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ETYMOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF TOPONYMS FROM PTOLEMY'S DESCRIPTION OF CENTRAL EUROPE
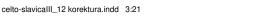
0. Introduction

Ptolemy was not the first classical author to describe Central Europe, and the territory of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia in particular. The importance of his work is rather concerned with a list of toponyms he recorded, around thirty items altogether, attested from the middle of the second century AD or earlier, which can all more or less be related to this territory. This contribution presents an analysis of the toponyms mentioned in Ptolemy's list on the diachronic basis. For our purposes, the so-called Old European linguistic stratum is presented as the most archaic, from which we then move on to the Celtic one and then on to Germanic. The first stratum defined here, the "Old European", is understood in the sense close to the definitions proposed by Hans Krahe (1964), Wolfgang Schmid (1976), Jürgen Udolph (1979, 1990, 1994) and others as the linguistic relic of the first Indo-European wave or at least one of the pre-Celtic Indo-European waves which to most extent left its traces in the hydronymics of Central Europe.

Some time ago a workshop devoted to the Celtic toponyms recorded by Ptolemy was held at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth. In the conference proceedings (Parsons & Sims-Williams 2000) eleven contributions mapping various European toponymical areas were included, but none of them dealt with the place-names of Central Europe. The present contribution proposes to close this gap.[1] Two key items are analysed separately.

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[1] For various reasons, Isaac's work (2004) was not consulted. When this article was going to press, it was also not possible to consult recent studies by Falileyev (2006a; 2007). I hope to revisit my conclusions in respect of Isaac's and Falileyev's arguments in their due course.

Section 1 analyses *Boiohaimon*, the name of the whole territory, and section 2 deals with *Albis / *Albia* – the biggest river of the region, and also the only hydronym that kept its name from the classical times down to the present. In section 3, the oronyms recorded by Ptolemy are analysed, and section 4 deals with other important toponyms, that can be localised at the territory of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. Contemporary hydronyms are analysed in section 5.

1. *Boiohaimon*

The designation of the territory of Bohemia was first used by Strabo (64 BC – AD 19) in the form **Βουίαιμον**:

> Ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶν ὁ Ἑρκύνιος δρυμὸς καὶ τὰ τῶν Σοήβων ἔθνη, τὰ μὲν οἰκοῦντα ἐντὸς τοῦ δρυμοῦ, ἐν οἷς ἐστι καὶ τὸ Βουίαι-μον τὸ τοῦ Μαροβόδου βασίλειον, εἰς ὃν ἐκεῖνος τόπον ἄλλους τε μετανέστησε πλείους καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς ἑαυτῷ Μαρκομμάνους (Meinecke 1909–13: VII, 1.3)

> Here the Hercynian Forest also occurs and the tribes of Sueves dwell there, which live partially in the Forest as the tribes of Quads; at their territory Bouiaimon is located – the king's residence of Marobud, where he moved not only other tribes, but also his relatives – Marcommans.

The Latin form *Boiohaemum* is first attested in Velleius Paterculus (19 BC – AD 31; *Historiae Romanae*, II, 109.5):

> *Sentio Saturnino mandatum, ut per Cattos excisis continentibus Hercyniae silvis legiones Boiohaemum* (*id regioni, quam incolebat Maroboduus, nomen est*) *duceret* (Holder 1896: 472)

> Sentius Saturninus had instructions to lead his legions through the country of the Catti into Boiohaemum, for that is the name of the region occupied by Maroboduus, cutting a passage through the Hercynian Forest which bounded the region (trans. F.W. Shipley).

In *Germania*, Tacitus wrote in the year 98 AD: *Manet adhuc Boihaemi nomen significatque loci veterem memoriam quamvis mutatis cultoribus* 'There still remains a place called Boihaemum, which denotes the primitive name and antiquity of the country, although the inhabitants have been changed' (Fehrle 1959: 28.5–6; trans. S. A. Handford & H. Mattingly).

In Ptolemy's *Geographia*, this proper name can be identified on the basis of the two ethnonyms:

(i) Βαινοχαῖμαι: ὧν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς περί τὸν Ἄλβιν ποταμὸν Βαινοχαῖμαι (Šimek 1930: 11.20);

(ii) Βαῖμοι: ὑφ᾽ ἣν μέγα ἔθνος οἱ Βαῖμοι μέχρι τοῦ Δανουβίου (Šimek 1930: 11.26).

They probably reflect various transcriptions of the Germanic adaptation of the proper name *Baia-haima-*.

The lexeme *Boio-haimon* has been explained as a compound of the Celtic *Boii* and the Germanic appellative *haima-* (*cf.* Gothic *haims* 'village', pl. *haimos* 'country', Old Norse *heimr* 'place of abode, world', Old English *hām* 'home', Old Saxon *hēm* and Old High German *heim* ib.).

The Celtic *ŏ* has however been adapted as *a* in Germanic. One can refer to the ethnonym *Boii* occurring in the West Germanic ethnonym *Bajwarjōz* (*cf.* 6th cent. AD example *Baioarii*; the second component is formed from the verb of the type as in Gothic *warjan* 'to hinder, forbid'), lit. 'keepers [of the country of] Boios', or the place-name *Baia* attested by the so-called Geographer of Ravenna (IV.18 = Pinder & Parthey 1860: 213). To my mind, the compound *Boio-haimon* is purely Celtic. Following Prohaska (1960: 540–41), in the second component I identify a hypothetical Celtic *saimon* 'mountain ridge' < *sH₂ei-mon-*, probably, a derivative from the form of the type as in Irish *sim* 'chain' (DIL S−229; LEIA S−110) (*sHim-*; *cf.* Old Indic *sīmán-* 'rope; border; crown, top' < *siH-men*). On the basis of the toponymic data collected for the Central Europe by various classical authors, the same stem can be recognised in Σημανοῦς Ὕλη (Ptol. II.11.7, Lat. *Semānus silva*), the name of the mountain range, which can probably be identified with contemporary *Thüringer Wald* or *Krušné hory*, i.e. *Erzgebirge* (Prohaska 1960: 545). The difference between *s* vs. *h* does not represent any problem. In the late Gaulish inscriptions the change of *s > ø*, apparently via *h*, is well attested, *cf.* the word *suiorebe* from the Gaulish inscription from Néris-les-Baines, which reflects Celtic dat. pl. *suesorebi* (Lambert 2003: 106−7). In the language of the Central European Celts the change of *s > *h* probably took place in the initial position, *cf.* the base *hal-* in such toponyms as *Halle* (Sachsen-Anstalt) and *Hallstatt* (Upper Austria), usually derivable from Celtic *sal-* 'salt', hence the change of the Brythonic type: Welsh *halen* vs. Old Irish *salann* 'salt' (e.g. Schrijver 1995: 443). The change of *ai > *ē* is reflected in Gaulish theonym *Ēsus* ~ *Æsus* vs. Oscan dat. pl. *aisuis* 'god', Venetic *aisus* etc. Various etymologies were proposed in relation to the ethnonym *Boios.* The most convincing one seems to be the solution proposed by A. Bammesberger (1997: 60−66), who dealt with the micro-text "ZHΘ *BOIOS*" survived in inscriptions found at Manching, the Bavarian oppidum near Ingolstadt. In the first

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word he sees the truncated Greek imperative ζεθι 'live!', while *Boios* he derives from *$g^w oiH_3$-o- (*cf.* Av. *gaiia-* 'life', Lith. *gajùs* 'easily healing up', Slav. *gojъ* > Serb.-Croat. *gôj* 'world', Old Czech *hoj* 'wealth', Beloruss. *hoj* 'hero'), which are the derivatives of the verbal root *$g^w eiH_3$- 'to live'. Treated as *figura etymologica*, the inscription can be interpreted as 'live, o Boios!', in which the ethnonym *Boios* may be understood as 'the one who lives here'.

2. **Albis*

The biggest river of Bohemia, German *Elbe*, Czech *Labe*, was first re-corded in Greek as Ἄλβις by Strabo in the year 18 AD, in Latin as *Albis* by Velleius Paterculus in the year 30 AD. Tacitus in his *Germania* (AD 98) mentioned: *In Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclutum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditor*, 'In the territories of the Hermundurians rises the Elbe, a river very famous and formerly well known to us; at present we only hear it named' (Fehrle 1959: §41; trans. S. A. Handford & H. Mattingly). Ptolemy quoted *Albis* in the area of localization of various Germanic tribes that he provided:

> εἶτα Καῦχοι οἱ μείζους μέχρι τοῦ Ἄλβιος ποταμοῦ... τῶν δέ ἐντὸς καὶ μεσογείων ἐθνῶν μέγιστα μέν ἐστι τό τε Συήβων τῶν Ἀγγείλων, οἱ εἰσιν ἀνατολικώτεροι τῶν Λαγγοβάρδων ἀνατείνον-τες πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους μέχρι τῶν μέσων τοῦ Ἄλβιος ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὸ τῶν Συήβων τῶν Σεμνόνων, οἵτινες διήκουσι μετὰ τὸν Ἄλβιν ποταμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰρημένου μέρους πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μέχρι τοῦ Συήβου ποταμοῦ ... ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς Σίλιγγας Καλούκωνες ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ Ἄλβιος ποταμοῦ, ὑφ' οὓς Χαιρουσικοὶ καὶ Καμαυοὶ μέχρι τοῦ Μηλιβόκου ὄρους, ὧν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς περὶ τὸν Ἄλβιν ποταμὸν Βαινοχαῖμαι (Šimek 1930: 11.7, 8, 10)

> Afterwards Cauchi Maiores to the river Albis... Of the people of the interior and those who live inland the most important are the Suevi Angili, who are to the east of the Langobardi extending to-wards the north and up to the central part of the Albis river, and the Suevi Semnones, whose boundaries beyond the Albis extend from the area we mentioned towards the east up to the Suevus river ... and be-low the Sillingae the Calucones and the Camavi up to Mt. Melibocus, from whom to the east near the Albis river Baenochaemae (trans. B. Thayer).

The form *Albia* that occurrs in *Chron. Moissiacense* (AD 805) reflects the hypothetical predecessor of proto-Slavic **Olbja*, resulting (after the me-

tathesis of liquids) in Polabian *Låbi*, Upper Lusatian *Łobjo*, Lower Lusatian *Łobje*, Czech *Labe*, Polish *Łaba*. Czech historians and archaeologists frequently suggested the Celtic origin of this hydronym. A number of hydronyms from the territories inhabited by the Celts in the past are recorded: *Alba* from Hispania (Pliny III.22); *Aube* – the tributary of the Seina (AD 877); *Alba* – by Geographer of Ravenna (s.v. *Albis*); *Aubetin* – the tributary of the Grand-Morin; *Alba* (AD 632); *Albe* – the tributary of the Saar (AD 1200, *Alba*); *Alb* – the tributary of the Rhein at Karlsruhe (AD 890, *Alpagowe*) etc. (see Krahe 1964, 52–53). But there are hydronyms derived from the same root **albʰ-* 'white' in the territories which the Celts had probably never reached, e.g. Ἀλφειός – the river-names from Arcadia, Elis and Bithynia, *Albula* – the alternative name of the Tiber and the river by Tiburu – both in Latium; *Göta-Älv*, *Klar-Älv*, *Ljusne-Älv*, *Vindel-Älv* etc. – rivers in Scandinavia. Traditionally the hydronym *Elbe/Labe* has been derived from a late IE **albʰī-/-i̯ā-* 'white' f. (see Pokorny 1959: 30–31); concerning its semantics see e.g. the left tributary *Bílina* of the *Labe* in Ústí (= 'estuary') nad Labem, transparently derivable from Czech *bílý* 'white', and numerous other "white" rivers. Schwarz (1931: 28) classified the *Elbe/Labe* as the hydronym of Germanic origin, providing such parallels as Old Nordic *elfr*, Swedish and Norwegian *elv* 'river', Middle Low German *elve* 'bed of the river'. Already in the eleventh century Adam of Bremen (*cf.* Udolph 1994: 857–59) proposed the shift of the proper name into the appellative: *Gothelba* [today *Göta-Älv*] *fluvius a Nordmannis Gothiam separat, magnitudine non impar est Albiae Saxonum, unde ille nomen sortitur*. Similar shifts occur with the names of other big rivers, e.g. the biggest Polish river *Wisła* vs. South Polish dial. *wisła* 'flood, big water, big river', Kašubian *vjislo* 'brook, stream' (Udolph 1990: 309); or East Slavic *Dunáj* 'Danube' vs. Ukrainian *dunáj* 'flood, big water capacity', Russian dial. *dunáj* 'little brook from the earth' (Trubachov 1974: V.156). Let us mention that the lower stream of the Elbe represented a kind of *axis* going through the territory proposed as the homeland of the Germans, identified with the Jastorf culture.

3. The oronyms recorded by Ptolemy for Bohemia, Moravia & Silesia:

Let us bring to your attention a following piece of the Ptolemy's [II, 11.8] text:

ᾆ καὶ τὸ (3) Μηλίβοκον ὄρος.. ὑφ᾽ ὃ ἔστιν ἡ (6) Σημανοῦς ὕλη, καὶ τὸ (1) Ἀσκιβούργιον.. ᾆ καὶ ἔτι τὰ καλούμενα (7) Σούδητα ὄρη... ὑφ᾽ ᾆ ἔστιν ἡ (2) Γάβρητα ὕλη; ὧν μεταξὺ καὶ τῶν (5) Σαρματικῶν ὀρέων ἔστιν ὁ ᾽(4) Ορκύνιος δρυμός ᾆ

and (3) the Melibocos Mountains below this is (6) the Semanos Forest and (1) Asciburgion ... and again (7) the mountain called Sudeta ... below this is (2) the Gabreta Forest; being between it and (5) the Sarmaticos mountains is (4) the oak coppice of Orcunios

I propose the following geographical identifications and etymologies of oronyms mentioned in the above fragment. For the convenience of the reader, I will use 'A' to refer to Šimek 1935 and 'B' to Řehák & Květ 1993. I will use 'E' to denote the item's etymology or explanation.

(1) Ἀσκιβούργιον (ὕλη) 'The Asciburgion Forest'.

A: Krkonoše – Orlické hory – Jeseníky; B: Krkonoše – Orlické hory – Jeseníky; E: Germanic *aski-burg- 'ash-mountain' (Schwarz 1931: 18).

(2) Γάβρητα ὕλη 'The Gabreta Forest'.

A: Svatotomášské / Novohradské hory?; B: Kleť (or Libín); E: Old European *g(r)ab-r- 'hornbeam/oak(-forest)'. Appropriate comparanda may include Slavic *grab(r)ъ/*gabrъ 'hornbeam', Prussian wosi-grabis 'Spindelbaum'; Umbrian Grabovius 'oak-god', attested in Paleo-Umbrian dat. Grabovie and Neo-Umbrian Krapuvi (Pokorny 1959: 404). From the point of view of the semantic motivations of oronyms this solution seems more promising than the traditional etymology based on Celtic *gabro- 'he-goat' > Old Irish gabor gl. caper, Old Breton gabr gl. capra, Brittonic NL Gabrosentum in Cumberland, Gaulish NL in Noricum Gabromagus (Holder 1896: 1510–11; Schwarz 1931: 24; D 146). See also the sceptical position of Sims-Williams (2006: 34, 79) and Falileyev (2005a: 111) concerning the "goat"-etymology and Celtic origin of all toponyms in Gabrᵒ in Central and Eastern Europe respectively.

(3) Μηλίβοκον ὄρος 'Melibocos Mountains'.

A: Thüringer Wald – Krušné hory; B: Thüringer Wald – Krušné hory; E: Celtic *maili-bāg[ak]on 'hills of beeches' > Germanic *mēli-bōkon, cf. Irish maoilenn 'hillock, eminence' (DIL M−57), Welsh moel, pl. -ydd 'conical hill', *bāg(o)- in such toponyms as Bagacum, *bāgonā > Val Bavona, etc.; another example of the Germanisation could be silva Bācenis in Caesar; alternatively, Μηλ- can be cognate with Gaulish *melatia, *meliCᵒ > Savoian melze, French mélèze 'larch' (D 189).

(4) Ὀρκύνιος δρυμός 'the oak coppice of Orcunios'.

A: Ždánské vrchy – Bílé Karpaty; B: Velký Kosíř; E: Celtic *erkunia ~ *arkunia 'oak(-forest)' < *perku- ~ *pṛku- (Schwarz 1931: 23; Pokorny 1959: 822), first mentioned in the 4th cent. BC composition by Aristotle, Meteorologica I, 13.19: ὁ δ᾽ Ἴστρος δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὸν

Εὔξεινον πόντον. τῶν δ᾿ ἄλλων ποταμῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι πρὸς ἄρκτον ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν τῶν Ἀρκυνίων (Holder 1896: 1458−63; D 139), 'Istrus flows through all Europe into the Euxine, most of the remaining rivers flow northwards from the Hercynian mountains' (trans. by E.W. Webster).

(5) Σαρματικῶν ὀρέων 'of the Sarmaticos mountains'.

A: Západní Karpaty; B: Západní Karpaty; E: Motivated by the ethnonym.

(6) Σημανοῦς ὕλη 'The Semanos Forest'.

A: Doupovské a Tepelské vrchy; B: Říp − Bezděz − Ralsko − Ještěd; E: Celtic *saim-ān- 'mountain ridge', *cf.* Irish *sim* 'chain' (DIL S−229; LEIA S−110; Pokorny 1959: 892).[2]

(7) Σούδητα ὄρη 'the mountain called Sudeta'.

A: Český les − Šumava − Českomoravská vysočina; B: Tepelská plošina − Drahanská vrchovina; E: Latin pl. *sudes* gl. *saxae*, i.e. 'rocky peaks, crags' (Appuleius, *Metamorphoses* VII, 195.26), or gl. *fraxineae*, i.e. 'of ash-wood, ashen' (Vergilius, *Georgica* II, 359, see LD 778, 1790); *cf.* also a loanword in Byzantian Greek σουδᾶτον 'Pfahlwerk' (WH II, 623). A strong argument for the Latin origin should be found in another Ptolemy's toponym, namely Σουσουδάτα (II, 11.13), interpreted as a Greek transcription of Latin **sub Sudāta* 'under the Sudeta mountains' (Schwarz 1931: 24). Let us mention that in Northeast Bohemia there are several places, where special rocks called 'needles' are found. It is possible to imagine reports of Roman merchants, who describe them as *sudes*. On the other hand, if **Sudēta* was to be interpreted as motivated by the 'ash-tree' etymological derivation, it could represent Latin calque on the Germanic Ἀσκιβούργιον, designating probably the mountain chain from the Krkonoše to Jeseníky (see above, section 3.1). Any of these explanations seems more probable than the traditional etymology from IE **sū-* 'sow' (e.g. Schwarz 1931: 23). The dental extension in *-d-* appears only in (pre-) Greek (συάδες · αἱ ὕες, ἐσχηματισμένως by Hesychius) and in Germanic, naturally with *Lautverschiebung* (Norwegian *syta* 'sow', German dial. of Upper Pfalz *Sutz* 'Mutterschwein'), but is not known in Celtic. Holder (1904: 1654) mentioned the old etymology of Zeus based on comparison with Old Irish *suide* 'Sitz', but it reflects **sodio-* (LEIA S−200) and so is incompatible with the oronym.

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[2] See above, section 1 on **Boiohaimon.*

4. The toponyms recorded by Ptolemy for Bohemia, Moravia & Silesia, their geographical identification and etymologies

(1) Ἀργελία

A: Teplice; B: Teplice – Zabrušany; E: Celtic *arei-geliā 'by white (river)' cf. Gaul. are Sequania rijos 'by the river Sequania' (inscription from St-Germain-Sources-Seine, Lambert 2003: 99), it is also found in numerous proper names as Arē-morici gl. antemarini (glossary of Vienne, see Lambert 2003: 206), Ἀρη-γενούα, etc., cf. Old Irish áir-, Welsh er- (US 35; D 45) and Irish gel 'white, fair, bright, shining' (DIL G 58–59; US 112); cp. Czech Bílina 'the tributary of Labe flowing through Teplice': bílý 'white'.

(2) Ἀρσόνιον

A: Opole (Silesia, Poland); B: Ostrava – Svinov; E: Old European *ers-'to flow'. Cf. Old Indic árṣati, Hittite arszi id. (Pokorny 1959: 336–37; Krahe 1964: 47).

(3) Ἀσάγκα

A: Jeseníky Mountains; B: Uherské Hradiště; E: Celtic *asnakā, cf. Old Irish asnach 'flank walls', lit. 'ribbed', coll. from asna 'rib', Welsh asen 'rib; beam' (DIL A–434; LEIA A–94–95; US 24).

(4) Βουδοργίς; Βουδόριγον:

A: Kladsko; Oškobrh / Na Badrech; B: Čáslav – Ronov n. Doubravou; Hradec Králové; E: Celtic *budo- 'victory' & *rīgo- 'power, government'. Cf. Old Irish búaid 'victory', Old Breton bud gl. bradium, Welsh budd 'profit' and Old Irish ríge 'ruling, kingship, souvereignty' (DIL B–221; R–67 for *rīgiā; LEIA B–107; R–25).

(5) Ἔβουρον

A: Vyšehrad / Klášťov; B: Blučina – Brno; E: Celtic *eburo- 'yew-tree'. Cf. Gaulish *eburos, Old Irish ibar, later iubar, iobar 'yew' (DIL I–41), Breton evor 'bourdaine', Gaulish e.g. NL Eburodunon, today Yverdon in Switzerland, etc. (Holder 1904: 1395–1404; D 134).

(6) Φουργισατίς

A: Somewhere between Naarn and Chub; B: Třísov; E: West Germanic *furþ/ði-sātiz 'settlement; pasture by ford' (Schwarz 1931: 28), cf. Germanic furðu- 'ford' > Norwegian ford 'path through a swamp', Old English ford, Old High German furt 'ford' and Old Nordic sætr 'summer meadow for cattle' (WGS 230, 427). The vowel *ā in *sātiz < Germanic *sētiz indicates

a source of West (or even Northwest) Germanic provenance, in contrary to East Germanic *ē > Biblic Gothic *e.*

(7) Ἡγητματία

A: A ford across the middle stream of Sázava; B: Kouřim; E: Celtic *Segeta-matia* gl. *dea Segeta et bona*; *cf. deae Segetae, Aquae Segetae* by Montbrison (Holder 1904: 1440), also Old Irish *maith* 'good' (DIL M–43–45; LEIA M–12–13); to explain the loss of the initial *s* one can refer to a special breed of hunting dogs Ἐγούσιαι recorded by Arrianus who connected the dogs with the tribe *Segusiavi* (Holder 1904: 1453–55).

(8) Καλαιγία

A: A mouth of the Bílina in the Labe; B: Ústí nad Labem; E: ?Celtic: *cf.* NL *Calaico* in pago Wapencense (AD 739) (Holder 1896: 688, *diplomata*, ed. Pardessus).

(9) Καρρόδουνον:

A: Hostýn; B: Hostýn; E: Celtic *karro-dūnon* 'stone fort' or ?'wagon-fort': *cf.* Gaulish *carrus* – epithet of Mars, preserved in the name of the mountain, today called *Pic-du-Gar* (Holder 1896: 815–16), Middle Welsh *carrec* 'stone', Old Irish *carrac* 'rock, large stone', besides Gallo-Latin *carrus* 'wagon', Middle Welsh *carr* 'vehicle', Old Irish *carr* 'cart, wagon' (DIL C–78 & 77; LEIA C–41–42; US 72).[3]

(10) Κασουργίς

A: To the North from *Koridorgis*; B: Rataje nad Sázavou; E: Celtic *kas-so-uorg*° 'built from the twisted [walls]', *cf.* Old Irish *casaid* 'twists, bends' (DIL C–82–83; LEIA C–44) and *do(f)airci* 'towers over, surpasses, excels' (DIL D–263), Old Breton *guerg* gl. *efficax.*

(11) Κοριδοργίς

A: Vitorazsko; B: Ševětín; E: Celtic *kori-dorg*° 'kept by army', *cf.* Old Irish *cuire* 'troop, company', Welsh *cordd* 'tribe, clan, troop', Gaulish *Corio-solites, Tri-corii, Petru-corii* etc. (DIL C–597; LEIA C–275) and Breton *derchell* 'to keep' (US 149).

(12) Λευκάριστος

A: No location proposed; B: Staré Hradisko; E: Celtic: *cf.* Brittonic NL *Leucaro* (Itin. Ant.) = Welsh *Cas Llychwr*; Gaulish NL *Leuceris* (Geog. of

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[3] See further Falileyev 2006: 72 on the proposed etymology of the word which he interprets as 'Fort of Chariots' and its various onomastic examples [eds.].

Ravenna) between Bergamo and Brescia, today *Lecco* (Holder 1904: 192–93; D 169). The extension in **-isto-* can be interpreted as the superlative.

(13) Λουγίδουνον

A: Řepov; B: Bakov nad Jizerou; E: Celtic **lugi-dūnon* 'fort of the (tribe) *Lugii*' (Holder 1904: 306) or 'fort of the treaty', *cf.* Old Irish *lugae*, later *luige* 'oath, swear' (DIL L–239), Welsh *llw* gl. *iuramentum* (US 257) and Gaulish **dūnon* in Λουγούδουνον, *Novio-dunum* etc., Old Irish *dún*, gen. *dúin* 'fortification' (US 207, 150).

(14) Λουπφοῦρδον

A: Všenory / Dobřichovice; B: Doksany; E: Old European **Lup(iā)* (*Lupia* by Mela III, 30; Tacitus, *Annales* I, 60; see Krahe 1964: 99–100) and Germanic *furđu-* 'ford', *cf.* Norwegian *ford* 'path through a swamp', Old English *ford*, Old High German *furt* 'ford', i.e. 'ford across the river Lupia' (WGS 230).

(15) Μαρόβουδον

A: Upper Malše; B: Plzeň; E: Celtic **māro-buto-* 'great house', *cf.* Old Irish *már*, *mór* 'great', Welsh *mawr*, Middle Cornish *maur* gl. *magnus*, Gaulish *-māros* e.g. in *Iantumaros* etc. and Old Irish *both* 'hut, cot, cabin', Welsh *bod* 'habitation' (DIL M–58, M–166, B–149; LEIA M–18, B–74; US 201, 179); adapted in West Germanic as **māria-būđō(n)-* 'famous seat', *cf.* Old Saxon *māri* 'famous', Old Runic *Wajemariz* 'of good repute' vs. Gothic *waila-merei* 'good repute' and Old Nordic *būđ* 'tent, stay', Middle Low German *buode* 'hut' (WGS 300, 272).

(16) Μελιόδουνον

A: Špilberk – Obřany; B: Soběslav – Veselí n. Lužnicí; E: Celtic **medio-dūnon* ?'middle fort' (Schwarz 1931: 17): Gaulish Μεδιο-ματρικες, *Mediolanum*, Old Irish *mide* 'medium' and Gaulish **dūnon* in Λουγούδουνον, *Novio-dunum* etc., Old Irish *dún*, gen. *dúin* 'fortification' (US 207; 150).

(17) Μηνοσγάδα:

A: No location proposed; B: Cheb; E: **moino-stada*: Old European **Moinos* (Mela, Plinius, Tacitus, see Holder 1904: 606–07; Krahe 1964, 93) and Germanic **stađō* 'place' > Middle Low German *stade*, Old High German *stata* 'quiet place' (WGS 478).

(18) Νομιστήριον

A: Zalužany; B: Praha-Zbraslav; E: Celtic **nomi-stērio-* 'temple of a (goddess) star' (=?**Stēronā*, corresponding to Gaulish *Sirona/*Dirona, see D 239): Old Welsh *nom* gl. *templa* (US 192).

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(19) Ῥεδιντούινον

A: Přešťovice; B: Stradonice; E: Celtic *rēdi(o?)-dūnon 'fort of riders' (Schwarz 1931: 17) > Germanic *rēđi-tūna-; the Celtic stem *rēdi- is preserved e.g. in the Gaulish compound *eporediae* interpreted as *boni equorum domitores* in Pliny (III, 123 = Holder 1904: 1451; D 137). The voiceless stop *t* in -τούινον indicates that original Celtic *dūnon* was already replaced by Germanic *tūna-* > Old Nordic *tún*, Old English and Old Saxon *tūn*, Old High German *zūn* 'fence, hedge' etc. (Kluge & Seebold 1999: 904).

(20) Σετουάκωτον (also Σεγουάτουκον)

A: Cham / Freudenberg; B: Domažlice; E: Celtic *sego-* 'firm, powerful' > Old Irish *seg* 'force', Gaulish *Sego-maros*, *Sego-Briga*, *Sego-dunum* etc. (LEIA S–68; US 297); ?Ἀυατικοί (*Galia Narbonensis*, Ptolemy II, 10.5; Pliny III, 34; see Holder 1896: 307).

(21) Στραγόνα

A: Pičhora by Poděbrady; B: Poděbrady; E: Celtic *stratonā*, *cf.* Middle Breton *strat* 'bottom, hole', Welsh *ystrad* 'valley' (US 313; Henry 1900: 255).

(22) Στρευιντία

A: Staré Hradisko; B: Velký Blaník; E: Celtic: Middle Breton *strehet* 'pavement of a road', Breton *stréoued* 'foundation of a road', Old Breton *strouis* 'I covered, bestrewed' (US 313; Henry 1900: 255).

5. The contemporary pre-Slavic hydronyms of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia and their probable etymologies

The hydronyms represent the richest witness of the presence of pre-Slavic population at the territory under discussion. The following list consists of 36 river names. At least in 30 cases their etymologies may be plausible. The analysed data does not reflex more than four language strata (including the possibility of the parallel existence of the two strata): A. Old European, B. Celtic, C. Germanic, D. Baltic.

A. Old European hydronyms

(1) Dyje

Dyje is the longest tributary of the river Morava; its length is 305.6 m, basin 13,418.7 km², spring by Raabs in Austria, estuary into the Morava from the right by Moravský Ján.

Etymology: Dyje < *$d^h\bar{u}i\bar{a}$, first mentioned in Cosmas II, 34: *Dia* (Schwarz 1931: 37), *cf.* Old Indic *dhávate* 'flows, runs', Palaeo-Balkanian δυάν · κρήνη (Hesychius), Old Irish *dóe* 'sea', Old English *dēaw*, Old High German *tou* 'dew' (Pokorny 1959: 260).

(2) Jizera

Jizera's length is 165 km, basin − 2,193.4 km², spring in southwest from Smrk, estuary from the right into the Labe (Elbe) by Toušeň.

Etymology: Jizera < *$is\partial r\bar{a}$ 'strong', first recorded (s.a. 1297) as *Gizera*, *cf.* Old Indic *iṣirá-* 'strong', Greek ἱερός id. (Krahe 1964: 56; Schwarz 1931: 12). The intervocal *-z-* indicates the Germanic mediation (following the period of Verner's Law operation), but before the change *-z- > -r- typical for North and West Germanic languages after the mid-6th century.

(3) Labe

Labe is the longest river in Czech Republic; its total length is 1,154 km, 370.2 km of which are in Czech Republic, total basin 144,055 km², 51,391.5 km² of which are in Bohemia. Spring in the Labe Meadow in the Krkonoše Mountains, estuary into the North Sea.

Etymology: Labe < *$alb^h i\bar{a}$ 'white' f., *cf.* Latin *albus* 'white', *Albula* 'Tiber'.[4]

(4) Ludina

Ludina's length is 15.1 km, basin 30.4 km², source by Jindřichov, estuary from the right into Bečva in Hranice in Moravia.

Etymology: Ludina < *$loud^h\bar{\imath}n\bar{a}$ 'dirty' f., *cf.* the Lithuanian hydronym *Liūdỹnès* (Vanagas 1981: 193), Russian *Ludna* (a hydronym from the Kaluga region), Bulgarian *Ludnja* etc., further e.g. *Laudosa* (AD 803), a tributary of the Loira, etc., all from the root attested e.g. in Greek λύθρος 'defilement from blood, gore', pl. also 'dust' (Udolph 1990: 157−59).

(5) Morava

Morava's length is 353.1 km, basin 26,579.7 km², spring under the mountain Králický Sněžník in the Jeseníky Mountains, estuary from the left into the Danuvius by Děvín.

Etymology: Morava < *mor- 'stagnant water', its cognate *Marus* was first recorded by Tacitus, *Annales* II, 63; *cf.* Latin *mare*, Welsh *mor*, Gothic *marei* 'sea', Old English *mere* 'sea, lake, pond', German *Marsch* 'marsh' (Krahe 1964: 47; Pokorny 1959: 748).

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[4] See also section 2 on *Albis* above.

(6) Nisa (Lužická)

Nisa's length is 252 km, 55.1 km of which in Bohemia, its basin 4,297 km², of which 375.3 km² in Bohemia, spring by Bedřichov, estuary from the left into the Odra.

Etymology: Nisa < *neidsā, first recorded (s.a. 1241) as *Niz(z)a* (Schwarz 1931: 12); *cf.* the hydronym *Nida* 'left tributary of the Vistula', the Norwegian river *Nitja* etc., *cf.* the Old Indic verb *nédati* 'flows' (Pokorny 1959: 761; Krahe 1964: 48).

(7) Odra

Odra's length is 861 km, of which 120.1 km are in Czech Republic, basin 118,600 km², of which 10,288 km² are in Czech Republic, spring in the Odra Hills by Kozlov, estuary into the Baltic Sea by Szczecin in Poland.

Etymology: Odra < *ad(a)rā, first recorded in the Annals of Fulda (s.a. 892) as *Odagra*, Widukind I, 28: *Adora*, Adam of Bremen: *Oddora* (Schwarz 1931: 12–13); *cf. Odra, Odrov, Adrov*, a right tributary of the river Dnepr; *Attersee*, a lake in Austria; *Adria*, a toponym and hydronym of Venetic origin, all from the same root as Avestan *aδu-* 'stream of water, brook, channel', only with other Caland's suffixes (Pokorny 1959: 4; Krahe 1964: 41; Udolph 1990: 204–11).

(8) Ohře

Ohře's length is 300.2 km, its basin is 5,613.7 km², spring in the Smrčiny Mountains (Germany), estuary from the left into the Labe (Elbe) by Litoměřice.

Etymology: Ohře < *agri̯ā 'moving, driving', mentioned (s.a. 805) as *Agara*, (s.a. 1165) as *aqua Egre, Oegre* (Schwarz 1931: 21), *cf.* Greek ἄγρη 'hunting', Welsh *aer* 'struggle' < *agrā, all from the root *aĝ- 'to drive' (Krahe 1964: 54; Pokorny 1959: 4–6).

(9) Olza

Olza's length is 86 km, its basin is 1,115 km², spring by the Polish village Istebna in the Silesian Beskydy Mountains, estuary from the right into the Odra by the city Olza.

Etymology: Olza < *oligā, *cf.* the Lithuanian hydronym *Algupis*, the river *Olega* in the basin of the North Donec, etc., all from the root *el-/*ol- 'to flow' (Udolph 1990, 215–19). Alternatively, the hydronym can be etymologised from Germanic *alizō 'alder'.

(10) Opava

Opava's length is 118.6 km, its basin is 2,088.8 km², originates by confluence of the Black and Central Opava by Vrbno, estuary from the left into Odra by Ostrava-Svinov.

Etymology: Opava < *apā 'water, river', first recorded (s.a. 1062) as *fluuius Opa* (Schwarz 1931: 11), *cf.* Old Indic *ăp-* 'water', Prussian *ape* 'river' (Krahe 1964: 42; Pokorny 1959: 51–52).

(11) Osoblaha

Osoblaha length's is 34.7 km, basin 433.3 km², spring under the Kutný vrch, estuary from the left into the Odra.

Etymology: Osoblaha < *as(s)a-bolg[(h)]ā, *cf. Osa*, a right tributary of the Vistula, the Lithuanian river *Ãsupis*, Gaulish river *Osae fluvius*, the tributary of the Tyrhenian Sea *Osa* in Italy; perhaps from the root *as-* 'to be dry' (Udolph 1990: 227–33).

(12) Vlára

Vlára's length is 47.6 km, basin 371.6 km², spring by Pozděchov, estuary from the right into the Váh by Nemšová.

Etymology: Vlára < *u̯olrā or *u̯lō/ārā, from the root *u̯el-* 'to roll, rush' (Pokorny 1959: 1140–44).

(13) Vodra

Vodra's length is c. 5 km, estuary from the left into the Oslava in the south from Velké Meziříčí.

Etymology: Vodra < *u̯odrā, from IE *u̯ódr̥, pl. *u̯édōr 'water' (Pokorny 1959: 78–80), alternatively, it may well be a hydronym of the *Odra* type with prothetic *v-*.

B. Celtic hydronyms

(1) Haná

Haná's length is 57.1 km, basin 607.8 km², originates as the confluence of the Big and Little Haná in the village Dědice, estuary from the right into the Morava by Postoupky.

Etymology: Haná < *gadnā, *cf.* Welsh *gan*, pl. *-oedd* 'contents, volume', Old Welsh *gannaf* 'I contain', inf. *genni* gl. *contineri, capi* (US 111; Mann 1984–87: 313).

(2) Křemže (Křemžský potok)

Křemže's length is 30 km, basin 126.6 km², spring by Chlum, estuary from the left into the Vltava in the north from Třísov.

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Etymology: Křemže < *kremisiā, cf. Cremisa, a tributary of Danuvius, today the river and the city Krems in Austria. Named probably after Celtic *krem- 'garlic', cf. Old Irish crem, Welsh craf (Pokorny 1959: 580–81). The later transformation of the name of the Austrian city and of the river because of the relation with their South Bohemian counterparts is not excluded.

C. Germanic hydronyms

(1) Bečva

Bečva's length is 119.6 km, basin 1,625.7 km², originates as the confluence of the Vsetínská and Rožňovská Bečva by Valašské Meziříčí, estuary from the left into the Morava by Troubky.

Etymology: Bečva < *baki- /*bakja- 'brook', cf. Old Saxon beki, Old English bece, Old Nordic bekkr id. (Kluge & Seebold 1999: 71).
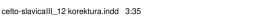
(2) Botič

Botič's length is 33.4 km, basin 134.8 km², spring by Křížkovský Újezdec, estuary from the right into the Vltava under the Vyšehrad. The oldest record (s.a. 1186) demonstrates the form Botiz rivulus (S 96), where -z apparently reflects a consonant different from -č recorded in 1321 as -cz: sub monte Wissegrado super fluvium Boticz (P III, 603).

Etymology: Botič < *batizōn 'better' > Gothic batiza, Old Nordic betri, Old English bet(e)ra, Old Saxon betara, Old High German bezziro (Kluge & Seebold 1999: 102), perhaps in the meaning 'better [water]'. The change *-z- > *-r- in the pretonic position begun to operate in Western and Northern Germanic languages during the sixth century. It is probable that the Germanic tribes residing in Bohemia (the Marcomanns, the Langobards, the Thüringians) employed Western ('Suebic') Germanic dialects. The only historically attested Eastern Germanic speakers in this territory could be the Heruls: according to Procopius from Caesarea (VI, 15), on the way to its Scandinavian homeland one of the tribes moved through the region of Central Europe. If the Western Germanic etymology of the hydronym Botič/*Botiz is correct, its borrowing into the language of the first Slavic settlers could have happened earlier than the phonological phenomenon known as "the rhotacism" would have appeared. This conclusion can provide a chronological timescale for the arrival of the ancestors of the Czech people into Central Bohemia.

(3) Dunávka

Dunávka's length is 15.3 km, its basin is 49.2 km², spring by Dvorsko, estuary from the right into Litava by Blučina.

Etymology: Dunávka < *$dōnāu̯ii̯ā$? Probably, it is a diminutive form of the Germanic designation of the Danuvius. Between the fourth and the sixth centuries AD various Germanic tribes settled along the stream of the Danuvius from its spring in Bavaria to its estuary in Dobrudja. There are numerous examples that provide a witness that the names of big rivers served to designate those of little rivers, too. *Cf.* the following pairs: *Odra* : *Vodra*, *Opava* : *Opavice*, *Labe* : *Labíčko*, etc.

(4) Jihlava

Jihlava's length is 184.6 km, its basin is 3,117 km², spring in the Brtnická vrchovina, estuary from the right into Dyje, where the Novomlýnské reservoirs are now.

Etymology: Jihlava < *$*ĭgula$-ahwō < *$ĕgula$-ahwō (more probably than *$ĕgila$-, which would continued in ˟*Jizlava*) 'river of hedgehogs or leeches', first recorded (s.a. 1227) as *Ihlaua*, (s.a. 1233) as *Gyglaua* (Schwarz 1931: 35–36), *cf.* Old Nordic *ígull* 'sea hedgehog', Old English *īl* and *igil*, Old High German ó*gil* 'hedgehog', or Middle Low German *egel* and *île* 'leech', Norwegian *igle* id. (Kluge & Seebold 1999: 394).

(5) Ludina

Ludina's length is 15.1 km, basin 30.4 km², spring by Jindřichov, estuary from the right into the Bečva in Hranice na Moravě.

Etymology: Ludina < *$laudĭn$-, *cf.* Old Nordic *loðinn* 'fruitful, rich in grass', from the verb in Gothic *liudan* 'to grow', Old Saxon *liodan* id. (WGS 375; Pokorny 1959: 684–85).

The alternative Old European etymology for *Ludinu* was formulated in section 5, A.4 above. Only one of the two is probably correct, but it may be possible to permit the Germanic adaptation of the older hydronym.

(6) Oskava

Oskava's length is 50.4 km, basin 571.8 km², source on the slope of the Kamenný vrch in the Jeseníky Mountains, estuary from the left into the Morava by the village Chomutov.

Etymology: Oskava < *$aska$-ahwō 'ash-tree river', first recorded (s.a. 1480) as *Oskawa* (Schwarz 1931: 35–36), *cf.* Old Nordic *askr*, Old English *æsc*, Old Saxon and Old High German *asc* 'ash-tree' and Gothic *ahwa* 'river, water', Old Nordic *á*, Old English *ēa*, Old Saxon & Old High German *aha*, German *Ach(e)* 'water stream' (Kluge & Seebold 1999: 233, 1).

(7) Otava

Otava's length is 113 km, basin 3,788.2 km², spring in the Šumava plain, estuary from the left into the Vltava by Zvíkov.

Etymology: ?Otava < *at-þawō(-ahwō) 'thawing (river)', first recorded (s.a. 1045) as *Otava*, German *Wottawa* (Schwarz 1931: 31); *cf.* Old English *þawian* 'to thaw, melt', English *thaw* 'dew', Old Nordic *þá* 'meadow without snow' (WGS 175). An analogous etymology may be proposed on the basis of Slavic comparanda.

(8) Romza

Romza is a spring by the village Nedvězí in the southwest from Olomouce, estuary into the little river Blata by the village Vrbátky between Prostějov and Olomouc. The origin of the hydronym is apparently identical as in the case of *Romže* (see following example).

(9) Romže

Romže's length is 31.3 km, basin 456.4 km^2, spring in Dzbel, estuary from the right into the Morava.

Etymology: Romže < Old High German *runsa*, Germ. *Runse* f., *Runs* m. 'bed of the brook', also Gothic *garuns* 'market, street'. The derivatives come from a verb attested in German as *rinnen* 'to flow', Gothic *rinnan* 'to run, walk, go' (Kluge & Seebold 1999: 697). The preservation of the nasal indicates the late adaptation, probably from the language of the German settlers who arrived to Bohemia and Moravia in the thirteenth century.

Alternatively, it is tempting the speculate about an adaptation of Germanic *hramusa(n) 'garlic' > Old English *hramsa*, English *ramson*, Middle Low German *ramese*, Norwegian *rams*, etc. (WGS 103). In this case, the phonology would reflect quite regular early borrowing. But it is even possible to speculate regarding the substitution of the original Celtic *Kremis(i)a 'garlic river' by its Germanic counterpart *hramus(i)a-.
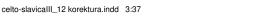
(10) Stěnava

Stěnava's length is 32.9 km, basin 233.5 km^2, spring by the village Kamionka near Mieroszów in Poland, estuary into the Nysa Kłodska in the north from Kłodsko.

Etymology: Stěnava < *steina-ahwō 'stony river', first recorded (s.a. 1213) as *Stenawa* (Schwarz 1931: 34), *cf.* Gothic *stains*, Old Nordic *steinn*, Old English *stān*, Old Saxon *stēn*, Old High German *stein* 'stone' (Kluge & Seebold 1999: 791). The Polish variant of this hydronym *Ścináwka* indicates a more probable Baltic etymology (see D.5 below).

(11) Svratka

Svratka's length is 173.9 km, basin 7,118.7 km^2, spring on the west slopes of the Křivý Javor, estuary from the left into the Dyje, where the central reservoir of the Nové Mlýny is now.

Etymology: Svratka, recorded as *Zuartca*, *Suartka*, *Zuratka*, *Zwarcka* by Cosmas of Prague (II, 21) < **swartō* 'black' f. (Schwarz 1931: 34−35); this sense was still reflected in 1366: *rivulus Nigra Swratczicze*, *flumen Swratka* (Schwarz 1931: 34−35; Sedláček 1920: 111), further *cf.* Old Nordic *swartr*, Old English *sweart*, Old Saxon *swart*, Old High German *swarz* 'black' (Kluge & Seebold 1999: 748).

(12) Úhlava

Úhlava's length is 108.5 km, basin 919.4 km^2, spring in the Železnorudská hornatina, estuary from the right into the Radbuza in Plzeň.

Etymology: Úhlava < **angula-ahwō* 'river with bends', first recorded (s.a. 1341) as *Auglaia* (Schwarz 1931: 29−30), *cf.* Old Nordic *ǫngull*, Old English *angel*, Old Saxon and Old High German *angul* 'hook' (Kluge & Seebold 1999: 39). The Slavic counterpart **ǫgъlь* 'angle' may provide useful comparanda.

(13) Vltava

Vltava's length is 430.2 km, basin 28,090 km^2, spring in the Šumava Mountains under the Černá hora, estuary from the left into the Labe by Mělník.

Etymology: Vltava < **wilþ(ij)a-ahwō* 'wild river', first recorded as *Fuldaha* (= **Uuldaha*) in Fulda Annals (s.a. 872); as *Wlitaua* in Cosmas of Prague (I, 2 = Schwarz 1931: 27−28), *cf.* Gothic *wilþeis*, Old Nordic *villr*, English *wilde*, Old Saxon, Old High German *wildi* 'wild' f. (Kluge & Seebold 1999: 890).

During the population shift during which the Germans ousted the Celtic population, the Germanic compound could have substituted the more archaic Celtic hydronym formed on the basis of almost identical component, *cf.* Welsh *gwyllt* gl. *ferus indomitus, silvestris, agrestis*, Cornish *gwyls*, Old Breton *Gueld-enes* gl. *insula indomita*. The Gaulish equivalent occurs in the place name *Viltaburg*, *id est oppidum Viltorum, lingua autem Gallica Traiectum* (Baeda V, 11), i.e. modern *Wiltenburg* by Utrecht.

D. Hydronyms with probable Baltic etymological explanation (*cf.* Blažek 2004; 2006)

(1) Cidlina

Cidlina's length is 89.7 km, basin 1,170 km^2, a spring in Košov, estuary from the right into the Labe by Libice nad Cidlinou.

Etymology: Cidlina < **kidul-*, *cf.* the Baltic river-names: Lithuanian *Kídul-upis*, Latvian *Cyduḷ-upe*, etc.

(2) Ledhuje

Ledhuje's length is 7.4 km, basin 19.8 km^2, spring to the northeast from Suchý Důl, estuary from the left into the Metuje by Velké Petrovice.

Etymology: Ledhuje < *led-auja, cf. Lithuanian *ledùs* 'ice' and the suffix productive in such hydronyms as *Miltauja, Pienauja, Vidauja* etc.

(3) Metuje

Metuje's length is 77.2 km, basin 607.6 km^2, spring by Hodkovice, estuary from the left into the Labe in Jaroměř.

Etymology: Metuje < *med-auja, cf. Lithuanian *Medujà*, *Mēd-upis*, etc., all from the word of the type Prussian *median*, Lithuanian *mēdė* 'forest'.

(4) Orlice

Length of the Divoká Orlice is 107.5 km, basin 2,037 km^2, originates by confluence of the Divoká and Tichá Orlice, estuary from the left into the Labe in Hradec Králové.

Etymology: Orlice < *aril-, cf. the Prussian lake *Arle*, right tributary of the Dnepr *Arleja* etc.

(5) Stěnava (Ścinawka)

Its length is 32.9 km, basin 233.5 km^2, spring by the village Kamionka near Mieroszów in Poland, estuary into the Nysa Kłodska in the north from Kłodsko.

Etymology: Stěnava / Ścinawka < *steinavā, cf. Latvian *steinis* 'slow', Prussian toponym *Steinio*, Lithuanian *Steiniškès* etc.

(6) Surina (Výmola)

Its length is 32.5 km, basin 123 km^2, spring in Mukařov, estuary from the left into the Labe by Sedlčánky.

Etymology: Surina is mentioned by Cosmas of Prague (I, 27) (s.a. 981); today it is known as Výmola < *ž'urina ~ *z'urina, cf. Latvian *žūra* 'dirty, muddy water', Lithuanian river *Žiūrà*.

(7) Trutina (Trotina)

Its length is 24.9 km, basin 116.1 km^2, spring in Zdobín, estuary from the right into the Labe by Lochenice.

Etymology: Trutina [today known as Trotina] < *traut-, cf. Lithuanian Žemaitic *trúotas* 'granit; grinding stone', *trùtyti* 'to whet'.

(8) Úpa

Úpa's length is 78.7 km, basin 513.1 km^2, spring under the Studniční hora, estuary from the left into the Labe in Jaroměř.

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Etymology: Úpa < *upā*, *cf.* Lithuanian *ùpė*, *ùpis*, Latvian *upe* 'river, brook', Prussian place names *Wuppe*, *Uppin*, also the river *Upa* in the basin of Oka.

(9) Zdobnice

Zdobnice's length is 34.2 km, basin 124.5 km^2, spring under the Velká Deštná in the Orlické hory, estuary into the Divoká Orlice nad Doudlebami.

Etymology: Zdobnice < *stob-in-*, *cf.* Prussian *stabis* 'stone', *stabino tilte* gl. *lapideus pons*, Lithuanian river *Stãbė*, mountain *Stabìnė.*

6. Conclusion

The present etymological analysis is yet very tentative and reflects the attempts of the so-called first approximation. But even regarding the preliminary character of the etymologies discussed in the sections 3 and 4, it is obvious that for most of them (21 out of 28, i.e. ¾) the Celtic etymological derivation seems most probable. In four cases the Germanic etymological derivation seems more preferable, in three other cases the Germanic adaptation of the originally Celtic toponyms is indicated by *Lautverschiebung* (Grimm's Law). Summing up, the sources of Ptolemy's information reflect a relatively strong Celtic tradition in the area, which was still able to compete with the arising Germanic tradition. It is impossible to determine if any variety of Continental Celtic was still used in the time of Ptolemy, but we can safely be sure for Germanic stratum of the West Germanic provenance. The shift of the dominant language in Bohemia and Moravia from Celtic to Germanic was likely to be continual, with a probable phase of a parallel co-existence of both idioms. It is rather surprising that only one from Ptolemy's toponyms studied here, namely *Albis/Albia/Elbe/Labe*, continues until the present day. At least in two other cases it is possible to speculate concerning the substitution of the original Celtic hydronyms by the corresponding Germanic etymological forms, namely *Vltava* and *Romže*, which are also preserved. Even if all the three hydronyms were originally Celtic, it is not that many and it is difficult to answer why. Apparently, for a number of reasons, the first Germanic tribes who came in close contact with Celts in Bohemia were the Marcomanns. The first Slavs who came to Moravia and Bohemia probably met the Langobards here, who reached Bohemia only several centuries after the Marcomanns. This means that the Bohemian-Moravian area experienced at least three changes of its dominant population. The first change was the one from the Celts (*Boii*) to the

Marcomanns. The second one took place when the Marcomanns were replaced by the Langobards, and finally, the latter were taken over by the Slavs. It is probably true that the new settlers may not have preserved the old toponyms. It was probably a dramatic reduction of the number of indigenous settlers which caused the observed interruptions in the continuity of the toponymics.

Abbreviations

D – see Delamarre, X., 2001.
DIL – *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Compact Edition), Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1983.
GMS – *Geografický místopisný slovník*, Praha: Academia, 1993.
LD – *A Latin Dictionary*, Lewis, Ch. T., & Short, Ch., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896.
LEIA – *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (A, B, C, D, M, N, O, P, S, T, U), Vendryes, J. *et al.*, eds., Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies & Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1959f.
NL – Nomen loci.
P – see Profous 1947–57.
S – see Sedláček 1920.
US – see Stokes, W. & Bezzenberger, A., 1894.
WGS – see Falk, H. & A. Torp, 1909.
WH – see Walde, A. & Hofmann, J. B., 1954.

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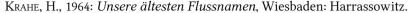
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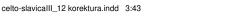
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Etimološka analiza toponima iz Ptolemejeva opisa Srednje Europe

Sažetak

Ovaj se članak sastoji iz pet dijelova: 1. *Boiohaimon; 2. *Albis; 3. Imena planina i podgorja na Ptolemejevu opisu područja Češke, Moravske i Šleske; 4. Imena gradova na Ptolemejevu opisu Češke, Moravske i Šleske; 5. Predslavenska hidronimija Češke, Moravske i Šleske, koja je očuvana do danas. Pokazuje se da je *Boiohaimon čisto keltska složenica 'Gorski prijevoj Boia', a ne, kao što se mislilo, hibridna germansko-keltska složenica 'Dom Boia'. Za ime rijeke Labe također se predlaže keltska etimologija, koja je kasnije adaptirana u zapadnogermanskome. Pokazuje se kako se osobno ime 'Bijela (rijeka)' preobrazilo u apelativ 'rijeka'. Više od 3/4 oronima i toponima odjeljcima 3 i 4 najvjerojatnije imaju keltsku etimologiju. Od preostalih, 4 imaju nespornu germansku etimologiju, a preostala tri predstavljaju germansku adaptaciju izvornoga keltskog etimona. U 5. odjeljku to se stanje uspoređuje sa slikom koju predstavlja prvi sustavni pregled češke geografije u Kosmasovu djelu, koje je nastalo na početku 12. st. Imena rijeka pokazuju izrazit kontinuitet od samih početaka, tj. od predkeltskoga indoeuropskoga sloja. Broj je keltskih hidronima, s druge strane, izrazito malen, (jedan ili dva primjera, no valja napomenuti da su imena rijeka Vltave i Romže možda nastala kao germanske zamjene izvorno keltskih hidronima). Znatno su brojniji germanski hidronimi (12) i baltijski (9), što svjedoči da je u području povijesnih čeških zemalja došlo do značajnog smanjenja broja stanovnika prije dolaska Slavena.

Ključne riječi: keltski, germanski, slavenski, supstrat, toponim, etimologija

Key words: Celtic, Germanic, Slavic, substratum, toponym, etymology