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NICOMEDES' NAME

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Nicomedes son of Zipoetes was exceptional among early members of the Bithynian royal house for his Greek name.<sup>2</sup> The names of Zipoetes himself and of the three dynasts that preceded him – Doidalses, Boteiras, and Bas – were Thracian, as were those of Nicomedes' brother (Zipoetes), his successor (Ziaelas) and the two subsequent rulers (Prusias in both cases).<sup>3</sup> Not that this picture is complete. Nicomedes, for example, had two brothers and at least two sons whose names are not known,<sup>4</sup> and no doubt there were other members of the royal family who are also unidentified. If the surviving evidence is representative, however, it would appear that the Bithynian rulers typically gave their children Thracian names, sometimes (e.g. Zipoetes I and Prusias I) naming them for themselves.<sup>5</sup> In eight successive generations the only exception of whom we know besides Nicomedes is a daughter, or possibly granddaughter, of Nicomedes called Lysandra.

The persistence of Thracian names in the royal family is just one of several indications that Thracian culture survived in Bithynia at all social levels for generations after the founding of the monarchy. The statue of Zeus in the temple at Nicomedeia, considered one of the great works of Hellenistic art, was created in the middle of the third century by a sculptor thought by Reinach to have had the Thracian name Doidalses.<sup>6</sup> At the other end of the social spectrum, the bodyguard of 500 men who protected Prusias II approximately a century later consisted of Thracians, and their leader, Diegylis, who was the king's "relative" ( $\kappa\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$ ), is specifically called "the Thracian" by Appian (*Mith.* 6, 18).<sup>7</sup> It is revealing, too, that Thracian divinities continued to be featured on the silver coinage of the kings until the reign of Nicomedes' grandson, Prusias I.<sup>8</sup> Social conservatism may have influenced the choice of names in the royal house, but that is probably not a full explanation for the custom. Long after the reign of Zipoetes there were still

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I am very grateful to Thomas Corsten for reading a draft of this paper. Any problems that remain are my responsibility.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The names of the Bithynian dynasts are listed by Memnon *FGrH* 434, fr. 12, 3–5. Habicht notes that Nicomedes I was "anscheinend der erste Träger eines griechischen Namens im Königshaus" (*RE* 10 A (1972) 455, s.v. "Zipoites"[1]). In connection with Ziaelas, Habicht comments: "Der Name ist thrakisch wie der seiner Vorfahren und Vorgänger Doidalses, Boteiras, Bas und Zipoites …, unter denen nur der Vater des Z., König Nikomedes I., durch seinen griechischen Namen aus der Reihe fällt"(*RE* 10 A [1972], 387 s.v. "Ziaelas").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* (Österr. Akad. der Wiss. Phil.-hist. Klasse, Schriften der Balkan-Kommission, Linguist. Abt., 14) (Vienna 1957), 43 (Βᾶς), 76 (Βοτείρας), 145 (Δοιδάλσης), 186 (Ζιήλας), 190–91 (Ζιποίτης), and 383–85 (Προυσίας).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Memnon (*FGrH* 484 F 12, 5–6) mentions several brothers whom Nicomedes executed and three sons by a second marriage (*FGrH* 484 F 14, 1). One of the latter evidently was Nicomedes' successor, Zipoetes (Habicht, *RE* 10 A [1972], 455).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ziaelas had a younger half-brother named Zipoetes: Plb. 4, 50, 1. 50, 8–9. 51, 7 and 52. 8 (Habicht, *RE* 10 A [1972], 459–460, s.v. "Zipoites" [3]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Th. Reinach, L'auteur de la 'Venus accroupie' et le type des monnaies de Bithynie, in *L'histoire par les monnaies* (Paris 1902), 183–192. In fact, the name is far from certain: R. Neudecker, *NP* 3 (1997) 730 s.v. "Doidalses".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Detschew, op. cit. 135 (Διήγυλις).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Georges Le Rider, Un tétradrachme de Prusias I de Bithynie, in *Archéologie et religions de l'Anatolie ancienne: Mélanges en l'honneur du professeur Paul Naster*, edd. R. Donceel and R. Lebrun (Louvain-la-Neuve 1983), 167–71.

powerful Thracian interests in Bithynia that demanded respect. In this context the first king's decision to give his eldest son a Greek name merits consideration.

Christian Habicht identified four ways by which non-Athenian names came to be used by Athenian citizens. Since these (or very similar) institutions or practices are attested throughout the Hellenistic world, they form a useful starting point for interpreting Zipoetes' decision to call his first son Nicomedes. Foreign names were given to Athenians (1) through *xenia* between an Athenian and a non-Athenian family; (2) as the result of marriage with a foreign woman (during the periods when this was permitted at Athens); (3) by naming "after a king or another foreign celebrity"; and (4) by naturalization. Reviewing Habicht's discussion, Stephen Lambert added an additional route by which foreign names entered Athenian nomenclature: (5) adoption. On the starting point for interpreting Zipoetes' decision to call his first son Nicomedes. Foreign names were given to Athenians (1) through *xenia* between an Athenian and a non-Athenian family; (2) as the result of marriage with a foreign woman (during the periods when this was permitted at Athens); (3) by naming a high probability of the periods when the period when the periods when the p

In the Bithynian case, options 4 and 5 are very unlikely. If Nicomedes had been foreign by birth or had been adopted, one would expect some indication of that fact in the fairly extensive sources concerning his reign and his kingdom's history. Also, there is no evidence that any of the Bithynian rulers ever adopted an heir. Option 1, on the other hand, seems to be a good possibility, but in this case the ties of *xenia* must have been particularly significant. Although all the Bithynian dynasts presumably had guest-friendships with foreign families, only Zipoetes (as far as we know) chose to call a son – indeed, his first son – by a non-Thracian name. Options 2 and 3, which could be related to option 1, are also possible subject to this same reservation. Initially, therefore, it is worth investigating whether the king may have had a connection with a Greek named Nicomedes or with a family in which that name was common. This bond must have been of special importance to Zipoetes if, in order to honor it, he was prepared to break with what appears to have been a strong Bithynian tradition and give his presumptive heir a Greek name.

The first four volumes of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* include 58 names that are compounded of a noun or adjectival stem and a second stem,  $-\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$ . These are associated with 668 individuals, approximately twelve persons per name on average. <sup>11</sup> The actual frequency of names is highly uneven. Only fifteen names are linked to ten or more persons, and together these fifteen account for no fewer than 551, or 55%, of the people who make up the group. Among the top fifteen, the variation of frequency is also notable. The median in that subset is twenty-five names, but the most common name of all, Aristomedes, occurs 88 times. Nicomedes, the second most common name, appears 83 times.

Names ending in  $-\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$  form a relatively small subset of Greek men's names. The *LGPN* web site lists the 100 most common names in vol. III.B, a useful basis of comparison. <sup>12</sup> Some of the concluding elements (or "Endgruppen", as Fick called them <sup>13</sup>) that are prominent on the site are listed in the following chart, which was assembled using the statistical utilities of the *LGPN* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Foreign Names in Athenian Nomenclature, in *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence*, edd. S. Hornblower and E. Matthews (Proceedings of the British Academy, 104 [Oxford 2000]), 119–21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Rev. of *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence*, edd. S. Hornblower and E. Matthews, *BMCR* 2001.08.22 (http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2001/2001-08-22.html).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See Appendix 1. The statistical evidence from *LPGN* vol. IV (Macedonia, the Balkans, Scythia Minor, and South Russia) is now available on the *LPGN* web site. Since I have not been able to consult the volume itself, I have decided against including the new data. For what it is worth, it does not seem to change any of the main conclusions here

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/publications/vol3b/topm\_u.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> August Fick, Die griechischen Personennamen nach ihrer Bildung erklärt: mit den Namensystemen verwandter Sprachen verglichen & systematisch geordnet (Göttingen 1874), vii.

web site. The chart also includes the frequency of each concluding element in all four volumes
of <i>LGPN</i> and the single name in each group that occurs most often.

Suffix	Frequency	Most common name in group	Frequency
-κλης	11695	'Αγαθοκλῆς	505
-δωρος	9632	'Απολλόδωρος	816
-δρος	5213	'Αλέξανδρος	992
-μαχος	4959	Νικόμαχος	429
-γενης	4442	Διογένης	498
-δημος	2771	'Αριστόδημος	221
-ξενος	2299	Φιλόξενος	452
-κριτος	1820	Τιμόκριτος	169
-μηδης	994	'Αριστομήδης	88

Names compounded on -κριτος are approximately twice as frequent as those formed on -μηδης, while those based on -κλης are more than ten times as common. Compared to some names, therefore, the name Nicomedes and the group to which it belongs are fairly rare. On the other hand, as Salway has noted, in vol. III.A of LGPN "the vast majority of names are attested as borne by thirty individuals or less, while only 197 names (c. 1.75%) are borne by over thirty". <sup>14</sup> If this conclusion also holds true for the other volumes of LGPN published to date, Nicomedes belongs in fairly exclusive company, the top two percent of Greek names based on rate of recurrence.

While the frequency of names compounded on  $-\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$  is not remarkable, their geographical distribution is. The following chart lists the number of individuals in the group appearing in each of the first four volumes of *LGPN* and also the number of attestations of Nicomedes, specifically:

	Vol. I (Aegean islands,		Vol. III.A (Peloponnese, W.	Vol. III.B (Central Greece:
	Cyprus, Cyrenaeca)	(Attica)	Greece, Sicily, Magna Graecia)	Megarid toThessaly)
Frequency of names ending in -μηδης	306	158	464	66
Frequency of Nicomedes	43	10	25	5

Slightly more than 77% of the persons with names ending in  $-\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$  are registered in vols. I and III.A, while 82% of the attestations of Nicomedes are found there. The names are particularly prominent in communities of Doric origin. For example, from Rhodes, the *LGPN* (vols. I, II, IIIa and IIIb) lists 76 individuals bearing a total of 12 names ending in  $-\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$ ; from Lakonia, there are 13 individuals with 4 names; from Korinthia, 11 individuals with 8 names; from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> R. W. B. Salway, rev. of Peter M. Fraser and Elaine Matthews (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Vol. III.A. The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily, and Magna Graecia* (Oxford 1997), *BMCR* 2000.02.40 (http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2000/2000-02-40.html).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> 'Αστυμήδης (25 persons); 'Αριστομήδης (16); Αὐτομήδης (2); Δαμήδης (2); Διομήδης (1); 'Ιφιμήδης (1); Καλλιμήδης (1); Κλευμήδης (2); Αυκομήδης (4); Νικομήδης (4); Θευμήδης (1); Θρασυμήδης (15).

<sup>16</sup> Έχεμήδης (1); Λυκομήδης (1); Νικομήδης (3); Σιμήδης (8).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> 'Αγαμήδης (1); 'Αλιμήδης (1); 'Αριστομήδης (3); Εὐρυμήδης (1); Καλλιμήδης (1); Κλεομήδης (2); Λυκομήδης (1); Νικομήδης (1).

Thera, 6 individuals with 5 names; <sup>18</sup> and from Cyrenaica, which was colonized from Thera, 29 individuals with 6 names. <sup>19</sup> Consistent with this is the fact that the only Homeric hero to bear a name from the group, Diomedes son of Tydeus, commanded 80 ships from Argos and Tiryns (Homer, *Il.* 2.559–567). Also, the largest group of individuals named Nicomedes (twenty-four in all) is found on Cos. The same volumes of *LGPN*, however, also list names ending in  $-\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$  under communities that were non-Doric in origin. <sup>20</sup> If such names ever seemed alien outside Doric environments, in time that feeling moderated.

These data suggest a narrower range within which to search for the person who inspired the Bithynian prince's name. Had Zipoetes randomly chosen the individual for whom he called his son, the probability was not great that he would have selected someone named Nicomedes. At any time there simply were not many such men. If the father did happen to pick a Nicomedes, however, this person would probably have come from a Doric community. The hypothesis with which this discussion began can now be refined. First, since there were relatively few individuals (especially prominent ones) named Nicomedes who might have inspired Zipoetes' surprising choice, any one by that name who fits the time and circumstances of the decision will warrant careful examination. Furthermore, this person is to be sought especially in places where Doric names were common.

The date of Nicomedes' birth can be estimated, if only very approximately, from several indications in the sources. Zipoetes son of Bas was born in 356 and began his reign in 328.<sup>21</sup> If he married upon reaching adulthood in 335, his first son may have been born as early as 334, but that is probably too early. At the time of Nicomedes' death c. 255, a treaty was in place that was meant to guarantee the succession of his two sons from a second marriage, who were still minors at the time. Memnon (FGrH 434, fr. 14, 1) mentions "plots" ( $\tau\alpha\hat{\iota}\varsigma$  ...  $\mu\eta\chi\alpha\nu\alpha\hat{\iota}\varsigma$ ) by the boys' mother, suggesting that Nicomedes was being manipulated by his wife and, presumably, the faction that she represented. Evidently at this time the king was an old man in frail health. But a birth date in 334 would mean that he was roughly ninety years old at his death, very old indeed for the father of young children. On the other hand, Nicomedes appears to have been an adult when he succeeded his own father in 280, so that at the very latest he was born in 301. In this case, however, Nicomedes would have been less than fifty years old when he died. That is even harder to reconcile with the scenario suggested by Memnon.

An excerpt from Arrian's *Bithyniaca* may have some bearing on the date of Nicomedes' birth.<sup>22</sup> The text describes how a Molossian hound belonging to Nicomedes attacked and killed the king's wife, Ditizele, the mother of Prusias, Ziaelas, and Lysandra. Habicht has questioned the reliability of this account, observing that the Ziaelas and Lysandra mentioned in the passage might be the children of Prusias and therefore the grandchildren of Nicomedes.<sup>23</sup> The girl's

<sup>18 &#</sup>x27;Αριστομήδης (1); 'Αστυμήδης (1); Διομήδης (1); Νικομήδης (2); Πυκιμήδης (1).

<sup>19 &#</sup>x27;Αμφιμήδης (1); 'Αντιμήδης (2); 'Αριστομήδης (2); Εὐμήδης (6); Καλλιμήδης (1); Πρατομήδης (17).

 $<sup>^{20}</sup>$  Paros: 10 individuals with 6 names (Αἰσιμήδης [1]; 'Αριστομήδης [1]; 'Αστυμήδης [1]; Διομήδης [2]; Θρασυμήδης [1]; Νεομήδης [4]); Athens: 168 individuals with 25 names ('Αλκιμήδης [1]; 'Αντιμήδης [3]; 'Αρχεμήδης [1]; 'Αρχιμήδης [6]; 'Αριστομήδης [15]; Αὐτομήδης [2]; Γανυμήδης [2]; Διομήδης [17]; 'Επιμήδης [4]; 'Εργομήδης [1]; Εὐμήδης [5]; Εὐρυμήδης [1]: Θεομήδης [7]; Θρασυμήδης [27]; Καλλιμήδης [8]; Κλεομήδης [5]; Λεωμήδης [1]; Λυκομήδης [1]; Νικομήδης [10]; Παλαμήδης [4]; Πολυμήδης [13]; Πρωτομήδης [1]; Τελαμήδης [1]; Χαριμήδης [3]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Habicht, RE 10 A (1972) 448-55 s.v. "Zipoites" (1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> FGrH 156, fr. 29, 3-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Habicht, RE 10 A (1972) 387, s.v. "Ziaelas".

name makes better sense, however, if Nicomedes was her father rather than her grandfather. Lysandra was an uncommon name, occurring just eight times in volumes 1–4 of *LGPN*.<sup>24</sup> As it happens, the only famous individual to bear the name was the daughter of Ptolemy I Soter and Eurydice.<sup>25</sup> Following the death of her first husband in 294/3, this Lysandra married Agathocles son of Lysimachus. When Agathocles was murdered in 283/2 or 282/1, the widow fled with their children to the court of Seleucus.<sup>26</sup> Nicomedes became king of Bithynia within a few years of this notorious episode. Thanks to the broad popularity of Agathocles, Nicomedes would surely have known of the queen, at least. A generation later, however, there was no prominent woman by that name for his son, Prusias, to honor. The Bithynian princess, Lysandra, was probably born in the early- to mid-280s, consequently, and her father's date of birth has to be moved back at least to the middle of the first decade of the third century.

In short, Nicomedes was born between 334 - ca. 305, at a date early enough that he was an old man by the time he died, ca. 255. A birth date around 315 would make him approximately 70 at that time. A rough estimate would be that he was born between 325 and 310.

As it happens, a man named Nicomedes son of Aristander, a native of Cos and "friend" of Antigonus I and his son, Demetrius, was playing a prominent role in Greek affairs during the last decades of the fourth century. Decrees honoring this Nicomedes from numerous Greek cities were gathered by the Coans and published as a collection.<sup>27</sup> Many of the dedications seem to have originated in the period when Antigonus was most active in the Aegean, after 315. The decrees of the Samians and the Athenians emphasize Nicomedes' valuable services to ambassadors sent by the cities to Antigonus. Peoples and cities in the northern Aegean, among them the Athenians on Lemnos and several city-states in the Troad and Aeolis, also passed decrees in his honor. Susan Sherwin-White surmises that the Coans assembled the dossier from gratitude for assistance that Nicomedes had provided to his native city. His family remained important on Cos at least until the age of Augustus.<sup>28</sup>

It is worth considering whether Nicomedes son of Aristander was the person whom Zipoetes meant to honor by giving his son the other's name. The name itself, as we have seen, was relatively uncommon, and at the end of the fourth century no other prominent individual bearing it is attested. As a native of Cos, Nicomedes son of Aristander was Dorian, the likely ethnic affiliation of the individual to whom Zipoetes was paying tribute.<sup>29</sup> Also, a dedication by king Nicomedes' son and successor, Ziaelas, attests to a formal link between Bithynia and Cos dating from the former's reign.<sup>30</sup> The language expressing the connection suggests that, in Ziaelas' view, this association was not particularly close.<sup>31</sup> But Antigonus, the patron of Nicomedes son of Aristander,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ameling, NP 7 (1999) 597, s.v. "Lysandra".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Badian, NP 1 (1996) 239 s.v. "Agathokles" (5); É. Will, CAH<sup>2</sup> 7, part 1 (1984), 103 and 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> LGPN vol. I (Oxford 1987), 337 s.v. Νικομήδης (12). For bibliography, see Susan M. Sherwin-White, Ancient Cos: a Historical Study from the Dorian Settlement to the Imperial Period (Hypomnemata 51) Göttingen 1978, 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Sherwin-White, op. cit. 87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> According to Herodotus (7, 99.3), Cos was colonized by Dorians from Epidaurus. The archaeological evidence supports the conclusion that Cos was settled from the Argolid: Sherwin-White, *op. cit.* 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy* (London 1934; rept. Chicago 1974), 118–125; Stanley M. Burstein, ed. and trans., *The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the Death of Kleopatra VII* (Cambridge 1985), 34–5.

<sup>31</sup> Habicht, RE 10 A (1972) 392, s.v. "Ziaelas".

lost control of Cos to Ptolemy in 309.<sup>32</sup> After that date, the island may well have been less cordial toward Bithynia for a time.<sup>33</sup> Finally, Nicomedes son of Aristander had important connections in the northern Aegean. If this was not the individual for whom the Bithynian prince was named, one has to assume that during this period there was a second person, as yet undiscovered, who met the conditions of the hypothesis formulated above. In view of what we have discovered about the frequency of the name, that seems less than likely. I would suggest, consequently, that Nicomedes son of Aristander is the individual for whom we have been looking.

What Nicomedes son of Aristander did to win the favor of Zipoetes cannot be established with certainty. One possibility that fits the evidence is that the Coan diplomat played a key role in the long, peaceful relationship that his patron, Antigonus, enjoyed with Zipoetes. Zipoetes' first attested connection with Antigonus – indeed, the Bithynian's first recorded activity – did not presage good relations between them. In 315 Zipoetes laid siege to Astacus and Chalcedon, city-states whose harbors were essential links between Antigonus's holdings in Europe and Asia. Antigonus responded to this development by sending his nephew, Polemaios, with an army to bring an end to the Bithynian operations.<sup>34</sup> In the settlement that Polemaios imposed, Zipoetes was required to hand over hostages. He also entered into an alliance with Antigonus.<sup>35</sup>

The peace dictated by Polemaios lasted about a decade and a half. Zipoetes' submission during these years did not result from any loss of energy or courage. Following Antigonus's death in 301, the Bithynian resumed the independent policy he had pursued at the start of his career, clashing with Lysimachus on several occasions (Memnon, *FGrH* 434, fr. 12, 5) and, among other things, apparently winning a victory he regarded as justification for declaring himself king.<sup>36</sup> He was equally independent in his dealings with Seleucus and Antiochus. By contrast, Billows comments, after the settlement with Polemaios, Zipoetes "never ... gave Antigonos any trouble, but remained a loyal ally until Antigonos's death" in 301.<sup>37</sup> Billows concludes, "The successful assertiveness of Zipoetes against Lysimachos, Seleukos, and Antiochos forms a marked contrast to his quiescence under Antigonos's rule, testifying to Antigonos's power and, perhaps, his conciliatory policy."<sup>38</sup>

The good services of Nicomedes son of Aristander would help to explain both the name of Zipoetes' son and the exceptional relationship between Antigonus and the Bithynian. With his surrender to Polemaios, Zipoetes was in a very vulnerable position. That same year Antigonus moved to consolidate his control of Asia Minor and proclaimed all the Greek cities to be free and autonomous (Diod. 19, 61, 3). Previously Seleucus had been driven to take refuge with

<sup>32</sup> Diod. 20,19.3ff.; 27; Plut. Dem. 7.3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Evidently the Coans' connection with the Bithynian royal family was renewed subsequently. A cult honoring a king Nicomedes is known from a transcript of a lost inscription (W. R. Paton – E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos* [Oxford 1891], no.35, p. 64). Sherwin-White, *op. cit*. 137 and note 291, believes the inscription dates from the reign of Nicomedes II or III, not Nicomedes I.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Diod. 19, 57, 5 and 19, 60, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Since Diodorus says nothing of fighting on this occasion, a show of force may have been sufficient to subdue the Bithynian (G. Vitucci, *Il regno di Bitinia* [Rome 1953], 15).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> The Bithynian era commenced in 297/6, in the middle of Zipoetes' career. W. Leschhorn argues that Zipoetes proclaimed himself king at this time following a defeat of Lysimachus: *Antike Ären: Zeitrechnung, Politik und Geschichte im Schwarzmeerraum und in Kleinasien nördlich des Tauros*, Historia Einzelschriften 81 (Stuttgart 1993) 185–86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Richard A. Billows, Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State (Berkeley 1990), 441.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Billows, op. cit. 443.

Ptolemy in Egypt (Diod. 19, 55, 5-56, 1). By assaulting Astacus and Chalcedon, the Bithynian was, in effect, challenging both Antigonus's hegemony and his policy toward the Greeks. With no allies to whom to turn, Zipoetes may have feared that Polemaios would be ordered to make an example of him to dissuade others from doing as he had. Instead, a settlement was negotiated that, under the circumstances, must be considered generous.

Perhaps this is where Nicomedes son of Aristander enters the picture. Cities as inconsequential as Gryne and as prominent as Athens availed themselves of the Coan's assistance in their dealings with Antigonus, and they were not disappointed by the results.<sup>39</sup> If he intervened now on behalf of Zipoetes, one can understand why the Bithynian named his first son after him. In these circumstances the Coan surely saved Zipoetes' career. Coincidentally, the date at which Zipoetes needed such assistance falls in the time when his heir probably was born, and this also happens to be the beginning of a period when Nicomedes son of Aristander was especially active.

Appendix 1: Names ending in -μηδης

Name	LGPN Vol. I	Vol. II	Vol. III	Vol. IV	Total
'Αριστομήδης	43	15	17	13	88
Νικομήδης	43	10	25	5	83
Διομήδης	19	17	19	12	67
Θρασυμήδης	26	27	9	4	66
Λυκομήδης	14	19	8	5	46
Πολυμήδης	10	13	7	6	36
Εὐμήδης	16	5	4	1	26
'Αστυμήδης	25	0	0	0	25
Κλεομήδης	5	5	10	3	23
Καλλιμήδης	9	8	2	1	20
Πρατομήδης	18	0	1	0	19
Αρχιμήδης	2	6	6	0	14
Ξενομήδης	14	0	0	0	14
Θεομήδης	2	7	4	0	13
Εὐρυμήδης	5	1	2	3	11
Αὐτομήδης	3	2	2	2	9
Παλαμήδης	3	4	1	1	9
Αμφιμήδης	5	0	1	2	8
Σιμήδης	0	0	8	0	8
Κλευμήδης	6	0	1	0	7
'Αντιμήδης	3	3	0	0	6
Λεωμήδης	4	1	1	0	6
'Επιμήδης	0	4	0	1	5
Νεομήδης	4	0	0	1	5
Χαριμήδης	1	3	0	1	5
Γανυμήδης	2	2	0	0	4
Κλυτομήδης	3	0	0	0	3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> G. Dunst concludes that "Nikomedes offenbar für die Politik des Diadochen jenen griechischen Städten gegenüber in jener Zeit verantwortlich war und sie wohl auch bestimmte" (Ein neues chiisches Dekret aus Kos, *Klio* 37 [1959], 68).

Σωσιμήδης	3	0	0	0	3
'Αγαμήδης	1	0	1	0	2
'Ανδρομήδης	0	0	2	0	2
Δαμήδης	2	0	0	0	2
Εὐθυμήδης	1	0	1	0	2
Μεσομήδης	2	0	0	0	2
Νουμήδης	2	0	0	0	2
Σωμήδης	0	0	2	0	2
Φιλομήδης	2	0	0	0	2
Φρασιμήδης	2	0	0	0	2
Αἰσιμήδης	1	0	0	0	1
'Αλεξιμήδης	0	0	0	1	1
Άλιμήδης	0	0	1	0	1
'Αλκιμήδης	0	1	0	0	1
'Αριμήδης	1	0	0	0	1
'Αρχεμήδης	0	1	0	0	1
Γαμήδης	0	0	0	1	1
Έργομήδης	0	1	0	0	1
'Εχεμήδης	0	0	1	0	1
Θαλλομήδης	0	0	0	1	1
Θευμήδης	1	0	0	0	1
Ίφιμήδης	1	0	0	0	1
Κλειμήδης	0	0	0	1	1
Κλεμήδης	0	0	1	0	1
Λυσιμήδης	0	1	0	0	1
Μνασιμήδης	1	0	0	0	1
Πασιμήδης	0	0	0	1	1
Περιμήδης	0	0	1	0	1
Πρωτομήδης	0	1	0	0	1
Πυκιμήδης	1	0	0	0	1
Τελαμήδης	0	1	0	0	1
Totals:	306	158	138	66	
Grand total:	668				

Appendix 2: Occurrences of the name Lysandra in vols. I-IIIB of LGPN

Volume	Location	Date
IIIb	Boiotia	c. 450 BC
IIIb	Oropos	?204 BC
IIIb	Thespiai	1 BC – 1 AD
IIIb	Thespiai	1/2 AD
IIIb	Demetrias	2 AD
I	Delos	146–144 BC
I	Euboia	1 BC – 1 AD
I	Rhodes	hell.–imp.

## Summary

This paper investigates the decision of Zipoetes, the founder of the kingdom of Bithynia, to give his first son and heir the Greek name, Nicomedes. Considerations of *xenia* probably motivated Zipoetes. To judge by the name, the individual whom he meant to honor was from a Doric community. In addition, the date of the birth of Zipoetes's son, which can be set very roughly, makes it likely that the individual was active at the end of the fourth century.

It is proposed that the person in question was Nicomedes son of Aristander, a Coan who played a prominent role in the northern Aegean on behalf of Antigonus the One-Eyed during the late fourth century. Zipoetes' gratitude may have been in response to the Greek's intervention on his behalf following an abortive assault in 315 on two cities of strategic significance to Antigonus.

## Özet

Çalışmada, Bithynia krallığının kurucusu Zipoetes'in, varisi olan ilk oğluna Grek kökenli Nikomedes adını verme kararı konu edilmektedir. Zipoetes'i bu kararı vermeye sevkeden şey, olasılıkla dostluk (*ksenia*) ilişkileriydi. Bu hareketiyle o, Nikomedes adında, Dor kökenli birini onurlandırmak istemişti. Ayrıca, Zipoetes'in oğlunun yaklaşık doğum tarihi, bu adamın 4. yüzyıl sonlarında etkin biri olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu durumda Zipoetes'in oğluna adı verilen kişi, 4. yüzyıl sonlarında Antigonos Monophtalmos adına kuzey Ege'de önemli rol oynayan (Aristander oğlu) Kos'lu Nikomedes olmalıdır. Zipoetes'in, oğluna Nikomedes'in adını verecek düzeydeki bu şükran borcu, onun Antigonos ile 315 yılında yaşadığı bir sorunda kendisine destek vermesinden kaynaklanmaktaydı.

Bethlehem, PA Dennis Glew