

The Historical Landscape of Ancient Kalabria

Balkan and Aegean Linguistic Influences

Francesco Lopez



ANCIENT LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BRILL

香港浸會大學

饒宗頤國學院

丁未年

The Historical Landscape of Ancient Kalabria

Ancient Languages and Civilizations

Editor-in-Chief

CHEN Zhi (*Research Centre for History and Culture,
Beijing Normal University & UIC, China*)

Associate Editors

Carlotta Viti (*University of Lorraine, Nancy, France*)
WANG Xiang (Shawn Wang) (*Research Centre for History and Culture, Beijing
Normal University & UIC, Zhuhai, China*)

Editorial Board

Luz Conti (*Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain*) – Paola Cotticelli
(*University of Verona, Italy*) – Trevor Evans (*Macquarie University, Australia*) –
Yegor Grebnev (*Research Centre for History and Culture, Beijing Normal
University & UIC, China*) – Geoffrey Khan (*University of Cambridge, UK*) –
Laura Loporcaro (*University of Oxford, UK*) – Marco Mancini (*University “La
Sapienza”, Italy*) – Daniel Petit (*École Pratique des Hautes Études, France*) – Yuri
Pines (*Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel*) – S.A.S. Sarma (*Ecole Française
d’Extrême Orient, Pondichery, India*) – Adam Craig Schwartz (*Hong Kong
Baptist University, Hong Kong, China*) – ZHANG Wei (*Fudan University, China*) –
ZHOU Yiqun (*Stanford University, USA*)

Advisory Board

Giuliano Boccali (*State University of Milan, Italy*) – CHEN Zhan (*Research
Centre for History and Culture, Beijing Normal University & UIC, China*) – Julien
Cooper (*Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia*) – Ekkehard König (*Free
University of Berlin, Germany*) – Maria Kozianka (*Friedrich Schiller University
Jena, Germany*) – Frédéric Lambert (*Bordeaux Montaigne University, France*) –
Glenn W. Most (*University of Chicago, USA*) – Anna Orlandini (*University of
Toulouse-Jean Jaurès, France*) – Thomas Schneider (*University of British
Columbia, Canada*) – Edward L. Shaughnessy (*University of Chicago, USA*) –
Hans van Ess (*Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, Germany*)

VOLUME 10

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/alac

The Historical Landscape of Ancient Kalabria

Balkan and Aegean Linguistic Influences

By

Francesco Lopez



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON



This is an open access title distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 license, which permits any non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided no alterations are made and the original author(s) and source are credited. Further information and the complete license text can be found at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

The terms of the CC license apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources (indicated by a reference) such as diagrams, illustrations, photos and text samples may require further permission from the respective copyright holder.



香港浸會大學
HONG KONG BAPTIST UNIVERSITY

Publication of this volume was generously sponsored by the HKBU Jao Tsung-I Academy of Sinology – Amway Development Fund.

Cover illustration: On the Tabula Peutingeriana, a 13th-century C.E. parchment copy, made from a Carolingian version of a possible Roman original, the Salento peninsula (Italy) bears the choronym Calabria and the ethnic name Salentini. Aside from there is Brittius, today's Calabria. Named after 16th-century German antiquarian Konrad Peutinger, the map has been conserved at the Austrian National Library (the former Imperial Court Library) in Vienna since 1738. See Albu (2005); Salway (2005); Lozzi Gallo (2012) 14.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <https://catalog.loc.gov>
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2024039187>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2667-3770

ISBN 978-90-04-54776-6 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-71182-2 (e-book)

DOI 10.1163/9789004711822

Copyright 2025 by Francesco Lopez. Published by Koninklijke Brill BV, Leiden, The Netherlands. Koninklijke Brill BV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schönigh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress. Koninklijke Brill BV reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Acknowledgements VII

Abbreviations VIII

Introduction 1

- 1 **Kalabria, from Messapia to the Land of the Bruttii** 5
 - 1 Calabria, Iapygia, and Messapia in the Hellenistic Period 5
 - 2 The Indigenous Origin of the Kalabroi and Salentinoi Ethnonyms 10
 - 3 Two Ethnic Denominations, but a Single Choronym 11
 - 4 Iapygian Presences in the Pre-Hellenic Krotoniatis 14
 - 5 Administrative Structure from Augustus to Justinianus 15
 - 6 Migration from the Salento Peninsula to the Land of the Bruttii 17

- 2 **Corresponding Denominations in Antiquity** 22
 - 1 The Kalabros River on an Ancient Temesa Painting 22
 - 2 The Island of Kalauria and the Cult of Poseidon 23
 - 3 Balkan Area between Dardania, Illyria, and Thrace 26
 - 4 An Etruscan Inscription from Volsinii, Orvieto 27
 - 5 Kalauria Nymph and Ganges River in India 28
 - 6 Kalauria Site near Syracuse in Sicily 29
 - 7 A Spurious Epigraph concerning the Lokroi Kalabroi 30

- 3 **Corresponding Denominations in the Byzantine Period** 32
 - 1 The Thracian Fortress of Kalabrye and the River Halmyros 32
 - 2 The Hinterland of Selymbria and the Modern District of Silivri 36
 - 3 Natural Environment and Local Traditions 39
 - 4 Similar Toponyms according to the Landscape 41

- 4 **Kalabria, for the Scholars of Ancient History** 48
 - 1 An Indigenous or Greek Choronym for Messapia 48
 - 2 An Insulting Denomination, Created by Tarentini 53
 - 3 An Indigenous Denomination Transformed into an Insult 57

- 5 **The Root *Kar-/ *Kal- and the Toponymic Appellative *Bria/ Uria*** 58
 - 1 Kalabroi as the 'Inhabitants of the Rocks' 58
 - 2 The Complexity of the Pre-Hellenic *Kala Toponymic Base 61

3	The Root <i>*Kar-/ *Kal-</i> as ‘Stone’ and ‘Water-Carved Stone’	63
4	The Pre-Hellenic Toponymic Appellative <i>Bria/ Uria</i>	64
6	Water-Carved Soil and Creeks from Messapia to Krotoniatis	77
1	Kalabria and the Karst Phenomena in the Salento Peninsula	77
2	From the Gargano Peninsula to the Carso Region	85
3	The Balkans and the Thracian-Illyrian Area	88
4	Aegean, Minoan, and Mycenaean Areas	91
5	Kallipolis and Kalauria: A Possible Toponymic Symmetry	96
6	Messapia and Krotoniatis Region Mirroring	102
7	Several Krotoniatis Place-Names Based on <i>*Kar-/ *Kal-</i> Root	108
8	The Water-Carved Soil as Kroton Identity	120
9	Creeks and Natural Harbours by an ‘Ionian’ Perspective	123
10	The Trans-Ionian Route of the ‘White Shining Rocks’	126
	Conclusions	129
	Appendix: Greek and Latin Sources	135
	Bibliography	154
	Index of Places	192

Acknowledgements

At the end of this work, I am fortunate to have many people to thank for their valuable cooperation.

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to the Editors of Brill's "Ancient Languages and Civilizations" series, Chen Zhi, Carlotta Viti, and Wang Xiang, for enthusiastically welcoming the volume proposal and for supporting and encouraging my endeavours at every stage in a highly positive spirit.

Academically, I have benefited from the vibrant intellectual environment I found at the Faculty of Civilisation and Forms of Knowledge at the University of Pisa in Italy. I am particularly grateful for the advice, comments and criticism of Professor Francesco Perono Cacciafoco, currently Associate Professor in Linguistics at Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University (XJTLU) at Suzhou in China.

I am also grateful to Salvatore Settis, former Director of the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa, for his advice. Over time, I have had the honour of receiving the comments and criticism of Paolo Ramat, Full Professor of Linguistics at the University of Pavia, Department of Cultures and Civilisations, and Paola Cotticelli-Kurras, Full Professor at the University of Verona, Department of Culture and Civilisations. I owe them our deep gratitude.

Special thanks are due to Wendy Logeman, Associate Editor for Languages and Linguistics at Brill, and Elisa Perotti for their availability and efficiency at all stages of the book's production; to the anonymous readers, for their very concrete suggestions, which helped us to improve the book as a whole both in form and content; to the proofreader and the editorial team at Brill for their expert work while preparing this volume for publication.

Without the many friends who encouraged and supported me, I would never have been able to complete this project, which began in 2015. In particular, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Mirella and Maurizio Barracco of the Old Calabria Foundation, Gregorio Aversa as Director of the National Archaeological Museum of Crotona, and Giuseppe Nicoletti as former Archaeologist for Crotona of the Superintendence for the Archaeological Heritage of Calabria.

Abbreviations

- ACO Schwartz E., Straub J., Schieffer R. (1914–1984), *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, Berlin, De Gruyter.
- CIE Danielsson O.A. (1907), *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, Vol. 2, Sec. 1, Fasc. 1, Lipsiae, Barth.
- DELL Ernout A., Meillet A. (1959), *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*, Paris, Klincksieck.
- DT Gasca Queirazza G., Marcato C., Pellegrini G.B., Petracco Sicardi G., Rossebastiano A. (1990), *Dizionario di toponomastica. Storia e significato dei nomi geografici italiani*, Torino, UTET.
- EDG Beekes R. (2010), *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden-Boston, Brill.
- EDL De Vaan M. (2008), *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages*, Leiden-Boston, Brill.
- EIEC Mallory P., Adams D.Q. (1997), *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, London-Chicago, Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers.
- FEW Von Wartburg W. (1922), *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Eine Darstellung des galloromanischen Sprachschatzes*, Bonn und Leipzig, Kurt Schroeder.
- GGM Müller K. (1855–1861), *Geographi Graeci Minores*, I II, Paris, Didot.
- IEW Pokorny J. (1959), *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern, München, A. Francke, I, cop. 1959–1969.
- LIV Rix H., Kümmel M., Zehnder T., Lipp R., Schirmer B. (2001), *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstambildungen*, 2. Auflage, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- LUI *Lessico Universale Italiano*, Treccani, dizionario enciclopedico in 18 voll. (1968–1981).
- PHI When there is no indication, the Latin texts' edition takes up the Classical Latin Texts. A Resource Prepared by The Packard Humanities Institute, Los Altos, Santa Clarita, Cambridge.
- RE Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, Metzlersche Buchhandlung, 1894–1980.
- TLG When there is no indication, the Greek texts' edition takes up the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, University of California, Berkeley CD-ROM 'E', 1998–2013.

Introduction

This book focuses on Καλαβρία as an ancient land of Italy from its origin to the early Middle Ages. The place name referred to the Salento peninsula, also called Messapia, as part of present-day Puglia and later to the land of the *Bruttii*, now the region of Calabria. This work is the first to carefully evaluate linguistic and historical studies in a comprehensive and monographic form. Following an interdisciplinary approach, the systematic combination of Linguistics and Landscape History guides the research step by step. The sample represents a new significant methodological instance that merges Toponymy, History, Archaeology, Topography, and Philology.¹

The main aim is to rethink the complex relationship between environment, territory, culture and human mobility, paying particular attention in each reference 'context' to the concrete way places are perceived, named and narrated from the perspective of antiquity.² It is, therefore, crucial to reconstruct the names of the most distant ages that continued or ended in a later period. The purpose is to use historical, archaeological and linguistic sources to research the ethnic groups that inhabited the area, focusing as much as possible on the landscape features and changes that the archaic local nomenclature often strictly recalls.³

Illustrious scholars, each in his field of research, investigated the meaning of the Καλαβρία-choronym.⁴ Others, however, dealt with the historical-geographical and ethnographical question of the Καλαβροί and tried to reconstruct the origins of this population.⁵ Therefore, linguists, historians, philologists and archaeologists proposed several parallel restitutions. Each proceeded mainly according to the method of his discipline without finding common points of reference. Moreover, the fragmentation of the historical sources makes the argument even more problematic. They are limited and filtered by the Greco-Latin culture in a phase that does not predate the 3rd–2nd century B.C.E. The analysis comprises six thematic chapters, each with several sections.⁶

1 For an introduction to Landscape History and Archaeology, see Cambi, Terrenato (1994); Barker (1997); Cambi (2003); Id. (2011); Dall'Aglio (2011); Kluiving, Guttman-Bond (2012); Ramazzotti (2016).

2 On the concepts of 'Landscape' and 'Context', see Settis (2002); Id. (2003); Id. (2010).

3 See Pellegrini (1981), 17–30; Id. (2000), 11–21.

4 Alessio (1935); Id. (1936); Id. (1948); Id. (1949); Deroy (1962); Nenci (1978); Id. (1982).

5 Latham (1859); Schipa (1895); Beloch (1912); Mazzarino (1939); Giannelli (1956); Zancani Montuoro (1974); Compatangelo-Soussignan (1989); Ead. (1994); Lombardo (1982); Id. (2014).

6 For the literary sources, see the Appendix and Lombardo (1992); Id. (2014). Cf. Valente (2018).

The first chapter examines the evidence for the choronym *Καλαβρία* in chronological order, from the Hellenistic to the early Byzantine period (3rd century B.C.E./8th century C.E.). The starting point is the identification of *Καλαβρία* with *Μεσσαπία*.⁷ The area corresponds to the modern Salento peninsula, which extends between the Taranto-Brindisi line and Cape Santa Maria di Leuca. As Herodotus claimed, the country appeared as a sub-peninsula of the more extensive land of the Iapygians (Sect. 1).⁸ There follows the distinction between *Καλαβροί* and *Σαλεντινοί* as native ethnonyms, according to Strabo (Sect. 2). The discussion thus revolves around the prevalence of *Καλαβρία* in Roman times as a unique name to identify the entire Salento peninsula (Sect. 3). After the tradition of the possible Iapygian presences in the pre-Hellenic Krotoniatis domain (Sect. 4), we consider the administrative reform introduced by Octavian Augustus. It led to the creation of the *Secunda Regio*, which included *Hirpinos*, *Calabriam*, *Apuliam*, and *Sallentinos*. Then the emperors Diocletian, Constantine, and Justinian restricted the region by giving it the name *Apulia et Calabria* (Sect. 5). The last section is devoted to the migration of the name *Καλαβρία* during the Byzantine period (7th century C.E.) from the Salento peninsula, conquered by the Longobards, to the land of the *Bruttii*, the present-day region of Calabria (Sect. 6).

The second chapter deals with other toponyms, hydronyms and onomastics that have the form *Kala-ur/ br-* (< 1E or pre-1E **kar-/ *kal-* root), which are indicated in the Greek and Latin sources as existing beyond the ancient Salento peninsula and the medieval land of the *Bruttii*. The survey thus moves towards the following names: 1. The river *Κάλαβρος*,⁹ which was depicted in an ancient painting in Olympia and belonged to an area between Temesa, Croton, Metapontum and Sybaris (Sect. 1); 2. The onomastic term *ka-ra-u-ro* in the Linear B Tablets from Pylos;¹⁰ 3. The *Καλύρια*-island in the Saronic Gulf near Troizen, which was dedicated to the god Poseidon (Sect. 2); 4. The Balkan area between Dardania, Illyria, and Thrace (Sect. 3); 5. The Etruscan archaic inscription CIE 4940 from Volsinii, Orvieto (Sect. 4); 6. The *Καλαυρία* nymph, mother of the Ganges, in India (Sect. 5); 7. The *Καλύρια* site near Syracuse in Sicily (Sect. 6); 8. And the spurious inscription Kaibel No. 46 of the so-called 'Locrenses Kalabroi' (Sect. 7).

The third chapter explores the testimony of the Byzantine chronicler Johannes Zonaras (11th–12th century C.E.) about the place name *Καλαβρύη*,¹¹ a Thra-

7 Hsch. x 380. 1 fr. 20; Nic. Dam. fr. 101. 80–90.

8 Hdt. 4. 99.

9 Paus. *Grac. Descr.* 6. 6. 11.

10 An. 192 l. 8; Jn. 750 l. 7.

11 Zonar. *Ep. Hist.* 18. 9. 6.

cian fortress in the area of Σηλυμβρία, present-day Silivri (Sect. 1). The land, originally called Καλαυρία or Καλαβρία (Sect. 2),¹² was alluvial, rich in water sources, including salt water, in a context, as we know from other sources, of ravines, hills, and recessed valleys.¹³ These factors probably inspired the folk etymology of ‘Good Springs’ or ‘Good Fountains’ (καλαὶ βρύσεις) as proposed by Zonaras (Sect. 3). Therefore, the research discusses several well-documented toponyms with the *Kala-br/ur-* theme and similar environmental conditions between the 11th and 13th centuries C.E. We consider in Italy the Monastery of Καλαυρο or Calabro Maria (Altilia di Santa Severina-ΚΡ), the Casale Καλαβρῶν or Calabro (Mileto-VV) in the present-day region of Calabria, and the land of Κάλαυρας or Καλαβράς near Câlvera (PZ) in Lucania-Basilicata; in Greece, the village of Kalabrita or Kalavrita (Achaia) in the northern Peloponnese (Sect. 4).

The fourth chapter reconstructs the view of modern historians, starting from the studies of Latham (1859), through those of Beloch (1912), Mazzarino (1939) and Nenci (1978; Id. 1982) to Compatangelo-Soussignan (1989; Ead. 1994). The choronym Καλαβρία, associated with the ancient Salento peninsula, has been understood in several ways. First, it emerges as an indigenous or Greek name parallel to Messapia, which has a possible original similarity in the Illyrian-Balkan context with the people of the Γαλάβριοι¹⁴ or in the Aegean region with the island of Καλαύρια near Troizen, modern Poros (Sect. 1). Then it appears as a name coined by the colonists of Tarentum, in a war context, in a derogatory sense against the Messapians, from the term κόλαβρος ‘little pig’ (Sect. 2). Finally, we find it as the result of the Hellenic interpretation of a pre-existing Messapian word. The place name was probably autonomous and identity-forming for the native peoples, who were never subject to the Tarentini (Sect. 3).

The fifth chapter is strictly devoted to linguistic studies and refers to the base IE or pre-IE **kar-/ *kal-* ‘stone’ and to the morpheme *bria/ uria*, which is used mainly in composition as the second element in the meaning of ‘city, country, region’. The traditional hypothesis (Sect. 1) considers the Καλαβροί as the ‘inhabitants of the rocks’ between Murge and Serre Salentine (Alessio 1948). We discuss this (Sect. 2 and 3), pointing out the complexity of the toponymic base **kala* and the IE or pre-IE **kar-/ *kal-* root as ‘water-carved stone’ (Deroy 1962; Perono Cacciafoco 2008; Id. 2015a; Id. 2015b). In this context, the term ‘soil’ for ‘stone’ and ‘rock’ in the present work has a purely expressive character

12 *Chr. Pasch.* 622, 18.

13 *Ann. Com. Alex.* 1. 5. 3–4; *Nic. Br. Hist.* 4. 7. 15.

14 *Strab.* 7. 5. 7.

to refer to the 'hard' surface of the soil, which is often brittle and calcareous. The word is in no way employed in a specialised sense. The final section (Sect. 4) analyses the appellative *bria/uria* by reviewing the different notions formulated by modern scholars, including recent and sectoral studies by Francisco Villar (2011; Id. 2014).

The sixth chapter combines the items studied so far on a historical, linguistic and archaeological level. The discourse focuses on the relationship between the choronym *Καλαβρία* and the karst nature of the Salento peninsula (Sect. 1), especially along the high and rugged coasts, frequented by indigenous, Balkan, and Aegean populations already in the pre-Hellenic period. In addition, we examine a wider group of ancient toponyms, probably based on the root **kar-/ *kal-* 'stone' and 'water-carved stone', stretching from the Gargano Peninsula to the Carso region (Sect. 2), from the Thracian-Illyrian world (Sect. 3) to the Aegean (Sect. 4). A special section is devoted to the city of Gallipoli (*Καλλίπολις*) at the northern mouth of the Taranto Gulf (Sect. 5). We are also concerned with the territorial mirroring between the Messapia and the Krotoniatis areas, especially as regards the sub-peninsula between the river Esaro and Le Castella Peak (Sect. 6). In this context, we explore the possibility of identifying several toponyms based on the **kar-/ *kal-* root, closely related to the karst-gully nature of the sites (Sect. 7), as well as others with a similar meaning such as 'water-carved soil' (Sect. 8).

In the conclusions, we summarise some new insights into ancient *Καλαβρία* that have emerged from the careful comparison between historical and linguistic studies. However, the complexity of the analysis and the fragmentary qualities of the sources advise proceeding with extreme caution in the hope of further research, especially according to the new methodological perspective undertaken here, which rigorously combines Linguistics and Landscape History. The various layers identified do not allow us to determine with certainty the historical origin of the name *Καλαβρία* as an Epichoric and non-Greek name for Messapia. We do not know whether it is originally indigenous, Illyrian-Balkan or Minoan-Mycenaean. Nevertheless, the discussion establishes a deep connection between the places where ancient and medieval sources identified the choronym and their karst nature, mainly as regards the system of natural bays and headlands that characterise certain areas.

Kalabria, from Messapia to the Land of the Bruttii

1 Calabria, Iapygia, and Messapia in the Hellenistic Period

According to Rinthon, a poet who flourished in Magna Graecia in the early 3rd century B.C.E., probably born in Syracuse but who lived in Tarentum, the choronym Καλαβρία identified the region of Messapia (App. #11).¹ If the note of Hesychius (5th century C.E.) is genuine, it is the first known evidence for the term Καλαβρία.² The Messapian glosses reported by the grammarian generally belong to Rinthon.³ Nicander of Colophon (2nd century B.C.E.) claimed that Messapians had an Illyrian origin. Their land extended from Tarentum to the tip of Italy and included the town of Brundisium (App. #14).⁴ The geographic coordinates agree with those provided by Herodotus in the 5th century B.C.E., concerning the territory from the harbour of Brundisium to Tarentum and then to the (*Iapygian*) headland (App. #4). However, Herodotus does not mention the exact name of the area and its inhabitants, but elsewhere he speaks of ‘Messapians of Iapygia’ (App. #5). In the historian’s opinion, the country was a sub-peninsula, like the Taurides in Scythia or the Sunium in Attica. It was connected to the whole region and bordered the sea on two sides: one to the south and the other to the east, which was the outermost headland

-
- 1 Hsch. κ 380. l. fr. 20. See Völker (1887) 46; Kaibel (1899) I. 183–197; Olivieri (1930) 121–166. According to De Sanctis (1907 II. 424 n. 1), the ancient equation of Calabri and Messapi appears in the *Fasti triumphales populi Romani* of 266 B.C.E., where it refers to the triumph over the Sallentines and the Messapii. Strabo (6. 3. 1–5) later presents this distinction between Salentini and Calabri. See Compatangelo-Soussignan (1994) 72. For the distinction between Salentini in the Greek sources and Sallentini with double /l/ in the Latin sources, see Valente (2020). In the Scholia to Lycophron (852–854), the city of Temesa is defined as πόλις Καλαυρίς and associated with Iapygia as Καλαυρία, inhabited by barbarians Καλαυροί. In later tradition, the forms -βρία and -υρία coexist through the phonic interchange β/υ, even though Καλαβρία appears as the usual form of the name in Hellenistic and Roman times (Lepore, Mele 1983 882–883). See Schweickard (1997) 320–323.
- 2 Pareti (1997) 95 n. 5; Lombardo (1991) 63; Id. (1997) 15–37; Id. (2014) 38–39; 53–67. On the importance of Rinthon as a source of Hesychius, cf. Latte (1968) 667–679; Nenci (1982) 2 n. 4. The equation of Messapia and Calabria is found in *De Mensibus* (l. 6. 1) by Johannes Lidus, a Byzantine rhetorician from the time of Justinian (6th century C.E.): Μεσσαιπία ἢ Καλαβρία, ἀπὸ Μεσσάπου. Cf. Wünsch (1898); Börtzler (1921) 364–379.
- 3 Athen. *Deipn.* 3. III c.
- 4 Nicand. ap. Ant. Lib. *Metam.* fr. 31. See Lombardo (1992) 32.

(App. #4).⁵ Overall, the area, described by the earliest sources as the extremity of the Iapygia⁶ or Messapian land,⁷ also named Καλαβρία by Rinthon,⁸ essentially corresponds to the modern Salentine Peninsula, bounded to the north by the Brindisi-Taranto line and to the south by Cape Santa Maria di Leuca.⁹ The Milesian historian Hecataeus (6th century B.C.E.) may have also known Ἰηπυγία place name, both as a specific city and as a wider region, where the *polis* Chandane and the people of Eleutians resided (App. #1).¹⁰ According to the Athenian geographer Phileas (5th century B.C.E.), a small town in Iapygia among the Peucetians bore the name Abydon (App. #7).¹¹ More broadly, Hellenicus of Mytilene (5th century B.C.E.), possibly following Hippys of Rhegium, recalls that the Iapygians drove the Ausonians out of Italy by pushing them into Sicily (App. #8).¹² Ephorus (4th century B.C.E.), on the other hand, who probably draws on Antiochus of Syracuse, claims that Iapygians inhabited Croton before the Achaeans colonised it (App. #10).¹³ It does not seem illogical, then, to accept the simultaneous existence in the Archaic period of geographical concepts that differed according to political, cultural and economic contexts. Between the 6th and 5th centuries B.C.E., the Greeks considered Iapygia as a land inhabited by different Iapygian ethnic groups, as Hecataeus suggests for the Eleutians (App. #1),¹⁴ Herodotus for the ‘Messapians of Iapygia’ (App. #5),¹⁵ and Phileas for the Peucetians (App. #7).¹⁶ Altogether, the Greek literary sources refer to the entire population of modern Apulia from the Gargano Peninsula to

5 Hdt. 4. 99; 7. 170.

6 Hdt. 3. 138; 4. 99.

7 Nicand. ap. Ant. Lib. *Metam.* fr. 31.

8 Hsch. κ 380. 1. fr. 20.

9 Nenci (1978) 43–58; Lepore (1979) 1331–1344; De Juliis (1985) 145–188; Id. (1988) 10–19; Id. (1989a) 169–192; Id. (1989b) 75–84; Prontera (1986) 305–307; Lombardo (1989) 172–173; Id. (1991) 44–45; Id. (2014) 38–39; 53–67; Compatangelo-Soussignan (1994) 62–65. On the archaeologically proven existence of an ancient trade route between Brundisium and Tarentum, dated to the 6th century B.C.E., cf. D’Andria (1979); Id. (1982); Id. (1983); Id. (1986), 63–69; Lo Porto (1970); Id. (1972); Id. (1975); Id. (1981); Van Compernelle (1982).

10 Hecat. ffr. 86–88. According to Stephanus of Byzantium, the island of Κύρνος (Corsica) was also attributed to the Iapygians by Hecataeus, who defined it as an “island exposed to the north wind compared to Iapygia” or also “of Iapygia” (St. Byz. F 63). Cf. Lepore (1980) 1332.

11 St. Byz. F 10. 1.

12 Dion. Hal. 1. 22. 3.

13 Strab. 6. 1. 12.

14 Hecat. fr. 87.

15 Hdt. 7. 170.

16 St. Byz. F 10. 1. Nenci (1978) 43–58; Nafissi (1985) 207–208; Compatangelo-Soussignan (1994) 62–68; Lombardo (2004) 50–51; Id. (2014) 38–39; 53–67.

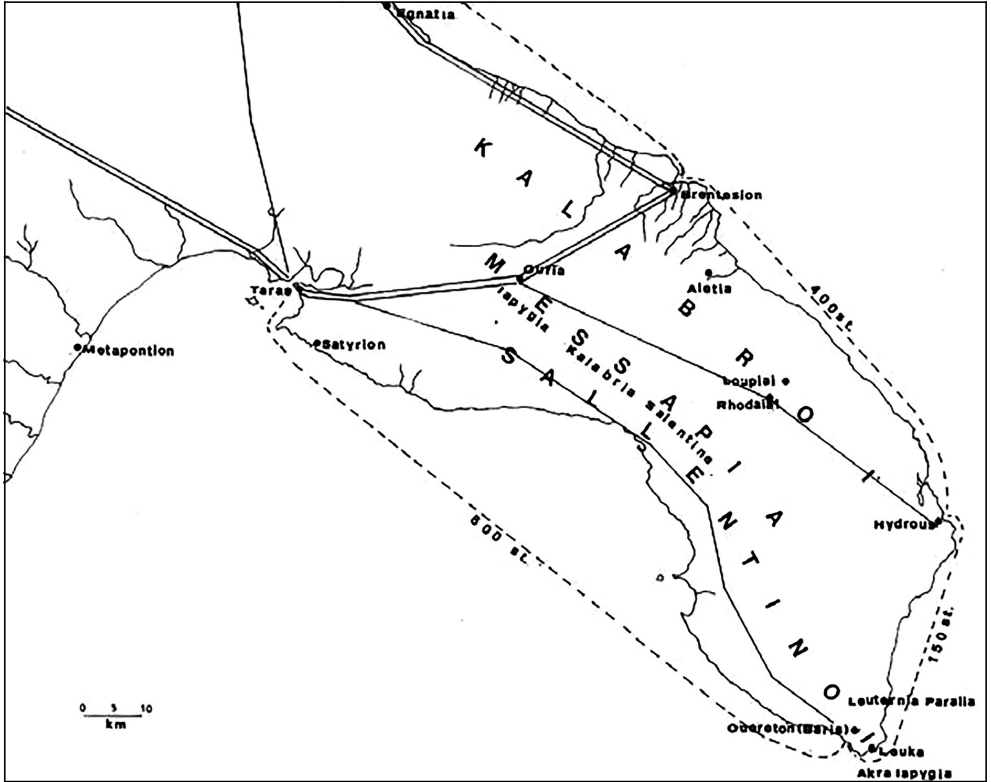


FIGURE 1 The Messapian of Strabo
AFTER LOMBARDO (2015A) II FIG. 3

the Cape of Santa Maria di Leuca as Iapygians (App. #5, 6, 9, and 15).¹⁷ On the other hand, as Herodotus shows, Iapygia represented a peninsula as a unified territorial region, like Attica and Scythia, especially from the seafarers' point of view. It was bordered by the sea on two sides to the south and east and had a tip extending from the Brundisium-Tarentum line to the Iapygia headland (App. #3 and 5).¹⁸ The historian Polybius (2nd century B.C.E.) counts among the non-Greek foreign ethnic groups (*βαρβάρων ἐθνῶν*) of the Italic side between the Sicilian Sea and Greece, with a predominantly pastoral economy (as the verb *véμονται* suggests), the Bruttians, Lucanians, a part of the Daunians, and the *Καλαβροί* (App. #14).¹⁹

17 Antioch. Hist. ap. Strab. 6. 3. 2; Hdt. 7. 170; Thuc. 7. 33; Polyb. 3. 88. 4.

18 Hdt. 3. 138; 4. 99. See Lombardo (1989) 172–173; Id. (1991) 44–45.

19 Polyb. 10. 1. 2–4.

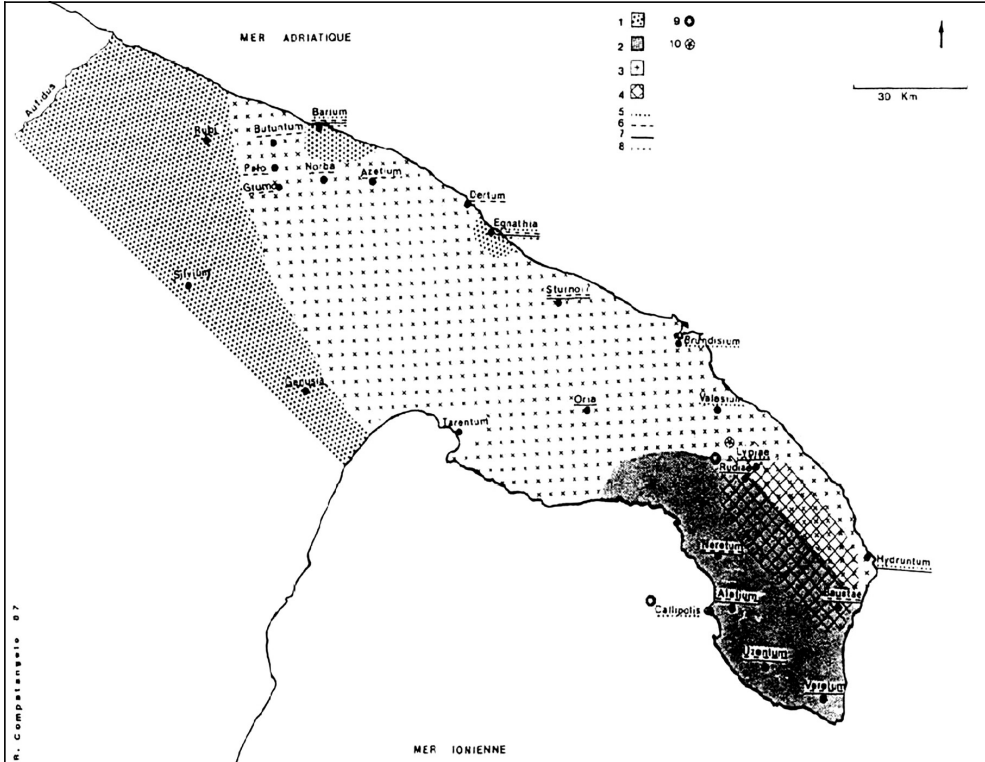


FIGURE 2 The territories of the Salento peninsula in the literary sources of the Augustan Age, after Compatangelo-Soussignan (1994) 85, fig. 2: (1) The territory of the Peuceetians; (2) The territory of the Sallentini; (3) The territory of the Calabri; (4) Extension of the Roman cadastre; (5) Places mentioned by Pomponius Mela; (6) Places mentioned by Plinius the Elder; (7) Places mentioned by Ptolemaeus; (8) Places mentioned by Strabo; (9) The Fabia Tribe; (10) The Camilia Tribe

Thus, if we omit Hesychius' gloss on Rinthon (App. #11), Polybius' passage represents, in chronological order, the first known evidence for the ethnonym *Καλαβροί*.²⁰ Shortly afterwards, a list of public guests on an inscription from the island of Thera, dated between the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st

20 Compatangelo-Soussignan (1994) 70–71, and n. 35. Hesychius (k 382) proposed the equation *Καλαβρός*: *βάρβαρος*. See Nenci (1978) 47–50; Id. (1982) 2. A reference to the name of *Calabri* before the 3rd–2th century B.C.E. is possibly found in an Etruscan inscription from Orvieto (CIE 4940), dated to the end of the 6th century B.C.E. (“I am the urn of [A]ranthia Kalaprenas”). Cf. Schulze (1904) 524; 575; Zancani Montuoro (1974) 80; Cristofani (1974) 313; De Simone (1978) 387; Id. (1990) 78; Morandi Tarabella (2004) 261; Hadas-Label (2009) 207; 213.

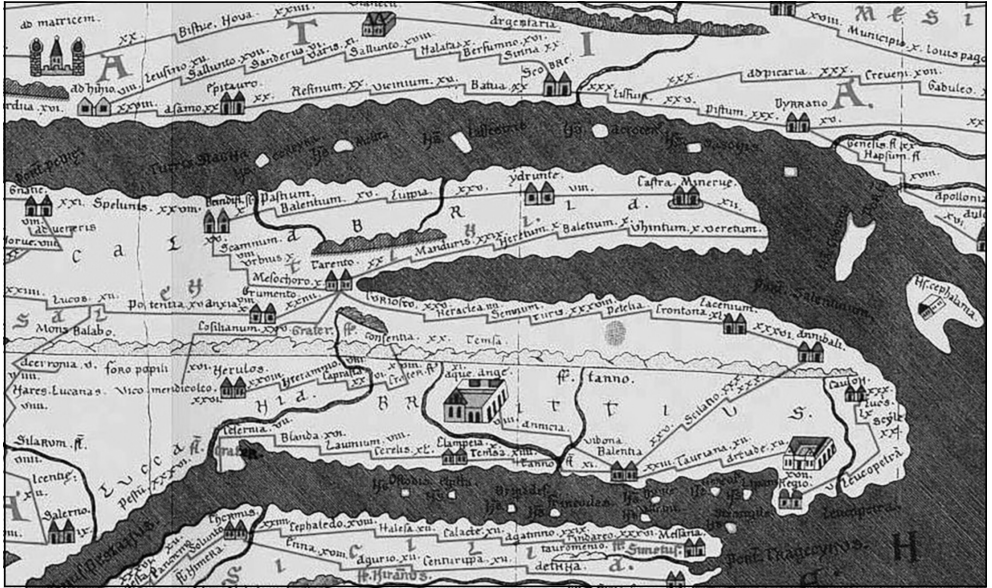


FIGURE 3 On the Tabula Peutingeriana, a 13th-century C.E. parchment copy, made from a Carolingian version of a possible Roman original, the Salento peninsula bears the choronym Calabria and the ethnic name Salentini (Albu 2005). See Salway (2005); Lozzi Gallo (2012) 14: “Il periodo tardoantico vede [...] l’affermazione dei due nomi di Apulia e Calabria su tutti gli altri, il primo per indicare il centro-nord della regione, il secondo il sud, prevalendo sull’etnonimo Sal(l)entini. Questa situazione sembra rispecchiata nella [...] Tabula peutingeriana, dove Sallentini è scritto con inchiostro rosso, mentre Calabria è scritto in nero, come Brittius e Lu(c)cania”

century B.C.E., reminds us of a “Dexitheos, son of Cha [...] and a [...] son of Zoarchos”, both defined as Καλαβ[ροί], with a probable ethnic reference to their homeland (App. #16).²¹

Finally, the historian Nicolaus Damascenus (1st century B.C.E.) reports that Octavianus left Apollonia in Greece for Rome immediately after the death of Julius Caesar (44 B.C.E.) The future emperor crossed the Ionian Sea and landed at ‘the nearest tip of Kalabρία’ (ἵσχει τῆς Καλαβρίας τὴν ἔγγιστα ἄκραν), excluding security reasons for docking at Brundisium, before setting off on foot towards Loupia/Lecce (App. #21).²² In the recent studies, the landing place is identified by the rocky but suitable for mooring protrusion of the modern Roca Vecchia (Melendugno) or by the southern harbour of San Cataldo (Otranto). The his-

21 Aegean Islands, IG XII. 3. 1299–1300. See Carlà-Uhink (2017) 318.

22 Nic. Damas. fr. 101. 85–90.

torian's note suggests that by *Καλαβρία* term, he means to refer to the Salentine peninsula as a whole region.²³

2 The Indigenous Origin of the Kalabroi and Salentinoi Ethnonyms

The scenario described by Strabo in the 1st century B.C.E. differs from the past in several respects (App. #23).²⁴ Messapia is the name given by the Greeks to Iapygia as the area of ancient Italy between the Brundisium-Tarentum isthmus line, the Iapygian Cape, and Metapontum. On the other hand, the natives (οἱ δ' ἐπιχώριοι) divided the Messapian region into two parts, one called the land of the Σαλεντίνους around Cape Iapygia and the other the land of the Καλαβρούς. However, most people used these designations interchangeably, and few distinguished them precisely (App. #25).²⁵ Compared to the tradition of the Classical period, the identity between Messapia and Iapygia seemed more obvious. Their territory extended along the Gulf of Tarentum to Metapontum, as in the Periplus of Pseudo-Scylax (App. #2).²⁶ The choronym *Καλαβρία*, whose indigenous origin is expressly recognised, is strictly confined to the part of Messapia or Iapygia that the Salentines did not occupy on the Ionian side from Hydruntum through Leuca to Manduria. This area corresponds to the modern central territory of Lecce (Rudiae), to the isthmus district of Oria, Mesagne, Valeso, Brindisi, and the northernmost region up to Ceglie Messapica, Ostuni, and Egnazia along the shores of the Adriatic Sea (Figures 1–2). Later, Dionysius Periegetes (2nd century C.E.) placed the peoples of the Calabrian land (*Καλαβρίδος ἤθεα γαίης*) immediately after the coast of Tarentum, separated from the Iapygians. The latter occupied the territory up to the maritime city of Hyrion on the Adriatic Sea (App. #27).²⁷ Strabo claims that the Iapygian or Messapian land as a whole, which included both Calabria and the Salentini country as divided

23 Ribezzo (1943) 36; Guglielmino (2002) 171–192; Id. (2003) 91–119; Id. (2005) 637–651; Id. (2006) 32–50; Pagliara (2002) 155–169; Id. (2003) 74–94.

24 Strab. 6. 3. 1–5.

25 Strab. 6. 3. 5. 44–45.

26 Ps.-Scyl. 14.3–4.

27 Dion. Per. Orb. Descr. 378–380. See Lombardo (2014) 36–68; Id. (2015) 9–13. Cf. Stomeo (1979) 5; Strabo “fa intendere che i Greci usavano i nomi Iapigia e Messapia per indicare la medesima regione, mentre invece i popoli che vi abitavano chiamavano salentina la regione meridionale e calabra quella settentrionale, ma quella situata più a nord della calabra chiamavano Apulia, la quale, secondo i Greci, era abitata dai Peucèzi e dai Dauni”. See Colella (1941) 276; Sirago (1993) 19–21; Martin (1993) 113–117; Compatangelo-Soussignan (1994) 84.

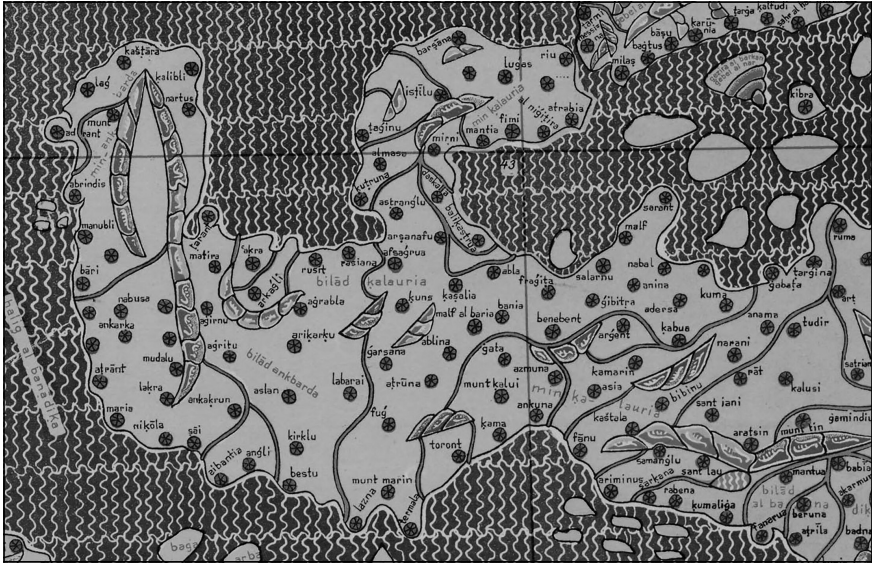


FIGURE 4 The Tabula Rogeriana from 1154 C.E., written by the Arab geographer Muhammad Al Idrisi, distinguishes two macro-areas for central and southern Italy: *ankbarda* and *kalauria*, both subdivided into *bilad* (large) and *min* (small). The Salento peninsula is considered *min ankbarda*, while Apulia *bilād ankbarda*. The land of southern Bruttii is given as *min kalauria*, while the northern one, Lucania and part of the Taranto Gulf appear as *bilād kalauria*. Above this, the areas around Benevento and on the Adriatic side as far as Ancona, Camarina, and Fano belonged to *min kalauria* (Harley, Woodward 1992: 156–161; Houben 2002: 102–104).

MILLER (1928)

from Apulia in the north, unexpectedly was of good quality (ἄστεια). Indeed, the terrain was stony on the surface (τραχεία) but arable in depth (βαθύγειος σχιζομένη); poor in streams (ἀνδροτέρα) but rich in pastures (εὐβοτος) and trees (εὐδενδρος). However, the area, densely populated in antiquity, then included only small communities (πολισμάτια), except for the cities of Tarentum and Brundisium (App. #24).²⁸

3 Two Ethnic Denominations, but a Single Choronym

The ethnic denominations Καλαβροί and Σαλεντίνοι and their respective choronyms Καλαβρία and Σαλεντίνη, given by Strabo, who was the first to explain

²⁸ Strab. 6. 3. 5. Marchi (2013) 329; Lombardo (2014) 38–39; 53–67; Id. (2015a) 10.

their non-Greek and Epichoric origin (App. #23),²⁹ are found in the Latin names *Calabri*, *Sallentini*, and *Calabria*. There is no attested Latin word for Σαλεντίνη. This term only occurs in Strabo's *Geography*. In Latin it is generally rendered by phrases such as *in agro Sallentino*, *in Sallentino*, *per Sallentinum agrum*, *in Sallentinis*, and *in Sallentino agro*. Two different ethnic names were used for the indigenous populations of the Salento peninsula, but in practice, a single choronym was utilised, that of Calabria. The region as a whole corresponded to the first Greek Messapia, although the territory included two different ethnic spheres of influence.³⁰ A similar representation is found in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (12th–13th century C.E.), which was probably inspired by the Map of Agrippa placed in Rome under the *porticus Vipsania* during the time of Augustus (Figure 3).³¹ The testimony of Titus Livius (1st century B.C.E.–1st century C.E.) seems significant. The historian who uses the traditional forms *Sallentini* or *ager Sallentinus*³² never mentions the ethnic name *Calabri*. However, he did refer to the Cape of the *Sallentini* area as “*Calabriae extremum promunturium*”.³³ Elsewhere, Livius, who generally distinguishes between *Apuliam Calabriaeque*,³⁴ recalls the garrison of the Roman fleet on the ‘coasts of Calabria’ (*Calabriae litoribus*). These developed under the port of Brundisium and could be seen on the high seas immediately after Cape Lacinium, where the temple of Juno Lacinia stood, on the opposite side of the Tarentum Gulf near Croton.³⁵ Similarly, Plinius the Elder (1st century C.E.), in giving the nautical distance from Cape Lacinium in the *Secunda Regio* of Augustan Italy (*Hirpinos, Calabriam, Apuliam, Sallentinos*), notes that *Calabria* is ‘opposed to Lacinium as the form of a peninsula’ (*adversam ei Calabriam in paeninsulam emittens*).³⁶ Varro (2nd century B.C.E.), speaking of Aeneas’ landing in Italy, also uses *Calabria* to refer to the places openly inhabited by the *Sallentines*.³⁷ The historian Tacitus (1st–2nd century C.E.) recalls in the *Annales* that the island of *Corcyram* lay opposite (*contra sitam*) the “*litora Calabriae*”.³⁸

29 Strab. 6. 3. 1. 1–5.

30 Compatangelo-Soussignan (1989); Ead. (1994); Maddoli (2011–2012) 35–43; Valente (2018) 100.

31 Cf. Lozzi Gallo (2012) 12–14.

32 Liv. 20. 2; 23. 48; 24. 20; 25. 1; 27. 15; 40.

33 Liv. 42. 48. 7.

34 Liv. 42. 27. 8.

35 Liv. 23. 34. 3; 24. 11, 5; 24. 40. 2.

36 Plin. 3. 11. 99.

37 Var. *De Fam. Troian.* fr. 1 P, ap. Serv. II. 166.

38 Tac. *Annal.* 3. 1. 2.

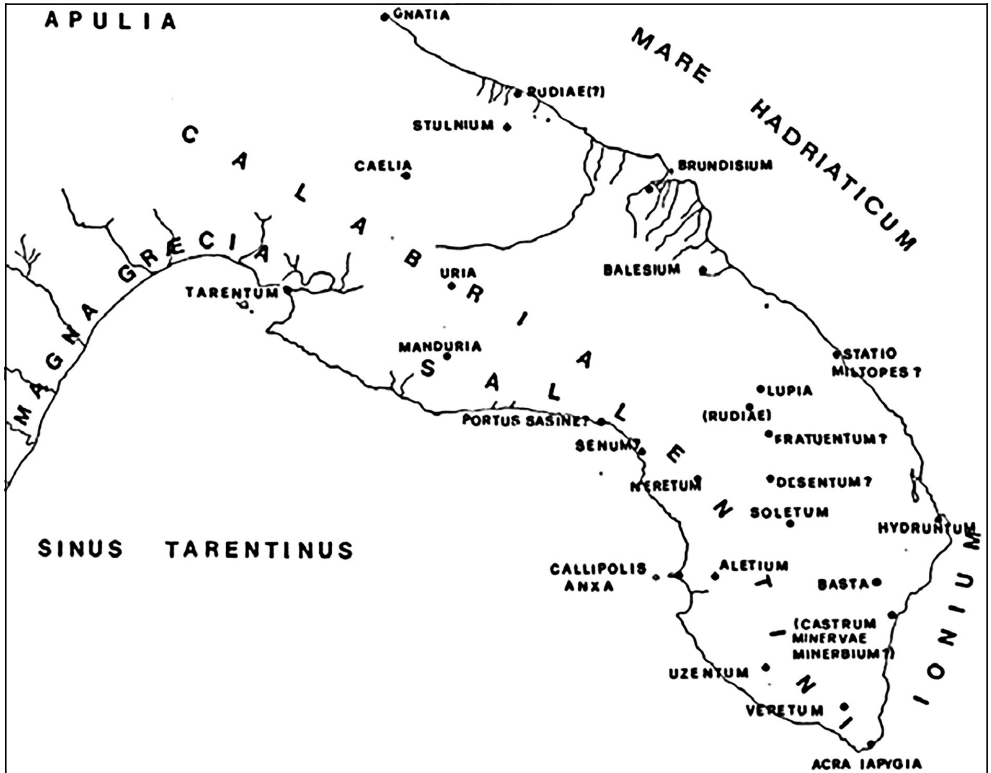


FIGURE 5 The Messapia of Plinius the Elder
AFTER LOMBARDO (2015A) 10 FIG. 1

Overall, the Latin authors focus more on the geographical notion of Calabria, especially on the coasts, and give prominence to the native linguistic forms. Calabria becomes similar to the Greek idea of Messapia. At the same time, the Salento peninsula does not yet appear as the ‘country of Sallentini’, like a separate and autonomous territorial entity. This tendency seems in a way to echo the ancient tradition ascribed to Rinthon (3rd century B.C.E.), who considered *Καλαβρίαν* in a unitary sense as the Messapian land (App. #11).³⁹ From an ethnic point of view, the border between *Calabria* and *Sallentinum ager* does not appear to follow an east-west line, separating a northern area from a southern one, if we compare Strabo (App. #23, 24, and 25) with several sources of the Roman period.⁴⁰ Rather, it seems to be a line from northwest to

39 Hsch. x 380. 1. fr. 20.

40 Hor. *Od.* 31. 5–6; *Ep.* 1. 27–28; Mela 2. 4. 66; Plin. 3. 105; Ptol. 3. 1. 12; 67; 68.

southeast. According to the author of the *Geography*, the southernmost zone of Cape Iapygia belongs only to the Salentine country. Instead, from north to south, Sturnoi (Ostuni?), Brundisium, Valesium (Valesio), Oureton (Oria?), Lupiae (Lecce), and Hydruntum (Otranto) belong to the Calabria. Finally, in the Salentine area there are Rudiae, Neretum (Nardò), Bausta (Vaste), Callipolis (Gallipoli), Aletium (Alezio), Uzentum (Ugento), and Veretum (S. Maria di Vereto).⁴¹ At the time of Augustus, therefore, the *Calabri* were thought to have settled in the centre-south of present-day Puglia, in the Bari province south of Ruvo, and also in Brindisi and Taranto at least up to the line connecting the two cities. Thus, Plinius the Elder, dealing with the *Secunda Regio* of Italy, mentions as “*Calabrorum mediterranei*” those among the Calabri who inhabited the hinterland, implying that the others along the sea were *Calabri marittimi*. Among the *mediterranei*, he reminds us of Bitontesi, Palesi, Grumesi, and Conversanesi, as defined in modern terms. In this context, the ethnonym *Calaber* tended to overlap the world of the Peucetians beyond the Salentine Peninsula. On the other hand, according to the poet Horatius, the *Calabri* were the herds of the Murgia of Barium which migrated to Lucania.⁴²

4 Iapygian Presences in the Pre-Hellenic Krotoniatis

Dealing with the Ionian coast, Strabo (App. #22) mentions the existence of three Iapygian capes (Ἰαπύγων ἄκραι τρεῖς) between Scylletium and the territory of the Crotoniates, located just before the temple of Hera on the Lacinium promontory, at the southern mouth of the Tarentum Gulf. The headlands are identified with the modern capes of Le Castella, Rizzuto, and Cimiti.⁴³

41 Compatangelo-Soussignan (1994) 80–84, and Figure 2; Lozzi Gallo (2012) 26, and n. 99: “Le notizie di Livio sulla Guerra tarantina possono essere parzialmente ricostruite grazie a Floro (che nel I–II sec. d.c. aveva tratto un’epitome dall’opera dello storico romano), il quale dice che Taranto allora era la capitale della Calabria e Apulia e dell’intera Lucania, notizia che lascia un po’ interdetti, ma che dovrebbe piuttosto rimandare ad una funzione di potenza regionale esercitata dalla grande colonia spartana”. See Florus, *Epit.* 1. 13. 1–3 (ed. Jal 1967: 31–32): “*Calabriae quondam et Apuliae totiusque Lucaniae caput*”. Tacitus recalls “*Brundisium Tarentumque et Calabriae Lucaniaeque litora*” (*Hist.* 2. 83), and also a “*magistratus Calabriae Apulique et Campani*” (*Annal.* 3. 2).

42 Plin. 3. 105: “*Calabrorum mediterranei Aegini, Apamestini, Butuntinenses, Deciani, Grumbestini, Norbanenses, Palionenses, Stultini, Tutini*”; Hor. *Od.* 1. 31. 5–6: “*non aestuosae grata Calabriae / armenta*”; *Epod.* 1. 27–28: “*pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum / Lucana mutet pascua*”. See Sirago (1993) 20.

43 Strab. 6. 1. 11–12. Maddoli (1984) 320–326; Medaglia (2010) 69; 311; 327; 348; Marino, Taliano Grasso, Nicoletti, Medaglia (2017) 97–130.

Strabo (App. #10) ascribes to the Greek historian Ephorus (4th century B.C.E.) the tradition, possibly dating back to Antiochus of Syracuse, that the town of Croton was inhabited by Iapygians before the Achaean colonisation (710–708 B.C.E.).⁴⁴ In the *Metamorphoses* (App. #20), the Latin poet Ovidius writes that the founder of Croton, Myscelus, sailed from Greece across the Ionian Sea and passed through the settlements of Neretum (Nardò), Sybaris (Cavallino), and Tarentum in the Salentine Peninsula. Then the coloniser crossed the Sirine Bay and the so-called ‘Iapygian fields’ (*Iapygis arva*). The last place referred to the land that dominated the coasts between the town of Crimisa (present-day Peak Alice) and the mouth of the river Aesar. This zone corresponds to the low plain of the river Neto and the northern districts of modern Crotona (e.g. Passovecchio, Gabella).⁴⁵ Instead, in the *Aeneid* (App. #19), the poet Vergilius locates between the towns of Locris and Petelia the “*Sallentinos [...] campos*”, which were occupied by the Cretan king Idomeneus, the mythical founder of *Castrum Minervae* in the Salentine Peninsula.⁴⁶ This fortress was considered to be the seat of an ancient Athena temple⁴⁷ and the first access of Aeneas to Italy.⁴⁸ Overall, both Ovidius and Vergilius testify to parallel traditions that extend Iapygian influence beyond the Salentine Peninsula to the pre-Hellenic settlements of Petelia, Crimisa, and Croton on the Ionian side of proto-historic Italy.⁴⁹

5 Administrative Structure from Augustus to Justinianus

In the Augustan subdivision of ancient Italy, the *Secunda Regio* included *Hirpinos*, *Calabriam*, *Apuliam*, and *Sallentinos*.⁵⁰ The details appear to have been derived directly from Augustus’ *liber regionum* (“*nos divum Augustum secu-*

44 Strab. 6. 1. 12.

45 Ovid. 15. 50–54.

46 Verg. *Aen.* 3. 399–402. See Varr. *Rer. Hum.* 3.

47 Strab. 10. 479–480.

48 Dion. Hal. 1. 51; Verg. *Aen.* 3. 520–531.

49 Cf. Lozzi Gallo (2012) 17–18 n. 31, 36, and 44. In the commentary on *Aen.* 3. 399–402, Festus adds: “*Sallentinum promunctorium Italiae est inter Calabriam et Bruttios: nam ut ait Sallustius ‘omnis Italia coacta in angustias finditur in duo promunctoria, Bruttium et Sallentinum’*” (Commentarii ed. Thilo, Hagen 1881: 505–506). Vergilius died in Brundisium, as the famous epitaph on his tomb in Neapolis reveals: “*Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc Parthenope*”. The text appears in the biographical note by Suetonius dedicated to the poet (Roth 1886: 296). In *Georgica* (3. 425–427), the name *calaber* refers to a poisonous snake nestling in the woods near Tarentum.

50 Plin. 3. 99.

turos").⁵¹ The earliest source was probably the geographical notes collected in Marcus Agrippa's *Chorographia* and the registers compiled for the census of 29 and 28 B.C.E. For the Salentine Peninsula, the general reference to the choronym Messapia disappears. The new subdivisions of *Calabriam* and *Sallentinus*—these two terms were considered by Strabo to be non-Greek and epicchoric⁵²—probably occurred when peace came, as a result of the processes of disintegration and incorporation induced by Roman rule and intensified by the civil wars. However, it was also due to specific administrative needs related to the organisation of the territory, which depended on the new functional units.⁵³ The *Apulia et Calabria* province was created towards the end of the 3rd century C.E. by the reforms of Diocletianus (290–293 C.E.) and Constantinus (306–337 C.E.). Compared to the Augustan *Secunda Regio*, it had different territorial boundaries. At that time, the Iapygian population was divided into two groups, *Apuli* and *Calabri*. The municipality of Tarentum also handed to the *Calabri*. The province was entrusted to an imperially appointed corrector in *Canusium* or *Venusia*. It became one of the suburbicarian provinces responsible for supplying the great market of Rome, the *Urbs* par excellence. The modern Salentine Peninsula, with the triangle Brindisi-Taranto-Otranto, constituted *Calabria* proper. The Brundisium and Otrantum ports formed bridges from the East to the West and vice versa, connected to Rome by the Via Egnazia and Appia. The *Apulia et Calabria* denomination remained unchanged until the 7th century C.E..⁵⁴ Thus, Aurelius Cassiodorus (ca. 490–580 C.E.), as an official at the court of Theodoricus, referred to his compatriots by the ethnic name *Bruttii* and the area of the Salentine Peninsula by the choronym *Calabria* (*Apuliae sive Calabriae*).⁵⁵ After him, Procopius of Caesarea (ca. 490–560 C.E.), describes the landing of Belisarius' Greek soldiers in Rhegion, and reports that the army moved from Rhegion through the land of the *Brittii* (διὰ Βριττιῶν)

51 Plin. 3. 46.

52 Strab. 6. 3. 1–5.

53 Grelle (1995) 241–260; Id. (2000) 1–9; Id. (2005) 135–146; Mangiatordi (2011) 45; De Laurenzi (2007); De Filippis (2008–2009); Sirago (1978) 183; Laffi (2007) 119; Thomsen, Monrad (1947); Marchi (2013) 329; “Dal punto di vista della geografia moderna, i limiti disegnati dal testo pliniano sembrerebbero includere l'attuale Puglia, parte dell'odierna Basilicata, nello specifico l'area melfese, inserita in antico nella Daunia, l'entroterra murgiano che rientrava nella Peucezia, e infine, l'Irpinia, con le odierne province di Avellino e Benevento. Tali confini erano chiaramente segnati dall'idrografia, il fiume Biferno (Tifernus) a nord, l'alta valle dell'Ofanto, fino a raggiungere lo spartiacque dell'Appennino campano, il corso del Bradano che costituiva il limite interno meridionale”.

54 Quacquarelli (1991) 85–86; Sirago (1993) 261; Grelle (1995) 241–260; De Mitri (2010) 25–27; Marchi (2013) 327–345.

55 Cassiod. 2. 26. 2.

towards the country of Lucanians and Campania. The historian names Καλαβροί τε καὶ Ἀπούλιοι the populations who surrendered to the victorious general, and locates them in the old *Apulia et Calabria* province.⁵⁶ Finally, the emperor Justinianus, in August 554 C.E., mentioned the area of *Calabriae vel Apuliae* in the *Pragmatica Sanctio*.⁵⁷ Not differently, the scholar Johannes Lidus (6th century C.E.) distinguished between Καλαβρίαν, Βρεττίαν, and Σικελίαν.⁵⁸ In this context, the use of Βρεττία place name to designate modern Calabria contrasted against a long tradition rooted in the centuries when the ethnic name *Bruttii* or *Brittii* was adopted rather than an abstract name derived from the group/term.⁵⁹

6 Migration from the Salento Peninsula to the Land of the Bruttii

From the end of the 8th century C.E., the name Καλαβρία, both in the current usage and in the official language, ceased to permanently designate the Salentine Peninsula, which became part of the Λογγιβαρδία, and it began to indicate the land of the *Bruttii*, i.e. modern Calabria. Thus, in his *Chronographia*, the Byzantine historian Theophanes Isaurus (758–817/8 C.E) distinguishes the territories of southern Italy between Λογγιβαρδία, Καλαβρία, and Σικελία, without being ambiguous.⁶⁰ The process of migration or expansion of the choronym Καλαβρία had begun earlier. At the third Council of Constantinople, in 680 C.E., the bishops of Locris, Thurium, Tauriana, Tropea, and Vibona declared that they no longer belonged to the Eparchy of *Brittii* (ἐπαρχίας Βριττίων), but to that of *Kalabria* (ἐπαρχίας Καλαβρίας), like those of Hydruntum and Tarentum.⁶¹ It is also significant that in 601 C.E., Pope Gregorius Magnus ordered his envoys to go into the forests of the “*partes Bruttiorum*” to fetch wood for the scaffolding of the Basilica of Saint Paul.⁶² Instead, at the end of the same century, Sergius I (687–701 C.E.) wrote about “*trabes [...] de Calabria adducti*”, probably referring to the identical area but with a different name.⁶³ The administrative reform is generally associated with the conquests of Romu-

56 Proc. Caes. *De Bell.* 5. 8; 5.15.

57 *Pragm. Sanct.* 26. See Schipa (1940) 116–117.

58 Lid. *De Mens.* 95. Cf. Wünsch (1898); Börtzler (1921) 364–379.

59 Mazzarino (1972) 463–467; Id. (1974) 197–220.

60 Theoph. Isau. *Chror.* 83. 13; 305. 10; 454. 20 Bekker.

61 ACO III. 4. 300D2–301C1.

62 *Ep.* 9. 124–127.

63 Lib. Pont. 1. 375; 397. See Schipa (1895) 1–27; Id. (1940) 111–137. Cf. Schweickard (1997) 320–323.

aldus I (671–687 C.E.), the Longobard duke of Benevento. However, we cannot exclude that in the middle of the 7th century C.E., at the time of emperor Constans II (641–668 C.E.) or of his son Constantinus Pogonatus (668–685 C.E.), a large part of the land of the *Bruttii* had in practice been joined to Calabria and Apulia. The merging of the ancient region of Apulia and Calabria under the single title of Apulia must also date back to the time of Longobard rule. More precisely, the Byzantines would have extended the name of Καλαβρία from the southern Salentine Peninsula to the land of the *Bruttii* at the moment when they lost the Apulian possessions and those north of the Crati and Savuto rivers, which came under the influence sphere of the Longobards of Benevento. Thus, the Byzantine court would have concealed the loss of ancient Calabria by transferring its name to the *Bruttia* area and perpetuating it in this way.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the innovation could result from a reform that matured over time and was contemporaneous with, but not directly related to, the conquests of duke Romualdus I. For example, Pope Martin I, who was captured by the exarch Theodorus Calliopa in Rome in 653 C.E., mentions only the *Calabria* after Mesenam when recalling the journey from Ostia to the Greek coasts, as if the land of the *Bruttii* and the Salentine Peninsula had already begun to take on a single name at that point.⁶⁵ The author of the Pope Vitalianus biography (657–672 C.E.) highlights the taxation imposed on the population of *Calabriae, Siciliae, Africae vel Sardiniae* by Constans II, who retreated to Sicily after the futile battle against the Longobards (663 C.E.). In this way, the biographer shows that he considers the territories between the Salentine Peninsula and the Strait as a unified administrative group.⁶⁶ On the other hand, Constantinus Porphyrogenitus notes that the province of Calabria was formerly a duchy of the Sicily province.⁶⁷ The theme of Sicily already existed in 663 C.E. The duchy of Calabria must therefore have been founded somewhat earlier. It probably was a consequence of the tax reforms carried out by Constans II around 660 C.E..⁶⁸

64 Beretta (1727) 15–16; Diehl (1888) 32–35; Schipa (1895) 1–27; Id. (1940) 111–137; Burgarella (1980) 91; Riedinger (1990) 142; Martin (1993) 161–176. Cf. LUI, 4. 688; DT, 114.

65 *Patrol. Lat.* 87. 1863. col. 197.

66 *Lib. Pont.* 1. 343.

67 Const. Porph. *De Imp.* 50. 88: “ἡ Καλαβρίας στρατηγίς δουκάτον ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς στρατηγίδος Σικελίας”.

68 Schipa (1895) 1–27; Id. (1940) 111–137. Cf. Corsi (1988) 751–795; Haldon (2016) 210; Lozzi Gallo (2012) 58–62: the passage from the *Liber pontificalis* (63), with reference to the robberies of Constant II, “dal momento che cita solo la Calabria, resta il dubbio se essa fosse più ricca e rappresentativa rispetto all’Apulia, oppure se l’autore seguisse l’uso dei Bizantini, i quali chiaramente avrebbero preferito parlare solo della Calabria (laddove era la base del loro potere) e non della Puglia storica, che ormai alla fine del sec. VII era

The border between the Byzantine duchy of Calabria and the Lombard duchy of Benevento possibly ran along a line that roughly connected the mouth of the river Crati in the Ionian Sea with that of the river Savuto in the Tyrrhenian Sea. For example, the cities of Lainus, Cassianum, Consentia and Rhegium are mentioned by Paulus Diaconus as seats ruled by a *Gastald*.⁶⁹ Finally, the duchy of Καλαβρία continued to include the land of Hydruntum as a legacy of the past (Figure 6).⁷⁰

In this way, we can establish that the term *Calabria* was already used in its modern meaning in 653 C.E., as suggested by the voyage of Pope Martin I. The pontiff sailed from the naval base of Misenum to *Calabria* and from there headed towards Constantinople via the Greek islands.⁷¹ More generally, one of the reasons for the new choronym may have been the considerable decline in geographical knowledge during the 6th and 7th century C.E. In the West, people no longer drew their knowledge from Classical writers such as Plinius or Pomponius Mela, but from Jordanes, Isidorus of Seville and Beatus of Liébana, in whose works the Ionian Gulf was drastically reduced in size until it disappeared. The area between the Salentine Peninsula and the Strait of Messina appeared in the form of a single, more or less jagged headland, not unlike the one later depicted in Canterbury's Anglo-Saxon World Map, between the 10th and 11th century C.E. (Figure 7). In this sense, the Byzantine territory between the three great capes (*Leuca*, *Lacinium*, and *Rhegium*) that marked the routes may have adopted the single denomination of *Calabria*, as for the voyage of Pope Martin I in 653 C.E, especially in the language and experience of sailors.⁷²

stata conquistata dai Langobardi. Potrebbe persino trattarsi già della Calabria bizantina (comprendente Calabria moderna e Salento); occorre tuttavia notare che la Calabria viene menzionata ancora con il suo vecchio nome, Brittius, sotto il pontificato di Conone (m. 687), laddove si parla di Brittius et Lucania". Finally, the Anonymous Ravennatis (7th century C.E.) distinguishes between a province called *Calabria Brindicensis* (Salentine Peninsula) and a province called *Pritas Rigiensis*: the term *Pritas* is a local form, possibly a Langobardism, for *Brutia*.

69 Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* 2. 17.

70 Roma (2010) 405–463. At the Council convened by Pope Agaton in 680 C.E., a split occurred between the bishops from 'Brutium' (Cosenza, Tempsa, Crotona and Squillace) and the bishops from 'Calabria' (Reggio, Locri, Taureana, Tropea, Vibo, and Turi), who were united with the bishops from 'old' Calabria, Taranto and Otranto. See Trumper (2000) 124–125.

71 *Reg. Pont. Rom.* 2079 (1608), Schipa (1895) 1–27; Id. (1940) 126–127; Bethmann, Waitz (1878) 5, 11; Duičev (1976) 12, l. 93. See also Noyé (2021) 442 n. 56, based on Jaffé (1885–1888) 2079 [1608], yr. 653.

72 Lozzi Gallo (2012) 50. In *Recensio E* (15th–16th century) of *De vocabulis quae diversum significatum exhibent secundum differentiam accentus* by Johannes Philoponus, a Greek



FIGURE 6 The Byzantine domains in Italy under emperor Leo III (717 C.E.). In detail: (1) Exarchate of Ravenna; (2) Venetia and Istria; (3) Duchy of Rome; (4) Duchy of Naples; (5) Duchy of Calabria

THE MAP IS TAKEN FROM HALDON (1990) 81

The term *Bruttii* or *Brittii*, on the other hand, was quite different from the official names of all the other Italian provinces, since it was an ethnic name used directly in a toponymic sense. Therefore, it was difficult to change it administratively, also because it had been rooted for centuries.⁷³

grammarian and philosopher who died around 567 C.E., the city of Reggio appears as πόλις Καλαβρίας (E, ρ, 1). The reference, which is missing from the 10th–11th centuries Recensiones A, B, C, and D, seems to be a later explanatory addition. Cf. Daly (1983) 3–53, 55–139, 141–195, 197–238. See. Schipa (1940) 126–127.

73 Mazzarino (1972) 463–467: “tutte le terre d’Italia, che entravano in denominazione di province, avevano sempre avuto, nel basso impero, un toponimo territoriale (sia pur deriv-



FIGURE 7 The Anglo-Saxon World Map of Canterbury, 10th–11th centuries C.E.
MS. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON MS. TIBERIUS B.V., FOL. 56V

ato, in più casi, dall'etnico)—tutte, salvo la terra dei Britti, che ebbe sempre un toponimo personale, cioè l'etnico stesso: si poteva cercare il conguaglio con la morfologia toponimica propria delle altre terre d'Italia [...] solo con l'abbandono del nome dei Britti, e con il ricorso al nome Calabria. Se si accetta questo punto di vista, la vecchia tesi di M. Schipa [1985: 1–27]—che cioè il 'rivolgimento glottico' per cui i Britti si chiamarono Calabria non fu, in realtà, un vero e proprio 'trasferimento'—parrà in certo modo confermata. [...] si accolse Calabria, nello spirito di quella forma di vita d'influenza bizantina, e di diritto 'amministrativo' bizantino, che l'indagine recente ha rivelato decisivi per la storia del ducato di Calabria"; Id. (1974) 197–220. Cf. Arcuri (2011) 151–170.

Corresponding Denominations in Antiquity

1 The Kalabros River on an Ancient Temesa Painting

The theme *Kala-* of the name *Kala-ur/ br-ia*, generally associated with the IE or possibly pre-IE root **kar/ *kal-* ‘stone’, ‘water-carved stone’,¹ as well as for the ancient Salentine Peninsula and the medieval land of Bruttii, occurs in the Greek and Latin sources for several other toponyms, hydronyms, and onomastics. The topic is complex when looking at the various features.² The geographer Pausanias (2nd century C.E.) reports in his *Ἑλλάδος περιήγησις* (App. #30) that he saw in Olympia a picture concerning the city of Temesa, reproduced from an older one possibly dating from the mid-6th century B.C.E. Besides Temesa, the goddess Hera, the spring Lyka, and the demon Alybas, put to flight by the stripling Sybaris, the painting also depicted a river, which the manuscripts call *Κάλαβρος* or *Κάλαυρος* or *Κάλαυβρος*.³ The passage reads as follows:

It was a copy of an old picture. There were a stripling, Sybaris, a river, *Kalabros*, and a spring, Lyca. Besides, there were *Hera* and the city of Temesa, and in the midst was the ghost that Euthymus cast out. Horribly black in color, and exceedingly dreadful in all his appearance, he had a wolf’s skin thrown round him as a garment. The letters on the picture gave his name as *Alybas*.⁴

The forms *-βρος* and *-υρος* are considered phonetically equivalent by scholars, since the semivocal pronunciation of /v/ and the aspirated one of /β/ produce the same sound.⁵ This form becomes clearer by considering the fricative char-

1 Cf. Alessio (1935) 133–151; Id. (1936) 165–189; Bertoldi (1931) 161; Ribezzo (1933) 210 n. 1; Battisti (1934) 182; Deroy (1962) 1–13; Perono Cacciafoco (2008) 13–24; Id. (2015b) 35–50. See *infra* Chap. v.

2 A concise but informative overview of the studies is provided by Zancani Montuoro (1974) 70–80.

3 Cf. Lepore, Mele (1983) 882. The manuscripts include ms. Riccardianus gr. 29, 15th century R: *Κάλαβρος*; ms. Laurentianus 56, 11, yr. 1485, F and ms. Parisinus gr. 1410, yr. 1490, P: *Κάλαυρος*; ms. Marcianus gr. 413, ca. 1450, v: *Κάλαυβρος*.

4 Paus. *Graec. Descr.* 6. 6. 11. See Jones, Ormerod (1918); Fontenrose (1974) 119. Cf. Mele (1983) 848–888; Visentin (1992); Currie (2003) 85–102.

5 Lepore, Mele (1983) 882: “La lezione *Κάλαυβρος*, invece, nasce dalla manifesta giustapposiz-

acter of /β/ in a specific context of betacism. The phenomenon was widespread in the late Roman and Byzantine periods when, for example, the vowel /υ/ in the diphthongs (αυ, ευ, ηυ) generally tended to become a consonant (/φ/ or /β/), as in the Modern Greek. On the other hand, the graphic confusion of -εβδ-/ευδ- or -αβδ-/αυδ- marked some Boeotian inscriptions as early as the 3rd century C.E..⁶ The places depicted in the painting described by Pausanias remind us historically of several areas. Besides Temesa on the Tyrrhenian Sea, there was probably the area of Sybaris, with the 'stripling Sybaris' (νεανίσκος Σύβαρις) as a river (today called Sibari-Coscile), and the ποταμός Κάλαβρος, which may recall the modern Esaro, a tributary of the river Crati. The Krotoniates would have renamed the Κάλαβρος after their victory over Sybaris in 510 B.C.E. by 'epiklesis' of the river Aesar, which washed around their city. The region of Croton may also have been represented, both because of its colonial relations with Temesa and because of the mention of the goddess Ἥρα in the myth. Finally, Metapontum could not be absent if we consider the demon Ἀλύβας and accept the tradition that considers Alybans as the earlier name of the city.⁷ Taken as a whole, these places geographically designated the area of modern central and northern Calabria, stretching from the Gulf of Sant'Eufemia on the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Gulf of Taranto on the Ionian Sea. The area defined the dominions of Croton, Sybaris, and Metapontum in the 6th century B.C.E..⁸

2 The Island of Kalauria and the Cult of Poseidon

Two Linear B Tablets from Pylos, dated to the second half of the 13th century B.C.E., contain the term *ka-ra-u-ro* as a male proper name (Figures 8–9).⁹ The first interpreters of the Mycenaean documents associated the word with

ione del valore fonico e di quello grafico della υ". Cf. Mazzarino (1939) 148; Zancani Montuoro (1974) 70–80. Contra Nenci (1982) 1–2.

6 Allen (1968) 28–29; Lejeune (1987) 55; 231; Horroks (1997) 111–112; 122–123; 165–167; 170–171; Buth (2008a) 4; Id. (2008b) 217–230.

7 Eusth. *Ad Od.* 24. 304.

8 Giannelli (1924) 260–277; Zancani Montuoro (1974) 70–80; Lepore, Mele (1983) 882–883. In the Scholia to Lycophron (852–854), the city of Temesa appears as πόλις Καλαυρίς and is associated with Iapigia as Καλαυρία, inhabited by barbarians Καλαυροί. Thus, the river Κάλαβρος or Κάλαυρος, mentioned by Pausanias, was sometimes identified with the present-day river Galeso near Taranto (Maas 1907: 18–53) or, according to Strabo (7. 5. 7.), associated with the Illyrian tribe of the Γαλαβριοί in Dardania (Krahe 1943: 65; Id. 1939: 78).

9 PY An. 192 l. 8; PY Jn. 750 l. 7.



FIGURE 8
The Table from Pylos PY An 192, in which the term *ka-ra-u-ro* occurs as a male first name

NAKASSIS 2013: 38 FIG. 2.2.

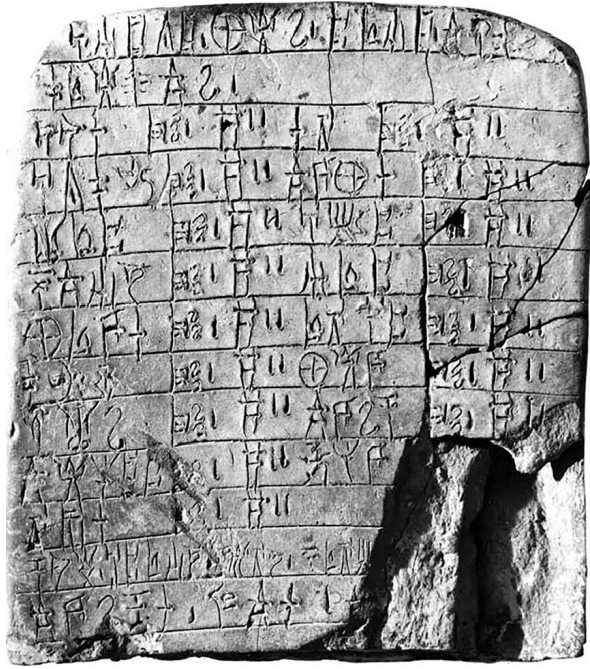


FIGURE 9
The Table of Pylos PY Jn. 750, in which the term *ka-ra-u-ro* occurs as a male first name

NAKASSIS 2013: 55 FIG. 2.5

Κάλαυρος, the eponymous hero of the island of Καλαύρεια¹⁰ or Καλαύρια¹¹ or Καλαυρία,¹² the modern Poros on the Saronic Gulf. The hero Κάλαυρος was described by Stephen of Byzantium as the son of the god Poseidon.¹³ In the entry Ταίναρος, however, the grammarian notes that Γέραιστος, Ταίναρος and Κάλαβρος were brothers and that all three were sons of Zeus.¹⁴ The island, which was controlled by the nearby town of Troezen during the Classical period,¹⁵ was considered to be close to Crete,¹⁶ although the lands were far apart. The

10 Syll.³ 359, 1–2.

11 Ps.-Skyl. 52.

12 Dem. 49. 13.

13 St. Byz. 388.

14 St. Byz. 598. See Ventris, Chadwick (1956) 419. Cf. Gallavotti, Sacconi (1961) 15; 86; Capovilla (1961); Zancani Montuoro (1974) 70–80; Nakassis (2013), 277 n. 342.

15 Hdt. 3. 59. 1.

16 St. Byz. 388: “νησίδιον πρὸς τῇ Κρήτῃ”.

Καλαύρια-port¹⁷ served as a naval station,¹⁸ together with the nearest and larger of Κελένδερις, the port of Troezen, excavated on the rocky coast.¹⁹ Καλαύρια today has a total area of about 31 square kilometres. It consists of a central limestone massif, crisscrossed with karst sinkholes and an irregular coastline having numerous bays and small creeks. Even the ancients emphasised its inaccessible and rocky nature (τρηχεῖα²⁰ and *saxosa*²¹).²² On the island, immediately north-east of the main settlement, on the summit of the massif, a Doric temple of Poseidon was erected probably about 520 B.C.E..²³ It had a foundation of limestone and tuff columns (6 × 12) within a rectangular enclosure, later enlarged in Classical and Hellenistic times, with numerous remains of four arcades and a *prò-pylon*. A sanctuary was built in the first half of the 7th century B.C.E. The traces of painted pottery inside the shrine, dating back to the Geometric-Mycenaean period, indicate that the island was already inhabited in the early Bronze Age.²⁴ According to mythological tradition, the sanctuaries of Poseidon at Geraistos in Euboea, Kalauria in Troizenia, and Tainaron in Laconia probably stood in a special relationship to each other. The ship voyage of Tainaros with Kalauros²⁵ suggests that the sanctuary of Geraistos was the starting point from which the cult of Poseidon spread to Kalaureia and Tainaron, possibly through the tribes of the Minis, Driopiand and then the Mycenaean.²⁶ In this case, the cult would date back to a pre-Hellenic phase. Another tradition claims that Kalauria originally belonged not to Poseidon but to Apollo. The island would have been consecrated to the God of the Sea only later.²⁷ As Strabo notes, Poseidon's sanc-

17 Ps.-Skyl. 52.

18 Dem. 49.

19 Paus. 2. 32; Eur. *Hip.* 1126.

20 Dion. Perieg. *Orb.* 499.

21 Fest. Avien. *Desc. Orb. Ter.* 671.

22 Pharaklas (1972); Figueira (2004) n. 360. Cf. Encyclop. Britain. (<https://www.britannica.com/place/Poros>). See Fest. Avien. *Descr. Orb. Ter.* 671: "Et procera caput turgescunt pulchra Cythera; / Eminent hic etiam saxosa Calauria juxta". In the manuscripts of Dionysius Periegetas we also find Καλαβρία and Καλάβρεια forms. See Wide, Kjellberg (1895) 267–326; Welter (1941); Callmer (1953) 208–223; Stucchi (1961) 295–296; Kirsten, Kraiker (1967) I. 307–308; II 879.

23 Strab. 8. 6. 14.

24 Wide, Kjellberg (1895) 267–326; Callmer (1953) 208–223; Stucchi (1961); Bringmann, Steuben (1995) 95–97; Hansen (1971) 115–291; Schumacher (1993); Welter (1941) 43–45; Coulton (1976) 242–243; Papadopoulos et al. (2006) 75.

25 St. Byz. 388; 598.

26 Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 44–45; Hdt. 4. 145.

27 Callim. fr. 221; Paus. 10. 5. 6; Strab. 8. 6. 14. See Unger (1877) 34–40; Wide (1893) 40–45; Waser (1884–1937) 5; Halliday (1928) 106; Vian (1944) 97–117; Schumacher (1993) 51–69.

tuary in Kalauria was a place of shelter (*asylum*).²⁸ The Athenian orator Demosthenes sought refuge there in 322 B.C.E..²⁹ Moreover, Kalauria was probably the seat of an Amphictyonic league, connected with the temple and consisting of seven cities in the Archaic period.³⁰ For this reason, the ancient name of the island would have been Εἰρήνη, 'peace'.³¹ The notion of 'shelter' is found for Poseidon Geraistos in the *Odyssey*.³² Returning from Troy, Nestor, Diomedes, and Menelaus set sail from Lesbos and landed at night in Γεραϊστόν (Euboea), where they sacrificed many bulls to Poseidon. The place was the only safe landing point on the rocky coast of eastern Euboea and a refuge for the ships that passed through the Andros Channel during the storms.³³

3 Balkan Area between Dardania, Illyria, and Thrace

According to Strabo (App. #18),³⁴ one of the tribes that inhabited the area of Dardania (largely the present-day Karst plateau of Kosovo) in southern Illyria on the border with Peonia, Macedonia, Thrace and Mysia identified the Γαλάβριοι, who lived in an ancient city. The Dardans, who were connected to the Adriatic Sea by the river Drilon (Drin), were described as nomads arranged in mud huts. However, they loved music, and were constantly devoted to it with flutes and stringed instruments.³⁵ Athenaeus³⁶ and Julius Pollux³⁷ report a Thracian dance called κολαβρισμός (mss. καλαβρ-). The song that accompanied it was named κόλαβρος.³⁸ It was a violent dance, probably involving weapons, as with the Thracians described by Xenophon in the *Anabasis*.³⁹

28 Strab. 8. 6. 14.

29 Plut. *Dem.* 29–30.

30 Strab. 8. 6. 14.

31 Arist. fr. 8. 44. 597.

32 *Od.* 3. 167–179.

33 Thuc. 3. 3. 5. See Curtius (1876) 385–392; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1896) 158–170; Schumacher (1993) 51–69.

34 Strab. 7. 5. 7.

35 Zancani Montuoro (1974) 70–80. Cf. Latham (1859) II. 34; Kiepert (1878) 275 (245), n. 2 and 452 (390); Bérard (1957) 432; Krahe (1925) 103; 112; Pugliese Carratelli (1971) 403–408. For karst phenomena in Kosovo, see Stuhlberger (2001); Onac, Constantin (2004) 682; Avdullahi, Fejza, Sylva (2008) 51–56; Bajraktari (2012) 47; Avdullahi, Serjani, Fejza, Tmava (2013) 7–15.

36 Athen. 14. 27 Kaibel.

37 Jul. Poll. 4. 100. 6.

38 Athen. 15. 53. 20; Demetr. Scephs. ap. eund. 15. 53. 15.

39 Xen. *Anab.* 6. 1. 5.

We do not know, however, whether the ‘colabrisimo’ was connected with the semantic sphere of the names formed by *Kalabr-/ur-*, as we admit them to be. On the other hand, Mount *Kalauros* (Καλαύρω ὄρει) should lead back to eastern Macedonia inhabited by Thracian Migdons. As the Scholiast asserts in the commentary on *Iliad* 13. 459, it was situated near the river Anthemios and Mount Athos. Anchises, who had come on the shoulders of Aeneas after the destruction of Troy, would die here (App. #31).⁴⁰ Given the geographical location, we cannot rule out the possibility that Mount *Kalauros* is reminiscent of the present-day Mount Hortiatis, from which springs the river Chabrias, known cartographically in the 17th century C.E. as Cillabro. However, it seems more likely that the site corresponds to Mount Katsika and the karst area of the Petralona Caves southeast of Thessaloniki on the Chalkidiki peninsula.⁴¹

4 An Etruscan Inscription from Volsinii, Orvieto

An Etruscan inscription from the city of Volsinii (Orvieto), dated to the end of the 6th century B.C.E. (Figure 10), refers to the name of an aristocrat who was the owner of a chamber tomb in the *Crocifisso del Tufo* cemetery with the following expression: “I am the urn of [A]ranθia Kalaprenas”.⁴² The genitive *Kalaprenas*, which presupposes a nominative **Kalapre* as a prename or appellative, probably corresponds to the Latin word *Calaber* or *Calabrus*.⁴³ If this interpretation is correct, we would have an important clue to the spread of the ethnic name *Calabri* in the West since the Archaic period, similar to that of the Latins (*Latine*, *Latinie*, *Latinna*, *Latiθe*), Rutuli (*Rutelna*) and Falisci (*Feluske*), long before the choronym Καλαβρία was used as an equivalent to Messapia in the 3rd century B.C.E..⁴⁴

40 *Schol. in Iliad*, Heyne, 13. 459. 4. See Zancani Montuoro (1974) 80: “L’identificazione di questo [fiume] è, tuttavia, dubbia: si potrebbe pensare al fiume omonimo, menzionato da Apollod. II, 5, 10 nella favolosa isola oceanica di Ἐρῦθεια, ma in realtà sembra che sia da riferire piuttosto alla regione di questo nome in Macedonia, dov’è ricordata la vecchia città (Hdt. v, 94; Demosth. VI 20), forse a N–E di Salonicco, e la λίμνη (Etym. M. s.v.) entrambe dello stesso nome [Kiepert 1878: 105, 313; Danoff 1964: 372]”.

41 Manoledakis (2015) 133–134; Poulianos (2013) 88.

42 CIE 4940.

43 Schulze (1904) 524; 575; Zancani Montuoro (1974) 80; Cristofani (1974); 313; De Simone (1978) 387; Id. (1990) 78; Morandi Tarabella (2004) 261.

44 Hsch. 380. 1. fr. 20. See Colonna (2004) 76; Id. (2013) 7–22; Poccetti (2011) 168.



FIGURE 10 The inscription from Volsinii, Orvieto, Necropoli di Crocefisso del Tufo. The name of the tomb's owner is [A]ranθia Kalaprenas
ACROSS ALL THE ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTIONS THROUGHOUT ITALY, 86: 208,
FIG. 19, [HTTP://WWW.ETRUSCAN-RUNE.COM](http://www.etruscan-rune.com)

5 Kalauria Nymph and Ganges River in India

According to *De Fluvii* (App. #29) by Pseudo-Plutarch (2nd–3rd century C.E.), the Ganges River in India was the son of Indus and a nymph named Kalauria (τις Καλαυρία νύμφη).⁴⁵ Being distraught because he had unknowingly committed incest with his mother in a drunken state, young Ganges, learning the truth from his nurse, threw himself into the floods of a river. This watercourse, hitherto called Χλιαρόν, received from that moment the solemn name of Ganges (Skr. *Gangā*). The term Χλιαρός has the adjectival meaning of ‘hot, lukewarm’ in the Greek language. The association in Greek culture between Καλαυρία and the native name of Ganges (Χλιαρός) attests that Καλαυρία was a hydronym. In particular, it is associated with spring water, for the beautiful maiden mother of Ganges appears in the guise of νύμφη, the river deity par excellence. In this context, we cannot exclude a connection in Greek myth-

45 Ps.-Plut. *De Fluv.* 4. 1. 2.

ology with the cult of Poseidon, the God of the Sea and all waters, who was worshipped as *Kalauros* on the island of Kalauria in the Saronic Gulf in the northeastern Peloponnese.⁴⁶ Finally, a possible reference to the term Colar or Colara was found in the lore of Pseudo-Plutarch (App. #29). This name proposed for ancient India, although not attested, could be literary evidence for the Indian tribe Καλλατία mentioned by Herodotus⁴⁷ and already known to Hecataeus of Miletus.⁴⁸

6 Kalauria Site near Syracuse in Sicily

Dealing with the war in Sicily between the Corinthian general Timoleon and Ictetas, the tyrant of Leontini, for control of Syracuse in 339/8 B.C.E., Plutarch (App. # 28) reports that the decisive battle took place near Καλαύρια (in the mss. also Γαλαρία and Καλαβρία).⁴⁹ The passage reads as follows:

And after this, when Timoleon was on an expedition to Calauria (εἰς Καλαύριαν στρατεύσαντος), Hicetas burst into the territory of Syracuse, took much booty, wrought much wanton havoc, and was marching off past Calauria itself (Καλαύριαν), despising Timoleon, who had but few soldiers. But Timoleon suffered him to pass on, and then pursued him with cavalry and light-armed troops. When Hicetas was aware of this, he crossed the river Damurias, and halted on the farther bank to defend himself.⁵⁰

The location of Καλαύρια has not yet been conclusively determined. The most probable hypothesis concerns the place mentioned by Titus Livius as “*turrim [...] Galeagram*”⁵¹ and known to ancient historians.⁵² The area was near the *portum Trogilorum*, the creek of the *Proasterion*, a trading post for the needs of the sailors.⁵³

We do not know whether this place corresponds to the bay of Santa Panagia, a district northwest of Syracuse, or, on the southeastern side, to the ‘promon-

46 Delattre (2011) 92–93 and n. 2; Beekes (2010) 1637.

47 Hdt. 3. 38; 4. 44.

48 Hecat. *FGrHist* I F 298. Cf. Oppert (1893) 124–128.

49 Plut. *Timol.* 31. 2.

50 Perrin 1918. Cf. Zanusso (2017), 2234–2235.

51 Liv. 25. 23.

52 Polyb. 8. 3; Plut. *Marc.* 15.

53 Thuc. 99. 1; Sil. It. 14. 259. See Strazzulla (1899) 162.



FIGURE 11 Map of ancient Syracuse

AFTER PHILIPP CLÛVER, 17TH CENTURY C.E. (GRAEVIUS 1704–1725)

tory of the cave' of the Mazzarona coast.⁵⁴ However, both places belong to a coastal area with many bays or karst caves even flooded.⁵⁵ On the other hand, the river Damurias commonly recalls the river Mulinello, one of the waterways that flow into the Megarese Port of Augusta.⁵⁶

7 A Spurious Epigram concerning the Lokroi Kalabroi

An inscription from the old castle of Grotteria near Locri, in present-day Calabria, contains a dedication of the *Lokroi Kalabroi* to Athena Parthenos in seven lines: "The Locrenses Calabri consecrate this castle to the Sacrosanct goddess

54 Drögemüller (2018 [1969]) 81–90; 140–150.

55 Scicchitano, Monaco (2006) 187–194.

56 Orsi (1902) 411–434: "Kalauria, sulla cui precisa ubicazione, malgrado i tentativi fatti, nulla di preciso ancora ne consta. Preferisco dunque pensare a qualche grossa fattoria o tenuta nel corso del Molinello (Damyrias)".

Athena Parthenos, who springs from the head of the Great Zeus" (App. # 33). The epigraph, included in a group of seven inscriptions reported by P. Scarfò, a Basilian monk, and collected by Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1740), seems to be false.⁵⁷ However, those who made may have been inspired by the Classical tradition of Vergilius, who in the *Aeneid* locates the "*Sallentinos [...] campos*", occupied by the Cretan king Idomeneus, between the towns of Locris and Petelia.⁵⁸ According to Varro,⁵⁹ the hero sailed from Crete to Illyria and then to Locris with a group of Locrian refugees who became his allies on the sea. The king also emerged as the mythical founder of *Castrum Minervae* in the Salentine Peninsula, ancient Calabria. The fortress appeared as the seat of a temple of Athena⁶⁰ and as the first access of Aeneas to Italy.⁶¹

57 Muratori (1740) 1817; Kaibel (1890) *Falsae*, n. 46; Giannelli (1924) 244–246.

58 Verg. *Aen.* 3. 399–402.

59 Var. *Rer. Hum.* 3.

60 Strab. 10. 4.

61 Dion. Hal. 1. 51; Verg. *Aen.* 3. 520–531.

Corresponding Denominations in the Byzantine Period

1 The Thracian Fortress of Kalabrye and the River Halmyros

In the studies devoted to the Καλαβρία choronym, the evidence of the Byzantine chronicler Johannes Zonaras, who lived between the end of the 11th and the first half of the 12th century († ca. 1130 C.E.), have remained almost entirely unnoticed.¹ The author of the *Ἐπιτομὴ ἱστοριῶν*, a history of the world from the Creation to the death of emperor Alexios I in 1118 C.E., possibly inspired by Cassius Dio, broadly associated the “so-called contemporary Καλαβρία” with the territory of southern Italy below Latium except for Sicily, which was formerly the war zone of Rome against Hannibal and Pyrrhus. However, the text made no difference between Καλαβρία and Σικελία or between Καλαβρούς and Σικελούς.² The Pseudo-Zonaras’ *Lexikon* also locates in the Καλαβρίας the town of Βενεβενδός.³ In the XVIII book of the *Extracts of History*, Zonaras refers to the conflict between the imperial troops of general (and later emperor) Alexios Komnenos and the rebellious governor of Dyrrhachium, Nikephoros Bryennios the Elder. The primary battle occurred in the spring of 1078 C.E., in a Thracian country called Καλαβρύην.⁴ According to the Byzantine chronicler, this place had a special toponymic significance, as the following passage shows:

-
- 1 Grimaldi (1845) 2 and n. 10: “sito detto Calabria verso la Misia [Zonara, *Annal.* v, 11—Curopalate, *Hist.* in Niceph. *Boton.*]”.
 - 2 Zonar. *Ep. Hist.* 2. 193–262: “τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Καλαβρίαν”; 2. 255; 263; 269. Cf. Cass. Dio *Hist. Rom.* 140. 27. 232, 4; 234. 7. See Pinder, Büttner Wobst (1841–1897) 41. 42. 1–2; Kazhdan (1991) III. 2229; Ostrogorsky (1968) 4–5; 199; 292; 324; Lopez, Aversa (2010) 11.
 - 3 Ps-Zonar. ‘b’ 383. 21. See Tittmann (1967 [1808]) 383. The Tabula Rogeriana of 1154 C.E., written by the Arab geographer Muhammad Al Idrisi, distinguishes, for central-southern Italy, with the exception of Sicily, two macro-areas, *ankbarda* and *kalauria*, both divided into *bilad* (large) and *min* (small). The Salento peninsula belongs to the *min ankbarda*, while Apulia to the *bilad ankbarda*. The southern land of the *Bruttii* is part of the *min kalauria*, while the northern one, Lucania and a Gulf of Taranto segment belong to the *bilad kalauria*. The territories around Benevento and those on the Adriatic side up to Ancona, Camarina and Fano are framed as *min kalauria*. Cf. Harley, Woodward (1992) 156–161; Houben (2002) 102–104.
 - 4 Zonar. *Epit. Hist.* 18. 9. 6. See Kausler (1831) 33–34; Tobias (1979) 193–211; Skoulatos (1980) 222–224; Treadgold (1997) 603–607; Id. (2013) 349–353; Haldon (2001) 127–133; Birkenmeier (2002) 57–58; Theotokis (2014) 80–81; Gilmer (2021).

ὅς τούτῳ συμβαλῶν κατὰ τι χωρίον Καλαβρύην λεγόμενον διὰ τὸ κατάρρυτον εἶναι τὸν τόπον βρύσεσιν ὑδάτων πολλαῖς τε καὶ ἀγαθαῖς ῥαδίως τῆς ἐκείνου περιεγένετο στρατιᾶς [...].

He [Komnenos], having come into conflict with these [Bryennios] in the country of Kalabrye, so called because the place was alluvial due to numerous good springs of water, easily defeated the army [...].⁵

Similarly, Michael Attaliates, Scylitzes Continuatus, Nicephorus Briennium, and Anna Comnena mentioned the place for the same event.⁶ The *Chronicon Paschale*, a world chronicle in Greek, probably written by a clergyman and intimate of Patriarch Sergios in Constantinople in the first half of the 7th century C.E. (TPQ yr. 629), reports in the genitive form Καλαυρίας and connects the Thracian country with the nearby cities of Ebdomon, Rhegion, and Athyra. This term, amended by modern scholars with Καλαβρίας, is the earliest evidence we know today.⁷ The background concerned the ‘Nika riots’, which erupted against

5 Dindorf (1871) iv. 228–229; Migne (1887) 289–290. As a posthumous addition, this passage is also found in the manuscripts of the *Chronicon breve* by Georgios Monachos Hamartolos, a Byzantine chronicler from the 9th century C.E. The first modern translations of Zonara’s text are edited by Fiorentino (1560) 245: “Il Comneno dunque uenuto all’armi col Briennio in quel luogo che per gli spessi et molti rampolli d’acque, Calabria si dice, con grande agevolezza superò l’essercito di quello”; Ferentilli (1572) 246: “luogo, che dallo spesso scaturir delle acque è detto Calabria”; Antonelli (1827) 981: “Calabrya, luogo che Ortelio stabilisce nell’As. minore. Zonara e Curopalate fanno menzione delle sue belle sorg. d’acqua viva”.

6 Mich. Attal. *Hist.* 289. 10: “τόπον Γαλαβρύην”; Scyl. *Contin.* 180. 14–15: “τόπον Καλαβρύην”; Nic. Br. *Hist.* 4. 5. 5: “φρούριον ἐπὶ λόφου ... Καλοβρύη”; An. *Comm. Alex.* 1. 5. 2. 4: “Καλαυρήν”. The term χωρίον denoted the country (Diod. 19. 72; Nicol. *Dam.* 90: “rus, country”), as opposed to the city (Sophocles 1900: 1177), and the land in the sense of Lat. *fundus* (Svoronos 1993: 287–290), that is a peasant community in the form of an open village, consisting of owners, tenants, sharecroppers, who assume collective fiscal responsibility (Lemerle 1979: 37–41; Kaplan 1986: 184–186; Ducellier 1988: 329; Haldon 1990: 287–290). The term τόπος was more general and meant “place, region, country” (Sophocles 1900: 1085–1086). The word φρούριον referred to the ‘fort’ or the ‘castle’ (Sophocles 1860: 359).

7 *Chron. Pasch.* 622. 18. The main manuscript of the *Chronicon Paschale* is the 10th century C.E. Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1941 (Markets 1906; Conybeare 1906; Neville 2018: 53), which shows the form Καλαυρίας (Figure 12). Modern scholars have understood it differently: Raderus (1615) 778: “Καλαβρίας”; “Calabria”; Fresne Du Cange (1729) 269a: “Καλαβρίας”; “Calabrya”; Dindorf (1832: I. 622): “οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ἐλθόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐβδόμου καὶ τοῦ Ῥηγίου καὶ τοῦ Ἀθύρα καὶ ἀπὸ Καλαβρίας”; II. 455: “*De Rhegio vero et Athyra hic memoratis egimus pariter ad Alexiadem Annaeam, et ad Villharduinum, ut de Calabrya, ad Bryennium, loco scilicet ita nuncupato in finibus citimis Asiae. Nemo enim erit, cui Calabryam Italicam hic intelligi minime posse non statim suboleat*”. Cf. Gautier (1975) 266; Crow, Turner (2009) 171; Whitby (1989) 119–120

the emperor Justinian in January 532 C.E. The passage explains the places of origin of the imperial troops who were called from the Thracian region to repress the revolt. In this context, we cannot exclude the possibility that the primary source for this historical phase was the work of the chronicler Johannes Malalas (ca. 491–578 C.E.).⁸

In reading the *Epitome*, it is not clear whether Zonaras made a direct linguistic connection between the Thracian toponym Καλαβρύη and the choronym Καλαβρία, which was more widely used in the West.⁹ In the Greek Byzantine language, the alternation β/υ or υ/ι occurs frequently, as shown by the forms Καλαυρίας in the *Chronicon Paschale*¹⁰ and Καλαυρήν in the work of Anna Comnena.¹¹ Similarly, the exchange β/υ is found in Pausanias' *Description of Greece* (2nd century C.E.), referring to the river of ancient Italy called Κάλαβρος or Κάλαυρος or Κάλαυβρος, which the copy of an old painting in Olympia portrayed (App. #30).¹² The variants -βρος and -υρος are considered phonetically equivalent.¹³ Thus, it appears significant that Muslim geographers of the Middle Ages (for example, Ibn Rustah, alMas'ūdī, Ibn Ḥawqal, al-Idrīsī, Ibn-Said) rendered Calabria in their works with the name Qalūriya or Qillavriah.¹⁴ In a context of betacism, the alternation β/υ marked the lexicon of Greek diplomacy between the 11th and 13th centuries C.E. This phenomenon is explicitly attested by the *Brebion* of the Reggio Calabria metropolis around 1050 C.E. for Καλαυρών/ Καλαβρών¹⁵ and by documents collected in Trinchera's *Syllabus* for καλαυριας/ καλαβριας (yr. 1188; 1214; 1194 C.E.).¹⁶ On the other hand, the vowel /υ/ in the diphthongs /αυ/, /ευ/, and /ηυ/ generally tends to become conson-

and n. 355. The *Chronicon Paschale* calculates the chronology from the creation of Adam to 629 C.E. and indicates the dates of the Easter celebrations with the greatest accuracy: hence the title given to the writing by Du Cange in 1688 (Burini 2000: 12 n. 23). Whitby (1989: 119–120 and n. 355) underlines the correspondence between Καλαβρίας (*Chr. Pash.* 622. 18), as 'Calabria', and Καλοβρύη of Nikephoros Bryennios (*Hist.* 4. 5. 5).

8 Bury (1897) 92–119; Whitby (1989).

9 Zonar. *Ep. Hist.* 2. 193; 255; 263; 269; 18. 9.

10 *Chron. Pasch.* 622. 18.

11 An. Comn. *Alex.* 1. 5. 2. 4.

12 Paus. *Graec. Descr.* 6. 6. 11.

13 Lepore, Mele (1983) 882; Mazzarino (1939) 148; Zancani Montuoro (1974) 70–80.

14 Amari (1880) I. 24–25; 213; König (2015) 207; 202; 275; 290; Vanoli (2016) 166–168.

15 *Brebion* 134; 175. See Guillou (1980).

16 Trinchera (1865) 49–51; 294; 322; Caracausi (1990) 253–254. The same linguistic peculiarity concerns the documents of the Monasteries of San'Elia and Sant'Anastasio near Cálvera in Lucania. Together with κάλαυρας (yr. 1053), the forms καλαβράς (yr. 1102; 1131), κάλαβρας/κάλαβραν (yr. 1135), Καλάβραν (yr. 1168), and καλαβράς (yr. 1169) occur. See Robinson (1928–1930) XI. 271–348; XV. 121–275; XIX. 185–189.

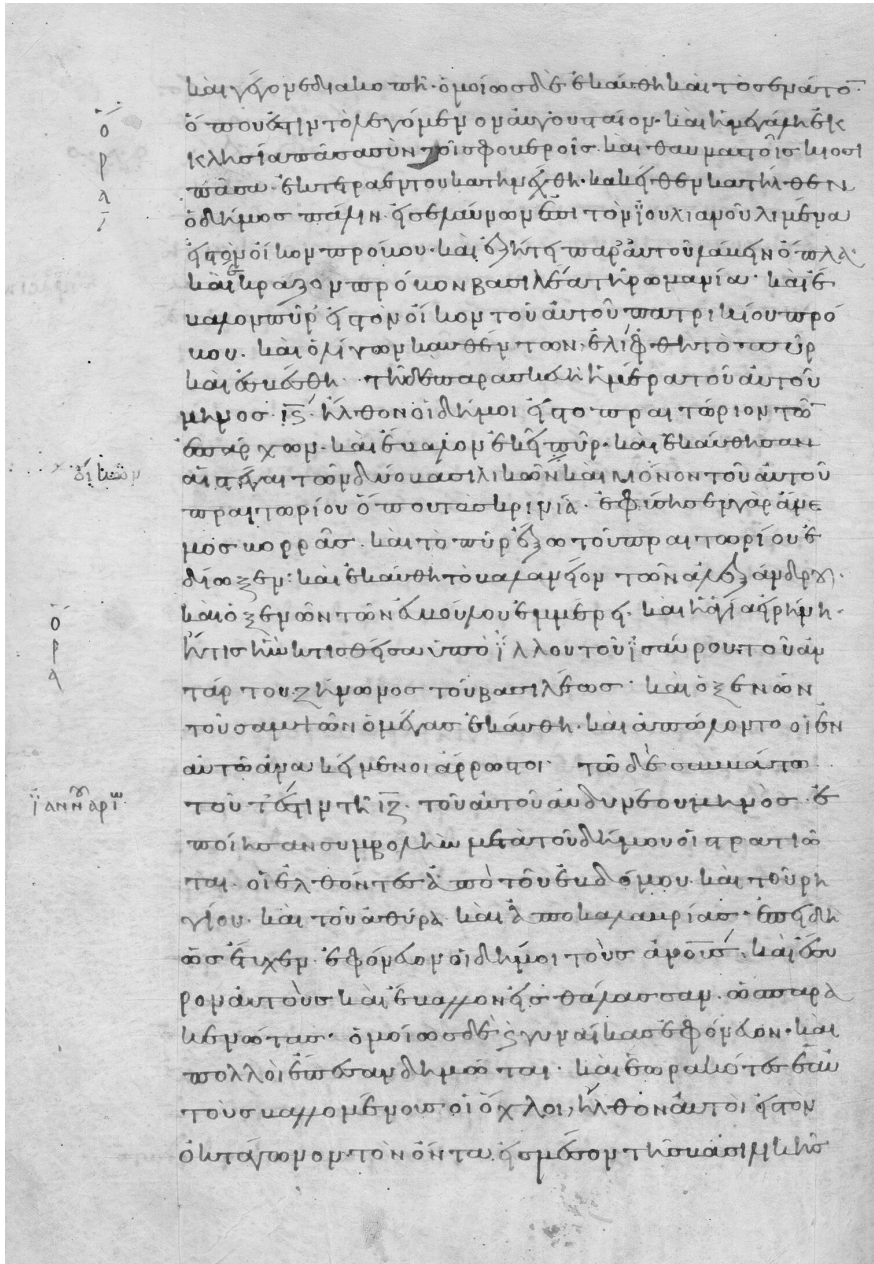


FIGURE 12 *Chronicon Paschale*, Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1941 (10th century C.E.), 243v. The seventh to last line, counting from the bottom, shows the form Καλαυρίας
 COPYRIGHT @ BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA (PROT.: 2022/0151 /S-E998)

antal (/φ/ or /β/) since the late Roman period. Moreover, the graphic confusion between the groups -εβδ-/-ευδ- or -αβδ-/-αυδ- appears in several Beotian inscriptions already in the 3rd century C.E..¹⁷

Thus, to return to Zonaras' *Epitomes* and the battle site of 1078 C.E.,¹⁸ despite the different versions, the authenticity of the amended form Καλαβρία (< *Chr. Pasch.* 622. 18: Καλαυρία) can be corroborated by the frequency of the ancient morpheme βρία in the same area. It occurs alone or as a second element in numerous toponyms of Thrace and nearby Phrygia (e.g. Alai-*bria*, Bolba-*bria*, Mesem-*bria*, Sēlym-*bria*, Limno-*bria*, Asti-*bria*, *Bria*, Mene-*bria*). The morpheme is generally associated with the IE word **uria* 'inhabited place', ToA *ri*, ToB *riye* 'city'. Originally understood as an appellative and mostly used as a second element in compound terms, it probably has taken on the meaning of an independent derivational suffix over time.¹⁹

2 The Hinterland of Sēlymbria and the Modern District of Silivri

In modern Thrace, the exact location of Καλαβρύη²⁰ is still under investigation in the absence of specific archaeological evidence. Currently, there are two main hypotheses concerning the hinterland of Sēlymbria and Hērakleia along the Via Egnatia (the most important Roman road to Constantinople). The first identifies the site with the village of Yolçati (formerly Geliwrî or Kalivri), about 12 kilometres northwest of Silivri. To the right and left of the hamlet stretches a dense network of gorges and ravines. After some alluvial slopes and valleys, the water reaches the coast of the Sea of Marmara, near the old town of Papazli, today's Çanta Fatih-Silivri district (Figure 13).²¹

The second hypothesis refers to the area north of Silivri, along the ancient Anastasian Wall, between the villages of Fener and Akören, which is also char-

17 Allen (1968) 28–29; Lejeune (1987) 55; 231; Horroks (1997) 111–112; 122–123; 165–167; 170–171; Buth (2008a) 4; Id. (2008b) 217–230.

18 Zonar. *Ep. Hist.* 18. 9. 6.

19 Strab. 7. 6. 1: “τῆς δὲ πόλεως βρίας καλουμένης θρηακιστί”; St. Byz. 416: “βρία γὰρ τὴν πόλιν φασὶ Θρηάκες”. Cf. Georgiev (1961); Id. (1966) 125–140; 178; Id. (1977) 13; Id. (1957); Detschew (1957) 86–87; 132; 356–357; Id. (1960); Velkova (1967); Id. (1972); Katičić (1976) 128–153; Duridanov (1976); Polomé (1983) 539–540 and n. 93; Paliga (1987) 23–29; Serafimov (2007) 134–154; Villar et. al. (2011) 729–236; Id. (2014), 57–60; 165–170. See *infra*, Chap. v.

20 Zonar. *Ep. Hist.* 18. 9. 6. Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 622. 18: Καλαυρίας (= Καλαβρίας); Ann. Comn. Alex. 1. 5. 2. 4: Καλαυρήν.

21 Tomaschek (1886) 331; Gautier (1975) 266 n. 2; Külzer (2008) 389; Id. (2010) 438: “Vgl. die österreichische Generalkarte Čataldža 1940”.

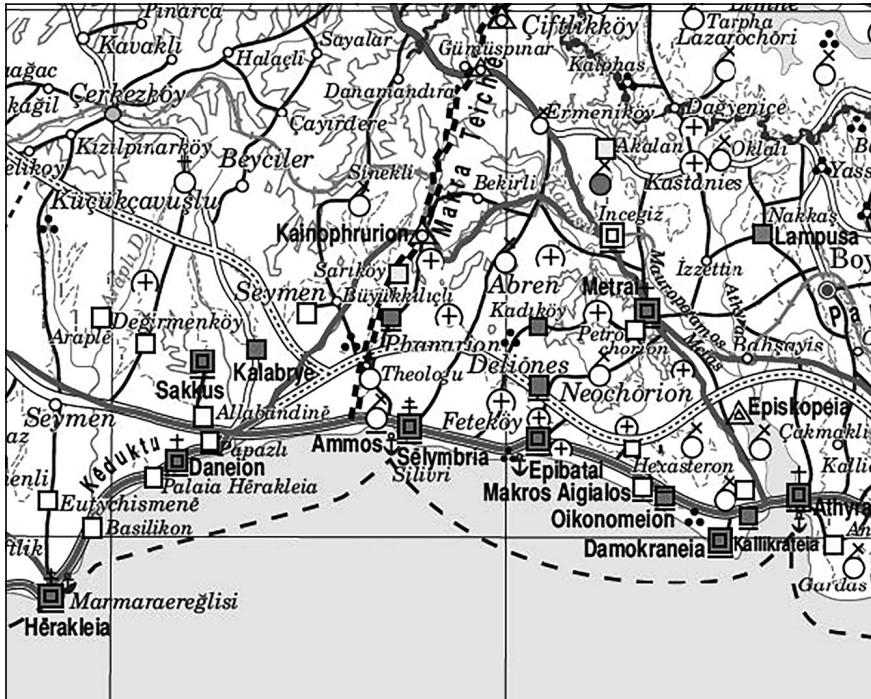


FIGURE 13 Topography of the Thracian territory between Hērakleia and Sēlymbria with the Kēduktu plain and the fortress of Kalabrye, after the Tabula Imperii Bizantini KÜLZER 2008: TIB 12

acterised by an open landscape crisscrossed by ravines and small valleys.²² According to the historian Nikephoros Bryennios, the Καλοβρύη fortress stood on a hill (φρούριον ἐπὶ λόφου), which dominated a river that flowed down from the Thracian mountains and was called Halmyros by the natives.²³ The name means ‘salt river’ (ἀλμυρίζω = to be salty; Lat. *Salsum flumen*),²⁴ and Anna Comnena also refers to it.²⁵ As the literary sources indicate, the fortress of Kalabrye (φρούριον) was visible from the plains of Κηδόκτου.²⁶ This toponym derives from the term *aquaeductus*, mentioned by Theophanes as Ἀκεδούκτου πλησίον Ἡρακλείας at the time when Michael I and the empress Prokopia

22 Gautier (1975) 266 n. 3; Crow, Turner (2009) 167–181.

23 Nic. Br. *Hist.* 4. 5.

24 Schrevelius (1670) 42; Sophocles (1900) 119; LSJ (1996) 72.

25 An. *Comn. Alex.* 1. 4. 5.

26 Nic. Br. *Hist.* 4. 5. 14; An. *Comn. Alex.* 1. 4. 5–7. See Gautier (1975) 266; Mango, Scott (1997) 684, n. 2; Lemerle (1965) 276 n. 87, 88; Sayar (1998) 61–62; Crow, Turner (2009) 167–181.

were fighting the Bulgarians in 813 C.E..²⁷ A decade later (823 C.E.), the Bulgarians defeated Thomas the Slav *κατὰ τὸν Κηδοῦκτου χῶρον*.²⁸ The *Partitio terrarum Imperii Romanie* of 1204 C.E. cites the *pertinentia Cedocti* (*episcopis Kēdoktu*).²⁹ The aqueduct seems to have been a landmark along the military road that branched off to Adrianople. The historian Procopius reports the construction of an aqueduct towards Hērakleia in the 6th century C.E..³⁰ Some remains of water catchments were discovered southwest of the modern village of Büyükcavuşlu, on the western slope of the Silivri district. As historical sources indicate, in the 11th and 12th centuries C.E., Kalabrye and the course of the Halmyros River had gorges and recessed canyons: the terrain was open with hills and dug valleys.³¹ The land extended above the Kēductu plain, where abundant water flowed before pouring into the Sea of Marmara, between Hērakleia and Sēlymbria. Nowadays, there are still many gorges, ravines and furrows here and there in Yolçati and Fener/ Akoeren.³² The proximity to the *aqueductus* area, from which the Kalabrye dominated the alluvial plain, and especially the similarity with the other denominations (Geliwrî and Kalivri), suggest a preference for the Yolçati country. However, Fener/ Akören today offers an environment closer to that described by the ancients. Thus, one result seems to have been gained. In the Byzantine period, the toponym Καλαβρύη or Γαλαβρύη/ Καλαυρή referred to the fortress (φρούριον) above the Kēductu plain (ἐπὶ λόφου) near Sēlymbria,³³ but also, if not above all, the country (χωρίον)³⁴ and the place (τόπον) as one large territorial unit.³⁵

The copy of a map of the French National Library (GED 7834), contained in a manuscript of 1688 (mss. 7239 B.R. by M. Gerardin), depicting the territory of Thrace, shows, among other things, an imposing fortress bearing the term < *aqui* > *dotto*. It rose in line with the present-day area of the village of Yolçati, along one of the two large river basins (the name does not appear), that slope down from the hinterland towards the Sea of Marmara (Figure 14).³⁶

27 Theoph. *Chron.* 500. 16.

28 Genes. 2. 7; Theoph. *Cont.* 65. 12.

29 TIB 12. 268.

30 Proc. *De Aedif.* 4. 9. 14.

31 Ann. Com. *Alex.* 1. 5. 3–4: “ἐν κοιλάσι [...] κατὰ τοὺς κοιλώδεις τόπους”; Nic. Br. *Hist.* 4. 7. 15: “τόπον [...] ἀναπεπταμένον, τὸ δὲ λόφους καὶ κοιλάδας ἔχον”.

32 Sayar (1998) 61–62, map 5, fig. 27–29; Crow, Turner (2009) 170–171; Kültzer (2010) 438. Cf. Beekes (2010) 730.

33 Nic. Br. *Hist.* 4. 5. 5. and 14.

34 Zonar. *Ep. Hist.* 18. 9. 6.

35 Mic. Att. *Hist.* 289. 10; Scyl. *Con.* 180. 14–15. See Bury (1912) 101–102.

36 Bnf, Ged (7834), “[Fac-simile par / Rosenberg ; d’une carte italienne représentant le pays

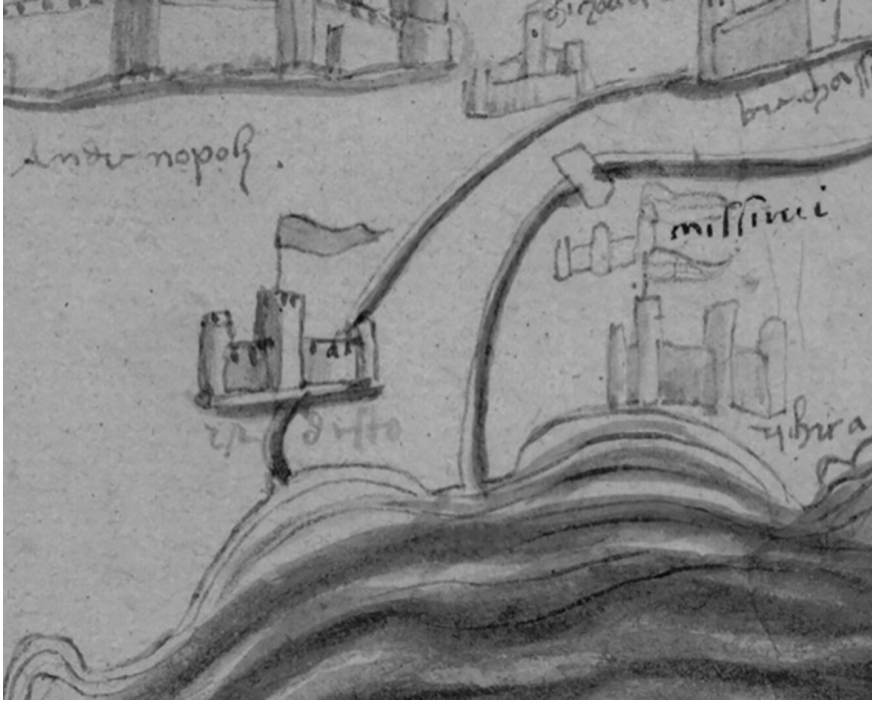


FIGURE 14 Copy of the Map from the ms. 7239 B.R. by M. Gerardin, yr. 1688
OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL LIBRARY (GED 7834)

3 Natural Environment and Local Traditions

The restitution of the toponym Καλαβρύην offered by Zonaras³⁷ consists of two parts. The first expresses the notion of ‘alluvial place’ (κατάρρυτον τόπον). The second proposes the linguistic distinction, about the term Καλαβρύην, between Καλα- (< καλός = ἀγαθός, good), as a rendering of the expression πολλαῖς τε καὶ ἀγαθαῖς, and the component -βρύην, linked to the noun βρύσις (= ‘fountain, spring’; < βρύω, ‘to spurt’).³⁸ The background recalls the alluvial arrangement of the territory, which was characterised by an abundance and variety of springs, including saline springs. As Procopius of Caesarea noted in the 6th century C.E., the country (χώρα) around Hēraκleia, which included the plain of Kēductu and the fortress of Kalabrye to the east in the direction of

compris entre la mer de Marmara et les Alpes de Transylvanie tirée d'un mss no. 7239 B.R. envoyé en 1688 par M. Gerardin, et provenant du séraï] 1688”.

37 Zonar. *Ep. Hist.* 18. 9. 6.

38 Sophocles (1900) 320; 623.

Sēlymbria, was rich in water springs (κατάρρυτος [...] ταῖς κρήναις) as was the province of Europe in general.³⁹ In the Greek literary sources, the adjective κατάρρυτος, considering the most relevant proofs, is associated, in a geographical context, with the Δέλτα of the Nile, as a recent alluvium,⁴⁰ or to the basins of the Indus and the Ganges,⁴¹ as well as with places crossed by numerous streams and watercourses, such as the subalpine regions of Gaul⁴² and Italy as a whole, both on the Tyrrhenian and on the Adriatic side of the Apennines.⁴³ As asserted by Pseudo-Zonaras, the term κατάρρυτον is equivalent to ἀρδεύσιμον ‘irrigated, canalised’,⁴⁴ as in Hesychius’ gloss κατάρρυτα: ἀρδεύσιμα.⁴⁵ Finally, the adjective καταρρώξ, ‘jagged, broken, friable’, belongs to the same semantic field. Indeed, it connotes the limestone rock and also hollow, karst, badlands-like places, or high, steep promontories, with many creeks such as Cape Κάραμβις in Paphlagonia on the Black Sea.⁴⁶ Beyond the individual erudite tastes of the Byzantine writers, we have no reason to believe that the restitution proposed by Zonaras for Καλαβρύη⁴⁷ was generally in disagreement with the culture of his contemporaries. The discourse develops in terms of folk etymology but not through a systematic historical-linguistic study. Indeed, the author knows neither the version of the *Chronicon Paschale*⁴⁸ nor the note of Strabo, who documents that the word βρία had the meaning of ‘city’ in the Thracian language, as for Mesem-bria, Sēlym-bria, Poltym-bria.⁴⁹ Overall, therefore, in the late medieval Byzantine world, the form Καλαβρύη was reasonably added locally to Καλαυρία or Καλαβρία, at the beginning of the 12th century C.E. or even earlier, and took on the folk-etymological sense of ‘Good Springs’ or ‘Good Fountains’, accepted in the plural (καλαὶ βρύσεις). Thus, the toponym refers to certain places dug by water, which are particularly rich in springs, hollowed out and alluvial, such as rivers, gorges, landslides, canyons, rills and under-

39 Proc. *De Aedif.* 4. 9. 14.

40 Hdt. 2. 15.

41 Diod. 8. 6; Strab. 15. 1. 13.

42 Strab. 4. 1. 2.

43 Plut. 16. 3.

44 Ps-Zonar. k 1144. 23; 1160. 13.

45 Hesych. Eur. *Andr.* 215.

46 Ephor. fr. 2a. 70 F. 41. Cf. Soph. *Philoct.* v. 937: “Καταρρώγες πέτραι”. See Beekes (2010) 1282–1283.

47 Zonar. *Ep. Hist.* 18. 9. 6.

48 *Chron. Pasch.* 622. 18: “Καλαυρία (= Καλαβρία)”.

49 Strab. 7. 6. 1: “τῆς δὲ πόλεως βρίας καλουμένης θρακιστί”. Cf. St. Byz. 416: “βρία γὰρ τὴν πόλιν φασὶ Θράκες”. See Georgiev (1961); Id. (1966) 125–140; 178; Id. (1977) 13; Id. (1957); Detschew (1957) 86–87; 132; 356–357; Id. (1960).

ground valleys.⁵⁰ The original form of -βρύη/-υρή as the second element had to correspond historically with the term βρία, which in Thrace formed a system not only in general but in the specific geographical area of study (Σηλυμβρία, Silivri), and had the meaning of 'city' as claimed by Strabo.⁵¹ Furthermore, the earliest reference to the Thracian place mentioned by Zonaras is found in the *Chronicon Paschale* (ca. 629 C.E.), whose main manuscript is the 10th-century Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1941, in the genitive form Καλαυρίας, which is amended by the modern scholars with Καλαβρίας.⁵² However, apart from the later version Καλαβρύη and the folk-etymology, which uses the verb βρώω 'to spurt', Zonaras' description of the Thracian country (χωρίον) as a typical 'alluvial place' (κατάρτυτον τόπον) and as a land rich in water springs (βρύσεσιν ύδάτων),⁵³ is essential for us. Looking at the present-day area of Yolçati or Fener/ Akören north of Silivri, the account represents the only literary evidence that can illustrate the nature of the places to which the choronym/ toponym Καλαυρία or Καλαβρία could refer in antiquity. Other contemporary sources confirm this occurrence. The area around Kalabrye and the Halmyros River included gorges and ravines in the 11th and 12th centuries C.E..⁵⁴ The territory was alluvial, with hills and recessed valleys,⁵⁵ above the Kēductu plain, at the confluence of the waters that drained from the hinterland into the Sea of Marmara, between Hērakleia and Sēlymbria.⁵⁶

4 Similar Toponyms according to the Landscape

The Thracian toponym Καλαβρύην or Καλαυρία/ Καλαβρία,⁵⁷ as 'alluvial place' (κατάρτυτον τόπον)⁵⁸ with gorges, hills and recesses valleys,⁵⁹ can be compared with several other well-known toponyms of the Byzantine and early Middle Ages for the same period (11th–12th centuries C.E.).⁶⁰

50 Finlay (1854) II. 58–59, n. 3: "Zonaras, II. 292, says Kalabrya was so called from its abundant fountains". Cf. Beekes (2010) 239.

51 Strab. 7. 6. 1; St. Byz. 416. See Paliga (1987) 23–29.

52 *Chron. Pasch.* 622. 18. See Dindorf (1832) I. 622.

53 Zonar. *Ep. Hist.* 18. 9. 6.

54 Ann. Com. Alex. 3. 1. 5–4: "έν κοιλάσι [...] κατά τούς κοιλώδεις τόπους".

55 Nic. Br. *Hist.* 4. 7. 15: "τόπον [...] άναπεπταμένον, τὸ δὲ λόφους καί κοιλάδας ἔχον".

56 Cf. Külzer (2008) 389–390; 421–422; 446; Id. (2010) 438.

57 *Chr. Pasch.* 622. 18.

58 Zonar. *Ep. Hist.* 18. 9. 6.

59 Ann. Com. Alex. 1. 5. 3–4; Nic. Br. *Hist.* 4. 7. 15.

60 The comparison is limited to the cases that we were able to identify and document for



FIGURE 15 The Italo-Greek Monastery of Calabro Maria (11th–18th centuries C.E.) in Altília di Santa Severina (Kr), in present-day Calabria, which today corresponds to Palazzo Barracco

LOPEZ 2004: 29 FIG. 19

A meaningful relationship occurs with the ancient Basilian Monastery of Calabro Maria (11th century C.E.), founded on the territory of Santa Severina in present-day Calabria, within the western borders of the Byzantine Empire (Figure 15).⁶¹ It was located on the hill of the village of Altília, and dominated the confluence of the recessed and alluvial valleys (as a half-graben) of the Neto and Lese rivers. In the rescripts (16th–17th centuries C.E.), translated

the Middle Ages. It does not claim to be complete. On the migration or extension of the choronym *Καλαβρία* from the Salento peninsula to the land of the *Bruttii*, present-day Calabria, in the 7th century C.E., see Chap. I, Sect. 6.

61 Russo (1959); Id. (1974–1993); Id. (1982); Napolitano (1991); Pesavento (1999) 6–9; Lopez (2004); De Fraja (2001) 105–128; Ead. (2006) 201–282; Lopez, Aversa (2010). For a collection of archival research, historical sources, images, photos, and documents about the area of Crotona in the Middle Ages, see the portal <http://www.archivistoricocrotone.it/> by Andrea Pesavento and Giuseppe Rende. For the history of Santa Severina in the latest studies, see ‘Quaderni Siberenensi. Rivista di cultura, storia e tradizioni’, edited by Serafino Parisi (<https://prolocosiberene.com/quaderni-siberenensi/>).

from Greek into Latin *de verbo ad verbum* in 1253, the Monastery bears the title of *Calabro Mariae* (yr. 1099), *Mariae de Calabro* (yr. 1115), and *Dei Genitricis Calabrorum* (yr. 1145). In other Latin documents the following forms are recorded: *Calabro Mariae* (yr. 1195); *Calabromariam/ -ae* (yr. 1198; 1208–1209; 1213; 1216); *Calabro Maria* or *Calabromariae* (yr. 1211); *Mariae de Calabria* (yr. 1218); *Dei genitricis et virginis Marie de Calabro Maria* (yr. 1227). The original Greek version, preserved in a land grant deed of 1228, reads *μονῆς καλαυρομαρίας*.⁶² As in Thrace for *Καλαυρία/ Καλαβρία*⁶³ or *Καλαβρύη*⁶⁴ or *Καλαυρή*,⁶⁵ so also in the West the variants *Καλα-υρ-* and *Καλα-βρ-* (Lat. *Calabr-*) existed side by side, with *β/υ* graphic-phonetic alternation. The name *Calabro* (*καλαυρο*) appears as a designation of the Virgin, conferred at the time of the reconstruction of the Cenobium in 1099 by Polycronius, the Greek bishop of the nearby diocese of Acherentia (*Dei Genitricis semper Virginis Mariae de Calabro cognomine reaedificavit*). It is plausible that the title initially took the name of the place where the Monastery stood, as it is also mentioned later in other sources (*tenimenti Calabromarie* [yr. 1209]; *loci Calabromarie* [yr. 1211]). A few decades after the reconstruction, with the favour of the Norman authorities and king Roger II, as part of the Basilian revival promoted by Bartholomeus of Simeri, around the middle of the twelfth century C.E. the Monastery was more widely called *Dei Genitricis Calabrorum* (yr. 1145).⁶⁶ The limestone spur on which *καλαυρομαρίας* stood looks like an exposed peak on the alluvial valleys of the Neto and Lese rivers, at their confluence, and dominates the *Timpa del Salto* gorge and the *Saline di Neto* mines (Figures 16–17). The area around the Cenobium, in the north-western hinterland of Crotona, between the hills of the *Marchesato* and the eastern foothills of the *Sila* plateau, forms a karst area belonging to the *Geosito dell'Alto Crotonese*. The territory is rich in hypogea, caves, sinkholes, springs and mineral surface outcrops. It represents one of the most important underground heritages of present-day Calabria. Among the most important phenomena are the ravines due to water's erosive action, the thermal lakes, the mineral outcrops of rock salt, gypsum, sulphur, iron, copper, silver and lead, and numerous mineral water springs, including saline springs.⁶⁷ Moreover,

62 Trinchera (1865) 384–385, No. CCLXXIX.

63 *Chron. Pasch.* 622. 18.

64 *Zonar. Ep. Hist.* 18. 9. 6.

65 *An. Comn. Alex.* 1. 5. 2. 4.

66 See De Fraja (2001) 105–128; Ead. (2006) 201–282; Lopez (2004) 25–58; Lopez, Aversa (2010).

67 See Ogniben (1955); Roda (1964) 319–366; Id. (1965) 159–285; Cecchi, Martina (1976); Benicini, Ciracò (1982–1983) 1189–1195; Gisotti (1992); Giannandrea (1992–1993); Moretti (1993); Larocca, Guarnieri et al. (1994); De Paola, Dimuccio, Giannandrea (1994); Carrozzini, De



FIGURE 16 Topographical overview of the area where the *Calabro Maria Monastery (Altilia di Santa Severina, Kr)* stood, dominating the recessed valleys (half-graben) of the Neto and Lese rivers, the *Timpa del Salto* gorge and the *Saline di Neto* mines
PHOTO GOOGLE MAP 2020

the badlands of the *Marchesato di Crotona* begin with the land of Altilia, in a geo-environmental setting which has as the most distinctive and imposing aspect the water-carved soil. The main highlight, at the foot of the Monastery of *Calabro Maria*, is the gorge of *Timpa del Salto*, the ‘gorge’ par excellence (Lat. *saltus* < *salio*, Gr. ἄλλομαι, aor. Hom. ἄλτο, from the IE root **sel-* ‘to jump’ = IEW 899). It includes the *Saline di Neto* mines, a series of rock salt quarries documented since the 11th century C.E. The presence of saline outcrops is characteristic of the entire area, as can also be deduced from the toponyms *Alimati*, *Armirò* and *vallonem Salsum* (yr. 1439). The water that flows down from the hill of the village of Altilia into the valley below is mostly salty. It also once formed a spring near the river Neto, which is now buried. These phenomena

Paola, Dimuccio (1995) 189–199; Moretti, Guerra (1997); Levato (2003) 55–71; Italiano, Bonfanti, Pizzino, Quattrocchi (2010) 540–554; Lopez (2019b) 23.

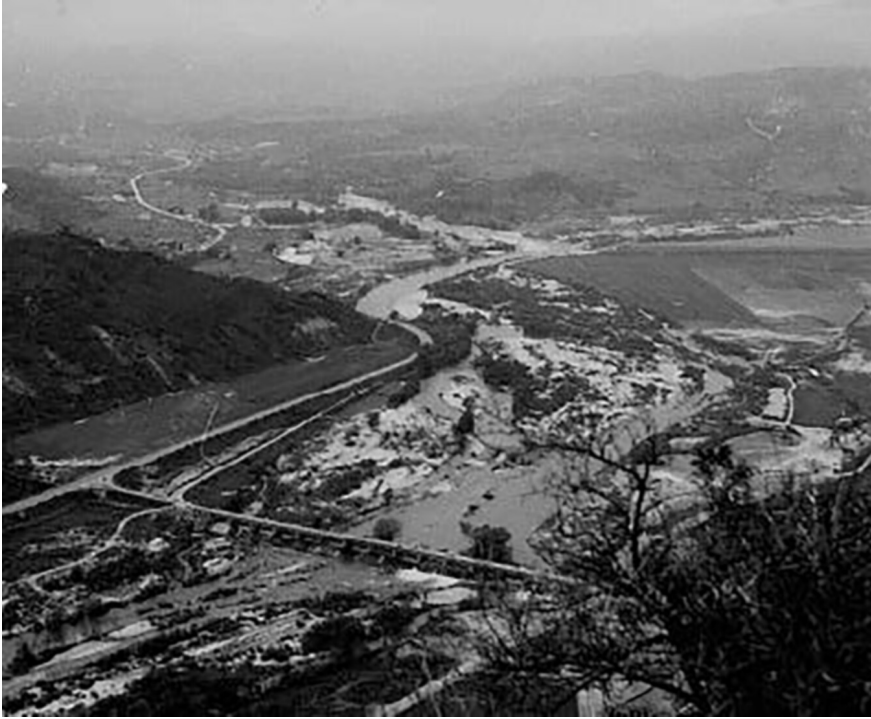


FIGURE 17 The mines of Saline di Neto at the confluence of the Neto and Lese rivers, just below the Monastery of *Calabro Maria*

PHOTO BY ANDREA PESAVENTO, FROM TIMPA DEL SALTO GORGE

often cause landslides and washouts.⁶⁸ In this context, the appellative *καλαυρομαρίας* would be derived as *χαλαυρομαρίας* with the passage from /κ/ to /χ/ from the restituted term **χαλαβρός* (< Ngr. *χάλαρον*, Cypr. *χαλάβρα*), ‘ruin, landslide’, adding the genitive form of *Μαρία*. The overall sense would then be ‘Virgin Mary of the Landslides’.⁶⁹ However, the notion of ‘ruin, landslide’ belongs to the possible alluvial consequences, as the Thracian *κατάρρυτον τόπον* of *Καλαβρίας*

68 Brandon Albini (1957) 149–150; Lopez (2004); Cuteri (2015). Several studies on the history of the mines of Saline di Neto and the area of the village of Altília can be found on the web portal edited by Andrea Pesavento and Giuseppe Rende (<http://www.archivistoricocrotona.it/>).

69 Caracausi (1990) 253–254; Trumper (2014) 8–9 and n. 26–27. Here the term **χαλαβρός* combines with the Ngr. *χάλαβρα* ‘collapsed cliff’, Med. Gr. *χάλαβρο*, Ngr. also *χάλαυρο* ‘rocks fallen from the mountain’ and *χάλαρον* ‘ruin, landslide’. The latter word recalls the Anc. Gr. *χαλαρός* ‘loose, loose, relaxed’, and thus the verb *χαλάω*, hence also the Cypr. *χαλάβρα*, *χαλαύραρα* ‘landslide’.

suggests.⁷⁰ Instead, Zonaras and, reasonably enough, the Byzantine culture of his time rather emphasised the meaning of the toponymic base Καλαβρ- as ‘Good Springs’ or ‘Good Fountains’. This expression indicated the widespread presence of abundant and beneficial water sources in the area (χωρίον).⁷¹ There were also saline springs around the Thracian fortress, as shown by the proximity of the river ‘Αλμυρόν (cf. ἀλμυρίζω = to be salty; Lat. *Salsum flumen*),⁷² in a landscape of gorges, hills and recessed valleys, as for the *Calabro Maria* Monastery in the West.⁷³

During the 11th and 12th centuries C.E., the term Καλαβρών appears, as a toponym concerning the present-day Calabria, in the *Brebion* of the Reggio Calabria metropolis, a document dated around 1050 C.E. Lines Nos. 174–175 refer to a landholding which extended from the river Allaro to the so-called ‘acroterion’ of the country τῶν Καλαβρ[ῶν]. This place, sometimes associated with the quite distant monastery of Calabro Maria in the diocese of Santa Severina, cannot be identified with certainty.⁷⁴ Because the Allaro river flows around the towns of Fabrizia and Caulonia, the locality, on the opposite but neighbouring side of the Serre mountains, could correspond to the *Casale di Calabrò* near the medieval town of Mileto (“*Casale Calabro in pertinis Mileti*” [yr. 1216]). Two expressions refer to this site. The first, χωρίον Καλαβρών, is mentioned in a privilege of the Norman count Rogerius I in favour of the Bishopric of Mileto in October 1086. The second concerns the so-called *Calabri* landholding, which was part of the possessions of the S. Maria de Arsafia Church in the valley of the river Stilaro, and which was confirmed by count Rogerius I to Bruno of Cologne in August 1094.⁷⁵ Like Kalabrye in Thrace,⁷⁶ the hamlet of *Calabrò* near Mileto, on the western side of the Mesima river’s *Graben*, belongs to a rich in ditches and streams area crossed by faults, including historical springs and an abundance of underground strata.⁷⁷

If we move from Calabria to the region of Lucania, which has always belonged to the western territories of the Byzantine Empire, an important point is the monastery of Cava near Salerno. A document from 1053, preserved in the

70 *Chron. Pasch.* 622. 18: “Καλαυρία (= Καλαβρία).”

71 *Zonar. Ep. Hist.* 18. 9. 6.

72 *Nic. Br. Hist.* 4. 5. See Schrevelius (1670) 42; Sophocles (1900) 119; LSJ (1996) 72.

73 *Ann. Com. Alex.* 1. 5. 3–4; *Nic. Br. Hist.* 4. 7. 15. On the area of the Thracian Kalabrye, cf. Tomaschek (1886) 331; Gautier (1975) 266 n. 2; Külzer (2008) 389; Id. (2010) 438.

74 *Brebion*, Nos. 174–175: “ἃ [πὸ τῶν] ποταμῶν τῶν Ἰλαρον μέγχι[ι]τ[οῦ] ἀκροτ[η]ρίου τ[οῦ] χωρί[ου] τῶν Καλαβρ[ῶν].” Cf. Guillou (1974). See Trumper (2014) 8–9.

75 *Trinchera* (1865) 79–80; 254–255; *Becker* (2013) 64–73 doc. 10; 172–177 doc. 42.

76 *Zonar. Ep. Hist.* 18. 9. 6; *Ann. Com. Alex.* 1. 5. 3–4; *Nic. Br. Hist.* 4. 7. 15.

77 De Rosa, Dominici, Sonnino (2001) 81–91.

Syllabus of Trinchera,⁷⁸ testifies that the Turmarca Lucas donated to the Abbey of Cava and the Abbot Leontius his landed property in κάλαυρας, the present-day village of Càlvera, in the province of Potenza. This land was just outside the village of Cersosimo, on the other side of the river Sinni, near the country of Carbone.⁷⁹ The Monasteries of Sant'Elia and Sant'Anastasio stood in this area. The land has several widespread phenomena of soil erosion, including furrows, streams, gullies, and many springs, also sulphurous, such as today in Vallina, a hamlet of Càlvera. Several place names appear in the Badia documents, also with the usual graphic alternation β/υ: καλαβράς (yr. 1102; 1131), κάλαβρας/κάλαβραν (yr. 1135), κάλαυρας (yr. 1053), Καλάβραν (yr. 1168), and καλαβράς (yr. 1169).⁸⁰

The notion of 'Good Springs' or 'Good Fountains' referred by Zonaras to the Thracian toponym Καλαβρύη is still preserved in Greece for many lands.⁸¹ The case of Kalavrita or Kalabrita in the north-central Peloponnese (Achaia) is historically the most notable. Its modern name Kali Vrissi meant 'Good Fountain' in the 19th century C.E. The place originated in the Middle Ages. In the *Partitio Romaniae* of 1204, the name 'Kalobrita' appears for the first time. On the other hand, the *Chronicle of the Morea* (14th century C.E.) records the existence of a barony called τὰ Καλάβρυτα, founded around 1209 C.E. under the aegis of the Franks. The territory includes the gorges of the river Vouraikos (Βουραϊκός, according to Pausanias⁸²) or, more probably, of the ποταμὸς Ἐρασίνος quoted by Strabo.⁸³ This watercourse corresponds to the present-day torrent Kalavryta, which streams in a karstic environment. There are numerous springs and underground aquifers, among which those of the nearby village of Loussi stand out for their flow.⁸⁴

78 Trinchera (1865) 49–51 No. XL.

79 Guillou (1976) 216–217; Civale (2010–2011) 153–154; Sogliani (2015).

80 Caracausi (1990), 253. Cf. Trinchera (1865) 49–51; Robinson (1928–1930) XI. 271–348; XV. 121–275; XIX. 185–189; Houben (1986), n. 15; Fonseca, Lerra (1996).

81 Zonar. *Ep. Hist.* 18. 9. 6.

82 Paus. *Graec. Descr.* 7. 25. 10.

83 Strab. 8. 6. 8.

84 Leake (1830) III. 179: "the ravine of the river of Kalávryta"; Wyse (1865) 182–183: "the modern Kalavryta being expressive of the abundance of water, principally springs"; Finlay (2014 [1877]) III. 47–48 n. 3; Great Britain, Naval Intelligence Division (1944) II. 356: "Kalávryta, 'good springs'"; Carile (1965) 219–247; Gregory (1991) II. 1092; Facaros, Theodorou (2004) 240–241; Id. (2008) 190. For identification with the Bouraikos River, see Oberhammer (1897) III. 1. col. 1060, s.v. Buräikos; Frazer (1898) IV. 170; Hitzig, Blümner (1898) II. 2. 837–838. On the Erasinios River, cf. Baladié (1980) 82. For the karst phenomena, see Koutsis, Stournaras (2011).

Kalabria, for the Scholars of Ancient History

1 An Indigenous or Greek Choronym for Messapia

The choronym Calabria, associated with the ancient Messapia and the Salentine Peninsula (App. #11),¹ has been understood in several ways by modern scholars.² According to Strabo (App. #26),³ Karl Julius Beloch (1912) considered the term Καλαβροί as the indigenous name to designate those whom the Greeks of Tarentum called Μεσσάπιοι in their language.⁴ More generally, this ethnonym would arise either, as an Ancient Greek word, from the Boeotian hero Μεσσάπου⁵ or, on the other hand, from a pre-Hellenic substratum term, **Méta-pa*, meaning ‘in the middle of the water’ or ‘in the middle of two seas’.⁶ However, the Messapians were neither of Italic nor Hellenic origin. They most likely

1 Hsch. 380. 1, fr. 20.

2 Cf. Nenci (1982) 1–6 e n. 2; Compatangelo-Soussignan (1994) 61–87.

3 Strab. 6. 3. 1–5.

4 Beloch (1912) I². 1. 234. n. 3: “Den Messapiern werden wir jedenfalls die Ansiedlung bei Tarent nicht zuteilen dürfen, denn sie hatten wohl einen griechischen Namen (unten 2. Abt. § 26), aber nur im Munde der griechischen Ansiedler an ihren Küsten; sie selbst waren, wie ihre Inschriften zeigen, ein ungriechisches Volk, und zwar, nach dem einstimmigen Zeugnis der alten Historiker (schon Herod. IV 99) ein Zweig der Iapyger, der sich in seiner eigenen Sprache Kalabrer und in seinem südlichsten Teil Salentiner nannte. Was Neuere dagegen vorgebracht haben, verdient keine Widerlegung, für die hier auch nicht die richtige Stelle wäre. Die Einwanderung der Iapyger nach Italien aber, auch wenn sie über das adriatische Meer erfolgt sein sollte, was keineswegs feststeht, muß in eine Zeit gehören, die dem Ende der mykenischen Periode weit voraus liegt”. Capovilla (1961: 174; Id. 1964: 46), taking up Beloch’s thesis, considers the *Kalabroí* to be an ethnic group from the Illyrian area that settled in the territory occupied by the Messapians: the ethnonym would belong to the totemic names.

5 Strab. 9. 2. 13. See Lombardo (1991) 43–44 and n. 11; Id. (2000) 48–49. Cf. De Sanctis (1956) I. 160–162; Nenci (1978) 47; Pagliara (1983) 70; De Juliis (1985) 145–188; Compatangelo (1989) 31; Mele (1991) 237–260. The Byzantine rhetorician Johannes Lidus, who lived under Justinian (6th century C.E.), still holds in *De Mensibus* (I. 6. 1.) that “Μεσσαπία ἢ Καλαβρία, ἀπὸ Μεσσάπου”. See Wunsch (1898); Börtzler (1921) 364–379.

6 Ebel (1857) 6. 416–418; Kretschmer (1925) 93; Id. (1943) 162; Ciaceri (1928) I. 55–30; Mazzarino (1939) 137–167; Krahe (1955) 14–15; Mayer (1957) I, 5.1–53; 229–230; Id. (1959) II. 7–9; 79; Pokorný (1959) I. 702; De Simone (1974) 257; Id. (1989) 651–658; Guglielmino (1983) 319–357; Stanko (1987) 23–30; Lombardo (1991) 44 and n. 12; Urbanova (2004) 103–104; Blažek (2005) 28; Loporcaro (2021) 29; 46 n. 7.

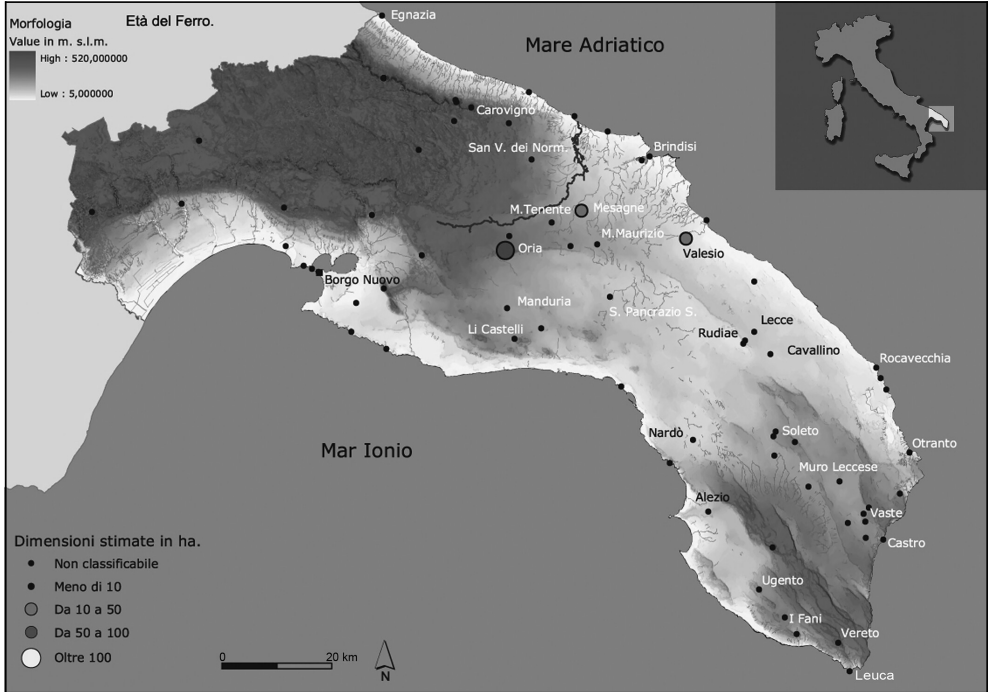


FIGURE 18 The settlements in southern Apulia, 9th–7th centuries B.C.E. (Web-GIS of the settlements, Computer Science Laboratory for Archaeology, the University of Salento, processed by B. Pecere)

MASTRONUZZI 2017: FIG. 1

came from Illyria and Epirus (Montenegro and central/ northern Albania), as the study of their inscriptions, onomastics, funerary rites, and pottery suggests.⁷

In this context, *Μεσσαπία* would turn out to be a Greek transformation of an older Thracian-Illyrian term, **Metapia*, while *Ἀπουλία* would turn out to be a variant of Iapidia due to the reduction of Italic pronunciation during the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.E..⁸ The hypothesis focuses on the correspondence between *Ἰάπυγες* and *Ἰάπυδες* or *Ἰάποδες*, the Balkan tribe which formerly settled on Mount Nevoso, along the Una River and the coastal strip of mod-

7 Cf. Mommsen (1850) 85–90; Id. (1988) 1. 9–11; Helbig (1876) 257–290; Beloch (1912) 1². 1. 234. n. 3; Capovilla (1961) 157–210; Elia (1972) 29–38; Daquino (2018 [1991]) 46–99; D’Andria, Lombardo (2000) 5; Lombardo (2000) 48–49; Colizzi (2003) 9–38; Marchesini (2009); Matzinger (2015) 57–66; Haarmann (2022), 205–206.

8 Nissen (1883) 539–543; Ribezzo (1907); De Juliis (1988) 14–15; Sirago (1993) 15–17; Ruotolo (2010) 11; Lozzi Gallo (2012) 11–12.

ern Croatia.⁹ This interpretation shapes in particular the studies of Robert G. Latham (1859: II, 34). Following Strabo (App. #26) on the existence of the Γαλάβριοι tribe in Dardania (present-day Kosovo), he believes that the Κάλαβροι/ Ἰάπυγες were the same Γαλάβριοι/ Ἰάπυδες of the Adriatic coast, who migrated from the Balkan peninsula to Italy.¹⁰ On the other hand, to complete the map of different ethnic relations, we cannot exclude that the Iapygians and the Messapians preserved and assimilated a complex cultural heritage over time. Indeed, the first contact in Apulia during the Bronze Age (16th–13th centuries B.C.E.) between the local sub-Apennine civilisation and the Aegean, Minoan, and Mycenaean areas was remarkable.¹¹ This item brings us back to Herodotus' tale in the 5th century B.C.E. (App. #5).¹² The historian, who generally considers the Salentine area a sub-peninsula of Iapygia (App. #3 and 4),¹³ remarks that the town of Ὑρίης (i.e. Lat. *Oria*), between Brundisium and Tarentum, or *Veretum* on the coast near the modern Cape S. Maria di Leuca (Ὀυεργητόν),¹⁴ was founded by a group of Cretan castaways returning from Sicily after the death of Minos, three generations before the Trojan War (13th century B.C.E.). Since then, far from their homeland, they have taken the name 'Messapians of Iapygia', and have gone from being islanders to dwellers on the mainland. From Hyria, they made settlements in other towns, which long time later, in the period after the Greek colonisation, the Tarentini, together with the Rhegini, tried unsuccessfully to destroy (App. #5).¹⁵ Despite the conflicting verdict on the authenticity of Herodotus' anti-Tarentine restitution, archaeological investigations have confirmed that the Salentine peninsula, Crete and the Aegean area probably had direct relations since the Bronze Age. These events must have taken place before the spread of the Iapygian civilisation around the 11th century B.C.E., when the power of the Mycenaeans in the Mediterranean region was in crisis. This is evidenced by the fact that the *Odyssey* does not mention any peoples other than the Sicilians (Σικελοί) in the Italic area above Ithaca and Epirus.¹⁶ On the whole, these were not only trade relations along routes leading to the West, but also the most developed form of 'com-

9 Polyb. 34. 6; Strab. 4. 6; 7. 5; St. Byz. 322. See Helbig (1876) 270–273; Mayer (1957) I. 160–165; Restelli (1962) 382–391.

10 Strab. 7. 5. 7.

11 Van Compernelle (1988) 79–127.

12 Htd. 7. 170.

13 Hdt. 3. 138; 4. 99.

14 Strab. 6. 3. 6.

15 Htd. 7. 170.

16 *Od.* 20. 383.



FIGURE 19 Reconstruction of an 8th-century B.C.E. Iapygian hut at San Vito Dei Normanni (Brindisi). Diffuse Museum 'Castello di Alceste'
GIARDINO, MEO 2016: 53

munity colony', which presupposed several Aegean immigrants integrated into the native society, even if not in a dominant role.¹⁷ Similarly, the comparative study between the known names of the Salentine Peninsula and the Linear B texts has revealed interesting correspondences and formal affinities.¹⁸ Herodotus' account, referring to the contact between the Salento peninsula and the Cretans, could thus be understood in different ways. On the one hand, it would illustrate the late attempt of the Messapians of Iapygia to ennoble their origins against the Greeks of Tarentum, their enemies. On the other hand, it would reveal the influential legacy of the ancient and intense presence of the Mycenaeans in Apulia, which took place mainly in the 13th century B.C.E. (App. #5).¹⁹ Overall, we can assume that the Aegean presence in Italy brought such

17 Ribezzo, Momigliano (1934); Vagnetti (1982) 29; Ead. (1985), 825–832; Ead. (2003), 53–61; Van Compernelle (1988) 79–127; Bettelli (2002) 14; Pagliara (2005) 633; Cazzella (2009) 159–169; Guglielmino (2009) 481–505; Id. (2013); Cazzella, Recchia (2010) 27–40.

18 Capovilla (1961) 157–210.

19 Hdt. 7. 170. See Van Compernelle (1988) 79–127.

impulses of progress as to determine a real “svolta di civiltà” in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C.E..²⁰

Beloch's hypothesis was refuted by Santo Mazarino (1939), who did not consider Καλαβροί to be an indigenous ethnic name but a Greek one, namely a designation of the god Poséidon. As Μεσσάπιοι, dwelling ‘between two seas’, recalls the Poséidon Μεσσάπιος, or ‘in the middle of the sea’, who was worshipped in Boeotia, as the myth of Melanippe asserts,²¹ likewise, it stands to reason that Καλαβροί reminds the Poséidon Κάλαυρος, who was celebrated on the island of Καλαύρια near Troizen in the Saronic Gulf in the northeastern Peloponnese.²² In Hellenic mythology, Κάλαυρος was the son of Poséidon or Zeus and the brother of Tainaros and Geraistos. The cult of the god would have given the name to the small island of Καλαύρεια associated with Crete.²³ The name Messapios was even more widespread in Greece. In Boeotia and Macedonia, there was a mountain called Μεσσάπιον,²⁴ while in Laconia there was a settlement named Μεσσαπέαι: here the people worshipped Ζεύς Μεσσαπέυς.²⁵ Instead, Thucydides seems to know some Μεσσαπίους who lived in the Greek region of Locris at the time of the Peloponnesian War.²⁶ A late tradition credits the leader Μεσσάπιος, originally associated with the mountain on the Boeotian coast off Euboea near Anthedon, with giving the name to Messapia after he had moved to Iapygia for unspecified reasons.²⁷ Considering the frequency of the name Μεσσάπιοι in Greece, the idea arose that it had an essentially Hellenic

20 Pallottino (1984) 59–60.

21 Diod. 19. 53; Strab. 6. 1. 15; Paus. 9. 1; Igin. 186.

22 Strab. 8. 6. 14; Apoll. Rhod. 3. 1243. See Mazzarino (1939) 137–167: “Il Beloch, che vide giusto nella spiegazione del nome Messapioi, considerò poi Kalabroi come il nome indigeno dei Messapi: ma il nome indigeno è già Japigi, quindi Kalabroi può anche essere un appellativo. A me sembra che questo nome sia, invece, un nome greco: e come ‘Messapioi’ ci ricorda il ‘Poseidon Messapios’ [...], così Kalabroi ci ricorda Poseidon Kalauros. Il passaggio da υ in β non mi sembra improbabile; comunque, questa ipotesi è più una proposta che una soluzione” (148). The existence of a Poseidon Messapios is hypothetically derived from the myth of Melanippides, who intermarried with Metabo-Messapo and Poseidon. The cult of ‘Poseidon in the middle of the sea’, husband of the ‘black sea’ Melanippides, was associated with the Messapian mountain in Boeotia. Poseidon Mesopontios was worshipped on Lesbos (Callim. *Ait.* fr. 16). Cf. Gruppe (1906); Giannelli (1924) 86–95; Schumacher (1993) 61. Contra Mayer (1931); Krahe (1955) 14–15.

23 Ael. Herod. *De prosod.* 201; 278; St. Byz. 348.

24 Paus. 9. 22. 5; Strab. 9. 2. 13; Aristot. *Hist. anim.* 9. 48.

25 Theop. *FGrHist* 115 F 245 in St. Byz. s.v. Μεσσαπέαι; Paus. 3. 20. 3.

26 Thuc. 3. 101. See De Simone (1991); Aigner Foresti (2004) 79–80. On the cult of Zeus Messapeus in Laconia, cf. Catling, Shipley (1989) 187–200.

27 Strab. 9. 2. 13.



FIGURE 20 The archaeological area of Egnatia. Messapian walls, large blocks, more or less square, superimposed, without concrete, as in Mycenae
DAQUINO 2018 [1991]: 55; 76

origin. This hypothesis is widely accepted by modern historians.²⁸ Particularly because of the initial ethnic community with the Iapygians, who came from Illyria, the Messapians were nevertheless seen as more closely connected with Epirus and as such projected more towards the Greek world. In this context, the parallelism with the population of the Chones seems remarkable. They inhabited the area from Croton to Siritides in Italy²⁹ and the Epirotic region of Chaonia with the same name.³⁰

2 An Insulting Denomination, Created by Tarentini

According to Giuseppe Nenci (1982; Id. 1978), the term *Καλαβρία* is a denomination used by the Greeks of Tarentum between the 6th–5th century B.C.E. and attributed to the Messapian territory with denigrating intent. Indeed, it is based on the lemma *κόλαβρος* or *κάλαβρος*, ‘little pig’ (*κόλαβρον τὸ χοιρίδιον*³¹), with

28 Cf. Lombardo (1991) 43–44 and n. 11; Id. (2000) 48–49.

29 Strab. 6. 4.

30 Plin. 4. 1. 2. See Pais (1892) 19; Helbig (1876) 257–290; Daquino (2018 [1991]) 72–75.

31 Hsch. κ 3307. 1.

which *καλάβροψ*, the shepherd's crook is associated.³² The gloss *καλαβρός: βάρβαρος* and the verb *κολαβρίζεσθαι* would thus have developed over time.³³ The latter, meaning 'to be treated like a Calabrian', probably overlapped with 'to be mistreated or treated like a slave'.³⁴ Calling someone *χοιρίδιον* or *σῶς* was a way of despising them in the Archaic period. The insult often concerned populations who were devoted to pastoralism, like the Boeotians.³⁵ Thus, Calabria sometimes appeared in the lore of the Greeks as a land infested by malice (*καλαβρεῖ· τρυφᾶ*).³⁶ Therefore, according to the Tarentine colonisers, the *Καλαβροί* would have had the role of an elected slave people and would have been despised as *χοιρίδια* (6th–5th century B.C.E.). Still later, in accordance with the Greek translation of Job's Lament (Alexandria, 3rd–2nd century B.C.E.), they would have had, just as the biblical verses sound, the misfortune of the children of the fool "che van privi di soccorso, sono calpestate alla porta, né c'è chi li difenda". Thus, both *Καλαβροί* and *Καλαβρία* would have emerged from this pejorative folk brand, which then gradually solidified.³⁷

32 Suda κ 189. 1. See Nenci (1982), 1 and n. 2: "Premesso che va una volta per sempre sgombrato il terreno circa il rapporto *Καλαβρία-Καλαύρια*, perché si tratta di un rapporto inesistente, salvo che nella tradizione manoscritta greca che scambia ovviamente la ν con la β e che ancora più fantasioso è il rapporto fra i *Καλαβροί* e i *Γαλάβριοι* dell'Iliria (Strabo, 7, 3, 2 e 7, 5, 7), credo che un criterio per comprendere l'origine e il significato di *Καλαβρία* sia quello della collocazione del termine nel quadro storico che può averlo generato"; "L'oscillazione *καλ-καλ* è dovuta alla pronunzia velarizzata del λ ". Contra Mazzarino (1939); Zancani Montuoro (1974).

33 Hsch. κ 382. 1.

34 Cf. Septuag. *Job*. 5. 4: "πόρρω γένοιτο οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ σωτηρίας, κολαβρισθεῖσαν δὲ ἐπὶ θύραις ἡσσόνων, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἐξαιρούμενος". See also the comment of Suid. κ 1925.1: "Κολαβρισθείη: χλευασθείη, ἐκτιναχθείη, ἀτιμασθείη. κόλαβρος γὰρ ὁ μικρὸς χοῖρος, ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐθενὸς λόγου ἄξιος νομισθείη".

35 Strab. 7. 7. 1.

36 Hsch. κ 418. 1. Nenci (1982), 5 and n. 21; Id. (1983), 1029: "Il racconto di Clearco sulla distruzione di Carbina da parte dei Tarentini (Athen., XII, 522D–E), gli abitanti cioè di quella città che per essere stata in Iapigia (e tale era Taranto per Antioco, non più tardi) fu iapiggizzata e rammollita per eccellenza (molle Tarentum ...), è un chiaro esempio di come una fonte greca non lontana da determinati eventi, come Antioco Siracusano così ricco fra l'altro di notizie su Taranto e la sua origine, potesse già vedere in chiave di *tryphe* certe diversità culturali e preconizzarne certi esiti".

37 Nenci (1982) 5.



FIGURE 21 Attic or Italiote fragment of a map from Soletto. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. The illustration is from Siciliano (2013) 1254 fig. 1. The so-called 'Map of Soletto' is a possibly ancient map depicting the Salento peninsula. The tiny fragment (dimensions max. 5.9×2.8 cm.) belongs to the rim of a black painted vase, apparently of Attic production. It was found on 21 August 2003 in Soletto (province of Lecce, Italy) during the archaeological excavations in the Fontanella Fund directed by Th. Van Compernelle. A series of relatively complex graphic signs can be seen on the fragment, including several alphabetical sequences in which the toponyms are most clearly visible in abbreviated form, as well as the outlines of what appears to be a graphic representation of the southern part of the Salento peninsula. We find two Greek toponyms (ΗΥΔΡ/ Hydr and ΤΑΡΑΣ/ Taras) and eleven indigenous ones (ΒΑΛ/ Bal, ΒΑΣ/ Bas, ΓΡΑΧΑ/ Graxa, ΛΙΚ/ Lik, ΛΙΟΣ/ Lios, ΜΙΟΣ/ Mios, ΝΑΡ/ Nar, ΟΙΑΝ/ Ozan, ΣΟΛ (Sol), ΣΤΥ/ Sty, ΦΙΑ/ Phil). The points associated with the toponyms are either on the coast or inland. The sign SOL occupies the central position and corresponds to the place of discovery (mentioned only by Plinius 3.101), giving the image of a world whose centre would be Soletto. Of the other internal toponyms, three are near the coast of Taras, and three are near the opposite shore. The 'Map of Soletto' is the oldest geographical map of Classical antiquity. It implies a reconsideration of the beginnings of ancient cartography and regional history, especially the relations between the Iapygian Messapians and the Greeks. The map testifies to the depth of interaction between these cultures in the 5th century B.C.E. The debate continues. Pending further analysis, we suspend judgment. See Van Compernelle (2005) 19–31; D'Andria (2011) 55–64; Siciliano (2013) 1253–1288; Lombardo (2015b) 187–198 SICILIANO (2013) 1254 FIG. 1



FIGURE 22 The Zeus of Ugento from the 5th century B.C.E.
NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF TARANTO (DAQUINO 2018
[1991]: 45)

3 An Indigenous Denomination Transformed into an Insult

Rita Compatangelo-Soussignan (1989; Ead. 1994) has recently revised the hypothesis of Nenci (1982; Id. 1978). The Tarentines, in a context of conflict with the Messapians from the 6th–5th centuries B.C.E., could certainly associate Καλαβροί and Καλαβρία with the ‘little pig’ (κόλαβρος) in a pejorative sense.³⁸ In the Hellenistic period, the verb κολαβρίζεσθαι would then have appeared to indicate submissive behaviour.³⁹ It would be somewhat surprising, however, that the indigenous population (οἱ δ’ ἐπιχώριοι) of the Salento peninsula, which was never subjugated by the Tarentines, accepted a designation for themselves that was originally intended to emphasise the inferior status of the barbarian to the Greek man. An equally remarkable point adds to this consideration. Strabo’s decision (App. #23)⁴⁰ in the Augustan period to valorise Italic components by focusing on voices of different origins and with recognised negative meanings, rather than epichoric ethnonyms, would be contradictory. The same applies to the definition of the *Secunda Regio* as *Hirpinos*, *Calabriam*, *Apuliam*, and *Salentinos*⁴¹ in the Augustan reform of ancient Italy and, above all, to the tendency of Latin writers to use a single choronym for the Salentine Peninsula, namely *Calabria*.⁴² It is, therefore, more probable that the ethnonym Καλαβροί, which like Μεσάπιοι has an indigenous and non-Greek origin,⁴³ was twisted into a pejorative sense by some Hellenic groups, especially from Tarentum. They thus exploited the formal similarity with the term κόλαβρος, which could easily be used against enemies in certain warlike contexts (for example, during the so-called βάρβαρος πόλεμος). In this sense, we can understand that there were no traditions about the mythical origins of the *Calabri*, considering that the Greeks usually elaborated the legendary tales.⁴⁴

38 Hsch. x 3307. 1.

39 Septuag. *Job* 5. 4.

40 Strab. 6. 3. 1.

41 Plin. 3. 11. 99.

42 Varr. *De Fam. Troian.* fr. 1 P, in Serv. 2. 166; Liv. 42. 48. 7; Tac. Ann. 3. 1. 2.

43 Polyb. 10. 1. 2–4; Strab. 6. 3. 1.

44 See Valente (2018) 102–103. For a summary of the various issues, cf. Aigner Foresti (2004).

The Root **Kar-/ *Kal-* and the Toponymic Appellative *Bria/ Uria*

1 Kalabroí as the ‘Inhabitants of the Rocks’

The etymology of the ethnonym Καλαβροί most widely accepted by glottologists also involves that of the Γαλάβριοι, an Illyrian tribe from Dardania (App. #26).¹ It states that the name, which refers to ancient Messapia (App. #11 and 14)² or Iapygia (App. #3),³ consists of two parts, like that of *Cantābri* in the north of the Iberian Peninsula. Thus, the first part takes up the IE or possibly pre-IE theme **cala/ *gala* ‘stone, rock’ but also ‘rock, fortress’. The second part, corresponding to the morphological identity of *(Cala)brī* and *(Canta)brī*, consists of the stem **bru-/ *blu-* ‘to grow’, which appears as a relic in the Ancient Greek verb βρώω ‘to swell’. The Καλαβροί, who settled in the central-northern and Adriatic district of the Salentine Peninsula while the Sallentini inhabited the marshy plains on the Ionian side,⁴ would in this sense, following the example of the *Cantābri* in Spain, denote the ‘inhabitants of the rocks’. Given the natural environment of the places, it is therefore assumed that the Καλαβροί must have been the inhabitants of the mountainous area of the Salentine Peninsula, which can be identified with the area of the Murge and the Serre Salentine.⁵ The form **cala/gala* is considered a variant of the IE or possibly

1 Strab. 7. 5. 7.

2 Hsch. κ 380. 1. fr. 20; Nicand. ap. Ant. Lib. *Metam.* fr. 31.

3 Hdt. 3. 138.

4 Strab. 6. 3. 1–5.

5 Alessio (1948) 17–18. The scholar also notes: “Da composti tautologici, come Caladunum, oggi Cala, nella Spagna (dunon in celtico significa «fortezza») il significato di questa base è ben determinato. [...] cfr. anche il ligure galabr(i)a «pernice delle Alpi», ricostruibile sulle forme di alcuni dialetti alpini (gialbro ecc.), ed una voce del sostrato passata nel latino calabrix «biancospino, pianta che cresce nei terreni rocciosi», donde it. merid. calavrice, sardo calàrvighe”; Id. (1949) 7–8: “Per la Puglia verrebbe fatto di pensare a quelle caratteristiche costruzioni in pietra, certamente retaggio di antiche popolazioni indigene, conosciute coi nomi di «specchie» e «trulli», monumenti funebri e abitazioni che hanno molti punti di contatto con quelli che, in Sardegna, con misteriosa voce protosarda, ci chiamano tuttora nuraghi”. See also Alessio (1962) 80; Alessio, De Giovanni (1893) 108. Battisti, Alessio (1950–1957) I. 665–670; DT, 114. On the verb βρώω, cf. Alessio (1946b) 50: “radicale egeo βρυ- «crescere» che appare in βρώω «germogliare, pullulare riccamente» («βρώων θαλλός» Soph.), βρώον, «mus-

pre-IE base *kar[r]a (< *kar-/ *kal-), associated with the notions of ‘rock’ and ‘stone’, involved in the formation of several place names. The discrepancy would be caused by fluctuating liquid consonants, with the transformation or attenuation /r/ ~ /l/.⁶ The term Καλαβροί, which is known as a choronym from the 3rd century B.C.E. (App. #11),⁷ appeared to the ancient historians as a non-Greek word. Thus, Polybius counted the Καλαβροί among the foreign ethnic groups (βαρβάρων) of Italy, who lived mainly by pastoralism (App.

-
- chio», βρωώνη, «vitalba». The name Sallentini was reconstructed by Battisti (1933: 267–277; Id. 1942: 369–385), starting from the base *sala, with the hydronymic sense of “corso d’acqua” or “acquitrino”. See also Alessio (1962) 304: “Sal(l)entīnī/Σαλαγντίνοι etn. è indubbiamente un elemento del sostrato, ricollegabile direttamente con la base idronimica medit. *sal- (in *Salernum*, medioev. σαλάνδρα, ecc.) che spiega anche il nome della *Salapia palūs*. Legittimo è il confronto sia con l’illir. *Salluntum* (It. Ant.), sia con l’etnico Σαλαγντιναι della Dacia (LEW. II, p. 466), che presentano formanti anarie”. For *sala, cf. Dybo (2013) 80: “Water-meadows, swamps. PIE *selo/es- ‘water-meadow’: Ind. *sáras*- n. ‘lake, pond, pool’ Mayr. EWA 2, 708; Grk. ἔλος n. ‘feuchte Wiese, sumpfige Niederung, Marschland’, ἑλειος ‘palustris’ Beekes 415”. The association between *Calabri/ Calabria* and the root *kar-/ *kal- in the sense of ‘stone, rock’ has recently been revived by Thornhill (2016) 96–97 and n. 55.
- 6 Alessio (1935) 133–151; Id. (1936) 165–189. Cf. Bertoldi (1931) 161; Ribezzo (1933) 210 n. 1; Battisti (1934) 182. See Perono Cacciafoco (2015b), 37 n. 11: “the stem *kal- is interpreted in this work as a «variant» of *kar produced by a «pseudo-rhotacistic» phenomenon—dating back to remote stages in (proto-)Indo-European—that implies a «change» or a «lenition» of /r/ in /l/. In this context, *kal- seems, therefore, connected with *kar- and it could be defined as a variant from a common remote root (*kar-) possibly at the origins of a family of place names associated among themselves not only through historical phonetics, but also through (diachronic) semantic affinity”; Id. (2008) 13–24. See Pokorny (1959) 523–524; 531–532. Cf. Kranjc (2011) 517: “The same base covers different forms *kal-, *gal-, *kar-, *gar-, also *al-, *ar- after the fall of the first consonant, and even like in Greek *l- or *r-. The same radical can be in the full form *kal- or in the reduced one *kl-. To the mentioned eight forms for the same base *kl-, *gl-, *kr-, *gr- can be added”. Regarding the latter aspect, see Fouché (1938: 266–276), both for the contracted variant of zero degree *kr- *gr, *kl, and for the even more reduced form *al, *ar with a single consonant. See also Rostaing (1950) 138–158; Boisson (1990) 31. For a reasoned list of toponyms based on *kar- and for the general meaning of ‘hard’, see Santano Moreno (2008) 66–69 and n. 28: «La radice *kar(r)- dei testimoni toponomastici e degli appellativi è riconducibile all’indoeuropeo *kar- “duro” (con reduplicazione *karkar*; IEW, 531–532), che presenta continuatori in antico indiano *karkara-*, *karkasa-*; nelle lingue germaniche (con suffisso -t *hardú- <*kar-tú-): gotico *hardus* “duro”, inglese *hart* “id.”, tedesco *hart* “id.”. Il senso “pietra” nelle lingue celtiche: antico irlandese *carrac* “roccia”, moderno *carraig*, irlandese medio *carr* “terra rocciosa, roccia”, *carra* “pietra”, antico gallese *carrecc*, moderno *carreg* “pietra, roccia” <*karrika, *carrog* <*karraka “ruscello”»); «La radice può designare qualsiasi oggetto di natura dura quale “pietra”, “gambero”: antico indiano *karkata-*, latino *cancer* (dissimilazione di *carkro-), greco *καρκίνοι*; “guscio, noce”: greco *καρυσ*, latino *carina*, gallese *ceri* (*cariso-), IEW 531»; Id. (2003) 5–49. For Lat. *cancer*, see De Vaan (2008: 86–87), which, because of its round shape, recalls an original *karkros ‘fence’.
- 7 Hsch. x 380. 1. fr. 20.

#16).⁸ Instead, Strabo (App. #23) explicitly acknowledged the indigenous origin of their ethnonym.⁹ Hesychius' *Lexicon* also contains the gloss Καλαβρός· βάρβαρος, which probably recalls the Polybius' comment (App. #16).¹⁰ On a linguistic level, however, the debate on whether the **kar-/ *kal-* root belongs to the Mediterranean-Aegean substratum is still ongoing.¹¹ Finally to explain the second part of the terms Καλαβρία and Καλαβροί, the stem **bru-/ *blu-* 'to grow' has been associated with the Ancient Greek verb βρύω, 'to swell'. The etymology of this word, possibly related to the Latin noun *frutex* 'shrub', is unclear.¹²

8 Polyb. 10. 4. 2–4.

9 Strab. 6. 3. 1–5.

10 Hsch. κ 382. 1; Polyb. 10. 4. 2–4. See Compatangelo-Soussignan (1994) 70–71 and n. 35; Nenci (1978) 47–50; Id. (1982) 2; Lombardo (2014); Id. (2015a).

11 For a reconstruction of the different points of view, see Santano Moreno (2003) 19–21. The root **karra* for Alessio (1948: 17–18; Id. 1935: 133–151; Id. 1936: 165–189) belongs to a “sostrato mediterraneo”, which Devoto (1940: 37–54) calls “ambiente mediterraneo”, consisting of common names referring to geography, zoology, botany, place names and personal names. Bertoldi (1933: 279–293) and Von Wartburg (1922: 11, 408b) consider the base **carra* as a remnant of the western substratum, judging by its geographical extent, including pre-Celtic. Hubschmid (1953: 93–97; 108–112) refers to the Euro-African substratum. Nouvel (1978: 967–969) considers **kar-/ *gar-* to be of pre-Indo-European, Mediterranean, Neolithic and Near Eastern origin. So also Rohlf's (1977) §71. More recently, the studies of Tovar (1977) point to a root **kar(r)* of pre-Indo-European origin, which was then translated into the phonetic system of the Indo-European; Id. (1982); Villar (1997) 102–103. Cf. Perono Cacciafoco (2015b), 36: “These roots, possibly non-Indo-European, appear as integrated in a clearly Indo-European linguistic (and, therefore, phonetic) system and allow the scholars to think a) that they are, in reality, originally Indo-European or b) that, being pre-Indo-European in their origins, they have been transferred, integrated, re-used, re-functionalized, and assimilated as loanwords (or «loan-roots») by Indo-Europeans (and adapted to the Indo-European phonetic system) in/ into the common Indo-European and, then, perceived and used as the other Indo-European original roots”. Id. (2008) 13–24; Santano Moreno (2003) 33–34: «La raíz **kar(r)*- en sus acepciones de “piedra” y “roble, encina” es perfectamente compatible con una etimología indoeuropea, sin que tengamos que recurrir al concepto de sustrato mediterráneo. La raíz **kar(r)*-, por otra parte, forma parte de esa toponimia europea relativamente homogénea que se conoce con el nombre de hidronimia paleoeuropea o Alteuropäisch como la denominó Krahe. Estos nombres de río están formados a partir de raíces que frecuentemente se encuentran como apelativos en las diferentes lenguas indoeuropeas históricas, ya se relacionen con el agua como **war-* “agua, río”, **pal-* “agua estancada, charco”, **mar-* “laguna, mar”, ya indiquen cualidades o características de las aguas o sus corrientes como **tar-* “fuerte, penetrante”, **albho-* “claro, blanco”, **ais-* “rápido” ... y **kar(r)*-refiriéndose a un río “pedregoso”, cf. galés *carrog* “arroyo». On the issues arising from the use of the terms ‘preindeuropeo’/ ‘mediterraneo’ or ‘indeuropeo’/ ‘paleuropeo’/ ‘illirico’ for Italian prehistory and protohistory, cf. Silvestri (2000) 29–34.

12 Frisk (1954–1972) 274–275; Chantraine (1968–1980) 200; Beekes (2010) 246.

2 The Complexity of the Pre-Hellenic *Kala Toponymic Base

Linguists have observed the complex semantic layering of the toponymic base *kala. Overall, it occurs in ancient Greece and Western contexts and derives from the IE or possibly pre-IE *kar-/ *kal- root.¹³ If we examine historical antiquity, we can trace two *kala paths in the pre-Hellenic period, related but temporally distinct. The first, as a variant of *kar(r)a ‘stone’, with transformation or attenuation /r/ ~ /l/, originally meant ‘splinter, piece, stone block, stone’ (IEW 523–524; 531–532). The second, also meaning ‘rock’, expresses the more specific notion of ‘fissure, crack, bend, inlet, estuary, mine, cave, recessed, open or jagged place’ (IEW 545–546, EIEC 431, LIV 350).¹⁴ In this way, we can hypothesise a pre-IE origin for both terms, with a later adaptation of them to the IE phonetic system in the possible transition between pre-IE and IE, after linguistic contact.¹⁵

The notion of *kala as ‘stone’ in Ancient Greek is preserved in several words: χάλιξ ‘small stone’; κλάρος and χλαρόν ‘small rock’; καλυδίλα ‘row of boulders for crossing a watercourse’; κάκαλα ‘wall of large stones’; κάχληξ and κόχλαξ ‘pebble’. Among the place names, we find Κάλυδνα, the fortress of Thebes, or the name of some small rocky islands in the Aegean.¹⁶ In the West, a number of lexical groups appear a) Celtic *calyo-, *calya, and *calyavo, from which cail, ‘stone’; b) North-West Celtic *gallos, Irl. gal ‘stone’; c) the Southern group *calata, Prov. calada, calado, ‘pavé’; group *calm (Medieval Lat. calmis), ‘stony ground’; d) Alpine group *cala, Fr.-Prov. chalet, ‘alp or mountain gathering place’, and perhaps the Iberian toponym Calagurris; e) group *clappa ‘piece of stone’, Prov. clap ‘stone’; f) Etruscan and Latin group calx ‘stone of passage or boundary’, calculus ‘pebble’, and glārea ‘gravel’; g) Canarian groups with galga ‘stone’ and the toponyms Galga, Galgas, Galguen, Gala, and Galeras.¹⁷

The root *kar- could also be at the origin of the genesis of the IE stem/ proto-form *kartu- that was in its turn at the origin of the Ancient Greek adjective κρατός ‘strong’ and verb καρτώνω (epic form)/ κρατύνω ‘to strengthen’, and of the Gothic hardus ‘hard’ (Lat. arduus). The same root/ proto-form *kartu- and the derived forms share the same basic/ original meaning, ‘hard’. The ‘hardness’ (not necessarily ‘non-breakable hardness’) implied by this “semantic cluster” is understood as a physical property (for example, ‘the hardness of the

13 Deroy (1962) 1–13; Perono Cacciafoco (2008) 13–24; Id. (2015b) 35–50.

14 Deroy (1962) 1–13. Cf. Blasco Ferrer (2010), 28; Borghi (2018) 19.

15 Cf. Perono Cacciafoco (2008) 13–24; Id. (2015b) 35–50.

16 *Il. 2. 677*; Strab. 10. 5. 19; St. Byz. s.v. Κάλυδνα.

17 Deroy (1962) 1–13.

stone').¹⁸ The pre-Hellenic base **kala* in the sense of 'cleft, crack, bend, inlet, estuary, mine, cave, sunken, open or fissured place' is well preserved in Ancient Greek. It is involved in the naming of coastal bays (gulfs, inlets, estuaries), especially in maritime language. Among the most obvious forms are the terms: *καλαρρυγία* and *κάλικον* 'canal, brook'; *γάλας* 'cultivated land' (Cypriot.); *καλαρήνες* 'duct' (Lacon.), *κάλαμος* 'cane'; *γάλη* 'covered gallery, weasel's den'; *καλιά*, 'hut, cavity, shelter, cave, temple', *καλιός*, 'small house, hut, prison' and *καλίβη*, 'hut, tent'; *γαλήνη*, 'quiet corner of the sea within a gulf or an estuary';¹⁹ *γάφυ* *πετρῆεν*, 'rocky cavity' of wild animals;²⁰ *γλαφυρός* 'hollow, hollowed out, deep', an epithet often associated in Homeric poems with a bay, a cave, and an overhang. Among the place names we find the following: *Κάλπη*, a natural port of Bithynia protected by a high rocky promontory;²¹ *Καλαβα(ν)τία*, from the pre-Greek **kalapa*, a seaport of Lycia near Sidyma;²² *Κάλης* but also *Κάλλης* and *Κάλλξ*, a harbour of Bithynia;²³ *Κελένδερεις*, the name of two ports dug into the rocky coast, one near Troizen²⁴ and the other in Cilicia.²⁵ According to Louis Deroy (1962: 7), the choronym *Καλαβρία* could also belong to this last notion of 'inlet' or 'bay' to designate the Gulf of Tarentum, bordered by Cape Iapygia on the Salentine Peninsula.²⁶ In the West, the base **kala* occurs frequently. For example, we find the following terms: *Κάλπη Ταρτησιίδα*²⁷ or *γαλή Ταρτησία*,²⁸ in the river delta of the Guadalquivir on the Iberian Atlantic coast, to denote the estuary near the city of Tartessus; Mount *Κάλπη* in the Gibraltar Strait,²⁹ bordering the Algeciras Bay; the estuary of the river Duero near *Cales civitas*,³⁰ from which Portus Cale and the present name of Portugal derive; the estuary of the river Gironde, associated with the city of Bordeaux, Gr. *Βουρδίγαλα*, Lat. *Burdegala*;³¹ the Gallic region north of the Seine mouth whose inhabitants were called *Calētes* or *Calēti*.³²

18 Perono Cacciafoco (2008) 13–24; Id. (2015b) 35–50; Benveniste (2001 [1976; 1969]) 340–346.

19 *Od.* 5. 452; 10. 94.

20 *Hes. Erg.* 531.

21 *Xen. Anab.* 6. 4.

22 *Stadiasm.* 250.

23 *Thuc.* 4. 75.

24 *Paus.* 2. 32.

25 *Scyl.* 102; *Strab.* 16. 2.

26 *Hsch.* x 380. 1.

27 *Eratost.* ap. *Strab.* 3. 2.

28 *Hsch.* γ 94.

29 *Strab.* 3. 5.

30 *Serv. in Aen.* 7. 728.

31 *Strab.* 4. 2. 1.

32 *Caes. De Bel. Gal.* 2. 4; 7. 75; *Plin.* 19. 8. See Deroy (1959); Id. (1962) 1–13.

3 The Root *Kar-/ *Kal- as 'Stone' and 'Water-Carved Stone'

Traces of the IE or possibly pre-IE root *kar- (> *kar[r]a) 'stone, rock', have been found in numerous European pre-historic hydronyms and toponyms such as *Harund* (Scandinavia); *Carron*, *Cart Water*, *Cary* (Great Britain); *Carad* (Ireland); *Harste* (Germany); *Chiers* (Belgium); *Charentonne*, *Cher*, *Charante* (France); *Cáralis/Cagliari*, *Carusai*, *Carrara* (Italy); *Carranzo*, *Carranza*, *Carisa*, *Carantó* (Spain). In the case of water bodies, *kar would have the meaning of 'stony river' or 'river flowing through a pebbly shore/ gravel bed'. This phenomenon, commonly known as Old European hydronymy, includes names derived from roots expressing a property or characteristic of water streams, such as *tar- 'strong', and *ais- 'rapid'. It essentially covers much of Central and Western Europe.³³ The close relationship between the stem *kar- (> *kar[r]a) and European hydronymy, due to the root's meaning as 'stone' or 'water-carved stone', allows us to connect further the two pre-Hellenic forms *kala examined earlier.³⁴ This aspect becomes even more significant when we consider that *kala is often repeated in the sense of 'crack' to recall the erosion of the stone caused by water. In the maritime language used from Sicily to Sardinia and Catalonia, the base *kala served to designate the creeks and coves, the recesses of the rocky coast where boats could seek shelter from the wind and bad weather (FEW s.v. *cala). The *kar- root, in its variant *kal-, can also be recognised in the Italian word *calanco*, whose etymology is apparently uncertain. Defined as a narrow and deep erosion's furrow with many ramifications, limited by thin ridges, generally devoid of vegetation, it is a phenomenon from pre-

33 Pokorny (1959) 531–532; Krahe (1953); Id. (1962); Tovar (1977); Id. (1982); Villar (1997) 102–127; Ballester (2007) 25–40; Perono Cacciafoco (2008) 13–24; Id. (2015b); the author includes the toponyms Carcare and Cairo Montenotte. Cf. Perono Cacciafoco (2008) 13–24; Id. (2015b), 36: “Francisco Villar [1997: 102–103], completing the Tovar’s discourse, associates with the *kar- root the Indo-European stems *mal- ‘rock, stone’ and *lap-/ *lep- ‘rock, stone’ (Ancient Greek *λεπάς*, Latin *lapis*). It could be possible to hypothesize, for these two roots, a pre-Indo-European origin with a subsequent adaptation of the same to the Indo-European phonetic system in the possible transition between pre-Indo-European and Indo-European, after linguistic contact”. Id. (2015b) 48: “Through the analysis of the presence of the *kar-/ *kal- root in the toponomastics of Europe (as outlined by A.Tovar and F.Villar) and especially Italy it is possible to highlight a toponymic system generated, starting from the original (prehistoric) naming process, by this root. This «family» of place names and oronyms dates back surely to the Neolithic, but it is possible to infer a really ancient and more remote origin, ascribable to the Upper Paleolithic”; Id. (2015a) 132. Cf. Alessio (1935) 133–151; Fouché (1938) 266–276; Hubschmid (1959–1960) 39; Santano Moreno (2003) 21–25; Id. (2008) 62–69; Blasco Ferrer (2011) 459–464; Id. (2011–2012) 206.

34 Deroy (1962) 1–13.

dominantly clay soils, produced by runoff and washing out waters. The word *calanco* commonly derives from the term defined as Mediterranean (i.e. pre-Indo-European) *cala* (< **kal-* ~ **kar-*), merged with the Mediterranean Ligurian suffix *-anco*.³⁵ The geographical area called *Carso* in north-eastern Italy (Eastern Alps) also gets its name from this **kar-* root expressed through a form **carsa* ‘rock, stone’ and corresponding to the same ‘semantic field’. Moreover, the karst rock, similar to the *calanco*’s stone, is involved in a solution process operated by water, that determines specific forms of surface and subterranean erosion. The Latin noun *calx* and the adjective *calcarius* derived from it may also go back to the **kal-* root. The exact origin can be considered for the Ancient Greek χάλιξ, ‘stone that dissolves in water, lime’. Indeed, limestone is a sedimentary rock consisting mainly of calcium carbonate (calcite) with a certain degree of permeability.³⁶ Finally, the notion of ‘cave, mine’ is no less significant: Prov. and Tusc. *calaverna*, Gasc. *calur*, *caluro* ‘underground or rocky refuge’, Lat. *galēna*, ‘argentiferous lead’, hence the Iber. **gala*, ‘mine’. The same applies to soil erosion, using terms meaning ‘channel, trench’, as Prov. *cala*, It. *calla*, or ‘carved path’, Etrus. *callis*, It. *calle*.³⁷

4 The Pre-Hellenic Toponymic Appellative *Bria/ Uria*

The second part of the choronym Καλαβρία (App. #11)³⁸ was considered to derive from the IE or possibly Pre-IE root **bru-*/ **blu-* ‘to grow’, which appears as a relic in the Ancient Greek verb βρύω, ‘to sprout’.³⁹ The Byzantine historian Johannes Zonaras (12th century C.E.) referred to the same notion when he interpreted the Thracian toponym Καλαβρύη (App. #32) in the folk etymological meaning of ‘Good Springs’ (= καλαὶ βρύσεις).⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the issue is more complex and deserves to be explored in depth.⁴¹

The earliest mention of the Thracian fortress of Καλαβρύη is found in the *Chronicon Paschale*, written in the first half of the 7th century C.E. The Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1941, however, retains the form Καλαυρία, a term modified by

35 Devoto, Oli (1975 [1967]) 404–407; Perono Cacciafoco (2008) 13–24.

36 Perono Cacciafoco (2008) 13–24; Bolelli (1995 [1994; 1989]) 74–75; Devoto, Oli (1975 [1967]) 407.

37 Perono Cacciafoco (2008); Deroy (1962) 1–13; Borghi (2018) 19.

38 Hsch. x 380. 1. fr. 20.

39 Alessio (1946b) 50; Id. (1948) 17–18; Id. (1949) 7–8.

40 Zonar. *Epit. Hist.* 18. 9. 6. Dindorf (1871) IV. 228–229; Migne (1887) 289–290.

41 Frisk (1954–1972) 274–275; Chantraine (1968–1980) 200; Beekes (2010) 246.

modern scholars to Καλαβρία.⁴² The context was that of the ‘Nika Revolt’, which broke out against emperor Justinian in January 532 C.E..⁴³ The appellative morpheme βρία occurs, usually as a second element, in several Thracian and Phrygian place names (14 or 17), such as Alai-*bria*, Asti-*bria*, Bolba-*bria*, *Bria*, Kom-*breia*, Limno-*bria*, Mene-*bria*, Mesem-*bria*, Selym-*bria*, and Som-*bria*.⁴⁴ Specifically, the city of Σηλυμβρία,⁴⁵ which corresponds to modern Silivri, stood not far from the present-day area of Yolçati or Fener/Akören villages, which seems to be the probable seat of the χωρίον Καλαβρύην mentioned by Zonaras.⁴⁶ Thus, the Καλαβρία (< Καλαυρία) variant of the *Chronicon Paschale*, since it makes a ‘system’ with the other place names composed in -*bria*, and especially with that of the neighbouring Σηλυμβρία, was probably the original form as well as the oldest known so far. Moreover, the semivocalic pronunciation of /v/ and the aspirated or fricative sound of /β/ phonetically produce the same sound, which is also evident in manuscript tradition.⁴⁷ The Thracian place names *Beroea*, *Brea*, *Briula*, and *Bria* in Phrygia belong to the same semantic field.⁴⁸ Strabo notes that in his time, the noun βρία had the meaning of ‘city’ in the Thracian language.⁴⁹ Hesychius also retains the gloss βριάν· τὴν ἐπ’ ἄγροίς κώμην.⁵⁰ A possible connection could be with ToA *ri*, ToB *riye* ‘city, town’, Skr. *vrti-* ‘garden, fence’, Avest. *var* ‘castle, fortress, tower’, Anc. Bulg. (за)вретн- (*za*)vreti ‘close’, and Etr. *spur* ‘city’.⁵¹

The toponymic morpheme βρία ‘city, country, region’ seems to characterise, alone or as a second element, a wide Anatolian-Balkan linguistic area extending from Phrygia through Thrace to Moesia and Macedonia (Figure 23).⁵² Con-

42 *Chron. Pasch.* 622. 18.

43 Cf. Gautier (1975); Crow, Turner (2009); Whitby (1989).

44 Georgiev (1961); Id. (1966) 125–140; 178; Id. (1977) 13; Id. (1957); Detschew (1957) 86–87; 132; 356–357; Id. (1960); Velkova (1967); Id. (1972); Katičić (1976) 128–153; Duridanov (1976); Polomé (1983) 539–540 and n. 93; Serafimov (2007) 134–154.

45 Strab. 7. 6. 1; St. Byz. 416.

46 Zonar. *Epit. Hist.* 18. 9. 6. Cf. Tomaschek (1886) 331; Külzer (2008) 421–422; Id. (2010) 438.

47 Mazzarino (1939) 148; Allen (1968) 28–29; Zancani Montuoro (1974) 70–80; Lepore, Mele (1983) 882; Horroks (1997) 111–112; 122–123; 165–167; 170–171; Buth (2008a) 4; Id. (2008b) 217–230. Contra Nenci (1982) 1–2.

48 Detschew (1957) 86; Russu (1967), 96; Georgiev (1966) 178.

49 Strab. 7. 6. 1: “τῆς δὲ πόλεως βρίας καλουμένης θρακιστῆ”. Cf. St. Byz. 416: “βρία γὰρ τὴν πόλιν φασὶ Θρακίαις”.

50 Hsch. β 1126. 1.

51 Lidén (1916) 143–145; Frisk (1954–1972) 268; Georgiev (1961); Id. (1966) 178; Id. (1977), 13; Chantraine (1968–1980) 195–196; Serafimov (2007) 134–154; Beekes (2010), 239.

52 See Serafimov (2007) 134–154 and Map. 2. Cf. Velkov (1983) 202: “Generally it is assumed

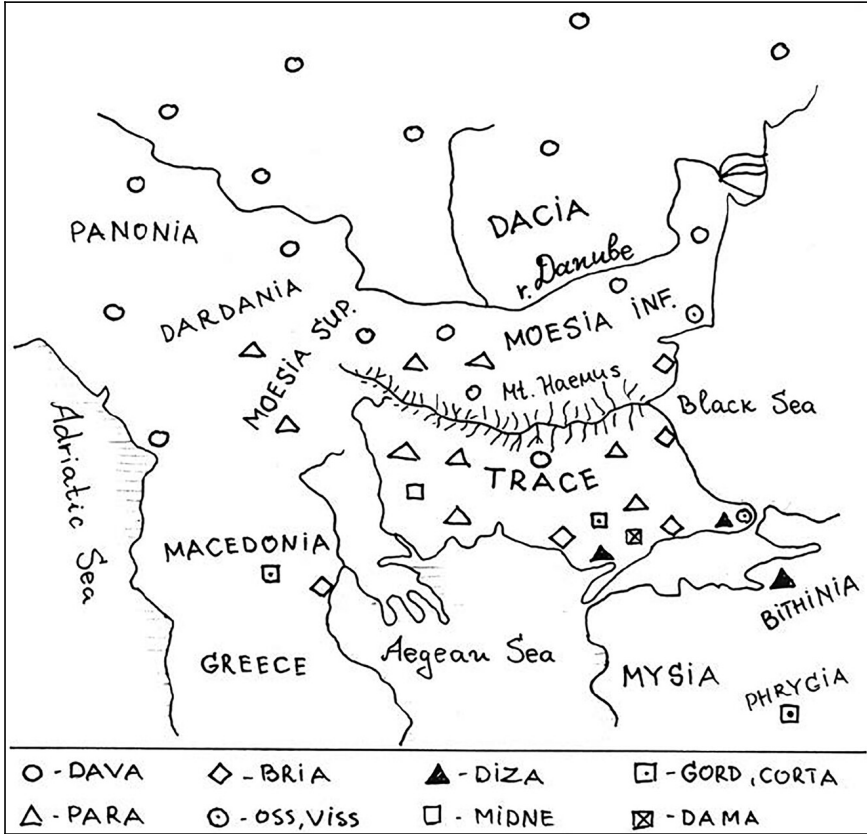


FIGURE 23 The Map of the main Thracian terms indicating 'settlement'
AFTER SERAFIMOV (2007) 134–154 AND MAP. 2

nected to the IE **wriyā* or PIE **wriā* terms, the morpheme has been interpreted in many ways. The first hypothesis associates it with the IE root **wer-* 'to close, cover' (IEW 1152; 1162: *uer-*³),⁵³ but also 'to protect'.⁵⁴ In this sense, it seemed to refer to an 'inhabited territory', a 'city', a 'region', as a place delimited by

that the Thracian *para* corresponds to the Greek *kome*, the Thracian *diza* to *horion*, a fortified settlement. [...] *Bria* and *dava* correspond to the Greek *polis*, denoting a larger Thracian settlement, and later, a Thracian town, although both terms are not identical because their social and economic contents differ, as do the economic and political systems of Hellas and Thrace".

53 Pokorny (1959) 1152, 1162. Cf. Georgiev (1966) 126; Russu (1969) 112; Detschew (1976) 86; Mallory (2007) 85.

54 Greenberg (2002) II. 42.

boundaries and able to provide protection.⁵⁵ On a more structural level, studies, therefore, focused on the PIE word **wriā*, ‘high city’, linked to the IE root **war-* (IEW 1152: *uer*-²) or pre-IE **b-r-*/ **p-r-*, which is widely used in the Mediterranean in the sense of ‘elevation, height’ (degree-zero **br-i-a*), Myc. *ri-jo* ‘promontory’, Gr. *ρίον*.⁵⁶ In this case, the term *βρία* denotes the same kind of high and fortified settlement as in Germanic *-burg* Celtic *-briga*, Ancient Greek *-polis* and Sanskrit *-pur*.⁵⁷ As a variant associated with **b-r-*, the stem **or-*/ **ur-* ~ **ol-*/ **ul-* ‘very large, enormous, high’, with vowel apophony and oscillation between liquid consonants, has attracted as much attention from scholars. The root comprises a branching system of isoglosses extending beyond Thrace to a vast Mediterranean area from Iberia to Asia Minor.⁵⁸ This phenomenon has sometimes led to the hypothesis that there are well-defined ‘UR language groups’.⁵⁹

The notion of ‘land, city, stronghold’ would explain the Iapygian-Messapian form *-yrion*, which marks many toponyms on the Salentine Peninsula, such as Mand-*yrion* or Manduria, Sat-*yrion* or Saturo, but also the town of *Υρίης*, Lat. *Uria* (modern Oria, between Brindisi and Taranto, or Vereto on the coast near Cape S. Maria di Leuca).⁶⁰ The settlement *Υρίης* was founded, as Hero-

55 Serafimov (2007) 138: “I think that BRIA is connected also with Etruscan *spur*—city, *spura*—community and Sanskrit PURA—city, which in my opinion are related to O.Ch.Sl. verbs БРАТИ (*brati*), СЪБЕРАТИ (*saberati*)—to collect, to gather in one place, СЪБОРЪ (*sābor*)—assembly, community, gathering and РОЙ (*roj*) swarm, multitude. The best match offers the Slovenian word *bera*—assembly, gathering. So BRIA had the meaning: community, people united in a great group. It is logical, because exactly the settlements of the type BRIA had the largest communities”.

56 Frisk (1954–1972) 268; Parlangeli (1960) 21–29; Georgiev (1966) 178; Chantraine (1968–1980) 195–196; Van Windekens (1976) 406; Della Volpe, Mallory (1997) 210–211; Mallory, Adams (2006) 221; Mallory (2007) 85. Cf. Paliga (1987) 23–24: “In this respect, the Thracian word has clear affinities with terms and place-names of this type like Provençal and Catalan *brac* ‘a moor’, place-name (hereafter PN) Saint-Martin-de-Brasque, Bresq, Briasq, Braux (<**br-aw-is*), etc. [see Rostaing 1950: 101–103]. The same pre-IE root is witnessed in Thracian *para*, *bara* [...]. The Thracian term *bría* does not seem to be preserved in any modern form, excepting PN Nesembdr in Bulgaria which arguably reflects the old Mesembria”. Apart from the hypothesis of Pisani (1957: 76–79), according to which *βρία* reflects an ancient **brujā*, connected to the Ligurian *pruiam* ‘cellam’ (see the discussion in Polomé 1982: 880).

57 Villar (1991) 321; Id. (2014) 213–234. See Della Volpe, Mallory (1997) 210–211.

58 Ribezzo (1920a) 83–97; Id. (1920b) 221–236; Ribezzo, Melillo (1931) 151–161; Meillet (1938) 82; Ernout, Meillet (1959); Paliga (1987) 23–24; Id. (2006) 147–149; Id. (2016) 37–48; Id. (2017) 35–45. Cf. Laporta (1989) 85–86.

59 Paliga (1987) 23–24; Id. (2006) 147–149; Id. (2016) 37–48; Id. (2017) 35–45.

60 Nenci (1978) 55 and n. 36: “A un idronimo penserebbe invece l’Alessio (*Problemi di topono-*

dotus claims, by a group of Cretan castaways who landed in Iapygia and then became ‘Messapians of Iapygia’ three generations before the Trojan War (App. #5).⁶¹ In the sense of ‘territory’ as a second element, the form *-yrion* also occurs on the eastern side of the Adriatic, in Dalmatia-Illyria, referring to the place name *Tragurium*, Gr. Τραγουρίον or Τραγύριον.⁶² Moreover, the Greek word ῥίον, with an initial digamma (*F-*), Mycenaean *ri-jo* TN, ‘promontory’, ‘rocky peak’, is connected with *-yrion*. In this case, the name Ὑρίης for Vereto would have not only the general meaning of ‘land, city, rock’ but also the more specific one of ‘promontory’, from the root **wer-* (IEW 1152: *wer-2*) ‘high’, PIE **wriyo*. Therefore, the same root **wer-* as ‘elevated place’ would appear at the origin of both the Iapygian-Messapian form *-yrion* and the Ancient Greek noun **Fῥίον* as well as the Thracian-Phrygian appellative βρία (= πόλις, τεῖχος).⁶³ The Messapian *Oria* town (Lat. *Uria*, Gr. Ὑρία, Οὐρία, Mess. *Orra*, seen only on the coins), as well as *Uria* on the Gargano Peninsula, would thus correspond perfectly to the Phrygian *Bria* and the Thracian *Brea*. The close connection with the toponymic element βρία would lead to admit the existence of an isogloss between the Messapian world and the Thracian-Phrygian world. This hypothesis, although the accents between the two forms **ùria* and **uria* are different, seems nevertheless to be confirmed by the now accepted view of βρία as equivalent to PIE **wriā*, ‘elevated city’, ToA *ri*, ToB *riye* ‘city’ (<* *wriā*).⁶⁴ Considering the parallelism of Μεσσαπία and Καλαβρία (as early as the 3rd century B.C.E. [App. #11]⁶⁵) and the remarkable linguistic similarities between the Salento peninsula and the Balkans that emerge from the inscriptions,⁶⁶ the connection between the

mastica pugliese, Arch. Stor. Pugl., 1950, 230–259, 249), ma mal si concilia la frequenza di questi idronimi con l'assenza nel Salento di corsi d'acqua. [...] Viceversa vorrei osservare che *urium*, *-on* in Plin., N.H., 35, 75 indica ‘la terra’ e mi pare non privo di significato per l'ipotesi che *-yrion*, indichi ‘territorio’, il fatto che *Oria* romana prendesse il nome di *Urbius* (Tab. Peut., 8, 2)”. For *Thuriae*, that of Livius 10. 2 (“*Thurias urbem in Sallentinis*”), which is perhaps to be identified with Roca Vecchia on the Adriatic coast, see Sirago (1980–1987) 95–104.

61 Hdt. 7. 170; Strab. 6. 3. 6.

62 Laporta (1989) 103, referring to Krahe (1929) 147 16; Id. (1925) 60–61.

63 See Frisk (1954–1972) 268; Parlangeli (1960) 21–29; Georgiev (1966) 178; Chantraine (1968–1980) 195–196; Van Windekens (1976) 406; Paliga (1987) 23–24; Della Volpe, Mallory (1997) 210–211; Mallory, Adams (2006) 221; Mallory (2007) 85.

64 Battisti (1943) 265–269; Frisk (1954–1972) 268; Parlangeli (1960) 23; Paliga (1987) 23–24; Laporta (1989) 104–107.

65 Hsch. x 380. 1. fr. 20.

66 See De Simone (1962) 113–135; Id. (1964) 2–151; 215–229; 233–361; Id. (1972) 125–201; Parlangeli (1960); Untermann (1964) 155–213; Polomé (1982) 866–876; Blažek (2005) 15–33; Matzinger (2015) 57–66.

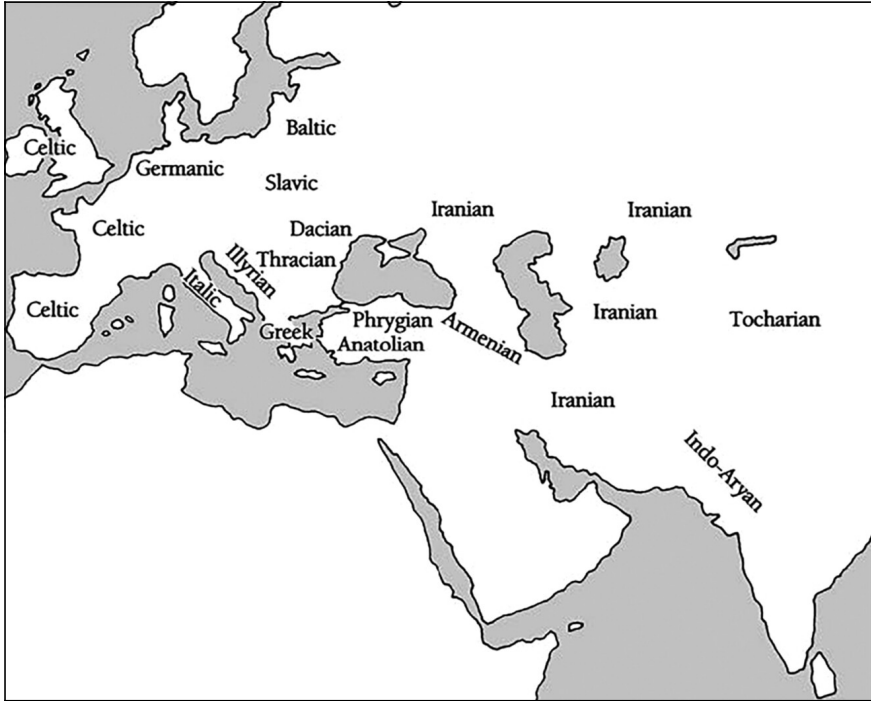


FIGURE 24 Indo-European world map
MALLORY, ADAMS 2006: 8 MAP 1.1

ethnonym Καλαβροί and the Dardanian Γαλάβριοι noted by Strabo (App. #26)⁶⁷ gains even more relevance. Thus, the parallelism between Καλαβρία and the Thracian toponym Καλαβρία (< Καλαυρία) of the *Chronicon Paschale* (7th century C.E.) or Καλαβρύη in Zonaras (12th century C.E.), who interprets it as ‘Good Springs’ (= καλαὶ βρύσσεις [App. #32]), becomes equally significant. The same phenomenon would occur in eastern Macedonia inhabited by the Thracians Migdons, concerning Mount Kalauros (Καλαύρω ὄρει) near Mount Athos on the Chalkidiki peninsula, where Anchises, who arrived with Aeneas after the destruction of Troy, is said to have died (App. #31).⁶⁸

Scholars also focused on the root *or-/ *ur- ~ *ol-/ *ul- ‘very large, enormous, high’, which has a similar meaning to the stem IE *wer- or pre-IE *b-r-/ *p-r- ‘elevation, height’, although it is synchronically different. This base is not only present as a second element, like *-bria*, in several Thracian place names (e.g.

67 Strab. 7. 5. 7.

68 *Schol. in Iliad.*, Heyne, 13. 459. 4. Cf. Latham (1859) II. 34; Zancani Montuoro (1974) 70–80.

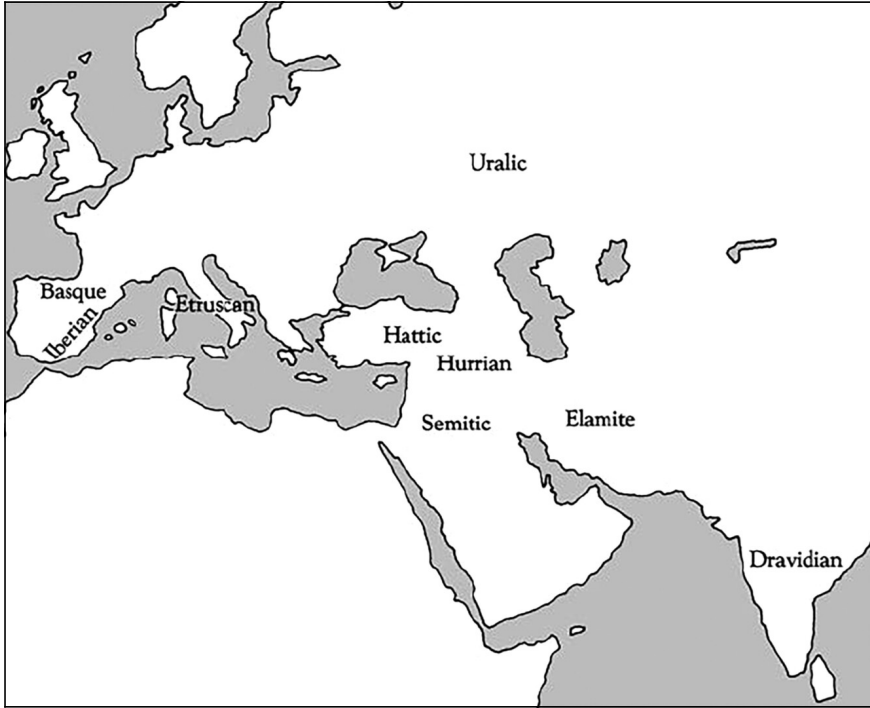


FIGURE 25 Major known non-Indo-European groups in Europe and western Asia
MALLORY, ADAMS 2006: 10 MAP 1.3

Al-oros, *Az-oros*, *El-oros*, *Gaz-oros*, *Thest-oros*, *Milk-oros*, *Tarp-oron*, *Clev-ora*, and *Cap-ora*), but also appears at the centre of an extensive isoglossic system throughout the Mediterranean from Iberia to Asia Minor.⁶⁹ The toponym *Oria* (Lat. *Uria*, Gr. Ὑρία, Οὐρία), referring to ancient Apulia, has been interpreted as a relic of the Central area substratum fossilised in the ‘Balkan periphery’ (cf. *Dacorumen oras* ‘city’). It probably comprised Italy during the pre-historic phase of the Anatolian urban civilisation movement towards the Balkans and the West.⁷⁰ The notion of ‘city’ is related to *Oria* and shows up in the Basque *uri* ‘city’, *uri-a* ‘the city’, but also in the Iberian-Euskara *huri* and the Sumerian-Anatolian *uru* or *ur*, Hebrew *ir*. In this way, a series of place names emerges that

69 Schuchardt (1907) 51; 72; Ribezzo (1920a) 90; Id. (1920b) 70; Trombetti (1925) 30; Ribezzo, Melillo (1931) 63; Frisk (1954–1972) 268; Parlangeli (1960) 21–29; Georgiev (1966) 178; Chantaine (1968–1980) 195–196; Van Windekens (1976) 406; Laporta (1989) 88; Della Volpe, Mallory (1997) 210–211; Mallory, Adams (2006) 221; Mallory (2007) 85. Cf. Paliga (1987) 23–24.

70 Battisti (1955–1956) 279–282; Tagliavini (1972) 324; Laporta (1989) 107–108.

are almost unanimously attributed to the same linguistic field in the western and eastern Mediterranean. The group includes: Ἰρίη,⁷¹ a city on the banks of the Euritus on the border between Euboea and Boeotia; Ἰρίη, another name of Seleucia in Cilicia;⁷² Ἰρία, another name of the island of Paros⁷³ or of an island near Naxos;⁷⁴ Ἰρίη, the ancient name of Zakynthos;⁷⁵ Μάστ-αυρα in Lydia;⁷⁶ Ἰρω-μο-ς in Caria;⁷⁷ Βάλλβ-ουρα in Lycia;⁷⁸ Ἰσα-υρα in the region of Ἰσα-υρία;⁷⁹ Γαρσά-ουρα in Cappadocia;⁸⁰ Ὀρρεα, a city of the Molossian Epirotes;⁸¹ Καλα-υρία or Καλα-υρεία, an Aegean island near Troizen and Crete.⁸² According to the form *ir-*, we also find Ἰρία Φλαουία, a city of Iberia;⁸³ Iria, a Ligurian city;⁸⁴ Ἰρασα, a Libyan city and district;⁸⁵ Iria (*vicus Iriae*), the ancient name of the Lombard city of Voghera. In Asia Minor, the theme **ur-*, as well as in Sumerian-Anatolian *uru*, *ur* 'city', occurs in the Dravidian languages (Tamil *ūr* 'city', Brahui and Kurku *ur-ā* 'house'). We also remember *Ur*, the ancient city in the region of South Babylon (the homeland of Abraham according to the biblical story), *Ur kas'dim* 'city of the Chaldeans', and *Urusalim* or *Ur-salimmu*, 'Jerusalem'. Other equivalents have appeared in Thrace: *Al-oros*, *Az-oros*, *El-oros*, *Gaz-oros*, *Thest-oros*, *Milk-oros*, *Tarp-oron*, *Clev-ora*, and *Cap-ora*. It is also possible to specify: *Urgo/Orgo*, an island between Corsica and Etruria;⁸⁶ *Orgon*, in Provence; Basque *uri* 'city'; *Uri* in Switzerland; Hatti *ureš* 'huge, great'; and *Uria* in Calabria. In this context, we cannot exclude the Latin word *urbs* 'city' because of its similarity with Basque *uri* and with the Thracian terms *oros*, *ora*, meaning 'city' as 'high place'. Furthermore, some choronyms formed with *uryā* (feminine) are no less critical, such as Ἰσα-υρίαν and, with the exchange /r/ ~ /l/, Παμπ-υλίαν within the Anatolian peninsula,⁸⁷ *Ill-yria* (**ils-uro-*) in the Balkans, or Western

71 *Il.* 2. 496.

72 *St. Byz.* 560.

73 *St. Byz.* 681.

74 *Plut. De Exil.* 9.

75 *Plin.* 5. 54.

76 *St. Byz.* 436.

77 *Polyb.* 17. 2.

78 *St. Byz.* 157.

79 *St. Byz.* 337.

80 *Strab.* 14, 2.

81 *Ptol.* 3. 9. 4.

82 *Strab.* 8. 6. 3.

83 *Ptol.* 2. 6. 24.

84 *Plin.* 3. 49.

85 *Hdt.* 4. 159.

86 *Plin.* 3. 81.

87 *Strab.* 1. 12; *St. Byz.* 337.

area *Boi-ura*, the ‘Land of the Boii’ (Bavaria), *At-uria* and *Baet-uria* (Spain). Due to their oscillation, the exchange of liquid consonants is not uncommon. Thus, the towns named *Iria*, e.g. *Iria* of the Taurini and *Iria* of Iberia, have corresponding forms in Basque *iri* ‘city’ and *ili-/ uli-*, as well as in Ἰλί-βερρις/ *Illi-ber<is>* ‘new city’.⁸⁸ The same phenomenon for the base **ili-* occurs in Asia Minor with Ἴλιον, the ancient name of Troy, the *Urbs* par excellence, a toponym that is also present in Propontis, Thessaly, Thrace, Macedonia⁸⁹ and among the Epirotic Chaones.⁹⁰ Elsewhere, the base **ili-* connects to the Provençal municipality of Ilonse (Saint-Sauveur), situated on a ridge, Medieval. Iloncia, Ilontia (yr. 1109, 1157), to Ilisus, a locality in Attica,⁹¹ and to Iletia, a city in Thessaly.⁹² On the other hand, in the pre-Greek place names, the liquid consonants [l-r] often appear as characteristic suffixes. In many cases, the vowel preceding the consonant elements varies (e.g. *Epida-ur-os* or *Kast-al-ia*).⁹³ In Akkadian, the form *ālu* corresponds to the cuneiform *uru*, ‘city’.⁹⁴

Returning to the Messapia, the toponym *Oria* (Lat. *Uria*, Gr. Ὑρία, Οὐρία) would reflect the IE or pre-IE root **ur-/ *or-* in the hydronymic meaning of ‘water’. This notion recalls the Basque lexical relic *ur* ‘water’, which corresponds to the ancient hydronym *Urium*.⁹⁵ Several river names such as *Uravus* and *Urma* in the Lower Pyrenees, *Our* in Luxembourg, *Oriundis* in Illyria, *Orethus* and *Orinos* in Sicily, *Oreta* in Corsica, *Orretum* in Iberia, the *Uri* streams in Sardinia and *Uria* in Calabria would fall into this linguistic field, as well as toponyms such as *Orontios* in the Illyria, *Uria* and *Hydruntum* in the Salento peninsula. As for place names, in Indo-Mediterranean culture the two meanings attributed to the base **ur-/ *or-*, namely ‘city, territory’ and ‘water, river’,

88 Strab. 4. 1. 6; Plin. 3 32.

89 St. Byz. 330–331.

90 Verg. *Aen.* 2. 335.

91 Plin. 4, 24.

92 Plin. 4. 29. See Trombetti (1925) 17; 83; Rostaing (1950) 70; Detschew (1957) 535; Muşu (1981) 199; Paliga (1987) 23–29; Laporta (1989) 107–108; Villar et al. (2011) 429. See Vennemann (2003) 304; 311 n. 31: “Das Land der Boii hieß ursprünglich +Boiura/+Boiira. Dies war ein Kompositum. Sein erster Bestandteil war der Namen der Boii, sein zweiter Bestandteil war ein Substantiv mit der Bedeutung ‘Siedlung’, das verallgemeinert—oder pluralisch konstruiert oder verstanden—auch ‘Land’ bedeuten konnte” (304); “Das Element—ursieht dem Suffix in Lig-ur-i-a, Bit-ur-ig-es, Cad-ur-c-i und einigen anderen Länder- und Völkernamen ähnlich, doch geht es dort auf—us- zurück, so daß man ohne Grund einen Rhotazismus auch in dem hier besprochenen Namen ansetzen müßte. Deshalb möchte ich oben die Lösung in einer anderen Richtung suchen” (311).

93 Katičić (1976) 40–57.

94 Parpola (1997 [1971]) 119–145.

95 Plin. 3. 7. See Alessio (1946a) 148–150.

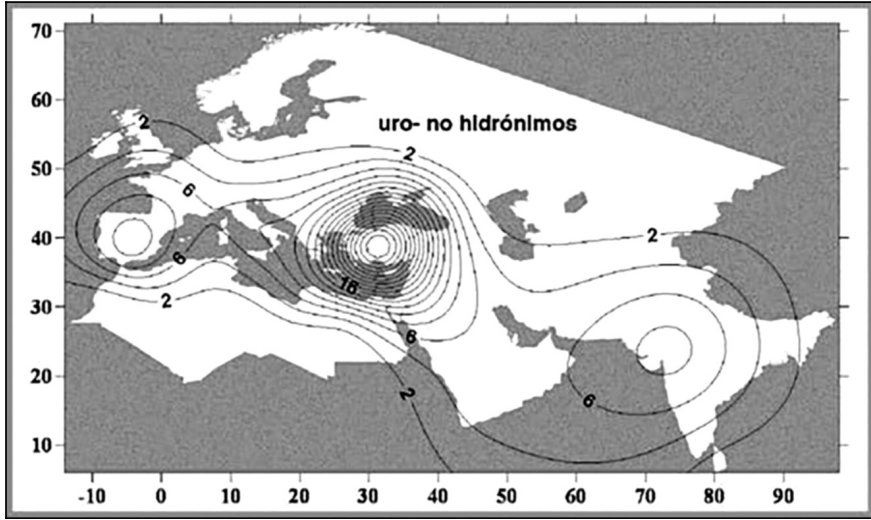


FIGURE 26 The frequency of non-hydronyms in -uro toponyms
VILLAR ET AL. 2011: 427 FIG. 140

could historically converge. Indeed, the earliest sedentary settlements arose mainly on or near watercourses, such as *Ur* and *Uruk* in Mesopotamia, along the alluvial plain of the Euphrates. However, we must consider whether we are dealing with two homophonic substrata that were independent of each other by diffusion, or whether, more likely, we are looking at the same root **ur-* ‘city, a city situated on a watercourse’. From the root **ur-* ‘city’ the filiation **ur-* ‘water’ may have emerged, as suggested by the later semantic differentiation, which had an independent survival in the western Mediterranean.⁹⁶ The topic has been treated systematically by Francisco Villar (2011: 729–236; Id. 2014: 57–60; 165–170). The study of pre-historic geographical names based on **ur-*, both hydronyms and toponyms, shows a widely concomitant distribution in Europe and south-west Asia, with the epicentre of greatest density east-west in the Anatolian peninsula (Figure 26). In Italy, among the place names based on **ur-*, we distinguish, as a simple word or first element of a compound, *Uria*, *Uria/Orina*, *Urias*, *Uritanus ager* and as a second element *Agurium*, *Ancurium*, *Astura*, *Cacyrum*, *Cossura*, *Manduria*, *Remuria*, *Subura*,

96 Cf. Battisti (1943) 265–269; Id. (1955–1956) 279–282; Frisk (1954–1972) 268; Parlangeli (1960) 23; Tagliavini (1972) 324; Paliga (1987) 23–24. See Laporta (1989: 105–109), who adopts the ‘unitary’ thesis with great caution: “la valutazione di questo o quell’indizio inteso a comprovare questa o quella interpretazione permane pur sempre soggettiva” (109).

TABLE 1 Examples of hydronyms and toponyms *Uria* / *Bria* between Europe and Asia Minor (Villar 2014: 166–167)

	Hydronyms	Toponyms
Simple word	<i>Uria</i> (Aetolia) <i>Urius</i> (Hispania)	<i>Uria</i> (Hispania) <i>Uria</i> (Campania, Apulia, Italia) <i>Urium</i> (Hispania)
Second element of compounds	<i>Aturia</i> (Hispania) <i>Ceniuria</i> , <i>Vinturius</i> (theonym, Gallia) <i>Tilurius</i> (Dalmatia) <i>Ishashurija</i> , <i>Hippurius</i> (Anatolia)	<i>Aturia</i> , <i>Baeturia</i> , <i>Menturio</i> , <i>Verurium</i> (Hispania) <i>Liguria</i> , <i>Manduria</i> , <i>Remuria</i> (Italia) <i>Tapuria</i> (Gallia) <i>Cynuria</i> (Graecia) <i>Tugurias</i> (Moesia Superior) <i>Hapurija</i> , <i>Hipurija</i> , <i>Ilurija</i> , <i>Kasurija</i> , <i>Nahurija</i> , <i>Sakurija</i> , <i>Suhurija</i> , <i>Taskurija</i> , <i>Zimurija</i> (Anatolia)

Tibura and *Vituri* (ethnonym). The analysis of the Thracian appellative *bria*, which appears in compound terms as the second element meaning ‘city’ (e.g. *Mesembria*, *Skadabria*, *Poltymbria*, *Selymbria*) and combines without phonetic difficulty with the form **uriā* and the ToA *ri*, ToB *riye* ‘city’, raises several interpretative questions. First, the word **uriā* from an original **wer-* in the sense of ‘height, high place’ (IEW 1151–1152) does not support this meaning in the languages of the historical age. Secondly, only appellatives of full and not zero degree derive from **wer-* (= *war-*; *werd-*; *wers-*). Thirdly, Strabo’s remark equating the term βρία with the Ancient Greek word πόλις,⁹⁷ later taken up by Stephanus of Byzantium (416), cannot be understood literally, since urban culture was not widespread in Thrace. Fourthly, its inhabitants traditionally lived not on fortified hills, as the semantic development of **uriā* ‘height’ (> ‘city’) would require, but on small reliefs and in stilt villages. Consider, for example, the platforms at Lake Prasiad described by Herodotus in the Classical times, similar to Mesolithic communities gathered around hydrographic basins (lakes

97 Strab. 7. 6. 1.

or rivers).⁹⁸ From this point of view, the name *bria/ uria* becomes clearer if we associate it not with the semantic notion of ‘highland, mountain’ but with that of ‘water, river’. Thus, it seems legitimate to hypothesise that the form *uria* (**uriā*) is a thematic adjectival derivative in *-ia* arising from the basic noun *uro-* ‘river, water’. Through simplification and substantivisation it then gradually became *uria* ‘city’ as an appellative name, as documented by the terms ToA *ri*, ToB *riye* ‘city’ and by the Thracian word *bria* in a context of betacism.⁹⁹ Despite the difficulties of linguistic analysis, however, there seems to be only one point that unites the views of the various researchers. The appellative *bria/ uria* (<*br-/ ur-ia*>), as the second element of the toponyms or choronyms, takes on the meaning of ‘inhabited place, city, region, territory’. This definition remains valid in several respects: a) whether the original base goes back to the root of IE **wer-* ‘to close, cover’ (IEW 1152; 1162: *uer*⁻³), in the sense of ‘delimited place offering protection’; b) whether it belongs to the stem IE or pre-IE **wer-* (IEW 1152: *uer*⁻²) or belongs to the stem **or-/ *ur- ~ *ol-/ *ul-* in the meaning ‘high place’; c) whether it finally refers to the root IE or pre-IE **ur-/ *or-* and **uro-* ‘water, river’ as ‘a place situated near a watercourse’. Thus, the toponymic meaning of the term *uria* or *bria* in the context of betacism, as an adjective derived initially from *uro-* with the suffix *-io/ -ia*, denoted a dwelling unit connected to the river and water, which then, by simplification took on the sense of ‘village, city’ (like the *villa uria* type). Furthermore, we cannot exclude that the appellative morpheme, which was mainly used as a second element in compounds, was gradually perceived as a derivative suffix in its own right. Thus, the presence of the term *bria/ uria* in Messapia (Salentine Peninsula), as a second element, appears not only in the generally accepted place names (Μανδ-ύριον, Σατ-ύριον, Υρία, Ούρία), but also, more obviously, in the choronym Καλα-βρία as ‘territory-Καλα’. The same applies to the ethnonym Καλαβροί as inhabitants of the Messapian region. In this context, the symmetry *-br-ia/ -br-oi*, starting from **ur-/ *br-*, does not allow us to clearly determine whether the choronym historically precedes or follows the ethnonym. The origin of *bria/ uria* as an appellative used alone or in compounds suggests that the choronym as a geographical name arose earlier. However, we do not know when and under what historical circumstances the morpheme may have eventually transformed into an independent derivational suffix (Table 2).¹⁰⁰

98 Hdt. 5. 16.

99 Villar (1991) 321; Id. et al. (2011) 729–236; Id. (2014) 57–60; 165–170; Boardman et al. (1992) 612.

100 For sources on the terms Καλαβρία/ Καλαβροί, see Chap. 1 and Appendix. On the relationship between choronym and ethnonym, cf. Pellegrini (1994 [1990]) 417.

TABLE 2 Series of toponyms Uria/Bria between Thrace/ Phrygia and Salento Peninsula

	Thrace/ Phrygia	Salento Peninsula
Simple word	<i>Bria</i>	<i>Uria</i>
Second element of compounds	<i>Alaibria, Astibria, Bolbabria</i> <i>Kalabria (< Kalauria)</i> <i>Kombreia, Limnobria, Menebria,</i> <i>Mesembria, Selymbria, Sombria</i>	<i>Manduria, Saturia</i> <i>Kalabria</i> (choronym) <i>Kalabroi</i> (ethnonym)

Water-Carved Soil and Creeks from Messapia to Krotoniatis

1 Kalabria and the Karst Phenomena in the Salento Peninsula

The Iapygian civilisation emerged in Apulia at the end of the second millennium B.C.E., during the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age (12th–8th centuries B.C.E.). It originated from the fusion of the local sub-Apennine culture with Aegean cultural models imported by Minoan and Mycenaean seafarers (16th–12th centuries B.C.E.) and the decisive contribution of the Illyrian people. At the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.E., Iapygian culture shows homogeneous features from the Gargano Peninsula to Cape S. Maria di Leuca. These are particularly evident in the painted pottery with geometric motifs and the necropolis: the burial rite stipulates that the corpse is laid on its side and curled up with arms and legs fixed. However, two centuries later (8th–7th centuries B.C.E.), ethnic groups in Apulia tend to differentiate themselves. Daunians in the northern part of the region, Peucetians in the western and central area, and Messapians in the southern land emerged for their great autonomy, and their different cultural forms and trades, possibly as a result of further migrations from the Balkans and in connection with the Greek colonial presence.¹

In the 6th–5th century B.C.E., in a warlike context, the Tarantine settlers could denigrate the Messapians with the term *κόλαβρος* or *κάλαβρος*, ‘little pig’, due to the formal similarity with the names *Καλαβροί* and *Καλαβρία*, which are attested only from the Hellenistic period (3rd–2nd centuries B.C.E.).² If this is true, then, the *Καλαβρ-* theme must have been firmly rooted in the Salento peninsula in the Archaic and Classical times. Thus, the term *Kalaprenas* (nom. **Kalapre*, Lat. *Calaber* or *Calabrus*) of the archaic inscription CIE 4940 from

-
- 1 Cf. Cassano, D’Andria, Lombardo (2000) 14; Colizzi (2003) 14; Aigner Foresti (2004) 79–94; De Juliis (1988); Id. (2005); Lombardo (2015a) 10: “In età romana, troviamo anche alcune fonti in cui vengono attribuite ai Messapi origini miste, in qualche modo legate al mondo illirico dell’altra sponda dell’Adriatico (così ad esempio in Varrone *Antichità umane*, VI, fr. 3 M.: *Si dice che la nazione salentina si sia formata a partire da tre luoghi: Creta, l’Illirico, l’Italia* [Genetis Salentinae nomen tribus e locis coaluisse, e Creta, Illyrico, Italia]).”
- 2 Hsch. x 3307. 1. Nenci (1978); Id. (1982); Compatangelo-Soussignan (1989); Ead. (1994).

Volsinii (Orvieto) could be an essential clue to confirm the spread of the ethnonym *Calabri* in the West already towards the end of the 6th century B.C.E..³ This and other evidence suggests, for the earliest phases, on the one hand, to equate *Καλαβρία* and Messapia (App. #11 and 14),⁴ and on the other hand, according to the ancient sources (App. #16 and 23),⁵ to consider *Καλαβρία* as an indigenous and non-Greek choronym. In this way, *Καλαβροί* and *Καλαβρία* were identity terms for the Messapians and their country.⁶ Based on what we have argued so far, the word *Καλαβρία* fits linguistically well into the context of toponyms and choronyms that have the appellative *bria/ uria* ('inhabited place, city, territory, country, region') as their second element.⁷ This occurrence is not only of general importance, as in the case of *Canta-bria*, *At-uria* and *Baet-uria* (Spain),⁸ but it is crucial for the Salento peninsula. Indeed, we are dealing with a 'system', as shown by the toponymic series *Mand-uria*, *Sat-uria*, *Oria* (Gr. Ὑρίης; Lat. *Uria*).⁹ Thus, in evaluating the Balkan and Aegean-Anatolian contexts, the hypothesis, which has no comparative basis, of understanding the second part of *Καλαβρία* as derived from the root **bru-/ *blu-* 'to grow', which appears as a relic in the Ancient Greek verb βρύω 'to sprout', is inadequate to explain the linguistic problem.¹⁰ The complexity of the IE or possibly

3 Schulze (1904) 524; 575; Zancani Montuoro (1974) 70–80; Cristofani (1974); 313; De Simone (1978) 387; Id. (1990) 78; Morandi Tarabella (2004) 261.

4 Hsch. x 380. 1. fr. 20; Nicand. ap. Ant. Lib. *Metam.* fr. 31.

5 Polyb. 10. 1. 2–4; Strab. 6. 3. 1–5.

6 Beloch (1912) ¹². 1. 234 n. 3; Colella (1941) 276; Nenci (1978) 43–58; Lepore (1979) 1331–1344; Stomeo (1979) 5; De Juliis (1985) 145–188; Id. (1988) 10–19; Id. (1989a) 169–192; Id. (1989b) 75–84; Prontera (1986) 305–307; Lombardo (1989) 172–173; Id. (1991) 44–45; Id. (2014) 36–68; Id. (2015a) 9–13; Sirago (1993) 19–21; Martin (1993) 113–117; Compatangelo-Soussignan (1994) 62–65.

7 Schuchardt (1907) 51; 72; Ribezzo (1920a) 90; Id. (1920b) 70; Trombetti (1925) 30; Ribezzo, Melillo (1931) 63; Frisk (1954–1972) 268; Parlangeli (1960) 21–29; Detschew (1957) 86–87; 132; 356–357; Id. (1960); Georgiev (1961); Id. (1966) 125–140; 178; Id. (1977) 13; Id. (1957); Velkova (1967); Id. (1972); Chantraine (1968–1980) 195–196; Katičić (1976) 128–153; Duridanov (1976); Van Windekens (1976) 406; Polomé (1983) 539–540 and n. 93; Paliga (1987) 23–24; Laporta (1989) 88; Della Volpe, Mallory (1997) 210–211; Mallory, Adams (2006) 221; Mallory (2007) 85; Serafimov (2007) 134–154.

8 Trombetti (1925) 17; 83; Rostaing (1950) 70; Detschew (1957) 535; Muşu (1981) 199; Paliga (1987) 23–29; Laporta (1989) 107–108; Vennemann (2003) 304; 311 n. 31; Villar et al. (2011) 429.

9 Nenci (1978) 55 and n. 36; Sirago (1980–1987) 95–104; Laporta (1989) 103, referring to Krahe (1929) 147. 16; Id. (1925) 60–61.

10 Alessio (1946b) 50; Id. (1948) 17–18; Id. (1949) 7–8. The reference to the verb βρύω, already accepted in Byzantine times by Johannes Zonaras for the Thracian place Kalabrye (*Epit. Hist.* 18. 9. 6), appears frequently in the interpretation of the choronym Kalabria, especially

pre-IE base **ka(r)ra/ *kala*, ‘stone’, ‘water-carved stone’,¹¹ suggests that Kalab-
 ría, as a non-Greek choronym parallel to Messapia,¹² a) expresses the notion
 of ‘rock’;¹³ b) identifies the limestone or the ‘water-carved stone’ and refers
 to the hydrogeological nature of Salentine land (see *Calcari delle Murge*). In
 a broader sense, we can add all karst and gully phenomena, both superficial
 and deep, associated with them (gorges, furrow fields, caves, springs, sinkholes,
 creeks, coves, monoliths).¹⁴ The notion that best suits the nature of the area
 therefore probably picks up on the essential aspect of the Salento peninsula,
 namely the imposing karst morphology of the coasts (Figures 27–28). From this
 point of view, Kalab-*ría* probably appeared to the ancients as the land of the
 karst coast and creeks, especially as seen from the sea.¹⁵ On the other hand, the

about the present region of Calabria. See Barrio (1571) I. 24: “*Calabriam appellavere Graeci a calon quod bonum, pulchrum et honestum significat, et brio, idest, emano et scaturio, quod bonis omnibus scaturiat*”. According to other scholars, the combination of *καλός* and *βρύω* would take on the meaning of ‘beautiful city’ and thus, in a broader sense, of ‘beautiful country’ (Valente 1991: II. 312). So also in the 16th century C.E. the poet Francesco Grano da Cropani in the poem *De situ laudibusque Calabriae et de Arochae Nymphae metamorphosis*: “Ed è la Calabria ben a diritto degna del suo nome, se è vero che nella lingua greca il termine *kalon* significa bello, e *brio* indica lo zampillare” (see Placanica 1999: 283–284). Cf. Campanella (1591) 12: “*Calabria quasi abundans regio sonat*”. Among the numerous other hypotheses, we recall the one that derives Calabria a) from *καλιά* ‘hut’ and *βριάω* ‘to be strong, to make strong’, in the sense of the huts that arose in the woods and of the indomitable strength of the *Bruttii*; b) from the Hebrew *Calab* or *Calba* ‘pitch’, which was abundant in the *Bruttiorum* forest (Mazzocchi 1754: 543); c) from *cal* or *coil*, ‘selva’, and *bre*, *brin*, ‘mountain’, according to the language of the Aurunci, for whom Calabria would have been the ‘mountain forest’ inhabited by the Peucetians and the Messapians (Leoni 1844: 87); d) from the Hebrew *Calab* or *Caleb* in the sense of ‘milk’ with direct reference to the large number of cattle in the region (Aceti cited in Visalli 1991: 25); e) from the indigenous name *brendon* ‘deer’ or *brention* ‘deer’s head’, thought to refer to the branching inlets of the port of Brindisi, in connection with the Ancient Greek adjective *καλός* ‘beautiful’ (HE, 3. 520); f) as an overtly totemic name according to Capovilla (1964: 46), and especially from *κάραβος* ‘cockroach’ as claimed by Ferri (1962). Cf. Schweickard (1997) 320–323.

11 Deroy (1962) 1–13; Perono Cacciafoco (2008) 13–24; Id. (2015b) 35–50.

12 Beloch (1912) I². I. 234 n. 3.

13 Alessio (1946b) 50; Id. (1948) 17–18; Id. (1949) 7–8.

14 On the Salento peninsula as a karst area, see Colamonico (1923–1924); Parise, Federico, Delle Rose, Sammarco (2002); Refolo, Sansò, Selleri (2007); Selleri, Sansò, Walsh (2003). Strabo (6. 3. 5) already observed that the Messapia is stony on the surface (*ἐπιπολής γὰρ φαινόμενη τραχεία*), but has the arable land in the depth (*βαθύγειος σχιζομένη*); poor in streams (*ἀνυδροτέρα*), but rich in pastures (*εὐβοτος*) and trees (*εὐδενδρος*). See Lombardo (2015a) 10.

15 Cf. Novembre (1961) 24: “Nella Puglia fra i tre blocchi calcarei del Gargano, delle Murge e delle Serre Salentine, il Salento offre una certa abbondanza di forme carsiche in varie fasi

location along the Ionian-Adriatic coast, almost always on the small promontories between the creeks suitable for easy landing (Figure 38), was a common feature of many Iapygian-Messapian settlements since the Bronze Age (16th–12th century B.C.E.), but also in the Iron Age (9th–8th century B.C.E.). This settlement form, defined as ‘on a promontory with landing points’, was quite special. It characterised the Salentine region and had similarities with the Gargano Peninsula in the north and with the Croton-Cape Lacinium subpeninsula at the southern mouth of the Tarentum Gulf.¹⁶ The sites built on the promontories had to assume an identity function for the Messapians from the earliest times. They developed in a unified geographical context consisting of a dense east-west trade with the Balkan coast, as shown by the archaeological excavations that attest to the common elements of material culture.¹⁷ In pre-historic and proto-historic times, the sea that washed the Salento peninsula

di evoluzione. La distribuzione della morfologia carsica si manifesta in corrispondenza delle Serre Salentine (con vore, ávisi, capiventi, doline), ma specialmente presso le coste è imponente, dove gli affioramenti calcarei, più o meno irregolari ed estesi, assumono la forma di capi aspri e rocciosi e di alte falesie, con grotte, spesso ampie e meravigliose, che testimoniano una potente e molteplice morfologia carsica costiera”; Bettelli (2002) 38: “L’area centro-meridionale della regione si può suddividere in tre sottoinsiemi con caratteristiche alquanto differenziate: procedendo da nord a sud troviamo dapprima la zona murgiana vera e propria, con una morfologia geologica calcarea sottoposta ad un forte modellamento ad opera delle acque superficiali. Nel settore più interno non si raggiungono quote superiori ai 500–600 m di altitudine; procedendo verso la costa il rilievo digrada progressivamente, ma resta sempre solcato da profonde linee di erosione che, nel tempo, hanno condizionato le modalità dell’insediamento umano”. See also Cinquepalmi, Radina (1998); Cinquepalmi (1998) 163–165. The ancients had already observed the characteristic element of the coastal inlets. According to Strabo (6. 3. 6), among the Messapian ports, that of Brindisi was pre-eminent. Because of the numerous inlets within a single gulf, which offered shelter from storms (ἐνὶ γὰρ στόματι πολλοὶ κλείονται λιμένες ἄκλυστοι, κόλπων ἀπολαμβανομένων ἐντός), the area resembled the head of a deer with its horns (κέρασιν ἐλάφου τὸ σχῆμα). Thus, the city would have taken its name, Βρεντέσιον, from the word βρέντιον, which in the Messapian language meant the head of the deer (Lombardo 2015a: 10).

- 16 Lo Porto (1991) 383; Bettelli (2002) 38: “Nella zona centrale della penisola salentina si estende la cosiddetta Piana Messapica, un vero e proprio bassopiano compreso tra l’estremità delle Murge e la zona delle Serre. Quest’ultima porzione di territorio è definita da dorsali collinari non molto elevate alternate a brevi aree pianeggianti. In questo punto la costa risulta caratterizzata da alte falesie, specie nel tratto Otranto-S. Maria di Leuca, mentre lungo il litorale adriatico e anche presso la costiera tarantina sono numerosi i promontori e le punte minori, anche elevati di pochi metri sul livello del mare. Non mancano zone che anticamente dovevano presentare un aspetto lagunare”.
- 17 Frisone (2008) 121, referring to Sueref (1979); Id. (1993) 29–46; Prendi (1998) 93–103; Auriemma (2004) 298–300; Mastronuzzi, Caldarella (2019) 183–207.

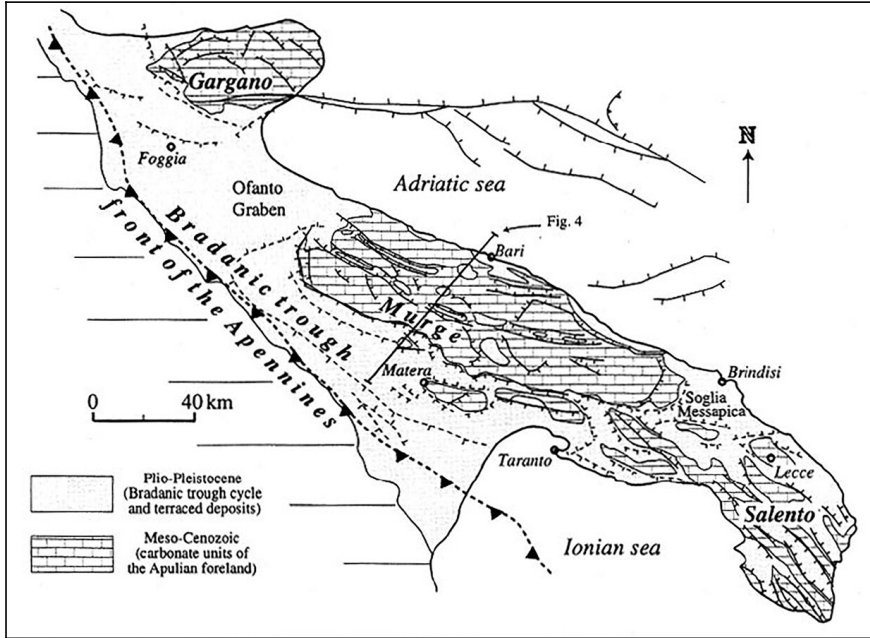


FIGURE 27 The geological drawing of Puglia with the main karst areas (Gargano, Murge and Salento). Legend: Bradanic sediments and terraced deposits, Pliocene-Pleistocene; carbonate unit of the Apulian Foreland, Mesozoic-Cenozoic (Pieri, Festa, Moretti, Tropeano 1997: 1397 Fig. 3)

(Messapia) and central Apulia bore the name of Ionian Gulf (Ἰόνιος κόλπος).¹⁸ Indeed, because of experience at sea and not necessarily for cartographic reasons, it probably appeared to navigators as a small bay overlooked by Korcyra, the Illyrian-Epirotic coast and the Salento peninsula, as shown on the 16th-century map of Nikolaos Sophianos (Figure 29). This sinus, which in relation to Epirus and Illyria was regarded almost as an opposite side (ἀντιπέραιος), offered the possibility of numerous landings and natural shelters, in contrast to the shallow sandy bottoms of the upper Adriatic (cf. *importuosa Italiae litora* by Livius, possibly in reference to Strabo's term ἀλιμένω¹⁹). The inlets were necessary in antiquity because shipping from cape to cape was mainly daytime and along the coasts, taking advantage of the winds and sea currents and pulling the boats ashore every time they docked.²⁰ This feature is particularly relevant

18 *FGrHist* 1, FF 90–102.

19 Liv. 10. 2; Strab. 8. 5. 10.

20 Calderini et al. (1934); D'Andria (1981) 232; Id. (1985) 321–323; Prontera (1992) 29–33; Id. (1997) 49; Janni (1998a) 41–43; Id. (1998b) 449–475; Id. (1984) 120–140; De Juliis (2005);

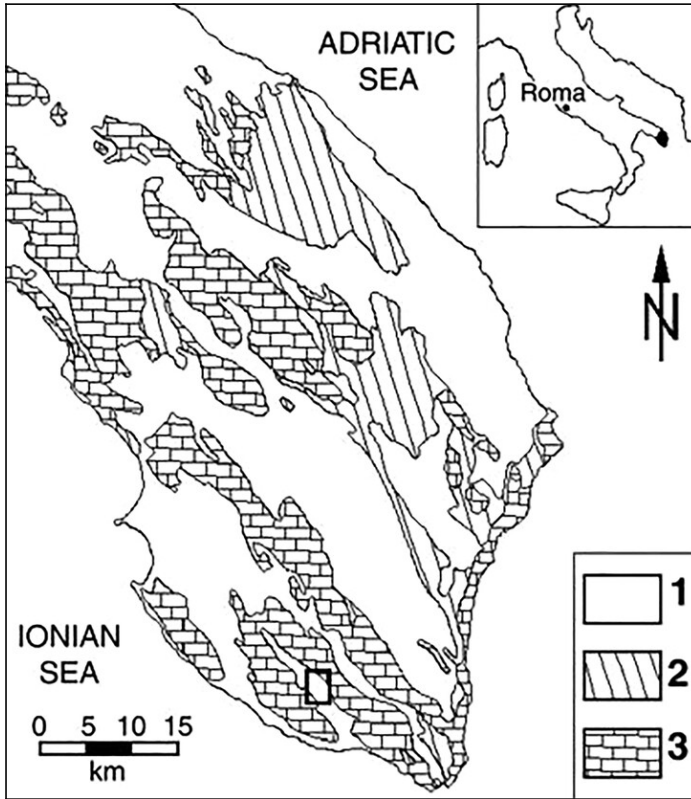


FIGURE 28 The geology of the Salento peninsula. Legend: (1) Clay and calcarenite deposits (Pliocene–Pleistocene); (2) Bioclastic carbonate rocks (Paleogene) and calcarenites (Miocene); (3) Carbonate platform rocks (Cretaceous). The rectangle shows the location of the Burgesi area

DELLE ROSE, PARISE, ANDRIANI 2007: FIG. 1

when we consider, for the most remote phases, the so-called ‘Mycenaean route’ (Figure 30). It was crucial before the crossing of the Hydruntum canal (Ἰόνιος πόντος) was permanently practised by the Euboians of Chalcis and Eretria in

Frisone (2008) 119–143; Ead. (2002) 295–312. The ancients perceived the causal connection between bays and promontories in a special way. For example, Plinius (3.43), referring to the tradition, perhaps going back to Varro, which equated Italy with an elongated oak leaf wider than narrow, makes it clear that the capes emerge (*cornua*) from the gulfs (*sinus lunatos*), as in the case of Lacinium at Croton and Leucopetra at Rhegion (*per sinus lunatos duo cornua emittens, Leucopetram dextra, Lacinium sinistra*). See Evans (2005) 47–74; Maddoli (2011–2012) 37.

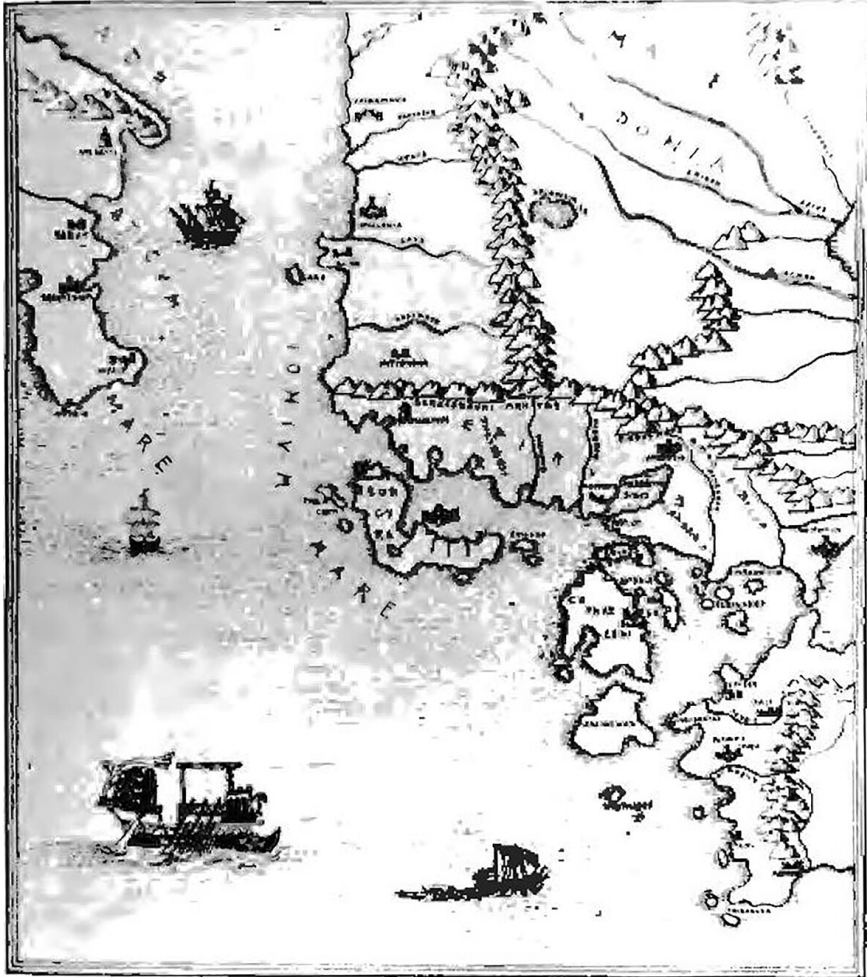


FIGURE 29 The geographical map of ancient southern Italy and north-western Greece by Nikolaos Sophianos (16th century C.E.)
 SEE D'ANDRIA (1985) 322 FIG. 1

the 8th century B.C.E..²¹ Indeed, having only a row of oarsmen, the Mycenaean ships could not approach Cape Iapygia because of the sea current descending from the Adriatic. Likewise, it was inconceivable that they could cross the fan-like thrusts unscathed when entering the Gulf of Tarentum. It was easier, on the other hand, to sail up the eastern coast of the Adriatic to the Bay of Kotor,

21 Pind. *Nem.* 4. 52–53; Soph. fr. 337 Radt.

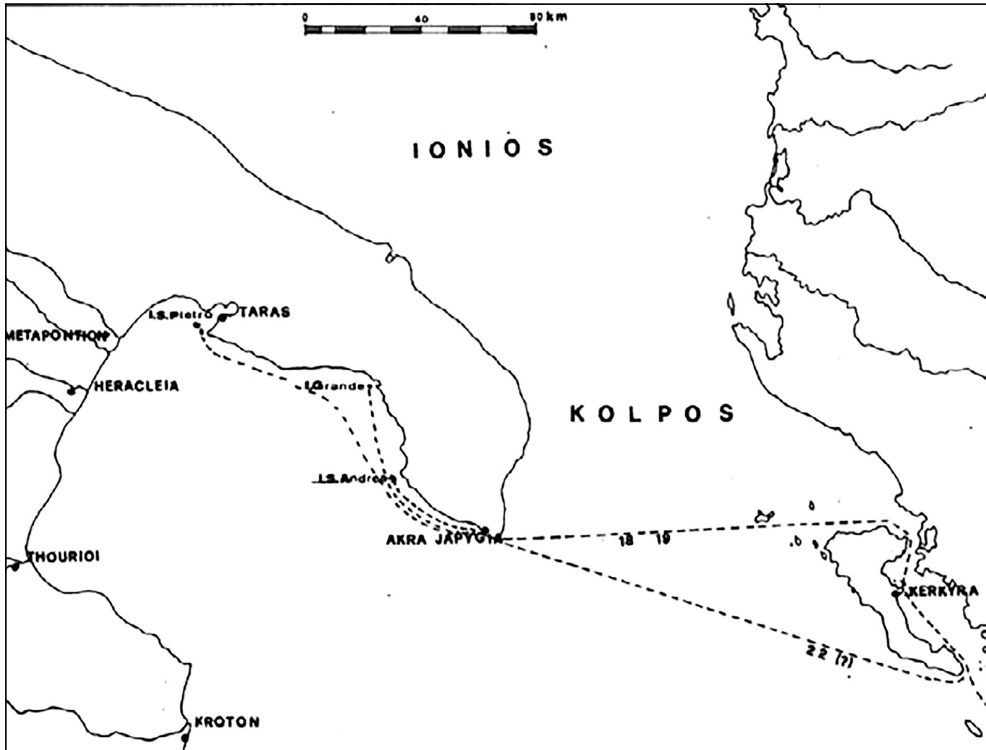


FIGURE 30 The route of the Athenians in 413 B.C.E., according to Thucydides 7.33
 LOMBARDO 2015A: 17 FIG. 11

from where it was possible to cross the open sea and reach the southern coast of the Gargano Promontory by taking advantage of the downward sea current. From here, still navigating along the coast without opposing thrusts, it was not a challenge to reach Cape Iapygia and quickly sail around it (Figure 33).²²

Finally, another aspect related to the karst nature of the Salento peninsula and its water-carved soil is worth careful consideration, even if it plays a minor role. It concerns the presence of considerable mineral resources of bauxite. The carbonate rock decomposed, leaving iron and aluminium oxides in the soil. The brown-red soil typical of a bauxite quarry is widespread in Salento, especially near sinkholes and coastal gullies (Figure 31). The archaeological survey documented several metallurgical activities between the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age (12th–8th century B.C.E.). Their origins are believed to be due to imports from the Illyrian-Balkan side of the Adriatic

22 Braccesi (2014) 11–36. Cf. Cazzella (2009) 159–169.

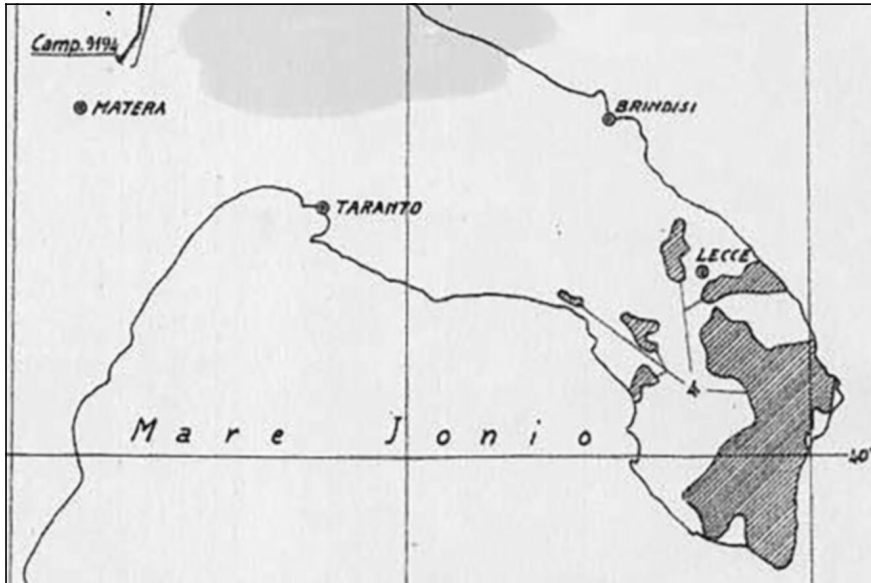


FIGURE 31 The areas affected by the red clay formations with bauxitic pisolites of the Salento peninsula

CRESCENTI, VIGHI 1964; GIARDINO 2017: 112, FIG. 11

or to influences from the Aegean-Mycenaean world. Historically, references to the working of iron are essentially limited to artisanal blacksmithing. A weak and uncertain indication of the possible extraction of iron from the bauxites dates from the Messapian period and comes from the excavations in the centre of Lecce (Piazzetta Epulion). There was probably a production centre in Hydruntum.²³

2 From the Gargano Peninsula to the Carso Region

The toponymic system, which arose in prehistoric times from the IE root **kar-* / **kal-*, meaning 'stone' or 'water-carved stone', and is possibly related to the Mediterranean-Aegean (i.e. pre-Indo-European) substratum, characterises a large area. It extends not only in western and central Europe but also to more distant areas as far as India (Eurasia).²⁴ In relation to the Salentine Penin-

23 Giardino (2005) 491–505; Id. (2017) 101–128; D'Andria (1979) 15–25; Semeraro (1983) 142–144; Orlando (1996) 233–236.

24 Cf. Alessio (1935) 133–151; Fouché (1938) 266–276; Hubschmid (1959–1960) 39; Deroy (1962)

sula, ancient Messapia or Iapygia (App. #3, 11, and 14),²⁵ the choronym Kalabaría does not appear isolated but shows itself well inserted in a much broader geo-linguistic context. Significantly, the proximity to the Gargano Peninsula, the so-called ‘spur of Italy’, seems to be essential along the western shore of the Adriatic. The same is true along the Balkan Peninsula for *Carso*, the limestone region of the Eastern Alps that follows the coasts of the Adriatic Sea and extends from Carinthia to Montenegro through the Dinarides Mountains (Figure 32).²⁶

The toponym Gargano traditionally designates the mountain (*mons Garganus; promonturium montis Gargani*) as part of the ancient Apulian territory.²⁷ The term Γάργανον²⁸ connects as a relic with the IE, or pre-IE root **gar-* (= guttural formant associated with the theme **karra/ *garra*, ‘stone’). The stem includes several appellatives and toponyms in the oronymic and hydronymic sense, also referring to ‘gorge’, ‘sinkhole of water’, ‘cavity, cavern’, ‘pile of stones’, ‘high ground’. In this way, the name of the Gargano Peninsula would reflect the physical characteristics of a mountain massif, that, due to its karst nature, has numerous chasms in the typical harsh and stony landscape (*grave*), caves, ravines, sinkholes, furrowed fields, limestone monoliths. The form Γάργανον for the ‘mountain’²⁹ is related to the choronym Γαργαρία,³⁰ with root doubling, and thus to similar place names such as the nearby rocky island of Karkar or Kerkyra Melaina;³¹ the Friulian place name Gargar; the mountain Γάργαρον, also promontory and city of Aeolia, often mentioned in the *Iliad* (Γάργαρον ἄκρον)³² and by Plinius (*Gargara mons*);³³ and finally Γάργαρον, a place both in Epirus and near Lampsacus.³⁴ The name Carso, Lat. *Carsus*, Gr. Καρουσσαδίω

1–13; Tovar (1977); Id. (1982); Villar (1996 [1991]) 102–103; Santano Moreno (2003) 19–25; Id. (2008) 62–69; Blasco Ferrer (2011) 459–464; Id. (2011–2012) 206; Perono Cacciafoco (2008) 13–24; Id. (2015b) 35–50.

25 Hdt. 3. 138; Hsch. κ 380. 1. fr. 20; Nicand. ap. Ant. Lib. *Metam.* fr. 31.

26 Cf. Checchia Rispoli (1916) 24–30; Caldara, Palmentola (1991) 53–66; Kranjc (1997); Dragičević, Velić (2002); Velić (2007).

27 Hor. *Car.* 2. 9; Hor. *Ep.* 2. 1; Luc. 5. 380; 9. 184; Mela 2. 66; Plin. 3. 103–111; Sil. 8. 629.

28 Strab. 6. 3.

29 Strab. 6. 3; Appian. 1. 14. 117; Ptol. 3. 1. 14.

30 Ps-Arist. *Mirab. Ausc.* 13. 1. 56.

31 Ps-Scimn. 426–430; Strab. 7. 5.

32 *Il.* 8. 48; 14. 292; 14. 352; 15. 152.

33 Plin. 5. 122.

34 St. Byz. 199. Alessio (1936) 175: “Formanti in gutturale—Toponimi come micras. Γάργαρα, la più alta vetta del monte Ida nella Misia, Γαργαρία, la regione fino al capo di Leuca, l’iber. Gargarus, ecc. contrapposti a Gargānus mons (il Gargano), promontorio dell’Apulia, ecc. possono essere messi in relazione alla base **karra/garra* «pietra»”. See Vocino (1914) 75–76;



FIGURE 32 The areas on the opposite coasts of the Adriatic Sea, with continuous carbonate rocks (black dashed) and discontinuous carbonate rocks (grey dashed)
EXCERPT AND ADAPTATION FROM THE MAP OF KARST AQUIFERS BY CHEN ET AL. (2017) 781 FIG. 9

ὄρει,³⁵ from a base **Karus-*, refers to the IE or Pre-IE root **kar-*, expressed in the form **carsa*, meaning ‘rock’, ‘water-carved rock’. Indeed, karst rock, like gullies (**kal-anc-us*), is subject to a process of dissolution by running water that determines particular surface forms and subterranean erosion.³⁶

De Angelis (1918); Colella (1941); Lahovary (1963) 172; Bronzini (1969) 20; Id. (1988), 351; Graf Von Keyserlingk (1987) 22; Marcato (1990) 296–298; Schwertheim (1998); Trotta (2004), 219. In the text of the Ps-Arist. *Mirab. Ausc.* (13. 1. 56) the choronym Γαργαρία becomes a synonym of Calabria (Περὶ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὴν καλουμένην Γαργαρίαν, ἐγγύς Μεταποντίου). Cf. Liceti (1637) 9. See Schweickard (2006) 225–226.

35 Ptol. 3. 1. 1. 10.

36 Kranjc (2011) 567–570: “The term karst derived of the name of the plateau in the back-

3 The Balkans and the Thracian-Illyrian Area

Some toponyms and ethnonyms, attested in ancient and medieval sources, possibly referring to the base **kar(r)-*/**kala-* in the sense of ‘water-carved stone’, may also be found, generally speaking, in several other areas of the Balkan Peninsula. According to Strabo (App. #26), the Γαλάβριοι formed one of the tribes inhabiting the Dardania.³⁷ The territory on the eastern side of the Adriatic today largely corresponds to the karst plateau of Kosovo, characterised by numerous caves, mines and underground cavities.³⁸ Mount Kalauros (Καλαύρω ὄρει) probably belongs to eastern Macedonia, inhabited by the Thracian Migdons. As the Scholiast remarks in the commentary on *Iliad* 13. 459, it stood near Mount Athos and the river Anthemios. Here would die Anchises, who had come with Aeneas after the destruction of Troy.³⁹ Geographically, the most likely hypothesis is that Mount Kalauros corresponds to Mount Katsika and the karst area of the caves and quarries of Petralona, southeast of Thessaloniki on the Chalkidiki peninsula.⁴⁰ Further east, in the Thracian region of Silivri, the fortress of Καλαυρία or Καλαβρία is attested in the Byzantine period (6th–12th centuries C.E.).⁴¹ It belonged to an alluvial area⁴² that included gorges, hills, and recessed valleys.⁴³ Finally, the island of Curzola, the ancient Κέρκυρα Μέλαινα in the lower eastern Adriatic near the Dalmatian coast and corresponding to

ground of the Bay of Trieste (Adriatic Sea) lying (the great part) in Slovenia and in Italy. The name of the plateau is Kras in Slovene, Carso in Italian and Karst in German. The original (Pre-Roman) name of the plateau which was Latinised in the form Carsus, had the root **kar-* that is stone. From the accusative form of the name (Carsum) modern names evolved in the 9th century. During the 19th century when the toponym Karst transformed in the general term, the professional literature was in German language and therefore the German form of the name Karst has been taken into the consideration”. Choronyms such as Carnia, Carinthia, and Carniola in the sense of ‘rock’ and ‘mountain’ (Cucchi, Zini, Calligaris 2015: 15–22) follow the same root **kar-*, to which the Thracian terms *gar* and *kara* ‘mountain’ belong (Slav. *gora*, Slov. *gorica*, *karn*). See Serafimov (2007) 144.

37 Strab. 7. 5. 7.

38 Zancani Montuoro (1974) 70–80. For the karst phenomena of Kosovo, see Stuhlberger (2001); Onac, Constantin (2004) 682; Avdullahi, Fejza, Sylva (2008) 51–56; Bajraktari (2012) 47; Avdullahi, Serjani, Fejza, Tmava (2013) 7–15.

39 *Schol. In Iliad*, Heyne, 13. 459. 4. See Zancani Montuoro (1974) 80. Cf. Kiepert (1878) 105, 313; Danoff (1964) 372.

40 Manoledakis (2015) 133–134; Poulianos (2013) 88.

41 *Chr. Pasch.* 622. 18.

42 Zonar. *Epit. Hist.* 18, 9, 6.

43 *Ann. Com. Alex.* 1. 5. 3–4; *Nic. Br. Hist.* 4. 7. 15. Cf. Tomaschek (1886) 331; Gautier (1975) 266 n. 2; Külzer (2008) 389; Id. (2010) 438.

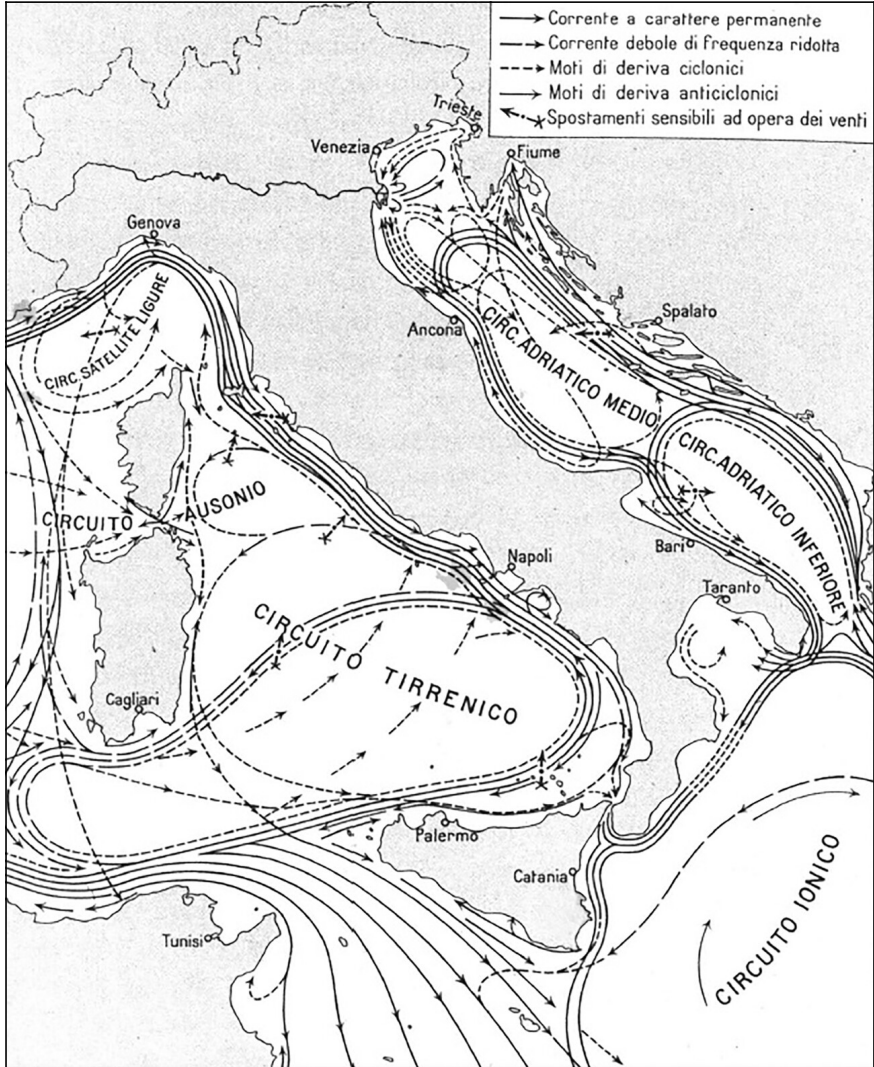


FIGURE 33 The surface and drift currents of the central Mediterranean Sea
 COLONNA 1998: 375 FIG. 6, THE IMAGE IS FROM L'ITALIA FISICA, PUBLISHED BY T.C.I.

the Gargano Peninsula, deserves separate consideration.⁴⁴ The Illyrian name of the island, together with that of Korçula, is Karkar, whose origin clearly refers to the doubled *kar-kar- root, given the rocky and karstic nature of the

44 Ps-Scimn. 426-430; Strab. 7. 5. 5.



FIGURE 34 The sanctuaries built on a headland, associated with the cult of Poseidon as places of ‘shelter’ and ‘asylum’: Geraistos near Karystos in Euboea; Kalauria near Troizen in the Saronic Gulf; Tainaron in Laconia, also known as Cape Matapan
SEE SCHUMACHER (1993) 53, FIG. 4.1; BEKAKOS (2008) 35–51

territory.⁴⁵ In this context, we cannot exclude that the best-known island of Corcyra-Corfù in the Ionian Sea on the northwest coast of Greece had the same meaning in the Illyrian language. In nearby Epirus on the mainland, there was the site of Γάργαρον.⁴⁶ The Illyrian tribes of the Liburnians originally inhabited Corcyra.⁴⁷ From the 8th century B.C.E. the island became a Corinthian colony and remained independent of the motherland until the Peloponnesian War, bearing the name of Κέρκυρα⁴⁸ or Κόρκυρα.⁴⁹ Sometimes it has been identified with the Homeric Σχερία⁵⁰ as the homeland of the Phaeacians.⁵¹ According to the myth, Corcyra was the Naiad-nymph of the springs and a daughter of the

45 Wilkinson (1848) 1. 256; Braccisi (1971) 104–106; Mastrocinque (1988) 7–11; 55–58; Lombardo (2002); Muljačić (2011) 245; Malinar (2015) 85–97; Ligorio (2015) 147–154.

46 St. Byz. 199.

47 Strab. 1. 1.

48 Thuc. 4. 3–8; 6. 43; 7. 31; Xen. *Hell.* 6. 2.

49 Strab. 1. 2; 2. 4–5; 7. 3–7.

50 Thuc. 3. 70; *FGrHist.* 4. fr. 77; Ps. Scyl. 22.

51 *Od.* 5. 34; 6. 8; 7. 79; 13. 160.

Argive river Asopus, whom the god Poseidon abducted one day.⁵² The territory of the island, about 585.5 square kilometres, forms, like Corcyra Melaina, a limestone relief with extensive karst phenomena, especially in the northeast and central areas.⁵³ Finally, the name *Kara-burun* of a small Albanian peninsula opposite the Salento, also rocky and karstified, might be interesting. Indeed, the choronym, given the oscillation between the liquid consonants [r/l], seems very similar in the first part to that of *Kala-bria*.⁵⁴

4 Aegean, Minoan, and Mycenaean Areas

In the Aegean world, the base **kala-* and its toponymic system probably had a wide distribution along the coast of the Saronic Gulf in the northeastern Peloponnese (Argolis). The island of Καλαύρια (now called Poros, off the city of Galata), whose harbour served as a naval station, is an indented area of bays and rocky inlets.⁵⁵ Nearby was the extensive landing place of the ancient Κελένδερις, the harbour carved into the rock of the town of Troizen.⁵⁶ The island, sometimes perceived as close to Crete, though far away (νησίδιον πρὸς τῇ Κρήτῃ),⁵⁷ consists on the whole of a central limestone massif, crossed by karst sinkholes, and an irregular coastline with numerous creeks. Even the ancients highlighted its rugged and rocky nature.⁵⁸ In the uppermost part was the temple of Poseidon, built around 520 B.C.E. We know of a sanctuary that existed from the first half of the 7th century B.C.E. The traces of painted pottery inside the shrine, dating back to the Geometric-Mycenaean period, indicate that the island was already inhabited in the early Bronze Age.⁵⁹ Two Linear B tablets from Pylos,

52 Cor. fr. 654; Bacch. fr. 9; Paus. 2. 5. 1; Apoll. Rhod. 4. 567.

53 Partsch (1887) 88; De Claparède (1900); Mielert (1909); Fels (1922); Id. (1923); Almagia et al. (1931); Bakhulzen (1986); Raviola (1999) 41–70; Id. (2008) 57–81; Antonelli (2000); Lombardo (2010) 93–105; Intrieri (2010) 181–199; Ead. (2002).

54 Moores, Fairbridge (1997); Belmonte, Costantini, Moscatello, Denitto, Shkurtaĵ (2006) 15–28; Rajkovic, Kromidha (2014).

55 Ps.-Skyl. 52; Dem. 49.

56 Paus. 2. 32; Eur. *Hip.* 1126.

57 St. Byz. 388.

58 Dion. Perieg. *Orb. Descr.* 499: “Καλαυρία τε τρηχεῖα”; Fest. Avien. *Descr. Orb. Ter.* 671: “*saxosa Calauria*”. See Pharaklas (1972); Figueira (2004), n. 360. Cf. Encyclop. Britain. (<https://www.britannica.com/place/Poros>). Festus: “*Et procera caput turgescunt pulchra Cythera; / Eminent hic etiam saxosa Calauria juxta*”. In the manuscripts of Dionysius Periegetas we also find Καλαβρία and Καλάβρεια forms. See Wide, Kjellberg (1895) 267–326; Welter (1941); Callmer (1953) 208–223; Stucchi (1961) 295–296; Kirsten, Kraiker (1967) I. 307–308; II 879.

59 Strab. 8. 6. 14. See Wide, Kjellberg (1895) 267–326; Callmer (1953) 208–223; Bringmann,

dated to the second half of the 13th century B.C.E., contain the term *ka-ra-u-ro* as a proper male name.⁶⁰ The first interpreters of Mycenaean documents associated the term with Κάλαυρος, the eponymous hero of the city and island of Καλαύρεια⁶¹ or Καλαύρια⁶² or Καλαυρία.⁶³ The hero Κάλαυρος was described by Stephanus of Byzantium as the son of the god Poseidon. In the entry Ταίναρος, however, the grammarian notes that Γέραιστος, Ταίναρος, and Κάλαβρος were brothers and that all three were sons of Zeus.⁶⁴ According to the myth, Poseidon's sanctuaries at Geraistos in Euboea, Kalauria in Troizenia and Tainaron in Laconia had a special relationship and function with each other, connected with the sea and the places of shelter (*asyla*). This condition concerned above all the sanctuary of Poseidon in Kalauria, where the orator Demosthenes found refuge in 322 B.C.E..⁶⁵ Furthermore, in the Archaic period it was probably the seat of an Amphictyonic league consisting of seven cities,⁶⁶ with which the ancient name of the island is connected, namely Ειρήνη, 'peace'.⁶⁷ The notion of shelter is related to Poseidon Geraistos in the *Odyssey*.⁶⁸ On their way back from Troy, Nestor, Diomedes and Menelaos set sail from Lesbos and landed by night at Γεραιστόν (Euboea), where they sacrificed many bulls to Poseidon. The site represented the only safe landing place along the rocky coast of eastern Euboea and was a refuge for the ships that had to pass through the Andros Channel during the storms.⁶⁹ In Euripides' *Cyclops*, Odysseus lists several Greek ports, consisting of capes and coves (μυχούς) sacred to Poseidon. In addition to Cape Sounion and Cape Malea, the hero remind us of the promontory of Tainaron in Laconia and the so-called 'refuges of Geraistos' (Γεραίστιοί τε καταφυγαί), identified elsewhere as rocky protrusions that can provide shelter (*asylum*).⁷⁰ According to mythological tradition, the cult

Steuben (1995) 95–97; Hansen (1971) 115–291; Schumacher (1993); Welter (1941) 43–45; Coulton (1976) 242–243; Papadopoulos et al. (2006) 75.

60 PY An. 192 l. 8; PY Jn. 750 l. 7.

61 *Syll.*³ 359, 1–2.

62 Ps.-Skyl. 52.

63 Dem. 49. 13.

64 St. Byz. 388; 598. See Ventris, Chadwick (1959 [1956]) 419. Cf. Gallavotti, Sacconi (1961) 15; 86; Capovilla (1961); Zancani Montuoro (1974) 70–80; Nakassis (2013) 277 n. 342.

65 Plut. *Dem.* 29–30.

66 Strab. 8. 6. 14.

67 Arist. fr. 8. 44. 597.

68 *Od.* 3. 167–179.

69 Thuc. 3. 3. 5. See Curtius (1876) 385–392; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1896) 158–170; Schumacher (1993) 51–69; Shaw (2001) 164–181; Pakkanen (2008) 233–262.

70 Eur. *Cycl.* 197; 290–295; Eur. *Suppl.* 267–268. See Hunter, Laemmle (2020) 160; Schumacher (1993) 77–80.

of Poseidon followed a path from Anatolia to Attica, to the island of Kalauria, to Cape Tainaros and Crete. Along this sea route, the headland of Geraistos represented a crossroads.⁷¹ The name Geraistos, apart from its similarity to the Ancient Greek adjective γέρας 'old', as a toponym is considered a pre-Hellenic word due to the *-st-* suffix and is very close to the Illyrian-Balkan linguistic context.⁷² In this way, we cannot exclude that the places Geraistos and Karystos in Euboea, to which the headland in question belongs, are to be associated with the base **kar(r)a-/ *kala-* 'stone', 'water-carved stone', just like the terms *Kala-uros* and *Kala-uria* on the Saronic Gulf. According to tradition, Geraistos, before he became Poseidon Geraistos, was a Cyclops⁷³ associated with the giant Briareus as a symbol of strength and power.⁷⁴ Instead, Tainaros, the third of the brothers who are sons of Zeus,⁷⁵ is believed a toponym derived from the pre-IE base **dan-/ *tan-* meaning 'river, running water' (Avest. and Skr. *danu*, cf. Don, Dnibr, Tanaro).⁷⁶ Considering the different aspects, the special worship on the island of Kalauria for the God of the Sea, perhaps originally the Cyclops Geraistos as in Euboea,⁷⁷ could stem from the notion of 'refuge', 'safe territory', already in Minoan and Mycenaean times, and in any case in the pre-Greek period. This issue is relevant not only in a general sense but also with regard to the function that bays and rocky promontories had for all ancient seafarers as daily landing places and rescue points in the event of a storm or unfavourable winds.⁷⁸ So it seems likely that the three Capes of Geraistos, Kalauros and Tainaron formed a system between Euboea, Argolis, Laconia and Crete, also as places of worship. The occurrence confirms that Aegean people may have contributed to the westward spread of toponyms with a pre-Hellenic base **kala-* in the meaning of 'water-carved stone', 'inlet', 'stopover', 'estuary' since the second millennium B.C.E., especially through maritime language and empirical geography.⁷⁹ Finally, the name given to the headland of Tainaron

71 Mele (1982), 9–33.

72 Lerat (1946) 203; Schwyzer (1939) I, 66; 276; 503. See Schumacher (1993) 53.

73 Apoll. *Bibl.* 3, 15, 12.

74 Solin. II, 16; St. Byz. 36; Eusth. ad Il. 10, 439. Cf. Aguirre, Buxton (2020) 183–185; Mele (1982) 9–33; Antonelli (1995) 15. According to Deroy (1959: 23–34), the name of the Cyclopes (Κύκλωπες) as mythical primordial beings, beyond the common Greek restitution (κύκλος 'circle' and ὤπ- 'to see'), could be traced back at the pre-Hellenic base **kakala*, belonging to the family of **kar(r)a-/ *kala-* in the usual meaning of 'stone', 'rock'.

75 St. Byz. 598.

76 Beretta (2002) 39.

77 St. Byz. 388; 598.

78 Mele (1982) 9–33; Vian (1944) 97–117; Larson (2007) 60–61.

79 Deroy (1962) 1–13.

in Laconia from the 16th century B.C.E., namely Cape Matapan or Metapan, and possibly already in Medieval Greek Metopon, deserves separate consideration.⁸⁰ The toponym would recall the ancient base Μέταπα, from which the name of the town Μέταβος/ Μεταπόντιον in the Gulf of Taranto and the choronym Μεταπία/ Μεσσαπία as the ancient Salento peninsula may also have originated.⁸¹ The form Μάτ/ Μετ/ Μεσσ-απ- is generally associated for the first element with the Ancient Greek adjective μέσσος, as an archaic variant of μέσος, Lat. *medius*, derived from the IE root **mèd̥hio-* ‘in the middle’ (IEW 1237), and for the second element with the suffix *-ap*, which is widely used in the Messapian context (e.g. Σαλ-απ-ία), and is connected with the IE stem **ǵp-* ‘water’ (IEW 97). The overall meaning appears as ‘land in the middle of the sea’ or ‘headland, peninsula.’⁸² In this way, not only *Geraist-* and *Kalaur-* but also *Matap-/ Metap-*

80 Setton (1969) 790.

81 Bekakos (2008) 35–51. See Beekes (2010) 935. Others understand Metopon as ‘forehead’, ‘advanced body’ (Anthon 1871: 483–484). The hypothesis is based on the assumption that ‘Messapian’ is not the indigenous name of the people inhabiting the Messapia, but the general name by which the Greeks referred to this people (Mazarino 1939: 137–167). The existence of a Poseidon Messapios is hypothetically derived from the myth of Melanippides married to Metabo-Messapo and Poseidon. The cult of ‘Poseidon in the middle of the sea’, husband of the ‘black sea’ Melanippides, was associated with the ‘Messapian’ mountain in Boeotia. Poseidon Mesopontios was worshipped on Lesbos (Callim. *Ait. Fr.* 16). Cf. Gruppe (1906); Giannelli (1924) 86–95; Schumacher (1993) 61. Contra Mayer (1931); Krahe (1955) 14–15.

82 Colella (1941) 590; Ribezzo (1904) 478. On the etymology of the choronym *āpūlia*, connected as Sal(l)entum to the ‘sea’, cf. the synthesis recently proposed by Loporcaro (2021: 29; 46 n. 7–8): “Di entrambi i corònimi *āpūlia* e Sal(l)entum (Puglia e Salento) è stata data un’etimologia indoeuropea prelatina che riporta ai significati di base di ‘costa’ e ‘mare’ [...]. Il nome lat. *āpūlia* è infatti etimologicamente connesso al ted. Ufer ‘riva’ e al gr. ant. *ēpeiros* ‘costa, terraferma, continente’ (EDG 522, IEW 51–52) e la stessa radice è in *āpūli*, che viene etimologizzato con un i.e. **h²āpūlō-ēs*. Si tratta di nomi (l’etnònimo come il corònimo) probabilmente assunti dal messapico e di cui è possibile ricostruire il significato originario di ‘che si trova presso l’acqua’ in quanto derivati da una delle designazioni indoeuropee, appunto, dell’acqua: *h²ap-*, che si continua non nel lat. *aqua* (che è da altra radice, forse preindoeuropea: EDL 48, Beekes [1998]) ma nell’ant. indiano *ap-* ‘acqua’ e, in latino, in *amnis* ‘fiume’. Anche Sal(l)entum rimanda alla stessa sfera referenziale: si tratta di un derivato di *salum*, -i ‘mare’ (a sua volta della famiglia di *sal* ‘sale’) e vale quindi, in origine, ‘regione presso il mare’ [Neri 2013: 197; Borghi 2018: 21 n. 12]”. The IE *h²ap-* root is probably also included in the name of the Messapians and their region (Gr. *Messap-ia*). See Neri (2007) 66 n. 177; Borghi (2018) 21–23; IEW 51–52. Most scholars opt for the separation of the *amnis* and *aqua* families (DELL 29; 41; EDL 39). In contrast, Lazzeroni (2001: 8) proposes to trace Old Indian *ap-* ‘water’ from the root IE **ak^w-eh₂* into the family of Lat. *aqua* and postulates a passage **kw-* > *p-*, with partial labialisation of labiovelar in the Italic zone. More generally, in our view, it cannot be excluded that the second part of Gr. Ἀπ-ουλία, Lat. *Ap-ulia* is formed by the appellative *-ulia* as a variant of *-uria* due to

would belong to the Aegean linguistic area, for all are connected by the notion of rocky promontory and linked in chronological age to the god Poseidon and the idea of landing, shelter.⁸³ In this context, the Mycenaean toponym *me-ta-pa* (= *Μετάπα) in the Tablets of Pylos⁸⁴ assumes considerable significance, especially when one considers that in the area along the river Alfeo, between Messenia and Elis, the existence of the Μετάπιοι people is attested in the 6th century B.C.E., as shown by an inscription on a bronze tablet found in the Prytaneum of Olympia.⁸⁵ This feature suggests a relationship with Μέταβος, the indigenous name of the city of Metapontum. It therefore seemed appropriate to assume a pre-colonial presence of Mycenaeans from Pylos in Lucania⁸⁶ and to identify the ethnonym Μετάπιος / **me-ta-pi-jo* with the Messapians on the Salentine Peninsula.⁸⁷ The base **Metapa* is generally regarded as a toponymic survival of the ‘pre-Greek substratum’, which has an Indo-European origin.⁸⁸

the oscillation between liquid consonants [l/r]. In this context, apart from other hypotheses such as the correspondence with Iapudia and with the Illyrian tribe of Iapodi or the origin from the root *Iapud-, based on Gr. *iápyx* (Gen. *iápygos*) and Lat. *apulus* (with the disappearance of the initial [i] and the so-called ‘Sabine’ outcome of d > l), Apulia, like Messapia, would refer to a meaning centred on the water, the sea and the coast, not leaving the sphere of Καλαβρία, if we consider that the toponymic base **kar-/ *kal-* in its complexity expresses the meaning of ‘water-carved stone’. From an ancient point of view, the notion of a karst area intensely permeated by water, rich in springs and water tables, projected onto the sea from several sides, although on the surface arid and devoid of important rivers, may have established itself over time. The question continues, however, to be debated, being worthy of a further specific study. See Beretta (2002) 50 and 103: “Polesine, Puglia <Apulia, polje, sl. campagna/ countryside”. Cf. Lozzi Gallo (2012) 11–13; Dybo (2013) 83.

- 83 De Simone (1974) 257: “Il significato etimologico di Μέταπα è oggi in quanto tale acquisito e non può essere ragionevolmente posto in discussione: *met(a)- (cfr. greco μετά, ant. alto ted. mit(i) ecc.) = ‘mezzo, tra’ (tedesco ‘mittel-zwischen’) + *ap- ‘acqua’, cfr. ant. ind. (pl.) āpah, lit. ùpé, ant. pruss. ape ecc. [...] Μέταπα significa dunque etimologicamente ‘Mittelfluss’, ‘acqua di mezzo’ o meglio, traducendo letteralmente, ‘mezzacqua’. Va rilevato a questo punto che Me-ta-pa—Μέταπα appartiene con ogni probabilità al sostrato pregreco, in quanto *ap ‘acqua’ non è con sicurezza documentabile come appellativo in greco (sia in età micenea che classica)”.
- 84 PY Jn 829; PY Vn 20.
- 85 Guglielmino (1983) 319–357. According to Chadwick (1988: 85), *Μετάπα stood in the area of modern Kyparissia.
- 86 Pugliese Carratelli (1958) 209; Marinatos (1959) 59–60; Capovilla (1964) 87–88.
- 87 Colella (1941) 590; Ribezzo (1904) 478.
- 88 De Simone (1974) 257. Cf. Guglielmino (1983) 319–357: “A quale lingua indoeuropea appartenente al «sostrato pregreco» andrebbe ascritto il toponimo non viene specificato né, infatti, sarebbe agevole produrre validi elementi a sostegno di qualsiasi ipotesi in questo senso. Non è questa la sede per addentrarsi nell’inestricabile labirinto delle teorie rela-

However, an Illyrian root cannot be ruled out because of the affinity with the prefix of several places in Illyria, such as *Metubarbis*⁸⁹ and *Metulum*, the main town of the people of the Iapodes,⁹⁰ who were the possible ancestors of the Iapygians.⁹¹

In the Mycenaean province of Pylos, besides *me-ta-pa*, the places *ka-ra-do-ro* and *ri-jo* on the southern coast of Messenia should also be mentioned (Figure 35).⁹² The first is commonly associated with the Ancient Greek term *χάρᾶδρα* or *χάραδρος* meaning ‘rocky ravine’, ‘stony bed of a stream’. The second probably denotes ‘the rocky promontory’, which stands in front of Cape Tenairon.⁹³ In this context, we cannot exclude the possibility that *ka-ra-do-ro* formed from the pre-Hellenic base **kar(ra)-* in the sense of ‘stone’ and of ‘water-carved stone’, because of its form and meaning. In ancient sources, the word *Χαράδρα* is also attested as a toponym in Phocis and Epirus, while *Χάραδρος* is found, as a torrent, in Messenia, Phocis and Argolides. In Elis, the *Χαλάδιοι* people also appeared, while in Macedonia, the toponyms *Γαλάδρα* (ι) and *Γάλαδρος* occurred.⁹⁴

5 Kallipolis and Kalauria: A Possible Toponymic Symmetry

With regard to the Salento peninsula, it does not seem incorrect to investigate whether the ancient sources have preserved other toponymic or hydronymic relics besides *Καλαβρία*, which we can trace back to the pre-Hellenic base **kar(r)ra-/ *garra* or **kala-/ *gala-* and which also point to the predominantly karstic nature of this land.⁹⁵ The first possibly relevant case concerns the river *Γαλαῖσος* or *Galaesus*, which flowed into the Gulf of Tarentum on

tive a più o meno fantomatiche lingue indoeuropee parlate nel bacino dell'Egeo prima del greco di volta in volta presentate sotto le innumerevoli etichette di ‘pelasgico’, ‘tracopelasgico’, ‘ludio’, ‘pre-ellenico’, lingua nd, ‘aimone’, ‘driope, (proto-)acheo’ ecc.; si possono soltanto costatare i toni di diffuso scetticismo, di aperta critica, cui sono improntate le reazioni degli stessi linguisti”. See Sakellariou (1977) 23–77.

89 Plin. 3. 148.

90 App. 3. 19–21; Cass. Dio 49. 35.

91 Kretschmer (1925) 93; Id. (1943) 162; Mayer (1957) I. 51–53; Id. (1959) II. 7–9; 79.

92 Jn 829, Cn 608, Vn 20.

93 Strab. 8. 2–5.

94 Ventris, Chadwick (1959 [1956]) 142; 206; 291–292; 294; 349; Negri (1992) 54–56; Id. (1994) 12–16; Milani (2005) 136; 232. Cf. Ruijgh (1967) 75; Frisk (1954–1972) 1087–1088; Chantraine (1968–1980) 1246; Beekes (2010) 1625.

95 Cf. Borghi (2018) 19.

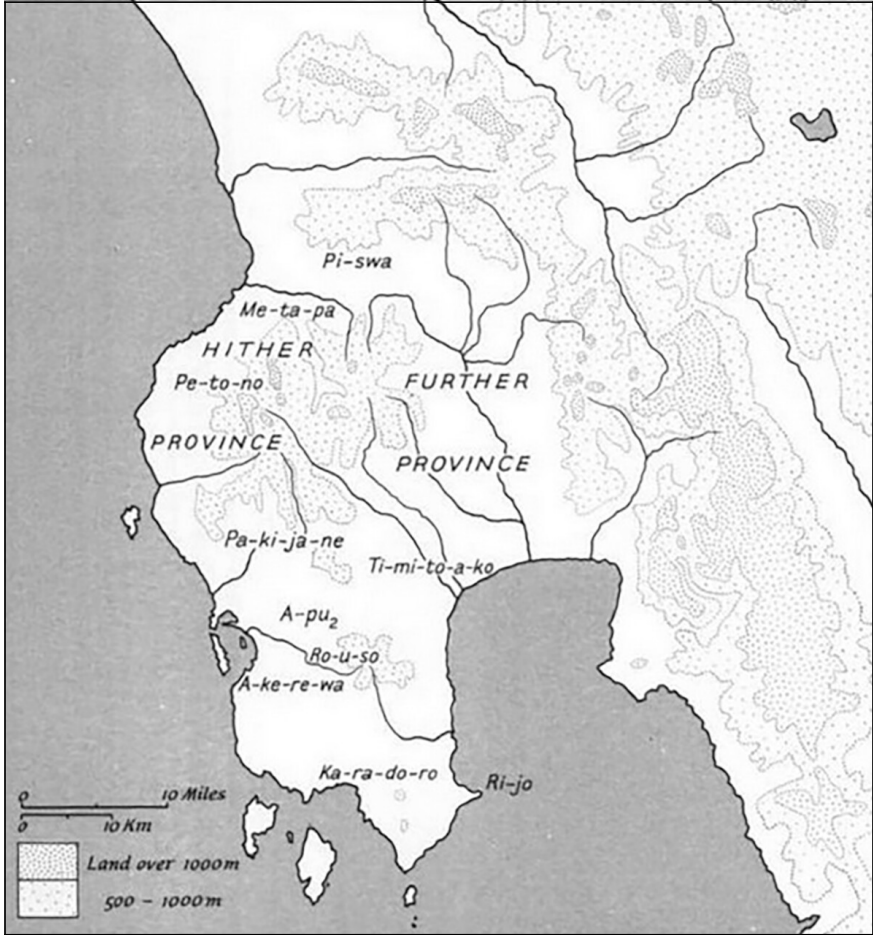


FIGURE 35 The area of Pylos in Messenia with the localities of *Me-ta-pa*, *Ka-ra-do-ro* and *Ri-jo*
 CHADWICK 1976: 44

the coast of the Ionian Sea.⁹⁶ Some have identified it with the *Κάλαβρος* river, which Pausanias recalls in the myth of the Hero of Temesa, set in Archaic times in the sphere of influence of Kroton, Sybaris and Metapontum.⁹⁷ The Galeso is now a small river less than one kilometre long (six-tenths of a mile). It flows into the first *Seno di Mar Piccolo* (Tarentum) and has a karstic nature. Indeed, underground springs of salt water feed its course. The Tarentini also

96 Polyb. 8. 33; Verg. *Geor.* 4. 126; Hor. *Carm.* 2, 6; Prop. *El.* 2, 34; Liv. 25. 11.
 97 Paus. 6. 6. 11. See Maas (1907) 18–53; Giannelli (1924) 266.

called it Εὐρώτα as the river of the motherland Sparta.⁹⁸ Therefore, this feature suggests that the hydronym has an indigenous and non-Greek origin.⁹⁹ The second critical case in the Salento peninsula concerns the name of the city of Gallipoli, known since the 1st century B.C.E.: Καλλιπόλιν ἐπίνειόν τι τῶν Ταραντίνων;¹⁰⁰ *urbs Graia Callipolis*;¹⁰¹ *Callipolis, quae nunc est Anxa*.¹⁰² The toponym, whose meaning is connected with the notion of ‘beautiful city’ (καλή πόλις), occurs for various places in Ancient Greece. Thus we find it near Lampsacus in the Thracian Chersonese;¹⁰³ in Sicily as a colony of Naxos;¹⁰⁴ in Aetolia;¹⁰⁵ on the Halkidiki peninsula;¹⁰⁶ in Mysia;¹⁰⁷ on the Bosphorus near Anaplo¹⁰⁸ and in Karia.¹⁰⁹ Referring to the Salentine Gallipoli, however, it seems appropriate to carefully evaluate several elements: the historical context and its Messapian location; the correspondence between the Thracian-Phrygian morpheme βρία and the Ancient Greek term πόλις, including also the variant -υρία (**uri-*);¹¹⁰ the form γαλή, generally associated with the coastal inlets, such as that of Tartessus on the Atlantic (γαλή Ταρτησία),¹¹¹ and derived from the pre-Hellenic base **kala*, ‘water-carved stone, creek’. Altogether, on the basis of these elements, it is not illogical to hypothesise that Καλλιπόλις was locally the linguistic result of the indigenous choronym Καλαβρία or Καλαυρία. It probably matured over time through assonance (*Kala-/καλός*) and semantic equivalence (*-bria/ -uria/ πόλις*) as a Hellenic interpretation or

98 Polyb. 8. 33.

99 Marano, Vaccarella, Pastorelli, Martino (1985) 53–61; Gandiglio, De Stefano (1993); De Stefano (1999).

100 Dion. Hal. 19. 3.

101 Mela 2. 67.

102 Plin. 3. 100.

103 Strab. 1. 56. 11; 13. 1. 18.

104 Hdt. 7. 154; Strab. 6. 2. 6.

105 Polyb. 20. 11. 11.

106 SEG 40. 542. 32.

107 Ps.-Skyl. 93.

108 St. Byz. 349.

109 Arrian. *Alex. Anab.* 2. 5. 7. Cf. Bengtson (1962) II. 10 n. 111. The toponym Gallipoli (Καλλιπόλις), concerning Greece, denotes both the gateway to the West on the Gulf of Taranto (Dion. Hal. 19. 3) and the gateway to the East along the Dardanelles (Strab. 1. 56.11; 13. 1. 18). See Schweickard (2006) 214–215.

110 Strab. 7. 6. 1: “τῆς δὲ πόλεως βρίας καλουμένης θρακιστί”; St. Byz. 416: “βρία γὰρ τὴν πόλιν φασὶ Θραῖκες”. Cf. Georgiev (1961); Id. (1966) 125–140; 178; Id. (1977) 13; Id. (1957); Detschew (1957) 86–87; 132; 356–357; Id. (1960); Velkova (1967); Id. (1972); Katičić (1976) 128–153; Duridanov (1976); Polomé (1983) 539–540 and n. 93; Paliga (1987) 23–29; Serafimov (2007) 134–154.

111 Hsch. γ 94.

disguise by the Greek colonists of Tarentum. In this sense, Gallipoli possibly appears as the ‘city of the gulf’ or ‘the city of the port’ par excellence, with the same name that originally denoted the entire region.¹¹² Instead, other Salentine place names with the *Gala-* theme, such as *Galatone* and *Galatina*, which are only attested from the Middle Ages, are more complex. The area is part of the Serre Salentine and has significant karst phenomena. However, the restitution most accepted by scholars considers Galátone (*Galatoni*, yr. 1270) and Galatína (*San Pietro in Galatina*, 15th century C.E.) as toponyms associated with the members and descendants of the Galati family, as found in *Calabria Greca-ica*.¹¹³ Finally, the assonances of the Messapian cities of Κάρβινα and Χαλκίτις appear remarkable in the ancient sources. Their location is not yet precisely known. The first, conquered by the Tarentini around 473 B.C.E.,¹¹⁴ is associated with the town of Carovino. The second, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, was a Messapian city, also connected to Chalcis of Euboea, possibly due to Euboic presences on the Salentine Peninsula or similar mining-metallurgical activities.¹¹⁵

In examining the various items, several elements are of great importance, as they combine linguistic and historical features. The first point that stands out is the relationship between Messapia and the Aegean, as indicated by Herodotus¹¹⁶ and archaeologically confirmed by the main Bronze Age sites on the Salento peninsula (16th–12th century B.C.E.). Secondly, the geo-morphological symmetry, as well as the possibly also toponymic parallelism, between Gallipoli (Καλίπολις < Καλαβρία/ -υρία) and Kalauria (Καλαύρεια/ -ύρια/ -υρία), near Troizen on the Saronic Gulf, seems remarkable (Figures 36–37). Thirdly, both Iapigia/ Messapia as a whole and the island of Kalauria appear in the literary sources as ‘rocky’ (τρηχεία).¹¹⁷ Indeed, as can still be seen today, their land has a karstic nature, calcareous soil and an irregular coastline with numerous inlets.¹¹⁸

112 Battisti (1939), 394; Deroy (1962) 1–13. Cf. Bello (2004) 23; DT, 294–295.

113 Rohlf s (1970) 9; Id. (1972) 153; Id. (1986) 71. Cf. DT 293; Schweickard (2006) 184.

114 Clearch. Fr. 48 W.

115 St. Byz. 684–685. We cannot exclude that several Byzantine cities of Salento, such as Galugnano, Aliste (Calliste), and Calimera, linked to the Greek adjective κάλος ‘beautiful’, may have more ancient origins and refer to the base IE or pre-IE *kal-/*gal-, as Gallipoli.

116 Hdt. 7. 170.

117 Strab. 6. 3. 5; Dion. Perieg. *Orb. Descr.* 499; Fest. Avien. *Descr. Orb. Ter.* 671.

118 Cf. Vagnetti (1982) 29; Ead. (1985) 825–832; Ead. (2003) 53–61; Van Compernelle (1988) 79–127. For Kalauria, cf. Figueira (2004), n. 360.

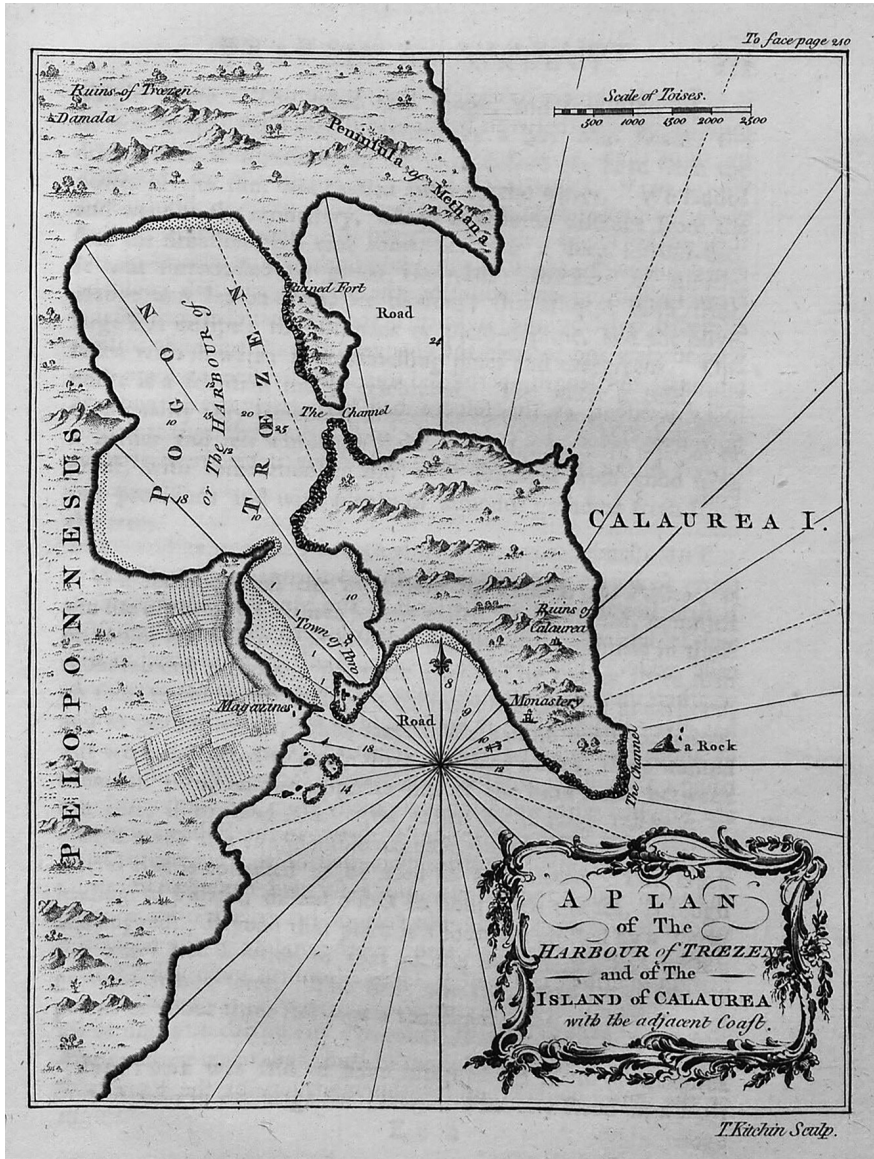


FIGURE 36 The Gulf of Troizen, the island of Kalauria and its adjacent coast
CHANDLER 1776



FIGURE 37 Gallipoli on the Salento peninsula, after Piri Reis' map (16th century c.e.)
WALTERS ART MUSEUM, BALTIMORE

6 Messapia and Krotoniatis Region Mirroring

The stable presence of Iapygian peoples along the coastal areas of the pre-Hellenic Krotoniatis before the 8th century B.C.E., although observed in various literary sources,¹¹⁹ is generally associated, in the absence of specific archaeological data, with the influence exerted over time by the perception of certain geographical and environmental factors, rather than with actual commercial or colonial appropriation. The first connection concerns the sea routes and the visual and topographical environment of the Taranto Gulf. From an archaic point of view, it is not illogical that the *Ταραντίνος κόλπος*, which lies between the *Σικελικὸν πέλαγος* and the *Ίόνιος κόλπος* (i.e. the Adriatic Sea), was bordered by headlands with the same designation. Namely, to the north, the *Ἰαπύγιον ἄκρον* on the Salentine Peninsula (Cape Santa Maria di Leuca) and to the south, the *Ἰαπύγων ἄκραι*¹²⁰ near Croton (Peak Le Castella, Cape Rizzuto and Cape Cimiti). These mirror-like headlands could well delimit the space of the Gulf, almost isolating it and marking precisely the high seas route that connected Greece with Magna Graecia after crossing the Hydruntum Channel. The second factor concerns the so-called 'Iapygian wind' (*Ἰάπυξ*), also named *Σκυλητίνος* from the city of *Σκυλλήτιον*, then Scolacium, an Achaean colony of the *Bruttiorum* country.¹²¹ It connected the Krotoniatis with the Iapygia, blowing over from the west-northwest quadrant, and in this way, it was able to dignify the whole area with a single place name.¹²²

The notion of mirroring, for which the same toponyms may have delineated the Gulf of Taranto in the nautical routes, involves a much more complex and articulated question. Archaeological survey along the coast of Crotona identified many proto-historic sites dating from the Middle and Late Bronze Age (18th–13th centuries B.C.E.). Among the most important are those of Motta di Cirò, Crotona, Cape Cimiti and Cape Piccolo. In addition, there are the settlements of Cape Rizzuto-Torre Vecchia, Peak Le Castella, Cape Colonna, Foresta di Strongoli and Madonna di Mare. Very few traces refer to huts or hut villages, which sometimes contained fragments of Mycenaean or 'pseudo-Minyan' pottery. For the prehistoric period, the Neolithic site of Vrica appears as a large plateau dominating the coast between Crotona and Cape Lacinio

119 Eph. *FGrHist* 70 F 14; Strab. 6. 1; Verg. *Aen.* 3. 399–402; Ovid. *Metam.* 15. 50–54.

120 Strab. 6. 1.

121 Ps. Arist. *De Ventis* 973 b; Arist. fr. 6. 36. 250 Rose.

122 Giannelli (1924) 333–335; Ronconi (1995) 45; Braccesi (1996) 63–66; Id. (1998) 9–17; Frisone (2002) 295–312; Ead. (2008) 119–143; Lombardo (2004) 49–60.

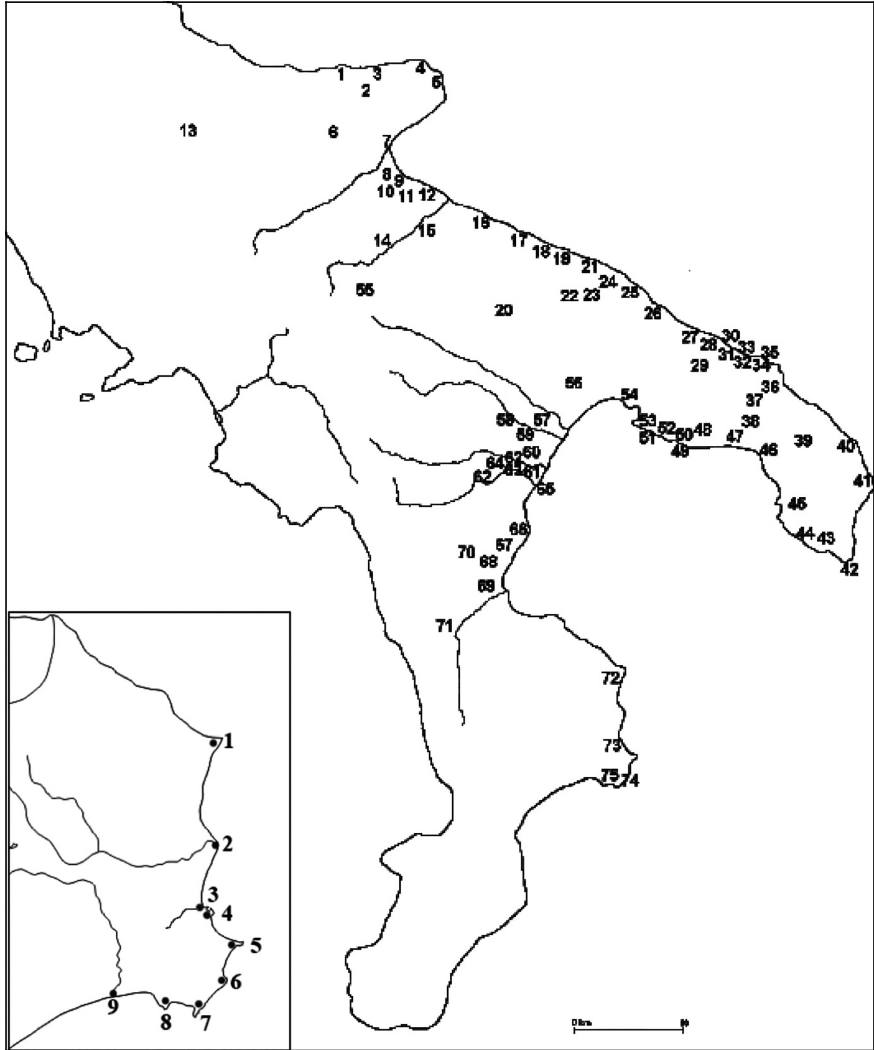


FIGURE 38 The main archaeological sites along the Adriatic and Ionian coasts in the Middle and Late Bronze Age (Bettelli 2002: 19, fig. 1). Bottom left: detail of the Ionian Krotoniatis area with the sub-peninsula of the 'Iapygian promontories': (1) Punta Alice; (2) Mouth of the river Neto; (3) Mouth of the river Esaro; (4) Promontory and city of Crotona; (5) Cape Lacinio; (6) Cape Cimiti; (7) Cape Rizzuto; (8) Le Castelle; (9) Mouth of the river Tacina

from above (Figure 41). The settlements on the headlands, which Strabo called Ἰαπύγων ἄκραι,¹²³ are similar in morphology and geography to those along the Gulf of Taranto and the Salento peninsula. Over time, these cliff terraces have given rise to a rugged coastline, equipped with natural landings, protected from winds and currents and naturally defended by the sea on three sides. Over the centuries, erosion, which is still ongoing, has led to a sharp retreat in the coastline, so that in ancient times the system of inlets had to be more branched and advanced further toward the sea. In particular, the sites of Peak Le Castella, Cape Rizzuto, and Cape Cimiti directly recall the coastal settlements on the promontories with landings in the lower Adriatic, the Ionian Apulian and Calabrian lower Tyrrhenian Seas.¹²⁴ In his *Alexandra*, the poet Lycophron, son of the historian Lycus of Rhegium (4th–3rd century B.C.E.), reports that Menelaus, king of Sparta, came to the Iapygians in search of Helen before the Trojan War. The hero went as far as the rocky ‘inlets/ protrusions’ of Lacinium (Λακινίου μυχούς), the ‘great tip of the mainland’ (χέρσου μέγαν στόρθυγγα). The author was probably referring to the complex system of headlands, inlets, coves and gullies found around Crotone.¹²⁵ The use of the term μυχούς recalls the passage from Euripides’ *Cyclops* in which Odysseus lists the ports of Greece consisting of inlets (μυχούς) dedicated to Poseidon, such as Cape Sounion, Cape Malea, Cape Tainaron and Cape Geraistos.¹²⁶ These were all rocky headlands and bays that served as shelter and refuge for seafarers.¹²⁷ In this context, the inlets (μυχούς) of Lacinium are altogether no different from the Iapygian promontories (Ἰαπύγων ἄκραι) mentioned by Strabo.¹²⁸ Due to the lack of archaeological evidence, the Iapygian presence in the Croton area,

123 Strab. 6. 1. 11–12.

124 Maddoli (1984) 320–326; Spadea (1992) 91–109; Nicoletti (1992–1993); Id. (2020); Radina (1995); Marino (1998) 287–300; Id. (2008); Marino, Festuccia (1995) 241–252; Bettelli (2002) 32; Pacciarelli, Varricchio (2004) 359–379; Royal (2008) 49–66; Bartoli (2010) 399–406; Lena, Bonomi (2012) 8–13; Baumer, Marino, Birchler Emery, Fivaz (2014) 145–152; Marino, Medaglia, Nicoletti, Taliano Grasso (2017) 97–100.

125 Lycophr. *Alex.* 850–865.

126 Eur. *Cycl.* 290–295.

127 Braccesi (1998) 9–17; Rossignoli (2004) 325. On the interpretation of the toponym Lacinium as derived from Gr. λακίς, ‘flap, shred, fringe’, see Lenormant (1976 [1881]: 215). He, however, dwells on the ‘Pelagic’ sense of ‘earth’, associating the cult of Hera Lacinia with the lush sacred wood dedicated to the goddess. Similarly, Farnell (1896: 212–213) considers Lakinia an epithet derived from the Oscan-Umbrian Lakis ‘earth’: so Hera Lakinia would present herself as ‘earth-goddess’. For the term λακίς derived the PIE *lh₂-n-k- root, having a possible connection with Lat. lacer, lacinia, cf. Chantraine (1968–1980) 615; Frisk (1954–1972) II. 75; De Vaan (2008) 320–321; Beekes (2010) 826. See *infra*.

128 Strab. 6. 1. 11–12.

which must exclude an actual historical expansion, probably arose from the memory of ancient frequentation by the Mycenaean Achaeans (as for Tarentum). The later Greeks recognised in these people the followers of Minos, who returned from Sicily under the leadership of Iapyx, the son of Daedalus and a Cretan woman.¹²⁹ On the other hand, according to Hellanicus,¹³⁰ the Iapygians had driven the Ausonians out of Italy by pushing them into Sicily. At the same time, Ephorus¹³¹ noted that Iapygians had inhabited Kroton before the arrival of the Greeks. This tradition resumes Herodotus' view¹³² that the Iapygians-Messapians were the result of a *metabolé* of the Cretans. The continuity between Cretans and Iapygians throughout the Ταραντίνος κόλπος must have been the origin of the notion of the *great Iapygia* which, as Pseudo-Scylax claims,¹³³ extended from Herakleion to Metapontum and as far as Tarentum. Antiochus of Syracuse¹³⁴ remarks that the border between Iapygia and Italy still ran through the Metapontine territory. Finally, the parallel story that Myskelus, the mythical founder of Croton, was an Achaean who did not come from Achaia, in the northern Peloponnese, but from the island of Crete, probably goes back to the same tradition.¹³⁵ On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility that the word στόρθυγγα, used by Lycophron in the sense of 'tip' to designate Cape Lacinium,¹³⁶ is due to a literary reminiscence of Sophocles fr. 89. 4 Radt.¹³⁷ In this fragment, this term in the plural denotes the 'tips of the horns' of the doe (στόρθυγγας εἶρφ' ἔκηλος) which in the myth nursed Telephus, a son of Heracles, who was abandoned at birth.¹³⁸ In this case, there would be a poetic allusion by analogy to the coastal ramifications of the subpeninsula between the Esaro estuary and Peak Le Castella. Indeed, this area stretches around Cape Lacinium, which exists only as a 'great' promontory off the mainland (χέρσου μέγαν στόρθυγγα).¹³⁹ In antiquity, Strabo emphasised the

129 Antioch. fr. 14 ap. Strab. 6. 3. 2.

130 *FGrHist* 4 F 79 = Dion. Hal. L. 22. 3.

131 Ephor. F 140 = Strab. 6. 1. 12.

132 Hdt. 7. 170. 2.

133 Ps.-Scyl. 14 (GGM I. 23).

134 *FGrHist* 555 F 3 and 13.

135 Diod. 8. 17. See Maddoli (1984) 322–323. Cf. Nenci (1976) 719–738; Id. (1987) 332; the author does not exclude that the tradition reported by Ephorus refers to the southward thrusts of Iapygian people attracted by the pastures and mineral resources of present-day Calabria. Cf. Cataldi (1987) 565–602.

136 Lycophr. *Alex.* 850–865.

137 Ael. HA 7. 39.

138 See Suda σ 1144.1: Στόρθυγξ; τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δόρατος.

139 Cf. De Sensi Sestito (2016) 169. For the myth of Telephus, see Diod. 4. 33; Hyg. Fab. 99; Paus. 7. 54. 6; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 7. 4., and Brizi (1928).



FIGURE 39 The high and rugged coastline of the Costa Otranto-Santa Maria di Leuca Park
PHOTO FROM WWW.SALENTINATRAVELS.IT

similarity between the harbour entrances and the shape of the deer.¹⁴⁰ Thus he considered the name *Brundisium* (Gr. Βρεντέσιον) to be derived from the Mesapian term βρέντιον ‘deer’s head’ (κεφαλή του ελάφου), because, as a natural harbour with bays, creeks and coves, it recalled the shape of deer’s horns.¹⁴¹ More generally, referring to the Crotonian country, the deer appears in the myth of the hunter Aesar. The eponymous hero of the river Aesar died in pursuit of a deer (ἔλαφον).¹⁴² This animal also appears on coins from the Lacinium area, dated between the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.E., with an eagle on R/ standing on the deer’s head.¹⁴³

140 Strab. 6. 3. 6.

141 On the *Brention/ Brindisi* relationship, cf. Alessio (1955) 211–238; Aigner Foresti (2004) 84–85; Lombardo (2015a) 10.

142 Eusth. *Comm. in Dionysii Per.* 369: “Ὁ δὲ περὶ Κρότωνα ποταμὸς Αἴσαρος ἐπὶ κυνηγῶ Αἰσάρῳ καλεῖται, ὃς ἐλάφῳ διωκομένη αὐτόθι συνεισπεσὼν ἀφήκεν οὕτω καλεῖσθαι τὸν ποταμόν”; 420.

143 Attianese (2005) 139–141.



FIGURE 40 The promontory of Cape Lacinio south of Crotona
LENA, BONOMI 2012: 10 FIG. 8



FIGURE 41 Detail of the badlands of Crotona and Vrica
PHOTO BY ISTITUTO SUPERIORE PER LA PROTEZIONE E PER LA RICERCA
AMBIENTALE (ISPRA)



FIGURE 42 Crotona, on the south side, is overlooked and surrounded by badlands

7 Several Krotoniatis Place-Names Based on **Kar-/ *Kal-* Root

Along the Ionian side, the same high and rugged coastline formed by creeks, coves and natural inlets characterises both the land of Salento and the sub-peninsula of Crotona, which stretches from the mouth of the river Esaro to Le Castella. These places are two mirror sides when we look at the two ends of the Gulf of Taranto: Cape Santa Maria di Leuca to the north and Cape Lacinio to the south. This phenomenon does not occur for Sybaris or Locris, where the coast is low, straight and open: here the protohistoric settlements (18th–13th century B.C.E.) lie further back in the hinterland. On the linguistic level, too, several clues suggest that the toponymic system formed by the base *IE* or pre-*IE* **kar(r)a/ *kala* and its derivatives in the original meaning of ‘stone, rock’ and ‘water-carved stone’ probably included, like the Salento peninsula, the pre-Hellenic Krotoniatis land.¹⁴⁴

144 Paus. *Graec. Descr.* 6. 6. 11. For the coastal morphology of the Crotonian land, see Sdao, Simone, Vittorini (1984) 10–16; Infantino (1992) 23–36. On the archaeological data, cf. Bettelli (2002), 32; Medaglia (2010) 8: “Le coste hanno un andamento lineare e si presentano basse e sabbiose lungo tutto l’arco litoraneo compreso tra il fiume Nicà e Crotona. A sud di questa città e sino a località Campolongo, presso Le Castella, una serie di promontori dà alla linea di riva un movimento sinuoso e articolato [...]. Tra Capo Colonna e Le Castella si succedono coste a falesia intervallate qua e là dalle basse spiagge di Alfieri, Mar-

The river of ancient Italy, called Κάλαβρος or Κάλαυρος or Κάλαυβρος in the manuscripts, could, if we consider the story of Pausanias (2nd-century B.C.E) about the Hero of Temesa (App. #30),¹⁴⁵ only lie between Krotoniatis region and Sybaris. This area today corresponds to central and northern Calabria, from the Gulf of Sant'Eufemia on the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Gulf of Taranto on the Ionian Sea. The river Κάλαβρος is sometimes identified with the river Esaro, which is today a tributary of the Sibari-Coscile rivers near Sybaris. After the victory over Sybaris in 510 B.C.E., the Krotoniates would have renamed the watercourse, referring to the river that washed around their city (ἐπίκλισις). The latter Αἴσαρος is mentioned in the founding oracles¹⁴⁶ and in Hellenistic and Roman literary sources.¹⁴⁷ As a deity, the river appears on several coin series from Kroton dated between the end of the 5th and the 4th century B.C.E..¹⁴⁸ The term Αἴσαρος and Κάλαβρος, beyond the Greek tradition, fit well as relics in the context of 'Paleo-European hyponymy', which developed in full form at the latest in the first half of the second millennium B.C.E. The first, like Eisa, Einad, Isa, Isna, Isar, Isen, Isara, and Aisetà rivers, possibly derives from the base *eis-, *ois-, *is- 'rapid', 'moving violently', 'impetuous', with the addition of a suffix reflecting the PIE *-ro- and having a feminine inflexion. The second recalls the base *kar(r)a-/ *kala- in the hydronymic meaning of 'stony river', 'river flowing through a bank'.¹⁴⁹ Both hydronyms, once associated as IE or PIE only with central-northern Europe, have now also been found in southern Italy, the Anatolian Peninsula, Africa and even India, corresponding to a broader and more complex linguistic *milieu* defined as pre-Indo-European or Indo-Mediterranean.¹⁵⁰

inella, Le Cannella, Capo Rizzuto e Soverito. L'ultimo tratto di litorale ad oriente del fiume Tacina assume nuovamente un aspetto lineare con coste pianeggianti e sabbiose"; Marino, Medaglia, Nicoletti, Taliano Grasso (2017) 97–100. For the area between Crotona and Capo Lacino, scientifically, we should not speak of real 'gullies', as we do here and elsewhere to make the argument explicit, but of 'forme calancoidi e cupuliformi', according to the so-called 'Biancane del Senese' (cf. Sdao, Simone, Vittorini 1984: 10–16).

145 Paus. *Graec. Descr.* 6. 6. 11.

146 Diod. 8. 17; Ovid. *Metam.* 15. 12–59.

147 Theocr. 4. 17; Licophr. *Alex.* 911; Dion. 6. 1. 12; Strab. 6. 1. 12.

148 Cf. Giannelli (1924) 260–277; Mazzarino (1939) 148; Zancani Montuoro (1974) 70–80; Fontenrose (1974) 119; Lepore, Mele (1983) 882; Mele (1983) 848–888; Visentin (1992); Currie (2003), 85–102.

149 Krahe (1955); Id. (1964); Pokorny (1959) 299–301; Rohlf s (1969) 149; Tovar (1977); Id. (1982); Jordàn (1997a); Id. (1997b); Id. (1998); Villar (1997) 102–103; Trumper (2004) 39–89; Perono Cacciafoco (2008); Id. (2015b); Villar et al. (2011) 315–316; 608–609.

150 Villar et al. (2011) 315–316; 608–609. Cf. Winter (1952) 269–272; Devoto (1962) 161–171; Pellegrini (1978) 82; Vennemann (2003) 517–590.

The poet Lycophron in the *Alexandra* (App. #12) called the Krotoniates who were victorious over the Cleia amazon 'descendants of Lauretes' (Λαυρήτης γόννοι).¹⁵¹ The Scholia to the text, compiled in the Byzantine period by John Tzetzes (12th century c.e.), explain that Laure was in practice the city of Croton (Λαύρη γὰρ πόλις Κρότωνος). The name derives from Λαυρήτη, a daughter of Lacinius, hence the headland Lacinium, and wife of Croton, the eponymous hero of the city.¹⁵² The myth seems to recall the privileged relationships between Croton and Kerkyra. According to some traditions, Croton was the son of Phaeax and the brother of Alcinous, the ruler of the Kerkyraians.¹⁵³ Lacinius was a Kerkyraian.¹⁵⁴ Strabo claims that Kerkyra was Scheria,¹⁵⁵ the island of the Phaeacians,¹⁵⁶ colonised by Chersicrates of the Heraclides family at the suggestion of Archias, the founder of Syracuse and companion of Myskellos when he consulted the Oracle of Apollo at Delphi.¹⁵⁷ Kerkyra was an essential stopover on the way to the West.¹⁵⁸ In this context, it stands to reason that the relationship between Kerkyra and Croton in mythical lore, beyond the origin of the name Lacinius, reflects an ancient historical heritage that refers to the 'Ionian route' that led from the Peloponnese to Italy and Sicily via the Corinthian colonies. A variant of the myth depicts Lacinius as a son of Cyrene.¹⁵⁹ As *Alexandra* and the *Scholia in Lycophron* suggest, Λαύρη would indicate the ancient, pre-colonial name of Croton. The toponym Κρότων would also belong to a phase before the Achaean colonisation in the 8th century B.C.E. According to other sources, we can relate Λαύρη to the Ancient Greek noun λάρρα 'narrow path', 'excavated path',¹⁶⁰ which is connected to the pre-Hellenic root *law- 'digging, splitting, furrowing'. This root may have given rise to the form *lawera 'trench, sunken path, underground, furrow or cavity in the ground' (Gr. λάρρα, λάρρον; λαβίριον; Lat. *laurex*; Port. *lura*), and also, not without uncertainties, to the form *lawa 'stone' (collateral, from *λαφαρ, concerning the Gr. Hom. λαῶς;¹⁶¹ Lat. *lausiae*; Fr. *lave*). The scheme *lawa/ *lawera would thus similarly

151 Lycophr. *Alex.* 1002–1007.

152 Schol. in Lycophr. 1002. 1–1007. 6b. Stoll (1897) 1917; Ciaceri (1901) 110–111; 286; Hornblower (2015) 372.

153 Schol. in Theocr. 4, 32a.

154 Schol. in Theocr. 4, 33b.

155 Strab. 6. 2. 4.

156 *Od.* 6. 1–10; 6. 266–267.

157 Antioch. ap. Strab. 6. 1. 11 = *FGrHist.* 555. F 10.

158 Thuc. 1. 36.

159 Serv. *Aen.* 3. 552. See Braccesi (1998) 9–18; Coppola (1995) 155–160.

160 *Od.* 22, 128; 137; Pind. *P.* 8. 86; *Hdt.* 1. 180.

161 *Il.* 3, 12; 7, 268; *Od.* 11. 598. Capovilla (1964: 139–142) suggests a connection between *λαφαρ

reflect the correspondence already observed between the pre-Hellenic base **kar(r)a-/*kala-* meaning ‘stone’ and ‘water-carved stone’.¹⁶² The terms Λαύρη and Λαυρήτη would thus recall the system of inlets, capes and gullies generated by the ‘furrowed and excavated land’, that has characterised, in particular, Croton and the sub-peninsula between the mouth of the river Aesar, Cape Lacinium and Le Castella Peak since prehistoric times and still today. This item appears relevant without necessarily referring to an original form <Κα> λαύρη/ <Κα>λαυρήτη and also according to the Ancient Greek meaning of λαύρα as ‘furrow or cavity in the ground.’ Similarly, Λάυρειον or Λάυρεον was identified in Greece as the rocky promontory south of Attica known for its quarries or silver mines.¹⁶³ It was an integral part, precisely as for Λαύρη/ Λαυρήτη towards Lacinium,¹⁶⁴ of the *μυχοίς* of Cape Sounion.¹⁶⁵ Finally, the toponym Λάτυμνον mentioned by Theocritus in the *Idylls* for Kroton (App. #13)¹⁶⁶ could also belong to the semantic field of the term λαῶς ‘stone’¹⁶⁷ and its compounds. The place name is associated with the hills to the west of the Esaro River, in the hinterland of Croton near Scandale country and along the Neto River. According to other analogous compounds of λαῶς ‘stone’ and τέμνω ‘to cut’, such as λα-τόμος ‘stone-cutter’ and λα-τομίαι, ‘cave’ (Lat. *lautumiae* or *latomiae*), the term Λάτυμνον is well suited to denote, in the sense of ‘water-carved soil’, what are now geographically the so-called *Calanchi del Marchesato*. These are the clayey formations of the hilly ridges with erosion furrows that predominantly characterise the land of Croton between the Ionian coast and Presila, and are geologically known as Scandale Sandstones and Cutro Marly Clay.¹⁶⁸

and Cretan *ra.u.ra.ta* (KN Dn 1300), as well as with *ra.wa.ra.ta* from Pylos (PY 723.3; PY An 298.1).

162 Boisacq (1916) 561; Deroy (1962) 1–13. Cf. Chantraine (1968–1980) 623; Beekes (2010) 838.

163 Hdt. 7. 144; Thuc. 2. 55; 6. 91.

164 Lycophr. *Alex.* 850–865; 1002–1007.

165 Eur. *Cycl.* 290–295. Referring to the end of the 19th century C.E., on the road from Croton to Cape Lacinio, about halfway away, we know the place name Calolaura (Lenormant 1961: 138; 203). Even earlier in the 17th century C.E., we find a “chimney called Calo Laura”, ascending to the Prasinace plain (Nola Molise 1649: 66). It was associated with the Vrica area (Lucifero ap. Lenormant 1961: 138; 203), or to Prestica locality, by Calolauro and Cala dela Bruca names.

166 Theocr. 4. 19.

167 *Il.* 3. 12; 7. 268; *Od.* 11. 598.

168 Cf. Lenormant (1976) 387; Krahe (1939) 117; Spadea (1984) 119–166; Squillace (2007) 13–30. The adjective βαθύσκιον, referring to Λάτυμνον, probably takes up the literary expression ‘deep-shadowed cave in the rock’ (πέτρης εἰς κευθμῶνα βαθύσκιον) of the Homeric hymn to Hermes (4. 229). See Gow (1973) 80. Other scholars amended the term Λάτυμνον, known only by Theocritus, with the forms Λευκανίας or Λακνίας (Ahrens 1909). For the com-

Among the founding oracles of Kroton,¹⁶⁹ which were non-elaborated before the 6th–5th century B.C.E.,¹⁷⁰ the first answer of the system of Diodorus (App. #18),¹⁷¹ which may be based on Timaeus (4th century B.C.E.)¹⁷² and is considered by some scholars to be authentic,¹⁷³ even if it is part of the intended and identity history,¹⁷⁴ contains several geographical indications in the words of the Pythia in Myskellos. First of all, the priestess commands Myskellos, who has ‘narrow shoulders’ but is dear to Apollo, ‘to settle Croton’, which extends (literally ‘great’ [μέγαν]) into an area designated by the words “καλαίς ἐν ἀρούραις”. This expression is usually rendered as ‘in the beautiful ploughed fields’ to denote, according to Greek terms and as *vaticinatio ex eventu*, the presence, especially in the south, in the Achaean city of the 6th–5th century B.C.E., of extensive flat areas cultivated with cereals that met the needs of a predominantly agricultural society.¹⁷⁵ The Pythia offers further explanation to Myskellos, who claimed not to understand. On closer inspection, the coast of Kroton shows as coordinates, for those coming by sea from Greece (Echinades Islands), Cape Lacinium (Λακινίου ἄκρου), the sacred Krimisa (ἱεράς Κριμίσης) and the river Aisar (Αἰσάρου ποταμοῖο).¹⁷⁶ The construct “καλαίς ἐν ἀρούραις” in

pounds of λαᾶς ‘stone’ and the stem of the verb τέμνω ‘to cut’, see Beekes (2010) 817. The Scholiast (Schol. in Theocr. 4. 19b) understands Λάταμνον as single ὄρος Κρότωνος or περὶ Κρότανος or περὶ Κρότανος. Still, in the *Idylls*, this aspect does not emerge directly: the toponym, on the contrary, seems to indicate a relatively large area (ἀμφί). The chain of Λάτμος, a ridge formed by numerous rocky spurs which rise in Caria, in the Anatolian peninsula (Strab. 14. 1. 8), could be similar to Λάτυμνον. For the geomorphology of the Crotonian Basin, see Zecchin, Ceramicola, Civile, Sturiale, Ramella, Roda (2014).

- 169 Diod. 8. 17 (= Parke, Wormell II. 44); Hypp. *FGrHist*, 554. F 1 (= Zenob. III. 42); Antioch. ap. Strab. 6. 1. 11 (= *FGrHist*, 555. F 10 [Parke, Wormell II. 43–45]). For the sources, see Lombardo (2011: 41–43) and Appendix.
- 170 Parke, Wormell (1956) I. 70; Fontenrose (1978) 8; Mele (1984) 21–30; Giangiulio (1981) 1–24; Id. (1989) 215–232; Id. (2010) 45–62; Id. (2021) 40–41; Arena (1996) 217–234; Lombardo (2011) 22–47. See also Suárez de la Torre (1994: 23), who on the oracle’s post-Homeric lexicon refers to Leumann (1950: 194) and Casevitz (1985: 75–76; 219–220).
- 171 Diod. 8. 17 = Parke, Wormell II. 44.
- 172 De Sensi Sestito (1991) 134.
- 173 Malkin (1987) 45–47; Morgan (1990) 176.
- 174 Lombardo (2011) 25; the oracle “presuppone la consapevolezza della tragica fine di Sibari nel 510 a.c., offrendoci così un terminus post quem per l’elaborazione della tradizione”.
- 175 Cf. Giangiulio (1989) 232; Id. (1991) 41; Mele (2007) 233; Aversa (2011) 39–66.
- 176 Diod. 8. 17: “οὗτος μὲν Τάφιος τοι ἀνήροτος, ἦδε δὲ Χαλκίς, ἦδε δὲ Κουρήτων ἢ ἱερά χθών, αἶδε δ’ Ἐχινάδες εἰσι· πολὺς δ’ ἐπ’ ἀριστερὰ πόντος. οὕτω σ’ οὐκ ἄν φημι Λακινίου ἄκρου ἀμαρτεῖν οὐδ’ ἱεράς Κριμίσης οὐδ’ Αἰσάρου ποταμοῖο”. See Suárez de la Torre (1994) 25: «Le indicazioni geografiche non possono essere interpretate come una “guida” al viaggio: esse sono una componente letteraria, ma con l’intenzione di produrre una sensazione d’autenticità, e questa è la causa che spinge l’autore a dare una dimostrazione della esatta conoscenza

the words of the oracle, chronologically late but relevant to the archaic foundation, provides a primary geographical clue to the location of Kroton. In the eyes of the priestess of Apollo, the founder could not ignore where the site lay already based on the first general answer. The formulation constitutes a *hápax legómenon*, attested only in Diodorus,¹⁷⁷ and not an expression of everyday use, as is commonly believed to be understood by assigning it the generic meaning of 'beautiful ploughed fields'. If we regard the construct as a pre-Hellenic lexical relic, we cannot exclude the possibility that it originally had a specific toponymic character, before it was reinterpreted by the Greeks. In this case, the connection with the base **kar(r)a-/ kala-* would be obvious in the meaning, like the choronym *Kala-bria/ Kala-uria* for the Messapia, a region characterised by water-carved soil and inlets/ promontories favourable for landings. The pre-colonial Κρότων, which extended 'great' *καλαίς ἐν ἀρούραις* had to rise, according to the Delphic oracle, within the imposing system of inlets, coves and gullies that has characterised the area since prehistoric times (see Geosite of Vrica; Cutro Marly Clay). Several scattered settlements were probably located on the plateaus bordering the coast of the sub-peninsula, once called *Marchesato*. As Lycophron claimed, the 'tip' of Lacinium was also considered 'great' compared to the mainland (*χέρσου μέγαν στόρθυγγα*).¹⁷⁸ This description was probably due to the mirror-like character that the area of Lacinium could have in the eyes of the ancients with the contemporary centres of Calabria (Salento peninsula) and the Gulf of Taranto, as a settlement 'on the promontory' within the same environmental profile. Moreover, the characterisation of archaic Croton

del luogo che possiede il dio delfico. In questo esempio un tale effetto è conseguito attraverso l'enumerazione dei luoghi e delle località che possono essere conosciute da coloro che compiono l'itinerario partendo sia dall'Acacia sia dalla costa dell'Acarniana. Dopo, la precisazione finisce. Non può nemmeno considerarsi utile per la navigazione dire che "c'è un grande mare a sinistra" [*πολύς δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ πόντος*] e poi citare due punti geografici senza specificazione e un fiume del quale si dà solo il nome. A mio parere queste particolarità vengono determinate dalla pretesa di dimostrare la conoscenza della regione, che è inseparabile dall'esistenza d'una toponimia già perfettamente consolidata». Cf. Bérard (1963 [1957]) 339: "il responso dato a Miscello, sia pure un'invenzione di eruditi di epoca tarda, implica che Crimisa esisteva già prima della colonizzazione achea dell'età storica. Ancora una volta siamo dunque indotti a distinguere nettamente fra colonizzazione storica e colonizzazione mitica". See Giangiulio (1981) 1–24; Id. (1989) 215–232; Id. (2010) 45–62; Id. (2021) 40–41. Furthermore, direct navigation on the high seas from the Echinades islands to Croton during the Archaic period was unthinkable. Still in the fifth century. B.C.E., the usual route to the West from Greece involved crossing the Otranto Canal and landing in Iapygia (Thuc. 7. 33). Cf. Lombardo (2015a) 17 fig. 11.

177 Diod. 8. 17.

178 Lycophr. *Alex.* 850–865.

as a city of ‘beautiful ploughed fields’ has caused many problems of understanding, especially in comparison with the city of Sybaris, already favoured by Myskellos.¹⁷⁹ The flat land along the coast was not entirely fertile: the marshy areas along the rivers Esaro and Neto may have been vast. The cultivable fields did not form a unified whole, as in Sybaris, but described an elongated and stifled design that removed them from the city in two different directions. The same applies to the clayey hills on the coast and in the hinterland, which, although they could partially enclose vegetation in the earliest phases, were better suited to pastoralism and hunting than to organised agriculture.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, archaeological survey has shown that agricultural exploitation of the *Marchesato* only began around the middle of the 7th century B.C.E. Cultivation then became more widespread and systematic in the 6th century B.C.E., especially for the plateau south of Croton between Cutro and Isola Capo Rizzuto, precisely at the time when the motif of *καλαὶ ἄρουραι* in the general meaning of ‘beautiful ploughed fields’ was probably adopted.¹⁸¹

The *incipit* of the praise of Croton and Lacinium facing east (ποταῶν) in Theocritus’ (ca. 315–260 B.C.E.) *Idylls* 4 (App. #13) bears the expression “αἰνέω τάν τε Κρότωνα—Καλὰ πόλις ἃ τε Ζάκυνθος ...” (Hunter 1999; Hopkinson 2015), or “αἰνέω τάν τε Κρότωνα καλὰν πόλιν ἃ τε Ζάκυνθον” (Edmonds 2019). Most scholars believe that *καλὰ πόλις* refers directly or indirectly to Croton. We do not know whether the poet here takes up lore that made the expression an epithet of the Achaean city as a parallel name to *Καλλίπολις* (= *καλή πόλις*) of the Salento peninsula.¹⁸² For the moment, this is a simple hypothesis. However, based on the other clues and beyond the Hellenic motif of *beauty*, it would not be contradictory that Croton and Lacinium on the one hand and Gallipoli on the other were linked by common linguistic expressions, as for Strabo’s ‘Iapygian promontories’.¹⁸³ After all, the places represent the two ends of the Taranto Gulf. The term *Καλά*, preserved by Theocritus, would in this sense be an original epithet, also going back to the pre-Hellenic base **kar(r)a-*/**kala-*, in reference to the ‘water-carved stone’ and the system of inlets, gullies, creeks and coves to moor in that characterise this area. We would thus be dealing with a substan-

179 Diod. 8. 17; Strab. 1. 12.

180 Spadea (1984) 121–125; Id. (1993) 19–34; Mele (2007) 233: “Gli oracoli relativi alla fondazione di Crotona la definiscono grande tra i bei campi arati, ma sottolineano altresì l’inferiorità di queste terre rispetto a quelle in possesso di Sibari e la minore ricchezza di Crotona rispetto a Siracusa”. Cf. Aversa (2011) 42–43.

181 Diod. 8. 17. See Giangiulio (1989) 215–232.

182 Dion. Hal. 19. 3; Mela 2. 67; Plin. 3. 100.

183 Strab. 6. 1. 11–12.

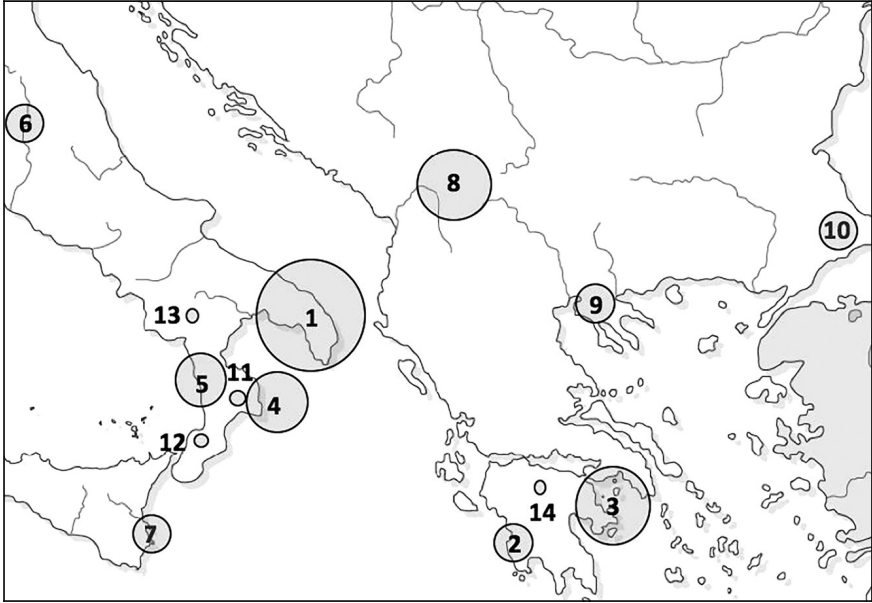


FIGURE 43 The densification areas of the forms *Kalabr-/ Kala-*, and similar terms, documented by ancient and early medieval sources: (1) Calabria or Messapia as the Salento peninsula; (2) The onomastic *Ka-ra-u-ro* in the Tables of Pylos, Peloponnese; (3) The island of Kalauria near Troizen, Peloponnese; (4) The *arourai kalai* of the Krotoniatis region; (5) The river Kalabros between Temesa, Sybaris, Metapontum and Croton; (6) The inscription of [A]ranθia Kalaprenas from Volsinii, Orvieto; (7) The place of Kalauria near Syracuse; (8) The tribe of Galabria in Dardania, Kosovo; (9) The mountain of Kalauros on the Halkidiki peninsula; (10) The fortress of Kalauria/ Calabria near Selymbria in Thrace; (11) The Monastery of *Kalauromaria/ Calabro Maria* near Altilia di Santa Severina, KR; (12) The hamlet of *Kalabròn/ Calabrò* near Mileto, vv, in present-day Calabria; (13) The estate of Kalabra, now Câlvera, PZ, in Lucania; (14) The barony of Kalabryta in Achaia, northern Peloponnese. All the areas referred to by the identified chorotoponyms and ethnonyms are affected by karst, gully and alluvial phenomena (<*kar-/ *kal- 'water-carved stone'). In the 7th century C.E., the choronym Kalabria migrated from Salento to the land of the *Bruttii*, now Calabria

tial correspondence to the *καλαὶ ἄρουραι* of the founding myth¹⁸⁴ in a broader and more complex choronymic framework. Calabria as ancient Messapia could be functionally projected onto the coasts of Croton and Lacinium, closing in a single area the Gulf of Taranto and the main promontories as landing places along the routes that led westwards from the Balkans and Greece.¹⁸⁵

184 Diod. 8. 17.

185 For Theocritus' *Idylls*, cf. Edmonds (1919) 54–55; 137; Hopkinson (2015) 76–77; Hunter (1999) 42. On the relationship between *Καλλὰ πόλις* and Croton, see Gow (1950) II. 84.

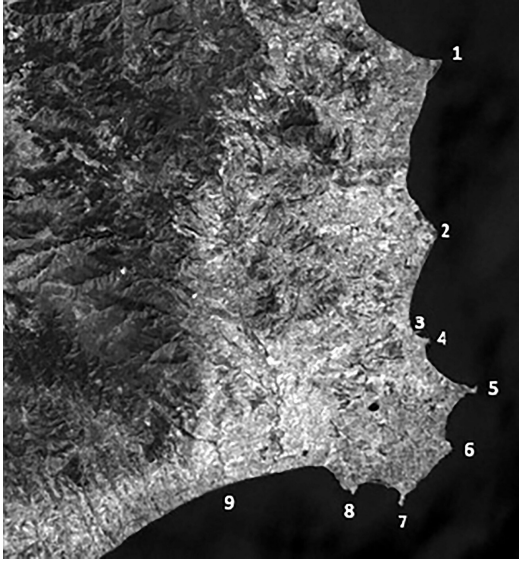


FIGURE 44

Fringed shape of the Krotoniatis coasts due to the system of creeks and badlands along the sub-peninsula between the mouth of the river Esaro (3) and Le Castella (8), with the promontory of Crotona (4), Cape Lacinio (5), Cape Cimiti (6), Cape Rizzuto (7). Above: Punta Alice (1) and the mouth of the river Neto (2). Below: the mouth of the river Tacina (9)
PHOTO GOOGLE MAP 2020

In the context of many toponyms probably based on the root **kar-/ *kal-* ‘stone’, ‘water-carved stone’, the place name Κρότων, known from the 6th–5th centuries B.C.E.,¹⁸⁶ becomes more significant if we project it into the pre-Hellenic period, before the 8th century B.C.E. In this way, the possibility that the root 1E or pre-1E **kar-* with the zero-degree variant **kr-* gave rise to the proto-form **kartu-/ *krt-u-* seems plausible. It is at the base of the Greek adjective κρατύς ‘strong’ and the verb κρατύνω (epic form)/ κρατύνω ‘to strengthen’ (Lat. *arduus*; Goth. *hardus* ‘hard’). The same root/ proto-form **kartu-/ *krt-u-* and the derived forms share the same original meaning of ‘hard’. The ‘hardness’ (not necessarily ‘non-breakable hardness’), which is implicit in this ‘semantic family’, is understood as a physical property (‘the hardness of the stone’).¹⁸⁷ From this point of view, the toponym Κρότων, with a dark vowel (*krăt-ū-n* > *krōt-ō-n*), would refer to the gullies and the harsh nature of the places, to the water-carved soil, to the rocky promontory and the high and rugged coast, as

186 Hecat. ap. St. Byz. F 80. 2; Hdt. 3. 125; 8. 47.

187 Perono Cacciafoco (2008) 13–24; Id. (2015b) 35–50, referring to Benveniste (2001) 340–346. Otherwise, the toponym Κρότων would recall a) the phytonym ροτών ‘Ricinus’, as the ‘Place of the Ricinus’, because the territory widely includes this plant (Mele 2001: 253–301; Id. 2005: 9–45); b) the ‘clamour’ (Gr. ροτέω) of the beaks rhythmically beaten by the storks stationing in the city surroundings, which would refer to the wader/stork placed next to the primary type of the tripod on most of the incuse staters and then with double relief of Croton. On the last item, cf. Carroccio (2008).

in the case of the meaning of Λαύρη¹⁸⁸ and the so-called καλαὶ ἄρουραι.¹⁸⁹ If we consider, among other things, the conformation of Croton, the same acropolis of the Greek period must have represented in itself a headland exposed to the sea. Moreover, considering the Gulf of Taranto as a whole, the mouth of the river Aesar, which was probably a port channel in ancient times,¹⁹⁰ represents the first important estuary south of the coasts of Iapygia/ Messapia. A recent archaeological survey confirms the prominent position of Croton as headland during the Late Bronze Age and the importance of cultural exchange with the Aegean world in the proto-historic period.¹⁹¹ In the 2nd century B.C.E., the historian Polybius noted that the prosperity of Croton was precisely related to the nature of the sites, which favoured the shipping routes (τὴν τῶν τόπων εὐφύϊαν). However, at the time the city had only shelters (θερινοὺς ἔχοντες ὄρμους) and a single equipped port (βραχεῖάν τινα παντελῶς προσαγωγῆν).¹⁹² Furthermore, some scholars have associated the base *kar- (= Hitt. *gurta*-; Ugar. *qrt*) 'hard', but also 'stone', 'rocky hill', 'fortress', with a series of toponyms: *Gorthyna* near Crete, *Cortona* in Etruria, *Korinthos* in the Peloponnese, *Gyrtyne* in Thessaly, *Kyrtone* in Boeotia, *Gortynia* in Macedonia.¹⁹³ The forms *-(h)yna/ -e/ -ia* or *-tone/ -a*, as the second part of these toponyms, possibly recall the morpheme **dhūnos* (IEW 263), which is widespread in Celtic (e.g. *Lugdunum*) but also in the Mediterranean (Gr. Θίς, Lat. *funus* 'burial mound'). It, like *πύργος* (**bherǵh-*), *βρία* (**uri-*) and *πόλις* (**pelh-*), has the original meaning IE or pre-IE of 'inhabited place, hill, city, fortress' (Gr. *δοῦνον* = *τόπον ἐξέχοντα* 'high place').¹⁹⁴ In this specific case, the notion of 'burial mound' for Croton would find confirmation in one of the city's founding myths. Not far from the mouth of the river Aesar, according to the poet Ovidius, was the tomb of the eponymous hero *Croton*, who was accidentally killed by Heracles ("nec procul hinc tumulum, su quo

188 Schol. in Lycophr. 1002, 1–1007, 6b.

189 Diod. 8, 17.

190 Strab. 6. 1. 12.

191 Nicoletti (2020). Cf. Spadea (1984) 119–166; Nicoletti (1992–1993); Marino, Festuccia (1995); Marino, Medaglia, Nicoletti, Taliano Grasso (2017) 97–100.

192 Polyb. 10. 1. 6–7. For the harbour of Croton in the ancient evidences, cf. Drögemüller (1969) 58–59; Schmiedt (1967) 16–18, with bibliography; Goegebeur (1985) 120 n. 7. On the centrality of Croton and Cape Lacinium as a strategic hub for navigation between East and West, see Bartoli (2010) 399–406.

193 See Detschew (1952) 10; Furnée (1972) 65–66; Georgiev (1977) 100; Semerano (1984) II. 459, 789–796, 863; Šavli, Bor, Tomažič (1996) 138–146; Kimball (1999) 250; Serafimov (2007) 144; Kloekhorst (2008) 495. On Hitt. *gurta*-, see Zsolt (2016) 189–203. For Croton-Cortona as «città recintata» (Lat. *hortus*), see Silvestri (2012).

194 Ps-Plut. *De Fluv.* 6. 4. See Della Volpe, Mallory (1997) 210–211; Pellegrini (2000) 12.



FIGURE 45 Crotona. Doric column of the temple of Hera Lacinia (second half of the 6th century B.C.E.)

sacrata Crotonis/ossa tegebat humus").¹⁹⁵ In view of the uncertainty, however, it seems normal to accept more easily the suffix *-θο*, without aspiration, which is frequently found in ancient toponyms and usually with pre-Hellenic roots (e.g. *Μαραθῶν*).¹⁹⁶ Returning to the first part of the toponym *Κρότων*, the sometimes suggested correspondence with the toponym *Krotinista*, a town in Albania in the Balkans, is no less relevant. The same applies to several similar terms from ancient Calabria as *Bruttiorum* country (*Crotalus* fl., *Crocchio*, and *Krotalla*).¹⁹⁷ The similarities in this case are not linked to an actual westward expansion of the Illyrian population, but are seen as relics of a probable Mediterranean, pre-Indo-European substratum. Indeed, there is evidence of this even in very distant territories (e.g. Bruttii, Lucania, Sicilia, Campania, Samnium, Latium, Sabini, Vestini, Umbria, Picenum, Etruria, Venetia, Histria, Raetia, Noricum).¹⁹⁸ For the Crotona sub-peninsula, which extends from the river Esaro to Le Cas-

195 Ovid. *Metam.* 15. 12–59.

196 Carnoy (1960), 331.

197 Hecat in St. Byz. F 85. 1.

198 Alessio (1950) 93–107.

telle, the possibly pre-Hellenic toponyms based on the root **kar-/ *kal-* are well suited to represent an area with homogeneous geological and morphological features. Similarly to the place names of Carso, Gargano and Calabria, we can observe the emerging karst landscape of the country and in particular the presence of rocky promontories, badlands, creeks and coves along the Ionian coast, favourable for navigation and landing.¹⁹⁹

In this context, the toponym *Lacinium* (Λακινίου ἄκρου), which gave rise to the epithet of the goddess Hera Lacinia as the seat of the sanctuary (τὸ Λακίνιον, Ἥρας ἱερόν), and which was also understood as onomastic, acquired a special significance.²⁰⁰ The term *Lacinium* is traditionally associated with Gr. λακίς ‘flap, shred, fringe’ (< IE **lh₂k-* ‘to lacerate’, Gr. λακίζω = IEW 674) and with the ethno-onomastic formations in *-ino*.²⁰¹ For the suffix part, Σιβερίνη and Μενεκίνη, two Oenotrian towns in the nearby μεσόγεια, possibly the modern Santa Severina and Mendicino in the present-day Calabria, provide a toponymic model.²⁰² However, in the specific context in which the term λακίς is used, it would be better not to understand it in the generic and undocumented sense of *soil*, referring to the lush vegetation or soil fertility, but to take into account the geomorphological environment of the places.²⁰³ On the one hand, the coast from the river Esaro to Le Castella appears to be *fringed* by a system of bays and gullies called by Strabo Ἰαπύγων ἄκραι, and in our opinion by Lycophron Λακινίου μυχούς and so by Diodorus καλαὶ ἄρουραι.²⁰⁴ On the other hand, the form of the ‘promontory’ emerges as an extreme and imposing ‘branched edge’ of the region (χέρσου μέγαν στόρθυγγα) and as an extension of the jagged buttresses on the sea and east (ποταφών).²⁰⁵ The gloss of Hesychius λακίς χθονός· χάσμα γῆς, referring to λακίς in a geographical sense, thus reflects well the notion of ‘opening’, which refers to a furrowed, frayed soil and arranged in tatters, as evidently found in the inlets and badlands of the Lacinium (Figure 44).²⁰⁶ As an oronym,

199 Cf. Infantino (1992) 23–36; Bettelli (2002) 32; Medaglia (2010) 8; Marino, Medaglia, Nicoletti, Taliano Grasso (2017) 97–100.

200 Diod. 8. 17; 13. 3; Ps.-Scyl. 13. 24; Ps.Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* 838a; Polyb. 34. 11; Strab. 6. 11; Ovid. *Metam.* 15. 12–59. See Krahe (1939) 115; Id. (1943) 69–70.

201 Alc. fr. 326. See Grosser (1867) 116–117; Lenormant (1976 [1881]) 215; Farnell (1896) 212–213. For λακίς cf. Chantraine (1968–1980) 615; Frisk (1954–1972) 11. 75; Beekes (2010) 826. The term, considered ‘Pelagic’ by Lenormant and Osco-Umbrian by Farnell, referring to the root **lh₂k-* ‘to lacerate’ (= IEW 674), belongs to the Central-Western Indo-European world (Adams ap. Mallory, Adams 1997: 568).

202 St. Byz. 445 and 563. See Krahe (1943) 131; Alessio (1983) 106; Poccetti (2000) 102–103.

203 Lenormant (1976 [1881]) 215; Farnell (1896) 212–213.

204 Strab. 6. 1. 11; Lycophr. *Alex.* 856; Diod. 8. 17.

205 Lycophr. *Alex.* 865; Teocr. 4. 33. Cf. Grosser (1867) 116–117.

206 Hsch. λ 207. 1. See Bursian (1883) 127–128. Hesychius also retains the gloss λάκη· ῥάκη, Κρή-

Λακίνιον (ὄρος Κρότωνος) was most recently associated in the Balkan context with the modern mountain Lácina in Istria because the area is karstified,²⁰⁷ and in Greece with the mountain Λάκμων in Thessaly (today Peristeri), characterised by massive limestone strips.²⁰⁸

8 The Water-Carved Soil as Kroton Identity

The ancient and pre-Hellenic toponyms of the Krotoniatis region examined in this work refer precisely to the notions of ‘stone’, ‘water-carved stone’, ‘crack’ and ‘furrow’. The circumstance could testify that those who inhabited the places in the most remote times were mindful of the peculiarity of the soil, which is found open and hollowed out by water (Figure 46). This point is justified both by the system of bays and headlands along the frayed coast of the sub-peninsula between the river Esaro and Le Castella, and by the karst landscape of the adjacent area (*Geosito di Vrica*) and the nearby hinterland (*Calanchi del Marchesato; Geosito dell’Alto Crotonese*).²⁰⁹ The sense of identity is probably reflected in the myth of Heracles, which heralds the founding of the city.²¹⁰ In Italic civilisation and Magna Graecia, the god traces the experiences of the struggle to reclaim the soil, to arrange the wild waters and the clayey soils. He plays the role of the ‘*katachthonios*’ wise man, in reference to the Underworld, and that of the shepherd in pastoralism.²¹¹ On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility that one of the reasons that led Pythagoras to Croton was the particularly widespread cult of chthonic deities there. More generally, he would have chosen the West as the traditional seat of the reign of Hades and the Blessed Isles.²¹² Furthermore, his journey falls within the realm of the Samian aristocracy’s relations with the Achaean *polis*, as evidenced by the story of the physician Democedes of Croton, who

τεες (λ 192.1). On the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia as an *asylon* and shelter place, see Maddoli (1984) 311–343; Mele (1984) 9–87; Mertens (1984) 189–230; Giangiulio (1989) 54; Spadea (1997) 235–259; Id. (1994) 1–34.

207 St. Byz. 408. 16; Suid. λ. 55. 1. See Krahe (1943) 69.

208 St. Byz. 408. 20. See Grosser (1867) 116–117; Scandone (1971) 139–145.

209 Cf. Sdao, Simone, Vittorini (1984) 10–16; Infantino (1992) 23–36.

210 Diod. 4, 24; Iambl. *VP*. 50; Ovid. *Metam.* 15. 12–59; Serv. *Aen.* 3. 552.

211 Bayet (1923) 19–102; Arrighetti (1966) 1–60; Burkert (1969) 1–30; Id. (1979) 78–98; Giangiulio (1983) 785–845; Maddoli (1984) 313–343; Forni (1997) 91; Genovese (1999–2000) 329–359; Frisone (2020).

212 Hes. *Th.* 720–819; *Erg.* 168.

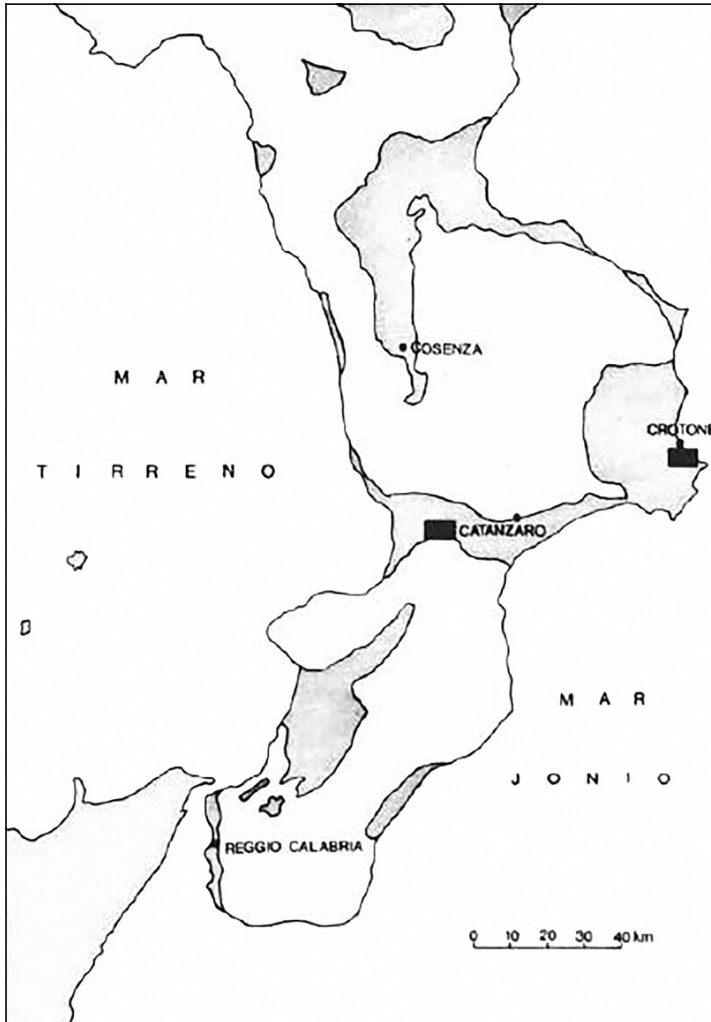


FIGURE 46 Distribution of Pliocene and Pleistocene outcrops in Calabria. The Crotona area is characterised, especially along the coast between the city and Cape Lacinio, by dense successions of gullies ('Biancane Senesi') with plastic clays subject to strong erosion. The same phenomenon also affects the entire Marchesato area. See Sdao, Simone, Vittorini (1984) 10-16 and fig. 1. From a hydrogeological point of view, the Crotonian land consists mainly of alluvial deposits due to large watercourses (Esaro, Neto, Tacina, Lipuda, Nicà), impermeable rocks and, on the north-western side, evaporite complexes
SDAO, SIMONE, VITTORINI (1984) 10-16 AND FIG. 1

worked at the court of Polycrates (6th century B.C.E.).²¹³ In the area of Kroton, the golden laminas from Petelia (now Strongoli) testify to the fact that in the 4th century B.C.E. several mystery cults, probably Orphic, connected with the subterranean journey to the afterlife, had spread. The descent into the Underworld (κατάβασις) took place while the believer was still alive, as already in Parmenides' poem (6th–5th century B.C.E.), which is connected with early Pythagorean wisdom.²¹⁴ In the Hellenic tradition, all these cultural and religious features are generally favoured by the karstic soils and the cracks in the ground, as suggested by Hesiod, who associates Hades with the terms χάος and χάσμα as 'abyss' and 'wide opening'.²¹⁵ This possibility is all the more relevant when we consider that Pythagoras, as a wise man (σοφιστής), mainly dealt with eschatological issues, as Herodotus and the pre-Platonic sources attest, already in Samos even before his arrival in Italy, probably influenced by contemporary Egyptian culture.²¹⁶ Last but not least, because of the particular hydrogeological nature of the places, the cult of the Thessalian hero Philoctetes is associated with the swamps reclamation in the lower valley of the river Neto near Petelia and the temple of Apollo Aleo at Punta Alice (Krimisa), on the northern border of the Krotoniatis area.²¹⁷ In this context, two traditions become relevant, both that of Ovidius²¹⁸ about the Iapygian fields (*Iapygis arva*), which are related to the lands facing the sea (*quae spectant aequora, terris*), between *Crimisen* (Punta Alice) and the mouth of the Aesar River (*Aesarei [...] fluminis ora*) and that of Vergilius²¹⁹ about the "*Sallentinos [...] campos*" near Petelia, which were occupied by the Cretan king Idomeneus, the mythical founder of *Castrum Minervae* on the Salento peninsula.²²⁰ Pre-colonial contacts with the Aegean world were remarkable. However, we cannot exclude that these two traditions are mainly due to the geographical and environmental mirroring between the marshy-brackish coast of the lower Ionian Salento and the coast of the Krotoniatis from the river Esaro, the river Neto and Punta Alice (Krimisa). This area is a more or less continuous, homogeneous land that also extends

213 Hdt. 3. 125; 131.

214 Parm. fr. 1 DK.

215 Hes. *Th.* 740–743; 814.

216 Hdt. 4. 95. See Lopez (2015) 46–49; Id. (2019a); Gemelli Marciano (2020) 303–304. On the eschatological significance that karstic soil had in ancient Greek culture, see Connors, Clendenon (2016) 147–188.

217 Licophr. *Alex.* 912–1082; Ps-Arist. *Mirab. Ascult.* 830a–b; Strab. 6. 1. See Spadea (2005) 252–255; Genovese (2010) 7–26; Lopez (2021) 24.

218 Ovid. *Metam.* 15. 50–54.

219 Verg. *Aen.* 3. 399–402.

220 Varr. *Rer. Hum.* 3.

to the hinterland and was already affected by similar swamping phenomena in ancient times.²²¹

9 Creeks and Natural Harbours by an 'Ionian' Perspective

Quite different from today, the sea that washes the coasts of the Salento peninsula and central Apulia has been called the Ionian Gulf (Ἰόνιος κόλπος) since the pre- and protohistoric times, while the name Ἀδρία stood for the northern basin of what is now the Adriatic Sea.²²² At least initially, there were different names for what were perceived as different seas, both for the access routes, the shipping lanes and probably also for the navigators themselves. The northern Adriatic basin is considered in the sources as a remote and peripheral area of the *Oikoumene*, hardly distinguishable until the Classical period.²²³ In the later tradition, as asserted by Strabo (τῷ Ἰταλικῷ τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ ἀλιμένῳ)²²⁴ and Livius (*importuosa Italiae litora*),²²⁵ the prevailing custom was to regard the western coasts of the upper Adriatic as without landings.²²⁶ The 'Mycenaean route' (16th–11th century B.C.E.) did not include a crossing of the Otranto Channel. It was only from the 8th century B.C.E. that the Ionian Passage (Ἰόνιος πόρος)²²⁷ was most likely ventured by the Euboeans of Chalcis and Eretria.²²⁸ The 'empirical geography of sailors' sets several landmarks in this area: the Iapygian headlands (ἄκραι Ἰαπύγων = Cape Leuca and the Salento peninsula), the Acroceraunian mountains called 'white rocks', the island of Kerkyra and the continental mass of the 'Mainland' (Ἠπειρος), the Iapyx wind. In this sense, the Illyrian coast and the Salento peninsula formed an inseparable unity. The similarities between the two shores are remarkable, especially if one adopts, as the ancients did, descriptive rather than strictly cartographic schemes. Overall,

221 Theocr. 4. 23–24. For the contacts between the pre-Hellenic Krotoniatis area and the Minoan-Mycenaean world, see Maddoli (1984) 320–326; Spadea (1992) 91–109; Nicoletti (1992–1993); Id. (2020); Radina (1995); Marino (1998) 287–300; Id. (2008); Marino, Festuccia (1995) 241–252; Bettelli (2002) 32; Pacciarelli, Varricchio (2004) 359–379; Royal (2008) 49–66; Bartoli (2010) 399–406; Lena, Bonomi (2012) 8–13; Baumer, Marino, Birchler Emery, Fivaz (2014) 145–152; Marino, Medaglia, Nicoletti, Taliano Grasso (2017) 97–100.

222 *FGrHist* 1. FF 90–102.

223 Dicaear. ap. Strab. 2. 4. 2.

224 Strab. 7. 5. 10.

225 Liv. 10. 2.

226 Frisone (2008) 119–143; Ead. (2002) 295–312.

227 Pind. *Nem.* 4. 52–53; Soph. fr. 337 Radt.

228 Braccesi (2014) 11–36.

there was considerable continuity between this region and the places bordering the 'Ionian Gulf', including the sub-peninsula of Kroton-Cape Lacinium and the 'Iapygian promontories' to the south.²²⁹ At the same time, there was a tendency to explain the meaning of 'Ιόνιος κόλπος' folk-etymologically as the 'Gulf of Io', the Argive heroine beloved by Zeus in the altered guise of a heifer who, made pregnant by the god, sought refuge in a cave in Euboea to give birth after swimming this sea: "and for all time to come to a recess of the sea (πόντιος μυχός), be well assured, shall bear the name Ionian, as a memorial of your crossing (πορείας) for all mankind".²³⁰ In the most ancient phases, the concept of 'passage' through the Otranto Channel was absent, and navigation developed along the coasts, taking advantage of the inlets offered by the karstic nature of the area. We cannot thus exclude the possibility that the 'Ιόνιος κόλπος', regarded as different from the contemporary Adriatic, which had no relevant ports,²³¹ was almost by contrast identified on both banks precisely by the inlets, the settlements on the headland and the natural harbours. This perspective, which became established in the culture and language of the seafarers under the notion of 'stopover, shelter, refuge', but also 'welcome', may have favoured on the western side of Italy the persistence and spread of choronyms Γάργαρον (Garganus) and Καλαβρία. To these, in a mirror-like context, the place name καλαὶ ἄρουραι was probably added,²³² referring to the Krotoniatis area at the southern entrance of the Taranto Gulf (= Λακινίου μυχούς;²³³ 'Ιαπύγων ἄκραι²³⁴). All these place names may generally recall the pre-Hellenic base *kala- and share the primary meaning of 'water-carved stone' and 'inlet'. In this context, it seems no simple coincidence that the 'Ιόνιος κόλπος' (Figure 47) in Classical sources corresponds to the stretch of sea between the island of Kerkyra, Cape Iapygia, which juts into Cape Lacinium, and the Gargano Peninsula.²³⁵ Instead, what is now the southern Ionian Sea was called Σικελικὸν πέλαγος and was regarded as the part between Sicily, the Peloponnese and Crete.²³⁶ According to Thucydides, at the time of the Athenian expedition against Syracuse (413 B.C.E.), General Nicias distinguished between the Ionian Gulf ('Ιόνιος κόλπος), which was navigable on the coasts (παρὰ γῆν ἢν τις πλέη), and the Sicilian

229 Strab. 6. 1, 11–12.

230 Aesch. *Prom.* 839–841, trans. by Smyth (1926). See Frisone (2008) 119–143; Ead. (2002) 295–312; Braccesi (2014) 11–36. Cf. Nenci (1973) 387–396; DT, 338.

231 Strab. 8. 5. 10; Liv. 10. 2.

232 Diod. 8. 17.

233 Lycophr. *Alex.* 856.

234 Strab. 6. 1. 11.

235 Hdt. 6. 127; 7. 20; Thuc. 1. 24; 2. 97; 6. 44; 6. 104; 7. 33.

236 Strab. 6. 2. 1.

Gulf (Σικελικός κόλπος), on the other hand, navigable on the open sea (διὰ πελάγους).²³⁷ The southern limit of the Ionian Sea, represented in Polybius by the promontory Κόκυνθος (now Punta Stilo),²³⁸ and in Strabo by the territory of Locris,²³⁹ is well defined for oldest phases in Euripides' *Electra*.²⁴⁰ In relation to the arrival of reinforcements, again in the context of the war against Syracuse in 413 B.C.E., the Dioscuri, sons of Zeus and protectors of the sailors who pave the way for Demosthenes and Eurimedontes, move onto the Sicilian Sea (πόντον Σικελόν). The starting point is their sacred promontory of Cape Rizzuto near Croton (Διοσκουριάδα [...] ἄκραν),²⁴¹ one of the Ἰαπύγων ἄκραι,²⁴² which separated the waters of the Gulf of Taranto from those of the Sicilian Sea. The same scenario emerges from Ermocrates' plan, taken up fifty years later by his fellow party member Philistus, to repel enemy ships with a blockade at Taranto, the first landing place after Kerkyra. His strategy develops by "making it clear to them that before any fight for Sicily they must contest their crossing of the Ionian Gulf".²⁴³ Overall, however, a clear perspective of opposing symmetry between the Ionian Gulf, characterised by a coastal route, and the Sicilian Gulf, characterised by a high seas route, still seems to be emerging at the end of the 5th century B.C.E. The southern boundary of the Ἰόνιος κόλπος, as a watershed, could well be represented by the 'Iapygian promontories' of Kroton-Cape Lacinium-Cape Rizzuto,²⁴⁴ which in turn, as καλαὶ ἄρουραι²⁴⁵ and Λακνίου μυχός,²⁴⁶ were mirror-like areas of the coasts of Messapia or Καλαβρία (Figure 47).²⁴⁷ In the Archaic and Proto-historic period, a clear ecumenical-Mediterranean horizon and a specific geographic-geometric criterion for the conceptual representation of space were lacking, as was the case from the Hellenistic period onwards (4th century B.C.E.), since territorial boundaries were not yet strictly defined. This reason suggests that the 'Ionian' view of the bays and natural landings developed on a largely empirical and naturalistic-

237 Thuc. 6. 13.

238 Polyb. 2. 14.

239 Strab. 2. 5.

240 Eur. *Elec.* 1347–1355.

241 Diod. 13. 3.

242 Strab. 6. 1. 11.

243 Thuc. 6. 33–34; 36–40, trans. by Hammond (2009).

244 Strab. 6. 1. 11.

245 Diod. 8. 17.

246 Alex. 856.

247 Braccesi (1996) 63–66; Id. (1998) 9–17; Id. (2014) 11–36; Gulletta (2006) 385–414; Mastronuzzi, Caldarola (2019) 191: "la presenza di luoghi visibili dal mare era di per sé garanzia di accoglienza". For Dioscuri and Cape Rizzuto, cf. Lopez (2015) 350–354.



FIGURE 47 The name and the probable boundaries of the Ionian and Adriatic Seas in the Archaic period. Areas of densification of the pre-Hellenic toponymic base **kar-/*kal-* in the meaning of 'stone', 'water-carved stone' (e.g. karst phenomena, gullies, creeks, inlets, headlands)

phenomenological basis, especially in the context of the practice of navigation. This fact does not exclude that the bays also have an ideational and symbolic-religious meaning associated with the notions of 'open ground', 'landing place', 'shelter-welcoming', traditionally present in the wisdom of the oldest Greek culture.²⁴⁸

10 The Trans-Ionian Route of the 'White Shining Rocks'

In addition to the bays and the inlets, as reference points for visual navigation on the sea routes between Greece and Sicily, the 'white rocks' also played

248 Cf. Burkert (1969) 1–30; Id. (1979) 78–98; D'Andria (1981) 232; Id. (1985) 321–323; Forni (1997) 91; Prontera (1992) 29–33; Id. (1997) 49; Janni (1998a) 41–43; Id. (1998b) 449–475; Id. (1984) 120–140; Traina (1998) 15–48; De Juliis (2005); Frisone (2008) 119–143; Ead. (2002) 295–312; Ead. (2020).

an important role: Cape Leucata on the southern headland of Lefkada,²⁴⁹ the Φαλακρόν ἄκρον of the island of Kerkyra,²⁵⁰ then on the west coast Cape Iapygia, Cape Leucopetra Tarentinorum,²⁵¹ and finally, near Rhegium, Leucopetra of the Bruttium.²⁵² We do not know whether this path through the Ionian Sea, the so-called ‘path of the whitish rocks’, which geomorphologically is mainly due to the progressive erosion of the calcareous soil, was formed in contrast to the black volcanic rocks of the Sicilian coast. On the other hand, we cannot at present verify the hypothesis that the toponyms Lucania (< **Leuk-an-ia*) and Lacinium (< **Leuk-in-io*) also derive from the semantic field of λευκός ‘white’ (IE **leuk-*) in the sense of ‘luminosity’. The promontory of Lacinium was valued as a hub for navigation and from the 6th century B.C.E. was dedicated to Hera as deity λευκώλενος²⁵³ par excellence. Indeed, due to the badlands of the area, such as the ‘Biancane Senesi’,²⁵⁴ it would fit well with the reference points of the path of the ‘shining rocks’ within the Ἴόνιος κόλπος (from Cape Leucata to Falacro on Corcyra and then to Cape Iapygia-Santa Maria di Leuca to Cape D’Armi-Leucopetra near Rhegium). The notion of ‘luminosity’, rooted in maritime tradition, seems to be broadly parallel to that of inlets and ‘water-carved stone’ for the western Ionian side. This complex feature describes the identity of Calabria between Messapia and Krotoniatis area (Figure 48).²⁵⁵

249 Strab. 10. 2. 8.

250 Strab. 7. 7. 5.

251 Cic. *Ep. Ad Att.* 16. 6. 1.

252 Strab. 5. 1. 3; Cic. *Phil.* 1. 7. 10.

253 *Il.* 1. 55 et al.; Hes. *Th.* 314.

254 See Sdao, Simone, Vittorini (1984) 10–16.

255 Nenci (1973) 387–396. Cf. Bérard (1929) IV 192; Guglielmi (1971) 418–435; Frisone (2008) 119–143; Ead. (2002), 295–312. For the etymology of λευκός from the IE term **leuk-* ‘white’, Skr. *róca-*, but also Lat. *lūcus* ‘wood, clearing’, and *lux* ‘light’, and for φαλός, as derived from the IE root **bhel-* ‘clear’ with a reduced degree (IEW 119) and compared with Lit. *bālas* ‘white’, cf. Chantraine (1968–1980) 632–633; 1176; Beekes (2010) 851; 1550–1551. On the perception of ‘white’ colour in the Classical world, which was associated with ‘brightness’, see Sassi (2009); Ead. (2015). The goddess *Jūnō Lūcīna* goes back to Lat. *lūcus* (Frisk 1954–1972: 108–109). Around 510 B.C.E., a peripteral temple was erected at Pyrgi in Etruria to the goddess Uni-Astarte, whose cult was of Punic or Phoenician origin. According to scholars, the goddess corresponds in the Graeco-Roman world to Ἥρα Εἰλειθυία (*Il.* 11. 271) or *Jūnō Lūcīna* (Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2. 68. 10), as the deity of births, or Ἴνώ Λευκοθέη, as the deity of the sea and navigation (*Od.* 5. 334–335). In this context, there is a possible correspondence with the cult of Hera Lacinia at Croton (Bloch 1969; Id. 1976; Espada Rodríguez 2013: 64–65). The location of Leucopetra near Rhegium also offers a similar and almost mirror-like scenario when we compare it with that between Cape Iapygia/ Leucopetra Tarentinorum/ Santa Maria di Leuca and the town of Vereto/ Ἰρίης in Messapia. This occurrence became relevant, especially if we consider that both Vereto/ Ἰρίης and Rhegium could have origin-



FIGURE 48

The 'Ionian' sea route between Greece and Sicily with the 'white shining rocks'. Highlights: (1) Cape Leucata, Lefkada Island; (2) Cape Falacro, Corcyra Island; (3) Cape Iapygia, Leucopetra Tarentinorum, Santa Maria di Leuca; (4) Cape Lacinium, Croton (?); (5) Leucopetra near Rhegium, Cape d'Armi

ated from the Mycenaean term *ri-jo*, 'promontory', 'rocky peak', Ancient Greek *ρίον* with an initial digamma (*F*), deriving from the IE root **wer-* (IEW 1152: *wer-*²) meaning 'high', PIE **wriyo*. See the promontory and the place of *Ri-jo* in Messenia (Chadwick 1976: 44). In this sense, the name of Rhegium, defined by Thucydides as "the toe of Italy" (Ῥήγιον τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀκρωτήριον [6. 44]), would already denote the headland par excellence in the Mycenaean times. Cf. Frisk (1954–1972) 268; Parlangeli (1960) 21–29; Georgiev (1966) 178; Chantraine (1968–1980) 195–196; Van Windekens (1976) 406; Paliga (1987) 23–24; Della Volpe, Mallory (1997) 210–211; Mallory, Adams (2006) 221; Mallory (2007) 85.

Conclusions

The careful comparison between the specific historical and linguistic studies on ancient *Kalabria* allows us to obtain several important results. However, the research's complexity and the sources' fragmentary nature advise us to proceed with great caution, in the hope of further analyses, especially according to the new methodological perspective pursued here, which organically combines Linguistics and Landscape History.

The form *Kala-bría/ -uria*, similar in structure to other choronyms such as *Canta-bria* (Spain), does not appear isolated when we examine the territorial context of the Salentine Peninsula, but is part of a system for both the base **kala-* and the second element *-bria/ -uria*. The IE or possibly pre-IE base **kar(r)a-/ *kala-* as 'water-carved stone' indicates the calcareous and karstified soil, including associated phenomena (e.g. sinkholes, gorges, ravines, furrowed fields, caves, creeks, coves). It is well suited to characterise a large area adjacent to the Salento peninsula. This region includes, as macro-territory according to ancient toponymy, the Gargano Peninsula on the western shore of the Adriatic and the Carso Plateau on the eastern coast, the island of Kerkyra Melaina, the land of the Galabri (Dardania = Kosovo), the island of Kerkyra-Corfù and probably on the Ionian Sea the Kroton-Cape Lacinium sub-peninsula at the southern mouth of the Gulf of Tarentum. All of these places are characterised by imposing karst landscapes, mostly exposed to the sea, with capes, bays and inlets. The same feature concerns the morpheme *bria/ uria* in the meaning of 'inhabited place, city, region, country'. It occurs alone or in compounds in the Salento peninsula (*Oria*, *Mand-uria*, *Sat-uria*), in the Thracian-Illyrian zone (e.g. *Selym-bria*, *Mesem-bria*), in the Aegean and micro-Asian region (e.g. *Kala-uria*, *Bria*). In this context, the choronym *Kalabria*, which in the sources is equated with Messapia as an indigenous and non-Greek place name,¹ is well suited to identify the Salento peninsula as the karst region par excellence (see *Calcari delle Murge*). Indeed, the massive karst morphology of the coast, the rocky-limestone headland that is almost like a canal bank in the middle of the Ionian Sea, and the Gulf of Taranto have played a crucial historical role for centuries, especially for shipping routes. Thus, the restitution of the second part of the choronym *Kalabria* from the IE or pre-IE root **bru-/ *blu-* 'to grow', Gr. βρῦω 'to sprout', seems insufficient to express the complexity of the linguistic context.²

1 Hsch. x 380. 1. fr. 20; Polyb. 10. 4; Nic. Dam. fr. 101. 80–90; Strab. 6. 3.

2 Alessio (1948) 17–18.

The remarks offered by Johannes Zonaras,³ a Byzantine chronicler of the 12th century C.E., represent the only known ancient etymology to date for *Kalauria/ -bria* or *Kalabrye*.⁴ The Thracian country probably corresponds to the modern village of Yolkati in the hinterland of Silivri. The area had a karstic-alluvial environment, rich in spring water, also saline, with gorges and dug valleys.⁵ The interpretation of the toponym by Zonaras as ‘Good Springs’ (= καλαὶ βρύσσεις), although it is a clear folk etymology (the author does not consider, for example, the term *bria* in the sense of ‘city, town, region’ already noted by Strabo),⁶ helps us to understand the nature of the places with which the name *Kalauria/ -bria* could be semantically connected. The chronicler’s comment is confirmed by the territorial features of similar contemporary place names with the *Kalabr-/ ur-* theme, which are well documented in early medieval sources both in the West, between Calabria and Lucania in Italy, and elsewhere in Greece, in the Peloponnese. That is: the Monastery of *Kalauro/ Calabro Maria* at Atilia village in the diocese of Santa Severina (KR), the *Calabron/ Calabrò Casale* near Mileto (VV), the *Kalabra/ -ura* land property near Câlvera (PZ), the barony of *Kalabryta/ -vrita* in Achaia. Impressive karst and alluvial phenomena characterise these areas. Even in different chronological, geographical, historical and cultural contexts, therefore, some imprint of the original notion seems to have been linguistically preserved, as expressed by the pre-Hellenic toponymic base **kar(r)a-/ *kala-* as ‘water-carved stone’.

According to the documents available to us, the migration or extension of the name *Kalabria* from the Salento peninsula to the land of the *Bruttii* begins around the middle of the 7th century C.E. As a Paleo-European or Indo-Mediterranean hydronymic relic, like the term *Esaro* (*Aisar* < **ais-* ‘swift’, ‘impetuous’), the form *Kala-br/ ur-*, which derives from the **kar-/ *kal-* stem as ‘stony river’, ‘river flowing through a pebbly shore/gravel bed’, was already in use in the modern region of Calabria in the 6th century B.C.E. as the *Κάλαβρος* or *Κάλαυρος* river mentioned by Pausanias suggests.⁷ It was depicted on a copy of a painting once kept in Olympia and concerned the area between Temesa, Sybaris, Metapontum and Kroton. In the pre-Hellenic period, before the Greeks tackled the Hydruntum Channel in the 8th century B.C.E., thus culturally spreading the concept of ‘passage’ (‘*Ἰόνιος πόντος*’), the so-called ‘Mycenaean route’ led sailors along the coasts. In this context, according to ancient ‘empir-

3 Zonar. *Epit. Hist.* 18. 9. 6.

4 *Chr. Pasch.* 622. 18.

5 Ann. Com. *Alex.* 1. 5. 3–4; Nic. Br. *Hist.* 4. 7. 15.

6 Strab. 7. 6. 1.

7 Paus. *Graec. Descr.* 6. 6 11.

ical geography', it seems probable that the choronym *Kalabria/ -uria*, which is also comparable to the Gargano Peninsula (< **karkar-* = double **kar-* root), denoted the Ionian area of karst coves, inlets and rocky headlands. The Ionian landscape contrasted with the sandy coast of the upper Adriatic, which has no natural harbours. So the notion of 'stopover, shelter' had to be decisive. It referred primarily to the coast between Brundisium, Hydruntum and the Gulf of Tarentum on the Messapian side, but probably also extended to the south side of Kroton-Cape Lacinium. In ancient times, this area, defined in the sources as Ἰαπύγων ἄκραι,⁸ καλαὶ ἄρουραι⁹ and Λακινίου μυχούς,¹⁰ was a nodal system for navigation. This circumstance would explain the identity character of the choronym *Kalabria* to designate the Messapia, as suggested by the derogatory meaning offered by Tarentini in the 6th–5th century B.C.E., and more generally the area of Ionian moorings, bays and inlets between the Adriatic and the Sicilian Sea (Ἰόνιος κόλπος).

The land between the Salento and Gargano Peninsulas, like the eastern side of the Adriatic, is characterised by imposing karst phenomena, especially on the coast. Therefore, it stands to reason that toponyms and choronyms based on the IE or possibly pre-IE **kar-*/ **kal-* stem, meaning 'stone', 'water-carved stone' and 'inlet', were widespread and rooted in the area from earliest times. These forms probably changed through interactions between peoples and were adapted from time to time to suit different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Thus, considering the Balkan origin of the Iapygians (11th century B.C.E.) and the Messapians (8th century B.C.E.), the second element of the term *Kalabria*, linked to the toponymic appellative *bria* in the sense of 'inhabited place, city, town, region', directly recalls the Illyrian and Thracian-Phrygian linguistic areas.¹¹ As late as the Byzantine period, between the 7th and 12th centuries C.E., the place name *Kalauria/ -bria* remained in Thrace.¹² Besides this scenario, there is another, equally probable one. Aegean populations were in contact with proto-historic Apulia before the arrival of the Iapygians, mainly in the 13th century B.C.E. In the Aegean world, the cult of the god *Geraistos/ Kalauros*, who was worshipped on the island of Kalauria in the Saronic Gulf, had a special significance. The notion of 'shelter, stopover, asylum', attributed to Poseidon, was of crucial importance since the 6th century B.C.E. In addition, the calcareous soil produced many small bays and rocky inlets, which favoured landings and

8 Strab. 6. 1. 11.

9 Diod. 8. 17.

10 Lycophr. *Alex.* 856.

11 Strab. 7. 6. 1.

12 *Chr. Pasch.* 622. 18; Zonar. *Epit. Hist.* 18. 9. 6.

TABLE 3 Summary of Kalabria (Salento—Land of the Bruttii)

Century	Meaning	Civilization
< 2nd millennium B.C.E.	The toponymic base IE or Pre-IE *kala- in the meaning of 'water-carved stone' and the second element -bria/-uria in the sense of 'inhabited place, city, region, country' form the choronym Kalabria (like Canta-bria).	Indo-Mediterranean, pre-Hellenic Civilisation
16th–12th B.C.E.	In Apulia, the local sub-Apennine culture comes into contact with Aegean cultural models brought by Minoan and Mycenaean navigators. The 'Mycenaean route' follows the 'Ionian' coast from Gargano to the Salento peninsula.	Indigenous and Aegean Civilisation
11th–8th B.C.E.	In Apulia, the Iapygian civilisation emerges from the fusion of the local sub-Apennine culture, Aegean cultural models and the decisive contribution of the Illyrian people.	Iapygians
8th–7th B.C.E.	In the Salento peninsula, Messapian civilisation emerges clearly. The 'Greek colonisation' begins. The discovery and crossing of the Otranto Channel is made by the Euboians of Chalcis and Eretria.	Messapians
6th–5th B.C.E.	The Greeks of Taranto most probably adopted the term <i>κόλαβρος</i> , 'little pig', to denigrate the Messapians, their enemies, because of the resemblance to Kalabros.	Tarentini Messapians
4th–2nd B.C.E.	Kalabria appears as an indigenous and non-Greek choronym to denote the Messapia or the Salento peninsula.	Messapians
1st B.C.E.–6th C.E.	The choronym Messapia disappears. Kalabria identifies the entire Salento peninsula as an administrative unit in the <i>Secunda Regio Apulia et Calabria</i> . The Calabri are distinguished from the Sallentini.	Romans
7th C.E.	Kalabria migrates from the Salento peninsula to permanently denote the land of the Bruttii, the present Calabria region.	Byzantines
12th C.E.	The folk etymology of <i>Kala-bria/ -uria</i> arises as 'Good Springs', associated with karst and alluvial places.	Byzantines

refuge. There are many pre-Hellenic terms in the region based on the *kar-/ *kal- root, as suggested not only by *Kalauria* and the onomastic *Myc. ka-ra-uro* but also by the name of nearby *Kelenderis*, the rock-hewn port of Troizen. In this context, the geomorphological symmetry between the area of *Kalauria* and that of Gallipoli on the Salento peninsula is very remarkable. Indeed, the Greek name of the Salentine city, *Kallipolis*, can generally be interpreted as the possible result of an origin from *Kala-bria/ -uria*. The pre-Hellenic toponymic base *kala- probably spread westwards along the routes of Minoan and Mycenaean navigators from the Aegean region in the second millennium B.C.E. Sometimes, as probably in the case of *Kalabria*, it overlapped with indigenous forms, always referring to the stony and karstic nature of the sites. Overall, at the present

stage of research, it is not possible to determine precisely the origin of the various toponyms, whether indigenous, Illyrian-Balkan or Aegean. However, when Linguistics and Landscape History are organically combined through a careful analysis of the sources, the meaning of *Kalabria* and its identification as choronym becomes clearer. The place name on the Salento Peninsula seems to be related to the impressive karst phenomena, especially on the coast. Finally, this aspect probably helped to define the Ionian route of the so-called 'white shining rocks' that led from Greece to Sicily, connecting East and West.

Greek and Latin Sources

1 Hecataeus apud Steph. Byz. *ffr.* 60; 86–89, Jacoby (1957); Lombardo (2014)

F 60 s. Κύρνος· νῆσος πρόσβορρος Ἰαπυγίας· Ἐκαταίος Εὐρώπηι.

F 86. Ἰαπυγία· β (= δύο) πόλεις· μία ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίαι καὶ ἑτέρα ἐν τῇ Ἰλλυρίδι, ὡς Ἐκαταίος· τὸ ἔθνικὸν Ἰάπυξ καὶ Ἰαπύγιος καὶ Ἰαπυγία.

F 87. Ἐλεύτιοι· ἔθνος τῆς Ἰαπυγίας· Ἐκαταίος Εὐρώπηι.

F 88. Χανδάνη· πόλις Ἰαπυγίας· Ἐκαταίος Εὐρώπηι «ἐν δὲ Χανδάνη πόλις· μετὰ δὲ Πευκαίοι.»

F 89. Πευκετίαντες· ἔθνος τοῖς Οἰνώτροις προσεχές, ὡς Ἐκαταίος ἐν Εὐρώπηι.

F 60. Kyrnos: an island of Iapygia exposed to the north wind. So Hecataeus in “The Europe”.

F 86. Iapygia: two cities. One on Italy and the other in Illyria. So Hecataeus. As ethnic name (there are) Iapyx, Iapygios, and Iapygia (fem.).

F 87. Eleutians: people in Iapygia. So Hecataeus in “The Europe”.

F 88. Chandane: city in Iapygia. So Hecataeus in “The Europe”: “Then comes the city of Chandane, thereafter the Peukaians”.

F 89. Peukeriantes: people contiguous to the Oenotrians. So Hecataeus in “The Europe”.

2 Pseudo-Scylax, *Periplus Scylacis*, 14 Müller (1855); Shipley (2011)

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Λευκανίαν Ἰάπυγές εἰσιν ἔθνος μέχρι Ἰωρίωνος ὄρους τοῦ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τῷ Ἀδριακῷ. Παράπλους παρὰ τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν ἕξ ἡμερῶν καὶ ἕξ νυκτῶν. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰαπυγίᾳ οἰκοῦσιν Ἕλληνες, καὶ πόλεις εἰσὶν αἶδε· Ἡράκλειον, Μεταπόντιον, Τάρας καὶ λιμὴν Ὑδροῦς ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἀδρίου ἢ τῷ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου στόματι.

And after Leukania are the Iapyges, a community, as far as the Hyrion mountain in the Adrias (*Adriatic*) gulf. Coastal voyage beside Iapygia: six

days and six nights. And in Iapygia live Hellenes, and the cities are as follows: Herakleion, Metapontion, Taras with a harbour. Hydrous upon the mouth of the Adrias or of the Ionios (*Ionian*) gulf.

3 **Herodotus, *Historiae*, 3. 138, 1–4 Legrand (1960); Dewald, Waterfield (2008)**

Ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κρότωνος οἱ Πέρσαι ἐκπίπτουσι τῆσι νηυσὶ ἐς Ἴηπυγίην, καὶ σφραγίσαντες δουλεύοντες ἐνθαῦτα Γίλλος ἀνὴρ Ταραντίνος φυγὰς ῥυσάμενος ἀπήγαγε παρὰ βασιλείᾳ Δαρείου.

During their voyage from Croton the Persians were shipwrecked at Iapygia. There they were enslaved, but a man from Tarentum called Gillus, an exile from his place of birth, rescued them and brought them back to King Darius.

4 **Herodotus, *Historiae*, 4. 99. 4–5 Legrand (1960); Dewald, Waterfield (2008)**

Ἔστι γὰρ τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ δύο μέρη τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐς θάλασσαν φέροντα, τὴν τε πρὸς μεσαμβρίην καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ, κατὰ περ τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρας· καὶ παραπλήσια ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ταῦροι νέμονται τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἀθηναῖοι νεμοῖατο τὸν γουνὸν τὸν Σουνιακόν, μάλλον ἐς τὸν πόντον [τὴν ἄκρην] ἀνέχοντα, τὸν ἀπὸ Θορικῶν μέχρι Ἀναφλύστου δήμου· λέγω δὲ ὡς εἶναι ταῦτα σμικρὰ μεγάλοισι συμβαλεῖν. Τοιοῦτο ἢ Ταυρικὴ ἐστὶ. Ὅς δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ταῦτα μὴ παραπέπλωκε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλλως δηλώσω· ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἴηπυγίης ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἴηπυγες ἀρξάμενοι ἐκ Βρεντεσίου λιμένος ἀποταμοῖατο μέχρι Τάραντος καὶ νεμοῖατο τὴν ἄκρην. Δύο δὲ λέγων ταῦτα πολλὰ λέγω παρόμοια τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἔοικε ἢ Ταυρικῇ.

The point is that, just like Attica, two sides of Scythia's borders reach the sea, to the south and to the east. The comparison with Attica would be very close if it were some other race, and not Athenians, who inhabited Cape Sunium (which would have to jut out further into the sea) from Thoricus to the village of Anaphlystus, just as Taurians inhabit this part of Scythia. That is what Taurian territory is like—though in saying this, I am comparing something small with something large. However, for the sake of those who have not sailed past this part of the coastline of Attica,

I will put it another way. It is as if some other race, and not the Iapygians, were to have taken over the Iapygian headland from the Bay of Brundisium to Tarentum and were to be living there. I mention these two places as examples of a number of other places which Taurian territory resembles.

5 **Herodotus, *Historiae*, 7. 170, 1–19 Legrand (1960); Dewald, Waterfield (2008)**

ἤκουσαν, ἔσχοντο τῆς τιμωρίας. Λέγεται γὰρ Μίνων κατὰ ζήτησιν Δαιδάλου ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σικανίην τὴν νῦν Σικελίην καλεομένην ἀποθανεῖν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ. Ἄνὰ δὲ χρόνον Κρήτας θεοῦ σφέας ἐποτρύναντος, πάντας πλὴν Πολιχνιτέων τε καὶ Πραισίων, ἀπικομένους στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Σικανίην πολιορκεῖν ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε πόλιν Καμικόν, τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντίνοι ἐνέμοντο· τέλος δὲ οὐ δυναμένους οὔτε ἔλεῖν οὔτε παραμένειν λιμῷ συνεστεῶτας, ἀπολιπόντας οἴχεσθαι. Ὡς δὲ κατὰ Ἱηπυγίην γενέσθαι πλέοντας, ὑπολαβόντα σφέας χειμῶνα μέγαν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν συναραχθέντων δὲ τῶν πλοίων (οὐδεμίαν γὰρ σφι ἔτι κοιμίδην ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεσθαι), ἐνθαῦτα Ἰρίην πόλιν κτίσαντας καταμεῖναι τε καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἱήπυγας Μεσσαπίους, ἀντὶ δὲ <τοῦ> εἶναι νησιώτας ἠπειρώτας. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰρίης πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι, τὰς δὲ Ταραντίνοι χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐξανιστάντες προσέπταισαν μεγάλως ὥστε φόνος Ἑλληνικός μέγιστος οὗτος δὴ ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, αὐτῶν τε Ταραντίνων καὶ Ῥηγίνων.

For there is a story that Minos' search for Daedalus took him to Sicania (now called Sicily), where he met a violent death. After a while, at the god's urging, all the Cretans except the Polichnians and the Praesians launched a major military strike against Sicania. For five years there they besieged the town of Camicus (which is inhabited nowadays by people originally from Acragas), but they were unable to take it, and could not stay any longer either since they were faced with starvation, so they eventually abandoned the siege and set off back home. During their return voyage, when they were off Iapygia they met a heavy storm and were driven ashore. Their boats were wrecked and they could no longer find any way of getting back to Crete, so they stayed where they were, founded the community of Hyria, and became Messapians of Iapygia instead of Cretans, exchanging life on an island for life on the mainland. Now, various colonies were founded from Hyria, and it was these colonies that the people of Tarentum were trying to lay waste, many years later, when they

suffered a major defeat. In fact, this is the greatest slaughter of a Greek population that we know of. It was not only the people of Tarentum who were involved in the disaster, but the citizens of Rhegium too, who went to support the Tarentines, at the insistence of Micythus the son of Choerus. Three thousand died from Rhegium, and there was no counting the number of Tarentines who lost their lives. Micythus, a former house-slave of Anaxilaus, had been left in charge of Rhegium; he was the man who was banished from Rhegium, moved to Tegea in Arcadia, and set up all those statues in Olympia.

6 **Thucydides, *Historiae*, 7. 33, 3–5. Jones, Powell (1967–1970); Hammond (2009)**

ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης καὶ Εὐρυμέδων, ἐτοίμης ἤδη τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐσης ἔκ τε τῆς Κερκύρας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου, ἐπεραιώθησαν ξυμπάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸν Ἴόνιον ἐπ’ ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν· καὶ ὀρμηθέντες αὐτόθεν κατίσχουσιν ἐς τὰς Χοιράδας νήσους Ἰαπυγίας, καὶ ἀκοντιστάς τε τινὰς τῶν Ἰαπύγων πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τοῦ Μεσσαπίου ἔθνους ἀναβιβάζονται ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τῷ Ἄρτῃ, ὅσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς δυνάστης ὧν παρέσχετο αὐτοῖς, ἀνανεωσάμενοί τινα παλαιὰν φιλίαν ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς Μεταπόντιον τῆς Ἰταλίας.

Meanwhile Demosthenes and Eurymedon, their recruitment from Corcyra and the mainland now complete, took their whole armament across the Ionian Gulf to the promontory of Iapygia. Setting out again from there they touched at the Iapygian islands called the Choerades and took on board their ships a hundred and fifty Iapygian javelin-men of the Messapian race offered by a local dynast, Artas, with whom they renewed an old friendship. They then reached Metapontium in Italy,

7 **Phileas, apud Steph. Byz., F 10, 1–2 Meineke (1958).**

Φιλέας “ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἰαπυγίας πολισμάτιον ἐν Πευκετιοῖς οὕτως κατ’ ὀρθὴν λεγόμενον Ἄβυδον”.

Phileas: “Among the Peuketians there is also a small Iapygian town which is so rightly called Abydon”.

8 **Hellanicus, apud Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antiquitates Romanae*, 1.22.3.1–9 Jacoby (1885). Cary (1937)**

τὸ μὲν δὴ Σικελικὸν γένος οὕτως ἐξέλιπεν Ἰταλίαν, ὡς μὲν Ἑλλάνικος ὁ Λέσβιός φησι, τρίτῃ γενεᾷ πρότερον τῶν Τρωικῶν Ἀλκυόνης ἱερωμένης ἐν Ἄργει κατὰ τὸ ἕκτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος. δύο δὲ ποιεῖ στόλους Ἰταλικούς διαβάοντας εἰς Σικελίαν· τὸν μὲν πρότερον Ἐλύμων, οὓς φησιν ὑπ' Οἰνώτρων ἐξαναστήναι, τὸν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον ἔτει πέμπτῳ γενόμενον Αὐσόνων Ἰάπυγας φευγόντων·

In this manner the Sicel nation left Italy, according to Hellanicus of Lesbos, in the third generation before the Trojan war, and in the twenty-sixth year of the priesthood of Alcyonê at Argos. But he says that two Italian expeditions passed over into Sicily, the first consisting of the Elymians, who had been driven out of their country by the Oenotrians, and the second, five years later, of the Ausonians, who fled from the Iapygians.

9 **Antiochus, fr. 14 Jacoby, apud Strabo 6. 3. 2 Meineke (1887); Jones (1924)**

τὸν δὲ Φάλανθον ἔπεμψαν εἰς θεοῦ περι ἀποικίας· ὁ δ' ἔχρησε

“Σατύριόν τοι δῶκα Τάραντά τε πίονα δῆμον
οἰκῆσαι, καὶ πῆμα Ἰαπύγεσσι γενέσθαι.”

ἦγον οὖν σὺν Φαλάνθῳ οἱ Παρθενίαι, καὶ ἐδέξαντο αὐτοὺς οἱ τε βάρβαροι καὶ οἱ Κρήτες οἱ προκατασχόντες τὸν τόπον. τούτους δ' εἶναι φασὶ τοὺς μετὰ Μίνω πλεύσαντας εἰς Σικελίαν, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνου τελευτὴν τὴν ἐν Καμικοῖς παρὰ Κωκάλῳ συμβᾶσαν ἀπάραντας ἐκ Σικελίας κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἀνάπλου δεῦρο παρωσθέντας, ὧν τινὰς ὕστερον πεζῇ περιελθόντας τὸν Ἀδριανὸν μέχρι Μακεδονίας Βοττιαίου προσαγορευθῆναι. Ἰάπυγας δὲ λεχθῆναι πάντας φασὶ μέχρι τῆς Δαυνίας ἀπὸ Ἰάπυγος, ὃν ἐκ Κρήσεως γυναικὸς Δαιδάλῳ γενέσθαι φασὶ καὶ ἡγήσασθαι τῶν Κρητῶν·

Phalanthus, however, was sent to the temple of the god to consult with reference to founding a colony; and the god responded, “I give to thee Satyrium, both to take up thine abode in the rich land of Taras and to become a bane to the Iapygians.” Accordingly, the Partheniae went thither with Phalanthus, and they were welcomed by both the barbarians and the Cretans who had previously taken possession of the place. These latter, it

is said, are the people who sailed with Minos to Sicily, and, after his death, which occurred at the home of Cocalus in Camici, set sail from Sicily; but on the voyage back they were driven out of their course to Taras, although later some of them went afoot around the Adrias as far as Macedonia and were called Bottiaeanes. But all the people as far as Daunia, it is said, were called Iapyges, after Iapyx, who is said to have been the son of Daedalus by a Cretan woman and to have been the leader of the Cretans.

10 **Hephorus, apud Strabo, 6.1.12, 25–26 Meineke (1887); Jones (1924)**

ῶκουν δὲ Ἰάπυγες τὸν Κρότωνα πρότερον, ὡς Ἐφορός φησι.

Kalabria: the Messapia country. Rinthon

11 **Rinthon fr. 20. apud Hesychius, *Lexikon*, κ 380.1 Völker (1887)**

Καλαβρίαν· τὴν Μεσσαπίαν χώραν. Ῥίνθων.

Kalabria: the Messapia country. Rinthon.

12 **Lykophron, *Alexandra*, 856–858; 911–1002–1007; Mascialino (1964); Mair (1939)**

1002–1007

Κροτωνιάται δ' ἄστυ πέρσουσιν ποτε
Ἄμαζόνος φθέρσαντες ἄτρομον κόρην,
Κλήτην, ἀνάσσαν τῆς ἐπωνύμου πάτρας.
πολλοὶ δὲ πρόσθεν γαίαν ἐκ κείνης ὁδάξ
δάψουσι πρηνηχθέντες οὐδ' ἄτερ πόνων
πύργους διαρραίσουσι Λαυρήτης γόνοι.

And the men of Croton shall sack the city of the Amazon, destroying the dauntless maiden Clete, queen of the land that bears her name. But, ere that, many shall be laid low by her hand and bite the dust with their teeth, and not without labour shall the sons of Laureta sack the towers.

856–858

ἤξει δὲ Σίριν καὶ Λακινίου μυχοῦς,
 ἐν οἷσι πόρτις ὄρχατον τεύξει θεᾶ
 Ὀπλοσμία φυτοῖσιν ἐξησχημένον.

And he shall come to Siris and the recesses of Lacinium, wherein a heifer shall fashion an orchard for the goddess Hopolosmia, furnished with trees.

911–913

Τὸν δ' Αἰσάρου τε ρεῖθρα καὶ βραχύπτολις
 Οἰνωτρίας γῆς κεγχρήνη βεβρωμένον
 Κρίμισα φιτροῦ δέξεται μαιφόνον.

Another shall the streams of Aesarus and the little city of Crimisa in the Oenotrian land receive.

919–929

Κράθις δὲ τύμβους ὄψεται δεδουπότος,
 εὐράξ Ἀλαίου Παταρέως ἀνακτόρων,
 Ναύαιθος ἔνθα πρὸς κλύδων' ἐρεύγεται.
 κτενοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν Αὔσονες Πελλήνιοι
 βοηδρομοῦντα Λινδίων στρατηλάταις,
 οὓς τῆλε Θερμύδρου τε Καρπάθου τ' ὄρων
 πλάνητας αἴθων Θρασκίας πέμψει κύων,
 ξένην ἐποικήσοντας ὀθνεῖαν χθόνα.
 ἐν δ' αὖ Μακάλλοις σηκὸν ἔγχωροι μέγαν
 ὑπὲρ τάφων δείμαντες αἰανῆ θεὸν
 λοιβαῖσι κυδανούσι καὶ θύσθλοισ βωῶν.

And Crathis shall see his tomb when he is dead, sideways from the shrine of Alaeus of Patara, where Nauaethus belches seaward. The Ausonian Pel-lenians shall slay him when he aids the leaders of the Lindians, whom far from Thermydron and the mountains of Carpathus the fierce hound Thrascias shall send wandering to dwell in a strange and alien soil. But in Macalla, again, the people of the place shall build a great shrine above his grave and glorify him as an everlasting god with libations and sacrifice of oxen.

13 Theocritus, *Idyllia* 4. 15–37 Gow (1952); Edmonds (1912)

BA. τήνας μὲν δὴ τοι τὰς πόρτιος αὐτὰ λέλειπται
 τῶστιά. μὴ πρῶκας σιτίζεται ὡσπερ ὁ τέττιξ;
 KO. οὐ Δᾶν, ἀλλ' ὄκα μὲν νιν ἐπ' Αἰσάροιο νομεύω
 καὶ μαλακῶ χόρτοιο καλὰν κώμυθα δίδωμι,
 ἄλλοκα δὲ σκαίρει τὸ βαθύσκιον ἀμφὶ Λάτυμνον.
 BA. λεπτὸς μὲν χῶ ταῦρος ὁ πυρρήχος. αἶθε λάχοιεν
 τοὶ τῷ Λαμπριάδα, τοὶ δαμόται ὄκα θύωντι
 τῶ Ἥρα, τοιόνδε· κακοχράσμων γὰρ ὁ δᾶμος.
 KO. καὶ μὲν ἐς στομάλιμνον ἐλαύνεται ἕξ τε τὰ Φύσκα,
 καὶ ποτὶ τὸν Νήαιθον, ὅπα καλὰ πάντα φύονται,
 αἰγίπυρος καὶ κνύζα καὶ εὐώδης μελίτεια.
 BA. φεῦ φεῦ βασεύονται καὶ ταὶ βόες, ὦ τάλαν Αἴγων,
 εἰς Αἶδαν, ὄκα καὶ τὴν κακᾶς ἡράσσοιο νίκας,
 χὰ σῦριγξ εὐρώπι παλύνεται, ἄν ποκ' ἐπάξα.
 KO. οὐ τήνα γ', οὐ Νύμφας, ἐπεὶ ποτὶ Πίσαν ἀφέρπων
 δῶρον ἐμοὶ νιν ἔλειπεν· ἐγὼ δὲ τις εἶμι μελικτάς,
 κεῦ μὲν τὰ Γλαύκας ἀγκρούομαι, εὖ δὲ τὰ Πύρρω.
 αἰνέω τάν τε Κρότωνα—'Καλὰ πόλις ἅ τε Ζάκυνθος ...'—
 καὶ τὸ ποταῶνον τὸ Λακίνιον, ἄπερ ὁ πύκτας
 Αἴγων ὀγδῶκοντα μόνος κατεδαίσατο μάζας.
 τηνεὶ καὶ τὸν ταῦρον ἀπ' ὠρεος ἄγε πιάξας
 τὰς ὀπλᾶς κῆδωκ' Ἀμαρυλλίδι, ταὶ δὲ γυναῖκες
 μακρὸν ἀνάυσαν, χῶ βουκόλος ἐξεγέλασεν.

BA Look you now, yonder beast, she's nought but skin and bone. Pray, doth she feed on dewdrops like the cricket?

CO Zeus! No. Why, sometimes I graze her alone the Aesarus and give her a brave bottle of the tenderest green grass, and oftentimes her play-ground's in the deep shade of Latymnus.

BA Aye, and the red-poll bull, he's lean as can be. (bitterly again) I only would to god, when there's a sacrifice to Hera in their ward, the sons of Lampriadas might get such another⁶ as he: they are a foul mixen sort, they o' that ward.

CO All the same that bull's driven to the sea-lake and the Physcian border, and to that garden of good things, goat-flower, mullet, ⁷ sweet odorous balsam, to with Neaethus.

BA Heigho, poor Aegon! thy very kine must needs meet their death because thou art gone a-whoring after vainglory, and the herdsman's pipe thou once didst make thyself is all one mildew.

CO Nay, by the Nymphs, not it. He bequeathed it to me when he set out for Pisa. I too am something of a musician. Mark you, I'm a dabster at Glauce's snatches and those ditties Pyrrhus makes:

O Croton is a bonny town as Zacynth by the sea,
 And a bonny sight on her eastward height is the fane of Laciny,
 Where boxer Milon one fine morn made fourscore loaves his meal,
 And down the hill another day, while lasses holla'd by the way,
 To Amaryllis, laughing gay led the bull by the heel.

14 **Nicander, apud Antonius Liberalis, *Metamorphoses*, 31 Cazzaniga (1962); Celoria (1992)**

Λυκάωνος τοῦ αὐτόχθονος ἐγένοντο παῖδες Ἰάπυξ καὶ Δαύνιος καὶ Πευκέτιος. οὗτοι λαὸν ἀθροίσαντες ἀφίκοντο τῆς Ἰταλίας παρὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν· ἐξελάσαντες δὲ τοὺς ἐνταυθοῖ οἰκοῦντας Αὐσονας αὐτοὶ καθιδρῦθησαν. ἦν δὲ τὸ πλεόν αὐτοῖς τῆς στρατιάς ἔποικον, Ἰλλυριοὶ Μεσσάπιοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἅμα καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐμέρισαν τριχῆ καὶ ὠνόμασαν ὡς ἐκάστοις ἡγεμόνος <ὄνομα> εἶχε Δαυνίου καὶ Πευκετίου καὶ Μεσσαπίου, τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ Τάραντος ἄχρι πρὸς τὴν ἐσχατιὰν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐγένετο Μεσσαπίων, ἐν ἣ πόλις ᾤκηται Βρεντέσιον, τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὴν <γῆν> ἐντὸς τοῦ Τάραντος ἐγένετο Πευκετίων, ἐνδοτέρω δὲ τούτου <τὸ> τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ πλεόν <ἐγενέτο> Δαυνίων, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἔθνος ὠνόμασαν Ἰαπύγων.

Lycaon, sprung from the soil, had as sons Iapyx, Daunius and Peucetius. They gathered an army and arrived on the Adriatic side of Italy. They drove out the Ausonians who were living there and, instead, settled themselves there. Most of their army consisted of Illyrian settlers led by Messapius. When the army and the land was divided into three, they took the names of each of their leaders, Daunians, Peucetians and Messapians. The land from Tarentum to the tip of Italy became that of the Messapians, where stands the city of Brentesium. The land to this side of Tarentum became that of the Peucetians and, further on, the Daunians held most of the coast. The whole nation was called that of the Iapygians.

15 Polybius, *Historiae*, 3. 88. 3–5 Büttner-Wobst (1962–1967); Paton (1922–1927)

διελθῶν δὲ καὶ καταφθείρας τὴν τε Πραιτεττιανὴν καὶ τὴν Ἀδριανὴν ἔτι δὲ τὴν Μαρρουκίην καὶ Φρεντανὴν χώραν ὤρμησε ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν εἰς τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν. ἦς διηρημένης εἰς τρεῖς ὀνομασίας, καὶ τῶν μὲν προσαγορευομένων Δαυνίων, (τῶν δὲ Πευκετίων), τῶν δὲ Μεσσαπίων, εἰς πρώτην ἐνέβαλε τὴν Δαυ-
νίαν.

After passing through and devastating the territories of Praetutia, Hadriana, Marrucina, and Frentana he marched on towards Iapygia. This province is divided among three peoples, the Daunii, Peucetii and Messapii, and it was the territory of the Daunii that Hannibal first invaded.

16 Polybius, *Historiae*, 10. 1. 1–4 Büttner-Wobst (1962–1967); Paton (1922–1927)

Ὅντων γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ καὶ τῆς Ῥηγίωνων πόλεως σταδίων εἰς Τάραντα πλείονων ἢ δισχιλίων, εἰς τέλος ἀλίμενον εἶναι συμβαίνει τὴν πλευρὰν τῆς Ἰταλίας ταύτην πλὴν τῶν ἐν Τάραντι λιμένων· ἢ τέτραπται μὲν εἰς τὸ Σικελικὸν πέλαγος, νεύει δὲ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόπους, ἔχει δὲ τῶν τε βαρβάρων ἔθνων τὰ πολυανθρωπότατα καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας. Βρέττιοι γὰρ καὶ Λευκανοὶ καὶ τινὰ μέρη τῶν Δαυνίων, ἔτι δὲ Καλαβροὶ καὶ πλείους ἕτεροι τοῦτο τὸ κλίμα νέμονται τῆς Ἰταλίας·

The distance from the Sicilian strait and Rhegium to Tarentum is more than two thousand stades, but all this side of Italy has not a single harbour except those of Tarentum. This part of Italy faces the Sicilian Sea and verges towards Greece, and it contains the most populous barbarian tribes and the most famous Greek cities, being inhabited by the Brutians, Lucanians, a portion of the Daunians, the Calabrians, and several other tribes, while on its coast lie Rhegium, Caulonia, Locri, Croton, Metapontum, and Thurii, so that those travelling either from Greece or from Sicily to any of the aforesaid places must of necessity anchor in the harbours of Tarentum, and make that city the seat of the exchange and traffic with all the inhabitants of this side of Italy.

- 17 Aegean Islands, IG XII, 3. 1299/1300. A. 23. 2–4 Hiller von Gaertringen F. (1898–1904)

Δεξιθεος Χα[— —καί— —]
 Ζοάρχο[υ] Καλαβ[ροί· εὐεργέται]
 καὶ πρόξενοι·

Dexitheos son of Cha[— —and a— —]
 son of Zoarcho[s] Kalab[roí: benefactors]
 and public guests.

- 18 Diodorus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 8. 17. 1. 1–15 Oldfather (1939)

ἽΟτι Μύσκελλός τις Ἀχαιοὺς ὧν τὸ γένος ἐκ Ἑρύπης κατήνησεν εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπηρώτησε περὶ τέκνων γενέσεως· ἡ δὲ Πυθία ἀνείλεν οὕτως·

Μύσκελλε βραχύνωτε, φιλεῖ σ' ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων,
 καὶ γενεὰν δώσει· τόδε δὲ πρότερόν σε κελεύει,
 οἰκήσαι σε Κρότωνα μέγαν καλαῖς ἐν ἀρούραις.

τοῦ δὲ Κρότωνα ἀγνοοῦντος εἰπεῖν πάλιν τὴν Πυθίαν,
 αὐτὸς σοι φράζει ἐκατηβόλος· ἀλλὰ συνίει.
 οὗτος μὲν Τάφιος τοι ἀνήροτος, ἦδε δὲ Χαλκίς,
 ἦδε δὲ Κουρήτων ... ἡ ἱερὰ χθών,
 αἶδε δ' Ἑχινάδες εἰσί· πολὺς δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ πόντος.
 οὕτω σ' οὐκ ἄν φημι Λακινίου ἄκρου ἀμαρτεῖν
 οὐδ' ἱερὰς Κριμίσσης οὐδ' Αἰσάρου ποταμοῖο.

Myscellus, an Achaean by birth, went from Rhyphê to Delphi and inquired of the god concerning the begetting of children. And the Pythian priestess gave him the following answer:
 Myscellus, too short of back, beloved art thou
 Of him, even Apollo, who works afar,
 And he will give thee children; yet this first
 Is his command, Croton the great to found
 Amidst fair fields.

And since he did not understand the reference to Croton, the Pythian priestess gave answer a second time:

To thee the Far-darter in person now doth speak,
 And give thou heed. Here lieth the Taphian land,
 Untouched by plow, and Chalcis there, and there
 The home of the Curetes, sacred soil,
 And there the isles of the Echinades:
 And on the islands' left a mighty sea.
 This way thou cans't not miss the Lacinian Head,
 Nor sacred Crimise, nor Aesarus' stream.

19 **Vergilius, *Aeneis* 3. 396–402. Mymors (1972); Williams (1910)**

has autem terras Italique hanc litoris oram,
 proxima quae nostri perfunditur aequoris aestu,
 effuge; cuncta malis habitantur moenia Grais.
 hic et Narycii posuerunt moenia Locri,
 et Sallentinos obsedit milite campos
 Lyctius Idomeneus; hic illa ducis Meliboei
 parua Philoctetae subnixa Petelia muro.

But from these lands and yon Italian shore,
 where from this sea of ours the tide sweeps in,
 escape and flee, for all its cities hold
 pernicious Greeks, thy foes: the Locri there
 have builded walls; the wide Sallentine fields
 are filled with soldiers of Idomeneus;
 there Meliboean Philoctetes' town,
 Petilia, towers above its little wall.

20 **Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* 15. 50–57. Miller, Goold (1977–1984);
 Lombardo (2010)**

navigat Ionium Sallentinumque Neretum
 praeterit et Sybarin Lacedaemoniumque Tarentum
 Sirinosque sinus Crimisenque et Iapygis arva,
 vixque pererratis, quae spectant aequora, terris,

invenit Aesarei fatalia fluminis ora
 nec procul hinc tumulum, sub quo sacrata Crotonis
 ossa tegebat humus, iussaue ibi moenia terra
 condidit et nomen tumulati traxit in urbem.

[Myscelus] He sailed with the wind across the Ionian Sea,
 Passed by Salentine Neretum, by Sybaris,
 Spartan Tarentum, the Bay of Siris,
 Crimisa, and the Iapygian coast.
 He had just scanned those shores when he reached
 The destined mouth of the Aesar. Nearby,
 An earthen mound held Croton's sacred bones.

- 21 **Nicolaus Damascenus, *Fragmenta*, fr. 101. 85–90 Müller (1841–1870);
 Toher (2017)**

Καίσαρ δ' ἀνήχθη τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι πλοίοις, χειμῶνος ἔτι ὄντος σφαλερώτατα,
 καὶ διαβαλὼν τὸν Ἰόνιον πόντον, ἴσχει τῆς Καλαβρίας τὴν ἔγγιστα ἄκραν, ἔνθα
 οὐδέν πω σαφές διήγγελο τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι [περὶ] τοῦ ἐν Ἑρώμῃ νεωτερισμοῦ.
 Ἐκβάς οὖν ταύτη πεζὸς ὤδευεν ἐπὶ Λουπίας.

Caesar made a perilous voyage on the ships that happened to be available there since it was still winter, and after crossing the Ionian Sea he made for the nearest promontory of Calabria. The inhabitants there could report nothing at all accurate about the upheaval at Rome, and so having departed from there he traveled on foot to Lupia.

- 22 **Strabo, *Geographica* 6. 1. 11, 1–4 Meineke (1887); Jones (1924)**

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Σκυλλήτιον ἡ Κροτωνιάτις χώρα καὶ τῶν Ἰαπύγων ἄκραι τρεῖς. μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὸ Λακίνιον Ἥρας ἱερόν, πλούσιόν ποτε ὑπάρξαν καὶ πολλῶν ἀναθημάτων μεστόν.

After Scylletium comes the territory of the Crotoniates, and three capes of the Iapyges; and after these, the Lacinium, a temple of Hera, which at one time was rich and full of dedicated offerings.

23 **Strabo, *Geographica* 6. 3. 1. 1–13 Meineke (1887); Jones (1924)**

Ἐπεληλυθόσι δ' ἡμῖν τὰ περι τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἰταλίαν μέχρι Μεταποντίου τὰ συν-
εχῆ λεκτέον. συνεχῆς δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Ἰαπυγία· αὐτὴν δὲ καὶ Μεσσαπίαν καλοῦσιν
οἱ Ἕλληνες, οἱ δ' ἐπιχώριοι κατὰ μέρη τὸ μὲν τι Σαλεντίνους καλοῦσι τὸ περι
τὴν ἄκραν τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν, τὸ δὲ Καλαβρούς. ὑπὲρ τούτους πρόσβορροι Πευκέ-
τιοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ Δαύνιοι κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διάλεκτον προσαγορευόμενοι, οἱ δ'
ἐπιχώριοι πᾶσαν τὴν μετὰ τοὺς Καλαβρούς Ἀπουλίαν καλοῦσι· τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν
καὶ Ποίδικλοι λέγονται, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ Πευκέτιοι. ἔστι δ' ἐπιχειρρονησιάζουσα
ἡ Μεσσαπία τῷ ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου μέχρι Τάραντος ἰσθμῷ κλειομένη σταδίων δέκα
καὶ τριακοσίων.

Now that I have traversed the regions of Old Italy as far as Metapontium, I must speak of those that border on them. And Iapygia borders on them. The Greeks call it Messapia, also, but the natives, dividing it into two parts, call one part (that about the Iapygian Cape) the country of the Salentini, and the other the country of the Calabri. Above these latter, on the north, are the Peucetii and also those people who in the Greek language are called Daunii, but the natives give the name Apulia to the whole country that comes after that of the Calabri, though some of them, particularly the Peucetii, are called Poedicli also. Messapia forms a sort of peninsula, since it is enclosed by the isthmus that extends from Brentesium as far as Taras, three hundred and ten stadia.

24 **Strabo, *Geographica* 6. 3. 5. 1–17 Meineke (1887); Jones (1924)**

Ἡ δ' ἐξῆς τῶν Ἰαπύγων χώρα παραδόξως ἐστὶν ἀστεία· ἐπιπολῆς γὰρ φαινομένη
τραχεῖα εὐρίσκεται βαθύγειος σχιζομένη, ἀνυδροτέρα δ' οὔσα εὐβοτος οὐδὲν
ἦττον καὶ εὐδενδρος ὁράται. εὐάνδρησε δὲ ποτε καὶ τοῦτο σφόδρα τὸ χωρίον
σύμπαν καὶ ἔσχε πόλεις τρισκαίδεκα, ἀλλὰ νῦν πλὴν Τάραντος καὶ Βρεντε-
σίου τᾶλλα πολισματία ἐστὶν· οὕτως ἐκπεπόνηται. τοὺς δὲ Σαλεντίνους Κρη-
τῶν ἀποίκους φασίν· ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πλούσιόν ποτε
ὑπάρξαν, καὶ ὁ σκόπελος, ὃν καλοῦσιν ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν, πολὺς ἐκκείμενος εἰς
τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τὰς χειμερινὰς ἀνατολάς, ἐπιστρέφων δὲ πῶς ἐπὶ τὸ Λακίνιον
ἀνταίρον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας αὐτῷ καὶ κλείον τὸ στόμα τοῦ Ταραντίνου κόλ-
που πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ τὰ Κεραύνια δ' ὁμοίως ὄρη κλείει πρὸς αὐτόν τὸ στόμα
τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου, καὶ ἔστι τὸ διάρμα ὅσον ἑπτακοσίων σταδίων Ἡ δ' ἐξῆς
τῶν Ἰαπύγων χώρα παραδόξως ἐστὶν ἀστεία· ἐπιπολῆς γὰρ φαινομένη τραχεῖα
εὐρίσκεται βαθύγειος σχιζομένη, ἀνυδροτέρα δ' οὔσα εὐβοτος οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ

εὐδενδρος ὄραται. εὐάνδρησε δέ ποτεκαὶ τοῦτο σφόδρα τὸ χωρίον σύμπαν καὶ ἔσχε πόλεις τρισκαίδεκα, ἀλλὰ νῦν πλὴν Τάραντος καὶ Βρεντεσίου τὰλλα πολι-
σμάτια ἔστιν· ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τε τὰ Κεραύνια καὶ πρὸς τὸ Λακίνιον.

That part of the country of the Iapygians which comes next is fine, though in an unexpected way; for although on the surface it appears rough, it is found to be deep-soiled when ploughed, and although it is rather lacking in water, it is manifestly none the less good for pasturage and for trees. The whole of this district was once extremely populous; and it also had thirteen cities; but now, with the exception of Taras and Brentesium, all of them are so worn out by war that they are merely small towns. The Salentini are said to be a colony of the Cretans. The temple of Athene, once so rich, is in their territory, as also the look-out-rock called Cape Iapygia, a huge rock which extends out into the sea towards the winter sunrise, though it bends approximately towards the Lacinium, which rises opposite to it on the west and with it bars the mouth of the Tarantine Gulf. And with it the Ceraunian Mountains, likewise, bar the mouth of the Ionian Gulf; the passage across from it both to the Ceraunian Mountains and to the Lacinium is about seven hundred stadia.

25 **Strabo, *Geographica* 6. 3. 5. 1–45 Meineke (1887); Jones (1924)**

Ἡ δ' ἐξῆς τῶν Ἰαπύγων χώρα παραδόξως ἔστιν ἀστεία· ἐπιπολῆς γὰρ φαινομένη τραχεῖα εὐρίσκεται βαθύγειος σχιζομένη, ἀνυδροτέρα δ' οὔσα εὐβοτος οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ εὐδενδρος ὄραται. εὐάνδρησε δέ ποτε καὶ τοῦτο σφόδρα τὸ χωρίον σύμπαν καὶ ἔσχε πόλεις τρισκαίδεκα, ἀλλὰ νῦν πλὴν Τάραντος καὶ Βρεντεσίου τὰλλα πολισμάτια ἔστιν· οὕτως ἐκπεπόνηται. τοὺς δὲ Σαλεντίνους Κρητῶν ἀποίκους φασίν· ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστι καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πλούσιον ποτε ὑπάρξαν, καὶ ὁ σκόπελος, ὃν καλοῦσιν ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν, πολὺς ἐκκείμενος εἰς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τὰς χειμερινὰς ἀνατολάς, ἐπιστρέφων δέ πως ἐπὶ τὸ Λακίνιον ἀνταῖρον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας αὐτῷ καὶ κλείον τὸ στόμα τοῦ Ταραντίνου κόλπου πρὸς αὐτόν. [...] ἔοικεν οὖν χερρονήσῳ τὸ περιπλεόμενον χωρίον ἐκ Τάραντος εἰς Βρεντέσιον· ἢ δ' ἐκ Βρεντεσίου πεζευομένη ὁδὸς εἰς τὸν Τάραντα, εὐζώνῳ μιᾶς οὔσα ἡμέρας, τὸν ἰσθμὸν ποιεῖ τῆς εἰρημένης χερρονήσου, ἣν Μεσσαπίαν τε καὶ Ἰαπυγίαν καὶ Καλαβρίαν καὶ Σαλεντίνην κοινῶς οἱ πολλοὶ προσαγορεύουσι· τινὲς δὲ διαιροῦσιν, ὡς ἐλέγομεν πρότερον.

That part of the country of the Iapygians which comes next is fine, though in an unexpected way; for although on the surface it appears rough, it is

found to be deep-soiled when ploughed, and although it is rather lacking in water, it is manifestly none the less good for pasturage and for trees. The whole of this district was once extremely populous; and it also had thirteen cities; but now, with the exception of Taras and Brentesium, all of them are so worn out by war that they are merely small towns. The Salentini are said to be a colony of the Cretans. The temple of Athene, once so rich, is in their territory, as also the look-out-rock called Cape Iapygia, a huge rock which extends out into the sea towards the winter sunrise, though it bends approximately towards the Lacinium, which rises opposite to it on the west and with it bars the mouth of the Tarantine Gulf. [...] So then, the district one sails around in going from Taras to Brentesium resembles a peninsula, and the overland journey from Brentesium to Taras, which is only a one day's journey for a man well-girt, forms the isthmus of the aforesaid peninsula; and this peninsula most people call by one general name Messapia, or Iapygia, or Calabria, or Salentina, although some divide it up, as I have said before.

26 **Strabo, *Geographica* 7. 5. 7. 8–15. Meineke (1887); Jones (1924)**

τῶν δὲ Δαρδανιατῶν εἰσι καὶ οἱ Γαλάβριοι, παρ' οἷς ... πόλις ἀρχαία, καὶ οἱ Θουνάται, [οἱ] Μαίδοις ἔθνηι Θρακίῳ πρὸς ἔω συνάπτουσιν. ἄγριοι δ' ὄντες οἱ Δαρδάνιοι τελέως, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ ταῖς κοπρίαις ὀρύξαντες σπήλαια ἐνταῦθα διαίτας ποιεῖσθαι, μουσικῆς δ' ὅμως ἐπεμελήθησαν αἰεὶ χρώμενοι καὶ αὐλοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐντατοῖς ὀργάνοις. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ·

To the Dardaniatae belong also the Galabrii, among whom is an ancient city, and the Thunatae, whose country joins that of the Medi, a Thracian tribe on the east. The Dardanians are so utterly wild that they dig caves beneath their dung-hills and live there, but still they care for music, always making use of musical instruments, both flutes and stringed instruments. However, these people live in the interior.

27 **Dionysius Periegetes, *Orbis Terrarum Descriptio*, 376–380
Brodersen (1994)**

Τάρας δ' ἄλὸς ἐγγύθι κεῖται, ἣν ποτ' Ἀμυκλαίων ἐπολίσατο καρτερός ἼΑρης. ἔξειης δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι Καλαβρίδος ἦθεα γαίης, φύλά τ' Ἰηπύγων τετανουσμένα μεσφ' Ἰχρίοιο παραλίης.

Tarentum, instead, lies on the sea, which once the powerful Ares Amicleus founded. Immediately after there were the peoples of the Calabrian land, the tribes of the Iapygians, spread out as far as the maritime city of Hryon.

28. Plutarchus, *Timoleon* 31. 2–3. Perrin (1918).

γενομένων δὲ τούτων καὶ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος εἰς Καλαυρίαν στρατεύσαντος, ὁ Ἰκέτης ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν Συρακουσίαν λείαν τε συχνὴν ἔλαβε καὶ πολλὰ λυμηνάμενος καὶ καθυβρίσας ἀπηλλάττετο παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν Καλαυρίαν, καταφρονῶν τοῦ Τιμολέοντος ὀλίγου στρατιώτας ἔχοντος. ἐκεῖνος δὲ προλαβεῖν ἐάσας ἐδίωκεν ἵππεῖς ἔχων καὶ ψιλοῦς, αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰκέτης τὸν Δαμυρίαν διαβεβηκῶς ὑπέστη παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀμυνόμενος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ θάρσος ἢ τε τοῦ πόρου χαλεπότης καὶ τὸ κρημνῶδες τῆς ἐκατέρωθεν ὄχθης παρεῖχε.

And after this, when Timoleon was on an expedition to Calauria, Hicetas burst into the territory of Syracuse, took much booty, wrought much wanton havoc, and was marching off past Calauria itself, despising Timoleon, who had but few soldiers. But Timoleon suffered him to pass on, and then pursued him with cavalry and light-armed troops. When Hicetas was aware of this, he crossed the river Damurias, and halted on the farther bank to defend himself; for the difficulty of the passage, and the steepness of the banks on either side, gave him courage.

29 Pseudo-Plutarchus, *De fluviis* 4. 1. 1–8. Müller (1861); Goodwin (1874)

Γάγγης ποταμός ἐστι τῆς Ἰνδίας, τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβὼν δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. Ἰνδῶ τις Καλαυρία νύμφη ἐγέννησεν υἱὸν κάλλει περίβλεπτον, τοῦνομα Γάγγην. Οὗτος καρηβαρήσας τῇ μητρὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν συνεγένετο. Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν παρὰ τῆς τροφοῦ μαθὼν τὴν ἀλήθειαν διὰ λύπης ὑπερβολὴν ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν εἰς ποταμὸν Χλιαρὸν καλούμενον, ὃς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Γάγγης μετωνομάσθη.

Ganges is a river in India, so called for this reason. A certain Calaurian nymph had by Indus a son called Ganges, conspicuous for his beauty. Who growing up to manhood, being once desperately overcome with wine, in the heat of his intoxication lay with his mother. The next day he was informed by the nurse of what he had done; and such was the excess of his sorrow, that he threw himself into a river called Chliarus, afterwards called Ganges from his own name.

- 30 Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio*, 6. 6. 11. 1–8. Spiro (1903); Fontenrose (1974); Jones, Ormerod (1918)

ἦν δὲ αὕτη γραφῆς μίμημα ἀρχαίας. νεανίσκος Σύβαρις καὶ Κάλαβρός τε ποταμὸς καὶ Λύκα πηγῆ, πρὸς δὲ ἦρα τε καὶ Τεμέσα ἦν ἡ πόλις, ἐν δὲ σφισι καὶ δαίμων ὄντινα ἐξέβαλεν ὁ Εὐθύμος, χροῖαν τε δεινῶς μέλας καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἅπαν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φοβερὸς, λύκου δὲ ἀμπίσχικο δέρμα ἐσθήτα· ἐτίθετο δὲ καὶ ὄνομα Λύβαντα τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ γράμματα.

It was a copy of an old picture. There were a stripling, Sybaris, a river, *Kalabros*, and a spring, Lyca. Besides, there were *Hera* and the city of Temesa, and in the midst was the ghost that Euthymus cast out. Horribly black in color, and exceedingly dreadful in all his appearance, he had a wolf's skin thrown round him as a garment. The letters on the picture gave his name as *Alybas*.

- 31 Scholia In Homerum, *Scholia in Iliadem* 13. 459. 2–7. Heyne (1834)

Τροίας ἀλούσης, Αἰνείας, Ἀγχίσην παραλαβὼν τὸν πατέρα, ἔφυγε. Ναυαγίῳ δὲ περιπεσὼν περὶ τὸν Ἄθω, ἀνήκει σὺν τῷ πατρί. Καὶ Ἀγχίσης μὲν πρὸς τῷ Καλαύρῳ ὄρει, πλησίον Ἀνθέμου ποταμοῦ, τελευτᾷ.

After the fall of Troy, Aeneas, taking his father Anchises with him, escaped. Shipwrecked around Athos, he ascended there with his father. And Anchises on Kalauros mount, near the Anthemos river, died.

- 32 Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum*, 18. 9. 6 Dindorf (1871)

ὅς τούτῳ συμβαλὼν κατὰ τι χωρίον Καλαβρύην λεγόμενον διὰ τὸ κατάρρυτον εἶναι τὸν τόπον βρύσεσιν ὑδάτων πολλαῖς τε καὶ ἀγαθαῖς ῥαδίως τῆς ἐκείνου περιεγένετο στρατιάς.

He [Komnenos], having come into conflict with these [Bryennios] in the country of Kalabrye, so called because the place was alluvial due to numerous and good springs of water, easily defeated the army.

33 Lokroi Kalabroi Inscription, Kaibel (1890)

ΕΚΤΕΘΕΙΑΣΜΕΝΗ
ΘΕΑ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΗ ΤΗ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΩ ΕΚΠΟΡΕΥΟΜΕΝΗ
ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΕΓΚΦΑΛΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ
ΕΡΥΜΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ
ΚΑΘΙΕΡΟΥΣΙ
ΛΟΚΡΟΙ ΚΑΛΑΒΡΟΙ

The Locrenses Calabri consecrate this castle to the Sacrosanct goddess Athena Parthenos, who springs from the head of the Great Zeus.

Bibliography

- Aguirre M., Buxton R. (2020), *Cyclops. The Myth and Its Cultural History*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Ahrens H.L. (1909), *Bucolicorum graecorum Theocriti, Bionis, Moschi reliquiae*, Lipsiae: in aedibus B.G. Teubneri.
- Aigner Foresti L. (2004), "Gli Illiri in Italia": istituzioni politiche nella Messapia preromana, in *Dall'Adriatico al Danubio: l'Illirico nell'età greca e romana*, Atti del convegno internazionale (Cividale del Friuli, 25–27 settembre 2003), Pisa, ETS, 79–94.
- Albu E. (2005), *Imperial Geography and the Medieval Peutinger Map*, in "Imago Mundi", Vol. 57, No. 2, 136–148.
- Alessio G. (1935), *La base preindoeuropea *KAR(R)A/GAR(R)A "pietra"*, in "Studi Etruschi", IX, 133–151.
- Alessio G. (1936), *La base preindoeuropea *KAR(R)A/GAR(R)A "pietra"*, in "Studi Etruschi", X, 165–189.
- Alessio G. (1939), *Saggio di toponomastica calabrese*, Firenze, Olschki.
- Alessio G. (1946a), *Un'oasi linguistica preindoeuropea nella regione baltica?*, in "Studi Etruschi", XIX, 141–176.
- Alessio G. (1946b), *Relitti mediterranei nel lessico botanico greco e latino*, in "Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Lettere, Storia e Filosofia", Serie II, Vol. 13, 24–51.
- Alessio G. (1948), *Salentini e Calabri nel tallone d'Italia*, in "Salento Avito", II, 17–18.
- Alessio G. (1949), *Genti e favelle dell'Antica Apulia*, in "Archivio Storico Pugliese", 2, 3–37.
- Alessio G. (1950), *Il tema idronimico mediterraneo *Orontio*, in "Revue internationale d'onomastique", 2/2, 93–107.
- Alessio G. (1955), *Sul nome di Brindisi*, in "Archivio Storico Pugliese", 8, 211–238.
- Alessio G. (1962), *Āpulia et Calabria nel quadro della toponomastica mediterranea*, in Battisti C., Mastrelli C.A., a cura di, *Atti del VII Congr. Intern. di Scienze Onomastiche* (Firenze–Pisa 1961), Firenze, Francolini, 1, 65–129.
- Alessio G. (1983), *Sopravvivenze classiche nei dialetti calabresi*, in *Bretti Greci e Romani*, Atti del V Congresso Storico Calabrese (Cosenza, Vibo Valentia, Reggio Calabria 28–31 ottobre 1973), Roma, F.lli Palombi, 71–273.
- Alessio G., De Giovanni M. (1983), *Preistoria e protostroria linguistica dell'Abruzzo*, Lanciano, Itinerari.
- Allen W.S. (1968), *Vox Graeca. The Pronunciation of Classical Greek*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Almagna R., Levi D., Costanzi V., Cessi R., Tommasini F., Randi O. (1931), s.v. *Corfù*, in "Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani", Roma.
- Amari M. (1880), *Biblioteca Arabo—Sicula*, I, Torino–Roma, Loescher.

- Anthon C. (1871), *A System of Ancient and Mediaeval Geography for the Use of Schools and Colleges*, New York, Harper & Brothers.
- Antonelli G. (1827), *Nuovo dizionario geografico universale statistico—storico—commerciale*, Tomo I, Parte II, Venezia, Antonelli Ed.
- Antonelli L. (1995), *Sulle navi degli Eubei (immaginario mitico e traffici di età arcaica)*, in *Hesperia*, 5, Roma, “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 11–24.
- Antonelli L. (2000), *Κερκυραϊκά: ricerche su Corcira alto—arcaica tra Ionio e Adriatico*, Roma, “L’Erma” di Bretschneider.
- Arcuri R. (2011), *Contributo alla storia amministrativa della Calabria tardoantica*, in “Quaderni di Archeologia”, n.s. Vol. 1, 151–170.
- Arena E. (1996), *Il responso delfico di fondazione di Crotone P/w nr. 45: per una riconsiderazione cronologica*, in “Studi di Antichità” 9, Università di Lecce, Congedo, 217–234.
- Arrighetti G. (1966), *Cosmologia mitica di Omero e Esiodo*, in “Studi Classici e Orientali” 15, 1–60.
- Attianese P. (2005), *Kroton. Le monete di bronzo*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino.
- Auriemma R. (2004), *Salentum a salo, 1. Porti e approdi, rotte e scambi lungo la costa adriatica del Salento*, Collana del Dipartimento di Beni Culturali dell’Università di Lecce, n. 9, Galatina, Congedo.
- Avdullahi S., Fejza I., Sylva A. (2008), *Water resources in Kosova*, in “Journal of International. Environmental Application & Science”, 3 (6), 51–56.
- Avdullahi S., Serjani A., Fejza I., Tmava A. (2013), *Gadime cave in Kosovo, its geotourist values and impacts*, in “GeoJournal of Tourism and Geosites” 11(1), 7–15.
- Aversa G. (2011), *Riflessioni sulla fondazione di Crotone fra problematiche della colonizzazione e dinamiche di occupazione territoriale*, in “Quaderni di Archeologia”, n.s. 1, 39–66.
- Bajraktari F. (2012), *Protection of karst caves in Kosovo*, 20th International Karstological School “Classical Karst”, Guide Book and Abstracts, Postojna, Slovenia, 47.
- Bakhuizen S.C. (1986), *Between Illyrians and Greeks: the cities of Epidamnus and Apollonia*, in “Iliria”, XVI, 165–174.
- Baladié R. (1980), *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon. Étude de géographie historique*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres.
- Ballester X. (2007), *Hidronimia paleoeuropea: una aproximación paleolítica*, in “Quaderni di semantica”, 28/1, 25–40.
- Barker G. (1997), *Writing landscape archaeology and history*, in “Topoi”, 7/1, 267–281.
- Barrio G. (1571), *De antiquitate et situ Calabriae, Romae*, Apud Iosephum de Angelis.
- Bartoli D.G. (2010), *Ancient Harbour Structures in Croton, Italy: a reappraisal of the evidence*, in “International Journal of Nautical Archaeology”, 39/2, 399–406.
- Battisti C. (1934), *L’etrusco e le altre lingue preindoeuropee d’Italia (Tav. xxxix)*, in “Studi Etruschi”, VIII, 179–196.

- Battisti C. (1939), *La toponomastica della penisola salentina in rapporto all'isola neo-greca di Terra d'Otranto*, in "Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici", v, 391–404.
- Battisti C. (1943), *Voci mediterranee contestate (CARRA, SALA, BOVA, NAPA, MARRA, TOBA, MALA, PALA, CALA e derivati)*, in "Studi Etruschi", xvii, 243–286.
- Battisti C. (1955–1956), *I Balcani e l'Italia nella preistoria*, in "Studi Etruschi", xxiv, 271–300.
- Battisti C., Alessio G. (1950–1957), *Dizionario etimologico italiano*, 1, Firenze, Barbera.
- Baumer L.E., Marino D., Birchler Emery P., Fivaz C. (2014), *Kroton—études et travaux archéologiques Genevois en Calabre. Rapport sur les activités de l'Unité d'archéologie classique de l'Université de Genève en 2013*, in "Antike Kunst", 57, 145–152.
- Bayet J. (1923), *Hercule funéraire*, in "Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire" 40, 19–102.
- Becker J. (2013), *Documenti latini e greci del conte Ruggero I di Calabria e di Sicilia*, Roma, Ricerche dell'Istituto Storico Germanico di Roma.
- Beekes R. (2010), *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden–Boston, Brill.
- Beekes R.S.P. (1998), *The origin of Lat. "aqua", and of "teutā" 'people'*, in "Journal of Indo-European Studies", 26, 459–466.
- Bekakos S. (2008), *Aliba e Metaponto: antichi idronimi greci della Lucania*, in "Thalassia Salentina", 31, 35–51.
- Bello A. (2004), *Itinerari 1. Erratici menhir. Coordinate di viaggio*, in *Salento d'autore. Guida ai piaceri intellettuali del territorio*, San Cesario di Lecce, Manni, 9–35.
- Belmonte G., Costantini A., Moscatello S., Denitto F., Shkurtaj B. (2006), *Le grotte sommerse della penisola del Karaburun (Albania): primi dati*, in "Thalassia Salentina", 29 S., 15–28.
- Beloch K.J. (1912), *Griechische Geschichte. Die Zeit vor den Perserkriegen*, 1², Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner.
- Bencini A., Ciracò G. (1982–1983), *Caratteristiche geochimiche di alcune acque termali della Provincia di Catanzaro*, in "Rendiconti della Società Italiana di Mineralogia e Petrologia", 38, 1189–1195.
- Bengtson H. (1962), *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*, Bd. 2, München, Werner.
- Benveniste É. (2001 [1976; 1969]), *Il vocabolario delle istituzioni indoeuropee*, Vol. 11, *Potere, diritto, religione*, Torino, Einaudi.
- Bérard J. (1957), *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité*, Paris, PUF.
- Bérard J. (1963), *La Magna Grecia. Storia delle colonie greche dell'Italia Meridionale*, Torino, Einaudi.
- Bérard v. (1929), *Les navigations d'Ulysse, iv. Nausicaa et le retour d'Ulysse*, Paris, Colin.
- Beretta C. (2002), *I nomi dei fiumi, dei monti, dei siti. Strutture linguistiche preistoriche*, Milano, Hoepli.
- Beretta G.G. (1727), *De Italia Medii Aevi dissertatio chorographica pro usu tabulae Italiae Graeco—Langobardico—Francicae*, in RIS, x, 1–cccxvi. Mediolani: ex typographia societatis palatinae in regia curia.

- Bertoldi v. (1931), *Problèmes de substrat. Essai de méthodologie dans le domaine préhistorique de la toponymie et du vocabulaire*, in “Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris”, 32, 93–184.
- Bertoldi v. (1933), *Relitti etrusco—campani*, in “Studi Etruschi”, VII, 279–293.
- Bethmann L., Waitz G. (1878), *Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum*, ed., in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum Saec. VI–IX*, Hannoverae, Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani, 12–187.
- Bettelli M. (2002), *Italia meridionale e mondo miceneo. Ricerche su dinamiche di acculturazione e aspetti archeologici, con particolare riferimento ai versanti adriatico e ionico della penisola italiana*, Firenze, Edizioni all’Insegna del Giglio.
- Birkenmeier J.W. (2002), *The Development of the Komnenian Army, 1081–1180*, Leiden, Brill.
- Blasco Ferrer E. (2010), *Paleosardo. Le radici linguistiche della Sardegna neolitica*, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter.
- Blasco Ferrer E. (2011–2012), *Le origini linguistiche della Sardegna*, in “Revista de filología asturiana”, vol. 11/12, 175–220.
- Blasco Ferrer E. (2011), *Periindoeuropeo *kar(r)/*kart, paleoispanico Καρτηῖα paleosardo Kartau e karropu*, in E. Caffarelli, M. Fanfani (eds), *Lo spettacolo delle parole. Studi di storia linguistica e di onomastica in ricordo di Sergio Raffaelli*, Roma, Società Editrice Romana, 459–464.
- Blažek v. (2005), *Paleo-Balkanian Languages 1: Hellenic Languages, Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, 10, Brno, Masarykova univerzita, 15–33.
- Bloch R. (1969), *Un mode d’interprétation à deux degrés: de l’Uni de Pyrgi à Ilithye et Leucothée*, in “Archeologia Classica”, 21, 58–65.
- Bloch R. (1976), *Recherches sur les religions de l’Italie antique*, Genève, Droz.
- Boardman J. et al. (1992), *The Cambridge Ancient History, Volume 3, Part 2, The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and Other States of the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries BC*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Boisacq É. (1916), *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes*, Heidelberg, Winter / Paris, Klincksieck.
- Boisson C.P. (1990), *Notes méthodologiques sur les racines pré-indo-européennes en toponymie*, in “Nouvelle revue d’onomastique”, 15/16, 25–38.
- Bolelli T. (1995 [1994; 1989]), *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana*, Milano–Torino, TEA, UTET.
- Borghi G. (2018), *Blera e Lupatia, toponimi peucezio—messapici*, in Romano A. (a cura di), *Tra Salento e Puglia: lingue e culture in contatto*, in “L’Idomeneo”, 25, 11–64.
- Börtzler F. (1921), *Zum Texte des Johannes Laurentius Lydus “De mensibus”*, in “Philologus”, 77, 364–379.

- Braccesi L. (1971), *Grecità adriatica. Un capitolo della colonizzazione greca in Occidente*, Bologna, Pàtron.
- Braccesi L. (1996), EPI PONTON SIKELON (*Euripide ed i Dioscuri*), in L. Braccesi (a cura di), *Hesperia. Studi sulla grecità di Occidente*, 17, Roma, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 63–66.
- Braccesi L. (1998), *Cronologia e fondazioni coloniali*, 2 (*Miscello e le tre spedizioni a Crotona*), in Braccesi L. (a cura di), *Hesperia. Studi sulla grecità d'Occidente*, 9, Roma, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 9–17.
- Braccesi L. (2014), *Ionios Poros. La Porta dell'Occidente. Secondo supplemento a Grecità adriatica*, in Braccesi L. (a cura di), *Hesperia. Studi sulla grecità d'Occidente*, 31, Roma, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Brandon Albini M. (1957), *Calabre*, Paris, Arthaud.
- Bringmann K., Von Steuben H. (1995), *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag.
- Brizi G. (1928), *Il mito di Telefo nei tragici greci*, in "Atene e Roma", n.s. IX, 118–150.
- Brodersen K. (1994), *Dionysios von Alexandria. Das Lied von der Welt*, Hildesheim: Olms.
- Bronzini G.B. (1969), *La Puglia e le sue tradizioni in proiezione storica (con particolare riguardo al Gargano)*, in I Mostra bibliografica del Gargano, Foggia.
- Bronzini G.B. (1988), *Culto garganico di San Michele*, in "Lares", LIV, 3, 307–366.
- Burgarella F. (1980), *La chiesa greca di Calabria in età bizantina (VI–VII secolo)*, in C. D'Angela (ed.), *Testimonianze cristiane antiche ed altomedievali nella Sibaritide*, Atti del Convegno Nazionale (Corigliano—Rossano 11–12 marzo 1978), Bari, Adriatica Editrice, 90–120.
- Burini C. (2000), *Gli apologeti greci*, Roma, Città Nuova Editrice.
- Burkert W. (1969), *Das Proömium des Parmenides und die Katabasis des Pythagoras*, in "Phronesis", 14/1, 1–30.
- Burkert W. (1979), *Greek Myth and Ritual. Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press.
- Bursian C. (1883), *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Bd. 26–28, Berlin, Verlag Von S. Calvarv & Co.
- Bury J. (1897), *The Nika Riot*, in "Journal of Hellenic Studies", 17, 92–119.
- Bury J.B. (1912), *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I. (A.D. 802–867)*, London–New York, Macmillan and Company.
- Buth R. (2008a), *Living Koine Greek*. Part One, Biblical Language Center, Jerusalem.
- Buth R. (2008b), Ἡ κοινή προφορά: *Notes on the Pronunciation System of Phonemic Koine Greek*, http://www.biblicallanguagecenter.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/Greek_Pronunciation_2008.pdf.
- Büttner-Wobst T. (1962–1967), *Polybii historiae*, vols. 1–4, Leipzig, Teubner, Repr.
- Cahn H.A. (2000), *Die Störche von Kroton*, in Mani Hurter S., Arnold-Biucchi C. (eds), *Pour Denyse. Divertissements Numismatiques [Mélanges Denyse Bérend]*, Berne, 31–32.

- Caldara M., Palmentola G. (1991), *Lineamenti geomorfologici del Gargano con particolare riferimento al carsismo*, International Conference on Environmental Change in Karst Areas, Apulian excursion, September 23th–27th, 1991, in “Itinerari speleologici”, s. II, n. 5, 53–66.
- Calderini A. et al. (1934), s.v. *Navigazione*, Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani.
- Callmer C. (1953), *Sam Wide und die ersten schwedischen Ausgrabungen in Griechenland*, in “Opuscula Atheniensia”, I, 208–223.
- Camassa G. (1984), ΠΟΛΙΣ ΧΑΛΚΙΤΙΣ ΕΝ ΜΕΣΣΑΠΙΑΙ, in “Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia”, Serie III, Vol. 14, No. 3, 829–842.
- Cambi F. (2003), *Archeologia dei paesaggi antichi: fonti e diagnostica*, Roma, Carocci.
- Cambi F. (2011), *Manuale di archeologia dei paesaggi. Metodologie, fonti, contesti*, Roma, Carocci.
- Cambi F., Terrenato N. (1994), *Introduzione all'archeologia dei paesaggi*, Roma, Carocci.
- Campanella T. (1591), *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, Neapoli, Apud Horatium Salui-anum.
- Capovilla G. (1961), *Il Salento messapico ed i testi in Lineare B*, in “Studi salentini”, XII, 157–210.
- Capovilla G. (1964), *Praehomerica et praeitalica*, Roma, “L’Erma” di Bretschneider.
- Caracausi G. (1990), *Lessico greco della Sicilia e dell’Italia meridionale (secoli X–XIV)*, Palermo, Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani.
- Carile A. (1965), *Partito terrarum Imperii Romaniae*, in “Studi Veneziani”, 7, 219–247.
- Carlà-Uhink F. (2017), *The “Birth” of Italy, The Institutionalization of Italy as a Region, 3rd–1st Century BCE*, Berlin–Boston, Walter de Gruyter.
- Carnoy A. (1960), *Les suffixes toponymiques pré-grecs*, in “L’Antiquité Classique”, Tome 29, fasc. 2, 319–336.
- Carroccio B. (2008), *Sulla valenza simbolica dei trampolieri nelle monetazioni antiche*, in “Miscellanea di Studi Storici”, xv, 7–24.
- Carrozzini B., De Paola M., Dimuccio L.A. (1995), *Primo contributo alla caratterizzazione mineralogica delle rocce affioranti in una cavità carsica dell’Alto Crotonese*, in “Mineralogica et Petrographica Acta”, vol. 38, 189–199.
- Cary E. (1937), *Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities*, Volume I, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, London, Heinemann.
- Casevitz M. (1985), *Le vocabulaire de la colonisation en Grec ancien*, Paris, Klincksieck.
- Cassano R., D’Andria F., Lombardo M. (2000), *Andar per mare. Puglia e Mediterraneo tra Mito e Storia*, Mostra nel Castello Aragonese di Otranto (4 agosto–31 ottobre 2000), Bari 2000.
- Cataldi S. (1987), *Istro città della lapigia*, in “Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa”, 17, 565–602.
- Cazzaniga I. (1962), *Antoninus Liberalis. Metamorphoseon synagoge*, Milano, Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino.

- Cazzella A. (2009), *Exchange Systems and Social Interaction during the Late Bronze Age in the Southern Adriatic*, in E. Borgna, P. Cassola Guida (eds), *Dall'Egeo all'Adriatico: organizzazioni sociali e interazione in età postpalaziale (XII–XI sec. a.C.)*, Atti del Seminario internazionale, Roma, Quasar, 159–169.
- Cazzella A., Recchia G. (2010), *The 'Mycenaeans' in the Central Mediterranean: a Comparison between the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian Seaways*, in "Pasiphae", 3, 27–40.
- Cecchi G., Martina E. (1976), *Miniera di Timpa del Salto (Crotonese): un esempio di importante coltivazione di brecce cementate da salgemma ottenuta per dissoluzione e successiva ricristallizzazione delle salamoie per la produzione di cloruro sodico iperpuro*, in "Bollettino Associazione Mineraria Subalpina", anno XIII, n. 1–2, marzo–giugno, 114–142.
- Celoria F. (1992), *The Metamorphoses of Antoninus Liberalis*, New York, Routledge.
- Chadwick J. (1976), *The Mycenaean World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Chadwick J. (1988), *The women of Pylos*, in Olivier J.-P., Palaima Th.G. (eds), *Texts, Tablets and Scribes. Studies in Mycenaean Epigraphy and Economy offered to Emmet L. Bennett, Jr.*, Salamanca, Ed. Universidad de Salamanca, 43–95.
- Chandler R. (1776), *Travels in Greece: or an Account of a Tour Made at the Expense of the Society of Dilettanti*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Chantraine P. (1968–1980), *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris, Klincksieck.
- Checchia Rispoli G. (1916), *Per la conoscenza del fenomeno carsico nel Gargano*, in "Bollettino della Società Geologica Italiana", n. 35, 24–30.
- Chen Z. et al (2017), *The World Karst Aquifer Mapping project: concept, mapping procedure and map of Europe*, in "Hydrogeology Journal", 25, 771–785.
- Ciaceri E. (1901), *La Alessandra di Licofrone*, Catania, Giannotta.
- Ciaceri E. (1928), *Storia della Magna Grecia. La fondazione delle colonie greche e l'ellenizzazione di città nell'Italia antica*, Città di Castello, Albrighi Segati & C.
- Cinquepalmi A. (1998), *Il contesto ambientale del Salento*, in AA.VV., *Documenti dell'età del Bronzo. Ricerche lungo il versante adriatico pugliese*, Catalogo della Mostra, a cura di A. Cinquepalmi, F. Radina, Fasano, 163–165.
- Cinquepalmi A., Radina F. (1998), *Documenti dell'età del bronzo. Ricerche lungo il versante adriatico pugliese*, Fasano, Schena Editore.
- Civale B.D. (2010–2011), *Le trasformazioni di un'area di frontiera del Mezzogiorno medievale (secoli IX–X). Il principato di Salerno e i territori del confine calabro–lucano: assetto istituzionale e gerarchie sociali*, Tesi di Dottorato, Università degli Studi di Salerno.
- Colamonico V.C. (1923–1924), *Aspetti del carsismo in Puglia: le Murge di Cassano*, in "Annuario dell'Istituto superiore di scienze economiche e commerciali di Bari", 1–54.
- Colella G. (1941), *Toponomastica pugliese: dalle origini alla fine del Medio Evo*, Trani, Vecchi & C.

- Colizzi D. (2003), *I Messapi nel basso Salento: fonti letterarie ed archeologiche*, in "L'Idomeneo", v, 5, 9–38.
- Colonna G. (2004), *I Greci di Caere*, in "Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina", xi, 69–94.
- Colonna G. (2013), *Mobilità geografica e mercenariato nell'Italia preromana*, in "Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina", xx, 7–22.
- Compatangelo-Soussignan R. (1989), *Le cadastre de pierre de la Péninsule salentine: polysémie des formes de limitatio d'un cadastre antique*, Mélanges de l'école française de Rome, Année 101/1, 365–402.
- Compatangelo-Soussignan R. (1994), *Traditions littéraires et géographie ethnique de l'ancienne Calabria*, in Mélanges Pierre Lévêque. Tome 8: Religion, anthropologie et société. Besançon, Université de Franche-Comté, 61–87 (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 499).
- Connors C., Clendenon C. (2016), *Mapping Tartaros*, in "Classical Antiquity", 35, 2, 147–188.
- Conybeare F.C. (1906), *The Codex of the "Paschal Chronicle" Used by Holstein*, in "The Journal of Theological Studies", vii/ 27, 392–397.
- Coppola A. (1995), *Archaïologhía e propaganda: i Greci, Roma e l'Italia*, Roma, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Corsi P. (1988), *La politica italiana di Costante II*, in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo*, Atti della xxxiv Settimana di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, Spoleto 3–9 aprile 1986, Spoleto, CISAM, 751–795.
- Coulton J.J. (1976), *The architectural development of the Greek Stoa*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Cova P.V. (1994), *Virgilio. Il libro terzo dell'Eneide*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero.
- Crescenti U., Vighi L. (1964), *Caratteristiche, genesi e stratigrafiche dei depositi bauxitici cretacici del Gargano e delle Murge; cenni sulle argille con pisoliti bauxitiche del Salento (Puglie)*, in "Bollettino della Società Geologica Italiana", 83, 285–337.
- Cristofani M. (1974), *Diffusione dell'alfabeto e onomastica arcaica nell'Etruria interna settentrionale*, in *Aspetti e problemi dell'Etruria interna*, Atti dell'VIII Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici (Orvieto, 1972), Firenze, 307–324.
- Crow J., Turner S. (2009), *Silivri and the Thracian hinterland of Istanbul: an historic landscape*, in "Anatolian Studies", 59, 167–181.
- Cucchi F., Zini L., Calligaris C. (2015), *Il Carso Classico, inquadramento geografico e storico*, Trieste, EUT Edizioni Università di Trieste.
- Currie B. (2003), *Euthymos di Locri: uno studio sull'eroizzazione nel periodo classico*, in "Polis. Studi interdisciplinari sul mondo antico", 1, 85–102.
- Curtius E. (1876), *Der Seebund von Kalauria*, in "Hermes", 10, 385–392.
- Cuteri F.A. (2015), *I Cistercensi in Calabria: lo sfruttamento delle risorse minerarie e l'attività metallurgica*, in VII Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale, a cura di P. Arthur, M.L. Imperiale, Sesto Fiorentino—Fi, All'Insegna del Giglio, 1, 379–383.

- D'Andria F. (1979), *Salento arcaico: la nuova documentazione archeologica*, in *Salento arcaico*, Atti del Colloquio Internazionale, Lecce 5–8 aprile 1979, Galatina, 15–25.
- D'Andria F. (1981), *Nuovi dati sulle relazioni tra Daunia e Messapia*, Atti del terzo Convegno sulla Preistoria—Protostoria—Storia della Daunia (San Severo, 27–29 novembre 1981), Biblioteca Comunale “A. Minuziano”, San Severo, Archeoclub d'Italia, Sezione di San Severo, 231–236.
- D'Andria F. (1982), *Il Salento nell'VIII e VII sec. a. C.: nuovi dati archeologici*, in *Grecia, Italia e Sicilia nell'VIII e VII secolo a.C.*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Atene, 15–20 ottobre 1979, II, ASAA, LX 1982 [1984], 101–116.
- D'Andria F. (1983), *Greci e indigeni in Iapygia*, in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche*, Atti del Convegno di Cortona (24–30 maggio 1981), CEFR 67, Pisa–Roma, 287–297.
- D'Andria F. (1985), *Documenti del commercio arcaico tra Ionio e Adriatico*, in *Magna Grecia Epiro e Macedonia*, Atti del XXIV Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto, 5–10 ottobre 1984), Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 321–377.
- D'Andria F. (1986), *Il Salento e le sue radici indigene: le origini messapiche*, in *Salento Porta d'Italia*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Lecce, novembre 1986, Galatina 1989, 63–69.
- D'Andria F., Lombardo M. (2000), Introduzione, in *I Greci in Terra d'Otranto*, Distretto scolastico Martano, Martano.
- D'Andria F. (2011), *La “mappa di Soletto” nel contesto archeologico e topografico del Salento (v sec. a.C.)*, in “Antiquitas. Studi di storia antica in onore di S. Alessandri”, Galatina, 55–64.
- Dall'Aglio P.L. (2011), *Topografia antica, Geoarcheologia e discipline paleoambientali*, in “Journal of Ancient Topography”, vol. XXI, 7–24.
- Daly L.W. (1983), ed., *Iohannis Philoponi De Vocabulis quae Diversum Significatum. Exhibent Secundum Differentiam Accentus*, Philadelphia, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Philadelphia, Vol. 151.
- Danoff C. (1964), *Anthemus*, in *Der Kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike*, I, Stuttgart, Alfred Drucken Müller, col. 372.
- Daquino C. (2018 [1991]), *I Messapi. Il Salento prima di Roma*, Lecce, Capone Editore, 1^a ed. 1991.
- De Angelis M. (1918), *Origini del nome Gargano*, Bari, La Italiana.
- De Claparède A. (1900), *Corfou et les Corfiotes*, Genève, Kündig/ Paris, Fischbacher.
- De Filippis M.D. (2008–2009), *Forme della produzione della ceramica e dei laterizi nella Puglia di età romana*, Tesi di Dottorato, Napoli, Università degli Studi di Napoli ‘Federico II’.
- De Fraja v. (2001), *Le prime fondazioni fiorenti*, in *Gioacchino da Fiore tra Bernardo di Clairvaux e Innocenzo III*, Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Gioachimiti, Roma, Viella, 105–128.

- De Fraja v. (2006), *Atlante delle Fondazioni Florensi, Documenti*, vol. 2, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino.
- De Juliis E.M. (1985), *I popoli della Puglia prima dei Greci*, in Pugliese Carratelli G. (ed.), *Magna Grecia. Prolegomeni*, Milano, Electa, 145–188.
- De Juliis E.M. (1988), *Gli Iapigi. Storia e civiltà della Puglia preromana*, Milano, Longanesi.
- De Juliis E.M. (1989a), *Il popolamento iapigio*, in Lepore E. (ed.), *Storia d'Italia*, 1. *Dalla preistoria all'età romana*, Milano, Bompiani, 169–192.
- De Juliis E.M. (1989b), *Le origini della civiltà iapigia*, in *Salento porta d'Italia*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Lecce, 27–30 novembre 1986), Galatina, 75–84.
- De Juliis E.M. (2005), *Popoli e culture della Puglia preromana. La preistoria, le genti indigene, i coloni greci*, in Massafra A., Salvemini B. (a cura di), *Storia della Puglia* 1. *Dalle origini al Seicento*, Bari, Laterza, 3–16.
- De Laurenzi A. (2007), *L'Italia delle XI regioni. Ricerche sui confini d'età augustea*, Ghezano (Pi), Felici.
- De Mitri C. (2010), *Inanissima pars Italiae. Dinamiche insediative nella penisola salentina in età romana*, Oxford, BAR International series.
- De Paola M., Dimuccio L.A., Gianniandrea P. (1994), *La circolazione idrica sotterranea*, in Larocca F. (a cura di), *Le grotte dell'Alto Crotonese*, Gruppo Speleologico "Sparviere", Triggiano—Ba, Grafica Mariani, 69–77.
- De Rosa R., Dominici R., Sonnino M. (2001), *Evidenze di vulcanismo sinsedimentario nella successione plio—pleistocenica del Graben del Mesima (Calabria centro-occidentale)*, in "Il Quaternario", 14, 81–91.
- De Sanctis G. (1907), *Storia dei Romani*, Vol. 11, Milano–Torino, Bocca.
- De Sanctis G. (1956), *Storia dei Romani*, Vol. 1: *La conquista del primato in Italia*, 2ª ed., Firenze, La Nuova Italia.
- De Sensi Sestito G. (1991), *La storia italiota in Diodoro. Considerazioni sulle fonti per i libri VII–XII*, in AA. VV., *Mito, storia e tradizioni. Diodoro Siculo e la storiografia classica*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Catania–Agira, 7–8 dicembre 1984, Catania, Edizioni del Prisma, 125–152.
- De Sensi Sestito G. (2016), *Annibale, il Lacinio e l'ultima trincea sull'Istmo*, in *Annibale. Un viaggio*, Catalogo della mostra, Barletta 2 agosto 2016–2022 gennaio 2017, a cura di A. Ciancio e F. Rossi, Bari, Edipuglia, 166–175.
- De Simone C. (1962), *Die messapische Sprache (seit 1939)*, in "Kratylos", 7, 113–135.
- De Simone C. (1964), *Die messapische Inschriften und ihre Chronologie*, in *Die Sprache der Illyrier* (Hrsg. H. Krahe), Harassowitz, Wiesbaden, Vol. 11.
- De Simone C. (1972), *La lingua messapica: tentativo di una sintesi*, in *Le genti non greche della Magna Grecia*, Atti dell'XI Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 10–15 ottobre 1971, Napoli, Arte Tipografica, 125–201.
- De Simone C. (1974), *Dibattito*, in *Metaponto*, Atti del XIII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto 1973), Napoli, Arte Tipografica, 255–262.

- De Simone C. (1978), *Un nuovo gentilizio etrusco in Orvieto (Katacina) e la cronologia della penetrazione celtica (gallica) in Italia*, in "La Parola del Passato", xxxiii, 370–395.
- De Simone C. (1989), *Gli studi recenti sulla lingua messapica*, in Ampolo C. (ed.), *Italia omnium terrarum parens. La civiltà degli Emotri, Choni, Ausoni, Sanniti, Lucani, Brettii, Sicani, Siculi, Elimi*, Milano, Antica madre, 12, 651–658.
- De Simone C. (1990), *L'epigrafia etrusca arcaica di Orvieto*, in "Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina", iv, 75–79.
- De Simone C. (1991a), Dibattito, in *I Messapi*, Atti del xxx Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto—Lecce, 4–9 ottobre 1990), Napoli, Arte Tipografica, 121–122.
- De Simone C. (1991b), *La lingua messapica*, in S. Moscati (ed.), *Salento, porta d'Italia*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Lecce 27–30 novembre 1986), Galatina, Congedo, 107–119.
- De Stefano P. (1999), *Il Galeso nella poesia latina*, Taranto, P.R.A.S.S. I. Editore.
- De Vaan M. (2008), *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages*, Leiden–Boston, Brill.
- Delattre C. (2011), *Pseudo-Plutarque, Nommer le monde, Origine des noms de fleuves, de montagnes et de ce qui s'y trouve*, Paris, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion.
- Della Volpe A., Mallory J.P. (1997), s.v. *Fort*, in J.P. Mallory, D.Q. Adams (eds), *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, London–Chicago, Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 210–211.
- Delle Rose M., Parise M., Andriani G. (2007), *Evaluating the impact of quarrying on karst aquifers of Salento (S Italy)*, in Parise M., Gunn J. (eds), *Natural and anthropogenic hazards in karst areas: recognition, analysis and mitigation*, London, Geological Society Pub House, 279, 153–171.
- Deroy L. (1959), *Jeux de mots, causes de légendes*, in "Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli (sez. linguistica)", 1, 1, 23–34.
- Deroy L. (1962), *La base toponymique "kala" et la colonisation égéenne en Occident au deuxième millénaire avant J.-C.*, in VII Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Onomastiche, Firenze–Pisa 4–8 aprile 1961, Firenze, Stab. Tip. Francolini, 1–13.
- Detschew D. (1952), *Charakteristik der Thrakischen Sprache*, Sofia, Akademia.
- Detschew D. (1957), *Die thrakische Sprachreste*, Wien, In Kommission bei R.M. Rohrer.
- Detschew D. (1960), *Charakteristik der thrakischen Sprache*, in "Linguistique Balkanique", 2, 146–213.
- Detschew D. (1976), *Die thrakische Sprachreste*, Wien, In Kommission bei R.M. Rohrer, 2nd ed.
- Devoto G. (1940), *Storia della lingua di Roma*, Bologna, Cappelli.
- Devoto G. (1962), *Origini indoeuropee*, Firenze, Sansoni.
- Devoto G., Oli C.G. (1975 [1967]), *Vocabolario illustrato della lingua italiana*, Volume 1, A–L, Firenze, Le Monnier.

- Dewald C., Waterfield R. (2008), *Herodotus, The Histories*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Diehl C. (1888), *Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'Exarchat de Ravenne (568–751)*, Paris, Thorin.
- Dindorf L.A. (1832), *Chronicon Paschale, I–II*, Bonnae, Impensis Ed. Weberi.
- Dindorf L.A. (1871), *Ioannis Zonarae Epitome Historiarum*, Vol. IV, Leipzig, Teubner.
- Dragičević I., Velić I. (2002), *The Northeastern Margin of the Adriatic Carbonate Platform*, in “Geologia Croatica”, 55/2, 185–232.
- Drögemüller H.P. (1969), *Syrakus. Zur Topographie und Geschichte einer griechischen Stadt*, Heidelberg, Gymnasium Beiheft 6, Winter.
- Drögemüller H.P. (2018 [1969]), *Siracusa. Topografia e storia di una città greca*, ristampa a cura di Antonio Randazzo, Siracusa, Tyche, 1^a ed. Heidelberg 1969, Winter.
- Ducellier A. (1988), *Bisanzio*, Torino, Einaudi.
- Duičev I. (1976), *Cronaca di Monemvasia. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e note*, ed. I., Palermo, Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Testi e monumenti, 12.
- Duridanov I. (1976), *Ezikyt na trakite*, Sofia, Nauka i izkustvo.
- Dybo A. (2013), *Language and archeology: some methodological problems. 1. Indo-European and Altaic landscapes*, in “Journal of Language Relationship”, 9, 69–92.
- Ebel H. (1857), *Messapisches*, in “Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete des Deutschen, Griechischen und Lateinischen”, 6. Bd., 6. H., 416–418.
- Edmonds J.M. (1912), *The Greek Bucolic Poets*, London, Heinemann.
- Elia O. (1972), *Civiltà e cultura dei Messapi*, in Atti del Convegno dei comuni messapici, peuceti e dauni (Manduria, 15–16 maggio 1971), Bari, Tipografia del Sud. 29–38.
- Ernout A., Meillet A. (1959), *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*, Paris, Klincksieck.
- Espada Rodríguez J. (2013), *Los dos primeros tratados romano—cartagineses. Análisis historiográfico y contexto histórico*, Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona.
- Evans R. (2005), *Geography without people: Mapping in Elder Pliny Historia Naturalis Books 3–6*, in “Ramus: Critical Studies in Greek and Roman Literature”, 34 (1), 47–74.
- Facaros D., Theodorou L. (2004), *Cadogan Guides: Greece*, London, Globe Pequot Press.
- Facaros D., Theodorou L. (2008), *Cadogan Guides: Peloponnese and Athens*, London, Globe Pequot Press.
- Farnell L.R. (1896), *The Cults of the Greek States*, Vol. 1, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Fels E. (1922), *Die neuere Kartographie der Insel Korfu*, in “Petermanns Mitteilungen”, 10–11.
- Fels E. (1923), *Die Küsten von Korfu*, München, M.G.G.
- Ferentilli A. (1572), *Historie di Giovanni Zonara Monaco*, Vinegia, Appresso Gabriel Giolito De'Ferrari.

- Ferri S. (1962), *L'ex—voto metapontino di Theages*, in "Rendiconti. Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei", 8/17, 3–10.
- Figueira T.J. (2004), *The Saronic Gulf*, in Hansen M.H., Heine T. (eds), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 620–623.
- Finlay G. (1854), *A History of Ancient Greece. From its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time, B.C. 146 to A.D. 1864*, Vol. III, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Finlay G. (2014 [1877]), *History of the Greek Revolution*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Fiorentino M.E. (1560), *Historia di Giovanni Zonara*, Vinegia, Appresso Lodouico de gli Auanzi.
- Fonseca C.D., Lerra A. (1996), *Il monastero di S. Elia di Carbone e il suo territorio dal Medioevo all'Età Moderna. Nel millenario della morte di S. Luca Abate*, Galatina, Congedo Editore.
- Fontenrose J. (1974), *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins*, New York, Biblio & Tannen.
- Fontenrose J. (1978), *The Delphic Oracle: its responses and operations, with a catalogue of responses*, Berkeley, London, University of California Press.
- Forni G. (1997), *Un ricco dossier iconografico sulle relazioni acqua—agricoltura. Gli aspetti etnografici, storici e tecnologici*, in "Lares" 63, 1, 89–103.
- Fouché (1938), *Quelques considérations sur la base toponymique à propos du pré-indo—européen *KAL «pierre»*, Premier congrès international de Toponymie et d'Anthroponymie, Actes et mémoires, Paris, 266–276.
- Frazer J.G. (1898), *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, London, Macmillan.
- Fresne Du Cange C. (1729), *Paschalion Seu Chronicon Paschale*, Venetiis, Ex Typographia Bartolomaei Javarina.
- Frisk H. (1954–1972), *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3 Vol., Heidelberg, Winter.
- Frisone F. (2002), *Greci e non Greci nella Puglia meridionale in età arcaica: dinamiche e rappresentazioni*, in *I Greci in Adriatico*, 1 (Hesperia, 15, Atti del Convegno Internazionale Urbino 21–24 Ottobre 1999), Roma, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 295–312.
- Frisone F. (2008), *Ionios poros: storie, rotte e percorsi nella genesi di uno spazio geografico*, in Hesperia, 22, Studi sulla grecità di Occidente, Roma, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 119–143.
- Frisone F. (2020), *Eracle in Magna Grecia: una porta verso l'eroizzazione?*, in "Mythos" (<http://journals.openedition.org/mythos/1961>).
- Furnée E.J. (1972), *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen. Mit einem Appendix über den Vokalismus*, The Hague, Mouton.
- Gallavotti G., Sacconi A. (1961), *Inscriptiones Pyliae ad Mycenaeam aetatem pertinentes*, Roma, Edizioni dell'Ateneo.
- Gandiglio A., De Stefano P. (1993), *Prope Galaesum, Presso il Galeso*, Taranto, Scorpione Editrice.

- Gautier P. (1975), *Nicéphore Bryennios Histoire*, Brussels, Byzantion.
- Gemelli Marciano L. (2020), *Viaggi nell'aldilà e vita dopo la morte. Testi e contesti per la tomba del Tuffatore*, in *La tomba del Tuffatore. Rito, arte e poesia a Paestum e nel Mediterraneo d'epoca tardo—arcaica*, a cura di A. Meriani, G. Zuchtriegel, Pisa, Edizioni ETS, 303–321.
- Genovese G. (1999–2000), *Considerazioni sul culto di Herakles nella Calabria antica*, in "Archeologia classica", 51, n.s. 1, 329–359.
- Genovese G. (2010), *Il mito di Filottete: un modello antieroico e un archetipo interculturale tra Oriente ed Occidente*, in "Polis. Studi interdisciplinari sul mondo antico", 3, 7–26.
- Georgiev V. (1957), *Trakijskijat ezik*, Sofia, BAN.
- Georgiev V. (1961), *La toponymie ancienne de la peninsule Balkanique et la these mediterraneenne (= BalkE 3.1)*, Sofia, Academie Bulgare des Sciences.
- Georgiev V. (1966), *Introduzione alla storia delle lingue indeuropee*, Roma, Edizioni dell'Ateneo.
- Georgiev V. (1977), *Trakite i tehnija ezik*, Sofia, BAN.
- Giangiulio M. (1981), *Deformità eroiche e tradizioni di fondazione, Batto, Miscello, e l'oracolo delfico*, in "Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia", Serie III, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1–24.
- Giangiulio M. (1983), *Greci e non greci alla luce dei culti e delle leggende di Eracle in Sicilia*, in Atti del Convegno di Cortona (24–30 maggio 1981), CEFR 67, Pisa–Roma, 785–845.
- Giangiulio M. (1989), *Ricerche su Crotona arcaica*, Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore.
- Giangiulio M. (1991), *Filottete tra Sibari e Crotona. Osservazioni sulla tradizione letteraria*, in *Épéios et Philoctète en Italie. Données archéologiques et traditions légendaires*, Naples, Publications du Centre Jean Bérard (<http://books.openedition.org/pcjb/367>).
- Giangiulio M. (2010), *Memorie coloniali*, Roma, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Giangiulio M. (2021), *Magna Grecia. Una storia mediterranea*, Roma, Carocci.
- Giannandrea P. (1992–1993), *Caratteri geochimici delle acque circolanti nella formazione gessoso—solfifera dell'Alto Crotonese*, Università degli Studi di Bari.
- Giannelli G. (1924), *Culti e miti della Magna Grecia*, Firenze, Bemporad.
- Giardino C. (2005), *Metallurgy in Italy between the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age: the Coming of Iron*, in P. Attema, A. Nijboer, A. Zifferero (eds), *Papers in Italian Archaeology VI, Communities and Settlements from the Neolithic to the Early Medieval Period*, Oxford, Archaeopress, 491–505.
- Giardino C. (2017), *La bauxite: una risorsa di ferro per la Puglia protostorica e tardo antica*, in "Studi di Antichità", 15, 101–128.
- Giardino L., Meo F. (2016), *Muro Leccese. I segreti di una città messapica*, Cavallino, Edizioni Grifo.

- Gilmer J.M. (2021), *The Battle of Kalavrye Revisited*, in "Byzantina Symmeikta", 31, 153–175.
- Gisotti G. (1992), *Problemi geo—ambientali inerenti la miniera di salgemma di Belvedere Spinello (Catanzaro). Un nuovo caso di subsidenza in Italia*, in "Memorie descrittive carta geologica d'Italia", vol. XLII, 283–306.
- Goegebeur W. (1985), *Hérodote et la fondation achéenne de Croton*, in "L'Antiquité Classique", LIV, 116–151.
- Goodwin W.W. (1854), *Plutarch's Morals*. Translated from the Greek by several hands. Corrected and revised by William W. Goodwin, PH.D. Boston. Little, Brown, and Company. Cambridge. Press of John Wilson and son.
- Gow A.S.F. (1973), *Theocritus*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Gow A.S.F. (1952), *Theocritus*, vol. 1, 2nd edn., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Repr. 1965.
- Graevius J.G. (1704–1725), *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae ...*, Lugduni Batavorum, Vander.
- Graf Von Keyserlingk A. (1987), *Monte Gargano: Europas ältestes Michaelsheiligtum*, Stuttgart, Urachhaus.
- Greenberg J. (2002), *Indo-European and Its Closest Relatives. The Eurasianic Language Family*, Volume 2, Lexicon, Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Gregory T.E. (1991), *Kalavryta*, in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, New York–Oxford, Oxford University Press, II, 1092.
- Grelle F. (1995), *Ordinamento municipale e organizzazione territoriale nella Puglia Romana*, in A. Storch Marino (ed.), *L'incidenza dell'antico*, scritti in memoria di Ettore Lepore, Atti del convegno internazionale (Anacapri, 24–28 marzo 1991), Napoli, Luciano, I, 241–260.
- Grelle F. (2000), *La formazione dell'identità regionale*, in A. Massafra, B. Salvemini (ed.), *Storia della Puglia*, 2, Roma–Bari, Laterza, 1–9.
- Grelle F. (2005), *Apulia et Calabria: la formazione di un'entità regionale*, in "Vetera Christianorum", 42, 135–146.
- Grimaldi L. (1845), *Studi archeologici sulla Calabria Ultra Seconda*, Napoli, Borel e Bompard.
- Grosser R. (1867), *Geschichte und Alterthümer der Stadt Kroton*, Vol. 2, Minden, Boltening.
- Gruppe O. (1906), *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, München, Beck.
- Guglielmi M. (1971), *Sulla navigazione in età micenea*, in "La Parola del Passato", CXLI, 418–435.
- Guglielmino R. (1983), *Considerazioni sul toponimo miceneo "Me—ta—pa" alla luce di alcune testimonianze storiche*, in "Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia", Serie III, Vol. 13, No. 2, 319–357.
- Guglielmino R. (2002), *Ceramiche egee ed egeizzanti da Roca Vecchia (Melendugno,*

- Lecce), in Gorgoglione M., a cura di, *Strutture e modelli di abitato del Bronzo Tardo da Torre Castelluccia a Roca Vecchia*, Atti del convegno di studio 28–29 novembre 1996, Pulsano (Ta), Mandria, 171–192.
- Guglielmino R. (2003), *Il sito di Roca Vecchia. Testimonianze di contatti con l'Egeo*, in *L'Archeologia dell'Adriatico dalla Preistoria al Medioevo*, Atti del Convegno, Ravenna, 7–9 giugno 2001, a cura di F. Lenzi, Firenze, 91–119.
- Guglielmino R. (2005), *Rocavecchia (Lecce). Nuove testimonianze di relazioni con l'Egeo e il Mediterraneo orientale nell'età del Bronzo*, in R. Laffineur, E. Greco, *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean*, Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference, Athens, Italian School of Archaeology, 14–18 April 2004, *Aegaeum* 25, Liège, 637–665.
- Guglielmino R. (2006), *Roca Vecchia (Lecce): testimonianze di attività metallurgiche e di contatti con l'Egeo in un sito costiero del Bronzo Finale*, in *ΑΕΙΜΝΗΣΤΟΣ*, Miscellanea di studi per Mauro Cristofani, a cura di B. Adembri, Firenze, Centro Di, 32–50.
- Guglielmino R. (2009), *Presenze minoiche nel Salento. Roca e la saga di Minosse*, in Ampolo C. (ed.), *Immagine e immagini della Sicilia e di altre isole del Mediterraneo antico*, Atti delle Seste Giornate Internazionali di Studio sull'area elima e la Sicilia occidentale nel contesto mediterraneo, Pisa, Edizioni della Normale, 481–505.
- Guglielmino R. (2013), *Roca. I rapporti tra l'Italia e l'Egeo nell'età del bronzo e il ruolo di Roca. Alcuni spunti di riflessione*, in "Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia", Serie v, Vol. 5, No. 2 Suppl., 131–280.
- Guillou A. (1974), *Le Brébion de la Métropole byzantine de Région (vers 1050)*, *Corpus des Actes grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile. Recherches d'Histoire et de Géographie*, 4, Città del Vaticano.
- Guillou A. (1976), *Aspetti della civiltà bizantina in Italia. Società e cultura*, Bari, Ecumenica Editrice.
- Gulletta M.I.P. (2006), *Immagini di un'isola in strategie di guerra (v–III a.C.). La Sicilia fra rappresentazione storica e "realtà" cartografica*, in *Guerra e pace in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo antico (VIII–III sec. a.C.). Arte, prassi e teoria della pace e della guerra*, Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, vol. II, 385–414.
- Haarmann H. (2022), *Sulle tracce degli indeuropei. Dai nomadi neolitici alle prime civiltà avanzate*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri.
- Hadas-Lebel J. (2009), *Anthroponymes toponymiques et toponymes anthroponymiques: liens entre lieux et personnes dans l'onomastique étrusque*, in P. Poccetti (ed.), *L'onomastica dell'Italia antica: aspetti linguistici, storici, culturali, tipologici e classificatori*, Roma, École Française de Rome, 413, 195–217.
- Haldon J. (1990), *Byzantium in the Seventh Century. The Transformation of a culture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Haldon J. (2001), *The Byzantine Wars*, Stroud, Gloucestershire, Tempus.

- Haldon J. (2016), *The Empire That Would Not Die: The Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640–740*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press.
- Halliday W.R. (1928), *The Greek Questions of Plutarch*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Hammond M. (2009), *Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Hansen E.V. (1971), *The Attalids of Pergamon*, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press.
- Harley J.B., Woodward D. (1992), *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 2, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Helbig W. (1876), *Studien über die älteste italische Geschichte*, in “Hermes” XI, 257–290.
- Heyne C.G. (1834), *Homeri Ilias*, 2 vols., Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Hiller von Gaertringen F. (1898–1904), *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XI, Berlin 1898, Reimer.
With: *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XI,3. Supplementum, Berlin 1904, Reimer.
- Hitzig H., Blümner H. (1898), *Pausanias*, Leipzig, Reisland.
- Hornblower S. (2015), *Lykophron: Alexandra. Greek Text, Translation, Commentary, and Introduction*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Horrocks G.C. (1997), *Greek. A History of the Language and its Speakers*, London & New York, Longmans.
- Houben H. (1986), *Il monachesimo in Basilicata dalle origini al secolo XX*, in G. Lunardi, H. Houben, G. Spinelli (a cura di), *Monasticon Italiae III. Puglia e Basilicata*, Cesena, CSBI, 163–175.
- Houben H. (2002), *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler Between East and West*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Hubschmid J. (1953), *Sardische Studien*, Bern, A. Francké.
- Hubschmid J. (1959–1960), *Die Stämme *kar(r) und *kurr im Iberoromanischen, Baskischen und Inselkeltischen*, in “Revue de philologie, de littérature et d’histoire anciennes”, 13, 31–49.
- Hunter R., Laemmle R. (2020), *Euripides: Cyclops*, Cambridge Greek and Latin classics. Cambridge, New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Infantino E. (1992), *Mar Dioscoron*, Crotona, Coam—Agip.
- Intrieri M. (2002), Βίαιος διδασκαλός. *Guerre e “stasis” a Corcira fra storia e storiografia*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino.
- Intrieri M. (2010), *Autarkeia. Osservazioni sull’economia corcirese fra v e IV sec. a.c.*, in *Lo spazio ionico e le comunità della Grecia nord-occidentale. Territorio, società, istituzioni* (Atti del Convegno Internazionale. Venezia, 7–9 gennaio 2010) (= Diabaseis 1), a cura di C. Antonetti, Pisa, ETS, 181–199.
- Italiano F., Bonfanti P., Pizzino L., Quattrocchi F. (2010), *Geochemistry of fluids discharged over the seismic area of the Southern Apennines (Calabria region, Southern Italy): Implications for Fluid—Fault relationships*, in “Applied Geochemistry”, 25, 540–554.

- Jacoby F. (1957), *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker I: Genealogie und Mythographie*, Leiden, Brill, 2nd ed.
- Jacoby K. (1885–1905), *Dionysii Halicarnasei antiquitatum Romanarum quae supersunt*, 4 vols., Leipzig, Teubner, Repr. 1967.
- Jaffé P. (1885–1888), *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum MCXCVIII*, 2nd ed., G. Wattenbach, F. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner, P. Ewald (eds), Leipzig, Veit et Comp.
- Jal P. (1967), *Florus Lucius Annaeus, Oeuvres*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres.
- Janni P. (1984), *La mappa e il periplo: cartografia antica e spazio odologico*, Roma, G. Bretschneider.
- Janni P. (1998a), *Cartographie et art nautique dans le monde ancien*, in *Geographica Historica*, P. Arnaud, P. Counillon (eds), Bordeaux–Nice, Ausonius, 41–53.
- Janni P. (1998b), *Il mare degli antichi: tecniche e strumenti di navigazione*, in *Archeologia subacquea. Come opera l'archeologo sott'acqua. Storie dalle acque*, VIII ciclo di lezioni sulla ricerca applicata in archeologia, Certosa di Pontignano (Siena), 9–15 dicembre 1996, Firenze, All'Insegna del Giglio, 449–475.
- Jones H.L. (1924), *Strabo Geography*, Volume III, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, London, Heinemann.
- Jones H.S., Powell J.E. (1942), *Thucydides Historiae*, 2 vols., Oxford, Clarendon Press, Repr. 1967–1970.
- Jones W.H.S., Ormerod H.A. (1918), *Pausanias: Description of Greece*, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, London, Heinemann.
- Jordàn C. (1997a), *La raíz *eis- en la hidrotponimia de la Península Ibérica*, in "Beiträge zur Namenforschung", 32, 417–455.
- Jordàn C. (1997b), *The etymology of insula, aestus and aestuarium*, in "The Journal of Indo-European Studies", 25, 353–360.
- Jordàn C. (1998), *De la raíz *iz- 'agua' en vasco*, in "Fontes Linguae Vasconum", 78, 267–279.
- Kaibel G. (1890), *Inscriptiones Graecae consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum rei publicae democraticae Germanicae editae, XIV: Italiae et Siciliae*, Berolini, Apud G. Reimer.
- Kaibel G. (1899), *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, I, Berolini, Apud Weidmannos.
- Kaplan M. (1986), *L'économie paysanne dans l'Empire Byzantin du vème au xème siècle*, in "Klio", 68, 198–232.
- Katičić R. (1976), *Ancient Languages of the Balkans*, Volume 1, Part 1, The Hague–Paris, Mouton.
- Kausler Von F. (1831), *Atlas des plus memorables batailles, combats et sièges des temps anciens, du moyen age et de l'age moderne*, Carlsruhe–Freiburg, Herder.
- Kazhdan A. (1991), *Zonaras, John*, in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, New York–Oxford, Oxford University Press, III, 2229.

- Kiepert H. (1878), *Lehrbuch der Alten Geographie*, Berlin, Dietrich Reimer.
- Kimball S.E. (1999), *Hittite historical phonology*, Innsbruck, Inst. für Sprachwissenschaft der Univ. Innsbruck.
- Kirsten E., Kraiker W. (1967), *Griechenland Kunde*, Band 1–II, Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Kloekhorst A. (2008), *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, Leiden–Boston, Brill.
- Kluiving S.J., Guttman-Bond E.B. (2012), *Landscape Archaeology between Art and Science: From a Multi- to an Interdisciplinary Approach*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.
- König D.G. (2015), *Arabic–Islamic Views of the Latin West: Tracing the Emergence of Medieval Europe*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Koutsis R., Stournaras G. (2011), *Advances in the Research of Aquatic Environment*, Vol. 2, Berlin, Heidelberg, Springer.
- Krahe H. (1925), *Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen*, Heidelberg, Winter.
- Krahe H. (1929), *Lexikon altillyrischer Personennamen*, Heidelberg, Winter.
- Krahe H. (1939), *Die Ortsnamen des antiken Lukaniens und Bruttierlandes* in “Zeitschrift für Namenforschung”, 15, 72–85; 110–140.
- Krahe H. (1943), *Die Ortsnamen des antiken Lukaniens und Bruttierlandes* in “Zeitschrift für Namenforschung”, 19, 58–72; 127–141.
- Krahe H. (1955), *Die Sprache der Illyrier I. Die Quellen*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
- Krahe H. (1962), *Die Struktur der alteuropäischen Hydronymie*, Mainz, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur.
- Krahe, H. (1953), *Alteuropäische Flußnamen*, in “Beiträge zur Namenforschung”, 4, 37–53.
- Krahe, H. (1964), *Unsere ältesten Flußnamen*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
- Kranjc A. (1997), *Kras: Slovene classical karst*, Ljubljana, Založba ZRC.
- Kranjc A. (2011), *The Origin and evolution of the term “Karst”*, in “Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences”, 19, 567–570.
- Kretschmer P. (1925), *Das nt-Suffix*, in “Glotta” 14, 84–106.
- Kretschmer P. (1943), *Die vorgriechischen Sprach- und Volksschichten*, in “Glotta”, 30, 84–219.
- Kültzer A. (2008), *Tabula Imperii Byzantini, Band 12: Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Kültzer A. (2010), *Die thrakische Propontisküste: Beobachtungen zum Siedlungsbild in byzantinischer Zeit*, in “Kölner Jahrbuch”, 43, 429–441.
- Laffi U. (2007), *Colonia e municipi nello stato romano*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.
- Lahovary N. (1963), *Dravidian origins and the West: newly discovered ties with the ancient culture and languages, including Basque, of the pre-Indo-European Mediterranean world*, Bombay, Orient Longmans.

- Laporta M.T. (1989), *Il nome di Oria*, in "Archivio Storico Pugliese", 42, 57–112.
- Larocca F., Guarnieri G. et al. (1994), *La grotta del Palummaro, Caccuri (Kr)*, Gruppo Speleologico "Sparviere", Triggiano—Ba, Grafica Mariani.
- Larson J. (2007), *Ancient Greek Cults. A Guide*, London, Routledge.
- Latham R.G. (1859), *Descriptive Ethnology, Vol II, Europe, Africa, India*, London, John van Voorst.
- Latte K. (1953–1966), *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, vols. 1–2, Copenhagen, Munksgaard.
- Latte K. (1968), *Neues zur klassischen Literatur aus Hesych*, in *Kleine Schriften zu Religion, Recht, Literatur und Sprache der Griechen und Römer*, herausgegeben von O. Gigon, W. Buchwald, W. Kunkel, München, Beck, 667–479.
- Lazzeroni R. (2001), *Riflessioni sulla ricerca dialettologica in Italia*, in Zamboni A., Del Puente P., Vigolo M.T. (a cura di), *La dialettologia oggi fra tradizione e nuove metodologie*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Pisa, 10–12 febbraio 2000, Pisa, ETS, 3–10.
- Leake W.M. (1830), *Travels in the Morea: With a Map and Plans*, Vol. 3, London, Murray.
- Legrand Ph. (1932–1954), *Hérodote. Histoires*, 9 vols., Paris, Les Belles Lettres.
- Lemerle P. (1979), *The Agrarian History of Byzantium. From the Origins to the Twelfth Century, the Sources and Problems*, Galway, Galway University Press.
- Lena G., Bonomi S. (2012), *Erosione costiera e monumenti archeologici in Calabria*, in "Geologia dell'ambiente", Suppl. al n. 1/2012, 8–13.
- Lenormant F. (1961), *La Grande Grèce*, Paris, 1881–1884 (traduzione italiana di Armando Lucifero, Crotona, 1931–1935, Cosenza ed., 1961).
- Lenormant F. (1976 [1881]), *La Magna Grecia: paesaggi e storia*, trad. it., Chiaravalle Centrale, Frama sud.
- Leoni N. (1844), *Della Magna Grecia e delle tre Calabrie*, Vol. 1, Napoli, Priggiobba.
- Lepore E. (1979), *L'Italia dal "punto di vista ionico": tra Ecateo ed Erodoto*, in Φιλίας Χάριν. Miscellanea in onore di Eugenio Manni, Roma, 1342–1344.
- Lepore E. (1980) in Φιλίας Χάριν. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni, Vol. IV, Roma, G. Bretschneider, 1332–1333.
- Lepore E., Mele A. (1983), *Pratiche rituali e culti eroici in Magna Grecia*, in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche*, Atti del Convegno di Cortona (24–30 maggio 1981), CEFR 67, Pisa–Roma, 847–897.
- Lerat L. (1946), *Geraistos et les Geraistai*, in "Revue archéologique", 25, 196–203.
- Leumann M. (1950), *Homerische Wörter*, Basel, F. Reinhardt.
- Levato C. (2003), *Le "grave" del Crotonese e le grotte lungo l'istmo di Catanzaro*, in Larocca F. (a cura di), *Calabria Profonda. Guida alla conoscenza del patrimonio sotterraneo regionale*, Centro Regionale di Speleologia "Enzo dei Medici", Bari, Pubblicità & Stampa, 55–71.
- Liceti F. (1637), *Ad Epei Securim Encyclopaedia Fortunii Liceti Genuensis*, Bononiae, Typis Jacobi Montij.

- Liddell H.G., Scott R, Jones H.S. (1996), *Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Lidén E. (1916), *Studien zur tocharischen Sprachgeschichte*, Göteborg, Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag.
- Ligorio O. (2015), *Sh. Korčula*, in "Lucida intervalla", 44, 147–154.
- Lombardo M. (1989), *La via istmica Taranto—Brindisi in età arcaica e classica: problemi storici*, in *Salento. Porta d'Italia*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Lecce 27–30 novembre 1986, Galatina, Congedo, 167–192.
- Lombardo M. (1991), *I Messapi: aspetti della problematica storica*, in *I Messapi*, Atti del xxx Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto 1990), Napoli, Arte Tipografica, 35–109.
- Lombardo M. (1992), a cura di, *I Messapi e la Messapia nelle fonti letterarie greche e latine*, Galatina, Congedo.
- Lombardo M. (1997), *La Puglia prima dei Greci. Fonti antiche e problemi storici*, in P. Capuzzimati (ed.), *La Puglia prima della colonizzazione*, Taranto, Provincia di Taranto, 15–37.
- Lombardo M. (2000), *Messapii, Messapia*, in *Der Neue Pauly* 8, Stuttgart, Weimar, Metzler, 48–49.
- Lombardo M. (2002), *I Greci a Kerkyra Melaina (Syll.3 141): pratiche coloniali e ruolo degli indigeni*, Split, Knjizevni Krug.
- Lombardo M. (2004), *Il Canale d'Otranto tra il IV e il III secolo*, in *La pirateria nell'Adriatico antico*, a cura di L. Braccesi, Roma, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 49–60.
- Lombardo M. (2010), *L'Adriatico e il dibattito su Atene e l'Occidente*, in E. Govi (a cura di), *Dal Mediterraneo all'Europa. Conversazioni adriatiche*, Hesperia, 25, Roma, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 93–105.
- Lombardo M. (2011), *Le fondazioni achee in Italia Meridionale. Fonti e problemi storici*, in A. Rizakis (ed.), *L'Acacia e l'Italia Meridionale. Contatti, scambi e relazioni dall'antichità ai giorni nostri* (Atti del Convegno di Eghion, Atene 2011), 22–47.
- Lombardo M. (2014), *Iapygians: The Indigenous Populations of Ancient Apulia in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.E.*, in Carpenter T.H., Lynch K.M., Robinson E.G.D. (eds), *The Italic People of Ancient Apulia. New Evidence from Pottery for Workshops, Markets, and Customs*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 36–68.
- Lombardo M. (2015a), *I Messapi: origini, vicende e civiltà*, in *Soletto ritrovata. Ricerche archeologiche e linguaggi digitali per la fruizione*, a cura di Giannotta M.T., Gabelone F., Stifani M.F., Lavinia Donateo L., Galatina, Editrice Salentina, 9–26.
- Lombardo M. (2015b), *La cd. "Mappa di Soletto": aspetti e problemi*, in Giannotta M.T., Gabelone F., Stifani M.F., Lavinia Donateo L. (2015), *Soletto ritrovata. Ricerche archeologiche e linguaggi digitali per la fruizione*, Galatina, Editrice Salentina, 187–198.
- Lombardo S. (2010), *Ovid: Metamorphoses*. Introduction by W.R. Johnson, Indianapolis and Cambridge, Hackett Publishing Company.

- Lopez F. (2004), *Profilo storico di Altilia. Il monastero Calabromaria*, San Giovanni in Fiore—Cs, Edizioni Pubblisfera.
- Lopez F. (2015), *Democede di Crotona e Udjahorresnet di Saïs. Medici primari alla corte achemenide di Dario il Grande*, Pisa, Pisa University Press.
- Lopez F. (2019a), *Pitagora e l'Egitto. Le arti sapienti per la tutela della Vita*, Pisa, Pisa University Press.
- Lopez F. (2019b), *Per una storia dei laghetti termali di Cotronei*, comunicazione, in *Grotte e altri mondi sotterranei dell'Alto Crotonese*, giornate di studio a cura del Centro Regionale di Speleologia "Enzo dei Medici" e del Gruppo Speleologico "Le Grave", Verzino Kr, 18–19 maggio 2019, resoconto in "ilCrotonese", n. 42, del 31 maggio 2019, Silos, 23.
- Lopez F. (2021), *Origini del nome Neto tra il mito di Filottete e l'ambiente palustre*, comunicazione, in *Il mito di Filottete e le paludi della valle del Neto*, conferenza Facebook Streaming a cura di Italia Nostra, Sezione di Casabona e Valle del Neto, 30 aprile 2021, resoconto in "ilCrotonese", n. 34, del 7 maggio 2021, 24.
- Lopez F., Aversa G. (2010), *Il monastero della Madonna della Calabria*, in *Antiche presenze monastiche tra Neto e Lese: uno sguardo d'insieme*, a cura di Aversa G., Lopez F., Scalise G., San Giovanni in Fiore—Cs, Edizioni Pubblisfera, 9–58.
- Loporcaro M. (2021), *Dialecti d'Italia. La Puglia e il Salento*, Bologna, il Mulino.
- Lo Porto F.G. (1970), *L'attività archeologica in Puglia*, in Atti del IX Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto 1969), Napoli, 245–252.
- Lo Porto F.G. (1972), *L'attività archeologica in Puglia*, in Atti del XI Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto 1971), Napoli, 473–502.
- Lo Porto F.G. (1975), *L'attività archeologica in Puglia*, in Atti del XIV Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto 1974), Napoli, 337–350.
- Lo Porto F.G. (1981), *Testimonianze archeologiche ruvestine*, in Atti del VI Convegno dei Comuni Messapici, Peuceti e Dauni (Ruvo di Puglia 15–16/6/74), Bari, 13–19.
- Lo Porto F.G. (1991), *Insediamenti protostorici costieri del Salento*, in *I Messapi*, Atti del XXX Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto 1990), Napoli, Arte Tipografica, 383–391.
- Lozzi Gallo L. (2012), *La Puglia nel Medioevo germanico. Da Apulia a Pülle/Púl*, Ravenna, Longo Editore.
- Maas E. (1907), *Der Kampf um Temesa*, in "Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts", 22, 18–53.
- Maddoli G. (1984), *I culti di Crotona*, in *Crotona*, Atti del XXIII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto 1983), Taranto, ISAMG, 313–343.
- Maddoli G. (2011–2012), *La percezione della realtà etnica e regionale nell'Italia di Strabone*, in *Geografia e politica in Grecia e a Roma*, Conferenze di ricerca italo—franco—tedesche, in "Geographia Antiqua", XX–XXI, 35–43.
- Mair A.W. & G.R. (1921), *Callimachus, Hymns and Epigrams. Lycophron. Aratus*, Loeb Classical Library Volume 129. London, William Heinemann.

- Malinar S. (2015), *A Polemical Piece by Alberto Fortis: Memoria sopra l'isola di Corzola*, in "Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiana", LX, 85–97.
- Malkin I. (1987), *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, Leiden, Brill.
- Mallory J.P. (2007), *Indo-European Warfare*, in *War and Sacrifice. Studies in the Archaeology of Conflict*, T. Pollard, I. Bamks (eds), Leiden–Boston, Brill, 77–98.
- Mallory J.P., Adams D.Q. (1997), *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, London, Chicago, Fitzroy Dearborn.
- Mallory J.P., Adams D.Q. (2006), *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Mangiatoridi A. (2011), *Insedimenti rurali e strutture agrarie nella Puglia centrale in età romana*, Bari, Edipuglia.
- Mango C., Scott R. (1997), *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Manoledakis M. (2015), *Misplacing ancient rivers in cartography and literature of the modern era: the cases of the Chabrias and the Olynthiacus in Chalcidice*, in "Orbis Terrarum: Journal of Historical Geography of the Ancient World", 13, 124–154.
- Marano G., Vaccarella R., Pastorelli A.M., Martino G. (1985), *Alterazioni antropiche sulla biocenosi del fiume Galeso (Mar Piccolo-Taranto)*, in "Thalassia Salentina", 15, 53–61.
- Marcato V.C. (1990), *Garaguso e Gargano*, in *Dizionario di Toponomastica*, Torino, Utet, 296–298.
- Marchesini S. (2009), *Le lingue frammentarie dell'Italia antica. Manuale per lo studio delle lingue preromane*, Milano, Hoepli.
- Marchi M.L. (2013), *Deduzioni coloniali e interventi urbani di età augustea nella Regio II (Apulia et Calabria)*, in "Paideia", 68, 327–347.
- Marinatos S. (1959), *La Sicilia e la Grecia nell'età preistorica*, in "Kokalos", v, 59–60.
- Marino D. (1998), *Aspetti dell'insediamento nella Calabria centro-orientale tra età del Bronzo recente e prima età del Ferro*, in *Atti del III incontro di studio sulla Preistoria e Protostoria in Etruria*, Firenze 1998, 287–300.
- Marino D. (2008), *Prima di Kroton. Dalle comunità protostoriche alla nascita della città*, MiBAC, Crotone, Stampa Print Seriart.
- Marino D., Festuccia S. (1995), *Siti costieri dal Bronzo medio al Bronzo finale nella Calabria centro-orientale (Italia meridionale)*, in Christie N., ed., *Papers of the 5th Conference of Italian Archaeology "Settlement and Economy in Italy 1500 BC to AD1500"*, Oxford, Oxbow Monograph 41, 241–252.
- Marino D., Taliano Grasso A., Nicoletti G., Medaglia S. (2017), *Rocche protostoriche e abitati Brettii tra Sila e mare Jonio*, in *Centri fortificati indigeni della Calabria dalla protostoria all'età ellenistica*, *Atti del convegno internazionale*, Napoli, 16–17 gennaio 2014, a cura di L. Cicala e M. Pacciarelli, Napoli, Naus Editoria, 97–130.
- Martin J.-M. (1993), *La Pouille du VI^e au XI^e siècle*, Rome, École Française de Rome.
- Mascialino L. (1964), *Lycophronis Alexandra*, Leipzig, Teubner.

- Mastrocinque A. (1988), *Da Cnido a Corcira Melaina: uno studio sulle fondazioni greche in Adriatico*, Trento, Università degli Studi di Trento.
- Mastronuzzi G. (2017), *Lo spazio del sacro nella Messapia (Puglia meridionale, Italia)*, Mélanges de l'École française de Rome—Antiquité (<http://journals.openedition.org/mefra/4236>).
- Mastronuzzi G., Caldarola R. (2019), *I paesaggi costieri del Salento messapico alla luce delle recenti indagini archeologiche*, in Fioriello C.S., Tassaux F. (a cura di), *I paesaggi costieri dell'Adriatico tra Antichità e Altomedioevo*, Atti della tavola rotonda di Bari (22–23 maggio 2017), Bordeaux, Ausonius Scripta Antiqua, 119, 183–207.
- Matzinger J. (2015), *Messapico e Illirico*, in “L'Idomeneo”, 19, 57–66.
- Mayer A. (1957), *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier*, 1, Wien, Rohrer.
- Mayer A. (1959), *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier*, 11, Wien, Rohrer.
- Mayer M. (1931), *Messapioi*, in “RE”, 15/1, 1168–1207.
- Mazzarino S. (1939), *Messapios*, in “Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania”, IX, 2, 137–167.
- Mazzarino S. (1972), *Si può dire Bruttium? La denominazione tardoromana dell'attuale Calabria*, in “Archivio Storico Pugliese”, 25, 3–4, 463–467.
- Mazzarino S. (1974), *L'adventus di Costanzo II a Roma e la carriera di Pancharius (con appendice sulla denominazione tardoromana dell'attuale Calabria)*, in Mazzarino S., *Antico, tardoantico ed èra costantiniana*, 1, Bari, Edizioni Dedalo, 197–220.
- Mazzocchi A.S. (1754), *Commentariorum in regii Herculanensis Musei aeneas Tabulas Heracleenses*, Neapoli, Ex Officina Benedicti Gessari.
- Medaglia S. (2010), *Carta archeologica della provincia di Crotone. Paesaggi storici e insediamenti nella Calabria centro-orientale dalla Preistoria all'Altomedioevo*, Università della Calabria, Rossano, con Senso Publishing.
- Meillet A. (1938), *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latin*, Paris, Klincksieck.
- Meineke A. (1877), *Strabonis geographica*, 3 vols., Leipzig, Teubner, Repr. 1969.
- Meineke A. (1958), *Stephan von Byzanz. Ethnika*, Berlin, Reimer, Repr.
- Mele A. (1982), *I Ciclopi, Calcodonte e la metallurgia caldicese*, in *Nouvelle contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes*, Naples, Publications du Centre Jean Bérard, 1982, 9–33 (<http://books.openedition.org/pcjb/216>).
- Mele A. (1983), *L'eroe di Temesa tra Ausoni e Greci*, in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche*, Atti del Convegno di Cortona (24–30 maggio 1981), CEFR 67, Pisa–Roma, 848–888.
- Mele A. (1984), *Crotone e la sua storia*, in *Crotone*, Atti del XXIII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1983, Taranto, ISAMG, 9–87.
- Mele A. (1991), *Le popolazioni italiche*, in Galasso G., Romeo R. (ed.), *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, 1, 1, *Il Mezzogiorno antico*, Napoli, Edizioni del Sole, 235–300.
- Mele A. (2007), *Magna Grecia. Colonie achee e Pitagorismo*, Napoli, Luciano editore.

- Mercati G. (1906), *A Study of the Paschal Chronicle*, in "Journal of Theological Studies", 6, 397–412.
- Mertens D. (1984), *I santuari di Capo Colonna e Crimisa. Aspetti dell'architettura crotoniate*, in Crotona, Atti del XXIII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1983, Taranto, ISAMG, 189–230.
- Mielert F. (1909), *Die Insel Corfu*, in "Globus", 97, 7, 104–109.
- Migne J.-P. (1887), *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca, Joannes Zonarae Opera Omnia*, Parisiis, Apud Garnier.
- Milani C. (2005), *Le nuove tavolette di Tebe: note su Lacedemoni e Tebani*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero.
- Miller F.J., Goold G.P. (1977–1984), *Ovid: Metamorphoses in Two Volumes*, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.
- Miller K. (1928), *Charta Rogeriana Weltkarte des Idrisi vom Jahr 1154 n.Ch.*, Wiederhergestellt und herausgegeben von Konrad Miller. Stuttgart: Konrad Miller.
- Mommsen T. (1850), *Die unteritalischen Dialecte*, Leipzig, Wigand.
- Mommsen T. (1988), *Storia di Roma*, Milano, Casini Editore, Vol. 1.
- Moores E.M., Fairbridge R.W. (1997), *Encyclopedia of European and Asian regional geology*, London, Chapman and Hall.
- Morandi Tarabella M. (2004), *Prosopographia etrusca I, Corpus 1. Etruria meridionale*, Roma, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Moretti A. (1993), *Note sull'evoluzione tettono—stratigrafica del bacino crotonese dopo la fine del Miocene*, in "Bollettino Società Geologica Italiana", 112, 845–867.
- Moretti A., Guerra I. (1997), *Tettonica dal Messiniano ad oggi in Calabria: implicazioni sulla geodinamica del sistema Tirreno—Arco Calabro*, in "Bollettino Società Geologica Italiana", 116, 125–142.
- Morgan C. (1990), *Athletes and Oracles. The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century BC*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Muljačić Z. (2011), *Prvo izdanje jedinog djela Alberta Fortisa o otoku Korčuli (Memoria sopra l'isola di Corzola), s1c, 33 neobrojčene stranice (M1C)*, in Ž. Muljačić, *Fortisološke studije*, Književni krug, Split, 239–265.
- Müller K. (1841–1870), *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, 3 vols., Paris, Didot.
- Müller K. (1855), *Geographi Graeci minores*, vol. 1, Paris, Didot.
- Müller K. (1861), *Geographi Graeci minores*, vol. 2, Paris, Didot.
- Muratori L.A. (1740), *Delle antichità estensi ed italiane*, Modena, Nella Stamperia Ducale.
- Muşu G. (1981), *Lumini din depărtări, Civilizații prehelene și microasiatice*, București, Editura științifică și Enciclopedică.
- Mynors R.A.B. (1972), *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, Oxonii, e typographeo Clarendoniano.
- Nafissi M. (1985), *Le genti indigene: Enotri, Coni, Siculi e Morgeti, Ausoni, Iapigi, Sanniti*, in G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *Magna Grecia. Il Mediterraneo, le metropoleis, la fondazione delle colonie*, Milano, Electa, 189–208.

- Nakassis D. (2013), *Individuals and Society in Mycenaean Pylos*, Leiden & Boston, Brill.
- Napolitano R. (1991), *San Giovanni in Fiore monastica e civica. Storia documentata del capoluogo silano*, 2 voll., Napoli, Laurenziano Editore.
- Negri M. (1992), *Riscontri Straboniani sulla geografia della Messenia*, "Seminari CNR-IME", Roma, 52–60.
- Negri M. (1994), *Strabone e la geografia della Messenia micenea*, in "Annali Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia Università di Macerata", 25–26, 9–43.
- Nenci G. (1973), *Leucopetraei Tarentinorum (Cic., Att. 16, 6, 1) e l'itinerario di un progettato viaggio ciceroniano in Grecia*, in "Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa Classe di Lettere e Filosofia", Serie III, Vol. 3, No. 2, 387–396.
- Nenci G. (1976), *Il ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ fra Taranto e gli Iapigi e gli ΑΝΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ tarantini a Delft*, in "Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia", Serie III, Vol. 6, No. 3, 719–738.
- Nenci G. (1978), *Per una definizione della ΙΑΠΥΓΙΑ*, in "Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa", Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, Serie III, Vol. 8, No. 1, 43–58.
- Nenci G. (1982), ΚΟΛΑΒΡΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ ("Vet. Test.", "Job", 5, 4), in "Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia" Serie III, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1–6.
- Nenci G. (1983), *Tryphé e colonizzazione*, in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche*, Atti del Convegno di Cortona (24–30 maggio 1981), CEFR 67, Pisa–Roma, 1019–1031.
- Nenci G. (1987), *Gli insediamenti fino alla colonizzazione greca*, in S. Settis (a cura di), *Storia della Calabria antica I*, Roma—Reggio Calabria, Gangemi, 323–346.
- Neri S. (2007), *Cadere e abbattere in Indoeuropeo: sull'etimologia di tedesco fallen, latino aboleo e greco ἀπόλλυμι*, Innsbruck, Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 124.
- Neri S. (2013), *Zum urindogermanischen Wort für 'Hand'*, in Cooper A.L., Rau J., Weiss M. (eds), *Multi Nominis Grammaticus. Studies in Greek and Indo-European Linguistics in Honor of Alan J. Nussbaum on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Ann Arbor, New York, Beech Stave Press, 185–205.
- Neville L. (2018), *Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Nicoletti G. (1992–1993), *Considerazioni su alcuni aspetti dell'Eneolitico e dell'età del Bronzo della fascia medioionica calabrese*, Tesi di Specializzazione in Paletnologia, Università degli Studi "La Sapienza", Roma.
- Nicoletti G. (2020), *Crotone. Livello protostorico e ceramiche di tipo egeo—miceneo dal centro urbano*, in *Tra Ionio e Tirreno: orizzonti d'archeologia. Omaggio a Elena Latanzi*, a cura di Lo Schiavo F., Spadea R., Lazzarini M.L., Roma, Scienze e Lettere, 229–251.
- Nissen H. (1883), *Italische Landeskunde: Bd. 1 Land und Leute*, Berlin, Weidmannsche buchhandlung.

- Nola Molise G.B. (1649), *Cronica dell'antichissima, e nobilissima città di Crotona, e della Magna Grecia*, In Nap. Per Francesco Sauio Stampator della Corte Arc.
- Nouvel A. (1978), *Le pré-indo-européen kar-/gar "pierre" et kar-/gar- "plante, arbre" ont-ils une origine commune?*, in *Mélanges de philologie romane offerts à Charles Camproux*, II, Montpellier, Université Paul Valéry, 967–969.
- Novembre D. (1961), *Aspetti del carsismo costiero nel Salento*, in "La Zagaglia", 9, 22–51.
- Noyé G. (2021), *Byzantine Calabria*, in *Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World*, W. Brandes, ed., Vol. 8, *A Companion to Byzantine Italy*, S. Cosentino, ed., Leiden Boston, Brill, 434–452.
- Oberhummer E. (1897), s.v. *Buräikos*, in "RE", III, 1, col. 1060.
- Ogniben L. (1955), *Le argille scagliose del Crotonese*, in "Memorie e note dell'Istituto di geologia applicata dell'Università di Napoli", Vol. 6, 1–72.
- Oldfather C.H. (1939), *Diodorus Siculus: Library of History*, Volume III, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.
- Olivieri A. (1930), *Frammenti della commedia greca nella Sicilia e nella Magna Grecia*, Napoli, Morano.
- Onac B.P., Constantin S. (2004), *Europe, Balkans and Carpathians*, in Gunn J. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Caves and Karst Science*, New York, London, Taylor & Francis Group, 677–684.
- Oppert G.S. (1893), *On the Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa or India*, Westminster, Constable & Co., Leipzig, Harrassowitz.
- Orlando M.A. (1996), *I livelli alla base della serie stratigrafica del cantiere 3 di Otranto nel quadro del Bronzo finale dell'Italia meridionale*, in "Origini", XX, 233–324.
- Orsi P. (1902), *Molinello presso Augusta*, in "Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità", 411–443.
- Ostrogorsky G. (1968), *Storia dell'impero bizantino*, Torino, Einaudi.
- Pacciarelli M., Varricchio M.R. (2004), *Fasi e facies del Bronzo medio e recente nella Calabria meridionale tirrenica*, in *Preistoria e Protostoria della Calabria*, Atti della XXXVII riunione scientifica dell'Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria (Scalea, Papisidero, Praia a mare, Tortora, 2002), Firenze, 359–379.
- Pagliara C. (1983), *Materiali iscritti arcaici del Salento*, in "Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia", XIII, 1, 21–89.
- Pagliara C. (2002), *Roca Vecchia (Melendugno, Lecce). L'abitato protostorico dell'età del bronzo*, in M. Gorgoglione, a cura di, *Strutture e modelli di abitato del bronzo tardo da Torre Castelluccia a Roca Vecchia*, Atti del convegno di studio 28–29 novembre 1996, Pulsano (Ta), Mandria, 155–169.
- Pagliara C. (2003), *Il sito di Roca Vecchia nell'età del bronzo*, in F. Lenzi (a cura di), *L'Archeologia dell'Adriatico dalla Preistoria al Medioevo*, Atti del convegno di Ravenna 7-8-9 giugno 2001, Firenze, 74–90.
- Pagliara C. (2005), *Rocavecchia (Lecce). Il sito, le fortificazioni e l'abitato dell'età del Bronzo*, in E. Greco, R. Laffineur (eds), *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern*

- Mediterranean*: Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference Université de Liege, Liege, 629–636.
- Pais E. (1892), *I Messapi e gli Iapigi*, in “Studi Storici”, 1, 1–54.
- Pakkanen P. (2008), *From polis to borders. Demarcation of social and ritual space in the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia, Greece*, in “*Temenos*”, 44/2, 233–262.
- Paliga S. (1987), *Thracian Terms for ‘Township’ and ‘Fortress’, and Related Place-Names*, in “*World Archaeology*”, Vol. 19, No. 1, Urbanization (Jun., 1987), 23–29.
- Paliga S. (2006), *An Etymological Lexicon of the Indigenous (Thracian) Elements in Romanian*, București, Ed. Fundația Evenimentul.
- Paliga S. (2016), *Pre-Indo-European (or ‘Mediterranean’) v. Proto-Boreal. Some Thoughts on Prehistoric Linguistic Relations*, in “*Yearbook of Finno—Ugric Studies*”, 10/2, 37–48.
- Paliga S. (2017), *A new, and more decisive, descent into the realm of *or-, *ur-*, in “*Académie Bulgare des Sciences Linguistique Balkanique*”, LVI, 1, 35–45.
- Pallottino M. (1984), *Storia della prima Italia*, Milano, Rusconi.
- Papadopoulos N.G. et al. (2006), *Contribution of multiplexed electrical resistance and magnetic techniques to the archaeological investigations at Poros, Greece*, in “*Archaeological Introspection*”, 13 (2), 75–90.
- Pareti L. (1997), *Storia della Regione Lucano—Bruzzi nell’antichità*, opera inedita a cura di A. Russi, 1, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.
- Parise M., Federico A., Delle Rose M., Sammarco M. (2002), *Karst terminology in Apulia (southern Italy)*, in “*Acta Carsologica*”, 32/2, 6, 65–82.
- Parke H.W, Wormell D.E.W. (1956), *The Delphic Oracle, Vol I, The History, Vol. II, The Oracular Responses*, Oxford, Blackwell.
- Parlangeli O. (1960), *Concordanze toponomastiche traco—messapiche*, in “*Quaderni dell’Istituto di Glottologia dell’Università di Bologna*”, 5, 21–29.
- Parpola S. (1997 [1971]), *The standard Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh: cuneiform text, transliteration, glossary, indices and sign list*, Helsinki, The neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- Partsch J. (1887), *Die Insel Korfu, eine geographische Monographie*, Gotha, J. Perthes.
- Paton W.R. (1922–1927), *Polybius. The histories*, 6 vols, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.
- Pellegrini G.B. (1978), *Toponimi ed etnici delle lingue dell’Italia antica*, in Prosdocimi A.L. (ed.), *Popoli e civiltà dell’Italia antica*, Roma, Biblioteca di Storia Patria.
- Pellegrini G.B. (1981), *Teoria e metodologia dell’indagine toponomastica*, in “*Archivio per l’Alto Adige*”, LXXV, 17–30.
- Pellegrini G.B. (1994 [1990]), *Toponomastica italiana*, Milano, Hoepli.
- Pellegrini G.B. (2000), *Panorama di toponomastica italiana*, in Trumper J.B., Mendi-cino A., Maddalon M., a cura di, *Toponomastica calabrese*, Roma, Gangemi Editore, 11–21.

- Perono Cacciafoco F. (2008), *La radice *kar-/*kal- e due toponimi liguri*, in “Iter. Ricerche fonti e immagini per un territorio”, Vol. n. 14, IV/2, Luglio 2008, 13–24.
- Perono Cacciafoco F. (2015a), *Continuity in European Toponomastics: The (Pre-) Indo-European *kar-/*kal-Root in the Pre-Latin Ligurian Toponymy*, in “Annals of the University of Craiova: Series Philology”, 121–138.
- Perono Cacciafoco F. (2015b), *Toponymic Persistence: the Proto-Indo-European *kar-Root in the Pre-latin Ligurian Context*, in “Acta Linguistica”, Vol. 9, 1, 35–50.
- Perrin B. (1918), *Plutarch. Plutarch's Lives*, with an English Translation by Bernadotte Perrin, Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press. London.
- Pesavento A. (1999), *L'abbazia di Calabro Maria ad Altilia*, in “la Provincia Kr”, n. 6/9, 8.
- Pharaklas N. (1972), *Troizenia, Kalauria, Methana*, Athenai, Athenaikokentro Oikistes.
- Pieri P., Festa v., Moretti M., Tropeano M. (1997), *Quaternary tectonic activity of the Murge area (Apulian foreland—Southern Italy)*, in “Annals of Geophysics”, 40/5, 1395–1404.
- Pinder M., Büttner Wobst T. (1841–1897), *Ioannis Zonarae Annales*, Bonnae, Impensis Ed. Weberi.
- Pisani v. (1957), *Thrakisches*, in “Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen”, 75, 76–79.
- Placanica A. (1999), *Storia della Calabria dall'antichità ai nostri giorni*, Roma, Donzelli.
- Pocchetti P. (2000), *Note sulla stratigrafia della toponomastica della Calabria antica*, in Trumper J.B., Mendicino A., Maddalon M., a cura di, *Toponomastica calabrese*, Roma, Gangemi Editore, 87–115.
- Pocchetti P. (2011), *Anthroponymes et toponymes issus d'ethniques et noms géographiques étrangers dans la Méditerranée archaïque*, in E.C. Ruiz Darrasse (ed.), *Contacts linguistiques dans l'Occident Méditerranéen antique*, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 145–171.
- Pokorny J. (1959), *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern, München, A. Francke, I, cop. 1959–1969.
- Polomé E.C. (1982), *Balkan languages (Illyrian, Thracian, and Daco—Moesian)*, in J. Boardman (ed.), *The Cambridge Ancient History 3/1: The Prehistory of the Balkans; and the Middle East and the Aegean world, tenth to eighth centuries B.C.*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 866–876.
- Polomé E.C. (1983), *The linguistic situation in the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*, in H. Temporini, W. Haase (eds), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt 11.29*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 509–553.
- Poulianos N.A. (2013), *Significant “errors” of some Thessalonica's geologists and archaeologists regarding Petralona cave*, in Filippi M., Bosák P. (eds), *Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of Speleology*, July 21–28, 2013, Brno, Czech Republic, Praha, Czech Speleological Society, vol. 1, 88–92.

- Prendi F. (1998), *Bronze and Iron Age in Albanian Researches*, in "Illiria", 28, 93–103.
- Prontera F. (1986), *Imagines Italiae. Sulle più antiche visualizzazioni e rappresentazioni geografiche dell'Italia*, in "Athenaeum", LXIV, 295–320.
- Prontera F. (1992), *Periploi: sulla tradizione della geografia nautica presso i Greci*, in "Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, nuova serie", 32/2, 25–44.
- Prontera F. (1997), *Le basi empiriche della cartografia greca*, in "Sileno", XXIII, 1997, 49–63.
- Pugliese Carratelli G. (1958), *Per la storia delle relazioni micenee con l'Italia*, in "La Parola del Passato", 13, 205–220.
- Pugliese Carratelli G. (1971), *Dalle odysseiai alle apoikiai*, in "La Parola del Passato", 26, 395–417.
- Quacquarelli A. (1991), *Spigolature paleocristiane nel Salento*, in Volpe G. (ed.), *Puglia paleocristiana e altomedievale*, Vol. 6, Bari, Edipuglia, 85–112.
- Raderus M. (1615), *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, Monachii, Ex Formis Annae Bergiae Viduae.
- Radina F. (1995), *L'età del Bronzo lungo il versante adriatico pugliese*, Atti del seminario di studi, Bari 26–28 maggio 1995, in "Taras", xv, 2.
- Rajkovic Z., Kromidha G. (2014), *Management plan for National Marine Park Karaburun–Sazan*, United Nations Development Program, New York.
- Ramazzotti M. (2016), *Introduzione all'archeologia del paesaggio. Geografia cosmica, simulazioni geomatiche, ricostruzioni potenziali e ipersuperfici neurali*, in Celani S. (a cura di), *Digital Humanities: strumento o fine? Elementi per una riflessione metodologica*, in "Status Quaestionis" x, 99–113.
- Raviola F. (1999), *Atene in Occidente e Atene in Adriatico*, in L. Braccesi, S. Graciotti (a cura di), *La Dalmazia e l'altra sponda. Problemi di archaiologia adriatica*, Atti del convegno in memoria di Massimiliano Pavan, 16–17 gennaio 1996, Firenze, Olschki, 41–70.
- Raviola F. (2008), *Temistocle e Corcira*, in "Hesperia. Studi sulla grecità d'Occidente", 22, 57–81.
- Refolo G., Sansò P., Selleri G. (2007), *Evoluzione del paesaggio carsico e pericolosità geomorfologica nel Salento leccese*, in "Geologi e Territorio", 4, 25–31.
- Restelli G. (1962), *Una caratteristica dorica passata all'antico eolico, all'illirico e al macedone*, in "Aevum", 36, 382–391.
- Ribezzo (1920b), *Carattere mediterraneo della più antica toponomastica italiana*, in "Rivista indo-greco-italica di filologia, lingua, antichità", IV, 221–236.
- Ribezzo F. (1904), *La lingua degli antichi Messapi. Introduzione Storica, Ermeneutica*, Napoli, Tipografia della Regia Università, A. Tessitore e C.
- Ribezzo F. (1907), *La lingua degli antichi Messapii*, Napoli, A. Tessitore e C.
- Ribezzo F. (1920a), *La originaria unità tirrena dell'Italia nella toponomastica*, in "Rivista indo-greco-italica di filologia, lingua, antichità", IV, 83–97.

- Ribezzo F. (1933), *L'iscrizione Sicano-Italica scoperta a Sciri (Σχῆραι) presso Licodia Eubea (Caltagirone)*, in "Rivista indo-greco-italica di filologia, lingua, antichità", XVII, 197–211.
- Ribezzo F. (1943), *Due iscrizioni latine inedite di Lecce essenziali per la storia della città romana*, in "Rinascenza salentina", A. 11, n. 1, n.s., XXI, 29–39.
- Ribezzo F., Melillo G. (1931), *Due filoni di lingua mediterranea nella toponomastica italiana e la questione etrusco; tirreno—mediterr. tauro, 'monte' / tirreno—mediterr. 'nepo', corso d'acqua*, in "Rivista indo-greco-italica di filologia, lingua, antichità", xv, 51–161.
- Ribezzo F., Momigliano A. (1934), *Messapi*, in Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, Roma.
- Riedinger R. (1990), *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, Series Secunda, 11.1, Berlin–New York, Walter de Gruyter.
- Rix H., Kümmel M., Zehnder T., Lipp R., Schirmer B. (2001), *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstambildungen*, 2. Auflage, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Robinson G. (1928–1930), *History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St. Elias and St. Anastasius of Carbone*, in "Orientalia Christiana", XI (1928), 271–348; xv (1929), 121–275; XIX (1930), 185–189.
- Roda C. (1964), *Distribuzione e facies dei sedimenti neogenici nel Bacino Crotonese*, in "Geologica Romana", 3, 319–366.
- Roda C. (1965), *Geologia della tavoletta Belvedere di Spinello (Prov. Catanzaro, F. 237, 1—SE)*, in "Bollettino Società Geologica Italiana", 84/2, 159–285.
- Rohlf G. (1969), *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, Torino, Einaudi.
- Rohlf G. (1970), *Toponomastica greca nel Salento*, Fasano, Schena.
- Rohlf G. (1972), *Nuovi scavi linguistici nella antica Magna Grecia*, Palermo, Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici.
- Rohlf G. (1974), *Dizionario toponomastico e onomastico della Calabria. Con prontuario filologico—geografico della Calabria*, Ravenna, Longo.
- Rohlf G. (1977), *Le gascon. Etudes de philologie pyrénéenne*, Tübingen, M. Niemeyer; Pau, Marrimpouey Jeune, 1977. Series: Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 85.
- Rohlf G. (1986), *Dizionario toponomastico del Salento. Prontuario geografico, storico e filologico*, Ravenna, Longo.
- Roma G. (2010), *Nefandissimi Langobardi: Mutamenti politici e frontiera altomedievale tra Ducato di Benevento e Ducato di Calabria*, in G. Roma (a cura di), *I Longobardi del Sud*, Roma, Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 405–463.
- Ronconi L. (1995), *Il muro sull'istmo (Ecateo, Antioco, Filisto)*, in "Hesperia. Studi sulla grecità d'Occidente", 5, 37–47.
- Rossignoli B. (2004), *L'Adriatico greco. Culti e miti minori*, Roma, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.

- Rostaing C. (1950), *Essai sur la toponymie de la Provence, depuis les origines jusqu'aux invasions barbares*, Paris, Ed. d'Artrey.
- Roth C.L. (1886), *C. Suetoni Tranquilli quae supersunt*, Lipsiae, in aedibus B.G. Teubneri.
- Royal J. (2008), *Discovery of Ancient Harbour Structures in Calabria, Italy, and Implications for the Interpretation of Nearby Sites*, in "International Journal of Nautical Archaeology", 37, 1, 49–66.
- Ruijgh C.J. (1967), *Études sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien*, Amsterdam, Adolf M. Hakkert.
- Ruotolo G. (2010), *Corpus nummorum Rubastinorum*, Bari, Edipuglia.
- Russo F. (1959), *Gioacchino da Fiore e le Fondazioni Florensi in Calabria*, Napoli, Fiorentino.
- Russo F. (1972), *Storia della Chiesa in Calabria dalle origini al Concilio di Trento*, 2 voll., Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino.
- Russo F. (1974–1993), *Regesto Vaticano per la Calabria*, 12 voll., Roma, Gesualdi.
- Russu I.I. (1967), *Limba traco—dacilor*, București, Editura Stiintifica.
- Russu I.I. (1969), *Illirii; istoria, limba și onomastica, romanizarea*, București, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România.
- Sakellariou M.B. (1977), *Peuples préhelléniques d'origine indo-européenne*, Athènes, Ekdotikè Athenon.
- Salway B. (2005), *The nature and genesis of the Peutinger map*, in "Imago mundi" 57, 2, 119–135.
- Santano Moreno J. (2003), *Descendientes de IE *(s)kerb(h)- "torcer" y *kar- "duro" en las lenguas romances y el vasco*, in "Nouvelle revue d'onomastique", n. 41–42, 5–49.
- Santano Moreno J. (2008), *Toponimia preromana italiana. Geni, lingue e popoli*, in *Toponomastica italiana. L'eredità storica e le nuove tendenze*, in "Memorie della Società geografica italiana", 85, 61–80.
- Santoro C. (1984), *Toponomastica messapica*, in "Lingua e storia in Puglia", n. 23, 71–116.
- Sassi M.M. (2009), *Entre corps et lumière: Réflexions antiques sur la nature de la couleur*, in M. Carastro, *L'antiquité en couleurs*, Grenoble, Millon, 277–300.
- Sassi M.M. (2015), *Perceiving Colours*, in D. Murray, P. Destree (eds), *Companion to Ancient Aesthetics*, Oxford, Wiley Blackwell, 262–273.
- Šavli J., Bor M., Tomažič I. (1996), *Veneti: first builders of European Community. Tracing the history and language of early ancestors of Slovenes*, Wien, Editiones Veneti, Boswell, B.C., A. Škerbinc.
- Sayar M.H. (1998), *Perinthos—Herakleia (Marmara Ereli) und Umgebung, Geschichte Testimonien, Griechische und Lateinische Inscriften*, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Scandone P. (1971), *Sulla posizione dei "calcari di Peristeri" (Pindos occidentale. Grecia)*, in "Bollettino della Società dei Naturalisti in Napoli", 80, 11, 139–145.

- Scheer E. (1958), *Lycophronis Alexandra*, vol. 2, Berlin, Weidmann.
- Schipa M. (1895), *La migrazione del nome "Calabria"*, Napoli, Francesco Giannini & Figli.
- Schipa M. (1940), *La migrazione del nome "Calabria"*, in "Rinascenza salentina", A. 8, xvii–xix, 111–137, già in "Archivio Storico delle Province Napoletane", xx, 1 (1895), ed in *Poscritta alla migrazione del nome Calabria*, lettura presso l'Accademia Pontaniana, 2 giugno 1895.
- Schmiedt G. (1967), *Antichi porti d'Italia*, in "L'Universo", 47, 2, 2–44.
- Schrevelius C. (1670), *Lexicon Manuale Graeco—Latinum et Latino—Graecum*, Lugduni Batavorum, Ex Officina Hackiana.
- Schuchardt H. (1907), *Die iberische Deklination*, in "Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse", 157, 1–90.
- Schulze W. (1904), *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, Berlin, Weimannsche.
- Schumacher R.W.M. (1993), *Three Related Sanctuaries of Poseidon*, in Marinatos N., Hägg R. (eds), *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches*, New York, Routledge, 62–87.
- Schweickard W. (1997), *Deonomasticon Italicum A–L*; (2006), F–L; (2009), M–Q, Tübingen, Niemeyer, Berlin, De Gruyter.
- Schwertheim E. (1998), *Gargara, Gargaris*, in Der Neue Pauly, Band 4, Metzler, Stuttgart.
- Schwyzer E. (1939), *Griechische Grammatik*, Erster Band, München, Beck.
- Scicchitano G., Monaco C. (2006), *Grotte carsiche e linee di costa sommerse tra Capo Santa Panagia e Ognina (Siracusa, Sicilia sud-orientale)*, in "Il Quaternario Italian Journal of Quaternary Sciences", 19/2, 187–194.
- Sdao G., Simone A., Vittorini S. (1984), *Osservazioni geomorfologiche su calanchi e biancane in Calabria*, in "Geografia Fisica e Dinamica Quaternaria", 7, 10–16.
- Selleri G., Sansò P., Walsh N. (2003), *The karst of Salento region (Apulia, southern Italy): constraints for management*, in "Acta carsologica", Ljubljana, 2, 19–28.
- Semerano G. (1984), *Le origini della cultura europea*, Firenze, Olschki.
- Semeraro G. (1983), *Otranto dal VI sec. a.C. all'età ellenistica (scavi 1977–1979)*, in "Studi di antichità", 4, 125–212.
- Serafimov P. (2007), *Etymological Analysis of Thracian Toponyms and Hydronyms*, Proceedings of the Fifth International Topical Conference, Origin of Europeans, Jutro, Ljubljana, 134–154.
- Settis S. (2002), *Italia S.p.A. L'assalto al patrimonio culturale*, Collana Gli struzzi n. 554, Torino, Einaudi.
- Settis S. (2003), *Passaggi e paesaggi*, Roma, Donzelli.
- Settis S. (2010), *Paesaggio Costituzione Cemento. La battaglia per l'ambiente contro il degrado civile*, Torino, Einaudi.
- Setton K.M. (1969), *A History of the Crusades: The later Crusades, 1189–1311*, Madison, Milwaukee, London, University of Wisconsin Press.

- Shaw P.J. (2001), *Lords of Hellas, Old Men of the Sea. The Occasion of Simonides' Elegy on Plataea*, in Boedeker D., Sider D. (eds), *The New Simonides: Contexts of Praise and Desire*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 164–181.
- Shipley G. (2011), *Pseudo-Skylax's Periplus, The Circumnavigation of the Inhabited World*, University of Exeter, Bristol Phoenix Press.
- Siciliano A. (2013), *La cosiddetta "mappa di Soletto": aspetti numismatici*, in *L'indagine e la rima. Scritti per Lorenzo Braccesi*, in "Hesperia", 30, Roma, 1253–1288.
- Silvestri D. (2000), *La toponomastica come fonte di conoscenze preistoriche e protostoriche*, in Trumper J.B., Mendicino A., Maddalon M., a cura di, *Toponomastica calabrese*, Roma, Gangemi Editore, 23–43.
- Silvestri D. (2012), *L'Italia prima e oltre Roma. Premesse, storia e destino di un nome*, in "150 anni. L'identità linguistica italiana", Atti del XXXVI Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia, Udine, 27–29 ottobre 2011, Roma, Il Calamo, 29–73.
- Sirago v.A. (1978), *Il principato di Augusto*, Bari, Edizioni Dedalo.
- Sirago v.A. (1980–1987), *Per l'identificazione di Thuriae. Ricerche e Studi*, in "Quaderni del Museo Archeologico Provinciale di Brindisi", 13, 95–104.
- Sirago v.A. (1993), *Puglia romana*, Bari, Edipuglia.
- Skoulatos B. (1980), *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade: Analyse prosopographique et synthèse*, Louvain—la—Neuve, Louvain, Bureau du Recueil Collège Érasme, Nauwelaerts.
- Smyth H.W. (1926), *Aeschylus, Prometheus*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press.
- Sogliani F. (2015), *Paesaggi monastici della Basilicata altomedievale*, in "Il Capitale culturale. Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage", Università di Macerata, Vol. 12, 421–452.
- Sophocles E.A. (1860), *A Glossary of Later and Byzantine*, in "Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences", New Series, Vol. 7, 1–624.
- Sophocles E.A. (1900), *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B. C. 146 to A. D. 1100)*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Spadea R. (1984), *La topografia*, in *Crotone*, Atti del XXIII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto, 7–10 ottobre 1983), Taranto, ISAMG, 119–166.
- Spadea R. (1992), *Note topografiche sulla Polis*, in *Crotone. Storia, cultura, economia*, a cura di F. Mazza, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 91–109.
- Spadea R. (1993), *Crotone fra IV e III sec. a.C.: precisazioni topografiche*, in A. Mele, *Crotone e la sua storia tra IV e III secolo a.C.*, Atti del seminario internazionale, Napoli, 13–14 febbraio 1987, Università degli studi di Napoli "Federico II", Dipartimento di discipline storiche, Centro di Studi per la Magna Grecia, Napoli, 19–34.
- Spadea R. (1994), *Il tesoro di Hera*, in "Bollettino d'Arte", 88, 1–34.
- Spadea R. (1997), *Santuari di Hera a Crotone*, in *Héra. Images, espaces, cultes*. Actes du Colloque International du Centre de Recherches Archéologiques de l'Université de Lille III et de l'Association P.R.A.C. Lille, 29–30 novembre 1993, Naples, Publications du Centre Jean Bérard (<http://books.openedition.org/pcjb/954>), 235–259.

- Spadea R. (2005), *Cirò Marina: la paludi di Punta Alice*, in Settis S., Parra M.C., a cura di, *Magna Graecia. Archeologia di un sapere*, Catalogo della mostra, Catanzaro, 19 giugno–31 ottobre 2005, Catanzaro, Università degli Studi Magna Graecia, Milano, Mondadori Electa.
- Spiro F. (1903), *Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio*, 3 vols., Leipzig, Teubner, Repr. 1967.
- Squillace G. (2007), *Tra Esaro e Neto: il Marchesato Crotonese nel IV Idillio di Teocrito*, in “Quaderni Siberenensi”, IX, 13–30.
- Stanko J. (1987), *Étymologie du Thème Messap*, in “Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja”, 25, 23–30.
- Stoll H.W. (1897), in W.H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1917.
- Stomeo P. (1979), *Lingua e cultura greca nel Salento antico*, in “Studi salentini”, n. LV–LVI, 5–15.
- Strazzulla v. (1899), *Storia ed archeologia di Trotilon, Xiphonia ed altri siti presso Augusta di Sicilia*, in “Atti e Memorie della Società Siciliana per la Storia Patria”, Palermo, Tipografia Lo Statuto, 81–181.
- Stucchi B. (1961), *Kalauria*, in Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Giovanni Treccani, IV, 295–296.
- Stuhlberger C. (2001), *Mining and Environment in the Western Balkans*, Vienna, UNEP.
- Suárez de la Torre E. (1994), *Gli oracoli relativi alla colonizzazione della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia*, in “Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica”, n.s., Vol. 48, No. 3, 7–37.
- Sueref C. (1979), Intervento, in *Salento Arcaico*, Atti del Colloquio Internazionale, Lecce, 5–8 aprile 1979, Galatina, Congedo.
- Sueref C. (1993), *Presupposti della colonizzazione lungo le coste epirote*, in *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité*, II. Actes du 11e colloque international (Clermont-Ferrand 1990), édité par P. Cabanes, Paris, De Boccard, 29–46.
- Svoronos N. (1993), *La vita in villaggio*, in *La civiltà bizantina. Oggetti e messaggio. Architettura e ambiente di vita*, a cura di A. Guillou, Roma, “L'Erma” di Bretschneider, 275–318.
- Tagliavini C. (1972), *Le origini delle lingue neolatine: introduzione alla filologia romanza*, 6^a ed., Bologna, Patron.
- Theotokis G. (2014), *The Norman Campaigns in the Balkans, 1081–1108AD*, Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer.
- Thilo G., Hagen H. (1881), *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii, vol. 1. Aeneidos librorum I–V Commentarii*, Leipzig, Teubner.
- Thomsen R., Monrad A. e P. (1947), *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard invasion*, København, Gyldendal.
- Thornhill P. (2016), *St Alban and the End of Roman Britain*, pre-published work, academia.edu, 96–97 e n. 55.
- Tittmann J.A.H. (1967), *Iohannis Zonarae Lexicon*, 1^a ed. 1808 Lipsiae, Crusius, rist. Amsterdam, Hakkert.

- Tobias N. (1979), *The Tactics and Strategy of Alexius Comnenus at Calavrytae*, 1078, in "Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines", 6, 193–211.
- Toher M. (2017), *Nicolaus of Damascus, The Life of Augustus and The Autobiography*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Tomaschek W. (1886), *Zur Kunde der Hämus—Halbinsel. II. Die Handelswege im 12. Jahrhundert nach den Erkundigungen des Arabers Idrîsî*, in "Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften", 113, 285–373.
- Tovar A. (1977), *Krahes alteuropäische Hydronymie und die westindogermanischen Sprachen*, Heidelberg, Winter.
- Tovar A. (1982), *Die indoeuropäisierung Westeuropas*, Innsbruck, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- Traina G. (1998), *Paludi e bonifiche del mondo antico. Saggio di archeologia geografica*, Roma, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Treadgold W. (1997), *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press.
- Treadgold W. (2013), *The Middle Byzantine historians*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Trincherà F. (1865), *Syllabus Graecarum membranarum*, Neapoli, Typis Josephi Cataneo.
- Trombetti A. (1925), *Le origini della lingua basca*, Bologna, Accademia delle Scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna.
- Trotta M. (2004), *Gargano, un dio gigante tra mondo antico ed età moderna*, in "Archivio Storico Pugliese", LVII, Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia, Bari, 217–259.
- Trumper J.B. (2000), *Alcuni problemi generali di toponomastica calabrese*, in Trumper J.B., Mendicino A., Maddalon M., a cura di, *Toponomastica calabrese*, Roma, Gangemi Editore, 121–160.
- Trumper J.B. (2004), *Greek Naiads amongst the Brettii, Oscan Naiads in Greek colonies: Calabrian hydronymy, a long term perspective and intra-mediterranean comparisons*, in Beriatos E., Rallis G., Livieratos E., *Adrionian: Visions, Echoes, Maps & Routes*, Thessaloniki, ZITI, 42–91.
- Unger G.F. (1877), *Die Isthmientag und die Hyakinthien*, in "Philologus", 37, 34–40.
- Untermann J. (1964), *Die messapischen Personennamen*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
- Urbanova D. (2004), *Messapština*, in "Listy filologické", 127, 102–111.
- Vagnetti L. (1982), *Quindici anni di studi e ricerche sulle relazioni tra il mondo egeo e l'Italia protostorica*, in *Magna Grecia e Mondo Miceneo. Nuovi Documenti*, a cura di L. Vagnetti, Atti XXII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto 7–11 ottobre 1982), Taranto, ISAMG, 7–36.
- Vagnetti L. (1985), *Ceramiche del Tardo Minoico III rinvenute in Italia*, in M. Liverani, A. Palmieri, R. Peroni (a cura di), *Studi di Paletnologia in onore di Salvatore M. Puglisi*, Roma, Università di Roma "La Sapienza", 825–832.

- Vagnetti L. (2003), *The Role of Crete in the Exchanges between the Aegean and the Central Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, in N.Ch. Stampolidis, v. Katageorghis (eds), *Ploes. Sea Routes. Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th–6th c. B.C.* Proceedings of the International Symposium (Rethymnon, Crete, September 29th–October 2nd 2002), Athens, University of Crete and the A.G. Leventis Foundation, 53–61.
- Valente G. (1991), *Dizionario bibliografico, biografico, geografico, storico della Calabria*, Chiaravalle Centrale, Frama.
- Valente N. (2018), *La penisola salentina nelle fonti narrative antiche*, in “Il delfino e la Mezzaluna”, Periodico della Fondazione Terra d’Otranto, v, 6–7, 99–108.
- Valente N. (2020), *Erano Sallentini o Salentini?*, in “Il delfino e la Mezzaluna”, Periodico della Fondazione Terra d’Otranto, <https://www.fondazioneterradotrantano.it/2020/07/01/erano-sallentini-o-salentini/>.
- Van Compernelle R. (1982), *Hydruntum (Otrante) et la pénétration grecque dans la péninsule sallentine*, in *Rayonnement grec*, Hommages à Charles Delvoye, Bruxelles, 103–112.
- Van Compernelle R. (1988), *Les relations entre Grecs et indigènes d’Apulie à l’âge du Bronze*, in “Studi di Antichità” 5, Università di Lecce, Galatina, Congedo, 79–127.
- Van Compernelle Th. (2005), *La mappa di Soletto*, in Orlando M.A. (a cura di), *Le scienze geo-archeologiche e bibliotecarie al servizio della scuola*, Maglie, 19–31.
- Van Windekens A.J. (1976), *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indoeuropéennes*, Louvain, Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.
- Vanoli A. (2016), *La Sicilia Musulmana*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Velić I. (2007), *Stratigraphy and palaeobiogeography of Mesozoic Benthic foraminifera of the Karst Dinarides (SE Europe)*, in “Geologia Croatica”, 60(1), 1–113.
- Velkov v. (1983), *Ancient Settlements in Thrace*, in “Journal of Indo-European Studies”, 11, 194–216.
- Velkova Ž. (1967), *Die thrakische Sprachreste, Bibliographischer Anzeiger 1852–1965*, in “Linguistique Balkanique”, 12, 155–184.
- Velkova Ž. (1972), *Die thrakische Sprachreste, Bibliographischer Anzeiger 1966–1970*, in “Linguistique Balkanique”, 16, 1, 55–63.
- Vennemann T. (2003), *Europa Vasconica—Europa Semitica*, ed. P.N.A. Hanna, Part 1, Berlin–New York, Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ventris M., Chadwick J. (1959 [1956]), *Documents in Mycenaean Greek, Three Hundred Selected Tablets from Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae, with Commentary and Vocabulary*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Vian F. (1944), *Les Géants de la mer*, in “Revue Archéologique”, 22, 97–117.
- Villar F. (1991), *Los indoeuropeos y los orígenes de Europa. Lengua y historia*, Madrid, Gredos.
- Villar F. (1996 [1991]), *Los indoeuropeos y los orígenes de Europa. Lengua y historia*, 11 ed. corregida y muy aumentada, Madrid, Gredos.

- Villar F. (1997), *Gli indoeuropei e le origini dell'Europa. Lingua e storia*, trad. it., Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Villar F. (2014), *Indoeuropeos, iberos, vascos y sus parientes: estratigrafía y cronología de las poblaciones prehistóricas*, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.
- Villar F. et al. (2011), *Lenguas, genes y culturas en la prehistoria de Europa y Asia suroccidental*, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.
- Visalli v. (1991), *Calabria antica: studi storici e corografici*, Cosenza, Brenner.
- Visentin M. (1992), *La vergine e l'eroe. Temesa e la leggenda di Euthymos di Locri*, Bari, Edipuglia.
- Vocino M. (1914), *Lo Sperone d'Italia. Note e disegni*, Roma, Scotti.
- Vogel F., Fischer K.T. (1888–1906), *Diodori bibliotheca historica*, 5 vols., 3rd edn. Leipzig, Teubner, Repr. 1964.
- Völker M.E. (1887), *Rhintonis fragmenta*, Lipsia, Halis Saxonum.
- Von Wartburg W. (1922), *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Eine Darstellung des galloromanischen Sprachschatzes*, Bonn und Leipzig, Kurt Schroeder.
- Waser O. (1884–1937), *Tainaros*, in Roscher W.H., ed., *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vols. I–VI, Leipzig–Berlin, Teubner, vol. 5, 8–14.
- Welter G. (1941), *Troizen und Kalaureia*, Berlin, Mann.
- Whitby M. (1989), *Chronicon Paschale 284–628AD*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press.
- Wide S. (1893), *Lakonische Kulte*, Leipzig, Teubner.
- Wide S., Kjellberg L. (1895), *Ausgrabungen auf Kalaureia*, in “Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung”, xx, 267–326.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff U. Von (1896), *Die Amphiktionie von Kalaurea*, in “Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen”, Phil.—hist. Kl., 158–170.
- Wilkinson J.G. (1848), *Dalmatia and Motenegro*, London, Murray.
- Williams T.C. (1910), *Vergil, Aeneid*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co.
- Winter W. (1952), *Hans Krahe: Ortsnamen als Geschichtsquelle; Sprachwissenschaft im alten Europa*, in “Language”, 28, 269–272.
- Wünsch R. (1898), *Ioannis Lydii Liber de Mensibus*, Leipzig, Teubner.
- Wyse T. (1865), *An Excursion in the Peloponnesos in the Year 1858*, London, Day & Son.
- Zancani Montuoro P. (1974), *I due Esaro*, in “La Parola del Passato”, xxix, 70–80.
- Zanusso v. (2017), *Traduzione, introduzione e note al De fluviis*, in E. Lelli, G. Pisani (eds), *Plutarco, Tutti i Moralia*, Milano, Bompiani, 2230–2259.
- Zsolt S. (2016), *The etymology of Hittite—Luwian gurtā-*, AION Linguistica 5, Università di Napoli “L'Orientale”, 189–203.

Index of Places

- Abydon (Iapygia) 6
Adrianople 38
Adriatic Sea 10, 11, 26, 32, 40, 50, 58, 68, 77,
80–81, 83–84, 86–88, 102–104, 123–124,
128–129, 131
Africa 18, 109
Agurium 73
Aisetà River 109
Akören 36, 38, 41, 65
Alaibria 36, 65, 76
Aletium (Alezio) 14
Alexandria 54
Alimati (Santa Severina, Kr) 44
Aliste 99
Allaro River 46
Aloros (Thrace) 70–71
Altilia di Santa Severina (Kr) 42, 44–45, 115,
130
Anastasian Wall 36
Ancona 11, 32
Ancurium 73
Andros Channel 26, 92
Anthedon (Euboea) 52
Apennines (Mountains) 40, 50, 77, 132
Apollonia (Epirus) 9
Apulia 6, 9–12, 14–18, 32, 49–51, 57–58,
70, 74, 77, 81, 86, 94–95, 104, 123, 131–
132
Argolis 91, 93
Armìrò (Santa Severina Kr) 44
Asia 73
Asia Minor 67, 70–72, 74
Astibria 36, 65, 76
Astura 73
Athos (Mount) 27, 69, 88
Athyra (Thrace) 33
Aturia (Hispania) 74
Avellino 16
Azoros (Thrace) 70–71

Baeturia (Spain) 72, 74
Balboura (Lycia) 71
Barium (Bari) 14
Basilicata 16
Bausta (Vaste), 14
Bay of Kotor 83

Benevento 11, 16, 18–19, 32
Beroea 65
Biferno River 16
Black Sea 40
Boeotia 52, 71, 94, 117
Boiura (Bavaria) 72
Bolbabria 36, 65, 76
Bradano River 16
Brea 65, 68
Bria 65, 68, 76, 129
Briula 65
Brundisium 5–7, 9–12, 14–18, 50–51, 67, 79–
80, 106, 131

Cacyrum 73
Calabria 5, 9–10, 12–21, 23, 30, 32–34, 42–
43, 46, 54, 57, 59, 71–72, 79, 99, 104–105,
109, 115, 118–119, 121, 130, 132
Calabromaria (Monastery) 42–46, 130
Calagurris 61
Calanchi delle Murge 79
Calanchi del Marchesato 111, 120
Cales 62
Calimera 99
Calolaura 111
Camarina 11, 32
Campolongo 108
Cantabria 77–78, 129, 132
Canterbury 19, 21
Canusium 16
Cape Cimiti (Crotone) 14, 102–104, 116
Cape D'Armi 127–128
Cape Geraistos (Euboea) 25, 90, 92–93, 104
Cape Iapygia 7, 10, 12, 14, 62, 83, 124, 127–
128
Cape Karambis (Paphlagonia) 40
Cape Lacinium (Crotone) 12, 14, 19, 80, 82,
102–121, 124–125, 127–129, 131
Cape Le Castella (Crotone) 14, 102, 103–105,
108, 111, 116, 119–120
Cape Leucata 127–128
Cape Malea 92, 104
Cape Matapan 90, 94
Cape Misenum 19
Cape Rizzuto (Crotone) 14, 102–104, 109,
114, 116, 125

- Cape Santa Maria di Leuca 6–7, 10, 19, 50,
 67, 77, 80, 86, 102, 106, 108, 123, 127–
 128
 Cape Sunium (Attica) 5, 7, 92, 111
 Cape Tainaron 90, 92–93, 104
 Capora (Thrace) 70–71
 Carad (Ireland) 63
 Cáralis/Cagliari (Italy) 63
 Carantó (Spain) 63
 Carbina 54
 Carbone (Càlvera Pz) 47
 Carinthia 86
 Carisa (Spain) 63
 Carranza (Spain) 63
 Carranzo (Spain) 63
 Carrara (Italy) 63
 Carron (Great Britain) 63
 Carso 64, 85–86, 88, 119, 129
 Cart Water (Great Britain) 63
 Carusai (Italy) 63
 Cary (Great Britain) 63
 Casale di Calabrò (Mileto, Vv) 46, 115, 130
 Cassianum 19
 Castrum Minervae 15, 31
 Catalonia 63
 Ceglie Messapica 10
 Ceniuria (Gallia) 74
 Cersosimo (Càlvera Pz) 47
 Chabrias River 27
 Chalchtis 99
 Chalcis (Euboea) 99
 Chalkidiki Peninsula 27, 69, 88
 Chandane (Iapygia) 6
 Chaonia 53
 Charadra (Phocis, Epirus) 96
 Charadra torrent (Phocis, Messenia,
 Argolides) 96
 Charante (France) 63
 Charentonne (France) 63
 Cher (France) 63
 Chiers (Belgium) 63
 Cillabro River 27
 Clevora (Thrace) 70–71
 Consentia 19
 Constantinople 17, 19, 33, 36
 Corcyra 12, 90, 110, 123–125, 127–129
 Corcyra Melaina 86, 91, 129
 Cortona (Etruria) 117
 Cossura 73
 Crati River 18–19, 23
 Crete 24, 31, 50, 52, 71, 91, 93, 105, 117, 124
 Crimisa 15, 112–113, 122
 Croatia 50
 Croton 6, 12, 15, 19, 23, 42–44, 53, 80, 82, 97,
 102–118, 120–125, 127–131
 Cutro 111, 113, 114
 Cynuria (Graecia) 74

 Dacia 59
 Dardania 23, 26, 50, 58, 88, 115, 129
 Daunia 16
 Dinarides 86
 Drilon River 26

 Ebdomon (Thrace) 33
 Egnazia 10, 16, 53
 Einad River 109
 Eisa River 109
 Eloros (Thrace) 70–71
 Epidauros 72
 Epirus 49–50, 53, 81, 86, 90, 96
 Erasinus River 47
 Eretria 82, 123, 132
 Esaro River (Crotone) 15, 103, 105–106, 108
 Esaro River (Sibari) 3, 109
 Euboea 25–26, 52, 71, 90, 92, 99, 124
 Europe 63, 70, 73–74, 85, 109

 Falacro 127–128
 Fano 11, 32
 Fener 36, 38, 41, 65
 Foresta di Strongoli (Crotone) 102

 Gabella (Crotone) 15
 Gala 61
 Galadrai, Galadros (Macedonia) 96
 Galaisos River 96
 Galatina 99
 Galatone 99
 Galeras 61
 Galga 61
 Galguen 61
 Gallipoli 14, 96, 98–99, 101, 114, 132
 Galugnano 99
 Ganges River 28, 40
 Gargano Peninsula 6, 68, 77, 79–81, 84–86,
 89, 119, 124, 129, 131, 132
 Gargar (Friulian place name) 86

- Gargaron (Aeolia) 86
 Gargaron (Epirus) 86
 Garsaoura (Cappadocia) 71
 Gaul 40
 Gazoros (Thrace) 70–71
 Geosito dell'Alto Crotonese 43, 120
 Gorthyna (Crete) 117
 Gortynia (Macedonia) 117
 Grotteria (Locri) 30–31
 Gulf of Tarentum 10–12, 14, 19, 23, 32, 62, 80,
 83, 94, 96, 98, 102, 104, 108–109, 113–115,
 117, 124–125, 129, 131
 Gyrtynne (Thessaly) 117
- Halmyros River 32, 37, 38, 41
 Hapurija (Anatolia) 74
 Harste (Germany) 63
 Harund (Scandinavia) 63
 Hērakleia (Thrace) 36, 37, 38, 39, 41
 Hippurius (Anatolia) 74
 Hipurija (Anatolia) 74
 Hiria Phlaouia (Iberia) 71
 Horrea (Epirus) 71
 Hortiatis (Mount) 27
 Hrakleion (Iapygia) 105
 Hydruntum 10, 14, 16–17, 19, 72, 80, 82, 102,
 106, 113, 123–124, 130–132
 Hyria (Naxos) 71
 Hyria (Paros) 71
 Hyrie (Cilicia) 71
 Hyrie (Euboea-Boeotia) 71
 Hyrie (Zakynthos) 71
 Hyrion 10
- Iapygia 5–7, 10, 14–16, 50–53, 55, 58, 67–68,
 77, 80, 86, 102, 104–105, 113, 117, 131–132
 Iberian Peninsula 58
 Iletia (Thessaly) 72
 Ilibirris (Spain) 72
 Ilion (Troy) 72
 Ilisus (Attica) 72
 Illyria 26, 31, 48–49, 53, 68, 72, 81, 88, 96,
 123, 129, 131–133
 Ilonse (Saint-Sauveur, Provence) 72
 Ilurija (Anatolia) 74
 India 28–29, 85, 109
 Indus River 28, 40
 Ionian Sea 9, 15, 19, 23, 90, 97, 109, 124–125,
 127–129
- Irasa (Libya) 71
 Iria (Liguria) 71
 Iria, vicus Iriae (Voghera) 71
 Iromos (Caria) 71
 Irpinia 16
 Isa River 109
 Isar River 109
 Isara River 109
 Isaura (Isauria) 71
 Isen River 109
 Ishashurija (Anatolia) 74
 Isna River 109
 Isola Capo Rizzuto 114
 Italy 40, 50–53, 55, 57, 59, 63–64, 70, 73, 82–
 83, 86, 88, 105, 109–110, 122, 124, 128,
 130
- Jerusalem 71
- Kalabantia (Lycia) 62
 Kalabria 5–11, 13, 17–20, 25–27, 29, 31–34,
 36, 40–43, 45–46, 48, 53–54, 62, 64–65,
 68–69, 75–79, 86–88, 95–96, 98–99,
 113, 116, 119, 124–125, 127, 129, 130–
 133
 Kalabros River 22–23, 97, 109, 115, 130
 Kalabrye (Thrace) 32–36
 Kalauras (Càlvera PZ) 34, 47, 115, 130
 Kalauria (Island) 23–26, 29, 90–93, 96, 99–
 100, 115, 131–132
 Kalauria (Syracuse) 29–30
 Kalauros (Mount) 27, 69, 88, 115
 Kalavrita 47
 Kales (Bithynia) 62
 Kallipolis (Aetolia) 98
 Kallipolis (Bosphorus) 98
 Kallipolis (Halkidiki peninsula) 98
 Kallipolis (Karia) 98
 Kallipolis (Mysia) 98
 Kallipolis (Sicily) 98
 Kallipolis (Thracian Chersonese) 98
 Kalpe (Bithynia) 62
 Kalpe (Mount) 62
 Kalpe Tartessida (Guadalquivir River) 62
 Kalydna (Thebes) 61
 Karbina 99
 Karystos (Euboea) 90
 Kastalia Spring 72
 Kasurija (Anatolia) 74

- Katsika (Mount) 27, 88
 Kēdoktu (Silivri) 38
 Kelenderis (Cilicia) 62
 Kelenderis (Troezen) 25, 62, 91
 Kombreia 65, 76
 Korinthos (Peloponnese) 117
 Kosovo 26, 50, 88, 115, 129
 Kyrtone (Boeotia) 117
- Laconia 25, 52, 90, 92–94
 Lainus 19
 Lake Prasiad 74
 Lakmon Mount 120
 Land of the Bruttii 5, 17–21, 32, 42, 115, 130,
 132
 Latium 32
 Latymnon 111
 Laure (Crotona) 110
 Lecce (Rudiae, Loupia) 9, 10, 14, 55, 85
 Leontini 29
 Lesbos 26, 52, 92, 94
 Lese River 42–45
 Leucopetra (Rhegium) 82, 127–128
 Leucopetra Tarentinorum 127–128
 Liguria (Italia) 74
 Limnobia 36, 65, 76
 Lipuda River 121
 Locris (Greece) 52
 Locris 15, 17, 30, 31, 108, 125
 Loggibardia 17
 Loussi 47
 Lucania 7, 9, 11, 14, 17, 19, 32, 34, 46, 95, 115,
 118, 127, 130
 Lugdunum 117
 Lyka Spring 22
- Macedonia 26–27, 52, 65, 69, 72, 88, 96,
 117
 Madonna di Mare (Crotona) 102
 Manduria 10, 67, 73, 74, 76, 78, 129
 Marchesato (Crotona) 43, 44, 111, 113–114,
 120, 121
 Mastaura (Lydia) 71
 Menebria 36, 65, 76
 Menekine (Mendicino) 119
 Menturio (Hispania) 74
 Mesagne 10
 Mesembria 36, 40, 65, 67, 74, 76, 129
 Mesima River 46
- Messapeai (Laconia) 52
 Messapia 5–7, 10–13, 16, 27, 48, 50–53, 55,
 57–58, 67–68, 72, 75, 77–81, 85–86, 94–
 95, 98–99, 102, 105–106, 113, 115, 117, 125,
 127, 129, 131–132
 Messapion (Mount) 52
 Messina 19
 Metapa 95
 Metapontum 10, 23, 95, 97, 105, 115, 130
 Metubarbis 96
 Metulum 96
 Milkoros (Thrace) 70–71
 Mysia 26, 32, 65, 74, 86
 Montenegro 86
 Motta di Cirò (Crotona) 102
 Murge Salentine 58, 79–81
 Mycenae 53
- Nahuriya (Anatolia) 74
 Neapolis 15
 Neretum (Nardò) 14, 15
 Neto River 15, 42–45, 103, 111, 114, 116, 121–
 122
 Nevoso Mount 49
 Nikà River 108
 Nile River 40
- Ofanto River 16
 Olympia 32, 34, 95, 130
 Oreta River (Corsica) 72
 Orethus River (Sicily) 72
 Orgon (Provence) 71
 Oria 10, 14, 50, 67, 68, 70, 72, 78, 129
 Orinos River (Sicily) 72
 Oriundis River (Illyria) 72
 Orontios (Illyria) 72
 Orretum River (Iberia) 72
 Ostia 18
 Ostuni 10, 14
 Our River (Luxembourg) 72
 Oureton (Oria?) 14
- Pampylia (Anatolia) 71
 Papazli (Çanta Fatih-Silivri) 36
 Passovecchio (Crotona) 15
 Peak Alice (Crimisa) 15, 122, 103, 116
 Peonia 26
 Petelia 15, 31, 122
 Petralona Caves 27, 88

- Peucetia 8, 16
 Phrygia 36, 65, 68, 76, 98, 131
 Poltymbria 40, 74
 Presila 111
 Punta Stilo 125
 Pylos 23–24, 91, 95–97, 111, 115

 Reggio Calabria 16, 19, 20, 34, 46, 127–128
 Remuria (Italia) 73–74
 Rhegion (Thrace) 33
 Roca Vecchia (Melendugno) 9, 68
 Rome 9, 12, 16, 18, 20, 32

 Sakurija (Anatolia) 74
 Salento Peninsula 5–6, 8–19, 22, 31–32, 42, 48–51, 55, 57–58, 62, 67–68, 72, 75–82, 84–85, 91, 94–96, 98–99, 101–102, 104, 106, 108, 113–115, 122–123, 129–133
 Salerno 46
 Saline di Neto 43–45
 San Cataldo (Otranto) 9
 Santa Severina (Kr) 42, 44, 46, 115, 119, 130
 Sardinia 18, 58, 63, 72
 Saronic Gulf 24, 29, 52, 90–91, 93, 99, 131
 Sauria (Satyrion, Saturo) 67, 76, 78, 129
 Savuto River 18–19
 Scheria 90
 Scylletium 14
 Sea of Marmara 36, 38–39, 41
 Selymbria 36–41, 65, 74, 76, 115, 129
 Serre Salentine 58, 79–80, 99
 Siberine (Santa Severina-Kr) 119
 Sicilian Sea 7, 102, 125, 131
 Sicily 5, 18, 29, 32, 50, 63, 72, 98, 105, 110, 124–126, 128, 133
 Sila 43
 Silivri 36, 38, 41, 65, 88, 130
 Siritides 53
 Skadabria 74
 Soletto 54
 Sombria 65, 76
 Spain 58, 63, 72, 78, 129
 Stilaro River 46
 Subura 74
 Suhurija (Anatolia) 74
 Sybaris (Cavallino) 15

 Sybaris 23, 97, 108, 109, 114–115, 130
 Sybaris River 22, 23, 109
 Syracuse 5, 29–30, 110, 115, 124–125

 Tacina River 103, 109, 116, 121
 Tapuria (Gallia) 74
 Tarentum 5–7, 10–11, 14–17, 19, 23, 48, 50–51, 54–57, 67, 94, 97–99, 102, 105, 125, 132
 Tarporon (Thrace) 70–71
 Taskurija (Anatolia) 74
 Tauriana 17, 19
 Taurides (Scythia) 5, 7
 Temesa 5, 19, 22–23, 97, 109, 115, 130
 Thera (Island) 8, 9
 Thessaloniki 27, 88
 Thestoros (Thrace) 70–71
 Thrace 26, 36, 38, 41, 43, 46, 65–67, 71–72, 74, 76, 115, 131
 Thurium 17, 19
 Tilurius (Dalmatia) 74
 Timpa del Salto (Altilia di Santa Severina, Kr) 43–45
 Tragurium (Dalmatia) 68
 Tropea 17, 19
 Troy 26–27, 69, 72, 88, 92
 Tugurias (Moesia Superior) 74
 Tyrrhenian Sea 18, 23, 104, 109

 Una River 49
 Ur (Mesopotamia) 71
 Uravus River (Lower Pyrenees) 72
 Urgo/Orgo (Corsica/Etruria) 71
 Uri (Switzerland) 71
 Uri Stream (Sardinia) 72
 Uria (Aetolia) 74
 Uria (Calabria) 71
 Uria (Campania, Apulia) 74
 Uria (Hispania) 74
 Uria Stream (Calabria) 72
 Uria/Orina 73
 Urias 73
 Uritanus ager 73
 Urium (Hispania) 74
 Urma (Lower Pyrenees) 72
 Uruk (Mesopotamia) 73
 Uzentum (Ugento) 14, 56

 Valeso 10, 14
 Vallina (Càlvera PZ) 47

- Venusia 16
Veretum (Vereto), 14, 50, 67, 68, 127
Verurium (Hispania) 74
Via Egnatia 36
Vibona (Vibo Valentia) 17, 19
Vinturius (Gallia) 74
Volsinii (Orvieto) 27–28, 78, 115
- Vouraikos River 47
Vrica 102, 107, 111, 113, 120
Yolçati (Geliwrî or Kalivri) 36, 38, 41, 65
Zakynthos 114
Zimurija (Anatolia) 74

This book focuses on Kalabria as an ancient land of Italy from its origin to the early Middle Ages. The place name referred to the Salento peninsula, also called Messapia, as part of present-day Puglia and later to the land of the *Bruttii*, now the region of Calabria. This work is the first to carefully evaluate linguistic and historical studies in a comprehensive and monographic form. Following an interdisciplinary approach, the systematic combination of Linguistics and Landscape History guides the research step by step. The sample represents a new significant methodological instance that merges Toponymy, History, Archaeology, Topography, and Philology.

FRANCESCO LOPEZ (1970), University of Pisa (Italy), is a Ph.D. of History of Science at that university (2014) and a specialist in Linguistics and Classical Philology. He has published monographs and many articles on ancient medicine, including *Democede di Croton e Udjahorresnet di Saïs* (Pisa University Press, 2015).

ISBN 978-90-04-54776-6



9

789004 547766

ISSN 2667-3770

BRILL.COM/ALAC