PATTERNS OF NAME DIFFUSION WITHIN THE GREEK WORLD AND BEYOND*

Thucydides the historian identifies himself as the son of a certain Oloros (4.104.4) and, since Thucydides was by birth an Athenian (1.1.1), and Oloros is a Thracian name, the question arises how he acquired this Thracian patronymic. According to the view which has gained almost general acceptance, Thucydides of the deme Halimous in Attica owed his Thracian patronymic to a connexion by marriage. The hypothetical reconstruction of the family tree is that Thucydides' Athenian grandfather had married a daughter of Miltiades the Athenian and Hegesipyle, daughter of the Thracian ruler Oloros, and a son of this marriage was called Oloros after his maternal great-grandfather. This Athenian Oloros became, as shown in Figure 1, the father of Thucydides the historian – an Athenian with a Thracian patronymic.[1]

Another possible explanation of the Thracian patronymic is based on a new interpretation that in an earlier publication I suggested for the institution of *xenia*.[2] This possibility has been almost totally ignored in scholarly literature and is here offered for critical appraisal. The hypothetical reconstruction of Thucydides' ancestry is, in this case, as follows. An Athenian whose name we do not know had concluded a pact of *xenia* with Oloros of Thrace and, in conformity with the rules of *xenia*, named a son after his *xenos*. As sons in Athens were frequently called after their father's father, the grandson of this Oloros was called Oloros too – once again an Athenian with a Thracian patronymic. This is shown in Figure 2.

Which one is the more likely explanation? The correct answer to this question would carry implications beyond the specific case of Thucydides, since the ancient sources are replete with examples in which Greeks receive foreign names – either names common in other cities, such as Alkibiades (a Spartan name) in Athens; or names conjuring up the names of other cities, as, for instance, Lakedaimonios in Athens or Athenaios in Sparta; or names of foreign *ethne*, as, for instance, Thessalos, Skythes, Boiotos; or non-Greek names, such as Lygdamis (Cimmerian), Kroisos (Lydian), Battos (Libyan), Psammetichos (Egyptian), Lyxes (Carian) – without these sources making it clear whether these names were acquired through marriage outside

ATHENS　　　　　　　　　THRACE

Kimon　　　　　　　　　　Oloros
|　　　　　　　　　　　　　|
Militiades　　====　　　Hegesipyle
|
ὸ Δ　　====　　ἠ Δ
|
Oloros
|
Thucydides

Figure 1. Stemma of Thucydides according to the marriage pattern.

ATHENS　　　　　　　　　　　　　　THRACE

ὸ Δ　－－－－－－－－－ xenia －－－－－－－－－ Oloros
|
Oloros ◄
|
ὸ Δ
|
Oloros
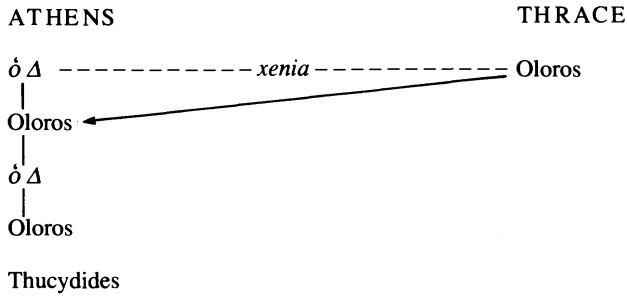
Thucydides

Figure 2. Stemma of Thucydides according to the xenia pattern.

the community or through xenia. The detection of some sort of regularity with regard to these apparently arbitrary naming habits will help to assign obscure cases to one pattern or another.

An attempt such as this is all the more desirable as in modern scholarship foreign names tend to be associated with marriage across political boundaries to the exclusion of other possible routes of name migration. In a somewhat simplified fashion, the typical process of reasoning can be reproduced as follows: if we encounter a name, say A, in *two* communities, this must surely mean that a man B from one community had married a relative (daughter, sister, etc.) of a man A from the second community, and named an offspring from this marriage A. Homonymy, in other words, is thought to imply marriage, and marriages serve as building-blocks for the construction of genealogies.[3] Such a system of inferences is, as we shall see, to a large extent unwarranted.

[3] In addition to the assumptions concerning Thucydides' ancestry (n. 1 above and n. 36 below), see, for example: Dittemberger in *Syll.*[2] 285 accepting Homolle's suggestion of regarding the name Damaratos Gorgionos (*Syll.*[3] 381) as a *testimonium affinitatis* between the descendants of two Greeks who at the beginning of the fifth century B.C. took refuge at the Persian court and were rewarded with estates, Damaratos the Spartan and Gongylos the Eretrian, father of Gorgion; Seyrig, *QCT* 218–19, interpreting Thracian and Greek names from sixth- to fourth-century Thasos alternating as personal names and patronymics (e.g. *Argeios Pyrios – Pyris Argeiou*) as owing their origin to marriage alliances between Greek and barbarian families at the moment of colonisation (but see the criticism of A. J. Graham in *ABSA* 73 [1978], esp. 92–3, which rules out colonial context); E. Vanderpool, *Ostracism at Athens* (Cincinnati, 1970), p. 19, assuming that Kallixenos son of Aristonymos of Athens was related through marriage with

This essay seeks to describe the mechanism and evaluate the relative importance of the social institutions by means of which a certain type of male name circulated between the Greek and the non-Greek (or semi-Greek) worlds, and between the various political units of the Greek world itself. Newly founded colonies and the whole of the Hellenistic Age are left out of consideration. In communities in which Greeks and non-Greeks lived together, the pattern of associations – and, consequently, the pattern of name diffusion – must have been different from that of the city-state.[4] In the world of the independent city-state, the upper classes of different communities formed surprisingly strong bonds of interdependence even when they lived at a great distance from each other. The methods by which they created, intensified and perpetuated these ties were intricate and manifold. They included marriage, leading in the next generations to consanguinity; *xenia*, a type of social bond which in its essentials bears remarkable similarities to Christian god-parenthood;[5] education and foster-parenthood, the children of *xenoi* frequently growing up in each other's households; gifts, involving the exchange of very substantial resources such as grain, timber, land, troops; mutual assistance, manifesting itself in practices such as the safekeeping of money, loans, hospitality; and finally, a variety of symbolic devices which were designed to give publicity to the existence of the bond and to lift the people involved above the lower classes of their own communities.

The exchange of names across political, and sometimes even cultural, boundaries was another symbolic manifestation of these bonds of solidarity. It is in this context, in particular, that the identification of *xenia* as a non-Christian version of godparenthood is revealing. For, if we accept the traditional interpretation of *xenia* as a form of hospitality or 'guest-friendship', we rule out the possibility of associating the naming habit with *xenia*: guests do not habitually give names to their hosts' children, and *vice versa*. On the other hand, naming is a common feature of godparenthood relationships. The association between *xenia* and the habit of naming makes it clear that *xenia* was an institution designed to evoke kin-like patterns of behaviour between non-kin – indeed, between people who, initially at any rate, had been strangers to each other.

The effect of naming was twofold. Firstly, as in many pre-modern societies, names were commonly believed to be endowed with magic force. A name was not merely a name but attached to it were also some personal attributes. With names that originated in one family and moved on to another, these attributes seem to have merged into the attributes of the recipients, creating what might be called 'spiritual hybrids'. Secondly, naming within the context of *xenia* constituted a mirror-image of naming within the context of kinship. As names were transferred horizontally from one family in one community to another family in another community, and then were passed on vertically from one generation to the next, they served as powerful

the Sicyonian tyrant Kleisthenes, son of Aristonymos; O. Murray, *Early Greece* (Glasgow, 1980), p. 220 taking Psammetichos son of Theokles (Meiggs and Lewis, *SGHI* no. 7) to have been born of a mixed marriage between a Greek Theokles and a daughter of king Psammetichos.

[4] The peculiarity of the Hellenistic Age with respect to foreign names may be illustrated by, e.g., R. A. Bowman, 'Anu-Uballit-Kefalon', *American Journal of Semitic Languages* 56 (1939), 231–43; G.Kh. Sarkisian, 'Greek personal names in Uruk and the Graeco-Babylonian problem', in J. Harmatta and G. Komoróczy (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im alten Vorderasien* (Budapest, 1976), pp. 499–503; L. Robert, 'Documents d'Asie Mineure', *BCH* (1983), 497–599, esp. 498–505; S. M. Sherwin-White, 'Aristeas Ardibelteios: Some aspects of the use of double names in Seleucid Babylonia', *ZPE* 50 (1983), 209–21.

[5] See Herman, *RFGC*, pp. 16–29. In my forthcoming book *The Origins of Godparenthood* I systematically explore these similarities.

reminders of the one-time union between the two families. Ties of *xenia* like ties of real kinship, were believed to persist in latent form, even if the partners did not any longer interact with one another. When they finally interacted, the remembrance of these ties evoked at once rights and obligations. If transmitted between kin, names served as a reflection of biological affinity; if transmitted between non-kin, names created the illusion of biological affinity.

I

The evidence falls into three more or less clearly defined categories: (a) cases in which foreign names are due to marriage; (b) cases in which foreign names are due to *xenia*; (c) cases in which foreign names are not explicitly associated with either of the institutions mentioned above. It is here argued that a correct understanding of (a) and (b) will pave the way for a more balanced evaluation of (c). Let us examine the three categories.

(a) *Cases in which foreign names are due to marriage*

I know of a single explicitly attested example. Herodotus relates that out of the marriage between Megakles, son of Alkmeon, of Athens, and Agariste, the daughter of Kleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon.

> was born that Kleisthenes, so called after him of Sicyon, his mother's father (ἔχων τὸ οὔνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ Σικυωνίου), who gave the Athenians their tribes and their democratic state.[6]

Without doubt we have here an explicit example of the marriage pattern. If an ancestor of Thucydides had indeed married the daughter of Miltiades and Hegesipyle, a son from that marriage could indeed be given, following the example of Kleisthenes, the name of his maternal grandfather. What remains to be assessed, however, is the frequency of this practice. How often were children, born from marriages outside the community, named after maternal forebears (either grandfathers or great-grandfathers)?

If we can rely on the surviving cases in which the parents belonged to different communities *and* the children's names (or at least one child's name) are known, the answer must be very few. The only other more or less well-attested parallel is Kypselos of Athens (archon *c.* 595 B.C.). Kypselos is believed to be an offspring of a marriage between Agamestor of Athens and a daughter of the Corinthian tyrant Kypselos (flor. *c.* 650 B.C.), and to have been named after his maternal grandfather (Davies, *APF*, p. 295, with (his) Table I). In other cases children born to a foreign mother are *not* named after maternal grandparents. However important the maternal grandfather might have been in other respects, this importance did not extend to the practice of naming: descent in Greece remained by and large patrilineal.[7] A son born to Miltiades and Hegesipyle was called Kimon, not Oloros (Davies, *APF*, pp. 302–4). The offspring of the marriage between the mercenary commander Iphikrates of Athens and the daughter (or sister) of Kotys of Thrace were called Menestheus,

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[6] Hdt. 6.131, Loeb transl.; cf. Davies, *APF*, p. 357.

[7] For the maternal grandfather, see J. Bremmer, 'The importance of the maternal uncle and grandfather in Archaic and Classical Greece and early Byzantium', *ZPE* 50 (1983), 173–86. Herodotus' astonishment at the Lycian custom of naming themselves after their mothers, not their fathers (Hdt. 1.173), shows that he thought this to be highly irregular: it was 'shared by no other men'. S. Pembroke, 'Last of matriarchs', *JESHO* 8 (1965), 217–47, has argued that this was unusual even among the Lycians.

Iphikrates and Iphidike – not Kotys (Davies, *APF*, p. 249). The children of Charidemos of Oreos, who became an Athenian citizen, and the daughter (or sister) of Kersobleptes of Thrace, were named Eurymedon, Phylakos and Troilos (Davies, *APF*, pp. 570–2 and (his) Table VI). Peisistratos, the Athenian tyrant, is known to have married an Argive woman by the name of Timonassa, but the offspring from this marriage were called Iophon and Hegesistratos, not Gorgilos, the name of Timonassa's father (Davies, *APF*, p. 449, with (his) Table I).

In this context we should perhaps also mention children who were given foreign names although none of their parents or grandparents married outside the community. The most obvious example is the case of Kimon, son of Miltiades, and Isodike, daughter of Euryptolemos of Athens; their children were called Lakedaimonios, Oulios (or Eleios), and Thessalos (Davies, *APF*, pp. 306–7).[8] This combination of foreign names given to children born to citizen-parents allows us to rule out the possibility of marriage outside the community as a source of this particular nomenclature and assign these cases to pattern (b).

(b) *Cases in which foreign names are due to* xenia

Several variations of this naming pattern are explicitly attested. The first is the naming of the son of one partner from one community after another partner from a different community:

For Alkibiades was co-operating with them [i.e. the Lacedaimonians], being an ancestral *xenos* of the ephor Endios and on the most intimate terms with him (Ἐνδίῳ ἐφορεύοντι πατρικὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ξένος ὤν). This was, in fact, the reason why their house had acquired its Laconian name; for Endios was called Endios son of Alkibiades (ὅθεν καὶ τοὔνομα Λακωνικὸν ἡ οἰκία αὐτῶν ἔσχεν· Ἔνδιος γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐκάλειτο).[9]

We thus have a clear statement of the *xenia* pattern, an example which allows us to reconstruct six generations of the Athenian Alkibiades family. As shown in Figure 3, the name Alkibiades, given after a Spartan *xenos*, alternated throughout this period in Athens from one generation to another – precisely as it did in Sparta.[10]

If Thucydides' great-great-grandfather had indeed named a son after his Thracian *xenos*, then the name Oloros could have become, following the example of Alkibiades, the patronymic of Thucydides the historian.

This naming habit tended to create homonyms within the partners' respective communities, as is reflected in a passage by Plutarch:

For there came [to Thebes] a messenger from Athens, from Archias the hierophant to his namesake (ὁμόνυμον) Archias, who was his *xenos* and *philos*, bearing a letter...[11]

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[8] For another Thessalos, son of Peisistratos from a presumably Athenian woman, see Davies, *APF*, p. 448.

[9] Thuc. 8.6.3, adapted from the Loeb transl. See Gomme, *HCT* v.19 for the textual aspects of this passage, and cf. with vol. iv.50 (*ad* 5.43.2): 'The Spartan connection is mentioned again in 8.6.3. Since Alcibiades is there said to be a Spartan name, the relationship goes back at least to the father of Alcibiades I, born in the middle of the sixth century. This is likely enough at a time when the Peisistratidae were the *xenoi* of the Spartans (Hdt. 5.90.1)'.

[10] In reconstructing Alkibiades' ancestry I follow Davies, *APF*, Table I. As I am here concerned with general patterns or models, I avoid throughout this article making references to other ramifications of a line and to further intrusions of foreign names into an A–B–A–B or A–A–A–A pattern of name inheritance. I do not claim that *all* the concrete genealogies tally exactly with these basic patterns.

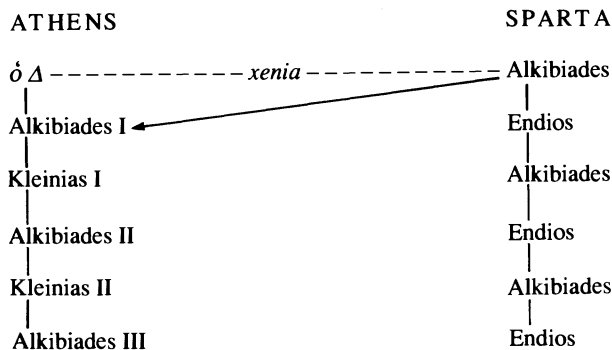[11] Plut. *Pelop.* 10, adapted from the Loeb transl.

ATHENS   SPARTA

ὁ Δ − − − − − − − − − − − *xenia* − − − − − − − − − − Alkibiades
  | |
Alkibiades I ◄   Endios
  | |
Kleinias I   Alkibiades
  | |
Alkibiades II   Endios
  | |
Kleinias II   Alkibiades
  | |
Alkibiades III   Endios

Figure 3. Stemma of Alkibiades and Endios.

A − − − − − − − − − − − − *xenoi* − − − − − − − − − − − B
  | |
B, son of A   A, son of B
  | |
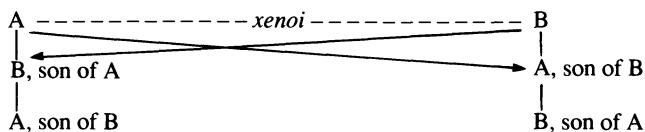A, son of B   B, son of A

Figure 4. Bilateral naming.

Since, however, it was a father who named a son after a *xenos*, and this *xenos* tended to belong to the same generation as the father, there must have been in most cases a gap of a generation between the two persons bearing the same name: Alkibiades III, son of Kleinias II, of Athens, must have been the junior of his namesake Alkibiades, son of Endios, of Sparta, but more-or-less of the same age as Endios, son of Alkibiades, of Sparta. It is this age gap between homonymous *xenoi* which could probably account for the difference in literary and iconographic representations between such mythical figures as the two Homeric Aiantes: Aias, son of Oileus, of Locris, is usually depicted as smaller and less massive than Aias, son of Telamon, of Salamis.[12]

Although there is only fragmentary evidence for this it is conceivable that if each side named a son after the other, the result will have been the appearance within two generations of no less than *four* people within two communities having the same names and the same patronymics. An illustration of this pattern may be seen in Figure 4.

It is this variation which might account for combinations of names and patronymics such as Lichas (or Liches), son of Arkesilaos (or Arkesileos), in both Sparta and Thasos, of Nikias, son of Epimenides, in both Athens and Crete, and of Menestheus, son of Iphikrates, in both Athens and Miletus.[13]

A slightly different version of this naming pattern is illustrated with regard to Lysander of Sparta:

Libys, the king of those regions (i.e. around Siwa), was an ancestral *xenos* of his (i.e. Lysander), and it so happened that Lysander's brother had been named Libys by reason of the friendship (*philia*) with the king.[14]

[12] *Iliad* 2.527–30 and *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Artemis, 1981), i(1).338–9; cf. Herman, *RFGC*, pp. 20–1.

[13] See Herman, *RFGC*, p. 20 for Lichas and Arkesilaos, and Herman, *NEQOT passim* for Nikias and Epimenides, and p. 89 for the fourth-century Athenian and the third-century Milesian Menestheus, son of Iphikrates.

[14] Diod. 14.13.5, Loeb transl. The name Libys is independently attested: Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.28, cf. Poralla and Bradford, *PL* no. 490.

The term *patrikos xenos* signifies here that Lysander's father Aristokritos had concluded a pact of *xenia* with Libys, ruler of certain areas around Siwa (which from the Greek perspective no doubt formed a part of Libya), and had named one of his sons after this *xenos*. There are two points to be considered with regard to this example. First, that the name of a *xenos* is only given to *one* of the sons; brothers are named differently. The foreign name thus alternated within *one* male line of a family only. Aristokritos of Sparta was a *xenos* of Libys, and appropriately named a son Libys. The name Libys, however, alternated only within Libys' line. Within Lysander's line, as shown in Figure 5, it was Aristokritos that would have alternated with Lysander.[15]

It goes without saying, however, that the obligations of *xenia* devolved upon the descendants of both lines, whatever their names.

Secondly, the name itself is derived from the locality in which the *xenos* himself (or one of his ancestors) had made himself famous (in all probability, by means of some noteworthy act such as conquest, battle, *euergesia*) and now through the institution of *xenia* this name passed on to a person who lived in a remote country and had apparently nothing to do with this locality. In a simplified fashion, this manner of name migration can be rendered thus: locality → *xenos* → *xenos*.[16]

But no doubt names could circulate in the reverse direction too. Thucydides could envisage a *xenos* → *xenos* → locality pattern in order to account for (or rationalise?) the diffusion of the 'Hellenic name':

Before the time of Hellen, the son of Deukalion, the name did not exist at all, and different parts were known by the names of different tribes... After Hellen and his sons had grown powerful in Phthiotis and had been invited as allies into other states, these states separately and because of the connexions (ὁμιλία) with the family of Hellen began to be called 'Hellenic'.[17]

Note the correlation, assumed by Thucydides, between the diffusion of the name and the expansion of power: the more powerful a *xenos* is, the more likely it becomes that his partner(s) will name a son after him.[18] This process is paralleled in historical times. In the Hellenistic Age, once the Ptolemies have established themselves as rulers of Egypt and of vast areas outside Egypt, we witness, even on the partial evidence of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, a sudden proliferation of the name Ptolemaios.

When an originally powerful individual was not as successful in setting himself up as a centre of a power-network, we might expect a more patchy pattern of name diffusion. Such must have been the fate of the name Lygdamis, imported into the

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[15] In actuality, such a succession of names did not take place since Lysander fathered only daughters, cf. Poralla and Bradford, *PL* no. 504.

[16] Other names of this type are listed in section (c). Further examples of localities named after persons: Diod. 5.48.1 (Saon after the island); Lygdamon in Mysia named after Lygdamis, see below.

[17] Thuc. 1.3.2, transl. by R. Warner. Thucydides seems to assume that the whole country was then named after these 'Hellenes'. For localities named after persons, cf. Thuc. 1.9.2 (the Peloponnese named after Pelops); Thuc. 6.2.4 (Italy named after Italos, king of the Sicels); 6.4.1 (Megara Hyblaea named after Hyblon, another Sicel king); Hdt. 4.148 (the island Calliste renamed Thera after Theras, its colonist); Paus. 2.16.1 (Argos named after Argos, the grandson of Phoroneus); Vell. Pat. 1.3.1 (Thessaly named after Thessalus).

[18] This association between power, ritualised relationships, and the diffusion of a name is interestingly illustrated in early medieval Europe by godparenthood. Cf. M. Bennett, 'Spiritual kinship and the baptismal name in traditional European society', in L. O. Frappell, ed., *Principalities, Powers and Estates: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Government and Society* (Adelaide, 1979), pp. 1–13, at 10: 'Since men of rank, wealth and power doubtless acted as godparents to a much larger number of children than did the average person, over the generations, by a process of natural selection, a limited number of names would become dominant.'

CYRENE   SPARTA

Libys – – – – – – – – – – – xenia – – – – – – – – – – – Aristokritos
                                                              |
                                         ┌────────────────────┴──────────┐
                                    → Libys   Lysander
                                         | |
                                    Aristokritos   [Aristokritos]
                                         | |
                                    Libys   [Lysander]
                                         | |
                                    Aristokritos   [Aristokritos]

                                         •   •

                                         •   •

                                         •   •
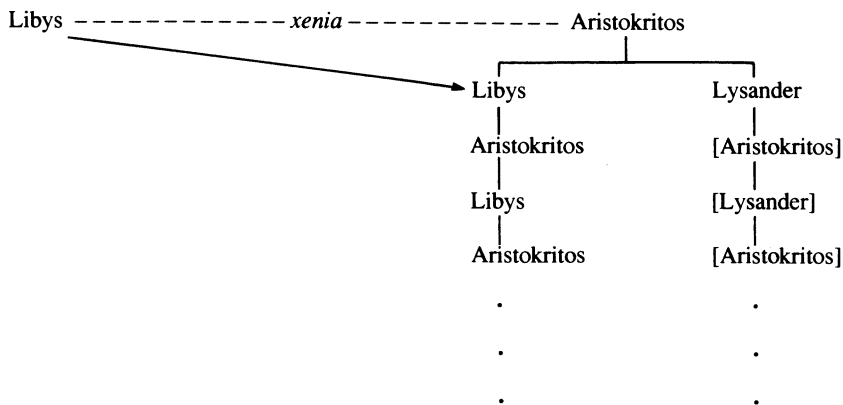
                    Figure 5. Stemma of Libys and Lysander.

Greek world by the seventh-century Cimmerian leader. The name then passed on to
(a) the tyrant of Naxos; (b) the father of Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus; (c) the
tyrant of Halicarnassus, the grandson of Artemisia; (d) an Olympic victor. Finally,
modified into Lygdamon, it became a Mysian place-name.[19]

In historical times we also encounter persons named after other cities or other
ethne. These cases, however, differ from the Libys pattern discussed above in that here
only the name of the foreign partner comes to be connected with the locality; the local
partner's name must have been different and in any case is usually unknown to us. (i.e.
the African Libys was Libys only in relation to Sparta; in relation to Africa he
presumably had a different name). This variation can best be documented with a
description by Herodotus of a sixth-century attack of Sparta on Samos:

Now had all the Lacedaemonians there fought as valiantly that day as Archias and Lykopas,
Samos would have been taken. These two alone entered the fortress along with the fleeing crowd
of Samians, and their way back being barred were then slain in the city of Samos. I myself have
met in his native township of Pitana another Archias (son of Samios, and grandson of the
Archias aforenamed), who honoured the Samians more than any other of his *xenoi*, and told me
that his father had borne the name Samios because he was the son of that Archias who was slain
fighting gallantly at Samos. The reason of his honouring the Samians, he said, was that they had
given his grandfather a public funeral.[20]

The name Samios was thus taken up by the slain Archias' son in honour of those of
the Samians who had given Archias a public funeral and had apparently become his
xenoi.[21] This is shown in Figure 6.

To conclude: in cases in which foreign names are explicitly attributed to *xenia* a

[19] cf. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen* (Heidelberg, 1984), p. 725.
[20] Hdt. 3.55, adapted from the Loeb transl.
[21] cf. Poralla and Bradford, *PL* nos. 150, 151, 658 and 659, cf. P. A. Cartledge, 'Sparta and
Samos: a special relationship?', *CQ* 32 (1982), 243–65, esp. at 259. The phrase 'his father had
borne the name Samios because he was the son of that Archias who was slain fighting gallantly
at Samos' seems to suggest that the adoption of the name occurred at a time when his father was
old enough to grasp the symbolism of such an act. The implication might be that within the
context of *xenia* names were not necessarily given at birth. There is no explicit evidence for
this, but I suspect the ceremony took place at the hair-clipping ritual. The custom is closely
paralleled in the early European Middle Ages.

SPARTA   SAMOS

Archias – – – – – – – – – – – xenia – – – – – – – – – – – Unnamed Samians
 |
 |
Samios ◄———————————————
 |
 |
Archias (met by Herodotus)
 |
 |
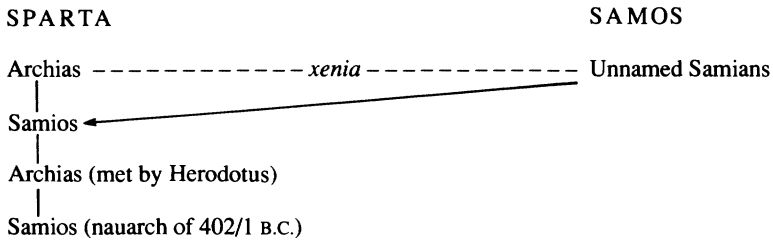Samios (nauarch of 402/1 B.C.)

Figure 6. Stemma of Samios.

man from one community receives the name, the patronymic, or both, of a man from a different community, or bears a name reminiscent of the locality of this foreign friend.

II

Having set out the qualitative evidence for the two patterns of name migration it remains to assess their relative importance: how the two social institutions of marriage across political boundaries and *xenia* were interrelated, and with what frequency we could assume that naming occurred within each one of them.

We must note at the outset that marriage and *xenia* were not mutually exclusive; rather we should say that the one was contained within the other. Unlike ritualised relationships in some other cultures (as, for example, godparenthood from the sixth century A.D. on, and certain forms of blood-brotherhood), *xenia* did not create an incest taboo barring the possibility of intermarriage.[22] In the few cases in which both *xenia* and intermarriage are explicitly attested, we encounter the following variations:

(a) Marriage between the partners' children (*xenia* between Hiero of Sicily and Pyrrhos of Epirus, reinforced with an *epigamia* between Hiero's son and Pyrrhos' daughter, Paus. 6.12.3).

(b) Marriage between one partner in a *xenia*-dyad and another's daughter (Oineus giving his daughter to his *xenos*, Bellerophon, *Iliad* 6.192; Euxenos of Phocaea marrying Petta, the daughter of king Nanos, his *xenos*, see below).

(c) Marriage between one partner in a *xenia*-dyad and another's sister (Orestes' sister Electra married to Pylades, Orestes' *xenos*, Eurip. *Electra* 1241 and 1340).

This evidence, although meagre and mostly fictitious, conforms to logical expectations. As *xenoi* were originally strangers to each other, and strangers were in the ancient world considered enemies, if peaceful relations were to be established a mechanism was needed to effect a breakthrough in the psychological barriers of strangeness and hostility. This mechanism could only be supplied by *xenia*. The rituals of *xenia*, in other words, were a necessary pre-condition for the conversion of enemies into friends.[23] And, as envisaged in an Aristotelian story relative to the foundation of Massilia, it was this friendship that paved the way for intermarriage:

Euxenos of Phocaea was a *xenos* of [the local] king Nanos (for that was his name). This Nanos was celebrating his daughter's nuptials when, by chance, Euxenos arrived and was invited in to

[22] For the relationship between marriage and ritualised relationships in other cultures, cf. H. Tegnaeus, *Blood Brothers: An Ethno-Sociological Study of the Institution of Blood-Brotherhood with Special Reference to Africa* (Stockholm, 1952); J. Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge, 1983); J. H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, 1986); R. Macrides, 'The Byzantine godfather', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 11 (1987), 139–62.

[23] cf. Herman, *RFGC*, ch. 3.

attend the festival banquet. Now the marriage was to be conducted in the following manner: after the dinner the girl was to come in and mix a cup and give it to any one of the suitors present that she desired; and he to whom she gave it was to be the bridegroom. When the girl entered she gave the cup, whether by accident or for some other reason, to Euxenos; the girl's name was Petta. When this befell, the father, believing that her giving the cup had been done by divine sanction, thought it only right that Euxenos should have her, so he took her to wife and lived with her, after changing her name to Aristoxene. And there is a kinship-group (*genos*) in Massilia to this day descended from the woman and called Protiadae; for Protis was the son of Euxenos and Aristoxene.[24]

It must have been rare, indeed almost impossible, for a connexion by marriage to exist independently of *xenia*, without at some stage, in the present or the past, a bond of *xenia* between the two families also being forged.[25] Logically and chronologically, *xenia* preceded marriage across political boundaries.

Although most marriages sprang from *xeniai*, not all *xeniai* were conducive to marriages. Marriage was a much more complex and unwieldy social institution than *xenia*, requiring from the two families a much higher degree of mutual involvement. Marriage entailed the giving of dowry, property rights and inheritance, and it thereby became entangled within the legal systems of the communities in which the married couples lived. Some cities, furthermore, created strong disincentives against marrying outside the community. In Athens, for example, prior to Perikles' citizenship law, to become a citizen it was sufficient to have a citizen father. Indeed, it is from this period that most 'international unions' between Athenians and non-Athenians date. These unions, however, were by no means numerous. Kylon is known to have married the daughter of Theagenes of Megara; Agamestor presumably married the daughter of Kypselos of Corinth; Megakles married Agariste of Sicyon; Peisistratos married the Argive Timonassa; the daughter of Hippias was given in marriage to Aiantides of Lampsacus – and that is about the end of the list.[26] Perikles' law of 451/0 B.C. enacted that *both* parents had to be citizens if their children were to receive the rights of citizens. The motives which prompted this legislation are still a matter of conjecture.[27] At the same time, it is also clear that it did not entirely put a stop to foreign marriages.[28] We can be certain, however, that one of its effects was to put serious

[24] Arist. fr. 549, Rose = Athen. 13.576 a–b, adapted from the Loeb transl. Note the name of Euxenos' and Aristoxenes' son: Protis, not Nanos, the name of his maternal grandfather. For a confused reproduction of the same story, see Justin 43.3. This case was omitted from Herman, *RFGC*.

[25] The omission of this detail from some descriptions of foreign marriages (e.g. Hdt. 6.128ff., Thuc. 2.29.1) does not invalidate the argument. The necessity of *xenia* as a prelude for marriage was so obvious that it could be taken for granted.

[26] cf. J. K. Davies, *Wealth and the Power of Wealth in Classical Athens* (New York, 1981), pp. 118–19; L. Gernet, 'Mariages de tyrans', in *Droit et institutions en Grèce antique* (Paris, 1968), pp. 229–49.

[27] For the question of motivation, see L. Gernet, 'Les nobles dans la Grèce antique', in *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1968), p. 342; S. C. Humphreys, 'The nothoi of Kynosarges', *JHS* 94 (1974), 93–4; M. M. Austin and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Economic & Social History of Ancient Greece* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980), p. 95; C. Patterson, *Pericles' Citizenship Law of 451–50 B.C.* (New York, 1981), pp. 99–100. O. Murray, *Early Greece* (Glasgow, 1980), pp. 43–4, takes the view, rightly I think, that 'Throughout the archaic period marriage outside the community was common between the aristocrats, and contributed considerably to their political power ... [the law proposed by Pericles] was a popular, anti-aristocratic move ...'

[28] Iphikrates' marriage, cited earlier (p. 352 above), dates from this period, and there are some late fifth- and fourth-century tombstones enshrining the memories of Athenians married to foreign wives. *Epigamia*, a juridic act whereby 'the right to contract marriages with Athenians (men or women, we must suppose) was conferred on the whole citizen body of some other state' (A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens*, i (Oxford, 1968), p. 29) was in the Classical age

obstacles in the way of a wealthy Athenian considering taking a foreign wife: children born from such a marriage would be disqualified from ownership of land and houses in Attica.

In Sparta, unlike in Athens, we simply have no literary evidence for marriages outside the community, and one wonders whether this silence is not due to legal enactments.[29] The code of Gortyn in Crete, so much preoccupied with marriage in general, does not even contemplate the possibility of marriage outside the community. What one of its most authoritative commentators labels as 'exogamy' turns out to be in fact no more than marriage outside the clan.[30] At times, reluctance to marry outside the community was a logical consequence of the social system. According to a story told by Herodotus (5.92β), the Corinthian oligarchs who ruled the city used to marry among themselves. Only when a lame daughter was born whom none of the Bacchiadae would marry, did the father give her in marriage outside the city. This is not good evidence for seventh-century Corinth. But it captures well the spirit of narrow oligarchies – perhaps those of Herodotus' own days – in which endogamy was the rule and exogamy the exception.

Xenia, by contrast, did not suffer from such disabilities. Though *xenoi* did exchange gifts, services and valuables resources, these exchanges were as a rule conducted outside the communities' legal frameworks: *xeniai* were not encumbered with problems arising from dowry, common property and inheritance. Nor did *xenia* become an object of legislation: though individual *xenoi* might have been punished for preferring their own private interests to the interests of their states, the institution of *xenia* itself never came under attack. Like ritualised relationships in other cultures, *xenia* was surrounded by an aura of sacrosanctity. We simply hear of no institutionalised disincentives against forging *xeniai*.

The most important feature, however, that set apart *xenia* from marriage was its far greater potential for alliance-building. The number of alliances that a person could forge outside the community by means of marriage was limited, the limit being set by the number of his marriageable kin – more precisely, those of his kin who had *not* been reserved for marriages *within* the community. By contrast, the limit to the number of *xeniai* that a man could contract was set only by the number of individuals with whom he could interact. It thus follows that as a tool of alliance-building outside the community *xenia* was much more advantageous: from each single community far more *xeniai* must have radiated to the outside world than marriages. If marriages were as common as, or more common than, *xeniai*, Andokides would surely have mentioned his family's marriages, rather than his *xeniai*, to brag about his international connexions ('I have formed *xeniai* and *philotetes* with kings, with states, and with individuals too'...Andoc. 1.145, cf. Lysias 6.48). And it is hard to imagine how king Agesilaos of Sparta could have given more than six of his descendants or collaterals in marriage outside Sparta – the number of his explicitly attested *xeniai*.[31] Only a small proportion of the people entertaining ties of *xenia* with people abroad

exceptional (see also Thalheim, Ἐπιγαμία, *RE* vi (1909), 62–3). Only in the Hellenistic Age was it to become more common: W. Gawantka, *Isopolitie* (Munich, 1975), p. 34 n. 72.

[29] A unique exception to this rule would be the Spartan woman by the name of Parthenion, characterised as the 'beloved wife of Phanokles' on an Athenian gravestone from between the fourth- and first-centuries B.C., cf. A. S. Bradford, *A Prosopography of Lacedaemonians from the Death of Alexander the Great, 323 B.C. to the Sack of Sparta by Alaric, A.D. 396* (Munich, 1977), p. 336.

[30] cf. R. F. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn* (Berlin, 1967), pp. 18–22.

[31] Herman, *RFGC*, p. 170. More than six, since in Phlius Agesilaos had more than one *xenos*, Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.13.

could have been entertaining marital ties as well. We may thus conclude that *xenia* served as a means of forging new alliances and thereby extending the network of one's personal relations outside the community; marriage outside the community, by contrast, merely intensified existing ties of *xenia* without enabling the formation of new alliances. The implication, for our purposes, is that *xeniai* far outnumbered marriages.

If so, the inference is unavoidable that names acquired through *xeniai* far outnumbered names acquired through marriages. Bearing this conclusion in mind, we turn to category (c).

<div align="center">III</div>

(c) *Cases in which foreign names are not explicitly associated with either marriage or* xenia

It must be noted at the outset that the list that follows is not exhaustive. The *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* is far from complete, and within the framework of a short article such as this it seems impossible to scan the vast amount of sources which might be indicative of name migration. Furthermore, only a fraction of the names that migrated can be identified at all. Our ability to recognise a name is particularly deficient with respect to ordinary Greek names. Had we not explicitly been told that Alkibiades was a Spartan name, we would hardly have recognized it as such: names which appear to us to be genuinely 'Greek' could have seemed 'foreign' to Greeks living in a particular city. It is for this reason mainly that the list is biased in favour of the more easily identifiable names, i.e. those reminiscent of other cities or *ethne*, those made up of Greek and non-Greek names or patronymics, and homonyms. Unless we have some additional clue, names of the Alkibiades type simply elude our grasp.

A further caveat ought to be made at this point. Even the names which can clearly be attributed either to *xenia* or to marriage do not reflect the total of *xeniai* or marriages contracted in any single period. The practice of naming a son after a *xenos* or a maternal grandparent was optional, not mandatory. People could well forge *xeniai* as well as marriages outside the community without resorting to the practice of naming.

We may now turn to the list itself (H = homonym; FN = foreign name; FE = foreign ethnic; * = these names are analysed in some detail below):

Abrokomas [Athens], Michel, *RIG* no. 832 line 45 FN
Aeimnestos* [Plataea, Sparta], Poralla and Bradford, *PL* 30, see below p. 362 H
Akanthos [Sparta], Poralla and Bradford, *PL* no. 47 FE
Amyntas Datados [Thasos], Seyrig, *QCT* 218 FN
Argeios Pyrios [Thasos], Seyrig, *QCT* 218 FN
Arkesilas (or Arkesilaos or Arkesileos) [Andros, Cyrene, Eretria, Sparta, Thasos, Euboia], Fraser and Matthews, *LGPN*, Poralla and Bradford, *PL* no. 141 H
Athaneos son of Damonikos [Macedon], P. Roesch, *REG* xcvii (1984), 45–60 FE
Athenaios [Thespiae], *IG* i³.23, cf. Walbank, *AP* no. 11, *proxenos* of Athens FE
Athenaios son of Perikleidas* [Sparta], Poralla and Bradford, *PL* 32; Thuc. 4.119, 122 (cf. Gomme, *HCT* iii.604–5); Plut. *Kimon* 10; Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 1138ff. see below p. 363 FE and H
Battos (Cyrene and Corinth) Hdt. 4.155 and Thuc. 4.43.1 FN, H
Boiotios [Sparta], Poralla and Bradford, *PL* no. 175 FE
Boiotos [Athens], Dem. 39.40 FE
Chalkideus [Sparta and Athens], Poralla and Bradford, *PL* no. 243; Thuc. 8.6.5 and *passim* FE, H
Dard[anos], Poralla and Bradford, *PL* p. 194 FE
Delios [Ephesos], Plato's friend, Plut. *Moralia* 1107d 32 FE

PLATAEA   SPARTA

ό Δ – – – – – – – – – – – –xenia– – – – – – – – – – – – Aeimnestos
|
Aeimnestos ◄
|
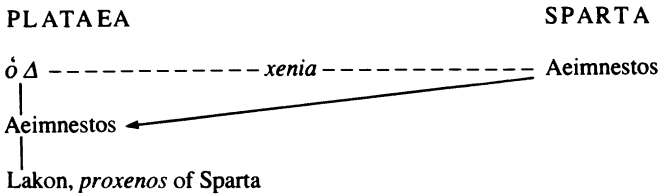Lakon, *proxenos* of Sparta

Figure 7. Stemma of Aeimnestos.

Herodotos, son of Lyxes [Halicarnassus], Suid. s.v. Herodotos FN
Hippagores Nestopyroor [Thasos], Seyrig, *QCT* 218 FN
Knidis [Sparta], Poralla and Bradford, *PL* no. 449 FE
Kroisos [Athens], L. H. Jeffery, *BSA* 57 (1962), 144 FN
Lakon* [Plataea], Thuc. 3.52.5, see below, p. 362 FE
Lakedaimonios* [Athens], Davies, *APF* 306–7, see below, p. 363 FE
Leagores Nestios [Thasos], Seyrig, *QCT* 218 FN
Lokros [Thasos], Fraser and Matthews, *LGPN* FE
Lysistratos Kodidos [Thasos], Seyrig, *QCT* 218 FN
Lygdamis [Naxos], cf. p. 356 above FN, H
Mardonios son of Aristomachos, L. Robert, *BCH* 107 (1983), 498–505 FN
Megareus [Chios, Cyprus], Fraser and Matthews, *LGPN* FN
Membliarios, son of Poikiles [a Phoenician], Hdt. 4.147 FN
Milesios [Samos], Fraser and Matthews, *LGPN* FE
Nestokrates Siphonos [Thasos], Seyrig, *QCT* 218 FN
Nikias [son of Epimenides] [Gortyn and Athens], see Herman, *NEQOT* FN, H
Olontheus [Sparta], Poralla and Bradford, *PL* no. 576, cf. no. 577 FE
Oulios [Athens], Davies, *APF* 306–7 FE
Phaiax [Athens and Acragas], Davies, *APF* 521–4 and Diod. 11.25.3 H
Phormio* [Akarnania and Athens], see below, p. 362 H
Podanemos [Phlius and Sparta], Poralla and Bradford, *PL* no. 616 and Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.13 H
Psammetichos [Corinth and Unknown], Meiggs and Lewis, *SGHI* no. 7, cf. Herman, *RFGC* 19 and n. 3 above FN, H
Pyris Argeiou [Thasos], Seyrig, *QCT* 218 FN
Pyrries Eyphrillou [Thasos], Seyrig, *QCT* 218 FN
Pythagoras [Sparta], Poralla no. 652, cf. Sealey, *Klio* 58 (1976), 349ff. FN
Samios [Euboia and Samos], Fraser and Matthews, *LGPN*, Bechtel and Fick, *GP* 338 FE, H
Skythes [Sparta], Poralla and Bradford, *PL* no. 669 FE
Theainetos [Athens and Unknown], see Herman, *NEQOT* H
Theopompos Porios [Thasos], Seyrig, *QCT* 218 FN
Thessalos [Sparta], Poralla and Bradford, *PL* no. 366 FE
Thettalos [Athens], Davies, *APF* 306–7 FE
Thoukydides* [Pharsalos and Athens], see below, p. 363 H
Troizenios [Iasos], Bechtel and Fick, *GP* 338 FE

With regard to most names listed above, we have no way of telling whether a name owed its origin to marriage, to *xenia* or, in case of homonymy, to sheer coincidence. There are, however, some notable exceptions, and these will be considered now.

The context in which it becomes possible to establish hitherto unsuspected connexions is that of *proxenia*. It is necessary here to restate the argument I have offered elsewhere, namely, that *proxenia* implied *xenia*: unless inherited, a *proxenia* was bestowed upon an outsider in consequence of recommendations and manoeuvres by an insider-*xenos*.[32] For a fully documented example of this possibility, which can be taken as paradigmatic, we return to the case of Alkibiades and Endios mentioned

[32] See Herman, *RFGC*, pp. 130–56 for Greece in general and P. Cartledge, *Agesilaos and the Crisis of Sparta* (London, 1987), pp. 245–6 for Sparta in particular.

ATHENS   ACARNANIA

Phormio – – – – – – – – – – – xenia – – – – – – – – – – – ὁ Δ
                                                         |
                                                → Phormio
                                                         |
                                                  Phormio
                                                         |
                                                  Phormio, granted Athenian
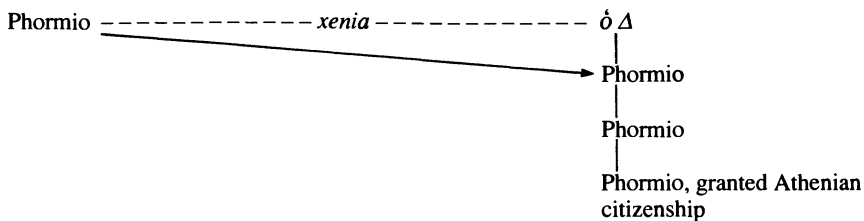   citizenship

Figure 8. Stemma of Phormio.

earlier. Apart from the existence of the six-generation *xenia* between the two families, and the explicit evidence for a name originating in one family and alternating in another, we also happen to know that Alkibiades' ancestors had been granted a proxeny by the Spartans.[33] Combinations such as this of homonymy and *proxenia* are too numerous to be coincidental.[34] The mechanism of naming, as observed within the context of *proxenia*, thus reveals certain hidden links and regularities. For whenever there is a *proxenia*, we should also suspect a *xenia*; and whenever there is a *xenia*, we should also expect traces of the naming habit. Using this guide, I shall analyse in some detail four of the cases listed in (c).

Lakon of Plataea, proxenos *of Sparta*

Lakon of Plataea who, according to Thuc. 3.52.5, was by virtue of his Spartan proxeny appointed in the summer of 427 B.C. as the spokesman of the defeated Plataeans, was the son of a certain Aeimnestos. This Plataean Aeimnestos was named most certainly after the notable Spartan Aeimnestos who in 479 B.C., according to Herodotus, killed Mardonius at the battle of Plataea.[35] If this conjecture is correct, we witness here, as shown in Figure 7, the transfer of both personal and locality-names to the family of a *xenos*.

   The introduction of the new name Lakon into the line was presumably occasioned by a renewal (*ananeosis*) of *xenia*, the function of which was to intensify further the bond.[36]

Phormio of Acarnania, made Athenian citizen

We happen to know of the fifth-century Athenian general Phormio who, before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, helped the Acarnanians to take Amphilochian Argos (Thuc. 2.68.8). This *euergesia* was apparently rewarded with the establishment of a tie of *xenia* between Phormio's family and an unknown Acarnanian family. Two details tend to reinforce this conjecture. In the summer of 428/7, the Acarnanians are said to be requesting that the commander sent out to them 'should be either a son or relation [by birth] of Phormio' (Thuc. 3.7) – no doubt, a man accredited to them by virtue of this *xenia*. And in an Athenian inscription from the year 338/7 B.C. – a decree reaffirming a grant of citizenship to two Acarnanians – one of the grantees is

[33] Thuc. 5.43, 6.89; Plut. *Alcib.* 14; cf. M. B. Wallace, 'Early Greek proxenoi', *Phoenix* 24 (1970), 189–208.
[34] See Herman, *RFGC*, pp. 140–2, with Appendix B.
[35] This case is analysed in a different context in Herman, *NEQOT* 93.
[36] On renewal of *xenia*, see Herman, *RFGC*, pp. 69–72.

called Phormio. As shown in Figure 8, he is a grandson of another Phormio who must have been named after the Athenian *xenos*.[37]

Thucydides, son of Menon, of Pharsalus, proxenos *of Athens*

Thucydides of Pharsalos is a *proxenos* of Athens (Thuc. 8.92.8, cf. M. B. Walbank, *AP*, no. 74), and, if judged by his name, he could have been an ancestral *xenos* of an Athenian Thucydides, either Thucydides son of Melesias, or Thucydides the historian. Could the Pharsalian have been the historian's informant for the detailed description of Brasidas' march through Thessaly in 4.78ff.?

Perikleidas

With Perikleidas of Sparta and Kimon of Athens we have a case in which each partner in a *xenia*-dyad named a son after the city of the other: Perikleidas called a son Athenaios, whilst Kimon called a son Lakedaimonios. It will suffice to quote Gomme to theorize as to the way in which the relationship could have started: 'Perikleidas, father of Athenaios, was presumably the same who came to beg Athenian help against the revolted helots forty years before (i.e. 463 B.C.), when Kimon led the Athenian forces and "saved the city" (Aristoph. *Lys.* 1138–44)'.[38]

The analysis of these names thus shows that the pattern of naming associated with *xenia* can also be detected when *xenia* is contained within *proxenia*. In none of the passages cited in connexion with the latter examples is there the slightest indication that the relationships might have involved marriage. On the other hand, the actions described bear a strong resemblance to the patterns of co-operation characteristic of *xenia*. In other words, these cases tend to reinforce the conclusion reached above: the inference must be that most foreign names originated in *xenia*, not marriage.

We may now finally return to Thucydides, the son of Oloros. In his case, as in most cases listed in category (c), we cannot state with absolute certainty whether his non-Greek patronymic stemmed from intermarriage or *xenia*.[39] Statistical probability, however, strongly favours *xenia*.

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[37] *IG* ii². 237, cf. M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens*, 4 vols. in 3 (Brussels, 1981–3), no. D16. This case is further explored in my forthcoming 'Treaties and alliances in the world of Thucydides', *PCPhS* (1990).

[38] Gomme, *HCT*, iii.605. The name Lakedaimonios was clearly given neither on account of a *proxenia*, as suggested by A. W. Gomme and T. J. Cadoux (in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. 'Kimon'), nor on account of Kimon's sympathies, as suggested by D. J. Mosley, in *Athenaeum* (N.S.) 47 (1971), 431.

[39] Some later authors attributing Thucydides' patronymic to a connexion by marriage (Plut. *Kimon* 4.2, Marcellin. *Vit. Thuc.* 19) draw clearly on nothing besides Thuc. 4.104.4, where all that is said is that the historian's father was Oloros. Their motives are not hard to guess: foreign descent seems to have been a mark of nobility, cf. Diog. Laert. 2.31. Some modern scholars (e.g. G. B. Grundy, *Thucydides and the History of his Age* (London, 1911), p. 15; Davies, *APF*, pp. 233–4; J. de Romilly in her introduction to Thucydides in Coll. Univ. France, vol. i (Paris, 1953), viii n. 2; I. I. Russu, 'Die Herkunft des Historikers Thukydides', *BIAB* 16 [1950], 35–40) have expressed extreme scepticism as to the validity of this inference, even though they were unfamiliar with the mechanism of *xenia*. Others have upgraded a conjecture into a 'fact'. See, e.g. J. B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians* (London, 1909), p. 75: 'Thucydides belonged *by descent* to the princely family of Thrace'...(my ital.). The right possessed by Thucydides of working the Thracian gold-mines (Thuc. 4.105.1), which has sometimes been adduced as evidence for his family connexions, can serve as an even better pointer to an ancestral *xenia*, cf. Herman, *RFGC*, ch. 4.