

ΣΑΥΠΟΜΑΤΑΙ OR ΣΑΡΜΑΤΑΙ?  
IN SEARCH OF THE ORIGINAL FORM\*

By

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The Indo-Europeanist and Slavist onomast receives from the classical philologist priceless onomastic source material; priceless, because it is strictly speaking “literary”, or original, since Greek and Roman authors – the historiographers and geographers, often simultaneously diplomats, strategists and merchants; even their philosophers and poets – listed foreign ethnonyms, hydronyms, oronyms and even toponyms in their works.

The borders of the *oikoumene* shifted for the Greek settler and merchant; already in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC the restless Ionians founded cities on the Black Sea (such as Olbia and Tyras). Generals and traders would conquer ever new lands in Europe and Asia for the Roman Empire. That was the route along which the earliest geographical and ethnographic reconnaissance proceeded of those regions called Scythia, Dacia, Moesia, Sarmatia etc. Ionian logographers, especially Hecataeus and Xanthus, the excellent historian Herodotus and his successors – Ephorus, Pseudo-Scylax, Pseudo-Scymnus, the historian Polybius, the geographers Strabo and Ptolemy – provide us with very rich onomastic material for European and Asian peoples. Finally, Roman authors of the Imperial period (Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder, Tacitus and others) besides traditional Greek sources had their own, based on the military and commercial intelligence of the Roman Empire, which in its efforts to defend its territories from the attacks of the Celts, Thracians, Scythians, Sarmatians, Slavs and Germans took care to have those lands well mapped, even in the cartographic sense.

There was on the one hand cartography, more or less faithfully rendering the geographical nomenclature learned by the author himself or from military and commercial reports; and on the other, literature, or more exactly “literary arm-

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chair geography”<sup>1</sup>, traditionally copied and “improved upon”, that is modified or copied with inaccuracies. And that kind of *traditio scripta* went on for ages, since the earliest preserved manuscript copies can be dated to the Middle Ages, or specifically the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Classicists have produced model editions of and commentaries on Greek and Roman prose and poetic texts, but foreign onomastic material quoted in those works would seem to require a separate collective editorial and commenting process, followed by etymological derivation. W. PAPE and G.E. BENSELER’S *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* is valuable, but its first edition came out in 1842, while for instance its third in the years 1863–1870. Some more recent Greek or Latin dictionaries<sup>2</sup> include onomastic material, but with the many text variants the onomast linguist needs his onomastic material to be more complementary, so as to distinguish *lectio prima, secunda, falsa* etc.

The Slavist ought to receive some “Fontes ad Slavorum terras spectantes e veteribus scriptoribus Graecis et Latinis collecti”, since in controversial and arduous onomastic reconstruction attempts, M. PLEZIA’S greatly valuable studies *Najstarsze świadectwa o Słowianach* (Poznań 1947) and *Greckie i łacińskie źródła do najstarszych dziejów Słowian* (Poznań–Kraków 1952) cannot, as the author himself noted, replace the originals provided with appropriate commentary and variants arranged according to filiation. That is all the more necessary because without preliminary text-based analyses even a seasoned Indo-Europeanist and Slavist could well fall for a substituted (and so non-original) example, supplying a false etymology for it. So the outstanding onomast and linguist J.M. ROZWADOWSKI, the author of a monumental work<sup>3</sup>, fell for the typographic variants found in ancient and early mediaeval sources for the name of the Vistula (*Vistla*, *Vistula* – *Viscla*, *Viscula* – Οὔιστουύλα, *Vis-la*: \*veis-, cf. вѣ *Vislěxъ*, Βίσλας), adopting actual morphological variants *Vis-tula*, *Vis-cula*, *Vis-ula* / *Visla*. Meanwhile, those were clearly *Schriftformen*, *Viscla* (*sl* → *scl*), *Vistla* (*sc* ↔ *st*, with a palaeographic confusion of *c* and *t*), and the substitutive *Viscula*, *Vistula* and *Visula* (with a svarabhaktic *u* before the *l*)!

Without meticulous philological and linguistic research it would have been impossible to reduce to their common denominator the diverse textual variants: cf. Ἀρκύνια ὄρη (Arist. *Mete.* I 13), Ἑρκύνιος (Strabo VII 2), Ὀρκύνιος (Ptol. II 11), *Hercynia* (Tacitus) = IE *Perkunia*: PIE \*perqu-, ‘Eiche’, Lat. *quercus*, OHG *Fergunna*, since initial *p* disappeared in the Celtic language, which the Greeks indicated by smooth breathing, and the Romans by *h*; at the same time, the Greek *υ* = *u* was transliterated into Latin as *y*, hence *Hercynia*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. BILIŃSKI, *Drogi świata starożytnego ku ziemiom słowiańskim w świetle starożytnych świadectw literackich*, Archeologia I 1947, pp. 139–169.

<sup>2</sup> H.G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, H.S. JONES, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 91940.

<sup>3</sup> J. ROZWADOWSKI, *Studia nad nazwami wód słowiańskich*, Kraków 1948, pp. 264 f.

<sup>4</sup> A. BACH, *Deutsche Namenkunde*, vol. II, Heidelberg 21954, p. 50.

Using the example of the Greek variants Σαρμάται – Σαυρομάται (Lat. *Sarmatae*, *Sauromatae*) it is possible to illustrate the need for textual research that would enable us to reconstruct the original form *Sarmat-*: PIE *\*ser-* // *\*sor-* // *\*sr-*, Sanskr. *sar-* ‘to flow’. My comparative linguistic investigation<sup>5</sup> has determined that the original form was indeed *Sarmat-*, not *Sauromat-*: Avest. *saorōmant*, gen. *-matō* ‘mit dem Schwert versehen’, or Osset. *sau-* ‘schwarz’ + Old Ind. *roman-* ‘Körperbehaarung’.

We are now interested in textually determining the form Σαρμάται as original, and Σαυρομάται as secondary. As the *opinio communis* has it, the earliest form Σαυροματ-, found in Herodotus in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, was later shortened (?) to Σαρματ-, Lat. *Sarmatae*. The ancients had a folk etymology for that supposedly primary Iranian form *Sauromat-*: Σαυρόματιδες = Σαυροπάτιδες παρὰ τὸ σαυρὰς πατεῖν (Stephanus of Byzantium). The Sarmatians would then be lizard eaters; cf. Gr. σαῦρος ‘lizard’ and its any compounds, such as ~βριθής, ~ειδής or ~κτόνος. That secondary form (as I shall demonstrate below, a result of Hellenisation) was also seen as connected to Gr. σαυροτός, ‘armed with a spear’. However, with an Iranian people in question one should look for an etymology drawn from the lexical and morphological range of an Iranian language. Adopting Σαυροματ-, or even Συρματ- as *lectio prima*, and Σαρματ- as *lectio falsa*, scholars did not pause to think about the origin of the supposed shortening from Σαυροματ- to Σαρματ-, even though the usual direction of the primary *Lautform* changing into a secondary *Schriftform* is determined by a *lectio difficilior* (from the perspective of the alien phonological and morphological system of the writer) becoming *lectio facilior*. That is, as I have demonstrated<sup>6</sup>, the reason why in the so-called *Dagome iudex*, a lost document from the time of Mieszko I, preserved only in the copies of regesta of the Roman cardinal Deusdedit from the 11<sup>th</sup> and subsequent centuries, the portmanteau appellation or ligature of the name of the first ruler of Poland, DAGOME = Dago (Dagobert) + Mescō, recte: Myscō (Myszko, a diminutive form of his father’s name Siemomysł) was also written in a Latinised form as DAGONE under the influence of the many Latinised names ending in *-o*, *-onis*, *-onem* etc.

Both the Greek and the Latin phonological system have a clear diphthong αυ, *au*, practically never monophthongised (unlike the diphthongs *oi* and *ei*, monophthongised in Greek and for that reason phonetically or hyper-correctly written EI ↔ E and OI = O: ΑΡΓΕ = Ἄργει; ΔΟΛΟΙΣ = ΔΟΛΟΝ). Neither can explain a shortening from *Sauromat-* to *Sarmat-*. After all, the diphthong αυ was carefully indicated in the earliest manuscripts, inscriptions and papyri with

<sup>5</sup> S. ROSPOND, *Baza onomastyczna pie. \*ser- // \*sor- // \*sr- // \*sreu-. Sarmaci i Serbowie*, *Lingua Posnaniensis* X 1965, pp. 15 f.

<sup>6</sup> S. ROSPOND, *Mileniowe badania onomasty. I. Dagome – tajemnicze imię lub imiona pierwszego władcy polskiego*, *Język Polski* XL 1960, pp. 17 ff.

such complex graphemes as αου (Ἀουγούστας) and even with F (*digamma*). Instances of omitting the second element of that diphthong (υ) are most exceptional and rare: Ἀγούστου-, Lat. *Agustus*, Goth. *Agustau*; in Wulfilas' Gothic ἀπόστολος – *apostaulus*, Τρωάδα – *Trauda*<sup>7</sup>.

Even so, the incorrect view prevails that, considering Herodotus' testimony, the original form was *Sauromat*-. L. NIEDERLE<sup>8</sup> wrote: “Staršího tvaru užívá ve dle Herodota i Hippokrates [...] F. JUSTI, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 293, pokouší se *pouvodní tvar Sauromat* spojovati s awest. *saoromant*..., z čehož povstalo skrácené *Sarmat*”. L. ZGUSTA<sup>9</sup>, however, doubts in any such αυ → α shift:

Beide Etymologien scheitern aber wieder an der Unmöglichkeit, einen Lautwandel αυ → α in dieser iranischen Sprache anzunehmen. Die Verhältnisse und die Herkunft der beiden eben behandelten Stammnamen müssen vorläufig für unklar gelten, weil eben die Lautverhältnisse durch die verschiedenen Umschreibungsversuche der klassischen Autoren undurchdringlich verdunkelt worden sind.

Those variants, Greek Σαυρομάται, Σαρμάται, Συρμάται etc., and Latin *Sauromatae* and *Sarmatae*, caused some ancient authors to misleadingly distinguish between two different peoples; cf. Plin. *HN* IV 80: “Sarmatae, Graecis Sauromatae”, but *ibid.* VI 19: “dein Tanain amnem gemino ore influentem incolunt Sarmatae, Medorum, ut ferunt, suboles, et ipsi in multa genera divisi. Primi Sauromatae...”.

That ancient notion, according to which the people in question were called Σαυρομάται in Greek, but *Sarmatae* in Latin, was renewed during the European Renaissance; Marcin Kromer in his chronicle *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum*, Basileae 1568, p. 3, wrote “Sarmatas, uel ut Graeci dicunt Sauromatas...”

Besides the above two basic and most frequent variants, others appeared, clearly defective: Συρμάται, Σαμάται, Σαλμάται, and Σαυροβάται. M. ROSTOVZEV<sup>10</sup> even regarded Συρμάται as the original and correct form, later replaced with the incorrect (!) Σαρμάται under the influence of Σαυρομάται.

<sup>7</sup> E. SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. I 1, München 1939, pp. 147, 162 and 198 f.

<sup>8</sup> L. NIEDERLE, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. I 2, Praha 1904, pp. 321 f., n. 1. Cf. other attempts at upholding this etymology of *Sauromatae* in: K. MÜLLENHOFF, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, vol. III, Berlin 1892, pp. 37–42; V. MILLER, *Osetinskie etudy*, vol. III, Moskva 1887, p. 84; M. VASMER, *Untersuchungen über ältesten Wohnsitze der Slaven*, vol. I: *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, Leipzig 1923, p. 51; J. MARQUART, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran*, vol. II, Leipzig 1905, pp. 155–178: *Sauromat*-. Avest. *Sairima*-.; CH. BARTHOLOMAE, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904, p. 1566; F. JUSTI, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, pp. 289 and 292; H. LOMMEL, in: *Archiv für slavische Philologie* XL 1926, p. 153.

<sup>9</sup> L. ZGUSTA, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste*, Praha 1955, p. 265.

<sup>10</sup> M. ROSTOVZEV, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford 1922, p. 114; IDEM, *Skythien und der Bosphorus*, vol. I: *Kritische Übersicht der schriftlichen und archäologischen Quellen*, Berlin 1931, p. 101.

Ancient scribes multiplied typographical variants, and on that basis commentators multiplied imaginary peoples. Not just *Syrmatae*, but also *Saudaratae* and *Sargatae* tended to be interpreted as peoples distinct from the Iranian Sarmatae<sup>11</sup>.

One must begin a textual and commentarial overview of the very abundant material with contrasting quotations from the two representative authors, that is Herodotus and Ptolemy. The former used only Σαυροματ- (over ten times); the latter, exclusively Σαρματ- (over twenty times):

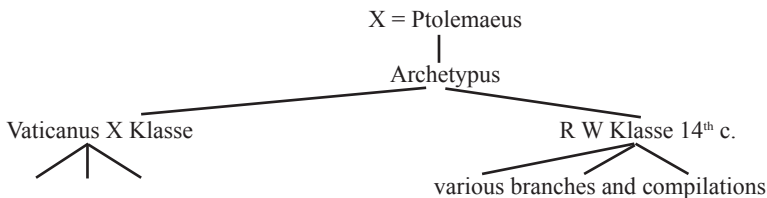
HERODOTUS <sup>12</sup>	PTOLEMY <sup>13</sup>
Σαυρομάται, Σαυροματέων etc.	Σαρματία, Σαρματικά, Σαρματικός, Σαρμάται etc.
IV 21; 57; 110; 116; 117; 119; 120; 122; 123; 128; 136.	I 8, 2; II 11, 6; II 11, 7; III Arg.; III 5, 22; V 4, 8; 9, 1 (twice); 9, 11; 9, 14; 9, 15; 9, 16 (four times); 11, 1; 12, 1; V Arg. 2; VI 14, 1; VII 5, 2 (twice); 5, 6; 6, 2; 10, 2.

Eleven occurrences in total in Herodotus; twenty-four in Ptolemy. Herodotus' use of Hellenising and 'meaningful' geographical names is explained by his profile as an author. Following earlier Ionian logographers, primarily Hecataeus and Xanthus, in the famous Scythian *logos*, or book IV of his work, the 5<sup>th</sup> century historian outlined the geography and ethnography of the lands on the Black Sea. When he was in Olbia and Tyras, he himself collected from Greek merchants reports of those Iranian peoples living on the Black Sea coast, and the Greek inhabitants of those cities certainly used substituted Greek names to refer to them. However, for most of his facts Herodotus relied on Hecataeus and Xanthus. As a historian he proved a vivid narrator, interested even in the plot of fables, and so his work is regarded as a literary piece. He explained many names, and even

<sup>11</sup> NIEDERLE, *op. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 275 and 420 f.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. E. LEGRAND, *Hérodote*, Paris 1954, index s.v., p. 144; C. HUDE, *Herodoti Historiae*, Oxonii 1908. As regards the various codices from the 10<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, cf. C. ABICHT, *De codicum Herodoti fide atque auctoritate*, Berolini 1870. The earliest codex A, Laurentianus, comes from the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the remaining ones from the 11<sup>th</sup> and subsequent centuries.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted after the edition C.F.A. NOBBE, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, vol. I, Lipsiae 1898, vol. II, Lipsiae 1913; cf. O. CUNZ, *Die Geographie des Ptolemaeus*, Berlin 1923, pp. 45 ff. with chapters II 7–III 1 reprinted. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 14 for the filiation layout of the mediaeval manuscripts :



Cf. K. MÜLLER, *Ptolemaei Claudii Geographia*, Parisiis 1883.

– as we shall see – coined some as well; it has been duly noted<sup>14</sup> that “Natürlich sind das mehr oder weniger hellenisierte Leute, wie alle ἐπιχώριοι mit denen H. zu tun hat”. He did not know the languages of those peoples, which all the more encouraged one sort or another of onomastic substitution.

The onomast who applies the methods of textual criticism must not analyse a selected example in abstraction from the complete onomastic material of a source or work; in a word, he ought to know his author’s literary profile in the light of extensive material.

In Herodotus, since his work is not merely geographical, but also ethnographic, it is quite easy to spot meaningful proper names which are not copies of foreign forms, but so to speak armchair substitutions, at times even literary. Naturally, most of them were based on authentic foreign names.

But as the eastern neighbours of the Neuri Herodotus listed the Μελάγχλαινοι and Ἀνδροφάγοι, whose names went perfectly with the report of their characteristic attire and harsh customs respectively. These are obvious Greek “literary” names, meaning literally the Black Cloaks and the Man-Eaters. Cf. Herodotus IV 106: ἀνδροφαγέουσι δὲ μούνοι τούτων, and 107: Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ εἴματα μὲν μέλαινα φορέουσι πάντες.

The frequently interpreted hydronyms Βορυσθένης (the Dnieper), Τάναϊς (the Don), Πυρετός (the Prut), Ὑπανις (the Boh, or Southern Bug), and others are not transliterations of foreign names, but rather forms diversely adapted by Greek authors or settlers. After all the Greek writers and settlers called the two great rivers of Mesopotamia the Tigris and the Euphrates (Gr. Τίγρις and Εὐφράτης; cf. ἡ τίγρις ‘tiger’, and εὐφραίνω ‘I cheer’), so adapting Assyro-Babyl. *Diglat* and *Purat*. Unfortunately the majority of Indo-Europeanists and Slavists interpret those names literally. Take for example Πυρετός: Gr. πῦρ<sup>15</sup> ‘fire’. (Is a metaphor as far-fetched as ‘a river of fire’ even possible here?) A much simpler etymology has Avest. *pərətu* ‘ford’. Cf. at any rate the variants: Πυρετός // Πύρατα. Βορυσθένης or Βαρυσθένης resembles Gr. βαρύς ‘heavy; weighty, important’ (a very frequent morpheme in Greek compounds, such as βαρύ- ~βρομος, ~στονος or ~τονος) and Gr. -σθενής (a morpheme often found in names, such as Δημοσθένης or Ἐρατοσθένης; W. PAPE’s dictionary has around 38 such compounds). The etymology Βορυσθένης: Iran. *varu-*, Avest. *vouru-* ‘broad’ + Iran. *stana-*, *sthāna*, Osset. *-ston* ‘place’ is unlikely in that a Greek would take over *Varustāna* as \*Οὐάρύστανος or \*Οὐάρύστηνος; at that time the Greek *b* could not correspond to foreign *v*, normally written ου, as for instance in Οὐαρδάνης

<sup>14</sup> Cf. F. JACOBY, *Herodotos*, *RE* Suppl. II (1913), col. 431 (on Herodotus’ chapters IV 1–144, discussing Darius’ expedition against the Scythians); W. SCHMID, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, München 1912, vol. I, p. 463 (on Herodotus).

<sup>15</sup> T. LEHR-SPLAWIŃSKI, *O pochodzeniu i praojczyźnie Słowian*, Poznań 1946, pp. 61 and 169; see *ibid.* for further literature.



= *Varudānu* (a river in Kuban) or Οὐιαδοῦα = the Oder etc. So if it is really Iran. *Varustāna* that is meant, then Herodotus associated the first component of that name with Gr. βαρύ- (cf. Βαρύφονος etc.), and the second with -σθένης<sup>16</sup>. The relationship between the ancient hydronym Τάναις (Hdt. IV 21, 57 and 122) and its modern equivalent *Don*: Iran. *dānu-*, Osset. *don* 'river; water' has not been thoroughly clarified<sup>17</sup>, since it would not have been as simple as it seems for the foreign *d* to transform into a Greek *t*. J. ROZWADOWSKI<sup>18</sup> tried to explain it by the Cimmerian  $t \leftrightarrow d$  (and so in Armenian and Tocharian). In that case, however, we would etymologically separate the two names, Τάναις and *Don*. Did the hellenising Herodotus not adapt the foreign hydronym *Dānu-* in that case, too, to Gr. ταναός 'long, extended'? River names such as Ὑπανις = Boh have not been derived satisfactorily, cf. Gr. ὑπ(α) 'below'. The etymology Ὑπανις: Iran. *hupāna* 'under the protection of the gods' is not very convincing (cf. also Γέρρος Ὑργις). Indeed, attempts at deriving other variants of ancient ethnonyms and hydronyms should take into consideration also that possible aspect of Greek substitution: Καλλιπίδαι = Kallipidi-Karpidi; Ταῦροι etc.: ταῦρος.

In my discussion of the etymology of Pol. *Kalisz*, I pointed out that Ptolemy's Καλισία is a phonetic-morphological adaptation hellenising the Proto-Slavic *Kališče*<sup>19</sup>.

The Iranian Scythians had as their neighbours the Proto-Slavs, called in Herodotus IV 17 Νευροί, or the Slavic Nurs. Cf. the extensive onomastic branch *Nur*, *Nurzec*, *ziemia nurska*, *Nurzyna* (all Slavic geographical names) etc.; *\*nur-*, *\*nyr-*, *nyrati*, *nyrēti*, Pol. *nurek*, *zanurzyć* 'to submerge': PIE *\*neur-*<sup>20</sup>. The Greek diphthong *ευ* then indicates a hellenised Proto-Slavic *u!* Cf. νεῦρον 'Sehne', νευρά, *item* and Lat. *nervus*, *item*. That is an obvious example of Herodotus, and probably also Ionian logographers, hellenising foreign proper names.

Ptolemy, fl. 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, was primarily a geographer and cartographer, who tried to precisely locate place names according to latitudinal zones. To that purpose he had at his disposal the military and commercial reconnaissance of the Roman Empire, since it was mostly for Dacia, Moesia, Germania and Sarmatia that the Romans tried to have exact topographical and geographical orientation. Towards the end of the first century BC Agrippa produced the first attempt at mapping the territories on the Danube between Germania and the European Sarmatia.

<sup>16</sup> O.A. BILEC'KIJ, *Boristenes – Danapris – Dnipro*, in: *Pitannā toponimiki ta onomastiki*, Kiiv 1962, p. 54 ff.

<sup>17</sup> LEHR-SPLAWIŃSKI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), pp. 62 and 171.

<sup>18</sup> J. ROZWADOWSKI, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* II 1919–1924, p. 193; LEHR-SPLAWIŃSKI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 171, explains the alternation *t–d* with Thracian phonetics, with *b d g* pronounced *p t k*.

<sup>19</sup> S. ROSPOND, *Pierwotna nazwa Kalisza*, *Slavia Occidentalis* XX 1960, fasc. 2, pp. 133 ff.

<sup>20</sup> LEHR-SPLAWIŃSKI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), pp. 13 f.; M. RUDNICKI, *Prasłowiańszczyzna – Lechia – Polska*, vol. II, Poznań 1961, p. 5.

Ptolemy, too, made mistakes typical of an “armchair geographer” (but not those of an author of belles-lettres), since in some parts of his *Geography* he relied on compiling earlier sources (mainly Marinus of Tyre). Thus alongside names which can be located with precision (such as Καλισία = Kalisz), he has some that are odd, etymologically doubtful and of uncertain identification (e.g. Ἀμάδοκαι or Βουδοργίς). However, after removing such impurities or compilation accretions from his text, we get a relatively faithful and so valuable geographical and topographical account of Sarmatia, based on trade routes running from the south to the north or the other way round<sup>21</sup>. As a geographer and astronomer, Ptolemy avoided any “literary” processing of his onomastic material, although in compiling earlier sources he did sometimes confuse name variants.

In the light of the above we cannot regard his exclusive variant (exclusive in all the codices), repeating more than twenty times, as secondary, just because Herodotus wrote earlier (5<sup>th</sup> century BC) than Ptolemy (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD). That would be all the more wrong when that “Ptolemaic” variant, Σαρμάται, already occurred much earlier, in Hecataeus, Polybius and epigraphic material. And at any rate the proposed shortening (!) of Σαυρομάται to Σαρμάται, or Latin *Sauromatae* to *Sarmatae* has only been “explained” overly mechanically and without looking into its possible causes. Why would the distinct Greek σαυρο- shorten to Greek but indistinct σαρμ-?

Below I list the remaining material, very abundant because of the later distinction between Asian and European Sarmatia, chronologically and according to filiation, authors and fundamental variants<sup>22</sup>, where Σαρματ- or *Sarmat-* means Σαρμάται, Σαρματία, Σαρμάτης, Σαρματικός or *Sarmatae* (-arum, -as), *Sarmatia*, and *Sarmaticus*, -a.

### I. ΣΑΡΜΑΤ- AND *SARMAT-*

Hesiod (8th /7th cent. BC): Σαρματία – following L XIX 294 (see n. 22).

Hecataeus of Miletus, a logographer (6<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC), author of the Γενεαλογία and the Γῆς περίοδος (*World Survey*), works based on his own observations, made during his journey to Scythia. He wrote in the Ionic dialect, the same as Herodotus, but the form he used was Σαρμάται – L XIX 300.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. BILIŃSKI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 24 ff.

<sup>22</sup> I cite material either directly from editions, or indirectly, following: V. LATYŠEV, *Scythica et Caucasica e veteribus scriptoribus Graecis et Latinis*, vol. I–III, Sanktpeterburg 1893–1900; cf. IDEM, *Izvestiâ drevnih pisatelej o Skifii i Kavkaze*, VDI XIX 1947; XX 1947; XXI 1947; XXII 1947; XXIII 1948; XXIV 1948; XXV 1948; XXVI 1948; XXVII 1949; XXVIII 1949; and XXX 1950 (with the index of the authors and loci of the names, and references to the book reprinted). Cited here in an abbreviated manner, thus: L XIX 300 = LATYŠEV, *op. cit.*, journal volume XIX, p. 300 of the reprinted material. Another important collection of the relevant Greek and Latin forms is PAPE, *op. cit.*, pp. 1347–1354, cited here as P. Cf. also the following contributions, quoting selected material: ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 9); NIEDERLE, *op. cit.* (n. 8); and BILIŃSKI, *op. cit.* (n. 1). Further cf. ROSTOVZEV, *Skythien...* (n. 10) (*non vidi*). Ancient authors have been identified using *OCD* and other standard encyclopaedias; for Byzantine authors cf. K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur 527–1453*, München 1897.



- Callisthenes, a historian (4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC): id. – L XXI 245.
- Nicaner, a poet (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC): Σαρμάται – cf. L XXI 302.
- Agatharchides, a historian and geographer (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC), quoted in fragments by his successors: Σαρμάται – following P.
- Polybius, a historian (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC), XXV 2, 13<sup>23</sup>: Σαρμάτης.
- Antigonus of Carystus (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC), *Hist. mir.* 167: id. – following P.
- Pseudo-Scymnus, a geographer (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC): Σαρμάται – cf. L XXI 312; K. MÜLLER, *Geographi Graeci minores*, Parisiis 1855, p. 876 – cf. P.
- Diodorus Siculus, a compiler historian (1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC), IV 45, 4: Σαρματῶν.
- Strabo, an Augustan era geographer (1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC/1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD), XI 2, 1; VII 3, 17; XI 2, 16; VII 2, 4: Σαρμάται etc. – cf. P and L XXII 193, 200, 207, 209, 215, 218, 225, 237, 245 and 246.
- Agrippa, the first cartographer of the Danube basin, author of a map based on Roman military and commercial reconnaissance (1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC): *deserta Sarmatae* (to the east of the Vistula, mentioned under that name).
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, an Augustan era rhetor and historian, living in Rome (1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC): Σαρμάται – cf. L XXII 225.
- Josephus, a Jewish historian (1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD), *Bell. Iud.* VII 4, 3: Σαρμάται – cf. L XXII 276 and P.
- Augustus, the emperor: *Sarmatae* – following L XXVII 215.
- Ovid: *Sarmatae* etc.; cf. L XXVII 234–236 and 243 – cf. also P; *Sarmaticus* etc.: *Tristia* V 7, 13; I 8, 40; I 5, 62–65; I 7, 58, and *Ex Ponto* IV 10, 38.
- Pomponius Mela, author of the *Chorographia* (*De situ orbis*; 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatas* I 19; *Sarmatae* III 6; *Sarmatia* III 33 – cf. P and L XXVII 270, 273 and 283.
- Seneca the Younger (1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* etc. (several times) – cf. L XXVII 263, 264, 266 and 267.
- Plutarch (1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD): Σαρμάται – following L XXII 289; perhaps Σαρματικός *Rom.* 11 – following P.
- Curtius Rufus, a Roman historian (1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD), VII 7, 3: *Sarmatarum* – following P; also L XXVII 291.
- Pliny the Elder (died 79 AD), *HN* IV 80: *Sarmatae*; IV 81: *Sarmatas* – following P; NIEDERLE, *op. cit.* (n. 8), and ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 24; cf. also the several examples in L XXVIII 274, 275, 278, 279, 285, 292, 293, 302, 303, 308, 312, and 313; following L XXVIII 279 and 284: *Sarmatia* and *Sarmatica Insula* (IV 24, 24) – following P.
- Martial (1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD), *De Spectaculis* III 4: *Sarmata* – following P; cf. also L XXVIII 351, 352 and 353; VII 5, 19: *Sarmaticus* – following P.
- Tacitus (1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD), *Hist.* I 79: *Sarmatica gens*; *Ann.* XII 29, 30: *Sarmatae* – following P; cf. also L XXIX 211, 212, 220 and 222.
- Juvenal (1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD), III 79: *Sarmata* – following P; cf. also L XXIX 225 (scholia).
- Valerius Flaccus (1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD), VI 122, 281: *Sarmatae* – following P; cf. also L XXVIII 349.
- Suetonius (1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD), *Tib.* 41: *Sarmatae*.
- Lucan (1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD), I 430: *Sarmata* – following P; cf. L XXVIII 321 f.; also the respective scholia, L XXVIII 327 and 330.
- Stattius (1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – cf. L XXVIII 335; for the scholia, cf. L XXVIII 338.
- Iulius Frontinus (1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – cf. L XXVIII 355.
- Appius Claudius Pulcher, proconsul of Macedonia in 78 AD: Σαρμάτ- – cf. NIEDERLE, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 327.
- Appian, author of a history of Rome in Greek (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD), *Mithridatica* XV 53: Σαρμάταις – cf. ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 48; also L XXIII 283.
- Florus, a Roman historian (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD) IV 12 – following P; also L XXIX 230.
- Polyaenus, a Greek from Macedonia (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD), *Στρατηγήματα* VIII 56: Σαρμάται – following P; also L XXIV 219.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Th. BÜTTNER, *Polybii historiae*, vol. IV, Lipsiae 1904, p. 176.

- Clement of Alexandria (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD), *Cohortatio ad Gentes* 25: id.  
 Justin (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD), *Iun. descr. orb.* LVII: *Sarmatae* – following L XXVII 246; also P.  
 Festus, a grammarian (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXIX 281.  
 Sextus Empiricus (2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD): Σαρμάται – following L XXIV 267.  
 Tertullian (2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXV 221 f., 226 and 229–232.  
 Herodian (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD): Σαρμάται – following L XXIV 259; Σαρματία *ibid.*  
 Lucius Ampelius (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXIX 228.  
 Demetrius of Thessaloniki, an ecclesiastical writer (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD): Σαρμάτ- – following NIEDERLE, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 323.  
*Origo generis humani* (3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXIX 249 and NIEDERLE, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 321 n. 1.  
 Eusebius of Caesarea (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 228 f.  
 Ambrose (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 232 f.; *Sarmatia*, *ibid.* 231.  
 Epiphanius (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): Σαρματία – following L XXV 243.  
 Eutropius, a historian (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXIX 279; *Sarmatia*, *ibid.*  
 Solinus (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXIX 241; Zgusta, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 24 f.  
 Iulius Valerius (3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXIX 268.  
 Firmicus Maternus (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following XXIX 270; *Sarmatia*, *ibid.*  
 Aurelius Victor (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXIX 277; also P, p. 1347.  
 Socrates Scholasticus, a historian of the Church (4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD), *Hist. Eccl.* I 6: Σαρμάτης – following P, p. 1347; Σαρμάται – following L XXV 286.  
 Aurelius Symmachus (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 236.  
 Avienus (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 239 f.  
 Latinus Pacatus Drepanius (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 247.  
 Ammianus Marcellinus (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following P; L XXIX 297, 298 and 308.  
 The 4<sup>th</sup> century original of the so-called *Tabula Peutingeriana* (with copies from the 13<sup>th</sup> century), section VIII: *Sarmatae*.  
 Jerome (4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD), *Chron.* ad a. 337: *Sarmatae* – following P.  
 Orosius (4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 272 f.  
 Claudius Claudianus (4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 252.  
 Olympiodorus of Thebes (5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): Σαρματών – cf. MÜLLER, *Geographi Graeci...*, IV 63/27, and P.  
 Martianus Capella (5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 278 and 280; *Sarmatia*, *ibid.* 280.  
 Honorius (4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 275.  
 Prosper Tiro (4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – L XXX 283.  
 Priscianus (6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 300.  
 Sidonius Apollinaris (5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 287.  
 Iordanes (6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD), *De origine actibusque Getarum* 34: *Sarmatum* – cf. MÜLLER, *Geographi Graeci...*, IV 95, 9.  
 Stephanus of Byzantium (6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Ethnica* (where he explained, or pseudo-etymologised, names): Σαρμάται – following L XXV; Σαρματία, *ibid.* 318 and 326.  
 The Ravenna Geographer (7<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae*, *Montes Sarmaticae* (!)<sup>24</sup>.  
*Cosmographia* (Aethicus Ister; 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatae* (gloss on a map).  
 Beatus, a Spanish Benedictine monk and author of a map (8<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sarmatica*, *Sarmati*, *Sarmatae*, *Sarmatia*.  
*Etymologicum Magnum* (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> cent.; based on scholia and lexica), 232, 57: Σαρμάται – following P.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. T. ULEWICZ, *Sarmacja*, Kraków 1950, p. 21. All the early mediaeval examples following the Ravenna Geographer also come from ULEWICZ. Cf. also H. MILLER, *Mappae mundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten*, vols. I–VI, Stuttgart 1896 (with around 200 world maps spanning the period from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> century).

Constantine Porphyrogenetos (10<sup>th</sup> cent.), *De adm. imp.*, 144 ff.: Σαρματ- – following P.

Albategnius (al-Battānī): *Sarnatia* (!) *Evronka*, or Ptolemy's Σαρματία ἢ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ.

*Imago Mundi* (1106 AD): *Sarmati*.

*Henrici canon. Moguntini mappa mundi Cantabrigensis* (1110 AD): *Sarmathe* (!).

Hereford Mappa Mundi (England, 13<sup>th</sup> cent.): *Sarmate* (!) (east of Germania).

The Ebstorf Map (Hannover, 13<sup>th</sup> cent.): *Sarmatie* (in the Balkans?)

The London psalter world map (13<sup>th</sup> cent.): *Sarmatica* (in the territory of Poland).

Inscriptions are of utmost importance here<sup>25</sup>; cf. no. 2130, ΣΑΡΜΑΤΑ = Σαρμάτα (a marble tablet from Crimea), and 2131, ΣΑΡΜΑΤΑC = Σαρμάτας (a stone from Anapa); as a personal name of private persons, Σαρμάτας: *Bospori ora Asiatica* II 403, 8; Σαρμάτα, *ibid.* II 402, 60; Σαρμάτας, *ibid.* II 403, 5<sup>26</sup>.

Cf. also, following P: Σαρματικός (*Inscr.* III 4168, b 5891), Σαρματία (*ibid.* 2065), and Σαρμάτας (*ibid.* II 2131, 7, 2130, and 60).

## II. ΣΑΥΡΟΜΑΤ- AND SAUROMAT-

Pseudo-Scylax, a geographer (4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC), *Periplus* 70: Σαυρομάται – cf. L XXI 241, and ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 26, n. 22.

Hippocrates (5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC): Σαυρομάται – cf. also L XX 295.

Aristotle, *Anim. gen.* V 3: Σαυροματικός – following P.

Heraclides Ponticus (4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC): Σαυρομάται – following L XXII 268.

Apollonius of Rhodes (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC), III 353 and 394: Σαυρομάται – following L XXI 284; cf. P.

Isigonos (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC): Σαυρομάται – following L XXII 268.

Phanodemus of Athens (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC): Σαυρομάται – following L XXII 176.

Pseudo-Scymnus (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC), *Periegesis* 881: Σαυρομάται; 874: Σαυροματῶν – following P.

Diodorus Siculus II 43, 6: Σαυρομάται – following P; also L XXII 460 and 122.

Nicolaus of Damascus (1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC): *Sauromatae* – following MÜLLER, *Geographi Graeci...*, III, 460, 122.

Strabo II 114–117 and 305: Σαυρομάται – following L XX 187–189, 192, 196, 198, 225 and 237; also P.

Pseudo-Orpheus, *Argonautica* 1065: Σαυρομάται – following P, p. 1354.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus: Σαυρομάται – following L XXXIII 237 and 239.

Ovid, *Ex Ponto* I 2, 79; IV 7, 9; *Tristia* III 3, 6; III 10, 5: *Sauromatae* – following P; cf. also L XXVII 228 f., 231–233, 235 and 237 f.

Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia* II 2: *Sauromatae* – following P; cf. also L XXVII 273, 276 and 278; cf. also P.

Pliny the Elder, *HN* VI 19; VI 18: *Sauromatae* – following P; cf. also L XXVIII 278, 283, 292 f., 302 and 309.

Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* X 63 and 67: *Sauromatae*, X 64: *Sauromates*.

Plutarch: Σαυρομάται – cf. L XXII 289.

Appian, *Mithr.* 19, 69 and 120: Σαυροματῶν; also L XXIII 282, 284 and 291.

Lucian, *Tox.* 40: Σαυρομάται – following P; also L XXIII 308 f. and 313.

Arrian (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD), *Anabasis* I 3, 2; *Tactica* IV 7–44: Σαυρομάται – following L XXIII 276 ad 281; cf. also P.

Statius: *Sauromatae* – following L XXVIII 335–337; cf. also the relevant scholia – following L XXVIII 338.

Martial: *Sauromatae* – following L XXVIII 354.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. A. BOECKH, *CIG*, Berolini 1843, vol. II, part IX, pp. 165–167.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 336.

- Juvenal: *Sauromatae* – following L XXIX 223; also the scholia – following L XXIX 225.
- Galen (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD): Σαυρομάται – following L XXIV 220.
- Zenobius (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD): Σαυρομάται – following L XXXVI 290; also P.
- Pausanias (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD): Σαυρομάται – following L 227 f. and 230; I 21, 5: Σαρματικός – following P.
- Dionysius Periegetes (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD), 15–680: Σαυρομάται – following P.
- Festus: *Sauromatae* – following L XXIX 281.
- Cassius Dio (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD), LIV 20; LV 30: Σαυρομάται – following P; also L XXIV 275.
- Aulus Gellius (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD): *Sauromatae* – following L XXIX 235.
- Claudius Aelianus (2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD), *VH* III 39: Σαυρομάται – following P.
- Clement of Alexandria (2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD), *Protr.* I 5: Σαυρομάται – following P; cf. L XXIV 281; the scholia – following L XXIV 282.
- Herodian, *Hist. Gr.* VII 8, 2: id. – following P; also L XXIV 307.
- Eusebius: Σαυρομάται – following L XXV 228 f. and 233.
- Epiphanius: Σαυρομάται – following L XXV 243–245.
- Libanius (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): Σαυρομάται – following L XXV 240.
- Basil the Great (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): Σαυρομάται – following L XXV 251.
- Themistius (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD), XIII 179 – XV 198: id. – following P; also L XXV 271.
- Eunapius (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): id. – following L XXV 272.
- Oribasius: id. – cf. L XXV 250.
- Socrates Scholasticus: id. – following L XXV 289.
- Theodoretus, a Christian author (4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): id. – following L XXV 299 f.
- Sozomen (4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): id. – following L XXV 303; VI 36 – following P, p. 1354.
- Solinus: *Sauromatae* – following L XXIX 243.
- Origo generis humani: Sauromatae* – following L XXIX 249.
- Claudius Mamertinus (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sauromatae* – following L XXIX 273.
- Ausonius (4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): id. – following L XXIX 274.
- Ammianus Marcellinus: id. – following L XXIX 287 and 303.
- Paulus Orosius: id. – following L XXX 272.
- Salvianus, an ecclesiastical writer: id. – following L XXX276.
- Nonnus of Panopolis (5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD) XIII 86: Σαυρομάται – following L XXV 277; cf. also P.
- Periplus Ponti Euxini* (anonymous) 45 (cf. MÜLLER, *Geographi Graeci...*): Σαυρομάται – following P.
- Sidonius Apollinaris (5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): *Sauromates* – following L XXX 290 f.
- Proclus, a Neoplatonist (5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): Σαυρομάτιδες ‘a name for the Amazons’ – following P; also L XX 318.
- Zosimus (5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD): Σαυρομάται – following L XXVI 280 f.; also P.
- Priscianus: *Sauromates* – following L XXX 299 and 301.
- Stephanus of Byzantium: Σαυρομάται – following L XXV 314, 320 and 325 f.
- Stobaeus: id. – following L XXVI 272 f.
- Nicephorus Blemmydes (12<sup>th</sup> cent.): id. – following L XXVI 241.
- Eustathius, a commentary on Dionysius Periegeta (12<sup>th</sup> cent.): id. – following L XXXIII 241.
- Scholia to the *Iliad* XIII 6: id. – following L XIX284; also P.
- The Ravenna Geographer: *Sauromates*<sup>27</sup>.
- S. Hieronymi *De quaest. Hebr. cod. Londinensis* (map of 1150 AD): *Sauromate* (!)
- Epigraphical material: no. 2124 ΣΑΥΡΟΜΑ = Σαυρομά[την]; no. 2125 ΣΑΥΡΟΜΑ = Σαυρομά[της]<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. ULEWICZ, *op. cit.* (n. 24), p. 21.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. BOECKH, *op. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 165–167.

As a majestic personal appellation of royalty, a noble *Schriftform* occurs in inscriptions a few times: Σαυρομάτης I, II, III and IV<sup>29</sup>.

From the 15<sup>th</sup> century on, Ptolemy reigned supreme in European humanistic geography, read in many copies in the Latin translation (produced by Giacomo Angelo of Florence), *Descriptio cosmographorum cum Marino accordata 1447. Tabula Genuensis*. Naturally for that reason the forms *Sarmat-* and Σαρματ- were dominant. E.g. a 1350 commentary on Ptolemy by Nicephorus Gregoras of Constantinople repeated the names Σαρματία and Σαρματικός<sup>30</sup>. In addition, in the Middle Ages the form *Sarmat-* was much used to refer to the Slavs and specifically to the Poles: Flodoard, a French chronicler in 966, *Sarmatarum*; Richer, a Benedictine monk of Reims in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, *Sarmatae*; Ermenric, a 9<sup>th</sup> century monk, *Sarmata belax*; Theodulf, a Gothic poet bishop in 821, *Sarmata durus*<sup>31</sup> etc.

The chroniclers of Poland, Gallus and Kadłubek, and the historian Jan Długosz all knew the terms *Sarmatia*, *Sarmaticus* and *Sarmatae* as referring to Poland and the Poles<sup>32</sup>.

During the period of Renaissance humanism in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries forms in *Sarmat-* were still almost exclusive, but already accompanied here and there, under the influence of familiarity with Herodotus, by *Sauromat-*. For instance, a text published in response to a parliamentary speech by Jan Ostroróg from 1467 was referred to as “responsio cuiusdam Italici... (in) gelidos Sauromatas”. On the map of Nicolaus Cusanus and Nicolaus Germanus (1450–1491) next to *Sarmatia* in the hexameter caption there were “Sauromatumque truces populi”<sup>33</sup>.

That forms in *Sauromat-* appeared too, albeit rarely, was conditioned by the two great ancient sources, Ptolemy’s cartography and Herodotus’ history; by school commentaries of ancient authors and the increased familiarity with them during the Renaissance. For example in Marcin Kromer’s chronicle, we have *Sarmaticus*, *Sarmate*, *de Sarmatis*, *de Sarmatia*, but also “Quo fit, ut Slauos et Venedos ipsos esse priscos Sarmatas, uel, ut Graeci dicunt, Sauromatas”<sup>34</sup>. Piotr Mycielski of Kalisz used both versions: “Sauromatae rozmnożenia więszzego

<sup>29</sup> Cf. ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 9), pp. 6, 45 and 336.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. ULEWICZ, *op. cit.* (n. 24), p. 23; K. MILLER, *Die ältesten Separatkarten der 3 Erdteile wahrscheinlich von N. Gregoriis im 1350 in Konstantinopol entworfen*, Stuttgart 1931.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptorum III 573, VIII 364 and XXIII 761; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* II 32, XXVII 370 and XXVIII 351.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*; cf. also ULEWICZ, *op. cit.* (n. 24), p. 20 and *passim*.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. ULEWICZ, *op. cit.* (n. 24), p. 40.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

mieć by nie mogli [...] Sarmathae et Scytae, a dla Sauromatów państwo rzymskie upadło. Sarmatae [...] przeciw Sarmatom i Owidiusz pisał...<sup>35</sup>

Alessandro Guagnini, an Italian of Verona, in his printed work *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio...* (1578) used forms in *Sauromat-* sporadically: *Sauromaticae gentis*, fol. 2v; “Slauī vel Sauromatae [...] Sarmaticae siue Slauonicae linguae apud Sarmatas usus”, fol. 3r. He also repeated the folk etymology introduced by his predecessors, who saw it in the word σαῦρος ‘lizard’.

In his chronicle (1597) Marcin Bielski most often speaks of “us, the Sarmatians”, using such phrases as *my, Sarmate* (fol. 155r), *do nas Sarmatów* (fol. 116v), or *naszy Sarmatowie* (fol. 274r), but also (fol. 154r):

Sauromacyjej kraina [...] przeważnie jest ta część trzecia świata po grecku Sauromacyją, od ludzi z jaszczurczemi oczyma, bo *sauros* po grecku jaszczorka, *omma* oko, może się też rozumieć od tych straszliwych ludzi, bo przed tymi ludźmi wszystka ziemia drżała.

[Usually that third part of the world is called Sauromatia in Greek, so from lizard-eyed people, since *sauros* means ‘lizard’ in Greek, and *omma* ‘eye’; which could also be understood as the terrifying people, for before that people the whole earth trembled.]

(Cf. also fol. 335r): Narod polski (na co się wszytcy zgadzają) poszedł jest ze słowieńskiego narodu z krainy Sauromacyjej, która leży w Europie, trzeciej części świata. Dzieli tę Sarmacyją od wschodu rzeka Thanais i jezioro Meotis.

[The Polish nation (and everybody agrees on this) originates from the Slavs, from the region of Sauromatia, which lies in Europe, the third part of the world. From the east, this Sarmatia is divided by the river Thanais and the lake Meotis.]

Other 16<sup>th</sup> century geographers and chroniclers used forms in *Sarmat-* almost without exception; those included Aeneas Silvius, Maciej Miechowita, Bernard Wapowski, Waclaw Grodecki, Maciej Strubicz, Sebastian Münster, Gerardus Mercator and others<sup>36</sup>.

The above examples, including some from poets, come in the thousands and prove that the terms *Sarmatia*, *Sarmatae* and *Sarmaticus* took over completely; thus Pol. *Sarmata*, *sarmatyzm* or *sarmacki*<sup>37</sup>. According to the summary index for a dictionary of 16<sup>th</sup> century Polish being prepared by the Polish Institute of Literary Research (Instytut Badań Literackich), there are 119 examples of *sarmacki*, *Sarmata* and *Sarmacyja*, but only 6 of *sauromatski*, *Sauromate* (!) or *Sauromata* (found in Strykowski, Bielski, Klonowic and others). The following forms must be considered clearly defective: Σαμάται ← Σαρμάται (Eustathius on Dionysius Periegetes 284 and 302; scholia to Dionysius, chrestomathy for

<sup>35</sup> Cf. J. CZUBEK, *Pisma polityczne z czasów pierwszego bezkrólewia*, Kraków 1906, pp. 367 f., 395 f.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. ULEWICZ, *op. cit.* (n. 24).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. J.S. LINDE, *Słownik języka polskiego*, Lwów 1854 ff., s.v.



Strabo's *Geography*; Stephanus of Byzantium – following JI XXIII 238, 246 and 259; XXV 317); Συρμάται ← Σαυρομάται (Stephanus of Byzantium; Pseudo-Scylax; Herodian – following L XXI 241 and 273; XXIV 259; XXV 326; XXVIII 305); *Syrmatae* (Pliny VI 16, 48). That variant led to incorrect guesses about it being the original form, with the supposedly secondary and incorrect (!) Σαρμάται developed under the influence of Σαυρομάται<sup>38</sup>. Cf. also Σαλμάται (scholia to the *Iliad* XVIII 5, following P, p. 1332), and Σαυροβάται (following L XXV 221); possibly also *Sermende* (in king Alfred the Great's description of Germania)<sup>39</sup>. How could such philologically and linguistically incomprehensible modifications or distortions have come about? Erroneous mediaeval copies of ancient authors brought with them other distorted forms, such as *Saurobatae* (*Origo generis humani* 140; *Excerpta latina barbari* 196<sup>40</sup>). An one-word inscription Σαυδαράται, of which its editor A. BOECKH wrote “*Saudaratae*, de quibus non habeo quod dicam”<sup>41</sup>, is probably another such defective. Other scholars believed the *Saudaratae* a Sarmatian tribe identical with Herodotus' Μελάγχλαινοι (the Black Cloaks), deriving *Saudarat-*: Osset. *sau* 'black' + *dar* 'bearing', yielding Osset. *saudar* 'wearing black' + Greek suffix -ται<sup>42</sup>. Cf. the juxtaposition in the text: Σκύθας καὶ Σαυδαράτας<sup>43</sup>. Cf. also Pliny IV 84 the mysterious names *Exobygitali* and *Sargatioi* (Ammianus XXII 8, 38: *Sargetae*)<sup>44</sup>.

From the above it is obvious that the “armchair geography” of scribes and commentators through the so-called *Schriftformen* (various distorted names taken from ancient authors) erroneously extended the list of peoples, for which etymologists were even able to fashion far-fetched derivations and local identifications. If we ignore the clearly wrong variants (Σαμάται, Σαλμάται, Συρμάται etc.), the above material, very rich, but also rich in oppositions (Σαρματ- vs. Σαυροματ-) shows that Herodotus' variant Σαυροματ- was repeated by his imitators (Pseudo-Scylax, Pseudo-Scymnus, Ephorus, Dionysius Periegetes and Stephanus of Byzantium), whereas Σαρματ- began already with Polybius and especially Ptolemy, and was predominant in Roman authors, who did not merely imitate the Greeks as regards the names of foreign peoples, but rather had their own, authentic names based on their strategic and commercial intelligence. Cf. the map of Agrippa as well as other sources as proof that Roman strategists and merchants had at their disposal maps necessary for better military and merca-

<sup>38</sup> M. ROSTOVZEV, *Skythien...* (n. 10), p. 101; LATYŠEV, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 83.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. A. BIEŁOWSKI, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. I, Lwów 1864, pp. 13 f.

<sup>40</sup> NIEDERLE, *op. cit.* (n. 8), vol. I, p. 321, n. 1.

<sup>41</sup> BOECKH, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 85; cf. also PAPE, p. 1353.

<sup>42</sup> NIEDERLE, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 275, nn. 1 and 2.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 306.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 420 f.

torial orientation. The majority of compiler authors (Pseudo-Scymnus, Appian, Diodorus, Pomponius Mela, Pliny etc., but also inscriptions) have both variants.

From the earliest times the view was accepted that it should be Σαυροματ- “in Greek”, but *Sarmatae* in Latin: “de Sauromatis [...] quos Latini vulgo Sarmatas vocant [...] Graecis esse Sauromatas dicat, qui Latinis sint Sarmatae, et Graecis quoque non inusitata forma Σαρμάτης etiam in titulis”<sup>45</sup>.

It is obvious that both those variants cannot be primary, since the phonetic alteration *a : au* is out of the question in Old Iranian, as is *-r- // -ro-*. That the direction of the change was in fact Σαρματ- → Σαυροματ-, and not the opposite, is primarily decided by the following three facts: (1) the hellenised foreign proper names in Herodotus and in Greek “literary armchair geography” in general (cf. also Δαρεῖος, Κύρος and Ξέρξης); (2) the understandable direction of substitution of Greek *Sauromat-* for Iranian *Sarmat-* (where the opposite direction would not be); and (3) the etymological derivation *Sarmat-* : PIE *\*ser- // \*sor-* = Iran. *sar-* ‘to flow; river; water’.

The below filiation scheme according to authors will best demonstrate the primary status of the form *Sarmat-* and the secondary of *Sauromat-*, with *Syrmat-*, *Saurodat-* and the like being clearly defective:

SARMAT-					
(the Old Iranian archetype)					
Σαρματ-		Σαυροματ-			
(Greeks on the Black Sea and Ionian geographers)					
A	Σαρματ- and <i>Sarmat-</i>	A	B	B	Σαυροματ- and <i>Sauromat-</i>
		(both variants)			
A 1	Hecataeus	Pseudo-Scymnus		B1	Herodotus
A 2	Polybius	Diodorus		B2	Pseudo-Scylax
A 3	Agrippa	Greek inscriptions		B3	Hippocrates
A 4	Ptolemy	Strabo		B4	Galen
A 5	<i>Tabula Peutingeriana</i> etc.	Dionysius Mela Pliny Plutarch Ovid Juvenal Martial Solinus Status Appian Herodian Lucius Ampelius Stephanus of Byzantium etc., etc.			

<sup>45</sup> BOECKH, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 83.

And so, the most numerous authors are those who, as compilers, used both forms. The exclusive use of Σαυροματ- ended early! The *opinio communis* current until now, of Σαυροματ- being the original, and Σαρματ- the “shortened” form never explained that supposed mechanically understood shortening (!?). In a word, the form Σαρματ- was treated as equivalent to Σαλματ-, Σαυροβατ- etc.

My claim, on the other hand, that the Old Iranian form was *Sarmat-*, transliterated accurately in Greek as Σαρματ-, and substituted for with Σαυροματ- finds its explanation and justification not only in the very productive PIE (mostly eastern) onomastic base *\*ser-* // *\*sor-* // *\*sɾ-* // *\*sreu-*, that is Iran. *\*sar-* ‘to flow; water; river’, but also in the phonological and morphological systems of the Greek language.

Namely, next to the liquid consonant *-r-* there often appeared an anaptyctic *o* or *a*: Τέροπων = Τέρπων (on a vase from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC), Γορογοῦς = Γοργοῦς, Ἐρεμῆς, ἄραχοντος, Σαλαμώνα, Τολοφώνος etc.<sup>46</sup> That initial Hellenisation of *Sarm-* to *Sarom-* paved the way for further change, that is *au* replacing the *a*, all the more easily that unlike other diphthongs *au* was stable in Greek. It was never really monophthongised, so one should rather consider its being secondary in Greek than its disappearance. Similarly in Latin the diphthong *au* was strong, giving no reasons for supposedly primary Σαυροματ- to be substituted in Latin with *Sarmat-*.

Moreover, the element *Sarm-* was morphologically weak to the Greeks (cf. the words in which it sounds, only three and not much used, σαρμός, σάρμα and σαρμεύω) and so substituted with the morphologically stronger *Saurom-*, since words derived from σαῦρος were very many and frequent in texts: ~βριθής, ~ειδής, ~κτόνος etc.<sup>47</sup>

Deriving *Sauromatae* from lizard eyes was risky, even unprofessional; the explanation of *Sauromatae* as ‘the northern Medes’ is equally unacceptable: “nomen derivat a Matenis seu Matienis seu Medis et voce Lithuanica ‘szaure’, quae septentrionem designat”<sup>48</sup>.

The above onomastic considerations bring to mind certain additional methodological remarks. The Indo-Europeanist and Slavist onomast, who has at his disposal very ancient material collected from early sources, but containing two competing forms, must not omit:

1. to microphilologically analyse the diverse and abundant material in order to determine the written and oral, or secondary and primary form; or

<sup>46</sup> SCHWYZER, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 278; J. SAFAREWICZ, *Historyczna gramatyka języka łacińskiego*, Warszawa 1953, p. 48.

<sup>47</sup> LIDDELL, SCOTT, JONES, *op. cit.* (n. 2), s.v.

<sup>48</sup> BOECKH, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 83.

2. a lot of Hellenisation or Latinisation of the transmitted material (as a linguist onomast rarely engages in such arduous philological inquiry, which takes notice of the text as a whole and of its author, and so also of the various chronological filiations of orthography).

Obviously, some collection of ancient texts would be necessary for that purpose, commented on, entitled “Corpus onomasticum Indoeuropaeum et Slavicum”. An etymological dictionary and index appended would come in handy as well.