

Attic Παιανία and Παιονίδαι

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The theonym *Παιών* and anthroponym *Παίων* were carefully distinguished in accent and pronunciation. *Παίων*, derived from *παίω*, was thought to be the eponymous hero of the Attic genos and, probably, deme-name *Παιονίδαι*. *Παιών*, *Παιανία*, and *παϊάν* all seem independently derived from a non-Greek root. Both toponyms Paiania and Paionidai may be demonstrated to antedate the reorganization of Attic demes about 507 B. C.

If we knew more of the origins of Attic deme-names, presumably we would learn more about the history or prehistory of Attic itself. But even in antiquity deme nomenclature proved confusing, for so simple a deme name as Elaious offering five possible etymologies¹). The *Ath. Pol.* (21.5) says that in 507 some demes were named for toponyms, others "for their founders; for no longer did they all correspond to their places." Some demes seem to bear the names of plants, geographic peculiarities, or crafts, others seem named for noble houses possessing property there, or from local heroes. In all this, however, there has passed unnoticed one apparently inviolable rule, that demes are not named for gods.

One may perhaps easily dispose of the deme-names Pallene and Lousia, since these appear epithets (of Athene and Dionysios respectively) rather than the names of gods in themselves²). Apollonieis was a deme created in 200 for the tribe Attalis, but was named for the wife of Attalos I of Pergamon, Apollonis, not for Apollo. But the most obvious objection to such a rule seem to be the deme-names Paiania (Upper and Lower) and Paionidai: are not both ultimately derived from the name of the god Paion? For it is probable that Paion was a true Olympian, before his later and in any case only partial assimilation to other deities³).

I.

Παιών however was the name of the god, *Παίων* of a hero, and the two were not confused in pronunciation or in writing by historical antiquity. It is convenient to deal with the theonym first, admitting at once that its etymology is unsure.

¹) Etym. Magn., s.v. *Ἑλεείς*.

²) Lousia was at least in the phyle Oineis, appropriate for Dionysos. The latest list of demes, John S. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica*, Hesperia Supplement XIV (1975), 109–122.

³) H. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn (1896), 155. I. N. *Δάμπαση, Παιών ὁ λατρός τῶν θεῶν*, *Platon* 23 (45–46: 1971), 296–310.

Παῖών with its related war-cry παῖάν, “à la fois le nom d’un dieu et le cri par lequel on le salue,” as P. Chantraine judiciously phrased it, was anciently etymologized as from παῖω despite the fact that the participle is always accented παῖων (except “Aeolian” παῶν); but the unsatisfactory nature of that derivation is apparent in the ancient attempts to etymologize it also as from παύω. “The Smiter,” or the “Stopper,” have their clear place on the battlefield or in the sickroom; modern scholarship sometimes follows either etymology⁴).

However there now seems a tendency to derive Παῖών from a non-Greek source together with its apparent cognate Ἰωνες or Ἰάωνες: for Paion, “Illyrian,” “Thracian,” “Paionian” derivation is suggested⁵).

“Paionian” probably may be excluded because (1) the cult of Παῖών is unattested for the Paiones, whose healing gods were important but named Darron and Akessamenos; and because (2) their eponymous hero is always accented Παῖων, while (3) the Pai-

⁴) Major studies on Παῖών, Pierre Chantraine, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Grecque, III, Paris (1974), s.vv. παῖάν, Πᾶν; H. Frisk, Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg (1965), s.v. παῖάν; L. Deubner, [Neue] Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, 43 (1919), 395–397. Παῖών from παῖω, Aristoph. Pax 453–454 and schol. ad. loc.; and probably Achar. 1212–1213, Lys. 852 with schol. ad loc., an obscene pun; Kallim. Hymn Apol. II 21, 97–104. From παύω, schol. Eurip. Phoen. 102; Hesych., s.v. παιᾶνας; Proklos in Photios, Bibl. 320a; schol. Aristoph. Plut. 636, Vesp. 874; V. Pisani, RAL, 6:5 (1929) 208. Indirectly from both verbs, E. Schwyzler, IF 30 (1912), 443–446. παῶν, Sappho, frg. 44 Lobel-Page; cf. Blumenthal, RE 18 (1942), 2340, s.v. “Paian”.

⁵) A. J. Toynbee, Some Problems of Greek History, Oxford (1969), 94–103; G. Macurdy, Language 6 (1930), 297–303; simply foreign, Chantraine, op. cit. Cognate to Ἰωνες or Ἰάωνες in the sense that both seem non-Greek and formed in the same way: P. Kretschmer, Glotta 21 (1933), 177; Frisk, op. cit., s.v. Ἰωνες; “Ionian” as non-Greek, D. Hegyi, Budapest. Tudományegyetem. Annales, sect. Philol. 6 (1965), 89–102, “Luwian”; John Chadwick, in K. Kinzl, Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History (Festschrift F. Schachermeyr), Berlin (1977), 106–109, that Ἰωνες is associated with the personal name Ἰων, vs. the perhaps foreign Ἰάφωες. J. Muhli, Historia 23 (1974), 135, “Anatolian”. Prof. Muhli now informs me (per litteras) that he believes it a combination of Anatolian suffix with Semitic (orig., Egyptian) prefix, and refers ultimately to Cypriotes; he plans exposition of this complex archaeological and linguistic problem soon. One may meanwhile note the interesting funerary inscription from Hellenistic Aspendos (SEG 12. 490), ΠαῖαΦας ΠνναμνΦαν/Πνναμνας Παῖαωωω, with Michel Lejeune, Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien, Paris (1972), 178.

ones probably spoke Greek themselves, and *Παιών* would then not be “foreign”⁶).

Ludwig Deubner once contended that the name and god were Kretan, on the basis of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (516–517) where “Kretans from Minos’ Knossos” are said to be singers of paians, *παῖνες*, and were made Apollo’s priests at Delphi. Both Apollo and Kretans were famous for stopping plagues and for purifying; and recently G. Huxley with additional argument has renewed Deubner’s thesis⁷).

Quite aside from the literary testimony, this thesis is strengthened by the appearance of words like *paian* in Linear B texts, but found (so far) only at Knossos.

The strongest case is made by Knossos tablet KN V 52, which shows *pa-ja-wo-ne* associated with other apparent theonyms: Athena Potnia, Enyalios, Paion, Poseidon, Erinys (?), where its presence following the name of the war-god Enyalios particularly strengthens identity as a god’s name⁸). The entry is probably the dative, *Παιῶνι*, of a nominative **Παιῶν*, in suffix and accent analogous to *i-ja-wo-ne* (KN B 164, Xd 146), probably an anthroponym⁹). Despite lack of accent in the Mycenaean syllabary, the derivative of *Παιών* in form and accent probably evolved thus: **Παιῶν* > Hom. *Παῖων* > *Παιέων* > *Παιών*, ε shortening from η before (F)o, (F)ω, or (F)a and undergoing contraction with ω or α after ι¹⁰).

⁶) As unassimilated deity, personal name, or toponym, Paion or comparable cognates like Paionios are absent from indices of IG IX:2:1 (Thessalonika and vicinity), and G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, I–IV, Sofia (1970), except Vol. I. 463.5, *Παιώνιος*, possibly a homonym (Apollonia, s. IIa.); on Darron, Akessamenos: G. Macurdy, CR 26 (1912) 249–251. *Παῖων*, hero of Paiones, Paus. 5.1.4–5; cf. Apollod. 1.7.6; Konon, *Dieg.* 14; Steph Byz, s v. *Βιστονία*. Paiones speaking Greek, I. Merker, *Balkan Studies* 6 (1965), 35–38.

⁷) L. Deubner, op. cit., 385–406; G. Huxley, GRBS 16 (1975), 119–124. See also the suggestive remarks of Filippo Cassola, *Inni Omerici*, [Verona] (1975), 80–86.

⁸) M. Ventris, J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*², Cambridge (1973), 567; cf. KN C 394. 4, perhaps an anthroponym; also Monique Gérard-Rousseau, *Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes*, *Incunabula Graeca* 29, Rome (1968), 164–165.

⁹) M. Ventris, J. Chadwick, op. cit.

¹⁰) C. J. Ruijgh, *Etudes sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien*, Amsterdam (1967), no. 86, p. 106, n. 9; id. *Minos* 9 (1968), 119, 135 on the thematic *-won-* for Paiones, Pan, and others. A *ἡ[ρόων] Παῖονος* in Chalkis “c 500–450?”: L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford (1961), 87 no. 4.

Thus the name *Παίων* at Knossos seems to be a god's. In fact *Παίων* was never made an anthroponym, and the proper adjectival form was, of course, Paionios, a name of relative frequency from archaic through imperial Roman date¹¹).

The same contraction into $\bar{\alpha}$ or ω also accounts for "Doric" *παϊάν*, Attic *παίων*. In Attica the Doric form supplanted the traditional *παίων* at least by the end of the fifth century, and earlier Attic authors are usually regularized in manuscript¹²). The problem with the demotic "Paiania" is plainly its Doric form, which seems only slightly less inexplicable now than it was to Wackernagel in 1925¹³). A partial explanation however may rest in the fact that "Attic" was a dialect originally impure, allowing for Doricisms, and the toponym Paiania may be indebted to such early heterogeneity¹⁴). If Herodotos is to be trusted, it does figure among the pre-Kleisthenean demenames (when *demos* of course meant village or town), for he says that Peisistratos' Phye in ca. 550 lived *ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανίει* (1.60.4). Thus, given the apparent fact that demes no more than living men seem to take the names of gods, "Painia" is probably to be derived from *paian* or from the root of both *Παίων* and *paian*, in a secularized context. The assimilation of Paion to others gods seems too late and irregular to suggest that "Paiania" derives from the epithet of some other god with whom *Παίων* became syncretized, like Apollo or Athene.

II.

Παίων on the other hand occurs both as the name of various "epic" heroes, and of historical men. In "epic" the name has Eleian or Messenian associations. *Παίων* was the Eleian son of Endymion who became eponymous ancestor of the Paiones of the Axios region¹⁵). He was also a Neleid of Pylos, son of Antilochos son of

¹¹) "Paionios", Vit. 7.16, probably 6th Cent.; late, F. Priesgke, *Namenbuch*, Heidelberg (1922), 257, Daniele Foraboschi, *Onomasticum Alterum Papyrologicum*, Milan (1971), s.v. *Παίωνιος*.

¹²) Aristoph. *Achar.* 1212–1213 (425 B. C.) seems the first indisputable testimony; see also L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (1932), 202 on the festival of Paionia. Generally, J. Wackernagel, *Glotta* 14 (1925), 61–64 = *Kl. Schr.* 869–872 on date of change.

¹³) Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, 63 (*Kl. Schr.* 871).

¹⁴) It would be idle to summarize the progress recently made here; but see J. Chadwick, *TPhS* (1969), 93 for western Attica; and W. F. Wyatt, Jr., *AJPh* 94 (1973), 45–46 on "substrate" generally.

¹⁵) Paus. 5.1.4–5; cf. n. 6.

Nestor, eponymous ancestor of the Attic genos Paionidai, attested only by Pausanias in his account of Argive history (2.18.8–9), but from an account that Jacoby has demonstrated quite convincingly is taken direct from Hellanikos; that is, from information of about 430 B.C.¹⁶). Toepffer assumed that the fortress Leipsydrion, about which Neleid clans fought in 514, marked the original “Stammsitz” of Neleids in Attica (except the Peisistratidai), although he thought the whole Neleid legend an invention of Attic imperialism¹⁷). Leipsydrion was in or very near the later deme Paionidai, with nearly thirty other demes thus apparently taking its name from a noble family dwelling within it¹⁸).

The provisional nature of Toepffer’s conclusion must be underscored because at least three Attic clans appear to derive their names from toponyms: the *gene* Kephisieis, Kolieis, and perhaps Kropidai¹⁹). This is important in etymologizing the demotic “Paionidai” since Herodotos, writing of Leipsydrion, says that it is *ὑπὲρ Παιονίης* (5.62). Although the *Ath. Pol.* will have none of this, correcting to “Leipsydrion *τὸ ὑπὲρ Πάρινης*” (19.3), Herodotos’ entry still must be explained. Perhaps he incorrectly etymologized from the name of the northern Paiones and *Παιονίδας γυναικας* (5.12, 4.33), and simply assumed that any group (demesmen or *gennetai*) named Paionidai in Attic would similarly live in a region called Paionie as did the northerners (5.13). This at least would allow the Attic Paionidai, like the Paiones themselves, to keep their eponymous hero still, rather than take their names from a toponym. Yet Herodotos’ entry, probably an error, must be kept in mind.

Otherwise, *Παίων* was an anthroponym occurring from the early sixth century through Hellenistic and Roman times, though never as popular as the name derived from the god, Paionios. The earliest attestation is worth mention: a helmet from Potidaia or Olynthos is inscribed in Corinthian alphabet of the sixth century *Παιφόρος ἐμὶ*²⁰).

¹⁶) F. Jacoby, FGrH Hellanikos 323a Comm. n. 1.

¹⁷) J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, Berlin (1889), 227, 238.

¹⁸) James McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*, Hesp. Supp. XI (1966), 58–61; patronymic demes listed in Traill, *op.cit.*, 101 n. 100.

¹⁹) Toepffer, *op. cit.*, 292, 301; Thuc. 2.19.3 with Gomme’s commentary. These “toponymic” *gene* may be illusory, named for corporate (religious) bodies instead: cf. Eumolpidai, Kerykes, Gephyraioi, Bouzygai, Hesychidai, Salaminioi and so forth.

²⁰) P. Amandry, BCH 95 (1971), 589–597; see L. Robert, REG 85 (1972), 372. Other anthroponyms, *Ἰάσων Παίονος Μελιτεύς*, 4th Cent. B. C., Kirchner, PA 11516; *Νέα Παίωνος* dedicated to Isis and Serapis in Cretan Gortyn,

If it were meant to read “I am dedicated to the god Paion,” a form like **ΠαιᾶΦορός* would probably have been written. If “I am a Paionian’s,” *ho Παιονός εμι*. Instead, *ΠαίΦορός εμι*, “I belong to Paion”²¹).

It is clear then that the anthroponym *Παίων* occurs from a period when epic was being constructed, through the sixth century and later. It was never confounded with the god’s name, whose anthroponym produced “Paionios”. The demotic “Paionidai” might then easily be assumed to be derived from an eponymous hero, real or imaginary, named Paion.

A serious obstacle to this conclusion occurs, however, in the Argive name “Paionidai,” in a second-century B.C. list of names, apparently all phratries of patronymic formation like Amphiareteidai, Melampodidai, Temenidai, Olisseidai (Odysseus): the inscription totaled about thirty such names, and about thirty-five now seem attested²²). It certainly is true that these “phratries” may stem from a constitutional and regional reorganization of Argos, perhaps in the early fifth century and modeled on Attic lines; but “Paionidai” would still need explanation, and Volgraff in publishing the original list plausibly suggested that the name came from the same Messenian Neleid named Paion as the Athenian Paionidai. This seems much more plausible than, for instance, supposing the Attic and Argive “Paionidai” somehow are left over from a prehistoric *razzia* by the northern Paiones.

2nd Cent. B.C., who despite the association with Crete may be daughter of a descendant of Macedonian Paiones, perhaps recalling the eponymous hero of their ancestral homeland (M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae* IV, no. 245); similarly for the *Παίων Σιδήτης*, Augustan date in Egypt (Colossi of Memnon, SEG 20. 674), and other Hellenistic or Roman men of this name (see Foraboschi, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Παίων*), and *Παίων ὁ Ἀμαθούσιος*, a local chronicler of unknown date (Plut. *Thes.* 20.3): “Amathous”, founder of his native city, was by one legend son of Makedon, schol. Il. 14.226. Epidauros supplies an undated inscription (as restored by Peek): *ἱαγομνάμονε/ Ἀρί- [σ]τ[α]ρχμο[ς],/ Παιώ[νιος]/[ἀ]ρ[έ]θεν/ Ἀ[θ]ῆν[αι]*, *Inchriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros*, Abh. d. Sächs. Akad. Wiss., Leipzig, phil.-hist. Kl., 60:2 (1969), no. 70, p. 59. One may suggest “Paion” for the second name.

²¹) Amandry, *op. cit.*, 597 n. 37, partly on information of O. Masson.

²²) Generally, M. Wörle, *Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsgeschichte von Argos im 5. Jahrhundert v. Ch.*, Munich (1964), 18, 23 n. 53. First published by W. Volgraff, *BCH* 33 (1909), 171 (IG IV 529, 22, from the Argive Heraion); see M. Guarducci, *L’istituzione della fratria*, II, *MAL Ser.* 6, vol. 7, fasc. II (1938: XVII), 86–89; A. Heubeck, *Sprache* 16 (1971), 170; R. A. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid*, Ithaca (1972), 56–57.

But the Argive equivalent of "deme" seems to have been the "kome," and the notion of "patronymic" phratry-names initially seems counfounded by the fact that many komai have names similar those of phratries, implying that the phratries are named from places, not heroes. For instance there is the phratry Kekradai and the kome Kekras, Arachnadai-Arachnas, Pholygadai-Pholygas, Poimenidai-Poimonis, and finally, Paionidai-Paionis²³). If Argos attests a phratry named Paionidai from, it seems, a toponym, could not Attic Paionidai similarly be derived, viz., from Herodotos' "Paionie" above Leipsydrion, or like the three Attic *gene* which also may be claimed as derived from place-names?

Three points only suggest that, as in the Attic case, derivation from an anthroponym is to be preferred. First, the linking of Argive Paionidai with Paionis is utterly fortuitous, the two names never appearing together naturally and there being no proof that the phratry organized itself in any way about the kome Paionis. The same presumably may be said of the other phratry names when compared to komai, although each case needs individual examination. Second, we do not know how "Paionis" was named in itself, nor when, and are facing the same initial question we asked of the Attic deme names, with even less material evidence. Third, the Argives in this list of "eponymous" phratries at least thought that their social unit derived its name somehow from a hero named Paion, not from a place named Paionis. Argos in fact had other Neleid associations that made "Paion" appropriate there for honor²⁴).

So-called "oral history" counts for little in contemporary discussion of etymology, and until methods for controlling mythological data become more precise through modern analogy (if that is possible), mistrust of "Neleid" tradition seems justified, although it perhaps is older than Toepffer or Jacoby believed²⁵). But there

²³) Wörrle, *op. cit.*, 23–24; the kome Paionis, P. Charneux, BCH 82 (1958) 4.

²⁴) Neleidai or relatives: the Melampodidai (as in Argive phratry Amphiareteidai); Alastor (Parthen. Erot. 13); Pylian Neleus himself was said by the 7th Cent. Corinthian poet Eumelos to be buried about the Isthmus (Paus. 2.2.2, not uncritically: cf. 2.1.1, 4.1.1). On the Neleidai and archaeology of Attica and Argos, C. Sourvinou-Inwood, in *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean*, ed. R. A. Crossland, Ann Birchall, Park Ridge, N. J. (1974), 220. Wörrle is of course correct to summarize of the "Paionidai" "Ob sich hinter der Namensgleichheit irgendwelche historischen Zusammenhänge verbergen, kann freilich nicht entschieden werden". (p. 23, n. 53).

²⁵) See Jacoby on Hellanikos FGrH 323a F 23, Demon 327 F 1.

is a later date at which traditions of Messenia may have become indissolubly linked to those of the Argolis and Attica: the period of the first Messenian war about 715, when the Messenian elite, priests of the mysteries at Andania among them, are said to have fled to Sikyon, Argos, and (the priests) to Eleusis for about sixty years before they or their kin returned to further rebellion and near-extinction²⁶). Along with legends of Neleidae, including "Melanthos" at Eleusis in whose honor the pan-Ionian Apatouria supposedly was instituted²⁷), these refugees may be the purveyors of the "Pai-onidai," through the legend of Paion son of Antilochos son of Nestor. One notes how, significantly, Pausanias records the information on Athenian Neleidae as a part of Argive history rather than of Attic.

All of this, then, goes to underscore the contention that the Attic demes of Paiania and Paionidai were named from two separate sources, carefully kept discrete in historical times at least: Paionidai from an eponymous hero *Παίων* probably to be equated with the Neleid and itself an anthroponym plainly derived from *παίω*; and Paiania, from the system dependent on the root, presumably non-Hellenic, which also supplied *Παίων* and *παίδν*. It seems initially unfortunate that the Doric form of "Paiania" cannot be clarified historically, but in the conclusion here, that we have to deal with two separate terms, we see that both demotics predate the Attic constitutional reorganization of 507. "Paiania" seems a name genuinely transmitted from prehistory. "Paionidai," if not belonging to a prehistoric tradition (there is no real *need* for it in Neleid or Kodrid constitutional or imperial mythology), may date to the time of the first Messenian war of about 715 B.C.

²⁶) Paus. 4.14.1; 4.15.7; 4.27.5; Aristeides, Panath. 111 and schol. ad 111.8 Dind.; (vaguely) Isoc., Panath. 251. Probably a sound tradition, despite modern neglect; it is related partly to the Athenian clan Lykomidai, their rites of Demeter in Phlya, and the figure Kaukon.

²⁷) Jacoby, FGrH Demon 327 F 1 and Comm.