

Foreign Names in Athenian Nomenclature

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THE EDITORS OF the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (whose achievements this volume assesses and celebrates) speak in the Preface to Volume IIIA of ‘the social stability of cities such as Athens and Rhodes, where onomastic changes do, of course, occur, but where there is also a basic onomastic continuity’ (vii). They go on to say that matters are different elsewhere. As the contributor concerned with Athens, I subscribe to their statement: there was indeed a prevailing onomastic continuity. In what follows I will use this point as the foil for my topic which is precisely the deviations from it, the names that are foreign to the pool of genuine Athenian names, intrusions into it. I will not speak of foreigners attested as living on Athenian soil, but exclusively of Athenian citizens bearing non-Athenian names, such as Oloros, Ophelas, Magas, Seuthes or Serambos. Such names are fairly easy to detect for anyone who is somewhat familiar with Greek personal names in general. Failing that, one can find most of them by going through *LGPN II*, collecting those attested only once or twice, or in just one Attic deme. It is not always easy (and often impossible) to determine where such names originated, as well as how and when they found their way into Athenian nomenclature, but I see four possible ways.

First, through the institution of *xenia* or ritualized friendship between two families, one Athenian, the other foreign. The best-known case is that of the famous Alcibiades who owed his name to a Spartan namesake with whom one of his forebears had entertained such a friendship. This bond, which dated back to the sixth century, was still effective when in 413/12 BC the Athenian Alcibiades co-operated in Sparta with one of the ephors,

Endios, who was a descendant of the Spartan Alcibiades.¹ Gabriel Herman has discussed the institution and has listed other cases, such as that of the Athenian *hierophantes* Archias who, in 379 BC, sent his Theban guest-friend Archias a warning that a plot was under way.² Or take the case of Oloros, the father of Thucydides. Conventional wisdom explains his name, which is that of a Thracian ruler, as the result of a marriage between Thucydides' grandfather and the daughter of Oloros; the couple would have named their offspring after his maternal grandfather. Herman, however, makes a strong case that the name may rather have come to Athens as a result of *xenia* between an Athenian citizen and the Thracian ruler.³ Formal friendship of this kind seems also to account for names such as Thessalos (a son of Peisistratos) and Lakedaimonios (a son of Kimon) among Athenian citizens, and for the fact that Lichas, son of Arkesilaos, is found both in Sparta and in Thasos, and Menestheus, son of Iphikrates, both in Athens and in Miletus.⁴

Second, foreign names can come to Athenian citizens as a result of intermarriage between an Athenian and a foreign woman. The Thracian name of Oloros may have come to Athens this way (if not by way of *xenia*, as Herman argued). Best known is the case of the reformer Kleisthenes, named after Kleisthenes of Sikyon, who gave away his daughter Agariste to the Athenian Megakles; the son of the couple received the name of his maternal grandfather.⁵

Let me add another instance: the Macedonian Ophellas, born in Pella, ruled the city of Cyrene for Ptolemy I at the end of the fourth century. He was married to the Athenian Euthydike, a descendant of Miltiades, the victor at Marathon. Their son, born in 308 BC after the father was slain by Agathokles of Syracuse, was Miltiades, among whose descendants the name Ophellas recurred. The case is somewhat different from that of Kleisthenes, since after 451 BC, the date of Perikles' law on citizenship, sons from a mixed marriage were no longer recognized as Athenian citizens. One has therefore to assume (with Michael Osborne) that Miltiades' father Ophellas had been granted Athenian citizenship.⁶

¹ Alcibiades and Endios: Thucydides 8. 6. 3; J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford, 1971), 15–16. See also S. Hornblower in this volume, 135.

² Archias of Athens and Archias of Thebes: Plutarch, *Pelopidas* 10; G. Herman, *CQ* 40 (1990), 353.

³ Oloros: Herman, loc. cit., 349–63.

⁴ Lichas, son of Arkesilaos; Menestheus, son of Iphikrates: G. Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* (Cambridge, 1987), 21 n. 18, and loc. cit., 354. Kimon's sons: below, 152.

⁵ Kleisthenes: Herodotus 6.126–31.

⁶ Ophellas: M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens*, 3–4 (Brussels, 1983), 82–3 (henceforth Osborne, *Naturalization* 3–4).

Third, an Athenian citizen may introduce a foreign name into Athenian nomenclature by naming his son after a king or another foreign celebrity. In this way, names such as Kroisos, Amasis (these two in the sixth century), Seuthes (in the fifth), Seleukos, Areus, Attalos and Ariarathes or Epaminondas and Philopoimen (in the hellenistic period) made their way into the citizen body. This has often been observed, for instance by Walter Judeich.⁷

Fourth (and last), naturalization of foreigners brings foreign names into the citizenry. Of course, not all foreigners who were granted Athenian citizenship implemented it (by settling in Attica and registering in an Athenian tribe and deme), and not all who did and became new citizens bore names unfamiliar in Athens. For these reasons, a review of the attested cases of citizenship grants does not get us very far, since we seldom know whether or not a citizenship granted was implemented, and since many new citizens who implemented the grant bore names already familiar in Athens. Even so, foreign names among Athenian citizens as listed in *LGPN II* are quite numerous. There is, for instance, the Athenian Sthennis, one of the foremost sculptors in the second half of the fourth century BC. He co-operated on a family monument at the Akropolis with Leochares; other works of his stood at Olympia and in the shrine of Amphiaraos at Oropos. King Lysimachos commissioned him to do a statue of his sister-in-law. Sthennis is also known from the elder Pliny, from Pausanias, and from a number of inscriptions; there are also inscriptions of his descendants, likewise sculptors, from various regions. Within Attica, they all sign their works with their name and demotic (*Diomeieus*), beyond the borders as 'Athenian'. Sthennis, however, was not Athenian by birth, but a citizen of Olynthos, the Chalcidian city destroyed by Philip II in 348. Michael Osborne concluded: 'The preserved evidence leaves little doubt that the sculptor Sthennis was an Olynthian who became naturalized as an Athenian.... He came to Athens in, or soon after, the destruction of his native Olynthus'. I discuss the case more fully elsewhere.⁸

A recently published document of the Athenian cleruchy at Samos, which dates to c. 350 BC, gives two previously unattested names for Athenian citizens, Acheloios and Leos. Both names occur on Samian silver coins of the early fourth century, before the cleruchy was founded, as can be seen from

⁷ Kroisos, Seleukos, Areus, and Attalos: W. Judeich, 'Politische Namengebung in Athen', *Epitymbion H. Swoboda* (Reichenberg, 1927), 99–106. The same is true for Amasis, Ariarathes, and many others.

⁸ Sthennis: Osborne, *Naturalization* 3–4, 64–5; C. Habicht, *Horos* 10–12 (1992–1998), 21–6.

John Barron's monograph on this coinage.⁹ It seems obvious, therefore, that they were originally Samian citizens who became naturalized in Athens. In both cases the grant was implemented and the two men later returned to the island as Athenian citizens.

The name Serambos means a dung-beetle or scarab; it is specifically Cretan and attested in numerous cities of Crete. In the hellenistic period it occurs for three Athenian individuals in three different demes. In at least one case, Serambos son of Heraippos in the deme Hermos, we can be sure that he came from a family in Eleutherna.¹⁰

So far, I have quoted a few examples that illustrate various ways by which foreign names intruded into Athenian onomastics. There are many more cases, but it is seldom easy to determine in which of these ways a certain name crept in. A few general observations, however, will help to define probabilities. First, Perikles' law on citizenship of 451 (reaffirmed in 403/2) greatly reduced the number of mixed marriages, since their offspring was henceforth denied Athenian citizenship. Mixed marriages, therefore, as long as the law was enforced, no longer contributed any new names to the citizen body. Furthermore, the institution of *xenia* became more and more obsolete with the political development of the *polis*, which demanded undivided loyalty from its citizens. Consequently, no (or very few) new names came in from that source. To put it differently, cases from *xenia* and from intermarriage are more or less confined to the archaic period, whereas most of our actual evidence is of later date. Wherever foreign names henceforth appear, they ought to come through grants of citizenship, unless they are names of kings or other celebrities, copied by their Athenian admirers for their sons.

There is, however, the question of how long Perikles' law remained valid or was enforced. The standard handbooks are a little vague on this, saying 'throughout the classical period'¹¹ or 'throughout the history of the democracy'.¹² Their authors seem to mean by these words: until 322 BC, without formally excluding later times that claimed to be democratic. The picture becomes somewhat clearer if we look at the record of funerary inscriptions.

⁹ Acheloios and Leos: K. Hallof and C. Habicht, *Athenische Mitteilungen* 110 (1995 (1998)), 297; J. Barron, *The Silver Coins of Samos* (London, 1966), 111, 209 (Acheloios), 104, 108, 206 (Leos).

¹⁰ Serambos: J. Tréheux and O. Masson, *RPh* 101 (1975), 14 n. 7; M.-F. Baslez, *REG* 89 (1976), 360 and n. 58.

¹¹ A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens* (Oxford, 1968), 61.

¹² S. C. Todd, *The Shape of Athenian Law* (Oxford, 1993), 177 n. 17.

Mixed marriages, which had become illegal and subject to a fine by the mid-fourth century, are found very rarely in the course of the third century¹³ and a little more often during the second. So far, however, just two cases are attested (in the later second century) where a son of such a marriage was an Athenian citizen.¹⁴ We may, therefore, conclude that by about 125 BC Perikles' law was no longer enforced.¹⁵

At about the same time, a new door was opened through which foreign names intruded. From about 125 BC onwards, foreigners, if admitted to the ephebate, would acquire Athenian citizenship. Not a single foreigner is found among the 107 names of ephebes recorded for 128/7, whereas there are no fewer than fourteen foreigners among the ephebes listed for 123/2. A well-known case in point is that of the brothers Heliodoros and Dies of Tyre — they served as ephebes in 105/4 and are attested as citizens a few years later.¹⁶

Finally, in the second century BC there is at least one clear case where the son of an Athenian citizen and a foreign woman was not only a citizen himself in his father's deme, but was named after his maternal (and foreign) grandfather. This is Nikandros of Phrearrioi, son of Leukippos of Phrearrioi and Archianassa, daughter of Nikandros of Herakleia.¹⁷ The daughter of the younger Nikandros was married to a citizen from Kydathenaion, but her name was Archianassa, taken from her paternal grandmother, that is to say, from a foreign woman married to an Athenian.¹⁸

¹³ C. Vatin, *Recherches sur le mariage et la condition de la femme mariée à l'époque hellénistique* (Paris, 1970), 125–6.

¹⁴ One is Καλλιάδης Ἐρμαγόρου Στειριεύς, secretary of the ephebes in 107/6 (*IG* II² 1011; V 122), son of Ἐρμαγόρας Στειριεύς and Κασταλία Μιτυληναία (*IG* II² 9968). Vatin also quotes (wrongly) Ἀνδρέας Ἡγεμάχου Λευκονοεύς, married to Μεθύλλιον Μυρναία (*IG* II² 9975). Andreas was, however, certainly the son of Ἡγέμαχος Ἀνδρέου Λεωντίδος φύλης, a victorious παῖς at the Theseia of c. 140 BC (*IG* II² 961, 27), whose mother may well have been (and probably was) an Athenian. For the second case, that of Nikandros, see below.

¹⁵ I cannot discuss here the revolutionary view of E. E. Cohen, 'The *Astoi* of Attika: Nationality and Citizenship at Athens', *Symposion* 1997 (eds G. Thühr and J. Vélissaropoulos-Karakostas) (Cologne, 1997), 57–95, that *astoi*, while including the citizens (except the cleruchs), were not citizens but 'local persons acculturated in Attika' (opp. *xenoi*), metics among them. He puts forward some strong arguments in favour of his view, but may run into difficulties with sons born to cleruchs: Epicurus, born in Samos, was the son of a citizen who, however, was no longer an *astos* according to this view.

¹⁶ Heliodoros and Dies of Tyre: *IDelos*, 2599 and 2595; S. Dow, *CP* 37 (1942), 311–14.

¹⁷ *IG* II² 7726 and 8581; Vatin, *Recherches sur le mariage*, 125 (above n. 13), who, however, got the relationship wrong. The correct stemma is in *PA* 9059.

¹⁸ *IG* II² 7721.

Here, then, is clear proof that the name Nikandros, not unfamiliar in Athens but otherwise not attested for Phrearrioi, came to this deme from Herakleia, and that the name Archianassa, completely foreign to Attica, was likewise an intrusion into Athenian nomenclature from Herakleia (whichever Herakleia that was).

In what follows I will briefly discuss, going from region to region, a number of names that intruded into Athenian nomenclature, most likely by way of naturalization. From neighbouring Boeotia I select Askondas, Boukattes, Homoloichos, and Karaichos. Askondas is found in Attica just once, in the middle of the second century BC. The name points to Thebes, where it occurs in one of the most distinguished families in the third and second centuries, whose members were all close partisans of the Macedonian kings.¹⁹ Boukattes is attested for a single Athenian individual in the 120s. He was a knight, a mint magistrate and a *thesmothetes*. The name is familiar in the Boeotian towns of Thebes, Orchomenos, and Tanagra.²⁰ Orchomenos, Lebadeia, and Thebes all have citizens named Karaichos. In Athens, Karaichos from the deme of Halai is attested in a subscription of 183/2, his grandson as mint magistrate, proposer of two decrees and *epimelete* of Delos.²¹ Finally, Homoloichos, 'one of the most widely dispersed names in all of Boeotia' according to P. Roesch, appears as the name of an Athenian teacher of the ephebes of 98/7.²²

The name Phokinos, once attested in Athens for the father of the ephebe Eualkos in the 240s, takes us to Megara, whose territory (like Boeotia) bordered on that of Attica. One hundred years earlier, none other than Demosthenes of Paiania moved a decree in honour of Phokinos, a general from Megara. A younger Phokinos, son of Eualkos, was likewise a Megarian general and a supporter of King Demetrios, either Demetrios Poliorketes or Demetrios II. He was honoured with the proxeny at Delphi and with citizenship at Athens. It was he who brought the name to the Athenian citizen body.²³ A distinguished citizen of Argos, Orthagoras son of Pythilas, is on

¹⁹ Askondas: *FD* III (2) 24 III, 23. S. N. Koumanoudes, *Thebaïke Prosopographia* (Athens, 1979), 36–7.

²⁰ Boukattes: C. Habicht, *Athen in hellenistischer Zeit. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Munich, 1994), 307.

²¹ Karaichos: Habicht, *op. cit.*, 268.

²² Homoloichos: *Hesperia*, Supplement 15 (1975), 57 no.7, 70; P. Roesch, *Études béotiennes* (Paris, 1982), 116–17. The name is also attested in Attica for citizens of Thebes and Tanagra: *IG* II² 8882, 10411.

²³ Phokinos: C. Habicht, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, Beiheft 47 (1989), 321–2.

record as the proposer of three decrees of that city. Pythilas, son of Orthagoras, victorious at the Panathenaea of 198 and registered as an Athenian citizen, was perhaps his son. As Johannes Kirchner and Markellos Mitsos saw, a member of the family must have acquired Athenian citizenship.²⁴

The Athenian sculptor Aleuas points to Larisa in Thessaly. This man is attested *c.* 400 BC as the artist of two dedications from Lindos on the island of Rhodes, and is mentioned by the elder Pliny as a sculptor of portraits of philosophers.²⁵ He may, however, be an Athenian citizen by birth and owe his name to his father's admiration for, or interest in, the family of the Thessalian tyrants, more than once allies of Athens in the fifth century. Naturalization, on the other hand, is likely for three Athenian citizens of the name Leontomenes, distinctly Thessalian,²⁶ and for Phoxinos, father of a councillor of 281/0, as Phoxinos is likewise a Thessalian name attested in Krannon, Larisa, Pharsalos, and Skotussa.²⁷ There is a unique instance of an Athenian citizen by the name of Hybristas in a victor list from the Theseia in the second century. That name has long been recognized as specifically Thessalian, and the Athenian Hybristas may well have come from a family of Krannon, of which one member was given citizenship at Larisa in 217 BC.²⁸

Moving on to Macedonia, Ophellas and his Athenian offspring have already been discussed. Other Macedonian names of Athenian citizens include Balakros, Byttakos, and Korragos. Many Macedonians so named are now conveniently collected in Argyro Tataki's book *Macedonians Abroad* (Athens, 1998). An Athenian Balakros, son of Euphronios, was made a *proxenos* by the Boeotian League in the later third century.²⁹ The name will have spread from Macedonia to other places as well, since Balakros, son of

²⁴ The decrees of Orthagoras: *Mnemosyne* 44 (1916), 53, and *BCH* 82 (1958), 13 no. 3. The victor Pythilas: *IG* II² 2313; II, 58, with Kirchner's note and Mitsos, *Argolike Prosopographia* (Athens, 1952), 157.

²⁵ Aleuas: *ILindos*, 29–30; Pliny, *NH*, 34, 86.

²⁶ Leontomenes in Athens: *LGPN* II, 281; in Thessaly: *IG* IX (2) 297 (Index) and, in addition, *Arch. Eph.* 1917, 18 no. 309, 8; *BCH* 45 (1921), 16, III, 35–6; *Thessal. Hemerol.* 7 (1984), 216 ff. no. 96, ll. 7 and 56; *Arch. Deltion* 34 B 1 (1987), 217 and 218.

²⁷ Phoxinos in Athens: *Agora* XV, no. 72, 180; in Thessaly: *ZPE* 101 (1994), 225–6, and *SEG* 40, 478.

²⁸ C. Habicht, *ZPE* 101 (1994), 220–1 no. 6; O. Masson, *REG* 99 (1986), 192.

²⁹ Balakros in Athens: *IG* VII 304; in Macedonia: I. I. Russu, *Ephemeris Dacoromana* VIII (1938), 178–9.

Apollonides of Thria, while himself an Athenian citizen, must have had his roots somewhere else, probably on the island of Lesbos. His brother, a distinguished sculptor of the second century and likewise a demesman of Thria, was Kaikosthenes. The name is foreign to Attica and points to the river Kaikos in north-western Anatolia, and in particular to the island of Lesbos, opposite its estuary³⁰ (below). The Macedonian name Byttakos has recently been discussed by the late Olivier Masson. In the second century BC an Athenian family from Lamptraï, in which the names of Byttakos and Pyrrhos alternated, begins to emerge as one of the leading families of late hellenistic Athens.³¹ One of the most distinctive Macedonian names, that of Korragos, occurs only once for an Athenian citizen, who was a knight.³² Among the names extremely common in, and typical of, Illyria is Plator. It is just once attested for an Athenian from Kephisia in the early first century.³³

In 332/1 BC, the comic poet Amphis from Andros was honoured in Athens as a *proxenos*. Later he must also have received Athenian citizenship, if the Suda (A 1760) can be trusted. There is no reason to doubt this.³⁴

Lesbos: the name Kaikosthenes, as mentioned above, is typical of Mytilene (as are numerous other names derived from the name of the river-god Kaikos). Kaikosthenes is also the name of an Athenian sculptor from Thria.

Hyblesios, attested once on the epitaph for a citizen from Kephisia in the fourth century, is foreign to Athenian onomastics. It is a name at home in Samos, and the family of the dead man must originate from there. Hyblesios was probably one of the Samians who were awarded Athenian citizenship in 405/4 BC in recognition of their loyalty.³⁵

³⁰ Balakros and Kaikosthenes of Thria: *IG II²* 3864, 3470, 3472, 4285–7; Pliny, *NH*, 34. 87; 35. 155 (Chalkosthenes). For names derived from the name of the Kaikos river see Bechtel, *HP*, 229; O. Masson, *Journ. des Savants* 1985, 19 = *OGS*, 477; R. Hodot, *Le Dialecte Eolien d'Asie: La Langue des Inscriptions, VIIe s. a. C.-IVe s. p. C.* (Paris, 1990), 214 n. 30.

³¹ Byttakos: O. Masson, *REG* 106 (1993), 163–7; for the Athenians of that name S. V. Tracy, *IG II²* 2336. *Contributors of First Fruit for the Pythais* (Meisenheim, 1982), 194.

³² Korragos: L. Robert, *Gnomon* 35 (1963), 60 (with earlier bibliography). In addition, *BE* 1968, no. 326. The Athenian knight: G. Bugh, *The Horsemen of Athens* (Princeton, 1988), 242 no. 139.

³³ L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure Gréco-Romaine* (Paris, 1963), 414 and often in *BE*; in Athens: *IDelos*, 1894, 1–2.

³⁴ Amphis of Andros as *proxenos*: *IG II²* 347, as Athenian citizen Suda A 1760. See also *Poetae Comici Graeci*, 2 (Berlin and New York, 1991), 213–35.

³⁵ Hyblesios a Samian name: C. Habicht, *Athenische Mitteilungen* 72 (1957), 188; in Athens *IG II²* 6431; Osborne, *Naturalization* 3–4, 109.

Kos: the name Nannakos is attested several times for citizens of the island, as is the female name Nannakis. In the later third century there was an Athenian Nannakos in the deme Eupyridai, whose son Herakleon became the chief secretary of the Athenian state in the year of the archon Achaios.³⁶

The name Stasioikos is one of the most common in Cyprus. A member of the Athenian council in the second century, from the deme Eitea, bore it and is the only Athenian citizen of that name on record.³⁷

To conclude—if I am not mistaken in my deductions, it is not only from preserved citizenship decrees that we learn about cases of naturalization of foreigners in Athens, but also through research into the onomastics of Athenian citizens, now immensely facilitated by the achievement of those who have given us Volume II of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. In numerous cases we can determine the ethnic origin (city or, more often, area) of such citizens, but rarely the time when Athenian citizenship was bestowed upon them or one of their forebears—unless there is a clear case of father–son relationship between a foreigner and his Athenian son.

³⁶ Nannakos: O. Masson, *RPh* 100 (1974), 87; in addition, a decree in honour of the Koan doctor Praxianax, son of Nannakos, in *Chiron* 28 (1998), 124 no. 14, 4. Nannakis: *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* 3 (1932), 28 no. 25. The Athenian citizen: *LGPNI*, 325.

³⁷ Stasioikos in Cyprus: *LGPNI*, 411; in Athens: *Agora* XV, 212, 76 (the date is 169/8 BC, not AD 167/8 as in *LGPNI*, 404).

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)