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PETER THONEMANN

Neilomandros

A contribution to the history of Greek personal names*

The presence of some thirty-four Lakonian black-figure sherds among the pottery excavated at the site of Naukratis in the Nile delta is an archaeological peculiarity which has never been convincingly explained. The fact that the vases almost all date to the second quarter of the sixth century BC may suggest that a single cargo was involved. How and why the vases reached Naukratis, remains a mystery; direct Spartan involvement in Naukratis may surely be ruled out, and the mediation of Kyrene is at best unproven. Their ultimate function, at least, is not in doubt. Three of the thirty-four pieces carry dedicatory graffiti to Aphrodite in the Ionian alphabet and script. It has thus reasonably been inferred that this single shipment of Lakonian ware found its primary employment as Ionian votives to Aphrodite.¹

The personal name of one of the three dedicators is lost entirely, and of a second, only a very few letters are preserved: [- - Ἀφροδ]ίτηι ΟΦ[- -]ΜΜ[- -]. GARDNER ambitiously restored this as [ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκεν Ἀφροδ]ίτηι ὁ Φ[ιλά]μμ[ωνος], recently modified by MÖLLER to [Ἀφροδ]ίτηι ὁ Φ[ιλά]μμ[ων].² This latter restoration, at least, cannot be right, since dedicators' names do not take the definite article. Nor is GARDNER's restoration by any means certain. The structure he proposes (X dedicated to Aphrodite, the son of Y) is rather uncommon

* The following special abbreviations are used throughout: BECHTEL, HP = F. BECHTEL, Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit, 1917. – BECHTEL, KoS = F. BECHTEL, Kleine onomastische Studien. Aufsätze zur griechischen Eigennamenforschung, 1981. – GPN = S. HORNBLLOWER – E. MATTHEWS (eds.), Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence, 2000. – LETRONNE, Mémoire = J.-A. LETRONNE, Mémoire sur l'utilité qu'on peut retirer de l'étude des noms propres grecs, pour l'histoire et l'archéologie, Mémoires de l'institut national de France, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 19/1, 1851, 1–139. – MASSON, OGS = O. MASSON, Onomastica Graeca Selecta, I-III, 1990–2000. – SITTING, GNT = E. SITTING, De Graecorum nominibus theophoris, 1911. I am indebted to R. CATLING, E. MATTHEWS, A. MORPURGO DAVIES and R. PARKER for comment and criticism. Responsibility for errors and infelicities is mine alone.

¹ M. S. VENIT, Laconian Black Figure in Egypt, *AJA* 89, 1985, 391–398; A. MÖLLER, Naukratis. Trade in Archaic Greece, 2000, 124–127.

² E. A. GARDNER, Naukratis II, 1888, 64 no. 767, followed by SB 2542; A. BERNAND, Le delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs, 1970, I 3, 683 no. 418; cf. MÖLLER (above, n. 1) 179. Illustr., C. M. STIBBE, Lakonische Vasenmaler des 6. Jh. v. Chr., 1972, II Taf. 43,7.

among the Naukratis dedications.³ What is, however, very frequent, is the addition of an ethnic, in the form <X dedicated to Aphrodite, the Chian>; it seems probable that the order of the two fragments should be reversed, giving [- -]μμ[- -] Ἀφροδί[τη] ὁ Φ[ωκαιοῦς].⁴ Nothing compels us to restore the name of the dedicator as [Φιλά]μμ[ων], a name of very uncertain currency before the first century BC, and otherwise unknown to Ionia. Personal names with a double-*mu* are not especially common; one might consider [Ψα]μμ[ήτιχος], a name known to have been held by an Ionian mercenary in Egypt in the late sixth century.⁵

The third graffito is better preserved. GARDNER read the text as Ἀφροδίτη Νεγόμενδρος [ἀνέθηκεν] remarking that the name has <a Graeco-Egyptian look>; others interpreted the name as Pamphylian.⁶ JEFFERY pointed out that the correct reading was Νελόμανδρος = Νειλόμανδρος: an extraordinary and unparalleled name.⁷ Both elements, however, can readily be paralleled among the Greeks of Archaic and Early Classical Egypt. For Νειλο- we may compare the early fifth-century dedicatory inscription of Pythermos son of Neilon, perhaps a native of Samos, on a bronze statuette of Isis and Horus: Πύθερμος με ὁ Νέλωνος ἐλύσατο τῆς Ἔσοις ἄγαλμα;⁸ for -μανδρος, we may compare a roughly contemporary painted inscription on Chiot-style ware, carrying the dedication of a certain Ἐρμόμανδρος – perhaps a vase-painter himself, since he seems to have written his

³ The only unambiguous example appears to be Φάνης με ἀνέθηκε τῶπόλλων[ι τῶι Μι]λησίῳ ὁ Γλαύρο (SGDI 5759; BERNAND I 3, 661 no. 179); compare the structure <X dedicated me, the son of Y, to Aphrodite>: Ἐρμοφάνης ἀνέθ[ηκεν] ὁ Ναυσιτέ[λους] (BERNAND I 3, 685 no. 435); [Λ]άκρι[το]ς μ' ἀνέ[θη]κε Ὀρμο[θ]έμ[ιος] τῆφροδί[τη] (BERNAND I 3, 688 no. 468).

⁴ Compare [- -]χίδεω [ἀνέθηκεν τῆ] Ἀφροδίτῃ ὁ Τῆ[ιος] (BERNAND I 3, 684 no. 430); [- -] κάθ[ηκε] τῆι Ἀφροδίτῃ ὁ Μυτιλεναῖος (BERNAND I 3, 685 no. 439); cf. BERNAND I 3, 676 no. 352; 686 no. 440–441; 687 no. 455, perhaps 688 no. 462. For Phokaians at Naukratis, BERNAND I 3, 675 no. 345; 709 no. 682 (?); Hdt. 2.178.

⁵ For the instructive history of the name Φιλάμμων, F. DUNAND, *Les noms théophores en -ammon*, CE 38, 1963, 134–146; W. SWINNEN, *Philammon, chantre légendaire, et les noms gréco-égyptiennes en -ammôn*, in: *Antidorum W. Peremans... oblatum*, 1968, 237–262. A Greek mercenary by the name of Ψαμμήτιχος is attested in MEIGGS – LEWIS, GHI 7 a2 (early sixth century), in Dorian dialect but Ionian script. Alternatively, one could contemplate [Ψά]μμ[ις], attested in a funerary inscription from Abdera which appears, from the lettering, to date to the fifth century BC: I. Thr. Aeg. 38.

⁶ GARDNER (above, n. 2) II 64 no. 766; followed by C. R. ROEBUCK, CPh 45, 1950, 247 n. 62 (<Graeco-Egyptian>); SB 2541. A Pamphylian origin for the name was proposed by P. KRETSCHMER, *Zum pamphyliischen Dialekt*, KZ 33, 1895, 265, followed by SITTING, GNT 46; a doubly fallacious argument, as shown by MASSON ap. CL. BRICHHE, *Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie*, 1976, 201 n. 3.

⁷ L. JEFFERY, *ABSA* 51, 1956, 61 n. 8 (= SEG 18, 651); BERNAND, I 3 683 no. 417; STIBBE (above, n. 2) I, 208; MÖLLER (above, n. 1) 178.

⁸ SGDI 5771; JEFFERY, *LSAG* 355 no. 50. The statuette is illustrated in REgypt 29, 1977, 59 Pl. 3.

own inscription – resident at Naukratis in the first half of the sixth century BC, and most probably a native of Chios.⁹

«Il faut faire non seulement l'histoire des noms, mais l'histoire par les noms.»¹⁰ There can be few more instructive Greek onomastic families than the group of personal names in Μανδρο- and -μανδρος, preserving, like the light of a dead star, the memory of a deceased god, the indigenous Anatolian deity Μάνδρος, recalled from oblivion by J.-A. LETRONNE in his famous essay «sur l'utilité qu'on peut retirer de l'étude des noms propres grecs».¹¹ The interest of this group of names was again highlighted by HILLER a little over a century ago, in criticising P. MEYER's reckless attempt to establish the ethnic origins of several members of a Ptolemaic garrison on Thera (IG XII 3, 325): «Die Verteilung der Söldner auf die griechischen Städte auf Grund ihrer Namen ist zum Teil sehr gewagt und unsicher... Es ist sehr verdienstvoll, dass MEYER überhaupt diese Fragen aufgeworfen und ihre Lösung versucht hat; aber es fehlt noch die Voraussetzung dazu, das griechische Namenbuch der Zukunft, das uns die Geschichte und Verbreitung der einzelnen Namensgruppen und zur Namenbildung verwendeten Stämme in wirklich übersichtlicher Form, mit erschöpfenden oder wenigstens sachgemäss ausgewählten Nachweisen lehrt. Solche Artikel wie Θεμιστ-, Θεμιστο-, -θεμις oder Μανδρο- in BECHTELS Personennamen ... zeigen, was hier noch für eine gewaltige Arbeit zu leisten ist.»¹² Specific historical essays of the kind proposed by

⁹ See R. M. COOK – A. G. WOODHEAD, Painted Inscriptions on Chiot pottery, *ABSA* 47, 1952, 159–170, esp. 161 n. 15. The pottery should be classified as «Chiot-style» rather than «Chiot», since it appears to have been produced at Naukratis: J. BOARDMAN, Archaic Chian pottery at Naukratis, in: id. – C. E. VAPHOPOULOU-RICHARDSON (eds.), *Chios: A Conference at the Homereion in Chios*, 1986, 251–258; MÖLLER (above, n. 1) 136–140. If potter and dedicator are identical (and in this particular case the word ἔγρα[ψε] on one of the Hermomandros fragments seems decisive), then Hermomandros ought to be of Chiot origin: the specific prosopographical link suggested by R. WACHTER, *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions*, 2001, 219 n. 680, is, however, very tenuous.

¹⁰ L. ROBERT, *Actes du VII^e congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine*, 1979, 34.

¹¹ First published as *Observations philologiques et archéologiques sur l'étude des noms propres grecs*, *Annales de l'Institut Archéologique = Annali dell' Instituto Archeologico* 17, 1845, 251–346; republished, with extensive addenda, under the title *Mémoire sur l'utilité qu'on peut retirer de l'étude des noms propres grecs, pour l'histoire et l'archéologie*, in the *Mémoires de l'institut national de France, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 19/1, 1851, 1–139 (the version cited here). I have not seen the reprint of this latter version in his *Oeuvres choisies* III.2, 1885, 1–126. The brilliant simile quoted in the text comes from R. PARKER, *Theophoric Names and the History of Greek Religion*, in *GPN* 64. The only recent study known to me of this onomastic group is C. L. GAGLIANO, *A proposito di ἐν μάνδρα* in *P.Oxy.* 984, *Aegyptus* 80, 2000, 99–115, which represents, to put it kindly, a step backwards from LETRONNE.

¹² F. HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, *Die Götterkulte aus Thera*, *Klio* 1, 1901–1902, 219 n. 6.

HILLER, which would attempt to trace the expansion and decline of particular groups of names and their compounded elements, based on close analysis both of the form and meaning of individual names and of their geographical and chronological distribution, for the most part remain to be written; the documentary record, meanwhile, continues to grow at an alarming rate. But in recent years the composition of such essays has been hugely facilitated by the vast resources of P. M. FRASER and E. MATTHEWS' ongoing *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, an unqualified triumph of selfless and rigorous scholarship. I propose here to undertake one such study, that of personal names in *Μανδρο-* and *-μανδρος*, as a small contribution to the renaissance in Greek onomastic studies which the *Lexicon* has helped to promote.

A large part of LETRONNE's pioneering essay (39–86) was dedicated to compound names with the terminations *-δωρος* and *-δώρα*. LETRONNE divided these names into two classes. First, those whose first element is the name of a deity (*Διόδωρος*), a divine epiklesis (*Πυθόδωρος*), the name of a hero (*Αιαντόδωρος*), mountain, or river (*Κηφισόδωρος*); and second, those which begin with other more or less common word-forms, as *Εὔδωρος*, *Ἀντιδωρος*.¹³ Names of the first class, by far the more numerous, signify «que l'individu qui les portait était considéré comme ayant été donné à ses parents par l'intervention de telle ou telle divinité, et, en conséquence, qu'il se trouvait placé sous sa protection spéciale» (40). LETRONNE proceeded, spectacularly, to apply this principle to the anthroponym *Ἀνδρανόδωρος*, the name of a prominent Sicilian in Polybius 7.2.5, which he emended to *Ἄδρανόδωρος* so as to derive from the indigenous Sicel deity Adranos.¹⁴ He then pointed out the interest of the name *Μανδρόδωρος*, at the time only attested in Arrian, *Anab.* 6.23.2 (and hence, by a simple emendation, in *Indica* 18), as the father of one Thoas of Magnesia, an officer of Alexander the Great.¹⁵ LETRONNE rightly argued that if one were to take the element *Μανδρο-* as deriving from *μάνδρα*, «stable, enclosure», the name *Μανδρόδωρος* would be totally inexplicable. He thereby argued for the existence of an otherwise unattested deity Mandros or Mandra, from whom the name was derived, «gift of Mandros». Exhaustive analysis follows of the handful of other names in *Μανδρο-* and *-μανδρος* then known: *Μανδροκλής* and *Κλεόμανδρος*, *Μανδρογένης*, *Μανδροκράτης*, *Μανδρόβουλος*, the mythological *Μανδρόλυτος*, *Μανδρώναξ* and *Ἀναξιμανδρος*, *Πυθόμανδρος*, *Θεόμανδρος* and the simple *Μάνδρων*; he correctly inferred the existence of the personal name *Μανδραγόρας* (now directly

¹³ See further D. KNOEPFLER, *Oropodoros: Anthroponomy, Geography, History*, in *GPN* 84–86.

¹⁴ See, most recently, J. B. CURBERA, *Onomastics and river-gods in Sicily*, *Philologus* 142, 1998, 57f.

¹⁵ H. BERVE, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, 1926, II 181 no. 376.

attested) from the homonymous plant.¹⁶ For most of these names – with some significant exceptions, notably Αναξιμανδρος and Πυθόμανδρος, discussed in detail below – he was able to cite indisputable theophoric parallels: Ἀθηνόκλης, Διογένης, Ἐρμοκράτης, and so forth. Observing further that, with very few exceptions, this group of names was confined to western Asia Minor, and that almost all the datable instances were anterior to the conquests of Alexander, LETRONNE concluded that Μάνδρος/Μάνδρα was an indigenous west Anatolian deity, deceased or absorbed into another cult at an early date, leaving behind this small group of theophoric names as the only trace of his passing.¹⁷

The argument is brilliant and seductive. It has convinced the overwhelming majority of its readers, and rightly so. But it ought not to be accepted without question. LETRONNE was able to cite some twenty bearers of names derived from this stem; we now know of more than a hundred and eighty. The picture which he drew requires modification not only in details, but also, as I shall argue, in certain fundamentals.

Before turning to a more detailed examination of the onomastic evidence, we ought to note a single reported sighting of the elusive god Mandros, alive and well half a millennium after the likely date of death as determined by LETRONNE. In 1911, J. KEIL read and restored a difficult inscription (now lost) recording the acquisition of landed property by a cult association at Aeolian Kyme in the early Imperial period so as to refer to a «sanctuary before the city of *Mandros Kaiôn*», τοῦ πρὸ [πό]λεως ἱεροῦ Καίοντος Μ[άν]δρ[ο]υ.¹⁸ Some scepticism is appropriate. The supposed cult *epiklesis* «καίων» («the kindler»? «who brings warmth»?) is not in itself especially plausible, and lacks parallels. We shall see later on that some of the onomastic material is flatly incompatible with a «fire-god» Mandros. Moreover, if an isolated cult of the ancient god had indeed survived into the first or second

¹⁶ Some individual attestations of these various names have since been discredited, but the only illusory item in LETRONNE's list is *Μανδρόπομος, created by ill-advised emendation of I. Mylasa 572. In the second, 1851 version of the memoir (p.48) he added Σωσίμανδρος and a second instance of Κλεόμανδρος, expressing some doubts as to their relevance. For the onomastic confirmation of LETRONNE's brilliant conjecture concerning the etymology of μανδραγόρας, see E. FRAENKEL, Zur griechischen und baltoslavischen Grammatik und Wortkunde, in: Satira Berolinensis, 1924, 23–24.

¹⁷ An interesting consequence of this argument was that LETRONNE was quite prepared to deny the relevance of onomastic material with the element -μανδρ- which dated to later periods. So in his *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Égypte* II p. 477 no. 534, commenting on a Late Antique text from Memphis which appeared to feature the personal name Μάνδρος, he stated that «Μάνδρος, nom inconnu, ne peut guère, à cette époque, venir de celui de l'ancienne divinité; il doit être formé de μάνδρα» (similarly LETRONNE, *Mémoire*, 49 n. 5). Modern scholars have shown less discrimination.

¹⁸ J. KEIL, *Mysterieninschrift aus dem äolischen Kyme*, JÖAI 14, 1911, Beibl. 133–140; I. Kyme 37, with commentary and facsimile p. 146. L. ROBERT was convinced: *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, 1938, 214; BE 1958, 85; OMS III, 1679. Note, however, the doubts of R. PARKER, in GPN 67 n. 55.

century AD, we should by no means have expected to find it at Kyme: only two individuals of Aeolian origin are known to have had names in Μανδρο- and -μανδρος, both Lesbian (Μανδρόδικος and Μανδρής). I can offer no alternative restoration or interpretation of the relevant part of the inscription – although I wonder whether we might not have a personal name, M[αν]δρ[ο]ϋ (from Μανδρής) rather than M[άν]δρ[ο]υ – but nonetheless feel that it is best not to build too much on this single, highly doubtful instance.

The following catalogue of personal names in Μανδρο- and -μανδρος is, to the best of my knowledge and ability, comprehensive. Dates are approximate. Where it is uncertain whether two or more attestations refer to the same individual, I have on the whole tended to assume that they do. I am indebted to E. MATTHEWS at the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names for making available to me materials collected for future volumes of the LGPN, and thus saving me from several embarrassing omissions.

Ἀγλώμανδρος	Miletos	(1) Milet I 3, 122 II.41	IV BC
		(2) Milet I 3, 138 III.43	III BC
Ἀθηνόμανδρος	Ephesos	Coll. Wadd. 1523	IV BC
	Olbia	DUBOIS, IGDolbia 74	VI BC
Ἀναξίμανδρος	Samos	(1) IG XII 6, 172 B.47	III BC
		(2) IG XII 6, 202.137	III BC
		(3) IG XII 6, 104	III BC
	Erythrai	I.Erythrai 22.2	IV BC
	Miletos	(1) DIELS-KRANZ 12	VI BC
		(2) I.Didyma 2.1	VI BC
		(3) Milet I 3, 122 I.7, 13, 19	VI BC
		(4) Milet I 2, 8	VI BC
		(5) Milet I 3, 122 I.45	V BC
		(6) Milet I 3, 122 I.46	V BC
		(7) Milet I 3, 122 I.74	V BC
		(8) Milet I 3, 122 I.75	V BC
		(9) FGrHist 9	?IV BC
	Priene	I. Priene 289.1	///inc.
	Herakleia Pontike	I. Heraclea Pontica p.125	///Class/Hell.
	Kyrene	SEG 20, 735a I.24	III BC
	Tiberiopolis	LE BAS – WADD. 1018	///Imp.
Ἀρασίμανδρος	Thera	IG XII 3 562	VII/VI BC
	Uncertain Ionia	IG I ³ 1159.13: [Ἀρα]σίμανδρος	V BC
Διόμανδρος	Athens	(1) IG II ² 2113.154	II AD
		(2) IG II ² 2113.167	II AD
	Samos	(1) IG XII 6, 579	I BC
		(2) IG XII 6, 200 ¹⁹	I BC

¹⁹ I would restore Δι[ό]μανδρος in this inscription, a name attested on Samos at precisely this period, and well-known elsewhere in Ionia. The IG editors restore Νε[ό]μανδρος, otherwise only attested on Thasos. The letter-traces are compatible with either name.

	Miletos	(1) Milet I 3, 122 I.91 (2) I. Didyma 493.10	V BC III BC
	Apollonia Pontike	IGBulg. I ² 417	V/IV BC
	Uncertain Ionia	IG I ³ 1182, Add. 970–971	V BC
Διονυσόμανδρος	Apollonia Pontike	IGBulg. I ² 428	V/IV BC
Ἐκατόμανδρος	Kolophon	(1) AJP 56, 1935, 377–9, III 6 (2) AJP 56, 1935, 359–372, I 277 (3) AJP 56, 1935, 359–372, I 546 (4) AJP 56, 1935, 359–372, I 688 (5) AJP 56, 1935, 359–372, I 844	IV BC IV BC IV BC IV BC IV BC
Ἐρμόμανδρος	Uncertain Ionia	ABSA 47, 1952, 161 (Naukratis)	VI BC
Θεμισθόμανδρος	Miletos	Milet I 3, 122 I.8	VI BC
Θεομανδρίδης	Samos	(1) IG XII 6, 202.84 (2) IG XII 6, 172 B.85	III BC III BC
Θεόμανδρος	Thera	IG XII 3, 816	V/IV BC
	Kyrene	Thphr. ap. Athenaeus 13, 567a	IV BC
Θεύμανδρος	Kyrene	(1) SEG 9, 49 (2) SEG 9, 50 (3) ASAA 23–4, 1961–2, 322 no.187 (4) ASAA 23–4, 1961–2, 314 no.164a 14	IV BC IV BC III BC I AD
	Taucheira-Arsinoe	SEG 9, 444, corr. LGPN I s.v.	I AD
Καλλίμανδρος	Siphnos	IG II ² 10362	IV BC
	Thera	P.Petrie ² I 16.6	III BC
	Uncertain	RE Suppl. 12, 512–14 = Jos. AJ 13.280	II BC
Καλώμανδρος	Kolophon	(1) AJP 56, 1935, 359–72, I 255 (2) AJP 56, 1935, 359–72, I 839	IV BC IV BC
	Smyrna	I. Smyrna 902	VI BC
Κλείμανδρος	Kyzikos	L. ROBERT, Hellenica 9, 94	///Hell.
Κλεόμανδρος	Arkesine, Amorgos	CEG II 664	IV BC
	Thasos	IG XII 8, 313	II BC
Κλεύμανδρος	Thera	IG XII 3 [Suppl.] 1302.47	II BC
Λεώμανδρος	Sardeis	Sardis VII 1, 102	V BC
Μανδραγόρης	Chios	LSAG 344 no. 47	VII BC
	Miletos	Milet I 3, 122 I.30, 36, 40	VI BC
	Samos	numm. ap. IG XII 6, p.560	IV BC
Μανδρηκίδας	Sparta	Plut. Pyrrh. 26.24 ²⁰	III BC
	Mantineia	IG V 2, 265.49	I BC

²⁰ The textual tradition here is ambiguous (see ZIEGLER's apparatus): both Μανδρηκίδας and Μανδροκλείδας are possible readings. I have opted for the former as being marginally more liable to corruption through unfamiliarity. In Plutarch's life of Agis the name Μανδροκλείδας is four times attested, without any textual uncertainty (6.3–4, 9.1, 12.1); Μανδρηκίδας is otherwise unknown to ancient literature, and its etymology is far less obvious. At Plut. Apophth. Lac. 219E, the same anecdote as that at Plut. Pyrrh. 26.24 is recounted, but with the envoy now called neither Μανδρηκίδας nor Μανδροκλείδας, but Δερκυλλίδας! No doubt here we have the same phenomenon again: the unfamiliar Μανδρηκίδας has simply been discarded, and replaced with a familiar Spartan name.

Μανδρής	Delos	(1) I. Délos 95.17 (2) I. Délos 316.4, 7 (3) IG XI 2, 196.8 (4) IG XI 2, 203A 67	IV BC III BC III BC III BC
	Methymna, Lesbos	IG XII Suppl. 114.7 [p.29]	IV/II BC
Μανδριάς	Imbros	IG XII 8, 84	IV/III BC
Μάνδριππος	Miletos	Milet I 3, 122 I.102	V BC
Μάνδρις	Miletos	SEG 43, 848	VI BC
	Kalyмна	TCal 86.2	III/II BC
	Kos	IDorIns 97 III 14 = TCal 85.38	II BC
Μανδρόβουλος	Thasos	(1) IG XII 8, 277.51 (2) IG XII 8, 285.8 IG I ³ 106.17	V BC V BC V BC
Μανδρογένης	?Athens	Athenaeus 14, 614d; 4, 130c	III BC
	Magnesia Mae. ²¹	(1) Arr. Ind. 18 (2) I. Iasos 176.15 (3) I. Magn. 199.5–7, 200.8 (4) RPC I 2693–4 (5) Philostr. Gymn. 36 (6) I. Magn. 122a, 9	IV BC II BC II AD I BC/I AD II/III AD IV AD
	?Magnesia Mae. ²¹	(7) SEG 50, 562	?IV BC
	Kos	IDorIns 97 III 14 = TCal 85.38	II BC
	Kalyмна	TCal 88.64	III/II BC
	Syedra, Cilicia	(1) SEG 38, 1490 (2) SEG 38, 1490	II/III AD II/III AD
	Adada, Pisidia	STERRETT, PASA 3, 1888 no. 418, corr. SITTING, GNT 45: Μανδρο[γέ]νης)	?III AD
Μανδρόδιος	Miletos	(1) Milet I 3, 122 I.3 (2) Milet I 3, 122 I.14 (3) Milet I 3, 122 I.54	VI BC VI BC V BC
	Eresos, Lesbos	Milet I 3, 152C	II BC
	Parion	NC 1998, 43–46: [M]ανδρόδικ[ος]	II BC
	Minoia, Amorgos	IG XII 7, 327	III/II BC
Μανδρόδωρος	Magnesia Mae.	(1) Arr. Anab. 6.23.2; Arr. Ind. 18 (2) I. Magn. 78.27 (3) I. Magn. 89.8; 90.3–4	IV BC III BC III BC

²¹ Provenance Amphipolis, but the family involved was of mixed origin, including a Spartan (II.12) and an Arkadian (II.4–5). In lines 2–3 we have a Διονυσία Ἀρτέμωνος Μάγνησσα: Thessalian Magnesia or Magnesia on the Maeander? The name Θεσσαλάρχος in l. 9 might seem to point to the former (although names in Θεσσαλ- are common throughout the Greek world). However, the personal name Νάννιχος (l. 5) is unambiguously Ionian, only otherwise attested at Miletos (Milet I 3, 122 II.54; 95) and Magnesia on the Maeander (I. Magn. 125.2; 126.1). The combined presence of the names Νάννιχος and Μανδρογένης settles the matter: Dionysia was a native of Magnesia on the Maeander. I owe this point to E. MATTHEWS.

		(4) KINNS, Kraay-Mørkholm Essays, 139 no. 11–12	III BC
		(5) I. Magn. 88a, 1	II BC
Μανδρόθεμις	Paros	LSAG 305 no. 35	V BC
Μανδροκλείδας	Sparta	V. EHRENBERG, RE 14,1, 1928 col. 1040, s.v. 2	III BC
Μανδροκλής	Chios	LSAG 344 no. 47	VI BC
	Magnesia Mae.	(1) Nepos, Dat. 5	IV BC
		(2) Syll. ³ 960.6	II BC
		(3) I. Magn. 85.7–8	II BC
	Samos	(1) Hdt. 4.87–8	VI BC
		(2) IG XII 6, 172.B75	III BC
		(3) IG XII 6, 315	///inc.
	Uncertain Ionia ²²	LSAG 276 no. 25	VI BC
Μανδροκράτης	Samos	IG XII 6, 176.7	III BC
	Teos	CIG 3091.7	///Hell.
Μανδρόλυτος	Priene	Apul. Flor. 18	VI BC
Μανδρόμαχος	Miletos	I. Didyma 2.1	VI BC
Μανδρόνικος	Delos	I. Délos 297A 36	IV BC
Μανδροπότης	Samos	IG XII 6, 1038	I AD
	Icaria	IG XII 6, 1227	I AD
	Mylasa	I. Mylasa 572	///Hell./Imp.
Μανδρόστρατος	Apollonia Pontike	BMNBurgas 4, 2002, 124 no. 17 [non uidi]	IV BC
Μανδρότι(μος)	Magnesia Mae.	NC, 2004, 74 n. 19	III BC
Μανδρυλιανός	Ephesos	(1) SEG 39, 1190.11, 1194.7	II AD
		(2) I. Ephesos 926A	?II AD
Μανδρύλος	Ephesos	(1) I. Ephesos 9 N 43–44 = 3004.5	I BC
		(2) SEG 39, 1176.6	I AD
		(3) I. Ephesos 945	?II AD
		(4) I. Ephesos 993	?II AD
Μάνδρων	Athens	Suid., s.v. ἐγένετο καὶ Μάνδρωνι	///Class.?
	Astypalaia	IG I ³ p.973	IV BC
	Samos	(1) IG XII 6, 172.B26	III BC
		(2) IG XII 6, 1167	I BC
		(3) IG XII 6, 744	I BC
	Abdera	ΜΑΥ, Coinage of Abdera, Group XCV	V/IV BC
	Kyzikos	I. Kyzikos I 286	VI BC
	Ephesos	(1) SNG von Aulock 7827	II BC
		(2) I. Ephesos 4103.31	II BC
	Magnesia Mae.	(1) I. Magn. 9.4	?III BC
		(2) I. Magn. 105.9	II BC
	Priene	(1) I. Priene 313.406	?I BC
		(2) I. Priene 313.622	?I BC
	Iasos	I. Iasos 165	II BC
	Tralleis	(1) I. Tralleis 225	///inc.

²² Provenance Megara Hyblaia, but probably an itinerant Ionian: SEG 29, 924.

		(2) I. Tralleis 261	//inc.
	Uncertain	IG XII 8, 171: <i>theoros</i> at Samothrace	II BC
Μανδρωνακτίδης	Miletos	Milet I 3, 122 I.48	V BC
	Samos	IG XII 6, 633	V BC
Μανδρῶναξ	Klazomenai	BMC Ionia 19	IV BC
	Abdera	MAY, Coinage of Abdera, Group LXVI	V BC
	Uncertain Ionia	BM Gems & Cameos, 445: Klazomenai?	VI BC
Νε(τι)λόμανδρος	Uncertain Ionia	SEG 18, 651: Naukratis	VI BC
Νεόμανδρος	Thasos	(1) BCH 86, 1962, 582 no. 2 I.7	IV/III BC
		(2) IG XII Suppl. 405 [p.162]	III BC
		(3) Ét. Thas. IV 1208–11	III BC
		(4) IG XII 8, 295	III/II BC
		(5) IG XII 8, 307.10	I BC
		(6) IG XII 8, 355.33	I BC/I AD
Πυθόμανδρος	Miletos	(1) Milet I 3, 122 I.20, 27	VI BC
	Mycous	(2) Milet I 3, 122 I.39	V BC
	Uncertain Ionia	(3) BE 1971, 585	VI BC
		Anacreon F400 [PAGE]: Samos?	VI BC
Σωσίμανδρος	Samos	IG XII 6, 669	?V BC
	Minoia, Amorgos	IG XII 7, 329	///Imp.
Ψηρόμανδρος	Samos	IG XII 6, 445	V BC

Μανδρωνα- (-ξ or -κτίδης)	Miletos	I. Didyma 15.3	VI BC
Μανδρο-	Icaria	IG XII 6, 1260	III AD
Μανδρ-	Kamarina	SEG 42, 846	V BC
Μαν[. . .]ος gen.	Al Mina	SEG 35, 1482: Μάν[δρι]ος, from Μάνδρις?	V/IV BC

Fictional/Mythological

Μάνδρις (Herondas 1.23 etc.): quite probably intended to be Coan, given the distribution of this name: see O. MASSON, RPh 48, 1974, 87.

Μανδρόβουλος (RE s.v.): protagonist in a legend concerning the temple of Hera on Samos.

Μανδρόλυτος and his son Μανδρῆς ([Plut.] Prov. 1, 57): mythological rulers of Magnesia on the Maeander.

Μάνδρων (FGrHist 262 F7): king of the Bebrykes and father of Lampsake, mythological eponym of Lampsakos.

Doubtful

ΜΑΝΔΡΑΠΙ (genitive) SB V 8556 = LETRONNE, Recueil des inscriptions de l'Égypte II 477 no. 534 (correcting to Μάνδρ(ου)). Equally isolated and dubious is the personal name [M]άνδρος restored by W.M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia II, 1897, 761 no. 707, in a dedication from the Metropolitan plain in Eastern Phrygia. Probably both have either been incorrectly read or incorrectly restored.

Omitted names

I begin with a brief discussion of some names omitted from this catalogue.²³

*Μάνδριος: A unique instance of this name has recently been claimed at Dorylaion in Phrygia, in a dedication to Hosios and Dikaios dating to the second or third century AD.²⁴ According to the editor, the dedicators are Μάντριος, Φον|ικός και Ἀσκληπιός. Neither Μάντριος nor Φονικός are attested elsewhere. RICL explains Μάντριος as a misspelling of the otherwise unattested *Μάνδριος with a substitution of T for Δ (which is not uncommon). This interpretation is intrinsically suspect. Names in -μανδρ- are otherwise unknown in Phrygia, and very rare everywhere in the Roman Imperial period. The ultraviolet Φονικός is, if anything, even more unlikely as a personal name. Finally, the absence of a connective between the first two names would be most unusual in this type of text: we would expect Μάντριος και Φονικός και Ἀσκληπιός. It seems more likely that we have only two dedicators, of whom the first bears the *tria nomina*. The photograph seems to allow the reading M. Ἀντήιος (Lat. Anteius); alternatively, we might assume a stone-cutter's error for M. Ἀντ(ών)ιος. The *cognomen* is presumably Φόν|[τ]ικός, i.e. Πόντικος with the characteristic Phrygian variation Π/Φ.²⁵

Μανδροβης: This difficult name is attested in the first century BC as the name of a minor Ptolemaic official in the Herakleopolite nome, and in the Roman imperial period, once at Lycian Istlada and four times at Termessos.²⁶ Strictly in terms of its formation, the name could be interpreted as a Graeco-Egyptian <double-theophoric> name (Μάνδρος and Bês); alternatively, as suggested by LAMBERTZ, it could equally well be indigenous Anatolian.²⁷ Comparable problems are raised by Αρβησις, a name which, as MASSON has shown, is found both as an indigenous Carian name, and as an Egyptian double-theophoric from Horus and Bês (Αρ-βης).²⁸ Here it seems rather more likely that the Ptolemaic Μανδροβης was a

²³ Names compounded with -ανδρος ("Ἐχμανδρος, Ὀνόμανδρος, Παλάμανδρος etc.) are omitted without comment: BECHTEL, KoS 82; CL. Brixhe, REG 78, 1965, 615. Similarly, I assume that the archaic Milesian name Κυδίμανδρος (I. Didyma 7: VI BC), if correctly restored, should be understood as Κυδίμ-ανδρος rather than Κυδι-μανδρος.

²⁴ M. RICL, EA 20, 1992, 95–96 no.1 = SEG 41, 1185.

²⁵ CL. BRIXHE, Essai sur le grec anatolien au début de notre ère², 1987, 110–113.

²⁶ Egypt: BGU VIII 1784.1 (I BC). Istlada: CH. SCHULER, in this vol. p. 402 (II AD). Termessos: TAM III.1 14.28 (II AD); 587; 718 (III/IV AD).

²⁷ M. LAMBERTZ, Zur Ausbreitung des Supernomen oder Signum im römischen Reiche II, Glotta 5, 1914, 156 n. 5, comparing the Lycian-Pisidian name Κενδηβης/Κενδαιβης, for which see L. ZGUSTA, Kleinasiatische Personennamen, 1964, s.v..

²⁸ MASSON, OGS I 25–26; T. HOPFNER, Graezisierte, griechisch-ägyptische, bzw. ägyptisch-griechische und hybride theophore Personennamen, ArchOrient 15, 1946, 22–30, esp. 25.

Pisidian immigrant to Egypt, than that an Egyptian family settled at Termessos.²⁹ It would, moreover, be a surprise to find a putative Graeco-Egyptian double-theophoric name Μανδρο-βης as early as our Ptolemaic officer (first century BC), since on the whole such names only appear in Egypt in the imperial period (see further below). I take the name to be indigenous Anatolian, with no direct relation with the main group of Μανδρο- names.

Ἡγήμανδρος: Frequently attested at Miletos in the second and first centuries BC, and classified by BECHTEL and SITTING among other names in -μανδρος.³⁰ This interpretation has a superficial plausibility, given the great number of names in -μανδρ- at Miletos in earlier periods, but can, I think, be shown to be incorrect on morphological grounds. (1) It is clear that the first element in the name cannot be verbal. A verbal first element in any nominal compound (not only personal names) is generally formed either on a vowel stem in -ε (as Ἀρχέ-δαμος) or on a sigmatic stem in -σι (as Πεισί-στρατος).³¹ So a personal name compounded from the elements ἡγέομαι and (e.g.) στρατός can theoretically take two forms: Ἡγέ-στρατος and Ἡγησί-στρατος. Similarly, a putative -μανδρος compound with ἡγέομαι as the first element would necessarily take one of the two forms *Ἡγέ-μανδρος, *Ἡγησί-μανδρος. The supposed <hybrid> form Ἡγή-μανδρος is unparalleled, with this or (to my knowledge) any other verbal stem.³² (2) The first element must hence be nominal. BECHTEL's suggestion that the name might be an abbreviation of Ἡγημό-μανδρος is unnecessary and lacks parallels. Rather the

²⁹ For the numerous Pisidians attested in Hellenistic Egypt, see L. ROBERT, Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure greco-romaine, 1963, 428–431; C. A. LA'DA, Prosopographia Ptolemaica X: Foreign Ethnics in Hellenistic Egypt, 2002, E 2314–2321.

³⁰ Syll.³ 1068.3 (II BC); ASAA 25–26, 1965, 340 no. 38; Milet I 3, 126.26, 42, 49; I. Milet 851; I. Didyma 408 (all I BC); BECHTEL, HP 293 (aus Ἡγημό-μανδρος), SITTING, GNT 45.

³¹ See G. DUNKEL, Two old problems in Greek: πτόλεμος and τερψίμβροτος, Glotta 70, 1992, 197–225; C. FREI-LÜTHY, Der Einfluss der griechischen Personennamen auf die Wortbildung, 1978, 14–42; SCHWYZER, Griechische Grammatik I, 441–445; T. KNECHT, Geschichte der griechischen Komposita vom Typ τερψίμβροτος, 1946, 24–25, 40–50. L. DUBOIS, GPN 44, is brief and morphologically misleading.

³² The argument for interpreting the name as Ἡγή-μανδρος was made by F. SPECHT, Beiträge zur griechischen Grammatik, KZ 59, 1932, 51–54: <Wie sich ἄγε- und ἡγησι- zu ἡγεσι- und ἡγε- ausgeglichen haben, so könnte man auch ἡγη- in Ἡγήμανδρος als Kontamination von ἄγε- und ἡγησι- ansehen>, a contamination never elsewhere attested. Nor is his argument concerning the form *ἡγεσι- convincing. He relies on the single example of Ἡγεσίλεως (IG I 869 B15) cited by BECHTEL, HP 189, a straightforward misreading which has since been corrected to Ἡγησίλεως (Agora XV 44.39; already noted by SCHWYZER, Griechische Grammatik I 443 n. 10). Another supposed Ἡγεσίλεως has since emerged in Agora XVII 150 (IV BC). But the reading is in any event extremely dubious (see Hesperia 29, 1960, pl. 19 no. 120), and even if correct, is surely a simple case of ε/η hesitation, perfectly common at this period (thus apparently LGPN II, s.v.): see L. THREATTE, The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions, 1980–1996, I 159–164.

compound is best taken as Ἡγήμ-ανδρος, derived from Ἡγήμων, the regular onomastic form of the agent noun ἡγέμων (ἡγέομαι). I can offer no suggestion as to the origin of the difficult formation ἡγέμων, merely observing that in personal names, the morphologically ‹correct› form with *eta* is, if by no means invariably, very clearly predominant – whence no doubt its employment here in the onomastic compound Ἡγήμ-ανδρος.³³

Ἀρχέμανδρος: A name held by three, or perhaps four individuals at Epidaurus in the fourth century BC; the name is unattested elsewhere.³⁴ BECHTEL did not doubt that it was a theophoric name from Μάνδρος, but was nonetheless puzzled: ‹Das erste mir bekannte Beispiel eines mit diesem Elemente gebildeten Namens aus dem Mutterlande. Er ist sicher nicht in Epidaurus selbst gewachsen, sondern importiert. Der Zufall will es, dass er in der Heimat, in Vorderasien, bisher noch nicht zutage gekommen ist, sondern am Orte der Entlehnung zum ersten Male begegnet.›³⁵ Even given the fact that the geographical distribution of names in -μανδρ- has proved to be much wider than BECHTEL supposed, this Epidaurian cluster remains particularly puzzling. No other names in -μανδρ- are known from the Argolid; the Peloponnese as a whole has otherwise only offered a single instance at Mantinea, and perhaps as many as three Lakonians.

The form of the name raises the same problem as that of Ἀναξιμανδρος (see below). Nominal compounds with the verbal stem Ἀρχε- as first element are very common, but, like Ἀναξι- compounds, are never found with the name of a deity as second element. The only remotely comparable onomastic form I can locate is Ἄρχερμος, attested at Chios in the sixth century BC (RE s.v.) and at Athens in the fourth (SEG 1, 126.39): a near-synonym of the Lesbian Ἀνάξερμος (discussed below), evidently derived from the river Hermos rather than the god Hermes.³⁶ However, two more important parallels for the personal name Ἀρχέμανδρος do exist, in the form of the Christian term ἀρχιμανδρίτης (‹abbot›, literally ‹leader of a *mandra*›, in the extended sense of μάνδρα = monastery), and the Classical Greek term μανδράρχης (‹stable-master›: P.Hib. 211.6, III BC). Coupled with the geographical isolation of the name Ἀρχέμανδρος, I would suggest that this is a likely instance of a name derived from μάνδρα = ‹stable, cattlefold›, standing in the same relation to μανδράρχης as the personal name Ἄρχιππος to ἵππαρχος (and

³³ See SPECHT (above, n. 32), who is, however, unaware of the onomastic material. At Miletos, Ἡγήμων attested at Milet I 3, 33 a.8, 141.3; I. Didyma 88.2, 345.1. The distinction ἡγέμων/Ἡγήμων is clearest at Athens: in LGPN II, 21 instances of Ἡγήμων, against 3 for Ἡγέμων.

³⁴ ΡΕΕΚ, IAEpid 48; IAEpid 162 ?= ib. 50.12, 17, 21; IG IV I² 106 I 70.

³⁵ BECHTEL, KoS 130.

³⁶ Compare Ἐρμαρχος, three times attested at Chios (LGPN I, s.v.); also at Mytilene (ib.), Erythrai (P. KINNS, Studies in the Coinage of Ionia, unpublished PhD, 1980, II 443, AE 5D no. 115), Miletos (I. Didyma 580B.3), and elsewhere.

compare the personal name Ἀρχέμηλος, essentially = <shepherd>: LGPN IIIB). The verbal prefix can then take its natural active sense of <leading, ruling, being in charge of>.³⁷

Geographical and chronological distribution: general considerations

The simple and coherent geographical picture painted by LETRONNE evidently requires modification. Μανδρο- and -μανδρος names are no longer confined to the western coast of Asia Minor; they are found scattered across the Greek world, from Cilicia to Sicily, Cyrenaica to Thrace. But the distribution is by no means entirely random. Ionia, identified by LETRONNE as the <homeland> of this onomastic group, still dominates: of the 172 historical and legendary individuals catalogued above, a minimum of 110 are natives of Ionia and the Ionian colonies in the Black Sea.³⁸ It may be significant that the three largest individual contributors are neighbours: the south Ionian cities of Miletos (25), Samos (20), and Magnesia on the Maeander (19), which between them furnish more than a third of the total.³⁹

Moreover, several of the *individual* names studied by LETRONNE, and in particular those on which the case for an Ionian/Asiatic god Mandros was constructed, have continued to cluster in Ionia, and specifically in southern Ionia. It is good to see that, despite the vast increase of available data, Μανδρόδωρος, the name with which his investigation began, is still only attested at Magnesia on the Maeander (5 examples). Ἀναξιμανδρος, Μανδρῶναξ and Μανδρωνακτίδης remain almost entirely Ionian: of 23 instances in total, 17 are south Ionian (12 from

³⁷ If this hypothesis is correct, then we are compelled to reject MASSON's assertion that <une explication unique pour les nombreux noms en Μανδρο- et -μανδρος est indispensable>: O. MASSON, BE 1992, 188. LETRONNE was already prepared to dissociate certain names from his main group in favour of a derivation from μάνδρα (above, n. 17). It seems likely that several other -μανδρ- names attested outside Ionia may be explained in the same way: Μανδρηκίδας, a highly anomalous name, seems a plausible candidate, as does Μανδρῆς, an unaccountably popular name on late Classical Delos. Although at first sight a derivation from μάνδρα for the Milesian Μάνδριππος might look tempting, I should prefer to regard this as a <meaningless> name produced by transmission of one element of the father's name to his son (i.e. Μάνδριππος Ἀναξιμάνδρου vel sim.): on this phenomenon, see L. DUBOIS in GPN, 42–43.

³⁸ For the purposes of this article, I classify Magnesia on the Maeander as <Ionian>, for geographical convenience; I do not intend to imply anything about the ethnic identity of Magnesia.

³⁹ Statistics, as always, may mislead. It is abundantly clear that -μανδρ- names in Ionia were extremely common in the Archaic and the early Classical periods, and all but unknown in later periods. Their apparent clustering in southern Ionia may only reflect the paucity of pre-Hellenistic documents anywhere in Ionia outside Miletos and Samos. However, this argument does not apply to Magnesia on the Maeander, which has produced very little pre-Hellenistic material: the unusual concentration of -μανδρ- names at Magnesia, and its monopoly on Μανδρόδωρος, cannot thus be explained away.

Miletos and her colony Herakleia Pontike, 1 from Priene, 4 from Samos), and 4 north Ionian (1 from Erythrai, probably 2 from Klazomenai, and 1 from the Teian colony of Abdera),⁴⁰ leaving only two strays, one from Kyrene and the other from Phrygian Tiberiopolis. 20 of these 23 examples can be dated with reasonable accuracy: 6 of the VIth century BC, 7 of the Vth BC, 3 of the IVth BC, and 4 of the IIIrd BC.⁴¹ LETRONNE's argument hence still stands firm in relation to this group.

The <double-theophoric> (dvandva)⁴² names, Ἀθηνόμανδρος, Διόμανδρος, Διονυσόμανδρος, Ἑκατόμανδρος, Ἑρμόμανδρος, Πυθόμανδρος, follow a comparable pattern. Of 22 instances in total, 10 are south Ionian (7 from Miletos and her colonies Olbia and Apollonia Pontike, 1 from Mγους, and 2 from Samos), 6 are north and central Ionian (1 from Ephesos, and 5 from Kolophon), 4 uncertain Ionian, leaving again only two strays, both Athenians. All 22 instances are roughly datable: 6 of the VIth century BC, 3 of the Vth BC, 8 of the V/IVth BC, 1 of the IIIrd BC, 2 of the Ist BC, 2 of the IInd AD. Once again, the great majority are anterior to the conquests of Alexander – and it is notable that only one of the six attested forms, Διόμανδρος, persists into the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. Furthermore, as in the case of the anomalous Ἀναξιμανδρος at Tiberiopolis, it is striking that the only two non-Ionian examples are also by some distance the latest instances known.

A far more surprising geographical and chronological distribution is displayed by Μανδρογένης; I can offer no explanation for the stray examples in Roman Cilicia and Pisidia. However, even this name is attested at Magnesia far more frequently than anywhere else, strongly suggesting an ultimate Ionian origin. Of the other names discussed by LETRONNE, Μανδραγόρης, Μανδροκράτης, Μανδρόλυτος and Μανδροκλής remain exclusively Ionian (although, peculiarly, the same is not true for Κλεί-/Κλεό-/Κλεύμανδρος or Μανδροκλείδας). Ionian predominance is also clear for Μάνδρων – even the semi-legendary King Mandron of the Bebrykes turns up in the context of an Ionian foundation myth – although the distribution of other simple forms (Μανδρῆς, Μανδρίας, and Μάνδρις) is far less predictable.

Two particularly unexpected geographical groupings should be highlighted, although I am unable to furnish a satisfactory explanation for either. LETRONNE's Μανδρόβουλος, attested only anecdotally in Ionia, has proved to be unaccountably popular on Thasos, as has Νεόμανδρος. Thasos' mother-city, Paros, has pro-

⁴⁰ A second Abderan instance, [Ἀναξ]ιμάν[δρο], has been restored in the fifth-century funerary inscription I. Thr. Aeg. 36; however, the layout of the text (assuming vertical alignment at the start of lines) appears to favour a shorter restoration, e.g. [T]ιμάν[δρο].

⁴¹ Both geographically and chronologically the only really baffling example is an Ἀναξιμανδρος at Tiberiopolis in the Roman imperial period: I assume this is a <historical> personal name recalling the famous Milesian philosopher.

⁴² A copulative compound consisting of two elements, nominal or adjectival, which could be joined with <and>: hermaphrodite, tragicomic.

duced the only known instance of Μανδρόθεμις – a surprise, since Θεμιστόμανδρος seems to have been a good Ionian name. Even more unexpected is the distribution of LETRONNE's Θεόμανδρος, attested no fewer than seven times at Thera and its colony Kyrene; only its derivative Θεομανδρίδης is found in Ionia, turning up twice on Samos. We ought hence to be cautioned against treating Θεόμανδρος as part of the staunchly Ionian <double-theophoric> group (Διόμανδρος etc.), as LETRONNE had done. Nor was it only Θεόμανδρος which became fashionable in Thera and Kyrene: examples can be cited of Ἀναξιμανδρος, Ἀρασίμανδρος, Καλλιμανδρος,⁴³ and Κλεύμανδρος. To this large and very puzzling Dorian cluster we may add probable or certain Lakonian and Mantineian instances of Μανδροκλείδας and Μανδρηκίδας.⁴⁴

With some qualifications, then, LETRONNE's hypothesis of a predominantly Ionian, and predominantly pre-Alexandrian currency for names in Μανδρο- and -μανδρος may stand. Strictly numerical analysis, as I have suggested above, can only be impressionistic, given the disproportionately small pool of personal names surviving from the Archaic and Classical periods, to say nothing of innumerable geographical distortions. However, three brief, related comments may at least prove suggestive:

(1) The six *stelai* published in Milet I 3 (Delphinion), 122–128, provide us with a list of Milesian eponymous officials, with patronyms,⁴⁵ from 525/4 BC to 31/2 AD, unbroken apart from the years 259/8–233/2 and 183/2–90/89 BC. The chronological distribution of Μανδρο- and -μανδρος names within this list is interesting. A bare head-count – that is to say, not taking into account possible and probable identifications of fathers, sons, and brothers – gives the following (pseudo-)statistics: for the 50 year period 525/4–476/5 BC, we have 15 such names (15%); 475/4–426/5 BC, 4 names (4%); then one name in 425/4, one in 374/3, and then none until the termination of the list. The list of eponyms thus invites a simple hypothesis: Μανδρο- and -μανδρος names were extraordinarily popular at Miletos down to the period of the Persian wars, declined sharply in the mid- and later fifth century, and were virtually extinct from the fourth century onwards. This picture receives some confirmation from later epigraphical evidence:

(2) A list of 75 Milesians with patronyms, dating to 282 BC (Milet I 3, 138), offers only one relevant name, an Ἀγλώμανδρος: interestingly, the same name as the latest -μανδρος of the list of eponyms, in 374/3.

⁴³ A variant on the Ionian name Καλώμανδρος, attested at Smyrna and Kolophon. For the form of the name, compare Καλώβροτος, known at Chios and Phrygian Okokleia: L. ROBERT, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, 1938, 134.

⁴⁴ The latter case is problematic: see n. 20 above.

⁴⁵ I employ throughout the distinction between <patronym> and <patronymic>, as explained by R. MERKELBACH, *ZPE* 87, 1991, 37–38, and elaborated in *BE* 1992, 175.

(3) Not a single Μανδρο- or -μανδρος is found among more than two thousand names and patronyms of ‹Milesians› domiciled at Athens, the vast majority of them dating to the Roman Imperial period;⁴⁶ nor is one to be found in all the abundant Imperial epigraphy of Miletos and Didyma.

I now turn to more detailed analysis of the two largest and, as we have seen, most characteristically Ionian groups of -μανδρ- names: Ἀναξιμανδρος and the related Μανδρῶναξ; and ‹double-theophoric› names of the type Διονυσόμανδρος.

Ἀναξιμανδρος and Μανδρῶναξ

In discussing the name Ἠγήμανδρος above, I considered and rejected the possibility that the name was a nominal compound with a verbal first element. The question now arises whether Ἀναξιμανδρος is a formation of this kind (Ἀναξι- <ἀνάσσω as Ἠγησι- <ἡγέομαι). LETRONNE denied that the element Ἀναξι- in this name had any verbal force, interpreting it rather as a nominal element (ἄναξ) with a buffer vowel (i): ‹Ce doit être le même nom que Μανδρῶναξ retourné, pour Ἀνάξ-μανδρος.›⁴⁷ Now, morphologically this explanation is unacceptable. As has long been recognised, Ἀναξιμανδρος, as other compounds in Ἀναξι-, onomastic and otherwise, is a verbal government compound on a sigmatic stem of the type τερψίμβροτος.⁴⁸ That the first element in -σι- compounds is normally of verbal origin or any rate interpreted as verbal seems clear; consequently we expect a similar interpretation for the Ἀναξι- forms.⁴⁹ However, LETRONNE must surely be right that Ἀναξιμανδρος and Μανδρῶναξ are semantically interchangeable. Fifth century Miletos furnishes a clear illustration: Ἐρμῶναξ Ἀναξιλεω (Milet I 3, 122 I.43). It seems likely that Ἀναξι- and -αναξ have identical force in both name and patronym (‹Ruling over X›, ‹X-ruler›): in which case one could substitute Ἀνάξερμος Λεώναικος without any semantic change (as Ἴππῶναξ, Ἀνάξιππος).⁵⁰

Personal names in -ἄναξ and -ἄνασσα are already found in Homer – Ἄστυνάναξ, Ἴφιάνασσα –, and quite probably already in Mycenaean, if *pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka* (PY

⁴⁶ M. J. OSBORNE – S. G. BYRNE, *The Foreign Residents of Athens*, 1996, 3735–5746.

⁴⁷ LETRONNE, *Mémoire* 47: he appears to take both Μανδρῶναξ and Ἀναξιμανδρος to mean ‹Mandros (who is) *anax*›.

⁴⁸ Other names apparently formed with a sigmatic verbal first element: Σωσίμανδρος, Ἀρασίμανδρος, both difficult. For the formation of the latter, compare Ἀρασιδαμος at Nisyros (LGPN I, s.v.; BECHTEL, *KoS* 81).

⁴⁹ E.g. DUNKEL (above, n. 31) 212–223: in a name such as Πεισίστρατος, ‹neither an abstract noun (πίστις) nor a thematic present (*πειθ-ε-τι) is at all plausible whereas the derivation from the s-aorist (πεισί- <*πειθ-σι-, cf. ἔπεισα) is absolutely straightforward› (219).

⁵⁰ For Ἀνάξερμος, see further below. The name Ἐρμῶναξ (derived from the river Hermos) is centered on, but not confined to, Ionia. LGPN I cites, among others, five Hellenistic instances at Chios, and two at Mytilene; on the mainland, Hellenistic instances at (e.g.) Erythrai, Kolophon, Ephesos. However, the name is not uncommon in other parts of the Greek world.

Va 15.2) is correctly interpreted as a personal (royal?) name Πρεσυφάνακς. Homer offers no instances of personal names in Ἀναξι-, but this may be coincidence, since again there appears to be a unique Mycenaean example, *wa-na-si-ja-ke* (PY Vn 851.7, dat.), supposed by LEJEUNE to be a hypocoristic in -αξ, φανασσίακς, i.e. from **wa-na-ki-si-ja-ke* (φανακσίακς) by dissimilation.⁵¹

Moving into the later Archaic and early Classical periods, ἀναξι-compounds in which the first element has an active verbal force are well-attested. Pertinent comparanda are furnished by the poet Bacchylides,⁵² in whom this type of compound is unusually frequent: ἀ[ναξιφόρ]μιγγος Οὐρανίας (4.7), ἀναξιμόλπου Οὐρανίας (6.10), Λαρίσας ἀναξίππου (14B.10), (Ζεὺς) ἀναξιβρέντας (17.66), ἀναξιαλός Ποσειδᾶν (20.8), [ἀν]αξιχοροί (fr.65.11).⁵³ In all these cases ἀναξι- clearly has a verbal force (ἀναξι- < ἀνάσσω): ‘ruling the thunder’, ‘ruling the sea’, etc. Numerous personal names in Ἀναξι- behave in a similar manner: Ἀναξίλαος, Ἀναξίστρατος, Ἀνάξιππος.

Strictly interpreted, then, it is clear that the name Ἀναξιμανδρός ought to signify ‘ruling the *Mandros*’. But whether a strict interpretation would be the correct one is less clear. It is worth recalling the sensible warning of O. MASSON, that compounded names are not always, nor even in the majority of cases, literally ‘translatable’; frequently they simply unify two elements with positive connotations. Thus even a verbal first element need not necessarily be taken as ‘governing’ the second, but may simply juxtapose one favourable notion with another: Νικήσερμος (idea of ‘victory’), Ἄρχερμος (idea of ‘power’), Μίμνερμος (idea of ‘resilience in combat’).⁵⁴ One cannot but agree with the general principle. However, in this particular case, two factors tend against such an explanation: first, the unusual abundance of instances of the names Ἀναξιμανδρός and Μανδρῶναξ, suggesting that the compound is not an arbitrary one; second, and more important, the total absence of parallels for the formation Ἀναξι- + divinity. One does not find, and would not expect to find, names such as *Ἀναξιποσειδῶν. Hence a slight modification to MASSON’s argument is required. While it is certainly true

⁵¹ C. J. RUIJGH, φάναξ et ses dérivés dans les textes mycéniens, in: S. DEGER-JALKOTZY et al. (eds.), *Floreat Studia Mycenaea: Akten des X. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums*, 1999, II 529–530; M. LEJEUNE, *Mémoires de philologie mycénienne* II, 1971, 278 n. 58; DMic., s.v.

⁵² An interesting name. Βακχυλίδης is the patronymic form from Βακχύλος, itself a diminutive in -ύλος (as ἀρκτύλος from ἄρκτος): P. CHANTRAINE, *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, 1933, 249–251. For such diminutives with divine names, compare Ἀθανύλος at Kos: ΡΑΤΟΝ – HICKS, *Inscriptions of Cos* 10 b.44 (c. 200 BC); 54.3 (II-I BC); more pertinently, the name Μανδρῶλος and its patronymic form Μανδρουλιανός, frequently attested at Ephesos in the late Hellenistic and Imperial periods.

⁵³ All apparently *hapax legomena* with the exception of ἀναξιφορμιγγξ, also found in Pindar, ἀναξιφορμιγγες ὕμνοι (Pind. O. 2.1). See FREI-LÜTHY (above, n. 31) 22.

⁵⁴ MASSON, OGS II 622–623.

that logically incompatible elements are frequently compounded together, blatantly hubristic combinations (‹ruling over Poseidon›) are generally, and sensibly, avoided.

An illuminating point of comparison is furnished by the name Ἀνάξερμος (i.e. Ἀναξίερμος) at Mytilene on Lesbos, apparently a *hapax*.⁵⁵ The second element here clearly derives from the river Hermos on the Anatolian mainland a little to the south of Mytilene, rather than from the god Hermes. The semantic value of the name must be similar to that of the Lesbian personal names Σκαμανδρῶναξ and Λεσβῶναξ, both of which have a transparent, ‹translatable› meaning: ‹ruler of the Skamander›, ‹ruler of Lesbos›.⁵⁶

The behaviour of compounds in -άναξ, however, differs from those in Ἀναξι-, in that ‹irrational› theophoric compounds are known, although are by no means frequent. A particularly clear example is Ποσειδῶναξ, first attested at Anthedon in Boiotia in the second century BC; probably similar is the name Ἐρμησιάναξ, attested at Archaic Miletos and elsewhere.⁵⁷ This discrepancy between the behaviour of personal names in Ἀναξι- and -άναξ is not easily explicable. It is possible that in compounds like Ποσειδῶναξ and Λεσβῶναξ the nominal element -άναξ could, intuitively, be understood *either* as governing *or* as amplifying the first element in the compound (‹ἄναξ of Lesbos›; ‹Poseidon who is ἄναξ›). But I should not wish to push this explanation too hard.

Hence I conclude, firstly, that in the personal name Ἀναξιμανδρος, the element -μανδρος is unlikely to derive from the name of a deity; and secondly, that although in the personal name Μανδρῶναξ the element Μανδρο- *could* derive from the name of a deity, analogy with Ἀναξιμανδρος renders it equally unlikely so to do. Morphology and sense ought to discourage us from explaining the two names by reference to a supposed god Μάνδρος. The elevated register of ἄναξ and ἀνάσσειν renders them equally unlikely to derive from μάνδρα. The closest onomastic parallels are provided by Ἀνάξερμος and Ἐρμῶναξ, both derived from the river Ἐρμος in western Asia Minor.

⁵⁵ IG XII 2, 75b, III BC. MASSON (above, n. 54) incorrectly classifies this as a dvandva-compound on the model of Δίερμος.

⁵⁶ Σκαμανδρῶναξ: IG XII Suppl., p.42, 136.11 (II BC); Λεσβῶναξ: AULITZKY, RE 12.2, 1925, col. 2102ff. s.v. 1–3 (I BC–II AD); cf. Ἐρμῶναξ, twice attested on Lesbos (LGPN I). For the derivation of (at least East Greek instances of) -ερμος names from the Hermos rather than Hermes, see LETRONNE, Mémoire 73–78; BE 1965, 507; L. ROBERT, OMS VII, 156–157; O. MASSON, REgypt 29, 1977, 58, and further below.

⁵⁷ Poseidonax: BCH 26, 1902, 324 no. 14, II BC; also in IG XIV 936 (Ostia), and at Massaliot Olbia: PP 37, 1982, 367. Hermesianax: e.g. I. Didyma 9.1, VI BC; I. Erythrai 201 a.54, III BC; three times in LGPN I. The attempt to ascertain the origin of these formations by F. ZUCKER, Studien zur Namenkunde vorhellenistischer und hellenistischer Zeit, 1952, 26–32, carries little conviction. The precise morphology of Ἐρμησιάναξ is not at all clear: compare the odd formations Ἐρμησίλαος, Ἐρμησίλοχος.

Theophoric dvandva-names: Διονυσόμανδρος

Six <double-theophoric> names in -μανδρος are attested: Ἀθηνόμανδρος, Διόμανδρος, Διονυσόμανδρος, Ἐκατόμανδρος, Ἐρμόμανδρος, and Πυθόμανδρος.⁵⁸ I omit Θεόμανδρος, on topographical grounds (see above). The modern scholarly literature on Greek double-theophoric names, in which this group of -μανδρος compounds has played a suspiciously prominent rôle, is confused and unsatisfactory. NILSSON was prepared to deny their existence altogether, a view with which I have some sympathy.⁵⁹ The majority of the supposed parallels for theophoric dvandva-names in -μανδρος are nothing of the sort. The androgynous paradox, Ἐρμαφρόδιτος, is hardly relevant;⁶⁰ nor is the Carian *epiklesis* of Zeus, Ζηνοποσειδῶν, cited by ZUCKER in an attempt to rebut NILSSON's denial.⁶¹ In fact, Zeus *Zenoposeidon* can be used to argue precisely the opposite: the impact of a pleasant anecdote of Machon depends on the silliness to cultivated Greek ears of the dvandva-formation Ζηνοποσειδῶν.⁶²

ZUCKER goes on to cite Ἐρμανοβάμμων (P.Oxy 1025: III AD) as an example of a triple theophoric name. However, this is no more relevant a parallel than Ζηνοποσειδῶν, since, as is well-known, Imperial Graeco-Egyptian nomenclature differs fundamentally from standard Greek practice on this point. Double-theophoric names are widespread in Imperial Egypt, usually with an Egyptian deity forming at least one part of the name (Ἵραπόλλων, Ἐρμανοῦβις, Ἐρμάμμων), and less frequently both (Βησάμμων, Σαραπάμμων ὁ καὶ Νειλάμμων);⁶³ names formed wholly from a pair of (apparently) pure Greek deities do exist, although

⁵⁸ It is possible that the Milesian Θεμισθόμανδρος ought to be added to this list, if PARKER is right to argue that Themistodoros derives from the goddess rather than the abstract concept: GPN 56. I shall argue below that Ἐρμόμανδρος is a slightly different formation from the others, to be classified with Νειλόμανδρος.

⁵⁹ M. NILSSON, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion* I³, 1967, 558 n. 3 (criticising SITTING, GNT 47): «es ist nämlich unerhört, Namen von zwei Göttern in einem Personennamen vereinigt zu finden».

⁶⁰ In his discussion of riddles, Klearchos of Soloi, quoted by Athenaeus (WEHRLI fr. 86 = Ath. 10.448e), subdivides θεοφόρα ὀνόματα into two classes, those ἐξ ἑνὸς θεοῦ and those ἐκ πλειόνων; it is striking that for an example of the latter class he has to fall back on the mythological Ἐρμαφρόδιτος, while elsewhere citing perfectly common and everyday personal names.

⁶¹ ZUCKER (above, n. 57) 26 n. 2. For the cult of Zeus Ζηνοποσειδῶν at Mylasa, see A. LAUMONIER, *Les cultes indigènes en Carie*, 1958, 101–126.

⁶² Machon fr.VIII (Gow) (=Ath. 8.337c): πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔνταυθ' ... δύναίτο καταγωγεῖον ἐξευρεῖν τις, οὗ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς φάσκουσιν οἰκεῖν σύνδου;

⁶³ SITTING, GNT 161–162; LAMBERTZ (above, n. 27) 100–104; HOPFNER (above, n. 28) passim. On the chronological distribution of these names (no pre-Imperial examples), see DUNAND (above, n. 5), SWINNEN (above, n. 5). In pure Egyptian onomastics, the use of theophoric dvandva-names goes back to the New Kingdom period.

are far less common (Ἡρακλαπόλλων, Διονυσαντίνοος).⁶⁴ However, all these types are strictly confined to Egypt, and equally strictly confined to the Roman Imperial period, and have no bearing on Ionian theophoric dvandva-names in -μανδρος. Similarly irrelevant are slave-names, which do not necessarily reflect normal Greek onomastic practice. A girl with the implausible name Ζηνίβενδης, found on an Eretrian funerary inscription of the third century BC, seems to have been a slave, perhaps of Thracian origin;⁶⁵ for the use of double-theophoric names for slaves, we might compare the character *Lemniselenis*, a hetaira in Plautus' *Persa*.⁶⁶

WILAMOWITZ, making a similar attempt to find parallels for the double-theophoric -μανδρος forms, cites a series of examples with -ερμος (Πύθερμος, Χρύσερμος, Διονύσερμος).⁶⁷ Although certainly not constituting instances of true theophoric dvandva-names, this onomastic group is in fact highly relevant to the interpretation of the supposed double theophoric -μανδρος compounds, since, as has long been clear, these names are compounded not on the god Hermes, but on the river Hermos: the very same onomastic element which we have already seen furnishing the most significant parallels for Ἀναξιμανδρος and Μανδρώναξ.⁶⁸

Ionian compound names derived from the river Hermos fall, for our purposes, into two groups: those compounded with the name of a divinity (in which -ερμος is always the second element), and those with another river name or toponym (in which the order of the elements is less significant). Of the first type, four names are known: Δίερμος, once attested at Priene;⁶⁹ Διονύσερμος, with instances at

⁶⁴ C. E. HOLM, *Griechisch-Ägyptische Namenstudien*, 1936, 34 n. 1.

⁶⁵ Eretria VI, 39; MASSON, OGS II 607.

⁶⁶ From Δήμνος-Σελήνη? See K. SCHMIDT, *Die Griechischen Personennamen bei Plautus*, *Hermes* 37, 1902, 370–372.

⁶⁷ U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, 1931, I 164 n. 2. His note on Διονύσερμος is peculiarly misguided: <Διονύσερμος ist die Herme mit Dionysoskopf, umgekehrt wie in Ἑρμαφρόδιτος>, clearly on the model of Cicero's Hermathena and Hermeracles (Att. 1.4.3, 1.10.3) – not relevant, since in the inscription concerned (IOSPE I² 216) Διονύσερμος is clearly a personal name. Indeed, these <herm>-compounds do not appear to be epigraphically attested (although note the Minoian epigram IG XII 7, 254, a Heracles herm with one body and two faces). LSJ s.v. Ἑρμαθήνη cites Milet I 9, 305 as an epigraphic example of Ἑρμηρακλῆς; but in this inscription we simply have asyndeton (Ἑρμ(ῆ), Ἡρακλεῖ: <to Hermes, Heracles>), with accidental haplography. The asyndeton is common: e.g. L. ROBERT, OMS V, 512 (Ai-Khanoum); IG VII 2235; IG XII 3, 1091; IGLS VII 4001; etc. J. SCHWARTZ argued for the existence of a syncretic divinity Hermeracles in Greco-Roman Egypt (Herméraclès et le syncrétisme religieux en Égypte romaine, *ASAE* 47, 1947, 223–247) – which of course does not bear directly on the point at issue.

⁶⁸ Thus already LETRONNE, *Mémoire* 73–78, supplemented by L. ROBERT, *Noms de personnes et civilisation grecque*, OMS VII, 150–157; MASSON, *Le curieux nom d'un Marseillais chez Aristote: Hermokaikoxanthos*, OGS II 475–481, and *Noms grecs du type ἈΡΚΟΛΕΩΝ «Ours-Lion»*, OGS II 617–623.

⁶⁹ I. Priene 313.245 (I BC).

Samos, Pontic Olbia, and Massaliot Olbia;⁷⁰ Ποσειδερμος, a name held by four different Massaliots in the Hellenistic period;⁷¹ and Πύθερμος, the most abundantly attested of all: to the eight Ionian instances already assembled by ROBERT we may now add four more Ionians, and a single, anomalous Athenian.⁷² This type of onomastic formation (divine name / river name) is extremely rare. At the Thasian *emporion* of Stryme, the name Ἡρόνεστος is attested in the fifth and fourth centuries BC (I. Thr. Aeg. 118; 145); at Athens, we have a single instance of Πυθόνειλος in the fifth century BC (IG I³ 558 ter), and four cases of Ἡροσκάμανδρος between the fifth and the third century BC (LPGN II).

To be distinguished from these is a second group of Hermos-compounds, in which *both* elements are formed from rivers or other toponyms. Such is the name Ἐρμοκάκος, attested on a Hellenistic bronze tablet from Emporion (BE 1955, 282); such is the name Ξάνθερμος, known from the epitaph of a *libertus*, deceased at Narbonne in the early Imperial period (CIL XII 4487); such, more notoriously, is the extraordinary Massaliot name Ἐρμοκαϊκόξανθος cited by Aristotle in his Poetics (1457a), formed from three neighbouring Anatolian rivers.⁷³ ROBERT already adduced the unique name Φώκερμος, attested once at Chios in the late fifth or early fourth century BC (SGDI 5658.5), and apparently derived from the city of Phokaia, which lay close to the mouth of the Hermos on the north side of the Hermaic gulf. There may well be a neat parallel for this name at Klazomenai. A certain Ἴσθμέριος is named as one of the Klazomenian jurors engaged in arbitration between Miletos and Myous in the early fourth century BC: the territory of Klazomenai incorporated the northern part of the Teian ἰσθμός, the «neck» across the narrowest part of the Erythraian peninsula, on the south side of the Hermaic gulf.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ IG XII 6, 562 (Samos, VI BC); IOSPE I² 216 (Olbia, V/IV BC); J. COUPRY – M. GIFFAULT, La clientèle d'un sanctuaire d'Aristée aux îles d'Hyères, PP 37, 1982, 364 (Massaliot Olbia, I BC).

⁷¹ BE 1965, 507 (III/II BC); I. Lindos 184 (II BC); COUPRY – GIFFAULT (above, n. 70) 367 (two instances, I BC).

⁷² ROBERT (above, n. 68) 151–152, citing instances from Phokaia, Teos, Ephesos, Chios, Klazomenai, Erythrai (2); also an Ionian in fifth century BC Egypt (above, n. 8). Add to these I. Erythrai 42 (II BC); SEG 37, 917 A.11, 17 (Erythrai, V/IV BC); Poseidippos 93 (Kyme, III BC); IG II² 2385.12 (Athens, IV BC).

⁷³ To these three instances we might perhaps add *Κίκερμος, a (fictional?) Olympic pancratiast (Ps-Diod. Ep. 31, ed. A. J. MALHERBE: date uncertain): the name as transmitted is unparalleled and meaningless, and could perhaps be read as Κ(α)ϊκερμος. LETRONNE would also add the Athenian sophist Μελήσερμος (Suda, s.v., rejected by MASSON, OGS II 476, for strong but not decisive reasons), and Ἐρμόλυκος, which, given its geographical distribution (predominantly Athenian), may well derive from the animal, as Ἐρμιππος, Ἐρμολέων.

⁷⁴ P. J. RHODES – R. OSBORNE, Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC, 2003, 16.22; compare Strabo 14.1.31 (644).

To sum up so far. (1) There appear to be no parallels in Greek onomastics for the supposed theophoric *dvandva*-names Διονυσόμανδρος, Πυθόμανδρος etc., a South Ionian onomastic group with its centre at or near Miletos. (2) A large group of closely comparable formations is found in northern Ionia, Διονύσερμος, Πύθερμος etc., with its centre at or near Phokaia; these are not true theophoric *dvandva*-names, but arise from the compounding of divine names with the Hermos, the largest river of northern Ionia.

To these two points I would add a third: (3) The first element of the sixth-century Naukratite personal name Νειλόμανδρος is transparently a river-name; similarly, the first element of the personal name Ἐρμόμανδρος, carried by an Ionian in Egypt in the early fifth century, may reasonably be supposed to derive from the river Hermos rather than the god Hermes. In other such instances where a river takes first place, the *second* element also tends to be formed from a river-name, rather than that of a divinity: Ἐρμοκάικος, Ξάνθερμος.

Mandros as potamonym?

Hitherto my argument has largely rested on analogy. On these grounds alone, I hope to have shown that the two largest and most characteristically Ionian groups of personal names in Μανδρο- and -μανδρος are highly unlikely to derive from a supposed god Μάνδρος; on the contrary, the only real parallels derive from compounds with toponyms, above all with the river-name Ἐρμος.

When we widen our focus to incorporate relevant evidence from the rest of the Ionian onomastic group, the case becomes stronger still. Consider the formation Μανδροπότης, found at Samos, Icaria, and Carian Mylasa. The name appears to be formed along the lines of the common adjectives ὑδροπότης, ὕδατοπότης, οἰνοπότης: as such, it should mean ‘Mandros-drinker’. Among personal names, we might compare Φιλοπότας from Krannon in Thessaly (IG IX 2, 517.64), itself apparently a variant on Μεθύστας, also current in Thessaly.⁷⁵ The name Μανδροπότης is only explicable on the assumption that Μανδρο- refers to a liquid substance, a lake, river, or suchlike.⁷⁶

Many of the other Ionian names in Mandro- find close parallels with fluvial compounds in Ἐρμο-, Σκαμανδρο-, Νειλο-. With Μανδρότιμος, once attested at

⁷⁵ F. BECHTEL, Die einstämmigen männlichen Personennamen des Griechischen, die aus Spitznamen hervorgegangen sind, 1898, 60–61.

⁷⁶ Predictably, this name has proved a particular stumbling block for defenders of the deity Mandros. LETRONNE, Mémoire 45, commenting on the Mylasa text, resorted to abolishing the name by emendation (‘la copie porte Μανδρόποτος [actually Μανδροπότου]; mais je lis Μανδρόποπος, ce qui revient à Μανδρόπομος’). BECHTEL, HP 382, implausibly interprets the suffix as a foreign element hellenised on the model of δεσ-πότης; similarly J. B. CURBERA, Onomastic Notes on IG XII 6 (Samos), Glotta 80, 2004, 9 (Iranian *-pata* or *-pati*).

Magnesia on the Maeander, we may compare the relatively common Ἑρμότιμος, a name most famously held by a Carian eunuch at the court of Xerxes, and also Σκαμανδρότιμος, found at Ilion in the first century BC.⁷⁷ Μανδρόστρατος, recently emerged at the Milesian colony of Pontic Apollonia, recalls Ἑρμόστρατος, attested at Samos and Chios in the Hellenistic period, not to mention Νειλόστρατος, a Milesian of the third century BC.⁷⁸ The Milesian Μανδρόμαχος calls to mind Ἑρμόμαχος of Chios (early fourth century BC).⁷⁹ The obscure name Μανδρόλυτος, held by a mythical king of pre-Hellenic Magnesia, and a Prienean of the early 6th century BC, is paralleled by the equally obscure Ἑρμόλυτος, apparently only attested for a single individual, cited by the Iliadic scholia as the author of a manual of military tactics.⁸⁰ Μανδρόδικος, well-known at Miletos and other Ionian dependencies,⁸¹ echoes not only Ἑρμόδικος at Klazomenai, Samos, and elsewhere, but also Καστροδίκος at Kolophon, Σκαμανδρόδικος from the Skamander valley, and Σκαμανδροδίκη at Hellenistic Ilion.⁸² Personal names in -δωρος and -γένης derived from the names of rivers (or, more precisely, river-gods) are too common to be worth illustration.

It hence seems all the more possible that *Mandros* is in fact a toponym, and specifically a potamonym (and so by extension, in certain contexts, a god, though not quite of the kind envisaged by LETRONNE). A further category of evidence ought therefore to be introduced at this point: toponyms apparently derived from this element. Do these confirm the hypothesis that Μανδρο- and -μανδρος names ultimately originate on the banks of a particular river?

⁷⁷ Hermotimos: S. HORNBLLOWER, Panionios of Chios and Hermotimos of Pedasa (Herodotus 8.104–6), in: P. DEROW – R. PARKER, *Herodotus and his World*, 2003, 37–57, esp. 45–46; Skamandrotimos: I. Ilion 16.6.

⁷⁸ Hermostros: IG XII 6, 202.69 (Samos); LGPN I s.v. (Chios, Delos, Thasos); Neilostros: I. Didyma 464.3. Compare Κηφισόστρατος, attested at Athens and Chios (LGPN I).

⁷⁹ RHODES – OSBORNE, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC*, 16.20–21.

⁸⁰ Prienean Mandrolytos: O. CRUSIUS, *Apuleiana*, *Philologus* 49, 1890, 677. Hermolytos: Eust. Il. 3.449.2 (ed. VAN DER VALK); Sch. Vet. in Il. 13.130 (ed. ERBSE). The nature of the compound Μανδρό-λυτος is obscure, and comparison with other -λυτος names provides little assistance. The best-known of these names, Ἴππόλυτος, has recently been studied by L. DUBOIS (*Hippolytos and Lysippos: Remarks on some Compounds in Ἴππο-, -ιππος*, in GPN 41–52), who interprets the name as signifying <(the man) whose horses are unyoked>, pertinently comparing the Homeric adverb βουλυτόνδε, <(at the time when) oxen are unyoked>. But neither gods nor rivers (nor, for that matter, a μάνδρα) can plausibly be unyoked.

⁸¹ Parion and Minoia: for the Ionian origins of Parion, and possible Milesian influence, see N. EHRHARDT, *Milet und seine Kolonien*, 1983, 36–37; for the Samian colony at Hellenistic Minoia, L. ROBERT, *OMS I*, 563–565.

⁸² Hermodikos: F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Kleinasiatische Münzen I* 67 no. 14a (Klazomenai), also LGPN I, s.v.; Kaystrodikos: L. ROBERT, *OMS II*, 1240–1241; Skamandrodikos: H. PFUHL – E. MÖBIUS, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, 1977–79, I no. 1051; Skamandrodike: I. Ilion 64.12, with MASSON, *OGS III* 69.

Geographical names

Toponyms derived from the root -μανδρ- raise intricate problems. As ROBERT showed long ago, the toponyms Μάνδρα and Μάνδραι, common in Anatolia (and elsewhere), derive from μάνδρα, not from the putative divinity Μανδρος.⁸³ More relevantly, an inscription of the early third century AD from the vicinity of Magnesia on the Maeander has revealed the existence of a village in the lower Maeander plain named ἡ Μανδραγορεῖς (ἡ περὶ Μανδραγορεῖν κατοικία, ἡ κώμη Μανδραγορεϊτῶν).⁸⁴ The editor, J. NOLLÉ, explains the name as follows: «Wahrscheinlich ist der Name der Siedlung, die wohl vorgriechischen Ursprungs ist, von dem Pflanzennamen «Mandragoras» abgeleitet... Vielleicht gedieh in der Umgebung des Dorfes diese Pflanze besonders prächtig; es gibt viele Beispiele dafür, dass ein Ort nach einer charakteristischen Pflanze seiner Flora benannt ist.» This is not impossible. But it seems more likely that the village took its name from an individual by the name of Μανδραγόρης, a name attested at Miletos.⁸⁵ Likewise, the village of the Ἄττουκλεις, the neighbour of Μανδραγορεῖς in the lower Maeander plain, presumably took its name from an individual named Ἄττουκλῆς: the personal name is now attested at Mysian Miletoupolis.⁸⁶ Again, in a *praktikon* of AD 1073 describing a number of estates transferred from an imperial domain in the Maeander delta by Michael VII Doukas to his cousin Andronikos Doukas, we find an estate on the south bank of the Maeander with the name (in the genitive) of τῆς Μανδράκλου or τῆς Μανδρακλῆς. The estate seems likely to have been named after a long-deceased proprietor named Μανδροκλῆς, a name three times attested at Magnesia on the Maeander.⁸⁷ Pliny in-

⁸³ L. ROBERT, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*², 1962, 80, 160 (Mysian Μάνδραι cited by Pliny as *Stabulum!*); cf. L. ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*, 1984, p. 365; TAM V 1 222.6 (Kastolos), TAM V 1 317.5 (Maionia); etc. Two alleged examples of toponyms in Livy both appear to be fallacious: 38.15.2, Pisidian *Mandropolis* (read *Madamprum*), and 38.15.15, Phrygian *Mandri fontes* (read *Alandri fontes*); see W. RUGE, RE 20.1, 1941, s.v. Phrygia, cols. 842–843. An entry in Stephanos of Byzantium, s.v., reads: Μανδρόπολις, Φρυγίας πόλις. τὸ ἔθνικὸν Μανδροπολίτης. No other evidence for this Phrygian Mandropolis has emerged.

⁸⁴ SEG 32, 1149; J. NOLLÉ, *Nundinas instituere et habere*, 1982, 18–25.

⁸⁵ The plant itself certainly takes its name from an individual Μανδραγόρης, as LE-TRONNE saw; similarly FRAENKEL (above, n. 16) 23–24. An alternative view, proposed by P. DE LAGARDE, derives the name from the Persian *merdum gijâ*, ‘plant-man’; CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire Étymologique* and STEIER, RE 14.1, 1928, col. 1028 are agnostic.

⁸⁶ SEG 38, 1262: Ἄττουκλίου (genitive).

⁸⁷ Mandraklou: M. NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU, Βυζαντινὰ Ἐγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου, Β' – Δημοσίων Λειτουργῶν, 1980, no. 50, ll. 133, 137, 257, 277. The substitution o/a (Μανδροκλῆς-Μανδρακλῆς) can be explained by contamination from μάνδρα once the original etymology had been forgotten. For the phenomenon of villages taking their name from individuals, compare for example the Lydian Δαρείου κώμη (TAM V 2 1335); Ἀρχελαίου κώμη (E. SCHWERTHEIM, *Ein neues Weiherelief für Men und seine Mutter aus Lydien im Museum von Izmit*, MDAI(I) 25, 1975, 357–365); T. CORSTEN, *Attu kome*, ZPE

forms us that Magnesia itself was previously named *Mandrolytia* (NH 5.114), a toponym transparently derived from the mythological personal name Μανδρόλυτος. More difficult is a village attested in the early thirteenth century in the vicinity of Priene in the lower Maeander plain, whose inhabitants were known as οἱ Μανδρογεμελίται. This does not derive from any personal name known to me.⁸⁸

It seems that the few toponyms which can be argued ultimately to derive from *Mandros* rather than μάνδρα are all located in a small area, between Miletos and Magnesia in the lower Maeander plain; most, or perhaps all of them, have their immediate derivation in personal names.

Mandros and Μαίανδρος

A connection between *Μάνδρος and the river Μαίανδρος was already proposed by LETRONNE, who wondered whether the name of the river might derive from the divinity.⁸⁹ The nature of the connection which I propose here is a simpler one: that Ionian personal names in Μανδρο- and -μανδρος concentrate in southern Ionia because they derive directly from the name of the river Μαίανδρος. Phonologically this appears to be quite possible, as recently argued by R. HODOT.⁹⁰ The procedure by which Ἀθηναία is contracted to Ἀθήνα, and Φωκαία to Φώκα (as IG XII 2, 1: ἐμ Φώκαι), is well-known;⁹¹ HODOT also compares, more tentatively, the internal contraction of Φαενν- to Φανν- in Aeolian compound names: so Φαέννης at Mysian Antandros (MICHEL, Recueil 558.4) but Φαναγόρας at Kyme (I. Kyme 66).⁹²

MASSON responded to HODOT's suggestion of a derivation from Μαίανδρος with two criticisms, neither in my view decisive.⁹³ (1) A single explanation for all personal names in Μανδρο- and -μανδρος is indispensable. A single explanation is precisely what I am proposing, at least for the East Greek instances (see further

77, 1989, 181–184 (commenting on the Miletoupolis text cited above); F. GSCHNITZER, *Kleine Schriften I*, 2001, 283–293.

⁸⁸ N. WILSON – J. DARROUZÈS, *Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xérochoraphion*, REB 26, 1968, 30 l.70. However, Plin. NH 5.135 mentions two small islands off Miletos named the Camelitae; these could well lie inland in the Maeander plain by the thirteenth century.

⁸⁹ LETRONNE, *Mémoire* 53–54: «Il est permis de soupçonner que le nom de cette divinité est, au fond, le même que celui du fleuve *Méandre*, dont il ne diffère que par l'insertion de la diphthongue AI; et, dans ce cas, que le fleuve aura pris le nom de la divinité dont le culte était établi près de ses sources.»

⁹⁰ R. HODOT, *Le dialecte éolien d'Asie*, 1990, 224 n. 104.

⁹¹ For Athenaiá/Athena, see also THREATTE (above, n. 32), I 271–274, II 725–726.

⁹² Cf. Φαννόθεμις at I. Erythrai 201 c.49. BECHTEL, *Die Griechischen Dialekte I*, 1921, 37 interprets these names as mixed Aeolian/Ionian forms, the correct Ionian being Φαν-, as Φαναγόρας (I. Erythrai 201 a.71–72). None of the instances of Ionian «Vocalausstossung» discussed by BECHTEL, *Die Griechischen Dialekte III*, 1924, 66–68 are exactly comparable.

⁹³ O. MASSON, BE 1992, 188.

above, on the Epidaurian name Ἀρχέμανδρος). (2) The name of the Maeander is not unknown to Ionian onomastics: it is found, without phonetic modification, both in the simple form Μαίανδρος and in the adjectival derivation Μαιάνδριος. Although apparently a more serious criticism, this second point can in fact be taken as strengthening my case. Given the widespread distribution and frequency of the name Μαιάνδριος, why is the element Μαιανδρ- never found in compounds, especially given the numerous compounds formed from the rivers Ἔρμος, Κάικος, and Σκάμανδρος? We should note further the neatness with which the two groups of names complement one another: Μαίανδρος and Μαιάνδριος are the only names derived from Μαιανδρ-; *Μάνδρος and *Μάνδριος are never found. For this phenomenon of complementary stems, a good parallel is offered by personal names from the two stems Ἀπελλ- and Ἀπολλ-, both directly linked with the god Apollo, but with strict and irrational limits on their range of usage. Ἀπελλ-, although very widespread with simple suffixes (Ἀπελλῆς, Ἀπελλίας, Ἰαπελλίς, Ἀπελλίων, etc.), is never found in compounds, except in a tiny handful of anomalous Pamphylian names; Ἀπολλ-, by contrast, source of a rich series of compounds (Ἀπολλόδωρος etc.), never takes the simple suffixes found with Ἀπελλ-. Whatever the reason for this distinction may be, it is quite clear and consistent, and holds true across the whole Greek world.⁹⁴

A putative derivation from the Maeander river illuminates the geographical distribution of Μανδρο- and -μανδρος personal names, in particular the unusual density of names of this type at Magnesia, and the Magnesian monopoly on Μανδρόδωρος. Archaic Miletos occupied a promontory on the south side of the Latmic gulf, opposite the mouth of the Maeander; the extent of her pre-Classical possessions in the lower Maeander plain is unknown. Samos lies a little to the north, separated from the Trogilian promontory of the Mykale range by a strait less than 2km broad; the extent of her mainland peraiia varied over time, but at certain periods stretched as far south as Thebai on Mt Mykale, west of Priene, the location of a cult of the river Maeander (I. Priene 362.11). The Maeander is otherwise prominent in Samian onomastics: seven of the eight examples of Μαιάνδριος in LGPN I are from Samos, as are two of the three examples of Μαίανδρος. All three of the remaining riverine towns in the lower Maeander valley have produced instances of names in Μανδρο-: Priene, Myous, and even Carian Tralleis. Miletos' distant northern colonies, Propontine Kyzikos and Pontic Olbia, Herakleia, and

⁹⁴ MASSON, OGS III 168–170. This interpretation, if correct, would strengthen the case for regarding the river-names Μαίανδρος and Σκάμανδρος as close etymological neighbours. No doubt both names are of non-Greek origin: J. TISCHLER, *Kleinasiatische Hydro- nomie*, 1977, 93–94, 137–138. No convincing etymology has ever been proposed for the obscure fireproof lizard, the σαλαμάνδρα. The element σαλα- is well-paralleled in Anatolian toponymy: L. ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*, 1984, 527–529 (note especially Lydian Σάλα and Σαλόη).

Apollonia, have produced a rich crop of names from this root, recalling their ancient connections with the world of the Maeander delta; likewise, the name Μαιάνδριος was common at Kyzikos, and is once attested at the Milesian foundation of Pantikapaion on the Kimmerian Bosphoros.⁹⁵

Incidentally, this hypothesis, if accepted, might help to illuminate an otherwise very surprising name: Μανδρόνικος, attested once at Delos in the fourth century BC.⁹⁶ Compounds with deities and -νικος are extremely rare; the LGPN offers half a dozen instances of Διόνικος, all of the imperial period, and a single Ἀπολλονίκη at Eretria in the late Classical period.⁹⁷ However, good parallels exist for «commemorative» names with a toponym, recalling a military victory: compare Καρυστόνικος (IG I³ 1162.27), named after the Athenian victory at Karystos in the 470s (Thuc. 1.98.3); Θεσσαλονίκη, daughter of Philip II, named after his victory over Onomarchos in 352.⁹⁸ The name is probably best interpreted as signifying «victory at the Maeander». Since his sons were mature men in the last quarter of the fourth century, it seems chronologically possible that Mandronikos' father was one of the Greek mercenaries who served on the campaigns of Thibron and Agesilaus in western Asia Minor in the 390s, although I am unable to suggest a particular battle.⁹⁹

I have more than once drawn attention to the fact that the name Μανδρόδωρος, LETRONNE's starting point, is only attested at Magnesia on the Maeander, where it seems to have been very popular. Its particular significance at Magnesia may perhaps be elucidated by a pleasant anecdote in the tenth epistle of pseudo-Aeschines. Here, the author describes a curious pre-marital ritual performed by girls of the Troad on the banks of the Skamander river. On the eve of marriage, the maidens go down to the river, and, washing themselves in the water, ask the Skamander to take their virginity. A certain Kimon is said to have concealed himself in the bushes by the river, dressed up as the river-god; when a beautiful girl by the name of Kallirrhoe came to the water's edge and spoke the

⁹⁵ Pantikapaion: CIRB 26.3 (II BC); Kyzikos: Syll.³ 4 (VI BC); IG XII 8, 162b.16 (II BC); I. Kyzikos I 516 (II BC: Μαιάνδριη); IG XII 6, 677 (IV BC); CIG 6851.9, 17. The phenomenon of distant colonies imitating the onomastic practice of their mother-city was highlighted by ROBERT (above, n. 68). This category of evidence is very effectively exploited by N. EHRHARDT, *Milet und seine Kolonien*, 1983: Index, s.v. «Eigennamen, Milesische, in den Kolonien».

⁹⁶ His sons are responsible for a dedication which ought to be dated to the last quarter of the fourth century: C. VIAL, *Délos Independante*, 1984, 300–301.

⁹⁷ The solitary Ἡρόνικος listed in LGPN I (IG XII 9, 87) is unparalleled. The name is, moreover, fragmentary, and evidently better restored (with HILLER) Ἡ[ρόδι]κος.

⁹⁸ For these rare names recalling specific historical events, and particularly military victories, W. JUDEICH, *Politische Namengebung in Athen*, in: *ἐπιτύμβιον* H. Swoboda dargestellt, 1927, 99–106; MASSON, OGS III 195–198.

⁹⁹ P. DEBORD, *L'Asie Mineure au IV^e siècle (412–323 a.C.)*, 1999, 236–253.

customary words (ἄλαβέ μου, Σκάμανδρε, τὴν παρθενίαν), he jumped out and replied ἠδέως. Pseudo-Aeschines goes on to report that the girls of Magnesia perform a similar ritual on the banks of the Maeander; the father of a certain Attalos of Magnesia, having fallen for a similar ruse, is said to have believed his son to be the offspring of the Maeander, rather than his own.¹⁰⁰ This rite, associating the river Maeander with the fertility of the daughters of Magnesia, provides a fine explanation for the prevalence of Magnesian Μανδρόδωροι; the Magnesians saw a *particular* ritual connection between the Maeander and childbearing.

The case of Magnesia rewards further attention. In the inscription recording the mythological «Gründungsgeschichte» of Magnesia, Apollo instructs the hero Leukippos to travel to «the land of the Pamphylians, beyond the steeps of Mount Mykale; here lies the wealthy house of Μανδρόλυτος, commanding the vast domains of the much-winding river». Mandrolytos appears in a similar rôle in Parthenius' summary of the myth of Leukippos: he is the father of Leukophrye, the princess who betrayed her city to the Cretan/Thessalian settlers for love of Leukippos. A second child, a son, emerges from pseudo-Plutarch's explanation of the proverb, «swifter than Μανδρῆς sold away Kretinai»: «The Ephesians gained possession of Kretinai in Magnesian territory; Mandres the son of Mandrolytos sold it to them while drunk, over a game of dice». Pliny further informs us that Magnesia was formerly known as Mandrolytia, transparently an inference and derivation from the mythological name Mandrolytos.¹⁰¹ This is not the place to go into the details of the mythological history of Magnesia. But it is very striking that it was precisely names in Μανδρο- which the Magnesians chose or inherited for their epichoric predecessors – a mark of the extent to which Magnesian civic identity was connected to the city's location beside and historical domination over the river Maeander.¹⁰² If an old conjecture of O. RAYET is correct, this identity may even, in the Archaic and early Classical periods, have been expressed in the Magnesians' *ethnikon*, the term by which they chose to express their political identity: the Μαϊάνδριοι of the fifth century Athenian tribute lists may well be none other than the Magnesians, identifying themselves by the river that flowed along the

¹⁰⁰ Ps.-Aesch. Epist. 10.3–8; R. PARKER in GPN 59–60.

¹⁰¹ I. Magnesia 17.31–33, cf. 50; Parth. Amat. narr. 5 (περὶ Λευκίππου); [Plut.] Prov. I.57 = CPG I. 329.19; Plin. NH 5.114. The essential study is still U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, Die Herkunft der Magneteten am Maeander, Hermes 30, 1895, 177–198 (= Kleine Schriften V.1, 1937, 78–99), esp. 183–185.

¹⁰² Note further that the oracle given to Leukippos feels no need to name the «much-winding» river, although the oracles reproduced in this inscription are otherwise very specific about place-names: ἔνθα δὲ Μανδρόλυτου δόμος ὄλβιος ἐμ περὶ ὠπῆι | πολλοῖσιν κτεάνοισι πολυστρεφῆος ποταμοῖο (I. Magnesia 17.32–33). Might it perhaps have been felt that the identity of the «much-winding river» was sufficiently indicated by the semantically related name Μανδρόλυτος?

south flank of their acropolis, rather than by the urban settlement itself.¹⁰³ Even in the late seventh century AD, the tiny surviving settlement at Magnesia was still affirming the unique intimacy of its connection with the river: it carried the title of *Protomaiandroupolis*, ‘first city of the Maeander’.¹⁰⁴

Conclusions

These last remarks, on the particular significance of Μανδρο- and -μανδρος at Magnesia, invite more general reflections on this class of personal names as a whole. I have argued that these names are ‘potamophoric’, deriving from the name of the Maeander river in south-western Asia Minor; in support of this hypothesis I have cited several unambiguously potamophoric parallels, almost all Ionian, of which the greater number are compounds derived from the river Ἐρμος, with a rather smaller number deriving from the Σκάμανδρος, Κάικος, and Νεῖλος.

The level of onomastic productivity of these fluvial elements in Ionia is extraordinary, especially in the Archaic and Classical periods, and is virtually unparalleled elsewhere in the Greek world. If my interpretation of the stem Μανδρο-/ -μανδρος is correct, the Maeander is revealed as having lent its name to more individuals than almost any other ancient river: perhaps the only rivers of greater onomastic prominence are the two Attic Kephisoι and the Boeotian Kaphisos, whose productivity is on another scale altogether.¹⁰⁵ Now it is, naturally, quite legitimate to ascribe the remarkable quantity of potamophoric personal names in Ionia, and their decline in the later Classical period, simply to ‘fashion’ or ‘modishness’, and to leave the question there; a similar explanation would suffice equally well for the peculiarly Ionian phenomenon of potamophoric dvandva-names (names compounded with a deity and a river, or occasionally with two rivers) – such names, we might say, just happened to be fashionable for a while.

A more socially meaningful explanation might, however, be proposed. The topography of western Asia Minor, with its broad, easily traversable, perennial river valleys, cutting hundreds of kilometres into the interior, is significantly different

¹⁰³ O. RAYET – A. THOMAS, *Milet et le golfe Latmique I*, 1877–80, 122, 160–163: a brilliant suggestion, not mentioned by B. D. MERITT et al., *The Athenian Tribute Lists I*, 1939, 514–515, who arbitrarily place the Μαιάνδριοι at Söke. The Magnesians’ absence from the tribute lists would otherwise be odd; other Persian ‘gift cities’ in the region, such as Myous, turn up as tribute-payers. For ethnics derived directly from river-names in this region, compare the Καυστριανοί of the lower Cayster (BÜRCHNER, *RE* 11.1, 1921, cols. 99f., s.v.).

¹⁰⁴ C. FOSS, *AJA* 81, 1977, 483.

¹⁰⁵ See LGPN II (Attica) and IIIB (Central Greece). No fewer than 218 Athenians are known to have held the names Κηφισόδοτος, Κηφισοδώρα, and Κηφισόδωρος alone; 144 Boeotian instances of Καφισόδοτος, Καφισόδωρος and their female equivalents are attested. Brief comments by R. PARKER, *GPN* 59–64.

from that of the greater part of the highly fragmented Greek mainland. This encouraged, most visibly in the better-documented Hellenistic and Imperial periods, a subtly different form of social and spatial organisation, in which the autonomous *polis* co-existed with an unusually developed sense of regional identity, based not so much on ethnicity (real or understood) as on geographical networks. One of the most important elements in Asiatic regional identity was the river; and by far the most developed network is that of the lower and middle Maeander valley, where (to take only a single example) the cities proudly adorned their coins with the labyrinthine Maeander pattern, representing the river on which they lay, and marking, in many cases, collaborative activity between neighbours in the Maeander valley. The unusual prominence of river-names in the onomastics of Ionia may in part reflect this unusual element of regional identity: the Magnesians conceived themselves as ‘Maeander-dwellers’ as much as ‘Magnesians’.¹⁰⁶

Perhaps the most suggestive of all the personal names derived from the stem Μανδρο-/ -μανδρος is that with which our investigation began, that of the Ionian dedicator to Aphrodite at sixth century Naukratis, Νειλόμανδρος. His name unites the two greatest rivers of Archaic Ionia: the Maeander, source of the agricultural wealth of Miletos and Magnesia, and in the pre-Achaemenid era by far the most important route from the Ionian coast to the Anatolian interior, and the Nile, commercial artery of Egypt, and the heart of the Ionian New World of the late seventh and early sixth centuries BC. The connection between the two rivers endured as a literary motif; already Herodotos describes the windings of the Nile south of Elephantine by reference to the lower Maeander (σκολιὸς δὲ ταύτη κατά περ ὁ Μαίανδρός ἐστὶ ὁ Νεῖλος).¹⁰⁷ Much later, in the Roman Imperial period, Philostratos compares the first cataract of the Nile to the confluence of the Maeander and Marsyas rivers; and the orator Himerios contrasts the alluvial activity of the Nile and Maeander deltas, to the advantage of the latter: ὁ γὰρ [Μαίανδρος], ὅσον πλήθει τοῦ Νεῖλου λείπεται, τοσοῦτον φύσει περίεστι· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ μῦθος ἢ γῆ, ἣν Αἰγυπτίοις χαρίζεται· ὁ δὲ πλωτῆρας ἀποσυλήσας τὴν θάλασσαν γηπόνους σχίζειν ἔδωκεν ἀρότροις ἀντὶ κυμάτων τοὺς αὐλακας.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ This argument is developed in more detail in my ongoing DPhil thesis, *The Maeander*, where the numismatic evidence is discussed at length.

¹⁰⁷ Hdt. 2.29; cf. 2.10, where four of the five great alluvial rivers of western Asia Minor are listed from north to south (Scamander, Caicus, Cayster, Maeander) as comparanda for the advance of the Nile delta.

¹⁰⁸ Philostr. VA 6.26; Himer. Or. 25.73–77 (ed. SISENNA). L. ROBERT, in: J. DES GAGNIERS et al., *Laodicée du Lycos: Le Nymphée*, 1969, 348, notes further comparisons between the Nile and Maeander deltas in modern authors, all of which, however, are ultimately dependent on Himerios. Indeed, ROBERT conceives himself to be the first to cite Himerios in relation to the silting of the Maeander delta; but the passage was already quoted by R. CHANDLER, *Travels in Asia Minor*, 1775, 176, whence RAYET – THOMAS (above, n. 103) 24.

Given all this, it is tempting to speculate that Neilomandros' father was a native specifically of the southern Ionian region around Samos and Miletos, the centre of the Μανδρο-/μανδρος onomastic group in the archaic period. The strongest claim is that of Miletos. The historicity of the «special relationship» between Miletos and Naukratis remains a matter of dispute. The Hellenistic literary, epigraphical, and institutional traditions of an original Milesian foundation of Naukratis have generally been rejected or downplayed, on the whole with good reason.¹⁰⁹ However, extraordinary new evidence for early Milesian relations with Naukratis and the Nile delta has recently emerged from the excavations of the Archaic temple of Aphrodite on Zeytintepe at Miletos, which has furnished a strikingly large assemblage of seventh century BC Egyptian and Egyptianising archaeological material; the question could profitably be reopened.¹¹⁰

The Nile and the Maeander, Naukratis and Miletos. Νειλόμανδρος, I suggest, is a crucial, and all but unique testimony to the identity and mentalities of the first Greeks of Saïte Egypt. We need not, of course, be surprised that the Ionians of Egypt chose to name their children after the Nile river. We have already noted the small Graeco-Egyptian statuette of the early fifth century BC, dedicated by Pythermos son of Neilon to the goddess Isis. The dedicator here, who himself carries a good Ionian potamophoric name (Πύθ-ερμος) was perhaps a Samian, as argued by MASSON; his father's name, Νείλων, is attested for a Samian resident in Egypt at a later epoch, and is known on Samos itself in the later Archaic period.¹¹¹ Similarly, one of the interlocutors in Plutarch's *Septem sapientium convivium* is a cer-

¹⁰⁹ E.g. H. BOWDEN, *The Greek Settlement and Sanctuaries at Naukratis: Herodotus and Archaeology*, in: M. H. HANSEN – K. RAAFLAUB, *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, 1996, 17–37. For a more optimistic assessment, see notably R. SCHOLL, *Phylen und Bouleuten in Naukratis. Ein neues Fragment zur Inschrift SB VIII 9747, Tyche 12, 1997, 213–228, esp. 218–221* (although his arguments at 225 for the persistence of Milesian onomastic elements are weak, and the attempt to connect the Naucraticite Ἀγγελῆς with a Milesian Ἀγγελῆς particularly unfortunate); W. GÜNTHER, *Spenden für Didyma. Zu einer Stiftung aus Naukratis*, in: K. GEUS – K. ZIMMERMANN (eds.), *Punica-Libyca-Ptolemaica. Festschrift für Werner Huss*, 2001, 185–198, esp. 186–188.

¹¹⁰ G. HÖLBL, *Funde aus Milet VIII. Die Aegyptiaca vom Aphroditetempel auf dem Zeytintepe*, AA 1999, 345–371, esp. 357–361.

¹¹¹ Pythermos as Samian: O. MASSON, *REgypt 29, 1977, 61*. Samian in Egypt: Πυθογείτων Νείλωνος Σάμιος (SB 3444, 1693 = 2255) III BC; epitaph from Samos: Νέλωνι Ἡροφίλο (IG XII 6, 631) V BC. The funerary epigram of Νέλονος Νελονίδο (IG I³ 1214), dating to the late VI BC, although found at Athens, shows Ionic elements in the script, and the man concerned may perhaps be a Samian (thus, tentatively, P. A. HANSEN, *CEG I 42*). Athens has also produced an early fifth-century dedication to Athena by one Πυθόνελοσ (IG I³ 558 ter), this time in pure Attic script, although the name again may suggest an Easterner. For an uncertain instance of Ν(έ)λων on sixth-century Crete, see *Kadmos* 9, 1970, 154, 3f.

tain Νειλόξενος of Naukratis: no doubt the author's fabrication, but a plausible enough name for a Greek Naucraticite.¹¹²

What is particularly remarkable about Νειλόμανδρος is the combination of the name of an Asiatic river with the name of a river *outside* the Ionian homeland. Only five true potamophoric dvandva-names are securely known, each one of them unique: Ἐρμιοκάικος, Ξάνθερμος, Ἐρμιοκαϊκόξανθος, Ἐρμόμανδρος, and Νειλόμανδρος.¹¹³ Each of these five, although of Ionian ancestry, resided in one of the Ionian colonies abroad, whether in Egypt or the West. In Ionia itself, one resided by a particular river, the Xanthos or the Hermos; and it was from that river, and that river alone, that an individual derived his name. In Massalia or Naukratis, where there was no longer any personal connection with the Hermos or Xanthos river, onomastic ‹hyper-Ionicisms› flourished, as in the monstrous Hermokaikoxanthos; the names are still loaded with meaning, serving to affirm one's links with the distant mother-city, but lack the specific local reference of (say) a Magnesian Μανδρόδωρος. It was only the anonymous father of Neilomandros, pioneer in the great Greek adventure of Ionian Egypt, who had the confidence to affirm a new, *dual* ethnic and social identity: both Ionia and Egypt; both the Maeander and the Nile.

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¹¹² Already noted by LETRONNE, Mémoire 79. The name Neiloxenos does have ancient authority: Arr. Anab. 3.28.4.

¹¹³ The name Ψηρόμανδρος, attested once on fifth-century Samos, has not been convincingly explained. It is possible that this is another potamophoric dvandva-name, with the first element deriving from the Cilician river Psaros (TISCHLER [above, n. 94] 130–131), rather than ψαρός, ‹speckled›, or ψάρι, ‹starling› (CURBERA [above, n. 76] 12). Might Pseromandros' father have been a Samian trader in Cilicia? See O. CASABONNE, *La Cilicie à l'époque achéménide*, 2004, 74–92.