
Becoming Macedonian: Name Mapping and Ethnic Identity. The Case of Hephaistion*

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ABSTRACT An epigraphical survey (with digital mapping component) of Greece and Magna Graecia reveals a pattern as to where Hephais-based names appear, up through the second century BCE. Spelled with an /eta/, these names are almost exclusively Attic-Ionian, while Haphēs-based names, spelled with an alpha, are Doric-Aeolian, and much fewer in number. There is virtually no overlap, except at the Panhellenic site of Delphi, and in a few colonies around the Black Sea.

Furthermore, cult for the god Hephaistos –long recognized as a non-Greek borrowing– was popular primarily in Attic-Ionian and “Pelasgian” regions, precisely the same areas where we find Hephais-root names. The only area where Haphēs-based names appear in any quantity, Boeotia, also had an important cult related to the god. Otherwise, Hephaistos was not a terribly important deity in Doric-Aeolian populations.

This epigraphic (and religious) record calls into question the assumed Macedonian ethnicity of the king’s best friend and alter-ego, Hephaistion. According to Tataki, Macedonian naming patterns followed distinctively non-Attic patterns, and cult for the god Hephaistos is absent in Macedonia (outside Samothrace). A recently published 4th century curse tablet from Pydna could, however, provide a clue as to why a Macedonian Companion had such a uniquely Attic-Ionian name.

If Hephaistion’s ancestry was not, in fact, ethnically Macedonian, this may offer us an interesting insight into fluidity of Macedonian identity under the monarchy, and thereby, to ancient conceptualizations of ethnicity more broadly.

KEYWORDS Hephaistion, Hephaestion, Amyntor, Macedonian names, ethnic identity, ethnic identities, Pydna, Thessaloniki, Pella, Alexander the Great, epigraphy, digital history, digital mapping, Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Hephaistos, Kerberoi, Hephaistos cult, Ionia, Athens, Thebes, Attic Greek, Ionian Greek, Doric Greek, Northwestern Greek, Aeolian Greek, Black Sea Colonies, Ionia.

* This paper constitutes a major reworking of a section from my dissertation from twenty+ years ago. I’ve included a great deal more epigraphical material, name variants, an assessment of Hephaistos cult, as well as discoveries published since, including an important curse tablet from Pydna. If my most basic conclusions have not changed, I think I can offer considerably more nuance and a better guess regarding Hephaistion’s family origin.



Hephaistion Amyntoros, best friend and chief marshal of Alexander the Great, bore an unusual name for Macedonia. Several diverse pieces of evidence suggest that his family was not ethnically Macedonian by origin, but of Attic or Ionian extraction. How far in the past that connection occurred is far from clear, but it might tell us something interesting about cultural identification in these borderland areas of northern Greece.

Two passages from Arrian (*An.* 6.28.4, *Ind.* 18.3) identify Hephaistion as from Pella. The first lists Alexander's current seven *Somatophylakes* at the time of Peukestas's special appointment as an eighth, and the second is a list of trierarchs in India. This list also gives his father's name, although nowhere else are we told anything of his family. No siblings or cousins are mentioned, directly or by marriage, and his mother is never named. At the court, he appears to have been somewhat isolated, but this could be a function of our sources' laser focus on Alexander himself. He was co-assigned with Perdikkas of Orestis several times, and Perdikkas stepped into his shoes after his death (if not formally as Chiliarch), so an alliance and perhaps friendship between the two could have existed in the campaign's latter years¹. That said, they do not appear to be related².

We would have no reason to doubt the Arrian passages identifying Hephaistion as from Pella, except that both passages also name Leonnatos as from Pella, although we know he hailed from Lynkestis (*Suda s.v. Λεόννατος* = Arr. *Succ.* 12; also Curt. 17.7.8). Why list Lynkestian Leonnatos as "Pellais"? Heckel suggests it owed to having been raised at court due to his relation to Eurydike, Philip's mother³. Yet these lists' assignment of Leonnatos to Pella mean we cannot be certain Hephaistion was born there, either, although, like Leonnatos, he may well have grown up there. The peculiarity of his name suggests he was another "transplant".

The spelling is dialect-specific. *Hephaistion*, with an eta, is Attic-Ionic, and far more common, lasting well into the Roman Imperial era. *Haphaistion*, with an alpha, is Doric-Aeolic, and disappears after the middle Hellenistic era. Nor does *Haphaistion* appear at all in Attica, and only occasionally in Ionic areas where they overlap with Doric-Aeolic colonization. By contrast, Attic-Ionic *Hephaistion* is not found in Doric-Aeolic areas.

Both are rare-to-nonexistent in the northern border regions of Macedonia, Epiros, or Thessaly, as is worship of the god Hephaistos. The absence matches Hephaistion's apparent isolation at Alexander's court. Only one Classical-era or earlier epigraphical attestation of the name comes from Macedonia, a dedication by Diogenes to the hero Hephaistion, found at Pella⁴. And of course, that is "our" Hephaistion.

Amyntor was also unusual for the area, with only two examples confirmed as Macedonian: Amyntor, Hephaistion's father, and an Amyntor living in Kolophon in the latter 4th century (AMYNTΩΡ ΓΕΡΟΝΤΟΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ)⁵. Other occurrences of the

¹ Vid. REAMES 2010 for an assessment of Hephaistion's career, including mention of his assignments with Perdikkas. I specify latter years here, as we must be careful not to project backward either alliances, or conflicts. In addition, MÜLLER 2012 has argued that Hephaistion and Ptolemy may have been friends due to Ptolemy's treatment of Hephaistion's memory in his history, a theory I find plausible.

² If conceivable that they had some distant relation, one would think Perdikkas might have used that in the Successor Wars to bolster his own position.

³ For a more complete discussion of Leonnatos's relations, see HECKEL 1992, 91ff. (updated: 2016, 107ff); CARNEY 2019, 23-24, for Eurydike's Lynkestian roots.

⁴ SEG XL, 547 (= TATAKI 1998, 155 n° 48): ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝΙ ΗΡΩΙ. See also VOUTYRAS 1990.

⁵ MAIER 1950, 69 = TATAKI 1998, 238 n° 128, vid. MERITT 1935, 361-71, no. 1, 139. Personal correspondence, Argyro Tataki, 1/27/16, and TATAKI 1998, above. In my dissertation (REAMES-ZIMMERMAN 1998), I theorized that "gerontos" might mean "son of the elder [Amyntor]", and this could be a (younger) brother to Hephaistion. I no longer think that (see discussion below).

name are found only in Greek areas outside Macedonia, or in Greek foundations under Macedonian control. We may suppose Amyntor a member of the *Hetairoi*, and thus, Hephaistion probably a *syntrophos* of the prince⁶, but as a person, Hephaistion remains largely a cypher⁷.

In itself, the absence of evidence proves nothing, especially in an area under active excavation and where the “epigraphic habit” began late⁸. Yet other peculiarities suggest there might be more to it all – a freight of evidence, or consilience⁹.

Heckel (1991) proposed a tentative stemma for him based on *IG II² 405*, making him a cousin to Demetrios, son of Althaimenes, a Companion *hipparch* under Hephaistion’s general command in India. The inscription references Amyntor Demetriou. Demetrios is a panhellenic name, and the *hipparch* Demetrios had his command before Hephaistion did¹⁰, although as Heckel notes, he is the only *hipparch* to attain prominence in the second half of Alexander’s expedition, perhaps giving some weight to Heckel’s theory.

In any case, *IG II² 405*, inscribed on a piece of Pentelic marble from the Acropolis, only the right side preserved, records Demades’s proposal to grant *proxeny* and citizenship to one Amyntor Demetriou and his descendants in return for Amyntor’s display of *eunoia* to the Athenian people. Neither the nature of the *eunoia* nor Amyntor’s place of origin is preserved. Schwenk (1985, 134) argued, “Demades as proposer does not require that Amyntor be Macedonian or have Macedonian connections”. Yet Heckel argues (1991, 66-70) the proposal’s date of 334/5, shortly after Alexander’s 335 razing of Thebes and march on Athens, does imply Macedonian connections, not least because we happen to know a Macedonian Amyntor whose son was close to the king¹¹. A similar example can be found in an inscription recovered in 1981, recording a grant of *proxeny* from the Theban League to Athaneos son of Damonikos, a Macedonian. As Roesch (1984, 58-59) points out, a Damonikos son of Athenaios is appointed *trirarch* in Alexander’s fleet in 326, and is probably the son¹².

⁶ That Hephaistion attended school with Alexander at Mieza under Aristotle is commonly assumed. Curtius (3.12.16) –our longest description of Hephaistion in any of the sources– says they were coevals and educated together, although he does not specify at Mieza. According to Diogenes Laertus (5.27), Aristotle wrote letters to Hephaistion, the only one of Alexander’s marshals to receive such. Taken together, I think it reasonable to assume Hephaistion was at Mieza. Whether they knew each other prior is impossible to say, but were Hephaistion truly raised in Pella, perhaps they did.

⁷ MÜLLER 2011, 453-454 states that Hephaistion is barely a palpable person in the Alexander histories, with much later overlay. If we may differ somewhat in our estimation of how much is overlay, I agree with her basic point.

⁸ For Macedonian epigraphy, see HATZOPOULOS 1994, but especially HATZOPOULOS 1996, 40ff. Any glance at Tataki’s onomastic epigraphic collections reveals the same issues: the vast bulk of Macedonian epigraphy is late Classical and Hellenistic. Yet recent excavations at Methone suggests earlier Greco-Macedonian contact –and writing– than previously thought: BESSIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012; CLAY – MALKIN – TZIFOPOULOS 2017.

⁹ See WILSON 1998. The term consilience was coined by the British polymath William Whewell in *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, published in 1840.

¹⁰ In keeping with usual Greek naming patterns, if this Demetrios were Hephaistion’s cousin, he is likely the eldest son of Amyntor’s elder brother, making him older than Hephaistion, so a prior appointment is not surprising.

¹¹ Demades’s links to the Macedonian court were long-standing and extensive; see for instance Green’s remarks (1991, 77-79). It was Demades who, from his prisoners’ cage, scolded Philip after Chaironea, “King, when fortune casts you in the role of Agamemnon, are you not ashamed to play Thersites?” (D.S. 16.87.1-2, trans. WELLES). Humiliated, Philip freed him and made him envoy to the defeated Athenians. Later, it was Demades who would propose divine honors for Alexander (Plu. *Mor.* 187e, 804b, 842d).

¹² Of additional interest: Roesche explains that Athaneos is the Boeotian form of the name Athenaios, like the Boeotian Haphēstion, where an alpha replaces an eta, and an eta replaces the alpha-iota diphthong.

This grant then provides similar evidence for an important family at the Macedonian court being honored by a southern *polis*. While nothing can be said for certain about *IG II² 405*, I follow Heckel in counting the Amyntor in question as Hephaistion's father, whether or not the *hipparch* Demetrios was a cousin.

Heckel suggests that Amyntor was granted his *proxeny* and citizenship as a result of helping to convince Alexander to treat Athens leniently in 335, using his own son's friendship with the king as leverage. *The interesting question is why Amyntor would care what became of Athens in the first place.*

A fragment from Marsyas (*FGrH* 135.F2) tells of Demosthenes's attempt to reconcile with Alexander by sending Aristion, a personal friend, to ask Hephaistion to mediate between himself and the king. Aeschines (3.160-62) alludes to the event, but leaves out Demosthenes's contact¹³. Hephaistion had no cause to love Demosthenes, so on the face of it, these two make strange bed-partners, yet Demosthenes also appealed to Olympias for assistance. Heckel notes that, aside from the affection in which Alexander held them both, Olympias and Hephaistion shared something else: families honored by Athens, if, of course, we accept the Amyntor of *IG II² 405* as Hephaistion's father¹⁴.

Perhaps Amyntor's grant of proxeny and citizenship lay behind Demosthenes's petition, or perhaps he appealed to Amyntor's son for the same reasons Amyntor had cared what happened to Athens in 335. Did the family have Greek, and specifically Attic-Ionian ties?

Several ancient sources mention Archelaos's invitation to famous Athenians –artists, intellectuals, others– to settle in Macedonia during his reign¹⁵. Among these was Sokrates who, according to Aristotle, refused in no uncertain terms (*Rh.* 1398a.24). Others accepted: the playwrights Euripides and Agathon, the poet Choirilos, and the painter Zeuxis. There were certainly more, artisans and merchants who would not have enjoyed so high a social profile. Might Amyntor and his son have numbered among those descendants, living in Pella and integrated into Macedonian society just two generations later?¹⁶ Conversely, and to my mind more likely, they could have hailed from a Greek foundation in the north, eaten by Philip II's ever-expanding borders.

Other foreign-born figures accepted into the *Hetairoi* class during Alexander's reign include Nearchos, Erigyios, and Laomedon. If further along the chain of acceptance than the still-Greek Eumenes¹⁷, their Greek origins were remembered even if they were

¹³ Referring to the later Harpalos affair, GOLDSTEIN 1968, 42 n. 33, denies Badian's conclusion (1961, 34), that Hephaistion was Demosthenes's protector at the court, but the Marsyas fragment argues to the contrary, and one need not deny Hephaistion as protector, in order to challenge the rest of Badian's argument.

¹⁴ Both Olympias's uncle, Arybbas, and her great-grandfather, Tharyps, had been granted citizenship; see *GHI* II 173, Thuc. 2.80.5; Justin 17.3.11. HERMAN 1987, 130-142 states that a *proxenos* was obligated to further the interests of the *polis* who had honored him but specifies one cannot be *proxenos* to another man. Therefore, Demosthenes would have appealed to Hephaistion as a fellow citizen, not an Athenian *proxenos*.

¹⁵ For a fuller discussion of Archelaos's policy towards Greeks, vid. BORZA 1990, 162-163; 1993.

¹⁶ BADIAN 1982, 38: "At Philip's Court, Greeks and Macedonians seem to have been completely integrated". While he is speaking of the Greeks Philip brought there, it applies equally to the Greeks Archelaos brought. One might ask why the descendent of an Athenian ex-patriot would need a grant of Athenian citizenship, but see SINCLAIR 1988, especially 24-76, on citizenship restrictions; also PATTERSON 1981.

¹⁷ His inability to speak *Makedonistí* is often argued from his sending of Xennias to address foot troops during the Successor Wars (*PSI* XII 1284); for commentary, see Badian 1982b, especially n. 41. Yet what *Makedonistí* means is unclear: simply a dialect of Greek rather than a separate language? See CROSSLAND 1982; HALL 2001; and now O'NEIL 2020. If Eumenes had been at the court from the reign

now connected to towns in the north. Arrian (18.10) lists Nearkhos as Amphipolitan, although his Cretan ethnicity is well attested¹⁸. Likewise, Erigyios and Laomedon, two sons of Larikhos, are also listed as from Amphipolis (Arr. *An.* 3.6.5; 3.11.10; *Ind.* 18.4), but originated in Mytilene¹⁹.

Lysimakhos, son of Agothokles, and his brothers, may present a closer parallel to Hephaistion. Also called “Pellais” in the same list from the *Indica* which so-names Leonnatos and Hephaistion, Lysimakhos appears to have been Thessalian. Heckel (1992, 267-68) discusses the evidence from later sources, suggesting that Philip brought Agothokles to court and granted the family citizenship, perhaps even made him a Companion, whatever Theopompos’s claim (*FGrHist* 115.F81) that he was a flatterer and born a slave. If this reconstruction is true, Lysimakhos and Hephaistion could both represent a stage of incorporation beyond that of Nearkhos, Erigyios, and Laomedon. That, in turn, could tell us something about the process of immigrant naturalization in Macedonia, at least under Philip. Ergo, Hephaistion’s later isolation at the court owed to a lack of family ties, even if his “postal code” read Pella.

HEPHAISTOS CULT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Not only is Hephaistion’s name rare-to-nonexistent in Macedonia, but the region lacks religious cult for Hephaistos, as well. Finding no names that reference an absent god should not, then, surprise us. Yet Hephaistos did have significant cult on two northern islands: Lemnos and Samothrace²⁰. At least by the mid-4th century, Macedonian and Epirote courts had evinced interest in Samothrace, and both Philip and Olympias were initiated into the Mysteries there (Plu. *Alex.* 2.1), albeit perhaps for political reasons.

Burkert calls the Samothracian Kabeiroi the sons or grandsons of Lemnian Hephaistos (1985, 167, 281-85), and Herodotus named them Pelasgian (2.51). Certainly Hephaistos himself is not a native Greek deity. Like Lemnos, the indigenous population of Samothrace was considered Pelasgian (D.S. 5.47.3), and Attika, associated with the Pelasgians in both our literary and archaeological record, also had prominent cults to Hephaistos²¹. Thebes had a cult for the Kabeiroi, with, again, indigenous connections²². Hephaistos also had cults in Sicily at Mt. Etna, Erys, and the Lipari Islands, probably

of Philip on, I find it unlikely he spoke no *Makedonistí*. The fact he sent a native speaker probably owed to politics, showing (among other things) that he had the support of an unquestionably Macedonian commander. Yet the upshot is the same: he was still viewed as an outsider.

¹⁸ Also perhaps 18.4, though Brunt considers it a gloss (see BRUNT 1976, *loc. cit.* Arr. *An.* 2.358 n. 4); D.S. 19.69.1; Poly. 5.35; *Syll3* 266.

¹⁹ The ethnic is applied only once to Erigyios (D.S. 17.57.3), but several times to his brother Laomedon (D.S. 18.3.1, 18.39.6; Arr. *Succ.* 1b.2, 1.34; Justin 13.4.12). *Indica* 18.4 is the same list calling Hephaistion *Pellais*.

²⁰ One attestation of Hephaistion comes from Samothrace (*IG XII* [8] 170), mid-100s, the end of my allotted period.

²¹ *Athens*: Paus. 1.14.6, 1.26.5, Cic. *Nat. Deo* 1.24, Suidas s.v. Χαλκεία, and Λάμπαδος, naming the Hephaistia, a festival involving torches that may be the same referenced by Hdt. 8.98.2, although he doesn’t give a locale. *Lemnos*: Hom. 8.267ff., Her. 6.140.1, Apol. *Argon.* 1.857ff., Ovid, *Meta.* 13.314ff. and *Fasti* 3.81ff., Quin. Smyr. *Troy* 9.365. Paus. 5.14.6, also mentions an altar to Hephaistos at Olympia, but then says the Eleians call it the Warlike Zeus (e.g., it probably was not Hephaistos at all). BURKERT 1985, 167-168.

²² BURKERT 1985, 281-282, and for a complete discussion, SCHACHTER 2003, 112-142.

related to the indigenous Sicilian fire god Hadranus (Ael. *NA* 11.3). Burkert notes that association with volcanos was secondary to association with fire²³.

As early as 1909, both Farnell and Fick independently called his name Pelasgian (1909, 388ff.; 1909, 46), and Cook agreed (1940, 226-9). Burkert (1985, 167, 281) says the independent Lemnian population were *Tyrsenoi*, identified with the Etruscans, or sometimes the Pelasgians, but in any case, Hephaistos was “obviously non-Greek”²⁴. Linguist Beekes considers Hephaistos’s name pre-Greek (2009, 47), a term I prefer to Pelasgian²⁵. Despite being hailed as one of the Twelve, Hephaistos cult was rather patchy in Greece and Magna Graecia.

In an article about Philip II’s initial meeting with Olympias, Greenwalt notes that the sanctuary had substantial developments from Philip’s reign forward (2008, 79-82), but interest in the cult is not older the Philip or his brother Perdikkas, and probably reflect political rather than religious reasons²⁶. It would have been unlikely to result in a widespread burst of religious fervor for Hephaistos, a point aptly reflected in the continued dearth of Hephais-root names, or cult for Hephaistos in Macedonia.

The Dorian and Aeolian version of the god’s name was Haphaistos: beginning with an aspirated alpha not eta²⁷, and in Boeotia, the diphthong “ai” converts to either an “ei” or an eta. While there are a variety of Hephais-based names, many fewer Haphēs-based names²⁸ occur –only 28 compared to 128 Hephais-based, and they show less variation. Of these, more than a third are from Boeotia, the site of a rather significant cult to the Kabeiroi, the grandsons of Hephaistos; this is akin to the very large number of Hephais-based names in Attika. In addition, all Haphēs-based names are Hellenistic or earlier, so as time progressed, the Attic spelling replaced the Doric-Aeolian²⁹. For our inquiry, however, the divergent alpha-spelling remains. As we shall see in the maps, there is not much overlap. In some areas, such as Athens, only the eta form is found, and in Boeotia, only the alpha form is found. The only exceptions are Delphi, which as a panhellenic site might be expected to show both variations, and Kallatis, on the Black Sea, where we find three of the alpha and one of the eta³⁰.

Ergo, the mere fact that Hephaiston’s name appears with an eta, not alpha, is noteworthy. If by the late 4th century, at least the Macedonian court employed Attic Greek for official correspondence (BRIXHE – PANAYOTOU 1988, 245-60; BORZA 1990,

²³ Sicily: Pseudo-Apol. *Bib.* 2.111, Ael. *Animals* 11.3, Cic. *Nat. Deo.* 3.22; vid. BURKERT 1985, 168. Sicily *also* has five attestations of the name Hephaiston, although two appear on similar objects (caduceus) as “belonging to Hephaiston” and might reference the same individual. Many of these are undated, yet I did include them in my mapping, primarily due to the Hephaistos cult there.

²⁴ COOK 1940, 228-235 has a fair bit to say about Lemnian Hephaistos and myths associated with him. In discussing Aphrodite’s origins and name, WEST 1997, 56-57, notes the odd connection to Kythera might rest on a Western Semitic craftman god, Kuthar, who was identified with Hephaistos in antiquity, and whose name later became Hellenized as “Kuthera”. While interesting to explain the connection, Hephaistos cult in Greece would seem to owe more to pre-Greek indigenous influence.

²⁵ BEEKES 2009, 25, citing FURNÉE 1979, dismissed theories of “Pelasgian” as Indo-European, and keeps the term “pre-Greek” when speaking of non-Greek elements in Greek. BEEKES 2005 also considers the Kabeiroi pre-Greek.

²⁶ See the rest of Greenwalt’s discussion: GREENWALT 2008, 82 ff.

²⁷ BURKERT 1985, 161 ft. 1.

²⁸ While Haphais-, Hapheis-, and Haphēs- are all used, in this paper, I will regularize to Haphēs- simply to distinguish it for the reader’s eye from Hephais- names.

²⁹ A couple had difficult dating and were “suggested” as Hellenistic; given other evidence, that seems a safe bet. The slow death of Doric-Aeolic spellings in favor of Attic may owe to the rise of Koine in Hellenistic/later eras.

³⁰ As Kallatis is a trading colony of a Doric trading colony, to find three Doric versions, and one Ionic is unsurprising.

94), a strong argument has been made for use of Doric Greek earlier³¹. For our purposes, Tataki's onomastic studies, particularly her massive work on Beroea, conclude that distinctively Macedonian names did not take Attic forms: "Greek names that have phonetic or morphological elements different from what one would expect in accordance with the rules of contemporary Attic, are also interpreted as local [Macedonian] names" (1988, 335)³². So it stands to reason that if we did see names related to the god of the forge in Macedonia, we might expect a Doric-Aeolic form³³. Yet no Haphēs-based names appear, early or late³⁴. In the 4th century or earlier, we find only "our" Hephaistion, and into the Hellenistic era, it remains extremely rare³⁵. If we must recognize the role of chance in what survives, I find all this to be rather more than mere chance.

The name Hephaistion, spelt with an eta, is strongly regional, appearing in areas with heavy Ionian or Attic populations. Of her methodology, Tataki says, "Comparisons with the *Prosopographia Attika* have revealed that, if a name known in Macedonia is not found at all in Athens in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., it is very often Macedonian" (TATAKI 1988, 335). I have employed this same principle in reverse.

Hephaistion probably never needed to use a qualifying patronymic at the Macedonian court. Like the rock star Sting, there was only the one.

MAPPING THE EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Greek naming patterns were (and still are) strongly traditional, unlike fad-names in English-speaking countries that owe to pop-culture icons. So I do not assume Hellenistic occurrences of Hephaistion reflect a tribute to Alexander's best friend, but owe rather to Attic-Ionic emigration. Unsurprisingly, Hephais- and Haphais-root names occur in regions with notable cult for the god, or areas colonized by these. In my onomastic search, I included all names with an Hephais- or Haphais-root, not just "Hephaistion", as we are seeking patterns.

³¹ O'NEIL 2020, 200: "The one moderately long inscription, the curse tablet, shows a dialect which is definitely West Greek, but seems to have some features distinct from the dialects found to the south of Macedon, Thessalian and Northwest Greek, as well as features in common with them. It also shares some features with the Macedonian glosses preserved in late authors and with a few inscriptions in standard Greek from Macedon". Although he goes on to say there is not sufficient evidence to be certain.

³² So also O'NEIL 2020, 200: "Greek names found in Macedon in the classical period tend to be Doric in their formation and these four inscriptions suggest this was because a Doric dialect was spoken in Macedon, rather than because Greek names had been borrowed from a Doric milieu".

³³ Even a quick perusal of the lists in all her Macedonian onomastic collections show a large number of names beginning with alpha (aspirated or not), and relatively few beginning with eta. Tataki further notes that some names occur only once, or a rare name may occur several times in just one city or region (TATAKI 1988, 411-412), but the only other "Hephaistion" to appear in Macedonia, albeit a century and a half after Hephaistion Amyntoros, is connected to Thessaloniki, not Pella.

³⁴ In her book on names from Macedonian Edessa (TATAKI 1994, 83), she does give examples of names that alternate eta and alpha versions: Δημέας and Δαμέας, Δημᾶς and Δαμᾶς, etc. So the fact we have an Attic version of Hephaistion early, even if only "our" Hephaistion, but no alternative alpha version, is likely significant.

³⁵ While tempting to point to the Pella dedication made to the Hero Hephaistion shortly after his death (n. 5) in order to confirm that he employed the Attic spelling, O'NEIL 2020, 200-201 points out that by the late 4th century, all Macedonian inscriptions use Attic forms, so the use of an eta there, if certainly worth noting, may not be the smoking gun it could seem. Again, it is the freight of evidence together, not any single piece, that is suggestive.

By far the largest number of Hephais-root names are found in Attika, and while this certainly reflects available evidence, it should also be remembered that, beyond Lemnos and Lemnian-influenced areas, Attika had one of the more significant cults to Hephaios. Ergo, the frequency of Hephais-root names may owe to more than just high rates of inscriptional survival. The other place with a relatively high number of names is Boeotia, albeit the Haphēs- version, and Boeotia was also center to a cult of the Kabeiroi.

HEPHAIS-ROOT NAMES

Ἡφαιστίων (63), Hephastian	Ἡφαιστία (1), Hephastia
Ἡφαιστόδωρος (26), Hephastodoros	Ἡφαιστᾶς (1), Hephastas
Ἡφαιστῖος (20), Hephastios	Ἡφαιστικῶν (1), Hephastikon
Ἡφαιστόδοτος (3), Hephastodotos	Ἡφαιστόλεως (1), Hephastoleos
Ἡφαιστοκλῆς (4), Hephastokles	Ἡφαιστοκράτης (1), Hephastokrates
Ἡφαιστῆς (2), Hephastes	Ἡφαιστόπολις (1), Hephastopolis
Ἡφαιστιάδης (2), Hephastiades	Ἡφῆστιχος (1), Hephestikhos
Ἡφαιστόδημος (1), Hephastodemos	

HAPHĒS-ROOT NAMES

Ἀφαιστίων (11), Haphastian	Ἀφειστίων (2), Hapheistian
Ἀφαιστόδωρος (2), Haphastodoros	Ἀφηστίων (6), Haphestion
Ἀφαιστῖος (2), Haphastios	Ἀφηστόδωρος (1), Haphestodoros
Ἀφαιστος (2), Haphastos	Ἀφηστία (1), Haphestia
Ἀφαιστις (1), Haphastis	

My chief focus has been the 6th through mid-3rd centuries BCE, but I included attestations up to the mid-2nd century BCE, the time of the Roman conquest of Macedonia and Greece. It provided a logical *terminus ante quem*. The Hellenistic era saw much greater movement not only from and to Macedonia, but all around the Greek world³⁶.

Our earliest Hephais- name comes from Samos, mid-late 6th century, followed by Attika in the late 5th century, but the bulk of our evidence begins in the 300s. Our earliest Haphais-root names come from Sicily (600-400) and Boeotia (530-20), but they terminate altogether before the Imperial era, whereas another hundred-plus Hephais-root names extend into Imperial times. Several areas had undatable inscriptions. I have excluded these but recognize they do represent wild cards.

Yet what even the exclusions and late inscriptions would not change are the *holes*.

Certain regions –particularly the entirety of the Peloponnesos, Crete, and the majority of the Dorian islands– had no attestations of Hephais- names. Not just no attestations from my time frame, but no attestations in any time frame. Only four

³⁶ So also TATAKI 1988, 334; she speaks to changes from the reign of Philip II with Macedonian emigration, and then even further changes in Macedonia with the Roman victory at Pydna in 168 BCE.

attestations occur in all of Italy, and are uniformly late or undatable. A few Haphēs-names appear, but except in Boeotia and Sicily, are rare. I find these holes to be significant.

To produce the maps for my online digital project, I utilized not only print collections such as Tataki's on Macedonia and *The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGPN)*³⁷, but also the *LGPN* online (<http://clas-lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/>), and Packard Humanities Institute's *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/>), in an effort to be as complete as possible and to cross-check dating. If there are some dating disagreements, they did not significantly impact my larger parameters. For locating cities (some obscure), I utilized both *Barrington's Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* and *ToposText* (<https://topostext.org/>).

The digital project was built by Cory Starman, under the direction of my UNO colleague, digital historian Dr. Jason Hepler, using the R programming language, Leaflet map library, and hosted by RStudio's Shiny web application environment. Not only does it demonstrate the distribution of names across time, but has searchable parameters by date, name form, and region, as well as links to online collections so visitors can see each inscription for themselves.

In order to streamline the paper narrative, all epigraphical data appears in the appendix³⁸.

<https://unolibraries.shinyapps.io/mappingidentity/>

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

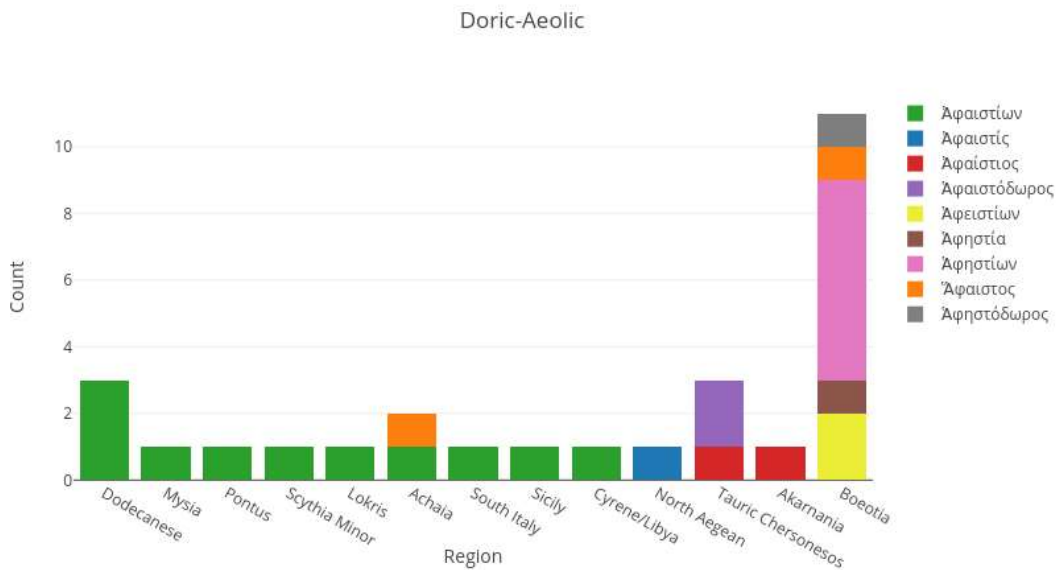
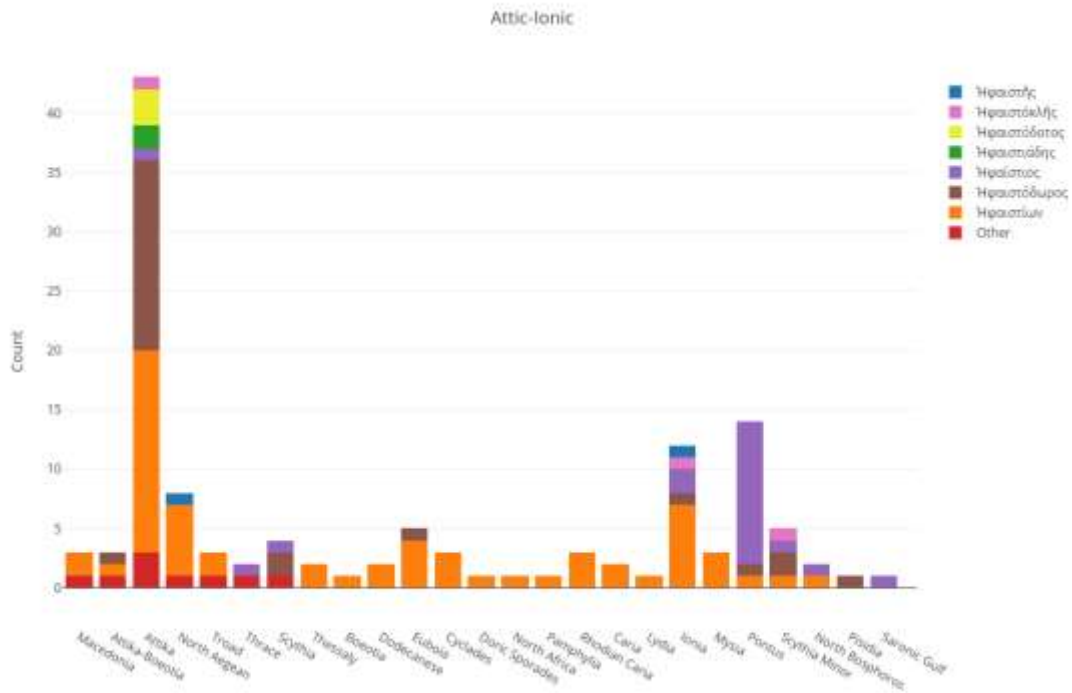
The number of inscriptions anywhere with Hephais-/Haphēs-root names rises from the late 4th/early 3rd century, matching the general proliferation of inscriptions. We should especially consider areas where we find more than one Hephais- name (any version) prior to the 3rd century. Attika had the most, followed by north Anatolia and Ionia (none south of Miletos), the island of Samos, and Ionian-founded cities on the northern and southern edges of the Black Sea. For Haphēs- names, it is Boeotia.

Based on the epigraphical evidence then, we find that "Hephaistion" and other Hephais-root names belong to Attic-Ionian populations. Outside Boeotia, Doric- and Aeolic-speaking areas generally did not employ names referencing the god by a 1-to-4.5 margin.

Given all of this, we can say with some confidence that "Hephaistion" (with an eta) would be quite a peculiar name to give an ethnically Macedonian boy.

³⁷ TATAKI 1988; 1994; 1998. FRASER – MATTHEWS 1987; 1994; 1997; 2000; 2005; 2010; 2014.

³⁸



EPIGRAPHY AND AMYNTOR

We should also consider Hephaestion’s father’s name as Amyntor is a southern Greek form of the very popular Macedonian name Amyntas, as Mary is to Maria. Unlike Hephaestion, Amyntor is both more common and not tied to any specific Greek dialect. It appears as early as Greek epic: one of the suitors in Homer’s *Odyssey*. A geographical survey yields no significant results, except as related to Macedonia and Thessaly.

According to *The Greek Lexicon of Personal Names*, Amyntōr/our occurs sixteen times in Macedonia, and five in Thessaly prior to 3 CE, in coastal Greek colonies such as Byzantium, Amphipolis, and Odessa. By contrast, 100+ entries occur for Amyntas/ēs

in Macedonia and 90 in Thessaly³⁹. No doubt quite a few of these reference Macedonian royalty, and thus name a single individual multiple times rather than multiple people, yet the numerical discrepancy is notable.

I think it safe to say “Amyntor” was not a particularly Macedonian name either. Together with hints of ties to the Greek world (Athens especially), we may postulate that this family was not ethnically Macedonian. In my dissertation (1998), I suggested they might be Athenian expatriates, but a recently published *katadesmos* from Pydna offers an alternative closer to home, and thus, one more probable.

Before we consider the curse tablet, however, we should discuss two other inscriptions. The first comes from Kolophon (MAIER 1950, 69), which Maier (1950, 227) dates to 313/306, but Meritt (1935, 371) dates to 334. Found in the Sanctuary of the Mother, it concerns a building decree for walls, a list of contributors, and their respective amounts. Among these is one “Amyntor Gerontos Makedon” who donated 500,000 gold pieces. Normally, this would read “son of Gerōn”, but Gerōn is *quite* rare⁴⁰. After all, naming a baby “old man” is a tad odd. Therefore, in my dissertation, I proposed that *gerontos* might be read as “son of the elder [Amyntor]”, even without an attendant article. Was the Kolophon Amyntor a brother of Hephaistion, living high on his inheritance in Anatolia during the early years of the Successors?

Yet a 4th century inscription from Ephesos has since changed my mind, suggesting there was a fellow named Gerōn in Macedonia whose two sons followed Alexander to Asia and wound up later in Ionia⁴¹. At Ephesos, we find an honorary decree to Nikarkhos Gerontos Makedon (*IEph* 1432), dated to the second half of the 4th century. If we cannot date the Ephesos inscription as precisely as the one from Kolophon, two Macedonians in Ionian cities so close geographically, both sons of a man with a rare name, suggests a pair of brothers, likely veterans of Alexander’s campaign if Meritt’s dating is correct. Certainly Amyntor was quite well to do, and Nikarkhos probably as well, if honored by the capital of Ionia. The upshot is that we have a second appearance in the late 4th century of a man named “Amyntor” called a Macedonian.

A CURIOUS CURSE TABLET

In a 2002/3 article, Jaime Curbera and David Jordan discuss a *katadesmos* from Pydna (*SEG* 52.617 IV, col b.1), one of six tablets with 66 names total (109-27). Tablet IV is fairly standard for the 4th century: a name list, but no specific cursing verb. The main target is one Euippos, while the others, including an Amyntor, were apparently Euippos’s allies. No specifics are given as to why the individuals were targeted, but three of the six in the cache involved legal/business cases (109). The authors state that Amyntor “is a Greek name typically Macedonian” (118), so I emailed Curbera to ask if he could further narrow down the grave dates, and if he knew of other occurrences of “Amyntor” in Macedonia. Unfortunately, he had no narrower date and cited the same examples I had found: Hephaistion’s father, and the son of Geron in Kolophon. I did,

³⁹ FRASER – MATTHEWS 2000, III.B, 30: AMYNTΩP and AMYNTOYP, 29-30: AMYNTΑΣ only; FRASER – MATTHEWS 2005, IV, 23: AMYNTΩP only, 22: AMYNTΑΣ and AMYNTΗΣ.

⁴⁰ Only 30 examples occur in all volumes of *LGPN*, and two of those 30 are this and another discussed immediately after (<http://clas-igpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/> accessed Jan. 17, 2016).

⁴¹ It is possible Gerōn was a nickname rather than his birthname.

however, find mention of the same excavation in another paper, which dated the graves to the first half of the 4th century (PSAROUDAKĒS 2008, 198)⁴².

The Amyntor of the tablet has no patronymic nor other distinguishing characteristic, and Euippos is not otherwise known at the Macedonian court, either under Alexander or Philip, so connecting Amyntor in the Pydna tablet with Hephaistion's father might seem like a stretch... except for three *other* names on the same tablet: Sitalkas, Polemokrates and Kleandros.

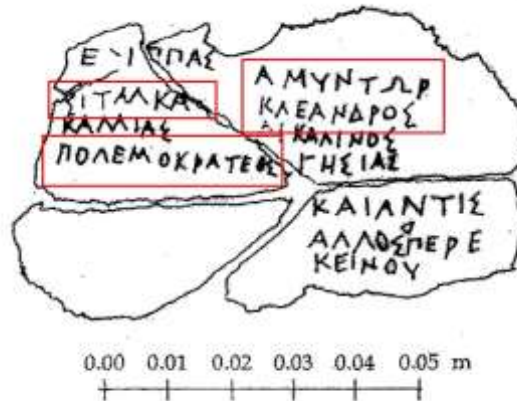


Fig. 3: Tablet 4

A Polemokrates fathered Koinos, among the more significant marshals at Alexander's court (Arr. *An.* 1.14.2; DITTENBERGER *Syll.*³ 332, 7-8), and Kleandros, an infantry commander, was also son of a Polemokrates (Arr. *An.* 1,24.2) and is usually identified as Koinos's brother⁴³. Philip awarded land in the Khalkidike to both Koinos and Polemokrates (DITTENBERGER, *Syll.*³, 332)⁴⁴.

If the Polemokrates and Kleandros on this tablet are the same as those at court, and "Sitalkas" is a regional variant or just misspelling of the royal Thracian name Σιτάλκης, this tablet may date to Philip's reign any time after the spring of 342, following Kersebleptes's capitulation to Philip (D.S. 16.71. 1-2; Aesch. 2.89-93)⁴⁵. While that is early in the second half of the 4th century, and the tombs in which the tablets were found belong to the first half, the dating is not exact. Sitalkes is not mentioned by name until Alexander's Asian campaign, in command of the Thracian javelin men (Arr. 1.28.4),

⁴² Personal correspondence, Oct. 20, 2015. I did make an effort to track down the excavator himself, Manthos Besios, but could find no contact information. PSAROUDAKĒS 2008 cites Banou (ΜΠΑΝΟΥ 1997) for the dating.

⁴³ Cf. BERVE II.204 n. 422, and HECKEL 1992, 343 n. 6.2; 2006, 85-86. All are assumed to be Elimeian nobility as Koinos commanded the Elimeian brigade, although it is nowhere explicitly stated. For a full discussion, vid. HECKEL 1992, 58, esp. n. 2-3.

⁴⁴ The annexation and settlement of Amphipolis by Macedonians occurred between 356-36: ELLIS 1986, 66.

⁴⁵ Vid. also ARCHIBALD 1997, 231-235; BORZA 1992, 214-215; HODDINOTT 1981, 121-122. Aeschines says Philip took an (unnamed) son hostage; Sitalkes may have been that son, if not heir. Vid. HECKEL 2006, 251-252. The tablet could also date early in Alexander's reign, after his subduing of Thracian insurrections in the spring of 335 (D.S. 17.8.1), but I would favor an earlier date, which would match the grave dating Psaroudakēs uses. Sitalkes might even have formed Macedonian business ties prior to Philip's success against Kersobleptes, as Philip had earlier (347) arbitrated a quarrel between Kersobleptes and Amadokos, indicating they were at peace then. Thracian-Macedonian ties were not uncommon among the aristocracy.

but from 333 forward, he often appeared under Parmenion. He was also part of the group who, under Kleandros, would kill Parmenion, and later suffered the same fate as Kleandros (Arr. 6.27.4; Curt. 10.1.1). His ties to Kleandros could, and probably did, date further back.

To be fair, Koinos's name does not appear on the tablet, and Polemokrates and Kleandros occupy separate columns. While the tablet is in four pieces, the writing seems complete with only two letters lost to damage, so we probably are not missing names. In a footnote, Curbera and Jordan warn against assuming names on the *defixiones* associated with royal or aristocratic families necessarily mean the named individuals are royal or aristocratic, as onomastic studies show names have wide distribution (CURBERA – JORDAN 2003, 126 n. 41). This is quite true. Yet the confluence of three names we know, from other sources, held positions at Alexander's court and had ties to each other does suggest we may be looking at exactly who we think we are⁴⁶. Add Amyntor and, if we have no direct connection between him or his son with the other three⁴⁷, the likelihood rises that these are Philip's officers.

What ties might a Thracian prince and Elimeian nobility have to each other, and Pydna? From Kotys to Kersobleptes, Odrysian fortunes aligned not infrequently with Athenian, and such prominent Athenians as Iphikrates were influential at the Odrysian court⁴⁸. Much of that concerned Amphipolis, and the Athenian need for timber. And of course, Amphipolis is where Polemokrates and his son would later own land once it fell under Philip's control⁴⁹. So linking Sitalkes to Polemokrates and son(s) has support from later evidence in the Alexander histories, as well as pre-Philip Odrysian history. But what does *Pydna* have to do with it all?

SHIP-BUILDING

We must recall Pydna's long (sometimes hostile) history with Athens (Thuc. 1.61.2-3; 1.137.1; Plu. *Them.* 25), including Athens's use of it to acquire timber with Arkhelaos's blessing (Andocides 2.11). In 364/3, under Timotheus, Athens claimed Pydna again, along with Methone and Potidaia (Din. 1.14; D. 4.4; D.S. 15.47.2), and it remained in Athenian hands till Philip took it back in 357, the year before Alexander's birth (D.S. 16.8.3, D. 1.5, 1.12)⁵⁰.

⁴⁶ A Kallias also appears in the list, and while this *might* be the same as the Kalis involved in the plot with Demetrios the Bodyguard, I find it unlikely. I suspect Kallias is simply an unknown individual.

⁴⁷ During the Philotas incident, both Koinos and Hephaistion are part of the group who, along with Krateros, tortured Philotas to get a confession. As I have argued elsewhere (REAMES 2010), Krateros had been gunning for Philotas for a while, and Koinos needed to separate himself from the family of Parmenion. Hephaistion's reasons for joining them were likely sentimental (his best friend threatened), but it could be that he, too, needed to prove his loyalty *if* his father had ties to Polemokrates who, like his son Koinos, had ties to Parmenion. I find that unnecessarily convoluted (affection for the king is reason enough), but given the highly speculative nature of the reconstruction, all possibilities should be placed on the table.

⁴⁸ SEARS 2013.

⁴⁹ ARCHIBALD 1998, 213-222, 231-234. Citizenship and *proxenia* were quite probably possessed by the three successors of Kotys and their descendants, see ARCHIBALD 1998, 231 for a discussion. Albeit impossible to verify –and again, assuming the names on the tablet are officers at the Macedonian court– we could even speculate that Sitalkes's rise in Alexander's army owed to his ties to Polemokrates's family.

⁵⁰ Pydna has popularly been viewed as a Greek city, and it did have independent coinage by the 6th century: PETSAS 1976, "Pydna". Yet recent archaeology shows the site inhabited already in the Bronze Age so it may not have been Greek at all, but an early northern port with which the Euboian Greek foundation of Methone competed.

This may be where Amyntor enters the picture. As the other curse tablets involve business matters, and as Polemokrates and Sitalkes owned land in timber-rich areas, perhaps this concerned timber contracts⁵¹. If this Amyntor is “our” Amyntor, he probably belonged to Polemokrates’s generation. Did they meet at Philip’s court and form a business alliance for timber that included Euippos and others from Pydna?

It is, of course, *highly* speculative, resting on a coincidence of four names known to be prominent at the Macedonian court, three of which had later ties. But perhaps archaeology has thrown us a bone, affording a small peek into non-royal business under the Argeads.

It might also help to explain why a boy with an Attic-Ionian name should rise so high at the Macedonian court. Like Amphipolis, Pydna was linked to Athens, subject of a tug-of-war between Athens and Macedon dating from Alexander I (Thuc. 1.137.1) down to Archelaos and then Philip II, after which it remained securely Macedonian⁵². According to Demosthenes (1.5), a pro-Macedonian faction had opened the city gates to Philip in 357.

CONCLUSIONS

This leaves two tantalizing possibilities.

— Was Amyntor a member of the pro-Macedonian faction in the city? And did his son become one of the prince’s *syntrophoi* in exchange for Amyntor’s aid in retaking Pydna, just before Alexander was born?

— Or was Amyntor a high-placed member of the pro-Athenian faction, and after, his son was taken to Pella as a hostage for his father’s good behavior?

Either is possible.

Seeing Polemokrates and Kleandros on the tablet too probably suggests Amyntor was pro-Macedonian. Yet as discussed above, the tablet likely dates somewhat later, by which point he could have changed his allegiance. And if this Amyntor is Amyntor Demetriou, previous pro-Athenian leanings could have led him to intervene for Athens in 334/3. Certainly, if Hephastion had spent his youth in Pella, either as a hostage or as a reward for Amyntor’s loyalty, being identified by Arrian as “Pellais”, like Leonnatos, is to be expected.

So if Amyntor were originally a Greek from Pydna, the specifically Attic-Ionian roots of his son’s name, as well as his own Greek version of the Macedonian Amyntas, would be neatly explained without looking as far back as the influx of Athenian expatriots under Arkhelaos.

Yet this is simply *one* tantalizing possibility. Other northern Greek cities such as Amphipolis present too. We could argue that an Amphipolitan Amyntor was Polemokrates and son’s link to timber traders in Pydna, without Amyntor being from Pydna himself—assuming the Amyntor on the tablet is “our” Amyntor in the first place.

Yet all of this returns us to the fluidity of Macedonian identity under the monarchy. Macedon’s borders fluctuated, wildly at times, until, by Philip II, previously independent Upper Macedonian cantons had been absorbed, as well as Paionia and

⁵¹ ARCHIBALD 1998, 222-231 for a discussion of trade links in Odryssian Thrace.

⁵² Thuc. 1.137.1, 1.61.1-3, D.S. 13.49.1-2; v. also BORZA 1992, 213ff.; ELLIS 1986, 66-67; EDSON 1970, 24 n. 6; HAMMOND 1972, 128-129.

chunks of Thrace. We might fairly ask if Elimeians, Lynkestians, or Paionians wanted to be considered “Macedonian”?

This fluidity may be even older, however. Given exciting findings from Methone⁵³, Macedonian interaction with Greeks, Phoenicians, and others in the northern Aegean is earlier than we knew, dating to the same period as Greek and Phoenician interaction with western Italian tribes at Pithokousai and Cumae. Certainly, it predates Alexander I’s opportunistic expansion after the Greco-Persian Wars.

That begs the question of just how long Greeks have been making their way inland from coastal Greek foundations to Macedonian towns, and even the court? It did not begin with Archelaos, nor even Alexander the Golden. How many of those Greek traders put down roots, married Macedonians, and became Macedonian with time? Citing Hall, Graninger states, “ethnic groups had been (and therefore must continually be) narrated into existence”⁵⁴ –a phrasing I find particularly apt.

Over time, transplanted Greeks narrated themselves into Macedonian identity, or were narrated so by later sources. In his classic collection on ethnic boundaries, Barth explains (1969, 15) that perceived socially relevant factors are the diagnostic criteria for membership in an ethnic group, as opposed to “objective” differences. In short, ethnicity depends on what we perceive as relevant. Furthermore, when a person, family, or group changes ethnic identification, it creates automatic ambiguity, as ethnic identity owes to origin as well as self-ascription (29). This would explain why “becoming Macedonian” required time, as an individual or family’s origin was gradually forgotten in favor of subsequent identification. Figures at the Macedonian court still in transition, such as Nearchos, and Erigyios and Laomedon –even Lysimakhos– are sometimes identified by their new Macedonian identity, and sometimes by their Greek origin.

Now, finally, we can position the case of Hephaistion (and his father). Whatever one makes of the curse tablet, the distinctively Attic-Ionian form of his name remains. With Hephaistion, we have a brief window into the process of Macedonian naturalization, and a hint at degrees of inclusion. By the end of Alexander’s reign, Hephaistion was remembered –“narrated”– as Macedonian in our extant sources, any Greek ties forgotten by writers of later generations, even if vestiges of his foreignness remained in his isolation at the court, and, fatefully, in his name.

⁵³ CLAY – MALKIN – TZIFOPOULOS 2017 and the earlier BESSIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, which bears out Plutarch’s dating of the city’s founding in the second half of the eighth century (Plu. *Mor.* 293a-b).

⁵⁴ GRANINGER 2015, 23; HALL 1997, 17-32.

Appendix of Epigraphical Data

Each name type is organized below by region with, first, a brief statistical summary, then the data itself. Details about the cities appear in footnotes in the first section, but if cities repeat in the second section, I've not repeated those footnotes.

HEPHAIS-BASED NAMES

BLACK SEA/THRACE

Settlements around the Black Sea, colonized by Ionian Greeks, have attestations not only for Hephaistion (3), but also Hephaistikon (1), Hephaistios (4), Hephaistodōros (2), Hephaistodotos (1), Hephaistokles (1), and Hephaistas (1), making a total of 13. These are found in the Cimmerian Bosphoros, Scythia, and Scythia Minor.

In the Cimmerian Bosphoros, we have an Hephaistios at Harmonassa (*CIRB* 1069) in the 4th or 3rd century, and an Hephaistion, son of Kotytion, at Nymphaion, in the 3rd century⁵⁵. In Scythia, Hephaistikon, father of Dioskourides, appears at Olbia-Borysthene on a vase in the 3rd century (*IGDOLbia* 84; DUBOIS 1996), while Hephaistodoros appears twice in the same city, once also on a black-glaze skyphos dating to the 5th century (*SEG*.41 622 = *IGDOLbia* 31), and another is mentioned as the son of Diogenes in the late 3rd century (*IOlba* 26, 3). Hephaistios appears on a weight at Nikonion in the middle of the 4th century (GOLOVKO 1966, 80 n. 26). Both Olbia-Borysthene and Nikonian were settled by Miletos⁵⁶, Nymphaion by Ionic towns in Asia Minor (with ties to Athens: Aeschin. 3.171-172)⁵⁷, and Harmonassa is also Ionian generally⁵⁸.

Scythia Minor yields the most references to men with Hephais-root names in this region. Hephaistion, son of Matris, appears at Kallatis, dating to the 3rd century (*ISM* 1:9, 4, 18). At Istros-Histria, Hephaistios appears on a curse tablet from the 3rd/2nd century (AVRAM 2003, *defixio* 4, 2); Hephaistokles father of Auxesileo from the 4th century (*ISM* I, 240); and two Hephaistodoroses, one, son of Apollonios, from the 3rd century (*ISM* I, 119) and one, father of Polyainetos, in 250-150 (*ISM* I 46, 2). Istros was also founded by Miletos⁵⁹, and Kallatis by Herakleia Pontika, which had been founded by Megara, or Boeotia (a disputed point, although Pausanias 5.26.7 names Megara)⁶⁰. So again, we have Ionian-Attic connections for Istros, although Herakleia Pontika was a Doric foundation; as we'll see Kallatis and Chersonesos (another foundation of Herakleia Pontika) have three Doric versions of the name, rather than just one Ionian. Farther south in Thrace, the foundations of Apollonia-Sozopolis on the Black Sea dates to the Bronze Age, but had an influx of new populations from the Ionian cities of Asia

⁵⁵ For Hephaistion: TSETSKHLADZE 2001, 314, f. 7.3; cf. TOKHTAS'EV – KATZ 1997, 376.

⁵⁶ DIMITRIEVITCH 2003, 397-398; BOARDMAN 1999, 242; MILLER 2013, 165-166, 15.4 ("Miletus and Colonies").

⁵⁷ YUREVNA 2003, 759-760, 764-765; BOARDMAN 1999, 253.

⁵⁸ ILYINITCHNA 2003, 1016ff.

⁵⁹ AVRAM 2003, 279; BOARDMAN 1999, 242.

⁶⁰ BURCU 2003, 1403-1404; BOARDMAN 1999, 243, naming Megara.

Minor in the 7th century⁶¹. We find an Hephaistios there in the late 5th/4th century, father of Apollas (*IGBulg* I² 433), and also an Hephaist-, husband of Ada, same time frame (*IGBulg* I² 415), possibly the same person. In the Malak Provets area inland, south of the Danube, we find Hephaist- dating to 325-250 (*SEG* 40.573,4), a police officer or guard? There are no other attestations in our time frame, although quite a few Hephaistions appear at Odessos in the Imperial and late-Imperial era.

ANATOLIA

Moving to the coastal regions of Anatolia, we find particular concentrations of Hephaist-root names in Ionian cities, but not exclusive to them. Besides Hephaistion (17), names include Hephaistēs (1), Hephaistios (13), Hephaistoleōs (1), Hephaistodōros (3), Hephaistoklēs (1), and Hephaistopolis (1).

From the north around the Black Sea region, in Abydos, Troad, dating 350-25, we find Hephaistoleōs⁶², and in 208, in Parion, Hephaistion (*FD* 111 [4] 134 I.17), plus another Hephaistion generally in the region (*Illion* 64, 68), 3rd/2nd century. Abydos as a Greek foundation is Milesian (Strab. 1.1.22), and Parion is Eretrian –both Ionian⁶³.

Moving east into Mysia, at Pergamon, we have one Hephaistion dated to the Hellenistic period generally (*IPerg* 504 n. 46), and another dated between 175-108 (*Perg. Forsch.* 11 II, 203). In the Pontus region, we find Hephaistios at Kromna in 349-11 (*SEG* 53.796)⁶⁴.

At Sinope on the Black Sea, founded by Miletus⁶⁵, several occurrences of Hephaist-names appear, some securely Classical. Hephaistios has nine relevant entries, perhaps most, given their dates, from a family of potters (a son of Poseidōnios, another of Theodōros, another of Exēkestas, and another of Estiaios)⁶⁶ all between the 5th and 2nd centuries, and both Hephaistion father of Serapiōn (*CIA* 111 3633, 2 = *SEG* 28.309), and Hephaistodoros father of Posideios (an *astynomos*), probably early-Hellenistic⁶⁷. In addition, a couple Sinopian amphorai, found around Scythia Minor, list a Hephaistios as their maker, almost surely someone from this family⁶⁸. Unsurprisingly, several Hephaist-based names in differing places are linked to potters.

⁶¹ DMITRI – KRISTINA 2003, 95-6; BOARDMAN 1999, 246-247.

⁶² *SNG München Troas-Lesbos* 11-12 (coin); LE RIDER 1963, 51-3 (date).

⁶³ BASARON 2015.

⁶⁴ Kromna's foundation is uncertain, but neighboring cities in the Chersonese are foundations either of Miletus or Megara, both Ionian or Attic: POSAMENTIR – COLEMAN 2011, 395-396.

⁶⁵ Xen. *Anab.* 6.1.15; D.S. 14.31.2; Strab. 12.545

⁶⁶ The earliest is late 5th-early 4th century and the latest c. 205-185: *ISinope* 21, 22, 7,15; GRAKOV 1929, 154 n. 1; GARLAN 2004, 24-26; 73-75; 97-160-164-181-199 (one person, multiple entries: a potter); and another potter, 286-327-338-353-372-379-390-398-484-522-526-559-573-613 (given the dates, this latter may be the grandson of the former potter), and finally, GARLAN 2004, 149 n. 17 (which arguably may be the same as the previous).

⁶⁷ GARLAN 2004, 92-96. In addition, Sinopian pottery stamps show up in coastal cities of Asia Minor and even inland bearing Posideios Hephaistodorou as *astynomos*, Histria: *SEG* 55.810, 16 (d. 310-05); Kallatis: *SEG* 30.809, 29 (250-150); *SEG* 48.975bis, 76 (d. 333-296). *LGPN* places Hephaistodoros in the second half of the 4th century, but given the dates, even assuming the pots outlived the harbor official, early Hellenistic is more likely.

⁶⁸ This can be counted as one of those times archaeology tells a story about people not in the history books. Given the variety of places his/their pots turn up around the Black Sea –Kallatis, Histria, Malak Provets area south of the Danube– the family must have done well. Kallatis: *SEG* 51.946, 56 (222-11); *SEG* 48.975bis, 100 (undated). Histria: *Histria* VIII 2, 237, 261, 287, 310, 425-426 (279-58, 4 pieces in Group IV, 257-190, in Group Vb). Malak Provets: *SEG* 40.573, 4 (325-250).

In Ionia in the relevant period, we have two Hephaistions at Smyrna in the 2nd century, one the son of Eupolemos (*ISmyrna* 688 II, 11), the other the father of Apollōnios and Artemidoros (*ISmyrna* 689 I, 6, 8-9). A Hephaistēs father of Philoklēs, and Hephaistoklēs father of Kronios, as well as three Hephaistions⁶⁹, appear at Kolophon in 311-306, and at Metropolis, we find Hephaistion father of Mnaseas in the 2nd century (*IEph* 3429, 18). At Miletos, the southernmost of the Ionian League⁷⁰, we find Hephaistios twice, dating to 405 and 240-30 (*Milet* I [3] 122 II, 9; 141, 4) both father to a Timopolis suggesting a family across generations, and Hephaistodoros father of Pithēkis once in the 4th century (EHRHARDT – GÜNTHER 2010, 398 n. 1).

South and east of Ionia⁷¹, Lydia has a large collection of attestations for Hephaistion, but all are late, the earliest dating to the early 2nd century. In Koloe, Lydia, in the early 2nd century, we find Hephaistion, son of Menekratos (*SEG* 28.907; *SEG* 57.1189). Likewise several areas in Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, and Cilicia show Hephais-root names (mostly Hephaistion), these are also mid-late Hellenistic down into the Imperial era. Inland, in Tabai in Rhodian Caria, 188-67, we find the father of an archon, and in nearby Lomeis⁷², Hephaistion appears twice in the 3rd century, one a son of Artimidoros and the other father to Diodotos (*Hautes terres de Carie* 61, 2 & 1.8). In Halikarnassos in 201-196, we find Hephaistion the father of Straton, son of another Straton (*SEG* 52.1042 = WILHELM 1908, 63, l. 9), and later in the 2nd century, we find Hephaistion, son of Apollonas and father of another Apollonas (*HHalikarnassos* 319b). In Aspendos, Pamphylia in the 3rd-2nd BCE, we find Hephaistion son of Eumēlos (*IG* XII³ 831 = II² 8391), and Hephaistodoros, a sculptor, son of Theon appears at Megasos-Antiocheia in the 3rd-2nd BCE (MOUTERDE 1921, 213.5).

ÆGEEAN ISLANDS/NORTH AFRICA

As for the Aegean islands, we find Hephaistion (16), Hephaistēs (1), Hephaistopolis (1), and Hephaistodōros (1).

Beginning with the Northern Aegean islands, at Eresos, Lesbos in the 2nd century, we find a Hephaistion father of Sosias (*SEG* 27.486 = *SEG* 32.818), on Chios, Hephaistēs in 440-420 (*IG* I³ 1345), and on Samos⁷³ in the 6th century, we have an Hephaistion (DUNST 1972, 138, 4), as well as two more on dedications at the Heraion (a bronze hare and cauldron) dating to the second half of that century⁷⁴, another in 500

⁶⁹ Three of these appear on the very long decree for walls mentioned elsewhere in this paper: MERITT 1935, 361-371 n. 1: Hephaistēs: 394; Hephaistoklēs: 872; and Hephaistion father of Thrasumēdes: 427. Hephaistion also appears in *SEG* 4.584 (Hellenistic), and as the father of Athenagoras, III/II BCE (SCHUCHHARDT 1886, 426.4).

⁷⁰ HERDA 2016, for Miletus's foundation and connections with Megara, and with Ionian Apollo.

⁷¹ Places range from Carian villages to possibly Argolid foundations: JONES 2004, 49-50; LANG 2003, 442.

⁷² I could find no location on any map for Lomeis/Loma, but it is in the region of Caria annexed later by Rhodes, one of several inland communities north of Idyma on the coast, JONES 2004, 50; on the map, I used the same coordinates as for Tabai, as they belonged to the same group, along with nearby Mobolla. As they all date around the same time, the father of the archon from Tabai might be one of those from Lomeis.

⁷³ The popularity of Hephais-based names on Samos may owe to the prominence of Hera cult on the island, as she was Hephaistos's mother in myth. But Hera enjoyed prominent cult in the Peloponnese, at least in the Argolid (which was arguably Ionian), while Hephais-based names did not. Ergo, I am more inclined to connect the names' popularity there to its Ionian population rather than to worship of Hera.

⁷⁴ Hare: *Samos* 200 = *IG* XII [6] 2:547 = *CIG* 2.2247; cauldron: *Samos* 223 = *IG* XII [6] 2:541 = DUNST 1972, 138, XX 4.

(*DGE* 715, 2= JEFFERY 1961 [1990], 342, 15), a Hephaistopolis father of Iadmōn in the 5th century (Hdt. 2.134), and last, Hephaistion, magistrate in the Athenian cleruchy, 350 (*IG XII*⁶ 1:262)⁷⁵. The Dodecanese is predictably thin, with only two Hephaistions, both on Rhodes, both late, one in 200 (OLCAY-SEYRIG 1965, 459-464) and another in 175-50 (GRACE 1947, 450 fig. 8).

At Dystros on Euboia, we have one Hephaistion father of Amphalkos in 308-04 (*IG XII* [9] 240, 17), and at Histiaia, another, son of Xenokarēs in the 3rd century (*IG XII* [9] 249 A, 150). At Eretria on Euboia, two Hellenistic appearances of Hephaistion (*IG XII* [9] 372), one the son of Olympichos (*IG XII* [9] 106), and Hephaistodoros father of Xaritōn is dated to the late 4th or 3rd century (*IG XII* [9] 246 A, 29).

On Delos, center of Ionian cult, we find two Hephaistions, one dated to 192 (*ID* 399 a, 43)⁷⁶. On Keos in the 3rd century, we have Hephaistion son of Heraklides (*IF XII* [5] 596, 2). At Melos, Hephaistion father of Sylosōn is attested in the 4th/3rd century (*IG XII* [3] 1215). And finally, at Cyrene, we have one attestation of Hephaistion in the (perhaps) 4th century (*SEG XX*, 736.10)⁷⁷.

All of these except Melos and Rhodes are Ionian-Attic, either directly or by colonization. The Rhodian inscriptions are Hellenistic but the Melian is Classical. Like Rhodes, Melos was Doric –until the siege of 416, when Athens deported the population and colonized it themselves, only to be expelled later by the Spartans, who repatriated some surviving Melians (Thuc. 5.84-116; Xen. *Hel.* 2.2.9; Plu. *Lys.* 14.3). How complete this expulsion was may be questioned. I think we should allow that at least some Athenians may have remained on the island, so we could have a mixed Dorian-Attic population post-Peloponnesian War.

SOUTHERN MAINLAND GREECE/ATTIKA

Turning to the Greek mainland itself south of Macedonia, besides Hephaistion (17), we find Hephaistios (2), Hephaistodemos (2), Hephaistodōros (16), Hephaistodotos (3), Hephēstikhos (1), Hephaistoklēs (2), Hephaistiadēs (2) Hephaistokrates (1), and a woman: Hephaistia (1) –the bulk of these in Attika.

In Attika and the Saronic Gulf, names referencing Hephaistos come in the greatest variety and number. Of course, this may owe to the fact so much of our epigraphical evidence (like other types of evidence) is from Attika/Athens. The oldest attestations are late 5th century, all from Athens for Hephaistodōros, the oldest dates to 415 (*PA* 6563; *IG I*³ 421, 10)⁷⁸, another of the tribe Erechtheis in a casualty list, 411 (*SEG LII*, 60.19), and another, father of Timagora, to 410-390 (*PA* 6564; *IG II*² 6446); and last, a slave, dating between 413-05 (*IG I*³ 1032, 117). The first and second were spelt with an epsilon not eta, and three omicrons instead of two omicrons and an omega.

All other Hephais-based names belong to the fourth century or after, so none is particularly early even if they offer the greatest variety. Among these we find the sole woman, Hephaistia, daughter of Kairedēmos from Acherdous dating to the middle of

⁷⁵ I debated whether to include him with the Athenian list or place him here, but finally decided to place him here as a colonist. It matters somewhat less with Samos, as both the island and Athens are Attic-Ionian populations.

⁷⁶ *Quite* a few of Hephaistion on Delos were undatable; at least some of these may fall in our range.

⁷⁷ The online *PHI* database dates this inscription much later, to the 1st century BC-1st century AD; I am inclined to accept this down-dating, as it is very much an outlier, but still include it.

⁷⁸ He is included among the men whose property was confiscated due to the mutilation of herms in Athens.

the 4th century (*IG II*² 7189). One (probable) Hephastiadēs dates to 378/7-350 (*IG II*² 1895), and the other, father of Panaitios, of Leukonoion, lived in the 2nd century (*IG II*² 6742 = *PA* 6548). We then have Hephastios, father of Arsinoe, mother of a polemarch, from Aigina after the 5th century (*IG IV* 85), and another Hephastios, father of Satyros, of Athens, dating to the 3rd-2nd century (*IG II*² 4030 = *PA* 6549). For the moment, I'll pass over Hephastion (who has quite a list), and move to Hephastodēmos, father of Euthegenēs, of Kephisia, 322/21⁷⁹. We have three of Hephastodotos, the first from Halai Aixonides, 303/4 (*AG XV* 61, 194); a second, an *epebe* running a torch race to Marathon⁸⁰, son of Dōrotheos of Ikarion, 176/5 (*IG II*³ 1313, 166 = *Ag. Inv.* 7529 [unp.]); and last, an Eleusinian victor, 165-50 (*I Eleusis* 227, 17). For Hephastoklēs, we have two from Halai, possibly related and/or the same person. The first dates to 318/17⁸¹ (*SEG XXVIII*, 155 [XXXVI, 155.19]); and the second, father of Demaratos, dates to 303/2 (*AG. XV* 62, 217). Hephastokratēs, father of Aristophanēs, hails from Kydathenaion, and lived in 400-375 (*IG II*² 6566, add. p. 891).

Finally, we turn to the two most popular names, Hephastion with 17 occurrences and Hephastodōros with 16. Most Hephastions appear in, or probably in Athens. Certainly from Athens, we have a sculptor, son of Myron and father of Eutykhidēs, living in the 2nd century⁸², and the father of Dionysios, from the Philaidai in 343-40 (*IG II*² 1747, 3 = 1749, 17; *Ag. XV* 36, 4; 38, 17; *PA* 6561). Nine other Hephastions may also have been from Athens. A Hephastion from the 4th century (*IG II*² 2349, 4); another, father of Athēnais, from the middle 4th (*IG II*² 10581), another dating to 365/4 (*SEG XXVI*, 203, I)⁸³; a fourth, dating to the 4th/3rd century (*SEG XXIV*, 223.5); and a tantalizing “son of Hephastion” dated before 190/80 (*SEG XXXIII*, 245). We have a potter, dating to 225-175 (*Ag. XXII* 83); and another from the middle 2nd century, probably from the Kerameikos⁸⁴ (*Ag. IV* 638; 862 = *Kerameikos XI*, 166ff., *JÓAI* 73 [2004] 145). On Crete at Knossos we find an Hephastion identified as an Athenian, dating to the 3rd century (*SEG* 44.730bis, B). Hephastion father of Apollonios dates to 166/5, right at the end of our range (*IG II*² 2316). Finally, we have a metic, dated to 333-328⁸⁵. Being a metic, we cannot say where he was born, but looking at our general pattern, Ionia or one of the Ionic islands would be a good guess. I have counted him among the Athenian Hephastions simply for convenience.

Hephastions in Attika outside Athens in our date range include Ankyle 183/2 (*IG II*² 2332, 216 = *PA* 6555), two in Erchia, almost certainly from the same family and likely a grandfather and grandson: one the son of a Philēmōn, dating sometime in the 2nd

⁷⁹ *SEG XXI*, 302.3; *IG II*² 371, 4; *IG II*² 383, 17; *IG II*² 375, 3-4; *IG II*² 376, 3 = *PA* 6562.

⁸⁰ PARKER 2007, 469-470 discusses the race. The third-to-last letter is restored, and while both the print and online versions of the *LGPN* give this as Hephastodotos, the online *PHI* searchable epigraphic database has it as the slightly more common name Hephastodōros (which also changes the o to an ω, so I reject it), and the *PAA* 8, p. 280, restores it as Hephastodokos. I will follow the *LGPN*, but for my arguments, any of the three would apply.

⁸¹ Here, I have followed the date given in the *Online Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (which is more recently updated), rather than the older print version, which gave the dates as 332/1. When dates conflict, I tend to prefer the most recent, but they are rarely so greatly divergent as to impact my general time frames.

⁸² *ID* 1634, 7; 1647, 8; 1870, 8; 1966, 6; 2007, 5; 2008, 5; 2076, 9; 2498; 1500-I; cf. MARCADÉ 1953, II, 59ff. (*PA* 6553).

⁸³ The online *PHI* inscriptions dates this a century later to the late 3th, early 2nd, but I will, here, follow *LGPN*.

⁸⁴ Most of the name has been restored, with only the Hephai- visible; so it is possible the name is another variant, but for our purposes, it is still a Hephais-based name.

⁸⁵ *IG II*² 1672, 121; 1673 + *SEG XXXIV*, 122.38 + *I.Eleusis* 159, 38.

century (*IG* II² 6113), and the other –probably the elder– the father of a Philēmōn, dating to 188/7 (*IG* II² 892 = *IG* II³, I 1276 = *PA* 6557). Another came from Halai in the 4th/3rd century⁸⁶; and another from the tribe Antiochis in 246/5 (*IG* II² 681, II, 27; *PA* 6554).

The earliest name is Hephaistodōros, four of which I mentioned above. We have three more in Athens, father of Plathanē, dating to the first half of the 4th century (*IG* II² 7728; cf. *APF* 13374), another from the first half of the 4th century, son of one Aiskylos and father of another (*IG* II² 2346, 19, 22; *PA* 6564a), and last, an Hephaistodōros who apparently served as *basileus* in the middle 4th century (*IG* II² 5901).

In Attika outside Athens, we find more Hephaistodōroses. In Axione, in 200 BCE (*Ag.* XV 151, 29, *IG* II³ 1235, 29); in Besa in the middle 4th century (*IG* II² 5901); in Cholargos, father of Eucharistos 210/9 (*SEG* XXII, 101.18); and three from Leukonoia, all 3rd century, and again, likely part of the same family, as we have a father of a Hephaistodōros and the son of one in the second half of the 3rd century⁸⁷, and then a third, dated to 212/11, who may be the same son or a grandson (*IG* II² 848, frag. II, 11; *Ag.* XV 129, 84). At Potomos, in c. 333 (*IG* II³ 417, 65; *SEG* XXVIII, 52.65); at Steiria in the second half of the 4th century we find the son of Arizēlos (*Ag.* XV 32, 43; *PA* 6566); and last, in the tribe of Oineis, in 246/5 (*IG* II² 681 II, 16)⁸⁸.

Moving north into Boeotia and Thessaly. We have only one inscription at Delphi, which had a veritable warehouse of dedications from all over the Greek world. Together with the fact there are no “Hephais-” based names at Olympia on dedications, I find this lack curious⁸⁹.

In any case, we do find Hephaistion, son of Parianos at Delphi dating c. 208 (*FD* III 4.134.17). There are two attestations of names with the Hephais-root at Oropos: Hephaistion (*IG* II² 6113=FRA 7343) in the 2nd century, and Hephaistodoros, father of Nikomakhos (*IG* VII 381 = *IOrop* 29). A Hephēstikhos (a variation on -phai-) can be found in Tanagra in the 3rd century (*IG* VII 108) in the 3rd or 2nd century. But both Oropos and Tanagra are border towns between Boeotia and Attika, which might explain the “ai” shift to an eta.

In Thessaly at Melitaia, we find a dedication to Ino the White Goddess, aunt of Dionysos, given by Xenon, grandson of a Hephaistion, dated to the last half of the 3rd century (*SEG* 26.683), and an undated reference to a Hephaistion at Demetrias in Magnesia, although probably Hellenistic or later⁹⁰.

⁸⁶ *IG* II² 2686 = FINLEY 1951, 128 no. 28,5 f. (*PA* 6556).

⁸⁷ *IG* II² 6735; *IG* II² 1299, 82 = *PA* 6565; *IG* II² 2346, 19-24 and *IG* II² 6745; vid. also *I.Eleusis* 196, col 1.82, Athenian soldiers in Eleusis in 234. I am counting this instance as one of these three.

⁸⁸ -ōros is missing from the end, so it may be a different name, but Hephaistodōros is most likely.

⁸⁹ This may be an artifact of social class. As we have seen, Hephais-based names were popular among potters (and perhaps also blacksmiths) who, as craftsmen, probably did not have the funds available for the expensive training regimen required of top-level athletes who competed on the Circuit.

⁹⁰ A reference to Hephaistos, the god, also appears at Demetrias in 250 (ΑΡΒΑΝΙΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1934-1940, 12, 1).

MACEDONIA

Let us move finally to Macedonia itself. As already noted, no Hephais-root names appear before the 4th century, and then only the dedication to “our” Hephaisstion in Pella, c. 315-300 (*SEG XL*, 547). In the early 2nd century on Delos, we find a votive offering from Athenion, son of Hephaisstion of Macedon (*IG XI*, 4 1273.3-4, TATAKI 1998, 225 n° 45). And a Hephaisstion, son of Theod-? appears in Thessaloniki somewhere between 200-166 (*IG X² 1*, 26 = HATZOPOULOS 1996, II [*Epig. App.*], 71). Given the rarity of the name in the region and the dating of both inscriptions, it is possible the father of Athenion *is* the Hephaisstion in Thessaloniki.

HAPHĒS-BASED NAMES

BLACK SEA/THRACE & ANATOLIA

Settlements around the Black Sea have only 3 attestations total, for Haphaistios (1), Haphaistiōn (1), and Haphaistodōros (2). These are found in Scythia Minor and Tauris. Only Haphaistiōn (1) appears in all of Anatolia, in the Pontos

In Scythia Minor, a Haphaistiōn, son of Skuthas, is found at Kallatis (*ISM III 35 B*, 38) in the second half of the 3rd century. The same city also had a Hephaisstion in the same time-frame.

In Tauris at the Chersonesos, we find a Haphaistodoros in the first half of the 3rd century (*SEG XL*, 615 B, 2-4), and a Haphaistios mentioned on a vase, dating to the Hellenistic period (*GAKh* 383). As mentioned above, both Kallatis and Chersonesos were founded by Herakleia Pontika, which was a Doric Megaran foundation. No eta-versions of the name appear in the Chersonesos, nor in Herakleia Pontika.

Significantly, the only appearance in Anatolia is from Herakleia, Haphaistiōn a potter, dating somewhere between 390-70⁹¹. Again, as a Megaran (or possibly Boeotian) foundation, Herakleia Pontika and its colonies should produce Doric versions of the name, although, as noted in the section above, there is one instance of Hephaisstion with an eta in Kallatis.

AEGEAN ISLANDS

Haphaistiōn appears in the Dodecanese 4 times, 2 from the same family⁹². We also have an Haphaistis (1) on Aeolian Lesbos.

Astypalaia has the family, dating to the third century, the father of Apollōnios (*IDorIns* 88, 20-1), and the son (*IDorIns* 88, 44). Rhodes has two instances of the name, one generic, 3rd century (KONTORINI 1975, 116, II, l. 6), and the other in the Argeioi clan from Lindos, father of Euklēs, c. 325 (*IG XII [1]* 761, 22).

Haphaistis, daughter of Theodōros, is found in Eresos on Lesbos in the Hellenistic Era, our first of two females with the alpha version (*IG XII [2]* 535).

⁹¹ *IHeraclea* p. 128; GRAKOV 1926, 186; TELEAGA 2003, 77 no. 19

⁹² The *LGPN* has a 5th listed at Nēsos, which is part of the archipelago in Akarnania, but as there are a few names in that general region, I will save that name for Akarnania/Achaia, as it more likely fits there.

PELOPONNESOS, WEST GREECE, ITALY & SICILY

Several versions occur in these regions: Haphaistiōn (4), Haphaistios (1), Haphaistos (1). Again, all appear in Aeolic-Doric contexts.

Haphaistiōn, son of Nikandros, appears at Nēsos harbor in the 3rd century (*IG XII* [2] 646 a, 13 + *Suppl.* p. 51), and Hephastios in Stratos, 6th-5th century (ΜΑΣΤΡΟΚΩΣΤΑΣ 1967, 323). Both are in Akarnania. And in Dyme, Achaia just to the south, we find Haphaistiōn, father of Phintōn, 3rd century (ROBINSON 1910, 399 n° 74 b, 3), and Haphaistos, son of Aristoklē̄s, c. 219 (RIZAKIS 1990, 124).

Turning further west, we have two Haphaistiōns, one in Sicily at Silenus in the 6th-5th century (MANGANARO 1997, 18, 1), and the other, son of Dameas, at Taras/Tarentum, dated to 267⁹³. Taras, of course, is famously Sparta's sole colony (Paus. 10.10.8), and Selinous was founded by Megara Hyblaia, in turn a colony of Megara, so again, Doric (Thuc. 6.4.7).

BOEOTIA/CENTRAL GREECE

Here, we find the largest number and greatest variation of alpha-versions of the name, and also here is where we find the largest cult related to Hephastios (the Kabeiroi) in an Aeolic region. Haphaistiōn in Lokris (1), Hapheistiōn in Boeotia (2), Haphēstiōn in Boeotia (6), Haphēstodorōs in Boeotia (1), Haphēstia in Boeotia (1), and Haphaistos (1) at the Panhellenic sanctuary of Delphi.

We find Haphaistiōn at Naupaktos in Lokris, c. 200-180 (*IG IX* (1) 2 (3) 624 f., 17); Naupaktos was the supposed site of the Herakleidai invasion of the Peloponnesos (Paus. 10.38.10; Apollod. 2.8.2). All other occurrences come from Boeotia itself, where we also find a spelling shift in the *middle* of the name, replacing the /ai/ diphthong with either an /ei/ or an eta.

In Thespis, we find two Hapheistiōns, which, given the dating and use of /ei/ may hail from the same family. We have the father of Zenokratēs, c. 245-35 (ROESCH *IThesp* 94, 11; ΚΕΡΑΜΟΠΟΥΛΛΟΥ 1936, *Chr.* 38 n° 209), and the father of Lousōn, c. 210 (*SEG XXIII*, 271, 80; KNOEPFLER 1992, 468 n° 98).

We then move to alpha-phi-eta versions, of which Haphēstiōn is clearly the most popular with six attestations. One appears at Orchomenos, c. 285-89, the son of Lukinos (*IG VII* 3175, 35) and another at Anthedon, c. 235-30 (*IG VII* 4172, 4). Four from Thespis, the father of Aganōr, 3rd century (*IG VII* 1752, 8), the son of Damatrios, c. 214-10 (ΚΕΡΑΜΟΠΟΥΛΛΟΥ 1936, *Chron.* 28, n° 195, 21), the son of Phlistos (ΚΕΡΑΜΟΠΟΥΛΛΟΥ 1936, *Chron.* 28, n° 195, 22), and finally the father of Lokhagos, c. 210 (*SEG XXIII*, 271, 28; KNOEPFLER 1992, 468 n° 98). Clearly, however one spells it, Hapheistiōn/Haphēstiōn was popular in Thespis with the largest concentration of any alpha-based version of the name.

In Thisbe, we find our other female example of the name, Haphēstia, probably Hellenistic (*IG VII* 2264). And in Thebes itself, we have Haphēstodorōs, son of Lukiskos, second half of the 3rd century (*IG VII* 2433 I, 16).

Finally, at Delphi, we find another Haphaistos, c. 530-20 (BRINKMANN 1985, 87 N1; *SEG* 35.429). As it appears at a Panhellenic site, we cannot place his origin as that was

⁹³ *SEG XXVII*, 1114 A, 8 (*PP* 17003a; STEPHANIS 1988: 1124), although it has also been reconstructed as [Ἡφαί]στιον: s. Δαμέας, with the eta.

not preserved, nor any patronymic, but the spelling fits with the Doric version, and may suggest he was local.

This concludes the survey of epigraphical evidence used in the mapping.

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