

Crete, the Jordan, and the Rhône.

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., LITT.D., LL.D., WOODBROOKE SETTLEMENT, BIRMINGHAM.

THE advanced culture of the early settlers in Crete, and the influence of Cretan civilization upon the rest of the Mediterranean, are becoming every day more recognized. It is interesting, therefore, to pick up any threads of history or tradition which may enable us to connect the Cretan civilization with its mysterious origins on the one hand, or with the later civilizations on the other hand, which may have come under its influence. In this regard it was worthy of note that Fick has recently in his study of Greek Place-names of the first period (*Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, Göttingen, 1905), made the suggestion that the civilization of the Rhône valley was due, in the first instance, to Cretans. We are all aware how early was the Hellenic influence in Southern Gaul, and how constantly the first settlements were reinforced from Greece and from Asia Minor; but the origin of the colonization is commonly referred to the Phocæans, who begin the long chain of influence that continues to the days of Pothinus, Irenæus, and the Churches of Smyrna and elsewhere in Asia Minor.¹ The reason why Fick threw out the suggestion that the Cretans were in Southern Gaul before the Phocæans was due to his recognition of a Cretan affinity in the name of Marseilles.

'The name of the river Massalia, which flows into the sea on the south-west of Middle Crete between Cape Psychion and the little coast-town Lamos (see Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, ii. 547), reminds one forcibly of Massalia-Marseilles, the city settled by the Phocæans. This can hardly be an accident. In that case the Cretans will have discovered and settled at the mouths of the Rhône before the Phocæans.'

Fick goes on to suggest that the same thing has happened in Corsica, where original Cretan settlements underlie the colonies of the Phocæans. The suggestion is an extremely interesting one, and sets one thinking: for it is clear that if the Cretans are in the Rhône valley before the Phocæans and later bodies of Greek immigrants, we ought to find further traces of them in the nomenclature of this

¹Justin. 43. 3, 6: 'Itaque Phocæenses in ultimam Oceani oram procedere ausi, in sinum Gallicum circum ostia Rhodani amnis devenere.'

part of Gaul. For example, Fick, in discussing the early Cretan names to the east of Gortyna, stumbles upon a place to the east of Vinatos (*Ἰνατος*), which Stephanus the Geographer calls by the name of *Βιέννος*. Fick corrects the spelling to *Βιάννος*, shows from the inscriptions that the people who live there are called *Βιάννοι*, and identifies the place with a little village which now bears the name Viano. He suggests further that the double *ν* is for an original *νδ*, and finds a parallel in the name of a little town called *Βιάνδινα ἢ Βιανδίνου πόλις* on the promontory of Taenarum at the southern extremity of the Peloponnese. The suggestion at once arose in my mind that we had here a name that was exactly parallel to the name of Vienne in Southern Gaul, one of the great cities of Roman and Pre-Roman times. It is curious that Fick, who was so ready to recognize the Cretan origin of Marseilles, does not seem to have suspected this parallel. But it had already been pointed out by Stephanus, who has the actual tradition that Vienna was a Cretan colony from Viennus in Crete.² And since Dion Cassius (xlv. 50) says that the Allobroges (whose chief city Vienna is) had expelled some previous settlers, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that these were the Cretans, who suffered some reverse here in the days of their early colonization. I had not seen the reference in Stephanus, in making the connexion between the Cretan *Βιάννος* and the Greek *Οὐτέρα*.

²Stephanus' statement is as follows:—

Biennos, a city of Crete: some say that it takes its name from Biennos, one of the Curetes; others, that it is named after the violent deed (*Βίαις*) done in the matter of Ares, which they say was here done by Otus and Ephialtus, the sons of Poseidon; and even to the present day the murder-hecatombs are here sacrificed to Ares.

The citizens are called Bienni; but some say that they pay dues to Zeus Temilios and to Biennios. There is also *another city of the name in Gaul*; for when once upon a time a pestilence had seized on Crete, the inhabitants migrated elsewhere, and some occupied Hydruntum, a city of Italy not yet enclosed. And an oracle was given them, that they should colonize the most marshy place they could find. So they came to a marshy place on the Rhône, a river of Gaul, and dwelt there, and named their city Bianna, because one of the young women in their party, named Bianna, was swallowed up in a chasm while dancing; and this city is commemorated by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*.

The tradition that one of the virgins who migrated with them, named herself Bianna, was swallowed up in a chasm, is, probably, only an afterthought to explain away the fact that the city of Vienne, like so many famous cities of the East, was built upon a sacrifice at the corner-stone in the shape of a young virgin, who becomes the Fortune of the city. Stephanus gives her name correctly as Bianna.

I venture to suggest, then, that Stephanus was right when he said that Vienne had been founded by the Cretans. The name of the original settlement was perhaps Βιάνδος.

If we have correctly followed the suggestions of Fick in regard to the Cretan colonization of the Rhône Valley, we ought certainly to go a step further and ask whether other traces of Cretan occupation can be detected. The names, to be conclusive, should be Pre-Hellenic as well as Cretan, for the Cretan settlers are to be the first in the field at Marseilles, unless, perhaps, we are to allow for a Phœnician Colony. The first question, then, that arises is as to the name of the river itself that flows between the two Cretan settlements, Marseilles and Vienne. It used to be supposed that the name was genuine Greek, and that it had been given to the river by settlers from the Island of Rhodes in remembrance of the Island of Roses, from which they had come. But this opinion has generally been abandoned, and it appears to be a conflict to-day between those who hold that the name is Ligurian, and those who take it to be Celtic. Leaving, for the present, the philological question between Ligurian and Celtic, let us turn to the pre-Hellenic rivers in Crete, and see what they offer that is in any way similar to the name of the Rhône (Ῥοδανός).

We immediately light upon a curious problem which becomes more and more perplexing and at the same time interesting, as we examine it.

The most important river in Western Crete is the Ἰάρδανος or Ἰαρδάνης; the form of the name suggests at once that we are dealing with Pre-Hellenic or non-Hellenic matter. On this river, according to the Odyssey, lived the Kydones:

Ἐνθα Κύδωνες ἔβαιον Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα
(*Od.* γ. 292).

And it was not unnatural that early critics of the geography of this passage thought they had come upon a certain trace of Semitic influence, and

identified the river's name with that of the Jordan, thus making the Kydones a Semitic people, or, at all events, explaining the nomenclature by Semitic influence. But to this there are grave objections. First of all, there are other rivers whose names agree very closely with the Cretan Jardanos. One of them, according to the *Iliad*, is in Elis:

Φειῶς παρ τεύχεσσιν Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα
(*Il.* H. 135);

another is in Lydia, for Stephanus of Byzantium says—

Ἰάρδανος πόταμος Λυδίας;

and Fick points out that this must be correct because in the Lydian Mythology Ἰάρδανος (the river-god?) is the father of the Lydian Mother-goddess Omphale.¹

It is natural, then, to connect the Cretan river with these two other Jordans, and not with the Palestinian; and this seems to exclude Semitic influence altogether.

The problem becomes, however, more interesting, when we discover that Semitic scholars are in serious doubt whether the name of the Jordan is itself Semitic.

Setting aside the early patristic explanation that the name is made up out of two Hebrew words, *yor*, יֹר, which means 'river' (? the Nile), and *Dan*, an explanation which turns up in all sorts of odd corners of the Patristic Literature, we have the best explanation of the word in the stem *yarad* ('to descend'), from a primitive *warad*, the name being very appropriate on account of its rapid descent from its sources near Mt. Hermon to the Dead Sea. But even to this apparently satisfactory derivation objections have been taken, and Stade, in his *Hebrew Grammar*, gives reasons for rejecting it. If it is not Semitic, what is it? Can it be Hittite? In that case the other three Jordans, of which one is definitely Lydian, may belong with it. Moreover, in that case, there will be a fifth river that will have to be grouped with them. For the suggestion made above of the existence of the collateral Hebrew forms *yarad* and *warad* may be valid elsewhere than in Hebrew. And there is, according to Ptolemy, a river on the Black Sea, whose name is Vardanes; it is a branch of the Atticitus river in Sarmatia (*Ptol*, v. 9, 28). This river can hardly be detached from the other four.

¹ She is called Iardanis, the nymph, in Ovid. *Her.* 103.

So herè are five rivers, at least, from some unknown language which has yet to be identified.

My next observation is that the name Vardon, upon which we have stumbled, is the name of two of the tributaries of the Rhône. Every one knows the *Pont de Gard* near Avignon, and those who are acquainted with French Philology (which makes *guerre* out of *war*, and *garde* out of *ward*) will recognize in the Gard or Gardon an earlier Ward or Wardon. There are two streams of the name Gard, the Gardon d'Alais, and the Gardon d'Anduze, which coalesce and flow into the Rhône below the Pont du Gard. The original name of the stream was Vardo or Vardon.¹

Now this name agrees closely with the forms that we have already been studying, both in Crete and in Asia Minor, and on the Black Sea, so that I do not hesitate to label it as Cretan, and as the name given by the early settlers from that island. Counting the two Vardons as a single stream, we have now six rivers belonging to the same group.

If, however, Vardon is the right name for one of the upper branches of the Rhône, the inference is, at least, a probable one that this is the original form for the Rhodanus itself, which has been preserved in its upper waters. We have an instructive parallel in the name of the river Thames, which is a combination, or, as Spenser would say, the result of a marriage between the Thames and Isis. The combination represents a later date than the two original names, and it is easy to infer that the name of Thame once held right down to the sea. Even in Milton's time, the Thames at Windsor could be spoken of as 'royal-towered Thame.'²

Now, apart altogether from the meaning or origin of the name Ἰάρδαρος, it is difficult to resist the suggestion of some connexion between the name *Vardon* and the name *Rhodanus*; and any explana-

¹ So in Sidonius Apollinaris, p. 50: "Si quidem domibus medius it Vuardo fluvius, nisi cum deflua nive pastus impalluit flavis ruber glareis, et per alveum perspicuus, quietus, calculosusque, neque ob hoc minus piscium ferax delicatorum."

² Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, iv. II, 24.

So went he playing on the watery plaine,
Soon after whom the lovely bridegroom came,
The noble Thamis, with all his goodly traine;
But him before there went, as best became,
His auncient parents, namely, th' auncient Thame,
But much more aged was his wife than he,
The Ouzé, whom men do Isis rightly name.

tion of the similarity of the names requires that Vardon should be the older form. But this brings us again so close to the *Jardanos* group and the associated Sarmatian *Vardanes*, that we are almost obliged to take them all together and look for a common etymological origin.³ This means, that we must connect the Rhône, as well as the cities on its banks, with the primitive Cretan migration, and have no need to resort to Ligurian or Celtic derivations. The name may have undergone Gallicization, it was not originally Celtic.

Then we have to inquire further into the supposed Cretan ancestry and the meaning of the name. Those who derived the name of the Gallic river from Rhodes and its assumed settlers, and from the rose which is the symbol of the island, had a difficulty to face in the fact that no one knows the origin of the name Rhodes, nor to what language the Greek word ῥόδον originally belongs. The Armenian for *rose* is *ward*, and the Arabic is *ward*, but it does not seem to be a Semitic stem.⁴

The Armenian language has probably borrowed it from somewhere; the source, for example, might be Hittite, if Hittite were different from primitive Armenian.

Whatever be the origin, we may be sure that changes which made a primitive *ward* into a Greek ῥόδον would not contradict a similar connexion between *Warden* and *Rhodanos*. The discovery of the collateral Vardon in the upper waters of the Rhône helps our identification greatly; and at all events we see clearly in what direction to look for the origin of the divergent names of the river. It is even possible that Rhodanus might, after all, mean 'Rosy.'

We have now followed out Fick's suggestions so far as to detect early Cretan influence in the names of Marseilles, of Vienna, of Vardon and the Pont du Gard, and of the Rhône itself. The ultimate source may be Hittite, but of that we only know enough to say, that the less said dogmatically about an undeciphered language the better. There is

³ It is curious and amusing that Rufinus, when he tried to find a Celtic etymology for the name of the Rhône, imitated closely the old Patristic etymology of the Jordan, as follows:—*De nominibus Gallicis*, 4: 'Koth violentiam, dan et in Gallico et in Hebraeo iudicem; ideo *Hrodanus* iudex violentus.'

⁴ One of the depressions on the road from Suez to Sinai goes by the name of the Wady Warden; I do not know of any explanation that has ever been made of it. But it should be noted.

nothing to prevent the assignment of all the Jordan rivers of Crete, Asia Minor, Sarmatia, and Palestine, to a Hittite nomenclature, *if other evidence should point that way*. Only we must remember Mr. Andrew Lang's comments on Professor Sayce's statement that 'the Moschi seem to have spoken a language allied to that of the Cappadocians and

Hittites.' 'That is to say,' says Mr. Lang, 'it is not impossible that the language of the Moschi, about which next to nothing is known, may have been allied to that of the Cappadocians, about which we know next to nothing.' 'Where Professor Sayce is, the Hittites, if we may say so respectfully, are not very far off.'

In the Study.

The Beautiful Word 'Ransom.'

ONE of the first sermons in the new volume of the *Christian World Pulpit*—it is the 76th volume, containing the sermons from July to December, 1909 (James Clarke & Co.; 4s. 6d.)—one of its first sermons is entitled 'The Servant-Redeemer.' The preacher is the Rev. Herbert Snell, B.A., and the text is Mt 20²⁸, 'Even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.'

The Servant-Redeemer? Why must the Servant be a Redeemer, and why must the Redeemer be a Servant? That was the vision of Isaiah—'Behold my servant': 'and with his stripes we are healed.' It means that the redemption of man is to be accomplished by the instrumentality of God. Not against God's will; not simply with God's acquiescence; but in full harmony with God's purpose and under God's direction. The Redeemer is to be God's servant, the instrument of His hand, used by God for our healing. But redemption is the payment of a price. It is wounding; it is stripes. The servant must also be a sufferer. 'Suffering goodness,' says Mr. Snell, 'is an equivalent for the service of God.'

It is a mighty truth. How did Isaiah attain to it? Not by quiet thinking, but by the pressure of experience. 'Just as diamonds are generally discovered in the beds of rivers flowing through volcanic districts, the product of stupendous pressure during awful eruptions, so this gem originated in that wild chaotic period of Israel's history when she was the captive of tyranny and of idolatry, when empires clashed in conflict around her prison walls, and buried her destiny in hopeless débris.'

He came as a Servant. So every man of genius or of greatness comes as the servant of man. Did He come, like Plato, to serve to intellectual progress? Did He come, like Luther, for the reformation of doctrine? Did He come, like Cromwell, for political reconstruction? Did He come, like Shakespeare, for the culture of the imagination in poetic and dramatic ideals? He came as a Servant in order to redeem man. And for that end no one ever came but Himself.

But He was a Physician. He healed all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people. He did not heal as a physician; He healed as a Redeemer. His service to the sick of the palsy was not 'Rise up and walk,' but 'Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.'

But He came as a Teacher. Did they not say, 'Never man spake like this man.' He did not teach as a Rabbi, but as a Redeemer. 'The Sermon on the Mount, with its sublime precepts, its ravishing melody of language, would yet never have led captive the mind and heart of man but for the Cross. We all remember Holman Hunt's famous picture of the carpenter's shop in Nazareth with the mother of Jesus bending over the chest containing the gifts of the wise men, and the young carpenter stretching his arms above his head in weariness, while his shadow, the shadow of a cross, shows behind Him on the wall. If I get close to the Sermon on the Mount and examine it, I see there the shadow of the cross on every page.'

'He gave his life a ransom.' Ransom is a beautiful word. Mr. Snell says so. And that says much for Mr. Snell. By our words we shall be justified—by the words we speak, and also by the words we love. How are you drawn to the word 'blood,' for instance? How are you drawn to the