

XAMYNH: AN ELEAN SURNAME OF DEMETER

1. The existence of Demeter Chamyne is supported both by two explicit statements by Pausanias and in part also by the epigraphical evidence. Pausanias (6, 20, 8-9) reports the existence of a priestess of the goddess, an office which was bestowed from time to time on different women; she attended the Olympic games from her seat, an altar of white marble¹. In 6, 21, 1 the periegetes places the sanctuary of Demeter Chamyne near the Hippodrom and gives the surname Chamyne a childish etymology, according to which the earth gaped (*χανεῖν*) for the chariot of Hades and then closed up (*μύσαι*) once more; on the other side, he connects the surname with an unknown hero Chamynos². Of these two explanations the former does not stand any linguistic analysis and the latter is based upon the obscure figure of Chamynos, which could be an ad-hoc invention of the historian and can hardly be taken seriously.

On the other side, the form *Χαμυναία* may be assumed in the fragmentary text of the inscription *IvO* 485 (3d C. A.D.), to be understood as

[τὴν ἰέ]ρειαν τῆς / [Χα]μυναίας. 2/3.

The epithets *Χαμυναία* and *Χαμύνη* stand obviously in the same relation as *Ἀθηναία* and *Ἀθήνη*. It is possible, but not sure, that this *ἰέρεια* could be identified with the *ἰέρειαι* (τῆς) *Δήμητρος*, who are referred to in three inscriptions going back also to the Roman period³.

One may thus assume that, although the existence of an Elean Demeter Chamyne is safely established in the ancient sources, her name was not understandable at all for the Greeks themselves. The modern research of the last century⁴ has gone a step further by associating the name Chamyne with the terms *χαμαί* "on the earth" and *εὐνή* "bed" and such epithets as *χαμαιεὐνης* (Hom.), *χαμεύνης* (Hsch.) "sleeping on the ground", *χαμαιευνάς* (Hom.), *χαμευνάς* (Nonnos) and the like (cf. § 4) and by interpreting it as "who lays or sleeps on the ground". But some aspects of the question, especially the difficulty raised by the final *οὐνή* (*οὐνᾶ*) instead of the expected *οεὐνή*, remain

open and in fact in the current etymological dictionaries the epithet is either ignored (Pokorny, Frisk) or referred to as "peu clair" (Chantraine)⁵.

Since in my opinion the cultural aspects of the goddess and the etymology of her name are closely connected, the aim of the present paper will be, first, to outline those cultural features of this Elean deity which could be relevant for the interpretation of the surname and, secondly, to suggest a solution for the linguistic problem it raises.

2. For our first purpose the following points may be established:

2.1. The existence of significant similarities between the Elean Demeter Chamyne and the standard Eleusinian Demeter: so Pausanias refers to two sitting statues made of ivory and gold representing the Mother and the Daughter (*Κόρη*), which were in the Heraion of Olympia (5, 17, 3: *Κόρη δὲ καὶ Δημήτηρ καὶ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις, αἱ μὲν ἀλλήλων εἰσὶν*

1. Paus. 6.20.8-9 ἔστι δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλληνοδικῶν βωμὸς λίθου λευκοῦ ἐπὶ τούτου καθεζομένη τοῦ βωμοῦ θεᾶται γυνὴ τὰ Ὀλύμπια, *ἰέρεια Δήμητρος Χαμύνης*, τιμὴν ταύτην ἄλλοτε ἄλλην λαμβάνουσα παρὰ Ἑλείων.

2. Paus. 6.21.1: τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου μέρος οὐ χῶμα γῆς ἐστίν, ὄρος δὲ οὐχ ὑψηλόν. ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τοῦ ὄρους ἱερὸν πεποιήται *Δήμητρι ἐπίκλησιν Χαμύνη* καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τὸ ὄνομα ἤγηνται, *χανεῖν γὰρ τὴν γῆν ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἄρμα τοῦ Ἄιδου καὶ αὐθις μύσαι* οἱ δὲ Χάμυνον ἄνδρα Πισαῖον Πανταλέοντι ἐναντιούμενον... ἀποθανεῖν φασὶν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πανταλέοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαμύνου τῆς οὐσίας τῇ Δήμητρι οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸ ἱερὸν. Pantaleon was a historical king of Pisa, who helped the Messenians against the Spartans during the Second Messenian War (Strab. 8, 4, 10).

3. Cf. *IvO* 456, 7f.: *ἰέρειαν γενομέ/νην τῆς Δήμη/τρος* (149 A.D.); *IvO* 610, 1f.: *Ρηγίλλα ἰέρεια / Δήμητρος* (ca. 140 A.D.: this Regilla was presumably the wife of consul Herodes Atticus); *IvO* 473, 7f.: *ἰέρει/α Δήμητρος* (212/3 A.D.).

4. Cf. L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie* 4 I, 1894, 776; A. Fick, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermänischen Sprachen* (Göttingen 1890⁴) 54; G. Curtius, *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie* (Leipzig 1879⁵) s. u. *χαμαί*.

5. Cf. J. Pokorny, *IEW* (also *W.-P.*); H. Frisk, *GEW*; P. Chantraine, *DELG* s. u. *χαμαί*.

ἀπαντικρὺ καθήμεναι)⁶; in 6, 21, 2 the author tells us about another old sculptural group of both deities located in the sanctuary of Demeter which was replaced by a new one made of Pentelic marble by Herodes Atticus' command (*ἀγάλματα δὲ ἀντι τῶν ἀρχαίων Κόρην καὶ Δήμητρα λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιον Ἰθναῖος ἀνέθηκεν Ἡρώδης*). On the basis of this assumed identity, the epithets of the Elean Demeter may be interpreted in the light of the myths concerning the panhellenic Demeter, as will be showed below.

2.2. The close relationship between Demeter Chamyne and horses. According to Pausanias, her temple was placed near to the Hippodrom⁷. This fact can be not a fortuitous one, since the horses of Hades are reported to have come out of the earth just in this site, as we have seen above⁸. It is also a noticeable fact that in the neighbouring Arcadian town of Telpousa, according to a local tradition reported by Pausanias, Demeter was followed by Poseidon, who lusted after her; so she turned into a mare, Poseidon too changed into a stallion and enjoyed the goddess (8, 25, 5: *πλανωμένη γὰρ τῇ Δήμητρι, ἠνίκα τὴν παῖδα ἐζήτει, λέγουσιν ἔπεσθαι οἱ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἐπιθυμοῦντα αὐτῇ μιχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐς ἵππον μεταβαλοῦσαν ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἵπποις νέμεσθαι ταῖς Ὀγκίου*). The goddess was known in Telpousa as Demeter Ἐρινύς because of her anger against Poseidon; moreover she was worshipped as a horse-headed deity in the cave of Phigalia, where she bore the epiclesis Μέλαινα (Paus. 8, 42, 1)⁹. It is thus highly probable that the myth which Pausanias placed in Olympia was closely connected with — or under the influence of — this horse-shaped Demeter of Arcadia, whose chthonic character seems evident to me: on one hand, because of her relationship with Poseidon, who was originally a god of sweet water and consequently a kind of fertility daimon; on the other hand, on the basis of the surnames she receives in Arcadia, e.g. Μέλαινα (also epithet of the Earth) and Ἐρινύς, like the archaic deities of the deep earth.

2.3. The surname Κονία, which is applied also to Demeter in Olympia, as the text of a dedication of ca. 475–450 reedited by H. Philipp¹⁰ shows:

Ἐρμαῖος: ἱαρός: τᾶς Δάματρος τᾶς [χ]? κονίας.

The adjective κόνιος, undoubtedly derived from κόνις “dust”, is applied also to Zeus in Megara

(Paus. 1, 40, 6) and widely understood as “causing dust” in the moment of his epiphany. This interpretation, however, does not seem to be the only plausible one. More suitable with her nature and with her other surnames would be to understand Κονία “the dusty one” as a reference to her close relationship with the earth and to her peculiarities as a fertility deity¹¹.

2.4. The hierogamy between the hero Iasion and Demeter in Crete “on a thrice ploughed field” (*νεῖω ἐνι τριπόλῳ*), according to the very similar accounts by Homer and Hesiod:

ε 125 ὧς δ' ὀπότε Ἰασίῳ ἐϋπλόκαμος Δημήτηρ
ὦ θυμῷ εἶξασα, μίγη φιλότῃτι καὶ εὐνῇ
νεῖω ἐνι τριπόλῳ¹².

6. The author of these statues remains unknown. Oberbeck, *KM III*, Tab. VIII, mentions two possible sculptors, Dontas and Doricleidas; cf. also *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae IV 1*, 849 (s. u. Demeter).

7. It is on the basis of this fact that O. Kern, *RE IV* col. 2727 postulates the association of the Demeter of Olympia with the Δημήτηρ ἐφ' Ἰπποδρόμῳ mentioned on the inscription of the Andanian Mysteries; however, the inscription seems to refer to the Andanian Hippodrom itself as was suggested by L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* (Lipsiae 1906) 181ff. On the Olympian Hippodrom see the communication of J. Ebert, “Neues zum olympischen Hippodrom”, in the present volume, 000ff. On the close relationship between Demeter and the race-course 4. Two inscriptions from Halicarnassus in A. Maivri “Annuario Scuola Atene” 4-5 (1921–1922) 463 n. 3 and 464 n. 4 (= *SEG IV* 1930, 187 and 188) and one inscription from south Italy interpreted by M. Guarducci, *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 33 (1978) 273–288.

8. Cf. n. 2.

9. Cf. M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris 1985) especially pp. 63f. and 89f.

10. *Olympische Forschungen* 13, 1981, 220 nr. 813 (= *Olympia IV* nr. 382 = *SEG* 31, 368).

11. Other possible interpretations of the epithet Κονία have been discussed in my paper “Sobre algunos nuevos epítetos de Deméter (3. Κονία)”, *Actas del VII Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos* (Madrid 1987 [1989]) 318f., namely a) “the one who raises the dust of the harvest”, which could fit with the agrarian character of Demeter; b) “the dusty one” referring to the long neglected outward appearance of the goddess during her wanderings upon the earth while seeking her daughter; c) “the arena (=dust!) goddess” of the athletes who applied dust on their bodies before wrestling, cf. κόνιστρα “arena for wrestling on” (Lycophr. 867), κόνισσις “exercise in the arena” (Arist., *de caelo* 892a 26), κόνισσασθαι ἀγωνίσασθαι Hsch.

12. Cf. also Hsd. *Theog.* 969 Δημήτηρ μὲν Πλοῦτον ἐγειναιτο, δῖα θεᾶων, / Ἰασίων' ἥρωι μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῇ φιλότῃτι / νεῖω ἐνι τριπόλῳ.

Its fruit was Ploutos, the wealth. Demeter may thus well be understood as the goddess "who lays on the ground" with the hero¹³ and bear such a surname as Χαμόνη, which is clearly connected with χαμαί and εὐνή. The tale points obviously to a kind of fecundation rites which are seen since James George Frazer as a projection of the principles of homeopathic magic, in close parallel to those performed by lads and maids among primitive cultures upon the fields they want to make fertile¹⁴. On the other hand, it is important to stress that the name Iasion itself, a short form of an old compositum used as a personal name, is connected with ἰάομαι "heal"¹⁵; this leads us to suspect that he was a healing hero. Nevertheless two difficulties remain: first the love act takes place on the island of Crete, not in Elis and, secondly, Iasion seems to be strange to Olympia. However, a solution to both difficulties can be reached through a closer examination of the myths on the origin of the Olympic Games and especially of the figure of Iasios, whose identification with Iasion, Demeter's lover, does not raise any difficulty from the linguistic point of view: the coexistence of pairs -ιος : -ίων (Ἰάσιος : Ἰασίων) in one and the same name is regular in Greek, see for instance Οὐράνιος : Οὐρανίων, Κρόνιος : Κρονίων and the like. This probable identity is not problematic from the mythological point of view either¹⁶. Iasios was one of the five δάκτυλοι¹⁷ or Curetes, the Cretan τροφοί of Zeus-Child who, according to a legend reported by Pausanias (5, 7, 7: ἀφικέσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς (*scil.* τοὺς Ἰδαίους δακτύλους) ἐξ Ἰδης τῆς Κρητικῆς, Ἡρακλέα καὶ Παιωναῖον καὶ Ἐπιμήδην καὶ Ἰάσιόν τε καὶ Ἴδαν... ὡς τὰ χλωρὰ ἔτι τῶν φύλλων ὑπεστρώσθαι σφᾶς καθεύδοντας), came to Olympia under the leadership of Heracles, the founder of the Games¹⁸. Attention must now be drawn to the following points, which are relevant for our purpose:

a) Iasios, as one of the Curetes, shows also features of healing hero: it is a well-known fact that the apotropaic dance of the Curetes kept Zeus away from his father's wrath; their initiation ceremony to become medicine men is referred to in a fragment of Euripides' *Cretans* preserved by Porphyry¹⁹.

b) Pausanias tells us in the text just quoted that the δάκτυλοι sleep on heaps of olive leaves on the ground²⁰, just like the Selloί of the Dodonean Oracle, who are significantly called χαμαιεῦναι in Homer's *Iliad* (Π 233). Sleeping on the ground is an essential part of the rites of *incubatio* performed in healing or-

acles, which are usually connected with chthonic deities: through the contact with the ground, the consultant gets in touch with the deity below, who gives him the healing answer by means of a dream²¹.

We can therefore conclude that the figure of Iasion, as a variant of Iasios (both healing heroes), is in fact of Cretan origin but not strange to Olympia; the legend of his affair with Demeter goes back also to a Cretan tradition, as many others do²². Let us point out finally that, according to Strabo (8, 3, 30) and Pausanias (5, 14, 10), there was in Olympia in remote

13. Iasion is usually connected with fecundity deities, e.g. as a partner of Cybele (Diod. 5, 48; 5.55).

14. This fertility rite survived until recent times in the Balkans: the corn priestess will have openly coupled with the sacred king at the autumn sowing in order to ensure a good harvest. In Attica the field was ploughed first in spring, then after the summer harvest, finally ploughed again in the original direction during the month of Pynepsion (in autumn) as a preliminary to sowing. Cf. also Hsd., *Op.* 462-464, Plut. *De Iside et Osiride* 69.

15. Ἰασίων ([i: a-si^o] *metri causa* instead of [ia: -si^o], cf. Ἰασώ, a healing deity) is connected with ἰάομαι "heal" (from athem. IE *h₁i-h₁ish₂-maj, cf. hom. MN Ἰαμενός with secondary thematization, cf. J. L. García-Ramón, *O-o-pe-ro-si* (FS E. Risch) (Berlin-New York 1986) 497ff.

16. Cf. O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* I (München 1906) 42.

17. On the δάκτυλοι as healing heroes, cf. J. Harrison, *THEMIS. A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (London 1963) 50ff.

18. This tradition goes back at least to Pindar (*Ol.* II 4, III 11, X 31). Another tradition about the institution of the Games in their earliest form, namely the contest between Pelops and Oino-maos, is also quoted by Pindar (*Ol.* I 69ff.).

19. Porph., *de abstinentia* 4, 19. For a discussion of the whole fragment, cf. J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (London 1903) Chap. X.

20. These olive leaves ought to be still green in order to transmit the power of the spirits under the earth, who have the trees as a means of getting in contact with the world above, as it has been shown by L. Weniger, *Altgriechischer Baumkultus* (Leipzig 1919) 32ff. (I owe this reference to the kindness of Prof. P. R. Franke, Saarbrücken). It is also to be stressed that the olive tree is in fact the sacred tree of Olympia and that the Olympic victor was crowned with olive leaves and honoured as a tree-spirit, cf. A. B. Cook, *CR* 17, 1903, 268.

21. Cf. L. Deubner, *De incubatione* (Leipzig 1900) and M. Hamilton, *Incubation* (1906) passim; P. Guillon, *BCH* 70, 1946, 216ff.

22. According to G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (New Jersey 1969) 18, the myth of the intimate relation between Demeter and Iasion is later than the Minoan times; the author rejects even its Cretan origin and on the basis of a hardly credible identification of Iasion with the Argonaut Iason he points to the possibility of a Thessalian myth which spread out to Crete, among other regions.

times an Earth orac^le, which was later occupied by Zeus, in a similar manner as the old Pythian oracle at Delphi was by Apollo²³. This old chthonic oracle of Olympia might *a priori* have been dedicated to Chamyne and might also have been founded by the Cretan Δάκτυλοι in mythical times²⁴: but this attractive hypothesis can be neither confirmed nor disproved.

3. To conclude with: the bulk of the traditional accounts and the cultural evidence on Demeter speaks strongly in favour of the interpretation as a goddess to whom a surname signifying “lying on the earth” could be strikingly apposite: she shares features of a chthonic deity, she is Κονία “the dusty one” and she has made love “on a thrice ploughed field” (νειῶ ἐνι τριπόλῳ) with Iasion, a hero belonging to a group of Δάκτυλοι who used to sleep on the ground, just like the Selloi Χαμαιεῦναι of Dodona.

4. Let us now turn to the linguistic side of the problem. As has been pointed out at the beginning of the present paper, Χαμόνη (or Χαμόνα in the non-Attic form) is currently associated with such pairs with χαμαιο : χαμο as

a) χαμαι-εὐνή (4th C. A.D.) : χαμ-εὐνή (Aesch. +) “bed on the ground”,

b) χαμαι-εὐνης (Hom. +) : χαμ-εὐνης (Hsch.) “sleeping on the ground”,

c) χαμαι-ευνάς (Hom. +) : χαμ-ευνάς (Nonnos) “id.”²⁵,

in which both χαμαιο and χαμο coexist in the first member of the compound. Since the cultural features just dealt with (§ 2) speak strongly in favour of the assumption that the surname Χαμόνη conceals both the elements underlying these historical compounds, the only difficulty is a linguistic one: the presence of οὐνή instead of the expected οεὐνή.

5. The form of the first element is irrelevant at this point: even on the current assumption of an elision of -αι-²⁶, i.e. Χαμ(αι)εὐνᾶ, the form Χαμόνη would remain unexplained. Two alternative hypotheses could *a priori* be suggested.

5.1. According to the first possibility, Χαμόνη could be understood as the outcome of a phonetic development of Χαμ-εὐνᾶ within Greek itself: the possibility of a spelling <Y> for <EY> (as a result of a late shift /eu/ > /ü [:] / ?) seems to find support in such forms as e.g.

<ΘερΥται> Kretschmer, *GVI* 139 (575–550) for <ΘερEYται>,

<Ερυ[σ]θYς> Hoppin, *ARFV*, Rf. II 260, 40 (530–500) for EYρυ[σ]θEYς>,

<ΘησYς> Kretschmer, *GVI* 193 (end 5th C.) for <ΘησEYς>²⁷,

and the like in Vulgar and Late Attic. At any case one can hardly imagine that the coincidence in the use of such a *forma difficilior* as Χαμόνη both in Pausanias and in *IvO* 485 (cf. § 1) might be due to a scribal error.

5.2. According to the second possibility, Χαμόνη can be understood as the phonetic outcome of an inherited exocentric Indo-European compound *ǵ^hπ^hη^h-h₁unéh₂ (not *-h₁eu^hnéh₂! see below) “having the earth as a bed” or “having his/her bed on the earth”, concealing both *ǵ^hπ^hη^h- (as a variant of *d^hǵ^hπ^hη^h-“earth”)²⁸

23. Another parallel with Delphi is the existence of an ancient hole called στόμιον “little mouth” located under the altar of Themis in Olympia, which is more recent (Paus. 5, 14, 10). Both στόματα must have been Earth oracles in ancient times; on this subject, cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I (München 1967³) 456ff.

24. F. M. Cornford (in J. Harrison, *THEMIS*, 238) assumes a succession of religious stages in Olympia related to the sacred tree: in the earliest one the olive belonged to the earth, i.e. to Demeter Chamyne; then it passed to Hera, the moon-goddess and finally to the sun, to be associated with Zeus.

25. To a) cf. χαμαιεὐνή *Pap. Gen.* 68.16 (4th C. A.D.); χαμεὐνή Aesch. *Ag.* 1540 (Soph.; *Rhesus* 852; Theocr.; cf. also χαμεύνα *IG* 1² 330.5 (=SEG 13.12.231); to b) cf. Π 235: (Σελλοί). χαμαιεῦναι; χαμεύνης: ὁ χαμαὶ κοιμώμενος Hsch.; to c) cf. κ 243: οἶα σύες χαμαιευνάδες αἰὲν ἔδουσιν (also ξ 15); cf. also χαμευνάδες εὔναι Lycophr. 848.

26. Cf. E. Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* I, 437; M. Lejeune, *Phonétique*, 318. But there is no other example of internal elision in Greek which could in fact be adduced in support of this view. It is irrelevant at this point the fact that elision is a very frequent phenomenon in Elean, cf. εν τ’ ιαροι *IvO* 7.1 and the like.

27. Examples quoted from S. T. Teodorsson 1974, *The Phonemic System of the Attic Dialect 400–340 B.C.* (Göteborg 1974) 114f. and L. Threatte, *The Grammar of the Attic Inscriptions I. Phonology* (Berlin–New York 1980) 345f. Abbreviations: *GVI*: P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vasenschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht* (Gütersloh 1894); *ARFV*: J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of the Attic Red-figured Vases I-II* (Cambridge 1919).

28. IE *ǵ^hπ^hη^h:- χαμαί(ο), χαμαλός; cf. Lat. *humī*, Ved. (Gen.-Abl.) *jm-áh*, Av. *za*, Toch. B *kem*; IE *d^hǵ^h(e)ǵ^hπ^h(e)η^h:- Gr. χθών, Ved. *kṣam-*, Hith. /*tekan-*/, /*takn-*/, Toch. A *tkan*. Cf. J. Schindler, *Die Sprache* 13, 1967, 192 and *ibidem* 23, 1977, 30ff. and M. Mayrhofer, *Indogermanische Grammatik* I/2 (Heidelberg 1986) 152f.

and the Greek name of the bed (εὐνή), to be interpreted as $*h_1eynéh_2$ (with initial $*h_1$), even if the parallel to Late Av. *unā* “hole in the earth” is far from being safely established²⁹.

The apparently anomalous *u*-vocalism of the second element *ούνᾱ* can easily be explained as the regular outcome of the zero-grade $*-h_1unéh_2$. It must be stressed at this point that zero-grade, i.e. the loss (or absence) of unaccented *-e-* in the second element of inherited compounds, is a regular device of the Indo-European word-formation as has recently been pointed out by J. Schindler in the case of Greek μέγρι (as a compound $*me-g̃p()sr-i$ which conceals the name of the “hand”)³⁰; the same explanation applies in the case of Ved. *prátīkam* “appearance, face” ($*pré/óti-h_3()kwom$, with /i:/ resulting from $*-i-h_3$ (may be also Hom. ἐνίπη < $*(h_1)eni-h_3kw-$), as against Greek Hom. πρόσωπον, which is surely secondary³¹.

6. To sum up:

a) Χαμύνη turns out to be the phonetic outcome of an inherited compound $*g̃π̃ḡ-h_1unéh_2$ ³² “having the earth as a bed” or “having her bed on the earth” with accent retrotraction.

b) The adjectives with second element *ουνής*, *ουνάς* and its derivatives are to be understood as late

reflections in order to keep distinct the second member of the compound which was not recognizable any more.

We may therefore conclude that the actual phonetic outcome Χαμύνᾱ/ἠ, survived as an archaic surname of the Elean Demeter, the chthonic goddess who was also called Κούια and had made love “on the ground” with the healing hero Iasion.

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29. Cf. the discussion by M. Peters, *Untersuchung zur Vertretung der indogermanischen Laryngale im Griechischen* (Wien 1980) 50f. A very different interpretation of εὐνή can be found in O. Szemerényi, *O-o-pe-ro-si* (FS E. Risch, Berlin–New York 1986) 430 n. 20 ($*ses-unā > *hehunā$ through dissimilation $> *ehunā > *heunā$ and psilotic [!] *eunā*).

30. J. Schindler apud J. Jasanoff, *Die Sprache* 23, 1977, 162 n. 8 (I owe this reference to J. L. García-Ramón, Madrid UAM).

31. Cf. R. S. P. Beekes, *The Development of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Greek* (The Hague–Paris 1969) 129; H. Rix, *Historische Grammatik des Griechischen* (Darmstadt 1976) 71. Cf. also M. Peters, *Untersuchungen*, 291. Cf. also Hom. παρθενοπίνα from either $*o h_3k^w i-h_3k^w-ch_2$ (R. S. P. Beekes, *Development*, 129) or $*opi-h_3k^w-ch_2$.

32. Another starting point could be $*g̃π̃ḡ-maj-h_1unéh_2$ “having his/her bed on the earth” (i.e. with loc. χαμαί in the first element of the compound, whence $*Χαμαιούᾱ$ and, by internal elision, Χαμύνᾱ). But such a type of internal elision is not supported by any parallel at all (cf. n. 26).

SUMMARY

XAMYNH: AN ELEAN SURNAME OF DEMETER

The existence of a Demeter Χαμόνη in Elis is supported both by Pausanias (6, 20, 9; 21, 1-3), who gives the surname a childish etymology and associates it with an unknown hero Χάμυνος, and by *IvO* 485 (*aet. rom.*), where Χαμουναία ([τὴν ἰέρειαν τῆς / [Χα]μουναίας, in close parallel with ἰέρεια... τῆς Δήμητρος in order texts) is also quoted. Both epithets stand obviously in the same relation as Ἰαθῆνη and Ἰαθηναία.

The bulk of the traditional accounts and the cultural evidence on Demeter speaks strongly in favour of the interpretation as a goddess to whom a surname signifying “lying on the earth” could be strikingly apposite: she shares features of a chthonic deity, she is Κομία “the dusty one”, and she has made love “on a thrice ploughed field” (νειῶ ἐνι τριπόλῳ) with Iasion, a hero belonging to a group of Δάκτυλοι who used to sleep on the ground, just like the Σελλοὶ Χα-

μαιεῦναι of Dodona.

From the linguistic point of view we may conclude:

a) Χαμόνη turns out to be the phonetic outcome of an inherited compound $*\acute{g}hm_0-h_1unéh_2$ “having her bed on the earth” or “having the earth as a bed” with accent retrotraction.

b) The adjectives with second element οευνής, οευνάς and its derivatives are to be understood as late refectations in order to keep distinct the second member of the compound, which was not recognizable any more.

Therefore the actual phonetic outcome Χαμόνη/α, survived as an archaic surname of the Elean Demeter, the chthonic goddess who was also called Κομία and had made love “on the ground” with the healing hero Iasion.