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(escort)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. Ὡψήνωρ, 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 < ἄνηρ “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- “Eingebung, Anschauung, innere Sicht” (see ref. in NIL, 303 ff.):
- Prepositional governing type (hypostatic type): Ἀντήνωρ/Ἀντάνωρ/Ἀντίάνωρ, cf. ἀντήνωρ “instead of a man” (Aesch. Ag. 442, on this deanthroponymic formation see Rousseau 2017, passim), Υπερήνωρ/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 < ἀγαρ “with great man’s strength”, but in Risch’s view FM orignally verbal from ἄγω (Risch 1974, 64).
- the type is already attested in Mycenaean (see ref. in DMic.): a-la-no-ro-re /Antānōros/-rei/ (cf. alph. Gk. Αντάνωρ), maybe da-wa-no /Dawānōr/ (no parallels in alph. Gk.), e-ka-no
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 ἰάνωρ/ἡνωρ, as in Εὐφράνωρ, Ποιμάνωρ (cf. εὐφραῖνο “cheer, gladden”, ποίμαίνο “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 Χρυσάνωρ (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.: Αλεξάνωρ (12x in LGPN 3, 1x in LGPN 4, no attestations in the other volumes) vs Αλεξήνωρ (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), Υπερήνωρ (8x, only in 5b but it is also the Homeric variant) vs Υπεράνωρ (3x, from regions where ά is expected); sometimes only a variant is present, regardless of the region: Βιάνωρ (no *Βήνωρ), Κλέάνωρ (no Κλεήνωρ), etc. In some cases the reason could be just phonetic (‘dissimilation’ as in Κλέάνωρ, Θεάνωρ, but not convincing, since in Ionic dialects sequences <εη> are common) or paradigmatic (e.g. Ποιμάνωρ, Εὐφράνωρ for the pression of ποιμαίνω, εὐφραῖνο).

- 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.: Αγήνωρ not *Αγάνωρ, Αντήνωρ not *Αντάνωρ, Νικάνωρ not *Νικήνωρ, etc.

2.4 Interesting PNs (hapax) out of papyri:

- Αθάνωρ: the feminine Αθηνώ/Αθανό is much more attested (inscriptions). Here a segmentation Αθ-άνωr seems unlikely. Possibly an attestation of the use of -ωr as an anthroponymic suffix, but maybe (more convincingly?) a backformation from Αθανό.

- Ποιάνωρ: attested in a papyrus of 170 AD. Tempting interpretation as a verbal governing compouds from the root of the very ancient πῶ “flock, herd”, skr. pātī “tend”: it would represent the more ancient shape of ποιμάνωρ (which would then be its later reshaping) and correspond to skr. प्राया-, but the late attestation of the PN casts some doubt on this interpretation.

2.5 Well-known fact: almost all PNs in -άνωρ/-ήνωr have a counterpart in –άνδρος, with only these exceptions (as far as I could see): Αγασάνωρ, Αγλάνωρ, Αγήνωρ, Αλάνωρ, Αίχάνωρ, Γελάνωρ, Γεράνωρ, Γνωσάνωρ, Ελπίδωρ, Εξάνωρ, Κυδήνωρ, Λεκάνωρ (Λυκάνδρος from λύκος or zero grade ablaut?), Μεγάνωρ, Προθήνωρ (and *Θοάνωρ), Ρηξάνωρ, Υπεράνωρ, 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/Ηήτωρ, Ἀλέκτωρ, Αἰνήτωρ, Ἄμυτωρ, Ἐκτωρ, Ὀνάτωρ/Ονήτωρ (in this category we find many Latin PNs: Βίκτωρ, Βιάτωρ, etc.). Many cases of compounds built on agent nouns in -τωρ, e.g. Αγαμήστωρ and Αντιμήστωρ alongside with Μήστωρ and Θεομήστωρ, Ἀνδρομηστωρ alongside with Μηστωρ.

3.2 This type is also attested in Mycenaean: a-re-ke-to-re /Alektorei/, cf. Hom. Αλέκτωρ (also in a papyrus as a nickname!); ka-to /Kastōr/, ka-to-ro /Kastořos/ (alp. 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 /Kensōr/ from i.e. *kens- “speak with emphasis/authority”, see García-Ramón 2017, 37). The very common Νέστωρ is also a short form of *Νεστινάωρ, 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 < Ἀλεξίεν, Ὀνάτωρ < Ὄνασιεν, maybe even Ἐκτωρ < Ἔξιεν?), the ending -τωρ going back to such forms as ne-ti-ja-no with -τωρ from the FM and -ὁρ 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 (Πλείστος?), Πλάτωρ (Πλάτων? πλάτος?); also cases of purely onomastic compounds, e.g. Λεψίστωρ, which hardly makes sense as a common noun, Λεκτόστωρ, with ‘fake’ SM ἀκέστωρ extracted from ἀκέστωρ (< ἀκέσμαι), misinterpreted as ἄκεστωρ. Also εὐκτωρ (with suffix -τωρ on the verb εἰμί! But cf. the abstract formation εὐκτώ “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 *εὐκτήρ and *εὐκτής (only εὐκτός, 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 -ὁρ

4.1 Other anthroponyms in -ὁρ of Greek origin are very rare: mostly compounds: Μεγαλήτωρ, Ἄμητωρ, Εὐήτωρ, Φιλομήτωρ, Εὐόπτωρ, Κλεοπάτωρ, Πολυπάτωρ, Φιλοπάτωρ, Χρυσάωρ (for which see supra §2.2), but also a simplex: Φράτωρ/Φρίτωρ (cf. appellative φράτηρ, 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 ζήνων (as such, a variant of ζήνων). If this is the case, this would be one of the very few sure instances of simple -ὁρ as an onomastic suffix.

4.2 Latin names: Μαῖωρ, Μελίωρ, Μέμωρ

4.3 PNs of foreign origin (other than Latin) could be adapted into -ὁρ stems:
- Αγήμωρ: from Lilybaeum in Sicily. Feminine name in -ὁρ of foreign shape (for the only other feminine noun of the corpus see §3.5)
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- 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. Tīnθur attested at Suessula, not too far from Naples, see Rix 1963, 92).

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**Bibliography**


