STEPHEN D. LAMBERT

IG II² 2345, THIASOI OF HERAKLES AND THE SALAMINIOI AGAIN

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 125 (1999) 93–130

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The name lists of various sorts which proliferate in the epigraphical record of classical Athens are not superficially among the most engaging of documents; in truth, however, they not only supply an abundance of data for the prosopographer and historical statistician, but also, if closely considered, can illumine, albeit often rather obliquely, many an otherwise dimly lit corner of Athenian life. It has long been realised that IG ii² 2345, a partially preserved 4th century list of names divided into thiasoi, has a bearing on the history of our most richly documented Attic genos, the Salaminioi, since known members of that genos are included on it. As gene seem normally to have belonged to the phratry structure and “thiasoi” are attested within phratries, it has also generally been assumed that the

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1 I am grateful to Sally Humphreys and Mike Jameson for kindly reading this paper in draft and for their very helpful comments; and to Mike Jameson for allowing me to refer to his paper on Agora I 1052 in advance of publication. At a late stage I also benefited from discussions with Nick Fisher on the Salaminioi and Aeschines. The Director of the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, Charalambos Kritzas, generously permitted me to study stones in his care and arranged for the supply by the TAP service of the Greek Ministry of Culture of the photograph of EM 8036 (IG ii² 2345), taken by Vas. Stamatopoulou, and reproduced at Plate XI. At the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford, Charles Crowther kindly facilitated access to the squeeze of IG ii² 2345 held there and to the Centre’s admirable facilities for viewing epigraphical images, as well as supplying key second opinions on difficult readings. None of the above named should be held responsible for any views expressed in this paper not explicitly attributed to them, still less for any remaining deficiencies. This paper is based in part on work supported by the British Academy and the Leverhulme Trust in 1994/5, by the Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington D.C. in 1995/6 and by the Scoluld Foundation in the summer of 1998. To those institutions I am also very grateful. The following abbreviations are used:

APF: J. K. Davies, Athenian Propertied Families (Oxford 1971);
Cargill: J. Cargill, Athenian Settlements of the 4th century B.C. (Mnemosyne Supplement 145, Leiden 1995);
CAF: C. W. Clairmont, Classical Attic Tombstones, 8 vols. (Kilchberg 1993; suppl. vol. 1995);
Eustrat.: see Part I;
Ferguson: W. S. Ferguson, The Salaminioi of Hephtaphyli and Sounion, Hesperia 7 (1938), 1–74;
Finley: M. I. Finley, Studies in Land and Credit (New Brunswick 1952; reprinted with new introduction by P. Millett, 1985);
Hedrick: see Part I;
Humphreys: S. C. Humphreys, Phrateres in Alopeke and the Salaminioi, ZPE 83 (1990), 234–48;
Kirchner: see Part I;
Köhler: see Part I;
LGPN II: A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, II Attica. Edd. M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne (Oxford 1994);
PA: J. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica (Berlin 1901–3);
Parker: R. Parker, Athenian Religion: A History (Oxford 1996);
Phratries: S. D. Lambert, The Phratries of Attica (Ann Arbor 1993; revised ed. 1998);
POAA: J. S. Traill, The Persons of Ancient Athens (Toronto 1994–);
Rationes: S. D. Lambert, Rationes Centesimarum (Amsterdam 1997);
Robert, Coll. Froehner: L. Robert, Collection Froehner. 1. Inscriptions grecques (Paris 1936);
T1, T2: Salaminioi, T1, T2;
Taylor: M. C. Taylor, Salamis and the Salaminioi (Amsterdam 1997);
Threatte I: L. Threatte, The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions 1: Phonology (Berlin 1980);
Traill: J. S. Traill, Demos and Tritys (Toronto 1986);
Whitehead: D. Whitehead, The Demes of Attica (Princeton 1986);
Wilhelm: see Part I;
i², ii² etc.: IG i², IG ii² etc.
For textual bibliography on ii² 2345 see Part I. Other earlier discussions of the inscription can be traced via Humphreys and Phratries, T35 with 82–84. See also Parker, 105 n. 11 and 316 n. 86; C. W. Hedrick, Hesp. 60 (1991), 247–48.
inscription is a phratry list; or rather, probably, a list of contributors to some phratry cause, for many of the names are followed by figures, apparently representing financial contributions. If this assumption were correct, the list would be important evidence for aspects of Athenian phratries, such as their size, the geographical spread of members and the relationship of gene to phratic “thiasoi”. Recently, Humphreys has argued that those who are listed without demotics, i.e. the majority, belonged to the city deme Alopeke and that that deme can therefore be identified as the main base of the phratry to which the genos Salaminioi belonged. I, on the other hand, have questioned whether IG ii² 2345 is a phratry list at all.²

The inscription is severely abraded in places and, especially since issues turn on the identification of a few individual names, an accurate text is a fundamental necessity. Prolonged examination of the stone in 1997 enabled improvements which significantly affect the reading of the name or the following figure(s) in not much less than half of the surviving entries. Part I publishes a new text. Part II consists of notes on readings and on the persons listed. Part III supplies prosopographical notes on attested members of the genos Salaminioi. Part IV seeks to reconstruct in outline the original thiasos list, commenting on its purpose and date, on the pattern of contributions and on the socio-economic profile of contributors; it finds support in new readings for Humphreys’ contention (which I have hitherto questioned) that the thiasoi were based in Alopeke, but argues that it remains doubtful whether every person listed without demotic was from that deme; it reviews the extent of the link between the list and the genos Salaminioi and considers a possible connection with another genos, the Praxiergidai. It finds that a family link between a man on the thiasos list and an official of Herakles named in the land sale records, the Rationes Centesimarum, tends to confirm a tentative suggestion made in Phratries that the list is of Heraklean thiasoi; the nature of the connection between such thiasoi and the phratry system is reconsidered. Finally, the extent of links between persons listed in Parts II and III and the island of Salamis is examined, and the bearing this has on the nature of the connection between genos and island.

Part I: Text

Stele of white (“Pentelic”) marble, broken at the top. Found by a farmer at an ancient tomb near the church of Agia Barbara at Kàrtìntò (probably ancient Alopeke, see Traill, 139). Stored in the Tower of the Winds (by the Roman Agora) at the time of the ed. princ.; now in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens (EM 8036). 0.665 high, 0.425 wide at top tapering to 0.43 at bottom, 0.6 thick at top tapering to 0.8 at bottom. The names are inscribed in 3 columns placed 0.02, 0.145 and 0.28 from the left edge. Letter height: 0.004–0.010. There is some vertical alignment of letters, but the text is not strictly stichedon. Theta lacks central dot throughout (I indicate this by subscript dot only where the letter is in doubt in context).

Textual bibliography: P. Eustratiades, AE 1872, 386–91, no. 419 with drawing, plate 56; IG ii 986 (Köhler, 1883, lapidem non vidit); A. Wilhelm, ÖJ 4 (1901), 73 n. 52; IG ii² 2345 (Kirchner, with advice from Leonardos, 1931; squeeze); C. W. Hedrick, The Attic Phratry (Diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1984), T28 (pp. 331–41). Photograph, Plate XI. The following text is informed by a fresh study of the stone, of the photograph at plate XI and of the squeeze held at the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford.

² Phratries, T35 with 82–84.
c. 365–330 B.C.
col. 1
col. 2
col. 3

traces?

85 Χλιον Ρ
Γλαύκιτπος [-?]
Εὐδρομος Ρ
Φιλοχάρης [-?]
Εὐχαρι [.?-]
vac. 8.3 cm

90 Ὠλυμπιῦδ(ωρος -?)
Δυκίσκος [-?]
I [-]

5 [Ἡρησιάδωρος Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ρ]
[..]πείτης Κηρισοδότο
[Ἱππιστής Κηρισοδότο]
"Ἀκρυπτος Ρ
Ἀμεινίχος
Ἀκρυπτος Ρ
Ἀμεινίχος
50 Καῖνες
[Ἠὐρίσκων Παιανίες Ρ]
[Ἑὐρίσκων Παιανίες Ρ (or ΡΡ)]

10 Πυθοκλῆς Ἀμεινίχος
Θεόδωρος Ἀμεινίχος Ρ
[Εὐχαρίτης ΡΡ]

vac. 3.0 cm.

Ἀγνωθὸς θιάσος
Ἀγνωθὸς "Ἀγνωνος

20 Ἀγνωθὸς Ἀγνωθὸς
Ε[ὐ]ξίθ[ο]ς "Ἀγνωνος ΡΡ]
Ἀπεινίτης Ὀλυμπιοδόρῳ Ρ
Θεόπομπος Ρ
[..]πος Καλλίππο
[.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\]
I have generally omitted from the notes on readings explanations of differences from earlier editors in respect of the status of a letter (i.e. between undotted, dotted and bracketed) in cases where the letter has already been read or restored by earlier editors and is not in doubt in context. I note differences between earlier eds. only where they bear on points still in reasonable doubt. Underlining indicates a letter read by an earlier editor which was not visible to a later one.

Apart from identifying individuals and their families, the main objectives underlying the prosopographical notes here and in Part III are to test the hypotheses (on which see further Part IV), (a) that members of our thiasoi listed without demotics were from Alopeke, and (b) that members of the genos Salaminioi (at least some of whom were also members of our thiasoi) belonged to the Athenian community on Salamis in the 6th to 4th centuries. As an aid to judging the likelihood of identifications or family associations based on onomastics, the frequency that a name is attested for Athenian citizens is noted (as indicated by the number of certain citizen cases listed in LGPN II) and, where appropriate, the frequency that a name-father’s name pair is attested (on such pairs see Habicht). Also noted are any occurrences of the name(s) in Alopeke and, in the case of names without demotics, any other deme which seems a good candidate in an individual case; among attested members of the genos Salaminioi (on which see Part III); or in connection with Salamis (as indicated by their listing in Cargill, Appendix B, or, for persons not listed by Cargill, Taylor, Appendix 1). It is a salutary disincentive to incautious identifications to bear in mind that, though we probably possess more prosopographical information for 4th century Athens than for any other polis at this or any other time in antiquity, we still know the names of only around one seventh to one eighth of all 4th century Athenian citizens. The mention of a person below in association with an individual on the list does not of itself imply an identification or family link; ceteris paribus the likelihood of such a link is inversely proportional to the frequency that the name is attested and, where the deme is known, to the size of the deme. Alopeke, the deme of most of those on the list, was fairly large (bouleutic quota 10; i.e. probably c. 400–600 adult males in the 4th century).

Thiasos 1

1. [......c. 14]...pto Γ. Unlike previous eds. I dot the figure, since there is an uncertain ghost of a pendant delta.

2. [......c. 7]Δος. Eds. before Hedrick read the first letter as the two right strokes of nu. Hedrick read mu. I read a right diagonal adjoining a left diagonal, the latter right on the edge of the stone; the downward extent of the left stroke and the width of space between the strokes perhaps suggests lambda.

3 This is a rough calculation based on an average citizen population at any one time in the 4th century of 20,000–30,000 and an estimate of the total number of 4th century citizens listed in LGPN II.
4. [...]οτις Α' Αντιγένος Ηπ. [...]οτις Ευστρατ. Eds. after Eustrat. did not read any letter before the theta (which, like all thetas in this text, has no central dot). The trace is uncertain, but consistent with iota, which is also suggested by 6, with whom this man was probably related. For the figures, eds. before Hedrick read Πι, but Hedrick noted “part of the right vertical leg of the Π” and printed Ηπ. I detect also the left and central strokes of the eta and confirm the pendant delta on the pi. (Since listed first, probably older) brother of 5 and relation of 6 and 7. On the name see 6. 'Αντιγένης: 59 in LGPN II, 2 in Alopeke (2nd cent.); none in connection with Salamis. Antisthenes son of A. of Acharnai was archon for the Salaminioi of the seven phylai (Part III, II; cf. also Part III, XXII. See further on 5).

5. [Κηφισόδωρος] Α' Αντιγένος Γ. Only the bottom stroke of the initial sigma is clearly visible. The figure at the end seems to have been added later. It is larger than a normal letter, its left vertical is unusually deeply cut and it is positioned below the level of the rest of the line. (Probably younger) brother of 4 and relation of 6 and 7. Kephisodoros and Kephisophon (7) also occur as names in the family from Alopeke in Hagnothoeos’ thiasos (31–35). Although this name pair is common (see 32), in a set of thiaso probably with hereditary basis, a connection between the two families is likely. Κηφισόδωρος: 135 in LGPN II; a Kephisokles son of K. of Alopeke proposed SEG 3.116 of c. 330 (cf. on 32); in Salamis, note Cargill no. 763 (ii 2 5542, 4th cent.? gravestone from Salamis of K. son of K. of Halimous, cf. SEG 44.260); no. 590 (ii 2 6669, 4th cent.? gravestone from either Salamis or Aegina of Hegesippos son of K. of Lamprai, cf. on 38 and Part III, III and X); no. 764, an Achaean K.; Taylor no. 165, Hippeus son of K., guarantor of a lease, possibly on Salamis (Ag. 19 L6, 144–45, 343/2); and ΣΘΟΣΚΗΦΙΣΟΔΩΡΟΣ[ου] on the early–4th cent.? judicial curse tablet, Robert, Coll. Froehner, no. 11, 16.4 Α' Αντιγένης: see on 4.

6. [...]οπεθ’ Κηρισσόδοτο. There are three names in [...]οπεθ’ Κηρισσόδοτο: Neopeithes (1 Hellenistic case only), Theopeithes (13 cases, including on this list at 70, and therefore perhaps the most likely here) and Diopeithes (57 cases). None of the names is attested in Alopeke. Probably, the name here was the same as 4, a relative. For Diopeithes cf. Part III, VII and VIII; note also Cargill no. 392 (Diotimos son of Diopeithes of Euonymon, Dem. 18.114, 116; for the deme cf. 31, 37, 48). Κηρισσόδοτος: 58 in LGPN II; none in Alopeke or in connection with Salamis; cf. Part III, XXVI. From the names, this man was probably related to 4–7.

7. [Κηφισόφων] 48 in LGPN II; none in Alopeke, unless the councillor for 303/2, [...]φων Κηφισόφων, or his father, had this name (Ag. 15.62, 305; cf. Humphreys). Possibly name of a “Salaminios” on the early-4th cent.? judicial curse-tablet, Robert, Coll. Froehner, no. 11, 15 (= SEG 37.214, B15; Cargill no. 768), which Froehner read ΚΗΦΙΣΟΦΩΝΟΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΟΣ, and which Robert notes might be reconstructed, Κηφισόφων ο Σαλαμίνος, or as Kirchner suggested, Κηφισόφωνος 'Αριστοτέος; see on 9 (deme) and above, n. 4. The name-root in Kephi- suggests a relationship to 4–6. Kephisophon is also the name of the father of 31 and 32; cf. above on 5.

8. Ἀκρυπτος Π. Previous eds. read more or less of the kappa and nothing of the alpha. I detect the kappa in full, but damaged in the bottom left, and Α before it. 3 in LGPN II, of which the other two, A. of Anagyrous (in Erechtheis) on i 2 1048, 27 (425–05?) and A. on the casualty list of Erechtheis of 460?, i 2 1147, 130, were probably related. On chronological grounds, it is scarcely likely that our man was identical with one of these (as suggested at Phratries, 370), but he might well have been related (cf. POAA 117195). See further Part IV, The Alopeke Connection. For the deme, cf. on Part III, X.

9. 'Αμείνιχος. 2 in LGPN II, the other being the father of Dionysophon of Aphidna on the 2nd/1st cent. funerary monument, i 2 5739, perhaps a relation (for possible links between the genos Salaminioi and Aphidna see Part III, XV, XIX, XXXIII, cf. 7, 42, C). Cf. also Part III, I (Ameinias) and Ameiniche daughter of Mikion of Thria on ii 2 5633. Father of 10 and 11.

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4 For other possible connections between the names on this curse tablet and our thiasotai or the genos Salaminioi see 7, 22, 38, 72–73, C and Part III, III. These are sufficient to suggest (though not to demonstrate conclusively) a real link between this curse and our thiasotai/gennetai (whether or not the tablet had anything to do with the disputes recorded in T1 and T2). For another curse possibly linked to these disputes, see Salaminioi, 91.
10. Πυθοκλῆς Ἀμεινίχος. Πυθοκλῆς: 36 in LGPNI, none in Alopeke (or Aphidna or Thria, cf. 9), or in connection with Salamis. On Ameinichos, see 9. Son of 9, (since listed first probably older) brother of 11.

11. Θεόδωτος Ἀμεινίχος. Earlier eds. overlooked the clear pi at the end, slightly below the level of the rest of the line. It is uncertain, however, whether the figure was 5 or 50; there is an uncertain ghost of a pendant delta. Son of 9, (probably younger) brother of 10. Θεόδωτος: 99 in LGPNI, none in Alopeke before the mid–2nd cent. (Ag. 15.236, 17) or in Aphidna or Thria before the 2nd cent. (Ag. 15.196, 13), cf. 9: 3 in connection with Salamis: Cargill no. 643 (ii² 11635, 4th cent. gravestone from Salamis of a Th.), no. 644 (ii² 1228, Th. of Piraeus, honoured on Salamis, 2nd cent.), no. 645 (ii² 1227, Th. son of Eustrophos of Piraeus, honoured for service on Salamis, 2nd cent.). On Ameinichos, see 9. As with some other family groups, the contribution listed against the last named family member may have been on behalf of all.

12. [Εὐχαρίστης Παιανίος]. Though extremely faint, and not read by previous eds., the number 55 is probably detectable after the name. Εὐχάριστης: 13 in LGPNI (in at least 5 demes), none in Alopeke or in connection with Salamis. The name is, however, attested in Paiania for the father of Nikostrate on ii² 7075 (for the deme cf. 13–14); it is also a possible restoration at 89.

13. Θαύσιος Παιανίος. All previous eds. read the name as [...]ιος, but I detect the lower right of θ/θ, followed by the vertical and possibly faint trace of the top horizontal and left tip of the bottom horizontal of Ε. Since Θαύσιος is also the only name [...]ιος attested in Paiania B.C., it seems secure here. The following word and the figures were read by Eustrat. as ΠΑΙΑΙΑΝΙΟ (sic), followed by a reverse nu and pi (oversize, like the figure in line 5), interpreted as Παιανίο [ΗΠ]. I read ΠΑΙΑΝΙ, followed by: the vertical and bottom horizontal of Ε; the vertical and upper left diagonal of Υ; the upper three strokes of Σ; ΠΠ clear. For the demotic cf. 14. The figures and perhaps also the demotic are roughly inscribed, possibly added later, like some other names and figures in this text. Θαύσιος: 13 in LGPNI (in at least 7 demes). Probably identical with or, if not, certainly a relation of (cf. on the date, Part IV, The list: reconstruction etc.) the Th. of Paiania who was a member of the poletai in 367/6, Ag. 19 P5, 2. Tenure of a financial office, in Athens often suggestive of personal wealth, seems consistent with the relatively large contribution. Quite possibly a relation of 14, from the same deme. The name is not attested in Alopeke or in connection with Salamis.

14. [Εὐφρόσυνος Παίανι[ε]ὺς]. Euphrosynos is the only Attic name in -phrosynos and, as Eustrat. saw, is certain here. Previous eds., following Eustrat., read the second word as a father’s name, Παίανιο (given as the only example of the name Paianios in LGPNI II), but I read the vertical and top horizontal of Ε after the second iota, running into an area to the right which is too eroded to be legible. At the start of this area there is what I take to be casual marking roughly in the shape of O, which is presumably what was read by Eustratides as omicron. As at 13, we should doubtless read the normal demotic of Paiania. After space for two letters I believe I can detect the lower left and upper right vertical of Ε, followed by the upper half of Π, i.e. ΠΠ or ΗΠ. Εὐφρόσυνος: 65 in LGPNI (of which only 5 [with demotics in Myrrhinous and Paiania], pre–2nd cent.). The new reading admirably confirms Humphreys’ tentative suggestion, 243 n. 2, that this man was identical with the Euphrosynos of Paiania who was an envoy to Keos in c. 350, ii² 1128, 40. At Salaminioi, 105, I suggested that, given the occurrence of other members of the genos Salaminioi on this list, this man was probably also identical with the Εὐφρόσυνος Ὀν-, honorand on the 4th century decree of the genos, ii² 1232, 5 (Part III, IX). Alternatively, if (what is not certain) the demotic here can not be taken as suggesting that there was another Euphrosynos in these thiasoi, perhaps a relation from Alopeke (see below, Part IV, The Alopeke Connection), he might have been Εὐφρόσυνος Ὀν-. Euphrosynos, councillor for Pandionis in 235/4, will have been a descendant if, as W. K. Pritchett, Hesp. 11 (1942), 242–44, no. 47, suggested, the six councillors among whom he is listed were from Paiania; Meritt and Traill in Ag. 15 allocate them rather to Myrrhinous. Again, one has the impression that this was a prominent man making a generous contribution; and a family link with the only other On- listed in APF from Paiania, Onetor, eponym of a naval symmery between 356 and 340 (ii² 1616, 69; APF 11474) seems possible. Given the common demotic, our man may also have been related to 13 (cf. also 12, 24–25, 81, γ, Part III, IX, XIX, XXX). The name is not attested in Alopeke. In connection with Salamis it or its female equivalent, Euphrosyne (14 in LGPNI II), occurs on
the gravestones Cargill no. 561, findspot unknown, for Εὐφροσύνη Ἀνδροσ(σ)θένους Σαλαμινία (ii² 10197, 2nd cent. A.D.) and no. 562, found on Salamis, for Εὐφροσύνου Σαλαμίνια (in at least 9 demes). One of three men of this name on this list, probably interrelated, though all in different thiasoi (cf. Habicht). As Humphreys noted, one of these was probably G. son of Glaukon of Alopeke on the mid-4th cent. dedication, ii² 2826; (his father? was councillor c. 330, Ag. 15.46, 50). Note also Πυθογένης Γλαύκου(kípsiou) of Alopeke, epistates of the Boule on the mid-3rd cent. ii² 778, 6. Neither Glaucippos nor Pythogenes are names attested in connection with Salamis. Cargill no. 1009 (AM 67 [1942], 114 no. 230) is the 3rd cent. gravestone of a Nikidion daughter of Glaukon Salaminia, found in Attica. Cf. Part III, XX.

15. Λεοστράτος [-?]. The name runs into a severely eroded area and it is not quite certain that no father’s name, denotic or figures were inscribed after it. 22 in LGPN II (in at least 9 demes). One of three men of this name on this list, probably interrelated, though all in different thiasoi (cf. 41 and 86). As Humphreys noted, one of these was probably G. son of Glaukon of Alopeke on the mid-4th cent. dedication, ii² 2826; (his father? was councillor c. 330, Ag. 15.46, 50). Note also Πυθογένης Γλαύκου(kípsiou) of Alopeke, epistates of the Boule on the mid-3rd cent. ii² 778, 6. Neither Glaucippos nor Pythogenes are names attested in connection with Salamis. Cargill no. 1009 (AM 67 [1942], 114 no. 230) is the 3rd cent. gravestone of a Nikidion daughter of Glaukon Salaminia, found in Attica. Cf. Part III, XX.

16. Θεοδόσιος. 36 in LGPN II; none in Alopeke or in connection with Salamis. The rarer form Thudosios (7 in LGPN II) occurs in Alopeke for a man who freed a slave with Peithenous and Lysistratos of Alopeke in c. 340–20, ii² 1569, 33, and possibly for another in c. 410 on i³ 1459, 18–19. Humphreys suggested that the former might be our man, noting -peithes in 4 and 6, though given the different spelling, he might rather be a relation.

17. Δημόφιλος: Λεοστράτος [-?]. Earlier eds. read more or less of the first four letters of the father’s name. I confirm that ΔΕΘ is fully legible, and followed by trace of the upper three strokes of a sigma, the letters inscribed on an upward slope. An abraded area follows. Δημόφιλος: 64 in LGPN II. Λεοστράτος: 21 in LGPN II (in at least 7 demes). Humphreys suggested that he was the Demophilos son of Leostatos of Alopeke who paid 101 dr. on behalf of Leostatos of Alopeke (his father?) in the late 340s (the latter having been epimeletes of the dockyards in 360/59, ii² 1622, 562e.), and who was councillor c. 321 or earlier (cf. Part IV n. 31), Ag. 15.55, 39. This gains confirmation from the clarification of the reading. This name pair is not attested in any other demise (cf. Habicht). Doubtless related to, probably brother of, Μαλθάκη [Λεοστράτος] of Alopeke, whose dowry was guaranteed on the security of a house marked by ii² 2682 = Finley, no. 82. Salamis: none.

Thiasos 2 (of Hagnothoeus)

19. Ἀγγόθεος Ἀγνονος. Thiasos leader. Probably father of 20 and grandfather, or possibly brother, of 21. Ἀγγόθεος Ἀγνονος. 32 in LGPN II. Humphreys suggested possible identity with Hagnothoos of Alopeke, secretary to the epistatai at Eleusis in 333/2 (ii² 1543, 6; 1544, 5). Cargill no. 20 (ii² 1590a, 8) is Hagnothoos of Piraeus, early 4th cent. guarantor for a renter on Salamis (a Diophantos, cf. Part III, I); also on a curse tablet. Ἀγνονος: 24 in LGPN II, none in Alopeke or in connection with Salamis.

20. Ἀγνον Αγγοθεος. Probably son of 19, q.v.

21. Ε[θ]ς[θ][ς] Αγνονος ΠΓ[F]. For the figures, Eustrat. read an oversize pi with pendant upsilon (sic), followed by a pi, interpreted [Π]Γ; ΠΔ Hedrick. ΠΓ[F] seemed likely at autopsy, but there may be a further pi (i.e. Π) in advance of this configuration. Son of 20, grandson, or possibly brother, of 19. Ε[θ]ς[θ][ς] Αγγοθεος: 28 in LGPN II (in at least 13 demes); Humphreys noted Chairestratos son of E. of Alopeke, councillor in 334/3 (Ag. 15.44, 53); none in connection with Salamis. 75 is another Euxitheos and cf. also Part III, XVI. Ἀγνονος: see 19. As with some other family groups, the contribution listed against the last named family member may have been on behalf of all.

22. Λεστινης Ολυμπιοδόρος ΠΓ, ΤΙΜΟΣ, preceded by a top horizontal, interpreted -τιμος, Eustrat.: [Α]λοιπος? ιι²; [Αλοιπος Hedrick]: I read: left diagonal of Α/Δ/Λ, upper vertical and top horizontal of Γ/Ε/Π, upper half of pi (i.e. Eustrat.’s top horizontal?); TINH clear, upper two strokes of Σ. For the figure previous eds. read Γ; I read left vertical, left section of horizontal of Γ and what is probably the left diagonal of a pendant delta. Λεστινης: 12 in LGPN II (in at least 7 demes). Ολυμπιοδόρος: 88 in LGPN II. Identifiable with the Leptines son of Olympiodoros of Alopeke, choregos in 331/0 (ii² 1575B, 42–43 = SEG 25.177, 18), whose gravestone is SEG 24.232 and
who, as M-F. Billot, *BCH* 116 (1992), 152, suggested, is probably identifiable with (or, if not, a relation of) the Leptines, priest of Antiochis (the phyle to which Alopeke belonged), whose past actions are referred to in the decree of Antiochis of 303/2 honouring Euthydemos, *SEG* 3.117 (= *APF* 9045; cf. Cargill no. 847). See further below, n. 45. The relatively high contribution here is consistent with membership of the liturgical class. This name pair is not attested in any other deme (cf. Habicht). The name Leptines is not attested in connection with Salamis. For Olympiodoros cf. 90 (a relation?) and ε; Cargill no. 674 (ii² 5806, 4th or 3rd cent. gravestone from Salamis of Theophilos son of O. of Acharnai, cf. 59); no. 1058 (O. son of Eumelos [23 in *LGPN* II] of Pr(ospalta?), seller of a property on behalf of the Eikadeis on Salamis in the Lykourgan period, *Rationes* F13A, 13; for the demotic, *Salaminioi*, 101 n. 47, and cf. Part III, IV); no. 1049 (ii² 7181, 4th cent. gravestone of Xenotimos son of O. of Piraeus). Note also the O. on the early-4th cent. judicial curse tablet, Robert, *Coll. Froehner*, no. 11, 22 (cf. above, n. 4). An identification of this man as Diotimos son of Olympiodoros of Euonymon (cf. ii 2 1629, 623 with Kirchner *ad* ii² 2345; *APF* p. 163; *Phratries*, 370; questioned by Humphreys, 245), now falls on the new reading of the name.

23. *Θεόπομπος*. The left diagonal and upper right diagonal of a pendant delta, not noted by previous eds., are apparent on the figure. 78 in *LGPN* II, including, as Humphreys noted, a councillor for Alopeke in c. 330 (Ag. 15.46, 56). A daughter or wife of a Theopompos was Salaminia on a mid-4th cent. gravestone of unknown provenance, Cargill no. 668 (ii² 10202). Cf. on 25.

24. [..[..[.]..]ος Καλλίππως. Letters 3–5 of the name seem to have been erased (and re-inscribed?), ii² printed no letter before the initial omicron, but there is a faint trace which I took as a tau, while Eustrat. saw a curve (of a rho?, cf. ii). After the father’s name there are marks like the top, lower central and bottom strokes of a large reverse sigma. They look inscribed, but it is difficult to make sense of them (a mark to indicate that the name needed correcting? But note the curious mark in the next line also). They are not noted by Eustrat./ii; ii² (following Leonardos) printed a quadrupunct (i.e. four dots as at the corners of a square). Cf. next line. Καλλίππως: 75 in *LGPN* II, none in Alopeke or in connection with Salamis. See further on 25.

25. *Αρχέστρατος Σπουδίδω*. After the father’s name Eustrat. showed Σ. and ii² (Leonardos) again printed a quadrupunct (cf. previous line). The clearest mark seems like the top stroke of Σ, as if the mason had started to inscribe that letter and not continued with it. *Αρχέστρατος: Σπουδίδως* 76 in *LGPN* II. Σπουδίδως: 4 in *LGPN* II (with demotic in Lamptrai [cf. on Part III, III] and Paiania; none in connection with Salamis). Humphreys noted an Archestratos son of Kriton (40 in *LGPN* II) of Alopeke, trierarch in 357/6 (see *APF* 8823) and a Kriton in 61, albeit in a different thiasos. (Her further hesitation that Kriton’s contribution of only 7 dr. would be stingy for a trierarchic family falls in light of the new reading of the figures in 61.) Note, however, that none of the other attestations of the rare name Spoudides listed in *LGPN* II is from Alopeke, while one is the father of a Theopompos of Paiania on the funerary monument, ii² 7054. Cf. Theopompos in 23 and the tendency for family members to be grouped together on this list. Note also the Paianians at 13–14 (see on 14) and that the father’s name of the man listed between Theopompos and Archestratos, Kallippos (though common, 75 in *LGPN* II), is that of a Paianian at Dem. 7.42–43 (cf. Κάλλιππης [ποιός] councillor for Paiania in 235/4, Ag. 15.118, 71). The Archestratos of Agryle at 84 might have been a relation (though again the name is common). There are three Archestratoi (apparently two individuals) on the later 4th cent. (or later?) inscription from Salamis honouring thiasotai, ii² 2347, 7, 12 and 19 (Taylor no. 45).5

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5 One of four names occurring on our list, or in families attested on our list, which also occur on this thiasotai inscription from Salamis. Cf. 27, 51, 68; also Part III, XII. The two sets of thiasotai cannot be the same. The Salamis group included women and, to judge from the names, foreigners/slaves (or Salaminian “natives”?); cf. Taylor, 134–35, 137. Moreover, none of the names is especially distinctive. Nevertheless, this sort of overlap is at least consistent with the theory that there was a contemporary link between Salamis and the genos Salaminioi. There is no apparent connection between our thiasotai and the others attested on Salamis, those of Bendis (ii² 1317, 1317b, *SEG* 2.9 and 2.10, *SEG* 44.60 = G. Steinhauer, *AE* (1993) [1995], 31–47; Taylor, 111–12).
26. Χαίριας. 23 in _LGPN_ II (in at least 10 demes); none in Alopeke (or Paiania, cf. 25) or in connection with Salamis.

27. Σωσίδημος Ὕλ. For the figures previous eds. read Δ, but did not note the pi from which the rather large delta is pendant. 8 in _LGPN_ II (in at least 3 demes). Humphreys noted Pythes son of S. of Alopeke, superintendent of waterworks in 333/2 (ii 2 338, 18; councillor c. 330, Ag. 15.46, 53; gravestone, _SEG_ 37.159), an office that would seem consistent with the relatively generous contribution by his father? here. This Pythes (33 in _LGPN_ II) was probably also related to the Pythes and Nikostratos sons of Archonides of Alopeke on the mid-4th cent. funerary monument, ii 2 5573 (cf. 12 and Part III, XIII). On Salamis: Sosidemos, none; for Pythes, cf. Cargill no. 1122 (ii 2 1008, 75, 2nd cent. archon on Salamis); ii 2 2347, 22 (Taylor no. 291; among thiasotai on Salamis, later 4th cent. [or later?], cf. n. 5).

28. Φιλίππος Ὕλ. Previous eds. did not note the figure. It may be Π, but there seems to be trace of the horizontal of a pendant delta. 133 in _LGPN_ II; none in Alopeke or in connection with Salamis.

29. Φεινιππίδης Ὕλ. At autopsy I noted trace of what appears to be an equilateral pi after the name, not apparent on the Oxford squeeze or noted by previous eds. 4 in _LGPN_ II, another being 40, with whom this man was probably related. The name is attested only once with demotic, in Athmonon (ii 2 2385, 60). Salamis: none.

30. Τιμασίθεος. 11 in _LGPN_ II (in at least 5 demes), none in Alopeke or in connection with Salamis.

31. Κτησικλέιδης Κηφισοφόρων(τος) Ὕλ. Previous eds. read the figure as Π, but I detected probable trace of a pendant delta (cf. Eustrat.’s diplomatic text). Κτήσικλείδης: 5 in _LGPN_ II, with demotic only in Alopeke and Euonymon (probably in fact no more than 3 individuals, 2 of whom mentioned on this list; the man from Euonymon, attested in 346/5, was perhaps a relation, for the deme cf. 37, 48). Κηφισοφόρων: 48 in _LGPN_ II. Given the rare name, the homonymity with 35 and the tendency in this list for families to be grouped together, this man and his (younger?) brother (32) will have been related to the men from Alopeke, 33–35. A link with the Ktesicles son of Kephisophon of Phaleron (both more common names) on ii 2 1927, 108 and his homonymous 3rd cent. relative, Ag. 15.130, 52, 131f., seems a remoter possibility. The Ktesicles who was councillor for Alopeke in 330 (Ag. 15.46, 54) was probably either this man or our 35. For the father’s name cf. 7, with whom (and with 4, 5 and 6) a family connection is likely (see on 5 and 7). Ktesicles is not a name attested in connection with Salamis; on Kephisophon, see 7.

32. Κηφισόδωρος Κηφισοφόρων(τος) Ἡ. Κηφισόδωρος: 135 in _LGPN_ II, of which 5 is another. Κηφισοφόρων: see 31. On this man’s family connections see on 31, his brother. He or 5 was probably the Kephisodoros who was father of Kephiskoles of Alopeke, proposer of the decree of senior _epilektôi_ of Antiochis with relief of Herakles and Antiochos, c. 330, _SEG_ 3.116. Cf. M-F. Billot, _BCH_ 116 (1992), 146–48 and further below, n. 45. This adds a fifth deme to those in which the name-father’s name pair, Kephisodoros-Kephisophon, is attested, (the others being Acharnai, Aphidna, Hermos and Xypete; see _LGPN_ II and cf. Habicht, 122; the suggestion at _Phratries_, 370, that our man was from Aphidna should now fall). For the name on Salamis see 5; on Kephisophon see 7. The name Kephiskoles is not attested in connection with Salamis.

33. Κτήσιν Κάλλιστράτο. Κτήσιν: 24 in _LGPN_ II (in at least 13 demes), Κάλλιστράτος: 147 in _LGPN_ II. Father of 34 and 35 (q.v.), from Alopeke; probably related to 4–7 and 31–32. The name pair is not attested in any other deme (cf. Habicht). Neither name is attested in connection with Salamis. Cargill no. 1053 (ii 2 10205) is a 4th cent. gravestone for Oianthe daughter of Kallistrate, Salaminia.

34. Καλλιστράτος Κτήσινος. Son of 33 (q.v. on names), brother (presumably older, since listed first) of 35; probably related to 4–7 and 31–32. As R. A. Moysey noted, identifiable with [Kallistratos son of Kteson of Alopeke on a mid-4th cent. dedication (ZPE 78 [1989], 204–7, no. 3 = _SEG_ 39.204; the restoration [‘ARIANTIE] in line 3 seems secure enough). The name pair is not attested in any other deme (cf. Habicht).

35. Κτήσικλείδης Κτήσινος. Κτήσικλείδης: 5 in _LGPN_ II (see on 31). Κτήσινος: see 33. Son of 33, brother (presumably younger, since listed second) of 34; probably related to 4–7 and 31–32. Identi-
fiable with the [K]τήσις χείδης Κτήσιος who was councillor for Alopeke in c. 321 (or earlier?, cf. Part IV n. 31), Ag. 15.55, 37 (cf. Moxey, loc. cit.; Humphreys, 243; Phratries, 370). The name pair is not attested in any other deme (cf. Habicht). He or 31 was probably the Ktesikleides of Alopeke, councillor in c. 330, Ag. 15.46, 54. Humphreys suggests a possible relationship to the daughter of Ktesikles of Alopeke on ii 5660. Salamis: none.

36. [Γ]λαυκέτης Γλαυκέτης Κηρι(σεύς). Γλαυκέτης: 21 in LGPN II (in at least 8 demes). As Kirchner and Davies noted, identifiable with the Glauketes of Kephisia who guaranteed Neaira’s manumission (as “νεάνισκος?”) apparently shortly after 370 (Dem. 59.40). For other members of this liturgical family, including a brother?, Kleochares, see APF 2954 + LGPN II. It is notable that, despite the family’s liturgical status, no contribution is registered here. The name is not attested in Alopeke or in connection with Salamis.

37. Λύσανδρος Λύσανδρος Εύφων(ωμεύς). Λύσανδρος: 49 in LGPN II. Λύσις; 21 in LGPN II (in at least 12 demes, none in Alopeke). Our man’s grave monument is ii 6180. For the deme cf. 6, 31, 48. If the inclusion of the demotic here can be taken to imply that there was also a Lysandros of Alopeke in these thyasoi, the L. of A. who according to Plut. Them. 32 was father of Themistokles’ wife, Archippe, might have been his ancestor. Salamis: none.

38. [Δ]ιφίλος Διονίδο. [Δ]ιφίλος: 80 in LGPN II. These are the only occurrences of the name Dionides in LGPN II. 66 is another Diphilos, q.v.; Part III, VIII (cf. V) another. Note also Δίφιλος Στατύρων [of Melite]? Kirchner ap. Robert, cf. Dem. 59.58) on the early-4th cent.? judicial curse tablet, Robert, Coll. Froehner, no. 11, 14, and above, n. 4. Cargill no. 399 (cf. Taylor, 153–56) is Diphilos son of Philotades of Lamptraí, cavalryman on Salamis c. 320 (ii 1955, 4; for the deme cf. 5, 25 and on Part III, III, X).

39. Ἀντικράθως Διονίδο. Ἀντικράθως: 44 in LGPN II. Διονίδο; see on 38. An A. was councillor for Alopeke in the 2nd cent., Ag. 15.212, 94. Salamis: none.

40. Φαινίππος Φαινίππος Εὔδοξο. Previous eds. did not note the Εὔδοξο. Φαινίππος also at 15 (q.v.) and 86. Εὔδοξος; 29 in LGPN II (in at least 9 demes). None in Alopeke or in connection with Salamis.

The following name is more roughly inscribed in larger letters and appears to have been added later.

42. Κράτης Κράτης. Previous eds. did not note the apparent trace of Κράτης (Π is also possible). 29 in LGPN II (in at least 15 demes), none in Alopeke. Cargill no. 806 (ii 5759) is a 4th cent.? gravestone from Salamis for K. son of Theagenes. For the deme cf. 7, 9, C, Part III, XV, XIX, XXXIII.

Thiasos 3

43. [. . . Λαξ(υς)]. The first legible strokes are the right diagonal and upper left diagonal of Λ. In this position they must be from the end of a demotic. Eustrat.‘s Λαξ(υς) is a possibility (cf. 50–51, 53, 54), as is Φιλαξί(δης) (cf. Part III, XXXII).

Thiasos 4 (of Antiphanes)

Towards the right these names run into a severely abraded area and, especially with longer ones, it is often impossible to be certain whether they were followed by fathers’ names/demotics/figures.
45. Ἀντιφάνης Ἀρεσίου [-?]. Thiasos leader. Ἀντιφάνης; 83 in LGPN II, including 48, probably a relation. Ἀρεσίου; 19 in LGPN II (in at least 11 demes). Humphreys noted a possible son, Theodoros son of Antiphanes of Alopeke, councillor in 334/3 (Ag. 15.44, 56; also very uncertainly restored as proposer of ii2 330, 5, previous year). M.-F. Billot, BCH 116 (1992), 152, attractively suggested that Δημήτριος [κόνος] Ἀλκακηθέεν, honorand on the decree of the cavalry of Antiochis, SEG 3.115 of c. 330, set up in the temple of Antiochos (line 22) and discovered south of the Ilissos not far distant from the findspot of our inscription, was also a son of our man. In light of the fact that the proposer of the decree, Moschos of Anaphlystos, was also son of an Antiphanes, and of the other connections between our thiasos and SEG 3.115–117 (see n. 45), this is more likely than her alternative suggestion, that Demetrios was son of Demophanes of Alopeke, trierarch in 357/6 (APF 3655). It would remain to be explained why neither of these two sons is listed here (not yet nos. 650–52 (none in Alopeke).

46. Ἀρεσίους. Probably son (or, just possibly, father) of 45, q.v.

47. Ἀνδρόκλειδής Γ. Previous eds. did not note the lower left and upper right vertical of a Γ (Π is also possible). 12 in LGPN II (in at least 7 demes), including, as Humphreys noted, a councillor for Alopeke in c. 330 (Ag. 15.46, 51). None attested in connection with Salamis.

48. Ἀντιφάνης Εὐφρ[νμεύς] Π. EYO Eustrat., EΘ- ι. Of the third letter of the second word only the left side is clear. It might be Ο (i.e. Θ or Θ in this script), but at autopsy I detected what appeared to be trace of the left foot that would make it Ω. Whether or not we have o for α (on which cf. Threatte I, 223–27), the not previously noted fact that it is followed by a clear Π, with possible upper left diagonal of a pendant delta, shows that this is not a father’s name, but the abbreviated demotic of Euonymon. 83 in LGPN II. Identifiable with the A. of E. who was epistates of the Boule in 337/6 on ι2 240, 6 and 241, 5 and (if it is not a relation, cf. Ath. Pol. 44.1 with Rhodes ad loc.) in 330/29 on ι2 351= J. Schwenk, Athens in the Age of Alexander (Chicago 1985), no. 48, 8, and probably father of the Antiphates son of A. of E. on a 4th cent. gravestone from Salamis, ιι2 6159 (Cargill no. 114), and councillor in 336/5 (Ag. 15.42, 11). See further, Part IV, The Salamis Connection. The Antiphanes of E. on the 3rd cent. ιι2 1299, 89 will belong to a later generation. The relatively generous contribution here suggests a family of fairly high socio-economic status. For the name in Alopeke (perhaps) cf. 45–46, in the same thiasos and probably relations. For another man from Euonymon on this list, see 37 (cf. 6, 31).

49. Νίκταυρος Γ. The very faint figure (which could be Π) has not previously been noted. 15 in LGPN II (in at least 9 demes), none in Alopeke, Euonymon (cf. 48) or Halai (cf. 50), or in connection with Salamis.

50. Καινέως. This name is otherwise attested only for a son of Hierokles on the 4th cent. funerary monument from the Kerameikos, F. Willemsen, AM 85 (1970) 102, no. 4, which, it seems, can arguably be linked stylistically to other funerary monuments, including one from the Pikermi area naming a Hieron son of Hierokles of Halai (see AD 20 [1965] [1967] B1 Chron. 123 (γ); Willemsen, loc. cit.; D. Peppas-Delrousou, Archeologica Classica 25/6 [1973/4], 529–38; J. and L. Robert, REG 90 (1977), 344, no. 183; M. Osborne, Anc. Soc. 19 [1988], 10, no. 10 and 38, no. 249). It seems very possible that the Kaineus on the funerary monument is identical with our man (thus Willemsen), who may therefore be from Halai. From the findspot this may, as Peppas-Delmousou has suggested, be Halai Araphenides, but note that the name Hieron also occurs in Halai Aixonides at ii2 2820, 6 and 21, and see further 51 and 53–54. For another man possibly from Halai on this list, see 43 and cf. Part III, XXI, XXVI. Salamis; none for Kaineus; on Hierokles, see 51.

51. Ἀντιφάνης Ναύτη [-?]. Ἀντιφάνης; 71 in LGPN II. Ναύτης; 6 in LGPN II (in at least 3 demes). Humphreys noted Antiphon son of Solon (a good Salaminian name, cf. Part IV, The Salamis Connection), councillor for Alopeke in 334/3 (Ag. 15.44, 55); the rarer Nautes is not attested in Alopeke. In the light of 50 and the tendency for family members to be listed together, it is also notable that there is an Antiphon of Halai (not specified which) on the 4th cent. allotment plate J. Kroll, Athenian Bronze
Allotment Plates (Cambridge Mass. 1972), no. 151; also, a Nautes is father of a Hieron (for the name cf. 50) on the mid-4th cent. deme commission of Halai, ii2 2820, 21, (but this is Aixonides, cf. 50). An Antiphon was honoured by thiasotai on Salamis in the later 4th cent. (or later?), ii2 2347, 13 (Taylor no. 17; cf. n. 5). Cargill no. 66 (ii2 5643, 1st cent. A.D.) is the gravestone from Salamis for Ameinias (for which name in the gens Salaminioi cf. Part III, I; also 9–11) son of Hierokles of Anakaia.

52. ‘Αντίφωνος [-?]. Hedrick suggested Ναοτής; not impossible (cf. 51), but I suspect that his O may be a casual mark. 30 in LGPN II. Noting the occurrence of the (much rarer) Pantaretos (4 in LGPN II, attested with demotic only in Alopeke, all probably identical or related) in the same thiasos at 57, Humphreys suggested that this man was son of the Pantaretos son of Antiphilos of Alopeke who was amphiktyon on Delos in 393–88 (ID 97, 3; probably, the same man was epistates of the Boule in 378/7, ii2 44, 4).6 See further on 57. Neither name is attested in Halai (cf. 50) or in connection with Salamis.

53. ‘Αλωντάρης [-?]. 208 in LGPN II. Humphreys tentatively suggests that he may have been the well known Diokles of Alopeke who was general in 357/6 and a trierarch (APF 3990), but, on the basis of such a common name, without father’s name or demotic, this must be very uncertain. Diokles is also the name of the father of our 66, in a different thiasos, and LGPN II lists two cases in Halai in the 5th and 4th cents. (cf. 50). Cargill no. 1289 (cf. Taylor, 153–56) is Phileas son of Diokles of Elaious, cavalryman on Salamis c. 320 (ii2 1955, 17).

54. Διοκλής [-?]. 208 in LGPN II. Humphreys tentatively suggests that he may have been the well known Diokles of Alopeke who was general in 357/6 and a trierarch (APF 3990), but, on the basis of such a common name, without father’s name or demotic, this must be very uncertain. Diokles is also the name of the father of our 66, in a different thiasos, and LGPN II lists two cases in Halai in the 5th and 4th cents. (cf. 50). Cargill no. 1289 (cf. Taylor, 153–56) is Phileas son of Diokles of Elaious, cavalryman on Salamis c. 320 (ii2 1955, 17).

55. Φιλοδημίδης [-?]. Previous eds., following Eustrat. have read Φιλοδημίδης, though both ii2 and Hedrick underlined αμίδας. The letter after the first Δ is difficult, but I rather think it is H. The following mu is very faint, IΔ clear, then nothing further legible. This is the only attestation of this name (whether Philodemi- or Philodami-) in LGPN II.

56. Φείδιππος Γ. The faint trace of Π at the end has not previously been detected. 17 in LGPN II (in at least 6 demes), none in Alopeke or Halai. Salamis: none.

57. Παντάρητος [-?]. After the first tau, Eustrat. read Λ, followed by an upper curve and an upper vertical, and restored Παντάρητος, but since ii2 Παντάρητος has been the accepted reading. I detect the top vertical of the epsilon and what is probably the vertical of the tau. As Humphreys suggested, probably son (rather than father; one would expect the senior to be listed first) of 52, q.v. Either this man or his grandfather (see on 52) was probably the Pantaretos of A. who led the group of eranistai which loaned 1,800 dr. on ii2 2743 = Finley, no. 70.

Thiasos 5 (of Diogenes)

59. Διογένης. Thiasos leader. 159 in LGPN II, including in Alopeke for D. son of Diogeiton (21 in LGPN II), councillor in 334/3, Ag. 15.44, 51. The gravestone of another son of a Diogeiton of Alopeke, Poseidonios (72 in LGPN II), is ii2 5575. Since there is a Diodotos (81 in LGPN II) in the same thiasos (62), Humphreys suggested a link with the brothers Diogeiton (born c. 460) and Diodotos (450s–409), who made their money by lending on trading voyages and whose affairs are the subject of Lysias 32 (401/0; see APF 3885). ‘Diogeiton had a single daughter by his first marriage, whom he married to his brother, and two or more sons by a second wife, born between 418 and 400 . . . Diodotos had two sons, the elder of whom came of age in 401/0. The two men in our text could therefore be an elderly son of Diogeiton and a grandson of Diodotos; Diodotos’ sons, being orphans, might well have married

6 ii2 44, 6–7, reads Παντάρητος [-?], ιυίς on the basis that the text is stoich. 32. However, line 17 has 33 letters, and given that the name is otherwise attested only in Alopeke, a restoration Αλωντάρης ιυίς, yielding 33 letters in line 7, would seem justified.
relatively early. It seems entirely appropriate that Lysias’ Diogeiton should have named a son in honour of Poseidon.” Since both Diogenes and Diodotos are common names and the former is not directly attested in the family of Lysias 32, this can be no more than a possibility, albeit a fairly attractive one if we accept, as we now should, that most names without demotics on this list belonged to Alopeke (see further Part IV; none of the three names is attested in a pair with either of the others in any other deme, see Habicht). Note, however, that the name of the next man on the list, Timomachos (6 in LGPN II) is not attested in Alopeke and that both it, the other intervening name (Kriton), and Diogenes (but not Diodotos), occur in the (admittedly large) deme Acharnai, for which cf. 22 and Part III, II–IV etc.; also that, if Humphreys is correct, our Diogenes, if a son of Diogeiton in Lysias 32, would have been at least in his late 60s and possibly rather older when councillor in 334/3. The Diogeiton of Alopeke who was κλητήρ in the confiscation and sale of the house of Theosebes in 367/6 on Ag. 19 P5, 15–16, would perhaps be one of the elder Diodotos’ two sons, or a further son of Diogeiton. See further on 61. None of these names is attested in connection with Salamis.

60. Τιμόμαχος. 6 in LGPN II, with deme affiliation only in Acharnai (cf. Part III, II–IV etc.). Cf. on 59. Not attested in connection with Salamis.

61. Κρίτων. Previous eds. have read the figures as ΠΙΙΙ, but the marks are clearly two pis. The pendant letter from the first is probably Δ. There is no sign of a pendant letter on the second. 40 in LGPN II; in Alopeke for a well-to-do companion of Socrates (APF 8823), quite possibly a relation. 25, q.v., might be another member of the family. The generous contribution would seem consistent with a family of liturgical status. It is notable that no contribution is listed against the thiasos leader, Diogenes. It may be that, as apparently in some other such cases (see Part IV, the list: reconstruction etc.), 59–61 were a family group (cf. 62, probably also a relation) and the amount listed against Kriton was on account of them all. If so, and if Humphreys’ theory about Lysias 32 is correct (see on 59), that would seem to imply a family link between the protagonists in that speech and Socrates’ companion. The name Kriton is also attested for a member of the genos Amynandridai from Acharnai in the Augustan period, ii2 2338, 50; for the deme cf. 59–60. It is not attested in connection with Salamis.

62. Διόδωτος. 81 in LGPN II, none in Alopeke. See on 59.

63. Ἀριστοκράτης. 104 in LGPN II, none in Alopeke. Cargill no. 186 (ii2 10179) is a mid-4th cent. gravestone from Attica for [Ἄριστοκράτης Πασικράτους Σαλαμίνος].

64. Λυσίδημος. 10 in LGPN II (in at least 6 demes), none in Alopeke or in connection with Salamis.

65. Τιμοκράτης Ἀρίστων [-?]. 112 in LGPN II, none in Alopeke. Ἀρίστων: 163 in LGPN II; in Alopeke, as Humphreys noted, for a man who worked on the Erechtheion in the early 4th century (ii2 1654, 5) and a man prosecuted by Aristogeiton (Dem. 25.71, 73 and hypoth.). Cargill no. 1243 (ii2 12797) is a 4th cent. gravestone from Salamis for T. son of T.; no. 1244 (ii2 12798) a 4th cent. gravestone for a T. son of Timon; no. 1064 (ii2 10206) a 2nd cent. gravestone from Athens for Onasos daughter of T. Salaminia, wife of Anaxagoras of Óinoe. Taylor no. 326 is Timokles son of T., renter of two properties, possibly on Salamis, in 343/2, Ag. 19 L6, 143–44.

66. Διόφλος Διοκλέος [Γ]. Not noted by previous eds., I detect the left and short right verticals of Γ, with perhaps the faintest trace of the horizontal. Διόφλος: 80 in LGPN II, including in Alopeke for the father of a Zoilos, secretary in 226/5 (ii2 838, 2; Ag. 15.121, 2; SEG 25.106, 3), of whom the Z. son of Diphilos of A. on the later 4th cent. gravestone, ii2 5557, was probably an ancestor (son of our man?) and the D. son of Diokles of Alopeke on a base of c. 100? from the Acropolis (SEG 44.137) was probably a descendant. The name also occurs at 38, q.v., and at Part III, VIII (cf. V). Διοκλῆς: 208 in LGPN II: also 54, q.v. Salamis; see 38 and 54.

67. Ἀριστήμηδης Φορυσκίδη [-?]. Ἀριστήμηδης: 98 in LGPN II. Φορυσκίδης: 4 in LGPN II (with demotic only in Alopeke). Humphreys plausibly suggested that he was ancestor of the 3rd cent. secretary Phoryskides son of Aristomenes of Alopeke (SEG 32.118, 4), who was also cavalryman on J. H. Kroll, Hesp. 46 (1977), 83–146, nos. 54, 60, 65b (cf. G. R. Bugh, The Horsemen of Athens [Princeton 1988], no. 212; Humphreys’ identification of the latter as son of this Phoryskides seems to be a slip).
Salamis: none, but Taylor no. 355 is Phoryskos, a metic living in Alopeke (N.B.), who rented land on Salamis in 343/2 (Ag. 19 L6, 138); perhaps a freedman of a relation of our man?

68. ‘Επίκλης Ἐπικλέες Γ. I follow previous editors with Γ, though ΠΓ is also possible. 34 in LGPN II, none in Alopeke. An Epikles was honoured by thisiasotai on Salamis in the late 4th cent. (or later) on ii2 2347, 18 (Taylor no. 96; cf. n. 5).


70. Θεοπετής. 13 in LGPN II (in at least 6 demes), none in Alopeke. For the name, cf. 4 and 6. It is not attested in connection with Salamis.

71. Γνάθος. 15 in LGPN II (in at least 9 demes); identifiable with the father of Demokles of Alopeke, joint hieromnemon of Herakles in Alopeke in the Lykourgan period (Rationes F13A, 7; cf. B below and Part III, III). Humphreys noted [....]Γ[...]ος, councillor for Alopeke in 303/2 (Ag. 15.62, 303), and probably brother of Demokles (cf. Rationes, 155). See further Part IV, Thiasoi of Herakles?

72. Εὐφρανόρος Εὐφράνορος ο[ς -?]. Εὐφρ.ο[-] Eustrat. (with left diagonal before the nu?, see his diplomatic text and ii); Εὐφρ[ο]ις ii?, Εὐφρ[ο]ν[ii] Hedrick. I note at least the lower section of a left diagonal after the first rho, though damage to the area is of a shape such that O might also be read; after the nu there is very faint trace of the upper section of O and I think, of a rho, both on an upward slope. The reading shown, therefore, seems slightly preferable to Εὐφράνορος. 33 in LGPN II, none in Alopeke. Probably related to 73. If my new reading is correct, the suggestion at Phratries, 370, based on ii1’s reading, that the Euphranor son of Euphron of Rhamnous on SEG 26.302 (see now also SEG 43.88) implies that our man was from Rhamnous, is overtaken. Note also the ΘΥΓΑΘΗΡ / ΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΟΣ on the early-4th cent.? judicial curse tablet, Robert, Coll. Froehner, no. 11, 11–12, and further below, 73 and above, n. 4. The name is not attested in connection with Salamis.

73. Εὐφρανόιος παῖς (?). Εὐφράνοιος: 33 in LGPN II, none in Alopeke (or Rhamnous, cf. 72). Probably related to 72. Exactly who this was is unclear. The possibilities seem to be: a minor (perhaps, as Humphreys suggests to me, an orphan); a slave (unlikely?); an illegitimate child (cf. Part IV, on the association of thiasoi of Herakles with illegitimates); or an epikleros (possible now that new readings have deprived this child of the brothers it previously appeared to have; but, if not a minor, one would expect her to have been married). Given the occurrence of other names on this list on the judicial curse tablet, Robert, Coll. Froehner, no. 11 (see above, n. 4), ΘΥΓΑΘΗΡ / ΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΟΣ at 11–12 on the tablet (cf. 72) is remarkable. It may be coincidence; but in the light of the fact that there seems to be text missing to both right and left in some other lines of this curse (reconstituted by Robert on the basis only of Froehner’s copy), a reading ΘΥΓΑΘΗΡ [ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ] / [ΕΥΦΡΑΝΩΡ] ΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΟΣ, i.e. our 73 and 72, would perhaps be possible. Salamis: none.

74. Στράτσων ΠΓ. Previous eds. read no figures, but I detected not entirely sure traces of a rather low Π, followed by a lower left and upper right vertical. 150 in LGPN II, none in Alopeke. Probably related to 77, q.v. If the reading of the contribution is correct, it would suggest a family of some means. Salamis: none.

75. Εὐξῖθεος. 28 in LGPN II (in at least 13 demes); a Chairestratos son of E. was councillor for Alopeke in 334/3 (Ag. 15.44, 53), as Humphreys noted. 21 is another E. (cf. also Part III, XVI). No E. is attested in Agryle (cf. 74 and 76) or in connection with Salamis.

76. Ἀρχίνος Ἀγρυλῆθ(εν) ΠΓ. Not noted by previous eds., I detect faint trace of two pis after the abbreviated demotic. Ἀρχίνος: 22 in LGPN II (in at least 12 demes). Not otherwise known. The level of contribution suggests a man of some status; probably he was related to 77, 78 and 79. The name is also attested in Alopeke, for the father of a Nikon, councillor in 334/3 (Ag. 15.44, 57). The inclusion of the demotic here perhaps suggests that the latter was also a member of these thiasoi. Salamis: none.

77. Στρατοφόνος Ἀγρυλῆθ(εν). Στρατοφόνος: 7 in LGPN II (none in Alopeke). This man, S. son of Straton, was among those who took an oath on behalf of the Salaminioi of the seven phylai in 363/2, Part III, XIV. Since the Straton at 74 is not listed with demotic, he was perhaps a relation from Alopeke; in which case, the two men listed in between, Euxitheos and Archinos, 75–76, were also probably relations of our man. Salamis: none.
78. "Ἰππον Ἀγρυλῆ(θεν) [-?]. 15 in LGPN II (none in Alopeke); probably the Hippon who was councillor for Agryle in 336/5 (Ag. 15.42, 21). Salamis: none.

79. Δήμων Ἀγρυλῆθ(εν). Δήμων: 13 in LGPN II (none in Alopeke). Identifiable with the Demon son of Demaretos of Agryle who was among those who took the oath on behalf of the Salaminioi of the seven phylai in 363/2, Part III, VI. Probably also the Demon of Agryle who was a mine lessee in 367/6, Ag. 19 P5, 58–59 (listed immediately before a lease by another genos member, Diophanes of S., see Part III, VIII) and is mentioned as neighbour in another mine lease of shortly before 350, Ag. 19 P9, 10. Probably father of 83. Given the associations of other Salaminioi with the circle of Timarchos and the relative rarity of the name Demon, there seems a possibility that this man was also the Demon to whom we know a house (συνοικία) at Kolonos allegedly belonged, Aeschin. 1.125 (cf. Part III, Xa). Salamis: none.

80. Πρωτεύς ἐκ Κερ(ομεέων) (ορ Κηδ[δον]). For the second letter of the demotic Eustrat. showed a left vertical and two points where the central and bottom horizontal of E would end to the right, but tentatively restored εκ Κ[ηδον] (Κηδ[δον]? ii², Κηδ[δον] Hedrick). At autopsy I read the vertical and upper two horizontal of E, then, on a slight upward slope, faint trace of the left vertical and lower curve of rho. However, the photograph and the Oxford squeeze rather suggest eta in second place and, in third, the squeeze suggests the upper tip of a possible delta. It is perhaps a slight argument in favour of Kedoi that the deme was in the same phyle as, and may well have neighboured, Agryle (cf. 76–79). The issue is best left open. This is the only example of this name in LGPN II B.C.; the inclusion of a demotic, however, might (but does not necessarily) suggest that there was another Proteus in these thiasoi, perhaps from Alopeke.

The following four names are more roughly inscribed in larger letters and appear to have been added later.

81. Δήμαρχος, Τίμαρχος Eustrat.: [Δήμαρχος] ii² (Leonardos, squeeze). The first letter is legible as delta. 23 in LGPN II (in at least 9 demes), none in Alopeke. Cargill no. 293 (Ag. 17.654, 1–3) is a 3rd–2nd cent. gravestone from the Agora for [Δα]ρφαίοι[ες] Και- or Δήμαρχος Σαλαμίνιος: no. 917 (ii² 7066) is a 4th cent.? gravestone from Salamis for Menandros son of Demaretos of Paiania. For the deme cf. on 14.

82. Κηδίστος Εὐφρο. Hedrick restored Εὐφρο[νιο] (Εὐφρο ii²), but the omicron seems clearly to be the last letter inscribed; it might be an abbreviation (Hedrick’s Euphronios occurs elsewhere on this list, at 73, as does Euphrosynos, 14), but there is no other abbreviated father’s name on this list. More likely, therefore, it is the genitive of a full name, probably Euphras. If so, it is the first attestation of this name for an Athenian citizen B.C. Κηδίστος: 21 in LGPN II (in at least 12 demes), none in Alopeke. A family connection with the other men on this list with names in Kephis– (5–7, 31–32) and Euphr– (14, 72–73) seems likely. Cargill no. 447 (ii² 6304) is the later 4th cent. gravestone from Salamis of Epikrates son of K. of Ioniai (cf. Taylor no. 180; Part III, I).

83. Δήμαρχος Ἀγρυλῆ(θεν). The roughly inscribed name is not easy to decipher. Eustrat. (cf. ii) read a jumble of marks which he tentatively resolved into [Ζη]ν[νάρχος]; ii² read [ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΣ, noting “an Δημαρχος” (cf. POAA 306425). I read: ΔΗ clear, right half of mu (squeeze), Α, upper half of rho, epsilon (parts of all strokes visible), vertical of T and possibly part of horizontal at top extending to right (like Γ), Ω clear. 8 in LGPN II. As Humphreys observed (cf. also Ferguson, 28 n. 7), he was probably son of the Demon son of Demaretos of Agryle, member of the genos Salaminioi, at 79. The name is not otherwise attested in connection with Salamis. Given the rarity of the name and the link between our thiasoi and Alopeke, a family connection with Demaretos son of Demaretos of Alopeke on the funerary monument, ii² 5552a (p. 890), a good possibility.

84. Ἀρχέστρατος Ἀγρυλῆθ(εν). Ἀρχέστρατος: 76 in LGPN II, including one in Alopeke, the main base of these thiasoi, with whom it is therefore possible that this man was related; see note on the other A. on this list, 25.

Thiasos 6

85. Χίτων Π. Previous eds. read Γ, but I detect what may be the bottom left corner of a pendant delta. 10 in LGPN II (in at least 6 demes); identified by Humphreys as son of the Lysiades I son of Chion of Alopeke commemorated on ii² 5565 of 410–390, and father of the Lysiades II son of Chion of Alopeke who freed a slave in the 330s or 320s (ii² 1559, 93 = SEG 18.36B, 267). Salamis: none.
86. Γλεύκιππος [-?]. Eustrat. read ΩΑΡΣ after the name (ΩΑΡΣ[-] ii2 and Hedrick); I detect only one letter, which might be Ο, but might also be Π. For other Glaukippos on this list see 15 and 41.

87. Εὐδρόμος Π. Not noted by previous eds., I detect the left vertical and horizontal of Π after the name, with possibly the left corner of a pendant delta. Εὐδρόμος; 3 in LGPN II (with demotic only in Piraeus). Humphreys suggested a family link with [-]ibios son of Eudramon of Alopeke on the gravestone, ii2 5548. Salamis: none.


89. Εὐχαριστο[σ] [-?]. There is uncertain trace of a lower (left?) vertical in the fourth space after the rho, which might suggest Εὐχάριστος ΠΓ. The name might be Euchares (12 in LGPN II), Eucharides (13 in LGPN II, and in this list at 12) or Eucharistos (24 in LGPN II), none of which is attested in Alopeke. Perhaps related to 88. Cargill no. 566 (ii2 6950) is the 4th cent. gravestone from Salamis of Euchares of Oe, naming also a Euthydike.

90. Ολυμπιώδ[ο]ρος [-?]. For another Olympiodoros see 22; cf. ε.

91. Λυκίσκος [-?]. 33 in LGPN II, none in Alopeke. Cargill no. 864 (ii2 11982) is the mid-4th cent. gravestone from Salamis of Lykiskos son of Lykon.

From this point the names are no longer legible, though the stone continued to be inscribed. Little is detectable for several lines after 92, where the stone is particularly severely abraded, but traces appear again opposite the second half of Antiphanes’ thiasos in col. 2 running to just before the beginning of Diogenes’, and again from opposite the third line of Diogenes’ thiasos through to about the seventh line from the end. At one, or possibly both, of the two breaks in the traces, there was probably a change of thiasos. Some individual letters can tentatively be made out here and there. E.g. 8 cm. below 92, [.]Δ[.]-; after a further 16 cm., [.]Ε[.]Σ[.]YA; after a further 5 cm., Π[.]-; and in the penultimate line, Α[.]. Further meticulous study of this area, perhaps aided by modern technology, might eventually enable some more names to be deciphered.

The final name was more roughly inscribed in larger letters, apparently added later, like the name(s) tacked onto the ends of other thiasoi. Though not read by previous eds., it remains legible. Thiasos 7 or 8?

93. Εὐθύππος. To the left of the main column there is a configuration which could be mistaken for Σ, but the “strokes” have the appearance of other casual marks in this area of the stone and in no other case does a name added at the end of a thiasos breach the left column edge. In the main column I read: vertical, top and possibly middle horizontal of Ε; YO1; a Π whose top horizontal extends to the right beyond its short right vertical, possibly terminating in a further short right vertical. I interpret this as π for πι, or, more likely, a lazy attempt to cut πι; ΟΣ clear. 13 in LGPN II (in at least 9 demes), none in Alopeke or in connection with Salamis.

The following are attested as likely or possible members of these thiasoi in the Rationes Centesimarum (see Part IV, Thiasoi of Herakles)?


C. Λυσικράτης Λυσιμάχου ’Αρη[ς(ναίτος)]. Rationes F13A, 9. Buyer of an estate (chorion) at Alopeke c. 330–325(?), sold by hieromnemones of Herakles. For his family connections see Rationes, sect. 5, no. 61. On the tendency for buyers in the Rationes Centesimarum to be members of the selling group see Rationes, 248–49. Λυσικράτης: 41 in LGPN II. Cf. ΛΥΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ...AVΠ (perhaps Λ(Φ)?) on the judicial curse tablet, Robert, Coll. Froehner, no. 11, 30, and see above, n. 4. For other possible
connections between our thiasotai/the genos Salaminioi and Aphidna see 7, 9, 42, Part III, XV, XIX, XXXIII. Salamis: none.

The following are attested as possible members of these thiasoi on the altar for Herakles from the Agora, first published by B. D. Meritt, *Hesp.* 7 (1938), 92–93, no. 12. Except where indicated otherwise, the basis of the following is the much improved edition of this altar shortly to be published by M. Jameson. See further Part IV, A Praxiergidai Connection?

α. Τιμήθεις Τιμίοι (Ῥαμνοῦσιος). Dedicator to Herakles, *Hesp.* 7, 92–93, no. 12, 1–3. Nephew of Iphikrates and brother of the Timarchos of Aeschin. 1.157 (*APF* 7737), homonym of the Timarchos against whom the speech is directed. See Part IV, A Praxiergidai connection?, and n. 37. A Timotheos (95 in *LGPN* II) of Alopeke (N. B.) from Salamis brought the annual agricultural offering from Salamis to Eleusis in 329/8, probably as archon for Salamis (ii 2 1672, 274).


g. Ἀρέσσονδρος Πι[στινεύς]. Jameson informs me *per ep.* that his squeeze inclines him to "Ω[σθεν]; at autopsy in 1998, however, a left vertical seemed the clearest inscribed stroke, with possible trace also of the horizontal of pi. John Camp, who kindly examined the stone with me, concurred that there was "trace consistent with pi". Associated with dedication to Herakles, *Hesp.* 7, 92–93, no. 12, 8. See Part IV, A Praxiergidai connection? This name is attested with demotic only in Paiania, for the father of Arestorides on the 4th cent. gravestone ii 2 7025, probably identical with this man; for this deme cf. on 14. Salamis: none.


e. Ὀλυμπιόδωρος. Associated with dedication to Herakles, *Hesp.* 7, 92–93, no. 12, 10. For the name cf. 22, 90. See Part IV, A Praxiergidai connection?


Part III: Notes on Members of the Genos Salaminioi

On the evidence for the genos Salaminioi (all of which is epigraphical), see *Salaminioi*. See also the introduction to Part II.

Certain or Probable Members

I. Ἀμεινίας Φιλίνου (Σουνιεύς). Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from Sounion in 363/2, T1, 73. Ἀμεινίας: 45 in *LGPN* II. Φιλίνος: 110 in *LGPN* II. Philinos of S., mine lessee in 367/6 (Ag. 19, P5, 60), was probably father of our man (note the neighbour, Diophanes of S., another genos member, cf. VIII), who may probably have been the Ameinias who was a mine lessee in 350/49 (Ag. 19, P13, 41). Cf. XV (probably a relation) and Part II, 9–11 (Ameinichos). Cargill no. 66 (ii 2 5643) is a (1st cent. A.D.? ) gravestone from Salamis for Ameinias son of Hierokles of Anakaia (cf. thiasos list, 51); no. 1296 (ii 2 7194) a gravestone (post 4th cent.) for Philinos son of Diophantos (cf. Part II, 19) of Piraeus (a relation of whom, Epikrates son of D. of P., was cavalryman on Salamis c. 320, ii 2 1955, 25, cf. Part II, 82; Taylor, 153–56).

II. Ἀντισθένης Ἀντιγένους Ἀχαρνεύς. Archon of the genos Salaminioi for the branch from the seven phylai, 363/2, T1, 73–74. Ἀντισθένης: 35 in *LGPN* II. Ἀντιγένης: see thiasos list, 4–5, -thes and Kephisodoros, sons of Antigenes (of Alopeke?). Cf. XXII (a relation?). Neither name is attested in connection with Salamis.
III. Ἀρίσταρχος Δημοκλέους Ἀχαρ(νεύς). Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from the seven phylai, 363/2, T1, 77, and probably identical with Aristarchos, archon of the Salaminioi (apparently in succession to ἸΠ), T1, 81–82. Ἀρίσταρχος: 53 in LGPN II. Δημοκλής: 65 in LGPN II. The size of Acharnai (boul. quota 22) makes identifications especially hazardous, but Philokedes son of Α. of Achr., Areopagite in 305/4 (ii2 1492, 128) and honoured by the deme Lamptrai on ii2 1204, might well be son of our man. For other connections between the genos and Lamptrai see ΧV, XV, XXIV, XXX, Part II, 5, 25, 38; the proposer of ii2 1204 was [Kephis[o]d[o]r[o]s] of Lamptrai, a relation of Hegesippos son of Kephisodoros of Lamptrai, probably buried on Salamis in 4th cent.? (ii2 6669), and possibly also of the genos member Hegias of Sounion, cf. Part II, 5 and 32 and below. Χ. Note also that there are two men from Lamptrai, Euthymachos and Philokettes, on the judicial curse tablet, Robert, Coll. Froehner, no. 11, 26–27, cf. Part II, n. 4. Cargill no. 617 (ii2 10201) is a gravestone from Salamis (post-300?) of Herophilos son of Aristarchos “Salamineios”. For the name Demokles in connection with our thiasoi, see Part II, 71 and B; for Acharnai cf. II, IV, Part II, 22, 59.

IV. Άρκέων Ευμηλίδου Ἀχαρ(νεύς). Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from the seven phylai, T1, 78. Άρκεων: 2 in LGPN II (with demotic only in Acharnai). Ευμηλίδης: 10 in LGPN II (in at least 6 demes). Eumelides son of Α. of Acharnai, treasurer of Athena in 343/2 (ii2 1443, 7), will have been a son of our man. Charias son of A., daskalos (?) of ephes in 333/2 (Reinmuth, Eph. Inscr. 8, 12), might have been another son, and Charias of Acharnai, keleustes on the naval catalogue of c. 405? (i2 1032, 159), also a relation. Cargill no. 1058 was Olympiodoros son of Eumelos of P[ros]palta(?), agent for a property sale on Salamis, Euthymachos and Philoktetes, on the judicial curse tablet, Robert, Coll. Froehner, no. 11, 26–27, cf. Part II, n. 4. Cargill no. 617 (ii2 10201) is a gravestone from Salamis (post-300?) of Herophilos son of Aristarchos “Salamineios”. For the name Demokles in connection with our thiasoi, see Part II, 71 and B; for Acharnai cf. II, IV, Part II, 22, 59.

V. Ἀρχένεως.7 Proposer of a motion of the genos Salaminioi, T1, 80. 18 in LGPN II (in at least 6 demes). Given the occurrence of the (admittedly common) name Diphilos in this genos (see VIII) it would seem possible that this man was, or was related to, the only Archeneos in Delos in 341/0 (ID 2), who owned land in the mining district in 367/6, and brother of APF 10032, the syntrierarch Menios son of Diphilos of Prosopala. For the deme cf. IV.

VI. Δήμων Δημαρέτου Ἀγρυλή(θεν). Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from the seven phylai in 363/2, T1, 79. See thiasos list, 79 and 83.

VII. Διοσπείθης Φασωρκίδος (Σουνιεύς). Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from Sounion in 363/2, T1, 70–71. Διοσπείθης: 57 in LGPN II. Φασωρκίδης 1 in LGPN II. See VIII.

VIII. Διψόλος Διοσπείθους Σουνιεύς. Archon of the Salaminioi for the Sounian branch in 363/2, T1, 69, Διψόλος: 80 in LGPN II. Διοσπείθης: see VII. From a well attested liturgical family, APF 4487 (q.v. for fuller details; cf. PA 4327), which included the Diophanes (42 in LGPN II) son of Diopeithes of S. who owned land in the mining district in 367/6, Ag. 19, P5, 59–60, and c. 350–45, Ag. 19, P20, 67, and was councillor c. 340–20, Ag. 15.52, 25 (LGPN II makes the last another man, but this is perhaps unnecessary), probably brother of our man, and Diopeithes of S., general in the Chersonese c. 343/2–340 (Dem. 8 etc., see APF), perhaps our man’s son. If so, as Davies saw, VII is more likely on chronological grounds to be a collateral relation of our man than his father. A Diphilos son of Diopeithes of S. is also attested in the 320s, however, including as syntrierarch (see APF). He is usually assumed to have belonged to a later generation than our man; but it does not seem impossible that they were identical, in which case VII might be his father and Diophanes and/or Diopeithes the general might be collateral relations. I note in this connection that there would seem little basis for the assumption that genos archons would necessarily have been old men; in the late 2nd cent. at least, there were archons of the

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7 At T1, 80, I read Ἀρχένεως in company with earlier editors. However, this name is not otherwise certainly attested for an Athenian before the 4th cent. A.D. (see LGPN II and POA) and having examined the stone again more than once in the spring of 1998, I am satisfied that, as Dow apparently recognised (cf. D. M. Lewis, Phoen. 48 [1994], 276; LGPN II s.v. Ἀρχένεως (8); POA 209925) the correct reading is Ἀρχένεας (the right vertical of the nu, though faint, is clearly visible in some lights). Lewis’ suggestion, θαρτσία for θερατ αἳ at T2, 26–27 and 32, is also persuasive.
genos Bakchiadai who were not. See ii2 2949 with J. von Freeden, *ZPE* 61 (1985), 215–18, modified by S. D. Lambert, forthcoming in *Historia. PA* 4327 identifies the general with the Diopeithes of Sounion who, according to Aeschin. 1.63, was an (older?) associate of Hegesandros (see further on Xa); it seems no less likely that the latter was VII. Thiasos list: Diphilos son of Dionides, 38; Diphilos son of Diokles, 66, cf. also V. Diopeithes is a possible restoration at 4 and 6. Salamis: see thisios list, 6 and 66. Cargill no. 392A (*SEG* 40.217) is a (4th cent.?) gravestone from Salamis for Diophanes son of Euteles of Alopeke (for the deme, cf. Part IV, The Alopeke Connection).

IX. [Ἐ]πφρόσυνος ’[Ον[-] (Παιανίστες?)). Honorand on decree of genos Salaminioi, ii2 1232, 5, and probably identical with or a relation of Euphrosynos of Paiania on the thisios list, 14, q.v.

X. Ἡγίας Ἡγήσιο (Σουντεύς), Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from Sounion, 363/2, T1, 73. Ἡγίας: 23 in *LGPN* II (in at least 10 demes). Ἡγήσιος: 47 in *LGPN* II. This is the only certain attestation in person of a man whose brothers, Hegesandros (14 in *LGPN* II, in at least 5 demes) and Hegesippos (17 in *LGPN* II, in at least 9 demes), were prominent politicians of the mid-4th century. Hegesandros is best known from the attack on him as an associate of Timarchos in Aeschines 1; Hegesippos, referred to by Aeschines as “Krobylos” for his archaic habit of wearing his hair in a bun, as the probable author of [Dem.,] 7. A likely son of our man, Hegesias (II) son of Hegias of S., served, like his uncle, as treasurer of Athena in 349/8 (ii2 1436, 7; 2822, 9) and was a dedicatar to Asklepios in 339/8 (ii2 1533, 22–23). For later members of the family see *APF* 6351. Given that neither name was very common, a family connection with the Hegesippos son of Hegesandros of Pallene listed in the fragmentary decree concerning *symbolaia*, ii2 143, 24 (earlier 4th century), also seems possible. Cf. also XV.

A few points may be added to the standard accounts of the careers of the three brothers (see e.g. *PA* 6307 and 6351, cf. W. Kroll, *RE* Suppl. 4 [1924], 712–14; R. Sealey, *Demosthenes and his Time* [Oxford 1993], index s.v. Hegesippos; a summary account at *APF* 6351):

(a) Diopeithes of Sounion was asked to arbitrate in Hegesandros’ disputes with Pittalakos, the public slave and alleged former patron of Timarchos. Aeschines describes Diopeithes as a fellow demesman (and, it is suggested, lover) of Hegesandros and as having favoured him accordingly (Διοπείθει τῷ Σουντεί, δήμος τό τε ὅντι τοῦ Ἡγεσάνδρου, καὶ ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ χρησαμένῳ, ἤτε ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, Aeschin. 1.63 cf. Σ.).8 It is notable (and interesting that Aeschines does not mention it) that the two men seem, in fact, also to have been members of the genos Salaminioi (see VIII). There are several other indications (in varying degrees speculative) that the genos may have been lurking in the background to this case:

(i) the non-Souanian Leodamos of Acharnai, also associated by Aeschines with Hegesandros, may also have been a fellow gennete (see XXXIII);

(ii) Aeschines mentions a second Timarchos, son of Teisias of Rhamnous and nephew of Iphikrates. He does so explicitly in order to point to a difference in the sexual mores of the two homonyms (Aeschin. 1.157), but one suspects that there may be more to it. One wonders, for example, whether this other Timarchos might have had some connection (family link?) with his homonym, from whom he may have been anxious to distance himself. We also know that he had a brother who is attested as a member of (or at least in association with) the genos Praxiergidai, which may have had a cultic connection with the genos Salaminioi (see Part II, α, and Part IV, A Praxiergidai connection?);

(iii) Aeschin. 1.125 mentions a house at Kolonos (lived in by Timarchos?, cf. 123–24), belonging to a Demon. This fairly rare name (13 in *LGPN* II) was also that of a member of the genos Salaminioi who also belonged to our association of thisaiso (VI);

8 Fathers’ names and demotics in the documents in Aeschin. 1 are commonly fictional/inaccurate (see e.g. 1.50, Misgolas), so it is not in itself remarkable that Hegesandros is referred to as son of Diphilos of Steiria in the affidavit quoted at Aeschin. 1.68, though he was actually son of Hegesias of Sounion. It is nevertheless striking that Diphilos was a name current in the family of this Diopeithes (cf. VIII).
(iv) Timarchos had a house in Alopeke (Aeschin. 1.99 and 105), the main base of our association of thiasoi (see Part IV, the Alopeke connection).

(b) Tzetzes Lyk. 883 p. 286, 1 Scheer and Etym. Magnum s.v. ‘Ἀργός’ attribute to Hegesandros or Hegesippos, referred to as “Salaminios” by Tzetzes, the view that the ship Argo was so called because it was built in Argos.9 Now that the publication of T1 has shown that Hegesandros and Hegesippos of Sounion were members of the genos Salaminioi, and given also the confusion between the two names in our sources, it would seem clear enough that our two brothers (possibly confused with another writer of similar name) underlie these references.10 See further Part IV, The Salamis Connection.

(c) In 365 “Krobylos” (i.e. Hegesippos) is said to have sought to dissuade Plato from defending Chabrias (D.L. 3.24). If the anecdote can be taken as suggestive of an association of the family with the philosopher, our man might well have been the Hegias who was one of the executors/guardians named in Plato’s will (D.L. 3.43).

(d) Pace A. Schäfer, Demosthenes und seine Zeit (Leipzig, 1885–87), II2 332 n.2 (who thought Hegesandros, *tamias* under Timomachos probably before 361/0 and married to an heiress, should have been older than Hegesippos, contra APF) and Davies (who thought Hegias, as oath-taker for the genos, should have been the eldest), there seems no way of identifying the relative ages of the three brothers. Hegias may have been the slightly more quietist brother, involving himself in genos affairs while the other two brothers were preoccupied with city politics, but that is not in itself an indicator of his position in the family. As Davies points out, his son’s office in 349/8 probably rules out a birth-year after about 400 for Hegias; but the same could be inferred for the other two brothers from their rise to prominence in the 360s.

(e) As Davies notes, despite their demotic, no property is attested for this family in the mining lease documents (or indeed elsewhere). Nevertheless, their service as treasurers of Athena, for which status as *pentakosiomedimnos* was at least a nominal prerequisite (Ath. Pol. 47.1), as well as Hegesippos’ service as guarantor in 341/0, makes it clear enough that they belonged to the liturgical class. One suspects that one source of income will have been a property holding on Salamis (cf. Part IV, The Salamis Connection).

(f) given the attested link between the Salaminioi and the thiasoi of ii^2^ 2345 and the latter and Alopeke, one might tentatively suggest a family link to the Alkmeneidai via Hegias son of Hippokrates of Alopeke, ii^2^ 1927, see APF p. 382. For other possible Alkmeneid links to this genos see XIII and XXXI.

(g) Hegesippos is a sufficiently uncommon name (17 in LGPN II) for there to be a reasonable likelihood of a connection with H. father of Nikokles of Anagyrous, honoured on Salamis by a grave monument erected by N’s son Apeimon (Lykourgan period?; Cargill no. 1017, ii^2^ 3830; for the deme cf. Part II, 8) and with H. son of Kephisodoros of Lamptrai, probably buried on Salamis (cf. thiasos list, 5, 32, 38; and further on III). See further Part IV, The Salamis Connection.

XI. Θεοφάνης Σωφάνους (Σουνιεύς). Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from Sounion, 363/2, T1, 72–73. Θεοφάνης: 31 in LGPN II. Ζ/Σωφάνης: 23 in LGPN II (in at least 13 demes). Neither name occurs in connection with our thiasos list or with Salamis.

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9 Tzetzes’ reference is not noted in Cargill’s or Taylor’s lists of persons connected with Salamis. On the uncertainty about which of the two names was intended see Gaisford’s ap. crit. to the Etym. Magnum with F. Jacoby, RE 7 (1912) s.v. Hegesandros (5) and K. Müller, FHG IV, p. 422.

10 The ultimate source might have been a speech of Hegesippos or Hegesandros, whether or not connected with the Timarchos case (for speeches of Hegesippos see e.g. the ancient critical literature on [Dem.] 7; on Hegesandros as orator see Aeschin. 1.64 with Σ; Nick Fisher reminds me that Tzetzes shows a close interest in the Timarchos case, Chil. VI 6ff.). Alternatively, it may be that Tzetzes or his source was confusing our brothers with antiquarian writers of the same name. Müller, writing before T1 was known, suggested a confusion between Hegesandros and the writer Kassandros of Salamis, mentioned by Tzetzes ad Lyk. v.177, and that the source of Et. M. might have been Hegesippos of Mekyberna in the Chersonese, see his p. 424, F5; Hegesandros of Delphi (FHG IV, pp. 412–22) would be another candidate.
II. Θρασυκλῆς Θράσωνος Βουτάδης. Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from the seven phylai, 363/2, T1, 75–76. Probably identical with Thrasylkes, herald of the Salaminioi in the same year (T1, 64). Θρασυκλῆς: 40 in LGPN II. Θράσων: 45 in LGPN II. His father may be the Thrason of B. who was Hellenotamias in 410/9 (i3 375, 16, 22 etc.). Thiasos list: no connections. A Thrason was thiassotes on Salamis in the later 4th cent. (or later?), iι2 2347, 29 (= Taylor no. 163, cf. Part II, n. 5).

XIII. Μελιτίττος Έξηκεστίδης Βούταδης. Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from the seven phylai, 363/2, T1, 76–77. Μελιτίττος: 1 in LGPN II. Έξηκεστίδης: 19 in LGPN II (at least 8 demes). The latter is well attested on Salamis (though not in Boutadai), see Cargill nos. 423, 425–27 (father of Diodorus on the choregic monument from Salamis, ii2 3093; 4th cent. tombstones, ii2 6474–75; note also Exekestos, Cargill no. 430 = Ag. 19 P2d18), probably all related and all members of the best attested family on Salamis, that of Melitios son of Balthamos of Kothokidai, APF 4719, cf. Taylor, 132–33. Note that Exekestides was also the name of the father of Solon, who was traditionally associated with the island. See further Part IV, The Salamis connection. Thiasos list: none. As John Camp reminds me, an Exekestides son of Nikostratos of Alopeke is now known as basileus c. end of 4th cent. (SEG 32.240, incorrect date); and another E. of Alopeke is father of Kleinas on iι2 1927, 164–65.

XVIII. Χαρικλῆς Χαρικλῆςς Σουνιεύς. Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from the seven phylai, 363/2, T1, 78–79. Χαρικλῆςς: 28 in LGPN II (in at least 14 demes). Χαρικλῆς: 47 in LGPN II. Kirchner at PA 12526 doubted whether the father’s name and demotic attributed to the great Sophoclean actor, Polos, in a rhetorical context by Lucian 38 (Men. or Nec.) 16, i.e. Χαρικλῆςς Σουνιεύς, was genuine.
Our man’s father’s name, however, suggests that it might have been and that the two might have been related. No connection can be made with our thiasotai or with Salamis.

Possible or Unlikely Members

“Salaminios/-ia/-ioi” could (and usually probably did) mean “from Salamis” (whether the island or the city of Cyprus) and there is no certain case outside documents connected with the genos of the meaning “of the genos Salaminioi”. Accordingly, persons referred to as, or implied as being, “Salaminioi” in literary or epigraphical sources not obviously connected with the genos are excluded from the following list unless there is (or has been thought to be) positive reason to suppose that they might have been members of the genos (cf. Cargill, 119–33; Taylor, 84–95 and their Appendices). Also excluded are persons listed in Part II who are not otherwise directly attested as genos members.

Priests/Priestesses in polis cults possibly supplied by the genos Salaminioi

Among other priesthoods, the Salaminioi had a priestess of Aglauros and Pandrosos (at T1, 11–12, apparently held with one of Kourotrophos, though 45–46 might be taken to imply that the latter was separate). Since gene characteristically supplied priesthoods for polis cults, the question arises whether the two (apparently polis) priestesses of Aglauros and one of Pandrosos attested in the Hellenistic period were supplied from the genos. It would seem from T1 that the Salaminioi both served public cult and had a calendar of sacrifices which was “private” at least in the sense that it was funded from their own resources (thus also Parker, 57–58; contrast the polis funded activities referred to at T1, 20–21, 87). It is unlikely that the Salaminioi priestess of A. and P. belonged to this “private” cult sphere, since no provision is made in their calendar for sacrifices to these deities. The other two possibilities canvassed hitherto (for which see Parker, 311) are that (a) the Hellenistic priestesses of A. and P. were supplied by the genos, a priesthood held jointly in 363/2 having become separated by the 3rd century (this sort of manipulation was quite possible; cf. T1, 52–54, where the Salaminioi decide that the same person should be both priest of Eurysakes and of the hero at the Saltpan). The fact that one of the priestesses of Aglauros and the known priestess of Pandrosos were both from Aithalidai is an argument in favour of this view, see further on XXI. It would not seem a very strong argument against it that there is no trace in the historical record for Chremonides (see XX) that he was a member of this genos; or (b) as Kearns and Humphreys have suggested, the genos supplied priestesses for another public cult, e.g. that of a deme, with which the known Hellenistic priestesses of the polis cult had nothing to do. I am doubtful about this theory, it part because it is uneconomical, but to address it satisfactorily would require a broader discussion of the respective roles of demes, gene and the polis in “public” cults than lies within the scope of this paper. Another possibility, (c), is that a joint priesthood supplied by the genos in 363/2 had become two priesthoods appointed by some other mechanism by the mid-3rd cent. For public priesthoods appointed not from gene, but the citizen body as a whole, see Aleshire, op. cit., 325–27. Cf. the public cult of Asklepios, introduced in 420/19, but for which a priesthood annually rotating among the phylai was introduced only in c. 350 (Aleshire, op. cit., n. 13 and The Athenian Asklepieion [Amsterdam 1989], 73–81). On the theory of the link between the genos and the island of Salamis proposed at Salaminioi, 94–103, the ceding of control over Salamis to Macedon might have supplied occasion for a change (cf. Paus. 1.35.2 with Salaminioi, 98–99, especially nn. 36 and 38). Certainly, one would scarcely infer from SEG 33.115, honouring the performance of priestly functions on one occasion only, that Timokrite held her priesthood for life, as was the case with holders of the Salaminian priest-

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11 The fact that there is no reference in their calendar to the extensive programme of sacrifices by the state priestess of Aglauros mentioned in SEG 33.115 indicates merely that, if this priestess was supplied by the genos Salaminioi, her sacrifices (as one might expect for a state cult) were not funded from the Salaminioi’s own resources, but by the polis. It does not, as S. B. Aleshire, The Demos and the Priests, in edd. R. Osborne and S. Hornblower, Ritual, Finance etc. (Oxford 1994), 327–28 n. 14 suggests (followed by Taylor, 54 n. 78), indicate that a Salaminioi priestess could not have made such sacrifices at all.
hoods in 363/2 (T1, 13–14). In this case the link with Aithalidai (and another possible genos deme, Aphidna, see XIX) would perhaps have to be explained as a remnant link with the genos and/or of an originally joint priesthood.

XIX. Τιμοκρήτη Πολυνῖκου Ἀφιδναίου θυγάτηρ. Priestess of Aglauros honoured by the polis in 247/6 or 246/5, SEG 33.115 (perhaps, as suggested by G. S. Donats, Hesp. 52 [1983], 54, slightly later than Pheidosteate’s tenure). The decree was instigated by her son, Aristophanes, and was proposed by Demostratos son of Aristophanes of Paania (presumably a relation, whether or not, as suggested by D. M. Lewis, ZPE 52 (1983), 48, her husband), and also known as taxiarth in 271/0 (SEG 14.64, 42–43). Other members of the family include Chionis son of Demostratos of P., councillor c. 330? (Ag. 15.47, 12; the date is uncertain) and [De]meas son of Demostratos of P., councillor? in the 3rd cent.? (Ag. 15.106, 8). See also iï2 1566, 27–29, and cf. APF p. 105. Note the Paianians on the thiasos list, 13 and 14 (see further on 14 and cf. IX, XXX), and the Chion (of Alopeke?), 85. For other possible links between the genos and Aphidna see XV, XXXIII and Part II, 7, 9, 42, C. Cargill no. 79 is a late 1st cent. gravestone from Piraeus of Amphikles son of Polynikos (14 in LGPN II) of Salamis (ii² 10172).

XX. Φειδοστράτη Εὐεκλέους Αἰθαλίδου θυγάτηρ. Priestess of Aglauros on 3rd cent. base from the Acropolis, iï² 3459, and dedicatory with her sister Ἀγγάδη in honour of their father, Eteokles son of Chremoides (I) on iï² 3458, also from the Acropolis. If she held an office supplied by our genos, that would seem to imply membership of the genos for other members of her family, which also included her brothers Glaukon and the politician Chremoides (II). The numerous references to this family in literary and epigraphical sources are most easily traced through LGPN II under the relevant family member. On the significance of their deme, Aithalidai, see on XXI. Nikidion daughter of Glaukon (45 in LGPN II), “Salaminia” on the gravestone Cargill no. 1009, might just be a relative; cf. the Glaukippoi in the thiasos list Part II, 15 etc.

XXI. Φιλίστιον Δημογάρου Αἰθαλίδου θυγάτηρ. Honoured by the demos as priestess of Pandrosos on a statue base of c. 150 B.C.?, see A.E. Raubitschek, AJA 49 (1945), 434–435 (= SEG 39.218. He adopts, but does not justify, Kirchner’s 2nd cent. date, iï² 3481). Raubitschek suggests that her father may have been grandfather of [De]mocharis son of D[osithos] or D[iodoros] of Aithalidai, agoranomos in c. 100 B.C. on ID 2381 (or might this man have been Philistion’s father?) and that Democharess’ colleague, Charias son of [Char[i]]as of Aithalidai and the Philistion daughter of Democharess of Azenia and wife of Timotheos of Melite (for the deme cf. XXVI and Part II, ζ on the gravestone of 1st cent. B.C./1st cent. A.D., iï 5315, were perhaps relations. Since she also held religious office, Philistion daughter of Dionysios of Halai, hearth-initiate at Eleusis around the end of the 2nd cent. (K. Clinton, The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries [Philadelphia 1974], 100 with Ap. VI; admittedly this office seems to have been fairly widely held by this time), may also have been a relation (for the deme, cf. XXVI and Part II, 43, 50, 51, 53). The coincidence of deme with the priestess of Aglauros, Pheidosteate, noted by Raubitschek (see also Parker, 311), suggests that the two priesthoods may originally have been joint and therefore perhaps appointed by the genos Salaminioi (cf. above, introduction to this section). No other known member of the genos, nor anyone on our thiasos list, was from Aithalidai, but note that one of the arbitrators of 363/2, Kephisodotos (XXVI), was. The deme was not large (boul. quota 2); its location is unfortunately uncertain (see Traill, 130). For the name Charias in Acharnai cf. IV (but the name is common, 91 in LGPN II). Salamis: none.

Arbitrators

Both disputes seem to have been settled by private arbitration, a very common procedure (see Ferguson, 48–49; in general, A. Scafuro, The Forensic Stage [Cambridge, 1997] and, on this case, 130, n. 38 and 399).12 Probably, in T1, two of the five arbitrators were appointed by each branch of the

12 At 399 Scafuro corrects the view of Ferguson that T1, 2–8 implies that the arbitrators reached a binding verdict. Rather, they gave an opinion, which it was open to the parties to accept or reject. The fact that the procedure was “private”
genos, and one was in common (cf. Ferguson, 48), while in T2, one of the two arbitrators was appointed by each branch (or rather, each “genos”, as the two branches had now separated).

It was quite normal for arbitrators in private arbitrations to be relatives, friends, fellow-demesmen etc. of the parties (see Scafuro, 131–32). In T1 the fact that none of the arbitrators was from Sounion, the deme to which all members of one of the branches of the genos belonged, suggests that, in this case, none of the arbitrators was a genos member, though they are quite likely to have been linked to genos members in other ways (3 are from demes which were or may have been connected to the genos; Humphreys suggests to me that mining interests might also have supplied a link). In T2, one of the two arbitrators was from Sounion, raising the possibility that, on this occasion, both were members. But it seems as likely that the Sounian arbitrator was not a genos member, but simply appointed by the Salaminioi from Sounion because he was known to them as a fellow demesman or from family links (his colleague, XXII, may have been related to a member of the Salaminioi from the seven phylai).

XXII. Ἀντιγένης (Ζευκλέως?) Σμαχιδής. T2, 6–7. Arbitrator 265/4? Ἀντιγένης: 59 in LGPN II. Semachidai was a very small deme (boul. quota 1) and our man was very probably son of the Xenokles (91 in LGPN II) son of A. of S. on the poletai record of c. end of 4th cent., Αg. 19 Π42, 3 (probably mining related; cf. M. Crosby, Hesp. 19 [1950], 284–85). Cf. II (a relation?). Note also the sons of Antigenes (of Alopeke?) on the thiasos list, 4 and 5.

XXIII. Ἀριστογέητος Μυρρίνοσ. Arbitrator, 363/2, T1, 7. Ἀριστογέητος: 16 in LGPN II. Thiasos list: none. Cargill no. 164 is the mid-4th cent. gravestone from Piraeus of A. son of Aristos Salaminios (ii3 10176); cf. also Taylor no. 25 = ii2 1955, 13. For the deme cf. XXVIII.

XXIV. Ἐυθύκριτος Λομπερίτες. Arbitrator, 363/2, T1, 7–8. Ἐυθύκριτος: 20 in LGPN II. Possibly identical with the Euthykritos, cursed together with Philippides, Klegoros and Menetimos καὶ τὸς ἀλλὸς πάντως λόσιν συν[ήφοι][οι] αὐτο[ίς] on a lead tablet from Piraeus, iii 3, 38 + A. Wilhelm, ΟJ 7 [1904], 120 (cf. J. G. Gager, Curse Tablets and Binding Spells [Oxford 1992], ch. 3, no. 37); the curse may belong in the context of the disputes within the genos, see Salaminioi, 91. For other connections between this genos and Lamptrai see on III. Thiasos list: none. Taylor no. 115 = E. son of Meldon, co-patron of the freedmen Daos and Lykinos living on Salamis on ii2 1574, and possibly councillor in 304/3 for Euonymon (Ag. 15.61, 173), cf. part II, 37 and 48. For Euthykrite see Taylor no. 114.


XXVI. Κηφισοδότος Αἰθαλίδης. Arbitrator, 363/2, T1, 8. Κηφισοδότος: 58 in LGPN II. From a family well attested in the early-mid 4th century on Acropolis dedications, funerary monuments and in mining leases. Could be one of three, probably related, Kephisodotoi attested for the smallish deme Aithalidai (boul. quota 2) at this period: K. son of Konon on the funerary lekythos, ii3 5391 (CAT does not, of course, imply that these were necessarily disputes in which the courts would never have become (or, indeed, had never been) involved. Religion was a prime concern of the polis (e.g. religious matters always headed the agenda of the Assembly); gene performed essential roles in that religion (and received state funding accordingly, e.g. T1, 20–21, 87) and disputes about priesthoods quite commonly went to court in the 4th century (especially in the Lykourgan period). The frequent references to private arbitration in the orators, however (see Scafuro, 393–94), show that there was a preference for this mode of settlement, where possible. In this case, 65–67, providing that all

 Archer 91 Five is a larger number of arbitrators than that attested for any other private arbitration (Scafuro, 131), no doubt reflecting the fact that, as Ferguson noted, this case had substantially more public weight than most we hear about in the orators. The smaller number in T2 no doubt reflects the fact that the matters in dispute then were less wide-ranging.
Kephisodotos son of Kyna-[-] named, together with a Kon[on] son of [Keph]isodotos, on the Acropolis dedication ii² 3828; and K. son of Apolexis on the Acropolis dedication, ii² 4324. A K. of Aithalidai (or two men of the same name?) leased two mines in 367/6 (Ag. 19 P5, 56 and 76, the latter at Besa en točs Κηφησοδότου κοι Καλλίου and bounded to the north by a workshop [ἐργαστήριον] of Kephisodotos, perhaps the same man as [one of] the lessee(s)). An [Apolexi?]s son of Kephisodotos of A[ithalidai], probably father or son of the K. on ii² 4324 and probably son of (one of) the mining lessee(s) of 367/6, is mentioned in the mining lease record of c. late 340s, Ag. 19 P25, 23. This was clearly a family of substance. The K. of the funerary lekythos is depicted on horseback (unbearded) about to slay a foe and supported by a squire; a member, therefore, of the cavalry class (= I. G. Spence, The Cavalry of Classical Greece [Oxford 1993], no. 85). The lekythos was found at the same place in Athens (27 Odos Nikis) as three other funerary monuments, apparently representing a family group.

Two are stelai with the names of two sons of an Aristokles of Melite, Hegestratos and Kleitophon, the latter the husband of a Nikagora, daughter of an Epistemon of Halai, and father of an Archestrate (SEG 25.255 and 256; for Halai, XXI and Part II, 43, 50, 51, 53, 54). None of these persons seems to be otherwise known. The third monument (SEG 25.257) is a lekythos depicting another son of Aristokles of Melite, Philon (bearded), who, like Kephisodotos, is depicted in a battle scene on horseback (perhaps, it has been suggested, reflecting a detail of Euphranor’s painting of the battle of Mantinea in 362 from the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, see CAT 4.432). Philon was a common name (253 in LGPN II, 10 in APF) and Melite not a small deme (boul. quota 7), but one might hazard a guess that this Philon, and therefore the families of Aristokles and Kephisodotos, were related to the wealthy and powerful family of Melite with roots in the 6th century elite, in which the names Onetor and Onetorides were common and in which the names Philon and Philonides also occur (APF 11473 with Rations, sect. 5, no. 82 and no. 130; for the deme cf. XXI and Part II, Ⅳ). Given the status of the family of Kephisodotos and its other attested Acropolis dedications, we may identify the Kyna-, father of the co-dedicator of ii² 3828, as a Kynarbo, perhaps the same man as [one of] the lessee(s) of 367/6, as a Kynarbo, as an Aristokles of Melite, Philon (bearded), who, like Kephisodotos, is depicted in a battle scene on horseback (perhaps, it has been suggested, reflecting a detail of Euphranor’s painting of the battle of Mantinea in 362 from the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, see CAT 4.432). Philon was a common name (253 in LGPN II, 10 in APF) and Melite not a small deme (boul. quota 7), but one might hazard a guess that this Philon, and therefore the families of Aristokles and Kephisodotos, were related to the wealthy and powerful family of Melite with roots in the 6th century elite, in which the names Onetor and Onetorides were common and in which the names Philon and Philonides also occur (APF 11473 with Rations, sect. 5, no. 82 and no. 130; for the deme cf. XXI and Part II, Ⅳ). Given the status of the family of Kephisodotos and its other attested Acropolis dedications, we may identify the Kyna-, father of the co-dedicator of ii² 3828, as a Kynarbo, the only name in LGPN II with these letters, and as a descendant of the only other attested bearer of the name, the Kynarbo who made a dedication on the Acropolis in c. 500–480 (?), i² 745. Thisos list, see 6, son of a K. Salamis: none. For possible genos members from Aithalidai see XX–XXI.

XXVII. Κλεάγορος Ἀχαρνεύς. Arbitrator, 363/2, T1, 4–5. Possibly identical with the only other Kleagoros attested in Attica, cursed together with Philippides, Euthykritos (q.v.) and Menetimos κοι τοῖς ἄλλοις πάντως ήσοι συν[ήροι] ούτως[ίς] on a lead tablet from Piraeus, iii 3, 38 + A. Wilhelm, ÖJ 7 [1904], 120 (cf. J. G. Gager, Curse Tablets and Binding Spells [Oxford 1992], ch. 3, no. 37); the curse may belong in the context of the disputes within the genos, see Salaminioi, 91. Thisos list: none. Salamis: none. Note that five certain or possible genos members, II–IV, XXXIII–XXXIV (cf. XXI; also Part II, 22, 59–60, 61), were also from Acharnai.

XXVIII. Στέφανος Μυρρινώστης. Arbitrator, 363/2, T1, 6. Στέφανος: 80 in LGPN II. Member of a naval symmory between 356 and 340 (ii² 1615, 102; 1616, 125). APF 12891. Thisos list: none. Another of the arbitrators, XXIII, was also from Myrrhinous, though the deme is not otherwise attested in connection with the genos or on the thisos list. A S. son of -des of Paiania was guarantor of a lease probably on Salamis in 343/2 (Ag. 19 L6, 139–40 = Taylor no. 309). For the deme cf. IX and thisos list, 13–14 etc.

Curse Tablet

Two men listed on a curse tablet, Kleagoros and Euthykritos, may be identical with two of the arbitrators of 363/2, see above. The other two men listed on the curse tablet are:

XXIX. Μενέτιμος. Named together with Kleagoros and Euthykritos κοι τοῖς ἄλλοις πάντας ήσοι συν[ήροι] ούτως[ίς] on a lead tablet from Piraeus, iii 3, 38 + A. Wilhelm, ÖJ 7 [1904], 120 (cf. J. G. Gager, Curse Tablets and Binding Spells [Oxford 1992], ch. 3, no. 37); the curse may belong in the
context of the disputes within the genos, see Salaminioi, 91. Μενέτιμος: 4 in LGPN II (in addition to our man, who is listed as not certainly an Athenian). Thiasos list: none. Salamis: none.


Other

XXXI. Ἀλκιβιάδης Κλεινίου Σκαμβιονίδης. The case for affiliating Alkibiades to the genos Salaminioi, strongly stated by Davies, APF pp. 10–12, is based on the statement put into his mouth by Plato, Alk. I, 121a, that τὸ ἡμέτερον (γένος) εἶσι Εὐρησάκη (ἄναφερεται) (cf. Plut. Alk. 1.1 and Didy-mos ap. Σ Pind. Nem. 2.19) and the fact that the Salaminioi held a priesthood of the Salaminian hero Eurysakes, son of Ajax (T1, 11) and used the Eurysakeion in the Agora as a place to set up their inscriptions (T1, 84–85). While the case has attractions, it is inconclusive. That is not so much because of the statement of Isocrates 16.25 that Alkibiades πρὸς μὲν ἄνδρῶν ἢ Ἕλπιτριδῶν . . . πρὸς γυναικῶν δε' Ἀλκιμενιδῶν, since, as Davies argues, following Wade-Gery, “eupatridai” here can (probably should) be taken as a reference to the aristocratic caste rather than to a formal genos of that name. The doubts are rather that (a) as Parker, 323 n. 94, points out, Alkibiades’ claimed descent from Eurysakes might be in the female line and thus be distinct from that of his formal genos; (b) it is not clear that the genos Salaminioi regarded themselves as descendants of Eurysakes (cf. Salaminioi, 97) any more than of the other deities and heroes whose priesthoods they held, or that it was the only genos with a Salaminian connection (on the Eikadeis, see Salaminioi, 100–101). Cf. also Salaminioi, 103 n. 68. Thiasos list: none. Salamis: none. The deme Skambonidai is not otherwise attested in relation to this genos. For other possible Alkmeonid links to this genos see on Xf.

XXXII. Ἀστέρια. Mistress of Cimon (i.e. among the women σπουδαζομένων by him), and τὸ γένει Σαλαμινίας; Plut. Cim. 4.8, citing a sportive elegy by Melanthios (cf. APF p. 304). This may mean simply “Salaminian by descent”. If, however, genos is used in the technical sense (though as C. Ampolo, RFIC 109 [1981], 195, cf. Taylor, 88, points out, there is no certain reference to a genos member as Salaminios/-a in a literary source, at least qua genos member, cf. Xb), she would presumably have been daughter of a member (a priestess? Why else would her genos be notable?). Note also that Cimon the Philaid could claim connection with Philaios, a co-donator of Salamis to Athens with Eurysakes (Plut. Sol. 10.2, cf. Paus. 1.35.2 etc., Ferguson, 16; also Part II, 43). Thiasos list: none. Salamis: none. The deme Skambonidai is not otherwise attested in relation to this genos. For other possible Alkmeonid links to this genos see on Xf.

XXXIII. Λεωδάμας (Ἂρσσιστράτου?) Ἀχαρνεύς. The evidence that the prominent family of the 5th and 4th centuries, APF 13921, might have belonged to our genos, though inconclusive, is suggest-ive. The name Phaiax, used in the family (including for the prominent politician during the Peloponne-sian War, Thuc. 5.4 etc.), was that of a hero of the genos (T1, 91) and is attested outside Acharnai only twice (in Aphidna in 367/6, Ag. 19, P5, 7 [for other possible links between the genos and this deme see XV, XIX and Part II, 7, 9, 42, C] and Hestiaia in 303/2, Ag. 15.62, 236; on Acharnai cf. XXVII); and Aeschin. 1.69 and 111 attributes to Leodamas the same sort of relationship with Hegesandros as he implies was enjoyed by Diopeithes of Sounion (1.63), both genos members (see further Xa). Thiasos list: none. Salamis: none.

XXXIV. Τιμόδημος Τιμονόου Ἀχαρνεύς. Patron of Pindar and Salamis-bred (Pind. Nem. 2), it has been suggested that Timodemos might have been a member of the genos Salaminioi (see most recently Parker, 311). The demotic would suit well enough (cf. II–IV, XXI, XXVII, XXXIII), but, as with other persons attested as “Salaminioi”, it may be that he was rather “Salaminios” merely in the sense of being a member of the Athenian community on Salamis in the 5th century, which, even on the strongest theory of the nature of the link between genos and island, was probably not wholly coterminal with the
genos (cf. Part IV, n. 60). Σ Pind. Nem. 2.19 says that he was τῶν τῆς Σαλαμίνα κατακληρονισμάτων Ἀθηναίων, but this may ultimately be no more than an inference from Pindar’s text and would in any case not be strongly indicative as to genos membership. Thiasos list: none. Salamis: none.

XXXV. Φανομάξος. T2 is dated ἐπὶ Φανομάξου ἄρχοντος. T1 shows that the genos Salaminioi had archons, used for dating at 69–70 and 73–74. But there (and at 81–82) they are specified explicitly as archons of the Salaminioi. There is perhaps a remote possibility that Phanomachos was archon of Salamis; more likely, he was Athenian eponymous (cf. Salaminioi, 99). Thiasos list: none. Salamis: none.

Part IV: Discussion

The list: reconstruction, purpose, contribution structure and date

The stele is complete except at the top. Its dimensions show the ratio thickness to width to height, 1: 5.4: 8.4 at the base and 1: 7.0: 11 at the preserved top. Even in its incomplete state, therefore, it is rather thin when compared with Dow’s norm,14 1: 4.5: 9, and, on physical grounds, we are not likely to be missing more than about 20 cm. of its original height, yielding ratios 1: 5.4: 10.9 and 1: 7: 14.5. On the other hand, the extent of missing stone was probably not much less than this. We have the last name in a thiasos listed right at the top of the stele in col. 2 and the smallest thiasos on the legible section of the stele is that of Antiphanes, with 13 members, occupying 12 cm. Some space also needs to be allowed for a heading. On any account it looks as if the thiasos at the top of col. 2 was a small one, which implies in turn that the names listed at the top of col. 3 were almost certainly in the first thiasos listed in that column; probably, the same applies to the names at the top of col. 1.

The other main area of uncertainty is the illegible section of col. 3; but it helps that we have now identified the last name in the column, opposite about the seventh name from the end of col. 2 and have established that, except for one, or possibly two, changes of thiasos, the column is inscribed with names down to that point. Assuming one thiasos break occupying 4 cm., we should be missing 31 cm. of text, i.e. about 37 names. The original list can therefore now be reconstructed approximately as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thiasos 1</th>
<th>Thiasos 2 (of Hagnotheos)</th>
<th>Thiasos 3</th>
<th>Thiasos 4 (of Antiphanes)</th>
<th>Thiasos 5 (of Diogenes)</th>
<th>Thiasos 6–7 (or 8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. 30 members</td>
<td>24 members</td>
<td>c. 10 members</td>
<td>13 members</td>
<td>26 members</td>
<td>c. 50–60 members</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, there were of the order of 150 names, distributed among probably 7 or 8 thiasoi. 85 of these names are substantially legible.

The figures following some of the names presumably represent financial payments (what else could they be?15). We do not know the purpose; but we may guess at a religious aspect. Thiasoi generally

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14 S. Dow, Hesp. 3 (1934), 141–44; CP 37 (1942), 324. There are certainly other financial inscriptions which are somewhat thinner/wider than Dow’s figures would suggest. Cf. Rationes, 23.

15 The only alternative that occurs to me is amounts loaned to the individuals rather than paid by them, cf. the “200-drachma borrowers” and “300-drachma borrowers” in the accounts of Nemesis at Rhamnous in the 5th century, i.3 248 (the sums loaned may have been in multiples of these amounts, cf. Whitehead, 160). But the amounts in our case seem too small
have a flavour of this sort, and the inscription would seem to belong comfortably in the religio-
financial genre so well represented in the epigraphical corpus of classical Attica. The underlying 
motivating factors would be quite characteristic: democratic openness and accountability on the one 
hand, piety and competitive munificence on the other, the hesitant encouraged and the generous 
honoured by a record both public and permanent. Raising funds for a project by voluntary contributions, 
epidosis, was, of course, common practice in the corporate structures of Athenian society in this period, 
from the polis itself down; and, especially where there was a religious aspect, it quite frequently left 
its mark in the epigraphical record. One might compare, for example, the calendar of the Marathonian 
Tetrapolis, an annual programme of sacrifices with their costs detailed on one side, a list of names and 
(probably) their contributions to the funding of the sacrifices on the other.

It is easier to envisage lists of this sort, inscribed in a permanent medium, representing a one-off 
payment than periodic contributions (what happens otherwise when men die or new men join?). While 
certainty is impossible, I am also now inclined to think that we have the full membership of the thiasoi, 
not simply names of contributors. The numbers per thiasos and for the association as a whole would be 
comfortable enough for full size. Our thiasotal are listed in groups of c. 10 to c. 30. There were 15 
members of a thiasos of Herakles inscribed on their cult table, ii2 2343; and 20 phrateres were listed on 
Phratries T18, possibly a whole phratry, possibly a “thiasos”. 150 would be the membership of a 
medium sized deme with a bouleutic quota of 4 or so. The fact that some names have no figures listed 
against them can naturally be taken to imply that every member was listed, whether they paid or not. 
One might hypothesise that those against whom no sum is marked contributed at a standard rate, 
while those who made a non-standard contribution had it marked against them and those who made no 
contribution at all were not listed; but it is difficult to find parallels for such an approach and it seems simpler 
to suppose that what is listed was what was paid, that where nothing is listed, nothing was paid; and 
indeed that part of the objective was to encourage generosity by exposing everyone’s contributions, or 
lack thereof, to public view. It is admittedly a little strange at first sight that the thiasos leaders, 
Hagnotheos and Diogenes, are listed as paying nothing, but I suspect that the practice of grouping fami-
ly members is relevant here; in other words we should probably envisage the sum listed against Euxi-
theos son of Hagnon (line 21), 55 (or possibly even 555) drachmas, as counting on behalf of the whole 
family, including his father (line 20) and grandfather (19), the thiasos leader Hagnotheos.

for this to be plausible; we are not, I think, dealing here with the financing of a major public cult centre with extensive 
capital, but with an association of dining clubs seeking contributions from members (see further below).

16 Cf. Phratries, 81–90.
17 For the practice in demes see Whitehead, 171–75.
18 ii2 1358 with W. Peek, AM 67 (1942 [1951]), 12–13 no. 10; S. Dow, BCH 92 (1968), 182. I hope to publish shortly 
an improved text of this inscription. New readings of the reverse face are sufficient to enable an estimate of the total 
contributions recorded on that face and thereby to suggest that the purpose may have been to raise capital for the funding of 
the sacrifices recorded on the other face. Some other parallels are mentioned below.

19 At Phratries T3, 76–77 (cf. p. 133, n. 125), it seems to be envisaged that there might be less than three men in a 
thiasos in the House of the Dekeleieis, possibly a consequence of depletion in the Peloponnesian War. Cf. also n. 57.

20 Presumably less than 5 drachmas, the smallest amount marked against anyone. One might think that standard 
contributions of less than 5 drachmas would be too small to be worth an inscription. Note, however, that in making 
arrangements for the funding of a construction project the deme Piraeus seems to have envisaged (standard?) contributions of 
two drachmas, B. D. Meritt, Hesp. 3 (1934), 44–46 no. 33, line 10. In any case, if there was a standard rate in our case, it 
would perhaps have been more natural to mark it against those who paid it. The list of contributors (?) from Athmonon, SEG 
24.197, however, has no figures; so perhaps contributions in that case were at a standard rate (and/or compulsory?); or 
perhaps it was thought that it would be invidious (or unnecessary, even undemocratic perhaps – the group in this case may 
have been a deme), to mark distinctions in this regard. On this document see further n. 27.

21 “Naming and shaming” is not an uncommon feature of financial inscriptions. Compare, for example, the practice of 
listing public debtors on the Acropolis and detailing debts and confiscations in the poletai records (Dem. 58; Ag. 19, 
especially pp. 58–60).
Between one and four names were added to the bottom of some thiasoi after the initial inscription of the stone. One may guess that these men were a new tranche of members, just admitted (or e.g. admitted at the meeting following the one at which the original decision to set up the list was taken?); one of them (and he is the only one about whom anything more is known), Demaretos of Agryle in line 83, is identifiable as son of a man listed further up the list. In one or two cases it is also apparent that figures have been added later (e.g. line 5 and probably 11), evidence perhaps of the social pressure which the list was intended to exert having an effect on wavering.

A pattern emerges from my new readings of the figures: all contributions turn out to be either 5, 50, 55, 100, or 150 (possibly one 555) drachmas. It is not easy to see the reason for this. Accounting convenience and transparency may be relevant. Contributions in standard units would perhaps have been perceived as easier to handle, record and calculate. One might be tempted to suspect stepped contributions according to some criterion (e.g. wealth), but that does not sit very easily with the quirky steps, i.e. 50s and 55s. Perhaps the purpose was rather to structure contributions to ensure a sensible level and spread. I.e. “we need x drachmas overall, we can best achieve that by y contributions of 100, z contributions of 50, w contributions of 5, etc.” Whatever the precise explanation, a rather similar approach to subdividing large sums into stepped blocks for the purpose of organising individual contributions seems to underlie the division of loans by Nemesis at Rhamnous into those to “200-drachma borrowers” and those to “300-drachma borrowers.”

Three of our thiasotai (3.5% of those substantially legible) are identifiable as certainly or probably from the Athenian “upper class”, those liable to liturgies (22, 36, 61), and a further five or so as possible members of that class (14, 25, 54, 59, 62; among other candidates would be 13, 27, 67), several probably interrelated. One has to allow for the fact that naming practice on this list makes individuals difficult to identify; but nevertheless, while the proportion is a little greater than the c. 1–2% that one might expect from a random selection of the citizen population, it is not overwhelming. One might compare, for example, the property buyers in the Lykourgan public land sale programme, 18% of whom are identifiable as certainly or probably and a further 21% as possibly from liturgical families. The wealthy clearly predominated in these land sales; our thiasotai were not nearly so exclusive a group. A closer parallel points a similar contrast. Around 9 of the 24 men of the deme Halai Aixonides who had been elected to make a statue of Aphrodite and were honoured by their deme on ii2 2820 were probably or possibly members of the liturgical class and most of the rest are attested elsewhere in ways which suggest some level of wealth or distinction. These men of Halai were undoubtedly selected precisely because they were wealthy and therefore in a position to make a personal contribution; and the contrast with the profile of our thiasotai tends rather to support the suggestion made above that the latter were not select contributors, but the full membership of a group.

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22 See n. 15. For an obscure monetary periodicity in another context, see Rationes, sect. 8.7.
23 It is no surprise that two of the three were among the more generous contributors: Leptines (22) giving 50 dr., Kriton (61) probably 55 dr. Neaira’s guarantor, on the other hand, apparently paid nothing (Glauketes, 36).
25 Rationes, sect. 8.5. Some allowance should be made for the fact that names are more often given, or can be deduced, in full in those texts, making identifications easier.
26 See Whitehead, 429–35. Incidentally, examination of this stone in the Epigraphical Museum in the spring of 1998, confirms Humphreys’ suggestion (per ep.) that the father’s name in line 28 was not Theothidou but Diothidou (cf. the tombstone AD 40 [1985] [1990] Chron. 64). I read Σωκράτους Διοθείδου (the bottom left tip only of the initial delta of the father’s name is visible; the second delta is Λ in line with the common interchangeability of Δ/Λ in this text). Line 11 should now accordingly be restored [Διοθείδου Σωκράτους].
27 Another interesting parallel is SEG 24.197, a 4th century list of names (36 preserved), most with fathers’ names, from Amarousi (ancient Athmonon), cf. n. 20. From the occurrence twice of the rubric οἱ τῆς ἱερᾶς συνότοι σωματείαν, this would also seem to be a list of contributors. The communis opinio that it is a deme list is no more than a possibility; Rationes F12A, 5–13, attests a group that was not a deme selling multiple estates at Athmonon (possibly a genos connected with the cult of Artemis Amarysia?, see Rationes, sect. 6, no. 39); and the name-pair Thrasylkes son of Thrasyllos (line 3) is attested for a
If I am right that those against whom no sum is marked paid nothing, the total raised will have been about half a talent (3000 dr.), i.e. very roughly about 10 times an annual income on a daily wage, or about an eighth of the capital that would make a man liable for liturgies; certainly sufficient to fund some religious building project, or to provide capital to fund a decent annual programme of sacrifices/dinners.

Humphreys was inclined to date our text in the 350s or earlier (from the appearance on it of Salaminioi who took the oath at the 363/2 arbitration, see further below) or perhaps c. 350–330 (from the possible link with the protagonists of Lysias 32, see on 59; a slightly earlier date would also seem consistent with this identification. We need not assume that all our contributors were over 30). Collectively, new readings and identifications perhaps pull slightly towards an earlier date in the range: Glauketes of Kephisia (36) seems to have guaranteed Neaira’s manumission (albeit apparently as a “νεάνισκος”) shortly after 370; a Theaios of Paiania (13) was a member of the poletai in 367/6; and Demokles of Alopeke, son of Gnathios (71), bought land in the Lykourgan privatisation probably in the early 320s (cf. also on 45). On the other hand, Leptines of Alopeke (22) was choregos in 331/0 and an Antiphanes of Euonymon (48) was president of the Boule in 336/5 and 330/29. Overall, we still can do no better than c. 365–330.

The Alopeke connection

Together with the findspot of the inscription at Katsipode (cf. Traill, 139), the prosopographical evidence is, I now think, sufficient to confirm Humphreys’ contention that this group of thiasoi was based primarily in Alopeke. The basis of the case is four men who have the same name and father’s name as a known contemporary member of that deme: (a) Demophilos son of Leostatos in 17, (b) Leptines son of Olympiodoros in 22, (c) Kallistratos son of Kteson in 34 and (d) his brother, Ktesikleides son of Kteson in 35. As Habicht has shown, name-father’s name pairs frequently occur in more liturgical family from Dekeleia (APF 7321; on the hazards of deducing demotics from name-pairs, however, see Habicht; 7 or so of the men on the list can be identified as members of the deme Athmonon). In any case, individuals from families of known wealth are much less prominent on this list than on that from Halai. There are 9 or so candidates for liturgical status, but none is certain and the majority of men on the list are not known at all. Whatever these contributions were for, it would seem that the contributors were socio-economically a more broadly based group than that from Halai and more comparable in this regard with our thiasotai. Assuming that it is a deme inscription, Whitehead, 359 with n. 36, suggested that the purpose may have been repair work on a deme building after damage in the Peloponnesian War. Alternatively, a connection with the sacrificial mere attested for Athmonon in ii 2 1203 would seem possible, cf. Whitehead, 147–48. Athmonon had a bouleutic quota of 5, indicating a population of c. 200–300 adult males. If all deme members were equally divided into the six mere of ii 2 1203, that would produce a total membership per meros of c. 35–50; so SEG 24.197 might be the members of a meros, and the purpose may have been comparable with our list.

28 Ignoring cases where the text is too worn to tell if someone contributed, and assuming that uncertainties in the readings between 5s, 50s etc. even themselves out, the figures are: thiasos 1: 475 dr. paid by 14 contributors; thiasos 2: 520 by 24; thiaso 3 and 4: 65 by 8; thiasos 5: 175 by 21; thiasos 6–7/8: 100 by 2. Total: 1335 by 69. Bulked up, 2902 by 150.
29 Cf. for example Phratries T17, where a phratry at Paiania seems to have regarded a contribution of two hundred drachmas, apparently in connection with work on a shrine of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria, as worthy of mention in an honorific inscription.
30 At a yield of 8% (for which see Rationes, 259 n. 171; P. Millett, Lending and Borrowing in Ancient Athens [Cambridge, 1991], Appendix IV), 3000 dr. would yield 240 drachmas per annum. The genos Salaminioi funded an annual programme of sacrifices worth 530 or so dr. from land rental (see T1); the deme Erchia something of the same order (SEG 21.541).
31 The two men on our list who also appear on Ag. 15.55 (Ktesikleides, 35 and Demophilos, 17), increasingly look like late outliers on Ag. 15’s uncertain date of c. 321 and one wonders whether a slightly earlier dating for this document would be more realistic.
32 Of these, (d) supplied Humphreys’ starting point, the identification of (a) was suggested by her and is strengthened by my improved reading of the father’s name; (b) and (c) were not known when Humphreys wrote, since (b) arises from my new reading of the name in 22 and (c) from a dedication first published in 1989. Cf. also Parker, 105 n. 11 and 316 n. 86; C. W. Hedrick, Hesp. 60 (1991), 247–48, 264–65.
than one deme; but these particular pairs are only attested in Alopeke; the individual names Leptines (12 in *LGPN* II) and Ktesikleides (5 in *LGPN* II) are unusual enough to be distinctive; and the four examples, especially (c) and (d) in the same family, are mutually supportive. The case is further strengthened by the occurrence of other single names, or pairs of names in different positions on the list, which are distinctive of Alopeke (for these in detail, see Part II). All of the cases (a)–(d) are in thiasoi 1–2, but there seem to be enough supporting cases in other thiasoi to counter the possibility that it was only the first two (or three) thiasoi which were Alopeke-based.

A corollary of Humphreys’ theory is that it supplies an attractive explanation for the at first sight rather curious way that only a few (13) contributors are listed with demotic (only 2 of these with father’s name and demotic), while most are listed by name only or name + father’s name. Fathers’ names were apparently included in part to distinguish homonyms (e.g. 38 and 66), in part to mark off family groups; sometimes it looks as if a single payment may have been made on behalf of a group of several family members (see above). It becomes apparent that the purpose of including demotics was to distinguish persons who did not belong to Alopeke from the majority who did.\(^{33}\) The prosopographer will wish to know whether we can infer that all men listed without demotic were from Alopeke. Such a proposition, while possibly true (and more plausible perhaps if this list was a formal deme document, see further below), remains, I think, rather less demonstrably so. For if, like one of the reasons for including fathers’ names, the purpose of including demotics on this list was more specifically to distinguish homonymous members who were not in Alopeke from those who were, it would follow that, if there was a man with a name or name+father’s name which occurred only once in the group, it would not be necessary to include his demotic even if he did not come from Alopeke. It seems quite possible, for example, that Akryptos (8), whose very rare name is otherwise probably attested only in Anagyrous, was also a member of that deme and that it was not necessary to specify his demotic on this list because there was no other Akryptos in the group with whom he might be confused. The same argument would apply to Kaineus (50), who may be from Halai. Similarly, if homonyms could be distinguished by their fathers’ names, it might not have been necessary to include a demotic as well, even if one or both of them did not come from Alopeke. Some other examples where a case (never an overwhelming one) can be made that men on the list were from demes other than Alopeke are noted in Part II. The Alopeke link is sufficiently well established, however, to create a fairly firm implication that, where there are homonyms on the list one of whom is given a demotic, the other was from Alopeke.

**The Salaminioi connection**

It has been recognised since Ferguson that there was an overlap of membership between our thiasos list and the genos Salaminioi. New readings and prosopographical work continue to enhance our perception of this overlap, which may currently be stated as follows. Demon son of Demaretos of Aegryle and Stratophon son of Straton of Aegryle both took the oath following the genos arbitration of 363/2 and are also listed on the thiasos list (in thiasos 5) as Demon of Aegryle (79) and Stratophon of Aegryle (77). Demaretos of Aegryle, one of the names added later to thiasos 5 was probably Demon’s son. Stratophon, also listed in thiasos 5, three names before Stratophon (74), might (on the assumption that there were no other men of this name among the thiasotai and therefore that a demotic was not necessary) have been father of Stratophon; but one might in that case have expected him to have been listed with the group of names from Aegryle at 76–79 and it is perhaps more likely that he was a collateral relation, perhaps from Alopeke. Euphrosynos son of On-, honoured by the genos in ii\(^2\) 1232, was probably either identical with the Euphrosynos of Paiania in thiasos 1 (14) or, if there was another Euphrosynos among the thiasotai

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\(^{33}\) A pattern such as this was presumably the product of a decision on nomenclature (perhaps based on the group’s registry?) made by the group as a whole or a group official, rather than relying on the choice of individual members. For another factor possibly influencing the naming pattern on this list, see n. 39.
(perhaps from Alopeke), as the inclusion of the demotic in 14 might, but need not, imply, identical with him. Further links are less direct or less certain, though given the hereditary character of both the genos and our group of thiasoi, one might expect them to have been fairly extensive. Possible family connections between gennetai and thiasotai suggested by onomastics can be traced via the table of genos members in Part III; and in so far as one is inclined to believe that links with Salamis suggest membership of the genos Salaminioi, these are traced for members of our thiasoi in Part II (and see further below).

A Praxiergidai connection?

There is another genos whose membership may have overlapped with that of our thiasoi, though the evidence that it did so is no more than circumstantial. *Agora* I 1052 is a small altar for Herakles from the Athenian Agora dedicated by Timotheos son of Teisias of Rhamnous and probably broadly contemporary with our thiasos list. Jameson will shortly be proposing a persuasive (albeit uncertain) new interpretation of its fragmentary text according to which it would list those members of the genos Praxiergidai and, it seems, another group, who “have a share” (in the dedication, or perhaps the cult more generally). Of the four partially preserved demotics of men in the list, three (of Alopeke, Agryle and, probably, Paiania) are among the only six demotics (seven including Alopeke) which occur among our thiasotai, while of the four preserved names, one, Olympiodoros, is well represented in our thiasoi (see Part II, 22) and another, Timotheos, occurs for a probably distant relation (by marriage?) of Phileistion, priestess of Pandrosos and possible member of the genos Salaminioi (Part III, XXI). Now Olympiodoros and Timotheos are both fairly common Attic names and the demes Alopeke, Agryle and Paiania might occur among the members of any city-based group; but, apart from the findspot of the Praxiergidai altar, not far distant from Alopeke (admittedly not a strong argument for an object from the Agora), there are two other circumstances which suggest that a link with our thiasoi is at least a serious possibility.

First, the duties of the Praxiergidai concerned the care of the statue of Athena on the Acropolis and Athena’s peplos, duties which were exercised in particular at the festivals *Plynteria* and *Kalynteria*. The aetiology of the *Plynteria* linked it with Aglauros, daughter of Kekrops, and the genos Salaminioi had a priestess of Aglauros who may have served the state cult on the Acropolis. There may therefore have been a cultic association between the Praxiergidai and the Salaminioi; and this might have been reflected institutionally in both gene being associated with our group of thiasoi.

Second, the altar related to cult of Herakles, while, as we shall see below, a good case can be made that our thiasoi were also thiasoi of Herakles. In other words, it would seem possible that the “thiasos” of Herakles led by Timotheos son of Teisias was one which belonged to the association of thiasoi on ii2 2345.

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35 The reading ΖΕΡΓΙΔΩΝ at the start of 5, though not clear on Meritt’s photograph (cf. Parker, 308), was quite clear at autopsy in the Spring of 1998, and the restoration Πραξιέργιδών seems unavoidable.
36 The names on the altar are listed at the end of Part II, above.
37 Note also that the brother of Timotheos, Timarchos, nephew of Iphikrates, is mentioned by Aeschines (1.157) in a case in which one of the protagonists, another Timarchos, is known to have been associated with members of the genos Salaminioi (see further Part III, Xa).
39 There are other examples of more than one genos being involved with administering a cult, the best known being the various gene, including the Kerykes and Eumolpidai, with responsibilities for the Eleusinian Mysteries.
Thiasoi of Herakles?

To what type of association did the thiasoi of i"² 2345 belong? Until recently the consensus was that it was a list of the members of the phratry to which the genos Salaminioi belonged. The phratric house of the Dekeleleis, it was argued, was subdivided into groups called thiasoi (Phratries T3) and there is other evidence for groups of phrateres called by their leader;40 there is no firm evidence for associations of multiple thiasoi outside a phratry context and, as Humphreys has pointed out, the sort of strong, but not exclusive, link between thiasotai and a single deme apparent on this inscription, is a pattern we should not be surprised to find in a 4th century Attic phratry. At Phratries, 82–84, I noted that doubts arise from the possibility (to put it no stronger) that the house of the Dekeleleis, at least at the time when its thiasoi were generated, was a phratry subgroup rather than a whole phratry; that the term “thiasos” had a wide semantic range, meaning little more than “(cultic) group”; that Εὐρωπιόν παῖς in 73 would be slightly uncomfortable in a phratry list; that there is insufficient reason to think that, in Attica, thiasoi in aggregate could only be found within phratries; and, finally, from a reluctance to close off the possibility, suggested by the treatment of immigrant groups en masse in Attic enfranchisement practice of the classical period, that the genos Salaminioi belonged to no phratry at all, but were a self-sufficient phratric group in their own right.

Prosopography now yields a persuasive solution to this problem. Two hieromnemones of Herakles sold a plot of land at Alopeke on behalf of their group in the context of the Lykorfan public land sale programme. One of the two, Demokles son of Gnathios of Alopeke, was almost certainly the son of one of our thiasotai (71).41 Since cult of Herakles in Attica was organised characteristically in groups called thiasoi42 and membership in these thiasoi was apparently hereditary or quasi-hereditary,43 and since our thiasotai were based in Alopeke, it is a small step to the conclusion that the thiasotai on our list and the association represented by Demokles in the land privatisation programme were one and the same.44 It turns out that the possibility raised briefly at Phratries, 83, that the thiasoi on our list were thiasoi of Herakles, seems likely to be true.45

40 On this point, add to the discussion in Phratries, 77–93, ZPE 110 (1996), 77–79, on the “thiasoi of Demotes” of i"² 2720.
41 Ἰρσκλέως ἵσσομινης[τε] / Ἰαρχίστανδρος Δημοκρίτος[ν / Ἀλώπη[εκεθεν]/ / Δημοκλῆς Γναθίου / Λάσπη[εκεθεν]/ / ἔπειθοντο χρόνον Διαφλετίς / Ἄλωπη[εκεθεν]/ / ὅτι Λυκώρας / Λυκώρας Άρη[διαθεμέν] / ἡμῖν Αισθητίτις / Συμμέτοχον Άρη[διαθεμέν] sum paid, Rationes F13A, 5–9. On the likelihood that, as with other sales recorded in these documents, the hieromnemones in this case represented a corporate group, i.e. a thiasos of Herakles, see Rationes, 198–99 and 222–23.
42 The term is used for Heraklean cult groups at Isa. 9.30 (see further below; note in particular the use of thiasoi in the plural, suggesting, as in our case, an association of multiple thiasoi); on i"² 2343 (a cult table belonging to Simon of Kydathenaios, priest of Herakles, and a koinon of 15 thiasoi; on speculation about a link between this thiasos and Aristophanes, whose deme was also Kydathenaios, see D. Gill, Greek Cult Tables [New York and London, 1991] 42–43, no. 12); and probably i"³ 1016 (a 5th cent. altar base for Herakles? from, it seems, the Herakleion of the Tetrakomoi, set up by a “thiasos of the Etiophaidai”). The chorus of Aristophanes’ Daitaleis may also have formed such a thiasos. Cf. Phratries, 88–90; Parker, 333–34.
43 Implied by Isa. 9.30, see further below.
44 As Humphreys points out to me, it would remain a theoretical possibility that Gnathios and Demokles belonged to two “thiasoi”; one of Herakles (i.e. that in the Rationes Centesimarum) and one within a phratry (i.e. that in i"² 2345). However that would entail positing more entities than are necessary to explain the phenomena and should therefore, on current evidence, be excluded by Ockham’s razor. This explanation might nevertheless be somewhat more attractive if all phratries were systematically divided into groups called “thiasoi”; since every citizen belonged to a phratry and some will also have belonged to Heraklean “thiasoi” (assuming that the latter were separate from thiasoi in phratries, on which see further below), but as I have noted elsewhere (Phratries, ch. 2), the evidence for “thiasoi” within phratries is insufficient to support such a view.
45 Thanks to Angelos Matthaiou, my attention has been drawn to a fact which appears to lend some  confirmation to this identification. It is that three of the men on our thiasos list, or their close relations (see Part II, 22, 32 and 45), play prominent roles (one as priest) in three inscriptions of the phyle Antiochis (to which Alopeke belonged), one of which is stated and the other two can be presumed to have been originally set up in the hieron of Antiochus and all three of which were found in the
This solution in a sense, of course, is only partial, since the question still has to be addressed, what was the relationship of the thesiroi of Herakles in general, and these thesiroi in particular, to the phratry system? The listing of the Alopekean Herakles separately on the *Rationes Centesimarum* implies that his cult there was self-standing, on a par with the other non-territorial groups listed on stelai 3–4, such as phratries, gene and orgeones-groups, and not wholly subsumed within either a deme or a phratry. Moreover, the reference to thesiroi of Herakles in the context of an inheritance dispute in Isaeus 9 seems to imply that they were not straightforwardly phratry subdivisions.\(^46\) The speaker is Astyphilos’ half-brother, son of Astyphilos’ mother by her second marriage to Theophrastos. In the passage which interests us, he is seeking to argue that the good treatment received by Astyphilos from his step-father (i.e. the speaker’s father) and his own good relations with his half-brother generate a sort of moral claim to the estate. His father treated Astyphilos in the same way that he treated himself as far as he might share in the association,“\(^47\) There is no suggestion here of introduction to a phratry. Since Astyphilos was not Theophrastos’ natural son, such an introduction could only have been in the context of an adoption;\(^48\) and it is quite clear that the speaker was not meaning to claim that there had been such an adoption in this case. We have none of theformulaic language of legitimacy (due process, no objections etc.) which is invariably used when an orator mentions introduction to a phratry or phratry subgroup (i.e. a genos or orgeones-group) in the context of an inheritance dispute. The whole thrust of the speaker’s argument is not that Astyphilos was Theophrastos’ son, but that Theophrastos treated him as if he were his son; the relationship was not official but affective and the claim it generated was not formal but moral.

On the other hand, there is now accumulating evidence to suggest that there might have been some sort of association between thesiroi of Herakles and the phratry system. The fifth century \(^3\) 1016 from, it seems, the Herakleion of the Tetrakomoi, and apparently an altar base (for Herakles?), was set up by the “thiasos of the Etionidai”, the latter a group otherwise unknown, but quite possibly a genos or phratry.\(^49\) Concerning this, there seems very appropriate that thiasotai of Herakles should be prominent in a phratry of Antiochos, he appears in relief of Antiochos within this phyle.\(^50\) As we have seen, some of the members of Diogenes’ thesiroi on our list were members of the genos Salaminioi. And if Jameson’s reinterpretation of the altar for Herakles from the Agora, *Agora* I 1052 (see above), is correct, there was another Herakles cult (whether or not it was the same as that on ii\(^2\) 2345), or at least a Heraklean dedication, in which gene “had a share”. For the Praxiergidai there seems no other evidence of association with any Herakles cult; but it seems unlikely to be coincidental that the

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\(^46\) Phratries, 89; A. Andrewes, *JHS* 81 (1961), 11.
\(^47\) ἐνθεσία τοῖς θεσίοις τοῖς Ἰεράκλεις ἐκείνον \(\alpha\ ντόν\) εἰσήγαγεν, ἵνα μετέχοι τῆς κοινωνίας. Isae. 9.30. The discovery that the thesiroi of ii\(^2\) 2345 were probably thesioi of Herakles tends to confirm that there is no need to amend away the reference here to “Heraklean thesios” in the plural. Cf. Phratries, 89 n. 138. Theophrastos’ thesios/-oi can not be identified; his deme is unfortunately unknown.
\(^48\) On phratry introduction in the context of adoption see Phratries, 38–40.
\(^49\) Cf. Phratries, 88.
major festival of the Salaminioi funded from their own resources was a Herakleia, and the priesthood of Herakles at Porthmos was one of those supplied by the genos.

Broader questions arise which are difficult to address, in part because we still lack a comprehensive account of cult of Herakles in Attica.\(^{50}\) Herakles, son of a divine father and a human mother, was a bastard among the gods, a significant aspect of his heroic persona and cult, not least at the Herakleion at Kynosarges, frequented by a thiasos (if one can call it such) of nothoi.\(^{51}\) One wonders whether the thiasos of Herakles might more generally have had the function of incorporating into religious and social life (originally perhaps in the archaic period) a broader range of family members than could be accommodated within the formal structures of phratries and gene, with their emphasis on strict legitimacy; extensions of the phratri structure whose looser membership criteria were also, in a sense, a contradiction of it. They might thus have accommodated not only illegitimate children, but also step-children like Astyphilos in Isaues 9, and the “child of Euphronios” on our list (73).\(^{52}\) On the other hand, the wording of the Praxiergidai altar on Jameson’s interpretation, “those of the P. [and x] who have a share”, and the apparent fact that not all members of the genos Salaminioi were members of our thiasos, seem to suggest that not all phrateres or genetai would have participated.\(^{53}\)

To return to the specifics of the thiasos on our list, and assuming that the identification of them as thiasos of Herakles, proposed above, is correct, is it still possible that the members all belonged to, or at least had family associations with, a single phratry, a phratry to which the Salaminioi and perhaps also the Praxiergidai belonged?\(^{54}\) Interpreting the thiasos in this way, effectively as quasi-subdivisions of a phratry incorporating some members along with illegitimate children and others not strictly entitled to phratry membership, would certainly explain why there should be multiple thiasos in association; but there is a striking fact which continues to argue (if not perhaps decisively) against the very close link between the Salaminioi and these thiasos which that would imply. It is that although one of the two branches of the Salaminioi was from Sounion, there is no known member of that deme on the thiasos list, and that although our thiasotai were predominantly from Alopeke, there is no member of that deme among known Salaminioi.\(^{55}\) There would seem at least to be other possibilities. Perhaps, for example, this was a self-standing Alopeke-based Herakles cult of archaic origin in the administration of which, like that of Herakles in Akris in the case of Eleusis,\(^{56}\) the local deme now took a hand; members of the deme predominated, but links with gene and the phratry structure remained. Perhaps such links were formal, in the sense that the Salaminioi (and possibly the Praxiergidai), special devotees of Herakles, supplied, as it were, delegates to the Alopekean Herakles association, choosing for the purpose members from demes fairly close to Alopeke, i.e. Agryle and Paiania; though in this case it would remain to be explained how and why the link with these gene might have arisen. Alternatively, perhaps it was simply that there were a few individual Salaminioi who, devotees of Herakles in their capacity as Salaminioi, also chose to exercise that devotion in the context of an association based in a deme closer to home than

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\(^{50}\) Cf. Phratries, 88–90; Rationes, 198–99; Parker, 333–34. See also Athen. 6.234d ff.

\(^{51}\) Plut. Them. 1; Dem. 23.213; Athen. 6.234c. Cf. S. Humphreys, JHS 94 (1974), 88–95; also n. 45 above.

\(^{52}\) This is suggestive, of course, of another reason why many men on the list might have been identified by name only.

\(^{53}\) While we can not be certain, this apparent looseness of the association between Heraklean thiasoi and the phratry system would seem to make it unlikely that the thiasos into which the phratric House of the Dekeleieis were divided and which were used in their admissions procedures (Phratries T3) were thiasos of Herakles.

\(^{54}\) For another possible case of a phratry containing two gene see ii² 2723 (= Phratries T21) + ZPE 110 (1996), 83 with Rationes, 204 no. 53 (Glaukidai and Epikleidai).

\(^{55}\) This would also seem to be a strong argument against a theory, which might otherwise have some attractions, that our thiasos were all subgroups of the genos Salaminioi (though at this period such a theory would also prima facie be inconsistent with the thiasos also having Praxiergid members).

\(^{56}\) SEG 28.103. Like the Herakles cult in Alopeke, that in Akris was represented by hieromnemones, cf. Whitehead, 183–84.
the Herakleion at Sounion. The multi-partite character of the association might simply have resulted from there being too many members for dining in a single group to be practicable or congenial.57

A final point in this connection. Another characteristic of Herakles was that he was a great diner; and post-sacrificial dining, a common feature of Greek religion generally, was no doubt an especially significant aspect of the activities of the Heraklean thiasoi. Astyphilos’ step-father in Isaeus 9 took him everywhere with his own son and introduced him to the thiasoi of Herakles; there is perhaps a slight suggestion here that membership in the Heraklean thiasoi entailed travel around Attica, and one wonders if, rather like some modern types of dining club, there was an association of clubs with reciprocal rights or common membership.

The Salamis connection

In weighing the different theories about the nature of the connection, if any, between the genos Salaminioi and the island of Salamis, it is relevant to consider what associations are attested between individual genos members and the island.58 Simply stated, the less one believes the genos had to do with the island the less one would expect that a link between individual genos members and the island would be apparent. Thus, if one adhered to Robertson’s theory that the genos was named for its connection with salt pans etc. and had nothing to do with Salamis, or Ferguson’s,59 that it was a wholly Attic organisation named for propaganda reasons in the archaic period during Athens’ struggle with Megara for control of the island, one might be surprised to discover close links between individual gennetai and the island in the fourth century. If, at the other extreme, one adhered to the theory I have recently proposed, that the genos was a (or perhaps even at one time the) institutional aspect of the Athenian community established on Salamis between the 6th and 4th centuries, one would find the discovery of any such links congenial.60 The position of adherents of one of the theories between these two extremes, all of which rely on positing population movements in the archaic period or earlier, seems less clear cut. If the genos went to Salamis from Attica early and came back again (Guarducci), or immigrated from Salamis at some time in the archaic period or earlier (Humphreys), it might not be surprising to discover some remnant (or revived) connection between genos members and the island in the historical period.

Since almost all our evidence for individual members of the genos derives from the 4th century, it is the situation in that century that we must consider. Even during this period, however, our knowledge of individual genos members is very limited. Only 18 men (or occasionally families) can be claimed for the genos with any degree of confidence, nearly all of them attested on the inscription recording the

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57 As Humphreys reminds me, the normal thiasos-size may have been linked to the number of people that could be fed from the meat of one animal.

58 For brief discussion of the different theories, with references, see *Salaminioi*, 94–103. Add now Taylor, 47–63.

59 Recently revived by Taylor, 61.

60 On this theory, though it would be possible that, at the time of the “Solonian” settlement of Athenians on Salamis, that settlement was coterminous with the genos, that would not have remained indefinitely the case. Sooner (e.g. following the establishment of the cleruchy, if there was one and it was not the first Athenian settlement on the island) or later (by the time of ii 2 3206, perhaps pre-318, when there seems to be an entity called the Athenian demos on Salamis or such like, cf. Taylor, 104 and ch. 2) there will have been Athenian Salaminians who were not genos members. Note also the Eikadeis, perhaps another genos with a branch on the island by the 4th century, *Salaminioi*, 100–101. Nor would it be a corollary that everyone called “Salaminios” was a member of the genos; the prime and normal connotation of that term will always have been “man from Salamis”, and at least some such, even if Athenian citizens, would not have been members of the genos, at least by the 4th century. Thus, if one holds (as Humphreys suggests to me) that there were two men called Moirokles of Eleusis, related in the male line (and therefore, one would suppose, members of the same genos, if any), only one of whom was established on Salamis and was accordingly distinguished from the other by being called “Salaminios” (Harp. s.v. Μοιρόκλης; cf. PA 5535 and 10400), one might plausibly maintain that he was not “Salaminios” in the sense “member of the genos”, but only in the sense “from Salamis” (e.g. with property there, or a member of the Athenian demos on Salamis); cf. C. Ampolo, *RFIC* 109 (1981), 187–204 (= *SEG* 31.109A), especially 193–96, who also argues that PA’s two men called Moirokles were in fact one and the same.
arbitration of 363/2 (T1) and several of them not known otherwise (see the list in Part III, above). On the other side, in his recent analysis of Athenian settlers on Salamis, Cargill counted only 67 “certain or likely” 4th century Athenian residents on Salamis and a further 103 “possible” such (i.e. persons whose residency on the island, or its 4th century date, is uncertain).61 With such limited knowledge, even if there were in fact close associations between all genos members and the island of Salamis, we should not expect that to be very apparent in our evidence. And there is a further limiting factor. No less than two thirds of all Cargill’s “Salamis-connected” Athenians are known from funerary monuments.62 Some of these are individuals stated to be “Salaminios” or “Salaminia” on gravestones from Attica, but the majority are Athenians on gravestones reported to be from Salamis. Even on the strongest theory of a contemporary link between the genos and the island, one would not necessarily expect genos members to have been buried there. Living on Salamis could be regarded as somewhat reclusive behaviour;63 and if one did not actually live there, one would probably not be buried there. Indeed, one would expect persons active in genos affairs in mainland Attica (precisely those about whom we mainly know) to have had their main residence, and so be buried, in Attica.64

What, then, is the evidence for connections between individual genos members and the island? The best attested of all known genos families is that of Hegias son of Hegesias of Sounion, one of the oath-takers in 363/2 (Part III, X). His brothers, Hegesippos and Hegesandros, were well known politicians. One or other of them apparently underlies references in two Byzantine sources and in one of these, Tzetzes, he is described as “Salaminios” (see on Part III, X). We can not, of course, construct a conclusive argument from the linguistic usage of Tzetzes; but the underlying source here was presumably literary rather than epigraphical65 and it is notable that, throughout the literary evidence (and indeed in inscriptions other than those directly connected with the genos, and even then never in the singular), “Salaminios” never demonstrably means “member of the genos Salaminioi”.66 Rather it means “man from Salamis”. That this family was indeed established on Salamis gains a measure of support in the occurrence of the not very common name Hegesippos (17 in LGPN II) in two other contexts in connection with the island. Nikokles son of a Hegesippos of Anagyrous was honoured by a monument erected on the island by his son (Cargill no. 1017) and a Hegesippos son of Kephisodoros of Lamptrai may have been buried there (Cargill no. 590; the father’s name and demotic are also suggestive of a connection with the genos, cf. Part II, 5 and 32, Part III, III).

There is a second likely genos member for whom a connection with Salamis is more certainly demonstrable, Antiphanes of Euonymon, product of our new reading of line 48 of the thiasos list, whose (father or?) son, Antiphates son of Antiphanes of Euonymon, was buried on the island in the 4th century (see 48). There is no reason to think that every one of our thiasotai was a member of the genos Salaminioi, so it is just possible that Antiphates was not and that it is coincidental that he was buried on

61 Cargill, 119 and table, 79.
62 Cargill, 119.
64 The only member of a genos family for whose burial location we have evidence is Ameinonikos of Sounion, probably father of Part III XV, whose funerary lekythos, ii2 7415, is from the Piraeus museum. Its original location seems unclear, but if it was the Piraeus area, that would be a not unsuitable burial place for someone with connection to Salamis. On the Piraeus-Salamis ferry in antiquity see Aeschin. 3.158, cf. Salaminioi, 102.
65 Perhaps a speech by one of the brothers and/or one of the speeches in the case to which Aeschines 1 relates (well known to Tzetzes) and in which the brothers were involved. See further on Part III, X.
66 See Cargill, 119–133; Taylor, 84–95. The few cases where persons are designated “Salaminios/-ia” on gravestones from Salamis (listed by Cargill, 120 n. 1) present a puzzle. I am not convinced by Taylor’s argument, 135–37, that they must all be Salaminiots from Cyprus, since, if so, one might have expected that to have been more explicitly clear, as e.g. ii2 10216–18. Even in Attica there may have been a few gravestones on which the deceased are described as Athenaiotai (ii2 7856–61, cf. Cargill, 120, n. 2) and in what may well have been the rather more mixed community on Salamis the designation “Salaminios/-ia” may sometimes have seemed appropriate. Alternatively, of course, we may have to do with pierres érrantes.
Salamis; but, especially given the poverty of our evidence for residents on Salamis, such a coincidence is not likely.

For the rest, evidence of a link with the island is at one what might call the onomastic, rather than the prosopographical level. In other words, it consists in the occurrence among genos members or those on the thiasos list of distinctive names associated with the island. Thus, for example, the rather unusual name Exekestides (19 in LGPN II) was that of the father of Melittios of Boutadai, one of the oath-takers of the genos in 363/2 (Part III, XIII). It was also a popular name in the best known family of liturgical status on the island, that of Silanion son of Aristodemos of Kothokidai (APF 4719; cf. Taylor, 134 and 304), doubtless because it was the name of Solon’s father. Thus, for example, the rather unusual name Exekestides (19 in LGPN II) was that of the father of Melittios of Boutadai, one of the oath-takers of the genos in 363/2 (Part III, XIII). It was also a popular name in the best known family of liturgical status on the island, that of Silanion son of Aristodemos of Kothokidai (APF 4719; cf. Taylor, 134 and 304), doubtless because it was the name of Solon’s father ... αὐτὸς κήρυξ ἦλθον ὑφ’ ἵμερτης Σαλαμῖνος.67 Olympiodoros son of Eumelos (23 in LGPN II) of P(rospalta?) represented the Eikadeis in the sale of their property on the island in the Lykourgan public land sale programme. The father of another of the oath-takers (Part III, IV) was a Eumelides (10 in LGPN II) and the name Olympiodoros (though admittedly fairly common) occurs twice on our thiasos list and twice more on gravestones from Salamis (see thiasos list, 22). Other examples are pointed up in the two lists in Part II and Part III.68 None represents certain evidence of a link between any individual and the island; but cumulatively there is a fair showing of possible connections.

It would be rash to claim that this evidence amounts to proof of the theory that members of the genos Salaminioi belonged to the Athenian community on Salamis in the 4th century, but it is suggestive; especially given that our data about inhabitants of Salamis and members of the genos Salaminioi is so limited, at least there would seem enough to rebut an objection along the lines that members of the genos Salaminioi “have no apparent involvement with the island in the Classical period,”69 and to supply a strong argument against theories that there was no real connection between genos and island at all.

67 Solon f1 (West); cf. fs 2–3; Plut. Sol. 8; 32.4; D.L. 1.45–48; 62; Aesch. 1.25; Dem. 19.251–4. Cf. Part II, 51. I eschew speculation here on whether Solon might actually have been related to any of these later persons with Salaminian links called Exekestides. The significant point for our purposes is rather that, in the 4th century, the name connoted an association with Solon/Salamis.

68 The better examples not so far mentioned are: Part II, 5, 7, 19, 22, 25, 27, 42, 67, 68, 81, 82, 89, 91, α; Part III, I, III, IV, VIII, XII, XV. See also Part II, nn. 4 and 5.

69 Taylor, 61; cf. 174.
IG II² 2345 (EM 8036); S. D. Lambert, pp. 93–130