MANTHOS BEJIOS, of the 16th Greek Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, has generously allowed us to publish here six lead curse tablets that he brought to light in 1994–97 in his excavations of graves of the fourth century B.C. at ancient Pydna, on the Thermaic Gulf; we are deeply grateful to him.¹ The six, which are housed in the Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum, yield 66 names in all, a substantial addition to the previously very limited early prosopography of Pydna. Three have only names, the others names followed by phrases that show that the curses were meant to affect lawsuits.²

¹We are also grateful to Anastasios-Ph. Christidis of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki for proposing us as editors, to Theodora Glaraki of the Center for the Greek Language there for checking some of our readings, and to Miltiadis Hatzopoulos and Árgyro Tataki of the Center for Greek and Roman Antiquities, Athens, for encouragement and advice. Faults that remain are ours, of course.

²Special abbreviations:
Bechtel, Dial. = F. Bechtel, Die griechischen Dialekte I (Berlin 1921)
Bechtel, HPN = F. Bechtel, Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit (Halle 1917).
Hoffmann = O. Hoffmann, Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum (Göttingen 1906)
OGS = O. Masson, Onomastica graeca selecta I–II (Nanterre 1990), III (Geneva 2000)

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Most of the names are banal, but we may note the Greek name "Αρσαλός (9), especially frequent in Macedonia, a new example of the rare name Εὐφάνιος (4), and the hapax Δωρός (or Δωρος) (10). This last is obviously shortened, probably from Δωρόνας and formed like Απολλός (= Απολλόνιος) or Γοργός (= Γοργώς). The text having no examples of the confusion ω ↔ 0, a misspelling here of the common Δωρος is unlikely.

The surviving letters of b 2 ]ΥΚΙΤΟ[ are incompatible with any name that we have found. We are tempted to doubt the transcription.

2. Αγροτεμάχιο 951, Tomb 187

Max.pr.H. 0.143, max.pr.W. 0.288. IVa.

The text is in two columns, their letters unusually large for curse tablets. Of the tablet the left-hand and possibly the top edges seem original; areas are lost at the right of the second column, along with a few letters of text, but at the extreme right there is a blank space that suggests that there was no third column. There is no loss of text at the top or the bottom.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. i</th>
<th>Col. ii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Νίκυλλα</td>
<td>7 Εὑρν[=]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Πολεμοκράτης</td>
<td>8 Βουλόν</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
13 Φιλάν
14 Τιμοκράτης
15 Ταρρίας

7 Εὐρύς[ός], Εὐρύς[όμα], Εὐρύς[ος], ή Εὐρύς[ομός] 9 Όρ less likely
Στρατόνικ[ός] 10 Όρ less likely Πολύκαστ[ός]

Two of the names, Πολεμοκράτης (2) and Ίππιας (5), also
figure in 4 and 5, respectively, which are directed against groups
of men appearing in lawsuits. If the two instances of each name
are more than mere homonymy, we may wonder whether the
groups named in 2, 4, and 5 had some common interest.

Of the six texts presented here, this is the only one to name
women, and here a woman heads the list, as if the principal
target of the defigens. Further, we note that while endings and
therefore genders of the names in 7, 9–10 are lost, feminines in
-κάστη/α are commoner than masculines in -κάστος; it is
therefore likely that in at least 8 and 10 we have women rather
than men. A main interest of this tablet in any case is
onomastic. Metronymy is documented as an acceptable civic
usage in the epigraphy of Macedonia, but here the metronymic
Θράσων ή Νικύλλας (4) has nothing necessarily to do with the
Macedonian practice: it may imply only that Θράσων is closely
associated with Νικύλλα (1); it is hardly likely to be related to
later magical practice of identifying persons by maternal lineage.

More interesting are the names Βουλονά (8), Γαλεστας (12),
Φιλάν (13), and Ταρρίας (15). The first, no doubt to be related
to the name Βουλονόα documented in Thessaly (AEpigr
1924.160 no. 403), is formed like Αριστόνα (AEpigr 1913.11
no. 8), Φιλόνας (IG VII 60.2), shortened forms of some of the
numerous names beginning in Αριστον- and Φιλον.-

5 A. B. Tataki, “From the Prosopography of Ancient Macedonia: the Metro-
6 F. Bechtel, Namenstudien (Halle 1917) 39–41 (= Kleine onomastische Studien
Γαλέστας is documented from at least Hellenistic times in northern Greece (six examples), the Aegean islands (seven), Asia Minor (five), Syro-Palestine (two), Egypt (five), and Cyrene.7 Neither Hoffmann nor Ion Russu took the name into consideration as Macedonian, but it may well be, as Theodor Bergk, Louis Robert, and Günther Klaffenbach have already noted,8 the examples date in Hellenistic and Roman times and occur in Macedonia and in lands with Macedonian settlers. The origin of Γαλέστας, however, is obscure. Bergk (258 n.60) saw a Greek name with the stem γάλα, γάλακτος (“wohl gleichbedeutend wie γαλακτοφάγος”), but this is morphologically hard to accept. Hans Krahe, who knew only one of the examples (from Athamania), posited an Illyrian background,9 but against this is the provenance of the others.10 The examples date in Hellenistic and Roman times and occur in Macedonia and in lands with Macedonian settlers. The origin of Γαλέστας, however, is obscure. Bergk (258 n.60) saw a Greek name with the stem γάλα, γάλακτος (“wohl gleichbedeutend wie γαλακτοφάγος”), but this is morphologically hard to accept. Hans Krahe, who knew only one of the examples (from Athamania), posited an Illyrian background,9 but against this is the provenance of the others.10


9Lexikon alltýrýscher Personennamen (Heidelberg 1929) 52.

10See e.g. W. Dittenberger on IG IX.1 689 and F. Papazoglou on IG X.2.2 36 (with bibliography).

de not rare in these regions: cf. Ὠρέστας, Πενκέστας, Ἀρόββας (ethnic of Epirote Ἀροββα according to Steph. Byz.), perhaps Λυμναῖος (Hoffmann 147; Bechel, HPN 550), and Ἀνυκωρίτας (see below).11

Φιλάν is the local form of a name Φιλάν (cf. Ἡλλάν [I.3.3], Ἡλλάν [IG IX.2 517.71, Crannon]); it does not seem to be attested elsewhere.12

Ταρρίας is documented at Ps.-Plut. 339B6 and 10 for a Macedonian at Susa with Alexander in 324 B.C. Modern editors give it the spelling Ἀτοπρίας, which we find for Macedonians in Diodorus (19.36.2) and Curtius (5.2.5, etc.).13 Long ago, however, the reading Εὐτυχίς Ταρρίας Μακεδόνας at P.Tebt. III 815 (Tataki, Mac. 316, no. 59) confirmed the soundness of the text of the pseudo-Plutarchean passage (see Russu 217). Our tablet now provides the third example of this Macedonian name.

3. Μακρυγίαλος ‘96, Αγροτεμάχιο 480

H. 0.04, W. 0.04, IVa.

1 Δ[Δ]νττος
2 Θεϊτμος
3 Παιράτας
4 Κυλλικ[-]
5 Δ[- - -]

4 λ or δ, λ or α 5 Α or Δ

11Note that unlike other “Macedonian” names (Ἀμφάντας, Φιλάντας, cf. E. Nachmanson, Laute und Formen der magnetischen Inschriften [Uppsala 1903] 33), Γαλέστας does not keep its -ας outside Macedonia and non-ionic lands but rather appears as Γαλέτης.


Παυράτας is new. It is formed on the stem of παύρος "small," with the same suffix as in Μεγάτας (SGDI 2094.41, Delphi). The name in 4 is severely damaged, but it was no doubt formed on the stem of κυλλός “club-footed, bandy-legged” (L. Robert, Noms indigènes dans l’Asie mineure grecoromaine [Paris 1963] 253–254) or κύδος “renown” (Bechtel, HPN 269–270).

4. Μακρυγιάλος 95, Αγροτεμάχιον 480

The overall structure, again a list of names with no verb of cursing but with a generalizing phrase at the end, is common on curse tablets, especially in the fourth century, as examples from Attica, Lesbos, and Epizephyrian Locri show. Here the final phrase refers to the allies of a single person (ἐκείνου), the

principal victim, evidently the Εὐιππός whose name appears at the top of Col. i; the blank space just below the name, if deliberate, is presumably meant to distinguish him from the others.

The lettering of ΑΛΛΟΣΠΕΡΕ (10) suggests that the scribe first intended πέρ ἐκεῖνον, with Thessalian πέρ “on behalf of” (Bechtel, Dial. 200; Thumb/Scherer 75) and then corrected the local form to the Κοινή υπέρ. (The implied verb would be λέγη, μαρτυρήση or such, the purpose being to affect some legal action.) Thessalian features were indeed already documented in Macedonia15 and are even likelier to be found in border cities such as Pydna, and the influence of the Κοινή was already at work when the tablet was written. This latter we see in the conditional έάν (= έάν, 10), which, especially in the phrase έάν τις, is a Κοινή vulgarism, “beim Volk sehr beliebt.”16

The names in the list offer nothing unexpected.17 Ἀμώντωρ (5) is a Greek name typically Macedonian, and Στιόλακος (2) a Thracian name18 already documented in Amphipolis in Eastern Macedonia (IG II² 8078 = Tatakí, Mac. 61, no. 119).


17We hesitantly print Μικαλίνος, a name akin to μίκκος, μικρός, etc.; cf. Μικαλίνη at Pantiúkapoiós. B. Latyschev, IosPE IV 253, read this name as Μικαλίνη in 1901, but A. Wilhelm, Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde (Vienna 1909) 220 n.317 (cf. Bechtel, HPN 485) corrected the reading. L. Zgusta, Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeeerkuste (Prague 1955) 298 §1083, added Hsch. μικλάς, α'γας to explain Latyschev’s reading, which V. V. Struve reproduced in 1965 in CIRB 284.

18D. Detschew, Die thrakischen Sprachreste (Vienna 1957) 450–452.

5. Μακρυγιάλος ’94, Αγροτεμάχιο 480
H. 0.034, Max.pr.W. 0.177. IV².

Col. i
1 Παυσανίας, Ἰππίας, Λυγκωρίτας(2),
2 Σιμίμας, Τρόχας, Κρατεδάς, Αἶλος,
3 Γε μας, Ἀμφύγκας, Ὀρσίδους,
4 Λυμνιάς, Θεόπρος, Ἀρψβας,
5 Φίλιππος, Μένυλλος, Ἀσανδρός,
6 Φιλάνιχος, Κτολέμας(5), Λόκρος,
7 Ἀλκίμος, Ἀμώντας, καὶ ὀστίς Σιμίμα

Col. ii
8 καὶ Τρόχα (συν) καὶ Κρατεδάς καὶ Παυσανίας σὺν δίκοφος(4.)
9 καταγράφω τάς γ[λ]ώσσας ἐκείνον πάντων ἀνδρῶν[ν.]
6 κτολέμας(5) tab. 7 ὀστίς στ ὀστίς ταβ.

The structure, names plus a repeated reference to the principals, is basically that of 4, except that here we have a second statement of cursing at the end.19 Here the words σὺν δίκοφος(4.) and γ[λ]ώσσας (8, 9) reveal the purpose of the curse: to affect the outcome of a lawsuit by silencing those who are supporting Simmias, Trochus, Crateus, and Pausanias (7–8), evidently the main litigants, whose names appear in the first two lines of the list. It is somewhat awkward that the second reference to the principals should omit two of the names in line 1. The writer seems to have been inattentive, in any case: he began the second reference in the order of line 2 and then, as {συν} suggests, almost forgot to name the other principals; perhaps his omission of the names Hippias and Lyncoritas is only another sign of his inattention. Λυγκωρίτα (1) and Κτολέμας (6), if genitives, would be exceptional as the only patronymics in the

19To this last the phrase τοῖς Οίλ (φίλοις), cf. L. Dubois, Bull. épigr. 1990, 863) ἐκέλεον πάντας γλώσσας καταγράφοντας σε ΣΕΚ 39.1020, an early fifth-century curse tablet from Selinus, may be compared, whatever its syntax (NGCT 66).
list. In two cases, Λυγκωρίτα (1) and Κτολέμα (6), the final -ζ is missing, a phenomenon familiar in Northern Greek inscriptions. 20

Among the names the most striking feature is the frequency of the ending -ως, an indication of their “éolo-dorien” character. 22 Most interesting, linguistically, is the shift πη → κη in Κτολέμας (ος) (6), clearly a form of Πτολέμας (cf. SEG 36.662.25). This shift is rare in Greek but not unparalleled: Κτολεμαίς (CPR I 224.28 (231/2P); cf. the opposite shift (κη → πη) in πτοίνα (< κτόνα) (SGDI 4264, Rhodian Peraia, imp.).

The text is onomastically rich. Most names are known in the region and several are typically Macedonian. 23 Τρόχας (2, 8) was so far documented only in Boeotia, 24 where names in τροχ- are frequent. 25 The names Λυγκωρίτις (1), Γε μας (3), and Οροϊδος (3) are new. Of these Γε μας is too damaged for anything more than speculation. 26 More can be said of the other three.

The formation of Λυγκωρίτις is transparent. Just as the ethnic Λυγκωρίτις presupposes a place-name Λυκόρεια, Λυγκωρίτις presupposes a Λυγκόρεια, which is not documented in our sources but should derive from Λύκος + ος; cf. the similar place-names Λυκόρεια (< ἄκρος + ος), Ανεμόρεια (< ἄνεμος + ος), or Λυκώρεια (< Λύκος + ος). 27 Λυγκώρεια is probably to be identified with the montes Lycon (ὅρη Λυγκών), an area between Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly, rich in woods and water and mentioned by Livy (32.13.3) in his account of the Second Macedonian War. 28 Our Λυγκωρίτις is the first (though indirect) epigraphical documentation of this area. As we have noted above, local ethnics as personal names are well known in Macedonia.

'Αμηρύγκας reminds us of 'Αμαρυγκεύς, an Elean king in Homer (II. 23.630, cf. 2.622, 4.517). Curiously enough, a tradition recorded by Pausanias (5.1.11) made Amarcyceus the son of Pyttius, who moved to Elis from Thessaly. This may support the relationship with the 'Αμηρύγκας of Pydna. Also Αύξολος, the name of the Thessalian who became the eponym of the Aeolians, may be another link with Thessaly. The form 'Αμηρύγκεις with η on the tablet instead of the Homeric ι, however, causes difficulty. Was the name of the Homeric king originally *'Αμηρύγκεις and then “hellenized,” as if derived from ἀμαρύσσω, ἀμάρυξ, etc.? Non liquet.

Οροϊδος puzzles. If it is Greek, its second element may be related to the stem of Lakonian θείδιν(ι)ος, Attic ιδιός/ιδος “surveillant” and of the Epirote Φείδος (SGDI 1346). 29 The first part of the name (and especially the origin of the sound noted as ο) is not easy to explain, though. Οροϊδος, in any case, may be related to “Οροιδος, the name of the king of the Epirote

26 Should it be read Γεμώς and related to Germus (CIL III 3054, Dalmatia) and Germullus (IG XIV 11.30, Dalmatian?; P. Vind. Worp 24.1)?
Parauaei at Thuc. 2.80.6. As the ending -νος is documented for Epirote names, an Epirote or Illyrian origin cannot be excluded.

6. Μακρυγιάλος, Αγροτεμάχιο 480, North of Tomb 224 Fig. 5 Max.pr. H. 0.056, W. 0.100. IVa.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Col. i</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Καταδεσμεύω τὰς γλώσσας</td>
<td>7. καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Χαροτίμο,</td>
<td>8. τι μοίνεται</td>
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<td>3. Διονυσίο, Ἀμβόκο,</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Ἀριστίανος,</td>
<td>10. [μ]ή δυνάσσοθα ἁν-</td>
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<td>5. Πρωτοχάρεος,</td>
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<td>6. Αμφιτίχο,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. [τ]ύλευ[τ]ιν μήδε[e - - -]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

1 καταδεσμεύω 3 δ ὀ γ' Αμ(α)δόκο? 'Αμα(δ)όκο? 4 'Αριστίανος 10 δυνάσθω

This is the most discursive of all the texts, beginning with a verb of cursing, continuing with a list of names, and ending with a generalizing clause. The victims of the curse being the men’s tongues and their ability to “speak against” the defixens, the purpose of the tablet is again to affect a lawsuit. καταδεσμεύω, denominative of κατάδεσμος, has so far occurred only twice elsewhere on curse tablets, both of the fourth century and one also having the adjective εὖθρος as here. New is the description of the defixi as μαίνομενοι (εἴ τις ἄλλος τι μαίνεται). Is this

30 Γένος (son of Neoptolemus: Proxenus FGrHist 703 F 2), Φώτως (general of the Chaonians: Thuc. 2.80.5). See Hammond (supra n.28) 501 n.1.
31 Jordan no. 1, B 1–2 καταδεσμεύω ἀντίκειται Δι/ανι καὶ Γράνικον (cf. A 11–13 ἀντί/καταδεσμεύω (haraux) τὸς ἐξ ἀθύτος [sic]) (Attica, early IVa); V. Ch. Petakos, Οἱ εἰγραφὲς τοῦ Νικαίου (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθηναῖς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας 170) no. 745a (NGCT 23, 191).
merely a formulaic phrase or does it here have specific applicability?32

For the long vowel resulting from contractions and compensatory lengthenings the writer uses o, a spelling documented in Macedonian down to the time of Alexander.33 We find contraction of ee spelled ei in αvements γέγειν, however. Localisms such as the doubling of /s/ before consonants34 and Koiné (or Ionic) forms (ει) are found side by side.

The most remarkable of the names are Αμ(e)ος θ(φοκος (3), a Thracian name already documented in Macedonia,35 and Χορότιμος (2), a hapax though of clear formation: cf. IG VII 2718.4 Χωρόφιλος, SGDI 2659.2 Γάτιμος (Acarnania), etc. Αμ vigilant (6) has an ending well documented in both Boeotia and Macedonia.36

Most fourth-century curse tablets come from Attica. When contemporary examples appear elsewhere it is worth asking, therefore, whether they show non-Attic regionalisms in their formulae; the six from Pydna do not, unless the verb “rage,”

32May μανομεί here have a specifically political sense, “riot,” “rage,” and be used of οι δεμοτοι? Cf. Thgn. 313–314 οι μεν μανομεονεις μελα μανομεις, εν δε δικαιος / πάντων ανθρώπων ειμι δικαίωτας; Ps.-Xen. Ath. Pol. 1.9 οι χρησι ποτε έδιχθης μανομεονεις ανθρώπων υπελείπην ουδέ λέγειν ουδέ εκκλησάζειν; Aeschin. 3.211 μανικεις ο δήμως. See in general R. Renehan, Greek Lexicographical Notes (Göttingen 1975) 231, Greek Lexicographical Notes, Second Series (Göttingen 1988) 97. Were the defix formulae of curses from outside Attica show Attic influence or whether they are part of a widespread Koiné. In this regard καταθίμεω, the opening verb of 6, invites attention: the only two other instances on curse tablets are from Attica and from the border-town Oropus,37 and the noun, καταθίμος, from which it comes is itself from καταθίμω, the opening verb par excellence on fourth-century curse tablets in Attica. There it occurs in enough non-Attic dialect forms to raise the question whether some of the professionals who inscribed the tablets there were foreigners who brought their local curse formulae with them,38 but so far, as a main verb it is virtually unattested, in any form, on tablets elsewhere.39 καταγράφω (5.9), while relatively rare in fourth-century Attica, occurs, perhaps significantly, on another, contemporary, Macedonian curse tablet, from Arethusa.40

In conclusion, these six texts, as we see, throw new light on different features of this corner of Macedonia. Except for Κολέμιας (5), the language presents nothing unexpected for a fourth-century Macedonian town near the Thessalian border.

Besides local forms (αι, περι for περι), it shows the pressure of

37Supra n.31. The tablet from Oropus has nothing obviously non-Attic, i.e. no obvious influence from the Boeotians who controlled the town from time to time in the fourth century.

38For discussion see D. R. Jordan, “Towards the Text of a Curse Tablet from the Kerameikos,” in Ch. Kritzas, A. Matthaiou, and V. Mitsopoulos, edd., Συμπόσιον εις μνήμην του Δούλον Βίλλεμ (forthcoming). We may think of Adelmauntus’ famous allusion to the wandering priests who sold καταθέμαι in Attica (Plato Resp. 364b-c).

39Exceptions are a tablet from Macedonian Acanthus, with καταθεί (Jordan 3: NGCT 44, late IVa) and two later examples from Lilibaeum, with καταθεί and καταγράφημι (SEG 47.1442–1443: NGCT 78–79, late III).

40ATTICA: DTWIII 160; DAT Aud 47, 697; E. Ziebarth, “Neue Verfluchtsstafeln aus Attika, Boiotien und Euböa,” SBBerl (1934) 1020–1050, no. 26 (ένακαταγράφα). ARETHUSA: supra n.2. The verb also occurs on the tablet from Oropus that has καταθέμαι (supra n.31); cf. καταγράφα in the Theban DAT Aud 84.
the Attic-Ionic Koiné (the conditionals ἄν and εἰ, the pronoun ἐκείνος). Signs of Koiné, however, appear here within judiciary curse formulae that are documented throughout the Greek world, and we may wonder to what extent they reflect here the spoken language of Pydna. Of the names that the six texts add to the prosopography of the town, many are well known as Greek and characteristic of Macedonia;41 others suggest a population with names also influenced by Thrace (Ἄρτοκρίτης, Λιτταίας) and perhaps also Epirus (Ἄρυββας, Αὐγκωρίτας Ὗρωπίδος?) and Thessaly (Αἴόλος, Ἀμηρύγκας?).

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<td>Νικύλλα</td>
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41 Ἀμύντας, Ἀμύντως, Ἀμύντωρ, Ἀρπαλός, Ἀσανόρος, Γαλέστας, Ἁρτοκρίτης, Λιτταίας, Παυσάνιας, Πολεμάρχος (see O. Maas, “Quand le nom Πολεμάρχος était à la mode,” ZPE 98 [1993] 157–167 at 160–161 [= OGS III 149–159 at 152–153]), Συμμίας, Ταρρίας, and Φιλίππου; on these names see the indices of Hoffmann, Russu, and Hatzopoulou/Loikopoulou (supra n.15). Because some of these, Ἀμύντας, Παυσάνιας, Πολεμάρχος, Φιλίππου, were frequent among the Macedonian nobility, it might once have been tempting to suppose, following Hoffmann, that their bearers on our tablets belonged to prominent fourth-century Macedonian families. As the epigraphical material from Macedonia increases, however, the wide diffusion of these names becomes more and more evident. For lack of patronymics or any further such details on our tablets, any such identification would hardly be more than speculative.