

A Contribution to the Study of Greek Toponymy. I*

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Dedicated to
DR. GEORGE W. STARCHER

THIS STUDY WAS CONCEIVED as a systematic treatment of all the names for one toponymic unit that are known in the Greek tradition; an attempt is made to discuss pertinent problems and to clarify matters, as far as our data make it possible. Since such a study has not previously been undertaken, to my knowledge, it is hoped that this will prove stimulating to onomatologists. In this first paper, besides the discussion of some principles in onomastics, the earliest names designating the peninsula of the Peloponnesus are discussed, in a second paper the ancient name Πελοπόννησος, and in a third post-classical, medieval and modern names will come under discussion.

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Sound theorizing in onomastics should be, in my opinion, the result only of detailed investigation of sets of names and even of single names, for the principles of onomastic research have to be applied in such cases of exhaustive research.

I. MULTIPLICITY OF NAMES, A PRINCIPLE IN ONOMASTICS

In human society persons, peoples, and places experience not only naming but also double naming, and, as a consequence of loss of a name, renaming. The result, being a cumulation of single namings at the same time or, more frequently, at different times

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for one person, for one people, or for one place, is *multiplicity of names*, a term I coin for this specific process of naming. Multiple name-giving as it is observed in practice is of fundamental importance for the classification of names, theoretical considerations, and for the inner interpretation of sets of names.

A. — *Personal Names*. — A person may have one, two, or more given names, as is well known. During one's lifetime one or more nicknames may be imposed on a person. One may inherit his family name and later modify it or couple it with a second name or abandon the old for an entirely new one. The new name may be a name used by others as a nickname.

B. — *Peoples' Names*. — In the case of groups of people or peoples, similar experiences are observed. Some communities or peoples have several names, according to the neighboring peoples who often are the name givers and usually coin nicknames for them. The Gypsies are known under various names: Ital. *Tsingani* (German *Zigeuner*), Greek Ἀτσιγγανοί, Greek Αἰγύπτιοι and mod. Gr. Γύφτοι, Engl. *Gypsies* (all three 'Egyptians' as having come from Egypt), mod. Gr. Κατσιβελοί, French *bohémien*, Old Spanish *Aegypsiano*, Span. and Portuguese *Gitano*, etc. The semi-nomadic populations in the Balkans known in their own Romance dialect as *Armân* (= Lat. *Romani*) are called Βλάχοι and Κουτσόβλαχοι by the Greeks, *Tsintsari* by the South Slavs, *Gogă* by the Albanians, *Çoban* by the Turks.¹ A classical example is the name for the *Deutsche*: *Nēmīci* Slavic 'the speechless' ones = (1) foreigners, and especially (2) Germans, *Allemands* for the French, *Germans* for the English speaking peoples and similarly for others. This is exactly the case with the ancients; e. g. Ἕλληνες was the name for the Greeks but they were called *Graeci* by the Romans. But even in the very language of a people two or more ethnic designations may be in use; e. g., ancient Greek Ἕλληνες, later Γραικοί, Ῥωμαῖοι and so in modern Greek *élines*, *γρεκί*, *romjī* but the latter at different levels and with varying content or connotation (Ἕλληνες official, Ῥωμιοί colloquial, Γραικοί obsolescent).

C. — *Place Names*. — Places may acquire two or more names either in succession or even at approximately the same time. The

¹ Cf. J. Van Coppenolle, "A la Memoire de Theodor Capidan, Les Macédo-roumains, Ethnographie, Histoire, Langue," *Orbis* 7 (1958) 265.

givers of such place names are several: either people of the same language but of chronologically different stages or people of different speech who happened to live on or near the place at each time.

An example of the latter class is the number of names applied to one and the same watercourse which passes through the lands of different peoples. Those who dwell near one stretch of the river may be responsible for the local name of the long river which runs through several countries. This state of affairs even provides the investigator with hints and clues as to the method of interpreting such names, when he is aware of the languages of the peoples dwelling near the banks of such a river. Let me mention the case of the Danube river, which is known in the Balkan east as Ἴστρος, a Thracian designation meaning 'rapid' and connected with such river designations as Celt. *Isarā* = *Isar*, *Isère* (from **isros*: Skt. *iṣirā-*, Gr. *ἱερός* both 'hurrying, rapid, etc.': Gr. *ἱεροὶ ποταμοί*),² and the more widespread name Lat. *Dānuvius*, Old Church Slavic *Dunavъ*, Gothic **Dōnavi* (hence Greek *Δούναβις*), Middle High German *Tuonouwe*, New High German *Donau*, Old Cymrish *Donwy*, Roumanian *Dunăre*. This name seems to be of Celtic origin from a noun **dānu* 'river', which has correspondences in other Indo-European languages: Greek -*δανος* in the river names Ἀπιδανός and Ἐριδανός, Thracian *Sandanus*, Skt. noun *dānu* n., Avestan *dānu-*'river', Osset. *don* 'river'.³

How several names arise for rivers from one original source is shown by the following example. The loan adaptation of the Caddo

² Cf. OHG gloss 3.610 *Ister danobia*. Cf. P. Kretschmer, "Danuvius und das Geschlecht der altindogermanischen Flußnamen," *Mélanges H. Pedersen* (Copenhagen 1937 = *Acta Jutlandica*, IX), p. 83.

³ Cf. M. Förster, "Der Name der Donau," *Zeitschr. f. slav. Philologie* 1 (1924) 1-25, 418; idem, *Der Flußname Themse und seine Sippe* (Munich, 1941 = *SB. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., philos.-hist. Abt.*, Jahrg. 1941, Bd. 1), 141-48, 193-97, 606-08, 846 [Celtic *dānu* 'river']; P. Kretschmer, "Zum Balkan-Skythishen, 1. Der Name der Donau," *Glotta* 24 (1936) 1-11; idem, *Mélanges H. Pedersen* 76-87 [The Celts formed the name with the Celtic suffix *-uuiō-* after having taken over the originally Iranian-Scythian name of the river, i.e. the reconstructed form would have been **Dānuvios* as a name of a river god and for Gallic *Danovia* → Cymr. *Donwy* as a feminine **Dānuwiā*, name of a river goddess. Förster argues against Kretschmer's theory.] Cf. also F. Solmsen, *Indogermanische Eigennamen als Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1922), 44 [on the *Danube*], 49 [on Ἴστρος].

Indian word *kano hatino* 'red river' has given rise to the name *Red River* in the state of Louisiana (U.S.A.) and *Colorado River* in south central Texas (Span. *colorado* standing for 'red'). On the other hand, it has produced the name *Canadian River* or *Canadian Red River* for the river that starts in northern New Mexico and flows across Texas into Oklahoma and, as the *North Canadian River*, joins the Arkansas; it was known as *Canadiano Rio* on a map (1828), and *Rio Canadiano* and *Rio Rojo* 'red river' (both latter names occurring in Spanish land titles). All these 'Canadian' names are also transformations of the same Caddo Indian word *kano hatino* 'red river'.⁴

The term *multiplicity of names* used for a region, a place, a river, etc. may, strictly speaking, be a misnomer because in most cases one and the same group of people generally do not make use of multiple names for a given region, place, etc. at one given time. On the other hand, in a comparative or historical examination of the names of a given region or place or river etc. *name multiplicity* and *multiple names* are actual and valid. For we find that one and the same mountain or river or island etc. may have one name in one language and another in another neighboring language; examination of such multiple names often provides the onomatologist with a handy interpretation of these names, one often being a loan-translation of another, earlier name. In a historical investigation of the names of a given region, place, etc. it is found that in the passing of time a certain name undergoes linguistic changes within the same language that make the name appear as different names in the historical development; or altogether different names are used for the same place unit at various periods of time. The result then is a historical *multiplicity of names*.

Here is involved also method in onomastic research. Whereas dry etymologies of names without consideration of the history of the names concerned are often worthless, conversely the treatment of a class of place names or even of one single name within its class and the simultaneous attempt to build up the history of the names, insofar as this is feasible, is methodologically significant and fruitful in results for the specific language and for general onomastics.

⁴ See T. M. Pearce, "The New Mexico Place-Name Dictionary: A Polyglot in Six Languages," *Names* 6 (1958) 219f.

II. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NAMES OF THE PELOPONNESUS

Whereas the study of names in general is important for onomastics and sheds light on language, history, prehistory, ethnology, folklore, etc., some names are more important for historical and cultural reasons than others.

The inquiry into the names for the Peloponnesus is important in Greek onomatology as such but — more than that — for the prehistory of the peninsula and the ethnological problems involved. Aside from this, since the peninsula has played a continuous role in the history of Greece, ancient, medieval, and modern, other fields, such as archaeology, history, mythology, literature, are interested in its names. For in antiquity the peninsula was the heart of Hellas, remained the main cradle of the Mycenaean (Hellenic pre-classical) civilization, and as a political and cultural force it was later second only to the Athenian; the topographical position of the peninsula assigned to it, as Strabo (8. 1. 334) observed, its hegemony. It played an equally important part during the middle ages and more so when it became the site where the Greeks' desperate fight for liberation from Turkish domination exploded in 1821.

When dealing with ancient place names the problems of the investigation are at times more complex; e. g., if an ancient name has survived in the later, historical periods but then was lost, it has to be located with the aid of historical geography and archaeology; if it has survived, the forms surviving have to be explained within the language or outside it by ascertaining the influence of other languages.

III. THE ANCIENT NAMES OF THE PENINSULA OF THE PELOPONNESUS

In the first part the ancient names for the Peloponnesus are treated as they have been transmitted to us, both earlier or prehistoric names and those recorded in the historical and literary tradition.

A. — THE EARLIEST OR PREHISTORIC NAMES AND ΑΧΑΪΑ-ΑΧΑΙΑ

A general remark concerning prehistoric names is in order here.

The layman (who may be a specialist in another field) usually has too little understanding of the refined linguistic and onomatological method

and their method of treating prehistoric names. His attitude, loaded with suspicion, does not allow him even to try to follow such work. It should be noted however, that this is always the case in other fields as well, e.g. with new discoveries. Work should be carried on by specialists regardless of the adverse attitudes of today's outsiders. It is, however, possible that the attitude of classicists, archaeologists, and historians toward this kind of linguistic-onomatological work is not altogether unjustified.

Prehistoric linguistics (as well as prehistoric archaeology) should be as factual and realistic as possible and not unduly imaginative. The scholar has, when he speculates on the basis of the scanty material at his disposal, to stress that this is sheer speculation and therefore an item subject to refutation, drastic modification, etc. by future study or discoveries.

Combinations, frequently ingenious but too daring, made by linguists and onomatologists in order to find a probable or possible interpretation of such a name must be considered, in most cases, tentative and can, in most cases, be only that. The main reason is that what we actually possess of the largely unknown prehistoric languages called Prehellenic or Pelasgian is a few scraps of evidence, and these not directly transmitted except through other languages such as Greek, i.e. transformed, so that we do not know to what extent their preserved appearance is due to the transmitting language. E.g., Ligurian, Illyrian, Thracian, and Germanic names in Europe were transmitted to us only through Greek and Roman sources, so that we have to take into account the possibility of transformations from the original language to the Greek or Latin languages, though of course the rendering of foreign names in Greek or Latin follows certain patterns as to their terminations.⁵ Thus, the Illyrian river names cannot always be easily separated from the Thracian ones in the East, from the Italic in the Southwest, and from the Celtic in the Northwest.⁶ In general, to reconstruct conditions existing or languages spoken in the third or second millennium B. C. from material drawn from classical Greek sources seems to be an unreliable procedure, if other data do not concur. So, many towns with an *-ss-* or *-nd-* name in Caria and Lycia were founded during the Middle Iron Age (beginning ca. 850 B. C.) or

⁵ Cf. J. Melich, "Über slavische Flussnamen fremden Ursprungs," *Zeitschr. f. slav. Philol.* 9 (1932) 92f.; P. Kretschmer, *Mélanges H. Pedersen*, p. 83.

⁶ Cf. Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*

well within the classical period and so bear no relation to conditions in the Bronze Age.⁷

If a linguist, therefore, takes the attitude that there are no unaccountable factors in the transmission and "explains" a Prehellenic name as if the unknown language were a historical language, he uses a misleading method and may only deceive himself and his audience. Such an operation is based on an easy but faulty assumption that the few relics of names are all explicable, contrary to the obvious fact that the reconstructed prehistoric languages are 99.99 % unknown to us and, therefore, the material preserved of them, assigned to them, and handled by the investigator may not pertain to them or may have undergone changes unknown to us or may be inexplicable by any of the methods applicable. An old text like the Homeric epics has been studied for more than a century now as to its dialectal mixture and yet no solution has been found yet; how can one be positive about earlier situations with no clearcut data?

In addition, many of the linguists working with prehistoric languages have no training in work with contemporary languages, in which alone the linguist may learn extreme caution; even spoken languages of today possess a large percentage of words and names that defy satisfactory explanation. What safe ground is there for assuming that every scrap of names of unknown prehistoric languages is explicable? Or what, in the final analysis, would our knowledge gain from mere speculative theorizing and slippery combinations of scanty material such as an ingenious setup of correspondences of sounds, mutations, ablaut varieties, asterisked forms etc., within the very limited vocabulary material at our disposal, that may figure attractively on paper but will lie unconfirmed forever? The sheer lack of data, unsurmountable as it is, should always be kept in mind as being a limitation in prehistoric linguistic and onomastic research and should create reasonable caution and a forthright admission that some names defy explanation; that is also part of our knowledge. Explaining too much and oversimplifying unknown complex prehistoric conditions, as if there were no lacunae in our meagre data, which means proving too little or nothing and going in a wrong direction.

The early names recorded for the peninsula south of the Corinthian gulf are Ἀπία, Πελασγία, and Ἄργος, and one which is of

⁷ James Mellaart, "The End of the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Aegean," *American Journal of Archaeology* 62 (1958) 22 with note 148.

the post-classical but pre-Christian period, Ἀχαΐα. The question arises whether these names were real, used by the people of the ancient times, or whether they were coined by literary creators and were so used by other authors continuing the literary traditions. Confirming evidence for the general use of such early names can be gained from inscriptional records. The problem may not be solved summarily but the usage of each name is to be discussed on its own merits. From what can be said after the careful examination of the facts the following seems to me probable.

The name Ἀπία is a literary name for the peninsula, perhaps never used by the people when speaking of the peninsula.

The term Πελοσγία has such wider and narrower applications that it seems unlikely that it was used for the Peloponnesus by the people; despite the testimony of the historian Ephorus it seems to have been also a literary usage.

Ἄργος, a name of plains near the sea, was the name of the Peloponnesian city of Argos and later — so in Homer — also that of the Peloponnesus (also Ἄργος Πελοσγικόν and Ἀχαϊκόν Ἄργος).

The designation Ἀχαΐα for the Peloponnesus, first in the historians Polybius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is like Ἄργος a case of a name of a restricted area which comes to embrace and designate the whole region, in this instance the peninsula.

ΑΠΙΑ

The name Ἀπία [*a'p'ia*] f. (with ἄπ-) was in use mainly in poetry from the Iliad to the tragedians and later⁸ and designated the Peloponnesus, but it seems that originally it designated Argolis or

⁸ Aeschyl. *Suppl.* 275 χώρας Ἀπίας, 777; *Agam.* 256 Ἀπίας γαίτας which the editor E. Fraenkel renders 'of the land of Apia = of the land of Argos'; Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1303 γῆς . . . Ἀπίας 'of the Peloponnesus' (while 1685 ἄπιος for ἄπιος 'far off, distant'); Apollod. 2.1.4; Rhianus ep. [3rd cent. B. C.], fr. 13 (ed. J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* [Oxford, 1925], p. 9; cf. Steph. Byz. s. Ἀπία) τοῦ δὲ κλυτὸς ἐκγένετ' Ἀπις|ῶς β' Ἀπτήν ἐφάτιξε καὶ ἀνέρας Ἀπιδανῆας (cf. Apoll. Rhod. 4.263) (he writes Ἀπτήν with ἄπ- for 'Peloponnesus' by adopting Homeric ἀπτή 'distant', while in the preceding line he uses the name Ἀπις with ἄπ-). Strabo 8.371 (Ἀπία = Ἄργος = Πελοπόννησος; Steph. Byz. s. Ἀπία follows Strabo); Athen. 14.650 B; Pliny *N.H.* 4.4.5 (*Apia*); Pausan. 2.5.5; Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 51; Schol. Thuc. 1.9; Steph. Byz. s. Ἀπία; *Etym. Magn.* 122.10; Eustath. *Comment. ad Dion. Perieg.* 414, 415.— Cf. *Liddell-Scott-Jones, Greek-English Lexicon*⁹ 189 (ἄπιος B); Hirschfeld, art. "Apia", *RE* 2 (1894) 2801.

Argos.⁹ The ethnicon Ἀπειύς 'Peloponnesian' is transmitted late.¹⁰ The name Ἀπίς 'Peloponnesus' occurs in Theocr. 25.183 (ed. A. Gow) κατ' Ἀπίδα 'in the Apian land' (instead of the previously accented κατ' Ἀπίδα), in Apoll. Rhod. 4.1564 (as a variant), Eratosthenes in his *Hermes*, fr. 5 (ed. Powell, p. 58), Nic. fr. 104. Ἀπίς is a late formation in -ίς like Ἀχαιίς to Ἀχαιοί.¹¹

C. G. Heyne¹² had maintained that the name Ἀπία was originally and solely a poetic one. When Philipp Buttmann argues that Heyne's view is incompatible with the explicit testimonies of geographers and grammarians, we should not forget that ancient geographers and grammarians are indeed witnesses too late to bear testimony on literary matters that go back many centuries before them. And, while Buttmann is, to be sure, correct in asserting that the poetic names and especially all the most ancient names which poetry has preserved for us are very old, yet he cautiously adds in a note that he means those names which occur as real names in poets;¹³ this limitation is important indeed. Is then Ἀπία a real name and not just poetic? Ἀπία or Ἀπία χώρα, Ἀπία γαῖα, Ἀπία γῆ (also Ἀπία βοῦνις; cf. Ἀργεῖα χθών etc.) is 'Argolis' and 'Argos' or 'Peloponnesus', so also Ἀπίη γαίη 'Pylos', Ἀπίς 'Peloponnesus', Ἀπιδανῆες are 'Arcadians' or 'Peloponnesians'. Our ignorance about the approximate time when these names were used and the wavering in their application demonstrates their mythological existence in poetry but not their real existence.

Let us see what later commentators write about this matter. According to Stephanus of Byzantium Ἀπία was the name of the peninsula during the time of Ἀπίζ, while its subsequent names were Πελασγία, Ἀργος, and Πελοπόννησος in that order.¹⁴ To the

⁹ Ἀπία is the Argolis in Aesch. *Agam.* 256 (see preceding note); Aesch. *Suppl.* 260 χώρας Ἀπίας πέδον (cf. *Suppl.* 116 Ἀπία βοῦνις; 269 Ἀργεῖα χθονί).

¹⁰ Steph. Byz. s. Ἀπία . . τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀπειύς δηλῶν [scr. δηλοῦν] τὸν Πελοποννήσιον (ed. W. Dindorf, 1.67).

¹¹ F. Sommer, *Akhijavā—Frage und Sprachwissenschaft* 28; E. Locker, "Die Bildung der griechischen Kurz- und Kosenamen," *Glotta* 22 (1934) 71. ¹² On *Iliad* 1.270.

¹³ Philipp Buttmann, *Lexilogus oder Beiträge zur griechischen Wort-Erklärung, hauptsächlich für Homer und Hesiod* (Berlin, 1865), 1^a.63 and note 4.

¹⁴ Steph. Byz. cum annotationibus (ed. W. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1825, 1.344) Πελοπόννησος τρεῖς ἐπωνυμίας: ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Ἀπεως τοῦ Φορωνέως ἐκαλεῖτο Ἀπία, ἐπὶ δὲ Πελασγοῦ Πελασγία, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀργου ὀμωνύμως Ἀργος ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Πελοπιδῶν Πελοπόννησος. κτλ.

Etymologus the names of the peninsula were Αἰγιάλεια named after the mythical personage Αἰγιάλεος and ἼΑπια from the mythical ἼΑπις.¹⁵ So also Eustathius and a Scholiast to Dionysius Periegeta.¹⁶

It was probably the tragic poets who, on the ground of the leading position of the city-state of Argos within the peninsula, ascribed the name ἼΑπια to the entire peninsula. Later authors (such as Pausanias 2.5.5) took over the story of the name.

About the origin of the name ἼΑπια we cannot be absolutely certain, yet the question has reached a satisfactory solution.

The attempts of the ancients were helpful but in a negative sense. We have to forget the suggestion of Athen. 14.63 and 65c deriving ἼΑπια from the appellative noun ἄπιος f. 'pear tree' presumably because this tree was found in abundance in the peninsula or rather in the Argolis; both quantity of the initial vowel and termination are different in the two words.

But Aeschylus Suppl. 163 f. was the first to tell us that ἼΑπια 'Argos' is from ἼΑπις, the name of the mythical king of Argos, a son of Apollo and an iatromantis, who came to Argos from Naupectia.¹⁷ If this is correct, the question still remains how to explain the name ἼΑπις and the only result is that the problem stays in the vague realm of mythology.

The possibility of explaining ἼΑπια from ἀπία γᾶ 'distant land' (ἀπίη γαίη Od. 7.25, 16.18; but Il. 1.270, 3.49 referring to the Peloponnesus), i. e. from the adj. ἄπιος (from the adverb ἀπό, ἄπο; cf. ἀντίος from the adverb ἀντί) is excluded for two compelling reasons: (1) the objection from prosody that ἀπία derived from the

¹⁵ *Etym. magnun* 122.10ff. ἼΑπια: Ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης. Ἀπό τῆς Πελοποννήσου. Τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο Αἰγιάλεια ἀπὸ Αἰγιάλεως, τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰνάχου, τοῦ ἐν Ἄργει ποταμοῦ, καὶ Μελείης τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ. Ὑστερον δὲ πάλιν ἼΑπια ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ ἼΑπιδος τοῦ Φορωνέως παιδός. . . Ἡ γὰρ πόλις ἐστὶν ἡ Ἑλλάς· ἡ δὲ χώρα ἼΑπια κτλ.

¹⁶ Eustathius, *Comment. ad Dionys. Perieg.* 1.414 (ed. G. Bernhardt, Leipzig, 1828 = *Geographi Graeci minores* 1.173) οἱ δὲ φασιν ὅτι ἼΑπις ὁ Φορωνέως ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου ἐλθὼν ἀπήλλαξε τὴν Πελοπόννησον ὄφρων ὀχλοῦντων καὶ ἔκρησε περὶ Ἀρκადίαν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ Πελοπόννησος ὄλη ἼΑπια ἐκλήθη ποτέ· κτλ. Schol. ad Dion. Perieg. 414 (ed. Bernhardt, p. 350) . . ὅθεν ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἼΑπια τὸ πρὶν ὀνομάζετο καὶ Ἀπιδανῆς οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

¹⁷ Similarly Acusilaus [5th cent. B. C.], *Fragm. der Griech. Histor.* 1.47 (= Tzetzes *Lycophr.* 177); Rhianus *fr.* 13 (ed. Powell); Pausanias 2.5.5 (cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 4.5); Schol. Il. 1.22; Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4.263.

adverb has *ǎp-*, whereas the toponym Ἄπια has *āp-*; the only case with *āp-* in ἀπῖαν γαῖαν Soph. Oed. Col. 1685 (lyr.) can well be explained as caused by the influence of the homonymous ancient name Ἄπια 'Peloponnesus' (whose *ap-* has a long *α*); (2) the semantic obstacle, i. e. ἀπῖα γᾶ 'distant land' applied to the peninsula of the Peloponnesus by the Greeks is too far-fetched to be convincing. Had the concept really been 'distant', it would be necessary for those who advocate this interpretation to explain why the Peloponnesus should have had the name 'the distant one' and possibly offer the other contrasted notion of 'near, close'.

For the interpretation of the names one certainly depends on the available data but it takes not only testing of the reliability of the material but also a far reaching knowledge of the language, its antecedents, and parallel languages.

Two possibilities have been represented by scholars in interpreting Ἄπια 'Argos' and 'Peloponnesus', one that Ἄπια was derived from Ἄπις, the name of the mythical king (and this fits with the fact that Ἄπια originally designated Argos), and the other that Ἄπις is a secondary formation from Ἄπια. It seems, however, that neither is necessary but that the two names were parallel, deriving from a common source. The lead to this theory was offered by the ancients themselves who were the first to advance the connection of Ἄπια (γαῖα) with the name Ἀπιδανός.

German scholars of the 19th century thought of Ἄπια 'Peloponnesus' as a derivative of *āp-* 'water' (cf. Μεσο-απία, Μεσο-άπιοι, etc.)¹⁸ Then, Paul Kretschmer explained the names more precisely as Illyrian (and Messapic): IE *ǎp-* 'water'.¹⁹ And we are able to compare Skt. *ǎp-* f. 'water' (deriv. *apavant-* 'rich in water'), Avestan *āfš* with accus. *apəm* 'water', etc. and names from various Indo-European languages: Ἄπια 'Argolis'; Peloponnesus', Μεσο-απία,

¹⁸ A. F. Pott, *Etymologische Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen* (Lemgo, 1859-61), 2¹.43 [his comparison of Ἄπια with the medieval name Μορέας 'Peloponnesus', as if the latter were from Slavic *more* 'sea', is erroneous]; Buttman, *Lexilogus* 1.68 [he suggests *ǎp-* 'water' as the ultimate source of the names Ἄπια, Ἄπις, Ἀπιδόνες, etc.]; G. Curtius, *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*⁶ (Leipzig, 1879) 469.

¹⁹ Paul Kretschmer, "Die vorgriechischen Sprach- und Volksschichten," *Glotta* 30 (1943) 163. Cf. P. Kretschmer, "Eridanos," *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie offerts à Jacq. Van Ginneken* (Paris, 1937), p. 210.

Locrian Μεσσο-άπιοι, Illyr. Μεσσο-άπιοι, Illyr. *Āpuli*, the river names Ἄπιδών in Arcadia, Ἄπιδανός in Thessaly (Thessalian Achaia Herodot. 7.129, Ἡπιδανός *ibid.* 7.196), Ἄπιδόνες (Strabo 8.372), Ἄπιδονῆες (Steph. Byz. s. Ἄπια), Ἄπιδανῆες, Thracian Ἄπος in Dacia, Illyr. Ἄψος-*Apsus*, etc.²⁰

The relationship of Ἄπια with Ἄπιδών name of an Arcadian river, Ἄπιδόνες 'Arcadians', 'Argives', and 'Peloponnesians', Ἄπιδανός name of a tributary of the Peneios in Thessaly (also Ἡπιδανός in Herodotus) and of a river in the Troad, Ἄπιδανή 'Peloponnesian' as by-name of Laïs (Bergk 2.96), Ἄπιδανῆες 'Arcadians' and 'Peloponnesians' (Apoll. Rhod. 4.203; Rhianus fr. 13; Callim. Hy. 1.14; Nonnus 13.294) is not clear yet. We may assume that Ἄπις-Ἄπιδος gave rise to Ἄπιδών, Ἄπιδανός; Ἄπιδανεύς-ῆες would be a derivative of Ἄπιδανός.

The name Ἄπις of the mythical king of Argos²¹ certainly is not the same name as Ἄπις (Egyptian *Hape*), name of a bull worshipped in Egypt (Herodot. 2.153, etc.).²² It is not connected with ἦπιος.^{22a} As said above, it is a derivative of Indo-European ap- 'water'.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΙΑ

The name Πελασγία [*pelasgia*] is used, to be sure, to designate the whole of ancient Greece²³ and Argos,²⁴ which was called also

²⁰ Cf. now Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern, 1948-59) 1.51.

²¹ W. H. Roscher, art. "Apis (Ἄπις) 2", Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* 1¹ (Leipzig, 1884-86) 421 f. (the explanation of the name Ἄπις from Ἄπια in col. 422); Wernicke, art. "Apis 6," *RE* 2 (1894) 2809 f.

²² Concerning the Egyptian *h*- lost in Greek Ἄπις cf. P. Wahrmann, *Glotta* 17 (1929) 237, who discusses a study of Kurt Sethe.

^{22a} G. Hermann in E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos* (Gotha, 1851-52) 1.108 note 6; cf. J. Vürtheim, *Aischylos Schutzfliehende* (Amsterdam, 1928) 59 ["weniger zweifelhaft ist vielleicht die etymologische Verbindung von Ἄπις (ἰατρόμαντις) mit ἦπιος: ein Sjamanenname!"] and 175 [comment on line 270: "Der Eponymos der Ἀπίη γῆ wurde wohl zum ἰατρόμαντις wegen der Etymologie ἄπις: ἦπιος". Disapproved by P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 19 (1931) 176 ["Die lautlichen Schwierigkeiten werden, wie so oft von Philologen, nicht gewürdigt"].

²³ Πελασγίη 'Greece' Herodot. 2.56 and Πελασγοί 'Greeks' Eurip. *Orest.* 857 and Πελασγιῶται 'Greeks' Eurip. *fr.* 228.7.

²⁴ Aesch. *Prom.* 861; Eurip. *Iph. Aul.* 1498; *Orest.* 960.

Ἄργος Πελασγικόν, etc.,²⁵ as well as Arcadia,²⁶ Lesbos,²⁷ the city Larisa Kremaste in Phthiotis,²⁸ and the whole of Thessaly.²⁹ But we do have explicit information of the historian Ephorus [4th cent. B. C.] that Πελασγία was the name of the Peloponnesus.³⁰ The history of the name, however, had ended before Ephorus' time.

As to its origin, it is obvious that Πελασγία was 'the land of the Pelasgians', the land of the Πελασγοί.³¹ The toponym is an adjectival formation in -ία for Πελασγία γῆ. The name Πελασγοί meaning originally 'people living in a flat land, inhabitants of a plain' derives from *πελασγοί: πέλαγος neut. 'flat land, plain' with a parallel in mod. Greek καμπήσιοι 'inhabitants of a plain' (versus βουνήσιοι 'inhabitants of a mountainous area, hillfolk'). This latter corroborates Kretschmer's viewpoint of πελασγοί as an appellative noun before it became a proper name Πελασγοί.³² The latter, a local name, came to be a general term in the same way as Ἄργεῖοι 'Argives', Ἀχαιοί 'Achaeans', and Ἕλληνες, all for 'Hellenes, Greeks'.³³

Our Πελασγία, however, does not seem to have been a regular name for the peninsula but it was probably used with regard to the provenience of its population. We may reason that a name applied to so many other places including islands could hardly remain for long as the designation of one specific region such as the penin-

²⁵ Ἄργος Πελασγικόν II. 2.681, Eurip. Orest. 1601; Phoeniss. 264; Πελασγὸν Ἄργος Eurip. Orest. 691, 1302; Πελασγὸν ἔδος Ἄργείων Eurip. Orest. 1247.

²⁶ Pausan. 8.1.2; 8.2.1.

²⁷ Diodor. Sic. 5.81.

²⁸ Strabo 9.435 and 440; Steph. Byz. s. Λάρισα. Larisa Kremaste = modern Γαρδίκι

²⁹ Schol. II. 2.681; cf. Strabo 7.7, p. 329.

³⁰ Ephorus of Cyme fr. 113 (Fragmente der griech. Historiker, ed. F. Jacoby, 2.71) ἀπὸ τὴν Πελοπόννησον δὲ Πελασγίαν φησὶν Ἐφορος κληθῆναι (= Strabo 5.2.4). Cf. Steph. Byz. s. Πελοπόννησος: τρεῖς ἔσχεν ἑπωνυμίας . . . ἐπὶ δὲ Πελασγοῦ Πελασγία κτλ. (ed. A. Meineke, Berlin 1849, 1.516). However, the same Steph. Byz. in the article Πελασγία says that this name is the one for the land of Argos: Πελασγία, ἡ γῶρα τοῦ Ἄργους καὶ ἡ γυνή . . . Πελασγός. καὶ Πελασγιώτης ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγία. κτλ. (*ibid.* 514). Cf. also Pliny, *N.H.* 4.4; Schol. Apoll. Rh. 1.1024; Tzetzes *Lycophr.* 156.

³¹ On the Πελασγοί F. Schachermeyr, Art. "Pelasgoi," *RE* 37 (1937) 253; P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 1 (1909) 16f.; 2 (1910) 343; 22 (1934) 256. Cf. J. Pokorny, *op. cit.* (note 20) 1.832. A recent brief discussion is found in M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge, 1956) 5f.

³² Kretschmer, *Glotta* 2.343.

³³ Cf. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 1.16f.; A. Debrunner, art. "Griechen," in M. Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* 4,² (1926) 518b; Schachermeyr, *loc. cit.*

sula of the Peloponnesus; indeed, as far as we know, no place in Greece has kept its name Πελασγία through the Greek tradition. On the other hand, it cannot be proved that the name Πελασγία is, as Stählin believes,³⁴ a mythical one.

ΑΡΓΟΣ

The name "Ἄργος (neut.) [*árgos*] of several cities, e. g. in Thessaly and Acarnania, is also that of the well-known city in the Argolis in the Peloponnesus (first occurrences in Homer³⁵) and Ἄργεῖοι are the Argives (Iliad). It is interesting to note that in Homer the name τὸ Ἄργος has three place identifications: (1) Argos, the dominion of Agamemnon, (2) the Peloponnesus, and (3) Greece; and parallel the ethnicon for (1) Argive, (2) Peloponnesian, and (3) Greek.³⁶ Strabo is explicit about the Homeric usage of "Ἄργος 'Peloponnesus', so also Aristarchus, the Scholiasts, and lexicographers.³⁷

In contrast to "Ἄργος Ἀμφιλοχικόν in Ambracia and "Ἄργος Ὀρεστικόν in Epirus stands Ἀχαιῶν Ἄργος 'Achaean Argos'³⁸ as

³⁴ F. Stählin, art. "Pelasgia 2," *RE* 37 (1937) 251.

³⁵ *Il.* 2.108; 6.152; 9.141; 283; *Od.* 3.262.

³⁶ Cf. Hirschfeld, art. "Argos," *RE* 2¹ (1896) 787f.; A. Della Seta, "Achaioi, Argeioi, Danaoi nei poemi Omerici," *Rendic. Accad. dei Lincei* 16 (1907) 133ff.; cf. P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 1 (1909) 383.- Strabo 8.6.5. (ed. H. L. Jones, Loeb, 4.155f.) concludes from the Homeric Ἄργος Ἀχαιῶν (*Il.* 9.141) that the poet signifies here that under a different designation the Peloponnesians were also called Achaeans in a special sense (σημαίνων ἐνταῦθα, ὅτι καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἰδίως ὀνομάζοντο οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι κατ' ἑλλην σημασίαν).

³⁷ Strabo 8.6.5 καὶ γὰρ ἡ πόλις Ἄργος λέγεται Ἄργος τε Σπάρτη τε· οἱ δ' Ἄργος τ' εἶχον Τίρυνθά τε. καὶ ἡ Πελοπόννησος, ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἐν Ἀργεῖ [*Il.* 1.30]. οὐ γὰρ ἡ πόλις γε ἦν οἴκος αὐτοῦ (i.e. of Agamemnon)· καὶ ὅλη ἡ Ἑλλάς. κτλ. 8.6.9 ὅτι δ' Ἄργος τὴν Πελοπόννησον [sc. Ὀμηρος] λέγει, προσλαβεῖν ἔστι καὶ τάδε, Ἀργεῖ δ' Ἑλένη [*Od.* 4.296] καὶ ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη μυχῶ Ἄργεος ἱπποβότου [*Il.* 6.152] καὶ μέσον Ἄργος [*Od.* 1.344] καὶ πολλῆσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν [*Il.* 2.108]. So also Strabo 8.5.5 τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἐκ πολλῶν ἤδη χρόνων Ἄργος λεγομένην κτλ. Also Aristarchus in Schol. *Il.* 4.171 Ἄργος ὅλην τὴν Πελοπόννησον λέγει, οὐ τὴν πόλιν; Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 2.445 ἡ πᾶσα Πελοπόννησος Ἄργος καλεῖται ὁμωνύμως τῇ πόλει. Ὀμηρος οὖν τὴν Ἑλένην Ἀργεῖαν φησὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν Λακεδαιμονίαν. Ἀργεῖαν δὲ εἶπεν ἀντὶ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακῆν. Cf. Hesych. Ἄργος· Πελοπόννησος (*Il.* 2.108) Ἀργεῖη· Πελοποννησία (*Od.* 4.184); *Etym. magnum* 136.5-7 (ed. T. Gaisford, Oxford, 1848) Ἄργος· Σημαίνει δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Πελοποννήσου, Πολλῆσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν. Among the modern historians Niebuhr (*Alte Geschichte* 1.242) and others noted the application of Ἄργος 'Greece.'

³⁸ Ἄργος Ἀχαιῶν *Il.* 9.141; Ἀχαιῶν Ἄργος *Od.* 3.251; Dionys. Halic. *A.R.* 1.17.2 is the city of Argos.

the designation for the Peloponnesus;³⁹ also "Ἄργος Πελασγικὸν (and poetic Πελασγὸν "Ἄργος, Πελασγὸν ἔδος Ἄργείων)⁴⁰ is 'Peloponnesus', though Πελασγικὸν "Ἄργος is used also for 'Thessaly' or for a part of Thessaly or for a vanished Thessalian city.⁴¹ The Homeric "Ἰασσον "Ἄργος 'Iasian Argos', being equivalent to 'Peloponnesus', had no continuous existence.

Since the appellative noun ἄργος neut., not found recorded, but assumed to have existed, meant 'plain' according to Strabo 8.6.9⁴² and 'a plain near the sea'⁴³, the explanation of the place name "Ἄργος neut. from the same noun is probable⁴⁴ but the latter's further analysis is a matter of speculation. The older view that ἄργος neut. may derive from the adj. ἀργός 'light, gleaming', unsatisfactory as it is semantically, is yet preferable to a novel interpretation.⁴⁵ It may be pointed out here that the adj. ἀργός has a genitive ἀργέος (from *ἀργέσ-ος) in Nicander, (twice: Ther. 856, Alex. 305; cf. LSJ 2053); this and adj. ἀργεννός (from *ἀργεσ-νός) derive from the stem ἀργεσ-(:*ἄργος). The recent etymologist Frisk⁴⁶ cautiously stamps the name as unexplained.

ΑΧΑΪΑ

The ancient name Ἄχαΐα [*akhaia*] has ten or more applications in the Greek historical tradition,⁴⁷ four of them being the following:

³⁹ According to the information of Strabo 8.5.5 who adds that the same name means also 'Laconia'. Cf. Eustathius, *Comment. ad Dionys. Perieg.* 419 (ed. Bernhardt, 1.175). ⁴⁰ Cf. above on Πελασγία. ⁴¹ Cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* 789, No. 3.

⁴² Cf. Dionys. Epic. ap. Steph. Byz. s. Δώτιον; Callim. *Fr.* 45.

⁴³ Eustathius, *Comment. ad Dionys. Perieg.* 419 (ed. Bernhardt, 1.175).

⁴⁴ The name of the giant, ὁ Ἄργος, was also explained from the neuter place name τὸ Ἄργος by P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 13 (1924) 103.— The alleged connection of Ἄργος with Πελαργοί (= Πελασγοί) along with all names such as *Apis, Apia, Opes, Opici, Oscii, -asgi, Ausones, Aones*, suffix *-ops* (in *Dolops, Dryops, Kekrops, Merops, Pelops*), suggested a century ago by Philipp Buttmann (*Lexilogus* 14.64 note 1), should be left out of any serious consideration.

⁴⁵ The noun ἄργος 'fortress' would be from Pelasgian **arg-* ← Indo-European *areq-* 'enfermer, écarter' (Greek ἀρκέω, Lat. *arceo*, Armen. *argel*, etc.); so A. J. van Windekens, "Notes pélasgiques. 3. Le sens du toponyme "Ἄργος", *L'Antiquité Classique* 19 (1949) 400f.; idem, *Le Pélasgique* (Louvain, 1952), 18 and 144. There is, however, no indication that a noun ἄργος with the meaning 'fortress' ever existed and the stem of the noun should be **arges-:argos*

⁴⁶ H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1954—), p.132.

⁴⁷ On these applications of the name see *RE* 1 (1894) s. *Achaia*; W. Pape and F. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³ (Braunschweig, 1884) s. Ἄχαΐα; etc.

- (1) Achaia proper, the dodecapolis;
- (2) the north coast region of the peninsula between Sicyon and Elis;
- (3) the entire peninsula of the Peloponnesus; and
- (4) Ἀχαΐα and Latin *Achaia*, the Roman *provincia Achaia*, including the Peloponnesus and mainland Greece.

While Homeric Ἀχαΐα meant also 'Greece' in general in both the Iliad (1.254; 7.124) and the Odyssey (11.166, 481; 13.249; 23.68), the name Ἀχαιὺς γαῖα (Od. 21.107 κατ' Ἀχαιίδα γαῖαν) seems to stand for the Peloponnesus.

Ἀχαΐα⁴⁸ designating the Peloponnesus occurs first in Polybius (2nd cent. B. C.),⁴⁹ then in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1st cent. B. C.),⁵⁰ and in Cassius Dio (2nd/3rd cent. A. D.).⁵¹ This means that the regional name Ἀχαΐα for the northern part of the peninsula (i. e. the north coast between Elis and Sicyon) was extended to cover the entire Peloponnesus. The onomastic principle of the widening of a name's content is well-known. The explanation for this particular instance is, in my opinion, this: Since during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C. the Achaean confederacy⁵² became the

⁴⁸ Ἀχαΐα is in late Greek a quadrisyllabic word and not trisyllabic, as many scholars indicate in the spelling Ἀχαΐα. Thus, P. Kretschmer (*Glotta* 33 [1954] 7) is for the form without the diaeresis sign. Ernst Curtius (*Peloponnesos*, Gotha, 1851–52, 1.419 note 1) noted correctly: "Ἡ Ἀχαΐα (niemals dreisilbig)". Modern Greek is our best guide for late Greek: it is pronounced *axaía* today, not *axéa*.

⁴⁹ I say in Polybius for, since Ἀχαιοί = Πελοποννήσιοι, we have to conclude also that Ἀχαΐα = Πελοπόννησος. Polyb. 2.38 Πρῶτον δὲ πῶς ἐπεκράτησε καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὄνομα κατὰ πάντων Πελοποννησίων οὐκ ἄχρηστον μαθεῖν.

⁵⁰ Dionys. Halic., *A.R.* 1.25 (ed. C. Jacoby, 1.40) καὶ πᾶσάῃπροσεσπέριος Ἰταλία τὰς κατὰ τὸ ἔθνος ὀνομασίας ἀφαιρεθεῖσα [καὶ] τὴν ἐπικλησιν ἐκείνην ἐλάμβανεν, ὥσπερ <καὶ> τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄλλη τε πολλαχῆ καὶ περὶ τὴν καλουμένην νῦν Πελοπόννησον ἐγένετο ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐνὸς τῶν οἰκούντων ἐν αὐτῇ ἔθνῶν, τοῦ Ἀχαιικοῦ καὶ ἡ σύμπασα χερρόνησος [i. e. Πελοπόννησος] . . . Ἀχαΐα ὀνομάσθη.

⁵¹ Cassius Dio, *H.R.* 48.36.5 (ed. F. Boissovain, 2.274) ἀλλ' ἐγράφη γε . . . αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Σέξτον ὑπατὸν τε αἰρεθῆναι καὶ οἰωνιστὴν ἀποδειχθῆναι, ἕκ τε τῆς οὐσίας τῆς πατρῴας χιλίας καὶ ἑπτακοσίας καὶ πενήκοντα μυριάδας δραχμῶν κομίσασθαι, καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Σαρδοῦς τῆς τε Ἀχαΐας ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη ἄρξαι κτλ. In this passage Ἀχαΐα signifies 'Peloponnesus', for the earlier Appian *Ἐμφυλίων* 5.72 has Πελοπόννησος instead of Ἀχαΐα. Cf. C. Paparrigopoulos, "Ῥωμαίων πολίτευμα πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα" [publ. first in 1846], in his *Ἱστορικαὶ πραγματεῖαι* (Athens, 1858) 205.

⁵² The names of the Achaean confederacy in Pausanias are τὸ Ἀχαιικόν, Ἀχαιικὸν συνέδριον, συνέδριον τὸ Ἀχαιῶν, σύλλογος ὁ Ἀχαιῶν, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.

chief power in Greece, eventually including nearly all of the Peloponnesus and part of central Greece, the name Ἀχαΐα naturally widened its coverage. Especially when Achaëa became an ally of Rome (198 B. C.), almost the whole Peloponnesus was incorporated into the Achaean confederacy.⁵³ Correspondingly, the inhabitant name Ἀχαιοί for 'Peloponnesians' is found,⁵⁴ especially from Caligula's time (first half of the 1st cent. A. D.)⁵⁵ on, but not generally.⁵⁶

When the Romans, after the conquest of 146 B. C., made the *Achaia provincia* out of central Greece, the designation *Achaia* was used, before the Empire, either for the N. Peloponnesian region called Ἀχαΐα in Greek or for the whole peninsula of the Peloponnesus.⁵⁷ At the end of the Roman republic (27 B. C.), *Achaia* was made by Augustus a senatorial province. Ἀχαΐα (*Achaia*) designated, during the early (2nd to early 6th) centuries A. D., 'Greece', including the Peloponnesus, Sterea Hellas, Euboea, Thessaly, Acarnania.⁵⁸

⁵³ Cf. C. Paparrigopoulos, *History of the Greek Nation* (Athens, 1925), 2.1.297 [in Greek]; J. A. O. Larsen, art. "Achaean League," *Oxford Class. Dict.* (1949), p. 2f.; idem, *Representative government in Greek and Roman history* (Berkeley, 1955 = *Sather Class. Lectures*, 28) 94.

⁵⁴ Polyb., *loc. cit.* (note 49).

⁵⁵ C. Keil, *Sylloge inscriptionum Boeoticarum* (Leipzig, 1847) 120.

⁵⁶ It should be noted that Pausanias uses the terms Ἀχαΐα for Achaia, Ἀχαιοί 'Achaëans', Ἀχαϊκός 'Achaëan', etc. only, never for 'Peloponnesus', 'Peloponnesians', 'Peloponnesian' respectively.

⁵⁷ Paparrigopoulos, Ἱστορικαὶ πραγματεῖαι 202, offers this interpretation of *Achaia* in Caesar, *De bello civ.* 3.4; Cicero, *In L. Calpurnium Pisoem oratio* 37.

⁵⁸ Strabo 17.3.25; Pausanias, *Achaica* 16.5-7 (his explanation, however, that the Roman proconsul is called ἡγεμὼν Ἀχαΐας, not Ἐλλάδος, by the Romans because, he says, they subjugated the Greeks through the Ἀχαιοί who were leading the Greeks, is superficial); Cassius Dio, H.R. 60.24.1 Τὴν τε Ἀχαΐαν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν αἰρετοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐξ οὐπερ ὁ Τιβέριος ἤρξε, διδομένας ἀπέδωκεν ὁ Κλαύδιος τότε τῷ κλήρῳ. Dio uses also Ἐλλάς instead of Ἀχαΐα in 53.12.4; 63.8.2; 63.11.4; etc.

For H. Dessau (*Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit* 2.2.564 note 1), J. Larsen (*Economic Survey* 4.438 note 1), U. Kahrstedt ("Die Territorien von Patrai und Nikopolis in der Kaiserzeit," *Historia* 1 [1950] 558), and Brandis (*RE* 1.194) Strabo's passage (17.3.25 Ἀχαΐαν μέχρι Θεσσαλίας καὶ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Ἀκαρνανῶν καὶ τινῶν Ἠπειρωτικῶν ἐθνῶν ὅσα τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ προσώριστο) means to tell us that Aetolia, Acarnania, and Thessaly pertained to the province of Achaëa; Brandis emends the passage, by inserting three words which he presumes to have been lost, to read: καὶ Ἀκαρνανῶν καὶ < Ἠπειροῦ ἔξω δέ > τινῶν Ἠπειρωτικῶν ἐθνῶν. On the other side, Th. Mommsen (*Römische Geschichte* 5.233ff.), the commentator of IG 9². 47,

As to the analysis and the origin of the name ἸΑΧΑΪΑ, it is certainly difficult to explain it because, having no Indo-European connections, it may ultimately be of Prehellenic non-Indo-European origin. Despite the long extended and animated controversy, it seems that it was this name that was used by the Hittites in the form *Aḫḫijavā*, which occurs frequently in Hittite records, so that the connection postulated between ἸΑΧΑΪΑ, originally *ἸΑΧΑΙFĀ, and better *ἸΑΧΑΙFĪĀ and *Aḫḫijavā* (its *-ijava* standing for *-aiva* by metathesis, at which analogical influence of the Anatolian geographic name *Arzava* terminating in *-ava* could, according to Kretschmer, have been at work) is established.⁵⁹ Kretschmer's last word on the ἸΑΧΑΪΑ problem was that *Aḫḫijavā* in the Hittite records is the Hittite name of the unearthened settlement of Enkomi in Cyprus⁶⁰ or of the city ἸΑΧΑΪΑ on Rhodes,⁶¹ while ἸΑΧΑΪΑ (= ἸΑΧΑΙFĪΑ) is the name of the north coast of the Peloponnesus.⁶² The interpretation of the name receives new light from Cnossus tablet C 914 in which a word has been read as *a-ka-wi-ja-de* and is sup-

and Toepffer (art. "Achaia 1," *RE* 1.156) interpret the locus to mean 'Greece' to the exclusion of Thessaly, Acarnania, and Aetolia; so did Paparrigopoulos, Ἰστορικαὶ πραγματεῖαι 202 and 208.

Achaia as a Roman province is later recorded for the 4th, 5th, and early 6th centuries of our era. See Ernst Gerland, *Die Genesis der Notitia episcopatumum (Corpus Notitiarum Episcopatumum Ecclesiae Orientalis Graecae, vol. 1)*, p. 41.

⁵⁹ P. Kretschmer, "Die Hypachäer," *Glotta* 21 (1931) 227; idem, "Achäer in Kleinasien zur Hethiterzeit," *Glotta* 33 (1954) 1ff. Cf. the vigorously voiced objections of F. Sommer, *Die Aḫḫijavā-Urkunden, Abhandl. d. Bayer. Akad., phil.-hist. Kl., N.F.*, 6 (1932); idem, *Aḫḫijavā-Frage und Sprachwissenschaft, ibid.*, 1934; idem, "Aḫḫijavā und kein Ende?," *Indogerman. Forschungen* 55 (1937) 169–297; 56 (1958) 38ff. Cf. also F. Schachermeyr, *Hethiter und Achäer* (Leipzig, 1935); E. Forrer, "Kilikien zur Zeit des Hatti-Reiches," *Klio* 30 (1937) 135ff. — On the rather impossible attempt of H. Günther (Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland [Halle, 1923], 73; "Über die Namen Achaier und Hellenen," *Wörter und Sachen* 9 [1926] 130–136), to explain ἸΑΧΑΙFĪΑ as meaning 'companions, comrades, friends' as corresponding to Indo-Iranian **sakhaivo-*, which would be a derivative of Skt. *sákhā-*, Old Pers. *haxā-* 'companion, friend' see P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 15 (1927) 190 and (more openly rejecting it) 17 (1929) 250.

⁶⁰ Claude Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia*, 1 (Paris, 1952) 353. Kretschmer (*Glotta* 33 [1954] 7ff.) lends support for Schaeffer's theory that Enkomi was *Aḫḫijavā* and elaborates in detail.

⁶¹ *IG Rhodi* No. 677, 1.15 τὰς ἐξ ἸΑΧΑΪΑΣ πόλιος; Diodor. 5.57 πόλιν ἸΑΧΑΪΑΝ; *Ergias* ap. Athen. 8.360 ἐν τῇ Ἰαλυσῶνι πόλιν ἔχοντες ἰσχυροτάτην τὴν ἸΑΧΑΪΑΝ καλουμένην.

⁶² Kretschmer, *op. cit.* (note 14).

posed to represent Greek Ἀχαιῶνδε (*akhaiwīānde*), a perfect equivalent (apart from the adverbial suffix *-de*) to Hittite *Aḫḫijavā*. This may be the name of a town in Crete⁶³ (to which belongs the name Ἀχαιοί as used of Cretans in Od. 19.175). As Hittite *Aḫḫijavā* is identified with the Achaeans, wherever the land *Aḫḫijavā* was located, so is the name *Akajwaš(a)* which occurs in Egyptian records (13th century B. C.).⁶⁴ It is expected that future discoveries and study will shed more light on these names.

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⁶³ See Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* 146 and (no. 78) 209.

⁶⁴ Cf. H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (London, 1950), 87 f.; cf. 35, 322 f.; T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London, 1958), p. 9 f., 67.

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ADDENDA

On pp. 70–71. — On the matter of prehistoric names and their etymological examination in conjunction with other, non-linguistic, evidence, cf. R. Pittioni, "Urgeschichtliche Stamm- und Sprachgeschichte," *Zeitschrift f. Mundartforschung*, 21. Jahrg. (1953) 193–197; Ernst Pulgram, *The Tongues of Italy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 181 with note 91.

ΑΠΙΑ (pp. 72–76). — P. 73, note 12: C. G. Heyne, *Homeri carmina cum brevi annotatione* etc. 9 vols. Lipsiae, 1802–1822 [Vols. 4–8: *Variae lectiones et observationes in Iliadem*; vol. 9: *Indices*]. On Π. 1.270 see vol. 1 (1802) 38; 4 (1802) 84 f., 460 [on Ἀπία]. On Ἄργος in Homer etc. see 4.213, 362, 367, 441; 5.584, 590. — P. 75, 76: On Ἄπις, the mythical king, cf. also P. Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine* (Paris, 1951), p. 40 b; C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* (Berlin, 1920), p. 281. — On the name Ἄπις from Egyptian *Hāpe* (p. 76 and note 22) with loss of *h-* in the Greek rendering (*hīb* → ἰβίς, *hbnj* → ἔβενος, etc.) see K. Sethe, "Zur Wiedergabe des ägyptischen *h* am Wortanfang durch die Griechen," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, philol.-hist. Kl.*, 1925 (Berlin, 1926), 51 f. and 55 f.

ΑΧΑΪΑ (pp. 79–83). — The growth and expansion of the Achaean confederacy to embrace the whole Peloponnesus was achieved in 191 B. C., was consolidated after the revolt of Messenia in 183, and lasted till 146 B. C. (Polyb. 2.37.8 and 10), i. e. forty-five years, but with geographical limitations (Polyb. 2.37.11 *σχεδὸν τὴν σύμπασαν Πελοπόννησος*). Cf. F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1957), p. 215, 217 f.