

Onomastic Notes on IG XII 6 (Samos)

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The publication of volume IG XII 6, 1-2 marks an important step in a project that began in 1883 when the Prussian Academy asked Ludwig Büchner to produce a corpus of the Samian and Chian inscriptions. Büchner's work was continued by Albert Rehm and (Samian material) by Günter Dunst, but two wars and the years of isolation made it impossible to finish the volumes. In 1994 the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy entrusted the completion of the Samian *corpus* to Klaus Hallof, and the first volume appeared in 2000 and the second in 2003.¹ In addition to the inscriptions from Samos (1-1202) IG XII 6, 1-2 includes those of Corassiae (1203-1216) and those from Icaria (1217-1293), edited by Angelos P. Matthaiou, and an appendix by Hans-Dieter Schultz with the names of the Samian monetary magistrates. Old readings have been checked, new inscriptions added and, more important, all the material has been made easily accessible. Besides important historical documents, such as the exile decrees (17-41), the *lex frumentaria* (172), the list of Athenian cleruchs (262), or the interesting series of dedications to Hera (537-585), just to mention a few, the volume yields linguistic and onomastic riches, which complete indexes put within convenient reach. Here I present some notes on the proper names, made during my collaboration in the final presentation of the manuscript.²

¹ Inscriptiones Graecae maris Aegaei praeter Delum. Fasciculus VI. Inscriptiones Chii et Sami cum Corassiis Icariaque. Partes I-II (nn. 1-1293) (Berlin - New York 2000-2003).

² Abbreviations: Bechtel, *HPN* = F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen* (Halle 1917); Bechtel, *Spitznamen* = F. Bechtel, *Die einstämmigen Personennamen des Gr. die aus Spitznamen hervorgegangen sind* (Berlin 1918); Masson, *OGS* = O. Masson, *Onomastica Graeca Selecta* I-III (1999-2000); Robert, *Noms* = L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie*

1. As is to be expected, most names found in the new volume are common Greek (Ζωῖλος, Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀντίπατρος, etc.); some characteristic tendencies, however, may be observed. Names formed with ἀγορά (Διαγόρης, Ἡγησαγόρης, etc.), ἄναξ (Δημῶναξ, Ἡγῆναξ etc.) and θέμις (Ἡρόθεμις, Πρηξίθεμις, etc.), common among the Ionians and Dorians of Asia Minor, are well represented also on Samos. Those in Ζην- and Πυθ-, as well as Ἐπίκουρος, Διοσκουρίδης, Φιλτῆς, Μιννίων, Θαλῆς seem to have been frequent among both the Samians and the Ionians of this part of Asia Minor. The close relations with the continent are reflected in the use of names alluding to the Μαίανδρος (9 exx.), the great river of Phrygia and Caria.³ Not surprisingly, names alluding to the rivers of Northern Ionia and Aeolis are rare: there are no Κάϋστρος-names, no Κάϊκος-names, only three Χρύσερμος and one Διονύσερμος, this last being known, however, only on an archaic statue (Διονυσέρμο τῶντήνορος, 562) of uncertain origin. Μόλπος and Μολπικός (6 exx.) point to the diffusion of the collegia of Μολποῖ beyond Miletos.

Religious life is duly reflected in the theophorics. Ἐκαταῖος, Ἱατροκλῆς, Οὐλιάδης are typical of this part of Ionia bordering with Caria.⁴ Βασιλείδης on Samos (206 3, 225 8, 232 4) should be related to the θεὸς Βασιλεύς known for Asia Minor⁵ rather than to Ἥρα

Mineure gréco-romaine (Paris 1963); Robert, *Monnaies* = L. Robert, *Monnaies grecques* (Genève-Paris 1967); Wilamowitz, *GdH* = U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* I-II (Berlin 1931-1932); Zgusta = L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague 1964). Interesting comments on single Samian names can be found in Robert's works (index s.v. "Samos"). Numbers refer to inscriptions in IG XII 6, 1-2; *Numm. Sam.* to the numismatic appendix.

³ Significantly enough, the eponymous hero of Samos was the grandson of the Maiandros (Paus. VII 4, 1), a further indication of the Samian propensity towards the Maiander valley.

⁴ N. Ehrhardt, *IstM.* 39 (1989) 115-122 (on Ἱατροκλῆς); O. Masson, *JSav.* 1988, 173-181 [= *OGS* III 23-31] (on Οὐλιάδης).

⁵ U. v. Wilamowitz, *Kl.Schr.* V 1 (1937) 159; F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Roma, 1985) 118-120, 490.

Βασύλειος, documented only in the Roman period. The god Μάνδρος is also well represented (20 exx.). A striking feature is the relative scarcity of theophorics alluding to Hera, the main deity of the island (only 45 exx.), far behind Zeus (145), Apollo (122), Dionysos (80), Demeter (69) and Artemis (50), but ahead of Hermes (43), Athena (34), the Meter (34), Men (30) and Poseidon (19). This could reflect a peculiarity of her cult but, as on Samos Hera was ἡ θεός (261 19. 28 etc.), many of the numerous Samian names with the word θεός (c. 65 exx.) may have alluded to her: cf. U. v. Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* V 2 (1936) 50 (cf. *GdH* II 99 adn. 3, and E. Preuner, *AM* 49, 1924, 49). On Ἡφαιστίων (200 3, 541, 547) and Ἡφαιστόπολις (Hdt. II 134) on Samos, cf. Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* V 2, 22 and 29. As in other cities of the region (Miletos, Priene), Νύμφαι-theophorics are rare (2 exx. on Samos, 1 ex. on Corassiae).

The abundance of simple names and nicknames is characteristic. Most are simple and obvious, describing physical attributes and peculiarities: Ροικίων and Ροῖχος ('crooked'), Κύλλαρος ('deformed'), Σῆμος ('flat-nosed'), Φοξίης ('pointed'), Ξανθίης ('blond'), Ἀρτίπους ('sound of foot'), Κίρων ('impotent', Hsch.), Νανίσκος, Μικίων, Σμῖκος, Τύννιχος ('small') and many others. We note that Πάταικος (1 27) does not allude to the Πάταικοι, Phoenician apotropaic gods, but rather to their dwarfish figures.⁶ Ways of speaking are often particularized. Τιτυβᾶς (653) is related to τιτυβίζω, 'twitter', just as Βατταρᾶς (652) is related to βατταρίζω, 'stammer'.⁷ Similarly, Τιτώ (770, 900) can be related to τιτίζω, 'to cheep like a young bird' (cf. τιτίς· βραχὺ ὀρνίθιον Photios), and not necessarily to Hsch. τιώ· ἥως, as Bechtel assumed (*HPN* 564). Animals and plants are often used as nicknames, descriptive of appearance or disposition – Ἀλκυώ ('kingfisher'), Βοῖσκος ('bull'), Κόγχη ('mussel'), Μοσχώ ('calf'), Μυρμηκώ ('ant'), Ὀρνίθη ('bird'), Ὀρτυξ ('quail'), Χελώνη ('tortoise'), Κίσσος ('ivy'), Μυρτώ

⁶ Bechtel, *Spitznamen* 11; Wilamowitz, *GdH* I 88 adn. 2.

⁷ On Βατταρᾶς, Βαττίς, Βάττος see O. Masson *REG* 83, 1970, 356-361 [= *OGS* I 111-116].

(‘myrtle’), Σχεῖνος (‘mastich’). For fish-names see below on Πάγων. Interestingly enough, such names seem to have been more common among women. But note that Φρύνη (909) is not to be related to the name of a kind of frog (Aristoteles, etc.), but rather to the colour (PIE **bhrun-*).⁸

2. As this rapid survey shows, onomastically (viz. culturally) Samos was part of the mainland of Asia Minor. Indeed Samian onomastics would be basically not very different from that of other Ionic cities in the area, like Miletos or Priene, were it not for the use of the epichoric names Ὑβλήσιος, Πελύσιος, Ἀδήριτος. The frequency of the first (16 exx.) seems to indicate that, like most Greek epichoric names, it originated as a theophoric. Ὑβλήσιος in fact can be explained as a god-epithet – itself an ethnic, cf. Ἰθακήσιος, Μαραθήσιος, etc.⁹ – used as a personal name, such as Ἀβαῖος, Δήλιος and many others. Significantly enough, however, Ὑβλήσιος is only documented as a personal name, not as an ethnic or a divine epithet, something that points to a theophoric outliving the context in which it was first used.¹⁰ Πελύσιος (261 39, *numm. Sam.* 86) is derived from the name of the Samian festival *Πελύσια (cf. the month Πελυσιών, 172 A 56, 182 3, etc.) and was probably given to people born during these holidays (or the respective month). One may compare the Samian names Ἀπατούριος, Ἀρτεμίσιος, Μεταγείνιος, Ποσίδεος or Ταργήλιος, formed from the festivals Ἀπατούρια, Ἀρτεμίσια, Μεταγείνια, Ποσεΐδα and Ταργήλια.

⁸ Bechtel, *Spitznamen* 43 (better than *HPN* 587, 591, followed by most scholars), Chantraine, *DELG* s.v.; W. Schulz, *Das Farbenempfindungssystem der Hellenen* (Leipzig 1904) 24.

⁹ Cf. the Carians Ὑβλισεῖς in the Athenian tribute lists (IG I³ 262 V 26).

¹⁰ On Ὑβλήσιος see the bibliography in N. Ehrhardt, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 141; add Bechtel, *HPN* 532; F. Solmsen, *Beiträge zur griechischen Wortforschung* (Strassburg 1909) 79-80; O. Masson *JSav.* 1988, 174 adn. 8 [= *OGS* III 24]. After Menodotos (*FGRH* 541 F 1, 13), Ὑβλήσιος is usually related to Apollo.

Πελύσια is formed like Θαλύσια and Νεύσια. For the etymology see M. Peters, *Die Sprache* 39, 3 (1997) 103-104, who relates the word to PIE **pelw-/polw-* and interprets it as “Fest der Erntefülle”. For the position of Πελυσίων in the calendar (August-September), see K. Hallof, *Chiron* 29 (1999) 201. The name of the Samian Πελυέσ(σ)ιος in a V^a metrical epitaph from Skiathos (897 = *ABSA* 93, 1998, 389-392) has been interpreted by M. Peters *l.c.* as **Peluwentios*.

A typically Samian name seems to be also Ἀδήριτος (adj. ἀδήριτος, ‘invincible’), to be compared to Δηρίνος, formed on the same Greek stem and typically Milesian.¹¹ Κωλαῖος (2 exx.), Παντωνακτίδης (2 exx.), Μηλοῦχος (1 ex.), Νεοποϊκός (1 ex.) are so far documented only on Samos, but this may be a mere chance. Ἡγεμονεύς (8 exx.), as well as Ἄσιος and Δοῦρις, seem to have been more frequent on Samos than anywhere else in Greece, but one cannot speak of epichoric names.

3. Samian inscriptions cover a span of more than ten centuries and record the names of people of different origins. No wonder that, linguistically, the proper names of the new volume make the impression of a colourful mixture of forms of different periods and regions. Genitive of 1st declension masculines is -εω (Ἀλεξέω, Μανδρωνακτίδεω, etc.), but also -ου (cf. Ἀπελλέω τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδου 146 3) and -α (Εὐδέκτα, Θερσίλα, etc.). Hypocoristics in -ᾶς – documented since VI^a (Τιτυβᾶς, 563) – form the genitive in -ᾶδος (Ἡρᾶδος, Νεομᾶδος, etc.), and -ᾱ (Δαμᾱ, Ζηνᾱ, etc.). The use of η for the old ᾱ is common (Πρηξαγόρης, Ὑβλησίη, etc.), but non-Ionian ᾱ is also well documented. Besides “Macedonian” names (Ἀμύντας, Νικάνωρ, Περίτας etc.), Doric forms diffused throughout the Greek world (Ιλυάγορας) and names of foreigners (e.g. Εὔμναστος Σπαρτιάτας, 540), ᾱ appears also in names of

¹¹ L. Robert noted long ago that Ἀδήριτος is documented only for Samians (172 B 47 c. adn., 202 155, *IvPriene* 42 16, IG XII 8, 171 + IG XII suppl. 148). See L. Robert, *BCH* 1935, 487-488 [= *OMS* II 756-757], *Gnomon* 1963, 62 [= *OMS* VI 601]). Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* 1938, 307.

Samians (Ἀρκεσίλας, Μελάντας, Σωτάδας). Names of Samians buried abroad (nn. 891-927) are normally adapted to the local dialect.¹²

Typically Ionian is the contraction of the names in -έας into -ῆς: Ἀλεξῆς, Ἀρησῆς, Φιλτῆς, etc. To the examples listed in the index grammaticus (p. 751) we may perhaps add the name of the Samian Ξανθῆς at Hdt. II 135, where the transmitted accent Ξάνθεω is probably wrong (cf. the transmitted Θάλεω for Θαλέω at Hdt. I 170). Note that Μελῆς (*numm. Sam.* 49; cf. *Didyma* 228 II 4) could also be interpreted as the later form Μέλης, -ητος, cf. Χάρης, -ητος (202 17, 216 8, 219 7, 230 9, 878 1), as in Athens; Ionic Χαρής, -έω (e.g. *Delphinion* 133 30; *AJPh* 56 [1935] 365 IV 429) is not documented in the new corpus.

As common in Greek,¹³ names inspired by epic are well documented: Ἀγήνωρ, Αἰνέας, Ἀλίκιος, Ἀστυάναξ, Ἐπήρατος, Κοίρανος, Τυδείδης, Ὑψηχίδης, etc. This fact may explain the presence of certain forms without parallel in the language of the inscriptions. The name Ἀμπνέων (208 4) is the participle of ἀμπνέω (= ἀναπνέω), but as the apocope of prepositions is not documented on Samos, a poetic origin is likely (cf. Hes. fr. 76, 23: ἔσθι δ' ἀμπνείων). Names such as Δοῦρις, Οὔριος and Διοσκουρίδης (with ορF > ουρ) may also have a "hochsprachlich" origin. As the Aeolic adjective φάεννος is common in poetry (Sappho, Pindar, Tragedians), the name Φάεννος (180 29), documented also in Arcadia, Laconia and Rhodes, may be a further example of a "learned" name.¹⁴ On the contrary, names such as Βρό[ταχος] (894), Ταργήλιος (176 23), and Ὀρτιος

¹² Comparison with Attic Ἐξήκεστος, Ἐξηκίας et sim. could indicate that Ἐξάκεστος, Ἐξάκης, Ἐξακίς (the only forms documented on Samos) are not Ionic, but forms with ᾱ seem to have existed in Greek, cf. Ἐξακέστην in *ISmyrna* 81 (II*), Ἐξάκων in the papyri, and Bechtel, *HPN* 32 and 191.

¹³ Bechtel, *HPN* 562-564; M. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter* (Basel 1950) 298-299.

¹⁴ On Φάεννος see now P. Hualde, *Emerita* 65 (1997) 226-228.

(574), for Βάτραχος, Θαργήλιος and Ἑόρτιος, come no doubt from spoken Ionian.

4. The new volume IG XII 6 (1-2) yields a considerable number of names that are interesting or new.¹⁵ They illustrate the variety and interest of Samian (and Ionian) onomastics, although all problems associated with etymology, formation, and sense cannot yet be solved (see e.g. the names painted on the walls of Eupalinus' tunnel, n. 996). I offer a discussion of some of these names in the following notes.

Ἀλίγκιος (201 6).¹⁶ Son of Πρηξαγόρης on a list of Samian magistrates of uncertain date (Hellenistic?). It is the Homeric adjective meaning "similar", not previously documented as a proper name. The fact that in Homer the adjective ἀλίγκιος is always used in a highly positive sense (ἀλίγκιος ἀστέρι καλῶι Z 401, ἀλίγκιος ἀθανάτοισι θ 174) may have favoured its use as personal name, cf. Hsch. ἀλίγκιον· καλόν, ἀγαθόν, with J. Alberti's comments (1746): "nihil muta, dummodo statuas, Hesychium non nudam vocem, sed integram Poëtae phrasin spectasse".

Βήθων (208 12). A certain Βήθων Βέργιδος is documented in a II-Ist catalogue of uncertain nature. Βέργις is Cretan and has been explained as a local form of a name *Φέργις (cf. Ἔργις in IG XII 9, 245 B 128) with β for φ.¹⁷ Βήθων is new, but it can be similarly explained as a form of Ἥθων (IG XII 8, 83 24, IG VII 1778 2.5) with β for φ (< σφ), as in βεκάτεροι (ICret. I xvi 1 40)

¹⁵ ἅπαξ εὐρημένα (A. Deissman, *Licht von Osten*, Tübingen 1923, 59), rather than ἅπαξ εἰρημένα.

¹⁶ Or Ἀλιγκιός, as the editor writes, as in ἀμφότερος ~ Ἀμφοτερός, σκύμνος ~ Σκυμνός etc.: J. Vendries, *Traité d'accentuation grecque* (Paris 1945) 154.

¹⁷ M. Guarducci ad ICret. I xvi 26; cf. O. Masson, *SMEA* 2, 1967, 31 adn. 37 [= *OGS* I 101].

or Βαδύλα (*IDyrrachion* 136).¹⁸ For Cretans on Samos cf. the mercenaries listed in 217 and the name Ἑρταῖος (145 s, 177 γ), a poetic ethnic for the Cretans.

Καῖος 38 ζ. Father of Λυσαγόρας, proposer of an “exile-decree” (end IV^a). After the Samian Olympic victor Σκαῖος (Paus. VI 13, 5), Christian Habicht assumed haplography and read Λυσαγόρας <Σ>καίου. This interpretation needs only a small change, for the name Σκαῖος in Pausanias is a correction of the transmitted καὶ ὅς. As John Barron pointed out, rather than alter the inscription to suit the emended text, it is better to keep Καῖος both in the inscription and in Pausanias.¹⁹ The name Καῖος can be tentatively interpreted as a by-form (not a faulty spelling) of the common Σκαῖος (Bechtel, *Spitznamen* 49), the fluctuation κ ~ σκ (Καπανεύς ~ Σκαπανεύς, etc.) being well known in Greek: Schwyzer, *Gr. Gramm.* I 334.

Κωλα[ῖ]ος (178 ιο). A list of *choregoi* of II^a has preserved this name, up to now only documented for the 7th-cent. Samian traveller who made a famous voyage to the far West (Hdt. IV 152). Κωλαῖος is probably a shortened form of the Ionic name Κωλώτης with an -αῖος suffix common in Ionian.²⁰ Another possibility is to see a name directly derived from the stem κωλ- (κωλή, κωλήν, κῶλον), perhaps with an original obscene sense, like the Ionian nick-names Πόσθων, Σάθων or Βιλλᾶς (*numm. Sam.* 62).²¹

¹⁸ A gloss βέσπο· ἔθος, often cited as an example of this shift, is a conjecture by Pergerus for the transmitted βεσόν· ἔθος (Hsch.). After EM (βεστόν· τὸ ἱμάτιον ὑπὸ τῶν Λακῶνων κτλ.) Latte corrects the text to βεστόν· ἔσθος (β for F).

¹⁹ J. Barron, *CR* 76 (1962) 190; Barron considered the Olympian victor the same as Lysagoras' father.

²⁰ Cf. Ἰππαῖος (461 s), Λυσαῖος (202 ια), Ἀνταῖος (219 ιο), νόμαιος (14 ζ); see F. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte* III (Berlin 1924) 104-105.

²¹ On these names see Robert *Noms* 16-22, *Monnaies* 29-30. For more recent times see R. M. Rennick, *Names* 16 (1968) 207-229, esp. 216.

Λέως. The name is documented only as the eponym on tetradrachms of 393/2^a (*numm. Sam.* 19) and on a document of the Athenian cleruchy at Samos of c. 350^a (262 72). This striking coincidence moved Ch. Habicht to think that Λέως was a Samian citizen who became naturalized in Athens and who later returned to the island as an Athenian citizen.²² Λέως is a shortened form of a name beginning in Λεω- (Λεωσθένης, Λεώστρατος etc.). Doric Λᾱος (IG IX I² 1, 117), if it is not a form of Λάϊος, may be similarly explained.²³

Μανδροπότης. Documented in I^p for the father of three ephebes in Icaria (1227 16-18) and on a fragmentary Samian inscription of the same period (1038 1). The first part of the name alludes to the Asiatic god Mandros but the second part is not entirely clear. Bechtel (*HPN* 382) tentatively saw a foreign element hellenized on the model of δεσ-πότης. The presence of Persian names on Samos (Απαμα, Αριαραθης, Ευμανης, Μιθρας, Φαρνακης, etc.) points in fact to an Iranian element *-pata*, 'protected by', or, more likely, *-pati*, 'lord',²⁴ which was assimilated to a similar-sounding Greek stem (on this practice see e.g. O. Masson, *REG* 100 [1987] 238). For the sense cf. Μανδρῶναξ.

Μυοκέντης (1047 B 4). Despite its foreign look, the genitive Μυοκέντου engraved on the wall of the gymnasium is a purely Greek name – it is formed with the noun "mouse" and the

²² Ch. Habicht, *AM* 110 (1995) 297; Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν 75 (2000) 441; *Greek Personal Names* (S. Hornblower - E. Matthews edd., Oxford 2000) 121-122. Habicht considered also the cleruch Ἀχελῷος (262 264) the same as the father of the magistrate Ἐπικράτης Ἀχελῷου (*numm. Sam.* 13).

²³ In the same way has been interpreted Λεῶς, name of the eponymous hero of the Attic tribe Λεωντίς (A. Fick - F. Bechtel, *Die gr. Personennamen*, Göttingen, 1894, 397).

²⁴ F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg 1895) 505-506; R. Schmitt, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 16-17. The same element, in any case, is found in the Greco-Iranian hybrid Ἐρμοπάτης (MAMA I 410; cf. Zgusta § 355-40).

verbal stem of κεντέω, 'to prick' (cf. μυοθερευτής, μυοκτόνος, etc.). Μυοκέντης was no doubt a nickname, as often in the graffiti of the gymnasia (cf. *IvPriene* 313¹⁻⁷³²). Nicknames suggest that their users were in familiar terms with the bearers of the name. We, who are not, will probably never know how the young Μυοκέντης earned his nickname, but comparison with nouns such as βουκέντης (Diogen. I 7, 86) and ταυροκέντης (CIL X 1074 = Dessau 5053) points to something scurrilous.

Ορφατίλας (221 2). Documented on a catalogue of names of III-II^a, "nomen mirum", comments the editor. The name should be read Ορφατιδας, as a restudy of the squeeze in Berlin has shown. It is no doubt a form of the Pamphylian name Οροφατιδας, Οροφατιρας.²⁵ The "Asiatic" names documented on Samos are usually those common in the neighboring regions, normally in Caria (Ιμβρασος, Μουσουλ- Παναμυς, Χηραμυς, Πιγρης, Μας, etc.), rather than in Pamphylia. But as Pamphylian mercenaries are well documented in the Hellenistic world,²⁶ it is likely that the inscription with Orphatidas' name was a catalogue of soldiers garrisoned on Samos.

Ὀρχαμένιος (33 1). Samian demiorgos in an exile-decree for Diocles of Gela (end of IV^a). The stone was destroyed in the 19th cent., but the legend on a IV^a tetradrachm from Ephesus confirms, if necessary, the unanimous readings of Decharmes, Stamatides and Curtius.²⁷ Ὀρχαμένιος could be a non-Greek name,²⁸ but a Greek interpretation is, at least in theory, possible, viz. Ὀρχα(μο)μένιος – a compound of ὄρχαμος and μένος with

²⁵ Robert, *Noms* 415; C. Brixhe, *Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie* (Paris 1976) 208 ad n. 21; Zgusta § 1110.

²⁶ M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* (Paris, 1949-1950) 460-471, 1121-1123; Robert, *Noms* 415-419.

²⁷ R. Münsterberg, *Die Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Münzen* (Vienna 1914) 87, citing *Inv. Waddington* 1536. Cf. also *SNG Danish Museum. Ionia* (1946) n. 234.

²⁸ Related with Ὀρχομένης in Lycia (TAM II 611)?

the same apocope as found in Ἑλλα(νό)νικος, Φοινι(κο)κλέης or Χαρ(μό)μενος.²⁹ The ending -μένιος (for the expected -μένης) is also well documented, cf. Εὐμένιος (ICret. II xx 6) and Ἀριστομένιος on a IV^a list of nominatives from Olbia, where Latyschev's correction Ἀριστομέν<η>ς is unnecessary.³⁰

Πάγρων (*numm. Sam.* 83). Magistrate on a Samian bronze coin, c. 310-290^a. Quite improbably, Bechtel (*HPN* 559, citing this example) related Πάγρων to the name of the North-Syrian fortress Πάγραι.³¹ The name can be explained as formed on πάγρος, a by-form of the fish-name φάγρος documented up to now in late Greek grammarians (Herodian, Arcadius) and in Latin *pager* (> It. *pagro*, Sp. *pargo*, etc.). The variant πάγρος is probably (as its adoption in Latin may indicate) a vulgarism used by non-literary people and tabooed by cultivated writers. For fish-names as personal names one may compare the name of the Samian Φύλιππος ὁ Βρέγκος at Herodas II 73.³²

Πέλνος (268). Documented on a IV^a cent. marble lecythus with names of Athenian cleruchs. The name (which the first editor read as Τέλλος) is odd, and a relation with Πέλνος in Egypt (*SB* I 239 2: Πλῆνις Πέλνου, 232ⁿ) is not sure. For lack of a better explanation, one may wonder whether the name is to be read Πέλλιος (ΛΙ not Ν), viz. a derivative of πελλός, 'dusky', cf. Πελλέας, Πελλίας Πέλλιχος, Πέλλων.³³ Needless to say, it is

²⁹ Schwyzler, *Gr. Gramm.* I 263; A. Thumb - A. Scherer, *Handbuch der gr. Dialekte* II (Heidelberg 1959) 267, etc.

³⁰ L. Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales d'Olbia du Pont* (Genève 1996) n. 107. For these nominatives see Bechtel, *HPN* 56 (on Ἀριάνθιος).

³¹ On these explanations see J. and L. Robert *Bull. ép.* 1976, 267: "Nous avons plusieurs fois réagi contre la tendance de Bechtel à rattacher trop d'anthroponymes à des noms de villes et même situées en dehors du monde grec, pourvu qu'elles se trouvent dans le Pape-Benseler" (see also *Bull. ép.* 1973, 96 and *Noms*, 300 adn. 7).

³² Cf. also Robert, *Noms* 167-168 and O. Masson, *R. Phil.* 48 (1974) 86.

³³ On this family of names see A. Wilhelm, *SBak. Wien* 1946, 7-8 [= *Kl. Schr.* I 3, 145-146]; Bechtel, *HPN* 495.

unlikely to be the form *πελνός assumed by linguists to explain Cypr. πλνόν and common Greek πελλός (Chantraine's and Frisk's etymological dictionaries s.v. πελιδνός).

Ταργίδιο (627). On a VI^a gravestone preserved only in a copy by Curtius. The name is remarkable not only for the old form of the genitive (later Ionic -εω, Attic -ου), but also for the odd element Ταργ-. Rather than a relation with the Ταργήλια and the personal name Ταργήλιος (176 22), I would prefer a variant of a name Τραγίδης, with ταρ- for τρα-.³⁴ For the formation cf. Λεοντίδης, Λυκίδης, Μοσχίδης etc.

Ψηρόμανδρος (445). On a V^a dedication from the Heraion. As the first editor, Günter Dunst, saw, it is a "composé irrational"³⁵ combining the name of the god Μάνδρος with the stem of the adjective ψαρός (Ion. ψηρός), 'speckled' or (less likely) the substantive ψάρ (Ion. ψήρ), 'starling', cf. Ψηρῶς, Ψηρίας, Ψαρίων.³⁶

Appendix

The new edition of the Samian inscriptions yields a considerable number of new readings and corrections (the editors' or others') of names included in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal names* I (Oxford 1987). I present them briefly here: Ἀπάμα (736 2) not Ἀγάμα; Ἀμόργιος (647 2) not Ἀπολλωνίδης (92. 93); Ἀρκεσίλεως (1235 2), not Ἀρκεσίλαος (12); Ἀρχεΐτας (1227 3, cf. 1227 7) not Ἀρχεΐτος; Ἀσίης (146 1) not Ἀσιος (2); Ἀχελώϊος (202 93) not Ἀχέρων; Δηλόπτης 1 and 2 should be

³⁴ Schwyzler, *Gr. Gramm.* I 267. Cf. Diosc. IV 49 RV (vol. II 206 Wel.): cf. τράγος· οἱ δὲ τράγιον (...) οἱ δὲ τάργανον (for τράγανον).

³⁵ On the concept see O. Masson, *Philologus* 110 (1996) 253-4 [= OMS I 88-89], *Rev. Num.* 24, 1982, 22 [= OGS II 404], etc.

³⁶ Respectively: Apollod. *epit.* VII 27; W. Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos* (Leipzig 1906) 157; *IvPriene* 313 662.

removed (cf. 592); Διονυσόδωρος (202¹³⁵) not Διονυσίδωρος; Δρόμιος (202⁶) not Ἐδιόμιος; [Ἐ]πιτυνχανώ (233¹¹) not [Ἐ]πιτύνχανος; Ερμανδειμῖς (313¹⁴) not Ἑρμάν nor Δεῖμις (2); Ερμανδειμῖς (829³) not Ἑρμᾶς (7) nor Δεῖμις (1); Θαλίτης (202⁷) not Εὐαδίτης; Ζωΐλης or Ζωΐλῃς (1003) not Ζωΐλος (118); Θεμιστόδοκος (202¹⁴⁷) not Θεμιστόδωρος (4); Ἰατροκλῆς (202¹¹⁶) not Ἰατροκλείδης; Ἰσέας (182^{159. 173}) not Ἰσαῖος (3); Καλλίας (202³⁰) not Ἄλλιος; Λεωφείδης (76²) not Κλεωφείδης; Μνησαγόρας (202⁷⁴) not Μνησαῖος; [Ὀλ]βιοπόριστος (233¹³) not Βιοπόριστος; Οὐλιάδης (202¹⁴³) not Αὐλιάδης; Πέρικλος (461⁷) not Περικλῆς (18); Πολύμνηστος (202⁸⁴) not Πολυμνῆς; Ποσεδεωνίης (1003) not Ποσειδώνιος (55); Πρηξίθεμῖς (202¹⁴) not Πρηξίθεμης; Πρῶτις (655) not Ῥῶτις; Πυθῆς (202⁴⁷) not Πύρσω[ν]; Ῥῆσις (560) not Ὀρησις (1); Ῥοῖχος (1227¹⁶) not Ῥοῖκος (3); Σχεῖνος (572²) not Σχίνιος.³⁷

³⁷ My thanks to M. del Barrio, M. Errington and D. Jordan for their suggestions.