

HIPPOKRATES SON OF ANAXILEOS

(PLATES 74–76)

THREE ATTIC BLACK-FIGURED VASES of the penultimate decade of the 6th century bear the *kalos* name Hippokrates.¹ A fragmentary fourth has PATEΣKA, for which Beazley proposed the restoration HIIPOKPATEΣ KAAOΣ.² The four are as follows:

1. Hydria, London B331. *ABV*, p. 261, no. 41. Pl. 74:a.
2. Neck-amphora, Rugby 11. *ABV*, p. 321, no. 9. Pls. 75, 76:a.
3. Bilingual amphora, Munich 2302. *ABV*, p. 294, no. 23 and *ARV*², p. 6, no. 1. Pl. 76:b.
4. Lekythos fragment, Athens, Akr. *ARV*², p. 8. Unpublished.

All four seem to belong within a fairly small circle of contemporary artists. No. 1 is in the manner of the Lysippides Painter, and No. 2 is described by Beazley as “some-what recalling” the same painter.³ No. 3 is by Psiax, and No. 4 was connected with Psiax by Beazley on the basis of shape as well as the inscription. Psiax painted two vases for the potter Andokides,⁴ who also collaborated with the Lysippides Painter.⁵

In 1887, F. Studniczka first proposed that Hippokrates should be identified as a member of the Alkmeonid family, son of Megakles II and Agariste, and brother of Kleisthenes the legislator.⁶ He is also known to us as the father of Megakles IV, the victim of the second ostracism, in 486 (*Athenaion Politeia*, 22.5). Otherwise, nothing is known of Hippokrates’ own career.

Studniczka’s suggestion has been adopted by all subsequent scholars.⁷ A second Alkmeonid Hippokrates, active in the same period, is now known from several ostraka

¹ I would like to thank Christoph Clairmont, who read a draft of this paper, and the journal’s reader for helpful suggestions. A brief version was presented at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Boston in December, 1979.

Abbreviations:

ABV = J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford 1956.

APF = J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, Oxford 1971.

*ARV*² = J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1963.

² *ARV*², p. 8.

³ *ABV*, p. 667. In *ABV*, p. 321, no. 9, the attribution is to the Three-line Group.

⁴ A black-figured amphora formerly in Castle Ashby: *ABV*, p. 293, no. 7; and a bilingual amphora, Madrid 11008: *ABV*, p. 294, no. 24 and *ARV*², p. 7, no. 2.

⁵ On a bilingual cup, Palermo V650: *ABV*, p. 256, no. 21 and *ARV*², p. 5, no. 14. The problem of whether Andokides the potter, the Andokides Painter, and the Lysippides Painter are three artists, or two, or one, is treated most recently by B. Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases and Their Painters*, New York 1978.

⁶ “Antenor der Sohn des Eumares und die Geschichte der archaischen Malerei,” *JdI* 2, 1887, p. 161.

⁷ For example, H. R. W. Smith, *New Aspects of the Menon Painter*, *CPCA* I, i, Berkeley 1929, p. 54; D. M. Robinson and E. J. Fluck, *A Study of the Greek Love Names*, Baltimore 1937, p. 121; T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens*, London 1972, p. 62.

of the 480's: Hippokrates son of Alkmeonides of Alopeke.⁸ If, as is generally assumed, his father is Alkmeonides I, son of Alkmeon I, then the two Hippokrateses are cousins. One possible difficulty is that this would make Hippokrates son of Alkmeonides extremely old at the time he was a candidate for ostracism.⁹ Nevertheless, a suggestion made by Raubitschek is still very attractive, that both Hippokrateses were named after the father of Peisistratos and were thus born early in the 550's, during the brief period when the two rival families were allied by the marriage of Peisistratos to a daughter of Megakles II.¹⁰

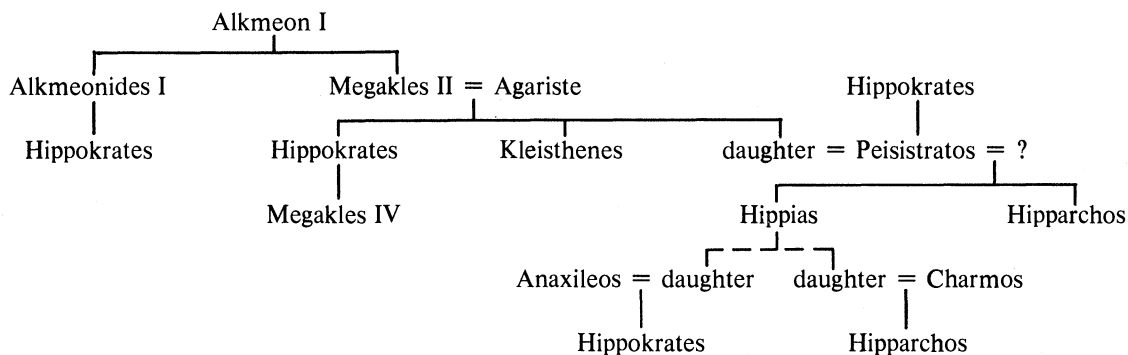


FIG. 1

The association of either man with the vase inscriptions is thus open to the same objection, that both were in their 40's during the decade 520–510 and too old to be *kalos*. This is not an insuperable obstacle, since other *kalos* names occur over a period of many years,¹¹ but it invites us to consider whether there might be yet a third candidate.

I would like to suggest that Hippokrates *kalos* is to be identified with Hippokrates son of Anaxileos, whose name appears on ostraka of the 480's (Pl. 78:b).¹² Apart from the ostraka, nothing is known about him. Vanderpool at one time believed he might have been the victim of the ostracism of 485, but later withdrew the suggestion in favor of Kallias son of Kratios.¹³

All we know of this Hippokrates, then, is his name and that of his father. On this basis Davies conjectured that Anaxileos might have married a Peisistratid woman, possibly a daughter of Hippias, and named his son for the boy's ancestor, Peisistratos'

⁸ E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 274–275.

⁹ See *APF*, p. 373.

¹⁰ A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis*, Cambridge, Mass. 1949, p. 339.

¹¹ For example, Leagros and Onetorides; see Webster, *op. cit.* (footnote 7 above), p. 65.

¹² *APF*, p. 373; *Hesperia* 5, 1936, p. 39 and p. 40, fig. 39; *Hesperia* 15, 1946, p. 272, no. 6.

¹³ "The Ostracism of the Elder Alkibiades," *Hesperia* 21, 1952, p. 8; *Ostracism at Athens*, Cincinnati 1970, p. 31.

father.¹⁴ An analogy would be offered by Hipparchos son of Charmos, archon in 496/5 and victim of the first ostracism. Charmos had probably married a daughter of Hippias (who had five children: Thucydides, VI.55.1) and given his son a good Peisistratid name.¹⁵

On this hypothesis, and assuming for Hippias a birth year in the 570's or even the late 580's,¹⁶ his grandson Hippokrates son of Anaxileos could well have been born in the 530's and have been a *kalos* youth between 520 and 510. He would, in fact, be a cousin and contemporary of the above-mentioned Hipparchos son of Charmos, who is praised in many *kalos* inscriptions of the same decade, 520–510.¹⁷ When Hippokrates was a candidate for ostracism in the 480's, he would have been about 50, at the height of his political career.

Apart from chronological considerations, which are admittedly inconclusive, the claim of the son of Anaxileos to being Hippokrates *kalos* is still insubstantial, but I believe there is another clue. Since we have identified him as a member of the Peisistratid family, while his two older rivals are both Alkmeonids, we may ask whether the subjects painted on the three vases (of No. 4 only fragments of the mouth are preserved) suggest an association with either of the two families, whose intense antagonism reached a peak during the decade when our vases were made.

On the hydria in London (No. 1; Pl. 74:a), six women fill water jars at a fountain house depicted as a Doric structure with a large lion's head spout. Such scenes are exceedingly common on black-figured hydrias of this period. But on only two, this and a fragmentary one from the Akropolis,¹⁸ the fountain is labeled Kallirrhoe.¹⁹ The reference is to Athens' most important spring, which we are told by several ancient sources was embellished, probably by the addition of nine spouts, by the Tyrants, and renamed Enneakrounos.²⁰ Though the sources differ as to whether the project was carried out by Peisistratos or by his sons, the majority, including Thucydides (II.15.4–5) favor the latter.

¹⁴ *APF*, pp. 373–374. The alternative suggestion of Raubitschek, *loc. cit.* (footnote 10 above), that he was a cousin of the other two Hippokrateses, born about the same time and named for the same reason, has less to recommend it, since Anaxileos is not attested as an Alkmeonid name. The suggestion is rejected by D. M. Lewis, "Cleisthenes and Attica," *Historia* 12, 1963, p. 37, note 138.

¹⁵ *APF*, p. 451.

¹⁶ For a date of 582, see M. E. White, "Hippias and the Athenian Archon List," in *Polis and Imperium: Studies in Honor of Edward Togo Salmon*, Toronto 1974, p. 94, note 19. Davies' date (*APF*, p. 446) is the late 570's.

¹⁷ *ABV*, p. 667 and *ARV²*, p. 1584. The older opinion, that these inscriptions refer to the son of Peisistratos (e.g. E. Langlotz, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik*, Leipzig 1920, pp. 54–58) has now been generally abandoned; see *APF*, p. 451.

¹⁸ Akr. 732; B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin 1925–33, pl. 47.

¹⁹ ΚΑΛΙΡΡΗΝΗ = Καλ(λ)υρ(ρ)οη κρήνη.

²⁰ R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton 1957, pp. 137–142. On the much disputed location of the Enneakrounos, now generally identified with the Southeast Fountain House in the Agora, see J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, New York 1971, p. 204, with earlier references.

There can be no doubt, I think, that this scene was intended to commemorate this benefaction, probably undertaken by Hippias at about this same time. The old name, Kallirrhoe, is used instead of Enneakrounos, presumably because it was traditional and still more familiar. It is likely that on many contemporary hydrias a similarly grand but unnamed fountain house also represents Kallirrhoe/Enneakrounos;²¹ but the inscription on ours suggests it could have been a special commission for a Peisistratid or one of their sympathizers. It would be most appropriate that Hippias' own grandson should be praised on the same vase.

The case for identifying the other two Hippokrates *kalos* vases with the Peisistratids is less certain, but at least one is worth considering.²² Both No. 2 and No. 3 have, on one side, Herakles' chariot, and on the other, a Dionysiac scene. On the neck-amphora at Rugby (No. 2; Pl. 75:b), Athena prepares to drive Herakles to Olympos.²³ Recently John Boardman argued persuasively that this version of Herakles' apotheosis was directly inspired by Peisistratos' return to Athens in a chariot driven by a girl dressed up as Athena.²⁴

A possible objection to our identification of Hippokrates *kalos* as a Peisistratid remains. In his study of Psiax fifty years ago, Smith, who accepted Hippokrates' identification with the brother of Kleisthenes, used this "fact" to strengthen his argument that a wide circle of Late Archaic painters, including the Andokides/Lysippides Painters, Oltos, Euthymides, Phintias, and Psiax (then known as the Menon Painter), all held Alkmeonid sympathies.²⁵ In the case of No. 2, the stylistic affinity with the Lysippides Painter himself is not particularly close, and we have already shown that No. 1 has a specific Peisistratid association.

This leaves Psiax, who, if Beazley's conjecture about No. 4 is correct, is responsible for half the Hippokrates *kalos* inscriptions. The basis of Smith's argument was these the preference of these artists for certain shield devices thought to have been used by the Alkmeonids, their use of the *kalos* name Megakles,²⁶ and their fondness for subjects related to Delphi and Apollo.²⁷ But these features occur mainly in the work of the younger painters, especially Phintias and Euthymides, and the ascription to Psiax of the same partisanship because of his stylistic affinities may be an unwarranted inference.

²¹ See, for example, *CVA*, British Museum 6 [G. B. 8], III H e, 90[349]: four hydrias, all with fountain houses, one Ionic and three Doric.

²² In "Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons," *RA* 1972, p. 66, J. Boardman notes that the three scenes on which Hippokrates' name appears "seem decidedly Peisistratan."

²³ The identification of the scene as the apotheosis is maintained by F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*, 3rd ed., Marburg 1973, p. 159, no. 7.

²⁴ *Op. cit.* (footnote 22 above), pp. 60–65.

²⁵ Smith, *op. cit.* (footnote 7 above), pp. 54–57.

²⁶ Megakles *kalos*: *ARV*², p. 1598; the shield devices (silen and triskeles) as Alkmeonidean: C. Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage Before the Persian Invasion*, Cambridge 1924, p. 21.

²⁷ Psiax painted one version of the Struggle for the Tripod: J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena*, Oxford 1971, p. 128 (neck-amphora fragments in Istanbul). On the Alkmeonid association of this scene, see now J. Boardman, "Herakles, Delphi, and Kleisthenes of Sikyon," *RA* 1978, pp. 227–234.

This is not the place to undertake a full study of Psiax' *oeuvre* in search of clues to his political sympathies. But I might just point to two instances which may betray an association with the Tyrants at least as plausible as that with the Alkmeonids suggested by Smith:

1. A recently published stemmed dish in the Louvre of about 520,²⁸ either by or very close to Psiax, has in the tondo Athena battling the giant Enkelados. The composition looks as if the artist had in mind the well-known pedimental group from the Peisistratid temple of Athena on the Akropolis of about the same date.²⁹

2. Psiax is responsible for two of the four preserved vase representations of the Departure of Adrastos, the Argive hero who fought with the Seven against Thebes.³⁰ The intense hatred of Kleisthenes of Sikyon, whose family was closely allied with the Alkmeonids, for Adrastos (Herodotos, V.67) and the Peisistratids' friendly relations with Argos³¹ suggest that if we can infer anything about our artist from his choice of this scene, it links him rather to the Tyrants.

It might be premature to infer from two such observations that Psiax enjoyed the patronage of the Peisistratids. Smith's attempt a half century ago to show that the "Andocidean" painters were pro-Alkmeonid and the "Epiktetans" pro-Peisistratid³² was dismissed by Beazley at the time as "an ingenious flight of fancy."³³ But recently Boardman has taken a similar approach, with interesting results, in arguing that Exekias was a supporter of the Alkmeonids.³⁴ I believe that in studying the work of men like Psiax and Exekias, highly inventive and original artists living in times of strong political faction, it is not altogether fanciful to detect subtle indications of patronage, propaganda, and partisanship.

H. A. SHAPIRO

TULANE UNIVERSITY
Department of Art
Newcomb College
New Orleans, LA 70118

²⁸ Louvre CA3662; *ARV*², p. 12, no. 11; J. R. Mertens, "Some New Vases by Psiax," *AntK* 22, 1979, pl. 13:3 and pp. 33-34.

²⁹ H. Payne and G. M. Young, *Archaic Marble Sculptures from the Acropolis*, London 1936, pl. 36. Payne's date for the pediment (p. 54) was in the 520's, and Langlotz (*op. cit.* [footnote 17 above], pp. 34-35) compared the drapery to early red-figured vases of about 520. For more recent, divergent opinions see B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1977, pp. 205-208.

³⁰ A neck-amphora in Copenhagen: *ABV*, p. 292, no. 5; and a hydria in Würzburg: *ABV*, p. 293, no. 10. The other two are by Oltos (*ARV*², p. 60, no. 63) and a member of the Leagros Group (*ABV*, p. 367, no. 88).

³¹ Peisistratos married an Argive woman, Timonassa (*Ath. Pol.*, 17.4), and the Argives sent troops to aid his second return from exile (Herodotos, I.61.4).

³² *Op. cit.* (footnote 7 above), pp. 54-57.

³³ Review of Smith, *op. cit.* (footnote 7 above) in *JHS* 51, 1931, p. 120. I thank Donna Kurtz for calling my attention to this reference.

³⁴ "Exekias," *AJA* 82, 1978, pp. 11-25.



a. Hydria, London B331. Courtesy of the British Museum



b. Ostrakon from the Athenian Agora, P 2702

H. A. SHAPIRO: HIPPOKRATES SON OF ANAXILEOS



a. Neck-amphora, Rugby 11. Courtesy of Rugby School. Side A



b. Neck-amphora, Rugby 11. Side B

H. A. SHAPIRO: HIPPOKRATES SON OF ANAXILEOS



a. Neck-amphora, Rugby 11. Detail of Side B



b. Bilingual amphora, Munich 2302. Courtesy of the Staatliche Antiken-sammlungen

H. A. SHAPIRO: HIPPOKRATES SON OF ANAXILEOS