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TWO UNRECOGNIZED HYDRONYMS ON THE ISLAND OF CRETE

Abstract. This paper discusses two possible hydronyms of Ancient Crete. The first question refers to a Cretan river flowing along the boundaries of the ancient city of Lato (*IC I, XVI, 5, line 67*). It is suggested that the epigraphical phrase *καὶ κατὰ ποταμῶν* “and along a river” should be correctly rendered as *καὶ κατὰ Ποταμῶν* “and along [the river] Potamós”. The ancient river in question is commonly identified as the river called *Potamós* (or *tou Merabéllou to Potámi* or *Xiropótamos* or *Xeropótamos ton Potámon*), which flowed from the Dicte mountains to the Merabello Bay. It is suggested that the East Cretans preserved the ancient name Ποταμός (literally ‘River’) for more than two millennia. The second problem relates to the Hesychian gloss: ἡλλάθαρον· ἄλυμρον· Κρήτες (“*allátharon*: something salty. Cretans”). This is a compound noun containing the Greek term ἄλς m. ‘salt’ in the former part and the Anatolian **uat^haru* n. ‘well, spring, source’ (cf. Hittite *uattaru*) in the latter one. The Hesychian gloss may alternatively be interpreted as a proper name Ἄλλάθαρον, which originally denoted a Cretan saltwater source (and river) called Ἀλυμρός/Ἀρμυρός in modern times.

Keywords: ancient Crete, Cretan rivers, hydronyms, language contacts, onomastic heritage, salt sources

1. Did the ancient hydronym Ποταμός exist in Crete?

The onomastic continuation is a well-known phenomenon on the island of Crete. There are many place names attested to in the Mycenaean epoch (14th–12th BC), the Doric (7th–1st BC), the Roman (67 BC – 337 AD), the Early Byzantine (337–824 AD), as well as in the medieval, early modern and modern times, e.g. Myc. Gk. *tu-ri-so* /Tulissos/, Mod. Gk. Τύλισος, a Minoan-Mycenaean settlement, now a village west of Heraklion¹; Gk. Dor. Βολόεις (gen. sg. Βολόεντος),

¹ A. MORPURGO, *Mycenaeae Graecitatis Lexicon*, Romae 1963, p. 463; J. CHADWICK, M. VENTRIS, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, ²Cambridge 1973, p. 588; A.L. WILSON, *The Place-Names in the*



Att. Ὀλοῦς (gen. sg. Ὀλοῦντος), Mod. Gk. Ελούντα, a harbour and city-state in Eastern Crete, now a village near Hagios Nikolaos². In the first part of my paper, I would like to discuss the problem of onomastic continuation connected with the East Cretan hydronym.

1.1. Ancient attestation

The river under consideration is *explicito* mentioned in a treaty between two Cretan cities: Lato and Olous (ca. 110 BC). The final part of this treaty describes the frontiers of Lato (Anc. Gk. Λατώ), the important city-state of the Dorians in Crete, mentioned earlier as *ra-to* /Latō/ in the Linear B tablets from Knossos³. The related text (preserved in two parallel copies A and B) runs as follows (IC I, XVI 5, line 67): καὶ κατὰ ποταμὸν ἐς Κορδοῖλαν “and along a river to [a place called] Kordoila”⁴. It is highly probable that the ancient proper name Κορδοῖλα should be identified as the mountain now called Σκορδοῦλα (1200 m above sea level). In fact, the modern name Σκορδοῦλα seems to represent a perfect continuation of the ancient form. The initial phoneme Σ- had to be introduced by a sandhi effect (ἐς Κορδοῖλαν > ἐς *Κορδοῦλαν > ἐς Σκορδοῦλαν, hence Σκορδοῦλα). The vocalic cluster -ωĩ- or -οĩ- regularly develops into Modern Greek -ού-, e.g. Anc. Gk. ζωĩδιον, later ζώδιον n. ‘small animal’ > Mod. Gk. ζούδι n. ‘creature, living thing’; also ‘animalcule’, ζούδια pl. ‘vermins’⁵; Anc. Gk. βοῖδιον n. ‘little ox’ > Mod. Gk. βούδι n. ‘ox, bull, bullock’ > West Cretan βούι (pl. βούγια) ‘id.’⁶.

Linear B Tablets from Knossos: Some Preliminary Considerations, Min 16, 1977, p. 77; J.K. McARTHUR, *The Place-Names of the Knossos Tablets*, Salamanca 1985, p. 102–103; C. DAVARAS, *Guide to Cretan Antiquities*, ²Athens 1989, p. 329; Σ.Γ. ΣΠΑΝΑΚΗΣ, *Πόλεις και χωριά της Κρήτης το πέρασμα των αιώνων*, vol. II, Ηράκλειο 1993, p. 778–779; Α. ΒΑΣΙΛΑΚΗΣ, *Τύλισος*, Ηράκλειο 1997, p. 16–37; Π.Σ. ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΟΣ, *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό των νεοελληνικών οικωνυμίων*, vol. II, Λευκωσία 2010, p. 1392.

² R.A. BROWN, *Evidence for Pre-Greek Speech on Crete from Greek Alphabetic Sources*, Amsterdam 1985, p. 195; C. DAVARAS, *Guide...*, p. 213; Σ.Γ. ΣΠΑΝΑΚΗΣ, *Πόλεις...*, vol. I, p. 265–266; Α.Τ. ΒΑΣΙΛΑΚΗΣ, *The 147 Cities of Ancient Crete*, Heraklion 2000, p. 136–137; Μ.Κ. ΜΑΚΡΑΚΗΣ, *Ελούντα. Η ιστορία της μέσα από την ιστορία της Κρήτης*, Ελούντα 2009, p. 24–49; Π.Σ. ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΟΣ, *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό...*, vol. I, p. 518.

³ L.R. PALMER, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts*, London 1963, p. 451; J. CHADWICK, M. VENTRIS, *Documents...*, p. 578; J.K. McARTHUR, *The Place-Names...*, p. 82–84; C. DAVARAS, *Guide...*, p. 179.

⁴ *Inscriptiones Creticae*, vol. I, ed. M. GUARDUCCI, Roma 1935 (cetera: IC I), p. 119. See also P. FAURE, *Aux frontières de l'État de Lato: 50 toponymes*, [in:] *Europa. Studien zur Geschichte und Epigraphik der Frühen Aegaeis. Festschrift für Ernst Grumach*, ed. W.C. BRICE, Berlin 1967, p. 95; IDEM, *Νέα ανάγνωση της επιγραφής της στήλης υπ. αριθμ. 207 του Μουσείου Αγίου Νικολάου τα σύνορα της πόλεως Λατούς περί το 100 π. Χ.*, Αμ 3 (13), 1972, p. 236; IDEM, *Recherches de toponymie crétoise. Opera selecta*, Amsterdam 1989, p. 144, 176; Α. ΧΑΝΙΟΤΙΣ, *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit*, Stuttgart 1996, p. 359 (No. 61, line 67).

⁵ Ν.Π. ΑΝΔΡΙΩΤΗΣ, *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής*, ³Εσσελαονίκη 2001, p. 117.

⁶ Α.Β. ΞΑΝΘΙΝΑΚΗΣ, *Λεξικό ερμηνευτικό και ετυμολογικό του δυτικοκρητικού γλωσσικού ιδιώματος*, ⁴Ηράκλειο 2009, p. 162.

It may be that the epigraphical word ΠΟΤΑΜΟΝ does not represent the well-known Greek appellative ποταμός in the accusative singular, as it is usually suggested, but rather, it denotes the ancient proper name of the East Cretan river, which is known as Ποταμός in modern times, too. Naming a watercourse with a hydrographic term is a common phenomenon, often observed in the modern hydronymy of Crete⁷. If my suggestion is correct, the text of the treaty should be written as follows: καὶ κατὰ Ποταμὸν ἐς Κορδωΐλαν “and along [the river] Potamós to [the mountain] Kordōila”.

The same river is mentioned for the second time in the next line of the same inscription (IC I, XVI 5, line 68): ἐς Μεταλλάπτον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν [vel Ποταμὸν] κᾶν τὸν ῥόον ἐπὶ τὸ Στιώτιον “to Metallaputon on the river [Potamos] and up a stream to [the hill] Stiotion”. According to Paul Faure, Metallaputon refers to an ancient stone quarry located near the Merambellu Potami, whereas Stiotion denotes a small hill called today Limniotike Kephala (320 m above sea level)⁸.

1.2. Identification

The description of borders of the city-state Lato clearly demonstrates that the Cretan river, mentioned in two alternative epigraphical texts, must be identified with the upper course of the river called commonly *του Merabéllou to Potámi* (του Μεραμπέλλου το Ποτάμι) or *Xiropótamos* (Ξηροπόταμος) or *Xerapótamos ton Potámon* (Ξεροπόταμος των Ποτάμων)⁹. The upper course of the river is commonly named *Potamós* (Ποταμός) by the Cretans. The hydronym is registered in numerous modern sources as *Potamos* or Ποταμός¹⁰. It is worth emphasizing that the river in question was also mentioned in a Venetian mediaeval source (dated in 1343) as *lo flume* (= Mod. Gk. ο Ποταμός)¹¹.

The river called *Potamós*, flowing in a deep and impassable gorge, and the mountain called *Skordouíla* are the most expressive elements of the mountainous and bordering area, lying north-west of the modern village of Kritsa. Both proper names Ποταμός and Σκορδούλα seem to be perfectly related to the ancient (and mediaeval) nomenclature of the same area, i.e., to the main river called Ποταμός and the nearby mountain called Κορδωΐλα.

⁷ Cf. E. KACZYŃSKA, *Kreteńskie nazwy wodne pochodne od terminów hydrograficznych*, On 58, 2014, p. 193–209.

⁸ P. FAURE, *Néa anágnwosis...*, p. 239; IDEM, *Recherches de toponymie...*, p. 179.

⁹ See E.Σ. ΛΑΜΠΡΙΝΑΚΗΣ, *Γεωγραφία της Κρήτης*, Ρέθυμνο 1890, p. 173, 205; Ν.Θ. ΚΑΛΟΜΕΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Κρητικά: ήτοι τοπογραφία και οδοιπορικά της νήσου Κρήτης*, Αθήναι 1894, p. 101; P. FAURE, *Néa anágnwosis...*, p. 239; IDEM, *Hydronymes crétois*, Κρη 10, 1984, p. 45; IDEM, *Recherches de toponymie...*, p. 179, 318.

¹⁰ E.g. *Kreta. Wanderkarte / Crete. Hiding map*, scale 1:50.000, Wien 1999; *Crete / Κρήτη / Kreta. Road Map*, Berndtson & Berndtson Map, scale 1:200.000, ⁴Fürstfeldbruck 2001; *Kreta. A Guide of the Marco Polo Series*, first Polish edition, Stuttgart 2002; *Eastern Crete*, Road Editions, scale 1:100.000, Athens 2003.

¹¹ Σ.Γ. ΣΠΑΝΑΚΗΣ, *Συμβολή στην ιστορία του Λασιθίου κατά τη βενετοκρατία*, ²Ηράκλειο 1984, p. 13.

1.3. Etymology

The Cretan hydronym Ποταμός evidently derives from the Greek appellative ποταμός m. ‘river, stream’¹². Of course, it cannot be excluded that the modern hydronym Ποταμός is an accidental reproduction of the ancient river name, created secondarily on the basis of the Cretan dialectal vocabulary. In fact, the Cretans commonly used the dialectal word ποταμός to denote ‘river, stream’. I believe, however, that the ancient hydronym Ποταμός is reflected in the same form in the modern nomenclature of the area of Eastern Crete. Also, the proper name of Κορδωΐλα, denoting a place lying near the ancient river, seems to be rendered as Σκορδούλα (the mountain near the river Potamós, 1200 m high). In my opinion, the suggested onomastic continuity in the discussed area of Eastern Crete can be documented by a pair of proper names.

2. Is a Cretan salt-water source attested to in Hesychius’s lexicon?

In my earlier article¹³, I discussed the Cretan gloss registered in the late ancient lexicon created by Hesychius of Alexandria in the last decades of the 5th century AD: †ἀλλάθαρον· ἄλυρον. Κρήτες (α-3110) “†*allátharon* – something salty, Cretans”¹⁴. I rejected the so-called *crux philologorum* indicating that the lemma is not corrupt or doubtful¹⁵, as it may be successfully explained as a Greek-Anatolian hybrid term for ‘salt source’¹⁶, cf. Gk. ἅλις (gen. sg. ἁλός) m. ‘salt’, f. ‘sea’¹⁷ and Hittite noun *uattaru* [wat^haru] n. ‘well, spring, source’¹⁸. In my opinion, the Cretan term

¹² H.G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1996, p. 1453; F. MONTANARI, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*, Leiden–Boston 2018, p. 1730; *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon*, vol. I–II, ed. J. DIGGLE, Cambridge 2021, p. 1169; O. JUREWICZ, *Słownik grecko-polski*, Truskaw 2021, p. 792.

¹³ E. KACZYŃSKA, *Reflections on a Cretan Gloss Denoting a Salt Source*, GRBS 62.2, 2022, p. 148–160.

¹⁴ *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, ed. I.C. CUNNINGHAM, Berlin–Boston 2018, p. 146. See also *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, ed. K. LATTE, Hauniae 1953, p. 110.

¹⁵ It should be noted that other editors or authors published the Cretan gloss in question without a *crux*, e.g. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, ed. M. SCHMIDT, Ienae 1858, p. 126, s.v. α-3112; G.M. KLEEMANN, *De universa Creticae dialecti indole adiecta glossarum Creticarum collectione*, Halis Saxonum 1872, p. 22–23; R.A. BROWN, *Evidence...*, p. 25; H.G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon...*, p. 68; A.Θ. ΒΑΣΙΛΑΚΗΣ, *Το κρητικό λεξικό*, Ηράκλειο 1998, p. 35.

¹⁶ E. KACZYŃSKA, *Reflections...*, p. 152–155.

¹⁷ J. POKORNY, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern–München 1959, p. 878–879; R. BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, vol. I, Leiden–Boston 2010, p. 74–75. See also R.-G. CURCĂ, *Terminology of Salt in Ancient Greek*, SAAr 21.2, 2015, p. 221–233.

¹⁸ D.M. WEEKS, *Hittite Vocabulary: An Anatolian Appendix to Buck’s Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*, Los Angeles 1985, p. 13; A. KLOEKHORST, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, Leiden–Boston 2008, p. 989. The dental geminate *-tt-* in Hittite can represent both [t] and [t^h]. For the possible correspondence between Hittite *-tt-* and Greek θ, see the Lydian gloss βαθυρρηγάλη· ικτινός υπό Λυδῶν (β-65) attested in the Hesychian glossary, cf. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, ed. I.C. CUNNINGHAM, p. 414. It was earlier suggest-

ἀλλάθαρρον is regularly derived from *ἀλλάθαρρον [h^{al}lath^{ar}on] as a result of a distant regressive dissimilation of two aspirated consonants (Grassmann's law)¹⁹, cf. Gk. Hom. ἀδελφεός, Attic ἀδελφός m. 'brother' < Proto-Greek *ἄ-δελφειός < PIE. *sm_g-g^helb^heǵós adj. '(descending) from the same womb', cf. Vedic *ságarbhya*-adj. 'born from the same womb'²⁰; Gk. Hom. ἄλοχος f. 'bedmate; wife; cohabitant; concubine' < Proto-Greek *ἄ-λοχος < PIE. *sm_g-log^hos 'having the same bed; lying together in a bed; the action of lying together', cf. Old Church Slavic *σρολοσ* m. 'bedmate, husband, lover'²¹; Gk. Hom. ἄσταχυς m. 'grain growing in the field; (mowed) cereal together with the stem and ear' < PGk. *ἄ-σταχυς 'having the same corn-ear' vs. Gk. στάχυς m. 'corn-ear' and further instances²².

The Anatolian term for 'well, spring, source', attested to as *uattaru* in Hittite, seems to be validated in the Hesychian lexicon as the proper name of an unknown spring: Βαθάλη· κρήνη· Ἀμερίας (β-47) "*Bathálē* – (the name of) a spring/source. Amerias"²³. Hesychius of Alexandria clearly indicates a source of his information. He adopted this gloss from a work of Amerias (3rd c. BC), the Macedonian-Greek grammarian and lexicographer²⁴. Gustav E. Benseler was convinced that Βαθάλη represents an ancient proper name referring to a spring ("Bezeichnung einer Quelle")²⁵, and not a purely Greek noun. His position is accepted by Kurt Latte and Ian C. Cunningham, two modern editors of the Hesychian lexicon, who introduced the upper-case letter in the initial position. It is highly probable that the analyzed gloss α-3110 attests, in fact, to the proper name of a Cretan salt-water source, and not a Cretan appellative. If this is so, then the Hesychian gloss in question should be alternatively restored as Ἀλλάθαρρον· ἄλμυρόν· Κρήτες ("*Allátharon*: a salt-water source. Cretans").

Here I would like to review this fascinating possibility, bearing in mind the fact that on the island of Crete there are famous saltwater springs called Armirós or

ed that the Lydian term for 'red kite, *Milvus milvus* L., βαθυρρηγάλη, is etymologically related to the Hittite ornithonym *pattarpalhiš* 'a kind of oracular bird', literary 'broad-winged; having broad wings', see K.T. WITCZAK, *On the Lydian Word for 'Kite'*, *ŽA* 61, 2011, p. 39–42.

¹⁹ See especially E. KACZYŃSKA *Reflections...*, p. 150–151; EADEM, K.T. WITCZAK, *Greek στάχυς and ἄσταχυς: Semantic and Morphological Discrepances*, E 111, 2024, p. 239–240.

²⁰ J. POKORNY, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch...*, p. 473; H. FRISK, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. I, Heidelberg 1960, p. 19; P. CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*, vol. I, Paris 1968, p. 18–19; R. BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary...*, p. 20; E. KACZYŃSKA, *Reflections...*, p. 150; EADEM, K.T. WITCZAK, *Greek στάχυς...*, p. 239.

²¹ J. POKORNY, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch...*, p. 658–659; R. BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary...*, p. 74, 852; E. KACZYŃSKA, *Reflections...*, p. 150–151; EADEM, K.T. WITCZAK, *Greek στάχυς...*, p. 239.

²² E. KACZYŃSKA, *Reflections...*, p. 150–151; EADEM, K.T. WITCZAK, *Greek στάχυς...*, p. 239–240.

²³ *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, ed. K. LATTE, p. 306; *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, ed. I.C. CUNNINGHAM, p. 413.

²⁴ L. BERKOWITZ, K.A. SQUITIER, *Canon of Greek Authors and Works*, ³New York–Oxford 1990, p. 17.

²⁵ G.E. BENSELER, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, ³Braunschweig 1911, p. 191.

Almirós in modern times (Mod. Gk. Αρμυρός, earlier Αλμυρός ← Gk. άλμυρός adj. 'salty')²⁶. One of them is located south of the mouth of the Potamos River, also called *tou Merabéllou to Potámi* or *Xeropotamos ton Potámon* (Eastern Crete):

2.1. Mod. Gk. Αλμυρός / Αρμυρός, salt springs and marshes located ca. 2 km south of the town of Agios Nikolaos (Lasithi regional unit, Eastern Crete). The marshes called *Almirós* form one of the most important hydrobiotopes in Greece. The salt marshes are clearly registered as *Armiro* in several 17th-century maps²⁷, as well as in modern times, e.g. *Almyro or Armyro – a copious source of brackish water* (in 1865); Αρμυρός (in 1891); *Almyros* (in 1869); Άλμυρός (in 1890 etc.)²⁸. The proper Cretan name derives from the adjective αλμυρός, also αρμυρός 'salt[γ], briny, saline'²⁹. The alternative (or folk) form αρμυρός documents a delateratization typical of some idioms of Modern Greek, including the Cretan dialect³⁰.

There are other saltwater springs or rivers on the island of Crete:

2.2. Mod. Gk. Αλμυρός / Αρμυρός, also Αλμυρίδα / Αρμυρίδα, an abundant source of salt water north-west of the village of Gazi (Heraklion regional unit, Central Crete), from which a small river called *Armirós / Almirós* flows (see 2.3). A small lake called *Kolíba Armiroú* is formed near the source. The first attestation of the salt spring was documented at the end of the 16th century, when Stamatias Fasidonis registered it as *Armirò* in 1590³¹. Modern evidence is abundant, e.g. Αλμυρός (Αρμυρός) – μεγάλη καρστική πηγή (in 1965); Αλμυρός – [πηγή] στο Γάζι Τεμένους (in 1996)³². The single record *Armiris* (in a German military map printed during the Second World War) represents an alternative form taken

²⁶ O. RACKHAM, J. MOODY, *The Making of the Cretan Landscape*, Manchester–New York 1996, p. 42; E. KACZYŃSKA, *Kreteńskie hydronimy utworzone od apelatywów określających cechy wody i jej koryta*, *Přez* 20.2, 2018, p. 62; EADEM, *Reflections...*, p. 155–159.

²⁷ *Regno di Candia: atlante corografico di F. Basilicata 1618*, ed. D. CALABI, Marsilio 1993 (map); M. BOSCHINI, *Il Regno tutto di Candia*, Venezia 1651 (map); P.M. CORONELLI, *Isola. Regno di Candia*, Venetiis 1681 (map).

²⁸ T.A.B. SPRATT, *Travels and Researches in Crete*, vol. I, London 1865, p. 145; V. RAULIN, *Description physique de l'île de Crète*, Paris 1869, p. 379; N. ΣΤΑΥΡΑΚΗΣ, *Στατιστική του πληθυσμού της Κρήτης*, Αθήναι 1890, p. 51; E.Γ. ΓΕΝΕΡΑΛΙΣ, *Επίτομος γεωγραφία της νήσου Κρήτης*, Ηράκλειο 1891, p. 11. See also P. FAURE, *Hydronymes crétois...*, p. 45; IDEM, *Recherches...*, p. 318; N. ΑΝΔΡΙΩΤΗΣ, *Πληθυσμός και οικισμοί της ανατολικής Κρήτης (16^{ος}–19^{ος} αι.)*, Ηράκλειο 2006, p. 30.

²⁹ D.N. ΣΤΑΥΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Oxford Greek-English Learner's Dictionary*, Oxford 1992, p. 34; N.Π. ΑΝΔΡΙΩΤΗΣ, *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό...*, p. 37.

³⁰ B. NEWTON, *The Generative Interpretation of Dialect. A Study of Modern Greek Phonology*, Cambridge 1972, p. 112–113.

³¹ Μ. ΑΡΑΚΑΔΑΚΗ, *Σταμάτη Φασιδώνη (Λιμενάρχη Χανίων) «Περιγραφή των ακτών της Κρήτης» (1590 ci.)*, [in:] *Τα κρητικά τοπωνύμια. Διήμερο επιστημονικό συνέδριο*. Ρεθύμνο, 6–7 Νοεμβρίου 1998. *Πρακτικά*, vol. I, ed. X. ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΙΑΚΗΣ, Ρεθύμνο 2000, p. 128, 149.

³² E.K. ΠΛΑΤΑΚΗΣ, *Ο Αλμυρός του Ηρακλείου. Ειδήσεις και πληροφορίες*, ΚΧρ 19, 1965, p. 55; O. RACKHAM, J. MOODY, *The Making...*, p. 42.

from katharevousa Αρμυρίς (= Mod. Gk. Αρμυρίδα)³³. It derives from the Cretan dialectal word αρμυρίδα f. ‘saltwater source’ (< Gk. άλμυρίς, gen. sg. άλμυρίδος f. ‘salty moisture; salty foam; saltiness; salty terrain’³⁴).

2.3. Mod. Gk. Αρμυρός / Αλμυρός, a strong river in the Heraklion regional unit (Central Crete), that flows from an abundant saltwater spring called *Almirós* / *Armirós* or *Almirída* / *Armirída* (see 2.2) to the Cretan Sea near the mouth of the river of Gazanós. The Cretan river is mentioned as *Armiro* or *Armirò* by Francesco Barozzi (ca. 1577/1578), Stamatis Fasidonis in 1590 and Francesco Basilicata in 1630³⁵. It is frequently confirmed by historical maps, beginning from 16th c. AD, e.g. *Armiro flu.* (in 1584); *Armiro fl.* (in 1590)³⁶.

2.4. Mod. Gk. Αλμυρός / Αρμυρός, abundant saltwater springs and marshes located ca. 300 m west of the village of Georgioupolis (Mod. Gk. Γεωργιούπολη, Arokoronas municipality, Chania regional unit, Western Crete). The region situated on the Almyros Bay was inhabited already in the Minoan epoch³⁷. Historical-geographical sources (e.g. Str. G. X 475; Plin. *HN* IV 20) and archaeological data clearly document that Georgioupolis was the site of Amphimalla or Amphimallion, one of two main harbours of the Doric city-state Lappa, modern Argyroupolis, located on the northern coast of Crete³⁸. In 1898, the city of Georgioupolis was renamed in honour of the Greek prince George. Earlier it was called *Castrum dell’Armirò* during the Venetian occupation of the island and *Almyrós*, *Armyrós*, *Almyρούpolis* or *Chánia tou Almyrouí* in early modern times³⁹.

2.5. Mod. Gk. Αλμυρός / Αρμυρός or Ποταμός, earlier του Αλμυρού το ποτάμι, a river only one km long, flowing from the spring by the same name (see 2.4) to the Almyros Bay (called the *Amphimallēs Kolpos* in antiquity). The Cretan river is

³³ *Karte der Insel Kreta*, hrsg. vom Generalstab der Luftwaffe, Maßstab 1:266.666, Berlin 1941. The alternative variant Αλμυρίδα appears in a modern map, cf. *Eastern Crete*, Road Editions, scale 1:100.000, Athens 2003.

³⁴ *Słownik grecko-polski*, vol. I, ed. Z. ABRAMOWICZÓWNA, Warszawa 1958, p. 95; F. MONTANARI, *The Brill Dictionary*..., p. 96; O. JUREWICZ, *Słownik*..., p. 31.

³⁵ F. BAROZZI, *Descrittione dell’isola di Creta (Περιγραφή της Κρήτης) (1577/8)*, ed. S. KAKLAMANIS, Heraklion 2004, p. 268–269; Μ. ΑΡΑΚΑΔΑΚΗ, *Σταμάτη Φασιδώνη*..., p. 128, 149; F. BASILICATA, *Relazione 1630*, [in:] *Μνημεία της κρητικής ιστορίας*, vol. V, ed. Σ.Γ. ΣΠΑΝΑΚΗΣ, Heraklion 1969, p. 35.

³⁶ A. ORTELIUS, *Candia Insula. Archipelagi insularum aliquot descriptio*, Antwerp 1584 (map); G. MERCATOR, *Candia cum insulis aliquot circa Graeciam*, Duisburg 1590 (map).

³⁷ Ν. ΠΛΑΤΩΝ, *Συμβολή εις το τοπωνυμικόν, την τοπογραφίαν και την ιστορίαν των πόλεων και φρουρίων της Κρήτης. Γ’ Πόλεις της β. ακτής μεταξύ Δρεπάνου και Δίου Άκρου*, ΚΧρ 2, 1948, p. 354, 359, 365; O. RACKHAM, J. MOODY, *The Making*..., p. 42; A.T. VASILAKIS, *The 147 Cities*..., p. 67.

³⁸ R.A. BROWN, *Evidence*..., p. 100; E. ΚΑΚΥΨΣΚΑ, Κ.Τ. WITCZAK, *Strabon z Amasei, Opis Krety (Geographica X 4, 1–15)*, M 51.3–4, 1996, p. 224; Α.Θ. ΒΑΣΙΛΑΚΗΣ, *Το κρητικό λεξιλόγιο*..., p. 37; IDEM, *The 147 Cities*..., p. 67.

³⁹ Σ.Γ. ΣΠΑΝΑΚΗΣ, *Πόλεις*..., vol. I, p. 15, s.v. Γεωργιούπολη; Π.Σ. ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΟΣ, *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό*..., vol. I, p. 408, s.v. Γεωργιούπολις.

mentioned for the first time as τοῦ Ἄλυμου τοῦ ποτάμι in the so-called *Chrysó-boullō* (dated in 1182; the preserved text is considered as a thirteenth-century forgery of the original Byzantine document). Mediaeval and early modern sources or maps registered it by means of a Latin calque, e.g. Cristoforo Buondelmonti registers the river as *Salsum flumen* in 1415⁴⁰, Giuseppe de Rossi as *Salsa fluvius*⁴¹. The saltwater river frequently appears as *Armiro* (= Mod. Gk. Ἀρμυρός) in the Venetian and post-Venetian times, e.g. in Francesco Barozzi's account written ca. 1577–1578⁴². Stamatis Fasidonis wrote the river name as *Armirò* in 1590⁴³, whereas Francesco Basilicata registered *Armiro Fiume* in 1630⁴⁴. The river is navigable all the way from the salt springs to the mouth. It is therefore no wonder that it appeared on many Italian and French maps from the 17th century: *Armiro* (Basilicata's map made in 1618); *Armiro F.* (Boschini's map); *Armiro fl.* (Sansón's map)⁴⁵.

2.6. Mod. Gk. Ἀλυμός / Ἀλυμός / Ἀλυμβρός, a periodic stream flowing through the gorge of the same name, located 1,5 km north-west of the town of Ierapetra (Lasithi regional unit). It crosses some suburbs of Ierapetra. The river name was only confirmed in the 20th century: Ἀλυρό (στον) – ξεροπόταμος⁴⁶; ὁ Ἄλυμ(β)-ρός⁴⁷; Ἀλυμός (my own record in July 2003). Two alternative forms Ἄλυμρός and Ἄλυμβρός, registered by P. Faure, probably arose as a result of a local metathesis. The river name seems primitive in relation to the name of the gorge.

In my opinion, Hesychius of Alexandria, in fact, registered the ancient name of one of three Cretan abundant sources with the salt water. Unfortunately, the exact location of the Allatharon spring remains unclear. The Almirós springs and marshes located near Georgiupoli (ancient Amphimalla) seem to be the most probable solution, as this area was intensively inhabited not only in the Doric times, but also in the Minoan-Myceanean epoch. The navigable river Almirós, flowing from these springs to the Almyros Bay of the Cretan Sea, is today used by sailors and fishermen. There is no doubt that this river was a very convenient and safe harbour for ships in ancient times.

⁴⁰ C. BUONDELMONTI, *Descriptio insule Crete et liber insularum*, cap. XI: *Creta*, ed. M.-A. VAN SPI-TAEL, Heraklion 1981, p. 100, 245.

⁴¹ G. DE ROSSI, *Descriptio Crete, nunc Candia Moderna*, Venezia 1622 (map).

⁴² F. BAROZZI, *Descrittione...*, p. 269.

⁴³ Μ. ΑΡΑΚΑΔΑΚΗ, *Σταμάτη Φασιδώνη...*, p. 125, 146.

⁴⁴ F. BASILICATA, *Relazione 1630...*

⁴⁵ IDEM, *Regno di Candia...* (map); M. BOSCHINI, *Il Regno...* (map); N. SANSON, *Isle et Royaume de Candie*, Paris 1658 (map).

⁴⁶ *Τοπωνυμικό λεξικό της Κρήτης*, Historical Museum of Crete, onomastic data collected in years 1953–1957.

⁴⁷ P. FAURE, *Hydronymes crétois...*, p. 49; IDEM, *Recherches...*, p. 322.

3. Conclusions

The meticulous analysis of the epigraphical and lexicographical data leads us to the following conclusions:

3.1. The treaty between two Cretan states, Lato and Olous (ca. 110 BC) clearly indicates that the western boundary of the Doric city-state Lato ran “along a river to Kordoila”: καὶ κατὰ ποταμὸν ἐς Κορδοῖλαν (*IC I, XVI 5, line 67*). It is suggested that the river was named *Potamós* in antiquity, as well as in modern times (Mod. Gk. Ποταμός), whereas the geographical name Kordoila refers to the impressive mountain (1200 m high) called Skordoula (Mod. Gk. Σκορδούλα), located near the river. It is suggested that the epigraphical source in question should be printed in the following shape: κατὰ Ποταμὸν ἐς Κορδοῖλαν “and along the Potamós river to [the mountain called] Kordoila”.

3.2. The Potamós river, flowing in a deep and impassable gorge, and the Skordoula mountain (1200 m high) are the most representative landscape elements in this border area. Their names should be considered as two highly probable examples of the onomastic continuation from the Doric era to the present day: Anc. Gk. Ποταμός > Mod. Gk. Ποταμός, Anc. Gk. Κορδοῖλα > Mod. Gk. Σκορδούλα.

3.3. The Hesychian gloss α-3110 has been printed in two modern editions with the *crux philologorum* and the small initial letter: †ἀλλάθαρων· ἀλμυρόν. Κρήτες seems to indicate the ancient name of a Cretan saltwater spring, and not a Cretan noun. It is suggested that the discussed lemma should begin with the upper-case letter (with no *crux*): Ἀλλάθαρων· ἀλμυρόν. Κρήτες (“*Allátharon* – [the name of] a salt source. Cretans”) by analogy to the other gloss attested in Hesychius’ lexicon: Βαθάλη· κρήνη. Ἀμερίας (“*Bathálē* – [the name of] a source. Amerias”).

3.4. The exact location of the Allatharon source on the island is uncertain. Theoretically, it can refer to three Cretan saltwater springs which formed marshes or rivers, called Almirós, or Armirós in modern times. The most suggestive solution seems to be a location near Georgioupolis, the resort village and a former municipality in the Chania regional unit (Western Crete). It is commonly accepted that the ancient town of Amphimalla, located on the Almyros Bay, was in an area close to the saltwater springs and marshes. Moreover, the navigable river, flowing from these springs to the Cretan Sea, was frequently used by ancient sailors and fishermen. The surrounding areas were inhabited by people as early as the Minoan times.

List of abbreviations

Anc. Gk. = Ancient Greek; Att. = Attic dialect of Ancient Greek; Dor. = Doric dialect of Ancient Greek; Gk. = Greek; Hom. = Homeric (epic) dialect of Ancient Greek; Mod. Gk. = Modern Greek; Myc. Gk. = Mycenaean Greek; PGk. = Proto-Greek.

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