

# Traces of Early Indians in Greek Tradition: The linguistic Evidence

— A.L. Katonis

Names like *Sindos*, *Sindoi*, *Sindi* and derivatives in Greek and Latin sources - modern *Indos/Indus* included -, and *síndhu-* 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 *Periplus Maris*

*Euxini*, and others. P. Kretschmer published a paper in 1943[1944])<sup>2</sup>, 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 This is a rather thorough survey, even if some of its suggestions may be outdated, and the authors are not concerned with possible Greek correspondences.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) Ἰνδοῦς” and not as “Σίνδους”, as the three authors claim. In our view, if this

---

\* University of Thessaloniki, Greece

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 Realencyklopädie concerning the Sindoi, by K. Kretschmer, A. Hermann, and others, showing the same conception of Sindoi.



were correct, then an “Ἰνδοῦς” 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 *síndhu*- /‘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 “Sindomaetian” 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)-”.<sup>3</sup> 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 *síndhu*<sup>4</sup> and relative Vedic *Sapta-Síndhu* (*saptá síndhavaḥ*, ‘The Seven River Land’; or, originally, ‘The Seven High Places’ [enclosed

3. T. 1977 gives a list of 150 names with linguistic comments \*sindu- included (pp. 18-24).

4. See Monier-Williams 1899: 1217.



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).<sup>5</sup> 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 “Sindoi” (DELG 1005, “Σινδοί”) but there is no etymological information in the proper sense

of the word. Others think that the name Sindos is perhaps pre-hellenic. 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.<sup>6</sup>

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 Σινδος - *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).<sup>7</sup> 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 [saptapuri]» 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-a<sub>2</sub>* (παρφερα ‘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)<sup>8</sup>. 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 τóμος - τομός, in Indo-European and in Greek level. Such changes would help explain forms like Σίνδος - Σινδός. Historically, the paroxytones such as Síndos 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 \*sindhú- and \*sindhú-, and the reconstructions show a parallel shape with Greek Σίνδος - 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 successful 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<sup>9</sup>. 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.<sup>10</sup>

*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/(κατα)θέσθαι (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.



Schmitt 1967: 70-71[113-114], Mallory 1997: 438) and Sanskrit *na@!ma dha@* and *śrávas dhā* (cf. EWAia I 786, II 36, Polomé - Mallory 1997: 390). *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 constituents 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”<sup>11</sup>, 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 if we take recourse to the first.

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

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 Aiolic λεῦκος as compared to λευκός ('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'), Σῆμος - σῆμός ('snub (nosed)', 'bent upward'), Βάλακρος<sup>12</sup> - φαλακρός ('baldheaded'), Γραικός - Γραικός ('Greek'), Ἄργος - 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 *Síndos*, *Síndoi* should be preferred and not the equally attested *Sindós*, *Sindói*. (To this cf. St. B., p. 157 M, s.v. Βάλλδος, 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 Ἴνδος is given). Following KEWA (III 468) and EWAia (II 730) and the sources cited there, in Aryan level, and also in an earlier one, a thematic pair of \*sínthu- - \*sindhú- can be hypothetised. 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'). Τόμος survives in Modern Greek meaning 'volume' whereas of the second type survives τομή meaning 'cut(ting)', 'incision', 'intersection'. Reconstructed \*(w)óikos - \*(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.

*Sínthu-* - *sindhú-*, in root level, belong, according to Thieme and Mayrhofer (KEWA 466 and EWAia II 730), to *sidh-* - *sedh-*, cf. *sédhati* ('ward off', 'drive away'), whereas another root *sidh-*, belonging to *sídhyati* ('succeeds', 'reaches successfully') is to be kept apart. (This is also the traditional position

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. Βαλακρός, 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 *síndhu-* 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.<sup>13</sup> 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 ἴθυς/εὐθύς (‘direct’, ‘straight [forward]’) - Greek /θ/, (*th*), to be sure, corresponds regularly to \**dh-* and *sidh-* (1990: 291.297).<sup>14</sup> 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 ἴθυς 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 πίμπλημι (‘fill’) or ἵστημι (‘(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 ἴθυς (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 ἴθυς 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; ἀπό being a prefix serving for perfective aspect), and 2, ‘pushing the desert back’, ‘revitalizing the territory’ (ἀπό being interpreted perhaps as a first part of a compound). It is striking that L. uses the preverb/adverb ἀπα ‘off’, ‘away’ as an example in his argumentation admitting the same semantic ambiguity through the preverb ἀπα (p. 293). Ἀπα is semantically cognate with Greek ἀπό, Lat. ab, ā, German ab. (This writer has attended a lecture given by an environmentalist where the speaker used the word «ἀπερήμωση» 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. ἴθυς. On p. 193, Lamberterie gives a semantic analysis which aims at cross-checking the two different meanings of the root *sidh-*. Traditionally, this has led 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, “sindoí” (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 ἵθυς, 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 μαθάνω (‘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 μαθάνω-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 “ιερός” 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 “ιερός” are encountered. At least one of them can not refer to a shrine: “ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ στόματος τοῦ Ἰστρου” (‘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?<sup>15</sup> 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. “τοῦν δὲ ξυνέηχ’ 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 *īśirēṇa 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 *īśirā-* 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” (=forceful) 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 Sindh 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

<sup>15</sup> Το πόντος, Sanskrit *pánthāḥ* 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 Σίνδη χροησ[τή] χαῖρ[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.<sup>16</sup>

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 Sindos 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 Σινδιμανα (Arrian. *anab.* VI 16,4, et al.), Σινδοῦ (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

16. 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 *Sindos/Sinthos*. Several reference books consulted have not contributed more than the assumption that this is a name. Mycenaean orthography allows both *d* and *th* (*Sinthos*?). To the second, cf. *Peripl. M. Rubr.* 38<sub>24</sub> and 40<sub>15</sub>C., Ptol. VII 1,2 (Nobbe), *St. B.* p. 570<sub>6,7</sub> M and *St. B.* p. 570<sub>6,7</sub> M.



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 “bridge-heads”, that could serve as firm points in a migratory movement, with further expansion beyond not excluded.

### Appendix

A: Instances of “Sindoi” 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 κόμη (Ptol. V 9,8)

Σίνδα (πόλις) (Ptol. VII 2,7, St. B. p. 569)

Σίνδαι (Ptol. VII 2,27, St. B. p. 569)

Sindeciae (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)

Σινδιανοὺς (Lucian. Tox. 55)

Σιν- | δική (Scymn. F 18)

Σινδική (Hsch. Σ 679 Hansen)

Σινδική (St. B. p. 139)

Σινδική (Str. XI, 2,10 [C 495] [2X], St. B. p. 333)

Sindice (Geogr. Rav. II 24<sub>12</sub>.92<sub>31</sub>.135<sub>51</sub> )

Σινδικήν (Str. XI, 2,12 [C 495], Peripl. M. Eux. 10r<sub>12</sub>, A. Diller 1952, p. 130, Polyæn. 8, 55, Arrian. peripl. Maris Euxini 18,4, A.G. Roos II, 2002, p. 121)

Σινδικῆς (Hdt. IV 86, Peripl. M. Eux. 10r<sub>23</sub>, A. Diller 1952, p. 130, St. B. p. 211, Arrian. peripl. Maris Euxini 19,1, A.G. Roos II, 2002, p. 121)



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<sub>12</sub>, A. Diller 1952, p. 130)  
 Σινδικὸς λιμὴν (Scyl. 72, Scymn. F 17b, Peripl. M. Eux. 11r<sub>17</sub>, A. Diller 1952, p. 131, Str. XI, 2,14 [C 496], Ptol. V 9,8, Hsch. Σ 682 Hansen)  
 Σινδικὸς (πόλις) (Str. XI, 2,14 [C 496])  
 Σινδικοῦ λιμένος (Scymn. F 18, Peripl. M. Eux. 10r<sub>13</sub>, 10r<sub>14</sub>, 10r<sub>16</sub>, A. Diller 1952, p. 130)  
 Σίνδιοι (St. B. p. 569)  
 Sindique (Avien. III 866)  
 Σίνδοι (Scyl. 72, Scymn. F 18 [2x], Nic. Dam. fr. 120, Peripl. M. Eux. 10r<sub>17</sub>, A. Diller 1952, p. 130, Hsch. Σ 682 Hansen, St. B. p. 569)  
 Σινδοί (Phot. 156)  
 Σινδοὶ (Str. XI, 2,11 [C 495], Ap. Rhod. IV 322, Dionys. Perieg. 681, Anonymi Paraphrasis [ΠΑΡΑΦΡΑΣΙΣ] 680 seqq.)  
 Σίνδοις (St. B. p. 631)  
 Σίνδον (Hdt. IV 123)  
 Σινδοναῖοι (St. B. p. 570)  
 Σίνδων (Scymn. F 18, Peripl. M. Eux. 10r<sub>18</sub>, A. Diller 1952, p. 130)  
 Σίν- | - δων (Polyaen. 8, 55)  
 Σινδῶν (Str. XI, 2,10 [C 495])  
 Sindones (Mela 1, 110)  
 Sindonum (Mela 1, 111)  
 Σίνδος (Hdn. I 142<sub>20.27</sub> L)  
 σίνδος (Arcadius p. 48)  
 Sindos (Mela 1, 111)  
 Σινδοῦ (Kosmas Indikopleustes, Topogr. Christ. XI 15,9, XI 16,1, XI 16,4, XI 22,3, W. Wolska-Conus, 1973)  
 Σίνδους (Hdt. IV 28)  
 Sindus (Plin. n.h. VI 71)  
 Σινῶν (St. B. p. 569)  
 Σίνθιος (St. B. p. 570)  
 Σίνθον (Peripl. M. Rubr. 40<sub>15</sub> C)  
 Σίνθος (Peripl. M. Rubr. 38<sub>24</sub> C, St. B. p. 570)  
 Σίνθων (Ptol. VII 1,2)  
 Sinum (Plin. n.h. VI 20)  
 Σύνδικος (St. B. 592)



B: Numismatic and epigraphic evidence (see respective list)

Σίνδαξ (Panticapaeum, Byzantine era?)

Σίνδη (Peloponnesus?)

Σινδέο(υ) (Phanagoria, Byzantine era?)

Σίνδευς (Rhodus, 5th c. B.C.?)

Σίνδης (Attica, Roman Age)

ΣΙΝΔΗΣ (Epidaurus, 3rd c. B.C.)

Σίνδης (Rhodus, 1st c. B.C.)

Σινδίου (Korykos, Asia Minor, Christian era)

Σινδόκου (2X) (Gorgippia, 3rd c. B.C.)

Σίνδος (3X) (Gorgippia, 3rd c. B.C.)

Σίνδου (4X) (Gorgippia, 3rd c. B.C.)

ΣΙΝΔΩ(N) (3X) (Sinde, Bosphorus, 4th. c. B.C.)

Σίνδων (2X) (Phanagoria, 4th c. B.C.)

Σινδῶν (2X) (Panticapaeum, 4th c. B.C.)

Σινδῶ[ν (Panticapaeum, 4th c. B.C.)

Σινδ[ῶν (2X) (Panticapaeum, 4th c. B.C.)

[Σιν]δῶν (Panticapaeum, 4th c. B.C.)

Σινδῶν (Panticapaeum, 1st c. A.D.)

Σινδῶν (3X) (Phanagoria, 4th c. B.C.)

Σ[ινδ]ῶν (Phanagoria, 2nd c. B.C.?)

C: Modern place name (near Thessaloniki)

Σίνδος



## References

- Avram, D. - Sen, D. - Edwards, N. - Ford, M. - Woolridge, Beth  
2003 *The Rough Guide to India*. New - York - London - Delhi: Rough Guides
- Bader, François  
1997 Les noms des Aryens: ethniques et expansion. In: Eadem, *Langues indo-européennes*. Paris, CNRS Éditions, pp. 65-83
- 2004 Ethnographie et linguistique dans l'Iliade. In: Giovanna Rocca (cura), *Dialetti, dialettismi, generi letterari e funzioni sociali*. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Linguistica Greca (Milano, 12-13 settembre 2002). Alessandria: Edizioni dell' Orso, pp. 17-72
- Babiniotis, G.D.  
2002 Μπαμπινιώτης, Γ.Δ, *Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας*. 2η έκδοση (3η Ανατύπωση 2006). Αθήνα: Κέντρο Λεξικολογίας
- 2009 *Ετυμολογικό Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* (2η Ανατύπωση: Μάρτιος 2010). Αθήνα: Κέντρο Λεξικολογίας
- Bailey, H.W.  
1975 Indian *Sínthu-*, Iranian *Hindu-*. *BSOAS* 38: 610-611
- Beekes, R.  
2010 *Etymological Dictionary of Greek I-II*. Leiden - Boston: Brill
- Burrow, T.  
1955 *The Sanskrit Language*. London: Faber and Faber
- Collinge, N.E.  
1985 *The Laws of Indo-European*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company
- DELG *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots* par ἴP. Chantraine, avec un Supplément sous la direction de A. Blanc, Ch. de Lamberterie, J.-L. Perpillou. Paris: Klincksieck 1999
- Diller, A.  
1952 *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers*. Oxford etc.: Published by the American Philological Association
- EIEC J.P. Mallory - D.Q. Adams (eds), *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*. London - Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn 1997
- Eilers, W. - Mayrhofer, M.  
1960 Namenkundliche Zeugnisse der indischen Wanderung? Eine Nachprüfung. *Sprache* 6: 107-134
- EWAia M. Mayrhofer: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. I: 1992, II: 1996, III: 2001. Heidelberg: C. Winter
- Führer, R.  
1991 ἰθύνω, ἰθύς, ἰθύντατα, ἰθου@!ς, ἰθύω. *LfgE* 2: 1163-1167
- Gamkrelidze, Th.V. - Ivanov, V.V.  
1995 *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans. A Reconstruction and Historical Analysis of a Proto-Language and a Proto-Culture*. I-II. Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter
- GEW H. Frisk: *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. I: 1960, II: 1970, III: 1972. Heidelberg: C. Winter
- IEW J. Pokorny: *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. I: 1959, II: 1969. Bern - München: Francke
- Katonis, A.L.  
2001 Κατόνης, Α.Α., *Αποκλειστοποίηση των ηχηρών κλειστών /b d g/ της Ελληνικής. Διαχρονική φωνολογική προσέγγιση*. Διδακτορική Διατριβή. I: Ανάλυση (Analysis), II: Corpus. Αθήνα: Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Σπουδαστήριο Γλωσσολογίας
- 2006 Κατόνης, Α.Α., 'Οικολογία' - μια γλωσσολογική προσέγγιση. *Γλωσσολογία* 17: 157-168
- KEWA M. Mayrhofer: *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen. A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*. I: 1956, II: 1963, III: 1976, IV: 1980. Heidelberg: C. Winter
- Kretschmer, P.  
1943 Inder am Kuban. *AAWW* 80 [1944]: 35-42
- Kruškol, Julia  
1974 Die griechischen und autochthonen Städte der Sindike (Nordkaukasien) im Bosporanischen Reich im 4. und 3. Jahrhundert v.u.Z. In: E.Ch. Welskopf (hrsg.), *Hellenische Poleis II*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (©1973, Berlin), pp. 608-647
- Lamberterie, Ch.  
1990 Les adjectifs grecs en -υς. Sémantique et comparaison. I-II. Louvain-la Neuve: Peeters
- Lejeune, M.  
1972 Phonétique historique du Mycénien et du Grec ancien. Paris: Klincksieck
- LGPN P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews (eds), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Vol. I ff. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987 ff.



- Makkay, J.  
2000 *The Early Mycenaean Rulers and the Contemporary Early Iranians of the Northeast*. Budapest: ©Author (TM 22)
- Mallory, J.P.  
1997 Poetry. *EIEC* 436-439
- Monier-Williams, M.  
1899 *A Sanskrit - English Dictionary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass (Reprint 1999, Corrected Edition: 2002)
- Nobbe, C.F.A.  
1843-1845 *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographica*. Edidit C.F.A. Nobbe. Cum introductione a Aubrey Diller. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966 (Reprographischer Nachdruck)
- Nussbaum, A.  
2004 *Aspects of Indo-European Noun Morphology*. Lectures given during the 1st Indo-European Summer School at the Freie Universität in Berlin (30.08.2004-10.10.2004)
- O'Flaherty, Wendy Doniger  
1981 *The Rig Veda*. Harmondsworth: Penguin
- Polomé, E.C. - Mallory, J.P.  
1997 Name. *EIEC* 390-391
- Reger, G.  
2007 Traders and Travelers in the Black and Aegean Seas. In: V. Gabrielsen - J. Lund (eds), *The Black Sea in Antiquity*, Aarhus: University Press, pp. 273-285
- Rix, H.  
1985 Sūdor und sīdus. In: H.M. Ölberg et al. (edd.), *Sprachwissenschaftliche Forschungen*. FS J. Knobloch. Innsbruck, AMOE, pp. 339-350
- Robert, L.  
1963 *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine*. Paris: Librairie Adrien Maisonneuve
- Sakellariou, M.  
1980 *Les proto-grecs*. Athènes: Ekdotikè Athnon
- 2009 *Ethnè grecs à l'Âge du bronze I-II*. Paris: De Boccard - Athènes: Académie d' Athènes - Fondation Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique
- Schmitt, R.  
1967 *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
- Sharma, R.Sh.  
2006 *Advent of the Aryans in India*. New Delhi: Manohar (©1999)
- Stamatelatos, B. - Stamatelatos, F.  
1998 (?) Σταματελάτος, Μ. - Φωτεινή Βάμβα-Σταματελάτου Ελληνική Γεωγραφική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια. I-III. Αθήνα: Τεγόπουλος-Μανιατέας
- Thieme, P.  
1970 Sanskrit sindhu-/Sindhu- and Old Iranian hindu- / Hindu-. In: W.B. Henning Memorial Volume (ed. by M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch). London, Lund Humphries, pp. 447-450
- Trubachev, O.N.  
1974 О.Н. Трубачев: О Синдах и их языке /'On the Sinds and their language'/. *Вопросы языкознания* 1974,4: 39-63.  
1977 Лингвистическая периферия древнейшего славянства. Индоарийцы в северном Причерноморье /'The linguistic environment of the Ancient Slavs. Indo- Arians to the North of the Black Sea'/. *Вопросы языкознания* 1977,6: 13-29
- Uhlenbeck, C.C.  
1898-1899 *Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Altindischen Sprache*. Osnabrück: O. Zeller Verlag 1973 (Neudruck)
- Vinogradov, Ju.G.  
1997 *Pontische Studien*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern
- Vokotopoulou, Youlia et al.  
1985 Βοκοτοπούλου, Ιουλία κ.ά., Σίνδος. Κατάλογος της Έκθεσης. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θεσσαλονίκης - Αθήνα: ΤΑΠ
- WP A. Walde: *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Herausgegeben und bearbeitet von J. Pokorny. I: 1930, II: 1927, III: 1932. Berlin - Leipzig: W. de Gruyter & Co.
- Zgusta, L.  
1955 *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste*. Praha: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Vě



## PASSAGES

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 [...]

Ap. Rhod. IV 322 (R.C. Seaton, LCL, 1955):

οὐθ' οἱ περὶ Λαύριον ἤδη | Σινδοὶ ἐρημαῖον πεδῖον μέγα ναιετάοντες

(nor the Sindi that now inhabit the vast desert plain of Laurium; ib. p. 317)

Arcadius (Barker [1820] 1970, p. 48):

Τὰ εἰς δος δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ δ σύμφωνον κατὰ διάστασιν βαρύνεται [...], λίνδος, σίνδος [...] σεσημείωται τὸ ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς καὶ τὸ ἐθνικόν.

Arrian. anab. VI 16,4 (P.A. Brunt, LCL, 1983):

ἐπέλαζεν ἤδη τῇ πόλει Ἀλέξανδρος, ἤντινα μητροπόλιν εἶχεν ἢ τοῦ Σάμβου χώρα, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Σινδιμανα

(Alexander was already close to the capital city of Sambus' territory, named Sindimana; ib. p. 149).

Arrian. peripl. Maris Euxini 18,4 (A.G. Roos II, 2002, p. 121):

ἀπὸ δὲ Πάγ- | ρας λιμένος εἰς Ἴερὸν λιμένα ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. | ἐνθένδε εἰς Σινδικὴν τριακόσιοι.

Arrian. peripl. Maris Euxini 19,1 (A.G. Roos II, 2002, p. 121):

ἀπὸ δὲ Σινδικῆς εἰς Βόσπορον τὸν Κιμμέριον καλοῦ- | 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 Ὑφασιν [...] ποταμὸν προῆγεν [sc. Ἀλέξανδρος]

(and then advanced to the Hyphasis River [sc. in India]; ib. p. 389)

Diod. XVII 102 (C. Bradford Welles, LCL, 1963):

ἦς 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):

Σινδοὶ, Κιμμέριοι τε καὶ οἱ πέλας Εὐξεινοιο | Κερκέτιοι Τορορέται [v.l. Τορέται] τε καὶ ἀλκίεντες Ἀχαιοὶ  
(Sindi, Cimmerii atque Euxino finitimi | Cercetii et Toretae bellicosique Achaei; ib.)

Geogr. Rav. II pp. 24<sub>12</sub>.92<sub>31</sub>.135<sub>51</sub> (J. Schnetz [1940] 1990): Sindice

Hdn. I 142<sub>20.27</sub> L (GG III<sub>1,1</sub>):

Σίνδος ἔθνος ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας τῆς | Μαιώτιδος λιμνης. τινὲς δὲ ὄξυτονοῦσιν, οὐκ εὔ [...] σεση- | μείωται  
τὸ Ἴνδός ποταμὸς

Hdt. IV 28 (A.D. Godley, LCL, 1921):

καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρου Σκίθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ἐπελαίνουσι  
πέρην ἕς τοὺς Σίνδους.

(and the Scythians dwelling this side of the fosse lead armies over the ice, and drive their wains across to  
the land of the Sindi; ib. p. 227)

Hdt. IV 86 (A.D. Godley, LCL, 1921):

ἕς δὲ Θεμισκύρην τὴν ἐπὶ Θερωμόδοντι ποταμῷ ἐκ τῆς Σινδικῆς [...] τριῶν τε ἡμερέων καὶ δύο νυκτῶν πλόος  
(From the Sindhic 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):

πλέον δὲ ἀπὶκετο [sc. Ξέρξης] ἕς 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 Hansen<sup>1</sup> (III, 2005, p. 293): Σινδική· ἡ Σκυθία [...]. καὶ ἡ πόρνη D

Hsch. Σ 680 Hansen (III, 2005, p. 293): Σινδικὸν διάφραγμα· τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς

Hsch. Σ 682 Hansen (III, 2005, p. 293): Σίνδοι· ἔθνος Ἴνδικόν. ἔστι δὲ πόλις ἐκεῖ Σινδικὸς λιμὴν λεγομένη D

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

Kosmas Indikopleustes, Topogr. Christ. XI 15,9 (W. Wolska-Conus, 1973):

ὁμοίως καὶ Σινδοῦ, ἔνθα ὁ μύσχος καὶ τὸ κοστάριον καὶ τὸ ναρδόσταχυν γίνεται

(à Sindou pareillement où l'on trouve du musc., de la racine de costus et du nard indien; ib. p. 346)

Kosmas Indikopleustes, Topogr. Christ. XI 16,1 (W. Wolska-Conus, 1973):

Ἡ Σινδοῦ δὲ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς Ἴνδικῆς

(Sindou se situe aux abords de l'Inde; ib. p. 346)



Kosmas Indikopleustes, Topogr. Christ. XI 16,4 (W. Wolska-Conus, 1973):  
Εἰσὶν οὖν τὰ λαμπρὰ ἐμπόρια τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ταῦτα, Σινδοῦ, Ὀρροθᾶ, Καλλιανᾶ, Σιβῶρ, ἢ Μαλέ  
(Voici donc les splendides marchés de l'Inde: Sindou, Orrothâ, Kalliana, Sibôr et Malé; ib. p. 346)

Kosmas Indikopleustes, Topogr. Christ. XI 22,3 (W. Wolska-Conus, 1973):  
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)

Lucian. Tox. 55 (A.M. Harmon, LCL, 1955):

Ἄλανοι 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 subdoing 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):

Σῖνδοι [Jac.: Σινδοί] τοσοῦτους ἰχθῦς ἐπὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπιβάλλουσιν, ὅσους πολέμιους ὁ θαπτόμενος  
ἀποκτεινὼς ἦ.

(Sindi quum quenquam sepeliunt, tum quot hostes in vita occiderit, totidem pisces ejus sepulcro injiciunt;  
ib. p. 460)

Peripl. M. Rubr. 38<sub>24</sub> C.: ἐκδέχεται <τὰ> παραθαλάσσια | μέρη τῆς Σκυθίας παρ' αὐτὸν κειμένης τὸν  
βορέαν, ταπεινὰ λίαν, 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. 40<sub>15</sub> C.: Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Σίνθον ποταμὸν ἕτερός ἐστιν 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. 10r<sub>11-13</sub> (A. Diller 1952, p. 130):

Ἴερὸν λιμένα [...] τὸν νῦν λεγόμενον | Ἴεριου ἦτοι τὸ Νίκαξιν [...]. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἴεροῦ Λιμένος [...] ἦτοι |  
Νίκαξιν <sup>3</sup>εἰς Σινδικὴν <sup>m</sup>ἦτοι Σινδικὸν | λιμένα

Peripl. M. Eux. 10r<sub>13</sub> (A. Diller 1952, p. 130): Σινδικοῦ λιμένος



Peripl. M. Eux. 10r<sub>14</sub> (A. Diller 1952, p. 130): Ἀπὸ δὲ Σινδικοῦ λιμένος ἐκδέχεται κώμη Κορο|κονδάμη

Peripl. M. Eux. 10r<sub>16</sub> (A. Diller 1952, p. 130): ἕως τοῦ Σινδικοῦ λιμένος παρ- | οἰκοῦσι Μαιωτῶν τινες Σίνδοι λεγόμενοι ἔθνος, ἐφ' οἷς λέγεται Σινδική.

Peripl. M. Eux. 10r<sub>17</sub> (A. Diller 1952, p. 130): οὗτοι οἱ | Σίνδοι βάρβαροι μὲν εἰσι, τοῖς δὲ ἔθνεσιν<sup>2</sup> ἡμεροί.

Peripl. M. Eux. 10r<sub>18</sub> (A. Diller 1952, p. 130): ἀπὸ δὲ | τῶν Σίνδων εἰσὶ Κερκέται οἱ λεγόμενοι Τορίται

Peripl. M. Eux. 10r<sub>23</sub> (A. Diller 1952, p. 130): ἀπὸ Σινδικῆς | <εἰς Βόσπορον> τὸ Κιμμέριον καλούμενον

Peripl. M. Eux. 10r<sub>24</sub> (A. Diller 1952, p. 130): ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰεροῦ περιπλέοντες | ἕως τοῦ | στομίου τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης ἦτοι Ἀχιλλείου κώμης

Peripl. M. Eux. 11r<sub>22</sub> (A. Diller 1952, p. 131): καὶ Σινδικὸς λιμὴν, ἔχων οἰκήτορας Ἑλληνας  
Phot. 156 (Naber): Σίνδοι· 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)

Plin. n.h. VI 20 (H. Rackham, LCL, 1947): Tanaim ipsum Scythae Sinum vocant, Maeotim Temarundam, quo significant matrem maris.  
(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)  
Τιργαταὼ Μαιώτις ἐγήματο βασιλεῖ Σίν- | -δων, οἱ νέμονται μικρὸν ἄνω Βοσπόρου.  
(Tirgatao of Maeotis married Hecataeus the king of the Sindi, who live a little above the Bosphorus; ib. p. 829)  
μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Ἐκαταίου Σινδικὴν | κατέτρχε [sc. Τιργαταῶ]  
(raided the Sindician territory in particular; ib. p. 831)

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

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

Ptol. VI 10,3 (Nobbe): Πόλεις δὲ εἰσιν αὐτῆς αἶδε [...] Σίνα ἢ Σήνα [...]



Ptol. VII 1,2 (Nobbe): τὸ ἐφεξῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἴνδοῦ, ὃ καλεῖται Σίνθων

Ptol. VII 2,7 (Nobbe): Μεγάλου κόλπου τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Μέγα ἀκρωτήριον [...] Σίνδα πόλις

Ptol. VII 2,19 (Nobbe): μεταξύ τῶν Δαμάσσων ὁρῶν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Σίνας ὁρίου

Ptol. VII 2,27 (Nobbe): Εἰσὶ δὲ νῆσοι τρεῖς Ἀνθρωποφάγων, Σίνδαι καλούμεναι

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

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)<sup>3</sup>

Scyl. (Ps. - Skylax) 72 (Müller GGM I, 72): ΣΙΝΔΟΙ. Μετὰ δὲ Μαιώτας Σίνδοι ἔθνος· διήκουσι γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔξω τῆς λιμνῆς· καὶ εἰσιν πόλεις ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἑλληνίδες αἶδε· Φαναγόρου πόλις, Κῆποι, Σινδικὸς λιμὴν, Πάτους.

(SINDI. Post Maeotas sequitur gens Sindorum. Pertingunt hi etiam extra paludem, urbesque in iis Graecae sunt hae: Phanagorae urbs, Cēpi, Sindicus portus, Patūs; 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 λιμὴν, ἔχων οἰκήτορας | Ἑλλήνας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγγύς ἤκοντας τόπων

(et Sindikos Limèn, don't les habitans grecs proviennent des régions voisines; ib. p. 142)

Scymn. (Ps.-Skymn) F 18 (D. Marcotte, Géographes grecs I, p. 142 = 899-913 D.)<sup>4</sup>:

*Eux.* 24 M.<sup>2</sup>: (ἀπὸ οὗν Ἑρμωνάσσης ἕως τοῦ | Σινδικοῦ λιμένος) παροικοῦσι Μαιωτῶν τινες | Σίνδοι λεγόμενοι ἔθνος, ἐφ' οἷς λέγεται Σιν- | δική· οὗτοι οἱ Σίνδοι βάρβαροι μὲν εἰσι, τοῖς | δὲ ἔθεισιν ἡμεροί. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Σίνδων εἰσὶ | Κερκέται οἱ λεγόμενοι Τορίται

(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 mœurs sont policées [...]; ib. p. 142)

St. B. p. 139<sub>7</sub> M: καὶ πόλις περὶ τὸν Καύκασον | Σινδικὴ Ἀστερουσία κέκληται, Κρητῶν ἀποικίας ἐκεῖ σταλεῖ- | σης.

St. B. p. 211<sub>7</sub> M: Γοργίπεια, πόλις Σινδικῆς.

St. B. p. 333<sub>6</sub> M: Ἰξιβάται, ἔθνος πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ προσεχὲς τῇ Σινδικῇ

St. B. p. 569<sub>19</sub> M: Σίναί, μητρόπολις τῶν Σινῶν, περὶ ὧν φησι Μαρκία- | νὸς ἐν περιπλοῖς.

St. B. p. 569<sub>23-24</sub> M: Σινδία, πόλις Λυκίας. [...] τὸ ἐθνικὸν | Σίνδιοι.



St. B. p. 569<sub>25-26</sub> M: Σίνδα, πόλις πρὸς τῷ μεγάλῳ κόλπῳ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, ἐν- | θεν οἱ καλούμενοι Σίνδαι.  
St. B. p. 569<sub>27</sub> M: Σίνδοι, ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης

St. B. p. 570<sub>1</sub> M: ἔνιοι | δὲ καὶ τὸ Σινδικὸν γένος φασὶν εἶναι τῶν Μαιωτῶν ἀπό- | σπασμα. λέγεται καὶ τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον.

St. B. p. 570<sub>3</sub> M: Σινδοναῖοι, Θρακίον ἔθνος, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος

St. B. p. 570<sub>6-7</sub> M: Σίνθος, πόλις παρὰ τῷ Θερμαίῳ. Ἡρόδοτος ἐβδόμη. καὶ | τὸ ἐθνικὸν Σίνθος.

St. B. p. 592<sub>1</sub> M: Σύνδικος, πόλις προσεχῆς τῇ Σκυθίᾳ, ἔχουσα λιμένα. | ἔνιοι δὲ Γοργίππην καλοῦσι.

St. B. p. 631<sub>21</sub> M: Τραυχένιοι, ἔθνος περὶ τὸν πόντον τὸν Εὐξείνιον, ὁμο- | ρον Σίνδοις.

Str. XI 2,10 (C 495, H.L. Jones, LCL, 1928):

αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ἐν δεξιᾷ πέραν Ἑπάνιος ἐν τῇ Σινδικῇ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γοργιπία [...] ἐν τῇ Σινδικῇ, τὸ βασιλεῖον 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 Σίνδοι  
(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 ἢ [...] τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ζυγῶν καὶ Ἠνιόχων 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):

Εὐθύς δ' οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Κοροκονδάμης πρὸς ἕω μὲν ὁ πλοῦς ἐστίν. ἐν δὲ σταδίοις ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ὁ Σινδικὸς ἐστὶ λιμὴν καὶ πόλις, εἶτα ἐν τετρακοσίοις τὰ καλούμενα Βατά  
(Now the voyage from Corocondamê 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, Σαγαλασσόν, Πετνηλισσόν, Ἄδαδα, Τυμβριάδα [...], Κρημναν, Πιτυασσόν, Ἀμβλαδα, Ἀνάβουρα, Σίνδα, Ἀαρασσόν, Ταρβασσόν, Τερμησσόν  
(Artemidorus says that the cities of the Pisidians are Selgê, Sagalassus, Petnelissus, Adada, Tymbrida, Cremna, Pityassus, Amblada, Anabura, Sinda, Aarassus, and Termessus, ib. p. 481)  
εἰσὶ δὲ τοῖς Φρυγῶν ὁμοροὶ καὶ τῇ Καρίᾳ Τάβαι [...] καὶ Σίνδα καὶ Ἀμβλαδα  
(And on the borders of the Phrygians and Caria are situated Tabae and Sinda, 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)

Tab. Peut., Segm. X, 1 (Miller 1961): Sindecæ

Tac. Ann. XI 10 (J. Jackson, LCL, 1937): in cuius transgressu multum certato pervicit Vardanes, prosperisque proeliis medias nationes | subegit ad flumen Sindem, quod Dahas Ariosque disternat

(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 Σινδις.
- 2 Scymn. (Ps.-Skymn) F 18 (D. Marcotte, Géographes grecs I, p. 142 = 899-913 D.): «ἔθουσιν» (v. infra).
- 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.

