

Hippolytos and Lysippos: Remarks on some Compounds in ‘*Ἰππο-*, *-λυππος*’¹

LAURENT DUBOIS

THIS PAPER IS BASED ON THE MATERIAL collected in Bechtel’s lists² and in the first three volumes of the splendid *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. I should like to discuss, with the help of a specific example, namely the compounds in ‘*Ἰππο-* and *-λυππος*, the semantic relationship between the first and the second element of the compound in some personal names. My teacher, Olivier Masson, with his customary philological caution, did not often address this problem, but simply spoke of a ‘beautiful Greek name’ when the two elements of a new personal name were both recognizable and well attested. I think that this beauty deserves a more systematic analysis in both morphological and semantic terms.

At the risk of seeming illogical I shall begin by discussing some *-λυππος* names which make no sense as normal words. They come into existence through a wish to preserve in the name given to a newborn child some features of a family’s traditional names. The combination of elements which we find in compounds of this type cannot be justified on the basis of any phrase or word-combination found in ordinary language. Everyone remembers the passage in Aristophanes’ *Clouds* (60–80) in which Strepsiades describes the quarrel with his wife over the naming of their son (cf. above, 18). The resulting compromise, *Φειδιππίδης* (which, it should be noted, is not a mere comic joke, because the name is attested, see *LGPN* I and II s.v.) combines

¹ I wish to thank my friends and colleagues G. Pinault and A. Lemaréchal for their useful observations on the contents of this paper, and A. Morpurgo Davies for her translation and comments.

² Bechtel, *HP*, 219–26.

the idea of parsimony implied by the name of Strepsiadēs' father *Φείδων*, and the *-ιππος* element which had aristocratic connotations. Following Olivier Masson, I shall call these compounds 'irrational compounds'. They are of two types: those which combine two names in current use, and those in which the *-ιππος* element is treated as a sort of suffix.

The first category includes names like *Ξένιππος*, *Μοίριππος*, *Τήλιππος* or *Ἄνδριππος* which, I believe, make no sense and are explained only by the wish to combine two separate family names. For instance, in the Eretrian patronymic sequence *Δήμιππος Δημοτίμου*, the son's name is meaningless and its first element is just an echo of the father's name. Some dvandva compounds formed by two animal names, like *Λεώνιππος* 'Lion-horse', are harder to explain and may be very ancient in view of the correspondence between the Greek *Λύκιππος* (found at Athens and Samos) and the Indian name *Vrkāśva-* 'Wolf-horse'. Masson thought that, when parents gave names like *Ἄρκολέων* 'Bear-lion' or *Λυκολέων/Λεοντόλυκος* 'Wolf-lion' to a son, they hoped that he would acquire the qualities of both animals.³ This explanation is plausible for animals connected with war or hunting, and is certainly the clue to understanding *Κύνιππος* 'Dog-horse', but clearly it will not do for the Eretrian name *Στρούθιππος* 'Sparrow-horse', which really belongs to my second category.

The use of the *-ιππος* element as a mere suffix is well attested in Eretria, as was argued by Bechtel,⁴ but is also found in Lakonia and Magna Graecia. We should distinguish two types. In the first type, the element which precedes *-ιππος* is itself a trisyllabic compound. Phonetic change (contraction, etc.) may have shortened it, making the original elements opaque and reducing the compound to two syllables; further shortening is caused by the addition of *-ιππος*, which leads to the elision of the final vowel of what precedes, so that eventually the original compound becomes monosyllabic:

Λάφαρχος > *Λάρχος* ----> *Λάρχιππος*

Εὐκλέφης > *Εὐκλήης* ----> *Εὐκλιππος*

**Θεοδφέγης* > *Θουδής* ----> *Θούδιππος* (we may note that the fifth-century Athenian who has this name is the son of an *Ἀνάξιππος*)

³ O. Masson, 'Noms grecs du type *Ἄρκολέων* "Ours-lion"', *Logopédies. Mélanges Taillardat* (Paris, 1988), 171–7 = *OGS*, 617–23.

⁴ *Hermes* 35 (1900), 326–31 = *Kleine onomatische Studien* (Königstein, 1981), 98–103.

In the second type the element which precedes *-ιππος* starts as a trisyllabic compound and is reduced to two syllables by elision. The result is a four-syllable compound:

**Λάφο-κράτης* > *Λακράτης* ----> *Λακράτιππος*
Εὐαρχος ----> *Εὐάρχιππος*
Εὐξενος ----> *Εὐξένιππος*
Νίκανδρος ----> *Νικάνδριππος*

Finally, in Eretria a father called *Εὐδήμος* named his son *Εὐδήμιππος*.

In both these types the *-ιππος* element behaves like a suffix, in a similar way to suffixes like *-ίδας*, *-ίδης* which had an original patronymic value. This also explains, in my view, those formations in which *-ιππος* is added to the stem of normal sobriquets:

Αἰσχύλος ----> *Αἰσχύλιππος*
Φαῦλος ----> *Φαύλιππος*

It is clear that this type of compound, which was perhaps built on the model of names like *Ξάνθιππος*, was never understood as a determinative compound or a possessive compound ('having bad horses'), since the meaning would be entirely incongruous.

We can now leave aside the 'irrational' compounds and turn to compounds which can be really understood and are capable of translation. The type *Ξάνθιππος* 'Fair-horse' or *Λεύκιππος* 'White-horse' is well documented in a number of languages. From a semantic point of view *Τήχιππος* corresponds to the Vedic name *Rj-āśva-* 'Swift-horse'; the Iranian personal name *Asu-aspa-* and the Vedic *bahuvrīhi* compound *āśv-āśva-* 'having fast horses' match the Homeric formula *ὠκέες . . . ἵπποι*.⁵ In the lexicon of poetry there are similar possessive compounds, as shown by the divine epithets *λεύκιππος* and *μελάνιππος* (Aeschylus), the first of which is used for the Dioscuri and the second for the Night. In their turn these epithets have good parallels in India, since one of the Maruts' names in Vedic (V 57, 4) is *aruṃāśva-* 'with red horses' and one of Arjuna's names in the *Mahābhārata*

⁵ Cf. O. Szemerényi, *BzNam.* 2 (1951), 168 = *Scripta Minora* IV (Innsbruck, 1987), 1768 for a list of Iranian names in *-aspa*; for the phrase cf. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Les composés de l'Avesta* (Paris, 1936), 158; C. Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics* (New York and Oxford, 1995), 12.

is *Svetāśva-* ‘with white horses’. But, even in a country where horse-ownership and horse-rearing were clear aristocratic traits, it is not certain that personal names like *Ξάνθιππος*, *Λεύκιππος*, *Θάρριππος*, *Κάλλιππος*, *Ἀγλάιππος*, *Κλείνιππος*, *Δείνιππος*, *Ἀρίστιππος* were all understood as possessive compounds. Admittedly, it is possible that, at the moment when the name was chosen, the family wished that the child would eventually own horses of the quality indicated. But it is perhaps more likely that the parents, through the choice of a suitable sobriquet, tried to express their hope that the child would become as prominent in war or in human society as the noblest animal in the herd. In Greek, names ending in *-λέων* like *Θρασυλέων*, *Δηιλέων* and *Ἀντιλέων* offer a very close parallel. If so, we are dealing with determinative compounds with a totemic value which remind us of more modern denominations like the Sitting Bull, Black Eagle or Crazy Horse favoured by the Sioux.

The most frequent category of *-ιππος* names includes compounds with a verbal first element. This may be:

1 a third person singular present characterized by an ending without the *ι*-marker of time, i.e. *ἄρχε-* and not *ἄρχει*, as in, for example *Ἀρχέδαμος*;

2 an *ι*-form which acquires the value of a participle active or even of a causative,⁶ built either on the present stem, as in *Ἀρχίδαμος*, or on a sigmatic stem, as in *Πεισίστρατος*.⁷

For the *-ιππος* compounds, the elision due to the vocalic beginning of *-ιππος* effectively prevents the survival of type (1). There remain two subdivisions of type (2), as in *Ἀρχιππος* and *Δαμάσιππος*. Here too we encounter ‘irrational’ compounds as in the Eretrian *Πρηξίδημος* and *Τελέσιππος*, but most compounds are sufficiently transparent. Their analysis offers us evidence for the various phases which can be recognized in the breeding and training of war horses.

The task of selecting horses according to their pedigree and physical features is reflected in names like *Κρίνιππος* and *Ἴππόκριτος*; presumably it was left to knowledgeable experts, like *Γνώσιππος*. The interpretation of

⁶ See F. Bader, *Rev. Phil.* 49 (1975), 28–34.

⁷ I follow here A. Meillet, *REG* 34 (1921), 386 and not F. Specht, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 59 (1932), 31–3.

the Lakonian name *Βεΐδιππος*, which in theory could belong here, is not easy; rather than translating it as ‘expert in horses’, it would be attractive to compare the Vedic compound *ásnavid-*, ‘who finds or supplies horses’ (*RgVed.*, IX 55. 3; 61. 3), which has the same structure as *govid-* ‘who acquires or supplies cows or cattle’. If so, we would have to assume that **weid-* has retained the old meaning ‘to find’ (cf. Skt. *vindati* ‘he finds’) as it does in the Homeric phrase *χάρην ἰδεῖν*, ‘to obtain a lady’s favours’, which has a good parallel in Armenian (cf. C. de Lamberterie, *REArm.* 1978–79, 31–40). An even closer parallel is the Vedic patronymic *Vaidadaśvi-*, built on the *vṛddhi* form of the root *vid-* ‘to find’ and on a derivative of the word for horse. We reconstruct an Iranian form **Vidaspa-* with exactly the same etymology, to account for the man- and river-name *Ἰδάσπης* (Arrian, *Ind.*, 19. 1 and 6; [Plut.], *de fluv.*, 1. 1). In Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, 7. 1. 26 (ed. L. Renou, *La Géographie de Ptolémée, L’Inde VII*, 1–4 (Paris, 1925), 12–13) this name appears as *Βιδάσπης*, which is a more genuine form.⁸ In its turn this form is closer to the Laconian name which, however, is not built on the aorist stem but on an obsolete present stem **φεῖδε* which survives in the infinitive *εἰδέναι* and in the Homeric short vowel subjunctive *εἶδομεν*.

Next, taming and training (for which see *Δαμάσιππος*) must lead to a perfect mastery of the animals, particularly in battle; hence *Ἀνάξιππος*, *Ἡγήσιππος* and *Ἐλάσιππος*. Learning about voltes and turns (*στροφαί*) was a crucial part of training; a name like *Στρέψιππος* can easily be explained with reference to some passages of Xenophon’s *On Horsemanship*, 7. 15–18. Young horses, if rubbed down, must first be stroked. The name *Ἄσιππος* reflects the recommendation in the same work of Xenophon, 2. 4: *ἄπτεισθαι δὲ χρὴ ὧν ψηλαφωμένων ὁ ἵππος μάλιστα ἥδεται* ‘one must touch the horse with the strokes of which he is particularly fond’.

The yoking of two horses is recalled in the name *Ζεύξιππος*, which encapsulates the old Indo-European phrase **ekwo-*yug-* ‘to yoke horse(s)’, which is also preserved in some Indo-Iranian compounds like Skt. *ásva-yuj-* ‘who yokes horses’ (with the verbal stem as second element in the compound), *yukt-ásva-* ‘who has yoked horses’; the latter compound is exactly matched by the Avestic personal name *Yuxtāspa-*.

⁸ For the rendering of Indo-Iranian *vi-* with *ύ-*, compare Old Persian *Vidrna-* = *Ἰδάρνης* (Herodotus 3. 70; 7. 66, etc.) and Old Persian **Vixtaxma-* = Middle Persian *Vistahm* = *Ἰσταίμας* (Aeschylus, *Pers.*, 972); cf. R. Schmitt, *Die Iranier-namen bei Aischylos* (Vienna, 1978), 31 and 45.

When he rushes towards the enemy the warrior must know how to make the horses spring forward; the Homeric phrase ὤρσε . . . ἵππους is easily recognizable in the names Ὀρσιππος, Ὀρριππος (Eretria), for which we can also refer to Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 7. 18: ὀρμήσαι αὐθις εἰς τὸ τάχιστον (scil. τὸν ἵππον) ‘to spur the horse to gallop’. A similar compound is Ἡριππος of Thera, which, *pace* Bechtel, *HP*, 195, does not include as its first element the adverb ἦρι ‘in the morning’, but the Doric treatment of an *e*-grade verbal element *ἔρσι-, equivalent to ὀρσι- (cf. ἐρέθω) and attested in two glosses ἔρση· ὀρμήση and ἔρσεο· διεγείρου.⁹

The warrior must make his horses pursue the enemy’s chariot (hence the name Διώξιππος) and make them speed up (cf. Σπεύσιππος), so that he can catch up with the other chariot. The name Κιχίσιππος can be explained by reference to Antilochos’ words in *Il.*, 23. 407: ἵππους δ’ Ἀτρεΐδαο κιχάνετε. The warrior must then overtake the enemy’s horses: the first element of the name Ἀμεύσιππος is the stem of the old causative sigmatic aorist of ἀμεύομαι ‘overtake, surpass’, which also occurs in Pindar’s compound ἀμευσιεπήης, said of the thought (φροντίς) ‘which surpasses the words’ (fr. 24). Yet before starting the charioteer must restrain his horses and make them wait: Στήσιππος and Μένιππος indicate this stage.

After training or fighting, the horses are unyoked; we can compare the name Λύσιππος. The contrast between ἵππους ζεύξαι and ἵππους λύσαι is frequent in Homer but the most revealing passage occurs in the account of Telemachos’ and Peisistratos’ journey from Pylos to Sparta. At Pylos (*Od.*, 3. 478) Nestor’s sons yoke the chariot: καρπαλίμως δ’ ἔζευξαν ὑφ’ ἄρμασιν ὠκέας ἵππους. At Sparta (*Od.*, 4. 39) Menelaos orders Eteoneus, his head horseman, and his servants to unyoke the horses of the two young men: οἱ δ’ ἵππους μὲν λύσαν ὑπὸ ζυγοῦ ἰδρόωντας. These two passages by themselves still do not account for the name Λύσιππος. Yoking wild stallions may well be an art, and it may lead to achievements which justify the creation of Ζεύξιππος, but it is difficult to see how the simple unyoking can deserve such attention as to lead to the creation of Λύσιππος. And yet it is worth reading the lines which follow the passage just quoted:

καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέδησαν ἐφ’ ἱππέησι κάπησι
παρ δ’ ἔβαλον ζειάς, ἀνὰ δὲ κρὶ λευκὸν ἔμιξαν. (*Od.*, 4. 40 f.):

⁹ Cf. L. Dubois, *BzNam.* 21 (1986), 256; C. Dobias, ‘Le nom cyrénéen Ἡρίλοχος’, in *Mélanges F. Kerlouégan* (Paris, 1994), 195–203.

'and they tied them to the horse mangers
and threw to them wheat and mixed with it white barley'.

These two lines are significant; to unyoke also involves giving the horses a rub-down (cf. Ἀψιππος above) and providing a mixture of suitable food. Far from having a menial job, whoever unyokes must also have a good knowledge of veterinary hygiene and diet; it is a technique and even an art which can justify a name such as Λύσιππος. One may well ask whether these Homeric lines do in fact conceal a real set of instructions or a code.

Every Indo-Europeanist knows that one of the oldest Hittite texts is a hippological treatise of the fifteenth century BC, written by the horse-trainer Kikkuli from the country of Mitanni. Edited in 1961 by Annelies Kammenhuber, it has been re-edited with a commentary by Franz Starke, and recently translated into French by Emilia Masson.¹⁰ I quote two passages adapted from this version:

p. 47 When they lead the horses back, they unyoke them . . . when the horses perspire and the sweat appears, they lead them to the stable, they remove the harness . . .

p. 44 When they lead the horses back, they unyoke them . . . then they lead them to the stable and give them three handfuls of hay, two handfuls of barley and two handfuls of wheat, all mixed together.

The parallels with the *Odyssey* passage are striking, above all for the mention of horse sweating. From a formal point of view, we may note that the verbs which indicate the mixing of cereals in Hittite and in Greek belong to the same root **mei-*, also found in Skt. *mayate*. The phrase *anda immiyanzi*, which recurs in the Hittite text, is formed by an adverb *anda*, which can be compared with Greek ἔνδον 'inside', and a verbal root in composition with a prefix comparable to Greek ἐν; the whole phrase could be translated into Greek as ἐνδον ἐμμείγνυσσι.¹¹

I am inclined to believe that Homer's Eteoneus is a sort of Greek Kikkuli.¹² He is close to Menelaos: in *Od.*, 4. 22 he is labelled κρείων,

¹⁰ A. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia Hethitica* (Wiesbaden, 1961); F. Starke, *Ausbildung und Training von Streitwagenpferden* (Wiesbaden, 1995) = StBoT 41; E. Masson, *L'art de soigner et d'entraîner les chevaux, texte hittite du maître écuyer Kikkuli*, éd. Favre (Lausanne, 1998).

¹¹ See J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* (Berlin, 1984), s.v. *im(m)iya* 'mix, mingle'.

¹² In Mycenaean we find the name *e-ta-wo-ne-u* at Pylos (Sn 64,13); Perpillou, *Les substantifs grecs en -εύς*, 210 and 219 interprets this name as an ethnic from the Boeotian city Ἐτρωώνας, mentioned in *Il.*, 2. 497.

and in *Od.*, 4. 31 and 15. 95, 140 he is defined by the patronymic adjective *Βοηθοίδης*, which certainly does not rank him among the lower servants. The scholiast indicates for the first of these passages that Boethos was the son of an Argeios, who in his turn was the son of Pelops, Poseidon's favourite. The god gave Pelops winged horses which allowed him to marry Hippodamia, defeating the girl's father, King Oenomaus, who had received his divine horses from Ares. In other words, Eteoneus could have acquired (or inherited) his hippological knowledge from his own famous ancestors.

Let us now return to onomastics and to *Ἰππόλυτος* the inverse variant of *Λύσιππος*. The text of the homonymous tragedy by Euripides does not offer any evidence which accounts for this name. I have only noticed the phrase *πώλων ἐράσαι* at line 235, which explains the name *Ἐράσιππος*. Bechtel's short list of *-λυτος* names (*HP*, 292) does not help either. We are obliged to use the only means at our disposal and hope that a study of the morphology may help with the interpretation. The first task is to consider those compounds which, like *Ἰππόλυτος*, seem to break the normal word-order rules in the sequence of their elements.

Within Greek we may compare the Homeric adverb *βουλυτόνδε* '(at the very time when) oxen are unyoked', and the name of the late afternoon or evening, *βουλυτός*, in Aristophanes' *Birds* (1500). In spite of the long *u*-vowel, which may or may not be ancient,¹³ we can understand both the personal name and the adverb as due to the univerbation of the elements of an underlying relative clause: *βουλυτός* '(the time) at which the oxen are unyoked'; *Ἰππόλυτος* '(the man) whose horses are unyoked'.

Poetic language offers some examples of similar compounds.¹⁴ In the *Iliad* *φάρμακα* are said to be *ὀδυνήφατα* '(through which) the pain is crushed',¹⁵ but on the other hand wheat is described as *μυλήφατος* 'crushed by the millstone', a compound with the expected word order (cf. Homeric *ἀρηίφατος*, *κηρίφατος*). In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (1471), victory (*κράτος*) is called *καρδιόδηκτον* '(through which) hearts are bitten';¹⁶ the

¹³ Cf. E. Fawcett Tucker, *The Creation of Morphological Regularity: Early Greek Verbs in -έδ, -άδ, -όδ, -ύδ and -ϊδ* (Göttingen, 1990), 346 n. 28.

¹⁴ See P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien* (Paris, 1933), 306–7.

¹⁵ This old compound is perhaps the origin of the adjective *πυρήφατος* which designates the millstone in *AP*, 7, 394.

¹⁶ Besides Hesiod's adjective *ἄδηκτος* (*Op.*, 420), we can quote *κυνόδηκτος* (Aristotle, *HA*, 630 a. 8), which qualifies a wound caused by a dog's bite.

order of the two elements is in contrast with that of *δηξίθυμος* ‘which bites the heart’, found in the same tragedy (473). In the *Prometheus Bound* (109), the source of the stolen fire is called *ναρθηκοπλήρωτος* ‘(which has) a fennel stalk filled (with embers)’.¹⁷

Outside Greek, the *Ἰππόλυτος* type is matched by some Indic compounds, even if these do not belong to the oldest sources. Wackernagel¹⁸ notes that the order of the elements in *putra-hata-* ‘whose son (or sons) is/are killed (*hata-*)’ or *stana-jārā* ‘(a girl whose) breasts have grown (*jārā*)’ is deviant with respect to the usual order (cf. *hatá-putra-* with the same meaning as *putra-hata-*); he explains it as modelled on the order of the equivalent relative clause *putra-hata-* = *yasya* (whose) *putro* (son) *hataḥ* (killed), i.e. ‘whose son is dead’. Note that *-hata-* is the etymological cognate of Gr. *-φατος* in *ὀδυνήφατος*.

The ‘abnormal’ order of Greek and Sanskrit is not limited to these two languages. In Celtic compounds the order *noun + modifier*, as in English *Armstrong* vs. *strong-armed*, is frequent: cf. Gaulish *Nerto-maros* ‘who has great craft’, *Sego-maros* ‘who has great victories’, *Πεννο-ουινδος*, ‘white-headed’.¹⁹ In Iranian we find the same type in *Ἀσπουργος*, a name which is frequent on the northern shore of the Black Sea and contains the Iranian word for ‘horse’, *aspa-*, and the adjective *ugra-* ‘strong’.²⁰ In Greek the Eretrian name *Κύναργος* arises from the univerbation of the Homeric phrase *κύνες ἀργοί*, ‘swift dogs’, and provides a reverse sequence to that of the Vedic name *R̥ji-śvan-*, where the first element is a so-called Caland form of Skt. *r̥jra-*, the etymological equivalent of Gr. *ἀργός*.²¹ The epic horse-name *Πόδαργος* (cf. Myc. *po-da-ko*, the name of an ox) is also due to the univerbation of a phrase like Homeric *κύνες πόδας ἀργοί* (*Il.*, 18. 578), but at the same time represents the inversion of the epithet found in *ἀργίποδας κύνας* (*Il.*, 24. 211).²² To sum up, some ancient possessive compounds, since they are fossilized in onomastics, may have the order *modified + modifier* which is marginal with respect to the traditional ordering of *bahuvrīhi*’s of the *λεύκιππος* type.

¹⁷ The other compounds in *-πλήρωτος* belong to the imperial period.

¹⁸ In J. Wackernagel and A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik* (Göttingen, 1957–) II. 1, 302.

¹⁹ K.H. Schmidt, ‘Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen’, *ZCPH* 26 (1957), 33–301, at 81–90 ‘Die umgekehrte Bahuvrīhi’.

²⁰ L. Zgusta, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste* (Prague, 1955), 75; R. Schmitt, *Namenforschung* 1 (1995), 681.

²¹ See R. Schmitt, *BzNam.* 7 (1972), 337–48; F. Bader, *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Emile Benveniste* (Louvain, 1975), 19–32.

²² Cf. A. Heubeck, *Kadmos* 13 (1974), 39–43; C. Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon* (above n. 5), 172.

At a later date we find in Greek some rules of onomastic structure which do not belong any longer to the old Indo-European system. The two elements of the compound may undergo a sort of automatic inversion which is not paralleled in lexical compounds.²³

We may quote as examples:

Πατροκλήης vs. *Κλεοπάτρα*
Θεοείδης vs. *Είδοθέη*.

Alternations like the following bring us closer to our main subject:

Ἴπποκλήης vs. *Κλήσιππος*
Ἴππομένης vs. *Μενέσιππος*
Ἴππαλκήης vs. *Ἀλκεσίππος*

In the first two examples the sigmatic stem (-κλήης, -είδης), which now appears as first element of the compound, is replaced by a thematic form *Κλεο-*, *Είδο-*. In the last three names the sigmatic stem of the second element is moved to occupy the first slot in the compound and acquires its characteristic -σι-, presumably through contamination from the *Λύσιππος* type.

In normal Indo-Iranian formations, verbal adjectives with passive meaning serve as first element of a compound, as in Vedic *yuktāśva-* ‘whose horses are yoked’, Av. *Yuxtāspa-*,²⁴ but Greek offers a different construction. As argued by Meillet,²⁵ the *το*-adjectives of Greek appear as first members of compounds only when the verbal adjective has become a simple adjective (as in *κλυτότοξος*, *λεπτόλογος*), while in the most ancient compounds they mostly appear in second position. In personal names we find both determinative compounds of the *Θεόδοτος* or *Ἀρίγνωτος* type, and possessive compounds like *Ἴππόλυτος* ‘whose horses are unyoked’ or *Ἴππόκριτος* ‘whose horses are selected’. In the lexicon, a secondary re-interpretation brought both ancient poets and modern scholars to attribute an active value to the *το*-forms in compounds like *ἄγνωστος* ‘ignorant’ (i.e. ‘who does not know’) but also ‘unknown’, or *ἄπρακτος* ‘who does not achieve’ but also ‘which cannot be achieved’. The first, active, meaning is not the original one; it is based on the meaning of the ancient possessive compounds: ‘who has nothing known’ or ‘who has nothing achieved’. The two elements of the compound function as predicates attributed to a possessor or an instigator; naturally enough that possessor or instigator is then taken

²³ Cf. R. Schmitt, *Namenforschung* 1 (1995), 620–1, who refers to the Athenian *Δωρόθεος Θεοδώρου*.

²⁴ Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 1, 276–7.

²⁵ *Donum natalicium Schrijnen* (Nijmegen–Utrecht and Chartres, 1929), 635–9.

as the subject of an active verb expressed by the *το*-verbal adjective: ‘who has nothing known’ ----> ‘who knows nothing’ ----> ‘ignorant’. In the original derivational pattern, if Greek needed a compound whose second element indicated an agent, it created a form like *σὺβώτης* (Myc. *su-ḡo-ta*) with a *-τας* > *-της* suffix.

To sum up: the evidence from other Indo-European languages shows that in Indo-European there were some compounds in which the *modifier* followed the *modified*, but also that this type of construction concerned only rarely the verbal adjectives in **-to-*. Consequently I am inclined to see in forms like *Ἰππόλυτος* a compound type which is ancient but not Indo-European. From a *morphological* point of view the immediate model is provided by the *Θεόδοτος* type, a determinative compound (‘god-given’) in which a *-τος* verbal adjective appears as second element of the compound. Similarly the morphological model for forms like *Ἰππόκριτος* ‘who has selected horses’ can be found in compounds like *Εὔκριτος* ‘well-chosen’ or *Θεόκριτος* ‘chosen by God’. The proto-Greek creation of *βουλυτός*, *Ἰππόλυτος*, which are originally possessive compounds (‘with unyoked oxen’, ‘with unyoked horses’), depends on three morphological factors: (a) the inherited tendency of the *το*-verbal adjectives to appear as second elements of compounds; (b) the reluctance of Greek to accept *το*-verbal adjectives which have not become simple adjectives as first elements of compounds; (c) the model of the determinative compounds where the semantic link between the first and second element of the compound could vary. From a semantic point of view it is possible that *Ἰππόλυτος* ‘he whose horses are unyoked’ came to be interpreted as ‘he who unyokes horses’, but the contrast is small and not necessarily traceable.

I conclude with some observations prompted by an objection made with her customary shrewdness by Anna Morpurgo Davies, after the first presentation of this paper. Greek onomastics shows, both for heroes and for men, an incredible number of names formed with a *Ἰππο-* or *-ιππος* element, while so far the Mycenaean tablets have produced no such compound of *i-ḡo* (*ἵππος*), and contain only rare allusions to horses, in contrast to the frequent references to bovine, ovine and caprine livestock.²⁶ We may wonder whether

²⁶ See the recent survey by R. Plath in B. Hänsel and St. Zimmer (eds) *Die Indogermanen und das Pferd: Akten des Internationalen interdisziplinären Kolloquiums, Freie Universität Berlin, 1.-3. Juli 1992: Bernfried Schlerath zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet* (Budapest, 1994), 103–14. The most interesting reference is that to a Pylos tablet (PY Fn79, 10) which mentions a distribution of barley to some ‘yokers’, the *ze-u-ke-u-si* = **ζεργεῦσι*, and to horse-breeders, the *i-po-po-ḡo-i*, an assimilated form for the expected **i-ḡo-po-ḡo-i* = *ἵπποφορβοῖσι*.

this is due to a combination of cultural factors which made the Ἴππο-, -ἵππος names fashionable at the beginning of the Dark Ages. During the transition from a feudal to a civic society, no doubt the number of horse-owners and horse-breeders significantly increased, while the animal itself kept its symbolic aristocratic status. At the same time, well before Solon instituted a class of Ἴππεῖς, there must have been considerable progress in horse-breeding and in equestrian arts, determined partly by the diffusion in the Greek world of hippological treatises of Asiatic and Near Eastern origin, partly by the increased sophistication in the use of single horses and horse-drawn war chariots in battle. Onomastics here reflects a singular combination of events.

Abbreviations

- BE* J. and L. Robert and others, *Bulletin Épigraphique* (in *Revue des Études grecques*, 1938–)
- Bechtel, *HP* F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (Halle, 1917)
- CEG* P.A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*, vol. 1, *saeculorum VIII–V a. Chr. n.*; vol. 2, *saeculi IV a. Chr. n.* (Berlin, 1983, 1989)
- FD* *Fouilles de Delphes* 1– (Paris, 1909–)
- Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings*, 2 vols (Meletemata 22; Athens, 1996)
- Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches* M.B. Hatzopoulos and L. Loukopoulou, *Recherches sur les marches orientales des Téménides*, i (Meletemata 11; Athens, 1992)
- Letronne, *Oeuvres choisies* *Oeuvres choisies de J.-A. Letronne, assemblées, mises en ordre et augmentées d'un index par E. Fagnan* (Paris, 1881–5: 1 sér. *Égypte ancienne*, 2 vols, 1881; 2 sér. *Géographie et cosmographie*, 2 vols, 1883; 3 sér. *Archéologie et philologie*, 2 vols, 1883–5)
- LGPN* *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I, The Aegean Islands, Cyprus and Cyrenaica*, eds P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews (Oxford, 1987); II, *Attica*, eds M.G. Osborne and S.G. Byrne (Oxford, 1994); IIIA, *The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia*, eds P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews (Oxford, 1997); IIIB, *Central Greece*, eds P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews (forthcoming, 2000)
- LIMC* *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich and Munich, 1981–97)
- LSAG*² L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, 2nd edn, with supplement by A.W. Johnston (Oxford, 1990)
- ML* R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC*, revised edn (Oxford, 1988)
- OCD*³ S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds), *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1996)
- OGS* O. Masson, *Onomastica Graeca Selecta*, ed. C. Dobias and L. Dubois, 2 vols (Paris, 1990)
- Osborne, *Naturalization* 3–4 M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens*, 3–4 (Brussels, 1983)

- PA* J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1901)
- Pape-Benseler W. Pape and G.E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Braunschweig, 1863–70)
- Parker, *Athenian Religion* R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford, 1996)
- Robert, *OMS* L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta: Épigraphe et antiquités grecques*, 7 vols (Amsterdam, 1969–90)
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, eds J.E.E. Hondius and A.G. Woodhead, 1–25 (Leiden, 1923–71); eds H.W. Pleket and R.S. Stroud, 26–7 (Alphen, 1979–80), 28– (Amsterdam, 1982–)
- SGDI* H. Collitz, F. Bechtel and others, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, 4 vols (Göttingen, 1884–1915)
- Sittig E. Sittig, *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* (diss. Halle, 1911)