

## KALLIXENOS THE ALKMEONID

AMONG the more than one thousand five hundred ostraka that have been found to date in various parts of Athens, many bear the names of "candidates" for ostracism who are not mentioned in our literary sources.<sup>1</sup> As a rule these new names appear on only a few ostraka so that we may assume that the persons named, though active in the political life of the times, were lesser figures and that for this reason they received only a scattering vote. The silence of our literary sources is thus understandable.

We cannot, however, say the same of the hitherto unknown Kallixenos, son of Aristonymos, of the deme Xypete, whose name appears on no less than 251 ostraka and who thus ranks second only to Themistokles, the statesman whose name appears most frequently on the ostraka discovered to date. All the ostraka with the name of Kallixenos have been found at the Agora Excavations except one, and this a mere fragment which was found at the Kerameikos.<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted, however, that the Agora pieces do not all come from a single deposit, so that one might argue that the few hundred votes which happened to have been cast against Kallixenos at a single ostrakophoria, after having been separated out and counted, were dumped all together in one place. On the contrary, they have been found in many different deposits in various parts of the excavations. The large number of ostraka with this name, found widely scattered over the area around the ancient Agora, indicates at once that we have to do with a man who was very active in the political affairs of the city, and for whose ostracism a concerted campaign must have been conducted.<sup>3</sup> A study of these ostraka has given us other information about him which is set forth in this brief article.

In only a few instances does the name Kallixenos appear alone on an ostrakon (cf. No. 2), excluding of course broken pieces. In one of these cases we have to do with an ostrakon left unfinished by the writer (No. 1). Two other special instances will be discussed below (Nos. 29 and 32). In the great majority of cases the name is accompanied by the patronymic, Aristonymou. Yet although this brief text Καλλίχσενος Ἀριστονύμο appears so many times, each ostrakon has its own character and reflects something of the individuality of its writer. The type and shape of the sherd employed, the forms of the letters, and the mistakes made by the writers show very

<sup>1</sup> See the detailed list in *Hesp.*, Suppl. VIII, pp. 408-412, which includes all those found up to the end of 1946, and the supplementary list of the large number found in 1947, *Hesp.*, XVII, 1948, p. 194. Relatively few were found in 1948 or 1949.

<sup>2</sup> W. Peek, *Kerameikos*, III, p. 86, No. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Whether or not this campaign resulted in his ostracism, it is not possible at present to say.

great diversity in this group of ostraka. At the end of the article we publish a number of examples to illustrate this diversity. Only five ostraka of Kallixenos give his demotic, sometimes in the nominative case, sometimes in the genitive case with the preposition *ἐκ* (e. g. No. 27). That this Kallixenos of Xypete is the same as the son of Aristonymos is made certain by two ostraka <sup>4</sup> which have the full name, Kallixenos Aristonymou Xypetaion.

Chance has preserved for us something more than the mere name of this hitherto unknown statesman: a rough portrait sketch of him. On the ostrakon No. 29 the voter has scratched a head in profile to the right, a head with a wreath and a long pointed beard. This ostrakon is unfortunately damaged at several crucial points so that we do not have the complete picture. Nevertheless, this representation, though incomplete, is most precious to us, drawn as it was by the hand of a contemporary fellow citizen of Kallixenos. To the right of the head the name has been written in three lines, *Καλλί|χσεν|ος*, without the patronymic, one of the few instances in which the name appears alone. The vacant spaces on the sherd have been filled in with a branch and a fish whose head only is preserved.

Who was this Kallixenos, when did he live, and why were so many votes cast against him? There can be no question about his date. Many ostraka with his name have been found in the same deposits with ostraka of Aristekides, Themistokles and Hippokrates, son of Alkmeonides, to mention only a few. It is thus clear that Kallixenos was active in the second decade of the fifth century B. C. A close study of the layers in the Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft, in which two ostraka of Kallixenos were found, has led Vanderpool <sup>5</sup> to attempt to fix the date even more closely, and he suggests that Kallixenos may have been one of the principal "candidates" for ostracism in 483 B. C. He adds, however, that although this would appear to be a suitable date for the two ostraka from the Shaft, it does not follow that all the Kallixenos ostraka are to be dated to the same year, for it is quite possible that votes may have been cast against him on more than one occasion. It now seems probable, in fact, that the majority of the Kallixenos ostraka date from the ostracism of 482 B. C. <sup>6</sup>

We see then that we are dealing with a very important person of the period of the Persian Wars. The ostrakon No. 30 gives us evidence which enables us to identify the family to which he belonged. Above the two lines which give the name and patronymic of Kallixenos, four letters of a first line are preserved which apparently gave the name of his family or clan. We may restore the full text of this ostrakon as follows:

[<sup>3</sup>Αλκ]μεον[ιδόν | Καλ]λίχσεν[ος | <sup>3</sup>Αρ]ιστο[νύμο].

<sup>4</sup> No. 28 and Agora Inv. P 2758; the latter published in *Hesp.*, XV, 1946, p. 273, No. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Hesp.*, XV, 1946, p. 273.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Hesp.*, Suppl. IV, p. 33.

Kallixenos therefore belonged to the great and well known Alkmeonid family, a family that was deeply involved in the political strife of the age, and one that had many enemies; hence it is not surprising to find an attempt being made to ostracize him.

Another ostrakon that may be cited in this connection is one on which we read Κλαλίσεινος | Κλεστένος (No. 31). It was found in 1947 in the large group discussed in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 193-4. This ostrakon is noticed briefly there and interpreted as referring to an otherwise unknown son of Kleisthenes the Legislator. While this is of course possible, and is indeed on the face of it the obvious interpretation, it does seem a little strange that in a deposit containing about five hundred ostraka, among which 40% of the identifiable pieces were against Kallixenos Aristonymou,<sup>7</sup> there should be *one* against another Kallixenos, a son of Kleisthenes. May we not suppose that this lone ballot was also intended for Kallixenos Aristonymou, and that the voter meant it in the sense "Kallixenos, that relative of Kleisthenes," Kleisthenes being the most prominent member of the family?<sup>8</sup>

If further confirmation of Kallixenos' connection with the Alkmeonid family were needed, we might recall that the name Aristonymos was borne by the grandfather of Agariste of Sicyon who had married into the Alkmeonid family in an earlier generation.<sup>9</sup> The use of the name of a Sicyonian forebear in the Alkmeonid family would be quite normal and is indeed paralleled in the case of Kleisthenes, the Legislator. If we seek to place Kallixenos more precisely in the Alkmeonid family tree, we are on less solid ground. We may, however, perhaps suggest that his father Aristonymos was a younger brother of Kleisthenes and that he had established himself in Xypete some time before the reforms of 508/7 B. C. and thus automatically took a demotic different from the other members of the family who had remained at the old homestead in Alopeke.<sup>10</sup>

The ostrakon No. 32 is also of considerable interest. It consists of two lines of text broken away at the left, in the first of which we read—ίχσεινος followed by a blank space. In the second line, just at the break, part of an omicron is preserved.<sup>11</sup> This is followed by an epsilon which has been corrected to delta (or vice-versa), and

<sup>7</sup> Another 40% were against Themistokles, 10% against Hippokrates Alkmeonidou, and 10% scattering; Cf. *Hesp.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> It might also be merely a case of confusion or error on the part of the writer; note that he made a false start on the other side of the sherd, and that he spells badly. We might even suppose that the second name was not a patronymic at all, but merely another attempt (the fourth!) to write Kallixenos: compare the confused spellings on some of the ostraka published below, particularly the Καλίσθενος of No. 23 and the Κλισένης of No. 25.

<sup>9</sup> *Herodotos*, VI, 126; cf. VI, 131. We thank A. E. Raubitschek for this and other suggestions.

<sup>10</sup> Leobotes Alkmeonos Agrylethen (*P.A.*, 9071) appears to be a similar case. It is possible too that Aristonymos and Kallixenos were connected with the Alkmeonids only in the female line.

<sup>11</sup> It might also possibly be a theta of the type with a central dot, which is common enough on ostraka of this period.

this by the letters *ορες*. This line cannot be restored as a demotic; nor does it lend itself readily to interpretation as a patronymic in the nominative case such as we sometimes find on ostraka of the period. Although there are several possibilities for the first line,<sup>12</sup> the most likely restoration by far is [Καλλ]ίχσενος, the only name with this ending that has so far appeared on ostraka, and the sherd may be interpreted as an ostrakon of Kallixenos Aristonymou, one of the few on which the name is not accompanied by patronymic or demotic. The letters in the second line must therefore belong to some word which would characterize Kallixenos in a way which would make the patronymic or demotic superfluous, probably a derogatory word.<sup>13</sup> We would suggest [πρ]οδότες, or, to fill the available space more satisfactorily, [ho πρ]οδότες. This restoration also fits in very well with the usual accusations of *ἐναγείς* and *ἄτιμοι* which were levelled against the Alkmeonidai.<sup>14</sup> That this very word *προδότης* was current in the political parlance of the day, we know from the orator Lykourgos (*In Leocr.*, 117), where there is mention of a stele on which were written the names of *προδόται* and *ἀλειτήριοι*.

In this connection we may also mention a fragment of an ostrakon from the large 1947 group (No. 33) on which we read [— —]ς ἄτιμ[ος]. The restoration ἄτιμ[ος] seems virtually certain.<sup>15</sup> Before it we have a trace, but only a trace, of the last letter of the preceding word, probably the name of the person against whom the ballot was cast. Since about 40% of the identifiable ostraka from this deposit were against Kallixenos it is quite within the bounds of possibility that the missing name here was his. In this case we might restore the text [Καλλίχσενο]ς ἄτιμ[ος].

Finally we must discuss a most unusual piece which is probably to be interpreted as an ostrakon of Kallixenos (No. 34). It is part of a handle from a semi-glazed or black glazed oinochoe. The outer face is concave with edges glazed and central part reserved. An inscription is carefully painted in large letters along the central part of the handle in the same black glaze as is used for the edges; it reads from top to bottom: Καλλίχσ[ενος — —].

This is indeed a most unusual piece, and we must confess that had it not been found in a deposit with other ostraka, it would never have been recognized as such. It comes, however, from a deposit which contained some 500 ostraka, among which about forty per cent of the identifiable pieces bore the name of Kallixenos, son of

<sup>12</sup> See Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen*, pp. 341-2.

<sup>13</sup> It might of course refer to some title or office held by Kallixenos, as in the case of the ostrakon against Eucharides the thesmothete, *Ath. Mitt.*, XL, 1915, p. 17, No. 44 (= *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 911, 5). No suitable restoration in this sense suggests itself, however. In this connection we might also mention the Menon ostrakon, W. Peek, *Kerameikos* III, pp. 71-2, No. 121; could this be restored *Μένον ἐκκ προ[δοτ]ῶ[ν]* on the parallel of the piece under discussion here?

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Carcopino, *L'ostracisme athénien*<sup>2</sup>, p. 31.

<sup>15</sup> It is of course also possible that we have here some rare name such as Megatimos.

Aristonymos. We need scarcely hesitate, therefore, to restore the name Kallixenos and to assume that this handle was used as an ostrakon.<sup>16</sup>

On the other hand, however, it is quite impossible to suppose that this handle was originally inscribed with the intention of using it as an ostrakon. Painted ostraka do exist, but the three that are known, one each of Thucydides Melesiou, Kallias Didymiou and Hyperbolos Antiphanous,<sup>17</sup> are done in a matt paint or ink of some sort which has not been fired, and it is clear that the writing was done on the sherd, not on the complete vase. This is not the case with our handle, however. Here the writing was done in the same black glaze as was used for the decorative bands at the sides of the handle, and it has been *fired*. The letters are large and neat and evenly spaced, and were evidently written with an eye to their decorative effect. Clearly then the inscription was originally written on the complete vase.

Since this is the case, it will in all probability have said one of four things: "Kallixenos made (or painted) me," "I belong to Kallixenos," "Kallixenos dedicated me," or "Kallixenos is fair." We cannot perhaps choose with certainty between these various possibilities. If we accept the first, the name will not be that of our Kallixenos, who as a member of one of the great aristocratic families of his day will hardly have been in the pottery business, but that of an otherwise unknown potter or painter named Kallixenos. Owners' names painted on the vase before firing are rare, though not unknown. A dedication is not impossible, but painted ones are far rarer than incised ones, and furthermore the words "Kallixenos anetheken" would surely have filled the available space on the handle and there would have been no room for mention of the deity which would have had to be painted on the body. There remains the fourth possibility, and there seems a good chance that the inscription is to be restored Καλλίχσ[ενος καλός].

The vase on which it was painted was an oinochoe or olpe, either semi-glazed or black glazed. There are several types common in the middle and second half of the sixth century which have high arching handles with a concave outer face.<sup>18</sup> None of the handles on these vases is inscribed,<sup>19</sup> to be sure, but the idea of using an inscription

<sup>16</sup> It must be confessed that the deposit also contained thousands of sherds which were not ostraka, some thirty boxes full, and that one of these bore an ordinary graffito, an owner's name, another was a normal dipinto from the neck of an unglazed amphora, and a third was a fragment from an inscribed Panathenaic amphora. This fact, however, does not seriously weaken the argument.

<sup>17</sup> Thucydides: *Ath. Mitt.*, LI, 1926, pp. 128 f., fig. 1. Kallias: cf. *Hesp.* Suppl. VIII, pp. 409-10. Hyperbolos: *Hesp.*, VIII, 1939, p. 246, fig. 47. It will be noted that all date from the second half of the fifth century.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. a small black glazed example, *Hesp.*, VII, 1938, p. 381, No. 13; for the semi-glazed variety, *ibid.*, pp. 386 ff., No. 18.

<sup>19</sup> Inscriptions are not often found on the handles of vases. Artists' signatures, however, sometimes occur written in small letters as for example on cups of Brygos and Hieron. The only love

as one of the main elements of the decoration of a vase is not foreign to the period. We may cite the Little Master cups on which inscriptions are regularly so used, and also the Kriton and Lysias oinochoai<sup>20</sup> where the sole decoration consists of a narrow reserved panel on the body containing the signature. For parallels more nearly contemporary with what must be the date of our vase if we accept the proposed restoration, i. e. the last quarter of the sixth century, we may cite the Agora plate with a central medallion consisting of two inscriptions, one the signature of the potter Salax, the other praising the fair Eumares.<sup>21</sup> Mention might also be made of the fragmentary red-figured cup from the Agora with the love-name Agasikrates painted in large red letters around the rim inside.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, without absolutely excluding other possibilities, there would seem to be a fair chance that the inscription originally painted on the pot read Καλλίχσ[εως καλός]. By what strange trick of fortune the handle of this vase which was made in honor of the fair Kallixenos in his youth was in later years turned into a ballot aimed at sending him into exile is a subject with which we may allow our imaginations to play.

And so the figure of Kallixenos, son of Aristonymos, of Xypete, a member of the great Alkmeonid family and a person of some consequence in Athens at the time of the Persian Wars, has, almost entirely through the agency of the ostraka, been brought back if not into the full light at least into the half-light of history.

## CATALOGUE

We publish below a representative selection of ostraka of Kallixenos, son of Aristonymos, of Xypete, including those mentioned above. The drawings were made by Mrs. Clayton R. Whipple, the photographs by Miss M. Alison Frantz, to both of whom we extend our thanks. For bibliography of ostraka of Kallixenos published through 1946, see *Hesp.*, Suppl. VIII, p. 410. Add *Hesp.* XVII, 1948, pp. 185-6 and 193-4.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Inv. No. P 17,776. Max. dim. 0.10 m. Fig 1.               | From the wall of a porous water jar.                  |
| Large 1947 group (cf. <i>Hesp.</i> , XVII, 1948, pp. 193-4). | Incised inside: Καλλχσ. The name was never completed. |

name that we know of on a handle is on one of the head vases by Charinos (*J.H.S.*, XLIX, 1929, p. 43). None of these, however, is really a proper parallel for our piece.

<sup>20</sup> *C.V.A.*, Goluchow, Pl. 16, 2; Hoppin, *BF.*, pp. 159 and 167.

<sup>21</sup> *Hesp.*, XV, 1946, pp. 276 f., No. 17.

<sup>22</sup> Inv. No. P 7901; associated with the manner of Euphronios by Beazley, *A.R.V.* p. 19, 7, and mentioned in his *Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum*, pp. 29-30. Other examples (these kindly given us by Professor Beazley): Louvre, CA 1943, mug with ΕΠΙΔΡΟΜΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ as sole decoration in large letters bounded by relief lines, the space between the relief lines being scraped out (mentioned *A.R.V.*, p. 922, no. 15); the olpe (fragment) of Priapos, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-8, p. 204, top. Jacobsthal's article "Zur Kunstgeschichte der griechischen Inschriften" in *Xáπρες Friedrich Leo zum sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht*, deals with the use of inscriptions as decoration: the section on vases (pp. 456-8) could now be greatly expanded as the above references indicate.

Since this sherd was found with a large group of ostraka, many of which bear the name of Kallixenos, there can be no doubt that it too is an ostrakon. As it is incomplete, we may question whether it was actually used for voting or not. We should remember, however, that it was found with a large group of ostraka evidently discarded after the balloting, and therefore it seems possible that it was used as a ballot in spite of its incompleteness. It may equally well, however, have been rejected and discarded near by, and subsequently have been swept up with the rest.

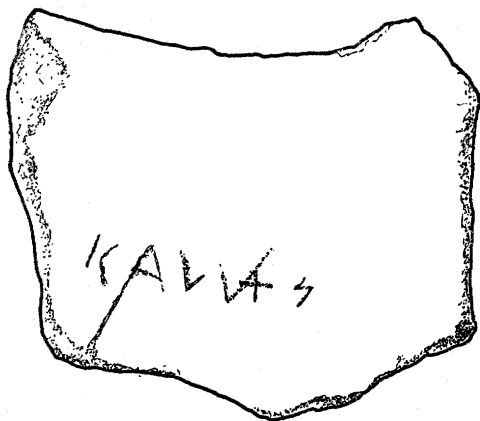


Fig. 1. No. 1.

2. Inv. No. P 17,729. Max. dim. 0.108 m.  
Fig. 2.

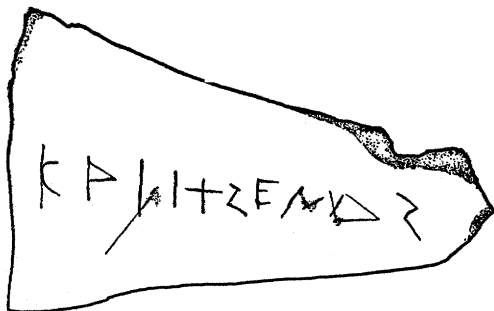


Fig. 2. No. 2.

Large 1947 group.

From the wall of a large unglazed pot; incised outside. The ostrakon is complete except

for minor chips. The name Kallixenos stands alone: *Καλίχσενος*. Note the retrograde sigmas and the single lambda.

3. Inv. No. P 17,672. Max. dim. 0.074 m.  
Plate 111.

Large 1947 group.

Wall fragment from a semi-glazed krater, as for example *Hesp.*, XV, 1946, p. 328, Nos. 304-308. The name and the patronymic are incised through the glaze on the inside of the sherd: *Καλίχσενος | Ἀριστονύμο*

4. Inv. No. P 5315. Diameter 0.07 m. Plate 111.

Found in a modern wall near the center of the Agora (Section Ξ).

Foot of a black-glazed kylix, approximately as *Hesp.* XV, 1946, pp. 316-7, No. 232.

Incised through the glaze around the top of the foot:

*Καλίχσενος Ἀριστονύμο*

5. Inv. No. P 17,642 + P 17,932. Max. dim. (practically the diameter) 0.071 m. Plate 111.

Large 1947 group.

Two joining fragments preserve the complete ostrakon, half the base of a black-glazed kylix similar in shape to the last item.

Incised through the black glaze on the under side of the foot: *Καλίχσενος | Ἀριστονύμο*

6. Inv. No. P 17,649. Max dim. 0.097 m.  
Fig. 3.

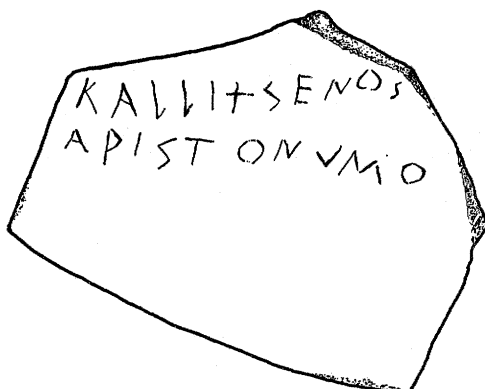


Fig. 3. No. 6.

Large 1947 group.

From the wall of a large unglazed pot.

Incised outside: Καλλίχσενος | Ἀριστονύμο

7. Inv. No. P 15,618. Max. dim. 0.08 m. Plate 111.

Large 1939 group (cf. *Hesp.* Suppl. VIII, p. 395).

Early black figured sherd from a large closed pot. On the outside, part of an animal frieze: head of a panther, wing and tail of a siren.

Incised inside: Καλλίχσ[ενος] | Ἀριστο[νύμο]

8. Inv. No. P 17,770. Max. dim. 0.074 m. Fig. 4.

Large 1947 group.

From the wall of a large unglazed pot.

Incised outside: Καλλίχσενος | Ἀριστονύμο

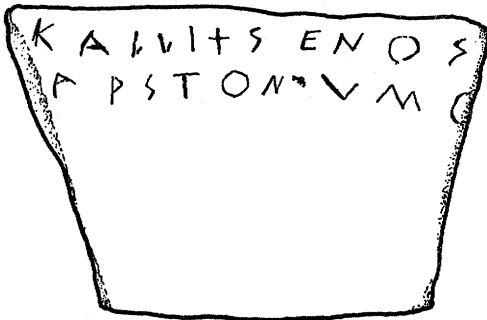


Fig. 4. No. 8.

9. Inv. No. P 9965. Max. dim. 0.11 m. Fig. 5.

One of the group of forty ostraka found in the road fifteen meters due south of the Tholos, mentioned in *Hesp.* Suppl. IV, p. 33.

The stopper for the cleaning hole of a terracotta water pipe similar to that discussed and illustrated in *Hesperia* IV, 1935, pp. 334-6, figs. 22-23; cf. also Suppl. IV, pp. 23-4, figs. 17-18. Incised on the top, around the outer edge of the stopper: Καλλίχσενος Ἀριστονύμο. Single letters are often doubled, but this is the only instance of a double *chi* that has appeared on ostraka thus far.

10. Inv. No. P 15,597. Max. dim. 0.117 m. Fig. 6.

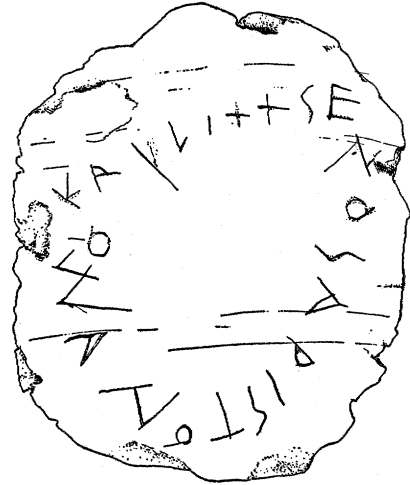


Fig. 5. No. 9.

Large 1939 group.

From the wall of a large unglazed pot.

Incised outside: Καλλίχσενος | Ἀριστόννμος

Note the double rho. The patronymic in the nominative case occurs on at least eight Kallixenos ostraka.

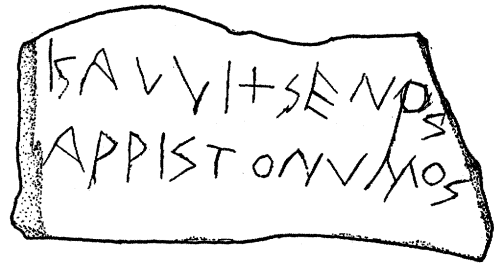


Fig. 6. No. 10.

11. Inv. No. P 17,637. Max. dim. 0.105 m. Plate 111.

Large 1947 group.

From the wall of a semi-glazed krater.

Incised inside: Καλλίχσενος | Ἀριστονύμο

Note the double sigma.

12. Inv. No. P 15,473. Max. dim. 0.115 m. Fig. 7.

Large 1939 group.

From the wall of a large unglazed pot.



Incised on the outside: Καλίχσενος | Ἀριστονόμο  
Note the single instead of the double lambda.

The spelling -νόμο at the end of the patronymic occurs on 9 ostraka as against 103 with the regular -νόμο. The substitution of *iota* for *upsilon* has hitherto been observed in a very few instances, and usually in certain specific words, in inscriptions on vases and stone.<sup>23</sup> From the figures given above, however, we see that the phenomenon was not as uncommon as has been thought and that it occurs once in about 12 times in the word Ἀριστονόμο. We find the same phenomenon again in the word Χονπεταίων (see below on No. 26) where chance has preserved for us 3 instances of the correct *upsilon* and 2 of the *iota*. Compare also the *ίός* for *νίός* discussed below under No. 17. Must we not, therefore, conclude from the present cases, in which there is no possibility of assimilation, that in the early fifth century B.C. the sound of *upsilon* was sufficiently close to the sound of *iota* to cause confusion to some persons? Meisterhans' view (p. 28, 1) that from early times the sound of *upsilon* was already like German *ü* rather than like German *u* is thus reinforced.



Fig. 7. No. 12.

13. Inv. No. P 17,598. Max. dim. 0.12 m.  
Fig. 8.

Large 1947 group.

From the wall of a large unglazed pot.

Incised outside: [Καλίχσε]νος Ἀριστονόμου

Among the Kallixenos ostraka there are at least two instances in which the genitive ends in -ον instead of -ο; see next item.

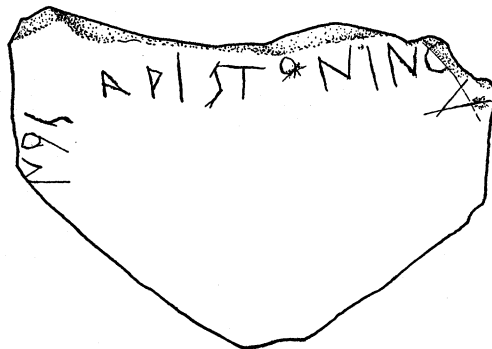


Fig. 8. No. 13.

14. Inv. No. P 17,919. Max. dim. 0.125 m.  
Plate 112.

Large 1947 group.

From rim and upper wall of a semi-glazed krater.

Incised inside, twice over: Καλίχσενος | Ἀριστονόμου and Καλίχσενος | Ἀριστονόμο.

In the first instance the genitive ending in -μον was perhaps intended for -μου: compare the previous item.

15. Inv. No. P 15,496. Max. dim. 0.072 m.  
Fig. 9.

Large 1939 group.

From the wall of a large unglazed pot.

Incised outside: [Καλί]χσενος : ho | [Ἀριστο]νόμο

This is the only certain instance of the use of the article with the patronymic among the Kal-

<sup>23</sup> Cf. P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften*, pp. 119-121; Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 28-30. The love-name Euryptolemos is spelled this way once; Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 87, No. 4.

lixenos ostraka, although it occurs not infrequently elsewhere.

The spurious diphthong *ov* of the genitive is normally represented simply by *o*, and it is so written on at least 93 Kallixenos ostraka including most of those published here. In at least six (or possibly seven) instances, however, it is represented by  $\Omega$ , a sign which on the ostraka of this period seems always to stand for the spurious diphthong *ov* and never for *omega*. In two instances the diphthong is written out in full, *ov*; see No. 13 above, and cf. No. 14.<sup>24</sup>

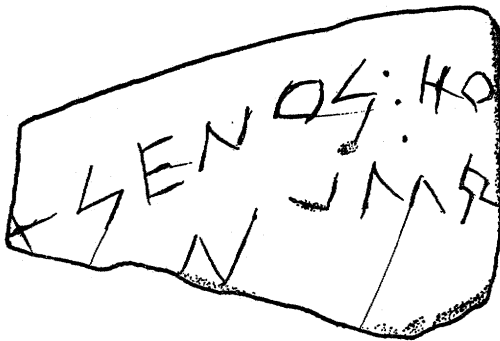


Fig. 9. No. 15.

16. Inv. No. P 17,921. Max. dim. 0.095 m. Fig. 10.

Large 1947 group.

From rim and upper wall of an unglazed krater.

Incised inside: Καλλισίνοι | Ἀριστονίμο

Originally written with a single *lambda*, a second was later crowded in. The *chi* has been omitted before the *sigma* in Kallixenos. This is one of three Kallixenos ostraka with the name in the dative case.

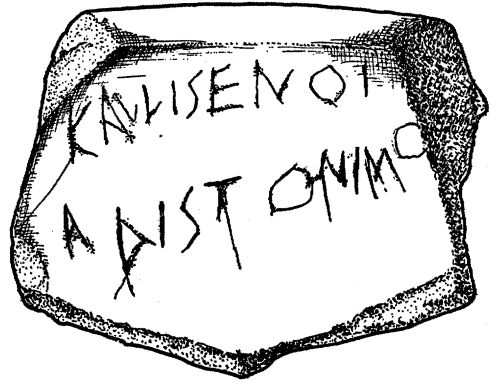


Fig. 10. No. 16.

17. Inv. No. P 17,639. Max. dim. 0.10 m. Plate 112.

Large 1947 group.

From the rim and upper wall of a semi-glazed krater.

Incised inside, following the edge of the sherd: Καλλίσκενος ἰός Ἀριτόνυμος. The *iota* of Kallixenos seems originally to have been omitted; the *sigma* was then changed to *iota* by drawing a deep straight line and a new *sigma* was crowded in. Notice *σκ* instead of *χσ* in the third syllable.

Ἰός seems certainly to be intended for *νίος*, and we should probably assume that the initial *upsilon* has been inadvertently omitted, like the *sigma* of Aristonymos. The forms *νίος* and *ύός* both occur in archaic Attic inscriptions,<sup>25</sup> however, and, although there is no other example of it, we perhaps cannot exclude the possibility that *ίός* has been written here for *ύός*, especially in view of the fairly frequent substitution of *iota* for *upsilon* observed among these ostraka; see above on No. 12, compare also the next item.

<sup>24</sup> Among the Themistokles ostraka at the Agora, there are 64 instances of Νεοκλέος, 5 of Νεοκλέως and 3 of Νεοκλέους. For the use of the sign  $\Omega$  in archaic Attic vase inscriptions see J. D. Beazley's remarks in *A.J.A.*, LII, 1948, p. 338; add Berlin F 4017 with the inscription Διαντίδω: εἰμί, A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium*, p. 1018. For its use in ostraka of the mid-fifth century cf. W. Peek, *Kerameikos*, III, *Inschriften, Ostraka, Fluchtafeln*, pp. 58-9, 64 and 84-85. Two isolated occurrences in stone inscriptions are cited by Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*<sup>3</sup>, p. 4, note 17 and p. 26, note 135. See also Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, p. 113.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Meisterhans<sup>3</sup>, pp. 59-60; Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s. v.

The *sigma* of *ίος* is written backwards; it has three bars, not four as might appear from the photograph, the upper "bar" being caused by the glaze having flaked at this point.

18. Inv. No. P 17,772. Max. dim. 0.135 m. Fig. 11.

Large 1947 group.

From the rim and upper wall of a semi-glazed krater.

Incised on the flat, reserved upper face of the rim:

Καλλ[ίχ]σενος | 'Αρι[στ]ονύμο [ιω].

After the patronymic are two and possibly three letters, written with a somewhat lighter stroke. The first two, clearly *ΙΟ*, have subsequently been erased by scraping the surface of the sherd. The third very lightly drawn and close to the edge, consists of a single stroke. It may be a complete *iota*, some other letter left incomplete, or possibly no letter at all but merely a scratch. In view of the occurrence of the word *ίος* in the ostrakon published above, it seems not unlikely that an attempt was made here to write the same word, but that it was left unfinished and then partially erased.

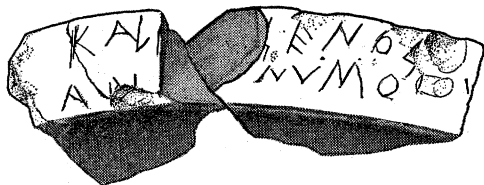


Fig. 11. No. 18.

19. Inv. No. P 9967. Max. dim. 0.09 m. Fig. 12.

One of the group of forty ostraka found in the road fifteen meters due south of the Tholos, mentioned in *Hesp.*, Suppl. IV, p. 33.

From the wall of a large unglazed pot.

Incised outside, retrograde: Καλίχεν | Μρισονμ  
An extremely illiterate attempt.

20. Inv. No. P 17,693. Max. dim. 0.072 m. Fig. 13.



Fig. 12. No. 19.

Large 1947 group.

From the wall of a terracotta water pipe; cf. No. 9 above. The name is incised on the inside of the fragment, the patronymic on the outside: Καλίχεν | νο | 'Αριστο | νννμ.



Fig. 13. No. 20.

21. Inv. No. P 15,797. Max. dim. 0.058 m.  
Fig. 14.

Large 1939 group.

From the wall of a semi-glazed krater.

Incised outside: Καλίσε[νος] | Ἀριτν[ο]



Fig. 14. No. 21.

22. Inv. No. P 15,472. Max. dim. 0.108 m.  
Fig. 15.

Large 1939 group.

From the wall of a large unglazed pot.

Incised outside: Καλίσχενος | Ἀριστονόμο

Notice σχ for χσ, a phenomenon which occurs six times among the Kallixenos ostraka, cf. No. 17 above.

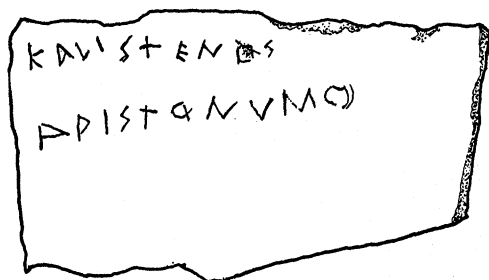


Fig. 15. No. 22.

23. Inv. No. P 10,614. Max. dim. 0.13 m.  
Fig. 16.

Hellenistic fill near the Tholos.

From wall of semi-glazed krater.

Incised outside: Καλίσθενος | Ἀριστόνυμο

Compare the next item.

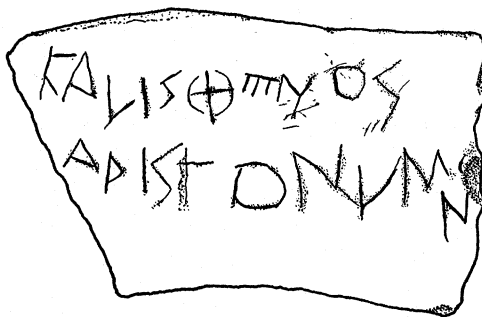


Fig. 16. No. 23.

24. Inv. No. P 17,912. Max. dim. 0.08 m.  
Fig. 17.

Large 1947 group.

About one quarter of the stopper for the cleaning hole of a terracotta water pipe; cf. above, No. 9.

Incised outside: Ἀριστονόμο | Καλλισθένης

This ostrakon is mentioned in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 193-4, where it is read Kalisthenes and the suggestion is made that it refers to a brother of Kallixenos. It seems more probable, however, that it refers to Kallixenos himself, and that the name has merely been misspelled: compare the previous item where we read Kalisthenos, and consider also the various other instances of misspelling among the ostraka published here.



Fig. 17. No. 24.

25. Inv. No. P 17,688. Max. dim. 0.088 m.  
Fig. 18.

Large 1947 group.

From the handle of an unglazed amphora.

Incised down the outer face: Κλισενες Ἀρισ-  
τον[μο]

This ostrakon is mentioned in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 193-4 and interpreted as either Kleisthenes or Kallisthenes, son of Aristonymos. It seems more probable, however, that this piece too is nothing but a badly misspelled ostrakon of Kallixenos Aristonymou.

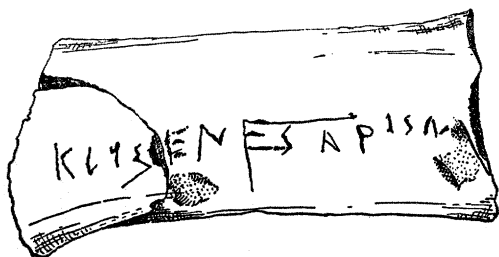


Fig. 18. No. 25.



26. Inv. No. P 15,600. Max. dim. 0.073 m.  
Fig. 19.

Large 1939 group.

From the wall of a large pithos.

Incised outside and (the last three letters)  
inside:

Καλλίχ|σενον | Χσιφετ||αόν

Mentioned *Hesp.* XV, 1946, p. 273.

This is the only instance of the use of the accusative case among the Kallixenos ostraka.

although it is found elsewhere occasionally. The demotic is spelled with an *iota* in the first syllable; compare one of the ostraka of Acharnion Xypetaion, *Hesp.* Suppl. VIII, p. 395, and see above on No. 12. The *pi* of the demotic has been roughened to *phi* as in both Acharnion ostraka, *ibid.* An *alpha* should have been added to the end of the demotic to make it agree with the accusative of the name.

27. Inv. No. P 15,493. Max. dim. 0.098 m.  
Fig. 20.

Large 1939 group.

From the wall of a large pot with dull black glaze outside and thin glaze wash inside.

Incised outside, around the edge of the sherd:

[Κ]αλλίχσεν[ο]ς ἐχς Χουπεταόνον

Mentioned *Hesp.* XV, 1946, p. 273.

28. Inv. No. P 16,761. Max. dim. 0.072 m.  
Plate 112.

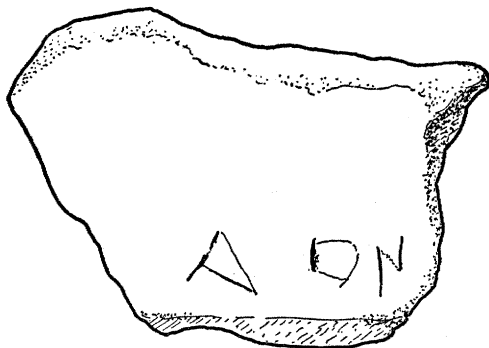


Fig. 19. No. 26.

Hellenistic cistern on west slope of Areopagus.

From the wall of a red-figured column krater. Inside, dull streaky black glaze. Outside, the left edge of the figured panel, with vertical border of ivy leaves, black, between black bands. Within the panel, part of a raised right arm, and falling across it, a broad fillet done in added red. No relief contour.

Incised inside: Καλίχ[σενος] | Ἀριστ[ονύμο] | Χσ[υπ[εταίων]



Fig. 20. No. 27.

This ostrakon has been mentioned in *Hesperia* X, 1941, p. 3, and XV, 1946, pp. 265-6, note 2.

**29.** Inv. No. P 7103. Max. dim. 0.094 m. Fig. 21 and Plate 112.

Hellenistic deposit near temple of Hephaistos.

From the rim and body of a small semi-glazed krater; mended from three pieces; several fragments from the left and central parts of the original ostrakon are missing.

Mentioned *Hesp.*, XV, 1946, p. 273, note 16.

For description and reading see above, p. 377.

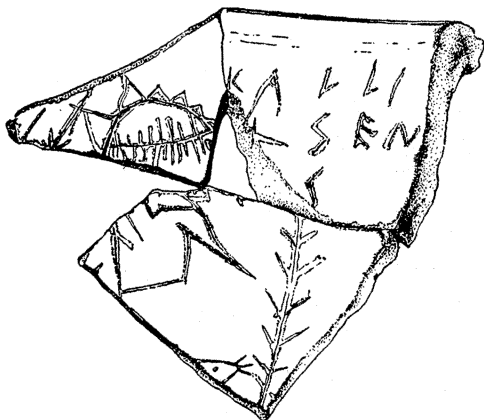


Fig. 21. No. 29.

**30.** Inv. No. 15,799. Max. dim. 0.089 m. Fig. 22.

Large 1939 group.

From the wall of a large unglazed pot.

Incised outside: [Ἀλκ]μεον[ίδων | Καλ]λίχσε-  
ν[ος | Ἀρ]ιστο[νύμο]

For a discussion of this piece see above pp. 377-378.

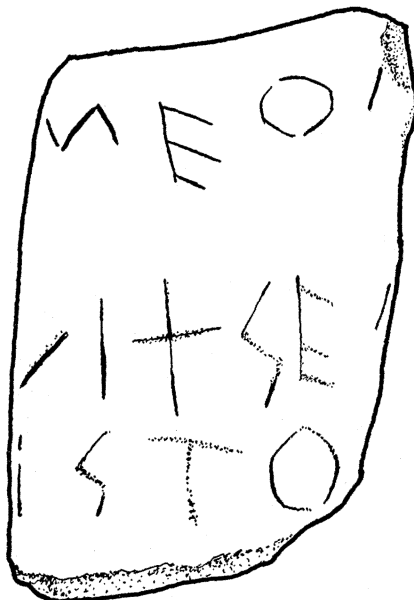


Fig. 22. No. 30.

**31.** Inv. No. P 17,674. Max. dim. 0.09 m. Fig. 23.

Large 1947 group.

From the mouth and neck of a round-mouthed, porous water jar. Inscribed inside and outside. On the inside a false start, *Κλασε* corrected to *Κλαλι*, then abandoned. On the outside: *Κλαλίσεινος | Κλεστενος*

Mentioned *Hesp.*, XVII, 1948, pp. 193-4.

For a discussion of this ostrakon see above p. 378.

**32.** Inv. No. P 3786. Max. dim. 0.103 m. Fig. 24.

Mixed ancient fill in the road south of the Tholos.



INSIDE



OUTSIDE

Fig. 23. No. 31.

From the rim and upper wall of a semi-glazed krater.

Incised outside: [Καλλ]ίσενος|[ho πρ]οδότες

For a discussion of this ostrakon, see above pp. 378-379.

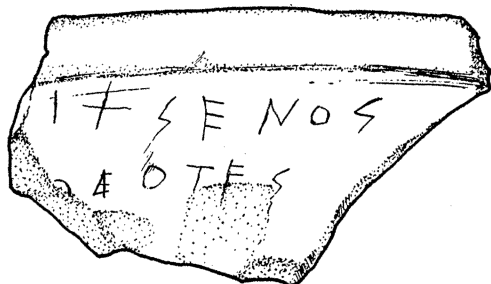


Fig. 24. No. 32.

**33.** Inv. No. P 17,615. Max. dim. 0.053 m. Fig. 25.

Large 1947 group.

Part of lower wall, ring foot and bottom of a black-glazed skyphos of Attic type.

Incised on bottom: [- - -]ῃ ἀτιμ[ος]

For a discussion of this ostrakon, see above p. 379.

**34.** Inv. No. P 17,960. Width of handle, 0.028 m. Plate 112.

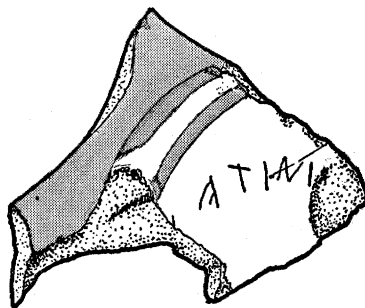


Fig. 25. No. 33.

Large 1947 group.

Two non-joining fragments from the handle of a semi-glazed or black-glazed oinochoe. Outer face concave with edges glazed and central part reserved; glaze also on inside of mouth. An inscription is carefully painted in large letters along the central part of the handle in the same black glaze as is used for the edges; it reads from top to bottom: Καλλίσ[ενος - -]. Most of the first lambda is missing, but the tip of the right hand stroke is preserved.

For a discussion of this piece, see above pp. 379-381.

GEORGE A. STAMIREs  
EUGENE VANDERPOOL

NOTE: This article was written while Mr. Stamires was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and Mr. Vanderpool was holding a research grant under the Fulbright Act at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.



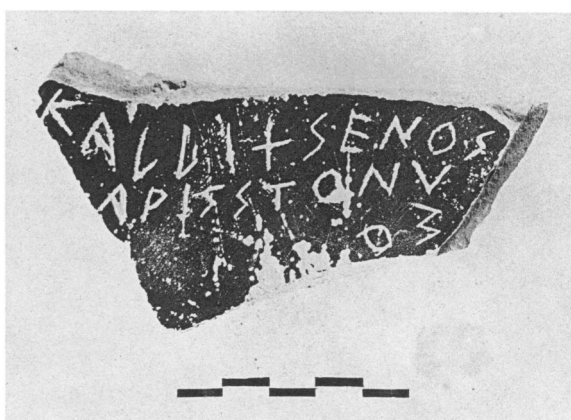
No. 3



No. 4



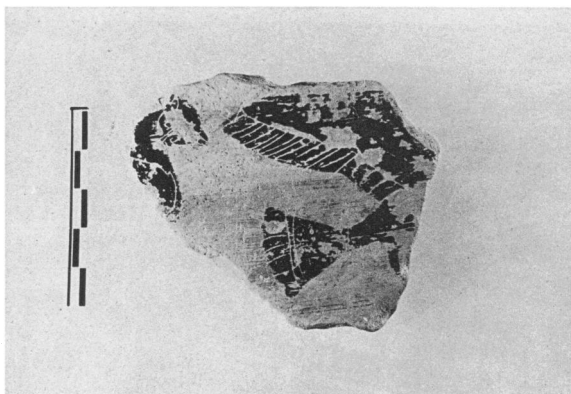
No. 5



No. 11



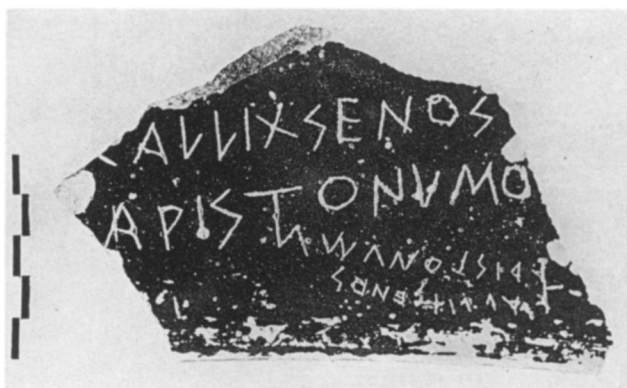
No. 7 inside



No. 7 outside

STAMIREN AND VANDERPOOL: KALLIXENOS THE ALKMEONID

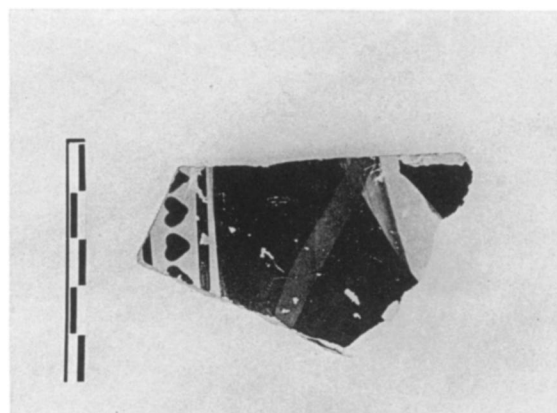




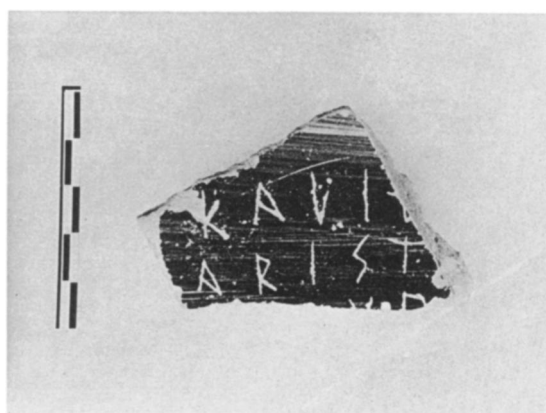
No. 14



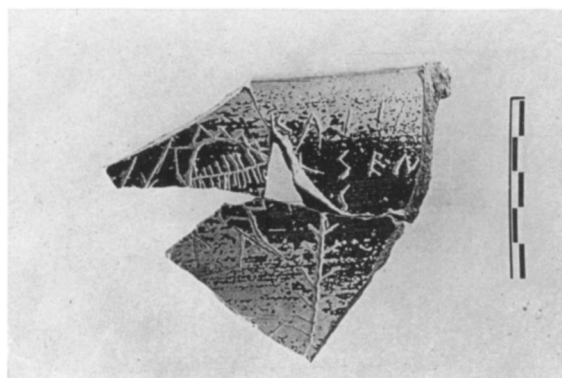
No. 17



No. 28 outside



No. 28 inside



No. 29



No. 34