

# KALLIAS KRATIOU ALOPEKETHEN

(PLATES 25 and 26)

IN *Hesperia* 49, 1980, pp. 289–293, the writer attempted to associate several kalos inscriptions of ca. 520–510 praising Hippokrates with ostraka of the 480's naming Hippokrates son of Anaxileos and then to suggest that the man in question was a member of the Peisistratid family. In the present paper, a case is made for identifying a member of another prominent Athenian family, that of Kallias, on the basis of the same combination of evidence.<sup>1</sup>

The name Kallias occurs in kalos inscriptions on vases from soon after the middle of the 6th century until well into the second half of the 5th.<sup>2</sup> Since the name is a fairly common one in Athens, not all these young men need have been members of the same famous family, which was widely regarded as the wealthiest in Athens in the 5th century.<sup>3</sup> But it is a reasonable assumption that several of them were, especially when other evidence fulfills the basic chronological requirement, that the subject have a birth year about fifteen to twenty years earlier than the date of the vases on which he is praised.

The Kallias who concerns us here is named on three vases of ca. 515–510, though only once with kalos. This is on a small, black-figured neck-amphora belonging to the Three-Line Group, in the collection of Walter Bareiss.<sup>4</sup> The other two instances are both on red-figured cups by the Ambrosios Painter, and since in both cases “kalos” is omitted, we may assume that the name identifies one of the participants in the scene. On both vases, several other young and older men are also named, and they may offer clues to the identity and social connections of our Kallias.

On a cup in Munich (Pl. 25:a),<sup>5</sup> Kallias, second from the right, takes part in a komos with three other youths and a bearded reveler who is in the center. The older man is Eteokles, and the other youths are Kydias, who plays the flutes, Mantiheos, and Euarchos. On the other cup, in Würzburg (Pl. 25:d),<sup>6</sup> Kallias assists in a scene of sacrifice, along with four others: a youth named Lysistratos, a youth whose name is only partially preserved (A----EON), an unnamed man, and a youth.

The best known Kallias in Athens in the late 6th century and early and mid-5th was Kallias II son of Hipponikos I. His grandfather, Kallias I, born about 590,<sup>7</sup> had won fame

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Henry R. Immerwahr and Eugene Vanderpool for reading a draft of this paper. Dr. F. Willemsen of the German Archaeological Institute, Athens kindly provided the photographs of the Kerameikos ostraka. I also thank Dr. Barbara Bohen for help in obtaining photographs. Permission to reproduce the photograph of Munich 2614 was granted by B. Schwabe and Co. A.G., Basel.

Special abbreviation:

APF = J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families: 600–300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971

<sup>2</sup> *ABV*, p. 668; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 1587–1588; *Paralipomena*, p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> See *APF*, pp. 254–270.

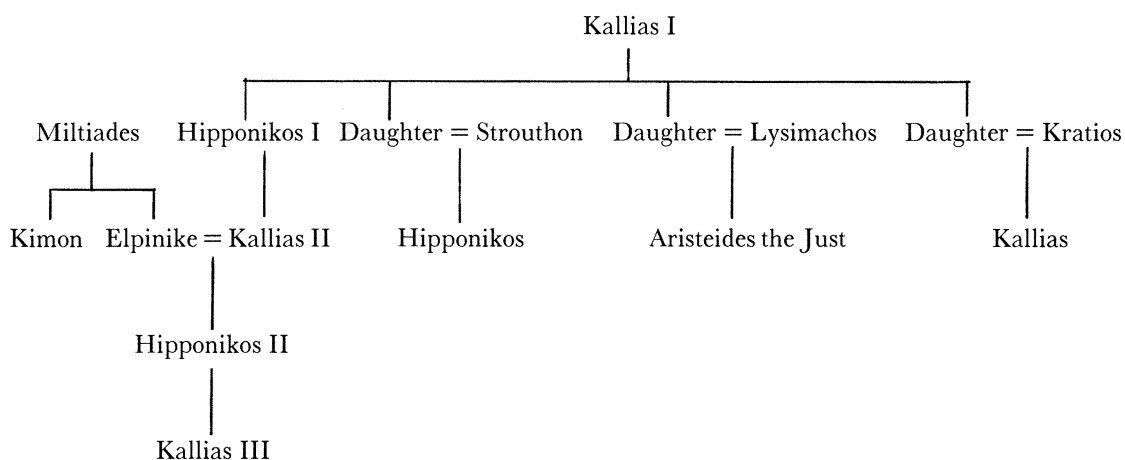
<sup>4</sup> Bareiss 13; *Paralipomena*, p. 140, no. 6bis; unpublished.

<sup>5</sup> Munich 2614; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 173, no. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Würzburg L474; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 173–174, no. 10.

<sup>7</sup> See *APF*, p. 255.

for his Pythian and Olympic victories and for daring to buy the confiscated property of the exiled Peisistratos in the 550's (Herodotos, vi.121.2). The family had its primary residence at Alopeke<sup>8</sup> and belonged to the genos Kerykes which shared with the Eleusinian family of the Eumolpidai control of the cult of Demeter and Kore.<sup>9</sup> Kallias II held the post of *Daidouchos* in the cult in 490 (Plutarch, *Aristeides*, 6–8), as his father Hipponikos had before him. In the 480's Kallias made a great fortune mining silver at Laureion<sup>10</sup> and this established his family's reputation for possessing great wealth.



Kallias II, however, probably cannot be the Kallias on the vases, for, as Davies has established, he should not have been born before 520. As it is, when he served as ambassador to Sparta in 446 (Diodoros, xii.7), he would have been an extremely old man. He was at best a small child when the vases were painted.

There is, nevertheless, some indirect evidence to suggest that the Ambrosios Painter's Kallias ought to be a member of the family of Kallias II. The same artist painted a cup now in Oxford<sup>11</sup> with scenes of revelers on both sides of the exterior (Pl. 26:a, b). Seven names are preserved or can be confidently restored from what remains, and two of these are familiar from other vases by the same painter or his contemporaries.<sup>12</sup> Therefore we can, I think, infer that, like the youths on the other two cups, they all belong to a circle of the Athenian

<sup>8</sup> See D. M. Lewis, "Double Representation in the *Strategia*," *JHS* 81, 1961, p. 120. Cf. *APF*, p. 256.

<sup>9</sup> See H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, Ithaca 1977, p. 57.

<sup>10</sup> *APF*, pp. 260–261.

<sup>11</sup> Oxford 1911.616; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 173, no. 1.

<sup>12</sup> 1) Antimachos also occurs on two other vases by the Ambrosios Painter: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 173, no. 5 and *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 174, no. 16; and on a proto-Panaitian cup (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 316, no. 4), Antimachos and Ambrosios, for whom the Ambrosios Painter is named (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 174, no. 17), both appear as athletes. 2) Diodoros also occurs on a psykter by Smikros (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 21, no. 6) and on a black-figured amphora (*ABV*, p. 367, no. 90).

*jeunesse dorée* in the late 6th century. One of the youths on the Oxford cup is Hipponikos, who surely belongs to the same family as Kallias II son of Hipponikos I. The name is not a common one outside the family. Hipponikos I, born about 560,<sup>13</sup> is far too old to be reveling on a cup of *ca.* 510 but there is another possibility. Hipponikos son of Strouthon, who won a victory as choregos for a men's dithyramb at the Dionysia in the 480's, is identified by Davies as a son of one of the three daughters of Kallias I, born *ca.* 530 and named for his maternal uncle.<sup>14</sup> This would make him a youth of about twenty on the Oxford cup, an appropriate age.

Having identified a grandson of Kallias I on the Ambrosios Painter's cup in Oxford, we may reasonably look for another of his descendants to associate with the Kallias on the same painter's cups in Munich and Würzburg. A likely candidate has recently turned up.

Among the large hoard of ostraka excavated in the Kerameikos in 1966 were no fewer than 760 naming Kallias son of Kratios of Alopeke.<sup>15</sup> The name Kallias Kratiou was already known from a few ostraka found in the Agora (Pl. 25:b, c)<sup>16</sup> but without the demotic. The man is otherwise unattested, but in view of the enormous number of the Kerameikos ostraka with his name, Vanderpool and others postulated that he was the victim of the third ostracism in 485, whom Aristotle describes only as a friend of the Tyrants (*Athenaion Politeia*, 22.6).<sup>17</sup>

The discovery that this Kallias came from Alopeke makes it more than likely that he belonged to the family of Kallias II, and there is a simple way of attaching him to the family. Following Herodotos' famous story (vi.122) that Kallias I allowed each of his three daughters to choose her own husband (an unheard-of practice at the time), Davies has identified two of the three husbands.<sup>18</sup> One, as we have seen, was Strouthon, the father of Hipponikos. Of the third daughter Davies remarks, "nothing whatever is known." Could we suppose that Kratios married the third daughter and named his son, in the conventional way, after the boy's grandfather Kallias I?<sup>19</sup> Like his cousin Hipponikos, he could have been born about 530, caught the eye of the Ambrosios Painter as a young man of twenty, and stood for ostracism as a middle-aged man in the 480's.

What Kallias Kratiou did to incur such enmity is specified on several of the ostraka which call him *ho Medos* and on one which includes a caricature of a man in Persian cap,

<sup>13</sup> *APF*, p. 255.

<sup>14</sup> *APF*, p. 256. He is perhaps also to be identified with Hipponikos kalos on a black-figured eye-cup now lost: *ABV*, p. 716.

<sup>15</sup> Preliminary reports: *BCH* 92, 1968, p. 732; *Δελτ* 23, 1968, B' [1969], pp. 24–29. Cf. Rudi Thomsen, *The Origin of Ostracism*, Copenhagen 1972, pp. 93–99. Thomsen believes the Kallias ostraka may belong to 486 rather than 485. D. M. Lewis ("The Kerameikos Ostraka," *ZPE* 14, 1974, p. 3) places them instead in the 470's.

<sup>16</sup> See W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Suppl. V, *Observations on the Hephaisteion*, Baltimore 1941, p. 141.

<sup>17</sup> E. Vanderpool, *Ostracism at Athens*, Cincinnati 1970, pp. 21–22.

<sup>18</sup> *APF*, pp. 256–257.

<sup>19</sup> This suggestion has been made by P. J. Bicknell, *Studies in Athenian Politics and Genealogy* (*Historia*, Einzelschrift 19, 1972), pp. 70–71. He proposes to identify Kratios as a member of the Alkmeonidai, who also lived at Alopeke. This would make Kallias Kratiou the scion of not one but two of the most important Athenian families of the 6th century.

trousers, and pointed shoes.<sup>20</sup> How he acquired this reputation is not known, but there may possibly be a link with a story reported in several different versions by late writers. According to Plutarch (*Aristeides*, 7–8), Kallias II found Persian gold in a hole on the battlefield at Marathon. In Athenaios (12.536F), the story is more elaborate: an Eretrian named Diomnestos found the money after the Persian army came through his city in 490, and his survivors entrusted it to Hipponikos I and Kallias II in Athens, who kept it.

These stories have sometimes been dismissed as inventions to account for the sudden wealth which the family actually acquired from silver mining and to explain the nickname of Kallias II, *lakkoploutos* (“pit-wealthy”).<sup>21</sup> The truth of these rumors is not so important to us, however, as whether they were already circulating in the 480’s, which seems at least possible. If so, could not the story that Kallias had gotten rich quickly on Persian gold eventually, in the retelling, have tainted the whole family with the charge of medizing? Kallias II was also a candidate for ostracism, in 486, but so far he has only twelve votes.<sup>22</sup>

Kallias Kratiou’s attachment to a family of great prominence, his appearance as a youth on several vases, and especially the company he keeps in these scenes, all shed some light on the social milieu of the Athenian aristocracy in the last years of the Peisistratid tyranny. On the Ambrosios Painter’s cup in Munich (Fig. 1; Pl. 25:a), the name Kydias beside the figure who plays the flutes is almost certainly to be identified with the poet Kydias, a native of Hermione.<sup>23</sup> He is also named on a psykter by the Dikaio Painter in London (Pl. 26:c),<sup>24</sup> where he is bald and plays the lyre. It may be that on the Munich cup Kydias is not the young flute player but rather the bearded lyre player beside him, and the painter has simply misplaced the inscriptions. Like his countryman Lasos, Kydias will have come to Athens in the time of Hippias and Hipparchos, along with the much more renowned poet Anakreon, who appears on three early red-figured vases with lively musical scenes<sup>25</sup> not unlike those on the London psykter and the cup in Munich. Anakreon’s association with a circle of upper-class youths in Athens is attested by the story that he fell in love with the young Kritias,<sup>26</sup> a descendant of Solon and grandfather of Kritias the Tyrant.<sup>27</sup> Kritias’ kinsman Kallaischros appears on the Ambrosios Painter’s cup in Oxford, beside Hipponikos.<sup>28</sup> Could it be that Kydias, who is invoked by the Platonic Sokrates (*Charmides*, 155D) as an authority on the devastating attraction of a beautiful boy, was similarly smitten with the young Kallias, who dances with great abandon on the Munich cup and is the focus of all eyes?

<sup>20</sup> See Vanderpool, *op. cit.* (footnote 17 above), p. 21.

<sup>21</sup> See APF, p. 260.

<sup>22</sup> Thomsen, *op. cit.* (footnote 15 above), pp. 94–95.

<sup>23</sup> See K. Schefold, *Griechische Dichterbildnisse*, Zurich 1965, p. 6; on Kydias, sch. Aristophanes, *Clouds* 967.

<sup>24</sup> London E767; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 31, no. 6; *CVA*, British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8], 104[379]:1.

<sup>25</sup> Cup by Oltos, London E18; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 62–63, no. 86; K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner, und Denker*, Basel 1943, p. 51, no. 1; lekythos by the Gales Painter, Syracuse 26967; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 36, no. 2; Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 51, no. 3; fragmentary calyx-krater by the Kleophrades Painter, Copenhagen inv. no. 13365; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 185, no. 32; H. R. Immerwahr, “Inscriptions on the Anacreon Krater in Copenhagen,” *AJA* 69, 1965, pl. 42.

<sup>26</sup> Sch. Aischylos, *Prometheus* 128.

<sup>27</sup> See APF, p. 326.

<sup>28</sup> See above, p. 70. On Kallaischros see APF, p. 325. According to Vitruvius (vii, praef. 15), one of the architects of the Olympeion in Athens, ca. 520, was named Kallaischros.



FIG. 1. Cup by the Ambrosios Painter, Munich. Schefold, *Griechische Dichterbildnisse*, p. 6.

Finally, we should consider our artist. It would seem that the Ambrosios Painter had a penchant for portraying young men of noble birth, since three of his cups have helped provide the links among several prominent Athenian families. Yet another important family, the Alkmeonidai, is represented by the appearance of a youth named Aristonymos on a cup by the Ambrosios Painter recently on the Basel market.<sup>29</sup> The scene this time is not an all-male komos but instead shows young men courting hetairai. Are we to infer that the Ambrosios Painter was a society artist, the Bradford Bachrach of his day? Or did he simply choose names which were household words and attach them indiscriminately to his figures? It seems clear by now that there are too many meaningful links among names appearing on vases related by date, subject, or painter for all to be entirely accidental. Many other names favored by other painters could probably be linked in this way and would repay further study.

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<sup>29</sup> Münzen und Medaillen A.G., *Auktion 51*, Basel 1975, no. 148. I am grateful to Robert Sutton for calling this vase to my attention and to Henry R. Immerwahr for discussing it with me. Aristonymos' connection with the Alkmeonidai is known from an ostrakon; see Vanderpool, *op. cit.* (footnote 17 above), pp. 18–19.



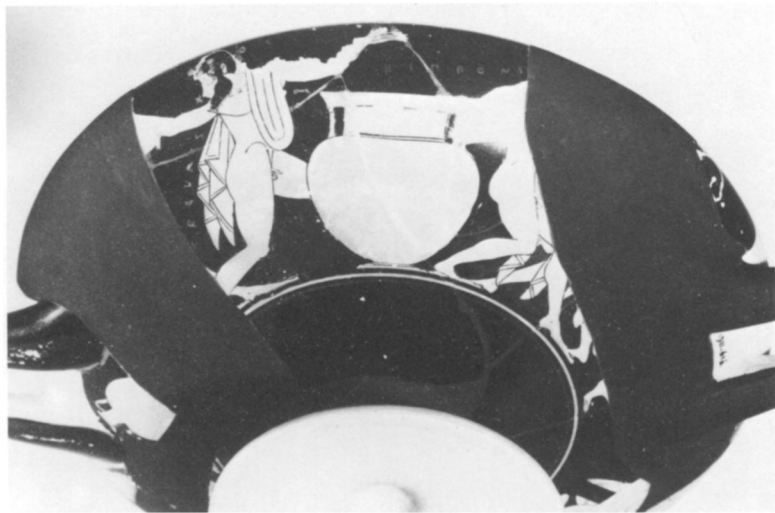
a. Munich cup 2614. Photograph Staat. Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek



b, c. Ostraka from the Kerameikos. Drawing and photograph courtesy DAI Athens



d. Würzburg cup L 474. Photograph Martin v. Wagner Museum, Universität Würzburg



a, b. Oxford cup 1911.616. Photograph Ashmolean Museum



c. London psykter E 767. Photograph British Museum