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ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΑΔΟΥ

Ε Π Ι Σ Η Μ Η Υ Π Ο Δ Ο Χ Η
ΤΟΥ ΑΝΤΕΠΙΣΤΕΛΛΟΝΤΟΣ ΜΕΛΟΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑΣ
CHRISTIAN HABICHT

ΧΑΙΡΕΤΙΣΜΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΥ Κ. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΑΔΗ

Με ιδιαίτερη χαρά ή 'Ακαδημία 'Αθηνών υποδέχεται τὸν καθηγητὴ κ. Christian Herbert Habicht ὑπὸ τὴν ιδιότητά του ὡς ἀντεπιστέλλοντος μέλους αὐτῆς.

Ὁ καθ. Habicht γεννήθηκε τὸ 1926 στὴν πόλη Dortmund. Σπούδασε στὰ Πανεπιστήμια Hamburg, Heidelberg καὶ Göttingen ἀρχαία ἱστορία, ἑλληνικὴ καὶ λατινικὴ φιλολογία καὶ ἀρχαιολογία. Ἀναγορεύθηκε τὸ 1952 διδάκτωρ στὸ Ἄμβουργο μὲ τὴν διάκριση *summa cum laude*.

Ὁ καθ. Habicht ἔχει μακροχρόνια σταδιοδρομία ὡς ἐρευνητῆς καὶ πανεπιστημιακὸς καθηγητῆς στὴν περιοχὴ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας, ἐν γένει, στὸν κλάδο τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐκδόσεως ἐπιγραφικῶν πηγῶν, εἰδικότερα.

Τὰ ἀντικείμενα τῶν ἐρευνῶν του εἶναι ποικίλα καὶ ἐκτείνονται ἀπὸ τὸν ἑλλαδικὸ χῶρο ἕως τὰ κράσπεδα τῆς ἀνατολικῆς Μεσογείου, χωρὶς νὰ παραλείπεται ἡ Ρώμη. Ἐν τούτοις οἱ μισὲς ἀπὸ τὶς μονογραφίες του καὶ τὰ μισὰ ἀπὸ τὰ ἄρθρα του ἔχουν θέματα ἀναφερόμενα στὴν ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν.

Ὁ καθ. Christian Habicht, μετὰξὺ τῶν κορυφαίων τοῦ ἐπιστημονικοῦ χώρου του, ἔχει διδάξει ὡς προσκεκλημένος καθηγητῆς σὲ πολλὰ πανεπιστήμια καὶ συνδιδευθύνει ἔγκυρο ἐπιστημονικὸ περιοδικὸ καὶ δύο προβεβλημένες σειρὲς ἐπιστημονικῶν μονογραφιῶν. Ἐπίσης ἔχει διακριθεῖ μὲ σημαντικὲς ἀκαδημαϊκὲς διακρίσεις.

Ἐπισημαστικώτερα γιὰ τὴν προσωπικότητα, τὴν δράση, τὸ ἐρευνητικὸ καὶ τὸ συγγραφικὸ ἔργο τοῦ καθ. Habicht θὰ μᾶς μιλήσει ὁ συνάδελφος κ. Μιχαήλ Σακελλαρίου.

Professor Christian Habicht,

It is with great pleasure and joy that the Academy of Athens welcomes you as a corresponding member of this Institution.

We wish you to continue, from this position too, your outstanding scientific work that you already have accomplished with success and virtue.

ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΑΚΑΔΗΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ Κ. ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΣΑΚΕΛΛΑΡΙΟΥ

Κύριε Πρόεδρε, Κύριοι Συνάδελφοι,

Αἰσθάνομαι μεγάλη χαρὰ καὶ τιμὴ πού ἔχω τὴν ἐντολή νὰ προσφωνήσω τὸν Καθηγητὴ Christian Herbert Habicht κατὰ τὴν εἰσοδοχὴ του στὴν Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν μὲ τὴν ιδιότητα ἀντεπιστέλλοντος μέλους της, λόγω τῆς μακᾶρος καὶ σημαντικῆς προσφορᾶς του στὴν Ἀρχαία Ἱστορία, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τῆς μελέτης ἐπιγραφικῶν πηγῶν.

Sehr geehrter, lieber Herr Collega,

Ich bin glücklich und geehrt, dass ich den Auftrag habe, Sie anzureden während Ihrer Induktion als korrespondierenden Mitglied der Athener Akademie wegen Ihres langläufigen und wichtigsten Beitrages zur Alten Geschichte, und zwar durch Ihr Studium der inschriftlichen Quellen.

Διατελὼν βοηθὸς στὸ Πανεπιστήμιο τοῦ Ἀμβούργου, ἀπὸ τὸ 1952 ἕως τὸ 1957, ἔλαβε ὑποτροφία ἀπὸ τὸ Γερμανικὸ Ἀρχαιολογικὸ Ἰνστιτοῦτο καί, χάρις σ' αὐτήν, ἐπισκέφθηκε κατὰ τὸ ἀκαδημαϊκὸ ἔτος 1954-1955 τὴν Ἰταλία, τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τὴν Τουρκία καὶ τὴν Ἑγγύς Ἀνατολή. Τὸ 1957 ἀναγορεύθηκε ὑφηγητὴς τῆς ἀρχαίας ἱστορίας καὶ μὲ αὐτὴ τὴν ιδιότητα ὑπῆρέτησε στὸ Ἀμβούργο ἕως τὸ 1961, στὸ δὲ διάστημα τῆς θητείας του ἔλαβε ἄδεια γιὰ ἔτησια ἐρευνητικὴ ἀποστολὴ στὴν Ἀθήνα. Ὡς Καθηγητὴς πλέον ὑπῆρέτησε διαδοχικὰ στὸ Πανεπιστήμιο τοῦ Marburg, 1961-1965, στὸ Πανεπιστήμιο τῆς Heidelberg, 1965-1973, καὶ στὸ Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, ἀπὸ τὸ 1973 καὶ ἔπειτα.

Ἔχει διδάξει σὲ πολλὰ πανεπιστήμια τῶν Ἑνωμένων Πολιτειῶν, καθὼς καὶ σὲ εὐρωπαϊκὰ, ὡς προσκεκλημένος καθηγητής: Visiting Professor with rank of Professor, Princeton University (1973-1983), Sather Professor in Classics, University of California, Berkeley, (1982), Louise Taft Sample Lecturer, University of Cincinnati (1987), R. A. Robinson Lecturer, Brown University (1987), David Maggie Lecturer, Princeton University (1988), Constantine Lecturer, University of Virginia (1989), Inaugural Lecturer, Center for Epigraphical Studies, Ohio State University (1990), University Lecturer, Cornell University (1990), Nellie Wallace Lecturer, University of Oxford (1994). Ἐπισκέπτῃς καθηγητῆς στὸ Πανεπιστήμιο τοῦ Ἀμβούργου (1995).

Ἔχει λάβει τὰ ἀκόλουθα βραβεῖα: Reuchlin Prize in the Humanities (1991). Henry Allen Moe Prize of the American Philosophical Society (1996).

Εἶναι Συνδιευθυντής: 1) τῆς γερμανικῆς σειρᾶς ἐπιστημονικῶν δημοσιευμάτων *HYPOMNEMATA, Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben, Göttingen* (ἔχει ἄνω τῶν 110 τόμων), 2) τοῦ ἐγκρίτου ἀμερικανικοῦ περιοδικοῦ *American Journal of Ancient History* καὶ 3) τῆς γερμανικῆς σειρᾶς ἐκδόσεως ἀρχαίων ἐβραϊκῶν κειμένων *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-romischen Zeit*.

Ὁ Καθηγητῆς Christian Herbert Habicht ἐκλέχθηκε πολὺ νέος, τὸ 1970, μέλος τῆς Heidelberg Akademie der Wissenschaften. Ἐξ ἄλλου, εἶναι μέλος τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου, τοῦ Αὐστριακοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου, τῆς American Philosophical Society καὶ ἄλλων ἐπιστημονικῶν ἐταιρειῶν. Ἐπίσης φέρει τὸν τίτλο τοῦ Ἐπιτίμου Καθηγητοῦ τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τῆς Heidelberg.

Ἡ ἐργογραφία τοῦ Καθηγητῆ Christian Herbert Habicht περιλαμβάνει 10 βιβλία καὶ [240] ἄρθρα, ἐπὶ πλεόν δὲ πολλὰς σημαντικὰς βιβλιοκρισίας.

Παραθέτω τίτλους μόνο τῶν βιβλίων:

—*Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*. München, 1956, σελ. XVI + 225. Δεύτερη ἐκδοση ἀναθεωρημένη καὶ ἐπαυξημένη, 1970, σελ. XVI + 290.

—*Die Inschriften des Asklepieions* (Altertümer von Pergamon, VIII, 3). Berlin, 1969, σελ. XII + 202.

—2. *Makkabäerbuch*, (*Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, I 3), Gütersloh, 1976, σελ. 125. Δεύτερη ἐκδοση, 1979.

—*Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit*. Göttingen, 1982, σελ. X + 215.

—*Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, München, 1979, σελ. X + 163.

—*Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (Sather Classical Lectures, 50), Berkeley, 1985, σελ. XV + 207. Γερμανική έκδοση: *Pausanias und seine Beschreibung Griechenlands*, München 1985, σελ. 207.

—*Cicero the Politician*, Baltimore, 1989, σελ. XIII + 148. Γερμανική έκδοση: *Cicero der Politiker*. München, 1990, σελ. 171.

—*Athen in hellenistischer Zeit, Gesammelte Aufsätze*. München, 1994, σελ. 379.

—*Athen, Die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit*, München, 1995, σελ. 406.

—*Athens from Alexander to Antony*, Cambridge, Mass., 1997 (ἀναδημοσίευση 130 άρθρων και 20 βιβλιοκρισιῶν).

Ἱστορικὸς καὶ μαζί ἐκδότης καὶ σχολιαστὴς ἀρχαίων ἐπιγραφῶν, ὁ καθηγητὴς Christian Herbert Habicht εἶναι ἓνας ἀπὸ τοὺς περισσότερο διακεκριμένους καὶ προβεβλημένους δρῶντες ἐρευνητὲς στὸν χῶρο τῆς ἀρχαίας ἱστορίας. Ἀπὸ χρονολογικὴ ἄποψη ἔχει ἀσχοληθεῖ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον μὲ τὴν ἑλληνιστικὴ ἐποχὴ στὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ στὴν Ἀνατολή, ἀπὸ δὲ γεωγραφικὴ ἄποψη ἐκτείνεται ἀπὸ τὴ Ρώμη ἕως τὴν Παλαιστίνη καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτο, ἐπιφυλάσσοντας προνομιακὴ θέση στὴν πόλη τῶν Ἀθηνῶν.

Ὁ καθηγητὴς Christian Herbert Habicht ἐξελέγη ἀντεπιστέλλον μέλος τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν λόγῳ τῆς μεγάλης σημασίας τῆς ἐπιστημονικῆς προσφορᾶς του.

Sehr geehrter, lieber Herr Kollega,

Ἀξιότιμε καὶ ἀγαπητὲ Κύριε Συνάδελφε,

Zum Schluss hoffe ich am herzlichsten dass Sie immer weiter mit dem selben Erfolg arbeiten werden.

Καταλήγων, Σᾶς εὐχομαι ἐγκαρδίως νὰ συνεχίσετε γιὰ πολὺν ἀκόμη καιρὸ τὴ δημιουργικὴ ἐργασία Σας μὲ τὴν ἴδια πάντοτε ἐπιτυχία.

ATHENIAN CITIZENS WITH FOREIGN NAMES

ΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΤΕΠΙΣΤΕΛΛΟΝΤΟΣ ΜΕΛΟΥΣ Κ. CHRISTIAN HABICHT

It is a well-known fact that in antiquity a Greek individual is recognized by his and his father's name: Πλάτων Ἀρίστωνος, Platon son of Ariston. Likewise, a first son was generally given the name of his paternal grandfather and in turn he gave his own first son the name of his father. The Athenian Gryllos named his son Xenophon, and Xenophon, the famous writer, called his son Gryllos. The same pattern still exists today in countries of Northern Europe, where both the father and the son of Holger Nilsson are called Nils Holgerson.

There was more freedom for second or third sons, and there were, of course, exceptions to this rule, deliberate deviations from the norm, always caused by some special consideration. I intend to look at a number of such exceptions that happened within the Athenian citizenry, and in so doing I will focus on pre-imperial times, the years B.C., and on names foreign to the genuine pool of Athenian names, intrusions into it. As has been stated, there was in Athens «a basic onomastic continuity», that is, a certain stock of names occurring again and again through the centuries¹. But from time to time intruders, foreign names, found their way into the nomenclature of Athenian citizens. I am not speaking of foreigners living on Athenian soil, but only of Athenian citizens bearing non-Athenian names. These are names rarely attested within Attica, sometimes only once, but at the same time familiar among other Greeks or their non-Greek neighbours, and therefore traceable back to this or that region. This kind of research has now been greatly facilitated by the publication of volume 2 of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, sponsored by the British Academy. This volume is dedicated in its entirety to Attica. It was published in 1994 and contains some 62,000 individuals and some 8,300 different names. Women make for a little more than 10 % of the total. Foreign names are very often immediately recognized as such, names such as Oloros, Seuthes or Serambos. For others, a presumption that they may be foreign can arise if they are very

1. *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* III 1 (1997), p. VII.

rarely attested in Athens, or only within one family, or just one deme. Once a certain name is under suspicion as being of foreign origin, the following questions arise: 1) where does it come from?; 2) how did it find its way into Athenian onomastics?; 3) when did this happen? Answers are more easily found for the first than for the second question and more easily for the second than for the third: a foreign name may have been in an Athenian family for generations before it appears on our record. I shall begin with a case where all three questions can be answered.

A short epigram found in the Mesogaia and dating to the third quarter of the sixth century was published in 1938². It was inscribed on the base of a statue erected at the grave of a citizen named Kroisos who had been killed in battle. It reads (in Gisela Richter's translation): «Stay and mourn at the monument of dead Kroisos whom furious Ares destroyed in the front ranks». It is at once obvious that the name came to this fallen hero from King Kroisos of Lydia who lost his kingdom in the war against Cyrus of Persia in 546 B.C., and that some time between 560 (when Kroisos became king) and 546, an Athenian father had named his son Kroisos out of admiration for the foreign king. It is commonly known that Kroisos entertained ties to the Greek world and was a benefactor of several Greek sanctuaries, also that the Athenian lawgiver Solon was said to have visited him. We may even have the statue of this Athenian Kroisos in the marble kouros from Anavyssos, found at a distance of 3 km from the base with the epigram and now mounted at that base made for Kroisos³ —but I will happily leave this problem to the specialists. However that may be, the epigram and the statue reflect the aristocratic status of the Athenian Kroisos and of the youth from Anavyssos. It has been argued that young Kroisos was the brother of Kleisthenes the reformer — if so, he was the second son of his parents⁴.

My second case, in many ways similar but more problematic, comes from the same period, the third quarter of the sixth century, and is also connected with a foreign king who, like Kroisos of Lydia, had close connections with the Greek world. It points, however, to a different social milieu,

2. Now *IG I³* 1240.

3. S. Karouzou, *National Museum. Illustrated Guide to the Museum* (1978), 52-53, No. 3851.

4. C.W. Eliot, *Historia* 16, 1967, 279-286.

that of the artisans. As some of you will have guessed, I am now speaking of the Athenian Amasis and the Egyptian king of that name. In Athens, there is Amasis the potter, whose signature is preserved on nine pots, and there is the Amasis painter, the man who painted some of the potter's vases and might be identical with him⁵. Whether a single person or two different individuals, the name Amasis undoubtedly points to Egypt. Many scholars believe that the name was given to the boy who later became the potter by an Athenian admirer of the Pharaoh. Since, however, Amasis became sole ruler only in 566, some scholars see chronological difficulties with this assumption, given the fact that pots with the signature of Amasis may date as early as 550 (or even a bit earlier)⁶. There was, indeed, an older Pharaoh of the name Amasis, but he is not known to have entertained any ties with Greeks and could hardly have been responsible for the name of the potter. Some think that the potter Amasis was born an Egyptian and later came to Athens to make his career. This theory did not satisfy the late Semni Karouzou. In a book on the Amasis painter published in 1956, she pointed out (I quote): «a foreign name in antiquity did not necessarily imply a non-Greek origin», and «The only safe criterion of origin is the style of his vases. This is Attic through and through». And she alluded to the epigram for Kroisos and the kouros from Anavyssos as a close parallel and concluded: «a member of a wealthy family in the Mesogaia of Attica was named after the Lydian king who, like the Egyptian Amasis was a philhellene and a friend of Solon... Kroisos and Amasis were names given to Greeks in honour of the two kings»⁷. I am inclined to agree, although a glance at the latest volume of *Archaeologike Ephemeris* shows that the debate concerning Amasis continues⁸. Kroisos and Amasis made their way into the pool of names of Athenian citizens in

5. H. Mommsen, *Der Neue Pauly* 1 (1996) 573.

6. J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (1974) 54, followed by Mommsen, 1. c. 573.

7. S. Karouzou, *The Amasis Painter* (1956) 27 and 42. See also D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World* (1985) 37-38.

8. N. Malagardis - M. Iozzo, «Amasis et les autres - Nuovi documenti del Pittore di Amasis», *AE* 1995 [1997] 185-208.

the course of the sixth century when Athenian parents named their sons after these foreign kings.

The Thracian name Seuthes is found for a few Athenians beginning in the third century. It clearly refers to one of the kings of that name, and the most obvious candidate to have, so to speak, «godfathered» the name is Seuthes IV who in 400 B.C. took the Athenian Xenophon and the Ten Thousand for a while into his service. One of the Athenians with Xenophon at the time may have given this name to his son, and an Athenian Seuthes in the early fourth century is no difficult assumption, even if the name appears on our records only later⁹. Hellenistic kings follow suit as name givers for Athenians: the Athenian citizens Ptolemaios and Magas have their names from rulers of Egypt and Cyrene. Those named Seleukos reflect Athenian ties with the vast empire of Seleukos and his successors. In the third century king Areus of Sparta was the ally of Athens and Ptolemy II in a war against Macedon. He was certainly responsible for the fact that the name Areus made its way at that time into a family of Kephisia¹⁰.

Two royal names appear together on the base of a statue of the philosopher Karneades, set up around 150 B.C. close to the Stoa of Attalos. The two donors, Attalos and Ariarathes, were Athenian citizens from the deme of Sypalettos (thereby members of the tribe Kekropis)¹¹. Orthodox opinion long held that they were none other than the naturalised princes of these names from Pergamon and Cappadocia respectively, and that the princes put up the statue out of respect for the man who was supposed to have been their teacher in Athens, the headmaster of the Academy. But Harold Mattingly objected, saying that the prince Attalos (who is known to have possessed Athenian citizenship) ought to have been a member not of Kekropis, but of Attalis, in the same way that king Ptolemy was a member of the tribe Ptolemais. He concluded that the donors were born as Athenian citizens and named after the foreign princes¹². Many still defended the orthodox

9. H. Swoboda, *RE* «Seuthes» No. 2 (1923) 2020-2021.

10. «Ptolemaios»: several instances for the 3rd century B.C. in *LGPN* II, 384-385. «Magas»: *LGPN* 294. «Seleukos»: *LGPN* II 395. «Areus»: *I Délos* 2589, 8 and 24.

11. *IG* II² 3781.

12. H. Mattingly, *Historia* 20, 1971, 28-32.

view until new evidence proved Mattingly right. A victor list of the equestrian contests of the Greater Panathenaia of 170 was published in 1990. Among the victors was prince Attalos of Pergamon, listed as an Athenian citizen in the tribe Attalis¹³. The Athenian Ariarathes, one of the donors of Karneades' statue, owed his name to king Ariarathes IV, who, after having been an enemy, in 188 became (and ever remained) a close ally and friend of the Pergamene royal family. But there is more. The two donors must have been close relatives, brothers in all probability, since a boy attested in the year 128 bears both their names, Ariarathes son of Attalos, and was undoubtedly a son of the donor named first¹⁴. With this, the case becomes still more interesting, as the two names in a single family clearly point to the close and cordial relationship formed between the two dynasties in 188. It follows that the two donors were both born after that date, perhaps soon thereafter.

Yet another word on Karneades. The famous philosopher himself was a foreigner, from Cyrene in North Africa, who introduced his foreign name into Athens. The inscription just discussed tells us that he was awarded Athenian citizenship, calling him a demesman of Azenia. Furthermore, an Athenian citizen named his newborn son Karneades. As this boy appears as an ephebe in 117 B.C.¹⁵, he was born in 135, that is to say during the philosopher's lifetime (Karneades died in 129 B.C.). In this case a towering intellectual played for Athenian onomastics the same role that foreign kings often played: serving as a model for the introduction of a non-Athenian name.

I have so far discussed cases in which names of foreign celebrities, mostly kings, were selected for newborn Athenians. I turn, now to other causes for the admission of foreign names into Attica. One was the institution of *xenia* or ritualised friendship between two families one Athenian, the other foreign. The best known case is that of the famous Alcibiades, whose name is not Athenian, as one might expect, but Spartan. He owed it to an earlier Spartan namesake with whom one of his forebears had entertained such a friendship. This bond dated back to the sixth century, but was still effective in the later

13. *Hesperia* 60, 1991, 217.

14. *FD* III 2, 12, col. III 9.

15. *IG* II² 1009, col. III 82.

fifth, when in 413/2 the Athenian Alcibiades cooperated in Sparta (whereto he had fled from Sicily) with one of the ephors, Endios, a descendant of the Spartan Alcibiades¹⁶. Gabriel Herman has discussed the institution in his book *Ritualised Friendship in the Greek City*, 1987, and in *Classical Quarterly* 40, 1990, where he listed this case and others, including that of the Athenian *hierophantes* Archias who, in 379 B.C., sent his Theban guest-friend Archias a warning that a plot was underway to overthrow the oligarchy in Thebes¹⁷. The father of the historian Thucydides, Oloros, bore the name of a Thracian ruler. Conventional wisdom explains the fact as a result of a marriage between Thucydides' grandfather and the daughter of Oloros; the couple would have named their offspring after his maternal grandfather (the usual way to name a second son). Herman, however, makes a strong case for the alternative: that the name may have come to Athens as a result of *xenia* between an Athenian citizen and the Thracian ruler. Formal friendship of this kind, not, however, between two individuals, but between an Athenian citizen and a foreign state, may account for the names of Thessalos (given by both Peisistratos and Kimon to a son) and of Lakedaimonios, another son of Kimon. And *xenia* may also account 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 Miletus¹⁸.

Another door through which foreign names entered to become names of Athenian citizens was naturalization. Foreigners who were granted Athenian citizenship, if they activated it and became enrolled in a tribe and in a deme, brought their names with them. It could be a name long familiar in Athens and elsewhere, or a foreign name. Some 120 decrees granting Athenian citizenship are still extant, collected by Michael Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens*, 4 vols., 1981-83. For most recipients, such grant was merely an honour, as only a minority of foreigners settled in Athens. Those who did not, did not affect Athenian name giving. Those who did very often bore names already common among Athenian citizens. For these reasons a review of these attested

16. Thuc. VIII 6, 3. J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (1971) 15-16.

17. Plut. *Pelopidas* 10. G. Herman, *CQ* 40, 1990, 353.

18. G. Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* (1987) 21, note 18, and *CQ* 40, 1990, 354.

cases of citizenship grants does not get us very far. More often we learn from other documents that an individual had received and implemented Athenian citizenship —if this document gives him an Athenian demotic. This is the case with the base for Karneades that features his Athenian demotic. Another instance is Sthennis, one of the foremost sculptors of the later fourth century. He is known from writers on art history, Pliny the elder and Pausanias, and from a number of inscriptions. He cooperated with the even more famous Leochares on a family-monument on the Akropolis, and his works embellished the sanctuaries of Zeus at Olympia and of Amphiaraios at Oropos, where stood a statue from Sthennis' hand commissioned by King Lysimachos. He was a citizen of Olynthus, the city destroyed by Philip II in 348; he was given Athenian citizenship and henceforth signed his works within Attica with his name and demotic (Diomeeus), and beyond the borders as «Athenian». So did his descendants, likewise sculptors¹⁹.

A recently published document of the Athenian cleruchy at Samos, which dates to ca. 350 B.C., gives two previously unattested names for Athenian citizens, Acheloios and Leos. Both names occur on Samian silver coins of the early 4th century, as documented in John Barron's monograph *The Silver Coins of Samos*, 1966. These coins are earlier than the cleruchy that was founded only in 365. It seems therefore obvious that the two were originally Samian citizens who became naturalised in Athens²⁰.

Finally, foreign names could come to Athenian citizens as a result of intermarriage between an Athenian and a foreign woman. Best known, from Herodotus, is the story of the reformer Kleisthenes, named after the tyrant Kleisthenes of Sikyon who gave away his daughter Agariste to the Athenian Megakles; the son of the couple was named after his maternal grandfather²¹. Here is another, and later, instance. The Macedonian Ophellas, born in Pella, ruled after Alexander's death the city of Cyrene for Ptolemy Soter. He was married to the Athenian Euthydike, a descendant of Miltiades, the victor at Marathon. Their son, born in 308 after the father's

19. C. Habicht, *Horos* 10-12, 1992-1998, 21-26.

20. K. Hallof - C. Habicht, *AM* 110, 1995 [1997] 297.

21. Herodotus 6, 126-131.

death, was Miltiades, among whose descendants the name Ophelas recurred²². The case is different from that of Kleisthenes, as Ophellas was the foreigner and his wife was from Athens. But the main difference was that of time: when these two were married, sons from a mixed marriage were no longer recognised as Athenian citizens; Pericles' law on citizenship of 451 B.C. had put an end to this. Since, however, Ophellas' offspring were Athenian citizens, one has to conclude (with Michael Osborne) that Ophellas had been granted Athenian citizenship.

Pericles' law deserves a closer look. It stated that henceforth only children born from two citizen parents (from two ἄστροί, to be precise) were entitled to citizenship. This law was abrogated during the Peloponnesian War in 429, when the plague had inflicted severe losses on the number of citizens at a time when citizens were desperately needed for army and navy (it was probably then, too, that Pericles was granted an exception to his own law, so that his homonymous son from the Milesian Aspasia, a bastard, could be acknowledged as a citizen). After the war, in 403/2, the law was reaffirmed and a little later, mixed marriages of Athenians to foreign women were altogether prohibited by law with heavy fines for infringements. As long as these laws were strictly enforced, there were no mixed marriages and therefore no new foreign names originating from them²³. Furthermore, the institution of *xenia* had become more and more obsolete with the political development of the *Polis* which demanded undivided loyalty from its citizens (*xenia* had flourished as long as the aristocracy all over Greece created a society that was international, not national in character). For these reasons, cases from *xenia* and from mixed marriages are more or less confined to the archaic period.

There is, however, the question of how long Pericles' law and the ban on mixed marriages were strictly enforced. The standard handbooks are a little vague on this, saying «throughout the classical period» or «throughout

22. M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens*, 3-4 (1983) 82-83.

23. Ἀθρολ. 26, 4 with P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Reprint 1993) 331-334 and 775. C. Patterson, *Pericles' Citizenship Law of 451-50 B.C.* (1981). A.-M. Vêrilhac - C. Vial, *Le Mariage Grec* (1998) 53-60 and 78-79.

the history of the democracy»²⁴. Their authors seem to mean: until 322 B.C., without formally excluding later times that claimed to be democratic. The comedies of Menander, written and performed in the late fourth and the early third centuries, show these laws still in force. The picture becomes somewhat clearer if we look at the record of the funerary inscriptions. About 15,000 are known from Attica. They have been scrutinised for evidence of mixed marriages and their offspring. The result is that for the entire third century just two cases of mixed marriages are attested (*IG* II² 8088 and 9152), and a few more in the second century²⁵. Some scholars believe that mixed marriages were already officially recognised as valid in the early second century, whereas others allow this only for the period of the Mithridatic Wars, some one hundred years later²⁶. For my topic, however, the main question is not since when it was legally possible for an Athenian to marry a foreign woman, but whether or not sons of such a marriage were admitted to citizenship. For this, I have found just two instances (both in the later second century) that a son of such a marriage was indeed an Athenian citizen. I would, therefore, conclude that by about 125 B.C. Pericles' law was no longer enforced.

At about the same time a new door was opened through which foreign names intruded. From about 125 B.C. onwards, foreigners, if admitted to the ephebate, would acquire Athenian citizenship upon graduation. Lists of the members of the ephebic corps are preserved for the years 128 and 123. In the list from 128, not a single foreigner is found among 107 ephebes recorded, whereas no fewer than 14 foreigners occur among the ephebes listed for 123²⁷. A well-known case in point is that of the brothers Heliodoros and Dies of Tyre in Phoenicia: they served as ephebes in 105 and are attested as citizens a few years later²⁸.

24. A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens* (1968) 61. S. C. Todd, *The Shape of the Athenian Law* (1993) 177, note. 17.

25. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia-Supplement* 13, 1970, 50-51. C. Vatin, *Recherches sur le mariage et la condition de la femme mariée à l'époque hellénistique* (1970) 125-126.

26. Vêrilhac - Vial (note 23) 79.

27. *Hesperia* 24, 1955, 231-232 and *FD* III 2, 24 (128/7); *IG* II² 1031 which is part of 1006 (123/2),

28. St. Dow, *CP* 37, 1942, 311-314.

Three funerary inscriptions of members of a single family provide documentary proof that at the end of the 2nd century B.C. the son of a mixed marriage between an Athenian citizen and a foreign woman was recognised as an Athenian citizen in his father's deme. They show at the same time, that two foreign names from Heraclea came into this family by way of intermarriage. Archianassa of Heraclea, the daughter of Nikandros of Heraclea married the Athenian Leukippos Phrearrios. A son of this couple was Nikandros Phrearrios, named after his maternal (and foreign) grandfather and a citizen in the deme of Phrearrioi. This Nikandros named his own daughter Archiaassa after his foreign-born grandmother, whose name is attested among Athenian names only this once²⁹.

So far, I have discussed four different ways by which foreign names came to be accepted in Athens: by copying the name of a foreign celebrity such as Kroisos or Amasis; through *xenia* between an Athenian and a foreign individual (the case of Alcibiades); through naturalisation (Karneades the philosopher), and finally by way of intermarriage (the name of Kleisthenes, at home in Sikyon). In conclusion, I now cite samples of foreign names originating in different areas of the Greek world but also found as names of Athenian citizens.

From neighbouring BOEOTIA I list Askondas from Thebes, Homoloichos, «one of the most widely dispersed names in all of Boeotia», Boukattes from Thebes, Orchomenos, Tanagra, and Karaichos from Thebes, Orchomenos and Lebadeia. All these names are found only once in Athens or only within one single family³⁰. From MEGARA came Phokinos, a general of King Demetrios Poliorketes; he was granted citizenship in Athens and his son served as an Athenian epebe³¹. A distinguished citizen of ARGOS, Orthagoras son of Pythilas is on record as the speaker of three decrees of that city. The two names inverted, Pythilas son of Orthagoras, were those

29. *IG* II² 7721. 7726. 8581. Stemma in *PA* 9059.

30. «Askondas»: *FD* III 2, 24, col. III 23. S. N. Kumanudes, *Θηβαϊκή προσωπογραφία* (1979) 36-37. «Homoloichos»: *Hesperia-Supplement* 15, 1975, 57, No. 7, line 70 (the quotation is from P. Roesch, *Etudes béotiennes*, 1982, 116-117). «Boukattes»: C. Habicht, *Athen in hellenistischer Zeit. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (1994) 307. «Karaichos»: *ibidem* 268.

31. «Phokinos»: C. Habicht, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, Beiheft 47 (1989) 321-322.

of an Athenian citizen victorious at the Panathenaia of 198 B.C., perhaps his son. So the family must have acquired Athenian citizenship³².

THESSALY provided several new names to the nomenclature of Athenians. First Aleuas, familiar in Larisa among the princely family of the Aleuads, the Athenian Aleuas, around 400 B.C. was a sculptor. Three other distinctly Thessalian names are also found among Athenian citizens: Leontomenes, Phoxinos, and Hybristas, the last two for only one individual each, the first in a single family³³. MACEDONIA contributes, besides the already discussed Ophellas, three others: Balakros, Byttakos, and Korragos. Byttakos has recently been discussed by the late Olivier Masson, and a family in which this name is attested begins to emerge as one of the leading families of late hellenistic Athens, whereas Korragos is found in Athens only once³⁴. The origin of the only attested citizen by the name of Plator must ultimately be ILLYRIA³⁵. From LESBOS hailed the family of the sculptor Kaikosthenes, from ANDROS the comic poet Amphis, first *proxenos*, then citizen of Athens, from SAMOS the family of Hyblesios who is known from a 4th century tombstone as a citizen in the deme Kephisia. In all likelihood, he was one of the Samians awarded citizenship in 405/4 in recognition of their loyalty to Athens

32. The decrees of Orthagoras: *Mnemosyne* 44, 1916, 53 and *BCH* 82, 1958, 13, No. 3. The victor Pythilas: *IG* II² 2313, col. II 58, with Kirchner's note, and Mitsos, *Ἀργολικὴ προσωπογραφία* (1952) 157.

33. «Aleuas»: *I Lindos* 29-30; Pliny, n. h. 34, 86. «Leontomenes» in Athens: *LGPN* II 281, in Thessaly *IG* IX 2, p. 297 (Index), in addition *Ephemeris* 1917, 18, No. 309, line 8; *BCH* 45, 1921, 16, col. III, lines 35-36; *Thessal. Hemerol.* 7, 1984, 216 ff., No. 96, lines 7 and 56; *Deltion* 34, B 1 (1987) 217, and 218. «Phoxinos» in Athens: *Agora* XV 72, line 180; in Thessaly: *ZPE* 101, 1994, 225-226, and *SEG* 40, 478. «Hybristas»: *ZPE* 101, 1994, 220-221, No 6. O. Masson, *REG* 99, 1986, 192.

34. «Balakros» in Athens: *IG* VII 304; in Macedonia: I. I. Russu, *Ephemeris Dacoromana* 8, 1938, 178-179, «Byttakos»: O. Masson, *REG* 106, 1993, 163-167; for the Athenians of that name: St. V. Tracy, *IG* II² 2336. *Contributors of First Fruit for the Pythais* (1982) 194. «Korragos»: L. Robert, *Gnomon* 35, 1963, 60 (with earlier bibliography), in addition *Bulletin épigraphique* 1968, 326. The Athenian horseman Korragos: G. Bugh, *The Horsemen of Athens* (1988) 242, No. 139.

35. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure Gréco-Romaine* (1963) 414, in Athens: *I Délos* 1894, 1-2.

during the Peloponnesian War³⁶. Nannakos unquestionably points to KOS, but the son of Nannakos Eupyrides, Herakleon, who was secretary to the Athenian council in the second century must have been an Athenian citizen and was the son of a citizen. Finally, Stasioikos, a member of the Athenian council from the deme of Eitea in the same period, must have had the roots of his family in CYPRUS³⁷.

To conclude. Is there a general lesson to be drawn from the evidence presented here? I have discussed (or alluded to) some forty foreign names. There were, of course, more, certainly more than 80 (or 1 % of the known Athenian names), but less than 400 (or 5 % of that total). We are dealing with a very small minority, and this, of course, reflects the fact that the citizen body of democratic Athens was almost a closed society that admitted only very few outsiders into its ranks from the time that Pericles' law took effect until it finally became obsolete, centuries later. It has often been remarked that perhaps the most serious single cause for the destruction of the Athenian Empire in 404 B.C. was the city's failure to open itself to its allies by allowing them (or at least their leading men) to become Athenian citizens. The city thereby failed to attract the goodwill and to secure the loyalty of many Greeks; it preferred ruling over them to making them partners. The Romans did better in this respect, even if it took the bloody Social War of 90 to 88 B.C. to make them aware that the state's survival required them to admit the Italians to Roman citizenship. The emperors then extended the gift of citizenship to the local elites all over the Empire, and the result

36. «Kaikosthenes»: *IG II²* 3470 and others; Pliny, n. h. 34, 87. See F. Bechtel, *HP* 229; O. Masson, *Onomastica Graeca Selecta* 477. R. Hodot, *Le Dialecte Eolien d'Asie* (1990) 214, note 30. «Amphis» of Andros as Athenian *proxenos*: *IG II²* 347, as Athenian citizen Suda α 1760. See also *PCG II* 1991, 213-235. «Hyblesios», a Samian name: C. Habicht, *AM* 72, 1957, 188; in Athens: *IG II²* 6431. Osborne (note 22) 3-4, 109.

37. «Nannakos»: O. Masson, *RPh* 100, 1994, 87; in addition *Chiron* 28, 1998, 124, No. 14, line 4. «Nannakis»: *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* 3, 1932, 28, No. 25. The Athenian «Nannakos»: *LGPV II* 325. «Stasioikos» in Cyprus: *LGPV I* 411; in Athens *Agora XV* 212, 76 (the date is 169/8 B. C., not A. D. 167/8 as in *LGPV II* 404).

of such liberal policy was that the Empire lasted as long as it did. Viewed from this angle, Pericles' law on citizenship looks not only prohibitive but unwise³⁸.

38. I have recently discussed the same topic and some of the same material at a Symposium of the British Academy honoring Peter Fraser, the founder of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, on July 11, 1998: «Foreign Names in Athenian Nomenclature», in S. Hornblower and E. Matthews (Eds.), *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence*, forthcoming.