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*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2345, THIASOI OF HERAKLES AND THE SALAMINIOI AGAIN

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## IG II<sup>2</sup> 2345, THIASOI OF HERAKLES AND THE SALAMINIOI AGAIN<sup>1</sup>

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 ii<sup>2</sup> 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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Ag. 15: *The Athenian Agora. Vol. XV. Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors*. Edd. B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill (Princeton 1974);

Ag. 17: *The Athenian Agora. Vol. XVII. Inscriptions. The Funerary Monuments*. Ed. D. W. Bradeen (Princeton 1974);

Ag. 19: *The Athenian Agora. Vol. XIX. Inscriptions: Horoi, Poletai Records, Leases of Public Lands*. Edd. G. Lalonde, M. Langdon and M. Walbank (Princeton 1991);

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)*;

CAT: C. W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, 8 vols. (Kilchberg 1993; suppl. vol. 1995);

Eustrat.: see Part I;

Ferguson: W. S. Ferguson, *The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai 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);

Habicht: C. Habicht, *Namensgleiche Athener in verschiedenen Demeen, ZPE* 103 (1994), 117–27;

Hedrick: see Part I;

Humphreys: S. C. Humphreys, *Phrateres in Alopeke and the Salaminioi, ZPE* 83 (1990), 243–48;

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. I. Inscriptions grecques* (Paris 1936);

Salaminioi: S. D. Lambert, *The Attic Genos Salaminioi and the Island of Salamis, ZPE* 119 (1997), 85–106;

T1, T2: *Salaminioi*, T1, T2;

Taylor: M. C. Taylor, *Salamis and the Salaminioi* (Amsterdam 1997);

Threatte I: L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions I: Phonology* (Berlin 1980);

Traill: J. S. Traill, *Demos and Trittys* (Toronto 1986);

Whitehead: D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica* (Princeton 1986);

Wilhelm: see Part I;

i<sup>2</sup>, ii<sup>2</sup> etc.: IG i<sup>2</sup>, IG ii<sup>2</sup> etc.

For textual bibliography on ii<sup>2</sup> 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 ii<sup>2</sup> 2345* is a phratry list at all.<sup>2</sup>

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 Κατσιπόδη (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 ii<sup>2</sup> 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.

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<sup>2</sup> *Phratries*, T35 with 82–84.

c. 365–330 B.C.

col. 1	col. 2	col. 3
	----- [... <sup>c. 8</sup> ....]λαι(-)	85 Χίων $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$ Γλαύκιππος [-?] Εὔδρομος $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$ Φιλοχά[ρ]η[ς -?] Εὐχαρ[...].[-?]
	vac. 8.3 cm	90 Ὀλυμπιόδ[ωρος -?] Λυκίσκος [-?] Ι[-]
<i>traces?</i>		
[..... <sup>c. 14</sup> .....]ριο $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$		
[..... <sup>max. 11</sup> .....]		
[... <sup>c. 7</sup> ...]λος		
[..οπε]ίθης Ἀντιγένης $\text{H}^{\text{A}}$		
5 [Κηφι]σόδωρος Ἀντιγένης $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$		
[..]οπείθης Κηφισοδότο	45 Ἀντιφάνος θίασος	
[Κη]φισόφων	Ἀντιφάνης Ἀρεσίο [-?]	
Ἄκρυπτος $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	Ἀρεσίας	
Ἀμεινίχος	Ἀνδροκλείδης $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	
10 Πυθοκλῆς Ἀμεινίχο	Ἀντιφάνης Εὐφ(νυμεύς) $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	
Θεόδοτος Ἀμεινίχο $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	Νίκιππος $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	
[Εὐ]χαρίδης $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$ $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	50 Καινεύς	
Θεαῖος Παιανιεύς $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$ $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	Ἀντιφῶν Ναύτο [-?]	
[Εὐ]φρόσυνος Παιανιε[ύς] $\text{H}^{\text{A}}$ (or $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$ $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$ )	Ἀντίφιλος [-?]	
15 Γλαύκιππος [-?]	Ἀ.. <sup>4</sup> ..ωρ	
Θεοδόσιος	Διοκλῆς [-?]	
Δημόφιλος: Λεωστ[τράτο -?]	55 Φιλοδημίδ[η?]ς [-?]	
	Φεΐδιππος $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	
vac. 3.0 cm.	Παντάρετ[ος -?]	
Ἀγνοθέο θίασος	vac. 4.2 cm.	vac. or traces 35 cm.
Ἀγνόθεος Ἄγνωνος		
20 Ἄγνων Ἀγνοθέο		
Ἐ[ύ]ξιθε[ο]ς Ἄγνωνος $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$ $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	Διογένης θίασος	
Λεπτίνης Ὀλυμπιοδώρο $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	Διογένης	
Θεόπομπος $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	60 Τιμόμαχος	
[..[.].]ος Καλλίππο	Κρίτων $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$ $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	
25 Ἀρχέστρατος Σπουδίδο	Διόδοτος	
Χαιρίας	Ἀριστοκράτης	
Σωσίδημος $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$ $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	Λυσίδημος	
Φίλιππος $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	65 Τιμοκράτης Ἀρίστωνος [-?]	
Φαινιπίδης $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	Δίφιλος Διοκλέος $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	
30 Τιμασίθεος	Ἀριστήδης Φορυσκίδο [-?]	
Κτησικλείδης Κηφισοφῶν(τος) $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	Ἐπικλῆς Ἐπικλέος $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$	
Κηφισόδωρος Κηφισοφῶν(τος) $\text{H}^{\text{A}}$	Κτησίας	
Κτήσων Καλλιστράτο	70 Θεοπείθης	
[Κ]αλλίστρατος Κτήσωνος	Γνάθιος	
35 [Κ]τησικλείδης Κτήσωνος	Εὐφράνωρ Εὐφράνωρ[ος -?]	

	[Γ]λαυκέτης Γλαυκέτο Κηφι(σιεύς)	Εὐφρονίο παῖς [-?]	
	Λύσανδρος Λύσιδος Εὐων(υμεύς)	Στράτων $\Gamma^{\Delta}$	
	[Δ]ίφιλος Διωνίδα	75 Εὐξίθεος	
	Ἄντικ[ρ]άτης Διωνίδα	Ἄρχινοσ Ἄγρυλῆ(θεν) $\Gamma^{\Delta}$	
40	Φαινιπίδης Δ[ι]ω[ν]ίδα $\Gamma^{\Delta}$	Στρατοφῶν Ἄγρυλῆ(θεν)	
	Γλαύκιππος Εὐδόξο $\Gamma^{\Delta}$	Ἴππων Ἄγρυλῆ(θεν) [-?]	Εὐθιππος
	Κράτης $\Gamma^{\Delta}$	Δήμων Ἄγρυλῆ(θεν)	
	<i>vac. to bottom of stone</i>	80 Πρωτεὺς ἐκ Κερ(αμέων) (or Κηδ[ῶν])	<i>vac. to bottom of stone</i>
		Δήμαρχος	
		Κηφίσιοσ Εὐφρο	
		Δημᾶρετοσ Ἄγρυλῆ(θεν)	
		Ἀρχέστρατοσ Ἄγρυλῆ(θεν)	
		<i>vac. to bottom of stone</i>	

## Part II: Notes on Readings and Prosopography (Thiasos List)

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.<sup>3</sup> 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. [...<sup>c. 14</sup>.....]ρ10  $\Gamma^{\Delta}$ . Unlike previous eds. I dot the figure, since there is an uncertain ghost of a pendant delta.
3. [...<sup>c. 7</sup>...]Λοσ. 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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. [..οπε]ίθης Ἀντιγένοϲ Η<sup>π</sup>. -οπε]ίθης Eustrat. 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 Η” and printed Η<sup>π</sup>. 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. Ἀντιγένης: 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. [Κηφι]σόδοϲ Ἀντιγένοϲ Π. 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. Kephisoros and Kephisophon (7) also occur as names in the family from Alopeke in Hagnotheos’ thiasos (31–35). Although this name pair is common (see on 32), in a set of thiasoi probably with hereditary basis, a connection between the two families is likely. Κηφισόδοϲ: 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<sup>2</sup> 5542, 4th cent.? gravestone from Salamis of K. son of K. of Halimous, cf. *SEG* 44.260); no. 590 (ii<sup>2</sup> 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 .ΣΘΟ.ΣΚΗΦΙΣΟΔΩΡ[ου] on the early–4th cent.? judicial curse tablet, Robert, *Coll. Froehner*, no. 11, 16.<sup>4</sup> Ἀντιγένης: see on 4.

6. [..]οπειθης Κηφισόδοτο. There are three names in [..]οπειθης in *LGPN* II: 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). Κηφισόδοτος: 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. [Κη]φισόφωϲ. 48 in *LGPN* II; none in Alopeke, unless the councillor for 303/2, [...<sup>c.5</sup>..]φῶν Κηφ[ισ]ο[-], 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 ΚΗΦΙΣΟΦΩΝΟΣΑΛΠΙΛΙΝΙΟΣ, and which Robert notes might be reconstructed, Κηφισοφῶν ὁ Σαλαμίνιος, or as Kirchner suggested, Κηφισοφῶντος Ἀφιδναῖος; 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<sup>3</sup> 1048, 27 (425–05?) and A. on the casualty list of Erechtheis of 460?, i<sup>3</sup> 1147, 130, were probably related. On chronological grounds, it is scarcely likely that our man was identical with one of these (as suggested at *Phraties*, 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. Ἀμείνιχοϲ. 2 in *LGPN* II, the other being the father of a Dionysophon of Aphidna on the 2nd/1st cent. funerary monument, ii<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> 5633. Father of 10 and 11.

<sup>4</sup> 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 Ἀμεινίχο. Πυθοκλῆς: 36 in *LGNP* II, 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 Ἀμεινίχο Γ. 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 *LGNP* II, 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 (ii<sup>2</sup> 11635, 4th cent. gravestone from Salamis of a Th.), no. 644 (ii<sup>2</sup> 1228, Th. of Piraeus, honoured on Salamis, 2nd cent.), no. 645 (ii<sup>2</sup> 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. [Εὐ]χαρίδης ΠΓ. Though extremely faint, and not read by previous eds., the number 55 is probably detectable after the name. Εὐχαρίδης: 13 in *LGNP* II (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 ii<sup>2</sup> 7075 (for the deme cf. 13–14); it is also a possible restoration at 89.

13. Θεαῖος Παϊανιεύς ΠΓ. All previous eds. read the name as [..]αῖος, but I detect the lower right of Θ/O, followed by the vertical and possibly faint trace of the top horizontal and left tip of the bottom horizontal of E. Since Θεαῖος is also the only name [..]αῖος attested in Paiania B.C., it seems secure here. The following word and the figures were read by Eustrat. as ΠΑΙΑΝΙΟ (sic), followed by a reverse nu and pi (oversize, like the figure in line 5), interpreted as Παϊανίο [H]Γ. I read ΠΑΙΑΝΙ, followed by: the vertical and bottom horizontal of E; the vertical and upper left diagonal of Y; the upper three strokes of Σ; ΠΓ 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. Θεαῖος: 13 in *LGNP* II (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. [Εὐ]φρόσυνος Παϊανιεύς [ύς] ΗΠ (or ΠΠ). 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, Παϊανίο (given as the only example of the name Paianios in *LGNP* II), but I read the vertical and top horizontal of E 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 Γ or Η, followed by the upper half of Γ, i.e. ΠΠ or ΗΠ. Εὐφρόσυνος: 65 in *LGNP* II (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, ii<sup>2</sup> 1128, 40. At *Salaminioi*, 105, I suggested that, given the occurrence of other members of the gens Salaminioi on this list, this man was probably also identical with the Εὐφρόσυνος Ὀν-, honorand on the 4th century decree of the gens, ii<sup>2</sup> 1232, 5 (Part III, IX). Alternatively, if (what is not certain) the demotic here can 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 symmory between 356 and 340 (ii<sup>2</sup> 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 *LGNP* II), occurs on



the gravestones Cargill no. 561, findspot unknown, for Εὐφοροσύνη Ἄνδροσ(σ)θένους Σαλαμινία (ii<sup>2</sup> 10197, 2nd cent. A.D.) and no. 562, found on Salamis, for Εὐφορο[σύνη] Εὐφοροσύνου Σαλαμι[νία], Δ]ημοσθένο[υ] Εὐπορίδου γυνή (ii<sup>2</sup> 10198, 1st cent. A.D.).

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

15. Γλαύκιππος [-?]. The name runs into a severely eroded area and it is not quite certain that no father's name, demotic 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, ii<sup>2</sup> 2826; (his father? was councillor c. 330, *Ag.* 15.46, 50). Note also Πυθογένης Γλαυ[κίππου] of Alopeke, *epistates* of the Boule on the mid-3rd cent. ii<sup>2</sup> 778, 6. Neither Glaukippos 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 Thoudosios (7 in *LGPN* II) occurs in Alopeke for a man who freed a slave with Peithenous and Lysistratos of Alopeke in c. 340–20, ii<sup>2</sup> 1569, 33, and possibly for another in c. 410 on i<sup>3</sup> 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: Λεωσ[τράτο -?]. Earlier eds. read more or less of the first four letters of the father's name. I confirm that ΛΕΩ 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. Λεώστρατος: 21 in *LGPN* II (in at least 7 demes). Humphreys suggested that he was the Demophilos son of Leostratos of Alopeke who paid 101 dr. on behalf of Leostratos of Alopeke (his father?) in the late 340s (the latter having been *epimeletes* of the dockyards in 360/59, ii<sup>2</sup> 1622, 562f.), 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 deme (cf. Habicht). Doubtless related to, probably brother of, Μαλθάκη [Λεω]στράτου of Alopeke, whose dowry was guaranteed on the security of a house marked by ii<sup>2</sup> 2682 = Finley, no. 82. Salamis: none.

#### Thiasos 2 (of Hagnotheos)

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

20. Ἄγνων Ἄγνοθέο. Probably son of 19, q.v.

21. Ε[ὐ]ξίθε[ο]ς Ἄγνωνος Π[ι]Π[ι]. For the figures, Eustrat. read an oversize pi with pendant upsilon (sic), followed by a pi, interpreted [Π]Π; ΠΔ Hedrick. ΠΠ 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. Εὐξίθεος: 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. Ἄγνων: 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. Λεπτίνης Ὀλυμπιοδώρο Π. ΤΙΜΟΣ, preceded by a top horizontal, interpreted -οτιμος, Eustrat.; [Διό]τιμος? ii<sup>2</sup>; [Διό]τιμος 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?), ΤΙΝΗ clear, upper two strokes of Σ. For the figure previous eds. read Π; I read left vertical, left section of horizontal of Π and what is probably the left diagonal of a pendant delta. Λεπτίνης: 12 in *LGPN* II (in at least 7 demes). Ὀλυμπιοδώρος: 88 in *LGPN* II. Identifiable with the Leptines son of Olympiodoros of Alopeke, *choregos* in 331/0 (ii<sup>2</sup> 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 (ii<sup>2</sup> 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, *Salaminiotai*, 101 n. 47, and cf. Part III, IV); no. 1049 (ii<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> 1629, 623 with Kirchner *ad* ii<sup>2</sup> 2345; *APF* p. 163; *Phratries*, 370; questioned by Humphreys, 245), now falls on the new reading of the name.

23. Θεόπομος <sup>Π</sup>. 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 (ii<sup>2</sup> 10202). Cf. on 25.

24. [..[.]]ος Καλλίππο. Letters 3–5 of the name seem to have been erased (and re-inscribed?). ii<sup>2</sup> 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; ii<sup>2</sup> (following Leonardos) printed a quadrapunct (i.e. four dots as at the corners of a square). Cf. next line. Καλλίππος: 75 in *LGPN* II, none in Alopeke or in connection with Salamis. See further on 25.

25. Ἀρχέστρατος Σπουδίδο. After the father's name Eustrat. showed Σ, and ii<sup>2</sup> (Leonardos) again printed a quadrapunct (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. Ἀρχέστρατος: 76 in *LGPN* II. Σπουδίδης: 4 in *LGPN* II (with demotic in Lamptrai [cf. on Part III, III] and Paiania; none in connection with Salamis). Humphreys noted an Arcestratos 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, ii<sup>2</sup> 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 Arcestratos, Kallippos (though common, 75 in *LGPN* II), is that of a Paianian at Dem. 7.42–43 (cf. Κόλλιπ(πος) councillor for Paiania in 235/4, *Ag.* 15.118, 71). The Arcestratos of Agryle at 84 might have been a relation (though again the name is common). There are three Arcestratoi (apparently two individuals) on the later 4th cent. (or later?) inscription from Salamis honouring thiasotai, ii<sup>2</sup> 2347, 7, 12 and 19 (Taylor no. 45).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> 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 can not 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 (ii<sup>2</sup> 1317, 1317b, *SEG* 2.9 and 2.10, *SEG* 44.60 = G. Steinhauer, *AE* (1993) [1995], 31–47; Taylor, 111–12).

26. Χαυρίας. 23 in *LGNP* II (in at least 10 demes); none in Alopeke (or Paiania, cf. 25) or in connection with Salamis.

27. Σωσίδημος  $\text{P}^{\Delta}$ . For the figures previous eds. read  $\Delta\text{P}$ , but did not note the pi from which the rather large delta is pendant. 8 in *LGNP* II (in at least 3 demes). Humphreys noted Pytheas son of S. of Alopeke, superintendent of waterworks in 333/2 (ii<sup>2</sup> 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 Pytheas (33 in *LGNP* II) was probably also related to the Pytheas and Nikostratos sons of Archonides of Alopeke on the mid-4th cent. funerary monument, ii<sup>2</sup> 5573 (cf. 12 and Part III, XIII). On Salamis: Sosidemos, none; for Pytheas, cf. Cargill no. 1122 (ii<sup>2</sup> 1008, 75, 2nd cent. archon on Salamis); ii<sup>2</sup> 2347, 22 (Taylor no. 291; among thiasotai on Salamis, later 4th cent. [or later?], cf. n. 5).

28. Φίλιππος  $\text{P}^{\Delta}$ . Previous eds. did not note the figure. It may be  $\text{P}$ , but there seems to be trace of the horizontal of a pendant delta. 133 in *LGNP* II; none in Alopeke or in connection with Salamis.

29. Φαινιππίδης  $\text{P}$ . 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 *LGNP* II, another being 40, with whom this man was probably related. The name is attested only once with demotic, in Athmonon (ii<sup>2</sup> 2385, 60). Salamis: none.

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

31. Κτησικλείδης Κηφισοφῶν(τος)  $\text{P}^{\Delta}$ . Previous eds. read the figure as  $\text{P}$ , but I detected probable trace of a pendant delta (cf. Eustrat.'s diplomatic text). Κτησικλείδης: 5 in *LGNP* 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). Κηφισοφῶν: 48 in *LGNP* 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 Ktesikles son of Kephisophon of Phaleron (both more common names) on ii<sup>2</sup> 1927, 108 and his homonymous 3rd cent. relative, *Ag.* 15.130, 52, 131f., seems a remoter possibility. The Ktesikleides 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). Ktesikleides is not a name attested in connection with Salamis; on Kephisophon, see 7.

32. Κηφισόδωρος Κηφισοφῶν(τος) Η. Κηφισόδωρος: 135 in *LGNP* II, of which 5 is another. Κηφισοφῶν: see 31. On this man's family connections see on 31, his brother. He or 5 was probably the Kephisodoros who was father of Kephisokles of Alopeke, proposer of the decree of senior *epilektoi* 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 *LGNP* 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 Kephisokles is not attested in connection with Salamis.

33. Κτήσων Καλλιστράτο. Κτήσων: 24 in *LGNP* II (in at least 13 demes). Καλλιστράτος: 147 in *LGNP* 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<sup>2</sup> 10205) is a 4th cent. gravestone for Oinante daughter of Kallistrate, Salaminia.

34. [Κ]αλλιστράτος Κτήσωνος. 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 [Kalli]stratos son of Kteson of Alopeke on a mid-4th cent. dedication (*ZPE* 78 [1989], 204–7, no. 3 = *SEG* 39.204; the restoration [Ἀλωπε]κῆς in line 3 seems secure enough). The name pair is not attested in any other deme (cf. Habicht).

35. [Κ]τησικλείδης Κτήσωνος. Κτησικλείδης: 5 in *LGNP* II (see on 31). Κτήσων: 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 [Κ]τ[ησι]κλείδης Κτήσωνος who was councillor for Alopeke in c. 321 (or earlier?, cf. Part IV n. 31), *Ag.* 15.55, 37 (cf. Moyses, *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<sup>2</sup> 5560. Salamis: none.

36. [Γ]λαυκέτης Γλαυκέτο Κηφι(σιεύς). 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?, Kleocharēs, 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 Λύσιδος Εύων(υμεύς). 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<sup>2</sup> 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 thiasoi, 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]ίφιλος Διωνίδο. [.]Ι.ΥΛΟΣ (3rd place: upper vertical or diagonal and top horizontal, as Γ/Ε/Π/Σ) Eustrat. (cf. ii), [Δ]ίφιλος ii<sup>2</sup>, following Wilhelm. The first (presumably eldest) of three brothers listed together. Δίφιλος: 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 ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣΤΥΡΟΣ (Δίφιλος Σατύρου [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 Lamptrai, cavalryman on Salamis c. 320 (ii<sup>2</sup> 1955, 4; for the deme cf. 5, 25 and on Part III, III, X).

39. Ἀντικ[ρ]άτης Διωνίδο. [Τ]ισ[ικρ]άτης Eustrat.; Wilhelm first recognised the name as Ἀντικράτης (Ἀντι[κρ]άτης, ii<sup>2</sup>). The marks at the end resembling a lower left and upper right vertical may be casual. Brother of 38 and 40. Ἀντικράτης: 44 in *LGPN* II. Διωνίδης: see on 38. An A. was councillor for Alopeke in the 2nd cent., *Ag.* 15.212, 94. Salamis: none.

40. Φαινιππίδης Δ[ι]ω[ν]ίδο.  $\mathbb{P}$ . ΙΑΩ[.]ΔΟ Eustrat.; ii<sup>2</sup>, reading [..]Ω[.]<sup>1-2</sup>ΔΟ (squeeze), first recognised the same father's name as in 38–39. Not previously noted, there is a faint pi at the end, with possibly the upper left diagonal of a pendant delta. Brother of 38 and 39. Φαινιππίδης: 4 in *LGPN* II, another being 29 (q.v.), with whom, given the rareness of the name, these brothers were probably related. As with some other family groups, the contribution listed against the last named family member may have been on behalf of all. Διωνίδης: see on 38. Salamis: none.

41. Γλαύκιππος Εὐδόξο  $\mathbb{P}$ . Previous eds. did not note the  $\mathbb{P}$ . Γλαύκιππος: also at 15 (q.v.) and 86. Εὐδόξος: 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  $\mathbb{P}$ . Previous eds. did not note the apparent trace of  $\mathbb{P}$  ( $\mathbb{P}$  is also possible). 29 in *LGPN* II (in at least 15 demes), none in Alopeke. Cargill no. 806 (ii<sup>2</sup> 5759) is a 4th cent.? gravestone from Salamis for K. son of Theagenēs [Ἄφ]ιδνῆθεν. For the deme cf. 7, 9, C, Part III, XV, XIX, XXXIII.

### Thiasos 3

43. [...<sup>c.8</sup>....]λαι(-). 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 Ἄλαι(εύς) is a possibility (cf. 50–51, 53, 54), as is Φιλαί(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 Ἀρεσίο [-?]. Thiasos leader. Ἀντιφάνης: 83 in *LGPN* II, including 48, probably a relation. Ἀρεσίας: 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 ii<sup>2</sup> 330, 5, previous year). M-F. Billot, *BCH* 116 (1992), 152, attractively suggested that Δη[μήτ]ρ[ιο]ν [..<sup>4</sup>..]φάνους Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, 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 thiasoi 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 *sui iuris*?). Father (or son?) of 46. Pheidylla daughter of Aresias of Alopeke on the mid-4th cent. gravestone *SEG* 25.241 was probably a sister. Salamis: on Antiphanes see 48; Aresias, none; Theodoros (271 in *LGPN* II), Cargill nos. 650–52 (none in Alopeke).

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

47. Ἀνδροκλείδης Γ̄. Previous eds. did not note the lower left and upper right vertical of a Γ̄ (Γ̄ 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 Εὐφ(νυμεύς) Γ̄. EYO Eustrat., Εὐθ- ii<sup>2</sup>. Of the third letter of the second word only the left side is clear. It might be O (i.e. O 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 ω (on which cf. Thraette I, 223–27), the not previously noted fact that it is followed by a clear Γ̄, 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 ii<sup>2</sup> 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 ii<sup>2</sup> 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, ii<sup>2</sup> 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. ii<sup>2</sup> 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. Νίκιππος Γ̄. The very faint figure (which could be Γ̄) 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. Καίνεύς. 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-Delmousou, *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 ii<sup>2</sup> 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. Ἀντιφῶν Ναύτο [-?]. Ἀντιφῶν: 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, ii<sup>2</sup> 2820, 21, (but this is Aixionides, cf. 50). An Antiphon was honoured by thiasotai on Salamis in the later 4th cent. (or later?), ii<sup>2</sup> 2347, 13 (Taylor no. 17; cf. n. 5). Cargill no. 66 (ii<sup>2</sup> 5643, 1st cent. A.D.) is the gravestone from Salamis for Ameinias (for which name in the genos Salaminioi cf. Part III, I; also 9–11) son of Hierokles of Anakaia.

52. Ἀντίφιλος [-?]. Hedrick suggested [Ναύ]το; 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, ii<sup>2</sup> 44, 6).<sup>6</sup> See further on 57. Neither name is attested in Halai (cf. 50) or in connection with Salamis.

53. Ἀ.Ἀ.ῶ.ω.ρ. Δ[.]Υ (without left diagonal)HTΩΡ, interpreted as Ἀ[μ]ύντωρ, Eustrat., (Λ.YNT ii<sup>2</sup> [Leonardos, squeeze]). It is possible to detect traces consistent with Ἀμύγτωρ, but overall Ἀντήνωρ seems to make the stronger impression; some or all of the 2nd to 5th letters may have been corrected. Ἀντήνωρ: 6 in *LGPN* II, including two 1st cent. cases in Halai (cf. 50) and not otherwise with demotic. Ἀμύντωρ: 5 in *LGPN* II (in at least 3 demes), none in Alopeke or Halai. Salamis: none.

54. Διοκλῆς [-?]. 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 (ii<sup>2</sup> 1955, 17).

55. Φιλοδημίδ[η?]ς [-?]. Previous eds., following Eustrat. have read Φιλοδαμίδας, though both ii<sup>2</sup> 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, ΙΔ clear, then nothing further legible. This is the only attestation of this name (whether Philodemi- or Philodami-) in *LGPN* II.

56. Φείδιππος Π. 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 (cf. 50) or in connection with Salamis.

57. Παντάρετ[ος -?]. After the first tau, Eustrat. read Λ, followed by an upper curve and an upper vertical, and restored Παντάρ[κης, but since ii<sup>2</sup> Παντάρ[ετος] 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 ii<sup>2</sup> 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 ii<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>6</sup> ii<sup>2</sup> 44, 6–7, reads Παντάρετο/[ς ...<sup>5</sup>..]τεύς 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 [Ἄλωπεκ?]τεύς, 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 κλητῆρ 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  $\Gamma^{\text{A}}\Gamma^{\text{A}}$ . Previous eds. have read the figures as  $\Gamma^{\text{II}}$ , 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 Amyndridai from Acharnai in the Augustan period, ii<sup>2</sup> 2338, 50; for the deme cf. 59–60. It is not attested in connection with Salamis.

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

63. Ἀριστοκράτης. 104 in *LGPN* II, none in Alopeke. Cargill no. 186 (ii<sup>2</sup> 10179) is a mid-4th cent. gravestone from Attica for [Ἀρισ]τοκράτης Πασικράτους Σαλα[μίνιος].

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

65. Τιμοκράτης Ἀρίστωνος [-?]. 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 (ii<sup>2</sup> 1654, 5) and a man prosecuted by Aristogeiton (*Dem.* 25.71, 73 and hypoth.). Cargill no. 1243 (ii<sup>2</sup> 12797) is a 4th cent. gravestone from Salamis for T. son of T.; no. 1244 (ii<sup>2</sup> 12798) a 4th cent. gravestone for a T. son of Timon; no. 1064 (ii<sup>2</sup> 10206) a 2nd cent. gravestone from Athens for Onaso daughter of T. Salaminia, wife of Anaxagoras of Oinoe. Taylor no. 326 is Timokles son of T., renter of two properties, possibly on Salamis, in 343/2, *Ag.* 19 L6, 143–44.

66. Δίφιλος Διοκλέος  $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$ . Not noted by previous eds., I detect the left and short right verticals of  $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$ , with perhaps the faintest trace of the horizontal. Δίφιλος: 80 in *LGPN* II, including in Alopeke for the father of a Zoilos, secretary in 226/5 (ii<sup>2</sup> 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, ii<sup>2</sup> 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. Ἀριστήιδης Φορυσκίδο [-?]. Ἀριστήιδης: 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. Ἐπίκλης Ἐπικλέος Π. I follow previous editors with Π, though ΠΠ is also possible. 34 in *LGPN* II, none in Alopeke. An Epikles was honoured by thiasotai on Salamis in the late 4th cent. (or later) on ii<sup>2</sup> 2347, 18 (Taylor no. 96; cf. n. 5).

69. Κτησίαις. 38 in *LGPN* II, none in Alopeke or in connection with Salamis. Cf. Kteson, 33–35.

70. Θεοπέιθης. 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. Γνάθιος. 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 [...]σος Γναθ[-], 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. Εὐφρόνωρ Εὐφρόνωρ[ος -?]. Εὐφρ.ν[-] Eustrat. (with left diagonal before the nu?, see his diplomatic text and ii); Εὐφρ[ο]ν ii<sup>2</sup>, Εὐφρ[ο]ν[ί]ο 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 Εὐφρόνωρ[ς]. 33 in *LGPN* II, none in Alopeke. Probably related to 73. If my new reading is correct, the suggestion at *Phratries*, 370, based on ii<sup>2</sup>'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 ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ / 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. Εὐφρονίου παῖς [-?]. Εὐφρόνιος: 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), ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ / 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 (reconstructed by Robert on the basis only of Froehner's copy), a reading ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ [ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟ] / [ΕΥΦΡΑΝΩΡ] ΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΟΣ, i.e. our 73 and 72, would perhaps be possible. Salamis: none.

74. Στράτων ΠΠ. 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. Εὐξίθεος. 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. Ἀρχῖνος Ἀγρυλῆ(θεν) ΠΠ. Not noted by previous eds., I detect faint trace of two pis after the abbreviated demotic. Ἀρχῖνος: 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. Στρατοφῶν Ἀγρυλῆ(θεν). Στρατοφῶν: 7 in *LGPN* II (none in Alopeke). This man, S. son of Straton of Agryle, 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. Ἴππων 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 Ἀγρυλῆ(θεν). 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 a house (*synoikia*) at Kolonos allegedly belonged, Aeschin. 1.125 (cf. Part III, Xa). Salamis: none.

80. Πρωτεὺς ἐκ Κερ(αμέων) (or Κηδ[ῶν]). For the second letter of the demotic Eustrat. showed a left vertical and two points where the central and bottom horizontals of E would end to the right, but tentatively restored ἐκ Κηδῶν] (Κη[δῶν]? ii<sup>2</sup>, Κη[δῶν] Hedrick). At autopsy I read the vertical and upper two horizontals 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 neighbored, 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.: [Δ]ήμαρχος ii<sup>2</sup> (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]φναῖ[ο]ς [Κω- or Δη]μάρχου [Σαλ]αμίνιος; no. 917 (ii<sup>2</sup> 7066) is a 4th cent.? gravestone from Salamis for Menandros son of Demarchos of Paiania. For the deme cf. on 14.

82. Κηφίστιος Εὐφρο. Hedrick restored Εὐφρο[νίω] (Εὐφρο ii<sup>2</sup>), 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. Κηφίστιος: 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 Kephi- (5–7, 31–32) and Euphr- (14, 72–73) seems likely. Cargill no. 447 (ii<sup>2</sup> 6304) is the later 4th cent. gravestone from Salamis of Epikrates son of K. of Ionidai (cf. Taylor no. 180; Part III, I).

83. Δημάρετος Ἀγρυλῆ(θεν). The roughly inscribed name is not easy to decipher. Eustrat. (cf. ii) read a jumble of marks which he tentatively resolved into [Ζ]η[νάρα]τος; ii<sup>2</sup> read [.]ΗΜΑΡΓΟΣ, noting “an Δημάρατος” (cf. *POAA* 306425). I read: ΔΗ clear, right half of mu (squeeze), Λ, 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), ΟΣ 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, ii<sup>2</sup> 5552a (p. 890), seems a good possibility.

84. Ἀρχέστρατος Ἀγρυλῆ(θεν). 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. Χίων  $\overline{\Gamma}$ . Previous eds. read  $\Gamma$ , 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 ii<sup>2</sup> 5565 of 410–390, and father of the Lysiades II son of Chion of Alopeke who freed a slave in the 330s or 320s (ii<sup>2</sup> 1559, 93 = *SEG* 18.36B, 267). Salamis: none.

86. Γλαύκιππος [-?]. Eustrat. read OAPΣ after the name (Θαρσ[-] ii<sup>2</sup> and Hedrick); I detect only one letter, which might be O, but might also be Ϙ. For other Glaukippoi on this list see 15 and 41.

87. Εὔδρομος Ϙ. Not noted by previous eds., I detect the left vertical and horizontal of Ϙ after the name, with possibly the left corner of a pendant delta. Εὔδρομος: 3 in *LGPN* II (with demotic only in Piraeus). Humphreys suggested a family link with [-]ibios son of Eudramon of Alopeke on the gravestone, ii<sup>2</sup> 5548. Salamis: none.

88. Φιλοχά[ρ]η[ς] [-?]. 30 in *LGPN* II, none in Alopeke. Perhaps related to 89. Salamis: none.

89. Εὐχαρ[...].[-?]. There is uncertain trace of a lower (left?) vertical in the fourth space after the rho, which might suggest Εὐχάρης ϘϘ. 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 (ii<sup>2</sup> 6950) is the 4th cent. gravestone from Salamis of Euchares of Oe, naming also a Euthydike.

90. Ὀλυμπιόδ[ω]ρος [-?]. For another Olympiodoros see 22; cf. ε.

91. Λυκίσκος [-?]. 33 in *LGPN* II, none in Alopeke. Cargill no. 864 (ii<sup>2</sup> 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 about 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[.]ΥΛ; 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. Εὔθιππος. 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; ΥΟΙ; a Ϙ 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 ππ, or, more likely, a lazy attempt to cut ππ; 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?).

A. Χαρίσανδρος Δημοκρίτο[υ] Ἄλωπ(εκῆθεν)?]. *Rationes* F13A, 6. Sold an estate (*chorion*) at Alopeke c. 330–325(?) as joint *hieromnemon* of Herakles. *Rationes*, sect. 5, no. 117. Possible descendant of Demokritos of A., *hieropoios* at Eleusis in 420/19 (i<sup>3</sup> 391, 18). Salamis: none.

B. Δημοκλῆς Γναθ[ί]ου Ἄλωπ(εκῆθεν)]. *Rationes* F13A, 7. Sold an estate (*chorion*) at Alopeke c. 330–325(?) as joint *hieromnemon* of Herakles. *Rationes*, sect. 5, no. 21. Son of 71, q.v. and see further Part IV, Thiasoi of Herakles? For the name, cf. Part III, III. Salamis: none.

C. Λυσικράτης Λυσιμάχου Ἀφ[ί]((δναίος)]. *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...ΑΥΠΙΙ (perhaps Α(Φ)Ι?) 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. Τιμό[θεος] Τεισί[ου] (Ῥαμνούσιος). 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<sup>2</sup> 1672, 274).

β. [Μ]ύσχων Ἀλωπε[κῆθεν]. Associated with dedication to Herakles, *Hesp.* 7, 92–93, no. 12, 7. For the deme cf. Part IV, The Alopeke Connection, and see further, Part IV, A Praxiergidai connection? Salamis: none.

γ. [Ἀ]ρέσανδρος Π[αίανιεύς?]. Jameson informs me *per ep.* that his squeeze inclines him to Ῥ[αθεν]; 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<sup>2</sup> 7025, probably identical with this man; for this deme cf. on 14. Salamis: none.

δ. [...].v Ἀγρυλῆ[θεν -]. Associated with dedication to Herakles, *Hesp.* 7, 92–93, no. 12, 9. For the deme cf. 76–77, 79, 83–84. See Part IV, A Praxiergidai connection?

ε. [Ὀλυμ]πίοδωρο[ς -]. Associated with dedication to Herakles, *Hesp.* 7, 92–93, no. 12, 10. For the name cf. 22, 90. See Part IV, A Praxiergidai connection?

ζ. [.....] Μελ[ι]τ[εύς?]. Associated with dedication to Herakles, *Hesp.* 7, 92–93, no. 12, 11. For the deme cf. Part III, XXI and XXVI. 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 himself 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<sup>2</sup> 5643) is a (1st cent. A.D.?) gravestone from Salamis for Ameinias son of Hierokles of Anakaia (cf. thiasos list, 51); no. 1296 (ii<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> 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. Ἀντιγένους: 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 II), T1, 81–82. Ἀρίσταρχος: 53 in *LGPN* II. Δημοκλῆς: 65 in *LGPN* II. The size of Acharnai (boul. quota 22) makes identifications especially hazardous, but Philokedes son of A. of Ach., Areopagite in 305/4 (ii<sup>2</sup> 1492, 128) and honoured by the deme Lamprai on ii<sup>2</sup> 1204, might well be son of our man. For other connections between the genos and Lamprai see X, XV, XXIV, XXX, Part II, 5, 25, 38; the proposer of ii<sup>2</sup> 1204 was [Kephis]o[d]or[o]s of Lamprai, a relation of Hegesippos son of Kephisodoros of Lamprai, probably buried on Salamis in 4th cent.? (ii<sup>2</sup> 6669), and possibly also of the genos member Hegias of Sounion, cf. Part II, 5 and 32 and below, X. Note also that there are two men from Lamprai, Euthymachos and Philoktetes, on the judicial curse tablet, Robert, *Coll. Froehner*, no. 11, 26–27, cf. Part II, n. 4. Cargill no. 617 (ii<sup>2</sup> 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. Ἀρκέων Εὐμηλίδου Ἀχαρ(νεύς). Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from the seven phylai, T1, 78. Ἀρκέων: 2 in *LGPN* II (with demotic only in Acharnai). Εὐμηλίδης: 10 in *LGPN* II (in at least 6 demes). Eumelides son of A. of Acharnai, treasurer of Athena in 343/2 (ii<sup>2</sup> 1443, 7), will have been a son of our man. Charias son of A., *daskalos* (?) of ephebes 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? (i<sup>3</sup> 1032, 159), also a relation. Cargill no. 1058 was Olympiodoros son of Eumelos of P(rospalta?), agent for a property sale on Salamis in the Lykourgan period, cf. thiasos list, 22. Given the association between the Salaminioi, ii<sup>2</sup> 2345 and Alopeke, a connection with the Eumelides of Alopeke whose anecdotal saving of a Lysimachos from a death penalty is recounted at Ath. Pol. 45, is also a possibility.

V. Ἀρχένεως.<sup>7</sup> 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 *APF*, amphiktyon on Delos in 341/0 (*ID* 42, 7) and brother of *APF* 10032, the syntrierarch Menios son of Diphilos of Prospalta. For the deme cf. IV.

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

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

VIII. Δίφιλος Διοπείθους Σουνιεύς. Archon of the Salaminioi for the Sounian branch in 363/2, T1, 69. Δίφιλος: 80 in *LGPN* II. Διοπείθης: 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

<sup>7</sup> At T1, 80, I read Ἀρχέλεως 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 *POAA*) 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); *POAA* 209925) the correct reading is Ἀρχένεως (the right vertical of the nu, though faint, is clearly visible in some lights). Lewis’ suggestion, θυραῖαι for θύραι αἶ at T2, 26–27 and 32, is also persuasive.

genos Bakchiadai who were not. See ii<sup>2</sup> 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 Diopieithes 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. Diopieithes is a possible restoration at 4 and 6. Salamis: see thiasos 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. [Εὐ]φρόσυνος Ὀν[-] (Παλιανιεύς?). Honorand on decree of genos Salaminioi, ii<sup>2</sup> 1232, 5, and probably identical with or a relation of Euphrosynos of Paiania on the thiasos list, 14, q.v.

X. Ἥγίας Ἥγησίω (Σουνιεύς). Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from Sounion, 363/2, T1, 73. Ἥγίας: 23 in *LGNP* II (in at least 10 demes). Ἥγησίω: 47 in *LGNP* II. This is the only certain attestation in person of a man whose brothers, Hegesandros (14 in *LGNP* II, in at least 5 demes) and Hegesippos (17 in *LGNP* 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 (ii<sup>2</sup> 1436, 7; 2822, 9) and was a dedicator to Asklepios in 339/8 (ii<sup>2</sup> 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*, ii<sup>2</sup> 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) Diopieithes of Sounion was asked to arbitrate in Hegesandros’ disputes with Pittalakos, the public slave and alleged former patron of Timarchos. Aeschines describes Diopieithes as a fellow demesman (and, it is suggested, lover) of Hegesandros and as having favoured him accordingly (Διοπείθει τῷ Σουνιῇ, δημότη τε ὄντι τοῦ Ἥγησάνδρου, καὶ ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ χρησαμένω, ὅτ’ ἦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, Aeschin. 1.63 cf. Σ).<sup>8</sup> 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-Sounian 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 *LGNP* II) was also that of a member of the genos Salaminioi who also belonged to our association of thiasoi (VI);

<sup>8</sup> 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 Diopieithes (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. Ἀργὸν 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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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), II<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> 2345 and the latter and Alopeke, one might tentatively suggest a family link to the Alkmeonidai via Hegesias son of Hippokrates of Alopeke, ii<sup>2</sup> 1927, see *APF* p. 382. For other possible Alkmeonid 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<sup>2</sup> 3830; for the deme cf. Part II, 8) and with H. son of Kephisodoros of Lamprai, probably buried on Salamis (cf. thiasos list, 5, 32, 38; and further on III). See further Part IV, The Salamis Connection.

XI. Θε(ο)φάνης Ζωφάνου (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.

<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> 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.

XII. Θρασυκλῆς Θράσωνος Βουτάδης. Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from the seven phylai, 363/2, T1, 75–76. Probably identical with Thrasykles, 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 (i<sup>3</sup> 375, 16, 22 etc.). Thiasos list: no connections. A Thrason was *thiasotes* on Salamis in the later 4th cent. (or later?), ii<sup>2</sup> 2347, 29 (= Taylor no. 163, cf. Part II, n. 5).

XIII. Μελίττιος Ἐξηκεστίδου Βουτά(δης). Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from the seven phylai, 363/2, T1, 76–77. Μελίττιος: 1 in *LGPN* II. Ἐξηκεστίδης: 19 in *LGPN* II (in at least 8 demes). The latter is well attested on Salamis (though not in Boutadai), see Cargill nos. 423, 425–27 (father of Diodoros on the choregic monument from Salamis, ii<sup>2</sup> 3093; 4th cent. tombstones, ii<sup>2</sup> 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 Silanion son of Aristodemos 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 Kleinias on ii<sup>2</sup> 1927, 164–65. Given the link between our genos and the thiasoi of ii<sup>2</sup> 2345, and between the latter and Alopeke, a connection between these Alopekeans and the family of Melittios seems a good possibility; for Nikostratos cf. Part II, 12 and 27 and note that Kleinias (25 in *LGPN* II) is another possible genos name (cf. Xf, XXXI).

XIV. Στρατοφῶν Στράτωνος Ἄγρυ(λῆθεν). Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from the seven phylai, 363/2, T1, 76. See thiasos list, 77.

XV. Φιλόνεως Ἀμεινονίκου (Σουνιεύς). Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from Sounion, 363/2, T1, 71. Φιλόνεως: 14 in *LGPN* II (in at least 8 demes). Ἀμεινόνικος: 3 in *LGPN* II. Our man was councillor in 371/0 (*SEG* 28.148, 12). Ameinonikos of S. on the earlier 4th century funerary lekythos from Piraeus, ii<sup>2</sup> 7415, was no doubt a relation, probably his father. Ameinonikos is portrayed as a bearded old man, seated, and shaking hands with his youthful wife (? cf. *CAT* 2.352), Hegesippe daughter of Hegesarchos of Lamprai. The names in Heges- suggest a connection with the family of Hegias of Sounion (X, which may also have had a Lamprai connection; cf. on III). There was probably also a connection with Ameinias son of Philinos of S. (I) and the family of Ameinichos on the thiasos list, 9–11; and quite possibly with the only other attested Ameinonikos, an Aphidnaean, father of Hedyline on the 4th century funerary monument, ii<sup>2</sup> 5746 (for other possible links between the genos and Aphidna see XIX, XXXIII and cf. the thiasos list, 7, 9, 42, C). For the name Hegesippos on Salamis see X.

XVI. Χαίρεστρατος Πανκλείδο Ἐπικηφί(σιος). Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from the seven phylai, 363/2, T1, 78–79. Χαίρεστρατος: 55 in *LGPN* II. Παγ/νκλείδης: 1 in *LGPN* II. For a Chairestratos of Alopeke, perhaps son of Euxitheos on the thiasos list, see 21 and 75. Salamis: none (for Chairestrate, see Cargill no. 1380 = ii<sup>2</sup> 6355).

XVII. Χαλκιδεὺς Ἀνδρομένους (Σουνιεύς). Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from Sounion, 363/2, T1, 71–72. Χαλκιδεὺς: 4 in *LGPN* II (with demotic only in Melite). Ἀνδρομένης: 15 in *LGPN* II (in at least 7 demes). No doubt father of Andromenes son of Chalkideus of S., councillor in c. 340–20 (Ag. 15.52, 24). Davies thought it “very probable” that our man was the Chalk[ideus] who was trierarch in c. 373/2 (ii<sup>2</sup> 1607, 157; see *APF* 15281), but since the name is also attested in propertied circles outside Sounion, for Chalkideus of Melite, secretary to the Hellenotamiai in 442/1 (i<sup>3</sup> 270, 1), that seems uncertain. No connection can be made with our thiasotai or with Salamis.

XVIII. Χαριάδης Χαρικλέος (Σουνιεύς). Oath-taker on behalf of the Salaminioi from Sounion, 363/2, T1, 72. Χαριάδης: 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. Χαρικλέους 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.<sup>11</sup> 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, in 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-

<sup>11</sup> 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. Τιμοκρίτη Πολυνίκου Ἀφιδναίου θυγάτηρ. Priestess of Aglauros honoured by the polis in 247/6 or 246/5, *SEG* 33.115 (perhaps, as suggested by G. S. Dontas, *Hesp.* 52 [1983], 54, slightly later than Pheidistrate's tenure). The decree was instigated by her son, Aristophanes, and was proposed by Demonstratos son of Aristophanes of Paiania (presumably a relation, whether or not, as suggested by D. M. Lewis, *ZPE* 52 (1983), 48, her husband), and also known as taxiarch in 271/0 (*SEG* 14.64, 42–43). Other members of the family include Chionis son of Demonstratos of P., councillor c. 330? (*Ag.* 15.47, 12; the date is uncertain) and [De]meas son of Demonstratos of P., councillor? in the 3rd cent.? (*Ag.* 15.106, 8). See also ii<sup>2</sup> 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 (ii<sup>2</sup> 10172).

XX. Φειδοστράτη Ἐτεοκλέους Αἰθαλίδου θυγάτηρ. Priestess of Aglauros on 3rd cent. base from the Acropolis, ii<sup>2</sup> 3459, and dedicator with her sister Ἀγ[ῶ?] in honour of their father, Eteokles son of Chremonides (I) on ii<sup>2</sup> 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 Chremonides (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 Δημοχάρου 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, ii<sup>2</sup> 3481). Raubitschek suggests that her father may have been grandfather of [De]mochares son of D[osithe?]os or D[iodor?]os of Aithalidai, *agoranomos* in c. 100 B.C. on *ID* 2381 (or might this man have been Philistion's father?) and that Demochares' colleague, Charias son of [Chari]as of Aithalidai and the Philistion daughter of Demochares 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., ii<sup>2</sup> 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, Pheidistrate, 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).<sup>12</sup> Probably, in T1, two of the five arbitrators were appointed by each branch of the

<sup>12</sup> 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).<sup>13</sup> 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 (Ξενοκλέους?) Σημαχίδης. 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., *Ag.* 19 P42, 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. Ἀριστογείτων Μυρρινόσιος. Arbitrator, 363/2, T1, 7. Ἀριστογείτων: 16 in *LGPN* II. Thiasos list: none. Cargill no. 164 is the mid-4th cent. gravestone from Piraeus of A. son of Aristos Salaminios (ii<sup>2</sup> 10176); cf. also Taylor no. 25 = ii<sup>2</sup> 1955, 13. For the deme cf. XXVIII.

XXIV. Εὐθύκριτος Λαμπρεύς. Arbitrator, 363/2, T1, 7–8. Εὐθύκριτος: 20 in *LGPN* II. Possibly identical with the Euthykritos, cursed together with Philippides, Kleagoros and Menetimos καὶ τὸς ἄλλος πάντας ἡόσοι συν[ήγο]ροι αὐτο[ί]ς 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. For other connections between this genos and Lamptraï see on III. Thiasos list: none. Taylor no. 115 = E. son of Meidon, copatron of the freedmen Daos and Lykinos living on Salamis on ii<sup>2</sup> 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.

XXV. Καλλιτέλης Σουნიεύς. T2, 7. Arbitrator 265/4? Καλλιτέλης: 33 in *LGPN* II. Not otherwise known. Thiasos list: none. Salamis: none.

XXVI. Κηφισόδοτος Αἰθαλίδης. Arbitrator, 363/2, T1, 8. Κηφισόδοτος: 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, ii<sup>2</sup> 5391 (*CAT*

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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 ἐνκλημάτων . . . τῶν τε ἰδί(ω)ν (i.e. those involving individuals, e.g. perhaps 63–65) καὶ τῶν κοινῶν (presumably between the two branches of the genos) are to be abandoned, suggests an attempt to settle by this means a complex series of disputes which had perhaps been getting out of hand and at least some of which had already reached the courts. 95–97 also attempts to halt the disputes and entrench the agreement, providing that anyone attempting to subvert it should be liable not only to the “whole genos and the priests” but also to litigation (in the court of the basileus?) by any genos member (ἰδίαι ὑπόδικον καὶ τῶι βουλομένῳ Σαλαμινίων). T2 shows that this aspiration to terminate the disputes was not altogether realised. It was obviously quite possible that arbitrators could themselves become involved in such a string of disputes, as they may have done in this case, cf. iii 3, 38, below on XXIV.

<sup>13</sup> 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.

3.430a); Keph[isodotos] son of Kyna[-] named, together with a [Kon]on son of [Keph]isodotos, on the Acropolis dedication ii<sup>2</sup> 3828; and K. son of Apolexis on the Acropolis dedication, ii<sup>2</sup> 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 ἐν τοῖς Κηφισοδότου καὶ Καλλίου and bounded to the north by a workshop [ἐργαστή(ριον)] 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 ii<sup>2</sup> 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 Arcestrate (*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 *Rationes*, sect. 5, no. 82 and no. 130; for the deme cf. XXI and Part II, ζ). 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 ii<sup>2</sup> 3828, as a Kynarbos, the only name in *LGPN* II with these letters, and as a descendant of the only other attested bearer of the name, the Kynarbos who made a dedication on the Acropolis in c. 500–480 (?), i<sup>3</sup> 745. Thiasos 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 καὶ τὸς ἄλλος πάντας ἡόσοι συν[ήγο]ροι αὐτο[ί]ς 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. Thiasos 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 Μυρρινόσιος. Arbitrator, 363/2, T1, 6. Στέφανος: 80 in *LGPN* II. Member of a naval symmory between 356 and 340 (ii<sup>2</sup> 1615, 102; 1616, 125). *APF* 12891. Thiasos 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 thiasos 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 thiasos 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 καὶ τὸς ἄλλος πάντας ἡόσοι συν[ήγο]ροι αὐτο[ί]ς 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 *LGNP* II (in addition to our man, who is listed as not certainly an Athenian). Thiasos list: none. Salamis: none.

XXX. Φιλιππίδης. Named together with Kleagoros and Euthykritos καὶ τὸς ἄλλος πάντας ἡσσοὶ συν[ήγο]ροι αὐτο[ῖς] 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. Φιλιππίδης: 19 in *LGNP* II (including 3 different families in *APF*, from Kephale, Lamptraï [cf. on III] and Paiania [cf. IX, XIX and on Part II, 14]). Thiasos list: none. Salamis: none.

Other

XXXI. Ἀλκιβιάδης Κλεινίου Σκαμβωνίδης. 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) εἰς Εὐρυσάκη (ἀναφέρεται) (cf. Plut. *Alk.* 1.1 and Didymos *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 ἀνδρῶν ἦν Εὐπατριδῶν . . . πρὸς γυναικῶν δ' Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν, 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. Ἀστερία. Mistress of Cimon (i.e. among the women σπουδαζομένων by him), and τῷ 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-donor 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.

XXXIII. Λεωδάμας (Ἐρασιστράτου?) Ἀχαρνεύς. The evidence that the prominent family of the 5th and 4th centuries, *APF* 13921, might have belonged to our *genos*, though inconclusive, is suggestive. The name *Phaiax*, used in the family (including for the prominent politician during the Peloponnesian 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 Diopethes 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 coterminous with the

genos (cf. Part IV, n. 60). Σ Pind. *Nem.* 2.19 says that he was τῶν τῆν Σαλαμῖνα κατακληρουχησάντων 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. Φανομάχος. T2 is dated ἐπὶ Φανομάχου 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,<sup>14</sup> 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:

Thiasos 1 c. 30 members	Thiasos 3 c. 10 members	Thiasoi 6–7 (or 8) c. 50–60 members
	Thiasos 4 (of Antiphanes) 13 members	
Thiasos 2 (of Hagnotheos) 24 members	Thiasos 5 (of Diogenes) 26 members	

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?<sup>15</sup>). We do not know the purpose; but we may guess at a religious aspect. Thiasoi generally

<sup>14</sup> 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.

<sup>15</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>16</sup> 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;<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup>

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 thiasotai are listed in groups of c. 10 to c. 30. There were 15 members of a thiasos of Herakles inscribed on their cult table, ii<sup>2</sup> 2343; and 20 phrateres were listed on *Phratries* T18, possibly a whole phratry, possibly a “thiasos”.<sup>19</sup> 150 would be the membership of a medium sized deme with a bouletic 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,<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 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 family members is relevant here; in other words we should probably envisage the sum listed against Euxitheos 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.

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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).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Phratries*, 81–90.

<sup>17</sup> For the practice in demes see Whitehead, 171–75.

<sup>18</sup> ii<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>19</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> 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.

<sup>21</sup> “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 waverers.

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.”<sup>22</sup>

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),<sup>23</sup> 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,<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> 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 ii<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See n. 15. For an obscure monetary periodicity in another context, see *Rationes*, sect. 8.7.

<sup>23</sup> 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).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. J. K. Davies, *Wealth and the Power of Wealth in Classical Athens* (Salem, New Hampshire 1984), 27–28.

<sup>25</sup> *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.

<sup>26</sup> 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 Theotheidou but Diotheidou (cf. the tombstone AD 40 [1985] [1990] *Chron.* 64). I read [Σωκ]ράτης Δ[ι]οθείδου (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 A/Δ/Λ in this text). Line 11 should now accordingly be restored [Δι]οθείδης Σωκράτους.

<sup>27</sup> 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 οὔδε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐτάξαντο, 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 Thrasykles son of Thrasyllon (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.),<sup>28</sup> 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,<sup>29</sup> or to provide capital to fund a decent annual programme of sacrifices/dinners.<sup>30</sup>

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.<sup>31</sup>

#### 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 Leostratos 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.<sup>32</sup> As Habicht has shown, name-father's name pairs frequently occur in more

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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<sup>2</sup> 1203 would seem possible, cf. Whitehead, 147–48. Athmonon had a bouletic 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<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>28</sup> 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; thiasoi 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.

<sup>29</sup> 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 Phratrion, as worthy of mention in an honorific inscription.

<sup>30</sup> 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).

<sup>31</sup> 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.

<sup>32</sup> 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 *LGN II*) and Ktesikleides (5 in *LGN 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.<sup>33</sup> 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 Agryle and Stratophon son of Straton of Agryle 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 Agryle (79) and Stratophon of Agryle (77). Demaretos of Agryle, one of the names added later to thiasos 5 was probably Demon's son. Straton, 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 Agryle 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<sup>2</sup> 1232, was probably either identical with the Euphrosynos of Paiania in thiasos 1 (14) or, if there was another Euphrosynos among the thiasotai

<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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*<sup>35</sup> 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*,<sup>36</sup> 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 Philistion, priestess of Pandrosos and possible member of the *genos* *Salaminioi* (Part III, XXI).<sup>37</sup> 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*.<sup>38</sup> 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*;<sup>39</sup> 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 ii<sup>2</sup> 2345.

<sup>34</sup> First published by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 7 (1938), 92–93 no. 12.

<sup>35</sup> The reading  $\Xi\text{I}\text{E}\text{P}\text{Γ}\text{I}\Delta\Omega\text{N}$  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  $\text{Π}\rho\alpha\text{]} \xi\text{τε}\rho\gamma\text{ι}\delta\omega\text{ν}$  seems unavoidable.

<sup>36</sup> The names on the altar are listed at the end of Part II, above.

<sup>37</sup> 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).

<sup>38</sup> See Parker, 307–8. Cf. Ferguson, 20.

<sup>39</sup> 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 *Eumolpidae*, with responsibilities for the Eleusinian Mysteries.

## Thiasoi of Herakles?

To what type of association did the thiasoi of ii<sup>2</sup> 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 phratrie house of the Dekeleieis, it was argued, was subdivided into groups called thiasoi (*Phratries* T3) and there is other evidence for groups of phrateres called by their leader;<sup>40</sup> 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 Dekeleieis, 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 Εὐφρονίῳ 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 phratrie group in their own right.

Prosopography now yields a persuasive solution to this problem. Two *hieromnemes* of Herakles sold a plot of land at Alopeke on behalf of their group in the context of the Lykourgan 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).<sup>41</sup> Since cult of Herakles in Attica was organised characteristically in groups called thiasoi<sup>42</sup> and membership in these thiasoi was apparently hereditary or quasi-hereditary,<sup>43</sup> and since our thiasotai were based in Alopeke, it is a small step to the conclusion that the thiasotai on our thiasos list and the association represented by Demokles in the land privatisation programme were one and the same.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> On this point, add to the discussion in *Phratries*, 77–93, *ZPE* 110 (1996), 77–79, on the “thiasotai of Demotes” of ii<sup>2</sup> 2720.

<sup>41</sup> Ἡρακλέους ἱερομνήμογ[ε]ς / Χαρίσανδρος Δημοκρίτο[υ] Ἄλωπ(εκήθεν)? / Δημοκλῆς Γναθ[ί]ου Ἄλωπ(εκήθεν) / ἀπέδοντο χωρίον Ἄλωπε[κ]ήσι / ὄνη Λυσικράτης Λυσιμάχου Ἄφι[(δναίος) *sum paid*]. *Rationes* F13A, 5–9. On the likelihood that, as with other sales recorded in these documents, the *hieromnemes* in this case represented a corporate group, i.e. a thiasos of Herakles, see *Rationes*, 198–99 and 222–23.

<sup>42</sup> The term is used for Heraklean cult groups at Isae. 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 ii<sup>2</sup> 2343 (a cult table belonging to Simon of Kydathenaion, priest of Herakles, and a *koinon* of 15 thiasotai; on speculation about a link between this thiasos and Aristophanes, whose deme was also Kydathenaion, see D. Gill, *Greek Cult Tables* [New York and London, 1991] 42–43, no. 12); and probably i<sup>3</sup> 1016 (a 5th cent. altar base for Herakles? from, it seems, the Herakleion of the Tetrakomoi, set up by a “thiasos of the Etionidai”). The chorus of Aristophanes’ *Daitaleis* may also have formed such a thiasos. Cf. *Phratries*, 88–90; Parker, 333–34.

<sup>43</sup> Implied by Isae. 9.30, see further below.

<sup>44</sup> 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 ii<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>45</sup> 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 Antiochos 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 thiasoi of Herakles in general, and these thiasoi 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 thiasoi of Herakles in the context of an inheritance dispute in Isaeus 9 seems to imply that they were not straightforwardly phratry subdivisions.<sup>46</sup> 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 *hiera* were concerned, taking them both everywhere "and he introduced him to the Heraklean thiasoi, in order that he might share in the association."<sup>47</sup> 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;<sup>48</sup> 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 the formulaic 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 thiasoi of Herakles and the phratry system. The fifth century i<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> As we have seen, some of the members of Diogenes' thiasos 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<sup>2</sup> 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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same area south of the Ilissos (for precise description of findspots see the *ed. princ.*, Ch. I. Karouzos, *AD* 8 (1923) [1925], 85-102), only a short distance from the findspot of our inscription (on which see introduction to Part I; how far our inscription may have been moved from its original location is unclear). Herakles was father of Antiochos, he appears in relief on one of these three inscriptions, and was linked with several sites which were or may have been in this area, including the Gymnasium of Kynosarges and the associated (it has been thought) *temenos* of Herakles referred to in *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 257. It would seem very appropriate that thiasotai of Herakles should be prominent in a *hieron* of Antiochos and in the affairs of his phyle. Karouzos was inclined to locate the *hieron* of Antiochos within this *temenos* of Herakles (cf. M-F. Billot, *BCH* 116 [1992], 151), and if he were right that would raise the possibility that our thiasoi were actually based in the same physical complex as the phyle Antiochis. Herakles cult-sites were very numerous in Attica, however (cf. Harp., Suid., s.v. 'Ηράκλεια; note in this area also the sanctuary of Herakles Pankrates, J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* [London 1971], 278-80, cf. *SEG* 41.247) and except to note that future discussion should take account of our inscription, the much debated Heraklean topography of this area lies beyond the scope of this paper (see recently M-F. Billot, *BCH* 116 [1992], 119-56, cf. *SEG* 42.236; R. Parker in ed. H. D. Jocelyn, *Tria Lustra* [Liverpool 1993], 25-27; also J. Travlos, *op. cit.* 340 with fig. 379 and the note to *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 257).

<sup>46</sup> *Phratries*, 89; A. Andrewes, *JHS* 81 (1961), 11.

<sup>47</sup> καὶ εἰς τοὺς θιάσους τοὺς Ἡρακλέους ἐκείνων [αὐτὸν] εἰσήγαγεν, ἵνα μετέχοι τῆς κοιωνίας. Isae. 9.30. The discovery that the thiasoi of ii<sup>2</sup> 2345 were probably thiasoi of Herakles tends to confirm that there is no need to amend away the reference here to "Heraklean thiasoi" in the plural. Cf. *Phratries*, 89 n. 138. Theophrastos' thiasos/-oi can not be identified; his deme is unfortunately unknown.

<sup>48</sup> On phratry introduction in the context of adoption see *Phratries*, 38–40.

<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup> 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*.<sup>51</sup> One wonders whether the *thiasoi* 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 *phratry* 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 Isaeus 9, and the “child of Euphronios” on our list (73).<sup>52</sup> 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 *thiasoi*, seem to suggest that not all *phrateres* or *gennetai* would have participated.<sup>53</sup>

To return to the specifics of the *thiasoi* on our list, and assuming that the identification of them as *thiasoi* 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?<sup>54</sup> Interpreting the *thiasoi* 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 *thiasoi* 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 *thiasoi* 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.<sup>55</sup> 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,<sup>56</sup> 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

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *Phratries*, 88–90; *Rationes*, 198–99; Parker, 333–34. See also Athen. 6.234d ff.

<sup>51</sup> Plut. *Them.* 1; Dem. 23.213; Athen. 6.234e. Cf. S. Humphreys, *JHS* 94 (1974), 88–95; also n. 45 above.

<sup>52</sup> This is suggestive, of course, of another reason why many men on the list might have been identified by name only.

<sup>53</sup> 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 *thiasoi* into which the *phratric* House of the Dekeleieis were divided and which were used in their admissions procedures (*Phratries* T3) were *thiasoi* of Herakles.

<sup>54</sup> For another possible case of a *phratry* containing two *gene* see ii<sup>2</sup> 2723 (= *Phratries* T21) + *ZPE* 110 (1996), 83 with *Rationes*, 204 no. 53 (Glaukidai and Epikleidai).

<sup>55</sup> This would also seem to be a strong argument against a theory, which might otherwise have some attractions, that our *thiasoi* were all subgroups of the *genos* Salaminioi (though at this period such a theory would also *prima facie* be inconsistent with the *thiasoi* also having Praxiergidai members).

<sup>56</sup> *SEG* 28.103. Like the Herakles cult in Alopeke, that in Akris was represented by *hieromnemes*, 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.<sup>57</sup>

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.<sup>58</sup> 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,<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup> 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

<sup>57</sup> 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.

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

<sup>59</sup> Recently revived by Taylor, 61.

<sup>60</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> 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. Μοιροκλής; 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).<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup> 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;<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup>

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 epigraphical<sup>65</sup> 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”.<sup>66</sup> 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 Lamprai 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

<sup>61</sup> Cargill, 119 and table, 79.

<sup>62</sup> Cargill, 119.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. *Salaminioi*, 101–2.

<sup>64</sup> The only member of a *genos* family for whose burial location we have evidence is Ameionikos of Sounion, probably father of Part III XV, whose funerary *lekythos*, ii<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>65</sup> Perhaps a speech by one of the brothers and/or one of the speeches in the case to which Aeschines I relates (well known to Tzetzes) and in which the brothers were involved. See further on Part III, X.

<sup>66</sup> 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 Salaminians from Cyprus, since, if so, one might have expected that to have been more explicitly clear, as e.g. ii<sup>2</sup> 10216–18. Even in Attica there may have been a few gravestones on which the deceased are described as *Athenaioi* (ii<sup>2</sup> 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 . . . ἀπὸς κῆρυξ ἡλθον ἀφ' ἱμερτῆς Σαλαμῖνος.<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup> 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,”<sup>69</sup> and to supply a strong argument against theories that there was no real connection between *genos* and island at all.

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<sup>67</sup> Solon f1 (West); cf. fs 2–3; Plut. *Sol.* 8; 32.4; D.L. 1.45–48; 62; Aeschin. 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.

<sup>68</sup> 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.

<sup>69</sup> Taylor, 61; cf. 174.



