

# On the etymology of the name Sappho

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## On the Etymology of the Name Sappho

By Günther Zuntz, Manchester

### *Prefatory Note*

This essay contains, in a revised form, the results of an investigation carried out more than ten years ago. It was left unpublished because one main result appeared to be contradicted by the inscription on the Goluchow vase (below pp. 15 and 22). Competent friends have lately confirmed me in the opinion that this isolated piece cannot invalidate the overwhelming evidence against it. The reader will weigh the arguments for himself.

The absence of accents and breathings on Greek words should not be taken for a matter of principle. The papyri have indeed shown that our Herodianic-Byzantine accentuation involves a good deal of fads and faults. Even so, we should be the worse for dispensing with it in standard Greek. The matter is different with regard to Aeolic and non-Greek words such as occur frequently in the present essay. The rule of Aeolic barytonesis seems too crude to be believable for every detail, and if the absence of initial aspiration from this dialect is a fact, the application of the soft breathing becomes a farce (even more so, that is, than where there is scope also for the sign of the rough breathing). Was I to print Σάπφω where the name is borne by a Lesbian woman, but Σαπφώ for a Phrygian or Karian? And how in reference to Σάπφω in general? Moreover, who can tell which accent is due to Πιξωδαρος, Σηραμβος, Λαμαγα, or what is the quantity of the vowels in Phrygian Σαβν; and Pisidian Σαβινα? Not I. Hence I have chosen the better part of valour, leaving out all accents.

Readers may perhaps wonder why the old-fashioned term 'Asiatic' has been retained to denote a primitive and ill-defined substratum of Anatolian and neighbouring traditions, as though we were still in the days of the great pioneers A. H. Sayce and W. M. Ramsay. The writer is not in fact entirely unacquainted with the discoveries which, since the excavations of Tell-el-Amarna and Boghazköy, have shown the early history of Asia Minor in a new light. His impression is that, much though we have learned about the succession and mingling of peoples and races, an unambiguous demarcation of their separate characters and relationships is not yet possible and that the traditional assumption of a common substratum retains its truth. In this view he feels fortified by the utterances of such authorities as E. Meyer and R. Dussaud. While these lines were being written, the first reports about the finds at Karatepe opened up the prospect of decisive new insights. The present investigations will sooner or later be tested by them.

It remains for me to thank Sir John Beazley for a helpful discussion, ten years ago, about the inscriptions on Sappho vases and Sir John Myres for a most interesting correspondence on Aegean script. Professor H. W. Bailey, Dr. F. J. Tritsch and Dr. R. Pfeiffer have obliged me by valuable information on points of detail; I want to express my gratitude to them, as well as to J. A. Davison, W. B. Sedgwick and O. Skutsch for their encouraging interest in my abstruse subject. Finally I want to thank the staff of the Kongelige Bibliotek at Copenhagen who in years past never tired in supplying my unlimited wants and thus made possible the present research. In rewriting it I could not draw on stores as rich; hence I could not in every case verify my earlier notes and had to do without much of the literature which has appeared since then. I particularly regret having been unable to consult recent works by K. Bittel, G. Furlani and L. Delaporte. This fact does not reduce my gratitude to the staffs of the two Manchester libraries who most helpfully produced whatever was available.

An abstract of the present article was read to the meeting of the Classical Association at Manchester on 30 April 1949.

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Abbreviations not noted in Liddell-Scott or Stolz-Schmalz: BASOR = Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research. – CIS = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. – Doc. Afr. It. = Documenti antichi dell'Africa Italiana. – JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society. – RFV = Redfigured Attic Vasepainting, by J. Beazley. – SB = Sammelbuch griechischer Inschriften aus Aegypten. – SEG = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.

What does the name Sappho mean? Every truly Greek name has, by origin, a meaning. The inquiry into the origin of this particular name may throw some light upon the problems surrounding its greatest bearer; at the same time, it opens up some wider perspectives.

### *I. The evidence*

Apart from the poetess there is the following evidence for this name:

(1) A tombstone from Lesbos, I.G. XII 3, after C. Cichorius, *Ath. Mitt.* 13 (1888) 78 nr. 50

*Σαπφω χρηστη χαιρε*

The inscription is undated; it certainly is not old (? Roman). This Sappho appears to have been a slave and therefore is likely not to have been born on Lesbos, but to have come from some region where the name was usual.

(2) A dedication from Thespieae (? 3rd cent. B.C.), BCH 50 (1926) 414, nr. 26 (A. Plassart)

*Σαφφω το γενοσ Φρυγια Αρταμιδι Ειλειθυη*

A Phrygian woman at Thespieae, with no indication of father or husband, must have been a slave.

(3) A warrant for a run-away slave, middle 3rd cent. B.C., Egypt, in C. E. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri* III (1928) 117, nr. 59 374

*... παιδισκην αυτου Σαφφουν Καρινην ...*

(4) From a list of names, evidently of low-class people or slaves, on a wall of a grave in the necropolis at Mustapha Pasha (Alexandria), *Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain* 1933/4–1934/5, 43 = SB 7838 = SEG VIII (1937) nr. 365, of the 2nd or 1st century B.C.

*... Αμμιας | Σαπφω | Μαρθας ...*

This Sappho being mentioned immediately after Ammias, she too is likely to have come from Asia Minor. The list otherwise contains Syrian, Macedonian and Ionian names.

(5) An Athenian tombstone of the 1st cent. B.C. (?), apud J. J. Hondius, *Novae Inscriptiones Atticae* (1925) p. 123 nr. 20

*Σαπφω Παραμονου Κυδαθηρεως γυνη.*

(6) On a tombstone at Ramleh near Alexandria, of the "Graeco-Roman age", in Breccia, *Bull. de la Soc. Arch. d'Alexandrie* 15 (1914) 5 = SB 6237

*Σαπφω.*

(7) An inscription from Kos, CIG 2511 = Paton-Hicks, *The inscr. of Cos* (1891) 158, nr. 141 = IGR IV nr. 1075 = L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs ...* (1940) 189 nr. 185, in commemoration of games, of

... Νεμεριον Καστρικιον Λευκιον Πακωνιανον  
 ασιάρχον και Αυρηλιας Σαπφους Πλατωνος  
 Λικιννιατης αρχιερείας γυναικος αυτου.

These names suggest a date not earlier than the end of the 2nd cent. A.D. and probably much later. The accumulation of names is an Asianic characteristic<sup>1</sup>.

We may add some preliminary observations. Nrs. (5) and (7) may possibly owe their name to a classicistic enthusiasm for the poetess<sup>2</sup>. The assumption is not necessary and it would be preposterous to extend it to all bearers of the name. Only in the case of (5) is Greek descent to be assumed; (2) and (3) certainly, and the rest probably, belong to the native population of Asia Minor. Not once do we find the initial *Ψ* with which the poetess is supposed to have spelled her name.

## II. Greek etymologies

The older derivation of the name Sappho from the adjective *σαφής*, for which there is no parallel, was abandoned when scholars realised the fact—they regarded it as a fact—that originally the name began with Ps-. The first was J. Baunack<sup>3</sup>. His derivation, from a hypothetical *\*Ψαλλεφιλα*, is at best a curiosity. W. Prellwitz, in his review of Baunack's book<sup>4</sup>, considered a "Zusammenhang mit dem ähnlichen Namen des attischen Demos *Ψαφίς* nicht unmöglich". A. Fick<sup>5</sup> approved of this connection to which he himself added the name of the Arcadian town *Ψωφίς*. These place-names, of doubtful meaning, could not in themselves help very much towards the elucidation of the Lesbian proper name. Hence F. Solmsen gained wide assent when suggesting<sup>6</sup> that both should be connected with the adjective *ψαφαρός*: he considered the possibility that Sappho's parents named their child after its "trockene, spröde Haut oder Haare". The suggestion is in questionable taste; the particular abbreviation *ψαφαρος* > *Ψαπφω* would be hard to parallel and no Greek name derived from this adjective exists<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See J. Sundwall, in *Klio*, Beiheft XI (1913) 266.

<sup>2</sup> The same may, but need not, apply to the Sappho to whom Paulus Silentarius addressed the erotic epigram *AP* V 246. — C. I. G. 3555 is actually one of the many epigrams on the poetess (Antipater Sid.; *AP* VII 15).

<sup>3</sup> *Studien auf dem Gebiete der griechischen ... Sprachen* I (1886) 56.

<sup>4</sup> *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1887, 441.

<sup>5</sup> *Beiträge zur Kunde der indo-germ. Sprachen* 25 (1899) 115.

<sup>6</sup> *Rh. Mus.* 55 (1901) 502.

<sup>7</sup> F. Solmsen had quoted no parallel. M. Lambertz (*Glotta* 4 [1912] 117) was not lucky in his endeavour to supply the want. Misreading Passow's lexicon, he indicated, first, what is actually a place-name, perhaps corrupt, in Macedonia: *Αντιγονη* (read *Αντιγονεια*) *Ψαφαρα* (read *Σκαβαλα* ?) *Ptol.* III 12, 35 (sic). Lambertz's second instance is no better: the *αρχιερεως Κλ. Ρουφος ο και Ψαφαριος* on a Roman inscription (*IG* XIV 956 A 2), whose date Mommsen identified as A.D. 313, bears a barbarian name: it recurs on an inscription from Thionta, North of Hierapolis, in Phrygia. W. M. Ramsay, in publishing it, remarked upon the "utter want of Roman names" due to the secluded position of its barbarous place of origin (*Cities and Bishoprics ...* I [1895] 143, cf. 124f.). He who realises the derogatory implications in the (very rare) application of the adjective *ψαφαρος* to human beings (see [*Eur.*] *Rh.* 715; *AP* V 27 [Rufinus]; cf. *Hom. Hymn.* XIX 32) will not expect a Greek personal name ever to have been derived from it; least of all for a member of the Lesbian aristocracy.



This etymology then is untenable. Another suggestion of A. Fick could seem to have been borne out by a recent discovery. He compared *Ψαπφω* to the man's name *Ψαφων* which he knew from a Cyrenean inscription. F. Bechtel, who had discussed the latter name<sup>8</sup>, wavered as to its relation to *Sappho*<sup>9</sup>, which was adopted by F. Solmsen<sup>10</sup> and E. Maass<sup>11</sup>. The recent Italian excavations at Cyrene, besides adding to the evidence for the male name<sup>12</sup>, have produced an instance of the cognate feminine *Ψαφωι*<sup>12a</sup>.

The oldest picture purporting to represent Sappho, on the Goluchow amphora of about 510–500 B.C.<sup>13</sup>, has the inscription *ΦΣΑΘΟ*. The person who wrote the inscription was not an authority on spelling: he scratched a *θ* for a *φ*—parallels for this kind of error are not wanting<sup>14</sup>—but he evidently meant *Ψαφω*. The agreement with the Cyrenean inscription would seem to establish the relation between *Ψαφων* and *Sappho*.

In spite of appearances, I submit that Psaphon-Psapho and Sappho are unrelated, for

(1) the former are confined to Doric; the regions where *Σαπφω* occurs are, to say the least, non-Doric;

(2) *Ψαφων* is most probably related to *ψαφος*; it may mean a "draughts-player". In any case it had a long *ā*, for the noun *ψηφων* is attested<sup>15</sup>. The name then ought to be *Ψηφων*, fem. *Ψηφω* in Attic and Koine Greek. But all writers refer to the poetess as *Σαπφω* and this is the spelling used for the one Attic bearer of the name, as well as for all others. The *α* in *Σαπφω* apparently is short<sup>16</sup>; a name *Ψηφω* or *Σηφω* does not exist;

(3) the assumed connection between *Ψαφων* and *Σαπφω* fails to account for the

<sup>8</sup> *Die einstämmigen männl. Personennamen ...*, in *Abh. Gött. Ges.* 1898, 57.

<sup>9</sup> *Die historischen Personennamen ...* (1917) 490; *Die griechischen Dialekte I* (1921) 127.

<sup>10</sup> *Rh. Mus.* 56 (1901) 502.

<sup>11</sup> *Rh. Mus.* 75 (1926) 358.

<sup>12</sup> The evidence for *Ψαφων* is by now as follows: (a) from Cyrene: four inscriptions of the 4. and 3. cent. B.C.; see G. Oliverio in *Africa Italiana* 3 (1930) 187 (= Smith-Porcher, *Recent Discoveries ...* [1864] 110 = SEG IX [1938] nr. 50); id. ib. 177 (= SEG IX nr. 46); id. ib. I (1927) 328 (= SEG IX 83); id. in *Doc. ant. Afr. Ital.* vol. II, Cirenaica, Fasc. I (1933) p. 94, nr. 59 (= SEG IX nr. 76); and also Maximus Tyr. *Or.* XXIX 4; (b) the name occurs also on Rhodian jar-handles which for lack of the relevant literature I cannot identify, but see CIG III, p. XX nr. 200 and E. Pridik in *Klio* 20 (1925/6) 331.

<sup>12a</sup> G. Oliverio in *Doc. Afr. It.*, vol. II, Cirenaica, fasc. I (1933) p. 116, nr. 112 (= SEG IX nr. 224). Judging from the photograph (Oliverio pl. XXXII fig. 68) the inscription may be ascribed to the 2. cent. B.C.

<sup>13</sup> *Corp. Vas. Ant.*, Poland I 16; cf. J. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland* (1928) 9. On the vases in Munich (Furtwängler-Reichhold pl. 64) and Athens (J. Beazley, *RFV* p. 702. 102) the name begins with sigma.

<sup>14</sup> E. g. in *Δημοθων* and *Αριστονοφος*, see P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften* (1894) 11. 102. 232.

<sup>15</sup> Hesychius s. v.; Manetho, *Apotel.* V 277.

<sup>16</sup> The problem did not escape Solmsen (loc. laud. 502) and Maass (loc. laud. 359). It led the former to refer *Ψαφων* to *ψαφαρος* rather than to *ψαφος*. Maass would ascribe the (assumed) shortening of the vowel to the doubling of the following consonant, comparing thessal. *Δαμματη*: he was, I suppose, unable to find a more convincing parallel. Neither device will bear examination.

most puzzling, and most suggestive, feature of the latter, namely the (apparent) variation between  $\Psi$  and  $\Sigma$  in its initial.

The latter problem requires some detailed investigation. F. Bechtel<sup>17</sup> indeed, followed by E. Maass, endeavoured to cut it short. He presented the name  $\Sigma\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$  as identical with  $\Psi\alpha\rho\omega\upsilon$  and demonstrating the equivalence of their initials. The former name occurs on IG IV 732  $\Lambda\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$  (sic)  $\Sigma\alpha\rho\iota\omega\varsigma$ . But  $\Sigma\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$  was an Arab.

IG IV 728–735 is a series of Hellenistic inscriptions listing the members of the Demeter mysteries at Hermione in Argolis. A notable feature is the high percentage, at this provincial place, of initiates of foreign, and particularly of oriental origin. Probably they were slaves. We find, in nr. 729<sup>18</sup>, a  $\Lambda\iota\beta\upsilon\varsigma \Sigma\eta\rho\alpha\mu\beta\omega$ , a  $\textit{Κίτος}$ , an  $\textit{Ανανθος Τρευνθω}$  and  $\textit{Βαρις Μαργω}$ <sup>19</sup>. On nr. 731<sup>20</sup> there appear  $\Sigma\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha \Sigma\omega\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\textit{Λαμαγα}$  and  $\textit{Σινδης}$ <sup>21</sup> together with two different  $\textit{Αμμια}$ . Finally, on nr. 732,  $\Sigma\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$  is in the company of  $\textit{Αραπια}$ , of  $\textit{Λιβυς Δαμονικον}$ , of  $\textit{Αμμια}$ ,  $\textit{Ισεια}$ ,  $\textit{Εισιδωρος}$  and  $\textit{Σαμβατεις}$ <sup>22</sup>: indeed a very oriental company.  $\Sigma\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$  has no roots in Greek society—as little as in Greek etymology. But he has namesakes on Egyptian sherds<sup>23</sup>. The name is explained by E. Littmann<sup>24</sup> as identical with Arabic  $\textit{Şafi}$ <sup>25</sup>.  $\textit{Şafi}$  the Arab cannot demonstrate that the Greek name  $\Psi\alpha\rho\omega\upsilon$  could begin, now with a psi and now with a sigma.

### III. $\Psi$ and $\Sigma$

Wherever in her poems Sappho quotes her own name, its initial is spelled  $\Psi$ ; wherever other writers refer to her, it is  $\Sigma$ . The difference can either be accounted for by the assumption of some phonetic development, or it can be described as merely orthographic and thus eliminated.

So far, only the former alternative has been tried. J. Baunack<sup>26</sup> and F. Solmsen<sup>27</sup>,

<sup>17</sup> *Die hist. Personennamen* (1917) 490.

<sup>18</sup> GDI 3398 A 15; cf. ib. 23.

<sup>19</sup> "Paunchy son of Glutton" evidently is the Greek nickname of a non-Greek slave; if indeed Bechtel's (*Personennamen* 92 and 499) interpretation is correct. Perhaps these strange sounds are not Greek at all.

<sup>20</sup> GDI 3401.

<sup>21</sup> Perhaps a countryman of  $\Sigma\iota\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma$  of Gorgippia (PE IV 432 A I 5; cf. Bechtel l. c. 543) in the  $\Sigma\iota\nu\delta\iota\kappa\eta$ ; i.e. a Scythian. The same root however is found in  $\Sigma\iota\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma$  in Macedonia,  $\Sigma\iota\nu\delta\alpha$  in Pisidia,  $\Sigma\iota\nu\delta\eta\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  in Karia,  $\Sigma\iota\nu\delta\iota\tau\alpha$  in Cappadocia; see A. Fick, *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen* (1905) 106 and 151; id., *Hattiden und Danubier* (1909) 21.

<sup>22</sup>  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\beta\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\iota\varsigma$ , according to W. Schulze, is a devotee of the goddess Sambethe of Thyateira (*Kleine Schriften* [1933] 290); perhaps Semitic and identical with Sabitu of the Gilgamesh epic (see M. I. Lagrange, *Études Sém.* [1905] 358). According to M. Lidzbarski (*Ephemeris* 2 [1903] 137) and E. Littmann (in Preisigke's *Namenbuch* 524), she is an observer of the sabbath. At any rate, Sambateis is a slave of Eastern descent; probably Semitic and certainly not Greek; cp. L. Robert, BCH 58 (1934) 516.

<sup>23</sup> P. Viereck, *Ostraka ... Strassburg* 215, nr. 649/10; R. Pagenstecher, *Die Sammlung E. v. Sieglin*, III (1913) 20. 27.

<sup>24</sup> In the *Anhang* of Preisigke's *Namenbuch* p. 515.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the name  $\Sigma\alpha\pi\omega\upsilon$  in Egypt, SB 24 and 5142 (= BCH 26 [1902] p. 452 nr. 13 and *Mitt. Pap. Erz.* Rainer V p. 15, 3).

<sup>26</sup> *Studien ...* (1886) 61.

<sup>27</sup> Rh. Mus. 56 (1901) 502.

followed by many others<sup>28</sup>, ascribed the change  $ps > s$  to “dissimilation” caused by the following  $\pi\phi$ . The use of the term in the present case amounts to a *lex in personam*. When the words of this type are mustered— $\psi\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\Psi\alpha\phi\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\psi\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\Psi\omega\phi\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\psi\epsilon\phi\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\psi\omicron\phi\omicron\varsigma$  —, not one of them is found to have an alternative form beginning with mere  $s$ -<sup>29</sup>. It was therefore a better idea to look out, without reference to “dissimilation”, for other words where initial  $\psi$ - might be found replaced by  $\sigma$ -. A. Fick has given a fairly long list of such words<sup>30</sup>. It is telling that he could not include a single one of the words in current use—such as  $\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\psi\alpha\nu\omega$ ,  $\psi\epsilon\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\psi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\psi\alpha\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ —although a proper phonetic law ought to have affected them in the first place. The few out-of-the-way instances which Fick brought together, mainly from unverifiable glosses in Hesychius, cannot prove the point.<sup>31</sup>

Even if a few, rarely used Greek words may have shown, at different times and/or places, an initial  $s$ - for  $ps$ -, this fact affords no sufficient explanation of the most striking feature of the name Sappho. While the poetess appears to have called herself Psappho, Herodotus and Platon, the Marmor Parium, Strabo, Plutarch, Maximus of Tyre and whosoever refers to her use the form with initial  $s$ - which is common also with all other bearers of the name (it is as though Sophocles had vainly striven to be called Psophocles). This overwhelming amount of evidence cannot be discounted and ascribed to a subsequent phonetic development, for Alcaeus, her contemporary and countryman, in addressing her uses the same form. His line

$\iota\omicron\pi\lambda\omicron\kappa' \alpha\gamma\eta\alpha \mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon \Sigma\alpha\pi\phi\omicron\iota$

by its apparent contrast with the poetess' own usage yields the solution towards which the discussion has all the time been tending. The phoneme (*sit venia verbo*) by which Alcaeus addressed her cannot be supposed to have been markedly different from that which Sappho used herself. Its initial cannot have been a psi, for the double consonant would have effected, in poetry, the lengthening of a preceding short vowel. It is notable that no short vowel occurs, in this position, in Sappho's poems; it is decisive that the line of Alcaeus just quoted would be ruined by the

<sup>28</sup> See e.g. RE s. v.; P. Kretschmer, *Die griech. Vaseninschriften* (1894) 182; E. Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.* (1939) 260.

<sup>29</sup> Aeolic inscriptions in particular have always  $\psi\alpha\phi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\psi\alpha\phi\iota\zeta\omega$ , see O. Hoffmann, *Die griechischen Dialekte II* (1893) 281.

<sup>30</sup> *Beitr.* 26 (1901) 114.

<sup>31</sup> E. Schwyzer, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforsch.* 58 (1931) 170, has shown that  $\psi\iota\tau\tau(a)$ - $\sigma\iota\tau\tau(a)$  (cf.  $\psi\iota\theta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ) are alternative onomatopoeietical renderings of a voice-sound (“[p]sst”). The same may be held with regard to  $\psi\omicron\iota\theta\eta\varsigma$  (Theognostus) and  $\sigma\omicron\iota\theta\eta\varsigma$  (Hes.; cf.  $\psi\iota\theta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ?) and  $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  (Hes.) beside  $\psi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  – if indeed the two words are identical. Identity may be doubted also with regard to  $\sigma\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota$   $\sigma\alpha\lambda\alpha\zeta\alpha\iota$  (Hes.) and  $\psi\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\omega$ . In  $\alpha\sigma\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (Rhinton), from  $\psi\epsilon\gamma\omega$ , the  $-\sigma-$  is no longer initial.  $\Sigma\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (beside  $\psi\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ ) and  $\sigma\alpha\nu\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  (beside  $\psi\alpha\nu\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ ) are known from Hes. only; they are, if anything, peculiarities of some dialect, as it is established in the case of  $\sigma\omega\chi\omega$  (Ion.) for  $\psi\omega\chi\omega$ . This exhausts the Greek material. The change in question occurs in some non-Greek words, such as  $\psi\iota\tau\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\psi\alpha\gamma\delta\alpha\varsigma$  (Egyptian); among these, the island-names  $\Sigma\nu\omicron\sigma\varsigma$ - $\Sigma\nu\omicron\iota\eta$ :  $\Psi\nu\omicron\sigma\alpha$ ,  $\Psi\nu\omicron\iota\eta$  (cf. kar.  $\Sigma\nu\omicron\sigma\alpha$ , cret.  $\Sigma\nu\omicron\iota\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ ) and the name of the river  $\Psi\alpha\phi\omicron\varsigma$ :  $\Sigma\alpha\phi\omicron\varsigma$  in Cilicia (cf. the island  $\Sigma\alpha\phi\omicron\varsigma$ , near Karpathos) may have a bearing upon our subject. None of these instances can establish a law, or even a marked tendency, of Greek speech (cf. E. Schwyzer, *Gr. Gram.* 329).

alternative form *Ψαπφοι*. Whatever the spelling, the name must have begun with some sibilant which did not “make position”. In the manuscripts of Sappho’s poems this sibilant is represented by *Ψ*. A *Ψ* which does not “make position” is not a psi. What then was this sibilant?

The sound which is normally represented by Greek sigma could not have given rise to the puzzling alternative spelling. One may next think of the problematical sibilant which is rendered by *ττ* in Boeotian, Attic and Cretan, and elsewhere by *σσ*. In Greek however initial *σσ-*, whatever its origin (*s+s*, or a plosive, etc., followed by *ι*), had been reduced to single *s* already in prehistoric times. It is rendered by *σ* (in Attic sometimes by *τ*)<sup>32</sup>, never by psi.

This fact squares with the other that all attempts at a Greek etymology of the name Sappho have proved unavailing and that nearly all bearers of the name hail from Asia Minor. In the native languages of Asia Minor there existed sibilants which defied representation by means of the Greek alphabet. Recalling the resulting varieties of spelling e.g. of the “Lallname” *Susu, Zuzu, Thuthu*<sup>33</sup> or the parallels *Ασσος, Ασσα, Ασαι, Ασης* and *Σεννεσις – Τεννεσσος*<sup>34</sup>, we may consider our little problem in an Asianic context.

In alphabetic scripts the Asianic sibilants most often appear as *-σσ-* (initial *σ-*). In some cases this alternates with xei. The sign *Ξ* is the Semitic samekh. It cannot, for this reason, be supposed in these cases to represent a mere sibilant. The inscription from Iasus<sup>35</sup> on which the name *Βουασσις* has several times been altered into *-ξις* dates from the 4th century B.C.: the sign *Ξ* cannot, at this time, have represented anything but the normal xei. A guttural element lies behind also the alternative *Πιξωδαρος – Πισωδαρος*<sup>36</sup> and the few other similar instances<sup>37</sup>. The variants *Συρη – Ψυρη, Ψυρα* and *Σαρος – Ψαρος*<sup>38</sup> quoted above p. 17 note 31 might suggest that similarly in the case of the name Sappho the sibilant was combined with a labial. Originally indicated by the letter psi, this labial element disappeared later and left the mere letter sigma to represent the initial.

This assumption would square with the main inference suggested by the material so far presented, namely that the name Sappho belongs to the Asianic, rather than to the Greek sphere. There may indeed be reason to assume that there has been

<sup>32</sup> The isolated spelling *ΣΣΑΜΜΟ* on an archaic tombstone at Akraiphia near Lake Copais (D. Korolkow, *Ath. Mitt.* 9 [1884] 15 = GDI 568a) may be ascribed to the outstanding Boeotian tendency towards the doubling of sibilants and dentals. It should not be quoted in evidence of *ψ*-changing to *σ*-, for the derivation of this name from *ψαμμος* is most improbable. More likely it may be connected with the name *Σαμος* in Pindar *Ol.* X 70. No proper names derived from *ψαμμος* are on record; no intermediate form *\*σαμμος* exists between *ψαμμος* and *αμμος*; the Nereid *Ψαμαθη* is never *\*Σαμαθη* and, besides, *ψαμαθος* and *αμμος* are two different things.

<sup>33</sup> See A. M. Ramsay in *JHS* 24 (1904) 280.

<sup>34</sup> A. Fick, *Hattiden und Danubier* (1908) 51.

<sup>35</sup> *BCH* 5 (1881) 491; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>4</sup> nr. 169.

<sup>36</sup> P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung* (1896) 318.

<sup>37</sup> See P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 28 (1940) 254 (on *Ὀλυσσεύς* - Ulixes); ib. 278 (two further Karo-Lyidian instances of *ξ: σσ*); *Glotta* 31 (1948) 10; cf. *σατραπης* for *kšatrapavān* (pers.).

<sup>38</sup> The ambiguous nature of the sibilant in *Ψαρος* - *Σαρος* is further illustrated by the cognate Cilician name *Μογασσαρης*, Apollodorus III 14. 3.



a development, in earlier Asianic speech, from both *ks-* and *ps-* to a mere sibilant. However, in its application to the name Sappho, this assumption is contradicted by the previous observation that a letter which does not "make position" cannot be the double consonant psi. Even if we were to assume that the labial had originally preceded the initial *s*, it must be supposed to have disappeared before the time of the poetess. If then the labial was not spoken at the time, it is not likely to have been written either, for Sappho's was not an age of "historical orthography"<sup>39</sup>. The initial representing one single sibilant, there remains no argument for the assumption that it was ever combined with a labial. The sign in question stands for an un-Greek sound in a non-Greek name. The particular character of this sound may be more closely defined if it can be established why it is represented by psi in the Sappho manuscripts.

It is highly unlikely that Sappho herself used the sign  $\Psi$  ( $\Psi$ ) for it. We must speak with some reserve, for no archaic inscriptions from Lesbos are as yet known and the ancient Aeolic sherds from Naucratis<sup>40</sup> withhold information on this point. If it is assumed that Sappho used an Ionian alphabet (which is the least probable assumption), the sign  $\Psi$ ,  $\Psi$ , would have indicated the unsuitable double consonant. In the old island scripts the sign does not occur; in all others it stands for *k(h)*<sup>41</sup>. There is then no reason to assume that  $\Psi$  could stand for a mere sibilant. But a sign which later on could be mistaken for psi was widely used, in various parts of ancient Asia Minor as well as elsewhere, to denote *ś*. Sappho may have used this sign.

In the early days of the alphabet, the Cyprian syllabary was not the only survivor of the previous, Aegean systems of writing. Signs belonging to the pre-alphabetic scripts were retained in nearly every part of the wide expanse throughout which they had once been used, from the Pontus up to Spain<sup>42</sup>; just as the Icelanders and the Anglo-Saxons retained the rune *þ*. Such survivals are most outstanding in Asia Minor<sup>43</sup>. We may recall the "cross pommé", for *M*<sup>I</sup>, on Milesian

<sup>39</sup> The occurrence of both  $\Psi\upsilon\phi\eta$  ( $\gamma$  171) and  $\Sigma\upsilon\phi\eta$  ( $\sigma$  401) in Homer cannot demonstrate that *ps-* and *s-* could both have been used in the name of one and the same person, for even though the two names may be linguistically identical, they denote different islands in the Odyssey.

<sup>40</sup> E. A. Gardner, *Naucratis* II (1888) 65 and plate XXI.

<sup>41</sup>  $\Psi$  is *k* in all Phoenician inscriptions prior to the ninth century (see e.g. Ullman, *AJA* 38 [1934] 364) and in Lycian; it is *kh* in the Western Greek alphabets and also in Euboea, Crete, Rhodes and on the Arkesilas bowl, as well as in Phrygian, Karian and the oldest Etruscan. The Greek sign  $\kappa$  for *k*, comes from the later Phoenician form  $\kappa$ , which occurs first on the Mesa stone and at Sendjirli. The adoption of this sign set the earlier form  $\Psi$  free and the Ionians now assigned it, quite arbitrarily, the value *ps*; in Melos and Thera it was used, just as arbitrarily, for *ks* (see H. Pedersen, *Festschrift København* [1916] 33 and Ullman, *Class. Ph.* 22 [1927] 136). This sign, by the way, is frequent in the early series of linear signs in Crete; it occurs also in Melos and on bronze age ware from Cyprus (S. Casson, *Ancient Cyprus* [1937] 100, nr. 15); it is, finally, identical with one of the hieratic forms of the Egyptian hieroglyph *k* (also transcribed *h*), which may be the source of all those quoted. Consequently, the ancient Cretan sign may likewise denote *k*, or a syllable beginning with *k*. In the present context, the main fact is that Sappho is most unlikely to have used the sign  $\Psi$  for her initial, for with her it could hardly have represented anything but *k(h)*.

<sup>42</sup> A. H. Sayce, *Transact. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 9 (1893) 113; A. J. Evans, *Scripta Minoa* I (1909) 61; *The palace of Minos* IV (1935) 737; J. Sundwall, *JDI*, 30 (1915) 44.

<sup>43</sup> W. Gardthausen, *Zeitschr. d. D. Vereins für Buchwesen* 1 (1908) 57.

coins<sup>44</sup>; the cognate  $\times$ , for  $\tilde{m}$ , in Lycian; the sign  $\Psi$ , for *de* or *te*, in Lycia and Cyprus<sup>45</sup>; and the sign  $\sqcup$ , for *m*, *mi*, in Karian<sup>46</sup>.

The Asianic  $\mathfrak{s}$  was widely rendered by a variety of signs<sup>47</sup> ( $\sqcup$ ,  $\sqcap$ ,  $\sqcup$ ,  $\sqcup$ , etc.) which can be reduced to a basic form consisting of three vertical lines connected, or crossed, by a horizontal. The numeral sampi  $\pi = 900$  in its varying forms derives from it<sup>48</sup>. These signs may originally have denoted different syllables beginning with *s*, but within the Greek, or graecising, alphabets they are often used interchangeably, and this in Greek as well as in Asianic words.  $\sqcup$  is recorded from Pamphylia (coins and inscription),  $\sqcap$  from Halicarnassus, Teus, Ephesus<sup>49</sup>,  $\sqcup$ ,  $\sqcap$ ,  $\sqcup$  occur on coins of Mesambria,  $\sqcap$  also in Cyzicus, and  $\sqcup$  on a Cyprian bilingual<sup>50</sup> (*TIMOΔOPO*  $\sqcup$ ).

These signs correspond with Greek  $\sigma\sigma$ , and sometimes  $\sigma$ , in such Greek words as *ανασσα* or *θαλασσα* as well as in Asianic ones, e.g. in *Αλικαρνασσος* or *Παννασσις*. The sound rendered may therefore well be compared with that of Semitic *ṣadē*, but the attempts of Gardthausen and Lidzbarski<sup>51</sup> to derive the actual signs from this Semitic letter have established the impossibility of this derivation. The true provenience of this set of signs is indicated by their occurrence throughout the sphere of the ancient "Aegean" script, from Karia<sup>52</sup>, Cyprus<sup>53</sup>, Crete<sup>54</sup> and Troy<sup>55</sup> to Italy<sup>56</sup>, Spain<sup>57</sup> and North Africa<sup>58</sup>. These then are ancient "Aegean" signs serving to render an Asianic sound. Sappho can be supposed to have used one of them for her initial.

<sup>44</sup> A. J. Evans, *Scripta Minoa* 98; J. Chapoutier, *Les archives de Mallia* (1932), 15 fig. 11; 18 fig. H 2.

<sup>45</sup> J. L. Myres, *JHS* 66 (1946) 2 nr. 3; E. Babelon, *Traité ...* II 2, 291 ff. nr. 404 ff.; cf. *ib.* 261, nr. 328; *ib.* 295.

<sup>46</sup> Evans *Scripta Minoa*, 223, nr. 114; J. Sundwall, *Acta Acad. Aboensis* 1 (1920) 6.

<sup>47</sup> Beside Gardthausen (see above note 43) cf. W. Larfeld, *Griech. Epigraphik* (1914) 225 and Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* 318.

<sup>48</sup> B. Keil, *Hermes* 29 (1894) 271 (after Clermont-Ganneau).

<sup>49</sup> Perhaps also on a Boeotian vase, see E. Kalinka, *Ath. Mitt.* 17 (1892) 101. I would urge that this sign is not a *tav* (though much later it could be thus mistaken), but a variety of the many "Asianic" signs characterised by its vertical bars. Down to the third century B.C., such bars were never added to a *tav*. Spellings like *NETOΣ*, *KATANΔPA*, etc. on Attic vases have a different origin: they stand for the characteristically Attic *ττ*.

<sup>50</sup> A. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus, Atlas* (1885 ff.) pl. CXXIX 2; cf. I. Hall, *JAOS* XI (1885) 219.

<sup>51</sup> *Rh. Mus.* XL (1882) 606; *Ephemeris* 1 (1902) 117; cf. F.W.G. Foat, *JHS* 25 (1905) 338; *ib.* 26 (1906) 286.

<sup>52</sup> A. H. Sayce, *Transact. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* IX (1893) 134.

<sup>53</sup> The sign *se* in the syllabary, and potter's marks on bronze-age ware (A.W. Persson, *Symb. Philol.* [1932] 269 b and d — see the photograph—; cf. S. Casson, *Ancient Cyprus* [1937] 91, 99, 103).

<sup>54</sup> J. L. Myres, *JHS* 66 (1946) 2 nr. 30; cp. A. J. Evans, *The Palace ...* III 406; *ib.* IV fig. 659 and 666, 12 and 13.

<sup>55</sup> Sayce in Schliemann's *Ilios* (1881) 769 ff., nrs. 1524. 1860. 1905, etc.

<sup>56</sup> In Picenum and Messapia; see J. Whatmough, *Class. Ph.* 31 (1936) 198.

<sup>57</sup> The interpretation of the Iberian and Turdetanian scripts is still *sub lite*, but the occurrence of the signs in question, together with others of the Karian type, can be verified from any one of the relevant publications.

<sup>58</sup> C. Meinhof, *Die lybischen Inschriften*, in *Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.* 19 (1931) 17. See generally *Indo-Germ. Forsch.* 1948, p. 179, for more recent literature.



Of the variants just listed, the form  $\Psi$  could most easily be mistaken, in later times, for psi. The objection is hardly decisive that this particular variety has so far been found only in the South of Asia Minor, seeing that not far from Lesbos, at Mesambria, several similar varieties were in use simultaneously and that an isolated  $\Psi$  occurs on a potsherd from Naucratis<sup>59</sup>. If in view of the preponderance of  $\Psi$  in Ionia this sign is regarded as more likely to have been used in Lesbos, it may be remembered that it was used for psi on Selinuntian coins<sup>60</sup>.

That the poetess in spelling her name used a sign outside the later standard alphabet is by no means an improbable assumption. The Cyprian Timodoros did the same with less justification, and Sappho also used the digamma.  $\Psi\alpha\pi\phi\omega$  then is  $\Psi\alpha\pi\phi\omega$  (pronounce Šap-pho). The signs  $\mathcal{F}$  and  $\Psi$  both survived in the manuscripts of her poems<sup>61</sup> and were retained by the Alexandrian scholars in the editions from which the later texts derive<sup>62</sup>; they retained in the same way the equivalent sign  $\Pi$  (cf. above) which they found in the manuscripts of Hippocrates<sup>62a</sup>. In subsequent copies the unwonted signs gave way to similar, but unsuited, forms.  $\mathcal{F}$  became  $T, \Gamma, E$ ;  $\Psi$  became  $\Psi$ . Thus the cognate sign  $\Pi$  used by Alcaeus<sup>63</sup> and Herodotus<sup>64</sup> appears to have occasioned the corrupt readings  $\kappa\upsilon\pi\alpha\tau\tau\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  and  $O\lambda\iota\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ <sup>65</sup>. The spelling  $\Psi\alpha\pi\phi\omega$  on some coins from Eresos, of the

<sup>59</sup> W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Naucratis I* (1884/5) plate 32, nr. 75.

<sup>60</sup> The river god Hypsas is spelled  $H\Psi Y\Pi A \Sigma$ , see Gardthausen, *Z. f. Buchw.* 1 (1918) 57 ff. after Fröhner, *Rev. Numism.* 4, 11, 109.

<sup>61</sup> The argument by which T. Kehrhahn (*Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* 46 [1914] 296) endeavoured to show that the Alexandrian editors relied upon fourth century manuscripts of the Lesbian poets is flimsy; see E. Lobel, *Σαπφονος μελη*, p. XIX. Even if K. had been right, the "abnormal" signs could be supposed to have survived; as the parallel from Hippocrates (below note 62a) shows.

<sup>62</sup> Possibly the editors of Alcaeus rendered it by  $\sigma\sigma$ . All manuscripts of Hephaestion 85 (p. 45 Consb.) have  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma \Sigma\alpha\pi\phi\omicron\iota$ . The additional  $\sigma$  (which is deleted in the best ms. A) may indeed be meant to introduce a less unusual form of the adjective—or could it belong to the initial of  $\Sigma\alpha\pi\phi\omicron\iota$ ?

<sup>62a</sup> See E. Wenkebach in *Berl. Ak. Sbb.* 1920, 241 ff. publishing and discussing a most interesting passage of Galen on the subject (I owe this reference to the article of K. Latte quoted in note 65). The "Karian" sign had become unintelligible in Hellenistic times; Galenus reports the ensuing discussion on its meaning. I anticipate no contradiction in saying that Wenkebach wrongly sided with those who denounced the sign as an intentional mystification.

<sup>63</sup> Fg. 54, 6 Diehl.

<sup>64</sup> V. 37. 1.

<sup>65</sup> See Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 25 (1890) 226 note 2; W. Schulze, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1897, 886. *Addendum*: K. Latte has recently indicated a further suggestive instance (*Philologus* 97 [1949] 46). The Hipponax fragment *Pap. Ox.* 2175. 2, 7 ...  $[\tau]\eta\varsigma \theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau[\tau\eta]\varsigma$  (no other supplement seems possible) is against the dialect and it is quite incredible that the Attic form could have been introduced as such in the later course of the tradition. Here again a  $\Pi$  in the original may later on have been mistaken for a tau and thus have occasioned the corruption. Professor Latte indeed, with what seems to me an excess of scepticism, would discard the two instances quoted in the text. He recalls that Wilamowitz, under the fresh impression of the spelling  $\Phi\iota\tau\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$  in the Alcaeus papyrus *Ox.* 1234, abandoned his earlier suggestion and considered the spelling  $\kappa\upsilon\pi\alpha\tau\tau\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  to be likewise explicable as the rendering of a foreign word. However the situation is not the same. The name of the Thracian Pittacus always retains its double dental (one could not imagine a  $\Phi\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ !), while  $\kappa\upsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\varsigma$  is thus spelled wherever it occurs, even by the Ionians Hecataeus and Hipponax and the Attic Aristophanes and Lysias. It seems to me entirely incredible that the Lesbians, to whom  $\tau\tau$  is foreign, should have introduced it where the sibilant was thus marked; nor

age of the Antonines, may be ascribed to the enthusiasm of local antiquarians fired by the corrupted spelling in manuscripts then current. Pap. Ox. 1787 is such a manuscript. As to the Goluchow vase, the uneducated person who strove to add to the attractions of the picture of a harpist by inscribing it with the name of the poetess: this person can be supposed to have substituted the Dorian *Ψᾶφω* for the non-Greek *Šāppho*. He may have been a Dorian himself<sup>66</sup>. But the Alexandrian editors knew the correct form. Under the text in which they had retained the archaic spelling, they wrote the title *Σαπφους μελη. Σαπφους*, not *Ψαπφους*.

#### IV. The root sap-

The name Sappho is "Asianic": this conclusion is imposed by three independent observations. Most of the bearers of this name are, not Greek, but Asianic; the name itself is incapable of a Greek etymology; and its initial is of an un-Greek quality. In other words, we would assign this name to the pre-Indoeuropean stratum which has contributed so many names and words to the Greek vocabulary. In Lesbos, a name of this kind is anything but out of place. The names of the island itself (*Lazpaš* in Hittite), its mountains (e.g. *Lepetymnos*, *Ordymnos*, *Olympos*) and towns (*Arisba*, *Eresos*, *Methymna*, *Mytilene*) are of this type. One of the most outstanding among Sappho's contemporaries, *Myrtilos*, bears the name of a famous Hittite king, a name too that is frequent all over Asia Minor, and Sappho's friend *Atthis* likewise bears an "Asianic" name<sup>67</sup>. One may infer that her family, though of the highest rank, did not descend from the invading *Penthilidae* but from the ancient stock of the islanders<sup>68</sup>, and might proceed to relate some of her characteristics, in body and mind, to this non-Greek ancestry. Such inferences however are better kept private, for they are incapable of proof.

can the change be ascribed to Attic orthography. Wilamowitz' earlier suggestion then has not lost its basis. With regard to *Ολιατος* in Herodotus V 37, 1 Latte dismisses the parallel *Ολιασας* on a late inscription from Cyprus (JAOS 11, Proceed. 167, 170) and follows A. Rehm who had defended the manuscript reading by reference to the name *Λιατος* occurring on an inscription from Miletus (*Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen* I 3 (1914) 254 and 258; inscr. 122, I 2 and 106). Here again I am not sure that the more recent view is necessarily correct; at best, the scales to me seem to be evenly balanced. If the Milesian analogy is noteworthy, the Cyprian remains striking. It certainly is not invalidated by the observation that the occurrence of a Karian name on Cyprus is improbable. If the Herodotean *Ολιατος* of Mylasa was a Karian, why should not a namesake of his, many centuries later, have lived on Cyprus (cp. the Christian *Τυρονηος* in Lycaonia referred to below p. 23 note 74)? The latter *Ολιασας* is indeed quite likely to have been a Karian, for his dedication is to Zeus Labraundos. However this assumption is not necessary for the argument. There was a Karian called Sappho—yet the name is found outside Karia.

<sup>66</sup> Mr. J. A. Davison suggests to me the alternative possibility that the person who ordered the vase may have supplied the painter with the name in the Aeolic spelling and that the painter misinterpreted the initial. My main point is that the evidence against the Dorian affinity of the name is too overwhelming to be invalidated by the vase-inscription.

<sup>67</sup> The Greeks wavered as to the spelling of names related to the pre-Greek, Asianic *Αττις*: *Αθηνη*, *Ατηνη*, *Ατανασσος*, *Ατθις*, *Αττις*, *Αττικη*. It may be that, at least in later times, the name *Ατθις* could indicate that its bearer hailed from Attica. In the case of Sappho's friend this assumption would be against all historical probability.

<sup>68</sup> The non-Greek element in the name of Sappho's father *Skamandros* or *Skamandronymos* (cf. A. M. Ramsay, JHS 24 [1904] 286), gives slight support to this assumption, for it may have been suggested by the *Iliad*.

Linguistically this name raises problems which deserve consideration. *Σαπφω-Σαπφα* recalls Asianic "Lallnamen" like *Ναννω-Ναννα*, *Βαβω-Βαβα*, *Αππα*, *Απφια*, *Νοννω*, etc. Notwithstanding this similarity, the name Sappho is not a "Lall-name". Its root is of a different kind and is never found doubled. We may find this root in the name of the small island Sapyle near Amorgos<sup>69</sup>, in the place-name Sapethos (or Sapethon) on Tenos<sup>70</sup> and perhaps in the name "old as Inachos" of the mountain Sapselaton in Argolis<sup>71</sup>. In Asia Minor I find no other derivations from this root<sup>72</sup>—unless it is supposed that here, as so often, the tenuis (*b*) may be considered equivalent to the media (*p*). If this is accepted, Sundwall<sup>73</sup> will supply a fair number of instances.

These associations by no means exhaust the interest of our root. On venturing farther afield, suggestive possibilities and the chances of error increase apace. It is worth risking the latter in order to appraise the former.

In view of the established "Kleinasiatisch-etruskische Namengleichungen" it seems natural from Asia Minor first to glance at the Etruscans<sup>74</sup>. The root *sap-* is frequent with them. CIE 2713 *vel sapu au. l.* i.e. "Vel Sapu, son of Aule Latinus" was compared, by K. Pauli<sup>75</sup>, with CIL X 5257 *Sex Latini. f... Ter. Sabo*. Another *Sabo* is on CIE 4840. I refrain from reproducing the whole relevant material as presented by W. Schulze<sup>76</sup>. Etruscan *sapusa*, *sapnal*, *sapinias* and Latin *Sappinius* (with *Sabinus*, *Sabidius*, *Sabius*) are in this group. Are these names identical (as Herbig thought)<sup>77</sup> with Lydo-Phrygian *Σαβυς* and Pisidian *Σαβιρα*<sup>78</sup>? Is there, in particular, a relation between the name of the Umbrian tribus *Sappinia*<sup>79</sup> and Asianic *Sapu* (on which more below), similar to that between the Roman *gens Tarquinia* and the Asianic god *Tarku*?

I hesitate to go beyond these questions. They involve the further problem how far, in these instances, the similarity of *b* and *p*, both in Etruscan and in the Asianic languages, affects the issue. This in turn raises the question of the Indo-European character of the name of the Italian Sabini. I learn from J. Whatmough<sup>80</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Plin. *N.H.* IV 70.

<sup>70</sup> IG XII 5, 872, 32 and 70.

<sup>71</sup> Pausanias II 25, 10.

<sup>72</sup> I am indebted to Professor H. W. Bailey of Cambridge for the information, that *sppñtaza* (which Sundwall p. 23 lists among the Lycian names of persons) might be related to Persian *spanta*, and to Dr. F. J. Tritsch of Birmingham for the demonstration that it is not, but is the adjective derived from the place-name *Sppñta*, Greek *Ασπενδος*. It is therefore unconnected with the root *sap-* in *Σαπφω*.

<sup>73</sup> Klio, Beiheft XI (1913) 192.

<sup>74</sup> G. Herbig in Münch. Ak. Sbb. 1914; W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, in Abh. Gött. Ges. 1904; F. Schachermeyer, *Etruskische Frühgeschichte* (1929).—An almost staggering indication of the age-old relation between Asia Minor and the Etruscans is given by a Christian inscription from Lycaonia to which P. Kretschmer has recently drawn our attention (Glotta 28 [1940] 278): *Ενθαδε Τυρρηνον Ταρσσεως ... κατα γαία καλυπτει*.

<sup>75</sup> *Etruskische Studien* I (1879) 75.

<sup>76</sup> Loc. laud. 222.

<sup>77</sup> L. l. 10. 14.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. the place-name *Σαβος* in Cappadocia. <sup>79</sup> Liv. XXXI 2, 6.

<sup>80</sup> Harvard Studies in Class. Philol. 55 (1944) 84 note 180.

that G. Alessio has discussed “una nuova base mediterranea \**Sap-*, \**Sab-*”<sup>81</sup>. My efforts to secure this article having failed, I must leave this part of the inquiry to others. The Etruscan instances quoted seem at least sufficient, together with the Asianic material, to establish the “mediterranean” character of the root *sap-*.

In testing the Celtic and Illyrian evidence we are on even more uncertain ground. The possibility of accidental homophony increases; moreover this field of study is at present in a state of revolution, or revaluation, which imposes reserve. We have obviously got to exclude derivations from the (? Germanic) root *sapo* = “soap”, and also the names *Sapo*, *Saponius*, *Saponianus* which Holder<sup>82</sup> strangely enough related to it: they are actually Punic, as the provenience of the inscriptions in question shows, and will concern us presently.

This still leaves a number of instances which, with every reserve, may be worth mentioning in the present context. Such are, first, the frequent Celtic name *Sa(p)pius*<sup>83</sup> (? also *Sabius*) with *Sappulus* and similar derivatives. The name of the river *Sapis* (*Sabis* in one ms.) near Ravenna<sup>84</sup> is not easily separated from that of the *Sabini*—at least the *Sabini* in the Val Sabbia West of Lake Garda; this, if relevant, would bring in the river *Sabis* (Sambre) and the Celtic name *Sabinus* with its relatives<sup>85</sup> as well as the Ligurian *Sabatia vada*<sup>86</sup> and Illyrian *Sabulus*, *Sabylinthos*<sup>87</sup> and *Sapua*. It may perhaps seem gratuitous to quote names from places so distant, whose similarity may indeed be purely accidental. However the “proto-Indoeuropean” theory, which Professor P. Kretschmer has lately presented in a revised form and with overwhelming learning<sup>88</sup>, would make it possible to ascribe them all to a common linguistic stratum.

North Africa supplies unambiguous evidence. Among a series of Punic names we read, on CIL VIII 68, *Muthunbaal Saphonis filius*. Justin<sup>89</sup> mentions Sapho son of Asdrubal. This is literally the same name as 𐤑𐤔𐤕 = *Sapo* on CIS I 788 (likewise from Carthage). Ib. 1379 the same name is written with final aleph<sup>90</sup>. The latinised form *Sapo* and its derivatives *Saponius*, *Saponianus*, *Saposus*, *Sapidus* are fairly frequent on later Roman inscriptions<sup>91</sup>. *Sapo* is the hypocoristic abbrevia-

<sup>81</sup> L'Italia Antichissima, N. S. 11 (1937) 53.

<sup>82</sup> See A. Holder, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz* II (1904) ss. vv.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III 2 (1940) 1157 after Arch. Rel. 33 (1936) 166: Δε[α]μιοv Σαπιον on an inscription from Lower Moesia.

<sup>84</sup> Strabo 217.

<sup>85</sup> It seems impossible to assume that all the Celtic bearers of this name were called after the Italian Sabini or the empress Sabina.

<sup>86</sup> P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 30 (1943) 99 compares Sabatinca in Noricum; see also J. Pokorny in *Zeitschr. f. celt. Philol.* 21 (1938) 79.

<sup>87</sup> This name (Thuc. II 80) in a characteristic fashion adds two pre-Greek suffixes to the root *sab-*. The suffix *-inthos* is well known (see lately P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 30 [1943] 104); the suffix *-ul* has been discussed at length in *Class. et Mediaev.* 8 (1947) 193ff.

<sup>88</sup> *Glotta* 28 (1940) 231ff.; ib. 30 (1943) 84ff.

<sup>89</sup> *Trogus Pompeius* XIX 2, 2.

<sup>90</sup> Both aleph and ayin stand for final -ō; see Z. S. Harris, *A grammar of the Phoenician language* (1936) 27 and cf. e.g. Hebrew *Addo* or Punic *Hanno*, *Salambo*.

<sup>91</sup> CIL II 3434, 5927 (Cartagena); VIII 3525. 9859. 14864. 19713. 20303 (Carthage). Some of these were quoted as Celtic by Holder.



tion of the name *Saponbaal* which is extremely frequent in North Africa<sup>92</sup>. It is often used also as a woman's name; so is the "Koseform" *Sophoniba*<sup>93</sup>. It follows that the other "Koseform", *Sap(ph)o*, could likewise be used as a woman's name<sup>94</sup>.

Other names containing the same element and likewise attested on Punic inscriptions are Adoni-sapon, Baal-sapon, Abd-sapon, Bod-sapon, etc.<sup>95</sup>. These Punic names are easily traced to the Phœnician mother-country. One of the many Phœnician scribbles in Sethi's temple in Abydos<sup>96</sup> preserves the name Bodsapon; it may or may not be identical with the one read as Bodsapol by Lidzbarski<sup>97</sup>. These inscriptions are ascribed to the 5th to 3rd century B.C.

Saponbaal and Adonisapon mean "Sapon is (my) Lord" and Abdsapon, "Servant of Sapon". Sapon then was a god. For more than two thousand years this god had been all but forgotten. Gesenius and Movers indeed had guessed at his existence; now the excavations at Ras Shamra have brought him to light again. Špn = Šapōn, the Baal Zephon of the Old Testament, was one of the most outstanding gods of Ugarit.

I suppress my collection and discussion of the relevant evidence. The reader will find it all in the full and competent work of R. de Langhe<sup>98</sup>. The interpretation of the Ugaritic texts is still far from settled. For the present purpose the following established facts suffice. Throughout the Old Testament the word špn denotes the North. Šapōn, according to the Ras Shamra texts, was the god of Mt. Kasios north of Ugarit. This mountain was a place of worship, from the oldest times onward, throughout antiquity (Zeus Kasios) and indeed to this day. Apollodorus and Nonnus preserve an Asianic myth localised there: the story of the fight between the sky-god and the monster which the Greeks called Typhon<sup>99</sup>.

Šapo-Šapho-Šappho is the name, originally, of a worshipper—male or female—of the god Šapōn. The variants in the spelling of the labial are irrelevant: "ganz adäquat waren weder π noch φ einem semitischen Labial"<sup>100</sup>. In Latin renderings of the Punic name we have found Sapo and Sapho. Semitic 𐤑 corresponds with πφ e.g. in *Σαπφειρα*, *Σαπφα* (i.e. Safa East of Damascus); cf. the variants *Σαπα-ρα* – *Σαπφαρα*, *Σαπειρηνη* – *Σαπφειρηνη*. The very "Baal Zephon" *Exod.* XIV 2, 8 is, in the *Septuagint*, Βε(ε)λ Σεφων according to cod. B and its allies, but

<sup>92</sup> e.g. CIS I 207. 371. 415.

<sup>93</sup> M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* 1 (1901) 25 and 308.

<sup>94</sup> There may have been a female Sappho on CIL VIII 10649.

<sup>95</sup> Other names containing the same element are quoted by de Langhe (see below note 98) 222.—It seems useless to suggest for Saponbaal an alternative etymology (so Eissfeldt p. 11), which could not apply to the cognate Bodsapon, Adonisapon, Baalsapon etc. and would make the shortened form Sapho lose the essential element of the full form.

<sup>96</sup> CIS I 308

<sup>97</sup> M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* 3, 96ff.—The exchange of -l for -n is Cyprio-Phœnician; see Lidzbarski, *ib.* 307; Z. S. Harris, *loc. laud.* 23.

<sup>98</sup> *Les textes de Ras Shamra ...* II (1945) 217. It would however be unfair not to mention at least the pioneers Ch. Virolleaud (see de Langhe's two pages of bibliography, *ib.* I XVIIff.) and O. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon ...* (1932).

<sup>99</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>100</sup> Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge z. sem. Sprachwissenschaft* (1904) 99 note 1.

-Σεφων (or Ζεφων) in the other manuscripts. πφ then may stand for a single ζ. It may likewise represent the doubled labial, for the Semitic alphabet, as little as most early Greek inscriptions, does not express the doubling of consonants (cf. Greek καππα for כפ). The name Σαπφω-Σαφφω then may alternatively be taken to indicate a double consonant in the name of the god špn. Finally—and this seems to me the most probable assumption—the doubled labial may be due to the hypocoristic abbreviation of a full name, for this would correspond with a tendency as marked in the Semitic languages as it is in Greek<sup>101</sup>. On any count, the Lesbian and the Semitic names are identical. It surely is anything but self-evident that this identity must be due to mere chance.

In considering the opposite possibility, we do not propose to present Sappho of Lesbos as a Semite. Not even this view, indeed, would be quite novel; but it could not account for the facts. Even apart from linguistics, Semitic influence appears to be wanting, in archaic times, both in the interior of Asia Minor and on its coast North of Smyrna<sup>102</sup>. Pace V. Bérard there was, in 7th century Lesbos, no tradition, no monument, no affinity that could have induced aristocratic parents there to give their child a Semitic name. The foregoing survey of the evidence for the name Sappho and related forms suggests that we account for the actual similarity of the Lesbian and the Punic names by a different assumption.

I submit that the name of the god of Ugarit is not Semitic. His abode is on Mt. Kasios. A. Goetze<sup>103</sup> and R. de Langhe<sup>104</sup> have shown that the latter occurs in Hittite documents in the form Ḫazi (or Ḫazziš). It is an Asianic name<sup>105</sup>. We find, in and around Asia Minor, the island Κάσος, with the Κάσιων ἤσοι<sup>106</sup>, between Karpathos and Crete; the places Κάσος in Crete<sup>107</sup>, Κάσα near Halicarnassus, Κάσαρεα, Κάσωσσος, Κάσωλαβα in Karia and Κάσαι in Cilicia<sup>108</sup>; and many personal names such as Κάσιος, Κάσια, Κάσησος<sup>109</sup>.

This mountain with the persistent Asianic name, situated in a region where all old place-names are non-Semitic and Asianic (Tyros for instance)<sup>110</sup>, is the place, as mentioned above, of an ancient Asianic myth. Together with the god whose abode it is, this mountain is found to have been called Šapōn, or Baal-Šapōn, by the Semites. Various Semitic etymologies for this name have by turns been

<sup>101</sup> Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* 1, 294 and 307; 2, 11; M. Noth, *Die israel. Personennamen* (1928) 39.

<sup>102</sup> These contentions of F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die altgriechische Kunst* (1912) pass. have been confirmed by more recent excavations e.g. at Samothrake and Samos.

<sup>103</sup> BASOR nr. 79 (1940) 105.

<sup>104</sup> Loc. laud. 229.

<sup>105</sup> O. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon* 38, suspected this, but only to reject the idea.

<sup>106</sup> Iliad II 676; Strabo 489.

<sup>107</sup> Libanius *Or.* XII 52.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. A. Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* (1905) 43 and 79; id. *Hattiden* (1909) 13. Perhaps also Κάσιανα, according to Strabo 752 a *φρουριον των Απαμειων*, should be added, as well as Κάσωστις (harbour of Erythrai in Ionia), Κάσταλια, Κάσσοτις, Κάσσανα (nr. Magnesia), Κάσσωπη (in Epirus), etc.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Sundwall loc. laud. 100. Latin Cassius may well be related; Kasios is not rarely spelled with double s.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. *Classica et Mediaev.* 8 (1947) 214 and below Appendix A.



suggested<sup>111</sup>. At present the derivation from *šāpāh* "to look out", which O. Eissfeldt, after Bauer-Leander, suggested<sup>112</sup>, seems to be widely favoured<sup>113</sup>. This derivation undoubtedly suits the place and is, as far as I can judge, linguistically possible. However, it fails to account for the fact that this word, which is so frequent in the Old Testament, occurs only in the Hebrew, Phoenician and Aramaic but is not used by the other Semites. Moreover I submit, with due respect, that material considerations render this derivation unacceptable. If a mountain has once been given the straightforward name "Look-out", it may indeed still be the abode of a god who in consequence might be called "Lord of the Look-out" i.e. Baal Šapōn. But the assumption that the god could have simply been called "Look-out", synonymous with this plain name of his mountain, seems to me incredible.

If then the attempt at a Semitic etymology of the name Šapōn is abandoned, the way is free for the suggestion that it is, like Kasios, an Asianic name and related to some or all of the instances which we have collected. And indeed it is an Asianic, and not a Semitic habit to regard a mountain itself as a god. From the Hittite is quoted, beside Hazziš-Kasios, the god and mountain Nanniš<sup>114</sup>: it recalls the countless Asianic names like Nanna, Nanno, etc. Olympos too is mentioned<sup>115</sup> as the husband of Kybele and is depicted as a god on coins of the age of Trajan and Commodus<sup>116</sup>.

In posing the Asianic origin of the god Šapōn we only add one instance to a number of similar, recognised facts. It is enough to recall the analogous history of the gods Tešup, Atargatis and Kubaba-Cybele-Cybele. In general, this theory fits into the teaching of Eduard Meyer as formulated in his last work<sup>117</sup>: "die Bevölkerung und Religion ist im ganzen nördlichen und mittleren Syrien ursprünglich kleinasiatisch; die semitischen Eindringlinge haben sich erst seit dem 15. Jahrhundert ... darüber gelagert und dabei die älteren Kulte übernommen, wenn

<sup>111</sup> In accordance with his theory of the Southern origin of the Phoenicians, R. Dussaud (*Les religions des Hittites*, in "*Mana*" 2 [1945] 357) supposes "Šaphon" to be "le dieu du nord". This view would be less hard to accept if "El-šapōn" or "Baal-šapōn" were the primitive form. The Ras Shamra documents however show that the mere Šapon is original. Can any people really be assumed to have worshipped a god whom they renamed "North" because they themselves had been earlier living South of his domain—at a time when they did not yet know of him? Anyhow this theory does not explain how the word *špn* originated and how it came to denote "North".—R. Dussaud (whose authority I venture to contradict only with the greatest respect and hesitation) regards the god Šapōn as identical with the North Syrian Hadad. We shall submit in Appendix A the reasons for our qualified agreement with this identification.

<sup>112</sup> *Baal Zaphon* p. 17.

<sup>113</sup> Doubts were expressed by de Langhe loc. laud. I 283 and by Aarre Lauha, *Zaphon* (1943) 14; O. Eissfeldt reasserts his view in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morg. Ges.* 98 (1944) 158.

<sup>114</sup> A. Goetze, *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients* (1933) 123.

<sup>115</sup> Diodorus V 49.

<sup>116</sup> See Roscher's *Mytholog. Lexicon* III 1, 859.—Also Enlil, the Sumerian god, is addressed "Great Mountain"; from him, Assur takes over the same title. I venture to doubt that the mountain Nebo (*Deut.* 32, 49) and the city of the same name (*Num.* 32, 3, etc.) bear the name of the Babylonian deity. Nabū is not a mountain-god.

<sup>117</sup> *Geschichte des Altertums* II 2 (1931) 165.

auch zum Teil unter semitischen Namen". Ugarit in particular housed many inhabitants of Asianic descent<sup>118</sup>.

The termination of the name Sapōn has many parallels in the same region; one may compare Sanchun, Ešmun, Eliun, etc.<sup>119</sup>. On Asianic ground<sup>120</sup> the root *šap-* is likely to have been expanded by a dark vowel only. We thus arrive at a hypothetical form *Šapu*. The analogy with Tarḥu-Tarchōn is striking. Adon(is), on the view advocated in Appendix B, is in the same company. On this basis it becomes possible to ascribe a common origin to all the wide-spread occurrences of the name Sappho.

These very tentative suggestions must not obscure the primary linguistic purpose of the present essay. Those who accept Professor Kretschmer's "proto-Indo-european" theory may find it possible to consider the whole of the material here presented as issuing from one common root. Those who hesitate to accept this bold view may ascribe the Celtic, Ligurian, Illyrian and perhaps also the Semitic analogies to mere chance. I shall be content if those qualified to judge accept the modest main thesis: Sappho is an Asianic name.

*Appendix A: Šapōn and Typhon (cf. above pp. 25ff.)*

Having derived the name Sappho from an Asianic root *sap-*, one is tempted to guess at the implications of this root. The frequent change between tenuis and media in Asia Minor might be taken to support its connection with the name of the Phrygian god Sabos-Sabazios. This connection however cannot be maintained, for the labial in Sabazios, as P. Kretschmer has shown<sup>121</sup>, is really *w*, from which *πφ* could not be derived. Moreover this god is of the Indo-european inheritance of the Phrygians (and Thracians), while the name Sappho is attested also as Karian.

This derivation rejected leaves room for the reference, suggested above, to the god Šapōn of Ras Shamra. We remain within the framework of the present article in briefly considering his identity.

Gesenius and Movers have had followers in identifying Šapōn and Greek Typhon<sup>122</sup>. The equation of a supposedly Semitic *šadē* and Greek *τ* recurs in one or two other instances which are at present widely believed, namely in Tyrus = *Šur* and *τφάρρος* = *šeren* (the Old Testament word for the "lords" of the Philistines)<sup>123</sup>. This linguistic feature may indeed be found within the Asianic languages. The place-name *Τυρρυσσος* is likely to present the same root as the personal

<sup>118</sup> See de Langhe loc. laud. II 251ff.

<sup>119</sup> Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* 3, 260; Z. S. Harris, *Phoen. Gramm.* 58 (-un is the more recent form of the ending -ōn).

<sup>120</sup> In the Asianic field the name can, but need not, have been a "Kurzform". The use of a divine name for human beings is one more distinctive Asianic characteristic (e.g. Attis, Olympos, Adon, Ma; cf. Sundwall p. 275). Behind this use there lies a notion of "union with the god" which reappears in the Hellenistic mystery religions.

<sup>121</sup> *Einleitung* (1896) 195.

<sup>122</sup> Cp. O. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon* (1932) 23 n. 4 (Eissfeldt himself is sceptical about the identification).

<sup>123</sup> See R. A. S. Macalister, *The Philistines* (1914) 79.

name *Σενεσις*<sup>124</sup> and it is just possible that the Hurrite god Tešup lived on in the heros Sisyphus<sup>125</sup>. If the Philistine word *seren* is related to *ρυρarroς*, it would be on the same *Asianic* basis. The equivalence however of a *Semitic* *ṣadē* and Greek *τ* is nowhere attested. The nearest approach to it—but by no means a true instance—is the Septuagint rendering, in cod. B, of the very word *ṣadē* in *Lam.* I 18, etc. by *τιαδῆ* (*σαδῆ* the others). A mere *τ* has not so far been shown to correspond with the Semitic letter. *Τυρος* for *Ṣur* proves nothing. I shall not here enlarge on what I have said elsewhere<sup>126</sup>. Tyros is a widespread *Asianic* place-name meaning “strong place”; the (unrelated) Semitic *sur* has been substituted for the primitive, *Asianic* name of the city.

Notwithstanding the lack of parallels, the equation *Ṣapōn* = Typhon might seem of late to have been almost mathematically proved. Typhon was identified with the Egyptian Set perhaps as early as the 6th century<sup>127</sup>. An Egyptian dedication at Ras Shamra is inscribed—or is said to be inscribed—to Set of Sapuna<sup>128</sup>. If history were a branch of mathematics, the equation *Ṣapōn* = Typhon would be established. However the Euclidean axioms are not valid in this context: different gods could be identified with one and the same third. The difference between Typhon and the god of Ras Shamra amounts to absolute opposition.

We here enter a field of most intricate and unsettled inquiry. We do so with every deference to the experts whose domain it is. At best we may hope that the suggestions of an outsider may introduce some viewpoints which further research may utilise. I want to substantiate the thesis that *Ṣapōn*, being the pre-Semitic god of Mt. Kasios, is a form of the Anatolian sky-god whose particular myth is preserved—but not in the texts from Ugarit. Some of my arguments have been adduced before by others; maybe that in a fresh presentation they will yield a plausible result.

The god of the sky and the thunder presents one of the riddles of Near-Eastern mythology in so far as he appears to be primitive both in Asia Minor and farther to the East. The Sumerian Iškur, the Accadian Adad, the Aramaic Hadad, the Hurrite Tešup and the numberless individualisations of the Anatolian “weather-god” indeed show certain differences in accordance with the regions where they were venerated. In Mesopotamia, for example, this god appears preeminently as the dispenser of rain and inundations and hence of destruction as well as of opulence, while his Hittite counterpart holds the supreme place at least among all male gods. Yet the strikingly similar pictorial representations of all of them, and in particular their common connection with the bull, suggest a similar basic conception whose origin is not easily traced. The particular character, within this

<sup>124</sup> See above p. 18.

<sup>125</sup> A. Fick, *Hattiden* 44

<sup>126</sup> *Classica et Mediæv.* 8 (1947) 216.

<sup>127</sup> Namely by Pherecydes—if Origen *c. Cels.* VI 42 is to be trusted.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. below p. 33.

general similarity, of the god of Mt. Kasios may be discerned, if we consider the unique features of his abode and the myth which centers upon it.

Mt. Kasios is as outstanding a place in mythology as it is geographically. This landmark of North Syria; this natural pharus for Mediterranean navigation—was as fit to become a seat of the gods as was Thessalian Olympus. And such it was; but not for long. The tables of Ugarit have revealed, in the almost blinding light of unexpected discovery, the sight of a Semitic pantheon; of gods living, loving, fighting and dying; a spectacle of garish and barbarous vitality, emerging and fading like the vision of a passionate dream. The gods of Ugarit were not the first dwellers on this haunted spot; “there was a time when they were not”, and there was a time when they were no more. When they had quitted, Mt. Kasios became again what it had been before their appearance: the scene of a cosmic drama; the battle-ground for the god of the sky and the monster of the abyss.

I submit that Šapōn is the hero of this battle. Is it not remarkable that in the poems, in which his name appears so frequently, Šapōn is not a person; that no myth tells of him; that he has faded into a geographical term? And yet the Phoenician names of persons which we have quoted as well as documents from Ugarit and from outside prove him to have been an outstanding deity. This implicit contradiction lends probability to the guess that Šapōn was the previous owner of the spot which the Semitic gods of Ugarit invaded and held for an aeon and no longer.

The battle between god and monster is a common memory of mankind, but it assumes different forms with different families of nations. The traditions of the sun god combating Apophis and of Marduk killing Tiamat are sufficiently well-known and characteristic to distinguish the Egyptian and the Babylonian traditions from the North-Syrian. The latter is characterised, first, by a natural stage which brings out uniquely the idea of the cosmic contest. From the top of Kasios the view embraces, across the bay of Issos, the bleak uplands of Cilicia Trachea. The barren ground there holds one of the wonders of the earth: the cauldron-like chasm called the Corycian cave<sup>129</sup>. This was the den of the monster which threatened to overthrow the sky-god. The saga of the fight of these two cosmic powers reaches back to hoar antiquity. Two Hittite versions<sup>130</sup> develop the primitive form and conflate it with anthropomorphic and Babylonian elements. The Greeks adopted it as early as the 9th or 8th century, or even earlier<sup>131</sup>. It was

<sup>129</sup> There are in fact several of these pits; see Pomponius Mela I 72; J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* I (1914) 152. I venture to simplify the facts in the same way as ancient mythology did.

<sup>130</sup> Namely the Kumarbi-myth (which I only know from H. G. Güterbock's article in *AJA* 52 [1948] 125ff.) and the Illujankaš-stories (below note 143).

<sup>131</sup> I am thinking of the “Dananians” (? *Δαναοί*), who have recently reappeared at Karatepe; see R. T. O'Callaghan in *Orientalia* 18 (1949) 193. I have some doubts whether the Phoenicians could have been the mediators (as Güterbock, l.c. 133, suggests), because—so far, at least—this myth does not appear among the Ugaritic epics. Whether or no the Phoenicians adopted it into their basically different mythology, the story is certain to have been told at Ugarit as well as in Cilicia and Greek traders or settlers could hear it at either place.



an outstanding theme of Near-Eastern religion. It survived the invasion of Mt. Kasios by the Semitic gods and continued to appeal to religious and poetical imagination down to the very end of antiquity.

The monster was the offspring of the Earth, begotten by her in wrath against her husband, the sky-god. With the Greeks they are Zeus or Kronos<sup>132</sup>, Hera<sup>133</sup> or Gaia<sup>134</sup>, and Typhon (Typhoeus, Typhos)<sup>135</sup> or Ophioneus; in the Hittite tradition the monster is called Illujankaš or Ullicummi. The thunder of their battle is echoed in some verses of the Iliad and in Pindar<sup>136</sup> and by the fuller narrative, however clumsy, which is interpolated in Hesiod's Theogony<sup>137</sup>; it is commemorated also on "Hittite" reliefs<sup>138</sup> and Greek vases<sup>139</sup>. The older Greek tradition, if we may judge from what survives<sup>140</sup>, had adopted and reshaped only the most essential features of the Eastern myth. Details of a primitive and barbarous character emerge, in the latest period of antiquity, in Nonnos' Dionysiaca<sup>141</sup> and the so-called Library of Apollodorus<sup>142</sup>; their agreement with the Illujankaš myth on Hittite tablets<sup>143</sup> is proof of the original character of these late

<sup>132</sup> Pherecydes B4 Diels (above p. 29 note 127).

<sup>133</sup> Hom. *Hymn. Apoll. Pyth.* 173; Stesichorus in Etym. Magn. 772, 46; schol. Ven. Il. B 783.

<sup>134</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 821; Aesch. *Prom.* 367, etc.; cf. A. v. Mess and H. Usener in Rh. Mus. 56 (1901) 167.

<sup>135</sup> Wilamowitz in his last work (*Der Glaube der Hellenen* I 266) distinguished the wind-demon Typhaon-Typhōs from the Eastern monster Typhoeus. Materially this distinction is obviously correct—the monster is in no way connected with the winds—but it can hardly serve to settle the vexed question of its etymology, for already Pindar and the oldest mythographers fail to observe the distinction.

<sup>136</sup> *Iliad* B 781 ff.; Pindar *fragm.* 93.

<sup>137</sup> *Theog.* 820 ff.

<sup>138</sup> The relief at Malatya, A. Goetze, *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients, Kleinasien* (1933) pl. 13; J. Garstang, *The Hittite empire* (1929) pl. 17.—I remember seeing in the collection v. Oppenheim, 25 years ago, a small relief from Tell Halāf very similar to the relevant representations on Greek vases.

<sup>139</sup> The best known example is the Chalcidian hydria Munich 596. See now E. Kunze, *Neue Meisterwerke ... aus Olympia* (1948) Bild 44.

<sup>140</sup> The incompleteness of our sources is illustrated by Philodemus' reference to *ἄλλοι πολλοί* (*De piet.* 61 b = Akusilaos F 12 Jac.).

<sup>141</sup> *Dionys.* I and II, esp. I 511.

<sup>142</sup> *Bibl.* I 6, 3 (39).—The common source of Nonnos and Apollodorus was a Hellenistic epic (I am indebted to Dr. R. Pfeiffer for the demonstration that its author cannot have been Callimachus). Apollod. preserves a number of fragments of it, such as *αυχμηραι δε τριχες κεφαλῆς ἐξ ηνέμοωντο* (40); *πολλή(ν) δ' ἐκ στομάτων — πύρος ἐξε(βράσσε)* (ib.); ... *Τυφάονα βάλλε κεραυνούς* (41); *ἀδαμαντινῇ —ου ἀρπῇ* (ib.); *Δελφνὴν ... δρακαιναν* (42); *πτῆνων ἐπ' ὀχούμενος ἰππων / ἀρματι* (43); *ἐγενεσάτο καρπῶν* (ib.); *ἐπ' ὄρους ἐξεκλυσεν αἷμα*. The hellenistic character stands out in the figure of Aegipan and in the pedantic curiosity with which odd pieces of folklore are traced and reported; e.g. the wrapping-up of Zeus' sinews in a bear-skin. Pindar *fragm.* 93 appears to presuppose an older epic of similar content which related the change of the fleeing Olympians into animals, thus accounting for the animal shapes of the Egyptian gods. Pindar *Pyth.* I and *Ol.* IV 7 and Aesch. *Prom.* 351 reflect a Sicilian version, that is an epic of the 8th or 7th century. The primitive form, centered on Cilicia and Mt. Kasios, lies beyond these rewritings, most of which contain allusions to it. Its very early origin is stressed by Hera and Gaia alternately taking the place of the Asianic earth goddess and by the two different names given to both the sky god and the monster.

<sup>143</sup> Translated in A. Goetze, *Kleinasien* (above note 138) 131 and in L. Delaporte, *Les Hittites* (1936) 250.

traditions<sup>144</sup>. The sky-god was conquered in the first battle; he lost parts of his body<sup>145</sup>; the monster dragged him into its den; whence with the help of a mortal man (Inaras in Hittite, Kadmos in Greek) he is freed for the last, victorious combat.

Such, in its basic outline, is the myth of Mt. Kasios. Its absence from the Ugarit cycle of poems suggests that it is the tradition of a different people; this suggestion squares with the view (for which we have given our reasons)<sup>146</sup> that the word *ṣapōn* is not Semitic. Further finds may indeed still give us the Semitic version of this myth, but already we know enough of the Semitic pantheon of Ugarit to say that the god *Ṣapōn* has no place in it. In the poems, *Ṣapōn* or Baal *Ṣapōn* is the mountain on which e.g. Baal aspires to build his palace. Not even the great authority of R. Dussaud<sup>147</sup> can persuade me that this Baal is himself the ancient sky-god; he certainly is not *Ṣapōn*. Dussaud himself has outlined, on the basis of his unique command of the facts, the particular character of the god Baal of Ras Shamra<sup>148</sup>: his fights, death and resurrection are symbolic of the change of seasons and of Phœnician nature in general. If thereafter we were to pose the identity of sky-god and nature-god (of Tešup as it were and Adonis), all individuality of the gods would be negated<sup>149</sup>. It is true that in the Phœnician version of the Karatepe inscription Baal stands for the Anatolian weather-god<sup>150</sup>. The word *baal* is in itself sufficiently indefinite to fit the most diverse gods; it fits the god of Adana in so far as he is the "lord" of the sky, and indeed we find the full form *baal šamēm* at the end of the inscription<sup>151</sup>.

The Baal of the Ras Shamra poems is different. He is found, so Ch. Virrolleaud informs us, in constant fight with Yām, the god of the sea<sup>152</sup>. This myth may or may not be related to the one we have outlined, but it is not the same. Typhon-Illuyankaš is not a god of the sea, even though the monster did cross the sea to attack Mt. Kasios. The "fleeing serpent, the strong one with seven heads" called *ltn* (? Leviathan) in RS I AB I 26ff.<sup>153</sup> may have played this part in a Semitic version, otherwise as yet unknown, of the *Ṣapōn* myth.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. W. Porzig, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* I (1930) 379.—Earlier echos of these particular traditions may lurk in the fragmentary passage on Epimenides (68 B 8 Diels) in Philodemus *De pietate* 61b and in Strabo 750-1.

<sup>145</sup> The first part of the Kumarbi-myth (Güterbock's "Theogony") has at last made clear what was originally meant by that strange feature in Nonnus and Apollodorus (anticipated in the Illujankaš-myth): Zeus is said to have lost his "sinews" or his "heart". These are euphemisms, probably no longer understood, for emasculation; see Güterbock l.c. 124.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. above p. 26f.

<sup>147</sup> *Les religions des Hittites* (1945) 357. 362; Rev. Hist. Rel. 104 (1931) 362; ib. 113 (1936) 5.

<sup>148</sup> *Les religions des Hittites* (1945) 356 and 374ff.

<sup>149</sup> For the same reason the Hittite fertility god on the relief at Ivritz (O. Weber, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, n. d., pl. 5; L. Delaporte, *Les Hittites* pl. IV) should not be described as a variety of the sky-god, however little this art may have distinguished the two by means other than their attributes.

<sup>150</sup> Col. I lines 2. 3, etc.; see *Orientalia* 18 (1949) 174ff. (R. T. O'Callaghan).—Similar instances already in M. J. Lagrange, *Etudes ...* (1905) 92.

<sup>151</sup> Ib. III 18.—I cannot agree with the editor (loc. laud. 202) that II 14 shows this Baal to be "the lord of fertility".

<sup>152</sup> Cf. RS 3 AB, A 11-28; Syria 13 (1932) 29ff.

<sup>153</sup> Syria 12 (1931) 357.



As the lord of the sky and the thunder, the god of Mt. Kasios is rightly likened to the North Syrian Hadad<sup>154</sup>. The god Baal of the Ras Shamra poems may have taken over some of his functions; one day, perhaps, we may find in them a myth comparable to the one which in pre-semitic days centered on this spot. However, the whole character and temper of the poems is different from this myth and its chief actor has faded into a geographical term.

Yet this myth lived on, in Greek disguise, throughout Græco-Roman antiquity. "Jupiter Dolichenus" retains the features of the ancient sky-god with thunderbolt and double-axe; the story which we have found in late Greek sources may have been his cult-legend. The god Šapōn, though absent from the Ras Shamra poems, was revered at Ugarit and beyond. His name occurs four times in the Ugaritic lists of gods to whom sacrifice is due; in three further instances a Semitic title, twice "baal" and once "ēl", is prefixed to it<sup>155</sup>. In the 14th century the Egyptian Mami dedicated to him, at Ugarit, the stele to which we have referred<sup>156</sup>. He appears to have inscribed it to Set-Sapon<sup>157</sup>. If this is the correct translation, Mami used the identification, which under the New Empire had become traditional, of the Egyptian Set and the Syrian sky-god<sup>158</sup>. This Set then is not Typhon, but his victorious opponent.

Six hundred years later Baal Šapunu is invoked as a guarantor of the treaty between Asarhaddon and Tyre<sup>159</sup>; in subsequent centuries, the theophoric names of Phœnicians in Egypt and North Africa<sup>160</sup> keep his memory alive<sup>161</sup>. In Greek disguise, Šapōn became *Ζεὺς Κασίος*. This form of his name supplies the answer to the question why one and the same Syrian mountain could be called by two different, Asianic names. On the Yazilikaya relief the sky-god (whose Asianic name is still unknown) stands on the heads of two subordinate gods. They are the mountains Nanniš and Hazziš<sup>162</sup>. The latter is the *Κασίον ὄρος*. *Ζεὺς Κασίος* then is the sky-god Šapōn on the mountain(-god) Kasios. The Semites called the mountain by the name of the god whose abode it was; with them, the "Lord Šapōn", Baal Šapōn, became the "Lord of (the mountain) Šapōn"<sup>163</sup>. When the god reasserted his ancient rights, the mountain regained its original name.

<sup>154</sup> The identification was proposed, in 1932, by R. Dussaud (Rev. Hist. Rel. 105, 256).

<sup>155</sup> The evidence in De Langhe loc. laud. II 223.

<sup>156</sup> The building in which it was found is with good reason supposed to have been the temple of Šapōn or Baal Šapōn. But this baal, I submit, is not the god Baal of the poems.

<sup>157</sup> See Syria 12 (1936) pl. VI; De Langhe I 90; II 223; C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* (1939) 40. I cannot say whether Eissfeldt's translation (l.l. p. 2) "Baal Zaphon" should be preferred. The original translation (retained by De Langhe) "Set of Sapuna" certainly needed correction, since Sapuna has long since been known not to have been the name of the city.

<sup>158</sup> J. Vandrier, *La religion égyptienne* (1944) 139.

<sup>159</sup> The literature apud De Langhe II 219.

<sup>160</sup> See above p. 24.

<sup>161</sup> Direct evidence of the cult of Šapōn may be contained in the often quoted sacrificial tariff of Marseille; see the literature apud De Langhe II 221.

<sup>162</sup> J. Delaporte, *Les Hittites* (1936) 288; cf. also the Hittite seal in the Morgan Library reproduced in O. Weber, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, pl. 48, 1.

<sup>163</sup> Thus not only in the Ras Shamra poems but also in the annals of Tiglatpileser III and Sargon II.

The image of Šapōn, the sky-god of Mount Kasios, has come to light at Ras Shamra on another fine stele of the 14th century<sup>164</sup>. This one has no inscription. It represents, in a slightly Egyptianising style, the typical Asianic sky-god with the thunderbolt and the horns of the bull. A waving line under his feet indicates the mountain from which he rules; a second, thinner one below may symbolise the sea from which rose the monster which he defeated.

### *Appendix B: On Adonis*

As a parallel to the preceding suggestion about Šapōn, I venture to submit a similar one concerning Adonis. The material concerning the latter has often been presented and discussed; I shall therefore be very brief. The evidence upon which I am relying can all be found in Baudissin's work<sup>165</sup>.

My suggestion is twofold: (1) Adon is the *name* of the god of Byblus and not a mere title; and (2) this name is not Semitic but Asianic.

*Ad* (1): in marked difference from the Semitic *baal*, the word *adōn* is never connected with a genitive noun so as to effect the meaning "lord of ..."; nor does a verb of this root exist<sup>166</sup>. Both these facts intimate that *adōn* is not originally a plain noun. The extremely frequent Phœnician name Adonibaal is most naturally translated "Adōn is lord"<sup>167</sup>: this alone suggests that Adōn is a divine name. The same inference is suggested by the Phœnician seal with the inscription "Adōn has saved" as well as by the Assyrian cylinders inscribed with Phœnician names such as "Adōn is my rock", "Adōn gives a son", etc. If this suggestion is accepted, it is no longer necessary to regard as a mason's slip<sup>168</sup> the inscription from Constantine "To the lord, the baal Adōn". Why then should we hesitate to accept the view which was held throughout antiquity, namely that Adōn was the *name* of the god of Byblus? The transition by which this name became, among people who did not worship this god, an ordinary noun meaning "lord" is in itself natural. It has a parallel in the use, by the Accadians, of the name of the Sumerian god Enlil as an equivalent for *baal*, i.e. "lord"<sup>169</sup>. The use of *šapōn* for "North" affords another parallel.

*Ad* (2): This parallel becomes even closer if our second suggestion is accepted<sup>170</sup>. The word *adōn* is used only by the Phœnicians (also at Ugarit) and the Hebrews and there is no indication that the latter knew it before their immigration into

<sup>164</sup> Syria 14 (1933) pl. XVI.

<sup>165</sup> *Adonis und Esmun* (1911) esp. 65ff. 363ff.; one will also consult J. G. Frazer, *Adonis* (1914); L. R. Farnell, *The cults of the Greek states* (1896ff.) II 752ff.; id., *Greece and Babylon* (1911) 254ff., etc.

<sup>166</sup> M. Lidzbarski in *Ephemeris* 3, 258.

<sup>167</sup> The vowel -i- serves to connect the two elements of the name; see M. Noth, *Israelitische Personennamen* (1928) 15.

<sup>168</sup> So Lidzbarski. loc. laud. I 40, followed by Baudissin 68.

<sup>169</sup> E. Dhorme, *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* (1945) 26.

<sup>170</sup> The writer was agreeably surprised to find that M. Noth (loc. laud. 72 and 125) considered Adonis to be "possibly pre-semitic"; cf. Baudissin p. 369.

Kanaan<sup>171</sup>. The word has no Semitic affinities and it denotes a god of a non-semitic character (Tammuz is Sumerian). The cult of the vegetation god who dies and rises again and who is the son and the lover of the mother goddess, is Asianic. The verses in "The revolt of Koser": "Baal hates the offerings where ... the sex becomes visible and the maidens wail" (A 18) stress the antagonism of the Semitic god against the foreign cult of Adonis.

The god is called Adon in many Latin sources (including the oldest reference, by Varro); the same form is found as a name of persons who cannot have been Semites. One "Adon Lycius, Pisidiæ episcopus" was among the attendants of the council of Nicæa. Theophrastus (quoted by Athenæus 624b) stated that Alcman mentioned a Phrygian flute-player Adon<sup>172</sup>. There appears then to be more than some reason for tracing Adōn—the god and the word—to Anatolia, where the cult of Attis affords the obvious parallel.

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<sup>171</sup> Baudissin p. 65.

<sup>172</sup> Theophrastus quoted this name, with others, in evidence of the foreign and "slavelike" names of early Greek musicians. This fact alone should suffice to refute the ever recurrent attempts at finding a Greek etymology for Adonis.