NAMING THE PROVINCIAL LANDSCAPE: SETTLEMENT AND TOPONYMY IN ANCIENT CATALUNYA

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RESUMEN: La historia del asentamiento antiguo en la Cataluña se refleja en su toponimia. Mientras que muchos de los nombres son ibéricos, hay también gran cantidad de nombres indoeuropeos (ni griegos ni latinos), que sugieren un asentamiento importante de habladores de una lengua indoeuropea, presumiblemente anterior a la dominación ibérica. Más sorprendente es la ausencia de topónimos celticos, no obstante la presencia de campos de urnos, cabezas cortadas, y espadas y fibulas de tipo La Tène. Se propone que tales costumbres y artefactos pueden interpretarse de otros modos, no celticos.

ABSTRACT: The history of ancient settlement in Catalunya is reflected in its toponymy. Although many of the names are Iberian, there is also a large number of Indo-European names (neither Greek nor Latin) which suggest an important settlement of Indo-European speakers, presumably antedating the Iberian domination. More surprising is the absence of Celtic toponyms, despite the presence of urnfields, severed heads, and swords and fibulas of La Tène type. The author proposes that these customs and artifacts can be interpreted in other, non-Celtic ways.

The study of ancient place-names can pay impressive dividends in reconstructing the linguistic history of a region¹. Toponyms tend to be conservative, remaining in use for centuries after their original meaning has been forgotten²; they thus serve as linguistic fossils, preserving traces of all the language groups that settled there. Geographic names recorded in sources of the Roman period therefore provide evidence not only for Romanization (as indicated by

¹ Funding for this project was generously provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. I am also grateful to research assistants Thomas Edward Butcher and Margaret McCarthy for their help.

the adoption of Latin toponyms), but also for the settlement history of pre-Roman peoples.

The subject of the present article is the toponymy of Catalunya, the north-eastern coastal plain of Spain. Corresponding in ancient administrative divisions to the northern half of the conventus Tarracensis, Catalunya is the region surrounding Tarraco, important as the capital of Hispania Citerior, the largest Roman province in Europe. While impressive archaeological survey work in recent years has done much to elucidate the Roman settlement pattern in this zone, only toponyms can elucidate the languages of the original settlers.

In an earlier article I looked at Celticization and Romanization of toponymy in central Spain as an indicator of the three successive linguistic languages prevalent in that region: Indo-European (pre-Celtic), Celtic, and Latin. In Catalunya, one would expect the indigenous place-names to be Iberian -a non-Indo-European language of disputed origin- with an overlay of Greek (from the trading posts sent out by Massilia before the Hannibalic war) and Latin toponyms. In fact the situation is much more complicated. In recent years, several Catalunyan place-names previously assumed to be Iberian have been re-interpreted as Indo-European by F. Villar, raising questions about early Indo-European settlement in this supposedly non-Indo-European zone. More specifically, several recent writers such as B. Cunliffe, J.L. García Alonso, J. Gorro-

3 The modern name Catalunya is traditionally derived from a supposed tribe *Catouellauni, which is attested in no source and must be dismissed as popular etymology. So must the explanation *Gotaliania “land of Goths and Alans” proffered by J. Jungfer, Über Personenennamen in den Ortsnamen Spaniens une Portugal, Berlin, 1902, p. 18. The name Cataloni appears only in very late sources, but could well be derived from Ptolemy’s tribe Castellanoi (Ptol. II 6.70) through an intermediate form *Cattelani: A. Tovar, Iberische Landeskunde II/3, Baden-Baden, 1989, p. 40. The question remains sub judice.
7 B. Cunliffe, The ancient Celts, Oxford, 1997, p. 138 claims that Celtic toponyms in -dunum “were found over only a limited territory, concentrating mainly in Catalunya”. In fact, only one such name is found in Catalunya in antiquity. Cunliffe may be thinking of Catalunan names like Verdú and Salardú, whose derivation from -dunum is unlikely: see F. Beltrán Lloris, “Galos en Hispania”, Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, 57, 2006, p. 189.
chategui\(^9\), and P. Sims-Williams\(^10\) have identified a number of Catalunyan toponyms as being positively or possibly Celtic. The presence of Celtic geographic names would appear to be associated with the appearance of urnfields - an assemblage characteristic of the Final Bronze and Hallstatt cultures of central Europe- in Catalunya in the ninth to seventh centuries BC\(^11\). Thus it is not surprising to see, in one of the standard histories of ancient Spain, a distribution map in which the urnfields of Catalunya are explicitly labelled as “Celtic sites”\(^12\). According to T.G.E. Powell, the Catalunyan urnfields “represent the only satisfactory explanation for the introduction of Celtic place-names in the Peninsula”\(^13\). Finds at Ullastret and Puig Castellar of human skulls pierced with nails evoke the Celtic tête coupée ritual familiar from the south Gallic shrines of Entremont and Roquepertuse\(^14\). In addition, though dating to a somewhat later period, we find La Tène swords and fibulas in Catalunya\(^15\), again suggesting a Celtic material presence in the region. To address the problem of Catalunyan Celticity, the time is ripe for a fresh examination of the place-names of ancient Catalunya, with the aim of distinguishing the Iberian, Celtic and Indo-European linguistic strata and thus clarifying the settlement pattern of successive peoples in the region.

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9 J. Gorrochategui, “Establishment and analysis of Celtic toponyms in Aquitania and the Pyrenees”, in New approaches to Celtic place-names in Ptolemy’s Geography, ed. J. de Hoz, E.R. Luján and P. Sims-Williams, Madrid, 2005, pp. 163-164 avers that the second element in Sebendunon/Besendunon is Gaulish, while Cinna “may be related to the Celtic name-element cen-.” He also compares the ending of Aeso(n) with that of Segisamo(n).
10 P. Sims-Williams, Ancient Celtic place-names in Europe and Asia Minor, Oxford, 2006, pp. 238-239 says Sebendunon/Belsedunum is “clearly Celtic”, while Cinna, Ciniana and the river Alba are possibly Celtic.
Such an inquiry is not without difficulties. For one thing, we have only a limited knowledge of the vocabulary of Iberian, which is not related to any other known language, and can only identify toponyms as “Iberian” if one or more of the name elements appear in Iberian inscriptions (which consist largely of personal names). Even then, not all names mentioned in Iberian inscriptions are necessarily Iberian. As an example of our imperfect understanding of Iberian, the element *il* or *ili*, which is presumed to mean “city”\(^\text{16}\), sometimes occurs in the extended forms *iltun*, *iltur* or *ilti\(^\text{17}\)*, without it being clear why one form is used in preference to another in any given toponym. Another problem is that Greek, Latin and Celtic are themselves Indo-European. Therefore it is not always easy to distinguish names that are “Indo-European” (that is, belonging to an unidentified early Indo-European language) from those belonging to one of these derivative tongues. This problem applies particularly to Celtic, which is imperfectly known and is primarily reconstructed from ancient Gaulish and the Neo-Celtic languages of the British Isles.

In what follows, the ancient place-names of Catalunya (rivers, mountains, cities) are presented alphabetically for ease of reference. Conclusions will be offered as to their linguistic proportions and the problem of a Celtic presence\(^\text{18}\). The location of identifiable place-names is indicated on the map (Figure 1).


\(^{18}\) Note the following abbreviations: *IA* = *Itinerarium Antonini*; *Rav.* = *Ravennatis Cosmographia*; *IEW* = J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern, 1959); *MLH* = J. Untermann, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum, I: Die Münzlegenden* (Wiesbaden, 1975); *IE* = Indo-European; * = hypothetical form. All citations of Avienus, Pliny and Ptolemy refer to the *Ora maritima, Historia Naturalis* and *Geographia*, respectively.
RIVERS

Alba (Pliny III, 22). This clearly comes from the IE hydronym *albho- \(^{19}\) (IEW 30). Parallels include the river Albis (Elbe) in Germany (Tac. Germ. 41) and the river Albe, Albas or Albula in Italy, an early name of the Tiber (Pliny III, 53; Steph. Byz. s.v. Albas).

Anystus (Avienus 547). While Pokorny saw this name as Illyrian, comparing the Bulgarian river Andzista, Schulten more reasonably interprets it as Greek anystos “practical”; thus, “the useful (river)\(^{20}\). However, the possibility remains that it is a hellenized transliteration of an indigenous name: cf. the river Anisus (modern Enns) in Noricum, which Anreiter \textit{et al.} relate, not very convincingly, to a supposed IE *on- with hydronymic suffix *-is-\(^{21}\).

Arnus or Arnum (Pliny III, 22). Pliny gives the name in the accusative, which leaves the gender uncertain. Various hypotheses have been advanced: Pokorny made it Illyrian, Garvens Basque, while Jacob derived it from a supposed toponym Airo\(^{22}\). Its true root is surely the IE hydronym *ar- with secondary suffix \(-\)no-\(^{23}\). Cf. the Italian river Arnus (modern Arno).

Baetulo (Mela II, 89). See below on the city of the same name.

Clodianus (Mela II, 89). Clearly derived from the Latin personal name Clodius, which is very common in Spain\(^{24}\). Schulten suggests that it was the name of a local estate owner\(^{25}\).

Dilunus (Sallust, Hist. III, 6). Probably from Latin diluere “to wash away”.

Hiberus (attested in numerous sources). This is a Latinized form of Greek Iber, ultimately an Iberian name referring of course to the Iberians.

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Whether the river is named for the people, or the people for the river, is a moot point.

Lara. Mentioned in a gubernatorial arbitration from Tarraco concerning the *rivus Larensis* (CIL II, 4125). The derivation by Schulten from an Etruscan personal name Lar is improbable. A likelier etymology is *law-ra* from IE *lou-, la* “to wash” (*IEW* 692, Latin *lavare*) with adjectival suffix -ro.

Maius (Mela II, 90). Though Schulten opted for the stem of Celtic personal names in *Maiu-*27, the likeliest explanation of *Maius* (flumen) is the Latin comparative *maius* “quite large”.

Oleum. Another name of the Ebro, according to Avienus 505. Jacob unconvincingly construes it as a pre-Roman name *Elaisos “river of Ele”*. It is more reasonably seen as Latin, “olive river”, referring either to its colour or to local oleoculture (cf. the town name Oleastrum, below).

Rubricatum (Pliny III, 21). A Latin name pertaining to a reddish colour, cf. the town Rubricata (below) and the lake Rubraesus in Narbonensis.

Sambroca (Ptol. II, 6, 19). García Alonso proposes an etymology *sam-ar-o-ka* from Celtic *samo- “summer”*, which seems an unlikely root for a river-name. A possible etymology is *sem-ro-ka* from IE *iem- “to hold (together), join, unite” (*IEW* 505), since a river unites the places along it as well as the tributaries that join it.

Subi (Pliny III, 21). Montoliu says this river was undoubtedly named for the neighbouring town of Subur30. Garvens relates it to Basque *zubi* “bridge”, Villar to IE *-uba*. However, a very similar name *sube* occurs on Iberian potters’ stamps and graffiti.

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28 P. Jacob, “Notes sur la toponymie grecque”, p. 250.
30 M. Montoliu, “Els noms de rius i els noms fluvials en la toponimia catalana”, *Bulletí de Dialectologia Catalana*, 10, 1922, p. 11
Ticis (Mela II, 89). Schulten would make it an Etruscan name, comparing the Italian river Ticinus\textsuperscript{33}, but a more likely root is IE \textasteriskcentered{tek} “to run, flow” (IEW 1059). There was another river Ticis (modern Tech) in southern Gaul.

Tulcis (Mela II, 90). Villar compares the town-name Titulcia, which he construes as \textasteriskcentered{ilti-tulkia}\textsuperscript{34}. The root of Tulcis may be IE \textasteriskcentered{dhol(o)-} “hollow” (IEW 245; Welsh \textit{dol} “valley”, Old High German \textit{tuolla} “gully”).

**Mountains**

Celebanticum (Avienus 525). Schulten rejects an etymology from Greek \textit{kelebê} “cup”\textsuperscript{35}. The true root could be IE \textasteriskcentered{kel-} “to be prominent; hill” (IEW 544) plus IE \textasteriskcentered{bha-n-} “to shine; white” (IEW 104). Therefore, “white mountain”.

Iovis mons (Mela II, 89). Latin, “mountain of Juppiter”.

Malodes (Avienus 535). Probably Greek, from \textit{malon} “apple” with suffix –\textit{odes} “which has the look of”, therefore “apple-shaped (mountain)\textsuperscript{36}”. However, Villar derives all Mal- toponyms -even Malaca, which is Phoenician!- from IE \textasteriskcentered{mel-} “to be prominent, elevated\textsuperscript{37}”, which is an alternative possibility for this onronym.

Sellus (Avienus 507). While Schulten vacillates between an Etruscan and Greek etymology\textsuperscript{38}, the correct root may be the IE suffixed form \textasteriskcentered{sed-lo-} “seat, resting place” (IEW 884; Latin \textit{sella}). There was an ancient river Sella in Asturias, and a town Sellium in Lusitania.

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\textsuperscript{35} A. Schulten, \textit{Iberische Landeskunde}, I, p. 229.


\textsuperscript{37} F. Villar and B. Prössper, \textit{Vascos, celtas e indoeuropeos: Genes y lenguas}, Salamanca, 2005, p. 70.

OTHER FEATURES

Campus Foenicularius (Cic. Att. XII, 8) = Marathonos pedion (Strabo III, 4, 9). “Plain of fennel”, from Latin foenum (Greek marathon).

Cassa (c)herronesos (Avienus 491). The name of this peninsula, is correctly preserved, is perhaps derived from IE *kas- “grey” (IEW 533; Latin canus), referring to its colour.

Lunarium promontorium (Ptol. II, 6, 19). From Latin luna “moon”, perhaps referring to a crescent-shaped cape.

Toni stagnum (Avienus 544). Schulten conjectured that the name of this marsh might come from the rare personal name Tonius (CIL II, 5813), possibly a variant of Tongius39. However, it is more likely derived from an o-grade form of IE *ten- “to stretch, spread” (IEW 1065), connoting “stretched, extensive”.

CITIES, VILLAGES AND STATIONS

Ad Septimum Decimum (IA 452, 4). Latin, “at the seventeenth (milestone)”.

Adeba (Ptol. II, 6, 63). The structure of the name appears similar to that of Edeba (Oretania) and the river Udiva (Contestania), but the etymology is unclear.

Aeso (Pliny III, 23). The town’s pre-Latin coins read eso, therefore “Ae” seems to be a Latin hypercorrection. Evans compares the Gaulish theonym Esus40, but this is not attested in Spain. The name may rather come from the IE hydronym *eis- “move quickly” (IEW 299)41.

Antistiana (IA 398, 6). This station probably denotes the estate of an Antistius, a very common Latin name. Contrary to the view of Roldan Hervas42,

this is not likely to be C. Antestius Vetus, who in 69-68 BC was governor of Hispania Ulterior, not Citerior.

Aquae Calidae (Pliny III, 23; Ptol. II, 6, 69). A Latin name meaning “hot waters”.

Aquae Voconiae (IA 398, 1). Named after a Voconius, a Latin name well attested in Spain.

Arketurki (MLH A.28). In successive publications, Villar derives this pre-Latin mint name from IE *tur- and IE *urc- 43. This illustrates a defect in his method, since the name obviously cannot come from both roots. Arke- could come from IE *ar(e)q- “to protect” (IEW 65-66; Greek arkeo, Latin arceo “protect”). However, the existence of numerous Iberian personal names in Arki-, and the word arkat an on an Iberian inscription from Liria, leave open the possibility of an Iberian root 44. Cf. Arcilacis in Bastetania (Ptol. II, 6, 60). On -turki cf. liturgi, below.

Arrago (Rav. 303, 9). Perhaps from IE *an- “not” (IEW 756) plus *wreg- “to break” (IEW 1181), perhaps referring to unbroken terrain; cf. Greek arragês “unbroken”.

Ascerris (Ptol. II, 6, 71). A number of Asc- names in Spain (Ascua), Sicily (Askelos) and central Europe (Ascis, Ascaulis) suggest that this is an IE name, though of unclear etymology 45. The sequence -erris is seen in Hispanic names like Iliberris.

Ausa (Pliny III, 22; Ptol. II, 6, 69). Its pre-Roman name may be *Ause, as suggested by the Iberian forms ausês, aušesken 46. Attempts to relate it to Basque auzo “neighbourhood” are unconvincing 47. Possibly from an IE hydronymic root *aus- “to drain, draw off water” (IEW 90). Cf. the river Ausoba in Ireland.

44 J. Siles, Léxico de inscripciones ibéricas, Madrid, 1985, pp. 61-64.
Bacasis (Ptol. II, 6, 71). Although there are Celtic names in Bac-\textsuperscript{48}, the word bakasketai on an Iberian inscription suggests that *bacas- is an Iberian element\textsuperscript{49}.

Baecula (Pliny III, 23; Ptol. II, 6, 69). Villar derives the element bai- in various Hispanic toponyms from IE *g’hei- “to shine, be white” (IEW 488-489), though the Iberian personal name baikaー may argue for an Iberian root *bai- or *baik-\textsuperscript{50}. In any case, there is no guarantee that all bai- toponyms (e.g. Baezis, Baedunia, Baesucci, Baelo) come from the same root. Polybius (X, 38, 7) mentions another Baecula in Bastetania.

Baetulo (Mela II, 90; Pliny III, 22; Ptol. II, 6, 18). Like Baecula, this name could be formed from IE *g’hei-. However, the word baietas which appears repeatedly in Iberian inscriptions on lead shows the possibility of an Iberian origin\textsuperscript{51}. The suffix -ulo is a latinized form, as shown by the orthography baietulo on the town’s pre-Latin coinage; cf. the classical spelling Castulo for indigenous castilo in Oretania.

Bagara. Name reconstructed from the ethnonym Bagarensis on the Ascoli bronze (CIL I, 709). There are several potential IE roots for this name: *bhag- “to apportion”, *bhag- “sharp”, *bhago- “beech” (all in IEW 107). -ro is an IE adjectival suffix. The word bagarok on an inscription from Alcoy is not evidence for an Iberian root *bagar-, because -rok is a suffix\textsuperscript{52}.

Barcino (numerous sources). The name is spelled barkeno on pre-Latin coinage (MLH A.6). Though Late Roman writers believed this city owed its name to a foundation by the Barcids (Ausonius Ep. XXVII, 68; Orosius VII, 43, 8), it is doubtful that there were Punic settlements north of the Ebro. While some have claimed that the name is Iberian, Villar opts for an IE origin\textsuperscript{53}. The root could be IE *bhar- “projection, point” (IEW 108).

Bassi (Ptol. II, 6, 70). Though possibly the genitive form of the common (though non-Latin) personal name Bassus, the existence of a toponym Bassai in

\textsuperscript{48} A. Holder, Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz I, Leipzig, 1896, col. 322-325.

\textsuperscript{49} J. Velaza, Léxico de inscripciones ibéricas, p. 43.

\textsuperscript{50} F. Villar, Indoeuropeos y no indoeuropeos en Hispania, p. 246; J. Siles, Léxico de inscripciones ibéricas, p. 83.

\textsuperscript{51} A. Quintaunilla, “Palabras de contenido verbal en ibérico”, Palaeohispanica, 5, 2005, p. 516.

\textsuperscript{52} J. Siles, Léxico de inscripciones ibéricas, p. 79; A. Quintaunilla, “Palabras de contenido verbal”, p. 515.

Greece and an ethnonym Bassi in Belgica point to a broader IE root, perhaps *bha-s- “light, shine” (*IEW 105).

_Bega_. Name reconstructed from _Begensis_ in _CIL_ I², 709. Though Villar derives it from IE *bai- “brilliant”54, a likelier root is IE *bheg- “bend, curve”, seen in several geographic and personal names Beg-/Veg- in Gaul55. Cf. Begastrium in Bastetania (_CIL_ II, 5948).

_Bergium_ (Livy XXXIV, 21, 1). Apparently from IE *bher(e)gh- “high, hill” (*IEW 140). There was another Bergium in Germany (Ptol. II, 11, 14) and two towns Bergidum in Spain.

_Beseda_ (Ptol. II, 6, 70). Perhaps from IE *bhes- “to rub” (*IEW 145), with IE adjectival suffix -do56.

_Biscargis_ (Pliny III, 3, 23; Ptol. II, 6, 63). This toponym contains the Iberian element biskar, seen in personal names Arbiscar and Sakarbiskar57.

_Blaberura_ (Steph. Byz. p. 332 M). From Greek blaberos and oura “harmful tail”, therefore “deadly cape”58?

_Blanda_ (Mela II, 90; Pliny III, 22; Ptol. II, 6, 18). Conceivably from Latin blandus “smooth”, with reference to flat topography. However, the eastern toponyms Blanda (Crete) and Blandos (Cappadocia) suggest a non-Latin root, perhaps an extension of IE *bhel- “shining, white” (*IEW 118).

_Brachyle_ (Steph. Byz. p. 185 M) A compound of Greek brachys and hylê “small wood”.


_Cardona_ (Sidon. Apoll. _Epist._ IX, 12). Probably from IE *kar- “hard” (*IEW 531) with suffix -to/-do- (Epic Greek kartos “strength”, Gothic hardus “hard, strong”: *IEW 531-32). Cf. Carduae near Bibilis (Martial IV, 55, 17), and Cardena in Belgica. -no is an IE secondary suffix.

_Ceresus_ (Ptol. II, 6, 71). Probably from IE *ker- “horn, head” (*IEW 574), with reference to its topography. Ceresius is hypothesized as the ancient name of Chérêt, Aisne60.

54 F. Villar, _Indoeuropeos y no indoeuropeos en Hispania_, p. 239.
55 A.L.F. Rivet and C. Smith, _The place-names of Roman Britain_, Princeton, 1979, p. 266.
56 A. Meillet, _Introduction à l’étude comparative_, p. 268.
58 P. Jacob, “Notes sur la toponymie grecque”, p. 287.
59 There is no necessity (contra J. Icart Leonila, “Cal·lípolis fou Tàrraco”, _Faventia_ 15:1, 1993, p. 84) to identify this town with Tarraco.
Cervaria (Mela II, 84). From IE *ker-wo- “horned; deer”. Therefore “deer town”? There was a homonymous town in Oretania (Ptol. II, 6, 58).

Cesse (MLH A.12). Against the form Kissa in Polybius (III, 76, 5, whence Cissis in Livy XXI, 60-61) must be placed the coin-legend kesse (variant kese) and the tribal name Cessetani. There are no Iberian parallels for this name. Tovar relates it to a (non-existent) Greek word kissa “pebble” which he characterizes as “Mediterranean” 61, but cf. IE *geis- “gravel” (IEW 356; German Kiesel “flint, pebble”). There are several places named Kissa in the Greek world, but no Cesse.

Cinna (Ptol. II, 6, 71). Hardly from the Etruscan(?) personal name Cinna. A likelier etymology is IE *ken- “to spring up” (IEW 563) with secondary suffix –no-.

Cinniana (IA 397, 9; Rav. 303, 2) Similar etymology to the preceding entry.

Corbio (Livy XXXIX, 42). Probably related to Corbis, name of a Spanish chieftain (Livy XXVIII, 21, 6-10), and possibly to the Gallic city Corbilo (Strabo IV, 2, 1), from the o-grade of IE *kerb- “dark, stained” 62. There was another Corbio in Latium (Livy II, 39, 4).

Cypselia (Avienus 527). Greek for “box, chest”, possibly referring to fortifications 63. There are homonyms in Arcadia and Thrace.

Deciana (Ptol. II, 6, 72; Rav. 303, 1). Latin, indicating the property of a Decius.

Dertosa (Strabo III, 4, 6; Pliny III, 23; CIL II² 14, 786-87). Probably from IE *dher- “to hold firm” (IEW 252). Cf. Dertona in Italy.

Egara (CIL II 4494-95). Possibly a hydronym, from IE *eg’h- “to drink” 64 with adjectival suffix –ro-.

Egosia (Ptol. II, 6, 70). Perhaps from the same root as the preceding. It is possible that the name is linguistically related to that of Icosium (Pliny III, 19-
20; *AE 1999, 960), a town in Contestania; cf. the classical spelling *Egelesta for
the Carpetanian city attested on coins as *ikalesken. Isaac regards *ico- as a
Celtic element, possibly from IE *iekw- “to heal” (*IEW 504)\(^{65}\); but there was also
an Icosium in Mauretania (Pliny V, 30; Ptol. IV, 2, 6). The suffix -osa is seen in
Dertosa (above), Succosa (Ebro valley), Metercosa (Carpetania), Tolosa (Aquita-
nia).

**Emporion** (Strabo III, 4, 8; Livy XXXIV, 9). Greek, “trading post”.

**Ennega** (CIL I^2, 709). Perhaps a hydronym, from IE *en- “in, on” plus
*neig”- “to wash” (*IEW 761).

**Fines** (*IA* 398, 5; Rav. 317, 18). A Latin name, perhaps indicating the
boundary between two towns or tribes.

**Gerunda** (Ptol. II, 6, 69; *IA* 390, 4). The likeliest root is IE *gher- “to en-
close” (*IEW 442).

**Hylactes** (Avienus 497). Greek *hylê aktês “forest of the cape”. The name
Hystera in the same line is probably not a toponym but Avienus’ misunder-
standing of the word *hystera in his Greek source\(^{66}\).

**Iesso** (Ptol. II, 6, 71; Pliny III, 23; pre-Latin coins of *ie* o*). The IE root
*ies- “to boil, bubble” (*IEW 506) suggests that the town may have been named
after a local spring. On the ending, cf. above, Aeso/eso.

**Ildum** (*IA* 399, 6; Rav. 304, 4). Appears to be a latinized spelling of Ibe-
rian *iltun/iltur “city”\(^{67}\).

**Il(t)uro** (*ilturo on pre-Latin coins, *MLH* A.11; Iluro in Pliny III, 22).
Clearly from Iberian *iltur “city”.

**Iliturgi** (Livy XXIII, 49, 5). The suggestion of Villar that this name com-
bines Iberian *ili with an IE hydronym *tur- seems improbable\(^{68}\). More likely the
name is wholly Iberian, from *iltur “city”. On the ending, cf. above, Arketurki.
There is a homonymous town in Baetica.

**Indice** (Steph. Byz. p. 332 M). Capital of the people known in classical
sources as *Indicetes* (Avienus 532; Sallust, *Hist.* II, 98, 5; Strabo III, 4, 1) or
*Indigetes* (Pliny III, 21; Ptol. II, 6, 19) but in pre-Latin coinage as *untikesken.
Coin evidence indicates that it was located in the vicinity of Emporion. Its ety-

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Elements”, p. 18.

\(^{66}\) P. Jacob, “Notes sur la toponymie grecque”, p. 262.

\(^{67}\) J. Velaza, *Léxico de inscripciones ibéricas*, p. 75.

mology is unclear. It may be related to the mint-name *untikia or *auntiki in southern Gaul69.

*Intibilis* (Livy XXIII, 49, 12; *IA* 399, 5; Rav. 310, 14). The name is clearly related to that of the Hispanic leader Indibilis. Both share the same element -bilis as Bilbilis; the name should therefore be Iberian.

*Iulia Libica* (Pliny III, 23; Ptol. II, 6, 68). The imperial *nomen* Iulia has been attached to an indigenous name Libica, an adjectival form similar to the place-name Libia of the Berones. The root may be IE *leubh- “to like” (Latin libere “be dear, be pleasing”: *IEW* 683), therefore “friendly/pleasant place”?

*Mentissa* (Livy XXVI, 17, 4). From IE *men-to- “projection” (*IEW* 726). The suffix -issa is generally regarded as pan-Mediterranean (e.g. Iturissa and Etovissa in Spain, Larissa in Greece, Vindonissa in Raetia).

*Oleastrum* (*IA* 399, 2). A variant (attested in Calpurnius Siculus Siculus II, 44) of Latin oleaster “wild olive tree”. There was a grove (lucus) of the same name in Baetica (Mela III, 4).

*Orre*. Name reconstructed from *Orretanus* in *CIL* II, 4465. Schulten thought it must be the same place as Oretum in south-east Spain70, but this would have yielded the adjective *Oretensis*. More likely we are dealing with the site of the Iberian mint ore. The name may be Iberian, cf. Oretum, Orippo (Baetica) and the mint orosiz.

*Palfuriana* (*IA* 398, 7; Rav. 303, 12). Named after Palfurius, a rare name. Outside of Spain (as attested by Palphurius in Lusitania, *CIL* II, 934) this *nomen* is represented by a suffect consul P.(?) Palfurius, whom Syme believes to be of probable Spanish origin71, his son Palfurius Sura the philosopher, another Palfurius Sura on an amphora stamp in northern Italy (*CIL* V, 8812.64) and a family of Palfurii in the Sabine country (*CIL* IX, 4383). The family presumably originated in Italy72.

*Pyrene* (Avienus 559). A hellenized name related to that of the Pyrenees. Herodotus (II, 33) claims that the source of the Danube is near Pyrene; this is either a geographical error or a reference to a place of that name in the Alps.

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Rhode (Ptol. II, 6, 19, Pliny III, 33). The name of this Greek trading station is Greek for “rose bush”. The Attic-Ionic ending -e rather than Doric -a makes it unlikely that this was a colony of Rhodes.

Rubricata (Ptol. II, 6, 72, Rav. 304, 3). A Latin name: see above on the river Rubricatum.

Salauris (Avienus 514). From the IE hydronyms *sal- (IEW 878) and *(a)ur- (IEW 80-81).

Saltus. Attested in the accusative case Saltum in Rav. 342, 6 and as Sub Saltu on the Vicarello cups. It is purely Latin, meaning “glade”.

Sebendunum (Ptol. II, 6, 70). Though some scholars would emend this name to Beseldunum in an attempt to identify it with modern Besalú, the existence of a place-name Sebelaci in Edetania (IA 400, 1) suggests that Seben- is the correct reading. The root is IE *seib- “to pour out, drip” (IEW 894). Though Sims-Williams sees the ending -dunum as proof of Celticity, it is basically IE, from *dheuh- “to finish, come full circle”.

Sedeisken (MLH A.25). This pre-Latin mint appears to have an IE name, from *sed- “to sit” (IEW 884; Sanskrit sádas “abode”, Latin sedis “seat”).

Segestica (Livy XXXIV, 17, 12). From IE suffixed form *segh-es- “conquest”, the same root found in Segesta (Sicily) and Segestica (Pannonia).

Semproniana. This name, attested on the first Vicarello cup (CIL XI, 3281), is clearly derived from the Latin name Sempronius.

Setelsis (Ptol. II, 6, 71). While an IE origin is possible (see Seterrae), the personal names Setal (on Latin coinage of Ilici) and Setulecia (CIL II, 2303) suggest that *setel- is Iberian.

Seterrae (IA 398, 2). Perhaps from IE *se(i)-to- “something bound”; Old Indian setu “bridge, dam” (IEW 892) with suffix -ro-.

Sigarra (Ptol. II, 6, 63; CIL II, 4479; ordo Segarrensis on an inscription; sigara on pre-Latin coins). Despite a superficial resemblance to the

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74 F. Villar, “Europeos y no europeos en Cataluña”, p. 68.
75 See J.L. García Alonso, La Península Ibérica, p. 410.
77 C. Watkins, American Heritage Dictionary, p. 56 (compounded from *segh-, IEW 888).
personal names Sigerus and Sigerius, whose linguistic affiliation is unclear, this name could come from the IE hydronym *seikʷ- “to flow” (IEW 893); cf. the ancient river Sicoris in the Ebro valley. The ending may be derived from -er-ro (see Seterrae).

**Stabulum Novum (IA 390, 6).** Latin, “new stable”, referring to the stabling of horses at this mansio.

**Subur** (Mela II, 90; Ptol. II, 6, 17; Pliny III, 21). Despite a superficial resemblance to Subura, a low-lying quarter of Rome, this toponym is undoubtedly related to that of the river Subi (see above), which we have reason to suspect is Iberian.

**Summus Pyrenaeus** (IA 397, 7; CIL XI, 3284; Tabula Peutingeriana). This mansio has a Latin name, meaning “top of the Pyrenees”.

**Tarraco** (numerous sources). Attested as tarakon on pre-Latin coinage, this city’s etymology has variously been seen as Phoenician, Etruscan, Celtic, or Iberian. Villar more convincingly derives it from IE *tara- “strong” (from *ter(e)- “to rub”, IEW 1071) with adjectival suffix -ko.

**Theava** (Ptol. II, 6, 63). From IE *ta-, te- “to melt, flow” (IEW 1053) plus the IE hydronym av- (from Proto-IE *h₂ep-/*h₂eb-).

**Tiar Iulia** (Ptol. II, 6, 63) or Tear Iulia (Pliny III, 23). Tovar compares the rivers Tiarantos and Tearos in eastern Europe; there are also place-names Tiare in the Troad and Tiarai on Lesbos. All these suggest that we are dealing with an IE derivative.

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80 M.L. Albertos Firmat, Onomástica personal primitiva, p. 207. I am aware of no evidence for a supposed Celtic root segar(ra) “apple” as claimed by A. Galmés de Fuentes, Toponimia de Alicante (La oronimia), Alicante, 1990, p. 39.
Tolobi (Mela II, 90). Probably from the same root as Telobis in the Ebro valley, from IE *tel- “even, flat; ground” (Latin tellus: IEW 1061) plus the IE hydronym -ob-\(^{85}\). A linguistic connection with Tolosa in Narbonensis is uncertain.

Tria Capita (IA 399, 3). Latin, “three heads”, perhaps the name of an inn.

Turissa. Named on a mosaic from Tossa de Mar. Probably to be linked with IE *tur- “to swell” (IEW 1083) rather than with Iturissa in the Ebro valley (Ptol. II, 6, 66; Rav. 311, 14). On the ending, see Mentissa, above.

Tyrichae (Avienus 498). Despite its resemblance to the Phoenician city of Tyre, the name probably comes from IE *tur- “to swell”\(^{86}\). It is unclear whether the name is related to the personal name Turikainos on the third bronze tablet from Botorrita\(^{87}\).

Udura (Ptol. II, 6, 71). Suffixed zero-grade form *udor- from IE *uedor “water” (IEW 78; Greek hydôr, Umbrian utur).

Untikesken – see Indice.

CONCLUSIONS

In view of the problems outlined in the Introduction, it is hardly surprising that no comprehensive study of the origins of the 97 ancient place-names of Catalunya has been attempted before. In most cases we cannot be absolutely certain of their etymology. However, the following recapitulation purports to represent the balance of probability:

Iberian names (10 = 10% of total): Hiberus, Subi (rivers); Bacasis, Biscargis, Ildum, Illuro, Illiturgi, Intibilis, Orre, Setelsis.

Indo-European names (49 = 51%): Alba, Arnus, Lara, Sambroca, Ticis, Tulcis (rivers); Celebanticum, Sellus (mountains); Cassa (peninsula), Toni (marsh); Aeso, Arrago, Ascerris, Ausa, Bagara, Barcino, Bassi, Bega, Bergium, Beseda, Blanda, Cardona, Ceresus, Cervaria, Cinna, Cinniana, Corbio, Dertos, Egara, Egosa, Ennega, Gerunda, Jessu, Iulia Libica, Mentissa, Salauris,

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\(^{85}\) F. Villar, “Europeos y no europeos en Cataluña”, p. 68.

\(^{86}\) F. Villar, “Europeos y no europeos en Cataluña”, p. 68.

\(^{87}\) F. Beltrán Lloris, J. de Hoz and J. Untermann, El tercer bronce de Botorrita (Contrebia Belaisca), Zaragoza, 1996, line IV.2.
Sebendunum, Sedeisken, Segestica, Seterrae, Sigarra, Subur, Tarraco, Theava, Tiar Iulia, Tolobi, Turissa, Tyrichae, Udura.

Greek names (10 = 10%): Anystus (river); Malodes (mountain); Blaberura, Brachyle, Callipolis, Cypsela, Emporion, Hylactes, Pyrene, Rhode.

Latin names (22 = 23%): Clodianus, Dilunus, Maius, Oleum, Rubricatum (rivers); Iovis (mountain); Campus Foenicularius; Lunarium (promontory); Ad Septimum Decimum, Antistiana, Aquae Calidae, Aquae Voconiae, Deciana, Fines, Oleastrum, Palfuriana, Rubricata, Saltus, Semproniana, Stabulum Novum, Summus Pyrenaeus, Tria Capita.

Unclear (6 = 6%): Adeba, Arketurki, Baecula, Baetulo (river and city), Cesse, Indice.

It will be seen that the names identified as Indo-European account for approximately half the total attestations; Iberian and Greek names each represent about one-tenth, while Latin names comprise nearly a quarter. The strong showing of Indo-European names suggests the presence of a substantial Indo-European speaking population, which may have preceded the domination of this region by the Iberians, the people encountered by the Romans in the third century BC. This would be consonant with the situation in Central Spain, where there is ample evidence for a non-Celtic, and presumably pre-Celtic, Indo-European linguistic stratum. It would be difficult to conceive of an unknown group of Indo-European speakers arriving in the Iberian Peninsula subsequent to the Celts and Iberians; certainly no such group is mentioned in historical sources.

Perhaps the greatest surprise in this study, by comparison with the claims of previous scholars, is the lack of Celtic toponyms in our region. This absence casts serious doubt on the supposed early Celticization of north-east Spain, despite the evidence for urnfields and severed heads. While the urnfield people of central Europe, or some of them, may have spoken an early form of Celtic, the spread of the urnfield culture across the Alps and Pyrenees was not necessarily accompanied by a spread of language. Head-hunting may have been prac-

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88 Cf. the numerous examples of Indo-European anthroponyms and toponyms from Central Spain in M. Albertos Firmat, *Onomástica personal primitiva* and L.A. Curchin, “Celticization and Romanization”, *passim*.
89 The urnfield people in Italy, better known as the Villanovans, had a settlement and cemetery on the site of Rome in the eighth century BC, but this does not mean that the Romans spoke Celtic. The Celtic languages attested in central and north-west Spain need not have “arrived” via Catalunya; alternative routes of transmission could include the Atlantic coast and the western passes of the Pyrenees.
tised in Catalunya -as it was also in Rome⁹⁰- but this does not make the region Celtic. Neither does the importation of La Tène swords and fibulas, which are merely articles of trade. García Alonso claims to find Celtic parallels for many of the Catalunyan toponyms⁹¹; these supposed parallels should rather be seen as Celtic cognates of Indo-European (but non-Celtic) name elements.

Thus, the evidence of toponymy suggests that the region of Catalunya was initially settled by speakers of an early Indo-European language, with a subsequent overlay of Iberian settlement as well as activity by Greek merchants. There is no cogent evidence for the putative presence of Celtic speakers. In the Roman period, some 23% of the names were Latin, reflecting not only the foundation of new towns or renaming of old ones, but also the establishment of mansiones along the Roman roads.

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⁹¹ See above, note 8.
Figure 1. Map of toponyms of known location in ancient Catalunya.