Traces of Early Indians in Greek Tradition: The linguistic Evidence

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Names like Sindos, Sindoi, Sindi and derivatives in Greek and Latin sources - modern Indos/Indus included -, and sindhu- with its derivatives in Sanskrit, show a morphological and a semantic similarity that could hardly be attributed to mere chance.

Tracing this challenging question back to its historical and linguistic origins is an issue that connects Greece and India and points also beyond the two countries. Although there have been tentative explanations the history of research on the question is not especially abundant. C. Ritter, for one, in 1820, thought that there had been Indian colonists in Greek territory in the largest sense, namely that to the North of the Black Sea, leaving there rich onomastic material. There is a “Sindic Harbour” e.g. in that region mentioned by Arrianos, Strabon, the Periplous Maris Euxini, and others. P. Kretschmer published a paper in 1943[1944], thought to be decisive, analyzing linguistic and archaeological evidence and reconstructing the route of the Aryans migrating towards the East before arriving in what is called today India. His views were criticized after his death, so by Eilers and Mayrhofer, in 1960. This is a rather thorough survey, even if some of its suggestions may be outdated, and the authors are not concerned with possible Greek correspondences. They do not analyze names of the type “Sindos/Sindoi” (cf. p. 121). There are some errors, as on p. 114 concerning literary tradition. Surprisingly, the same mistake has been made by Trubatchev (1976: 43). It is incorrect, as far as I can see, that the Herodotus passage IV 28 has been transmitted as “(ἐς τοὺς) Ίνδους” and not as “Σίνδους”, as the three authors claim. In our view, if this

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1. International Association of Historians of Asia (IAHA) 14-17 November 2008 Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India.
2. This is, indeed, not the first paper by K. relative to the Sindoi. In 1927, he already published one with “further observations” concerning the prehistory of the Indians which presupposes others. There are also several articles in Pauly - Wissowa’s Realenzyklopädie concerning the Sindoi, by K. Kretschmer, A. Hermann, and others, showing the same conception of Sindoi.
were correct, then an “Ινδοὺς” handed down in Herodotus would be puzzling, whereas “Σίνδους” is not. Vinogradov (1997: 110), very correctly, interpreting the passage, does not even mention such a possibility. Eilers and Mayrhofer think to have refuted Kretschmer decisively both as to his archaeological and as to his linguistic arguments but they discuss more Indo-Iranian material than is justified in our view. And yet they ignore, e.g., that the word sindhu- ’river’ is attested in the RV (cf. p. 114[27]), see e.g. RV VIII 24.27 (Aufrecht). There are many more attestations, one given also by O’Flaherty (I, 114.11, cf. 1981: 225) interpreting the name as that of a goddess. On the other hand, it is a bit disturbing, too, how Trubatchev (1974) makes short work of the criticism by Eilers and Mayrhofer. As a contribution, he enumerates perhaps 200 or more proper names and other words to prove the connection between “Sindomaeotian” and Indian - not all of them analyzed - but he does not undertake any interpretation of the root *sind(h)- or of the name “Sind(h)-.3

On the whole, his arguments in favour of the connection with India seem to be as sweeping as decisive the critique by Eilers and Mayrhofer was meant to be. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995: 811), too, are quite forbearing towards Kretschmer’s views. Trubachev, a linguist, renounces discussing the archaeological arguments. This is always a problem in prehistoric issues. Though necessary and welcome, this cannot be undertaken in this short paper either. For the present paper, however, still several minor contributions have been also consulted.

There will be an attempt here at uniting classical philology and linguistics, with more emphasis perhaps, as the occasion requires, on the first. Since the frame for my discussion is limited, a list of about seventy lemmata has been added to the end of this paper in alphabetic order indicating the passages, whereas two more Appendices are added with attestations, also alphabetic as to the authors, indicating the exact contexts for the words in question. These are selections in both cases, and the real number of names, attestations and word forms may be higher. I will try to explain first the word “sind(h)-”/’Sindi” and derivatives, and then I will comment on a few of the lemmata.

The Sindi, a northern Pontic people, although the Greek and Latin authors do not speak about them always in flattering terms, were not only multitudinous but were also one of the most important populations of the North Caucasian region as Kruškol remarks (1974: 608). Their territory, the Sindike, was important, among others, as a source both of slaves (ib. p. 627), and of workforce (cf. Reger 2007: 281). Their names can be detected in various Greek sources.

It is not necessary to discuss in detail what sindhu4 and relative Vedic Sapta-Sindhu (saptá sindhavaḥ, ‘The Seven River Land’; or, originally, ‘The Seven High Places’ [enclosed

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3. T. 1977 gives a list of 150 names with linguistic comments *sindu- included (pp. 18-24).
by rivers] as Bailey 1975: 611 argues) mean (cf. KEWA III 468, EWAia II 729). Bailey (ib.) also remarks that six of the seven names are cited and one is uncertain. I would add that, historically, this is an unimportant detail: seven is a magic number, as is well known from folklore. The presence of several rivers is certain. If there were “only” six of them, one was easily added for sacral purposes. (Cf. the seven hills of Rome, and the equally seven hills of the “Second Rome”, i.e. of Constantinople).\(^5\) It will be more expedient to discuss a few Greek sindh-equivalents and to find, if possible, an etymological basis.

Sindos, as a modern place in Northern Greece, has now become a suburb of Thessaloniki. It is important as an archaeological site. Babiniotis (2002: 1594), whose dictionary of Modern Greek is the only one with a mention of Sindos, is not sure whether this is a name of ancient origin. (He cannot add anything more, and - perhaps gratuitously - the name is missing in his recently published etymological dictionary, 2009). Similarly, among the etymological dictionaries of Greek it is only that by Chantraine which has the lemma “Sindoι” (DELG 1005, “Σινδοί”) but there is no etymological information in the proper sense of the word. Others think that the name Sindos is perhaps prehellenic. Stamatelatos (1998[?]) III: 273 admits, as one of the possibilities, that modern S. is the same as the one mentioned by Herodotus (VII 123). Vokotopoulou, an archaeologist (1985: 12), leaves the question undecided.\(^6\)

To summarize the views of the etymological dictionaries and the results of other linguistic investigations, it can be taken for certain that sind(h)u- and Greek - Latin Σίνδος - Sindi, and derivatives are related, but not in the same level as Greek Ἰνδός and Latin Indus which are generally assumed to be loanwords from Old Persian Hindu- (see e.g. KEWA III 468). A phonetic development s > h is common in various languages. Such a development is understandable even if Old Iranian hindu-/Hindu- is not a loanword (as maintained by Thieme).\(^7\) The change explains the appearance of h - whereas its loss in standard Greek is attributed to Ionian psilosis (loss of rough breathing). One of the tasks will be to find the very first form of this word. Let’s operate for the time being with “sindh” as a root. Some doubts have been expressed that the root can be retraced to common Indo-European stock. As it seems it can. The time-depth of this morpheme is certain,

\(^5\) The importance of the numbers lies elsewhere: strikingly, as I find in The Rough Guide to India, the capital Delhi is «an amalgamation and expansion of the «Seven Cities» of tradition (seven fortress settlements built at different times here by different rulers», Avram et al. 2003: 93). Cf. also Monier-Williams (1899: 1149) on «seven streams, seven oceans, seven cities [saptapurî]» etc. So, the symbolic and religious character of this tradition is clear I think.

\(^6\) In a talk (in November 2008), M. Sakellariou asked if part of the Sindians could have arrived in Greece as allies of the Danaoi, or if they migrated to Northern Greece in a similar way as the Danaoi did in the case of Central Greece. This is only an idea, inspired by his theory put forward in his 1980 book and should be investigated in order to corroborate or to reject it.

\(^7\) The change, with subsequent loss of /h/, is well known in the history of Greek, and can be reckoned with already in Mycenaean level, e.g. in the case of pa-we-ʔ (qoppFεhα ‘garments’, Lejeune 1972: 244[261]). Other examples are ib. on pp. 94-96[84-86]).
and its importance is backed by semantic considerations. There are no contradictions between attributed meanings such as ‘river’ (e.g. Burrow 1955: 72.88.180.197, Monier-Williams 1899: 1217), ‘natural frontier’ (KEWA III 468, Thieme 1970, EWAia II 730), ‘aim’, ‘goal’, ‘destination’ (e.g. IEW I 892, Uhlenbeck 1898-1899: 335, WP II 450) and, as a final semantic development, a proper name or ethnonym (to which cf. Bader 1997 and 2004). A morphological interplay with semantic implications can easily be imagined. The present author (2006) has tentatively summarized the semantics of oxytone and paroxytone forms like Greek τόμος - τομός, in Indo-European and in Greek level. Such changes would help explain forms like Σίνδος - Σινδός. Historically, the paroxytones such as Sindos are regarded as substantivized forms. Synchronically, Sindós, Sindói is incorrect, as grammarian tradition insists, but diachronically there may have been a difference. Although Mayrhofer (EWAia II 730) still thinks that the sind(h)u- question is not clarified both this and preceding KEWA cite Thieme as a possible solution. Th.’s contribution gives an explanation for reconstructed *sindhu- and *sindhú-, and the reconstructions show a parallel shape with Greek Σινδος - Σινδός. Thieme’s argumentation recalls to mind Bader’s sometimes bold assumptions on the ideological bases of the IE expansion, launched more than a decade later. The present author shares her reflections concerning the expansion because it is hard to imagine that such a succesful large-scale spreading of populations (i.e. the Indo-European expansion) should be attributed to chance movements, wherever the homeland or the starting points be located. Surprising and enlightening is Bader’s assumption on intellectuals, such as the prehellenic Selloi, charged with assigning appropriate names to groups before they began their migrations. Unfortunately, she is not concerned with the sind(h)- problem. With some reservations against her terminology, the lesson of Bader’s very technical approach is that names (ethnonymes and proper names) “speak”; they very often convey the ideological background to the populations expanding in various directions.

*Nomen est omen:* names were not given by chance! Name-giving was a ceremony as attested by a quite rich material. It is impressing that both in Greek and in Sanskrit the expressions “to give a name” exist together with “to give a fame” whose shape is the same: Greek ὄνομα θέσθαι or τιθέναι (literally: ‘put’, but cf. Latin nomen indere [<dare>] - κλέος τιθέναι/καταθέσθαι (cf. 8. The meaning ‘exudation from an elephant’s temples’ may be attributed to folk-etymology (cf. KEWA III 467).

9. “La dation de ces noms, en une chaîne si structurée, ne peut avoir été le fait que d’intellectuels (comme les prêtres Σελλοί de Dodone), présidant à une organisation des migrations qui n’est que l’un des témoignages de la puissance de pensée des hommes de langues indo-européennes, pensée qui explique l’expansion de celles-ci” (2004: 52).

10. Obviously, other reasons, as part of a causation, cannot be excluded, either. Sharma (2006: 80) accepts climatic changes as the cause of migrations. I still think that the main reason was an ideological one. See, among other, Makkay (2000: 64) on the importance - in another context - of «élite groups». The existence of «élite» warriors, of course, recalls the mentality of the Homeric heroes.
Consciousness, in this way, is an important issue which must be treated with the fitting respect in discussing the migration processes of the Indo-European populations. The “Sindians” could then be conceived as those (a clan) to whom the concept or the appeal of “the sindh- ones” had been attached. What this exactly meant I will try to discuss in the following. Consequently, a frequently encountered question like “where did a population come from?” is a wrong one to which only wrong answers can be given. The right question will be not where a certain population, as known in history, came from but where a population, known later under such and such a name, originated. In some happy cases, perhaps also the why can be answered. (To mention M. Pallottino’s classic inference from 1947, the right question was not “where the Etruscans came from”, since these took shape as an ethnos in Italy, but “where the populations as constitutants with the Tyrrhenians as the main body came from that later became known in Italy as Etruscans”).

Likewise Kretschmer, in most cases, writes about “Indians”, so in the title of his paper (“Inder am Kuban”), yet, sometimes, he adds correctly that these were not the same Indians as they would be thought of if in India itself. Similar uncertainties can be found also in two critics on him, and in the critique of the critique. The immigration of the Aryans into India recalls the immigration of a mixed Indo-European - non-Indo-European population into the south of the Balkan peninsula, later to be called Greeks, and the territory as Greece respectively. As Sakellariou (1980) very correctly uses the distinction “Proto-Greeks”11, the “Indians” should be distinguished in and outside India in the same way. Thus, conveniently, Sindoi/Sindi could be regarded as those whose destination was, by a label given, to “arrive” in a territory later to be called “India” and who, for reasons whatsoever, did not push forward to that point but remained somewhere along the migration route. The designation “Aryans” belongs to an other level of consciousness that, though relative, cannot be discussed here.

What, after all, do “Indic”, “Indian”, “Sindos”, “Sindhu-” etc. mean etymologically? Accent movements in Greek (Ancient and Modern) and in other IE languages are considered a key issue. To cite Collinge (1985: 82), “a leftward shift of word-accent is positively epidemic in Indo-European”. It must be made clear that the numerous changes as seen in various daughter languages are not always the same that is reconstructed for the parent language, reconstructions for the second however are possible only it we take recourse to the first.

In traditional grammar, the name barytonesis is given to the leftward accent-

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11. A discussion of his work can be read in JIES 28, 2000: 65-100. Recently, he published a two volume book dealing with Bronze Age Greek issues (Sakellariou 2009) which is a continuation of his earlier work.
shift from the last syllable such as in Ionic λευκός as compared to левкός (‘white’). This shift is productive both in Modern and Ancient Greek. Here are some examples of barytonesis; the first ones are proper names the second adjectives or common nouns.

Modern Greek: Στράτος - στρατός (‘army’), Ξάνθος/Ξάνθη - ξανθός (‘fair-haired’, ‘blond’), Σταύρος - σταυρός (‘cross’), Λάμπρος - λαμπρός (‘bright’, ‘brilliant’).

Ancient Greek: Στράβων - στραβός (‘squinting’), Ξίμως - σιμός (‘snub (nosed)’, ‘bent upward’), Βάλακρος - ϕαλακρός (‘baldheaded’), Γραῖκος - Γραικός (‘Greek’), Άργος - ἀργός (‘shining’, ‘white’; ‘swift’), etc.

The boundary between Ancient and Modern Greek forms is not always clear (e.g. Στράτος seems to be attested also as an Ancient proper name) but this is not important here. The fact that the barytones are almost always proper names is an indirect proof that for Classic Greek Sindos, Sindoi should be preferred and not the equally attested Sindos, Sindoi. (To this cf. St. B., p. 157 M, s.v. Bάλδος, where it can be inferred that in related pairs adjectives are oxytones whereas nouns are barytones [=paroxytones with modern terminology], and as an example for the first Τνδός is given). Following KEWA (III 468) and EW Aia (II 730) and the sources cited there, in Aryan level, and also in an earlier one, a thematic pair of *sindhu- - *sindhú- can be hypothesised. According to repeated linguistic observations, the first type of forms represents nouns, the one here meaning ‘natural frontier’ (such as ‘river’, ‘ocean’), the second ones being adjectives, and the one here meaning ‘warding off’, ‘keeping away’. Functionally, the first grammatical category is a later development whereas the second is regarded primary, or to cite Nussbaum (2004), the second ones are “participial agentives” (the performers of an action) whereas the first are verbal nouns. Several Greek forms, other than proper names, are also similar to this distribution, like τόμος (meaning ‘slice’, ‘piece’, ‘part’) and τομός (meaning ‘cutting’, ‘sharp’). Tόμος survives in Modern Greek meaning ‘volume’ whereas of the second type survives τομή meaning ‘cut(ting)’, ‘incision’, ‘intersection’. Reconstructed *(w)oikos - *(w)oikós (cf. Latin vicus, Sanskrit viś) have to do, semantically as well as morphologically with (migrating) movements or moving into something (i.e. *woikós) versus settling down etc. (i.e. *wóikos, cf. Katonis 2006: 161 with references). Such a morphologico-semantic interplay in Indo-European level seems to have been certain although the issue is not yet entirely settled.

Sindhu- - sindhú-, in root level, belong, according to Thieme and Mayrhofer (KEWA 466 and EW Aia II 730), to sidh- - sedh-, cf. sédhati (‘ward off’, ‘drive away’), whereas another root sidh-, belonging to sídhyati (‘succeeds’, ‘reaches succesfully’) is to be kept apart. (This is also the traditional position

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12. Βάλακρος is a Macedonian name, with exact β - φ correspondence. The present author discusses about thirty cases of this name in his dissertation. The earliest among them seems to date to the 5th c. B.C. Βολακρός, as an adjective, also exists.
held in Sanskrit grammar; cf. Monier-Williams 1899: 1215). Mayrhofer remarks that a semantically and morphologically satisfactory solution for *sidh- has not yet been found (KEWA 466). In the revised etymological dictionary (EWAia II 730), he still maintains that the explanation of *sindhu- has not been found (“nicht geklärt”). Lamberterie (1990: 292-293) discusses a possible semantic development which could establish a derivational relationship between the two *sidh- roots.13 He adds that the field where the solution has to be found is the Indo-European level, and not the Indo-Iranian one. Conflicting morphology (“discordance”) between related Greek and Sanskrit forms shows, he maintains, that *dh- does not belong to the root but is an enlargement. It is not expedient here to follow Lamberterie in his complicated analysis of root structures and of formants. It is sufficient perhaps to avail ourselves of his results in connecting Greek ἱθύς/εὐθύς (‘direct’, ‘straight [forward]’) - Greek /θ/, (th), to be sure, corresponds regularly to *dh- and *sidh- (1990: 291.297).14 This would, we add, help the semantics of the present pursuit in the way already hinted at above. On p. 297 Lamberterie outlines a coherent system based on *sei-dh- / *si-

dh- consisting of reconstructed and attested forms where Sanskrit sédhati is based on the first (with a parallel, historically not attested, Greek verb) and ἱθύς on the second, in parallel with a similarly not attested but easily reconstructed verb form with present reduplication (a phenomenon not unfamiliar in Greek like πιμπλήμι (‘fill’) or ἱστῆμι (‘(make to) stand’, ‘set up’) (<*si-stē-mi). The important point here is the inner coherence of the attested roots which helps both morphology and semantics. The system also explains the relationship between ἱθύς (with long and short υ) and εὐθύς (pp. 297-298.300-301) the explanation of which was a problem in Greek linguistics so far (cf. DELG 385, and recently, Beekes 2010: 583).

The connection with Greek ἱθύς is old (cf. Rix 1985: 345) but earlier semantic and morphological analyses were not always convincing. Rix thinks that assuming a root with the meaning ‘directed towards the goal’ is possible. His approach is slightly different from that of Lamberterie whose contribution is that the root is to be interpreted without the formant -dh-. What is important is that Rix, too, connects the two roots *sidh- with one another and with the Greek adjective. In this way the semantics “determined”,

13. Lamberterie’s argumentation, not to be repeated here, can be illustrated with the case of (Modern) Greek ἀπό in the word ἀπερήμωση (ἡ ἔρημος meaning ‘desert’). This word has two meanings: 1, ‘devastation’ (the desert that is getting larger; ἔρημος being a prefix serving for perceptive aspect), and 2, ‘pushing the desert back’, ‘revitalizing the territory’ (ἔρημος being interpreted perhaps as a first part of a compound). It is striking that L. uses the preverb/adverb ἀπό ‘off’, ‘away’ as an example in his argumentation admitting the same semantic ambiguity through the preverb ἀπό (p. 293). Ἄπα is semantically cognate with Greek ἄπα, Lat. ab, ā, German ab. (This writer has attended a lecture given by an environmentalist where the speaker used the word «απερήμωση» for a Russian territory. Immediately some interventions of the audience followed who understood ‘putting a stoppage to turning into desert’ whereas the environmentalist meant the opposite!)

14. His construction is corroborated by a recent epigraphical finding (cf. DELG 1404 s.v. ἱθύς. On p. 193, Lamberterie gives a semantic analysis which aims at cross-checking the two different meanings of the root sidh-. Traditionally, this has lead to postulate two different roots sidh- (Monier-Williams 1899: 1215).
“resolute”, “purposeful”, “forward” (German “zielbewusst”, “zielstrebig”) is established, and a name of this kind seems, really, suitable for a group of a population for which well-reasoned, conscious and deliberate expanding according to an elaborated schedule backed by ideology in Bader’s sense may be attributed. From the point of view of oxytone and paroxytone types, according to the observations in historical grammar, one would consider, first, a “sindói” (adjective) group or mission, in their dynamic aspect, and subsequently, if grammar is correctly parallelized with history, “síndoi” (noun) ones, assumed to have settled. The grammatical shape corresponds to the “*oikós” (something like ‘moving into’, ‘immigrating’) - “*óikos” (‘settled’, ‘inhabitant’) couple as has been hinted at above. With this, in parallel, an ideology, a consciousness is assumed to which linguistic expressions are associated. It must be emphasized again that this morphological interplay is assumed for a very early period and that in the languages attested historically, such as Ancient Greek, the system does not function always with consistency.

What other articles in Frisk (GEW), Chantraine (DELG), Beekes, and those by Führer add is the semantic analysis of ἱερός, and no contradicting details seem to arise. In the material I consulted there is no attempt at explaining the nasal in sindh- and derivatives. A nasal infix, whatever it adds semantically, is easy to surmise. Cf. e.g. Greek praesens imperfectum of μανθάνω (‘learn’) where the root math- is still productive in Modern Greek as the modern verb μαθαίνω shows, produced secondarily from the aoristos stem (cf. classical Greek ἔ-μαθ-ον, i.e. e-math-on, ‘I learned’). Whether this is systemic as in the μανθάνω-type verbs or is phonetically-based or is substrate influence should be further investigated. One could surmise phonetically-based reasons, a kind of weakening, which happens in frequent and/or vernacular usages. An example would be Greek vernacular λάνθος (=λάθος ‘mistake, error’) and the Attic toponym Χαλάνδρι (<χαράδρα ‘ravine’, ‘precipice’, ‘gap’ to which cf. Katonis 2001: Corpus 106[406] and phonological interpretation, with more examples, in the Analysis).

Also, in the literature I consulted for this paper I did not find any discussion concerning the designation “ἱερός” which can be found in several passages studied. Diller’s commentary to the Periplus Maris (Ponti) Euxini (1952) does not have any remark on the three attestations (p. 130) I have copied for the Appendix with passages. On p. 138 of his edition more examples of “ἱερός” are encountered. At least one of them can not refer to a shrine: “ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ στόματος τοῦ Ἴστρου” (‘from the Holy mouth of the Danube’). None of these attestations are commented on, either. Pliny (n.h. VI 17) has, using the Greek word, “Holy River” and “Holy Town”, Ptolemaeus, writing on Lycia, lists “Ἱερὰ ἄκρα” (p. 17, Nobbe). Arrianus has “Ἱερὸν λιμένα” (Peripl. 18,4, A.G. Roos 2001, p. 121). Certainly, this concept is not the same as Christian ‘saint’ or ‘holy’. But why should a territory or city or - especially - a harbor be ‘holy’ or ‘sacred’ even in Aryan
or earlier than Aryan sense? And why is Pontus, a sea (the Black Sea), a *pontos*, a path?\(^\text{15}\) To answer the last question would require another discussion but with regard to ἱερός one cannot help thinking of the Homeric usage of this word, so, as for Greek, a rather ancient concept, indeed, not too far from the preceding Indo-European level that necessarily must be reckoned with. This is once more a common element connecting Greek and Indian. In Greek, especially in Homer, this adjective appears as an epithet of *menos* (‘temper, disposition, strength, force, intent, purpose’ and similar). *Hieron menos* (cf. “τοῖν δὲ ἔγνεγέχ᾽ ἱερὸν μένος Ἀντινόοιο” Od. 18.34, ‘And the strong and mighty Antinous heard the two’, A.T. Murray, LCL, 1919, pp. 198-199) can be a *hero in person*. This word, then, can serve also as an epithet to important bodily fluids like blood and other. “Ἱερὸν μένος” is paralleled with Sanskrit *iṣirēṇa te mānasā* (RV 8,48,7ab, cf. Schmitt 1967: 28[42] and elsewhere, DELG 458, Babiniotis 2002: 774, 2010: 837-838, Beekes 2010: 930-931). Sanskrit *iṣirā* - refers to energy or religious force. The etymologically somewhat problematic *hieros*, again, has a semantic component of force (for a recent survey, cf. Beekes 2010: 580-581).

I think there can be little doubt that its use in such key cases like conquering heroes, military springboards (harbors, cities, seas) is a clue to understanding the ideological bases of the expanding Aryans or Indo-Europeans. In this sense, trying to find a conceptional link between *Sindoi*, the “straightforward” travelers, and their “holy” (=formful) cities and harbors, by the side of a great water (such as the Black Sea) conceived as a sea route, as a *path* (cf. further, the etymologically cognate Latin *pons*) is not ungrounded.

Commenting on some attestations listed in the Appendix:

Sindos in Northern Greece, as far as I know, is a unique geographical name for the time being. Possible cognates, however, are numerous. There is a considerable number of personal names on coins and in epigraphic material. This rich material, that can’t be commented on here, consists of names like (Σίνδης, Σίνδαξ, Σινδέας etc., (cf. Robert 1963 with numerous details, further LPGN I 407, II 399, IIIA 396, IV 311), with more names in Asia Minor that may not be related. Here, however, a comment is necessary. Zgusta (1955: 35 ff.), too, attributes to Kretschmer a too bold hypothesis with regard to the Sindoi and to the Indians. Zgusta is an expert of the Anatolian onomastic material. No doubt, many names in that material, reminding of the “Sindoi” must have a different origin. We can’t, however, agree with him in all details. Sinope, a harbor on a promontory on the northern coast of Asia Minor, is well known for its commerce with the Sindic territory. It should not be surprising that there is a Σίνδης Σινωπεύς in the epigraphic material (see G. Pugliese Carratelli in the epigraphic Appendix)! This is an attestation from Rhodos from the 1st

15 To πόντος, Sanskrit *pāṁṭhāḥ* is the exact etymological equivalent (cf. DELG 928, Beekes 2010: 1221).
half of the 1st c. B.C. It has been remarked above that the Sindians gave both slaves and workforce to the Graeco-Roman world. There is another example: although not much is known about a certain woman Sinde (cf. the inscription Σινδή χρησ[τὴ] χαίρ[ε], Le Bas V 259, p. 180, which can be translated as “Sweet Sinde, how do you do?”) it can be inferred that she was a slave since nothing more than her name is engraved. One can ask where she came from and on which route.\footnote{As a question, one could ask if Mycenaean si-ni-to (found in Knossos: KN Dg 1280.B, and interpreted as a male name) has to do anything with Sindo/Synthos. Several reference books consulted have not contributed more than the assumption that this is a name. Mycenaean orthography allows both d and th (Synthos?). To the second, cf. Peripl. M. Rubr. 38\text{vii} and, 40\text{v} C, Ptol. VII 1,2 (Nobbe), St. B. p. 570\text{vii}, M and St. B. p. 570\text{v}, M.}

I have not commented on the Caucasian migration route theory of Kretschmer, neither on the Mitanni problem. Yet, I may perhaps venture one allusion: in South Asia Minor, between Kaunos and Telmessos, two settlements of the 1st millennium B.C., there is a Sindo river (today Dalaman), and near to the river, there is a town called Sinda. I asked about this I.-X. Adiego, a Spanish scholar, whose lectures on Carian I attended in September 2008 in Berlin together with the other topics of the two week course of the 5th Indo-European Summer School held there. He answered me that this might be due to substrate influence. Indeed, substrate may be an explanation, there are several cities as “Isinda” and others of similar shape in Asia Minor probably unrelated. However, further eastwards, then, comes Mitanni, an early state which has been connected with the Indian element, and the connection has been discussed ever since. I would leave this question open but I think, so that we are sure to assert that the onomastics of Asia Minor is related or not further investigations are necessary.

The material examined here, on the whole, shows a continuity from Greece to India, detectable in the latter not only in Indian sources but also in Greek ones like Σινδίμανο (Arrian. anab. VI 16,4, et al.), Σινδού (Kosmas Indikopleustes, Topogr. Christ. XI 16,1), Σινδοκάνδα πόλις (Ptol. VII 4, 3) and more. Should one insist, as happens, that much of this material is perhaps prehellenic and is based on a substrate then one should reckon with multiple substrates (in mainland Greece, in Asia Minor, in the North of the Black Sea, in the vicinity and within the Indian subcontinent itself, Ceylon included). This is not very probable. It is difficult to assume that either the fact that a substrate should be so homogenous that it would yield so similar, indeed identical names or that it could be reckoned with on such an extended territory. I think the probable solution is that, whereas substrate influence cannot be banned entirely - and is effective mainly perhaps in Asia Minor -, we must reckon with a “Sindic” (=Aryan, or better, part of an Aryan) expansion which, historically resulted in two important populations, the Sindians (outside India) and the Indians proper (=the Aryan conquerors who transformed India significantly, being
transformed themselves there, too), as well as several names, encountered sporadically also in Greece and in adjacent territories. These names are not to be attributed to any population but are to be interpreted as those of bearers originating in the Sindian population. The underlying ideology and semantics might have been that the “straightforward” groups of expanding Aryans were supposed to reach those “natural frontiers”, indeed “bridgeheads”, that could serve as firm points in a migratory movement, with further expansion beyond not excluded.

Appendix
A: Instances of “Sindoī” and derivatives by Greek and Latin authors (in a few cases, where it has been thought useful or necessary, the editors and the publication year have been indicated - see respective list. The abbreviations are, on the whole, those used in classical studies).

civitas Sindica (Plin. n.h. VI 17)
Scythia Sindica (Plin. n.h. IV 84)
Σίνα ἢ Σήνα (Ptol. VI 10,3)
Σίνα (St. B. p. 569)
Σίνδα (Str. XII 7,2 [C 570, 2X])
Σίνδα κώμη (Ptol. V 9,8)
Σίνδα (πόλις) (Ptol. VII 2,7, St. B. p. 569)
Σίνδα (Ptol. VII 2,27, St. B. p. 569)
Sindecae (Tab. Peut., Segm. X, 1, Miller 1961)
Sinden (Tac. Ann. XI 10)
Sindensium (Liv. XXXVIII 15,1)
Sindi (Amm. Marc. XXII 8, 41)
Sindi (Prisciani Periegesis [Paraphrasis] 662)
Sindi (Val. Flacc. VI 86)
Σινδία (St. B. p. 569)
Σινδιανοῦς (Lucian. Tox. 55)
Σιν- δική (Scymn. F 18)
Σινδική (Hsch. Σ 679 Hansen)
Σινδική (Str. XI, 2,10 [C 495] [2X], St. B. p. 333)
Sindice (Geogr. Rav. II 24,12,23,31,135,51,)
Σινδικὸν διάφραγμα (Hippon. fr. 2, Masson, 1962; Hsch. Σ 680 Hansen)
Σινδικὸν γένος (St. B. p. 570)
Σινδικὸν λιμένα (Scyl. 72)
Σινδικὸν | λιμένα (Peripl. M. Eux. 10r_{12}, A. Diller 1952, p. 130)
Σινδικὸς λιμήν (Scyl. 72, Scymn. F 17b, Peripl. M. Eux. 11r_{17}, A. Diller 1952, p. 131, Str. XI, 2,14 [C 496], Ptol. V 9,8, Hsch. Σ 682 Hansen)
Σινδικός (πόλις) (Str. XI, 2,14 [C 496])
Σινδικοῦ λιμένος (Scymn. F 18, Peripl. M. Eux. 10r_{13}, 10r_{14}, 10r_{16}, A. Diller 1952, p. 130)
Σινδός (St. B. p. 569)
Σινδίκε (Avien. III 866)
Σινδῶς (Scyl. 72, Scymn. F 18 [2x], Nic. Dam. fr. 120, Peripl. M. Eux. 10r_{17}, A. Diller 1952, p. 130, Hsch. Σ 682 Hansen, St. B. p. 569)
Σινδοί (St. B. p. 569)
Σινδοὺς (St. B. p. 569)
Σινδό (St. B. p. 569)
Σινδοναῖοι (St. B. p. 570)
Σινδῶν (Scymn. F 18, Peripl. M. Eux. 10r_{16}, A. Diller 1952, p. 130)
Σιν- | - δων (Polyaen. 8, 55)
Σινδων (Str. XI, 2,10 [C 495])
Σινδονος (Peripl. M. Rubr. 4015 C)
Σινδός (Hdn. I 142,20, L)
σινδός (Arcadius p. 48)
Σινδος (Mela 1, 111)
Σινδοὺς (Hdt. IV 28)
Σινδος (Mela 1, 111)
Σινδονος (St. B. p. 569)
Σινδος (St. B. p. 570)
Σινδος (Peripl. M. Rubr. 40, C)
Σινδος (Peripl. M. Rubr. 38, A, C, St. B. p. 570)
Οινθων (Ptol. VII 1,2)
Σινδος (Mela 1, 111)
Σινδοὺς (Hdt. IV 28)
Σινδος (Mela 1, 111)
Σινδονος (St. B. p. 569)
Σινδος (St. B. p. 570)
Σινδος (Peripl. M. Rubr. 40, C)
Σινδος (Peripl. M. Rubr. 38, C, St. B. p. 570)
Σινθων (Ptol. VII 1,2)
Σινδος (Mela 1, 111)
Σινδοὺς (St. B. 592)
B: Numismatic and epigraphic evidence (see respective list)

Σίνδαξ (Panticapaeum, Byzantine era?)
Σίνδη (Peloponnesus?)
Σινδέο(υ) (Phanagoria, Byzantine era?)
Σινδεύς (Rhodus, 5th c. B.C.?)
Σινδης (Attica, Roman Age)
ΣΙΝΔΗΣ (Epidaurus, 3rd c. B.C.)
Σινδης (Rhodus, 1st c. B.C.)
Σινδίου (Korykos, Asia Minor, Christian era)
Σινδόχου (2X) (Gorgippia, 3rd c. B.C.)
Σινδος (3X) (Gorgippia, 3rd c. B.C.)
Σινδου (4X) (Gorgippia, 3rd c. B.C.)
ΣΙΝΔΗΣ (3X) (Sinde, Bosporus, 4th c. B.C.)
Σινδων (2X) (Phanagoria, 4th c. B.C.)
Σινδόν (2X) (Panticapaeum, 4th c. B.C.)
Σινδόν (Panticapaeum, 4th c. B.C.)
Σινδό[ω]ν (Panticapaeum, 4th c. B.C.)
[Σιν][δ][ω]ν (Panticapaeum, 4th c. B.C.)
Σινδὸν (Panticapaeum, 1st c. A.D.)
Σινδὸν (3X) (Phanagoria, 4th c. B.C.)
Σ[ιν][δ][ω]ν (Phanagoria, 2nd c. B.C.)

C: Modern place name (near Thessaloniki)
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Amm. Marc. XXII 8, 41 (J.C. Rolfe, LCL, 1937):
Longo exinde intervallo paene est insula, quam incolunt Sindi ignobiles, post eriles in Asia casus, coniugiis
potiti dominorum et rebus
(Then, a long distance away, is a peninsula inhabited by the Sindi, people of low birth, who, after the disaster
to their masters in Asia [...] got possession of their wives and property; ib. p. 237)

Anonymi Paraphrasis (ΠΑΡΑΦΡΑΣΙΣ) 680 seqq. (Müller, GGM II, p. 418):
Οἱ δὲ Σινδοὶ καὶ οἱ Κιμμέριοι πυκνοὶ καὶ συνεχεῖς ὄντες τοὺς Σαυρομάτας ἐπέχουσιν […]

οὔθ᾽ οἱ περὶ Λαύριον ἤδη | Σινδοὶ ἐρημαῖον πεδίον μέγα ναιετάοντε (nor the Sindi that now inhabit the vast desert plain of Laurium; ib. p. 317)

Τῇ πόλει ἐδοσ δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ δ σύμφωνον κατὰ διάστασιν βαρύνεται [...], λίνδος, σίνδος [...] σεσημείωται τὸ ἵππος ποταμὸς καὶ τὸ ἅρινον.

Arrian. anab. VI 16,4 (P.A. Brunt, LCL, 1983):
ἐπέλαζεν ἤδη τῇ πόλει Ἀλέξανδρος, ἥντινα μητρόποι τῆς Σάμβου χώρα, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Sindimana
(Alexander was already close to the capital city of Sambus' territory, named Sindimana; ib. p. 149).

ἀπὸ δὲ Πάγ- | φαίτοκε μενον εἰς Κιμμέριον καλομον καὶ ἐκατόν. | ἐνθένδε εἰς Σινδικὴν τριακόσιον.

ἀπὸ δὲ Σινδικῆς εἰς Βόσπορον τὸν Κιμμέριον καλον- | μενον

Avien. III 866 (A. Holder [1877] 1965 = Müller, GGM II p. 185):
proxima rursus | Cimmerii Sindique colunt

Curt. IX 8,13 (J.C. Rolfe, LCL, 1956):
Sambi regis fines ingressus est; multisque oppidis in fidem acceptis validissimam gentis urbem cuniculo cepit
(having therefore razed the citadel, and sold all the prisoners, Alexander entered the domain of King
Sambus [i.e. Sindimana]; ib. pp. 435.437)

Diod. XVII 93 (C. Bradford Welles, LCL, 1963):
ἐπὶ τὸν Ὕφασιν […] ποταμὸν προῆχεν [sc. Αλέξανδρος]
(and then advanced to the Hyphasis River [sc. in India]; ib. p. 389)

Diod. XVII 102 (C. Bradford Welles, LCL, 1963):
ης δὲ τὴν Σάμβου βασιλείαν ἐξεπόρθησε
(Next he ravaged the kingdom of Sambus [i.e. Sindimana]; ib. p. 413)
Dionysios Perieg. 681 (Müller, GGM II, p. 680):
Σινδοί, Κιμμέριοι τε καὶ οἱ τέλες Εὐξείνου | Ἐκεῖ Τορεται [v.l. Τορέται] τε καὶ ἄλληντες Ἀχαιοὶ (Sindi, Cimmerii atque Euxino finitimi | Cercetii et Toretae bellicosique Achaei; ib.)


Hdn. I 142, 20, 27 I (GG III 1,):
Σίνδος ἔθνος ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας τῆς | Μαιώτιδος λίμνης. τινὲς δὲ ὀξυτονοῦσιν, οὐκ εὖ [... σεση- | μείωται τὸ Ἰνδός ποταμὸς

Hdt. IV 28 (A.D. Godley, LCL, 1921):
καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κρυστάλλου ὁι ἐντὸς τάφρου Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας ἐπελαύνουσιν πέρην ἐς τοὺς Σίνδους.

Hdt. IV 86 (A.D. Godley, LCL, 1921):
ἐς δὲ Θεμισκύρην τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμώδον ποταμῷ ἐκ τῆς Σινδικῆς [...] τριῶν τε ἡμερέων καὶ δύο νυκτῶν πλόος
(From the Sindic region to Themiscura on the river Thermodon [...] it is a voyage of two days and three nights; ib. p. 289)

Hdt. VII 123 (A.D. Godley, LCL, 1922):
πλέων δὲ ἀπίκετο [sc. Ξέρξης] ἔς τε τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην καὶ Σίνδον τε πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄξιον ποταμὸν
(the course of the fleet [sc. of Xerxes] lay thenceforward to the Thermaic gulf itself and the Mygdonian territory, | till its voyage ended at Therma, the place appointed, and the towns Sindus and Chalestra, where it came to the river Axius; ib. pp. 425.427)

Hsch. Σ 679 Hansen¹ (III, 2005, p. 293): Σινδική· ἡ Σκυθία [...]. καὶ ἡ πόρνη D
Hsch. Σ 680 Hansen (III, 2005, p. 293): Σινδικὸν διάφραγμα· τὸ τῆς γυναικός

Hsch. Σ 682 Hansen (III, 2005, p. 293): Σινδόν· ἔθνος Ινδικός. ἔστι δὲ πόλις ἐκεί Σινδικὸς λιμήν λεγομένη D

Hippon. fr. 2 (Masson, 1962): <γυμνή δὲ> πρὸς το Σινδικὸν διάφραγμα

ὁμοίως καὶ Σινδοῦ, ἔνθα ὁ μόσχος καὶ τὸ κοσταριν καὶ τὸ ναρδόσταχυν γίνεται
(à Sindoû pareillement où l’on trouve du musc,, de la racine de costus et du nard indien; ib. p. 346)

Ἡ Σινδοῦ δὲ ἔστιν ἀγχή τῆς Ινδικῆς
(Sindoû se situe aux abords de l’Inde; ib. p. 346)
Εἰσίν οὖν τὰ λαμπρὰ ἐμπόρια τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ταῦτα, Σινδοῦ, Ὀρροθᾶ, Καλλιανᾶ, Σιβώρ, ή Μαλέ
(Voici donc les splendides marchés de l’Inde: Sindou, Orrothâ, Kalliana, Sibôr et Malé; ib. p. 346)

Οἱ δὲ κατὰ τόπον βασιλεῖς τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἔχουσιν ἐλέφαντας, οἷον ὁ τῆς Ὀρροθᾶ καὶ ὁ Καλλιανῶν καὶ ὁ τῆς Σινδοῦ
(Les rois autochthones de l’Inde possèdent des éléphants, ainsi ceux d’Orrothâ, de Kalliana, de Sindou; ib. p. 352)

Liv. XXXVIII 15,1 (E.T. Sage, LCL, 1936)
A Cibyra per agros Sindensium exercitus ductus
(From Cibyra the army was led through the territory of the people of Sinda, ib. p. 47)

Αλανοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς ἐφόδου ἐκείνης Σινδιανοὺς ἡμῖν χειρῶσασθαι ὑπέστησαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διεστῶτας
(and the Alans to make up for that attack undertook to help us by subduing the Sindians, who had revolted some time previously; ib. p. 193)

Mela 1, 110 (A. Silberman, Budé, 1988): in confinio Maeotidis Sindones (sur les confins du Méotide, les Sindes; ib. p. 31)

Mela 1, 111 (A. Silberman, Budé, 1988): Sindos in Sindonum, ab ipsis terrarum cultoribus, condita est (et Sindos, dans le pays des Sindes, fondée par les habitants du pays eux-mêmes; ib. p. 31)

Nic. Dam. fr. 120 (Müller, FHG IV, p. 460 = Nic. Dam. 120 Jac):
Σίνδοι [Jac.: Σινδοὶ] τοιούτους ἠχής ἐπὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπιβάλλουσιν, ὅσους πολεμίους ὁ θαπτόμενος ὑπεστήσετος ἦ.
(Sindi quum quenquam sepeliunt, tum quot hostes in vita occiderit, totidem pisces ejus sepulcro injiciunt; ib. p. 460)

Peripl. M. Rubr. 38.24 C.: ἐκδέχεται <τὰ> παραθαλάσσια | μέρη τῆς Σκυθίας παρ᾽ αὐτὸν κειμένης τὸν βορέαν, ταπεινὰ λιαν, ἐξ ὧν | ποταμὸς Σίνθος
(there next comes the seaboard of Skythia, which lies directly to the north; it is very flat and through it flows the Sinthos River; ib. [i.e. L. Casson 1989], p. 73)

Peripl. M. Rubr. 4015 C.: Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Σίνθον ποταμὸν ἐπιερός ἐστὶν κόλπος ἀθεώρητος παρὰ | τὸν βορέαν
(After the Sinthos River there is another bay, hidden from view, to the north; ib. [i.e. L. Casson 1989], p. 75)

Peripl. M. Eux. 10r13 (A. Diller 1952, p. 130):
Ἱερὸν λιμένα […] τὸν νῦν λειμένον | Ἰερίου ἦτοι τὸ Νίκαξιν […] Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰεροῦ Λιμένος […] ἦτοι | Νίκαξιν τεῖς Σινδικῆς πείτου Σινδικῶν | λιμένα

Peripl. M. Eux. 10r13 (A. Diller 1952, p. 130): Σινδικῶν λιμένος
Peripl. M. Eux. 10r_14 (A. Diller 1952, p. 130): Ἀπὸ δὲ Σινδικοῦ λιμένος ἐκδέχεται κώμη Κορο | χονδάμη


Peripl. M. Eux. 10r_18 (A. Diller 1952, p. 130): ἀπὸ δὲ | τῶν Σίνδων εἰσὶ Κερκέται οἱ λεγόμενοι Τορίται

Peripl. M. Eux. 10r_23 (A. Diller 1952, p. 130): ἀπὸ Σινδικῆς | <εἰς Βόσπορον> τὸ Κιμμέριον καλούμενον

Peripl. M. Eux. 10r_24 (A. Diller 1952, p. 130): ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ περιπλέοντες | ἕως τοῦ | στομίου τῆς Μαιώτιδος | λίμνης ἤτοι Αχιλλείου κώμης

Peripl. M. Eux. 11r_22 (A. Diller 1952, p. 131): καὶ Σινδικὸς λιμήν, ἔχων οἰκήτορας ΗELLΗΝΑΣ

Phot. 156 (Naber): Σινδοί · Σκυθικὸν γένος

Plin. n.h. IV 84 (H. Rackham, LCL, 1947): regio Scythia Sindica nominatur (this region has the name of Scythia Sindica; ib. p. 182)

Plin. n.h. VI 17 (H. Rackham, LCL, 1947): Achaei […] cum oppido Hiero et flumine […]
(and the Achaei, with their Holy Town and River […] ; ib. p. 351)

civitas Sindica ab Hiero LXVII D (and then the city-state of Sindica, 67 ½ miles from Holy Town; ib. p. 351)

(The Don itself is called by the natives the Sinus, and the Sea of Azov the Temarunda, which means in their language ‘the mother of the sea’; ib. pp. 351.353)

Plin. n.h. VI 71 (H. Rackham, LCL, 1947): Indus incolis Sindus appellatus
(The Indus, the native name for which is Sindus; ib. p. 391)

Polyaen. 8, 55 (P. Krentz - E.L. Wheeler 1994)
Τιργαταῶ Μαιῶτις ἐγήματο βασιλεῖ Σίν- | - | δῶν, οἳ νόμον μικρὸν ἄνω Βοσπόρου.
(Tirgatao of Maeotis married Hecataeus the king of the Sindi, who live a little above the Bosporus; ib. p. 829)
μᾶλστα δὲ τὴν Ἐκαταιοῦ Σινδικῆ | ματέρ] [sc. Τιργαταῶ]
(raided the Sindician territory in particular; ib. p. 831)

Prisciani Periegesis (Paraphrasis) 662 (Müller, GGM II, p. 196): sunt vicini Sindi quoque Cimmerique, | post hos Cercetii

Ptol. V 9,8 (Nobbe): μετὰ τὴν Κροκονδάμαν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ […] Σινδικὸς λιμήν […] Σίνδα κώμη

Ptol. VI 10,3 (Nobbe): Πόλεις δὲ εἰσὶν αὐτῆς αἰδὲ […] Σίνα ἢ Σήνα […]
Ptol. VII 1,2 (Nobbe): τὸ ἐφεξῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ, ὃ καλεῖται Σίνθων
Ptol. VII 2,7 (Nobbe): Μεγάλου κόλπου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἄρρητην Μέγα ἀκροτήριον […] Σίνδα πόλες

Ptol. VII 2,19 (Nobbe): μεταξὺ τῶν Δαμάσσων ὄρων καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Σίνας ὀρίου

Ptol. VII 2,27 (Nobbe): Εἰσὶ δὲ νῆσοι τρεῖς Ανθρωποφάγων, Σίνδα ἀκαλύπτει

Ptol. VII 4, 3 (Nobbe): (Ταπροβάνης νήσου θέσεις:) Σινδοκάνδα πόλες

RV VIII 24.27 (Aufrecht): saptá sindhushu
(Der du aus Not, von dem Bären errettest, oder der Du vom Arier im Siebenstromland des Dāsa Waffe abwendest, du Mutvoller)³

Scyl. (Ps. - Skylax) 72 (Müller GGM I, 72): ΣΙΝΔΟΙ. Μετὰ δὲ Μαιώτας Σίνδοι ἔθνος · διήρκουσι γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξω τῆς λίμνης · καὶ εἰσὶν πόλεις ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε · Φαναγόρου πόλις, Κῆποι, Σινδικὸς λιμήν, Πάτους.
(SINDI. Post Maeotas sequitur gens Sindorum. Pertingunt hi etiam extra paludem, urbesque in iis Graecae sunt hae: Phanagoriae urbs, Cepi, Sindicus portus, Patuś; ib. p. 59)

Scyl. (Ps. - Skylax) 72 (Müller GGM I, 73): ΚΕΡΚΕΤΑΙ. Μετὰ δὲ Σινδικὸν λιμένα Κερκέται ἔθνος
(CERCETAE. Post Sindicum portum sequitur Cercetarum gens; ib. p. 60)

Scymn. (Ps.-Skymn) F 17b (D. Marcotte, Géographes grecs I, p. 142 = Müller GGM I, 888): καὶ Σινδικὸς λιμήν, ἔχων οἰκήτορας | Ἕλληνας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγγὺς ἥκοντα τόπων
(-et Sindikos Limèn, don't les habitans grecs proviennent des régions voisines; ib. p. 142)

Εὐχ. 24 Μ. 2: (ἀπὸ οὖν Ἑρμωνάσσης ἕως τοῦ | Σινδικοῦ λιμένος) παροικοῦσι Μαϊωτῶν τινες | Σίνδοι | λεγόμενοι θέσεις | Ἑλληνας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγγὺς ἥκοντα τόπων
(Depuis Hermonasse jusqu'à Sindikos Limèn) […] habitent les Sindoi, un peuple du groupe des Maiotai, à qui la Sindikè doit son nom. Ce peuple des Sindoi est barbare, mais ses meurs sont policées […] ; ib. p. 142)

St. B. p. 139, M: καὶ πόλεις περὶ τὸν Καύκασον | Σινδικῆ Ἀστερουσία κέκληται, Κρητῶν ἀποικίας ἐκεῖ σταλεί- | σης.

St. B. p. 211, M: Τορίται, πόλες Σινδικῆς.

St. B. p. 333, M: Τσατότα, ἔθνος πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ ποροειδῶς τῇ Σινδικῇ

St. B. p. 569, 19, M: Σιναι, μητρόπολις τῶν Σινῶν, περὶ ὧν φησὶ Μαρκιανός | νὸς ἐν περιπλοῖος.

St. B. p. 569, 25 M: Σίνδοι, ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης

St. B. p. 570, M: ἔνιοι | δὲ καὶ τὸ Σινδικὸν γένος φασὶν εἶναι τῶν Μαιωτῶν ἀπό- | σπασμα. λέγεται καὶ τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδείον.

St. B. p. 570, 6, 7 M: Σίνθος, πόλις παρὰ τῷ Θερμαίῳ. Ἡρόδοτος ἑβδόμῃ. καὶ τὸ ἐθνικὸν Σίνθιος.

St. B. p. 592, M:  Σινδοναῖοι, Θρᾴκιον ἔθνος, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος

Str. XI 2,10 (C 495, H.L. Jones, LCL, 1928):
αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ἐν δεξιᾷ πέραν Ὑπάνιος ἐν τῇ Σινδικῇ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γοργιπία [...]. τὸ βασίλειον τῶν Σινδῶν, πλησίον θαλάττης
(the other cities are on the right, across the Hypanis, in the Syndic [sic] territory. There is also a place called Gorgipia in the Syndic territory, the royal residence of the Sindi, near the sea; ib. p. 199)

Str. XI 2,11 (C 495, H.L. Jones, LCL, 1928):  Τῶν δὲ Μαιωτῶν δ᾽ εἰσὶν αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Σινδοὶ
(Among the Maeotae are the Sindi themselves; ib. p. 201)

Str. XI 2,12 (C 495, H.L. Jones, LCL, 1928):
Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σινδικὴν καὶ τὴν Γοργιπίαν | ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ Ἦ[...] τῶν Αχαιῶν καὶ Ζυγῶν καὶ Ἡνιόχων παραλία
(After the Syndic territory and Gorgipia, on | the sea, one comes to the coast of the Achaei and the Zygi and the Heniochi; ib. pp. 201.203)

Str. XI 2,14 (C 496, H.L. Jones, LCL, 1928):
Εὐθὺς δ᾽ οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Κοροκονδάμης πρὸς ἑώ μὲν ὁ πλοῦς ἐστίν. ἐν δὲ σταδίοις ἑκατόσχις ἐστὶν ὁ Σινδικός ἐστὶ λιμὴν καὶ πόλεις, εἶτα ἐν τετρακοσίαις τῇ καλούμενοι Βατά
(Now the voyage from Corocondamè is straight towards the east; and at a distance of one hundred and eighty stadia is the Syndic harbour and city; and then, at a distance of four hundred stadia, one comes to Bata; ib. p. 205)

Str. XII 7,2 (C 570, H.L. Jones, LCL, 1928):
Φησὶ δ᾽ Ἀρτεμίδωρος τῶν Πισιδῶν [...] πόλεις εἶναι Σέλγην, Σεσιλασσόν, Πετνηλισσόν, Άδαδα, Τυμβριάδα [...] Κρήμναν, Πετνισσόν, Αμβλαδὰ, Ανάβουρα, Σίνδα, Ααρασσόν, Τερμησσόν, Τερμισσόν
(Artemidorus says that the cities of the Pisidians are Selge, Sagalassus, Petnelesissus, Adada, Tymbrida, Crema, Pityassus, Amblama, Anabura, Sindha, Aarassus, and Termessus, ib. p. 481)

εἰσὶ δὲ τοῖς Φρυξῖν ὁμοῖοι καὶ τῇ Καρίᾳ Τάβαι [...] καὶ Σίνδα καὶ Αμβάδα
(And on the borders of the Phrygians and Caria are situated Tabae and Sindha, ib. p. 481)
Str. XV 1,33 (C 701, H.L. Jones, LCL, 1930): πρὸς αὐτῇ δ᾽ ἤδη τῇ Παταληνῇ τὴν τε τοῦ Μουσικανοῦ λέγουσι καὶ τὴν Σάβου, οὗ τὰ Σινδόμανα
(Near Patalenê, they say, one comes at once to the country of Musicanus, and to that of Sabus, where is Sindo- | mana; ib. pp. 57.59)


Tac. Ann. XI 10 (J. Jackson, LCL, 1937): in cuius transgressu multum certato periclit Vardanes, prosperisque proelis medias nationes | subegit ad flumen Sinden, quod Dahas Ariosque disterminat
(A severe struggle at the crossing ended in his [sc. Vardanes’] complete victory, and in successful actions he reduced the intervening tribes up to the | Sindes, which forms the boundary-line between the Dahae and Arians; ib. pp. 263.265)

Val. Flacc. VI 86 (J.H. Mozley, LCL, 1934): degeneresque ruunt Sindi glomerantque paterno | crimine nunc etiam metuentes verbera turmas
(The degenerate Sindi come flocking in hot haste, still fearful of the lash for the crime their fathers wrought, ib. p. 307)

ENDNOTES

1 M. Schmidt’s edition (1862) has Σινδίς.


3 Translation according to Rig-Veda. Das Heilige Wissen Indiens. In der Übersetzung von K.-F. Geldner. Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von P. Michel. Band I, Wiesbaden: Marix Verlag 2008, Fünfter bis achter Liederkreis, p. 333. I give the whole translation because not only the «Seven-River-Land» (Siebenstromland) may be of significance but also the reference to the bear («von dem Bären» in the German text), and to the Arians. The bear was one of the most important animals for the Indo-Europeans, having also a symbolic content to social standing.

4 Absent in GGM.