

Theophoric Names and the History of Greek Religion¹

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GREEK PERSONAL NAMES THAT ARE FORMED from those of gods and goddesses are exceedingly common, but explicit allusions to the practice of giving children such names are very rare. The title ‘theophoric’ that they commonly receive in modern scholarship is based on a single passage of the Peripatetic Klearchos, in which he distinguishes between ‘godless’ names such as Kleonymos (ἄθεα ὀνόματα) and ‘god-bearing names’ (θεοφόρα); these he subdivides into those deriving from a single god, such as Dionysos, those from more than one god, such as Hermaphroditos, and those from a single god compounded with a further element, such as Diokles or Hermodoros.² Klearchos is not interested in such names for the religious assumptions that might underlie them; what he has in view is their potential for use in riddles at symposia. A speaker in Plutarch’s dialogue *On the decline of oracles*³ argues that certain myths describe the doings, not of gods, but of *daimones* named after those gods whose powers they most share, just as, he suggests, among mortals ‘one is Diios, one Athenaios, one Apollonios or Dionysios or Hermaios. And some by chance are named

¹ I have benefited much from the comments of participants in the colloquium from which this book derives, and I am particularly grateful to the organizers of that colloquium, who are also the editors of this volume, for their kind support (which in the case of Elaine Matthews included answering queries about forthcoming volumes of the Lexicon); also to Professor Jan Bremmer for written comments on a draft.

² Klearchos fr. 86 (Wehrli) *ap. Athen.*, 448d-e. On Klearchos’ type of ‘double god’ names see O. Masson, *OGS*, 174-7.

³ Ch. 21, 421d-e

correctly, but most acquire inappropriate and misplaced names derived from gods (*θεῶν παρωνυμίας*). Finally, Lucian defends his comparison of a beautiful woman to a goddess by an *a fortiori* argument: ‘How many people imitate the very names (*προσηγορίαι*) of the gods, calling themselves Dionysios or Hephaestion or Zeus or Poseidonios or Hermes. Evagoras, king of Cyprus, had a wife Leto . . .’⁴ It suits Lucian’s argument to blur the distinction between, say, ‘Poseidonios’, a mortal name derived from a god’s, and ‘Hermes’, a god’s name also borne, at the time at which he was writing, by mortals. He goes on to claim that ‘most’ names even among the pious Egyptians came ‘from heaven’.

These three brief allusions do not take us very far. But we can move beyond them only by studying the names themselves and the contexts in which they occur. No individual could begin to assemble enough material to tackle the question on a broad front by direct reading of texts and inscriptions. The magnificent new *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* therefore fills the role not so much of a reference work as of a primary source. The questions that will be raised below are, for the most part, not new ones. Most were asked in what Peter Fraser rightly hailed as a ‘pioneer study’,⁵ J.-A. Letronne’s still remarkably fresh and inspiring memoir ‘Sur l’utilité qu’on peut retirer de l’étude des propres noms grecs pour l’histoire et l’archéologie’.⁶ But the potential for answering them with breadth and rigour is being simply transformed by the publication of the *Lexicon*.⁷ Study of the subject proceeds henceforth on a wholly new basis.

Let us begin with some basics. Names could be derived from gods of all types, with a small number of interesting exceptions. Most notably, powers associated with the Underworld are avoided: no mortal is named for Kore/Persephone, great goddess though she was, for the Eumenides, for

⁴ *Pro imaginibus*, 27. On the Egyptian theophoric names that Lucian alludes to, see T. Hopfner, *Archiv Orientalní* 15 (1946), 1–64.

⁵ ‘A New Lexicon of Greek Personal Names,’ in F. Emmison and R. Stephens (eds), *Tribute to an Antiquary. Essays Presented to Marc Fitch* (London, 1976), 73–81, at 80.

⁶ Published in *Mémoires de l’Institut National de France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres)* 19 (1851), 1–139 (whence I cite, by author’s name only); I have not seen the reprint in his *Oeuvres choisies* III. 2, 1 ff. Letronne presents the topic as refuting the view, already then being expressed in some quarters, that nothing new remains to be learnt about classical antiquity.

⁷ Existing studies of theophoric names ‘generally lack both scope and restraint’, according to S. Dow, ‘Egyptian Cults in Athens’, *HTR* 30 (1937), 216 n. 121. For a first attempt to exploit the resources of the *Lexicon* (vol. I only) see F. Mora, ‘Theophore Namen als Urkunden lokaler Religion’, in H. Kippenberg and B. Luchesi (eds), *Lokale Religionsgeschichte* (Marburg, 1995), 101–17; I have not seen his related study in *Pomoerium* I (1994), 15–35.

Hades, or for Plouton.⁸ It seems to follow that Hekate cannot have had her grimmest aspect in those regions where Hekat- names are common. Another power almost entirely shunned for naming purposes until the second century BC is the ‘god dishonoured among the gods’, as Sophocles calls him (*OT*, 215), the god whom cities sometimes sought to bind or expel or keep at a distance, Ares.⁹ Hephaistos names are never common and are unattested in some regions; Poseidon names too are rarer than those from the other Olympians.

Major gods sometimes generate further names based on their cult titles or cult sites: from Zeus, for instance, come Olympiodoros and Hypatodoros, from Dionysos Bakkhios, from Apollo Karneades and Pythagoras and Deliodoros and Oulios.¹⁰ In Boeotia, richest of all Greek regions in distinctive theophoric names, this type luxuriates; there is often clear reference to a particular local cult (so for instance Galaxidoros and Apollo Galaxios), and certain names that superficially derive from places are doubtless to be explained in this way, as Onchestodoros from the cult of Poseidon at Onchestos, Oropodoros from Amphiaraios’ famous shrine, Eutretiphantos from the oracle of Apollo at Eutresis.¹¹

⁸ Names such as *Πλούταρχος* can be linked directly with *πλούτος*: so Letronne, 59, cf. 11. Names often express wishes, as Plato observed (*Crat.*, 397b): Eutychedes, Sosias and Theophilos are his examples.

⁹ The *Ἄρειος* of *CEG* 1, 29 (a vase of c. 540 BC) is very isolated; the context is lost, and the word may be an adjective, ‘warlike’. Even when the name *Ἄρειος* certainly emerges, it may stress the bearer’s warlike qualities more than a relation to the god, suggests Sittig, 116, like the Homeric names *Ἀρηίθοος* and *Ἀρηίλυκος*, and *Ἀρηίφιλος*. (On this last as a historical name see L. Robert, *Monnaies grecques* (Geneva and Paris, 1967), 25 n. 22.) Ares bound: see C.A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses* (New York and Oxford, 1992), 74–8. On the popularity of Areios in Egypt, and possible explanations for it (identification of Ares with Horus?), see J.N. Bremmer, *Mnemosyne* 51 (1998), 157–8.

¹⁰ On this last see O. Masson, ‘Le culte Ionien d’Apollon Oulios, d’après des données onomastiques nouvelles’, *Journ. des Savants* (1988), 173–81. On Olympio- names at Athens see F. Zucker, ‘Studien zur Namenskunde vorhellenistischer und hellenistischer Zeit’ (*Sitzb. Berlin* 1951.1), 3–5.

¹¹ For all these names see the index to *IG* VII, and the forthcoming *LGPN* IIIB; for Galaxidoros, *Xen. Hell.*, 3.5.1; for the cults of Apollo Galaxios and Eutresites, A. Schachter, *Cults of Boeotia* (London, 1981–94) I, 48; for a different view of Oropodoros, see now D. Knoepfler, this volume. Other Boeotian instances: Homoliodoros/Homoloichos (from Zeus Homoloios); Ptoiodoros (Apollo Ptoios); Abaidoros (from Apollo of Abai, in neighbouring Phocis); Karaichos (from Zeus Karaios), and very likely Keresodotos (*IG* VII 1927; cf. 1926, 2033), though the relevant deity at little Keressos (Paus. 9.14.2) is not known: cf. Sittig, 13–16. For other regions see e.g. Bechtel, *HP*, 531–6; Zucker, ‘Studien zur Namenskunde’, 12–13 (on Epiodoros); L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris, 1938), 214–16 (Eumeliodoros on Cos); *Actes du VI^e congrès international d’épigraphie*, 40 = *OMS* 6, 694 (Malousios, from Apollo Maloios on Lesbos). In the

There are also a few names, such as Thargelios and Apatourios, deriving from festivals.¹²

Nymphodoros, Herodes (from 'hero'), Themistokles,¹³ Histiaios and Moiragenes are instances of names drawn from lesser powers. Generalizations in this area are hard to make. Is there any substantial reason why Moira, say, generates theophoric names but the Seasons (Horai) do not, promising nurturers of growth though they might seem to be? One unmistakable point, as we shall see, is the prominence of rivers among the 'lesser powers' from which names derive. The only individual heroes to generate common names are the hero-gods such as Herakles, the Dioskouroi and Asklepios; and even names coming from them are often formally patronymic (Herakleides, Dioskorides) rather than strictly theophoric (though it is not clear that such distinctions should be pressed). These cases aside, names coming from individual heroes are rare and localized. There are a few Aiantodoroi in Attica, Melampodoroi (and one Leukippodoros) in and near the Megarid, and Euonymodoroi (and one each of Hipparmodoros and Aristaiodoros) in Boeotia, while the writer of a celebrated letter of c. 500 BC found recently at Berezan is the first of a series of Achillodoroi from the region of Olbia.¹⁴ Names coming from individual heroines are perhaps unknown. Finally one should mention the large number of extremely pop-

nineteenth century, far too many non-theophoric names were explained in this way as deriving from cult epithets: for sensible scepticism see Sittig, 4–6 (but for plausible examples e.g. *ib.*, 28, Hellotios, from Athena Hellotis; 69, Laphriadas, from Artemis Laphria; 72–3, Petraios, from Poseidon Petraios; 74–5, Geraistion, from Poseidon Geraistios; 112, Diaktorides, from Hermes Diaktoros).

¹² Unless they come rather from associated month-names. Kronios comes from the month, not the god, according to L. Robert, *Actes du VI^e congrès international d'épigraphie*, 39 = *OMS* 6, 693.

¹³ A form Themistodoros found in Euboea and on Samos seems to point to the goddess, as opposed to the abstract concept, and so extends our knowledge of her cult.

¹⁴ Sittig, 122, 145–6 and Schachter, *Cults of Boeotia* I, 92 and 223. Leukippodoros: *IG* IV (P) 71, 54–5; Sittig, 122, compares the Boeotian Leukodoros. Achillodoros: Robert, *Actes du VII^e congrès international d'épigraphie*, 40 = *OMS* 6, 694, and for the Berezan letter L. Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales d'Olbia du Pont* (Geneva, 1996), no. 23. A. Johnston wonders whether the 'healer' in the name Iatodoros, newly attested in a sixth-century graffito from Istria, might be the heroized Achilles (*Il Mar Nero* 2 (1995/6), 99–101; for Achilles and medicine see Homer, *Il.*, 11. 830–2); more commonly Iatro- names have been linked with Apollo Iatros (*BE* 1959, 213). I leave aside the category of 'heroic' names occasionally borne unadjusted by mortals (Hektor, Triopas, Ion, Merops, Pegasus, Kastor, and so on), since in these cases a close relation to a particular local cult is normally not visible. But the distinction is not entirely clear-cut.

ular names, such as Theodoros and Theogenes, based on the simple idea of 'god'. To give an impression of the range of possibilities (large, but not infinite) available in a particular region, Table 1 lists the elements out of which theophoric names in Attica were built.

Mortal names are formed from those of deities in various ways. When H. Meyersahm, in a dissertation of 1891,¹⁵ studied literal theonymy, the giving to humans of unadjusted divine names, he felt able to declare that the practice first emerged in the first century AD. To sustain that conclusion, he was obliged to explain away two strong *prima facie* instances of mortal women named Artemis dating from the fourth century BC. The number of mortal Artemises dated before the birth of Christ, many of them well before, in *LGPN* is now of the order of fifteen. Under this weight of evidence Meyersahm's position collapses, unless rather artificially propped up by the hypothesis that mortal Artemis, oxytone, was differentiated by accent from the proparoxytone goddess.¹⁶ On the other hand, none of the women named Artemis was demonstrably a citizen of a mainland or island Greek *polis* before a Parian vaguely dated to the second or first century BC, and several were certainly foreigners or slaves; it is particularly interesting that a 'society of Phrygians' on Astypalaia in the third century numbered an 'Artemis daughter of Annon' (and another, daughter of Iatrokles) among its members.¹⁷ And *LGPN* presents very abundant evidence for the emergence of Hermes as a mortal name in the first century AD or only a little before; the four earlier instances there listed, sometimes with marks of uncertainty, now look very isolated. 'Bendis' and 'Asklepios' seem not to have been borne by mortals before the imperial period.¹⁸ As a proposition about citizen naming practice in mainland Greece and the islands (but not the Asia Minor littoral) up to the first century BC, Meyersahm's thesis still looks defensible. If Artemis

¹⁵ *Deorum nomina hominibus imposita* (diss. Kiel, 1891). I have not been able to see the study bearing the same Latin title by F. Papazoglou (in *Recueil des travaux de la faculté de philosophie, Belgrade*, xiv, 1979), discussed in *BE* 1981, no. 179. Note, however, that there were mortal Satyroi and Silenoi; and 'Tychon' is a name shared by mortals and a minor deity. On direct theonymy in Egypt see T. Hopfner, *Archiv Orientalní* 15 (1946), 1–64.

¹⁶ For this theory, and criticism of it, see O. Masson, *ZPE* 66 (1986), 126–30 = *OGS*, 543–7.

¹⁷ Parian: *EAD* 30. 399; 'Phrygians': W. Peek, *Inchriften von den dorischen Inseln* (Berlin, 1969), 88, 28, 38. Masson, *OGS*, 544–5 pushes doubtful cases the other way and assembles several citizens.

¹⁸ Hermes: the relevant items, as presented in *LGPN*, are: 'Ἐρμᾶς, Arkesine on Amorgos, ii-i BC, *GVI* 1155, 19; Ἐρμῆς, Chios, iv BC, *BCH* 37 (1913), 202 no. 22 (Ἐρμῆω (gen.), n. pr.?); ib. f. iv BC Unp. (sherds) (Ἐρμῆω (gen)); Ἐρμῆς Kos*, ii-i BC Unp. (Ag. Inv.). On Bendis see the work cited in n. 97 below, and on Asklepios *BE* 1969, no. 567.

Table 1. Attic theophoric names^a

Gods	Rivers and natural powers	Lesser gods/ abstractions	Heroes/ heroines	Divine epithets/ cult sites/ festivals
Adonis ^b	Asopos	Charites	Ajax	Anthesteri-
Ammon	Helios	Eirene	Anakes (?) ^c	Apatouri-
Aphrodite	Kephisos	Hestia	Dioskouroi	Bromi-
Apollo	Strymon	Moira	Herakles	Deli-
Ares		Mousa	'Hero'	Homoloi- ^d
Artemis		Nymphs	Melampus ^e	Isthmi-
Asklepios		Themis		Kasio- ^f
Athena		Tyche		Ktesi-(?) ^g
Bendis				Lenai-
Dionysos				Meilich- ^h
'God'				Olympio-
Hekate				Ouli- ⁱ
Hephaistos				Paiani-
Hera				Panathenai-
Hermes				Penteteri-
Isis				Phoibo-
(Kronos) ^j				Ptoio-
Men				Pytho-
'Mother'				Thargeli-
Poseidon				Thesmo-
Prometheus (?) ^k				
Serapis				
Zeus				

^a This table lists the elements out of which theophoric and related names (certain and possible) that are attested in Attica before the birth of Christ are made. The frequency of these elements varies vastly: some occur in numerous compounds of which many are very common, others in a single instance of a single derivative.

^b 'Adonis' generates no theophoric name, but it is borne, unadjusted, by a metec in the late fifth century.

^c Bechtel, *HP*, 44, follows Sittig, 123 n.1, in associating Anaxidoros and some, but not all, other Anax- names with the Attic form of the Dioskouroi, the Anake(s). But the names Anaxidoros/dotos are not confined to Attica, and it is not clear that the Anake(s) were worshipped in all the cities where they occur.

^d Zeus Homoloios.

^e I do not include here those Athenians who bear unadjusted heroic names: of this type I have noted Hippothon, Pandios or Pandion, Thamyris and (?) Philammon.

^f Zeus Kasios, of Boeotia.

^g Zeus Ktesios?

^h Zeus Meilichios?

ⁱ Apollo Oulios.

^j The Lexicon offers one doubtful example each of Kronios and Kronides.

^k The Lexicon gives Promethides, Promethis, and Promethion.

were a real exception, she would also be an isolated and puzzling one.¹⁹ Evagoras' wife Leto was a royal singularity on the fringes of the Greek world. (But one must apparently allow that one Tenian woman of the third century BC was 'Here daughter of Philopolis'.²⁰)

The normal ways of creating a theophoric name were, as Klearchos briefly indicates, either by simple addition of a suffix to the god's name, or by compounding it with a second meaning-bearing element: from Apollo come, by the first method (to take examples found at Athens), Apollonios/a, Apollonias and Apollonides and, by the second, Apollogenes, Apollodemos, Apollodotos, Apollodoros/a, Apollothemis, Apollokrates, Apollophanes, Apollophon, Apollonodotos and Apollonymos. It is natural to wonder whether the different ways of forming the name imply different relations to the god.²¹ One must allow that the fact of bearing a theophoric name had no perceptible influence on the religious behaviour of the adult Greek who bore it. There is no sign that Dionysioi were more devoted to Dionysos than were other men, or that women named Artemidora held name-day parties during festivals of Artemis. One must also acknowledge that Aristotle explicitly asserts that in compound names the individual elements do not bear meaning, 'as in Theodoros "doros" is non-significant'.²² But in denying all religious foundation to the idea expressed in the common -dotos and -doros compounds (and in a different way in -aratos, 'prayed for' formations) of the child as a gift of a god Aristotle is doubtless going to an extreme. River-gods are regular gift-givers in this sense—a fact which may be relevant to Hekataios' description of Egypt as a 'gift of the Nile'²³—and a sanctuary of Kephisos at Phaleron offers suggestive evidence. It contains an altar dedicated to Kephisos in combination with a series of further powers, almost all of them closely linked with childbirth or marriage: Hestia, goddess of

¹⁹ Masson's explanation, *OGS*, 545, that mothers named their daughters for the goddess whose aid they most required, is too *ad hoc* to convince. Even if we allow that Artemis was more important to young women than any other goddess, would not Artemisia have had the same effect?

²⁰ Leto: Lucian, *Pro imaginibus*, 27. Here: *IG XII* (5) 872, 41–2. I have inspected the Tenian stone in the British Museum, and read in the relevant section *HPHΣ/ΦΙΛΟΠΟ* [c.11] *ΣΩΣΙ ΚΤΛ*.

²¹ Chronological developments are discussed by Mora, 'Theophore Namen', 105 (above n.7); the broad tendency is towards simplification, multifarious compounds yielding to simple derivatives (such as Apollonios). On the problematic -*ωναξ* suffix (Hermonax, Pythonax, etc.) see Zucker, 'Studien zur Namenskunde' (above n. 10), 26–32.

²² *οἶον ἐν τῷ Θεοδώρῳ τὸ δῶρον οὐ σημαίνει: Poet.*, 1457a 12–14.

²³ *FGrHist.* 1 F 301; cf. *Hdt.* 2.5.

beginnings; the triad which symbolizes the production of fine offspring, Leto and her twins Apollo and Artemis (this last bearing the epithet *Lochia*, ‘of birth’); *Eileithuia*; *Achelous*, a yet greater river; *Kallirhoe*, the spring from which Athenian brides bathed; ‘the *Geraistan Nymphs of birth*’, obscure figures whose function, however, is indicated by their epithet; and finally a mysterious *Rhapso*, ‘stitcher’.²⁴

A second inscription found in the same place states that an altar (this or another one) was set up by, precisely, one *Kephisodotos*.²⁵ Here then we find river-name and river-devotion associated as closely as could be wished. Even without this almost explicit evidence, the link between rivers and children could have been made very plausible on the basis, for instance, of *Orestes*’ offering of a lock of hair to *Inachus* ‘in gratitude for nurture’ (*θρεπτήριον*) in *Aeschylus* or the ritual prayer of girls of the *Troad* to the *Skamander* to ‘take my virginity’. (We know the detail because a villainous mortal supposedly once dressed up as *Skamander* and answered ‘gladly’.²⁶)

But if the suffixes *-doros* and *-dotos* indicate, at least potentially, true gifts, if, that is to say, they present the child as granted in response to prayer and offerings, do different suffixes indicate different (and perhaps weaker) relations? *Simoeisios* in the *Iliad* is so named not because his mother prayed to the river *Simoeis* but because she bore her child beside it.²⁷ Two cases need to be distinguished here. The first is that of possible differences in religious significance within the names based upon a single deity, where that deity generates a wide span of names of every type. Here *Kephisos* comes to our aid again, as one clear example among many. Several Attic families varied the types of *Kephisos*- names among their members (*Kephisios* son

²⁴ *IG* II² 4547.

²⁵ *IG* II² 4546.

²⁶ *Aesch. Cho.*, 6; [*Aeschines*] *Epist.*, 10. 3–5. The entry *ποταμοί* in *Sittig*, 127–39 is longer than that for any other power except *Apollo*. See further e.g. *Aesch. Pers.*, 33 *πολυθρέμμων Νεῖλος*; *Suppl.* 857–8 (waters which cause *ζώφυτον αἶμα* to flourish in mortals); *ib.*, 1026–8 *ποταμοί . . . πολύτεκνοι*; fr. 168. 17–25 (*Radt*) (human fertility conveyed by the ‘life-giving Nymphs, daughters of *Inachus*’); and cf. E.K. *Borthwick*, *AJP* 84 (1963), 231–41 (on fertilizing waters); J.B. *Curbera*, ‘Onomastics and River-Gods in Sicily’, *Philologus* 142 (1998), 52–60; *Zucker*, ‘Studien zur Namenskunde’, 10–11 (on *Echetodoros*). For river-names borne unadjusted by mortals see L. *Robert*, *Rev. Phil.* 48 (1974), 206 = *OMS* 5, 293.

²⁷ *Il.*, 4. 474–7. The distinction between the two types of formation is pressed hard by W. *Fröhner*, ‘Göttergaben’, *ARW* 15 (1912), 380–7; he concludes that ‘Kindersegen’ was sought from all the gods, and only the gods, whose names are compounded with *-doros*, *-dotos*. *Curbera* similarly argues that river-derived names in Sicily are not properly theophoric, since they characteristically end in *-is* (*Eloris*, *Selinis*, *Hypsis*) and lack what he regards as the ‘consecratory’ suffixes *-ios* and *-doros*.

of Kephisodoros; Kephisophon son of Kephisodoros and father of Kephisogenes, and so on—the examples and permutations are numerous) in a way that can scarcely reflect divergences in religious attitude and behaviour. The real if unanswerable question in such cases is not whether these variations are significant—they are clearly not—but rather whether such ‘Kephisos families’ persisted in paying devotions to their patronal stream.

The second and harder case is that of deities who generate names of simple formation either exclusively or predominantly. The extreme example is Demeter, from whom derive Demetrioi in extraordinary numbers but no single Demetrodoros or Demetrodotos. Aphrodite too gives simple formations only, Aphrodisios/a (and later Epaphroditos) chief among them; from Poseidon in the first three volumes of *LGPN* come a single Poseidodotos and but two Poseidoroi, alongside Poseidonioi in good numbers (but here there are also Poseidippoi); and finally the ubiquitous Dionysioi vastly outnumber Dionysodoroi, though these too are not rare. Is there a lesson for the religious historian in the absence of Demetrodoros from *LGPN*? Considerations of euphony have been adduced, and might have some relevance in some cases.²⁸ Abbreviation, however, could have created more acceptable forms if the need was felt for them (witness the admittedly very rare Poseidoros in lieu of Poseidodoros); and Demetrodoros would anyway have been no more clumsy than Dionysodoros, which exists. On the other hand, more substantive explanations that have been offered for the absence of Demetrodoros—that Metrodoros stood in,²⁹ that Demeter was a chthonian from whom one should not take gifts, that one could not pray for children to the mother of luckless Kore³⁰—are scarcely persuasive. The matter remains open. As a working principle, one has no choice but to treat the differences between the different types of theophoric names as non-significant, no significance having been established.

Here and elsewhere, we are much hampered by our ignorance of the religious context. As Peter Fraser has observed,³¹ ‘we see only the external face of Greek name-giving’. A Kephisodotos, we have argued, might in principle

²⁸ Letronne, 88–9; a variant in Sittig, 21 n. 1 (Demeter was perceived as a compound, and could not be further compounded).

²⁹ E. Maass, *JÖAI* 11 (1908), 17 (see Sittig, 79).

³⁰ Fröhner, ‘Göttergaben’, 382. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood suggests to me that the idea of corn as the distinctive ‘gift of Demeter’ blocked the emergence of a personal name of this type. This is as plausible as any other explanation.

³¹ In his contribution to the colloquium from which this book derives, and below (149).

have been granted in response to a prayer to the fructifying Kephisos. But what of a Hephaidodoros or an Artemidora? Why one deity in preference to another? Is it right to assume that such names ought, in principle, to attest an answered prayer? In a compound such as Timodoros, the -doros element has lost its religious force,³² and one might wonder whether Dionysodoros, say, need convey anything more than a vague penchant for the god. Similarly, it is not certain that the second element has any specific force even in compounds such as Damatrogeiton or Apollophanes, which may seem to evoke ideas of, respectively, ‘divine neighbours’³³ and epiphany; both -geiton and -phanes appear also in ‘secular’ compounds, the latter in an enormous range of them, and had perhaps declined to the status of non-signifying suffixes.

A related problem is that of ‘second (and subsequent) use’ by a family of a particular name. Even if a hypothetical Asklepiodotos I receives his name in commemoration of the god’s favour, Asklepiodotos II certainly commemorates Asklepiodotos I alongside, and perhaps rather than, the god. ‘Demetrios’ illustrates another way in which earlier bearers of a name may influence its subsequent significance. Is a Demetrios born in the third century still named for Demeter, or for king Demetrios? And, in considering a particular name’s rise to popularity not just within a family but across society, we cannot neglect the contagious effect of fashion. The emergence, say, of Apollonios as one of the most popular of all names in the late hellenistic period is unlikely to be a product of religious enthusiasm.³⁴ The combined influence of these factors served, in Elaine Matthews’ phrase, to ‘neutralize’ theophoric names, so that they could eventually be borne even by Christians without offence.³⁵

External evidence is needed in order to tackle the ‘why Artemidora?’ or ‘why Hephaidodoros?’ type of question, but our sources are less revealing than one might have hoped. We know that there was no larger class of ques-

³² Cf. Letronne, 80–6; Sittig, 4–6; and on ‘irrational compounds’ O. Masson, *Philologus* 110 (1966), 253–4 = *OGS*, 88.

³³ But perhaps one should allow a force at least to -geiton names (with J.N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1994), 31), since theophoric first elements predominate (as with -doros but not -phanes compounds), and even the secular formations usually carry a ‘euphemic’ sense (Aristogeiton, etc.).

³⁴ But Jan Bremmer comments ‘Even fashions need to be explained. I personally would have thought that it might have something to do with the rise to greater prominence of Apollo (as the sun [?]; see A.D. Nock, *HTR* 27 (1934), 100–1 = *Selected Essays*, 396–8) in the hellenistic period. Is “fashion” a very helpful concept for antiquity when there were no birth announcement cards to spread names over wide areas, such as William, Harry, Diana etc.?’

³⁵ *OCD*³ s.v. ‘names, personal, Greek’, 1023.

tions addressed to oracles than those ‘about the birth of children’, no problem on which Asklepios was more often consulted than this.³⁶ A child born with the aid of Asklepios would presumably, if it received a theophoric name, be an Asklepi- of some kind. When an oracle was involved, two possibilities can be envisaged. If the god’s response was ‘yes, you will have a child’ or a variant thereon, the promised child would probably be named for the oracular god. A vivid concrete example can, for once, be quoted. According to a verse inscription of the third century set up at Delphi,³⁷ Apollo ‘heard the prayer’ of an anonymous couple and ‘granted them offspring in his response’ (γενεὰμ μαντεύμασι δῶκεν), requiring a hair-offering in return; in the eleventh month, after a trouble-free pregnancy, the wife gave birth with ease, helped by Lochia, the Fates and Phoibos, to a thriving (γόνιμος) daughter (with hair already reaching her eyes, and destined to reach her chest in the first year). The parents named the girl Delphis, ‘because of the prophecy and in commemoration of Delphi’ (μαντείας ἔνεκεμ μνημεῖά τε Δελφῶν). The name, we note, is not of ‘gift of god’ form, even though the parents speak explicitly of Apollo ‘granting’ offspring. The text becomes fragmentary at this point, but apparently went on to speak of a second child and a second commemorative naming. According to a legend reported in Iamblichus’ *Life of Pythagoras* (6–7), the sage similarly received his name ‘Pytho-spoken’ (and his mother was re-named Pythais) because Apollo, unasked, predicted his birth. But a second regular form of response to a question ‘about offspring’ will have been not a simple assurance but an instruction to pray or sacrifice to a particular god or group of gods; at Dodona, the question is sometimes posed in a form (‘by sacrificing to what god will I have a child?’) that presupposes this kind of answer.³⁸ In such a case the god so identified would probably count as the giver of the child. Unfortunately, specific evidence for the kinds of gods the oracles might have chosen for this function seems not to exist.³⁹ Nor do we have

³⁶ See e.g. questions 3, 5, 7–9 in H.W. Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus* (Oxford, 1967), 263–6; R. Herzog, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidaurus* (Leipzig, 1931), 71–5.

³⁷ *FD III (I)* no. 560 = *BCH* 80 (1956), 550: cf. O. Weinreich, *Sitzb. Heidelberg* 1924/5, no. 7; J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley, 1978), 19 n. 7. A Koan Delphis was perhaps named in honour of her father’s Pythian victories (so K. Höghammar in I. Jenkins and G.B. Waywell (eds), *Sculptors and Sculpture of Caria and the Dodecanese* (London, 1997), 129–31).

³⁸ Parke, *Oracles of Zeus*, 264–6, nos 5, 7, 9.

³⁹ Demeter Thesmophoros (the third day of the *Thesmophoria* was Kalligeneia), Leto (Theocr. 18. 50–1) and river-nymphs (Aesch. fr. 168.24 R.) might seem good candidates.

dedicatory epigrams, except the one just discussed, that give thanks for the gift of a child. Details escape us of what must have been an important area of religious practice.

As for the possibility of names outliving the religious context in which they were first bestowed, the almost forty instances of Kephis- names registered in *LGPN* I may look like clear instances of an Attic theophoric name flourishing beyond the bounds of Attica. That explanation is very likely to be correct in some cases. The difficulty is that ‘Kephisos’ was a stock name for a river in Greece: the relevant entry in *Pauly-Wissowa* adds a further seven Kephisoï to the two best-known (those of Attica and Boeotia), and it is not implausible that yet more flowed unknown to fame in Euboea or on Chios or Thasos. A clearer case might be Mandro- and -mandros names, if we accept, with Letronne, that they come, like the light of a dead star, from a lost god Mandros.⁴⁰

From formation and function of divine names we turn to distribution, a field of enquiry in which the treasures of *LGPN* offer extraordinary new scope. Names for both genders are formed in similar ways, but far fewer women than men appear to bear theophoric names. In Attica (where counting is easiest) known men outnumber known women by a ratio of 10:1,⁴¹ but the proportion of instances of Demetrios to Demetria is about 17:1, of Dionysios to Dionysia about 35:1, of Apollo- names borne by men to those borne by women about 32:1, of Asclepio- names 21:1, of Zeus names (Di-) 38:1. Even for Athena and Isis derivatives the figure is about 11:1, for Aphrodite about 15.5:1, for Hera 23:1. Only Artemis names are fractionally more common among women than among men (9.25:1), and even then only if we include the problematic name ‘Artemis’ itself. (Without it, the ratio will be 11:1.)

These figures are, it is true, extremely rough and ready.⁴² A more refined analysis might show that some of the goddess-derived names were indeed commoner among women than among men prior to the late hellenistic or even the Roman period: a plausible candidate would be Aphrodisi-. But, even were that true, a clear disymmetry would remain: there is no goddess

⁴⁰ See below. Curbera, ‘Onomastics and River-Gods in Sicily’ (above n. 26), has several examples of river-names borne by persons living far from those rivers.

⁴¹ See *LGPN* II, vi, n. 4

⁴² Of the inhabitants of *LGPN* II, I have included the ‘doubtful’ (assigned a query), but not the ‘attested at’ (assigned an asterisk). There are recurrent small problems about what is to count as a theophoric name.

from whom male names in common use do not derive, whereas certain gods yield no female names or virtually none. And, hard though it would be to extend the proportional analysis of male and female theophoric names outside Attica,⁴³ it is easy to establish that this negative observation has broader validity.⁴⁴ The three published volumes of *LGPN* offer some three hundred persons named from Poseidon of whom only three, from well into the imperial period, are women. Two women are named from Hephaistos—one in fourth-century Athens—against eighty-three men. In the eleven or so pages listing Herm- names in the three volumes there appear only thirty women.⁴⁵ The phenomenon of testosterone-driven, men-only cults is familiar to students of Greek religion. ‘For Poseidon Phykios a white lamb with testicles. Women not allowed’, says a sacred calendar from Mykonos.⁴⁶ We can now see that it had implications even at the onomastic level.

At an unknown date, a law was passed forbidding Athenian slave-owners to give their slaves names such as Pythias or Nemeas that evoked the four great Panhellenic festivals. Whatever the point of that mysterious regulation, there was no ban on slaves being named after gods. On the contrary, in a large Athenian naval catalogue of the late fifth century which mixes social statuses, the type is appreciably more common among slave than free: we have instances of Apollonios (2), Demetrios, Hermaios (3), Hermon (3), Apollonides, Artemidoros, Artemon, Hekaton, Hermaphilos, Hermod-, Hephaistodoros, Heraios, Herakleides (7), and Kephiso-.⁴⁷

The distribution of theophoric names was much discussed by dissertation-writers at the start of the twentieth century. To the questions we have just considered they were predictably indifferent. But they cared about space and time; and one might sum up the results of their collective enquiries in the two propositions that, first, the habit of bestowing theophoric names grew over the centuries from small beginnings, but, secondly, the growth was

⁴³ The material from each volume would need to be subdivided into *poleis* or regions, an overall proportion of male–female names established for each region so defined, and the theophoric proportions judged against that.

⁴⁴ Cf. Mora, ‘Theophore Namen’ (above n. 7), 107.

⁴⁵ Unless Hermione is to count as a Hermes name. Between Herakleia and Herakleides the disproportion is not so extreme, but still very large.

⁴⁶ *LSCG* 96.9; cf. R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1983), 85.

⁴⁷ *IG* I³ 1032; cf. C. Fragiadakis, *Die attischen Sklavennamen* (diss. Mannheim, 1986), 28–32. These are the first Attic attestations of some of these names (ib., 233–4 nn. 26–7). For non-Attic evidence see M. Lambertz, ‘Die griechischen Sklavennamen’, *LVII Jahres-Bericht über das k.k. Staatsgymnasium im VIII. Bezirke Wiens, 1906/7* (Vienna, 1907), 30–9. Ban on Pythias, etc.: Polemon ap. Harpocration N 10 s.v. *Νεμεάας* (Athen. 587c); cf. Fragiadakis, 8.

uneven from region to region, some parts of the Greek world remaining stolidly indifferent to the march of panhellenic fashion.⁴⁸ The second proposition is open to much further refinement, but we can already see it to be certainly correct. The three names, all theophoric, which are comfortably the most popular in each of the first two volumes (Dionysios, Apollonios, Demetrios) are far further down the list of favourites in Epirus and Illyria;⁴⁹ in Sparta, still more remarkably, Dionysios is absent until the hellenistic period, the other two until the high empire. And it does not seem to be the case in either region that different theophoric names take up the slack; the type is simply less common than elsewhere. The implication of such variations for any attempt to argue from onomastics to religious behaviour could scarcely be greater. The status of Demeter in Spartan cult is somewhat unclear,⁵⁰ but we can base no argument on her absence from Spartan naming conventions, which also exclude their greatest god, Apollo.

As for the increasing popularity of theophoric names, the possibility of thorough statistical testing is now open. Unsystematic sampling already suggests that for Attica, at least, the hypothesis of a large growth will be confirmed—though a growth from what was already in the fifth century a not insubstantial base.⁵¹ Several popular theophoric names of the hellenistic period and beyond turn out to be rare in the fifth and fourth centuries: most conspicuously, of the 574 attestations of Apollonios assembled in *LGPN II*, only some thirty-six antedate 200 BC, while Heliodoros/a, Artemon and Artemidoros/a are each represented by somewhere between 105 and 140 instances, of which never more than about 10 per cent fall before 200 BC. The

⁴⁸ See G. Neumann, *De nominibus Boeotorum propriis* (Königsberg, 1908), 44–56, who builds on J. Schöne, *Griechische Personennamen als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle* (Düsseldorf, 1906), 6 (the bulk of this work treats a different problem, that of expressions of the *Ἀσκληπιᾶς ἢ καὶ Σεμιούθιον* type); C. Meier, *Quaestionum onomatologicarum capita quattuor* (Marburg, 1905), 27–30; and ultimately Letronne, 87–8.

⁴⁹ Cf. E. Matthews in *L'Illyrie méridionale et L'Épire dans l'antiquité*, II. Actes du deuxième colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand (25–27 Oct. 1990), 175–81 at 177. 'Favourite name' lists for the first three volumes are now available at <http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk>. Dionysios is the commonest name in each of the three volumes, but Apollonios and Demetrios/Damatris are down the list, though still popular, in IIIa.

⁵⁰ See R. Hägg *et al.* (eds), *Early Greek Cult Practice* (Stockholm, 1988), 99–103.

⁵¹ As one can see by checking the names assembled in Table 1 against the index volume (1998) to *IG I³*. The dissertation-writers sometimes implied a steady growth from almost nothing. But, if we leave aside the Homeric evidence (in which theophoric names are all but unknown), we do not reach back to a pre-theophoric epoch of Greek naming. The possibility that theophoric names are more numerous in the hellenistic and Roman periods simply because names of all types are can be dismissed for Attica, where total numbers in fact decline from a peak in the fourth century.

boom for Aphrodisios and Epaphroditos (joint total 629) comes even later, in the imperial period.⁵² These are instances of existing theophoric names that gain steeply in popularity, for reasons we can scarcely guess; the total is further swollen, as we shall see, by new names deriving from new gods. Only one cluster of theophoric names, by contrast, becomes extinct or almost so in the Roman period: this is, admittedly, an important one, that of the Kephiso- names (almost 350 instances in all).⁵³

As these examples have shown, the phenomenon is largely one of the growth of a limited number of names to great popularity. It may be that the total number of theophoric names actually declined in some regions even though the proportion of the population bearing such a name increased. Classical and hellenistic Boeotia, for instance, had been a region where a great number of theophoric names had been borne each by a small number of individuals.

In the hellenistic period, bearers of non-Greek theophoric names sometimes 'translated' their names into Greek, god and all: in a bilingual text from Rhodes a 'slave of Melqart' (Abdelmelqart) becomes 'Herakleides' (of Kition), and in one from the Piraeus Artemidoros son of Heliodoros is the Greek for 'slave of Tanit, son of slave of Shemesh'.⁵⁴ (Note *Herakleides* but *Artemidoros* and *Heliodoros*: the most familiar name is chosen, without regard to the specific force of the second element.) But only in the mixed culture of Egypt is the phenomenon common enough to be statistically significant.

We now turn to an exhilarating topic, the rise and fall of gods. The *pièce de résistance* of Letronne's pioneering memoir was the recovery of a lost Phrygian god: Mandros, Letronne argued, faded too early to leave any trace in the literary record, except obliquely in the place-name Mandropolis, but a lexeme that forms the compounds Mandragoras, Mandrodoros, Mandrogenes can describe nothing but a god. The argument has been doubted but not answered, and still appears sound.⁵⁵ More commonly, however, it

⁵² Aphrodisia (total 37) declines then, by contrast: the balance shifts between the sexes.

⁵³ Sittig, 136, explains the decline through the decline of the underlying cults: a possible if not inescapable interpretation, in the long term.

⁵⁴ See P.M. Fraser, *ABSA* 65 (1970), 31, and F. Millar, *PCPS* 209 (1983), 60–1. Egypt: see above n. 9.

⁵⁵ See O. Masson, *Journ. des Savants* 1985, 21 n. 29 = *OGS*, 479, countering the objection of M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I, 3rd edn (Munich, 1967), 558 n. 3. I am,

has been to illustrate the rise and diffusion of cults, not their decline, that onomastic evidence has been adduced. Thus Sittig's dissertation of 1911,⁵⁶ still the latest work of synthesis on theophoric names, presents as a principal aim on its first page the study of the spread of cults, and in particular the attempt to recover by onomastic means 'the native place of the various gods'.

The importance of onomastic evidence for certain enquiries of this type is beyond question. Louis Robert, for instance, has stressed that certain rare theophoric names appear only in the close vicinity of the particular local cult from which they derive; the 'gift of hero' names such as Aiantodoros listed above are good examples, and the appearance of a Ptoiodoros, named for Apollo Ptoios of Boeotia, in sixth-century Attica is a neat illustration of Athens' interactions with her neighbours in this period.⁵⁷ But one must allow that, when used in an attempt to uncover the early development of Greek polytheism, onomastic evidence can prove a dangerous tool. An implicit assumption has sometimes been that the various gods of the classical pantheon had each by origin a separate location; their amalgamation into a group or family, all members of which were honoured in every state, was the end result of a process of development which had barely been completed, or was still in progress, at the time of our earliest sources. This being so, we moderns have not arrived too late to track gods back to their homes, and one important trail to follow is that of theophoric names: if, say, names formed from Bacchus cluster particularly densely in Thrace, the god's cult had indeed in high probability entered Greece from that region.

However, in the case of Dionysos, the decipherment of Linear B exposed the central premise as false: the cult did not, after all, spread through Greece only in the ninth or eighth or seventh century but had been familiar since the

however, somewhat sceptical about the rediscovery by J. Keil of a god named Mandros in a very difficult inscription of the Roman period from Kyme (*Inscripfen von Kyme* 37, 5), endorsed though it was by L. Robert (*BE* 1958, no. 85). Cf. below, 86 n. 16.

⁵⁶ Sittig, 1.

⁵⁷ Robert, *Actes du VII^e congrès international d'épigraphie*, 40 = *OMS* 6, 694. Ptoiodoros: for further evidence regarding the same shrine see *IG* I³ 1469 = *CEG* 1, 302. Boeotia offers numerous examples: to those mentioned in nn. 11 and 14 above add Kabeirichos (Sittig, 143). The single known Parthenodoros (Thasos, i BC/i AD) is probably an isolated witness to the survival of a Thracian cult of Parthenos otherwise best known from a text of the fifth century (ML 89 = *IG* I³ 101; the evidence from excavation of the site seems also to be predominantly archaic/classical: *BCH* 86 (1962), 830–40; *Arch. Deltion* 17 (1961–2), Chron. 235–8).

thirteenth. And there is no reason to suppose that any other of, say, the twelve Olympians arrived any later than Dionysos. (No doubt we cannot exclude the possibility either; but there is no point in seeking to build on mere possibilities.) It is very unlikely therefore that we can retrace the early history of any major Olympian by onomastic means.

Not of a major Olympian; but for a lesser figure a strong case has been made. Hekataios of Miletus bore a name that was common in his homeland and in neighbouring regions, then and later, but which for a Sicilian, say, then or later, would have been most unusual. The East Greek bias in theophoric names formed from Hekate is quite unusually marked. *LGPN* IIIa, which covers the Peloponnese and the West, contains a total from all periods of four; *LGPN* II, Attica, has eleven; *LGPN* I, the Aegean islands, has 158 (with Kos, Rhodes and Thasos particularly numerous contributors); and *LGPN* V (Asia Minor) will contain at least 310 even excluding Hekatomnos.⁵⁸ Though the index volume to *IG* I³ contains six Hekate names, a good number for a collection extending only to the year 403 BC, all six turn out to belong to foreigners from further east, or to slaves. Hekate has often been considered a newcomer to the Greek pantheon; the earliest evidence for her cult comes from Miletus, and the greatest single centre of her worship, though not one attested before the hellenistic period, is her sanctuary at Lagina in Caria. Nilsson combined considerations such as these with the onomastic evidence, and proposed that Hekate was a Carian goddess whose cult spread to Greece, via the Greek cities of the southern part of the west coast of Asia Minor, in the early archaic period.⁵⁹

As far as origins are concerned, the hypothesis raises questions—How sure is it that Hekate is a newcomer? Is her name itself Greek or Carian?⁶⁰ How does she relate on the one side to Artemis, on the other to Thessalian Enodia?—which cannot be pursued here. What has certainly been identified is an instance of close geographical fit, still observable in the historical period, between cult places of a deity and associated personal names. Where

⁵⁸ I owe this very provisional figure to Elaine Matthews. The provisional figure for *LGPN* IV (Macedonia, Thrace, S. Russia) is about seventy.

⁵⁹ M.P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig, 1906), 397–8; for a good brief survey of later discussion, see F.Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985), 258 n. 307.

⁶⁰ The parallel with Apollo Hekatos speaks for Greekness (cf. Graf, loc.cit.), the presence of Hekat- in a name of non-Greek formation, Hekatomnos, perhaps against (though Hekatomnos too is a Greek name for Zucker, ‘Studien zur Namenskunde’, 27).

Hekate names are frequent, so too are cults of the goddess; where cults are rare, so too are names.⁶¹ On the other hand, it is not invariably the case that, where Hekate cults are frequent, names are frequent too; so even in this case there is no necessary, one-to-one relation. Cults of Hekate are attested just as fully and just as early in Attica as they are on Thasos, Rhodes and Kos, but there the associated names remain rare.⁶² An element of regional onomastic fashion seems also to be at work.

The case of names formed from the Mother of the Gods is similar. Like a Hekataios, a Metrodoros is much more likely to have originated in Asia Minor than in the Peloponnese or the West. *LGPN IIIa* offers a total figure from all periods for Metrodoros/a and Metrophanes (and Matro- equivalents) of only twenty; *LGPN II* has 124, but of these only eight are dated to the third century BC or earlier, and of the eight only two are assuredly Athenian citizens;⁶³ *LGPN I* has 125, of whom some thirty-five antedate 200 BC. And huge totals can be predicted for Asia Minor. But whereas Hekate's eastern origin is merely a modern hypothesis, the ancients took it for granted that the Mother originated in that quarter. No relevant Metro- name in the published volumes is firmly dated before 400, though evidence from further east begins *c.* 500⁶⁴ if not before. It may seem therefore as if Meter followed Hekate on the march westwards (about a century later?), and that her itinerary can still be traced by onomastic means. Chios is a place *en route* where abundant evidence for cult and a plethora of Metro- names coincide.⁶⁵ But some reservations are again necessary. As it happens, two of the places outside Asia Minor where worship of the Mother has been earliest detected

⁶¹ For cults on Thasos, Rhodes, and Kos, the Aegean islands richest in Hekate names, see T. Kraus, *Hekate* (Heidelberg, 1960), 53 n. 254, 69–70, 156 n. 652, and add for Thasos the important new text *SEG* 42, no. 785, 42, 49; the Rhodian evidence is the thinnest. For Erythrae see Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 257–9. At the other pole, the only epigraphical evidence for cult of Hekate from Magna Graecia, where Hekate names are very rare, is a fifth-century dedication from Selinous: L. Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile* (Paris, 1989), no. 55. Literary references do not attest public cult in Magna Graecia under the name of Hekate.

⁶² *IG I²* 250 B, 33–5; 383, 125–9; 406, 4–6; 409, 14–15; *LSCG* 18 B, 6–13; *IG I²* 836. It is less significant that the important cult on Aegina (Paus. 2. 30.2, etc.) has left no onomastic traces, when so few Aeginetan names are known.

⁶³ I exclude Metrobios, which may (cf. Patrobios) not be theophoric.

⁶⁴ With Metrodoros of Prokonnessos (Hdt. 4. 138). Elaine Matthews tells me that *LGPN IV* will contain early evidence (sixth century?) from the Black Sea region; also that there is much Megarian evidence (to appear in *LGPN IIIB*), beginning with a Matreas probably of the late fifth century (*SEG* 39, 411). Matrodoros (4) from Camarina in *LGPN IIIa* is perhaps of the fifth century.

⁶⁵ For the former see Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 107–20.

are Epizephyrian Lokroi and the Peloponnese, places where Mother names barely penetrate even at much later dates. In Attica too, votive images that honour the Mother become abundant much earlier than do names. The coming of Mother to Greece was a complex process, the superimposition apparently of an Anatolian goddess upon a native. There emerged an ambiguous figure, a goddess of ecstasy and madness who was also the official guardian of public records, in Athens and elsewhere. The social context of her cult was similarly complex: there were both public and private shrines and festivals, both citizen worshippers and non-citizens.⁶⁶ All this may help to explain why in some regions parents were slow in naming their children for that Mother with whose worship they were, none the less, very familiar.

Leto deserves a word in this context. It has long been noted that Letodoros, though a much rarer name, shares the eastern bias of Hekataios and Metrodoros; indeed, the *LGN* has so far presented no single example west of Rhodes. Thus the theophoric names are generated not by 'Homeric' Leto, based on Delos, but by that Leto of south-western Asia Minor the importance, though not the nature, of whom has been so strikingly illuminated by recent discoveries at Xanthos.⁶⁷

We revert to the major Olympians. Uneven distribution of the theophoric names derived from them, it was argued above, cannot be used to trace the paths along which their cults spread through Greece: they were probably all present in all regions far too long before our evidence begins for such a reconstruction to have any hope of success. But can uneven distribution indicate varying popularity in different regions? Every god was worshipped in every city (or so we should assume, in default of contrary evidence), but not with the same intensity. Even within a true polytheism, the powers of individual deities may expand or contract, provided that they do not efface those of others, or themselves disappear, entirely. The clearest case is that of the various 'city-protecting' or poliadic deities. Hera is not ignored in Athens, but she is vastly more important in Samos, whose symbol and protectress she is; of Athena in Samos and Athens the converse is true. It is natural to ask whether variations such as these are reflected onomastically.

A first sampling produces promising results. A grave monument of the early fourth century from Athens contained an individual, described as a

⁶⁶ On all this see now P. Borgeaud, *La mère des dieux* (Paris, 1996), 19–55 (24 for Lokroi, 26 with 189 n.30 for the Peloponnese).

⁶⁷ See e.g. F. Wehrli in *RE Suppl.* 5 s.v. 'Leto', 555–8, 573–4, and the references in I. Krauskopf, *LIMC* VI.I (1992), s.v. 'Leto', 256–7; on the names see Sittig, 35–6.

Samian, who had two sons belonging to the Attic deme of Kephisia.⁶⁸ Doubtless the family were among those loyalist Samian democrats to whom the Athenians granted citizenship, and refuge, at the end of the Peloponnesian War.⁶⁹ The father's name, Heragores, was one which six Samians are known to have borne before him but which does not recur in Attica until the second century BC, and then only on the smallest scale (three instances in all); and Heragores' father was a Herodotos, another name not used in Attica until the second century but borne by another six or so Samians (ours may be the first) in the fourth and third centuries.⁷⁰ The two sons of Heragores, by contrast, received, whether by chance or design, names that would not stand out in Attica, Thrasyllus and Hippokrates. A name attested six or so times on Samos in a given period can count as quite common, when total figures for the island are relatively small. Hera names, then, appear to cluster on Hera's island.

But how do things stand outside Samos? Various complications could be mentioned—the dearth of Hera names in the Argolid, a great centre of her cult; the presence of Herodoroi and Herophiloi and other Hero- formations in archaic and classical Athens, though never in large numbers—but the most substantial concerns islands other than Samos where Hera names abound. There are two conspicuous 'hotspots': Chios, which provides instances of Heragoras, Herakleitos and Herodotos in appreciable numbers before the hellenistic period, and also an interestingly wide range of rarer forms (Herodoros, Heropythos, Herophantos, Herogenes, Herokritos, Herostratos); and Thasos, rich in examples of Heragoras/Heragores, Herakleitos, Heras, Herodotos (though these are mostly late), Herophantos and Herophon, and also offering Herodelos, Heroboulos, Herodikos and Herostratos. On Thasos, Hera had a sanctuary conspicuous enough to appear as a landmark in the Hippocratic *Epidemics*;⁷¹ but, on the basis of such other information as we have about the island's cults, no one would select hers as among the most prominent. As for Chios, the authoritative study by F. Graf does indeed assure us that Hera enjoyed great popularity,⁷² but the evidence that he adduces is precisely that of onomastics, there being

⁶⁸ IG II² 6417.

⁶⁹ ML 94; M.J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* (Brussels, 1981–3), 2, 25 n. 61.

⁷⁰ Another Samian at Athens is Herakleitos, IG II² 10228.

⁷¹ Book 1, case 14 (ii, 716 Littré); note too the *lex sacra* concerning Hera Epilimonia LSS 74, and the relief, B. Holtzmann, *La sculpture de Thasos. Reliefs, I. Reliefs à thème divin. Études thasiennes* 15 (Paris, 1994), 66 no. 11.

⁷² *Nordionische Kulte*, 42 (above n. 59); a similar argument for Erythrae, *ib.*, 206.

no other trace of her worship amid documentation which is not wholly sparse. Proximity to Samos might seem a more likely explanation for the abundance of Hera names on Chios than local worship, were not other signs of cultural contact between the two neighbouring islands so hard to find.⁷³ However that may be, of the three islands where Hera names cluster, only one was home to a Hera cult of outstanding importance.

The onomastic preferences of a *polis* can undoubtedly be influenced, we conclude, by the importance it assigns to one or another among the major Olympians;⁷⁴ but such prominence in cult is only one among a range of potentially relevant factors, and it would be rash to attempt to rank the powers in a city's pantheon simply on the basis of its most popular theophoric names. This result may appear discouraging. But, in respect not of major Olympians but of lesser or foreign gods whose cult did indeed spread through Greece only in the historical period, the onomastic evidence regains its rights. There are three cults for the growth of which names are prime witnesses. It was archaeology that first revealed the extent to which Asklepios is to be accounted a 'new god' in most parts of Greece,⁷⁵ but the names might independently have suggested the same conclusion. Although the entries for the various Asklepi- names in the three volumes of *LGPN* cover some sixteen columns in total, only one single instance, from Selinus in Sicily,⁷⁶ is assigned a date in the fifth century, and a doubt is expressed whether in this case the word is in fact a personal name. The doubt is wholly justified, the dedication in question surely providing, as most scholars have assumed, the first precious evidence not for a name but for a member of the guild of Asklepiadaí. Even to the fourth century only between twenty-one and twenty-five instances are assigned (eleven of these Athenian or attested in Attica),⁷⁷ and some fifty-three to the third (of which fourteen are Attic); only thereafter do the figures leap up.

⁷³ See H. Kyrieleis, 'Chios and Samos in the Archaic Period', in J. Boardman and C.E. Vaphopoulou-Richardson (eds), *Chios* (Oxford, 1986), 187–204. The evidence of *LGPN* V on the cities of the west coast of Asia Minor will be instructive. Good numbers of Hera names are registered in the indices to *IPriene* and *IEphesus*, and perhaps a regional pattern will emerge.

⁷⁴ Other clear examples are the frequency of the name Herakleides on Thasos and of Karne-names in Cyrenaica.

⁷⁵ So E.J. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius* (Baltimore 1945), 2, 243.

⁷⁶ Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile*, no. 83.

⁷⁷ There is much helpful guidance on the early evidence in D. Knoepfler, *BCH* 108 (1984), 245 and 247. In this and subsequent counts I have endeavoured to add persons listed in M.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne, *The Foreign Residents of Athens* (Louvain, 1996) to the figures for Attica.

Isis' penetration into Greek onomastics and cult was a similar process, though one that only acquired momentum rather more than a century and a half later, as Stirling Dow demonstrated in a study that was ground-breaking in its attention to the precise chronological development of the onomastic evidence for a particular cult.⁷⁸ Dow distinguished in effect three phases: in the first, lasting well over a century, the sporadic enthusiasm of isolated individuals for Isis yields occasional *Isi-* formations; established cult is then attested by the emergence, in the second century, of good handfuls of such names; but it is only in the imperial period that handfuls become armfuls and Isis grows into one of the most fecund of all sources of theophoric names. The much fuller presentation of material in *LGPN* confirms Dow's picture of the second and third phases. The three volumes assign about twenty-nine *Isi-* names to the second century, forty to the late second century or the borderline, sixty-seven to the first century,⁷⁹ whereas the global total for all periods is over 650. *LGPN* also lends its support to Dow's first phase, that of the isolated enthusiasts for Isis, the few swallows anticipating the summer; but here one may feel some doubts. The two firmly datable candidates are a Thasian *Isigonos* from about 350 BC and an *Isigenes* from Rhamnous in Attica of c. 325.⁸⁰ The two names may appear to provide mutual support, but both are known only from defective transcripts of stones now lost. The Thasian transcript in fact offers *Isagonos*, which suggested to Bechtel the correction *Isagores*, an attested Thasian name that has no association with Isis. On the transcript from Attica, *Isigenes* does indeed appear—but so do fifteen demonstrable errors.⁸¹ Very probably the first phase, the romantic age of the individualists, should simply be abolished.

⁷⁸ S. Dow, 'The Egyptian Cults in Athens', *HTR* 30 (1937), 184–232, esp. 216–223: cf. Fraser (n. 83 below), 14 n. 3.

⁷⁹ The figures for the individual volumes in these periods are I: 18, 19, 20; II: 6, 16, 36; IIIA: 5, 5, 1.

⁸⁰ *IG XII* (8) 277, 128; *IG II²* 1927, 150. Of other Isis names dated before 200 in the Lexicon, I strongly doubt the reading in Reinmuth, *Ephobic Inscriptions* 10 III 13 and the dates offered for *IG II²* 11739, *SEG* 39, 356 and *IG XII* (8) 673 (the transcript of this last in *BCH* 39 (1879), 64 has broken-barred alphas); *BCH* 99 (1975) 102 B, 48 may be a third-century instance from Rhodes, but Ἀν]τιδω[ρος is perhaps possible as an alternative to the editor's Ἰ]σιδω[ρος. Elaine Matthews refers me to *PP* 3972 (*PCZ* 1.59001.5–7) for Isidoros, a Thracian cleruch in the Memphite nome, firmly dated to 273 BC.

⁸¹ 'The stone itself is lost; it was read only by Chandler, who made 15 proved errors in reading it (cf. *Hesperia* 3 (1934), 188), but his reading in this instance may be accepted': Dow, 'Egyptian Cults', 221 n. 138. One wonders why. If pressed for an alternative, I would suggest *Epigenes*. On the deficiencies of the transcript by E. Miller which is our sole source for the relevant portion

If that conclusion is sound, Sarapis names are probably attested at Athens a little before Isis names, for Dow pointed out that the Sarapion whose son appears as a mature adult in a text of the 170s must himself have been born about 250,⁸² and it is not clear that any of the remaining persons named for Isis goes back quite that far. In general, however, the distribution of names deriving from the two Egyptian deities is very similar; but Sarapis was never quite as popular onomastically as Isis, and, though he too shared in the imperial boom, he did not do so to anything like the same extent as the goddess. These statistics were used by Peter Fraser in a seminal study to establish that the cult of Sarapis was far from enjoying runaway popularity in the hellenistic period.⁸³

That conclusion stands; nonetheless, the question is one of degree, and the emergence of Sarapis names where hitherto there had been none is certainly to be explained by the spread of the cult in Greece, if on no great scale. The appearance or sudden growth of certain other theophoric names, however, cannot be understood in the same way, or not simply so. Ammon names emerge in Attica in about the same period and on about the same scale as do Sarapis names.⁸⁴ (In other regions the pattern is slightly different; in particular, Ammonioi appear earlier in Cyrenaica, names indeed in this case clustering at the place of origin of the cult.) But the great time of public Athenian enthusiasm for Ammon was the fourth century, when even a sacred trireme was renamed for the Libyan god.⁸⁵ No mortal to our knowledge was so named in this period, unless we allow the claims of the famous boxer Philammon, whose name, despite appearances, probably has no connection with Ammon.⁸⁶ Athenians seem to begin to name their children for Ammon

of *IG XII* (8) 277, see J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et cultes de Thasos. Études thasiennes* 3 (Paris, 1954), 243–8, and for Bechtel's suggestion, *SGDI* 5470.

⁸² But J.D. Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (Berkeley, 1998), 180 n. 36 wonders about a slightly later dating. At Philadelphia in Egypt there is a Macedonian Sarapion firmly dated to 231 BC (*SB* 9258).

⁸³ P. M. Fraser, 'Two Studies on the Cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World', *Opuscula Atheniensia* 3 (1960), 1–54, at 48–9 (cf. *ib.*, 14–16 on the evidence from Egypt, which is outside my purview).

⁸⁴ I count some thirty-four in *LGN* II dated before the birth of Christ. Subsequently, in contrast to Isis and Sarapis, Ammon fails to profit from the imperial boom.

⁸⁵ See references in R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* (Oxford, 1996), 195–6 (and 346 on the nickname 'Ammon' of Hipponikos I, c. 500 BC); *IG II*² 1282 (of 263/2 BC) is the latest evidence for the cult. Parke, *Oracles of Zeus*, 231 sees Ammon as in eclipse in the hellenistic period.

⁸⁶ See W. Swinnen, 'Philammon, chantré légendaire, et les noms gréco-égyptiens en -ammon', in *Antidorum W. Peremans Sexagenario ab alumnis oblatum* (Louvain, 1968), 237–262. As Letronne long ago observed, 'lover of Ammon' is highly irregular as a Greek theophoric formation, and

only when his cult is in decline. An explanation is suggested by the interweaving of ‘Sarapion’ and ‘Ammonios’ in a prominent family of the deme Pambotadai in the second century BC.⁸⁷ Ammon re-enters Athenian consciousness in the wake of Isis and Sarapis (dedications were sometimes made to Isis/Sarapis ‘and the Egyptian gods’), in the context of the (very restrained) ‘Egyptomania’ of the late hellenistic period—a mania restricted to a limited number of families, often those with strong associations with Delos.⁸⁸

Names formed with *Μηνο-* are an intriguing puzzle. If we separate them firmly (as we surely must) from the stock slave-name Manes and its derivatives,⁸⁹ and if we ignore one or two doubtful early instances, they first appear, in all three published volumes of *LGPN*, in the third century.⁹⁰ The name is still rare then, but grows in popularity, to give a final total for Attica in its various forms of about two hundred. In Asia Minor it is extremely common, but for a picture of the chronological development there we must await the publication of

it is very hard to associate the legendary singer known to pseudo-Hesiod (fr. 64.15 M/W) with Ammon. Philammon was doubtless later associated with Ammon by popular etymology (whence the name’s popularity in Cyrenaica), but Swinnen plausibly urges that the boxer was named after the mythological singer, as another was after his brother Autolykus. It is not certain anyway that Philammon was an Athenian by birth, even though often mentioned in Athenian sources: Dem. 18. 319; Aeschin. 3. 189; Com. Adesp. fr. 99 K/A ap. Ar. *Rhet.*, 1413a 12; for the later allusions (which make him an Athenian, perhaps merely because he appears in Athenian sources) see Moretti, *Olympionikai* (Rome, 1957) no. 424.

⁸⁷ See Dow, ‘Egyptian Cults’, 222.

⁸⁸ For Ammon as a recipient of cult on Delos see P. Roussel, *Les Cultes égyptiens à Délos* (Paris and Nancy, 1915–16), 105 no. 37 (= *IG XI* (4) 1265), 176 no. 171 = *ID* 2037, 1. On the influence of Delos see Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens*, 275–7.

⁸⁹ With Bechtel, *HP*, 294, 316 and L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague, 1964), 287–8, 312–14. In favour of associating the two roots, and thus of postulating an unattested god *Man who modulated into Men (Masson, *OGS*, 327–8) are the rare Man-names which have theophoric form: Manodoros (Ar. *Av.*, 657 = Manes ib., 1311 (see N.V. Dunbar’s note ad loc.); *IG II*² 12037), Manodotos (*ISmyrna*, 611), Manippos (Robert, *EEP*, 118–19, A 13: Chios, fifth/fourth century, a slave). But, whatever the explanation of these median forms, Bechtel’s observation that, chronologically and in social level, Manes is quite differently distributed from Menodoros and its congeners must be allowed its force. On the problem of which Men- names are to be associated with the god see most recently O. Masson, *Epigr. Anat.* 23 (1994), 139–40.

⁹⁰ *ID* 290, 115 gives a Menodoros securely dated to 246 BC. Reading or dating of potential fourth-century Meno-names is uncertain; with regard to the Menophilos of [Lys.] 8. 15, note the dating of that speech to the second/first century BC by P. A. Müller, *Oratio quae inter Lysiacas fertur octava* (diss. Münster in Westphalia, 1926) (a reference I owe to Professor C. Carey), with the comments of E.D. Goldschmidt, *Gnomon* 5 (1929), 121–4.

LGPN V.⁹¹ The names in Asia Minor can scarcely be dissociated from the Phrygian god Men and, given that the cult of Men was certainly familiar in Attica and the islands in the third century BC,⁹² it seems natural at first sight to add Men to the list of new gods, the spread of whose cult has left onomastic traces. The difficulty is sociological: in Attica (and there is no sign that the situation was different elsewhere), Meno- formations are good citizen names, but Men was not a good citizen god. He never, to our knowledge, received public cult in Athens or perhaps any Greek city; moreover, though one must allow that certain of the votive reliefs depicting Men are works of some quality which imply prosperous donors,⁹³ such donors when named are never demonstrably citizens and are sometimes certainly foreigners or slaves. The only scholar apparently to have perceived the difficulty is Stirling Dow, who writes, 'It seems doubtful whether the early names attest an early cult of Men the Tyrant, rather than the same impulse in respect to the moon, which names in Helio- attest in respect to the sun'. This is doubly artificial, though: an early cult of Men there was, only not in the right circles; and a Heliodoros shining by borrowed light should have been *Selenodoros, not Menodoros (which if dissociated from Men ought rather to suggest 'Gift of the Months').⁹⁴ Must we conclude that the dimly attested 'Collectors for Men'⁹⁵ proved more persuasive even among citizens than all the other evidence suggests? The matter remains unclear. But it is certain that future studies of Men must address the onomastic material.

Not all new cults generated new names, and it is natural to wonder whether a cult that failed to do so is shown thereby not to have succeeded in putting down deep roots. In the aftermath of Marathon, Pan swept through

⁹¹ Elaine Matthews tells me, however, that the earliest instances in the files (which are not up to date) are *IG* II² 8725, a *Μηνώ* from Herakleia Pontike (letters of the mid-fourth century, according to Kirchner) and *IG* II² 9771, a Menodora from Miletus (possibly of the second half of the fourth century); there is also a *Μήνυς Ἡρακλεώτης* in *IG* II² 1271, 5 of 298/7 (?). From other regions she refers me to *SEG* 24, 627, Abdera (tombstone of a Menodoros, said to be inscribed in fifth-century letters, but no photo is available); *IGB*, 423, a *Ἐκατόδωρος Μηνόδωρο*, dated fifth/fourth century; and the Macedonian Menegetes, an associate of Philip II, in Polyaeon. 4.2.6.

⁹² For Men see E.N.Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis* (Leiden, 1971–8), I, 1–12; III, 1–16; and, for Attica, S.Lauffer, *Die Bergwerkssklaven von Laureion*² (Wiesbaden, 1979), 178–86; Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 193 n. 146 (where, however, the name 'Manodoros' is wrongly adduced).

⁹³ See e.g. M.B. Comstock and C.C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone* (Boston, 1976), 53, no. 78.

⁹⁴ On existing names perhaps to be associated with *Μην-* 'month' see Masson, *OGS*, 327; cf. Soph. *OT*, 1082–3.

⁹⁵ See *LSJ* s.v. *μηναγύρτης*.

the caves of Attica with what looks like dramatic success. But there emerges no generation of Panophiloï or Panodoroï; if Panaïos of Prasiai in the fourth century BC is indeed to be associated with the god, he is the only such Athenian prior to a Paneas (again the link with Pan is not certain) at the end of the second century AD. The score is not much higher elsewhere (except in Egypt, where the 'Pan' in Paniskos and Panodoros is a calque for the native god Min⁹⁶). But an alternative to the conclusion that Pan's impact was superficial might be that it was restricted in scope. Perhaps he was simply too small a god for parents to think of in this context. Even his associates, the Nymphs, whose rootedness no one can doubt, are far less productive of theophoric names than might have been predicted from their nature.

A more plausible case to which to apply this type of argument might be that of Bendis. Here theophoric names are indeed attested: a Bendiphanes was old enough in 403 BC to serve among the 'heroes of Phyle', and there are also six instances of Bendidoros or Bendidora and a further Bendiphanes from Greece or the Aegean islands.⁹⁷ Bendis was, therefore, a goddess capable of 'giving' children. But the Attic Bendiphanes was born a metic, and of the other persons bearing compound Bendi- names only one, a Theban, was demonstrably a citizen of any place south of the Troad; as for later attestations of other Bendis names, they cluster around the goddess' homeland of Thrace. As we know from the opening scene of Plato's *Republic*, Bendis received public worship at Athens, and the rites were divided, uniquely, between an Athenian and a Thracian band of worshippers. In later references, however, Athenian worshippers prove hard to trace. And no Athenian can be shown to have named a child for that goddess for whom large numbers of cattle (sixty to seventy, perhaps) were, nonetheless, slain at public expense in the year 334/3.⁹⁸ The onomastic evidence combines with that of other types to reveal Bendis as the failed precursor of Isis, in Athens and throughout the Greek world.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ See Sittig, 140–1. On Pan/Min see C.E. Holm, *Griechisch-Ägyptische Namenstudien* (Uppsala, 1936), 91 n.3; this work is a detailed study of the onomastic consequences of the equation of Egyptian Geb with Kronos.

⁹⁷ For full details see O. Masson, *MH* 45 (1988), 6–12 = *OGS*, 605 ff. and for the name Deloptichos (from Bendis' companion Deloptes) Sittig, 158; O. Masson, *Épig. Anat.* 23 (1994), 139 f.

⁹⁸ *IG II²* 1496, 86–7. On Bendis at Athens see Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 170–5.

⁹⁹ Other foreign gods (such as Adonis and Attis) who have little or no onomastic impact are discussed by Dow, 'Egyptian Cults', 212–22: the reason varies from case to case.

This paper has looked at theophoric names under two main aspects: that (very obscure) of the religious practices which may underlie them, and that of the evidence they provide for the spread and popularity of particular cults. Both sets of questions were already raised by Letronne. He broached also a third issue, that of the values and attitudes embedded in the names. As it happens, he was at least formally wrong about the particular example that he chose.¹⁰⁰ Though it is indeed true that Theophilos, ‘dear to god’, is a much earlier and commoner Greek name than Philotheos, which he took to mean ‘lover of god’, true too that the relative importance of the two names is a direct reflection of central Greek religious values,¹⁰¹ he was very mistaken in his argument that Philotheos was a name no pagan could have borne: quite how wrong, *LGPN* with its twenty or so hellenistic Philotheoi from Attica alone abundantly reveals. His substantive argument will survive if we accept the suggestion that Philotheos is a merely formal variation on Theophilos and means the same;¹⁰² two Attic instances are known of a Philotheos son of Theophilos or vice versa. Still, even if he was wrong on the substantive point too, his broad line of thought remains an essential one. The name Theoteknos, ‘child of god’, has recently been the object of an intriguing debate: did it emerge in Christian circles, and does it display a distinctively Christian conception of the relation of mortal to god?¹⁰³ Peter Fraser, when describing the aims of *LGPN* in 1976, stressed the possibilities that it would offer for studying a delicate area of pagan–Christian interaction.¹⁰⁴ That theme has not been treated here, for lack of space and competence, but it is the religious history of more than a millennium that this great work can so piercingly illuminate.

¹⁰⁰ Letronne, 100–4.

¹⁰¹ See E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, 1951), 35.

¹⁰² See Swinnen, in *Antidorum Peremans* (above n. 86), 249.

¹⁰³ See O. Masson, *REG* 110 (1997), 618–19 and the counter by D. Roques, *REG* 111 (1998), 735–56. Roques appears to have established against Masson that the answer to both questions, surprisingly, is in the negative.

¹⁰⁴ Op. cit. in n. 5 above.

Abbreviations

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

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