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NON-GREEK GLOSSES IN THE WORK *DE FLUVIIS* BY PSEUDO-PLUTARCH*

Abstract: The aim of my study is to review seven foreign-language glosses attested in Pseudo-Plutarch's work *Περὶ ποταμῶν* and explain them from the etymological and historical-comparative point of view. It is concluded finally that all the glosses should be regarded as a real and valuable part of some ancient languages of Europe and Asia Minor (Gaulish, Phrygian, Scythian, Armenian). By analogy, the completely unknown writers, cited as a reference by the anonymous author of *De fluviis* (e.g. Agatharchides of Samos, Agathon of Samos, Chrysermos of Corinthus, Cleitophon of Rhodos, Euemeridas of Cnidus, Hermasianax of Cyprus), may be treated as historical persons.

The work *De fluviorum et montium nominibus et de iis quae in illis inveniuntur* (abbreviated title: *De fluviis* vel *Περὶ ποταμῶν*¹), traditionally attributed to Plutarch of Chaeronea (*Πλουτάρχου περὶ ποταμῶν καὶ ὄρων ἐπωνυμίας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς εὕρισκομένων*), contains quite numerous glosses translating the local proper or common names (appellatives) into Greek. In my study, I would like to discuss all of them, verifying the credibility of the explanations and translations quoted in the referenced work.

1.-2. Gaulish *lugos* 'raven', Gaulish *dūnon* 'elevated place'.

Attestation: Παράκειται δὲ αὐτῷ ὄρος Λούγδουνον καλούμενον μετωνομάσθη δὲ δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. Μώμορος καὶ Ἀτεπόμαρος, ὑπὸ Σεσηρονέως τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκβληθέντες, εἰς τοῦτον κατὰ προσταγὴν τὸν λόφον πόλιν κτίσαι θέλοντες: τῶν δὲ θεμελίων ὀρουσομένων αἰφνιδίως κόρακες ἐπιφανέντες καὶ διαπερυξάμε-

¹ I used the latest critical edition of the work: Plutarco, *Fiumi e monti*, introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento a cura di E. Calderón Dorda, A. De Lazzer, E. Pellizer, Napoli 2003. I also consulted the Spanish study published two years later: Plutarco, *Vidas de los diez oradores. Sobre la astucia de los animales. Sobre los ríos*, edición de I. Rodríguez Moreno, Madrid 2005, pp. 171–220.

νοι, τὰ περίξ ἐπλήρωσαν τὰ δένδρα. Μώμορος δὲ οἴωνοσκοπίας ἔμπειρος ὑπάρχων, τὴν πόλιν Λούγδουνον προσηγγόρευσε· λοῦγον γὰρ τῇ σφῶν διαλέκτῳ τὸν κόρακα καλοῦσι, δοῦνον δὲ τόπον ἐξέχοντα· καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Κλειτοφῶν ἐν γ' Κτίσεων (Ps.-Plut., *De fluv.* 6.4, s.v. APAP²);

Translation: “The mountain called Lugdunon rises nearby [i.e. near the river Arar – EK]. It was named so for this reason here. Momoros and Atepomaros, deprived of the power by Seseroneus, [ascended] the hill to build a town on the order (of the oracle). Suddenly, when they were marking out the foundations, ravens flew in, settling in the nearby trees. Momoros, as proficient at auguring from birds in flight, called the town Lugdunon. For in their language they call a raven *lugos* (acc. sg. λοῦγον), and an elevated place *dunon* (acc. sg. δοῦνον), as stated by Cleitophon in the 13th book of the work entitled *Ktiseis* («The Foundations of Towns»)”.

The text by Pseudo-Plutarch brings as many as two Gaulish glosses. The first one is the Gaulish name for a raven, *lugos* or *lugon*, confirmed only in Pseudo-Plutarch's work³. The name, according to the editors, has no counterpart in other Celtic languages⁴. However, the Irish language offers a vast array of names, having as many as nine synonyms meaning a ‘raven’: *bodb* or *badb*, *bran*, *crú*, *fennóg*, *fiach*, *fang*, *láes*, *préachan*, *trogán*⁵. Some of the names are borrowed from elsewhere (e.g. Old Irish *préachan* < Latin *praesaga avis* ‘ill-auguring bird’), some of them are expressive, onomatopoeic in character (e.g. *crú* derived from a sound made, cf. *caw-caw*), some others probably being innovative (e.g. OIr. *badb* ‘raven’ < Celt. **bodvā* ‘battle’⁶; *trogán* ‘she-raven’ < ‘having numerous offspring’), which is related to lexicon’s

² Plutarco, *Fiumi e monti*, p. 142. Arar is the ancient name for the contemporary Saone River (Celt. Sauconna), a tributary of the Rhone. In antiquity, the Arar river was a natural border between territories of the *Aedui* and *Sequani* tribes.

³ G. Dottin, *La langue gauloise*, Paris 1920, p. 268; P.-H. Billy, *Thesaurus Linguae Gallicae*, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1993, p. 100.

⁴ See Plutarco, *Fiumi e monti*, p. 224, footnote 62: “il prefisso *lug* invece, nel significato di *corvo*, non trova riscontro né in celtico né in lingue affini”.

⁵ J. Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien*, t. 1 (A-B), Dublin-Paris 1959, p. B-78, s.v. **bran**. Scottish Gaelic has two names: the common name *fìtheach* (cf. Old I. *fiach*) and the dated one *bran* (< Old I. *bran*). Welsh demonstrates cognate names: *brân* ‘crow’, *brân dyddyn* ‘carrion crow’, *Corvus corone corone* and *cigfran* ‘raven’, *Corvus corax*’.

⁶ A. Bezzenger, W. Stokes, *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, Göttingen 1894, p. 176; G. Dottin, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

tendency to replenish itself. There is an equally wide range of all sorts of names for a raven in Gaelic⁷.

The Gaulish name for a raven is probably derived from the Celtic adjective **lukos* ‘black, dark’, confirmed in Goidelic (cf. OIr. *loch* adj. ‘black / schwarz’) and Bryttonic Celtic (cf. W. *llwg* ‘black and yellow/schwarzgelb’, *llug* ‘black’)⁸. The voiced consonant *-g-* appeared in the Gaulish ornithonym as a result of the so-called lenition, i.e. weakened articulation. Prof. Leszek Bednarczuk maintains firmly that “the Gaulish language knew the phonetic lenition which was similar to that in Breton: *p, t, k ≥ b, d, g*”⁹. The Gaulish gloss seems reliable, because the assumed phonetic transformation (Celt. **lukos* > Gaul. *lugos*) and the semantic one (‘black’ > ‘black bird’ > ‘raven’) can be explained simply as resultant from the process of lenition and the common tendency for lexical replenishment. Pierre-Henri Billy quotes three Gaulish names for raven-like birds: *bran(n)os* and *lugos* meaning ‘corbeau / raven’ and *boduos* meaning ‘corneille / crow’¹⁰.

The second gloss quoted by Pseudo-Plutarch denotes *dūnon* (*o*-stem) n. or *dūnos* (*es*-stem) n. ‘elevated place / lieu élevé’¹¹, and its correctness is documented independently by the glosses (cf. Gaul. *dunum* = Lat. *montem*)¹², the rich Gaulish toponymy (numerous place names containing the element *-dunum*) as well as the comparative lexical material taken from other Insular Celtic

⁷ A.R. Forbes, *Gaelic Names of Beasts (Mammalia), Birds, Fishes, Insects, Reptiles, Etc.*, Edinburgh 1905, p. 324, quoted the following Scottish-Gaelic names for a raven: *biadhtach, biatach, bran, bran-fhitheach, branorgain; cnaimheach, cnaimh-fhitheach* or *fhich, cnaimh-lithgheach, craimheach, creumhach; fang, fiach, fiachdab* or *fiach-dubh* (Ir.), *fidheach, fitheach; gair-fhitheach; neabhan, neamhan; preachan, preachanach, preachan-cnaimh-fhitheach* or *cnaimheach; teathra, troghan*.

⁸ A. Bezenberger, W. Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 243–44. The Celtic name for a mouse was probably derived from the same adjectival root: OIr. *luch*, gen. sg. *lochath* ‘mouse’, W. *llyg* gl. ‘mus araneus’, *llygoden* ‘mouse’, pl. *llygot*; Cornwall. *logoden* (gl. *mus sive sorex*), Bret. *logodenn* ‘mouse / souris’ (Celt. **lukot-* ‘mouse’). This adjectival root may also form part of the Irish name *lon* ‘blackbird’ (< **luskno-* or **lukno-*). The genesis of the above-quoted words is explained differently by J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, München-Bern 1959, p. 688.

⁹ L. Bednarczuk, *Języki celtyckie* [Celtic languages], in: L. Bednarczuk (ed.), *Języki indoeuropejskie* [Indo-European languages], vol. 2, Warszawa (Warsaw) 1988, p. 709.

¹⁰ P.-H. Billy, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

¹¹ P.-H. Billy, *op. cit.*, p. 67. The name is confirmed independently in the so called Endlicher Glossary (Glos. Endl. 1), meaning ‘mountain’ (gl. *montem*).

¹² G. Dottin, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

languages, cf. Old Irish *dún* (*es*-stem) n., Scottish Gaelic *dùn* ‘hill, fortress’, Welsh *din*, etymologically corresponding to English *town* and German *Zaun* ‘fence’¹³. Many of the Gaulish towns, built in the elevated places, thereby naturally defensive, contain the element **dūno-*, for instance, the local names (LN) *Branno-dunum*, *Mello-dunum*, *Minno-dunum*, *Mori-dunum*, *Novio-dunum*, *Rigo-dunum*, *Vellauno-dunum*, *Urello-dunum*, *Viro-dunum* (now Verdun)¹⁴. In the age of the Roman Empire there were also hybrid local compound names formed, with their initial element being a Latin word, e.g. LN *Augusto-dunum*, *Caesaro-dunum*.

The etymology cited by Pseudo-Plutarch seems theoretically plausible, although we know the two different Gallo-Latin etymologies of the local name¹⁵. The place-name *Lugdunon* (present Lyon) could be understood as a ‘raven’s hill’ by the Gaulish people, who perceived the toponym as a compound name containing the appellatives *lugos* ‘raven’ and *dūnon* ‘elevated place, mountain’¹⁶. The plausibility of this reasoning is enhanced by the fact that another Gaulish locality, namely *Brano-dunum*, could also be treated as a ‘raven’s hill’, cf. Gaul. **branos* ‘raven’¹⁷.

There is a Gaulish personal name (PN) *Brannos*, too, juxtaposed with the identically sounding Celtic first names (cf. Old

¹³ A. Bezenberger, W. Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 150; J. Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l’irlandais ancien*, vol. 1 (d), par les soins de P.-Y. Lambert, Paris 1996, p. D–222; A. Macbain, *Etymological Dictionary of Scottish-Gaelic*, New York 1998, p. 147. J. Pokorny, *op. cit.*, p. 263, associates Celt. **dūnom* / **dūnos* (n.) with English *down*, German *Dune* ‘down’ and derives them from Indo-European **dhūnom* n. (*o*-stem) / **dhūnos* n. (*es*-stem), regarding English *town* and German *Zaun* as Celtic loan-words. R. Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic*, Leiden–Boston 2009, p. 108, connects Celt. **dhūnos* n. (*es*-stem) with Lat. *fūnus*, gen. sg. *fūneris* ‘burial, funeral’ (originally ‘burial mound’).

¹⁴ A. Bezenberger, W. Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

¹⁵ Cf. *Lugduno* = Lat. *desiderato monte* (in Viennese Dictionary); *Lugdunum* = Lat. *lucidus mons* (Heinrici *Vita S. Germani* IV, 2, 2). Certain scholars (e.g. M.S. Reinach, *Une étymologie ancienne du nom de Lyon, Lugdunum*, “Comptes-rendus des séances de l’année - Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres”, 60, nr 4, 1916, pp. 349–350) admitted it was possible that the source of both the Latin explanations could be the Greek gloss φωτεινὸν ὄρος (= Lat. *lucidus mons*), mistakenly transformed into the form ποθεινὸν ὄρος (= Lat. *desideratus mons*). See G. Dottin, *op. cit.*, p. 268, fn. 3.

¹⁶ J. Staszewski, *Słownik geograficzny. Pochodzenie i znaczenie nazw geograficznych* [Geographical dictionary. Origin and meaning of the geographical names], 2nd ed., Warszawa 1959, p. 171, s.v. **Lyon**.

¹⁷ P.-H. Billy, *op. cit.*, p. 33, s.v. **branno-** *’corbeau’ and p. 175. See also G. Dottin, *op. cit.*, p. 236, s.v. **brano-**, variante de *branno-*; irl. *bran* «corbeau», v. bret. *Bran*.

Irish PN *Bran*, Welsh PN *Bran*)¹⁸ by the scholars, who convincingly explain it as a derivative of the Celtic appellative meaning ‘raven’ or ‘crow’: OIr. *bran* (gen. *broine*, nom. pl. *brain*) m. ‘raven / corbeau / Rabe’, Irish and Scottish Gaelic *bran* ‘raven’ (< Celt. Goid. **branos* m. ‘raven’); Welsh *brân* (pl. *brain*) f. ‘cornix, corvus / crow, raven’, Cornish *bran* (pl. *bryny*) f. ‘id.’; Breton *bran* (pl. *brini*) f. ‘raven / corbeau’ (< Celt. Bryt. **branā* f. ‘crow, raven’)¹⁹.

One should presume that the Gaulish toponym *Branodunum* contains the anthroponym *Bran(n)os* in its initial part, which, as a result of the onymization, was derived from the Celtic appellative **branos* m. ‘raven’. So, we can see that what we deal with here is the following semantic derivation: nomen appellativum **branos* (‘raven’) → nomen proprium **Branos* (‘Raven’) → nomen compositum **Branodūnum* (lit. ‘Raven’s Mount [Town]’).

We might assume an analogous situation in case of the name Lugdunum: nomen appellativum Celticum **lukos* (‘black’ > ‘black bird’ > ‘raven’) → nomen proprium Gallicum *Lukos/Lugos* (‘Black’ alias ‘Raven’) → nomen compositum Gallicum **Lugdūnon* (lit. ‘Raven’s Mount [Town]’). The tale of the ravens accompanying the foundation of the town would therefore be an etiological one, explaining the local place-name *Lugdunos*.

The onomasts and culture researchers explain the toponym Lyon (ancient *Lugdunon* alias *Lugdunum*) as a theophoric name whose initial element contains the appellation of a Gaulish god *Lugus*²⁰, cf. Gaul. *Lugus*, Irish *Lugh*, Welsh *Llew*, *Lleu*, in the

¹⁸ A. Holder, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1891, p. 512; K. H. Schmidt, *Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen*, Tübingen 1957, p. 155; J. Vendryes, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. B–77–78.

¹⁹ A. Bezenberger, W. Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 182; V. Henry, *Lexique étymologique des termes les plus usuels du breton moderne*, Rennes 1900, p. 42; J. Vendryes, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. B–77–78; P.-H. Billy, *op. cit.*, p. 33, s.v. *branno**, ‘corbeau’; A. Macbain, *Etymological Dictionary of Scottish-Gaelic*, New York 1998, p. 46. The Old Irish *muirbran* ‘cormorant’ (also PN *Muirbran*), Welsh *morfran* (also PN *Morfran*), Bret. *morvran* ‘id.’ (< Celt. **mori-branos*, **mori-branā* ‘cormorant’, lit. ‘sea raven / sea crow’) are the derivatives of this appellative, too.

²⁰ A. Dauzat, Ch. Rostaing, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de lieux en France*, Paris 1963, p. 419–20; J. Staszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 171; A. M. Kempniński, *Encyklopedia mitologii ludów indoeuropejskich* [Encyclopedia of the mythology of the Indo-European peoples], Warszawa 2001, p. 264; R. Faure Sabater, *Diccionario de nombres geográficos y étnicos del mundo*, Madrid 2004, p. 370: “Si el segundo elemento *-dunum* es claramente el celta *dun*, ‘fortaleza’, elemento muy repetido en la toponimia céltica, non está tan claro el significado del primer elemento *Lug-*, aunque la explicación más divulgada es la

Celtiberian religion acknowledged in the plural form *Lugoves*. In terms of onomastics and religious studies, that possibility seems better-founded than Pseudo-Plutarch's etiological tale and the alleged source thereof (*Ktiseis* by Cleitophon of Rhodos). It must be meticulously pointed out, though, that the story told by Pseudo-Plutarch by no means stands in contradiction to the scholarly interpretation of the etymology of the local place-name.

According to Pseudo-Plutarch, one of the founders of the town of Lugdunos (now Lyon) was named *Atepomaros*. His name is at the same time one of the appellations of some Gaulish god identified with Apollo or Mercury²¹. The deity in question is probably a Gaulish god called Lugus. As highlighted by A. M. Kempniński, "in Gaul, Lugus (Lugos) was likely to be identified with Mercury [...]. The importance and range of the worship of the god is evidenced by the numerous theophoric local place-names such as Lugdunum ("Lugus's Fortress", now Lyon), Lugdunum Bataavorum (now Leiden), Lugdunum Convenarum (now St. Bernard-de-Comminges), Luguwallum (now Carlisle)"²². Therefore, in the original (Gaulish) version of the tale of the origin of the town of Lugdunum, the local population might consider the god Lugus, having the appellation *Atepomaros*, to be the mythical founder and eponym of the town. The reference to the ravens was made secondarily, only when the name of the god Lugus (Gaul. *Lugus* < Celt. **Lugus*, *u*-stem) was wrongly associated with the Gaulish name for a raven, whose genesis was completely different (Gaul. *lugos* 'raven' < Celt. **lukos* 'black'). In the story told by Pseudo-Plutarch or in its Greek source, the theophoric character of the local place-name Lugdunum was (perhaps intentionally) effaced, while the ravens were proclaimed the eponyms of the Celtic toponym.

Hereinbefore, I discussed the information repeated by Pseudo-Plutarch after his alleged source (in that case, Cleitophon of Rhodos). Having carried out the penetrating analysis thereof, I

que lo relaciona con el dios Lug, divinidad celta cuyo culto estaba extendido por muchas zonas de Europa"; A. Falileyev, A. E. Gohil, N. Ward, *Dictionary of Continental Celtic Place-Names. A Celtic Companion to the "Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World"*, CMCS, Aberystwyth 2010, p. 153: 'Fort of Lugus'.

²¹ P.-H. Billy, *op. cit.*, p. 17: *Atepomarus* Apollo, deus. *CIL* XIII 1318. Rep. Mauvières. *Atepomarus* Mercurius, deus. *AE*, 1969-70, 405b. Rep. Rennes. В. П. Калыгин, *Этимологический словарь кельтских теонимов* [Etymological Dictionary of the Celtic Theonyms], Москва (Moscow) 2006, p. 28: *Atepomarus* – an epithet of the Gaulish Apollo (or Mercury), deriving from the Celtic archetype **ate-epo-māros* 'having big horses'.

²² A. M. Kempniński, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

can only state that the Gaulish glosses quoted in the work *Περὶ ποταμῶν* are based on the reliable and verifiable data.

3. Phrygian *norikon n.* (or *norikos m.*) ‘skin, skin bag’.

Attestation: Εὐημερίδας δὲ ὁ Κνίδιος ἱστορίας μὲνηται τοιαύτης. ὁ ἄσκὸς Μαρσύου τῷ χρόνῳ δαπανηθεὶς καὶ κατενεχθεὶς ἔπεσεν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν Μίδα κρήνην. καὶ κατ’ ὀλίγον καταφερόμενος ἀλιεῖ τινι προσηνέχθη. κατὰ δὲ χρησιμοῦ προσταγὴν Πεισίστρατος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρὰ τὰ λείψανα τοῦ Σατύρου πόλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ συγκυρήματος κτίσας, Νώρικον αὐτὴν προσηγόρευσεν· νόρικον δὲ οἱ Φρύγες τῇ σφῶν διαλέκτῳ τὸν ἄσκὸν καλοῦσιν (Ps.-Plut., *De fluv.* 10.2, s.v. ΜΑΡΣΥΑΣ²³)

Translation: “Here is how Euemeridas of Cnidus remembers the story. Marsyas’ skin bag, time-worn and thrown away, slipped down to the ground into Midas’ Spring. Carried along slowly [by the river], it floated up to a fisherman. According to the oracle, Peisistratos of Lacedaemon built a town near the Satyr’s (Marsyas’) remains, naming it Norikon after the event. In their language the Phrygians call a skin bag *norikon*.”

Pseudo-Plutarch tells us that the town of Norikon was named after Marsyas’ skin bag, supplementing the information with the message that the Phrygians call a skin bag *nórikon* or *nórikos* (acc. sg. Νώρικον cod., Νώρικον edd.).

The same information is provided by Eustathius of Thessalonica (*Eustath. comm. ad Dionis. Perieget.* 121 = *Geogr. Graec. Min.* II 724): Τινὲς δὲ ἱστοροῦσι καὶ ὅτι νόρικον οἱ Φρύγες τὸν ἄσκὸν καλοῦσιν τῇ σφετέρᾳ διαλέκτῳ, καὶ ὅτι, ὀπηνίκα Μαρσύας ἐκεῖνος ὁ Μουσικὸς ἀπεδάρη τὸ σῶμα ὑπ’ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁ ἄσκὸς κρεμασθεὶς καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ κατενεχθεὶς ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν Μίδου λεγομένην κρήνην, καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν μετεκλήθη Μαρσύας, ὁ δὲ ἄσκὸς καταφερόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀλιεῖ προσηνέχθη καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος κατὰ χρησμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ συγκυρήματος πόλιν κτίσας Νώρικον προσηγόρευσεν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις ἄσκόν).

Independently, the referenced information was given by Hesychios, the lexicographer from Alexandria (the fifth or sixth century AD), who quoted the gloss *ναρκίον* · ἄσκόν (without any ethnic designation of the referenced gloss)²⁴. Although Hesychios’

²³ Plutarco, *Fiumi e monti*, pp. 156–158. Marsyas is the ancient name of the present river *Dinar Su*, see J. Tischler, *Kleinasiatische Hydronymie. Semantische und morphologische Analyse der griechischen Gewässernamen*, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 96, s.v. Marsyas.

²⁴ *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, recensuit et emendavit K. Latte, vol. 2 (ε-ο), Hauniae 1966, p. 697, s.v. ν-87 (henceforth: *HAL*).

gloss is different than Pseudo-Plutarch's and Eustathius' one (Phrygian Νόρικον alias Νώρικον) in the root vocalism (/a/ instead of /o/) and the sound cluster (/ki/ vs. /ik/), both the close form and the identical meaning prove the historical reliability of the gloss. No wonder then that the scholars researching into the remnants of the Phrygian language scrupulously distinguish the gloss Νόρικον or Νώρικον from the Phrygian words²⁵.

Roberto Gusmani maintains with reference to the Phrygian gloss Νόρικον alias νώρικον (= άσκόζς) „è senz'altro in rapporto il ναρκίον (= άσκόν) di Esichio, forse anch'essa parola frigia: presenterebbe una vocale svarabhaktica in prossimità di liquida. Manca una probabile etimologia”²⁶. Otto Haas supposes that the Phrygian name for a ‘skin, skin bag’ is etymologically related to the name of a fur animal whose skin was used to make skin bags²⁷, cf. Polish *norka* f. ‘an animal species inhabiting wooded marshlands and river and lake banks, *Mustela lutreola* L.’ vs. *norki* f. pl. ‘mink skin, mink coat’ (< Old Slavic **norьka*, cf. Russian *нóрка* f. ‘nutria, *Mustela lutreola* L.’, Ukrainian *нірка* f. ‘id.’; Czech *norek* m. ‘nutria’, Russian dial. *норóк* m. ‘weasel, *Mustela nivalis*’). The name is confirmed in the Slavic languages with the suffixed forms as well: **-iko-* (whence Slav. **-ьць*) and **-īkā* (whence Slav. **-ica*), cf. Old Czech *nořec* m. ‘otter’ or ‘nutria’, Upper Lusatian *nórc* ‘nutria’ < Proto-Slavic **norьсь* m. ‘*Mustela lutreola* L.’ (sourced from Lusatian German *Nerz*, *Nörz* m. ‘nutria’); Ukrainian *норі́ця* f. ‘nutria, *Mustela lutreola* L.’, Russian dial. *норі́ца* ‘id.’ (< Proto-Slavic **norica* f. ‘nutria’); Old Prussian *naricie* (EV 664) ‘polecat, gl. tufelskint’. The etymology of the Slavic names remains unclear. They may be the derivatives of the Slavic appellative **nora* ‘animal’s underground hiding place, burrow, hole’, formed on the basis of the various suffixes, or the independent forms derived from the verb **noriti* ‘to wallow (in water),’ or finally the borrowings from one of the Ugro-Finnish languages (cf. Finnish *nirkka* ‘weasel,’ Estonian *nirk* ‘id.’).

The alternative etymology was proposed by Franco Crevatin, who referred the Phrygian names (Νόρικον alias Νώρικον) and the Hesychian gloss (ναρκίον) to the Semitic appellatives (confirmed as early as the second millennium BC): Assyrian *narıqqu(m)*, Babylonian *nuruqqum* ‘skin, skin vessel to contain wa-

²⁵ R. Gusmani, *Studi frigi*, Milano 1959, p. 866; В. П. Нерознак [V. P. Neroznak], *Палеобалканские языки* [Palaeo-Balkan Languages], Москва [Moscow] 1978, p. 151;

²⁶ R. Gusmani, *op. cit.*, p. 866.

²⁷ O. Haas, *Die Phrygische Sprachdenkmäler*, Sofia 1966, pp. 154–155.

ter or wine; bag, sack'²⁸. Thus interpreted, the Phrygian word would be an old borrowing from some oriental source (probably a Semitic one).

V. P. Neroznak rejects O. Haas's etymology, relying on quite an uncertain premise that the Slavic names for a 'mink' are the supposed Ugro-Finnish loan-words, and concurring with F. Crevatin's explanation, which he deems convincing both from a phonetic and semantic standpoint²⁹.

The Phrygian gloss in question, given by Euemeridas of Cnidus and repeated by Pseudo-Plutarch, can be securely verified by different literary sources (Hesychios of Alexandria, Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica) and the non-Greek toponymy (note the Phrygian town Norikon), as well as by lexical data taken from the Semitic languages: Assyr. *naruqqu(m)*, Babil. *nuruqqum* 'skin, skin vessel to contain water or wine; bag, sack'.

4.-5. Phrygian *vallēn* 'king', *Vallēnajok oros* 'King's Mountain'

Attestation: Παράκειται δὲ αὐτῷ ὄρος Βαλληναῖον καλούμενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνευόμενον βασιλικόν, τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχον ἀπὸ Βαλληναίου τοῦ Γανυμήδους καὶ Μηδισιγίστης παιδός. οὗτος γὰρ, τὸν γεννήσαντα θεασάμενος ἀποτηκόμενον, τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις καὶ Βαλληναῖον ἑορτὴν κατέδειξε μέχρι νῦν καλούμενον. Γεννᾶται δ' ἐν αὐτῷ λίθος καλούμενος ἀστήρ. οὗτος εἴωθεν νυκτὸς βαθείας πυρὸς δίκην λάμπειν, τοῦ φθινοπώρου τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνοντος. προσαγορεύεται δὲ τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῶν ἐγχωρίων βαλλήν· ὅπερ μεθερμηνευόμενον ἐστὶ βασιλεύς· καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Ἑρμησιάνναξ Κύπριος ἐν β' Φρυγιακῶν (Ps.-Plut., *De fluv.* 12.3-4, s.v. ΣΑΓΑΡΙΣ³⁰).

Translation: "Near the river (Sagaris) there is a mountain called Ballenaion (Vallenaion), whose translated name means the King's Mountain; it was named so after Ballenaios (Vallenaios), the son of Ganymedes and Medesigiste, who, when he saw his pater dying from love, established a holiday for the locals, known as Ballenaion (Vallenaion) to this day. A stone called 'star' (*astér*) is formed in it [i.e. the river Sagaris]. It has a habit of shining in the likeness of fire deep in the night at the beginning of

²⁸ F. Crevatin, *Note frigi, I. norikon 'otre'*, "Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung" 86(2), 1972, pp. 178–189.

²⁹ B. П. Нерознак, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

³⁰ Plutarco, *Fiumi e monti*, p. 164. The river Sagaris (called Sangarios in Homer's works) is identified with modern stream *Sakarya*, zob. Tischler, *op. cit.*, p. 128, s.v. Sagaris.

the autumn. The natives call it *ballén* (*vallén*) in their dialect, which means “king” in translation, as told by Hermesianax of Cyprus in the second book of *Phrygian Tales*”.

The quoted excerpt contains the two cognate Phrygian glosses: 1. Phrygian appellative βαλλήν synonymous with the Greek word βασιλεύς ‘king’; 2. Phrygian oronym (ὄρος) βαλληναῖον translated into Greek as (ὄρος) βασιλικόν ‘king’s / royal mountain’³¹. The form of the adjective, fixed in the oronym, is secondary to the Phrygian name for a king βαλλήν, which served to denote a kind of stone to be found in the river Sagaris.

The Phrygian word βαλλήν or βαλήν m. ‘king’ is richly attested in a dozen or so other classical sources, from the great Greek tragedians (Aeschylus and Sophocles) to Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica during the 10th century, the author of the commentaries on Homer’s works:

1. XO. βαλλήν, ἀρχαῖος βαλλήν, ἴθι, ἰκοῦ (Aeschylus, *Persae* 657-658): “O king, ancient king, come, arrive”.

2a. βαλλήνα τὸν βασιλέα. Εὐφορίων δὲ Θουρίων φησὶ τὴν διάλεκτον. βαλλήν· βασιλεύς κατὰ Θουρίους (Scholia in Aeschylum: scholia in Persas, [scholia vetera e codice Mediceo], v. 660): “*ballén* denotes a king. Euphorion says that it is in the Thurian dialect – *ballén* means king in the Thurians’ vernacular”.

2b. βαλήν] βαλήνα τὸν βασιλέα. Εὐφορίων δὲ Θουρίων φησὶ τὴν διάλεκτον. βαλήν] βασιλεύς κατὰ Θουρίους. (Scholia in Aeschylum: scholia in Persas, [scholia vetera], v. 657): “*balén* : *ballén* denotes a king. Euphorion says that it is in the Thurian dialect – *balén* means king in the Thurian idiom”.

2c. βαλήν] "ὦ βασιλεῦ" κατὰ Θουρίων γλώσσαν, ὡς φησιν Εὐφορίων (Scholia in Aeschylum: scholia in Persas, [scholia vetera... Demetrii Triclinii], v. 657b): “*balén* means “o king!” in the Thurian language, as Euphorion says.”

3. βαλλήν βαρβαρικῶς ὁ βασιλεύς λέγεται. Εὐφορίων δὲ φησὶ Θουρίων εἶναι τὴν διάλεκτον. φησὶν οὖν ὦ ἀρχαῖε βασιλεῦ, ἰκοῦ (Scholia in Aeschylum: scholia in Persas, [scholia recentiora], v. 660): “The barbarians call their king *ballén*. And Euphorion says it is in the Thurian dialect. So he says, ‘O ancient king, arrive!’.”

3a. βαλήν ἀρχαῖος] βαλήν ὁ βασιλεύς λέγεται. Εὐφορίων δὲ φησὶ Θουρίων εἶναι τὴν διάλεκτον. φησὶν οὖν, ὦ ἀρχαῖε βασιλεῦ,

³¹ Cf. Phryg. βαλλήν (= Gk. βασιλεύς ‘king’), Phryg. βαλληναῖον (= Gk. βασιλικόν adj. ‘royal’), see F. R. Adrados, *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. III, Madrid 1991, p. 676.

ικοῦ καὶ παραγενοῦ καὶ ἔλθε ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον, ἤγουν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἐξοχὴν καὶ περιωπὴν τοῦ τάφου, αἰέρων καὶ ἐπαίρων καὶ κινῶν τὴν εὐμαριν καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα τοῦ ποδός, κροκόβαπτον καὶ ἐρυθρόν καὶ βασιλικόν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο περίφρασις, πιφαύσκων καὶ δεικνύων καὶ ἀναφαίνων τὸν φάλαρον καὶ τὸν λόφον τῆς βασιλικῆς τιάρας καὶ περικεφαλαίας. περιφραστικῶς δὲ τὸ βασιλικόν στέμμα φησί. cod. A. βαλῆν] βασιλεὺς κατὰ Θουρίων γλῶσσαν, ὡς φησιν Εὐφορίων. cod. B (Scholia in Aeschylum: scholia in Persas, [scholia recentiora], v. 657).

4. Αἰσχύλος δὲ ὀβρίκαλά φησι τοὺς λεοντιδεῖς καὶ βαλῆνα τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῷ "βαλῆν ἀρχαῖος βαλῆν". γλῶσσης δὲ τοῦτο, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὄρος Βαλιναῖον, ὃ ἐστὶ βασιλικόν παρὰ Πλουτάρχῳ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ποταμῶν (Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 1, pag. 602): "Aeschylus calls lion's cubs *obrikala*, and a king - *balén* in the phrase 'king, ancient king'. This word comes from the [Phrygian] language, from which Mount Balinaion [= Vallēnaion], that is the king's mountain, in Plutarch's work "On Rivers" stems, too."

4a. λέγει δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐθνικώτερον καὶ οὐ κατὰ Ἀττικῶς, βαλῆνα τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῷ, βαλῆν ἀρχαῖος βαλῆν. ὅθεν καὶ βαληνναῖον ὄρος παρὰ Πλουτάρχῳ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ποταμῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλικόν. (Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 2, pag. 189): "Aeschylus uses a foreign word and does not say in the Attic dialect. He calls *balén* 'king' in the phrase 'king, ancient king'. And Mount Ballenaion in Plutarch's work "On Rivers" means 'royal mountain' as well".

5. XO. ἰὼ βαλλῆν (Soph., *Pastores* / Ποιμένες, fr. 515): "HERDSMEN'S CHORUS: O king!".

6. οἱ παρὰ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ ποιμένες "ἰὼ βαλλῆν" λέγοντες "ἰὼ βασιλεῦ" λέγουσι φρυγιστί (Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos et gramaticos* / Πρὸς μαθηματικούς, I 313): "The herdsmen in Sophocles say 'ἰὼ ballén', which means 'O king!' in Phrygian".

7. βαλῆν: βασιλεὺς. Φρυγιστί [Soph. fr. 472] (Hesychius, HAL, I β-154): "*balén* – king, in Phrygian".

8. Τὰ εἰς λην λήγοντα ὀξύνεται βαλλῆν οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς, Τελλῆν, Ὠλήν, σωλήν, κωλήν, στελήν. σεσημειῶται τὸ Ἑλλην βαρυνόμενον. Τὰ εἰς ην ἀπλᾶ ἔχοντα δεδιπλασιασμένον σύμφωνον ὀξύνεται ἐσσήν, ὄσσην, Τελλῆν, βαλλῆν πλην τοῦ Ἑλλην καὶ ὁ ἥρωσ καὶ τὸ ἔθνος. τὸ δὲ ἄρρην Ἀττικῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρσην γέγονε (Herodianus, *De prosodia catholica* 3.1, pag. 15): "The words ending in *-lén* have oxytonic stress: *ballén* meaning 'king', *Tellén*, *Ōlén*, *sōlén*, *kōlén*, *stelén*. The word *Héllēn* is distinguished as barrytonic. Simple words with *-ēn*, having a double consonant, are

oxytonic: *essén, ossén, Tellén, ballén*, except the name *Héllēn*, denoting both a hero and a people. And the word *árrēn*, sounding Attic, stems from the form *ársēn*".

8a. Δοθιήν. οὐδὲν εἰς ἠν λῆγον ὄνομα ὀξυνόμενον καθαρεύει κατὰ χρῆσιν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἠ σύμφωνον ἔχει ἢ σύμφωνα· οἶον σωλήν, λειχήν, κηφήν, αὐχίν, Πειρήν καθ' Ἡσίοδον πατὴρ Ἰούς, Αἰζήν Ταντάλου παῖς. στελήν, σειρήν, βαλλήν, οὕτως ὁ βασιλεύς, ἔσσην ὁ οἰκιστής, "Μυρμιδόνων ἔσσηνα" Καλλιμάχος, πυθμίν, λιμήν, ἀτμήν, καμασήν (ἰχθύς τις λέγεται), Αραφήν εἷς τῶν ἑκατὸν ἠρώων, ἠλακατήν, καὶ τοῦτο ὄνομα ἰχθύος κητώδους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κύριον. δῆλον ὅτι σημειώδης ὁ δοθιήν παρ' Ἀττικοῖς λεγόμενος καὶ μὴ ἔχων πρὸ τοῦ ἠ σύμφωνον (Herodianus *De pros. cath.*, 3.2, pag. 923): "*Dothièn*. No noun stressed oxytonically and ending in *-ēn* is in concord with the use of the name *Héllēnes*, but it always has a consonant or consonants before the vowel *η*; similarly, *solén, leikhén, kephén, aukhén, Peirén* – father Io according to Hesiod, *Aizén* – son of Tantalus; *stelén, seirén, ballén* meaning 'king', *essén* – 'settler' (Callimachus mentions a "Myrmidons' settler"), *pythmén, limén, atmén, kamasén* – the name of some fish, *Araphén* – one of the hundred Heroes, *elakaten* – it is the name of a giant but at the same time important fish. Clearly, the word *dothièn*, used in the Attic dialect and having no consonants before the vowel *η*, is worth attention".

Roberto Gusmani has no doubts that the word βαλλήν 'king' is derived from Phrygian, because the Asian Minor provenance is fully confirmed by Pseudo-Plutarch (*De fluviis* 12, 3-4), pointing at the mountain Ballenaion in the Sagaris river basin³².

W. P. Neroznak hesitates whether the word under examination is Phrygian or Sicilian³³. He only states that the word βαλλήν, which was assimilated into Greek no later than in the fifth century BC, has no credible etymology. Furthermore, he points out that the form in the vocative case used by Aeschylus, identical to the nominative (βαλλήν ἀρχαῖος βαλλήν), can be essential for the reconstruction of the Phrygian vocative.

The Phrygian appellative βαλλήν [pronunciation: *vallén*] 'king' represents an Indo-European archetype **uald(h)ēn* m. 'king, ruler, ruling person', derived from the Indo-European root **ual-* / **uald(h)-* 'rule, govern, manage'³⁴, cf. Gothic *valdan* 'rule,'

³² R. Gusmani, *op. cit.*, p. 853. The Italian scholar quotes several old etymologies of the Phrygian word βαλ(λ)ήν (p. 854), however not accepting any of those proposed hitherto.

³³ В. П. Нерознак, *op. cit.*, p. 139: „Фригийское или сикульское слово?”.

³⁴ J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, München-Bern 1959, pp. 1111–1112, s.v. *ual-*, *ual-d(h)-* 'stark sein'; H. Rix (ed.), *Lexi-*

Old Icelandic *valda*, Old Church Slavic *vlad*, *vlasti* ‘rule’, Lithuanian *vėldu*, *vėldėti* ‘possess, rule, take possession of, come into an inheritance, inherit’. The closest form is perhaps the Proto-Slavic **voldy-ka* m. ‘ruler’, which represents some innovative form compared to the older archetype **voldy* (stemming from the Indo-European noun **ualdhōn*, which belongs to the nasal *-ōn/-en-* stems)³⁵. The Anatolian root **huald-* (= Indo-European **ualdh-*) is confirmed in the Lydian language: *κοαλδδῆϊν · Λυδοὶ τὸν βασιλέα* (Hesychios of Alexandria, 6th century AD) „*koalddeĩn* – the Lydians king [so call]”³⁶. The original nasal *n-*stem is acceptable in case of the Lydian name for a ‘king’ as well.

The term cognate with the Phrygian name for a ‘king’ also appears in the Tocharian languages: Toch. A *wāl* (obl. *lānt*), Toch. B *walo* (obl. *lānte*) ‘king’ (< Common Tocharian **wālā-nt*). The foregoing names seem to represent the original participial forms derived by means of the suffix **-nt-* from the Indo-European root **ualdh-* ‘rule, govern, manage’ or Indo-European **ual-* ‘be strong’ (cf. Lat. *valeo* ‘be strong, powerful; have strength, advantage; dominate, surpass, prevail, win; be important’, whence secondarily ‘be healthy, be well’, and also ‘be able, capable, can’, *val(i)du* adj. ‘powerful, strong, spry, healthy’).

6. Scytho-Sarmatian Vriksava ‘Mutton Forehead’.

Attestation: Παράκειται δὲ αὐτῷ ὄρος, τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῶν ἐνοικούντων προσαγορευόμενον Βριξάβα, ὅπερ μεθερμηνευσόμενον Κριοῦ μέτωπον· ὠνομάσθη δὲ διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. Φρίξος ἀποβαλὼν παρὰ τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον Ἕλληνα τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ διὰ τὰ δίκαια τῆς φύσεως συγκεχυμένος ἐν ταῖς ἀκρωρείαις λόφου τινὸς κατέλυσεν. βαρβάρων δὲ τινῶν θεασαμένων αὐτὸν καὶ μεθ’ ὅπλων ἀναβαινόντων, ὁ χρυσόμαλλος κριὸς προκύνσας καὶ ἰδὼν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπερχομένων, ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ χρυσάμενος διεγείρει τὸν Φρίξον ἀναπαυόμενον καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸν προειρημένον μέχρι Κόλχων εἰσήνεγκεν. ὁ δὲ λόφος ἀπὸ τοῦ συγκυρήματος Κριοῦ μέτωπον προσηγορεύθη (Ps.-Plut., *De flux.* 14.4, s.v. ΤΑΝΑΙΣ³⁷);

Translation: “Near it [i.e. the river Don] there is a mountain called Briksaba (Vriksava) in the language of the local inhabi-

kon der indogermanischen Verben, 2nd ed., Wiesbaden 2001, pp. 676–677, s.v. **uelH-¹* ‘stark sein, Gewalt haben’.

³⁵ See Polish *kamyk* ‘small stone’ < Proto-Slavic **kamy-kъ* < Proto-Slavic **kamy* (Gen. sg. **kamene*) m. ‘stone’ < IE. **akmōn* (Gen. sg. **akmen-es*) ‘stone’.

³⁶ *HAL* I, p. 495, κ-3169.

³⁷ Plutarcho, *Fiumi e monti*, pp. 168–170.

tants, which is translated as a ‘Mutton Forehead’ (Κριοῦ μέτωπον). It was named so for this reason here. Phrixus, having lost his sister Hella at the Euxine (Black) Sea and tormented by the just pricks of the nature, rested at the top of a hill. When some barbarians noticed him and, armed, started ascending the hill, a ram with golden fleece turned up and, having seen a crowd of the coming men, woke the resting Phrixus in human speech and, having seized him, took him as far as Colchis. The hill was named ‘Mutton Forehead’ after the event.”

The subsequent, sixth, gloss refers to Scythian or Sarmatian (Scytho-Sarmatian Βριξάβα = Gr. κριοῦ μέτωπον ‘mutton forehead’³⁸). The Black Sea coastal regions were in antiquity populated by the Iranian people, especially by the Scythians and Sarmatians. The name of the oronym Βριξάβα, the place situated in the vicinity of the river Tanais (now Don)³⁹, seems to be an authentic Iranian compound place-name, whose initial element *wrik- (Gr. Βριξ-) represents the Alanic (Ossetic) name for a ram, cf. Ossetic wær ‘young ram, lamb’ (< Iranian *wəran-), Ossetic (Iron dialect) wærykk, (Digorian dialect) wærikkæ ‘lamb (6 months old)’⁴⁰. According to V. Miller and M. Vasmer, the translation ‘mutton forehead’ would be in that case inaccurate if we accept the hypothesis that the hellenized form Βριξάβα would reflect the Ossetic form wærik-siwæ (literally ‘ram’s horn’, cf. Ossetic Digorian siwæ, Iron sy, syk’a ‘horn’, Avestan srū-, srva- ‘horn’, Pahlavi srūw, srūk, Roshani šaw, Sanglichi šōw ‘id.’⁴¹).

Both the elements of the Ossetic compound wærik-siwæ (fixed in the oronym Βριξάβα [Vriksava]) are Indo-European in character. The Iranian name for a ram (*wəran-, dimin. *warika- ‘lamb’) has good synonyms in other Indo-European languages, cf. Old Indic uraṇa- ‘lamb’, Armenian gaṃ ‘lamb’, Greek ἀρήν (gen. sg. ἀρνός), Cretan (from the town Gortys) Φαρήν m. f. ‘lamb, sheep, ram’ (< PIE. *w_ṛh₁én, gen. sg. wre_h1nós). The Ira-

³⁸ The cape called “Mutton Forehead” (Greek Κριοῦ μέτωπον) was in the Crimea.

³⁹ Scytho-Sarmatian Βριξάβα = Gk. κριοῦ μέτωπον ‘mutton forehead’. See F. R. Adrados, *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. IV, p. 756: “Brixaba supuesta montaña próxima al río Tanais (Don), Plu. *Fluu*. 14.4”.

⁴⁰ В. И. Абаев [V. I. Abaev], *Историко-этимологический словарь осетинского языка* [Historical-Etymological Dictionary of the Ossetic Language], том IV (U–Z), Ленинград [Leningrad] 1989, pp. 87–88, s.v. wær, p. 97, s.v. wærykk / wærikkæ. It is worth highlighting that the Slavic name for a ram (cf. Polish *baran*, Old Russian *boranь*, Russian, Ukrainian *barán*, Czech *beran*) is probably a loan-word from some Iranian source.

⁴¹ В. И. Абаев, *op. cit.*, том III (S–T), Ленинград [Leningrad] 1979, pp. 179–181, s.v. sy / siwæ.

nian name for a ‘horn’ also stems from the Indo-European root **ker-* ‘head’, being closely related to Greek κέρασ n. ‘horn’ (also ‘peak, top’), Old Indic *śṛṅgaṇ*, as well as to Latin *cornu* n. ‘horn’, Old Irish *corn*, German *Horn* (< Indo-European **ḱṛn-u-*).

The Scytho-Sarmatian gloss in question seems to be (partially or totally) correct. The obvious fact that the Iranian origin of the oronym Βριζάβα is unanimously accepted by most linguists (including V. I. Abaev, V. Miller, M. Vasmer), is noteworthy.

7. Armenian *sollaks* ‘(river) flowing downwards’.

Attestation: Τίγρις ποταμός ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας, τὸν ῥοῦν καταφέρων εἰς τε τὸν Ἀράξην καὶ τὴν Ἀρσακίδα λίμνην· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ πρότερον Σόλλαξ, ὅπερ μεθερμηνευόμενόν ἐστὶ κατωφερῆς (Ps.-Plut., *De fluv.* 24.1, s.v. ΤΙΓΡΙΣ⁴²).

Translation: “The Tigris is a river in Armenia, joining the [river] Arax and Lake Arsakis. Once it was called *Sollaks*, which means a river ‘flowing downwards’ (*katopherés*) in translation”.

The seventh gloss comes from Mesopotamia or Armenia (σόλλαξ = Gr. κατωφερῆς adj. ‘hanging, steep; downward, heavy’, here perhaps literally ‘carrying downwards, flowing downwards’). The Tigris River flowed from Armenia⁴³ through all Mesopotamia, together with the Euphrates, into the Persian Gulf. In antiquity, the regions it flowed through were populated by the numerous peoples. There is no telling what ethnos the gloss mentioned by Pseudo-Plutarch should be assigned to. If to the Armenian one, then the gloss could be quite convincingly related to the several Armenian appellatives referring to the aquatic lexicon: *šal* ‘dew, damp / роса, сырость,’ *šalel* or *šalaxel* ‘wet, thaw, dirty, stain / мочить, растворять, марать, пачкать,’ *šalax* ‘solution, loam, slime, dirt / раствор, ил, тина, грязь,’ as well as *šolik* ‘saliva, spit / слюна, плева’⁴⁴. I do not know the origin of these Armenian forms, not knowing either if the gloss σόλλαξ = Gr. κατωφερῆς can be related to them. I cannot determine, either, whether the given form *Sollaks* is the actual name of the river (as assumed by the editors⁴⁵), or if its meaning given by Pseudo-Plutarch was conveyed correctly.

⁴² Plutarcho, *Fiumi e monti*, p. 204.

⁴³ The Armenian name of the Tigris River is *Dklat*, which is a loan-word from Accadian *Diqlat*, *Idiqlat* or Syrian *Deqlat*. See J. Tischler, *Kleinasiatische Hydronymie*, p. 148, s.v. Tigris.

⁴⁴ See Г. Б. Джаукян [G. B. Djahukian], *Очерки по истории дописьменного периода армянского языка*, Ереван [Yerevan] 1967, p. 201.

⁴⁵ Plutarcho, *Fiumi e monti*, p. 259, fn. 129.

Furthermore, the anonymous author of the work *De fluviis* quotes four local phytonyms with their Greek translations or synonyms⁴⁶. We do not always know what ethnos each of the referenced phytonyms should be assigned to, or what specific plant is in question. Currently, none of the four plant names can be verified, either positively or negatively. Therefore, in this study, I only signal the problem I intend to return to when another opportunity arises.

Conclusions

The analysis of the selected foreign-language glosses quoted in Pseudo-Plutarch's work *De fluviis* shows that the anonymous author succeeded in correctly conveying the meanings of the non-Greek proper names and appellatives. The Gaulish gloss *dūnon* 'elevated place' (δοῦνον δὲ τόπον ἐξέχοντα) is verified positively on the basis of the three independent premises (1. medieval glosses, 2. onomastic data, 3. preserved vocabulary of the Celtic languages). The second Gaulish gloss *lugos* 'raven' (λοῦγον γὰρ τῆ σφῶν διαλέκτῳ τὸν κόρακα καλοῦσι) seems acceptable, too, as it can be connected with the Celtic adjective denoting the colour 'black' (cf. Welsh *llwg* 'black and yellow', *llug* 'black', Old Irish *loch* adj. 'black' < Celtic **lukos* 'black'). The Phrygian gloss *nórikon* 'skin, skin bag' (νώρικον δὲ οἱ Φρύγες τῆ σφῶν διαλέκτῳ τὸν ἄσκον καλοῦσιν) is confirmed by the glosses of the later authors (Hesychios of Alexandria, Eustathius of Thessalonica), as well as by the onomastics and etymology. The next two glosses, βαλλήν 'king' and βαλληναῖον 'king's mountain', must be regarded as forming part of the Phrygian vernacular. The former word appears in the Greek literature from the classical period onwards (Aeschylus, Sophocles), its meaning being indisputable. The meaning of the other gloss is analogous and unquestionable. The etymology of the aforementioned Phrygian words was determined beyond all doubt (cf. IE. **waldh-* 'rule, govern, manage', **ual-* 'be strong'). So, the three Phrygian glosses quoted in the work *De fluviis* are entirely correct. The other two glosses, discussed in this study, refer to the Scytho-Sarmatian name of the mountain Βριξάβα as well as to the variant (probably Armenian) name of the Tigris River. The specialists in Iranian studies accept the Scytho-Sarmatian origin of the name Βριξάβα, which can be translated into Ossetic as 'ram's horn'. Therefore, the Greek translation

⁴⁶ There are the following glosses: Scythian or Sarmatian (?) ἀλίνδα = Gk. βηρωσσοῦ ἐλαιον (Ps.-Plut., *De flav.* 14.2, s.v. ΤΑΝΑΙΣ); Scythian or Sarmatian (?) φρίξα = Gk. μισοπὸνηρος (Ps.-Plut., *De flav.* 14.5, s.v. ΤΑΝΑΙΣ); Assyrian (?) ἄξαλλα = Gk. θερμόν (Ps.-Plut., *De flav.* 20.3, s.v. ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΣ); Armenian (?) ἀράξα = Gk. μισοπάρθενος (Ps.-Plut., *De flav.* 23.2, s.v. ΑΡΑΞΗΣ).

‘mutton forehead’, cited in *De fluviis* (Βριξάβα, ὅπερ μεθερμη-νευόμενον Κριοῦ μέτωπον), is close to the original version, too. The aquatic name *Sollaks*, translated as ‘(river) flowing downwards’, seems to be in a sense well-grounded in the Armenian lexicon.

In view of the foregoing, Pseudo-Plutarch’s explanations and reports ought to be taken seriously (though, as a rule, they have the hallmarks of the so-called folk etymology), which, of course, does not resolve the problem of the sources from which the anonymous author obtained the information about the proper and common names in the regions of Gaul, Phrygia, Scythia or Armenia.

Some of the scholars assume that the classical writers cited as a reference by the author of *De fluviis* (e.g. Cleitophon of Rhodos, Euemeridas of Cnidus, Hermasianax of Cyprus, Agathon of Samos, Chrysermos of Corinthus, Agatharchides of Samos)⁴⁷ are fictitious characters, whose works and their titles were fabricated. However, such a research hypothesis must be approached with reserve and a certain measure of caution. In my study, I demonstrated that the quoted local names and glosses seem by all means real. For this reason, the referenced glosses should be regarded as a real part of the Gaulish, Phrygian and Scytho-Sarmatian languages. Therefore, since the linguistic data quoted by the anonymous author of *De fluviis* are correct, the works quoted thereby, although unconfirmed by the other classical literary evidence, can also be treated as once existent, yet lost later on.

⁴⁷ Cf. the critical remarks about Agatharchides of Samos made by Prof. Gościwit Malinowski, cf. Agatharchides z Knidos, *Dzieje. «O Azji» i «O Europie»*. *Fragmentsy historii powszechnej. «O Morzu Czerwonym». Traktat historyczny o krajach południa [Agatharchides of Cnidus, *History. “On Asia” and “On Europe”*. *Fragments of World History. “On the Red Sea”. A Historical Treatise on Countries of the South*], translation, foreword and commentary by G. Malinowski, Wrocław 2007, pp. 346-350. On p. 350, the scholar maintains, inter alia, that “Pseudo-Plutarch thinks up his fictitious sources, making them resemble the actual authors and their works, e.g. attributing two works unknown from other sources, *περὶ ὀρέων* and *περὶ ποταμῶν*, to Ctesias of Cnidus (688 F73-74) in his *De fluviis*. Jacoby writes that Agatharchides of Samos in *Parallela* was made up in imitation of the writer of Cnidus. In no way can this be denied, however the question arises if the fabrication of the foregoing fragments could be affected by the contents of the works of the real Agatharchides?”.*