Hippolytos and Lysippos: Remarks on some Compounds in ‘Ιππο-, -ιπποζ1

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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 ‘Ιππο- and -ιπποζ, 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 -ιπποζ 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, Φειδιππίδη (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.


the idea of parsimony implied by the name of Strepsiades’ 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 Ἀνδριππος 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 Ἥκκασά ‘Wolf-horse’. Masson thought that, when parents gave names like Ἀρκολέων ‘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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\Lambdaάρφαρχος & > \Lambdaάρχος \quad \longrightarrow \quad \Lambdaάρχιππος \\
Εύκλέφης & > \Εύκλης \quad \longrightarrow \quad \Εύκλιππος \\
*Θεοδέγης & > \Θουδῆς \quad \longrightarrow \quad \Θούδιππος
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

\[*Λάφο-κράτης > Λακράτης \] \( \rightarrow \) Λακράτιππος  
Εὐαρχος \( \rightarrow \) Εὐάρχιππος  
Εὐξενος \( \rightarrow \) Εὐξένιππος  
Νίκανδρος \( \rightarrow \) Νικάνδριππος  

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

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

Αἰσχύλος \( \rightarrow \) Αἰσχύλιππος  
Φαῦλος \( \rightarrow \) Φαύλιππος  

It is clear that this type of compound, which was perhaps built on the model of names like Ξανθιππος, 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 Ξανθιππος ‘Fair-horse’ or Δεύκιππος ‘White-horse’ is well documented in a number of languages. From a semantic point of view Τῆχιππος corresponds to the Vedic name Ῥ吽-āśva- ‘Swift-horse’; the Iranian personal name Asu-aspa- and the Vedic bahuvṛti compound āśv-āśva- ‘having fast horses’ match the Homeric formula ὠκέεις... ἵπποι. 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 ārunāśva- ‘with red horses’ and one of Arjuna’s names in the Mahābhārata

\[5 \text{ Cf. O. Szemerényi, } BzNam. \ 2 (1951), 168 = Scripta Minora IV (Innsbruck, 1987), 1768 \text{ for a list of Iranian names in -aspa; for the phrase cf. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, } Les composés de l’Avesta \ (Paris, 1936), 158; \text{ C. Watkins, } How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics \ (New York and Oxford, 1995), 12. \]
is Svetäśva- ‘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, Αγλάιππος, Κλείνιππος, Δείνιππος, Άριστιππος 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, Δηλέων and Άντιλέων 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 i-marker of time, i.e. ἀρχε- and not ἄρχει, as in, for example Άρχεδαµος;

2 an i-form which acquires the value of a participle active or even of a causative, built either on the present stem, as in Άρχίδαµος, or on a sagramtic 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 Άρχιππος and Δαµα´σιππος. 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 Ίπποκρίτος; 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 Βείδιππος, 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 aśvavid-, ‘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 χάριν ἰδεῖν, ‘to obtain a lady’s favours’, which has a good parallel in Armenian (cf. C. de Lamберterie, REArm. 1978–79, 31–40). An even closer parallel is the Vedic patronymic Vaidadaśvi-, built on the vrddhi 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 ‘Ηδάσπης (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. 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 *fείδε which survives in the infinitive εἶδέναι 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 Ἁνάξιππος, Ῥηγήσιππος 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 Ἀφιππος reflects the recommendation in the same work of Xenophon, 2. 4: ἁπτέσθαι δὲ χρή δὲν ψηλαφωμένων ὁ ἵππος μᾶλιστα 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. aśva-yuj- ‘who yokes horses’ (with the verbal stem as second element in the compound), yukt-aśva- ‘who has yoked horses’; the latter compound is exactly matched by the Avestic personal name Yuxtäspa-.

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8 For the rendering of Indo-Iranian vi- with ὑ-, compare Old Persian Vidma- = ’Ηδάρνης (Herodotus 3. 70; 7. 66, etc.) and Old Persian *Vixtaxma- = Middle Persian Vistahm = ’Υσταίµα (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 ὀφροεὶς ἵππους is easily recognizable in the names Ὀρσιππος, Ὀρριππος (Eretria), for which we can also refer to Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 7. 18: ὀμήσαοι ἀδθάς εἶς τὸ τάχιστον (scil. τὸν ἱππον) ‘to spur the horse to gallop’. A similar compound is Ὑριππος of Thera, which, *pace* Bechtel, *HP*, 195, does not include as its first element the adverb ἀρμαί ‘in the morning’, but the Doric treatment of an e-grade verbal element *ἐροι-, equivalent to ὀρσι- (cf. ἐρέθω) and attested in two glosses ἐρημή and ἐραώ.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 Κιχήσιππος can be explained by reference to Antilochos’ words in II., 23. 407: ἵππους δ’ Ἀτρείδαο 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 ἀμευσιεπής, 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 ζεῦξαι and ἵππους λῦσαι 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’ ἐξευξάν ὑφ’ αἱρµασιν ὀκέας ἱππον. 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 λῦσαν ὑπό ζυγοῦ ἱδρόωντας. 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’ ἵππεισι κάτησι
πάρ δ’ ἐξαλον ζειάς, ἀνὰ δὲ κρί λευκὸν ἐμιξαν. (*Od.*, 4. 40 f.):

'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. Ἁψιππος 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. 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 ἑνδον 'inside', and a verbal root in composition with a prefix comparable to Greek ἐν; the whole phrase could be translated into Greek as ἑνδον ὑμηεῖγνυσι.11

I am inclined to believe that Homer’s Eteoneus is a sort of Greek Kikkuli. He is close to Menelaos: in Od., 4. 22 he is labelled κρείσων,
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 ἔρασι at line 235, which explains the name ᾿Εράσιππος. 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

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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 ᾧδηκτος (*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. hatā-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) hatah (killed), i.e. 'whose son is dead'. Note that -hata- is the etymological cognate of Gr. -φατος in δυννήφατος.

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’. 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'. In Greek the Eretrian name Κύναργος arises from the univerbation of the Homeric phrase κύνες ἄργοι, ‘swift dogs’, and provides a reverse sequence to that of the Vedic name ῥι-świad, where the first element is a so-called Caland form of Skt. rjra-, the etymological equivalent of Gr. ἄργος. 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 ἄργοι (Il., 18. 578), but at the same time represents the inversion of the epithet found in ἄργιππος κύνας (Il., 24. 211). 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 bahuvṛihī’s of the λεύκιππος type.

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17 The other compounds in -πλήρωτος belong to the imperial period.
18 In J. Wackernagel and A. Debrunner, Alttindische Grammatik (Göttingen, 1957–) II. 1, 302.
21 See R. Schmitt, BzNam. 7 (1972), 337–48; F. Bader, Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Émile 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:

\[\textit{Πατροκλῆς} \textit{vs. Κλεοπάτρα}\]
\[\textit{Θεοείδης} \textit{vs. Είδοθέη}\.\]

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

\[\textit{῾Ιπποκλῆς} \textit{vs. Κλεήσιππος}\]
\[\textit{῾Ιπποµένης} \textit{vs. Μενέσιππος}\]
\[\textit{῾Ιππαλκῆς} \textit{vs. ᾿Αλκεσίππος}\]

In the first two examples the sigmatic stem (-\(\kappa\)λῆς, -\(\epsilon\)ιδῆς), which now appears as first element of the compound, is replaced by a thematic form \(\textit{Κλεο}-\), \(\textit{Είδο}-\). 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 -\(\alpha\)-\(σι\), presumably through contamination from the \(\Lambdaύσιππος\) type.

In normal Indo-Iranian formations, verbal adjectives with passive meaning serve as first element of a compound, as in Vedic \(\textit{yukt\bar{a}ṁav}-\) ‘whose horses are yoked’, Av. \(\textit{Yuxt\bar{a}spa}-\),\(^{24}\) but Greek offers a different construction. As argued by Meillet,\(^{25}\) the \(\tauο\)-adjectives of Greek appear as first members of compounds only when the verbal adjective has become a simple adjective (as in \(\kappa\lambdaυτ\όσιξος\), \(\lambdaεπτ\όλογος\)), while in the most ancient compounds they mostly appear in second position. In personal names we find both determinative compounds of the \(\textit{Θεόδοτος}\) or \(\textit{Ἄριγνωτος}\) type, and possessive compounds like \(\textit{῾Ιππόλυτος}\) ‘whose horses are unyoked’ or \(\textit{῾Ιππόκριτος}\) ‘whose horses are selected’. In the lexicon, a secondary reinterpretation brought both ancient poets and modern scholars to attribute an active value to the \(\tauο\)-forms in compounds like \(\alphaίγνωστος\) ‘ignorant’ (i.e. ‘who does not know’) but also ‘unknown’, or \(\alphaίρηκτος\) ‘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, \textit{Namenforschung} 1 (1995), 620–1, who refers to the Athenian \(\Deltaωρόθεος\) \(\Thetaεοδώρου\).

\(^{24}\) Wackernagel-Debrunner, \textit{Altindische Grammatik}, II. 1, 276–7.

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 συβότης (Myc. su-qo-ta) with a -τας > -ης 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 Εὐχρίτος ‘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 -ιππο- element, while so far the Mycenaean tablets have produced no such compound of ἰ-quito (ἰπποφορβοῖσιν), and contain only rare allusions to horses, in contrast to the frequent references to bovine, ovine and caprine livestock.26 We may wonder whether

this is due to a combination of cultural factors which made the ἵππο-, ἰππο- 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 Ἴππεῖ, 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)
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)
LIMC Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae (Zurich and Munich, 1981–97)
ML R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC, revised edn (Oxford, 1988)
Osborne, Naturalization 3–4 M. J. Osborne, Naturalization in Athens, 3-4 (Brussels, 1983)
Abbreviations

PA  J. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica, 2 vols (Berlin, 1901)
Pape-Benseler  W. Pape and G.E. Benseler, Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen (Braunschweig, 1863–70)
Robert, OMS  L. Robert, Opera Minora Selecta: Épigraphie et antiquités grecques, 7 vols (Amsterdam, 1969–90)
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)