THE NORTH-EASTERN BORDER OF THE CELTIC WORLD

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0. Introduction

The present study provides an etymological analysis of toponyms collected by Ptolemy from Northeast Europe, as known to him in the mid-second century CE. The territory studied roughly corresponds to contemporary Poland and part of the Czech Republic. The toponyms are taken from editions of Ptolemy by Šimek 1930 and Nobbe 1966.

1. Etymological glossary

1G: Ἄλεισός [λη΄, νε΄] = Alisus [38*00, 55°00]; ms. variants: Ἄλισός X, Ἄλεισσός A, Ἄλειστὸς ΣΦΨ.

Germanic *alizō ~ *alisō f. > Gothic *alisa 'alder' > Spanish *aliso* id., Old Saxon *elira* id., *elis-* (in compounds), Old High German *elira*, *erila* id. Cf. also Old Norse *elri* n. < *alizja-*, *alri* n. < *aliza-* (Orel 2003: 15).

2C: Ἀρεγελία [λς΄, νβ΄γ″] = Aregelia [36*30, 52°20]; ms. variants: Ἀρεγεουία ΣΦ, Ἀργέλια RWUr, Ἀργελία ⊐, Ἀρελετία X,

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; similarly Isaac 2004), and Irish *gel* 'white, fair, bright, shining' (DIL G 58-59; US 112). The toponym has been identified with the Czech city Teplice on the river *Bílina*, the left tributary of the Elbe/Labe, etymologizable from Czech *bílý* 'white'.

3E: Ἀρσικούα [μα΄γό″, μθ΄] = Arsicua [41*40, 49°00]; ms. variants: Ἀρσικοῦα UrtADΔΜΩΣΣΦΨ.

Perhaps an Old European compound $*H_1r̥si-H_2k̂^u-eH_2$- 'flowing water(s)', where the first component is derivable from the verb $*H_1ers$- 'to flow', Cf. Old Indic *árṣati*, Hittite *āraszi* 'flows' (LIV 241; Pokorny 1959: 336-7; Krahe 1964: 47), and the latter one from the zero-grade of IE $*H_2ek̂^u$- (Pokorny 1959: 23) > Latin *aqua* 'water, Wasserleitung', ?Venetic NL *Aquileia*; Celtiberian *akua* attested in the Third bronze from Botorrita in the syntagm **Ta.r.a.Ku.a.i**, which is interpreted by de

Bernardo Stempel (2007: 58) as *tar akuai* 'through the water' or 'along the water', where *akuai* is the dat. sg. of the *ā*-stem; Germanic **ahwō* > Gothic *aƕa* f. 'river, body of water', etc. (Kroonen 2013: 7).

4E: Ἀρσόνιον [μγ´, νβ´] = Arsonium [43*30, 52°20]; ms. variants: Ἀρσήνιον GΣΦΨ.

Old European **H₁r̥s-on-* from the verb **H₁ers-* 'to flow'. Cf. Old Indic *ár̥ṣati*, Hittite *āraszi* 'flows' (LIV 241; Pokorny 1959: 336-7; Krahe 1964: 47).

5C: Ἀσάνκα [μγ´, ν´γ″] = Asanca [43*00, 50°20]; ms. variants: Ἄσανκα FSΣΦΨ, Ἀσάνδα X.

Celtic **asnakā*, cf. Old Irish *asnach* 'flank walls', lit. 'ribbed', coll. from *asna* 'rib', Welsh *asen* 'rib; beam' (DIL A-434; LEIA A 94-5; US 24).

6G: Ἀσκαυκαλίς [μδ´, νδ´δ″] = Ascaucalis [44*00, 54°15]; ms. variants: Ἀσκακαυλίς L, Ἀσκαυλίς X, Αἰκαυκαδὶς GΣΦΨ.

With respect to the variant L the emendation **aska-kaul°* → **aska-kaβl°* seems possible. It is perhaps thinkable to propose a compound of Germanic **aska-* m. 'ash' (Kroonen 2013: 38) & **kabla/ōn-* 'piece of wood' (Kroonen 2013: 276-7).

Note: The vacillation -αυ- ~ -αβ- appears e.g. in the toponym Ἄναυον ~ Ἄναβον [Ptol. II, 11.30].

7G: Ἀστουία (or Κιστουία?) [λζ´γ″, νδ´] = Astvia (or Cistvia?) [37*20, 54°30]; ms. variants: Αἰτουία X, Αἰστούια/Αἰστουία Z(ΒΕ?), Κιστούια/Κιστουία Σ(ΦΨ?).

Germanic **astaz* m. > Goth *asts* 'branch, bough', Old Saxon *ast* id., OHG *ast* id. or **astaz* m. > Old English *ast* 'kiln', Middle Dutch *ast* id. In the case of the variant with the initial diphthong a good candidate is Germanic **aista/ō-* > Old English *āst* m. 'oven', Middle Low German *eiste* f. 'oast house', Middle Dutch *eest* 'drying kiln' (Kroonen 2013: 14).

8C: Βουδοργίς [μ´, ν´] = Budorgis [40*00, 50°30]; ms. variants: Βουδουργίς UrtAMO.

Celtic **budo-* 'victory' & **rīgo-* 'power, government'. Cf. Old Irish *búaid* 'victory', Old Breton *bud* gl. *bradium*, Old Welsh *budicaul* gl. *victo*, Welsh *budd* 'profit' and Old Irish *ríge* 'ruling, kingship, sovereignty' (DIL B-221; R-67 for **rīgiā*; LEIA B-107; R-25; Falileyev 2000: 20; see Sims-Williams 2006: 189).

9C: **Βουδόριγον** [μα΄, νβ΄γό″] = Budorigum [41*00, 52°40]; ms. variants: Βουδόριτον W.

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, sovereignty' (DIL B-221; R-67 for *rīgiā*; LEIA B-107; R-25).

10G: **Βουνίτιον** [λθ΄, νε΄] = Bunitium [39*30, 55°30]; ms. variants: Μουνίτιον X, Βουρίτιον Φ.

Germanic, cf. Old English *bune* 'Ried, Rohr', English dial. *bun* 'hohler Stengel', Norwegian, Icelandic *buna* 'Beinröhre' (Holthausen 1963: 38). The suffixal extension probably corresponds to West Germanic *bil-eþja-* 'image, likeness' > Old Saxon *bilithi*, Old Dutch *bilithe*, Old High German *biladi*, *biledi*, German *Bild*; or *īw-eþja-* n. > Swedish *ide* 'yew grove' vs. Germanic *īwa-* m. 'yew' (Kroonen 2013: 64, 271).

11C: **Γαλαιγία** [λζ΄, νβ΄γ″] = Galaegia [37*30, 52°20]; ms. variants: Γαλαίγια G, Καλαιγία ost., Καλαίγια UrtFZE.

?Celtic: *cf.* Nomen Loci *Calaico* in pago Wapencense (AD 739) (Holder I: 688: Diplomata, ed. Pardessus).

12C: **Ἐβουρόδουνον** [λθ΄, μη΄] = Eburodunum [39*00, 48°00]; ms. variants: Ἐβουρόδανον ΣΦΨ, Ῥεβουρόδουνον X, Ῥοβόδουνον ost., Ῥοδόβουνον RWC.

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 II: 1395-404; D 134). The second component corresponds to Gaulish *dūnon* in Λουγούδουνον, *Novio-dunum* etc., Old Irish *dún*, gen. *dúne* 'fortification' (US 207; 150).

13C: **Ἔβουρον** [μα΄, μθ΄] = Eburum [41*00, 49°30]; ms. variants: Ἔβουνον Rt.

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 II: 1395-1404; D 134).

14C: **Ἡγητματία** [λθ΄ψό″, να΄] = Hegetmatia [39*40, 51°00]; ms. variants: Ἡγηγματία Σ, Ἡγιτματία NFADΔMOEBꝛ, Ἰλιγματία X.

Celtic *Segetā-matịā* gl. *dea Segeta et bona*, cf. *deae Segetae*, *Aquae Segetae* by Montbrison (Holder II: 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 II: 1453-5).

15C: **Καλισία** [μγ´δ″, νβ´γ″] = Calisia [43*45, 52º50]; ms. variants: Καλίσια UrtΩ.

Perhaps Celtic (Holder III: 1048), maybe related to Old Irish *caile* m. 'spot' < **kalio-* (Matasović 2009: 186); cf. the suffix *-isia*: *Alisia*, *Be(i)lisia*, *Dunisia*, in appelatives *cervisia* or τριμαρκισία 'team of three horses' (Holder II: 79).

16C: **Καρρόδουνον** [μβ´ψό″, να´] = Carrodunum [42*40, 51º30]; ms. variants: Κρόδουνον VPF.

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 I: 815-6), Middle Welsh *carrec* 'stone', Old Irish *carrac* 'rock, large stone', less probably the first component corresponds to Gallo-Latin *carrus* 'wagon', Middle Welsh *carr* 'vehicle', Old Irish *carr* 'cart, wagon' (DIL C-78 & 77; LEIA C-41-42; US 72). The second component see Gaulish **dūnon* in Λουγούδουνον, *Novio-dunum* etc., Old Irish *dún*, gen. *dúne* 'fortification' (US 207; 150).

17C: **Κασουργίς** [λθ´δ″, ν´ς″] = Casurgis [39*15, 50º10]; ms. variant Κασουγίς W.

Celtic **kasso-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'.

18Γ: **Κοινόηνον** [λλ´γ″, νε´] = Coenoënum [36*20, 55º30]; ms. variants: Κοινώηνον S, Κοινόοινον A, Κοινόκνον ΓΣΦΨ, Κενεννον X.

Perhaps a Greek compound of κοινός 'common' and ἡνίον 'bit, rein' [Pollyx1.148], the diminutive implying the noun ἦνον (LS 652).

19C: **Κολάγκορον** [λθ´, νγ´] = Colancorum [39*00, 53º30]; ms. variants: Κολάγκωρον XZEB, Κολαγκόρον ΓΣΦ, Κολάγκερον Rt.

Celtic **kolani-*: Old Irish *colainn* 'body, flesh; corpse, carcass, trunk', in laws 'principal, capital; substance of which an article is made' etc. (DIL C-322), Middle Welsh *kelein*, *keleyn*, pl. *calanedd* 'cadavres, carnage', Welsh *celain*, *celan* 'cadavre' (LEIA C-156); cf. also Κολάνικα 'a city of *Damnonii* by the spring of the Clyde' [Ptolemy II, 3. 7] = *Colanica* [Ravennatis V 31. 7] (Holder I: 1064), plus Celtic **koro-*, attested in Old Irish *cor* m. 'act of putting, casting; a throw', *do-cuirethar* 'to put, place', with derivatives as *cora* 'palissade, mur de pierres, gord à

poisson, pêcherie', dat. *coraid*, Welsh *cored* f. 'gord, barrage, vivier', Old Breton *coret* < **koret-s*. Without the dental extension see Old Irish *Sescend in da Cor* 'moor of the two hillocks', Breton *aval-gor* 'champ de pommiers', Welsh *Ban-gor* 'paroi de branches tressées, clôture' = Irish *Benchuir* etc. (LEIA C-204-206).

20C: **Κοριδοργίς** [λζ´δ″, μη´] = Coridorgis [37*15, 48º30]; ms. variants: Κορυδοργίς Urt, Κονδοργίς X.

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; Schmidt 1957: 183) and Breton *derchell* 'to keep' (US 149).

21G: **Λακιβούργιον** [λθ´, νς´] = Laciburgium [39*00, 56º00]

Probably formed from Germanic **lēkjōn-* f. > Faeroese *lækja* 'well, waterhole, waterspout', Norwegian *lækje* 'rivulet, wooden water-pipe' (Kroonen 2013: 331) with the typical Northwest Germanic change **ē > *ā* or from some derivative of the Germanic verb **lakjan-* 'to cause to leak, moisten' > Old English *leccan*, Old High German *lecken* id. (Kroonen 2013: 325).

22C: **Λευκάριστος** [μα´δ″, νβ´γό″] = Leucaristus [41*45, 52º40]

Celtic: cf. Brittonic NL *Leucaro* (Itin. Ant.) = Welsh *Cas Llychwr*; Gaulish NL *Leuceris* (Geog. of Ravenna) between Bergamo and Brescia, today *Lecco* (Holder II: 192-3; D 169). The extension in **-isto-* can be interpreted as the superlative.

23C: **Λίμιος ἄλσος** [μα´, νγ´] = the grove of Limis [41*00, 53º30]; ms. variants: Λιμοσάλειον D, Λιμοσάλαιον A, Λιμοσάλιον L, Λιμιοσάλεον W, Μιλιοσάλεον ZEB.

Connected with the Celtic designation of 'elm': Gaulish ethnonym *Lemo-uices* > Limoges, place-names as *Limours* < **lemausum, Limeuil* < **lemo-ialum*, personal names *Lemisunia, Lemiso* etc.; Brittonic **lēmā-* > Middle Welsh, Welsh sglt. *llwyfen* 'elm', pl. *llwyf*; Goidelic **limo-* > Middle Irish *lem* m. (Holder II: 175-82, 226-7; Billy 1993: 93; Delamarre 2001: 168; Matasović 2009: 237: nom. **H₁lei̯ōm* : gen. **H₁limos*).

24C: **Λουγίδουνον** [λθ´, νβ´] = Lugidunum [39*30, 52º30]; ms. variants: Λουτίδουνον RVPWCΓUrNF etc.

Celtic **lugi-dūnon* 'fort of the (tribe) *Lugii*' (Holder II: 306) or 'fort of the treaty', cf. Old Irish *lugae*, later *luige* 'oath, swear' (DIL L-239), Welsh *llw* 'iuramentum' (US 257) and Gaulish **dūnon* in Λουγούδουνον,

Novio-dunum etc., Old Irish *dún*, gen. *dúne* 'fortification' (US 207, 150; Sims-Williams 2006, 191).

25G: **Λούπφουρδον** [λη´ς″, να´γό″] = Lupfurdum [38*10, 51º40]; ms. variants: Λουπφοῦρδον ΖΣΨ, Πολουπφοῦρδον Φ.

Old European hydronym **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).

26G: **Μαριωνίς** ἑτέρα [λλ´, νε´γ″] = another Marionis [36*00, 55º50]

Probably derived from Germanic **mari-* m./n. 'lake, sea' > Gothic *mari-saiws*, Old Norse *marr*, Old English *mere*, Old High German *meri* or **marīn-* id. > Gothic *marei*, Old Saxon *meri*, Old High German *merī* id. (Kroonen 2013: 354-5). In this case perhaps 'near the sea'.

27C: **Μελιόδουνον** [λθ´, μθ´] = Meliodunum [39*00, 49º00]; ms. variant: Μελγόδουνον WC.

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. *dúne* 'fortification' (US 207; 150).

28C: **Νομιστήριον** [λθ´, να´] = Nomisterium [39*00, 51º00]; ms. variants: Νομηστίριον Rt.

Celtic **nomi-stērio-* 'temple of a (goddess) star' (= ?**Stēronā*, corresponding to Gaulish *Sirona/Dirona*, see D 239): Old Welsh *nom* gl. *templa* (US 192; Falileyev 2000: 121).

29B?: **Οὐίρουνον** [μ´, νε´] = Virunum [40*30, 55º00]; ms. variant: Ἰούρουνον Rt.

Undoubtedly connected with the ethnonym Οὐίρουνοί (S), Οὐιροῦνοι (R), mentioned by Ptolemy in § II, 11.17. With regard to the homonymous name of the town from Noricum, attested as *Virunum* [Pliny III, 146], Οὐίρουνον [Ptol. II, 11.17], but by other authors as *Varunum* [It. Ant. 276; Tab. Peut.], Βέρουνος [Steph. Byz.], Βηρούνιον [Suid.] (Holder III: 399), it is legitimate to admit a different primary vocalism in the topo- & ethnonym from North Germania too. There are several hypothetical alternative solutions:

(a) If it was **Οὐέρουνον* & **Οὐερουνοί*, a relation to the 'Old European' hydronym *Veruna* (1379; Dép. Var, France - see Krahe 1964: 39) would be possible.

(b) In the case of *Οὐάρουνον & *Οὐαρουνοί a connection with the ethnonym *Varini* [Tacitus, *Germania* 40], *Varinnae* [Pliny IV, 99], Αὐαρινοί [Ptol. III, 5.8], besides Αὔαρποι [Ptol. II, 11.9], Οὔαρνοι [Proc. *b. G.* II, 15.2; III, 35.15; IV, 20.1], *Varni* [Jord. *Getica* 117.13] (Schönfeld 1911: 257-8) seems the most natural solution (Bremer 1899: 91; Šimek 1935: 153-7).

(c) With respect to the variant Ἰούρουνον (Rt) it is tempting to think about its Baltic origin. There is a common Baltic term 'sea' attested in numerous variants in all Baltic languages: Prussian *iūrin* [K III, 67, 11] = /jūrian/, *luriay* [EV 66: 'Mer'] = /jūriai/; Lithuanian *jū́ra*, *jū́r(i)os*, *jū́rė(s)*, dial. *juriai* 'sea', besides *jurēžeris* 'a very big lake', Latvian *jũra(s) & jũra(s)*, *jũre(s)*, *jùre*, *jūris* 'sea; a big lake' (Toporov 1980: 93-4). The suffix *-ūn- appears e.g. in the Prussian river-name *Raudune* (1316), without the suffix the Lithuanian river-name *Raudà*, both from *raũdas* 'reddish'; similarly the Prussian lake-name *Sirgun* : *sirgis* 'stallion'; Lithuanian *Dumbliūnai* : *dum̃blas* 'marsh' (Gerullis 1922: 139, 254).

30G: **Οὐιρίτιον** [μα´, νδ´] = Viritium [41*00, 54º30]; ms. variants: Οὐιρούτιον ΓΣΦΨ, Οὐερίτιον S, Οὐεριτίον A.

   There are at least three hypothetical Germanic etymologies:

(a) Germanic *wir-eþja- > Old High German *wiridi-bora* f. 'freeborn' (the latter component is derived from the verb *beran* 'to bear'), hence 'place of free men'? or so.

(b) Germanic *werila/ō f. > Gothic *wairila* 'lip', Old English pl. *weleras* id., a diminutive of *werō- > Old Frisian *were* f. 'lip' (Kroonen 2013: 580; Orel 2003: 456). This solution is applicable in the case of emendation τι → λ.

(c) Germanic *wariþa-/*waruþa- > Old English *waroþ*, *wearoþ*, *wearþ* n. 'shore, bank', Middle Low German *werde* 'dammed up land', Old High German *warid*, *werid*, Middle High German *wert*, gen. *werdes* m. 'elevated waterless land between swamps; island, shore' (WGS 395). This solution implies the umlaut *a ... i > e ... i*, perhaps comparable with the river-name Ἐλίσων by Dio Cassius 54, 33.4, corresponding to the military camp *Aliso* by Velleius Paterculus II, 120.4 and the fortress *Aliso* by Tacitus, *Annales* II, 7.

31C: **Παρίεννα** [μβ´, μθ´γ″] = Parienna [42*00, 49º20]

   It is derivable from the Celtic word for 'cauldron' on the basis of metaphor 'cauldron' → 'basin, hollow, bowl', cf. Gaulish *pario- reconstructed after Provençal *par*, Lyonnaise *per*, Italian dial. of Ferrara, Pavia *per* 'kettle' (Meyer-Lübke 1935, #6246; Billy 1993: 118), Middle Welsh *pair*, Welsh *peir*, Cornish *per* gl. 'lebes', Old Irish *coire* m. <

Celtic *kᵘario- <*kᵘr̥io- (Delamarre 2001: 208-9; LEIA III: C-153; Matasović 2009: 175), extended by the suffix *-enna, attested in many Gaulish place-names, e.g. *Anduenna*, *Ardu(i)enna*, *Arguenna*, *Bagenna*, *Boudenna*, *Tarvenna*, etc. (Holder I: 1439).

32C/G: Ῥεδιντούινον [λη′, ν′] = Redintuinum [38*30, 50°30]; ms. variants: Ῥεδινγούινον X, Ῥιδιντούινον L.

Celtic *rēdi(o?)-dūnon* 'fort of riders' (Schwarz 1931: 17) > Germanic *rēdi-tūna-*; the Celtic stem *rēdi-* is preserved e.g. in the Gaulish compound *eporediae* interpreted as *boni equorum domitores* in Pliny (III, 123 = Holder II: 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).

33G: Ῥούγιον [μβ, νε′γό″] = Rugium [42*30, 55°40]

Probably connected with the ethnonym *Rugii* belonging to the East Germanic tribe preceding Goths in the area around the mouth the Vistula river [Tacitus, *Germania* 44; Jordanes, *Getica* 26].

34G: Σετίδαυα [μδ′, νγ′] = Setidava [44*00, 53°30]; ms. variants: Σετίδαβα R, Σετιδαύα Z, Σετίδανα ΑΣΦΨ, Γετιδαύα X.

A compound of East Germanic *sēti-* 'pasture; possible to sit down' > Old Norse *sætr* 'summer pasture; suitable for sitting on', plus compounds as Gothic *anda-sets*, Old English *and-sæte* 'odious, hateful', Middle Dutch *ant-set* id., Middle High German *ant-seze* 'brave' (de Vries 1962: 576; Kroonen 2013: 433; Orel 2003: 326) & *dawwa/ō-* 'dew' > Old Norse *dǫgg*, Old English *dēaw*, Old Frisian *daw*, Old Dutch *dou*, Old High German *tou* (Kroonen 2013: 91). Originally perhaps 'pasture/sitting on dew' → 'damp pasture/place'. The difference *sēti-* vs. *sāti-* (see **Φουργισατίς**) indicates the opposition between East and Northwest Germanic respectively already in the mid of the 2nd cent. CE.

35C: Σετουία [μβ′, ν′] = Setovia [42*30, 50°00]; ms. variants: Ἀντεκουία Urt.

Accepting the replacement τ → γ, it is possible to derive it from Celtic *sego-* 'firm, power(ful)' > Middle Irish *seg* m. 'force, strength, heed, interest', Middle Welsh *hy* 'bold, brave' (LEIA S-68; US 297; Matasović 2009: 327); cf. Hispano-Celtic NL in Hispania Tarraconensis: *Segovia* [Liv. 91; Plin. III, 27; Flor. II, 10], Σεγουία [Ptol. II, 6.55] etc.; in Hispania Baetica: *Segovia* [Hirt. *b. Alex.* 57.6]; Balkano-Celtic in Dalmatia: Σεγουία [Appian, *Illyr.* 27] (Holder II: 1452-3). Concerning the

suffix -*via*, cf. *Gergovia*, *Iuvavia*, *Nemavia*, *Vinovia*, *Vosavia* etc. (Holder III: 273).

36C: **Σινγονή** [μα΄, μη΄δ″] = Singone [41*30, 48º15]; ms. variants: Σινγόνη Χ, Σιγγόνη ב, Σινγονῆ UrΔM.

In continental Celtic onomastics there are numerous forms derivable from the stem **sing(i)-*: NL *Singiacus* → castle *Cingé* in Touraine, dep. Indre-et-Loire, *Singilia* in Baetica, *Singidunum* - today Beograd - the capital of Serbia; NM *Singenia* in Aouste by Crest, dep. Drôme, *Singeria* in Carantania, etc. (Holder II: 1570-3; Billy 1993: 137). In Insular Celtic there are two hypothetical alternative cognates: (a) Old Irish *seng* 'thin'; (b) Old Irish *séig*, gen. *séga* 'bird of prey, falcon' (LEIA S-85-86; S-71; Delamarre 2001: 233). The place-name inspired by 'falcon' is apparently more attractive and so more probable, but the first possibility cannot be excluded at all.

37G: **Σκοῦργον** [μγ΄, νε΄] = Scurgum [43*00, 55º00]; ms. variant: Σκούργον Urt.

Accepting the frequent replacement γ → τ, it is possible to identify here Germanic **skurta-* 'short' (Orel 2003: 346).

38L: **Σουσουδάτα** [λη΄, νγ΄γ″] = Susudata [38*30, 53º50]; ms. variants: Σουσουδάνα.

Latin **sub Sudēta* 'under the Sudeta [mountains]' (Much 1897: 99; Schwarz 1931: 24; Šimek 1935: 34). The final -*ēta* may be interpreted as the plural to the sg. forms in -*ētum*, serving to designate places with certain characteristic features, e.g. *asprētum* 'rough place' : *asper* 'rough, uneven', *glabrēta* 'bare places' : *glaber* 'bald, smooth', *saxētum* : *saxum* 'rock'; frequently to designation of occurrence of concrete trees or other plants, e.g. *arundinētum* 'thicket of reeds': *arundō* 'reed, cane', *fīcētum* 'fig-plantation' : *fīcus* 'fig-tree', *nucētum* 'a wood where nut-trees grow' : *nux* 'nut', *querquētum* & *quercētum* 'oak-forest' : *quercus* 'oak', *vīminētum* 'willow-copse': *vīmen* 'pliant twig, withe' etc. (*cf.* Brugmann 1906: 414, §307β; 624, §493). The root proper may be identified in Latin *sudes* (pl. to *sudis* 'stake, pile'), glossed also as 'saxae' [Appuleius, *Metamorphoses* VII: p. 195, 26], or 'fraxineasque aptare sudes' [Vergilius, *Georgica* II: 359], see LD 778, 1790. The latter context implies that Σούδητα ὄρη might be a Latin equivalent of the Germanic Ἀσκιβούργιον, i.e. 'place fortified by the ashen palisade', and Σουσουδάτα = Latin **sub Sudēta* was an area under this fortification.

39C: **Στράγονα** [λθ΄γό″, νβ΄γ″] = Stragona [39*40, 52º20]; ms. variants: Στραγόνα ost.

Accepting the replacement τ → γ, it is possible to reconstruct Celtic *stratonā*, *cf*. Middle Breton *strat* 'bottom, hole', Welsh *ystrad* 'valley' (US 313; Henry 1900: 255).

40C: **Στρεούιντα** [λθ΄δ″, μθ΄] = Strevinta [39*15, 49º30]; ms. variants: Στρεουούιντα Σ, Στρεουιντία Χ.

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).

41L: **Φηλικία** [λθ΄, μη΄] = Felicia [39*00, 48º30]; ms. variants: Φηληκία G, Φιληκία RPWCΣΦΨ, Φιλικία Urt.

Originally 'happy things' in Latin, derived from the adj. *felix* 'happy'; cf. also *tempora felicia* 'happy times'.

42G: **Φουργισατίς** [λϛ΄, μη΄] = Furgisatis [36*00, 48º00]; ms. variants: Φουργισάτης ΦΨ, Φρουργισατίς Χ.

Accepting the replacement τ → γ, it is possible to propose West Germanic *furþ/ði-sātiz* 'settlement; pasture by ford' (Schwarz 1931: 28), *cf*. Germanic *furđu-* '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 contrast to East Germanic *ē* > Biblic Gothic *e*.

2. Conclusion

1. In the area enclosed by the 36th longitude, the 48th latitude, the south coast of the Baltic sea and the Vistula river, 42 place-names (not including *hydro-*, *oro-* and ethnonyms) are mentioned in Ptolemy's work.

2. Two of these are of Latin origin, one is probably of Greek origin, in one case the Baltic etymology seems most promising and two-three toponyms may be ascribed to the so-called 'Old European' substratum. Of the remaining 36 terms the share of the Celtic and Germanic toponyms is 23 : 13 (a witness of *Lautverschiebung* in the case of one of the Celtic terms indicates the Celtic terms continued even after a replacement of populations).

3. The northernmost border of probable Celtic toponyms in the area of contemporary Poland may be determined between the 54th and 53rd latitudes (*c*. 53º30').

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Appendix

Place-names of *Germania Magna* in the East from 36th longitude and in the North from 48th latitude according to Ptolemy

	36*	37*	38*	39*	40*	41*	42*	43*	44*	45*
56°	26G	18Г		21G	10G			33G		
			1G			29B?		37G		
55°		7G				30G			6G	
54°			38L	19C		23C			34G	
53°		2C	11C	24C			9C	22C	15C	
									4E	
52°			25G	39C				16C		
			28C	14C						
51°			32C/G		8C					
				17C				35C		
50°				40C		13C	31C			
			27C			3E				
49°		20C		41L		36C				
48°	42G			12C						

Abbreviations from this scheme: B = Baltic, C = Celtic, E = Old European, G = Germanic, Г = Greek, L = Latin.
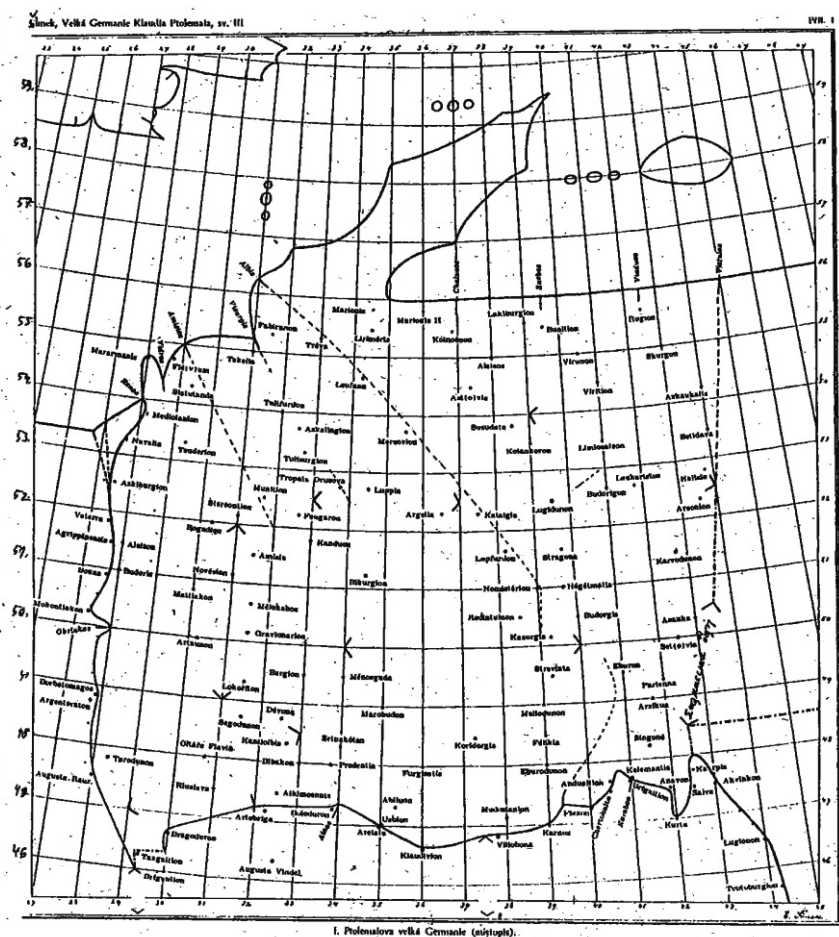
Reconstruction of the *Germania Magna* Ptolemy's map by Emanuel
Šimek (1949)

Abbreviations

D – 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.

LIV – *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben.* Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*, Rix, H. et al. Wiesbaden : Reichert, 2001.

LS – Liddell, H.G. & Scott, R., 1901. *Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

NL – Nomen loci.

NM – Nomen mulieri.

US – Stokes, W. & Bezzenberger, A., 1894.

WGS – Falk, H. & A. Torp, 1909.

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Pliny - see Winkler 1988.

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