

GREEK (HESYCHIAN) κόρος ‘GREAT NUMBER OF MEN’
AND RELATED WORDS

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En este artículo se estudia una glosa de Hesiquio desde el punto de vista histórico-comparativo. Se sugiere que el apelativo griego κόρος, que según dicha glosa significa ‘multitud, número grande de personas’ ($\pi\lambda\eta\theta\omega\varsigma \alpha\nu\theta\rho\pi\omega\nu$), representa un antiguo término ie. *kóros ‘ejército, muchedumbre, gente armada’, que está documentado también en zonas periféricas orientales y occidentales (en iranio y báltico por un lado, y en lusitano por otro, cf. lusit. NP *Coro-cutu*, *Coro-poti*, *Coro-bulti* etc.). A su vez, la variante ie. *koryos puede rastrearse como apelativo en celta, germánico y báltico, y también en composición como primera o segunda parte de étnicos y antropónimos (p.ej. en beocio, en celta y en germánico). Un primitivo derivado *koryanos ‘jefe de ejército’ está bien atestiguado en griego (cf. gr. κοίρανος ‘soberano, líder, comandante (en la guerra y en la paz)’, y en general ‘señor’, así como también ‘rey’ en el dialecto beocio), en germánico septentrional (cf. el sobrenombre de Odín *Herjann*) y quizá en lusitano (cf. lusit. NP *Coriana*).

Palabras claves: indoeuropeo, vocabulario griego, lexicografía griega, antropónimia lusitana, terminología de guerra; formación de palabras; nombres de personas (NP).

In this paper one Hesychian gloss is discussed from the historical-comparative point of view. It is suggested that the Ancient Greek appellative κόρος denoting ‘great number of men’ ($\pi\lambda\eta\theta\omega\varsigma \alpha\nu\theta\rho\pi\omega\nu$) represents an archaic term (IE. *kóros ‘army, crowd; the people under arms’), which is attested also at the eastern periphery (especially in Iranian and Baltic) and the western one (in Lusitanian, cf. Lusit. PN *Coro-cutu*, *Coro-poti*, *Coro-bulti* and so on). A variant Indo-European form *koryos appears as an appellative in Celtic, Germanic and Baltic, also as a first or second part of the ethnic and personal names (e.g. in Boeotian Greek, Celtic and Germanic). A primitive derivative *koryanos ‘army leader’ is firmly attested in Greek (see Gk. κοίρανος m. ‘ruler, leader, commander (in war or peace)’, generally ‘lord, master’, also ‘king’ in the Boeotian dialect), North Germanic (cf. Odín’s by-name *Herjann*) and perhaps in Lusitanian (see Lusit. PN *Coriana*).

Keywords: Indo-European, Greek vocabulary, Greek lexicography, Lusitanian anthroponymy; military terminology; word-formation; personal names (PN).

The 19th-century edition of the Hesychian lexicon, prepared by M. Schmidt, gives the following gloss (HAL¹ κ-3655): κόρος · πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων. καὶ τὰ νέα βλαστήματα. καὶ μέτρον (‘great number of men; and new sprouts, and a measure’). It is obvious that Hesychios of Alexandria differentiates three separate meanings. The first one ($\pi\lambda\eta\theta\omega\varsigma \alpha\nu\theta\rho\pi\omega\nu$) ap-

pears only in the Hesychian glossary and is not confirmed by other literary sources. The word κόρος denoting ‘shoot, sprout (of a tree)’ is a rare word, but firmly attested in Ancient Greek, see GEL 981, s.v. κόρος (B). The homonymic form with the third semantics represents a borrowing from Hebrew *kor* and denotes ‘a dry measure containing 10 Attic medimni (about 120 gallons)’, see GEL 982, s.v. κόρος (D).

In his edition of the Hesychian glossary Kurt Latte lists the same lemma, introducing the so called *crux philologorum* before the first glossema (HAL² κ-3655): κόρος · ἡ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων. καὶ τὰ νέα βλαστήματα. καὶ μέτρον. The reason for doing so is evident. The word κόρος with the meaning ‘great number of men, multitude (mass) of men’ (πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων) represents a *hapax*, which cannot be distinguished in the Ancient Greek literature. Kurt Latte as a classical philologist makes a correct action, indicating his doubts as to the sense of the first glossema. However, everybody who is engaged in the historical-comparative linguistics may easily arrive to an opposite conclusion.

It is well known fact that there was an appellative **koros* denoting ‘war, army / Krieg, Kriegsheer’ (IEW 615) in Indo-European, cf. OPers. *kāra-* m. ‘war troops, armed forces, army; people, nation / Kriegsvolk, Heer; Volk’, NPers. *kār-zār* ‘battle-field / Schlachtfeld’, Pahlavi *kārīk* ‘warrior’, NPers. *kārī* ‘id.’, Pashto *kōr* ‘household, family’ (Morgenstierne 1927, p. 33), Kurd. *kār* ‘family’ (< Iran. **kāra-* ‘army, people, family’¹ < IE. **koro-*), Lith. *kāras* m. ‘war / Krieg’, Yatvingian *karo* n. ‘fight, struggle / Pol. walka’ (Zinkevičius 1992, p. 113). The Hesychian gloss κόρος m. ‘great number of men’, though it shows no military sense, cannot be dissociated from the Iranian and Baltic cognates. The same or similar opposition of meanings is attested in such comparisons as:

[1] Greek λᾶος, Ionic ληός, Attic λεός m. ‘men, people, folk’, also ‘men of the army, soldiers’ vs. Hitt. *lažaš* c. ‘military expedition, campaign / Kriegzug, Feldzug’ (< PIE. **laH₂-H₂os*), dat.-loc. *lažzi* ‘ins Feld, in den Krieg’, *lažziyalaš* c. ‘warrior, hero / Kriegsmann, Kriegsheld’ (Friedrich 1990, p. 124), Lydian λαλας ‘absolute sovereign, tyrant’ (Gusmani 1964, p. 275);

[2] OIr. *túath* f. ‘a people, nation; (common) people as opposed to king and

¹ The long vowel -ā- (< IE. *-o-) is caused by the so called Brugmann’s rule in Indo-Iranian, see Collinge 1985, pp. 13-21).

clergy’, Welsh *tud* ‘country’, Oscan *touto* ‘community’, Umbrian *totam* acc. sg. ‘citizenry’, ON. *þjóð* ‘folk’, Gothic *þiuda*, OE. *þeod* ‘id.’, OPrus. *tauto* f. ‘country’, Lith. *tautà* f. ‘people’, Latv. *tauta* f. ‘id.’ vs. Hitt. *tuzziš* c. ‘army, war troops; military camp / Heer, Truppenmacht; Heerlager’ (Friedrich 1990, p. 232) < IE. **teutā* vs. Anat. **teutis* ‘the people (under arms)’ (EIEC 417).

[3] OChSl. *spodb* m. ‘a company of people sitting together at a meal’ vs. Avestan (Gatha) *spāda-*, Young Avestan *spāda-* m. ‘army’, MPers. *sipāh*, Buddh. Sogd. *'sp'δ* ‘id.’, Ossetic *aefsæd* ‘grosse Menge, Abtheilung von Personen, Regiment’ (Hübschmann 1887, p. 25), Khotan Saka *spāta-* ‘captain’ (< Iran. **spāda-pati-*m. ‘lord of the army’, cf. Bailey 1978, p. 436) < IE. **spod^hos* (Weiss 1991-1993). The original sense appears to be ‘the people under arms’, cf. Gk. Hesych. σποδέοντο · ἐμάχοντο, ἐτύπτοντο (‘they fought, struggled’).

All the examples demonstrate the development of ‘the people under arms’ to ‘people, folk, company’, which should be also suggested for Gk. Hesychian κόρος ‘great number of men’ ($\pi\lambda\eta\theta\omega\varsigma \dot{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omega\nu$), orig. ‘army, crowd; the people under arms’ (IE. **koros*).

The Indo-European word in question may be distinguished in numerous Lusitanian and Gallaecian personal names (cf. Vallejo Ruiz 2005, pp. 291-294, s.v. *coro-*), e.g. Lusit. PN *Coro-cut* nom. sg. (Mérida, BA), *Coro-pot* gen. sg. (Torrejón el Rubio, CC), *Coro-bulti* gen. sg. (Santo Estevão, GUA), Gallaec. PN *Coro-cauci* gen. sg. (Viana de Castelo, VCA), *Coro-geni* gen. sg. (Vila Nova, Bragança, BRA), *Coro-neri* gen. sg. (Guimarães, BRA, CIL II 5595), *Coro-turetis* gen. sg. (CIL XIII 7045). The suggested derivation, connecting Lusit. *coro-* with IE. **koros* m. ‘army, crowd; people under arms’, is unanimously accepted in all the recent publications (see Prósper 2002, pp. 62-63; 2004, pp. 183-185; Vallejo Ruiz 2005, pp. 291-294; Witczak 2005, pp. 376-377).

Beside IE. **koros* m. (*o*-stem) ‘army, crowd’ the linguists reconstruct the parallel form **koryos* m. (-*yo*-stem) ‘army, war-band, unit of warriors’ (EIEC 30-31; cf. DSS 1377, IECD 535), which is attested in Celtic (cf. MIr. *cuire* m. ‘troop, crowd / Schar, Menge’, Gaulish tribal names *Tri-corii*, *Petru-corii* ‘consisting of three / four tribes’ < Celt. **korios*), Germanic (cf. Gothic *harjis* m., OIcel. *herr*, OE. *here*, OSax. *heri*, OHG. *heri* ‘army, crowd / Heer, Menge’ < Gmc. **harjaz*) and Baltic (cf. Lith. *kārias* m. ‘army’, *karys* m. ‘warrior’, Latv. *karš* m. ‘war’, OPrus. *kargis* ‘army’, acc. sg. *kariausnan* ‘battle, struggle, tussle, quarrel?’).

What is more, the Indo-European form **koryos* can be easily distinguished in the Greek personal names such as Boeotian Κοιράταδας (Tanagra) or Κοιρόμαχος (< **koryo-maǵhos* ‘who fights with the army’², cf. Boisacq 1916, p. 482, Chantraine 1970, p. 553), as well as in the Greek appellative κοίρανος m. ‘ruler, leader, commander (in war or peace)’, generally ‘lord, master’ (also ‘king’ in the Boeotian dialect), and the corresponding verb κοίρανεω ‘to be lord or master, to rule, command (in war and peace); to lead, arrange’. The Greek appellative κοίρανος is identical as to the shape with the Old Norse Odin’s by-name *Herjann* (< Gmc. **harjanaz*, liter. ‘Heervater / army-chief’). Both these words are derived from **koryos* ‘army, crowd’ with the Indo-European suffix *-no-* denoting leadership (EIEC 348), cf. Gothic *tiudans* m. ‘head of the people’ vs. *tiuda* ‘folk’, Lat. *dominus* m. ‘head of the household’ vs. *domus* ‘house’. The comparison between Greek κοίρανος m. ‘army leader’ and the Old Norse god’s surname *Herjann* is accepted in the standard etymological dictionaries of the Greek language (cf. Boisacq 1916, p. 482; Frisk 1960, p. 894; Chantraine 1970, p. 553). Unfortunately, the related Greek form κόρος + πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, preserved by Hesychios of Alexandria (V-VI cent. A.D.) in his lexicon, remains unknown to Boisacq, Frisk and Chantraine. Also the Indo-European dictionaries and monographs (e.g. DSS, IEW, IECD, EIEC) do not register this valuable Hesychian gloss, which may be treated, together with the Iranian forms derived from **kāra-*, as a basic item for the reconstruction of the Indo-European archetype **kóros* m. ‘army, people’. It should be here emphasized that the Baltic forms (cf. Lith. *kāras* m. ‘war’ 4AP, Yatvingian *karo* n. ‘fight, struggle’) seem to trace back to the Indo-European nomen acti **koróm* n. ‘war, fight’.

Finally, I arrive to the following conclusions:

- 1) The Hesychian gloss κόρος ‘great number of men’ (orig. ‘army, crowd; the people under arms’) is undoubtedly related to the well

² Cf. the similar use of this element in early Germanic personal names, e.g. Gmc. **Harja-wulbaz* ‘army-wolf’ (> Burg. *Hari-ulhus*, Olcel. *Heri-ólfr*, OE. *Here-wulf*, OHG. *Hari-ulfr*), **Harja-leubaz* ‘who loves the army’ (> East Gothic *Here-lieva*, West Gothic *Argi-leuua*, Olcel. *Her-liúfr*, OHG. *Her-liup*), **Harja-waldaz* ‘who rules the army’ (> West Gothic *Ar-waldus*, ON. *Haraldr*, OE. *Here-weald*, OHG. *Her-ald*) and so on (Toporova 1996: 15-16, 28-29, 51-52, 110-111).

- known Greek term κοίρανος m. ‘ruler, leader, commander’ (orig. ‘army leader’).
- 2) Greek Hesychian κόρος ‘great number of men’ represents an inherited form, derived straightforwardly from IE. *kóros, cf. OPers. *kāra-* m. ‘army, people’, Kurdish *kār* ‘family’, Pashto *kōr* ‘household, family’, Lusit. *coro-* in the Lusitanian and Gallaecian personal names.
 - 3) Latte’s *crux* added to the Hesychian gloss in question should be deleted. The preserved text κόρος · πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων is wholly correct.

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