

Ancient Greek anthroponyms in -ωρ

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1. The corpus of Greek anthroponyms in -ωρ

Query with LGPN online (+ manual check on volume 5b):

- 2276 tokens
- 190 types (156 considering the different forms of the same names, such as the doublets in -άνωρ/-ήνωρ)

of which:

- 88 (55) compound names with S(econd)M(ember) °ά/ήνωρ
- 81 (80) names with agentive suffix -τωρ
- 4 compound names with SM °πάτωρ
- 4 compound names with SM °μήτωρ (no °μάτωρ found)
- 13 other names ending in -ωρ

Regarding the PN attested in literary texts, they are for the most part attested also in inscriptions (with exceptions, e.g. Ὑψήνωρ, name of two heroes in the *Iliad*).

Also the PN attested in the papyri are usually the same as in the inscriptions (basing on a query on papyri.info), with the exception of **Ταμέστωρ**, **Ἀθάνωρ** and **Πωάνωρ** (on which see further below, §2.4).

2. Anthroponyms in -άνωρ/-ήνωρ

2.1 The point of departure are ‘real’ compounds with SM °άνωρ/ήνωρ < άνήρ “man, man’s strength”, possibly itself from i.e. **h₂ner-* “be strong” (Schindler 1972, on the i.e. relationships between “man” and “strength” see García-Ramón 2006); by Kuiper – possibly but not convincingly – further connected to i.e. **h₂en-r/n-* “Eingebung, Anschauung, innere Sicht” (see ref. in *NIL*, 303 ff.):

- Bahuvrīhi type: **Ευάνωρ/Ευήνωρ**, cf. **ευάνωρ/ευήνωρ** “well-manned, abounding in men” (but in Hom. rather epith. of οἶνος “wine” → “good for men, joy of men”, orig. “with good man’s strength”, García-Ramón 2006, 85); **Πολυάνωρ**, cf. **πολυάνωρ** “with many men” (Aesch., Eur. Ar.), **Ἀλκάνωρ/Ἀλκήνωρ** (cf. ἀλκί (dat.) “strength”)
- Prepositional governing type (hypostatic type): **Ἀντήνωρ/Ἀντάνωρ/Ἀντιάνωρ**, cf. **ἀντήνωρ** “instead of a man” (Aesch. Ag. 442, on this deanthroponymic formation see Rousseau 2017, *passim*), **Ὑπερήνωρ/Ὑπεράνωρ**.
- Verbal governing type: **Ἀλεξάνωρ/Ἀλεξήνωρ** (cf. ἀλέξω “ward off, defend”), **Ἀγαπάνωρ/Ἀγαπήνωρ**, cf. Hom. **ἀγαπήνωρ** “loving manliness, manly” (cf. ἀγαπάω).
- in some cases more than one interpretation is possible, e.g. **Ἀγήνωρ/Ἀγάνωρ** < ἀγα° “with great man’s strength”, but in Risch’s view FM originally verbal from ἄγω (Risch 1974, 64).
- the type is already attested in Mycenaean (see ref. in DMic.): **a-ta-no-ro/-re** /**Antānōros/-rei**/ (cf. alph. Gk. **Ἀντάνωρ**), maybe **da-wa-no** /**Dawānōr**/ (no parallels in alph. Gk.), **e-ka-no**

/Ekhānōr/, ka-sa-no /Kassānōr/, ne-ti-ja-no/-no-re /Nestiānōr/-norei/; to-wa-no /T^howānōr/
(hypostasis of the collocation [θεός ἀνήρ], alph. Gk. *Θοάνωρ seen in Hom. Προθοήνωρ, itself a blend of Πρόθοος and *Θοάνωρ (García-Ramón 2000))

2.2 The sequence -άνωρ/-ήνωρ was then used as a means to create anthroponyms, whether the result could still easily be interpreted in semantic terms as a compound in °άνωρ/ήνωρ, as in **Εὐφράνωρ**, **Ποιμάνωρ** (cf. εὐφραίνω “cheer, gladden”, ποιμαίνω “herd, tend”) or not, as in **Παντήνωρ/Παντάνωρ**, **Πραξάνωρ**, **Τυχάνωρ**. However, even if such an interpretation is possible in many cases, we must not suppose the existence of many more nouns and adjectives in -άνωρ/-ήνωρ: this formant just entered the ‘game of suffixes’ which characterises anthroponyms and could be combined with a wide variety of FMs: its productivity is limited to poetry and onomastics. A clear case of this is **Χρυσάνωρ**, attested only three times in Caria and clearly a variant of the more common **Χρυσάωρ** (typical of the same region and linked to local myth).

2.3 The distribution of the variants in -άνωρ and -ήνωρ is not so clear-cut (this is often due to the scanty number of attestations), but two patterns can be ascertained:

- the difference tends to reflect the dialectal geography of Greece, e.g.: **Ἀλεξάνωρ** (12x in *LGPN* 3, 1x in *LGPN* 4, no attestations in the other volumes) vs **Ἀλεξήνωρ** (1x in *LGPN* 1, 2x in *LGPN* 2, 3x in *LGPN* 5b)
- there is a clear and almost pan-Greek choice for one of the variants, e.g.: **Εὐφράνωρ** (278x in all *LGPN* volumes) vs **Εὐφρήνωρ** (6x, only in volumes 1 and 5a), **Νικάνωρ** (532x, pan-Greek) vs **Νικήνωρ** (17x, absent from mainland Greece), **Ὑπερήνωρ** (8x, only in 5b but it is also the Homeric variant) vs **Ὑπεράνωρ** (3x, from regions where \bar{a} is expected); sometimes only a variant is present, regardless of the region: **Βιάνωρ** (no *Βιήνωρ), **Κλεάνωρ** (no Κλεήνωρ), etc. In some cases the reason could be just phonetic (‘dissimilation’ as in Κλεάνωρ, Θεάνωρ, but not convincing, since in Ionic dialects sequences <εη> are common) or paradigmatic (e.g. Ποιμάνωρ, Εὐφράνωρ for the pression of ποιμαίνω, εὐφραίνω).
- This tendency seems to be confirmed by papyri, where we have only one form attested, whereas in inscriptions we find both (here both diatopic and diachronic factors are involved), e.g.: **Ἀγήνωρ** not *Ἀγάνωρ, **Ἀντήνωρ** not *Ἀντάνωρ, **Νικάνωρ** not *Νικήνωρ, etc.

2.4 Interesting PNs (*hapax*) out of papyri:

- **Ἀθάνωρ**: the feminine Ἀθηνῶ/Ἀθανῶ is much more attested (inscriptions). Here a segmentation Ἀθ-άνωρ seems unlikely. Possibly an attestation of the use of -ωρ as an anthroponymic suffix, but maybe (more convincingly?) a backformation from Ἀθανῶ.
- **Πωάνωρ**: attested in a papyrus of 170 AD. Tempting interpretation as a verbal governing compounds from the root of the very ancient πῶν “flock, herd”, skr. *pāti* “tend”: it would represent the more ancient shape of ποιμάνωρ (which would then be its later reshaping) and correspond to skr. *ṅṛpāya-*, but the late attestation of the PN casts some doubt on this interpretation.

2.5 Well-known fact: almost all PNs in -άνωρ/-ήνωρ have a counterpart in -άνδρος, with only these exceptions (as far as I could see): **Ἀγαπάνωρ**, **Ἀγλάνωρ**, **Ἀγήνωρ**, **Αἰσάνωρ**, **Αἰχμάνωρ**, **Γελάνωρ**, **Γεράνωρ**, **Γνωσάνωρ**, **Ἐλπήνωρ**, **Ἐχάνωρ**, **Κυδήνωρ**, **Λευκάνωρ** (Λύκανδρος from λύκος or zero grade ablaut?), **Μεγάνωρ**, **Προθοήνωρ** (and *Θοάνωρ), **Ῥηξάνωρ**, **Ὑπεράνωρ**, **Χρυσάνωρ**

3. Anthroponyms in -τωρ

- 3.1 The obvious starting point would be agent nouns in -τωρ, and in fact there are some PNs which clearly are, such as **Ἀγήτωρ/Ἠγήτωρ**, **Ἀλέκτωρ**, **Αἰνήτωρ**, **Ἀμύντωρ**, **Ἔκτωρ**, **Ὀνάτωρ/Ὀνήτωρ** (in this category we find many Latin PNs: Βίκτωρ, Βιάτωρ, etc.). Many cases of compounds built on agent nouns in -τωρ, e.g. **Ἀγαμήστωρ** and **Ἀντιμήστωρ** alongside with **Μήστωρ** and **Θεομνήστωρ**, **Ἀνδρομνήστωρ** alongside with **Μνήστωρ**.
- 3.2 This type is also attested in Mycenaean: *a-re-ke-to-re* /*Alektorei*/, cf. Hom. Ἀλέκτωρ (also in a papyrus as a nickname!); *ka-to* /*Kastōr*/, *ka-to-ro* /*Kastōros*/ (alph. Gk. Κάστωρ), short form of **/Kastiānōr/*, reflected in Myc. *ka-sa-no* /*Kassānōr*/ (*supra* §2.1) and in Hom. Καστιάνειρα; possibly *ke-to* (interpreted by García-Ramón as */Kenstōr/* from i.e. **kēns-* “speak with emphasis/authority”, see García-Ramón 2017, 37). The very common Νέστωρ is also a short form of **Νεστιάνωρ*, seen in Myc. *ne-ti-ja-no* (*supra* §2.1).
- 3.3 Given the Mycenaean material, one may wonder if the whole category goes back to short forms of longer compounds (this could be the case for Ἀλέκτωρ < Ἀλεξι^ο, Ὀνάτωρ < Ὀνασι^ο, maybe even Ἔκτωρ < Ἐχ^ο?), the ending -τωρ going back to such forms as *ne-ti-ja-no* with -τ- from the FM and -ωρ from the SM. This assumption could be true but it is not fully demonstrable: it is safer to assume that PNs with such an origin stacked up with PNs born as real agent nouns used as nicknames (cautious position also by García-Ramón 2011, 222).
- 3.4 In this class too we observe formations where -τωρ is best interpreted as an onomastic formant, e.g. **Φιλοκτήτωρ** (var. of Φιλοκτήτης) or **Πλείστωρ** (← πλεῖστος?), **Πλάτωρ** (← Πλάτων? πλατύς?); also cases of purely onomastic compounds, e.g. **Λεωμήστωρ**, which hardly makes sense as a common noun, **Λεωκέστωρ**, with ‘fake’ SM ^ο**κεστωρ** extracted from **ἀκέστωρ** (< ἀκέομαι), misinterpreted as ἀ-κέστωρ. Also **εὔεστωρ** (with suffix -τωρ on the verb εἰμί! But cf. the abstract formation εὔεστώ “well being, prosperity”); εὔκτωρ (< εὔχομαι “pray”) could well be a true agent noun, but it is unattested as an appellative, and the same verb lacks also the derivatives **εὔκτηρ* and **εὔκτης* (only ευκτός, with the passive meaning “wished for, desired”).
- 3.5 Interesting PN (*hapax*) out of papyri:
- **Ταμέστωρ**: attested without doubt as a *feminine*.

4. Other anthroponyms in -ωρ

- 4.1 Other anthroponyms in -ωρ of Greek origin are very rare: mostly compounds: **Μεγαλήτωρ**, **Ἀμήτωρ**, **Εὐμήτωρ**, **Φιλομήτωρ**, **Εὐπάτωρ**, **Κλεοπάτωρ**, **Πολυπάτωρ**, **Φιλοπάτωρ**, **Χρυσάωρ** (for which see *supra* §2.2), but also a simplex: **Φράτωρ/Φρήτωρ** (cf. appellative φράτωρ, var. of φράτηρ which “is freq. found in codd., but is a later form acc. to Hdn.Gr.1.49, Eust. 239.33” (*LSJ*, s.v. φράτηρ)
- **Ζήνωρ**: attested in an inscription from Asia Minor and in a papyrus (as the name of a scribe); difficult to interpret as a PN in -ήνωρ, it seems to be a short form of compounds with FM in Ζηνο^ο (as such, a variant of Ζήνων). If this is the case, this would be one of the very few sure instances of simple -ωρ as an onomastic suffix.
- 4.2 Latin names: **Μαίωρ**, **Μελίωρ**, **Μέμωρ**
- 4.3 PNs of foreign origin (other than Latin) could be adapted into -ωρ stems:
- **Ἄγβωρ**: from Lilybaeum in Sicily. Feminine name in -ωρ of foreign shape (for the only other feminine noun of the *corpus* see §3.5)

- **Κλέπωρ**: in the genitive form in an inscription from Epidamnos, Illyria
- **Λαπέπωρ**: found in an inscription from Bulgaria with other foreign names
- **Τίνθωρ**: member of a family of Etruscan descent in Naples (Leiwo 1994 cf. etr. *Tinthur* attested at Suessula, not too far from Naples, see Rix 1963, 92).

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