

GREEK PERSONAL NAMES



THEIR VALUE AS EVIDENCE

SIMON HORNBLOWER
& ELAINE MATTHEWS

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GREEK PERSONAL NAMES

Their Value as Evidence

Edited by

SIMON HORNBLOWER & ELAINE MATTHEWS

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Front cover illustration is a fragmentary marble plaque from Egypt, dating from the
early Ptolemaic period, whose excellent lettering records individuals from a variety of
cities and islands. (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; Sammelbuch 6831)

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Contents

Notes on Contributors	v
Abbreviations	vii
Introduction	
The Lexicon: ELAINE MATTHEWS	1
This book: SIMON HORNBLOWER	9
1. Greek Personal Names and Linguistic Continuity	15
ANNA MORPURGO DAVIES	
2. Hippolytos and Lysippos: Remarks on some Compounds in Ἴππο-, -ἵππος	41
LAURENT DUBOIS	
3. Theophoric Names and the History of Greek Religion	53
ROBERT PARKER	
4. Oropodoros: Anthroponymy, Geography, History	81
DENIS KNOEPFLER	
5. 'L'histoire par les noms' in Macedonia	99
MILTIADES HATZOPOULOS	
6. Foreign Names in Athenian Nomenclature	119
CHRISTIAN HABICHT	
7. Personal Names and the Study of the Ancient Greek Historians	129
SIMON HORNBLOWER	

8. <i>Mirabilia</i> and Personal Names MICHAEL CRAWFORD	145
9. Ethnics as Personal Names P. M. FRASER	149
<i>Ad lectorem</i> KLEARCHOS II	158
Name Index	159
General Index	172

Figures & Tables

J.-A. Letronne	3
Table of Attic theophoric names	58
Map of the territory of Eretria	85
Table of names of Macedonians in <i>IG I³ 89</i> (fifth-century treaty)	104
Table of names of priests in <i>SEG 36, 626</i> (fourth-century list)	105
Table of names of infantry officers from Beroia (third-century list)	107–8
Table of ethnic forms as names	155–6

'L'histoire par les noms' in Macedonia

MILTIADES HATZOPOULOS

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AGO L. ROBERT DECLARED: 'Nous devons faire non point des catalogues de noms, mais *l'histoire des noms*, et même *l'histoire par les noms*'. Brilliant as it is, this programmatic declaration needs, in my opinion, slight emendation if it is to be realistic: 'Nous ne devons point faire que des catalogues de noms, mais aussi *l'histoire des noms*, et même *l'histoire par les noms*'.¹ In fact, before writing the history of names and even more before writing history through names, we must go through the less exciting—some would say the more tedious—work of collecting them. Robert had his notes, his cards, and, above all, his incomparable memory. We, by contrast, had until very recently only the 1959 reprint of the 1911 re-publication of W. Pape's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, first published in 1842 and considerably augmented by G. E. Benseler and son in 1862 and 1870, which contains much dubious or obsolete information; and F. Bechtel's eighty-year-old *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, a more reliable book than Pape-Benseler but at the same time more limited in scope. This is no longer the case. Thanks to the indefatigable efforts of Peter Fraser and Elaine Matthews, we now have at our disposal—despite Robert's scepticism²—the first three volumes of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* covering the whole of Greece proper with the exception of Macedonia, and offering the most up-to-date and reliable catalogue of Greek anthroponyms. Other regions will follow.

¹ L. Robert, 'Eulaios, histoire et onomastique', *Epist. Epeteris Philos. Schol. Panep. Athens* 13 (1962/3), 529 = *OMS* 2, 987; cf. 'Discours d'ouverture', *Actes du VI^e congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine* (Bucharest and Paris, 1979), 34 = *OMS* 6, 686.

² Robert, *OMS* 6, 32.

The Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, particularly through the work of my colleague Argyro Tataki, has collaborated in the preparation of the Macedonian section. Taking advantage of the groundwork achieved so far, and anticipating *LGPN* IV, I shall try to illustrate how the collection of the Macedonian onomastic material has made it possible to recover whole chapters of history long since lost, or even never written.

Robert claimed that detailed and well-informed study of Macedonian names would enable us to understand how these names spread in the Greek East, and to identify the centres of Macedonian colonization, which was no less significant a movement than the colonization of the archaic period.³ In the present paper, with the help of names, I shall attempt a foray into earlier chapters of Greek history, namely those which witnessed the foundation of the Macedonian Kingdom and its expansion into the whole of northern Greece.

I must first stress that in this endeavour I have been preceded by Fanoula Papazoglou, who in a little-known article—for it was published in 1977 in Serbian and in a Yugoslav periodical of restricted circulation—attempted to analyse the ethnic structure of ancient Macedonia in the light of recent onomastic research.⁴ The main results of her study were incorporated in her report, in French, to the international congress of Greek and Latin epigraphy held that same year in Constanza.⁵ The ambitions reflected in the titles of these contributions went beyond what could realistically be achieved with the evidence then available. At that time the author could use only three up-to-date collections of material: J. Touratsoglou's communication to the *Semaines Philippopolitaines*; 'Anthroponymie thrace en Macédoine occidentale',⁶ the indexes of C. Edson's edition of the volume of *Inscriptiones Graecae* containing the inscriptions of Thessalonike;⁷ and G. Bakalakis' communication to a Thracology congress, 'Thrakische Eigennamen aus den Nordägäischen Küsten'.⁸ Otherwise she had to rely on chance information gleaned from her extensive reading.

³ Robert, *OMS* 2, 986.

⁴ F. Papazoglou, 'Sur la structure ethnique de l'ancienne Macédoine', *Balkanica* 8 (1977), 65–83 (in Serbian with a French abstract).

⁵ F. Papazoglou, 'Structures ethniques et sociales dans les régions centrales des Balkans à la lumière des études onomastiques', *Actes du VII^e congrès international de l'épigraphie grecque et latine* (Bucharest and Paris, 1979), 153–69.

⁶ *Pulpudeva* 2 (1978), 128–46.

⁷ *IG* X (2) 1.

⁸ *Thracia*, II (Sofia, 1974), 261–79.

In both her papers Papazoglou attempted to match the ethnic groups known from the literary tradition—mainly Thucydides and Strabo—with the onomastic material which she had collected. For this purpose, she divided Macedonia into four geographical areas roughly corresponding to the four ancient *merides*: Pelagonia, Lower Macedonia, Thessalonike–Lete and Eastern Macedonia, and distributed among them the 'native', that is to say non-Greek, personal names. At the risk of oversimplifying her cautious and finely nuanced approach, it could be said that she deemed it possible to identify—beside a series of names which were not Greek or Illyrian or Thracian, and which were common to all four areas, as well as to Dardania and Thessaly beyond the Macedonian borders—a Brygian=Phrygian group, mostly present in the first two areas, a Paionian group in the third area, and an Edonian group in the fourth. In this distribution she saw confirmation of the ancient traditions according to which the conquering Macedonians occupied formerly Brygian territories in the foothills of Mount Bermion, forced Pierians to flee beyond the Strymon, expelled Bottians from the central plain into the Chalkidike peninsula, pushed Paionians back from the lower Axios valley to historical Paionia around the middle course of the river and drove Edonians from Mygdonia into areas beyond the Strymon.

Papazoglou admitted that the significant number of 'native' personal names common to more than one, and often to all four, of the areas, and sometimes occurring even outside them, raised the question of a common (Pelasgian?) *substratum*, and that this did not permit a clear differentiation between ethnic—or rather linguistic—groups. In the end she put forward a minimalist claim, namely that these 'native' names encountered in Macedonia, but also in Dardania and in Thessaly, constituted a separate, albeit multifarious, group not to be confused with either Illyrian or Thracian.

Twenty years later, even before the publication of *LGPN IV*, we can draw on a vastly expanded collection of personal names from Macedonia. Progress has been made not only in the quantity but also in the quality of the collected material. On the one hand, texts have been emended, with non-existent names struck out of our lists and new ones added. On the other hand, as archaeologists, ploughmen and construction workers have reached deeper and deeper strata of ancient sites, the epigraphic material, until now predominantly Roman, has received a most welcome hellenistic and classical addition. For the first time, a clearer picture of the pre-Roman onomastic situation in places such as Aigeai, Beroia, Pella, Kalindoia, and even the semi-rural communities of central Chalkidike, has emerged, adding

historical and sociological contours, that is to say wholly new dimensions, to the previously flat landscape of Macedonian onomastics. It is true that the ethnic and social structure of ancient Macedonia is still beyond our reach, but we have gained new insights into the history of early Macedonian expansion, which is largely unrecorded by literary authorities, and we can start to 'faire l'histoire par les noms', as Robert would have it, and in so doing contribute to the solution of an old puzzle, that of the origins of the ancient Macedonians.

It may not be possible to ascertain the ethnic origins of the different groups of 'native' names, but we are in a position to identify the names borne by the conquering Macedonians themselves. Papazoglou distinguished three groups of names of the Macedones *proprie dicti*: common Greek names also attested in Macedonia at an early period, such as Agathon, Nikandros, Neoptolemos, Pausanias; names of Greek origin (etymology) which were diffused in the Greek world as a result of Macedonian conquest or influence, such as Alexandros, Antipatros, Eurydike, Philippos, Archelaos; and names of Greek origin (etymology) which remained typically Macedonian, such as Aeropos, Alkimos, Alketas, Amyntas, Kleitos, Krateuas, Limnaios, Machatas, Perdikkas, and Peritas. Finally, she added a separate group of names known to have been borne by Macedonians from the earliest period of their history, but which have no plausible Greek etymology, such as Adaios, Gauanes, Derdas, Byrginos, Epokillos, and Iollas.

As Papazoglou's classification of names has been rendered partly obsolete by subsequent studies, especially those of O. Masson,⁹ and may create some confusion, I prefer to redefine the onomastic situation in Macedonia. The personal names attested for Macedonians or read on inscriptions discovered in Macedonia, from the earliest times down to the Roman conquest, fall into the following categories:

⁹ Cf. the following articles by O. Masson: 'Pape-Benseleriana IV. Les avatars de Machatas', *ZPE* 21 (1976), 157-8 = *OGS*, 257-8; 'Deux noms doriens chez Callimaque, Ἀρίμματος, Ἐχέμματος, et quelques noms en -μματος', *Rev. Phil.* 50 (1976), 24-31 = *OGS*, 259-66; 'Sur le nom de Bilistiché, favorite de Ptolémée II', *Studia in honorem, I. Kajanto* (Helsinki, 1985), 109-12 = *OGS*, 467-70; 'Une question delphique: qui étaient les "Mysiens" de Lilaia?', *REG* 106 (1993), 163-7; 'Quand le nom Πτολεμαῖος était à la mode', *ZPE* 98 (1993), 157-67; 'Nouvelles notes d'anthroponymie grecque', *ZPE* 102 (1994), 179-84; 'Quelques noms macédoniens dans le traité IG I² 71 = I³ 89', *ZPE* 123 (1998) 117-20 (posthumously published communication to the VIIIth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy held in Athens in 1982, which was part of a more comprehensive project dealing with all the Macedonian names in the treaty between Athens and Macedonia).

1 names with a clear Greek etymology which can be considered as epichoric (a) because they diverge from the phonetic standards of Attic-Ionic koine (the linguistic vehicle by which cultural innovations from southern Greece were introduced into Macedonia), e.g. Machatas; (b) because throughout antiquity they remained practically confined to Macedonians, e.g. Paterinos;

2 other clearly Greek names, which may be labelled as panhellenic, although several of them could be equally considered as epichoric (a) because they spread outside Macedonia only as a consequence of Macedonian conquest or influence, e.g. Alexandros, or (b) because they were extremely popular in Macedonia and at the same time did not manifest any phonetic characteristics betraying a non-Macedonian origin, obviously belonging to an onomastic heritage common to Macedonia and to the rest of Greece, e.g. Menandros;

3 identifiable foreign names (Thracian, Illyrian, 'native', such as Amadokos, Plator, or Doules respectively);

4 names without a readily recognizable Greek etymology but which nevertheless cannot be ascribed to any identifiable non-Greek linguistic group, e.g. Bordinos.

We now have several 'closed' sets of names which are unquestionably Macedonian, either because they date from the period when Macedonia proper did not extend beyond the Axios or because they belong to persons undoubtedly hailing from the Old Kingdom. A good example of the first category is the fifth-century list of the Macedonians who, led by Perdikkas, swore to the treaty between Macedonia and Athens (Table 1);¹⁰ and of the second, the fourth-century list of the first thirty eponymous priests of the new Kalindoia refounded as a Macedonian city, 'after King Alexander gave to the Macedonians Kalindoia and the territories around Kalindoia: Tharniskia, Kamakaia, Tripoatis' (Table 2).¹¹ A comparison of these two documents shows that the onomastic habits of the Macedonians changed only marginally during the century that separates them, despite the momentous transformations that had taken place in the meantime, especially in the reigns of Philip II and Alexander the Great.

¹⁰ *IG I³* 89.

¹¹ *SEG* 36, 626; cf. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings*, II, 84-5, no. 62.

Table 1. *IG I³ 89*

Macedonian with a clear Greek etymology	Panhellenic		Thracian, Illyrian, 'native' etc.	Not readily classifiable
	Particularly popular in Macedonia	Other		
Ἀγέλαος	Ἀγάθων	Εὐρόλοχος		* Ἀγερός
Ἀλεάτας	Ἀλέξανδρος	Καλλίμαχος		* Ἄδιμος
Ἀρχέλαος	Ἀντιγένης	Κλέανδρος		* Ἀρραβάτος
Ἀττακίος	Ἀντίοχος	Μίσγων		Ἀυτάνιος
Λιμναίος	Καλλίας	Νουμήριος		Βορδίνος
Λύκαιος	Μελέαγρος	Παντάπονος		Βοήρης
Μαχάτας	Νικάνδρος			Βουκρίς
Μενέλαος	Πανσανίας			Βυργίνος
Νεοπόλεμος	Φίλιππος			Γαιτέας
Περδίκκας				Δαδίνος
				Δέρδας
				Διρβέας
				* Ἡθαρός
				Εὐλάνδρος
				Ίδατας
				Κρατένας
				Κορράβων
				Κορράτας
				Κράστων
				Σταδμέας

Table 2. SEG 36 (1986), 626

Macedonian with a clear Greek etymology	Panhellenic		Thracian, Illyrian, 'native' etc.	Not readily classifiable
	Particularly popular in Macedonia	Other		
Ἀγαθάνωρ	Ἀγάθων	Ἀντιμένης		Ἄμμα [---]
Ἀμερίας	Γλαυκίας	Ἀντιφάνης		Ἄσσα[-]μικός
Ἀντίονος	Καλλίας	Ἀπολλώνιος		Γυδίας
Ἄρπαλος	Κυδίας	Εὐρύτιος		Γύλις
Ἀστίων	Μένανδρος	Ἠγήσιππος		Γύρτος
Λεωνίδας	Φιλάγρος	Ἠρόδωρος		Δαβρείας
Μενέλαος	Φιλόξενος	Κράτιππος		Γαδδός
Νικάνωρ		Κρίβων		Ἰκκότας
Παρμενίων		Λυκοδρόγος		Κερτίμματος
Περδίκκας		Νικόξενος		Κάνων
Πάσων		Σκύθης		Μύιας
Πολέμματος		Τρωίλος		Σίβρας
Φιλώτας		Φιλίσκος		

Each list comprises forty-five names which are either wholly preserved or can be securely identified. In the earlier list, ten names are indisputably Greek but with an evidently local colour, either because they diverge from Ionic-Attic phonetic standards or because they remained throughout antiquity almost exclusively Macedonian; sixteen could be described as panhellenic, although nine of them remained particularly popular in Macedonia throughout antiquity, or first spread in the Greek world in the hellenistic period because of Macedonian conquest or influence; twenty have no readily recognizable Greek etymology or can only be classified as dubious, though at least fifteen of them are more or less certainly Greek, and only three are almost certainly non-Greek (Arrabaios, Derdas, Dirbeas).

The corresponding numbers in the later list are thirteen typically Macedonian but indisputably Greek names, twenty panhellenic (though seven of them remained particularly popular amongst Macedonians), twelve with no readily recognizable Greek etymology or else dubious, of which nine are probably Greek, and three non-Greek (Assa[.]mikos, Dabreias, Sibras). Thus, over a century the total number of Greek versus non-Greek names remains constant, but there is an increase in panhellenic and readily recognizable local Greek names, and a corresponding decrease in names not readily recognizable as Greek, or of disputed etymology.

This trend, evidently connected with the opening of Macedonia to influences from the rest of Greece, can be verified by yet another important list, also from the Old Kingdom but dating from the third century (Table 3).¹² It is a list of sixty infantry officers from Beroia who in 223 BC were granted fiscal privileges by Antigonos Doseon. As they are listed with their patronymics, they reveal the personal names of 119 citizens of Beroia (at least two officers are brothers and have the same patronymic), who were given their names in roughly the first or second quarter of the third century. As four names cannot be securely read and many others occur more than once, indeed in some instances several times, we are dealing in fact with some eighty-three names. Of these, some fifty-seven can be described as panhellenic, although as many as sixteen owe their popularity to Macedonian influence, or were particularly popular in Macedonia, nineteen as Greek but specifically Macedonian, and seven as lacking any readily recognizable etymology or dubious, though five of them are almost certainly Greek (Balakros, Bettalos, Botrichos, Meidon, Teutios).

¹² V. Allamani-Souri and E. Voutiras, 'New Documents from the Sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas at Beroia', *Επιγραφές της Μακεδονίας* (Thessalonike, 1996); cf. *BE* 1997, no. 370.

Table 3. *Ἐπιγραφές Μακεδονίας 13–39*

Macedonian with a clear Greek etymology	Panhellenic		Thracian, Illyrian, 'native' etc.	Not readily classifiable
	Particularly popular in Macedonia	Other		
Ἀγασίστρατος	Ἀγάθων	Ἀλκίμαχος		Ἄδατος
Ἀγάνωρ	Ἀλέξανδρος	Ἄλκιμος		AIKKYPOY (gen.)
Ἀμύντας	Γλαυκίας	Ἀντήνωρ		Βάλακρος
Ἀντίονος	Εἰκαδίων	Ἀριστάρχος		Βέτταλος
Ἀντίπατρος	Ζωίλος	Ἀριστογένης		Βότριχος
Ἀριστόλαος	Μελέαγρος	Ἀριστοκλήης		Μεΐδων
Ἄρμενος	Μένανδρος	Ἄριστος		Τεύτιος
Ἄρπαλος	Μικίων	Δεινίας		
Κλισίμαχος	Νικάνδρος	Δήμαρχος		
Λαμέδων	Ὀρέστης	Δημόφιλος		
Μαχάτας	Παράμνος	Διαγόρας		
Νίκαιχιμος	Πανσανίας	Δερκυλίδης		
Νικάνωρ	Πολεμαῖος	Διονύσιος		
Νικόλαος	Πύρρος	Δίφιλος		
Περίτας	Φίλιππος	Ἐπικράτης		
Ποίμαχος	Φιλόξενος	Ἐπίκιος		
Παρμενίων		Ἐπιτέλης		
Σταπόλεμος		Ἐρμῶν		
Φουνίκιλος		Εὐβίσιος		
		Εὐδημίδης		
		Εὐδικος		
		Εὐθύσιος		
		Εὐφρών		
		Ζωπυρίων		
		Ἠγήσανδρος		
		Ἠλιόδωρος		

Table 3 continued.

Macedonian with a clear Greek etymology	Panhellenic Particularly popular in Macedonia	Thracian, Illyrian, 'native' etc.	Not readily classifiable
	Other		
	<p>Ἰππόστρατος Κάλλιππος Λυγκεύς Λυσίπολις Μενεκράτης Νικίας Νικόδημος Ξενοφών Ποσειδίππος Σωγένης Σωσιμένης Σωσθένης Τιμοκλής Τιμοκράτης Φίλων</p>		

The results from the study of these three lists are set out in Tables 1–3 (above, 104 f. and 107 f.). Such evidence, especially when it is attested at a relatively early date, for instance before the end of the fourth century, gives us a fairly clear idea of the onomastic effects one should expect Macedonian conquest and colonization to have entailed. This enables us to check the trustworthiness of literary traditions about the early, virtually prehistoric expansion of the Macedonian Kingdom, and to supplement or clarify ambiguous historical information about Philip II's policy in the conquered territories beyond the Axios, both crucial phases of Macedonian history.

To take the earlier period, Thucydides seems to indicate a difference between the treatment of the Pieres, Bottiaioi, Almopes, Eordoi and Edones on the one hand and the 'natives' of Anthemous, Krestonia and Bisaltia on the other.¹³ Of the former, he says that they were either exterminated or expelled, while he records nothing of the sort concerning the others, which might be taken to imply that they did not suffer the same fate. N.G.L. Hammond has relied on this passage to reconstruct Temenid policy in the conquered territories: ruthless in the earlier stages of the conquest, more humane under Amyntas I and then deteriorating once more into 'ethnic cleansing' under Alexander I.¹⁴ By contrast, archaeologists such as Julia Vokotopoulou and linguists such as Anna Panayotou, arguing from resemblances between artefacts discovered at the archaic cemetery of Hagia Paraskeve in Anthemous and at various cemeteries in Macedonia, have asserted the conquest and massive Macedonian colonization of the Anthemous valley from about 575 BC.¹⁵

The onomastic material, however, tells a quite different story. A mid-fourth-century deed of sale and an early third-century royal grant reveal to us eight personal names from Strepsa, one of the two main settlements of Anthemous. These names, which were given before the end of the fourth century, are Bilthes, Arnios (?), Nemenios, Gouras, Annythes, Chionides, Eualkes, and Demetrios.¹⁶ Five of them may be classified as panhellenic, with

¹³ Thucydides 2. 99. 3–6. Cf. Hatzopoulos-Loukopolou, *Recherches*, 15–31.

¹⁴ N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia*, 1 (Oxford, 1972), 437–9; 2 (Oxford, 1979), 62, 64–5.

¹⁵ J. Vokotopoulou and C. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *Ancient Macedonia* (Athens, 1988), 27; *Greek Civilisation* (Athens, 1993), 150; A. Panayotou, 'Dialectal Inscriptions from Chalcidice, Macedonia and Amphipolis', *Ἐπιγραφές τῆς Μακεδονίας*, 135, with further bibliography on p. 147 n. 22; cf. my commentary in *BE* 1997, no. 402.

¹⁶ M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Une donation du roi Lysimaque* (Meletemata 5; Athens, 1988), 17–18 and 42 n. 5.

clear Ionic phonetic traits present in three of them (Chionides, Eualkes, Demetrios), and three as 'native' (Bilthes, Gouras, Annythes). None betrays any Macedonian presence or influence. In fact, the range of names used in the fourth-century Anthemous valley is strictly comparable to that of the adjoining Bottice, as revealed to us by a mid-fourth-century deed of sale from Spartolos.¹⁷ Of the nine personal names and patronymics of the five people mentioned there, three are panhellenic, two of them, moreover, with an Ionic morphology in their declension (Peison, Tauriades, Polemokrates) and five are 'native' (Tarbes, Sedeles, Poris, Bases, Gouras).

Onomastic evidence of Macedonian presence in this area first appears in the reign of Alexander the Great, as a result of the colonization policy of his father Philip II. Even then such names form a small minority. Down to the Roman imperial period, the bulk of the onomastic material consists of Greek names without any particular regional flavour, while 'native' names, comparable in numbers to the Macedonian, persist until the end of the period.¹⁸ This is a welcome reminder that distinctive material cultures cannot, and should not without corroborative evidence, be equated with ethnic or linguistic groups.

As for the other, and later, crucial phase of Macedonian expansion, time and again in the last ten years new onomastic evidence has enabled us to define the colonization policy of Philip II and his successors. Louisa Loukopoulou and I used such evidence in our study of Morrylos, which can be considered as a test case for Macedonian colonization policy in Krestonia.¹⁹ The intrusion of Macedonian settlers in the fourth century, directly attested only in a contemporary funerary epigram,²⁰ emerges unmistakably from the study of the hellenistic onomastic material: all seventeen Morrylians known to us had a personal name or a patronymic whose origin can be traced in the Old Kingdom west of the Axios, while the only person with an identifiably non-Greek name had a typically Macedonian patronymic.

In my study of the annexation of Amphipolis, I traced the gradual penetration of Macedonian names in the deeds of sale from 356 BC onwards, but

¹⁷ I. A. Papangelos, 'A Purchase Agreement from Bottice', *Ἐπιγραφές τῆς Μακεδονίας*, 164–72, with my commentary, *BE* 1997, no. 402.

¹⁸ Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulou, *Recherches*, 65–7.

¹⁹ M.B. Hatzopoulos and Louisa D. Loukopoulou, *Morrylos cité de la Crestonie* (Meletemata 7; Athens, 1989), 77–8.

²⁰ Unpublished inscription in the Museum of Kilkis.

I also showed that persons with Ionic and even 'native' names continued in positions of prestige and power, and that commercial transactions were conducted between them on an equal footing. This provided epigraphic corroboration of Diodoros' assertion that, after the conquest of the city by Philip II, only his political enemies were exiled, while the other Amphipolitans received humane treatment and remained, along with the Macedonian settlers, as fully enfranchised citizens in the urban centre as well as the *chora*.²¹

Onomastic material has been equally valuable in enabling us to distinguish between Macedonia proper and the external possessions of its kings. The extreme scarcity of recognizable Macedonian names, along with the use of a different calendar, the presence of particular magistracies, and the avoidance of the ethnic *Makedon* among the citizens of Kassandreia and Philippoi in the early hellenistic period, has enabled us to establish that these royal foundations were not originally part of Macedonia proper but had been founded as theoretically independent cities allied to the Macedonian kings, and were populated by the disenfranchised citizens of Olynthos and the other cities of the Chalkidic *Koinon* in the first case, and by the colonists of the Thasian Peraia in the second.²²

Systematic use of the onomastic material has made it possible to trace the expansion of Macedonia proper and of Macedonian settlers from the banks of the Haliakmon and the Loudias to those of the Axios and the Strymon. Thus Pella, still Ionic in dialect and personal names in the fifth and at the beginning of the fourth century, yields no evidence of Macedonian colonization before the reign of Amyntas III. The rest of Lower Paionia, as well as western Mygdonia and Krestonia, had been colonized by the end of the reign of Philip II. Study of the onomastic material from Europos, Lete, and Morrylos, as representative of these three regions, shows an overwhelming presence of Macedonian settlers in the hellenistic period. However, this did not mean the extermination or the wholesale expulsion of the pre-Greek population, as is shown by the re-emergence of 'native' names in the Roman period.²³ But by then the two elements of the population had completely

²¹ Diodorus 16. 8. 2; M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Actes de vente d'Amphipolis* (Meletemata 14; Athens, 1991), 74–86.

²² M. B. Hatzopoulos, 'Décret pour un bienfaiteur de la cité de Philippes', *BCH* 117 (1993), 315–26; 'Le statut de Cassandree à l'époque hellénistique', *Ancient Macedonia*, 5 (Thessalonike, 1993), 575–84; cf. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions*, I, 188 n. 1.

²³ Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions*, I, 171–9 and 211–13.

blended, as is demonstrated by the use of personal names of both origins within the same families.

The colonization and incorporation into Macedonia proper of eastern Mygdonia, Anthemous and northern Bottike, with the cities of Therma, Apollonia, Arethousa, Anthemous, and Kalindoia, followed in the latter part of the reign of Philip II and/or in the earlier part of the reign of Alexander the Great.²⁴ The existence of Macedonian cavalry *ilai* from Anthemous and Apollonia, and especially the fourth-century list of the eponymous priests of Kalindoia, leave no doubt about the presence of Macedonian settlers, but at the same time the onomastic material from the Roman period shows that there too the earlier inhabitants were neither exterminated nor expelled.²⁵ Despite the founding of new Macedonian cities by Kassander and Antigonos Gonatas in Mygdonia and northern Chalkidike (Thessalonike, Antigoneia, Stratonikeia), as we move south of Mount Cholomon and east of the Rendina Pass evidence of Macedonian colonization becomes thinner and thinner. In the Strymon valley and on the Pierian coast, with the notable exception of Amphipolis, it is practically non-existent, and there is no evidence of Macedonian colonization after the reign of Philip II.²⁶ As Strabo explicitly states, the Strymon became not only the political but also the ethnic frontier of Macedonia proper.²⁷

With the help of personal names we have been able to follow the growth of Macedonia from the fifth to the third century, as it expanded from the Haliakmon valley to that of the Strymon. Might it be possible, with the help of the same onomastic material, to trace back the steps of the future Macedonian conquerors as they moved from their prehistoric homeland to the 'cradle of Macedonian power'?²⁸ I believe that the key to the solution of the problem of Macedonian origins lies in the personal names of the first and the fourth categories defined above.

If we examine names of the first category occurring in the list appended to the Attico-Macedonian treaty of 423 (above), we see that almost all of them were also popular in Epirus (Archelaos, Menelaos, Neoptolemos, Alketas, Machatas, Alexandros, Antiochos, Nikandros, Pausanias, Philippos) or in

²⁴ Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions*, I, 189–99.

²⁵ Cf. Hatzopoulos–Loukopoulou, *Recherches*, 65–7, 117–22, 197–346.

²⁶ Cf. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions*, I, 181–9, 199–204.

²⁷ Strabo 7. 7. 4.

²⁸ Cf. A. Delacoulonche, 'Le berceau de la puissance macédonienne des bords de l'Haliakmon à ceux de l'Axios', *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires* 8 (1859), 67–288.

Thessaly (Agelaos, Archelaos, Menelaos, Neoptolemos, Machatas, Alexandros, Antiochos, Nikandros, Pausanias, Philippos). These are manifestly part of the onomastic heritage of northern Greece common to Epirotes, Thessalians, and Macedonians alike. Of the remaining names of the first category, Attakinos, in the form Attaginos, is attested in Boeotia (Thebes),²⁹ while Limnaios and Lykaios seem to be exclusively Macedonian, as does Perdikkas, although it is attested later in Thessaly.³⁰ These facts are consistent with the conclusions of a recent study of the Macedonian calendar.³¹ The presence of the month Apellaios ties the Macedonians in with the western Greeks, that of Loios with the Thessalians and the Boeotians. It is possible that both Apellaios and Loios belong to a common northern Greek heritage, and that at some stage the Thessalians and the Boeotians lost the one and the western Greeks the other: Alternatively, the two months may have been inherited: one derived from each of the two population groups which, as I have suggested elsewhere, coalesced to form the Macedonian *ethnos*. *Mutatis mutandis* we could say the same of names such as Alketas and Attakinos, of which the first is virtually unknown in Thessaly and the second is not attested in Epirus.

The intermediate position of the Macedonian dialect(s) between the Thessalian and the Epirote was deduced long ago from several isoglosses which it shares with both.³² This, however, has not helped either to solve the puzzle of the fourth category of names, that is to say those without a readily recognizable Greek etymology, or of the precise homeland of the population group which was to become the founding element of the Kingdom of Lower Macedonia, and which included bearers of such names. It is perhaps possible that bringing together these two problems may produce a solution for both.

Once again, much of the progress accomplished in the study of these difficult Macedonian names is due to the efforts of O. Masson. In a posthumously published paper he convincingly argued that Stadmeas, Bordinos, and Byrginos were just Macedonian phonetic variants of the names Stathmeas (cf.

²⁹ Herodotus 9. 15–16, 86, 88.

³⁰ Cf. *IG IX* (2) 206 IIb, 8.

³¹ C. Trümpy, *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen* (Heidelberg, 1997), 262–5.

³² Cf. F. Solmsen, review of O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* (Göttingen, 1906), *BPhW* 9 (1907), 273–4; J. N. Kalleris, *Les anciens Macédoniens*, 2 (Athens, 1976), 488–94; M. B. Sakellariou, 'The Inhabitants' in Macedonia: 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization (Athens, 1983), 57; N. G. L. Hammond, 'Literary Evidence for Macedonian Speech', *Historia* 43 (1994), 131–42 = *Collected Studies* IV, 77–88; M. B. Hatzopoulos 'Le macédonien: nouvelles données et théories nouvelles', *Ancient Macedonia*, 6 (Thessalonike, 1999) 225–39.

Stathmias), Portinos and Phyrkinos, known from other parts of Greece, and he thus offered an indirect confirmation of Solmsen's interpretation of Gaitas as a phonetic variant of Chaiteas (cf. Chaiton).³³ For most of the other 'difficult' names on the list satisfactory Greek etymologies have been proposed. Thus, there is little doubt that Agerros should be associated with the Eresos month Agerranios and the corresponding festival Agerrania, Agriania, Agrionia,³⁴ which, as I hope to have shown, was dedicated to Dionysos Agrios, or Agerros in the dialectal form of the epithet.³⁵ Hadima, the feminine name corresponding to the Macedonian (H)Adimos, is attested in Thera;³⁶ the typically Macedonian name Botres and its variant Botrys are inseparable from the corresponding common name meaning 'bunch of grapes', whatever its etymology;³⁷ Boukris is attested in Aitolia.³⁸ Eulandros is undoubtedly a *supercompositum* of the typically Macedonian name Laandros, itself a compound of 'laos' and 'aner'.³⁹ Kratennas, like Krateuas, is derived from 'kratos' with a suffix comparable to that of Myllenas.⁴⁰ Idatas, like other Greek names, is formed from the root *wid.⁴¹ Autannios and Etharos seem to derive respectively from 'autos' (cf. Eminauta)⁴² and 'ethos' (cf. the name Ethos attested in Beroia)⁴³ or, more probably, from the adjective 'itharos' (= 'cheerful'), of which it is perhaps a phonetic variant.⁴⁴

³³ O. Masson, 'Quelques noms' (above n. 9); cf. F. Solmsen, *KZ* 34 (1897), 550; F. Bechtel, *Die einstämmigen männlichen Personennamen des Griechischen, die aus Spitznamen hervorgegangen sind*, Abhandlungen der Göttingischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, n. s. II.5 (Berlin, 1898), 36; Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, 143.

³⁴ Cf. Catherine Trümpy, *Untersuchungen* (above n. 31), 247 and 251.

³⁵ M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites de passage en Macédoine* (Meletemata 19; Athens, 1994), 63–72.

³⁶ *LGPNI*, 14.

³⁷ Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, 150; cf. L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1962), 249; and in N. Firatli, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance greco-romaine* (Paris, 1964), 145 (Botrys). Although the name Botres seems particular to Macedonia while Botrys has a much wider diffusion, in my opinion both forms derive from the same stem, see P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, 187.

³⁸ *IG IX* (1)² (1); XIX, 100; XXII, 44; LIV, 17.

³⁹ *BE* 1994, no. 405; cf. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, 142.

⁴⁰ Cf. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, 149.

⁴¹ Cf. Πολύιδος, Εϋίδος, Ίδύλος etc.: Bechtel, *HP*, 216.

⁴² O. Masson, 'Quelques noms grecs rares', *Philologus* 110 (1966), 246–8 = *OGS*, 81–3.

⁴³ Ἐπιγραφεὺς Κατὼ Μακεδονίας, I (Athens, 1998), 156; cf. ἠθεῖος, ἠθαῖος signifying 'trusty', 'trusty friend'.

⁴⁴ Cf. A. Tataki, *Ancient Beroea: Prosopography and Society* (Meletemata 8; Athens, 1988), 358 n. 218, with full references. It is interesting to note that this rare name is attested in Macedonia (V. Beševliev and G. Mihailov, *Belomorski Pregled* 1 (1942), 321 no. 6).

The names Korratas, Korrabon and Korragos have been convincingly interpreted by A. Heubeck as Aeolic variants of a family of names which derive from the pre-literary Greek word **koria* signifying 'host', 'army'.⁴⁵ Dadinios is probably formed on the *Lallname* Dados, of no clear origin.⁴⁶ Finally Kraston, like the corresponding toponym Krastonia–Graistonia–Grestonia–Krestonia⁴⁷ meaning, or understood as meaning, 'pasture land', belongs to the family of 'krastis–grastis' (= 'grass').⁴⁸ This leaves us with three names (Arrabaios, Derdas, Dirbeas) without any convincing etymology in Greek or in any other known language.

Interesting as these etymologies propounded by an Areopagus of distinguished linguists are, they cannot compare with the major breakthrough of the explanation of the names Bordinos, Byrginos, Gaitas and Stadmeas, which we owe to Hoffmann and to Masson,⁴⁹ for this wavering between voiced and unvoiced consonants affects a significant number of proper names and other words transmitted by lexicographers, and has given rise to elaborate theories regarding the ancestral tongue of the Macedonians. The most recent suggestion is that the historical Macedonians were the product of the fusion of two linguistic groups. One spoke a Greek dialect akin to the north-western dialects and to Thessalian, which was used down to the hellenistic period. The other consisted of speakers of Brygian (that is to say European Phrygian), whose language became extinct in the fifth century after making an important impact on religion and the onomastics of the Macedonian ruling class, attesting thereby the significant role played by the speakers of this language in the genesis of the historical Macedonian entity.⁵⁰

In another paper I have tried to show the utter improbability of this reconstructed 'Brygian' which would be nothing else but transvestite Greek, since 'blond' would be called *xandos*, 'bald' *balakros*, 'mane' *gaita*, 'station' *stadmos*, 'spin' *klodo*, 'friend' *bilos*, 'victory' *nika* and so on. It had, however, not been noticed that there is a region outside Macedonia, but close to it,

⁴⁵ A. Heubeck, 'Κοίρανος, Κόρραγος und Verwandtes', *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 4 (1978), 91–8. It should be stressed that the area of distribution of this family of names is not limited to Macedonia, but includes Thessaly and extends even to adjacent regions (Boeotia and north-western Greece).

⁴⁶ Cf. O. Masson, 'Quelques noms macédoniens' (above n. 9).

⁴⁷ For the different forms of the name, see E. Oberhummer, 'Krestoner', *RE* XI, 1718.

⁴⁸ Cf. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, I, 237, s.v. γράω.

⁴⁹ Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, 141–50; O. Masson, 'Quelques noms macédoniens' (above n. 9).

⁵⁰ For a recent discussion, see M. B. Hatzopoulos, 'Le macédonien: nouvelles données et théories nouvelles', *Ancient Macedonia*, 6 (Thessalonike, 1999).

where this unique phonetic phenomenon of wavering between voiced and unvoiced consonants occurs. This is Tripolis of Perrhaibia, where we encounter personal names which manifest the same phenomenon. It is important to stress that any idea of borrowing from Macedonia is improbable, since it affects names unattested in Macedonia, such as Drebelaos (*= Trephelaos), Boulonoa (= Phylonoa; cf. Boulomaga, Phylomaga = Phylomacha), or attested in a different form, such as Pantordanas (= Pantorthanas), Stadmeias (= Stathmeias). Moreover, the region abounds in names of our first category, those particularly popular in Macedonia, such as Agathon, Adaios, Hadeia, Hadymos, Alexandros, Amyntas, Antigonos, Antipatros, Asandros, Bouplagos, Zoilos, Kassandros, Leonnatos, Meleagros, Menandros, Nikanor, Nikandros, Nikolaos, Paramonos, Parmenion, Pausanias, Pierion, Ptolemaios, Phila, Philippos, Philotas.⁵¹ Even more significant is the presence of 'difficult' names which are otherwise attested only among pastoral communities of Macedonia and Epirus, such as Derdas and Arybbas (Arrybas), or which seem exclusively Macedonian, such as Perdikkas.⁵²

Linguistic evidence alone would not be conclusive, if it did not point to precisely the place where the literary tradition, that is to say the contemporary Hesiodic Catalogue, places the Macedonians in the second half of the eighth century: *Μάγνητα Μακηδόνα θ' ἰππιοχάρμην,| οἱ περὶ Πιερίην καὶ Ὀλυμπον δώματ' ἔναιον.*⁵³ N. G. L. Hammond has repeatedly stressed that at that period the Macedonians, who practised transhumant pastoralism, had their summer pastures on Mount Titarion, which belongs to the Perrhaibian Tripolis, and their winter pastures in the southern Emathian plain; in that sense they were fellow-dwellers with the Bryges, who most probably constituted the linguistic *adstratum* responsible for the wavering between voiced and unvoiced in the pronunciation of consonants. The

⁵¹ *Ib.*

⁵² I owe this collection of material to the unpublished part of G. Lucas' doctoral thesis, *Les cités antiques de la haute vallée du Titarèse (Thessalie)* (Lyon, 1992); cf. *Les cités antiques de la haute vallée du Titarèse: étude de topographie et de géographie historique* (Lyon, 1997).

⁵³ Hes. *Γυναικῶν κατάλογος*, fr. 7: *Μάγνητα Μακηδόνα θ' ἰππιοχάρμην,| οἱ περὶ Πιερίην καὶ Ὀλυμπον δώματ' ἔναιον*; cf. Hdt. 1.56. 2-3: τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος . . . ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλείας οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον χώραν, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαιώτιν. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος ὡς ξηανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδόνων καλεόμενον. 'The country under Ossa and Olympos' corresponds exactly to Hesiod's 'Pieria and Olympos'. Is it a mere coincidence that, as A. Tziafalias has announced, more than fifty dedications to Apollo Dorios were recently discovered at Apollo's sanctuary at Python in the Perrhaibian Tripolis?

mountain paths they used through Daskion and Sphekia to Vergina and the Emathian plain beyond are now being explored with very interesting results by Angelike Kottaridou.⁵⁴ As Hammond again has recalled, in modern times too, the area of Livadi in the Perrhaibian Tripolis became the cradle of a group of transhumant shepherds speaking a distinctive Vlach dialect.⁵⁵ Thus the weight of scores of names confirms a theory about the prehistory of the Macedonians otherwise based on a single text of an ancient author and a modern parallel. Would Robert have foretold that the progress of onomastic studies, that he somewhat derogatorily called 'des catalogues de noms', would one day enable us to make not only 'l'histoire par les noms' but also 'la préhistoire par les noms'?

⁵⁴ Angelike Kottaridou and Charikleia Brekoulaki, 'Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στα ήμαθιώτικα Πιέρια', *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη 11, 1997* (Thessalonike, 1997), 109–14.

⁵⁵ N. G. L. Hammond, *The Macedonian State* (Oxford, 1989), 4.