

RANOBIZANTSKA TVRĐAVA ΣΙΚΛΑΙ: ETIMOLOŠKA ANALIZA TOPONIMA



EARLY BYZANTINE FORT ΣΙΚΛΑΙ: ETYMOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TOPONYM

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Abstract

Ranobizantska tvrđava Σικλαί zabilježena je kod povjesničara Prokopija u njegovim *Grādevinama*, točnije u popisu koji se odnosi na Makedoniju iz četvrte knjige. Prokopijeva grafija toponima potvrđuje iščezavanje nenaglašenog vokala u penultimi kao jednu od najznačajnijih karakteristika u fonetici vulgarnolatinskog jezika. Osim promatranja morfoloških specifičnosti, cilj članka usmjeren je k detaljnijem ispitivanju porijekla imena mjesta. U tom smislu postoje dva podjednako moguća rješenja pitanja etimologije. Prema jednom u osnovi

ovog toponima nalazi se apelativ *sicla/sikla*, vulgarnolatinska varijanta imenice *situla* sa značenjem 'kofa, vjedro, krčag'. Druga, ne manje vjerojatna mogućnost je da se toponim dovede u vezu s imenom ilirskog plemena *Siculi/Siculotae* (Σικελοί).

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: Prokopije; Σικλαί; tvrđava; etimologija; *situla*; *Siculi*; *Siculotae*; Σικελοί

Abstract

Early Byzantine fort Σικλαί (*Siclae*) was recorded by the historian Procopius in his *Buildings*, more precisely, in the list for Macedonia from Book IV. Procopius' form of the place name confirms the disappearance of the unstressed vowel in the penult as one of the most important features in Vulgar Latin phonetics. Apart from considering the morphological peculiarities of the toponym, the present article also focuses on a more detailed examination of its etymology. To this effect, two equally possible solutions regarding the origin of the name are presented. According to the first one, the appellative *sicla/sikla* forms the basis of this toponym, which is the Vulgar Latin variant of the noun *situla*, denoting a 'bucket, pail, jug, pitcher'. The other possibility, equally strong, is that this toponym is related to the name of the Illyrian tribe *Siculi/Siculotae* (Σικελοί).

KEYWORDS: Procopius; Σικλαί; fort; etymology; *situla*; *Siculi*; *Siculotae*; Σικελοί.

Toponim Σίκλαι zabilježen je u IV. knjizi Prokopijeva panegirika *De aedificiis* iz VI. stoljeća n. e., u popisu naslovljenom Ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας, u kojem je nabrojano 46 tvrđava.¹ Budući da se radi o još jednom hapaksu (*hapax legomenon*) iz filološki zahtjevne Prokopijeve toponimije, čiji oblik ne možemo usporediti s drugim pisanim ili epigrafskim izvorima iz istog ili bar kronološki bliskog perioda, moramo se usredotočiti na samu Prokopijevu grafiju koja je, u ovom slučaju srećom, jedinstvena u različitim sačuvanim rukopisima ovog znamenitog djela.² Svakako da je tumačenje imena tvrđava u ovakvim okolnostima za istraživača još nezahvalnije i samim tim nužno izaziva dilemu po pitanju etimologije, stoga i naša filološka razmatranja imena utvrđenja idu u najmanje dva smjera.

Sačuvani oblik Σίκλαι (*Siclae*) morfološki nas nedvojbeno upućuje na zaključak da se ime nalazi u nominativu množine, a imena s ovim padežnim nastavkom rijetka su u Prokopijevim *Gradevinama*. U popisu tvrđava za Makedoniju zabilježena su tri primjera imena u ovom padežu, a to su: Φασκίαι, Λιμναί i Σίκλαι.³ U imenu Σίκλαι grčka grafija diftonga -αι za latinski završetak -ae je uobičajena, slično kao i u ostalim primjerima iz Prokopijeve toponimije: Βαλβαί = Valvae; Κοῦναι = Cunae.⁴

Po pitanju postanja radi se o imenu latinskog porijekla, preciznije o toponimu koji prema svom obliku pripada vulgarnom latinitetu. Smatramo da je upravo ime Σίκλαι jedan od onih primjera koji potvrđuje da je takozvani vulgarni latinski najzaslužniji za utjecaj koji je latinski jezik izvršio, kako na srednjovjekovni tako i na suvre-

The toponym Σίκλαι was recorded in Book IV of Procopius' *De aedificiis* panegyric from the 6th century AD, in a list titled Ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας (In Macedonia), which enumerates 46 forts.¹ Since the name is yet another hapax from the philologically challenging toponymy of Procopius, whose form cannot be compared to any other written or epigraphic sources from the same or at least chronologically similar period, we need to focus mainly on Procopius' spelling itself, which in this case is fortunately unique in different preserved manuscripts of this famous work.² Interpreting the names of forts is certainly even more difficult for the researcher under such circumstances than it normally is, because a dilemma inevitably arises as regards the etymology of the name, which is why the philological analysis presented in this article moves in at least two directions.

The morphology of the preserved form Σίκλαι (*Siclae*) indubitably leads to the conclusion that the name is in the plural form of nominative, the case which can rarely be found among the names in Procopius' *Buildings*. The list of forts in Macedonia records only three names in this case: Φασκίαι (*Phasciae*), Λιμναί (*Limnae*) and Σίκλαι.³ The name Σίκλαι contains the usual Greek spelling for the diphthong -αι which reflects the Latin ending -ae, which is also found in other examples from Procopius' toponymy: Βαλβαί = Valvae; Κοῦναι = Cunae.⁴

The origin of the name is Latin, more specifically, the form of the toponym comes from Vulgar Latin. I am of the opinion that the name Σίκλαι is precisely one of those examples which confirm that the so-called Vulgar Latin is the most responsible

¹ Procop, *Aed.*, IV iv, 3.

² ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ, ΠΕΡΙ ΚΤΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ, 444; Procopii Caesariensis *Opera Omnia*, 119; Procopius, *Buildings*, 254.

³ U drugim popisima iste, četvrte knjige nalaze se imena kao što su: Βαλβαί = Valvae (IV iv,3), Κοῦναι = Cunae (IV iv,3), Πισκίνας = Piscinae (IV iv,3) i druga.

⁴ U vulgarnom latinitetu diftong *ai* jednako je posvjedočen u starijim i novijim literarnim i epigrafskim izvorima koji dosežu do II. – III. st., pa čak i kasnije, kada se smatraju kao svojevršni arhaizam. Primjeri s ovim diftongom sporadično se javljaju i u jugoistočnim europskim provincijama Rimskog Carstva, ali više predstavljaju svjedočanstvo opstojnosti arhaične grafije, ne odražavajući pritom realni izgovor. O tome: H. MIHĂESCU 1978: 184; V. BEȘEVLIIEV 1970: 47.

¹ Procop, *Aed.*, IV iv, 3.

² ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ, ΠΕΡΙ ΚΤΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ, 444; Procopii Caesariensis *Opera Omnia*, 119; Procopius, *Buildings*, 254.

³ In other lists from the same Book more examples can be found, such as the following names: Βαλβαί = Valvae (IV iv, 3), Κοῦναι = Cunae (IV iv, 3), Πισκίνας = Piscinae (IV iv, 3), etc.

⁴ The presence of the diphthong *ai* in Vulgar Latin is evidenced by older literary and epigraphic sources, as well as those more recent, from the 2nd and 3rd century and even later, when they were already considered to be somewhat of archaisms. Examples containing this diphthong can also occasionally be found in the southeastern Europe provinces of the Roman Empire, where they tend to testify the survival of archaic spelling, without reflecting the actual pronunciation. See more about this in: H. MIHĂESCU, 1978: 184; V. BEȘEVLIIEV 1970: 47.

meni grčki vokabular.⁵ Istina je da je ovaj proces utjecaja latinskog jezika na grčki počeo kasnije i da je bio mnogo manje održiv i prodoran u odnosu na onaj koji je izvršio grčki jezik nad latinskim u ranijim periodima. Usprkos daleko skromnijoj migraciji stanovništva k Istoku, ipak je, putem govora živih ljudi, a prije svega vojske kao najistaknutijeg nositelja vulgarnog latinizata, latinski jezik stizao i do najzabačenijih dijelova Carstva. Pored toga, utjecaj latinskog jezika u istočnim dijelovima Carstva svakako je rezultat djelovanja rimskih pravnih i administrativnih institucija. Razumljivo, utjecaj administracije i vojske bio je najsnažniji duž poznatog puta *Via Egnatia*, ali i u područjima gdje su se govorili dijalekti, daleko od velikih urbanih centara, u visokim dijelovima Epira i zapadne Makedonije, gdje je dominirao grčki jezik. Haralambie Mihăescu bio je prvi koji je poduzeo sistematska istraživanja vulgarnog latinizata kao najznačajnijeg segmenta posuđivanja iz latinskog jezika u grčki u jugoistočnoj Europi.⁶

Smatramo da se između ostalih riječi koje su prema mišljenju Mihăescua pozajmljene iz latinskog u grčki nalazi i vulgarnolatinska varijanta *sicla/sikla*. Naime, *sicla* je vulgarnolatinski oblik za imenicu *situla*, kako stoji i u objašnjenju latinskog etimološkog rječnika.⁷ Imenica *situla*, dvojako ženskog i muškog roda, sa značenjem ‘vjedro za crpljenje vode, kofa, posuda za tekućine uopće’, ali i ‘posuda za čuvanje vina koja se koristi za ceremonijalne i gozbene svečanosti’, a najzad i ‘urna koja je služila kao posuda za izvlačenje ždrjeba ili glasačka kutija’, potvrđena je kod više latinskih autora.⁸ Pored toga, latinska riječ *situla* dio je romanskih jezika, osim rumunjskog.⁹ U alban-

for the influence the Latin language exerted on Greek vocabulary, both medieval and contemporary.⁵ It is true that this process of Latin influence on Greek started at a later date and was far less sustainable and pervasive than the influence Greek had had on Latin in earlier periods. Despite the fact that the movement of human migration to the east was largely moderate, the Latin language still managed to reach even those most remote parts of the Empire through the living speech of people and, most notably, through the distribution of the army as the most prominent users of vulgar Latinity. Additionally, the influence of Latin in the eastern parts of the Empire was certainly a result of the activities carried out by the legal and administrative Roman institutions. Quite understandably, the impact of the administration and the army was the most profound along the well-known *Via Egnatia* road, but it was also strongly felt in those areas far away from large urban centers, where dialects were spoken, or in the heights of Epirus and Western Macedonia, where the Greek language was dominant. Haralambie Mihăescu was the first to conduct systematic research of vulgar Latinity as the most significant segment of Latin borrowings in Greek in southeastern Europe.⁶

I believe that the Vulgar Latin variant *sicla/sikla* was one of the words which were, according to Mihăescu, borrowed into Greek from Latin. Namely, *sicla* is the Vulgar Latin form of the noun *situla*, as expounded in the etymological dictionary of Latin.⁷ The noun *situla*, which is of both feminine and masculine gender, refers to ‘a pail used for drawing and pouring water, a bucket; generally, a vessel for holding liquids’, as well as to ‘a pitcher containing wine which is used during feasts and ceremonies’, whereas finally it also denotes ‘an urn which was used for drawing lots or as a ballot box’, as was confirmed by numerous Latin authors.⁸ Moreover, the

⁵ R. G. G. COLEMAN 2007: 799.

⁶ H. MIHĂESCU 1960.

⁷ A. WALDE-HOFFMANN 1938: s. v. *situla*.

⁸ Plaut. *Amph.* 2, 2, 39; Plaut. *Cas.* 2, 6, 7, 2, 5, 34; *Hist. Aug. Vopisc.*, *Firm.* 4, 5 etc. H. T. RILEY 1912: 296: “‘Sitella,’ or ‘situla,’ though usually called an ‘urn,’ was a vessel shaped like a water-pitcher, from which lots were drawn. It had a wide belly and a narrow neck with a handle on each side, and stood on legs. The vessel was filled with water, and the lots, made of heavy wood, which sank, being put into it, the vessel was shaken, and as only one lot could come to the top at a time, the person who had chosen the number which was the first to come up was the winner.”

⁹ W. MEYER-LÜBKE 1935: s. v. 7962 *situla*. Neposvjedoče-

⁵ R. G. G. COLEMAN 2007: 799.

⁶ H. MIHĂESCU, 1960.

⁷ A. WALDE-HOFFMANN 1938: s. v. *situla*.

⁸ Plaut. *Amph.* 2, 2, 39; Plaut. *Cas.* 2, 6, 7, 2, 5, 34; *Hist. Aug. Vopisc.*, *Firm.* 4, 5 etc. H. T. RILEY 1912: 296: “‘Sitella,’ or ‘situla,’ though usually called an ‘urn,’ was a vessel shaped like a water-pitcher, from which lots were drawn. It had a wide belly and a narrow neck with a handle on each side, and stood on legs. The vessel was filled with water, and the lots, made of heavy wood, which sank, being put into it, the vessel was shaken, and as only one lot could come to the top at a time, the person who

skom je zabilježen refleks od vulgarnolatinske osnove **sicla* u imenici *shekë f., pl. sheka* ‘veliko drveno vjetro’, s varijantama *sheke* i *sheque*.¹⁰ Kontinuante koje navodi ERHSJ III 228, a to su sh. *sidlo, siglo, ciglo, sigalj, cigal*, potvrđuju da je ona svakako i dio dalmatoromanskog leksika, a O. Ligorio za njihovu osnovu smatra varijantu **situlu*.¹¹ Autor Ionas, koji termin σίκλα uvrštava u grupu srednjovjekovnih grčkih riječi latinskog porijekla,¹² smatra da je imenica *sikla* (σίκλα) u srednjovjekovnom grčkom jeziku poznata i pod sinkopiranom varijantom σίτλα sa značenjem ‘vjetro, kofa, krčag’ porijeklom od latinske imenice *situla* istog značenja. Sinkopirana varijanta σίτλα, -ας također je zabilježena u antičkim izvorima, kod pojedinih leksikografa, kao i na natpisima.¹³ Riječ je zabilježena i u poznatom Sophoclesovu grčkom leksikonu rimskog i bizantskog razdoblja pod odrednicom σίτλα i protumačena je kao ekvivalent latinskoj varijanti *situla*, sa značenjem *vjetro* (*pail*).¹⁴ Za nas je mnogo značajnije to što je u istoj odrednici zabilježena i varijanta σίκλα, koja je posvjedočena kod Ivana Damaščanina.¹⁵ Dalje, jezičnu potvrdu ovakvog razvoja nalazimo i u suvremenom grčkom jeziku, točnije u oblicima *σίκλα, *σίκλος sa značenjem ‘kofa’, koji su zabilježeni samo u vokabularu svakodnevnog govora, takozvanog *demotskog jezika* (δημοτική γλώσσα).¹⁶

Smatramo da se u ovom slučaju radi o poznatom razvoju, tj. transformiranju konsonantne grupe *tl > cl* koji se prema mišljenju istraživača Mihăescua dogodio već na izmaku II. stoljeća:

nost u rumunjskom potvrđuju i A. ERNOUT & A. MEILLET 1951: 1112.

¹⁰ V. OREL 1998: 409.

¹¹ O. LIGORIO 2014.

¹² I. IONAS 2000: 231.

¹³ Anon. Med. *De duodecim* 5, 7, 2; Alex. Med., *Ther*, 1, 447, 23; 1, 553, 9; 2, 171, 3; 2, 513, 7; Hierophilus, 457, 24; Apophthegmata, *Apophth.* 9, 16, 9; Ant., *Vita Symeonis* 5, 5; Etym. Gud. kappa 323, 19; sigma 501, 7; Sch. In Dem. 21, 471a3; CPR vol. 8, 65, 2, 19; SB vol. 18, 13749, 5; CPL 252.

¹⁴ E. A. SOPHOCLES 1914: 990.

¹⁵ Ioan. Dam, *Orationes*, 3, 90, 26: “Επηρώτων δέ, τί ἄν εἶη τὸ συμβάν· καὶ φησιν ὁ Ὀλύμπιος: “Ἄνδρα κατείδον λευχεμονοῦντα ἐπιβάντα μοι κατὰ τῆς νεροφόρου καὶ τρεῖς σίκλας θερμοῦ περιχέαντά μοι καὶ λέγοντά μοι: «Μὴ δυσφήμιε».”

¹⁶ ГРЪЦКО-БЪЛГАРСКИ РЕЧНИК 1994: 459.

Latin word *situla* is found in all Romance languages except Romanian.⁹ The Albanian language retains a reflex of the Vulgar Latin basis **sicla* in the noun *shekë f., pl. sheka*, denoting ‘a large wooden pail’, with *sheke* and *sheque* as variants.¹⁰ The reflexes listed in the *Etymological Dictionary of the Croatian or Serbian Language* (ERHSJ) III 228 include CS *sidlo, siglo, ciglo, sigalj, cigal*, all of which confirm that the word is undoubtedly part of Dalmatic Romance lexis, and Orsat Ligorio considers that the variant **situlu* should be taken as the basis.¹¹ Ionas includes the term σίκλα in the group of medieval words of Latin origin,¹² claiming that the noun *sikla* (σίκλα) was in Medieval Greek also known in the syncopated form of σίτλα, which denoted ‘a pail, a bucket, a pitcher’ and originated from the Latin noun *situla* with the same meaning. The syncopated variant σίτλα, -ας was also recorded in classical sources, by certain lexicographers and in inscriptions.¹³ The word is included in Sophocles’ famous Greek lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods under the entry σίτλα, where it is interpreted as an equivalent of the Latin form *situla*, meaning *pail*.¹⁴ It is of considerably more interest for this analysis that the variant σίκλα is recorded under the same entry, and also found in the writings of Iohannes Damascenus.¹⁵ A linguistic confirmation of such development can further be located in contemporary Greek language, more precisely, in the forms *σίκλα, *σίκλος, denoting ‘a bucket’, which are only recorded in the vocabulary of everyday language – the so-called demotic idiom (δημοτική γλώσσα).¹⁶

had chosen the number which was the first to come up was the winner.”

⁹ W. MEYER-LÜBKE, 1935: s. v. 7962 *situla*. Its absence from Romanian is also confirmed by A. ERNOUT & A. MEILLET, 1951: 1112.

¹⁰ V. OREL, 1998: 409.

¹¹ O. LIGORIO, 2014.

¹² I. IONAS, 2000: 231.

¹³ Anon. Med. *De duodecim* 5, 7, 2; Alex. Med., *Ther*, 1, 447, 23; 1, 553, 9; 2, 171, 3; 2, 513, 7; Hierophilus, 457, 24; Apophthegmata, *Apophth.* 9, 16, 9; Ant., *Vita Symeonis* 5, 5; Etym. Gud. kappa 323, 19; sigma 501, 7; Sch. In Dem. 21, 471a3; CPR vol. 8, 65, 2, 19; SB vol. 18, 13749, 5; CPL 252.

¹⁴ E. A. SOPHOCLES 1914: 990.

¹⁵ Ioan. Dam, *Orationes*, 3, 90, 26: “Επηρώτων δέ, τί ἄν εἶη τὸ συμβάν· καὶ φησιν ὁ Ὀλύμπιος: “Ἄνδρα κατείδον λευχεμονοῦντα ἐπιβάντα μοι κατὰ τῆς νεροφόρου καὶ τρεῖς σίκλας θερμοῦ περιχέαντά μοι καὶ λέγοντά μοι: «Μὴ δυσφήμιε».”

¹⁶ ГРЪЦКО-БЪЛГАРСКИ РЕЧНИК 1994: 459.

situla > *sitla* > *sikla* (slično kao i kod primjera: *capitulum* > *capiclum*; *vetulus* > *vetlus* > *veclus*).¹⁷ Naime, iščezavanje nenaglašenog vokala u penultimi jedna je od najznačajnijih karakteristika u fonetici vulgarnolatinskog jezika. Ime potvrđuje poznatu pojavu sinkope ili potpunog gubljenja nenaglašenog vokala -u- kod deminutivnih završetaka, *culo* < *clo*.¹⁸ Petar Skok je u svom etimologijskom rječniku u drugom kontekstu ukazao na primjer gdje je latinska proparoksitona *situlu* sinkopom prešla u *sidlo*.¹⁹ Sinkopa nenaglašenog vokala -u- zabilježena je i u literarnim i epigrafskim spomenicima još iz II. st. n. e. na cijelom području Carstva.²⁰

U grčkom jeziku imenica σίκλα javlja se vrlo rijetko. Ovaj apelativ za koji smatramo da se nalazi u osnovi Prokopijeva toponima zapisan je jednom i kod Ivana Damaščanina u akuzativu množine sa značenjem vjedro, kao i u Hesihijevu rječniku σίκλαι >· ἐνώτια gdje riječ ima objašnjenje *oboci, ušnjaci*.²¹ Upravo tumačenje kod Hesihija samo potvrđuje činjenicu da se radi o imenu negrčkog (tuđeg) porijekla.

U odnosu na značenje imena situacija je kompliciranija jer u toponimiji kasnoantičkog perioda ne nalazimo tako često imena mjesta u čijoj se osnovi nalaze termini sa značenjem 'vjedro, kofa, posuda za vodu'. Termin *situla* u arheologiji označava posudu u obliku krnjeg stošca, vjedro uskog ramena te kratkog i širokog vrata na koje su pričvršćene ušice za postavljanje ručke ili par polukružnih ručki, kao što nam uostalom potvrđuje tumačenje termina kod Hesihija. Služile su za čuvanje i prijenos tekućine. Najčešće su rađene od kovine, ali ih ima i keramičkih ili staklenih. I pored dojma o semantičkoj neopravdanosti imenovanja, ne trebamo zanemariti činjenicu da Prokopije i sam naglašava da je okosnica njegova teksta *De aedificiis*, opis Justinijanova impresivnog građevinskog poduhvata, u smislu podizanja novih i obnove starih tvrđava u funkciji odbra-

I believe that this case is an instance of a familiar type of development, i.e. the transformation of the consonant cluster *tl* > *cl*, which according to Mihăescu's research occurred as early as the end of the 2nd century: *situla* > *sitla* > *sikla* (similarly as in the examples: *capitulum* > *capiclum*; *vetulus* > *vetlus* > *veclus*).¹⁷ The elision of the unstressed vowel from the penult is, namely, one of the most significant features of Vulgar Latin phonetics. The analyzed name confirms the well-known phenomenon of the syncope, here manifested in the complete disappearance of the unstressed vowel -u- from diminutive endings such as *culo* < *clo*.¹⁸ In his Etymological Dictionary, Petar Skok points out, though in a different context, to the example in which the Latin proparoxytone *situlu* was syncopated into *sidlo*.¹⁹ The syncope of the unstressed vowel -u- was also recorded in literary and epigraphic evidence from the entire territory of the Empire, dating back to the 2nd century AD.²⁰

The noun σίκλα occurs rather rarely in the Greek language. This appellative, here considered to be the basis for Procopius' toponym, was recorded once by Iohannes Damascenus in the plural form of the accusative case, with the meaning of *pail*, as well as in Hesychius' dictionary: σίκλαι >· ἐνώτια, where the word is explicated as *earrings, eardrops*.²¹ It is precisely this interpretation found in Hesychius that confirms the fact that the name is of non-Greek (foreign) origin.

Referring to the semantics of the name is more complicated because the toponymy of the period of Late Antiquity does not offer very many place names with words meaning 'pail, bucket, water container' as their basis. The term *situla* in archaeology refers to a vessel in the shape of a truncated cone, a pail with a narrow handle, a wide and low door with rings attached to it for placing the bolt, or a couple of semicircular ear handles, which is, as mentioned above, also confirmed by Hesychius' interpretation. The described vessels were used for holding and carrying liquids. They were usually made of sheet

¹⁷ H. MIHĂESCU 1978: 197.

¹⁸ Procop. *Aed.* IV iv, 3; V. BEŠEVLIJEV 1970: 32, 97.

¹⁹ *ERHSJ* I: 228.

²⁰ Opširnije o ovoj pojavi s primjerima iz pojedinih dijelova jugoistočne Europe: H. MIHĂESCU 1978: 181–182.

²¹ Hesych. *Lex.* (Π – Ω) Alphabetic letter sigma, 620: σίκλαι >· ἐνώτια

¹⁷ H. MIHĂESCU, 1978: 197.

¹⁸ Procop. *Aed.* IV iv, 3; V. BEŠEVLIJEV 1970: 32, 97.

¹⁹ *ERHSJ* I: 228.

²⁰ More about this phenomenon as well as examples from some parts of southeastern Europe can be found in: H. MIHĂESCU, 1978: 181–182.

²¹ Hesych. *Lex.* (Π – Ω) Alphabetic letter sigma, 620: σίκλαι >· ἐνώτια

ne, kao i njegova težnja da sve oblasti opskrbi čistom vodom. U tom smislu jasno je da određeno utvrđenje mora ispuniti vojničke preduvjete za njegovo podizanje, a to je dobra opskrbljenost vodom u kombinaciji sa strateškim položajem, tj. pozicijom koja je prirodno lako branjiva. U tom smislu ovi apelativi koji označavaju posude za vodu za bilo koju upotrebu svakako su značajni, neovisno od toga jesu li se one upotrebljavale svakodnevno u domaćinstvu kao posude za tekućine ili su služile kao posude za nošenje vode potrebne pri izvođenju građevinskih radova. S druge strane, ako prihvatimo da se u osnovi imena tvrđave nalazi apelativ koji označava 'posudu za čuvanje vina, pa čak i piva', mogli bismo pretpostaviti da se radi o imenu neke taverne / krčme koja bi se nalazila pored važnijeg puta. Naime, poznato je da se Prokopijeve tvrđave nalaze na strateški značajnim mjestima uopće, pa tako i na značajnim putevima, kao što je u našem slučaju *Via Egnatia*. Stoga je vrlo logično zapažanje pomnog istraživača Prokopijevih toponima da se pored putnih stanica na njegovim popisima imena nalazi i poneka taverna.²² U svojoj studiji V. Beševliev navodi više primjera imena ovih gostionica u drugim oblastima o kojima piše Prokopije. Njihova imena su većinom po svom porijeklu latinska, što nije neuobičajeno, a razdvaja ih, u odnosu na značenje, u nekoliko grupa. Pored imena kao što su: Τούρικλα, Βέτζας, Σκάρες, Γραϊκος, Κοῦναι, Νώγετο, i ime tvrđave Σίκλαι u popisu za Makedoniju moglo bi se, prema svom postanju, kao i po pitanju semantike, protumačiti kao ime neke gostionice / krčme na značajnijem putnom pravcu.

Naravno, ova etimologija može biti problematična ako imamo u vidu da je dalmatoromanski jedini balkanskolatinski jezik koji ima refleks ove latinske riječi i time pretpostavlja osnovu **situlu* umjesto *situla*. Ipak smatramo da bi na osnovi saznanja da je ova riječ i balkanskolatinska, o čemu svjedoče oblici σίτλα i σίκλα, kao i na osnovi činjenice da je riječ *situla* s dvojakim rodnom ne samo u latinskom već i u romanskim kontinuantama te u novogrčkom, njezin plural

metal, but pottery or glass ones have also been found. While the process of place naming may seem in this case semantically unjustified, the fact should not be overlooked that Procopius himself emphasizes that the framework for his *De aedificiis* text is a description of Justinian's impressive endeavors in construction, chiefly focused on renovating the old forts and erecting the new ones for defensive purposes, as well as his efforts in providing clean water in all areas. With this in mind, it becomes clear that the erection of a fortification has to meet certain military preconditions, including quality water provision combined with a strategic position, i.e. a naturally defensible position. The appellatives denoting water buckets used for any purposes are certainly significant to this effect, regardless of whether such vessels were used on a daily basis in households or served for carrying the water necessary for the construction works. On the other hand, if we accept the appellative denoting 'a wine pitcher or a beer jug' as the basis for the fort's name, we might assume that the name is taken from an inn or a tavern located in the vicinity of an important road. It is, namely, well-known that the forts described by Procopius were generally located in strategically significant places, including important roads such as *Via Egnatia* in this case. There is some reason, therefore, in the observation of a careful researcher of Procopius' toponyms that a tavern could be found here and there among the numerous road-stations in his lists.²² Veselin Beševliev in his study cites a number of examples of such taverns and inns in other areas Procopius wrote about. The names of these are mostly of Latin origin, which is not unusual, and Beševliev classifies them in several groups according to their meaning. In addition to the names such as Τούρικλα (*Turicla*), Βέτζας (*Betzas*), Σκάρες (*Scares*), Γραϊκος (*Gracus*), Κοῦναι (*Cunae*), Νώγετο (*Nogeto*), the name of the Σίκλαι fort in the list for Macedonia could also be interpreted, relying on its origin as well as semantics, as the name of an inn or tavern located on a travel route of some importance.

Such etymology might certainly appear problematic if we consider the fact that Dalmatic Romance is the single Balkan Latin language which contains a reflex of this Latin word, thus designa-

²² V. BEŠEVLIEV 1970: 54–62.

²² V. BEŠEVLIEV 1970: 54–62.

s nastavkom *-ae/-ai* bio opravdan. Osim toga, prilikom opsežne filološke analize Prokopijevih toponima primijetili smo da bi valjalo računati i na tendenciju autora k grecizaciji indigenih oblika. Ne treba ni isključiti mogućnost sitnijih odstupanja u grčko-latinskoj predaji deklinacijskih tipova starobalkanske onomastike. Veći problem je opravdanost ovog izvođenja po pitanju semantike jer u balkanskolatinskom, a osobito u makedonskoj toponimiji, nismo pronašli ime na mjestu u čijoj se osnovi nalazi ovaj apelativ.

U ovoj prilici htjeli bismo napomenuti da pored ovog izvođenja postoji i drugo, moguće i vjerojatnije tumačenje Prokopijeva toponima, koje u svojoj biti ne odstupa od fonetskih pojava koje smo u prvom dijelu već opisali kao specifičnost vulgarnog latinizeta na primjeru apelativa, a to je interpretacija imena utvrđenja kao sinkopirani oblik etnonima *Siculi* Σικελοί, οί.²³ Podatak kod gramatičara Ptolemeja govori nam da su se stanovnici Sicilije zvali Σικελοί, a grčki doseljenici na otoku Σικελιώται.²⁴ Osnovu za ovakvo razmišljanje daju nam prije svega slični primjeri posvjedočeni kod Prokopija. To su tvrđave pod imenom Λυδικαί (IV 11, 20), koja se nalazi u popisu za Europu, kao i Κιλικαί (IV 4, 3) u popisu obnovljenih tvrđava u Novom Epiru. Osim toga, u sjevernoj Albaniji postoji mjesto pod imenom *Shikjë* (starije **Shiklë* < **Shikëlë*), od *Šikla*, kako se bilježi u starosrpskom izvoru iz XIV. st. (loc. u *Šikli*).²⁵ Ivan Popović izvodio ga je vrlo izvjesno od ilir-

ting **situlu* as its basis instead of *situla*. Nevertheless, knowing that this word is also of Balkan Latin origin, which is evidenced by the forms σίτλα and σίκλα, and relying on the fact that the word *situla* does not only have two genders in Latin, but also in Romance reflexes as well as in Modern Greek, I believe that the *-ae/-ai* plural ending could be justified. Additionally, the comprehensive philological analysis of Procopius' toponyms has given reason to think that the author's tendency towards Hellenizing indigenous names should be taken into account. The possibility should also be considered of certain exceptions in the transference into Greek and Latin of the declension types from the Paleo-Balkan onomastics. What presents a greater problem, however, is the semantic justification of such a development of the word, because no place names have been found in the Balkan Latin toponymy – and, more specifically, Macedonian – to suggest this appellative as their basis.

It should be stressed at this point that apart from this explanation there is another possible, even more probable, interpretation of Procopius' toponym, which does not essentially deviate from the phonetic phenomena already described in the first part of this paper as specific to vulgar Latinity, and exemplified with appellatives. This alternative interpretation regards the name of the fort as a syncopated form of the *Siculi* Σικελοί, οί ethnonym.²³ Information provided by the grammarian Ptolemaeus indicates that the indigenous peoples of Sicily were called Σικελοί (*Sicani*), while the name for the Greek settlers on the island was Σικελιώται (*Siceliotae*).²⁴ This line of

²³ Σικελοί: Thuc., *Hist.* 4, 25, 9, 2; 6, 2, 4, 1; Opp., *Cyneg.* 1, 170; 1, 272; Diod. Sic. *Bibl. Hist.* (lib. 1–20), 5, 8, 1, 11; 5, 9, 1, 1; 12, 30, 1, 8; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1, 9, 1, 4; 1, 12, 3, 15; 1, 16, 1, 5; Theoph. *Hist. pl.* 8, 4, 3, 4; Str., *Geogr.* 6, 2, 4, 31; 9, 3, 7, 27; Cass Dio, *Hist. Rom.* 60, 33, 3, 7; Paus., *Graec. descr.* 5, 25, 6, 1; etc. Σικελαί: Plato, *Soph.* 242, d, 7; Emp. *Test.* 29, 7; Joann. Cinn. *Epit.*, 87, 15; Nic. Ch., *Hist.* 1, 480, 17; Simp. *Comm.* 9, 50, 15.

O ilirskom plemenu *Siculotae* v. i: J. J. WILKES 1992: 217; J. J. WILKES 1996: 578.

²⁴ Ptol. *De dif.*, 26; etc. <Ιταλιώται> μὲν λέγονται Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, <Ἰταλοὶ>

δὲ βάρβαροι· καὶ ὁμοίως Σικελοὶ μὲν βάρβαροι οἱ ἐν Σικελίᾳ, Σικελιώται δὲ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ.

Slično i: Et. Gud. Σ 500, 30: Σικελός>, Σικελιώτου διαφέρει· Σικελοὶ μὲν εἰσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ οἰκοῦντες βάρβαροι· Σικελιώται δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων πόλεως μετοικήσαντες.

O plemenu *Siculotae* v. i: Plin. *N.h.* III, 22; Ptol. *Geogr.* II, 16, 5.

²⁵ W. TOMASCHEK 1880: 552; J. ŠAFARIK 1862: f. 286.

O ovom Prokopijevu toponimu slično je mišljenje izloženo i u: S. HOXHA 1982: 165.

²³ Σικελοί: Thuc., *Hist.* 4, 25, 9, 2; 6, 2, 4, 1; Opp., *Cyneg.* 1, 170; 1, 272; Diod. Sic. *Bibl. Hist.* (lib. 1–20), 5, 8, 1, 11; 5, 9, 1, 1; 12, 30, 1, 8; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1, 9, 1, 4; 1, 12, 3, 15; 1, 16, 1, 5; Theoph. *Hist. pl.* 8, 4, 3, 4; Str., *Geogr.* 6, 2, 4, 31; 9, 3, 7, 27; Cass Dio, *Hist. Rom.* 60, 33, 3, 7; Paus., *Graec. descr.* 5, 25, 6, 1; etc.

Σικελαί: Plato, *Soph.* 242, d, 7; Emp. *Test.* 29, 7; Joann. Cinn. *Epit.*, 87, 15; Nic. Ch., *Hist.* 1, 480, 17; Simp. *Comm.* 9, 50, 15.

On the Illyrian tribe *Siculotae* also see: J. J. WILKES 1992: 217; J. J. WILKES, 1996: 578.

²⁴ Ptol. *De dif.*, 26; etc. <Ιταλιώται> μὲν λέγονται Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, <Ἰταλοὶ> δὲ βάρβαροι· καὶ ὁμοίως Σικελοὶ μὲν βάρβαροι οἱ ἐν Σικελίᾳ, Σικελιώται δὲ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ.

Similarly in: Et. Gud. Σ 500, 30: Σικελός>, Σικελιώτου διαφέρει· Σικελοὶ μὲν εἰσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ οἰκοῦντες βάρβαροι· Σικελιώται δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων πόλεως μετοικήσαντες.

On the *Siculotae* tribe also see: Plin. *N.h.* III, 22; Ptol. *Geogr.*

sko-romanskog imena mjesta **Sicula* u sjevernoj Albaniji i dovodio u vezu s plemenom *Siculotae* koje se spominje u rimskoj Dalmaciji.²⁶ Mjesto se nalazilo u okolici šireg planinskog područja pod imenom Pult, sjeveroistočno od Skadra u Albanskim Alpama. Moguće je da je toponim *Shikjë* odraz imena kaštela koji bilježi Prokopije. Jedini problem ove lokalizacije bila bi činjenica da se tvrđava ne nalazi na teritoriju Makedonije, kako je zabilježeno u Prokopijevu popisu, nego na teritoriju susjednog Novog Epira. Pritom moramo spomenuti da ovakvi primjeri pogrešnog nabiranja tvrđava kod Prokopija nisu nepoznata pojava, osobito kada su u pitanju područja Novog Epira i Dardanije. Tome svjedoče primjeri imena Κασσωπᾶς i Κάσσωπες iz popisa za Makedoniju za koje je vjerojatnija pretpostavka da se nalaze na epirskom teritoriju, kao i tvrđava Πλευρόν za koju pouzdano znamo da se nalazi u Etoliji. Potpuno je nejasno zašto su pojedina utvrđenja koja prema podacima iz drugih izvora nedvojbeno pripadaju susjednom teritoriju Epira kod Prokopija smještena u Makedoniju. Martine Perrin-Henry smatra da se u izvoru možda radi o Makedoniji u širem smislu, shvaćenoj kao dijeceza,²⁷ jer gotovo je nemoguće da se i pored jasno razdvojenih novopodignutih i obnovljenih tvrđava u popisima epirskih provincija one opet javljaju u popisu makedonskih.

Filološka analiza imena pokazala nam je da se u morfološkom kontekstu ova naoko različita tumačenja svode na gotovo identičnu pojavu, a to je iščezavanje nenaglašenog vokala u penultimi kao jednoj od najznačajnijih karakteristika u fonetici vulgarnolatinskog jezika. Primjer koji smo obradili pokazuje da je pojava veoma dobro potvrđena i u Prokopijevoj toponimiji, a kod istog autora nalazimo sličan primjer u imenu obnovljenog utvrđenja Τουρικλα, u oblasti Kabeza koje je latinskog porijekla, od deminutiva *turricula*. Po pitanju značenja, iz priloženog je jasno da su obje mogućnosti interpretacije porijekla imena tvrđave gotovo rav-

thought is primarily grounded in similar examples listed by Procopius. These examples include forts named Λυδικαί (Lydicae; IV 11, 20) from the list for Europe, and Κιλικαί (Cilicae; IV 4, 3) from the list of the renovated fortifications in New Epirus. Further, there is a place in Northern Albania called *Shikjë* (old **Shiklë* < **Shikëlë*), from *Šikla*, as recorded in an Old Serbian source from the 14th century (LOC u *Šikli*).²⁵ Ivan Popovich clearly related the toponym to the Illyrian Romance name for the place **Sicula* in Northern Albania and brought it into connection with the *Siculotae* tribe, which was mentioned in the Roman province of Dalmatia.²⁶ The place was located in the vicinity of the large mountainous area called Pult, to the northeast of Shkodër, in the Albanian Alps. It is possible that the *Shikjë* toponym is a reflection of the name of the castle recorded by Procopius. The only problem in this localization would be the fact that the fort is not located on the territory of Macedonia, as recorded in Procopius' list, but on the neighboring territory of New Epirus. It should be noted here that such examples of mistaken localities are not uncommon in Procopius' lists of forts, especially as regards the territories of New Epirus and Dardania. For illustrative purposes, we might refer to the names Κασσωπᾶς (*Cassopas*) and Κάσσωπες (*Cassopes*) from the list for Macedonia, which are more likely to have been located on the territory of Epirus, or to the Πλευρόν (*Pleurum*) fort, which is known with certainty to be in Aetolia. It is completely unclear why Procopius places certain forts in Macedonia, although the data collected from other sources indubitably indicate that they were located in the neighboring Epirus. Martine Perrin-Henry considers that Procopius' source perhaps refers to Macedonia in a broader context, as a diocese,²⁷ since it is virtually impossible, with clearly classified and delineated lists of newly erected and renovated forts in the Epirus Region, that these should still appear in the Macedonian list.

The philological analysis of the toponym has shown that the seemingly different interpretations

²⁶ I. POPOVIČ 1958: 312.

²⁷ M. HENRY-PERRIN 1974: 186.

II, 16, 5.

²⁵ W. TOMASCHEK 1880: 552; J. ŠAFARIK, 1862: f. 286. A similar opinion on this toponym of Procopius' was also expounded in: S. HOXHA 1982: 165.

²⁶ I. POPOVIČ 1958: 312.

²⁷ M. HENRY-PERRIN, 1974: 186.

prve interpretacije u balkanolatinskoj toponimiji, drugoj dajemo blagu prednost po pitanju semantičke motivacije s obzirom na priložene slične oblike kod Prokopija.

are reduced, in terms of morphology, to the practically identical phenomenon, which is the disappearance of the unstressed vowel from the penult as one of the most significant features of Vulgar Latin phonetics. The here examined example confirms that the phenomenon in question is rather well evidenced in the toponymy of Procopius, who also registers a similar example in the name of the renovated fort Τούρικλα (*Turicla*) in the district of Cabetzus, which originates from the Latin diminutive *turricula*. As regards the meaning, all the evidence here presented suggest that both possibilities of interpreting the name of the fort are almost completely equal. However, since no confirmation has been found in the Balkan Latin toponymy for the first interpretation, I tend to favor the second one in respect to its semantic motivation, particularly because similar forms are registered in Procopius' lists.

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