

The Waterway of Hellespont and Bosphorus: the Origin of the Names and Early Greek Haplogy

Dedicated to Henry and Renée Kahane*

DEMETRIUS J. GEORGACAS

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. A few abbreviations are listed:

AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*.

AJP = *American Journal of Philology* (The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md.).

BB = *Bezenbergers Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*.

BNF = *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* (Heidelberg).

CGL = *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, ed. G. Goetz. 7 vols. Lipsiae, 1888–1903.

Chantraine, *Dict. étym.* = P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*.

Histoire des mots. 2 vols: A–K. Paris, 1968, 1970.

Eberts *RLV* = M. Ebert (ed.), *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*. 16 vols. Berlin, 1924–32.

EBr = *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 30 vols. Chicago, 1970.

EEBS = 'Επετηρίς 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών (Athens).

EEΦΣ = 'Επιστημονική 'Επετηρίς Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής

EIsl = *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden and London) 1 (1960) —.

Frisk, *GEW* = H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 2 vols. Heidelberg, 1954 to 1970.

GEL = Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford, 1925–40.

A Supplement, 1968.

GGM = *Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller.

GLM = *Geographi Latini Minores*, ed. A. Riese.

GR = *Geographical Review* (New York).

GZ = *Geographische Zeitschrift* (Berlin).

IF = *Indogermanische Forschungen* (Berlin).

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin).

LB = *Linguistique Balkanique* (Sofia).

* A summary of this paper was read at the meeting of the Linguistic Circle of Manitoba and North Dakota on 24 October 1970. My thanks go to Prof. Edmund Berry of the Univ. of Manitoba for reading a draft of the present study and for stylistic and other suggestions, and to the Editor of *Names*, Dr. Conrad M. Rothrauff, for his remarks upon reading the same; I am also indebted for help to Prof. Edward Bassett, Univ. of Chicago, and Dr. Evangelos Petrounias, Univ. of Calif. at Los Angeles, and for useful pertinent information to Prof. P. Kannowski, Univ. of North Dakota; to Prof. G. G. Arnakis, Univ. of Texas, to Dr. Vasileios Christides, Univ. of Minnesota, to Prof. Dr. Gerhard Rohlfs, Tübingen; and Mr. Nikos Zervis, Kalamata (Greece).

OCD² (1970) = Oxford Classical Dictionary. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970. XXII, 1176 p.

OCT = Oxford Classical Texts.

Pape-Benseler = W. Pape — G. E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³. Braunschweig, 1870, 1911; Graz, 1958.

Pokorny, *IEW* = J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 2 vols. Bern und München, 1959–69.

Proceed. of ICOS = Proceedings of the International Congress of Onomastic Sciences.

RE = Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.

REG = *Revue des études grecques* (Paris).

RhM = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* (Frankfurt a.M.).

RLV = *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*. Berlin, 1924–32.

Roscher, *Lexikon d. Mythol.* = W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. 6 vols. in 9. Leipzig, Berlin, 1884–1937. — See next section on details.

SB = *Sitzungsberichte*.

SIFC = *Studi italiani di filologia classica* (Firenze).

ThGL = *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (Paris).

ThLL = *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Munich).

2. Bibliography

Atlas of the World. Mid-Century Edition. Ed. by John Bartholomew. *Vol. II: Southwest Asia & Russia*. London, Times Publishing Co., 1959. [Plate 37: Turkey East.]

Otfried Becker, "Das Bild des Weges und verwandte Vorstellungen im frühgriechischen Denken," *Hermes Einzelschriften*, H. 4 (Berlin, 1937). 223 pp. [The third chapter ΠΟΠΟΣ, 23–24: an interesting assemblage of the material on πόρος and congeners and synonyms; on Βόσπορος 26, 18f.; on πορθμός and "Ελλης πορθμός, 25.]

Serge von Bubnoff, *Geologie von Europa* (Berlin, 1939), 2, 3, pp. 1472f.

—, *Neue Jahrbücher für Mineralogie, Geologie und Paläontologie* 3 (1938), 1068.

L. Büchner, art. *Hellespontos*, *RE* 8 (1912), 182–188.

Viktor Burr, *Nostrum Mare; Ursprung und Geschichte der Namen des Mittelmeeres und seiner Teilmeere im Altertum*. Stuttgart, 1932 (*Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft*, 4. Heft). [On the Hellespont, the Propontis and the Bosphoros, Thracian and Cimmerian, including the names, pp. 11–37. This item and Ronconi's (below) are indispensable.]

A. Ch. Chatzis, "'Ελλη — 'Ελλάς — 'Ελλην," ΕΕΦΣ of the University of Athens 1 (1935, published in 1937), 128–161. [On 'Ελλάσποντος, p. 135, 140f.; on Δαρδανέλλια, p. 136 with notes 2 and 3; on 'Ελλη, p. 135f., 137 with notes 1–3, 138. The author is unaware of previous important bibliography such as Burr, Ronconi, Becker, etc.]

Ch. M. Danoff, art. *Pontos Euxeinos*, *RE, N.B.*, Suppl.-Band 9 (1962), 866–1175. [§11, 950–955: Die Namen des Pontos Euxeinos und seiner Teile.]

Dimitër Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*. Wien, 1957. (*Österreich. Akad. d. Wiss., philos.-hist. Kl.; Schriften der Balkankommission, Lingu. Abt. XIV*). [On the place-names with *-para*, *-phara*, *-παρον*, *-paro*, *-παρος*, pp. 356f. Cf. J. Puhvel, *Language* 33 (1957), 439–40; A. Heubeck, *BNF* 9 (1958) 118–122; G. Solta, *IF* 46 (1961) 65–78.]

—, *Charakteristik der thrakischen Sprache*. Sofia, 1952. (Public. de l'Acad. Bulgare des Sciences.) A new ed., *LB, Annexe*, 1957.

Dionysius Byzantius, *Anaplys Bospori*, ed. Rud. Güngerich. Berolini, 1927; 2nd ed., 1958.

- Eitrem, art. *Io* (Ἰώ), *RE* 9 (1916), 1732—1743.
- R. Engelmann, art. *Helena*, Roschers *Lexikon d. Myth.*, I² (1886—90), 1968—78.
- , art. *Io*, Roschers *Lexikon d. Myth.*, II¹ (1890—93), 263—280.
- A. Fick, *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas. Eine sprachgeschichtliche Untersuchung*. Göttingen, 1873. [Thracian *-para* is considered to be present also in Βόσπορος.]
- , “Altgriechische Ortsnamen,” *BB* 21 (1896), 268f., 283; 22 (1897), 11, 61, 63, 67, 97 [on Βόσπορος, p. 11]; 23 (1897), 226; 24 (1899), 295 [on Thracian *-para* and Gr. πόρος].
- P. Friedländer, art. *Helle* 2, *RE* 8 (1912), 159—163.
- Vladimir Georgiev, “La toponymie ancienne de la Peninsule Balkanique et la thèse méditerranéenne,” *LB* 3, 1 (1961), 5—62. [II. Région thrace, 9—11; some 41 examples with *-para* and similar; six more are added to these by Georgiev but are rather doubtful.]
- , “Hellespontos and Bosporos,” *LB* 3, 2 (1961), 25—27.
- L. Grasberger, *Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen*. Würzburg, 1888. [On Βόσπορος, p. 95; on this and Πόρος, Πορθμός, etc., p. 211 ff.]
- R. Guiland, “La chaîne de la Corne d’Or,” *EEBS* 25 (1955), 99, 104 [on λιμὴν Βοσπόριος, τὸ Βοσπόριον, also λ. Προσφόριος, Προσφόριον].
- Paul Haupt, “Philological and Archeological Studies,” *AJP* (1924), 238—259. [Under caption 7. *The Hittite Name of Troy*, pp. 252—255, the author speaks of Ἐλλάσποντος and the etymon of Ἐλλα from ἔλος “meadow land,” with no explanation of the λλ. With a reservation, Haupt’s interpretation is accepted by V. Burr, *Nostrum mare* (1932), p. 12 note 5: “vielleicht ist <die neue Deutung von Haupt> richtig.”] I am very much indebted to the Kahanes for their gracious help in locating this item for me as well as to Dr. Athanasios Papadopoulos (London).
- R. Hoernes, “Die Bildung des Bosphorus und der Dardanellen,” *SB d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, mathem.-naturw. Kl., Abt. 1*, vol. 118 (1909), 693—758. [Superseded by the following.]
- , “Das Bosphorusproblem,” *SB d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, mathem.-naturw. Kl., Abt. 1*, vol. 120 (1911), 1087—1111.
- E. B. J., art. *Bosporus Thracius*, W. Smith (ed.), *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* (London, 1878), 422b—424b; idem, art. *Bosporus Cimmerius*, *ibid.* 421b—422b; idem, art. *Hellespontus*, *ibid.* 1038b—1039a.
- Günther Jachmann, “Der Name Hellespont,” *RhM* 70 (1915), 640—644.
- Norbert Jokl, art. *Thraker. B. Sprache*, *Eberts RLV* 13 (1929), 278—298. [On the linguistic matters, 284—296; on *-para*, *-pera* 285b und 289a.]
- Alfred Klotz, “Über die Bedeutung des Namens Hellespont bei den Geographen,” *RhM* 68 (1913), 286—296. Cf. Jachmann.
- P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*. Göttingen, 1896. [Die thrakisch-phrygischen Stämme, 170—243; Stellung der thrakisch-phrygischen Sprache, 217—243. On *-παρος*, *-παρα*, p. 221.] Cf. A. Fick, [review of this book] *BB* 24 (1899), 295.
- , “Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1935. Griechisch,” *Glotta* 27 (1939), 29. [On the names Ἐλλάσποντος and Βόσπορος.]
- Albin Lesky, *Thalatta; der Weg der Griechen zum Meer*. Vienna, 1947.
- , “Hellos-Hellotis, III,” *Wiener Studien* 46 (1927/28) 107—129. [On goddess *Helle* and *Hellespontos*, pp. 127—129.]
- F. Machatschek, *Das Relief der Erde* (Berlin, 1955), 1². 509f. [Die Balkanhalbinsel; das Bosphorusgebiet.]
- L. Malten, “Motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Sagenforschung III. Hero und Leander,” *RhM, N.F.*, 93 (1949/50), 65—81. [On Bosporos and Hellespont, 71 ff.; Ἐλλα and Φωσφόρος, 79; etc.; also bibliography is listed on p. 71 note 23.]

- A. M. Mansel, art. *Hellespontos*, *Der Kleine Pauly* 2 (1967), 1010–1012.
- A. Merz, "Die Strömungen des Bosphorus," *Bibliothek Geographischer Handbücher, N.F., Festband Albrecht Penck* (Stuttgart, 1928), pp. 277–295.
- , "Die Strömungen von Bosphorus und Dardanellen," *Verhandlungen des 20. Deutschen Geographischen Tages Juni 1921*, pp. 106–112. [These two items by A. Merz are superseded by the following item, especially chapter B. *Die Strömungen*, pp. 99–152.]
- , *Hydrographische Untersuchungen in Bosphorus und Dardanellen*, bearbeitet von Lotte Möller. (*Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Meereskunde*, Univ. Berlin, N.F., A. Geographisch-naturwissenschaftliche Reihe, H. 18.) Berlin, [1928]. 284 pp. Also atlas. [The author Alfred Merz made his observations in the Bosphorus 22 Sept. to 14 Oct. 1917, 6 May to 5 June 1918, and 19 June to 21 July 1918. The observations by Merz at 186 stations in the Bosphorus and 115 stations in the Dardanelles are listed on pp. 233–284. After his death in 1925 Lotte Möller worked out the data. Cf. the chapter "Morphologie und Geologie der Meerengen. A. Bosphorus" (pp. 38–41) and "B. Dardanellen" (41–44). Their joint work remained the standard treatise on the Bosphorus up to 1946 (cf. Ulyyott and Igaz in this bibliography).]
- E. Meyer, art. *Bosporos* (Βόσπορος) 1, *Der Kleine Pauly* 1 (1964) 933f.
- E. Oberhammer, art. *Bosporos*, *RE* 3 (1899), 741–757.
- , art. *Hellespontos*, *RE* 8 (1912), 188–193.
- Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. *Hellespont*.
- W. Penck, "Bau- und Oberflächenformen der Dardanellenlandschaft," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* (Berlin), 1917, pp. 30–49.
- , *Grundzüge der Geologie des Bosphorus*. Berlin, 1919. (*Veröffentlichungen des Inst. f. Meereskunde*, N.F., A. Geograph.-naturwiss. Reihe, 4.) 71 p. Geologische Kartenskizze des Bosphorusgebietes. [Das Bosporustal, 58–69. Summary, 68f.]
- A. Philippson, "Bosphorus und Hellespont," *GZ* 4 (1898), 16–26. [A lecture; also comparison of the Bosphorus valley with the Rheintal; p. 17 note 1, five items of bibliography on Bosphorus; p. 23 note, three on the Hellespont. The whole superseded by his *Das Mittelmeergebiet*⁴ (1922); cf. also R. Hoernes and W. Penck.]
- , *Kleinasien*, in *Handbuch der regionalen Geologie* 5, 2, Heft 22 (Heidelberg, 1918), 183 pp.
- , *Das Mittelmeergebiet; seine geographische und kulturelle Eigenart*⁴. Leipzig, Berlin, 1922. [Die Mittelmeerzone eine Bruchzone, 6–7; Erosionstäler des Hellespont und Bosphorus, 18–21; Flußtäler des H. und B., 44; die Strömungen im B. und H., 52; etc.]
- Theodore Reinach, "Le Bosphore chez Eschyle," *REG* 36, No. 164 (1923), 62–65; idem, *ibid.*, 349f.
- G. Rohlf's, "Flußnamen im heutigen Kalabrien," *BNF, NF*, 4 (1969), 114–142.
- A. Ronconi, "Per l'onomastica antica dei mari," *SIFC* 9 (1931) 193–242 and 257–331. [II Bosforo, 220–225; Ellesponto e Propontide, 225–242. Cf. Burr, above.]
- W. H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. 6 vols in 9. Leipzig-Berlin, 1884–1937. I¹ (1884–85), I² (1886–90), II¹ (1890–93), II² (1894–97), III¹ (1897–1902), III² (1902–09), IV (1909–15), V (1916–24), and VI (ed. K. Ziegler) (1924–37). Suppl. I (E. H. Berger), 1904. Suppl. II (O. Gruppe), 1921. [Articles: R. Engelmann on *Io* II¹, coll. 263–280; K. Seeliger on *Athamas* I¹, coll. 669–675; R. Engelmann on *Helena*, I², coll. 1977f.; K. Seeliger on *Helle*, I², coll. 2028 f.; Türk on *Phrixos*, III², coll. 2458–2467.]
- Martin Rudolph, *ΗΙΟΡΟΣ*. Marburg, 1912. [Discussion in Latin of the development of the word through almost the entire Greek literature with a rich collection of the relevant material, also of the adjectives compounded with -πορος; largely superseded by O. Becker, "Das Bild des Weges usw."]
- K. Seeliger, art. *Helle*, Roschers *Lexikon d. Mythol.*, I² (1886–90), 2028–2029.
- , art. *Athamas*, Roschers *Lexikon d. Mythol.* I¹ (1884–85), 669–675.

- W. Sieglin, "Die Ausdehnung des Hellespontes bei den antiken Geographen," *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und Geographie. Festschrift für Heinrich Kiepert* (Berlin, 1898), 323–331. [On the sea stretches which the name Hellespont designated in the ancient authors, who display five coverages. The author presents all pertinent statements and interprets them. The matter was investigated anew by A. Klotz and some important corrections were made (see A. Klotz, *RhM* 68 [1913], 286–296, and A. Ronconi, *SIFC* 9 [1931], 225–242.)
- William Smith (ed.), *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* (London, 1878), s. vv. *Bosporus Cimmerius, Bosporus Thracius, Hellespontus*.
- George R. Stewart, *American Place-names*. New York, 1970.
- P. de Tchihatcheff, *Le Bosphore et Constantinople*. Paris, 1864. 3rd ed., 1877.
- Wilhelm Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker. Eine ethnologische Untersuchung. I: Übersicht der Stämme, SB d. philos.-hist. Cl. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien*, 128 (1893), IV. Abhandlung, pp. 1–130; *II: Die Sprachreste. 1. Hälfte: Glossen aller Art und Götternamen, ibid.*, 130 (1894), II. Abhandlung, pp. 1–70; *2. Hälfte: Personen- und Ortsnamen, ibid.*, 131 (1894), I. Abhandlung, pp. 1–103. [To a large degree superseded by the work of D. Detschew. 130.16: on *-παρος, -παρα, -phara*; 131.63: names in *-para, -pera, -παρος*.]
- N. Tunçdilek et alii, art. *Bosporus*, *EBr* 3 (1970), 985b–986a.
- , art. *Dardanelles*, *EBr* 7 (1970), 73. [A map shows the exact length of the strait of the Dardanelles.]
- Türk, art. *Phrixos*, Roschers *Lexicon d. Mythol.*, III² (1902–1909), 2458–67.
- Philip Ullyott and Orhan Ilgaz, "The Hydrography of the Bosphorus: An Introduction," *GR* 36, No. 1 (1946), 44–66. [An excellent review of the hydrographical investigations with bibliography and presentation of the authors' theory. The authors have refuted the explanation of the movements of the waters of the Bosphorus propounded by Alfred Merz and Lotte Möller as untenable; the subsurface current never reaches the Black Sea.]
- K. Vlahov, "Das thrakische Wort PARA und seine Deutung," *Živa Antika* (Antiquité Vivante) (Skopje) 15 (1966), 295–304.

INTRODUCTORY

SUCCESSFUL RESEARCH OF GEOGRAPHIC NAMES has to go hand in hand with topography, geography, history, and in certain instances with geology. A case in point is the waterway between the Aegean (and the Mediterranean) Sea and the Black Sea, consisting of the Hellespont (the Dardanelles), the Propontis (Sea of Marmara), and the Bosphorus, and the names covering them. There are valid grounds for requiring parallel examination and interpretation of these names: (a) the geologic formation of the entire waterway centered at the Propontis, (b) the very fact that the name *Bosporos* was used for the straits of the Hellespont, for the straits at Byzantion, and for the Cimmerian straits (the straits of Kerch), (c) that both the Hellespont and the Bosporos were associated with a myth, the former with Helle and the latter with Io transformed into a cow, and (d) the fact that the name *Hellespontos* at some time covered even all of the Propontis. Both these names, as well as that of the Cimmerian Bosporos, are attested very early and are more than 25 centuries old.

The geographical configuration of Southeast Europe includes the straits of the Hellespont, the in-between Propontis, and the Bosporos. These waterways are parts of one system, having geographic and hydrographic features in common, and constitute the only access to a large, otherwise landlocked sea. Their extraordinary aspect is that no case analogous to this can be found anywhere else on earth.¹ When searching minds pressed on the quest for the causes of the origin of the straits, the geographic question turned into a geological problem.² It is now common scientific knowledge that both the Hellespont and the Bosporos are maritime rivers with two water currents, one deep below the surface flowing from the Aegean toward the Black Sea but not reaching into it and a second one on the surface flowing from the Black Sea in the opposite direction. As to their origin, according to geological investigations, the Bosporos and the Hellespont are not tectonic forms but were erosion valleys which once were inundated by the sea and were, in fact, submerged and transformed through marine erosion into what they are now.³ What happened is this: the Pontus Basin was an inland lake till the middle diluvium (middle pliocene); in the upper pliocene period a large stream cut the Bosporos furrow and into it the Bosporos valleys and the Hellespont valleys. The Bosporos and the Hellespont as well as the Euripos of Chalcis of Euboea can be explained only as submerged river valleys; for no other power, according to geologists, could create furrows of this kind.⁴

Among the intriguing aspects of the seaways are the water currents flowing both ways. The main surface current flows NNE to SSW from the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmara, and this southward current in the Bosporos is strong enough to hinder the passage of small craft northward.⁵ The subsurface current, called *kanal* by local boatmen and fishermen,⁶ flows along the floor of the Bosporos from the Sea of Marmara toward the Black Sea; the *kanal* in the deeper layers of the Bosporos and the greater salinity of its water than that of the surface current are confirmed realities. The surface layer of the water in the Sea of Marmara

¹ A. Philippson, *GZ* 4 (1898), 16.

² Cf. W. Penck, *Grundzüge der Geologie des Bosporus* (1919), p. 5.

³ See A. Philippson, W. Penck, S. von Bubnov, F. Machatschek, and others; see bibliography.

⁴ A. Philippson, *Das Mittelmeergebiet*⁴ (1922), p. 21.

⁵ Cf. P. Ulyott and O. Ilgaz, "The Hydrography of the Bosporus: An Introduction," *GR* 36 (1946), p. 44. On the adverse effect of the intermittent northeasterly winds on the southward current and on sailing Greek triremes in ancient times see B. W. Labaree, "How the Greeks Sailed into the Black Sea," *AJA* 61 (1957), pp. 29-33.

⁶ The Turk. term *kanal* in the Bosporus (attested as early as 1656), borrowed from Venetian *canal* "channel," designates the bed of the main current and *kanal suyu* (lit. "channel water") the deep current flowing toward the Black Sea; see H. and R. Kahane and A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant* (Urbana, Ill., 1958), p. 136f. (No. 146).

has low salinity (ca. 24 parts per 1,000) and is like the water of the Black Sea, while the deeper water has a higher salinity (ca. 39 parts per 1,000) all year round. The lower layer water of the Sea of Marmara flows northward along the bed of the channel; but the depth of the undercurrent in the Bosphoros progressively diminishes toward the north and none of it enters the Black Sea, the same amount of flowing water being carried back southward in the upper current, mixed with water from the Black Sea.⁷ There is a system of flow in the Kerch strait very much like the one in the Bosphoros.

The balance of water in the Black Sea seems to be complete without any inflow through the Bosphoros, according to Ullyott and Ilgaz. But the deep water of the Sea of Marmara is constantly depleted and is replenished by the inflow of water at a depth from the Aegean Sea. The threshold at the Dardanelles between the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara, being deep enough (ca. 65 m.), permits the flow of deep water from the Aegean.⁸

The Bosphoros has the following measurements: length 30 km. (27 km. in a straight line), width between 550 m. and 3 km., and depth an average of 50 m.⁹

The Dardanelles seaway was originally almost dry, so that Europe was connected with Asia Minor and the strait represented a wide river valley.¹⁰ The straits of Nagara and Çanak, at which the European and Asiatic shores are as close to each other as 1.2 km., separate the inner from the outer Dardanelles.¹¹

The straits between the NE Aegean and the Black Sea have also been the traditional boundary line between the two continents, Europe and Asia. They played a highly important role throughout the past as the channel connecting the Black Sea and the Mediterranean and as a bridge between Anterior Asia and SE Europe; here the continental masses lie within a few hundred meters of each other and enabled peoples and armies to cross from continent to continent, so that they were spared risky seafaring; with the development of navigation, the straits assumed enhanced significance because the seaway from the Atlantic led through

⁷ The evidence is that the salinity in the surface water of the Bosphoros increases as it moves southward, i. e., it is produced by progressive incorporation of the water of the saline current with that of the surface current. For the above see Ullyott and Ilgaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–66; conclusion, p. 65f. For earlier views on the currents see A. Philippson, *Das Mittelmeergebiet*⁴ (1922), p. 52; here also on the flows (currents) in the Strait of Gibraltar.

⁸ Ullyott and Ilgaz, *loc. cit.*

⁹ Philippson, *GZ* 4 (1898), p. 20; cf. A. Merz, *Hydrographische Untersuchungen* (1928), p. 38.

¹⁰ F. Machatschek, *Das Relief der Erde* (Berlin, 1955), p. 510 [according to W. Penck].

¹¹ Cf. Merz, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

these Straits as far as the inland parts of the continental mass called the Old World.¹²

The history of the straits is interrelated with Greek history since the Greek colonization of the area. While Greek colonization in the west started in the mid-eighth century (Kyme in Campania was founded by colonists from Chalcis of Euboea ca. 750 B.C. and a series of settlements appeared in Sicily a little later in the same cent.), the great colonization activity of Miletus (itself founded in the eleventh cent. B.C. and called the Greek Venice) reached the Sea of Marmara and the coasts of the Black Sea soon after 700 B.C. and strove toward the peak of its colonization activities in the mid-seventh century. An important point for our discussion here is also that the earliest of these sea voyages have, here and there, influenced the evolvement of the sagas; e.g., the penetration of Ionic seafarers into the Black Sea determined the scene of the Argonautic Expedition. Conceptions originally mythological are subsequently filled with geographical ingredients.¹³

After this orientation, we may tackle the onomastic data and the names *Hellespontos* and *Bosporos*.

The statement to the effect that etymologizing onomastic items is a dangerous business and also that the paucity of sources has often enabled scholars to etymologize hand-picked onomastic data to suit vaguely substantiated theories is correct.¹⁴ The names Βόσπορος and Ἑλλήσποντος are two cases in point.

A. HELLESPONTOS

Ἑλλήσποντος, Lat. *Hellespontus*, has been a name since the Iliad (2.845; 12.30: ἀγάρροος Ἑλλήσποντος "strong-flowing Hellespont"), a designation for both the Propontis (Sea of Marmara, Turk. *Marmara Denizi*) and the Dardanelles, including part of the outside sea opening toward the Aegean, but since the fifth century B.C. confined to the Dardanelles.¹⁵ The narrows are to the Turks *Çanakale Boğazı* and inter-

¹² W. Penck, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

¹³ Cf. A. Lesky, *Thalatta* (1947), pp. 61, 188.

¹⁴ J. Puhvel, (review of D. Detschew's *Thrakische Sprachreste*), *Language* 33 (1957), pp. 441 and 443.

¹⁵ On the Hellespont in general see A. M. Mansel, art. *Hellespontos*, *Der Kleine Pauly* 3 (1967), pp. 1010–12 [with the most important literature cited]; L. Büchner, art. *Hellespontos*, *RE* 8 (1912), pp. 182–188; E. Oberhammer, *ibid.*, pp. 188–193. The Byz. name was also Ἑλλήσποντος. Cf. Büchner, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

Ἑλλήσποντος covered three main senses: (1) the strait of the Dardanelles, (2) the stretch east of Lampsacus as far as the line Perinthus-Cyzicus, and (3) the unit of both the strait and the entire Propontis. See A. Ronconi, "Ellesponto e Propontide," *SIFC* 9 (1931), pp. 225–242 (an exhaustive study); V. Burr, *Nostrum mare* (1932), pp. 11–21 (almost adequate). Cf. also A. Klotz, *RhM* 68 (1913), pp. 290–292; G. Jachmann, *RhM* 70 (1915), pp. 640–643 [a Hellenistic poet added the use of Ἑλλήσποντος for the Aegean Sea]. A description of the Hellespont is given also by Strabo 13.1.22–23; Dionys. Byz.,

nationally the *Dardanelles* and the *Straits of Gallipoli*.¹⁶ Other names were: *Stretto della Romania* (fifteenth cent.), *Bucca Romaniae*, *Golfo di Gallipoli*, Στενὸν τῶν Δαρδανελίων, all for "the seaway of the Dardanelles."

"Ελλάς πόρος and "Ελλης πόρος has also been well attested from the fifth cent. B.C.: Pindar *fr.* 292 (189) ὑπὲρ πόντιον "Ελλάς πόρον; Aeschylus, *Pers.* 875 "Ελλης πόρος; Aristophanes, *Vespaie* 808 πόρον "Ελλάς ἱρόν (sacrum Hellae meatum),¹⁷ "Ελλης πορθμός (Aeschylus, *Pers.* 67, 722, 799) for "Ελλης πόντος may be poetic (though πορθμός means "sea" generally in Pind., *Isthm.* 4.97) as are "Ελλης κύμα, "Ελλης ἤών, etc. They are, despite Georgiev,¹⁸ not real names but varying transformations employed in the creative process of poetry.

Various early etymologies are not worth discussing today.¹⁹

The main name Ἑλλάσποντος has been explained as a hypostasized compound with the first component a genitive, so that "Ελλης πόντος, which in fact occurs in an adespoton fragment, yielded the one-word name Ἑλλάσποντος "Helle's sea," which in Doric appears as Ἑλλάσποντος (Theocr. 13.29: -ον ἕκοντο); probably the name "Ελλης πόρος for the strait at Abydos was also a real name.

P. Kretschmer's etymological exposition (1939)²⁰ was sanctioned by the authors of both Greek etymological dictionaries,²¹ but the interpreta-

Anaplus Bospori, 4f. On Ἑλλάσποντος ὁ κόλπος καὶ ἡ χώρα ἡ παρακειμένη: Herodiani technici reliquiae, 1.227, ll. 25f., ed. A. Lentz. Ἑλλάσποντος for Hesychius was a river flowing on the shore and the sea between the Troad and the Thracian Chersonese: Ἑλλάσποντος· ποταμὸς ἐπὶ τῆς παραλίας / ἡ μεταξὺ Τροίας καὶ χερρονήσου θάλασσα (ed. Latte, vol. 2).

¹⁶ A foundation of Kallias, the city was called Καλλίου πόλις (cf. A. Fick, *BB* 23 [1897], pp. 9, 11) and Καλλιούπολις in Byzantine sources (cf. *RE*, 10 [1917], p. 1659f.; *Der Kleine Pauly* 3 [1969], 82b). However, since there was Καλλιπολις in Aetolia (called also Κάλλιον), in Macedonia, and in Italy near Tarentum (now *Gallipoli*), also our city name Καλλιούπολις in the Hellespont became by analogical interference Καλλιπολις, and this form is reflected as early as the thirteenth century: *Pertinentia Gallipoli*, in: *Partitio Romaniae*, ed. G. L. Fr. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur ältesten Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, Theil 1 (Wien, 1856), p. 467f., where it is recorded as *Gallipoli* from τὴν Καλλιπολιν ← τὴν γαλιπὸν, the same form as *Gallipoli* in South Italy; so also τὸν Καλλιπορον → Ital. *Galliparo* (*infra*, p. 97). The Turk. name form for Gallipoli is *Gelibolu*. The inhabitant name Καλλιπολίτης occurs in the thirteenth and sixteenth cent. (Marie Vogel und Victor Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* [Leipzig, 1909], pp. 238, 286).

¹⁷ Also in Meleager, *Anthol. Pal.* 12.53: εὐφορτοὶ νῆες πελαγίτιδες αἱ πόρον "Ελλης πλεῖτε.

¹⁸ V. Georgiev, "Hellespontos und Bosporos," *LB* 3, 2 (1961), p. 25.

¹⁹ They are indicated by V. Burr, *Nostrum mare* (1932), p. 12, note 5 (Seliger and Höfer in Roscher; Gruppe and Oberhammer, rejected by Friedländer; Büchner's connecting of the name with Cretan Ἑλλάγη and ἄλλομαι.)

²⁰ Cf. E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, 1.446 (H. Kuhn, *BNF* 4 [1953], p. 171f., on the compounding with a genitive in Germanic place-names); P. Kretschmer, "Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1935. Griechisch," *Glotta* 27 (1939), p. 29.

²¹ Frisk, *GEW* 1 (1960), p. 500 [the relevant installment publ. in 1957]; Chantraine, *Dict. etym.* 2 (1970), p. 341.

tion has been questioned by three other scholars, who instead postulated other solutions, which are to be discussed here.

At least two etymologies of the name "Ελλη as pre-Hellenic were in fact based on some elements of the myth discussed earlier by scholars.

Prehellenic origin of the name "Ελλη from **hella* "north" (this from **hela* "fog, north"), whence also **Hellane* "Nordic people" → "Ελλανας, "Ελληνας was suggested by L. Deroy.²²

First of all, the etymology here is not really one that was built up by the author's independent linguistic insights but has derived from an opinion previously held by others: I mean, Lauer in the nineteenth century explained "Ελλη as "shining cloud."²³ Now, as is well-known, in the myth of Phrixos and Helle their shadowy mother was Νεφέλη, which means "Cloud." This "cloud" redundancy does not really enhance Deroy's interpretation. If objectively and carefully examined and evaluated, Deroy's proposal is hardly supported by data (which are non-existent) but is based on imaginative projections. My objection to this suggestion is as follows: the naming process is not an exclusive one but the naming of geographic features is unpredictable and the naming of a given place may have been one of hundreds of possibilities. To be sure, names from the concept "fog" are not uncommon in foggy regions, e.g., *Foggy Island* in Alaska (at which Sir John Franklin was detained by fog in 1826 for eight days); but *Foggy Peak* in the state of Washington (U.S.A.) was so named probably because of fog encountered on a particular day.²⁴ However, though other places are foggier and more northerly than the Hellespont, we would not necessarily expect such areas like *Scandinavia, England, Canada, Russia*, etc., to have received their names from terms meaning, "very cold," "northern," "foggy," etc. In place-names each case has to be examined for itself on the basis of evidence. *Helle* and *Hellespont* may be northern relative to Greece and Asia Minor but, in a general geographic picture, are really not. If we had evidence for the designation "north," I would agree; as it is, I find no validity in this attempt.

The name "Ελλη was interpreted in 1837 to signify "swamp" and "moist soil" (έλος).²⁵ In our century two scholars, Paul Haupt and Vladimir Georgiev, have used the same attempt in different ways.

²² L. Deroy, "L'origine préhellénique de quelques noms de peuples méditerranéens," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philol. et d'Hist. Orientales et Slaves* 13 (Bruxelles, 1955), pp. 90–92.

²³ Lauer, *Systematik der griechischen Mythologie*, p. 216; see K. Seeliger, art. Helle, *Roschers Lexikon d. Mythol.*, I² (1886–90), p. 2029.

²⁴ Cf. G. R. Stewart, *American Place-names* (1970), p. 169.

²⁵ So P. V. Forchhammer, *Hellenika* (1837), p. 177 ff.; cf. K. Seeliger, *loc. cit.*; in part also Ed. Gerhard, *Griechische Mythologie*, § 688 (cf. Seeliger, *ibid.*).

Paul Haupt suggested in 1924 that "Ἐλλη may be a name in -η like Θράκη, Κρήτη, Φοινίκη and it may be connected with ἔλος "meadow land" (*Il.* 20.221; cf. Strabo 7.7.10).²⁶ However, the author did not elaborate and so left more questions unanswered than solved; e.g., where are the parallel formations in -η from neuter *es*-nouns? Moreover, the geminate λλ is hardly explained from ἔλος; in fact, ἔλος and derivatives like ἔλειος show no trace of λλ from *λγ, *λν, *λσ, etc. In addition, the Mycenaean ethnic *ereeu* does not support such a relationship. As is well known, τὸ ἔλος is from IE **sélos* as Skt. *sáras*- "pond" is and ἔλειος is from **selesyo*-.²⁷

V. Georgiev's attempt may have been based on an identical suggestion as a starting-point, as indicated above. Georgiev holds that the age-old interpretation of Ἐλλησποντος as Ἐλλης πόντος was the outcome of folk-etymology;²⁸ but I miss cogent reasons leading to such a conclusion. Georgiev offers his hypothesis: the hypothetical *Ἐλῆς πόντος "sea full of swamps" (wherein Ἐλλῆς with -ll- is explained away by paretymological influence of the Greek name Ἐλλη, which he derives from IE **swel*-); thus *ἔλῆς is from the IE adj. **seles-went-s* "full of swamps, swampy," this from **selos*-, *seles*- "swamp" with *h*- (in both Greek and Phrygian) from IE *s*-; the postulated *ἔλῆς is considered equivalent to *Σελήεις, name for the river in the Troas emptying into the Hellespont.²⁹ The name is, according to Georgiev, Phrygian, not Greek, and, in the same line of reasoning, πόρος in the also descriptive name Ἐλλῆς πόρος is likewise Phrygian, meaning "river, stream"; the genuine Phrygian toponym, according to the author, was Ἐλῆς πόρος, as the "Phrygian designation Βόσ-πορος" leads us to conclude, he says.

It appears that Georgiev's etymology is refutable. To begin with, the sense "stream, river" assigned to the alleged Phrygian term πόρος (on account of such names as Πορόλισσον side by side with Παράλισσον) is nothing certain, for there is no Phrygian evidence in sight; when Herodotus calls the strait "a turbid and a briny river" (7.35) nothing is proved by this for two reasons: first, Herodotus immediately after this quotation calls the Hellespont a sea (τῆν τε δὴ θάλασσαν κλπ) and, second, because the chief name for the straits is Ἐλλῆς πόντος "Helle's sea." Herodotus actually calls the Hellespont a river in the passage quoted from Xerxes' allegedly verbatim message to the Hellespont, which he

²⁶ Paul Haupt, "The Hittite Name of Troy," in his "Philological and Archeological Studies. 7," *AJP* 45 (1924), pp. 252–255 [the entire study on pp. 238–259]. Haupt's suggestion was favored with some caution by V. Burr, *Nostrum mare* (1932), p. 12, note 5, who, however, did not present it to his own readers.

²⁷ Cf. H. Frisk, *GEW* 1 (1960), p. 501f.; P. Chantraine, *Dict. etym.* 2 (1970), p. 342; J. Pokorny, *IEW* 901, s. *selos*-.
²⁸ *LB* 3 (1961), p. 25.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 25f. *Iliad* 2.659; 15.531: ποταμοῦ ἄπο Σελλήεντος "from the river Selleeis."

will yoke with a bridge (as if the Hellespont were a river); to Xerxes the strait looked like a (salty) river on account of its length. Furthermore, the adjective ἀγάρροος “strong-flowing” used for the Hellespont (*Il.* 2.845, 12.30) may or may not imply a river, since ῥόος stands for “sea” in the *Odyssey* and ἀγάρροος πόντος is attested in *hymn. Cer.* 34, and Crete is called περιήρρυτος “surrounded with water” (*Od.* 19.173).³⁰ Of course both the Hellespont and the Bosphoros are maritime rivers; however, the term πόρος is so abundantly attested in Greek of all periods that place-names descriptive or compounded with it, such as Βόσπορος and Ἐλλης πόρος, are not susceptible to being stamped as Thracian or Phrygian or otherwise without unequivocal evidence. Georgiev has not advanced such evidence and the record is unshakable. The postulated adj. Ἐλλης from **seleswents* presumes that Phrygian had exactly the Greek form *ἔλλης gen. *ἔλληγτος (from ἐλήεντ-); if so, why should this Greek form be ascribed to Phrygian?

The idea that the name Ἐλλη can in some way be explained linguistically within Greek was persistent with some nineteenth-century scholars, when the adoption of antique etymologies was easy and etymological method left much to be desired. Thus, based on the *Etymologicum Magnum*, there are three different etymologies: “Ἐλλη would be from a noun ἔλλη meaning as much as ἥλιος or as σελήνη and would mean “Strehlke” (in German).³¹ In the same line of thinking, “Ἐλλη would be connected with Ἐλένη because this latter name was explained from σφελ- (Skt. *svar-*) in σελήνη “moon.”³² Σελήνη is a Greek moon-goddess and properly would signify “Strehlke” (connected as it is with ἑλας; cf. *Etym. M.* 828.15); Σελήνη had little cult in Greece; she was identified with Artemis, probably before the fifth cent. B.C., perhaps because both had been identified with Hecate.³³ Ἐλένη, however, in origin is a non-Greek name and several aspects about her fit an ancient, pre-Hellenic goddess.³⁴

We now know that Ἐλλη is etymologically unrelated to σελήνη or to Ἐλένη. A. Chatzis’ claim, therefore, in 1937 that the name Ἐλλη of a moon-goddess (like Σελήνη and Ἐλένη) is a hypocoristic of the name Ἐλένη, this meaning “moon,” is a repetition of worthless nineteenth-century method and opinions. His argument that *Etym. M.* 549.18

³⁰ A. Ronconi, *SIFC* 9 (1931), pp. 226–228.

³¹ Pape-Benseler, 1.351a; K. Seeliger, Roschers *Lexikon d. Mythol.*, 2029, who also stresses that “we may at least explain Helle as sun, for this is considered in classical mythology throughout as a male being” (*ibid.*).

³² G. Curtius, *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie* 5 (1879), p. 552; Pape-Benseler, 1.344; R. Engelmann, art. *Helena*, Roschers *Lexikon d. Mythol.*, col. 1977.

³³ Pape-Benseler, 2.1364; W. H. Roscher, *Über Selene und Verwandtes* (1890); cf. J. E. Fontenrose, art. *Selene*, *OCD*² (1970), p. 970f.

³⁴ *OCD*² (1970), p. 492f.

equates ἔλλη with σελήνη and ἥλιος and that the name "Ἐλλη has, therefore, yielded the noun ἔλλη,³⁵ simply does not hold true; it still represents the indiscriminate pre-linguistic throwing together of flagrantly unrelated terms to prove indemonstrable combinations. For the truth is as follows:

σελήνη is from σελάννᾱ: σέλας

ἥλιος, ἄελιος is from *σᾱFέλιος → sāwelyos

"Ἐλλη is certainly not from Ἐλένη this in turn being of unknown origin.

All the above attempts must be considered unsatisfactory.

Is there an explanation?

Before any new attempt, though a tentative one, we had better clarify some thoughts about Helle in the myth from what has been found out or attempted by scholars.

"Ἐλλᾱ, an old goddess, was identified with the deity of light who was worshipped on the shores of the Hellespont and Bosphoros, i. e., the deity of light by name Παρθένος or Φωσφόρος or Ἰφιγένεια or Ἡλέκτρα.³⁶

From another viewpoint, Helle was rather a goddess thought of, in the same situation, riding on a male animal as Europa rode on the back of a bull across the sea.³⁷ Helle is placed by A. Lesky in the group of *Hellos* – *Hellotis*, thus connecting "Ἐλλη with the name Ἐλλοί (and, further, with Ἐλληγες "Greeks") "with a certain degree of probability";³⁸ but, as the author concedes, the very late tradition of Helle causes a critical examination of this mythical figure to appear extremely difficult.³⁹ The author has also stressed⁴⁰ the statement that Helle appears steadfastly connected with the Hellespont.

Helle in the fleece saga of Athamas, Nephele, and the ram is of but subordinate significance⁴¹ and the connection of the entire myth of Athamas-Nephele-ram with the Argonaut saga is held to have been sec-

³⁵ A. Chatzias, "Ἐλλη – Ἐλληγν – Ἐλλάς," *ΕΕΦΣ* of the Univ. of Athens 1 (1937), pp. 135–38; on the above, p. 137 with note 3.

³⁶ Cf. L. Malten, "Hero und Leander," *RhM, NF*, 93 (1949), p. 79 (with references to U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff).

³⁷ This assumption by O. Gruppe (*Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, [1906], p. 1146) is considered probable by A. Lesky, "Hellos-Hellotis, III," *Wiener Studien* 46 (1927–28), p. 129. The story of Phrixos and Helle voyaging through the air on the back of the golden-fleeced ram, a marvelous and intelligent beast, is best connected with the tale of Pegasus' journey; so C. Kerényi, *The Heroes of the Greeks* (1959), p. 85.

³⁸ Lesky, *loc. cit.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 127–129.

⁴¹ Cf. K. Seeliger, Roschers *Lexikon d. Mythol.*, 2029.

ondary.⁴² This, however, does not entail that Helle's figure was spun out of the geographic name *Hellespontos* as an eponymous heroine, as Müller thought⁴³ and as this explanation, fixed in Roscher's *Lexikon der Mythologie*, continued.⁴⁴ If this were really the case, then we still have to unravel the name "Ἑλλης πόντος and ask the question who "Ἑλλη was; in other words, we are in a vicious circle.

The only reasonable and plausible solution in sight is to assume that the derivation of the geographic name Ἑλλήσποντος from Helle's sudden fall into the waters of the strait presents a characteristic *aition* for the place so named.⁴⁵ Analogous is the motif of Daidalos and Ikaros and the derivation of the names Ἰκαρος for the island and Ἰκάριον πέλαγος "Icarian Sea." The inclusion of Helle in the story is, in comparative mythology, explained by L. Radermacher from parallel folk tales.⁴⁶

The aforementioned Chatzis elaborated about "Ἑλλη as follows: a city called "Ἑλλη and located in the Thracian Chersonese on the shore at the strait of the Hellespont, after Homer renamed Πακτύη by Ephesian colonists, "Ἄγιος Γεώργιος in Christian times, and *Brachium Sancti Georgii* among Westerners in the Middle Ages, was named "Ἑλλη after the temple of Helle there.⁴⁷ The question arises whether or not the temple was primary and the name of the city secondary. According to P. Friedländer, a tomb-like looking hill was designated as Helle's tomb after the relevant saga had become well established and Helle's mythical figure was later inserted into the body of the saga.⁴⁸

The names "Ἑλλη and Φρίξος

While the name Φρίξος is reasonably explicable from Greek φρίσσειν, i. e., adj. φριξός "standing on end, bristling" (used of hair), and specifically as a shortened form of compounds such as φριξόθριξ and φριξοκόμης, these latter both meaning "with bristling hair,"⁴⁹ so that the name Φρίξος

⁴² H. D. Müller, *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme*, 2 (1861), p. 158ff.; cf. Seeliger, *op. cit.*, p. 673f.

⁴³ Müller, *op. cit.*, 2.165.

⁴⁴ Lesky, *Wiener Studien* 46 (1927–28), 129 note 50, stamps this explanation unfortunate.

⁴⁵ Cf. H. Hunger, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (1953), p. 275.

⁴⁶ L. Radermacher, *Mythos und Sage bei den Griechen*³ (Vienna, 1943), p. 181f., pointed out that the folk tale of the little brother and little sister, in which a lamb, a ram or a sheep plays a role, is widespread even in today's folk tales; cf. Hunger, *op. cit.*, s. *Phrixos*, p. 276.

⁴⁷ So O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1906), 1.565 note 7 (with references); followed by Chatzis, *op. cit.*, p. 135f.

⁴⁸ P. Friedländer, art. *Helle* 2, *RE* 8 (1912), 160f. — Chatzis (*op. cit.*, 138) states ideas derived from Friedländer and modified.

⁴⁹ Cf. H. Frisk, *GEW* 2 (1961–70), p. 1044, s. φριξ.

would mean "Curly,"⁵⁰ we do not have an equally good explanation for the name "Ελλη.

In any case, we would be wise to adhere to a traditional explanation of the descriptive geographic name "Ελλης πόντος that appears to be true to fact: "Helle's sea."⁵¹ We are appreciative of the fact that we have received the cherished precious tradition we now have; unduly to question facts at our disposal and to substitute for them fanciful reconstructions that add almost nothing to knowledge goes too far, indeed.

However, if we should have one tentative explanation for the name "Ελλη, the only one seeming probable to me is that linking the name with the term for "young deer, fawn," so that "Ελλη would originally mean "a young doe or roe;"⁵² ἔλλός and (with rough breathing) ἔλλός m. "a young deer, fawn" (*Od.* 19.228; cf. the mythographer Antoninus Liberalis [second cent. A.D.] 28.3;⁵³ Eustathius, *Comm. ad Hom.* 1863.40; Hesychius ἔλλόν· . . . ἔλαφον νεογόν [τ 228]. There is also compd. ἔλλοφόνος "fawn-slaying": Callim. *Diana*, 190).

This zoological term is the final form of an earlier one, *ἔλνός, which is warranted in Indo-European by Lithuanian *ėlnis* "stag"; see also the obscure Hesychian gloss ἐνελοσ· νεβρός ("young of the deer, fawn"), possibly from *ἔλενος ← *ἔλεν-. Of the same origin is ἔλαφος "cervus Elaphus, deer": ἔλα- from *ελη-, i.e., ἔλαφος from *εληβhos; suff. -φος (from *-bhos) as in ἔρι-φος.⁵⁴

A form *ἔλλη, therefore, for "a young doe or roe" was possible and might have existed before it fell into disuse because the form ἔλαφος f. prevailed; yet, it lingered on as an endearing name⁵⁵ or nickname of girls.

If this attempt is not convincing, the name "Ελλη must be declared of obscure origin.

*

In closing, the following reasonable assumption may be in order: "Ελλη was the name of the promontory on the Thracian Chersonese at the entrance to the strait of the Dardanelles and after this place-name the

⁵⁰ C. Kerényi, *The Heroes of the Greeks* (1959), p. 85. The meaning "he who causes shivering" (from φρίσσω) in L. Radermacher, *op. cit.*, p. 312 (cf. also Hunger, *Lexikon*, s. *Phrixos*, p. 275) is made to fit more the mythical than it appears natural or actual.

⁵¹ As Chantraine, *Dict. etym.*, s. "Ελλη, most recently put it, "Il n'y a aucune raison de renoncer à l'interprétation traditionnelle depuis l'antiquité 'mer d'Hellè'."

⁵² Cf. Kerényi, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁵³ E. Martini (ed.), *Mythographi Graeci*, 2 (1) (Leipzig: Teubner, 1896), p. 107, l. 21.

⁵⁴ Cf. Frisk, *op. cit.*, 1 (1960), 483f., s. ἔλαφος; Chantraine, *op. cit.*, 2 (1970), p. 333, s. ἔλαφος.

⁵⁵ Cf. Modern Greek ἔλαφίνα μου, etc.

strait was named "Ἐλλης πόντος and "Ἐλλης πόρος.⁵⁶ The name "Ἐλλη was on the Thracian Chersonese but the saga used the name aetiologically.⁵⁷ But beyond this we know nothing certain about the name "Ἐλλη.

Δαρδανέλλια – The Dardanelles

The modern name *dardanelýa* has reached international status and thus to a large extent replaced the ancient name:

Italian: *Dardanelli*

French: *les Dardanelles*

Spanish: *Dardanelli*

English: *the Dardanelles*⁵⁸

German: *die Dardanellen*

Russian: *Dardanéli* (gen. plur. *Dardanéli*; adj. *Dardanéli'skiy*)

etc.

The medieval and modern Greek name τὰ Δαρδανέλλια, the source of these forms, has been with good reasons linked with the ancient city name Δάρδανος.⁵⁹ Actually, the strait name Δαρδανέλλια has been ex-

⁵⁶ On the term πόντος and the like for "sea" a brief note: the Indo-European word **mari* "sea" is missing in East Indo-European (Sanskrit, Greek, and Armenian). On the terms θάλασσα, ἄλς, πόντος, and πέλαγος cf. A. Lesky, *Thalatta* (1947), pp. 8–14. I take exception to the vague interpretation of θάλαττα as pre-Hellenic: in view of the (presumed Macedonian) form δαλαγχα "sea" in Hesychius the approach of θάλασσα with θαλα- (in θαλα-μος "inner room") from a preceded noun form *θαλαγγῆ (cf. γλωσσα from *γλωγγῆ), used presumably for inner waters, is to me very probable; C. D. Buck, "Θάλασσα," *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps* (Princeton, 1936), pp. 42–45 (this study is not mentioned by P. Chantraine, *Dict. étym.*, 2.420a, and H. Frisk, *GEW*, 1.648f., knows it only from the notice in *Indogerman. Jahrbuch* 22.220.); cf. E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik* 1 (1939), p. 319⁷, who suggested the earlier form was θαλαγγῆ on account of Macedonian δαλαγγχαν (σσ/ττ results from both -γγχ- and -γγχγ-). W. Steinhäuser's setup of IE **sal-akya* "salt water" → Pelasgian *śalaśśā* → Gr. θάλασσα and IE *dhol-en-kā* "the one that finds itself below, depth" → Pelasgian *dalankha* ("Zwei Wege der Wortdeutung," *Gedenkschrift für P. Kretschmer* 2 [1957], 152–154) is a failure because it splits θάλασσα and δαλαγγχα and works with too many imaginary forms.

⁵⁷ Cf. the analysis of the saga in P. Friedländer, art. *Helle* 2, *RE* 8 (1912), 161; and in C. Kerényi, *The Heroes of the Greeks* (London, 1959), pp. 85–87, and notes 429–443 [on p. 391]; cf. also art. *Helle*, *Der Kleine Pauly* 2 (1967), 1008. — Herodotus (7.58) mentions "the tomb of Athamas' daughter Helle."

⁵⁸ The name *Dardanelle* and *Dardanelles* in the United States became popular for California mines in the 1850's and the cause of the naming was either transfer of the name or a fancied resemblance to the strait. The name is now used in the United States for *The Dardanelles* and associate names in California and for places in other states. *Dardanelle* in Arkansas, on the other hand, originally derived from the French family name *Dardenne* but it is supposed to have been attracted to the form of the name of the straits. See G. R. Stewart, *American Place-names* (1970), 127f.

⁵⁹ The strait of the Dardanelles was named after the city name Δάρδανος according to Karl Kerényi (*Die Heroen der Griechen* [Darmstadt, 1959], p. 99), who, however, for

plained from Δαρδανέλλια στενά as a derivative adjective from a hypothetical ἡ *Δαρδανέλλη, compound from Δάρδανος (name of the ancient city on the southern, the Asiatic side) and "Ἐλλη⁶⁰ (at the Thracian extremity). According to Chatzis,⁶¹ the name τὰ Δαρδανέλλια for the strait was in use, along with Ἐλλήσποντος, for centuries by the neighboring peoples. The author, however, left out of consideration a very important fact: "Ἐλλη was on the extreme Thracian promontory at the entrance to the Hellespont but ancient Δάρδαμος was located many kilometers away to the northeast, below the narrowest central section on the Asiatic side in the Troas, which renders the assumption of the dvandva compound unlikely. One would have expected the two names to be those of points opposite one another, such as Nagara and Çanak, Abydos and Sestos, at the narrowest point of the Hellespont. The interpretation is highly improbable.

The name τὰ Δαρδανέλλια for the city (Turk. *Çanak-kalesi* "pottery castle"), with a present population of about 25,000, on the Asiatic side at the mouth of the river Rhodios (Turk. *Sarıçay*), at the narrowest point of the strait and facing ancient Κυνὸς σῆμα in the Thracian Chersonese, is, I submit, a neuter derivative with the diminutive suffix -έλλι.⁶²

reasons unknown to me, omitted this statement from the English edition (*The Heroes of the Greek* [London, 1959], p. 86f.) of his book. The city called *Dardanos* appears on the coast in a little bay on the south end of a little peninsula; see W. Judeich, "Skepsis," *Festschrift H. Kierpert* (Berlin, 1898), map, figure 1, on p. 228. — On the Homeric city *Dardania* (*Il.* 20.215ff.), erected by Dardanos, alleged mother city of Ilion, and transferred from Ida to Scamander see Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 239. On the connection of Δαρδανέλλια with the city Δάρδαμος cf. more recently N. Tunçdilek et alii, *EBv* 3 (1970), p. 73.

What in names has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned before and may be of interest to some is the fact that in Modern Greek there are surnames: Δάρδαμος (thrice), Δαρδάνης (twice), and Δαρδανίδης (once), listed in the Athens Telephone Directory 1966 (the much shorter telephone directory of Salonica and the rest of the northern region, which I consulted, does not list these names).

⁶⁰ Demetrios Pelekidis and A. Chatzis in the latter's article, *ΕΕΦΣ* of the Univ. of Athens 1 (1937), p. 136 with note 3. Parallel examples were cited: τὰ Μοθωκόρωνα, ἡ Παροναξία, τὰ Κλημεντοκαίσαρα, etc. Anc. Μαζουσία (or Μαστουσία) ἔκρα is now called *Elesburun*, and the latter stands for Ἐλλης ἔκρα (E. Oberhummer, art. *Mastusia*, *RE* 14, 2 [1930], 2178); Cape Helles is found on maps (English sea map N 1608: Entrance of the Dardanelles; Kiepert; Diest. Cf. Oberhummer, *ibid.*). Chatzis' assumption that Ἐλλη had also the meaning "Peninsula of Helle" (*op. cit.*, 136) is unsupported and needless.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, note 3.

⁶² The suff. -έλλι is well known in the eastern modern Greek dialects. The name form *Dardanelo* is recorded for the locality of *Kale Sultaniyeh* "The Sultan Castle" (this created ca. 1470), located not far from *Dardanos*; see W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien," *SB d. Wiener Akad.*, 124, 8 (1891), p. 17. If Ital. *Dardanello* was used by sailors, as it seems, the Greek form τὰ Δαρδανέλλια would be a Greek adaptation of the corresponding Italian plural *Dardanelli*.

If anyone wonders about the hypocoristic form *Dardanello*, he may consider that hypocoristic forms are not strange at all; e.g., beside the Italian river name *Salandra* (today

from the name ἡ Δάρδανος of the ancient city, which is located some ten kilometers southwest of the modern city Δαρδανέλλια.⁶³ It was, then this medieval and modern name that yielded the designation Στενὸν τῶν Δαρδανελλίων “Strait of the Dardanelles,” an exact parallel of the *Strait of Gallipoli* (cf. also *Peninsula of Gallipoli*), drawn likewise from a city name Καλλιπολις, this being no dvandva either.

B. BOSPOROS

The waterway between the Propontis and the Black Sea offers another example, interesting from the onomastic point of view, of multiple names during its nearly 3,000 year-long history. It is called *Karadeniz Boğazi*, *Istanbul Boğazi*, *Boğazi*, and *Boğazıcı*⁶⁴ by the Turks (while it is called also *Vósporos* in the Greek of the Greek-speaking people living in the area), was called Ἀνάπλους during the postclassical and Byzantine period,⁶⁵ Πεῦμα “stream” by the Byzantines, and more commonly Στενὸν

officially *Cavone*) in the area of Metaponto (Lucania) there occurs *Salandrella*, name for its upper flow; the river name *Galatrella* in the province of Cosenza is diminutive of *gálatru* “burrone” (from anc. Gr. χάραδρος). See G. Rohlfis, “Flußnamen im heutigen Kalabrien,” *BNF, NF*, 4 (1969), 117 notes 5 and 6; 126.

⁶³ The city ἡ Δάρδανος existed in the province of Hellespontos as late as the sixth century A.D.; Hierocles, *Synecdemus*, 662.7, ed. E. Honigmann (Bruxelles, 1939), p. 23. Cf. L. Büchner, art. *Dardanos* 1, *RE* 4 (1901), 2163f.

⁶⁴ Cf. V. J. Parry, art. *Boğaz-ıçı*, *EIsl* 1 (1960), 1251a–1252b; Besim Darkot and M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, art. *Boğazıcı*, *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 2 (1944–49), 666–692. The narrows at the south end of the Bosphoros are called *Marmara Boğazi*; see the Atlas of Turkey, prepared by Ali Tanoğlu et alii (Istanbul, 1961), map 1/a: *Istanbul* and map 1: *Türkiye*. Cf. *Atlas of the World*, vol. II (1959), plate 37: *Dardanelles*; on the *Karadeniz Boğazi* and *Istanbul Boğazi*: N. Tunçdilek et alii, art. *Bosporus*, *EBr* 3 (1970), 985b.

⁶⁵ Pseudo-Scylax [ca. 300 B.C.], Περίπλους τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς οἰκουμένης, *GGM* 1 (1855), 15, 67: καλεῖται δὲ Ἀνάπλους ὁ τόπος ἀπὸ Βόσπορον μέχρις ἀνέλθης ἐφ’ Ἱερὸν κλπ.; Dionys. Byz. [second cent. A.D., written before A.D. 196], Ἀνάπλους Βοσπόρου (Voyage Up the Thracian Bosphoros), ed. R. Güngerich (Berlin, 1927; ²1958): Ἀνάπλους for Dionysius Byzantinus was (1) the entire Bosphoros and (2) the place called Ἑστία (Dionys. Byz. 22.11), Turk. *Kuru-çesmé*, where the Μιχαήλιον was located (so named from the church to the archangel Michael, erected by Constantine the Great and renewed with magnificence by Justinian); cf. the scholiast [tenth cent.] *ad Dion. Byz.* 21.8. Cf. R. Güngerich, *op. cit.*, p. XLV f. Then, Dionys. perieg. [first / second cent. A.D.], *GGM* 2 (1861), 102, together with Eustathius *ad Dion. Perieg.* 140.240.42: τοῦ καλουμένου Ἀνάπλου. Steph. Byz., s. Δάφνη: ἔστι καὶ προάστειον Δάφνη ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀνάπλου ἀνίουσιν (cf. Eustathius *ad Dion. Perieg.* 916, who reproduces this information from Steph. Byz.); Steph. Byz. s. Καλλιπολις: Καλλιπολις, πόλιν Ἰωνίαν Λαμψάκου [. . .]. δευτέρα [sc. Καλλιπολις] κατὰ τὸν Ἀνάπλου. τρίτη πόλις κλπ. Malalas [sixth cent., before A.D. 563], *Chronographia*, 78.8. There is the site on the European bank of the Bosphoros called Ἀνάπλους (Procopius, *De aedif.*, 1.8.2; 6; 17); in Procop., *op. cit.*, 1.5.1, Ἀνάπλους is the suburb of Byzantion on the site of the modern suburb called *Arnavutköy*. Cf. Steph. Byz. s. Γυναικόπολις.

“narrow, straits”;⁶⁶ it was *Brachium Sancti Georgii* to the Latins at the time of the Crusades, the same name as that for the Hellespont, and since ancient times the name has been Βόσπορος/*bósporos*, in modern Greek *vósporos*.⁶⁷ This age-old name of the straits at Byzantion, meaning “channel” (or even “crossing”) was given about the early seventh century B.C.⁶⁸ *Bosporos* and *Bosporus* has been the international designation for these straits. Some additional substitute terms for it were used in antiquity but these described a geographic reality and did not really become names in their own right.⁶⁹

Βόσπορος was chiefly the strait between Byzantion and Chalcedon in Aristotle⁷⁰ and was also early called Βόσπορος Μύσιος “Mysian Bosphorus.”⁷¹ But generally Βόσπορος was the strait between the Sea of Mar-

⁶⁶ Στενόν (strait) “Bosporos” was in general use (and Ἐπάνω Στενόν “Upper Strait” in G. Sphrantzes, *Chronicon*, 115.13) and in contrast to τὰ Στενά “Straits” (τῆς Ἀβύδου) or Κάτω Στενά “Lower Straits” for the Hellespont; so Polyb. 4.44.6: τὰ τῆς Προποντιδος στενά κατ’ Ἀβυδον καὶ Σηστόν. Στενόν τοῦ Πόντου: Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 1.367; Θρακῶα τοῦ Στενοῦ μέρη, *ibid.*, 1.481; in early Byzantine times τὰ Στενά, e.g., κόμης τῶν Στενῶν τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης (he had his seat in Ἴερὸν on the Asiatic shore). Στενόν “Bosporos” in C. Porphyrogen., *De admin. imp.*, 51.13, 92 (and Στενίται “sailors of the Bosporos,” *ibid.*, 51.12, 91). Cf. K. Amantos, “Ἀβυδος — Στενόν,” *Ἑλληνικά* 1 (1928), 403f. [with quotations from Byzantine sources]; Ph. Koukoules, *Θεσσαλονίκη Ἐῶσταθλίον Τὰ λαογραφικά* (Athens, 1950), 2.234. Στενόν was, in addition, a settlement near the City. Cf. also D. Zakythinos, *ΕΕΒΣ* 22 (1952), 179f. Hence the name *Stenum* in the *Partitio Romaniae* (1204); Tafel und Thomas, *Urkunden* 1 (1856), p. 473 note 7.

As a parallel there may be mentioned *Narrows* (used as a singular form; cf. τὰ Στενά) in the United States, which designates a narrow place in a generally broader body of water; hence the name *The Narrows* and (as a habitation) *Narrows* in the state of Virginia. See G. R. Stewart, *American Place-names* (1970), p. 318.

⁶⁷ The Russian forms of the name are *Vospór* from middle Greek *Vósporos* and *Bospór* and *Bosfór*, new borrowings from medieval Latin *Bosporus* and *Bosphorus* (*Bosforus*); cf. M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 1 (1953), 111, s. *Bospór*. The accent on the last syllable (*Vospór*, *Bospór*) of the Russian reflex for Greek *Vósporos* or Latin *Bósporos*, not explained by Vasmer, is an internal linguistic matter, the result of inner-Russian practice about names of foreign provenience; this was the result of my discussion of this matter with my colleagues Eugene Grinbergs (Univ. of North Dakota) and Dr. Jaroslav Rudnyčkyj (Univ. of Manitoba).

⁶⁸ On the early date of Bosporos’ naming cf. V. Burr, *Nostrum mare* (1932), p. 27f. Cf. Favorinus [ca. A.D. 130] in Steph. Byz., s. Βόσπορος: Βυζαντιῶν λιμὴν Βόσπορος καλεῖται.

⁶⁹ These geographic descriptions are τοῦ Πόντου εἰσβολαί, Πόντου ἐκβολαί, *Ponti col-lum*, *Ponti canalis*, *Ponti fauces* (Ovid, *Tristia*, 1.9.31). Cf. *GGM* 2.6; E. Oberhammer, art. *Bosporos* 1, *RE* 3 (1899), 755; Burr, *op. cit.*, p. 24. On Turkish descriptive names for “Bosporos” see Parry, *op. cit.*, 1251b.

⁷⁰ Aristotle, *meteor.* 1.14.30; 3.2.6; *anim. hist.* 8.15.4.

⁷¹ Strabo 12.4.8: ἔπειτα Διονύσιος ὁ τὰς κτίσεις συγγράφας, ὃς τὰ κατὰ Χαλκηδὸνα καὶ Βυζάντιον στενά, ἃ νῦν Θράκιος Βόσπορος καλεῖται, πρότερον φησι Μύσιον Βόσπορον προσαγορεῦσθαι. Apollon. Rhod. 1.1114f.: φαίνεται δ’ ἠέρπεν στόμα Βοσπόρου ἠδὲ κολῶνα | Μύσιαι. *Schol. Apollon. Rhod.* 2.168.

mara (Propontis, Greek Προποντίς = ἡ πρὸ Πόντου θάλασσα)⁷² and the Black Sea (Pontos).⁷³

The first attestations of the name Βόσπορος are found in Herodotus (fifth cent. B.C.), who defines it as τὸ Στόμα τοῦ Πόντου "the Mouth toward Pontos" and, in its broader sense "the entire strait," as evidenced from the statement about its length and from the addition τοῦ στόματος ὁ ἀύχην "narrow neck."⁷⁴ And he had to define it because several straits in the NE Mediterranean bear the name Βόσπορος; e.g., Aeschylus [fifth cent. B.C.] employed the same name for the Hellespont and the Cimmerian strait. The Bosporos in the area of Byzantium is called "Thracian Bosporos" in Herodot. 4.83: Βόσπορος Ὀρηθικός⁷⁵ (Polyb. 4.39.4;⁷⁶ Strabo 12.4.8, etc.: Ὀράκιος; Dion. Byz., Ἀνάπλους Βοσπόρου, 2.8; 4.16, ed. R. Güngerich: Ὀράκιος B.; Eustathius ad Dionys. perieg. 140: Ὀρακικός) and in Latin literature *Bosporus Thracius* or *Bosporus*,⁷⁷ spelled also *Bosporos* and *Bosphorus*. The contrast usually is to the strait

⁷² The Greek name is Θάλασσα τοῦ Μαρμαρᾶ from Μαρμαρᾶς m., name of a village on the island of Prokonnesos, this latter located at the northern exit of the Hellespont.

⁷³ According to Polybius, who offers a description of the Bosporos (4.43f.), the southern boundary line, i.e., the beginning, of the (Thracian) Bosporos was the strait between Chalcedon and Byzantium (Polyb. 4.39.5) and the northern end point toward the Black Sea was the so-called Ἱερὸν (4.39.6, now in Turkish *Yoros*). Cf. F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vols. 1, 2 (Oxford, 1957, 1967), on Polyb. 4.39.5 and 6.

⁷⁴ Herodot. 4.85: τοῦτο τοῦ πελάγους [sc. τοῦ Πόντου] τὸ στόμα ἐστὶ εἶρος τέσσερες στάδιοι· μῆκος δὲ τοῦ στόματος ὁ ἀύχην, τὸ δὲ Βόσπορος κέκληται . . . τείνει δ' ἐς τὴν Προποντίδα ὁ Βόσπορος (ἀύχην is used also for Hellespont by Aeschyl. *Pers.* 71: ἀύχην πόντου "upon the neck of the deep"). 86: ὁ μὲν νῦν Πόντος οὗτος καὶ Βόσπορός τε καὶ Ἑλλάσποντος οὕτω τὸ μί μοι μεμετράεαι κλπ. 87: θεηράμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον στήλας ἔστησε [sc. Δαρεῖος] δύο ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λίθου λευκοῦ κλπ. and further: τοῦ δὲ Βοσπόρου ὁ χῶρος τὸν ἔξυξε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος . . . μέσον ἐστὶ Βυζαντίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι ἱεροῦ. 88: Μανδροκλέης τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαίνοντα . . . ἀνέθηκε. The bridge of boats set up by order of Darius to facilitate the crossing over the Bosporos for his campaign against the Scythians was perhaps at the narrowest point at Rumeli Hisar.

⁷⁵ Herodot. 4.83: ζεύγνυσθαι τὸν Ὀρηθικὸν Βόσπορον (Darius was sending messengers to charge some men to bridge the *Thracian Bosporos*); 7.10: πατήρ ὁ σὸς [sc. Darius, Xerxes' father] ζεύξας Βόσπορον τὸν Ὀρηθικόν. Cf. also 7.20. The adj. occurs further in the name Σάμος Ὀρηθική (*Il.* 13.12f.; *hymn.* 1.34), i.e. Σαμοθράκη.

⁷⁶ On the *Thracian Bosporos* see also the comments and bibliography in Walbank, *op. cit.* 1.488f. [on Polyb. 4.39.3f.: καλεῖται δὲ τὸ μὲν τῆς Μαιώτιδος στόμα Κιμμερικὸς Βόσπορος . . . τὸ δὲ τοῦ Πόντου παραπλησίως ὀνομάζεται μὲν Βόσπορος Ὀράκιος, ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν μῆκος κλπ.]. On the personal viewing by Polybius of the Thracian Bosporos see C. M. Danoff, art. *Pontos Euxeinus*, *RE, Suppl.*, 9 (1962), 883.

⁷⁷ Varro [ca. 37 B.C.], *Res rust.*, 2.1.8, ed. Goetz (Teubner, 1929): *Bosporum unum Thracium, alterum Cimmerium*; Mela [ca. A.D. 40] 1.14; Pliny [ca. A.D. 23–70], *NH* 4.76; etc. *Bosporos*: Lucanus [mid-first cent. A.D.], 5.436, ed. Housman (Oxford, 1916); *Bosphoros*: Ovid, *Tristia* [written A.D. 9–12], 3.4.49, ed. Owen (*OCT*, 1915). — Cf. *ThLL*, s. *Bosporus*, 2 (1900–06), 2143ff. [with derivatives]; J. Perin, *Onomasticon*, in: Ae. Forcellini, *Lexicon totius Latinitatis* 5 (Patavii, 1940), 277; *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, fasc. 1 (1968), 240a, s. *Bosp(h)orus*.

of Kerch, i. e., the Cimmerian Bosphoros: Κιμμέριος or Κιμμερικὸς Βόσπορος,⁷⁸ in Latin *Bosporus Cimmerius*, and less so to the Hellespont.⁷⁹

We may note a few derivatives: adj. Βοσπόριος, e. g., Βοσπόριος ἄκρα,⁸⁰ τὸ Βοσπόριον, name of the port of Byzantion (called also Βόσπορος),⁸¹ adj. Βοσποριανός, e. g., σπεῖρα Βοσποριανή "cohors Bosporiana" (recruited principally from the inhabitants of the B. Cimmerius),⁸² and inhabitant name Βοσπορίτης referring to B. Cimmerius (year 268 B.C.),⁸³ but also to the B. Thracius.⁸⁴

Folk-etymological name forms:

Βόσφορος, *Bosphoros*, -us, τὸ Φωσφόριον (for Βοσπόριον), Προσφόριος λιμὴν (for Βοσπόριος), τὸ Προσφόριον (for Βοσπόριον).

The form Βόσφορος for Bosphoros appears in late writings⁸⁵ as do τὸ Φωσφόριον (used locally)⁸⁶ and the name for the great port Προσφόριος λιμὴν and τὸ Προσφόριον (also Νεώριον).⁸⁷ This last case is the result of a folk etymology with προσφορά, while the forms with -φ- (Βόσφορος) or with Φ-φ- came about as the outcome of the interference of Ἐκάτη Φωσφόρος (cf. Steph. Byz. s. Βόσπορος); there was at the place called Bolos a τέμενος Ἄρτέμιδος Φωσφόρου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Πραεσίας, a temple of Diana Lucifera and of Venus Placida, where the inhabitants of Byzantium offered sacrifices annually.⁸⁸

⁷⁸ On the Βόσπορος for Ἰσθμὸς Κιμμερικὸς, the Straits of Kerch, modern *Yenikale*, see Aeschylus, *Prom.* 729–734: ἰσθμὸν δ' . . . / Κιμμερικὸν ἤξει, ὃν θραυσιπλάγχωνος σε χρὴ λιποῦσαν αὐλῶν' ἐκπερᾶν Μαιωτικῶν / ἔσται δὲ θνητοῖς εἰσαιεὶ λόγος μέγας τῆς σῆς πορείας, Βόσπορος δ' ἐπώνυμος / κεκλήσεται. — Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος: Herodot. 4.12; 100; Dion. Byz., *Anaplys* W2, ed. R. Güngerich, 2.1f.: τὸν καλούμενον Κιμμέριον Βόσπορον: W5, 4.16; ὁ κόλπος ὁ Κιμμέριος: Steph. Byz. s. Βόσπορος; also στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος and Σκυθικὸς Βόσπορος. On the Cimmerian Bosphoros extensively: V. Burr, *Nostrum mare* (1932), 36f.; cf. also E. B. J., art. *Bosporus Cimmerius*, in: W. Smith (ed.), *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* (1878), 421bf.

⁷⁹ Cf. Servius, *ad Georg.* 3.152 (*Bosphoros* = Hellespontus).

⁸⁰ Dionys. Byz., *Anaplys Bospori* (ed. R. Güngerich), p. 3, 1.2–3; 4.1; 4.10; 13.1; 16.16; 22.13.

⁸¹ Herodiani technici *reliquiae*, ed. A. Lentz (Leipzig, 1867), 1.365.35.

⁸² W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae* 2 (1960), p. 122, inscr. 489, 1. 7 [the inscription was found at the mouth of the Hermos, 3 km. from ancient Phocaea in Asia Minor]. Hesych. Milesius, fr. 61, *FHG* 4.175: Διφιλον . . . τὸν Βοσποριανόν.

⁸³ G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*⁴, 4 (1960), inscr. 424, 1.50: Ἴσουλός Χρυσολάου Βοσπορίτης: p. 68 (index). Personal name Φιλόνιχος Βοσπορίτης on papyri.

⁸⁴ In a mod. Greek poem ἡ πόλη ἡ Βοσπορίτισσα, τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου ἡ κόρη is Constantinople; K. Palamas, *Ἡ Φλογέρα τοῦ βασιλιά*, 4ος λόγος, 1.50 = Idem, *Ἄπαντα* 5.58. Βοσπορίτισσα is fem. of Βοσπορίτης used adjectively.

⁸⁵ *Schol. Flor. Eurip. Med.* 1; ap. Asterium, p. 180, E cod. Combef.; Georg. Syncellus, p. 594, 3. Cf. Stephanus, *ThGL* 2.336, s.v. Βόσπορος.

⁸⁶ Steph. Byz., s. Βόσπορος; Eustathius *ad Dionys. perieg.* 142; Hesych. Milesius, fr. 26, *FHG* 4.151.

⁸⁷ R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1950), pp. 241 and 275; cf. R. Guillard, "La chaîne de la Corne d'Or," *EEBS* 25 (1955), pp. 99 and 104.

⁸⁸ Dionys. Byz., *Anaplys Bospori*, ed. R. Güngerich, p. 16, 1. 4f.; cf. Petri Gellii, *De Bosporo Thracio*, II, 6, p. 32 (in the same ed. by Güngerich). See also *Phosphorus* in Güngerich, p. 28, 1. 10.

The Latin equivalent forms are *Bosphoros*,⁸⁹ *Bosphorus* (also *Bosforus*),⁹⁰ *Thracius Bosphorus*,⁹¹ *Cimmerius Bosphorus*,⁹² and *Bosphoros* = Hellespont.⁹³ The lexica also reflect these forms.⁹⁴ From the Latin form derive the forms in western European languages: *Bosphorus* is found in early English and German writings, the French form *Bosphore*, Ital. *Bosforo*, Span. *Bòsforo*, etc. In Greek itself, however, the sporadically occurring form Βόσφορος has not survived as such probably because it was not used orally but rather only by copyists of manuscripts (κωδικογράφοι) who were familiar with the folk etymologies and the Latin form *Bosphorus* (and *Bosforus*).

In keeping with Greek Προσφόριος λιμὴν and τὸ Προσφόριον there is also recorded *Portus Prosphorius* in Latin.⁹⁵

A byform of the city name Βόσπορος⁹⁶ on the Cimmerian Bosphoros is Βούσπορος (280 B.C.) and its pertinent inhabitant name Βουσπορίτης, occurring in a dedicatory inscription of Isyllus from Epidaurus in Argolis,⁹⁷ instead of Βόσπορος; this seems to me to be the result of analogical influence of βου- compounds such as Βούδορος, Βουφάγος, etc.⁹⁸

The Interpretation

There have been advanced a few possible explanations for the name Βόσπορος, one in the Thracian language, one in Phrygian (originally a dialect of Thracian), and another in Greek.

⁸⁹ *Bosphoros*: Ovid, *Tristia*, 3.4.49, ed. Owen (*OCT*, 1915).

⁹⁰ *Bosphorus*: Varro, *Res rust.*, 2.1.8; Horace, *Carm.* 2.13f. (with schol. Valer. Flacc. 4.344; 419); Curtius [mid-first cent. A.D.], 6.12.13, ed. Hadicke (Teubner, 1908); Müller, *GGM* 2.7 note 7.

⁹¹ Mela [written ca. A.D. 40], *De chorographia*, 1.7; 1.14 (ed. Frick, Teubner, 1880); Pliny [ca. A.D. 23–70], *NH* 4.76; 92; etc. (cf. Solinus [ca. mid-third cent. A.D.], 12.2, ed. Mommsen, 1895; Julius Honorius, *Cosmographia*, recensio A 28: *mare Bosphorus Thracius* (*GLM*, ed. Riese).

⁹² Mela 1.7; Pliny, *NH* 4.76; etc.

⁹³ Servius [fourth/fifth cent. A.D.], *ad Georg.* 3.152, ed. G. Thilo (Leipzig, 1887): [Io] transiit . . . per mare angustum, quod *Bosphoron* appellatum est, nunc Hellespontum nominatur.

⁹⁴ *ThLL* 2.2143: *Borphorus Bosforus* in libris usitatior (*bosforus* in: *Notae Tironianae*, 110.79, ed. Schmitz, 1893; *Commentarii notarum Tironianarum*. Perin, *Onomasticon* (1940), 277; *Oxford Latin Dictionary* 1 (1968), s. *Bosp(h)orus*.

⁹⁵ Cf. Janin, *op. cit.*, pp. 241 and 275; Guiland, *EEBΣ* 25.98f., 104.

⁹⁶ The metropolis Παντικάπιον or Βόσπορος, a Milesian colony, was located on the west edge of the Cimmerian strait. Cf. Βόσπορος in inscriptions of the third or second cent. B.C.: H. Collitz, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (Göttingen, 1884–1915), Nos. 3086.5; 3087.10; 32; 35.

⁹⁷ *Die argivischen Inschriften* von W. Prellwitz, in: Collitz, *ibid.*, No. 3342, 1. 62 = *IG* 4.1 (1929), No. 128, 1. 62 (Isylli carmina): Τουτάκι δ' ἦλθε, ὅχ' ὁ παῖς ἐκ Βουσπόρου ἦλθεν κάμνων. Cf. the commentary in *IG* 4.1, p. 83: Νικίας Ἡρακλείδου Βουσπορίτης, proxenus at Delphi, 277/6 or 276/5 B.C.

⁹⁸ On the form Βούσπορος see below, p. 91 with note 126.

a. THRACIAN AND PHRYGIAN

The Thracian explanation of the name Βόσπορος, advanced in 1873, has been held to seriously for three reasons: (1) the descriptive name Βόσπορος Θρηίκιος would imply that the name was drawn on the Thracian language, (2) there are names (and only place-names) in *-para* (and [the irrelevant] *-poris*) in Thracian,⁹⁹ and a Byzantine fortress called *Bospara* (sixth cent. A.D.),¹⁰⁰ and (3) folk etymology at work by the first Greek colonists (βοσ- with Greek βοϋς “ox,” gen. βοός) brought about the Greek form Βόσπορος involving the mythological motif of the saga of Io transformed into a cow. Several scholars, even most recently, believe in the Thracian¹⁰¹ and one in a Phrygian explanation.¹⁰²

In the last two decades considerable progress has been made in the study of the Thracian language, especially by the Bulgarian scholar,

⁹⁹ A. Fick, *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas. Eine sprachgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Göttingen, 1873), 423 (on Thracian *-para* in the compounded place-names *Bessapara* “Bessenfurth,” *Subzupara* and *Druzipara*, meaning “Furth” with reference to Gr. πόρος and MHG *var* “crossing, passage”). Later on Fick (*BB* 24 [1899], 295) suggested that Thracian *-para* in place-names is unrelated to πόρος “Furth” but it should be compared with Gothic *fēra* “side, area,” Gr. Πήρεια, in ablaut to which the preposition παρά stood, and *Bessa* in *Bessapara* should have adjectival function. E. Oberhummer, art. *Bosporos* 1, *RE* 3 (1899), 741 ff. [with earlier bibliography cited]. A. D. Mordtmann (*Historische Bilder vom Bosphorus* [Konstantinopel, 1907], p. 14) concludes from the termination *-πορος* of Βόσπορος that the name is of Thracian origin because the names *Dindiporis*, *Mukaporis* (also on p. 18f.), and *Gegaepyris*, are Thracian as is *Bessipara*; the truth, however, is that *-poris* and *-pyris* are irrelevant to *-para*, and also *-para* and Gr. πόρος are equally unrelated.

¹⁰⁰ Among 35 fortresses in the Byzantine eparchia of Thrace (Upper Hebros valley), erected by Justinian I, there are listed for the sixth cent. A.D. by Procopius, *De aedific.*, 4.11.20: Βόσπαρα (Βοσπάρα is listed by Tomaschek, *SB Wien* 131 [1894], 63, along with 23 other examples in *-πάρα*, *-πάρως*, *-πέρα*, *-phara*; cf. Oberhummer, *op. cit.*, 741), Βεσούπαρον (*Bessapara*: *Itin. Ant.* 136.3), Βηρίπαρα, Ἰσγίπερα, Βηλαιδίπαρα, Βέπαρα. These names include as second component *-para*, also *-παρον*, *-περα*. It is highly improbable that *-para* in these denoted “ford” and researchers have not agreed on the semantic side of the word *para*: “trail, gathering place or assembly point, market place, ἐμπόριον” or “section, clan” (Tomaschek, *SB Wien* 130,2 [1894] 16); “ford” like Greek πόρος “way, passage through” (N. Jokl, *RLV* 13 [1929], 285b, 289a; against Tomaschek’s semantic suggestions V. Burr, *Nostrum mare* [1932], 27).

¹⁰¹ For the foreign origin of the name Βόσπορος is also V. Burr, *op. cit.*, 26–28, considering it a Thracian (though with a question mark) designation which was Hellenized into Βόσπορος but admitting the meaning of βοσ- to be unknown, so that a precise rendering of the name is “today not yet possible” (p. 27). *GEL* (1925–40), s. Βόσπορος, states that the name was “wrongly explained by the Greeks as *Ox-ford*, name of several straits”; O. Becker, *Das Bild des Weges* (1937), p. 26 note 13 [he follows Oberhummer and adds that the Thracian term *-para* (*-paros*) frequent in place-names, is equated with Gr. πόρος with reference to Walde-Pokorny, 2.39]; V. J. Parry, art. *Boghaz-ı̇i*, *EIsl* 1 (1960), 1251a [with reference to Oberhummer, *RE* s. *Bosporos*]; Ernst Meyer, art. *Bosporos* (*Βόσπορος*) 1, *Der Kleine Pauly* 1 (1964), 933f. [probably routinely following Oberhummer, as the preceding writers]. ¹⁰² See V. Georgiev, below.

D. Dečev, to whose credit are two important works, but also by a number of other scholars.¹⁰³ Their work has also been beneficial to our problem at hand.

Could Greek -πορος of Βόσπορος be from Thracian *-para* or Phrygian **-poros*? Our answer is this: the IE phoneme *o* yielded Thracian *a*, also IE *p* changed into either *p-* or *ph-*, therefore phonologically IE **poros* changed into Greek πόρος and could have changed into Thracian **para* (variants: *-para* and *-παρα*, *-phara*, *-περα*).¹⁰⁴ The realia, however, are the insurmountable obstacle to this explanation: the sense “ford” attached to Thracian *-para* would be suitable, in case it were about a major and deep river which can be crossed at definite points only. The meaning of *para* as Greek ἐμπόριον “market place, assembly point” and the like, endorsed by D. Dečev, who therein is following suit with W. Tomaschek,¹⁰⁵ is unacceptable; such a semantic content for *para* is unwarranted, as demonstrated by V. Georgiev.¹⁰⁶ A further explanation of *para* from IE **g^worā* “mountain”¹⁰⁷ has also been refuted on the ground that the expected Thracian form from IE **g^worā* would be *kara* and in fact it is, as the Thracian compounded names Καραβαζμος, Καραβιζύη, Καράσουρα show.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ D. Detschew [1877–1958], *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*. Wien, 1957. IX, p. 584. (Österreich. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., Schriften der Balkankommission, Lingu. Abt. XIV). [Proper names and glosses, 1–535; addenda, 535–540; Dacian plant names, 541–565; corrections, 583f.] Cf. the reviews by J. Puhvel, *Language* 33 (1957), 439–446; A. Heubeck, *BNF* 9 (1958), 118–122; G. R. Solta, *IF* 46 (1961), 65–78. Dečev’s work has been praised as an indispensable tool for future studies of the Thracian language, a model collection, and a work to figure as a landmark in the investigation of the ancient Balkan languages. Dečev lists (356f.) 39 Thracian place-names and/or derivatives of such names: Idem, *Charakteristik der thrakischen Sprache*. Sofia, 1952 (Publications de l’Académie Bulgare des Sciences). A revised second edition appeared in *LB* 2 (1960), *Annexe*, 145–213. However, it should be said that both works of Dečev contain much that is unacceptable.

N. Jokl, art. *Thraker*, *Eberts RLV* 13 (1929), 277–298. The section on the Thracian language (284–296) is quite original (joining this is W. Brandenstein, art. *Thrakische Sprache*, *RE* 11 [1936], 407–414). Many other studies by various scholars have appeared in the last 20 years; some of them are cited further below.

¹⁰⁴ Dečev, *LB* 2 (1960), *Annexe*, 148; Pokorny, *IEW* (1959), 816f., s. *per-*, *perə-*, indicates that Thrac. *-πόρος*, *-para* occur in place-names. For *-πόρος* he obviously has Βόσπορος in mind, which is not the case. Frisk, *GEW* 2 (Lieferung 16, 1967), 492, s. *πείρω*, mentions Thracian place-names in *-παρος*, *-παρα*; actually they are either *-παρον* (neut. sing.) or *-παρα* (neut. plur.). See below.

¹⁰⁵ Dečev, *LB* 2 (1960), *Annexe*, 148.

¹⁰⁶ V. Georgiev, “Trakijskata дума PARA etc.,” *Izvestija na Institutata za bŭlgarski jezik* 9 (Sofia, 1962), 3.

¹⁰⁷ B. Simeonov, “Noms des lieux thraces récemment découvertes,” *LB* 6 (1963), pp. 87–92.

¹⁰⁸ K. Vlahov, “Das thrakische Wort PARA und seine Deutung,” *Živa Antika* (Antiquité Vivante) 15 (1966), p. 297.

The Phrygian language preserved *o* unchanged (which Thracian changed into *a*).¹⁰⁹ This apparently prompted V. Georgiev to advance the interpretation of the name Βόσπορος (Herodotus, Aeschylus) as a Phrygian correspondence of the Thracian place-name Βόσπαρα (Procop., *De aedific.* 4.11.20), both names supposed to designate "light river, white river." The noun suffix *-para* is assigned the sense "little stream, rivulet, river" (on the ground that the Hellespont is designated as a river in Hesychius and Stephanus of Byzantium¹¹⁰ and bears the second name "Ἐλλης πόρος); the second component, *-πορος*, is traced back to IE **boro-* (with fem. **borā*) "river" (Bulg. *bara* "brook" is compared); the IE *o* in *-πορος* of Βόσπορος is retained because of the not-occurring sound-shift (*Lautverschiebung*), a trait that is characteristic of some Phrygian dialects.¹¹¹ The first component of Βόσ-πορος is linked with IE **bhos-*: Greek φῶς "light", φῶσκει "it dawns," Skt. *bhās-* "light, shine,"¹¹² Because of the byform Φωσφόριον for Βοσπόριον, the author postulates Φωσφόριον as being "eine griechische Teilübersetzung des phrygischen Namens Βόσπορος."¹¹³ I have presented the exposition in detail because it is ingenious in combining data, but it is at the same time too far-fetched and unconvincing both in the phonological and the semantic aspects, explaining *ignotum per ignotius*. If this complex interpretation is countered with Βοδς πόρος (IE *g^wowós pōros*), the simplicity of the latter is obvious. As for Φωσφόριον, the name Φωσφόρος was one of the several names of the goddess of light; therefore the folk-etymological influence of Φωσφόρος on Βόσπορος is understandable, the more so since "Ἐλλᾶ (in "Ἐλλᾶς πόντος) was also a name of the same goddess and Βόσπορος was also "Hellespont."¹¹⁴ As far as the Byzantine fortress Βόσπαρα

¹⁰⁹ Cf. F. Solmsen, "Zum Phrygischen," *KZ* 34 (1897), 49, and P. Kretschmer, *Einführung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (1896), p. 221.

¹¹⁰ This statement is made by A. Chatzis, *ΕΕΦΣ* of the Univ. of Athens 1 (1935, publ. 1937), 140 and again by V. Georgiev, *LB* 3, 2 (1961), 26 note 1. In fact, however, neither Hesychius nor Stephanus of Byzantium calls the Hellespont a river. In the new ed. of Hesychius by K. Latte we read: "Ἐλλήσποντος: ποταμός ἐπὶ τῆς παραλίας [this from a Cyrillian gloss, fifth cent. A.D.] ASn [ca. A.D. 1200] ἡμεταξὺ Τροίας καὶ Χερρονήσου θάλασσα. This means that there was a river "Ἐλλήσποντος on the seacoast (ἐπὶ τῆς παραλίας) and "Ἐλλήσποντος was also the seaway. Steph. Byz. s. "Ἐλλήσποντος states: "Ἐλλήσποντος, ἡ χώρα ἢ παρακειμένη τῷ κόλπῳ, ἀπὸ "Ἐλλης and adds the inhabitant names "Ἐλλησπόντιος, "Ἐλλησποντία, "Ἐλλησποντίς; at the end he explains "Ἐλλήσποντος ἀπὸ δύο παρηγμένον [i. e. "Ἐλλης πόντος] and advances parallels: παρωκεανῆτις from παρ' ὠκεανόν and παραποτάμιος from παρὰ ποταμῶ. It is an utter misunderstanding that he calls Hellespont a river.

¹¹¹ V. Georgiev, "La toponymie ancienne de la Péninsule Balkanique et la thèse méditerranéenne," *LB* 3, 1 (1961), p. 9 [the author lists on p. 9f. 41 examples in *-para* etc., to which six more are added, though doubtful]; also pp. 25–27; idem, "Trakijskata duma PARA etc.," *Isvestija na Instituta za bŭlgarski jezik* 9 (1962), pp. 5–10.

¹¹² Georgiev. *LB* 3 (1961), p. 26.

¹¹³ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹⁴ L. Malten, *RhM, NF*, 93 (1949), p. 79.

in Thrace is concerned, it is obviously recorded too late (sixth cent. A.D.) to carry any weight in considering seriously the interpretation of Βόσπορος, which had existed over a millennium earlier.

Pertinent arguments brought up against this novel attempt by K. Vlahov are as follows: (1) the forms with *-παρον* (i. e., sing. neut. of *para*) came about much later in time than the form *πόρος* in Greek, e. g., in Hesiod [eighth cent. B.C.], and (2) the forms *-para* and *-παρον* are attested in names, and this points to the fact that such compounded names refer to settlements; Βόσπορος, however, designates an area at the water, where a *ford* is fittingly expected; *ford* carries also the basic meaning of the Greek term *πόρος*.¹¹⁵ The sense "river" was rejected with good reasons: among the more than 42 different places named with *para*-compounded words no rivers are included but all of these places are attested as located in mountainous areas.¹¹⁶

Vlahov's discussion, the most recent (1966) that I know, seems to me plausible. The Thracian appellative *para* is, in fact, a neut. plur. noun; ten instances out of the certain 42 compounds show plural genitive or dative forms, which are the earliest recorded ones. The Thracian term *para*, corresponding to Dacian *dava* "settlement," signifies something similar: originally meaning "fences, palisades," then "farms fenced-in with palisades," "farms," and then "group of farms, village, settlement"; Dacian *dava* and Thracian *para* are, therefore, synonyms. The etymology for *para* offered by Vlahov is from IE **por-a* (basic radical **sper-* "spar, rafter; stake"), whence Old Bulg. *-pora* "fulcrum, baculum."¹¹⁷ A sing. neut. form *-παρον* is found in compounds such as Βρίπαρον (βρι- of dimin. **βριον* "town" from Thracian βρία "city"),¹¹⁸ Τάρπορον, Τόπαρον, etc. The *-περα* form, attested in late literary sources, is explained as the outcome of false renderings of *-para*, so Δρυσίπερα, Δριζίπερα.¹¹⁹

Mr. Vlahov's laudable exposition has solved the crux of *para*. His conclusions entail also the demolition of the Thracian origin of the name Βόσπορος, which, in his own words, "eher griechischer Herkunft ist und nichts mit dem thrakischen Βόσπερα gemein hat."¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ So Vlahov, "Das thrakische Wort PARA und seine Deutung," *Živa Antika* (Antiquité Vivante) 15 (1966), 304. It should be noted that Βόσπορος is attested in Herodotus but not in Hesiod, as both Georgiev (*LB* 3.26) and Vlahov (*loc. cit.*) inadvertently let their readers believe. The term *πόρος* occurs in Hesiod.

¹¹⁶ K. Vlahov, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

¹¹⁷ With regard to Old Church Slavic *-pora* see IE 1. (*s*)*per-* in Pokorny, *IEW* 990f. (with references to A. Walde — J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* [Berlin, 1928–32], 2.665f. and others). Pokorny (*IEW* 816) holds both *-παρον* and *-πόρος* (as Greek *πόρος*) to be Thracian from IE *per-*: *perā-*: *poros*, etc.

¹¹⁸ Since the original meaning of Thracian-Phrygian βρία (from IE **wriyā*: **wer-*) was "stronghold, citadel," Βρίπαρον would have signified "fortified city" or "city citadel." Cf. Pokorny, *IEW* (1959), 1152; s. 2. *yer. B* "high."

¹¹⁹ Vlahov, *op. cit.*, pp. 298–303; summary, p. 304.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 303f.

b. GREEK

The Greek etymology of Βόσπορος has come down to us from antiquity.¹²¹ Its discrediting, however, by scholars was based on the conviction that a Thracian (or Phrygian) etymon had been proved, so that Eugen Oberhammer felt confident enough to state that the derivation of Βόσπορος from βοῦς is etymologically inadmissible and that this "derivation of βοσ- was perhaps made a mess by the original Greek colonists."¹²² Other scholars have done likewise. The name Βόσπορος as a derivative of βοῦς (IE *gʷou-* "ox," nomin. *gʷous*) and πόρος (IE *per-* etc.) is not honored by Walde and Pokorny; instead Thracian -πόρος, -παρα in place-names are placed together with Gr. πόρος "ford."¹²³ Likewise the Greek etymon is rejected by V. Georgiev as being an old folk etymology untenable both on the semantic and the phonological counts.¹²⁴

Here the case and the arguments in its favor will be presented, a solution about the first component of Βόσπορος suggested, and pertinent details discussed.

The ancients were aware of a connection (correct or not) between Βόσπορος and Βοός πόρος. A late name form Βοός πόρος for the Thracian Bosporos occurs in a dactylic hexameter in Oppian (second / third cent. A.D.) and for the Cimmerian Bosporos in the Orphic Argonautica (probably of imperial times).¹²⁵ In addition, while Βόσπορος is the name in many inscriptions from the Northern Black Sea, the form Βοόςπορος quadrisyllabic is used in four inscriptions from the same area.¹²⁶ As for

¹²¹ Cf. the etymology in Roman authors from Varro [first cent. B.C.] to ca. A.D. 400: Varro [ca. 37 B.C.], *Res rusticae* 2.1.8, ed. Goetz (Teubner, 1929); Pliny [A.D. 23–70], *NH* 6.2, ed. Schuster (Teubner, 1952 (and Solinus [after A.D. 200] 23.16)); C. Valerius Flaccus [died A.D. 92], *Argonautica*, 4.419, ed. Kramer (Teubner, 1913); Ammianus Marcellinus [ca. A.D. 390], *Res gestae*, 22.8.13, ed. Gardthausen (1874ff.); Hieronymus, *Chron. ad annum Abrahae* [ca. A.D. 380] 161, ed. Schöne, *Eusebii chronica* 2 (1866); *Scholia in Horatium* [a late compilation] in *carmina* 2.13.15, ed. Keller 1 (1902): quasi βο<ο>s phoros; Avienus [middle of fourth cent.], *orbis terrae*, 199, ed. Holder (1887).

¹²² Oberhammer, art. *Bosporos* 1, *RE* 3 (1899), 741 ["etymologisch unerläßlich"].

¹²³ A. Walde und J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1 (1930), 696f.; 2 (1927), 39. The authors also mention (2.39) Fick (*BB* 24.295), who treats Thracian -πόρος, -παρα differently.

¹²⁴ V. Georgiev, *LB* 3 (1961), p. 26: Βόσπορος aus Βοός-πορος "ist nichts weiter als eine alte Volksetymologie. Semantisch und lautlich ist sie unhaltbar."

¹²⁵ Oppian, *Halieutica*, 1.617: Θρητικιον δ' ἐνόουσι Βοός Πόρον αιολόφυλοι / ἔσμοι Βεβρυκτην τε κλπ. (And swarms of various tribes make the Thracian Ford of the Ox, past the Bebrycian Sea [i.e., the Propontis = the Sea of Marmara] etc.); Orphic *Argonautica*, 1056, ed. G. Dottin (Paris, 1930): δισσαῖς δ' ἐν τριμύροισι Βοός Πόρον ἐξικόμεσθα / λίμνης ὄντα μεσηγύ, κλπ. (en deux fois trois quarts de jour, nous arrivons au Bosphore, au milieu d'un étang, etc.).

¹²⁶ B. Latychev, *Inscriptiones regni Bosporani Graecae et Latinae* (Petropoli 1890) (= *Inscr. Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*, vol. 2), No. 355, ll. 1–3, p. 181f. [A.D. 71]: Αὐτοκράτορα Οὐεσπασιανόν . . . κύριον τοῦ σύμπαντος Βοοσπόρου;

the form Βοὸς Πόρον in Oppian and the *Argonautica*, this de-compounding, as it were, of the name Βόσπορος was dictated to the author probably by the metrical need for υ/΄υυ Βο/ὸς Πόρον, for Βόσπορον (΄υυ) would not do for the hexameter. The form Βόσπορος in inscriptions, on the other hand, shows, I submit, an influence of the learned tendencies of bureaucratise.

The etymology of Βόσπορος was associated also with the mythical motif about Io who, transformed into a cow, is supposed to have swum across the strait near Byzantium.¹²⁷ However, when concrete names like Βόσπορος, *Oxford*, *Ochsenfurt*, etc., lie before us, we should examine the language first and then the myths.

Bosporos "Hellespont"

Ἑλλάσποντος "Hellespont" is used as a synonym to *Bosporos* in Aesch. *Pers.* 722f. and 745f. [fifth cent. B.C.].¹²⁸ Βόσπορος "Hellespont" is clearly documented in the ancient commentators: the scholion on Aesch. *Pers.* 725: Βόσπορον τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον, and 726: Βόσπορον δὲ λέγει τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον.¹²⁹ And the old editions of the play by Wecklein, Sidgwick, Mondry-Baudouin, and Mazon¹³⁰ have adopted this interpretation.

No. 358, l. 3 (p. 185—187) [third cent. A.D.]: βασιλέα βασιλέων μέγαν τοῦ / σύμπαντος Βοσπόρου Τιβέριον Ἰούλιον κλπ.; No. 42, p. 43f. [A.D. 291]: Τιβέριον Ἰούλιον Ῥησκούποριν βασιλέα Βοσπόρου καὶ τῶν πέριξ ἔθνῶν τὸν φιλορώμαιον καὶ φιλέλληνα κλπ.; No. 37, l. 2, p. 37f. (Pantikapaion): Βασιλέα μέγαν Ἀσπούργον κλπ. / φιλοκαίσαρα καὶ φιλορώμαιον, βασιλεύοντα παντὸς Βοσπόρου, Θεοδοσίης / καὶ Σινδῶν κλπ. Cf. H. Stephanus, *ThGL* 2 (1833), 336, s. Βόσπορος.

¹²⁷ Polyb. 4.43.6; etc. Cf. Walbank, *op. cit.*, 1.497. Other attestations in Oberhammer, *op. cit.*, 741f.; Pape-Benseler 1.220f. Cf. V. Burr, *Nostrum mare* (1932), 26.

Another version of the Io myth is given by the Schol. *Apoll. Rhod.* 2.168a. This saga is very old as an important part of the mythology of the Argives, who Hesychius of Miletus [sixth cent. A.D.] asserts were the first colonists of Byzantium; Hesychius of Miletus, 3 *FHG* 4.147.

Another version is that at the time of the incursion of the Phrygians an ox swam across the strait at Byzantium and thus led the Phrygians across the ford (Eustathius *ad Dionys. Perieg.* 140; Arrian, *fr.* 35; *FHG* 3.593). This precise localization enhances the assumption that the name Βόσπορος would have been set near Byzantium; Steph. Byz. s. Βόσπορος: Βυζαντίων λιμὴν Βόσπορος καλεῖται. Cf. Burr, *Nostrum mare* (1932), p. 26; above, note 40.

¹²⁸ Aeschyl. *Pers.* 723: καὶ τόδ' ἐξέπραξεν, ὥστε Βόσπορον κλῆσαι μέγαν. 745f.: ὅστις Ἑλλάσποντον ἶρον δοῦλον ὡς δεσμώμασιν / ἤλπισε σχῆσειν ῥέοντα, Βόσπορον ῥέον θεοῦ. This Βόσπορος at Sestos and Abydos is considered the end of the Hellespont. Abydos was on the Asian side in Mysia (south of modern Nagara Point) and Sestos was located on a plateau 350 feet from the Hellespontine shore of the Thracian Chersonese at the narrowest point of the straits (the Sestos site now being occupied by a Turkish monastery); cf. Walbank, *op. cit.*, 2.539 [on Polyb. 16.29.3].

¹²⁹ *Scholion ad Aesch. Pers.*, ed. Dähnhardt (1894), l. 725 (scholia of the Mediceus), l. 726 (scholia Byzantina).

¹³⁰ Cf. Th. Reinach, *REG* 36 (1923), p. 349 (letter to the editor dated 21 Jan. 1924).

For the geographer Phileas of Athens [also of the fifth cent. B.C.] there were in the area of Byzantium two Βόσποροι, as we learn from the Souda.¹³¹ In Sophocles, *Ajax*, 879–884, Βοσπόριοι ποταμοί (l. 882), i.e., Bosphoros' rivers, end in Bosphoros = Hellespont.¹³² Finally, the historian Hesychius of Miletus [sixth cent. A.D.] calls Ἑλλησποντιακὴ the city implied in an adespota fragment: Πριηπίδος τε τῆς πρὸ Βοσπόρου πόλεως.¹³³

E. Oberhammer considered the extension of the Βόσπορος to the Hellespont arbitrary on Aeschylus' part,¹³⁴ while Th. Reinach criticized Oberhammer's judgment as unjustified on the basis of the facts;¹³⁵ he also observed that Pape-Benseler and Bailly erroneously interpreted Aeschylus, *Pers.* 723, as the strait of Constantinople.¹³⁶ But it was A. Ronconi who argued, in my opinion, successfully against Oberhammer.¹³⁷

No more needs to be said about the matter since the application of the name Βόσπορος to the Hellespont is now accepted.¹³⁸

Here the onomastic aspects of the matter also come to the fore. One well known principle in place naming is the expansion of the area that was originally represented by the name. In our case, it seems to me that

¹³¹ ΣΟΙΛΙΑ s. Βόσποροι: Βόσποροι δύο· ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Προποντίδα, ὁ δὲ Θρακικός, ὡς φησι Φιλίεας (ed. Thomas Gaisford, Oxford, 1834; ed. Gaisford-Bernhardy, 1853). — A. Ronconi, "Il Bosforo" in his article "Per l'onomastica antica di mari," *SIFC* 9 (1931), 221 f. Ronconi treats the matters of Hellespont and Propontis in a separate chapter, "Ellesponto e Propontide," *ibid.*, 225–242. — Phileas' testimony, which had been disregarded by Reinach and Cahen, eliminates in Ronconi's opinion every doubt about the existence of a geographic term Βόσπορος ὁ κατὰ τὴν Προποντίδα, a term which must quite early have fallen into disuse for obvious reasons: the name Ἑλλησποντος, an earlier one and more convenient, easily prevailed over Βόσπορος, which already designated two other straits and needed, therefore, an additional qualifier: ὁ κατὰ τὴν Προποντίδα (Ronconi, *ibid.*, 223). I agree with Ronconi.

¹³² Cf. on this view commentaries and criticisms in Cahen, *Revue des études anciennes* 27 (1914), p. 179 f.

¹³³ E. Diehl, *Anthologia lyrica Graeca*, fasc. 3: *Iamborum scriptores*³ (Leipzig, 1952), p. 73, No. 2 (19). Cf. Strabo 13.1.12: Πριάπος δ' ἐστὶ πόλις ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ λιμνῇ κτίσμα δ' οἱ μὲν Μιλησίων φασίν, οἴπερ καὶ Ἀβυδὸν καὶ Προκόννησον συνόκησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν· οἱ δὲ Κυζικηνῶν ἐπόνυμος δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ Πριάπου τιμωμένου παρ' αὐτοῖς κλπ. On the site of the city of Priapus see Walter Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 73. Hesychius of Miletus: Πριηπίδος τε τῆς πρὸ Βοσπόρου πόλεως· Ἑλλησποντιακῆς, <ῆν> τὴν Πριάπον τὴν Διονύσου καὶ Περικώτης φησὶν οἰκίσαι.

¹³⁴ Oberhammer, *RE* 3.742.

¹³⁵ Th. Reinach, "Le Bosphore chez Eschyle," *REG* 36 (1923), 64. The author mentions Henri Weil's comment on Aeschylus, *Pers.* 723: *Bospori nomen ad Hellespontum etiam v. 731 transfertur* (1867) (Reinach, p. 63), and Alexis Pierron in his translation of Aeschylus (eighth ed., 1869); Pierron says, "Aeschylus gives poetically the name of the Bosphoros to the strait of Helle, as he could have given it to any other strait," and voices his surprise about the fact that the new editors of the *Thesaurus* did not pick up this remarkable peculiarity (Reinach, p. 63).

¹³⁶ Pape-Benseler, 220 s.v.; Bailly, *Dictionnaire grec-français*, s. Βόσπορος.

¹³⁷ See above, note 102.

¹³⁸ Thus, *GEL*, s. Βόσπορος, p. 323a.

the name Βόσπορος of the area of Byzantion could in time be extended from the general meaning "narrows" of Byzantion to the lower part toward the Aegean and, since the Hellespont presented the same qualifications as, and was the continuation of, the upper part toward the Black Sea, so also the Hellespont was named Βόσπορος. In fact, the qualification consisted of being the narrow straits extending from the Black Sea to the Aegean, and this is again reflected in the Byzantine name Στενόν: τὰ Στενά (and τὰ Κάτω Στενά) were the straits of the Hellespont and τὸ Στενόν (or Ἐπάνω Στενόν) the channel north of Constantinople.

It is fitting to discuss in this respect the possibility of a common noun βόσπορος, like the synonymous common noun στενόν "narrows."

The relationship of appellative βόσπορος to the geographic name Βόσπορος

The name Βόσπορος could originally have been a common noun. As εὐρίπος "sea strait, channel" (literally, "sea strait with a strong flow")¹³⁹ had a place-name already in Mycenaean Greek, written *Ewiripo* (*An* 610.6; with ethnic Εὐρίπιος, written *Ewiripia Aa* 60), so a narrow waterway, a strait, could be called βόσπορος, literally "ox-ford," i.e., "point of crossing (the waterway),"¹⁴⁰ therefore a synonym of anc. Βούπορθμος (now Μουζάκι), name for a cape near Hermione at the strait facing the islet of Aperopia (mod. Δοκός), and another in the Sporades. The only difficulty in establishing the appellative βόσπορος for classical Greek is

¹³⁹ Cf. also "ὁ εὐρίπος euripus": *Hermeneumata Einsidlensia* [cod. of 1503], *CGL* 3 (1892), 246, l. 1.

¹⁴⁰ *Etymol. Magnum*, s.v.: τινές δὲ τοὺς στενοὺς πορθμοὺς βοσπόρους εἰρῆσθαι (sc. φασί). Schol. *Apoll. Rhod.* 2.168a (ed. C. Wendel [Berlin, 1935], p. 138): ἡ διὰ <τὸ> πάντας τοὺς στενοὺς πορθμοὺς βοσπόρους καλεῖσθαι· ἔνιοι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος οἰκοῦντας τὸ παλαιόν, εἴποτε ἐθέλοιεν εἰς τὸ πέραν διαβαίνειν, σχεδίας πηγνύντας καὶ βόας ἐπιζεύξαντας ἐπὶ τούτων διαπεραιοῦσθαι, ὅθεν καὶ ὀνομάσθαι τὴν θάλασσαν. And the gloss "βόσπορος bosporus," *CGL* 3 (1892), 246, l. 2; *Thesaurus glossarum emendatarum*, ed. G. Goetz, *CGL* 6–7 (Lipsiae, 1899–1901), part 1, vol. 6, p. 150 [here the spelling of βόσπορος with lower case β- means nothing since the codex lists other geographic names, all with initial minuscules: ὁ εὐξείνουσ πόντος, τὸ κιμμερικὸν πέλαγος, τὸ αἰγαῖον πέλαγος.]; also *bosforos* (4.26.11), *bustyrum transitus maris* (5.543.19), *bosporus transitus ponti in Asia* (4.212.28; 586.18); *transitus maris in Asia, stella uespertina* (4.594.5; 489.22 [in Africa]); *transitus maris uel stella* (4.595.12); *stella matutina, Lucifer uel transitus maris in Asia* (4.602.1); these were reproduced in *ThLL* s. *Bosporus*, 2 (1900–06), 2143, l. 74f., and A. Forcellini, *Lexicon totius Latinitatis, V. Onomasticon* (Patavii, 1940), s. *Bosporus*, p. 277. The noun seems to have been adopted in Latin as *bosporus* "fretum," as seen in Horace, *carm.* 2.13.14: *navita Bosporum / Poenus perhorrescit*. "Bosporum pro quolibet freto dixit," i.e. he said bosporum in place of any "fretum"; cf. Th. Reinach, "Le Bosphore chez Eschyle," *REG* 36 (1923), 350. The appellative has been also in French in the form *bosphore*; cf. E. Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* 2 (1885–86), s. *Bosphore*: "... par extension tout détroit de peu d'étendue"; employed in this sense often by the author Elisée Reclus (cf. Reinach, *loc. cit.*).

that, beside the late, medieval, testimonies for it, i.e., in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, in the scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius, and the dubious glosses, no classical literary or epigraphic ones are available, none of the fifth cent. B.C.,¹⁴¹ for which the term is claimed. However, the old edition of Aeschylus, *Pers.* 723, by Schiller and revised by Conrardt accepts βόσπορος as an appellative, and the same was independently assumed by Th. Reinach.¹⁴² The latter scholar maintains that βόσπορος was used as synonymous to πορθμός in *Pers.* 723 and 746 and that βόσπορος designates a "very narrow strait" (or passage, crossing) and so he translates the passage Ἐλλάσποντον ἱρὸν / . . . βόσπορον, ῥόον θεοῦ "the sacred Hellespont, the narrowed strait, where a god flows" (i.e., the anonymous aquatic god); and it is for this that he draws support from the *Etymol. Magnum*.

Conversely, Ronconi understands this as an opinion, expressed in the *Etymol. Magnum* but not generally shared, and suggests an ancient etymologist conceived βόσπορος as "a strait across which an ox can swim."¹⁴³ Ronconi's conclusion is that this testimony carries not too much authority. As Cahen had observed much earlier, this testimony alone can prove nothing for the noun βόσπορος in the Greek language usage of the fifth cent. B. C. since no other instances of the noun have been transmitted.¹⁴⁴ By the way, the content in Aesch. *Pers.* 723: βόσπορον . . . μέγαν is hardly a contradiction in terms, as Ronconi (*ibid.*, 223) thinks; for here the adj. μέγας either refers to the entire upper waterway Βόσπορος as against the Βόσπορος = Hellespont or means "important, significant," as it really was.

Since we can hardly dismiss βόσπορος recorded as an appellative noun in the *Etymol. Magnum* and mentioned by the scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius as carrying no weight, V. Burr¹⁴⁵ and P. Kretschmer¹⁴⁶ accepted the noun as a fact. In favor of this view I may recall the fact that many words of the ancient languages have not been preserved in the texts for us because they either were not used in writings or the texts in which they were employed were accidentally lost to us forever; yet the *Etymol. Magnum* (whose lexicographical sources go back to the ninth cent. A.D.) and the scholiast may have had more texts containing this particular word than

¹⁴¹ Ronconi, *SIFC* 9 (1931), 220–225; on p. 222 he considers the statement in *Etymol. Magnum* to be an opinion of an ancient etymologist with no validity for us; he also dismisses the comment to Horace, *carm.*, 2.13.14 (Navita Bosporum Poenus perhorrescit): *Bosporum pro quolibet freto dixit*. But Ronconi is unaware of the *scholion to Apoll. Rhod.* 2.168a and the gloss in the *Thes. glossarum emendatarum* (see preceding note).

¹⁴² Th. Reinach, *REG* 36 (1923), p. 349 (per letter to the editor of *REG*, dated 21 Jan. 1924).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹⁴⁴ Cahen, *REG* 27 (1914), p. 178; Ronconi, *SIFC* 9 (1931), p. 223.

¹⁴⁵ V. Burr, *Nostrum mare* (1932), p. 26 with note 47.

¹⁴⁶ P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 27 (1939), p. 29.

we now have at our disposal; or because the term, after becoming a name, fell into disuse.¹⁴⁷

When three or more instances of the name Βόσπορος for “straits” in the NE Mediterranean area came into being and needed to be more closely defined to be kept distinct from one another (τῆς Καλχηδονίης τὸν Βόσπορον: Herodot. 4.85; Μύσιος Βόσπορος and later Θράκιος Β.: Strabo 12.4.8; Κιμμέριος Βόσπορος),^{147a} the postulating of a common noun underlying them all was worth exploring. On the other hand, place-names do also become appellative nouns. Lacking ancient literary and inscriptional testimonies, it would seem that we are forced to assume that the latter is the case about Βόσπορος. The solution is, of course, also closely related to the etymology of the name; a non-Greek etymology for it would exclude the preexistence of a Greek appellative. The Greek etymology again must draw on comparison with the terms “ford” and “ox-ford” in other languages.

One would be tempted to suggest that βόσπορος as an appellative could have two connotations, (1) ford, strait, and (2) large strait.¹⁴⁸ The latter of these could evolve secondarily on the basis of compounds with βου- that signify “big, large, great, mighty, severe,” e.g., βουπρήνες “great precipices” (Hesych. βουπρήνες· κρημνοὶ μεγάλοι, καὶ λόφοι), βούσυκον “a large, coarse fig,” βουκόρυζα “severe cold in the head,” βούβρωστις, βουλιμία, βούπεινα, βούπαις “big boy,” βούφορτος (= πολύφορτος), and βούρτος “mighty river” (Hesychius βούρτος· ποταμὸς μέγα ῥεῦμα ἔχων; adj. ῥυτός “flowing, fluid” in ῥυτοὶ πόροι). This may then be the answer to the aforementioned passage: βόσπορον μέγαν (Aesch. *Pers.* 723).

-ΠΟΡΟΣ

The second member of the compound Βόσπορος, held to be of Greek origin, presents hardly any difficulty in interpreting it within Greek. The noun πόρος m. “ford” occurs in Homer for rivers (*Iliad*; Aeschylus, Herodotus) and “seaway, narrows, strait”: Herodot. 7.176 εἰς στεῖνὸν ἕντα τὸν πόρον τὸν μεταξὺ νήσου τε Σικιάθου καὶ ἡπείρου “to the seaway which is narrow between the island of S. and the continent” (Hesiod [eighth

¹⁴⁷ The premise that in classical times and in the colonization period places were named after those occurring in the Homeric epics, e.g., Ἀργινοῦσσα, Πάνορμος (from πάνορμος λιμὴν *Od.* 13.195), Τειχιούσσα, etc., and that a certain name type was created through the influence of the Homeric language (see E. Risch, “Ein Gang durch die Geschichte der griechischen Ortsnamen,” *Museum Helveticum* 22 [1965], 196–199) is, in my opinion, erroneous. The epic poets utilized names that were used by the Greek-speaking people.

^{147a} The Strait of Messina between Sicily and the Italian continent is called the Bosphorus of Italy.

¹⁴⁸ This was indicated by A. Fick, *BB* 22 (1896), 11: Βόσπορος “large or main ford.”

cent. B.C.], Aeschylus, Pindar, Aristophanes);¹⁴⁹ thus, Hesiod *Theog.* 291f.: βοῦς ἤλασεν εὐρυμετώπους / Τίρυνθ' εἰς ἱερὴν διαβὰς πόρον Ὀλκεανοῖο. A place near Selybria was called Πόρος (Diod. Sic. 14.12) and so was an Attic demos; a torrent *Pòro* in the area of Zungri (province of Catanzaro) in South Italy is from Gr. πόρος¹⁵⁰; in fact, Πόρος "passage" is really a common toponym in Greece.¹⁵¹ In Modern Greek, Πόρος and the component -πορος, found in countless compounded toponyms, designate river crossings; I need not parade examples here. Furthermore, we have the compounds εὐρύπορος "with broad ways" (about the sea) in Homer and Aeschylus and στενόπορος "with a narrow pass (or outlet)" (with ἀκτὴ, ὄρμος, etc.) in Aeschylus, Euripides, etc., and noun τὰ στενόπορα "narrows" (Herodot. 7.223) and τὸ στενόπορον "a strait, narrow" (Herodot. 7.211). From adjectives there have derived toponyms such as Ἐπτάπορος for a river in the Troas (*Il.* 12.20; Hesiod, *Theog.* 341; cf. Strabo 12.3.27; etc.), derived from adj. ἐπτάπορος "having seven crossing-points" (this used for the Nile meant "seven-mouthed"), Πολύπορος "with many fords" in the Troas (Strabo 13.1.441: Ἐπτάπορος δέ, ὃν καὶ Πολύπορον λέγουσιν, ἐπτάκις διαβαινόμενος ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὴν Καλὴν Πεύκην χωρίων)¹⁵² from the adj. πολύπορος "with many passages," Καλλιπόρος for a river in South Italy (thirteenth cent. A.D.),¹⁵³ today *Galliparo*. I do think that it makes sense to take πόρος in "Ἐλλάς πόρος to mean "the way from sea to sea, the seaway" or "a passing-through (for the sailing ship)."¹⁵⁴

A quasi-synonym is the aforementioned πορθμός m. "crossing-point, place crossable by a ferry; narrow sea, strait" and a compound with it στενόπορθμος (Χαλκίς) "(Chalcis) at a strait" (Eurip., *Iph. Aul.* 167, codd.; lyr.).¹⁵⁵ The port of Eretria in Euboea was also called Πορθμός (Demosthenes, etc.). Another synonym is τὸ Πέρασμα "ford," a commonly used toponym in Greek territory.

The terms πόρος and πορθμός are also etymologically related, deriving from the stem πορ- (περ- in the verb πείρω "pierce, run through": πορ-: πᾶρ-). Thus, Βόσπορος would have an etymological synonym Βούπορθμος.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁹ On the word πόρος see O. Becker, *Das Bild des Weges* (1937), pp. 25–29.

¹⁵⁰ G. Rohlf, *BNF, NF*, 4 (1969), p. 129.

¹⁵¹ So, e.g., the name Πόρος for an island (anc. Καλαύρεια) is probably also very old (E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos* 2.447); Πόρος is a deep gorge in the coastal mountain range in Kephallenia.

¹⁵² Cf. on Ἐπτάπορος and Πολύπορος A. Fick, "Altgriechische Ortsnamen," *BB* 22 (1897), pp. 61 and 63.

¹⁵³ That river emptying into the Ionian Sea is attested in F. Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum* (Napoli, 1865), p. 381; cf. Rohlf, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

¹⁵⁴ O. Becker, *Das Bild des Weges* (1937), p. 28f.

¹⁵⁵ Becker, *ibid.*, p. 26, gives examples with πορθμός (*Od.* 4.671 = 15.29; Pind. *fr.* 143; etc.).

¹⁵⁶ See above. The adj. βουπόρος "ox-piercing" (Herodotus, Euripides, Xenophon) and a noun βουπόρος m. "spit; pointed pillar, obelisk" (syn. ὀβελός, ὀβελίσκος): βουπόρος

The explanation of "Ἐλλᾶς πόρος as "Helle's seaway" is very appealing, wherein the name "Ἐλλᾶ was the name of a geographic feature in the area; and so is Βόσπορος as the seaway starting at a place called Βοῦς, so Βοδὸς πόρος.

ΒΟΣ-

The crux of the problem rests mainly in the first member of the compound Βόσπορος and attempts have been made to explain the syllable Βόσ- of Βόσπορος. More than half a dozen Indo-Europeanist and Hellenist scholars have so far adopted the Greek origin of the name (though a few only cautiously). Gustav Meyer explained Βόσπορος from Βοόσπορος by hyphaeresis, as did Hatzidakis, Schwyzer, and Kretschmer (who earlier had thought of Thracian origin), and, following the latter, Frisk and Chantraine. While Schwyzer cautiously remarks that Βόσπορος may have been the outcome of folk etymology, yet he explains the form from *B[o]δσ-πορος, i. e., with loss of the unstressed first vowel.¹⁵⁷ Hyphaeresis had been assumed earlier by G. Meyer and Hatzidakis.¹⁵⁸ Kretschmer, more convinced of the Greek etymon and based on hyphaeresis explains the ο from οο as follows: "Βόσπορος ist mit Hyphäresis aus *Βοόσπορος entstanden (vgl. Θόλος u. dgl.; Schwyzer, *Gramm.* 252f.) und bedeutet in der Tat 'Rinderfurt', mythologisch auf die Io-Kuh bezogen"; he further mentions the existence of mythological place-names and lists a few, in disagreement with V. Burr's assertion to the contrary.¹⁵⁹

*Hyphaeresis*¹⁶⁰ is the expulsion of a syllabic vowel or, in other cases, of a non-syllabic one;¹⁶¹ again another hyphaeresis includes several

'Αρσινόης (of Mt. Athos, Callimachus, *Aitia* 4, fr. 45, ed. R. Pfeiffer; cf. *GEL, A Supplement* [1968], 32) contain the active verbal adjective for "piercing."

¹⁵⁷ E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, I (1939), p. 577 note 8.

¹⁵⁸ G. Meyer, *Griechische Grammatik*³ (Leipzig, 1896), p. 224 (§152). G. Hatzidakis, *Ἀκαδημεικὰ ἀναγνώσματα εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν καὶ λατινικὴν γραμματικὴν*, I (Athens, 1924), 384 [: Βοόσπορος — Βόσπορος; the phenomenon is called by the author ἀποβολή of the vowel].

¹⁵⁹ P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 27 (1939), p. 29 [apropos of reviewing V. Burr's *Nostrum mare*; see above, note 146, and his discussion of the names Αἰγαῖον, Ἑλλήσποντος, Βόσπορος]; accepted by both authors of the recent Greek etymological dictionaries: Frisk, *GEW* I (1954–60), p. 254, and Chantraine, *Dict. etym.* I (1968), 187a [both with reference to Kretschmer]; cf. also J. B. Hofmann, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Griechischen* (Munich, 1949), p. 37. So also K. Vlahov, *Živa Antika* 15 (1965), p. 303.

¹⁶⁰ In the terminology of ancient grammarians, ὑφαίρεσις was "omission" of a letter (*Scholía graeca ad Aristoph. Aves* 149, ed. F. Dübner [Paris, 1877; Hildsheim, 1969]; *Etym. magnum* 389.6), while συγκοπή was "cutting a word short by striking out one or more letters, or shortening involving loss of a syllable" (Herodiani technici *reliquiae*, 2.247, ed. A. Lentz [Leipzig, 1868]).

¹⁶¹ Hyphaeresis of the first type is ο for εο or οε: Ionic Θοκλής, Θόγγητος (from Θεοκλής, Θεόγγητος), etc., Doric (Rhodian, fourth cent. B.C.) προσχάριος "offered before the

classes of loss of a vowel. One like our case (Βόσπορος from Βοόσπορος) is called *συγκοπή*, a general term describing visually what happened to words at different times and by varying causes, without classification.¹⁶²

If we wish to search deeper for the ultimate cause of this phenomenon and not be content with the appearances of the written word, a fresh approach to the clarification of this matter may be attempted. First, let us survey the compounds with βούς.

- I. βου- is the first member of compounds, at least partly contracted from βουο-, in more than one hundred examples, the earliest being in Homer,¹⁶³ including names: Βούδορος, Βουφάγος, Βουκεφάλᾱς;
- II. βουο-compounds with no change in the vowels, so βούκλεψ (Sophocles), βούστασις (Callimachus), Βοόσουρα (in Cyprus; Strabo), βουοσσός (Nonnos);
- III. βου- in appearance from βουο-.

The first two sets of examples are well understandable but the third is problematic. The third category is supposed to reflect the phenomenon called "hyphaeresis"; the few examples render the phenomenon a "sporadic" one in view of the instances in category II and show "sur-reptitious" loss of a vowel to be an invented artificial device in place of the yet to be found real explanation.

A serious attempt at explaining the hyphaeresis of Βόσπορος from Βοόσπορος was made by F. Solmsen, which he linked with accent behavior in Greek. It is unfortunate that his views did not appear in a full exposition and we have only a brief report given us by A. Thumb.¹⁶⁴ According to Solmsen, Greek accent is supposed to have had in early

hearth" (from προε-); or -έι from -εέι; as -κλέι from -κλεέι. See Schwyzer, *Griech. Grammatik*, 1.253; 580², 3; 398⁵.

Another type is hyphaeresis of ι in Εύβοεύς for Εύβοιεύς (Εύβοια) and Λέπρεον for Λέπρειον; *Etym. Magnum* 389.6—10 (for Εύβοεύς); *Scholia Aristoph. Aves*, 149 (for Λέπρειον); see note 128.

¹⁶² In Herodian's work (see note 128) the chapter ἐκ τῶν Ἑρωδιανοῦ περὶ παθῶν, Nos. 1—712, pp. 166—388, parades many examples. Thus, βοηθός, δορυζός, λαξός for βοηθός, δορυζός, λαξός (p. 250); ὄρμενος, ἔκμενον, ὄμνύω, ὄλέ, ζειδωρος for ὄρμενος, ἐκόμενον, ὄμονύω, ὄλοέ, ζειδωρος (250—252); etc. The observation of vowel loss in these and other paraded instances is visual, superficial, and often against the true derivation of the words,

¹⁶³ Here are listed the earliest examples: βουκόλος (βουλυτόνδε) *Il.*, *Od.*; βουφονέω *Il.*, βουφόνια *Aristoph.*, βουφόνος *Aeschyl.*, βούθυτος *Aeschyl.*, *Soph.*, *Eurip.*, *Aristoph.*, βουθυτῶ *Soph.*, βούκερωσ *Herodot.*, βουκέφαλος *Aristoph.*, βούκλεψ (cf. βοόκλεψ), βούπρωρος, βουστάς, all in *Soph.*, βούπαις *Aristoph.*, *Eurip.*, βούνομος *Soph.*, *Aristoph.*, βουνομία *Pind.*, βούπορος *Herodot.*, *Eurip.*, βουσοσός *Callim.* (see below; cf., βουσοσός), βούτυρον *Hippocr.*, βουφορβός, βουφορβῶ, βουφόρβια all in *Eurip.*, βούχιλος *Aeschyl.*

¹⁶⁴ F. Solmsen, "Zur Frage nach dem Wesen des griechischen Akzents," in the report of A. Thumb, "Die indogermanische Sektion auf der Kölner Philologenversammlung, 25.—29. Sept. 1895," *IF* 6 (1896), *Anzeiger*, p. 154.

times the musical element plus an expiratory moment, and certain cases of hyphaeresis of *o* present the phonological phenomenon whereby the loss of this vowel is caused by the shift of the accent in the word. In our case, the author suggests, the inflection went as follows: nomin. sing. Βοόςπορος but genit. Βοσπόρου on account of the accent shift in the latter case; likewise, ὀλοόφρων but ὀλοφρονέων (this latter misinterpreted as ὀλο-φρονέων), βοηθός - *βοηθοέω (cf. Aeolic βᾶθήμη with receding accent) → βοηθέω (then a new form βοηθός), etc.¹⁶⁵ No doubt accentuation did have its effects on Greek phonology with new phonological forms as the result. However, scrutiny of instances is called for on two important counts: chronology of the data used and crossing factors. In addition, the Mycenaean stage of Greek data, at our disposal today, may be more important than a theory on accent of 1896. I, therefore, do not accept Solmsen's explanation of Βόσπορος in place of earlier Βοόςπορος.

An alternative solution of the crux, originated by Karl Brugmann, was made with the hope of successfully tracing βοσ- in Βόσπορος to the Indo-European level of speech. Though this possibility can no longer be taken into consideration, since it was doubted even by its author, an attempt at definitive refutation seems in order here.

Because the derivation and compounding of the word from βοός πόρος → βοόςπορος "ox-ford" would hardly have yielded the form βόσπορος at the date, let us say, of the early seventh cent. B.C., when the Greeks settled Byzantium, on the ground that the Greek dialects, including Doric, were at that time more archaic than, e.g., is Attic of the fifth cent. B.C., it becomes evident why Brugmann in 1892 set up a special IE form to accommodate the form Βόσ- in Βόσπορος: he first analyzed the names as *βος πόρος and derived the radical noun form *βος from IE *g^wos* (vanishing grade *g^w-*), which he compared with Skt. *gō-ḡ* "bovis," whereas the attested Greek form βο(Ϝ)ός appeared as a more recent formation like Vedic *gávas* and Lat. *bovis*.¹⁶⁶ While this treatment is repeated in 1906 by setting up the modified form IE *g^ww-os*, whence (through *βϜός) the form *βος is received, Brugmann uses a "perhaps" and adds that the term ἐκατόμ-βη "sacrificial offer of 100 oxen" (cf. Skt. *śata-gu-* "possessing 100 cows") also displays the vanishing grade *-g^ww-* in the second component *-g^wwā-* = Gr. -βᾶ, -βῆ.¹⁶⁷ Yet, the author himself cautiously states that Βόσ- in Βόσπορος may not be utilized for reconstructing an IE gen. **g^ww-os*.¹⁶⁸ This should have finished the matter for good. However, Brugmann's Greek Grammar, third ed. of 1900 and the fourth reworked by A. Thumb in 1913, adopted *g^w-os* for Βόσ- in Βόσπορος.¹⁶⁹ Then important authorities of that period such as A. Fick, W. Prellwitz,

¹⁶⁵ Solmsen, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶⁶ K. Brugmann, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*¹ (Straßburg), 2 (1892), p. 574 (§ 231), p. 584 (§ 238).

¹⁶⁷ *Grundriß*, 1².313 (§ 344); 2² (1906), 134 (§ 79). — On ἐκατόμβη cf. F. Sommer, *Zur Geschichte der griechischen Nominalkomposita* (München, 1948), p. 76.

¹⁶⁸ *Grundriß*, 2², 1 (1906), p. 234 note 1.

¹⁶⁹ K. Brugmann, *Griechische Grammatik*², p. 115; ³(1900), pp. 44 and 177; 4th ed. reworked by A. Thumb (1913), pp. 51 and 208 (here in both references with the warning "presumably").

and others accepted Brugmann's original suggestion.¹⁷⁰ The last Indo-Europeanist to record his following suit with Brugmann's original suggestion was, as far as I could ascertain, Hermann Hirt (1921).¹⁷¹ For us it is of course certain that the *ad hoc* reconstructed IE genitive form *g^wwos* is inadmissible. In this sense both F. Solmsen¹⁷² and E. Schwyzer as well as several others ignored this solution. The fact is that there is no basis for the reconstruction of an IE form *g^wwos*.

In scrutinizing the data, I have come to adopt the Greek etymon of Βόσπορος on these grounds: (1) the making of parallel place-names from animal terms is a toponymic practice in many languages, (2) parallel place-names with the appellative noun βοῦς and similar terms are many, and (3) a series of similar compounds in Greek do well support the case of Βόσπορος.

Terms for animals are used as designations of rivers, mountains, etc., and there are two aspects in their interpretation: (a) nationalistic interpretation, and (b) mythological motives seen behind the animal terms:¹⁷³

“wolf”: *fiume del Lupo, le Loup* in the area of Nizza, Greek Λύκος (13 times in Greece and Asia Minor)

“horse”: Gr. Ἴππος in Colchis, It. *Cavallo*, Span. *Cavallón* (Andalusia)

“deer”: It. *Cervo*, Gr. Ἐλάφος (Arcadia), Mycenaean Greek *erapo rimene* (dat.-loc. sing.) = Ἐλάφων λιμένει “port of deers”¹⁷⁴

“bull”: Gr. Ταῦρος (mountain in Asia Minor), It. *Toro* (in E. Italian Alps)¹⁷⁵

“buffalo”: *Bufalo* rivers and rivulets in the South Italy province of Cosenza and 16 others.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁰ A. Fick, “Altgriechische Ortsnamen II,” *BB* 22 (1897), p. 11 (*βος from βφος); W. Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1905), p. 81 (with reference to Brugmann's *Griech. Grammatik*³, 44); G. N. Tserepis, *Τὰ σύνθετα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης* (Athens, 1902), p. 163 (he cites also ἐκατόμ.-βF-η).

¹⁷¹ Greek βος in Βόσπορος from *g^wos* “of the ox”; H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik. Teil II: Der indogermanische Vokalismus* (Heidelberg, 1921), p. 196 (§ 197,1).

¹⁷² F. Solmsen, *IF* 6 (1896), *Anzeiger*, p. 154.

¹⁷³ G. Rohlfs, “Europäische Flußnamen und ihre historischen Probleme,” *Proceed. of the Sixth ICOS* (München, 1960–61), 1.14–18.

¹⁷⁴ Rohlfs, *loc. cit.* On the Mycenaean place-name cf. V. Georgiev, “La stratification des toponymes en Grèce ancienne,” *Proceed. of the Ninth ICOS* 1966 (Louvain, 1969), p. 231.

¹⁷⁵ On the term *taurus* “bull” used in geographical names, mainly for mountains, in the Mediterranean cf. K. Finsterwalder, “Der Name der Taurischer usw.,” *Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft und Kulturkunde, Gedenkschrift W. Brandenstein* (Innsbruck, 1968), p. 343ff.

¹⁷⁶ See G. Rohlfs, “Flußnamen im heutigen Kalabrien,” *BNF, NF*, 4 (1969), p. 141. The author suggests that the designation may have one of two causes, either figurative usage or mythological animalization. The personal name Βούβαλος in Asia Minor from βούβαλος “antelope”; L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine* 1 (Paris, 1963), p. 22ff.

“cow”: *La Vache enragée* in France (Département Cher).

“ox”: Italian *Monte Bove* (Tuscany, Abruzzi Mountains), *Valle del Bove* (Sicily), *Cala del Bove* (at the Tuscany coast), *Bove Marino* (cape south of Syracuse), and *Bovo Marino* (near Agrigento), etc.; German *Ochsenfurt* (city on Main), *Ochsenbach*, *Ochsenfeld*, *Ochsenwerder*, *Ochsenburg*, *Ochsenwang*, *Oxenbronn*, *Oxlund*, etc.¹⁷⁷

BOΥΣ IN GREEK

Βούς f. was the name of an Asiatic headland (ἄκρα) on the straits north of the point of Byzantion (Polyb. 4.43), apparently identical with a white rock mentioned in Strabo and with a place recorded by Pliny.¹⁷⁸ This name may have been the origin of the geographic feature Βόσπορος.

Vua m., a place in South Calabria, occurring in the genitive form τοῦ Βούς in A.D. 1099, comes from anc. ὁ Βούς;¹⁷⁹ this, I suggest, changed into ὁ Βοῦ and then into a first-declension noun ὁ Βού(α)ς and accus. τὸν Βούαν; in juncture τὸν βοῦν /*tombú-n*/ the pronunciation of *mb* has been retained to the present. According to Rohlfs, the same nomin. Βούα /*vúa*/ was orthographically adjusted into Latinized *Bova*;¹⁸⁰ I agree with this. The genitive τοῦ Βούς has its parallel in another place-name <ή> Βοῶν in Caria (second cent. A.D.).¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ The above examples with “ox” in Italy and Germany were listed for me by Professor Gerhard Rohlfs (per letter dated 2 Dec. 1970), my thanks to whom are here also recorded.

¹⁷⁸ Polyb. 4.43.6: τὴν Βοῦν καλουμένην, ὅς ἐστι τῆς Ἀσίας τόπος; 7: πλὴν δ γὰρ βούς . . . ὁρμήσας ἀπὸ τῆς Βούς ἐπ’ αὐτὸ φέρεται τὸ Βυζάντιον. Strabo [first cent. A.D.] 7.6.2: ἐκ τῆς Χαλκηδονιακῆς ἀκτῆς λευκὴ τις πέτρα προσπίπτουσα φοβεῖ τὸ ζῶον, ὥστ’ εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν περὶ αὐτὴν τρέπεσθαι. Dionys. Byz. [second cent. A.D.], *Anaplys Bospori* (ed. R. Güngerich), p. 34, 1–6: Ἐνθεν (i.e., after Chrysopolis) ἄκρα προπίπτει ταῖς τῆς θαλάττης πληγαῖς ἐπίδρομος· πολλὸς γὰρ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ὀθούμενος ὁ βούς πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην ἀναμιλλᾶται Βοῦν· ἔστι δ’ οἶον ἀφετήριον τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Εὐρώπην διάπλου καὶ κίων λίθου λευκοῦ, καθ’ ἧς βούς, Χάρητος Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῦ παλλακὴν Βοῦδιον ἐνταῦθα καμοῦσαν ἀποκηδεύσαντος· 34, 1. 9: Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βοῦν Ἡραγόρα κρήνη καὶ τέμενος ἥρωος Εὐρώστου. Pliny, *NH*, 9.51: *saxum miri candoris*. Cf. Walbank, *op. cit.*, 1.496f. A district of Constantinople called Βούς (first quarter of the seventh cent. A.D.; *Chron. Pasch.*, Bonn ed., p. 382) was the cattle market, the counterpart of Rome’s *forum boarium*, and has, therefore, no significance for geographic onomastics; cf. also Ἰχθύες fish market (syn. ἰχθυοπώλιον), Λάχανα vegetable market (syn. λαχανοπώλιον).

¹⁷⁹ τοῦ Βούς S. Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia* (Palermo, 1868–82), p. 358; G. Rohlfs, *Lexicon graecanicum Italiae inferioris*² (Tübingen, 1964), 94.

¹⁸⁰ Rohlfs, *loc. cit.*: ο *Vúa* ἐνε μῖα μάλλι ἡδρα “Bova is a beautiful village,” *páo stom búa* “I go to Bova”; inhabitant name *Vutáno* “inhabitant of Vua” (with *-tano* certainly analogical from *Napoletano*, etc.).

¹⁸¹ Inscription of Aphrodisias, 1. 19: ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Ῥηστηλλῶ καὶ Βοῶν τῇ λεγομένῃ; see L. and J. Robert, *Carie* (Paris) 2 (1954), 233f.

Βούδορος m., river in Euboea, literally "flayer of oxen"; (B. ποταμός ὀμώνυμος, τῷ κατὰ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα ὄρει τῷ πρὸς τῇ Ἀττικῇ) Strabo 10.1.5.

Βουκάρτερος λόφος in Asia; Fick, *BB* 21 (1896), p. 256.

Βούκρανος ἡ πρὸς Χίῳ cape: Philostr. *epist.*, ed. Didot; cf. Graserberger 78; Fick, *BB* 21 (1896), p. 269.

Βουφάγος m., river in the Peloponnesus, literally "eater of oxen."

Βοάγριος m., river in Locris ("the Wild Bull"), Lat. *Boagrius amnis* (Pliny, *HN* 4.27): βόαγρος "wild bull" and βοάγριον n. "shield of wild bull's hide" (*Iliad*, *Odyssey*; cf. Hesychius: βοάγρια· ἀσπίδας).

βουπόρος Ἀρσινόης, referring to Mt. Athos (Callim. *Aitia* 110.45, ed. Pfeiffer: βουπόρος Ἀρσινόης μητρὸς σέο καὶ διὰ μέσσου / Μηδείων ὄλοαὶ νῆες ἐβησαν Ἀθῶ).

Beside the syntagma Αἰγὸς ποταμός, Μυδὸς ὄρμος, etc., the so-called genitive compounds such as Ἀλοσούδνη (Homer), Ἡλιούπολις, Κυνόσουρα (Herodotus), Κυνόσαργες (Herodotus), Διόσκουροι, Διόζωτος (Boeotia, Διόδοτος), Πελοπόννησος, νεώσοικος, ὑοσκύαμος, δεσπότης (from δεμσ-), etc., are well known. Here comes also Ἑλλησποντος (*Iliad*, Herodotus) explained from Ἑλλης πόντος.¹⁸² Periphrastic descriptions of waterway geographic features are also well known, e.g.,

"ford": Θρύον Ἀλφειοῦ πόρος "Thryon the ford of Alpheios" (*Iliad*)
 πόρον . . . Ξάνθου (*Iliad*)
 Ἀξιοῦ πόρος (Aeschylus)
 πόρον . . . Ἄλυος (Herodotus)

"strait": Ἑλλᾶς (Ἑλλης) πόρος (Pindar, Aeschylus, Aristophanes)¹⁸³
 Ἴονιος πόρος "the Ionian sea as the passage way from Greece to Italy" (Pindar). Merely descriptive are the expressions πόρος Ἀλφειοῦ for Ἀλφειός (Pindar), ῥυτοὶ πόροι "liquid paths" (Aeschylus), etc.

Nothing, therefore, is strange about a form Βόσ-πορος. Actually, there are attested descriptive names with the genitive βοός or compounds, though these are not attested as early as Βόσπορος:

Βοδὸς ἀυλή "Cowshed, Cow's Stall," name of a cave in Euboea: Strabo 10.1.3; cf. Eustathius, *Commentarius II.* 536f.; Graserberger, 96 and 302; Fick, *BB* 21 (1896), 283; Epaphos was supposed to have been born by Io in the place called Βοδὸς ἀυλή; Eustathius, *op. cit.*, 278.30; cf. E. Maass, *de Aeschyli supplicibus commentatio* (Greifswald, 1890), p. xxi; Eitrem, art. *Io* (Ἰώ), *RE* 9 (1916), 1735.

Βοδὸς κεφαλαί "Oxenheads," name of a mountainous area in Asia: Eratosthenes [third cent. B.C.] in Steph. Byz. s.v.; cf. Graser-

¹⁸² See above, p. 73.

¹⁸³ See above, p. 73.

berger, pp. 78 and 96; Fick, *BB* 21. 268. Cf. Βουκέφαλα "Oxen-head," town and cape (Grasberger 78, 96; Fick, *BB* 21. 269).

Βόσσυρα or Βόδς οὐρά (or Οὐρά βόδς) "Ox- or Cow tail," name of the NE cape in Cyprus: Strabo 14.6.3; Grasberger, p. 125; Fick, *BB* 21. p. 268. Cf. Κυνόσυρα.

Βόδς Πόρος, Orpheus' *Argonautica* 1059 (ed. E. Abel, Leipzig & Prague, 1885).

Βόθρεπτος¹⁸⁴ [ca. A.D. 500] is added here because it may have stood for *Βόθρεπτος¹⁸⁵ just as there are names compounded with βου-

Outside of Greek, names with a parallel cognate of -πορος are well known in many IE languages and in various periods of time:

Scyth. Πόρατα, Πυρετός (Herodotus), Av. *prəθu-* "wide" or *prətu-* (noun) "passage, crossing," *Prut* name of the 350 kilometer long tributary of the Lower Danube;¹⁸⁶ and, on the other hand,

Germanic **furdu*, Engl. *ford* "passage," Germ. *Furt* (*Erfurt*, *Frankfurt*, *Klagenfurt*, *Ochsenfurt* city on Main, *Schweinfurt*, etc.); the Engl. place-name *Oxnaford* (A.D. 912), *Oxenaforde* (ca. 1000), *Oxeneford* (1086), and *Oxford*, which designated a "ford for oxen."¹⁸⁷ There are also six places named *Oxford* in the United States.¹⁸⁸ The IE word was **pr̥tú-* "passage."¹⁸⁹

These place-names hardly need the mediation of a prehistorical substratum to be satisfactorily explained. A Greek name, therefore, designating also "ox-ford" is equally understandable, possible, and even very

¹⁸⁴ Christodorus [poet, fl. ca. A.D. 500] in *Anthologia graeca epigrammatum Palatina cum Planudea*, ed. H. Stadtmueller (Leipzig, 1894/99/1906), 1: *Epigrammata Christiana*, 9 (title, autograph of the poet): Εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου ἐν Βοθρέπτῳ. The name Βόθρεπτος listed in Pape-Benseler, 216a, and rendered in German "Ochsenhof," was also taken over and listed by B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Berlin, 1957), p. 252, s. -πτος.

¹⁸⁵ Since the name form Βόθρεπτος occurs so late (ca. A.D. 500), its explanation from Βόθρεπτος presents no problems: in Byzantine and modern Greek two adjacent identical vowels contract into one without consequences, so *oo* → *o*, e.g., Πρόοχοι, Byzantine Greek Βρόχοι and with folk etymology Βρόχοι (the names Πρόοχοι and Βρόχοι in Procopius, *De aedif.*, 1.8.3), now called *Kandilli*, εἰσπρωθῶ → aor. subj. εἰσπρώσω, pres. σπρώθω, σπρώχνω "shove, push," τὸ ὀρίζω → τ' ὀρίζω, etc.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. V. Georgiev, "Die europäische Mikrohydronymie und die Frage nach der Urheimat der Indoeuropäer," *Proceed. of the eighth ICOS* (The Hague, 1966), p. 190.

¹⁸⁷ E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1960), p. 355, s. *Oxford*; F. Kluge und A. Götze, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*¹⁸ (Berlin, 1953), p. 233, s. *Furt*.

¹⁸⁸ Of these only the one in Idaho is justified by a local story that tracks of oxen were found at a nearby ford; see G. R. Stewart, *American Place-names* (1970), p. 351 f.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. further on Middle Low German *vörde*, Danish *Fjorde*, etc. W. Laur, "Förden- und Buchtenamen an der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Ostseeküste," *Proceed. of the Sixth ICOS* (München) 3 (1961), pp. 511–516.

probable, if a noun βόσπορος used on passable rivers was then used for the Bosphoros narrows.

It should also be made clear that Βόσπορος Θρηϊκίος (actually the same in content as simple Βόσπορος) has the adj. from the name Θράκη (Θρηϊκή) used for the land which ends at the straits, as contrasted to the opposing Asiatic shore; however, this does not mean that Θρηϊκίος stands for "pertaining to Thracian tribes or tribes that speak the Thracian language," as some scholars obviously have assumed, with the projected implication that the name Βόσπορος too should be of Thracian origin.¹⁹⁰ That kind of approach to the matter would be misleading.

New Explanation of Βοσ- in Βόσπορος and Haplogogy

For the better understanding of the early Greek process of development of Βόσπορος → Βόσπορος, I suggest the following reconstruction: ΒοΨός πόρος and ΒοΨόσπορος. The intervocalic -w- (digamma Ψ) persisted in the Greek dialects of Mycenaean times and later and is found in the epigraphy of the historical period. Thus, Mycenaean *Amphílāwos*, *Arkhlāwos*, *Ekkhlāwōn*, *Etewokleweios*, *Lāwāgētās*, *Lawodókos*, *Metālāwos*, *Perilāwos*, etc.; and in inscriptions (in the alphabetical script): ΑΨΨας, ΔιΨός, ΠοτεδάΨων (whence Ποσειδάων), ἄΨέλιος, ἈρχέλαΨος, ΦιόλαΨος, ΛαΨόσοΨος, βασιλῆΨος, ΓαιαΨόχῶ, ῥόΨος, etc.¹⁹¹

As the Mycenaean form of the IE word for "ox" is *g^wow-*, e.g., in the man's names *G^wow-akseus* and *Stāti-g^woweus*,¹⁹² and the term πόρος may have been involved in the man's name *Euporos* (*MY Au 102*), with the alternative *Euphoros*,¹⁹³ the name ΒοΨόσπορος is the form expected for the seventh century B.C., when Byzantion was colonized by the Greeks. And, when the Greek settlers of the area pronounced at a fast tempo this name, which probably they themselves had given to the narrow strait, it could be subject to change and specifically to shortening; in the tetrasyllabic word ΒοΨόσπορος each of the first syllables contained a bilabial phoneme: *b*, *w*, *p*.

¹⁹⁰ The name of the Byzantine (sixth cent. A.D.) fortress *Bospara* in inland Thrace (see above, note 100) occurs relatively too late to carry weight in considering the interpretation of the name Βόσπορος that existed over a millennium earlier.

¹⁹¹ On the Ψ in Mycenaean and Homeric Greek see V. Georgiev, "Mycénien et Homérique: le problème du digamma," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies*, ed. L. Palmer and J. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 104–124 [here also on Corinthian ΠοτεδάΨων with original Ψ pace Heubeck; see next item]; cf. A. Heubeck, "Digamma'-Probleme des mykenischen Dialekts," *Die Sprache* 9 (1963), pp. 193–202; idem, "Zu mykenischen Namen und Titeln," *IF* 64 (1958), p. 119ff.

¹⁹² See M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 424f.; J. Chadwick and Lydia Baumbach, "The Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary," *Glotta* 41 (1963), p. 180 (s. βούς).

¹⁹³ Ventris and Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 418; Chadwick and Baumbach, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

The loss of the syllable *-Fo-* /*wo*/ in *BoFóσπορος* → *Bóσπορος* came about, I submit, as the result of the phenomenon called syllabic dissimilation or haplology. This phonological phenomenon, usually affecting long words, is an observable fact in spoken languages and the examples from the history of ancient and modern languages are legion. From Greek we may mention a few:

ἀμφορεὺς “amphora” from Homeric ἀμφιφορεὺς

ἡμέδιμον from ἡμιμέδιμον (syllable *-ιμ-*); cf. Lat. *sēmōdius* from *sēmimodius*

κίοκρανον from κιονόκρανον (syllable *-νό-*)

ὠλέκρανον from ὠλενόκρανον

βέθρον from βέρεθρον, etc.¹⁹⁴

In many examples we observe that the dissimilated consonant of the lost syllable is identical with that of another syllable in the word, e.g., *m-m*, *ph-ph*, *n-n*, *r-r*, etc. In our case of *BoFóσπορος* → *Bóσπορος*, the consonant of the lost syllable is not identical with the consonants of the retained syllables but it is bilabial, i.e., of the same place of articulation, as they are. This is also possible in haplology, as we see in examples such as

αὐτοθέντης → αὐθέντης¹⁹⁵ (*t-th*; *-το-* lost)

τετράδραχμον → τετράχμον (*tr-dr*; *-δρα-* lost)

Πλειστοσθένης → Πλεισθένης (*st-sth*; *-στο-* lost).

Other equivalents, involving *F* and another bilabial consonant, are *βοηθός* from **βοᾶθός* (*b-w*; syllable *-οF-* or *-Fo-* lost)¹⁹⁶

βουσσός “driving oxen wild” in Callim. *Aetia* 110.45 possibly was

*βοσσός*¹⁹⁷ from **βοFo-σός*, which latter is represented in *Nonnos*: *βοοσσός*.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Schwyzer, *op. cit.*, 1.262–265. Cf. also Ἀμφίμαρος name of a son of Poseidon, from **Ἀμφιμάραρος*; A. Lesky, *RhM* 93 (1949–50), pp. 54–59; cf. idem, *Thalatta* (1947), p. 7; Ἀπολλωνισίτης from **Ἀπολλωνοισίτης*, inhabitant derivative of Ἀπόλλωνος νῆσος.

¹⁹⁵ In this compound and shortened word P. Kretschmer, “Griechisches. 6. αὐθέντης,” *Glotta* 3 (1912), pp. 289–293. However, it seems that P. Chantraine is correct in rejecting this etymology and deriving αὐθέντης from αὐτο- and ἔντης (another compound is Hesychius’ συν-έντης συνεργός; both αὐθέντης and συνέντης from ἀνώτα cf. Skt. *sanōti*) and considering the form αὐτοθέντης the result of recompounding; see P. Chantraine, “Encore αὐθέντης,” *Ἀφιέρωμα Μ. Τριανταφυλλίδη* (Athens, 1960), 89–93; idem, *Dict. etym.* 1 (1968), p. 138f.

¹⁹⁶ The reconstructed form *βοᾶθός* “hasting to the cry for help, helping, aiding” (*Iliad*; “helping, aiding” Pindar; from *βοᾶ* and *θός*, this from **θέFω* “run”) with loss of intervocalic *-F-* yielded Doric *βοᾶθός* (inscription of Epidaurus, *IG* 4.1, No. 128, l. 60; name of a Delphic month) and Ionic *βοηθός*, on the other hand, with haplology *βοᾶθ* [όF]ος; Attic *βοηθός*. The so far assumed *hyphaeresis* (Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.* 1.252) is unsatisfactory because it describes but does not explain the data.

¹⁹⁷ Hesych. *βοοσσός*. μάστιξ (Callim. *fr.* 301) καὶ βούτης. So the ed. of K. Latte.

¹⁹⁸ The verb *σούω* was **σσεούω* as is shown by forms like ἔσσευα, aor. ἔσσυτο, etc., and is from IE **kyew-*, whence also *-σός* as in *λαο-σός* “rousing or stirring men” (Homer).

Πόλυβος man's name from *Πολύβοφος (*b-w*; syllable -φο- was dropped); also πολύβοια fr. -βοφια.¹⁹⁹

The name Βοσφαγέα of a locality (actually "slaughter of oxen") is recorded in an inscription of Salamis (1.7) versus βοσφαγία (*Anthol. Pal.* 16.101).²⁰⁰

The name form Βόσπορος /*bósporos*/ resulting from Βοφόσπορος /*boufósporos*/, therefore, is understandable with haplogy at work²⁰¹ and the explanation is, I hope, satisfactory and convincing as is not that with the alleged surreptitious loss (*hypphaeresis*) of the one of the *oo* in *Βόόσπορος. In this positive manner the Thracian etymology of Βόσπορος is unequivocally dispatched to oblivion.

CONCLUSION

The reconstructed form βοφός πόρος or βοφόσπορος was a descriptive designation for "a narrow channel, strait." The assumed appellative was either original or a geographic name that was substantivized. If it was geographic, it meant to convey the notion of a seaway from sea to sea, and as such could be applied to the Thracian Bosphoros, the Hellespont, and the Cimmerian Bosphoros. As to the original naming *Bosporos*, we may assume that this occurred at Byzantium, in whose area the headland ἡ Βοῦς "The Cow," on the Asiatic side NE of Byzantium, might have pre-existed. Since that place was called Βοῦς, the seaway could take the descriptive name Βοφός πόρος; so then Βόσπορος signified the channel (πόρος) at the promontory Βοῦς, i. e., the narrow seaway from the Propontis to the Black Sea. In chronological order, the name Βόσπορος at Byzantium could have been first and then it could have been transferred and applied to the Hellespont and the Cimmerian isthmus.

¹⁹⁹ For consideration of the name Πόλυβος as shortened from Πολυβούτης, as Ἄλκιμος from Ἀλκιμέδων, Πέριμος from Περιμήδης, Σθένελος from Σθενέλαφος, Τήλειμος from Τηλέμαχος see E. Risch, *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1937), 205f. Still Πόλυβος rather from Πολύβοφος is not the same phenomenon as that called "innere Wortkürzung," discussed by P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 31 (1951), p. 104f. The proparoxytone form Πόλυβος instead of expected *Πολύβος came about by analogy from the oblique cases such as gen. *Πολύβοιο (from *Πολύβο[φο]γο) on the pattern gen. *xxx*: nomin. *xxx*, e.g., ἀνθρώπινο: ἀνθρωπος, κυρίου: κύριος, etc. The suggestion that Πόλυβος should have derived from a reconstructed form *Πολυ-βφ-ος (cf. Tserepis, *op. cit.* [above note 170], p. 437) with βφ- from *g^ww-* is out of the question; cf. Sommer, *op. cit.* [above note 167], p. 76 note 3.

²⁰⁰ See A. Wilhelm, "Inscription aus Salamis," *Anzeiger d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, philos.-hist. Kl.*, 64. Jahrg. (1927), pp. 212–222, especially pp. 214, 215, 217, 222; cf. *IG* II². 1590a, p. 810 (addenda et corrigenda).

²⁰¹ Doric (Rhodian) Βοκόπια, neut. plur., name of a festival at Lindos (*IG* 12(1). 792, etc.) may likewise have resulted from *βοφοκόπια, while the form Βουκόπια (also recorded) would be a later analogical adaptation to the numerous βου-compounds.

The appellative noun βόσπορος, I reason, could have applied originally at crossing-points of rivers and only then it could have been transferred to channels of seaways.²⁰² Otherwise, one has to assume that cattle were really able to swim across the strait, which is on two counts, i.e. the strong current and the distance, impossible. Exactly at the narrowest point of the Bosphoros there occur most drownings on account of the strong current.²⁰³ While, therefore, the original meaning of the term Βόσπορος

²⁰² The original meaning of compound words is lost by the fact that part of the semantic content is depleted in the context, e.g., ἵπποβουκόλος, ἑκατόμβη αἰγῶν, τὸν πατροφόντην μητρός (Sophocles), υἱοθετεῖν παρθένον, οἰκοδομεῖν τεῖχος, βουθυτεῖν τράγον, βούπτερος ἑκατόμβη, etc. Cf. Hatzidakis, *Ἀκαδημικὰ ἀναγνώσματα*², 2 (1930), 309; Schwyzer, *op. cit.*, 1. (1939), p. 426. It is, therefore, possible that Βόσπορος "a narrow seaway of an Ox" meant simply "narrow seaway."

²⁰³ Information on drownings in Bosphoros was given me by Prof. George G. Arnakis, Univ. of Texas, who lived in the area during his early years (per letter 12 Nov. 1970).

Concerning the possibility of cattle swimming and crossing waterways, I addressed my inquiry to my colleague, Prof. Paul Kannowski, head of the Department of Biology at the University of North Dakota. Through his services Prof. M. L. Buchanon, head of the Department of Animal Science, North Dakota State University, and Prof. Jay C. Meiske, Department of Animal Science, University of Minnesota, were contacted. To the three gentlemen I am very grateful for their helpful contribution on this matter.

The facts established are these: almost any mammal and, therefore, cattle can swim, though the distance is to be ascertained from many cases. Dr. Jess Williams of the Dairy Section, University of Minnesota, who is from Texas, assured Prof. Jay C. Meiske that he has seen cattle at least "float" a mile. Professor Meiske adds, "Apparently, cattle are natural floaters and, if they have grown up in areas that periodically have high water, they do not fear it and readily ford streams" (per letter dated 17 Nov. 1970). Professor Kannowski, after contacting Professor Buchanon, has been assured that cattle "swam at least one quarter of a mile during a flood in Oklahoma. He (Professor Buchanon) also stated that how far cattle could swim would depend upon their condition. Animals in good condition should be able to swim that distance but they would likely be nearly exhausted. A strong current would increase the difficulties in getting across" (Professor Kannowski per letter dated 9 Nov. 1970).

If we properly evaluate the foregoing information, we have the fact that cattle can float in high waters and ford a stream and from these known cases we do know that a quarter of a mile or even a mile for cattle is a possible swimming or floating distance. Mr. Buchanon stresses that difficulties during swimming across would increase on account of a strong current.

In the case of the straits in the Byzantion area three important factors present themselves: (a) the narrowest point in the Bosphoros is ca. 550 meters between Anadolu Hisar and Rumeli Hisar (and the widest is a little over three kilometers) and has steep shores; the narrowest point in the Hellespont is ca. 1200 meters; (b) the depth of the water is several tens of meters; and (c) the current of the Bosphoros and the Hellespont is rather very strong. The conclusion, therefore, is inescapable that the crossing of these straits by oxen is precluded. A corroboration of this conclusion comes again from Professor Arnakis, who (in the aforementioned letter) informs me that it is unknown that cattle ever swam across the Bosphoros channel in modern times.

I reason, therefore, that the term *bósporos* "ox-ford" was applied earlier to fordable rivers and subsequently to these three channels called *Bósporos*. The common point of

was “ox-crossing-point” of a river and simply “river-crossing,” its meaning applied to our case was “strait, channel” in its length. This assumption, which makes sense to me, will, I hope, appeal to others also on the ground that the two channels, the Hellespont and the Bosphoros, are called Στενόν (and Στενά) “narrow, strait” and by the Turks *Boğazi* (= the Bosphoros) and *Çanakkale Boğazi* (= the Hellespont). These names, in fact, apply to the narrow seaway, not to an “ox-crossing, ox-ford.” In Modern Greek I was able to uncover a *hapax*, one toponym οἱ Βοῦδόποροι in Aris of Messenia from the archives of the Historical Lexicon,²⁰⁴ which is to be explained from a noun βοῦδόπορος m. “ox-ford.” In any case, the term πόρος very well stands for the maritime river called by the ancient descriptive names Ἑλλης πόρος and Βοὸς πόρος; again, the subsequent names, Στενόν “narrow” in Byzantine times and *Boğazi* from the inception of the Turkish period on testify in favor of the meaning “passage of the seaway, narrow waterway, strait.”

The mythological association of the name Βόσπορος (in the Byzantion area) with Io was, I suggest, a rather late additive as an aetiological explanation of the name.²⁰⁵ The mythical element had, in fact, nothing to do with the actual etymon of the name except for the lexical element (βοῦς) used also in the *post factum* popular explanations. See the appendix.

reference for both rivers (that are fordable) and these channels (that are not fordable) being the narrowness of the waterways, the application of the term *bósporos* to these seaways was not amiss.

²⁰⁴ Dr. Dikaïos Vayacacos, Director of the Historical Lexicon, kindly passed this information to Dr. John Thomopoulos (Dec. 1970), upon my inquiry. Further and more precise information on this point I received from Mr. Nikos Zervis (Kalamata, Greece, per letter 12 Feb. 1971): οἱ Βοῦδόποροι /*βουδόπορι*/ is a toponym on the river Pamisos, i.e. a crossing near the hamlet Balyága (Μπαλιάγα, officially renamed Ἄμμος) of the eparchia Messene; in earlier times, oxen crossed the river on that point. In modern Greek I was unable to uncover a term “cow-ford” (ἄγελαδόπορος) to designate a river crossing-point. This certainly does not mean that such terms did not exist or, for that matter, do not exist; they may simply be unrecorded. Actually, I expect to find more such toponyms in existence.

²⁰⁵ This differs from V. Burr, *Nostrum mare* (1932), p. 26, who reasons that the Io saga is very old, in the following: The Io saga is very old but the geographical ingredients come to it after the opening of the Black Sea and through the penetration of Greek seafarers in the seventh or even eighth century B.C. See above, p. 72 with note 13 and addenda, p. 120 f.

APPENDIX TO BOSPOROS:
A NOTE ON THE MYTH OF IO¹

Long before history began, a considerable number of myths were localized in the Black Sea area² and these might be used as indirect evidence to show the Greeks' knowledge of the Pontus, though we depend on comparatively late sources. Our early sources, Homer and Hesiod, locate no myths explicitly in the Pontus. Yet, one of the great genealogical trees of the (*Hesiodic*) *Catalogue* was the genealogy or descendants of Io. The interest of the poet was of a geographic order and he who wished to give a geographic picture of the world had to make use of the language and the legend.³ A. J. Graham discusses examples of myths and sets out some principles: the story of Achilles, Prometheus' punishment in the Caucasus, the story of the Amazons, the exploits of Heracles, the story of the Argonauts, and specifically, the myth of the wandering rocks (Πλαγκταὶ πέτραι *Od.* 12.59ff.) or clashing rocks (Συμπληγάδες, sc. πέτραι)⁴; while the first four myths were known to Homer or Hesiod, the localization in the Pontus area seems to have come later.⁵

Aristeas' fragmentary poem embodied the experiences of an actual voyage undertaken by its writer beyond the Pontic regions and into Central Asia in the later seventh cent. B.C. In a study of Aristeas and his poem (published in 1962), J. D. Bolton makes a case for this and further suggests it as a likely source for the local geographic description of Io's journey as detailed to her in advance in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, written two centuries later.⁶

In the last three decades of this century, advances have been achieved toward our understanding of some Greek myths derived from the early Near East civilizations, this of course also in the broader framework of literary influence from the same regions.⁷ Egypt too has had its share.

¹ See the bibliography noted in the following addenda, below, p. 119 f.

² Listed, e.g., by O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1906), sections 136–138.

³ R. Merkelbach, "Les papyrus d'Hésiode et la géographie mythologique de la Grèce," *Chronique d'Égypte* (Bruxelles) 43 (1968), 139.

⁴ A. J. Graham, *BICS* 5 (1958), 36f. The two (Wandering or Clashing Rocks) are considered as different; cf. C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* (3 Bücher, Berlin, 1920–21), 825–827. But the story is essentially the same in both; cf. H. J. Rose, art. *Symplegades*, *OCD*² (1970), 1028a.

⁵ Graham, *op. cit.*, 37.

⁶ See S. Piggott, "Iron, Cimmerians, and Aeschylus," *Antiquity* 38 (1964), 300–303, especially 302.

⁷ As an example see H. Otten, "Vorderasiatische Mythen als Vorläufer griechischer Mythenbildung," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 25. Jahrg., H. 13/14 (1949), 145–147.

While Io is supposed to have acquired a late association with the Bosphorus and the Caucasus, her earliest association was with Egypt. On this aspect we have at our disposal a recent study by Ruth I. Hicks on four stories that seem to have borrowed, or to have been influenced by, Egyptian elements.⁸ These mythical elements were introduced into Greek mythology either in the Mycenaean period (ca. before 1200 B.C.) or during the Egyptian twenty-sixth or Saite dynasty (664–525 B.C.), while for half a millennium (ca. between 1200 and 664 B.C.) Egypt was closed to the inhabitants of the Aegean world. It should be stated that, while the majority of extant literary and graphic representations of the stories with an Egyptian locale are no earlier than the sixth century B.C., the myths themselves seem to be older by centuries.⁹

Jean Bérard's novel and detailed suggestion on the legend of Io and her descendants in connection with the period of the Hyksos, "the kings of foreign countries," who are supposed to have been of an essentially Semitic character and to have come to Egypt from the Syrian and Palestinian region, at the end of the Middle Bronze period, and on the adventure of Io and her descendants not as a purely Egyptian episode but rather as an episode of Phoenician history in Egypt, has to be taken into serious consideration, as the only simple strong possibility, as Mr. Bérard claims. The relations among the Greek legend of the descendants of Io, that of Phaëthon, and the story of Joseph have to be considered as established, he thinks; in each of these three cases it is seen how fabulation intervened to deform and transfigure a historical reality. The legend of Io and of her lineage – says Bérard – responds in truth to historical facts, the descendants of Io representing in effect the last Hyksos, who were expelled from Egypt ca. 1580 B.C.¹⁰ The adventure of Aigyptos and the return to Greece of Danaos and Kadmos correspond to that expulsion of the Hyksos.

[This refers mostly to the Theogony of Hesiod and the Boğazköy (of the thirteenth cent. B.C. or earlier) and Ras-Shamra texts as well as to Typhon, who is supposed to render Canaanite (Baal) Zaphon, wherein the Phoenicians served as intermediaries between the Canaanites and the Greeks.]

⁸ Ruth I. Hicks, "Egyptian Elements in Greek Mythology," *TAPA* 93 (1962), 90–108. [The only weakness of this piece of work is that the author was unaware of studies on Io that had appeared before 1962, so A. Severyns (1926), J. Vürtheim (1928), Ch. Josseland (1937), U. Pestalozza (1939), J. Bérard (1952 and 1957), and others; there has of course also been a number of more recent studies since 1962. See bibliography below, p. 119 f. (As is well known, *Année Philologique* is our best bibliographical tool in this respect.)]

⁹ Hicks, *op. cit.*, 92f.

¹⁰ See Bérard, *Syria* 29 (1952), 41–43; idem, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 51 (1957), 221–230. On the Hyksos cf. T. Säve-Söderbeg, "The Hyksos Rule in Egypt," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 37 (1951), 53ff. On the negative results of Eusebius' chronology about Io see Bérard, *Syria* 29.7 and 11.

Bérard's theory may be discussed by his fellow expert authorities. If I cannot follow Mr. Bérard in his conclusions, it is because many details are not self-evident, as he thinks they are.

In any case, B. Landsberger and R. D. Barnett support the view that the Phoenicians were intermediaries in cultural diffusion (art, technic, etc.) in the Near East.¹¹

Scanty fragments have preserved Io's story for us but we complement them by drawing on later authors who had more material than we do. The original form of the Io myth, therefore, is no longer represented in the first account of the legend of Io as provided in Greek literature, i.e. in Aeschylus, *Prom.* 589ff., 681ff.; *Suppl.* 538ff., 572. This is so because the Io myth is the amalgam of diverse elements and the Aeschylean narrative drew on the epic poem called *Danaïs*, whose redaction was placed by U. von Wilamowitz in Cyrene in the sixth century B.C., while E. Maass traces the stories of Apollodorus and Hyginus (essentially not different from that of Aeschylus) back to the (*Hesiodic*) *Catalogue*.¹²

The main sources of the myth of Io are well known.¹³ The four essential points of the story are (a) Io's position as priestess of Hera at Argos, (b) her transformation into a heifer (with whom Zeus in theriomorphic shape united), (c) her journey to Egypt, and (d) the birth there of a son, Epaphos, fathered by Zeus. The fact that Hera's cult at Argos seemingly dates from Mycenaean times¹⁴ lends support to the assumption that Io was contemporary with the Egyptian eighteenth dynasty (fourteenth cent. B.C. or earlier), when there was direct contact between Egypt and southern Greece, including the Peloponnesus and the Argolis. Two data, i.e. the discovery of votive offerings of cows at the Argive Heraion¹⁵ and the fact that Hera herself is called βωόπις "cow-eyed" or "having large eyes" (*Iliad* 1.551), are significant, as Hicks stresses.

The thesis advanced by J. Harrison that the cow-headed Io is another form of Hera¹⁶ has been repeatedly proposed by various scholars. Thus, Farnell assumes this for the earliest times, though he disproves Miss

¹¹ C. D. Barnett, "Early Greek and Oriental Ivories," *JHS* 68 (1948), 1.

¹² Ch. Jossierand, "Io et le taon," *L'Antiquité Classique* 6 (1937), 259.

¹³ (*Hesiodic*) *Catalogue* [second half of the eighth cent. B.C.], ed. R. Merkelbach and M. West (1967); there probably was a genuine Hesiodic core to the *Catalogue* but much of it cannot be by Hesiod (cf. A. Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature* [London, 1966], 103f.), so the *Catalogue* is placed in the sixth century (cf. M. L. West, art. *Hesiod*, *OCD*² [1970] 511, § 4; Aeschylus, *Prom.* 561–886; *Suppl.* 291–315, 531–594; Diodorus Sic., 5.60.4; Apollodorus, 2.1.3; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.588–750; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 145).

¹⁴ M. Nilsson, *Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Berkeley, 1932), 63; cf. Rhys Carpenter, "Argeiphontes, a Suggestion," *AJA* 54 (1950), 182; cf. now Hicks, *op. cit.*, 93.

¹⁵ C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* (Boston, 1905). The reference in Hicks, 93, note 15.

¹⁶ J. Harrison, *Classical Review* 1893, p. 74.

Harrison's theory.¹⁷ C. Robert and A. B. Cook also take it that Io was a byform of Hera¹⁸ or that Hera's priestess was originally regarded as Hera incarnate.¹⁹ Even most recently (though without being based on independent research) it is stated that Io is to be derived from the cult cycle of βοῶπις "Hera,, whose "hypostasis" is Io and whose earliest outward shape she reflects.²⁰ Also Hicks considers it possible that in Io we have Hera by another name.²¹

The name 'Ιώ

The name of the mythical Io was in use also as a personal name for girls, so in the second cent. B.C.,²² in the same way as "Ἐλλη and Φρίξος were. As for the etymology of the name, attempts have been made but with no success as yet. The ancient attempt by Herodian to connect 'Ιώ with an alleged noun ἰώ "moon"²³ is suspect as isolated testimony and because it sets as proved the thesis that Io was a moon goddess, which she was not. The same motive underlay the suggestion by L. Ross that the name is related to the Coptic noun *ioh* "moon" on the ground that 'Ιώ as a moon-goddess corresponded to *Ioh*, a moon-god.²⁴ Other views of the name were of a shortened form of a longer name such as *Ἰοβάτις* "the one who walks fast" or *Ἰώπη* "the one with swift feet"²⁵ or with ἰός "virus" as 'Ιοδάμα, 'Ιόλη, and this on account of the tales about healing demons at the Argive Heraion.²⁶ And most recently, 'Ιώ as a shortened form of 'Ιοάστη, 'Ιόλη, etc., has been sanctioned.²⁷ I do not preclude such an explanation but I would eliminate the idea that ἰός which had an earlier form *Ἰιός* = Lat. *virus*, would explain 'Ιώ from **Ἰιώ*. The reason is that other words connected with 'Ιώ such as 'Ιόνιος linked with 'Ιώ (Aeschylus, *Prom.* 840) (vis-à-vis 'Ιάβιονος, 'Ιώνιος) present difficulties²⁸ and *'Ιάφονες confirmed by Mycenaean, has an unknown etymology.²⁹

¹⁷ L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 1 (1896), 199–201.

¹⁸ C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, 1 (1920), 253; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 453 [with references].

¹⁹ Cook, *loc. cit.*, with notes.

²⁰ H. von Geisau, art. *Io*, *Der Kleine Pauly* 2 (1967), 1427.

²¹ Hicks, *op. cit.*, 93.

²² Pap. Tebtunis 740 (second cent. B.C.): 'Ιώ f.; D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum* (Milano, 1970), p. 153.

²³ Herodian, ed. Lentz, 1.347.30.

²⁴ L. Ross, *Italiker und Gräken*, p. 84 (cited by R. Engelmann, in Roscher's *Lexikon d. Mythol.* 2.269); cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* 1 (1914), 455.

²⁵ E. Maass, *IF* 1 (1892), 168; rejected by O. Gruppe, 2.460 note 5.

²⁶ O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, 2.460.

²⁷ H. von Geisau, art. *Io*, *Der Kleine Pauly* 2 (1967), 1426.

²⁸ Cf. Baumont, *JHS* 56 (1936), 204.

²⁹ Chantraine, *Dict. étym.* 475, s. 'Ιωνες.

I find no support for the Egyptian character of Io from her name. The name Ἴώ was connected with a "great royal spouse," called *Inni*, attested for the Hyksos by many scarabs³⁰ but this has been doubted.³¹ For another attempt at an explanation, Ἴώ is supposed to be a Hellenization of an Egyptian term for "moon" or "ox"³² but the statement is vague and unconvincing.

The cow form

Io is a βούκερως παρθένος "maiden horned like a cow" (Aeschylus, *Prom.* 612; cf. 674: κεραστής) and the greatest Mesopotamian goddess under different names, one being *Ishtar*, bears the bovine horns; she is the wild cow that devastates the region, the sacred cow, while the king (who is also her son) is called the young bull; she is the divine maternal cow. But Io is different; she is a mixture of cow and maid (Aeschylus, *Prom.* 588: μειζόμβροτος; *Suppl.* 568: μειζόμβροτον . . . τὰν μὲν βοός, τὰν δ' αὖ γυναικός.³³

In any case, the cow form may be a characteristic of Egypt, where the cow had been held in reverence since early times. Hathor, the most prominent cow-goddess, enjoyed a very ancient cult, was associated with the sun god Ra as the latter's wife, was a mother goddess of similar function, particularly with the goddess Isis.

Then the name Εὐβοία was a cult epithet of Hera at Argos³⁴ and Ἡρα Εὐβοία was depicted in a statuette found in the Chersonesus Taurica.³⁵

³⁰ On *Inni* see R. Weill, *La fin du Moyen Empire égyptien* (Paris, 1918), 780.

³¹ See J. Bérard, *Syria* 29 (1952), 38.

³² Hicks, *op. cit.*, 93.

³³ Engelmann, "Die Io-Sage" (1903), 37; Hicks, *op. cit.*, 95. Representations from the Io saga start in Attic vase painting perhaps ca. 540 B.C. and, first of all, with the killing of Argos by Hermes (full references in the following item, p. 90, note 147). Konrad Schauenburg lists seven such vases (one crater and two each of amphorae, hydriae, and oinochoae) from South Italy and several vessels of those carried on the head and located in Bari, Los Angeles and in the Petit Palais in Paris; K. Schauenburg, "Götterliebe auf unteritalischen Vasen," *Antike und Abendland* (Hamburg) 10 (1961), 90f.

The earliest instances of the Io myth in Greek art represent her as a heifer (so all monuments before the Persian Wars); the change to a horned maiden occurred ca. 470 B.C. (so the formula βούκερως παρθένος in Aesch. *Prom.* 612 and her representation in later art); cf. J. C. Hoppin, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 12 (1901), 335–345.

Cf. U. Pestalozza, "ΒΟΩΠΙΣ ΠΟΤΝΙΑ ἩΡΗ," *Athenaeum*, NS, 17 (1939), 106, 113f. P.'s study (106–110, 137) is devoted to Hera as a non-Hellenic Mediterranean divinity, and the Argive Io myth is used for his purposes; his work has been largely superseded by recent investigations.

³⁴ R. L. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 1.182.

³⁵ U. Pestalozza, *Athenaeum*, NS, 17 (1939), 111, note 3.

³⁶ M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survivals in Greek Religion* (London, 1927), 431. Cf. Pestalozza, *op. cit.*, 105.

The Argive goddess was unquestionably connected with the cow.³⁶ Furthermore, the hill on which the Heraion stood was called Εὔβοια "the rich in cows," an epithet relating purely to Hera's cult; this was a sufficient reason for P. Friedländer's considering the saga Argive.³⁷ The cult epithet, however, could be a coinage much later than the association of Hera and Io with the cow.

The equation of Io and Isis is impressive and, furthermore, Io's lineage of descendants such as granddaughter Libya, great-grandson Belos, etc., demonstrates the connection of Greek deities with Egypt and Libya; also Libyans and Greeks are connected with Egypt.³⁸

Io and Isis were thought to have been moon goddesses³⁹ and the cow horns of both were explained by speculation as a quarter moon.⁴⁰ This misinterpretation, to which even Hicks succumbed, has had its source in Herodian's statement (ed. Lentz, 1.347.30: Ἰὼ ἤτοι σελήνη κτλ).

In Egyptian art, Hathor is represented as a cow or a cow-headed woman or a woman with two horns on her head. Owing to the fusion of Hathor and Isis, the combined deity Hathor-Isis is usually portrayed with horns and a disc in late Egyptian art. These representations may well have played a part in the development of the Io myth. Egyptian iconography seems to have exerted an influence on Greek myths. In the case of Io as βούκερως παρθένος (Aeschylus, *Prom.* 588), Egyptian influence is considered. In Hick's opinion, at the Argive Heraion during Mycenaean times Hera became associated with cows and the detailed story of the cow-maiden (this possibly being another form of Hera) arose when the Greeks had seen the half-animal and half-human Egyptian statues and learned of Hathor's cult.⁴¹

In addition to the Egyptian basis and features, the Io myth definitely also comprises Greek aspects: (1) Zeus' love for Io and the resultant jealousy of Hera (this being paralleled in many other Greek myths).⁴² (2) The metamorphosis of Io, which is not at all uncommon in Greek

³⁶ P. Friedländer, *Argolica*, 23; Farnell, *loc. cit.*; cf. Pestalozza, *loc. cit.* L. Deubner (*Philologus*, *NF*, 18 [1905], 490 ff.) refers this place-name to the island Euboea, which he identifies as the native land of Io.

³⁸ Cf. G. Kahlo, "Die blonden Libyer," *Helikon* 1 (1961), 313.

³⁹ Welcker and Preller in the nineteenth century advanced the theory of Io as moon, but E. Plew, H. D. Müller, and J. Overbeck opposed such an interpretation. See also R. Engelmann, Roschers *Lexikon d. Mythol.* 2.263 ff.; Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 1.200; Eitrem, art. *Io*, *RE* 9 (1916), 1732 ff.; cf. *OCD*² (1970), 549. Further references in A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 454 note 8.

⁴⁰ G. Kahlo, "Die jungfräuliche Mutter Io," *WZU Leipzig*, 11 (1962), H. 2, p. 427.

⁴¹ Hicks, 93 f.

⁴² Impunity in cases of false oaths in love-intrigues is an important point beyond doubt; see R. Merkelbach, "Les papyrus d'Hésiode et la géographie mythologique de la Grèce," *Chronique d'Égypte* 43 (1968), 134.

mythology; there are, in fact, many examples of the transformation of maidens into trees, animals, or birds. Pasiphaë assumed cow form to copulate with the Cretan bull and, in the Cadmus legend, the guiding cow led Cadmus to the site of Thebes in Boeotia.⁴³ In many of the literary and art versions, Io actually was changed into a cow-maiden who retained some human physical and mental characteristics.⁴⁴ And (3) the evil spirit in the form of the gadfly (οἷστρος) is not Egyptian.⁴⁵

In the Io story the conception of Epaphos and the ensuing wanderings of Io are considered to be distinctive Egyptian features. Impregnation by the breath of a god is an Egyptian motif and the child born of Io was perhaps identified with Apis (*Harpi*).

**Επαφος*. The child to which Io gave birth in Canopus of the Nile delta was **Επαφος* but in later authors and on papyri he is called **Απις*.⁴⁶ The name **Επαφος* was held to be a purely Greek word by very few scholars,⁴⁷ but the consensus now is that the name **Επαφος* is the Hellenization of the Egyptian bull-god in Memphis, i.e. **Απις* (*Harpi*) through folk-etymological interplay with ἐφάπτεσθαι "to touch,"⁴⁸ since Io was impregnated by Zeus by a touch.

The Greeks (probably Argives) living in Egypt identified Io with the Egyptian Isis and gave the name **Επαφος* to Apis. Possibly Io's son Epaphos owes his existence to a re-interpretation of the name *Apis*.⁵⁰ This in turn has no etymology in Greek.⁵¹

⁴³ Fontenrose, *Python* (1959), 314.

⁴⁴ Cf. above, p. 23 with note 33.

⁴⁵ Two Egyptologists tried but were unable to discover it in any Egyptian documents; cf. Ch. Jossierand, *L'Antiquité Classique* 6 (1937), 259. It is held that οἷστρος (Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 305f.; Apollodorus 2.3.5; etc.) also belonged to the original form of the Io myth; see C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, 1 (1920), 254.

⁴⁶ *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 10.1241; Col. 3.31: **Απιν τὸν Ἰοῦς*; Pausan. 5.1.8.

⁴⁷ E.g., E. Maass, *De Aeschyli Supplicibus commentatio* (Greifswald, 1890–91), from ἐπ-αφή. Cf. E. Plew, "Zu dem Mythos von Io," *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 101 (1870), 671, who rejects the Hellenization of the Egyptian name *Apis*.

⁴⁸ L. Deubner, *Philologus* 64 (1905), 485f.; C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, 1 (1920) 261; U. v. Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, 1.246 note 2; J. Vürtheim, *Aischylos' Schutzfliehende* (1928), 30–41; especially 34 (*hapis* was equated with ἀψις); cf. Frisk, *GEW* 1.533; Chantraine, *Dict. étym.* 356; H. von Geisau, art. *Io*, *Der Kleine Pauly* 2 (1967), 1427.

⁴⁹ The terms ἐπαφή, ἐφαψις, ἀψάμενος, ἐπαφήσατο, ἐπαφησάμενος are used in our sources: Aeschylus, *Prom.* 849; *Suppl.* 18f., 45f., 1066; Apollodorus 2.1.3; Nonnus, *Dionys.* 3.285; *Schol. Eurip. Phoen.* 678; Tzetzes in Lycophron, *Hal.* 630.

⁵⁰ See F. Wehrli, "Io, Dichtung und Kulturlegende," *Festschrift f. K. Schefold* (1967), 199a.

⁵¹ Vürtheim, *op. cit.*, 59, attempted to connect ἦπιος with **Απις* and ἄπτω, ἀφή, and cognates, but this is impossible; as is often the case, many philologists do not appreciate phonologic and other requirements about such etymological suggestions (cf. P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 19 [1931], 176).

The wandering of Io in search of her child, stolen upon Hera's command by the Curetes and finally found by Io in Phoenicia and specifically at Byblos (in Syria, now in Lebanon),⁵² seems to be a reminiscence of Isis' travels to find the body of Osiris.⁵³

It is a difficult task to determine the time and manner of the contact of Io's myth with Egypt, but Hicks has made the effort in that line. While the myth itself arose in the Mycenaean period (since Hera's cult at Tiryns and Argos was Mycenaean), the initial Egyptian influence appears to Hicks to have probably occurred at that time. The myth was certainly treated in epics which were lost for us, but we do have the earliest extant treatment by Aeschylus (*Suppliants* and *Prometheus Bound*); who gave to the tale Egyptian coloring and atmosphere, which he drew from Hecataeus' Περίοδος γῆς "chart (or map) of the earth." And since we learn that Io was represented in her cow shape on the throne at Amyclae (Pausanias 3.18.13: "Hera is gazing at Io, the daughter of Inachus, who is already a cow"), the metamorphosis was known to the artists of the sixth cent. B.C. The identification or fusion of Io and Isis (the latter goddess had been known to the Greeks at Naucratis for a long time) was firmly established after the cult of Isis was introduced into Athens by Egyptian traders living in Piraeus. Literary and art representations of Io-Isis are multiplied in the Ptolemaic and Roman Imperial periods.⁵⁴

The myth of Io, being composite in nature, owes much to the genius of Greek poets, a great deal to the observations of Greek travelers, and enough to the syncretistic cults of the Roman empire.⁵⁵

⁵² Apollodorus 2.1.3.

⁵³ Fontenrose, *Python* (1959), 185; Hicks, *op. cit.*, 95f.

⁵⁴ F. Wehrli, *op. cit.*, 199a; Hicks, *op. cit.*, 96.

⁵⁵ Hicks, *op. cit.*, 97.

ADDENDA

Between the delivery of the typescript of this study to the Editor and the time proofs were received in March 1971, I was in the position to study further the main lines under investigation as well as details. In bibliography, some items are added here and, though the myths involved hardly affect the outcome of the discussion and of proposed interpretations, I thought that presenting bibliographies on the myth of Helle and on that of Io might be welcome in some scholarly quarters.

A. BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. GENERAL (and abbreviations)

Eugène Belin de Ballu, *L'histoire des colonies grecques du littoral nord de la Mer Noire; bibliographie annotée des ouvrages et articles publiés en URSS de 1940 à 1962*. 2nd ed. Leiden, Brill, 1965. [See Rostovtsev below.]

BICS = *Bulletin of the Institutes of Classical Studies. London.*

A. Delatte, *Les portulans grecs*. Paris-Liège, 1947.

[Great Britain] Hydrographic Department, Admiralty. *The Black Sea Pilot, comprising the Dardanelles, Sea of Marmara, Bosphorus, Black Sea, and Sea of Azov*. 8th ed., 1930. London, 1930. 420 p. Index, 385–412 [The recent ed. was late; see p. 127.]

Idem, *Supplement, No. 8 — 1940, relating to the Black Sea Pilot . . . corrected to 20th May, 1940*. London, 1940. 83 p. [Additions, alterations, and deletions are made on the preceding item. On p. 82f. 55 new or altered names are listed alphabetically.]

Th. Homolle, "Inscriptions et monuments figurés de la Thrace," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie*, 1892, pp. 307–581. [This material was used also by W. Tomaszek.]

JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

Albin Lesky, "Hethitische Texte und griechischer Mythos," *Anzeiger der Österreich. Akad. d. Wiss., philos.-hist. Kl.*, Jahrg. 1950, Nr. 9, pp. 137–159 [on the origin of the myth of the gods in Hesiod's Theogony from the Near Eastern mythologies].

G. G. Mateescu, "I Traci nelle epigrafi di Roma," *Ephemeris Dacoromania* 1 (1923), 65–70, 92 [lists many other works on Thracian].

Robert Mayer, "Über die Meeresstraße von Konstantinopel als Durchgangslinie," *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft Wien*, 1942, pp. 117–142 [I have not seen this].

Eugen Oberhummer, art. *Bus*, *RE* 5 (1897), 1072; cf. also id., *RE* 5 (1897), 754f.

Idem, "Die Meerengen als Erdteilgrenze," *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 16 = *Sbornik Gavril Katsarov* (Sofia, 1950), pp. 301–303.

S. Piggott, "Iron, Cimmerians, and Aeschylus," *Antiquity* (Cambridge) 38 (1964), 300–303.

F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*. Heidelberg, 1922. Cf. the supplement by D. Foraboschi (above, p. 113, note 22).

Michael Rostovtsev [1870–1952], *Skythien und der Bosphorus. Band I: Kritische Übersicht der schriftlichen und archäologischen Quellen*. Berlin, 1931. Large format, 651 pp. [On pp. 613–628 abundant bibliography up to 1930 of works relating to the history, archaeology, and culture of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. But no material on, or explanations of, place-names are included. See above Ballu.]

TAPA = *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.

WZULeipzig = *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Leipzig, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*.

II. ON THE MYTH OF HELLE AND PHRIXOS

Arthur B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*. 3 vols. Cambridge, 1914/25/40. Vol. 1 (1914), 414–419.

O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (München, 1906), 565, 1146.

L. Radermacher, *Mythos und Sage bei den Griechen*³. Vienna, 1943.

Carl Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage. 1. Buch: Landschaftliche Sagen* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 41–51.

III. ON THE MYTH OF IO (AND EPAPHOS)

Jean Bérard, "Les Hyksos et la légende d'Io; recherches sur la période prémycénienne," *Syria* (Paris) 29 (1952), 1–43 [a very important new approach].

Idem, "De la légende grecque à la Bible, Phaéton et les sept vaches maigres," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (Paris) 51 (1957), 221–230 [important as the preceding item].

Arthur B. Cook, *Zeus*, Vol. 1 (1914), 438f. [on Io]; 453–438f. [Hera and Io]

R. Engelmann, "Die Jo-Sage," *Jahrbuch des kais. Deutschen Archäolog. Instituts* (Berlin) 18 (1903), 37–58.

Lewis R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford, 1907), 1. 199f. [on Io].

Joseph Fontenrose, *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and its Origins* (Berkeley, 1959). [On Io pp. 185, 314, 338, 484.]

H. von Geisau, art. *Io*, *Der Kleine Pauly* 2 (1967), 1426f.

O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*. München, 1906. [2.59, 460, 503, 747, 1125.]

Ruth I. Hicks, "Egyptian Elements in Greek Mythology," *TAPA* 93 (1962), 90–108. [Four myths are discussed, those of Io, Helen, The Danaides, and Busiris. The first among these is the "Metamorphosis and Wandering of Io," pp. 93–97. The author concludes that these myths were borrowed from Egypt but are Greek in spirit.]

Joseph C. Hoppin, "Argos, Io, and the Prometheus of Aeschylus," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 12 (1901), 335–345. [Analysis of the artistic conception of the Io myth in Greece until the fifth cent., examination of the literary evidence, and comparison of the two. Conclusions, p. 345.]

Felix Jacoby, "ΙΩ ΚΑΑΛΙΘΥΕΣΣΑ," *Hermes* 57 (1922), 366–374. Cf. Hesychius s. **Ἰώ**.

Ch. Jossierand, "Io et le Taon," *L'Antiquité Classique* 6 (1937), 259–263.

Gerhard Kahlo, "Die jungfräuliche Mutter Io," *WZULeipz*, 11 (1962), 425–429.

Reinhold Merkelbach, "Les papyrus d'Hésiode et la géographie mythologique de la Grèce," *Chronique d'Égypte* (Bruxelles) 43 (1968), 133–155. [A survey of the content of the fragments of the new edition of the (Hesiodic) *Catalogue*; the great genealogic trees, including the genealogy of Io. Very important for mythological geography.]

Uberto Pestalozza, "ΒΟΠΠΙΣ ΠΟΤΝΙΑ 'ΗΡΗ," *Athenaeum*, NS, 17 (1939), 105–137.

Eugen Plew, "Zu dem Mythos von der Io," *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 101 (1870), 665–672. Cf. also his review of J. Overbeck's *Commentatio de Ione* (1872) in: *Neue Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 107 (1873), 1, pp. 697–700.

Carl Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage. 1. Buch: Landschaftliche Sagen* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 253–266.

Wilhelm H. Roscher, *Über Selene und Verwandtes*. Leipzig, 1890. (*Studien zur griechischen Mythologie und Kulturgeschichte vom vergleichenden Standpunkte*, 4. Heft.) 202 p. [Kapitel II: *Die Namen der griechischen Mondgöttin*, pp. 16–18.]

Idem, *Nachträge zu meiner Schrift "Über Selene und Verwandtes"* (Leipzig, 1895, 56 p.) [Kap. II, p. 19f.]

Edith Schönert, "Der Io-Mythos auf den Silbermünzen von Byzanz," *Helikon* 6 (1966), 174–182. [The author's result is negative; no cow is represented on the coins of Byzantium]

but an ox-head that symbolizes cattle-breeding in the area, as the dolphin on other coins symbolizes Bosphoros, the sea.]

Albert Severyns, "Le Cycle épique et l'épisode d'Io (Eschyle, Prométhée, 771 et s.)," *Le Musée Belge* (Liège-Paris) 30 (1926), 119–130.

C. Sourdille, "Une théorie récente sur la formation du mythe d'Épaphos," *Revue des études anciennes, 4e série*, 14 (1912), 267–276. [A refutation of the article of the American Ivan M. Linforth, "Epaphos and the Egyptian Apis," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 2 (1910), No. 5, pp. 81–92].

J. Vürtheim, *Aischylos' Schutzflehende* (mit ausführlicher Einleitung, Text, Kommentar, Exkursen und Sachregister). Amsterdam, 1928, 30–41 [on Epaphos], 49–53 [on Io], 54–59 [Herkunft des Mythos].

Fritz Wehrli, "Io, Dichtung und Kulturlegende," *Festschrift f. Karl Scheffold* (Bern, 1967), pp. 196–199.

Joseph Wiesner, *Olympos: Götter, Mythen und Stätten von Hellas*. Topographisch-mythologischer Führer durch das klassische Hellas (Nieder-Ramstadt bei Darmstadt: E. Techow, 1960), 56f., 79.

B. NOTES

P. 70 with n. 1 (cf. also p. 71f. with n. 12): The Straits a unique specimen.

The traffic function of the Straits of Bosphoros and the Dardanelles in connection with the Strait of Gibraltar (*fretum Gaditanum*) as a unique access from the Atlantic ocean into a widely branched-out landlocked sea with all its hinterland has no match on the entire Earth. Cf. Oberhammer, *Sbornik Gavril Katsarov*, 301.

P. 70 with nn. 3 and 4: The straits are drowned furrows.

The hexameter line ἐξ οὗ τ' Εὐρώπην Ἀσίας δίχρα πόντος ἐνεμμεν (*Anthol. Pal.* 7.296) characterizes a time proverbially far in the past, at which the straits were thought to have originated through a breakthrough of the sea. Cf. Oberhammer, *op. cit.*, 301.

P. 70 with nn. 5 and 6: The currents.

The double current in the Bosphoros was ascertained for the first time by Count L. F. Marsili of Bologna (1658–1730) in his work titled "Osservazioni al Bosforo Tracio" (Rome, 1681). Cf. Oberhammer, *op. cit.*, 303.

P. 71: The Straits as the boundary between the two continents. Cf. also Oberhammer, *op. cit.* 301f.

P. 70–72: Colonization by the Greeks in the Black Sea area.

Recent studies are as follows:

R. M. Cook, "Ionia and Greece in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries, B.C." *JHS* 66 (1946), 67–98 (colonization, pp. 70–80).

E. Akurgal and L. Budde, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Sinope." Ankara, 1956 (*Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi*). Cf. also E. Akurgal, *Anatolian Studies* 5 (1955), 23.

E. Akurgal, "Recherches faites à Cyzique et à Evgili," *Anatolia* 1 (1956), 14–24.

A. J. Graham, "The Date of the Greek Penetration of the Black Sea," *BICS* 5 (1958), 25–42.

The early presence of the Greeks in the Black Sea in the eighth century is argued successfully by A. J. Graham, and Pontus was known to them by — at the latest — 700 B.C. (p. 34, 38f.). The excavations at Daskyleion 20 miles to the south of Cyzicus showed that Cyzicus had been colonized by the Milesians before 700 B.C. to make them sufficiently

strong and numerous to colonize Daskyleion in the interior, whose pottery is dated to ca. 700 B.C. From the presence of the Greeks in the Propontis their probable appearance in the Pontus is reasonably argued, for Cyzicus, Bosphoros, and Sinope were all famous for their fish in antiquity and these coasts were explored by fishermen (Akurgal, *Anatolia* 1.15ff.; Graham, *op. cit.*, 32). The myths localized in the Euxine might also be indirect evidence for the early Greek presence there (cf. *Note on the myth of Io*).

P. 72f. with n. 15; 80f.: *Hellespont (Dardanelles)*.

A detailed description and measurements of the strait are found in *Black Sea Pilot*⁸ (1969), 90. Length 35 miles, breadth extremes seven-eighths of a mile and four miles; depth in mid-channel between 40.2 and 100.6 meters. The eastern side of the narrows is *Kale Sultaniye*, known also as *Dardanelles* (16,000 population in 1955). The Old Castles of Europe and Asia are *Çanak-kalesi*, a massive quadrangular stone fort, and its opposite castle *Kılıbahır*, both erected by Mehmed II in 1470.

The ethnic Ἑλλησπόντιος "Hellespontine" had become also a given name in Athens in the mid-fifth cent. B.C. in remembrance of warfare around the Trojan coast (J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* [1901–03], 4668; cf. W. Judeich, "Politische Namengebung in Athen," *EPITYMBION Heinrich Swoboda dargebracht* [Reichenberg, 1927], 101; cf. also P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 18 [1930], 232).

P. 73: *The Names of the Dardanelles*.

The name Μπούκα τῆς Ρουμανίας (i.e., τῆς Ρωμανίας "of the Balkans") designates the Dardanelles in a Greek portolano (sixteenth cent.); A. Delatte, *Les portulans grecs* (1947), p. 242, l. 26.

P. 73 n. 16: *Καλίπολις*.

A fourteenth-cent. form *Chalipoli* is recorded: *ein vest genant Chalipoli* (dated 1396); Joh. Schiltberger, *Reisen*, ed. K. P. Neumann (München, 1859), p. 93.

Pp. 74–76: *Explanations of the name "Ελλη"*.

P. 74: *Helle Prehellenic?*

That the obscure name *Helle* may have been pre-Hellenic was stated also by A. Lesky (*Wiener Studien* 46 [1927/28], 127–129), accepted by his fellow Austrian L. Radermacher, *Mythos und Sage bei den Griechen*³ (1943), 182.

Lesky linked Ἑλλη further with Ἑλλοί (and Ἑλληγενες), as presented above p. 77, but this was nothing novel; it is again a repetition of what A. Fick had presented in 1897 and 1901; see addenda to p. 75, p. 122.

P. 74 with n. 23: "Ελλη pre-Hellenic "cloud" or "fog."

The wholesale assigning of the sense "cloud" to names is to be credited to Ed. Gerhard (*Phrixos der Herold*, Berlin, 1842) and was adopted and further elaborated on by Preller; according to this unfounded theory, beside Νεφέλη, Φρίξος meant "cloud" and Ἑλλη signified a "shining cloud." This outrageous invention was rejected; cf. H. D. Müller, *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme*, 2,1 (Göttingen, 1861), 162f.

Concerning "fog" and "north" in the case of the assumed noun **hela* and its derivatives it is important to heed the realia. I have uncovered the following facts. In the Bosphoros during the five-month period from October to March, fogs with calms and light winds from the northeast are experienced but they clear off at sunrise. Fogs come on sometimes with light SW winds during the same period but clear away in the afternoon. In winter, sudden shifts of wind are frequent and dangerous, especially if they come on, as often is the case, at the same time as a thick fog. In the open Black Sea fogs frequently occur in

April and May but on its western coast they occur from the end of September until the beginning of May. On this and more details see *Black Sea Pilot*¹¹ (1969), 60–62.

The significant point here is that no fogs are mentioned for the Hellespont. The climate of the Dardanelles, one of the Mediterranean type, is generally good, the winter is on the whole mild, but spells of cold weather are brought by the northerly winds. In contrast, the weather of the Bosphoros is rather variable, and there are short periods of very cold weather, sometimes accompanied by heavy snowstorms (*op. cit.*, 60f).

My conclusion is that Mr. Deroy's theory cannot stand from the factual viewpoint of realia.

P. 75: Haupt's explanation of "Ελλη.

Paul Haupt's attempt at the explanation of "Ελλη was abortive. One of the reasons is that it was not really a new explanation but derived *in toto* from what A. Fick, "Die griechischen Verbandnamen (Ethnika)," *BB* 26 (1901), 239, had written: "Ελλα and 'Ελλοπία are names of Dodona and 'Ελλοί is a shortened name of "Ελλοπεες; the latter were so named from their habitation in the ξλος "marsh, swamp"; furthermore, 'Ελλάς for the place around Pharsalos and in the Apollo hymn for "Middle Greece" was derived from 'Ελλός.

Earlier A. Fick had expounded his theory like this: for the early epic name "Ελλης πόντος people had created a female "Ελλη, sister of Phrixos; "Ελλη was equivalent to 'Ελλοπία and 'Ελλοί equivalent to "Ελλοπεες around Dodona. It was through migration of the Thesprotans to Thessaly that the names 'Ελλοπία, "Ελλη, and 'Ελλάς were transplanted there and, along with the immigrants, from Thessaly to the Troas. See A. Fick, "Altgriechische Ortsnamen II," *BB* 22 (1897), 12.

Both versions of Fick's attempt did not convince any serious scholar. However, the version of 1901 connecting "Ελλη with ξλος "swamp" must have attracted Haupt and Georgiev.

Linking of 'Ελλοί or Σελλοί with Gothic *saljan* "sacrifice" and Latin *Salii* (H. Güntert, "Über die Namen Achaier und Hellenen," *Wörter und Sachen* 9 [1918], 130–136) was rightly rejected by P. Kretschmer ("Literaturbericht. Griechisch," *Glotta* 17 [1928], 250) on account of the vowel difference: *sal-* in *salire* "dance" versus *hel-* (*ibid.*).

P. 76: The Hellespont and the Bosphoros are maritime rivers.

Cf. on the Strait of Messina what is said: "lo Stretto di Messina, quasi come un fiume"; Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano. *Sicilia* (Milan, 1953), p. 531.

P. 76 with n. 33: "Ελλη, 'Ελένη, Σελήνη.

According to Roscher (*Über Selene und Verwandtes*, 1890, p. 17) the moon goddess Σελήνη occurs in Hesiod, *Theog.* 371; *hymn to Merc.* 100. The term σελήνη "moon" was connected with Homeric έλας "light, brightness, flame, torchlight" already in Plato, *Kratylos* 409: έουκε . . . έτι ή σελήνη από του ήλίου έχει το φώς. — Πώς δή; — Το μέν που "έλας" και το "φώς" ταυτόν; cf. *Etym. M.* 709.25: σελήνη παρά το έλας νέον έχειν κτλ. As far as 'Ελένη is concerned, there was a local saga in Sparta about the egg of Helen that fell from the moon (Athenaeus 57f.; cf. Eustathius 1488.21); see Roscher, *op. cit.*, 6 with note 19. Also a moon heroine group (Helen, Phaedra) corresponding to the Aphrodite type can be traced (Roscher, 128 and 147). The moon goddess appears in cow form as do several divinities and Roscher asks the question whether the Io cow belongs here (*op. cit.*, 31 note 123; 147). In 'Ελένη /*heléne*/ and Σελήνη /*seléne*/ there is no interchange of *h* : *s*, as erroneously suggested by G. Kahlo, *WZU Leipzig*, 1,2 (1962), p. 427a, note 60. I agree with him, however, that the interpretation of Io's as well as Isis' function as a moon goddess in ancient and in modern times was speculative. His further explanation of 'Ιώ

“moon” in the dialect of Argos (*Souda* s.v.) as referring to the pale complexion of the moon (p. 427a) is subjective.

P. 77, n. 37: “Ἑλλης πόντος, explanation.

The assumption of H. D. Müller, *Mythologie der Griechischen Stämme* 2 (1861), 165, that the heroine “Ἑλλη was named after the strait “Ἑλλης πόντος “sea strait” (which he explains from εἴλω or εἰλέω “shut in, turn around, etc.” and πόντος, which is erroneous) was an unhappy idea (yet approved by A. Fick, *BB* 22 [1897], 12), but highly improbable, as Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1906), p. 565 and 751 note 3, already remarked.

P. 78 with note 46: *Helle was introduced by an Ionian.*

According to L. Radermacher, *Mythos und Sage bei den Griechen*³ (1943), p. 182, only the Hellespont is firmly linked with Helle, for the strait bears the name from her (the author approves of Friedländer, art. *Helle*, *RE* 8.161; and C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* 1 [1920], 46), but he considers her mythical fall into the sea as an aetiological creation; actually, it is the poet who must have made Helle and Phrixos into sister and brother, so thinks Radermacher; according to him, an Ionian should have introduced Helle into the myth, as the Helle-reliefs are of Milesian origin (Radermacher, *op. cit.*, 358 note 433).

P. 78, n. 47:

Helle fell into the Hellespont and thus became its eponym (Robert, *loc. cit.*) or rather named for the sanctuary, which the Ionians erected in their colony called Παιτύη (this name after a mountain in Ephesos); references in Gruppe, 565 note 7. But “Ἑλλης τάφος in Herodot. 7.58; Hellanicus *fr.* 88; Apollodoros 2.1144. Helle’s tomb in the Thracian Chersonese had no cult significance (H. von Geisau, *Der Kleine Pauly* 2 [1967], 1008); according to Robert (*loc. cit.*) a cult cannot be denied to that tomb. The legend of Helle has probably been a reproduction of the Europa legend; cf. Gruppe, 1146 (who suggests the hypothesis that the ram was originally Poseidon himself; an echo of this is the saga that Poseidon begets the golden ram by Theophane).

P. 78f. with n. 50: Φριξος

The sense “cloud” for Φριξος has been pointed out as impossible; see above (add. to p. 74 with n. 23), p. 121. L. Radermacher’s suggestion for Φριξος as “der Schauderer” and derived from φρίσσω “schaudern” (with the parallel “Ορυξος “Digger” from ὀρύσσω “dig”) was also rejected (above, p. 79 note 50).

The explanation adopted above seems quite certain. A poem of Anyte of Tegea (*Anthol. Plan.* 291) begins: Φριξοκόμα τόδε Πανὶ καὶ ἀυλιάσιν θέτο Νύμφαις / δῶρον ὑπὸ σκοπιᾶς Θεύδοτος οἰονόμος, / κλπ. In this, ἀυλιάς Νύμφη is “grotto nymph.” It is also a fact that Φριξος occurs as a real anthroponym on a tombstone: Εὐρυβῶτας Φριξου; see F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch* 1 (1915), 5723 = idem, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg, 1922), col. 468.

P. 79: A possible explanation of “Ἑλλη.

In more detail the *n*-stem of ἑλλός was treated by F. Specht (*Der Ursprung der indogermanischen Deklination* [Göttingen, 1947], p. 115): Lith. *ėlenis*, Old Litj. *elenis* and Old Bulg. (*j*)*elenb*, all meaning “deer”; on the other hand **elnós* in Greek ἑλλός and in ἑλα-φος (compared with Goth. *l-am-b* “sheep”), and perhaps also Lat. *alnus* “alder” from **alen-os*

P. 80 with note 59: City Δάρδανος.

The foundations of the town *Dardanos*, a city older than Troy, stand on a low hill, ca one mile south of Kefez point (lat. 40° 06' N., long. 26° 23' E.). The Dardan liman is formed by the coast north of Çanak. See *Black Sea Pilot*⁸ (1930), 47 and 49; cf.¹¹ (1969), 90.

The name Δάρδανος and in its Latinized form *Dardanus* is a Thracian name. *Dardani* were the Thracian tribe and *Dardania* the region. *Dardanus* is also recorded as a name of Roman soldiers; so *M. Aurel. M. f. Ulp. Dardanus* recorded on an inscription of ca. A.D. 180; G. G. Mateescu, "I Traci nelle epigrafi di Roma," *Ephemeris Dacoromana* (Rome) 1 (1923), 92, 264; *CIL* 6.3650 (and numerous other occurrences).

P. 81 n. 60: Was a Cape Helles the Turk. Eles burnu?

The Μαζουσία ἕκρα or Μαστουσία was obviously what later was called *Helles Cape*, which was renamed into *Ilyasbaba burnu*, recently renamed *Mehmetçik burnu*.

At the southwestern entrance on the European shore of the Dardanelles is the headland ca. 1.5 miles in breadth, projecting SW and formed by three steep points named *Tekke burnu*, *Ilyasbaba* (= Cape Helles) (lat. 40° 02' N., long. 26° 11' E.), and *Kale burnu*. The SW entrance of the Dardanelles is identified by the white cliffs of *Ilyasbaba* (Cape Helles), on which stands a lighthouse. About one-fourth of a mile ENE of the lighthouse is the obelisk (21.3 meters high) standing on the highest point (ca. 45.7 meters high) at the south end of the Chersonese peninsula (see *Black Sea Pilot*¹¹ [1969], 86).

The renaming of *Cape Helles* into *Ilyasbaba Burun* was recorded in the *Black Sea Pilot, Supplement* 8 (1940), p. 82. The previous name *Elés burnu* recorded in 1899 (Bürchner, art. *Chersonesos 1, RE* 6 [1899], col. 2244) seems to have been considered by the Turks as not a good Turkish name to be renamed just in the 1930's. But Bürchner (*ibid.*) rejected the idea that *Elés* derives from *Hellēs* and suggested the derivation of *Elés* from Ἐλεοῦς. This suggestion is worth noting because it is based on no evidence. Actually, an ancient city name Ἐλαιοῦς or Ἐλεοῦς surviving in Modern Greek would have resulted in a form Ἐλεοῦντα, Ἐλιοῦντα/*e'íúnda*/. The mediation of the Greek Middle Ages here is a prerequisite, for the Turks first heard the name from the Greeks.

The traditional assumption that Turkish *Eles burnu* came from Ἐλλης ἕκρα rather conforms to what was expected at the entrance of the Hellespont. To demolish this assumption would take a meticulous topographical investigation.

P. 82 ff.: Bosphoros.

The Bosphoros seaway begins at Old Seraglio point *Saray burnu*, i. e. the eastern extremity of Constantinople, and the Leander Tower (lat. 41° 01' N., long. 29° 00' E.), at its entrance from the Sea of Marmara and terminates at the entrance of the Black Sea at the two capes, Rumeli Hisar and Anadolu Hisar. Length of the seaway 16 miles, least width four cables. Depths from 27.4 to 120.7 meters. See *Black Sea Pilot*¹¹ (1969), p. 155.

On the currents of the Hellespont and the Bosphoros see the detailed exposition in *Black Sea Pilot*¹¹ (1969), 39–48. The current in the Bosphoros attains its maximum strength of five knots in the narrowest part of the strait between Rumeli point and Anadolu Hisar, where it is known as the *Devil's current*; see *ibid.*, 41 f., 46.

The Names for the Black Sea.

The ancient characterization of the Pontus water as "black" is Iranian *axšaina*, hence Greek ἸΑξιενος πόντος and further folketymologically with εὔ-: Εὔξεινος πόντος; the color is reflected in Greek Μαύρη Θάλασσα, Russ. *Černoye More*, and Turk. *Kara Deniz*. It is, therefore, erroneous to state, as in *Black Sea Pilot*⁸ (1930), 122, that the Greeks called the sea "hospitable" (the appropriate term for which is ξένος, not poetic εὔξεινος) and the Turks, expressing their fears in traversing such an open expanse of waters, stormy and perilous, named it "black." Nor is it any better to present without a comment the passage of Strabo (7.3.6), where he speaks of the Pontus as not navigable and being called ἸΑξιενος, owing to its wintry storms and the savagery of the people who lived around it, as a modern

scholar, A. J. Graham (*BICS* 5 [1958], 25) has done. The Iranian origin of the name, as convincingly demonstrated by Max Vasmer half a century ago (1921), should be common knowledge by now.

Pp. 80–82: The Dardanelles.

The city Δάρδανος, where *porto Dardano*, is called *Dardanelo* (*Dardanello*) on the sea maps; W. Tomaschek, “Zur histor. Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter,” *SB d. Akad. Wien, philos.-hist. Kl.*, 124, Abh. VIII (1891), p. 17.

The same *Dardanello* is called Ταρτανέλος in a Greek portolano of the sixteenth cent.: [ἀπὸ τὴν Τένεδον ἕως τὴν Πόλιν] εὕρσκεϊς τὸν Ταρτανέλον, καστέλια β', τό ἕναν / εἰς τὴν Ρουμανίαν [the Balkans] καὶ τὸ ἕλλον εἰς / τὴν Ἄνατολήν. See A. Delatte, *Les portulans grecs* (1947), p. 335, l. 8. This testimony with the rest belies the proposed etymon of Δαρδανέλλια from Δάρδανος and Ἔλλη.

Dardanel(l)o is obviously a diminutive of *Dardano*; in addition to the examples given on p. 81 note 62 (*Salandrella*, *Galatrella*), add the Turkish names *Aydın* and *Aydıncık*, both occurring in the area of Ankara.

*P. 81 with n. 60: *Δαρδαν-έλλη is no dvandva.*

The name *Δαρδανέλλη can hardly be understood as *dvandva*, if one considers closely each of such *dvandva* geographic names. E. Honigmann, “Les *dvandvas* dans la toponymie byzantine,” *Mélanges E. Boisacq* (Bruxelles, 1937), 1.499–512, has assembled some 15 instances of *dvandva* names, many of them dated: *Καρφορρυγία*, *Συρομηθία*, *Συροφονίκη* (*Syria Punica* or *S. Phoenix*), *Αὐγουστοευφρατησία* (*Augusta Euphratensis*), *Ζαγωροζαγούλη* (A.D. 530) (*Ζυγρίς κόμη* and *Ζαγυλὶς κόμη*), Ἄγκυροσύνακος (seventh cent.; Ἄγκυρα and *Συναός*), *Σαρσοκορώνη* (A.D. 805 or 807), *Παροναξία* (A.D. 1083), *Σουγδοφούλλα* (A.D. 1158; *Σουγδαία* and αἱ Φοῦλλαί), *Πυλοπόθια* (1236; *Πύλαι* and *Πύθια*), *Σταδιοτραχία* (ca. 1264; *Στάδεια* and *Τραχεῖα*, *Μοράχριδα* (fourteenth cent.; *Μόρρα* and Ἄχριδός), *Λαμπασοπαρθενίτα* (1390; *Λαμπάδα* and ἡ *Παρθενίτα*, names of two ports in the Crimæa), *Μοθωκορώνη* (1500; *Μοθώνη* and *Κορώνη*).

All these *dvandvas* semantically are equivalent to the area that includes both units. Thus, *Παροναξία* includes *Πάρος*, *Ναξία*, and even other islands, τὰ *Μοθωκόρωνα* includes *Μοθώνη* and *Κορώνη*, etc. Accordingly, if *Δαρδανέλλη were such a *dvandva* name, it would mean Ἔλλη and Δάρδανος, i.e. designate part of the European coast and part of the Asiatic coast but would hardly designate the maritime river between them.

P. 84: Προποντίς, (n. 72) Θάλασσα τοῦ Μαρμαρᾶ Marmara denizi.

As *Προποντίς* from ἡ πρό Πόντου θάλασσα, so also *Chalcedon* was called *Προκεραστὶς* as situated πρὸ Κέραος “before the Golden Horn”; on *Προκεραστὶς* cf. A. Fick, “Altgriechische Ortsnamen II,” *BB* 22 (1897), 12. *Propontides* are called by Pliny the *Περγικιπὸνήσοι*, now *Kizil adalar*, i.e. nine islands lying parallel with the coast six miles SE of Constantinople; see *Black Sea Pilot*¹¹ (1969), 101.

The Sea of Marmara, ca. 150 miles long from E. to W. and 40 miles in breadth in its widest part from N. to S., derives its name from the island of Marmara (ancient *Προκόνησος*), from which also the name *Marmara Bogazi* has its name (this is the southern channel between the Marmara island and the Pasha Liman group). This naming occurred of course in Greek: τὰ *Μάρμαρα* and τὸ νησί τὰ *Μάρμαρα* or τὸ νησί τοῦ *Μαρμαρᾶ* (anc. *Proconnesos*) with six hamlets on the coast has given its name to the Sea and divides it into two channels of unequal breadth (*op. cit.*, 61, 79f.); its celebrated quarries have been worked for centuries and are still on a very small scale. The debris from them has formed on the shores of *Memerci İmanı* a steep white slope, which is very conspicuous from the north (cf. *Black Sea Pilot*¹¹ [1969], 117).

P. 84f.: Cimmerian Bosphoros.

For the period of 22 years there were listed approximately 300 Russian bibliographical items on the Cimmerian Bosphoros (out of ca. 700 works referring to the ancient Greek colonies of the northern littoral in the Black Sea); see Eugène Belin de Ballu, *L'histoire des colonies grecques du littoral nord de la Mer Noire* (Leiden, 1962). This fact demonstrates in a way the cultural importance of the area.

Pp. 92–94: Βόσπορος “Hellespont.”

On account of the existence of three straits named Βόσποροι in the NE Mediterranean, it seems to me that it was natural that the more distinctive term Ἐλλάσποντος won the upper hand and became current among the Greeks and thus replaced the (Hellespontine name) Βόσπορος.

P. 96 n. 148: Βόσπορος “large ford.”

According to A. Fick (*BB* 22.11) the name Βόσπορος was only later linked with Io.

P. 102 with n. 178: ἡ Βοῦς the Asiatic headland.

The promontory, called Βοῦς f., was located NE of Βοσπόριος ἄκρα and east of the entrance to the Golden Horn (see map in Oberhummer, art. *Bosphoros I*, *RE* 5 [1897], coll. 749f.). The name Βοῦς or (according to Hesychius s.v.) Δάμαλις is referred to the islet (before the west tip of Skutari), which islet carries a tower, erected by Mehmed II and called *Leander Tower* by the Franks and *Kizkulesi* “girl tower” by the Turks; both the Leander saga and the Turkish tale seem to join an obscure tradition of the ancient saga. Cf. Oberhummer, *RE* 5 (1897), 755.

Our most reliable topographical guide for the area is the *Black Sea Pilot*¹¹ (1969). We are informed as follows: the shore in the vicinity of Üsküdar (on the site of ancient *Chrysopolis*) is bordered by a sand flat extending from 279.8 meters to 555.6 meters from it. A light (lat. 41° 01' N., long. 29° 00' E.) is exhibited at an elevation of 9.4 meters from a white framework structure (11 m. in height) on the tower (*Kizkulesi*), situated at the extremity of a rocky ledge extending 185.2 meters from the western point of Skutari. A rock with a depth of 1.8 m. lies half a cable (94.6 m.) NNE of Kiz kulesi; a 5 m. patch lies close to the north of the rock; see *Black Sea Pilot*¹¹ (1969), 148.

Gruppe (*Griechische Mythologie*, 2.747) thinks that the recorded topographic names Δάμαλις and Βοῦς in the Bosphoros were really given after Io in cow shape, as sacred beasts of Artemis or of the god mother identified with her gave the following names from the corresponding designations: Ὀρνυγία “Quail-island” (from ὄρνυξ “quail”), Προκόννησος (πρόξ “roe deer”), and Ἀρκτόνησος (ἄρκτος “bear”). Yet, these may not have had associations with myths. Here also the fact should be recorded that the name Βοῦς on a papyrus of the third century A.D. stands for an anthroponym; F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (1922), col. 78 [names in Egypt]; D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon* (1967–), 81 b.

P. 102: Βοῦς as Io on coins?

A recent study has investigated the silver coins of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. of Byzantion to ascertain whether or not the Io myth is represented on them. It was found that no cow (with udders) represents Io but an ox-head on them symbolizes cattle-breeding as the dolphin (on the same coins or on other coins) symbolizes Bosphoros or the sea as the source of the wealth of the Byzantines; also agricultural land of Byzantion in Thrace and Asia Minor is represented by Demeter's head on the obverse and the cornucopia on the reverse. The Byzantines have, however, portrayed on their coins the head of Keressa, Io's daughter, and on the reverse the ox. See Edith Schönert, “Der Io-Mythos auf den Silbermünzen von Byzanz,” *Helikon* 6 (1966), 174–182.

P. 109: Βοιῶδοποροὶ etc. in *Modern Greek*.

In Modern Greek the term πόρος underlies simplicia and compounded place-names. From an area I have covered rather thoroughly I parade examples that speak for themselves, from the nomos of Messenia:

Πόρος is the crossing point of torrents in Kefalinou and Makrena, in Hadžali (also Χατζιαλόπορος);

Βλαχόπορος crossing point, used by seminomadic shepherds in the area of Tzeferemini and Hasambasa (cf. Βλαχάμπελα in the area of Karteroli), on the river Pirnakas;

Καμινόπορος river crossing in Χάστεμη (now called Λυκοχώρα);

Πλατύπορος in Kaloyerorachi;

Κοκκινόπορος (twice);

Πετρόπορος;

Γιδόπορος "crossing of goats" in Pylia (village Kambási);

στοῦ Ἡρακλῆ τὸν πόρο — name for a trench in the swamp of Ayios Floros (eparchia Kalamata); the name is a man's, not the hero's.

In eparchia Alagonia (area of the village Karveli) τὸ Πορεῖο is a narrow crossing point on a torrent.

LAST ADDENDA

In bibliography it is important to mention the latest edition of a book listed (above, p. 118): *The Black Sea Pilot*, 11th ed., 1969 (publ. by the Hydrographer of the [British] Navy).

Straits officially are considered and called the entire seaway of the Dardanelles, Marmara Denizi, and the Bosphorus (so *Black Sea Pilot*¹¹, p. 10).

Narrows, on the other hand, is the part of the Dardanelles between Çanakkale kalesi and Nara burnu (ca. 3 miles N.) on the east and Kilitbahir and Bigali kalesi (ca. 4 miles N.) on the west (*ibid.*, p. 90).

P. 103: Βοῶς κεφαλαί. Like this toponym is Κυνὸς κεφαλαί "dog's heads" from a similarity of the feature. On how the aition could arise see M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*² (München, 1955), 30.

Pp. 78, 123: *The aition* for Helle's myth. — The aitiological myths or tales, called *aitia*, are well-known: a tale can be made into aition by adding an aitiological narrative or, conversely, a tale may originate from an etymological narrative by dropping the aitiological relationship; illustrations of both phenomena are presented by Nilsson. In addition, cult *aitia* frequently narrate the motive of the installation of a cult (thus, several tragedies of Euripides have an aitiological conclusion, the setting-in of a cult). See Nilsson, *op. cit.*, 1. 26–35.

INDEX

Note the abbreviations: n. = note, nn. = notes, add. = addenda, app. = appendix

- Abbreviations 65f., 118
 "Άγιος Γεώργιος 78
 aition in myths 78, 127
 *Αμφίμαρος n. 194
 ἀμφορεύς 106
 *Ανάπλους 82 with n. 65
 *Αξιεινος πόντος add. 124
 Arpis, *Απισ app. 7, nn. 46, 47, 51
 *Απολλωνιστής n. 194
 Arnavutköy (Turk.) n. 65
 Aydin, Aydıncik (Turk.) add. 125
 αὐθέντης 106 with n. 195
 axšana (Iran.) add. 124
- βέθρον 106
 Bessapara n. 99
 bibliography 65–69; add. 118–120
 Black Sea 118; 124; — area & Greek
 colonization add. 120
 βο- in compounds 199
 Βοάγριος 103
 βοᾶθός 106 with n. 196
 βοᾶθός n. 196
 βοηθός 106
 βοηθός 106 with n. 196
 Boğazi (Turk.) 82
 Boğaziçi (Turk.) 82 with n. 64
 Βοιδόποροι toponym in Messenia 109 with
 n. 204; (parallels) add. 127
 Βοκόπια τά (Rhodes) n. 201
 βοο- compounds 99
 Βοός τοῦ (place-name) 102 with n. 179
 Βοός ἀύλή 103; — κεφαλαί 103
 Βοόσουρα 104
 Βοός πόρος 91 with n. 125; 92; 104
 Βοόσπορος (city and area) 91 with n. 126; 103
 βοοσσός 106 with n. 197
 βοοσφαγία 107
 (*βος) 100, nn. 170, 171
 Bosforo (Ital.) 86
 Bòsforo (Span.) 86
 Bosforus 86
 Bospara, Βόσπαρα (Thracian) 87 with n.
 100; 89; 90; n. 190
 Βοσφαγέα 107
 Bosphore (French) 86
 bosphore (French) n. 140
- Bosphoros (Lat.) 85 with n. 88; nn. 77,
 79, 89; (= Hellespont) 86 with n. 93
 Βόσφορος (not surviving) 86 with n. 85
 Bosphorus (Lat.) 84, 86
 Bospór (Bosfór) (Russ.) n. 67
 Βοσποριανός 85 with n. 82
 Βοσπόριοι ποταμοί (Hellespont area) 93
 Βοσπόριον τό 85
 Βοσπόριος 85; — ἄκρα 85 with n. 80; add. 126
 Βοσπορίτης 85 n. 83; ἡ πόλις ἡ Βοσπορίτισσα
 n. 84
 Bosporos 69, 70; add. 120f.; realia against
 the Thracian explanation 88–90
 Βόσπορος 87f.; 89; 105; 106; 107 n. 121
 (etymon in Roman authors), 94ff.
 nn. 68, 74, 85, 86 (city), 96, 101, 127,
 128, 133, 136, 137, 159; "large ford"
 add. 126;
 Βοσπόρου: Βοόσπορος 106; Βόσπορος
 (port) 84; Βόσπορος (Hellespont) 92
 with n. 93; pp. 94–96; add. 126
 Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος n. 78; Β. Μύσιος 83
 with n. 71; Β. τῆς Καλχηδονίτης 96;
 Β. ὁ κατὰ τὴν Προποντίδα n. 131; Β.
 Θρηϊκιος (Θράκιος) 84 with nn. 75, 76
 βόσπορος (noun) 94–96, 108; nn. 140, 148;
 "strait, channel" 108
 bosporus (etc.) "fretum" (Lat.) n. 140
 Bosphorus (Lat.) 83, 84, nn. 77, 140; Β.
 Cimmerius 85; Β. Thracius 84, nn. 77,
 91, 94; Bosphorus of Italy (Strait of
 Messina) n. 147a
 Βόθρεπτος 104 with nn. 184, 185
 βου- compounds 99 with n. 163
 Βούα 102
 Βούβαλος n. 176
 Βούδορος 103
 Βουκάρτερος 103
 βούκερως παρθένος (Io) app. 5, 6, n. 33
 Βουκέφαλα 104
 Βούκρανος f. 103
 Βούπορθμος 94, 97
 βουπόρος (adj.) n. 156; — Ἄρσωνός 103
 βούρυτος 96
 Βοῦς ἡ (headland) 102; add. 126; anthro-
 ponym add. 126
 Βουσπορίτης (inhab. of city) 86 with n. 97

- Βούσπορος (city = Βόσπορος) 86 with n. 97
 βουσσός 106
 Βουφάγος 103
 Bova (in Italy) 102
 Bove (Ital.) in descriptive place-names 102
 ΒοΨός πόρος 105; ΒοΨόσπορος 105, 106, 107; βοΨόσπορος 107
 *βοΨοσσός 107
 Βοῶν ἡ (place-name, Caria) 102 with n. 181
 Brachium Sancti Georgii 78; 83
 βρία f. 90 with n. 118
 Βρίπαρον 90 with n. 118
 Βρόχοι n. 185
 Bucca Romaniae 73
 Bufalo 102
- Callipoli (mediev. Lat.) n. 16
 Çanakkale Boğazi (Turk.) 72
 Çanak-kalesi (Turk.) 81; add. 124
 canal (Ven.) n. 6
 Cape Helles n. 60; add. 124; C. Greco, C. Tekke add. 124
 Cavallo (Ital.) 101
 Cavallón (Span.) 101
 Černoye More (Russ.) add. 124
 Cervo (Ital.) 101
 Chalipoli add. 121
 Cimmerian Bosphoros 84f.; add. 126; — Straits 69
 Cimmerius Bosphorus n. 121; — Bosphorus 86 with n. 92
 colonization of Greeks in Black Sea add. 120f.
 compound names: genitive — — 103f
 cow form of Io app. 114–116
 currents 70; add. 120
- Δάμαλις f. add. 126
 Dardanelles, the, 71; 73; 80; n. 58; add. 123
 *Δαρδανέλλη (dvandva) 81; add. 125
 Dardanelli (Russ.) 80
 Δαρδανέλλια τά, 80; (city) 81; etymon add. 125
 Dardanello (Ital.) n. 62; add. 125; Dardanelli 80
 Δάρδανος 80 with n. 59; ἡ — (city) 82 and n. 63; add. 123f., 125; Δάρδανος, Δαρδάνης, Δαρδανίδης surnames in Mod. Gr. n. 59
 Dardanus add. 124
 deities of light 76f.
 descriptive names for “Bosphoros” n. 69
- Devil’s current add. 124
 digamma (F) in Mycen. and Doric 105
 dvandva geographic names add. 125
- Ἐκάτη Φωσφόρος 85
 ἐκατόμβη 100 with n. 167
 *Ἐλαιοῦς add. 124
 *Ἐλαφος 101; *Ἐλάφων λιμένει Mycen. 101
 *Ἐλένη 76; add. 122
 Eles burun (Turk.) n. 60; add. 124
 *Ἐλης (Phryg.) 75, 76
 *Ἐλλᾶ 77
 *Ἐλλάσποντος 73
 *Ἐλλᾶς πόρος 97, 98, 103
 ἔλλη (noun) 76f.
 *ἔλλη (noun) 79
 *Ἐλλη 73, 74, 75, 76, 77; 78 with n. 42; 79; 80; add. 121f., 123, 125
 *Ἐλλης ἄκρα n. 60; add. 124
 *Ἐλλησποντιακή (city) 93 with n. 133
 *Ἐλλησπόντιος etc. n. 110; anthroponym add. 121
 *Ἐλλης πόντος 73, 75, 78, 79, 80; add. 123
 *Ἐλλήσποντος 72 with n. 15; 73; 75; 78; 103; (semantic content) n. 15; (river) n. 110; (land) n. 110; add. 123
 *Ἐλλης πόρος 73, 75, 80
 *Ἐλλης πορθμός 73
 -έλλι suff. 81 with nn. 60, 62
 ἔλλος, ἔλλος 79; add. 123
 *Ἐλλοί 77; add. 121, 122
 *Ἐλλοπες, -πία add. 122
 ἔλος 75; add. 122
 ἐπαφή etc. app. n. 49
 Eraphos app. 112, 116; add. 119f; *Ἐπαφος app. 116
 *Ἐπτάπορος 97 with n. 152
 *Ἐστία n. 65
 ἦλιος 77
 ἡμέδιμνον 106
 etymologizing onomastic data 72
 Εὐβοία app. 114
 Εὐξείνος πόντος add. 124
 εὐριπος 94 with n. 139
 Euriposo; 94
- fiume del Lupo 101
 Fjord n. 189
 floating cattle in high water n. 203
 fog in the Straits add. 121, 122
 Foggy Island, Foggy Peak 74
 folketymological forms of Bosphoros 85

- ford 90, 104
 *furdu (Germanic) 104
 Furt 104
- Galatrèlla n. 62
 Galliparo 97; cf. Καλλίπορος
 Gallipoli 73, n. 16
 Gelibolu (Turk.) n. 16
 Golfo di Gallipoli 73
 gworā 88
 g^wowos poros 89
 gwos 101, n. 171
 (g^wos) 101
- hapology 106
 Hathor (Egypt. goddess) app. 114, 115
 (*hela) 74; add. 121
 (*hella, *Hellane) 74
 Helle (myth) 69; add. 119 [bibliography],
 121f.
 Hellespont 69, 70; add. 121
 Hellespontos, (Lat.) -us 72
 hydrography of Bosphoros 70 n. 5; 71 n. 9
 Hyksos app. 161
 hyphaeresis (loss of one of vowels) 98 with
 nn. 160, 161
 ὑφαίρεσις n. 160
- Ἱερόν nn. 65, 73
 Ἱκάρως, Ἱκάριον πέλαγος 78
 Piyashaba burnu (Turk.) add. 124f.
 Io (myth) 69, 87, 91 with n. 122; 92 with
 n. 127; 109 with n. 205; app. 110–117;
 equated with Isis app. 115, 117, 122;
 bibliography 119f.; Ἴώ app. n. 22
 Ἴππος 101
 Istanbul Boğazi 82 with n. 64
- Kale Sultaniye n. 62; add. 121
 Καλλιπόλις 73 nn. 16, 65
 Καλλιούπολις (Byz.) 73 n. 16
 Καλλίπορος 97 with n. 153
 kanal (subsurface current) (Turk.) 70 with
 n. 6
 Kara Deniz (Turk.) add. 124
 Karadeniz Boğazi (Turk.) 82 with note 64
 Kerch, Strait of, 71, 85, n. 78
 Kilid Bahr (Turk.) add. 121
 Κιμμερικὸς Βόσπορος 85 with nn. 76, 78;
 ἰσθμὸς Κ. n. 78
 Κιμμέριος Βόσπορος 85 with n. 78; 91
- κινόκρανον 106
 Kizkulesi (Turk.) add. 126
 Κυνὸς κεφαλαί 127
 Kuru-çesmé n. 65
- lāw-, lāwo-, -lāwos compounds 105
 ΛᾱF-, ΛᾱFo-, -λᾱFος compounds 105
 Leander Tower add. 126
 Loup 101
 Λύκος 101
- maritime rivers 70
 Μάρμαρα τά, add. 125
 Marmara Boğazi (Turk.) n. 64
 Marmara Denizi (Turk.) n. 72; add. 125
 Μαρμαρᾶς m. (village) n. 72
 Μαστουσία, Μαζουσία ἄκρα, n. 60; add. 124
 moon goddess add. 122
 Μπούκα τῆς Ρουμανίας add. 121
 Μύσιος Βόσπορος 91, n. 71
 mythological conceptions and geography 72
 myths localized in Euxine add. 110
- Narrows (U.S.A.) n. 66; add. 127
 Νεφέλη 74
 νηστὶ τοῦ Μαρμαρᾶ add. 125
- o from oo 98, 99, 107, n. 185
 Ochse (Germ.) in place-names 102 with
 n. 177
 Ochsenfurt 102
 οἶστρος app. 116
 ὠλέκρανον 106
 Ὀρτυγία add. 126
 ox-ford 109
 Oxford 104; six times in U.S. 104 with n. 188
 ox-head on Byzantion coins add. 126
- Πακτύη 78
 Παντικάπαιον n. 96
 -para (etc.) Thracian compounds 87 with
 nn. 99, 100, 111
 Πέραμα 97
 periphrastic names 103f
 Phoenicians app. 111 with n. 7
 Φριζοκόμης 78f; add. 123
 φριξός, φριξο- 78
 Φριξός 78f.; add. 119, 121, 123; bibliogra-
 phy on — add. 119
 φῶς 89
 Φωσφόριον τό, 85 with n. 86; 89

- Φωσφόρος ('Εκάτη Φ., Ἄρτεμις Φ..) 89
with n. 88; 89
- place-names from animal terms 101f.
- Πλαγκταί πέτραι app. 110
- Πλεισθένης 106
- Πόλυβος 107 with n. 199
- Πολύπορος 97 with n. 152
- Πόντος, Pontus, n. 69
- por-a (IE) 90
- pora (OChSI) n. 117
- Πόρατα, Πυρετός 104
- Πορεῖο τό, add. 127
- poris (Thracian) n. 99
- Ρόρο (torrent) in S. Italy 97 with n. 150
- *poros (IE) 88
- πόρος 88, 97, 103 with nn. 99, 100, 101, 149, 151, 152; add. 127; (Phryg.) 75;
-πορος compounds 97; -πορος compounds in Mod. Greek place-names add. 127
- Πόρος 97 with nn. 151, 152; add. 127
- επορος compounds 97; in Mod. Gr. n. 204
- πορθμός 73, 97; in geogr. names n. 155
- Πορθμός 97
- Porto Dardano add. 125
- Portus Proshporius 86 with n. 95
- Πριγκιπώνησοι add. 125
- Προκεραστίς add. 125
- Πρόκωνησος add. 125
- Πρόοθοι n. 185
- Προποντίς 69, 70, 84; add. 125; Propontides (Lat.) add. 125
- Προσφόριον τό, 85 with n. 87
- Προσφόριος λιμὴν 85 with n. 87
- Ῥεῦμα (Byz.) 82
- rivers fordable n. 203
- river valleys 70
- Salandra, Salandrella n. 62
- Salii (Lat.) add. 122
- salinity of the water in Hellespont and Bosphorus 71 with n. 7
(*Σελήεις) 75 with n. 29
- Σελήνη, σελήνη 76, 77; add. 122
- Σελλήεις n. 29
- Σελλοί add. 122
- semantic content depleted in compounds n. 202
- sēmodius 106
- σεῦω n. 198
- Σκυθικὸς Βόσπορος n. 78
- στενὸν τό "narrows" 94
- Στενὸν τό, 82f. with n. 66; 94; 109; τὰ Στενά n. 66; 109; τὸ Στενὸν τῶν Δαρδανελλίων 73, 82; Στενὸν τοῦ Πόντου n. 66
- στενόπορθμος 97
- Stenum n. 66
- Στόμα τοῦ Πόντου 84
- Straits of the Dardanelles (Nagara & Çanak) 71; Strait(s) of Gallipoli 73 with n. 16; 82; Strait of Gibraltar n. 7; add. 120, 127; Strait of Kerch 78; history of the Straits 72; Straits as boundary between Europe and Asia 71; add. 120
- Stretto della Romania 73; Stretto di Messina add. 122
- συγκοπή n. 160; 99
- Συμπληγάδες app. 110
- swimming cattle in floods n. 203
- Ταρτανέλος add. 125
- Ταῦρος 101
- terms designating animals as place-names 101f.
- τετράχμον 106
- θάλασσα (etymon) 80 note 56
- Θάλασσα τοῦ Μαρμαρᾶ (Propontis) n. 72; add. 125
- Thracian Bosphorus n. 76
- Thracian language 87 with n. 103
- Thracius Bosphorus 86 with n. 91
- Θρακικὸς Βόσπορος 84
- Θράκιος Βόσπορος 84, nn. 71, 131
- Θρηάκιος Βόσπορος 84, 87, 105, nn. 75, 131
- Toro 102
- Vache enragée 102
- Vospór (Russ.) n. 67
- Vósporos (Mod. Gr.) 82f. with n. 67
- Vúa (S. Calabria) 102 with n. 180
- waterway geogr. features (between the Aegean & the Black Sea) 69
- Yoros (Turk.) = Ἰερόν n. 73