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Pisidian toponymy: Method and results

Lauriane Locatelli

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Annick Payne / Šárka Velhartická /
Jorit Wintjes (eds)

Beyond All Boundaries

Anatolia in the First Millennium BC

BEYOND ALL BOUNDARIES

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edited by

Annick Payne, Šárka Velhartická and Jorit Wintjes

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PISIDIAN TOPONYMY

Method and results

Lauriane Locatelli

Abstract: This paper focuses on Pisidian toponymy and ethnonymy and the persistence of Anatolian languages in the toponymy of the region. Toponymy and ethnonymy tell us much about territorial control of individual settlements, whether they be Anatolian or of exogenous (mainly Greek and Roman) origin. Indeed, by identifying the language used to create a place name or ethnonym, we learn more about the region. Most of the names in the corpus are attested in Greek, but they are often explained by Anatolian languages because the place name survives the language that gave birth to it. I will explain the method which enabled us to study the 87 names contained in the corpus: source collection, analysis and conclusion. Three examples of Pisidian toponyms will illustrate my approach. I will then present the results thus obtained, in the form of a toponymic panorama, comprising a linguistic and a semantic classification of the toponyms according to the semantic repository (water, relief, vegetation, etc.).

Keywords: Pisidia, Anatolian languages, onomastics, toponymy, Asia Minor, methodology, linguistics

INTRODUCTION

Pisidia, the mountainous region that was home to the famous Pisidians, is located in south-western Asia Minor. Both green and rocky, this country features several lakes as well as numerous rivers criss-crossing the land. Thanks to its inland position and terrain, Pisidia, more so than its neighbours, was able to resist foreign domination and preserve its cultural and linguistic wealth. Its position gave it the role of linguistic and therefore cultural conservator, since language conveys culture.

Since Pisidia has not been fully excavated, the toponyms provided by Greek sources are rare vestiges of the language spoken in this region

in the 1st millennium BCE. It is all the more relevant to study toponyms as they are also markers of culture and identity. Place names provide information such as the language used to form the place name and, at the same time, the aspect of the place that was considered distinctive by the speakers, because a place name is first and foremost an identifier.

The aim of this paper is to elucidate the underlying Anatolian culture still present in the Pisidian toponyms of the Greco-Roman period and to study the proportion of Anatolian toponyms and what that implies. We need to look for the origin of the place names and ethnonyms of Pisidia in the Anatolian languages. And we need to look for the meaning of these names, as this allows us not only to study their distribution according to their origin, but also to understand what these place names tell us about the Hellenization of Pisidia. This paper aims to demonstrate that, in ancient Pisidia, toponymy reflected territorial control. Even though this is not a new idea in itself, this is the first study of its kind in the context of ancient Pisidia.

Names, as linguistic elements produced by human beings, carry the vision of speakers of the language in question, and may also represent an object named. The naming process in toponymy differs from the naming process in anthroponymy because an anthroponym is sometimes given as a talisman, an omen: the mental representation precedes the existence of the characteristics of the person. On the other hand, for toponymy, the place precedes the naming process and the place name is more an identifier than anything else. The name designates, identifies and singles out the place to which it refers. The purpose of the toponym is to isolate and distinguish a place.

1 METHODOLOGY

For my onomastic investigation, I first created a toponymic corpus. In order for it to be both manageable and representative, my corpus includes the names of urban settlements, ethnonyms, hydronyms and oronyms, while excluding the names of villages (the κώμαι). All Pisidian toponyms attested in numismatic, epigraphic and literary sources are collected in order to establish a list of names of urban agglomerations, ethnonyms, hydronyms and oronyms, forming a corpus composed of 87 names. The first sources taken into consideration were numismatic sources. An initial list of 42 names was put together with the names of

cities that issued money. Then, the corpus was expanded to include 30 additional city names attested in literary sources (such as Strabo, Ptolemy, Livy, etc.). These 30 additional names contain oronyms, lake names (these being absent from numismatic sources), as well as additional city names. Regarding river names, the results vary: while the rivers of the hinterland are present through river-gods in numismatic sources, this is not the case for the rivers of the Lycio-Pisidian confines, which are to be found only in literary sources. Only coastal rivers are attested in both numismatic and literary sources. In addition to this, 15 names are attested only in epigraphic sources: these are ethnonyms and names of small urban settlements.

Next, data relating to each name was collected: the location (possible correspondence with a modern city, GPS coordinates), the environment (topography, geological characteristics) and the literary, numismatic, epigraphic and archaeological attestations. I have provided new translations of the literary passages of interest. Once the sources were collected, I established the date of the oldest attestation and the reference spelling. For this purpose, numismatic sources were considered more reliable than epigraphic and literary sources, because they include the official name and the document can often be dated.

Regarding the origin and etymology of the place name, I also considered previous hypotheses. The analysis of each place name was conducted using secondary literature and dictionaries¹ to determine the language in which the place name was created and to find the meaning of the name, but also the reason for choosing that name.

I also established correspondences concerning the notation of Anatolian names using the Greek alphabet, since most of the names appear in Greek sources. In the case of Hittite and Greek, we are dealing with two close but different phonological systems. Furthermore, as well as these different phonological systems, Hittite and Greek have different writing systems. For names of Hittite or Luwian origin – languages which used a graphic system based on a syllabary – alphabetic notation presents certain issues. As far as vowels are concerned, there is no full consensus as yet about the “plene writing”, accent and vowel quality or quantity in Hittite. While Greek has *eta* and *omega* to denote long vowels, in Hittite no clear distinction is made in writing. We are not fully aware of the rules concerning the length of vowels according to their

1 del Monte/Tischler 1978; Zgusta 1984; Tischler 2001; Kloekhorst 2008; Beekes 2010; Tischler/Vanséveren 2016.

Hittite	Greek	Examples
a	α	<i>Ariya</i> > Ἀριασσός <i>Aska</i> > Ἄσκανία <i>ḫapa</i> > Καβαλεῖς <i>Kattanna</i> > Κατεννεῖς
a + 2 consonants	ε	<i>Kastaraya</i> > Κέστρος <i>salḫ-</i> > Σέλγη <i>tarma</i> > Τερμησός
ḫ	γ	<i>salḫ-</i> > Σέλγη <i>ruḫla</i> > Πῶγλα
i	ι	<i>tittiya</i> > Τιτυασσός
iy	ι	<i>Ariya</i> > Ἀριασσός <i>wiyana</i> > Υἷα
k	κ	<i>Aska</i> > Ἄσκανία <i>Kastaraya</i> > Κέστρος
l	λ	<i>lahpa</i> > Λαγβυ <i>Milu</i> > Μιλυάς
m	μ	<i>Muwa-</i> > Μοατρα <i>tarmi-</i> > Τερμησός
n	ν	<i>Watanna</i> > Ἐτεννα
p (initial position)	π	<i>Paddaniyasa</i> > Πεδνηλισσός
P (inner position)	β	<i>-pura</i> > Ἀνάβουρα <i>lahpa</i> > Λαγβυ <i>ḫapa-</i> Καβαλεῖς
r	ρ	<i>Ariya</i> > Ἀριασσός <i>tarma</i> > Τερμησός
s	ς	<i>salḫ-</i> > Σέλγη <i>Kastaraya</i> > Κέστρος
t	τ	<i>Kastaraya</i> > Κέστρος
t	δ	<i>Attatar</i> > Ἄδαδα

Hittite	Greek	Examples
tt and dd	δ	<i>Attatar</i> > Ἄδαδα <i>Kutt-</i> > Κοδρουλα <i>Paddaniyasa</i> > Πεδηλισσός
u	ο	<i>kudra</i> > Κοδρουλα <i>Hurma</i> > Κόρμασα <i>Muwa</i> > Μοατρα
	ου	<i>-pura</i> > Ἀνάβουρα <i>Mula</i> > Μουλασσεις <i>Ura</i> > Ουραμμα
	ω	<i>puhla</i> > Πῶγλα
	υ	<i>Milu</i> > Μιλιάς <i>Tuna</i> > Τυναδα
w	υ	<i>wiyana</i> > Υια
	ϕ	<i>Watanna</i> > ϕΈτεννα <i>Muwa</i> > Μοφατρα

Fig. 1. Correspondence of graphemes between Hittite and Greek.

position. Whereas Greek distinguishes several graphemes for /o/ and /u/ in writing, namely ο, ου, ω, υ, Hittite only has the vowel u – it is not known whether ú could represent /o/. Greek, like Hittite, features occlusive consonants. However, the interpretation of occlusives in Hittite is controversial, because the Hittite signs are ambiguous. Some scholars assume that there is no distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants in Hittite, as there is in Greek, for example. A distinction is rather made between strong (*fortis*) and soft (*lenis*) consonants – double spelling denotes a strong (*fortis*) consonant, whereas single spelling denotes a soft (*lenis*) consonant. Greek is one of the few Indo-European languages with aspirated consonants – vestiges of Indo-European. In Greek, there are aspirated consonants, such as *phi*, *theta* or *khi*, whereas equivalents do not seem to exist in Hittite. The graphic system of Greek contains double consonants like *zeta*, *xi* and *psi*. The Anatolian

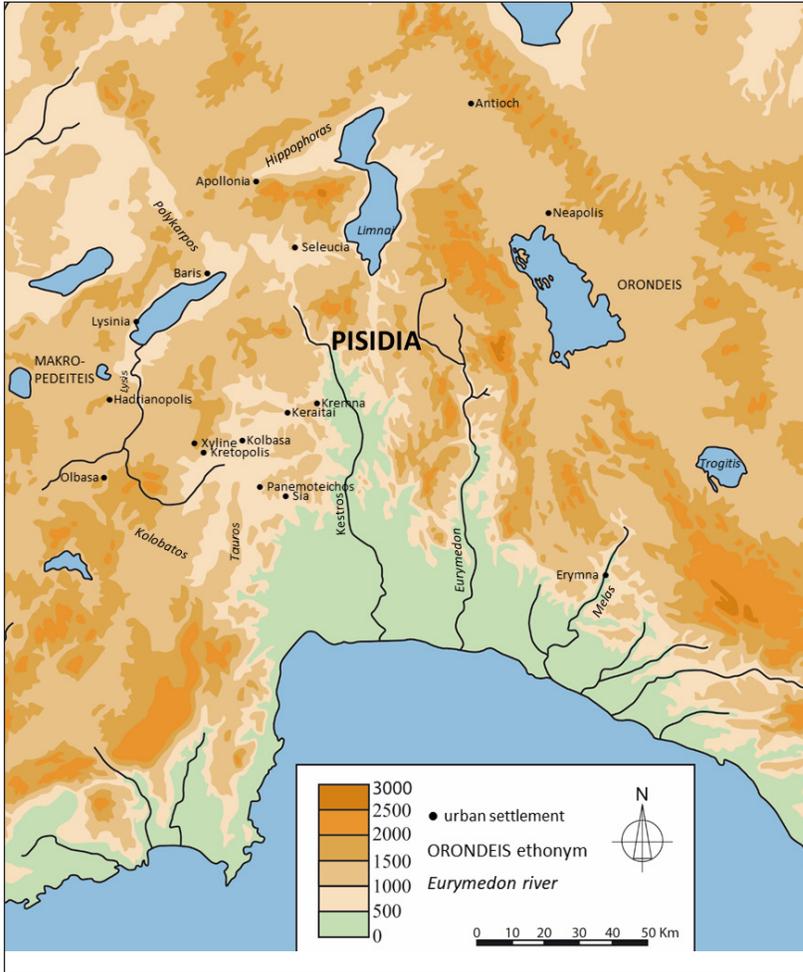


Fig. 2. Spatial distribution of toponyms of Greek origin.

names of my corpus written in Greek are written using only 18 of the 24 Greek letters. The letters *zeta*, *theta*, *xi*, *phi*, *khi* and *psi* are not used in the transcription of Pisidian toponyms of Anatolian origin into Greek.

The credibility of the linguistic analysis has been verified through comparison with the topography of each place, so as to check whether the meaning of the proposed place name can be applied to the place to which it refers, according to the topography of each place and its context. The goal was to figure out the topography at the time of the creation of the toponym, taking into consideration changes in the land-

scape, and to determine whether the name permits clear identification of the place as well as its location in space, this being after all the main purpose of place names. To conclude the study, it was necessary to distinguish between names about which we are certain, those for which we can offer a probable hypothesis, and those which remain obscure.

For each name, the following elements are provided: the reference spelling, the location and the data relating to the identification of the site, the various attestations and the translations of the literary sources; and finally the etymology heading, featuring any hypotheses previously proposed as well as new hypotheses and supporting arguments.

2 RESULTS: TOPONYMIC PANORAMA

The comparison of typological, linguistic and semantic classifications highlights the type of names most frequently attested, the proportion of names of Anatolian origin compared to the names of Greek origin, and different semantic categories. The typological classification is the following: oronyms, hydronyms, choronyms, ethnonyms and names of urban settlements. There are 3 oronyms, 17 hydronyms, 2 choronyms, 9 ethnonyms and 56 names of urban settlements.

The names of places related to human activity are, therefore, more numerous than place names related to the natural environment: the latter represent less than a quarter of the names of the corpus (23%). 20 out of a total of 87 names refer to the natural environment (3 names of cities and 17 hydronyms) while 67 out of 87 names designate inhabited places (56 names of urban settlements, 9 ethnonyms and 2 choronyms).

The linguistic classification is more subjective, because it relies less on typological classification than on an understanding of place names. In terms of language ranking, my corpus has: 39 names of Anatolian origin,² 28 names of Greek origin,³ 3 names of Semitic origin,⁴ 2 names

2 Adada, Alassos, Anaboura, Andeda, Ariassos, Arimmatta, Askania, Etenna, Hyia, Isinda, the Kabaleis, Kabalitis, the Kestros, Kodroula, Kolbasa, Komama, Kormasa, Kotenna, Lagbe, Malos, Milyas, Moatra, Moulasseis, Ouramma, Parlais, Pernelissos, Pitassa, Pogla, Sagalassos, Sanantarwa, Sandalion, Selge, Selgics Mountains, Sinda, Tarbassos, Termessos, the Tioulos, Tityassos and Tynada.

3 The Anthios, Antioch, Apollonia, Dyrzela, Erymna, the Eurymedon, Hadrianopolis, the Hippophoras, Keraitai, Kremna, Kretopolis, the Kolobatos, Limnai, Lysinia, the Lysis, Makropedeiteis, the Melas, Neapolis, Olbasa, Ormeleis, Panemoteichos, Perminoundeis, Pisidia, the Polykarpos, Seleucia, Sia, Trogitis and Xylene.

4 Kibyrates, Mount Solyma, Solyms.

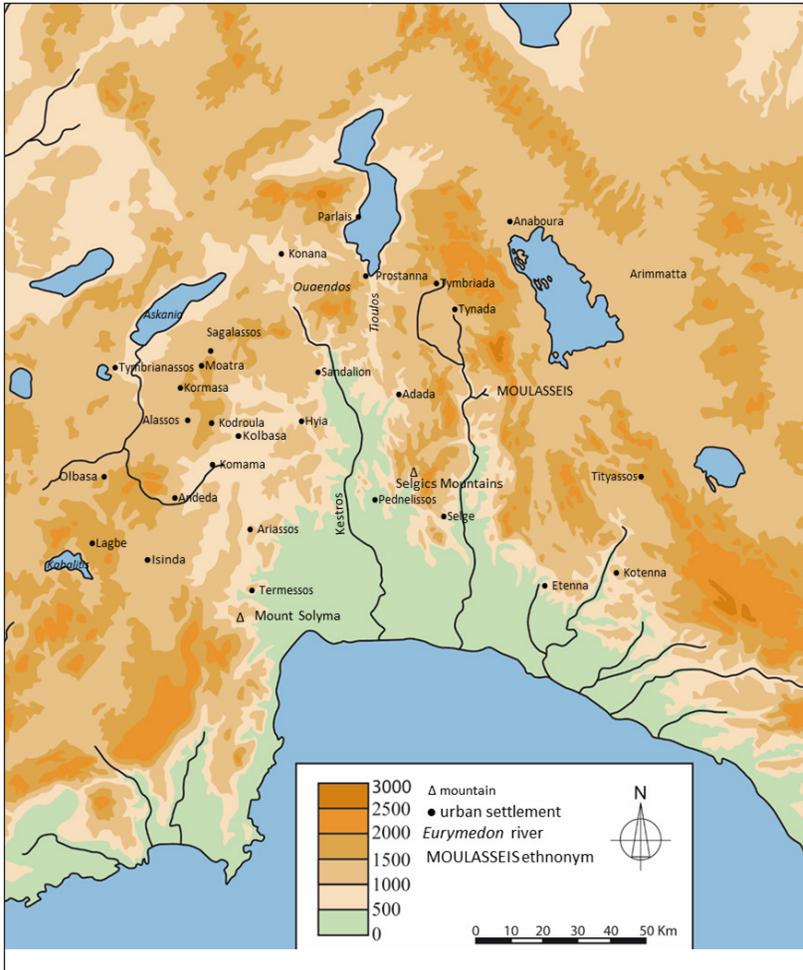


Fig. 3. Spatial distribution of toponyms of Anatolian origin.

of Latin origin,⁵ 2 names of Phrygian origin⁶ and 13 names of undetermined origin.⁷

If we combine typological and linguistic classification, it becomes apparent that most of the names of urban establishments are of Anatolian

5 Verbe and Vinzela.

6 Tymbriada, Tymbrianassos.

7 Amblada, Baris, Caularis, the Milyeis, Orbanassa, Orondeis and Sibidunda, and 6 names which can be linked to an Indo-European root, but not to a specific language: Karalis, Konana, the Ouaendos, Prostanna, and Mount Taurus and the river Tauros.

origin (34/56, against 15/56 of Greek origin.) The situation is different when it comes to hydronyms, because the majority of hydronyms are of Greek origin (10/17, as against 5/17 of Anatolian origin).

Fig. 2 and **Fig. 3** show the names of places and peoples based on the language used in the process of name creation. These maps do not represent Pisidia at a particular moment in time, but rather allow us to visualize the distribution of toponyms and ethnonyms according to their original language over a longer period. We can see that cities, peoples, lakes and rivers with Greek names are concentrated in the west and the north, near traffic lanes, while urban settlements, lakes and rivers with names of Anatolian origin are found in mountainous areas or plateaus.

Besides the language used in the process of creating the name and its meaning, I also studied the formation of names. My corpus contains 61 constructed names (46 derived names and 15 compound names), 22 simple names and 4 names whose structure remains uncertain. Compound nouns are mainly Greek, whereas simple nouns tend to be of Anatolian origin. Indeed, 73% of the compound names are of Greek origin (11/15).

Etymology is essential for the purposes of this study, as it is a distinctive feature that allows the reader to clearly distinguish this approach from studies of historical topography aimed at identifying ancient sites. We cannot study the persistence of toponyms without having understood the meaning of place names through etymology. In most cases, of course, the etymological investigation does not lead to definite conclusions, only to hypotheses and constructed argumentation. The goal of etymology is to search for the origin of words by following their evolution, starting from the most ancient attestations. According to Orr, etymology is “la recherche d’un rapport de forme et de sens entre deux mots, ou bien le résultat, le fruit de cette recherche. Le plus souvent, cette recherche est diachronique, c’est-à-dire qu’elle vise à établir un rapport entre un mot qui existe, ou qui a existé, et tel mot d’une époque antérieure”.⁸ As for the meaning of these names, I was able to identify different categories: hydrology, vegetation, terrain, fortifications, historical figures, soil type, location and power. It is possible to state that 16 names are related to hydrology,⁹ 14 names are related to the

8 Orr 1954: 129.

9 Alassos, Anthios, Caularis, Etenna, the Eurymedon, the Hippophoras, Kabales, Kabalitis, the Kestros, the Kolobatos, Konana, Limnai, Lysinia, the Lysis, the Melas and the Ouaendos.

terrain,¹⁰ 12 names are related to vegetation,¹¹ 5 names are related to fortifications,¹² 4 names are related to historical characters,¹³ 3 names are related to the nature of the soil,¹⁴ 3 names are related to location,¹⁵ and 2 names are related to power.¹⁶

Combining linguistic and semantic classification reveals that the names of Anatolian origin related to the nature of the soil represent 66% of Pisidian names of this type. This linguistic ranking also makes it apparent that all dedicatory toponyms are of Greek origin. Similarly, 80% of Pisidian names related to fortifications are of Greek origin, compared to 50% of names related to water, 27% of names related to vegetation, and only 14% of names related to terrain. The fact that the majority of the dedicatory names and names related to fortifications are of Greek origin can be linked to the Seleucid domination of Pisidia.

Concerning dedicatory place names, Antioch seemingly bears the name of its founder Antiochus I Soter. The name Apollonia may refer to the name of the wife of Attalus I. Hadrianopolis is most likely derived from the Roman emperor Hadrian. The name of Kretopolis commemorates the possible founder of the city, Nearchus the Cretan, companion of Alexander the Great and satrap of Lycia-Pamphylia. Seleucia was founded by Antiochus I Soter and named after his father; similarly, Apamea of Phrygia bears the name of his mother. These cities are located in the north of Pisidia and near the main roads. These toponyms are said to be dedicatory or dynastic and different from other toponyms, which are mostly descriptive.

As for toponyms related to fortification, Baris can be compared to the Greek βᾶρις, 'fortress, fortified domain'. The name of Erymna comes from the Greek ἐρυμνός, 'fortified', while the element *-teichos* in Panemoteichos contains Greek τεῖχος, 'wall, fortress'.¹⁷ Toponyms ending in *-τεῖχος* thus refer to fortified settlements. According to Pi-

10 Ariassos, Arimmatta, Kremna, Makropedeiteis, Orondeis, Ouramma, Pednelissos, Sagalassos, Sandalion, Selge, Mount Solyma, Solymys, Taurus Mountains, and Termessos.

11 Hyia, Kolbasa, Kormasa, Moatra, Pisidia, Polykarpos, Sanantarwa, Tarbassos, Tityassos, Verbe, Vinzela and Xyline.

12 Baris, Dyrzela, Erymna, Kodroula and Panemoteichos.

13 Antioch, Apollonia, Hadrianopolis and Seleucia.

14 Alassos, Isinda and Karalis.

15 Andeda, Olbasa and Pitassa.

16 Kibyrates and Moatra.

17 von Aulock 1977: 42; Arena 2005: 221.

mouguet-Pédarros,¹⁸ *τειχος* may designate “une agglomération rurale ceinte par un mur”, and the Seleucids are known to have implemented a policy of urbanization by founding new cities with walls. Baris and Panemoteichos were on Alexander the Great’s itinerary. Since Alexander left garrisons in Pamphylia and Pisidia, one may wonder whether the foundation of the city of Baris is not to be attributed to those same garrisons. Alexander did, after all, travel past Kretopolis, about twenty kilometres from Panemoteichos, and as we have just seen, the foundation of Kretopolis is to be attributed to Nearchus, companion of Alexander.¹⁹ The foundation of Panemoteichos may be placed in the same context. As for Erymna, “the fortified”, it could perhaps have been founded at the time when Antiochus III the Great made an expedition to Pisidia in 193 BC, since the place name is of Greek origin and Erymna is located near Etenna, a probable target of Antiochus’ Pisidian campaign. Both the Greek presence in Pisidia and the Seleucid urbanization policy have thus had repercussions on the toponymy and fortification of the region – and require us to include fortifications in our study of toponymy.

3 THREE EXAMPLES

3.1 Lagbe

Regarding the place name of Lagbe, situated north of lake Söğüt Gölü (now dry), an Anatolian origin can be assumed. Since /y/ can denote Hittite [h], as in the Parḫa / Perge equation, the place name of Lagbe can be likened to the Hittite *lahpa*,²⁰ ‘ivory’, a word of foreign origin which passed into Hittite. Accordingly, Lagbe would be a descriptive toponym referring to the colour of the stone of the region and its hardness, since the place (modern Kırkpınar) is characterized geologically by a very thick stratum of limestone (thirty to forty metres thick).²¹ Naour,²² in describing the place, evoked a valley “enserrée entre des hauteurs calcaires parsemées de genévriers” (enclosed between limestone heights dotted with juniper trees). The comparison with ivory would thus refer

18 Pimouguet-Pédarros 2000: 116

19 Sekunda 1997: 217, 219.

20 Puhvel 2001; Tischler/Vanséveren 2016: 189.

21 Okay 1989: 52.

22 Naour 1976: 128.

both to the white colour of the soil and to its hardness. It is common to find place names that refer to the nature of the soil as a defining characteristic of a location.

3.2 Konana

The toponym *Kováνη* can be understood in the sense of “confluence”, and is derived from the Indo-European root **ken-*,²³ ‘compress’. Indeed, the ancient site of Konana is located at the confluence of two rivers, the modern Kızıldere and Gönen Deresi. The concordance between the meaning of the place name (“confluence”) and geographical reality (the confluence of the rivers Kızıldere and Gönen Deresi) supports this hypothesis. Furthermore, the toponym persists to this day with vowel harmonization and fall of the final *-η*, since the ancient Konana is now called Gönen.²⁴ The existence of the toponym *Κονδαία*, designating a city in Thessaly located at the confluence of the two rivers, the Pene and the Titarisios, parallels this example. If rivers are spatial landmarks, confluences are all the more so, as they designate a precise place on a hydrological network.

3.3 Askania

The origin of the toponym Askania can be found in the Hittite substantive *aska-*, meaning ‘gate, gateway’.²⁵ The toponym could be composed as follows: **aska-(w)ani-a*. The epithet of the god Men Askaenos also seems to be derived from this Hittite substantive.²⁶ Considering the origin of the name, Zgusta wonders whether the epithet is taken from the toponym, or whether the anthroponym first gave rise to the epithet and only later to the toponym.²⁷ It should be noted, however, that the sanctuary of Men Askaenos of Antioch in Pisidia is about a hundred kilometres from Askania Lake (Burdur Gölü). As Labarre and Özsait point out, “pour un lac, le sens nous échappe en partie”.²⁸

23 Pokorny 1959–1969: 558–559.

24 Zgusta 1984: § 569, 283.

25 Tischler 2001: s.v. *aska-*; Kloekhorst 2008: 221–222; Labarre 2010: 44.

26 Labarre 2010: 44.

27 Zgusta 1984: 102.

28 Labarre/Özsait 2018.

This raises the question how *aska-*, ‘gate’, should be interpreted in this context. In all cases, the term indicates a closed space. *Aska-* also implies the idea of access. The question is whether the lake or its surroundings allowed access from one area to another, or if the lake took the name of a fortified city which limited access to an area. The term could also have been applied to a narrow passage in a mountainous area, such as the Cilician Gates, and could thence be understood in the sense of “défilé, gorge”. The hydronym Askania could be linked to a gorge in the mountains east of Antioch, in the direction of Philomelion, on the site of the Roman road. Moreover, the road that crosses the mountains bears the name Yalvaçbeli Deresi, that is to say “vallée de la passe de Yalvaç” (valley of the pass of Yalvaç).²⁹ It is possible that the valley leading to the lake was called Askania, with the lake taking the name of the valley.

4 SYNTHESIS

The toponyms studied are mainly related to the physical characteristics of inhabited places: terrain, hydrology and vegetation. Of the 87 identified names, 13 have unknown meanings, which leaves a corpus of 74 names for which hypotheses can be formulated as to their meaning. More than half of these names (41/74) are related to a physical description (terrain, hydrology and vegetation). Most toponyms related to terrain (8/14) are of Anatolian origin. Most river names (8/10) are of Greek origin. The majority of toponyms related to fortifications (5/6) are of Greek origin.

Comparison of the linguistic and typological classification of the 15 names connected with water revealed that all names of Greek origin were hydronyms. Comparison between the semantic and linguistic classification revealed that all names of Anatolian origin relating to water evoke the liquid element itself, never a characteristic of the watercourse, whereas all the names connected to water that are not of Anatolian origin evoke a particular feature of a lake or river.

After investigating every toponym in detail, I was able to assess with certitude the meaning of 24.14% of the names (i.e. 21 toponyms)³⁰

²⁹ Christol/Drew-Bear 1998: 145.

³⁰ Oronyms: The Taurus, the Selgics Mountains. Hydronyms: the Hippophoras, the Lysis, the Melas, the Ouaendos, the Polykarpos, the Tauros, the Makropedeiteis.

and to provide plausible hypotheses for the meaning of 67.82% of the names (i.e. 57 toponyms); only 8.04% of the names (i.e. 7 toponyms) remain obscure.³¹

5 DEFENDED THESIS

The basic postulate was that although the majority of place names and ethnonyms of Pisidia came to us through Greek sources, it is necessary in many cases to look for an origin in Anatolian languages. This led to the conclusion that 39 of 87 names were of Anatolian origin. Concerning the distribution of place names and ethnonyms, it turns out that toponyms of Anatolian origin tend to be found in mountainous areas and on plateaus, whereas toponyms of Greek origin are found in the west and north of Pisidia, near the major roads.

The purpose of this study was also to investigate to what extent place names reflect political influence within a specific territory. Dedicatory toponyms illustrate the Seleucids' desire to stamp their authority on an area, even if only symbolically. Descriptive toponyms differ from dedicatory toponyms in that the former probably result from a popular naming process formulated by the inhabitants, while the latter suggest an official dimension and response to a political will. Dedicatory names (e.g. Apollonia, Antioch, Seleucia) are linguistically arbitrary since they do not refer to any physical characteristics of a location but rather encode cultural–historical references. While a toponym is an identifier, it is also a marker of culture and identity, and the choice of language in which it is formulated makes up a significant part of territorial memory.

Finally, toponyms and ethnonyms have proven to be valuable keys to understanding the topography of a region by providing information such as the language used to form the toponym, or the meaning of the place name. The persistence of Anatolian toponyms through the centuries is worthy of note, since 39 names of Anatolian heritage are attested until the Greco-Roman period; some, in modified form, exist to this day.³² Names are very often related to human occupation, the spatial

Urban settlements: Baris, Termessos, Erymna, Hadrianopolis, Kremna, Kretopolis, Antioche, Apollonia, Seleucia, Xylene, Neapolis and Olbasa.

31 Amblada, Lagbe, the Milyans, Orbanassa, Orondeis, Prostanna and Sibidunda.

32 Anaboura–Enevre, Erymna–Ormana, Konana–Gönen, Kotenna–Gödene, Parlais–

distribution of which depends on the distribution of resources. Areas that allow easier access to water encourage human settlement. Pisidian toponyms often originate from Anatolian languages, remaining stable despite later influences under Greco-Roman and Persian domination.

Although Persian hegemony in Asia Minor lasted a little over two centuries, to my great surprise I found almost no Persian contribution to the toponymy and ethnonymy of Pisidia except for the name Orondeis. This study did not reveal clear theophoric toponyms, apart from hypotheses concerning Apollonia, Sandalion or Sia which could be theophoric toponyms referring respectively to Apollo, Sanda/Santa and Zeus. Again, this contrasts with the anthroponymy of the region, which records ample theophoric names including those evoking Artemis, Asklepios, Zeus, Men, Apollo, the mother goddess, Helios and Hermes, but also names based on θεός, 'God'.

6 LIMITS

Many hypotheses have been formulated concerning the origin and meaning of toponyms and ethnonyms. However, many Pisidian sites have yet to be excavated, so the sources currently available are unlikely to represent the complete record. The present study is thus limited by availability of sources. Moreover, place names perpetuated only by oral tradition necessarily escape us: *verba volant, scripta manent...* Also, the fact that we do not know the precise meaning of all Hittite words has been a hindrance in establishing the meaning of some toponyms. That is why it has often been necessary to refer to Indo-European roots only. The notation in Greek of supposedly non-Greek names further complicates the search for the oldest attestation of those names in earlier Hittite or Luwian sources. Furthermore, it is not easy for a Greek speaker to record an Anatolian name with different sounds in the Greek script, especially if the meaning eludes him. Lastly, the graphological form provided by ancient authors may include transcription errors.

The linguistic analysis of toponyms is a difficult science that presents many traps, in particular because of the multiplicity of forms. Although the meaning of place names may often be rudimentary, an inability to understand their meaning complicates the work of the modern researcher, many of whose questions must remain unanswered. Thus,

there is rarely a single formula that explains the origin and meaning of a toponym: rather, toponyms give rise to various assumptions, explanations and hypotheses.

7 CONCLUSION

Most of the place names are descriptive and refer to features of the landscape. In conclusion, I would suggest that this methodology can be extended to other regions of Anatolia so as to increase our comprehension of Anatolian toponyms and of Anatolia itself, since toponyms are a means of territorial memory.

Furthermore, this study chose not to take into account the toponyms from the lists of members of the *Xenoi Tekmoreioi*,³³ a religious community dating from the 3rd century AD in the region of Antioch in Pisidia. To do so would require us to consider not only ethnicities within these lists, but also the names of the individual members, i.e. anthroponyms. Similarly, a study of names of villages (the κώμαι) of Pisidia should be conducted. While my doctoral thesis limited itself to Pisidia, a study of the toponymy and ethnonymy of each region of Asia Minor should be considered along the lines of Zgusta's *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*.³⁴ More specifically, I believe there is a need for a study of the toponymy of Phrygia, since other areas bordering on Pisidia, such as coastal regions open to external influences, conserve Anatolian culture to a lesser degree than Phrygia. Finally, a study of Phrygian toponymy would lead to a better understanding of the history of Phrygia and a better understanding of the organization of the territory.

Because of the continuity of toponyms, this study is based on toponyms and ethnonyms attested in classical sources. However, it may be useful to establish a further corpus of place names attested in the Byzantine period, in order to study the persistence of toponymy and perhaps enable us to locate more precisely certain cities that have not yet been identified. Similarly, a study of current toponyms could be done to determine the proportion of Turkish names whose meaning is intelligible to the population, and the proportion of names of older origin whose meaning is no longer understood. Lastly, it would be wise to study the proportion of present-day toponyms that are descriptive, and

33 SEG 31 (1981), n.° 1131.

34 Zgusta 1984.

observe whether this proportion is comparable to that found among ancient toponyms.

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