIL 3, 6413; <i>Eporediae</i> CIL 5, 6771, etc. DBSt: ‘The town of the horse-carts’; <i>*epo-rēd(o)-yā</i> .	
-	6778a	26 A3	-10/38	38 35	-09 03	<b>Equabona</b>	LN	LN: possibly Barreiro (POR). See 6778 <i>A(qua)bona</i> .
6023	24 F2	-06/42	42 51	-05 10	<b>Equosera</b>	LN	LN: Sabero? (ESP). <i>Equosera</i> Rav. 4,44. It is tempting to consider here the famous Celtic <i>equo-</i> ‘horse’; see <i>epo-</i> . The absence of other (earlier attestation) and a high possibility of a corrupt reading in Rav. makes further analysis speculative. Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 356 gives this form as ‘seguramente corrompida’, but he does not suggest what the form should be. For the first element <i>Equo-</i> , cf <i>Aquabona / Equobona</i> . The name seems Indo-European, but may not be Celtic, though Villar, ‘Celtic Language’	

							251, uses this name as an example of Indo-European <i>k<sup>w</sup></i> in the Celtic of Spain
4626	20 F3	+18/46	46 55	+18 22	<b>Eravisci</b>	EN	EN: area of Aquincum (HUN). <i>Aravisci</i> (var. <i>Erauisque</i> , <i>Erauisci</i> ) Pliny 3,48; <i>Aracisci</i> Tacitus Germ. 28,3; <i>c(ivitatis) Er(aviscorum)</i> CIL 3, 10408; <i>civit(at)is Eravisc(orum)</i> CIL 3, 10418. <i>Aravisci</i> / <i>Eravisci</i> may be a Celtic EN with a disputable etymology (but cf. Isaac, PNPG, <i>*aro-auo-isco</i> , see <i>aro-</i> & <i>au(o)-</i> ), or a celticised Pannonian EN.
6461	25 C5	-03/40	40 25	-02 40	<b>Ercavica</b>	LN	LN: Castro de Santaver (Cañaveruelas) (ESP). <i>Ergavica</i> Livy 40.50.1; <i>Ergauicenses</i> Pliny 3.24; Ἐργαούικα (var. Ἐρταούικα, Ἐργαόγικα) Ptol. 2.6.57; <i>Ercavica</i> RPC 140-2 459, 461, 462, etc. Isaac (PNPG) segments <i>ergá-</i> <i>uicá-</i> or <i>ercá-</i> <i>uicá-</i> , with <i>erga-</i> and <i>erca-</i> as possibly Celtic elements. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 336-7 suggests the name is related to the personal name <i>Erguena</i> , which according to Palomar Lapesa <i>La onomastica personal</i> 73 is from the Indo-European root <i>*erku-</i> ‘to shine, glorify’ (but PNPG, s.v. <i>erca-</i> , rejects this base as “quite inappropriate as a basis for the Hispanic LN in question”). The second element he derives from Indo-European <i>*ueik-/uik/uoik-o</i> ‘casa, morada’, and for him the name could be Celtic. Luján at the Innsbruck colloquium suggested a relationship to the word <i>*perk<sup>w</sup>o-</i> ‘encina’, and for the second element <i>*weik</i> ‘luchar’ (see GPN: 282) or the Indo-European root <i>*weik-/woik-/wik-</i> ‘casa, asentamiento’ which, he says, seems not to be attested in the Celtic languages. Gorrochategui ‘Establishment and analysis’, 162 compares PN <i>Ercauiccas</i> (CIIC 196, pace GPN 284) and suggests that <i>-vica</i> here is related the Gaulish ethnic ending in <i>-uices</i> , as in <i>Lemouices</i> , <i>Ordouices</i> , etc. The form underlying this PN is <i>*erco-</i> , though. Curchin ‘Celticization’ 264-5 suggests that <i>Erca</i> could be a DN; there is a deity <i>Erga</i> in Gaul, and GPN 284 has an insular Celtic PN <i>Ercavicca</i> . Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 458-9 discuss a possible relationship between <i>Ercavica</i> and <i>Ilercavones</i> (below no. 6493), and give <i>Ercavica</i> from a hydronym <i>Erca</i> giving a town-name <i>Ercavia</i> , from which <i>Ercavica</i> is developed with the Indo-European suffix <i>-iko-</i> . For another <i>Ergavica</i> (in the Vascones area, unlocated in Bar.) see ACPN: 122-3 bibl.
19533	86 C3	+32/40	40 06	+32 15	<b>Ergobrotis</b>	LN	LN: Tiske (TUR). Variant reading of <i>Erigobrogis</i> ; see Freeman, <i>Galatian</i>

								<i>Language</i> , p. 85. Ἐριγοβρογέως (var. Ἐργοβρότεως). Very likely to belong to the LN in <b><i>brog-</i></b> ; the first component is obscure if it is not for <i>*erco-</i>
3523	15 D2	+04/43	43 46	+04 42	<b>Ernaginum</b>	LN		LN: St-Gabriel (FRA). Ἐρνάγινον Ptol. 2,10,8; <i>Ernagina</i> TP 1,5; <i>Ernagino</i> IA 344,1; <i>Arnagine</i> IB 553,3 <i>Ernaginum</i> ; Vicar. I, <i>Ernagini</i> II, <i>Ernagin(o)</i> III; <i>Arnaginem</i> Vita Caesarii 2,1,9; <i>Ernagins(i)um</i> CIL 2, 982. Possibly Celtic, to <b><i>erno-</i></b> & <b><i>ago-ino-</i></b> . For the suffix, cf <i>Vindocinum</i> 3440, <i>Labr(oc)inum</i> 3214 and <i>Eudracinum</i> 3912.
3159	14 H2	+02/46	46 55	+02 10	<b>Ernodorum</b>	LN		LN: St-Ambroix-sur-Arnon (FRA). <i>Ernodorum</i> IA 460,3. If not a hybrid, to <b><i>erno-</i></b> & <b><i>duro-</i></b> .
4269	19 G2	+14/47	47 46	+14 12	<b>Ernolatia</b>	LN		LN: St. Pankraz (AUS). <i>Ernolatia</i> TP 3,5. Probably Celtic: <b><i>erno-</i></b> & <b><i>lato-</i></b> .
4270	19 C2	+10/47	47 50	+10 36	<b>Esco</b>	LN		LN: on road between Abodiacum and Combadunum (GER). <i>Escone</i> TP 3,2. If Celtic, <i>*ex-kon-</i> , the second part is difficult to identify.
3911	17 F2	+05/45	45 42	+05 46	<b>Etanna</b>	LN		LN: Yenne (FRA). <i>Etanna</i> TP 2, 1/2; <i>Tenussilay</i> (var. <i>tenusilay</i> ) Rav. 4,26; later forms: (1097) <i>Hyenna</i> , (1191) <i>Yanna</i> , (1287) <i>Ejanna</i> Da. Possibly Celtic, cf. DLG s.v. <i>etno-</i> ‘oiseau’: <i>Etanna</i> < <i>*Etanā</i> < <i>*(p)etnā</i> (presumably <i>*-e(t)nā</i> > <i>*-annā</i> by assimilation and <i>Etna</i> > <i>Etan(n)a</i> by insertion of an epenthetic vowel).
- 3367a	14 H4	+02/44	44 22	+02 13	<b>Etodounon</b> <sup>↵</sup>	LN		LN: Rodez (FRA). A scribal error for <i>Segodunum</i> 3367 (q.v.).
3704	16 B1	+06/44	44 05	+06 29	<b>Eturamina</b>	LN		LN: Piégut, near Thorame-Basse? Thorame-Haute? (FRA). <i>civit. Eturamine</i> Conc. Vasense (442); later attestations: <i>Toramina</i> , <i>Toramena</i> , <i>Thoramina</i> , <i>Torramina</i> CAG 04, 219. Although considered as Ligurian by D’Arbois de Jubainville it is possibly Celtic, to <b><i>etu-</i></b> . X. Delamarre (DLG: 168) suggests <i>*ētū-rò-mīnā</i> ‘Prairie-très-Douce?’.
3912	17 I2	+07/45	45 50	+07 11	<b>Eudracinum</b>	LN		LN: St-Rhémy / S. Remigio (ITL). <i>Eudracinum</i> TP 2,4. Obscure; may contain <b><i>-āko-</i></b> .
3162	14 G4	+01/44	44 57	+01 47	<b>Eustriacum</b>	LN		LN: Astaillac? (FRA). <i>Eustriaco</i> Testamentum Aredii (Aubrun 414). An <b><i>-āko-</i></b> derivative of (a Latin) PN <i>*Eustrius</i> .
3163	14 H2	+02/46	46 10	+02 27	<b>Evaunum</b>	LN		LN: Evaux-les-Bains (FRA). <i>vicus Evaunensim</i> GdeT GC 80; <i>evavnv</i> coin listed in Belfort as cited by M. de Barthélemy: Belfort 6178. Obscure. Possibly from the DN <i>Ivaos</i> (DG: 47) as suggested in TGF: 2571 and CAG 23.162. See also 3163a

							<i>*Ivaunum.</i>
3166	14 G3	+01/45	45 22	+01 07	<b>Exidolium</b>	LN	LN: St-Médard, Cnt. Excideuil (FRA). <i>Exidolium</i> Testamentum Aredii (Aubrun 414); later attestation (1315) <i>Exidolium</i> TGF: 2871. Obscure. TGF: 2871 suggests a hybrid, from Lat. <i>exitus</i> ‘sortie’ + Celtic <i>-ó-ialo</i> ‘clairière de la sortie’ [sic]. Da. compares <i>Exideuil</i> for 3166a <i>*Exidualum</i> below; it seems reasonable to assume that <i>Exidolium</i> , <i>*Exidualum</i> and maybe <i>*Exolidunum</i> are related, but in the absence of ancient sources, we cannot tell the original form of the name, so the etymology remains obscure. Cf <i>Dolus, Dolum</i> 3149, 3150?.
3167	14 F2	+00/46	46 27	+00 38	<b>Exidualum</b> []	LN	LN: Civaux (FRA). ‘The ancient name of the site is unknown; in the 9 <sup>th</sup> century it was called <i>Vicaria Excidulense</i> ’ (PECS Civaux). Da. gives <i>vicaria Exidualinsis</i> 862. See 3166 <i>Exidolium</i> .
3168	14 H2	+02/46	46 57	+02 01	<b>Exolidunum</b>	LN	LN: Issoudun (FRA). [ <i>Exold</i> ]vnessivm CIL 13, 1351; later attestation (984) <i>Uxelodunum</i> Da. Obscure. Perhaps cf <i>Exidolium</i> and <i>*Exidualum</i> above? Alternatively, TGF: 2720 proposes that this is a form of Celtic <i>Uxello-dunum</i> , ‘high fortified place’. Cf <i>Uxellodunum</i> 3418.
3170	14 G2	+01/46	46 08	+01 30	<b>Ferruciacum</b>	LN	LN: St-Etienne-de-Fursac? (FRA). <i>Ferrucio</i> AE 1979, 58; coins Belfort 1922 <i>ferruciac</i> , 1924 <i>ferrucia</i> , 1925 <i>ferruciaco</i> . CAG 23.188 gives an inscription <i>Firrvciac</i> . An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of Lat. PN <i>Ferrucio</i> , or <i>ferrum</i> ‘iron’ or <i>ferrugo</i> ‘rust’.
6465	25 G2	+01/43	43 58	+01 56	<b>Fesciago</b>	LN	LN: Fayssac? (FRA). <i>Fesciago</i> VitaDes; later attestation: (1261) <i>Feissaco</i> TGF 7125. Possibly an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of Latin PN <i>Fascius</i> .
- 2096a	11 C4	+02/48	48 58	+02 50	<b>Fixtuinum</b>	LN	LN: Meaux (FRA). See no. 2096 <i>latinon</i> .
- 6007a	24 C4	-09/40	40 05	-08 30	<b>Flavia Conimbriga</b>	LN	LN: Condeixa-a-Velha (POR). See <i>Conimbriga</i> 6007, with the addition of the Roman imperial name <i>Flavius</i> .
3176	14 G4	+01/44	44 17	+01 25	<b>Flaviaco?</b>	LN	LN: Flaugnac (FRA). <i>Flaviaco</i> (var. <i>Flaviago</i> ) VDesiderii 9 (17). An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of Lat. PN <i>Flavius</i> .
6468	25 B2	-04/43	43 23	-03 14	<b>Flaviobriga</b>	LN	LN: Castro Urdiales (ESP). <i>Flaviobrica</i> Pliny 4.110; Φλαουιόβριγα Ptol. 2.6.7. A compound with Celtic <i>-briga</i> and the Latin imperial name <i>Flavius</i> .
6025	24 C1	-09/43	43 22	-08 25	<b>Flavium</b>	LN	LN: La Coruña (ESP). Φλαούιον Βριγάντιον Ptol. 2,6,4; Βριγάντιον Dio. Cass.

						<b>Brigantium (Flavium) Brigantium</b>		37.53; <i>Brigantium</i> (var. <i>brigantium</i> ) IA 424,5; <i>Brigantiae</i> ND oc 42, 30; <i>Brigantia ciuitas Gallaeciae</i> (var. <i>galliciae, gallicae, gallie</i> , etc.) Oros. 1,2,71; <i>Bricantia</i> Rav. 4,43, <i>Cabricantium</i> Rav. 4,43, etc. Celtic, <i>brigant-</i> . See also <i>Brigantium</i> 6025a.
-	3829a	17 H2	+06/45	45 33	+06 38	<b>Forum Claudii Ceutronum</b>	LN	LN: Aime (FRA). Φόρος Κλαυδίου Ptol. 3,1,33; <i>Forocl Ceutron</i> CIL 12, 104, <i>Foro. Clavd.</i> 105, <i>F.Cl Ceutrones</i> 110. Latin, based on the indigenous EN <i>Ceutrones</i> (q.v.) and the imperial name <i>Claudius</i> . Also known as <i>Axima</i> 3829.
	6469	25 E3	-01/42	42 16	-00 42	<b>Forum Gallorum</b>	LN	LN: Cerro de San Mitiel (Ayerbe) (ESP). <i>Foro Gallorum</i> IA 452.7; <i>Foro Gallorum</i> Rav. 4, 43. Latin, descriptive with <i>gall-</i> .
	9550	40 A3	+11/44	44 36	+11 02	<b>Forum Gallorum</b>	LN	LN: Near Castelfranco (IT). <i>Forum Gallorum</i> Cic., ad fam. 10, 30; Frontin Str. 2, 5, 39; Appian 3, 60-70; <i>Forum Gallorum</i> TP 3,4; Rav. 4, 33. Latin, descriptive with <i>gall-</i> .
	6028	24 D2	-08/42	42 04	-07 34	<b>Forum Limicorum</b>	LN	LN: Monte do Viso (Sarreaus) (ESP). Φόρος Λιμικῶν (var. Λιμίκων) Ptol. 2,6,43. Based on the indigenous ethnonym <i>Limici</i> 6069.
	3920	17 C2	+04/45	45 44	+04 14	<b>Forum Segusiavorum</b>	LN	LN: Feurs (FRA). Φόρος Σεγουσιάντων (var. Τετουσιανῶν) Ptol. 2,8,11; <i>Foro Segustavarum</i> TP 1,5; <i>Scatianorum</i> Rav. 4,26; <i>Foro Segus(iavorum)</i> CIL 13, 1640; <i>Ciu(i)t(as) Seg(usiavorum)</i> CIL 17, 313, 316. Latin, based on an indigenous EN <i>Segusiavi</i> .
	3924	17 A5	+03/44	44 23	+03 30	<b>Gabali</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Gabalos</i> Caes BG 7,7,2, <i>Gabalis</i> 75,2; Γαβαλεῖς Strabo 4,2,2; <i>Gabales</i> Pliny 4,109; Τάβαλοι Ptol. 2,7,11; <i>civitas Gabalum</i> NG 12, 8; <i>Gabaliensis</i> CIL 12, 4370, <i>Gabalus</i> CIL 3, 9752. Celtic, <i>gabalo-</i> .
	9358	39 G5	+10/44	44 24	+10 25	<b>Gabellus fl.</b>	RN	RN: Secchia (IT). <i>Gabellus</i> (var. <i>cape-</i> ) Pliny 3,118. If Celtic, to <i>gabalo-</i> , the vocalism could be explained by an intermediary source, probably Latin; see ACPN: 199 fn. 40.
-	4104a	18 B3	+04/46	46 47	+04 48	<b>Gabilunnum</b>	LN	LN: Chalon-sur-Saône (FRA). See 4104 <i>Cabilonnum</i> .
-	3181a	14 G1	+01/47	47 16	+01 39	<b>Gabrae</b>	LN	LN: Gièvres (FRA). Reconstructed form; see 3181 <i>Gabris</i> .
	2553	12 F3	+12/49	49 30	+12 40	<b>Gabreta? Hyle</b>	TN	Forest name: Böhmerwald (GER). Γαβρήτα Strabo VII.1.5; Γάβρηταν ὕλην (var. Γαβρήταν, Γαβρίταν) Ptol.2,11,3; Γάβρητα ὕλη (var. Γαβρήτα, Γαβρίτα) 5; Γάβρηταν ὕλην (var. Γαβρήταν) 11. 'The forest of goats', to <i>gabro-</i> .
	3181	14 G1	+01/47	47 16	+01 39	<b>Gabris</b>	LN	LN: Gièvres (FRA). <i>Gabris</i> TP 1,3. Celtic, to <i>gabro-</i> . Cf. 3181a * <i>Gabrae</i> .

4636	20 B2	+14/47	47 43	+14 19	<b>Gabromago</b> <sup>↔</sup>	LN	LN: Windischgarsten (AUS). <i>Gabromagi</i> TP 3,5; <i>Gabromago</i> IA 276,9. ‘Goat-plain’, <i>gabro-</i> & <i>magos</i> .
3926	17 H4	+06/44	44 57	+06 47	<b>Gaesao</b>	LN	LN: Cesana (IT). <i>Gessabonam</i> Guid. 11; <i>Gadaone</i> TP 2,3; <i>Gesdaone</i> IB 556,2; <i>Goesao</i> Vicar. II, <i>Gaesaeone</i> III; <i>Gessabone</i> Rav. 4,30. If Celtic, to <i>gaeso-</i> ; there is also a possibility that if the LN is a compound it may contain <i>-bona</i> . Also known as <i>Tyrium</i> , q.v.
16141	63 B1	+32/39	39 48	+32 40	<b>Galatia</b>	TN	Region: Central Asia Minor (TUR). Γαλατία Dio 36,46,1, etc.; <i>Galatia</i> Oros. 4, 20,25; 7, 12,5; 31,3; Eutr. 6, 14,1; 7, 10, 2; 10,17,3; Γαλατία χώρα Timaeus fragm. 37; see <i>galli-</i> .
6473	25 G2	+01/43	43 55	+01 53	<b>Galliaco</b>	LN	LN: Gaillac (FRA). <i>Galliaco</i> VitaDes. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of PN <i>Gallius</i> .
9359	39 E2	+09/45	45 45	+09 10	<b>Gallianates</b>	EN	EN: Galliano di Cantù (IT). <i>Matronis Braecorium Gallianatium</i> Pais 847. Latin, based on <i>galli</i> .
6474	25 E4	-01/41	41 52	-00 45	<b>Gallicum</b>	LN	LN: San Mateo de Gállego? (ESP). <i>Gallicum</i> IA 451.3. Latin, based on <i>galli</i> .
11712	48 D3	+09/41	41 17	+09 10	<b>Gallicum Fretum</b>	SN	Straits of Bonifacio (Sardinia, IT). <i>fretum Gallicum</i> It. Marit. 495,2. Descriptive, based on <i>galli</i> .
3533	15 C3	+04/43	43 05	+04 30	<b>Gallicum Mare</b>	SN	SN (FRA). Γαλατικός Strabo 2,5,28; <i>Gallicum</i> Pliny 3,6; <i>Gallico mari</i> Tac. Agr. 24; <i>Gallico mari</i> (var. <i>galligo</i> , <i>galliaco</i> , <i>gallicum</i> ) Oros. 1,2,62; <i>mari gallico</i> 65, <i>mare Gallicum</i> 66. Latin, descriptive, from the EN <i>galli</i> .
- 5950a	24 F1	-06/43	43 47	-05 00	<b>Gallicus</b>	SN	Bay of Biscay (ESP). <i>Oceanus Gallicus</i> Pliny 4,114. Also known as <i>Boreios</i> (5950; Greek, App. 6,1,1) and <i>Contabricus Oceanos</i> (5950b, q.v.). Latin, based on <i>galli</i> .
6475	25 F4	+00/41	41 31	+00 21	<b>Gallika Phlaouia</b>	LN	LN: possibly Fraga (ESP). Γάλλικα Φλαουία Ptol. 2,6,67. Latin, descriptive with <i>galli</i> and the imperial name <i>Flavius</i> .
3710	16 B1	+06/44	44 10	+06 20	<b>Gallitae?</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Gallitae</i> (var. <i>-tre</i> ) Pliny 3,137; <i>Gallitae</i> CIL 5, 7817. Obscure; may be related to the EN <i>Galli</i> .
16143	63 B1	+32/39	39 40	+32 45	<b>Gallograecia</b>	TN	TN: ?Galatia (TUR). <i>Gallograecia</i> Caes., b.c. 3,4,3; Bell. Alexandr. 67,1; Livy 37,8,4; Vell. 2, 39,2; Suet. Cal. 29; Flor. 1, 27; <i>Gallograecia</i> Festus 11; <i>Gallograecia</i> Oros. 4, 20,25, 6,2,18; Γαλλογραικια Strabo 12, 5,1, etc. Descriptive; see <i>galli-</i> .
2045	11 D1	+03/51	51 35	+03 48	<b>Ganuenta?</b>	LN	LN: Colijnsplaat (NL). <i>Ganuent(ae)</i> (inscription, quoted in TIR M-31, 91-2 and

							LAN I, 356). Obscure: ‘place/location near/on the mouth/estuary’. According to Toorians KGN 113-14, <i>Ganuenta</i> could contain a Germanised form of a Celtic word for ‘mouth, estuary’ (see s.v. <i>genuū-</i> ); consequently, it may stand for an older <i>*Genu-venta</i> ‘place/location near/on the mouth/estuary’. The settlement is located on the mouth of the river Schelde, therefore the semantics are appropriate. See also Gysseling, TW 1117-18; and Bogaers and Gysseling, “Ganuenta”, 89-91.
4637	20 F2	+18/47	47 43	+18 41	<b>Gardellaca</b>	LN	LN : Tokod (HUN). <i>Gardellaca</i> TP 4,4; <i>Cardabiaca</i> ND oc. 33,50; <i>Cardelaca</i> Rav. 4,20. The original form is unknown; Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> 210 starts with <i>*Cardeliaca</i> and notes its possibly Celtic origin in view of the <i>*-āko-</i> suffix, admitting, however, that <i>*kard-</i> remains problematic. Obscure.
3535	15 F3	+05/43	43 19	+05 36	<b>Gargarius</b>	LN	LN: St-Jean-de-Garguier (FRA). <i>loco Gargario</i> CIL 12, 594; <i>Gargarium</i> Letters of Pope Zosimus (417 AD). Possibly Celtic, ‘(Place inhabited by) ferocious (people)’ ?; to <i>gargo-</i> ‘ferocity’ (attested in G. PNN <i>Gargenus</i> , <i>Gargo-ris</i> ; cf. OIr <i>garg</i> , to PIE <i>*garəg’-</i> ‘fear’, <i>*garg’o-s</i> ‘fearful, wild’ IEW: 353, cf. Gk. γοργός). See DLG: 175. Note, however, other <i>gargo-</i> names across ancient Europe; see ACPN: 244.
3183	14 E4	-01/44	44 36	00 05	<b>Garumna fl.</b>	RN	RN: Garonne (FRA). <i>Garunna</i> (var. <i>garumna</i> , <i>garonna</i> ) Caes. BG 1,1,2; Γαρούνα (var. Γαρούννα, Γαρούμνα) Strabo 4,1,1; <i>ad Garunnam</i> (var. <i>garunnam</i> ) Pliny 4,105; <i>Garunna</i> Mela 3,2,21; Γαρούνα Ptol. 2,7,1; <i>Garunna</i> TP 1,5; <i>Garunnam</i> (var. <i>garonnam</i> , <i>garumnam</i> ) Aus. Mos. 160, <i>Garunnam</i> (var. <i>Garumnam</i> ) ep. 20b, 32, <i>Garonnam</i> GdeT HF 7,34, <i>Garonnae</i> GC 45; later attestations: (845) <i>Garumna</i> , (847) <i>vicaria Garonensem</i> , etc. TGF: 1036. Possibly Celtic, <i>garu-mno-</i> , with the first component possibly cognate with OIr <i>gairid</i> ‘calls’, MW <i>geir</i> ‘word, phrase, utterance; line of verse’, Gaul. in <i>adgarion</i> (Chamalières) and PNN in <i>garo-</i> , to PIE <i>*g’ar-</i> ‘call’ IEW: 352; see DLG: 176 and PNPG, Possible Celtic Elements, s.v. Diack, ‘Place-names of Pictland’ 152 compares several river-names in Scotland which come from <i>*gar-</i> ‘to cry out, speak’. For the idea of talkative, noisy rivers, cf. <i>labero-</i> . Jordán Cólera ‘De las <i>Oestrymnides</i> ’ reports various suggestions for the etymology of <i>Garumna</i> , and suggests that the name was <i>gar-umna</i> , with <i>umna</i> from <i>*ub-ni</i> , cf. <i>*uba</i> ‘water, river’. See also Jordán Cólero ‘De ANΔOOYNNABO,



							Onno y Vxovne’.
3184	14 F1	+00/47	47 22	+00 38	<b>Gaudiaco</b>	LN	LN: Joué-les-Tours? (FRA). <i>Gaudiaco</i> GdeT VSI 40. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a Lat. PN, perhaps related to Latin <i>gaudium</i> ‘joy’. Cf. <i>Gaudeus</i> , <i>Gaudentius</i> , <i>Gaudilla</i> .
3927	17 F4	+05/44	44 33	+05 32	<b>Gaura M.</b>	MN	MN: Col de Cabre (FRA). <i>Gaura mons</i> IB 555,1. Celtic or Latin. DaRiv. translates ‘accessible aux seules chèvres’ or ‘que fréquentent les chèvres’, from Lat. <i>capra</i> , prov. <i>cabro</i> and <i>chabro</i> , ‘chèvre’. It is also possible that the original form was from Celtic <b>gabro-</b> , but the modern form <i>Cabre</i> is in favour of the Latin origin of the LN.
6476	25 C3	-03/42	42 55	-02 32	<b>Gebala</b>	LN	LN: Santa Lucía de Guevara (ESP). Γέβαλα Ptol. 2.6.65. Obscure. Isaac, PNPg segments <i>gebala-</i> , but does not discuss this element. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 382-3 refers to <b>gabalo-</b> ; the vocalism of the attestation is against this assumption; see also Gorrochategui ‘Establishment and Analysis’ 160. Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 459 compare other LNN in <i>Gab-/Geb-</i> , which they say might be Indo-European but are not Celtic.
6030	24 G3	-05/41	41 54	-04 54	<b>Gella</b>	LN	LN: Cerro del Castillo de Montealegre? (ESP). Γέλλα (var. Πέλλα) Ptol. 2,6,49; <i>Gela</i> Rav. 4,45. Possibly Celtic; the LN has been compared with MB <i>guell</i> ‘dark red’, MW <i>gell</i> ‘bay, brown, yellow’ < PIE *g <sup>h</sup> el-no- (IEW 429); see García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> , 263 and PNPg, Possibly Celtic elements, s.v. <i>gella</i> :. See also 6030a <i>Tela</i> .
3186	14 G3	+01/45	45 30	+01 05	<b><u>Gemiliacum</u></b>	LN	LN: Settlement and mine, Jumilhac-le-Grand (FRA). <i>dioecesi Gemiliacensi</i> Ruricius epist. 2.6.3; <i>Gemiliacum</i> Test. Ared. (Aubrun 1981 p. 113); <i>gemiliaco</i> Merov. coins Belfort 1963, 1964, 1965. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Gemell(i)us</i> . Cf. 2048 <i>Geminiacum</i> .
2048	11 E2	+04/50	50 31	+04 27	<b>Geminiacum?</b>	LN	LN: Liberchies (B). <i>Geminicum</i> (var. <i>germinicū</i> , <i>geminiacum</i> ) IA 378,3; <i>Geminiacenses</i> (var. <i>geminiatenses</i> ) ND oc 5,97; <i>Geminico uico</i> TP 1,4. A possible <b>-āko-</b> derivative of Lat. <i>Geminia</i> or <i>Gemin(i)us</i> .
4122	18 D3	+06/46	46 12	+06 10	<b>Genava</b>	LN	LN: Genève / Geneva (SWI). <i>Gen&lt;a&gt;va</i> (var. <i>genua</i> ) Caes BG I,6,3; <i>Gen&lt;n&gt;ava</i> TP 2,1; <i>civitas Genavensium</i> NG oc 11, 4; <i>Genava</i> IA 347,12; <i>vikanis Genavensibus</i> CIL 12, 2606. Celtic, <b>genuā-</b> .
9360	39 G2	+10/45	45 40	+10 10	<b>Gennanates</b>	EN	EN: Around Zanano di Serezzo (IT). <i>Bitionis f(ilio) Gennanati viro suo</i> CIL 5, 4924. Celticity of the form is not transparent. It allows several possible interpretations,

							mere guesswork.
9361	39 D5	+08/44	44 25	+08 56	<b>Genua</b>	LN	LN: Genoa (IT). Γενόα (Artemid. apud Steph. Byz); Γενοῦα, Γένουα Strabo 4,6,1; 5,1,3; (var. Γενοῦα, Γέννουα ) Ptol. 3,1,3; <i>Genua</i> (also forms in <i>-ensis</i> ; Livy 21,32,5; 28,46,8; 30,1,10; 32,29,6; Val. Max. 1,6,7; Mela 2,4,72; <i>oppidum Genua</i> Pliny 3,48; 6,217; 14,68; Laterc. Polemii Silvii 1,11; Ammian 15,10,10; (var. <i>genue</i> ) IA 294,4; 502,3 and 4; Leo I ep. 97; Cassiodor var. 2,27; Auctarium Marcellini a 539; Greg. M. reg. 3,30; 9, 235; 11,14; 14,12; Isidor orig., 13,16,2; Council. Constantinopol. III a. 680; Rav.; Baeda h.e. 3,7; de temp. rat. C. 33 cod Valeciensis 241; <i>Genava</i> (Fredegar. Chron. 4,71); <i>inter Genuateis et Veiturios</i> (CIL I 199 = 5, 7749). To <i>genuā-</i> .
3187	14 I3	+03/45	45 44	+03 06	<b>Gergovia?</b>	LN	LN: Gergovie (FRA). <i>Gergovia</i> (var. <i>gergobia</i> ) Caes BG 7,4,2; Γεργουίαν Strabo 4,2,3; <i>Gergoviae</i> Livy perioch. 107; <i>Gergoviam</i> Flor. 1,45,24; late attestation (1149) in <i>Gergobia</i> TGF: 3651. Obscure; if Celtic, cf. G. * <i>gargo-</i> for which see s.v. <i>Gargarius</i> above. The vocalism is problematic.
1004	7 B3	-05/48	48 24	-04 29	<b>Gesocribate</b>	LN	LN: Brest (FRA). <i>Gesocribate</i> TP 1, 1/2. Obscure, at face value ‘swift spear (place)’; for the first component see <i>gaeso-</i> . The second may be a cognate of OIr <i>crib</i> ‘swift’ (LEIA C-234). See also 1004a <i>Osismis</i> ; 1004b <i>Osismii</i> . The order of components is problematic.
2052	11 B2	+01/50	50 44	+01 36	<b>Gesoriacum</b>	LN	LN: Boulogne(-sur-Mer) (FRA). <i>Gesoriacum</i> (var. <i>gesoriciacum</i> , <i>osoriciacum</i> ) Mela 3,3,23; <i>Gesoriacum</i> Florus IV.12.26; <i>a Gesoriaco Morinorum</i> (var. <i>-cu</i> , <i>geseriaco</i> , <i>-siriaco</i> ) Pliny 4,102; <i>Gesoriacum</i> Suetonius <i>Claudius</i> XVII.4; Γησοριακόν (var. τισοργίακον) Ptol. 2,9,1; <i>Gesoriaco</i> (var. <i>geso**aco</i> , <i>gesoriciaco</i> ) AI 356,5; (var. <i>cesoricia</i> , <i>gessoriaco</i> ) 363,2; 376: <i>a portu Gesoricensi</i> (var. <i>gesorigensi</i> ) 463,2; <i>Gesogiaco quod nunc Bononia</i> TP 1,2; <i>Cesuriacum oppidum</i> Julius Honorius <i>Cosmographia</i> 19; etc. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a PN * <i>Gaesorius</i> (or * <i>Gaesorix?</i> , cf. Γαιζατόριξ in Galatia, Freeman GL, 56); see also <i>gaeso-</i> .
19541	86 C3	+32/40	40 50	+32 00	<b>Gezatorigis</b>	TN	TN: Near Yeniçagā /Gerde (TUR). Deduced from τὴν Γεζατόριγος Strabo 12, 3, 41; the Celticity of the entry is obvious, although this is not an EN.

	3712	16 C2	+06/43	43 57	+06 49	<b>Glanate</b>	LN	LN: Glandève (FRA). <i>Civitas Glannatena</i> (var. <i>Glannatina</i> , <i>Glannatica</i> ) NG 17, 7; [ <i>G]lanat(e)</i> AE 1958, 225 = AE 1960, 285; later attestations: (549) <i>Glannatensis</i> Conc. Aurelianense; (573) <i>Glannatinae</i> Conc. Parisiense; (585) <i>Glannatine</i> Conc. Matisconense. Possibly Celtic; see <b>glanno-</b> and <b>glano-</b> . Due to the late and fragmentary attestations of the LNN further discussions are speculative.
-	6034a	24 C2	-09/42	42 44	-08 40	<b>Glandimarium</b>	LN	LN: Pontecesures? (ESP). <i>Glandimarium</i> Rav. 4,43. An alternative or erroneous form of 6034 <i>Glandimirium</i> q.v.
	6034	24 C2	-09/42	42 44	-08 40	<b>Glandimirum</b>	LN	LN: Pontecesures? (ESP). Γλανδόμυρον (var. Γλανδόμηρον) Ptol. 2,6,22; <i>Glandimiro</i> (var. <i>Grandimiro</i> ) IA 424,3. Obscure. Isaac (AILR and PNP) segments <i>glando- miro-</i> . There are no other <i>Gland-</i> places in Holder; <i>Atlas</i> ' only one is <i>Ad Ioglandem</i> , map 42 unlocated. Luján 'Ptolemy's Callaecia' suggests the name could be related to placenames in <i>Glan(n)-</i> , but cannot thus account for the <i>-nd-</i> . García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 198-9 suggests two Celtic words well-known in placenames: <i>*glannos</i> 'riverbank' and <i>*glanos</i> 'pure', see <b>glanno-</b> and <b>glano-</b> . These, however, cannot explain <i>-nd-</i> , if [d] is not intrusive here. For component <b>miro-</b> see s.v. Cf. 6034a <i>Glandimarium</i> .
	3537	15 D2	+04/43	43 46	+04 50	<b>Glanum</b>	LN	LN: Near St-Rémy de Provence (FRA). <i>Glanum</i> Pliny 3,37; Γλάνων Ptol. 2, 10,8; <i>Glano</i> IA 343,6; <i>Clano</i> TP 1,5; <i>Clanum</i> Vicar. I, <i>Glanum</i> II, <i>Glanu(m)</i> III; <i>Glano</i> IV; <i>Calum</i> Rav. 4,28; <i>Glanico(rum)</i> CIL 13, 1005. Celtic, to <b>glano-</b> .
	16147	63 B1	+32/39	39 42	+32 53	<b>Gorbeus</b>	LN	LN: SE Oğulbey (TUR). Γορβεοῦς (var. Γορδεοῦς) Strabo 12,5,3; Κορβεοῦντος Ptol. 5,4,8; <i>Corveunte</i> TP 9,1; <i>Corbeunca</i> (var. <i>corbeneunca</i> , <i>curbeunca</i> ) IA 143,2; <i>Gorbeus</i> (var. <i>grorbeus</i> ) IA 205,9; <i>Corbeufe</i> Rav. 2,16. Not necessarily Celtic; if the initial is <i>C-</i> , cf. <i>Corbeia</i> , etc. See E. R. Luján, The Galatian place names in Ptolemy, 258.
	4640	20 F2	+18/47	47 05	+18 24	<b>Gorsium</b>	LN	LN: Tác (HUN). <i>Gorsio sive Hercule</i> IA 264,4. Attempts to explain it as Celtic and Pannonian in Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 213. Obscure.
	3932	17 G3	+06/45	45 16	+06 25	<b>Graioceli?</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Graioceli</i> (var. <i>graiocaeli</i> , <i>gaioceli</i> ) Caes BG 1,10,4. Possibly Celtic, from <b>ocel-</b> and a PN or EN <i>*Graiuis</i> . See 3807 <i>Alpes Graiaae</i> .
	3191	14 C1	-03/47	47 17	-02 24	<b>Grannona</b>	LN	LN: Guérande? (FRA). <i>Grannona</i> ND oc. 37, 14. Possibly Celtic; it may allude to

							<i>Apollo Grannus</i> . For further discussion see 1835 <i>Aquae Granni</i> .
2059	11 F4	+05/48	48 24	+05 29	<b>Grannum</b>	LN	LN: Grand (FRA). Γράννος Cassius Dio LXXVII.15.6; <i>Apollini Granno</i> CIL 3, 5588, <i>Apolini Granno</i> 5861, <i>Apoll(ini) Granno</i> 5870, <i>Apollini Granno</i> 5871, <i>Apollini Granno</i> 13, 5315; <i>Granno</i> AE 1937.55; [ <i>Apollin</i> ]i <i>Gran</i> [nno?] 1982,714 (= AE 1983.716); <i>Granno</i> Merovingian coins; etc. The PN alludes to <i>Apollo Grannus</i> . For further discussion see 1835 <i>Aquae Granni</i> and cf. 2059a <i>Aquae Granni</i> .
6479	25 G2	+01/43	43 58	+01 54	<b>Granoialo</b>	LN	LN: Granéjous, Cahuzac (FRA). Late attestations, 9c. <i>Granoialo</i> TGF: 2960. Possibly, a compound of a Gaulish personal or divine name <i>Grannus</i> and <i>-ialo</i> , the name meaning ‘unfruitful land of Grannus’. Nègre, ‘Toponymie albigeoise’ 373, suggests Latin <i>granum</i> ‘grain’ as well as <i>Grannos</i> .
4291	19 F2	+13/47	47 06	+13 57	<b>Graviacis</b> ‘	LN	LN: Stadl a. d. Mur (SWI). <i>Graviacis</i> TP 4,1. Probably Celtic, cf. G. * <i>graua</i> ‘sable, gravier’ (W. <i>gro</i> , OC <i>grou</i> , etc); see DLG: 183. For a similar LN element in the north German Namengebiet see J. Udolph in <i>Kratylos</i> 49 (2004), 134.
9363	39 G1	+10/46	46 04	+10 21	<b>Grebia</b>	LN	LN: Grevo? (IT). <i>Vicani Grebiae</i> (CIL 5, 4962). Hardly Celtic.
3933	17 A5	+03/44	44 28	+03 20	<b>Gredonum</b>	LN	LN: Grèzes (FRA) <i>Gredonensis</i> (var. <i>Cred-</i> ) GdeT HF I,34. Obscure.
6035	24 C2	-09/42	42 07	-08 30	<b>Grovii</b>	EN	EN: lower R. Miño valley around Tùy (ESP). <i>Groui</i> Pliny 4,112; Γροβίων Ptol. 2,6,44; <i>Groui</i> Mela 3,10; <i>Grauios</i> SIL 1 235.3, 366, <i>Crouf[i]us (castello) Verio</i> CIL II 774, <i>Crouuia</i> 2550, etc. The earlier sources point to initial <i>g-</i> ; if it is in fact <i>c-</i> , several possibilities for its analysis as Celtic are possible. If it is to be compared with Ir <i>crú</i> (n.) ‘blood’, then “Bloody (people)” (Holder). García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 246-7 cites Albertos Firmat, OPP 100, as mentioning * <i>crouo-</i> ‘deer’ when discussing the name <i>Crouesica</i> and suggests a relationship to this root, so that the * <i>Crou-i</i> would be ‘the deer’ so maybe ‘the swift or agile ones’.
3195	14 G4	+01/44	44 45	+01 24	<b>Gurdo</b>	LN	LN: Gourdon? (FRA). <i>Gurdone</i> Ruricius epist. 1.7.4. Possibly Celtic; for a discussion of forms in <i>gurd-</i> , see D. Ellis Evans, ‘ <i>gurdonicus</i> ’. TGF 1162 compares LNN <i>Gortyna</i> in Crete and <i>Cortona</i> in Etruria. Cf. 4161 <i>Gurthonense</i>
4125	18 B3	+04/46	46 40	+04 15	<b>HAedui</b> <b>(H)Aedui</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Haedui</i> Cic. epist. ad Att. 1,19,2; <i>Haedui</i> ad Fam. 7,10,4; <i>Haeduum</i> Caes. BG 1,10,1; <i>Haedui</i> 1,11,2; <i>Haeduos</i> 1,14,3; <i>Haeduos</i> Livy 5,34,3. Celtic, to <i>aeduo-</i> . See 3125a <i>Aedui</i> .

6482	25 H2	+02/43	43 15	+02 06	<b>Hebromagus</b>	LN	LN: Bram (FRA). <i>Vicus Hebromago</i> (var. <i>Ebromago</i> ) IB 551.7; <i>Ebromagum</i> (var. <i>hebro-</i> ) Auson. epist. 19b.15 A later form for 6482 <i>Eburomagus</i> q.v.	
1747	10 A5	+04/51	51 58	+04 10	<b>Helinium</b>	RN	RN: Estuary of the Maas (NL). <i>Helinium</i> (vars. <i>Hellinium</i> , <i>Elinium</i> , <i>Helinum</i> , <i>Helium</i> ) Pliny NH 4, 15: <i>Flenio</i> TP 1,2. According to P. Schrijver, ‘Welsh <i>heledd</i> , <i>hêl</i> , Cornish <i>*heyl</i> , “Latin” <i>Helinium</i> , Dutch <i>hel-</i> , <i>zeelt</i> ’, 37-39, to Old Celtic <i>*sel</i> ; for criticism of this approach and a different etymology (to <i>*pelh<sub>2</sub>-</i> ‘sich nähern’ LIV: 420) see Falileyev, ‘Galsk. s, PIE <i>*p</i> ’. Cf. 2078 <i>Helinium fl.</i>	
2078	11 E1	+04/51	51 58	+04 10	<b>Helinium fl.</b>	RN	RN: Waal-Maas-Delta (NL). See 1747 <i>Helinium</i> .	
4126	18 D3	+06/46	46 47	+06 30	<b>Helvetii</b>	EN	EN: (SWI). <i>Helvetii</i> Cic. ad. Att. 1,19,2; <i>Helvetii</i> , var. <i>helvitii</i> Caes BG 1,1,4; <i>Helvetiorum</i> Livy epit. 65; <i>Helvetii</i> Tac. hist. 1,67; <i>Helveti</i> Pliny 4,106; Ἑλουήτιοι (var. ἑλουήτιοι) Ptol. 2,9,10; <i>Heluetiorum</i> (var. <i>heluiti</i> ) Oros. 6,7.3; <i>Helvetiorum</i> IA 352,4. Celtic; in favour of the etymology suggested by R. Thurneysen (Irishes und Gallisches, 12: Ir. <i>il</i> (< <i>*pelu-</i> ‘viel’) & <i>iath</i> ‘Land, Länderei’) see Falileyev, ‘Galsk. s, PIE <i>*p</i> ’. See also 4126a <i>Helvitii</i> .	
2080	11 H4	+07/48	48 22	+07 36	<b>Helvetum</b>	LN	LN: Benfeld-Ehl (FRA). Ἑλκηβος (var. ἔλκηβος Ptol. 2,9,9; <i>Helueto</i> (var. <i>elueto</i> , <i>heiueto</i> ) IA 252,4; <i>Helveto</i> (var. <i>elueto</i> , <i>eleuto</i> ) 350,2; <i>Helvetum</i> (var. <i>helu**um</i> , <i>elbeium</i> ) 354.4; <i>Alaia</i> Rav. 4,26; <i>Helellum</i> TP 2,4; etc. G. R. Isaac, PNPG, considers here a LN element <i>eluo-</i> , and discusses two possibilities: “1) a colour? IEW 302-304, 2) ‘much, many, greatness’? Thurneysen, ZCP 14, 1923, 11-12. Formation: 1) IEW 302-304 sees the formation <i>*eluo-</i> in the Gaulish words and connects this directly with OHG <i>elo</i> ‘yellow’ < Gmc. <i>*elwa-</i> . But I am uncertain of the typology of the PN/EN which this implies: I am not sure that it is plausible to derive a PN/EN from word for a colour. I see a more promising derivation in the word for ‘juniper’ or other needle-bearing trees (ultimately the same root according to IEW, but doubtful)”. The second option is preferred by De Bernardo Stempel: <i>*pelu-eto-s</i> , with the meaning ‘the wealthy place’, which would then be etymologically related to the tribal name of the <i>Helvetii</i> q.v. See also Falileyev, ‘Galsk. s, PIE <i>*p</i> ’.	
-	3800a	17 D4	+04/44	44 33	+04 37	<b>Helvii</b>	EN	EN: Alba-la-Romaine (FRA). <i>Helviorum</i> (var. <i>iluiorum</i> ) Caes BC 1,35,4; Ἑλουοὶ Strabo 4,2,2. Probably Celtic; cf <i>Helvetii</i> (map 18 D3 no. 4126). See 3800 <i>Alba</i>

							<i>Helviorum.</i>
9861	42 D2	+12/43	43 36	+12 29	<b>Helvillum</b>	LN	LN: Fossato di Vico? (IT). <i>Helvillo</i> (IA 125,6; 315,7); <i>Halvillo</i> TP; <i>Herbelloni</i> IHieros. 614; CIL 11, 5801. Hardly Celtic, but cf. forms in <i>helu-</i> discussed below and above.
- 4126a	18 D3	+06/46	46 47	+06 30	<b>Helvitii</b>	EN	EN (SWI). <i>Eluitiorum</i> (var. <i>hel-</i> ) NG 9, 4; <i>Hilviti</i> Notae Tiron. 86, 99; for variant spellings with <i>-i-</i> see 4126 <i>Helvetii</i> . The majority of attestations have <i>-e-</i> rather than <i>-i-</i> .
4644	20 E3	+17/46	46 35	+17 55	<b>Hercuniates</b>	EN	EN: S. Eravisci (HUN). <i>Hercuniates</i> (var. <i>hertu-</i> ) Pliny 3,148; Ἐρκουνίατες Ptol. 2,15,2. Celtic, to <i>*perkunyā</i> < <i>*perk<sup>w</sup>unyā</i> ; see Falileyev, ‘Galsk. s, PIE <i>*p</i> ’.
3196	14 C1	-03/47	47 32	-02 23	<b>Herios fl.</b>	RN	RN: Vilaine (FRA). Ἡρίου (var. ἠρίου) Ptol. 2,8,1. Possibly Celtic. G. R. Isaac, PNPg segments it as <i>ero- io-</i> , listing <i>ero-</i> as a possibly Celtic element: ‘it seems reasonable to attempt a Celtic etymology, in which case it might be connected with MW <i>erw</i> “measurement of land, field” later “acre”, Gk. { <i>éraze</i> } < { <i>éras-de</i> } “to earth”, OHG <i>ero</i> “earth” (otherwise extended in Gmc., Eng. <i>earth</i> etc.), < PIE <i>*h<sub>1</sub>er-</i> “earth” IEW 332 (cf Isaac, VBA 188). If the H- is organic here, consider here PIE <i>*per-</i> ‘hindurchkommen, durchqueren’ (LIV: 472)’. It might also belong a non-Celtic Indo-European language. See also 3196a <i>Vicinonia</i> fl.
2082	11 D2	+03/50	50 15	+03 31	<b>Hermoniacum</b>	LN	LN: Bermerain (FRA). <i>Hermoniacum</i> TP. ‘Place belonging to Hermonius’, an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of <i>Hermonius</i> . In view of mediaeval attestations, all beginning with <i>B-</i> ( <i>Biermerengh</i> , <i>Bermeren</i> , <i>Bermerengh</i> , <i>Bermerang</i> , <i>Bermerenc</i> , etc., TW 128) Gysseling’s suggestion to read <i>Bermoniacum</i> is quite reasonable; then, an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of <i>Bermo-</i> .
5081	21 D6	+21/43	43 56	+21 23	<b>Horreum Margi</b>	LN	LN: Čuprija (SCG). Ὅρρεα Ptol. 3,9,4; <i>Horrea Margi</i> TP 6,3; <i>Horreo Margi</i> IA 134,3; <i>Orea Margi</i> (var. <i>Oreamargi</i> ) Rav. 4, 7; <i>Mansio Oromago</i> IB 565, 6; ]MARG IMS 4, 82. The LN as it stands in the majority of sources in undoubtedly Latin. The <i>Oromago</i> of the later sources has been interpreted as a Celtic adaptation of the Latin LN, see A. Loma, <i>Die Welt der Slawen</i> 36 (1991), 110-11. If so, <i>oro-</i> & <i>mago-</i> .
- 6725a	25 H2	+02/43	43 12	+02 45	<b>Husuerbas</b>	LN	LN: Lézignan? (FRA). <i>Hosverbas</i> (var. <i>husuerbas</i> ) IB 552,1. Perhaps a hypercorrect form of 6725 <i>Usuerva</i> .

6487	25 E3	-01/42	42 35	-00 33	<b>Iac(c)a</b>	LN	LN: Jaca (ESP). <i>Iacetani</i> Caes. BC I.60.2; <i>Lacetanos</i> (var. <i>iac-</i> ) Pliny 3.24; Ἰάκκα (var. Ἰάκκα) Ptol. 2.6.66; <i>Pacca</i> Rav. IV.43; <i>Iaccotan</i> CIL 2, 3985. If Celtic, a cognate of W. <i>iach</i> 'healthy', with G. vocalism. See ACPN: 238; see further Isaac, PNPG, Possibly Celtic elements, s.v. <i>iacca-</i> ; DLG s.v. <i>iaccos</i> 'sain, bien portant'; García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 390-1; Gorrochategui 'Establishment and analysis' 162. See also <i>ico-</i> .
2096	11 C4	+02/48	48 58	+02 50	<b>latinon</b>	LN	LN: Meaux (FRA). Ἰάτινον Ptol. 2,8,11; <i>Fixtinnum</i> TP 1,4. Incompatibility of the two attestations does not allow further analysis; see, however, Isaac, PNPG, Possible Celtic element <i>iato-</i> ; and GPN: 211-15. According to Lambert, <i>Lugdunensis</i> , 240 'one could consider reconstructing <i>*Ixtinium</i> or <i>*Vixtinium</i> , that is, either the Celtic base <i>ixt-</i> (cf. British <i>Ictis</i> : Isle of Wight, and OI <i>icht</i> 'the lower end'), or on a base <i>*wik-to-</i> ( <i>*wei-k-</i> , Lat. <i>uinco</i> etc.)'. See also 2096a <i>Fixtuinum</i> and cf. 2179 <i>Meldi</i> .
2097	11 F3	+05/49	49 07	+05 53	<b>Ibliodurum?</b>	LN	LN: Vionville/St-Marcel (FRA). <i>Ibliodurum</i> IA 364,5. 'Fort/town of <i>Iblios</i> '; see <i>duro-</i> . The first component is a famous Treverian PN or a corresponding appellative with the meaning 'hawk', itself a loan from Germanic (cf. ON <i>iflil</i> , <i>ifli</i> ); see KGP: 224-5; DLG: 187.
2098	11 D4	+03/48	48 05	+03 19	<b>Icauna fl.</b>	RN	RN: Yonne (FRA). <i>Icauna flumine</i> Vita s. Germani I,2,12; <i>fluminis Ycaunensis</i> Stephani Africani Vita s. Amatoris 3, 18; <i>Egona</i> Rav. 4, 26; etc. Celtic, to <i>ico-</i> ; for morphology cf. 975 <i>Alauna</i> .
3199	14 I3	+03/45	45 57	+03 04	<b><u>Iciacum</u></b>	LN	LN: Yssac-la-Tourette? (FRA). <i>Iciacensis</i> GdeT GM 65. Celtic, an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of <i>ico-</i> or, more likely, of the corresponding PN <i>Ic(c)ius</i> (for which see GPN: 353).
3935	17 B3	+03/45	45 23	+03 57	<b>Icidmago</b>	LN	LN: Usson-en-Forez (FRA). <i>Icidmago</i> TP 1,4; <i>Icutmageon</i> Rav. 4,26. Possibly stands for <i>*Ic(c)iomagus</i> , with a PN <i>Ic(c)ius</i> (see GPN: 353); and <i>magos</i> .
2605	12 D3	+10/49	49 05	+10 48	<b>Iciniacum</b>	LN	LN: Theilenhofen (GER). <i>Iciniaco</i> TP 3,3. Celtic, an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of <i>*Icinius</i> ; see also <i>ico-</i> .
3200	14 F2	+00/46	46 48	+00 50	<b>Iciodoro</b>	LN	LN: Guerinière, Cm. Yzeures-sur-Creuse (FRA). <i>Iciodoro</i> GdeT HF 10,31,5; <i>vici Iciodorensis</i> (var. <i>Icioderensis</i> , <i>Icidiorensis</i> ) GdeT GM 58. Celtic, from a PN <i>Ic(c)ius</i> (or <i>ico-</i> ); and <i>duro-</i> .

3201	14 I3	+03/45	45 33	+03 16	<b>Iciodorum</b>	LN	LN: Issoire? (FRA). <i>Iciodorensim vicum</i> GdeT GC 29, <i>Isiodorensis</i> GdeT HF 6,12; <i>Iciodorus</i> Vita I Austremonii 1.7, <i>Hyciodori</i> 2.9, <i>Yciodoro</i> 2.11, <i>Hiciodorus</i> 3.14, etc.; coin Belfort 2025 <i>hiccio d erovi</i> (sic). Celtic, from a PN <i>Ic(c)ius</i> (or <i>ico-</i> ); and <i>duro-</i> .	
2099	11 G2	+06/50	50 17	+06 31	<b>Icorigium</b>	LN	LN: Jünkerath (GER). <i>Egorigio vicus</i> AI 373,1; <i>Icorigium</i> TP 2,1. ‘Healthy royal place’ or ‘Königsspitze’ (?)” (Zimmer, <i>Die Kelten</i> , 207); <i>ico-</i> & <i>rig-io-</i> .	
6489	25 G2	+01/43	43 39	+01 05	<b>Ictium</b>	LN	LN: La Gravette, Cm. de L’Isle-Jourdain (FRA). ACPN: 238 suggests a comparison with <i>Ictis</i> in PNRB 487-89 (see s.v. <i>Vectis</i> ).	
3936	17 G4	+06/44	44 34	+06 11	<b>Ictodurus</b>	LN	LN: Near La Bâtie-Neuve (FRA). <i>Ictodurum</i> TP 2,2; <i>Idodimus</i> Rav. 4,27. Possibly Celtic; the second element is Celtic <i>duro-</i> ; for the first component see 6489 <i>Ictium</i> . Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 291 compares <i>Octodurus</i> (Martigny en Valais).	
6490	25 C3	-03/42	42 03	-02 59	<b>Idoubeda M.</b>	MN	MN: Sistema Ibérico (ESP). Ἰδουβέδα Strabo 3,4,10; Ἰδουβέδα (var. Γδούβεδα, Γδοουβαιδα, Ἰγδούβεδα) Ptol. 2,6, 20; Ἰδούβαιδα Anon. Geog. 9, 28. Problematic entry; may contain an element related to Basque <i>bide</i> ‘path’ (proposed by Corominas, see the discussion by García Alonso, <i>Ptolomeo</i> , 185-6), or Celtic <i>bedo/ā-</i> . The first component is obscure. For a different and less likely word division see Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> , 101, who segment here the component <i>-ub-</i> .	
3203	14 G2	+01/46	46 18	+01 37	<b>Idunum</b>	LN	LN: Dun-le-Palestel? (FRA). <i>castro ... Idunum nomine</i> (var. <i>Hidunum</i> ) Vita Eptadii 12; (987) <i>Dunus</i> TGF: 2410. Celtic, possibly to <i>dūnu-</i> : ACPN 75 note 33 suggests the Vita Eptadii form is a misreading or scribal error for <i>.i. Dunum</i> ‘that is <i>Dunum</i> ’; this is also reflected in the modern name.	
6972	26 A2	-10/39	39 04	-09 03	<b>Ierabriga</b>	LN	LN: possibly near Alenquer (POR). <i>Ierabrica</i> (var. <i>lerabrica</i> , <i>gerabrica</i> ) IA 419,9; <i>Ierabriga</i> (var. <i>ierabrica</i> ) 421,1. ( <i>iera-</i> ) & <i>brig-</i> . Cf. 6972a <i>Lerabriga</i> .	
-	4059a	17 G3	+06/45	45 05	+06 05	<b>Ikonioi</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). Ἰκόνιοι Strabo 4,1,11. A variant form of 4059 <i>Ucennii</i> q.v.
19556	86 D3	+33/40	40 12	+33 15	<b>Ikotarion?</b>	LN	LN: Elecik (TUR). Κώμη Ἰκοταρίου (RECAM 204); Ἰκοταρίον (RECAM 170-1). If Celtic, to <i>ico-</i> ; for the second component see DLG: 291 s.v. <i>taro-</i> ‘qui traverse’ (bibl.).	
3542	15 E3	+05/43	43 13	+05 20	<b>Immadrae</b>	LN	LN: Ile Maire? (FRA). <i>A portu Aemines Immadras positio</i> (var. <i>in matris</i> ) IA 506,6;	



								<i>ad Inmadris</i> (var. <i>in matris</i> ) 507, 1. Rivet, Gallia Narbonensis, 222 emends the form to <i>Ins(ula) Madrae</i> ; <i>Madrae</i> is obscure. If <i>Matris</i> is a correct form (which is not very likely), see s.v. <i>matr-</i> .
9369	39 F5	+09/44	44 16	+09 34	<b>In Alpe Pennino</b>	LN	LN: Passo del Bracco? (IT). <i>In Alpe Pennino</i> TP 2. For <i>Pennino</i> , see <i>pen-</i> .	
4657	20 E4	+17/45	45 24	+17 42	<b>Incerto</b> <sup>69</sup>	LN	LN: Trešanovačka gradina near Tekić (CRO). <i>Incerto</i> IA 260,5; <i>Incerto</i> (var. <i>Nicero</i> , <i>Incaero</i> , <i>Imicero</i> , <i>Inicero</i> ) IA 265,6. Admitting that this LN is absolutely vague and identifying it – possibly – with Požega, Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 214 nevertheless includes it into his list of ENN and PNN which may allow Celtic interpretation. Cf. also Isaac, IALR and PNPg s.v., for two segmentations: <i>in-cero</i> and <i>inc-ero</i> . Obscure.	
3719	16 F1	+08/44	44 02	+08 05	<b>Ingauni</b>	EN	EN: (ITL). Ἰγγαῦνοι Strabo 4,6,1; <i>Ingauni</i> Livy hist. 28,46,9; <i>Ingaunis</i> Pliny 3, 46; <i>Ingauni</i> Flor. 1,19,5; <i>Albingauni</i> Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus and Bonosus (in <i>Historia Augusta</i> ) 12,1; <i>Albingaunos</i> 13,5. Considered Ligurian; a Celtic etymology has been suggested by P. De Bernardo Stempel, ‘Additions to Ptolemy’s evidence for Celtic Italy’, 106, who derives the EN from Celtic <i>*Pingamnī</i> ‘the tattooed ones or <i>Picti</i> ’. See 3669 <i>Album Ingaunum</i> .	
9372	39 D2	+08/45	45 37	+08 57	<b>Insubres</b>	EN	EN : ? (IT). Ἰνσομβρες (var. ἰνσοβρες, ἴσομβρες) Polyb. 2,17,4; Ἰνσομβρες (var. ἴσομβρες 2,22,1; 23,1; 28,3; 7; 30,5-6; 32,2,4,55; 34,3; 35,1; 22,56,3; 600,8;); οἱ δὲ Ἰνσομβρες (var. ἴσομβρες, ἰσόμβρες Polyb. 2,34,3); δέ τοὺς Ἰνσομβρας (var. ἰνσόμβρους, ἰνσοβρας, ἴσομβρας) Polyb. 22,40,8; <i>Insubres</i> Catto origg. Fr. 39, Peter bei Varro r r 2,4,11; <i>Insubri</i> , <i>Insubres</i> Cic. Pro Ballo 14,32, etc; Livy 5,34,9; 211,25,22; 30,18,1, etc; Pliny 3,124, etc.; <i>Insubres</i> Tac. Ann. 11,23; Flor. 1,19, etc.; <i>Insubres</i> (var. <i>insubpres</i> ) Oros. 4, 13, 11 and 15; 4, 20, 4; Ἰνσομβροι Strabo 5,16, etc.; Ἰνσομβρες Plut. Marcell. 3, 4,6, etc. Isaac, PNPg, Celtic Elements s.v. <i>bero-</i> , <i>br(o)-</i> ‘bearer/ judger’ lists the EN (with a query) as an example of the stem preceded by preposition(s). Schmidt, KGP: 226 takes <i>in</i> as an areal variant of <i>eni-</i> ; and admits a non-Celtic provenance of <i>-subres</i> (p. 274). Note <i>Subroni</i> (GPN: 113), perhaps for <i>*Subro</i> , then <i>*in-su-bro</i> / <i>eni-su-bro</i> ? P. De Bernardo Stempel,	

							Ptolemy's Celtic Italy and Ireland, compares the EN with <i>Antabri</i> and <i>Cantabri</i> , noting that it is still obscure.
6040	24 D3	-08/41	41 45	-07 05	<b>Interamici?</b>	EN	EN: between R. Tamega and R. Tuela (POR). <i>Intera/micvs</i> CIL 2, 826; <i>Interamici</i> 2, 2477; <i>amicvs</i> 2, 5637, <i>Intera(micus) exs / c(astello) Louciocel/</i> IRPLEon 222. Probably not Celtic, although Tovar suggests Celtic <i>inter-</i> as in <i>Inter-catia</i> (see below, 6044) and Gaulish (Endlicher's glossary) <i>inter ambes</i> . Note that G. R. Isaac (AILR and PNPG) gives <i>Interamnium</i> as definitely Latin ('a place between streams'). The LN is more likely to be Latin.
6044	24F3	-06/41	41 59	-05 10	<b>Intercatia</b>	LN	LN: Aguilar de Campos? <i>Intercatiae</i> (ms. <i>Inter captae</i> ) Livy Perioch. 48, <i>Intercatia</i> Val. Max. 3,2,6; <i>intercatienses</i> (var. <i>-tinienses</i> ) Pliny 3,26, Ἰντερκατία Ptol. 2,6,49; <i>Intercatiam</i> Ampelius, Liber memorialis 22,3, etc. Curchin 'Celticization', 266 notes that "since Intercatia is first mentioned as a Vaccaean town besieged by the Romans in 151 BC, its name can hardly be Latin"; he thinks of a Celtic cognate of Lat. <i>inter</i> (see also 6040 <i>Interamici</i> ); and PNN <i>Catius</i> , <i>Catia</i> , ENN <i>Abrincatui</i> , <i>Caeracates</i> , <i>Volocates</i> , probably all from <i>*-catu</i> . Accordingly, the LN means '(town) in the midst of battle'. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 223-4 also mentions this possibility, but thinks Pokorny's suggestion that this element <i>kat-</i> is the one in Latin <i>catena</i> and <i>casa</i> < <i>*catia</i> , also giving W. <i>cadair</i> and OIr <i>cathair</i> (see LEIA: C-48), more likely. Montenegro Duque, 'La toponimia palentina prerromana', compares <i>Caitho</i> and <i>Caetius</i> in Etruria, <i>Caitta</i> in an inscription in Palencia, and Greek <i>chaite</i> .
2607	12 G4	+13/48	48 25	+13 50	<b>Ioviaccum?</b>	LN	LN: Schlögen (AUS). <i>Ioviaco</i> IA 249,3; <i>Ioviaco</i> ND oc. 34, 37: <i>Iobiaco</i> (var. <i>Ioviaco</i> , <i>Iopia</i> ) Eugippius <i>Vita Severini</i> 24,1. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a PN <i>Iovius</i> .
2103	11 D3	+03/49	49 33	+03 06	<b>Isara</b>	LN	LN: Pontoise-lès-Noyon (FRA). See 2103a <i>Lura</i> . If not a misspelling, cf. <i>Isara</i> fl.
2104	11 C3	+02/49	49 05	+02 15	<b>Isara fl.</b>	RN	RN: Oise (FRA). <i>Ēsēra</i> ( <i>Esara</i> ) Fortunat. <i>Carm.</i> 7,4,15; <i>Isera</i> Vita Marculfi 3,18; <i>Iseram</i> Vita Ettonis 1,8; <i>Isara</i> CIL 13, 9158; etc. 'The tempestuous, fast one', to <i>iso-</i> .
3937	17 E3	+05/45	45 02	+05 08	<b>Isara fl.</b>	RN	RN: Isère (FRA). Ἰσαρος Strabo 4,1,11; <i>Isaram</i> Pliny 3,33; <i>Isara</i> Florus 1,37,4; Ἰσαρ Ptol. 2,10,4; <i>Isarae</i> Oros. 5,16,9; <i>Eseram fluvium</i> (var. <i>Hiseram</i> , <i>Iseram</i> , <i>Veseram</i> ) GdeT HF 4, 44; <i>Izera</i> Rav. 4,27. 'The tempestuous, fast one', to <i>iso-</i> .

2610	12 E4	+11/48	48 15	+11 36	<b>Isaras fl.</b>	RN	RN: Isar (GER). Ἰσάραξ Strabo 4,6,9, etc. ‘The tempestuous, fast one’, to <i>iso-</i> .
4310	19 D2	+11/47	47 56	+11 43	<b>Isinisca</b>	LN	LN: on road between Pont Aeni to Augusta Vindelicum (GER). <i>Isunisca</i> TP 3,3; <i>Isinisca</i> IA 236, 3; 258,9; <i>Isinisca</i> (var. <i>Isinisca</i> ) 257,3. Obscure; if Celtic, may contain <i>iso-</i> . Morphology is obscure but may reflect its distortion in the process of copying.
4666	20 B3	+14/46	46 33	+14 44	<b>Iuenna</b>	LN	LN: Globasnitz (AUS). Ἰλουνον (var. ἰδοῦνον, ἴδουνον) Ptol. 2,13,3; <i>Iuenna</i> TP, 4,2. Found within the territory of the Teurisci, may be well Celtic, although the exact form is impossible to trace. If it is in fact <i>Iuenna</i> , cf. <i>Iue-ricci</i> (Belg); to <i>iuo-</i> ‘ivy’. For the Ptolomaic forms cf. Isaac, PNPG, comm. ad loc: “Errors between delta and lambda are common. Müller tentatively suggests that, in fact, alpha is primary ( <i>{Iáounon}</i> ) is found in the secondary ms. A), and draws attention to <i>Jauntal</i> south-eastern Austria, further comparing <i>Iuenna</i> TP ( <i>Atlas</i> 20B3, 14/46, Globasnitz A). This is palaeographically unattractive, since alpha has no authority of the primary mss., and chance similarity with modern names (of an emendation at that) is a poor heuristic. But it must be conceded that the location of <i>{Idoûnon}</i> according to Ptolemy fits the geography of the region”.
2105	11 G2	+06/50	50 56	+06 23	<b>Iuliacum</b>	LN	LN: Jülich (GER). <i>Iuliaco</i> IA 375,8; <i>Iuliacum</i> 378,7; <i>Iuliaco</i> TP 1,5; <i>Iuliacum</i> Ammianus XVII.2.1; etc. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of Lat. PN <i>Julius</i> .
3208	14 G3	+01/45	45 26	+01 09	<b>Iuliacum</b>	LN	LN: Rouffiac, Cm. Angoisse? (FRA). <i>ex fundo Rofiaco, domum nomine Juliaco</i> Test. Ared. (Aubrun 414). An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of Lat. <i>Iulius</i> ; see also 3208a <i>Rofiacum</i> .
2106	11 A3	+00/49	49 32	+00 33	<b>Iuliobona</b>	LN	LN: Lillebonne (FRA). Ἰουλιοβόνα (var. Ἰουλιβάννα, Ἰουλιόβωνα) Ptol. 2,8,5; <i>Iuliobona</i> IA 382,1; <i>A Iuliobona</i> 384,13; 385,1; <i>Iuliobona</i> TP 1,2; etc. A hybrid with Celtic <i>bono-</i> and Lat. imperial name <i>Iulius</i> .
6047	24 G2	-05/42	43 00	-04 07	<b>Iuliobriga</b>	LN	LN: Retortillo (Reinosa) (ESP). <i>oppido Iuliobrica</i> (var. <i>-iga</i> ) Pliny 3.21, <i>Iuliobriga</i> (var. <i>-ica</i> ) 3,27, Ἰουλιόβριγα (var. <i>-ίγα</i> ) Ptol. 2,6,50; <i>Iuliobriga</i> ND oc. 42.30; <i>Iuliobriga</i> Itin. Astorga 1,9; <i>Iuliobrigens</i> CIL II 4192, <i>Iuliobrig</i> 4240., etc. A hybrid with Celt. <i>brig-</i> and Lat. imperial name <i>Iulius</i> .

	3209	14 E1	-01/47	47 27	-00 33	<b>Iuliomagus</b>	LN	LN: Angers (FRA). Ἰουλιόμαγος Ptol. 2,8,8; <i>Iuliomago</i> TP 1,3. A hybrid with Celtic <i>magos</i> and Lat. imperial name <i>Iulius</i> . See also 3209a <i>Civitas Andecavorum</i> .
	4311	19 A2	+08/47	47 46	+08 29	<b>Iuliomagus</b>	LN	LN: Schleithem (SWI). <i>Iuliomago</i> TP 2,5. A hybrid with Celtic <i>magos</i> and Lat. imperial name <i>Iulius</i> .
	4312	19 F3	+13/46	46 27	+13 02	<b>Iulium Carnicum</b>	LN	LN: Zuglio (IT). Ἰούλιον Καρνικόν (var. καρινικόν, κάρνικον, μάρνικον Ptol. 2,13,3; <i>Iulia Carnico</i> IA 279,5; <i>col. Iul. Kar.</i> CIL V, 1842; cf. V, 2384; <i>Iul(iensium) Ka[r](norum)</i> CIL V 1862. The second component probably Celtic, see <i>carno-</i> .
	4313	19 F2	+13/47	47 49	+13 06	<b>Iuvavum</b>	LN	LN: Salzburg (AUS). <i>Iuvaum</i> (var. <i>iuuam</i> , <i>iuam</i> ) Pliny 3, 146; <i>Ivavo</i> TP 3,4; <i>Iovavi</i> IA 235, 4, 256, 7; 258, 6, etc. At least consistent with Celtic; Anreiter <i>et alii</i> , The Names of the Eastern Alpine region mentioned in Ptolemy, 124 and 136; and Isaac, PNPg, comm. ad <i>Klaudioúion</i> hesitant; cf. <i>ivo-</i> .
-	3163a	14 H2	+02/46	46 10	+02 27	<b>Ivaunum</b>	LN	LN: Evaux-les-Bains (FRA). See 3163 <i>*Evaunum</i> .
	1759	10 H4	+11/52	52 05	+11 30	<b>Kaloukones?</b>	EN	EN: (NL). Καλούκωνες Ptol. 2,11,10; (cf. also Καούλκοι Strabo VII.1.3). Possibly Celtic, meaning uncertain. According to G.R. Isaac, PNPg, may go back to <i>calo-uco-on-</i> , with Celtic <i>calo-</i> ‘call’, to <i>*kleh<sub>1</sub>-</i> ‘call’. See also <i>Calucones</i> 4245.
	6049	24 G2	-05/42	42 48	-04 50	<b>Kamarika</b>	LN	LN: La Serna (Velilla del Río Carrión) (ESP). <i>Tamarici</i> (var. <i>-ricae</i> , <i>-ritae</i> , <i>tamamarice</i> , <i>-cae</i> ) Pliny 31,23; Καμάρικα (var. -ίκα) Ptol. 2,6,50; <i>Cambracum</i> Rav. 4,43. If Celtic, to <i>camaro-</i> .
-	3091a	14 E3	-01/45	45 50	-00 43	<b>Kanentel(l)os fl.</b>	RN	RN: Charente (FRA). Κανεντέλλου (var. Κανεντέλου) Ptol. 2,7,1; Κανεντέλλου Marcian 2,21. Possibly an error for 3091 <i>Carantonos</i> (though ρ / ν confusion seems unlikely). Isaac, PNPg segments <i>cáno- ent- elo-</i> or <i>carant- ono-</i> ; see <i>car-</i> , <i>cāno-</i> .
-	6389a	25 C3	-03/42	42 58	-02 20	<b>Karistoi</b>	EN	EN: between mouth of R. Deva and interior (ESP). Καριστῶν Ptol. 2.6.8, Καριστοῦ. 2.6.64. See 6389 <i>Carietes</i> . Isaac (PNPg) segments <i>caro- isto-</i> , and comments “It is a moot point whether Ptolemy’s { <i>Karistoi</i> } are really to be identified with Pliny’s <i>Carietes</i> , 3,26. Sigma - epsilon confusion is palaeographically plausible, but they could be neighbouring polities sharing the same root syllable.” See <i>car-</i> ; and cf. García Alonso ‘Vettones y Layetanos’ who suggests <i>-isto</i> is a superlative, the EN meaning ‘los muy amables, los muy amigos, los más amigos’.

-	5974a	24 D1	-08/43	43 11	-07 54	<b>Karonion</b>	LN	LN: Guitiríz (ESP). Καρόνιον Ptol. 2,6,22. A variant form of 5974 <i>Caranicum</i> ; see above.
	4667	20 F2	+18/47	47 46	+18 12	<b>Kelamantia</b>	LN	LN: Iža-Leányvar (SVK – so Bar.). Καλαμαντία (var. Κελεμαντία, Κελαμαντία, Κελμαντία) Ptol. 2,11,15. A Celtic explanation is possible (cf. <i>celo-</i> ) but not necessary. According to E. Schwarz ( <i>Die Ortsnamen der Sudetenländer als Geschichtsquelle</i> , 40) the LN is pre-Celtic.
	Cors 1	48 D2	+09/42	42 40	+09 11	<b>Kersounon</b>	LN	LN: St. Florent area ? (Corsica, FRA). Κέρσουνον (var. Κέρσον, Κέρσου) Ptol. 3,2,8. Not necessarily Celtic, but cf. Gaulish LNN in <i>cert-</i> .
	2885	13 B4	+16/48	48 07	+16 07	<b>Ketion Oros</b>	MN	MN: Wienerwald (AUS). Κετίου (var. Κιτίου) ὄρους, Κετίω ὄρει Ptol. 2,13,1; Κετίω (var. Κεττίω) ὄρει, Κετίου ὄρους 14,1; Κέτιον 2,15,1. ‘Forest mountain’, <i>cae/ito-, cēto-</i> .
	12121	50 C3	+22/40	40 52	+22 51	<b>Klitai</b>	LN	LN: NE Lake Pikrolimne (Gr). Κλίτ[α]ι Delphic list, A. Plassart, ‘La liste delphique des Theorodoques’, BCH 45, 1921, 18; Χαῖται, Χαίται, Χαίται Ptol. 3,12, 35; <i>Clitae</i> (area) Pliny 31, 107. If Celtic, to <i>clit-</i> . See Falileyev, Salamanca volume.
	Cors 2	48 D2	+09/42	42 47	+09 28	<b>Klounion</b>	LN	LN: Erbalunga? (Corsica, FRA). Κλούνιον πόλις (var. Κούνιον) Ptol. 3,2,5. Very possibly Celtic, <i>clūno-</i> .
	6050	24 D2	-08/42	42 09	-07 57	<b>Koiliobriga</b>	LN	LN: Castromao (Celanova) (ESP). Κοιλιόβριγα (var. -ίγα) Ptol. 2,6,41. A Celtic LN in <i>-briga</i> . Interpretation of the first component is problematic. García Alonso and Luján, ‘Ptolemy’s Callaecia’, 61, consider here 6001 <i>Coelerni</i> . Holder relates the placename to the Latin personal name <i>Coelius</i> (and García Alonso suggests that the toponym or ethnonym could be motivated by a personal name <i>Coilos</i> or <i>Coilios</i> ; DLG <i>coilos</i> ‘mince, étroit’ gives NP <i>Coilos</i> attested in Spain), but Luján rejects this, preferring to derive the placename from the ethnonym, adding “the etymology of both the ethnonym and the place-name is difficult to establish.” He suggests comparison to Old Irish <i>coil</i> , <i>cóel</i> ‘small, thin’. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 243-4 cites Albertos Firmat, OPP 91, relating <i>coel</i> in placenames to Celtic <i>*coilos</i> , whence Old Irish <i>coil</i> , related by García Alonso to the Indo-European root <i>*koilo-</i> ‘thin’. Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 318 suggests a link to <i>caelia</i> ‘beer’, cited by Orosius 5.7.13 as a derivative of <i>caleo</i> , but Luján cautions that <i>coel</i> and <i>cael</i> are not necessarily the same. For this to

							work there would have to be a change of diphthong, which is unlikely.
-	3118a	14 D1	-02/47	47 13	-01 34	<b>Kondeouinkon?</b>	LN: Nantes (FRA). Κονδοούινκον (var. Κονδοούινκον) Ptol. 2,8,8. Possibly Celtic. G. R. Isaac, PNPG segments <i>com- di- uinco-</i> , with Celtic prefixes <i>com-di-</i> ; and <i>uinco-</i> is listed as a possibly Celtic element in PNPG, perhaps from <i>*uenk-</i> ‘sway, vacillate’. See also 3118 <i>Civitas Namnetum</i> and 3118b ‘ <i>Portunamnetu</i> ’.
	16162	63 B4	+32/38	38 19	+32 55	<b>Kongoustos</b>	LN: Altinekin? (TUR). Identical with 16162a <i>Congussus. Kóggoustos</i> (Ptol 5,4,10), <i>Kongoustos, Congussus. *kom-</i> + <i>*gusto-</i> as in OIr PNN <i>Fergus, Oengus</i> , OW <i>Gurgust</i> , ‘Pictish Chronicle’ <i>Wrguist, Onuist, *gustu-</i> < PIE <i>*g’us-tú-</i> < <i>*g’eus-</i> ‘taste, enjoy; choose’. See also K. McCone in <i>Die grösseren altkeltischen Sprachdenkmäler</i> (W. Meid, P. Anreiter, eds), Innsbruck, 1996.
	6051	24 H2	-04/42	42 39	-03 59	<b>Koniskoi</b>	EN: SE Cantabria (ESP). Κονίσκοις Strabo 3,4,12. Iberian for Holder (s.v.), who compares it with <i>Concani, Coniaci</i> . See 6007 <i>Conimbriga</i> ; the suffix <i>-isk-</i> is at least Indo-European.
	19586	86 D3	+33/40	40 10	+33 23	<b><u>Konkarztiakon</u></b>	LN: Çiftlik (TUR). Κονκαρτζιακιτω (RECAM, № 207); Κονκαρτζιακωτω (RECAM, no. 208). Notwithstanding a Celtic-looking suffix Celticity of this LN is dubious pace Mitchell, <i>Anatolia I</i> , 50 n. 89.
	3212	14 D1	-02/47	47 11	-01 40	<b>Korbilon</b>	LN: (FRA). Κορβιλών Strabo 4,2,1. Obscure; cf. 1974 <i>Corobilium</i> .
	6993	26 D4	-07/37	37 54	-06 50	<b>Kortikata</b>	LN: Cortegana (ESP). Κορτίκατα Ptol. 2,4,10. For the analysis of this possibly Celtic LN see 6009 <i>Corticata Ins</i> .
	3214	14 F1	+00/47	47 43	+00 50	<b><u>Labr(oc)inum</u></b>	LN: Lavardin? (FRA). <i>in condito Labricinensi Vita S. Thuribii</i> 1,3; <i>in parochia Labrocinensi Vita Carilefi</i> 2,11; later form (1240) <i>de Lavardin</i> TGF: 5103. If Celtic, to <i>labero-</i> ; this is used elsewhere in RNN, so perhaps the LN was formed on an RN, ‘the town by the talkative river’. Cf <i>Vindocinum</i> 3440 and <i>Eudracinum</i> 3912 for the suffix. TGF: 5103 suggests Lat. loc. pl. <i>lavatrinis</i> ‘aux lavoirs’, but this cannot explain the attested ancient forms.
	6994	26 B4	-09/37	37 07	-08 42	<b>Lac(c)obriga</b>	LN: possibly Monte Milião, near Lagos (POR). <i>Lacobrigenses</i> (var. <i>lago-, lacobrienses, lagobriensis</i> ) Pliny 3,26; Λακκόβριγα (var. Λαγγόβριγα, Λαγκόβριγα) Ptol. 2,5,5; <i>Sacro Laccobriga</i> (var. <i>caetobriga, lattobrigal</i> ) Mela 3,1,7; <i>Lacobrica</i> IA 395,1; <i>Lacobrigam</i> (var. <i>laccobrigam, lacobricam</i> ) IA 449,3;

							(var. <i>lacobricam</i> ) 454,1; <i>Langobriga</i> (var. <i>langobrica</i> ) IA 421,7; <i>Langobrica</i> (var. <i>lingo brica</i> ) Rav. 4,43. See Gorrochategui, Establishment and analysis, 165-6, where the first component is identified with 1) the Gallo-Romance word <i>lanca</i> ‘river-bed’, 2) Celt.-Lat. <i>lancea</i> (see <i>lanco-</i> ) or 3) <i>*lango-</i> ‘large’. See also PNPg’s Celtic element <i>laco-</i> ‘lance’ or ‘muddy, marshy place’. The second component is <i>brig-</i> .
6516	25 G4	+01/41	41 38	+01 40	<b>Lacetani</b>	EN	EN/LN: upper Llobregat and Cardoner valleys and near Segà (ESP). <i>Lacetaniam</i> Livy hist. 21.23.2; <i>Lacetani</i> (var. <i>Iacetani</i> ) Pliny 3,22; <i>Lacetanorum</i> Frontin. strat. 3,10,1; Λακετανῶν Plut. Cato major 11,1; Ἰακκητᾶνοι (var. Ἀκκητᾶνοι) Ptol. 2.6,71; Λακητανίαν Dio. Cass. 45.10.1. <i>Iacco</i> might be a Celtic element, though Isaac is doubtful of it in the context of this name; see <i>Iacca</i> 6487. If the first element is <i>laco-</i> , see <i>Lacobriga</i> 6994.
4322	19 F2	+13/47	47 56	+13 14	<b>Laciadis</b> <sup>69</sup>	LN	LN: Frankenmarkt? (SWI). <i>Laciadis</i> TP 3,4; <i>Laciaco</i> IA 235,3; 258,5; 256,6 (var. <i>Iaciaco</i> ). Probably Celtic, cf. LN element <i>laco-</i> (on which see <i>Lacobriga</i> 6052) or PN <i>Lacius</i> and <i>-āko-</i> .
6052	24 G2	-05/42	42 21	-04 36	<b>Lacobriga</b>	LN	LN: Iglesia de Belén (Carrión de los Condes) (ESP). <i>Lacobrigenses</i> (var. <i>lago-</i> , <i>lacobrienses</i> , <i>lagobrienses</i> ) Pliny 3,26; Λακόβριγα (var. Λακκόβριγα) Ptol. 2,6,49; <i>Lacobrica</i> IA 395,1; <i>Lacobrigam</i> (var. <i>laccobrigam</i> , <i>lacobricam</i> ) 449,3; <i>Lacobrigam</i> (var. <i>lacobricam</i> ) 454,1; <i>Langobriga</i> (var. <i>langobrica</i> ) IA 421, 7; <i>Lacobrica</i> Rav. 4,45. A Celtic LN in <i>brig-</i> . For the first component cf. 6994 <i>Lacobriga</i> .
6517	25 F2	+00/43	43 57	+00 37	<b>Lactora</b>	LN	LN: Lectoure (FRA). <i>Lactora</i> TP; <i>Lactura</i> IA 462.5; <i>Civitas Lactoratium</i> NG 14, 4; <i>Lacura</i> Rav. 4,41; <i>Lactorae</i> CIL 5, 875; <i>L[a]ctor[a]e</i> CIL 13, 504; <i>civitat lactor</i> 51. <i>Villes</i> 100 cites Not. Tiron. 87.77 <i>Lacturatis</i> . Obscure. Holder reports that this is ‘nach Zeuß gallisch, nach Desjardins iberisch.’ Isaac, AILR thinks it might be Latin. TGF 3081 considers it Gaulish, from ‘ <i>*lact</i> , qui se trouve dans le NL de Grand Bretagne et qui pourrait signifier “lait” ou “blanc” + <i>-ó-rate-</i> “rempart”.’ AILR lists <i>lacto-</i> (cf. <i>W llaeth</i> ) as a possibly Celtic element, cf. also PNRB 382-3 s.v. <i>Lactodurum</i> . For an element <i>*uro-</i> , <i>urā</i> ‘river’ see Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 32-7. Cf. 6517 <i>Lactorates</i> .

-	6517a	25 F2	+00/43	43 57	+00 37	<b>Lactorates</b>	EN	EN: around Lectoure (FRA). <i>lactorat</i> CIL 13, 526. The people of, and named after, 6517 <i>Lactora</i> q.v.
	6518	25 H4	+02/41	41 38	+02 20	<b>Laeetania</b>	TN	TN: Barcelona region (ESP). Ληητανῶν Strabo 3,4,8; <i>Laeetani</i> (var. <i>laet-</i> , <i>lacet-</i> , <i>lalet-</i> <i>let-</i> , <i>lact-</i> ) Pliny 3.21; <i>Laletana</i> Mart. 1,26,9; Λαιητανῶν (var. Λαικτανῶν) Ptol. 2,6,18; <i>Laeetanae</i> CIL 2, 4226, <i>Laietanae</i> 6171. Obscure. Cf <i>Lacetani</i> 6516: this could be a form of the same name, with scribal confusion <i>c</i> for <i>e</i> , but Barbieri 'Iacetani, Lacetani et Laeetani' 120 considers them to be separate people. García Alonso 'Indoeuropeos en el Nordeste' discusses this EN, taking <i>Lae-</i> to be correct. He suggests a root like <i>Lai-</i> , which he tentatively connects to IE <i>*pel-H2-</i> / <i>pla-</i> , whence <i>planus</i> 'flat', OI <i>lám</i> , etc: so EN <i>Laeetani</i> = 'habitantes de la llanura' or 'de las tierras bajas'. See <i>Lacetani</i> 6516 for the suffix <i>-etani</i> .
-	6059a	24 C2	-09/42	42 22	-08 02	<b>Lais</b>	LN	LN: Lás (S. Amaro) (ESP). <i>municipio Lais</i> Hyd. Chron. 253. A corrupt or abbreviated form of 6059 <i>Lansbrica</i> .
	7003	26 D1	-07/40	40 02	-06 03	<b>Lama</b>	LN	LN: Plasencia? (ESP). Λάμα Ptol. 2,5,7; <i>Lamensis</i> CIL 2, 513. If Celtic, to <i>lama-</i> .
	6054	24 D3	-08/41	41 06	-07 49	<b><u>Lamecum</u></b>	LN	LN: Lamego? (POR) Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 316 reports councils and coins: FHA IX 216 (conc. 8 (6) de mayo 589), 288 (conc. 5 dec. 633), 294 (conc. jan. 638), 313 (16 dec. 653), etc., coins from kings Sisebuto and Sisenando. Possibly Celtic. Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 316 states that this name is 'derivada sin duda de <i>lama</i> + el sufijo <i>*eco</i> .' Hernando Balmori 'Sobre la inscripción bilingüe de Lamas de Moledo' 108 notes that <i>lama</i> 'mud' survives in modern Peninsular languages. García Alonso 'Lenguas prerromanas en el territorio de los Vetones' 393-4 discusses <i>lama</i> , noting that it cannot come directly from <i>*lei-</i> 'fluir' whence Latin <i>limus</i> etc., and comparing rather OI <i>lám</i> 'hand', suggesting that <i>lama</i> in LNN could mean 'flat land'. See <i>lāmo-</i> . For <i>-eco-</i> , cf <i>Cabrianecum</i> (3074) and <i>Brigeco</i> (5955). Holder's emendation to <i>-acon</i> , from Celtic <i>āko-</i> , is unnecessary.
	7365	27 B3	-04/38	38 54	-03 03	<b>Laminium</b>	LN	LN: Alhambra? (ESP). <i>Laminitano agro</i> (var. <i>lumi-</i> , <i>lammi-</i> , <i>lamimi-</i> , <i>lanumi-</i> ) Plin. 3,6; Λαμίνιον (var. Λαμνίον) Ptol. 2,6,56, <i>Lamini</i> IA 445,4; <i>Lamim</i> Rav. 4,43; <i>Municipi Laminitani</i> CIL 2, 3228, etc. Not necessarily Celtic; but cf. LN element <i>lāmo-</i> .



	3215	14 E3	-01/45	45 36	-00 33	<b>Lamnum</b>	LN	LN: Pons (FRA). <i>Lamnum</i> TP 1,1, <i>Tannum</i> IA 459,1. Obscure: the incompatibility of the forms does not allow conclusions, although a Celtic approach is possible.
-	6055a	24 F2	-06/42	42 37	-05 25	<b>Lance</b>	LN	LN: El Castro (Villasabariego) (ESP). <i>Lance</i> IA 395,3. See 6055 <i>Lancia</i> and cf. 6055b <i>Lancienses</i> .
	6055	24 F2	-06/42	42 37	-05 25	<b>Lancia</b>	LN	LN: El Castro (Villasabariego) (ESP). <i>Lancia</i> Florus 2,33,57; Λαγκίαν Dio Cass. 53,25,8; <i>Lancham</i> (var. <i>lancum</i> , <i>lancam</i> , <i>lanciam</i> ) Oros. 6,21,10; <i>Lanc</i> CIL 2, 5261, <i>Lanciesis</i> I3, 4227. To <b>lanco-</b> .
-	6055b	24 F2	-06/42	42 37	-05 25	<b>Lancienses</b>	EN	EN derived from LN <i>Lancia</i> , LN: El Castro (Villasabariego) (ESP). <i>Lancienses</i> (var. <i>llanci-</i> , <i>lanti-</i> , <i>llanti-</i> , <i>llati-</i> ) Pliny 3, 28, <i>Lancienses</i> 4,118; Λαγκίατοι Ptol. 2,6,28; <i>Lancien[si]</i> CIL 2, 2889. The people of 6055 <i>Lancia</i> (q.v.); the EN is formed with a Latin (Greek in case of Ptolemy) suffix.
	6056	24 E4	-07/40	40 12	-06 45	<b>Lancienses Oppidani</b>	EN	EN: NW Cáceres province (ESP). Λαγκία Ὀππιδάνα Ptol. 2,5,7; <i>Lanc. Opp.</i> CIL 2,460, <i>Lancienses oppidani</i> 760, <i>Lanciesi oppidano</i> ILER 5355. To <b>lanco-</b> .
	6057	24 D4	-08/40	40 25	-07 05	<b>Lancienses Transcudani</b>	EN	EN: Teixoso area (POR). <i>Lancienses transcudani</i> CIL 2, 760; <i>Lanc(iensis) transc(udani)</i> AE 1987, 484. <i>Lancienses</i> to <b>lanco-</b> ; <i>Transcudani</i> is a Latin epithet of unknown meaning.
	6058	24 C4	-09/40	40 59	-08 32	<b>Langobriga</b>	LN	LN: Monte de S. Maria/Redondo (Feira) (POR). <i>Langobriga</i> (var. <i>langobrica</i> ) IA 421,7; <i>Langobrica</i> (var. <i>lingo brica</i> ) Rav. 4,43. Celtic, <b>lango-</b> & <b>briga</b> .
	6059	24 C2	-09/42	42 22	-08 02	<b>Lansbrica</b>	LN	LN: Lás (S. Amaro) (ESP). <i>Bandu/a Lansb/ricae</i> (inscription cited by TIR K-29 with a reference to Rivas, BAur 3 (1973) 87-91); <i>BANDV / ALANSBRICAE</i> , reading of Prósper, <i>Lenguas y Religiones</i> 258-9. The second component may be <b>-brig</b> ; the first is difficult. Albertos Firmat, 'Topónimos en <i>-briga</i> ', lists the name as <i>Lanobriga</i> . However, the modern name suggests that the <i>-s-</i> is genuine, which makes the Celticity of the underlying form problematic.
	4325	19 F3	+13/46	46 24	+13 18	<b>Larice</b> <sup>69</sup>	LN	LN: Campolaro? (IT). <i>Larice</i> (var. <i>Lacire</i> ) IA 276,3. If Celtic, to <b>lāro-</b> .
	9382	39 E1	+09/46	46 02	+09 16	<b>Larius</b>	HN	Lake-name: L. Como (IT). Λάριος Polyb. 34,10,20; Λάριον Strabo 4,3,3; 6,6; <i>passim</i> ; Ptol. 3,1,24; <i>Larium lacum</i> (var. <i>largium</i> ) Paul. Diac. 5, 38; Cato origg lib. 2 fr. 38; Peter in Servius on Vergil. Georg. 2,159; <i>Larium</i> Catull 35,3. Celtic, to <b>lāro-</b> .

4672	20 B4	+14/45	45 50	+14 50	<b>Latobici</b>	EN	EN: area of Corcoras fl. (SVN). <i>Latobici</i> Pliny 3,148; Λατόβικοι Ptol. 2,14,2. Celtic; following W. Meid (in <i>FS F. Lochner von Hüttenbach</i> , p. 125f) ‘brave fighters’; * <i>lāto-</i> & * <i>uik-</i> ‘to fight’. See, however, uncertainty expressed by Isaac, PNPg, s.v. <i>la:to/i</i> .	
3547	15 B2	+03/43	43 34	+03 55	<b>Lattara</b>	LN	LN: Lattes (FRA). <i>Stagnum Latera</i> (var. <i>Laterra</i> ) Pliny 9,29; <i>Castellum Latara</i> Mela 2.5.80; <i>Latara</i> Rav. 4,28 and 5,3; <i>Iattar(enses)</i> (for <i>Lattar(enses)</i> ), Demougeot ‘L’Inscription de Lattes’ and Duval ‘Chronique gallo-romaine’ 352. Although Da. thinks that the name is ‘pre-Celtic’ due to the suffix, and TGF: 5963 suggests this is a derivative of Lat. <i>latera</i> ‘brique’, a variant of <i>later</i> , a Celtic approach is still possible although not necessary. As <i>Lattara</i> is in a marshy area, cf. here Celt. <i>lat-</i> ; morphological configuration, however, is difficult to explain. See ACPN: 240 fn. 120.	
3218	14 F1	+00/47	47 26	+00 55	<b>Laudiacum M.</b>	LN	LN: Montlouis (FRA). <i>vicum cui nomen est Laudiacum</i> (var. <i>Laudiaco</i> ) GdeT HF 2,1; <i>monte Laudiaco</i> 10,31,6; <i>vico Montis Laudiacensis</i> VM 3,54. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Lat. PN * <i>Laudius</i> ; cf. <i>Laudonius</i> .	
2632	12 H4	+14/48	48 13	+14 27	<b>Lauriacum</b>	LN	LN: Lorch (AUS). <i>Lauriaco</i> (var. <i>lauraco</i> ) IA 231,11; (var. <i>lauriaco</i> ) 235,1; (var. <i>lauricano</i> ) 241,3; (var. <i>laurico</i> ) 249,1; (var. <i>lauriciaco</i> ) 256,4; (var. <i>laurico</i> ) 258,2; (var. <i>mariaco</i> ) 276,1; (var. <i>laurico</i> ) 277,3; <i>Lauriacenses</i> ND oc. 5, 109 and 259; 7,58, <i>Lauriacensis scutaria</i> 9, 21, <i>Lauriaco</i> 34, 39, <i>Lauriacensis</i> 34, 43; <i>Blaboriciaco</i> TP 3,4; <i>per Lauriacum</i> Amm. 31,10,20; <i>Lauriaco</i> Eugippius <i>Vita Severini</i> XVIII.1 and XXXI.6, <i>Lauriacum</i> XXVII.2, XXVIII.1 and XXXI.1, <i>Lauriaci</i> XXX.1; <i>Lauriacenses</i> CIL 3,5670a, etc. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a PN <i>Laurius</i> .	
-	4133a	18 D3	+06/46	46 25	+06 30	<b>Lausonius L.</b>	HN	HN: Lac Léman (SWI). <i>Losannensis</i> TP 2,2; <i>Lacu Lausonio</i> IA 348,2. A derivative of 4137 <i>Lousonna</i> ; cf. 4133 <i>Lemannus Lacus</i> .
6522	25 H2	+02/43	43 44	+02 07	<b>Lautrego</b>	LN	LN: Lautrec? (FRA). <i>Lautrego</i> Vita Des. 9,17; late attestation (942) <i>Lastrinco</i> TGF: 14849. Obscure. TGF 14849 and Nègre, ‘Toponymie albigeoise’ 372, derive the name from a Germanic personal name <i>Leotricus</i> (NPAG 1 160b). Da., presumably working from the modern form, suggests rather that it is Latin “ <i>altura</i> , hauteur, et	

								suff. <i>-iccum</i> . P-ê. anc. prov. <i>autreg</i> , subst. verbal de <i>autrejar</i> , otroyer, = fief octroyé.” Since we have no early attestations, the name may have been formed later and based on something Germanic or Provençal, but there is also a Celtic possibility: see DLG s.v. <i>lautron</i> ‘bain’, and Isaac, AILR, Celtic element <i>lauatro-</i> ‘bath, river-bed’.
5132	21 D5	+21/44	44 47	+21 20	<b>Lederata</b>	LN	LN: Ram (SCG). <i>Lederata</i> TP 6,2; <i>Laedenatae</i> (var. <i>laedanate</i> ) ND or. 41 17, <i>Laedemata</i> (var. <i>laedamata</i> ) 36; Λιτερατό Proc. ae. 4,6,3; Λεδέρατα Proc. ae. 4,6,3; <i>Literata</i> Justin. Nov. 11, etc. Settlement is located in Scordiscan territory; if Celtic, cf. <i>ratā/i-</i> and <i>rāto/ā-</i> for the second component. For the first part of the LN cf. <i>Ledernaum</i> ( <i>Lethernaum</i> ), modern Lierneux in Belgium and a PN <i>Leduccus</i> .	
4132	18 C3	+05/46	46 41	+05 34	<b>Ledo</b>	LN	LN: Lons-le-Saunier (FRA). Ho. cites Acta S. Damasi papae a.336 <i>Plurimus Ledoni baptisavit</i> . Da. has much later forms 1233 <i>Laons</i> , 1315 <i>Lons le Sanier</i> , 1397 <i>de Ledone Salnerii</i> . Obscure. ADAS 103 attributes this to a word <i>Ledon</i> ‘mot gaulois pour désigner le flux ou la marée’; see Dottin LG 89 for the possibly Celtic origins of this Latin word <i>ledo</i> and cf. now ACPN: 240 fn. 123. Cf. 3223a <i>Ledo fl.</i> and 3550 <i>Ledus fl.</i> (map 15 B2 no.). TGF 2706 suggests a Celtic PN <i>Litu</i> , <i>Litus</i> (GPN 218) and Celtic <i>-dunum</i> , but this form is unlikely to have given <i>*Ledo</i> , and no surviving attestations bear witness to it.	
- 3223a	14 D2	-02/47	47 20	-01 20	<b>Ledo fl.</b>	RN	RN: Loire (FRA). Also known as <i>Liger</i> . See 3550 <i>Ledus fl.</i>	
3550	15 B2	+03/43	43 42	+03 53	<b>Ledus fl.</b>	RN	RN: Lez (FRA). <i>Ledum flumen</i> Mela 2,80; <i>Ledus</i> Sid App carm. 5,208. Later attestations: (799) <i>fluvium Leto</i> , (1070) <i>flumine Lesus</i> TGF: 2160. Obscure. Dottin LG 89 refers to G. <i>ledo</i> , pl. <i>ledones</i> , ‘reflux’, ‘majores aestus’, which is not considered in the later literature. See, however, now ACPN: 240 fn. 123.	
- 1007c	7 E3	-02/48	48 43	-01 23	<b>Legedia</b>	LN	LN: Avranches (FRA). See 1007 <i>Ingena</i> and 1007a <i>Abrincas</i> .	
4133	18 D3	+06/46	46 25	+06 30	<b>Lemannus L.</b>	HN	HN: Lac Léman (SWI). <i>lacu Lemanno</i> Caes. BG 1,2,3; <Λημέννης> Strabo 4,1,11; <i>Lemanno</i> Lucan 1, 396; <i>Lemanno lacu</i> Mela 2,5,74; <i>Lemanno</i> Pliny 2,224; Λεημένην (var. λιμένην) Ptol. 2,10,2; Λεμμώνω λίμνη Cass. Dio. 39,5; <i>Lemenicum</i> Avien. or. marit. 676. Celtic; to <i>lēmo-</i> , <i>limo-</i> . See also 4133a <i>Lausonius L.</i>	

6064	24 D2	-08/42	42 35	-07 35	<b>Lemavi</b>	EN	EN: Lemos area (ESP). <i>Lemauros</i> (var. <i>leuamos</i> , <i>leuamus</i> ) Pliny 3,28, Λεμαίων Ptol. 2,6,25, <i>praef. alae I Lemauorum</i> CIL II 2103. ‘The Elm people’, to <b>lēmo-</b> , <b>limo-</b> . See also 6068 <i>Limia fl.</i>
3946	17 F2	+05/45	45 34	+05 56	<b>Lemincum</b>	LN	LN: Chambéry (FRA). <i>Leminco</i> TP 2,1; <i>Lemincum</i> (var. <i>lemencum</i> ) IA 346,5; <i>Leuinum</i> Rav. 4,26. Celtic, to <b>lēmo-</b> <i>inco-</i> . For <i>inco-</i> cf. 4064 <i>Vappincum</i> and 1820 <i>Agedincum</i> .
3219	14 F3	+00/45	45 46	+00 40	<b>Lemovices</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Lemovices</i> Caes. BG 7,4,6 Λεμοουίκες; Strabo 4,2,2; <i>Lemovices</i> (var. <i>leuovices</i> ) Pliny 4,109; Λιμουίκοι (var. Λιμουίκοι) Ptol. 2,7,9; <i>civitas Lemovicum</i> NG 12,7; <i>Lemovices</i> Sid. App. epist. 7,6,7; <i>Lemofex</i> Not. Tiron. 87,15. Celtic, to <b>lēmo-</b> , <b>limo-</b> & <b>uic-</b> . For the semantics cf. <i>Eburovices</i> .
2633	12 H4	+14/48	48 18	+14 17	<b>Lentia</b>	LN	LN: Linz (AUS). <i>Lentiae</i> (var. <i>lanciae</i> ) ND oc. 34, 32 and 38. Obscure: ‘?sloping place’ (cfr. Celtic approach, “wohl kelt. * <i>Lentjā</i> , z. idg. Wz. * <i>lent-</i> ‘biegsam, nachgebend’ (vgl. kymr. <i>llethr</i> ‘Abhang’ [= ‘slope’] < * <i>lent-rā</i> ” IEW 677; cf. also VNP 215 s.v. <i>Lentulae</i> ; or ‘?place of Lentius’ or ‘?the lentil place’ (cf. Latin approach, spätlat. * <i>Lentia</i> ‘Flußbiegung’ (s. W. Brandenstein, <i>Namenkundl. Arbeiten</i> S. 153ff.)” (Hausner & Schuster, <i>Altdeutsches Namenbuch</i> , 677-78)). Consider here PN <i>Lentius</i> (cf. OPEL III, 22), or Lat. <i>lēns</i> , gen. <i>lentis</i> , Dutch ‘linze’, German ‘Linse’, English ‘lentil’?
4675	20 E3	+17/46	46 02	+17 04	<b>Lentulis</b> <sup>69</sup>	LN	LN: around Gradac (CRO). Identified with Legrad by P. Anreiter, <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 214. Λέντουλον (var. Λέντουδον, Λεντοῦδον) Ptol. 2,14,4; <i>Luntulis</i> TP 4,4; <i>Lentulis</i> (from <i>Sinotalentulis</i> ) IA 130,3; <i>mansio Lentolis</i> (var. <i>Lertoles</i> ) IB 562,2; <i>Lentulis</i> Rav. 4,19. Although Anreiter, <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 215 admits a possibility that the LN is Celtic in origin, see Isaac, PNPG, Commentary ad <i>Léntoudon</i> , where the analysis is rejected.
6523	25 G1	+01/44	44 02	+01 24	<b>Lepediaco</b>	LN	LN: Léojac? (FRA). <i>Lipidiaco</i> GdeT VP 13.1, <i>Lipidiacensis</i> 3; <i>Lepediaco</i> (var. <i>Legidiaco</i> , <i>Leppidiaco</i> , <i>Lapediaco</i> ) VitaDes 9(17); later attestations: (961) <i>Laugiago</i> / <i>Laugiaco</i> , (1326) <i>Leugacus</i> TGF: 12665. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a PN; cf. Latin cognomen <i>Lepidus</i> , Germanic PN <i>Leudo</i> (NPAG 1 160b).
9385	39 C1	+08/46	46 02	+08 15	<b>Lepontii</b>	EN	EN: Val d’Ossola (IT). <i>Lepontii</i> (Cato orig. lib. 2 fr 37 Peter apud Pliny 3,134);

								Ληπόντιοι (Strabo 4,3,3; 6,6); <i>Lepontii</i> Pliny 3,134; 135; Ληπόντιων (var. λιπ-) Ptol. 3,1,34; <i>Lebontia</i> Rav. 4,30; <i>Lepontia</i> (CIL 6, 6453, 6471), etc. ‘The departing ones’ or ‘the left behind’; * <i>leik</i> <sup>w</sup> - <i>ont-yo</i> -.
-	6871a	26 E4	-06/37	37 42	-05 21	<b>Leptis?</b>	LN	LN: Cerro del Calvario (Peñaflor) (ESP). Not Celtic; see 6871 <i>Celti?</i> .
-	6972a	26 A2	-10/39	39 04	-09 03	<b>Lerabriga</b>	LN	LN: possibly near Alenquer (POR). See 6972 <i>Ierabriga</i> .
	3552	15 D2	+04/43	43 55	+04 31	<b>Lettino</b>	LN	LN: Lédenon (FRA). <i>Letinnoni</i> CIL 12,2990; later attestations: 979 <i>villa Letino</i> , 1311 <i>Ledenonum</i> TGF: 11430. Obscure; may be Latin, in view of a Latin PN <i>Laetinus</i> ( <i>Laetus</i> ). A Celtic perspective (to <i>lēto</i> -) is possible, but not certain.
	6526	25 I3	+03/42	42 55	+03 02	<b>Leucata Litus</b>	LN	LN: (FRA). <i>Leucata, litoris nomen</i> Mela 2,5,82. The name may contain Celtic component <i>leuco</i> -, but the root is too widespread for us to be certain.
	9386	39 E2	+09/45	45 51	+09 24	<b>Leucerae</b>	LN	LN: Lecco? (IT). <i>Leuceris</i> TP 3,2; Rav. 4,30. If Celtic, to <i>leuco</i> -. See 9386a <i>Leukon</i> .
	2138	11 F4	+05/48	48 33	+05 40	<b>Leuci</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Leucos</i> (acc.) Caesar <i>BG</i> 1, 40; Λεῦκοι Strabo 4,3,4; <i>Leuci liberi</i> Pliny 4, 106; <i>Leucorum</i> Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> 1.64; Λευκοὶ Ptol. 2,9,7; <i>Leucorum</i> IA 385,6; <i>Ciuitas Leucorum</i> (var. <i>leocorum</i> , <i>leoerum</i> , <i>leuchorum</i> ) NG 5,4; <i>Leucus</i> NT LXXXVII.17, <i>Leucia</i> 18; [ <i>Tullum Leuco</i> ]rum CIL 13, 2681c (= CIL 17, 490c); <i>Levci</i> 2955; <i>Genio Levc(orvm)</i> 4630, <i>cives</i> ; <i>Tul(l)o Loucoru(m)</i> AE 1975.634; etc. Probably Celtic, ‘the fair (people)’; to <i>leuco</i> -.
	4676	20 F4	+18/45	45 18	+18 20	<b>Leucono? “?”</b>	LN	LN: Donji Andrijevcii?? (CRO). Other localisations: Selce (TIR L-34, 73); Vrpolje or Levanjska Varoš (Anreiter 2001, 76). <i>Leucono</i> IA 260,8. Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 76-7, who suggests that <i>o</i> here must be long, takes it for Pannonian admitting that “im großen und ganzen unklar”, but it may well be a Celtic LN in <i>-ono-</i> from <i>leuco</i> -.
-	9386a	39 E2	+09/45	45 51	+09 24	<b>Leukon</b>	LN	LN: Lecco? (IT). If Celtic, to <i>leuco</i> -. See 9386 <i>Leucerae</i> .
	6065	24 C3	-09/41	41 53	-08 35	<b>Leuni?</b>	EN	EN: between R. Miño and R. Limia (POR). <i>Leuni</i> (var. <i>laebuni</i> , <i>laeuni</i> ) Pliny 4,112; Λουβαίνων Ptol. 2,6,47. Possibly Celtic; on the interplay of the forms see García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 252 and Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 129. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 249 and 252 suggests that <i>Lub-aen-i</i> may be related to <i>Lub-anc-i</i> and that both names could be Celtic, <i>Lubaeni</i> showing Celtic vowel infection and Latin inflection. For the first element, he suggests Celtic * <i>lovo-</i> ‘light’, or a root <i>Lup-</i> , <i>Lub-</i> which is common in

								personal names. Schulten RE XII 2312 thinks the name is Iberian, but Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 128 points out that in the same column of RE there is an EN <i>Leuni</i> mentioned by Ptol. 2,12,3 north of Vindelicia, which people Tovar considers to be of Indo-European origin; this name might have influenced Pliny's spelling here. If Pliny's form is correct, then perhaps the name is related to DLG's <i>leuo-</i> 'glissant, lent?' to which DLG attributes several toponyms and the ethnonym <i>Leuaci</i> .
-	4137a	18 D3	+06/46	46 31	+06 37	<b>Leusonna</b>	LN	LN: Lausanne (SWI). See 4137 <i>Lousonna</i> .
	1762	10 B5	+05/51	51 59	+05 18	<b>Levefanum?</b>	LN	LN: Wijk bij Duurstede/Rijswijk (NL). <i>Levefano</i> TP 1,3; <i>Evitano</i> (var. <i>evitariorum</i> ) Rav. 4, 24. According to Toorians KGN 102-103, this LN consists of a Celtic element <i>*leve-</i> < IE <i>*pleu-</i> 'to flow', and a Latin element <i>fanum</i> 'sanctuary', whence 'sanctuary near/at a river'. Another interpretation implies comparison of Celtic <i>*leve-</i> with Latin <i>levis</i> 'smooth, unwrinkled', again in connection with RNN. However, a Germanic approach is possible too.
	2141	11 A4	+00/48	48 54	+00 10	<b>Lexovii</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Lexovii</i> (var. <i>Lexobii</i> ) BG 3,9,11,17, <i>passim</i> ; Αηξοβίου Strabo 4,1,14; Αηξοούιοι 4,3,5; <i>Lexovios</i> (acc. pl.) (var. <i>lexobios</i> , <i>lixouios</i> ) Pliny 4,107; Αηξουβίων (var. Αειξουβίων) Ptol. 2,8,2, Αηξούβιοι (var. Αιξούβιοι) 2,8,5; <i>Ciuitas Lexouiorum</i> (var. <i>letouiorum</i> , <i>lexiouiorum</i> , <i>lexiouiorum</i> , <i>lixouiorum</i> , <i>luxouiorum</i> , <i>lixouiorum</i> ) NG 2,7. Probably Celtic: '?people from the slopes' or '?people with prominent cheekbones'. According to Isaac, PNPG, <b>lixo-ou-io-</b> , with possibly Celtic element <i>lixo-</i> . According to Lambert, <i>Lugdunensis</i> , 227 "Stokes US 244 proposed a perfect parallel in Welsh <i>llechwedd</i> 'slope' (from <i>*liksoyǵā</i> ). In fact we might have the same adjective derived in <i>-io-</i> in both instances, from a <i>u</i> -stem <i>*liksu-</i> from <i>*ļksu-</i> , cfr. Greek λοξός 'oblique', Pedersen VKG I.78, Jackson LHEB 351, IEW 308. The graph <i>-η-</i> is not intended as a long vowel, but rather as a sign for some intermediate vowel between <i>-e-</i> and <i>-i-</i> ". Cf. 1020 <i>Noviomagus Lexouiorum</i> .
	6527	25 B3	-04/42	42 30	-03 03	<b>Libia</b>	LN	LN: Colina de las Sernas (Herramélluri) (ESP). <i>Libienses</i> Pliny 3,24; <i>Lybia</i> IA 394,2; <i>Libiensi</i> CIL 2, 439; Iberian coins <i>Libiacos</i> Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 378. See also 6527a <i>Oliba</i> . Obscure. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 299-300, taking <i>Libia</i> as the correct form, compares <i>Libunca</i> , with a radical <i>*lib</i> . Cf. Celtic ethnonym <i>Libici</i> .

3553	15 C3	+04/43	43 25	+04 30	<b>Libica Ora</b>	RN	RN: R. Rhône mouths (FRA). <i>Libica ... ora</i> (var. <i>lyb-</i> ) Pliny 3,33. Descriptive, based on 3554 <i>Libicii</i> q.v.
9388	39 C3	+08/45	45 23	+08 23	<b>Libicii</b>	EN	EN: Around Vercelli (IT). Λεβέκτιοι Polyb. 2,17,4; <i>Libici</i> (var. <i>lyb-</i> ) Pliny 3,124; Λιβικῶν Ptol. 3,1,32. See 3554 below.
3554	15 C2	+04/43	43 35	+04 25	<b>Libicii?</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). Λεβέκτιοι Polyb. 2,17,4; <i>Libui</i> Livy hist. 5,35,1-2; <i>Libiciorum</i> (var. <i>lyb-</i> ) Pliny 3,124; <i>Libii</i> 3,37; Λιβικῶν, Ptol. 3,1,32. Possibly Celtic; exact interpretation is difficult. According to P. de Bernardo Stempel, 'Italy and Ireland', 107 from an original <i>Lubicii</i> with that pretonic vowel assimilation ( <i>u..i &gt; i...i</i> ), i.e. <i>Libikoi</i> < * <i>lub<sup>h</sup>ikoi</i> , perhaps 'the loving ones'; see for the latter DLG: 209-8 s.vv. <i>lubi</i> , <i>lubias</i> , <i>lubitias</i> 'aime, que tu aimes, aimée'. The <i>-u-</i> , however, is retained intact in PN <i>Lubitiata</i> , <i>Matronae Lubicae</i> and indeed in all the examples quoted by Delamarre. I am discussing this EN elsewhere.
3222	14 I3	+03/45	45 27	+03 14	<b><u>Licaniacum</u></b>	LN	LN: St-Germain-Lembron (FRA). <i>Licaniacensis</i> (var. <i>Lig-</i> ) GdeT HF 2,20; later attestations: 945, 962 <i>Liziniacus</i> CAG 63/2.352. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN (Ho. suggests <i>Licinius</i> ). Alternatively, it may be related to DLG's <i>lica</i> , <i>licca</i> 'pierre plate, dalle', 'falaise??' PNPg lists <i>lico-</i> as a possibly Celtic element.
4331	19 C2	+10/47	47 47	+10 35	<b>Licates</b>	EN	EN: S. Augusta Vindelicum (GER). Λικάτιοι (var. <i>-ττ-</i> ) Strabo 4, 6,8; <i>Licates</i> Pliny 3,137; Λικάτοι Ptol. 2,12,4. A tribe dwelling on the <i>Licus</i> . See s.v. * <i>Licus?</i> fl.
2636	12 D4	+10/48	48 43	+10 50	<b>Licca fl.</b>	RN	RN: Lech (AUS/GER). Λικίου (var. Λυκίου, Λουκίου) Ptol. 2,12,1; Λικίων (var. Λυκίων) 4 (3); <i>Liccama</i> Fortunat. <i>Carm. Praef.</i> IV; <i>Licca/ Lucu/ Lica</i> idem., Vita s. Martialis 4,642, etc. Possibly Celtic, '?the bendy river', with <i>lico-</i> . See ACPN: 185 n. 78.
4332	19 F3	+13/46	46 37	+13 30	<b><u>Licus? fl.</u></b>	RN	RN: Gail (AUS/GER). Λικίας Ptol. 2, 12, 1; 2, 12,4. Possibly Celtic, '?the bendy river', with <i>lico-</i> .
3723	16 B2	+06/43	43 42	+06 29	<b>Ligauni</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>regio Oxubiorum Ligaunorumque</i> Pliny 3,35; later attestation (814) ( <i>colonica</i> ) in <i>Liga</i> (Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> : 215). Possibly Celtic, from a putative Celtic * <i>liga-</i> , on which see (differently) DLG: 202 s.v. <i>liga</i> , <i>lega</i> 'lie, vase, limon' (where comparanda for <i>lat-</i> are quoted) and RGC: 197-8 s.v.v. <i>līga / lega</i> 'Ablagerung; Bodensatz' and <i>līgita / līgitiā</i> 'Schlamm'.

Cors 3	48 D2	+09/42	42 25	+09 05	<b>Likninoi?</b>	EN	EN: Tartagine and Asco Area (Corsica, FRA). Λικνινόι (var. Λικνηνοί, Λικνῖνοι, Λικμινόι) Ptol. 3,2,2. Not necessarily Celtic but cf. Gaulish PN <i>Licnos</i> .
3224	14 I3	+03/45	45 45	+03 15	<b>Limane</b>	LN	LN: Area SE Clermont-Ferrand (FRA). <i>Lemanem</i> (var. <i>lemanæm</i> , <i>limanem</i> ) G deT HF 3,9; <i>Limane</i> (var. <i>limine</i> ) HF 5,32; <i>Lemane</i> (var. <i>Lemmane</i> ) GM 83; <i>Limanici</i> GC 30, <i>Limannia</i> Vita I s. Austremonii 1,1. Celtic, to <b><i>lĕmo-</i></b> , <b><i>limo-</i></b> .
6067	24 C3	-09/41	41 47	-08 35	<b>Limia</b>	LN	LN: Ponte de Lima (POR). <i>Limia</i> IA 429,6; <i>Limea</i> Rav. 4.43. See 6068 <i>Limia flumen</i> .
6068	24 C3	-09/41	41 53	-08 15	<b>Limia fl.</b>	RN	RN <i>Limia</i> (ESP). Λιμαία ποταμοῦ ... Λήθης Strabo 3,3,5; ( <i>cui obliuionis cognomen est</i> ) <i>Limia</i> Mela 3,10; <i>flumen Limia</i> Pliny 4,112; Λιμίου Ptol. 2,6,1. If indeed Celtic, cf. <b><i>lĕmo-</i></b> , <b><i>limo-</i></b> . Note that Isaac, 'Scotland' 196-7, suggests that for this kind of name there might be more than one base involved, and offers other comparanda, noting that often places <i>Lem-</i> are 'more transparently associated with water than with elms'. See also ACPN 83 n. 40.
6069	24 D2	-08/42	42 09	-07 35	<b>Limici</b>	EN	EN: upper R. <i>Limia</i> basin (ESP). <i>Limici</i> (var. <i>silici</i> , <i>sileci</i> ) Pliny 3,28, Λιμικῶν (var. Λιμίκων) Ptol. 2,6,43, <i>in Lemica ciuitate</i> Hyd. chron. pref. 1, <i>Limico</i> CIL 2, 827, <i>Limici</i> 2477, <i>Lim/i[c]us</i> 2496. '(Those living by) the <i>Limia</i> ', see 6068 <i>Limia fl.</i>
3225	14 F2	+00/46	46 35	+00 21	<b>Limonum</b>	LN	LN: Poitiers (FRA). <i>Lemonum</i> (var. <i>limounum</i> , <i>limonum</i> ) Hirtius BG 8,26,1; Λίμωνον (var. Λίμινον, Λίμονον) Ptol. 2,7,5; <i>Lemuno</i> TP 1,3; <i>Lomounum</i> (var. <i>lomounum</i> ) IA 459,6; <i>Lemonum</i> Notae Tiron. 87,3 (Ho). Celtic, to <b><i>lĕmo-</i></b> , <b><i>limo-</i></b> . See also <i>Pictavi</i> .
4680	20 E3	+17/46	46 04	+17 47	<b>Limusa</b>	LN	LN: Szigetvár (HUN). <i>Limusa</i> IA 233,1. Cf. <b><i>lĕmo-</i></b> , <b><i>limo-</i></b> . Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 77 notes a possibility of its Celtic origin, referring to W. <i>Ilif</i> 'Flut' (< * <i>h<sub>2</sub>liH-mo</i> ), cf. RNN <i>Limana</i> , <i>Lim</i> ; and to the component referred to above. Obscure.
4136	18 B2	+04/47	47 45	+04 55	<b>Lingones</b>	EN	EN (FRA). Λίγγωνες Polyb 2,17,7; <i>Lingonum</i> (var. <i>linguonum</i> ) Caes BG 1,26,5; <i>Lingonas</i> (var. <i>linguonas</i> ) 1,25,6; <i>Lingones</i> (var. <i>lingonas</i> , <i>linguonas</i> ) 1,40,11; Λίγγωνες Strabo 4,3,4; <i>Lingones</i> Lucan. 1,398; <i>Lingones</i> Pliny 4,106; <i>Lingones</i> Tac. Hist. 1,53; <i>Lingones</i> 57; Λόγγωνες (var. λόγγωνες) Ptol. 2,9,9, etc. Celtic, to <b><i>lingo-</i></b> . See also 9563 below.



	9563	40 B3	+11/44	<b>44 33</b>	+11 40	<b>Lingones</b>	EN	EN: (IT). See above.
	2146	11 B2	+01/50	<b>50 26</b>	+01 46	<b>Lintomagus?</b>	LN	LN: Brimeux (FRA). <i>Lintomagi</i> TP 1,2. The second component is very likely Celt. <i>magos</i> ; the initial is obscure and may be a corruption of <i>lindo-</i> or <i>litu-</i> .
	1012	7 D2	-03/49	<b>49 30</b>	-02 40	<b>Lisia? Ins.</b>	IN	LN Guernsey (GBG). <i>Silia</i> (var. <i>lisia</i> ) IA 509,2; Vita s. Samsonis I.59. Obscure. According to Coates <i>Channel Islands</i> , 15-16, it may be analysed as 1) <i>*Liss-jā</i> ‘place with an important dwelling site’, cf. Welsh <i>llys</i> ‘hall, palace’; or 2) <i>*Lisc-jā</i> , where <i>*Lisc-</i> represents a PN <i>*Liscos</i> , cf. Caesar BG I,16 ‘Liscus’. Further, Coates refers to Duval who draws attention to a gloss <i>lisca</i> ‘sedge’, whence <i>*Liscjā</i> ‘sedgy place’.
	4681	20 C5	+15/44	<b>44 05</b>	+15 10	<b>Lissa Ins.</b>	IN	IN: Ugljan (CRO); <i>Lissa</i> Pliny 3,152; probably not Celtic. Cf. Isaac PNPg, s.v. <i>lisso-</i> (in <i>Lissós</i> II.): “Cf. OI <i>les</i> m.o ‘space around a house surrounded by embankments; embankments; court’, OB <i>lis</i> , MW <i>llys</i> ‘court (regal and judicial), courtyard’, < Celt. <i>*lisso-</i> < PIE <i>*plth<sub>2</sub>-tó-</i> < <i>*pleth<sub>2</sub>-</i> ‘(become) broad, widen’ IEW 833-4, LIV 438. The existence and derivation of the Celtic <i>*lisso-</i> is thus beyond doubt, but it is questionable whether that can be reliably posited as the etymon of the Illyrian LN, though that remains a possibility only, especially considering Gk. { <i>lissós</i> } ‘smooth’”. The Celticity of this entry is in doubt; cf. ACPN: 263, n. 238.
	2147	11 C3	+02/49	<b>49 14</b>	+02 29	<b>Litanobriga?</b>	LN	LN: Thiverny/La Haute Pomeraiie/St-Maximin (FRA). <i>Litanobriga</i> (var. <i>litanobrica</i> ) IA 380,4. ‘The broad top/summit’ or ‘the broad high settlement’, <i>litano-</i> & <i>brig-</i> ; the variant spelling may imply the second component <i>brica</i> .
	4333	19 E3	+12/46	<b>46 44</b>	+12 18	<b>Littamum</b> “	LN	LN: S. Candido? (IT). <i>Littamo</i> IA 280,1. According to Isaac, AILR, comments, “it is not impossible that there is a Celtic superlative formation here, <i>*lit-tamo-</i> , with <i>*lit-</i> < <i>*plth<sub>2</sub>-</i> , as in Gaul. <i>litano-</i> , W <i>llydan</i> , etc. So <i>*Littamom</i> ‘Broadest Place’. But this is guesswork”.
	9391	39 E4	+09/44	<b>44 57</b>	+09 02	<b>Litubium</b>	LN	LN: Retorbido? (IT). <i>Oppida Clastidium et Litubium</i> Livy 32, 29,7. If Celtic, cf. <i>litu-</i> & <i>bio-</i> .
-	3232a	14 F1	+00/47	<b>47 07</b>	+00 58	<b>Loccis Mon.</b>	LN	LN: Contray, Cm. Loches (FRA). See <i>Lucas</i> 3232.
-	3227a	14 F2	+00/46	<b>46 33</b>	+00 21	<b>Locociacum</b>	LN	LN: Ligugé (FRA). Late attestations: <i>in vico Locogeiaco, mon. Locociagense</i> VI <sup>c</sup> s., <i>Luguciaco</i> 962, <i>de Legudiaco</i> 1077 (Da.). Variants for original <i>*Lucotiacum</i> 3227.

3227	14 F2	+00/46	46 33	+00 21	<b>Locoteiacus</b>	LN	LN: Ligugé (FRA). <i>Locotigiacensim</i> GdeT VM 4,30; <i>Locoteiaco</i> , var. <i>locodiaco</i> Fortunatus vita Hil. 12,41; <i>locoteiaco</i> Merov. coin Belfort 2201. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative either of a G. PN <i>Lucotius</i> or appellative <b>lucot-</b> (cf. DLG, ‘Lieu-à-Souris, la Ratière?’). Cf. 3227a <i>Locociacum</i> .
2150	11 A3	+00/49	49 33	+00 43	<b>Loium?</b>	LN	LN: Caudebec-en-Caux (FRA). <i>Louim</i> IA 382,2; <i>A Fontenella et Logio</i> Vita s. Balthildis VIII. Possibly Celtic: ‘?place’, with G. <b>*lo(g)o-</b> (cf. Lepont. <i>lokān</i> ‘tomb’ (Todi)), < <b>*lóg<sup>h</sup>o-</b> < <b>*leg<sup>h</sup>-</b> ‘lie down’ IEW 658-59). Perhaps another possibility would be to interpret <i>Loium</i> as ‘cow place’, cf. OIr <i>loig</i> , <i>W llo</i> ‘calf’ (IEW 667). De Bernardo Stempel “Ptolemy’s Celtic Italy and Ireland”, 103 and 106, refers to the RN Λογία in Ireland, noting that names of calves and similar animals are not infrequent in European hydronyms: “Λογία, though the original meaning ‘the Leaping (water/stream)’ < Celt. <b>*logyos</b> > IE <b>*log<sup>wh</sup>-yo-s</b> (...) is still perceptible (...)”. She further says: “Remarkable is the development of <b>*g<sup>wh</sup> &gt; g</b> in <i>Logia</i> (IRL), which also shows the Common Celtic form and has not yet suffered the influence of other animal names which, being very often <i>o</i> -stems in Old Irish, led to the metathetic <i>lōig</i> , <i>lóeg</i> ‘vitulus’ (...)”. Cf. 2150a <i>Lotum</i> .
4334	19 E3	+12/46	46 40	+13 00	<b>Loncium?</b>	LN	LN: Mauthen or Maria Schnee (SWI). <i>Longio</i> IA 279,6. If <i>Longio</i> , cf. <b>longo-</b> .
7015	26 A2	-10/39	39 25	-09 30	<b>Londobris Ins.</b>	IN	IN: Ilha Berlenga (POR). Λονδοβρίς (var. λόνδοβρις) Ptol. 2,5,7. A compound in <b>brig-s</b> ; for the difficult first component see García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> , 128; Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 228.
6070	24 D4	-08/40	40 58	-07 13	<b>Longobriga</b>	LN	LN: Longroiva (Meda) (POR). <i>[G]enio [L]on[g]obr/[i]censium</i> CIL 2, 5564; <i>Bandi Longobricu</i> De Alarcão, <i>Roman Portugal</i> II.1 55. Celtic, <b>longo-</b> & <b>brig-</b> .
3558	15 A3	+03/43	43 18	+03 15	<b>Longostaletes</b>	EN	EN (FRA). Λογγοσταλητων (gen. pl.) coin legends (RIG 4, No. 74; cf. Clavel <i>Béziers</i> 180-200). Celtic, or a hybrid with a Celtic first element ( <b>longo-</b> ), and an obscure second. DLG: 207 suggests equation of <i>stalo-</i> with OIr <i>sál</i> ‘talon’, which is highly problematic.
7370	27 D4	-02/37	37 24	-01 35	<b>Longuntica</b>	LN	LN: Aguilas?, W Cartagena (ESP). <i>Longunticam</i> Livy 22.20.6. If Celtic, to <b>longo-</b> ; the word formation is problematic (cf. <i>Salmantica</i> , <i>Calantica</i> , <i>Saguntia</i> , etc), and the area is linguistically problematic, too.

	2643	12 B3	+08/49	49 28	+08 36	<b>Lopodunum</b>	LN	LN: Ladenburg (GER). <i>Lŭpōdūnum</i> (var. <i>luponudum</i> ) Auson. 16, 423 (Mosella); <i>Lopodvn(ensibvs)</i> CIL 13, 6421, etc. Hybrid: ‘Lopos’s fort’, to <i>dūnum</i> .
	3229	14 D4	-02/44	44 29	-01 05	<b>Losa</b>	LN	LN: Louse, Cm. Sanguinet (FRA). <i>Losa</i> IA 456,3. Possibly Celtic; see Delamarre, DLG: 209 s.v. <i>loxso-</i> ‘oblique, penché (boiteux?)’ (cf. OIr <i>losc</i> ‘crippled’), who translates the LN as ‘Boiteuse’; see also PNRB: 399-400.
	2645	12 D4	+10/48	48 55	+10 35	<b>Losodica</b>	LN	LN: Munningen (GER). <i>Losodica</i> TP 3,2. Obscure; may contain the same component as 3229 <i>Losa</i> ; the second component is problematic.
-	2150a	11 A3	+00/49	49 33	+00 43	<b>Lotum</b>	LN	LN: Caudebec-en-Caux (FRA). Cf. no. 2150 <i>Loium?</i> .
	3559	15 E2	+05/43	43 48	+05 30	<b>Louerion M.</b>	LN	LN: Luberon (FRA). Λουερίωνος (not specifically mentioning a mountain) Strabo 4,6,3; <i>Luerio</i> , <i>Luerionis</i> in unspecified Lat. texts (DaRiv). Possibly Celtic, ‘Mountain of foxes’, to G. * <i>louerno-</i> ‘fox’ (G. PN <i>Louernios</i> , etc.; cf. OC <i>louuern</i> , B. <i>loarn</i> ‘fox’, PECA: 74; to * <i>loperno</i> , see P. Schrijver, <i>JIES</i> 26 (1998), 421-34 and cf. IEW: 1179). See DLG: 208.
	6071	24 D2	-08/42	42 42	-07 05	<b>Lougei</b>	EN	EN: Bierzo (León) (ESP). IRL 55 <i>Lougeis</i> . Possibly Celtic. Taking the given form as correct, the name could be related to <i>lugu-</i> ; alternatively, Isaac ‘Scotland’, 197 suggests for EN <i>Loûgoi</i> ‘Celtic * <i>lugo-</i> “dark, black” > OI <i>loch</i> “id.”, Gaul. <i>loûgos</i> “raven”’, thus “dark people, raven people?”. The suffix here, however, does not appear Celtic.
	6532	25 D4	-02/41	41 07	-01 15	<b>Lousones</b>	EN	EN: upper Jalón valley (ESP). Λούσσωνες Strabo 3.4.13; Λούσσωνες App. Hisp. 8.42. Obscure. Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 93-4 says that the Celtic nature of the name seems certain, comparing place-names <i>Lousonna</i> (map 18 D3 no. 4137), <i>Lusomana</i> , etc; but there does not seem to be a Celtic element <i>luso-</i> with single <i>s-</i> . Isaac, AILR has a possibly Celtic element <i>lusso-</i> , related to OI <i>lus</i> ‘plants, herbs’, and W <i>llysiau</i> , as in the LN <i>Lussonium</i> , but there is no evidence for a double <i>-s-</i> in this name. García Alonso ‘Vettones y Layetanos’ suggests a relationship with the EN <i>Lusitani</i> , or with LN <i>Lutia</i> (6533). See also 4137 <i>Lousonna</i> .
	4137	18 D3	+06/46	46 31	+06 37	<b>Lousonna</b>	LN	LN: Lausanne (SWI). (Lacum) <i>Losonne</i> TP 2,2; <i>Lausonna</i> Rav. 4,26; <i>vikanor Lousonnensium</i> CIL 13, 5026; coins Belfort 2114 and 2116: <i>lansonna</i> , 2117 <i>lavsonna</i> . Possibly Celtic. Isaac, AILR lists a possibly Celtic element <i>lauso-</i> ,

							commenting: ‘Apparently a frequently attested element in Gaul, cf. GPN 457. Possibly related to Gallo-Lat. <i>lausiae</i> ‘flag-stones’, DAG 461, which survives in Mod.F. ( <i>lauze</i> ) and Spanish ( <i>losa</i> ). Its Celticity is circumstantially likely, but etymological relations are uncertain”. PNPG has a possibly Celtic element <i>lusso-</i> , perhaps from Celtic <i>*lussu-</i> , OIr <i>lus</i> ‘plants, herbs’, W. <i>llysiaw</i> , etc, which might be related to this name. ADAS 127 adds that this name is of Celtic origin, but offers no etymology. GPN 457, discussing a PN <i>Lousios</i> , notes that ‘The name <i>may</i> be Celtic, but I can see no way of proving it.’ Cf. <i>Lousonus</i> in Spain. See also 4137a <i>Leusonna</i> .
6533	25 C5	-03/40	40 57	-02 28	<b>Loutia</b>	LN	LN: Castejón de Luzaga? (ESP). Λουτρία App. Hisp. 15.94; <i>lu.ti.a.ce.i</i> (Luzaga); see also 6533a <i>Lutiakos</i> . Celtic; Curchin ‘Celticization’, 267 reports De Jubainville, ‘Les Celtes en Espagne’ 22, who assigned this to the same stem as 2153 <i>Lutetia</i> in Gaul and thinks Celtic <i>*luta</i> ‘mud, marsh’ may be the likely root. Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> , 89 discuss Pokorny’s derivation of <i>Luteva</i> from Celtic <i>*lut-</i> ‘charco, barro, suciedad’; <i>Lutia</i> could thus be ‘[la ciudad] de, o junto a, la charca’ or ‘[la ciudad] barrosa’. See Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> Capítulo 6 ‘Lutia, Lutiakos, Luzaga, Luzón’ for discussion and comparanda.
3952	17 B2	+03/45	45 47	+03 38	<b>LoVolautrum</b> <b>(Lo)Volautrum</b>	LN	LN: Vologne-Ville (FRA). <i>Lovolautrum</i> GdeT HF 3,13; <i>Lovolautrensis castris</i> GdeT VP 4,2; later attestations: (1269) <i>de Volubris</i> (Da.); (1257) <i>Voloyre</i> , (1259) <i>Voloure</i> , (1333) <i>Volubrio</i> TGF: 2169. Possibly Celtic. Da. suggests this is from a PN <i>Volo-</i> and Celtic <i>duro-</i> , which is unlikely in view of the attested forms. TGF 2169 gives Celtic <i>lovo</i> ‘eau’ (Dottin LG) and <i>lautro</i> ‘bain, bassin, auge, canal’. A better source for <i>lovo-</i> would be DLG’s <i>louo-</i> < <i>lauo-</i> ‘petit, léger’, to which he attributes this name. For the second element see AILR Celtic elements <i>lauatro-</i> ‘bath, river-bed’ and DLG s.v. <i>lautron</i> ‘bain’. See also 3952a <i>Volautrum</i> .
3231	14 E4	-01/44	44 53	-00 09	<b>Lucaniacum</b>	LN	LN: Lugaïnac? (FRA). <i>Lucani- mox potieris -aco</i> Ausonius, Epistulae 15.36, <i>Lucaniacum</i> Epist. 20b 44, <i>Lucaniacus</i> epigrammata 32,7. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Lucanius</i> .
3232	14 F1	+00/47	47 07	+00 58	<b>Lucas</b>	LN	LN: Contray, Cm. Loches (FRA). <i>Lucas</i> (var. <i>Luccas</i> ) GdeT HF 10,31,5; <i>Loccis</i>

								(var. <i>locas</i> ) VP 18,1 <i>Lucca</i> ; Fred. chron. contin. 25; (6 c.) <i>Lucca, vicus Loccae</i> ; (8 c.) <i>Lucas Castrum</i> ; (10 c.) <i>ecclesia Leucharum</i> ; (11 c.) <i>Locos, Leucas</i> ; (12 c.) <i>de Lochiis</i> TGF: 10312. Very probably non-Celtic; for a Celtic approach cf. <i>luco-, loco-</i> ‘loup’ (see DLG s.v. ). Cf. 3232a <i>Loccis mon.</i>
3233	14 G3	+01/45	45 18	+01 06	<b>Luciacus</b>	LN	LN: Dussac, Cm. Lanouaille? (FRA). <i>Luciaco</i> Test. Ared. (Aubrun p. 414). An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of (Celtic or Latin) PN <i>Lucius</i> , but DLG suggests <i>luco-, loco-</i> ‘loup’ as the origin for many names of this kind.	
3234	14 G1	+01/47	47 15	+01 06	<b>Luciliacus</b>	LN	LN: Luzillé (FRA). <i>Luciliacus</i> GdeT HF 10,31,15. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Lucilius</i> .	
3725	16 F2	+08/43	43 55	+08 06	<b>Lucus Bormani</b>	LN	LN: Diano Marino (ITL). <i>Luco Bormani</i> IA 295,6. A Latin formation based on a possibly Celtic <b>borm-</b> .	
3955	17 D1	+04/46	46 03	+04 43	<b>Ludna</b>	LN	LN: Near St-Georges-de-Reneins (FRA). There is some confusion over the identification of <i>Ludna</i> and <i>Lunna</i> , and over whether or not they are the same place: RE lists <i>Ludna</i> as modern Saint-Jean-d’Ardière, dep. Rhône, and gives AI and TP as for <i>Lunna</i> . <i>Ludna</i> in Ho. is Saint-Georges-du-Bois, dep. Sarthe, arrond. Le Mans, and no sources are given. Walker ‘La campagne lyonnaise’ 306 discusses the controversy. Obscure. Attested in TP, but possibly by error; see <i>Lunna</i> below and note 37. Cf <i>Ludn...</i> (map 14 no. 3235) and <i>*Voludnia</i> (below no. 4083). Treppoz ‘La station de Ludna’ gives the name as <i>Lugdomagus</i> , from an inscription (unreferenced); this could be from the Celtic DN <i>Lugus</i> (see GPN 219-21) and Celtic <i>magus</i> , but we would expect <i>*Lugomagos</i> . The <i>-d-</i> could be erroneous, or the remnants of Celtic <i>-dunum</i> or another element: <i>*Lug(u)dunum</i> (a frequent LN) > <i>*Lugdu(num)</i> > <i>*Lugdomagos</i> , but this is very hypothetical. See <i>Lunna</i> .	
3956	17 C2	+04/45	45 55	+04 30	<b>Lugdunensis</b>	EN	EN: ? (FRA). <i>Lugdunensis</i> Pliny 4,105; <i>Lugdunensis</i> 4,107; <i>Lugdunensis</i> Tac. Hist. 1.51; <i>Lugduni</i> 1.59; <i>Lugdunensis</i> 2.59, etc. A Latin formation based on the Celtic LN 3879 <i>Lug(u)dunum</i> .	
1767	10 A4	+04/52	52 12	+04 25	<b>Lugdunum</b>	LN	LN: Katwijk (NL). Λουγόδεινον (var. Λουγόδινον, Λουγόδουνον, Λογγόδεινον) Ptol. 2,9,2; <i>Lugduno</i> (var. <i>lugdunum</i> ) IA 368,3; Merovingian coins; etc. ‘Fort of Lugus’, <b>lugu-</b> & <b>dūno-</b> .	

6534	25 F2	+00/43	43 01	+00 20	<b>Lugdunum Convenarum</b>	LN	LN: St-Bertrand-de-Comminges (FRA). Λούγδουνον Strabo 4.2.1; Κοτουενοὶ καὶ πόλις αὐτῶν Λούγδουνον κολωνία (var. κομουενοὶ) Ptol. 2.7.13; <i>Lugudunum</i> IA 457.8, [ <i>Lugd(uni)</i> ] <i>Conv(enarum)</i> CIL 13, 255. <b>Lugu-</b> & <b>dūno-</b> ; <i>Convenarum</i> is Latin.	
6075	24 E2	-07/42	42 11	-06 23	<b>Luggoni</b>	EN	EN: R. Duerna valley (ESP). <i>Luggo/num</i> EAstorga 142, <i>civitate/m Luggonum</i> 143; <i>Lugisonis</i> Rav. 4,45; <i>Luggo/ni</i> AE 1965, 109, etc. Celtic. Isaac, PNPg segments <i>lugu-</i> <i>gono-</i> , adding ‘the segmentation given implies that the extant form shows a haplological syncope <i>Luggono-</i> < * <i>Lugugono-</i> paralleled by that in the frequently attested form of the widespread LN <i>Lugdunum</i> < <i>Lugudunum</i> .’ For the first component see <b>lugu-</b> ; for the second element see PNPg, Celtic element <i>gono-</i> ‘born?’; cf. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 225-6.	
6076	24 F1	-06/43	43 17	-05 35	<b>Luggoni</b>	EN	EN: E Asturias (ESP). Λουγγόνων Ptol. 2.6.32. See above.	
125	2 G3	+17/52	52 00	+17 00	<b>Lugii</b>	EN	EN: (Pol). Λούιουσ Strabo 7,1,3; <i>Lugii</i> Tacitus Germania 43, 44 et passim; Λούγοι οἱ Ὀμανοὶ (var. λοῦτοι, λοῦτιοι, etc.) and Λούγοι οἱ Διδούνοι (var. Λουγιδιδούνοι, Λογγιδιδούνοι, etc.) Ptol. 2,11, 10; Λύγοι Dio 67,5,2, etc. Presumably Celtic, to <b>lugu-</b> ; see Ahlqvist, ‘Two ethnic names in Ptolemy’.	
4685	20 F3	+18/46	46 04	+18 41	<b>Lugio</b>	LN	LN: Dunaszekcső (HUN). Λουγίωνων Ptol. 2,15,3; <i>Lugione</i> IA 244,2; TP 5,1; Rav. 4, 20. Possibly Celtic, to <b>lugu-</b> .	
3957	17 D1	+04/46	46 06	+04 44	<b>Lunna</b>	LN	LN: Near Belleville-sur-Saône (FRA). <i>Ludnam</i> TP 1,5; <i>Lunna</i> IA 359,3. See 3955 <i>Ludna</i> . Isaac, AILR lists <i>lunná-</i> as a possible Celtic element, commenting ‘opaque, but circumstantially Celtic by implication from its location’, which is not a strong argument given that there are plenty of non-Celtic names in this area.	
-	2103a	11 D3	+03/49	49 33	+03 06	<b>Lura</b>	LN	LN: Pontoise-lès-Noyon (FRA). See 2103 <i>Isara</i> .
4686	20 F2	+18/47	47 28	+18 38	<b>Lussomana?</b>	LN	LN: Bicske (HUN). <i>Lusomana</i> TP 4,4, <i>Lumano</i> (var. <i>Luniano</i> ) Rav. 4,20. Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 78-80 takes the TP form as basic and discusses it as Pannonian. In view of the suggestion <i>re</i> Lussonium by G. Isaac (see below), if the first part of the LN is to be identified with Celt. <i>Lus(i)o-</i> ; for the second part cf. <i>mano-</i> ( <i>meno-</i> ? <i>mono-</i> ?) discussed by Isaac as Possibly Celtic in PNPg.	

	4687	20 F3	+18/46	46 40	+18 50	<b>Lussonium</b>	LN	LN: Dunakömlöd (HUN). Λουσσόνιον Ptol. 2,15,3; <i>Lusione</i> TP 4,5; <i>Lussonio</i> IA 245,1; <i>Lussonio</i> ND oc. 33,19; <i>Lusionio</i> 33,26; <i>Lussonio</i> (var. <i>Lusonio</i> ) 33,40; <i>Lussonio</i> 33,57; <i>Alusione</i> Rav. 4,20. Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 81 considers it Pannonian. Isaac, AILR, Poss. Celtic Elements, s.v. <i>lussu-</i> notes: “In <i>Lausonius</i> N. Apparently a frequently attested element in Gaul, cf. GPN 457. Possibly related to Gallo-Lat. <i>lausiae</i> ‘flag-stones’, DAG 461, which survives in Mod.F ( <i>lauze</i> ) and Spanish ( <i>losa</i> ). Its Celticity is circumstantially likely, but etymological relations are uncertain”. In PNPG Isaac states that “the LN is possibly < * <i>luss-on-io-</i> , based on Celt. * <i>lussu-</i> > OI <i>lus</i> ‘plants, herbs’, W <i>llysiaw</i> , OC <i>les</i> gl. herba. Celt. * <i>lussu-</i> < * <i>h<sub>1</sub>lud<sup>h</sup>-tu-</i> nomen actionis ‘a growing, Wachstum’, root * <i>h<sub>1</sub>leud<sup>h</sup>-</i> ‘rise, grow’ IEW 684-5 (the -s- in Pokorny’s reconstruction of the Celtic words is both phonologically and morphologically unmotivated), LIV 221-2; root cognates e.g. Skt. <i>ródhati</i> ‘grows’, Gk. { <i>é:luthon</i> } ‘I came’, OI <i>luid</i> ‘he came’, Go. <i>liudan</i> ‘grow’. Anreiter, <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 2000, 80-1, tentatively assigns this name to a * <i>luh<sub>1</sub>s-</i> , * <i>lh<sub>1</sub>us-</i> ‘stone’. For <i>lausiae</i> /* <i>lausa</i> as possibly Celtic see J. Grzega, <i>Romania Gallica Cisalpina</i> , 194.
-	2153a	11 C4	+02/48	48 52	+02 21	<b>Lutecia</b>	LN	LN: Paris (FRA). See 2153 <i>Lutetia</i> and 2153b <i>Luticia</i> .
	2153	11 C4	+02/48	48 52	+02 21	<b>Lutetia</b>	LN	LN: Paris (FRA). <i>Luteciam Parisiorum</i> (acc., var. <i>lucetiam</i> , <i>lutetiam</i> ) Caesar <i>BG</i> 6, 3, <i>Luteciam</i> (var. <i>luceciam</i> , <i>lucetiam</i> ) 7, 57, <i>Lutecia</i> (var. <i>lucecia</i> , <i>lucetia</i> , <i>lutetia</i> ) 7,58; Λουκοτοκίαν (acc.) Strabo 4,3,5; Λουκοτεκία (var. -τέκτα) Ptol. 2,8,10; <i>Lutecia</i> NT LXXXVII.10; <i>Luticia</i> (var. <i>lucia</i> ) IA 366,5; <i>Luticia</i> (var. <i>lotica</i> ) 368,2; <i>Luticiam</i> (var. <i>loticiam</i> , <i>luticia</i> ) 383,1; <i>Luticiam</i> (var. <i>luticia</i> , <i>luticam</i> , <i>luticiam</i> ) 384,1; <i>Luticia</i> (var. <i>luticia</i> ) 384,7; <i>Luticiam</i> (var. <i>luticia</i> , <i>luticiam</i> ) 384,8; <i>Luticia</i> (var. <i>loticia</i> , <i>luticiam</i> ) 384,12; <i>Luteci</i> TP 1,4; <i>Parisiorum castellum</i> , <i>Luticia nomine</i> Ammianus XV.11.3. Celtic, ‘mouse place’, with <i>lukot-</i> ; or ‘swampy/marshy place’, to <i>luto-</i> . See also. 2153a <i>Lutecia</i> and 2153b <i>Luticia</i> .
	3561	15 A2	+03/43	43 44	+03 19	<b>Luteva</b>	LN	LN: Lodève (FRA). <i>Luteuani</i> Pliny 3,37; <i>Loteva</i> TP 1,4; <i>civitas Lutevensium</i> NG 15, 8; <i>Luteva</i> CIL 12, 4247. Celtic; to <i>luto-</i> . See also s.v. <i>Civ. Lutevensium</i> .
-	6533a	25 C5	-03/40	40 57	-02 28	<b>Lutiakos</b>	LN	LN: Castejón de Luzaga? (ESP). <i>L.u.ti.a.ce.i</i> (Luzaga), <i>l.u.ti.a.ko.ś</i> coins

							(Villaronga 244, MLH A.76). An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of 6533 <i>Lutia</i> q.v.
-	2153b	11 C4	+02/48	48 52	+02 21	<b>Luticia</b>	LN LN: Paris (FRA). Cfr. no. 2153 <i>Lutetia</i> and 2153a <i>Lutecia</i> .
	4138	18 D2	+06/47	47 50	+06 24	<b>Luxovium</b> []	LN LN: Luxeuil (FRA). <i>Luxoviensis</i> Iona Vita Columbani; <i>Luxovio</i> CIL 13, 5426; TGF 2573 notes (7 c.). <i>Luxovium</i> , (1228) <i>Luxovia</i> . Obscure. The LN is normally connected with DN <i>Luxovius</i> ; cf. N. Jufer, T. Luginbühl, <i>Les dieux gaulois</i> , 49. See also discussion s.v. 3229 <i>Loso</i> .
	3562	15 B2	+03/43	43 31	+03 54	<b>Magalona</b>	LN LN: Maguelone (FRA). <i>Civitas Magalonensium</i> NG 15,6; (589) <i>Magalensis</i> Conc. Narbonense; <i>Megalona</i> Rav. 4, 28 and 5, 3; later attestations: (678) <i>Magalona</i> , (752) <i>Magdalonam</i> , (922) <i>sedis Magalone</i> (TGF: 2225). Celtic, ?‘Prince’s place’, to G <i>magalo-</i> (G. PN <i>Magalu</i> , <i>Maglo-cune</i> (KGP: 234-5); cf. OIr <i>mál</i> , and medieval Neo-Brittonic PNN <i>Tiern-mael</i> , <i>Hen-fael</i> , DGVB: 250, LEIA M-13), to PIE * <i>mag-</i> ‘great’ IEW: 709. See DLG: 213.
	4337	19 B2	+09/47	47 01	+09 31	<b>Magia</b>	LN LN: Maienfeld ? (SWI). <i>Magia</i> TP 3,1; if Celtic, to <i>magos</i> ‘plain, field’, cf. <i>Magis</i> (GB), PNRB: 406-7.
	4338	19 D3	+11/46	46 40	+11 11	<b>Maiensis Statio</b>	LN LN: Merano? (IT). <i>Statio Maiensis</i> CIL 5, 5090; <i>Castrum Maiense</i> Vita S. Valentini. If Celtic, cf. <i>Maia</i> , <i>Maianus</i> , <i>Maiona</i> , to * <i>mājōs</i> (cf. Lat. <i>maior</i> , W. <i>mwy</i> ), ‘larger, bigger’, see PNRB: 408-9. In view of the late attestations and the known * <i>g &gt; i</i> intervocally, may also go back to <i>magos</i> .
	5150	21 B4	+19/45	45 12	+19 36	<b>Malata</b>	LN LN: Banoštor (SCG). Also known as <i>Bononia</i> ; not in Bar. Βονωνία Ptol. 2,15,4; <i>Bononeam</i> Amm. 21,9,6; <i>Bononiam</i> Amm. 31,11,6; <i>Bononia</i> IA 243,1; <i>Bonoria</i> ND oc. 32,14; <i>Banoniam</i> 41; <i>Bononiae</i> 44. To <i>bono-</i> .
	4340	19 D3	+11/46	46 33	+11 16	<b>Maletum</b> []	LN LN: Malé (IT). <i>Maletum</i> Paul. Diac. 3, 31; if Celtic, <i>malo-</i> ‘rising, prominent’.
	3239	14 F1	+00/47	47 23	+00 33	<b>Malliacum</b>	LN LN: Luynes (FRA). <i>Malliacensim</i> (var. <i>Malliacense</i> , <i>Mallacense</i> , <i>Maliagense</i> ) GdeT GC 21; (5 c.) <i>Malleium</i> Da. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Mallius</i> .
	3240	14 H2	+02/46	46 08	+02 43	<b>Manatum</b>	LN LN: Ménat (FRA). <i>cellulae Manatensis</i> GdeT HF 5,12; <i>Manatinse</i> VP 12,3; later attestation: (1373) <i>Menatum</i> . TGF: 6747. Obscure. TGF 6747, working from late sources and the modern name, suggests a Latin PN <i>Minus</i> ; this is unlikely in view of the earlier sources with <i>Man-</i> , cf. in this respect <i>mano-</i> ; and Pliny 3.69 EN <i>Manates</i> , in Italy.



4140	18 B2	+04/47	47 33	+04 25	<b>Mandubii</b>	EN	EN (FRA) <i>oppidum Mandubiorum</i> Caes BG 7,68,1; Μανδουβίων Strabo 4,2,3. Possibly Celtic, from <i>mandu-</i> .
3959	17 G2	+06/45	45 34	+06 09	<b>Mantala</b>	LN	LN: Near St-Pierre-d'Albigny (FRA). <i>Mantala</i> TP 2,1; <i>Mantala</i> IA 346,4; <i>Mantala</i> Rav. 4,26. Celtic, to <i>manto/u-</i> .
Cors 4	48 D2	+09/42	42 42	+09 26	<b>Mantinon</b>	LN	LN: Lavasina (Corsica, FRA). Μαντίνων πόλις (var. Μάντινον) Ptol. 3,2,5. Possibly, to <i>manto/u-</i> . P. de Bernardo Stempel, Additions to Ptolemy's evidence, 104, refers to G. <i>*manti-</i> 'mouth', Celt. <i>*mantī</i> 'magnitude' and <i>*mati-</i> 'favourable'.
3242	14 F1	+00/47	47 08	+00 45	<u><b>Mantoloma(g)um</b></u>	LN	LN: Manthelan? (FRA). <i>Montalomaginsim vicum</i> (var. <i>-gensem</i> ) GdeT HF 7,47, <i>vicus Mantolomaus</i> 10,31.7. Celtic, <i>mantalo-</i> & <i>magos</i> .
6081	24 G4	-05/40	40 24	-04 06	<b>Mantua</b>	LN	LN: el Coto la Cepilla (Perales de Milla) (ESP). Μάντουα (var. Μαντούα) Ptol. 2,6,56. To <i>manto/u-</i> .
9393	39 H3	+10/45	45 10	+10 47	<b>Mantua</b>	LN	LN: Mantua (IT). <i>Mantua</i> (Verg. Buc. 9, 27; Georg. 2, 198; var. <i>min-</i> Pliny 3,130); Strabo 5, 313; Μαντούα (var. Μάντουα, Μαντοῦα Ptol. 3,1,27). DBSt: 'The town of the walk', cf. G. <i>mantalon</i> 'way', to <i>*men(H)</i> 'treten'; but in this case rather to <i>manto/u-</i> . According to Isaac, the LN is Etruscan, cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 203.
3243	14 G4	+01/44	44 33	+01 45	<b>Marcelliago</b>	LN	LN: Marcilhac-sur-Célé? (FRA). <i>Marciliacense</i> Vita Des. 6,13; later attestations: (9 c.) <i>Marcelliago</i> , (844) <i>Marciliaco</i> TGF: 7232. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Marcellius</i> (or <i>Marcilius</i> ).
3244	14 E3	-01/45	45 05	-00 23	<u><b>Marciaco</b></u>	LN	LN: Marsas? (FRA). <i>Marciacinsim</i> GdeT VM 3,33; later attestation: (8–9 cc.) <i>Marciacus</i> TGF: 7239. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Marcius</i> , <i>Martius</i> .
6540	25 H2	+02/43	43 56	+02 00	<b>Marciaco</b>	LN	LN: Marssac-sur-Tarn? (FRA). <i>Marciaco</i> (var. <i>Maciaco</i> ) VitaDes 9(17); (1163) <i>Marchiaco</i> TGF: 7239. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Lat. PN <i>Marcius</i> .
3245	14 I3	+03/45	45 53	+03 05	<u><b>Marciacum</b></u>	LN	LN: Marsat? (FRA). <i>in oratorio Marciacensis</i> GdeT GM 8; later attestations: (828) <i>villa nomine Marciagus</i> CAG 63/2.212; (862) <i>Marciacus</i> , (896) <i>Marsiacus</i> TGF: 7654. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Marcius</i> , <i>Martius</i> .
2165	11 G2	+06/50	50 22	+06 35	<b>Marcomagus?</b>	LN	LN: Nettersheim-Marmagen (GER). <i>Marcomago (vicus)</i> IA 373,2; <i>Marcomagus</i> TP 2,1. 'Horse field', <i>marco-</i> & <i>magos-</i> . Another possibility would be 'Marcus's field', from Lat. <i>Marcus</i> .
3246	14 G3	+01/45	45 23	+01 09	<b>Marcomons</b>	LN	LN: St-Bonnet-Miremont, Cm. Lanouaille? (FRA). <i>Marcomonte</i> Test. Ared.

							(Aubrun 414). Probably Latin, with a PN <i>Marcus</i> and appellative <i>mons</i> . Cf. here Celtic <i>marco</i> ‘horse’.
6544	25 F2	+00/43	43 06	+00 08	<b>Maroialica</b>	LN	LN: near Bagnères-de-Bigorre (FRA). <i>Maroialicis...thermis</i> Ausonius Epist. (Green Appendix B), 242. <i>Atlas</i> ’s reconstruction is unnecessary: Paulinus is referring to the ‘hot springs of *Maroialum’, <i>maro-</i> & <i>ialon</i> .
3249	14 G1	+01/47	47 16	+01 20	<b>Maroialum</b>	LN	LN: Mareuil-sur-Cher? (FRA). <i>Maroialensim aeclesiam</i> (var. <i>-linsem</i> ) GdeT HF 7,12; later attestations: (775) <i>Maroialus</i> , (1253) <i>de Marolio</i> TGF: 2800. Celtic <i>māro-</i> & <i>ialo-</i> .
3250	14 F1	+00/47	47 25	+00 35	<b>Martiniacum</b>	LN	LN: Martigny? (FRA). <i>Martiniacensim</i> GdeT GC 8. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Martin(i)us</i> .
3253	14 I1	+03/47	47 14	+03 00	<b>Massava</b>	LN	LN: Mesves (FRA). <i>Massava</i> TP 1,4; <i>Masavensibu[s]</i> CIL 13, 2895; later forms: (7 c.) <i>Massua</i> , (760) <i>Masvam vicum</i> , (8 c.) <i>Masua</i> , TGF: 2228. Possibly Celtic, cf. allegedly Gaulish PN <i>Massa</i> (OPEL, in Celtic areas), though it does not have an obvious Celtic etymology.
4341	19 D2	+11/47	47 26	+11 51	<b>Mastiacum</b>	LN	LN: Brixlegg (?) (SWI). <i>Masciaco</i> l. <i>Mastiaco</i> IA 259, 9. Celtic suffix <i>-āko-</i> ; the base is problematic. Russell (EC 1988, 162) refers to PN (?) <i>Mascius</i> . Celticity cannot be proven.
3728	16 B3	+06/43	43 25	+06 13	<b>Matavo</b>	LN	LN: Near Cabasse (FRA). <i>Matavone</i> TP 2,1; <i>Matavonio</i> IA 298,2; <i>Pataum</i> Rav. 4, 28; <i>pagus Matavonicus</i> CIL 12, 342. Celtic, to <i>matu/i-</i> .
1771	10 A4	+04/52	52 07	+04 32	<b>Matilo</b>	LN	LN: Leiden (NL). <i>Matilone</i> TP 1,2; <i>Matellionem</i> Rav. 4, 24; <i>Pocellis</i> 26. Celtic: meaning uncertain; perhaps to <i>matu/i-</i> ‘?good’, ‘?bear’. According to Toorians KGN 104, there is a link between Celtic PN <i>Ma[ti]lius Duri[s]es</i> from Cologne (CIL 13, 8311; see also CIL 13, 6456: <i>Dur[i(us)]</i> ) and LN <i>Matiliacus</i> (= present-day Mettlach near the Saar river) (cfr. Ho II, 460); * <i>Matilo</i> would be a PN, so <i>Matilone</i> would mean ‘chez Matilo, at Matilo’s (place)’ (< Celtic * <i>matis</i> ‘good’).
Cors 5	48 C3	+08/41	41 38	+08 59	<b>Matisa</b>	LN	LN: Figari (Corsica, FRA). If Celtic, to G. <i>mati-</i> ‘favourable’.
4143	18 B3	+04/46	46 19	+04 48	<b>Matisco</b>	LN	LN: Mâcon (FRA). <i>Matiscone</i> Caes. BG 7,90,7; <i>Matiscone</i> TP 1,5; <i>Matiscone</i> (var. <i>matiscono</i> ) IA 359,4; <i>Matisconensis</i> ND Oc 9,32; <i>Matisconense castrum</i> NG 1,7; <i>Matiscone</i> GdeT HF 8,12; <i>Matascone</i> Fortunatus Vita Germani 63,173; <i>Maticum</i>

							Rav. 4,26. Celtic, to <i>matu/i-</i> .
4343	19 D2	+11/47	47 07	+11 27	<b>Matreium</b>	LN	LN: Matrei? (SWI). <i>Matreio</i> TP 3,2. Possibly Celtic. Semantics and etymology not clear. See <i>matr-</i> .
4694	20 F2	+18/47	47 19	+18 52	<b>Matrica</b>	LN	LN: Százhalombatta (HUN). <i>Matrica</i> IA 245,3; <i>Matrice</i> ND oc 33,15;36. If Celtic, to <i>matr-</i> .
2171	11 C4	+02/48	48 53	+02 35	<b>Matrona fl.</b>	RN	RN: Marne (FRA). <i>Matrona</i> Caesar BG 1,1; <i>Mātrōnā</i> Ausonius Mos. 461; <i>Matrona</i> Ammianus XV.11.3; <i>Mātrōna</i> Sid. Apol. Carm. V.208; <i>Matronam</i> GdeT HF5, 29 (39), <i>Matrona</i> VI.17 (25); <i>MADERNA</i> Rav. 4,26; <i>Matronae</i> CIL 13, 5674; etc. '(The) mother (river)'. Cf. <i>matr-</i> .
- 1836a	11 I2	+08/50	50 05	+08 17	<b>Mattiaci</b>	EN	EN: around Wiesbaden (GER). See 1836 <i>Aquae Mattiacorum</i> .
- 1933a	11 I2	+08/50	50 02	+08 19	<b>Mattiaci</b>	EN	EN (GER). See 1836 <i>Aquae Mattiacorum</i> , 1836a <i>Mattiaci</i> , and 1933 <i>Castellum Mattiacorum</i> .
4695	20 B3	+14/45	45 52	+14 28	<b>Matucaium</b>	LN	LN: Stammersdorf (AUS). <i>Matucaio</i> TP 4,1. Very possibly Celtic, <i>matu-</i> & <i>cagio-</i> .
7027	26 C2	-08/39	39 06	-07 18	<b>Matusarum</b>	LN	LN: near Arronches (POR). <i>Matusaro</i> IA 419,2; <i>Massusaria</i> Rav. 4,45. <i>Matu-</i> is known in Celtic LNN but word formation is not Celtic; the discrepancies in the attestations do not allow exact analysis / linguistic attribution.
2176	11 G1	+06/51	51 10	+06 06	<b>Mederiacum</b>	LN	LN: Melick (NL). <i>Mederiacum</i> (var. <i>moderiacum</i> ) IA 375,5; <i>Malica</i> DB edition, p. 332. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative; the first component is disputable, also due to variations in its attestations, and the modern form favours the later spelling, cf. G. PNN in <i>mal-</i> . De Vries WNZP, 114 thinks that <i>Moderiacum</i> is a Celtic vowel substitution for <i>Madariacum</i> , meaning 'the property of Madarius'; similarly Gysseling TW: 682. Note that Holder mentions a <i>Maderiacum</i> , ancient name for modern Mézières in the Ardennes (Ho II, 369). Blok, "Des toponymes celtiques", 343-345 and PR 1988, 150 argues that the LN shows a late Gallo-Latinisation of the Gmc. suffix <i>-ikja</i> .
2662	12 D3	+10/49	49 02	+10 40	<b>Mediana</b>	LN	LN: Gnotzheim (GER). <i>Medianis</i> TP 3,2. If Celtic, cf. <i>medio-</i> .
5161	21 E6	+22/43	43 18	+22 01	<b>Mediana</b>	LN	LN: Brzi brod (SCG); <i>Mediana</i> Amm. 26,5,1; Μεδίαννα Proc. ae. 4,4. If not Latin (see bibl. in Beševliev 1970, 107), cf. <i>medio-</i> .
3257	14 F1	+00/47	47 06	+00 28	<b>Mediconnum</b>	LN	LN: Mougou, Cm. Crouzilles (FRA). <i>Mediconno</i> (var. <i>Mediconnum</i> ) GdeT HF 10,31,6; <i>medeconho</i> Coin Belfort 2828. Possibly Celtic, to <i>medio-</i> and <i>-con-</i> ; cf.

							other <i>-connum</i> places <i>Crouciaconnum</i> (map 7E2) and <i>Mosconnum</i> (map 25D1 no. 6561). Another possibility is that this name is Latin, based on a PN <i>Medicus</i> .
3258	14 H2	+02/46	46 17	+02 45	<b>Mediocantus</b>	LN	LN: La Celle? (FRA). <i>Mediocantus</i> GdeT VP 9,2. Celtic, <i>medio-</i> & <i>canto-</i> ; DLG translates <i>Mediocantus</i> ‘Point-Central?’
9395	39 E3	+09/45	45 28	+09 10	<b>Mediolanium</b> <b>Mediolan(i)um</b>	LN	LN: Milan (IT). <i>Μεδιόλανον</i> Polyb. 2,34,10;11;15; Plut. Marcell. 7; <i>Μεδιόλανον</i> Dio 73,11,2; <i>Mediolanenses</i> Cic. in Pison. 26,62; Varro r r 1,8,2;3; Verrius Flaccus ap. Festum 36,10; Pliny 14,144; Suet. De poetis 5; <i>Mediolanium</i> Livy 5,34,9; 34,46,1; Iustin 20,5,7; Oros. 4,13,15; 20,15, etc.; <i>Μεδιολάνιον</i> Strabo 5,1,6; Ptol. 3, 1, 29; <i>Mediolani</i> Val. Max. 9,15; Frontin. Strateg. 1, 9,3; Plin. Epist. 4,13,3; <i>Mediolanum</i> Pliny 3,124; 6,218; Eutrop. 3,6,2; 9,11,1; 9, 27,2; Tacit. H, 1,70; Sueton. De poetis. 25; <i>A Mediolano</i> IA 98,3.6; IA 123,9, etc. Celtic, <i>medio-</i> & <i>lān(i)o-</i> .
3259	14 E3	-01/45	45 46	-00 38	<b>Mediolanum</b>	LN	LN: Settlement and quarry at Saintes (FRA). <i>Σαντόνων πόλις ἐστὶ Μεδιολάνιον</i> Strabo 4,2,1; <i>Μεδιολάνιον</i> Ptol. 2,7,6; <i>Mediolano Sancorum</i> TP 1,1; <i>Mediolanum Santonum</i> IA 459,3; <i>Mediolano Santinis</i> Rav. 4,40; <i>Μεδιολάνιον</i> St. Byz. Celtic, <i>medio-</i> & <i>lān(i)o-</i> .
3260	14 H2	+02/46	46 34	+02 12	<b>Mediolanum</b>	LN	LN: Châteaumeillant (FRA). <i>Mediolano</i> TP 1,3; <i>Mediolanensim castrum</i> GdeT HF 6, 31; <i>Mediolano castro</i> merovingian coin Belfort 2853. Celtic, <i>medio-</i> & <i>lān(i)o-</i> .
3965	17 C2	+04/45	45 53	+04 29	<b>Mediolanum</b>	LN	LN: Pontcharra-sur-Turdine (FRA). <i>Mediolano</i> TP 1,3. Celtic, <i>medio-</i> & <i>lān(i)o-</i> .
4144	18 B2	+04/47	47 19	+04 46	<b>Mediolanum</b>	LN	LN: Mâlain (FRA). Late attestation: (1075) <i>Mediolanum</i> (ADAS 28). Celtic, <i>medio-</i> & <i>lān(i)o-</i> .
2177	11 B3	+01/49	49 02	+01 11	<b>Mediolanum</b> <b>Aulercorum</b>	LN	LN: Evreux (FRA). <i>Μεδιολάνιον</i> Ptol. 2,8,9; <i>Mediolano Aulercorum</i> IA 384,4; <i>Mediolanum</i> 384, 13; <i>Mediolano Autercorum</i> TP 1,3; <i>Mediolanum</i> Ammianus XV.11.12; [ <i>Mediol</i> ] <i>annensivm</i> CIL 13, 3202; etc. ‘The middle plain of the Aulerci’ (for the <i>Aulerci</i> , cfr. map 7 no. 982 <i>Aulerci</i> ), <i>medio-</i> & <i>lān(i)o-</i> . cf. 2008 <i>Eburovices</i> and 2177a <i>Eburovicum</i> .
2178	11 G3	+06/49	49 10	+06 30	<b>Mediomatrici</b>	EN	EN: (FRA/GER). <i>Mediomatricorum</i> (var. <i>Mediomatricum</i> ) Caesar <i>BG</i> 4,10, <i>Mediomatrici</i> (dat.) 7, 75; <i>Μεδιοματρικοί</i> Strabo 4,3,4; <i>Mediomatrici</i> (var. <i>mediomtrici</i> ) Pliny 4,106; <i>Mediomatricos</i> (acc.) Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> IV.70;

							<p>Μεδιομάτρικες (var. διομάτρικες, μεδιομάτριβες Ptol. 2,9,7; <i>Ciuitas Mediomatricum</i> (var. <i>mediomatricorum</i>, <i>metitianorum</i>, <i>mediomatrium</i>) <i>Mettis</i> NG 5, 3; <i>Mediomatricum</i> NT LXXXVI.95; <i>Mediomatricos</i> (acc.) Ammianus XV.11 and XVII.1; <i>Civi Mediomatrico</i> CIL 5, 5929; <i>C(ivis) Mediomatr(icvs)</i> 7, 55; [<i>ciu. medi</i>]omatricvs 13, 623; <i>Mediomatr(icvs)</i> 1807; <i>Mediom(atrico)</i> 2674; <i>Mediom[a]trici</i> 2954; [<i>Med</i>]iomatricis 4324; <i>Cives Mediomatrica</i> 7007; [<i>Med</i>]iomatricis 11353; etc. <b>medio- &amp; matr-</b>. Delamarre translates this EN as ‘the people of the Mothers of the plain (here)’ or ‘the people who live in the middle of streams’ (DLG s.v. <i>medios</i>). Zimmer <i>Die Kelten</i>, 207 thinks that “<i>Mettis</i> &lt; <i>Mediomatricis</i> &lt; <i>Divodurum Mediomatricorum</i>, vom Stammesname <i>Mediomatrici</i>, ‘die (Leute) der mittleren Mütter’ (?)”. Anreiter VNP 169 states that “So möchte ich zur Diskussion stellen, ob wir nicht angesichts von lat. <i>māteria/māteriēs</i> ‘Bauholz, Nutzholz, u.a.’ eine keltische Basis *<i>māt(V)r-</i> ‘Holz’ (&gt; ‘Wald’) ansetzen dürfen. Es wären dann die <i>Mediomatriker</i> als ‘die mitten im Wald Wohnenden’ zu übersetzen ...”. Cf. 1989 <i>Divodurum</i> and 1989a <i>Mettis</i>.</p>
9566	40 C2	+12/45	45 25	+12 05	<b>Meduacus Maior fl.</b>	RN	<p>RN: Branch of Brenta (IT). <i>Μεδόακος</i> Strabo 5,1,7; <i>Meduacus</i> Livy 10,2,6; <i>Meduaci duo</i> Pliny 3,121. Very likely to contain Celtic <b>medu-</b>; but the same underlying etymon may be found in the non-Celtic languages of the area and a RN in <i>-acus</i> is a problem in its own right. Cf. also 9567 <i>Meduacus Minor</i></p>
9567	40 C2	+12/45	45 21	+12 06	<b>Meduacus Minor</b>	LN	<p>LN: Near Lova (IT). <i>mino Meduaco</i> TP 3,5. See above s.v. 9566 <i>Meduacus Major</i>.</p>
9568	40 C2	+12/45	45 22	+12 05	<b>Meduacus Minor fl.</b>	RN	<p>RN: Branch of Brenta (IT). See s.v. 9566 <i>Meduacus Major</i>.</p>
3261	14 E1	-01/47	47 43	-00 42	<b>Meduana? fl.</b>	RN	<p>RN: Mayenne (FRA). <i>Meduana</i> Lucan 1,438; <i>Meduanae</i> GdeT HF 10,9; <i>Meduanae Vita Maurilii</i> 24,124; later attestations: (7 c.) <i>Medena</i>, (859) <i>Medanum flumen</i> TGF: 2175. Possibly Celtic; see <b>medu-</b>. DaRiv. compares the EN <i>Medulli</i> (3262: cf also <i>Medulla fl.</i> 6551) and connects with Celtic <b>medio-</b>.</p>
3262	14 D3	-02/45	45 25	-01 07	<b>Medul(l)i</b>	EN	<p>EN: Médoc (FRA). <i>Medullis</i> Pliny 32,62; <i>paganum Medulis</i> Auson. Epist. 13, 2; <i>Medulicae</i> Sid App epist. 8,12,7. See <i>Medulli</i> 3966.</p>

6551	25 E2	-01/43	43 53	-00 43	<b>Medulla? fl.</b>	RN	RN: Midouze (FRA). <i>Medulla</i> Rav. 4,41 and 4,45. Cf. <i>Ulla fl.</i> (map 24 C2 no. 6222). Obscure; if Celtic, to <i>medu-</i> ; cf. here PNN <i>Meduillus</i> and <i>Medullia</i> . Alternatively, perhaps Latin, from <i>medulla</i> ‘marrow of bones’ hence ‘best part’? Cf. <i>Medulli</i> and a town <i>Medullia</i> in Latium.
3966	17 H3	+06/45	45 15	+06 45	<b>Medulli</b>	EN	EN (FRA). Μέδ<ο>ύλλοι Strabo 4,1,11; <i>Medulli</i> Pliny 3,137; Μεδούλλους Ptol. 2,10,7; <i>Medullorum</i> Vitruv. 8,3,20; <i>Medvlli</i> CIL 5, 7817; <i>Medullorum</i> 7231. Celtic, possibly to <i>medu-</i> . Alternatively, de Hoz ‘Ptolemy and the Linguistic History of the Narbonensis’, 178 note 42, derives it from * <i>medhi/u</i> IEW 706-7, meaning ‘those who lived in the middle’ or ‘in the border woods’. Cf. 6551 <i>Medulla fl.</i>
6084	24 D4	-08/40	40 59	-07 20	<b>Meidubriga</b> <b>Me(i)dubriga</b>	LN	LN: Castro Ranhados (Meda)? (POR). <i>Medobrigam oppidum</i> Caes. BA 48,2; <i>Medubrigenses qui Plumbari</i> (var. <i>-bricenses</i> ) Pliny 4,22, <i>Meidubri[gensis?]</i> CIL 2, 458. The second element is Celtic <i>-briga</i> . The first is perhaps related to * <i>medu-</i> .
2179	11 D4	+03/48	48 57	+03 15	<b>Meldi</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Meldis</i> (abl.) Caes. BG 5,5; Μέλδοι Strabo 4,3,5; <i>Meldi liberi</i> Pliny 4,107; Μέλδοι (var. Μέλγαι) Ptol. 2,8,11; <i>Ciuitas Melduorum</i> (var. <i>meldorum</i> ) NG 4, 9; <i>Meledus</i> ( <i>Melledus</i> ) GdeT HF 5,1, <i>Meldensem</i> 7,4, etc.; <i>Meldus urbem</i> Vita s. Genovefae VI.28; <i>Meldorum</i> CIL 13, 2924; etc. ‘?The lightening or rush/reed or sweet people’. According to Isaac, to possible Celtic element <i>meldo-</i> ; according to Lambert, “Celtic. Stokes and Ernault compared <i>Meldi</i> to OI <i>meld</i> , later <i>mell</i> , ‘sweet, nice, agreeable’, from a <i>u</i> -stem * <i>m̥ldu-s</i> cf. Lat. <i>mollis</i> from * <i>molduis</i> . The <i>u</i> -stem might have been kept in the late <i>Melduorum</i> . But <i>Meldus</i> is generally considered as a vulgarism for <i>Meldōs</i> ”. Cf. 2096 <i>Iatinon</i> .
5163	21 E7	+22/42	42 56	+22 55	<b>Meldia</b>	LN	LN: Dragoman (BUL). <i>Meldia</i> IA 135,3; <i>mansio Meldia</i> IB 566,11; <i>Meldis</i> Rav. 4,7; <i>Meldiis</i> TP 6,5. Not necessarily Thracian, as I. Duridanov, <i>Izv. Inst. za Blg. jazyk</i> , 16 (1968), 71-72, claims; see <i>meldo-</i> .
3263	14 H3	+02/45	45 15	+02 23	<b>Melita</b>	LN	LN: Méallet (FRA). <i>monasterium Meletinsim</i> (var. <i>Melethense</i> ) GdeT VP XI,1; <i>monasterium Melitensim</i> (var. <i>Melet-</i> ) HF 5,9. Probably non-Celtic. Delamarre DLG: 227, however, tentatively derives <i>Melitum</i> from <i>miletu-</i> ‘destruction, ruine?’, which is semantically odd. Late attestations and variations do not allow exact linguistic attribution and hence etymology.

-	2185a	11 C4	+02/48	48 33	+02 37	<b>Mellodunum</b>	LN	LN: Melun (FRA). See 2185 <i>Metlosedum</i> and cf. <i>dūnum</i> .
	3968	17 G3	+06/45	45 02	+06 06	<b>Melloshedum</b>	LN	LN: Mont-de-Lans (FRA). <i>Melloshedum</i> TP 2,2; <i>Metroselon</i> Rav. 4,27. Possibly, “the residence of Mellos”; the second component is likely to be <i>sed-</i> (in TP attestation).
	2180	11 D2	+03/50	50 59	+03 15	<b>Menapii</b>	EN	EN: (B/NL). <i>Menapii</i> Caesar BG 2,4, <i>passim</i> ; Μενάπιοι Strabo 4,3,4; <i>Menapi</i> Pliny 4,106; <i>Menapios</i> (acc.) Tacitus Hist. 4, 28; Μενάπιοι (var. Μονάπιοι, Μενάσπιοι) Ptol. 2,9,5; Μεναπίους (acc.) Cassius Dio 39,44; <i>Menapi seniores</i> ND oc 5, 75; 7,83, <i>Menapiorum</i> 41,16, <i>Menapii</i> Orosius 8,3 and 35; <i>Menapius</i> NT LXXXVII.37; <i>Menapii</i> Orosius 6,7,14; <i>Menapios</i> (acc.) 6,8,8; <i>Menapos</i> (acc., var. <i>-pus</i> ) 6,10,15; <i>cives Menapius</i> CIL 5, 885; ( <i>Cohorte</i> ) <i>I Menap(iorum)</i> 7, 1195; <i>civitatis Menapiorum</i> 11, 390, etc. Possibly Celtic, ‘?the mountain/high-living people’, <i>meno-</i> + <i>api-</i> + <i>io-</i> [Isaac, PNPg]. Sometimes compared with OIr tribal name <i>Manaig</i> , <i>Monaig</i> , <i>Fer Manach</i> (> county Fermanagh) < * <i>Manak<sup>w</sup>i</i> , see e.g., Schrijver, SBC 82. Cf. 1934 <i>Castellum Menapiorum</i> .
	3266	14 H3	+02/45	45 20	+02 30	<b>Meroliacum</b>	LN	LN: Chastel Marlhac, Cm. Le Monteil (FRA). <i>Meroliacensis castrum</i> GdeT HF 3,13; later attestation (1185) <i>Chastel Marlac</i> . An <i>-āko-</i> derivative; the base is disputable. Da. suggests a Latin PN * <i>Merulius</i> , derived from <i>merula</i> ‘merle’, but <i>Merula</i> itself appears in OPEL as a PN, so Da.’s construction of * <i>Merulius</i> is unnecessary. TGF 12667 prefers a Germanic PN <i>Merolus</i> (NPAG I 168b) which might be itself a borrowing from Latin. DLG <i>mero-</i> ‘fou, agité’ considers PNN <i>Merula</i> ‘follette’ (or which might be from Lat. <i>merula</i> ‘pearl’) and <i>Merola</i> .
	4699	20 E3	+17/46	46 58	+17 13	<b>Mestrianis</b> <sup>69</sup>	LN	LN: Zalaszentgrót (HUN). <i>Mestrianis</i> (var. <i>mesirianis</i> ) IA 263,4. Located in a ‘Celtic’ territory, therefore a Celtic etymology not impossible. Isaac, AILR <i>ad loc.</i> , suggests * <i>mestr-ia-ano</i> . One would rather think of a * <i>-trV-</i> derivation from a * <i>mes-</i> or * <i>med-</i> , which makes the LN consistent with Celtic morphologically. Semantic suggestions are speculative.
	2185	11 C4	+02/48	48 33	+02 37	<b>Metlosedum</b>	LN	LN: Melun (FRA). <i>Metiosedum</i> (var. <i>mellodunum</i> , <i>mediosedum</i> , <i>metiosedum</i> , <i>melodunum</i> , <i>metiosedem</i> ), <i>Metiosedo</i> (var. <i>melloduno</i> ) Caes. BG 7,58, <i>Metiosedo</i> 60, <i>Metiosedum</i> 61; <i>Metledo</i> (var. <i>mededo</i> ) IA 383,2; <i>Melloshedum</i> TP 2,2; <i>ad</i>

							<i>Meclledonensem/ Miglidunensem castrum</i> GdeT HF 6,22 (31), <i>in pago Migludinense</i> 23 (32), etc. According to Isaac, AILR, ‘Dwelling of reapers’, <i>metlo- &amp; sedo-</i> .
2187	11 C2	+02/50	50 39	+02 41	<b>Minariacum?</b>	LN	LN: Estaires (FRA). <i>Minariacum</i> IA 377,4 and 7. ‘Place belonging to Minarius’, an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of * <i>Minarius</i> .
2188	11 E3	+04/49	49 35	+04 05	<b>Minatiacum</b>	LN	LN: Nizy-le-Comte (FRA). <i>Minatiacum</i> IA 381,4; <i>Ninittaci</i> TP 1,4. ‘?Place belonging to Minatius’. If IA is to be followed, an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of <i>Minatius</i> . The modern form, however, points to initial <i>n-</i> . See <i>Ninittaci</i> 2188a and 2188b <i>Ninitiacum</i> .
9398	39 F4	+09/44	44 50	+09 31	<b>Minerva Cabardiacensis</b>	LN	LN Caverzago (IT). <i>Fund(um) Aestinianum Antistianum Cabardiacum</i> CIL 11, 1147 p. II 47; <i>Fund(um) Cabardiacum veterem; Minervae Cabardiacensi</i> CIL 11, 1301. Not necessarily Celtic, but cf. <i>-āko-</i> .
6089	24 C2	-09/42	42 10	-08 13	<b>Minius fl.</b>	RN	RN: Minho/Miño (POR/ESP). Μίνιόν Strabo 3,3,4; <i>Minius</i> Mela 3,1,10; <i>Minius amnis</i> Pliny 4,112; Νίμτος App. Hisp. 6,12,72; Μίνιου (var. Μηνίου) Ptol. 2,6,1; <i>Mineus fluvius</i> Isid. Orig. 13.21.32; <i>Minua</i> Rav. 4,45. Probably Celtic; interpretations vary. Cf. <i>mino-</i> (thus Isaac PNPG); to IE * <i>mei-</i> ‘to go’ (zero grade) (García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 135-6). Tovar, <i>Beiträge zur Indogermanistik und Keltologie</i> , suggests another Indo-European etymology, relating the name to Latin <i>minium</i> . Cf <i>Minio fl.</i> in Italy.
4146	18 D3	+06/46	46 40	+06 46	<b>Minnodunum</b>	LN	LN: Moudon? (SWI). <i>Minnodunum</i> IA 352,3; <i>Vican Minnodunens</i> CIL 13, 5042; <i>[M]i[nodunen]si[bus]</i> 5043. Celtic compound in <i>dūnu-</i> . Component <i>minno-</i> is problematic. Cf. <i>mino-</i> ; G. R. Isaac (AILR) notes, that “allowing for the ad hoc alternation of <i>-n-</i> ~ <i>-nn-</i> , <i>minno-</i> could be connected to W <i>min</i> ‘edge, point’: <i>Minnodunum</i> ‘settlement on the edge, summit’.
-	4146a	18 D3	+06/46	46 40	<b>Minodum</b>	LN	LN: Moudon? (SWI). <i>Min(n)odu(nu)m</i> TP 2,2. A contraction of <i>Minnodunum</i> 4146 above.
6091	24 E4	-07/40	40 37	-06 33	<b>Mirobriga</b>	LN	LN: Ciudad Rodrigo (ESP). <i>Mirobrigenses qui Celtici cognominatur</i> (var. <i>-ntes, mirobrienses</i> ) Pliny 4,22; <i>Mirobrig</i> CIL 2, 857. Celtic, <i>miro-</i> & <i>brig-</i> . Also known as 6091a <i>Municipium Val(...)</i> , CIL 2, 863 <i>o(rdo) m(unicipii) V.</i> (reconstruction by Tovar, <i>Baetica</i> 248), CIL 2, 857 <i>Miro/brig. Val..</i>



7038	26 E3	-06/38	38 50	-05 01	<b>Mirobriga</b>	LN	LN: Cerro del Cabezo (Capilla) (ESP). <i>Mirobrigam</i> (var. <i>-bricam</i> ) Plin. 3,14; Μιρόβριγα Ptol. 2,4,10; <i>Mirobriga</i> (var. <i>-brica</i> ) IA 444,6. <b>Miro- &amp; brig-</b> .	
7039	26 B4	-09/37	37 60	-08 40	<b>Mirobriga</b>	LN	LN: Santiago do Cacém (POR). <i>Merobrica</i> (var. <i>mesobriga</i> ) Plin. 4,116; <i>Mirobrigenses qui Celtici cognominatur</i> (var. <i>-brienses</i> , <i>-ntes</i> , <i>medubricenses</i> ) 4,118; Μιρόβριγα (var. Μιροβρίγα, Μυρόβριγα) Ptol. 2,5,5 <b>Miro- &amp; brig-</b> . Cf. entry <i>Mirobriga Celtica</i> .	
-	7039a	26 B4	-09/37	37 60	-08 40	<b>Mirobriga Celtica</b>	LN	LN: Santiago do Cacém (POR). See <i>Mirobriga</i> 7039.
3267	14 E4	-01/44	44 53	-00 31	<b>Modogarnomum</b>	LN	LN: Langoiran en Guyenne, dép. Gironde, arrond. Bordeaux, canton Cadillac ( <i>Atlas</i> do not give a location: this one is taken from Holder) (FRA). <i>Modogarnomo castro super fluuio Garonna</i> Conc. <i>Modogarnomense sev Burdegalense</i> (663-675). Obscure; <i>-garnomum</i> may be a garbled form of <i>Garumna</i> q.v.	
2190	11 I2	+08/50	50 01	+08 27	<b>Moenus fl.</b>	RN	RN: Main (GER). <i>Moenus</i> Pliny NH IX.44; <i>Moenis</i> Mela 3,3,30; <i>Moenum</i> (acc.) Tacitus <i>Germ.</i> 28; <i>Menum/Moenum</i> (acc.) Ammianus XVII.1, <i>Moenum/Menum/Rhenum</i> XXVII.10; <i>Moenum</i> Aurelius Victor <i>Caes.</i> XXI.2; <i>Movit</i> Rav. IV.24; <i>Moenvs</i> CIL XIII 7070; etc. ‘(The) rich/vital (river)’ or ‘river of richness/life’. Etymology, according to Holder: <i>Moenus</i> , Irish <i>Máin</i> , OHGern. <i>Môin</i> , cfr. OÍcel. <i>Móinsheimar</i> ; according to Glück < * <i>mei</i> ‘to go’, Latin <i>meo</i> , DN and RN, in PN, e.g. * <i>Moeni-captos</i> [Ho II, 606], cf. LEIA M-59-60: Vendryes gives for * <i>mei</i> ‘to (ex)change’ (cfr. Latin <i>mūnus</i> ), Irish <i>móin</i> , <i>main</i> (< * <i>moi-ni</i> ), Welsh <i>mwyn</i> (< * <i>mei-no</i> ) ‘treasure, wealth’, and as an adjective ‘kind, precious’.	
4701	20 E2	+17/47	47 08	+17 19	<b>Moge(n)tiana</b>	LN	LN: Túskevár (HUN), so Barr. Possibly Somlóvásárhely (P. Anreiter, <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 196). <i>Mogetiana</i> (var. <i>Moieciana</i> ) IA 233,4; <i>Mogentianis</i> (var. <i>Mocantianis</i> ) IA 233,5; <i>Moget(ianae)</i> CIL 3, 10993; <i>Moge(tianae)</i> CIL 3, 11043. Anreiter, <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 197 interprets it as ‘Siedlung eines Mannes namens Mogetius’ in view of PN <i>Mogetius</i> (CIL 13, 1193). According to Isaac (comm. AI form), “the AI form is entirely consistent with other Celtic names in <i>Mogu-</i> e.g. <i>Mogontiacum</i> ‘Mainz’. But the form can just as well have been influenced by such names as part of the history of	

							its transmission: if the original form is <i>Mode(n)tiana</i> , then there are no grounds for suspecting a Celtic formation”. The original form, however, is likely to be different.
2191	11 I2	+08/50	50 01	+08 17	<b>Mogontiacum</b>	LN	LN: Mainz (GER). <i>Mogontiaci</i> Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> IV.15, <i>Mogontiaco</i> 24-25 and 33, <i>Mogontiaci</i> 59, 61 and 71, <i>Mogontiacum</i> 62 and 71; Μογοντιάκον Ptol. 2,9,8; <i>Mogontiacum</i> (var. <i>magontiacum</i> ) IA 350,4-5; (var. <i>magontiaco</i> , <i>mocontiacum</i> ) 355,5; <i>Mogontiaco</i> (var. <i>mocontiaco</i> ) 374,5; <i>Mogontiacensis</i> ND oc 1,49; 5,143; 41,1; <i>ciuitas Magontiacensium</i> NG 7,2; <i>Mogontiaco</i> TP 2,2; <i>Mogontiacus</i> Ammianus XV.11.8, XVI.2.12, etc; <i>Maguntia</i> , <i>Maguncia</i> Rav. 4, 24; <i>Mogontiaci</i> (gen.) CIL 5, 5747; <i>Mogontiaci</i> (gen.) 13, 4085; <i>Mogontiacensibvs</i> 6705; <i>Vicani Mogontiace[ns]es</i> 6722; <i>Mogontiacensibvs</i> 11810; <i>Deae Mogontiae</i> 4313; etc. ‘Place belonging to Mogontius’, an <i>-āko-</i> derivative from * <i>Mogontius</i> . Zimmer, <i>Die Kelten</i> , 207 interprets the LN as ‘Landgut des Mächtigen(?)’.
4702	20 B2	+14/47	47 14	+14 33	<b>Monate</b>	LN	LN: Nussdorf (AUS). <i>Monate</i> IA 267,7. TIR L-33, 52 informs of “santuari di forma celtica”. If the place-name is Celtic (and it is found in the territory where other Celtic remnants are attested), cf. <i>mano-</i> .
- 6580a	25 F3	+00/42	42 52	+00 30	<b>Monesi</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). See 6580 <i>Onesi</i> .
2196	11 H4	+07/48	48 02	+07 35	<b>Mons Brisiacus</b> (Mons) Brisacus	LN	LN: Breisach (GER). <i>Monte Brisiaco</i> (var. <i>brissaco</i> ) IA 239,1; (var. <i>brissiaco</i> ) 252,3; (var. <i>obrisiaco</i> , <i>briasago</i> , <i>brusiaco</i> ) 350,1; <i>Brisiaci</i> Codex Theo. 6, 35, 8; <i>Brezecha</i> Rav. 4, 26. Possibly Celtic; interpreted as ‘?Grape leftovers mountain’, <i>brisi-</i> + <i>áco-</i> by G. R. Isaac, AILR, with possible Celtic element <i>brisio-</i> . More likely to be an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of <i>Brisio</i> . See <i>Brisiacus</i> 2196a.
16170	63 C1	+33/39	39 52	+33 05	<b>Mordiacus M.</b>	MN	MN: perhaps Elma Dağ (TUR). Also known as Magaba M. <i>Magaba</i> Livy 38,19,1; <i>in Magabam montem, qui nunc Mordiacus appellatur</i> Festus 11. The presence of a Celtic-looking suffix does not make the MN Celtic.
2199	11 B2	+01/50	50 44	+01 45	<b>Morini</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Morini</i> Caesar BG 2, 4, passim; Μορινοὶ Strabo 4,3,5; <i>Morini</i> Pliny 4, 106; <i>Morinos</i> Mela 3,3,23; <i>Morinos</i> Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> IV.28; Μορινω̃ν Ptol. 2,9,1; Μορινοὶ 2,9,4; Μωρίνουσ (acc.) Cassius Dio XXXIX.44; <i>Morinorum</i> (gen.) ND 40,52; <i>Ciuitas Morinum</i> NG 6,12; <i>Morinvs</i> CIL 2, 5812; <i>cohort(is) I Morinorum</i> 3, 2049; <i>castrensis Morini</i> 6, 29692; <i>cohortibus ... I Morinorum</i> 7, 1193; <i>civitatis</i>

								<i>Morinorum</i> 11, 391; [ <i>civi</i> ]tas <i>Morinor(um)</i> 13, 3560; <i>Ilvir colon(iae) Morinorum</i> 8727; <i>Mvrrinorvm</i> 14, 4468; <i>Morinorum</i> 16, 48 and 69; <i>Mvrrinorvm</i> AE 1946.95; etc. ‘The sea (people)’, <b>mori-</b> .
2202	11 E1	+04/51	51 50	+04 25	<b>Mosa fl.</b>	LN	LN: Maas (FRA?). <i>Mosa</i> Caesar <i>BG</i> 4,9; <i>Mosa</i> Pliny 4,100; <i>Mosa</i> Tacitus <i>Ann.</i> II.6, <i>Mosam Hist.</i> IV.28, <i>Mosae</i> 66, <i>Mosae</i> V.23; Μόσα, Μόσαν (Μώσαν in X) Ptol. II.9.1 and 5; Μόσας Cassius Dio XLIV.42.4; Μόσου / Μέσου LX.30.6; <i>Mosa</i> Ammianus XVII.2.2, <i>Mosae</i> 9.1; etc. According to Toorians, <i>Keltisch en Germaans in de Nederlanden</i> , 105 ‘?(the) savage/frightening (river)’, * <i>mōsa</i> < PIE * <i>meud-</i> ; but a long <i>o</i> is expected (cf. Isaac, PNPg, comm. ad. loc.). Cf. also Mlr <i>muad</i> ‘brouillard, nuage’, also reflected in river names (LEIA M-68) and <i>mosar</i> ‘saleté’ (LEIA M-65). Cf. 2203 <i>Mosa</i> ?	
2203	11 F4	+05/48	48 05	+05 34	<b>Mosa?</b>	LN	LN: Meuvy (FRA). <i>Mosa</i> IA 385,8; <i>Mosavico</i> , <i>Moosavoco</i> Merovingian coins. For an etymology, see 2202 <i>Mosa</i> fl.	
2204	11 G3	+06/49	49 16	+06 15	<b>Mosella fl.</b>	RN	RN: Mosel (FRA/GER). <i>Mosella</i> , <i>Mosellam</i> , <i>Mosellae</i> Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> IV.71 and 77, <i>Mosella</i> <i>Ann.</i> XIII.53; <i>Mōsellae</i> Ausonius <i>Mos.</i> 20-22, passim; <i>Musella</i> (var. <i>Mosella</i> ) NT CXIII.86; <i>Mosela</i> Rav. IV.26; <i>Musalla</i> TP 2,1; <i>Mosella</i> Ammianus XVI.3; <i>Musellam</i> Greg. Tur. <i>HF</i> III.15, <i>Musella</i> VIII.13; <i>navtary[m]</i> <i>Mosallicor</i> CIL XIII 4335; etc. ‘?Little Mosa’, see 2202 <i>Mosa</i> fl.	
2205	11 F3	+05/49	49 37	+05 06	<b>Mosomagus</b>	LN	LN: Mouzon (FRA). <i>Musmagenses</i> ND 7,105; <i>Mose</i> TP 1,5; <i>Mosomo castello</i> , <i>Mosomo castris</i> Merovingian coins; etc. ‘Plain/field of the Maas’, <i>mosa-</i> + <b>-magus</b> . The first component is obscure, perhaps a RN (see 2202 <i>Mosa</i> fl.) or perhaps a PN?	
-	1863a	11 E3	+04/49	49 27	+04 04	<b>Muenna</b>	LN	LN: Évergnicourt (FRA). <i>Muenna</i> IA 381, 5. Possibly a scribal error for <i>Axuenna</i> 1863.
2919	13 B4	+16/48	48 11	+16 26	<b>Mun. Vindobona</b>	LN	LN: Wien/Vienna (A). See 2982 <i>Vindobona</i> .	
-	6919a	26 C3	-08/38	38 35	-07 55	<b>Municipium Eborae Liberalitas Iulia</b>	LN	LN: Évora (POR). <i>munic(ipii) Eborensis</i> CIL 2, 114; <i>mun(icipii) Ebor(ensis)</i> 115; <i>Ebor(ensis)</i> 5199, etc. See <i>Ebora</i> 6919.

-	7039b	26 B4	-09/37	37 60	-08 40	<b>Municipium Flavium Mirobrigensium</b>	LN	LN: Santiago do Cacém (POR). <i>MFM</i> (Mueller, p. 134). See <i>Mirobriga</i> 7039.
-	7130a	26 B3	-09/38	38 22	-08 30	<b>Municipium Salaciense</b>	LN	LN: Alcácer do Sal (POR). See <i>Salacia (Imperatoria)</i> , 7130.
	2673	12 C3	+09/49	49 01	+09 30	<b><u>Murra fl.</u></b>	RN	RN: Murr (GER). <i>Num. B(rittonum) M(urrensium)</i> CIR 1563d 3, <i>Britto(num) Mu[rrensium?]</i> 1592, <i>Murrenses</i> 1595; <i>vicani Murrenses</i> CIL 13, 6454. According to Anreiter, <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> 92, “Zum etwaigen Zusammenhang von <i>Mursa</i> mit Murr (Zufluß des Neckar; 817: <i>Murra</i> ; < * <i>Mursa</i> )”. Although Anreiter lists the LN <i>Mursa</i> among ‘Pannonian’ names, *-rs > -rr- is regular in Celtic, therefore Celt. involvement should be considered (cf. ACPN: 184 fn. 72)
	3278	14 I3	+03/45	45 47	+03 20	<b>Musciacas?</b>	LN	LN: Moissat (FRA). <i>in vico Musciacas</i> (var. <i>musiacas</i> ) GdeT GC 40. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN * <i>Musc(i)us</i> or <i>Musca</i> .
	4710	20 D2	+16/47	47 56	+16 29	<b>Muteno</b> “	LN	LN: Leithaprodersdorf (AUS). <i>Muteno</i> (var. <i>Motenu</i> ) IA 233,7; 266,6. Obscure. P. Anreiter, <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 94 offers various guesses, including a reference to OIr <i>mutt</i> ‘kurz’. See also Grzega RGC: 212-13 for * <i>mutt-</i> (vorröm.) ‘Bodenerhebung’ and * <i>mutt-</i> (gall.?) ‘stumpf’. Note that the attestation contains a single -t-; cf. 9404 <i>Mutina</i> .
	9404	39 H4	+10/44	44 39	+10 56	<b>Mutina</b>	LN	LN: Modena (IT). Μοτίνα Polyb. 3,40,8; Cic. Ad.fam. X,30,33; XI 14,1; XII 5,2; Cic. Phil 5, 25; 13, 22; Varro r r 2; Corn. Nep. Att. 9; <i>Mutina</i> Livy 21,25, 3, 6 etc.; Strabo; Ovid. Met. 15, 823; Ovid. Fast. 4, 627; <i>Mutina</i> Mela 2, 4, 60; Colum. 7,2,3; Pliny 2, 199,209, 240; 10, 110; 14, 39; 35, 101,1161; Mart. 3,59; ed. Diocl. 19,13; Frontin. Strat. 2,5,39; 3,14,3; 3,13,7; Plut. Pomp. 16; Tac. Hist., 2,52; Suet. Aug. 9, 84); Μοῦτίνα (var. Μούτινα Ptol. 3,1,42); Appian BC 3,49, passim; 4,3; 5,5,12; <i>Mutina</i> IA 282,1; TP 3,4; Μοῦτίνα Dio 45, 36,3; 46, 33, 4, etc; <i>civitas Mutena</i> (var. <i>motena</i> ) IBurg. 616,9; <i>Mutina</i> Amm. Marc. 31,9, 4; Rav. 4, 33; Paneg. Lat. 10, 27; CIL 110, 1401; 47886; 11, 151, 148, 170, 6650. According to P. De Bernardo Stempel, Ptolemy’s Celtic Italy and Ireland, 92, the LN is Celtic, ‘the Foggy (town)’, * <i>mut-īnā</i> < IE * <i>meut-</i> . Normally considered Etruscan.

-	6103a	24 D1	-08/43	43 15	-07 15	<b>Nabios fl.</b>	RN	RN: Eo (ESP). Ναβίου ποταμού έκβολαί (var. Ναρίου ) Ptol. 2,6,4. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 154 suggests that this is related to 6101 <i>Navia</i> (q.v.).
-	6103b	24 D1	-08/43	43 15	-07 15	<b>Nabum fl.</b>	RN	RN: Eo (ESP). <i>Nabum</i> Rav. 4,45. A variant form of 6103a <i>Nabios</i> (q.v.), 6103b <i>Nebis</i> ; cf. 6101 <i>Navia</i> .
	3279	14 E3	-01/45	45 47	-00 44	<b>Naiogialo</b>	LN	LN: Nieul-lès-Saintes? (FRA). <i>Naiogialo</i> GdeT VM 4, 31. Known only from Gregory, possibly an erroneous form. Ho. reconstructs the name <i>*Naio-ialo-s</i> , and lists another instance of it (Nueil-sous-Faye, dép. Vienne, or Nueil-sur-les-Aubiers, dép. Deux-Sèvres, known from a coin Belfort 3187 <i>Neioialo</i> ). Da. goes a step further and reconstructs <i>*Novio-ialo</i> (there are instances of <i>Novio-</i> contracted to <i>Noio-</i> as in <i>Noiomagos</i> 3989).
	6099	24 G1	-05/43	43 15	-04 25	<b>Namnasa fl.</b>	RN	RN: Nansa (ESP). <i>Namnasa</i> Mela 3,15. If Celtic, to <i>namno-</i> , cf. <i>Namnetes</i> 3280.
	3280	14 D1	-02/47	47 24	-01 50	<b>Namnetes</b>	EN	EN (FRA). Ναμνιτών Polyb. 34,10,6; <i>Namnetes</i> Caes BG 3,9,10; Ναμνιτών Strabo 4,2,1; <i>Namnetes</i> Pliny 4,107; Ναμνήται (var. δαμνήται, ναμνίται) Ptol. 2,8,8; <i>Civitas Namnetum</i> NG Oc 3,6. Celtic, to <i>namno-</i> . See also 3280a <i>Samnitai</i> and cf. Lambert ‘Lugdunensis’, 228-9.
	4150	18 D3	+06/46	46 12	+06 52	<b>Nantuates</b>	EN	EN: (SWI). <i>Nantuates</i> (var. <i>nantuatis</i> , <i>antuatis</i> ) Caes BG 3,1,1; <N> <i>antuatibus</i> 3.1.4; Ναντουάται Strabo 4,6,6; <i>Nantuates</i> Pliny 3,137 (= CIL 5, 7817); <i>Nantuani</i> TP 2,3; <i>Nantu[ate]s</i> CIL 13, 145. Celtic, ‘valley people’; to <i>nantu-</i> .
	4352	19 F3	+13/46	46 02	+13 25	<b>Natiso fl.</b>	RN	RN: Natisone (IT). <i>Natiso</i> (var. <i>-tis</i> ) Plin. 3,126; Νατίσωνα ποταμόν Strabo 5, 214; Νατίσωνος p. e. Ptol. 3,1,22, etc. If from <i>*g'nō-to-</i> ‘known’ (Ir. <i>gnáth</i> ‘customary, usual, familiar’), hence ‘a familiar (river)’, with <i>g &gt; 0</i> as in <i>gnata &gt; nata</i> , but this interpretation lacks secure parallels.
	2212	11 H3	+07/49	49 40	+07 17	<b>Nava? fl.</b>	RN	RN: Nahe (GER). <i>Nauas fluminis</i> (gen.) Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> IV.70; <i>Nauam</i> (var. <i>Nauem</i> ) Ausonius <i>Mos.</i> 1; etc. If Celtic, may reflect <i>nauo-</i> .
	3734	16 D2	+07/43	43 44	+07 16	<b>Navelis</b>	LN	LN: St-Pons? (FRA). <i>vico Navelis</i> CIL 5, 7923. Not necessarily Celtic, but cf. <i>nauo-</i> .
	6101	24 E1	-07/43	43 15	-06 52	<b>Navia fl.</b>	RN	RN: Navia (ESP). (The identification of this and 6102, 6103 is problematic). <i>a flumine Nauia Albiones</i> (var. <i>Nauialbione</i> ) Pliny 4,111; Ναβίου (var. Ναρίου ) Ptol. 2,6,4; <i>Ponte Neviae</i> IA 430, 10; <i>Nabum</i> Rav. 4,45. If Celtic to <i>nauo- iá-</i> ; see

							B. M. Prósper, <i>Lenguas y religiones prerromanas</i> , 189-95.	
3281	14 F1	+00/47	47 25	+00 55	<b>Navicellis</b>	LN	LN: Nazelles-Négron? (FRA). <i>Navicellis</i> GdeT VM 1,29; (VI c.) <i>Navicellae</i> (Da). Probably Latin. Da. refers to Lat. <i>navis</i> ‘nef, chapelle’ (-icella), whereas TGF: 5763 suggests Lat. <i>de navicellis</i> ‘des barques’. In view of its late attestation the underlying form may be Celtic <i>nauo-</i> & <i>celli-</i> .	
4353	19 C2	+10/47	47 52	+10 27	<b>Navoa</b>	LN	LN: on road between Augusta Vindelicum and Cambodunum (GER). <i>Navoae</i> TP 3,2. If Celtic (cf. TIR L 32: 98), and if is derived from an unattested river-name, possibly to <i>nauo-</i> .	
6102	24 C3	-09/41	41 40	-08 37	<b>Nebis fl.</b>	RN	RN: Neiva (POR). <i>Nebis</i> Mela 3,1,10; Νήβιος Ptol. 2,6,1; <i>Ponte Abei</i> Rav. 4,45. See also 6101 <i>Navia fl.</i> García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 132-3 suggests two different etymologies; one relating it to <i>Navia</i> , <i>Nabia</i> (see <i>Navia fl.</i> 6101), and the second to <i>nouio-</i> .	
3282	14 F3	+00/45	45 24	+00 57	<b>Negiacum</b>	LN	LN: Nazac, Cm. Nauthiat? (FRA). <i>In Negiaco</i> Test. Ared. (Aubrun 414). An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a PN <i>*Negius</i> .	
6103	24 D1	-08/43	43 15	-07 15	<b>Nelo fl.</b>	RN	RN: Eo (ESP). <i>amnes Nelo</i> Pliny 4,111. See 6101 <i>Navia fl.</i> ; this is probably a variant of 6103a <i>Nabios fl.</i> (q.v.) and 6103b <i>Nabum fl.</i>	
3577	15 C2	+04/43	43 51	+04 22	<b>Nemausus</b>	LN	LN: Nîmes (FRA). Νεμαύσου Strabo 4,1,3; <i>Nemausum</i> Pliny 3,37; <i>Nemausum</i> Vicar. I, <i>Nemauso</i> II, III, IV; <i>Nemausus</i> Mela 2,5,75; Νέμαυσον Ptol. 2,10,6; <i>Nemausum</i> IA 388,7 and 396,5; <i>Nemauso</i> IB 552,8; <i>Nemausensium</i> (var. <i>-entium</i> ) NG 15, 7; <i>Nemauso</i> CIL 2, 4173; 7, 371. Celtic; interpretation conjectural. Possibly to Celtic <i>*nemo-</i> ‘bending (river)’, to PIE <i>*nem-</i> ‘to bend’ IEW: 764; see PNPG, Celtic elements, s.v. <i>nemo-</i> for the details of reconstruction. DN <i>Nemausus</i> (DG: 56) is secondary.	
2215	11 C2	+02/50	50 17	+02 44	<b>Nemetacum</b>	LN	LN: Arras (FRA). Μήτακον, Μέτακον Ptol. 2,9,4; <i>Nemetacum</i> IA 377,8; 378,10; 379,2, <i>Nemetaco</i> 379,9; <i>Nemetaco</i> TP 1,2; <i>Nemetacentium</i> ND oc 42,40; <i>Nemetac(um)</i> CIL 13, 9158. Celtic, an <i>-āko-</i> derivative; either ‘a place belonging to the sacred site/grove’ (to <i>nemeto-</i> ) or, more likely, ‘place belonging to Nemetos’,	
-	2240a	11 I3	+08/49	49 19	+08 27	<b>Nemetae</b>	LN	LN: Speyer (GER). Cf. 2240 <i>Noviomagus</i> and 2216 <i>Nemetes</i> .
	6104	24 C3	-09/41	41 25	-08 40	<b>Nemetatoi?</b>	EN	EN: between R. Ave and R. Cávado (ESP). Νεμετατών (var. Νεμετάνων,

							νεμεταύων) Ptol. 2,6,40. Celtic, to <i>nemeto-</i> <i>ato-</i> .	
2216	11 H3	+07/49	49 06	+07 50	<b>Nemetes</b>	EN	EN (?): (GER). <i>Nemetes</i> Caesar BG 1,51; <i>Nemetes</i> Pliny 4,106; <i>Nemetes</i> Tacitus <i>Germ.</i> 28, <i>Nemetas</i> (acc.) <i>Ann.</i> XII.27; Νεμήτων (var. Νεμητῶν) Ptol. 2,9,9; <i>Nemetis</i> ND oc 41,6 and 18; <i>ciuitas Nemetum</i> (var. <i>nemitum</i> , <i>neometum</i> , <i>nemmetum</i> ) NG 7,4; <i>Nemetes</i> Orosius 6,7,7; <i>Nemetae</i> Ammianus XV.11, <i>Nemetas</i> (acc.) XVI.2; <i>Nemet(um)</i> CIL 13, 6404; <i>Nemes</i> 6659 and 8097, etc. Celtic, to <i>nemeto-</i> .	
6105	24 D2	-08/42	42 22	-07 15	<b>Nemetobriga</b>	LN	LN: Trives Viejo (Puebla de Trives) (ESP). Νεμετόβριγα Ptol. 2,6,36; <i>Nemetobrica</i> IA 428,6; <i>Nemetobrica</i> Rav. 4,45. Celtic, <i>nemeto-</i> & <i>brig-</i> .	
-	2215a	11 C2	+02/50	50 17	+02 44	<b>Nemetocenna</b>	LN	LN: Arras (FRA). <i>Nemetocennae</i> (gen.) Caesar BG 8,46, <i>Nemetocennam</i> 52; <i>Nemetogenae</i> CIL 13, 603, <i>Nemetocen(ae)</i> 806. Celtic, ‘?shrine-born (place)’, <i>nemeto-</i> + <i>-ceno-</i> + <i>-na</i> .
2217	11 C4	+02/48	48 54	+02 14	<b><u>Nemetodurum</u></b>	LN	LN: Nanterre (FRA). <i>In vico Nemptudoro</i> GdeT HF X.28 ; <i>Metodori</i> Constantii Vita s. Germani I.5.42; <i>Nimetodorensi</i> Vita s. Genovefae I, <i>Nemetodero</i> XI, <i>Ex Nemetoderense</i> LVI. ‘Walled/gated fort/town of the sacred site/grove’, <i>nemeto-</i> & <i>-durum</i> .	
3986	17 H5	+06/44	44 15	+06 46	<b>Nemeturii?</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Nemeturicae</i> Columelle 12,22,1&2; <i>Nemoturica</i> 12,24,1 <i>Nematvri</i> (var. <i>nemet-</i> ) Pliny 3, 137 (= CIL 5, 7817). Celtic, to <i>nemeto-</i> .	
6106	24 B2	-10/42	42 57	-09 10	<b>Neri</b>	EN	EN: Cape Touriñán region (ESP). <i>Neri</i> Mela 3,11; <i>Celtici cognomine Neri</i> Pliny 4,111. Probably Celtic, to <i>nero-</i> ‘man, hero, ?ruler’.	
-	3013a	14 H2	+02/46	46 17	+02 38	<b><u>Neriomagus</u></b>	LN	LN: Nérís-les-Bains (FRA). <i>V(ica)ni N(erioma)g(ense)s</i> CIL 13, 1373; <i>Vicani Neriomagienses</i> 1374. Celtic. An earlier name for <i>Aquae Neri</i> 3013; a compound with PN <i>Nerius</i> (or <i>nero-</i> ) and <i>magos</i> .
6107	24 B1	-10/43	43 03	-09 20	<b>Nerion</b>	LN	LN: Cape Touriñán (ESP). Νέρτιον Strabo 3,1,3; 3,3,5; Νέρτιον Ptol. 2,6,2; Νερίον Marcian 2,17. The LN is connected with the EN 6106 <i>Neri</i> . García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 144 suggests an alternative etymology, relating it to a hydronym <i>Nerva</i> (6567 <i>Neroua fl.</i> ) of the Autrigones. Also known as 6107a <i>Artabrum Pr.</i> , 6107b <i>Celticum Pr.</i> , 6107c <i>Magnum Pr.</i> , 6107d <i>Hire Akra</i> .	
6567	25 C2	-03/43	43 10	-02 56	<b>Neroua fl.</b>	RN	RN: Nervión (ESP). Νερούα Ptol. 2,6,7. Isaac (PNPG) refers to <i>neruo-</i> , cf. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> , 158; Gorrochategui ‘Establishment and analysis’ 157. Villar &	

								Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 465 follow Krahe in taking the root to be <i>*ner-/*nar-</i> ‘sumergir, zambullir, oquedad, profundidad, cóncavo, fosa’, and derive <i>Nerva</i> from <i>*Nerā ubā &gt; *Ner’ubā</i> ‘the river Nera’. The RN can be assigned to various IE languages, including Celtic.
6568	25 D4	-02/41	41 30	-01 25	<b>Nertobriga</b>	LN	LN: Cabezo Chinchón (Calatorao) (ESP). <i>Nertobrigae</i> (var. <i>nectobricae</i> , <i>nersobrigis</i> ) Flor. 1,33,10; Νεργόβριγα App. Hisp. 9,50; Νερτόβριγα Ptol. 2,6,57; <i>Netobriga</i> (var. <i>nitobrica</i> ) IA 437,4; <i>Nertobrica</i> Rav. 4,43. Celtic, <b>ner-</b> & <b>brig-</b> .	
7059	26 D3	-07/38	38 09	-06 35	<b>Nertobriga Concordia Iulia</b>	LN	LN: Valeria la Vieja, near Fregenal de la Sierra (ESP). Νερκόβριγα πόλις Polyb. 35,2; <i>Nertobrigae Concordia Iulia</i> (var. <i>-brigie</i> , <i>-bricae</i> , <i>-bregae</i> , <i>-brege</i> ) Plin. 3,14; Νερτόβριγα (var. Νερτόβρινα) Ptol. 2,4,10. Celtic, <b>ner-</b> & <b>brig-</b> .	
3735	16 C2	+06/43	43 47	+06 57	<b>Nerusii</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Nervsi</i> Pliny 3,137 (= CIL 5, 7817); Νερουσίων Ptol. 3,1337; <i>Nerusius</i> CIL 9, 4796.21; <i>Nerusius</i> 11, 2619. Possibly Celtic (although considered Ligurian; and similar names may be assigned to other languages), to <b>nero-</b> .	
2219	11 D2	+03/50	50 43	+03 45	<b>Nervii</b>	EN	EN: (B/FRA). <i>Nervii</i> Caesar <i>BG</i> 2,4, passim; Νερούιοι (var. νεροῖοι) Strabo 4,3,4; <i>Nerui liberi</i> Pliny 4,106; <i>Nervii</i> Tacitus Germ. 28, <i>Neruiorum</i> Hist. IV.15, 33, 56, 66, 79, <i>Nervios</i> 66, 79; Νερούσιοι (var. Ἐρούσιοι) Ptol. 2,9,6; Νέρουιοι Cassius Dio XXXIX.3 and XL.7; ( <i>Bagaco</i> ) <i>Nerviorum</i> IA 380,7; <i>Sagittarii Nerui(i)</i> ND oc 5, 25, 63, 170 and 7,121, <i>Sagittarii Nerui Gallicani</i> 5, 211 and 7,75; <i>Nervii</i> (var. <i>inerui</i> , <i>nerui</i> , <i>eneruii</i> ) Orosius 6, 7,13; <i>Baca conervio</i> TP 1,4; <i>Nerviorum</i> CIL 16, 43, 51, 69, 179, 180 and 7, 726; <i>Nervivs</i> 13, 1056, 8338 and 8725, ( <i>matribvs</i> ) <i>Nervinis</i> 3569; <i>civi tatis Nervi orum</i> AE 1969-1970.410 and 1976.464; etc. ‘The strong /heroic men’, <b>neruo-</b> + <b>io-</b> .	
4723	20 C4	+15/45	45 56	+15 29	<b>Neviodunum</b>	LN	LN: Drnovo (SLV). Νοσιόδυνον (var. Νοσιίδυνον, Νοσιόδυνον) Ptol. 2,14,4; <i>Novioduno</i> (var. <i>Nuioduno</i> ) IA 259,14; <i>Novioduni</i> (TP); <i>Nomiudum</i> (var. <i>Nomiduni</i> , <i>Nomidum</i> ) Rav. 4,20; <i>Neviodui</i> CIL 3, 4616; <i>Neviod(uni)</i> CIL 3, 3919; <i>Neviod(unensium)</i> CIL 3, 3921. ‘New-town’, see <b>novio-</b> & <b>dūno-</b> ; for an attempt to analyse the LN as autochthonous see R. Matasović in <i>Folia Onomastica Croatica</i> 5 (1996), 85-88.	
- 3293a	14 I1	+03/47	47 01	+03 10	<b>Nevirnum?</b>	LN	LN: Nevers (FRA). <i>Nevirnum</i> (var. <i>nebernum</i> ) IA 367,2; <i>Nevernensem urbem</i> , a	



								<i>Neverno</i> GdeT HF VIII,1; <i>in ibernis</i> Rav. 4.26; coin legend <i>Nebirno</i> CAG 58.194. Celtic. Isaac AILR segments <i>neuo/io- irno-</i> , listing <i>neu(i)o-</i> as a variant of <b><i>nouio-</i></b> ; <i>-irno-</i> remains problematic. Alternatively Da. suggests that the LN comes from the RN <i>Nevera</i> , the Nièvre (in Burgundy). See also 3293 <i>Noviodunum</i> , 3293b ‘ <i>Ebirno</i> ’.
	2225	11 I2	+08/50	50 09	+08 35	<b>Nida</b>	LN	LN: Frankfurt-Heddernheim/Praunheim (GER). <i>N(idam)</i> CIR 1311; <i>Nid(am)</i> 1312; <i>Nid(am?)</i> CIL 13, 7263, <i>Nida</i> 11944. If it is from a RN (cf. 2226 <i>Nida</i> fl.), see s.v.
	2226	11 G3	+06/49	49 17	+06 30	<b>Nida fl.</b>	RN	RN: Nidda (FRA). <i>Nida</i> Rav. 4, 24. See also 2225 <i>Nida</i> . According to K. Jackson, <i>Britannia</i> 1 (1970), 77 (cf. Isaac, AILR, <i>*nido-</i> ‘flowing?’) <i>*nido-</i> < <i>*neid-</i> ‘flow’ (IEW: 761, cf. LIV: 449). Differently A. Breeze (Needwood Forest and Celtic Philology, in <i>Transactions of the Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society</i> XLI (2006), 60-1), who interprets it as ‘Dropper’, to IE <i>*ni-</i> ‘down’ (IEW: 312). Problematic.
-	2188b	11 E3	+04/49	49 35	+04 05	<b>Ninitiacum</b>	LN	LN : Nizy-le-Comte (FRA). See 2188 <i>Minatiacum</i> and cf. 2188a <i>Ninittaci</i> .
-	2188a	11 E3	+04/49	49 35	+04 05	<b>Ninittaci</b>	LN	LN : Nizy-le-Comte (FRA). See 2188 <i>Minatiacum</i> and cf. 2188b <i>Ninitiacum</i> .
	3285	14 F4	+00/44	44 20	+00 35	<b>Nitiobroges</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Nitiobroges</i> (var. <i>nitiobriges</i> , <i>iciobriges</i> ) Caes BG 7,7,2; <i>Nitiobrogum</i> 7,31,5, <i>Nitiobrogum</i> 7,46,5, <i>Nitiobrogibus</i> (var. <i>nitiobrigibus</i> , <i>nithiobrogibus</i> , <i>nithiobrigibus</i> ) 7,75,3; Νιτιόβρυγες Strabo 4,2,2; <i>Nitiobroges</i> (var. <i>antobroges</i> ) Pliny 4,109; Νιτιόβρυγες Ptol. 2,7,11; <i>Nitiobroges</i> TP 1, 4/5; <i>Nisiobroges</i> Sid. App. Epist. 8,11,1; <i>c(ivitas) Nit(iobrogum)</i> CIL 13, 916; νιτιοβρογεις CAG 47, 43-47 (inscription). Celtic, <b><i>nitio-</i></b> & <b><i>brog-</i></b> .
	3291	14 F1	+00/47	47 30	+00 52	<b><u>Nobiliacus</u></b>	LN	LN: Neuillé-le-Lierre (FRA). <i>Nobiliacense</i> (var. <i>Novillacensi</i> ) GdeT GC 7; later attestation: (529-546) <i>Noviliacus</i> Da. An <b><i>-āko-</i></b> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Nobilis</i> , <i>Nobilius</i> (Vincent 190), or PN <i>Novellius</i> (Ho.); there are also other identification of this Latin component ( <i>novellus</i> ‘new’ (Da.), <i>novalia</i> ‘terres nouvellement drichées’ (TGF 6357). Cf. also 3291a <i>*Nobiliacus Alter</i> .
-	3291a	14 F1	+00/47	47 30	+00 52	<b><u>Nobiliacus</u></b> <b><u>Alter</u></b>	LN	LN: Neuillé-le-Lierre (FRA). <i>Huius tempore alter vicus Noviliacus aedificatus est</i> (var. <i>Nobiliacus</i> ) GdeT HF text 10,31,16. Latin formation, see 3291 <i>*Nobiliacus</i> . Note that Weidemann 92-93 takes these to be separate places.
	3286	14 H2	+02/46	46 58	+02 46	<b><u>Nogeomagus</u></b>	LN	LN: Flavigny (FRA). <i>Noggiomagie(n)sium</i> AE 1958, 193. Celtic; possibly a corrupt

							form of <i>*Novio-magus</i> . Cf. <i>Naiogialo</i> 3279.
1018	7 G3	+00/48	48 37	+00 18	<b>Noiodounon</b>	LN	LN: Sées (FRA). <i>Nvdionnm</i> or <i>Nvtionnm</i> , later <i>Sagii</i> TP. Cf. 1018a <i>Nu Dionnum</i> and see also 2302 <i>Sagii</i> . Celtic, <i>nouio-</i> & <i>dūno</i> .
1019	7 F3	-01/48	48 16	-00 30	<b>Noiodounon Diablintum</b>	LN	LN: Jublains (FRA). Νοιόδουνον (var. Νοιόδουννον) Ptol. 2,8, 7; <i>NuDionnum</i> TP 1,3; <i>C(iuitas D(iablintum)</i> AE 1969-1970.406; [a] <i>D(iablintum)</i> [ci]ui[t(ate)] 1983.696, etc. ‘a new fort of the Diablintes’. Celtic, <i>nouio-</i> & <i>dūno</i> ; interpretation of <i>Diablintes</i> is difficult, although its Celtic provenance is not to be denied. The tribal name is well attested: <i>Diablintes</i> (var. <i>diablintres</i> , <i>diablindes</i> ) Caesar BG 3,9,10; <i>Diablinti</i> Pliny 4,107; Αὐλίρκιοι οἱ Διαβλίται (Διαυλται) Ptol. 2,8,7; <i>civitas Diablintum</i> NG oc 3,10; <i>Diablentas</i> Orosius 6,8, etc. Interpretations include: ‘those who throw from themselves to [the target], the good throwers’, dí- + ad- + blí- + tá- or dí- + ad- + blí- + ntá-, with <i>bli-</i> - ‘throw, hit’ (<*g <sup>w</sup> leh <sub>1</sub> - < *g <sup>w</sup> elh <sub>1</sub> - ‘throw, stab’ IEW 470-2), thus G. R. Isaac, PNPG; ‘those far from their tracks and ?who are double’ according to Lambert, <i>Lugdunensis</i> , s.v. Αὐλίρκιοι and οἱ Διαβλίνται who notes: “one should rather consider the possibility of having here a parallel to the IE adjective ‘double’, OI <i>diabul-</i> (always with the diphthong <i>-ía-</i> : is it an older hiatus?), with a suffix, possibly the <i>-e-nt-</i> participial suffix, or maybe a compounded element, such as <i>*anto-/*ento-</i> ‘face’ (in OI <i>étan</i> ‘face’ cf. IEW 48); for the semantics compare Lat. <i>bi-frons</i> , or Bret. <i>Daou-dal</i> ‘two-faced’”. J. Lacroix, <i>Les noms d’origine gauloise. La Gaule des combats</i> , Paris 2003, 174 updates an etymology accepted by Pokorny (IEW: 52 to IE <i>*apelo-</i> ‘Kraft’), and interprets the EN as containing an intensive (and not privative) <i>*di-</i> & <i>*ablu-</i> (therefore not ‘die Kraftlosen’ but rather ‘Kraftvollen’).
3988	17 E5	+05/44	44 22	+05 07	<b>Noiomagos</b>	LN	LN: Nyons (FRA). Νοιόμαγος Ptol. 2,10,7; <i>Noiomagens(es)</i> CIL 12, 1783. Celtic, <i>novio-</i> & <i>magos</i> .
3989	17 D5	+04/44	44 21	+04 46	<b>Noiomagos</b>	LN	LN: St-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (FRA). <i>Bonomago</i> Rav. 4.26. Ravenna’s form is taken to apply to this place ( <i>novio-</i> & <i>magos</i> ) but <i>Bonomagus</i> might well be a name in its own right: a name of a nearby place, or an alternative name for <i>Noviomagos</i> . <i>Bonomagos</i> could be Celtic, <i>bona</i> & <i>magos</i> . Cf. also <i>Col. Augusta Tricastinorum</i>

							3989a.
3287	14 G3	+01/45	45 17	+01 22	<b>Nonniacus</b>	LN	LN Louignac, Cm. Ayen? (FRA). <i>Nonniacum</i> Test. Aredii (Aubrun 414). An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a PN <i>Nonnius</i> .
6110	24 C2	-09/42	42 47	-08 53	<b>Noouion</b>	LN	LN: Noia? (ESP). <i>oppidum Noeta (Nota, Noela)</i> Pliny 4,111; Νοούιον Ptol. 2,6,21. To <b>nouio-</b> .
3290	14 E3	-01/45	45 17	-00 52	<b>Nouiomagos</b>	LN	LN: Brion, Cm. St-Germain-d'Esteuil? (FRA). Νοιόμαγος (var. νούσματος) Ptol. 2,7,7. Celtic, <b>novio-</b> & <b>mago-</b> .
2234	11 G1	+06/51	51 12	+06 40	<b>Novaesium</b>	LN	LN: Neuss (GER). <i>Novaesium</i> Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> IV.26, 35, 36, 57, 77 and 79, <i>Novaesio</i> 33, 62, 70, <i>Novaesium</i> V.22; Νουαίσιον (var. Νουαίσιον) Ptol. 2,11,14; <i>Nevensio</i> IA 255,2, <i>Novesiae</i> (var. <i>nouesie</i> ) 370,5; <i>Novesio</i> TP 1,5; <i>Niuesio (Niuesium, Nouesium)</i> Ammianus XVIII.2; <i>Novesio</i> Rav. 4,24; <i>Niuisium</i> GdeT. II.8 (9); etc. Obscure: ‘? new place’, nouo- + aes- + io- (Isaac, PNPG), nouo- + aes- + iá- (Isaac, AILR), with <b>neuio-</b> . The <i>aes(o)</i> -element remains obscure.
9405	39 D3	+08/45	45 26	+08 37	<b>Novaria</b>	LN	LN: Novara (IT). <i>Nouaria</i> (also <i>Novarensis</i> ) Pliny 3,124; 17,212; Tacit. <i>Hist.</i> 1.70; Suet. <i>De gramm. et rhetorib.</i> 30 (6); <i>Novaria</i> IA 344,5; 350,6; <i>Nouariae</i> ND occ. 42,58; Leo I. <i>Epist.</i> 97; Ennod. <i>Dict.</i> 2; Νοαρία Ptol. 3,1,29; Νοβάρην Procop. B. goth. 2,12, etc. P. De Bernardo Stempel, Italy and Ireland, 86 (cf. also her ‘Additions’) interprets the LN as ‘Newton’, ‘the town belonging to the new territories’ * <i>new-ar-yā</i> and also suggests a compound, * <i>nowo-waryā</i> ‘new enclosure’.
3292	14 G1	+01/47	47 32	+01 46	<b>Noviodunum</b>	LN	LN: Neung-sur-Beuvron (FRA). <i>Noviodunum</i> (var. <i>nobiodunum</i> ) Caes. BG 7,12,2, <i>Novioduni</i> 7,14,1. Celtic, <b>novio-</b> & <b>dūno-</b> .
5555	22 F3	+28/45	45 15	+28 30	<b>Noviodunum</b>	LN	LN: Isaceia. Definitely (ROM). Νοιόδουνον (var. Νοιόδουνον) Ptol. 3,10,2; 3,10,5; <i>Novioduno</i> (var. <i>niuioduno</i> ) IA 226,1; Rav. 4,5; <i>Novioduni</i> TP 7,4; Νοιιοδοῦνος Hierocl. 637,13; <i>Nouidunum</i> Amm. 27,5,6; <i>Noviiodure, Novioduro</i> ND or. 39,25, <i>Novioduno</i> 32,33; Νεαῖοδουνώ (abl. sg.) Proc. ae. 4, 11, 34; <i>civitate Novietunense</i> Iord. <i>Get.</i> 35, etc. Celtic, <b>novio-</b> & <b>dūno-</b> .
-	4111a	+06/46	46 24	+06 16	<b>Noviodunum</b>	LN	LN: Nyon (SWI). Also known as <i>Col. Iulia Equestris</i> 4111. <i>Civitas Equestrium, Noiodunus</i> (var. <i>nouid</i> ) NG or 9, 3. Celtic, <b>novio-</b> & <b>dūno-</b> .

	2235	11 D3	+03/49	49 24	+03 18	<b>Noviodunum?</b>	LN	LN: Pommiers (FRA). <i>oppidum Noviodunum</i> Caesar BG 2,12. Celtic, <i>novio- &amp; dūno-</i> .
	3293	14 I1	+03/47	47 01	+03 10	<b>Noviodunum?</b>	LN	LN: Nevers (FRA). <i>Noviodunum</i> Caes BG 7,55,1; Νοουιοδουνόν Dio. Cass. 40,38,2. Celtic, <i>novio &amp; dūno-</i> . ADAS 55 suggests that <i>Nevirnum</i> is not the same place as <i>Noviodunum</i> , and that Caesar refers here to modern Diou. See also 3293a <i>Nevirnum?</i> and 3293b 'Ebirno'.
	2236	11 C3	+02/49	49 35	+02 59	<b>Noviomagus</b>	LN	LN: Noyon (FRA). Νοιόμαγος Ptol. 2,8,11; <i>Noviomago</i> (var. <i>nouomago</i> ) IA 362,3; <i>Nouiomago</i> ND oc 42,41; <i>Noviomagum</i> Vita s. Medardi 7,21; <i>Noviomoi</i> , <i>Noviomo</i> , <i>Noiomavoi</i> Merovingian coins; etc. Celtic, <i>nouio- &amp; magos</i> .
	2237	11 E3	+04/49	49 36	+04 27	<b>Noviomagus</b>	LN	LN: Novion-Porcien (FRA). <i>Nouiomagus</i> TP; [Nov]iomag. l(eugae) XV CIL 13, 9158. Celtic, <i>nouio- &amp; magos</i> .
	2238	11 F4	+05/48	48 13	+05 32	<b>Noviomagus</b>	LN	LN: Nijon (FRA). <i>Nouiomagus</i> TP; <i>Noviomagus</i> coin legend Holder II, 790. Celtic, <i>nouio- &amp; magos</i> .
	2240	11 I3	+08/49	49 19	+08 27	<b>Noviomagus</b>	LN	LN: Speyer (GER). Νοιόμαγος Ptol. 2,9,9; <i>Noviomago</i> IA 253,3; 355,2; 374,7; <i>Nouiomag(us)</i> TP. Celtic, <i>nouio- &amp; magos</i> .
	1020	7 G2	+00/48	48 08	+00 15	<b>Noviomagus Lexoviorum</b>	LN	LN: Lisieux (FRA). Νοιόμαγος (var. Νοιόμαγτος) Ptol. 2,8,2; <i>Noviomago</i> IA 385, 3. Celtic, <i>nouio- &amp; magos</i> . See also 2141 <i>Lexovii</i> .
	2239	11 G3	+06/49	49 51	+06 51	<b>Noviomagus Treverorum</b>	LN	LN: Neumagen (GER). <i>Noviomago (Treveros)</i> IA 371,4; <i>Noiomagum (Nogomagum)</i> Ausonius Mos. 10; <i>Nouiomag(us)</i> TP 2,3; <i>Nobia</i> Rav. 4,26; etc. Celtic, <i>nouio- &amp; magos</i> ; see also 2386 <i>Treveri</i> .
	3294	14 E3	-01/45	45 33	-00 52	<b>Novioregum</b>	LN	LN: Talmont (FRA). <i>Novioregum</i> IA 459,2. Celtic, <i>novio- &amp; rego-</i> .
	3295	14 E2	-01/46	46 20	-00 27	<b>Novioritum</b>	LN	LN: Niort (FRA). <i>Noior Dovic</i> Coin Belfort 3215; (1204) <i>de Nyorto</i> , <i>de Niorcoi</i> TGF: 3089. If Celtic, possibly <i>novio- &amp; ritu-</i> .
	3296	14 F1	+00/47	47 36	+00 36	<b>Novivicum</b>	LN	LN: Neuvy-le-Roi? (FRA). <i>Novivicensis ecclesiae</i> GdeT GM 30; (845) <i>Novus Vicus</i> TGF 5930. At face value, Latin, 'new village'? * <i>Vicus Novus</i> is expected then, therefore possibly a Latin adaptation of an earlier Celtic name in <i>novio-</i> .
-	1018a	7 G3	+00/48	48 37	+00 18	<b>Nu Dionnum</b>	LN	LN: Sées (FRA). See 1018 <i>Noiodounon</i> . This form in TP 1,3 seems to refer to modern <i>Jublains</i> (see 1019 <i>Noiodounon Diablintum</i> ); <i>Atlas</i> is incorrect to link this form with modern name <i>Sées</i> .

6572	25 C4	-03/41	41 49	-02 26	<b>Numantia</b>	LN	LN: Cerro de la Muela (Garray) (ESP). Νομαντία Strabo 3,4,12; <i>Numantia</i> Mela 2,88; <i>Numantini</i> Pliny 3,26, <i>Numantiam</i> 4,112; Νομαντία Ptol. 2,6,55; <i>Numantia</i> IA 442,2; <i>Numantiam</i> Oros. 5,4,20; Νομαντία St. Byz. Obscure. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 308-9 considers the LN Celtic, from * <i>nem</i> ‘allot, take’ or * <i>nem</i> ‘bend’ (whence Gaulish <i>nemeton</i> , Irish <i>neimed</i> , etc), or the negative prefix <i>ne-</i> plus a Celtic cognate of Latin <i>amo</i> (OIr <i>am</i> ); vocalism is then problematic. For <i>Numo</i> cf <i>Numistro</i> (map 45 C3), <i>Numicus fl.</i> (map 43 B3) and <i>Numana</i> (map 42 F1). Curchin ‘Celticization’, 268 suggests this name could be related to the brickmaker’s name <i>Numacianus</i> , attested in Zamora.
6114	24 D4	-08/40	40 14	-07 25	<b>Ocelum</b>	LN	LN: Ferro (Covilhã)? (POR). Ὀκελον Ptol. 2,5,7; <i>Ocelenses</i> Pliny 4,118; <i>Arant[i]a(e) Ocela[e]ca(e) et A[r]antio [O]celaeco</i> (de Alarcão, <i>Roman Portugal</i> , II.1, 69). To <i>ocelo-</i> .
9407	39 A3	+07/45	45 07	+07 23	<b>Ocelum</b>	LN	LN: Near Novaretto and Caprie (IT). Ὀκελον Strabo 4,1,3; 5,1,11; <i>Ocellio</i> (var. <i>occelio</i> , <i>ocellium</i> ) Rav. 4,30; <i>Ocelum</i> CIL 11, 3281; <i>Ocelo</i> CIL 11, 3282. To <i>ocelo-</i> .
6115	24 F3	-06/41	41 31	-05 45	<b>Ocelum Duri</b>	LN	LN: Zamora? (ESP). Recte <i>Ocelodurum</i> . Ὀκτώδουρον Ptol. 2.6.49; <i>Ocedoluri</i> Itin. Astorga 3; <i>Ocelo Duri</i> (var. <i>acaelo durio</i> ) IA 434,6; 439.10; <i>Ocelodorum</i> Rav 4,45. Celtic, at face value <i>ocelo-</i> & <i>duro-</i> . Schulten RE XVII.2 and Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 258 retain Ptolemy’s form <i>Octo-</i> as * <i>octo-</i> is plausibly Celtic (see s.v. 3992 <i>Octodorus</i> ), but Curchin ‘Five Celtic Town-Names’ suggests that <i>octo</i> is the corrupt form, by attraction to the numeral.
6116	24 G2	-05/42	42 55	-04 11	<b>Octaviolca</b>	LN	LN: Camesa (Valdeola) (ESP). <i>O[c]ta[ν]iolca</i> Itin. Astorga 1.8. Possibly a hybrid. García Alonso ‘Ptolemy and the Expansion’ 146-7 tentatively labels the name as Indo-European but non-Celtic, perhaps Latin. Iglesias Gil ‘Tres monumentos epigráficos cántabros’ 414f. suggests that the toponym is derived from the Latin personal name <i>Octavius</i> , and Isaac, PNPg agrees that it is Latin; <i>olca-</i> is Celtic.
3992	17 I1	+07/46	46 06	+07 05	<b>Octodurus</b>	LN	LN: Martigny (SWI). <i>Octodurus</i> (var. <i>octodorus</i> ) Caes BG 3,1,4; <i>Octodurenses</i> (var. <i>-dorenses</i> ) Pliny 3,135; Ὀκτόδουρον (var. ἐκτόδουρον, ἐτεκτόδουρον) Ptol. 2,12,3; <i>Octoduro</i> TP 2,3; <i>Octoduro</i> IA 351,5; <i>Octodorum</i> (var. <i>Octodoro</i> , <i>Iuctodorum</i> , <i>Ocrodorus</i> , <i>Ucrodoro</i> , <i>Octodonum</i> , <i>Ortodorus</i> ) NG 10,3; <i>Octodorum</i>

								Rav. 4,26. Celtic, from <i>octo-</i> and <i>duro-</i> ‘fort, town’. For <i>octo-</i> see PNPg Celtic elements, which lists three interpretations of the element: (a) ‘eight’, so <i>Octodurus</i> = ‘eight-sided settlement, settlement with eight gates’, (b) ‘hard to achieve’, <i>Octodurus</i> = ‘difficult settlement, settlement difficult to take’, (c) ‘coldness’, <i>Octodurus</i> = ‘cold settlement’. Römer Schweiz 435 translates <i>Octodurus</i> as ‘beherrschender Ort’, that is ‘dominating, governing place’.
6575	25 C4	-03/41	41 10	-02 25	<b>Okilis</b>	LN	LN: Medinaceli. (ESP). Ὀκιλις App. Hisp. 9.47. Obscure; for Celtic approach cf. <i>ocelo-</i> ; but the vocalism and the <i>i</i> -stem are not explained.	
5192	21 C5	+20/44	44 51	+20 34	<b>Oktabon</b>	LN	LN: Višnjica (SCG). Ὀκταβον Proc. ae. 4,5, 17. Barrington has the head word as <i>Oktabon</i> which may presuppose Celtic connections (see s.v. s.v. 3992 <i>Octodorus</i> and cf. <i>bona-</i> ) provided that the LN is within the Scordiscan territory.	
- 3414a	14 D3	-02/45	45 57	-01 25	<b><u>Olario Ins.</u></b>	IN	IN: Ile d’Oléron (FRA). <i>Olarionensibus</i> Sid. App. epist. 8,6,12; <i>Ollarione</i> (var. <i>Obceorum</i> ) Rav. 5,33. See 3414 <i>Uliarios Ins.</i>	
- 6527a	25 B3	-04/42	42 30	-03 03	<b>Oliba</b>	LN	LN: Colina de las Sernas (Herramélluri) (ESP). Ὀλίβα Ptol. 2.6.54; Ὀλβία St. Byz.. See 652 <i>Libia</i> . According to Isaac (PNPG), “there is no linguistic or palaeographical reason why { <i>Oliba</i> } should not be a genuine form”; see 6527 <i>Libia</i> .	
1023	7 F3	-01/48	48 55	-00 27	<b>Olina fl</b>	RN	RN: Orne (FRA). Ὀλίνα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί Ptol. 2,8,2; <i>Olna</i> , <i>Olena</i> in mediaeval texts [TIR M-30]. Probably Celtic; see s.v. <i>olinā-</i> .	
9408	39 F2	+09/45	45 38	+09 53	<b>Ollius fl.</b>	RN	RN: Oglia (IT). <i>Ollius</i> Plin 2.224; 3.118; Cass. Dio LIV 20; <i>Ollius</i> (var. <i>olius</i> ) Rav. 4, 36. The river name may be Celtic in origin; for G. <i>*ollo-</i> (cf. Ir. <i>oll</i> ‘great’ or Lat. <i>ollus</i> ) see GPN 237-8. It may be assigned to a different language, however.	
6579	25 D3	-02/42	42 29	-01 40	<b>Ologicus</b>	LN	LN: Ol (ESP). <i>Ologicus</i> (var. <i>ologicitiis</i> , <i>ologitiis</i> ) Isid. Hist. Goth. 63. Obscure. Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 467-8 consider this a Latin adjectival form in <i>-icus</i> from a <i>*Ologā</i> ; the town was founded by the Visigoths, but Villar & Prósper think the area could have had a similar name beforehand, so the new town was ‘(pagus) Ologicus’. They note that <i>*Ologā</i> would be an exact cognate of the word <i>olocas</i> found in the Celtiberian inscription at Peñalba de Villastar, for which various Indo-European etymologies have been suggested (see MLH K.3.3., vol. V 292-93).	
9409	39 D2	+08/45	45 43	+08 52	<b>Olonna fl.</b>	RN	RN: Olona (IT). <i>Olonna</i> (var. <i>ollonna</i> ) Rav. 4,36. If Celtic, cf. discussion of G.	

							<i>*ollo-</i> s.v. 9408 <i>Ollius fl.</i>
5193	21 B4	+19/45	45 14	+19 36	<b>Onagrinum</b>	LN	LN: Begeč (SCG). <i>Onagrino</i> (var. <i>onachrio</i> ) ND oc. 32,41; Fasti Idatiani ad a. 294. It has been suggested that “Name – nach Geschütz <i>onager</i> ” (RE 18, 402). The sources indicate the location of the settlement <i>contra Bononiam</i> (i.e. Malata). Provided it is located in the Scordiscan territory, its Celtic origin is possible, but not necessary. If Celtic, to <i>onno-</i> & <i>agr-</i> .
6580	25 F3	+00/42	42 52	+00 30	<b>Onesi</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). Ὀνησιῶν Strabo 4.2.1, <i>infraque Monesi</i> Pliny 4.108. Obscure; If Celtic, to <i>onno-</i> . Note that Duval ‘Aquitaine’ 217 rightfully claims that <i>Infra quem Onesi(i)</i> is a better reading [of Pliny]; <i>Monesi</i> is a ghost but see also <i>Monesi</i> 6580a.
3298	14 G1	+01/47	47 01	+01 24	<b>Onia</b>	LN	LN: Heugnes? (FRA). <i>Oniam</i> (var. <i>Omniacum</i> ) GdeT VP 18,1; later attestations: (1112) <i>Ognia</i> , (1174) <i>Ugnia</i> , (1204) <i>Hugnes</i> . Possibly Celtic. Da. suggests the original name was <i>*Unia</i> , from a Celtic or Latin PN <i>Unius</i> . TGF 15347 prefers a Germanic PN <i>Hunio</i> (NPAG I 141a), but there is a Celtic possibility, to <i>onno-</i>
6581	25 F2	+00/43	43 10	+00 10	<b>Onobrisates</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Onobrisates</i> Pliny 4.108. Possibly Celtic; for the first component cf. to <i>onno-</i> ; the second elements may be connected with Ir <i>bress</i> (see DLG s.v. <i>brista</i> ). ACPN 238 fn 98 suggests the name means ‘Ash- (ie spear-) breakers’.
3299	14 G1	+01/47	47 10	+01 16	<b>Orbaniacum</b>	LN	LN: Orbigny? (FRA). <i>Orbaniaco</i> GdeT HF 10,31,18; <i>Orbaniaco</i> GM 89. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of Lat. <i>*Urbaniacus</i> (from <i>Urbanus</i> ). A less likely possibility is to consider here a Celtic (?) name element <i>Orbio-</i> GPN 238; or G. appellative <i>*orbios</i> ‘héritier’ (DLG: 243).
6119	24 G1	-05/43	43 17	-04 45	<b>Orgenomesci</b>	EN	EN: Cantabria between R. Sella and R. Nansa (ESP). <i>Orgenomescos</i> (var. <i>orgenomesquos</i> ) Mela 3, 15; <i>Orgenomesci</i> Pliny 4.111; Ἀργενόμεσκον (var. Ἀργουινόμεσκον, Ἀργενυμέσκον) Ptol. 2,6,50 (LN). Isaac, PNPG segments the LN into argeno- mesco-, and commented on “ <i>Atlas</i> registers the EN <i>Orgenomesci</i> derived from inscriptions (see García Alonso, 278), which is clearly related to Ptolemy’s entry, though there are no palaeographical grounds for thinking that the LN recorded by Ptolemy is a garbled EN.” García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 278 considers the name Celtic, formed on <i>*org-</i> ‘to slay, kill’.
6582	25 G3	+01/42	42 12	+01 20	<b>Orgia</b>	LN	LN: possibly Organyà (Lleida) (ESP). Ὠργία (var. Ὠρκία) Ptol. 2.6.67. If the

								correct form is that in <i>*orc-</i> , see <i>orko-</i> . If the form is <i>*org-</i> , however, Gorrochategui ‘Establishment and analysis’ 163 suggests <i>org-yo-</i> ‘destructor’ from <i>*org-</i> ; see DLG s.v. <i>orget(o)-/orgeno-</i> ‘tueur’ / ‘meurtre’. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 403 compares the Bastetanian city <i>Urci</i> , and suggests the name could be related to the series of names in <i>-urgi /-orci</i> . Cf also in this case <i>Urgellum</i> , nearby (below no. 6724), and Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 110 compare <i>Orgus</i> in Italy.
16013	62 F3	+31/39	39 15	+31 13	<b>Orkistos</b>	LN	LN: Ortaköy, formerly Alikel, Alikan (TUR). Zgusta 444. If Celtic, to <i>orko-</i> . In view of the other LNN of the area in <i>orka-</i> is very likely to be indigenous.	
6120	24 E2	-07/42	42 22	-06 13	<b>Ornia fl.</b>	RN	RN : Duerna (ESP). TIR K-29 comments that “El hidrónimo se conserva indirectamente en la raíz del pueblo de los <i>Orniaci</i> , dentro de los <i>Astures Augustani</i> . También perdura en documentación medieval como <i>flumen Orniae</i> ” but gives no sources and no information about these medieval documents. See <i>Orniaci</i> 6121.	
6121	24 E2	-07/42	42 13	-06 15	<b>Orniaci</b>	EN	EN: R. Duerna valley (ESP). Ὀρνιακῶν (var. Ὀρνιακῶν, Ὀρνειακῶν, Ὀρκιακῶν) Ptol. 2,6,31; <i>Orniacum</i> CIL 2, 2633. Possibly Celtic with various explanations. Isaac PNPg segments orno- io- aco-, and lists <i>orno-</i> as a possibly Celtic element, perhaps from <i>*org-n</i> , an extension of <i>*org-</i> ‘kill’. Menéndez Pidal, <i>Top. Pre. Hisp.</i> 57, suggests that <i>Orniaci</i> is related to other <i>orna</i> names in the peninsula, which might be the same as the river <i>Orna</i> > <i>Orne</i> in Gaul (not listed by Barrington). García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 222-3 adds that the modern river <i>Duerna</i> is from <i>val-de-uerna</i> , from <i>*Orna</i> , from the Indo-European root <i>*ern-</i> , <i>*orn-</i> , <i>*rn-</i> ‘to start moving’. Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 111 cites Bosch <i>Form.</i> 151, who says that these people were not Celts; but the ethnicity of the people does not affect the linguistic origin of their name. The suffix <i>iāco-</i> is also Celtic.	
3582	15 A3	+03/43	43 17	+03 15	<b>Orobis fl.</b> <b>Or(o)bis fl.</b>	RN	RN: Orb (FRA). Ὀρβις Strabo 4,1,6; <i>Orbis</i> Mela 2,5,80; Ὀρόβιος Ptol. 2,10, 2; <i>Orobis</i> Avienus 590; <i>Orobs</i> Rav. 4, 28. Possibly Celtic; Isaac, PNPg segments the RN into <i>oro- bi-</i> . X. Delamarre (DLG: 243) identifies the RN with G. <i>*orbios</i> ‘héritier’; this etymology requires the assumption of an epenthetic vowel in Ptol., Rav. and Avienus. Suggestions of a pre-Celtic hydronymic root <i>*or-ob-</i> in this RN (DaRiv. and TGF : 1060) are not to be discussed here.	



	2246	11 F3	+05/49	49 42	+05 46	<b>Orolaunum</b>	LN	LN: Arlon/(Aarlen) (B). <i>Orolauno vicus</i> IA 366,2; <i>Orol(--)</i> AE 1939, 46; etc. Possibly Celtic, <i>oro-</i> & <i>launo-</i> .
	6122	24 C2	-09/42	42 16	-08 53	<b>Orouion Pr.</b>	Pro m	Prom: Península del Morrazo (ESP). Ὀρούτιον ἄκρον Ptol. 2,6,2. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 136-7 relates this name to the series of placenames and personal names formed on <i>*orb-</i> (see GPN 238-9), but Isaac s. <i>oruo-</i> rejects this: 'Though not impossible, this is hardly necessary to interpret the name, which can be understood easily, accepting the Ptolemaic reading at face value, as <i>*orw-yo-</i> < PIE <i>*h<sub>1</sub>or-u-io-</i> (with <i>o</i> -grade of the root seen in W <i>erw</i> , etc., cf. s.v. <i>ero-</i> ), or <i>*h<sub>3</sub>er-u-io-</i> (cf. s.v. <i>oro-</i> above).'
	16187	63 B1	+32/39	39 37	+32 56	<b>Orsologiakos</b>	LN	LN: Deliler Çiftliği (TUR). <i>Orsologiaco</i> (var. <i>orsoloiaco</i> ) IA 206,1; <i>Orosologia</i> (Ptol. 5,4,8). Obscure. For a Celtic approach see 16187a <i>Rosolatiaco</i> . Cf. also <i>Orsolia</i> in Caria.
	1024	7 B3	-05/48	48 07	-04 03	<b>Osismii</b>	EN	EN: FRA. See s.v. 1004b <i>Osismii</i> .
-	1004b	7 B3	-05/48	48 24	-04 29	<b>Osismii</b>	EN	EN : (FRA). <i>Osismos</i> Caesar BG 2, 34, 3,9,10; <i>Osismi</i> (var. <i>ossismi</i> ) 7,75,4; Ὀσίσμοιοι Strabo 4,4,1; <i>Ossismos</i> Pliny IV.107; Ὀσισμίους (var. Ὀσίσμοιοι, ὀσισμαίους) Ptol. 2,8,6; <i>Corumosismis</i> ND oc. 37, 6; <i>Osismis</i> 37, 17; <i>Civitas Ossismorum</i> (var. <i>osismorum</i> , <i>Oxismorum</i> , <i>Oximorum</i> ) NG III.9; Ὠστίωνες ... Κόσσινοι λεγόμενοι Ὠστίωνες οὔς Steph. Byz.; <i>Osismi</i> TP 1, 1/2. Celtic; interpretations vary. 'The ultimate people' according to X. Delamarre (DLG, s.v.), with G. <i>ostimos</i> , <i>ostimios</i> < <i>*postimos</i> , <i>-ios</i> . P.-Y. Lambert connect is with <i>*osti-</i> 'bone' (IEW 683) or <i>*os-</i> 'mouth' (cf. Latin <i>ostium</i> 'estuary' IEW 785), or <i>*posti-</i> 'behind', with the meaning 'remotest', with a superlative suffix, syncopated into <i>-ismo-</i> : cfr. Cintusmus (~ Uxisama; cfr. no. 1046 Uxantis Ins.). See also <i>Abrincas</i> 1007a.
-	1004a	7 B3	-05/48	48 24	-04 29	<b>Osismis</b>	EN	EN: FRA This is a dative of the tribal name 1004b <i>Osismii</i> , q.v. Cf. also 1004 <i>Gesocribate</i> .
	4154	18 F3	+08/46	46 06	+08 22	<b>Oskela?</b>	LN	LN: Domodossola (ITL). Ὠσκέλα (var. ὄσκελλα, ὄσκελα) Ptol.3,1,34; <i>Oxilla</i> (var. <i>ossilia</i> , <i>ossila</i> ) Rav. 4,30. Obscure. Delamarre DLG: 245 s.v. <i>oxso-</i> 'boeuf' ('haut?') suggests that names in <i>osc-</i> (including this LN) could be due to metathesis from

								<i>oxs-</i> .
9579	40 C3	+12/44	44 42	+12 15	<b>Ostium Sagis</b>	LN	LN: (IT). <i>Ostium Sagis</i> Pliny 3, 120; <i>Sacis</i> TP 4,1. Although LNN in <i>sag-</i> are known in Celtic, there are no diagnostic grounds to label this instance Celtic.	
- 6116a	24 G2	-05/42	42 55	-04 11	<b>Ottaouiolka</b>	LN	LN: Camesa (Valdeola) (ESP). Οτταουιόλκα Ptol. 2,6,50. Possibly a corruption of <i>Octaviolca</i> , q.v.	
Cors 6	48 D2	+09/42	42 36	+09 31	<b>Ouagon Akron</b>	Pro m	Prom: Punta d'Arco (Corsica, FRA). Οὔαγον ἄκρον (var. Αὔαγον) Ptol. 3,2,5. Probably Latin; but cf. <i>*vagna</i> (W. <i>gwawn</i> ) and <i>ouago-</i> in the next entry.	
3301	14 E1	-01/47	48 01	-00 23	<b>Ouagoriton?</b>	LN	LN: Saulges (FRA). Οὔαγόριτον Ptol. 2,8,7. Obscure; at face value probably Celtic, <i>uago-</i> & <i>ritu-</i> , for the first component see <i>uac(c)o-</i> . Ho. compares this instance with Rav. 4.40 <i>Bagaridon</i> ; ου may be well a Ptolomaic spelling for [b], then <i>*Bagoriton</i> , to <i>bago-</i> . Lambert, 'Lugdunensis', 248, questions the existence of this name, and considers it 'too uncertain to be etymologized'.	
- 6749a	25 C4	-03/41	41 42	-02 48	<b>Ouelouka</b>	LN	LN: near Calatañazor (FRA). Ουέλουκα Ptol. 2,6,55. See <i>*Voluca</i> 6749.	
Cors 7	48 D2	+09/42	42 12	+09 08	<b>Ouenikion</b>	LN	LN: Venaco? (Corsica, FRA). Ουενίκιον Ptol. 3,2,8; Ἐνικονίαι (Strabo). ACPN: 253 compares this form with PN <i>Venicus</i> , etc., therefore 'Place of <i>Venicos</i> ' vel. sim. It may be simply a derivative of Celt. <i>ueno-</i> , <i>ueni-</i> , <i>uenā-</i> .	
16189	63 A3	+32/38	38 54	+32 15	<b>Ouetissos/ Ouetiston/ Vetissus</b>	LN	LN: near Beşikli (TUR). Δήμος [Οὐ]ητισσέων (MAMA VII, XXI-XXV, 72-93); Ουέτεστον (Ptol. 5,4,5); <i>Vetisso</i> TP 8, 5. Uncertain Celticity (cf. PN <i>Ad-uetisso</i> , Ho 3,513); cf. also Lycian PN <i>Uwatisa-</i> .	
3302	14 C1	-03/47	47 33	-02 52	<b>Ouidana Limen</b>	LN	LN: not localised in Bar (FRA). Ουιδάνα λιμήν Ptol. 2,8,1. Obscure. If Celtic, cf. <i>uida-</i> 'visible, prominent' or <i>uidu-</i> 'woods'.	
2249	11 A4	+00/48	48 01	+00 14	<b>Ouindinon</b>	LN	LN: Le Mans (FRA). Ουίνδινον Ptol. 2,8,8; <i>Subdinnum</i> TP 1,3. According to Isaac (PNPG), to <i>uindo-</i> 'white, bright, open'. The form being uncertain, there is no certainty either about its origin and Celticity.	
Cors 8	48 C2	+08/42	42 21	+08 33	<b>Ouiriballon Akron</b>	Pro m	Prom: Capa Ribellata (Corsica, FRA). Ουιρίβαλλον ακρον (var. Ουηρίβαλλον) Ptol. 3,2,2. P. Sims-Williams (ACPN: 251) seeks to derive it from a tribal name <i>*Viriballoi</i> 'those of manly limbs', with <i>ballo</i> 'limb'. Not necessarily Celtic in view of the <i>Triballoi</i> , <i>Coralloi</i> , etc.; see Falileyev, Central Balkans.	
6588	25 C4	-03/41	41 55	-02 46	<b>Ouisontion</b>	LN	LN: Vinuesa? (ESP). Ουισόντιον Ptol. 2.6.53. Probably Celtic; interpretations	

								vary. Isaac (PNPG) segments uesont- io-, listing <i>uesont-</i> as a Celtic element meaning ‘season of spring’ (DLG 426 lists <i>uisonna</i> ‘printemps’). García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 295-6 suggests the Celtic root <i>*ue-so-s</i> whence Old Irish <i>fiss</i> , Welsh <i>gwys</i> (see DLG <i>uid-</i> , <i>uidi-</i> , <i>uissu-</i> ‘connaissance, savoir’) and citing Albertos Firmat, OPP 248, 252-3, who argues for IE <i>*uěsu-</i> ‘good’. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 295-6 notes that there is a place of the same name in Pannonia superior, Ptol. 2.14.14, and a <i>Vesontio</i> in Gallia Belgica ( <i>Vesontio</i> map 18 D2 no. 4178). Curchin ‘Celticization’ finds this name non-Celtic.
6590	25 B3	-04/42	42 54	-03 04	<b>Ouxama Barka</b>	LN	LN: Osma de Valdegobia (ESP). Οὔξαμα Βάρκα Ptol. 2.6.52. The first component is Celtic, <i>ūxama</i> . The second element is more problematic. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 289-90 cites Solana Sainz, <i>Los Autrigones a través de las fuentes literarias</i> (Vitoria, 1974) 65, who relates <i>Barca</i> to Basque <i>ibar</i> ‘vega’ from <i>ibai</i> ‘river’, and Albertos Firmat, ‘A propósito de la ciudad Autrigona de Uxama Barca’, who suggests, from epigraphic sources, that the form should be <i>Uxama Ibarca</i> . Gorrochategui ‘Establishment and analysis’ 158 compares Old Irish <i>barc</i> ‘forteresse’, Gallo-romance <i>barca</i> , <i>barga</i> ‘hutte de paille’ (see LEIA B18), or Old Irish <i>barr</i> ‘sommets, cime’, but notes inscriptions <i>Uxama ibarcensis</i> , suggesting the name is rather to be compared with Basque <i>ibar</i> ‘river’. Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 444-5 give various comparanda and suggests a relationship with <i>Barcino</i> (above no. 6428).	
3583	15 D1	+04/44	44 13	+04 58	<b>Ovidis fl.</b>	RN	RN: Ouvèze (FRA). <i>Ovidis</i> CIL 12, 3316, <i>O(vidis)</i> 3317, <i>Ov.</i> 4107; later attestation (1070) <i>Ovitia</i> DaRiv. Perhaps Celtic, to <i>oui-</i> .	
2704	12 H4	+14/48	48 09	+14 04	<b>Ovilava</b>	LN	LN: Wels (AUS). <i>Ovilavis</i> (var. <i>ouilabis</i> ) IA 235,2; (var. <i>ouiliauis</i> ) 256,5; (var. <i>ouilau</i> ) 258.4; (var. <i>olilabis</i> ) 277, 2; <i>Ovilatus</i> (var. <i>ululatus</i> ) 249.2; <i>Ovilia</i> TP 3,4; <i>Ovil[ ]</i> CIL 3, 785, 5606, 5630; <i>Ovilavi[s]</i> 11785, <i>Ovilavis</i> 12304, <i>Ael(iis) Obilab(is)</i> IX 2593, etc. Possibly Celtic, to <i>oui-</i> ; the LN could easily be assignable to any other (non-Germanic) European group.	
3740	16 C3	+06/43	43 30	+06 45	<b>Oxubii</b>	EN	EN (FRA). Ὀξυβίων Polyb. 33.9; Ὀξυβίων Strabo 4,1,10; <i>Oxubi</i> Pliny 3,47; <i>Oxubii</i> Florus 1,19,5. Possibly Celtic; may be derived from a putative G. <i>*oxso-</i> ,	

							<i>oxsi-</i> ‘ox’ or ‘high’ (see DLG: 245 with further lit.), with <i>-ubii</i> , compare <i>Mandubii</i> (map 18 B2 no. 4140). Perhaps, ‘ox-slayers’ (or ? ‘high-slayers’), with <i>bio-</i> .
2250	11 F2	+05/50	50 30	+05 53	<b>Paemani</b>	EN	EN (FRA). Scribal error for 2250a <i>Caemani</i> .
9413	39 E4	+09/44	44 50	+09 30	<b>Pagus Ambitrebis</b>	TN	TN: Trebbia valley (IT). <i>Pagus Ambitrebis</i> CIL 11, 1147. ‘(The settlement) on the either side (of Trebbis)’, to <i>ambi-</i> .
9414	39 H2	+10/45	45 34	+10 55	<b>Pagus Arusnatium</b>	TN	TN: Around Fumane (IT). <i>Pag(i) Arusnatium</i> CIL 5, 3915; <i>Arusnatibus</i> CIL 5, 3926; [ <i>pa</i> ]gi <i>Arusnati[um]</i> CIL 5, 3928. Cf. 9414a <i>Arnusates</i> . Probably not Celtic, but cf. LNN and PNN in <i>aru-</i> .
6592	25 D4	-02/41	41 53	-01 15	<b>Pagus Gallorum et Segardinensium</b>	TN	TN: El Cabazuelo (Gallur) (ESP). TIR K-30 report Beltrán, <i>CAN</i> 14 (1977) 1061-70 <i>pago Gallo/rum et Segardine/nssium</i> . AE 1993 1043 <i>pagi Gallo[rum pagi Be]llsinonensis pagi Segardinensis</i> (EDCS). Latin, descriptive, to <i>galli</i> ; the second EN is obscure morphologically and hardly contains <i>segu-</i>
6126	24 F1	-06/43	43 20	-05 25	<b>Pailontion</b>	LN	LN: Beloncio (Infiesto) (ESP). Παιλόντιον (var. Πηλ) Ptol. 2,6,32. If this is a reflex of the <i>p</i> -Celtic language, to <i>*pele-</i> (see s.v. 6599 <i>Pelendones</i> ); otherwise obscure.
2254	11 C4	+02/48	48 45	+02 20	<b>Parisii</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Parisii</i> Caesar BG 4,3, <i>passim</i> ; Παρίσιοι (var. Παρήσιοι) Strabo 4,3,5; <i>Parisi</i> Pliny 4,107; Παρίσιοι (var. Παρήσιοι) Ptol. 2,8,10; <i>Parisiorum</i> IA 366,5-6; <i>Parisius</i> ND oc 42, 23, <i>Parisios</i> 66; <i>Ciuitas Parisiorum</i> (var. <i>paritiorum</i> , <i>parisaeorum</i> , <i>pariseorum</i> ) NG 4,8; <i>Parisii</i> TP 1,5; <i>Parisiorum</i> Ammianus XV.11, <i>passim</i> ; <i>civis Parisius</i> CIL 13, 626; <i>nautae Parisiac[i]</i> 3026; <i>Pari[siorum]</i> 3034; <i>a civ(itate) Par(isiorum)</i> 8974 (= CIL 17, 494), etc. Celtic, interpretations vary: 1) ‘the people of the cauldron’ (Delamarre, DLG), to <i>pario</i> ; or 2) ‘the spear people’ (P.-Y. Lambert, to OIr <i>carr</i> < <i>*kwar-sā</i> ‘spear’, Welsh <i>par</i> ‘spear’ ( <i>*k<sup>w</sup>aros</i> ); or 3) ‘the efficacious ones, the rulers’ (Isaac, PNPG, with <i>*paro-</i> ).
3303	14 G4	+01/44	44 29	+01 19	<b>Parnaco</b>	LN	LN: Parnac (FRA). <i>Parnaco</i> Vita Des. 9,17. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Perna</i> (Da.), <i>Perennis</i> (NPAG II 89a) (TGF 6433) or <i>Parnua</i> (OPEL).
2705	12 E4	+11/48	48 42	+11 04	<b>Parrodunum</b>	LN	LN: Burgheim (GER). <i>Parroduno</i> (var. <i>paraduno</i> ) ND oc. 35, 28. At face value, to <i>pario-</i> or <i>paro-</i> and <i>dūno-</i> ; if <i>P-</i> is probably mistake for <i>C-</i> (see ACPN: 61 n. 19), then <i>*Carrodunum</i> ‘fort of the chariot’.
3304	14 F1	+00/47	47 26	+00 30	<b>Paternacum</b>	LN	LN: Pernay? (FRA). <i>in parochia Paternacense</i> GdeT VP 8,8; <i>Paternaco</i> coins

							Belfort 3572 & 3; later attestation: (805) <i>Paternum</i> Da. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Paternus</i> .	
3305	14 H2	+02/46	46 12	+02 09	<b>Patriacum</b>	LN	LN: Parsac (FRA). Late attestations: (638) <i>Patriacus</i> , (1158) <i>de Parciaco</i> , (1193) <i>Parcac</i> TGF: 7285. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a Latin PN.	
6597	25 G2	+01/43	43 14	+01 47	<b>Pauliacum, Mon.</b>	LN	LN: St-Sernin (FRA). <i>Pauliacensim monasterium</i> GdeT GM 47. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a Lat. PN <i>Paul(l)ius</i> .	
6599	25 C3	-03/42	42 02	-02 40	<b>Pelendones</b>	EN	EN: near source of R. Duero (ESP). <i>Cerindones</i> Livy frag. 91; <i>Pelendones</i> (var. <i>pelond-</i> , <i>pellond-</i> , <i>pelled-</i> , <i>pelleodeones</i> ) Pliny 3.26, <i>Pelendonibus</i> (var. <i>pelond-</i> ) 4.112; Πελένδονες Ptol. 2.6.53. Obscure. Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 75 suggests that it is pre-Celtic. Holder cites d'Arbois de Jubainville's view that it is from a Celtic personal name M. <i>*Pel-endos Plendus</i> (not in GPN). García Alonso 'Vettones y Layetanos' discusses the name in detail and suggests it could be from <i>*sple-m-dh-o-</i> from Indo-European <i>*(s)pel-</i> 'hablar fuerte, en voz alta' (IEW 985), or from <i>*pel-em-</i> (IEW 801, cf. Greek πελεμίζω 'mover con fuerza, sacudir, agitar, rechazar violentamente'). If <i>p</i> -Celtic, cf. IE <i>*k<sup>w</sup>el-</i> 'distant' IEW: 640 (WCB <i>pell</i> ); morphology is obscure.	
4155	18 D3	+06/46	46 24	+06 53	<b>Penne Locos</b>	LN	LN: Villeneuve? (SWI). <i>Pennolucos</i> TP 2,3; <i>Penne Locos</i> IA 351,7; <i>Pennolocus</i> Rav. 4, 26. Celtic, 'the place at the head of the lake'; <b>penno-</b> & <b>locu-</b> .	
-	2257a	11 F2	+05/50	50 39	+05 11	<b>Pernaco</b>	LN	LN: Braives (B). Cfr. no. 2257 <i>Perniciacum?</i> .
	2257	11 F2	+05/50	50 39	+05 11	<b>Perniciacum?</b>	LN	LN: Braives (B). <i>Perniciacum</i> IA 378,4; <i>Pernaco</i> TP 1,5. 'Place belonging to Pernix', an <b>-āko-</b> derivative of <i>Pernix</i> (OPEL III, 133, inscription in Hispania, which may be a Latin adjective <i>pernix</i> 'agile, swift'; a PN <i>Pernix</i> might be derived from the adjective). Cf. 2257a <i>Pernaco</i> .
16194	63 C4	+33/38	38 11	+33 02	<b>Perta</b>	LN	LN: Gimir (TUR). Possibly not Celtic. To quote G. R. Isaac, "Easily analysed as good P-Celtic Gaulish, <i>Perta</i> < <i>*{K<sup>w</sup>erk<sup>w</sup>ta:}</i> < PIE <i>*perk<sup>w</sup>-</i> 'oak' (< 'striker'), cf. W <i>perth</i> (f.) 'hedge, fence' (< 'forest' forming border), and LN <i>Perth</i> (Scotland). But perhaps with parallels in Lycian PNN <i>Pertina</i> , <i>Pertinamuwa</i> , <i>Zgusta</i> , <i>Kleinasiatischen Ortsnamen</i> (Heidelberg, 1984), 486".	
6601	25 E3	-01/42	42 01	-00 08	<b>Pertusa</b>	LN	LN: Pertusa (ESP). <i>Pertusa</i> IA 391.4. If Celtic, cf. 16194 <i>Perta</i> . Cf., however, Latin	

							<i>pertusus</i> ‘pierced’ as in 9871 <i>Petra Pertusa</i> (IT).
19623	86 C3	+32/40	40 01	+32 07	<b>Petobrogen</b> “	LN	LN: near Perli Çiftlik (TUR). <i>Mutatio</i> <sup>i</sup> <i>petobrogen</i> IB 574,11. Obscure; may contain Celtic <i>brog-</i> .
6602	25 H2	+02/43	43 44	+02 11	<b>Petregontio</b>	LN	LN: Peyregoux? (FRA). <i>Petregontio</i> (var. <i>Petrogo</i> , <i>Petreguntio</i> ) VitaDes 9(17); later attestations: (1358) <i>Petragortia</i> TGF: 15019, (1384) <i>Petragossio</i> Da. Obscure. TGF 15019 derives the name from ‘NP germ. <i>Beregund</i> ; attr. de occ. <i>peiregos</i> “pierreux, couvert de pierres”.’ Morlet I 52 lists <i>Beregund</i> ; Nègre, ‘Toponymie albigeoise’ 372 suggests a Germanic female personal name <i>Peregund</i> (perhaps a misprint for <i>Beregund</i> ), Latinized <i>*Petreguntius</i> under the influence of <i>petrus</i> . Da. prefers a Latin etymology, from ‘Lat. <i>petra</i> , pierre, rocher, montagne, avec double suffix <i>-ic-osum</i> ; on peut penser aussi en pré-latin <i>gortia</i> , haie, clôture.’ For Celtic <i>gortia-</i> , see DLG <i>gortia</i> ‘haie’ < ‘enclos’; however, the earliest attestation of the name has <i>-gont-</i> rather than <i>-gort-</i> . <i>Gontio-</i> , if correct, could perhaps be from <i>contio-</i> ; cf. PNPG, Celtic element <i>conto-</i> , meaning unknown. The first element, too, could be Celtic, from <i>petru-</i> ‘four’.
3307	14 F3	+00/45	45 07	+00 30	<b>Petrocori</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Petrocoriis</i> Caes BG 7,75,3; Πετροκόριοι Strabo 4,2,2; <i>Petrocori</i> Pliny 4,109; Πετροκόριοι Ptol. 2,7,9; <i>Petrocoriorum</i> NG Occ. 13,7; <i>Petrocoriis</i> , var. <i>petrocoriis</i> Sulp. Sev. chron. 2,45,7; <i>Petrogorii</i> Sid. App. epist. 7,6,7; <i>Petrucorio</i> CIL 12, 275, <i>Petrucor(iorum)</i> 13, 972. Celtic, <i>petru-</i> & <i>corio-</i> .
3308	14 G4	+01/44	44 54	+01 24	<b>Petroliaco</b>	LN	LN: Peyrillac? (FRA). <i>Petroliaco</i> (var. <i>-eco</i> ) Vita Des. 9,17; later forms: (1326) <i>Peyrilhac</i> , (14 c.) <i>Perilhacus</i> TGF: 7279. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN.
- 3429a	14 F3	+00/45	45 07	+00 42	<b>Petrucorii</b>	LN	LN: Périgueux (FRA). The Bar. head word should be <i>Civitas Petrucorium</i> vel sim. Late attestations: (ca. 400) <i>civitas Petrocoriorum</i> , (8 c.) <i>Petrecors</i> Da. See 3307 <i>Petrocori</i> . Also known as 3429 <i>Versunna</i> .
6137	24 C1	-09/43	43 20	-08 07	<b>Phlaouia Lambris</b>	LN	LN: Lambre (Ambroa, Irixoa)? (ESP). Φλαουία Λαμβρίς Ptol. 2,6,26; <i>Lambriacam</i> Mela 3,10 (this instance is given a separate entry (‘Unlocated’) by <i>Atlas</i> Map 24. Hybrid, from Latin <i>Flavia</i> and obscure <i>Lambris</i> . For <i>Lambris</i> García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 206-7 proposes <i>*brig</i> , as <i>Lambris</i> has authentic Hispanic treatment of Celtic <i>briga</i> ; <i>-bris</i> < <i>*-brix</i> < <i>*-brig-s</i> . Isaac, PNPG segments <i>lambri-</i> , commenting

								‘notwithstanding the possibility that { <i>Lambris</i> } might contain, as a second element, the Hispano-Celtic <i>*brix-s</i> (nom. sg. of stem <i>*brig-</i> , more frequently seen as a derived <i>a</i> -stem <i>briga</i> ), that leaves the identification of the first element <i>lam-</i> unclear’. Note that <i>Atlas</i> lists two other names in <i>*lambr-</i> ; <i>Lambrum</i> and <i>Lambrus fl.</i> (map 39F3 and E2).
-	3225a	14 F2	+00/46	46 35	+00 21	<b>Pictavi</b>	EN	EN (and LN, with civitas): Poitiers (FRA). <i>Pictavi</i> Amm. Marc. 15,11,13; <i>civitas Pictavorum</i> NG Occ. 13, 6; <i>Pictavorum</i> Auson. prof. 10 title; <i>Pictāvīci</i> epigr. 51.2; <i>Pictavorum</i> Sulp. Sev. Chron. 2.39.7. Obscure. See LEIA C-97 <i>cicht</i> ‘graveur, dessinateur’ and McManus ‘Chronology’ 48 on the link between <i>cicht</i> and <i>pict</i> . See also 3225 <i>Limonum</i> .
-	3309a	14 D2	-02/46	46 47	-01 25	<b>Pictavi</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). See 3309 <i>Pictones</i> and cf. <i>Pictavi</i> 3225a.
	3309	14 D2	-02/46	46 47	-01 25	<b>Pictones</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Pictonibus</i> Caes BG 3,11,5, <i>Pictones</i> , 7,4,6; Πικτόνων Strabo 4,2,1; <i>Pictones</i> Pliny 4,108; Πίκτονες var. πήκτωνες, πήκτονες, πίκτωνες.) Ptol. 2,7,5; <i>Pictonici</i> Auson. epist. 3,36; <i>Pictonicis</i> Paul. Nol. Carm. 10, 249; <i>Pictonum</i> CIL 13, 1129. Obscure. Presumably from the same root as EN <i>Pictavi</i> (q.v., cf. <i>Pictavi</i> 3225a), but formed with a different suffix. Cf. 3309 <i>Pictavi</i> .
	3311	14 C2	-03/46	46 50	-02 10	<b>Piktonion? Akron</b>	Pro m	Prom: Pointe Notre-Dame-de-Montes (FRA). Πικτόνιον ἄκρον Marcian. 2,21, Πικτόνιον ἄκρον Ptol. 2,7,1. A Greek formation based on the EN <i>Pictones</i> , above no. 3309.
	6138	24 G3	-05/41	41 43	-04 40	<b>Pintia</b>	LN	LN: Padilla de Duero? (ESP). Πίντια Ptol. 2,6,49; <i>Pintiam</i> IA 440,4; <i>Antia</i> Rav. 318,18. Obscure. Luján, ‘Ptolemy’s Callaecia’, relates the name to Indo-European <i>*penkwe</i> , and García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 194-5 discusses whether the name could be a Celtic derivative of the numeral ‘five’, but concludes that it seems to be from an Indo-European pre-Celtic language. See Villar, ‘Los antropónimos en <i>Pent-</i> , <i>Pint-</i> ’, for more on this element.
	6140	24 G2	-05/42	42 36	-04 20	<b>Pisoraca</b>	LN	LN: Herrera de Pisuerga (ESP). Σιράρακα Ptol. 2.6.51, <i>Pirascon</i> Rav. 4,44, <i>Pisoraca</i> CIL 2, 4883, <i>Pisor[aca]</i> 4884. Obscure. May be a Celtic derivation in <i>-āko-</i> ; see further García Alonso, <i>Ptolomeo</i> 285-6.
	4751	20 D6	+16/43	43 27	+16 35	<b>Pituntium</b>	LN	LN: Podstrana (CRO). If Celtic (which is not very likely) cf. G. R. Isaac PNPg,

							Celtic Elements, s.v. <i>*pito-</i> ‘danger’, a cognate of W. <i>pyd</i> ‘id.’ (see also GPC: 2959; LEIA C-282).
3998	17 H2	+06/45	45 50	+06 50	<b>Poeninus M.</b>	MN	MN: Great St. Bernard (FRA). Πουίνου Strabo 4,6,7; <i>Poeninum montani</i> Livy hist. 21,38,9; <i>alpium...</i> <i>Poeninas</i> (var. <i>peni-</i> ) Pliny 3,123; <i>Poeninis iugis</i> Tac. Hist. 1.61; <i>Alpes ... Poeninae</i> Amm. Marc. 15,10,9; <i>Pvoenin/o</i> CIL 5, 6871; <i>Poenino</i> 6869 and 6872. See 4051 <i>Summus Poeninus</i> .
3312	14 F4	+00/44	44 41	+00 36	<b>Pompegiaco</b>	LN	LN: Pompiac, Cm. Castillonès? (FRA). Late attestation: (1162) <i>ecclesiam de Pompiaco</i> TGF: 7308 . An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Pomp(e)ius</i> .
3313	14 F4	+00/44	44 26	+00 09	<b>Pompeiacum</b>	LN	LN: Caumont-sur-Garonne (FRA). <i>loco Pompeiaco</i> Martyrologe hiéronymien (Jun.9). An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Pomp(e)ius</i> . See also 3313a <i>Vernemetis</i> .
4368	19 E2	+12/47	47 53	+12 09	<b>Pons Aeni</b>	LN	LN: Pfaffenhofen am Inn (GER). <i>Ponte Aeni</i> IA 236,2; 257,2; 258; 259,3 and 7; <i>Ad Enum</i> TP 3,3; <i>Ponte Aoni</i> ND oc. 35,15; <i>sta(tio) Enensis</i> CIL III, 15184. If Anreiter <i>et al.</i> (in <i>Ptolemy</i> 129) are correct that the original form of the RN was <i>*Enos</i> (= mod. <i>Inn</i> ), it may go back to Celt. <i>*penos</i> , cf. OIr <i>en</i> ‘water’, Gaul. <i>anam</i> ‘paludem’ (Endlicher), Go. <i>fani</i> ‘mud’ (E <i>fen</i> ), PIE <i>*pen-</i> IEW 807-8. The RN may be of different provenance.
4159	18 C3	+05/46	46 55	+05 08	<b>Pons Dubris</b>	LN	LN: Settlement and bridge at Pontoux (FRA). <i>Pons Dubris</i> TP 1,5. For Celtic RN <i>Dubris</i> see s.v.
6145	24 D2	-08/42	42 53	-07 06	<b>Pons Neviae</b>	LN	LN: Liber (Becerreá) (ESP). <i>Ponte Neviae</i> IA 425,2; <i>Ponte Abei</i> Rav. 4,45. The town is on the river <i>Navia</i> ; for possible etymology, see 6101 <i>Navia</i> .
2266	11 H4	+07/48	48 46	+07 07	<b>Pons Saravi</b>	LN	LN: Sarrebourg (FRA). <i>Ponte Sarvix</i> (var. <i>sardis</i> ) IA 372,1; <i>Ponte Saravi</i> TP 2,3; <i>a vico Saravo</i> CIL 13, 4549; etc. For possibly Celtic ‘river Saar’, see s.v. the RN.
4370	19 F4	+13/45	45 55	+13 32	<b>Pons Sonti</b>	LN	LN: Mainizza? (IT). <i>Ponte Sonti</i> TP 3,5; <i>Pontem Sontii</i> (Iord., G, 57); if Celtic cf. <i>Sontosea</i> (PN, CIL XII, 4881); or, as located near Aesontius/ Isontius, may it stand for <i>Pons Isontii</i> ?
-	3118b	14 D1	-02/47	47 13	<b>Portunamnetu</b> “	LN	LN: Nantes (FRA). <i>Portu(s) Namnetu(m)</i> TP 1.2/3. Latin from an indigenous EN, ‘the port of the <i>Namnetes</i> ’. See 3118 <i>Civitas Namnetum</i> .
6148	24 H1	-04/43	43 27	-03 48	<b>Portus Victoriae Iuliobrigensium</b>	LN	LN: Santander (ESP). <i>Portus Victoriae Iuliobrigensium</i> Pliny 4,111. Latin formation based on a hybrid <i>Iuliobrigenses</i> ‘people of <i>Iuliobriga</i> ’, with Celtic <i>-briga</i> .



6153	24 C2	-09/42	42 40	-08 59	<b>Praestamarci</b>	EN	EN: Barbanza peninsula (ESP) <i>Praetamarici</i> (var. <i>praesamarchi</i> ) Mela 3,11; <i>Celtici cognomine Praestamarci</i> (var. <i>presta-</i> , <i>praesamarci</i> ) Pliny 4,111. Obscure. Holder cites d'Arbois de Jubainville 'compos. von *praesta- = air. cróes, crois gl. cupedia, cráes gl. gula, nir. craos m. "excess, gluttony" und marco-s "pferd", also "gourmands (gloutons, gros mangeurs) comme des chevaux".' For criticism of this idea, see Evans, 'Rex Icenorum Prasutagus'. In view of the 6199 <i>Supertamarci</i> , it seems that we must segment <i>praes-tamarci</i> , rather than <i>praesta-marci</i> . Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 137 suggests that the ethnonym is related to the name of the river Tambre, <i>Tamaris flumen</i> (6203), but notes that the use of <i>prae-</i> in geographical names does not seem to have existed in Latin. Tovar accepts Pokorny's suggestion (similar to Holder's) (IEW 844): a verb like Old Indic <i>prīnāti</i> 'to be content with something', Gothic <i>frijon</i> 'to love' etc., plus the Celto-Germanic word <i>marko-</i> 'horse', like the compound OE <i>frīd-hengest</i> .
4765	20 B4	+14/45	45 55	+15 00	<b>Praetorium Latobicorum</b>	LN	LN: Pristava pri Trebnjem (SVN). <i>Praetorio Latovicorum</i> (var. <i>Lateukorum</i> ) IA 259,13; <i>munic. Latob(icorum)</i> CIL 3, 3925. Second component is Celtic; see s.v. <i>Latobici</i> .
3318	14 G4	+01/44	44 31	+01 12	<b>Prisciago</b>	LN	LN: Prayssac? (FRA). <i>villa Prisciago</i> (var. <i>Pisciaco</i> , <i>Prissiaco</i> ) Vita Des 9(17) p. 37; later attestations: (9 c.) <i>Prissiago</i> , (1326) <i>Preyssacus</i> TGF: 7316. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Priscius</i> (Da.) or <i>Precius</i> (OTL) (TGF).
3319	14 F2	+00/46	46 56	+00 54	<b><u>Prisciniacum</u></b>	LN	LN: Le-Petit-Pressigny? (FRA). <i>apud vicum Prisciniacensi</i> (var. <i>Priscinianensim</i> , <i>Priscinacensem</i> ) GdeT VP 8,11; (13 c.) <i>Presciniacus</i> TGF: 9440. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN <i>*Priscinius</i> (Da.) or <i>Priscinus</i> (OTL <i>Priscus</i> ) (TGF 9440).
4004	17 H4	+06/44	44 44	+06 47	<b>Quariates</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Quariates</i> (var. <i>quadr-</i> ) Pliny 3,35; <i>Quadiatium</i> CIL 5,7321; <i>Quariat(ium?)</i> CIL 12, 80. Obscure; Guyonvarc'h, 'Notes d'étymologie XX' 428-29, suggests that the name is derived from Celtic <i>*k<sup>w</sup>ario-</i> 'cauldron' (cf. <i>pario-</i> ); the <i>q</i> -Celtic reflex is problematic.
6156	24 C3	-09/41	41 54	-08 03	<b>Quarquerni</b>	EN	EN: Bande region (ESP). <i>Querquerni</i> (var. <i>-quenni</i> ) Pliny 3,28; Κουακερνών Ptol. 2,6,46; <i>Quarquerni</i> CIL 2, 2477 = 5616. Isaac (PNPG) segments the LN as <i>querquo-erno-</i> , and comments "the EN would seem to have been <i>*Querquerni</i> <

								* <i>perk<sup>w</sup>o-</i> + <i>-erno-</i> . It is difficult to assess whether the variation seen in the name is due to linguistic processes or transmissional confusion.” See also 5914 <i>Aquae Quarquernae</i> .
2953	13 B4	+16/48	48 20	+16 30	<b>Rakatai</b>	EN	EN: (A). Ῥακατρίαι (var. Ῥακάτρίαι, Ῥακάτριοι, Ῥακάται) Ptol. 2,11,11. Obscure. Holder (II, 1069) favours a Celtic approach : “Nach Ernault von <i>rac</i> , abret. <i>rac</i> (devant) und <i>-atr-</i> stamm von <i>atīr</i> (vater) ? cf. W. <i>rhagu</i> ‘to get before, to oppose’”. For Reichert (LAN I, 546) this EN is a non-Gmc; cf. also WAPV 182: “Der Name der pannonischen <i>Racatae</i> ist bekanntlich ungermanisch”. According to RE I A.1, 131, it is not a Gmc. tribe, however, it could be a Pannonian or even a Celtic one.	
4006	17 H4	+06/44	44 44	+06 34	<b>Rama</b>	LN	LN: Near La Roche-de-Rame (FRA). <i>Rama(e)</i> TP 2,2; <i>Rame</i> (var. <i>ramae</i> ) IA 341,6; <i>Ramae</i> 357,4; <i>Ramae</i> IB 555,10; <i>Ramam</i> Vicar. I, <i>Rama</i> II, III, IV; <i>Rama</i> Rav. 4,27. For a Celtic approach see Isaac, AILR Celtic elements, s.v. <i>ra:ma-</i> ‘excavation; spade’ (cf. MĪr <i>rāma</i> m. ‘an agricultural tool’, OB in <i>roiau</i> gl. soffosoria, MB <i>reuff</i> ‘shovel, spade’, MW <i>raw</i> , W <i>rhaw</i> ), to PIE <i>*h<sub>2</sub>rh<sub>3</sub>-meh<sub>2</sub>-</i> < <i>*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-</i> ‘plough, break up earth’ (IEW: 62-3).	
3324	14 I3	+03/45	45 56	+03 14	<b><u>Randanum</u></b>	LN	LN: Randan (FRA). <i>Randanensim monasterium</i> GdeT HF 4,32; (1373) <i>Randans</i> TGF 15034. Obscure; although certain scholars consider the component <i>randa</i> Celtic and relate it to Ir. <i>rann</i> , W. <i>rhan</i> ‘part (cf. Jacques Lacroix, <i>Les noms d’origine gauloise. La Gaule des combats</i> , Paris: Éditions Errance 2003, 38-48), it seems to belong to a different linguistic group, see DLG 165; Sims-Williams, ‘-ialo-’ 62-3.	
3325	14 D1	-02/47	47 11	-01 33	<b><u>Ratiatum</u></b>	LN	LN: Rezé (FRA). Ῥατίατον Ptol. 2,7,5; <i>vico Ratiatense</i> (var. <i>Raciacense</i> ) GdeT GC 53; merov. coin <i>Raciate</i> Belfort 3687; late attestations: (511) <i>de Ratiatē</i> , (9 c.) <i>Raciatius portus</i> TGF: 3552. Celtic, to <i>rāto/ā-</i> or <i>ratā/i-</i> .	
3326	14 D2	-02/46	46 13	-01 23	<b>Ratis Ins.</b>	IN	IN: Ile de Ré ( <i>contra</i> Cuntz, ItMarit 510) (FRA). <i>oppidum [priscumra]</i> , RE suggests <i>oppidum priscum Ra[tis]</i> , Avienus ora marit. 701; <i>Ratis</i> Rav. 5.33. Celtic, to <i>rāto/ā-</i> or <i>ratā/i-</i> . Also known as 3326a <i>Aricea</i> (obscure).	
-	2277a	11 C3	+02/49	49 22	+02 17	<b>Ratum (...)?</b>	LN	LN: Hermes (FRA). <i>vic(...?) Ratum(...)</i> AAS no. 275. If indeed for <i>vicus</i>

							<i>Ratumagus</i> , see 2277 <i>Ratumagus Silvanectum</i> .
2277	11 C3	+02/49	49 22	+02 17	<b>Ratumagus Silvanectum?</b>	LN	LN: Hermes (FRA). Ῥατόμαγος Ptol. 2,9,6; <i>Vic(o) Ratvm[agensiu]m?</i> CIL 13, 3475. See 2290 <i>Rotomagus</i> and cf. 2277a <i>Ratum</i> (...)?
6160	24 H3	-04/41	41 43	-03 55	<b>Rauda</b>	LN	LN: Roa (ESP). Ῥαῦδα Ptol. 2.6.49; <i>Rauda</i> IA 440,5. Obscure; probably not Celtic: there is no doubt that the LN cannot reflect PIE <i>*h<sub>1</sub>reud<sup>h</sup>o-</i> as is sometimes maintained. For a Celtic perspective – if the LN is named after a river – cf. G. R. Isaac, PNPG, Possibly Celtic elements s.v. <i>rauo-</i> (to <i>*h<sub>1</sub>reh<sub>1</sub>-</i> ‘row’).
- 4109b	18 E2	+07/47	47 33	+07 42	<b>Rauraci</b>	EN	EN: (SWI). <i>Rauracis</i> Caes BG 1,5,4; <i>Rauracorum</i> 1,29,2; <i>Raurici</i> (var. <i>-aci</i> ) Pliny 4, 106; <i>Rauraci</i> TP 2,3; cf. <i>Castrum Rauracense</i> NG 9.9; <i>Ravricam</i> CIL 10, 6087. Possibly derived from the RN <i>Raura</i> (Ruhr); cf. in this respect a possibly Celtic element <i>rauo-</i> .
2725	12 F3	+12/49	49 13	+12 18	<b>Reganus fl.</b>	RN	RN: Regen (GER). <i>Reganum</i> Rav. 4, 25; <i>Regnum flumen</i> Egilberti Vita s. Ermenfridi I.1. Possibly Celtic, to <i>rego-</i> .
1029	7 D3	-03/48	48 40	-02 03	<b>Reginca</b>	LN	LN: Alet en Saint-Malo (FRA). <i>Reginca</i> TP 1, ½. Probably Celtic, to <i>rego-</i> . See also <i>Aletum</i> 1029a.
2726	12 F3	+12/49	49 01	+12 09	<b>Reginum</b>	LN	LN: Regensburg GER). <i>Regino</i> (var. <i>regio</i> ) IA 250,1; <i>castra Regina</i> ND oc. 35, 17; <i>Regino</i> TP 3,4; <i>D(omu) Regino</i> CIL V 32909, etc. Possibly Celtic, to <i>rego-</i> .
3750	16 A2	+05/43	43 47	+05 55	<b>Reii</b>	EN	EN (FRA). See 3671b <i>Reii</i> .
- 3671b	16 B2	+06/43	43 49	+06 05	<b>Reii</b>	EN	EN (FRA). Also <i>Apollinaris Reiorum</i> 3671a. See 3671 <i>Alebaece Reiorum Apollinarium</i> for attestations. Possibly Celtic, to <i>rego-</i> , with a loss of the intervocal <i>-g-</i> .
5242	21 E6	+22/43	43 13	+22 17	<b>Remesiana</b>	LN	LN: Bela Palanka (SCG). <i>Romesiana</i> TP 6,4; <i>Romessiana</i> Rav. 4,7 <i>Remisiana</i> IA 135,1; <i>mansio Romansiana</i> IB 566, 6; Ῥεμεσιανῶ Hierocl. 654,7; Ῥουμισιανῶ Proc. ae. 4, 1, 32; <i>R(emisiana)</i> IMS 2, 53 <i>et passim</i> . The LN has been considered Thracian and Latin; for a Celtic approach cf. <i>rēmo-</i> .
5243	21 F6	+23/43	43 47	+23 06	<b>Remetodia</b>	LN	LN: Orsoja (BUL). <i>Remetodia</i> TP 6,5; <i>Remotodion</i> Rav. 4,7. Very probably Celtic, to <i>*rēmo-</i> <i>-et-odyā-</i> (= OIr (h)uide ‘journey, way’); see A. Falileyev, G. R. Isaac, <i>Remetodia, Acta Onomastica XLVII</i> (2006), 173-76.
2279	11 E3	+04/49	49 23	+04 15	<b>Remi</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Remi</i> Caesar BG 2,3, <i>passim</i> ; Ῥῆμοι Strabo 4,3,5; <i>Remi</i> Pliny 4, 106;

								<i>in Remos</i> Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> IV.68, <i>Remorum</i> 69; Ῥῆμοι (var. ῥῆμοι) Ptol. 2,9,6; ( <i>Durocortoro</i> ) <i>Remorum</i> IA 380,7-8; Ῥημῶν Cassius Dio XXXIX.1, Ῥημοῖς XL.11; <i>Nemorum</i> ND oc 11, 34; <i>ciuitas Remorum</i> NG 6, 2; <i>Remi</i> Ammianus XV.11; <i>Rem(orum)</i> CIL 3, 4466; <i>Remorum</i> 13, 3255; <i>Cives Remvs</i> 8309; <i>Cives Remi</i> 8701; etc. ‘?Rulers, chiefs’, or ‘first’, to <i>rēmo-</i> .
3328	14 E4	-01/44	44 41	-00 22	<b>Reontio</b>	LN	LN: Rions (FRA). <i>Reontio</i> (var. <i>Reoncio</i> , <i>Recontio</i> ) GdeT GC 47. Possibly Celtic; if <i>*Reg-ontio</i> , to <i>rego-</i> .	
- 6520a	25 E5	-01/40	40 38	-00 13	<b>Respublica Leserensis</b>	LN	LN: Moleta dels Frares (El Forcall) (ESP). CIL II 4052 <i>res(pu)/blica Leser(en)/sis</i> . Latin LN based on indigenous 6250 <i>Lassira</i> (q.v.) or <i>*Lessira</i> .	
9435	39 D3	+08/45	45 18	+08 35	<b>Retovium</b>	LN	LN: Robbio? (IT). <i>Retovina</i> (- <i>lina</i> . Pliny 19,9), etc. Uncertain Celticity; hardly to <i>*recto-</i> .	
1783	10 G3	+10/53	53 57	+10 10	<b>Reudigni</b>	EN	EN: (GER). <i>Reudigni</i> (var. <i>veusdigni</i> , <i>veudigni</i> ) Tacitus Germ. 40, 1-2. Obscure; Germanic ( <i>reud-</i> ) or Celtic ( <i>reud-</i> , <i>roud-</i> ) ‘red’.	
2281	11 F1	+05/51	51 59	+05 43	<b>Rhenus fl.</b>	RN	RN: Rhein (GER). <i>Rhenum</i> Sallust <i>Hist.</i> I.8; <i>Rhenum</i> (var. <i>renum</i> ) Caesar BG 1,1, passim; τοῦ Ῥήνου Strabo I.4.3, passim; <i>Rheni (amnis)</i> Pliny 3, 135, <i>Rheno</i> 4, 100, passim; <i>Rhenus</i> Tacitus Germ. 1, <i>Rhenum</i> <i>Hist.</i> I.51, <i>Rhenum</i> Ann. I.3., passim; Ῥήνου Ptol. 2,9,1 et passim; Ῥήνον, Cassius Dio XXXVIII.33, passim; cf. <i>ad R(h)enum</i> TP 2,5; <i>Reno</i> 6, 3115; <i>Rheno</i> 3138, [ <i>F</i> ]lum(ini) <i>Rheno</i> 13, 5255; [ <i>F</i> ]vmini <i>Rhe[no]</i> 7791; <i>Rheno</i> 8811; etc. ‘The flowing (stream)’, to <i>rēno-</i> .	
3597	15 C2	+04/43	43 39	+04 24	<b>Rhodanousia</b>	LN	LN: Espeyran? (FRA). Ῥοδανουσία Anonymi (Scymni Chii) <i>Orbis Descriptio</i> 208; <i>Rhodanusiae</i> Sid. App. epist. 1,5,2; Ῥοδανουσία StByz. LN from RN <i>Rhodanus</i> , q.v.	
3598	15 D1	+04/44	44 10	+04 42	<b>Rhodanus fl.</b>	RN	RN: Rhône (FRA / SWI). <i>Rhodano</i> Lepidus on Cic. epist. 10,34,1; <i>flumine Rhodano</i> Caesar BG 1,1,5; <i>Rhodani</i> Livy 21,26,4; <i>Rhodanum</i> Ovid. met. 2,258; <i>Rhodanum</i> Mela 2, 5, 78; Ῥοδανοῦ Ptol. 2, 8,12; later sources (915) <i>Rodonus</i> , (941) <i>Rodeno</i> TGF: 1063. Possibly Celtic, <i>ro-</i> & <i>dāno-</i> . See P.-Y. Lambert, ‘Lugdunensis’ p. 218 for other suggestions.	
Cors 9	48 D2	+09/42	42 15	+09 17	<b>Rhotanos fl.</b>	RN	RN: Tavignano (Corsica, FRA). Ῥοτάνος Ptol. 3,2,5. Ligurian for Holder (II: 1232); Celtic for P. Sims-Williams (ACPN: 253), who compares it with 3598	

							<i>Rhodanus fl.</i> ; and for P. De Bernardo Stempel ('Additions'), who thinks it may contain a cognate of Ir. <i>tanae</i> 'thin'. Not diagnostically Celtic.
2283	11 G3	+06/49	49 34	+06 20	<b>Ricciacum</b>	LN	LN: Dalheim (L). <i>Ricciaco</i> TP 2, 1/2. 'Place belonging to Riccius', an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Roman gentilicium <i>Riccius</i> .
9436	39 E5	+09/44	44 22	+09 08	<b>Ricina</b>	LN	LN: Recco? (IT). <i>Ricinenses</i> Pliny 3, 111; <i>Ricina</i> Rav. 4,32; <i>Riciniens(ium)</i> CIL 2, 4126; <i>Rec(i)n(a)</i> CIL 8, 503; [ <i>Rici</i> ]na <i>Pice[ni]</i> CIL 8, 4094. Sometimes compared to the forms in <i>ruc-</i> . If Celtic, to <i>rico-</i> .
3329	14 I3	+03/45	45 54	+03 07	<b><u>Ricomagus</u></b>	LN	LN: Riom (FRA). <i>Ricomagensi</i> GdeT GM 85, <i>Rigomagensis</i> GC 5; <i>Ricomago</i> Vita II s. Aredii 6,55; <i>ricomagovico</i> coin Belfort 3794. Celtic, <i>rīgo-</i> & <i>magus</i> ; it is also possible that the first element is Celtic <i>rico-</i> .
1030	7 D2	-03/49	49 45	-02 10	<b>Riduna Ins.</b>	IN	LN: Alderney Is. (GBA). <i>Riduna</i> IA 509, 2. Obscure. Coates ( <i>Channel Islands</i> , 10-11) suggests * <i>Vecta Ariduna</i> > <i>Vecta Riduna</i> ( <i>Riduna</i> follows <i>Vecta</i> in the Itinerary), whence * <i>Aridūnum</i> (or even better * <i>Are-dunum</i> if from Gaulish) 'beside or before the hilltop' or 'before the hill'. A reference to <i>ritu-</i> is hardly relevant here. Cf. also the next entry.
- 994b	7 E3	-02/48	48 07	-01 40	<b>Riedones</b> <b>R(i)edones</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>R[h]edones</i> Caesar BG 2, 34; <i>redones</i> (var. <i>rhedones</i> ) 7, 75, 4; <i>Rhedones</i> (var. <i>Riedones</i> , <i>rhiedones</i> , <i>shiedones</i> , <i>siedones</i> , <i>sedones</i> ) Pliny 4, 107; 'Ρηήδονες (var. 'Ρηήδονες) Ptol. 2,8,9; <i>Redonas</i> ND oc. 42, 36; NT LXXXVII.68 n 90 Z; <i>civitas Redonum</i> NG 3,4; ... <i>ciu</i> ]itas <i>Ried[onum]</i> CIL 13, 3151; [ <i>civ</i> ]itas <i>Ried[onum]</i> 3152, etc. 'Those who use chariots' or 'those who (well) ride', to <i>rēdā-</i> . Cf. 994 <i>Condate Redonum</i> and 994a <i>Civitas Riedonum</i> .
2285	11 H2	+07/50	50 35	+07 16	<b>Rigomagus</b>	LN	LN: Remagen (GER). <i>Rigomagus</i> TP 2,1; <i>Rigomagus</i> Rav. 4,24; [ <i>Rigo</i> ]magus CIL 13, 9158; etc. <i>rīgo-</i> & <i>-magus</i> .
4007	17 H5	+06/44	44 23	+06 38	<b>Rigomagus</b>	LN	LN: Barcelonnette (FRA). <i>Civitas Rigomagensium</i> (var. <i>rego-</i> ) NG 17,4. Celtic, at face value <i>rīgo-</i> & <i>-magus</i> . If it is an error for <i>Brigomagus</i> , the first element would be <i>brīgo-</i> 'force, vigour'.
9437	39 C3	+08/45	45 12	+08 17	<b>Rigomagus</b>	LN	LN: Trino Vercellese? (IT). <i>Rigomago</i> IA 340,5; 356,10; <i>mansio Rigomago</i> (var. <i>regomago</i> ) IB 557,3; CIL 11, 3283-4; <i>Rigomagus</i> Rav. 4,30; <i>Rigomagum</i> CIL 11, 3281; <i>Rigomagi</i> CIL 3282. Celtic, <i>rīgo-</i> & <i>-magus</i> .

5250	21 C4	+20/45	45 04	+20 19	<b>Rittium</b>	LN	LN: Surduk (SCG). Πίπτιον Ptol. 2,15,3; <i>Bittio</i> TP 5,4; <i>Ritti</i> IA 242,1; <i>Ricti</i> ND oc. 32,17,36. Although P. Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 115-16 considers the LN Pannonian, he does admit that the pre-history of the LN is not clear. Provided that the settlement is within the territory of the Scordisci, cf. <i>ritu-</i> with perhaps subsequent “pannonization”?
3331	14 E1	-01/47	47 15	-00 06	<b>Robrica</b>	LN	LN: Saumur? (FRA). <i>Robrica</i> TP 1,3. Celtic; <i>ro-</i> & <i>briga</i> .
2288	11 C3	+02/49	49 41	+02 47	<b>Rodium?</b>	LN	LN: Roiglise (FRA). <i>Rodium</i> TP 1,3; <i>Roudium</i> CIL 13, 9158. Celticity is not self-evident; if Celtic may go back to <i>roudos</i> ‘red’ (or to contain <i>ro-</i> , etc).
4009	17 C1	+04/46	46 03	+04 05	<b>Rodumna</b>	LN	LN: Roanne (FRA). Ροδούμνα (var. Ρουδούμνα) Ptol. 2,8,11; <i>Roidomna</i> TP 1, 4/5; <i>Rodune[n]sem</i> ND Occ XLII, 68; (11 c.) <i>Rodenna</i> Da. Celtic, <i>ro-</i> & <i>dumno-</i> .
-	3208a	+01/45	45 26	+01 09	<b>Rofiacum</b>	LN	LN: Rouffiac, Cm. Angoisse? (FRA). <i>ex fundo Rofiaco, domum nomine Juliaco</i> Test. Ared. (Aubrun 414). An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of Lat. <i>Rufius</i> ; see also 3208 <i>Iuliacum</i> .
-	16187a	+32/39	39 37	+32 56	<b>Rosolodiacus</b>	LN	LN: Deliler Çiftliği (TUR). <i>Rosolatiaco</i> (var. <i>rosalatiaco</i> ) IA 143,3; <i>mutatio Rosolodiaco</i> (var. <i>rosolodiacho</i> ) IB 575,10; <i>Rosolotiaco</i> Rav. 2, 17. The same as 16187.
4377	19 C1	+10/48	48 04	+10 36	<b>Rostrum Nemaviae</b>	LN	LN: Golberg / Türkheim (GER). <i>Rostrum Nemavia</i> IA 237,1; 258,12. For the second component cf. <i>nemo-</i> ‘bending (river)’.
2290	11 B3	+01/49	49 27	+00 08	<b>Rotomagus</b>	LN	LN: Rouen (FRA). Ρατόμαγος (var. Ροτόμαγος ) Ptol. 2,8,7; <i>Ratomago</i> (var. <i>latomago, ritumago</i> ) IA 382,3; 384,1; <i>Rotomago</i> ND oc 37, 10 and 21; <i>ciuitas Rotomagensium</i> (var. <i>rodomagensium, rothomagensium, romanensium, rotomagensis</i> ) NG 2,2; <i>Rotomagus</i> NT LXXXVII.57; <i>Ratumagus</i> TP 1, 2/3; <i>Rotomagi</i> Ammianus XV.41.12; etc. ‘Plain/field of carts, chariots’ or ‘plain/field of fern’ or ‘plain/field of earthworks/fortifications’. The second component is <i>magos</i> . For the first cf. <i>rato-</i> , <i>rāto-</i> or even <i>roto-</i> .
3334	14 F1	+00/47	47 16	+00 36	<b>Rotomagus?</b>	LN	LN: Pont-de-Ruan (FRA). <i>Rotomago</i> GdeT 10,31,4. Celtic, <i>rutu-</i> & <i>magos</i> ; alternatively, DLG s.v. <i>roto</i> ‘roue, course’ translates the name ‘Champ-de-Roue’ or ‘Champ-de-Courses’.
3751	16 E1	+07/44	44 06	+07 37	<b>Rotuba fl.</b>	RN	RN: Roya (FRA). DaRiv. cites an attestation from 1092, <i>Rodoza</i> . See 3751a <i>Rutuba</i>

								<i>fl.</i> If Celtic, cf. Celtic, to <i>rutu-</i> ; otherwise it may contain <i>ro-</i> ; in view of <i>-uba</i> , however, is more likely to go with <i>Gelduba</i> , etc.
4011	17 B3	+03/45	45 08	+03 49	<b>Rouession</b>	LN		LN: St-Paulien (FRA). 'Ρουέσιον (var. 'Ρουέσιον, 'Ρουέσειον) Ptol. 2,7,12; <i>Reversione</i> TP 1,4; <i>Ribision</i> Rav. 4,26. Possibly Celtic. PNPG segments <i>ro-</i> <i>uess-</i> <i>io-</i> , listing <i>uess-</i> and <i>-uesso-</i> as possibly Celtic elements. For <i>uess-</i> Isaac suggests: "Perhaps the same as <i>uesso-</i> below, but given the uncertainty, there may be further possibilities. A derivative of PIE <i>*ued<sup>h</sup>-</i> 'lead' IEW 1115-16, LIV 600 (OI <i>fedid</i> 'leads, brings', MW stem <i>arwed-</i> 'id.', Lith. <i>vèsti</i> 'lead', OCS <i>vesti</i> 'id.', etc.) might give <i>*pro-ued<sup>h</sup>-ti-o-</i> (descriptive) > Celt. <i>*ro-wess-yo-</i> 'place of great ( <i>*ro-</i> ) leading'."
6624	25 H3	+02/42	42 43	+02 45	<b>Rouskinon fl.</b>	RN		RN: Têt (FRA). Polyb. 34.10.1 (known from Athenaeus) 'Ρόσκυνον, Strabo 4.1.6 'Ρουσκίνων, Avienus 567 <i>amnis Rhoscynus</i> . See 6432 <i>Col. Ruscinon</i> above. Possibly Celtic. Holder suggests that this is Phoenician, and compares <i>Barcino</i> for the suffix. For the first element, perhaps cf. G. <i>*rusca</i> '(tree) bark' (OIr <i>rúsc</i> m. 'bark', B <i>rusk</i> 'id.', OC <i>rusc</i> gl. cortex, MW <i>risc</i> 'bark' Gallo-Lat. <i>rusca</i> ), for which see DLG and PNPG s.v. See also <i>Tetus fl.</i> 6624a and <i>Telis fl.</i> 6624.
2731	12 F4	+12/48	48 47	+12 20	<b>Runicates?</b>	EN		Recte <i>Rucinales</i> : EN (GER). 'Ρουκάντιοι Strabo 4,6,8; <i>Rucinales</i> (var. <i>irucina-</i> ) Pliny 3, 137; 'Ρουνικάται (var. ῥουνικάται) Ptol. 2,12,4; <i>Rucinales</i> CIL V 7817.11. Obscure: '?the blushing, i.e. shameful or shaming, people', if connected with G. <i>*rucco-</i> 'shame, blush of shame'; note the discrepancy in suffixation; Ptol.'s form is clearly inferior (metathesis).
3337	14 H4	+02/44	44 20	+02 15	<b>Ruteni</b>	EN		EN (FRA). <i>Rutenos</i> Caes BG 1,45,2; 'Ρουτηνοὶ (var. 'Ρουταινοὶ) Strabo 4,2,2; <i>Ruteni</i> (var. <i>roteni</i> , <i>rutheni</i> ) Pliny 4, 109; 'Ρουτανοὶ Ptol. 2,7,12. Possibly Celtic, perhaps to <i>ruto-</i> . Gorrochategui 'Establishment and Analysis' 171 reports other suggestions, including IE <i>*reu-</i> 'to move swiftly', cf. OIr <i>rúathar</i> , W. <i>rhuthr</i> 'rush, attack'.
-	3751a	+07/44	44 06	+07 37	<b>Rutuba fl.</b>	RN		RN: Roya (FRA). <i>Flumen Rutuba</i> Pliny 3,48; <i>Rutubam</i> Lucan 2,422; <i>Rutuba</i> Vibius Seq. Flum. 130. See 3751 <i>Rotuba</i> .

-	6196a	24 F3	-06/41	41 16	-05 45	<b>Sabaria</b>	LN	LN: Torre del Sabre (El Cubo)? (ESP). <i>Sab[aj]riam</i> Itin. Astorga 3.6; <i>Sabariam</i> (var. <i>sapariam</i> ) Ioh. Bicl. chron. 573; <i>Sebarium</i> Rav. 4,45. See 6196 <i>Sibaris</i> and 6196b <i>Sarabis</i> .
	2300	11 E2	+04/50	50 24	+04 33	<b>Sabis? fl.</b>	RN	RN: Sambre (FRA). <i>Sabim</i> (var. <i>sabin</i> ) Caesar BG 2,16 and 18; <i>Sambrae</i> Vita Vincentii Madelgarii 3,16; etc. ‘The quiet river’ according to DaRiv 81-82. The Celticity is not straightforward ; cf. perhaps <i>Samara</i> fl.
	4380	19 E3	+12/46	46 49	+12 10	<b>Saevates</b>	EN	EN: upper R. Drau / Rienz (AUS / IT). Re location see comment G. R. Isaac, PNPg, com. s.v. <i>Seoúakes</i> . Σεούακες Ptol. 2, 13, 2; civitas <i>Saevatum</i> et Laioncorum CIL 5, 1838. The two attestations are incompatible. According to Isaac, the Ptolomaic form should be analysed as <i>*seuo-ak-</i> , with no further elicitation. Therefore, obscure.
	2302	11 A4	+00/48	48 31	+00 20	<b>Sagii</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Ciuitas Saiorum</i> (var. <i>sadorum</i> , <i>salorum</i> ) NG 2,6; Saius NT LXXXVII.63; <i>Saiiae</i> CIL 13, 630; etc. Celtic, to <i>sag-</i> .
	4784	20 D3	+16/46	46 51	+16 34	<b>Sala</b>	LN	LN: Zalalönő (HUN). Σάλα Ptol. 2,14,4; <i>Salle</i> IA 262,5; <i>Salla</i> Rav. 4,19; <i>Sala</i> CIL 3, 4321. Not diagnostically Celtic; but cf. Celt. <i>sal-</i> .
	4785	20 D3	+16/46	46 53	+16 45	<b>Sala fl.</b>	RN	RN: Zala (HUN). <i>Sala</i> Conversio Bag. et Carant. 11; <i>Zala</i> Chron. Monac. Traditionally considered “Old European” (cf. Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 251) but in fact may have been coined in various languages, including Celtic <i>sal-</i> .
	6166	24 C3	-09/41	41 41	-08 09	<b>Salacia</b>	LN	LN: Salamonde? (POR). <i>Salacia</i> Mela 3,8; Σαλάκεια (var. Σαλακεία) Ptol. 2,5,2; <i>Sala[c]ia</i> It. Astorga 4; <i>Salacia</i> IA 417,4, etc. Probably Celtic, <i>salō-āko-ia-</i> (the quantity of the <i>-a-</i> in the suffix may be disputable); but the root may be assigned to other languages.
	7130	26 B3	-09/38	38 22	-08 30	<b>Salacia (Imperatoria)</b>	LN	LN: Alcácer do Sal (POR). <i>Salacia cognominata Vrbs Imperatoria</i> Plin. 4,116; <i>Salacia</i> Mela 3,1,8; Σαλάκεια (var. σαλακεία, σαλακία) Ptol. 2,5,2; <i>Salacia</i> IA 417,4; <i>Salatia</i> (var. <i>solatia</i> ) Rav. 4,43; <i>municipi Salacien(sis)</i> CIL 2,32. Not necessarily Celtic, but at least consistent with it; <i>salō-āko-ia-</i> . The quantity of the <i>-a-</i> in the suffix may be disputable. See also 7130a <i>Municipium Salaciense</i> .
	6167	24 G1	-05/43	43 17	-04 03	<b>Salaeni</b>	EN	EN: R. Saja valley from Cabuérniga to Torrelavega (ESP). <i>Salaenos</i> Mela 3,15; Σαλινών (vae. Σαιλίνων, Σελίνων) Ptol. 2,6,33; <i>Saelenus</i> CIL 2, 2599. Possibly



								Celtic. Isaac, PNPG segments <i>sailo-ino-</i> following Ptolemy and lists <i>*sailo-</i> as a possibly Celtic element, but remarks its ‘superficial resemblance to Celtib. <i>sailo</i> (Botorrta IA, MLH K.1.1)’ and does not offer further comments on that. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 226 considers that <i>Sael-</i> goes back to the Old European root <i>*sal-</i> , developed from it by i-infection.
6168	24 C3	-09/41	41 44	-08 16	<b>Salaniana</b>	LN	LN: Travassos (Vila)? (POR). <i>Salaniana</i> IA 427,6; <i>Salaniana</i> (var. <i>salamana</i> ) Rav. 4,45. Probably Celtic; to <i>sal-</i> . For the suffixes compare <i>Albaniana</i> (map 10A4) and 7463 <i>Turaniana</i> .	
2737	12 E1	+11/51	51 50	+11 44	<b>Salas? fl.</b>	RN	RN: Thüringische Saale (GER). Σάλας Strabo 7,1,3, etc. Possibly Celtic, to <i>sal-</i> albeit not diagnostically Celtic.	
9441	39 A2	+07/45	45 42	+07 25	<b>Salassi</b>	EN	EN: (IT). <i>Lepontios et Salassos Tauriscae</i> Cato pr. Pliny 3, 134; διὰ Σαλασσῶν Polyb. 34, 10, 18; Strabo 4,6,5; <i>Salassi</i> Livy 5,35,2; Σαλασσίον Ptol. 3,1,10; Σαλασσοί Appian Illyr. 17, etc. A very well attested tribe (see Holder II: 1300-4) with an unclear ethnonym. If Celtic, to <i>sal-</i> with various possible explanations of the word-formation, which are of course guesses.	
6169	24 G2	-05/42	42 32	-04 45	<b>Saldania</b>	LN	LN: Alto de la Morterona (Saldaña) (ESP). Two inscriptions: <i>Saldanie(n)si</i> and <i>Saldanica</i> ; see Diego Santos, <i>Inscripciones romanas de la provincia de León</i> , texts 194 (= CIL II 2670) and 195; SALDANIA Visigothic coin legends (Curchin, ‘Lost City of Eldana’). Curchin, ‘Lost City of Eldana’ argues that <i>Eldana</i> (6020) is to be identified with <i>Saldania</i> . Curchin ‘Celticization’ considers this name non-Celtic, and compares <i>Saldis</i> in central Europe. If Celtic to <i>sal-</i> (for the extension cf. Baltic and Slavic <i>*sald-</i> , E. <i>salt</i> , see Z. Babik in <i>Rocznik Slawistyczny</i> 55 (2005) 144-5), but non-Celtic provenance is probable.	
2318	11 I4	+08/48	48 54	+08 08	<b>Saletio</b>	LN	LN: Seltz (FRA). <i>Saletio</i> ND oc 41, 3, <i>Saletione</i> 15; <i>Saletione</i> (var. <i>salentione</i> ) IA 354,6; <i>Saletione</i> TP 2,3; <i>Salisonem</i> Ammianus XVI.2.12; <i>Saloissa</i> ( <i>Salossia</i> ) <i>castro Fredegarius</i> Chron. 4,37. Celtic, to <i>sal-</i> .	
6170	24 F1	-06/43	43 25	-05 07	<b>Salia fl.</b>	LN	LN: Sella (ESP). <i>flumine quod Saliam vocant</i> Mela 3,14. If Celtic, to <i>sal-</i> ; assignable to other IE languages.	
7423	27 D3	-02/38	38 51	-01 56	<b>Salika?</b>	LN	LN: El Salobral (ESP). Σάλικα Ptol. 2,6,58. Not necessarily Celtic, but cf. <i>sal-</i> or	

							even directly to *salico- ‘saule’ (OIr <i>sail</i> , W. <i>helyg</i> LEIS S-13; PECA 62); see DLG: 265-6.
5271	21 F3	+23/46	46 24	+23 51	<b>Salinae</b>	LN	LN: Ocna Mureş (ROM). Σαλῖνοι (var. Σαλίνοι) Ptol. 3 8,4; 8,11,4; <i>Salinis</i> Rav. 4, 7. Most likely to be Latin; but is attested in the area presumably inhabited by the Celts, therefore cf. Celt. <i>sal-</i> .
2738	12 B3	+08/49	49 14	+08 50	<b>Saliobriga</b>	LN	LN: Sinsheim/Steinsfurt (GER). [ <i>Vi</i> ]cani Saliob[...]enses ( <i>Saliobrigensis</i> ?) Schillinger-Häfele no. 31. Celtic, <i>sal-io- &amp; brig-</i> (or <i>brīgo-</i> ).
2319	11 C4	+02/48	48 22	+02 10	<b>Salioclita?</b>	LN	LN: Saclas (FRA). <i>Salioclita</i> IA 368,1; <i>Sarclitas</i> Dipl. Pertz no. 36; etc. Hardly ‘? pillar of salt’ as in DLG s.v. <i>clitos, clita</i> :. More possible to a PN <i>Salius</i> (CIL 12, 4469); for the second component cf. Celt. <i>klit-</i> ; see also Falileyev, <i>Salamanca</i> volume.
6172	24 H2	-04/42	42 41	-03 30	<b>Salionka</b>	LN	LN: Cerro del Milagro (Poza de la Sal) (ESP). Σαλιόγκα Ptol. 2,6,52. May contain Celtic <i>sal-</i> ; configuration is difficult and is in favour of a non-Celtic approach.
2320	11 H2	+07/50	50 12	+07 36	<b>Salisio</b>	LN	LN: Bad Salzig (GER). <i>Salisione</i> (var. <i>salissone</i> ) IA 374,3. Possibly Celtic, to <i>sal-</i> ; cf., however, PN <i>Salius</i> (CIL 12, 4469).
3621	15 D2	+04/43	43 35	+04 59	<b>Salluvii</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Salluuiorum</i> Pliny 3,36; <i>Saluvii</i> Florus 1.19.5; <i>Saluuii</i> 37.3; Σάλυες, var. Σάλικες Ptol. 2,10,8; <i>Salluvii</i> Actes Triomphaux (cited by Barriol, <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> , 187). Possibly Celtic, to <i>sal-</i> . See <i>Salyes</i> below, which might be an earlier form of the same name.
3757	16 A3	+05/43	43 23	+05 56	<b>Salluvii</b>	EN	EN (FRA). See <i>Salluvii</i> 3621.
6173	24 F4	-06/40	40 58	-05 40	<b>Salmantica</b>	LN	LN: Salmantica (sic) (ESP). Έλμαντικὴν Polyb. 3.14.1; <i>Hermandica</i> Livy 21,5,6; Σαλμάντικα (var. -ικα) Ptol. 2,5,7; <i>Salmatice</i> IA 434,4; <i>Salmantica</i> Rav. 4,45; <i>Sal/mantic</i> CIL 2, 857, <i>Salamanticensis</i> Conc. 137, <i>Salamantec</i> FHA 9.230. Obscure. Isaac segments sal- manto- icá- (AILR) or salmo- ant- icá- (PNPG), the former seeming more likely. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 120-1 gives this as the Old European root *sal- plus -m- (rather than the root *salm- ‘salmon’, because there have never been salmon in the Tormes), and the suffix -nt-. He suggests that the Tormes could have been called * <i>Salmantia</i> , and the town-name could be derived from this; he notes a possibility the river could be named for the god <i>Salamati</i> ,

							remarking that this would be difficult to prove and that there are problems such as the <i>-a-</i> missing in the river-name.
6639	25 C4	-03/41	41 14	-02 15	<b>Salo fl.</b>	RN	RN: Jalón (ESP). <i>Salone</i> Mart. 1.49.12, <i>Salo</i> 4.55.15, etc. Consistent with Celtic <i>sal-</i> ; but not necessarily Celtic.
4165	18 E2	+07/47	47 12	+07 31	<b>Salodurum</b>	LN	LN: Soleure / Solothurn (SWI). Γανόδουρον (var. Γαννόδουρον) Ptol. 2,9,10; <i>Salodurum</i> TP 2, 3/4; <i>Salodurum</i> IA 353,2; <i>Salodero</i> Fred. chron. 4,22; <i>Salodorum</i> Eucherii passio Agaunensium martyrum 6,14; <i>Salod[uro]</i> CIL 13, 5170. Celtic, <i>sal- &amp; duro-</i> . For the Ptolomaic form see Isaac, PNPG, comm., who states that “even if the identification is correct, it need not be that the Ptolemaic form is corrupt: it is linguistically analysable as good Celtic (as is <i>Salodurum</i> ), * <i>ganno-</i> < * <i>gando-</i> < * <i>g<sup>h</sup>ndó-</i> ‘vessel’ nomen instrumenti < * <i>g<sup>h</sup>end-</i> , * <i>g<sup>h</sup>ed-</i> ‘grasp, hold’ + <i>duro-</i> ‘gated settlement’ = ‘settlement of vessels’ or ‘like a vessel’. It is perfectly plausible for the place to have had more than one name in its history. Alternatively, <i>Gan(n)o-</i> could be compared with OI <i>gand</i> ‘meagre, poor, starved’, so { <i>Ganódouron</i> } = ‘poor settlement’”. For <i>Gannodurum</i> see also de Bernardo Stempel, ‘Ptolemy’s Evidence for Germania Superior’ 81 and 91-2.
3357	14 E4	-01/44	44 35	-00 44	<b>Salomacus</b>	LN	LN: Salles? (FRA). <i>Salomaco</i> IA 457,1. Celtic, <i>sal-</i> & <i>magos-</i> ; * <i>-magus</i> could have become <i>-macus</i> here through the influence of frequent places in <i>-acus</i> , or through <i>c/g</i> confusion as in <i>Robrica</i> (3331).
9442	39 F4	+09/44	44 31	+09 59	<b>Saltus Berusetis</b>	LN	LN: Berceto (IT). <i>Saltus praediquae Berusetis</i> (CIL XI 1147). Celticity is not at all certain, albeit the form allows for various Celtic linguistic manoeuvres: cf. <i>bero-</i> and even <i>bergo-</i> , <i>bergu-</i> ; for the second component see Isaac PNPG, Possibly Celtic elements s.v. <i>seto-</i> .
9443	39 F4	+09/44	44 31	+09 37	<b>Saltus Bitunia(e)</b>	LN	LN: Bedonia (IT). <i>Saltus Bituniam</i> CIL 11, 1147, col. 3, 32, 75 (p. 213); 6,60 p. 217. Sometimes labelled Iberian; if Celtic, to <i>bitu-</i> .
2739	12 B4	+08/48	48 26	+08 50	<b>Saltus Sumelocennensis</b>	LN	LN: Near Sumelocenna (GER). See 2771 <i>Sumelocenna</i> .
3358	14 G3	+01/45	45 55	+01 36	<b>Salviacum</b>	LN	LN: Sauviat-sur-Vige (FRA). <i>Salviaco</i> Merov. coin Belfort 3964; later attestations: (1174-96) <i>Salviac</i> , (v. 1315) <i>Salviacus</i> TGF: 7685. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin

							PN (TGF 7685 suggests <i>Salvius</i> (NPAG II 106 a)).
3622	15 E2	+05/43	43 35	+05 25	<b>Salyes</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Sallyas</i> Caes BC 1,35,4; Σαλύων Strabo 4,6,3; <i>Saluum</i> (var. <i>Saluium</i> , <i>Salluuiorum</i> ) Livy. 5,34,7; <i>Salluvii</i> 35,2; <i>Saluium</i> (var. <i>saluum</i> ) 21,26,3; <i>Sallui</i> Pliny 3,47; <i>Salyes atroces</i> Avienus 701. Obscure. It is not clear that this is a different name from <i>Saluvii</i> : Murphy's notes identify Avienus' <i>Salyes</i> with the <i>Saluvii</i> , but Pliny seems to treat them as different groups. Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 206 reports, and rejects, suggested etymologies: from <i>sal-</i> as above, the EN meaning 'les habitants du pays de sel', or from Greek σάλος, the EN 'pays de nombreux mouillages'. Barruol concludes that the older form was <i>Salyes</i> and this was Latinized into <i>Salluvii</i> ; the origin of <i>Salyes</i> remains obscure.
2321	11 B2	+01/50	50 07	+01 43	<b>Samara fl.</b>	RN	RN: Somme (FRA). Φρούδιος [FN: Ptol. GI s.v. <i>Phrouídios</i> : "The identification is tentative, following Müller's apparatus. <i>Atlas</i> has no reference to the form. The name of the Somme is otherwise <i>Samara</i> . If the identification of the Ptolemaic form's etymon in W <i>ffrwd</i> , OI <i>sruth</i> 'stream, torrent' < * <i>s(p)rutu-</i> is correct (VKG I 537, LHEB 541, n. 1, LEIA S-189), then presumably <i>Samara</i> would be the genuine name of the river, while { <i>Phrouídios</i> }, implying nom. sg. { <i>Phrouídīs</i> }, would be a case of a common noun 'the torrent' vel sim., mistakenly or popularly being adopted as a RN (as in the numerous cases of <i>Abona</i> , Avon 'River' in Britain). But the identification is not unproblematic (see cited refs.)"]. Ptol. 2,9,1; <i>classis Sambricae</i> (var. <i>lambrice</i> , <i>iambricae</i> ) ND oc 38,8; Sömēnā Fortunat. <i>Carm.</i> VII.4.15; Summanam (var. Sumenam (acc.) Greg. Tur. <i>HF</i> II.8 (9); <i>Sumena</i> Rav. 4,26; etc. 'The summery, i.e. quiet, river', to <i>samaro/ā-</i> .
2322	11 C3	+02/49	49 54	+02 14	<b>Samarobriva Ambianorum</b>	LN	LN: Amiens (FRA). <i>Samarobriva</i> Cicero <i>Epistulae</i> VII.11.2 and 16.3, <i>Samarobrivam</i> 12.1; <i>Samarobriva</i> (var. <i>-ubriue</i> ) Caesar <i>BG</i> 5,24; (var. <i>samarobriva</i> ) 47; <i>Samarobrivam</i> (var. <i>-brium</i> , <i>-briuma</i> ) 53.3; Σαμαροβρίουα (var. Σαμαροβρίγα, Σαμαροβριούα) Ptol. 2,9,4; <i>Samarabrivās</i> (var. <i>samarabibras</i> ) IA 379,9-10, <i>Samarobrivās</i> (var. <i>samarobibras</i> ) 380,1; <i>Samarobria</i> NT LXXXVII.52; <i>Sammarobriva</i> TP 1,3; <i>Samarobrivæ</i> CIL 13, 3490; <i>Samarabriva</i> 9158; etc. 'The bridge over the river Somme (belonging to) of

							the Ambiani' (for the EN see 1828 <i>Ambiani</i> ), <i>samaro/ā-</i> & <i>brīuo/ā-</i> .	
3758	16 C3	+06/43	43 12	+06 40	<b>Sambracitanus Sinus</b>	SN	SN: Golfe de St-Tropez (FRA). <i>sinus Sambracitanus</i> IA 505,2, <i>A sinu Sambracitano</i> 4. RE cites D'Arbois de Jubainville's view that this name is Ligurian. If Celtic, and if <i>-mb-</i> is purely graphic, cf. <i>samaro/ā-</i> and <i>sabro-</i> .	
6641	25 I3	+03/42	42 06	+03 06	<b>Sambroka fl.</b>	RN	RN: S Emporiae (ESP). Σαμβρόκα ποτ. ἐκβολαί Ptol 2,6,19. Obscure; cf. ACPN: 240 with bibl. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 180 thinks the RN is plausibly Indo-European: <i>*Sam-ar-ok-a</i> > <i>Sambro-ka</i> , with intrusive <i>-b-</i> . For a Celtic approach note that Evans, GPN 252-3 includes <i>Sambroca</i> in the list of probable derivatives from Gaulish <i>samo-</i> 'Summer'. If <i>-μβ-</i> is purely graphic, cf. <i>samaro/ā-</i> and <i>sabro-</i> . If <i>Sambroca</i> < <i>*Samobroca</i> (cf. <i>Lugdunum</i> from <i>*Lugudunum</i> ), the second element is <i>broca-</i> , perhaps for <i>brog-</i> as <i>*broc(c)o-</i> 'badger' is semantically unlikely	
-	1040a	7 B3	-05/48	48 03	-04 53	<b>Samnis Ins.</b>	IN	IN: Sein (FRA). See 1040 <i>Sena Ins.</i>
-	3280a	14 D1	-02/47	47 20	-01 45	<b>Samnitai</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). Σαμνιτών Strabo 4,4,6; Σαμνῖται Ptol. 28,6. Possibly Celtic, if this is a separate name rather than an error for <i>Namnetes</i> (q.v.) – P.-Y. Lambert 'Lugdunensis', 234-5 argues that <i>Samnitae</i> is a ghost. G. R. Isaac, PNPG segments the EN as <i>samno- itá-</i> , listing <i>samno-</i> as a possibly Celtic element: 'Perhaps as in OI <i>Samain</i> "festival of 1 <sup>st</sup> November", orig. *"gathering" (LEIA S22-3), < <i>*samoni</i> or <i>*samni-</i> < PIE <i>*sm5-ni-</i> , cf. ( <i>o</i> -grade) Skt. <i>samana-</i> "(festival) gathering", Go. <i>samana</i> "together", etc., derivatives of <i>*sem-</i> , <i>*sm-</i> "one" IEW 902-5.' Cf., however, non-Celtic <i>Samnites</i> (Tarentum, map 45 A2). See also 3280 <i>Namnetes</i> .
3359	14 C2	-03/46	46 59	-02 27	<b>Samnitum? Ins.</b>	IN	IN: Ile de Noirmoutier. (FRA). Σαμνιτών Strabo 4,4,6. The LN is formed from the EN; see 3280a <i>Samnitai</i> and cf. 3280 <i>Namnetes</i> .	
3759	16 B2	+06/43	43 55	+06 24	<b>Sanitium</b>	LN	LN: Senez (FRA). Σανίτιον Ptol. 3,1,39; <i>Civitas Sanisiensium</i> (var. <i>sanit-</i> , <i>sanic-</i> , etc.) NG 17, 6; <i>Sanit(iensium)</i> CIL 12, 3288; later attestations: (506) <i>de Santio</i> Conc. Agathense; (585) <i>a Senectio</i> conc. Matisconense. Obscure; exact interpretation and linguistic attribution is difficult. Connection with OIr <i>sain</i> 'different, distinct, separate' by De Bernardo Stempel, 'Italy and Ireland', 92, therefore 'the Different / Separate place'. However, as G. R. Isaac (PNPG, Possible	

								Celtic Elements, s.v. <i>sani-</i> ) observes, “the morphology is atypical for the base, and non-Celtic alignment of the name is equally, or more, likely”. The LN has been considered Ligurian. TGF: 11287 derives the name from a PN <i>Senicius</i> , influenced by Latin <i>sanitas</i> ‘santé’.
4382	19 F3	+13/46	46 38	+13 50	<b>Santicum</b>	LN	LN: Villach (SWI). Σιαντικόν Ptol. 2,13,3; <i>Santico</i> IA 276,4. Possibly Celtic, to <i>santo-</i> .	
3360	14 E3	-01/45	45 50	-00 40	<b>Santonos</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Santonum</i> Caes BG 1,10,1, <i>Santonos</i> 1,11,6, <i>Santonis</i> 7,75,3; Σαντόνων Strabo 4,2,1; <i>Santoni</i> Pliny 4,108; <i>Santonis</i> Mela 3,2,23; <i>Santonis</i> Tac. Ann. 6,7; Σάντονεζ (var. Σάντωνεζ) Ptol. 2,7,6. Possibly Celtic, to <i>santo-</i> on-.	
3361	14 D2	-02/46	46 01	-01 05	<b>Santonon Limen</b>	LN	LN: (FRA). Σαντόνων λιμήν (var. σαντωνών) Ptol. 2,7,1. A Latin formation based on the indigenous EN 3360 <i>Santonos</i> , q.v.	
3362	14 D3	-02/45	45 46	-01 20	<b>Santonon? Akron</b>	Pro m	Prom: Pointe Espagnole? Pointe des Baleines? (FRA). Σαντόνων ἄκρον (var. σαντωνών) Ptol. 2,7,1; Σαντόνων ἄκρον Marcian. 2,21. A Greek formation based on the indigenous EN 3360 <i>Santonos</i> , q.v.	
4034	17 G2	+06/45	45 55	+06 20	<b>Sapaudia</b>	TN	TN: (FRA). <i>Sapaudiae</i> ND Occ XLII 15; <i>Sapaudiam</i> Amm. Marc. 15,11,17. Barraol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 300-1 reports Vita Tigris 12 <i>Sapaudia</i> . Ho. and Barraol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 300 derive the LN from a PN <i>Sapaudus</i> , known from CIL XII 2033 (cf. PN <i>Sapavidus</i> CIL 12, 1838). Delamarre, DLG: 267-8 derives it from Celtic <i>*sapo-</i> ‘sapin?’ and <i>uidu-</i> : for the LN he suggests <i>*Sapa-uidiā</i> , ‘le Pays-des-Sapins’.	
-	6196b	24 F3	-06/41	41 16	-05 45	<b>Sarabis</b>	LN	LN: Torre del Sabre (El Cubo)? (ESP). Σαραβίς (var. Σαραβρίς ) Ptol. 2,6,49. The head-form in Bar. should be <i>Sarabris</i> due to the abundance of spellings in various primary mss of Ptol. Σαραβρίς. See 6196 <i>Sibaris</i> and 6196a <i>Sabaria</i> .
2323	11 G3	+06/49	49 28	+06 36	<b>Saravus fl.</b>	RN	RN : Saar (FRA/GER). <i>Sārāvi</i> Ausonius Mos. 91, <i>Sārāvus</i> 367; <i>Saruba</i> Rav. IV.26; etc. Not impossibly Celtic. According to Isaac (AILR), “for the RN <i>Saravus</i> ‘Saar’, Celtic affiliation is accepted in IEW 910, assigned to the root <i>*ser-</i> ‘flow, move quickly’, but this root is not registered in LIV, and some of IEW’s reflexes may be in doubt; the semantic range shown in the extant words is very wide and difficult to motivate. Formally, a derivative of PIE <i>*strh<sub>3</sub>-eu-</i> , root <i>*sterh<sub>3</sub>-</i> ‘spread out’ (e.g. in	

								W <i>sarnu</i> ) might be appropriate: * <i>strh<sub>3</sub>-eu-o-</i> > * <i>star-ou-o-</i> > <i>Sarauo-</i> (with progressive assimilation * <i>a-o</i> > <i>a-a</i> , and initial * <i>st-</i> > <i>s-</i> ?)". See also the doubts over its linguistic attribution expressed by Wesigerber, RGC 331. Cf. 2266 <i>Pons Saravi</i> .
6653	25 G2	+01/43	43 48	+01 12	<b>Sarnali</b>	LN	LN: Sarrant? (FRA). <i>S[ar]nali</i> (?) TP Obscure. The reading is dubious: Labrousse, <i>Toulouse antique</i> 362, gives TP <i>Sa[r]ralis</i> . Compare Welsh <i>sarn</i> 'road', from * <i>starn-</i> from * <i>sterh<sub>3</sub>-</i> , on which see s.v. 2323 <i>Saravus fl.</i> The configuration of the LN does not seem Celtic.	
6655	25 G2	+01/43	43 41	+01 55	<b>Satiago</b>	LN	LN: Sayssac, Cm. Viterbe? (FRA). <i>Satiago</i> (var. <i>Satiugo</i> , <i>Saliago</i> ) Vita Des 9(17). Possibly an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a PN in * <i>Sati-</i> .	
4035	17 G5	+06/44	44 27	+06 25	<b>Savincates?</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). CIL XII 80 <i>Savincati(um)</i> , CIL V 7231 <i>Savincatium</i> . Obscure.	
6656	25 F2	+00/43	43 57	+00 11	<b>Saviniago</b>	LN	LN: Séviac, Cm. Montreal-du-Gers (FRA). An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a PN <i>Sabinus</i> vel.sim.	
3365	14 G3	+01/45	45 15	+01 18	<b>Scauriniacum</b>	LN	LN: Chabrignac, Cm. Juillac? (FRA). <i>Scauriniacum</i> Test. Ared. (Aubrun 414). An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Scauri(a)nus</i> (OPEL).	
4036	17 H3	+06/45	45 06	+06 55	<b>Scingomagus</b>	LN	LN: Exilles (ITL). Ἐξικυγομάγου (var. Σκυγγ-) Strabo 4,1,3; <i>Scingomagum</i> (var. <i>cinco-</i> , <i>cingo-</i> ) Pliny 2, 244. Celtic. TIR Milan, RE and Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 332 take the original form to have been * <i>Escingomagus</i> or * <i>Excingomagus</i> : this is supported by Strabo's form and by the modern name <i>Exilles</i> . Barruol adds similar PNN in Gaul and the Alps. ( <i>Escenga</i> (CIL XII p. 137, 2); 2 x <i>Escingos</i> (V 7243 and Rev. Ep. 1 p.176); 3 x <i>Excingus</i> (V 7221, XII 95, XII 5024, 5925); <i>Escingorix</i> (XII p.383); 2 x <i>Escigorrrix</i> (XII 2988, XII 548a). ) GPN 202-3 lists similar names, and 94-95 discusses <i>Escincos</i> , from <i>ex-</i> and the well-attested name element <i>cingo-</i> (see GPN 177 and DLG <i>cinges</i> , <i>cinget(o)-</i> 'guerrier, héros'). * <i>Escingomagos</i> would be from a PN and Celtic <i>magos</i> .	
-	6682a	25 F1	+00/44	44 04	+00 08	<b>Scittio</b>	LN	LN: Sos (FRA). <i>Scittio</i> , var. <i>soctio</i> IB 550,5; TGF 2524 suggests this is to be read * <i>Sciotio</i> , and adds a later form, fin XIII <sup>e</sup> s. <i>Sociensis</i> . See 6692 <i>Sotium</i> .
5286	21 B5	+19/44	44 50	+19 50	<b>Scordisci</b>	EN	EN (CRO/ SCG); 2 entries in Bar., one referring to Celtic-Illyrian people (CRO), the other to Pannonian people (YUG), perhaps having in mind "the greater S." and the "lesser S.", both, however, of the same ethnic stock. Σκορδίσκοι Strabo 7,2,2;	

							7,3,2; 7,5,2; 7,5,10; 7,5,12; Σκορδίστοι Strabo 7,3,2; <i>Scordisci</i> Livy 40,57,7; <i>Scordisci</i> (var. <i>Cordisci</i> ) Vell. Pat. 2, 39,3; Pliny 3,148; Σκορδίσκοι Ptol. 2,16,3; App., Illyr 10,2; <i>Scordisci</i> Eutrop. 4, 24; 4,27,3; 5,7,1; Iustin 32,3,5; Festus 9; Amm. 27,4,4; Iord. Rom. 219. The ethnic name is derived from a mountain name ( <i>Scardus</i> , <i>Scordus</i> , now Šar planina; further etymology – e.g., comparison with Lith <i>skardūs</i> – are speculative) with the help of the suffix(es) <i>-isco-</i> which may be Celtic in origin. The Celticity of the tribe is not to be denied. The Celticity of the name depends on the linguistic attribution of the suffix. Low Saxon LN <i>Sarstedt</i> has been claimed by J. Udolph ( <i>Kratylos</i> 49 (2004), 135) to contain the same stem.
9600	40 A3	+11/44	44 33	+11 01	<b>Scultenna fl.</b>	RN	RN: Panaro (IT). Σκολτάννα Strabo 5,1,12; <i>ad Scultennam flumen</i> Livy 41,12, 8 and 18; <i>Scultennam</i> Pliny 3, 118; Frontin. 3,13,7. Taken for Celtic in ACPN: 200 with a reference to Holder II: 1419, where the RN is connected with Ir <i>scoilt-</i> (see LEIA S-48) or, as an alternative, is treated as a dissimilation from <i>*Scuntenna</i> . Neither of the suggestions proves the Celticity of the RN, however.
4037	17 F5	+05/44	44 15	+05 58	<b>Sebaginni?</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Sebaginnos</i> (var. <i>-gninos</i> , <i>Sabagnanos</i> ) Cicero Pro P Quinctio, 25.80. Obscure; for a Celtic approach cf. PN <i>Seboθθu</i> (TLG: 133); the second component ( <i>-ginn-</i> ) may be Celtic, too.
4390	19 D3	+11/46	46 48	+11 52	<b>Sebatum</b> <sup>69</sup>	LN	LN: S. Lorenzo di Pusteria (IT). <i>Sebato</i> IA 280,2; <i>civitas Saevatum</i> CIL 5, 1838. Obscure, and not necessarily Celtic; for a Celtic approach cf. PN <i>Seboθθu</i> (TLG: 133).
6658	25 H3	+02/42	42 13	+02 43	<b>Sebendounon?</b>	LN	LN Besalú (ESP). Σεβένδουνον (var. Σεβέλδουνον, Σεβέλλουνον) Ptol. 2.6.70. A compound in <i>-dūnu-</i> . <i>Seben-</i> is problematic. Holder derives it from a personal name <i>Sebennos</i> . Gorrochategui ‘Establishment and analysis’ 163 suggests that, if the name were corrected to 6658a <i>Besendunon</i> (q.v.) to agree with the present name <i>Besalú</i> , it would be related to other <i>Bese-</i> names like <i>Beseda</i> and <i>Bassi</i> . Note the syncope of the composition vowel, cf. <i>Lugdunum</i> (above no. 6534) from <i>Lugudunum</i> .
4038	17 G5	+06/44	44 21	+06 21	<b>Sedena</b> <sup>70</sup>	LN	LN: Seynes (FRA). Late sources: (1146) <i>In Sedena</i> , (1234) <i>de Sedena</i> Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 358; (1384) <i>Seyna</i> Da. Possibly Celtic, to <i>sedo-</i> .
6659	25 E4	-01/41	41 33	-00 45	<b>SEdetani</b>	EN	EN: inland S R. Ebro and N R. Júcar (ESP). Σηδητανοὶ Strabo 3,4,14; <i>Sedetani</i>



						<b>(S)Edetani</b>		Livy hist. 34,20,1. According to Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 33-4 the <i>Sedetani</i> and <i>Edetani</i> (6659a; cf. also <i>Edetania</i> 6659a) may be the same people. A coin legend <i>seteisken</i> (Villaronga 219, MLH A.25) may be related to <i>Sedetani</i> : see Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 442-3. Possibly Celtic. If this is a separate name, to <i>sedo-</i> .
-	4166a	18 E3	+07/46	46 13	+07 22	<b>Seduni</b>	EN	EN: area of Sitten / Sion (SWI). <i>Sedunos</i> Caes BG 3,1,1; <i>Sedunorum</i> 3,2,1; <i>Seduni</i> Livy Hist. 21.38.9; <i>Sedvni</i> Pliny 3,137; <i>Sedunorum</i> CIL 12, 136; <i>Sedunensis</i> 139. Celtic; may be based on <i>sedo-</i> . Less likely is a derivation from the LN, ‘the people of 4166 * <i>Sedunum</i> ’, q.v.
	4166	18 E3	+07/46	46 13	+07 22	<b>Sedunum</b>	LN	LN: Sitten / Sion (SWI). <i>Sedunis</i> (var. <i>Sidunis</i> , <i>Sindus</i> ) Martyr. Hieron. 10 kal. oct.; <i>ex civitate Sedonis</i> Conc. Paris. (614); <i>a Sedunis</i> Conc. Matisconense (585); coins Belfort: 4081 <i>Sidvns</i> , 4082 <i>Sedvnis</i> , 4083 <i>Sidvnis</i> , etc. Possibly Celtic; at face value, a haplology for * <i>Sedo-dunum</i> ; <i>sedo-</i> & <i>dūnu-</i> . But in view of the corresponding EN it is more likely to have a different etymology. See s.v. 4166a <i>Seduni</i> .
-	2344b	11 C3	+02/49	49 47	+02 34	<b>Sefulae</b>	LN	LN: Beaucourt-en-Santerre/Fresnoy-en-Chaussée (FRA). See 2344a <i>Steviae</i> and 2344 <i>Setuci?</i> .
	6660	25 D4	-02/41	41 20	-01 31	<b>Segeda</b>	LN	LN: Poyo de Mara / Durón (Belmonte y Mara) (ESP). Σεγήδα Strabo 3.4.13; Σεγήδη πόλις App. Hisp. 9.44; <i>Segidenses</i> Flor. 1.34.3. Celtic, to * <i>sego-</i> ; Gorrochategui ‘Ptolemy’s Aquitania’ 148-9 identifies this place with the coin legend <i>Sekaisa</i> (MLH A.78, Villaronga 231).
	6661	25 B3	-04/42	42 30	-03 09	<b>Segesamunculum</b>	LN	LN: Cerezo de Riotirón (ESP). Σεγισαμόνκουλον Ptol. 2.6.52; <i>Segesamunclo</i> IA3 94.3. Celtic, to <i>sego-</i> <i>isamo-</i> (superl.).
	2336	11 E4	+04/48	48 14	+04 43	<b>Segessera</b>	LN	LN: Bar-sur-Aube (FRA). <i>Segessera</i> TP 1,5. Obscure. At face value may contain <i>sego-</i> , or a reflex of IE * <i>seg-</i> ‘to sow’. Word formation is difficult (if the second part of the compound is not in fact * <i>stero-</i> , see below s.v. <i>Segustero</i> ) and the absence of other attestations makes further discussion speculative.
	9449	39 E5	+09/44	44 10	+09 25	<b>Segesta (Tigulliorum)</b>	LN	LN: Sestri Levante (IT). See 9449a <i>Tigullia</i> .
	4803	20 D4	+16/45	45 30	+16 20	<b>Segestica</b>	LN	LN: Sisak (CRO). <i>Segesta</i> Pliny 3,131; Σεγεστική Strabo 7,5,2, etc. At face value (cf. P. Sims-Williams, ACPN: 209 fn. 109, who is non-committal), cf. Celtic <i>sego-</i> .

								For the interrelationship with 4803a <i>Siscia</i> and reference to further (recent) bibliography and to some recent valuable archaeological observations see Falileyev, rev. <i>Celts on the Margins</i> .
6662	25 D3	-02/42	42 06	-01 09	<b>Segia</b>	LN	LN: Ejea de los Caballeros (ESP). <i>Segienses</i> (var. <i>seginenses</i> ) Pliny 3,24; <i>Segienses</i> CIL 1, 709, <i>Saeciensi</i> CIL 2, 2981. Celtic, to <i>sego-</i> . See also <i>Segla</i> 6662a and <i>Setia</i> 6662b.	
7152	26 D3	-07/38	38 24	-06 35	<b>Segida</b>	LN	LN: Burguillos del Cerro? (ESP). <i>Segidae Restituta Iulia</i> (var. <i>reg-</i> ) Pliny 3,14; Σεγίδα (Σετίδα, Σέτιδα) Ptol. 2,4,10; <i>Segidensis</i> CIL 2, 988. For identification see García Alonso, 61. Celtic, to <i>sego-</i> .	
7153	26 E4	-06/37	37 40	-05 18	<b>Segida</b>	LN	LN: La Saetilla? S Palma del Río (ESP). <i>Segida quae Augurina cognominatur</i> (var. <i>-gido, -geda</i> ) Plin. 3,10; *Σεγίδα (Σετίδα, Σετία) Ptol. 2,4,9. Celtic, to <i>sego-</i> .	
3366	14 H1	+02/47	47 26	+02 11	<b>Segimovicus</b>	LN	LN: Souesmes (FRA). Merovingian coins Belfort 4068 <i>se...semo</i> , 4070 <i>Ses emovi</i> . CAG 41 134 cites G. Villette 1976 p. 31 <i>Sissima</i> 634, <i>Seisma V</i> 1071-1092, <i>Soisma</i> . The head-word for the entry in Atlas is difficult to advocate. Obscure, but may well contain Celt. <i>sego-</i> and Latin <i>vicus</i> ; it may also contain a PN <i>Segimo-</i> (cf. <i>Segomo(n)</i> ).	
7431	27 D3	-02/38	38 14	-01 25	<b>Segisa?</b>	LN	LN: Cieza (Murcia) (ESP). Σέγισσα (var. Σέγηδα) Ptol. 2,6,60. Celtic, to <i>sego-</i> .	
6185	24 G2	-05/42	42 31	-04 01	<b>Segisama Iulia</b>	LN	LN: Villadiego? (ESP). <i>Segisamonenses et Segisamaiulienses</i> (var. <i>reg-, regisammo-, segissa-, segisamaa, regusia-</i> ) Pliny 3,26; Σεγίσσασμα Ἰουλία (var. Σεγισάμα, Σετίσασμα) Ptol. 2,6,49. Celtic, a superlative of <i>sego-</i> with Latin imperial epithet.	
6186	24 G2	-05/42	42 25	-04 03	<b>Segisamo</b>	LN	LN: Sasamón (ESP). Σεγεσάμαν Polyb. known from Strabo 3,4,1, Σεγίσσαμον (var. Σετίσασκον, Αἰγίσσαμον) Ptol. 2,6,51; <i>Segisamam</i> (var. <i>regesamman, segessimam, regesiam, segisimam, segissimam</i> ) Oros. 6,21,3, <i>Segisamo</i> CIL II 5741, <i>sta(t)i oni Segisamonensium</i> 2915, <i>Legisamone</i> IA 449,5; 454,2; <i>Saramon</i> Rav. 4,43; <i>Segisamone</i> 4,45. Celtic, the superlative decree of <i>sego-</i> .	
-	6662a	25 D3	-02/42	42 06	-01 09	<b>Segla</b>	LN	LN: Ejea de los Caballeros (ESP). <i>Seglam</i> Rav. 4,43. A corrupt form of <i>Segia</i> 6662.
4167	18 C2	+05/47	47 34	+05 44	<b>Segobodium?</b>	LN	LN: Seveux (FRA). <i>Segobodium</i> TP 1,5. Celtic, the first component is <i>sego-</i> . The second is more problematic to identify. Da. and TGF 2419 claim it to be <i>boudo-</i> ,	

							<i>boudi-</i> , which may not necessarily be so.
7432	27 C2	-03/39	39 54	-02 50	<b>Segobriga</b>	LN	LN: Cerro de Cabeza del Griego, 2 miles S Saelices (ESP). Σεγοβρίγα Strabo 3,4,13; <i>Segobrigenses</i> (var. <i>sogo-</i> , <i>-brienses</i> ) Pliny 3,25; Σηγόβριγα Ptol. 2,6,57; <i>Sigobrica</i> Rav. 4,43; <i>ś-e-ko-bi-ṛ-i-ke-ś</i> coin legend, etc. Celtic, <i>sego-</i> & <i>brig-</i> .
3625	15 E3	+05/43	43 20	+05 25	<b>Segobrigii</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Segobrigiorum</i> Iustin. 43,3,8; <i>Segobrigiorum</i> 4,3. Celtic, <i>sego-</i> & <i>brig-</i> .
3367	14 H4	+02/44	44 22	+02 13	<b>Segodunum</b>	LN	LN: Rodez (FRA). Σεγόδουνον (var. ἐτόδουνον) Ptol. 2,7,12; <i>Segodvni</i> TP 1,3; <i>Segundunum</i> Notae Tiron. 87, 46. Celtic, <i>sego-</i> & <i>dūno-</i> ; cf. ‘ <i>Etoudounon</i> ’ and <i>Civitas Rutenorum</i>
6663	25 C4	-03/41	41 05	-02 40	<b>Segontia</b>	LN	LN: Sigüenza (ESP). <i>Segontia</i> (var. <i>sag-</i> , <i>sec-</i> ) Pliny 3.27; <i>Segontia</i> IA 436.5; <i>Seguntia</i> Rav. IV.43; <i>Segontius</i> CIL 2, 2946, <i>Segontinen</i> 3626, <i>Segontino</i> 4195. Celtic, to <i>sego-</i> . Cf. <i>Seguntium</i> in Britain (map 8 C1, PNRB 454).
6664	25 D4	-02/41	41 38	-01 11	<b>Segontia</b>	LN	LN: Dehesa de Ganaderos? (ESP). <i>Secontia</i> IA 437.5, <i>Segontia</i> 439.3. Celtic, to <i>sego-</i> .
6187	24 H2	-04/42	42 57	-03 36	<b>Segontia Paramika</b>	LN	LN: Contrasta (Ocariz) (ESP). Σεγοντία Παράμικα Ptol. 2,6,65. Celtic, to <i>sego-</i> ; <i>paramica</i> (non-Celtic) is an adjectival derivative of <i>*paramos</i> (> Mod. Sp. <i>páramo</i> ‘plateau’).
3368	14 D1	-02/47	47 14	-01 06	<b>Segora?</b>	LN	LN: La Segourie (FRA). <i>Segora</i> TP 1,3. Celtic, to <i>sego-</i> ; for the suffix cf <i>Sabora</i> (map 26 E5).
6665	25 B4	-04/41	41 37	-03 24	<b>Segortia Lanka</b>	LN	LN: Cuesto del Moro (Langa de Duero)? (ESP). Σεργουντίαν Strabo 3,4,12; Σεγορτία Λάγκα (var. Σεγορτιαλάκτα, Σετορτία Λάκτα, etc.) Ptol. 2,6,55. Ptolemy’s <i>Segortia</i> as an error for <i>Segontia</i> , which is Celtic, to <i>sego-</i> . Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 347 gives the second part of the name as a Celtic form of the adjective <i>*l(n)gko</i> ‘long’; it could also <i>lanco-</i> , <i>lanci-</i> , <i>laco-</i> , <i>lango-</i> .
3369	14 D4	-02/44	44 13	-01 11	<b>Segosa</b>	LN	LN: St-Paul-en-Born (FRA). <i>Segosa</i> IA 456,2. Celtic, to <i>sego-</i> .
4039	17 D4	+04/44	44 45	+04 55	<b>Segovellauni</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>regio...</i> <i>Segovellaunorum</i> Pliny 3,34; Σεγαλαυνοί, var. σεταλλανοί Ptol. 2,10,7. Celtic, <i>sego-</i> & <i>uello-</i> .
6188	24 G4	-05/40	40 57	-04 06	<b>Segovia</b>	LN	LN: Segovia (ESP). <i>Segoviam</i> Livy frag. 91; <i>Segouia</i> Pliny 3,27; Σεγουούια (var.

								Σετουβία, Σετουούια) Ptol. 2,6,55; <i>Segovia</i> Flor. 2,10,7; <i>Segovia</i> IA 435,5; <i>[Hi]spanus Segoviensis</i> CIL 2, 1166, etc. Celtic, to * <i>sego-</i> .
	4040	17 H4	+06/44	44 58	+06 45	<b>Segovii?</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Segoviorum</i> CIL 5, 7231. Celtic, to <i>sego-</i> .
-	3920a	17 C2	+04/45	45 44	+04 14	<b>Segusiavi</b>	LN	EN / LN: Feurs (FRA). <i>Segusiavis</i> Caesar BG 7,75,2; <i>Segusiavis</i> 7,64,4, in <i>Segusiavos</i> , var. <i>sebusianos</i> 1,10,5; Σεγουσινών Strabo 4,1,11; <i>Segusiavi</i> Pliny 4,18,107; Σεγουσώαντοι Ptol. 2,8,11. Celtic, to <i>sego-</i> ; the second component is problematic, but cf. 3626 and 4041 <i>Segusio</i> . See also 3920 <i>Forum Segusiavorum</i> .
-	4041a	17 I3	+07/45	45 08	+07 03	<b>Segusini</b>	EN	EN (FRA). Σεγουσινών Strabo 4,1,11; Σεγουσινών Ptol. 3,1,36; <i>Segusinorum</i> CIL 5,7231, <i>civit. seg. 7247, Segusinae</i> 7250. Celtic, the people of 4041 <i>Segusio</i> q.v.
	4041	17 I3	+07/45	45 08	+07 03	<b>Segusio</b>	LN	LN: Susa (ITL). <i>Segusio</i> Pliny 3,123; Σεγούσιον (var. σετούσιον) Ptol. 3,1,36; <i>Segusione</i> Amm. Marc. 15, 10, 3; <i>Segusione</i> TP 2,4; <i>Segusione</i> IA 341,3, 357,1; <i>Segussione</i> IB 556,4; <i>Segusionem</i> Vicar. I, <i>Segusio</i> II, <i>Segusione</i> III; <i>Segutione</i> Rav. 4,30. Celtic, to <i>sego-</i> . Cf. also 4041a <i>Segusini</i> .
	3626	15 C1	+04/44	44 11	+04 16	<b>Segusio?</b>	LN	LN: Suzon (FRA). <i>Segusion</i> CIL 12, 3362. Celtic, to <i>sego-</i> .
	3761	16 A1	+05/44	44 12	+05 56	<b>Segustero</b>	LN	LN: Sisteron. <i>Segusterone</i> TP 2,1; <i>Segusterone</i> IA 342,5, <i>Segustorone</i> 388,2; <i>ciuitas Segesticorum</i> NG 16, 7; Vicar. I <i>Segusteronem</i> , II, III, IV <i>Segusterone</i> , later attestations: (739) <i>in pago Segisterico</i> ; (812) <i>in comitatu ... Sistericense</i> CAG 04.209 Celtic; contains <i>sego-</i> ; interpretation and identification of the second component is problematic. According to X. Delamarre, DLG: 282, it should be treated as ‘Victorieuse forteresse’, with the component <i>stero-</i> , <i>storo-</i> ‘ferme, solide, vigoureux?’; note cautiousness in the treatment of <i>storo-</i> by G. R. Isaac, PNPG, Possible Celtic Elements, s.v. and cf. Falileyev, In Search of Celtic Tylis, 111-12, where it is argued ( <i>contra</i> Delamarre) that <i>Duro-storon</i> is not of Celtic origin. Note that TGF: 2420 suggests <i>-teron</i> could be a Celtic comparative form, cf Greek <i>-teros</i> . For <i>segus-</i> cf. 3626 and 4041 <i>Segusio</i> , 3920a <i>Segusiavi</i> .
	2750	12 E1	+11/51	51 03	+11 20	<b>Semnonnes</b>	EN	EN: (GER). Σέμνωνας (acc.) Strabo 7,1,3; <i>Semnonnes</i> ( <i>Semnonum</i> ) Tacitus Germ. 39: <i>Semnonnes</i> Ann. II.45: τῶν Σεμνόνων (gen.) Ptol. 2,11,8; Σεμνόνας (var. Σέμνωνας) 10; Σεμνόνων, Cassius Dio LXVII,5, Σεμνόνας; LXXI,20; <i>Semnonvm</i> (inscriptions); etc. Normally considered Germanic, ‘men/people together’, see TW

							909, TG 93 and 286-89, LAN I, 596, WAPV 202, RE II A.2, 1355-56 and Bakker, “Raetien unter Postumus”, 374-375). According to J. De Hoz, The institutional vocabulary of the Continental Celtic, 198, Celtic, ‘lineage’, to <i>*s(w)e-bh-n-</i> .
9984	42 E1	+13/43	43 38	+13 04	<b>Sena fl.</b>	RN	RN: Nevola-Misa (IT). At face value looks like Celtic, ‘old river’, to <i>seno-</i> ; but see below s.v. 9985 <i>Sena Gallica</i> .
9985	42 E1	+13/43	43 43	+13 13	<b>Sena Gallica</b>	LN	LN: Senigallia (IT). Σήνα Pol. 2, 14,11; 16,5; 19,12; 34,11,8; Strabo, 5,2,10; Appian Hann. 52; BC 1,88; <i>Sena</i> Nepos Cat. 1,2; Livy 27, 46,4; Eutrop. 3,18,2; <i>Senagallia</i> Pliny 3,113; <i>Sēna</i> [...] <i>Gallorum</i> Sil. 15, 552-53; Σήνα Γάλλικα Ptol. 3,1,19; <i>Sena Galli</i> TP; <i>Senogallia civitas</i> IA 100,6; <i>Senogallia</i> IA 316,3; <i>Senigallia</i> CTh, 15,1,16; Σανογαλλία Georgii Cyprii descr. 632; Proc. BG 4,23; <i>Ager Senogallienses</i> Schriften der römischen Feldmeßer 1, 226,11; <i>Sinogalliensis ager</i> Schriften der römischen Feldmeßer 1, 258,10; <i>Sinogalias</i> Liber pontificalis p. 454, 475; <i>Senogalia</i> Rav. 4,31; <i>Sinogalias</i> Rav. 5,1; <i>Senensis</i> Cic. Brut 18,73; Livy 27,38,4; <i>Senogalliensis</i> Symmachi papae epist. 6. The descriptive term based on <i>Galli-</i> ; <i>senā</i> being probably Etruscan.
1040	7 B3	-05/48	48 03	-04 53	<b>Sena Ins.</b>	IN	LN: Sein (FRA). <i>Samnis</i> Pliny IV.103; <i>Sena</i> Mela 3,6,48; [ <i>Sjina</i> IA 509, 3. ‘Old (island)’, to <i>seno-</i> . Cf. 1040a <i>Samnis Ins</i> .
4804	20 B5	+14/44	44 59	+14 54	<b>Senia</b>	LN	LN: Senj (CRO). <i>Senia</i> Pliny 3,140; Σενία Ptol. 2,16,2; <i>Senia</i> Rav. 4, 22; IA 273,7. Very probably non-Celtic; but consistent with Celtic, to <i>seno-</i> . Normally considered Illyrian: H. Krahe, <i>Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen</i> (Heidelberg 1925), p. 36; A. Mayer, <i>Die Sprache der alten Illyrier</i> (Wien 1957), p. 299.
4042	17 D5	+04/44	44 18	+04 45	<b>Senomagos</b>	LN	LN: St-Pierre-de-Sénos (FRA). <i>Senomago</i> TP 2,1; <i>Senomagense</i> VitaDes miracula 1. Celtic, <i>seno-</i> & <i>magos</i> .
2338	11 C4	+02/48	48 27	+02 30	<b>Senones</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). Σήνωνες Polybius 2,17,7 and 19.10; Σήνωνας 20,1 and 21,7; <i>Senonii</i> Caesar BG 2,2, passim; Σένωνες Diodorus Siculus 14,113,3, Σένωνας 19,13; Σένωνες (var. Σένονες) Strabo 4,3,5; <i>Senones</i> Pliny 4, 107; Σένονες (var. ἔννονες, ἐνόνης) Ptol. 2,8,9; <i>ciuitas Senonum</i> (var. <i>sennonum</i> ) NG 4,2; <i>Senonus</i> NT LXXXVII.13; <i>Senones</i> Ammianus XV.11.11; <i>Artimeum Synonicum</i> Greg. Tur. HF VIII.31, <i>Senonicae</i> X.11; <i>Civitas Senonvm</i> , <i>Senonie</i> CIL 13, 921; <i>Civitatis Senonvm</i>

							2924; [civ]itas <i>Senonvm</i> 2942; [civi]s <i>Senoni[us]</i> 3067; <i>Senonvm</i> 4304; etc. Celtic, to <i>seno-</i> . P.-Y. Lambert ( <i>Lugdunensis</i> , s.v. Σένωνες) also notes a comparison with Greek ξενός made once: “A nice derivation mentioned by Servius ( <i>ad Aeneidem</i> VIII 656) was based on a comparison with Gk. ξενός: <i>Senones dicti sunt quod Liberum patrem hospitio recepissent</i> , echoed in Isidore <i>Etym.</i> IX 2.106, <i>Galli autem Senones antiquitus Xenones dicebantur, quia Liberum hospitio recepissent, postea .x. in s litteram commutata est</i> ”. Note that Lambert (LG <sup>2</sup> : 34) offers another possible explanation too, <i>*sen-(H)-</i> ‘to gain, to vanquish’.
9986	42 D1	+12/43	43 53	+12 55	<b>Senones</b>	EN	EN: (IT). Σήνωνες Polyb. 2, 17,7; 19,10; <i>Senones</i> Livy 5, 34, 5; 10, 26,7; Eutrop. 1,20,3; Diod. 14, 113; Dion. 19, 13; Plut. Cam. 15,2; Appian. Samn. 6 Kelt. 11; Σένωνες (var. Σέννωνες, Σένονες) Strabo 5,1,6; 5,1,10; <i>Senones</i> Pliny 3, 116; 125; Flor 1, 7, 8; Val. Max. 4 3,1; Juvenal 8, 234; Stat. Silv.5, 3, 198; Fell. NA 5, 17,2; 17, 21,21; Ptol. 3, 1, 19 and 44. Celtic, to <i>seno-</i> .
2339	11 H2	+07/50	50 34	+07 18	<b>Sentiacum?</b> [?]	LN	LN: Sinzig (GER). <i>Sentiaco palatio</i> Tr 1709, 3r <sup>o</sup> ; <i>Sintiaco</i> Xr 2750-2765, 89 r <sup>o</sup> ; etc. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of PN <i>Sentius</i> .
6190	24 F4	-06/40	40 44	-05 44	<b>Sentice</b>	LN	LN: Dueña de Abajo (Pedrosillo de los Aires) (ESP). Σεντική (var. Σεντίκη) Ptol. 2,6,49; <i>Sen[tice]</i> Itin. Astorga 3; <i>Sentice</i> IA 434,3; <i>Sentice</i> Rav. 4,45. Celtic, to <i>sentu-</i> .
3762	16 B2	+06/43	43 56	+06 20	<b>Sentii</b>	EN	EN (FRA). Σέντιοι (var. Σένπιοι ) Ptol. 2,10,8. Celtic, to <i>sentu-</i> ; ‘the people who live near the path’ or ‘who know the path’; De Hoz ‘Narbonensis’ 178 note 43 suggests ‘those who control the road’.
9987	42 D2	+12/43	43 25	+12 52	<b>Sentinum</b>	LN	LN: Near Sassoferrato (IT). Celtic, to <i>sentu-</i> .
2342	11 B3	+01/49	49 07	+01 27	<b>Sequana fl.</b>	RN	RN: Seine (FRA). <i>Sequana</i> Caesar <i>BG</i> 1,1, <i>passim</i> ; τοῦ Σηκόανα Strabo 4,1,14, <i>passim</i> ; <i>ad Sequanam</i> Pliny 4, 105; <i>ad Sequanam</i> Mela 3,2,20; Σηκόανα (var. Σηκόνα, Σηκόανα) Ptol. 2,8,2, <i>passim</i> ; ἐν τῷ Σηκουανῶ Cassius Dio XL.38; <i>Sequana</i> Ammianus XV.11.3; <i>Sequanam</i> Greg. Tur. <i>HF</i> IV.34 (49), <i>Sygonā</i> VI.17 (25); inscriptions with <i>Dea Sequana: d(eae) Sequan(a)e</i> CIL 13, 2858; 2861; etc. ‘Cutting river’, to <i>secu-</i> or to IE <i>*sek<sup>w</sup>-</i> , hence ‘the talking river’ (see De Bernardo Stempel, ‘Ptolemy’s Evidence for Germania Superior’ 75). Lambert, ‘Lugdunensis’

							219, however, is not convinced by any proposed etymology for the RN and notes that it is considered pre-Celtic by French toponymists.
4043	17 E1	+05/46	46 03	+05 27	<b>Sequani</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Sequanorum</i> Caes. BG 1,8,1, <i>Sequanos</i> 1,33,4; Σηκοανούς Strabo 4,1,11; <i>Sequanis</i> Livy perioch. 104; <i>Sequani</i> Pliny 4,106; <i>Sequanos</i> Florus 1,45,20, 1,45,21; <i>Sequanos</i> Amm. Marc. 15,11,17; <i>Provincia Maxima Sequanorum</i> NG 9,1. See s.v. 2342 <i>Sequana fl.</i>
3372	14 E3	-01/45	45 47	-00 03	<b>Sermanicomago?</b> “?”	LN	LN: Les Bouchartds, Cm. St-Cybardeaux (FRA). <i>Sermanicomago</i> TP 1,2. Bedon <i>Trois Gaules</i> 252 reports the generally-held view that this is an error for * <i>Germanicomagus</i> , which would be from the PN <i>Germanicus</i> and Celtic <i>-magos</i> .
- 3386a	14 F1	+00/47	47 07	+00 00	<b>Sesciacum</b>	LN	LN: Saix (FRA). Also known as 3286 <i>Suedas</i> (obscure). <i>Sesciaco</i> (var. <i>sessciaco</i> ) Fort. Vita s. Paterni 4,14. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of an unclear instance. RE suggests this is a spelling for * <i>Sextiacus</i> , which would be a hybrid from Latin PN <i>Sextius</i> and Celtic <i>-āko-</i> . Alternatively, a Latin-Celtic hybrid, cf <i>Sisciicum</i> no. 3381.
- 6662b	25 D3	-02/42	42 06	-01 09	<b>Setia</b>	LN	LN: Ejea de los Caballeros (ESP). Σέτια Ptol. 2.6.66. A corrupt (or variant) form of 6662 <i>Segia</i> .
3629	15 B3	+03/43	43 24	+03 43	<b>Setius M.</b>	MN	MN: Mont St-Clair (FRA). Σίγιον Strabo 4.1.6; Σήτιον ὄρος Ptol. 2,10,2; <i>Setius</i> Avienus 608. Possibly Celtic. PNPG segments setio- or sétio-, discussing <i>seto-</i> , <i>setio-</i> as a possibly Celtic element: ‘Due to the very easy and frequent confusion of tau and gamma in Greek transmission, it is possible that some, or even all, of the apparent instances of <i>set(i)o-</i> are for <i>sego-</i> (as very frequently in names in ms. { <i>Set-</i> } in Hispania, where there are ample other sources to confirm the correctness of the reading { <i>Seg-</i> }). But there may also be a genuine base <i>set-</i> , or { <i>se:t-</i> } < * <i>seit-</i> , involved. But if so, I cannot suggest an analysis of it at this time.’
2344	11 C3	+02/49	49 47	+02 34	<b>Setuci?</b>	LN	LN: Beaucourt-en-Santerre/Fresnoy-en-Chaussée (FRA). <i>Setucis</i> TP 1,3; <i>Sefvlae</i> CIL 13, 9158. Obscure, examples unreconcilable, meaning uncertain; Celticity possible but any analysis is speculative. See also 2344a <i>Steviae</i> and 2344b <i>Sefulae</i> .
- 6688a	25 C3	-03/42	42 53	-02 37	<b>Seustatio</b>	LN	LN: Arcaya (Vitoria) (ESP). <i>Seustatio</i> Rav. 4,45; <i>Sestatio</i> CIL 5, 926. An error or variant form of 6688 <i>Suessatium</i> .
3373	14 G1	+01/47	47 20	+01 10	<b>Severiacus</b>	LN	LN: Civray-de-Touraine, formerly Civray-sur-Cher? (FRA). <i>Severiaco</i> Fort. Vita s.

							Germani 64,174. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Severius</i> (NPAG II 105b) or <i>Severus</i> .
6673	25 F2	+00/43	43 35	+00 12	<b>Sexciacum?</b>	LN	LN: St-Justin (FRA). <i>vico Sexciacensi</i> GdeT GC 48, <i>Sexciacensis</i> GC 49. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a PN <i>Sextus</i> , <i>Sextius</i> .
3630	15 B2	+03/43	43 39	+03 54	<b>Sextantio</b>	LN	LN: Near Castelnau-le-Lez (FRA). <i>Sextatione</i> TP 1,4; <i>Sextatione</i> IA 389.2, <i>sextantione</i> 396.7; <i>mutatio Sostantione</i> IB 552.6; <i>Sestatio</i> CIL 5, 926; <i>Sextant</i> CIL 12, 3362; Vicar. I <i>Sextantionem</i> , II <i>Sextantio</i> , III, IV <i>Sextantione</i> , Rav. 4,28 <i>Sestantione</i> , 5,3 <i>Sextantione</i> . Likely to be Latin; a Celtic approach is possible, see DLG: 273 s.v. <i>sextan</i> ‘sept’. It may be so that the early name was derived from the Celtic numeral, but that it was later reinterpreted as the Latin numeral <i>sex</i> ‘six’.
- 6680a	25 G2	+01/43	43 19	+01 56	<b>Sextomagus</b>	LN	LN: Castelnaudary (FRA). See <i>Sostomagos</i> 6680.
3374	14 C1	-03/47	47 24	-02 55	<b>Siata? Ins.</b>	IN	IN: Ile-de-Houat (FRA). <i>Siata</i> IA 510,1. Celtic. TGF 18716 connects this name with Bret. <i>houad</i> ‘duck’, apparently describing the shape of the island. <i>Houad</i> , Welsh <i>hwyad</i> etc., are from <i>*suiiatā</i> : see Schrijver, <i>Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology</i> , 102.
6196	24 F3	-06/41	41 16	-05 45	<b>Sibaris</b>	LN	LN: Torre del Sabre (El Cubo)? (ESP). <i>Sibarim</i> IA 434,5. Obscure. The second part of this compound may reflect Celt. <i>-brix</i> . The first component – due to the variations in spelling – is difficult to identify and impossible to assign to a language. <i>Sibaris</i> is less likely to have led to the modern form. Cf. 6196a <i>Sabaria</i> and 6196b <i>Sarabis</i> .
3375	14 G4	+01/44	44 27	+01 07	<b>Sicinaco</b>	LN	LN: Sérignac (FRA). <i>Sicinaco</i> (var. <i>Sirinago</i> ) Vita Des. 9(17) p. 37. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a Latin PN. Ho. and RE suggest PN <i>Sicina</i> , known from inscriptions, but there is also a <i>Sicinius</i> , frequently attested in OPEL.
6674	25 F4	+00/41	41 30	+00 25	<b>Sicoris fl.</b>	RN	RN: Segre (AND/SPN). in <i>Sicore flumine</i> Caes. BC 1.40.1, <i>Fluminis Sicoris</i> 1.83.4; <i>Sicoris</i> Lucan. 4.14; <i>Sicoris fluuius</i> Pliny 3.24; <i>Sicorin amnem</i> Flor. 2.13.26; Σίκορις Dio. Cass. 41.20.2, etc. Obscure. Cf <i>Elbocoris</i> (map 24 D4 no. 6019) and <i>Clocoris fl.</i> (map 42 G4). There is a <i>Sicanus fl.</i> (map 27 unlocated) which might be related.
4168	18 B2	+04/47	47 16	+04 16	<b>Sidoloucum</b>	LN	LN: Saulieu? (FRA). <i>Sidoloucum</i> IA 360,3; <i>Sedelaucum</i> (var. <i>sede lauco</i> , <i>sedes leucorum</i> ) Amm. Marc. 16, 2,3; <i>Sedeloco</i> (var. <i>Sedulo</i> ) Martyr. Hieron. 8. kal. oct.;



								<i>Siduo</i> CIL 13, 2681; <i>Sedes Leucorum</i> Ausgabe des Gelenius (cited in RE). Celtic, <i>sīdo-</i> &- <i>leuco-</i> , <i>louco-</i> , <i>lūcā-</i> . DLG derives this name rather from <i>locu</i> ‘lac’, but this etymology does not account for the diphthong. See also 4168a <i>Sidotoco</i> .
-	4168a	18 B2	+04/47	47 16	+04 16	<b>Sidotoco</b>	LN	LN: Saulieu? (FRA). <i>Sidotoco</i> TP 1,5. An error for 4168 <i>Sidoloucum</i> .
	3377	14 E4	-01/44	44 35	-00 54	<b><u>Sigmatis? fl.</u></b>	RN	RN: Eyre (FRA). Σιγμάτιος (var. εἴγμανος) Ptol. 2,7,1; Σιγνατίος Marcian. 2,21. Obscure. PNPG comments ‘Given that <i>Atlas</i> accepts the majority reading of the Ptolemaic mss. { <i>Sigmátios potamoû ekbolai</i> }, the asterisk seems unnecessary, since <i>Sigmatis</i> is therefore not a reconstruction, but just the regular nom.sg. in the paradigm of the extant gen.sg. I am at a loss to classify or analyse the name, or even determine whether <i>Sigmatis</i> really is the correct form. The mss. have either { <i>Sigmátios</i> } or { <i>Eíγmanos</i> }. For the initial, epsilon - sigma confusion is not unusual, and on balance, initial sigma is probably better, though this is hardly a rigorous conclusion. A tau - iota ligature is probably capable of confusion with nu, but in which direction here? If the form were <i>*Sigmanos</i> , then an ancient aorist middle participle in <i>*-mh<sub>1</sub>no-</i> is conceivable, from a number of possible roots: a) with root vowel <i>*-ei-</i> , <i>*seik<sup>w</sup>-</i> ‘pour out’, <i>*seik-</i> ‘reach, arrive at’; b) with root vowel <i>*-e-</i> , <i>*sek-</i> ‘dry out’, <i>*sek<sup>w</sup>-</i> ‘accompany, follow’, <i>*sekH-</i> ‘cut’. In the latter case, we are forced to posit a raising, difficult to motivate, <i>*-e- &gt; *-i-</i> . In all cases, a voicing assimilation is to be assumed, <i>*-km- &gt; *-gm-</i> . Notional derivations: <i>*sik<sup>(w)</sup>-mh<sub>1</sub>no-</i> , <i>*sek<sup>(w)</sup>-mh<sub>1</sub>no- &gt; *sikmano-</i> , <i>*sekmano- &gt; *sikmano- &gt; sigmano-</i> . This is all far too speculative to be rigorously defended here, not to mention motivating the semantics of the RN so analysed. There are no doubt many more possibilities, and it must be allowed that <i>Sigmatis</i> might be the correct form. None of this encourages us to align the name confidently with any particular linguistic affiliation.’
	4812	20 E3	+17/46	46 19	+17 25	<b>Silicenis</b> “	LN	LN: Beleg (HUN). <i>Silicenis</i> IA 233,2. If the form is not corrupt, as <i>Atlas</i> considers it, the LN allows a Celtic interpretation. For the first component cf. G. <i>*sīlo-</i> (Ir. <i>síl</i> ‘seed’, <i>W hil</i> ‘race’), DLG: 273; for the second see s.v. <i>ceno-</i> .
	2346	11 C3	+02/49	49 10	+02 40	<b>Silvanectes</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Vlmanectes liberi</i> (var. <i>-neetes</i> , <i>-netes</i> ) Pliny 4, 106; Σουβάνεκτοι (var. Οὐβάνεκτοι, Σουμανεκτοί) Ptol. 2.9,6; <i>Siluanectas</i> (var. <i>syluanectas</i> ) ND oc

							42,42; <i>Civitas Siluanectum</i> (var. <i>seluanectum</i> ) NG 6, 9; in <i>Silvanectense vero territorio</i> Greg. Tur. <i>HF</i> VI.8 (14), <i>Silvanectensis</i> 33(46), <i>Silvanectensi</i> IX.20; <i>Silvanectis</i> Merovingian coins; etc. The head-word chosen by <i>Atlas</i> is Latin. According to Isaac (PNPG), the Ptolomaic attestations may be interpreted as ‘the people who defend their goods’ or ‘?the well-protected/-protecting people’ (cfr. Isaac), with <i>su-</i> and <i>*anecto-</i> ‘defended, protected’. Consider also G. <i>*selua</i> ‘propriété’ (OI <i>selb</i> , W <i>helw</i> ) DLG: 270. See also 1860 <i>Augustomagus</i> and 2277 <i>Ratumagus Silvanectum?</i> .	
5295	21 C5	+20/44	44 49	+20 27	<b>Singidunum</b>	LN	LN: Belgrade (SCG). <i>Sigg...dounon</i> (var. <i>Sig...ndounon</i> ) Ptol. 3, 9, 3; <i>Singidunum</i> (var. <i>Singidonum</i> ) Iord. <i>Get.</i> 55, 282; <i>Singiduno</i> TP 6,1; <i>Singiduno castra</i> IA 132,1; <i>Sing(iduni)</i> IMS 1, 16, 54, 47. Vox hybrida; for the first component see A. Loma, <i>Die Welt der Slawen</i> 36 (1991), 110; the second is <b>dūno-</b> .	
1041	7 E3	-02/48	48 02	-01 34	<b>Sipia</b>	LN	LN: Visseiche/Seiche (FRA). <i>Sipia</i> TP 1,2. Possibly Celtic, ‘following river’ or ‘talking/babbling river’ < <i>*sepia</i> < <i>*sek<sup>w</sup></i> - ‘to follow’ or <i>*sek<sup>w</sup></i> - ‘to talk’ (LEIA S-62-64).	
3379	14 E4	-01/44	44 37	-00 23	<b>Sirio</b>	LN	LN: Cérons? (FRA). <i>Serione</i> TP 1,1; <i>Sirione</i> IA 461.4; <i>Sirione</i> (var. <i>Senone</i> ) IB 550,1. Possibly Celtic, to <b>sīro-</b> .	
3380	14 F3	+00/45	45 38	+00 01	<b><u>Siroialum?</u></b>	LN	LN: Sireuil (FRA). <i>apud Siroialensim oratorium</i> (var. <i>Sirolalensim</i> ) GdeT VM 1,18. Celtic (see <b>sīro-</b> ) or hybrid in <b>-ialo-</b> . DLG s.v. <i>siros</i> ‘long’ derives the LN directly from the adj. and translates ‘Longchamp’.	
-	4803a	20 D4	+16/45	45 30	+16 20	<b>Siscia</b>	LN	LN: Sisak (CRO). See 4815 <i>Sisciani</i> for etymology and 4803 <i>Segestica</i> .
3381	14 G3	+01/45	45 23	+01 31	<b><u>Sisciacum</u></b>	LN	LN: Sioussac, Cm. Le Vigeois? (FRA). <i>agro Sisciacensi, Sisciacum</i> Test. Ared. (Aubrun 413). An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of <b>siscio</b> ; names in <b>-āko-</b> are frequently formed from a Latin or Celtic personal name; here perhaps a PN <i>*Siscius</i> .	
4815	20 D4	+16/45	45 28	+16 30	<b>Sisciani</b>	EN	EN: to LN: Sisak (CRO). <i>Vinetio Sisciano</i> Amm. 26,4,4; <i>Siscianorum</i> ND oc. 11,24; <i>Siscianae</i> ND oc. 11, 39; Σισκία Strabo 7,5,2; <i>Sisciam</i> (obl. case, var. <i>Siscia, Sisciam, Sistiam</i> ) Vell. Paterc. 2,113,3; <i>Siscia</i> Pliny 3,147; Σισκία (var. Σεισκία) Dio 49, 37, 1; Σισκία (var. Σίσκια, Ίσκια) Ptol. 2,14,4; <i>Siscia</i> TP 4,5. Possibly Celtic, see <b>siscio</b> .	

-	6447a	25 C3	-03/42	42 43	-02 54	<b>Sobobrica?</b>	LN	LN: Arce Mirapérez? (ESP). <i>Sobobrica</i> Rav. IV.45. A corrupt form of <i>Deobriga</i> 6447.
	3763	16 A1	+05/44	44 02	+05 53	<b>Sogiontii?</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Sogionti</i> (var. <i>songi-</i> , <i>sonti-</i> ) Pliny 3,137; <i>civitat(is) Sogion[ti]or(um)</i> CIL 12, 1871 (reconstructed by Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 284); <i>Sogionti</i> 5, 7817. Obscure. Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 284 notes that the formation is similar to that of ENN 3661 <i>Voco-nt-ii</i> , <i>Brodio-nt-ii</i> , etc, and he compares the first element here to LN 4046 <i>Soio</i> . Holder s.v. cites d'Arbois de Jubainville's suggestion that this is Ligurian.
	4046	17 D4	+04/44	44 54	+04 51	<b>Soio</b>	LN	LN: Soyons (FRA). <i>Deae Soioni</i> CIL 12, 2656; later attestations: (9 c.) <i>vicaria Soyonense</i> , (1275) <i>vicaria Soionensis arcis</i> TGF 2577. Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 269 suggests 'Soio pourrait être l'agglomération nommée Σολώνιον par Dion Cassius 37.48.2'. Obscure; the underlying form may be <i>*sogio-</i> , see s.v. 3763 <i>Sogiontii?</i> .
	3383	14 G3	+01/45	45 45	+01 16	<b>Solemniacum</b>	LN	LN: Solignac (FRA). <i>Solemniacensem</i> Dipl. Pard. (Ho); <i>Sollemniacum</i> Ionae vita s. Columbani 2,10; <i>Solemniaco</i> (var. <i>soll-</i> ) Vita s. Eligii 1,15. Later attestations: (632) <i>Solemniacum</i> CAG 87.196; (855-858) <i>Solempniacensis</i> Da. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Solemnius</i> .
	2349	11 F4	+05/48	48 24	+05 41	<b>Solimariaca</b>	LN	LN: Soulosse-sous-St-Elophe (FRA). <i>Solimariaca</i> IA 385,9; [ <i>Solimaria</i> ]ca CIL 13, 2681 (= CIL 17, 490c), <i>vico Soliciae</i> 4679, <i>vicani Solimariacenses</i> 4681, <i>vicani Solimariac(enses)</i> 4683. 'Place of { <i>Solima:ros</i> }', an <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a PN.
	3384	14 F1	+00/47	47 37	+00 57	<b>Solonacum?</b>	LN	LN: Saunay (FRA). <i>Solonacensi</i> GdeT HF 10,31,3, <i>Solnaco</i> Vita s. Leodegarii et Gerini (ASS 2.oct I p. 480) 4,63; coins Belfort 4175 <i>solnaco</i> , 4176 <i>solonacovico</i> ; (9 c.) <i>in viculo Solnaco</i> TGF 12554. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a PN <i>Solo</i> , <i>Solonis</i> , which is well attested in Aquitania.
	4816	20 F2	+18/47	47 47	+18 43	<b>Solva</b>	LN	LN: Esztergom (HUN). Σολούα (var. Σαλούα, Σολοῦα) Ptol. 2,15,3; <i>Solva</i> (var. <i>Salua</i> ) <i>mansio</i> IA 266,13; <i>Solue</i> ND oc. 33,3; 24; <i>Solua</i> ND oc. 33,10; <i>Solva</i> ? CIL 3, 11421; CIL 4, 32533. Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 218-9 notes a possibility that the LN may go back to Celt. <i>*solwā-</i> '(Grund)-Besitz', cf. <i>*selwā-</i> reflected in W. <i>helw</i> , OIr <i>selb</i> , Gaulish <i>Lugu-selva</i> . The <i>o</i> -vocalism, however, is not

							expected. Isaac (PNPG) does not consider this instance. Note the RN <i>Solva</i> (Sulm, AUS) and <i>Flavia Solva</i> ; cf. also 2346 <i>Silvanectes</i> .
4819	20 F3	+18/46	46 06	+18 17	<b>Sopianae</b>	LN	LN: Pécz (HUN). <i>Per Sopianas</i> (var. <i>Soppianas</i> , <i>Soppeanas</i> ) IA 231,9; <i>Suppianis</i> IA 232,8; <i>a Sopianis</i> (var. <i>Sopiana</i> ) <i>Acinco</i> IA 264,1; <i>iter a Sopianis Bregetione</i> IA 264,7; <i>Sopianis</i> (var. <i>Supianis</i> ) IA 267,5; <i>apud Sopianas</i> (var. -nus, -num) <i>Valeriae oppidum</i> Amm. 28,1,5. Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 198 suggests that the LN is based on Celt. PN * <i>Sopios</i> (IE * <i>sokʷios</i> ‘Gefährte, Kumpel’ < * <i>sekʷ-</i> ‘folgen’). He does not seem to be in favour of comparison of the LN with RN in Gaul <i>Suipe</i> . Z. Mády (in <i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> 14 (1996), 197f.) discusses several Celt. forms in <i>sop-</i> , incl. Ir. <i>suipe-</i> . The latter form (recte <i>sop</i> ) is a borrowing from Old Norse (LEIA S-173). Isaac, by the fact of its non-inclusion, does not consider it Celtic.
2755	12 F4	+12/48	48 53	+12 36	<b>Sorviodurum</b>	LN	LN: Straubing (GER). <i>Sorvioduro</i> TP 3,4. ‘?Pillage town’; the second component is <i>duro-</i> ; for <i>sorvio-</i> consider Isaac’s (AILR) and Delamarre’s (DLG: 279) comparison with Welsh <i>herw</i> ‘pillaging, outlawry, exile’, OI <i>serb</i> ‘theft’ (cf. LEIA S-90-91).
6680	25 G2	+01/43	43 19	+01 56	<b>Sostomagus</b>	LN	LN: Castelnaudary (FRA). <i>Sostomago</i> , var. <i>sustomago</i> IB 551.6. Holder notes IB <i>Sostantione</i> and Rav. <i>Sestantione</i> for other sources’ <i>Sextantio</i> in Gaul (630), so it is plausible that IB has made the same error here. It seems that <i>Atlas’ Sextomagus</i> (6680a) is a reconstruction, based on Holder’s suggested reading. The second element is Celtic <i>magos</i> . The first could be the Latin <i>sextus</i> ‘sixth’.
4048	17 I4	+07/44	44 31	+07 08	<b>Soti</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Soti</i> (var. <i>sotti</i> ) Pliny 3,47. Obscure; cf. 6681 <i>Sotiates</i> .
6681	25 E2	-01/43	43 57	-00 15	<b>Sotiates</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). Pliny 4.108 <i>Sotiates</i> (sic), Caes. BG 3.20.3 <i>Sotiates</i> , var. <i>sontiates</i> , 3.21.1 <i>Sotiates</i> , var. <i>sontiates</i> , <i>sociates</i> . Holder suggests the people are named after the town 6682 <i>Sotium</i> q.v., and TGF 2524 that the town is named after the people.
6682	25 F1	+00/44	44 04	+00 08	<b>Sotium</b>	LN	LN: Sos (FRA). <i>Sotiatum</i> (var. <i>sontiatum</i> , <i>sociacum</i> , <i>sociatum</i> ) Caesar BG 3,21,1. This seems a better form than 6682a <i>Scittio</i> , given the sources, modern name and ethnonym, but as it stands it is still apparently a reconstruction. Caesar’s form <i>Sotiatum</i> is a gen. pl. from the EN <i>Sotiates</i> above, so ‘town of the <i>Sotiates</i> (6681)’. The etymology is obscure.

	2759	12 G4	+13/48	48 28	+13 44	<b>Stanacum</b>	LN	LN: On road between Ioviacum? and Boiodurum; Oberranna? (AUS). <i>Stanago</i> (var. <i>stanaco</i> , <i>stonago</i> ) IA 249, 4; <i>Bohoduri Saloaiu</i> ( <i>Stanaco</i> according to Gaisberger) CIL 3, 5755 = 11846. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a PN Stan(i)us.
-	2344a	11 C3	+02/49	49 47	+02 34	<b>Steviae</b>	LN	LN: Beaucourt-en-Santerre/Fresnoy-en-Chaussée (FRA). See 2344 <i>Setuci?</i> and 2344b <i>Sefulae</i> .
	4398	19 B3	+09/46	46 35	+09 30	<b>Suanetes</b>	EN	EN: S. Chur (SWI). <i>SVANETES</i> (var. <i>suanene-</i> , <i>suannene-</i> ) Plin. 3, 137; Σουάνητες Ptol. 2,12, 2. According to TIR L32: 129, Raetic tribe. If Celtic, <b>*su-anet-</b> .
-	2249a	11 A4	+00/48	48 01	+00 14	<b>Subdinnum</b>	LN	LN: Le Mans (FRA). See 2249 <i>Quindinon</i> and 2249b <i>Cenomani</i> .
	6686	25 F4	+00/41	41 05	+00 57	<b>Subi fl.</b>	RN	RN: Riudecanyes. <i>flumen Subi</i> Pliny 3.21. Obscure; if Celtic, cf. <b>su-</b> .
	9460	39 D2	+08/45	45 54	+08 55	<b>Subinates</b>	EN	EN (?): Around Riva S. Vitale (SWI). <i>Subinatibus</i> Pais n. 1287. If Celtic, cf. <b>su-</b> .
	7448	27 A5	-05/36	36 32	-04 40	<b>Suel</b>	LN	LN: Sohail (Fuengirola) (ESP). <i>Suel</i> Mela 2,94, Pliny 3,8, Rav. 305,4, etc. Not necessarily Celtic but see the next entry.
	3766	16 B3	+06/43	43 15	+06 15	<b>Suelteri?</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Suelteri</i> Pliny 3,34, <i>Selteri</i> TP. Obscure. If Pliny's attestation is correct cf. <b>*suel-</b> (OIr <i>sel</i> 'turn; period of time', MW <i>chwel</i> f. 'turn; course; commotion', <i>dymchwel</i> 'overthrow' < Celt. <b>*swilo-/*{swila:-}</b> < PIE <b>*sueh<sub>1</sub>i-</b> IEW 1041 (Isaac, PNPG, Possibly Celtic elements). Cf. 7448 <i>Suel</i> . For <b>-eri</b> see Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 140, and 142; he suggests <b>-eri</b> is found exclusively in Celtic names.
	6688	25 C3	-03/42	42 53	-02 37	<b>Suessatium</b>	LN	LN: Arcaya (Vitoria) (ESP). Σουεστάσιον Ptol. 2,6,64; <i>Suessatio</i> IA 454,9; <i>Sues/tatiensis</i> AE 1911, 130; <i>Suestatiensi</i> 1998, 774. Probably Celtic. G. R. Isaac segments the LN as <b>su- uesso-ato-io-</b> (AILR) or <b>su-uesto-as- io-</b> or <b>su- uesso-aso-io-</b> or <b>sueso-aso-io-</b> (PNPG). AILR segmentations for <i>Suessonum</i> include <b>su-esso/io-on-</b> , with the comment 'The analysis ALT2 is based on the etymology <b>*h<sub>1</sub>su-wed-t(y)o-</b> "well-spoken" in a nasal stem with individualising sense: "the well-spoken individuals".' <i>Suessatium</i> could be related to this. Villar <i>Indoeuropeos y no indoeuropeos</i> 424-6 proposes Indo-European numeral 'six', <b>*sweks</b> (cf W. <i>chwech</i> ), for <i>Suessetani</i> ; cf Gaulish tribes with numerals in their names <i>Vo-corii</i> , <i>Tri-corii</i> , <i>Petru-corii</i> . See also Tovar 'Numerales indoeuropeos en Hispania' 19 and <i>Tarr.</i> 42. Gorrochategui 'Establishment and Analysis' 159 notes 'The majority of the sources and especially the epigraphic ones support the reading <i>Suestation</i> , which could be

							understood by Ptolemy as compound of Lat. <i>-statio</i> and be translated consequently as Συέστασιον.’ He suggests the name could be from * <i>swe-</i> ‘self, proper’ and <i>statio-</i> . See also 6689 <i>Suessetani</i> .	
6689	25 E3	-01/42	42 09	-00 35	<b>Suessetani</b>	EN	EN: near Huesca (ESP). <i>Suessetani</i> Livy 34,20,1; <i>Suessetaniae</i> Pliny 3,24; <i>Suessetanos</i> Frontin. 3.10.1. Celtic, from 6688 <i>Suessatium</i> above.	
2356	11 C3	+02/49	49 25	+02 55	<b>Suessiones</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Suessiones</i> Caesar <i>BG</i> 2,3, <i>passim</i> ; Σουεσιώνες (var. Σουεσιώνες) Strabo 4,3,5, Ουεσιώνας 4,4,3; <i>Suessiones liberi</i> (var. <i>sueconi</i> ) Pliny 4,106; Ουέσσονες Ptol. 2,9,6; <i>Suessonas</i> (var. <i>siuessonas</i> , <i>suessonones</i> ) IA 362,2, 380,1; 380, 6; <i>Ciuitas Suessionum</i> (var. <i>sessionum</i> ) NG 6,3; <i>Suessiones</i> (var. <i>-sones</i> , <i>-sonos</i> ) Orosius 6,7,12; <i>Suessioni</i> (dat.sg.) CIL 13, 1690, <i>civis Su[essionis]</i> 3204; <i>Suessio</i> 3261; <i>civitatis Sue(ssionum)</i> 3528; etc. Possibly Celtic: ‘those characterised by wealth’, or ‘those of (the same) custom, the familiar ones’; also ‘the well-spoken ones, those speaking the right language’. See Isaac, PNPg, s.v. Cfr. no. 1857 <i>Augusta Suessinum</i> .	
3767	16 B2	+06/43	43 51	+06 28	<b>Suetrii</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Suebri</i> (var. <i>suberi</i> , <i>uebri</i> ) Pliny 3,35, <i>Svetri</i> 3,137; Σουητρίων (var. Σουιντρίων, Σουκτρίων) Ptol. 3,1,38; <i>Suetrio</i> CIL 5, 7900. Obscure; a reference to Celtic <i>su-</i> cannot explain <i>-etro-</i> and the morphology of the EN.	
1042	7 D3	-03/48	48 03	-02 52	<b>Sulis</b>	LN	LN: Pontivy ? (FRA). <i>Sulim</i> TP 1,2. ‘ ?Sun, name of a goddess’, for the etymology see DLG: 287 s.v. <i>suli-</i> ‘(bonne) vue’. The name in TP is possibly for <i>Ad Sulim</i> ‘chez Sulis’.	
2771	12 B4	+08/48	48 29	+08 54	<b>Sumelocenna</b>	LN	LN: Rottenburg (GER). <i>Samulocenis</i> TP 3,1; <i>civi Sumelocennesi</i> CIL XIII 2506, <i>c(ivitatis) Sum(elocennensis)</i> 6358, <i>saltus Sumelocennensis</i> 6365, [ <i>c]ivi(tatis) Suma(locennensis)</i> , <i>cives Sumelo(cennenses)</i> 6384, <i>Sumel</i> 6669, ?9084, <i>Sumeloc</i> 11726, [ <i>Su]melocenes(is)</i> 11727, etc. <i>Sumelo-</i> & <i>-ceno-</i> . Cf. 2739 <i>Saltus Sumelocennensis</i> .	
-	3902b	17 H4	+06/44	44 56	+06 43	<b>Summae Alpes</b>	LN	LN: Settlement and pass at Montgenèvre (FRA). <i>Summas Alpes</i> Vicar. III. Also known as * <i>Alpis Cottia</i> and 3902 <i>Druantium</i> . Latin, from <i>summus</i> ‘high point, summit’.
4051	17 I2	+07/45	45 53	+07 10	<b>Summus</b>	LN	LN: Col du Grand-St-Bernard (ITL). <i>summo sacratum vertice Poeninum montani</i>	

						<b>P(o)eninus</b>		Livy 21, 38, 9; <i>In Summo Poenino</i> TP 2, 3/4; <i>Summo Penino</i> IA 351,4. A Latin formation based on a Celtic name. The spelling <i>Poen-</i> is due to a (probably mistaken) connection with Hannibal <i>Poenus</i> ; * <i>Peninus</i> would be a better form. Cf 3998 <i>Poeninus M.</i> ; and 4051a <i>Alpis Poenia</i> , its second name.
2358	11 G2	+06/50	50 47	+06 20		<b>Sunuci</b>	EN	EN: (GER). <i>Sunuci</i> Plin 4,106; <i>Sunucis/Sunicis</i> (abl.) Tacitus Hist. IV.66; [ <i>S</i> ]inuco CIL 13, 1882; <i>Synncorvm</i> (gen.)16, 69; etc. Celtic, meaning uncertain. For Celtic PNN <i>Sunuc(i)us</i> and <i>Sunuc(i)a</i> , see Lejeune, Textes Gallo-Grecs, 92.
6199	24 C2	-09/42	42 55	-08 45		<b>Supertamarci</b>	EN	EN: N R. Tambre (ESP). EN. <i>super Tamarici</i> Mela 3,11; <i>super Tamarci</i> Pliny 4,111, [ <i>S</i> ]upertam[a]rcus CIL 2, 5081, [ <i>C</i> ]eltic[a S]u[perta(marca) (castello) Blaniobrensi(?) 5667. See s.v. 6203 <i>Tamaris</i> .
7451	27 B1	-04/40	40 10	-03 30		<b>Tagonios fl.</b>	RN	RN: Tajuña (ESP). Τὸν Ταγώνιων Plut. Sertor. 17. Not necessarily Celtic, cf. ACPN 234-5; see s.v. 7173 <i>Tagus fl.</i> below.
7173	26 B2	-09/39	39 23	-08 30		<b>Tagus fl.</b>	RN	RN: Tejo/Tajo (POR/SPN). Τάγον Polyb. 3,14,5; <i>Tagus</i> Catul. 29; <i>Tăgus</i> Vergil catal. 9; Ovid. met. 2; <i>Tago Flumine</i> Livy 21.5.8; Τάγον Strabo 3,2,3; 3.3.1; <i>ad Tagum</i> Pliny 3, 19, <i>passim</i> ; <i>Tagi</i> Mela 3, 1,8; Τάγου (var. οὐτάγου) Ptol. 2,5,3; etc. Not necessarily Celtic, but may contain * <i>tagu-</i> as in G. <i>Tagausus</i> , <i>Prasutagos</i> , <i>Icotagus</i> and <i>Itotagus</i> ; see CIB: 86.
6201	24 C4	-09/40	40 38	-08 28		<b>Talabriga</b>	LN	LN: Cabeço do Vouga (Agueda)? (POR). Ταλάβριγα (var. -ίγα) Ptol. 2,5,6; <i>Talabrica</i> Pliny 4.113, Ταλάβριγα App. Hisp. 75, <i>Talabrica</i> IA 421,6, <i>Terebrica</i> (var. <i>teribrica</i> ) Rav. 4.43. A compound with Celtic <i>-briga</i> . The analysis of the first part is controversial. It is “probably not Celtic” for García Alonso ‘Ptolemy and the Expansion’ 139; but Celtic for other authors, cf. <i>tala:-</i> , <i>tela:/o-</i> ‘end, top, protuberance’ (PNPG); <i>talu-</i> , <i>talamon-</i> ‘front, surface’ (DLG), see s.v. 6209a <i>Talamine</i> .
-	6209a	24 D2	-08/42	42 54	-07 16	<b>Talamine</b>	LN	LN: Baralla? (ESP). Ταλαμίνη Ptol. 2,6,27. The other spelling of this LN (the identification is sometimes doubted) 6209 <i>Timalinum</i> makes linguistic speculation doubtful. If the Ptolemaic form is correct, cf. a possibly Celtic element <i>talamo-</i> in PNPG, compared to OIr <i>talam</i> ‘earth’; cf. DLG, s.v. Note that Tovar (ÉC 11 (1966/67) 255) considers the name Ligurian, and ( <i>Tarr.</i> 321) suggests that

							<i>Timalinum</i> could be a separate place.
5328	21 E5	+22/44	44 27	+22 09	<b>Taliata</b>	LN	LN: Veliki Gradac (SCG). Ταλιατίς (var. Τονάτις, Τόννατις) Ptol. 3, 9, 3; <i>Talia</i> IA 218, 2; <i>auxilium Taliatense</i> , <i>Taliata</i> ND or. 41, 27; <i>Faliatis</i> TP 6,3; * <i>Taliatis</i> ( <i>Tabatis</i> ) Rav. 4,7; Τονάτια Proc. ae. 4, 6,5; <i>Taliatis</i> CIL 3, 13814. In theory the LN may contain the same component * <i>tal-</i> as in 6209a <i>Talamine</i> or 6201 <i>Talabriga</i> . In this area, however, it may well belong to a different idiom.
6202	24 D2	-08/42	42 02	-07 20	<b>Tamagani</b>	EN	EN: basin of R. Támeaga, NNE Verín (ESP). <i>Tamagani</i> CIL II 2477, <i>Ta[maga]nicum</i> 5786, <i>Tamac[anus]</i> ( <i>castello</i> ) <i>Nam(?)</i> IRG IV 66. The EN is based on the RN <i>Tamaga</i> , mod. <i>Tamega</i> (not listed in Barrington), therefore a Celtic component <i>tamo-</i> attested in hydronyms cannot be excluded but remains a mere possibility.
6203	24 C2	-09/42	42 53	-08 47	<b>Tamaris fl.</b>	RN	RN: Tambre (ESP). Ταμάρα Ptol. 2,6,2; <i>Tamaris (flumen)</i> Mela 3,11; <i>Super [Tha]mari fluvium</i> IA 103,1; <i>fontes Tamarici</i> (var. <i>-ricae</i> , <i>-ritiae</i> , <i>tamamarice</i> , <i>-cae</i> ) Pliny 31,23. Celtic, to <i>tamo-</i> .
7174	26 D2	-07/39	39 22	-06 07	<b>Tamusia</b>	LN	LN: Villasviejas de Tamuja? (Botija) (ESP). Coin legends. If Celtic, to <i>tamo-</i> .
9461	39 C4	+08/44	44 54	+08 30	<b>Tanarus fl.</b>	RN	RN: Tanaro (IT). Pliny 3, 118; Paul. Diac. VI, 58. If Celtic, see the next entry.
9462	39 G4	+10/44	44 47	+10 27	<b>Tannetum</b>	LN	LN: Taneto (IT). Τάννητος Polyb. 3,40,13; <i>Tannetus</i> Livy 21,25,13; 30,19,7; <i>Tannetani</i> (var. <i>tannit-</i> ) Pliny 3,116; Τάνητον (var. Τάνιτον) Ptol. 3,1,42; <i>Tannetum</i> TP 3,3; Rav. 4,33; <i>Tannetum</i> IA 287,8; <i>Mutatio Canneto</i> IB 616,12. The LN has been long considered Celtic. It has been interpreted as ‘The long (place)’, * <i>tan-eto-</i> , cf. Ir. <i>tanae</i> ‘slender’ (see De Bernardo Stempel ‘Italy and Ireland’, 92; contrast Falileyev, ‘Ptolemy, revisited’, 86-7); and as ‘Place of fires?’, if < * <i>tanet-</i> , cf. OI <i>tene</i> ‘fire’ < * <i>tanets</i> , nom. pl. <i>teinid</i> < * <i>tanetes</i> , MW <i>tan</i> ‘fire’ (PNPG), or as an ‘Oak-(place)’, to G. <i>tanno-</i> ‘oak’ (DLG: 289). See ACPN: 197 and cf. 3389 <i>Tannum</i> below.
3389	14 E3	-01/45	45 26	-00 41	<b>Tannum</b>	LN	LN: Talmont (FRA). <i>Lamnum</i> TP 1,1, <i>Tannum</i> IA 459.1. Possibly Celtic, to * <i>tanno-</i> ‘oak-tree’ (B. <i>tannen</i> , OC <i>glastannen</i> ; cf. Ir. <i>tinne</i> LEIA: T-71; PECA: 49), well attested in G. PNN, <i>Tanno-genus</i> , etc. Etymology is not clear; see DLG: 289-90. Note probably non-Celtic <i>Tannus fl.</i> (46 D4) and cf. 3215 <i>Lamnum</i> .



6696	25 D2	-02/43	43 30	-01 20	<b>Tarbelli</b> <b>(Quattuorsignani)</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Tarbelli</i> Caes. BG 3.27.1; Τάρβελλοι Strabo 4,2,1; <i>Tarbelli Quattuorsignani</i> Pliny 4,108; <i>Tarbellvs</i> CIL 2, 3876. If Celtic, to Gaulish <i>taruo-</i> . Gorrochategui ‘Establishment and analysis’ and ‘Ptolemy’s Aquitania’ 150-1 suggests tracing it to <i>*tar-</i> related to LN <i>Tarros</i> , and the adjective <i>bel</i> ‘black’ which is common in Aquitanian onomastics.	
3390	14 I4	+03/44	44 17	+03 14	<b>Tarnis fl.</b>	RN	RN: Tarn (FRA). <i>Tarne</i> Pliny 4,109; <i>Tarnim</i> Auson. Epist. 20b, 32; <i>Tarnem</i> (var. <i>Tarnen</i> ) Mosell. 465; <i>Tarnis</i> (var. <i>tarmis</i> ) Sid App. Epist. 5,13,1. Celtic. Probably Celtic, to <i>taro-</i> .	
-	2363a	11 C2	+02/50	50 39	+02 17	<b>Tarouanna</b>	LN	LN: Théroutanne (FRA). Cfr. nos. 2363 <i>Tarvenna</i> and 2363b <i>Tervanna</i> .
9463	39 F5	+09/44	44 29	+09 44	<b>Tarus fl.</b>	RN	RN: Taro (IT). <i>Tarum</i> (var. <i>taur-</i> ) Pliny 3,118; <i>Flumine Taro</i> (Divisio orbis terrarum 9). If Celtic, cf. <i>taro-</i> .	
6697	25 E2	-01/43	43 50	-00 30	<b>Tarusates</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Tarusates</i> Caesar BG 3,27,1. If Celtic, and secondarily from a RN, to <i>taro-</i> ; but see variant <i>Latusates</i> 6697a.	
3634	15 D2	+04/43	43 48	+04 39	<b>Tarusco</b>	LN	LN: Tarascon (FRA). Ταρούσκωνος Strabo 4,1,3; Ταρούσκων Ptol. 2,10,8; <i>Arascone</i> Rav. 4,26. Difficult entry; Delamarre, DLG: 291, suggests that it belongs to <i>taro-</i> ; but see ACPN: 198 fn. 27. See also 3641c <i>Col. Iulia Paterna Sextanorum Arelate</i> and 3641a <i>Col. Arelate</i> . Cf. also 6698 <i>Tarusco</i> .	
6698	25 G3	+01/42	42 51	+01 36	<b>Tarusco</b>	LN	LN: Tarascon-sur-Ariège (FRA). Ταρούσκωνος Strabo 4.1.3; <i>Tarusconienses</i> (var. <i>tarus cononi-</i> , <i>turus cononi-</i> , <i>tarum cunoni-</i> ) Pliny 3,37; Ταρούσκων Ptol. 2.10.8. Holder derives the LN from a Gaulish personal name <i>Taros</i> and a Ligurian suffix. If Celtic, it could go back to <i>taro-</i> (DLG); but see ACPN: 198 fn. 27. Cf. also TGF 1182 for a pre-Celtic <i>*tarascon</i> ; and cf. 3634 <i>Tarusco</i> .	
2363	11 C2	+02/50	50 39	+02 17	<b>Tarvenna</b>	LN	LN: Théroutanne (FRA). Ταρουάννα (var. <i>ταρουάννα</i> ) Ptol. 2,9,4; <i>Tarvenna</i> IA 376,4, <i>A Tarvenna</i> 378,9; (var. <i>cauerna</i> ) 379,1; <i>Ciuitas Morinum</i> (var. <i>moronorum</i> , <i>morenum</i> ; <i>id est Ponticum</i> and <i>quae nunc Tarvanensis dicitur</i> according to Holder) NG 6,12; <i>Tervanna</i> TP 1,2; etc. ‘Place of bulls’, to <i>taruo-</i> . See also 2363a <i>Tarouanna</i> and 2363b <i>Tervanna</i> .	
4407	19 B3	+09/46	46 25	+09 21	<b><u>Tarvessedum</u></b>	LN	LN: Campo Dolzino (SWI). <i>Tarvessedo</i> TP 3,1; <i>Tarvesede</i> IA 278,5. Probably Celtic, see <i>taruo-</i> & <i>sedo-</i> .	

9608	40 C1	+12/45	45 19	+12 30	<b>Tarvisium</b>	LN	LN: Treviso (IT). Ταρβίσιον Procop. BG 2, 29; 3,1-2; <i>ex Tarvisiano</i> Cassiodor var. 10, 27,3; <i>Tarvisus</i> Venant. Fortunat. Vita s. Martini 4, 665; <i>Tarvision</i> Rav. 4, 30; <i>Tribicium</i> Rav. 31; <i>Tarvisio</i> CIL 6, 2379; 2381; <i>de Tarvisio</i> Paul Diac. 3, 26; <i>Tarvisus</i> CIL 3, 9903; <i>Tarvisium</i> CIL 5, 1593, etc.; cf. <i>Montes Taruisani</i> Pliny 3, 126; <i>Taruisani</i> (var. <i>tarus-</i> , <i>tauris-</i> ) Pliny 3, 130; <i>Felix episcopus sanctae Tervisianae ecclesiae</i> Greg. M. reg. 1, 16a. If Celtic, to <i>taruo-</i> , although more possibly Venetic.	
3391	14 G1	+01/47	47 20	+01 18	<b>Tasciaca?</b>	LN	LN: Thésée (FRA). <i>Tasciaca</i> TP 1,3; later form (1369-70) <i>de Thesis</i> TGF: 9669. If Celtic, to <i>tasgo-</i> (for “hardening” of /g/ > /k/ see GPN: 401f), or more probably, from a Celtic PN <i>Tascius</i> .	
4408	19 A2	+08/47	47 39	+08 50	<b>Tasg(a)etium</b>	LN	LN: Stein am Rein (SWI); Ταξγάτιον (var. Ταξιγάτιον) Ptol. 2,12, 3; <i>Tasg.</i> CIL 13, 5254; 5257; <i>Tas.</i> CIL 12, 5256. Celtic, to <i>tasgo-</i> .	
4409	19 G3	+14/46	46 37	+14 04	<b>Tasinemeti</b> <sup>↔</sup>	LN	LN: St. Georg am Sternberg ? (AUS). <i>Tasinemeti</i> TP 4,1; See <i>nemeto-</i> for the second component. The first part remains obscure; for its equation with <i>Taxi(magulus)</i> , see GPN: 116, from <i>*tag-s-i</i> , like Ir. <i>tais</i> ‘doux, mou; humide’ (LEIA T-16); if the comparison is correct, ‘wet grove’. Alternatively, Delamarre DLG: 234 suggests relation with G. <i>taxi</i> , which is possibly viewed as a variant of <i>*tasgo-</i> ; see <i>tasgo-</i> for the difficulties of its reconstruction.	
-	6457b	25 F2	+00/43	43 53	+00 06	<b>Tasta</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). Τάστα Ptol. 2,7,11 (Müller and Ho. suggest reading Τάσγα); for the equation with <i>Elusa</i> see Cuntz Ptolemy notes p. 203 and Bedon <i>Trois Gaules</i> 241 n. 16 (see 6457 <i>Elusa</i> and 6457a <i>Elusates</i> ). If <i>Tasga</i> is the correct reading, see <i>tasgo-</i> .
3392	14 D1	-02/47	47 05	-01 47	<b>Taunucus fl.</b> <span style="color: blue;">  </span>	LN	LN: Le Tenu (FRA). Late attestations: <i>Taunucus</i> Dipl. Pertz. n. 74 (Ho.); (8 c.) <i>Taunicus</i> DARiv; (10 c.) <i>super fluvios Taunaco</i> 10 c. Bolland. Sept. 3, p. 684, De. S. Remaclo. Probably Celtic; cf. <i>tā-</i> and see A. Falileyev, “ <i>Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz: the Ukrainian Contribution</i> ”, with further bibl.	
2364	11 I2	+08/50	50 19	+08 20	<b>Taunus M.</b>	MN	MN: Taunus (GER). <i>Taunus</i> Mela 3,3,30; <i>Tauno</i> Tacitus Ann. I.56, <i>Taunum</i> XII.28; <i>C. Tavnensivm</i> CIL 13, 7064; <i>Tavnenses</i> 733; etc. Probably Celtic, interpreted as ‘the worn off mountain’ by P. De Bernardo Stempel “Ptolemy’s evidence for Germania Superior”, 86-87. It should be noted that some scholars do not admit a	

								Celtic etymology for the oronym. If the etymology provided by P. De Bernardo Stempel is correct, the oronym notably contains a short <i>au</i> ; the derivation ( <i>tauno-</i> < <i>*tm-no-</i> ) is not accepted by some linguists.
3393	14 D1	-02/47	47 16	-01 26	<b>Tauriaco</b>	LN	LN: Thouaré (FRA). <i>Tauracum</i> Gallia Christ. XIV, Vetera Dolensis Ecclesiae Monasteria p. 1068; (1123) <i>Tauriacus</i> TGF: 8384. An <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Taurius</i> (or, less likely, directly from <i>taurus</i> ‘bull’).	
9464	39 B3	+07/45	45 07	+07 40	<b>Taurini</b>	EN	EN: (IT) Ταυρῖνοί Polyb. 3,60,8; Ταυρινοί Strabo 4,6,6; 4,6,12; <i>Taurini</i> Livy 5,34,8; 21,38,5, etc.; ( <i>Augusta</i> ) <i>Taurinorum</i> Pliny 3,123, etc.; Tacit. H., 2,66; Sil. 3, 654; Incerti paneg. Constantino Augusto d 6, etc.); Ταυρίνων (var. Ταυρικῶν, Ταυρινῶν Ptol. 3,1,31); etc. Although P. De Bernardo Stempel (‘Italy and Ireland’, 90) considered it Celtic (“they who are like bulls”, “older than the metathesized Celtic lexeme <i>tarvos</i> ‘bull’”), it is much more likely to be a non-Celtic form; note that Strabo defines it as a Ligurian tribe.	
4836	20 B3	+14/46	46 17	+14 30	<b>Taurisci</b>	EN	EN: along Savus fl. to Claudius M. (CRO/SVN). Ταυρίσκοι Polyb. 2, 15, 8, passim; <i>Taurisci</i> Pliny 3, 133, passim; Ταυρίσκοι Appian Illyr. 16 et passim, etc. A Celtic tribe with a possibly hybrid name: the stem is not Celtic.	
- 3768a	16 A3	+05/43	43 04	+05 48	<b>Tauroention</b>	LN	LN: Le Brusc (FRA). <i>Tauroenta</i> Caes. BC 2.4.5; Ταυροέντιον Strabo 4,1, 5; Ταυροέντιον Ptol. 2,10,5; <i>Taurento</i> IA 506,2. Although PNPG segments the LN as <i>taruo- ent- io-</i> , possibly having <i>taruo-</i> in mind, all the sources read <i>taur-</i> (cf Lat. <i>taurus</i> ‘bull’), not <i>*taruo-</i> . Benoit 1965, 104 discusses a Ligurian origin for the name, perhaps a form <i>*tauro</i> ‘hauteur’. The ending <i>-ois</i> (see above) seems Greek, whereas <i>-ention</i> could be for Latin <i>-entium</i> . See also 3768 <i>Taurois</i> .	
3768	16 A3	+05/43	43 04	+05 48	<b>Taurois</b>	LN	LN: Le Brusc (FRA). <i>Tauroin</i> (var. <i>-is</i> ) Mela 2,5,77; Ταυρόεις St. Byz. See 3768a <i>Tauroention</i> .	
5331	21 C5	+20/44	44 50	+20 25	<b>Taurunum</b>	LN	LN: Zemun (SCG). <i>Taurunum</i> Pliny 3, 148; Ταυροῦνος ὁ χώρος Arr. Ind. 4,16); Ταύρουνον (var. Τάρουρον) Ptol. 2,15,3; Ταυρούνον (ταυρούνον; ταυρονον; ταυρονούπλας) Ptol. 2,16,4; <i>Tauruno</i> TP 5,5; <i>Tauruno</i> (var. <i>Taurono</i> ) IA 131, 6; <i>Daurono</i> (var. <i>Taurono</i> , <i>Daurono</i> ) IA 241,1; <i>Taurino</i> (var. <i>Adaurino</i> ) IA 241,3; <i>A Laurino</i> IA 242,1; <i>Tauruno</i> (var. <i>taurimo</i> ) ND oc. 32,19; (var. <i>taurimo</i> ) 43; (var.	

								<i>Taurimo</i> ) 38; <i>Taurinum</i> Rav. 4,19. Although the LN is found in the territory of the Celtic <i>Scordisci</i> , its Celticity cannot be proved; see above s.v. 3768a <i>Tauroention</i> and 9464 <i>Taurini</i> . According to P. Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 136-7 it contains a pre-IE <i>*tauru-</i> ‘Gebirge’; for the earlier references see A. Mayer, <i>Die Sprache der alten Illyrier</i> vol. 2 (Wien 1959), 112-13.
3394	14 G2	+01/46	46 59	+01 11	<b>Tausiriacum?</b>	LN	LN: Toiselay, Cm. Châtillon-sur-Indre (FRA). <i>Tausiriacum</i> GdeT VP 18,1; <i>Tausiriaco</i> HF 10,31,18. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of obscure <i>*tausir-</i> .	
3769	16 E2	+07/43	43 57	+07 50	<b>Tavia fl.</b>	RN	RN: Taggia (ITL). <i>Tavia fluvius</i> IA 503,2. Possibly Celtic, to <i>tā-</i> ; Holder cites d’Arbois de Jubainville who considers the name Ligurian.	
3395	14 G4	+01/44	44 11	+01 30	<b>Taxarias</b>	LN	LN: Castenede, Cm. De Montalzat? (FRA). <i>Taxarias</i> (var. <i>Taxonias</i> , <i>Taxarips</i> ) Vita Des. 9(17) p. 35. Latin, from Lat. <i>taxa</i> ‘a kind of laurel’ or <i>taxus</i> ‘yew’. For a Celtic approach see <i>tasgo-</i> , but since <i>-aria</i> is a Latin suffix well attested in toponymy, the Latin explanation for the first element is the more likely.	
16216	63 B1	+32/39	39 45	+32 50	<b>Tectosages</b>	EN	EN: around and S Ancyra (TUR). See 19643 <i>Tektosages</i> .	
- 6748a	25 F2	+00/43	43 20	+00 55	<b>Tectosages</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). Πηγόσαγες Polyb. 5,53,3. Misspelling of ( <i>Volcae</i> ) <i>Tectosages</i> 6748. Celtic, <i>tecto-</i> & <i>sag-</i> .	
- 6748b	25 F2	+00/43	43 20	+00 55	<b>Tectosagi</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Tectosagi</i> Flor. 1.27.5; <i>Tectosagi</i> Iustin. 32,3,9. A form of ( <i>Volcae</i> ) <i>Tectosages</i> 6748. Celtic, <i>tecto-</i> & <i>sag-</i> .	
4052	17 D3	+04/45	45 04	+04 51	<b>Tegna</b>	LN	LN: Tain-l’Hermitage (FRA). <i>Tegna</i> TP 2,1; <i>Genua</i> Rav. 4,26; later attestation (1064) <i>Tingno</i> Obscure. Da. derives this from a Latin PN <i>Tennius</i> , but that does not fit the attested forms <i>Teg-</i> . For a Celtic approach cf. G. <i>*teg-</i> ‘house’ (DLG, s.v. <i>attega</i> ‘cabane, hutte’), cf. a PN <i>Tio-tiginus</i> ‘Maître-de-Maison’ in Pannonia.	
6205	24 D2	-08/42	42 15	-07 20	<b>Teibouroi</b>	EN	EN: Puebla de Trives region (ESP). Τειβούρων (var. Ταβ-, Τιβ-) Ptol. 2,6,36; <i>iulia tibura iuli natra(e)if</i> ERRioja 12. Obscure. Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 113 mentions the survival of the name as modern <i>Trives</i> , and thinks that the people were Celts. However, the ethnicity of the bearers of a name is no sure guide to the language of that name. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 230-1, following Tovar, gives <i>Tiburi</i> or <i>Tibures</i> as the likely correct form. For <i>-uri</i> , compare <i>Gigurri</i> (6029a) and <i>Astures</i> (5926). The initial component is difficult. If the correct form was <i>*Trib-</i> or <i>*Treb-</i> , the name	

							could be Celtic; see <i>treb-</i> . For <i>*tib-</i> , cf OIr <i>tibid</i> ‘touches, breaks against, laughs’ (with a difficult pre-history, LEIA T-63).
	19643	86 C3	+32/40	40 10	+32 50	<b>Tektosages</b>	EN EN: Murtad Ova-Halys (TUR). Τεκτοσάγες Polyb. 21, 39; Strabo 4,1,13; 12,5,1; Memnon FGh 3B 433.11; P. Oxy. 6.870; <i>Tectosages</i> Livy, 28,16, 18, 19, 24-26; Pliny 5, 146; Τεκτοσάγαι App., Syr. 32; Ptol. 5,3; Τεκτόσαξ, Τεκτοσάγης, Τεκτοσάγαι, Τεκτοσάγος Herodian, De pros. cath. 3.1; <i>Tectosagi</i> Flor. 1., 27; Just., Epit. 32.1; Τεκτόσαξ Steph. Byz.; forms in inscriptions (see in Freeman, 69), etc. Celtic, <i>tecto- &amp; sag-</i> .
-	6030a	24 G3	-05/41	41 54	-04 54	<b>Tela</b>	LN LN: Cerro del Castillo de Montealegre? (ESP). <i>Tela</i> IA 440,3. A variant form of 6030 <i>Gella</i> , probably due to a Greek transmission error and Γ/T confusion.
-	6624b	25 H3	+02/42	42 43	+02 45	<b>Telis fl.</b>	RN RN: Têt (FRA). <i>Telis</i> Mela 2, 84. See 6624a <i>Tetus fl.</i>
	3396	14 E4	-01/44	44 20	-00 53	<b>Telonnum</b>	LN LN: Saignacq-et-Muret? (FRA). <i>Telonnum</i> IA 456,9. Obscure. For a Celtic approach see PNPg, Celtic elements <i>tala:-, tela:/o-</i> ‘end, top, protuberance’ (cf. DLG <i>tal-</i> , <i>talamon-</i> , ‘front, surface’).
	4170	18 B3	+04/46	46 42	+04 09	<b>Telonnum</b>	LN LN: Toulon-sur-Arroux (FRA). <i>Telonno</i> TP 1,5. Obscure. See 3396 <i>Telonnum</i> .
	16063	62 D2	+30/39	39 47	+30 28	<b>Tembris fl.</b>	RN RN: Porsuk Çayı (TUR). <i>Tymbris</i> Livy 38,18,8; <i>Tembrogius</i> (Pliny 6,4); Τέμβριος (Orphic <i>Argonautica</i> 715); Τενβρογγίος, ΤΕΜΒΡΙΣ (inscriptions, see ref. in Freeman 87); cf. also Μας Τεμρογγίος (Freeman, 80). Variants with <i>-brog-</i> may point to the Celtic origins of the RN or otherwise to its later Celtisation; if so, cf. <i>brog-</i> .
	4171	18 F2	+08/47	47 36	+08 18	<b>Tenedo</b>	LN LN: Settlement and bridge at Zurzach (SWI). <i>Tenedone</i> TP 2,5. Possibly Celtic (cf. OIr <i>tene</i> , or even G. <i>dūno-</i> ), but the LN is attested only once and may be corrupt.
	6701	25 D4	-02/41	41 37	-01 37	<b>Tertakom</b>	LN LN: Tierga (Zaragoza) (ESP). <i>terkakom</i> coin legend (MLH A.70, Villaronga 229). Barrington have taken this form from TIR K-30 p. 221; it is a misprint for <i>Terkakom</i> , attested in the coin legend. May be an <i>-āko-</i> derivative, but the base is obscure.
-	2363b	11 C2	+02/50	50 39	+02 17	<b>Tervanna</b>	LN LN: Théroutte (FRA). See 2363a <i>Tarouanna</i> and 2363 <i>Tarvenna</i> .
-	6624a	25 H3	+02/42	42 43	+02 45	<b>Tetus fl.</b>	RN RN: Têt (FRA). <i>flumina Tecum</i> (var. <i>tetum</i> ) Pliny 3,32. The modern name probably points to <i>Tetum</i> which is obscure. If <i>*tecum</i> is a correct form, cf. G. <i>teku-</i>

								'beautiful' (DLG: 293-4) or several PIE verbal roots in <i>*tek-</i> (LIV: 618f); cf. also s.v. 9469 <i>Ticinus</i> . See also 6624 <i>Rouskinon fl.</i>
2369	11 C2	+02/50	50 07	+02 28	<b>Teucera</b>	LN	LN: Thièvres sur Authie (FRA). <i>Teucera</i> TP 1,3. Obscure; the form as it stands in the source does not allow a straightforward interpretation, for a Celtic approach cf. G. <i>*tougā</i> (for the spelling cf. PN <i>Con-touca</i> ), see DLG: 299.	
2370	11 F1	+05/51	51 02	+05 49	<b>Teudurum?</b>	LN	LN: Tüddern (GER). Τευδέριον (var. τευτέριον) Ptol. II.11.13; <i>Teudurum</i> IA 375,6; etc. Possibly Celtic, <i>teuto-</i> & <i>-durum</i> .	
4054	17 B2	+03/45	45 51	+03 33	<b>Thigernum</b>	LN	LN: Thiers (FRA). <i>Thigernum castrum</i> (var. <i>Tig-</i> ) GdeT GM 51, <i>Tigernensi castello</i> 66. Possibly Celtic, cf. G. <i>*tigerno-</i> 'lord' (OIr <i>tigern</i> ), see DLG: 296.	
2375	11 G2	+06/50	50 56	+06 39	<b>Tiberiacum?</b>	LN	LN: Berghem-Zieverich/Thorr (GER). <i>Tiberiacum</i> IA 375,9. 'Place belonging to Tiberius'; an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of Latin PN <i>Tiberius</i> .	
-	6702a	25 H3	+02/42	42 19	+02 50	<b>Ticer fl.</b>	RN	RN: Muga (ESP). <i>flumen Ticer</i> (var. <i>-cher, tucher, tiger</i> ) Pliny 3,22. See 6702 <i>Ticis? fl.</i> [The river <i>Ticis?/Ticer</i> is also marked on Map 25 H3 at 42 26/+02 30.]
9468	39 E3	+09/45	45 12	+09 08	<b>Ticinum</b>	LN	LN: Pavia (IT). <i>Ticinum</i> Livy 21,45,1; Val. Max. 5,53; Pliny 3,124; 17,25; <i>Ticinum</i> Tac. Ann. 3,5; H, 2,17; 27; 30, 68; 88; IA 347,1; 356,8; Victor. Caes. 33,28; epit. 34,2; 35,2; 42,5; vir. Inl. 49,4; Ammian 15,8,18; Τίκινον Strabo 5,1,11; Τίκινον (var. Τίκενον) Ptol. 3,1,29; <i>Ticeno</i> TP 3,1; <i>Ticino</i> IA 283,1; <i>Civitas Ticino</i> (var. <i>ticeno</i> ) IB 557,8; ἐς Τικηνὸν (Procop. B. Goth. 2,12; <i>Tycinum</i> Greg. Tur. HF 3,32 etc. Derived from the 9469 <i>Ticinus</i> q.v.	
9469	39 D3	+08/45	45 25	+08 51	<b>Ticinus fl.</b>	RN	RN: Ticino (ITL / SWI). Τίκινος Polyb. 3,64,1; Strabo 5,1,11; <i>Ticinus</i> Livy 5,34,9; 5, 35,2; 21,39,10; 45,1; 47,2, 3; Val. Max. 5,4,2; Pliny 2,224; 3,118; 131; 7, 106; 19, 9; Flor. 1,22,10; 12; Oros. 4, 14,6; <i>Ticīnus</i> Sil. 4, 81-84; 5, 402-403; 6, 107; 706; 7,31; 9, 432; Claudian de VI cons. Honorii 195; <i>Ticīnus</i> Sidon. Carm. 7, 552-554. De Bernardo Stempel 'Italy and Ireland' 95-6 explain the RN as 'the Running / Flowing (river)', to <i>*tēk<sup>w</sup>-ino-s</i> or <i>*tik<sup>w</sup>-ino-s</i> (with dissimilation); cf. Ir. <i>techid</i> 'flees, runs away'. Consider here several PIE stems in <i>*tek-</i> (LIV: 618f.) which may be relevant here.	
6702	25 H3	+02/42	42 19	+02 50	<b>Ticis? fl.</b>	RN	RN: Mug (ESP). <i>Ticis flumen</i> Mela 2.89. Also known as <i>Ticer fl.</i> 6702a. If Celtic, see s.v. 9469 <i>Ticinus fl.</i> [The river <i>Ticis?/Ticer</i> is also marked on Map 25 H3 at 42	

							26 / +02 30.]
-	9449a	39 E5	+09/44	44 10	+09 25	<b>Tigullia</b>	LN LN: Sestri Levante (IT). Also known as Segesta. <i>Tigulia</i> (var. <i>legulia</i> ) Mela 2,4,72; <i>Tigulia</i> (var. <i>sig-</i> ) Pliny 3,48; Τηγουλλία (var. Τηγουλία) Ptol. 3,1,3; <i>Tegolata</i> IA 294,2; <i>Tigullia</i> CIL 11, 1147. Not necessarily Celtic; but cf. De Bernardo Stempel 'Italy and Ireland', 94: 'the last [town of the Gulf]', * <i>tigu-l-yā</i> , cf. Ir. <i>tiug</i> 'last, final'. See also 9449 <i>Segesta (Tigulliorum)</i>
	6209	24 D2	-08/42	42 54	-07 16	<b>Timalinum</b>	LN LN: Baralla? (ESP). <i>Timalino</i> IA 425,1. A variant form of 6209a <i>Talamine</i> .
-	3401a	14 H2	+02/46	46 50	+02 52	<b>Tincollo</b>	LN LN: Sancoins (FRA). <i>Tincollo</i> TP 1,4. See 3401 <i>Tincontium</i> .
	3401	14 H2	+02/46	46 50	+02 52	<b>Tincontium</b>	LN LN: Sancoins (FRA). <i>Tincontium</i> IA 460,5. Possibly Celtic, cf. <i>tinco-</i> . See also 3401a <i>Tincollo</i> .
	4423	19 B3	+09/46	46 34	+09 36	<b><u>Tinnetio</u></b>	LN LN: Tinizong ? (SWI). <i>Tinnetione</i> IA 277,7. Although the morphology of the LN is consistent with Celtic in word-formation (cf. 4560 <i>Brigetio</i> ), the major problem is identification of the stem, the Celticity of which is not evident.
	4172	18 B3	+04/46	46 36	+04 52	<b>Tinurtium</b>	LN LN Tournus (FRA). <i>Tinurtium</i> IA 359,5, <i>Tenurcio</i> TP, <i>castrum Trinorciensim</i> GdeT GM 53, etc. Obscure. The variety of forms means it is difficult to identify the ancient form.
	1044	7 C3	-04/48	48 40	-03 11	<b>Titos fl.</b>	RN RN Trieux (FRA). Τίτου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί Ptol. 2,8, 2. Obscure; for a Celtic approach cf. <i>titumen</i> explaining <i>herba artemisia</i> in Ps.-Apul. 10.18., which, as suggested by P. Anreiter ( <i>FS Schmeja</i> , Innsbruck 1998, 9-16), may go back to PIE * <i>teu-</i> 'to be strong' (cf. W. <i>twf</i> ), therefore 'Strong river'. However, this explanation of the plant-name can only be tentative; and the RN may be assignable to other languages.
	6703	25 C4	-03/41	41 05	-02 10	<b>Tittoi</b>	EN EN: middle R. Jalón valley (ESP). Τίττων Polyb. 35,2,3; Τίτθους App. Hisp. 9,44; <i>Tittha</i> CIL 3, 6311. Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 92 cites Schulten RE VI A 1573, who thinks this name is Celtic. Perhaps cf <i>TiTiaCos</i> , Russell '-ako-' 168? García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 316-7 mentions a PN <i>Titus</i> , suggesting the EN could perhaps be 'the men / descendants of Titus'. For <i>Titiakos</i> (listed by <i>Atlas</i> as a name <i>Teitiakos</i> on map 25 known only from coins; see Villaronga 293, MLH A.58 <i>titiakoś</i> , A.57 <i>teitiakoś</i> ) see Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 241, who derive it from * <i>tri-t-yo-</i> 'tercero'; if this

							is the case it cannot be related to <i>Tittoi</i> . See also 1044 <i>Titos fl.</i>
6210	24 H4	-04/40	40 07	-03 35	<b>Titulcia</b>	LN	LN: Bayona de Tajuña? <i>Titulcia?</i> (ESP). Τιτουλκία (var. Τιτουακία) Ptol. 2,6,56; <i>Titulciam</i> IA 436,1; <i>Titultiam</i> (var. <i>titulia</i> , <i>titultia</i> ) Rav. 4,44. The LN may be Latin (cf. Latin <i>titulus</i> ‘inscription’). According to Schulten RE VI A 1574, it contains Celtic element <i>-olca</i> . García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 317 prefers to compare the personal name <i>Titus</i> , <i>-a</i> and its derivatives, which are well attested in Hispania.
16072	62 G3	+31/39	39 03	+31 52	<b>Tolastochora?</b>	LN	LN: 1 mile SE Gökpınar (TUR). Τολαστοχόρα Ptol. 5,4; <i>Toloscorio</i> PT 9,5. Probably Greek; but see below for LNN in <i>tolisto-</i> .
2379	11 G2	+06/50	50 41	+06 37	<b>Tolbiacum</b>	LN	LN: Zulpich (GER). <i>Tolbiaci</i> Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> 4,79; <i>Tolbiaco (vicus)</i> IA 373,4; <i>apud Tulbiacensem oppidum</i> Greg. Tur. <i>HF</i> 2,27 (37), <i>ciuitatis Tulbiacensis</i> 3,8; <i>Tholbiaco</i> (var. <i>Tholbeaco</i> , <i>Tolbiaco</i> ) Fredegarius <i>Chron.</i> IV.38; <i>Tvlbiaco</i> Merovingian coins; etc. ‘Place belonging to Tolbius’; <i>-āko-</i> derivative of PN * <i>Tolbius</i> .
16219	63 A1	+32/39	39 55	+32 10	<b>Tolistoagioi</b>	EN	EN: W and NW Ancyra (TUR). Τολιστοάγιοι (var. Τολιστοβόγιοι Polyb. 21.37); Τολιστ[οάγιοι] (OGIS 269); Τολιστοάγιοι (OGIS 275); Π[ολισ]τοάγιοι (OGIS 276); Τολιστοάγιοι (SIG 2). Possibly identical with 16219a <i>Tolistobogioi</i> , q.v.
-	16219a	63 A1	+32/39	39 55	<b>Tolistobogioi</b>	EN	EN: W and NW Ancyra (TUR). Τολιστοβόγιοι (var. Τολιστοάγιοι) Polyb. 21.37; <i>Tolistobogii</i> Livy 38,15, 16, 19, 27; Pliny 5,146; Flor.1,27; Τολιστοβόγιοι Strabo 4,11,13; Τολιστοβωγίους, var. -βωγίους 12,3,13; 12, 5, 1; var. Τολιστοβόγιοι, Τολιγοστοβόγιοι 12,5,2; Herodian De pros. cath. 3.1; Τολιστόβιοι App. Syr., 32, 42; Τολιστοβόγιοι Ptol. 5,4; Τολιστόβιοι, Τολιστοβόγιοι Steph. Byz.; Τολισ[τ]οβόγιοι (IG ii <sup>2</sup> 3429); Τολισ[τοβ]ωγ[ιῶ]ν (RECAM 188); forms in <i>TO-</i> , <i>TOLIC-</i> , <i>TOLICTO</i> in Mionnet 1809-35, 4.392. The second component is <i>-boggio-</i> , the analysis of the first is difficult; it may be not Celtic at all (see references in ACPN: 274). The EN is probably identical with 16219 <i>Tolistoagioi</i> ; for the second component see <i>ag-</i> .
6705	25 G2	+01/43	43 37	+01 26	<b>Tolosa</b>	LN	LN: Toulouse (FRA). <i>Tolosa</i> Caesar BG 3,20,2; <i>Tolosam</i> Cicero Pro M. Fonteio IX; Τολώσση Strabo 4,1,13; <i>Tolosani</i> Pliny 3,37; Τόλοσσα Dio. Cass. 27.90; <i>Tolosam</i> IA 457.3-4, <i>Tolosa</i> 458, 3; <i>Tolosa</i> (var. <i>tholosa</i> ) IB 551.2. Probably non-Celtic; cf.



								Isaac (PNPG, Possibly Celtic elements, s.v. <i>tolo-</i> ) and de Hoz ‘Narbonensis’ 183-4. See also 6705a <i>Col. Iulia Tolosa</i> , 6705b <i>Civ. Tectosagum</i> , 6705c <i>Tolosates</i> .
-	6705c	25 G2	+01/43	43 37	+01 26	<b>Tolosates</b>	EN	EN: Toulouse (FRA). <i>Tolosatium</i> Caesar BG 1, 10, 1; <i>Tolosates</i> Isid. Etym. 9,2, 97. Possibly but not necessarily Celtic derivative of non-Celtic <i>Tolosa</i> q.v.
	6706	25 F4	+00/41	41 53	+00 10	<b>Tolous</b>	LN	LN: Nuestra Señora de la Alegría (Monzon) (ESP). <i>Tolous</i> IA 391,3. A comparison with 6705 <i>Tolosa</i> would be erroneous; see 6706a <i>Telobis</i> .
	6211	24 C3	-09/41	41 09	-08 09	<b><u>Tongobriga</u></b>	LN	LN: Freixo (Marco de Canaveses) (POR). <i>Tonobrica</i> Rav. 4,45, <i>Tongobri[g]e(n)ses</i> CIL II 743. See 6211a <i>Tountobriga</i> below.
	7181	26 D2	-07/39	39 37	-06 47	<b><u>Tongobriga</u></b>	LN	LN: Brozas? near Cáceres (ESP). Τουντόβριγα (var. τουτόβριτα, τουτόβρικα) Ptol. 2,6,38; <i>Tonobrica</i> Rav. 4,45; <i>Tongobri[g]e(n)ses</i> CIL 2, 742. Celtic, ( <i>Tongo</i> ) & <b><i>briga</i></b> . For the first component see B. M. Prósper, <i>Lenguas y religiones prerromanas del Occidente de la Península Ibérica</i> , 157f.
	3404	14 F2	+00/46	46 44	+00 55	<b><u>Tornomagus?</u></b>	LN	LN: Tournon-St-Pierre (FRA). <i>Tornomagensi</i> (var. <i>Turno-</i> ) GdeT HF 10,31,3. A LN in <b><i>magos</i></b> ; interpretation of the first part is disputable. TGF: 3059 suggests a Latin PN <i>Turnus</i> , but DLG: 304 derives another <i>Turno-magus</i> from <i>turno-</i> ‘hauteur?’. Cf. 3411 <i>Turnacum</i> .
-	6211a	24 C3	-09/41	41 09	-08 09	<b>Tountobriga</b>	LN	LN: Freixo (Marco de Canaveses) (POR). Τουντόβριγα (var. Τουτόβριτα, Τουτόβρικα) Ptol. II,6,38. At face value, Celt. <b><i>touto-</i></b> & <b><i>briga-</i></b> (emendation, proposed first by Müller 163, to { <i>Touggóbriga</i> } is not self-evident). A comparison with 6211 * <i>Tongobriga</i> (above) makes this analysis dubious. Barrington have another * <i>Tongobriga</i> , map 26 D2. Luján, ‘Ptolemy’s Callaecia’, 60-1 compares the theonym <i>Tongoe Nabiagoi</i> and personal names <i>Tongetamus</i> , <i>Tongatius</i> , etc, traditionally related to an Indo-European root * <i>teng-</i> , <i>tong-</i> (cf Old Irish <i>tongid</i> ‘swears’), but he also cites Prósper, who suggests relating the divine name to Indo-European * <i>teng-</i> ‘make wet’. Note that García Alonso compares the series of names with base <i>tonc-</i> or <i>tong-</i> which are common in the peninsula, and posits a god <i>Tungo-s</i> , after whom the town could have been named by Celtic speakers.
	2778	12 I4	+15/48	48 05	+15 37	<b>Tragisa(mus) fl.</b>	RN	RN: Traisen (AUS). <i>Trigisamo</i> TP 4,1; <i>Tragisa[mus]</i> CIL III,259; <i>Tragisa(mum)</i> AE 1955.119. Celtic, to <b><i>traget-</i></b> ‘foot’, superlative * <i>Tragisamā</i> ‘the very fast (one)’.

4842	20 D6	+16/43	43 32	+16 16	<b>Tragurium</b>	LN	LN: Tragir (CRO). Τραγύριον (var. Τραγύλιον) Polyb. 32,18; Τραγούριον Strabo 2,5,20; Τραγούριον (var. τριγούριον; τραγούνιος) Ptol. 2,16,9; <i>Tragurium</i> (var. <i>Tracurium</i> ) Mela 2,3,57; <i>Tragurium</i> Pliny 3,141; <i>Ragurio</i> TP 5,3; <i>Tragurio</i> IA 272,6. P. Sims-Williams ACPN: 256 finds Holder's equation with Old Celtic *tra(:)g- attractive. However, there is nothing diagnostically Celtic in this LN.
3642	15 D2	+04/43	43 46	+04 37	<b>Traiectum Rhodani</b>	LN	LN: Rhône crossing between Tarascon and Beaucaire (FRA). <i>Traiectum Rhodani</i> . Vicar IV. Latin ( <i>traiectio</i> 'a crossing over, passage'), but based on the RN <i>Rodanus</i> , q.v.
2386	11 G3	+06/49	49 53	+06 30	<b>Treveri</b>	LN	LN: (GER/L). <i>Treveri</i> (var. <i>treviri</i> ) Caesar BG 1, 37, passim; Τρηούηροι (var. Τρηούσγροι) Strabo 4,3,4, passim; <i>Treveri liberi</i> (var. <i>treberi</i> ) Pliny 4, 106; <i>Treueri</i> Mela 3,2,20; <i>Treveri</i> Tacitus Germ. 28, <i>Treveri</i> Hist. I.53, passim, <i>Treueros/Treuiros</i> Ann. I.41; Τρίβηροι (var. τριβηροί, τριβιροί) Ptol. 2,9,7: <i>Treveros</i> , <i>Triveros</i> IA (passim); Τρηουήρων (var. Τριήρων) Cassius Dio XXXIX.47; <i>Triberorum</i> ND oc 9, 37 and 38; 11, 35, 44, 77; 12,26; <i>Tribrorum</i> (var. <i>triobrorum</i> ) 11, 58; <i>Treuerorum</i> (gen.) Orosius 6,10,10; <i>Civis Trever</i> CIL 7, 36; <i>Civis Trevera</i> 13, 233; <i>Trever</i> 633, 1988, 3695a, 7516a; <i>Civi Trevero</i> (dat.) 634; <i>Treveri</i> (gen.sg.) 1883, 1984, 2027, 2029, 2032, 2669, 11200; <i>Trevero</i> (dat.sg.) 1911, 2033, 8519; <i>Treveror[um]</i> (gen.) 7612; <i>Matribvs Treveris</i> 8634; <i>Trevir(o)</i> (abl.) XVI 23, 84, 138: etc. '?People of the land where the water flows through', or metaphorically, '?people like a flowing river', with *tri- <sup>2</sup> & uero- (Isaac, AILR and PNPG), or '(those) crossing the river' (with <i>trē</i> < * <i>trei</i> ), R. Thurneysen (see DLG: 201, references).
2387	11 H4	+07/48	48 30	+07 30	<b>Triboci</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Tribocos</i> (var. <i>triboces</i> ) Caesar BG 1,51, <i>Tribocorum</i> (var. <i>tribucorum</i> ) 4,10; Τριβοκχοι Strabo 4,3,4; <i>Triboci</i> (var. <i>triuoci</i> , <i>-ibochi</i> ) Pliny 4, 106; <i>Triboci</i> Tacitus Germ. 28, <i>Tribocorum</i> (gen.) Hist. IV.70; Τριβόκων (var. τριβόνων, τριβόκκων, τριβοκῶν) Ptol. 2,9,9; <i>Triboci</i> Orosius 6,7,7; <i>Tribuncos</i> (var. <i>tribunos</i> ) Ammianus 16,12,58; <i>Trebocvs</i> CIL 3, 9760; <i>Tribocvs</i> 9816 (= CIL 3, 3164); <i>Civis Triboci</i> 13, 2018; <i>Civ(itas) Tribocorvm</i> 9098; etc. Although the Celticity of the entry is not in doubt, its exact interpretation is difficult. P. De

							Bernardo Stempel, 'Ptolemy's evidence for Germania Superior', 76 derives the EN from * <i>trig</i> <sup>w</sup> - <i>o-kī</i> < * <i>trig</i> <sup>w</sup> - 'reiben'; G. R. Isaac, PNPG, s.v. sees in it * <i>tri-bouco</i> - 'of three cows'.
2388	11 D4	+03/48	48 26	+03 45	<b>Tricasses</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Tricasses</i> (var. <i>trec-</i> , <i>tritic-</i> , <i>tricassae</i> ) Pliny 4, 107; Τρικάσιοι (var. τρικκάσιοι) Ptol. 2,8,10; <i>Tricasis</i> IA 361,3; <i>Ciuitas Tricassium</i> (var. <i>trecassium</i> , <i>trिकासium</i> , <i>trigasionorum</i> , <i>tricassionorum</i> ) NG 4, 6; <i>Tricassinus</i> (var. <i>trिकासinus</i> ) NT LXXXVII.41, <i>Tricassis</i> (trिकासis) 42; <i>Tricassin(o)</i> CIL 13, 1691; <i>Tricassinorum</i> 2924; <i>Tricassium</i> 2957; <i>Civitate Tricassivm</i> AE 1953.56; etc. 'The very excellent ones', <i>tri</i> <sup>2</sup> & <i>cassio</i> -.
- 3989b	17 D5	+04/44	44 21	+04 46	<b>Tricastini</b>	EN	EN (FRA). Τρικαστίνοι (var. Τρικαττίνοι, Τριστακηνοί, Τρικαστηνοί) Ptol. 2,10,7. Celtic, <i>tri</i> - & <i>casto-</i> ( <i>cassi-</i> ); see PNPG and De Hoz, 'Narbonensis' 180-1. Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 254 cautions that the name could also be pre-Indo-European. See also <i>Noiomagus</i> 3989 and 3989a <i>Col. Augusta Tricastinorum</i> .
4844	20 F3	+18/46	46 51	+18 09	<b>Tricciana</b>	LN	LN: Ságvár (HUN). <i>Tricciana</i> (var. <i>Triccana</i> ) IA 267,7; cf. Cod. Theod. 11, 36,26. According to P. Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 199 the LN goes back to a Celt. PN <i>Triccius</i> (cf. Ir. <i>trice</i> ). For a component <i>trico-</i> see 1861 <i>Aútrikon</i> (GL).
3643	15 E3	+05/43	43 22	+05 09	<b>Tricores?</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Tricorium</i> Pliny 3,34. Celtic, '(of) three armies'; <i>tri</i> - & <i>corio</i> -.
4056	17 F4	+05/44	44 50	+05 50	<b>Tricorii</b>	EN	EN (FRA). Τρικόριοι Strabo 4,1,11; 6,5; <i>Trigorios</i> Livy hist. 21,31,9; Τρίκουρους Appian. 4,I,3; <i>Tricorios</i> Amm. Marc. 15,10,11. Celtic, <i>tri</i> - & <i>corio</i> -.
5355	21 C5	+20/44	44 37	+20 30	<b>Tricorn(i)enses</b>	EN	EN: Around Ritopek (SCG). Τρικορνήνσιοι (var. Τρικονήνσιοι, Τρικαρνήνσιοι, Τρικορνίσιοι) Ptol. 3, 9, 2. A. Cermanovič-Kuzmanovič, <i>Jugoslovenske zemlje na Ptolemejevoj karti</i> , in <i>Monumenta cartographica Jugoslaviae</i> , volume I (Belgrade 1975), p.16 considers it Thracian. Possibly Celtic (with Lat. <i>-enses</i> ), 'the inhabitants of Tricornium', q.v.
5356	21 C5	+20/44	44 44	+20 39	<b>Tricornium</b>	LN	LN: Ritopek (SCG). Τρικόνιον (var. Τρικορνία, Τρικόνιον) Ptol. 3,9,3; <i>Tricornio</i> TP 6,1; <i>Mutatio Tricornia Castra</i> IB 564,3; <i>Tricornio</i> ND or. 41 5, 14, 22, 28; Πρικορνία Hierocl. 657,14; <i>fil. Tricorn(io)</i> CIL 6, 67. Possibly Celtic, <i>tri</i> & <i>corn</i> -, although a different linguistic attribution of the LN containing commonplace

							components is possible (see IMS 1, 37-8).
	6215	24 D1	-08/43	43 49	-07 51	<b>Trileukoi Inss.</b>	IN IN: 3 islets 2 miles NNE Punta dos Aguillóns (ESP). Τρίλευκοι Ptol. 2,6,73. Cf . 6061a <i>Trileukon Pr.</i> ; q.v. for etymology.
-	6061a	24D1	-08/43	43 47	-07 53	<b>Trileukon Pr.</b>	Prom Prom: Punta dos Aguillóns (ESP). Τρίλευκον Ptol. 2,6,4. Also known as 6061 <i>Lapatia Korou Akron</i> . Contains Celtic <i>leuco</i> ; and <i>tri-</i> or <i>tri</i> <sup>2</sup> -, therefore ‘three bright [islands]’, or ‘very bright’.
	3410	14 H4	+02/44	44 54	+02 50	<b>Triobris fl.</b>	RN RN: La Truyère (FRA). <i>Triobrem</i> Sid. App. Carm. 24, 22. Obscure; possibly Celtic, but exact meaning and word formation is difficult to estimate. Delamarre (DLG: 237), following C. Jullian, discusses the LN under the head-word <i>*obri-</i> ‘rivière, fontaine?’ and suggests <i>*tri-obri-s</i> , ‘les trois fontaines’. He thinks that <i>*obri</i> (segmented from this RN and RN <i>Obrinca</i> ) < <i>*obero-</i> < <i>*au-bero</i> ; the chain of phonetic developments he postulates here is difficult to accept.
	6216	24 H2	-04/42	42 27	-03 29	<b>Tritium</b>	LN LN: Alto de Rodilla (Monasterio de Rodilla) (ESP). <i>Tritium</i> (var. <i>trist-</i> ) Pliny 3.27; <i>Tritium</i> (var. <i>tricium</i> ) IA 450,1. Consistent with Celtic (cf. Celtic <i>*tritio-</i> ‘third’, to <i>tri-</i> ), but may well be assigned to a different language.
	6718	25 C3	-03/42	42 24	-02 45	<b><u>Tritium</u></b> <b><u>Magallum</u></b>	LN LN: Tricio (ESP). Τρίτιον Μέταλλον Ptol. 2.6.54; <i>Tritio</i> IA 394.1; <i>Tritiens(i) Magall(um)</i> CIL 2, 4227, etc. Possibly Celtic, with Celtic <i>*tritio-</i> ‘third’ (see s.v. <i>tri-</i> ), for the second component cf. perhaps s.v. 3562 <i>Magalona</i> . See ACPN: 236 for further references.
	3773	16 A2	+05/43	43 30	+05 50	<b>Tritolii?</b>	EN EN: (FRA). <i>Tritollorum</i> (var. <i>tritull-</i> , <i>tricol-</i> ) Pliny 3,34. Obscure; may contain Celtic <i>tri-</i> , or intensive <i>tri</i> <sup>2</sup> ; the second component is difficult to identify, cf. e.g., Ir. <i>tol</i> ‘desire’ (LEIA T-101)?
	16221	63 E1	+34/39	39 54	+34 30	<b>Trokmoi</b>	EN EN: around Taouion (TUR). Τρόκμοι Polyb. 31,8; (var. Τρόγκοι, Τρόγμοι) Strabo 12, 5,1; (var. Τρόμοι) 5, 2; 4,1,13; μέχρι τῶν Τρόκμων (var. Τροιμῶν) 12,3,39; App. Syr. 32, 42; RECAM 188; OGIS 349; IGRom. 1683; I. Didyma 475; CIG 3973); <i>Trocmi</i> (Cic. Div. 2,79;); <i>Trogmi</i> Livy 38,16 and 26, Pliny 5,146); Τρωκμοί (Herodian De pros. cath. 3.1; Ptol. 5,4); Τρωκμηνοί (Herodian De pros. cath. 3.1); Τρωγμοί (Memnon FGrH 3B 434.11); Τροκμοί (Steph. Byz). Definitely a Celtic tribe; the EN, however, is difficult; cf. Luján, ‘Galatian place-names’ (bibl.), 256 for

							a connection with OIr <i>tróg</i> ‘miserable’. See further references in ACPN: 275.	
16075	62 F2	+31/39	39 31	+31 09	<b>Trokna</b>	LN	LN: Kaymaz (TUR). Deduced from the EN Τρωκνάδες (Epiphanius, <i>Notitia episcopatum</i> 250); <i>Trocna</i> δες, Τροκνα[δες] ( <i>Ephemeris Epigraphica</i> 5,46). Not necessarily Celtic; but cf. 16221 <i>Trokmoi</i> .	
6217	24 C2	-09/42	42 03	-08 39	<b>Tude</b>	LN	LN: Túy (ESP). Τοῦδαι (var. Τοῦνδαι ) Ptol. 2,6,44; <i>Tude</i> IA 429,7; <i>Tude</i> Rav. 4,43; <i>Tyde</i> SIL 3.367. Obscure. G. R. Isaac (AILR) suggests that it may contain a possibly Celtic element <i>tunda</i> : (Old Celtic <i>*teud-</i> , <i>*toud-</i> ), therefore <i>Tudae</i> ‘a covered place’. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 247-8 cites Tovar’s suggestion of a relationship to Indo-European <i>*teuta</i> , which is quite a distant match. See also 6217a <i>Castellum Tyde</i> .	
7461	27 B4	-04/37	37 54	-03 08	<b>Tugia</b>	LN	LN: Toya (Peal del Becerro) (ESP). Τοῦγία Ptol. 2,6,58; <i>Tugia</i> IA 404,3; <i>Tugiense</i> CIL 2, 3251, etc. Not necessarily Celtic; but cf. Celtic <i>*togyo-</i> ‘covering, hall’ (OIr <i>tugae</i> ); cf. ACPN 231. See also <i>Tugiensis Saltus</i> .	
7462	27 C4	-03/37	37 55	-02 57	<b>Tugiensis Saltus</b>	MN	MN: Sierra de Cazorla (ESP). <i>Tugiensi...saltu</i> (var. <i>tumguensi</i> , <i>tynguensi</i> ) Pliny 3,9. See <i>Tugia</i> .	
4426	19 C3	+10/46	46 10	+10 50	<b>Tuliassi</b>	EN	EN: NW Trento (IT). <i>Tuliassium</i> CIL V 5050. Although the word formation of the EN is consistent with Celticity, and <i>tul-</i> is also known in Gaulish (cf. <i>Mars Tritullos</i> , etc.), it is quite likely to be non-Celtic. Cf. García Alonso 2003, 384 for this component in various languages.	
-	2389a	11 F4	+05/48	48 40	+05 50	<b>Tullium</b>	LN	LN: Toul (FRA). See 2389 <i>Tullum</i> .
	6720	25 C3	-03/42	42 51	-02 24	<b>Tullonium</b>	LN	LN: Castillo de Henayo (Alegría) (ESP). Τουλλόνιον (var. Τουλλόνιον, Τουλόνιον) Ptol. 2.6.65; <i>Tullonio</i> IA 455.1. Obscure. Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 391 considers the name Celtic or Ligurian, and notes that CIL II 2939 (text) is a dedication to a god <i>Tullonio</i> . García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 384 cites Albertos Firmat, ‘Álava prerromana y romana’, who thinks the name is formed on a base <i>Tullo-</i> found in various non-Hispanic names. García Alonso compares the EN <i>Tulliasses</i> and the DN <i>Tullinus</i> , and suggests that there might also be a relationship with <i>Toletum</i> (5981) and <i>Tullica</i> . Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 476-7 discuss the variant forms and derive the name from Indo-European <i>*tola</i> . See further s.v. 2389 <i>Tullum</i> . See also <i>Toullika</i>

							6720a.	
2389	11 F4	+05/48	48 40	+05 50	<b>Tullum</b>	LN	LN: Toul (FRA). Τούλλιον (var. τοῦλλον) Ptol. 2,9,7; <i>Tullio</i> TP 2,1; <i>Tullum</i> (var. <i>tulum</i> ) IA 365,4; 385,10; <i>Tullo Leucorum</i> 385, 6; <i>Civitas Leucorum</i> , <i>Tullo</i> NG 5, 4; <i>Tulla</i> Rav. 4, 26; <i>Tollo</i> Fredegarius Chron. 4, 8; <i>Tul(l)o Loucoru(m)</i> AE 1975.634; etc. Obscure; cf. Latin PN <i>Tullus</i> . For a Celtic approach, cf. Isaac, AILR s.v. <i>tullo</i> - ‘hole(d)’ < * <i>tuk-slo</i> - < * <i>teuk</i> - ‘shove, hit’ IEW 1032, therefore ‘?the holed place’. See also 2389a <i>Tullium</i> .	
2390	11 F2	+05/50	50 36	+05 20	<b>Tungri</b>	EN	EN (B). <i>Tungri</i> (var. <i>tuncgri</i> ) Pliny 4, 106; <i>Tungrorum</i> Tacitus <i>Agr.</i> 36, <i>Tungri</i> Germ. 2, <i>Tungrorum</i> Hist. 2,14; 4,16, 55, 66; <i>Tungrarum</i> 2, 15, <i>Tungros</i> 2, 28 and 4, 79; Τοῦνγροι (var. τούνγροι) Ptol. 2,9,5; <i>Tungri</i> ND oc 5,71,219; 7, 50; <i>Sagittarii Tungri</i> 5, 174; 7, 41; <i>Tungrorum</i> (var. <i>tungorum</i> ) 40, 40, <i>Tungros</i> 42, 43; <i>Ciuitas Tungrorum</i> (var. <i>tungorum</i> , <i>taugorum</i> ) NG 8, 3; <i>Tungros</i> Ammianus 17, 8; <i>Tungrus</i> Greg. Tur. HF II.5; <i>Tvnger</i> CIL 3, 5450 and 6, 33977 (= 6, 10177); <i>Pedat[vra] Tvngrec[ano]rvm</i> 13, 5190; [ <i>Civ</i> ]es <i>Tvngri</i> 8815; <i>Tvngrorum</i> 16, 43, and 48, 51, 69 and 7, 882; etc. Probably Germanic, cf. Weisgerber RGC 336. For a Celtic approach, cf. Toorians KGN 74, where a link with the Celtic verb * <i>tong</i> - ‘to swear (an oath)’ is tentatively suggested.	
-	6220a	24 C2	-09/42	42 27	-08 35	<b>Turaqua</b>	LN	LN: Tourón (ESP). <i>Turaqua</i> Rav. 4,43. A variant spelling for 6220 <i>Turoqua</i> , perhaps influenced by Latin <i>aqua</i> .
4057	17 E3	+05/45	45 53	+05 02	<b>Turedonnum</b>	LN	LN: Revel-Tourdan? (FRA). <i>Turedonno</i> TP 2,1. Known for certain only from TP, according to Rivet <i>Gallia Narbonensis</i> 313, but there is also Rav. 4, 27 <i>Urdonno</i> , for <T> <i>urdonno</i> (Schnetz). Possibly Celtic: <i>-donno</i> could be an error for Celtic <i>-dunum</i> , or could be Celtic <i>donno</i> - ‘dark’ or ‘noble’ (cf. Celtic personal names in <i>don(n)o</i> - ( <i>Donnus</i> , <i>Donnius</i> , <i>Donnicus</i> , <i>Donnomarcu</i> , etc.). See KGP: 196-7, GPN 194-5, Delamarre 2007: 88 and cf. DLG: 147 s.v. * <i>donno</i> - ‘noble’ and Sims-Williams 2003: 101 for etymological considerations. For the first component see <i>tur</i> -. The composition vowel <i>-e-</i> is a problem; Another possibility to analyse the LN as Celtic will be to consider here * <i>onno</i> - ‘river’ (though the existence of this word is doubtful) or ‘ash-tree’ (see DLG s.v.); morphology is also obscure then.	

6721	25 D4	-02/41	41 54	-01 44	<b>Turiaso</b>	LN	LN: Tarazona (ESP). <i>Turiassonenses</i> Pliny 3.24; Τουριασσώ (var. Τουριασώ) Ptol. 2.6.57; <i>Turiassone</i> IA 442.4, <i>Turassone</i> 443.3; <i>Turriasson</i> Rav. IV.43. Obscure. Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 390 compares Celtiberian <i>Turus</i> , <i>Turius</i> , and Curchin ‘Celticization’ suggests that <i>Turiaso</i> is from an Indo-European hydronymic root <i>*ter-</i> . Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 477 derive <i>Turiaso</i> from <i>*ter(H)</i> ‘frotar, restregar, romper por fricción, penetrar, perforar’. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 327 cites RE VII, which compares the ending to that of <i>Oiasso</i> ; he suggests the name could be understood as something like ‘the (city) of Turus’. For a Celtic approach see <i>tur-</i> . Cf. also 6722 <i>Turissa</i> .
4427	19 A2	+08/47	47 22	+08 31	<b>Turicum</b>	LN	LN: Zürich (SWI). <i>statio Turicensis</i> CIL 13, 5243; if Celtic, to <i>tur-</i> .
6722	25 H4	+02/41	41 43	+02 54	<b>Turissa</b>	LN	LN: Tossa de Mar (ESP). <i>Turissa</i> AE 1924, 7. Holder suggests that the LN is derived from <i>Turius</i> . Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 434 cites Corominas, <i>Top. Hesp.</i> I 266, who considers the name Basque, comparing <i>Iturissa</i> (no. 6509 above). For a Celtic approach, cf. <i>tur-</i> .
2391	11 D2	+03/50	50 37	+03 24	<b>Turnacum</b>	LN	LN: Tournai/(Doornik) (B). <i>Turnaco</i> TP 1,3; <i>Turnacum</i> IA 376,7; 377,2; 377, 5; 378,9; (var. <i>turnum</i> ) 378,11; <i>Tornacensis</i> ND oc 11, 57, <i>Turnacensium</i> 28,15; <i>Ciuitas Turnacensium</i> (var. <i>tornatensium</i> , <i>turnacentium</i> , <i>turiacensium</i> ) NG 6, 8; <i>Infra Thornacensis muros</i> Greg. Tur. <i>HF</i> 4, 35 (50), <i>a Thornaco</i> 36 (51), <i>Tornacum</i> 5, 15 (22), <i>In pago Tornacensi</i> 5, (49), <i>Tornacensis</i> 10, 27; <i>Genio Turnace(n)sium[m]</i> CIL 13, 3565; etc. Celtic, an <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a PN <i>Turn(i)us</i> . According to Delamarre (DLG: 304-5), directly to G. <i>turno-</i> ‘height’? < <i>*tuer-</i> ?, cfr. Breton <i>tornaot</i> ‘cliff, slope’.
3411	14 F1	+00/47	47 43	+00 45	<b><u>Turnacum</u></b>	LN	LN: Ternay? (FRA). <i>Turnacensim</i> GdeT VM 4,12; (11 c.) <i>Turniacum</i> TGF: 6654. For the etymology see 2391 <i>Turnacum</i> .
7199	26 D4	-07/37	37 59	-06 58	<b>Turobriga</b>	LN	LN: Ermita de S. Mamés? (Aroche) (ESP). <i>Turobriga</i> (var. <i>tuso-</i> , <i>-brigi</i> ) Pliny 3,14; <i>Turobrigensi</i> CIL 2, 964. Celtic compound in <i>brig-</i> ; for the first component see <i>tur-</i> and cf. similar looking PNN.
3412	14 F2	+00/46	46 55	+00 10	<b>Turoni</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Turonos</i> Caesar BG 2,35,3, <i>Turonis</i> 8,46,4; <i>Turones</i> Pliny 4,107; <i>Turoni</i> Tac. Ann. 3,41; Τουρούπιοι (var. τουρογειῆς) Ptol. 2,8,11; <i>apud Toronus</i>

							(var. <i>Turonus</i> ) GdeT HF 3,17; <i>civitas turonor(um)</i> CIL 13, 3076; <i>civitas tu</i> 3077. Possibly Celtic, cf. <i>tur-</i> ; Lambert, ‘Lugdunensis’ 236, suggests ‘an altered form of * <i>tauro-</i> “bull”’, which is not likely. Cf <i>Civ. Turonorum</i> (above no. 3077a).
6220	24 C2	-09/42	42 27	-08 35	<b>Turoqua</b>	LN	LN: Tourón (ESP). Τουρουπτιάνα (var. Τουρουπίανα) Ptol. 2,6,22; <i>Turoqua</i> IA 430,2; <i>Turaqua</i> Rav 4,43. Celticity is dubious. Ptolomaic form may have an underlying <i>Touroulliana</i> (see García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 197-8) which is difficult to reconcile with the other attestations (see also 6220a <i>Turaqua</i> ), which are linguistically problematic.
2785	12 F4	+12/48	48 10	+12 13	<b>Turum</b>	LN	LN: Haag, Dorfen? (GER). <i>Turo</i> IA 259,4. If Celtic, which is not self-evident, cf. <i>tur-</i> .
4428	19 G2	+14/47	47 48	+14 09	<b>Tutatio</b> “	LN	LN: Kirchdorf (AUS). <i>Tuta(s)tione</i> TP 3,5; <i>Tutationen</i> IA 277,1. According to Isaac, AILR, Comments, “a formation based on the name of the Gaulish god <i>Teutatis</i> is plausible, cf. <i>Teutātes</i> Lucan 1, 445, <i>Toutati</i> CIL iii 5320 Seckau (c. 50 miles SE of <i>Tutatio</i> ), CIL vi 31182, RIB 219 Barkway (Herts), <i>Jutat&lt;i&gt;</i> RIB 1017 Old Carlisle”.
4058	17 I5	+07/44	44 18	+07 08	<b>Tyrii</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Turri</i> (var. <i>esturi</i> , <i>mesturi</i> ) Pliny 3,47; <i>tyrior(um)</i> AE 1997,1764; <i>Tyriorum</i> CIL 11, 1934. Obscure. Cf <i>Tyrium</i> 3926. Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 351 suggests that the EN is related to the RN <i>Stura</i> .
- 3926a	17 H4	+06/44	44 57	+06 47	<b>Tyrium</b>	LN	LN: Cesana (ITL). <i>Tyrio</i> Vicar. IV. Obscure. Cf ENN <i>Turi</i> (as in <i>Eguituri</i> , above no. 3907) and <i>Tyrii</i> (above no. 4058) (Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 66). See also 3926 <i>Gaesao</i> .
4059	17 G3	+06/45	45 06	+06 10	<b>Ucennii</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Vcenni</i> (var. <i>uceni</i> , <i>ucermi</i> ) Pliny 3,137; <i>Ucennos</i> (var. <i>cennos</i> , <i>sennos</i> , <i>scennos</i> ) Flor. 2,22,4; <i>Vcenni</i> CIL 5, 7817. Obscure. According to Barruol, the original form was * <i>Cenni</i> , which is hardly correct. A comparison with LN <i>Ucena</i> (Galatia) is impeccable; see Luján ‘The Galatian Place Names in Ptolemy’, 262. See also 4059a <i>Ikonioi</i> .
3644	15 C1	+04/44	44 01	+04 25	<b>Ucetia</b>	LN	LN: Uzès (FRA). <i>Castrum Uceciense</i> (var. <i>uciense</i> ) NG 15, 9; <i>Vcetiae</i> CIL 12, 3362; <i>Ucetia</i> Conc. Agathense (506); <i>Eucetice</i> Conc. Aurelianense (541), <i>Uceticinsium</i> Conc. Aurelianense (549); <i>Ucecensis</i> (var. <i>Ucensis</i> ) GdeT HF VI.7,



								<i>Ucetica</i> , (var. <i>Utetica</i> ) VIII.18, <i>vcecefit</i> coins Belfort 4613, <i>vceciecvsmo</i> 4614. Probably Celtic. The LN has been compared to a Gaulish DN <i>Ucuetis</i> (DG: 57; RIG L-13); the latter has been interpreted as '(God) of Pine Saplings', to PIE <i>*puk-</i> (IEW: 828, cf. Ir. <i>octach</i> 'pine') & PIE <i>*uei-ti-</i> 'sapling, reed, wand (IEW: 1122, Ir <i>feith</i> 'wicker'). The loss of <i>-v-</i> , however, is normally found intervocally (cf. GPN: 397). According to K. H. Schmidt ( <i>ZCP</i> 41 (1986), 1-4) the DN is related to PIE <i>*ueky-</i> 'speak' (IEW: 1135-6, cf. Ir <i>focul</i> ); and he does not mention the LN. X. Delamarre (DLG: 325) reconstructs <i>*uocaiton</i> , <i>uoceton</i> 'sous-bois' (see <i>uo-</i> , <i>cae/ito-</i> , <i>cēto-</i> ), which may be reflected in the LNN. Lambert LG: 102 derives it from <i>*okuo-</i> (cf. L. <i>acuus</i> ).
3414	14 D3	-02/45	45 57	-01 25	<b>Uliarios Ins.</b>	IN	IN: Ile d'Oléron (FRA). <i>Uliaros</i> (var. <i>Uliarios</i> , <i>Uliarus</i> ) Pliny 4,109. Possibly Celtic; cf. W. <i>ól</i> 'track', originally with short <i>-o-</i> , which could be spelled with <i>-u-</i> . See also 3414a <i>*Olario Ins.</i>	
-	1702a	10 B5	+05/51	51 46	+05 47	<b>Ulpia Noviomagus (Ulpia) Noviomagus</b>	LN	LN: Nijmegen (NL). See 1702 <i>Batavodurum Noviomagus</i> and cf. 1702b <i>Batavi</i> .
-	1047a	7 E2	-02/49	49 30	-01 30	<b>Unelli</b>	EN	EN : (FRA). See 1047 <i>Venelli</i> .
	3646	15 C1	+04/44	44 01	+04 26	<b>Ura Fons</b>	LN	LN: Ure spring (FRA). <i>Urae fontis</i> CIL 12, 3076. <i>Ura</i> is obscure; it may be tentatively compared with OIr <i>úr</i> 'young, tender', Welsh <i>ir</i> , for these see LEIA U-26.
	4174	18 D3	+06/46	46 45	+06 32	<b>Urba</b>	LN	LN: Orbe vicinity (SWI). <i>Urba</i> IA 348,3; <i>Orba</i> (var. <i>Urba</i> ) Fred. Chron. 4.42. Possibly Celtic, cf. <i>*urbo-</i> for which see the next entry.
	4851	20 E4	+17/45	45 06	+17 30	<b>Urbate</b> <sup>69</sup>	LN	LN: Srpac (BOS). <i>Urbate</i> TP 5,1; IA 269,4. Isaac (comm IA ad loc.) notes that "while the name seems to contain Lat. <i>urb-</i> , the morphology is not typically Latin, and a Pre-Roman (plausibly Celtic) <i>urb-</i> or <i>orb-</i> is likely"; cf. Isaac, PNPG, Possibly Celtic elements, s.v. <i>*urbo-</i> . On the river name <i>Urbas</i> / <i>Urbanus</i> see Anreiter <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 258-9. In view of its location probably non-Celtic.

6223	24 F2	-06/42	42 17	-05 25	<b>Urbicus fl.</b>	RN	RN Oribigo (ESP). <i>ad fluvium nomine Urbicum</i> Hyd. chron. 173; <i>flumen Vrbium</i> Iord. Get. 232; <i>fluvium Orbicum</i> Chron. Caesaraug. 458; <i>apud fluvium, qui Urbicus appellatur</i> Isid. Hist. Goth. 31; <i>Legio super Urbigo</i> Additamenta ad Isidori Historias Pelagiana (Chron. Min. II p. 307). Obscure; for a possibly Celtic element <i>urbo-</i> see Isaac, PNPG, Possibly Celtic elements, s.v. and cf ACPN 209 n. 115.	
4175	18 E2	+07/47	47 57	+07 20	<b>Uruncis?</b>	LN	LN: Illzach (FRA). <i>Uruncis</i> IA 252, 2, <i>Virincis</i> (var. <i>orincis, udirincis, utirencis</i> ) 349,5. Obscure. ADAS 162 suggests, implausibly, that the LN derives from the Celtic RN <i>Olruna</i> (the Doller).	
4432	19 D2	+11/47	47 53	+11 07	<b>Urusa?</b>	LN	LN: Raitsing (GER). <i>Urusa</i> TP 3,2; if Celtic, cf. G. <i>*uros</i> ‘aurochs’ (with a difficult etymology), for which see Delamarre, DLG: 330. The Gaulish word is well represented in anthroponymy, cf. Ουρου RIG I, G-182, <i>dae Vrobrocae</i> CIL XII, 1182; <i>Vro-genia</i> CIL XIII, 1925; <i>Vro-genius</i> CIL XIII, 19275; <i>Vro-genus</i> CIL XIII, 1907, etc.	
3415	14 G3	+01/45	45 25	+01 33	<b>Userca</b>	LN	LN: Uzerche (FRA). <i>ecclesiam Userca</i> Ruric. Epist. 2,20,5; coins Belfort 4631 <i>Vserca</i> , 4632 <i>Vser</i> , 4633 <i>Vserca</i> ; later attestations: (6 c.) <i>ad ecclesiam Usercam</i> ; (1190) <i>Uzercha</i> TGF: 15392; (848) <i>Usercensium vicaria</i> Da. Obscure. Da. has fem. <i>*uc-erica</i> from <i>*uc-ericum</i> , from pre-Celtic <i>*uc-</i> ‘hauteur’, but this is unlikely. TGF 15392 suggests a Germanic PN <i>Udelricus</i> (NPAG I 176a), treated as <i>*Uzelr(i)cus</i> , but this does not seem to be a proper match. For a Celtic approach cf. <i>*uxso-erca-</i> , with <i>ūx-</i> ; for <i>*erca</i> see PNPG, possibly Celtic elements, s.v. (cf. OIr <i>erc</i> ‘speckled’, MW <i>erch</i> ‘id.’ < PIE <i>*perk-</i> ‘id.’ IEW 820-1), and García Alonso 236 ( <i>*erku-</i> IEW 340, OIr <i>erc</i> ‘heaven’).	
3417	14 F4	+00/44	44 25	+00 11	<b>Ussubium</b>	LN	LN: Le Mas-d’Agenais (FRA). Ουέβιον (var. ούσβιον) Ptol. 2,11,15; <i>Ussubium</i> IA 461,5; <i>Vssubio</i> CIL 13, 919. Probably Celtic. Isaac, AILR segments <i>us(s)u- bio-</i> , listing <i>ussu</i> as a possibly Celtic element, and tentatively suggests a root <i>*ued-</i> , <i>*ud-</i> ‘wet, water’, the name then being <i>ussu-bio</i> ‘water-cutting?’. For other Celtic possibilities, cf. <i>ūx-</i> ; if <i>Ves-</i> rather than <i>Uss-</i> is correct (though this is unlikely), to <i>uesu-</i> ‘valable, bon, digne de’. See also <i>Vesubio</i> .	
-	6725b	25 H2	+02/43	43 12	+02 45	<b>Usuerna</b>	LN	LN: Lézignan? (FRA). This is a misreading of (TP) <i>Usuerua</i> 6725.

6725	25 H2	+02/43	43 12	+02 45	<b>Usuerva</b>	LN	LN: Lézignan? (FRA). <i>Vsuerua</i> TP. Obscure. ACPN 121 n. 65 notes G. Isaac's suggestion of a possible Celtic etymology from <i>*uts-swerwa</i> , cf. <i>W. chwerw</i> 'bitter'
6226	24 E2	-07/42	42 41	-06 55	<b>Uttaris</b>	LN	LN: Trabadelo (ESP). <i>Uttaris</i> (var. <i>***aris</i> , <i>uttari</i> ) IA 425,3. G. R. Isaac (AILR) segments the LN as <i>ut- tar(r)i/o-</i> ; cf. Old Irish <i>uss-</i> (LEIA O-34, IEW 1103-4) and <i>taro-</i> .
6726	25 B4	-04/41	41 34	-03 05	<b>Uxama (Argaela)</b>	LN	LN: Cerro del Castro (Burgo de Osma) (ESP). <i>Vxama</i> (var. <i>bix-</i> , <i>ibix-</i> ) Pliny 3,27; <i>Auxume</i> Flor. 2,10,9; Οὔξαμα Ἀργαίλα (var. Οὔξαμαργέλλα) Ptol. 2,6,55; <i>Vasamam</i> IA 441,2; <i>Uxama</i> Oros. hist. 5,23,14; <i>Vxsamensis</i> CIL 2, 2403, <i>Vxame/nsi</i> 2731. Superlative <i>ūxama-</i> , to <i>ūx-</i> 'high'; for <i>Argaela</i> cf. <i>argo-</i> .
1046	7 A3	-06/48	48 26	-05 11	<b>Uxantis Ins.</b>	IN	IN: Ushant (FRA). Οὔξιθάμη Strabo 1,4,5; <i>Axanthos</i> Pliny 4,103; <i>Uxantis</i> (var. <i>uxanis</i> , <i>uxantisma</i> ) IA 509, 3. Superlative <i>ūxama-</i> , to <i>ūx-</i> 'high'; the forms in -t are secondary. See also 1046a <i>Axanthos Ins.</i>
3418	14 H4	+02/44	44 35	+02 05	<b>Uxellodunum</b>	LN	LN: Capdenac? Puy d'Issolud? St-Projet? (FRA). <i>Uxellodunum</i> (var. <i>auxiliodunum</i> , <i>uxelodunum</i> ) Caes BG 8,32,2; (935) <i>Uxelloduno</i> TGF: 2720. Celtic, <i>uxello-</i> & <i>dūno-</i> 'high fortified place'.
6227	24 G3	-05/41	41 48	-04 40	<b>Vaccaeii</b>	EN	EN: S Burgos, S Palencia, Valladolid and NW Segovia provinces (ESP). Οὐακκαίων Diodorus 5,34,3; <i>Vaccaeos</i> Livy 21,5,6, <i>Vaccaeii</i> (var. <i>-ccei</i> , <i>-ccai</i> ) Pliny 3,19; Οὐακκαῖοι (var. Οὐακκάιοι, Οὐακναῖοι) Ptol. 2,6,49, etc. Celtic, to <i>uacco</i> .
6228	24 F2	-06/42	42 59	-05 07	<b>Vadinienses</b>	EN	EN: R. Sella, R. Esla and R. Güeña valleys (ESP). <i>Cadinie/nsis</i> CIL II 2709, <i>Vadiniensi</i> 5730, etc. Obscure; may be Celtic, cf. Isaac, PNPG, Possibly Celtic elements s.v. <i>uadi-</i> on <i>Ouedikassioi</i> ("suggests circumstantially that there may have been a lexeme such as <i>uadi-</i> vel sim., though no such element has been identified previously to my knowledge, and there is no obvious etymon in the extant Celtic languages to which it could belong.").
4176	18 E3	+07/46	46 10	+07 20	<b>Vallenses</b>	EN	EN: (SWI). <i>Vallinsae</i> CIL 13, 5006; <i>Valle/nsium</i> 6361. If Celtic, cf. <i>ualo-</i> ; linguistic attribution is dubious, cf. Latin <i>valles</i> , <i>vallis</i> 'valley'.
7211	26 D3	-07/38	38 29	-06 41	<b>Vama</b>	LN	LN: Salvatierra de los Barros (ESP). Οὔαμα (var. Οὔλαμα) Ptol. 2,4,11; <i>Va/mensi</i> CIL 2, 989. Probably Celtic, cf. PNPG, Celtic Elements, s.v. <i>uama-</i> : "easily

							analysed as *{wama:-} < *{up-ama:-} ‘lowest place’, with morphology paralleled by <i>Uxama</i> < *{oups-ama:-} ‘highest place’’. See ACPN: 225 with further references.
Cors 10	48 D2	+09/42	42 43	+09 23	<b>Vanacini</b>	EN	EN: ? (Corsica, FRA). Οὐανακινοί (var. Οὐανακῆνοι) Ptol. 3,2,7. A tribal name which – if it is really Celtic – will explain the presence of Celtic LNN in the area. Several possibilities for analysis. 1) Word formation: either a compound, <i>uana-ki/eno-</i> or <i>uano-ako-Vno-</i> . For the first part cf. Gaulish <i>uanos</i> , found also in the ethnic names ( <i>Cosuanetes</i> < <i>co-su-uan</i> , DLG); or, less likely, a cognate of Lat. <i>uanus</i> (< * <i>Hueh<sub>2</sub>-no-</i> ). Second part is problematic. A Celtic LN element <i>ce(:)no</i> may well fit here, but the forms with a long <i>e</i> in Ptolemy are secondary. However, it may well be the case: for the alternation of <i>e/i</i> in Gaulish see GPN: 392.
6731	25 F2	+00/43	43 44	+00 24	<b>Vanesia</b>	LN	LN: Moncaubet, Cm. St-Jean-Poudge? (FRA). <i>Vanesia</i> IB 550,7. Obscure, possibly a variant spelling of 6343 <i>Besinum</i> .
-	3420a	14 E4	-01/44	44 55	<b>Vanitedo</b> “	LN	LN: Vayres (FRA). <i>Vanitedo</i> and 3420 <i>Varatedo</i> (q.v.) are due to variations in reading of TP’s one form, not separate names. Since neither form is attested elsewhere, further discussion can only be speculative.
4064	17 G4	+06/44	44 34	+06 04	<b>Vappincum</b>	LN	LN: Gap (FRA). <i>Vappincum</i> Vicar. I, <i>Vappinquo</i> II, IV, <i>Vappinco</i> III; <i>Vapincum</i> TP 2,2; <i>Vapincum</i> IA 342,3, <i>Vapinquo</i> (var. <i>uapinco</i> ) 357.7, <i>Vapinco</i> 387.5; <i>mansio Vappinco</i> (var. <i>uapinco</i> ) IB 555,6; <i>Civitas Vappencensium</i> (var. <i>uappin-</i> ) NG 16,6; <i>ciuitatis Vappincensis</i> Conc. Epaonense (517); <i>Vappencensis</i> Conc. Aurelianense (541); <i>Bapinco</i> (var. <i>Bapnico</i> ) Rav. 4,27; Merovingian coins (Belfort 4671): <i>vapincofiet</i> (sic), 4672 <i>vapincofitvr</i> (sic). Obscure. DLG: 438 suggests the LN could be from <i>uepo</i> : ‘pt. ê. rac. * <i>wek<sup>w</sup></i> - / * <i>wok<sup>w</sup></i> - > gaul. <i>uep-</i> / <i>uop-</i> > <i>uap-</i> ‘parler’ + suffixe adjectival <i>-inco-</i> ( <i>Abrincates</i> etc.); sens incertain (‘lieu des bavards, querelleurs?’).’ The suggestion is not attractive.
3419	14 G4	+01/44	44 24	+01 45	<b>Varadeto</b>	LN	LN: Varaire? (FRA). <i>Varadeto</i> TP 1, 2/3. Obscure, cf 3420 * <i>Varatedo</i> below. TP lists two places, <i>Vanitedo</i> and <i>Varadeto</i> , which may be garbled versions of the same name, and may refer to the same place.
4435	19 F4	+13/45	45 50	+13 01	<b>Varamos fl.</b>	RN	RN: Varmo (IT). <i>Varamus</i> (var. <i>-rianus</i> , <i>-rianus</i> ) Pliny 3, 126. May contain Celt.

							<i>varo-</i> , but it is not necessarily Celtic.
3420	14 E4	-01/44	44 55	-00 21	<b><u>Varatedo</u></b>	LN	LN: Vayres (FRA). <i>Vanitedo</i> TP 1/1; CAG 33/1.288 and RE read TP <i>Varatedo</i> . Obscure. Da. suggests the LN comes from a RN <i>Vara</i> , and TGF 5160 compares rivers <i>La Vaire, La Vayre, La Veyre</i> , from fem. Lat. adj. <i>varia (aqua)</i> '(eaux) de couleurs différentes'. If Celtic, see <i>uaro-</i> . See also 3420a ' <i>Vanitedo</i> '.
3648	15 C2	+04/43	43 48	+04 03	<b><u>Varatunnum</u></b>	LN	LN: St-Julien-de-Salinelles (FRA). Obscure. See 3420 <i>Varatedo</i> and 3419 <i>Varadeto</i> .
6732	25 D2	-02/43	43 10	-01 45	<b>Varduli</b>	EN	EN: between Urumea and Oyarzun to R. Deva (ESP). Βαρδύητας Strabo 3,3,7, Βαρδύλλους 3,4,12; <i>Varduli</i> (var. <i>-duili, -diuli, warduili</i> ) Pliny 3.26; <i>Vardulli</i> Mela 3,15; Οὐαρδοῦλῶν Ptol. 2,6, 9; <i>Vardulliarum</i> Hyd. chron. 2,171, etc. Obscure. If the initial consonant is <i>b-</i> (cf. Strabo's attestation and note <i>Barduli</i> map 45 D2) see DLG s.v. <i>bardos</i> 'barde, poète' and for <i>-uli</i> cf. <i>Turduli</i> (6219). García Alonso 'Vettones y Layetanos' discusses various possibilities, for example that these people are 'los que viven junto al río <i>*Varda</i> ', from <i>*war-</i> 'río' (see also Villar <i>Indoeuropeos y no indoeuropeos</i> 320-1), or <i>*Uo-ardu-ul-i</i> > <i>Uardul-i</i> 'los que viven al pie de los montes', from IE <i>*upo-</i> 'debajo de, al pie de', Celtic <i>*uo-</i> , <i>ua-</i> (DLG <i>uo</i> 'sous-, sub-') and Celtic <i>arduo-</i> 'elevado, alto' (cf. OI <i>ard</i> , W. <i>ardd</i> , DLG <i>arduo-</i> 'haut').
6733	25 C3	-03/42	42 27	-02 27	<b>Vareia?</b>	LN	LN: possibly at Varia, near Logroño (ESP). πόλις Οὐαρία Strabo 3,4,12; <i>Vareiam</i> Livy frag. 91; <i>Vareia</i> (var. <i>uareta, uarei</i> ) Pliny 3,21; Οὐάρεια (var. Οὐάρια, Οὐάρρια) Ptol. 2.6.54; <i>Vereia</i> IA 393.2; <i>aquile/gus Varaien/sis</i> ERNavarra no. 34. Traditionally considered non-Celtic; cf. García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> 300-1; Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 480-1 refer to a RN <i>Vara</i> . A Celtic approach still possible: see <i>uaro-</i> ; the suffix <i>-eia</i> is common in Celtic names.
3421	14 G4	+01/44	44 58	+01 42	<b>Variacum?</b>	LN	LN: Vayrac (FRA). in <i>Variaco</i> Vita Des. 9(17) p. 35. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a Latin PN <i>Varius</i> , cf. Latin appellative <i>varius</i> 'diverse, different, manifold'.
4856	20 D4	+16/45	45 29	+16 47	<b>Varianis</b> <sup>63</sup>	LN	LN: Kutina (CRO). <i>Varianis</i> IA 260,3; 265, 6. At least consistent with Celtic <i>*uar-ia-</i> , or if by the river, cf. <i>uaro-</i> . The LN may belong to a different language, however.
3775	16 C1	+06/44	44 14	+06 44	<b>Varus fl.</b>	RN	RN: Var (FRA / ITL). <i>ad flumen Varum</i> Caes BC 1,87,1; Οὐαρὸν Strabo 4,1,3;

								<i>Varus</i> Lucan. 1,404; <i>Varus</i> Pliny 3,35; <i>Varo</i> 3,47; <i>Varum</i> Mela 2,4,72; <i>Varum</i> Florus 1,19,4; Οὐάρου Ptol. 2,10,1; <i>Varum</i> TP 2,3; <i>Varum Flumen</i> IA 297.1. Celtic, to <i>uaro-</i> .
-	3133b	14 E4	-01/44	44 26	-00 14	<b>Vasates</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Basaboiates</i> Pliny 4,108; Οὐασάριοι (var. Οὐασσάριοι) Ptol. 2,7,11; <i>Vasatas</i> Auson. App. B 3,248; <i>Vasates</i> Sid. App. epist. 7,6,7; <i>Vasatis</i> Rav. 4,41, etc. Obscure. DLG s.v. <i>uassos</i> ‘serviteur, soumis’ suggests the <i>Vasates</i> are ‘les soumis?’, but the single <i>s</i> is against this. Sims-Williams, reported by Gorrochategui ‘Establishment and Analysis’ 170, suggests a link with OIr <i>foss</i> ‘home, land’ < * <i>wosto-</i> . Cf. 3133a <i>Civitas Vasatica</i> ...
	3649	15 E1	+05/44	44 15	+05 03	<b>Vasio</b>	LN	LN: Vaison-la-Romaine (FRA). <i>Vasio</i> (var. <i>nasio</i> , <i>uasgo</i> , <i>uago</i> ) Pliny 3,37; <i>Vasio Vocontiorum</i> Mela 2,5,75; Οὐασίων Ptol. 2,10,8; <i>civitate Vasensi</i> Conc. Arelatense (314); <i>ciuitas Uasiensium</i> NG XI.10; <i>oppidum Vasionense</i> Sid. App. Ep. 5,6,2, <i>Vasionensi oppido</i> 7,4,4. Obscure. X. Delamarre (DLG: 307) tentatively derives the LN from * <i>ua-stjo-n</i> , related to * <i>uassos</i> ‘serviteur, soumis’, and translates ‘qui se trouve en dessous’. Da. suggests a pre-Celtic * <i>vas-</i> ‘source’, and Goudineau <i>Vaison-la-Romaine</i> 9 a pre-Celtic oronym meaning ‘hauteur’, ‘roche’.
	3777	16 D2	-07/43	43 13	-07 45	<b>Vediantii</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>oppido Vediantiorum</i> Pliny 3,47; Οὐεδιαντίων Ptol. 3,1,39; <i>Matronis Vediantibus</i> CIL 5, 7872; [ <i>Matronarum</i> ] <i>Vediantiarum</i> 7873. Possibly Celtic. Isaac, PNPG comments on the EN: “the alternative analyses reflect the two possibilites of derivation from the roots 1) * <i>wed-</i> < PIE * <i>g<sup>wh</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>-</i> ‘pray’ or 2) PIE * <i>weid-</i> ‘see’. In both cases, derivation from a participial formation in *- <i>nt-</i> of a * <i>ie-/io-</i> present stem is implied. This present-stem morphology is attested only for the root * <i>g<sup>wh</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>-</i> , so * <i>g<sup>hw</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>-i-nt-io-</i> ‘pertaining to or belonging to the praying one(s)’ (vb. * <i>g<sup>wh</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>-ie-</i> > Gaul. <i>uediluml</i> (Chamalières), OI <i>-guidiu</i> , Av. { <i>jadhiemi</i> }), not for * <i>weid-</i> (no PIE or Celtic ** <i>weid-ie-</i> ). For this reason I favour 1), but I do not exclude 2) from discussion.” Cf. also P. de Bernardo Stempel, ‘Italy and Ireland’ 91, who translates either ‘the Leaders’ or ‘the Sages’.
	3422	14 D1	-02/47	47 03	-01 35	<b>Vedonia fl. [] fl.</b>	RN	RN: Boulogne (FRA). Late attestations: (676) <i>Vedonia</i> , (819) <i>Bedonia</i> CAG 44,149. Obscure; if Celtic, cf. <i>bedo-</i> .

-	6332a	25 C3	-03/42	42 50	-02 47	<b>Veleia</b>	LN	LN: Iruña (ESP). <i>Velienses</i> (var. <i>elienses</i> , <i>ueleienses</i> , <i>ueliegenses</i> , <i>uelegenses</i> ) Pliny 3,26; Ουέλεια (var. Ουέλια, Ουελλία, Ουελγα) Ptol. 2,6,64; <i>Ueleia</i> (var. <i>uelcia</i> ) ND oc XLII 32. See 6332 <i>Bele(g)ia</i> .
	2399	11 A3	+00/49	49 21	+00 40	<b>Veliocasses</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Vel&lt;i&gt;ocasses</i> (acc.pl.) ( <i>velocasses</i> ) Caesar BG 2,4, <i>Veliocassi</i> [bu]s (dat.pl., var. <i>belliocassis</i> , <i>velliocassiis</i> ) 7,75, <i>Veliocasses</i> (acc.pl., var. <i>veliocassis</i> , <i>velliocasses</i> ) 8, 7; <i>Veliocasses</i> (var. <i>uello-</i> , <i>uillo-</i> , <i>uelocc-</i> ) Pliny 4,107; Ουέλιοκάσιοι (var. ουέλιοι κάσιοι, ουενελιοάσιοι) Ptol. 2,8,7; <i>Viliocassus</i> (var. <i>Viliocasus</i> , <i>Viliocausus</i> , <i>Villiocassus</i> ) NT LXXXVII.58; <i>Velocasses</i> (var. <i>-cases</i> ) Orosius 6,7, 14; (var. <i>ueliocasses</i> , <i>uelocassis</i> , <i>uelocarces</i> , <i>beliocasses</i> , <i>ueliocarses</i> ) 6,11,12; <i>Civitas Veliocassivm</i> CIL 6, 1382; <i>cives Velioca</i> [ssis] 13, 1717; <i>Veliocassivm</i> 1998; <i>ciues Veliocassinius</i> AE 1975.651; [ <i>ciuit(ate)</i> ] <i>Veliocas</i> [s]ium 1977.512; <i>SVTICCOS/VELIOCAΘI</i> RIG IV, no. 272 coin-legend; etc. A Celtic compounded form with <i>castio-</i> . The component <i>*uēlio-</i> is difficult; for various views see DLG: 311 and PNPG, s.v.
	4066	17 B4	+03/44	44 55	+03 55	<b>Vellavi</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Vellaviis</i> (var. <i>vellabiis</i> ) Caesar BG 7,75,2; Ουελλαούιοι (var. -άιοι, -άϊοι) Strabo 4,2,2; <i>Vellavi</i> (var. <i>velavi</i> ) Pliny 4,109; Ουέλλαυνοι (var. Ουέλλενες) Ptol. 2,7,12; <i>Velavorum</i> ND occ. 42,68; <i>Civitas Vellavorum</i> NG 12,9; <i>Vellaus</i> Not. Tiron. 87,27 (Ho); <i>Vellavae</i> GdeT HF 10, 25; Coins Belfort 4693 <i>vellaos</i> , 4696 <i>vellavos</i> , etc. Celtic, to <i>uello-</i> .
-	6736a	25 E2	-01/43	43 22	-00 30	<b>Venami</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Venami</i> Pliny 4.108. If this is the correct form, which is not likely in view of 6736b <i>*Benarni</i> and 6736 <i>Venarni</i> , the name could be Celtic, to <i>ueno-</i> .
	6736	25 E2	-01/43	43 22	-00 30	<b>Venarni</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). Ho. gives ‘Desjardins list mit Marca <i>Benarni</i> oder <i>Venarni</i> ’. A scribal error or misreading <i>-m-</i> for <i>-rn-</i> . See <i>Venami</i> 6736a and cf. <i>*Benarni</i> 6736b.
	2795	12 E4	+11/48	48 44	+11 11	<b>Venaxamodurum</b>	LN	LN: Neuburg/Donau (GER). <i>Venaxamodorum</i> ND oc.35, 27. ‘Walled fort, town of Venixamos’; the meaning of the PN is uncertain, but it seems definitely a Celtic superlative compounded with <i>duro-</i> .
	1047	7 E2	-02/49	49 30	-01 30	<b>Venelli</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>V[e]nelloſ</i> Caesar BG 2, 34; 3,11,4; 7,75,5; <i>Venelli</i> Pliny IV.107; Ουενέλλων (var. Ουενελῶν) Ptol. 2,8,2; Ουένελλοι (var. Ουένελοι) 2,8,5;

								Οὐενέλλους (var. οὐνεσίου, οὐνέλλου) Dio 39, 45; <i>Unelli</i> NT 87.66. Possibly Celtic, to <i>ueno</i> . Cf. 1047a <i>Unelli</i> .
4067	17 I4	+07/44	44 34	+07 07	<b>Veneni</b>	EN		EN: (FRA). <i>Veneni</i> Pliny 3,47. Celtic, to <i>ueno</i> -.
-	3425a	14 B1	-04/47	47 25	-03 10	<b>Venestorum Inss.</b>	IN	IN: (FRA). As a 3425 <i>Veneticae Inss</i> ; a corrupt form, or an alternative and obscure name.
-	3142a	14 C1	-03/47	47 40	-02 44	<b>Veneti</b>	EN	EN, later becoming LN: Vannes (FRA). <i>Venetos</i> Caesar BG 2,34, 3,7,4, etc.; Οὐένετοι Strabo 4,4,1; <i>Venetos</i> Livy perioch. 104; <i>Venetos</i> Pliny 4,107; <i>Venetis</i> Flor. 1,45,5; Οὐένετοι Ptol. 2,8.6; <i>Veneti</i> TP 1,2; <i>Benetis</i> ND Occ. 37,5; <i>civitas Venetum</i> NG 3,8; <i>veneto</i> CIL 13, 1709, <i>civit venet</i> 2950. Celtic, to <i>ueno</i> -. See also 3142 <i>Darioritum</i> .
-	3424a	14 B1	-04/47	47 42	-03 05	<b>Veneti</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). See <i>Venetia</i> 3234. Celtic. See <i>Veneti</i> above no. 3142a.
	3424	14 B1	-04/47	47 42	-03 05	<b>Venetia</b>	LN	LN: (FRA). <i>in Venetiam</i> Caes BG 3,9,9. LN based on the EN <i>Veneti</i> ; see below.
	3425	14 B1	-04/47	47 25	-03 10	<b>Veneticae Inss.</b>	IN	IN: (FRA). <i>insulae conplures Venestorum et quae Veneticae appellantur</i> Pliny 4,109. A Latin formation based on the indigenous EN <i>Veneti</i> . Cf. also 3425a <i>Venestorum Inss</i> .
4068	17 F2	+05/45	45 53	+05 42	<b>Venetonimagus</b>	LN	LN: Vieu (FRA). <i>(venetoni)mag(enses)</i> CIL 13, 2544, <i>vene/tonimagi/enses</i> 2564, <i>Venetonimage[ns]es</i> 2541. Celtic compound in <i>magos</i> -. TGF 3029 derives the LN from a Celtic PN <i>Venetus</i> (GPN 278); cf the EN <i>Veneti</i> (map 14 B1 no. 3424).	
6232	24 E3	-07/41	41 53	-06 26	<b>Veniatia</b>	LN	LN: Figueruela de Arriba (ESP). <i>Vi[niatia]</i> It. Astorga 4; <i>Veniatia</i> (var. <i>ueniacia</i> ) IA 423,2. Probably Celtic, to <i>ueno</i> -.	
9481	39 A4	+07/44	44 33	+07 20	<b>Venisami</b>	EN	EN (IT? FR?). <i>Venisamorum</i> CIL 5,7231. If Celtic, to <i>ueno</i> - & <i>samo</i> -.	
4438	19 B2	+09/47	47 16	+09 30	<b>Vennon(et)es</b>	EN	EN: S. Lake Constance (AUS/SWI). Οὐέννωνες (Strabo 4, 6,6; 6,9); <i>Vennonenses</i> (var. <i>-onetes</i> ) Plin. 3, 135; Οὐέννονετες Ptol. 2,12,2. Associated with the Vindilice by Strabo. If Celtic (and not Raetic, cf. GPN 279, fn. 3), to <i>veno</i> -; for double <i>n</i> cf. <i>Vena</i> / <i>Venna</i> , etc.	
4070	17 H1	+06/46	46 02	+06 58	<b>Veragri</b>	EN	EN: (FRA / SWI). <i>Veragros</i> Caesar BG 3,1,1; Οὐάραγροι Strabo 4,6,6; <i>Sed uno uer agri</i> , perhaps for <i>Seduni</i> and <i>Veragri</i> Livy hist. 2,,38,8; <i>Varagri</i> Pliny 3,137; Οὐαράγρους Dio Cass. 39,5,2; <i>Veragros</i> (var. <i>beragros</i> , <i>ueragres</i> ) Oros. 6,8,1;	



							<i>Varagri</i> CIL 5, 7817. Celtic, <b>uero-</b> & <b>ag-i</b> . Guyonvarc’h, ‘Notes d’étymologie XXI’ 149-152, translates ‘grands chasseurs (de bétail)’, and discusses <i>agri</i> in detail.
9483	39 D2	+08/45	45 55	+08 35	<b>Verbanus L.</b>	HN	LakeN: L. Maggiore (IT). Οὐερβανός Polyb. (Strabo 4, 202); <i>in Verbanno</i> Pliny 2, 224; <i>Ticinum Verbannus</i> Pliny 3, 131, etc. Celtic, to <b>uer-</b> & <b>ba/ennā-</b> .
2403	11 D3	+03/49	49 50	+03 51	<b>Verbinum</b>	LN	LN: Vervins (FRA). <i>Verbino</i> (var. <i>uerbinum</i> ) IA 381,2; etc. According to Isaac, ‘?The cow/deer place’, to <b>uerbo-</b> . May be a spelling mistake for 2403a <i>Vironum</i> .
9484	39 C3	+08/45	45 20	+08 25	<b>Vercellae</b>	LN	LN: Vercelli (IT). <i>Vercellis</i> Cic. Ad. Fam. 11, 19; Οὐερκέλλοι Strabo 5,1,12; Stat. 1,4,58; Sil. It. 7, 597; <i>Vercellae</i> (var. <i>-celle</i> , <i>-gillae</i> , <i>-gille</i> ) Pliny 3, 124; Tac., Hist. 1,70; Οὐρκέλλαι (var. Οὐρκελλαι) Ptol. 3,1,32; <i>Vercellas</i> IA 282,8; (var. <i>uercellis</i> ) 344,6; (var. <i>uergellas</i> ) 347,3; (var. <i>uergellas</i> ) 350,7; <i>Vergellis</i> TP 2,5; <i>Vercellum</i> (obl) Amm. Marc. 22,3,4; <i>Vercellis</i> Rav. 4, 30; <i>Vercellis</i> Guid. 15, 11; <i>Vercel[ ]</i> (CIL 5, 6672; 5, 7373); <i>Vercellens(is)</i> (CIL 5, 5667, etc.). Probably a Celtic compound with <b>uer-</b> as a first part; the etymology of the second and hence the meaning of the LN are difficult. P. De Bernardo Stempel ‘Italy and Ireland’, 94 explains it as ‘the north wood’ (with Celt. <i>*kallī</i> (OIr <i>cail</i> ), “‘attracted’ later by the frequent town-names in <i>-(k)ellon</i> ”); Isaac, PNP, Possibly Celtic Elements s.v. <i>cella</i> : compares this component with OIr <i>cellach</i> ‘war, battle’. See also ACPN: 197 and M. E. Raybould, P. Sims-Williams, <i>The Geography of Celtic Personal Names in the Latin Inscriptions of the Roman Empire</i> , 20 for segmentations <i>Ver-cella</i> or <i>verc</i> + suffix.
4859	20 F4	+18/45	45 44	+18 16	<b>Vereis</b> “	LN	LN: Podravski Podgajci (CRO). Βερβίς (var. Βεββίς) Ptol. 2,15,4; <i>Ber(e)bis</i> TP 5,1; <i>Vereis</i> (var. <i>Uericis</i> ) IA 130,6; <i>Mansio Vereis</i> IB 562, 10; <i>Berevis</i> (var. <i>Boreius</i> ) Rav. 4,19. If Celtic, to <b>vero-</b> ; for a non-Celtic approach see Anreiter, <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 144-6 and contrast Isaac, AILR, note on <i>Vereis</i> .
3778	16 D2	+07/43	43 32	+07 02	<b>Vergoanum</b>	LN	LN: Fort Royal? On Ile Ste-Marguerite (FRA). <i>Lerina... in qua Berconi oppidi memoria</i> (var. <i>uergoni</i> ) Pliny 3,79. Obscure. The form of the name is not certain; if <i>Verg-</i> is correct, the name could be Celtic, to G. <i>*uerg-</i> (DLG: 315), but the word-formation becomes obscure. If <i>Verg-</i> is secondary, see 3778a <i>Berconum</i> .

	3779	16 C2	+06/43	43 55	+06 05	<b>Vergunni</b>	EN	EN?: (FRA). <i>Vergvnni</i> Pliny 3,137; <i>Vergvnni</i> CIL 5, 7817. If Celtic, to G. * <i>uerg-</i> (DLG: 315), or <i>uer-</i> ; either way the word formation is obscure.
-	2422a	11 F3	+05/49	49 09	+05 24	<b>Veriodunum</b>	LN	LN: Verdun (FRA). Cf. 2422 <i>Viriodunum</i> .
-	3427a	14 F1	+00/47	47 25	+00 49	<b>Vernadum?</b>	LN	LN: Vernou-sur-Brenne (FRA). Celtic, a scribal error (or a variant) of 3427 <i>Vernaus</i> .
	3427	14 F1	+00/47	47 25	+00 49	<b>Vernaus</b>	LN	LN: Vernou-sur-Brenne (FRA). <i>Vernao</i> (var. <i>vernaum</i> , <i>vernadum</i> ) GdeT HF X 31,6. Celtic, to <i>uerno-</i> . See also 3427a <i>Venadum?</i>
-	3313a	14 F4	+00/44	44 26	+00 09	<b>Vernemetis</b>	LN	LN: Caumont-sur-Garonne (FRA). <i>Vernemeto</i> IA 479,2, <i>Verometo</i> 477,5; <i>Vernemetis</i> Ven. Fort. Carm. I, 9,9. Celtic, <i>uer-</i> & <i>nemeto-</i> . ACPN: 94 notes that <i>Vernemetis</i> is not identical with 3313 <i>Pompeiacum</i> , q.v.
	6738	25 H3	+02/42	42 55	+02 43	<b>Vernodubrum fl.</b>	RN	RN: Verdoube (FRA). <i>Vernodubrum</i> Pliny 3.32. Celtic, <i>uerno-</i> & <i>dubro-</i> .
	6739	25 G2	+01/43	43 23	+01 16	<b>Vernus Sol</b>	LN	LN: Lavernose? Ox, near Muret? (FRA). <i>Verno Sole</i> IA 458,2. Obscure. For a Celtic approach cf. <i>verno-</i> . The late and only attestation may be corrupt; and assignable to another language.
	3428	14 G4	+01/44	44 49	+01 37	<b>Veroli</b>	LN	LN: Mayrignac-le-Francal, Cm. Rocamadour? (FRA). <i>Veroli</i> Vita Des. 9(17) p. 36. Possibly Celtic, cf. elements in <i>uer-</i> or a PN <i>Verulia</i> . The exact meaning impossible to establish.
	9485	39 H3	+10/45	45 26	+10 59	<b>Verona</b>	LN	LN: Verona (IT). Livy 5,35,1; Sil. 8,5, 595; <i>Verona</i> Pliny 3, 130, 132; Οὐήρωνα Ptol. 3, 1, 27; Iust. 20, 5, 8; <i>Veronie</i> , <i>Veronius</i> CIL 5, 3832, <i>Veronensium</i> CIL 5, 3329. ‘The upper (town)’, to <i>uer-</i> .
	9486	39 C3	+08/45	45 28	+08 30	<b>Vertamacori</b>	EN	EN: (IT). <i>Vertamacori</i> (var. <i>-moc-</i> ), Pliny 3,124. Part of the <i>Voconces</i> . Celtic or Ligurian? If Celtic, * <i>vertamos</i> (see <i>uer-</i> ) & <i>cori-</i> , ‘superb / high troops’.
	4073	17 E4	+05/44	44 55	+05 25	<b>Vertamacorii</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Vertamacoris</i> (var. <i>-macoris</i> ) Pliny 3,124. Celtic, * <i>vertamos</i> (see <i>uer-</i> ) & <i>cori-</i> , ‘superb / high troops’.
	4177	18 B2	+04/47	47 57	+04 21	<b><u>Vertillum?</u></b>	LN	LN: Vertault (FRA). <i>Vertillensib(us)</i> CIL 13, 5661; later attestations: (1081) <i>Verteolum</i> , (12 c.) <i>Vertellum</i> . Possibly Celtic, either to * <i>verto-</i> , <i>vorto-</i> ‘to turn’ (cf. Lat. <i>uertō-</i> , see DLG: 317), therefore ‘little turn (in the road)’; or from a corresponding PN.

	3780	16 B2	+06/43	43 35	+06 20	<b>Verucini?</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Verucini</i> Pliny 3,34. If Celtic, to G. * <i>ueru-</i> ‘large’ (cf. PNN <i>Ueruclo-nis</i> , <i>Ueru-cloetius</i> , etc.); see DLG: 317.
	4440	19 D3	+11/46	46 18	+11 08	<b>Vervassium</b>	LN	LN: Vervò (IT). <i>Castellanorum Vervassium</i> CIL V, 5059. Possibly Celtic, cf. <i>ver-</i> ; and for the second component see 3649 <i>Vasio</i> .
	4178	18 D2	+06/47	47 13	+06 01	<b>Vesontio</b>	LN	LN: Besançon (FRA). <i>Vesontionem</i> Caesar BG 1,38,1; 1,39,1; Οὐισόντιον Ptol. 2,9,10; Οὐεσοντίωνα Cass. Dio. 28, 34; <i>Vesontine</i> TP 2,1; <i>Visontione</i> IA 348,5; <i>Vesentione</i> 386,3; <i>Bisontios</i> Amm. Marc. 15,11,11; <i>Besantionem</i> 20,10,3; <i>civitas Vesontiensium</i> NG 9,1; <i>Vesontico</i> CIL 13, 2038; <i>Vesont</i> 9079. Probably Celtic, to <i>uesu-</i> .
	3781	16 D1	+07/44	44 03	+07 17	<b>Vesubiani</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Vesvbiani</i> Pliny 3,137; <i>Vesubianorum</i> CIL 5, 7231; <i>esubiani</i> 7817. Possibly Celtic. Ho. derives this from a ‘Ligurian’ LN <i>Vesubia</i> , and says this is not the same as EN <i>Esubiani</i> . However, Barruol <i>Peuples pre-romains</i> 360 notes that loss of initial <i>V-</i> , especially in Provence, is common, so the forms can be variants of the same name. He suggests that this name might have the same root as <i>Esubii/Esuvii</i> in Brittany. If the <i>V-</i> is original, <i>uesu-</i> . Cf 3417 <i>Vesubio</i> .
-	3417a	14 F4	+00/44	44 25	+00 11	<b>Vesubio</b>	LN	LN: Le Mas-d’Agenais (FRA). <i>Vesubio</i> TP 1,1. See 3417 <i>Ussubium</i> .
	4074	17 I4	+07/44	44 39	+07 03	<b>Vesulus M.</b>	MN	MN: (FRA). <i>Vesuli montis</i> Pliny 3,117; <i>Vesuli montis</i> Mela 2,4,62; <i>Vēsūlum</i> Silius 10,145; <i>Vesvlvs mons</i> Serv. Aen. 10, 709. Possibly Celtic; cf <i>uesu-</i> .
	3429	14 F3	+00/45	45 11	+00 42	<b>Vesunna</b>	LN	LN: Périgueux (FRA). Οὐεσούνα (var. οὐεσούννα) Ptol. 2,7,9; <i>Vesonna</i> TP 1,2; <i>Vesunna</i> IA 461,10; <i>Vesunnici</i> Sid. App. epist. 8,11,1; <i>Vesonna</i> Not. Tiron. 87, 35 (Ho); <i>vesunnae</i> CIL 13, 949; <i>Ves[un]n[ens(ium)]</i> CIL 13, 943. Probably Celtic, to <i>uesu-</i> . Bedon <i>Trois Gaules</i> 241 and Ho. mention a divine spring, or goddess of a spring <i>Tutela Vesunna</i> , CIL XIII 949 <i>tutelae vesunnae</i> . Vendryes, ‘Note sur la toponymie celtique’ 643 suggests that the name is pre-Celtic. See also <i>Petrucorii</i> .
-	6233a	24 E4	-07/40	40 50	-06 20	<b>Vettones</b>	EN	EN: W central Meseta between R. Tajo and R. Duero (ESP). <i>Vettones</i> (var. <i>vetones</i> , <i>vectones</i> ) Caesar BC 1,38,4; Οὐεττώνων (var. Οὐεττόνων) Strabo 3,1,6; <i>Vettones</i> (var. <i>ueto-</i> , <i>uetio-</i> , <i>uaeto-</i> , <i>uaetio-</i> ) Pliny 3,19; Οὐέττονες (var. Οὐέπτονες, Οὐέττωνες) Ptol. 2,5,7; <i>Vetio</i> CIL II 201, <i>Vetto</i> 601, <i>Vetto</i> 823, etc. Cf. 6233 <i>Vettonia</i> . Possibly Celtic, to <i>uik-t-</i> . Villar and Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> 305-9 report

							attestations of <i>Vectones</i> , perhaps from * <i>wex-t-</i> . García Alonso ‘Vettones y Layetanos’ notes that phonetic development * <i>vektones</i> > * <i>vextones</i> > <i>Vettones</i> would be straightforward, and suggests that the EN is from a Celtic form of Indo-European * <i>wegh-</i> ‘move, travel’ (IEW 1118: cf GPN 281-5), perhaps contaminated with * <i>weik-</i> ‘fight’.
	7213	26 D2	-07/39	39 30	-06 30	<b>Vettones</b>	EN EN: between R. Guadiana and R. Duero (ESP). See 6233a <i>Vettones</i> .
	6233	24 E4	-07/40	40 50	-06 20	<b>Vettonia</b>	TN TN: W central Meseta between R. Tajo and R. Duero (ESP). <i>Vettoniae</i> Prud. Perist. 3, 187; <i>Vettoniae</i> CIL II 484-5 etc. A derivation in <i>-ia-</i> of, or base for, the EN 6233a <i>Vettones</i> above.
-	4183a	18 D3	+06/46	46 28	+06 48	<b>Vibisco</b>	LN LN: Vevey? (SWI). <i>Vibisco</i> (var. <i>ubisco</i> , <i>bibisco</i> ) IA 352,1. See 4183 <i>Vivisco</i> .
	9614	40 B1	+11/45	45 06	+11 07	<b>Vicetia</b>	LN LN: Vicenza (IT). Οὐκετία (var. Ἴουκετία, Ἴουκεντία, Οὐκεντία) Strabo 5, 1,8; Pliny Epist 5,4,1f; 13,1; Tac. Hist. 3,8; Suet. Gramm. 23; Οὐκετία (var. Οὐκετία, Οὐκέντια) Ptol. 3,1,26; <i>civitas Vincentia</i> (var. <i>vinoentia</i> ) IB 559, 1; <i>Vicetia</i> (var. <i>-entia</i> ) Pliny 3, 130); <i>Vicetia</i> IA, 128,2; <i>Vice(n)tia</i> TP 3,4; <i>Vincentiam</i> (var. <i>vicentiam</i> , <i>vincenniam</i> , <i>vincencia</i> ) Paul. Diac. 2, 14; <i>de Vincentina civitate</i> (var. <i>vicetina</i> , <i>vincentena</i> , <i>vincentia</i> , <i>vicentia</i> , <i>vincentana</i> ) Paul. Diac. 5, 23; Iust. 20, 5,8; CIL 5, 3101f. Celtic, to <i>uico-</i> .
-	3196a	14 C1	-03/47	47 32	-02 23	<b>Vicinonia fl.</b>	RN RN: Vilaine (FRA). <i>ad Vicinoniam fluvium</i> GdeT HF 5,25; <i>Vicinoniam</i> (var. <i>Vitinoniam</i> ) 10,9; <i>super fluvio Vicinonia</i> Fred. Chron. 4,11; <i>Marti Vicinno</i> CIL 13, 3150; later attestation: (834) <i>Visnonia</i> DaRiv. Possibly Celtic, to <i>uik-</i> . See also 3196 <i>Herios</i> fl.
	6741	25 C3	-03/42	42 51	-02 41	<b>Victoriacum</b>	LN LN: Vitoria (SP). <i>Victoriacum</i> Ioh. Bicl. chron. 581. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of Lat. <i>victoria</i> (or a corresponding PN).
	2799	12 C3	+09/49	49 13	+09 13	<b>Vicus Alisinensium</b>	LN LN: Bad Wimpfen (GER). (NB: <i>vicus</i> seems to be added by <i>Atlas</i> , cfr. infra). <i>C(ivitatis) Alisin(ensis)/ Alisin(ensium)</i> CIRh 1593; <i>c(ivitatis) Alisin[ensis]</i> CIL XIII 6482. ‘The <i>vicus</i> of the people of * <i>Alisina</i> (= Elsenz)’, cf. <i>Alisontia</i> fl.
	9490	39 B5	+07/44	44 27	+07 53	<b>Vicus Bagnas</b>	LN LN: Villero di Bastia di Mondovì (IT). <i>Vicus Bagnas</i> (Inscr. It. 9,11,59). Possibly (cf. PNN in <i>bago-</i> , e.g., <i>Baginus</i> ) but not necessarily Celtic.
	2412	11 G4	+06/48	48 39	+06 48	<b>Vicus</b>	LN LN: Vic-sur-Seille (FRA). <i>Vici Bodatii</i> CIL 13, 4310. ‘The <i>vicus</i> of Bodatius’, with

					<b>Bodatus?</b>		<i>Bodatus</i> as a possibly Celtic PN (to <i>boudo-</i> , <i>boudi-</i> ) cf. Bodobrica.
7214	26 C2	-08/39	39 17	-07 41	<b>Vicus Camalocensis</b>	LN	LN: near Chocanal (POR). <i>vicani</i> / <i>Camaloc/c[...].in?</i> IRCPac. 672. CIL 2, 170. May well be Celtic (cf. <i>camalus</i> , <i>camulo-</i> , etc), but the data is insufficient for definitive conclusion.
2413	11 G3	+06/49	49 22	+06 42	<b>Vicus Contiomagus</b>	LN	LN: Pachten (GER). <i>Contiomagi</i> AE 1959.76. ‘The plain/field of Contius’, with <i>magos-</i> .
2414	11 H3	+07/49	49 50	+07 49	<b>Vicus Cruciniacum []</b>	LN	LN: Bad Kreuznach (GER). <i>Crucianiacum</i> Tr 1709, 104 v°; <i>Crucenacho</i> , <i>Crucinaha</i> , <i>Crucenachen</i> Medieval sources, TW 578 and TIR M-32. An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a PN <i>Crucianus</i> .
2802	12 B4	+08/48	48 57	+08 34	<b>Vicus Senot(ensis)</b>	LN	LN: Remchingen/Wilferdingen (GER). <i>Vicanis/Vicanus/Vic(us) Senot(?-(i)ensibus/ ?-(i)ensis)</i> CIL XIII 6329. <i>Senot(us)</i> may be Latin or Celtic; if the latter – to <i>seno-</i> .
6239	24 D4	-08/40	40 15	-07 12	<b>Vicus Veniensis</b>	LN	LN: Cabeço de Lameirão (Meimoa) (POR). <i>vic(a)ni Venienses</i> {de Alarcão <i>Roman Portugal</i> II.1 70}. May be interpreted as Celtic, to <i>veni-</i> with Lat. suffix <i>-ensis</i> .
5670	22 F4	+28/44	44 47	+28 10	<b>Vicus Vergobrittiani ‘Ver(gob)rittiani’</b>	LN	LN: near Cius (ROM). Ghost form; see A. Falileyev, F. Matei-Popescu, <i>Notă asupra ISM V 115</i> , in <i>Tyragetia</i> SN, 1 (2007), 323-326.
2416	11 G3	+06/49	49 47	+06 36	<b>Vicus Voclannionum</b>	LN	LN: Trier-West (GER). <i>vicus</i> [ <i>Voclanni(onum)</i> ] CIL 13, 3648; <i>vico Voclannionum</i> 3649; [ <i>vico</i> ] <i>Voclannionum</i> 3650. Difficult entry which may contain a Celtic prefix <i>vo-</i> , <i>clann-</i> remains obscure.
1048	7 F2	-01/49	49 02	-00 30	<b>Viducasses</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). <i>Viducasses</i> Pliny 4,107; Βιδουκεσίων (var. Βιδουκασίων, Βιδουκαίσσιων) Ptol. 2,8,2; Βιδουκέσιοι (var. Ουίδουκαίσιοι, Ουίδουκέσιοι) 2,8,5; <i>Vidiocacus</i> NT LXXXVII.64, etc. Celtic, <i>uidu-</i> & <i>cassi-</i> .
5378	21 D5	+21/44	44 44	+21 14	<b>Viminacium</b>	LN	LN: Kostolac (SCG). Ουιμινάκιον Ptol. 3,9,3; <i>Viminacio</i> IA 133,2; <i>civitas Viminacio</i> (var. <i>uiminatio</i> ) IB 564,8; <i>Viminatio</i> TP 6,2; <i>Uiminacio</i> (var. <i>uiminatio</i> ) ND or. 41,7; (var. <i>uiminatio</i> ) 16; (var. <i>uiminatio</i> ) 31; (var. <i>uiminatio</i> ) 38; Βιμινάκιον Proc. ae. 4,5,17; 4,6,1; <i>Mun[icipium] Ael[ium] Vim[inacium]</i> CIL 3, 1654, 1655; <i>col[onia] Vimin[acium]</i> CIL 3, 1474. LN has been considered Latin, see e.g., P. Skok, <i>Zeitschrift f. Ortsnamenkunde</i> 7 (1931), 35 n. 2; see, however, the next entry.

6242	24 G2	-05/42	42 25	-05 48	<b>Viminacium</b>	LN	LN: Castro Muza (Calzadilla de la Cueva) (ESP). Οὐμινάκιον (var. Οὐμινάκιον) Ptol. 2,6,49; <i>Viminacio</i> IA 449,2; 453,9; <i>Bimmatium</i> Rav. 4,45. Isaac segments Latin + áco- io- (AILR) or uimo- ino- aco- io- (PNPG). Holder, following d'Arbois de Jubainville, derives the name from “alten röm. Gentilicim M. * <i>Viminac-ius</i> abgeleitet vom gall. M. <i>Vīmīn-ācōs</i> (von fl. <i>Vimina</i> )”. RE III A 2.172 suggests an etymology related to <i>Viminal</i> in Rome. Curchin ‘Celticization’ prefers to derive the name from a Celtic adjective * <i>viminac-</i> than from Latin <i>Viminus</i> , and also compares the river <i>Vimina</i> (not listed by Barrington). García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo 257</i> points out that the suffix <i>-āko-</i> is Celtic. Cf. also 5378 <i>Viminacium</i> .
5379	21 C5	+20/44	44 40	+20 55	<b>Vinceia</b>	LN	LN: Smederevo (SCG). <i>Vinceia</i> IA 132,3; <i>mutatio Vingeio</i> IB 564,6. Isaac, AILR, does not consider this instance Celtic. It is located in the territory of the Scordisci, and a Celtic etymology may be appropriate. Cf., e.g., PNPG, Possible Celt. Elements s.v. <i>uinco-</i> (in <i>Kondioúigkon</i> GL): “Perhaps < * <i>uenk-</i> ‘sway, vacillate’ IEW 1134-5, LIV 624. But Celtic comparanda with the nasal are lacking, unless W <i>gwanc</i> ‘greed, lust; a type of basket’ < * <i>uónko-</i> ? (different etymology of this at GPC 1573). For the moral interpretation of the meaning ‘sway, vacillate’, cf. MHG <i>wanc</i> ‘unsteadiness, inconstancy, unfaithfulness’ < * <i>uónko-</i> , Eng. <i>wench</i> < Gmc. *{ <i>wankyo-</i> } < * <i>uonkieh<sub>2</sub>-</i> . These nuances would presumably be absent from the putative reflex of the <i>e</i> -grade in { <i>Kondioúigkon</i> } < * <i>kom-</i> { <i>di-</i> }- <i>wenko-</i> ; Skt. { <i>vanka-</i> } ( <i>e</i> or <i>o</i> -grade unclear) has the appropriately topographical meaning of ‘bend in a river’”.
3656	15 D1	+04/44	44 01	+04 54	<b>Vindalium?</b>	LN	LN: Mourre-de-Sève (FRA). Οὐνδαλον Strabo 4,1,11; <i>oppidum Vindalium</i> Livy Perioch. 61; <i>Vindalium</i> Oros. 5,13,2. Celtic, to <i>uindo-</i> .
3657	15 E2	+05/43	43 59	+05 08	<b>Vindasca</b>	LN	LN: Venasque (FRA). <i>Uindausca</i> (var. <i>uindasca</i> ) NG 11,12; later attestations: 541 <i>civitatis Vendascensium</i> , 573 <i>ecclesiae Vendauscensis</i> TGF: 1281. Perhaps Celtic, to <i>uindo-</i> , though the vowel in the suffix <i>-asca</i> is unusual; we would expect * <i>Vindosca</i> . Da. derives the name from a pre-Celtic * <i>ven-</i> , <i>vñ-</i> ‘montagne’ and says the suffix <i>asca-</i> is Ligurian. Biarne 1986 in Top. Chret. 3, p. 102 says the name is pre-Indo-European, which seems odd as <i>Vind-</i> looks Celtic, and <i>-sk-</i> is a common

								Indo-European suffix. See ETP 290-1 for problems deriving the modern name from the attested ancient one; Rostaing concludes that the modern name comes from * <i>vin-asca</i> .
6745	25 B3	-04/42	42 39	-03 11	<b>Vindeleia</b>	LN	LN: Cerro de la Cruz (ESP). Οὐινδέλεια Ptol. 2.6.52; <i>Vindeleia</i> IA 454.6. Celtic, to <i>uindo-</i> .	
2804	12 D4	+10/48	48 25	+10 30	<b>Vindelici</b>	EN	EN: (GER). <i>Vindēlicī</i> Horace <i>Carm.</i> 4,4.17-18, 14.7-9; Οὐινδολικοὶ (var. Οὐινδολίγοι, Οὐιδολίγοι) Strabo 4,3,3, <i>passim</i> ; <i>Vindelici</i> Pliny 3, 133, <i>Vindellicorum</i> (var. <i>uendili-</i> , <i>uidelicino-</i> , <i>uideliquo-</i> ) 137; <i>Vindellicorumque</i> Tacit. Ann. 2, 17; <i>Vindēlico</i> (abl.) Sid. Apol. <i>Carm.</i> VII.233-235; <i>Vind(elicorum)</i> CIL 3, 1343, 3562 and 13, 6495; <i>Vin(delicorum)</i> , 5905 (= 11906); <i>Vindellicor(um)</i> XIII 6821; <i>Vindellicorum</i> 7573, etc. Celtic, to <i>uindo-</i> ; cf. 2484 <i>Augusta Vindelicum</i> .	
3658	15 E2	+05/43	43 57	+05 03	<b>Vindelicus fl.</b>	RN	RN: Sorgue (FRA). Better known as <i>Souglas fl.</i> Σούλγας, ... Οὐνδαλον Strabo 4,1,11; <i>Vindelicus amnes</i> Flor. 1,37,4. Descriptive, probably based on the EN 2804 <i>Vindelici</i> .	
5380	21 D7	+21/42	42 52	+21 11	<b>Vindenis</b> <sup>☪</sup>	LN	LN: Glavnik (SCG). Οὐενδενίς Ptol. 3,9,4; <i>Vindenis</i> TP 6,3; <i>Vindinis</i> Rav. 4,15. If Celtic, which may be quite disputable, to <i>uend-</i> or <i>vindo-</i> .	
15936	62 H2	+32/39	39 40	+32 00	<b>Vindia?</b>	LN	LN: Yassihüyük (TUR). Treated by Bar. with a question mark – s.v. Gordion. Identification secure. Οὐινδία Ptol. 5,4,7; <i>Vinda</i> IA 201,5; <i>Vindia</i> IA 202,9. If Celtic, to <i>uindo-</i> , but cf. also Anat. LN <i>Winda</i> , Zgusta, <i>Kleinasiatischen Ortsnamen</i> (Heidelberg, 1984), 459.	
3438	14 I2	+03/46	46 04	+03 04	<b><u>Vindiciacum</u></b>	LN	LN: St-Saturnin, Cm. Vensat? (FRA). <i>ex domo Vindiciacense</i> GdeT VP 12, 3; coins Belfort 4877 <i>Vindiciacofi</i> (sic), 6494 <i>Vindi Ciaco</i> . An <i>-āko-</i> derivative of a PN in <i>Vindo-</i> (if Celtic, see GPN 386-7 for PNN in <i>uindo-</i> ).	
3439	14 B1	-04/47	47 20	-03 17	<b>Vindilis Ins.</b>	IN	IN: Belle-Ile-en-Mer (FRA). <i>Vindilis</i> (var. <i>uindolis</i> , <i>indelis</i> , <i>uindelis</i> ) IA 510,1; later attestations: (1026) <i>Guedel</i> , (1146) <i>Guezel</i> Ho. s. v. <i>Vidilis</i> . If IA's form is correct, then the name could be Celtic, to <i>uindo-</i> ; if the name was * <i>Vidilis</i> , cf. <i>uidu-</i> .	
2982	13 B4	+16/48	48 13	+16 23	<b>Vindobona</b>	LN	LN: Vienna/(Wien) (AUS). Οὐιλιοβόνα (var. Οὐιλιοβόνα, Οὐιλιοβόνα, Ἰουλιόβόνα, Ἰουλιόβόνα) Ptol. 2,14,3; <i>Vindomona</i> (var. <i>uindomenia</i> ) IA 233,8; <i>Vindobona</i> 248,2, <i>Vindobona</i> (var. <i>uindobono</i> , <i>uendobona</i> ) 261,4; <i>Vindobona</i> (var.	

								<i>uindobonia</i> ) 266,4; <i>Vindobona</i> 266,7; <i>Vindomarae</i> ND oc. 34,25; <i>Vindomanae</i> 28; <i>Vindomina/Vendomina</i> Jordanes L.264; <i>Vindobona</i> TP 4,1; <i>Vind(obona)</i> , CIL III 864, 1665, 4647, etc. Celtic, <b>uindo-</b> & <b>bono-</b> , <b>bon(n)ā</b> . Cf. 2919 <i>Mun. Vindobona</i> .
3440	14 G1	+01/47	47 47	+01 06	<b>Vindocinum</b>	LN	LN: Vendôme (FRA). <i>Vindocino</i> (var. <i>Undecino</i> ) GdeT HF 9,20; <i>pagum Vindocinensem</i> Fort. Vita s. Germani 46,128; <i>per pagum Vindocinensem</i> Vita Leutfredi 2,19; coins Belfort 4878 <i>Vindocinofit</i> , 4880 <i>Vindocino</i> , 4882 <i>Vidocino</i> , 4883 <i>Vidogino</i> . At least partially Celtic, to <b>uindo-</b> ; for the second part of the LN cf. perhaps 3912 <i>Eudracinum</i> and 3214 <i>Labr(oc)inum</i> .	
4863	20 G2	+19/47	47 36	+19 04	<b>Vindonianus Vicus</b>	LN	LN: Budapest-Békásmegyer (HUN). <i>Vici Vindoniani</i> CIL 3, 3626. If Celtic, cf. <b>uindo-</b> .	
4182	18 F2	+08/47	47 30	+08 14	<b>Vindonissa</b>	LN	LN: Windisch (SWI). <i>Vindonissae</i> Tac. hist. 4.61, <i>Vindonissa</i> 70; <i>Vindonisse</i> TP 2,5; <i>Castrum Vindonissense</i> NG 9,6; <i>Vindonissa</i> IA 238,2; 251,6; <i>vind(onissensibus)</i> CIL 13, 5194; <i>Vindonissenses</i> 5195. Celtic, to <b>uindo-</b> .	
3783	16 D2	+07/43	43 43	+07 06	<b>Vintium</b>	LN	LN: Vence (FRA). Οὐίντιον Ptol. 3, 1,37; <i>Civitas Vintiensium</i> NG 17.9; <i>Vinciensis</i> (var. <i>Vint-</i> ) GdeT HF IX 24; <i>Civitas Vint</i> CIL 12, 9; <i>[Civi]tas [Vinti]ensiu[m]</i> 10; <i>Civit. Vint.</i> 11; <i>Ordo Vintiensium</i> 12. Celtic, to <b>uinto-</b> . P. De Bernardo Stempel, 'Italy and Ireland' 89, suggests rather that <i>Vintium</i> is from original Celtic <i>*Vindion</i> < <i>wind-yo-m</i> (to <b>uindo-</b> ); alternatively Da. suggests Latin PN <i>Vencius</i> and DN <i>Vintius</i> (RDG 72).	
4080	17 F2	+05/45	45 56	+05 51	<b><u>Vintium</u></b>	LN	LN: Vens, near Seyssel (FRA). Celtic, to <b>uinto-</b> . Broise <i>Genève et son territoire</i> 74 gives a DN <i>Vintius</i> from CIL XII 2561, 2562, suggesting the LN comes from the DN.	
3659	15 E1	+05/44	44 11	+05 15	<b>Vintur M.</b>	MN	MN: Mont Ventoux (FRA). <i>Vinturi</i> CIL 12, 1104; 1341. Celtic, to <b>uinto-</b> .	
2805	12 D4	+10/48	48 14	+10 43	<b>Virido? fl.</b>	RN	RN: Wertach (GER). <i>Virido</i> Venantius Fortunatus Vita s. Martini (= Fortunat. Carm. Praef.) IV.642, <i>Virido</i> Paul. Diac. 2, 13. If Celtic, cf. to G. <i>*uirido-</i> , meaning unknown, etymology problematic (DLG: 321); but cf. Latin <i>uiridis</i> 'green'.	
2422	11 F3	+05/49	49 09	+05 24	<b>Viriodunum</b>	LN	LN: Verdun (FRA). <i>Virodunum</i> (var. <i>virodonum</i> ) IA 364,3; <i>Ciuitas Uerodunensium</i> (var. <i>uerodentium</i> , <i>uirdoninsium</i> , <i>uerudunensis</i> , <i>uerudunensium</i> , <i>uereduninsium</i> , <i>uerdonensium</i> , <i>uerodonensium</i> , <i>ueredinensium</i> ) NG 5, 5; <i>Vereduno</i> , <i>Veredensem</i> ,	



							<i>Věři-dūnā</i> (var. <i>Uereduna</i> ) Fortunat. Carm. 3,23; <i>Viredunum</i> Greg. Tur. HF 3,26, <i>Viredunensis</i> , <i>Viredunensim</i> 34, <i>Veridunense</i> 7,43 (44), <i>Veredunensem</i> 9,8, <i>Veredunenses</i> 10, <i>Veredunensem</i> 12, <i>Veredunensis</i> 23, <i>Viridunensem</i> 10,19; <i>Veredvno</i> , <i>Viridvno</i> , <i>Viridvno</i> , <i>Verdvnn</i> Merovingian coins; etc. Celtic, <b>uiro-</b> & <b>dūno-</b> . See also 2422 <i>Veriodunum</i> .
2423	11 D3	+03/49	49 53	+03 11	<b>Viromandis</b>	LN	LN: Vermand (FRA). Ἀγούστα Ῥομάνδων (var. Ῥομανδῶν) Ptol. 2,9,6; <i>Augusta Ueromandorum</i> (var. <i>ueromundorum</i> ) IA 379,4; <i>Ciuitas Ueromandorum</i> (var. <i>uiromandorum</i> , <i>ueremandorum</i> ) NG 6, 5; <i>Virmandus</i> NT LXXXVII.56; <i>Aug. Viro Muduorum</i> TP 1,3; <i>Viromandis</i> Merovingian coins; etc. Celtic, <b>uiro-</b> & <b>mandu-</b> .
2424	11 D3	+03/49	49 56	+03 30	<b>Viromandui</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Viromanduos</i> (acc., var. <i>veromanduos</i> ) Caesar BG 2,4, <i>Viromanduis</i> (var. <i>veromanduis</i> , abl.) 16 and 23; <i>Veromandui</i> (var. <i>uir-</i> ) Pliny 4, 106; οἱ Ῥομάνδυες (var. Ῥομανδύσσων, Ῥομάνδες, Ῥομάνδρες) Ptol. 2,9,6; <i>Ueromandi</i> Orosius 6,7,14; <i>Viromanduo</i> CIL 13, 1465; <i>Viromand(uo)</i> 1688; <i>civi Viromanduo</i> 8341 and 8342; etc. Celtic, <b>uiro-</b> & <b>mandu-</b> . Cf. 2423 <i>Viromandis</i> .
- 2403a	11D3	+03/49	49 50	+03 51	<b>Vironum</b>	LN	LN: Vervins (FRA). <i>Vironum</i> TP 1,4. At face value, to <b>uiro-</b> ; but may be simply an erroneous spelling of 2403 <i>Verbinum</i> (see s v).
6746	25 B3	-04/42	42 33	-03 19	<b>Virovesca</b>	LN	LN: Cerro de San Juan (Briviesca) (ESP). <i>Virouesca</i> Pliny 3.27; Οὐρούεσκα (var. Βιρούεσκα, Βουρούεσκα, Οὐρδουβέσκα, etc.) Ptol. 2.6.52; <i>Virovesca</i> IA 454.5, <i>Virovenna</i> 450.2, <i>Verovesca</i> (var. <i>ueronesca</i> ) 394.4; <i>Birobesca</i> Rav. 318.10; <i>Virovescensium</i> Epist. Pontif. 16.1, 166 (quoted in TIR K-30). Celtic, to <b>uiro-</b> . Villar & Prósper <i>Genes y Lenguas</i> , 483 derive the LN from <i>Virovia</i> , itself from <i>*Verā ubā</i> ‘river Vera’, from pre-Celtic <i>Vera</i> and Indo-European <i>*ubā</i> ‘river’. Tovar <i>Tarr.</i> 376 also considers <i>viro-</i> Celtic, but takes <i>-sca</i> to be Ligurian (although <i>-sk-</i> is Indo-European in general, not restricted to Liguria). For other possibilities, see García Alonso <i>Ptolomeo</i> , 291-2.
2425	11 D2	+03/50	50 47	+03 06	<b>Viroviacum</b>	LN	LN: Wervik/(Wervicq) (B). <i>Uirouiacum</i> IA 376,6; <i>Virovino</i> TP 1,2; etc. ‘Place belonging to Virovius’, an <b>-āko-</b> derivative of a PN <i>Virovius</i> .
4864	20 B3	+14/46	46 41	+14 25	<b>Virunum</b>	LN	LN: Zollfeld (AUS). <i>Virunum</i> Pliny 3,156; Οὐίρουνον Ptol. 2,13,3; <i>Viruno</i> IA

								276,5; TP 4,2; Βέρουνοϋ Steph. Byz; <i>Vir(unum)</i> IMS 2, 122. Probably Celtic, to <i>uiro-</i> .
-	3048a	14 F4	+00/44	44 56	+00 55	<b>Visera? fl.</b>	RN	RN: Vézère (FRA). <i>Visera</i> Ruricius epist. 2,53,1; <i>Visera fluvius</i> Vita Sori (ASS 1 febr. I p. 200 B) 1.5; <i>in fluvio Visera</i> 4.17; later attestation (889) <i>Visera</i> . If Celtic, to <i>uesu-</i> ; vocalism, however, is problematic. See also 3048 <i>Bicera</i> .
	4444	19 A2	+08/47	47 30	+08 45	<b>Vitudurum</b>	LN	LN: Winterthur (SWI). <i>murum Vitudurenssem</i> CIL 13, 5249. A Celtic compound with <i>-duro-</i> . For the first component see DLG: 323 s.v. <i>*uitu-</i> ‘saule’.
	4183	18 D3	+06/46	46 28	+06 48	<b>Vivisco</b>	LN	LN: Vevey? (SWI). Οὔκοϋϋ (var. οὐισκόϋϋ) Ptol. 2,12,3; <i>Vivisco</i> TP 2,3; <i>Bibiscon</i> Rav. 4,26. Obscure. Celticity is not straightforward. Cf. 4183a <i>Vibisco</i> .
	9492	39 G2	+10/45	45 48	+10 15	<b><u>Vobenenses</u></b>	EN	EN: Around Bovegno (IT). VOBEN( ) (CIL 5, 4910). The EN, if the reconstruction in BA is correct, is derived from a LN. For a Celtic approach, cf. <i>uo-</i> , <i>ba/ennā-</i> . There is no certainty, however, that the reconstruction is correct.
	6747	25 D4	-02/41	41 30	-01 45	<b>Voberca M.</b>	MN	MN: Sierra de la Virgen, near Bubierca (ESP). <i>Voberca</i> (var. <i>Vobisca</i> , <i>Vobesca</i> ) Mart. 1, 49, 14. There is a certain variation in the only attestation of the LN; and discrepancies between the attestation and the modern name. Word formation seems non-Celtic; if it is a corrupted form, cf., however, <i>uobera</i> , <i>uoberno-</i> ‘source ou ruisseau caché’ > ‘bois, forêt’, from <i>uo-bero</i> ‘sous-source’ (DLG: 325) or CIL 13, 6689 ( <i>vicus</i> ) <i>Vobergens(is)</i> . ACPN: 237 allows that the LN may contain <i>uo-</i> .
	9493	39 H2	+10/45	45 39	+10 31	<b>Voberna</b>	LN	LN: Vobarno (IT). <i>Voberna</i> (CIL 5, 4905). According to Delamarre, DLG: 325 the LN goes back to G. <i>*uoberno-</i> ‘forest’ (DLG, s.v.); ACPN: 199 considers here <i>uo-</i> and either a cognate of OIr <i>bern</i> ‘pass’ or of Breton <i>bern</i> ‘heap’.
	4445	19 F2	+13/47	47 27	+13 14	<b><u>Vocarium</u></b>	LN	LN: Pfarrwerfen? (SWI). Οὐακόριον Ptol. 2,13,3; <i>Vocario</i> TP 3,4. If <i>Vocorion</i> , then ‘the city of the <i>Vocorii</i> ’; <i>Vo-corii</i> ‘two armies’, cf. <i>Tricorii</i> , <i>Petrucorii</i> , so P. Anreiter, M. Haslinger, U. Roider, ‘The Names of the Eastern Alpine region’, 125. The reading <i>vaco-</i> will lead to a Celt. <i>uac(c)o-</i> .
	3661	15 E1	+05/44	44 07	+05 30	<b>Vocontii</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Vocontiorum</i> Caes BG 1,10,5; Οὐοκόντιοι Strabo 4,6,4; Οὐοκοκντίων 4,1,3; <i>Vocontiorum</i> Livy hist. 21,31,9; <i>Vocontiorum</i> Pliny 3,37; <i>Vocontiorum</i> Mela 2,5,75; Οὐοκόντιοι Ptol. 2,10,8; <i>Vocontii</i> Iustin. 43,5,11; <i>Bocontii</i> TP 2,1. Celtic. Isaac, PNPg segments the EN as <i>uo-</i> <i>conto-</i> <i>io-</i> or <i>uoconto-</i> <i>io-</i> or <i>uoco-</i> <i>ont-</i> <i>io-</i> ,

								listing <i>conto-</i> (meaning unknown) as a Celtic element, commenting ‘Isolated on the basis of <i>Uo-cont-io-</i> ; this is the segmentation favoured by Pokorny IEW 229. However, the segmentation could be <i>Uoco-nt-io-</i> , in which case, <i>conto-</i> would be a ghost’. Delamarre (DLG: 324) derives <i>Uocontii</i> from <i>uoconti</i> ‘vingt?’, with <i>uo-</i> ‘two’, suggesting the EN means ‘les vingt tribus’. De Hoz ‘Narbonensis’ 178 n. 49 suggests <i>*(d)wo-(d)k'm-t(o)-yo-</i> ‘the two hundred’.
-	3878a	17 E4	+05/44	<b>44 46</b>	+05 23	<b>Vocontii</b>	EN	EN: Die (FRA). See 3878 <i>Col. Dea Vocontiorum</i> . For the etymology see 3661 <i>Vocontii</i> .
	2427	11 E2	+04/50	<b>50 25</b>	+04 11	<b>Vodgoriacum</b>	LN	LN: Waudrez (B). <i>Vodgoriacum</i> IA 378,2; <i>Vogo Dorgiaco</i> TP 1,4; etc. According to Isaac, AILR. ‘Place renowned for moles’, 1) uod(o)- + gorio- + áco-; or 2) d(o)go- + ri- + áco-, with possible Celtic element <i>*uodo-</i> : “If this < <i>*Uodo-goriacum</i> : <i>*uodo-</i> could be aligned with OB <i>guod</i> gl. talpha, OC <i>god</i> gl. talpha, MW <i>gwad</i> , mod. <i>gwadd</i> ‘mole’. But the second element <i>gorio-</i> remains difficult to interpret. If there were progressive vocalic assimilation (or simply corruption) in <i>*Uodogariacum</i> > <i>Uodgoriacum</i> , then the implied <i>*gario-</i> would be consistent with MW <i>geir</i> , mod. <i>gair</i> usually ‘word’, but also ‘story, reputed’, < <i>*garyo-</i> , attested in Gaul. <i>adgarion</i> (inscr. Chamalières). Combining these suggestions, we might have <i>*{Wodogarya:ko-}</i> ‘place renowned for moles’, a not entirely impossible toponym. But this is not an interpretation that invites rigorous defence. The AI form is probably too corrupt for reliable analysis”. In any event, the LN probably contains <i>-āko-</i> .
	3443	14 E4	-01/44	<b>44 50</b>	-00 31	<b><u>Vodollacum?</u></b>	LN	LN: Bouliac (FRA). <i>in vico Vodollacensi</i> (var. <i>Vodallacensi</i> ) GdeT CG 46. Possibly Celtic, and contains <i>-āko-</i> . Holder reconstructs the name <i>*Bodoliacum</i> , which ties in with Da.’s derivation from a Gaulish PN <i>*Bodollus</i> .
	3444	14 F2	+00/46	<b>46 39</b>	+00 13	<b>Voglada</b>	LN	LN: Vouillé (FRA). <i>Vogladense</i> GdeT HF 2,37, <i>Vogladinse</i> 2.43; <i>Vocladum</i> vita Maxentii 2,11; later attestations: (1095) <i>in Volliaco</i> , (1231) <i>Vollec</i> , (1250) <i>Voyllé</i> , (1252) <i>Voilliacus</i> TGF 8401. Celtic, from <i>uo-</i> ‘under’ or ‘two’ and <i>clad-</i> .
-	3952a	17 B2	+03/45	<b>45 47</b>	+03 38	<b>Volautrum</b>	LN	LN: Vollore-Ville (FRA). See 3952 <i>(Lo)Volautrum</i> .
	3662	15 B2	+03/43	<b>43 42</b>	+03 45	<b>Volcae Arecomici</b>	EN	EN (FRA). <i>Volcis Arecomicis</i> (var. <i>aretomicis</i> ) Caes BG 7,7,4; <i>Volcarum Arecomicorum</i> Caes. BC 1,35,4; Οὐόλκαι... Ἀρηκομί<σ>κούς Strabo 4,1,12;

								<i>Arecomicorum</i> Pliny 3,37; Ουόλκαι Ἀρηκόμιοι Ptol. 2,10,6. Celtic; for the first component see <i>uolco-</i> . The second component may be segmented into <i>are-</i> & <i>como-</i> ; the latter part is obscure but is very likely to be Celtic. G. R. Isaac (PNPG, Possible Celtic elements, s.v. <i>como-</i> ) tentatively suggests that it is “the lexicalised use of the adverb/adposition/prefix <i>*kom</i> ‘(together) with’, signifying ‘togetherness, unity, community’ vel sim.”.
6748	25 F2	+00/43	43 20	+00 55	<b>Volcae Tectosages (Volcae) Tectosages</b>	EN	EN: (FRA). Τεκτόσαγες Strabo 4,1,13; <i>Tolosani Tectosagum</i> Pliny 3,37; <i>Tolosa Tectosagum</i> Mela 2.5.75; Τεκτοσάγων Plut. Sulla 4.1; Ουόλκαι Τεκτοσάκες Ptol. 2.10.6; <i>Tectosagi</i> Iustin. 32.3.9; <i>Volce Tectosi</i> TP. Celtic, to <i>uolco-</i> and <i>tecto &amp; sag(i)</i> . See also <i>Tectosages</i> 6748a and <i>Tectosagi</i> 6748b.	
4866	20 E3	+17/46	46 42	+17 16	<b>Volgum</b>	LN	LN: S Fenékpuszta (HUN). <i>Valco</i> IA 233,3. According to Isaac (AILR, comm ad loc.), “possibly a Celtic name related to OI <i>folc</i> ‘heavy rain, wet weather’, or with the element <i>Uolco-</i> , as in <i>Uolcae</i> ENN”. P. Anreiter, <i>Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens</i> , 142, traces the LN to Pann. word for ‘wetland’ (cf. Latv. <i>valks</i> ‘damp’).	
4082	17 F4	+05/44	44 34	+05 33	<b>Vologatae</b>	LN	LN: Near Beaurières (FRA). <i>Vologatis</i> (var. <i>uolocates</i> ) IB 554,9. Possibly Celtic, although the sole attestation with two variant reading does not allow its exact analysis. If <i>Volocates</i> is the original form, cf. <i>catu-</i> and <i>*uolo-</i> (PNPG, Celtic elements, s.v.: “perhaps <i>o</i> -grade to <i>*uelH-</i> ‘exercise power over’”).	
6749	25 C4	-03/41	41 42	-02 48	<b><u>Voluca</u></b>	LN	LN: near Calatañazor (FRA). <i>Voluce</i> IA 442,1. Celtic; exact interpretation difficult; cf. <i>uo-</i> , <i>luco-</i> , <i>uel-</i> . See also 6749a <i>Ouelouka</i> .	
4083	17 G2	+06/45	45 33	+06 07	<b><u>Voludnia</u></b>	LN	LN: Near S-Jean-de-la-Porte (FRA). <i>Vo[l]udniense[s]</i> CIL 12, 2331. Obscure: perhaps linked to PNPg’s possibly Celtic element <i>uolo-</i> (as suggested for 4082 <i>Vologatae</i> ), or to Celtic <i>uo-</i> and an obscure <i>lud-n-</i> , cf <i>Ludn...</i> (3235) and <i>Ludna</i> (3955).	
1049	7 B3	-05/48	48 34	-04 12	<b>Vorganium</b>	LN	LN: Kérilien-en-Plouneventer (FRA). Ουοργάνιον (var. ουοργόνιον) Ptol. 2,8,5: <i>A Vorg(io) leug(ae)</i> ... CIL 13, 9013 (= CIL 17, 412); <i>Vorgan</i> CIL 17, 9016 (= CIL 17, 411); etc. Obscure: meaning uncertain. For an etymological approach and for an insight into the discussion of <i>Vorganium-Vorgium</i> , cf. 1050 <i>Vorgium</i> .	

1050	7 C3	-04/48	48 17	-03 34	<b>Vorgium</b>	LN	LN: Carhaix (FRA). Ptolemaic forms (2,8,5) are quoted s v <i>Vorganium</i> . <i>Ebris</i> Rav. 4, 39; <i>Vorgium</i> TP 1,2; <i>Vorgium</i> NT 87,44; <i>A Vorg(io) leug(ae)</i> ...CIL 13, 9013; <i>Vorgan(io) m(ilia) p(assuum)</i> ... 9016, etc. Obscure, may be connected with G. * <i>uerg-</i> (for which see DLG: 315 and PNPG, s.v.).
3445	14 I2	+03/46	46 20	+03 24	<b>Vorogio</b> <sup>6</sup>	LN	LN: Varennes-sur-Allier (FRA). <i>Vorogio</i> TP 1,4; coins Belfort 4940 <i>Vorocio</i> , 4941 <i>Voroc iovico</i> . Obscure; may contain Celtic <i>uo-</i> .
5390	21 F6	+23/43	43 19	+23 25	<b>Vorovum Minor</b>	LN	LN: Kradover (BUL). <i>ex vico Vorovo Minore</i> (V. Velkov, G. Alexandrov, <i>Epigrasfski pamyatnitsy ot Montana</i> (Montana II, 1994), no. 110, pp. 45-46). Celtic, <i>uo-</i> & <i>oro-</i> .
3446	14 G2	+01/46	46 32	+01 10	<b>Vosagum</b>	LN	LN: B�el�abre? (FRA). <i>Vosagensim</i> GdeT HF 9,19. Probably Celtic, to <i>uo-</i> & <i>sag-</i> .
2429	11 H4	+07/48	48 25	+07 10	<b>Vosegus M.</b>	MN	MN: Vogesen (FRA). <i>ex monte Vosego</i> Caesar BG 4,10; <i>Vosego</i> (Uosago) Pliny NH 16,197; <i>Silva Vosagus</i> TP 2, 2/3; <i>Vosagi</i> Fortunat. Carm. 7,4; <i>Vosagum silvam</i> Greg. Tur. HF 10,10; <i>Vo[seg]o sil(vestri)</i> CIL 13, 6027; <i>Vosego Sil[vestri]</i> 6059; <i>Vosego</i> 6080; etc. At face value Celtic, <i>uo-</i> & <i>sego-</i> ; see also Schmidt, KGP 299-300, Weisgerber RGC 322, also for its correspondence with a DN.
2430	11 H2	+07/50	50 06	+07 41	<b>Vosolvia</b>	LN	LN: Oberwesel (GER). <i>Vosauia</i> TP 2,2; <i>Bosalvia</i> Rav. 4, 24; <i>Wasaliacinse</i> Vita s. Goaris I; <i>[Vo]solvia</i> CIL 13, 9158; etc. Possibly Celtic: meaning uncertain. Weisgerber RGC 351 (cf. GPN: 289) lists this name Celtic LNN due to <i>vo-</i> ; the rest of the LN remains obscure. See 2430a <i>Bosolvia</i> .
9494	39 D2	+08/45	45 42	+08 40	<b>Votodrones</b>	EN	EN: Somma Lombardo (IT). According to Delamarre (DLG: 328 and ‘Gallo-Brittonica’, 125-6), the EN contains G. * <i>voto-</i> ‘droit’ (OIr <i>foth</i> ), and a cognate of OIr <i>drenn</i> ‘combat’, therefore ‘ceux qui se disputant pout leurs droits’.
2431	11 E3	+04/49	49 28	+04 39	<b>Vungovicus</b>	LN	LN: Voncq (FRA). <i>Vongo vicus</i> IA 365,9; <i>Vongensi</i> (see Ho III.1, 458). According to Isaac, possibly Celtic, ‘?the vicus of a field’, with a possible Celtic element * <i>uongo-</i> , compared with Gmc., OE <i>wang</i> , OHG <i>wang</i> , ON <i>vangr</i> , Go. <i>wags</i> ’. A PN may be expected here, however.