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THRACIAN PERSONAL, ETHNIC AND TOPOGRAPHIC NAMES IN LINEAR A AND B

The purpose of this communication is to show by linguistical methods that both in North-West Semitic Linear A and in Mycenaean Greek Linear B we can trace elements that belong to the Thracian inheritance.

Only a few years ago archaeologists demonstrated the presence of a Thracian occupation of the Greek mainland as a result of immigrations during the transitional periods from Early Helladic II to III and from Early Helladic III to Middle Helladic I/II.¹

That many parts of Greece were inhabited by Thracian tribes before the arrival of the Greeks we learn by philological research in literary sources from Homer to Stephanus of Byzantium.²

Jan Best has already compared Minyan pottery found at Troy, Lerna and Kirrha, houses with apsidal end at Asine, Sitagroi and Eutresis (Boeotia) and cist graves at Asine with features of the material culture of the Thracians in South-Eastern Europe.³

To these examples we might add apsidal houses found at Olympia.⁴ Moreover, during a German excavation in 1972 under the direction of Vladimir Milošič⁵, much Minyan pottery was found in the Bronze Age settlement at Pevkakia Magoula (Demetrias) in Thessaly. Here too, particularly among the Early Bronze Age buildings, came to light apsidal houses with a central hearth; while fragments of at least five Trojan *depata* and a jar with lobed handle, discovered in the Early Bronze Age house 353, provided a synchronism with Troy III. Again,

¹ See Jan G. P. Best and Yigael Yadin, *The Arrival of the Greeks*, Publications of the Henri Frankfort Foundation I, Part I, Amsterdam 1973, p. 13.

² Strabo's *Geography* VII especially is a real 'Fundgrube' with regard to this subject.

³ See Jan G. P. Best, *op. cit.*, Part I: *passim*.

⁴ See W. Dörpfeld, *Alt-Olympia I*, 1935, S. 85, Abb. 9. Cf. H. Th. Bossert, *Alt-Kreta*, Berlin 1937³, S. 20, Textabb. 5. Olympia. *Prähistorisches Apsidenhaus*.

⁵ Cf. H. W. Catling, *Archaeology in Greece 1972-73*, *Archaeological Reports for 1972-73* (published by the council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies and the managing committee of the British School at Athens, 1973), pp. 19-20, with fig. 37 and 38.

from Caskey's Early Helladic III came sherds decorated with gloss paint, along with a number of fragments with string-impressed ornament, comparable with artefacts of the Rumano-Bulgarian Glina III and the Rumanian Cotofeni cultures.

Until we find on Crete — in addition to the few examples of Minyan ware already discovered⁶ — such characteristic features of Thracian material culture as cist graves and apsidal houses, it must be prudent not to speak of Thracian settlement on this island, but of testimonia to a Thracian diaspora, of which we are able to find traces in Linear A and B.

To begin with Linear A we can offer only a few instances, the first being the personal name *pi-ta-ka-se* on HT 21a.1 which has already been proposed by Jan Best as cognate to Mycenaean *pi-ta-ke-u* in Linear B (PY Jn 389).⁷ As the vowel system seems to be extremely weak in Linear A and many vowel alternations have been attested, *pi-ta-ke-si*⁸ on HT 87.2 could be taken as a variant of *pi-ta-ka-se*. However, we should not exclude the possibility of a form *Πιττακας in *pi-ta-ka-se* with a suffix -ας, as in 'Ακάμας, -ντος⁹, for we also find next to each other Βύζος, Βύζης and Βύζας, -ντος (*vide infra*).

C. J. Ruijgh has remarked: "Le suffixe -εύς, auquel répond le féminin -ειῶ [. . .], a chance d'être d'origine préhellénique."¹⁰ In his

⁶ In fact only a few specimina of grey Minyan ware have been discovered on Crete up to now. Cf. for example: Christian Zervos, *l' Art de la Crète Néolithique et Minoenne*, Paris 1956, p. 132, pl. 102b: vase en terre cuite provenant de la tombe grotte de Kyparissi (Minoen Ancien I).

Cf. Jean Deshayes, 'A Propos du Minoen Ancien', BCH LXXXVI, 2, 1962, p. 554, fig. 12: Coupe de Miamou. This bowl was first published by Antonio Taramelli, 'The prehistoric grotto at Miamù', AJA I, 1897, p. 302, fig. 13, who compared it with earthenware of Schliemann's Troy II (cf. Schliemann, *Ilios*, fig. 1376).

⁷ See for HT 21a.1: William C. Brice, *Inscriptions in the Minoan Linear Script of Class A*, Oxford 1961, Plates III/IIIa.

Cf. Jan G. P. Best, *Some Preliminary Remarks on the Decipherment of Linear A*, Publications of the Henri Frankfort Foundation II, Amsterdam 1972, p. 34.

Cf. Oscar Landau, *Mykenisch-griechische Personennamen*, Göteborg 1958, p. 107 s. v. *Pi-ta-ke-u*.

⁸ See for HT 87.2: William C. Brice, op. cit., Plates VII/VIIa.

⁹ See for 'Ακάμας: Homer, *Iliad* B, 844–845:

αὐτὰρ Θρήϊκας ἦγ' Ἀκάμας καὶ Πείροος ἦρωας,
ῥοσσούς Ἑλλήσποντος ἀγάρροος ἐντὸς ἔεργει.

and Homer, *Iliad* E, 461–462:

Τρωάς δὲ στίχας οὐλος Ἀρης ὥτρυνε μετελθών,
εἰδόμενος Ἀκάμαντι θοῶ, ἡγήτορι Θρηκῶν.

¹⁰ See C. J. Ruijgh, *Études sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du Grec mycénien*, Amsterdam 1967, § 165, p. 193.

hypothesis the type in -εύς is not borrowed from a non-Indo-European language Jochem Schindler has observed¹¹: "As is well known, no direct correspondence of -εύς has so far been found in any other Indo-European language. This circumstance together with the fact that this suffix appears in some appellatives (βασιλεύς, βραβεύς, ἑρμηνεύς) and proper names (Ἀχιλλεύς etc.) that have no etymology, has led to the view that -εύς (-ηF-) is borrowed from an unknown non-IE source. Given the great productivity of -εύς already in Mycenaean times, any non-Greek explanation must necessarily rely on completely uncontrolled assumptions about prehistory, which are of course not disprovable in the strict sense. On the other hand, the two aforementioned points (the lack of cognates and the existence of unanalyzable words) are not conclusive arguments in the absence of additional positive evidence." We must agree with Schindler as far as prehistory is concerned, but prospects are better in 'protohistory'. We may for example draw attention to *Thracian* personal names with suffix -εύς, for instance the name of the mythical Thracian king Τηρεύς, which also occurs as Τήρης.¹²

The suffix -εύς is of course very frequent in Linear B. It follows that *pi-ta-ke-u* = *Πιττακεύς in Linear B may be reasonably taken to correspond with Πιττακός of the first millennium B. C. Now a Πιττακός is mentioned by Thucydides as king of the Thracian Edones:

¹¹ Jochem Schindler, 'On the Greek type *ἑπτεύς*', in: *Studies in Greek, Italic and Indo-European linguistics*, offered to Leonard R. Palmer on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, June 5 (1976), ed. by Anna Morpurgo Davies and Wolfgang Meid, Innsbruck 1976, p. 349.

¹² See Apollodorus, *The Library* III, 14, 8: Πανδίων δὲ γήμας Ζευξίπτην τῆς μητρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν θυγατέρας μὲν ἐτέκνωσε Πρόκνην καὶ Φιλομήλαν, παῖδας δὲ διδύμους Ἑρεχθεά καὶ Βούτην. πολέμου δὲ ἐνστάντος πρὸς Λάβδακον περὶ γῆς ὄρων ἐπεκαλέσατο βοηθὸν ἐκ Θρᾷκης Τηρέα τὸν Ἄρεος, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον οὖν αὐτῷ κατορθώσας ἔδωκε Τηρεῖ πρὸς γάμον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Πρόκνην. Thucydides (II, 29, 2-3) definitely affirms that Tereus dwelt in Daulia, a district of Phocis; at the same time he tells us that the population of the district was then Thracian: ὁ δὲ Τήρης οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατὴρ πρῶτος Ὀδρυσαῖς τὴν μεγάλην βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλεόν τῆς ἄλλης Θρᾷκης ἐποίησεν ... Τηρεῖ δὲ τῷ Πρόκνην τὴν Πανδίωνος ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων σχόντι γυναῖκα προσήκει ὁ Τήρης οὗτος οὐδέν, οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτῆς Θρᾷκης ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν Δαυλίᾳ τῆς Φωκίδος νῦν καλουμένης γῆς ὁ Τηρεὺς ὦκει, τότε ὑπὸ Θρακῶν οἰκουμένης, καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἐπραξαν.

Cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* VII, 7, 1: τῇ μὲν Ἀττικῇ οἱ μετὰ Εὐμόλπου Θραῖκες ἔσχον, τῆς δὲ Φωκίδος τὴν Δαυλίδα Τηρεὺς. And Strabo, *Geogr.* IX, 3, 13: Δαυλὶς πολίχνιον, ὅπου Τηρέα τὸν Θραῖκά φασι δυναστεύσαι.

Πιττακοῦ τοῦ Ἡδώνων βασιλέως . . .¹³; and the famous tyrant of Lesbos is described by Suidas as: Πιττακός, Μυτιληναῖος, υἱὸς Καϊκοῦ ἢ Ὑρραδίου Θρακός, μητρὸς δὲ Λεσβίας.¹⁴

On HT 1a.3 Jan Best and Louk Meijer suggest reading in Linear A the personal name *di-za-ke*¹⁵, in which we may recognize the root Διζ-, very frequent in Thracian personal names.¹⁶ Even in very late inscriptions from Worms and Troesmis we find the Thracian name *Dizzaca*.¹⁷

On some Linear B tablets from Knossos also, personal names with the same Thracian root are recorded, like *di-za-so* = e. g. *Διζασ(σ)ος, *di-za* [= Δίζας (or perhaps also *Διζασ(σ)ος, since we are not sure whether the word is complete or not) and *di-zo* = *Δίζος, *Δίζων or perhaps *Δίζως (with the same ending as Τρώς and Μίνως).¹⁸ Oscar

¹³ Cf. Thuc. IV, 107, 3.

See for the Thracian origin of the name: Pauly-Wissowa, RE XX, 1963, s. v. *Pittakos*; W. Pape—G. E. Benseler, Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen, zweite Hälfte, Braunschweig 1884³, S. 1203 s. v. Πιττακός.

¹⁴ Cf. Suidas: Ὑρρα παῖς· ὁ Πιττακός, καὶ Ὑρράδιος ὄνομα.

Cf. also: D. Detschew, Die thrakische Sprachreste (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Schriften der Balkankommission, XIV), Wien 1957, p. 371.

¹⁵ See a forthcoming volume in The Publications of the Henri Frankfort Foundation: The Decipherment of Linear A.

¹⁶ See for example V. Beševliev, Untersuchungen über die Personennamen bei den Thrakern, Amsterdam 1970, p. 42, who mentions the name Δίζας and its diminutive form Διζαλας (cf. Τήρης and the diminutive form Τηραλας, IG Bulg. III, 1355). See also Kiril Vlahov, 'Typologie und Chronologie der Personennamen bei den Thrakern', in: Thracia I (Academia Litterarum Bulgarica, Primus Congressus Studiorum Thracicorum), Serdicae 1972, pp. 257–258, who offers the personal names Δίζας, Δίζα, Δίζης, Δείζας, Δείζης, *Dizsas*, *Diza*, *Dizza*, *Disza* (gen. Δίζα, Διζαδ-ος, Διζαν-ος, Δειζην-ος), extended forms as Διζ-αλας, Διζ-ουλος, composita as Διζα-ζελμης, Διζα-πης, *Diza-poris*, *Disa-centus*, *Disza-tralis*, etc.

Cf. also the many examples given by Dimiter Detschew, op. cit., Wien, 1957, pp. 132–135, with many references.

¹⁷ Cf. CIL, 13, 6231 (from Worms): *Aur. Dizzaca leg. II Part*; CIL, 3, 6189 (from Troesmis): *Iulius Dizzace* (gen.).

¹⁸ See John Chadwick, J. T. Killen and J.-P. Olivier, The Knossos Tablets, Cambridge, 1971⁴: KN Pp 493 + 500 + 5813 and KN Dv 1505: *di-za-so*. KN Dv 1506: *di-za*. KN V(3) 479a.1, KN As(2) 1520.5 and KN V(7) 1523.4b: *di-zo*.

Cf. also Oscar Landau, op. cit., Göteborg, 1958, pp. 44–45, s. v. *Di-za-so*, *Di-za* and *Di-zo*.

Cf. for Δίζας e. g.: IPE, 2, 290 (from Pantikapaion): Δίζα (vocat.) υἱὲ Βειθυο[ς], κεν[τ]υρίων ὁ κα[ί] πρίνκιψ σπειρας Θρακῶν.

Cf. D. Detschew, op. cit., Wien, 1957, p. 133.

Cf. for *Δίζος e. g. CIL, 6, 3201: *Aur. Diso eques sing. n. Thrax*.

Cf. D. Detschew, op. cit., Wien, 1957, p. 135.

Landau accepts in his interpretation of these names the explanation given by the gloss of Hesychius: δίζα· αἶξ, Λάκωνες¹⁹, but Dimiter Detschew offers the following comment: "Das Grundlelement hat mit der Hesychglosse: δίζα· αἶξ, Λάκωνες gar nichts zu tun (über die Etymologie dieses lakonischen Wortes siehe WP²⁰ 1, 814). Es enthält die Wz, dheigh- "Lehm kneten und damit mauern" in ap. *didā*, av. *daēza*, gr. τεῖχος, wie dies von WT²¹. Thr. II, 1, 9 und Kretschmer Einl. 229–230 festgestellt worden ist, und ist demnach ein Appellativum mit der Bedeutung 'Mauer, Veste, Schloß'."²² I am inclined to agree, however, with I. I. Russu²³, that Detschew might reasonably have drawn a distinction between the element Διζ- in personal names and the I. E. root *dheig'h- of the element -διζος and -διζα (= 'fortress') in such topographical names as Τυρό-διζα, Κιστί-διζος and *Tarpodizos*.²⁴ C. J. Ruijgh has been so kind as to draw my attention to Fick's correction of Hesychius's gloss, cited by Pierre Chantraine in his *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque I* (Paris 1968, 281): "δίζα· αἶξ, Λάκωνες. On a rapproché arm. *tik* 'outré' (i.-e. **digā*). Ressemblance avec v. h. a. *ziga* 'chèvre', dont la dorsale suppose i.-e. *k* ou *gh*. En raison de la forme germanique v. h. a. *zigā*, Fick, *KZ* 42, 148, suivi par Latte, croit δίζα thrace en corrigeant chez Hsch. Λάκωνες en Καύκωνες."

On a tablet from Knossos P. Hr. Ilievski has recognized the personal name *pu-zo* as the Thracian name *Buzo*.²⁵ Detschew earlier suggested a Thracian origin for personal names like Βύζας, Βύξης and

¹⁹ Cf. Oscar Landau, op. cit., Göteborg, 1958, p. 230 and pp. 44–45, s. v. *Di-za-so* and *Di-zo*.

²⁰ Walde-Pokorny, Vergl. Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen.

²¹ W. Tomaschek, Die alten Thraker (Sitzungsberichten der Wiener Akademie, phil.-hist. Klasse), Wien, 1893, Bd. 128: I. Übersicht der Stämme; Bd. 130: II. Sprachreste, 1. Glossen allerart und Götternamen; 1894, Bd. 131: 2. Personennamen und Ortsnamen.

²² Cf. Dimiter Detschew, op. cit., Wien, 1957, p. 132.

²³ Cf. I. I. Russu, Die Sprache der Thrako-Daker, București, 1969 (translation from the second Rumanian edition *Limba Traco-Dacilor*, București, 1967), pp. 80–81, note 31.

N. B. Ivan Duridanov compares Thracian Δίζας with the Lithuanian personal name *Dižas* and with the Latvian family name *Dižais* and with Latvian *daiža* 'der nie ruhig ist', cf. Ivan Duridanov, Die Stellung des Thrakischen im Kreise der indoeuropäischen Sprachen, in: *Thracia I* (Academia Litterarum Bulgarica, Primus Congressus Studiorum Thracicorum), Serdicae, 1972, p. 239.

²⁴ Cf. Ivan Duridanov, op. cit., Serdicae, 1972, p. 234 and 241–242.

²⁵ See P. Hr. Ilievski, *Myc. pu-zo*, *Živa Antika* 19 (1969).

Βύζος, and there is no doubt that Kretschmer wrongly assumed that Byzantium was founded by an Illyrian Βύζας.²⁶

On two tablets from Pylos occurs the name *a-da-ra-te-ja*, which is most probably Ἀδράστεια, with the feminine suffix -ειᾶ, derived from the masculine Ἀδραστεύς.²⁷ In the first millennium B.C. we find Ἀδράστεια both as the name of a goddess and as a toponym.²⁸ On two other Pylos tablets the patronymic *a-da-ra-ti-jo* can be explained as

²⁶ Cf. D. Detschew, op. cit., Wien, 1957, pp. 94–95: “Kretschmer, Gl. 14, 1925, 94–95 faßt Βυζάντιον als Gründung eines Illyriers Βύζας auf, abgeleitet mit -io- vom Stamme Βυζαντ-, dessen Vollstufe in dem dalmatischen PN *Beusas*, *Beuzas* (gen. *Beuzantis*) enthalten ist, und bemerkt, daß schon Deecke (Rhein. Mus. 36, 593) und Schulze (ZGLE 38, Anm. 2) den messap. PN *Baoſtas* und die apul. PN *Busa*, Βούζος, *Busia*, *Busidius* mit diesem dalmatischen PN verbunden haben. Die PN Βούσας, Βύζης sind aber auch als thrakisch und *Beusas* als dakisch bezeugt. Wenn man dabei bedenkt, daß die Westseite der Balkanhalbinsel von der Invasion der Illyrer von Thrakern besiedelt war (vgl. Patsch, ÖJh 10, 1907, 169f.) und daß in Apulien ein thrakischer Stamm bezeugt ist (siehe hier Βύβαι), so muß man die in diesen Ländern vorkommenden Namen von dem Stamm *Buz-*, *Bus-*, *Beuz-*, *Beus-* wohl auf die dortigen noch in römischer Zeit existierenden thrakischen Volkssplitter zurückführen. Somit ist Βύζας, der Gründer von Byzanz, kein Illyrer, sondern ein Thraker, und die PN *Beuzas*, *Beusas*, *Busa*, *Busia*, *Busio*, *Busidius*, *Buzetius* bei Krahe PN 21, 26, 27 sind thrakischer Herkunft.”

Detschew must be right, when we compare the comment of Stephanus of Byzantium, 189, 12: Βυζάντιον, τὸ ἐν Θράκῃ βασιλεῖον, ... ἐκτίσθη ἀπὸ Βύζαντος τοῦ Κεροέσσης τῆς Ἰοῦς θυγατρὸς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ἥ ὅτι τοῦ στόλου Βύζης ἦν ἡγεμὼν ... with that in Etymol. M.: Βυζάντιον· ἡ πόλις, διὰ τὸν Βύξαντα τὸν Θράκης βασιλέα.

Moreover, by the Byzantine author Zonaras (IX, 28) a Thracian dynast is mentioned: καὶ αὐτὸς (= Andriskos) ὑπὸ Βύζου Θρακὸς δυνάστου προδοθεὶς ἐδικαιώθη.

Cf. for a linguistical interpretation of the personal name Βύζας / Βύζης: Ivan Duridanov, op. cit., Serdicae, 1972, p. 242: Thrak. Βύζας, Βύζης: awest. *buza* ‘Ziegenbock’, npers. *buz* ‘Ziege, Bock’, aus ide. **bhug’o-s*, vgl. auch zigeun. *buzni* ‘Ziege’, arm. *buz* ‘Lamm’.

²⁷ See C. Gallavotti and A. Sacconi, Inscriptiones Pyliae ad Mycenaeam aetatem pertinentes (Incunabula Graeca I), Roma 1961: *a-da-ra-te-ja* (PY Aa 785 and PY Ab 388). Cf. also Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. and Jean-Pierre Olivier, The Pylos Tablets Transcribed, Part I: texts and notes (Incunabula Graeca LI), Roma 1973; Part II: hands, concordances, indices (Incunabula Graeca LIX), Roma 1976.

²⁸ Cf. for Ἀδράστεια as the name of a mountain: Strabo, Geographia, XII, 8, 11 (C 575): ὄρος, ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἀδραστείας.

Cf. for Ἀδράστεια as the name of a goddess: Strabo, Geographia, XIII, 1, 13: ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὖν ἱερὸν Ἀδραστείας δείκνυται, οὐδὲ δὴ Νεμέσεως, περὶ δὲ Κύζικόν ἐστιν Ἀδραστείας ἱερὸν. Ἀντίμαχος δ’ οὕτω φησὶν· ἐστὶ δὲ τις Νέμεσις μεγάλη θεός, ἥ τάδε πάντα πρὸς μακάρων ἔλαχεν· βωμὸν δὲ οἱ εἴσατο πρῶτος Ἀδρηστος ποταμοῖο παρὰ ῥέον Αἰσίοιο, ἐνθα τετίμηται τε καὶ Ἀδρήστεια καλεῖται.

*Αδράστιος, derived from *Αδραστος.²⁹ C. J. Ruijgh has remarked: — "Il s'agit sans doute d'un nom préhellénique, rapporté plus tard à διδράσκω par une étymologie populaire."³⁰ It is of course tempting to see in *Αδραστος the same suffix -στ-ος as in the name Σηστός, a town in Thrace.³¹

In fact in Herodotus (*I*, 35) *Αδρηστος is attested as the name of a Phrygian prince, who enters the palace of Croesus and introduces himself as follows: — *Ω βασιλεῦ, Γορδίεω μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω εἰμι παῖς, ὀνομάζομαι δὲ *Αδρηστος . . .; and in the second book of Homer's *Iliad* an *Αδρηστος, son of Μέρου, is mentioned as an ally of the Trojans.³²

Ruijgh reads the feminine ethnic *ka-pa-ti-ja*, seen on several Pylos tablets, as Καρπαδιᾶ (with restored θ), derived from Κάρπαθος³³, a name which naturally reminds us not only of the island Κάρπαθος between Crete and Rhodos, but also of τὸ Καρπάθιον ὄρος, the mountains of Carpathia in Rumania³⁴, mentioned by Ptolemy in his *Geography*.³⁵ If *ka-pa-si-ja* on PY Vn 851,12 is also to be understood as a feminine ethnic Καρπασιά, derived from Κάρπαθος, we should

²⁹ See C. Gallavotti and A. Sacconi, op. cit., Roma, 1961: *a-da-ra-ti-jo* (PY An 218.6 mut.; PY An 656.14.). E. Bennett—J. P. Olivier, op. cit., Roma, 1973.

Cf. C. J. Ruijgh, op. cit., Amsterdam, 1967, § 129.

³⁰ Cf. C. J. Ruijgh, op. cit., Amsterdam, 1967, § 129, note 302.

N. B. in pars 220 he compares the name *Αδραστος with the ending -στ-ος in names as Φαιστός.

³¹ Cf. W. Pape—G. E. Benseler, op. cit., Braunschweig, 1884³, S. 1378, s. v. Σηστός. Cf. e.g. Herodotus, IV, 143: Δαρειός δὲ διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης πορευόμενος ἀπῖκετο ἐς Σηστόν τῆς Χερσονήσου.

³² Cf. Hom., *Iliad* B, 828—834:

οἱ δ' *Αδρήστειάν τ' εἶχον καὶ δῆμον *Απαισοῦ,
καὶ Πιτυεῖαν ἔχον καὶ Τηρεΐης ὄρος αἰπύ,
τῶν ἦρχ' *Αδρηστος τε καὶ *Αμφιος λινωθώρηξ,
ὕλε δ'ὲ Μέροπος Περκωσίου, δς περὶ πάντων
ἦδεε μαντοσύνας, οὐδὲ οὖς παῖδας ἔασκε
στεῖχειν ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα· — τῷ δὲ οἱ οὐ τι
πειθέσθην· Κῆρες γὰρ ἄγον μέλανος θανάτοιο.

Cf. for the Trojan *Αδρηστος, killed by Agamemnon: Hom., *Iliad* Z, 37f.

Cf. for the Trojan *Αδρηστος, killed by Patroclus: Hom., *Iliad* Π, 694.

³³ Cf. C. J. Ruijgh, op. cit., Amsterdam, 1967, § 128: *ka-pa-ti-ja* (PY Eb 338.1, PY Ep 704.7, PY Un 443.3).

³⁴ Cf. W. Pape—G. E. Benseler, op. cit., erste Hälfte, S. 627, s. v. Κάρπαθος and Καρπάθιος.

³⁵ Ptol., *Geogr.* III, 8, 1: ἀπὸ τοῦ καρπάτου ὄρος. *Geogr.* III, 5, 8: Βίεσσοι παρὰ τὸν Καρπάτην ὄρος.

have the expected form without the restoration of the θ . Might the I. E. root of Κάρπαθος be $(s)qerp-$ = 'to cut' (cf. Lithuanian *kerpù* = 'cut')? The Albanian form *karpë* and the Norwegian *skarv* both mean 'rock'. Could Κάρπαθος therefore signify 'rocky island', and τὸ Καρπάθιον ὄρος 'the rocky mountains'?³⁶ The same *-th-* suffix as we meet in Κάρπαθος may be observed in such names as Κάνηθος, Κικύνηθος, Πεπάρηθος, Σκίαζος, Σώπηθος and Ὑρνάθιον, already mentioned by J. B. Haley in his article 'The Coming of the Greeks, The Geographical Distribution of Pre-Greek Place-Names' (AJA 32, 1928, 145).

We turn now to the 'Pelasgian' suffix *-nt(h)-* in topographical names in Greece, for the non-Greek character of which Kretschmer (*Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*) long ago argued convincingly, suggesting an identity with the *-nd-* suffix in Asia Minor. For the Indo-European identity of this suffix, which is quite normal in Hittite and Luwian topographical names, we should refer to the works of Emmanuel Laroche who has referred to it thus: "Un suffixe de toponymes en *-anda/-anta* répandu sur toute l'Anatolie ancienne: *Arinnanda* 'la montagne aux sources' de *Arinna* = *TÜL-na*. Dans cette série, la nasale est débile: *Zippalanda* ou *Zippalada* ou *Ziplata*."³⁷ It may first be observed that in historic times there was an extremely high concentration of names with this *-nt(h)-* suffix in Thrace, where it could sometimes be connected with Thracian tribal names. Πέρινθος³⁸ recalls the *-εύς* form in the personal name *pe-ri-te-u* = e.g. *Περινθεύς on Linear B tablets from Pylos and Knossos.³⁹ We also have on a Pylos tablet the ethnic *o-ro-ti-jo* = Ὀρόνθιος, used as a personal name and

³⁶ Cf. e.g. D. Detschew, op. cit., Wien, 1957, p. 230; I. I. Russu, op. cit., p. 114. N. B. The name of the Thracian tribe of the Κάρποι, Καρπιανοί, Καρπίδαι, Καρποδάκαι near the mouth of the Danube has probably nothing to do with the root of Κάρπαθος (cf. Detschew ibidem, p. 232).

³⁷ Cf. Emmanuel Laroche, *Recueil d'onomastique Hittite*, Paris 1951, p. 133.

³⁸ Cf. Ivan Duridanov, op. cit., Thracia I, Serdicae, 1972, p. 242: Thrak. ON Πέρινθος: aind. *pārvata-h* 'Gebirge, Berg, Fels, Stein', awest. *pa^hrvatā-* f. 'Gebirge' aus ide. **per^hu^h-to-*, heth. *peruna-* 'Fels'.

Cf. M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, II, S. 228.

Cf. D. Detschew, op. cit., Wien, 1957, pp. 363–364.

Cf. Herodotus, IV 90: ἔξ Ἡραίου τε πόλιος τῆς παρὰ Περίνθω.

Cf. Steph. Byz., 517, 17: Πέρινθος, ἀπὸ Περίνθου Ἐπιδανυρίου τοῦ μετὰ Ὀρέστου στρατευσαμένου. ἔστι δὲ πόλις Θράκης. ὁ πολίτης Περίνθιος, τὸ θηλυκὸν Περινθία.

³⁹ PY An 654 and KN C 954 + < 1632 > + 5016.2: *pe-ri-te-u*.

derived from the toponym *^νΟλονθος = ^νΟλυνθος⁴⁰, of which we find in historic times the ethnic derivatives ^νΟλονθεύς⁴¹ and ^νΟλυνθεύς⁴², respectively. Further, we have for example the names ^νΑψινθος / ^νΑψυνθος⁴³, a capital and a river in the region ^νΑψινθίς / ^νΑψυνθίς⁴⁴ to the north of the Thracian Chersonesos where lived the tribe of the ^νΑψίνθιοι / ^νΑψύνθιοι⁴⁵; ^νΑκανθος, a town in Chalcidice;

⁴⁰ Cf. Oscar Landau, op. cit., Göteborg, 1958, p. 92, s. v. *O-ro-ti-jo* (PY An 724,10).

Cf. C. J. Ruijgh, op. cit., Amsterdam, 1967, § 130, note 313.

Cf. D. Detschew, op. cit., Wien, 1957, pp. 342–343.

Cf. e.g. Herodotus, VIII, 128: ^νΟλυνθον Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον. Thucydides, I, 58, 2: ἐς ^νΟλυνθον τὴν Χαλκιδικήν.

Cf. Conon 4 (Mythogr. Gr. ed. Westermann 126, 25): ἡ τοῖνυν δὲ διήγησις τὰ περὶ ^νΟλύνθου τῆς πόλεως καὶ Στρυμόνος τοῦ Θρακῶν βασιλεύσαντος ἀπαγγέλλει, οὗ καὶ ὁ πάλαι ^νΗιονεὺς ποταμὸς ἐπώνυμος· καὶ ὅτι παῖδες αὐτῷ τρεῖς γεγόνασι, Βράγγας καὶ ^νΡῆσος καὶ ^νΟλυνθος· καὶ ^νΡῆσος μὲν ἐπὶ Τροίαν Πριάμῳ συστρατεύσας ἀναιρεῖται χειρὶ Διομήδους, ^νΟλυνθος δὲ λέοντι συστάς ἐκουσίως ἐν τινι κυνηγεσίῳ θνήσκει· καὶ Βράγγας ὁ ἀδελφὸς πολλὰ κατολοφυρόμενος τὴν συμφορὰν ^νΟλυνθον ὥπερ ἐτελεύτησε τόπῳ θάπτει· εἰς Σιθωνίαν δὲ ἀφικόμενος πόλιν ἔκτισεν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην, ^νΟλυνθον αὐτὴν ἀπο τοῦ παιδὸς ὀνομάσας. Cf. Steph. Byz., 491, 16: ^νΟλυνθος, πόλις Θράκης πρὸς τῇ Σιθωνίᾳ τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἀπὸ ^νΟλύνθου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. ὁ πολίτης ^νΟλύνθιος καὶ ^νΟλυνθία.

⁴¹ Cf. W. Pape–G. E. Benseler, op. cit., s. v. ^νΟλονθεύς.

⁴² Cf. F. Bechtel, Die historischen Personennamen des griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit, Halle, 1917, p. 594, s. v. ^νΟλυνθεύς.

⁴³ Cf. Ivan Duridanov, op. cit., Thracia I, Serdicae, 1972, p. 237–238: “Ein Zusammenhang zwischen thrak. ^νΑψίνθιοι, ^νΑψύνθιοι (Stamm nördlich des thrakischen Chersonesos), ^νΑψινθος, ^νΑψυνθος (Grenzfluß und Hauptort dieses Stammes) und dem Pflanzennamen ^νΑψίνθιον ‘Absinth’, der für vorgriechisch gehalten wird, wird von D. Detschew bezweifelt; die Gleichung ist u. E. wahrscheinlich, doch nicht sicher. Denkbar ist übrigens eine andere Deutung des thrak. ^νΑψινθος, ^νΑψυνθος: als Weiterbildung mit dem Suffix -ινθ- bzw. -υνθ- (< ide. -ητ-) konnte es zu ide. **apsā* ‘Espe’, lett. *apse*, aus dem zahlreiche Ortsnamen bekannt sind, apreuss. *abse* ‘Espe’, poln. *osa*, *osina*, ahd. *aspa* ‘Espe’ gehören.”

Cf. also L. A. Gindin, Le “pélasgique” et le thrace, L’ethnogenèse des peuples balkaniques, Sofia, 1971, p. 241.

Cf. D. Detschew, op. cit., Wien, 1957, pp. 39–40.

Cf. Dion. Perieg., 575: Θρήκες ἐπ’ ἡῶσιν ^νΑψίνθιοιο (N. B. the river is now called Kavak-çai.). Cf. Steph. Byz., 153, 8: ^νΑψυνθος, πόλις Θράκης. ^νΑψυνθίς δὲ ἡ χώρα. τὸ ἐθνικὸν ^νΑψύνθιος. ἔστι καὶ εἶδος φυτοῦ . . . διχῶς δ’ ἡ γραφή καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὤ καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἰ.

⁴⁴ Cf. Strabo, Geogr. VII (frg. 58): ἡ μὲν γὰρ Αἴνος κεῖται κατὰ τὴν πρότερον ^νΑψυνθίδα νῦν δὲ Κορπιλικὴν λεγομένην, ἡ δὲ Κικόνων ἐφεξῆς πρὸς δύσιν.

⁴⁵ Cf. Herodotus, IX, 119: Οἰόβαζον μὲν νυν ἐκφεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην Θρήκες ^νΑψίνθιοι λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστῶρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ’ ἐκείνου ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν.

Βισάνθη, a town in the Thracian Propontis⁴⁶; Ζήρυνθος, Ζήρυνθον and Ζηρύνθιον, a town and cave near the mouth of the river Hebros⁴⁷; Ζηρινθία, the name of Hecate and Aphrodite in Thrace⁴⁸; Σίνθος / Σίνδος, a town between Thermae and Chalestra⁴⁹; the Thracian Σιντοί between the Paionian river Strymon and the Odомantes, north of the Bisaltes, with their region Σιντία(ς) and town Ἡράκλεια Σιντική⁵⁰; the Thracian tribe of the Σίντιες on the island of Lemnos⁵¹, which Strabo without hesitation put on a par with the Thracian Σιντοί⁵²;

⁴⁶ Cf. Steph. Byz., 171, 3: Βισάνθη, πόλις Μακεδονίας κατὰ Θράκην Ἑλληνίς, ἀποικὸς Σαμίων, τὸ ἐθνικὸν Βισανθινός.

Cf. for Ἀκανθος: Herodotus, VII, 121.

⁴⁷ Cf. D. Detschew, op. cit., Wien, 1957, pp. 184–185.

Cf. e. g. Steph. Byz., 296, 18: Ζήρυνθος, πόλις καὶ ἄντρον Ἑκάτης ἐν Θράκῃ. Schol. Lycophron, 77: Ζήρυνθον τὸ Θρακικὸν σπήλαιον καταλιπὼν τῆς Ῥέας ὁ Δάρδανος, ὡς δὲ τινὲς φασὶ τῆς Ἑκάτης.

Schol. Nic. Ther., 459–462: τὸ Ῥησκύνθιον ὄρος Θράκης Ἥρας ἱερόν, ἐξ οὗ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔσχε Ῥησκυνθίδα. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ἥρας καὶ Ζηρυνθίου Ἀπόλλωνος νεὼς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ. τῆς δὲ Αἰνίου πλησίον ἔστιν ὁ ποταμὸς Ἑβρος. οὐ μακρὰν δὲ ἔστι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἡ Ζώνη ἡ πόλις, μεθ' ἣν αἱ Ὀρφείως δρυὲς εἰσὶν, ὑφ' ἃς πόλις ἔστι Ζηρύνθιον, ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἄντρον.

⁴⁸ Cf. Etymol. M.: Ζηρυνθία Ἀφροδίτῃ ἐν Θράκῃ. Cf. also Suidas, s. v. Ζηρυνθία.

⁴⁹ Cf. e. g. D. Detschew, op. cit., Wien, 1957, p. 444.

Cf. Herodotus, VII, 123: . . . ἀπῆκετο ἐξ τε τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην καὶ Σίνδον τε πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀξίον ποταμόν, . . .

Cf. Steph. Byz., 570, 6: Σίνθος, πόλις παρὰ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ. Ἡρόδοτος ἐβδόμῃ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Σίνθιος.

⁵⁰ Cf. D. Detschew, op. cit., Wien, 1957, pp. 446–447.

Cf. Thucydides, II, 98, 1: Σιτάλκης . . . ἐπορεύετο . . . διὰ Κερκίνης ἐρήμου ὄρους, ὃ ἔστι μεθόριον Σιντῶν καὶ Παιόνων . . . τὸ δὲ ὄρος ἐξ Ὀδρυσῶν διόντες ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν εἶχον Παίονας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Σιντοὺς καὶ Μαιδοὺς.

Cf. Strabo, Geogr. VII (frg. 36): ἐξ Ἀγριάνων γὰρ διὰ Μαιδῶν καὶ Σιντῶν εἰς τὰ μεταξὺ Βισαλτῶν καὶ Ὀδομάντων ἐκπίπτει (ὁ Στρυμών).

Cf. Ptol., Geogr. III, 12, 27: Σιντικής (πόλεις)· Τρίστολος, Παρθικόπολις (Codd. Παροικόπολις), Ἡράκλεια Σιντική.

Cf. Steph. Byz., 570, 10: Σιντία, πόλις Μακεδονίας πρὸς τῇ Θράκῃ, ὡς Εὐδοξος ἐν τετάρτῳ γῆς περιόδου. οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες Σιντοὶ ὀξυτόνως . . . λέγεται καὶ Σίντιοι καὶ Σίντιον τὸ οὐδέτερον.

⁵¹ Cf. D. Detschew, op. cit., Wien, 1957, pp. 445–446.

Cf. Steph. Byz., 413, 8: Λήμνος, νῆσος πρὸς τῇ Θράκῃ, . . . φέκισθη δὲ πρῶτον ὑπὸ Θρακῶν, οἱ Σίντιες ἐκαλοῦντο, ὡς Στράβων. οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ Σαπαῖοι.

⁵² Cf. Strabo, Geogr. VII (frg. 46): ὅτι Σιντοὶ ἔθνος Θρακικὸν κατέκειν τὴν Λήμνον νῆσον. ὁθεν Ὀμηρος Σίντίας αὐτοὺς καλεῖ λέγων “ἐνθα με Σίντιες ἄνδρες”. Strabo, Geogr. X, 2, 17: τινὲς δὲ Σάμον καλεῖσθαι φασιν ἀπὸ Σαίων, τῶν οἰκούντων Θρακῶν πρότερον, οἱ καὶ τὴν ἡπειρον ἔσχον τὴν προσεχῇ, εἴτε οἱ αὐτοὶ τοῖς Σαπαίοις ὄντες ἢ τοῖς Σιντοῖς, οὓς Σίντίας καλεῖ ὁ ποιητής, εἴθ' ἕτεροι. XII, 3, 20: Σίντιες γὰρ ἐκαλοῦντό τινες τῶν Θρακῶν, εἴτα Σιντοί, εἴτα Σαίοι, παρ'

Ξάνθος, a river and town in the Troas⁵³, a river in Lycia⁵⁴, and a son of Ἐρύμανθος in Arcadia⁵⁵; Ξάνθεια, a town of the Thracian Kikones⁵⁶; and the Ξάνζοι or Ξάνθιοι, a Thracian tribe near the lake of Bistonis.⁵⁷ Incidentally, the ξ in these names is possibly to be understood as a Greek 'folk etymological' adaptation of the Thracian *Σάνθος to the Greek ξανθός (= 'fair-haired'), as can be illustrated by the Thracian personal name Σαντο-βίθυς.⁵⁸ As early as Linear B we find *ka-sa-to* = Ξάνθος as a personal name on KN C 912.8, PY An 39.6 and Jn 320.5 and MY Go 610.3. Further, the name of the mountain Βερέκυνθος on Crete, mentioned by Diodorus Siculus⁵⁹, reminds us of the tribal name Βερέκυνται⁶⁰ or Βερέκυντες⁶¹, a tribe in Phrygia. The long range of Thracian personal names of which the second part consists of the element -κενθος⁶² forms a chapter apart. Detschew mentions, for instance, *Aulu-centus* / Αύλου-κενθος, *Bithi-centhus* / Βειθύ-κενθος, *Dias-centus* / *Dias-cinthus* / Διάσ-κενθος and *Epta-centus* / *Epte-centus* / *Efta-centus* / *Efte-centhus* / Ἑπταί-κενθος / Ἑπτά-κενθος / Ἑπτέ-κενθος / Ἑπτή-κενθος.⁶³

οἷς φησιν Ἀρχιλοχος τὴν ἀσπίδα ῥίψαι ... οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ οὗτοι Σαπαῖοι νῦν ὀνομάζονται· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι περὶ Ἀβδηρα τὴν οἰκῆσιν εἶχον καὶ τὰς περὶ Λῆμνον νήσους.

⁵³ Cf. e. g. Hom., *Iliad* Y, 74.

⁵⁴ Cf. e. g. Hom., *Iliad* B, 877.

⁵⁵ Cf. Pausanias, VIII, 24, 1.

⁵⁶ Cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* VII (frg. 44): μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνὰ μέσον λίμνην Ξάνθεια Μαρώνεια καὶ Ἰσμαρος, αἱ τῶν Κικόνων πόλεις.

⁵⁷ Cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* XII, 1, 21: πολλοὶ δ' ὁμωνυμία Ἐρᾶξι καὶ Τρωσίν, οἷον Σκαῖοι Ἐρᾶκές τινες καὶ Σκαῖος ποταμὸς καὶ Σκαῖον τεῖχος καὶ ἐν Τροίᾳ Σκαῖαι πύλαι· Ξάνθιοι Ἐρᾶκες, Ξάνθος ποταμὸς ἐν Τροίᾳ.

⁵⁸ Cf. D. Detschew, *op. cit.*, Wien, 1957, pp. 333–334.

⁵⁹ Cf. Diod. Sic., V, 64.

⁶⁰ Cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* X, 469.

⁶¹ Cf. Hesych.; Steph. Byz. s. v. Βερέκυντες.

⁶² Cf. for example: Ivan Duridanov, *op. cit.*, *Thracia I, Serdicae*, 1972, p. 244, who compares Thracian -κενθος, -centhus in personal names with Celtic *Cintus*, *Cintu-* (*gnatus*). Cf. also I. I. Russu, *Die Sprache der Thrako-Daker*, București, 1969, p. 115, who mentions the I. E. root *ken- 'neu, frisch hervorgekommen; Junges' and cites Kretschmer's gall. *Cintus*, *Cintugnatus* 'primigenitus' (cf. Kretschmer, *Einführung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, p. 239).

Cf. also D. Detschew, *op. cit.*, Wien, 1957, pp. 239–240.

N. B. the *simplex* Κένθος as the name of a Thracian soldier from the 4th century B. C. is mentioned in IG 2², 1956, 40.

⁶³ Cf. D. Detschew, *op. cit.*, Wien, 1957, p. 239 and *passim*; also: D. Detschew (= Decew), *Charakteristik der thrakischen Sprache* (1958), *Linguistique Balkanique* II (1960), Sophia, pp. 149–150.

The archaeological and literary evidence for a Thracian occupation of Greece before the coming of the Greeks may provide a plausible explanation for the widespread 'substratum' of topographical names with the 'pre-Greek' *-nt(h)-* suffix in Greece, Asia Minor and Thrace. Taken together with the onomastic data mentioned above, it at least suggests a Thracian origin of these names in Greece proper as well as in Thrace and Asia Minor, although conclusive proof remains elusive. Indeed, the possibility that the *-nt(h)-* suffix is not only 'pre-Greek' but also 'pre-Thracian' cannot *a priori* be ruled out. However, a common archaeological background in 'pre-Thracian' times throughout the entire area where this suffix occurs has not yet been demonstrated. Unfortunately, Haley and Blegen did not include the evidence from Thrace in their fundamental articles about *The Coming of the Greeks*⁶⁴, doubtless because only the first steps in the archaeology of the North Aegean had then been made.

In this context it would be superfluous to treat extensively the large list of names with *-nt(h)-* suffix.⁶⁵ I shall, therefore, only call attention to some examples attested in Linear B. In Pylos we have PY Eo 224: *a-ma-ru-ta* = Ἀμαρύνθα (PN, dative) which may be derived from the topographical name Ἀμάρυνθος; PY Pa 49: *e-ri-ma-si-jo* = *Ἐρίμανσίω (PN, dative) possibly from the topographical name Ἐρίμανθος, perhaps a variant of Ἐρύμανθος; PY Ad 921: *ko-ri-to* = Κόρινθος (TN); PY Eb 347, En 74, Eo 247, Ep 212: *ko-ri-si-ja* = Κορίνσια (PN); PY An 207, An 209: *ko-ri-si-jo* = Κορίνσιοι; and PY An 610.12: [*za*]-*ku-si-jo* = *Ζακύνσιοι (ethnic from Ζάκυνθος). In Mycenae we find MY Oe 122: *za-ku-si-jo* = *Ζακυνσίω (ethnic used as a personal name).

Finally, two Thracian topographical names are recorded on Linear B tablets from Knossos. The first is the place name *o-du-ru-we* = dative-

⁶⁴ Cf. J. B. Haley and C. W. Blegen, 'The Coming of the Greeks. I. The geographical distribution of pre-Greek place-names. II. The geographical distribution of pre-historic remains in Greece', *AJA* XXXII (1928), pp. 141–154.

N. B. Blegen ascribed the cultural changes between 2000 and 1800 B. C. to the coming of the Greeks (cf. his article, pp. 153–154). This view has to be reconsidered in the light of new theories concerning the arrival of the Greeks (cf. Jan G. P. Best and Yigael Yadin, *The Arrival of the Greeks*, Amsterdam 1973).

⁶⁵ See for a comprehensive list e. g.: F. Dornseiff–B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Berlin 1957, p. 222.

N. B. Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, S. 1755, s. v. *Saguntum*, has the following comment on this Iberian city: "... – der griechische Ursprung (Liv. XXI, 7, 2, Strabo 159, Plin. XVI, 216, Appian. Ib. 7 usw., s. CIL II, p. 511) nur aus der Ähnlichkeit mit Ζάκυνθος erfunden ..."

locative of *⁷⁰Θορυς.⁶⁶ We also have the ethnic *o-du-ru-wi-jo* = ⁷¹Θορύιος⁶⁷ and the feminine form *o-du-ru-wi-ja*.⁶⁸ The form *o-du-ru-wi-jo* is also recorded on a stirrup-jar found in Thebes, but according to some archaeologists imported from Crete.⁶⁹ These names recall the Thracian ⁷²Θορύσαι.⁷⁰ The second is the place name *tu-ni-ja* = Θυνία found on several Knossos tablets.⁷¹ In Pylos we also find the ethnic *tu-ni-jo* = Θύνιος used as a personal name.⁷² Both are derived from the Thracian ethnic Θύνος.⁷³

⁶⁶ See John Chadwick, J. T. Killen and J.-P. Olivier, *The Knossos Tablets*, Cambridge, 1971⁴: KN C 902.6: *o-du-ru-we*.

⁶⁷ Cf. *ibidem*: KN C 902.2: *o-du-ru-wi-jo*.

⁶⁸ Cf. *ibidem*: KN Ai (3) 982.1: *o-du-ru-wi-ja*.

⁶⁹ TH Z 839: *o-du-ru-wi-jo*.

Cf. Leonard R. Palmer, 'Mycenaean inscribed vases, II. The Mainland finds', *Kadmos* 11, 1972, pp. 27–46.

⁷⁰ Cf. Michael Ventris and John Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge, 1973², pp. 211–213.

Cf. D. Detschew, *op. cit.*, Wien, 1957, pp. 336–339.

Cf. e. g. Herodotus, IV, 92: Δαρείος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμηθεὶς ἀπὶ κετο ἐπ' ἄλλον ποταμόν, τῷ οὖνομα Ἀρτησκόξ ἐστι, ὃς διὰ Ὀδρυσέων ῥέει.

Cf. Thucydides, II, 29, 2: ὁ δὲ Τήρης οὗτος, ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατήρ, πρῶτος Ὀδρύσαις τὴν μεγάλην βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλείον τῆς ἄλλης Θράκης ἐποίησε.

N. B. Jokl (*Eberts Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* 13, p. 285) interprets the name of the Ὀδρύσαι as *o-dru-s-* "Waldbewohner" on account of *Dru-geri*, whereas he considers *o-* as a preposition. N. B. Michel Lejeune (see his contribution to the Colloquium at Downing College, Cambridge) and C. J. Ruijgh (*op. cit.*, § 156, n. 439) suggest that the place name ⁷¹Θορυς, attested on Crete (cf. Hesychius: ὄθρυν-Κρήτες τὸ ὄρος), might be a doublet of *⁷²Θορυς, in which case the δ/θ alternation could be explained very well by the non-Greek origin of the name.

⁷¹ See John Chadwick, J. T. Killen and J.-P. Olivier, *The Knossos Tablets*, Cambridge, 1971⁴: KN Ap 629.1, KN Db 1246, KN Dv 1511 + 7193 + 7198 + fr., KN Le 641 + fr., KN X 7750.2, KN X 7633, KN Xd 149 + 8121.3: *tu-ni-ja*.

⁷² See C. Gallavotti–A. Sacconi, *Inscriptiones Pyliae ad Mycenaeam aetatem pertinentes* (*Incunabula Graeca* I), Roma 1961: PY Cn 4 and PY Xb 1419: *tu-ni-jo*. Cf. also E. M. Bennett–J.-P. Olivier, *op. cit.*, Roma, 1973 and 1976.

⁷³ Cf. Michael Ventris and John Chadwick, *op. cit.*, Cambridge, 1973², p. 317.

Cf. C. J. Ruijgh, *op. cit.*, Amsterdam, 1967, § 144.

Cf. D. Detschew, *op. cit.*, Wien, 1957, pp. 211–213.

Cf. e. g. Herodotus, I, 28: Θρήκες οἱ Θυνοὶ τε καὶ Βιθυνοί.

Cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* VII, 3, 2: καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ Φρύγες Βρίγες εἰσὶ, Θράκιόν τι ἔθνος, καθάπερ καὶ Μυγδόνες . . . καὶ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ Θυνοί, δοκῶ δὲ καὶ Μαριανδυνούς.

Cf. also Strabo, *Geogr.* XII, 3, 3.

Cf. Steph. Byz., 320, 8: Θυνία, ἡ χώρα τῶν Θυνῶν. τὸ ἔθνικόν Θυνός ὁμοφώνως τῷ οἰκιστῇ τῆς Θυνίας. *Ibidem*, 320, 10: Θυνίας, νῆσος πρὸς τῷ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου καὶ ἄκρα.

Leonard Palmer moreover has argued from the tablets of Knossos and the 'Theban' jar for a link between *o-du-ru-we* and *o-du-ru-wi-jo* on the one hand and *tu-ni-ja* on the other.⁷⁴ We know that in historical times the Odrysian and Thynian tribes (the latter mentioned as inhabiting the neighbourhood of Salmydessos in the first century B. C.) were living close together. The Thynians even claimed — as Alexander Fol remarks⁷⁵ — Odrysos (eponym of the largest Thracian tribe) as their ancestor. As the onomastic evidence of the Mycenaean tablets suggests some relationship between these tribes and Crete, the question naturally arises of how they came to be there. Was their position like that of the Carians (at that time called *Λέλεγες*), who — according to Herodotus (*I*, 171) — served as a crew on Minos's fleet? Are they colonists from abroad or groups of a very early population that remained behind on Crete and kept alive the memory of their ancestors in their topographical names?

⁷⁴ See Leonard R. Palmer, *op. cit.*, *Kadmos* 11, 1972, p. 37 and 41.

⁷⁵ See Alexander Fol, 'Thrako-Bithynische Parallelen im vorrömischen Zeitalter, II. Bevölkerungs- und Gesellschaftsstrukturen', *Thracia* 1 (*Academia Litterarum Bulgarica, Primus Congressus Studiorum Thracicorum*), *Serdicae* 1972, p. 198.