PLACE-NAMES AND ETHNIC GROUPS IN NORTH-WESTERN DACIA: A CASE FOR CELTIC

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It is a well-established fact that a linguistic analysis of place- and tribal names may yield valuable information about the ethnic and linguistic situation in the given area in antiquity. The procedure normally takes into account the information provided by the ancient historians and geographers; and (to a lesser extent) the results of archaeological observations are also considered. The paucity of narrative data about the peoples who inhabited certain parts of Dacia and adjacent territories, and sometimes its controversial character, makes the analysis of toponymics a major philological contribution to the study of the ethnic situation in the area.

Apart from the autochthonous population, several other ethnic/linguistic groups are found in the territory of Dacia in antiquity. It is known that certain areas were inhabited by tribes that used a Continental Celtic idiom. The speakers of an early form of Iranian are found in Dacia as well. Roman occupation of Dacia led to a spread of the Latin element, and eventually, to the romanization of the country. All the corresponding languages are reflected in place- (and tribal) names of Dacia. Latin (and also Germanic, which was introduced later) layer excluded, the data makes it possible to propose a tentative linguistic map of pre-Roman Dacia. Normally, place-names of Latin origin are segmented with fewer difficulties due to their attestations elsewhere and/or sometimes transparent etymology. There is no doubt, for example, that *Colonia Dacica* is Latin. The indigenous data, on the contrary, is difficult to analyse due to its paucity: Dacian is basically an onomastic language. It goes without saying that a place-name containing the component *-dava* (*Acidava, Marcidava, Rusidava*, etc.) is Dacian. It must be allowed, however, that the first element of a compounded place-name could also be of a non-Dacian provenance. Moreover, due to the character of available data, a semantic (and etymological) analysis of a Dacian place-name remains at least conjectural. In this paper I do not focus on analysis of indigenous place- and tribal names, and this allows me to skip a straightforward discussion of the Dacian/Thracian interrelationship, which is a problem in its own right. Segmentation of the Iranian data out of the Dacian multi-ethnic and linguistic landscape may have its own pitfalls: not unlike Dacian, Sarmatian is an onomastic language. And Continental Celtic (Gaulish), which was spread in antiquity from the utmost western limits of Europe up to Galatia, has been a subject of scholarly discussions for centuries. Notwithstanding the fact that segmentation of Celtic and Iranian data from the Dacian toponymic landscape may be facilitated by the *comparanda* adduced from the later-attested related languages, e.g., Irish or Ossetic, this is by no means always the case.

Celtic presence in Dacia has been studied from various standpoints, and normally the research is based on the interpretation of archaeological finds[1]. Much attention is traditionally given to place-names, although in quite a few cases it is

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difficult to attribute them to a given language with certainty. On a cumulative basis it is possible to define certain areas in Dacia inhabited by Celtic tribes. As has been noted, the presence of Celtic-speaking people is evident in the northwestern corner of the region, and it is also manifested by several ethnic names; cf. Gostar 1980: 25. The tribal name 'Ανάρτοι[2] has been considered Celtic already by V. Pârvan and W. Tomaschek, and was compared with Irish *an-art* "leinernes Tuch". As an alternative M. Vasmer admitted its possible Iranian origin and compared the tribal-name with Avestic *anarəta-* "feindlich, gesetzlos". According to I. Ronco (1973, 242, and see the references on p. 241), "la corrispondenza con l'uno e l'altro apellativa è perfetta"; he notes, however, that "ma si tratta solo di appellativi, di cui l'uno etimologicamente "non chiaro"; non di etnici strutturalmente confrontabili, non di antroponimi"; see also his comments on 'Αναρτοφράκτοι (p. 242). However, the Iranian attribution of the tribal-name and the tribe itself is erroneous: it is most likely to be Celtic, as historians have been claiming for nearly two centuries. It is also notable that in the vicinity of the Anarti on the map of Dacia we find another ethnic-name, which has long been associated with the Celts, viz. the Teurisci (Τευρίσκοι, Ptol. III. 8. 3; see comment by R. Vulpe in Pârvan 1972, 192-193). The celticity of the latter has sometimes been queried, albeit without grounds. It is also important that Ptolemy (III. 8, 4) records a place-name 'Ρουκκόνιον, which several scholars roughly localise within the territory held by the Anarti (Ronca 1973, map; Cătăniciu 1990, 228). The toponym has been regarded as most probably Celtic (Schulze, Detschew, etc.). In fact, it finds certain parallels in the Celtic West (see Delamarre 2001, 223 s.v. *rucco* for further *comparanda* and references), and therefore Celtic attribution of this place-name does not seem to cause problems.

It should be noted that two more ethnic names on the ancient map of Dacia mentioned by Ptolemy in the same passage have been analysed as Celtic. The Κοτήνσιοι (Ptol. III, 8, 3) is located beyond the area discussed in the paper, but a comment on its etymology is desirable. Some scholars (e.g., Pârvan 1972, 106-107; see Cătăniciu 1990, 233 and the bibliography cited there) viewed the tribal name as possibly or even probably Celtic in view of the ethnic name *Cotini*. It could be mentioned that although the component *cot-* is attested in Gaulish vocabulary, the quoted ethnic name is not necessarily Celtic; (see Anreiter 2001, 212-213; Gostar 1980, 27-28), moreover, has shown that the toponymy of the area inhabited by the tribe is predominantly Dacian, and *Cotenses* is more likely to be indigenous, an -hnsioi derivative from **Cote-*, cf. thraco-dacian anthroponyms *Cotis, Cotus, Cotiso*, etc. Therefore it would be safer to exclude this ethnic name from discussion, although its potential celticity is of course remarkable. The Costoboci, a tribe well known to the ancient authors (Paus. 10, 34, 5; Amm. Marc. 22, 8, 42; Plin. NH 6, 19), and which is placed by Ptolemy to the east of the Teurisci, was once considered Celtic, but is viewed nowadays as indigenous. This observation leaves us with a cluster of two probably Celtic ethnic names (*Anarti* and *Teurisci*) and one toponym of Celtic origin (*Rucconion*) within a comparatively small area in the northwestern part of Dacia. It is also important that the Celtic linguistic remnants

in this region are not unexpected, and the archaeological/historical data offers us *raison de l'etre* for this toponymic cluster (cf. Zirra 1975, 29; Cătăniciu 1990, 230).

Notwithstanding the fact that two of the three items referred to above do not have exact parallels in the other areas where forms of Continental Celtic were spoken, or striking correspondences in the Insular Celtic languages, they are consistent with Celtic phonetics, word-formation and semantics. For the Anarti, however, its traditional etymology should be reconsidered. The comparison with the obsolete early Irish word *anart* (cf. RE I, 2, 2063-2064; on the Irish word see Vendryes 1959, 73 and (differently) De Bernardo Stempel 1999, 240), as far as the semantics is concerned, seems to be misleading. In terms of etymology it is possible to offer several suggestions[3], none of which for obvious reasons could be taken as proven. The most probable would be to consider here a reflex of the famous IE *pen- "feucht" (Pokorny 1959, 807), which is also found in *Pannonia* (of course, of non-Celtic origin; see Anreiter 2001, 98-110). The word is attested in Gaulish: *anam* (accusative) is used as a gloss on Latin *paludem*, and this component is reflected in toponymy, cf., e.g., Anet (Eure-et-Loire) or Annoilum (Matres-de-Veyre); see Delamarre 2001, 37 s.v. *ana-[4]. As for derivation, it could then be formed with the help of the formant -rt-, also known in Celtic[5]. Unfortunately, we are completely unaware of the pre-history of this tribe, but its historical associations with Pannonia make linguistic associations with the same underlying IE stem quite possible. A different morphologic division of the tribal name, *An-artoi* will yield the famous Gaulish *artos "bear"; on the latter see Delamarre 2001, 48-49. It would be tempting in this case to compare it with the divine name (dat.) *And-artae* "Grand Ourse". It is highly unlikely that the initial *an-* of the ethnic name is the negative prefix, which is reflected, for example, in the famous pairs *matu*/*anma*[*tu*] "favourable"/"unfavourable", *andogna*/*anandogna* "local"/"foreign", and also in the PNN, cf. *An-orbos* "sans héritier"; for the prefix see Delamarre 2001, 37. It has been noted, however, that although original *nd* is commonly preserved in Gaulish, "there is evidence for supposing that in some cases *nd* gave *n(n)* by assimilation" (Evans 1967, 404). That offers the possibility of tracing the initial *an-* of the tribal name to a very well attested Gaulish intensive prefix *and-*, *ande-*, *ando-* (see Delamarre 2001, 39 and Evans 1967, 136-141). This will bring us to an ethnic name "the (real) bears" *vel. sim.*, and the presence of a (totem) animal name in an ethnicon is not infrequent. Moreover, it has been noted that the "bear-gods" were venerated not only in the Celtic West, but also in the eastern territories occupied by the Celts; see Birkhan 1997, 711-712. However, the most impressive catalogue of Gaulish personal, divine and place names with this intensive prefix (Evans 1967, 138-141) contains only one instance (*Anareviśeos*) possibly illustrating *and(V) > an-*, and this example looks quite suspicious. It is worth mentioning that Evans (1967: 139, fn. 139) notes the similarity between *Andereni* (dat. f.) and *Annereni*, but does not include the latter in his list. Note, however, that the intensive prefix *an-* has been postulated for a tribal name *Ancalites* in Britain (cf. Old Irish *calad* and Welsh *caled* "hard, severe"), therefore "very hard men, very tough men" (Rivet, Smith 1979, 250), which also makes sense for an ethnic name formation[6].

NOTES:

1. See e.g., Pârvan 1972, 103-128 and the comments by R. Vulpe on pp. 191-203; Zirra 1975, 25-34; M. Szabó, *Archèologie des Celtes continentaux: contribution à une devision dans le temps et dans l'espace*, Geschichte und Kultur der Kelten, Heidelberg, 1986, pp. 61-67 and the references cited there; archaeological reports are published regularly in *Études Celtiques*. For a more general survey see Birkhan 1997, 130-150; Celticity of Dacia in a later period was a subject of a most recent monograph: A. Husar, *Celți și Germani în Dacia Romană*, Cluj, 1999.

2. Ptol. III. 8. 3, also attested as 'Αναρτοι; see K. Müller, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, Volume 1, part 1 (Paris 1883), p. 444; cf. *Izvoare privind istoria Rominiei*, v. I, București, 1964, pp. 542-543. The passage is thoroughly discussed in Gostar 1980, 25-32; see also Cătăniciu 1990, 230-231. For other attestations (*Anartium*, Caes., B.G. VI 25; *Anartorum*, CIL III 7647) see W. Tomaschek in RE 1, 2, pp. 2063-2064 and A. Móscy in RE Suppl. 11, p. 38.

3. Compare, for example, the Celtic tribal name *Anauni* which was interpreted as "the staying ones", from **anə-mn-o-i*, cf. Old Irish *anaid* "stays, remains, abides"; see P. de Bernardo Stempel, *Das indogermanische m(V)no-Verbaladjektiv im Keltischen*, Indogermanica et Caucasica, Berlin/New York, 1994, p. 293. Cf. also her analysis of the toponym 'Αναυνιον (modern Nanno in Italy) as the "oppidum of the Anauni", P. De Bernardo Stempel, *Ptolemy's Celtic Italy and Ireland: A Linguistic Analysis*, Ptolemy. Towards a linguistic atlas of the earliest Celtic place-names of Europe, Aberystwyth, 2000, p. 91. For the river-name *Anava* (Modern Annan in south-west Scotland), interpreted as "rich river" in view of Welsh *anaw* "riches" see Rivet, Smith 1979, 249-250. The Celtic place-name *Anauon* (Germania Magna), according to P. De Bernardo Stempel (Colloquium "Linguistic Frontiers of the Ancient Celts", Munich, July 2004), in view of the latter example, may be interpreted as "the wealthy place", or, alternatively, could be connected with the alleged Gaulish word for "water"; see the note below. For a curious connection with Celtic *an* < **pan-* "weben" (?), in view of Greek πῆνος, see W. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker. Teil I.* (= *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, Band 128, Wien, 1893), p. 103.

4. Note, however, that the celticity of the gloss was doubted by P.-Y. Lambert (*La langue gauloise*, Paris, 1994, p. 293); see also comments by J. L. García Alonso (*La Península Ibérica en la Geografía de Claudio Ptolomeo*, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2003, pp. 418-419) on 'Αναβίς (Spain). The possibility of a reflex of this Celtic form in the river-name Αίνος (modern Inn in Tyrol) is discussed by P. Anreiter, *Keltische Ortsnamen in Nordtirol*, Innsbruck, 1996, pp. 60-64, with further bibliographic references. The author aptly states that the ancient hydronymy in the territories, inhabited by various peoples, may allow for various interpretations; and offers several other etymological solutions. See also W. P. Schmit, *Zu einigen keltisch-baltischen Namen-Entsprechungen*, Studia Indogermanica et Slavica, München, 1988, p. 52.

5. The formant was analysed as suffix by H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, Band II, Göttingen, 1913, p. 47. Note, however, that P. De Bernardo Stempel (1999, 239-240) allows for the interpretation of the forms referred to by Pedersen as "verdunkelte Komposita".

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