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AN ATTEMPT AT AN ETYMOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF PTOLEMY'S HYDRONYMS OF EASTERN BALTICUM

Bandymas etimologiškai analizuoti Ptolemajo
užfiksuotus rytinio Baltijos regiono
hidronimus

ANNOTATION

The contribution analyzes four hydronyms from Eastern Balticum, recorded by Ptolemy in the mid-2nd cent. CE in context of witness of other ancient geographers. Their revised etymological analyses lead to the conclusion that at least three of them are of Germanic origin, but probably calques on their probable Baltic counterparts.

KEYWORDS: Geography, hydronym, etymology, calque, Germanic, Baltic, Balto-Fennic.

ANOTACIJA

Šiame darbe analizuojami keturi Ptolemajo II a. po Kr. viduryje užrašyti rytinio Baltijos regiono hidronimai, paliudyti ir kitų senovės geografo. Šių hidronimų etimologinė analizė parodė, kad bent trys iš jų yra germaniškos kilmės, tačiau, tikėtina, baltiškų atitikmenų kalkės.

ESMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: geografija, hidronimas, etimologija, kalkė, germanų, baltų, baltų ir finų kilmė.

The four river-names located by Ptolemy to the east of the estuary of the Vistula river, Χρόνος, Ῥούβων, Τουρούντος, Χε(ρ)σίνοϛ, have usually been mechanically identified with the biggest rivers of Eastern Balticum according to the sequence of Ptolemy's coordinates:

Χρόνος ~ Prussian *Pregora* / German *Pregel* / Russian *Prególja* / Polish *Pre-gola* / Lithuanian *Preglius*; 123 km (Mannert 1820: 257; Tomaschek, RE III/2, 1899, c. 2841).

Ῥούβων ~ Lithuanian *Nėmunas* / Polish *Niemen* / Belorussian *Nėman* / German *Memel*; 937 km (Mannert 1820: 258; Rappaport, RE 48, 1914, c. 1180);

Τουρούντος ~ Latvian *Venta* / Lithuanian *Ventà* / Livonian *Vānta joug* / Polish *Windawa* / German *Windau*; 346 km long (Mannert 1820: 258);

Χε(ρ)σίνοϛ ~ Latvian *Daugava* / Belorussian *Zaxodnjaja Dzvina* / Russian *Západnaja Dviná* / German *Düna* / Estonian *Väinä*; 1020 km (Mannert 1820: 2580; Tomaschek, RE III/2, 1899, cc. 2273–74 also thought about the Gauja River).

1. TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

1.1. Ptolemy, c. 150 CE [3.5.]

Εὐρώπης πίναξ η.

Ἡ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ Σαρματία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν ἄρκτων τῷ τε Σαρματικῷ ὠκεανῷ κατὰ τὸν Οὐενεδικὸν κόλπον καὶ μέρει τῆς ἀγνώστου γῆς κατὰ περιγραφὴν τοιαύτην· μετὰ τὰς τοῦ Οὐῖστούλα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολὰς

Χρόνου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί ν ν

Ῥούβωνος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί ν γ νζ

Τουρούντου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί ν νη _

Χε(ρ)σίνου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί ν η νθ _

“European Sarmatia is terminated on the north by the Sarmatian ocean adjoining the Venedicus bay and by a part of the unknown land, a description of which is the following. After the mouth of the Vistula River:

mouth of the **Chronus** river 50°00 56°00

mouth of the **Rubonis** river 53°00 57°00

mouth of the **Turuntus** river 56°00 58°30

mouth of the **Che(r)sinus** river 58°30 59°30”

For comparison, the coordinates of the mouth of the Albis and Vistula rivers were determined by Ptolemy [4.11.1 & 4] as follows:

ἄλβιος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί λα΄ νϞδ”

“The mouths of the Albis river 31°00 56°15”

Οὐστούλα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί μέ' νῆδ'

“The mouths of the Vistula river 45°00 56°00”

Translated by Edward L. Stevenson (1932)

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Periods/Roman/Texts/Ptolemy/3/5*.html



Ptolemy's European Sarmatia by Sebastian Munster

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geography_\(Ptolemy\)#/media/File:-Sebastian_Munster_-_Tabvla_europae_VIII_\(Sarmatia\).jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geography_(Ptolemy)#/media/File:-Sebastian_Munster_-_Tabvla_europae_VIII_(Sarmatia).jpg)

1.2. In the 4th cent. CE Marcian of Heraclea Pontica repeated the sequence of these rivers, but with certain modifications of their names:

[2.39] Μετὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Οὐϊστούλα ποταμοῦ ἐκδέχονται **Χρόνου** τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί. ἀπὸ δὲ Χρόνου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξῆς εἰσὶ **Ψουδῶνος** ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί. Οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ποταμοὶ εἰς τὸν Οὐενδικὸν κόλπον ἐξίσιν, ὅστις ἀπὸ τοῦ Οὐϊστούλα ποταμοῦ ἄρχεται παρήκων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. Ἀπὸ

δὲ τοῦ Ῥουδῶνος ποταμοῦ ἐξῆς εἰσὶ **Τουρούντου** ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί ἀπὸ δὲ Τουρούντου ποταμοῦ ἐκδέχεται **Χέσυνος** ποταμός, καὶ αἱ τοῦτου ἐκβολαί.

“Post Vistulae fluvii ostia sequuntur Chroni fluvii ostia; post Chronum fluvium deinceps sunt Rhudonis fluvii ostia. Hi fluvii exeunt in sinum Vendicum, qui a Vistula flumine incipit, in immensum extensus. Rhudonem fluvium subsequuntur Turuntae fluvii ostia; Turuntam fluvium excipit Chesynus fluvius, eiusque ostia.”

Edition and Latin translation by Müller 1882.

1.3. In the end of the 4th century CE Ammianus Marcellinus [22.8.38] recorded the form *Chronius* of Ptolemy's hydronym Χρόνος:

[38] Ergo in ipso huius compagis exordio, ubi Rhiphaei deficiunt montes, habitant Arimphaei, iusti homines placiditateque cogniti, quos amnes **Chronius** et Visula praeterfluunt; iuxtaque Massagetae, Halani et Sargetae, aliique plures obscuri, quorum nec vocabula nobis sunt nota nec mores.

[38] “Well then, at the very beginning of this district, where the Rhiphaean mountains sink to the plain, dwell the Aremphaei, just men and known for their gentleness, through whose country flow the rivers **Chronius** and Visula. Near them are the Massagetae, Halani, and Sargetae, as well as several other obscure peoples whose names and customs are unknown to us.”

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum*,
with an English translation by John C. Rolfe.

Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press – London: Heinemann 1935–1940.

<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:stoa0023.stoa001.perseus-lat1:22.8.38>

<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:stoa0023.stoa001.perseus-eng1:22.8.38>

1.4. Probably the same hydronym, but belonging to a sea, was already used by Pliny in the mid-1st cent. CE:

[4.38/94–95] *exeundum deinde est, ut extera europae dicantur, transgressisque ripaeos montes litus oceani septentrionalis in laeva, donec perveniatur gadis, legendum. insulae complures sine nominibus eo situ traduntur, ex quibus ante scythiam quae appellatur baunonia unam abesse diei cursu, in quam veris tempore fluctibus electrum eiciatur, timaeus prodidit. reliqua litora incerta. signata fama septentrionalis oceani. amalchium eum hecataeus appellat a parapaniso amne, qua scythiam adluit, quod nomen eius gentis lingua significat congelatum. philemon morimarusam a cimbris vocari, hoc est mortuum mare, inde usque ad promunturium rusbeas, ultra deinde **cronium**. xenophon lampsacenus a litore scytharum tridui navigatione insulam esse immensae magnitudinis baltiam tradit, eandem pytheas basiliam nominat.*

<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0978.phi001.perseus-lat1:4.38>

“We must now leave the Euxine to describe the outer portions of Europe. After passing the Riphæan mountains we have now to follow the shores of the Northern Ocean on the left, until we arrive at Gades. In this direction a great number of islands are said to exist that have no name; among which there is one which lies opposite to Scythia, mentioned under the name of Raunonia, and said to be at a distance of the day's sail from the mainland; and upon which, according to Timæus, amber is thrown up by the waves in the spring season. As to the remaining parts of these shores, they are only known from reports of doubtful authority. With reference to the Septentrional or Northern Ocean; Hecataeus calls it, after we have passed the mouth of the river Parapanisus, where it washes the Scythian shores, the Amalchian sea, the word ‘Amalchian’ signifying in the language of these races, frozen. Philemon again says that it is called Morimarusa or the “Dead Sea” by the Cimbri, as far as the Promontory of Rubens, beyond which it has the name of the **Cronian** Sea. Xenophon of Lampascus tells us that at a distance of three days' sail from the shores of Scythia, there is an island of immense size called Baltia, which by Pytheas is called Basilia.”

<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0978.phi001.perseus-eng1:4.27>

[4.41/104] *sunt qui et alias prodant, scandias, dumnam, bergos maximamque omnium berricen, ex qua in tylen navigetur. a tyle unius diei navigatione mare concretum a nonnullis **cronium** appellatur.*

<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0978.phi001.perseus-lat1:4.41>

“There are writers also who make mention of some other islands, Scandia namely, Dumna, Bergos, and, greater than all, Nerigos, from which persons embark for Thule. At one day's sail from Thule is the frozen ocean, which by some is called the **Cronian** Sea.”

<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0978.phi001.perseus-eng1:4.30>

Pliny the Elder: *Naturalis Historia*, ed. by Karl Friedrich Theodor Mayhoff. Leipzig: Teubner 1906.

Pliny the Elder: *The Natural History*, translated by John Bostock & H.T. Riley. London. Taylor and Francis, 1855: 4.30.

1.5. Dionysius Periegetes, 2nd (or 3rd?) cent. CE repeated Pliny's information about the Cronian Sea in the north, which had to be frozen or dead:

²⁷ Πάντη δ' ἀκαμάτου ῥόος Ὠκεανοῖο

²⁸ εἷς μὲν ἑὼν, πολλῇσι δ' ἐπωνυμίησιν ἀρερώς.

²⁹ Ἦτοι ὁ μὲν Λοκροῖο παρ' ἐσχατιὴν ζεφύραο

³⁰ Ἄτλας ἐσπέριος κικλήσκειται. αὐτὰρ ὑπερθεν,

³¹ πρὸς βορέην, ἵνα παῖδες ἀρειμανέων Ἀριμασπῶν,

³² πόντον μιν καλέουσι πεπηγότα τε **Κρόνιον** τε.

³³ ἄλλοι δ' αὖ καὶ νεκρὸν ἐφήμισαν εἵνεκ' ἀφαυροῦ

³⁴ ἡελίου.

Dionysius Periēgētes: Graece et Latine cum vetustis commentariis et interpretationibus, ed. Gottfried Bernhardt. Leipzig: Weidmann 1828, 10.

²⁷ “But on all sides flows the might of tireless Ocean,

²⁸ and being one, yet endowed with many names.

²⁹ Well, by the furthest recess of the Locrian zephyr

³⁰ it is called the Western Atlas, but above,

³¹ towards the north, where dwell the children of the war-mad Arimaspoi,

³² they call it the Frozen and the **Cronion** Sea.

³³ Others, again, called it also the Dead, because of the weakness

³⁴ of the sun.”

Dionysius Periegetes: *Description of the Known World*

Translation: Ekaterina Ilyushechki

http://www.dh.informatik.uni-erlangen.de/IMMD8/staff/Goerz/Dionysius_Periegetes.html

<http://www.dh.informatik.uni-erlangen.de/IMMD8/staff/Goerz/DP/DP.E5-In.tx>

1.6. Following Pliny, more brief was Solinus [19.2] in the 3rd cent. CE:

*Oceanum septemtrionalem ex ea parte, qua a Propanisso amne Scythia adluitur, Hecataeus Amalcium appellat, quod gentis illius lingua significat congelatum. Philemon a Cimbris ad promunturium Rubeas Morimarusam dicit vocari, hoc est mortuum mare: ultra Rubeas quicquid est **Cronium** nominat.*

Gaius Julius Solinus: *De mirabilibus mundi*

<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/solinus2a.html>

“The North Ocean on that part where Paropamisus a Ryuer of Scythia washt into it, is named of Hecataeus Amalchium: which in y^e language of that nation, signifieth the Frozen sea. Phylaemon saith, that from the Cimbrians to the Promontorie Rubeas, it is called Morimarusam, which is as much to saie, as the dead Sea. Whatsoever is beyonde Rubeas is called **Cronium**.”

Translated by Arthur Golding (16th cent.)

<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A12581.0001.001/1:34?rgn=div1;view=fulltext>

2. PURPOSES AND DETERMINATION OF THE LANGUAGE AFFILIATION OF THE HYDRONYMS

In this contribution four hydronyms localized by Pliny, Ptolemy and their followers in the eastern part of Balticum, namely Χρόνος/Chronius/Cronium, Ρούβων / Ρούδων, Τουρούντος, Χε(ρ)σίνογ, are analyzed in etymological perspective.

The first task is determining the language affiliation of these hydronyms. Two of them, Χρόνος & Χε(ρ)σίνογ, are characterized by the initial χ-, i.e. [k^h]. In the Indo-European languages of Europe this sound is typical of Greek, Slavic and Germanic. Greek and Slavic are excluded for geographical reasons (let us mention that in Slavic the initial *x- has usually been of Germanic or Iranian origin). If Germanic remains as the most promising candidate, it is natural to ask, if there is yet another argument supporting the Germanic affiliation of these river-names. The answer may be positive – in Τουρόύντος it is possible to see the Germanic zero-reflex *-unþ-/ *-und- of the present participle suffix *-ŋt-, which is rudimentarily productive in the old literary Germanic languages: Old High German *weisunt* “vein” ~ Old English *wāsend* id., from IE *u₂eǵs- “to flow” (Pokorny 1959: 1134), or Gothic *hulundi* “cave” vs. Old Norse *holr*, Old English, Old Saxon, Old High German *hol* adj. “hollow”, all from the verb attested in Gothic *huljan* “to cover”, Old Norse *hylja*, Old English *be-hyllan*, Old Saxon *bi-hullean*, Old High German *hullan* id. (Brugmann 1906: 216, 461; Pokorny 1959: 553; Lehmann 1986: 193–94; Kroonen 2013: 253). This role of the suffix *-unþ- is generally accepted in the formation of Gothic *tunþus* “tooth” (Brugmann 1906: 460; Kroonen 2013: 509–10).

3. ETYMOLOGICAL ANALYSES

3.1. **Χρόνος** [Ptolemy 3.5.2]; *Chronius* [Ammianus Marcellinus 22.8.38]; perhaps also *Mare Cronium* [Pliny 4.38/94–95, 41/104].

There are at least three possible Germanic etymologies:

a) Müllenhoff (1887: 351) tried to explain the hydronym with the help of Old Norse *hrynja* “stürzen, fallen, strömen”, Icelandic *hrynja* id., *hrun* “Sturz”, Norwegian *rynja* “lärm, poltern”, Old Swedish *rynja* “lärm”; perhaps also Old High German *hrono* “gestürzter Baumstamm”, Middle Low German *rone* id. and Old English *hruna* in place-names (de Vries 1962: 263; Holthausen 1963: 176). Although this idea is followed by Scheungraber & Grünzweig (AgT 138–39), it seems weakest in semantic perspective.

b) Kuhn (1941: 113) thought about a connection of *Mare Cronium* and Old Norse *hrǫnn* f. “wave; Ægir’s daughter”. Together with Icelandic *hrönn* “wave” and Old English *hræn* ~ *hærn* f. “waves, tide, sea”, probably reflect Germanic

**hraznō*¹ (de Vries 1962: 264; Holthausen 1963: 146). Related may be Middle High German (15th cent.) *rünne* f. “Sturmwoge”, if it is derived from **hrōnn-jō(n)*- (Falk & Torp 1909: 104; Orel 2003: 185; while Kroonen 2013: 418 prefers the protoform **runnjō(n)*-). Just the reconstructed protoform **hrōnnjō(n)*- f., despite the difference in gender, stands very close to Pliny’s *Mare Cronium* and Ammianus Marcellinus’ *Chronius*. The initial *C*- is perhaps caused by influence of Κρονία ἄλς, used for the Adriatic Sea by Apollonius Rhodius [*Argonautica* 4.324, 509] in the 3rd cent. BCE. The sea name is probably motivated by the theonym Κρόνος. On the other hand, in the 1st and 2nd cent. CE one would expect that in a hypothetical Germanic language of Eastern Balticum the cluster *-*zn*- was still preserved, if it was preserved in Biblical Gothic recorded around 350 CE, e.g. Gothic *razn* “house”, *ga-razna* “neighbor” (~ Old Norse *granni* id) vs. Old Norse *rann*, Old English *ræn* ~ *ærn* n. “house, dwelling”, Old Frisian *fīa-ern* “animal barn” < **razna*-, besides Old English *ræsn* n. “board” < **rasna*- (Lehmann 1986: 283; de Vries 1962: 433); Germanic > Finnish (arch. & dial.) *rahna* “Holzstück, von dem Späne abgerissen werden; brennender Baumstamm auf der Schwende; Ackerwalze”, Estonian *rahn*, gen. *rahn* & *rahna* “Block, Klotz, grosses Stück, ungespaltener Stamm, Livonian *rō’ŋ*(*āZ*) “umgeworfener Baumstumpf; Baumstamm am Meeresboden” (LGLO III 105). Cf. also the personal name *Rasne-hildi* gen.sg. [CIL XIII 7660] (Schönfeld 1911: 185), dated to the 7th cent. CE. Summing up, although this solution is very attractive from the point of view of semantics, it should be abandoned for phonetic reasons.

c) Another possibility is represented by Old Norse *hraun* n. “steiniger Boden, Lava”, Icelandic *hraun* “steiniges Land ohne vegetation”, Faeroese *reyn*, Danish *røn* “Steinbank auf Meeresboden” > Shetlandic *røn(i)* “Steingrund”, Norwegian NL *Röuna*, Swedish NL *Rönö*, *Röne* (de Vries 1962: 252; Hellquist 1957:

¹ The medial cluster *-*zn*- is confirmed by external comparison with Greek **κράσνᾱ* > Aeolic *κράννᾱ*, Doric, Arcadian *κράνᾱ*, Attic *κρήνη* “source, fountain” [Il.]; besides **κροσσός* > *κρονός* “spring, well head, whence streams issue” [Il. 22.147, 208], cf. the gloss of Hesychius *κροῦναι* · *κρήναι* τέλειαι (see de Saussure 1881: 119; Frisk II 16, 27; Beekes 2010: 777). Later were added cognates in other languages too: Albanian *krua* ~ *krue* m., pl. *kronj*, *kroje* “spring, fountain” (Orel 1998: 198); Celtic: Old Irish *cron*d, Cornish *cronn* ‘a name of a river’ (Stokes 1907: 247). The protoforms **k̑r̥snā* & **k̑rosno-/ā* (Beekes, EIEC 539) are compatible with one of the IE designations of “head”, attested e.g. in Greek *κράνιον* “skull, head”, Albanian *krye* n., pl. *krerë* ~ *krenë* “head” (Orel 1998: 199); Tocharian B *krāñi*(*ye*) “(nape of the) neck” (Adams 2013: 230), etc. Concerning the semantic development, cf. Latin *caput fontis* or *caput aquae* and Greek *κράνα* · *κεφαλή* (Hesychius) – see de Saussure 1881: 119 and Frisk II, 16. This conclusion implies the reconstruction of **k̑-*. The Albanian reflex *k-* before *-r-* is regular.

874). Udolph (1994: 888–92) adds the German oronym *Rhön*². Germanic > Finnish *rauna* “grober Kies, kleine Steine auf dem Grund eines Sees”, Finnish, Votic & Ingrian *raunio*, Karelian *raunivo* “Steinhaufen”, Estonian *raun*, gen. *rauna* “Stein-, Granithaufen” (LGLO III 136). The ancient authors differentiated two variants, *Χρόνος* & *Chronius*, which can be projected into proto-Germanic as **hrauna-* & **hraunija-/ *hraunijō(n)-*³. There is a suggestively matching pair in Balto-Fennic, **rauna* & **raunio* respectively. Thanks to this correspondence it is possible to determine the dialect affiliation of the Germanic dialect of the hydronym – it was probably the same Germanic dialect which bequeathed the earliest Germanic borrowings in the Balto-Fennic languages. It remains to discuss the semantic motivation of this hydronym. Rocks or big stones are not typical of mouths and lower streams of rivers of East Balticum. That is why “gravel” seems to be a more promising semantic motive. Maybe, it could be the Vistula Spit (Polish *Mierzeja Wiślana*; German *Frische Nehrung*; Russian *Baltijskaja kosa*) or Curonian Spit (*Kuršių nerija*), both consisting of the gravel and sand forming dunes⁴ which led to the designation *Mare Cronium* of the Vistula Lagoon or Curonian Lagoon, respectively. With regard to their fresh or brackish water the lagoons have been frozen more or less regularly, in contrary to the open and more salty sea. The frozen sea was probably understood as the dead sea by visitors from the Mediterranean. The term originally reserved for one of these lagoons was later maybe transmitted to straits connecting the lagoons with the Baltic Sea, resembling the estuaries of rivers seen from the sea, or for rivers emptying into these lagoons. Let us analyze the river-names, compatible with the semantic sphere of Germanic **hrauna-* & **hraunija-/ *hraunijō(n)-*. The most frequent candidate for *Χρόνος* & *Chronius* has been the *Pregel* / *Pregolja* River. In reality, the latitude of its mouth is not too different from the mouth of the Vistula River (Ptolemy determined both to 56°00'). The etymology of this hydronym is not unambiguous. Gerullis (1922, 135), summarizing old records, namely *Prigora* (1302), *Pregor* (1359), besides the dissimilated forms *Pregoll*, *Pregel* (1331), *Pregill* (1460), sought explanation in Lithuanian *prāgaras* “grundloser Weg, Abgrund, Hölle” (also “Vielfrass”). It is related to *pragorē* “Abgrund, unermessliche Tiefe” and both have been derived from the

² The mountain range *Rhön* is located in the borderland of the states of Bavaria, Hesse and Thuringia. Its highest top, Wasserkuppe, is 950 m high.

³ The proto-Germanic diphthong **au*, confirmed in the Balto-Fennic borrowings, may have been changed into *o* in Greek and Latin transcriptions, cf. *Austrogoti* vs. *Ostrogothi* (Schönfeld 1911: 38).

⁴ The biggest dune of the Vistula Spit, called *Wielblądzi Garb* = *Kamelhöcker*, is 48.50 m high. The biggest dune of the Curonian Spit, called *Vecekrug*, is higher, 67.20 m.

Lithuanian verb *gérti* “to drink” (Fraenkel 1962–65: 148, 643). Such a semantic motivation is naturally acceptable for a river-name, if the river flows in a canyon or at least a deep valley. This is apparently not the case of the flat landscape along the Pregel / Pregolja River. Mažiulis (2013) added the oldest record *Pregora* (1273), reconstructing the Baltic starting-point as **Prėgarā*. He separated here the suffix **-arā* (cf. Lithuanian *žiez-ara* “griesgrämige, mürrische Person; Hexe”, from *žiežti* “brummen, murren, böse sein” – see Fraenkel 1962–65: 1308). The root proper should be related to Lithuanian *spragėti* “(von Hitze oder Kälte) knarrend platzen, bersten, zischen, glitzern”, *sprógti* “bersten, zerplatzen, zerspringen, aufspringen, in die Luft fliegen, explodieren” etc. (Fraenkel 1962–65: 877, 882). Although this solution is transparent from the point of view of word formation, the semantic motivation remains unconvincing. But the vowel *o* in the Prussian hydronym *Pregora*, *Prigora*, etc. is also explainable from Baltic **au*, cf. the vacillation *au/aw* ~ *o* ~ *u* in the Prussian place-names as the lake *Lauken* (1306) vs. *Locazar* (1308) = *laucks* “field” + *assaran* “lake”, or the see *Dauben* (1346) vs. *Duben* / *Douben* (1340), cf. Prussian *pa-daubis*, Lithuanian *daubà* “Schlucht”, etc. (Gerullis 1922: 26, 83). Taking in account this possibility, the root **-gor-* of the Prussian hydronym is compatible with the name of the Prussian lake *Goryn*, first recorded in 1293, in 1339 as *Gureyn* (Gerullis 1922: 44; Toporov 1979: 345), and further with Lithuanian *giaurė* “kalkhaltiger Boden”, *gurūs* “locker, bröckelig, brüchig”, *gùrulas* “Brocken”, etc., all from the verb *gùrti* “zerfallen, zerbröckeln, zerkrümeln, zergehen, zerfließen; aufgelockert, aufgeweicht, schwach werden”, Latvian *guīt* “matt, schwach sein”, *gaurs* “locker” (Fraenkel 1962–65: 150, 179; Vanagas 1981: 109; Smoczyński 2007: 212–13). In the light of the etymological connection between Gothic *malma* “sand”, Swedish *malm* “sandy plain, ore”, Old English *mealmiht* “sandy”, English *malm* “light, loamy soil”, Old Saxon, Old High German *melm*, German *mulm* “dust” and Gothic *malan* “to grind”, Old Norse *mala*, Old Saxon, Old High German *malan* id. (Lehmann 1986: 242–43), it is legitimate to speculate that in Prussian there could have existed a word of the type **gaur°* / **gor°* / **gur°*, meaning “sand, gravel, pebble” *vel sim*. Its traces may be identified in both the lake-name *Goryn* & *Gureyn* and the river-name *Pregora*, *Prigora* ‘Pregel’, perhaps “by sandy dunes” *vel sim*. Such a semantic motivation would also agree with the proposed meaning of the *Χρόνος* & *Chronius* River in the light of its Germanic etymology.

Less probable seems the ‘stony’ variant of this etymology. In the narrow estuary of the Curonian Lagoon there is the mouth of the Danė-Akmena River. The Akmena means “stony”, cf. Lithuanian *akmuõ*, gen. *ākmenas* “stone” (Vanagas 1981: 37).

3.2. **Πούβων** [Ptolemy 3.5.2. in Nobbe’s edition) / **Πούδων** [Marcian 2.39]

3.2.1. If Marcian's reading **Ῥούδων** is correct, the hydronym could reflect Germanic **rudō(n)* "redness" > Old Norse *roði* id., Old English *rudu*, Middle Low Germanic *rude* id. (Orel 2003: 307). The exact match in Baltic from the point of view of word formation appears in Lithuanian *ruduō* "autumn", while the exact semantic counterpart *raudónas* = *raūdas* "red" differs in the diphthong.

3.2.2. In the case that Ptolemy's form **Ῥούβων** is correct, it could be connected with Latvian *rubenis*, *rubins*, f. *rubeniene* "Birkhuhn / Tetrao tetrix", *baltais rubenis* "Moorschneehuhn, Morasthuhn / Lagopus albus" (ME III 552), besides Lithuanian *raūbas* "graugesprenkelt", related to Old Norse *rjúpa* "Schneehuhn" (de Vries 1962: 449). Mühlenbach (ME I 709) and Fraenkel (1962–65: 193) speculated about the intensive reduplication **rierub-*/**rirub-*/**rērub-* of the root **rub-* in this ornithonym, leading to such the forms as Lithuanian *jerubė*, *jerūbė*, dial. *(j)ārube* "Haselhuhn", Latvian *īrbe*, dial. *jirbe*, *i(e)rube* "Feldhuhn, Ackerhuhn" (ME I 708–09); further also Old Norse *jarpi* "Haselhuhn" vs. *jar-pr* "dunkelbraun", Middle Low German *erpel* "male duck" vs. Old English *eorþ*, *earp*, Old High German *erpf* "dunkelfarbig" (de Vries 1962: 291). This solution allows us to identify the hydronym with a concrete river, namely *Irbe* from the north of the Courland Peninsula (*Kurzemes pussala*), 32 km long, but with its longest tributary Stende it is altogether 132 km long.

It is tempting to think about some connection between the hydronym **Ῥούβων** and the promontory *Rusbeas* recorded by Pliny, if Solinus' version *Rubeas* is more correct. Not too far from the mouth of the Irbe River, identified here with **Ῥούβων**, there is *Kolkarags*, the northernmost point of the Curonian Peninsula. The sea beyond the *Rubeas* Promontory could be the Gulf of Riga. Its identification with the Cronian Sea may be caused by the fact that it also freezes over, like the Vistula and Curonian Lagoons.

3.2.3. Müllenhoff (1887: 351), followed by Rappaport (RE 48, 1914, c. 1180) and others, offered the emendation **Ῥούσων**, seeking a support in the name *Rūsne* of one of arms of the Nemunas/Nemen/Memel. Let us mention that according to LKŽ, Lithuanian *rūsne* means 1. "vieta, kur pagonių žyniai kūrendavo amžinąją ugnį: Visos kitos tokios vietos, kuriose amžina ugnis ant garbės Dievo rusinama buvo, vadinos *rusnės*, nuo žodžio *rusėti*, arba amžinai degti", i.e. "the place, where the pagan priests burnt an eternal fire; all other similar places, where the eternal fire was burnt in honour of God, were called *rusnės*, from the word *rusėti*, i.e. "to burn eternally"; 2. *rusmenė* (Digitalis).

3.3. **Τουρούντος (Ταυρούντος)** [Ptolemy 3.5.2].

It is attractive to derive the hydronym by the suffix **-unþ-* from the base attested in Old Norse *þori* "Menge, Masse", perhaps related to *þora* "wagen", *þoran* "Mut, Tüchtigkeit", and further Vedic *turá-* "strong, rich", etc. (de Vries 1962: 617; Pokorny 1959: 1083).

In semantic perspective, this solution allows one to connect Ptolemy's hydronym with the name of the biggest Latvian river *Daugava*, 1020 km long, which is etymologizable on the basis of Latvian *daūdz* "viel", Lithuanian *daūg*, *daugi(a)* "viel", *daūgis* "Vielheit", further Polish *duży* "gross, stark", *dużo* "viel", etc. (Fraenkel 1962–65: 84).

Note: The Germanic **þ* transcribed as τ by Ptolemy is a usual way of transcription in his work, cf. e.g. the place-name $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ / $\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ / $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ [2.11.27] between the Rhein and Ems Rivers, discussed in detail by Much (1897: 99, 115).

3.4. **$\chi\epsilon(\rho)\acute{o}\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$** [Ptolemy 3.5.2 in Nobbe's edition, p. 167] / **$\chi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$** [Marcian 2.39].

It could be a transcription of Germanic **herznān* > Old Norse *hjarn* "hard frozen snow", Norwegian *hjárn* id., dial. *jorr* m. "layer of ice" < **hjorr* < **herz(n)u-*; Old High German *hornunc* "February" < **hurznungōn* (de Vries 1962: 231; Orel 2003: 171; Kroonen 2013: 223), cf. Latvian *sērsna* "Reiffrost, Nachtfrost im Frühling" (ME III 831), Lithuanian *šer̃kšnas* & *šir̃kšnas* "hoarfrost" (Fraenkel 1962–65: 973–74); Russian-Church Slavonic *srěnъ* "weiss", Old Russian *serenъ* "gefrorener Schnee", Russian *serěn* id., Old Polish *śrzon* "gefrorener Tau, Reif", etc. (Falk & Torp 1909: 78).

It is tempting to draw our attention to the Latvian river *Salaca* (95 km), emptying into the Gulf of Riga. If it is etymologizable on the basis of Latvian *saļt* "frieren", *sals* "Frost" (ME III 675–76), Lithuanian *šalti* "(ge)frieren, abkühlen, kalt werden", *pāšalas* "Frost in der Erde, gefrorener Erdboden; Nachtfrost" (Fraenkel 1962–65: 958–61), Prussian *passalis* "Frost" [EV 57], Ptolemy's hydronym seems to be a Germanic calque on the Baltic river-name, meaning probably "freezing over".

4. CONCLUSION

Four hydronyms from East Balticum mediated by Ptolemy in the mid-2nd cent. CE and repeated with certain modifications by Marcian in the 4th cent. CE look like Germanic calques on the primary Baltic river-names, probably with one exception, $\rho\acute{o}\upsilon\beta\omicron\nu\nu$, allowing the direct Baltic etymology and identification with the Irbe River. The $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ & *Chronius* River was probably named after the *Mare Cronium*, perhaps corresponding with one of the Vistula or Curonian Lagoons or their tributaries, *Pregel*, 1273 *Pregora*, or *Akmena*, respectively.

An Attempt at an Etymological Analysis
of Ptolemy's Hydronyms of Eastern Balticum

Ptolemy	Marcian	Others	Germanic	Baltic	Present hydronym
Χρόνος	Χρόνος	<i>Chronius</i> ^{Mar-} ^{cAmm} <i>Mare Cronium</i> ^{Pliny}	* <i>hrauna</i> - “stony soil, gravel” & * <i>hraunija</i> - / * <i>hraunijō(n)</i> - “heap of stones”		Vistula Spit or Curonian Spit or straits in them or (1273) <i>Pregora</i> “by sandy dunes” or <i>Akmena</i> “stony”
Ψούβων	Ψούδων		* <i>rudō(n)</i> “redness”	Latv. <i>rubenis</i> “grouse”	<i>Irbe</i> “grouse”
Τουρούντος	Τουρούντος		* <i>purunþ</i> - “abounding”		<i>Daugava</i> “abounding”
Χε(ρ)σίνος	Χέσυνος		* <i>herznan</i> -/* <i>herznu</i> - “frozen”		<i>Salaca</i> “freezing over”

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Bandymas etimologiškai analizuoti Ptolemajo užfiksuotus rytinio Baltijos regiono hidronimus

SANTRAUKA

Straipsnyje nagrinėjami keli Klaudijo Ptolemajo *Geografijoje* minimų rytinio Baltijos regiono, patenkančio į Europinės Sarmatijos erdvę, hidronimai. Kaip pažymi autorius, tai yra bandymas paaiškinti jų etimologiją. *Geografija* buvo paskelbta II a. viduryje. Straipsnyje cituojama Ptolemajo Europos Sarmatijos geografinė samprata, išvardijant upes: *Chronus*, *Rudonis*, *Turuntus*, *Che(r)sinus*, *Albis*, *Vistula*. Žvilgsnis taip pat metamas į kitų autorių hidronimų interpretacijas ir komentarus, paminimi IV a. istorikai Marcianas iš Ponto Heraklėjos, kuris modifikuoja upių pavadinimus, ir Amianas Marcelinas. Šie vardai I a. tikriausiai buvo žinomi ir Plinijui. Plinijumi sekdamas, apie tai III a. rašė ir Gajus Julijus Solinas. Autorius išsamiai nagrinėja keturių hidronimų etimologiją, siekdamas paaiškinti, iš kurios kalbos jie kilę. Šie hidronimai – tai *Chronas*, *Rudonas*, *Turuntas*, *Chesinas* (vardai pateikiami pagal Eugenijaus Jovaišos monografiją *Aisčiai. Raida*. Vilnius: Lietuvos edukologijos universiteto leidykla, 2014, 121–162. Straipsnio autorius tik neseniai susipažino su E. Jovaišos Ptolemajo žemėlapiu perskaitymu. – *Red. kolegijos pastaba*).

Ptolemajas II a. po Kr. viduryje paminėjo keturis rytinio Baltijos regiono hidronimus, o Marcianas IV a. po Kr. juos pakartojo šiek tiek pakeistus. Šie hidronimai yra pirminiai baltų upių pavadinimų germaniški vertiniai, išimtis tik *Πούβων*, kuris leidžia nustatyti tiesioginę baltų hidronimo *Irbė* etimologiją. Tikėtina, kad hidronimas *Chronius* (gr. *Χρόνος*) yra kilęs iš *Mare Cronium*, galimai atitinkantis Vistulą ar Kuršių marias bei jų intakus *Prieglių*, *1273 Pregorq* ar *Akmenq*.

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